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Estudios Avanzados en Humanidades: Historia, Arte, Filosofía y Ciencias
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en Cotutela con la
UNIVERSIDAD DE GRONINGEN (Países Bajos)

**CRITICAL EDITION OF PLUTARCH'S TREATISE *DE
FACIE QUAE IN ORBE LUNAE APPARET* WITH
CRITICAL, LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL
COMMENTARIES**

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A todos los que me hablaron de Plutarco
y su luna, y a todos los que por mi culpa
ahora saben de mi Plutarco y su luna.





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his supervision. Over the years, he has always checked in not only with my work but with me as well, proving to be a genuinely caring supervisor.

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photocopies of the edition for 350€, or even better directly book a flight, stay a few days there, and check the edition myself for the same price.

A PhD project can be very demanding, lonely, and stressful. Surrounding yourself with good, caring people with whom you are able to disconnect from work for a short while is fundamental to stay focused and to do a good (ok, decent) job. Most of the people below mentioned started as colleagues from work and we have had plenty of discussions about each other's projects, they all have played a role in my work and have contributed to what my thesis looks like now. However, I am going to focus on the personal experiences I have had with them, because in the end a PhD is not only about Academia, it is also about life experiences and people.

First in order are my paranypmhs. I will mention them strictly in alphabetical order (and, coincidentally, in the order I met them) so there is no feeling of one being preferred over the other. With Anna, it was “friendship at first sight.” We were together in the same Dutch course and we both were new in the city. I was brave enough to ask her out, we practiced Dutch when ordering a hot chocolate, and all went well until the waiter asked us “met of zonder slagroom,” a question for which we were not prepared. Anna has unconditionally been one of the greatest friends and support for this awesome and exhausting experience that is doing a PhD.

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Life in the Faculty has always been a combination of academic learning and personal enjoyment. The traditional daily coffee breaks at 10—wait, then was 10.20, some implanted the revolutionary 10.30, then it got confusing and people missed each other for not going at the same time—anyway, the coffee breaks helped bonding with PhDs, professors and staff. And so did the pleasant lunches out on Tuesdays (a tradition of which I am proud to be among the instigators) and the Seminarium Groninganae with polemics over a drink regarding the use of the word “scholar” or the true meaning behind any word, really. From what I call “the first generation,” the PhDs that I met during my first stay in Groningen, even if nowadays we see less of each other, I still love meeting for a catch up with Marije, Mirjam, and Joas. It was so nice that they invited me over for dinner the very first week of my arrival, and great conversations and moments have happened since then. Many more colleagues deserve a mention, because their presence in the Faculty and at different events made my academic life richer and more interesting: Soraya, Forrest, Fryderyk, Jason, Christoph, and Arjan are only a few names that come to mind. I apologize to anyone I may have missed, you count to me and I cheer the memories with you, but, you know, life is hard, toughen up!

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To all of you, my sincerest thank you.

Luisa





ABBREVIATIONS

1.1 Journals

<i>AJPh</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i> . Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> . Berlin: De Gruyter.
<i>Apeiron</i>	<i>Apeiron: A Journal for Ancient Philosophy and Science</i> . Berlin: De Gruyter.
<i>ASNP</i>	<i>Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia</i> . Pisa: Pisa University Press.
<i>Astronomy Quarterly</i>	<i>The Astronomy Quarterly</i> . Elsevier.
<i>Byzantina</i>	<i>Byzantina: Annual Review of the Centre for Byzantine Research</i> . Thessaloniki: Aristotle University Press.
<i>CEMyR</i>	<i>Cuadernos del Centro de Estudios Medievales y Renacentistas</i> . La Laguna: La Laguna University Press.
<i>CFC(G)</i>	<i>Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios Griegos e Indoeuropeos</i> . Madrid: Complutense University Press.
<i>CIMAGL</i>	<i>Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge Grec et Latin</i> . Copenhague: Paludan.
<i>CJ</i>	<i>The Classical Journal</i> . Ashland: Randolph-Macon College, Department of Classics, Classical Association of the Middle West and South.
<i>CPh</i>	<i>Classical Philology: a Journal Devoted to Research in Classical Antiquity</i> . Chicago: Chicago University Press.
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press.
<i>CR</i>	<i>Classical Review</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press.
<i>ELEA</i>	<i>Estudios de Lenguas y Epigrafía Antiguas</i> . Valencia: Real Académia de Cultura Valenciana.
<i>ExClass</i>	<i>Exemplaria Classica: Journal of Classical Philology</i> . Huelva: Huelva University Press.
<i>Folklore</i>	<i>Folklore: Journal of the Folklore Society</i> . London: Taylor & Francis.
<i>Fortunatae</i>	<i>Fortunatae: Revista Canaria de Filología, Cultura y Humanidades Clásicas</i> . La Laguna: La Laguna University Press.
<i>Geoforum</i>	<i>Geoforum</i> . Elsevier.
<i>GIF</i>	<i>Giornale Italiano di Filologia</i> . Roma: Herder.



<i>Gnomon</i>	<i>Gnomon. Kritische Zeitschrift für die Gesamte Klassische Altertumswissenschaft.</i> Munich: C.H. Beck.
<i>Gnosis</i>	<i>Gnosis: Journal of Gnostic Studies.</i> Leiden: Brill.
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies.</i> Durham: Duke University, Department of Classics.
<i>Hermathena</i>	<i>Hermathena: a Trinity College Dublin Review.</i> Dublin: Trinity College Press.
<i>Hermes</i>	<i>Hermes: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie.</i> Stuttgart: Steiner.
<i>Histos</i>	<i>Histos: The New Electronic Journal of Ancient Historiography.</i> Durham: Durham University Press.
<i>HSPh</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology.</i> Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
<i>Humanitas</i>	<i>Humanitas: Revista do Instituto de Estudos Clássicos.</i> Coimbra: Coimbra University Press.
<i>Hypatia</i>	<i>Hypatia: A Journal of Feminist Philosophy.</i> New Jersey: Wiley.
<i>ICS</i>	<i>Illinois Classical Studies.</i> Urbana: Illinois University Press.
<i>Information Historique</i>	<i>L'Information Historique: Revue Illustrée paraissant tous les deux mois pendant la période scolaire.</i> Paris: J.B. Baillière.
<i>JHI</i>	<i>Journal of the History of Ideas.</i> Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
<i>JHS</i>	<i>The Journal of Hellenic Studies.</i> London: Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.
<i>JRAI</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.</i> New Jersey: Wiley.
<i>JRS</i>	<i>The Journal of Roman Studies.</i> London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.
<i>Mind</i>	<i>Mind: a Quarterly Review of Philosophy.</i> Oxford: Oxford University Press.
<i>Mnemosyne</i>	<i>Mnemosyne: Bibliotheca Classica Batava.</i> Leiden: Brill.
<i>Muséon, le</i>	<i>Le Muséon: Revue d'Études Orientales.</i> Leuven: Peeters.
<i>Myrtia</i>	<i>Myrtia: Revista de Filología Clásica.</i> Murcia: Murcia University Press.
<i>NT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum: an International Quarterly for New Testament and Related Studies.</i> Leiden: Brill.
<i>Numen</i>	<i>Numen: International Review for the History of Religions.</i> Leiden: Brill.
<i>Pallas</i>	<i>Pallas: Revue d'Études Antiques.</i> Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail.
<i>Phoenix</i>	<i>Phoenix: Journal of the Classical Association of Canada = Revue de la Société Canadienne des Études Classiques.</i> Toronto: Toronto University Press.
<i>Phronesis</i>	<i>Phronesis: a Journal for Ancient Philosophy.</i> Leiden: Brill.



<i>Ploutarchos</i>	<i>Ploutarchos: Journal of the International Plutarch Society.</i> Logan: Utah State University Press.
<i>QUCC</i>	<i>Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica.</i> Pisa: Serra.
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des Études Grecques.</i> Paris: Belles Lettres.
<i>Res Publica Litterarum</i>	<i>Res Publica Litterarum. Documentos de Trabajo del Grupo de Investigación “Nomos.”</i> Madrid, Instituto de Estudios Clásicos para la Sociedad y la Política “Lucio Anneo Séneca.”
<i>Research Phenomenology</i>	<i>Research in Phenomenology.</i> Leiden: Brill.
<i>RET</i>	<i>Revue des Études Tardo-antiques.</i> Université de Montpellier: Textes pour l’Histoire de l’Antiquité Tardive.
<i>Revue du Seizième Siècle</i>	<i>Revue du Seizième Siècle. Société des études rabelaisiennes.</i> Paris: Champion.
<i>RhM</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.</i> Frankfurt am Main: Sauerländer.
<i>RHT</i>	<i>Revue d’Histoire des Textes.</i> Turnhout: Brepols.
<i>SCO</i>	<i>Studi Classici e Orientali.</i> Pisa: Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali.
<i>Segno e testo</i>	<i>Segno e testo: International Journal of Manuscripts and Text Transmission.</i> Cassino: Cassino University Press.
<i>SMU</i>	<i>Studi Medievali e Umanistici.</i> Roma: Viella.
<i>Sociology Study</i>	<i>Sociology Study.</i> Valley Cottage: David Publishing.
<i>VChr</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae: a Review of Early Christian Life and Languages.</i> Leiden: Brill.
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.</i> Bonn: Habelt.

1.2 Series & Dictionaries

Bailly	Bailly, A., <i>Dictionnaire Grec-Français</i> (Paris: Librairie Hachette, ¹⁶ 1950 [1895]).
DGE	Rodríguez Adrados, F., <i>Diccionario Griego-Español</i> (Madrid: CSIC, 1980).
DK	Diels, H., & Kranz, W., <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker. Griechisch und Deutsch</i> (Hildesheim: Weidmann, ¹⁷ 1974 [1903]).
LSJ	Liddell, H.G., Scott, R., & Jones, H.S., <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press, ⁹ 1996 [1843]).
Page	Page, D.L., <i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962).
RE	Von Pauly, A.F., Wissowa, G., Kroll, W., <i>et al.</i> , <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> .

<i>SVF</i>	Von Arnim, H., <i>Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta</i> (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1964 [1903]).
<i>TGF</i>	Snell, B., Kannicht, R., & Radt, S.L., <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971-2004).
<i>TLG</i>	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Graecae</i> (Irvine: University of California, 1972).

1.3 Other

<i>BNF</i>	Bibliothèque Nationale de France.
<i>CNRS</i>	Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
<i>CSIC</i>	Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
<i>IRHT</i>	Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes.
<i>PUF</i>	Presses Universitaires de France.

1.4 Manuscripts, Editions, & Other sigla

For Manuscripts, Editions, & Other sigla related to the Critical Edition: see Chapter 3, section “Sigla.”



INTRODUCTION

Περὶ τοῦ ἐμφαινομένου προσώπου τῷ κύκλῳ τῆς σελήνης—De facie quae in orbe lunae apparet in its Latin version (*De facie* from now on)—is one of the treatises included in Plutarch's *Moralia*. Its content deals exclusively with the moon, covering nearly every topic concerning its nature and function. No single aspect has been neglected, all of the following questions are treated in this work: the features of its surface; its movements, size and distances to other astral bodies; the phaenomena of phases, eclipses and reflection of light; and its function both in the universe and in human life.

The fascinating topic of the treatise has attracted the attention of a wide range of scholars throughout history: philologists from Nicolas Leonicus to Harold Cherniss revised and corrected its text; astronomers as Johann Kepler or mathematicians as Lucio Russo commented on the theories included in the treatise; historians of religions and of philosophy as Franz Cumont and Pier Luigi Donini placed it in the wider cultural context of its time. Despite the scholarly attention the treatise deserved, and notwithstanding the efforts of many scholars, both its text and content have not yet been satisfactorily established and interpreted as a whole.

Two different but complementary aspects have contributed to this state of affairs. The first aspect concerns the interventions in the text to solve textual difficulties and includes two related problems. Firstly, while there is record of philological efforts to provide a coherent and grammatically correct text from the first printed editions of the 16th century, these early attempts have been either overlooked or wrongly attributed by later scholars. Secondly, interventions in the text from the 18th century onwards have tended to excessively regularize it and implement emendations that do not always seem to have solid and objective bases. Because these issues imply that the first emendations to the text are not properly accounted for in the modern critical apparatuses and that there are a number of groundless interventions in it, it is time for a new critical edition.



The second aspect concerns the scholarly interpretation of the structure and contents of the treatise. While the subject matter is simple, the moon, Plutarch's exhaustive approach is complex and puzzling at times. As a result, scholarship has usually offered a much too schematic approach in order to simplify matters. Generally, scholars have considered that, from the point of view of contents, the text clearly presents a dichotomy of themes, namely the physical, "scientific" approach to the moon and the philosophical-religious, "mythological" analysis. Similarly, most studies divided the structure of *De facie* in the same fashion: a formal bipartition in which each of its parts includes one type of contents—the first of them being the astronomical theories and the second being the eschatological notions. In so doing, scholars have often assimilated structure and contents. This interpretation, however, is problematic. On the one hand, such a discrimination leads to a bipartition both in structure and contents that does not necessarily agree with Plutarch's own intentions. On the other hand, because scholars have tended chiefly to focus on either one or the other type of contents, the results are always partial interpretations that from the outset exclude an integral approach to the treatise.

As noted above, to a certain degree both problems are intertwined, since the interpretation is often the basis of the textual interventions. Following conceptual and philosophical rather than textual motivations, scholars in some cases have tended to introduce in the text ideas that might support their interpretation of Plutarch's thought. What is even worse is that textual interventions sometimes attempted to homogenize Plutarch's thought, ironing out problems and contradictions that arise from the analysis of the same notions in different works. This is, for example, the case with the eschatological myths of *De facie*, *De genio* and *De sera*. Although a comparison of the three myths is necessary to understand Plutarch's thought, each treatise should be analyzed separately at first, and only then should scholars look for connections with the rest of the author's work. If at all, interventions should be introduced in a preliminary stage, and should by no means be the result of overarching interpretations reached after textual comparison of the different myths.

The main objective of the present project is to offer a consistent, comprehensive analysis of *De facie* as a whole. This objective can be divided in three sub-objectives: to offer 1) a study of the Greek text; 2) a study of the treatise as a literary creation that necessarily reflects and conveys a coherent worldview; and 3) a study of the philosophical contents that casts light on the meaning of the treatise and the goals of Plutarch. In order to reach these sub-objectives, I provide a new critical edition of the text furnished with both a critical apparatus and a text critical commentary in order to assess all the textual difficulties and problems posed by *De facie*; I also provide two other studies, literary and philosophical, which in turn intend to give

an overview of previous approaches and to overcome the inconsistencies and partialities, with an aim to offer a solid and overarching understanding of the treatise.

This study is organized in five chapters, each devoted to a different aspect of the investigation. The first chapter focuses on the textual development of the text. The analysis follows the evolution of the text from our first testimonies, the two manuscripts from the 14th and 15th centuries, to the latest editions of the 20th century. This overview shows, on the one hand, the extent to which later scholarship overlooks the first stages of scholarly work on *De facie*. On the other, it also makes clear that some of the most recent textual interventions result from attempts at homogenization based on conceptual rather than textual grounds and are, consequently, dispensable.

Following the history of the text presented in the first chapter, the second chapter introduces a literary approach, namely a critical study of the text as a literary object. After assessing the characters of the dialogue, the date of composition, and the date and location of the dramatic action, this chapter includes an analysis of its structure and a summary of its contents. In so doing, this chapter challenges some of the traditional views, which in turn allows for a better understanding of *De facie* as a literary composition.

The third chapter presents the text edition, furnished with a critical apparatus. Its main aim is to maintain the manuscripts' text whenever possible, avoiding in this way unnecessary modifications. At the same time it intends to offer a systematic overview of all previous contributions and interventions into the text.

Chapter four houses the commentary to the critical edition of the text. The different headings of the commentary deal with recurrent, problematic issues, such as lacunae, corruptions of the text, and complex grammar and syntax. Besides offering a sound interpretation of problematic sections, the general purpose of the commentary is to provide a well-argued defense of the text of the manuscripts against the strong scholarly tendency to intervene in it. At the same time, it explains and grounds the conjectures and corrections proposed by this edition. In this sense, the commentary helps to contextualize the problems faced by *De facie*'s text throughout its diachronic evolution.

The fifth chapter, differently, focuses on the conceptual dimension of the treatise. It builds on the foundations laid in the second chapter regarding the coherence of form and contents, and claims that, while being intrinsically intertwined, they are not identical. The contents are not to be associated with either formal part, they rather unfold fluidly throughout the treatise. With this in mind, this study intends to show that the treatise presents a consistent body of thought.

As a matter of fact, Plutarch elaborated a comprehensive framework in which philosophical considerations, both of physical and metaphysical nature, unfold at the same time through the text. His personal understanding of the moon's nature results from a remarkable combination of, on the one hand, elements from Platonic philosophy with Aristotelian influences and, on the other, from astronomical theories not traditionally accepted at his time. Scholarship has dealt with the two perspectives separately, yet proper attention has not been paid to the resulting combination of both perspectives. Against the traditional tendency to disconnect these perspectives, this study highlights the unity of Plutarch's work. In this sense, it seeks to bring to the fore recurrent topics in order to unveil the complementary way in which ideas are presented and expressed.



CHAPTER 1. TEXTUAL

TRANSMISSION OF *DE FACIE*

1.1. Introduction

Before presenting the new critical edition of *De facie*, it is important to provide a brief overview of the history of the text that describes both the different stages of its textual transmission and the voluntary and involuntary interventions by copyists and editors. This chapter delves into this history from the first stages with the formation of the *Corpus Planudeum*, which contains the only two manuscripts that preserve the treatise, to the latest ones, namely the editions of the 20th century, which provide textual support for the studies devoted to *De facie* in recent years. During this long history, there have been numerous interventions in the text. The analysis of several copies of the first editions preserving the annotations of their owners (16th century) reveal noteworthy interventions in the text, most of which have passed unnoticed, or have been wrongly attributed, by later scholarship. The latest editions (from the 18th century onwards) show a strong tendency to modify the transmitted text on the grounds of homogenization. These interventions oftentimes seem unwarranted.



1.2. Manuscripts

Only two manuscripts transmit *De facie: Parisinus graecus* 1672 and *Parisinus graecus* 1675, the mss. known as E and B respectively.¹

For a better understanding of the position of these two manuscripts within the Plutarchan *stemma*, some words about Maximus Planudes' project to edit Plutarch's work will be helpful. This Byzantine monk (1260-1330), famous for his labor both as a copyist and a collector of ancient works, decided to elaborate a corpus that would include all of Plutarch's writings. The project was initiated with the copy of the manuscript currently known as *Ambrosianus gr.* 859 (α), in which ten copyists participated, among them Planudes himself. After its revision, a second copy of this manuscript was made, known nowadays as *Parisinus gr.* 1671 (A). This work was finished during the summer of 1296, and Planudes revised and corrected it himself. It contains everything Planudes could gather during his life, namely the *Lives* and treatises 1-69 of *Moralia*.²

After Planudes' death, his disciples continued his initiative. They first composed *Vaticanus gr.* 139 (γ), a manuscript that contains, together with the works included in A, also the treatise *Quaestiones convivales* (*Quaest. conv.*). Subsequently, with aid of a testimony now lost, they produced the manuscript known as *Parisinus gr.* 1672 (E), containing the *Lives*, the version of *Moralia* included in γ , and eight other treatises (No. 70-77 in this manuscript).³ This represents every single work of Plutarch that has reached us. The other manuscript also containing our treatise, *Parisinus gr.* 1675 (B), is a copy of

¹ See D. Wyttenbach in subsection “Reiske, Wyttenbach and Hutten” 24-25, for these appellations. The IRHT has also provided these manuscripts with a unique identifying number called “dictyon.” 51296 for E, and 51299 for B.

² This can be inferred from the note ταῦτα πάντα εὑρέθησαν, written at the end of *Marcianus gr.* 481 in his own handwriting, together with a list of *Lives* and 69 treatises of *Moralia*—i.e., exactly the content of A.

³ While R. Flacelière, “La tradition manuscrite des traités 70-77 de Plutarque,” *REG* 65 (1952) 354, suggested the existence of one manuscript, which he called δ , M. Manfredini, “La tradizione manoscritta dei *Moralia* 70-77 di Plutarco,” *ASNP* 6 (1976) 461, proposed the existence of at least two different manuscripts. The eight treatises are: 70. *Amatorius*, 71. *De facie*, 72. *De Pythiae*, 73. *Adversus Colotem*, 74. *De communibus notitiis*, 75. *De genio Socratis*, 76. *De malignitate Herodoti*, 77. *De animae procreatione*.

E, although likely also through at least one intermediary step.⁴ This manuscript contains 36 treatises of *Moralia*, among which No. 70-76.⁵

Consequently, we can consider manuscript E as Planudes' dream come true, since it contains all the *Lives* we know of and all 78 extant treatises from *Moralia* (69 treatises gathered by Planudes, together with treatises 70-77 of an unknown source, and *Quaest. conv.*, treatise 78).⁶ Due to its genesis, E is sometimes referred to as *Corpus Planudeum*.⁷

1.2.1. *Stemma of Manuscripts EB*

The following stemma has been constructed for the lines specific to manuscripts E and B that were detailed above:

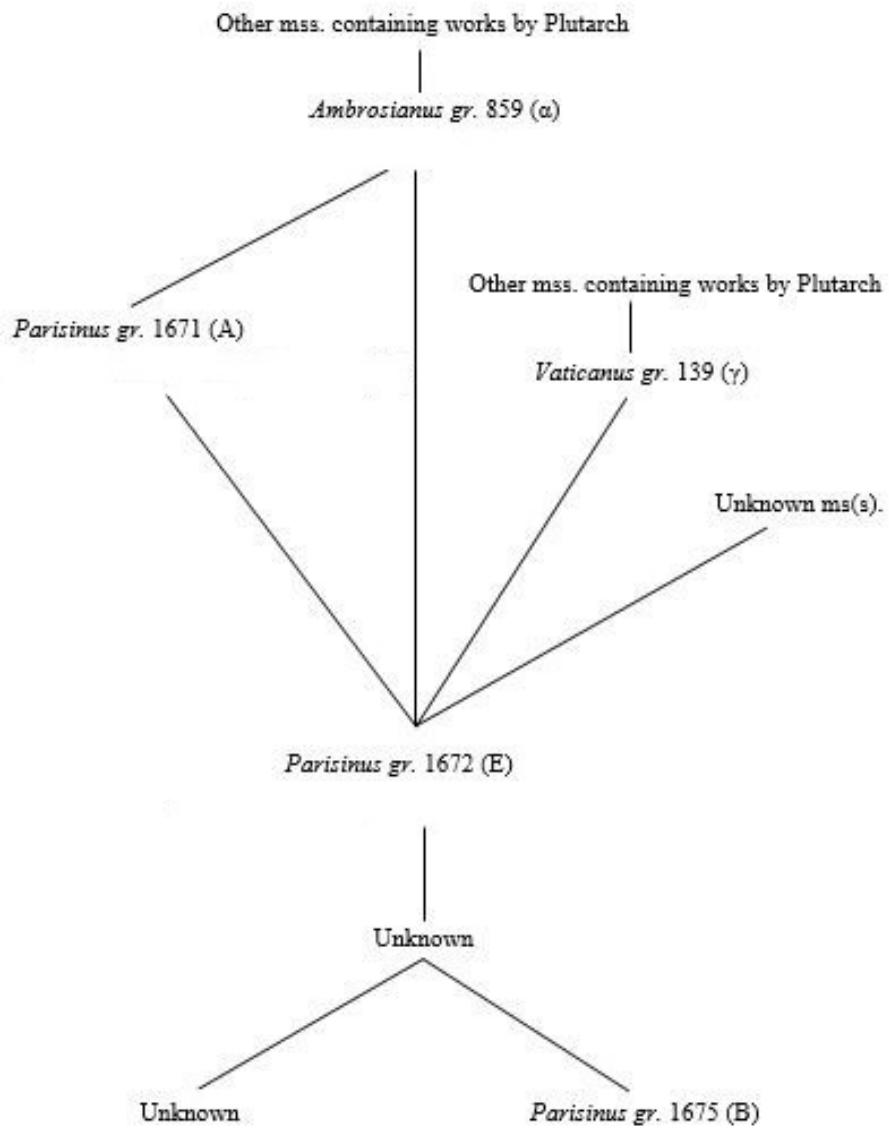
⁴ G.R. Manton, “The Manuscript Tradition of Plutarch *Moralia* 70-7,” *CQ* vol. 43, 3-4 (1949) 104, denominated this intermediate manuscript η. Of course, there are many other manuscripts that contain parts of Plutarch's writings, but none of them preserves *De facie*, which is the reason why they are not treated in this Chapter.

⁵ A lost manuscript, later used to make the first printed edition, appears to have been composed in the same fashion as B. On this manuscript, see subsection 1.3.1. “The Aldine Edition,” below, and footnote 26.

⁶ This system of numeration, derived from the order of treatises in Planudes' edition—with the later addition of nine new treatises—is conventionally used to refer to medieval manuscripts, for it is closer to their classification than the modern numeration (see subsection “Stephanus' edition” 23, on the issue).

⁷ See Manfredini, “La tradizione manoscritta,” 453. Other scholars, among which F.C. Babbitt, *Plutarch's Moralia*, vol. 1 (Cambridge-Massachusetts: Loeb Classical Library, 1927) XIX, considered that the *Corpus Planudeum* should be manuscript A, given that it contains the works which Planudes could gather in his life.





Manuscript *Ambrosianus gr. 859 (α)* was composed from to Planudes' initiative. After its completion, Planudes checked it (α^2). *Parisinus gr. 1671 (A)* is a copy of the former, also revised by Planudes (A^2). Manuscript *Vaticanus gr. 139 (γ)* was copied after Planudes' death—with the addition of *Quaest. conv.* Manuscript *Parisinus gr. 1672 (E)* was composed with eight other treatises (70-77) through the testimony of manuscripts now lost. Manuscript *Parisinus gr. 1675 (B)*, which is the only other ms. beside E that also contains treatises 70-76, was copied from E through the testimony of manuscripts now unknown. Another copy parallel to B, today also unknown, may have served for the elaboration of the first printed edition.



1.2.2. *Parisinus gr. 1672*⁸

As its name indicates, *Parisinus gr. 1672* is currently held in the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France* (BNF from now on) in Paris.⁹ Recent analysis has dated the manuscript to *circa* the beginning of the second half of the 14th century.¹⁰ It was acquired in Constantinople for the library of the king of France, Louis XIV, in 1688.¹¹

Parisinus gr. 1672 is a large format manuscript (435x330 mm.) made with high quality parchment and a binding consisting of thick wood covered by red leather. The binding is secured by a metallic band with no title, and the only decoration is a golden garland in the center. The manuscript contains 962 *folia* with the text disposed in two wide margins columns—each of which contains an average of 40 lines. Its script is composed with elegant lower-case letters, supplemented by the infrequent use of sophisticated, red-ink capital letters.¹²

Scholars have distinguished up to four hands in the manuscript.¹³ Two of them have been identified as Manuel Tzykandyles (treatise 77) and George Galesiotes (treatise 78). The other two remain anonymous copyists: while the first one copied *Lives* and treatises 1-57 of *Moralia*, the second one is responsible for treatises 58-76 thus including *De facie*. Some studies point to the possibility of identifying the latter copyist with the so-called Anonymous G.¹⁴

De facie occupies *folia* 809v^o to 819v^o under the title περὶ τοῦ ἐμφανομένου προσώπου τῷ κύκλῳ τῆς σελήνης—with the drawing of a moon replacing the last word due to the lack of space.

⁸ It appears that there is no thorough codicological and palaeographical study on either manuscript containing *De facie*. In my view, such a study would bring light on many unanswered questions regarding the history of the text, not only of this treatise but of all the *Moralia*. I hope to examine this matter in a subsequent project.

⁹ See H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 2 (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1888) 120-121.

¹⁰ For more information on this issue, see M. Manfredini, “Un famoso codice di Plutarco: il *Paris. gr. 1672*,” *SCO* 39 (1989) 130; N. Wilson, “Some Notable Manuscripts Misattributed or Imaginary I. Maximus Planudes and a Famous Codex of Plutarch,” *GRBS* 16 (1975) 95-97; and J. Irigoin, “Histoire du texte des ‘Œuvres Morales’ de Plutarque,” in *Plutarque. Œuvres Morales*, vol. 1 (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1987) CCLXXIV. Previous studies dated this manuscript soon after 1302: see for instance Manton, “The Manuscript Tradition,” 97.

¹¹ This date is given by R. Caballero, “La tradición manuscrita del *De exilio* de Plutarco,” *ASNP* 5 (2000) 164. Manfredini, “La tradizione manoscritta,” 475 n. 93, however, stated that it reached Paris at an earlier date, namely in 1668.

¹² See Manfredini, “Un famoso codice,” 127-131, for further details on this manuscript.

¹³ See Caballero, “La tradición manuscrita,” 163-164. To these a fifth *amanuensis* should be added, commissioned with the πίναξ or bibliographic catalogue and with Appianus’ *excerpta*, which occupy the last pages of the manuscript (cf. Manfredini, “La tradizione manoscritta,” 354 n. 5).

¹⁴ See I. Pérez Martín, “El estilo ‘Hodegos’ y su proyección en las escrituras constantinopolitanas,” *Segno e testo* 6 (2008) 389-458.

1.2.3. *Parisinus gr. 1675*

Parisinus gr. 1675, the other manuscript that transmits *De facie*, is also housed at the BNF in Paris. The manuscript has been dated to *circa* 1430 on the basis of its gold filigrees.¹⁵ It was purchased by Guillaume Pellicier from Antonio Eparco and arrived to the city in 1540.¹⁶ It had previously belonged to the latter's father, who, as it seemed, lent it to Aldus Manutius and Demetrius Ducas (or Doukas) for the composition of the first printed edition.¹⁷

Manuscript *Parisinus gr. 1675* is a high quality paper codex of a size significantly smaller than *Parisinus gr. 1672* (275x195 mm.). The binding is composed of red leather decorated with floral motives on a hard cover; the title ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΠΑΡΑΛΗΛΑ is on top, and the royal coat of arms is in the center. It contains 526 *folia* with 30 lines of text per page and relatively tight margins. Its script is composed of fine, lower-case letters with a capital letter at the beginning of each treatise.¹⁸

De facie occupies *folia* 403v^o to 419v^o with the same title that appears on *Parisinus gr. 1672*.

1.2.4. Relationship between *Parisinus gr. 1672* and *Parisinus gr. 1675*

At the end of the 18th century, Daniel Wytténbach noted the dependence of *Parisinus gr. 1675* (B from now on) with respect to *Parisinus gr. 1672* (E from now on) in the preface to his edition of *Moralia*.¹⁹ However, Max Treu, in a study published almost a century after that of Wytténbach, suggested that B was independent from E.²⁰ Strikingly enough, his conclusions were accepted until the mid-20th century.²¹

¹⁵ See H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs*, 122-123; and Irigoin, "Histoire du texte," CCLXXV n. 3, for further details.

¹⁶ Guillaume Pellicier was a French diplomat sent to Venice by the king of France, François I, in order to acquire manuscripts for the recently created *Bibliothèque de Fontainebleau*. Antonio Eparco was born in Corfu in 1491 and became a renowned collector of Greek manuscripts after moving to Venice. The biographical information of humanists has been retrieved from the online *Dizionario Biografico Treccani*.

¹⁷ See subsection 1.3.1. "The Aldine Edition."

¹⁸ See also the description included in H. Omont, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de Fontainebleau sous François I^r et Henri II* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1889) 144.

¹⁹ D. Wytténbach, *Plutarchi Chaeronensis Moralia*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Typogr. Clarendoniano, 1795) LXXIII.

²⁰ M. Treu, *Zur Geschichte der Überlieferung von Plutarchs Moralia*, vol. 2 (Olawa: Dr. v. A. Bial, 1881) VI.

²¹ G.N. Bernardakis, *Plutarchi Chaeronensis Moralia recognovit Gregorius N. Bernardakis*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1888) XV-XVI; P. Raingeard, *Le peri toy prosopoy de Plutarque* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1934) XIII; and R. Flacelière, *Plutarque. Sur les oracles de la Pythie. Texte et traduction* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1937) 84-85.

Notwithstanding this extended opinion, the numerous lacunae, mistakes, and omissions shared by both manuscripts reveal an evident relation of dependence. This point has been stated by more recent studies.²² My own analysis of *De facie*'s text seems to confirm the conclusions reached by these studies. B shows some *lectiones deteriores* with respect to E, and, concerning the few *lectiones potiores* that it presents, scholarly discussion has not yet reached consensus as to whether they are due to tradition or conjecture.²³ In any case, although a relationship between both is quite certain, it seems improbable that B descends directly from E. Perhaps a lost manuscript copied from E served as an intermediary for the copy of B.²⁴

1.3. First Printed Editions

1.3.1. The Aldine Edition

The *editio princeps* of Plutarch's work, known as the Aldine edition, was edited by the Greek Demetrius Ducas for Aldus Manutius' press in Venice, and was published in March, 1509.²⁵ It maintains the order of treatises of the Planudean project, and *De facie* occupies pages 931 to 953. When readings in the two manuscripts are not identical, the *editio princeps* tends to follow B, instead of E, which is the main reason why some assume that Ducas based his edition of *De facie* on B.²⁶ Notwithstanding the high number of correspondences between B and the Aldine edition, two facts suggest that the latter was not based on this manuscript:

- 1) When compared to B, Ducas' edition also shows important omissions.
- 2) B does not show any of the personal marks left by Ducas in the manuscripts

he used for the edition of other treatises—for instance in *Ambros. gr.* 881 (J).

Lionel Pearson suggested that—together with B—perhaps another manuscript could have been copied from the alleged intermediary manuscript between E and B.²⁷

²² The first being that of Manton, "The Manuscript Tradition," 97-104; followed by Flacelière, "La tradition manuscrite," especially 353, after changing his previous opinion on the matter.

²³ See Manton, "The Manuscript Tradition," 99-103; and Flacelière, "La tradition manuscrite," 360-362 on this issue. For the agreements and discrepancies between E and B regarding the text of *De facie*, see 3.1. "Editorial Criteria," and 8. Appendix I.

²⁴ See above, footnote 4, and the *stemma* in section 1.2.1.

²⁵ D. Ducas (ed.), *Plutarchi Opuscula LXXXII, index Moralium omnium & eorum quae in ipsis tractantur* (Venice: Aldus Manuzius, 1509).

²⁶ Manton, "The Manuscript Tradition," 104 n. 1. Manfredini, "La tradizione manoscritta," 463 n. 57, found up to 600 occurrences in which the Aldine edition coincides with a reading included in B but not in E, against 36 cases in which it follows a reading of E instead.

²⁷ L. Pearson, "Notes on the Text of Plutarch *De malignitate Herodoti*," *AJP* 80 (1959) 257-259.

This would have been similar to B but included some differences as well. Pearson assigned to that hypothetical manuscript the name “ $\alpha\lambda\delta$,” and further suggested that it was the manuscript used by Ducas to prepare his edition of *De facie*.²⁸

1.3.1.1. *Aldine Exemplars with Annotations*²⁹

Different copies of the *editio princeps* are preserved in libraries across the world. Some of them include annotations on the margins and valuable corrections to the Greek text by humanists of the 16th century. Unfortunately, the philological efforts of these humanists are scarcely integrated in the apparatuses of modern editions. A look into the text of *De facie* in the two main editions of the 20th century by Max Pohlenz and Harold Cherniss reveals the lack of an effective collation of the Aldine copies with annotations.³⁰ To begin with, references to these Aldine copies are chaotic, inaccurate, and occasionally mistaken. This is due to the fact that modern editors did not check the exemplars themselves but mainly depend on the study provided by Wytttenbach in the introduction to his edition of *Moralia*.³¹ However, this is problematic in two respects. On the one hand, when identifying some Aldine copies Wytttenbach introduced errors that have been reproduced by subsequent scholars.³² On the other, modern scholars repeated the locations and names provided by Wytttenbach without realizing that some of these were obsolete.

Also inaccurate are the ways in which the readings proceeding from the Aldine copies are annotated. There is an obvious lack of coherence in the most recent editions. On one side, Pohlenz alternated the designations “vulgo,” “ ς ”—which refers to several *viri docti* of the 16th century—“Turnebus” and “Leonicus.” Cherniss, on the other, also used “Leonicus,” but concerning the annotations supposedly belonging to Turnebus’

²⁸ Raingeard, *Le peri toy prosopoy*, XV, already proposed the hypothesis that both the Aldine and the *Basiliensis* editions might have been composed on the basis of a lost manuscript that does not correspond with either E or B.

²⁹ This section includes a shorter version of my study: “Aldinas anotadas: una puesta al día de la contribución de los humanistas a través del estudio de *De facie*,” *CFC(G)* 28 (2018) 243-265.

³⁰ M. Pohlenz, “*De facie in orbe lunae*,” in C. Hubert & M. Pohlenz (eds.), *Plutarchus. Moralia*, vol. 5, fasc. 3 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1960 [1955]) and H. Cherniss, “Concerning the Face which Appears in the Orb of the Moon,” in H. Cherniss & W.C. Helmbold (eds.), *Plutarch’s Moralia*, vol. 12 (Cambridge-Massachusetts: Loeb Classical Library, 1957). See 1.5.2. “Great Collections,” below, for the subsection concerning their editions.

³¹ Wytttenbach, *Plutarchi Chaeronensis Moralia*, vol. 1, VII-CXLV.

³² Wytttenbach’s mistakes are understandable given that he was the first editor taking those Aldine copies into account. It should be noted that these errors do not diminish the quality of his editorial work, since it is thanks to him, in part, that the history of the text received the proper value within the editorial field.

Aldine copy he distinguished between those of an anonymous hand and those of Turnebus himself (“Anon., Aldine, R.J.94” and “Turnebus”).³³ This means that attributions by both editors do not always match with each other. There are cases when their references do match, but then the attribution is not always correct. For example, in 944C both Pohlenz and Cherniss assigned to Leonicus the correction τὰ δὲ δύο μακρά—correction of the manuscripts’ reading τὰς δὲ δύο μακράς.³⁴ However, in Leonicus’ Aldine copy—and in all of those which transmit Leonicus’ corrections—the annotation clearly reads τὰ δὲ δύο μικρά.

Lastly, it is important to mention that even though modern editors did include many corrections proceeding from these Aldine copies, quite often they failed to correctly attribute the provenance in their apparatuses. Two reasons explain this. First, sometimes editors completely omitted the provenance of a correction adopted in their text. Second, they wrongly attributed the corrections to later editions of the 16th century, such as the *Basiliensis* (1542), Stephanus’ (1572), or Xylander’s (1574), or to editions of the 18th century, such as Reiske’s or Wytenbach’s.³⁵ For example, in the myth of *De facie* Pohlenz accepted in four occasions a correction inscribed in the margins of Leonicus’ Aldine exemplar without specifying the provenance.³⁶ Cherniss, who accepted these four corrections as well, attributed two to Stephanus’ edition, one to the *Basiliensis* and the last one to Turnebus’ Aldine copy.

These examples show the inadequate care given to the important work on *Moralia*’s text by the first humanists. It is obvious that a meticulous study is needed to establish a critical apparatus that integrates their philological contributions in a proper and clear way. First attempts were partially undertaken by Marcel Cuvigny, Micheline Decorps-Foulquier, Mario Manfredini, and Stefano Martinelli Tempesta.³⁷ However, a

³³ See Pohlenz, “De facie in orbe lunae,” 31, 32 and 34; and Cherniss, “Concerning the Face,” 34, 38 and 42 for occurrences of all these appellations.

³⁴ Pohlenz, “De facie in orbe lunae,” 86; and Cherniss, “Concerning the Face,” 210.

³⁵ See below, 1.4. “Other 16th Century Editions” and 1.5. “18th-19th Editions and Great Collections,” for more information on these editions.

³⁶ 942E ἔπει, 943B μόνον—also annotated in I.22—944C χρηστηρίων, and 944F οὐθυμός.

³⁷ M. Cuvigny, “Giannotti, Turnèbe, Amyot: Résultats d’une enquête sur quelques éditions annotées des *Moralia de Plutarque*,” *RHT* 3 (1973) 57-77; M. Decorps-Foulquier, “À propos des différentes écritures marginales dans l’exemplaire aldin des *Moralia* d’Adrien Turnèbe,” *RHT* 8 (1978) 281-287; M. Manfredini, “Su alcune Aldine di Plutarco,” *ASNP* 14 (1984) 1-12; and S. Martinelli Tempesta, “Un postillato di Nicolò Leonico Tomeo perduto e ritrovato,” *SMU* 2 (2004) 347-353, and “La tradizione manoscrita dei *Moralia* di Plutarco. Riflessioni per una messa a punto,” in G. Pace & P. Volpe Cacciatore (eds.), *Gli scritti di Plutarco: Tradizione, traduzione, ricezione, commento* (Naples: M. D’Auria, 2013) 273-288.

systematic collation of the testimony of the Aldine copies with annotations will provide insightful data contributing to our knowledge of their inter-relationship.³⁸

1.3.1.2. *Overview of the Aldine Copies with Annotations*

In order to solve some of the inconsistencies regarding the locations and names of the different Aldine copies with annotations (at least on *De facie*), I provide below an updated and corrected list of those I have been able to find.

Apostolic Vatican Library:

- I.22, which belonged to Scipione Forteguerri (known as “Carteromachos”)
- I.23, Fulvio Orsini
- I.25, Giovanni Lascaris
- A.I.43, Marc-Antoine Muret
- Stamp. Ross. 2766
- Stamp. Ross. 2767³⁹

Three of the copies are related to each other: Aldine I.22, I.23, and I.25, which belonged respectively to Scipione Forteguerri, Fulvio Orsini and Giovanni Lascaris (a relative of Antonio Eparco).⁴⁰ After Forteguerri’s death in 1515, and that of Lascaris in 1534, part of their collection was acquired by Angelo Colocci, a friend and disciple of both. After Colocci’s death in 1549, his personal collection was in turn acquired by Orsini, which is why his name is written on the first page of the copies. Then, after Orsini’s death (1600), most of his collection—among which his personal copy of the Aldine edition (I.23) as well as the other two mentioned above (I.22 and I.25)—became the property of the Vatican Library, where he had worked from 1581 onwards. The exemplar A.I.43, which belonged to Muret, also belongs to this library.⁴¹ The first pages of *De facie* reflect a great interest by Muret—there are many personal comments and notes on the treatise’s structure—but on page 934 the annotations are abruptly interrupted.

³⁸ I carry out this study in Lesage Gárriga, “Aldinas anotadas.”

³⁹ I have not been able to verify whether Aldine Stamp. Ross. 2766 and 2767 have annotations or not.

⁴⁰ The same Antonio Eparco that sold manuscript B to the French diplomat. See footnote 16, above.

⁴¹ The words *Ex bibl. Mureti, Collegij Rom. Soc. Jesu., Ioannes Jacobus Bonheym, Guilelmus Bonheym frater germani* are written on the first page. Concerning the long note in Latin also found in the first page of this Aldine exemplar and its relation with other Aldine copies, see Manfredini, “Su alcune Aldine di Plutarco;” S. Martinelli Tempesta, “Publicare Plutarco: L’eredità di Daniel Wytenbach e l’ecdotica plutarchea moderna,” in G. Zanetto & S. Martinelli Tempesta (eds.), *Plutarco: Lingua e testo* (Milan: Cisalpino, 2010) 29; and Lesage Gárriga, “Aldinas anotadas,” 246 n. 10.

Veneranda Ambrosiana Library (Milan):

- S.R.67, which belonged to Niccolò Leonico Tomeo (Leonicus)

The Ambrosiana holds six exemplars, although the library has not confirmed if five of them present annotations in *De facie* and, if so, of what kind.⁴² Copy S.R.67 (previously S.Q.E.I.20), however, is the copy that belonged to Leonicus (1456-1531), professor of Aristotelian Philosophy at the University of Padua, who left profuse annotations.

National Library of France (Paris):

- Res-J-92
- Res-J-93
- Res-J-94, property of Adrien Turnèbe (Turnebus)
- Velins-1009
- Velins-1010
- Rothschild Suppl. 3156

The BNF has many Aldine copies, among which the most important is Res-J-94 (RJ94 from now on), which belonged to Turnebus (1512-1565) and several other scholars afterwards.⁴³

Library of the University of Salamanca:

- 37-2-26, Hernán Núñez de Guzmán (known as “El Pinciano”)

The Library of the University of Salamanca owns the copy 37-2-26 (previously 38-5-8) annotated by Núñez de Guzmán (1475-1553). His annotations, at least those concerning *De facie*, are limited to a list of the characters taking part in the dialogue, names of thinkers and authors mentioned in the discussion, and a list of terms, which were probably written to create an index.

Public Library of Bern:

⁴² These are the copies S.Q.I.VIII.27, S.Q.I.VII.29, S.Q.I.VII.8, S.Q.I.VIII.13, and S.Q.E.VII.27. Information requested in July, 2016.

⁴³ The first page reads: *Adrianus Turnebus moriens Stephano Turnebo V.C.F. reliquit: hic Jo. Bourdelotio D.D.* On the different hands that might have contributed in the composition of this note, see Wytténbach, *Plutarchi Chaeronensis Moralia*, vol. 1, XCV; and Decrops-Foulquier, “À propos des différentes écritures marginales,” 281 n. 1. The Aldine copy can be consulted online: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k8586633>.

- Bong IV 869, Jacques Bongars (Bongarsius)

Bern preserves an Aldine exemplar that belonged to the French scholar Bongars (1554-1612), but, according to Hagen, the annotations contained in this exemplar seem to be from Stephanus' hand.⁴⁴

Library of the University of Leiden:

- 757 A 8, property of Donato Giannotti

One of the copies that belonged to Donato Giannotti (1492-1573) is held in Leiden. Wyttenbach refers to this exemplar in his introduction as Vossianos Num. 159,⁴⁵ an incomprehensible mistake, since in Vossius' catalogue it appears under number 136, while the book with number 159 has no connection to Plutarch.⁴⁶ It is clear that Wyttenbach is nevertheless referring to this Aldine copy, given that he mentions in his description the handwritten signature on the first page, *Donati Jannoctij*.⁴⁷

Beside this Aldine copy, Leiden owns a handwritten catalogue with the Greek text of the Aldine edition that must be corrected in one column and the correction proposed by Piero Vettori in another.⁴⁸ The compendium, whose reference is VGF 15, is also known as Collection Schott on the account that it was made by Andrea Schotti.⁴⁹

Library of the Institute for Advanced Study of Princeton:

- Rosenwald, belonging to Donato Giannotti

⁴⁴ H. Hagen, *Catalogus codicum Bernensium, Bibliotheca Bongarsiana* (Bern: Typis B. F. Haller, 1875) 542.

⁴⁵ Wyttenbach, *Plutarchi Chaeronensis Moralia*, vol. 1, XCI.

⁴⁶ The catalogue can be consulted online: https://socrates.leidenuniv.nl/R/-?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=2722608.

⁴⁷ His mistake is repeated by following scholars, such as Raingeard, *Le peri toy prosopoy*, XVII n. 1, where he calls it "n.159;" and P.A. Hansen, "The Manuscript Tradition of Plutarch's *De Malignitate Herodoti*," *CIMAGL* 2 (1969) 38.

⁴⁸ On the relation between this catalogue and Vettori's Aldine copy, see Cuvigny, "Giannotti, Turnèbe, Amyot," 63; and Lesage Gárriga, "Aldinas anotadas," 48 n. 15.

⁴⁹ VGF 15 is the current appellation. Wyttenbach, *Plutarchi Chaeronensis Moralia*, vol. 1, XCIV, indicated it as "Vossianos. Num. 15;" Cuvigny, "Giannotti, Turnèbe, Amyot," 63 n. 5, as "Vossianos gr. F 15;" and Martinelli Tempesta, "Publicare Plutarco," 29 n. 63, as "Voss. Gr. Fol. N. 15."

Another exemplar belonging to Giannotti is now located in Princeton (USA).⁵⁰ On the first page, beside this scholar's name a handwritten note reads: *Ex Bibliotheca Jo. Huraulti Boistallerii: Janoctii dono.*⁵¹

Bavarian State Library (Munich):

- Rar. 2220, property of Piero Vettori

Vettori's copy (1499-1585) is now located in Munich, with signature Rar. 2220.⁵²

Its annotations, at least in *De facie*, depend on those of Leonicus.

Royal Library of Copenhagen:

- 16 120, belonged to Juliano Bart. Del Bene

In the Royal Library of Copenhagen there is an exemplar with the annotation: *Juliani Bart. Del Bene.* This scholar received it as a gift from Donato Giannotti, which can be inferred from the note written on the top of the first page that ends with the words: *Harum autem castigationum copiam mihi fecit Donatus Jannoctius Florentinus, vir morum probitate et doctrina praestans.*

Provincial Library of Frisia (Leeuwarden):

- 114 Wbg kluis, property of Erasmus of Rotterdam

During my research, I found a copy with annotations in *Tresoar*, the Provincial Library of Frisia. As far as I know, no other scholar mentions this copy when dealing with *De facie*'s textual history. This exemplar belonged to Erasmus of Rotterdam (1467-1536), as the note of the last page shows: *sum Erasmi.* According to M. Engels, it is plausible that Erasmus received the book as a gift from the editor himself, because he happened to

⁵⁰ It would seem that the Italian scholar owned at least three copies of *Moralia*: two Aldine exemplars, mentioned in the list above, and a copy of the *Basiliensis* edition (1542). The latter is currently held in the BNF (RES-M-J-2, erroneously cited by Cuvigny, "Giannotti, Turnèbe, Amyot," 58 with the ancient signature J. 693), and its annotations are identical to those of the Aldine exemplar of Princeton, according to Martinelli Tempesta "Un postillato di Nicolò Leonico Tomeo," 348 n. 2.

⁵¹ Jean Hurault de Boistaillé (1517-1572) was a French diplomat and bibliophile who collected several manuscripts and first editions during his travels as emissary of the king. Most of his collection was inherited by his brother André—to whom Giannotti's *Basiliensis* also belonged after the Italian's death—which eventually became part of the Royal Library, now the National Library of France.

⁵² The humanist's name is written in the first page: *Petri Victorij Jacobi filij καὶ τῶν φίλων.* The Aldine copy can be found online: https://books.google.nl/books?id=TIBdAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=es&source=gbs_ViewAPI&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false. The Bavarian State Library has digitalized another Aldine copy, Rar. 2219, but this one has no annotations.

be in Venice at the time when the Aldine edition was published.⁵³ Unfortunately, the annotations concerning *De facie* are not as rich as those concerning other treatises, since it merely includes some Latin notes alluding to the topic dealt with in a passage, or Greek words from the text repeated on the margin.

There are two Aldine copies referred to by modern scholars that I have not been able to find. This is the case of the so-called “Aldina Hamburgensi,” mentioned by Wilhelm Sieveking, and which contained the same annotations of Giannotti’s exemplar from Leiden. The same Aldine copy is mentioned by Cuvigny as well, without further reference.⁵⁴ I have been in contact with both the Public Library and the Library of the University of Hamburg and neither of them currently owns an Aldine edition. According to one of the librarians, it is possible, however, that the aforementioned exemplar was destroyed during the bombing suffered in World War II.

According to Cuvigny, there is also an Aldine copy in the Bodleian library whose annotations follow those of Leonicus.⁵⁵ Here, again, the lack of specification poses some difficulties: the term “Bodleian” is tricky, for it is not applied to all the libraries of the University of Oxford. After consulting those which are indeed “Bodleian,” I found out that there are no Aldine copies in any of them. There are, however, seven copies in libraries associated to different Faculties of the University of Oxford, all of which I contacted individually. Only one of them contains annotations: the exemplar BT 1.22.11 (Library of New College) has an annotation on the first page of *De facie* and a note in Latin on the second page. This cannot be considered a compilation of Leonicus’ corrections, and therefore this copy cannot be the one referred to by Cuvigny.

We also know of other humanists of the 16th century, such as Jean de Vulcob (1535-1607) and Donato Pole (date unknown), who left annotations on the margins of their Aldine copies. These unfortunately are lost.⁵⁶

⁵³ M.H.H. Engels, “Erasmus’ handexemplaren: vijf Griekse Aldijnen in de Franeker collectie van de Provinciale Bibliotheek van Friesland [Tresoar] te Leeuwarden,” <http://home.online.nl/m.bourgonjen/Uitbible/vijfaldijnen.htm> (2006).

⁵⁴ W. Sieveking, *Plutarchus. Moralia ediderunt...*, vol. 3 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1929) XXIX; Cuvigny, “Giannotti, Turnèbe, Amyot,” 61 n.1.

⁵⁵ Cuvigny, “Giannotti, Turnèbe, Amyot,” 59 n.1.

⁵⁶ I have been able to consult the text of *De facie* in most of the Aldine copies of the above overview, either in person or through reproductions kindly facilitated by the corresponding libraries, which I would like to thank for their collaboration and invaluable help.

1.3.1.3. *Analysis of the Aldine I.22*

In this section, I focus on the analysis of one Aldine exemplar with annotations, which belonged to Scipione Forteguerri, namely the copy I.22. The importance of this specific copy lies in two facts: firstly, it plausibly includes the first known corrections to the Aldine edition, since we know its owner introduced them in the six years mediating between the publication of the edition itself and his death in 1515. This means that he is, most probably, the first scholar to have corrected the text. And secondly, it includes very good corrections to the text, despite the fact that it has been completely ignored by the scholarly literature.

The annotations in I.22 are of two kinds:

- 1) a compilation of vocabulary for the establishment of a thematic index;
- 2) corrections to the Greek text.

Of the latter type (136 in total), many deal with corrections of errata of the Aldine edition, which restate the readings of the manuscripts (81). Due to the high amount of annotations of this type, it is plausible to think that Forteguerri might have consulted one of them, although there is no other proof to substantiate this hypothesis.⁵⁷

Noticeably, in numerous occasions, I.22 presents corrections found in RJ94, Turnebus' Aldine copy: in 36 cases the two are the only ones presenting the same correction; in 20 both of them together with a third Aldine exemplar; in 13 the same correction is provided by more Aldine copies. Such a high number of coincidences seems to indicate that Turnebus—or one of the later owners—might have consulted Forteguerri's copy.⁵⁸ This cannot have been the other way round, since Turnebus was born in 1512, only three years before the death of Forteguerri. Given that Forteguerri preceded any of the owners of RJ94, whether the latter consulted the exemplar I.22 or conceived the same corrections independently, the corrections they share should be attributed to I.22.

⁵⁷ Perhaps an analysis of the whole corpus of *Moralia* would be helpful in this regard. If indeed Forteguerri had access to one of the manuscripts, it would probably have been B—held in Venice until 1540—for E would still remain in Constantinople for another century.

⁵⁸ If the annotations do not belong to Turnebus himself, they are at least likely to belong to one and only hand: most of them are annotated in the main text, not in the margins, and present similarities in pressure and in ink's tone. I, however, offer my opinion with great caution, for graphology is not my specialty. I believe that a comparative study between the vast amount of annotations present in RJ94 and those found in the earliest annotated Aldine copies would be extremely interesting, in order to discover to what extent RJ94 might have depended upon them. This study was partially done by Decorps-Foulquier “À propos des différentes écritures marginales,” who, however, dismissed Aldine I.22 and I.25, because he considered that RJ94 had no connection whatsoever with them (282 n.1).

Something similar happens with the numerous corrections shared by I.22 and I.25, Lascaris' Aldine copy: there are 29 cases, of which 10 are original proposals and the rest restore the manuscripts' readings. Here, however, it is plausible that both scholars worked on the Aldine text at the same time. Given that Forteguerri and Lascaris knew each other, and were in Venice at the same time, one could even hypothesize that they shared with one another their exemplars or their impressions about the text.

Although we cannot claim the precedence of Forteguerri's conjectures, I am inclined to think Lascaris depends upon him. The main reason for this is that Lascaris' copy barely offers 40 corrections, 29 of which are shared with I.22. This is to say, 75% of the total annotations, namely most of Lascaris', are shared with Forteguerri. Of the rest, representing Lascaris' own contributions, some present mistakes which appear to be due to a lack of attention.⁵⁹

A similar problem arises when comparing I.22 with Leonicus' copy, SR67. The same correction occurs 26 times, of which most recover the manuscripts' reading, while nine are original corrections. Again, both scholars might have worked on the text at the same moment or might have even shared their corrections on the Aldine text. In this case, the high quality of Leonicus' remaining corrections, unlike in the case of Lascaris, does not allow for a hypothesis on the priority of either of these humanists. In my view, both Forteguerri and Leonicus should be regarded as possible authors and, thus, both should be accounted for in the critical apparatuses for the nine corrections they share.

Despite the quality of its conjectures and corrections, the Aldine I.22 does not appear as the source of any correction in the modern critical apparatuses I have worked with.⁶⁰ The reason for this is either that no serious study has been devoted to it or because it was thought to depend on supposedly earlier corrections.

This Aldine exemplar is a good example of the low esteem for the Aldine copies with annotations, which in most cases have been underrated. A few others, on the opposite

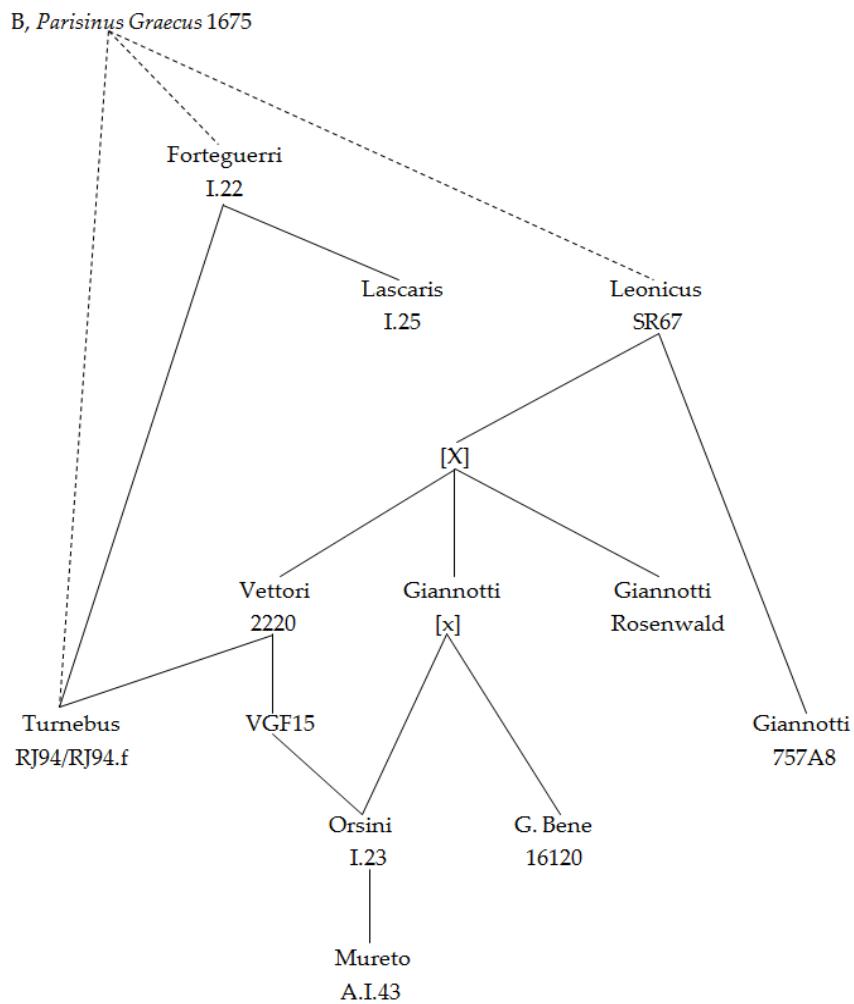
⁵⁹ See, for instance, 937C where both manuscripts transmit ἔπεσεν and the Aldine edition the wrong lecture ἔπεστιν, I.25 eliminates tau but does not correct iota into epsilon; and in 941D the word περιπόμενον—an erroneous reading of the Aldine text—is underlined, but the correction written on the margin presents no changes whatsoever.

⁶⁰ Nevertheless, several of its corrections are accepted, but are then wrongly attributed to other humanists, such as Leonicus, or to editors of the 16th century such as Xylander. This is the case with corrections such as Ἐρσα instead of ἔργα in 940A; this one transmitted both by I.22 and I.25, γε into γῆ in 939C, and the addition of ἐπί before πέτρας in 941F.

side of the spectrum, have enjoyed such popularity that they are considered to include annotations they do not contain.⁶¹

1.3.1.4. *Stemma of the Aldine Copies with Annotations*

While in this section I focus on the analysis of one Aldine exemplar only, I have studied seven of them.⁶² On the basis of this study, I think it is possible to build also a *stemma* of their mutual relationships. The following *stemma* provides, in my view, the factual relationships that are possible to determine on the basis of mutual references among the copies:



Links expressed with a discontinuous line: possibility of a direct consultation of manuscript B by Forteguerri, Leonicus and Turnebus—the ms. remained in Venice until it was transferred to Paris in 1540.

Links expressed with a continuous line: direct consultation of the corrections by previous humanists. Lascaris likely consulted Forteguerri's annotations. Numerous compilations can be traced back to Leonicus: on the one hand, a line of compilations that share similarities between them must come from

⁶¹ The clearest example is that of Turnebus' copy, whose many annotations and the reputation of its owner seem to have stimulated the indiscriminate attribution of corrections to this one copy. See Lesage Gárriga, "Aldinas anotadas," 258-260 on the issue.

⁶² For the complete analysis, see Lesage Gárriga, "Aldinas anotadas."

a catalogue now lost or with unknown location; on the other, Giannotti must have had access to the personal copy of Leonicus, since one of his Aldine copies presents many similarities with Leonicus' exemplar against the other group. Turnebus' Aldine copy seems to have had access to that of Forteguerri and also contains annotations that go back, through Vettori, to Leonicus. Orsini depends as much on Giannotti as on Vettori (probably through the compilation VGF15), although his annotations ultimately trace back to Leonicus.

1.3.2. *Basiliensis* Edition

A second printed edition, traditionally referred to as *Basiliensis*, was published by Frobenius and Episcopius in 1542 in Basel.⁶³ Its text is based on that of the Aldine edition with which it shares omissions and mistakes when compared to the manuscripts. It also provides some readings of its own; perhaps not as many as one would expect from the cover's statement: *multis mendarum milibus expurgata*. The text of *De facie* occupies pages 778 to 797.

1.3.2.1. *Basiliensis Exemplar with Annotations: Amyot*

As was also the case with the Aldine edition, different copies of the *Basiliensis* have been preserved in several libraries. To mention only one example, the BNF owns four copies with annotations:

- J-692, belonged to an uncertain Ridard, who copied Leonicus' corrections
- G-R-33, property of François Rabelais
- RES-M-J-2, property of Donato Giannotti, transmitting Leonicus' corrections
- RES-J-103, property of Jacques Amyot⁶⁴

The most interesting version is without any doubt the copy of Jacques Amyot, who published a French translation of *Moralia* in 1572.⁶⁵ This translation was prepared at a time in which French had not yet acquired the status of a literary language. Amyot's work, therefore, is of great importance, because it contributed to reach this status. Fortunately for us, the edition he used to work on his translation has been preserved. This allows us to check the corrections and modifications he considered necessary for the

⁶³ J. Frobenius & N. Episcopius (eds.), *Plutarchi Chaeronei Moralia Opuscula, multis mendarum milibus expurgata* (Basel: Frobenium & Episcopium, 1542).

⁶⁴ This copy can be consulted on Gallica: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k10734702>.

⁶⁵ This French scholar (1513-1593) was the preceptor of the sons of Henry II and Catherine de Medici and was appointed "Grand Aumonier de France" in 1560 by Charles IX.



establishment of the text.⁶⁶ Strangely enough, however, when attributing a correction to Amyot, modern authors tend to refer to his translation, rather than to the annotations in his *Basiliensis* copy, thus creating misinterpretations.⁶⁷

In my view, the proposals of 16th century humanists should be individualized and correctly noted in modern apparatuses. Some of the inconsistencies present in these apparatuses can only be solved by a new, thorough study of all these contributions.

1.4. Other 16th Century Editions

1.4.1. Stephanus' Edition

In 1572, Henri Estienne (Stephanus) published in Geneva a new edition of *Moralia* that has been ever since the canonical version for the order of Plutarch's works.⁶⁸ It follows the order of the Aldine edition until treatise No. 18, and from there on it presents its own order—*De facie*, for example, occupies position No. 63. Also, besides its own pagination (*De facie* appears in pages 1692-1742), this edition adds the pagination of the Aldine edition on the margins.

Stephanus incorporated many personal corrections, as well as some taken from other scholars, such as Vulcobius, Leonicus, Giannotti or Turnebus. He also considerably improved the punctuation of the text, making its comprehension easier without the need of substantial retouches.

1.4.2. Xylander's Edition

Two years later in Basel, Wilhelm Holtzman (known as “Xylander”) presented a new edition (*De facie* occupies pages 601-616), which includes abundant indexes.

⁶⁶ For a thorough analysis of Amyot's contribution to the text of *De facie*, see L. Lesage Gárriga “Le mythe du *De facie de Plutarque traduit par Amyot*,” in F. Frazier & O. Guerrier (eds.), *Plutarque. Éditions, Traductions, Paratextes* (Coimbra: Coimbra University Press, 2016) 87-97.

⁶⁷ I will mention one case for illustration. In 945D, where the *Basiliensis* reads μέγα κέρας, Amyot conjectured κέρασμα. D. Wytttenbach, *Plutarchi Chaeronensis Moralia, id est, opera, exceptis vitis, reliqua, Graeca emendavit*, vol. 4 (Oxford: Typogr. Clarendoniano, 1797) 828, basing himself on Amyot's translation “une mixtion” (*Les Œuvres Morales, meslees de Plutarque translatees du Grec en François par Messire Jacques Amyot* [Paris: Michel de Vascosan, 1572] 628), proposed the Greek term μετακέρασμα (“mixture”), erroneously stating that this was Amyot's proposal. What Wytttenbach thought was Amyot's correction of the text was instead his own personal interpretation based on the translation, thus creating a new correction of his own. Surprisingly enough, he admitted in his preface (*Plutarchi Chaeronensis Moralia*, vol. 1, XCIVIII) that, even though he knew where Amyot's copy of the *Basiliensis* edition was, he did not take the effort of consulting it.

⁶⁸ H. Stephanus, *Plutarchi Chaeronensis quae extant opera, cum Latina interpretatione*. vol. 2 (Geneva: apud Henr. Stephanum, 1572).

Xylander's corrections are almost identical to the ones included in the commentary to his translation that was published four years earlier (1570).⁶⁹ This earlier translation had far more impact on the following scholarly tradition than his new edition.

In the preface to his edition, Xylander stated that he encountered no aid whatsoever in the manuscripts.⁷⁰ I would venture that the manuscripts he was referring to are not the two manuscripts that have transmitted *De facie*, but other manuscripts nowadays lost. This is due to the fact that he maintained errors appearing in the Aldine and the *Basiliensis* editions which do not come from E and B. Also in the preface, written in 1572, he complained about the recently published edition of Stephanus and accused him of stealing part of his research. It is possible that he was bothered by the fact that Stephanus' edition came out before he was able to finish his own.

1.4.3. Wecheli's Heirs

The last edition of Plutarch's complete works made in the 16th century was published in Frankfurt in 1599 and reprinted twice (Frankfurt, 1620 and Paris, 1624).⁷¹

The editors of this edition (*Andreae Wecheli heredes*) presented the Greek text and a Latin translation in two columns per page, paralleling one another. While the Greek text proceeds from Stephanus' edition, from 1572, the translations are retrieved from those of Cruserius and Xylander—for *Lives* and *Moralia*, respectively—published in 1573 and 1570. There is, therefore, no correspondence between the Greek text and the translations. The editors also provided the prefaces written by the translators for their own works, thus provoking the curious situation of an edition combining the work of Stephanus and Xylander that includes the preface of the latter criticizing Stephanus' edition.⁷²

⁶⁹ G. Xylander, *Plutarchi Chaeronensis philosophorum et historicorum principis varia scripta, quae Moralia vulgo dicuntur, vere autem Bibliotheca et Penus omnis doctrinae appellari possunt* (Basel: per Eusebium Episcopium, 1574); and *Plutarchi Ethicorum sive Moralium*, vol. 3 (Basel: Thomas Guarinus, 2¹⁶¹⁹ [1570]).

⁷⁰ Xylander, *Plutarchi Chaeronensis*, [no pagination].

⁷¹ Wecheli's Heirs (eds.), *Plutarchi Chaeronensis Omnia quae exstant operum tomus secundus, continens Moralia, Gulielmo Xylandro interprete*, vol. 2 (Franckfurt: Andreae Wecheli heredes, 1599).

⁷² In any case, both of them were dead before the publication of this edition: Xylander died in 1576 and Stephanus in 1598.

The importance of this edition is due, mainly, to its pagination, which became the referent to quote Plutarch's works.⁷³ Each page is divided in paragraphs of ten lines, and each line is assigned a letter (A to F).⁷⁴

1.5. 18th-19th Editions and Great Collections⁷⁵

1.5.1. Reiske, Wytenbach and Hutten

A century and a half would pass before the publication of a new edition of *Moralia*. Johann Jacob Reiske prepared the text in several volumes, although his death in 1774 made this edition posthumous (Leipzig, 1774-1782—*Moralia* from 1777 onwards). *De facie* appeared in vol. 9 in 1778 (pages 640 to 726).⁷⁶

Interestingly enough, in the preface he mocks a young scholar who was also interested in editing *Moralia*, doubting his skills as editor.⁷⁷ This young man was Wytenbach, whose edition would be published between 1795 and 1830 in Oxford and would eventually become a point of reference in the field. In Wytenbach's edition, *De facie* appeared in vol. 4, in 1797 (pages 721-828).⁷⁸ Together with the edition, he was preparing a thorough commentary. Unfortunately, the commentary ends abruptly at 392D, mirroring the abrupt death of Wytenbach.

Wytenbach compared many manuscripts. In fact, he provides a list of about 30 manuscripts transmitting Plutarch's work to which he assigns a letter as reference. Hence, our contemporary lettering of E and B for *Parisinus gr. 1672* and *Parisinus gr. 1675*. He is also responsible for the current citation of Plutarch's works: he appointed a number and a letter to refer to passages, following the pagination of 1599's edition—he used the

⁷³ Although there is general consensus about this matter, we do find some discordant voices: Babbitt, *Plutarch's Moralia*, vol. 1, XXIV; and H. Cherniss, "Notes on Plutarch's *De facie quae in orbe lunae*," *CPh* 46, 3 (1951) 137, state that the pagination is the same of Xylander's edition of 1574—however, *De facie* occupies pages 601 to 616, which proves this statement wrong. See subsection 1.5.1. "Reiske, Wytenbach and Hutten" on this matter.

⁷⁴ However, the edition has errata in its pagination: while *De facie* should appear in pages 920 to 945 (and so is cited), the page in which it begins actually has the number 910, followed by 931, 932, 933, after which the right order is recovered (from 924 to the end of the treatise). The reprinting solved this issue.

⁷⁵ This section represents a revision and enlargement of L. Lesage Gárriga, "Algunas consideraciones sobre la tradición textual del tratado *De facie de Plutarco*," in C. Macías Villalobos, J.M. Maestre Maestre & J.F. Martos Montiel (eds.), *Europa Renascens. La cultura clásica en Andalucía y su proyección europea* (Zaragoza: Pórtico, 2015) 201-209.

⁷⁶ J.J. Reiske, *Plutarchi Chaeronensis quae supersunt omnia opera*, vol. 9 (Leipzig: Impensis Gotth. Theoph. Georgi., 1778).

⁷⁷ J.J. Reiske, *Plutarchi Chaeronensis quae supersunt omnia opera*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Impensis Gotth. Theoph. Georgi., 1774) XXXI.

⁷⁸ See footnote 19, above.

reprinting of 1624 as the base for his own edition. He also assigned a number (represented by a Greek letter) to the different parts within a treatise, which are now used as chapter references.

Wytténbach was the first to introduce in Plutarch's editions the use of a systematic critical apparatus and to take into account the annotations of several copies of the first editions. Admittedly, his description and analysis contain several mistakes, but the value of his work is not diminished by this fact, remaining seminal for the fields of history of the text and of critical edition.⁷⁹

Almost simultaneously, Johann George Hutten worked on his edition of *Moralia*. Although the publication of the whole series started and finished before that of Wytténbach (Tübingen, 1791-1804), Hutten's *De facie* was published in 1801 (vol. 13, pages 27 to 98) after Wytténbach's *De facie*.⁸⁰ Despite the fact that Hutten also criticized Wytténbach's abilities—he, in fact, quotes Reiske's criticism—he seems to depend on him in great measure, which makes his work far less important than that of Wytténbach.⁸¹

1.5.2. Great Collections

Next came the appearance of the so-called Great Collections. Publishing houses created projects involving several scholars to publish *Lives* and *Moralia*. The first was Collection Didot (Paris, 1839-1841), published in two volumes with Latin translation. Johann Friedrich Dübner was editor in charge, and scholarly literature is divided about the value of his work.⁸² In the case of *De facie* (vol. 2, 1841, pages 1126-1157), he closely followed Wytténbach, integrating in the text what his predecessor mentioned as possible reading in the apparatus.⁸³ However, on a number of occasions Dübner does suggest noteworthy conjectures.

Bibliotheca Teubneriana (Teubner) was the next editorial house to publish *Moralia*, for which it offers two different editions. Rudolf Hercher led the first publishing team, but only completed the first volume before his death. Gregory Bernardakis was appointed his successor and published the rest of the volumes between 1888 and 1896.

⁷⁹ See above, 1.3.1.1. "Aldine Exemplars with Annotations" and footnote 32; and 1.3.2.1. "Basiliensis Exemplar with Annotations: Amyot," with footnote 68. See also Chapter 4.

⁸⁰ J.G. Hutten, *Plutarchi Chaeronensis quae supersunt omnia*, vol. 13 (Tübingen: Impensis Joannis Georgii Cottae, 1801).

⁸¹ Hutten, *Plutarchi Chaeronensis quae supersunt omnia*, vol. 1, VIII-IX.

⁸² See for example Babbitt, *Plutarch's Moralia*, vol. 1, XXV, who stated that his conjectures are indistinguishable from the manuscripts' readings.

⁸³ J.F. Dübner, *Plutarchi Scripta Moralia*, vol. 2 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1877).

De facie appeared in 1893 (vol. 5, pages 402-472).⁸⁴ Given this scholar's tendency to suggest conjectures rather than to properly collate the manuscripts, this edition is generally considered unsatisfactory.

Teubner initiated a vast re-edition of *Moralia* at the beginning of the 20th century. Pohlenz, William Roger Paton and Johann Wegeaupt were editors-in-chief and chose to appoint fantastic philologists for the edition of individual treatises, which resulted in a carefully edited text. Pohlenz himself was in charge of *De facie*, which was published in 1955 (vol. 5, fasc. 3, pages 31-89)—and re-edited in 1960 with minor modifications by Hans Drexler.⁸⁵ Pohlenz's textual choices are to a certain extent based on previous scholarship, accepting, perhaps too often, modifications to the text transmitted by the manuscripts in order to facilitate the reading.

Frank Cole Babbit assumed the responsibility of Loeb Classical Library's edition of *Moralia*. This project became one of the most valuable editions thanks to the cooperation of great philologists. Cherniss was in charge of *De facie*, published in 1957 (vol. 12, pages 34-222).⁸⁶ He provided a clear text and his work is among the most complete editions of this treatise.⁸⁷ It should be noted that the proximity in time between the editions of Pohlenz and Cherniss made it impossible for these scholars to consult each other's text; a fact that Cherniss lamented in his introduction.⁸⁸

From 1963 onwards Belles Lettres (Collection Budé) has been publishing its own collection of *Moralia*, but *De facie* has not appeared yet. However, this editorial house published the text of *De facie* prepared by Pierre Raingeard as his doctoral dissertation in 1934.⁸⁹ He chose the text of the manuscripts over corrections and conjectures by previous scholars.

Finally, in 1988 the publishing house M. D'Auria launched *Corpus Plutarchi Moralium* under the supervision of Paolo Cosenza, Italo Gallo, and Luigi Torraca. Each treatise is published with an Italian translation and commentary. Pier Luigi Donini completed *De facie* in 2011 (vol. 48, pages 124-245), although he depended on Pohlenz and Cherniss.⁹⁰

⁸⁴ G.N. Bernardakis, *Plutarchi Chaeronensis Moralia recognovit Gregorius N. Bernardakis*, vol. 5 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1893).

⁸⁵ See footnote 30, above.

⁸⁶ See footnote 30, above.

⁸⁷ Cherniss, "Concerning the Face," 29.

⁸⁸ Cherniss, "Concerning the Face," 33.

⁸⁹ See footnote 21, above.

⁹⁰ P.L. Donini, *Plutarco. Il volto della luna* (Naples: M. D'Auria, 2011) 107-108.

1.6. Conclusions

This overview of the history of the text shows the great interest Plutarch's *De facie* has raised over centuries, but also points to the difficulties encountered by those who tried to establish the text. Despite the continuous revisions of the text, we still are missing a critical edition that reaches an adequate balance between an evaluation of the manuscripts' readings and editorial interventions.

To begin with, the tendency to add, omit, or transpose parts of the text does not always seem justified. On several occasions, alterations are not based on text critical grounds, but rather on contextual assumptions. This is especially relevant for the major editions of the 20th century, those of Pohlenz and Cherniss, since their texts are the contemporary basis for most scholars building their interpretations of Plutarch's thought. Secondly, critical apparatuses do not always reflect previous philological efforts in a transparent way. It is, therefore, time to present a new edition that pays attention to the readings of the manuscripts and properly reflects in its apparatus the great philological efforts of the past.



CHAPTER 2. LITERARY STUDY

2.1. Introduction

A proper understanding of *De facie* should be based on a thorough discussion of relevant aspects such as the characters who intervene in the discussion, the date of composition, the plausible dates and locations of the dramatic action, and the structure and contents of the treatise. Despite the fact that characters would be treated later on in a literary study, I decided to place the section dealing with them first because the analysis of their interventions both here and in other Plutarchan treatises is relevant in order to discuss the issues regarding the date of composition and the date and location of the dramatic action. The study of these aspects, in turn, will allow us to delve into the complexity of the internal connections of *De facie* and the elaborated style of its parts.

2.2. Characters

A total of eight characters appear in the dialogue, even though not all of them participate equally. Let us take a look at the material that can be elucidated from the internal elements of the treatise and from the presence of the same characters in other Plutarchan works.



2.2.1. Sulla

The first speaker in the manuscript, as we have it, is Sulla.¹ After briefly alluding to “his myth,” he immediately declares his interest in a lecture about the moon to which he did not attend.²

After Lamprias completes his account of that lecture, he asks Sulla to tell a story that he had promised as a requisite to participate as listener.³ At this point, the reader finds out that Sulla’s presence is, as a matter of fact, the literary device that enables the development of the whole treatise: both the recapitulation and the narration of the myth depend on his participation. However, the intervention of another character, Theon, will delay Sulla’s myth once again until 940F, moment in which Sulla finally intervenes, closing the treatise with his myth.⁴

During Sulla’s intervention, we discover that he is Carthaginian (942C).⁵ According to Raingeard, the references to the musicality of the spheres in 944AB and to Persephone “counter-earth” in 944C, both of Pythagorean tone, denote his adherence to this philosophical school.⁶ However, the fact that Sulla’s myth derives from another person, the Stranger, as he warns the audience (941A, “Well, I am only the narrator”), should prevent us from associating its content with Sulla.⁷

2.2.1.1. *Sulla in Other Treatises*

The Sulla of *De facie* appears to be the same character as the Sulla presented in *Romulus* 15: a Carthaginian and a man of culture and grace.⁸ The description fits the personality of our Sulla, who, albeit presenting himself as a layman, appears to have quite

¹ See section below, 2.5.1. “The Lost Beginning.” 920B, Ό μὲν οὖν Σύλλας ταῦτα εἶπε· “τῷ γὰρ ἐμῷ μύθῳ προσήκει κάκεῖθέν ἔστιν.”

² 920B, ἀλλὰ εἰ δεῖ τι πρὸς τὰς ἀνὰ χεῖρα ταύτας καὶ διὰ στόματος πᾶσι δόξας περὶ τοῦ προσώπου τῆς σελήνης προσανακρούσασθαι, πρῶτον ἡδέως ἂν μοι δοκῶ πυθέσθαι.

³ 937CD, Ὡρα δὲ καὶ Σύλλαν παρακαλεῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπαιτεῖν τὴν διήγησιν, οἷον ἐπὶ ρήτορ̄ ἀκροατὴν γεγενημένον.

⁴ 940F, ὁ Σύλλας ὑπολαβὼν “ἐπίσχες” εἶπεν “ὦ Λαμπρία, καὶ παραβαλοῦ τὸ θυρίον τοῦ λόγου, μὴ λάθης τὸν μῆθον, ὥσπερ εἰς γῆν ἐξοκείλας, καὶ συγχέης τὸ δρᾶμα τούμὸν ἐτέραν ἔχον σκηνὴν καὶ διάθεσιν, and 945E, Ὑμῖν δέ, ὦ Λαμπρία, χρῆσθαι τῷ λόγῳ πάρεστιν ἢ βούλεσθε.

⁵ 942C, Πλεῖστον γὰρ ἐν Καρχηδόνι χρόνον διέτριψεν, ἀτε δὴ παρ’ ἡμῖν [...].

⁶ Raingeard, *Le peri toy prosopoy*, IX. 944AB, οὐκέτι γὰρ ἐξακούσουσιν ἐν τῇ σκιᾷ γενόμεναι τῆς περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀρμονίας, and 944C, τὰ δ’ ἐνταῦθα Φερσεφόνης [οὐκ ἀντίχθονος].

⁷ 941A, Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ὑποκριτής εἰμι. Based on Sulla’s resourceful intervention in two scenes devoted to Pythagorean issues in *Quaest. conv.* 8 could argue in favor of Raingeard’s view. See 2.2.1.1. “Sulla in Other Treatises.” See subsections 2.2.9. “Absent Characters,” and 2.5.2. “Means of Communication,” below.

⁸ *Rom.* 15, Σέξτιος δὲ Σύλλας ὁ Καρχηδόνιος, οὗτε μουσῶν οὗτε χαρίτων ἐπιδεής ἀνήρ.

extensive knowledge of optics when he discusses the problem of the half-moon in 929E-930A.⁹

Additionally, according to scholarly consensus, Sulla also appears in other treatises. Such as, in *De cohibenda ira*, where he discusses with Fundanus the matter of the control of anger. As well as being the Sulla who organizes a welcome dinner for Plutarch in *Quaest. conv.* 8.7-8, where Pythagorean topics are discussed. It is interesting to note that this banquet brings together three of the eight characters of *De facie*—Lucius, Sulla, and Theon—a fact that, as we shall see, will be useful to date the dramatic action.

According to Francis Henry Sandbach and Cherniss, the person in *Quaest. conv.* 2.3 and 3.3 is not the same Sulla as in *De facie*.¹⁰ As far as the first case is concerned (*Quaest. conv.* 2.3), their rejection is based on the fact that Plutarch calls Sulla ‘the comrade’ (καὶ Σύλλας μὲν ὁ ἐταῖρος). However, in *De facie* both Lamprias and Lucius refer to the comrade who conducted the earlier lecture ὁ ἐταῖρος.¹¹ As is generally accepted, this comrade is no other than Plutarch himself.¹² It is interesting to note that the only other character to use that denomination is precisely Sulla in 929E (ἡμῶν τὸν ἐταῖρον). Therefore, if Sulla calls Plutarch “our comrade,” it is perfectly plausible that Plutarch does the same in *Quaest. conv.* when referring to Sulla.

While the second passage (*Quaest. conv.* 3.3) is more doubtful, I am inclined to think that we are dealing with one and the same Sulla. Plutarch talks about a banquet offered by Florus at his home for his friends that includes a Sulla (ἥν δὲ τῶν συνήθων τὸ δεῖπνον. ἔφη τοίνυν ὁ Σύλλας...). Given that the participants are Florus’ friends, Sandbach and Cherniss assume that Sulla cannot be the friend of Plutarch. Admittedly, it might very well be the case, but there are reasons to believe that it could also be the same person, friend of both Plutarch and Florus, but mentioned only within the general group of Florus’ friends. In fact, an explanation such as “with friends of Florus and our common friend Sulla” or “with friends of Florus and my friend Sulla” would have encumbered the introductory

⁹ 929E-930A, “Πάνυ μὲν οὖν” ὁ Σύλλας εἶπεν “ἔχει γάρ τινα λόγον τὸ πάσης ἐν ἵσαις γωνίαις γινομένης ἀνακλάσεως, ὅταν ἡ σελήνη διχοτομοῦσα μεσουρανῇ, μὴ φέρεσθαι τὸ φῶς ἐπὶ γῆς ἀπ’ αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ ὀλισθαίνειν ἐπέκεινα τῆς γῆς· ὁ γὰρ ἥλιος ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄριζοντος ὃν ἀπτεται τῇ ἀκτίνῃ τῆς σελήνης· || διὸ καὶ κλασθεῖσα πρὸς ἵσα ἐπὶ θάτερον ἐκπεσεῖται πέρας καὶ οὐκ ἀφήσει δεῦρο τὴν αὐγήν, ἡ διαστροφὴ μεγάλῃ καὶ παράλλαξις ἔσται τῆς γωνίας, ὅπερ ἀδύνατόν ἔστιν.”

¹⁰ F.H. Sandbach, “The Date of the Eclipse in Plutarch’s *De facie*,” *CQ* 23 (1929) 16 n. 2; and Cherniss, “Concerning the Face,” 3.

¹¹ Lamprias, in 921F: Ὡς Λεύκιε, τὴν ἀτοπίαν εὐφήμοις περιαμπέχεις ὄνόμασιν· οὐχ οὕτω δὲ ὁ ἐταῖρος ἡμῶν, and Lucius, in 929B: Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐταῖρος ἐν τῇ διατριβῇ.

¹² See below on this character, 2.2.9. “Absent Characters.”

presentation of the scene.¹³ Sulla must also have been present in the subsequent scene (3.4)—even if not intervening in it—given that it is the continuation of the same banquet and begins with the words Ὁ μὲν οὖν Σύλλας ταῦτ’ εἶπεν.¹⁴

2.2.2. Lamprias

The main interlocutor of the dialogue fulfills Sulla’s wish to hear the different opinions about the moon. It is not until 937C that the reader can identify this character as Lamprias, Plutarch’s brother.¹⁵ While it is true that keeping his name hidden could very well be a literary device—an anonymous narrator whose identity as Plutarch’s own brother is revealed halfway through the treatise—it might also be that Lamprias’ name was mentioned in the lost beginning.

Be that as it may, his name is explicitly mentioned three times in the treatise and all three cases are structurally important, since they mark the closure of a narrative block.¹⁶ In 937D, Theon addresses him after the end of the discussion (“έγώ τοι, ὁ Λαμπρία” εἶπεν...). In 940F Lamprias is interrupted by Sulla, who begs him to stop his speech, in order to allow him to finally narrate the myth (ό Σύλλας ύπολαβών, “ἐπίσχες” εἶπεν “ὁ Λαμπρία...”). And, in 945E, at the very end of the treatise, as Sulla finishes his myth, he addresses Lamprias one last time (‘Υμῖν δέ, ὁ Λαμπρία, χρῆσθαι τῷ λόγῳ πάρεστιν ἢ βούλεσθε).

Besides being the moderator, Lamprias voices ideas associated to Platonism, which may *grosso modo* be those of Plutarch himself.¹⁷ His position is perceptible from the very

¹³ B. Puech, “Prosopographie des amis de Plutarque,” *ANRW* II, 33, 6 (1992) 4879, reached this conclusion, affirming that Sulla the Carthaginian is one of the assistants in Socius Senecius’ and Florus Mestrius’ banquets (2.3 and 3.3).

¹⁴ A beginning suspiciously similar to *De facie*’s, although it should be borne in mind that our treatise’s beginning seems to have been lost. See below, 2.5.1. “The Lost Beginning,” and the corresponding heading in Chapter 4. As we will have the opportunity to see below, this scene will reveal to be useful for the analysis of another character of *De facie*, Apollonides.

¹⁵ J. Kepler, *Ioh. Keppleri Mathematici olim Imperatorii Somnium, seu opus posthumum de astronomia lunari. Divulgatum a M. Ludovico Kepplero filio, Medicinae Candidato* (Frankfurt: Impressum partim Sagani Silesiorum, 1634) 98, in his list of characters, strangely included Plutarch as a character who speaks in the first person, defending his own ideas, and Lamprias as a mathematician.

¹⁶ Pérez Jiménez “Gestos, palabras y actitudes,” 66.

¹⁷ Nevertheless, both Lamprias and Lucius sometimes distance themselves from the position they defend—i.e., the earthy nature of the moon—and talk about the defenders of that same position in 3rd person plural. See, for instance, 922D, ἄπερ οἱ γεώδη ποιοῦντες ἀπολείπουσιν, 923A, Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν οὐδέν αὐτοὶ παρ’ αὐτῶν λέγομεν, οἱ δὲ γῆν ύποτιθέμενοι τὴν σελήνην..., and 924E, Εἰ δέ τι τυγχάνει σῶμα τῇ γῇ μὴ προσνενεμημένον ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς μηδὲ ἀπεσπασμένον, ἀλλά που καθ’ αὐτὸν σύστασιν ἔσχεν ιδίαν καὶ φύσιν, ὡς φαῖεν ἂν ἐκεῖνοι τὴν σελήνην.

beginning (921D) when he confronts the hypothesis of the earthy and heavy nature of the moon with that of the ethereal and luminous star.¹⁸

Raingeard stated that Lamprias is the figure of conciliation, “avec son bon sens décidé et son instinct de la mesure.”¹⁹ This opinion, however, appears to obviate an important side of this character. Throughout the treatise, Lamprias is a man that enjoys provoking his interlocutors, especially Pharnaces, who represents the rival philosophical school *par excellence*, the Stoic: in 921F Lamprias qualifies the Stoic theory as absurd.²⁰ Furthermore, he does not mince his words when referring to the comments of other characters, such as that of Apollonides in 935E.²¹ His straightforward attitude softens when it concerns Lucius, however. In several cases Lamprias proves to be attentive and caring towards Lucius: in 923E and 928D he provides him with time to prepare a refutation; and in 931D he congratulates his colleague for the nice argumentation he just developed.²²

2.2.2.1. *Lamprias in Other Treatises*

Plutarch’s brother appears in several other treatises. The theory that he died young was previously used to prove that the treatises in which he appears are from Plutarch’s youth.²³ This view is nowadays dismissed, since his archonship in Delphi in 115 is attested in an inscription.²⁴ In any case, the life or death of the real Lamprias does not necessarily imply a connection with the literary device created by Plutarch in his works.

In *De defectu* he plays the prominent role of narrator, as in *De facie*. In *De E apud Delphos* (485D) and several scenes of *Quaest. conv.* (1.8; 2.2; 8.6 and 9.14) he is presented explicitly as Plutarch’s brother. In *Quaest. conv.* some traits of his personality are described: he is said to be quite intelligent, as well as witty and fond of teasing people.²⁵

¹⁸ 921D, Οὐκ ἔθελήσει δέ, οἴμαι, τὴν σελήνην ἐμβριθὲς ὑποθέσθαι σῶμα καὶ στερεὸν ὑμῖν ὁ Κλέαρχος, ἀλλὰ ἄστρον αἰθέριον καὶ φωσφόρον, ὡς φατε.

¹⁹ Raingeard, *Le peri toy prosopoy*, X.

²⁰ 921F, “χρηστῶς γε” εἶπον “ὦ Λεύκιε, τὴν ἀτοπίαν εὐφήμοις περιαμπέχεις ὀνόμασιν.”

²¹ See below, 2.2.3. “Apollonides,” and footnote 35, for the specific passage.

²² 923E, Πρὸς τοῦτο ἐγὼ τῷ Λευκίῳ χρόνον ἐγγενέσθαι βουλόμενος ἀναμιμνησκομένῳ, and 928D, Λεγθέντων δὲ τούτων, κάμουν τῷ Λευκίῳ τὸν λόγον παραδιδόντος ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις βαδίζοντος τοῦ δόγματος; and 931D, “εὗ γε” ἔφην “ὅτι καλῶ λόγῳ καλὴν ἀναλογίαν προσέθηκας.”

²³ A theory mentioned by Prickard, *Plutarch on The Face*, 15, following Gréard.

²⁴ Cherniss, “Concerning the Face,” 5. See G. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* (Leipzig: Hirzelium, 1917) 2. 868c, n. 6, 581.

²⁵ *Quaest. conv.* 1.8: Λαμπρίας δ’ ὁ ἀδελφὸς τὴν Ἱερωνύμου δόξαν οὐκ ἀνεγνωκὼς μέν, αὐτὸς δὲ δι’ εὐφυῖαν ἐμπεσών εἶπεν ὅτι τοῖς προσπίπτουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ὄρατῶν εἰδεστιν πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ὄρωμεν, and 8.6: Υβριστῆς δ’ ὃν καὶ φιλόγελως φύσει ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν Λαμπρίας.

2.2.3. Αpollonides

Apollonides intervenes in 920F in order to ask what Clearchus' position was. Lamprias answers that Apollonides more than any other person should know it since it is related to geometry, a discipline in which he is said to be versed.²⁶ A little later he is presented as having knowledge in the field both of optics and of astronomy.²⁷

Prickard, followed by Cherniss and Mota, suggested that his name could be an allusion to the astronomer Apollonius of Perga, and he should be understood as “adept of Apollonius.”²⁸ According to this opinion, consequently, this character is a literary fiction and not a historical person. Differently, in my view, the quantity of interventions and his well-defined personality could provide support for the hypothesis that Apollonides truly existed.²⁹ To provide just one example, Lamprias in 935F comments that he knows that neither of them has been in Lemnos, as if he knew details about Apollonides’ life.³⁰

Raingeard believed he was a Pythagorean, together with Sulla and Lucius, on the grounds that the text presents him as “un savant,” a term Raingeard interpreted as opposed to the *akousmatikoi*.³¹ Joëlle Delattre, however, defended that Apollonides represents the Stoa, together with Pharnaces, perhaps because at a given point they share an objection to Lucius’ speech (933F).³² As I show below, based on the information provided in *De facie*, he cannot be described as belonging to any of the major philosophical schools.

From his many interventions, Apollonides does not appear as the kindest or the brightest of the participants. He interrupts speakers a few times, and on one occasion he jumps in together with Pharnaces.³³ In this latter case, his objection regarding the term “shadow” provokes a harsh remark on the part of Lamprias, who plainly accuses him of

²⁶ 920F, ‘Υπολαβόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίδου τὸν λόγον καὶ τίς ἦν ἡ δόξα τοῦ Κλεάρχου διαπυθομένου, “παντὶ μᾶλλον” ἔφην “ἀγνοεῖν ἡ σοὶ προσῆκόν ἐστι λόγον ὅσπερ ἀφ’ ἐστίας τῆς γεωμετρίας ὁρμώμενον.”

²⁷ 921C, ‘Εκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ ἐρωτᾶν ἀσφαλέστερόν ἐστιν, ἡ ἀποφαίνεσθαι σοῦ παρόντος, εἰ τῆς οἰκουμένης εὗρος ίσοῖς καὶ μῆκος, ἐνδέχεται πᾶσαν ὥσαύτως ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης ὄψιν ἀνακλωμένην ἐπιθιγγάνειν τῆς θαλάσσης, and 925A, Άλλ’ ἥλιον μὲν ἀπλέτους μυριάδας ἀπέχειν τῆς ἄνω περιφορᾶς φατεῖ” εἶπον “ὦ φίλε Ἀπολλωνίδη.”

²⁸ Prickard, *Plutarch on The Face*, 6; Cherniss, “Concerning the Face,” 5; and Mota, *Plutarco*, 9.

²⁹ While his interventions are rather short, he has the highest number after Lamprias and Lucius: five.

³⁰ 935F, ‘Ἐν Λήμνῳ μὲν οὐδέτερος ἡμῶν εὖ οἶδ’ ὅτι γέγονε.

³¹ Raingeard, *Le peri toy prosopoy*, IX.

³² J. Delattre, “À propos du contenu astronomique des parties dialoguées du *De facie* de Plutarque,” in A. Lernould (ed.), *Plutarque. Le visage qui apparaît dans le disque de la lune* (Villeneuve d’Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2013) 103.

³³ 920F, ‘Υπολαβόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίδου τὸν λόγον καὶ τίς ἦν ἡ δόξα τοῦ Κλεάρχου διαπυθομένου, 935CD, ‘Υπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλωνίδης, “εἴτα, ὦ πρὸς αὐτῆς” ἔφη “τῆς σελήνης, δυνατὸν εἶναι δοκεῖ ὑμῖν...,” and 933F, Εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ Λευκίου, συνεξέδραμον ἄμα πως τῷ <λέγειν> ὃ τε Φαρνάκης καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλωνίδης.

being more interested in semantic details than in serious discussion.³⁴ In this line, it is interesting to note that his knowledge or intelligence is questioned more than once: he is unaware of a theory closely related to his field of expertise—as seen above in 920—; and in 935CE his proclamation that the moon’s craters and elevations must be gigantic given the size of the shadows casted is quickly ridiculed by Lamprias.³⁵ His sarcastic and well-argued answer makes Apollonides’ last intervention more modest and relaxed than the previous ones: in 936CD he kindly suggests a problem that seems to be shared by him and Lamprias and asks his colleague what solution could be found.³⁶

2.2.3.1. *Apollonides in Other Treatises*

A certain Apollonides appears in *Quaest. conv.* 3.4. Sandbach and Cherniss did not believe him to be the same character, since he is labelled as ὁ δὲ τακτικὸς Ἀπολλωνίδης.³⁷ Konrat Ziegler—and Bernadette Puech and Aurelio Pérez Jiménez in his wake—affirmed that he is indeed the same person and maintained that the reference to “experts in tactic” in *De facie* 927B refers to him.³⁸ The theory of one and the same Apollonides also receives some (circumstantial) support from the fact that the scene in which he appears (3.4) also includes Sulla.

2.2.4. Lucius

The next character taking part in the conversation is Lucius (921E).³⁹ He has the highest degree of participation after Lamprias, with whom he recapitulates the previous lecture. His opinions seem to present him as a Pythagorean but given the many points in common between Pythagoreans and Platonists, he tends to agree with Lamprias.⁴⁰

³⁴ 934A, ‘Ἐγώ δέ, “τούτο μὲν” ἔφην “πρὸς τοῦνομα μᾶλλον ἐριστικῶς ἢ πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα φυσικῶς καὶ μαθηματικῶς ἐνισταμένουν.”

³⁵ 935E, “εὖ γε” ἔφην “ὅτι τοιαύτην ἐξεύρηκας ἀπόδειξιν, ὃ Ἀπολλωνίδη, δι’ οὓς κάμε καὶ σαυτὸν ἀποδείξεις τῶν Ἀλωαδῶν ἐκείνων εἶναι μείζονας.”

³⁶ 936CD, “Τί οὖν” ἔφη “πρὸς αὐτοὺς λεκτέον;” ὁ Ἀπολλωνίδης. “Κοινὰ γὰρ εἴοικε καὶ πρὸς ήμᾶς εἶναι τὰ τῆς ἀνακλάσεως.”

³⁷ Sandbach, “The Date of the Eclipse,” 16; and Cherniss, “Concerning the Face,” 5.

³⁸ K. Ziegler, *Plutarco* (trans. by M.R. Zancan Rinaldini) (Brescia: Paideia, 1965 1965 [RE 21, 1 1951]) 46; Puech, “Prosopographie,” 4836; and Pérez Jiménez, “Gestos, palabras y actitudes,” 72. In my view, the reference is used in the broad context of the need of a superior intelligence to order the world. While the passage mentions tacticians, gardeners, and masons, those who attributed the mention of “tacticians” to Apollonides disregard the fact that there is no direct involvement of Apollonides either before or after this passage; additionally, the examples of gardeners and masons cannot be placed in connection with any of the remaining participants of *De facie*.

³⁹ See footnote 42, below.

⁴⁰ See 5.1. “Introduction” to Chapter 5.

We have already seen that Lucius enjoys continuous support from Lamprias, as if he were his *protégé*; he also seems to share the witty and ironic personality traits of Plutarch's brother.⁴¹ In 921EF, he asks Lamprias not to forget to mention the Stoic theory, taking the chance to condescend and mock this school.⁴² In 922F, he answers Pharnaces with a laugh and an affectionate expression clearly used sarcastically, and, in 923C, he mocks Pharnaces' fear that the moon could fall onto people.⁴³

Furthermore, from Lucius' interventions it can be inferred that he is confident in his knowledge and the ideas he defends, and that he knows how to expound them, winning the general approval of the participants.⁴⁴ Also, he proves to be reasonable, asks for help when needed, and is thankful afterwards.⁴⁵

2.2.4.1. *Lucius in Other Treatises*

It is almost certain that the Lucius from *De facie* is the same as one of the guests in Sulla's welcome dinner (*Quaest. conv.* 8.7-8), wherein a character called Lucius, a disciple of Moderatus the Pythagorean, appears.⁴⁶

From this presentation two details can be drawn:

- 1) If Sulla invited a few close friends, we must assume that Sulla and Lucius were companions.
- 2) The way in which Plutarch introduces Lucius ("a certain disciple") seems to point to the fact they did not know each other at that time, as Sandbach rightly stated—this could mean that this dinner took place before the meeting of *De facie* (more on this below).⁴⁷

⁴¹ See above, 2.2.2. "Lamprias."

⁴² 921EF, "ἀλλὰ μὴ δόξωμεν" ἔφη "κομιδῇ προπηλακίζειν τὸν Φαρνάκην, οὕτω τὴν Στωικὴν δόξαν ἀπροσαύδητον ὑπερβαίνοντες, εἰπὲ δή τι πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, παντὸς ἀέρος μῆγμα καὶ μαλακοῦ πυρὸς ὑποτιθέμενον τὴν σελήνην· εἴτα οἷον ἐν γαλήνῃ φρίκης ὑποτρεχούσης φάσκοντα τοῦ ἀέρος διαμελαίνοντος ἔμφασιν γίνεσθαι μορφοειδῆ."

⁴³ 922F, Καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος γελάσας "μόνον" εἶπεν "ὦ τάν, μὴ κρίσιν ἡμῖν ἀσεβείας ἐπαγγείλῃς," and 923C, οἰκτίειρε δὲ τοὺς ὑποκειμένους τῇ μεταφορῇ τῆς σελήνης Αἰθίοπας ἢ Ταπροβηνούς, μὴ βάρος αὐτοῖς ἐμπέσῃ τοσοῦτον.

⁴⁴ See, for instance, 931D: Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες ἐπήνεσαν τὸν Λεύκιον.

⁴⁵ 932D, "Αλλὰ δὴ τί" ἔφη "μετὰ τοῦτο τῶν τεκμηρίων ἐλέχθη;" and, after Lamprias' assistance, "Ορθῶς" εἶπεν "ὑπέμνησας." Prickard, *Plutarch on The Face*, 6, noted that Kepler curiously did not appreciate the character much. According to Kepler, Lucius speaks in a pretentious and patronizing tone.

⁴⁶ *Quaest. Conv.* 8.7, καταγγείλας δεῖπνον ὄλλους τε τῶν ἐταίρων παρέλαβεν οὐ πολλοὺς καὶ Μοδεράτου τινὰ τοῦ Πιθαγορικοῦ μαθητήν, ὄνομα Λεύκιον.

⁴⁷ Sandbach, "The Date of the Eclipse," 16.

2.2.5. Pharnaces

Pharnaces intervenes after Lucius' first intervention, in 922E, although a reference was made to him before, in 921E. He clearly represents Stoicism and advocates the moon's semi-igneous nature, which makes him the target of most of the criticisms in *De facie*. Besides being the target of heavy criticism he also has to endure Lamprias' and Lucius' friendly expressions, which are used ironically and with the intention to soften the statements that will follow.⁴⁸ However, he rarely reacts against the offenses and only speaks three times in the course of the discussion, one of them even in indirect speech. In his first intervention, he attacks the Academy and its methods.⁴⁹

Cherniss believed that Pharnaces is a fictional character, and that his name was selected due to its Asian sound.⁵⁰ Puech, however, warned scholars not to assume that he is a literary creation, since many other characters in his same situation proved to be historical after all.⁵¹ However, his scarce interventions and his rather basic characterization seems to work against Puech. The purpose of this, most probably, fictional character might have been simply a placeholder for all criticisms directed against Stoicism.

2.2.6. Theon

Theon intervenes in indirect speech, in 923F, to answer Lamprias' question about a quotation of a tragedian.⁵² He is said to be from Thebes (Egypt), and he is presented as an expert in literature, as can be seen in 931E and 940A, which mention his ability to quote numerous poets.⁵³ He also seems to have some astronomical knowledge, as becomes apparent from his admiration of Aristarchus and from the explanation of eclipses he provides in 932DE—a simple description, true, which seems to corroborate his

⁴⁸ 922F, “μόνον” εἶπεν “ὦ τάν, μὴ κρίσιν ἡμῖν ἀσεβείας ἐπαγγείλης.” 923A, οἱ δὲ γῆν ὑποτιθέμενοι τὴν σελήνην, ὦ βέλτιστε, τί μᾶλλον ὅμων τὰ κάτω ποιοῦσι, τὴν γῆν ἵδρυσάντων ἐνταῦθα μετέωρον ἐν τῷ ἀέρι, πολλῷ τινι μείζονα τῆς σελήνης οὖσαν, 934C, Άλλ’ οὐκ ἔστιν, ὦ φίλε Φαρνάκη, πολλάς, τὰς ἐκλειπούσας χρόας ἀμείβειν, and 939F, Δέδοικα δὲ ἡσυχάζοντα Φαρνάκην αὐθίς ἐρεθίζειν καὶ κινεῖν.

⁴⁹ 922E, Καὶ ὁ Φαρνάκης ἔτι μου λέγοντος “τοῦτο ἐκεῖνο πάλιν” εἶπεν “έφ” ἡμᾶς ἀφίκται τὸ περίακτον ἐκ τῆς Ακαδημείας, ἐν τῷ πρὸς ἑτέρους λέγειν διατρίβοντας, ἐκάστοτε μὴ παρέχειν ἔλεγχον ὃν αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν, ἀλλ’ ἀπολογουμένοις δεῖ χρῆσθαι μὴ κατηγοροῦσιν ἢν ἐντυγχάνωσιν.”

⁵⁰ Cherniss, “Concerning the Face,” 6.

⁵¹ Puech, “Prosopographie,” 4868.

⁵² 923F, Αποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ Θέωνος ὅτι Σοφοκλῆς.

⁵³ 939C, when Lamprias replies to Theon's doubts about the habitability of the moon, ὥσπερ ὅμως περὶ Θήβας παρ' ὑμῖν [...] καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. 931E, Εἰ δὲ μή, Θέων ἡμῖν οὗτος τὸν Μίμνερμον ἐπάξει καὶ τὸν Κυδίαν καὶ τὸν Ἀρχίλοχον, and 940A, διὸ πρὸς σὲ τρέψομαι μᾶλλον, ὦ φίλε Θέων· λέγεις γάρ ἡμῖν ἐξηγούμενος ταῦτι τὰ Ἀλκμάνος.

secondary role in the discussion about the moon.⁵⁴ To him we owe the second deferral of Sulla's myth. When Lamprias decides, in 937C, that every topic discussed in the previous lecture has been covered and that it is time to hear Sulla's narration, Theon intervenes raising the question regarding the habitability of the moon.⁵⁵ This is the beginning of a section that enables a smooth transition from the dialogue to Sulla's monologue.⁵⁶

Prickard stressed the pleasant tone of Theon's interventions in comparison to those of the other participants and suggested that his role is to temper the tone of the discussion.⁵⁷ Probably based on the fact that different passages associate him to different sciences, Raingeard proposed that Theon is an eclectic, but he offers no further support to this statement.⁵⁸ Puech, in turn, believed that Theon's name is so common that any effort to identify him is in vain; Delattre, however, disagreed, defending that he is in fact Theon of Smyrna—a writer of Middle Platonic tendency of the 2nd century CE.⁵⁹ The text, in my view, does not provide strong enough evidence to establish such a connection.

2.2.6.1. *Theon in Other Treatises*

While it is sure that this Theon is not the same as Plutarch's great friend, present in numerous passages of *Quaest. conv.*, there are two cases (*Quaest. conv.* 1.9 and 8.8) in which the description of one character as Θέων ὁ γραμματικός allows for the conclusion that both are the same person. This might also be the case with the Theon participating in *De Pythiae*, given that in both this treatise and the above mentioned *Quaest. conv.* 8.7-8, he appears together with Plutarch's friend, Philinos.⁶⁰

2.2.7. Aristotle

In 920E, Lamprias addresses Aristotle, but he will not speak until 928DE. Then, Aristotle laughs at the criticisms directed against the Stoics, because he feels unaffected by

⁵⁴ 938D, Άλλὰ σὺ τὸν Ἀρίσταρχον ἀγαπῶν ἀεὶ καὶ θαυμάζων, οὐκ ἀκούεις Κράτητος ἀναγινώσκοντος, and 932DE, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ πειθοῦς τινος δέομαι ταύτῃ μόνον ἀκηκοώς ως ἐπὶ μίαν [μὲν] εὐθεῖαν τῶν τριῶν σωμάτων γνομένων, γῆς καὶ ἥλιου καὶ σελήνης, αἱ ἐκλείψεις συντυγχάνουσιν· ἡ γὰρ γῆ τῆς σελήνης ἡ πάλιν ἡ σελήνη τῆς γῆς ἀφαιρεῖται τὸν ἥλιον. Ἐκλείπει γὰρ οὗτος μὲν σελήνης, σελήνη δὲ γῆς ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τριῶν ισταμένης· ὃν γίνεται, τὸ μὲν ἐν συνόδῳ, τὸ δὲ ἐν διχομηνίᾳ.

⁵⁵ 937C, “ἐγώ τοι, ὦ Λαμπρία,” εἶπεν “ἐπιθυμῶ μὲν οὐδενὸς ἡττον ὑμῶν ἀκοῦσαι τὰ λεχθησόμενα· πρότερον δὲ ἂν ἡδέως ἀκούσαιμι περὶ τῶν οἰκεῖν λεγομένων ἐπὶ τῆς σελήνης, οὐκ εἰ κατοικοῦσί τινες, ἀλλ’ εἰ δυνατὸν ἔκει κατοικεῖν.”

⁵⁶ More on this matter in subsection 2.5.4. “Second Part: Transitional Section.”

⁵⁷ Prickard, *Plutarch on The Face*, 6.

⁵⁸ Raingeard, *Le peri toy prosopoy*, IX.

⁵⁹ Puech, “Prosopographie,” 4886; and Delattre, “À propos du contenu astronomique,” 106-115.

⁶⁰ On the historicity of Philinos, see Puech, “Prosopographie,” 4869.

them.⁶¹ His intervention, however, expresses his frustration for the central role attributed to Stoicism, in an attempt to claim attention for the Peripatos.

Little is known about this character, due to both his discreet presence in *De facie* and to the fact that he appears nowhere else in Plutarch's oeuvre. Scholars assume that this character is fictional and that Plutarch used him as a symbol for the Aristotelian school.⁶² According to Puech, in case he is not a literary creation, Aristotle might not be his real name, but a name of his own choice to present himself as an adept of that specific philosophical school.⁶³ In any case, he is indeed associated to Aristotelianism from the very beginning, and he will continuously defend the position of this school regarding the moon, in particular regarding its ethereal nature and the circular movement of the astral bodies.⁶⁴

2.2.8. Menelaus

Another character present at the meeting is Menelaus. He never speaks and is therefore sometimes omitted by scholars in their lists of characters.⁶⁵ He is referred to in 930A, where Lucius qualifies him as an astronomer (*τὸν μαθηματικόν*), before proceeding to discredit a theory pertaining to this field.⁶⁶

Sandbach, Cherniss, and Puech suggested that he might very well be Menelaus of Alexandria, whose work has been preserved only through an Arabic translation.⁶⁷ Ptolemy mentions him by the epithet ὁ γεωμέτρης and states that he visited Rome to make astronomical observations during the first year of Trajan's reign in 98 CE.⁶⁸ If this is indeed

⁶¹ 928DE, Αριστοτέλης μειδιάτας, “μαρτύρομαι” εἶπεν “ὅτι τὴν πᾶσαν ἀντιλογίαν πεποίησαι πρὸς τοὺς αὐτὴν μὲν ἡμίπυρον εἶναι τὴν σελήνην ὑποτιθεμένους, κοινῇ δὲ τῶν σωμάτων, τὰ μὲν ἄνω, τὰ δὲ κάτω ῥέπειν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν φάσκοντας: [...] οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τύχης ἤλθεν ἐπὶ μνήμην ὑμῖν, ὅστε ἐμέ τε πραγμάτων ἀπηλλάχθαι.”

⁶² For a couple of examples, see Prickard, *Plutarch on The Face*, 6; and Cherniss, “Concerning the Face,” 6. Such seems also to be the case with the character named Epicurus, who represents the Epicureans in *De sera*.

⁶³ Puech, “Prosopographie,” 4837.

⁶⁴ 920F, <Τοῦτο δέ> καὶ πρὸς Κλέαρχον, ὁ Αριστότελες, οὐκ ἀπιθάνως ἐδόκει λέγεσθαι τὸν ὑμέτερον· ὑμέτερος γάρ ἀνήρ Αριστοτέλους τοῦ παλαιοῦ γεγονώς συνήθης: εἰ καὶ πολλὰ τοῦ Περιπάτου παρέτρεψεν, and 928E, εἰ δ' ἔστι τις ὁ λέγων κύκλῳ τε κινεῖσθαι κατὰ φύσιν τὰ ἄστρα καὶ πολὺ παρηλλαγμένης οὐσίας εἶναι τῶν τεττάρων, οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τύχης ἤλθεν ἐπὶ μνήμην ὑμῖν.

⁶⁵ For instance, Raingerad, *Le peri toy prosopoy*, IX, merely mentioned Menelaus in an example involving Lucius; and V. Ramón Palerm, “Sobre la cara visible de la luna,” in V. Ramón Palerm & J. Bergua Cavero (eds.), *Plutarco, Obras Morales y Costumbres*, vol. 9 (Madrid: Gredos, 2001) 123.

⁶⁶ 930A, Καὶ πρὸς γε Μενέλαον ἀποβλέψας ἐν τῷ διαλέγεσθαι τὸν μαθηματικόν, “αἰσχύνομαι μὲν” ἔφη “σοῦ παρόντος, ὁ φίλε Μενέλαε, θέσιν ἀναιρεῖν μαθηματικήν.”

⁶⁷ Sandbach, “The Date of the Eclipse,” 16; Cherniss, “Concerning the Face,” 7; and Puech, “Prosopographie,” 4859.

⁶⁸ Ptolemy, *Almagest* 7.3: Μενέλαος δὲ ὁ γεωμέτρης ἐν Ρώμῃ φησὶ τετηρησθαι τῷ ἀ ἔτος Τραϊανοῦ.

the case, the plural pronoun used in 939C (*παρ' ὑμῖν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ*) might very well be a second reference to Menelaus, which classes him together with Theon as a native from Egypt.

2.2.9. Absent Characters

Two other characters must be listed here; although absent from the meeting, they do have a relevant role in the development of the treatise. One of them is the omnipresent figure of *ὁ ἔταιρος*, the comrade that conducted the lecture that Lamprias and Lucius are summarizing. He is cited three times. On the first occasion he is referred to by Lamprias (921F, *οὐχ οὗτος δὲ ὁ ἔταιρος ἡμῶν*); in the second by Lucius (929B, *Ο μὲν οὖν ἔταιρος ἐν τῇ διατριβῇ*); and finally by Sulla (929E, *ἡμῶν τὸν ἔταιρον*). He is also indirectly present throughout the discussion in the references made by Lamprias and Lucius when referring to the previous lecture.⁶⁹

Cherniss tended to play this character down: he not only corrected the text in places where the comrade is referred to, but also translated passages in an ambiguous way so that they seem to refer to the current speaker (Lamprias, Lucius), instead of to the speaker of the previous lecture.⁷⁰

Most scholars agree that *ὁ ἔταιρος* is no other than Plutarch.⁷¹ It is plausible to think that a real encounter between some of the characters and the author took place, on an occasion in which he lectured on the subject matter of the moon, and that the treatise, as we have it, is the result of adapting that lecture into a work of literary fiction after having organized the ideas and topics discussed.

The second absent character is *ὁ ξένος*, the Stranger, whom Sulla met in Carthage and who is the source of the narration Sulla shares with the other participants of *De facie*.

⁶⁹ 921E, *πρὸς τὸν Λεύκιον ἔφην ἀποβλέψας “ὅ πρῶτον ἐλέχθη τῶν ἡμετέρων ὑπόμνησον,”* in 930A, *“Αλλὰ νὴ Δία” εἶπεν ὁ Λεύκιος “καὶ τοῦτο ἐρρήθη,”* in 932D, *“Αλλὰ δὴ τί” ἔφη “μετὰ τοῦτο τῶν τεκμηρίων ἐλέχθη;* in 933C, *Παρίημι δὲ ὅσα χωρὶς ιδίᾳ πρὸς τὰς βάσεις καὶ διαφορήσεις ἐλέχθη,* and in 937C, *“Ημεῖς μὲν οὖν” ἔφην “ὅσα μὴ διαπέφευγε τὴν μνήμην τῶν ἐκεῖ λεχθέντων ἀπηγγέλκαμεν.”*

⁷⁰ Just to mention a couple of examples, in 921B where the text reads “*ἀλλὰ πῃ τὸν ἔλεγχον αὐτῷ προσῆγε;*”, he corrected the verb in 3rd person into a 2nd person. And in 930E, with “*σκευωρεῖσθαι δὲ ἄμα λέγοντι διάγραμμα καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς πολλοὺς οὐκ ἐνῆν,*” he made Lucius the subject of the participle *λέγοντι* in his translation, even though the main verb in imperfect (*ἐνῆν*) points to an indefinite past, not to the conversation taking place at the moment.

⁷¹ Prickard, *Plutarch on The Face*, 10; Cherniss, “Concerning the Face,” 15. While Martin, “Plutarch’s *De facie*,” 75, at first preferred to be neutral, he later suggested (88) that the comrade might be present as a complaisant auditor, based on the fact that Plutarch performs this role in *Non posse 1087C*. He was then identifying the comrade with Plutarch. In my view, the fact that they speak of this comrade in 3rd person singular makes his presence among the rest of participants rather improbable. Additionally, Pérez Jiménez, “Gestos, palabras y actitudes,” 63 only pointed to a Platonist.

From the very moment Sulla begins his tale, he presents himself as a simple narrator transmitting the words of this person (941A, Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ύποκριτής εἰμι, [...] τὸν πουητὴν ἡμῖν εἰ μή τι κωλύει καθ' Ὀμηρον ἀρξάμενον), and only clearly states the identity of the author in 942A (ώς ἔλεγεν ὁ ξένος). He first refers to him in indirect speech (941C, ἐκείνους δὲ Νυκτοῦρον ἔφη καλεῖν), but from 942D onwards he narrates the rest of the story in direct speech (“πολλὰ” εἶπεν “ὦ Σύλλα, περὶ θεῶν οὐ πάντα δὲ καλῶς λέγεται παρ’ Ἑλλησιν”). He concludes his narration with a last reference to the Stranger in 945D (ἔγὼ μὲν ἥκουσα τοῦ ξένου διεξιόντος [...] ώς ἔλεγεν αὐτός, ἐξήγγειλαν).⁷² The characterization as ξένος, as opposed to βάρβαρος, suggests the high esteem with which the Stranger is considered. He is presented as a man of culture, instructed both in philosophy and in mystery rites, which allows him to convey a type of knowledge not yet acquired by the participants: a knowledge strongly linked to the divine.⁷³

Regarding all the characters listed above, whether fictitious or not, none of them—not even Lamprias or Lucius, who defend the theories closest to Plutarch’s thought—should be regarded as a spokesperson of the author. As Donini rightly noted, each represents specific purposes or a particular philosophical school, as philosophic-literary creations.⁷⁴

2.3. Date of Composition

The composition date of *De facie* is another issue so far unsettled by scholarship, something mainly due to the lack of internal evidence.

Ziegler established a date around 75-80, on the grounds that Plutarch wrote the treatise not long after the eclipse, so his readership could remember it; and identified the eclipse of 75 as being the one described in 931DE.⁷⁵ Cherniss pointed out the striking similarities in content between *De facie* and *De defectu* but, given that the latter has not yet been successfully dated either, he judged that no clear conclusion could be drawn

⁷² On the way in which the material is transmitted through different characters, see below: 2.5.2. “Means of Communication.”

⁷³ 942AB, ἀστρολογίας μὲν ἐφ’ ὅσον γεωμετρήσαντι πορρωτάτῳ προελθεῖν δυνατόν ἐστιν, ἐμπειρίαν ἔσχε φιλοσοφίας δὲ τῆς ἄλλης τῷ φυσικῷ χρώμενος, and 942BC, Ά μὲν οὖν ἔπαθε καὶ ὅσους ἀνθρώπους διῆλθεν, ιεροῖς τε γράμμασιν ἐντυγχάνων ἐν τελεταῖς τε πάσαις τελούμενος, οὐ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἔργον ἐστὶ διελθεῖν. For more details regarding the Stranger, see my analysis in L. Lesage Gárriga, “L’étranger (*De facie*) et Diotyme (*Symp.*): récits de sages absents,” (in press).

⁷⁴ Donini, *Plutarco. Il volto della luna*, 11-12 n. 10.

⁷⁵ Ziegler, *Plutarco*, 94-95 and 261, where he added 90 as a less probable date of composition. On the eclipse as a source of information to date the treatise, see the following section.

regarding datation.⁷⁶ Christopher Jones also refrained from dating this particular treatise in his chronological study.⁷⁷

In an attempt to gather the information *De facie* does not provide, we need to refer to other treatises in which the same characters appear. As mentioned above, the banquet organized by Sulla in *Quaest. conv.* 8 includes several characters also present in *De facie* and offers useful insights: it is a welcoming dinner to celebrate Plutarch's return after a long absence.⁷⁸ Two important details can be inferred from this treatise:

- 1) Plutarch and Sulla were friends before that dinner, and
- 2) Plutarch had not been in Rome for a while.

Based on Jones' date for the dramatic action of *De cohibenda ira* and on the information included in the preamble to this treatise (453A), Puech estimated that Sulla must have been in Rome from 91/92 onwards.⁷⁹ According to Puech, Plutarch made a trip to Rome around this time, but due to Domitian's edict of expulsion, he could not have been back in the city until the death of the emperor (96). It seems, then, quite plausible that Plutarch and Sulla met for the first time around 92, and the absence referred to in *Quaest. conv.* 8 points to the impossibility for Plutarch, as philosopher, to travel to Rome. It is logical to assume that the banquet took place around 97/98, perhaps during the first year of Trajan's reign (thus 98).⁸⁰

Dating the year of composition of *De facie* is relevant. If Plutarch, Sulla, Lucius and Theon were indeed all present at that dinner, and we accept that the Menelaus of *De facie* was the Menelaus of Alexandria who was in Rome for astronomical observations, then all these characters might have been together in Rome in 98.⁸¹ Hypothetically, it is even possible that Plutarch's brother Lamprias accompanied the author during this trip.⁸² This would be an ideal setting for a lecture on the moon delivered by Plutarch to some of his friends. This is an important fact inasmuch as it would set a *terminus post quem* for

⁷⁶ Cherniss, "Concerning the Face," 13-14.

⁷⁷ C.P. Jones, "Towards a Chronology of Plutarch's Works," *JRS* 56 (1966), 70.

⁷⁸ 8.7, Σύλλας ὁ Καρχηδόνιος εἰς Ρώμην ἀφικομένῳ μοι διὰ χρόνου τὸ ὑποδεκτικόν, ὡς Τρωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν, καταγγείλας δεῖπνον ἄλλους τε τῶν ἔταιρων παρέλαβεν οὐ πολλοὺς. On the characters present both in *De facie* and in *Quaest. conv.*, see subsections 2.2.1. "Sulla," 2.2.4. "Lucius," and 2.2.6. "Theon," above.

⁷⁹ Jones, "Towards a Chronology," 61-63. 453A, ἐγὼ γοῦν ἐνιαυτῷ μὲν ἀφιγμένος εἰς Ρώμην δευτέρῳ, συνὼν δέ σοι μῆνα τοιτού πέμπτον. Puech, "Prosopographie," 4878-4879.

⁸⁰ Sandbach, "The Date of the Eclipse," 16, differently thought that the banquet took place after Plutarch's absence between 79 and 82. His conclusion was that the dramatic date of both *Quaest. conv.* 8 and *De facie* is 84. This is because he did not take into account *De coh. ira* to help situate Sulla's lifetime details.

⁸¹ See 2.2.8. "Menelaus," above.

⁸² It is not unreasonable to consider the possibility of Lamprias travelling to Rome, since in *Quaest. conv.* 8.6 he proves to be fluent in Latin, as pointed out by Cherniss, "Concerning the Face," 9.

the composition of the treatise. It is not unlikely that Plutarch used the event of his lecture for his literary creation, in which he rearranged a number of facts and added a few fictitious characters. The resulting product is what we know as *De facie*, for which we cannot establish a certain date of composition, but it is plausible to think of the turn of the 1st to the 2nd century.

2.4. Date and Location of the Dramatic Action

Not much information can be found within the treatise about the date and location of the dramatic action, only two passages seem to cast light on this: in the first of them (931DE), Lucius makes a reference to a solar eclipse (see analysis below); in the second (937D), Lamprias suggests to the participants to sit, which only points to the fact that all the characters had so far been walking in the outside and they choose to sit in order to provide a silent audience for Sulla's myth. After assessing the material included in 931DE, in order to procure more insights on this matter, it will be helpful, again, to take a look at other treatises in which the characters of *De facie* appear.

The text of 931DE reads: “if you call to mind this recent conjunction, which made many stars shine out from many parts of the sky, beginning after midday, and chilled the air in the manner of twilight.”⁸³

Four indications can be deduced from this text:

- 1) the eclipse was recent,
- 2) many stars shone in the sky,
- 3) it started after midday, and
- 4) it made the temperature resemble that of a sunset.

Elaborating on the text and the information retrieved from it, scholars have offered and evaluated different possibilities, in various attempts, to identify the eclipse mentioned by Plutarch. Among the possibilities five stand out:

- 30th April of 59, date suggested by George Hofmann;⁸⁴
- 20th March of 71, suggested by Nicolas Struyck;⁸⁵

⁸³ 931DE, ταύτης ἔναγχος τῆς συνόδου μνησθέντες, ἥ πολλὰ μὲν ἄστρα πολλαχόθεν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ διέφηνεν εὐθὺς ἐκ μεσημβρίας ἀρξαμένη, κρᾶσιν δὲ οἷαν τὸ λυκανγές τῷ ἀέρι παρέσχεν.

⁸⁴ G. Hofmann, *Ueber eine von Plutarch in seiner Schrift De facie quae in orbe lunae appareat erwähnte Sonnenfinsternis* (Triest: Programm des k. k. Gymnasiums, 1873) 8-11.

⁸⁵ N. Struyck, *Inleiding tot de algemeene geographie benevens eenige sterrekundige en andere verhandelingen* (Amsterdam: Isaak Tirion, 1740) 100-101. F.K. Ginzel, who quoted his predecessor in *Spezieller Kanon der Sonnen- und Mondfinsternisse für das Ländergebiet der klassischen*

- 5th January of 75 and 27th December of 83, both proposed by Sandbach;⁸⁶
- 1st June of 113, suggested by Johann Kepler.⁸⁷

All these possibilities have strengths and shortcomings that will be analyzed below. Considerably helpful to this evaluation is the most recent paper on this issue, “The total solar eclipse described by Plutarch” by Richard Stephenson and Louay Fatoohi, which revised the problem on the grounds of new astronomical data that is much more precise than that used in previous studies.⁸⁸ They based their study on the earth’s past rotation. Even if admitting a small marge of error, they claimed to be able to establish with much precision the place in which eclipses took place and the degree of obscuration reached. For the study of the eclipse that concerns us here, they used data proceeding from the three preeminent cities in Plutarch’s life: Athens, Rome and Alexandria. In what follows, I review, based on the astronomical data facilitated in the paper, the different eclipses proposed since the 17th century.

The eclipse of 59 poses the obvious problem that it appears to be too ancient: Plutarch would have been at most 14 years old at the time. Furthermore, this date would disagree with the term ἔναγκος (‘recent’) used in the passage. The adverb can designate both the very moment of an action and a recent past. The fact that Lucius considers the possibility of his audience not remembering the eclipse might point precisely to an eclipse that happened quite some time before, but certainly not decades.⁸⁹ Additionally, from the astronomical point of view, Stephenson and Fatoohi calculated that this eclipse cannot have exceeded a magnitude of 96%, which would not allow many stars to be visible in the sky.⁹⁰ I think these facts are enough to exclude this eclipse—in fact, it is not among the possibilities evaluated more seriously.

The second possibility, the eclipse of 71, was accepted by most scholars, ever since Struyck proposed it in the 18th century: Friedrich Karl Ginzel, Prickard and more recently Stephenson and Fatoohi are among the adepts.⁹¹ The last two affirmed that the

Altertumswissenschaft und den Zeitraum von 900 vor Chr. bis 600 n. Chr. (Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1899) 202-204, is erroneously held accountable for this date.

⁸⁶ Sandbach, “The Date of the Eclipse.”

⁸⁷ Kepler, *Joh. Kepleri Mathematici*, 133-135.

⁸⁸ F.R. Stephenson & L.J. Fatoohi, “The Total Solar Eclipse Described by Plutarch,” *Histos* 2 (1998) 72-82.

⁸⁹ Cherniss, “Concerning the Face,” 12, correctly pointed to the fact that the eclipse could have happened even years before, but not so long as decades.

⁹⁰ Stephenson & Fatoohi, “The Total Solar Eclipse,” 79. By “magnitude” they mean the percentage of the sun’s diameter covered, thus the degree of obscuration reached.

⁹¹ Ginzel, *Spezieller Kanon der Sonnen- und Mondfinsternisse*, 202; Prickard, *Plutarch on The Face*, 75; Stephenson & Fatoohi, “The Total Solar Eclipse,” 80.

eclipse attained a 99.5% of magnitude near Athens. This would allow the visibility of many stars in daylight and cause a noticeable drop in temperature. This is the interpretation they provided for the expression κρᾶσιν δὲ οἷαν τὸ λυκανγές τῷ ἀέρι παρέσχε. In general, scholars understood the term κρᾶσις as a reference to the combination of colors proper to a sunset.⁹² I agree with Stephenson and Fatoohi that such an interpretation is illogical, since it presents the mixture of tones characteristic of a total eclipse, whose singularity is precisely darkness, namely the lack of tones altogether, at least during a few moments. In this sense, it seems more suitable to understand the term with its secondary meaning “temperature.”⁹³ Since both scholars explained that the decrease of temperature is a phaenomenon that happens especially with eclipses that attain almost a total obscuration, the reference in Plutarch’s description to the temperature of air during twilight (τὸ λυκανγές τῷ ἀέρι) can indeed allude to a decrease of temperature.⁹⁴

It had tacitly been assumed that Plutarch saw the eclipse in his homeland, and, this being the only solar eclipse that took place in Greece during Plutarch’s lifetime, it was enthusiastically accepted by most scholars. This premise, however, was placed in doubt for the first time by Sandbach, who raised the point that Plutarch could have been speaking of an eclipse he heard of, integrating into his description characteristics of other eclipses he might have seen.⁹⁵ If this is true, the eclipse could have taken place anywhere in the Mediterranean world, provided that it met the description offered in 931DE. The eclipse of 71, however, faces two problems. Firstly, if the date of composition of *De facie* suggested above is accepted—turn of the 1st to the 2nd century—the fact that the eclipse occurred in 71 might be in conflict with the use of the adverb “recent.”⁹⁶ Especially considering that two other eclipses happened between 71 and the moment in which the conversation takes place. Secondly, given that it reached its maximum obscuration at 11

⁹² Among them, Raingeard, *Le peri toy prosopoy*, 23; L. Lehnus, *Plutarco. Il volto della luna*, 79; Ramón Palerm, “Sobre la cara visible de la luna,” 162.

⁹³ So, it appears both in LSJ and in Bailly, especially when the term concerns the air, as in this case. Prickard, *Plutarch on The Face*, 31, translated “and produced a chill in the temperature like that of twilight.” In point of fact, another occurrence of this term, in 940D, should also be understood as “temperature” and not as “mixture of tones.”

⁹⁴ Interestingly enough, they stated that it is a phaenomenon not registered in any of the documents we conserve from Antiquity. Plutarch would be, if he indeed was pointing to this phaenomenon, one of the few to observe the decrease in temperature produced during certain types of eclipses.

⁹⁵ Sandbach, “The Date of the Eclipse.”

⁹⁶ See 2.3. “Date of Composition.”

in the morning, it does not meet the condition of starting after midday, since in March the sun would raise around 8 and set at 19:15, which makes midday *circa* 13:30.⁹⁷

Regarding this detail of Plutarch's description, I believe Sandbach's observations are quite opportune: on the one hand, μεσημβρίας does not designate the exact moment of noon, but a period of time during midday; and, on the other hand, the adverb εὐθύς followed by the preposition ἐκ has the sense of "after the end of," and not "at the beginning of." This means that our eclipse should have taken place at the end of midday—near the afternoon—not around midday, as was the mainstream interpretation before him. Based on these remarks, Sandbach concluded that two eclipses—the third and fourth possibilities listed above—were equally likely to be the one described by Plutarch: the eclipse of 75, which was noticeable in Rome, and that of 83, an almost total eclipse in Alexandria. In favor of the first option he mentioned the fact that several characters from *De facie* get together in, or appear associated to Rome elsewhere: either in Plutarch's treatises, such as *Quaest. conv.* 8.7-8, or in Ptolemy's *Almagest* 7. In support of the second option, he referred to the fact that Plutarch could have directly seen the eclipse during his trip to Alexandria.⁹⁸

The fifth possibility, the eclipse of June 113, was not included by Stephenson and Fatoohi in their study. This must be due to the fact that it occurred in what now is Belarus, which makes it improbable for Plutarch to have seen it or heard of it. Furthermore, if the date of composition proposed above is accepted, this eclipse cannot be the one referred to in the treatise, given that it would have happened years later.

Until now, Sandbach's considerations have been accepted by the subsequent editors of our treatise, but Stephenson and Fatoohi brought to the fore the incongruences that emerged when applying new data on the past rotation of the earth.⁹⁹ The eclipse of 75 attained an obscuration of 91% around 15:10 near Rome, which does not suffice to make the stars visible nor to lower the temperature. Furthermore, the impact was more powerful in places quite far from the capital—around 350 km according to their calculations—and at a quite late time, namely around dusk. As they stated, it would be absurd to compare an eclipse that happened at sunset with sunset-like characteristics. The

⁹⁷ See J. Evans, *The History and Practice of Ancient Astronomy* (New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) 95, for the calculation of day hours in Antiquity.

⁹⁸ Plutarch himself speaks about this trip in *Quaest. conv.* 5.5.

⁹⁹ Ziegler, *Plutarco*, 95, also agreed with this first hypothesis, despite stating that choosing between both eclipses would not be possible, immediately after proposed as *De facie*'s date of composition 75-85, thus practically ruling out the eclipse of 83; Cherniss, "Concerning the Face," 11-12; and Del Corno, "Introduction," 31. Stephenson & Fatoohi, "The Total Solar Eclipse," 79-80.

second of the eclipses proposed by Sandbach, that of 83, attained a 98% of obscuration at 14:45 in Alexandria, but was rejected by the authors on the grounds that there is nothing in Plutarch's description that might indicate that the eclipse and the meeting described in *De facie* took place in different locations. While this true, there is nothing in the text to assume that both events took place in the same location either.

In my view, the reasons adduced by Stephenson and Fatoohi in favor of the eclipse of 71 are rather weak. On the one hand, the argument that the data clearly points to the eclipse visible in Greece in 71 seems to obviate the use of ἔναγχος ('recent') to refer to the time in which the eclipse took place, which was also obviated by Ginzel.¹⁰⁰ According to Stephenson and Fatoohi, "there is no suggestion in the record that time was carefully measured; to the casual bystander this eclipse would be regarded as occurring close to midday."¹⁰¹ On the other hand, they dismissed the eclipse of 83 in Alexandria, only based on the assumption that eclipse and meeting happened in the same place and not on astronomical data.¹⁰²

However, I believe the solar eclipse of 83 fits the four indications provided by Plutarch's description, in 931DE: since it attained a 98% of obscuration, it is plausible that many stars were visible for a while and the temperature descended noticeably; the highest degree of obscuration happened around 14:45, a fact that matches the starting point after midday; and, if we accept that *De facie* was composed after 98, it was the most recent solar eclipse, thus justifying the use of the adverb ἔναγχος.

Let us compare the extent to which each of the eclipses analyzed matches the data provided by Plutarch:

	59	71	75	83
Recent			✓	✓
Visibility of many stars		✓		✓
Started after midday	✓		✓	✓
Twilight temperature		✓		✓

¹⁰⁰ Ginzel, *Spezieller Kanon der Sonnen- und Mondfinsternisse*, 202-204.

¹⁰¹ Stephenson & Fatoohi, "The Total Solar Eclipse," 79. Sandbach, "The Date of the Eclipse," 15, had already been outraged by the way of obviating this issue on the part of Ginzel: "Ginzel passes over with the remark (in a footnote!) that accuracy cannot be expected of the ancients, who had to observe with the naked eye."

¹⁰² It could be argued that the location of *De facie* is indeed Alexandria, but it seems safer to assume that the dramatic action does not take place in Egypt, given that, in 939C, Lamprias speaks directly to the Egyptian characters with the following words: ὥσπερ ἄνω περὶ Θήβας παρ' ὑμῖν [...] ἐν δὲ Λιβύῃ καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ.

Despite Sandbach's mistrust, I think Plutarch's description might be based on personal experience.¹⁰³ The term κρᾶσις, if it does actually refer to the temperature, and the description of the corona of light a bit later on are both very specific details of total solar eclipses that do not appear elsewhere among classical authors.¹⁰⁴ It is, consequently, probable that Plutarch perceived them personally rather than read about them, but this is a matter hardly verifiable. Furthermore, once we dispose of the assumption that eclipse and meeting took place in the same location, it is reasonable to think that Plutarch might have seen the eclipse in one of his trips to Alexandria and years later recorded his experience in Lucius' speech in *De facie*.¹⁰⁵

If my interpretation is correct, and the eclipse described was indeed that of 83, it is unclear whether or not every character of the treatise saw it. While two of the interlocutors are indeed related to Egypt—Theon and Menelaus—it is not so for the others, and we have no clue as to whether the rest were, at that time, in Alexandria. Admittedly, all the characters participating in the dialogue are men of culture, and a total solar eclipse was an important phaenomenon that could not have escaped their attention. All the more, if the eclipse was the last one to occur before their meeting, by using “if you recall” (μνησθέντες), Lucius might have been appealing to the general knowledge of his colleagues, not necessarily to direct witness.

While identifying the solar eclipse at stake in the passage helps setting the date of the action, it does not, however, help to determine the location. Given that *De facie* does not provide more evidence on the issue, one needs to resort to other treatises in which the same characters appear. In the light of *Quaest. conv.* 8, which presents Sulla, Theon, Lucius and Plutarch together at the dinner organized by Sulla in Rome around 98, and of *Almagest* 7, which places Menelaus in the city for astronomical observations, all these characters might have been together in Rome in 98.¹⁰⁶ Therefore, it is reasonable to place the meeting of *De facie* at that location and time.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ Sandbach, “The Date of the Eclipse,” 15.

¹⁰⁴ 932B, οὐκ ἔχει χρόνον οὐδὲ πλάτος ἡ ἔκλεψις, ἀλλὰ περιφαίνεται τις αὐγὴ περὶ τὴν ἵπιν οὐκ ἐῶσα βαθεῖαν γενέσθαι τὴν σκιὰν καὶ ἄκρατον. On this issue, see Stephenson & Fatoohi, “The Total Solar Eclipse,” 74.

¹⁰⁵ This was suggested by Sandbach, “The Date of the Eclipse,” 16, for whom the return from Alexandria mentioned in *Quaest. conv.* 5.5 could have been around 83/84.

¹⁰⁶ See above, 2.3. “Date of Composition.”

¹⁰⁷ Of the remaining characters, we have already seen that Aristotle and Pharnaces do not appear in any other of Plutarch's works and might very well be literary creations; only Apollonides then remains un-situated.

2.4.1. Concluding Remarks

From this brief analysis, we may conclude the following:

- 1) The eclipse referred to in 931DE is in all likelihood the one visible in Alexandria in 83. Plutarch probably witnessed it personally—a possibility reinforced by the specific knowledge of total solar eclipses that he shows—and so did the Egyptians Theon and Menelaus, who participate in the dialogue.
- 2) This allows us to discard the assumption that eclipse and meeting took place in the same location, which moreover lacks any textual support whatsoever.
- 3) Given that the location of both the eclipse and the meeting is not necessarily the same, and taking the information provided by *Quaest. conv.* 8 and *Almagest* 7 into consideration, a new date and location for the action can be postulated: Rome in 98.

2.5. Structure of the Treatise and Summary of its Contents

Up to the present, two different structures have been proposed for *De facie*. According to Del Corno and Mota, *De facie* divides neatly in two parts; however, Del Corno separated chapters 1-23 and 24-30, while Mota distinguished chapters 1-25 from 26-30.¹⁰⁸ The obvious difference between these otherwise identical divisions concerns chapters 24-25, regarding the habitability of the moon, which remain difficult to allocate in either section.

This peculiarity has led other scholars to suggest, rightly in my view, a tripartite, rather than a bipartite, structure with these chapters forming a block in their own right. Cherniss, for instance, believed that this part, focusing on the metaphysical problem of the teleology of the moon, is not a mere literary device, but rather an important transitional section with the specific function of leading the reader from the “scientific” discussion to the final myth.¹⁰⁹ Similarly Pérez Jiménez, who addressed the issue of *De facie*’s structure on more than one occasion, adopts a tripartite division but interprets it slightly differently. In his view, the block on the moon’s habitability accomplishes two main functions:

- 1) formal, since it is the nexus between natural philosophy and religion, and

¹⁰⁸ Del Corno, “Introduction,” 32; and Mota, *Plutarco*, 10-11.

¹⁰⁹ Cherniss, “Concerning the Face,” 18.

2) literary, because it relaxes the tense tone of the previous debate, bringing up the issue of the existence of life from a perspective free of any dogmatism, and full of literary and mythological references.¹¹⁰

In this sense, and from a strictly structural perspective, a first block (chapters 1-23) includes the discussion by several interlocutors. This is followed by the second one (chapters 24-25), a transitional section including the dialogue of two characters only. The third block (chapters 26-30) is composed by a tale narrated entirely by one of the characters alone.

However, given that scholarship has tended to associate the formal structure with the contents, and thus posed a dichotomy of *scientific* vs. *mythological* parts, the treatise has been subjected to a bipartite structure with two sections unconnected with one another. Differently, in several studies, Donini already pointed out that the unity, coherence, and consistency of the treatise as a whole is without question; what still needs to be assessed is its meaning and message.¹¹¹

2.5.1. The Lost Beginning

It was first Xylander who in the 16th century suggested that there was something missing in the beginning of the text.¹¹² Wytténbach also expressed concern on the matter, and the critical apparatus to his edition reads: *Exordii aut nulla, aut non magna pars periisse videbitur.*¹¹³ According to Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Rudolf Hirzel and Maximilian Adler, on the contrary, what we have is the beginning as Plutarch wrote it.¹¹⁴ Their opinion is nowadays dismissed, however, and there is general agreement that the beginning is mutilated: the opening *ex abrupto* and the lack of any sort of introduction evince that at least a short part must have been lost during textual transmission.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ Pérez Jiménez, “Gestos, palabras y actitudes,” 65-66; also in “Plutarco y el paisaje lunar,” in J. García López & E. Calderón Dorda (eds.), *Estudios sobre Plutarco: Paisaje y naturaleza. Actas del II Simposio Español sobre Plutarco* (Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas, 1991) 308.

¹¹¹ P.L. Donini, “Science and Metaphysics. Platonism, Aristotelianism and Stoicism in Plutarch’s *On the face of the moon*,” in J. Dillon & A. Long (eds.), *The Question of Eclecticism. Studies on Later Greek Philosophy* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London: California University Press, 1988) 126-144; and Donini, *Plutarco. Il volto della luna*, 10. On this difficulty and for a new approach, see Chapter 5.

¹¹² Xylander, *Plutarchi Ethicorum sive Moralium*, vol. 3, 431.

¹¹³ Wytténbach, *Plutarchi Chaeronensis Moralia*, vol. 4, 723.

¹¹⁴ Adler gave his opinion and that of his predecessors in M. Adler, *Dissertationes philologae Vindobonenses. Quibus ex fontibus Plutarchus libellum “De facie in orbe lunae” hauserit* (Vienna-Leipzig: Bibliopola Acad. Lit. Caes. Vind., 1910) 89.

¹¹⁵ For a general view on this issue, see H.Jr. Martin, “Plutarch’s *De facie*: the Recapitulations and the Lost Beginning,” *GRBS* 15 (1974) 73-88.

Notwithstanding this, there is no consensus regarding the content of the lost portion. Cherniss suggested that Sulla arrives right at the moment in which the company is about to recapitulate an earlier conversation, and promises to tell a story afterwards if he is allowed to listen.¹¹⁶ Hubert Jr. Martin, more cautiously, suggested that “enough background information” must have been provided, although it cannot be known which details exactly were included.¹¹⁷

The lost beginning might have contained two sorts of information.

- 1) The place and a time of the discussion, because the treatise barely provides any details on this.¹¹⁸ Some scholars, however, pushed this idea too far and expected the alleged missing section to have contained every detail they wished to know about the treatise. According to Arthur Octavius Prickard: “an introduction of the speakers, with some explanation as to time and place, a reference to a set discussion at which a number of speakers had been present, and a promise of Sulla to narrate a myth.”¹¹⁹ Bernardo Mota stated that it probably included information regarding date and place, both of composition and of dramatic action.¹²⁰ Given that Sulla’s first sentence alludes to ‘his myth’ (Ἐμῷ μύθῳ), the only thing that can be deemed as certain, in my opinion, is a mention regarding his will to narrate a myth to the rest of the participants.
- 2) The treatise could have started with the conversation between Lamprias and an unknown interlocutor—who will not intervene further in the dialogue—or with Lamprias’ description to a silent party of the context leading to the conversation.¹²¹ Dario del Corno provided examples taken from Plutarch’s oeuvre for both possibilities.¹²²

¹¹⁶ Cherniss, “Concerning the Face,” 14.

¹¹⁷ Martin, “Plutarch’s *De facie*: the Recapitulations and the Lost Beginning,” 74.

¹¹⁸ On this issue, see below: 2.4. “Date and Location of the Dramatic Action.”

¹¹⁹ A.O. Prickard, *Plutarch on The Face Which Appears on the Orb of the Moon* (Winchester: Warren and Son / London: Simpkin, 1911) 6-7.

¹²⁰ B. Mota, *Plutarco. Obras Morais. Sobre a face visível no orbe da lua* (Coimbra: Coimbra University Press, 2010) 7.

¹²¹ Martin, “Plutarch’s *De facie*,” 86; A. Pérez Jiménez “Gestos, palabras y actitudes en el *De facie in orbe lunae* de Plutarco,” *Ploutarchos* 1 (2003/2004) 63.

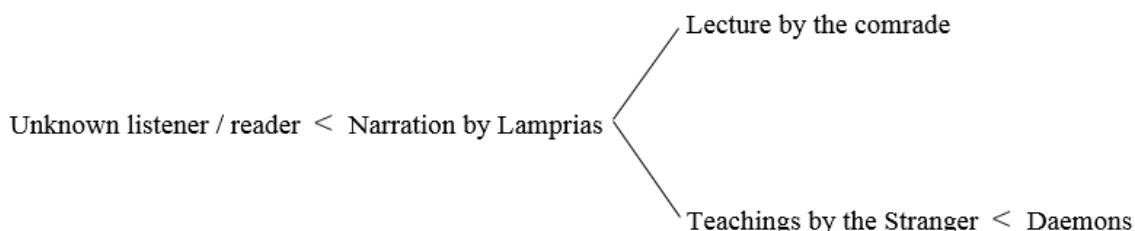
¹²² D. del Corno, “Introduction,” in *Plutarco. Il volto della luna* (Milan: Piccola Biblioteca Adelphi, 1991) 27. He proposed *De genio*, *De Pyth. or.* and *Amatorius* for the first case, *De sera*, *De def. or.* and *De E* for the second case.

2.5.2. Means of Communication

Related to the question of the structure is also the matter of the means through which the material is communicated, namely the channels conveying the information from the original source to the final audience, the reader. As stated above, Lamprias reports the conversation held by the participants of *De facie* to an unknown listener in the 1st person employing direct speech; although, some parts are transmitted in indirect speech as well. The contents of that conversation, in turn, come from different sources.

On the one hand, part of the contents result from the summary of an earlier lecture held by the comrade, which roughly equates the first block. On the other, part of the contents can be traced back to a mysterious wise man called the Stranger, along with the daemons who shared the task of serving the god Cronos for several years with the Stranger. These contents were shared in the conversation by the participant Sulla, who met the Stranger at some point, which roughly equate the third bloc. Lamprias re-transmits the Stranger's teachings directly in Sulla's own words and mid-narration onwards in the Stranger's own words.

The unknown listener—or the implied reader, for that matter—hears about the conversation second-hand from Lamprias, the comrade's lecture and the Stranger's teachings third-hand, and the daemons' knowledge forth-hand.



2.5.3. First Part: the Discussion

The longest block is formed by the discussion concerning the nature of the moon.¹²³ While the main goal of the block is the defense of the moon's earthy nature, the

¹²³ I opt for the term “discussion” as I believe it reflects the formal composition of the treatise, rather than the contents in it included, which is the sense implied by the traditional terms, “science,” “scientific part.” F. Frazier, “De la physique à la métaphysique. Une lecture du *De facie*,” in E. Amato (ed.), *ΚΑΛΟΙΣ ΚΟΙΝΟΠΡΑΓΙΑ. Hommages à la mémoire de P.L. Malosse et J. Bouffartigue* (Paul-Valéry Montpellier University / Nantes University, 2014), 243-264 (RET suppl. 3, special issue) 246, chose the term “argumentative,” in the sense of involving logical arguments. See 5.1. “Introduction” to Chapter 5 for more details on the problematic terminology and its consequences.

scene is a lively dialogue between representatives of different philosophical school positions on the matter. The first block addresses several theories and presents their corresponding refutations in a straightforward manner. Interventions are introduced with wit, which helps enact a pleasant dialogue of an otherwise complex topic.

As mentioned above, the dialogue among the characters is presented as a recapitulation of a previous lecture in which this same topic was addressed. Regarding this previous lecture, Cherniss believed that it never really took place. In his view, it is a literary fiction intended to facilitate the developing arguments.¹²⁴ Differently, Martin considered the hypothesis of two different conversations: a real lecture given by the so-called ἐταῖρος and an independent discussion afterwards. In so doing, his purpose was to distinguish within Lamprias' and Lucius' interventions the content that was new to them from that which was part of either the lecture or the later discussion.¹²⁵

Although we cannot rule out Martin's hypothesis completely, I am not convinced by his distinction between two separate discussions. To begin with, as Donini already pointed out, his opinion is both purely conjectural and irrelevant for the comprehension of the treatise.¹²⁶ Besides, it seems to unnecessarily complicate the structure of the treatise. I rather believe that the mention of a διατριβή (929B) should be understood as a reference to a real lecture given by Plutarch and attended by a few friends, which he afterwards rearranged and composed as a literary piece—what we now know as *De facie*. In this sense, there is no need to speculate about another discussion that would have taken place between the lecture and the composition of the treatise.

In any case, it seems clear that not all the participants in *De facie* attended this lecture. Both Lamprias and Lucius obviously were present, given that they are responsible for its recapitulation. It is also obvious that Sulla was not present, for he requests to be allowed to listen the recapitulation. As for the other characters, some evidence can be extracted from the treatise: Apollonides asks about a theory that was discussed in the previous lecture (920F and 921B), which implies that he did not attend; Theon's simple explanation of an eclipse in 932DE suggests that he did not attend the lecture either, because an extensive description for such a phenomenon was provided then; as for Pharnaces, Aristotle and Menelaus no clues in the dialogue allow us to decide whether they were or not present.

¹²⁴ Cherniss, "Concerning the Face," 16-17.

¹²⁵ Martin, "Plutarch's *De facie*," 74-85.

¹²⁶ Donini, *Plutarco. Il volto della luna*, 12.

Let us have a closer look at the different theories and ideas reflected upon in this block.

2.5.3.1. The Stains and Irregularities on the Moon's Surface

The first issue under discussion (920C) is the origin of the features we see on the surface of the moon and that shape the figure we call face. While some people believe that the so-called face might be due to a deficiency of sight, Lamprias denies this possibility on the grounds that he who has weak sight does not perceive it and he who has an acute sight can distinguish it neatly. At the request of Apollonides (920F), Lamprias explains and refutes the theory of the Peripatetic philosopher Clearchus, who defended that the face on the moon is the reflection of the sea, as an image reflected in a polished and uniform mirror. The sea, however, cannot be the image reflected on the moon's surface: while the features show accidents and do not have a uniform appearance, the sea flows continuously.

2.5.3.2. The Moon's Nature: Aether and Light or Air and Fire

In order to introduce his own theory, Lamprias (921DE) suggests that if the moon were an ethereal and luminous body—as defended by Apollonides and Aristotelians—the phaenomenon of reflection should not take place, since, in that case, the rays of sunlight would be shattered. Furthermore, he wonders why, if this is the case, this reflection does not also affect other stars as well.

At this point (921F), Lamprias asks Lucius to expose the Academic hypothesis discussed in the previous lecture, but Lucius in turns suggests that Lamprias address a few words first to Pharnaces, the representative of the Stoic school. Lamprias accepts and explains that, according to the Stoics, the moon is an amalgam composed out of air and fire. In his opinion, this is impossible for two reasons. Firstly, air is illuminated throughout when receiving light, therefore the different phases of the moon should not occur. Secondly, fire needs of a solid body to nourish, which means that some earthly element must be part of the moon's nature.

Pharnaces then (922E) retorts by denouncing the Academic tendency to dismiss other theories without even explaining the position of the school. In his view, the Academic cosmological theory turns the universe upside down. To this accusation, Lucius replies (923A) that the ideas of the Academy at least are not ludicrous; and that it is rather Stoics, who consider the earth to be suspended in the air, who turn the universe



upside down. In his view the moon, being a body of earthy nature, is just as stable as the earth, but not for the same reasons: while the earth is simply immobile, the moon's rotatory movement provides the stability that prevents its fall.

2.5.3.3. The Order of the Cosmos and the Moon's Place in it

According to Pharnaces (923E), the reason why the earth has a stable position is that it is situated in the natural center of the cosmos and that all heavy bodies tend to it and converge there—the moon, if earthy, included.

Lamprias asks the interlocutors not to refute ridiculous theories with even more ridiculous ones (923F). He is in disagreement with the theory of a centripetal movement, and states that, if indeed everything is naturally attracted to the earth, it would be due to the fact that everything somehow participates of the earth's substance. Lamprias then concludes that the moon is not attracted to the earth because it is an autonomous entity of its own (924E). He further criticizes (925A) those who, agreeing with such a theory, affirm that there is no space whatsoever between earthly bodies—inasmuch as they are part of earth and move towards it—because they assume in turn that the moon, being in the upper region, is a star. On the contrary, despite its location above, its closeness to the earth is a proof that it has a similar nature.

In order to develop his argument against other philosophical schools (925D), Lamprias often utilizes rhetorical questions as a recurrent trick. He provides data on the distance between sun and moon, and he criticizes concepts such as above and down and the resulting order of elements in the universe. If the cosmos is infinite, he says, there is no begin or end and from this it follows that the earth cannot occupy a central position. But even if this up and down order is accepted, the current position of the moon does not prevent the moon from being earthy; it simply states that it is out of its proper place. He argues that this is the case by proposing several examples, such as the fire of the Etna, placed below earth instead of above, or the intellect, a fast and invisible entity imprisoned in a material body.

Still, he insists (926D) that the cosmos is not ordered by natural dispositions, but rather by what is best. He affirms that at the beginning everything was separated, but then the better brought order to it. He even questions which role Zeus would have in the cosmos if everything finds its proper order by itself: his laws are those of reason, and such laws are stronger than those of nature. Lamprias then uses human beings as an example: each part of the body is placed where it is best for the whole, not where it *naturally* should



be. And so it goes for the cosmos as well: even though nothing appears to be logical, in fact each body has its proper and particular place assigned by the better, namely by providence.

Once again (928C), he refutes the Stoic approach that the moon's position in the universe implies that it consists of air and fire. In his view, not all light bodies must be "up" and not all heavy bodies must be "down," since they are governed by a different, better law. Despite its position, the moon can in fact be earthy.

2.5.3.4. The Moon's Nature According to Aristotelianism

Here, Aristotle intervenes (928D) and introduces the Aristotelian theory of the fifth element (aether) and the circular movement of the stars. Lucius points out (929A) that the moon's features under discussion must be due to an affection of its substance or to a mixture of different substances. The Aristotelian aether, exempt of any alteration and decay, therefore, cannot be the substance of the moon. If it were, the moon would turn out to be a deformed element, which certainly cannot be the product of divine providence. If, however, the moon is of earthy nature, it can proudly claim the irregularities of its surface, given that the earth is an honorable and revered body that happens to present the same irregularities.

2.5.3.5. The Question of the Moon's Illumination

Lucius then focuses (929B) on the moon's illumination, stating that the comrade was right to affirm that the sun provides it with its brilliance: the light of the moon is the reflection of the sun's light, and this explains its tenuousness and lack of warmth.

Sulla asks (929F) about the issue of the half-moon: if all reflection happens at equal angles, the rays coming from the sun and reflected on the moon should glance off in the opposite direction and never reach the earth. Lucius questions the truth of the law of reflection: it is an uncertain hypothesis without concensus. In case it were true (930D), this law would only be applicable to polished mirrors, something that the moon is not.

After this argument, he refutes, once again, the Stoic theory (930F). If the moon is a blend of air and fire, it should never show one hemisphere darkened. Besides, its light, as stated lines above, is provided by the sun, and consequently external, therefore, it is not the result of an inner illumination. With the softest graze of light the moon should be completely illuminated, never partially illuminated. Furthermore, he insists (931B) that delicate and tenuous bodies do not produce reflection. Because the moon does, it must be



of a heavy and earthy nature. In order to reinforce this point, he offers an analogy: two bodies are of the same nature if they react in the same manner to the same cause—the earth and the moon are illuminated in the same way by the sun’s light.

2.5.3.6. The Question of the Moon’s Obscuration

After Lamprias and the rest of participants applaud his argumentation (931D), Lucius takes up with another analogy: two bodies must be of the same nature if they produce the same effect onto an object. An example of this is the sun’s setting and an eclipse, which are one and the same effect, the former produced by the earth and the latter by the moon.

Lucius then establishes (932A) the moon’s size and proportion with respect to the earth and, based on these calculations, explains why the night has a deeper and longer darkness than the eclipses: it is due to the earth’s bigger size, which hides to a greater extent the sun’s light. He continues (932E) with a more exhaustive explanation of the phenomenon, discussing other aspects such as the shape of the shadow—namely, the cone of umbra—the first side of each body to be caught by it, its duration and magnitude, etc. While all these notions strengthen the claim of an earthy moon, they also disprove the Stoic belief: because in total darkness the light is more intense, if the moon were feeble fire, it should not disappear but shine even brighter during eclipses.

Pharnaces fights this statement, and he defends (933F) that the moon proves its fiery nature precisely during eclipses when it acquires its characteristic tone of hot coal. Lamprias (934A) intervenes in order to stress an issue dealt with earlier in the conversation: the color just mentioned by Pharnaces is the proof that we deal with a solid body, since no trace of flame or incandescence is possible in a tenuous body that lacks a material body to nourish its combustion. Furthermore, such a color is not the only one that the moon presents during eclipses: depending on the time of the day in which it is caught by the shadow, the moon may display many different tones.

2.5.3.7. Possible Refutations of the Academic Theory

At this moment, Apollonides interrupts Lamprias (935D) and raises the problem of the size of the moon’s shadows: if the moon is an earthy body and its shadows are the consequence of geographical irregularities—he comments ironically—then their size must be disproportionately larger in order to cast a shadow that can be seen from earth. Lamprias reminds him (935E) that just because a shadow reaches far does not mean that



the object casting it needs to be gigantic: it depends on the distance between the two objects.¹²⁷

Finally (936C), Lamprias himself refutes a possible Stoic criticism against the Academic belief regarding the moon reflecting the sun's light: how would it be possible that the moon does not show an image of the sun reflected on it during night, in the same way as an image of the reflected object is visible in water during the day? In his opinion, Stoics disregard the fact that not all surfaces reflect images in the same way. The moon can reflect the sun's light due to the power and the strength of the light's brilliance. However, it cannot reflect the sun's image on its own surface due to its irregularities and rugosity. In the same line, it cannot reflect our visual ray towards the sun, due to the weakness and tenuousness of this type of rays.

Despite the strong tendency to defend the moon's earthy nature throughout the discussion, no clear conclusion is reached by the end of this block.

2.5.4. Second Part: Transitional Section

The second block assesses the question of the possible habitability of the moon and presents an elaborate and balanced bipartition. Theon intervenes first, in 937D, to raise the question of the moon's habitability and exposes four arguments to rule out any possibility of life on the moon. After applauding his colleague in 938C, Lamprias intervenes and refutes one by one each Theon's arguments.

Theon's first argument (937DE) suggests that if the moon is of the same nature as earth and is not inhabited, it must be useless. He adds a quote from Plato and a couple of mythological references (to Ixion and Tantalus) to support this argument. To this Lamprias replies (938D, τὸ πρῶτον) that the lack of life on the moon would not be the cause of its uselessness: in fact, the earth is not inhabited everywhere, there are many places deserted. And if the moon does not have inhabitants, it must certainly have other purposes, like the reflection of solar light, the reduction of solar heat, the dispersion of exhalations from earth, etc. He also resorts to a quote from Plato and to mythological references (Artemis).

The second argument (937EF) centres around the fact that the moon's three different movements should expel every sort of being living on it. Theon refers to the

¹²⁷ It will also depend on the degree of inclination of the illuminating object, but Lamprias does not mention this fact.

movements with the terms μῆκος, πλάτος and βάθος ('longitude, latitude and depth') and refers to astronomers, in an effort to reinforce this argument. Based on the same terms and references to astronomers, Lamprias replies (938F, ἔπει) that, although the moon's movement is surely not unique, the rotation is peaceful and regular, and thus, it prevents the fall of the alleged inhabitants.

Theon's third argument (938AB) points to the arid environment in the moon: the high temperatures of the summer solstice make any form of life impossible, especially because there are 12 solstices on the moon, corresponding to the full moons. To this Lamprias retorts (939B) that between the unbearable temperatures of the 12 full moons the conjunctions provide moderate temperatures that resemble springs.

The last argument (938BC) is that the meteorological conditions of the moon make sustenance impossible: Theon first points to the poor quality of the air and to the scarcity of clouds and rain; then he refers to a certain Indian root described by Megasthenes that obviously could not spring forth on the moon as a result of the previous problems. Lamprias answers to each of Theon's concerns (939C-940E, ἔπειτα). The air on the moon is in fact pure and pristine, and thus, beneficial. Even if rains are not required everywhere—a fact proved by the existence of plants here on earth that prefer dry environments—mist and breezes can occur on the moon, for it produces the most feminine effects, as opposed to those of the sun. He then resorts to the aforementioned Indian root to suggest that, even though the conditions on the moon are certainly not the same as on earth, beings living on it might have adapted to its environment, and thus, they feed and grow in a very different way than beings on earth.

Sulla then interrupts Lamprias (940F), worried that he might step onto his myth, which concerns precisely the beings living on the moon and their role in human life and afterlife.

2.5.5. Third Part: the Myth

Despite the attention drawn by the myth of *De facie*, no sound interpretation of its contents has been provided yet. In my view, this is due to the fact that scholars tended to disregard the importance of its beginning in 941A-942D (chapter 26), considering it as a contextualizing introduction, loosely connected with the rest of the myth.

Before delving into the structure of the myth a brief overview of its content is in place.



2.5.5.1. The Content of the Myth

After briefly mentioning that he heard the story he is about to recount from the Stranger, Sulla introduces a geographical description that provides this character with a background and explains when and how the Stranger received his knowledge. Natural from a faraway continent, the Stranger passed a good part of his life as one of the servants of Cronos on the far island where the god had once been imprisoned by Zeus. After a period of thirty years, and free to leave, the Stranger devoted his life to travelling and reading many sacred books, and was initiated into various mysteries. He finally reached Carthage, where he met Sulla and conveyed to him the story that forms the rest of the myth.

The Stranger highlights the vital importance of the moon, which should be revered above all other gods. To explain this point, he adapts the myth of Demeter and Persephone, stating that while the former rules over terrestrial affairs, the latter both governs and lives on the moon. His story introduces important changes into the myth: to begin with the new location of Persephone also implies a new location for Hades, now placed in the space between the earth and the moon; then Demeter and Persephone are said to meet only in the shadows, instead of in broad daylight, and their reunion takes place every six months, instead of lasting six months.

He follows up these claims by introducing the view of the tripartite human being. This theory, against traditional interpretations, is not simple or bipartite, but formed out of body, soul and intellect. Each of these components is provided by and closely connected to a cosmological element: while the earth provides the body, the moon furnishes the soul, and the sun contributes with the intellect. Together with this new anthropological perspective, the myth introduces another new theory: a first and a second death. While Demeter takes care of the first death, helping to separate the body from the rest, Persephone governs the second one, detaching intellect from soul. Hermes with his different aspects, *chthonios* and *ouranios*, helps each goddess with her respective task.

After the first death, the soul-intellects ascend towards the moon, which they reach after waiting for a while in the air between earth and moon, where they are punished or purified. Two descriptions follow: firstly, the nature of the soul-intellect and, secondly, that of the substance and appearance of the moon. The moon is not simple, but a compound of earth and star, which makes it both animated and fertile. This provides the stability that explains its position in the universe. It is much bigger than geometers say,



and the so-called face should not provoke terror, since it is simply due to the irregularities of its surface. This first allusion to the geography of the moon (selenography, from now on) is used to advance eschatological notions: the moon's different features—the recess of Hecate, the recesses of the Blessed—are explained according to the role they play in the afterlife of the soul-intellects.

After describing the second death and the separation of the intellect from the soul, the story focuses on the soul, which depending on its nature dissolves quicker or slower into the moon's essence. The myth draws to a close with another reference to the tripartite composition of the human beings, the relationship of its three components to the three cosmological elements, and the role of the three Moirai in human destiny.

2.5.5.2. *The Structure of the Myth*

Let us consider how the myth's structure has been interpreted by scholars. Ever since William Hamilton, the myth has been split into two parts: while the first part provides an ostensibly historical framework for the second, the second includes the philosophical portion of the myth.¹²⁸ Scholars, in general, maintained this division: Raingeard, Guy Souri and Cherniss all endorsed this bipartition and viewed chapter 26 as a preamble or introduction to the myth's *real* content.¹²⁹ Adelmo Barigazzi and Pérez Jiménez are the only scholars, as far as I know, that challenged this dichotomy. While Barigazzi tried to understand the whole myth as philosophically relevant, Pérez Jiménez structured the myth in four parts: an allegorical exegesis of Demeter's and Persephone's myth, an anthropology, a moral eschatology, and a draft of a demonology. Nevertheless, both of them accepted the basic binary of geography-eschatology of the soul.¹³⁰

Admittedly, the tenor of the first segment of the myth is rather different than the rest, which deals with the soul's life. It is my contention, however, that its function transcends that of a simple presentation or contextualization in a pseudo-historical

¹²⁸ W. Hamilton, "The Myth in Plutarch's *De Facie* (940F-945D)," *CQ* 28 (1934) 24-26.

¹²⁹ Raingeard, *Le peri toy prosopoy*, 134 and 141; G. Souri, *La démonologie de Plutarque. Essai sur les idées religieuses et les mythes d'un Platonicien éclectique* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1942) 178; and Cherniss, "Concerning the Face," 20-21.

¹³⁰ A. Barigazzi, "L'arresto della freccia del tempo (*De facie in orbe* 941 A ss.)," in M. García Valdés (ed.), *Estudios sobre Plutarco: Ideas Religiosas* (Madrid; Ediciones Clásicas, 1994) 60. A. Pérez Jiménez, "Ciencia, religión y literatura en el Mito de Sila de Plutarco," in M. Brios & F.J. González (eds.), *Actitudes literarias en la Grecia romana* (Seville: Pórtico, 1998) 288-290; and A. Pérez Jiménez "Valores literarios del mito de Sila: anotaciones estilísticas a la antropología de Plu., *De facie* 943a-943b," in L. Torraca (ed.), *Scritti in onore di Italo Gallo* (Naples: Ed. Scientifiche Italiane, 2002) 466-467.

framework that intends to provide credibility and respectability to the author. Rather, I think that the section 941A-942D (chapter 26) has a crucial structural function in the mythical narration in so far as it provides an earthly counterpart to the lunar eschatology.

Consequently, on the basis of the sketch of the content presented in the previous section, I divide the myth into four sections:

- 1) The geographical description of Cronos' island, the journey of his servitors, and the correction of the traditional version of Demeter's and Persephone's myth (941A-942F).
- 2) A cosmological-anthropology that explains both the constitution and the separation of the different components of a human being, the cosmological elements involved in the process, and the description of the first and the second deaths, which includes the work of Demeter, Persephone and Hermes (943AB).
- 3) The geographical description of the moon and its surroundings with the narration of an eschatology composed by the ascent of the soul and the ascent of the intellect (943C-945B).
- 4) Another cosmological-anthropology that in this case delves into the creation of the human being (945CD).

Of these four sections, the two first are closely linked to the two last ones in an ABAB pattern. This is so because the whole myth, as a matter of fact, intends to provide a soteriological framework based on ethics. Salvation, or achievement of human final destiny, is presented as a quest that takes place both during and after this life. While the first part develops during this life and, as we will see, includes two stages, the second part takes place after death and also includes two stages. Both parts are conceived as steps in a developmental process: after completing each stage of the first part, humans are led to the subsequent part; and when both stages are complete here as well, humans finally attain the highest bliss.¹³¹

According to this new interpretation of the myth's structure, the passages in 942DF belong to section 1, even though previous studies considered it a part of the eschatological section of the myth. While the bulk of section 1 occupies 941A to 942D (chapter 26), its last part has two important functions. First, the reinterpretation of Demeter's and Persephone's myth is essential, since they are now related to earth and

¹³¹ See 5.3.2.2. "The archipelago of Ogygia and the moon" and footnote 164, in Chapter 5, for the two stages of each part.

moon respectively. This is necessary to introduce both the tripartite anthropology and the two deaths, which form the core of section 2. Secondly, the very last sentence of section 1 anticipates most of the elements—the ascension of the soul towards the moon, the ethical function of its stay there, and already hints at the second death—that will appear later in the development of the eschatology, which is, in turn, the core of section 3, hence connecting the two A parts.¹³² Consequently, section 1 clearly plays a structural and functional role within the myth.

More on the specific contents and meaning of parts 1 and 3 (A parts), and 2 and 4 (B parts) in Chapter 5.



¹³² This was noted by Pérez Jiménez, “Valores literarios,” 466.



CHAPTER 3. CRITICAL EDITION

3.1. Editorial Criteria

The main position adopted for this new critical edition is to maintain the manuscripts' reading whenever possible. Over the last centuries, interventions in the text have sometimes gone too far and do not always have firm support. On one hand, many times we find interventions with too strong a tendency to regularize the text and produce a perfectly polished construction. What is even worse, conjectures to supply a lacuna often lead to further modifications of the surrounding text, which originally presented no difficulty. In my view, interventions should be avoided whenever semantics and syntax are correct, even if EB may include some imperfections or unusual grammar.¹

On the other hand, we find interventions with conceptual and philosophical, rather than textual, motivations. In so doing, scholars have sometimes tended to introduce in the text ideas that might support their interpretation of Plutarch's thought. These types of interventions should be avoided at all costs. An example of this is evidenced in 932B, where Kepler corrected the number τεσσαράκοντα ('forty') (transmitted by both E and B) into τριάκοντα ('thirty'), in order to make the text fit his own calculations.²

Against the above mentioned tendencies and following the on-going trend in textual criticism, I avoid the introduction of modifications that are not required by the grammar or by the context.³ The manuscripts offer satisfactory readings that can be

¹ I avoid the general tendency to regularize Plutarch's language and style, which means that in cases of crasis, elisions, and hiatus, I simply reproduce the manuscripts' reading. In the particular case of hiatus, I do not think they should be avoided on the grounds of Plutarch's own opinion on the matter, since in *Bellone an pace* 350E he criticizes Isocrates' fear to allow even just one hiatus.

² Kepler, *Ioh. Keppleri Mathematici*, 136.

³ M.L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique Applicable to Greek and Latin Texts* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973).

retained for an approximate 40% of the cases where interventions have been proposed by scholarship. While in such cases I follow the manuscripts, variant readings are placed in the apparatus for the reader to assess the different possibilities. However, the choice to maintain the manuscripts' readings does not imply that they transmit Plutarch's text without alterations. My contention is that, unless we have firm proof that a specific reading was not Plutarch's election, there is no strong reason to intervene in the text.

3.1.1. Agreements between E and B

Neither of the manuscripts mark the subscribed iota. Most of the times this poses no problem, but in a few cases the word might be read as a nominative, which has given rise to different interpretations of particular passages. The relevant cases have been treated in Chapter 4.⁴

In general, E and B also agree in the transmission of lacunae. These are always marked in the body of text, despite the fact that in several occasions the sentence preceding or following it is complete both from a semantic and a syntactic point of view. An illustrative and approximate length has been provided in the apparatus, even if, as Robert Flacelière noted, it does not guarantee that the lost section matched the length transmitted by the manuscripts.⁵ In fact, most of the times E and B do not agree on the lengths they provide.

3.1.2. Discrepancies between E and B

Despite the many collations undertaken over the years by different scholars, there are still divergences between the manuscripts that have not yet been noticed by previous scholarship.⁶ Every discrepancy between the manuscripts has been recorded in the critical apparatus, with the exception of differences between οὗτως - οὗτο. In these cases, B provides the correct form either before a vowel or a consonant, and, therefore, the manuscript is followed.

⁴ See, for example, the headings to 921D, with τοιαύτῃ; and 933A, with ταύτῃ and ὑποφερομένῃ.

⁵ R. Flacelière, *Plutarque. Dialogue sur les oracles de la Pythie* (Paris: PUF, 1962) 25. He stressed that in *De Pythiae* 396B—which happens to be another of the treatises only transmitted by EB—E leaves a blank of seven letters and B one of 10, but with certainty the lost text must have only been of four letters, given that it belongs to a verse of Homer (*Od.* 7.107).

⁶ For a complete list of all the discrepancies between E and B, see 8. Appendix I, and for the emendations by the manuscripts, see 8. Appendix II. More on the types of discrepancies and their relation to the materiality of the support in E. Mioni, *Introduzione alla paleografia greca* (Padua: Liviana, 1973).

3.1.3. The Critical Apparatus

The critical apparatus is minimalist whenever possible. EB are only mentioned when not accepted, otherwise their reading is marked with the symbol]. For instance, ὑμῖν] ἡμῖν Ch.; but ἐρησόμεθα RJ94: χρησόμεθα EB. From the corrections proposed by other scholars, but not accepted in the present edition, only the most relevant are recorded in the apparatus. Finally, concerning the 16th century handwritten corrections discussed in Chapter 1, I have tried, to the best of my ability, to restore them to their original conjecturers.

3.2. Sigla

3.2.1. *Conspectus Codicum*

E: *Parisinus graecus* 1672, BNF (809v^o-819v^o)

B: *Parisinus graecus* 1675, BNF (403v^o-419v^o)

3.2.2. *Editores Citati*

Ald.: *Plutarchi Opuscula LXXXII* (Venice: Aldus Manuzius, 1509) 930-953.

- I.22: Forteguerri, S., Apostolic Vatican Library, Rome
- SR67: Leonicus, N., Veneranda Ambrosiana Library, Milan
- RJ94: Turnebus, A., BNF, Paris⁷

Basil.: *Plutarchi Chaeronei moralia opuscula, multis mendarum milibus expurgata*

(Basel: Frobenium & Episcopium, 1542) 778-797.

- Amyot: Amyot, J., BNF, Paris⁸

Steph.: Estienne, H., *Plutarchi Chaeronensis quae extant opera* (Geneva: apud Henr. Stephanum, 1572, vol. 2) 923-969.

Xyl.: Xylander, G., *Plutarchi Chaeronensis philosophorum et historicorum principis varia scripta* (Basel: apud Eusebium Episcopium, 1574) 601-616.

Wyt.: Wytténbach, D., *Plutarchi Chaeronensis Moralia* (Oxford: Typogr. Clarendoniano, 1795, vol. 4) 721-828.

Hutten: Hutten, J.G., *Plutarchi Chaeronensis quae supersunt omnia* (Tübingen: Impensis Joannis Georgii Cottae, 1801, vol. 13) 27-98.

⁷ Due to the proximity between the time in which Turnebus worked on his Aldine copy and the publication of the *Basiliensis* edition, I hesitated to attribute to one or the other the numerous corrections they share. Instead, I decided to present both in the critical apparatus.

⁸ While Amyot and Turnebus must have worked in *De facie*'s text around the same time, Amyot acknowledges his debt to others scholars, among which is Turnebus. Therefore, when both provide the same correction or conjecture, I do not include Amyot in the apparatus, even if in some cases both might be independent from one another.

- Dübn.: Dübner, F., *Plutarchi scripta Moralia* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1841, vol. 2) 1126-1157.
- Bern.: Bernardakis, G., *Plutarchi Chaeronensis Moralia* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1893, vol. 5) 402-472.
- Raing.: Raingeard, P., *Le Περὶ τοῦ προσώπου de Plutarque* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1934) 2-48.
- Po.: Pohlenz, M., “De facie in orbe lunae,” in C. Hubert & M. Pohlenz (eds.), *Plutarchus. Moralia* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1955, vol. 5, fasc. 3) 31-89.
- Ch.: Cherniss, H., *Plutarch's Moralia* (Cambridge-Massachusetts: Loeb Classical Library, 1957, vol. 12) 34-223.⁹
- Lern.: Lernould, A., *Plutarque. Le visage qui apparaît dans le disque de la lune* (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2013) 21-87.

3.2.3. *Commentatores Critici Citati*

- Xyl.¹⁵⁷⁰: Xylander, G., *Plutarchi Ethicorum sive Moralium* (Basel: Thomas Guarinus, 1570, vol. 3).
- Kepler: Kepler, J., *Somnium, seu opus posthumum de astronomia lunari* (De facie quae in orbe lunae apparet) (Frankfurt: Impressum partim Sagani Silesiorum, 1634).
- Salmas: Saumaise, Cl., [according to Wyt. et alii].¹⁰
- Ménage: Ménage, G., Laertius, D., *Laertii Diogenis De vitis dogmatis et apophthegmatis eorum qui in philosophia claruerunt; [...] cum uberrimis Aegidii Menagii observationibus* (London: Typis Tho. Radcliffe, 1664).
- Kalt.: Kaltwasser, J.F.S., *Plutarchs Moralische Abhandlungen*. (Frankfurt: Johann Christian Hermann, 1797, vol. 7).
- Karsten: Karsten, S., *Philosophorum graecorum veterum praesentim qui ante Platonem floruerunt operum reliquiae* (Amsterdam: Johannis Müller, 1838, vol. 2).
- Bens.: Benseler, G.E., *De hiatu in oratoribus Atticis et historicis Graecis, libri duo* (Freiberg: J.G. Engelhardt, 1841).
- Meineke: Meineke, A., “Kritische Blätter,” *Philologus* 14 (1859).
- Madv.: Madvig, J.N., *Adversaria critica ad scriptores graecos* (Copenhagen: J.H. Schultz, 1871, vol. 1).
- Emp.: Emperius A., *Opuscula philologica et historica* (Göttingen: F.G. Schneidewin, 1874).
- Bergk: Bergk, Th., *Poetae lyrici graeci* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1882, vol. 3).
- Papabas.: Papabasileios G.A., *Athena* 10 (1898) [according to Cherniss].¹¹
- Arnim: Von Arnim, H.,

⁹ Pohlenz and Cherniss in some cases offer the same correction or conjecture. Given that they were not able to consult each other's work, in such cases, both are included in the critical apparatus.

¹⁰ While I have been able to check all the editions and studies included in the list above, for attributions to Claude Saumaise I rely on Wytttenbach and following editors. This is due to the fact that no one provided the title of the work in which Saumaise supposedly made the corrections to *De facie*.

¹¹ The same problem, noted in footnote 9 of this Chapter, concerns the attributions to Papabasileios. In this case, I have had to rely on Cherniss, given that I have not been able to access the journal cited by this scholar.

- *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1903, vol. 2).
- *Plutarch über Dämonen und Mantik* (Amsterdam: Johannes Müller, 1921).
- Apelt: Apelt, O., “Zu Plutarch und Plato” (Jena: Universitäts-Buchdruckerei G. Neuenhahn, 1905).
- Herw.: Herwerden, H. van, “Novae curae criticae Moralium Plutarchi (Ed. Bern.),” *Mnemosyne* 37 (1909).
- Adler: Adler, M.,
 - *Dissertationes philologae Vindobonenses* (Vienna-Leipzig: Bibliopola Acad. Lit. Caes. Vind., 1910).
 - “Zwei Beiträge zum Plutarchischen Dialog De facie in orbe lunae” (Nikolsburg: Verlag des K.K. Staats-Gymnasium, 1910).
 - “Ein Zitat aus des Megasthenes Ἰνδικά bei Plutarch,” *Festschrift Moriz Winternitz* (Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1933).
- Prickard: Prickard, A.O., *Plutarch on The Face Which Appears on the Orb of the Moon* (Winchester: Warren & Son / London: Simpkin, 1911).
- Purser: Purser, L.C., “Mr. Prickard’s Translation of Plutarch’s *De facie*,” *Hermathena* 16 (1911).
- Paton: Paton, W.R., “Review of Prickard, Plutarch on the Face in the Moon (Winchester, 1911),” *CR* 26 (1912).
- Hart.: Hartman J.J., *De Plutarcho scriptore et philosopho* (Leiden : Brill, 1916).
- Kron.: Kronenberg, A.J.,
 - “Ad Plutarchi *Moralia* (Continued),” *Mnemosyne* 52 (1924).
 - “Ad Plutarchi *Moralia* (Continued),” *Mnemosyne* 10 (1941).
- Raing.: Raingeard, P., *Le Περὶ τοῦ προσώπου de Plutarque* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1934).
- Sandb.: Sandbach, F.H., “Second Meeting,” *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* (1943).
- Ch.: Cherniss, H., “Notes on Plutarch’s *De facie quae in orbe lunae*,” *Classical Philology* 46, 3 (1951).
- Görg.: Görgemanns, H., *Untersuchungen zu Plutarchs Dialog De facie in orbe lunae* (Heidelberg: Heidelberg University Press, 1970).
- DK: Diels-Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (Hildesheim: Weidmann, ¹⁷1974).
- Lehnus: Lehnus, L., *Plutarco. Il volto della luna* (Milan: Piccola Biblioteca Adelphi, 1991).
- Schmidt: Nix, L. & Schmidt, W., *Heronis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt omnia* vol. 2. *Mechanica et Catoptrica* (Berlin: De Gruyter, ²2010).
- Do: Donini, P.L., *Plutarco. Il volto della luna* (Naples: M. D’Auria, 2011).
- P.J.: Pérez Jiménez, A.,
 - “En el reino de las Moiras: comentario estilístico de Plu., *De facie in orbe lunae* 945C-945D,” *Giornale italiano di filologia* 67 (2015).
 - “De Titios y Tifones. Anotaciones estilísticas a Plu., *De facie in orbe lunae* 945B,” in A. Setaioli (ed.), *Apis Matina. Studi in onore di Carlo Santini* (Trieste: Trieste University Press, 2016).
 - “Los habitantes de la Luna (Plut., *De fac.* 944C-945B). Notas críticas sobre las propuestas textuales y traducciones del XVI,” in F. Frazier & O. Guerrier



(eds.), *Plutarque. Éditions, Traductions, Paratextes* (Coimbra: Coimbra University Press, 2016).

- “Selenographic Description: Critical Annotation to Plutarch, De facie 944C,” in J. Opsomer, G. Roskam & F.B. Titchener (eds.), *A Versatile Gentleman. Consistency in Plutarch’s Writing* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2016).
- “Las regiones fértils de la tierra: nueva propuesta crítica a Plu., *De facie* 938D,” in M. Sanz Morales, R. González Delgado, M. Librán Moreno & J. Ureña Bracero (eds.), *La (inter)textualidad en Plutarco* (Cáceres-Coimbra: Coimbra University Press, 2017).

3.2.4. Other

s.l. = *supra lineam*: correction of a manuscript over the line

i.l. = *infra lineam*: correction of a manuscript under the line

i.t. = *in textu*: correction of a manuscript in the text itself

vac. = *vacat*: blank of 2/3 letters

lac. = *lacuna*

no sign. lac.: manuscripts do not signal a lacuna

add. = *addidit*: addition where manuscripts do not signal a lacuna

suppl. = *supplevit*: proposal for filling a lacuna in the manuscripts

post: added after

ante: added before

pro: instead of

vel: or

corr. = *correxit*: corrected

coni. = *coniecit*: conjectured

del. = *delevit*: deleted

om. = *omisit*: omitted

secl. = *seclusit*: secluded

transp. = *transposuit*: transposed

dupl. = *duplicavit*: repeated

punct. corr. = *punctum correxit*: punctuation corrected

iteratio sententiae: repetition of sentence

sec. = *secundum*: proposal following that of a previous scholar

in app. = *in apparatu*: proposal not included in the main text

in comm. = *in commentario*: proposal not included in the main text

et alii: proposal accepted by most scholars but not in the present edition

mss.: manuscripts

< > addition in the body of text

[] seclusion in the body of text

| beginning of a new passage according to the traditional pagination

|| beginning of a new page according to the traditional pagination



3.3. De facie.

Greek Text and Critical Apparatus



920B	<p> ... Ὁ μὲν οὖν Σύλλας ταῦτα εἶπε· “τῷ γὰρ ἐμῷ μύθῳ προσήκει κάκεῖθέν ἐστιν· ἀλλὰ εἰ δεῖ τι πρὸς τὰς ἀνὰ χεῖρα ταύτας καὶ διὰ στόματος πᾶσι δόξας περὶ τοῦ προσώπου τῆς σελήνης προσανακρούσασθαι, πρῶτον ἡδέως ἂν μοι δοκῶ πυθέσθαι.” “Τί δὲ οὐκ ἐμέλλομεν” εἶπον “ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τούτοις ἀπορίας ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνα ἀπωσθέντες; Ὡς γὰρ οἱ ἐν νοσήμασι χρονίοις πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ βοηθήματα καὶ τὰς συνήθεις διαίτας ἀπειπόντες ἐπὶ καθαρμούς καὶ περίαπτα καὶ ὄνείρους τρέπονται, οὕτως ἀναγκαῖον ἐν δυσθεωρήτοις καὶ ἀπόροις σκέψεσιν, ὅταν οἱ κοινοὶ καὶ ἔνδοξοι καὶ συνήθεις λόγοι μὴ πείθωσι, πειρᾶσθαι τῶν ἀτοπωτέρων καὶ μὴ καταφρονεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐπάδειν ἀτεχνῶς ἑαυτοῖς τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ διὰ πάντων τὰληθὲς ἔξελέγχειν· ὥρᾶς γὰρ εὐθὺς ὡς ἀτοπος ὁ λέγων τὸ φαινόμενον εἶδος ἐν τῇ σελήνῃ πάθος εἶναι τῆς ὄψεως ὑπεικούσης τῇ λαμπρότητι δι’ ἀσθένειαν, ὃ <πρόσωπον> καλοῦμεν, οὐ συνορῶν ὅτι πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον ἔδει τοῦτο γίνεσθαι μᾶλλον ὥξὺν ἀπαντῶντα καὶ πλήκτην. Ὡς που καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τὴν ἐκατέρων ἀποδίδωσιν οὐκ ἀηδῶς διαφοράν,</p>	Sulla Lamp.
920C	<p>μὴ πείθωσι, πειρᾶσθαι τῶν ἀτοπωτέρων καὶ μὴ καταφρονεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐπάδειν ἀτεχνῶς ἑαυτοῖς τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ διὰ πάντων τὰληθὲς ἔξελέγχειν· ὥρᾶς γὰρ εὐθὺς ὡς ἀτοπος ὁ λέγων τὸ φαινόμενον εἶδος ἐν τῇ σελήνῃ πάθος εἶναι τῆς ὄψεως ὑπεικούσης τῇ λαμπρότητι δι’ ἀσθένειαν, ὃ <πρόσωπον> καλοῦμεν, οὐ συνορῶν ὅτι πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον ἔδει τοῦτο γίνεσθαι μᾶλλον ὥξὺν ἀπαντῶντα καὶ πλήκτην. Ὡς που καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τὴν ἐκατέρων ἀποδίδωσιν οὐκ ἀηδῶς διαφοράν,</p>	10
920D	<p>ἡλιος ὥξυβελῆς ἡ δὲ ἵλαειρα σελήνη, τὸ ἐπαγωγὸν αὐτῆς καὶ ἵλαρὸν καὶ ἄλυπον οὕτω προσαγορεύσας· ἔπειτα λόγον <οὐκ> ἀποδιδοὺς καθ’ ὃν αἱ ἀμυδραὶ καὶ ἀσθενεῖς ὄψεις οὐδεμίαν διαφορὰν ἐν τῇ σελήνῃ μορφῆς ἐνορῶσιν, ἀλλὰ λεῖος αὐταῖς ἀντιλάμπει καὶ περίπλεως αὐτῆς ὁ κύκλος. Οἱ δ’ ὥξὺν καὶ σφοδρὸν ὥρῶντες ἔξακριβοῦσι μᾶλλον καὶ διαστέλλουσιν ἐκτυπούμενα τὰ εἴδη τοῦ προσώπου καὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς ἄπτονται σαφέστερον· ἔδει γάρ, οἶμαι, τούναντίον εἴπερ ἡττωμένου</p>	20

1 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Σύλλας Β: Ὄαυνοσυλλας Ε: ἀκούσωμεν οὖν ὁ Σύλλας Ρο. *in app.*: ὁ οὖν Σύλλας *conieci* | γάρ] *del.* RJ94: γ’ Wyt. (*et poterat item παρ’ ἐμοὶ in app.*): τῷ παραμέσῳ *pro τῷ γάρ ἐμῷ Madv.* **4** προσανακρούσασθαι] προανακρούσασθαι RJ94: προσανεκρούσασθε Wyt. *et alii* **5** τούτοις] ταύταις Wyt. *in app.* | ἐκεῖνα Ρο.: ἐκείνους EB: ἐκείνας RJ94 **6** ἀπωσθέντες *punct. corr.* Basil.: ἀπωσθέντες. EB **14** πρόσωπον *supplevi: lac.* 8 *lit.* EB: ὅπερ *corr. et ἀνάκλασιν suppl.* RJ94: ἀμβλυωπίαν Amyot: ἀμβλυώττειν Xyl.1570: μαρανγεῖν Wyt. *in app.*: μαρμαρυγάς Raing. *in app.*: μαρμαρυγήν Ρο.: μαρανγίαν Ch. | καλοῦμεν *punct. corr.* Basil.: καλοῦμεν; EB **17** ὥξυβελῆς ἡ δὲ ἵλαειρα RJ94 (ἵλαειρα *sic*): ὥξυμελῆς ἡ δὲ λάιρα EB: ὥξυμελῆς ἡ δὲ λάινα Ald. Basil.: ὥξυβελῆς ἡ δὲ λάινα Amyot: ὥξυβελῆς ἡ δ’ αὐτὴν ἵλαειρα Xyl.1570: ὥξυβελῆς ἡδ’ ἵλαειρα Wyt.: ὥξυβελῆς ἡδ’ ἱλάειρα Purser **19** οὐκ *add. post* λόγον Emp.

	πά<θημα> ὅμματος ἐποίει τὴν φαντασίαν, ὅπου τὸ πάσχον ἀσθενέστερον, <σαφέστερον> εἶναι τὸ φαινόμενον. Ή δὲ ἀνωμαλία καὶ παντάπασιν ἐλέγχει τὸν λόγον· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ συνεχοῦς σκιᾶς καὶ συγκεχυμένης ὄψις, ἀλλὰ οὐ φαύλως ὑπογράφων ὁ Ἀγησιάναξ εἴρηκε·	920E
5	πᾶσα μὲν ἥδε πέριξ πυρὶ λάμπεται· ἐν δ' ἄρα μέσσῃ γλαυκότερον κυάνοιο φαείνεται ἡύτε κούρης ὅμμα καὶ ὑγρὰ μέτωπα· τὰ δὲ ῥέθει ἄντα ἔοικεν·	
10	δοντως γὰρ ὑποδύεται περιόντα τοῖς λαμπροῖς τὰ σκιερὰ καὶ πιέζει, πάλιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποκοπτόμενα, καὶ ὅλως πέπλεκται δι' ἀλλήλων <ώστε> γραφικὴν τὴν δια<τύπωσιν> εἶναι τοῦ σχῆματος. <Τοῦτο δὲ> καὶ πρὸς Κλέαρχον, ὃ Ἀριστοτέλες, οὐκ ἀπιθάνως ἐδόκει λέγεσθαι τὸν ὑμέτερον· ὑμέτερος γὰρ ἀνὴρ ὁ Ἀριστοτέλους τοῦ παλαιοῦ γεγονὼς συνήθης· εἰ καὶ πολλὰ τοῦ Περιπάτου παρέτρεψεν.”	920F
15	‘Υπολαβόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίδου τὸν λόγον καὶ τίς ἦν ἡ δόξα τοῦ Κλέαρχου διαπυθομένου, “παντὶ μᾶλλον” ἔφην “ἀγνοεῖν ἢ σοὶ προσῆκόν ἐστι λόγον ὕσπερ ἀφ' ἐστίας τῆς γεωμετρίας ὁρμώμενον· λέγει γὰρ ἀνὴρ εἰκόνας ἐσοπτρικὰς εἶναι καὶ εἰδωλα τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης ἐμφαινόμενα τῇ σελήνῃ τὸ καλούμενον πρό σωπον. ‘Η τε 20 γὰρ ὄψις ἀνακλωμένη πολλαχόθεν ἀπτεσθαι τῶν οὐ κατ' εὐθυωρίαν	921A
Apoll.		
Lamp.		

1 πάθημα *supplevi* (*sec. πάθημά τι Raing. in app.*): πά et lac. 5 lit. EB: τὰ pro πά Ald. Basil.: τοῦ pro τὰ RJ94: τὰ πάθη Amyot: πάθος Wyt. in app. | ὅπου B: οπου E
2 σαφέστερον *add. post* ἀσθενέστερον Hutten (*sec. Amyot* τὸ ἀσθενὲς *vel* ἐναργέσθερον *et* σαφέστερον *add. post* ἀσθενέστερον): *no sign. lac.* EB: ἐστιν σαφέστερον *add. post* ἀσθενέστερον Wyt. in app. **3** ἐπὶ] ἐστι A.I.43 *et alii*
7 μέσσῃ B: μέση B **9** τὰ δὲ ῥέθει Salmas: τὸ δ' ἐρεύθει EB **10** περιόντα RJ94: περιόντα EB: πέριξ ἐντὸς Wyt. in app. | καὶ... ἀποκοπτόμενα] καὶ *del. ante* ἀποκοπτόμενα RJ94: αὐτὰ ἀποκοπτόμενα *pro* ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποκοπτόμενα Wyt. in app.: καὶ πιέζεται *add. ante* καὶ πιέζει Bern. in app.: ἐκεῖνα καὶ πιέζεται *add. post* πιέζει Adler: καὶ ἀποκόπτοντα *add. post* ἀποκοπτόμενα Purser: πιεζόμενα *add. post* πιέζει Po. Ch. **12** ὡστε *suppl.* Wyt. in app.: *lac.* 5 lit. E, 8 lit. B: ὡστε εἰκόνα αὐτῶν Amyot: ὡς μονονοὺ Po. in app. | διατύπωσιν *suppl.* Kepl.: *lac.* 5 lit. E, 8 lit. B: διαγραφὴν Amyot **13** Τοῦτο δὲ *suppl.* Bern.: *lac.* 7 lit. EB: προσώπου Amyot: ὅθεν αὐτὸ τοῦτο Wyt. in app.: αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα Raing. in app.: ταῦτὸ δὲ Po. **14** ἀνὴρ Bern.: ἀνὴρ EB: ὁ ἀνὴρ Düb. | ὁ Ἀριστοτέλους Raing.: ὁ ἀριστοτέλης EB: Ἀριστοτέλους RJ94: τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους Kepl. **16** Ἀπολλωνίδου Wyt.: ἀπολλωνιάδου EB **19** ἀνὴρ Düb.: ἀνὴρ EB **21** ὄψις RJ94: ίτυς EB: ἀκτὶς Po. κατ εὐθυωρίαν E: κατευθυωρίαν B

όρωμένων πέφυκεν· ἡ τε πανσέληνος αὐτὴ πάντων ἐσόπτρων
όμαλότητι καὶ στιλπνότητι κάλλιστόν ἐστι καὶ καθαρώτατον· ὥσπερ
οὗν τὴν ἴ⁵ριν> οἰεσθε ύμεις ἀνακλωμένης ἐπὶ τὸν ἥλιον τῆς ὄψεως
ἐνορᾶσθαι τῷ νέφει λαβόντι νοτερὰν ἡσυχῇ λειότητα καὶ <πῆ>ξιν,
οὗτως ἐκεῖνος ἐνορᾶσθαι τῇ σελήνῃ τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν οὐκ ἐφ’ ἡς
ἐστι χώρας, ἀλλὰ ὅθεν ἡ κλάσις ἐποίησε τῇ ὄψει τὴν ἐπαφὴν αὐτῆς
καὶ τὴν ἀνταύγειαν· ὡς που πάλιν ὁ Ἀγησιάναξ εἴρηκεν, |

ἡ πόντου μέγα κῦμα καταντία κυμαίνοντος
δείκελον ἵνδαλοιτο πυριφλεγέθοντος ἐσόπτρου.”

Ἡσθεὶς οὖν ὁ Απολλωνίδης, “ώς ἴδιον” εἶπε “καὶ καινὸν ὅλως τὸ
σκευώρημα τῆς δόξης, τόλμαν δέ τινα καὶ μοῦσαν ἔχοντος ἀνδρός·
ἀλλὰ πῇ τὸν ἔλεγχον αὐτῷ προσῆγε;” “Πρῶτον μὲν” εἶπον “εἰ μία
φύσις τῆς ἔξω θαλάσσης ἐστί, σύρρουν καὶ συνεχὲς ... πέλαγος, ἡ δὲ
ἔμφασις οὐ μία τῶν ἐν τῇ σελήνῃ μελασμάτων, ἀλλ’ οἷον ἰσθμοὺς
ἔχουσα, τοῦ λαμπροῦ διαιροῦντος καὶ διορίζοντος τὸ σκιερόν. Ὁθεν
ἐκάστου τόπου χωρισθέντος καὶ πέρας ἴδιον ἔχοντος, αἱ τῶν φωτεινῶν
ἐπιβολαὶ τοῖς | σκοτεινοῖς, ὕψους εἰκόνα καὶ βάθος λαμβάνουσαι, τὰς
περὶ τὰ ὅμματα καὶ τὰ χείλη εἰκόνας φαινομένας ὁμοιότατα
διετύπωσαν· ὥστε ἡ πλειόνας ἔξω θαλάσσας ὑποληπτέον, ἰσθμοῖς τισι
καὶ ἡπείροις ἀπολαμβανομένας, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἄποπον καὶ ψεῦδος, ἡ μιᾶς
οὔσης, οὐ πιθανὸν εἰκόνα διεσπασμένην οὕτως ἐμφαίνεσθαι. Ἐκεῖνο
μὲν γὰρ ἐρωτᾶν ἀσφαλέστερόν ἐστιν ἡ ἀποφαίνεσθαι σοῦ παρόντος,
εἰ τῆς οἰκουμένης εῦρος ίσοις καὶ μῆκος, ἐνδέχεται πᾶσαν ώσαύτως
ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης ὅψιν ἀνακλωμένην ἐπιθιγγάνειν τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ
τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ μεγάλῃ θαλάττῃ πλέουσι, νὴ | Δία, καὶ οἰκοῦσιν,
ώσπερ Βρεττανοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα μηδὲ τῆς γῆς, ὡς φατε, πρὸς τὴν

5

Apoll.

Lamp.

15

20

25

3 ἴριν *suppl.* SR67: ἴ vac. 2 lit. E: vac. 3 lit. B **4** πῆξιν *suppl.* RJ94 (*vel* τῆξιν): vac.
2 lit. et ξιν EB: σύντηξιν Xyl. 1570: σύμπτηξιν Bern. *in app.* **6** τῇ ὄψει Wyt. *in app.*:
τὴν ὄψιν EB: τῆς ὄψεως RJ94 **10** Ἡσθεὶς Xyl. 1570: πεισθεὶς EB **12** προσῆγε
punct. corr. Xyl.: προσῆγε. EB: πρόσαγε RJ94: προσῆγες; Adler | εἰ] ἡ RJ94 *et alii*
13 lac. 5 lit. EB: *del.* Ald. Basil.: δηλαδὴ *suppl.* Bern. *in app.*: κύκλῳ Po.: ἔαυτῷ
Adler: καὶ τὸ *supplevi* **17** ὕψους SR67: ὕφους EB | βάθος] βάθους SR67 *et alii*
23 ίσοις *conieci*: ἵσης EB: ἔχούσης SR67: ἵσον ἔχούσης Bern. *in app.*: τοσαύτης Po.
24 καὶ τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ μεγάλῃ] καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ μεγάλῃ Ald. Basil.: καὶ τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ
μεγάλῃ SR67: καὶ ἐν τῆς αὐτῇ μεγάλῃ Xyl.: ἄμα τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ μεγάλῃ Kepl.:
ἄλλοις *vel* ἄλλῃ *add. post* καὶ τοῖς Bern. *in app.* **25** νὴ B: νη E **26** φατε Wyt. *in*
app. (φατὲ *sic*): ἔφατε EB

σφαῖραν τῆς σελήνης κέντρου λόγον ἐπεχούσης. Τουτὶ μὲν οὖν” ἔφην
 “σὸν ἔργον ἐπισκοπεῖν· τὴν δὲ πρὸς τὴν σελήνην [ἢ] τῆς ὄψεως
 κιλάσιν, οὐκέτι σὸν οὐδὲ Ἰππάρχου· καίτοι γε φίλε πρίᾳμ ... ἀλλὰ
 πολλοῖς οὐκ ἀρέσκει φυσιολογῶν περὶ τῆς ὄψεως <ώς> αὐτὴν
 5 ὁμοπαθῇ κρᾶσιν ἵσχειν καὶ σύμπτηξιν εἰκός ἐστι μᾶλλον ἢ πληγάς
 τινας καὶ ἀποπηδήσεις οἵας ἔπλαττε τῶν ἀτόμων Ἐπίκουρος. Οὐκ
 ἐθελήσει δέ, οἶμαι, τὴν σελήνην ἐμβριθὲς ὑποθέσθαι σῶμα καὶ
 στερεὸν ύμιν ὁ Κλέαρχος, ἀλλὰ ἄστρον αἰθέριον καὶ φωσφόρον, ὡς
 φατε, τοιαύτῃ τὴν ὄψιν ἢ θραύειν προσήκει <ἢ> καὶ ἀποστρέφειν,
 10 ὥστε οἴχεσθαι τὴν ἀνάκλασιν· εἰ δέ <τι> προσ|αιτεῖται τις ἡμᾶς,
 921E
 ἐρησόμεθα πῶς μόνον πρόσωπόν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ σελήνῃ τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης
 ἔσοπτρον, ἀλλῷ δὲ οὐδενὶ τῶν τοσούτων ἀστέρων ἐνορᾶται· καίτοι τὸ
 γε εἰκὸς ἀπαιτεῖ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἢ πρὸς μηθένα τοῦτο πάσχειν τὴν
 ὄψιν.” Ἀλλ ... πρὸς τὸν Λεύκιον ἔφην ἀποβλέψας “ὅ πρῶτον ἐλέχθη
 τῶν ἡμετέρων ύπόμνησον.” Καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος “ἀλλὰ μὴ δόξωμεν” ἔφη
 “κομιδῇ προπηλακίζειν τὸν Φαρνάκην, οὗτο τὴν Στωικὴν δόξαν |
 921F
 ἀπροσαύδητον ύπερβαίνοντες, εἰπὲ δή τι πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, παντὸς
 ἀέρος μῆγμα καὶ μαλακοῦ πυρὸς ύποτιθέμενον τὴν σελήνην· εἴτα οἷον
 ἐν γαλήνῃ φρίκης ύποτρεχούσης φάσκοντα τοῦ ἀέρος διαμελαίνοντος
 ἔμφασιν γίνεσθαι μορφοειδῆ.” “... χρηστῶς γε” εἶπον “ὦ Λεύκιε, τὴν

1 ἐπεχούσης B et E s.l.: ἐχούσης vac. 3 lit. E **2** ἢ del. RJ94 om. Basil.: καθόλου add. post ἢ Ch. **3** φίλε πρίᾳμ vac. 3 lit. EB: φίλε πρίᾳμ suppl. RJ94: φίλε λαμπρία RJ94: φίλε λαμπρία, suppl. et ἀλλὰ del. Xyl.¹⁵⁷⁰: φίλος γ' ἀνὴρ, corr. et suppl. Wyt. in app.: φίλε λαμπρία, ὃ μάλα πολλοῖς ἀρέσκει Emp.: φίλε λαμπρία, μέγας ἀνὴρ ἀλλά Bern. in app.: ὕφειλε προτιμάσθαι Apelt: γ', ἔφη, ὦ Λαμπρία, τοῦδ' ἐστιν Adler: φιλοπράγμων ἀνὴρ Po.: ἐφιλέργει ἀνὴρ Ch. **4** τῆς ὄψεως ὡς αὐτὴν Po.: τῆς ὄψεως αὐτὴν EB: τῆς ὄψεως αὐτῆς, ἢν Wyt. in app.: τῆς ὄψεως αὐγῇ Dübner.: τῆς ὄψεως αὐγῇ γὰρ ταύτην Bern. in app.: τῆς ὄψεως αὐτῆς, ἢν et τῇ αὐγῇ add. post ὁμοπαθῇ Adler: τῆς ὄψεως ἢν Hart.: τῆς ὄψεως. Αὐτὴν Raing. **8** ύμιν] ὑμῖν Ch. (sec. transl. Xyl. Amyot Kepl.) **9** τοιαύτῃ] τοιαύτην Basil.: τοιαύτῃ δὲ Wyt. in app.

| ἢ θραύειν Po.: ἢ θραῦσιν EB: [ἢ] θραύειν RJ94: οὐ θραύειν RJ94 | προσήκει] προσήκειν Basil. | ἢ² addidi: καὶ del. Raing.: ἢ pro καὶ Po. **10** τι προσαιτεῖται τις ἡμᾶς Bern. in app.: προσδεῖται τις ἡμᾶς EB: παραιτεῖται τις ἡμᾶς vel προσδεῖται τις ἡμᾶς Wyt. in app.: προσδεῖται τις αἰτίας Emp.: προσδεῖται τι σῆμα Raing.: προσαμυνεῖται τις ἡμᾶς Po. **11** ἐρησόμεθα RJ94: χρησόμεθα EB **13** τοῦτο E: τούτων B **14** lac. 16 lit. EB: ἀλλὰ suppl. RJ94: ἔγω Amyot: σύ γε Wyt. in app.: ἔάσωμεν ταῦτα, καὶ σὺ Adler | ἔφην Amyot: ἐφ' ὃν EB: εἴπον RJ94: ἐφ' ὃν Kepl. **17** παντὸς] πάντως SR67: παγέντος Po. **18** μῆγμα Ald. Basil.: μῆγμα EB **20** lac. 5 lit. EB: ναὶ σὺ suppl. Amyot: τοῦ προσώπου Wyt. in app.: ταύτῃ Herw.: μάλα vel πάνυ Adler: τοῦ σχήματος Purser: lac. del. Raing.



ἀτοπίαν εὐφήμοις περιαμπέχεις ὄνόμασιν· οὐχ οὕτω δὲ ὁ ἑταῖρος
 922A ήμῶν, ἀλλ’ ὅπερ ἀληθὲς ἦν ἔλεγεν, ὑποπίεζειν αὐτοὺς τὴν σελήνην
 σπίλων καὶ μελασμῶν ἀναπιπλάντας, || ὁμοῦ μὲν Ἀρτεμιν καὶ
 Αθηνᾶν ἀνακαλοῦντας, ὁμοῦ δὲ σύμμιγμα καὶ φύραμα ποιοῦντας
 ἀέρος ζοφεροῦ καὶ πυρὸς ἀνθρακώδους, οὐκ ἔχουσαν ἔξαψιν οὐδὲ
 αὐγὴν οἰκείαν, ἀλλὰ δυσκρινές τι σῶμα τυφόμενον ἀεὶ καὶ
 πυρίκαυστον, ὥσπερ τῶν κεραυνῶν τοὺς ἀλαμπεῖς καὶ ψολόεντας ὑπὸ⁵
 τῶν ποιητῶν προσαγορευομένους· ὅτι μέντοι πῦρ ἀνθρακῶδες, οἷον
 οὗτοι τὸ τῆς σελήνης ποιοῦσιν, οὐκ ἔχει διαμονὴν οὐδὲ σύστασιν
 ὅλως, ἐὰν μὴ στερεᾶς ὕλης καὶ στεγούσης ἄμα καὶ τρεφούσης
 10 922B ἐπιλάβηται. Βέλτιον, οἵμαι, συνορᾶν ἐνίων | φιλοσόφων τοὺς ἐν
 παιδιᾷ λέγοντας τὸν Ἡφαιστὸν εἰρῆσθαι χωλόν· ὅτι τὸ πῦρ ἔύλου
 χωρίς, ὥσπερ οἱ χωλοὶ βακτηρίας, οὐ πρόεισιν· εἰ οὖν ἡ σελήνη πῦρ
 ἐστι, πόθεν αὐτῇ τοσοῦτος ἐγγέγονεν ἀήρ; Ὁ γὰρ ἄνω καὶ κύκλῳ
 φερόμενος ούτοσὶ τόπος οὐκ ἀέρος, ἀλλὰ κρείττονος οὐσίας καὶ
 πάντα λεπτύνειν καὶ συνεξάπτειν φύσιν ἔχούσης ἐστίν· εἰ δὲ γέγονε,
 πῶς οὐκ οἴχεται μεταβάλλων εἰς ἔτερον εἶδος ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς
 ἔξαιθερωθείς, ἀλλὰ σφύζεται καὶ συνοικεῖ πυρὶ τοσοῦτον χρόνον,
 ὥσπερ ἥλοις ἀραρὼς ἀεὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς μέρεσι καὶ συγγεγομφωμένος;
 Άραιῷ μὲν γὰρ ὅντι καὶ συγκεχυμένῳ μὴ μένειν, ἀλλὰ σφάλλεσθαι |¹⁵
 922C προσήκει· συμπεπηγέναι δὲ οὐ δυνατὸν ἀναμεμιγμένον πυρὶ καὶ μήτε
 ὑγροῦ μετέχοντα μήτε γῆς, οἵς μόνοις ἀήρ συμπήγνυσθαι πέφυκεν· ἡ
 δὲ ρύμη καὶ τὸν ἐν λίθοις ἀέρα καὶ τὸν ἐν ψυχρῷ μολίβδῳ συνεκκάει,
 μήτι γε δὴ τὸν ἐν πυρὶ δινουμένῳ μετὰ τάχους τοσούτου· καὶ γὰρ
 Ἐμπεδοκλεῖ δυσκολαίνουσι πάγον ἀέρος χαλαζώδη ποιοῦντι τὴν
 σελήνην ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ πυρὸς σφαίρας περιεχόμενον, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὴν
 σελήνην σφαῖραν οὖσαν πυρὸς ἀέρα φασὶν ἄλλῃ διεσπασμένον
 περιέχειν καὶ ταῦτα μήτε ρήξεις ἔχουσαν ἐν ἑαυτῇ μήτε βάθη καὶ
 κοιλότητας, | ἄπερ οἱ γεώδη ποιοῦντες ἀπολείπουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐπιπολῆς
 20 922D

2 ἡμῶν Ald. Basil.: ὑμῶν EB | ὑποπίεζειν] ὑπωπιάζειν RJ94 Basil.

3 ἀναπιπλάντας E et B s.l.: ἀναπιπλάντας B 4 σύμμιγμα I.22: σύμμιγμα EB 14
 ἀήρ punct. corr. Ald. Basil.: ἀήρ. EB 16 δὲ γέγονε] δὲ ἐγγέγονε RJ94 et alii 19
 ἥλοις Ch.: ἥλος EB | ἀεὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς μέρεσι E: τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ μέρεσι B
 συγγεγομφωμένος punct. corr. Wyt.: συγγεγομφωμένος. EB 24 μήτι] μή τοι B s.l.
 δινουμένῳ] δινούμενον RJ94 et alii

δηλονότι τῇ κυρτότητι ἐπικείμενον. Τοῦτο δ' ἔστι καὶ πρὸς διαμονὴν
ἄλογον καὶ πρὸς θέαν ἀδύνατον ἐν ταῖς πανσελήνοις· διορίσασθαι γὰρ
οὐκ ἔδει μέλανα καὶ σκιερόν, ἀλλ' ἀμαυροῦσθαι κρυπτόμενον ἥ
συνεκλάμπειν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου καταλαμβανομένης τῆς σελήνης. Καὶ
5 γὰρ παρ' ἡμῖν, οἱ μὲν ἐν βάθεσι καὶ κοιλώμασι τῆς γῆς οὗ μὴ δίεισιν
αὐγὴ διαμένει σκιώδης καὶ ἀφώτιστος· οἱ δὲ ἔξωθεν τῇ γῇ
περικεχυμένος φέγγος ἵσχει καὶ χρόαν αὐγοειδῆ. Πρὸς πᾶσαν μὲν γάρ
ἔστι ποιότητα καὶ δύναμιν εὐκέραστος ὑπὸ μανότητος, μάλιστα δὲ
φωτός, ἀν ἐπιψαύσῃ μόνον, ὡς φατε, καὶ θίγῃ, διόλου τρεπόμενος
10 ἐκφωτίζεται. Ταῦτὸ οὖν τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς εἰς βάθη τινὰ καὶ φάραγγας
συνωθοῦσιν ἐν τῇ σελήνῃ τὸν ἀέρα κὰν καλῶς ἔοικε βοηθεῖν ὑμᾶς τε
διεξελέγχει τοὺς ἔξ ἀέρος καὶ πυρὸς οὐκ οἶδα δύως μιγνύντας αὐτῆς
καὶ συναρμόζοντας τὴν σφαῖραν· οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τε λείπεσθαι σκιὰν ἐπὶ
15 τῆς ἐπιφανείας, ὅταν ὁ ἡλιος ἐπιλάμπῃ τῷ φωτὶ πᾶν ὄπόσον καὶ ἡμεῖς
ἀποτεμνόμεθα τῇ ὄψει τῆς σελήνης.” Καὶ ὁ Φαρνάκης ἔτι μου
λέγοντος “τοῦτο ἐκεῖνο πάλιν” εἶπεν “ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀφῆται τὸ περίακτον
20 ἐκ τῆς Ακαδημείας, ἐν τῷ πρὸς ἑτέρους λέγειν διατρίβοντας,
ἐκάστοτε μὴ παρέχειν ἔλεγχον ὃν αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπολογουμένοις δεῖ χρῆσθαι μὴ κατηγοροῦσιν ἀν ἐντυγχάνωσιν· ἐμὲ
δ' οὖν οὐκ ἔξαξεσθε τήμερον εἰς τὸ διδόναι λόγον ὃν ἐπικαλεῖτε τοῖς
25 Στωικοῖς πρὶν εὐθύνας λαβεῖν παρ' ὑμῶν ἄνω τὰ κάτω τοῦ κόσμου
ποιούντων.” Καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος γελάσας “μόνον” εἶπεν “ὦ τάν, μὴ κρίσιν
Lucius ήμιν ἀσεβείας ἐπαγγείλης, || ὥσπερ Ἀρίσταρχον φέτο δεῖν Κλεάνθης
τὸν σάμιον ἀσεβείας προσκαλεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἑλληνας, ὡς κινοῦντα τοῦ
κόσμου τὴν ἐστίαν, ὅτι <τὰ> φαινόμενα σώζειν ἀνήρ ἐπειρᾶτο, μένειν
τὸν οὐρανὸν ὑποτιθέμενος, ἔξελίττεσθαι δὲ κατὰ λοξοῦ κύκλου τὴν
γῆν, ἄμα καὶ περὶ τὸν αὐτῆς ἄξονα δινουμένην. Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν

922E

922F

923A

2 διορίσασθαι] διωρίσθαι Düb. *et alii* **3** μέλανα] τὸ μέλαν Wyt. *in app.*: μένοντα
add. post μέλανα Po. | ἀμαυροῦσθαι E: ἀμαυροῦσθαι B **6** αὐγὴ SR67: αὕτη EB
διαμένει I.22 SR67: διαμελάίνει EB **10** Ταῦτὸ Düb.: ταῦτο EB **11** κὰν καλῶ P.J.:
κὰν καλῶς EB: παγκάλως Wyt. *in app.* **14** ὄπόσον Steph.: ὁ πόσον EB
17 Ακαδημείας Düb.: Ακαδημίας EB **19** δεῖ] δὴ Amyot: ἀεὶ Wyt. *in app.* *et alii*
ἄν] οἵς *add. ante* ἄν Amyot: τοῖς *add. post* ἄν Wyt. *in app.*: ὃν *add. ante* ἄν Bern. *in app.* **23** Ἀρίσταρχον Ménage: Ἀρίσταρχος EB | Κλεάνθης Ménage: Κλεάνθη EB
24 σάμιον] ἄσσιον RJ94 | προσκαλεῖσθαι RJ94: προκαλεῖσθαι EB **25** τὰ *add.*
RJ94 | ἀνήρ Düb.: ἀνήρ EB

αὐτοὶ παρ' αὐτῶν λέγομεν, οἱ δὲ γῆν ὑποτιθέμενοι τὴν σελήνην, ὡς βέλτιστε, τί μᾶλλον ὑμῶν ἄνω τὰ κάτω ποιοῦσι, τὴν γῆν ἰδρυόντων ἐνταῦθα μετέωρον ἐν τῷ ἀέρι, πολλῷ τινι μείζονα τῆς σελήνης οὖσαν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἐκλειπτικοῖς πάθεσιν οἱ μαθηματικοὶ καὶ ταῖς διὰ τοῦ σκιάσματος παρόδοις τῆς | ἐποχῆς τὸ μέγεθος ἀναμετροῦσιν; "Ἡ τε γὰρ σκιὰ τῆς γῆς ἐλάττων ὑπὸ μείζονος τοῦ φωτίζοντος ἀνατείνει καὶ τῆς σκιᾶς αὐτῆς λεπτὸν ὅν τὸ ἄνω καὶ στενόν, οὐδὲ Ὅμηρον, ὃς φασιν, ἔλαθεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν νύκτα θοὴν ὁξύτητι τῆς σκιᾶς προσηγόρευσεν· ὑπὸ τούτου δὲ ὅμως ἀλισκομένη ταῖς ἐκλείψεσιν ἡ σελήνη, τρισὶ μόλις τοῖς αὐτῆς μεγέθεσιν ἀπαλλάττεται. Σκόπει δὴ πόσων ἡ γῆ σεληνῶν ἐστιν, εἰ σκιὰν ἀφίησιν ἢ βραχυτάτη πλάτος τρισέληνον, ἀλλ' ὅμως ὑπὲρ τῆς σελήνης μὴ πέσῃ δεδοίκατε. περὶ δὲ τῆς γῆς ἵσως Αἰσχύλος ἡμᾶς πέπεικεν ὡς ὁ Ἀτλας

ἔστηκε κίων οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ χθονός

923C ὥμοις | ἐρείδων ἄχθος οὐκ εὐάγκαλον·

15

εἰ τῇ μὲν σελήνῃ κοῦφος ἀήρ ύποτρέχει καὶ στερεὸν ὅγκον οὐκ ἔχει γγονος ἐνεγκεῖν, τὴν δὲ γῆν κατὰ Πίνδαρον ἀδαμαντοπέδιλοι κίονες περιέχουσι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Φαρνάκης αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν ἀδείᾳ τοῦ πεσεῖν τὴν γῆν ἐστιν, οἴκτείρει δὲ τοὺς ύποκειμένους τῇ μεταφορᾷ τῆς σελήνης Αἰθίοπας ἢ Ταπροβηνούς, μὴ βάρος αὐτοῖς ἐμπέσῃ τοσοῦτον.

Καίτοι τῇ μὲν σελήνῃ βοήθεια πρὸς τὸ μὴ πεσεῖν ἡ κίνησις αὐτῇ καὶ τὸ ῥοιζώδες τῆς περιαγωγῆς, ὥσπερ ὅσα ταῖς σφενδόναις ἐντεθέντα τῆς καταφορᾶς κώλυσιν ἵσχει τὴν κύκλῳ περιδίνησιν· ἄγει γὰρ ἔκαστον ἡ κατὰ φύσιν κίνησις, ἀν δέ | ἄλλου μηδενὸς ἀποστρέφηται, διὸ τὴν σελήνην οὐκ ἄγει τὸ βάρος ὑπὸ τῆς περιφορᾶς τὴν ῥοπὴν ἐκκρουνόμενον, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἵσως λόγον εἶχε θαυμάζειν μένουσαν αὐτὴν παντάπασιν, ὥσπερ ἡ γῆ, καὶ ἀτρεπτὸν οὖσαν· νῦν δέ, σελήνη μὲν ἔχει μεγάλην αἰτίαν τοῦ δεῦρο μὴ φέρεσθαι· τὴν δὲ

20

2 ύμῶν Xyl.: ήμῶν EB 3 τινι Xyl.: τινὶ EB 5 ἀναμετροῦσιν *punct. corr.* Bern.: ἀναμετροῦσιν. EB 6 ἐλάττων B: ἐλάττω E 7 ὃν τὸ RJ94: ὅντα EB | ὡς φασιν SR67: ὡς φησὶν EB 10 αὐτῆς Steph.: αὐτῆς EB 11 ἡ βραχυτάτη RJ94: ἡ βραχυτάτη EB: ἡς *add. ante* ἡ βραχυτάτη SR67: τὴν βραχυτάτην *pro* ἡ βραχυτάτη Wyt. *in app.* 13 ήμᾶς Steph. *et alii* 14 κίων] κίον' RJ94 *et alii* 16 εἰ] καὶ Wyt. *in app.*: ἐπεὶ Adler: ἡ Po. Ch. 19 μεταφορῇ καταφορῇ RJ94: περιφορῇ Ch. 20 βάρος] βορός B *s.l.* 22 ρίοιζωδες E: ρίζωδες B 27 ἄτρεπτον οὖσαν. RJ94: ἄτρεπτος ἄν EB: ἄτρεπτον Basil.: ἄτρεμούσαν Emp.

	γῆν, ἑτέρας κινήσεως ἄμοιρον οὖσαν, εἰκὸς ἦν μόνῳ τῷ βαρύνοντι κινεῖν, βαρυτέρα δέ ἐστι τῆς σελήνης, οὐχ ὅσῳ μείζων, ἀλλ’ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἄτε δὴ διὰ θερμότητα καὶ πύρωσιν ἐλαφρᾶς γεγενημένης.	
5	“Ολος δ’ ἔοικεν ἐξ ὧν λέγεις ἡ σελήνη μᾶλλον, εἰ πῦρ ἐστι, γῆς δεῖσθαι καὶ ὥλης ἐν ᾧ βέβηκε καὶ προσπέφυκε καὶ συνέχει καὶ	923E
Pharn.	ζωπυρεῖ τὴν δύναμιν· οὐ γάρ ἐστι πῦρ χωρὶς ὥλης διανοηθῆναι σωζόμενον, γῆν δέ φατε ὑμεῖς ἄνευ βάσεως καὶ ρίζης διαμένειν;”	
10	“Πάνυ μὲν οὖν” εἶπεν ὁ Φαρνάκης “τὸν οἰκεῖον καὶ κατὰ φύσιν τόπον ἔχουσαν, ὥσπερ αὐτῇ τὸν μέσον, οὗτος γάρ ἐστι περὶ ὃν ἀντερείδει πάντα τὰ βάρη ῥέποντα καὶ φέρεται καὶ συννεύει πανταχόθεν· ἡ δὲ ἄνω χώρα πᾶσα κάν τι δέξηται γεῶδες ὑπὸ βίας ἀναρριφέν, εὐθὺς ἐκθλίβει δεῦρο, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀφίησιν ᾧ πέφυκεν οἰκείᾳ ροπῇ καταφερόμενον.” Πρὸς τοῦτο ἐγὼ τῷ Λευκίῳ χρόνον ἐγγενέσθαι βουλόμενος ἀναμιμησκομένῳ, τὸν Θέωνα καλέσας “τίς” ἔφην “ὦ	
Lamp.	15 Θέων εἴρηκε τῶν τραγικῶν, ώς ίατροὶ πικρὰν πικροῖς κλύζουσι φαρμάκοις χολήν;”	923F
Theon	Ἄποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ Θέωνος ὅτι Σοφοκλῆς, “καὶ δοτέον” εἶπον “ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης ἐκείνοις, φιλοσόφων δὲ οὐκ ἀκουστέον, ἀν τὰ παράδοξα παραδόξοις ἀμύνεσθαι βούλωνται καὶ μαχόμενοι πρὸς τὰ θαυμάσια τῶν δογμάτων ἀτοπώτερα καὶ θαυμασιώτερα πλάττωσιν,	
Lamp.	20 ὥσπερ οὗτοι τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον φορὰν εἰσάγουσιν· ᾧ τί παράδοξον οὐκ ἔνεστιν; Οὐχὶ τὴν σφαῖραν εἶναι τηλικαῦτα βάθη καὶ ὕψη καὶ ἀνωμαλίας ἔχουσαν; Οὐκ ἀντίποδας οἰκεῖν, ὥσπερ θρῖπας ᾧ γαλεώτας, τραπέντα ἄνω τὰ κάτω, τῇ γῇ προσισχομένους· ἡμᾶς δὲ αὐτοὺς μὴ πρὸς ὄρθας βεβηκότας, ἀλλὰ πλαγίους ἐπιμένειν ἀπονεύοντας, ὥσπερ οἱ μεθύοντες; Οὐ μύδρους χιλιοταλάντους διὰ βάθους τῆς γῆς φερομένους, ὅταν ἐξίκωνται πρὸς τὸ μέσον ἵστασθαι μηδενὸς ἀπαντῶντος μηδὲ ὑπερείδοντος, εἰ δὲ ρύμῃ κάτω φερόμενοι	
25	924A	

2 κινεῖν] μένειν SR67 *et alii* 9 ὥσπερ] ὅπερ Amyot: ὥσπερ Arnim | αὐτῇ Arnim: αὐτῇ EB: αὐτὸ Ald. Basil.: ἡ γῆ *add. ante* αὐτὸ Emp.: αὐτῆς Bern.: αὐτῇ Po. | τὸν μέσον] τὸ μέσον SR67 16 χολήν *punct. corr.* Ald. Basil.: χολήν. EB 22 ἔνεστιν *punct. corr.* RJ94: ἔνεστιν. EB 23 θρῖπας Dübn.: θρίπας EB 24 τραπέντα] τραπέντας Basil.: τραπέμπαλιν Bern. | προσισχομένους: I.22 *et punct. corr.* Wyt.: προισχομένους; EB 26 μεθύοντες *punct. corr.* RJ94: μεθύοντες. EB 28 ὑπερείδοντος *punct. corr.* Basil.: ὑπερείδοντος; EB | φερόμενοι Amyot: φερομένου EB

	τὸ μέσον ὑπερβάλλοιεν, αὗθις ὁπίσω στρέφεσθαι καὶ ἀνακάμπτειν ἀφ’ αὐτῶν; Οὐ τμήματα δοκῶν ἀποπρισθέντα τῆς γῆς ἐκατέρωθεν μὴ φέρεσθαι κάτω διαπαντός, ἀλλὰ προσπίπτοντα πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἔξωθεν Ἰσως διωθεῖσθαι καὶ ἀποκρύπτεσθαι περὶ τὸ μέσον; Οὐ ρέῦμα λάβρον ὕδατος κάτω φερόμενον εἰ πρὸς τὸ μέσον ἔλθοι σημεῖον, ὅπερ αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν ἀσώματον, ἵστασθαι περικεραννύμενον κύκλῳ περὶ πόλον, ἄπαυστον αἰώραν καὶ ἀκατάπαυστον αἰώρούμενον; Οὐδὲ γάρ ψευδῶς ἔνια τούτων βιάσαιτο ἂν τις αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ καταστῆσαι. Τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὰ ἄνω κάτω κάνω <κάτω> πάντα τραπέντα πάλιν εἶναι, τῶν ἄχρι τοῦ μέσου κάτω, τῶν δὲ ὑπὸ τὸ μέσον	5
924B		10
924C	αὐτῆς ἔχων σταίη περὶ τὸν ὄμφαλόν, ἄμα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἄνω καὶ τοὺς πόδας ἄνω ἔχειν τὸν αὐτόν· κάνῳ μὲν διασκάπτῃ τὸν ἐπέκεινα τόπον, ἀνακύπτον αὐτοῦ τὸ <κάτω ἄνω> εἶναι καὶ κάτω ἄνωθεν ἔλκεσθαι τὸν ἀνασκαπτόμενον· εἰ δὲ δὴ τούτῳ τις ἀντιβεβηκὼς νοοῦτο, τοὺς ἀμφοτέρων ἄμα πόδας ἄνω γίνεσθαι καὶ λέγεσθαι. Τοιούτων μέντοι καὶ τοσούτων παραδοξολογιῶν οὐ μὰ Δία πεῖραν, ἀλλὰ θαυματοποιοῦ τινος ἀποσκευὴν καὶ πυλαίαν κατανωτισάμενοι καὶ παρέλκοντες, ἔτέρους φασὶ πελάζειν ἄνω τὴν σελήνην, γῆν οὖσαν,	15
924D	ἐνὶ δρύοντας οὐχ ὅπου τὸ μέσον ἐστι· καίτοι γε εἰ πᾶν σῶμα ἐμβριθὲς εἰς τὸ αὐτὸν συννεύει καὶ πρὸς τὸ αὐτοῦ μέσον ἀντερείδει πᾶσι τοῖς μορίοις, οὐχ ὡς μέσον οὖσα τοῦ παντὸς ἡ γῆ μᾶλλον ἢ ὡς ὅλον	20

1 ἀφ αὐτῶν Bern. *et punct. corr.* RJ94: ἀπ’ αὐτῶν. EB **4** [ἴσως] ἔσω Wyt. *in app.*: εῖσω Bern. | ἀποκρύπτεσθαι] ἀπορρίπτεσθαι Amyot: ἀποθρύπτεσθαι Xyl.
6 περικεραννύμενον] περικρεμαννύμενον ἡ Emp.: περικρεμάμενον *corr. et ἡ add.* Dübn.: περικορυσσόμενον ἡ Po. | περὶ πόλον B *s.l.*: περὶ πόλιν E: περὶ πόλλων B: περιπολοῦν Amyot: περιπολεῖν Dübn. **8** αὐτὸν Xyl.: αὐτὸν EB **9** κάνω κάτω *corr. et add.* Kepl.: κάνω EB: καὶ *pro* κάνω *et* τὰ κάτω ἄνω *add.* Amyot: τὸ *add. ante* τὰ ἄνω *et* καὶ *pro* κάνω Adler **10** τραπέντα πάλιν εἶναι] τραπέντα ἀνάπαλιν *ἴεναι* Wyt. *in app.*: τραπέντα τάμπαλιν εἶναι Dübn.: τραπέμπαλιν εἶναι Bern. *et alii*: τραπέμπαλιν θεῖναι Adler **13** μὲν SR67: μὴ EB **14** κάτω ἄνω *suppl. Ch.: lac. 8 lit.* EB: μέρος ἄνω RJ94: ἄνω κάτω Amyot: τὸ σῶμα ἄνω *ἴεναι* Wyt. *in app.*: σῶμα Emp.: σῶμα ταῦτὸν *suppl. et* καὶ ἄνω καὶ κάτωθεν καὶ *add. ante* ἄνωθεν Bern. *in app.*: σῶμα κάτω χωρεῖν *suppl. et corr.* Adler: ἀνακύπτειν *corr.*, κατασκαπτόμενον *suppl.*, εἶναι *del. et τὸ pro* τὸ Purser: κάτω ἄνω σῶμα ταῦτὸν Bens. **15** τις E: τίς B **17** παραδοξολογιῶν E: παραδόξων λογιῶν B: παραδόξων λόγων SR67 | πεῖραν] πήραν RJ94 *et alii* **19** πελάζειν] γελοιάζειν RJ94 *et alii*: πλάζειν Amyot **20** ἐνιδρύοντας RJ94: ἐνιδρύοντες EB | ἐστί· E: ἐστίν· B **21** αὐτοῦ] αὐτοῦ Bern. *et alii*

οἰκειώσεται μέρη αὐτῆς ὅντα τὰ βάρη καὶ τεκμήριον ... ἔσται τῶν
 ρέποντων οὕτι τῆς μεσότητος πρὸς τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν γῆν
 κοινωνίας τινὸς καὶ συμφυῖας τοῖς ἀπωσμένοις αὐτῆς εἶτα πάλιν
 5 καταφερομένοις. Ως γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιστρέφει τὰ μέρη ἐξ ὧν
 συνέστηκε καὶ ἡ γῆ τὸν λίθον, ὥσπερ <αὐτῇ> προσήκοντα, | δέχεται
 924E
 καὶ προσφέρει ἐκεῖνον· ὅθεν ἐνοῦται τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ συμφύεται πρὸς
 αὐτὴν τῶν τοιούτων ἔκαστον. Εἰ δέ τι τυγχάνει σῶμα τῇ γῇ μὴ
 10 προσνενεμημένον ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς μηδὲ ἀπεσπασμένον, ἀλλά που καθ’ αὐτὸ
 σύστασιν ἔσχεν ἰδίαν καὶ φύσιν, ὡς φαῖεν ἀν ἐκεῖνοι τὴν σελήνην, τί¹
 κωλύει χωρὶς εἶναι καὶ μένειν περὶ αὐτὸ τοῖς αὐτοῦ πεπιεσμένον
 15 μέρεσι καὶ συμπεπεδημένον; Οὔτε γὰρ ἡ γῆ μέσον οὖσα δείκνυται τοῦ
 παντός, ἡ τε πρὸς τὴν γῆν τῶν ἐνταῦθα συναίρεσις καὶ σύστασις
 ύφηγεῖται τὸν τρόπον ὃ μένειν τὰ ἐκεῖ συμπεσόντα πρὸς τὴν σελήνην
 20 εἰκός | ἔστιν· ὁ δὲ πάντα τὰ γεώδη καὶ βαρέα συνελαύνων εἰς μίαν
 χώραν καὶ μέρη ποιῶν ἐνὸς σώματος, οὐχ ὄρῳ διὰ τί τοῖς κούφοις τὴν
 αὐτὴν ἀνάγκην οὐκ ἀνταποδίδωσιν, ἀλλ’ ἐᾶ χωρὶς εἶναι συστάσεις
 πυρὸς τοσαύτας καὶ οὐ πάντας εἰς τοῦτο συνάγων τοὺς ἀστέρας
 σαφῶς οἴεται δεῖν καὶ σῶμα κοινὸν εἶναι τῶν ἄνω φορῶν καὶ
 25 φλοιογειδῶν ἀπάντων. || Ἀλλ’ ἥλιον μὲν ἀπλέτους μυριάδας ἀπέχειν
 τῆς ἄνω περιφορᾶς φατε” εἶπον “ὦ φίλε Ἀπολλωνίδη, καὶ φωςφόρον
 30 ἐπ’ αὐτῷ καὶ στίλβοντα καὶ τὸν ἄλλους πλάνητας ύφιεμένους τε τῶν
 ἀπλανῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐν διαστάσεσι μεγάλαις φέρεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ

924F

925A

1 αὐτῆς] αὐτῆς Ch. | lac. 11 lit. E, 16 lit. B: τοῦ ἀνάγκῃ γίνεσθαι, τὴν ὥστὴν αὐτοῖς
suppl. et ἔσται *del.* Wyt. *in app.*: ἐς αὐτὴν *suppl.* et ἔσται τῶν *del.* Emp.: ἐκ τῶν
 βαρέων Bern. *in app.*: τὸ πάθος *suppl.* et πρὸς τὸ μέσον *add. ante* ρέποντων Adler:
 τὸ κατωφερὲς Ch. 2 οὕτι τῆς μεσότητος *correxī*: οὐ τῇ τῆς μεσότητος EB: τῇ *del.*
 RJ94: οὐκ αὐτῇ τῆς μεσότητος Amyot: γῇ *pro* τῇ Emp.: τῇ γῇ *pro* τῇ τῆς Madv.: γῇ
add. post τῇ Adler 3 ἀπωσμένοις] ἀποσπωμένοις SR67 *et alii* | αὐτῆς] αὐτοῖς B *i.t.*
 5 αὐτῇ *suppl.* Amyot: *lac.* 5 *lit.* E, 9 *lit.* B: ἴδιον καὶ Wyt. *in app.*: *lac. del.* Raing.:
 αὐτῇ Ch. | προσήκοντα E: προσήκονται B 6 καὶ προσφέρει ἐκεῖνον. Amyot: καὶ
 φέρει πρὸς ἐκεῖνον EB: κατωφερῆ πρὸς ἐκεῖνην, *forte probabilius* καὶ φέρει πως
 ἐκεῖνον Wyt. *in app.*: κατωφερῆ πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον Emp.: καὶ φέρει πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον
 Bern. *in app.*: καὶ φέρει προσκείμενον Kron.: κατωφερῆ πρὸς οἰκεῖον Ch. 8 ἀπ
 ἀρχῆς Ald. Basil.: ἀπαρχῆς EB | που SR67: τοῦ EB 10 αὐτὸ RJ94: αὐτὸ EB
 αὐτοῦ] αὐτοῦ Wyt. *et alii* 11 συμπεπεδημένον *punct. corr.* Steph.:
 συμπεπεδημένον. EB 17 τοῦτο] ταῦτα Amyot *et alii* | συνάγων] συνάγειν Xyl.
 18 σαφῶς] ἄ φῶς RJ94: καὶ φῶς *et δὴ ἐν pro δεῖν* Wyt. *in app.*: ἐν φῶς Kron. | καὶ¹]
transp. post εἶναι RJ94: *del.* Wyt. *in app.* | ἄνω φορῶν SR67: ἀναφορῶν EB:
 ἀνωφερῶν RJ94: ἀναφόρων Raing.

βαρέσι καὶ γεώδεσιν οὐδεμίαν οἴεσθε τὸν κόσμον εὐρυχωρίαν παρέχειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ διάστασιν· ὅρᾶτε ὅτι γελοῖόν ἐστιν, εἰ γῆν οὐ φήσομεν εἶναι τὴν σελήνην ὅτι τῆς κάτω χώρας ἀφέστηκεν, ἀστρον δὲ φήσομεν, ὅρῶντες ἀπωσμένην τῆς ἄνω περιφορᾶς μυριάσι σταδίων τοσαύταις, ὥσπερ βυθόν τινα, καταδεδυκυῖαν. Τῶν μέν γε ἀστρων
 925B κατω | τέρω τοσοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὅσον οὐκ ἄν τις εἴποι μέτρον, ἀλλ’ ἐπιλείπουσιν ὑμᾶς τοὺς μαθηματικοὺς ἐκλογιζομένους οἱ ἀριθμοί· τῆς δὲ γῆς τρόπον τινὰ ψαύει καὶ περιφερομένη πλησίον,

ἄρματος ὥσπερ ἀν' ἔχνος ἐλίσσεται,
 φησὶν Ἐμπεδοκλῆς,
 ἦ τε παρ' ἄκραν ...

Οὐδὲ γάρ τὴν σκιὰν αὐτῆς ὑπερβάλλει πολλάκις ἐπὶ μικρὸν αἰρομένην τῷ παμμέγεθες εἶναι τὸ φωτίζον, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἔοικεν ἐν χρῶ καὶ σχεδὸν ἐν ἀγκάλαις τῆς γῆς περιπολεῖν, ὥστε ἀντιφράττεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον ὑπ' αὐτῆς, μὴ ὑπεραίρουσα τὸν σκιερὸν καὶ χθόνιον
 925C καὶ νυκτέριον τοῦτον τόπον, ὃς γῆς κλῆρός ἐστι. Διὸ | λεκτέον οἷμαι θαρροῦντας ἐν τῆς γῆς ὄροις εἶναι τὴν σελήνην ὑπὸ τῶν ἄκρων αὐτῆς ἐπιπροσθουμένην. Σκόπει δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀφεὶς ἀπλανεῖς καὶ πλάνητας, ἡ δείκνυσιν Ἀρίσταρχος ἐν τῷ περὶ μεγεθῶν καὶ ἀποστημάτων, ὅτι τὸ τοῦ ἥλιου ἀπόστημα τοῦ ἀποστήματος τῆς σελήνης, ὃ ἀφέστηκεν ἡμῶν, πλέον μὲν ἡ ὀκτωκαιδεκαπλάσιον, ἔλαττον δὲ ἡ εἰκοσαπλάσιον ἐστι· καίτοι ὁ τὴν σελήνην ἐπὶ μῆκιστον αἴρων ἀπέχειν φησὶν ἡμῶν ἔξ καὶ πεντηκονταπλάσιον τῆς ἐκ τοῦ κέντρου τῆς γῆς· αὗτη δ' ἐστὶ τεσσάρων μυριάδων καὶ κατὰ τοὺς μέσως ἀναμετροῦντας καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης συλλογιζομένους ἡ | πέχει ὁ
 925D ἥλιος τῆς σελήνης πλέον ἡ τετρακισχιλίας τριάκοντα μυριάδας· οὕτως ἀπώκισται τοῦ ἥλιου διὰ βάρος καὶ τοσοῦτο τῇ γῇ προσκεχώρηκεν

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1 βαρέσι SR67: βαθέσι EB **5** βυθόν] εἰς *add. ante* βυθόν Wyt. *in app. et alii* καταδεδυκυῖαν E: καταδεδυκυῖαν; B **6** ὅσον...μέτρον E *et B s.l.*: ὅσῳ ... μέτρῳ B **7** ὑμᾶς Xyl.: ὑμᾶς EB **9** ὥσπερ ἀν' ἔχνος ἐλίσσεται Wyt. *in app.*: ὥσπερ ἔχνος ἀνελίσσεται EB: ὡς πέρι χνοίη ἐλίσσεται Panz. **11** ἦ τε παρ' DK: ἦ τε περὶ EB: ἥδε περὶ RJ94: ἦ περὶ Wyt. *in app.* | *lac.* 20 *lit.* E, 26 *lit.* B: *lac. del.* Basil.: νύσσαν ἔλαυνομένη *vel* γαῖαν ἐλ. *suppl.* DK **13** αἰρομένην RJ94: αἰρομένη EB **16** νυκτέριον E: νυκτερινὸν B **17** ἐν τῆς γῆς ὄροις E *s.l.*: ἐν τοῖς γῆς ὄροις EB: ἐν τοῖς τῆς γῆς ὄροις Ald. Basil.: ἐν τῆς τοῖς γῆς ὄροις Düb. **23** ἀπέχειν B *s.l.*: ἀπέχει EB **24** αὗτη B: αὗτη E **25** συλλογιζομένους] συλλογιζομένοις Steph. *et alii*

ώστε, εἰ τοῖς τόποις τὰς οὐσίας διαιρετέον, ἡ γῆς μοῦρα καὶ χώρα προσκαλεῖται σελήνην καὶ τοῖς περὶ γῆν πράγμασι καὶ σώμασιν ἐπίδικός ἐστι κατὰ ἀγχιστείαν καὶ γειτνίασιν. Καὶ οὐθέν, οἶμαι, πλημμελοῦμεν ὅτι τοῖς ἄνω προσαγορευομένοις βάθος τοσοῦτο καὶ 5 διάστημα διδόντες, ἀπολείπομέν τινα καὶ τῷ κάτω περιδρομὴν καὶ πλάτος ὅσον ἐστὶν ἀπὸ γῆς ἐπὶ σελήνην· οὔτε γὰρ ὁ τὴν ἄκραν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ μόνην ἄνω, τἄλλα δὲ κάτω | προσαγορεύων ἄπαντα μέτριός ἐστιν, οὔτε ὁ τῇ γῇ, μᾶλλον δὲ ὁ τῷ κέντρῳ, τὸ κάτω περιγράφων ἀνεκτός· ἀλλὰ καὶ κινητικὸν ταύτη διάστημα τὸ δέον 10 ἐπιχωροῦντος τοῦ κόσμου διὰ μέγεθος· πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀξιοῦντα πᾶν εὐθὺς ἄνω καὶ μετέωρον εἶναι τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, ἔτερος ἀντηχεῖ πάλιν, εὐθὺς εἶναι κάτω τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπλανοῦς περιφορᾶς. Ὄλως δὲ πῶς λέγεται καὶ τίνος ἡ γῆ μέση κεῖται; Τὸ γὰρ πᾶν ἀπειρόν ἐστι, τῷ δὲ ἀπείρῳ μήτε ἀρχὴν ἔχοντι μήτε πέρας, οὐ προσήκει μέσον ἔχειν· πέρας γάρ τι καὶ τὸ μέσον, ἡ δὲ ἀπειρία περάτων στέρησις. Ὁ δὲ μὴ 15 τοῦ παντὸς ἀλλὰ τοῦ κόσμου μέσην εἶναι | τῇ γῇ ἀποφαινόμενος ἥδυς ἐστιν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὸν κόσμον αὐτὸν ἐνέχεσθαι ταῖς αὐταῖς ἀπορίαις νομίζει· τὸ γὰρ πᾶν οὐδὲ τούτῳ μέσην ἀπέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ ἀνέστιος καὶ ἀνίδρυτος ἐστιν ἐν ἀπείρῳ κενῷ φερόμενος πρὸς οὐδὲν 20 οἰκεῖον, || <ἢ> εἰ ἄλλην τινὰ τοῦ μένειν εὐράμενος αἰτίαν ἔστηκεν, οὐ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ τόπου φύσιν, ὅμοια καὶ περὶ γῆς καὶ περὶ σελήνης εἰκάζειν τινὶ πάρεστιν ώς ἑτέρᾳ τινὶ ψυχῇ καὶ φύσει μᾶλλον <γίνονται> διαφοραί, τῆς μὲν ἀτρεμούσης ἐνταῦθα, τῆς δ' ἐκεῖ φερομένης. Ἀνευ δὲ τούτων ὅρα μὴ μέγα τι λέληθεν αὐτούς· εἰ γὰρ ὁπωσοῦν καὶ ὅ τι ἀν ἐκτὸς γένηται τοῦ κέντρου τῆς γῆς ἄνω ἐστίν, 25

925E

925F

926A

1 χώρα RJ94: ὥρα EB **9** κινητικὸν *suppl.* Raing.: κινητικό *vac.* 2 *lit.* EB: κινητικωτάτην καὶ μονιμωτάτην δεῖ ποιεῖν τὴν τάξιν, ἄλλως τε κ.τ.λ. *suppl.* Wyt. *in app.*: κινητικοῦ ταύτη διαστήματος Emp.: κάκείνη τι καὶ *pro* καὶ κινητικό Bern. *in app.* (*sec.* Madv. καὶ ἐκείνη καὶ) | τὸ δέον] δοτέον Madv. *et alii* **13** κεῖται *punct. corr.* Xyl.: κεῖται. EB: κεῖσθαι; Kepl. **18** τούτῳ SR67: τοῦτο EB: τοῦτον RJ94 μέσην] μέσον RJ94 *et alii* **20** ἢ *add. ante* εἰ Kepl.: ἢ *pro* εἰ RJ94: δ' *add. post* εἰ Amyot | εὐράμενος αἰτίαν E: αἰτίαν εὐράμενος B **22** τινὶ¹ B et E *s.l.* | ψυχῇ καὶ] ἥπιῃ καὶ Kepl.: *del.* Purser: τύχῃ καὶ Po. **23** γίνονται *suppl.* Raing. *in app.*: *lac.* 6 *lit.* E, 9 *lit.* B: οἱ Amyot: ψυχικῇ μᾶλλον ἢ φυσικῇ καὶ τοπικῇ, *suppl.* *et* διαφορᾶ *corr.* Wyt. *in app.*: ἢ τόπου *et* διαφορᾶ Bern.: ἢ τοπικῇ *et* διαφορᾶ Ch. | δ ἐκεῖ Madv.: δὲ καὶ EB **25** όπωσοῦν] όποσονοῦ Steph.: ὅτι ἀν καὶ όπωσοῦν Wyt. *in app.*: καὶ *transp. ante* όπωσοῦν Po.

οὐθέν εἶστι τοῦ κόσμου κάτω μέρος· ἀλλ' ἄνω καὶ ἡ γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς
 καὶ πᾶν ἀπλῶς σῶμα τὸ κέντρῳ περιεστηκὸς ἢ περικείμενον ἄνω
 γίνεται, κάτω δέ, μόνον ὅν, ἔν, τὸ ἀσώματον σημεῖον ἐκεῖνο, ὃ πρὸς
 926B πᾶσαν ἀντικεῖσθαι τὴν τοῦ κόσμου φύσιν ἀναγκαῖον, εἴ γε δὴ τὸ
 κάτω πρὸς τὸ ἄνω κατὰ φύσιν ἀντίκειται. Καὶ οὐ τοῦτο μόνον τὸ
 ἄτοπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἀπόλλυσι τὰ βάρη, δι' ἣν δεῦρο
 καταρρέπει καὶ φέρεται· σῶμα μὲν γὰρ οὐθέν εἶστι κάτω πρὸς ὃ
 κινεῖται, τὸ δὲ ἀσώματον οὔτε εἰκός, οὔτε βούλονται τοσαύτην ἔχειν
 δύναμιν, ὥστε πάντα κατατείνειν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν συνέχειν·
 ἀλλ' ὅμως ἄλογον εὐρίσκεται καὶ μαχόμενον τοῖς πράγμασι τὸ ἄνω
 τὸν κόσμον ὅλον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ κάτω μηθέν, ἀλλ' ἢ πέρας ἀσώματον καὶ
 ἀδιάστατον, ἐκεῖνο δὲ εὐλογον, ως λέγομεν ἡμεῖς, τῷ τε ἄνω χώραν
 926C καὶ τῷ κάτω πολλὴν καὶ πλάτος ἔχουσαν διηρῆσθαι. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ
 θέντες, εἰ βούλει, παρὰ φύσιν ἐν οὐρανῷ τοῖς γεώδεσι τὰς κινήσεις
 ὑπάρχειν, ἀτρέμα, μὴ τραγικῶς, ἀλλὰ πράως σκοπῶμεν ὅτι τοῦτο τὴν
 σελήνην οὐ δείκνυσι γῆν μὴ οὖσαν, ἀλλὰ γῆν ὅπου μὴ πέφυκεν
 οὖσαν· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ πῦρ τὸ Αἰτναῖον ὑπὸ γῆν παρὰ φύσιν ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ
 πῦρ ἐστι, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῖς ἀσκοῖς περιληφθέν ἐστι μὲν ἀνωφερὲς
 φύσει καὶ κοῦφον, ἥκει δὲ ὅπου μὴ πέφυκεν ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης· αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ
 ψυχή, πρὸς Διὸς² εἴπον “οὐ παρὰ φύσιν τῷ σώματι συνεῖρκται, βραδεῖ
 ταχεῖα καὶ ψυχρῷ πυρώδης, ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς φατε, καὶ ἀόρατος αἰσθητῷ;
 926D Διὰ τοῦτο | οὗν σώματι ψυχὴν μὴ λέγωμεν εἶναι μηδὲ νοῦν, χρῆμα
 θεῖον, ὑπὸ βρίθους καὶ πάχους, οὐρανόν τε πάντα καὶ γῆν καὶ
 θάλασσαν ἐν ταύτῳ περιπολοῦντα καὶ διπτάμενον εἰς σάρκας ἥκειν
 καὶ νεῦρα καὶ μυελοὺς καὶ παθέων μυρίων μεστὰς ὑγρότητας; Ό δὲ
 Ζεὺς ὑμῖν οὗτος, οὐ τῇ μὲν αὐτοῦ φύσει χρώμενος ἐν ἐστι, μέγα πῦρ
 καὶ συνεχές; Νυνὶ δὲ ὑφεῖται καὶ κέκαμπται καὶ διεσχημάτισται, πᾶν

² τὸ τῷ Raing.: τὸ τῷ Po. *in app.* ³ ὅν] *del.* Madv. *et alii* ⁹ αὐτὸ E: αὐτὸ B
¹⁰ ἀλλ ὅμως] ἄλλως δὲ Wyt. *in app.*: ἀλλ' ὅλως Dübn. *et alii* ²⁰ εἴπον E: εἴπεν B
²² λέγωμεν E: λέγομεν B | εἶναι] ἐνεῖναι Herw. *et alii* | μηδὲ νοῦν Madv.: μηδὲν
 οὐ EB: μηδενί RJ94: μηδεμίαν Kepl.: μηδὲ νοῦ Dübn. ²³ ὑπὸ βρίθους καὶ
 πάχους] ἢ *pro* καὶ Ald.: ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀβριθοῦς καὶ ἀπαχοῦς *vel* ἀπὸ *pro* ὑπὸ Emp.:
 ἀγήττητον *add. ante* ὑπὸ Po.: *transp. post* μυελοὺς Ch. ²⁴ ταύτῳ Bern.: ταυτῷ EB
 | διπτάμενον Wyt. *in app.*: διστάμενον EB ²⁵ μεστὰς ὑγρότητας *et punct. corr.*
 Dübn.: μετὰ ὑγρότητος, EB: αἰτίαν *add.* Amyot: μετὰ ὑγρότητος; Ch. ²⁶ ὑμῖν
 Xyl.: ἡμῖν EB αὐτοῦ E *et B i.t.:* αὐτοῦ B | ἐν ἐστι E: ἐνεστὶ B ²⁷ συνεχές]
punct. corr. Ald. *et alii* | Νυνὶ δὲ B: νυνίδε E

- χρῶμα γεγονώς καὶ γινόμενος ἐν ταῖς μεταβολαῖς; Ὡστε ὄρα καὶ σκόπει, δαιμόνιε, μὴ μεθιστὰς καὶ ἀπάγων ἔκαστον ὅπου πέφυκεν εἶναι διάλυσίν τινα κόσμου φιλοσοφῆς καὶ τὸ νεῖκος ἐπάγης τὸ | 926E
 5 Ἐμπεδοκλέους τοῖς πράγμασι, μᾶλλον δὲ τοὺς παλαιοὺς κινῆς Τιτᾶνας ἐπὶ τὴν φύσιν καὶ Γύγαντας καὶ τὴν μυθικὴν ἐκείνην καὶ φοβερὰν ἀκοσμίαν καὶ πλημμέλειαν ἐπιδεῖν ποθῆς, χωρὶς τὸ βαρὺ πᾶν καὶ χωρὶς ... τὸ κοῦφον.
- Ἐνθ’ οὖτ’ ἡελίοιο διείδεται ἀγλαὸν εἴδος·
 οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδ’ αἴης λάσιον γένος οὐδὲ θάλασσα,
 10 ὡς φησιν Ἐμπεδοκλῆς· οὐ γῆ θερμότητος μετεῖχεν, οὐχ ὕδωρ πνεύματος, οὐκ ἄνω τι τῶν βαρέων, οὐ κάτω τι τῶν κούφων, ἀλλ’ ἄκρατοι καὶ ἄστοργοι καὶ μονάδες αἱ τῶν ὅλων ἀρχαί, μὴ προσιέμεναι σύγκρισιν ἑτέρου | πρὸς ἔτερον μηδὲ κοινωνίαν, ἀλλὰ φεύγουσαι καὶ ἀποστρεφόμεναι καὶ φερόμεναι φορὰς ἴδιας καὶ αὐθάδεις οὕτως εἶχον 926F
 15 ώς ἔχει πᾶν οὗ θεὸς ἀπεστι κατὰ Πλάτωνα· τουτέστιν ώς ἔχει τὰ σώματα νοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς ἀπολιπούσης, ἄχρις οὗ τὸ ἴμερτὸν ἥκεν ἐπὶ τὴν φύσιν ἐκ προνοίας, φιλότητος ἐγγενομένης καὶ Ἀφροδίτης καὶ ἔρωτος, || ώς Ἐμπεδοκλῆς λέγει καὶ Παρμενίδης καὶ Ἡσίοδος, ἵνα καὶ τόπους 927A
 20 ἀμείψαντα καὶ δυνάμεις ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων μεταλαβόντα, καὶ τὰ μὲν κινήσεως, τὰ δὲ μονῆς ἀνάγκαις ἐνδεθέντα καὶ καταβιασθέντα πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον ἐξ οὗ πέφυκεν ἐνδοῦναι καὶ μεταστῆναι ... ἀρμονίαν καὶ κοινωνίαν ἀπεργάσηται τοῦ παντός. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ οὐδ’ ἄλλο τι τῶν τοῦ 25 κόσμου μερῶν παρὰ φύσιν ἔσχεν, ἀλλ’ ἔκαστον ἦ πέφυκε κεῖται, μηδεμιᾶς μεθιδρύσεως μηδὲ μετακοσμήσεως δεόμενον, μηδ’ ἐν ἀρχῇ δεηθέν, ἀπορῶ τί τῆς προνοίας ἔργον ἐστίν, ἢ τίνος γέγονε ποιητῆς καὶ πατήρ δημιουργὸς ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ ἀριστοτέχνας. Οὐ γὰρ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ τακτικῶν ὄφελος, εἴπερ εἰδείη τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔκαστος 927B

1 χρῶμα] χρῆμα SR67 *et alii* | μεταβολαῖς B: μεταβολαῖς E: 7 lac. 8 lit. E, 4 lit. B: πᾶν *suppl.* RJ94: *forte nil excidit, forte unum* διαστήσας Wyt. *in app.*: τὸ βαρὺ ποιῶν καὶ χωρὶς Emp.: τιθεὶς Bern.: διαστὰν Po. *in app.*: θεὶς πᾶν Ch. 8 διείδεται Amyot: δεδίττεται EB: δεδίσκεται Karsten 9 γένος] δέμας Karsten: μένος Bergk: σθένος Emp. 17 ἐκ προνοίας] ἀπρονοίας Ald.: προνοίας RJ94 Basil.: ὅμμα προνοίας Emp.: ἔργον προνοίας Po. *in app.* 21 lac. 7 lit. EB: τὴν *suppl.* Amyot: *lac. del.* Xyl.1570: ἀρξάμενα Wyt. *in app.*: τάξιν καὶ Bern. *in app.*: ταύτην τὴν Raing. *in app.*: κόσμον καὶ *vel* σύγκρισιν καὶ Adler: τὰ σώματα Ch. 24 μηδεμιᾶς E: μὴ δὲ μιᾶς B 26 Οὐ B: ν E

ἀφ' ἔαυτοῦ τάξιν τε καὶ χώραν καὶ καιρὸν οὗ δεῖ λαβεῖν καὶ διαφυλάσσειν, οὐδὲ κηπουρῶν οὐδὲ οἰκοδόμων, εἰ πῆ μὲν αὐτὸ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφ' αὐτοῦ πέφυκεν ἐπεῖναι τοῖς δεομένοις καὶ κατάρδειν ἐπιρρέον, πῆ δὲ πλίνθοι καὶ ξύλα καὶ λίθοι ταῖς κατὰ φύσιν χρώμενα τροπαῖς καὶ νεύσεσιν ἐξ ἔαυτῶν καταλαμβάνειν τὴν προσήκουσαν ἄρμονιάν καὶ χώραν. Εἰ δὲ οὗτος μὲν ἄντικρυς ἀναιρεῖ τὴν πρόνοιαν ὁ λόγος, τῷ θεῷ δὲ ἡ τάξις τῶν ὅντων προσήκει καὶ διαιρεῖν, τί θαυμαστὸν οὕτω τετάχθαι καὶ διηρμόσθαι τὴν φύσιν, ώς | ἐνταῦθα μὲν πῦρ, ἐκεῖ δὲ ἄστρα, καὶ πάλιν ἐνταῦθα μὲν γῆν, ἄνω δὲ σελήνην ἰδρῦσθαι βεβαιοτέρῳ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν, τῷ κατὰ λόγον δεσμωτηρίῳ ληφθεῖσαν; Ως εἴ γε πάντα δεῖ ταῖς κατὰ φύσιν ῥοπαῖς χρῆσθαι καὶ φέρεσθαι καθὸ πέφυκε, μηδ' ἥλιος κυκλοφορείσθω, μήτε φωσφόρος, μηδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων μηδείς· ἄνω γὰρ οὐ κύκλῳ τὰ κοῦφα καὶ πυροειδῆ κινεῖσθαι πέφυκεν. Εἰ δὲ τοιαύτην ἐξαλλαγὴν ἡ φύσις ἔχει παρὰ τὸν τόπον, ὥστε ἐνταῦθα μὲν ἄνω φαίνεσθαι φερόμενον τὸ πῦρ, ὅταν δὲ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν παραγένηται τῇ δίνῃ συμπεριστρέφεσθαι, τί θαυμαστὸν εἰ καὶ τοῖς βαρέσι καὶ | γεώδεσιν ἐκγενομένοις συμβέβηκεν ώσαύτως εἰς ἄλλο κινήσεως εἶδος ὑπὸ τοῦ περιέχοντος ἐκνενικῆσθαι; Οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῶν μὲν ἐλαφρῶν τὴν ἄνω φορὰν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τῷ οὐρανῷ κατὰ φύσιν ἐστί, τῶν δὲ βαρέων καὶ κάτω ῥεπόντων οὐ δύναται κρατεῖν, ἀλλ' ... ποτε ἐκεῖνα δυνάμει καὶ ταῦτα μετακοσμήσας ἐχρήσατο τῇ φύσει αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἴ γε δεῖ τὰς καταδεδουλωμένας ἔξεις <καὶ> δόξας ἀφέντας ἥδη τὸ φαινόμενον ἀδεῶς λέγειν, οὐδὲν ἔοικεν ὅλου μέρος αὐτὸ καθ' ἔαυτὸ τάξιν ἡ θέσιν ἡ κίνησιν ιδίαν ἔχειν, ἡ ἄν τις ἀπλῶς κατὰ φύσιν

3 ἀφ αὐτοῦ B: ἀπ' αὐτοῦ E | ἐπεῖναι] ἐπιέναι Amyot *et alii*: ἐπιρέειν RJ94
5 τροπαῖς] ροπαῖς RJ94 *et alii* 7 διαιρεῖν] διαιρεσίς Amyot: διαιρεσίς *vel* διάκρισις
Kepl.: τὸ διαιρεῖν Dübn. *et alii* 9 μὲν² *om.* E 10 δεσμωτηρίῳ ληφθεῖσαν *punct.*
corr. RJ94: δεσμωτηρίῳ ληφθεῖσαν.: δεσμῷ σωτηρίως *vel* δεσμῷ περιληφθεῖσαν
Wyt. *in app.* (δεσμῷ περιληφθεῖσαν; Dübn. *et alii*) 12 καθό] καθ' ὁ Steph. *et alii*
15 φαίνεσθαι E: φέρεσθαι B 16 παραγένηται B *et E s.l.*: γένηται E
17 ἐκγενομένοις] ἐκεῖ γενομένοις Wyt. *in app.* *et alii* 19 ἐκνευκῆσθαι *punct. corr.*
RJ94: ἐκνευκῆσθαι. EB 21 *vac.* 2 *lit.* EB: ἄλλά *suppl.* Ald. Basil.: ἢ Kepl.: τῇ
αὐτῇ Wyt. *in app.* 23 καὶ *suppl.* Xyl. 1570: *lac.* 4 *lit.* E, 6 *lit.* B: καὶ τὰς Amyot:
forte nil excidit Wyt. *in app.*: ἔξει *pro* ἔξεις *et lac. del.* Dübn.: ἔξει καὶ ἔθει *corr.* *et*
suppl. Bern. *in app.* (sec. Madv. ἔθει): ἔξει σαθρῷ Po. *in app.* 25 ἢ] ἢ RJ94 Basil.
et alii

- προσαγορεύσειεν ἀλλ’ | ὅταν ἔκαστον, οὗ χάριν γέγονε καὶ πρὸς ὁ
πέφυκεν ἡ πεποίηται, τούτῳ παρέχῃ χρησίμως καὶ οἰκείως κινούμενον
έαυτὸν καὶ πάσχον ἡ ποιοῦν ἡ διακείμενον ως ἐκείνῳ πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἡ
κάλλος ἡ δύναμιν ἐπιτήδειόν ἐστι, τότε δοκεῖ τὴν κατὰ φύσιν χώραν
5
ἔχειν καὶ κίνησιν καὶ διάθεσιν. Ὁ γοῦν ἄνθρωπος, ως ἐπὶ τῶν ὄντων
ἔτερον κατὰ φύσιν γεγονώς, ἄνω μὲν ἔχει τὰ ἐμβριθῆ καὶ γεώδη,
μάλιστα περὶ τὴν κεφαλήν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς μέσοις τὰ θερμὰ καὶ πυρώδη·
τῶν δὲ ὁδόντων, οἱ μὲν ἄνωθεν, οἱ δὲ κάτωθεν ἐκφύονται καὶ
οὐδέτεροι παρὰ φύσιν ἔχουσιν, οὐδὲ τοῦ πυρός, τὸ μὲν ἄνω περὶ τὰ
10
ὅμιματα ἀποστίλβον κατὰ φύσιν ἐστί, τὸ δὲ ἐν κοιλίᾳ καὶ καρδίᾳ
παρὰ φύσιν, ἀλλ’ ἔκαστον οἰκείως καὶ χρησίμως τέτακται.
- 927E
- 10
15
20
25
30
- ναὶ μὴν κηρύκων τε λιθορρίνων χελύων τε
καὶ παντὸς ὁστρέου φύσιν, ὡς φησιν ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς,
καταμανθάνων,
- ἐνθ’ ὅψει χθόνα χρωτὸς ὑπέρτατα ναιετάουσαν·
καὶ οὐ πιέζει τὸ λιθῶδες οὐδὲ καταθλίβει τὴν ἔξιν ἐπικείμενον,
|| οὐδέ γε πάλιν τὸ θερμὸν ὑπὸ κουφότητος εἰς τὴν ἄνω χώραν
ἀποπτάμενον οἴχεται· μέμικται δέ πως πρὸς ἄλληλα καὶ συντέτακται
κατὰ τὴν ἑκάστου φύσιν. Ὡσπερ εἰκὸς ἔχειν καὶ τὸν κόσμον, εἴ γε δὴ
ζῷόν ἐστι, πολλαχοῦ γῆν ἔχοντα, πολλαχοῦ δὲ πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ
πνεῦμα, οὐκέτι ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀποτεθλιμμένον, ἀλλὰ λόγῳ
διακεκοσμημένον. Οὐδὲ γάρ δοφθαλμὸς ἐνταῦθα τοῦ σώματός ἐστιν
ὑπὸ κουφότητος ἐκπιεσθείς, οὐδὲ ἡ καρδία τῷ βάρει ὀλισθοῦσα
πέπτωκεν εἰς τὸ στῆθος, ἀλλ’ ὅτι βέλτιον ἦν οὕτως ἐκάτερον τετάχθαι.
Μὴ τοίνυν μήτε τῶν τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν νομίζωμεν, μήτε γῆν |
ἐνταῦθα κεῖσθαι συμπεσοῦσαν διὰ βάρος, μήτε τὸν ἥλιον, ως φέτο
Μητρόδωρος ὁ Χῖος, εἰς τὴν ἄνω χώραν ἀσκοῦ δίκην ὑπὸ κουφότητος
ἐκτεθλῖφθαι, μήτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἀστέρας, ὥσπερ ἐν ζυγῷ σταθμοῦ,
διαφορᾷ ρέψαντας ἐν οἷς εἰσι γεγονέναι τόποις· ἀλλὰ τοῦ κατὰ λόγον
κρατοῦντος, οἱ μέν, ὥσπερ ὅμματα φωσφόρα, τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ
- 927F
- 928A
- 928B

2 παρέχῃ SR67: παρέχειν EB: παρέχει Basil.: μέλλῃ *add. ante* παρέχειν Po. **5** ἐπὶ] εἴ τι Xyl. 1570 *et alii* **6** τὰ E: τὸν B **8** ἐκφύονται E *et B s.l.*: ἐμφύονται B **12** χελύων τε RJ94: χελωνῶν τε EB: τε χελωνῶν RJ94: τε χελωνῶν τε Amyot **25** μήτε] μηδὲ Düb. *et alii* **28** ζυγῷ σταθμοῦ E: ζυγῷ σταθμοῦ B: ζυγοσταθμοῦ Ald. Basil. *et alii* **29** ρέψαντας B: ρέψαντος E

	παντὸς ἐνδεδεμένοι περιπολοῦσιν, ἥλιος δὲ καρδίας ἔχων δύναμιν, ώσπερ αἷμα καὶ πνεῦμα, διαπέμπει καὶ διασκεδάννυσιν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ θερμότητα καὶ φῶς, γῇ δὲ καὶ θαλάσσῃ χρῆται κατὰ φύσιν ὁ κόσμος ὅσα κοιλίᾳ καὶ κύστει ζῷον. Σελήνη δὲ ἡλίου μεταξὺ καὶ γῆς, ὡσπερ	5
928C	καρδίας καὶ κοιλίας ἥπαρ ἢ τι μαλθακὸν ἄλλο σπλάγχνον, ἐγκειμένη τήν τε ἄνωθεν ἀλέαν ἐνταῦθα διαπέμπει καὶ τὰς ἐντεῦθεν ἀναθυμιάσεις πέψει τινὶ καὶ καθάρσει λεπτύνουσα περὶ ἑαυτὴν ἀναδίδωσιν· εἰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλα τὸ γεῶδες αὐτῆς καὶ στερέμνιον ἔχει τινὰ πρόσφορον χρείαν, ἄδηλον ἡμῖν· ἐν παντὶ δὲ κρατεῖται βέλτιον τοῦτο κατηναγκασμένον. Τί γὰρ οὕτω λάβωμεν ἐξ ὧν ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσι, τὸ εἰκός; Λέγουσι δὲ τοῦ αἰθέρος, τὸ μὲν αὐγοειδὲς καὶ λεπτὸν ὑπὸ	10
928D	μανότητος οὐρανὸν γεγονέναι, τὸ δὲ πυκνωθὲν καὶ συνειληθέν, ἄστρα· τούτων δὲ τὸ νωθρότατον εἶναι τὴν σε λήνην καὶ θολερώτατον. Ἄλλ’ ὅμως ὁρᾶν πάρεστιν οὐκ ἀποκεκριμένην τοῦ αἰθέρος τὴν σελήνην, ἀλλ’ ἔτι πολλῷ ἐν τῷ περὶ αὐτὴν ἐμφερομένην, πολλὴν δὲ ὑφ’ ἑαυτὴν ἔχουσαν ἀνέμων <δίνην> δινεῖσθαι καὶ κομῆτας· οὕτως οὐ ταῖς ρόπαις σεσήκωται κατὰ βάρος καὶ κουφότητα τῶν σωμάτων ἔκαστον, ἀλλ’ ἐτέρῳ λόγῳ κεκόσμηται.” Λεχθέντων δὲ τούτων, κάμιον τῷ Λευκίῳ τὸν λόγον παραδιδόντος ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις βαδίζοντος τοῦ δόγματος, Ἀριστοτέλης μειδιάσας, “μαρτύρομαι” εἶπεν “ὅτι τὴν πᾶσαν ἀντιλογίαν πεποίησαι πρὸς τοὺς αὐτὴν μὲν	15
928E	ἡμίπυρον εἶναι τὴν σελήνην ὑποτιθεμένους, κοινῇ δὲ τῶν σωμάτων, τὰ μὲν ἄνω, τὰ δὲ κάτω ῥέπειν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν φάσκοντας· εἰ δ’ ἔστι τις ὁ λέγων κύκλῳ τε κινεῖσθαι κατὰ φύσιν τὰ ἄστρα καὶ πολὺ ²⁵ παρηλλαγμένης οὐσίας εἶναι τῶν τεττάρων, οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τύχης ἥλθεν ἐπὶ	Arist.

5 σπλάγχνον Ε: σπλάχνον Β **9** κρατεῖται βέλτιον τοῦτο κατηναγκασμένον] τὸ *pro* τοῦτο SR67: τοῦ κατηναγκασμένου Xyl.¹⁵⁷⁰: κρατεῖ τὸ βέλτιον τοῦ κατηναγκασμένου Wyt. *in app. et alii* **10** γάρ] εἰ *add. post* γάρ Kepl.: οὐχ *add. post* γάρ Po.: γάρ; Raing. **11** εἰκός *punct. corr.* Wyt.: εἰκός. EB **14** ἀποκεκριμένην RJ94 Basil.: ἀποκεκριμένου Ε: ἀποκεκρυμμένου Β **15** ἐν] *transp. ante* πολλῷ Amyot: *del.* Düb.: μὲν *pro* ἐν Bens. **16** πολλὴν] πολύν Amyot (πολλύν *sic*) δίνην *supplevi: lac.* 25 *lit.* EB: αἰθεροειδῆ οὐσίαν τῷ καὶ αὐτοῖς RJ94: χώραν Amyot: βίαν, ὑφ ἦς ἄλλα τε εἰκός ἔστι Wyt. *in app.*: ἀνέμῳ ἐνδινεῖσθαι καὶ κομῆταις *corr. et lac. del.* Emp.: τε ρίπας ὑφ ὧν (*aut* αἵς) ἄλλα τε εἰκός Bern. *in app.*: ὁ σώματα γεῶδη ὑπ’ *add. ante* ἀνέμων *et* ἀνενεχθέντα πωγωνίας αὐτοί φασιν συμπεριδινεῖσθαι *suppl.* Adler: βίαν ὑφ ὧν ἐκθλιβέντας φασίν ἐν τῷ αἰθέρι Po. *in app.*: ἐν ᾧ *pro* ἀνέμων (*sec.* Madv.) *et* λέγουσιν αὐτοὶ τοὺς πωγωνίας *suppl.* Ch.

- Lucius μνήμην ύμῖν, ὥστε ἐμέ τε πραγμάτων ἀπηλλάχθαι.” Καὶ <ό> Λεύκιος ... “ώγαθὲ” εἶπεν “ἀλλὰ τὰ ἄλλα μὲν ἵσως ἄστρα καὶ τὸν ὅλον οὐρανὸν εἰς τινα φύσιν καθαρὰν καὶ εἰλικρινῆ καὶ τῆς κατὰ πάθος ἀπηλλαγμένην μεταβολῆς τιθεμένοις ύμῖν καὶ κύκλον ἄγουσι, δι’ οὗ 5 καὶ ἀτελευτήτου | περιφορᾶς ... οὐκ ἂν τις ἐν γε τῷ νῦν διαμάχοιτο, καίτοι μυρίων οὐσῶν ἀποριῶν· ὅταν δὲ καταβαίνων ὁ λόγος οὕτω θίγῃ τῆς σελήνης, οὐκέτι φυλάττει τὴν ἀπάθειαν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἐκείνου τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλ’ ἵνα τὰς ἄλλας ἀνωμαλίας καὶ 10 διαφορὰς ἀφῶμεν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ διαφαινόμενον πρόσωπον, πάθει τινὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἢ ἀναμίξει πως ἑτέρας ἐπιγέγονε· πάσχει δέ τι καὶ τὸ μιγνύμενον, ἀποβάλλει γὰρ τὸ εἰλικρινὲς βίᾳ τοῦ χείρονος ἀναπιμπλάμενον. || Αὐτῆς δὲ νώθειαν καὶ τάχους ἀμβλύτητα καὶ τὸ 15 θερμὸν ἀδρανὲς καὶ ἀμαυρόν, <ῷ> κατὰ τὸν Ἱωνα μέλας οὐ πεπαίνεται βότρυς,
- 15 εἰς τί θησόμεθα πλὴν ἀσθένειαν αὐτῆς καὶ πάθος, <εἰ πάθους> ἀιδίῳ σώματι καὶ ὀλυμπίῳ μέτεστιν; Ὄλως γάρ, ὃ φίλε Ἀριστότελες, γῆ μὲν οὖσα, πάγκολόν τι χρῆμα καὶ σεμνὸν ἀναφαίνεται καὶ 20 κεκοσμημένον, ὡς δὲ ἄστρον ἢ φῶς ἢ τι σῶμα θεῖον καὶ οὐράνιον, δέδια μὴ ἄμορφος ἢ καὶ ἀπρεπῆς καὶ καταισχύνουσα τὴν καλὴν ἐπωνυμίαν· εἴ γε τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ τοσούτων τὸ πλῆθος ὄντων, μόνη φωτὸς ἀλλοτρίου δεομένη περίεισι, κατὰ Παρμε | νίδην 25 ἀεὶ παπταίνουσα πρὸς αὐγὰς ἡλίοιο.
- Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἔταιρος ἐν τῇ διατριβῇ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ Ἀναξαγόρειον ἀποδεικνὺς ὡς ἥλιος ἐντίθησι τῇ σελήνῃ τὸ λαμπρὸν ηὔδοκίμησεν,

1 ύμῖν Amyot: ἡμῖν EB | ὁ *suppl.* Emp. (*sec.* Wyt. *in app.* σὲ, ὃ Λεύκιε. καὶ ὁ): *lac.* 8 *lit.* E, 10 *lit.* B: τὸν κλέαρχον ἀλλὰ Amyot: : σὲ τὸ γε καθ’ ἡμᾶς ὃ δὲ Po. *in app.*: ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Ch. **2** *lac.* 10 *lit.* EB: ὑπολαβὸν εἶπεν ἄλλα *suppl.* *et corr.* Amyot: οὐκ Wyt. *in app.*: *lac.* *et* ἀλλὰ *del.* Emp.: ἥκιστα Bern.: οὐδὲ ἐλάχιστον Raing. *in app.* ωγαθὲ Steph.: ὃ γαθὲ B: ὁ γαθὲ E | τὰ] τε Ald. Basil.: τὰλλα Ch. **4** ύμῖν RJ94: ἡμῖν EB | ἀγουσι] ἀγουσαν Po. *in app.* Ch. | δι οὗ] δίου θείου Kepl.: ἀιδίου Dübn. *et alii*: δι’ ἀιδίου Po. *in app.* **5** *lac.* 16 *lit.* E, 14 *lit.* B: μετέχουσι *suppl.* Amyot: κινεῖσθαι Wyt. *in app.*: τῶν οὐρανίων Adler: ὄμαλῶς περιουνόμενον Po. *in app.*: οἵον τε φύσιν ἔχειν Ch. **6** οὕτω] οὕτος Wyt. *in app.* *et alii* **12** νώθειαν E: νωθείαν B **13** ὥ *add.* RJ94 Basil.: κατὰ E: καὶ κατὰ B **15** αὐτῆς] αὐτῆς; *punct. corr.* Xyl. εἰ πάθους *add. post* πάθος SR67: ὥν οὐδετέρουν *add.* RJ94: καὶ ὁ Αριστοτέλης: πάθος ἄρα ἀιδίῳ *corr. et add.* Xyl. 1570: εἰ πάθος *add.* Steph.: πάθος; πόθεν οὖν πάθους *corr. et add.* Po. **16** μέτεστιν *punct. corr.* Ald. Basil.: μέτεστιν. EB **21** περίεισι E *et* B *s.l.*: περίεστι B

έγὼ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἔρω ἢ παρ' ὑμῶν ἡ μεθ' ὑμῶν ἔμαθον· ἔχων δὲ τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ βαδιοῦμαι. Φωτίζεσθαι τοίνυν τὴν σελήνην οὐχ ὡς ὕελον ἡ κρύσταλλον ἐλλάμψει καὶ διαφαύσει τοῦ ἥλιου, πιθανόν ἐστιν, οὐτ' αὖτα σύλλαμψίν τινα καὶ συναυγασμόν, ὥσπερ αἱ δᾶδες, αὐξομένου τοῦ φωτός. Οὗτο γάρ οὐδὲν ἡττον ἐν νουμηνίαις ἡ διχομηνίαις ἐσται πανσέληνος ἡμῖν, εἰ μὴ στέγει μηδὲ ἀντιφράττει τὸν ἥλιον, ἀλλὰ δίεισιν ὑπὸ μανό | τητος ἡ κατὰ σύγκρασιν εἰσλάμπει καὶ συνεξάπτει περὶ αὐτὴν τὸ φῶς· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐκκλίσεις οὐδὲ ἀποστροφὰς αὐτῆς, ὥσπερ ὅταν ἡ διχότομος καὶ ἀμφίκυρτος ἡ μηνοειδής, αἰτιᾶσθαι περὶ τὴν σύνοδον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ στάθμην, φησὶ Δημόκριτος, ίσταμένη τοῦ φωτίζοντος ὑπολαμβάνει καὶ δέχεται τὸν ἥλιον, ὥστε αὐτὴν τε φαίνεσθαι καὶ διαφαίνειν ἐκεῖνον εἰκὸς ἦν. Ἡ δὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ τοῦτο ποιεῖν· αὐτή τε γὰρ ἄδηλός ἐστι τηνικαῦτα κάκεῖνον ἀπέκρυψε καὶ ἡφάνισε πολλάκις,

ἀπεσκέδασεν δ' οἱ αὐγάς,
ὧς φησιν Ἐμπεδοκλῆς,
ἔστ' αἴαν καθύπερθεν, ἀπεσκνίφωσε δὲ γαίης
τόσσον ὅσον τ' εὔρος γλαυκώπιδος ἔπλετο μήνης:

929D | καθάπερ εἰς νύκτα καὶ σκότος οὐκ εἰς ἄστρον ἔτερο<ν> τοῦ φωτὸς ἐμπεσόντος. Ὁ δὲ λέγει Ποσειδώνιος ὡς ὑπὸ βάθους τῆς σελήνης οὐ περαιωῦται δι' αὐτῆς τὸ τοῦ ἥλιου φῶς πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἐλέγχεται καταφανῶς· ὁ γὰρ ἀὴρ ἄπλετος ὧν καὶ βάθος ἔχων πολλαπλάσιον τῆς σελήνης ὄλος ἐξηλιοῦται καὶ καταλάμπεται ταῖς αὐγαῖς. Ἀπολείπεται τοίνυν τὸ τοῦ Ἐμπεδοκλέους, ἀνακλάσει τινὶ τοῦ ἥλιου πρὸς τὴν σελήνην γίνεσθαι τὸν ἐνταῦθα φωτισμὸν ἀπ' αὐτῆς, ὅθεν οὐδὲ θερμὸν οὐδὲ λαμπρὸν ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὥσπερ ἦν εἰκὸς ἐξάψεως καὶ μίξεως <τῶν> φώτων γεγενημένης, ἀλλ' οἵον αἴ τε

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1 παρ ὑμῶν B: παρυμῶν E | ἔχων δὲ τοῦτο E: ἔχων δὲ B: ἐκῶν δὲ SR67 *et alii*: ἔχόμενος δὲ τοῦτου Po. *in app.*: ἐδῶ Görg. **3** ὕελον B: ὕελλον E et B *s.l.* **7** δίεισιν] δίησιν Madv. *et alii* | εἰσλάμπει] ἐκλάμπει Sandb. *et alii* **8** αὐτὴν] αὐτὴν RJ94 **12** αὐτὴν Bet E *i.t.*: αὐτὴν E **13** αὐτή E: αὕτη B: αὕτη Steph. **15** ἀπεσκέδασεν Xyl.1570: ἀπεσκεύασε EB **18** τόσσον E et B *s.l.*: τόσον B | γλαυκώπιδος ἔπλετο μήνης E: ἔπλετο γλαυκώπιδος μήνης B: γλαυκώπιδι μήνῃ RJ94 **19** ἔτερον *suppl.* SR67: ἔτερο *vac.* **3** *lit.* EB: ἔτεροιδες RJ94: αἰθηρ (*sic*) *vel* ἔτερον RJ94: ἔτερον τοιοῦτον Wyt. *in app.*: ἔτεροῖον Bern. *in app.*: ἔτερόν τι Papabas. **21** δι αὐτῆς B: διαυτῆς E **23** ὄλος E: ὄλως B **27** τῶν *suppl.* SR67: *lac.* **5** *lit.* E, **3** *lit.* B: *lac. del.* Xyl.: τινός Wyt. *in app.*: δύο Raing.: δύοīn Po.

	φωναὶ κατὰ τὰς ἀνακλάσεις ἀμαυροτέραν ἀναφαίνουσι τὴν ἡχὴν τοῦ φθέγματος, αἱ τε πληγαὶ τῶν ἀφαλλομένων βελῶν μαλακώτεραι προσπίπτουσιν,	929E
5	ώς αὐγὴ τύψασα σεληναίης κύκλον εὔρὺν	
Sulla	ἀσθενῆ καὶ ἀμυδρὰν ἀνάρροιαν ἵσχει πρὸς ἡμᾶς διὰ τὴν κλάσιν ἐκλυνομένης τῆς δυνάμεως.” Υπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ Σύλλας “ἀμέλει ταῦτα” εἶπεν “ἔχει τινὰς πιθανότητας· ὃ δὲ δὲ ἴσχυρότατόν ἐστι τῶν ἀντιπιπτόντων πότερον ἔτυχε τίνος παραμυθίας ἢ παρῆλθεν ἡμῶν τὸν ἑταῖρον;” “Τί τοῦτο” ἔφη “λέγεις” ὁ Λεύκιος “ἢ τὸ πρὸς τὴν διχότομον ἀπορούμενον;” “Πάνυ μὲν οὖν” ὁ Σύλλας εἶπεν “ἔχει γάρ τινα λόγον τὸ πάσης ἐν ἵσαις γωνίαις γινομένης ἀνακλάσεως, ὅταν ἡ σελήνη διχοτομοῦσα μεσουρανῇ, μὴ φέρεσθαι τὸ φῶς ἐπὶ γῆς ἀπ’ αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ ὀλισθαίνειν ἐπέκεινα τῆς γῆς· ὁ γὰρ ἥλιος ἐπὶ τοῦ ὁρίζοντος ὧν ἄπτεται τῇ ἀκτῖνῃ τῆς σελήνης. διὸ καὶ κλασθεῖσα πρὸς ἵσα ἐπὶ θάτερον ἐκπεσεῖται πέρας καὶ οὐκ ἀφήσει δεῦρο τὴν αὐγὴν, ἢ διαστροφὴ μεγάλη καὶ παράλλαξις ἐσται τῆς γωνίας, ὅπερ ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν.” “Αλλὰ νῆ Δία” εἶπεν ὁ Λεύκιος “καὶ τοῦτο ἐρρήθη.”	929F
Lucius		
Sulla	Καὶ πρὸς γε Μενέλαιον ἀποβλέψας ἐν τῷ διαλέγεσθαι τὸν μαθηματικόν, “αἰσχύνομαι μὲν” ἔφη “σοῦ παρόντος, ὃ φίλε Μενέλαε, θέσιν ἀναιρεῖν μαθηματικὴν ὥσπερ θεμέλιον τοῖς κατοπτρικοῖς ὑποκειμένην πράγμασιν ἀνάγκη δὲ εἰπεῖν ὅτι τὸ πρὸς ἵσας τείνεσθαι γωνίας ἀνάκλασιν πᾶσαν, οὗτε φαινόμενον αὐτόθεν οὕτε ὁμολογούμενόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ διαβάλλεται μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν κυρτῶν κατόπτρων, ὅταν ἐμφάσεις ποιῇ μείζονας ἔαυτῶν πρὸς ἐν τῷ τῆς ὅψεως σημεῖον, διαβάλλεται δὲ τοῖς διπτύχοις κατόπτροις, ὡς ἐπικλιθέντων πρὸς ἄλληλα καὶ γωνίας ἐντὸς γενομένης, ἐκάτερον τῶν ἐπιπέδων διττὴν ἐμφασιν ἀποδίδωσι καὶ ποιεῖ τέτταρας εἰκόνας ἀφ’ ἑνὸς προσώπου, δύο μὲν ἀντιστρόφους τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἐναργεστέρας	930A
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Lucius		
[Men.]		
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1 ἀμαυροτέραν E: ἀμαυρωτέραν B 4 αὐγὴ SR67: αὐτὴ EB | εὔρὺν E: εύρὺν B 9 ἑταῖρον *punct. corr.* Wyt.: ἑταῖρον. EB 12 διχοτομοῦσα] διχότομος οὖσα Wyt. *in app. et alii* | μεσουρανῇ] μεσουρανία Ald. Basil.: μεσουρανεῖ Amyot Xyl. 1570; μεσουρανήσῃ Kepl. 15 ἵσα] ἵσας Bens. *et alii* 21 εἰπεῖν Wyt. *in app.*: εἶπεν EB τείνεσθαι] γίνεσθαι RJ94 *et alii* 25 ὡς]: ὃν RJ94 *et alii* 26 ἐπικλιθέντων RJ94: ἐπικριθέντων EB 27 διττὴν I.22: διττῆς EB 28 τοῖς] ἐν add. ante τοῖς Dübn. *et alii* | ἐναργεστέρας Raing.: ἀριστεροῖς EB: ἀριστεροῖς del. Dübn. *et alii*

μέρεσι, δύο δὲ δεξιοφανεῖς ἀμαυρὰς ἐν βάθει τῶν κατόπτρων, ὥν τῆς γενέσεως τὴν αἰτίαν Πλάτων ἀποδίδωσιν· εἴρηκε γὰρ ὅτι τοῦ κατόπτρου ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν ὅψις λαβόντος ὑπαλλάττουσιν αἱ ὄψεις τὴν ἀνάκλασιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἑτέρων ἐπὶ θάτερα μεταπίπτουσαν. Εἶπερ οὖν τῶν ὄψεων εὐθὺς πρὸς ἡμᾶς <αἱ μὲν> ἀνατρέχουσιν, αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα μέρη τῶν κατόπτρων ὀλισθαίνουσαι πάλιν ἐκεῖθεν ἀναφέρονται πρὸς ἡμᾶς, οὐ δυνατόν ἐστιν ἐν ἵσαις γωνίαις γίνεσθαι πάσας ἀνακλάσεις, ὅσας ὁμόσε χωρεῖν ὄρῶντες ἀξιοῦσιν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης ἐπὶ γῆν φερομένοις ρέυμασι τὴν ισότητα τῶν γωνιῶν ἀναιρεῖν, πολλῷ τοῦτο ἐκείνου πιθανώτερον εἶναι νομίζοντες. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ εἰ δεῖ τοῦτο χαρίζεσθαι τῇ πολλὰ δὴ φίλῃ γεωμετρίᾳ καὶ δοῦναι, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἡκριβωμένων ταῖς λειότησι συμπίπτειν ἐσόπτρων εἰκός ἐστιν· ἡ δὲ σελήνη πολλὰς ἀνωμαλίας ἔχει καὶ τραχύτητας ὥστε τὰς αὐγὰς ἀπὸ σώματος μεγάλου προσφερομένας ὅψειν ἀξιολόγοις ἀντιλάμψεις καὶ διαδόσεις ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων λαμβάνουσιν, ἀνακλᾶσθαι τε παντοδαπῶς καὶ περιπλέκεσθαι καὶ συνάπτειν αὐτὴν ἔαυτῇ τὴν ἀνταύγειαν οἷον ἀπὸ πολλῶν φερομένην πρὸς ἡμᾶς κατόπτρων. Ἐπειτα κὰν πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ σελήνῃ τὰς ἀντανακλάσεις ἐν ἵσαις γωνίαις ποιῶμεν, οὐκ ἀδύνατον φερομένας ἐν διαστήματι τοσούτῳ τὰς αὐγὰς κλάσεις ἰσχειν καὶ περιολισθήσεις ὡς συγχεῖσθαι καὶ κάμπτειν τὸ φῶς. Ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ δεικνύουσι γράφοντες ὅτι πολλὰ τῶν φώτων ἐπὶ γῆν ἀφίησι κατὰ γραμμὴν ὑπὸ τὴν κεκλιμένην ὑποταθείσαν σκευωρεῖσθαι δὲ ἄμα λέγοντι διάγραμμα καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς πολλοὺς οὐκ ἐνῆν. Τὸ δ’ ὅλον” ἔφη “θαυμάζω πῶς τὴν διχότομον ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς κινοῦσιν ἐμπίπτουσαν μετὰ τῆς ἀμφικύρτου καὶ τῆς μηνοειδοῦς· εἰ

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1 δεξιοφανεῖς] ἀλλ’ *add. post* δεξιοφανεῖς Po. | ἐν βάθει] τῷ βάθει Emp. | τῶν κατόπτρων *iteratio sententiae* ὅταν ἐμφάσεις ... διαβάλλεται δὲ *et lac.* 14 *lit.* E, 11 *lit.* B | **5** τῶν ὄψεων] αἱ μὲν *add. post* τῶν ὄψεων SR67 | αἱ μὲν *suppl.* Amyot: *lac.* 19 *lit.* E, 14 *lit.* B: *aut nihil excidit aut ἀπὸ τῶν κατόπτρων Wyt. in app.:* αἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἔξωθεν Adler: αἱ μὲν κατ ἀνάκλασιν Po. *in app.:* αἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιπέδων Ch. | **8** ὄσας] ὥστε SR67 *et alii:* οἵς οἱ *vel* οἵς τινες Po. *in app.:* ὥστε *pro* ὄσας *et* ἔνιοι μὲν τοῖς μαθηματικοῖς *add. Ch.* | χωρεῖν ὄρῶντες Prickard: χωροῦντες EB: τοῖς *add. ante* ἀξιοῦσιν *et* ἀναιρῶμεν *pro* ἀναιρεῖν Emp.: ὥστε τοῦθ’ οἱ μὴ συγχωροῦντες *pro* ὄσας ὁμόσε χωροῦντες Adler | **9** ρέυμασι B: ρήμασι E | **15** ἀνακλᾶσθαι τε B: ἀνακλᾶσθαι τέ E | **16** ἔαυτῇ E: ἔαυτῃ B | **20** συγχεῖσθαι Amyot: συγκεῖσθαι EB κάμπτειν Emp.: λάμπειν EB | **22** γραμμὴν] γραμμῆς Wyt. *in app.* | ὑπὸ τὴν κεκλιμένην] ὑπὸ τὴν κεκλασμένην Emp.: ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκεκλιμένης Ch. | ὑποταθείσαν RJ94: ὑποταθείσης EB

γὰρ αἰθέριον ὅγκον ἡ πύρινον ὄντα τὸν τῆς σελήνης ἐφώτιζεν ὁ ἥλιος,
 οὐκ ἀν ἀπέλειπεν αὐτῇ σκιερὸν ἀεὶ καὶ ἀλαμπὲς ἡμισφαίριον πρὸς
 αἰσθησιν, ἀλλ’ εἰ καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἔψαυε περιών, πολλὴν
 ἀναπίμπλασθαι καὶ δι’ ὅλης τρέφε | σθαι τῷ φωτὶ πανταχόσε χωροῦντι 930F

5 δι’ εὐπετείας ἦν προσῆκον· ὅπου γὰρ οἶνος ὕδατος θιγὼν κατὰ πέρας
 καὶ σταγὼν αἴματος εἰς ὑγρὸν ἐμπεσόντος ἀνέχρωσε πᾶν ἄμα ...
 φοινιχθέν· αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν ἀέρα λέγουσιν οὐκ ἀπορροίαις τισὶν οὐδὲ
 ἀκτῖσι μεμιγμέναις, ἀλλὰ τροπῇ καὶ μεταβολῇ κατὰ νύξιν ἡ ψαῦσιν
 ἀπὸ τοῦ φωτὸς ἐξηλιοῦσθαι, πῶς ἄστρον ἄστρου καὶ φῶς φωτὸς
 10 ἀψάμενον οἴονται μὴ κεράννυσθαι μηδὲ σύγχυσιν ποιεῖν δι’ ὅλου καὶ
 μεταβολήν, || ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνα φωτίζειν μόνον ὃν ἄπτεται κατὰ τὴν
 ἐπιφάνειαν; Ὄν γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος περιών κύκλον ἄγει καὶ περιστρέφει περὶ
 τὴν σελήνην, νῦν μὲν ἐπιπίπτοντα τῷ διορίζοντι τὸ ὄρατὸν αὐτῆς καὶ
 τὸ ἀόρατον, νῦν δὲ ἀνιστάμενον πρὸς ὄρθας ὥστε τέμνειν ἐκεῖνον ὑπ’
 15 ἐκείνου τε τέμνεσθαι, ἀλλαις κλίσει καὶ σχέσει τοῦ λαμπροῦ πρὸς
 τὸ σκιερὸν ἀμφικύρτους καὶ μηνοειδεῖς ἀποδιδόντα μορφὰς ἐν αὐτῇ,
 παντὸς μᾶλλον ἐπιδείκνυσιν οὐ σύγκρασιν ἀλλ’ ἐπαφήν, οὐδὲ
 σύλλαμψιν ἀλλὰ περίλαμψιν αὐτῆς ὄντα τὸν φωτισμόν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ
 20 αὐτῇ φωτίζεται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεῦρο τῆς αὐγῆς ἀνα | πέμπει τὸ
 εἴδωλον, ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ισχυρίσασθαι τῷ λόγῳ περὶ τῆς οὐσίας
 δίδωσιν. Αἱ γὰρ ἀνακλάσεις γίνονται πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀραιὸν οὐδὲ
 λεπτομερές, οὐδὲ ἔστι φῶς ἀπὸ φωτὸς ἡ πῦρ ἀπὸ πυρὸς ἀφαλλόμενον,
 ἡ νοῆσαι ῥάδιον, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τὸ ποιῆσον ἀντιτυπίαν τινὰ καὶ κλάσιν
 25 ἐμβριθὲς εἶναι καὶ πυκνόν, ἵνα πρὸς αὐτὸν πληγὴ καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ φορὰ
 γένηται· τὸν γοῦν αὐτὸν ἥλιον ὁ μὲν ἀὴρ διίησιν οὐ παρέχων
 ἀνακοπὰς οὐδὲ ἀντερείδων, ἀπὸ δὲ ἔύλων καὶ λίθων καὶ ἰματίων εἰς

2 αὐτῇ] αὐτῆς Wyt. *in app.*: ἐν αὐτῇ Raing. *in app.* **3** περιών SR67: περὶ ὃν EB:
 περὶ ἣν I.22: περιών RJ94: περίοδον Kepl. | πολλὴν] ὅλην I.22 *et alii* **4** τρέφεσθαι]
 τρέπεσθαι RJ94 *et alii* **5** θιγὼν Dübn.: θίγων EB | κατὰ B: ατὰ E **6** ἄμα RJ94:
 αἴμα EB | *lac.* 8 *lit.* E, 6 *lit.* B: τῷ *suppl.* RJ94: αἴματι Amyot: *lac. del.* Wyt. *in*
app.: διαφοινιχθέν Bern. *in app.*: αἴματώδης ἄμα *corr. et suppl.* Purser: τῷ ψαύειν
 vel τῷ θιγεῖν Adler **8** κατὰ νύξιν E: κατάνυξιν B **9** ἐξηλιοῦσθαι E: ἐξηλλοιοῦσθαι
 B: ἐξαλλοιοῦσθαι RJ94 **10** οἴονται B *et E i.t.:* οἴονται E | κεράννυσθαι E:
 κεράννυσθαι B | δι ὅλου E: διόλου B **12** ἐπιφάνειαν *punct. corr.* Steph.:
 ἐπιφάνειαν· EB | περὶ E: πρὸς B **15** τε B *et E s.l.* **16** μηνοειδεῖς B: νοειδεῖς E
17 ἐπιδείκνυσιν RJ94: ἐπιδεικνύουσιν EB **19** δεῦρο B: εῦρο E **22** ἀπὸ φωτὸς E:
 ἀποφωτός B **23** ἢ] *del.* SR67 *et alii*

	φῶς τιθεμένων, πολλὰς ἀντιλάμψεις καὶ περιλάμψεις ἀποδίδωσιν.	
931C	Οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὴν γῆν ὁρῶμεν ύπ' αὐτοῦ φωτιζομένην· οὐ γὰρ εἰς βάθος ὥσπερ ὅδωρ οὐδὲ δι' ὅλης ὥσπερ ἀήρ δύνησι τὴν αὐγήν, ἀλλ' οὗτος τὴν σελήνην περιστείχει κύκλος αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσον ὑποτέμνεται μέρος ἐκείνης, τοιοῦτος ἔτερος περίεισι τὴν γῆν καὶ τοσοῦτον φωτίζων ἀεὶ καὶ ἀπολείπων ἔτερον ἀφώτιστον· ἡμισφαιρίου γὰρ ὀλίγῳ δοκεῖ μεῖζον εἶναι τὸ περιλαμπόμενον ἑκατέρας. Δότε δή μοι γεωμετρικῶς εἰπεῖν πρὸς ἀναλογίαν· ως εἰ τριῶν ὄντων οἵς τὸ ἀφ' ἥλιον φῶς πλησιάζει· γῆς, σελήνης, ἀέρος, ὁρῶμεν οὐχ ως ὁ ἀήρ μᾶλλον ἢ ὡς ἡ γῆ φωτιζομένην τὴν σελήνην, ἀνάγκη φύσιν ἔχειν ὁμοίαν ἢ τὰ αὐτὰ πάσχειν ύπο τοῦ αὐτοῦ πέφυκεν.” Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες ἐπήνεσαν τὸν Λευκιον, “εὗ γε” ἔφην “ὅτι καλῷ λόγῳ καλὴν ἀναλογίαν προσέθηκας· οὐ γὰρ ἀποστερητέον σε τῶν ιδίων.” Κάκεινος ἐπιμειδιάσας, “οὐκοῦν” ἔφη “καὶ δεύτερον ἀναλογίᾳ προσχρηστέον, ὅπως μὴ <τῷ> τὰ αὐτὰ πάσχειν ύπο τοῦ αὐτοῦ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ταύτα ποιεῖν ταύτον, ἀποδείξωμεν τῇ γῇ τὴν σελήνην προσεοικυῖαν· ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν οὔτως τῶν περὶ τὸν ἥλιον γινομένων ὅμοιόν ἐστιν ως ἐκλειψις ἥλιου δύσει, δότε μοι, ταύτης ἔναγχος τῆς συνόδου μνησθέντες, ἢ πολλὰ μὲν ἀστρα πολλαχόθεν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ διέφηνεν εὐθὺς ἐκ μεσημβρίας ἀρξαμένη, κράσιν δὲ οἴαν τὸ λυκανγές τῷ ἀέρι παρέσχεν. Εἰ δὲ μή, Θέων ἡμῖν οὔτος τὸν Μίμνερμον ἐπάξει καὶ τὸν Κυδίαν καὶ τὸν Ἀρχίλοχον, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸν Στησίχορον καὶ τὸν Πίνδαρον ἐν ταῖς ἐκλείψεσιν ὀλοφυρομένους τὸν φανερώτατον κλεπτόμενον καὶ μέσῳ ἄματι τὴν νύκτα γινομένην καὶ τὴν ἀκτῖνα τοῦ ἥλιου σκότους ἀτραπὸν <ἐσσυμέναν> φάσκοντας, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τὸν Ὄμηρον νυκτὶ καὶ ζόφῳ τὰ πρόσωπα κατέχεσθαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων λέγοντα καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἐξαπολωλέναι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ περὶ τὴν	5
931D	όμοίαν ἢ τὰ αὐτὰ πάσχειν ύπο τοῦ αὐτοῦ πέφυκεν.” Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες ἐπήνεσαν τὸν Λευκιον, “εὗ γε” ἔφην “ὅτι καλῷ λόγῳ καλὴν ἀναλογίαν προσέθηκας· οὐ γὰρ ἀποστερητέον σε τῶν ιδίων.” Κάκεινος ἐπιμειδιάσας, “οὐκοῦν” ἔφη “καὶ δεύτερον ἀναλογίᾳ προσχρηστέον, ὅπως μὴ <τῷ> τὰ αὐτὰ πάσχειν ύπο τοῦ αὐτοῦ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ταύτα ποιεῖν ταύτον, ἀποδείξωμεν τῇ γῇ τὴν σελήνην προσεοικυῖαν· ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν οὔτως τῶν περὶ τὸν ἥλιον γινομένων ὅμοιόν ἐστιν ως ἐκλειψις ἥλιου δύσει, δότε μοι, ταύτης ἔναγχος τῆς συνόδου μνησθέντες, ἢ πολλὰ μὲν ἀστρα πολλαχόθεν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ διέφηνεν εὐθὺς ἐκ μεσημβρίας ἀρξαμένη, κράσιν δὲ οἴαν τὸ λυκανγές τῷ ἀέρι παρέσχεν. Εἰ δὲ μή, Θέων ἡμῖν οὔτος τὸν Μίμνερμον ἐπάξει καὶ τὸν Κυδίαν καὶ τὸν Ἀρχίλοχον, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸν Στησίχορον καὶ τὸν Πίνδαρον ἐν ταῖς ἐκλείψεσιν ὀλοφυρομένους τὸν φανερώτατον κλεπτόμενον καὶ μέσῳ ἄματι τὴν νύκτα γινομένην καὶ τὴν ἀκτῖνα τοῦ ἥλιου σκότους ἀτραπὸν <ἐσσυμέναν> φάσκοντας, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τὸν Ὄμηρον νυκτὶ καὶ ζόφῳ τὰ πρόσωπα κατέχεσθαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων λέγοντα καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἐξαπολωλέναι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ περὶ τὴν	Lamp.
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4 αὐτοῦ SR67: αὐτῶν EB: αὐτὴν I.22 5 τοσοῦτον E: τοσοῦτο B 15 τῷ add. Basil.
 18 ταύτης ἔναγχος τῆς συνόδου B: ταύτης ἔναγχος συνόδου E: ταύτης τῆς ἔναγχος συνόδου Po. 21 Θέων SR67: θεῶν EB | τὸν Μίμνερμον I.22 SR67 (*vel* Μίμνερμον): ἐργομίμναμον EB: ἐργῳ μίμνερμον RJ94 24 τὸν φανερώτατον] τὸν φανερώτατον θεόν Wyt. *in app.*: ἀστρον φανερώτατον Bergk | ἄματι τὴν νύκτα SR67 (ἄματι *sic*): ἄμα τὴν νύκτα EB: ἄματι (*sic*) νύκτα Wyt. 25 σκότους B: σκότους E: σκότου Bergk | ἐσσυμέναν *suppl.* Adler: *lac.* 16 *lit.* EB: ίεμέμην Amyot: ύποδῦναι Xyl.1570: *forte nihil excidit* Wyt. *in app.* 26 πρόσωπα Xyl.1570: πρῶτα EB

σελήνην καὶ ... τοῦτο γίνεσθαι | πεφυκέναι, τοῦ μὲν φθίνοντος μηνός, τοῦ δὲ ίσταμένου. Τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ οἷμαι ταῖς μαθηματικαῖς ἀκριβείαις εἰς τὸν ... ἔξῆχθαι καὶ βέβαιον· ως ἡ γε νύξ ἐστι σκιὰ γῆς, ἡ δὲ ἔκλειψις τοῦ ἥλιου σκιὰ σελήνης, ὅταν ἡ ὄψις ἐν αὐτῇ γένηται· δυόμενος γάρ 5 ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀντιφράττεται πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν, ἐκλιπὼν δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς σελήνης· || ἀμφότεραι δέ εἰσιν ἐπισκοτήσεις· ἀλλ’ ἡ μὲν δυντικὴ τῆς γῆς, ἡ δὲ ἔκλειπτικὴ τῆς σελήνης τῇ σκιᾷ καταλαμβανούσης τὴν ὄψιν· ἐκ δὲ τούτων εὐθεώρητον τὸ γινόμενον· εἰ γάρ ὅμοιον τὸ πάθος, ὅμοια 10 τὰ ποιοῦντα· τῷ γάρ αὐτῷ τὰ αὐτὰ συμβαίνειν ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀναγκαῖον ἐστιν· εἰ δὲ οὐχ οὕτω τὸ περὶ τὰς ἔκλειψεις σκότος βύθιόν 15 ἐστιν οὐδὲ ὁμοίως τῇ νυκτὶ πιέζει τὸν ἀέρα, μὴ θαυμάζωμεν· οὔσια μὲν γάρ ἡ αὐτὴ τοῦ τὴν νύκτα ποιοῦντος καὶ τοῦ τὴν ἔκλειψιν σώματος, μέγεθος δὲ οὐκ ἵσον. Άλλὰ Αἰγυπτίους μὲν ἔβδομηκοστόδυνον, οἷμαι, φάναι μόριον εἶναι τὴν σελήνην, 20 Ἀναξαγόραν δέ, ὅση Πελοπόννη | σος. Ἀρίσταρχος δὲ τὴν διάμετρον τῆς σελήνης λόγον ἔχουσαν ἀποδείκνυσιν, ὃς ἐλάττων μὲν ἡ ἔξήκοντα πρὸς δεκαεννέα, μείζων δέ πως <ἢ> ἐκατὸν ὀκτὼ πρὸς τεσσαράκοντα τρία ἐστίν. Ὅθεν ἡ μὲν γῆ παντάπασι τῆς ὄψεως τὸν ἥλιον ἀφαιρεῖται διὰ μέγεθος, μεγάλη γάρ ἡ ἐπιπρόσθησις καὶ χρόνον ἔχουσα τὸν τῆς 25 νυκτός· ἡ δὲ σελήνη κὰν ὅλον ποτὲ κρύψῃ τὸν ἥλιον, οὐκ ἔχει χρόνον οὐδὲ πλάτος ἡ ἔκλειψις, ἀλλὰ περιφαίνεται τις αὐγὴ περὶ τὴν ἵτυν οὐκ ἐῶσα βαθεῖαν γενέσθαι τὴν σκιὰν καὶ ἄκρατον. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ὁ παλαιὸς αἰτίαν τοῦ πλεονάκις τὴν σελήνην ἔκλείπουσαν ἡ | τὸν ἥλιον 30 καθορᾶσθαι, πρὸς ἄλλαις τισὶ καὶ ταύτην ἀποδίδωσιν· ἥλιον γάρ

1 lac. 12 lit. EB: ὅτι *suppl.* Amyot: *lac. del.* Xyl. 1570: περὶ τὴν σελήνης σύνοδον *suppl.* Wyt. *in app.*: παρὰ τὴν σελήνην καὶ ώς ἐν σύνοδῳ *corr.* Bern. *in app.*: ἥλιον σύνοδον *suppl.* Adler: περὶ τὴν σύνοδον καὶ ἐπιστάμενον ὅτι τοῦτο Po. *in app.*: αἰνιττόμενον ώς Ch.: προσδηλοῦντα ώς Görg.: τελείεσθαι *conieci* | πεφυκέναι RJ94: πέφυκε EB **3** lac. 8 lit. EB: ἀποδεικτικὸν λόγον *suppl.* Amyot: ἀσφαλῆ λόγον Wyt. *in app.*: τὸ pro τὸν et πιστὸν *suppl.* Emp.: τὸ πιθανὸν Herw.: τὸ νημερτὲς vel τὸ νητρεκὲς Adler: σαφῆ λόγον Ch. **14** τὴν σελήνην] γῆς *add. ante* τὴν σελήνην RJ94 **15** Πελοπόννησος B: Πελοπόννησος E | τὴν διάμετρον] τὴν διάμετρον τῆς γῆς πρὸς *add. ante* τὴν διάμετρον Bern. **17** δεκαεννέα SR67: δὲ, καὶ ἐννέα EB: δέκα καὶ ἐννέα Xyl. | ἡ *add. RJ94:* δ’ ἡ ώς Bern. | τεσσαράκοντα] τριάκοντα Kepl.

	έκλείπειν σελήνης ἀντιφράξει, σελήνην δὲ <γῆς>. Ό δὲ Ποσειδώνιος ὄρισάμενος οὕτως· τόδε τὸ πάθος ἔκλειψίς ἐστιν ἥλιου, σύνοδος σκιᾶς σελήνης οἵς τὴν ἔκλειψιν <πάθουσιν> ἔκείνοις γὰρ μόνοις ἔκλειψίς ἐστιν ὃν ἢν ἡ σκιὰ τῆς σελήνης καταλαβοῦσα τὴν ὅψιν ἀντιφράξῃ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον ὄμοιογῶν δὲ σκιὰν τῆς σελήνης φέρεσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς, οὐκ οἴδα ὅτι λέγειν ἑαυτῷ καταλέοιπεν. Ἀστρου δὲ σκιὰν ἀδύνατον γενέσθαι· τὸ γὰρ ἀφώτιστον σκιὰ λέγεται, τὸ δὲ φῶς οὐ ποιεῖ σκιὰν ἀλλ’ ἀναιρεῖν πέφυκεν. Ἀλλὰ δὴ τί” ἔφη “μετὰ τοῦτο τῶν τεκμηρίων ἐλέχθη;” Κάγὼ “τὴν αὐτὴν” ἔφην “ἐλάμβανεν ἡ σελήνη ἔκλειψιν.” “Ορθῶς” εἶπεν “ὑπέμνησας ἀλλὰ δὴ πότερον ως πεπεισμένων ὑμῶν καὶ τιθέντων ἔκλείπειν τὴν σελήνην ὑπὸ τοῦ σκιάσματος ἀλισκομένην ἦδη τρέπωμαι πρὸς τὸν λόγον, ἡ βούλεσθε μελέτην ποιήσωμαι καὶ ἀπόδειξιν ὑμῖν τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων ἔκαστον ἀπαριθμήσας;” “Νὴ Δία” εἶπεν ὁ Θέων “τούτοις ἐμμελέτησον· ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ πειθοῦς τινος δέομαι ταύτη μόνον ἀκηκοώς ως ἐπὶ μίαν [μὲν] εὐθεῖαν τῶν τριῶν σωμάτων γινομένων, γῆς καὶ ἥλιου καὶ σελήνης, αἱ ἔκλειψεις συντυγχάνουσιν· ἡ γὰρ γῆ τῆς σελήνης ἡ πάλιν ἡ σελήνη τῆς γῆς ἀφαιρεῖται τὸν ἥλιον. Ἐκλείπει γὰρ οὗτος μὲν σελήνης, σελήνη δὲ γῆς ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τριῶν ισταμένης· ὃν γίνεται, τὸ μὲν ἐν συνόδῳ, τὸ δὲ ἐν διχομηνίᾳ.” Καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος ἔφη “σχεδὸν μέντοι τῶν λεγομένων κυριώτατα ταῦτα ἔστι. Πρόλαβε δὲ πρῶτον, εἰ βούλει, τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ	5
932D	Lamp. Lucius	
932E	Theon 15 Lucius	

1 γῆς *suppl.* RJ94: *lac.* 30 *lit.* E, 23 *lit.* B : γῆς πολλῷ μείζονος Amyot: γῆς, ἡν πολὺ μείζονα οὖσαν πλεονάκις ἀποκρύπτειν τὴν σελήνην Wyt. *in app.*: γῆς πλεονάκις, μείζονος οὖσης Bern. *in app.*: γῆς, πολλῷ μείζονος οὖσης Adler 2 τόδε τὸ πάθος B et E s.l.: τὸ δὲ πάθος E 3 οἵς E i.t.: ἡς EB | τὴν ἔκλειψιν] *del.* Prickard: *transp. cum* τόδε τὸ πάθος Purser | πάθουσιν *supplevi*: *lac.* 22 *lit.* E, 11 *lit.* B: ὄρισάμενος, ὅτι τόδε τὸ πάθος τῆς ὄψεως ἐστιν οὐχ ἥλιον, καὶ σύνοδος σκιᾶ σελήνης ἦν δὴ ἔκλειψιν ἥλιον καλοῦμεν ὄμοιογῶν γε *corr. et suppl.* Wyt. *in app.*: σκιᾶ *pro* σκιᾶς *et* ἡ σελήνης σκιᾶ γῆς *add. ante* τὴν ἔκλειψιν *et* οὐκ ὄρθως ὠρίσατο *suppl.* *et* κέ *pro* γὰρ Bern. *in app.*: σύνοδος σελήνη, ἡς σκιὰ τὴν ἔκλειψιν *corr. et* τοῖς ἀφωτίστοις τῆς γῆς μέρεσι ποιεῖ ὄρθως μὲν μείζονα τὴν γῆν εἶναι τῆς ὑπέθετο *suppl.* Adler: ἂν ἡ ταῦτο πως λέγει Purser: ἂν γῆς μέρεσι κατασκιάζῃ Ch.: σύνοδος *del.* *et* σκιὰ *pro* σκιᾶς *et* ποιεῖ, τούτοις ἐπισκοτοῦσα *suppl.* Görg. 4 ἀντιφράξῃ RJ94: ἀντιφράξαι EB 5 δὲ] γε Wyt. *in app.*: δὴ Ch. 7 ποιεῖ E: ποιεῖν B 8 δὴ τί E: τί δὴ B 9 ἐλέχθη *punct. corr.* Ald. Basil.: ἐλέχθη EB 10 ὑπέμνησας B: ὑπομνήσας E | πεπεισμένων E: πεποιημένων B 12 τρέπωμαι Wyt. *in app.*: τρέπονται EB: τρέπομαι SR67: τρεπόμεθα RJ94 | ποιήσωμαι] ποιήσωμεν B s.l. 13 ὑμῖν Ald. Basil.: ὑμῶν EB ἀπαριθμήσας *punct. corr.* Ald. Basil.: ἀπαριθμήσας: EB: ἀπαριθμῆται RJ94: ἀπαριθμήσασθαι Amyot 15 μὲν *secl.* Wyt. *in app.* 20 διχομηνίᾳ] διχοτομίᾳ Ald. Basil. *et alli* | μέντοι B (τοι s.l.): μέν τι E 21 Πρόλαβε] πρόσλαβε RJ94 *et alii*

σχήματος τῆς σκιᾶς λόγον· ἔστι γὰρ κῶνος, ἄτε ἡ μεγάλου πυρὸς ἡ φωτὸς σφαιροειδοῦς ἐλάττονα, σφαιροειδῆ δέ, περιβάλλοντος ὅγκον.
 Ὅθεν ἐν ταῖς ἐκλείψει τῆς σελήνης αἱ περιγραφαὶ τῶν μελαινομένων
 πρὸς τὰ λαμ|πρὰ τὰς ἀποτομὰς περιφερεῖς ἵσχουσιν· ἃς γὰρ ἀν
 5 στρογγύλον στρογγύλῳ προσμῖξαν ἡ δέξηται τομὰς ἡ παράσχῃ,
 πανταχόσε χωροῦσαι δι’ ὁμοιότητα γίνονται κυκλοτερεῖς· δεύτερον
 οἷμαί σε γινώσκειν ὅτι, σελήνης μὲν ἐκλείπει πρῶτα μέρη τὰ πρὸς
 ἀπηλιώτην, ἥλιον δὲ τὰ πρὸς δύσιν. Κινεῖται δέ, ἡ μὲν σκιὰ τῆς γῆς
 ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσπέραν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνατολῶν, ἥλιος δὲ καὶ σελήνη τούναντίον
 10 ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνατολάς. || Ταῦτα γὰρ ιδεῖν τε παρέχει τῇ αἰσθήσει τὰ
 φαινόμενα κάκ λόγων οὐ πάνυ τι μακρῶν μαθεῖν ἔστιν. Ἐκ δὲ τούτων
 ἡ αἰτία βεβαιοῦται τῆς ἐκλείψεως· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἥλιος μὲν ἐκλείπει
 καταλαμβανόμενος, σελήνη δὲ ἀπαντῶσα τῷ ποιοῦντι τὴν ἐκλειψιν,
 εἰκότως, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀναγκαίως, ὁ μὲν ὅπισθεν ἀλίσκεται πρῶτον, ἡ δ'
 15 ἐμπροσθεν· ἄρχεται γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν ἡ ἐπιπρόσθησις, ὅθεν πρῶτον [μὲν]
 ἐπιβάλλει τὸ ἐπιπροσθοῦν. Ἐπιβάλλει δέ, ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἀφ’ ἐσπέρας, ἡ
 σελήνη πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀμιλλωμένη, ταύτῃ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνατολῶν, ὡς πρὸς
 τούναντίον ὑποφερομένη. Τρίτον τοίνυν ἔτι τὸ τοῦ χρόνου λάβε καὶ τὸ
 20 τοῦ μεγέθους | τῶν ἐκλείψεων αὐτῆς, ὑψηλὴ μὲν ἐκλείπουσα καὶ
 ἀπόγειος ὀλίγον ἀποκρύπτεται χρόνον, πρόσγειος δὲ καὶ ταπεινὴ αὐτὸ
 τοῦτο παθοῦσα σφόδρα πιέζεται καὶ βραδέως ἐκ τῆς σκιᾶς ἄπεισι.
 Καίτοι ταπεινὴ μὲν οὖσα τοῖς μεγίστοις χρῆται κινήμασιν, ὑψηλὴ δὲ
 25 τοῖς ἐλαχίστοις· ἀλλὰ τὸ αἴτιον ἐν τῇ σκιᾷ τῆς διαφορᾶς ἔστιν·
 εὐρυτάτη γὰρ οὖσα περὶ τὴν βάσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ κῶνοι, συστελλομένη τε
 κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς ὁξὺ τῇ κορυφῇ καὶ λεπτὸν ἀπολήγει πέρας· ὅθεν ἡ
 σελήνη ταπεινὴ μὲν ἐμπεσοῦσα τοῖς μεγίστοις λαμβάνεται κύκλοις
 ὑπ’ αὐτῆς καὶ διαπερᾶ τὸ βύθιον καὶ σκοτωδέστατον, ἀνω δέ, οἷον ἐν
 τενάγει, | διὰ λεπτότητα τοῦ σκιεροῦ χρανθεῖσα ταχέως
 ἀπαλλάττεται. Παρίημι δὲ ὅσα χωρὶς ιδίᾳ πρὸς τὰς βάσεις καὶ
 29 ιδίους B: ιδίων RJ94

1 κῶνος Amyot Xyl. 1570: κοινὸς EB | ἡ Raing.: μὴ EB: καὶ Ald. Basil.: δὴ Po. Ch.
11 τι E: τοι B **14** ὁ Wyt. in app.: τὸ EB: τὸν RJ94 | ἡ Steph.: ἡ EB: τὴν RJ94
15 μὲν secl. Wyt. in app. **17** ταύτῃ] ταύτῃ Ald.: ἡ γῆ add. post ταύτῃ δ’ Madv.
 ἀνατολῶν] ἡ σκιὰ τῆς γῆς add. post ἀνατολῶν Adler **18** λάβε om. B
20 ἀποκρύπτεται E et B s.l.: απολείπεται B **24** εὐρυτάτη E: εὐρυτάτη B **29** ιδίᾳ E:
 ιδίους B: ιδίων RJ94

	διαφορήσεις ἐλέχθη καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖναι μέχρι γε τοῦ ἐνδεχομένου προσίενται τὴν αἰτίαν, ἀλλὰ ἐπανάγω πρὸς τὸν ὑποκείμενον λόγον ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα τὴν αἴσθησιν. Ὁρῶμεν γὰρ ὅτι πῦρ ἐκ τόπου σκιεροῦ διαφαίνεται καὶ διαλάμπει μᾶλλον εἴτε παχύτητι τοῦ σκοτώδους ἀέρος οὐ δεχομένου τὰς ἀπορρεύσεις καὶ διαχύσεις, ἀλλὰ συνέχοντος ἐν ταύτῳ τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ σφίγγοντος, εἴτε τῆς αἰσθήσεως τοῦτο πάθος ἐστίν, ώς τὰ θερμὰ παρὰ τὰ ψυχρά, θερμότερα, καὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς παρὰ τοὺς πόνους, σφοδροτέρας· οὕτω τὰ λαμπρὰ φαίνεσθαι παρὰ τὰ σκοτεινὰ φανερά, τοῖς διαφόροις πάθεσιν ἀντεπιτείνοντα τὴν φαντασίαν.	5
933D	Ἐοικε δὲ πιθανώτερον εἶναι τὸ πρότερον, ἐν γὰρ ἡλίῳ πᾶσα πυρὸς φύσις, οὐ μόνον τὸ λαμπρὸν ἀπόλλυσιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ εἴκειν γίνεται δύσεργος καὶ ἀμβλυντέρα· σκίδνησι γὰρ ἡ θερμότης καὶ διαχέει τὴν δύναμιν. Εἴπερ οὖν ἡ σελήνη πυρὸς εἴληχε βληχροῦ καὶ ἀδρανοῦς, ἄστρον οὖσα θολερώτερον, ὥσπερ αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν, οὐθὲν ὃν πάσχουσα φαίνεται νῦν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐναντία πάντα πάσχειν αὐτὴν προσῆκόν ἐστι· φαίνεσθαι μὲν ὅτε κρύπτεται, κρύπτεσθαι δὲ ὀπηνίκα φαίνεται· τουτέστι κρύπτεσθαι μὲν τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ὑπὸ τοῦ περιέχοντος αἰθέρος ἀμαυρουμένην, ἐκλάμπειν δὲ καὶ γίνεσθαι καταφανῆ δι’ ἔξ μηνῶν καὶ πάλιν διὰ πέντε τῇ σκιᾷ τῆς γῆς	10
933E	ὑποδυνομένην· αἱ γὰρ πέντε καὶ ἔξήκοντα καὶ τετρακόσιαι περίοδοι τῶν ἐκλειπτικῶν πανσελήνων, τὰς τέσσαρας καὶ τετρακοσίας ἔξαμήνους ἔχουσι, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πενταμήνους. Ἐδει τοίνυν διὰ τοσούτων χρόνων φαίνεσθαι τὴν σελήνην ἐν τῇ σκιᾷ λαμπρυνομένην, ἡ δέ, ἐν <αὐτῇ> μὲν ἐκλείπει καὶ ἀπόλλυσι τὸ φῶς, ἀναλαμβάνει δὲ αὖθις ὅταν ἐκφύγῃ τὴν σκιάν, καὶ φαίνεται γε πολλάκις ἡμέρας, ώς πάντα μᾶλλον ἡ πύρινον οὖσα σῶ μα καὶ ἀστεροειδές.” Εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ Λευκίου, συνεξέδραμον ἄμα πως τῷ <λέγειν> ὅ τε Φαρνάκης καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλωνίδης· εἴτα τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίδου παρέντος, ὁ Φαρνάκης εἴπεν ὅτι τοῦτο καὶ μάλιστα τὴν σελήνην δείκνυσιν ἄστρον ἡ πῦρ οὖσαν· οὐ γάρ ἐστι παντελῶς ἄδηλος ἐν ταῖς ἐκλείψεσιν, ἀλλὰ	15
933F	20	
	25	
	Pharn.	
	30	

4 εἴτε SR67: ἐπὶ EB | παχύτητι RJ94 Basil.: ταχύτητι EB: ταχυτῆτι B s.l. 5 ἀπορρεύσεις E: ἀπορεύσεις B 13 βληχροῦ E et B i.t.: βαηχροῦ B 24 αὐτῇ suppl. Ch. in app.: lac. 5 lit. EB: σκιᾷ RJ94: τῇ σκιᾳ Wyt. in app. 27 λέγειν suppl. Po. in app. Ch.: lac. 7 lit. E, 5 lit. B: αὐτῷ RJ94: λόγῳ ἐπιβαλλόμενοι Amyot: λόγῳ Wyt. in app.: λήγοντι Raing. in app. 28 παρέντος SR67: παρόντος EB

- Apoll. διαφαίνει τινὰ χρόαν ἀνθρακώδη καὶ βλοσυράν, ἥτις ἴδιός ἐστιν αὐτῆς. Ό δὲ Ἀπολλωνίδης ἐνέστη περὶ τῆς σκιᾶς· ἀεὶ γὰρ οὕτως ... ὄνομάζειν τοὺς μαθηματικοὺς τὸν ἀλαμπῆ τόπον ... σκιάν τε μὴ δέχεσθαι τὸν οὐρανόν. || Ἐγὼ δέ, “τοῦτο μὲν” ἔφην “πρὸς τοῦνομα μᾶλλον ἐριστικῶς ἢ πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα φυσικῶς καὶ μαθηματικῶς ἐνισταμένου· τὸν γὰρ ἀντιφρατόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς τόπον εἰ μὴ σκιάν τις ἐθέλοι καλεῖν ἀλλ’ ἀφεγγές χωρίον, ὅμως ἀναγκαῖον ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν σελήνην γενομένην ... Καὶ ὅλως” ἔφην “εὔηθες ἐστιν ἐκεῖ μὴ φάναι τῆς γῆς ἐξικνεῖσθαι τὴν σκιὰν <ὅθεν> ἢ σκιὰ τῆς σελήνης ἐπιπίπτουσα τῇ ὄψει καὶ ... πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἔκλειψιν ἡλίου ποιεῖ. Πρὸς σὲ δέ, ὦ Φαρνάκη, τρέψομαι· τὸ γὰρ ἀνθρακῶδες ἐκεῖνο καὶ διακαές χρῶμα τῆς σελήνης ὃ φῆς ἴδιον | αὐτῆς εἶναι, σώματός ἐστι πυκνότητα καὶ βάθος ἔχοντος· οὐθὲν γὰρ ἐθέλει τοῖς ἀραιοῖς ὑπόλειμμα φλογὸς οὐδ’ ἵχνος ἐμμένειν οὐδ’ ἐστιν ἀνθρακογένεσις οὐδὲ μὴ στερέμνιον σῶμα δεξάμενον διὰ βάθους τὴν πύρωσιν καὶ σφέζον, ὃς που καὶ Ὄμηρος εἴρηκεν.
- αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πυρὸς ἄνθος ἀπέπτατο· παύσατο δὲ φλὸξ
ἀνθρακιὴν στορέσας.
- Ο γὰρ ἄνθραξ ἔοικεν οὐ πῦρ ἀλλὰ σῶμα πεπυρωμένον εἶναι καὶ πεπονθὸς ὑπὸ πυρὸς στερεῷ καὶ ρίζαν ἔχοντι προσμένοντος ὅγκῳ καὶ προσδιατρίβοντος· αἱ δὲ φλόγες ἀραιᾶς εἰσιν ἔξαιφις καὶ ρεύματα τροφῆς καὶ ὕλης ταχὺ δι’ ἀσθένειαν ἀναλυομένης· ὥστε οὐδὲν | ἀνύπηρχε τοῦ γεώδη καὶ πυκνὴν εἶναι τὴν σελήνην ἔτερον οὕτως
- 934A
- 934B
- 934C

1 βλοσυράν I.22: βλοσυράν EB **2** *vac.* **3** *lit.* E: *lac.* **6** *lit.* *post* ὄνομάζειν B: πάντα *suppl.* RJ94: ὄντως Amyot: *lac. del.* Kepl.: ἐξονομάζειν Raing. *in app.*: μόνον *vel* δεῖν γὰρ οὕτως ὄν. κατὰ Po. *in app.* **3** *lac.* **4** *lit.* E, **7** *lit.* B: *lac. del.* Ald. Basil.: ἐπὶ γῆς *vel* μόνον Po. **6** ἐνισταμένου RJ94: ἐνισταμένους EB **8** *lac.* **30** *lit.* E, **34** *lit.* B: μᾶλλον λάμπειν καὶ διαφαίνεσθαι *suppl.* RJ94: ἐξαμαροῦσθαι *vel* ἐκκλείψαι Amyot: σκοτοῦσθαι Wyt. *in app.*: σκοτοῦσθαι καὶ ἀμαυροῦσθαι Bern. *in app.*: ἐπιπροσθεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἔκλείπειν Adler: εἴ γε γῆ τις ἐστι, ἀφεγγῆ καὶ ἀλαμπῆ γενέσθαι Purser: καὶ ἐπισκοτούμενην ἄστρον μὴ εἶναι *vel* εἴ γ’ ἄστρον ἐστίν, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκλάμπειν Po. *in app.*: ἐπισκοτεῖσθαι τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ φωτὸς στερομένην Ch. | φάναι Ald. Basil.: φάναι EB **9** ὅθεν *suppl.* Amyot: *lac.* **11** *lit.* E, **8** *lit.* B: ὅπου RJ94: ἐνθαπέρ Bern. *in app.*: ὅπόθεν καὶ Purser: ὅθεν ἔοικεν Po. *in app.* **10** *lac.* **7** *lit.* EB: διήκουσα *suppl.* RJ94: ἀντερείδουσα *vel* φερομένη Amyot ποιεῖ RJ94: ποιεῖν EB **13** ἀραιοῖς RJ94: ἀρχαίοις EB **14** οὐδὲ μὴ Wyt.: οὐ μὴν EB: εἰ μὴ I.22: ὅπου μὴ Xyl.¹⁵⁷⁰: ὅπου οὐδὲ Kepl. **15** σφέζον Xyl.¹⁵⁷⁰: σόλων EB: ψόλον Amyot **18** στορέσας] στορέσασα B *s.l.* **23** τοῦ *om.* B



έναργες τεκμήριον, εἴπερ αὐτῆς ἴδιον ἦν, ως χρῶμα τὸ ἀνθρακῶδες.
 Άλλ’ οὐκ ἔστιν, ὡς φίλε Φαρνάκη, πολλάς, τὰς ἐκλειπούσας χρόας
 ἀμείβειν, καὶ διαιροῦσιν αὐτὰς οὕτως οἱ μαθηματικοὶ κατὰ χρόνον καὶ
 ὥραν ἀφορίζοντες· ἀν ἀφ’ ἐσπέρας ἐκλείπῃ, φαίνεται μέλαινα δεινῶς
 ἄχρι τρίτης ὥρας καὶ ἡμισείας· ἀν δὲ μέσῃ, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἐπιφοινίσσον
 ἕησι [καὶ πῦρ] καὶ πυρωπόν· ἀπὸ δὲ ἐβδόμης ὥρας καὶ ἡμισείας,
 ἀνίσταται τὸ ἐρύθημα· καὶ τέλος ἥδη πρὸς ἔω, λαμβάνει χρόαν
 934D κυανοειδῆ καὶ χαροπήν ἀφ’ ἦς δὴ καὶ μάλιστα γλαυκῶπιν αὐτὴν οἱ
 ποιηταὶ καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἀνακαλοῦνται. Τοσαύτας οὖν χρόας ἐν τῇ
 σκιᾷ τὴν σελήνην λαμβάνουσαν ὄρῶντες, οὐκ ὄρθως ἐπὶ μόνον
 καταφέρονται τὸ ἀνθρακῶδες, ὃ μάλιστα φήσαι τις ἀν ἀλλότριον
 αὐτῆς εἶναι καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπόμιγμα καὶ λεῖμμα τοῦ φωτὸς διὰ τῆς σκιᾶς
 περιλάμποντος, ἴδιον δὲ τὸ μέλαν καὶ γεῶδες. Ὅπου δὲ πορφυρίσιν
 ἐνταῦθα καὶ φοινικίσι λίμναις τε καὶ ποταμοῖς δεχομένοις ἥλιον
 ἐπίσκια χωρία γειτνιῶντα συγχρώζεται καὶ περιλάμπεται διὰ τὰς
 ἀνακλάσεις, ἀποδιδόντα πολλοὺς καὶ διαφόρους ἀπανγασμούς, τί¹⁵
 934E θαυμαστὸν εἰ ῥεῦμα πολὺ σκιᾶς | ἐμβάλλον ὕσπερ εἰς πέλαγος
 οὐράνιον οὐ σταθεροῦ φωτὸς οὐδὲ ἡρεμοῦντος, ἀλλὰ μυρίοις ἀστροῖς
 περιελαυνομένου μίξεις τε παντοδαπὰς καὶ μεταβολὰς λαμβάνοντος,
 ἄλλην ἄλλοτε χρόαν ἐκματτόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης ἐνταῦθα
 ἀποδίδωσιν; Ἀστρον μὲν γὰρ ἡ πῦρ οὐκ ἀν ἐν σκιᾷ διαφανείη μέλαν ἡ
 γλαυκὸν ἡ κυανοειδές, ὅρεσι δὲ καὶ πεδίοις καὶ θαλάσσαις, πολλαὶ
 μὲν ἀφ’ ἥλιον μορφαὶ χρωμάτων ἐπιτρέχουσι καὶ σκιαῖς καὶ ὄμιχλαις,
 οἵας φαρμάκοις γραφικοῖς, μιγνύμενον ἐπάγει βαφὰς τὸ λαμπρόν. Ὡν
 934F τὰ μὲν τῆς θαλάττης ἐπικεχείρηκεν ἀμωσγέπως ἔξονομά | ζειν
 Ὄμηρος, ιοειδέα καλῶν καὶ οἰνοπα πόντον, ἀνθις δὲ πορφύρεον κῦμα
 γλαυκήν τε ἄλλως θάλασσαν καὶ λευκὴν γαλήνην, τὰς δὲ περὶ τὴν γῆν
 διαφορὰς τῶν ἄλλωτε ἄλλως ἐπιφαινομένων χρωμάτων παρῆκεν, ώς
 ἀπείρους τὸ πλῆθος οὕσας. Τὴν δὲ σελήνην οὐκ εἰκός ὕσπερ τὴν
 θάλασσαν μίαν ἔχειν ἐπιφάνειαν, ἀλλὰ ἐοικέναι μάλιστα τῇ γῇ τὴν
 25
 30

2 τὰς] γὰρ RJ94 *et alii* | ἐκλειπούσας] ἐκλειπούσαι Ald.: ἐκλείπουσα RJ94 *et alii*:
 ἐκλειποῦσης Kepl. **3** ἀμείβειν] ἀμείβει RJ94 *et alii* **6** ἕησι B *i.t.*: ἕησι EB | καὶ πῦρ
secl. Dübn. | καὶ² E *et B s.l.* **7** ἥδη B: ἥδη E | λαμβάνει SR67: λαμβάνειν EB
19 περιελαυνομένου E: ἐλαυνομένου B **21** ἀποδίδωσιν *punct. corr.* Steph.:
 ἀποδίδωσιν. EB **26** κῦμα B: κύμα E **29** ὕσπερ *om.* B

φύσιν, ἦν ἐμυθολόγει Σωκράτης ὁ παλαιός, || εἴτε δὴ ταύτην αἰνιττόμενος, εἴτε δὴ ἄλλην τινὰ διηγούμενος. Οὐ γὰρ ἄπιστον οὐδὲ θαυμαστὸν εἰ μηδὲν <έν>έχουσα διεφθορὸς ἔαυτῇ μηδὲ ἵνωδες, ἀλλὰ φῶς τε καρπουμένη καθαρὸν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ θερμότητος, οὐ 5 διακαοῦς οὐδὲ μανικοῦ πυρός, ἀλλὰ νοτεροῦ καὶ ἀβλαβοῦς καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχοντος, οὗσα πλήρης κάλλη τε θαυμαστὰ κέκτηται τόπων, ὅρη τε φλογοειδῆ καὶ ζώνας ἀλουργοὺς ἔχει χρυσόν τε καὶ ἀργυρον οὐκ ἐν βάθει διεσπαρμένον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῖς πεδίοις ἔξανθοῦντα πολὺν ἢ πρὸς 10 ὑψεσι λείοις περιφερόμενον. Εἰ δὲ τούτων ὄψις ἀφικνεῖται διὰ τῆς σκιᾶς ἄλλοτε ἄλλη πρὸς ἡμᾶς | ἔξαλλαγῇ καὶ διαφορᾷ τινι τοῦ περιέχοντος, τό γε μὴν τίμιον οὐκ ἀπόλλυσι τῆς δόξης οὐδὲ τὸ θεῖον ἡ σελήνη· ἥτις ... ἱερὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων νομιζομένη, μᾶλλον ἢ πῦρ θολερόν, ὥσπερ οἱ Στωικοὶ λέγουσι, καὶ τρυγῷδες· πῦρ μέν γε παρὰ Μήδοις καὶ Ἀσσυρίοις βαρβαρικὰς ἔχει τιμάς· οἵ φόβῳ τὰ βλάπτοντα 15 θεραπεύουσι πρὸ τῶν σεμνῶν ἀφοσιούμενοι· τὸ δὲ γῆς ὄνομα παντί που φίλον Ἐλληνι καὶ τίμιον καὶ πατρῷον ἡμῖν ὥσπερ ἄλλον τινὰ θεῶν σέβεσθαι. Πολλοῦ δὲ δέομεν ἀνθρωποι τὴν σελήνην, γῆν οὖσαν δόλυμπίαν, ἄψυχον ἡγεῖσθαι σῶμα καὶ ἄνουν καὶ ἀμοιρον ὃν θεοῖς | ἀπάρχεσθαι προσήκει νόμῳ τε τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀμοιβὰς τίνοντας καὶ κατὰ 20 φύσιν σεβομένους τὸ κρείττον ἀρετῇ καὶ δυνάμει καὶ τιμώτερον. Ὡστε μηδὲν οἰώμεθα πλημμελεῖν γῆν αὐτὴν θέμενοι· τὸ δὲ φαινόμενον τουτὶ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς, ὥσπερ ἡ παρ' ἡμῖν ἔχει γῆ κόλπους τινὰς μεγάλους, οὕτως ἐκείνην ἀνεπτύχαι βάθεσι μεγάλοις καὶ ῥήξεσιν ὅδωρ ἢ ζιφερὸν ἀέρα περιέχουσιν· ὃν ἐντὸς οὐ καθίσιν 25 οὐδὲ ἐπιψαύει τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φῶς, ἀλλὰ ἐκλείπει καὶ διεσπασμένην ἐνταῦθα τὴν ἀνάκλασιν ἀποδίδωσιν.” Ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ Απολωνίδης, “εἴτα, ὃ πρὸς αὐτῆς” ἔφη “τῆς σελήνης, δυνατὸν εἶναι δοκεῖ | ύμῖν ῥηγμάτων τινῶν ἢ φαράγγων εἶναι σκιὰς κάκεῖθεν ἀφικνεῖσθαι δεῦρο

935A
935B
935C
935D

3 ἐνέχουσα Raing.: ἔχουσα EB: ἐν add. ante ἔαυτῇ Emp. et alii 7 ἀλουργοὺς E: ἀλουργὰς B 9 περιφερόμενον] περιχεόμενον Amyot: περιφαινόμενον Bern. in app.: προφερόμενον Adler 10 τινι B: τινὶ E 12 ἥτις et lac. 10 lit. E, 13 lit. B: γῆ suppl. RJ94: γῆ τις (sic) corr. et δόλυμπια καὶ suppl. Amyot: ἥ τις corr. et θεός διατελεῖ καὶ suppl. Wyt. in app.: γῆ τις et lac. del. Emp.: γῆ τις corr. et οὔσα πάγκαλος suppl. Adler | μᾶλλον ἢ RJ94: ἢ μᾶλλον EB 17 θεῶν E: θεὸν B et alii | δέομεν RJ94 Basil.: δεῖ οἱ μὲν E: δεῖ οἱ μὲν B 21 γῆν RJ94 Basil.: τὴν EB



	πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν, ἡ τὸ συμβαῖνον οὐ λογίζεσθε κάγῳ τουτὶ εἴπω; Ακούοιτε δὲ καίπερ οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες· ἡ μὲν διάμετρος τῆς σελήνης δυοκαίδεκα δακτύλους ἔχει τὸ φαινόμενον ἐν τοῖς μέσοις ἀποστήμασι μέγεθος, τῶν δὲ μελάνων καὶ σκιερῶν ἔκαστον ἡμιδακτυλίου φαίνεται μεῖζον, ὥστε τῆς διαμέτρου μεῖζον ἡ εἰκοστοτέταρτον εἶναι· καὶ μήν, εἰ μόνων ὑποθοίμεθα τὴν περίμετρον τῆς σελήνης τρισμυρίων σταδίων, μυρίων δὲ τὴν διάμετρον, κατὰ τὸ ὑποκείμενον οὐκ ἔλαττον ἂν εἶναι πεντακοσίων σταδίων ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν σκιερῶν ἔκαστον. Ὁρα δὴ πρῶτον ἂν ἡ δυνατὸν τῇ σελήνῃ τηλικαῦτα βάθη καὶ τηλικαῦτας εἶναι τραχύτητας, ὥστε σκιὰν ποιεῖν τοσάντην· ἔπειτα πῶς οὖσαι τηλικαῦται τὸ μέγεθος ὑφ' ἡμῶν οὐχ ὄρῶνται.” Κάγῳ μειδιάσας πρὸς αὐτὸν “εὗ γε” ἔφην “ὅτι τοιαύτην ἔξεύρηκας ἀπόδεξιν, ὁ Απολλωνίδη, δι’ ἣς κάμε καὶ σαυτὸν ἀποδείξεις τῶν Ἀλωαδῶν ἐκείνων εἶναι μείζονας, οὐκ ἐν ἅπαντι μέντοι χρόνῳ τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀλλὰ πρῷ μάλιστα καὶ δεῖλης, <εἰ> οἵτι, τὰς σκιὰς ἡμῶν τοῦ ἡλίου ποιοῦντος ἡλιβάτους, τὸν καλὸν τοῦτον αἰσθήσει παρέχειν συλλογισμόν, ώς εἰ μέγα τὸ σκιαζόμενον, ὑπερμέγεθες τὸ σκιάζον. Ἐν Λήμνῳ μὲν οὐδέτερος ἡμῶν εὗ οἶδ’ ὅτι γέγονε, τουτὶ μέντοι τὸ θρυλούμενον ιαμβεῖον ἀμφότεροι πολλάκις ἀκηκόαμεν,	5
935E	‘Αθως καλύψει πλευρὰ Λημνίας βιός·	10 Lamp.
935F	ἐπιβάλλει γάρ ἡ σκιὰ τοῦ ὄρους ὡς ἔοικε χαλκέῳ τινὶ βοιδίῳ, μῆκος ἀποτείνουσα διὰ τῆς θαλάττης οὐκ ἔλαττον ἑπτακοσίων σταδίων <οὐ> διὰ τὸ κατασκιάζον ὕψος εἶναι τὴν αἰτίαν <ἀλλ’> ὅτι	15
936A	πλευρὰ Ald. Basil.: πλευρᾶς EB: πλευρὰς B i.t.: σκιάζει νῶτα pro καλύψει πλευρᾶς Xyl.1570 23 οὐ … ἀλλ add. et transp. Amyot: τὸ κατασκιάζον ὕψος εἶναι διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν EB: τῷ pro τὸ RJ94: σὺ δ’ οὖν add. ante τὸ κατασκιάζον et διανοήσῃ pro διὰ et οὐδὲ μεμνήσῃ add. ante ὅτι Wyt. in app.: τὸ δὲ κατασκιάζον ὕψος ἐννέα· διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν; ὅτι corr. Emp.: ὃν τὸ κατασκ. ὕψος εἶναι δεῖ τὴν αἰτίαν κέ Bern. in app.: ἀλλ’ οὐ φήσομεν τοσούτων σταδίων add. post σταδίων Adler: γελοῖος δ’ ὁ φάσκων τοσούτων σταδίων add. post σταδίων Po. in app.: ἀλλ’ οὐ χρὴ δήπουθεν ἑπτακοσίων σταδίων add. post σταδίων Ch. (sec. Purser οὐ χρὴ δὲ ἑπτακοσίων σταδίων)	20

1 εἴπω *punct. corr.* RJ94: εἴπω· EB **2** Ακούοιτε δὲ E: ἀκούοιτε δὲ *post* καίπερ οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες B: ἀκούητε δὴ SR67: ἀκούοιτε δὴ RJ94 **8** ἂν εἶναι] ἂν εἴη RJ94 *et alii* **13** Αλωαδῶν Dübni.: ἀλωαδῶν E: ἀλωάδων B: Αλωείδων Xyl.: ἀλφαδῶν Raing. **14** ἐκείνων B: ἐκεῖν E | εἶναι μείζονας E: μείζονας εἶναι B **15** εἰ add. Dübni.: ὅτε add. et παρέχει *pro* παρέχειν Wyt. in app.: ὃς add. Purser: εἰ γ’ add. Po. **19** θρυλούμενον Ch.: τεθρυλλημένον E: θρυλλούμενον B: τεθρυλημένον Dübni. **20** πλευρὰ Ald. Basil.: πλευρᾶς EB: πλευρὰς B i.t.: σκιάζει νῶτα *pro* καλύψει πλευρᾶς Xyl.1570 **23** οὐ … ἀλλ add. et transp. Amyot: τὸ κατασκιάζον ὕψος εἶναι διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν EB: τῷ pro τὸ RJ94: σὺ δ’ οὖν add. ante τὸ κατασκιάζον et διανοήσῃ pro διὰ et οὐδὲ μεμνήσῃ add. ante ὅτι Wyt. in app.: τὸ δὲ κατασκιάζον ὕψος ἐννέα· διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν; ὅτι corr. Emp.: ὃν τὸ κατασκ. ὕψος εἶναι δεῖ τὴν αἰτίαν κέ Bern. in app.: ἀλλ’ οὐ φήσομεν τοσούτων σταδίων add. post σταδίων Adler: γελοῖος δ’ ὁ φάσκων τοσούτων σταδίων add. post σταδίων Po. in app.: ἀλλ’ οὐ χρὴ δήπουθεν ἑπτακοσίων σταδίων add. post σταδίων Ch. (sec. Purser οὐ χρὴ δὲ ἑπτακοσίων σταδίων)

πολλαπλασίους αἱ τοῦ φωτὸς ἀποστάσεις τῶν σωμάτων τὰς σκιὰς ποιοῦσι. Δεῦρο δὴ θεῶ καὶ τῆς σελήνης ὅτε πάμμηνός ἐστι καὶ μάλιστα τὴν ἰδέαν ἔναρθρον τοῦ προσώπου βαθύτητι τῆς σκιᾶς ἀποδίδωσι, τὸ μέγιστον ἀπέχοντα διάστημα τὸν ἥλιον· ἡ γὰρ ἀπόστασις τοῦ φωτὸς αὐτῇ τὴν σκιὰν μεγάλην, οὐ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν σελήνην ἀνωμαλιῶν πεποίηκε. Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν ὄρῶν τὰς ὑπεροχὰς ἐῶσι μεθ' ἡμέραν αἱ περιαυγαὶ τοῦ ἥλιου καθορᾶσθαι· τὰ μέντοι βαθέα καὶ κοῦλα φαίνεται καὶ σκιώδη πόρρωθεν. Οὐδὲν οὖν ἄτοπον εἰ καὶ τῆς σελήνης τὴν ἀντίλαμψιν καὶ τὸν ἐπιφωτισμὸν οὐκ 5
10
15
20
25
Apoll.
Lamp.

936B

ἔστι καθορᾶν ἀκριβῶς· αἱ δὲ τῶν σκιερῶν παραθέσεις παρὰ τὰ λαμπρὰ τῇ διαφορᾷ τὴν ὄψιν οὐ λανθάνουσιν. Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο μᾶλλον” ἔφην “ἐλέγχειν δοκεῖ τὴν λεγομένην ἀνάκλασιν ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης, ὅτι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀνακλωμέναις αὐγαῖς ἐστῶτας οὐ μόνον συμβαίνει τὸ φωτιζόμενον ὄρᾶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ φωτίζον. “Οταν γάρ, αὐγῆς ἀφ' ὕδατος πρὸς τοῖχον ἀλλοιμένης, ὄψις ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πεφωτισμένῳ κατὰ τὴν ἀνάκλασιν τόπῳ γένηται, τὰ τρία καθορᾶ· τὴν τ' ἀνακλωμένην αὐγῆν, καὶ τὸ ποιοῦν ὕδωρ τὴν ἀνάκλασιν, καὶ τὸν ἥλιον αὐτόν, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ φῶς τῷ ὕδατι προσπίπτον ἀνακέκλασται. Τούτων δὲ ὁμολογουμένων καὶ φαινομένων, κελεύουσι τοὺς ἀνακλάσει φωτίζεσθαι τὴν γῆν ὑπὸ τῆς σελήνης ἀξιοῦντας ἐπιδεικνύναι νύκτωρ ἐμφανόμενον τῇ σελήνῃ τὸν ἥλιον, ὥσπερ ἐμφαίνεται τῷ ὕδατι μεθ' ἡμέραν ὅταν ἀνάκλασις ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γένηται· μὴ φαινομένου δὲ τούτου, κατ' ἄλλον οἴονται τρόπον οὐκ ἀνακλάσει γίνεσθαι τὸν φωτισμὸν· εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο, μηδὲ γῆν εἶναι τὴν σελήνην.” “Τί οὖν” ἔφη “πρὸς αὐτοὺς λεκτέον;” ὁ Ἀπολλωνίδης. “Κοινὰ γάρ | ἔοικε καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἶναι τὰ τῆς ἀνακλάσεως.” “Ἀμέλει τρόπον τινὰ” ἔφην ἐγὼ “κοινά, τρόπον δὲ ἄλλον οὐ κοινά. Πρῶτον δὲ ὄρα τὰ τῆς εἰκόνος, ὡς ἄνω ποταμῶν καὶ τραπέν πάλιν λαμβάνουσιν. Ἐπὶ γῆς γάρ ἐστι καὶ κάτω τὸ ὕδωρ, ὑπὲρ γῆς δὲ σελήνη καὶ μετέωρος· ὅθεν ἀντίστροφον αἱ κεκλασμέναι τὸ

936C

936D

6 ὄρῶν B: ὄρῶν E **7** μεθ' ἡμέραν Steph.: μεθημέραν EB **9** τὴν B et E s.l. ἀντίλαμψιν Amyot: ἀντίληψιν EB **20** ἐπιδεικνύναι E: ἐπιδεικνῦναι B **21** μεθ' ἡμέραν E: μεθημέραν B **22** ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Wyt. in app.: ὑπ' αὐτοῦ EB: ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ald. Basil. **25** λεκτέον punct. corr. Raing.: λεκτέον EB **27** οὐ E: οὐδὲ B et alii **28** τραπέν πάλιν] τραπέμπαλιν Meineke et alii | γάρ ἐστι Kepl.: πάρεστι EB | καὶ E et B s.l.

σχῆμα τῆς γωνίας ποιοῦσι, τῆς μὲν ἄνω πρὸς τῇ σελήνῃ, τῆς δὲ κάτω πρὸς τῇ γῇ τὴν κορυφὴν ἔχουσης. Μὴ ἅπασαν οὖν ιδέαν κατόπτρου, μηδὲ ἐκ πάσης ἀποστάσεως ὁμοίαν ἀνάκλασιν ποιεῖν ἀξιούτωσαν, ἐπεὶ μάχονται πρὸς τὴν ἐνάργειαν. Οἱ δὲ σῶμα μὴ λεπτὸν μηδὲ λεῖον ὕσπερ | ἐστὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀποφαίνοντες τὴν σελήνην, ἀλλὰ ἐμβριθὲς καὶ γεῶδες, οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως ἀπαιτοῦνται τοῦ ἡλίου τὴν ἔμφασιν ἐν αὐτῇ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ γάλα τοὺς τοιούτους ἐσοπτρισμοὺς ἀποδίδωσιν, οὐδὲ ποιεῖ τῆς ὄψεως ἀνακλάσεις διὰ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν καὶ τραχύτητα τῶν μορίων. Πόθεν γε τὴν σελήνην δυνατόν ἐστιν ἀναπέμπειν ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς τὴν ὄψιν, ὕσπερ ἀναπέμπει τὰ λειότερα τῶν ἐσόπτρων; Καίτοι καὶ ταῦτα δήπουθεν, ἐὰν ἀμυχῇ τις ἡ ρύπος ἡ τραχύτης καταλάβῃ τὸ σημεῖον [ἄν] ἀφ' οὗ πέφυκεν ἡ ὄψις ἀνακλᾶσθαι, τυποῦται, καὶ βλέπεται μὲν αὐτά, | τὴν δὲ ἀνταύγειαν οὐκ ἀποδίδωσιν. Ό δὲ ἀξιῶν ἡ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἡ μηδὲ τὸν ἥλιον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀνακλᾶν ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς τὴν σελήνην ἡδύς ἐστι, τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἥλιον ἀξιῶν εῖναι, φῶς δὲ τὴν ὄψιν, οὐρανὸν δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἥλιου δι' εὔτονίαν καὶ λαμπρότητα πρὸς τῇ σελήνῃ γινομένην μετὰ πληγῆς τὴν ἀνάκλασιν φέρεσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰκός ἐστιν, ἡ δὲ ὄψις, ἀσθενής οὖσα καὶ λεπτὴ καὶ ὀλιγοστή, τί θαυμαστὸν εἰ μήτε πληγὴν ἀνακρουστικὴν ποιεῖ μήτε ἀφαλλομένης τηρεῖ τὴν συνέχειαν, ἀλλὰ θρύπτεται καὶ ἀπολείπει, πλῆθος οὐκ ἔχουσα φωτὸς || ὕστε μὴ διασπᾶσθαι περὶ τὰς ἀνωμαλίας καὶ τραχύτητας; Ἀπὸ μὲν γὰρ ὕδατος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐσόπτρων ἰσχύουσαν ἔτι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐγγὺς οὖσαν ἐπὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἄλλεσθαι τὴν ἀνάκλασιν, οὐκ ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς σελήνης κὰν γίνωνται τινες ὀλισθήσεις αὐτῆς, ἀσθενεῖς ἔσονται καὶ ἀμυδραὶ καὶ προαπολείπουσαι διὰ τὸ μῆκος τῆς ἀποστάσεως. Καὶ γὰρ ἄλλως τὰ μὲν κοῦλα τῶν ἐσόπτρων, εὐτονωτέραν ποιεῖ τῆς προηγουμένης ἀλγῆς τὴν ἀνακλωμένην, ὕστε

2 τῇ γῇ τῇ κορυφῇ E et B s.l.: τῇ κορυφῇ τῇ γῇ B | κατόπτρου Po. *in app.* Ch.: κάτοπτρον EB: κάτοπτον Amyot: κατόπτρων Dübn. 4 ἐνάργειαν SR67: ἐνέργειαν EB 11 ἐσόπτρων *punct. corr.* Steph.: ἐσόπτρων· E: ἐσόπτρων· B 12 ἀν *secl.* Wyt. *in app.* 13 ἀνακλᾶσθαι Kepl.: ἀνακλασθὲν EB: ἀνακλασθεῖσα Amyot: ἀνακλασθῆναι Dübn. | τυποῦται καὶ] τυποῦσθαι et καὶ *del.* Amyot: τυφλοῦται καὶ Dübn. et alii 23 τραχύτητας *punct. corr.* Dübn.: τραχύτητας· EB 24 ἥλιον] σφαῖραν *add. post* ἥλιον I.22: ὄφθαλμὸν *pro* ἥλιον I.25 | ἄλλεσθαι E: ἄλλεσθαι B

καὶ φλόγας ἀναπέμπειν πολλάκις, τὰ δὲ κυρτὰ καὶ τὰ σφαιροειδῆ, τῷ μὴ πανταχόθεν ἀντερείδειν ἀσθενῆ καὶ ἀμαυράν· ... ὁρᾶται δήπου θεν, ὅταν Ἱριδες δύο φανῶσι, νέφους ἐμπεριέχοντος, ἀμαυρὰν ποιοῦσαν καὶ ἀσαφῆ τὰ χρώματα τὴν περιέχουσαν· τὸ γάρ 5 εἰκτὸς νέφος ἀπωτέρω τῆς ὄψεως κείμενον οὐκ εὔτονον οὐδὲ ἰσχυρὰν τὴν ἀνάκλασιν ἀποδίδωσι. Καὶ τί δεῖ πλείονα λέγειν; Ὄπου γὰρ τὸ τοῦ ἥλιου φῶς ἀνακλώμενον ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης, τὴν μὲν θερμότητα πᾶσαν ἀποβάλλει, τῆς δὲ λαμπρότητος αὐτοῦ λεπτὸν ἀφικνεῖται μόλις πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀδρανὲς λείψανον, ἢ που τῆς ὄψεως τὸν ἵσον φερομένης 10 δίαινον, ἐνδέχεται μόριον ὄτιοῦν λείψανον ἔξικέσθαι πρὸς | τὸν ἥλιον 937C ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης; Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶμαι. Σκοπεῖτε δὲ” εἶπον “καὶ ὑμεῖς, εἰ τὰ αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὴν σελήνην ἔπασχεν ἡ ὄψις, ἔδει καὶ γῆς καὶ φυτῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀστρῶν ἐμφάσεις ποιεῖν τὴν πανσέληνον, οἵας τὰ λοιπὰ ποιεῖται τῶν ἐσόπτρων· εἰ δὲ οὐ γίνονται πρὸς ταῦτα τῆς ὄψεως ἀνακλάσεις δι’ ἀσθένειαν αὐτῆς ἢ τραχύτητα 15 τῆς σελήνης, μηδὲ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον ἀπαιτῶμεν. Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν” ἔφην “ὅσα μὴ διαπέφευγε τὴν μνήμην τῶν ἐκεῖ λεχθέντων ἀπηγγέλκαμεν. Ὥρα δὲ καὶ Σύλλαν παρακαλεῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπαιτεῖν τὴν διήγησιν, οἷον ἐπὶ ρητοῖς ἀκροατὴν γεγενημένον· ὥστε εἰ δοκεῖ, 20 καταπαύσαντες τὸν περίπατον καὶ καθίσαντες ἐπὶ τῶν βάθρων, ἐδραῖον αὐτῷ παράσχωμεν ἀκροατήριον.” Ἔδοξε δὴ ταῦτα καὶ καθισάντων ἡμῶν, ὁ Θέων “ἐγώ τοι, ὦ Λαμπρία,” εἶπεν “ἐπιθυμῶ μὲν οὐδενὸς ἡττον ὑμῶν ἀκοῦσαι τὰ λεχθησόμενα· πρότερον δὲ ἂν ἡδέως ἀκούσαιμι περὶ τῶν οἰκεῖν λεγομένων ἐπὶ τῆς σελήνης, οὐκ εὶ 25 κατοικοῦσί τινες, ἀλλ’ εὶ δυνατὸν ἐκεῖ κατοικεῖν· εἰ γὰρ οὐ δυνατόν, ἄλογον καὶ τὸ γῆν εἶναι τὴν σελήνην. Δόξει γὰρ πρὸς οὐθὲν ἀλλὰ μάτην γεγονέναι, μήτε καρποὺς ἐκφέρουσα, μήτε ἀνθρώποις τισὸν 30 ἔδραν παρέχουσα καὶ γένεσιν καὶ δίαιταν· ὃν ἔνεκα καὶ ταύτην γεγονέναι φαμὲν κατὰ Πλάτωνα 937D

Theon
25

14

1 τὰ om. B **2** lac. 13 lit. E, 17 lit. B: ποιεῖ *suppl.* Amyot: ἀποδίδωσιν Bern. *in app.*: αὐτὴν ἀναδίδωσιν Adler: αὐγὴν ἀποδίδωσιν Raing. *in app.*: μᾶλλον ἀποδίδωσιν Po. *in app.* | ὁρᾶται] ὁρᾶτε RJ94 *et alii* **4** ἀμαυρὰν] ἀμαυρὰ Amyot (ἀμαυρα *sic*) *et alii* **6** λέγειν *punct. corr.* Steph.: λέγειν. EB **9** ἢ που B: ἢ που E | τὸν ἵσον B *s.l.*: τὴν ἵσην EB **10** λείψανον] ἢ *add. ante* λείψανον Po. *in app.*: λειψάνου Ch. **11** ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης Wyt. *in app.*: ὑπὸ τῆς σελήνης EB **12** ἔδει RJ94: ὃ δὴ EB: ὅτι ἔδει Amyot

τροφὸν ἡμετέραν, ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ἀτρεκῆ φύλακα καὶ δημιουργόν.

‘Ορᾶς δὲ ὅτι πολλὰ λέγεται καὶ σὺν γέλωτι καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς περὶ τούτων; Τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ύπὸ τὴν σελήνην οἴκοῦσιν ὕσπερ Ταντάλοις ύπερ κεφαλῆς ἐκκρέμασθαί φασι· τοὺς δὲ οἰκοῦντας αὐτὸν ἐπ’ αὐτῆς ὕσπερ Ἰξίονας ἐνδεδεμένους ρύμῃ τόση ... Καίτοι μίαν οὐ κινεῖται κίνησιν, ἀλλ’, ὡς που καὶ λέγεται τριοδίτις ἐστίν, ἄμα μῆκος ἐπὶ τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ καὶ πλάτος φερομένη καὶ βάθος· ὃν | τὴν μὲν περιδρομήν, τὴν δὲ ἔλικα, τὴν δὲ οὐκ οἶδα πῶς ἀνωμαλίαν ὄνομάζουσιν οἱ μαθηματικοί, καίπερ οὐδεμίαν ὄμαλὴν οὐδὲ τεταγμένην ταῖς ἀποκαταστάσεσιν ὥρωντες ἔχουσαν· οὐκ εἰ λέων τις ἐπεσεν ύπὸ ρύμης εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἄξιόν ἐστι θαυμάζειν, ἀλλ’ ὅπως οὐ μυρία ὥρωμεν ἀεὶ

937F

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πεσήματα ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἀπολακτισμοὺς βίων

938A

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ἐκεῖθεν οἷον ἐκκυβιστώντων καὶ περιτραπέντων. || Καὶ γὰρ γελοῖον περὶ μονῆς τῶν ἐκεῖ διαπορεῖν εἰ μὴ γένεσιν μηδὲ σύστασιν ἔχειν δύναται· ὅπου γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Τρωγλοδύται, οἵς ἡμέρας μιᾶς ἀκαρὲς ἴσταται κατὰ κορυφὴν ὁ ἥλιος ἐν τροπαῖς, εἴτα ἄπεισιν, ὀλίγον ἀπέχουσι τοῦ κατακεκαῦσθαι ξηρότητι τοῦ περιέχοντος, ἢπου τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς σελήνης εἰκός ἐστι δώδεκα θερείας ύπομένειν ἔτους ἑκάστου, κατὰ μῆνα τοῦ ἡλίου πρὸς κάθετον αὐτοῖς ἐφισταμένου καὶ στηρίζοντος, ὅταν ἡ πανσέληνος; Πνεύματά γε μὴν καὶ νέφη καὶ ὅμβρους, ὃν χωρὶς οὔτε γένεσις φυτῶν ἐστιν οὔτε σωτηρία

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1 τροφὸν SR67: τροφὴν EB **5** ύπερ SR67: ἐκ EB **6** τόσῃ *et lac.* 42 *lit.* E, 32 *lit.* B: περικινεῖσθαι ὥστε μὴ πεσεῖν *suppl.* Amyot.: τοσαύτῃ *corr. et* δινεῖσθαι *suppl.* Wyt. *in app.*: τοσαύτῃ περιδινεῖσθαι, ὥστ’ ἐκπεσεῖν μὴ δύνασθαι Bern. *in app.*: τοσαύτῃ κινουμένης ἀεὶ περιδινεῖσθαι Adler: τοσαύτῃ καὶ δίνῃ περιφερομένους μὴ ἐκπεσεῖν Purser: τοσαύτῃ περιδινουμήνης οὐδέποτ’ ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ βεβηκέναι (*vel* ήσυχίαν ἀγειν) Po. *in app.*: τοσαύτῃ, τῆς καταφορᾶς κωλύειν τὴν κύκλῳ περιδίνησιν Ch.: τοσαύτῃ πληγαῖς τοῦ περιέχοντος ἀέρος ἀεὶ χειμάζεσθαι Görg. **8** φερομένη E: ἐπιφερομένη B: *unde forte legendum* ἄμα ἐπὶ μῆκος τοῦ ζ. κ. πλ. φερομένη Wyt. *in app.*: ἀντιφερομένη Ch. **9** δὲ¹ B: δεὸν E **10** οὐδεμίαν ὄμαλὴν οὐδὲ τεταγμένην] οὕτως *add. post* τεταγμένην Amyot: οὐδὲν ἀνώμαλον οὐδὲ τεταραγμένον *corr.* Wyt. *in app.*: ὁμοίως *add. ante* ὄμαλὴν Adler **11** ἔχουσαν· B: ἔχουσαις E: ἐνοῦσαν Po. *in app.* | οὐκ] οὐκον SR67 *et alii* **12** Πελοπόννησον B: Πελοπόνησον E | ὅπως SR67: ὅμως EB: ὅτι RJ94 **14** βίων B: νῦν E: ζών Amyot **15** περιτραπέντων Amyot: περιτρεπόντων EB: περιρρεπόντων Apelt: περιτρεπομένων Po. | γὰρ *om.* E: μῆν Düb. **16** μονῆς Basil.: μόνης EB **17** δύναται· B: δυναται E: δύνανται Wyt. *in app.* *et alii* **22** πανσέληνος *punct. corr.* Düb.: πανσέληνος EB



- γενομένοις, ἀμήχανον ἐκεῖ διανοηθῆναι συνιστάμενα διὰ | θερμότητα καὶ λεπτότητα τοῦ περιέχοντος· οὐδὲ γάρ ἐνταῦθα τῶν ὄρῶν τὰ ὑψηλὰ δέχεται τοὺς ἀγρίους καὶ ἐναντίους χειμῶνας· ἀλλ’ ... ἥδη καὶ σάλον ἔχων ὑπὸ κουφότητος ὁ ἀὴρ ἐκφεύγει τὴν σύστασιν ταύτην καὶ πύκνωσιν· εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία φήσομεν ὥσπερ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ νέκταρός τι καὶ ἀμβροσίας ἐνέσταξε μὴ προσιεμένῳ τροφήν, οὕτω τὴν σελήνην, Ἀθηνᾶν λεγομένην καὶ οὗσαν, τρέφειν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀμβροσίαν ἀνιεῖσαν αὐτοῖς ἐφημέριον, ως Φερεκύδης ὁ παλαιὸς οἴεται σιτεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς <τοὺς> θεούς. Τὴν μὲν γάρ Ἰνδικὴν ρίζαν, ἣν φησι Μεγασθένης τοὺς μήτε πίνοντας, ἀλλ’ ἀστόμους ὅντας ὑποτύφειν καὶ θυμιᾶν καὶ τρέφεσθαι τῇ ὀσμῇ, πόθεν ἂν τις ἐκεῖ φυομένην λάβοι μὴ βρεχομένης τῆς σελήνης;” Ταῦτα τοῦ Θέωνος εἰπόντος, “<κάλλιστά> γε” ἔφην “καὶ ἄριστα τῇ παιδιᾷ τοῦ λόγου τὰς ὁφρῦς ... ἀ καὶ θάρσος ἡμῖν ἐγγίνεται πρὸς τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, μὴ πάνυ πικρὰν μηδὲ αὐστηρὰν εὐθύνην προσδοκῶσι· καὶ γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς τῶν σφόδρα πεπεισμένων τὰ τοιαῦτα διαφέρουσιν, οἱ σφόδρα δυσκολαίνοντες αὐτοῖς καὶ διαπιστοῦντες, ἀλλὰ μὴ πράως τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον ἐθέλοντες ἐπισκοπεῖν. Εὐθὺς οὖν τὸ πρῶτον οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἐστιν, εἰ μὴ κατοικοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι τὴν σελήνην, μάτην γεγονέναι καὶ πρὸς μηθέν· οὐδὲ γάρ τήνδε τὴν γῆν δι’ ὅλης ἐνεργὸν οὐδὲ προσουκουμένην ὄρῶμεν, ἀλλὰ μικρὸν αὐτῆς μέρος, ὥσπερ ἄκραις τισὶν ἡ χερρονήσοις ἀνεχούσης ἐκ βυθοῦ, γόνιμόν ἐστι ζῷων καὶ φυτῶν· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων, τὰ μὲν ἔρημα καὶ ἄκαρπα χειμῶσι καὶ
- 938B
- 938C
- 938D
- Lamp.

3 lac. 10 lit. EB: εἰλικρινῆς ὧν ἥδη καὶ σάλον οὐκ ἔχων *suppl. et corr.* Amyot: λεπτότητα Wyt. *in app.*: γαλήνην ἀσάλευτον ἔχον *suppl. et corr.* Emp.: λεπτὸς (*vel* ἀραιός) ὧν Bern. *in app.*: μάνωσιν Purser: καθαρὸς (*vel* διάχυσιν) Po. *in app.*

8 ἀνιεῖσαν Dübn.: ἀνεῖσαν EB **9** τοὺς *add. post* αὐτοὺς Wyt. *in app.* (τοὺς *pro* αὐτοὺς *i.t.*): αὖτοὺς *pro* αὐτοὺς Raing. **10** τοὺς μήτε πίνοντας] μήτε ἐσθίοντας *add. post* τοὺς SR67: τοὺς *del. et* μήτε ἐσθίοντας *add. Steph.* | ἀστόμους I.22 SR67: εὐστόμους EB **12** σελήνης *punct. corr.* Steph.: σελήνης EB **13** κάλλιστά *suppl. Wyt. in app.: lac. 8 lit.* EB: δεξιώτατα Amyot: καλῶς γε *suppl. et* καθαιρεῖς *pro* καὶ ἄριστα Emp.: εὐκαίρως Raing.: ὑπέρευ Ch. **14** lac. 16 lit. E, 12 lit. B: ἀφήρηκας *suppl. et* ἡ *pro* ἄ Amyot: ἡμῶν ἀνῆκας, δι’ *suppl. et* θάρσον *pro* θάρσος Wyt.: ἡμῶν ἔλυσας: δι’ Bern.: ἡμῶν καθῆκας, δι’ Ch. **15** πικρὰν B *s.l.*: μικρὰν EB **16** διαφέρουσιν] οὐχ *add. post* διαφ. Amyot: οὐδὲν *add. ante* διαφ. Kepl.: οὐδὲν *add. post* διαφ. Dübn. **22** ἄκραις I.22: ἄκροις EB: ἄκρως Ald. | χερρονήσοις E: χερρονήσοις B: χερρονήσοις RJ94 | ἀνεχούσιν P.J.: ἀνέχον RJ94: ἀνεχούσαις Emp.

αὐχμοῖς, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα κατὰ τῆς μεγάλης δέδυκε θαλάσσης. Άλλὰ σὺ τὸν Ἀρίσταρχον ἀγαπῶν ἀεὶ καὶ θαυμάζων, οὐκ ἀκούεις Κράτητος ἀναγινώσκοντος,

Ωκεανός, ὅσπερ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται
ἀνδράσιν ἡδὲ θεοῖς, πλείστην ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἵσιν.

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Άλλὰ πολλοῦ δεῖ μάτην ταῦτα γεγονέναι· καὶ γὰρ ἀναθυμιάσεις
938E ἡ θάλασσα μαλακὰς ἀνίησι καὶ τῶν πνευμάτων τὰ ἥδιστα θέρους
ἀκμάζοντος ἐκ τῆς ἀοικήτου καὶ κατεψυγμένης αἱ χιόνες ἀτρέμα
διατηκόμεναι χαλῶσι καὶ διασπείρουσιν, ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς
ἔστηκεν ἀτρεκῆς ἐν μέσῳ φύλαξ, κατὰ Πλάτωνα, καὶ δημιουργός.

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Οὐδὲν οὖν κωλύει καὶ τὴν σελήνην, ζῷων μὲν ἔρημον εἶναι, παρέχειν
δὲ ἀνακλάσεις [τε] τῷ φωτὶ περὶ αὐτὴν διαχειμένῳ καὶ συρροὴν ταῖς
τῶν ἀστέρων αὐγαῖς ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ σύγκρασιν, ἢ συνεκπέττει τε τὰς ἀπὸ
τῆς γῆς ἀναθυμιάσεις ἄμα τε καὶ τοῦ ἡλίου τὸ ἔμπυρον ἄγαν καὶ
σκληρὸν ἀφίησι· καί πού τι καὶ παλαιᾶ φήμῃ διδόντες Ἀρτεμιν αὐτὴν

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νομισθῆναι φήσομεν ὡς παρθένον καὶ ἄγονον, ἄλλως δὲ βοηθητικὴν
καὶ ὀφέλιμον. Ἐπεὶ τῶν γε εἰρημένων οὐδέν, ὃ φίλε Θέων, ἀδύνατον
δείκνυσι τὴν λεγομένην ἐπ’ αὐτῆς οἴκησιν· ἢτε γὰρ δίνη πολλὴν
ἔχουσα πραότητα καὶ γαλήνην ἐπιλεαίνει τὸν ἀέρα καὶ διαμένει
συγκατακοσμούμενον, || ὥστε μηδὲν εἶναι δέος ἐκπεσεῖν καὶ

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ἀποσφαλῆναι τοὺς ἐκεῖ βεβιωκότας· εἰ δὲ μὴ δι’ ἑαυτὴν καὶ τὸ
ποικίλον τοῦτο τῆς φορᾶς καὶ πεπλανημένον οὐκ ἀνωμαλίας οὐδὲ
ταραχῆς ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ θαυμαστὴν ἐπιδείκνυνται τάξιν ἐν τούτοις καὶ
πορείαν οἱ ἀστρολόγοι κύκλοις τισὶ περὶ κύκλους ἐτέρους
ἔξελιττομένοις συνάγοντες αὐτήν· οἱ μὲν ἀτρεμοῦσαν, οἱ δὲ λείως καὶ
όμαλῶς ἀεὶ τάχεσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀνθυποφερομένην· αὗται γὰρ αἱ τῶν
κύκλων ἐπιβάσεις καὶ περιαγωγαὶ καὶ σχέσεις πρὸς ἄλλήλους καὶ

25

3 ἀναγινώσκοντος E: ἀναγινώσκων B 5 ἵσιν Bern.: ἵσιν EB 12 τε om. B 14 τε
om. E | τοῦ ἡλίου Wyt. in app.: τῷ ἡλίῳ EB 15 ἀφίησι·] ἀνίησι Wyt. in app. et
alii | πού Wyt. in app.: πολύ EB | αὐτὴν B: αὐτὸν lac. 4 lit. E 16 ἄλλως] ἄλλοις
Wyt. in app.: ἄλλας Raing.: ἄλλαις Ch. 17 ὃ φίλε Amyot Xyl. 1570: ὀφελεῖν EB
19 διαμένει] διαχέει Amyot: διανέμει Wyt. in app. 21 βεβιωκότας·] βεβηκότας
RJ94 et alii | εἰ δὲ μὴ δι’ ἑαυτὴν correxit: εἰ δὲ μὴ δὲ αὐτὴ EB: εἰ μὴ καὶ αὐτὴ
Amyot: ἔτι δὲ, νὴ Δι’, αὐτό γε corr. et καὶ del. Wyt. in app.: Ἡ δὲ μεταλλαγὴ Dübni.:
Ἡ τε μεταλλαγὴ Bern.: ἡ τε μὴ διὰ μιᾶς κίνησις αὐτη Po. in app.: εἰ δὲ μηδ’ ἀπλῆ
Ch. 23 ἐπιδείκνυνται Basil.: ἐπιδείκνυνται EB



πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὰ φαινόμενα τῆς κινήσεως ὑψη καὶ βάθη καὶ τὰς κατὰ πλάτος παραλλάξεις ἄμα ταῖς κατὰ μῆκος αὐτῆς περιόδοις ἐμμελέστατα συμπεραίνουσι. Τὴν δὲ πολλὴν θερμότητα καὶ συνεχῆ πύρωσιν ὑπὸ ἡλίου οὐ παύσῃ φοβούμενος ἀν πρῶτον μὲν ἀντιθεὶς ταῖς <ἐνθάδε> ἔνδεκα θερινὰς <σὺν> συνόδοις τὰς πανσελήνους, εἴσῃ δὲ τὸ συνεχές τῆς μεταβολῆς ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς χρόνον οὐκ ἔχούσαις πολὺν ἐμποιεῖν κρᾶσιν οἰκείαν καὶ τὸ ἄγαν ἐκατέρας ἀφαιρεῖν· ἐκ μέσου δὲ τούτων ὡς εἰκὸς ὥραν ἔαρι προσφορωτάτην ἔχουσιν. Ἐπειτα πρὸς μὲν ἡμᾶς καθίσι δι’ ἀέρος θολεροῦ καὶ 5 συνεπερείδοντος θερμότητα ταῖς ἀναθυμιάσεσι τρεφομένην, ἐκεῖ δὲ λεπτὸς ὃν καὶ διαυγὴς ὁ ὥηρ σκίδνησι καὶ διαχεῖ τὴν αὔγην ὑπέκκαυμα καὶ σῶμα μηδὲν ἔχουσαν. Ὑλην δὲ καὶ καρπούς, αὐτόθι μὲν ὅμβροι τρέφουσιν, ἐτέρωθι δέ, ὥσπερ ἄνω περὶ Θήβας παρ’ ὑμῖν καὶ Συήνην, οὐκ ὅμβριον ὕδωρ ἀλλὰ γηγενὲς ἡ γῆ πίνουσα καὶ 10 χρωμένη πνεύμασι καὶ δρόσοις οὐκ ἀν ἐθελήσειεν, οἶμαι, τῇ πλεῖστον ὑομένη πολυκαρπίᾳ συμφέρεσθαι δι’ ἀρετήν τινα καὶ κρᾶσιν· τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ φυτὰ τῷ γένει, παρ’ ἡμῖν μὲν ἐὰν σφόδρα πιεσθῇ χειμῶσιν ἐκφέρει πολὺν καὶ καλὸν καρπόν· ἐν δὲ Λιβύῃ καὶ παρ’ ὑμῖν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δύσριγα κομιδῇ καὶ δειλὰ πρὸς χειμῶνάς ἐστι· τῆς δὲ Γεδρωσίας καὶ Τρωγλοδύτιδος, ἡ καθήκει πρὸς τὸν ὥκεανόν, ἀφόρου διὰ ἔηρότητα καὶ ἀδένδρου παντάπασιν οὖσης, ἐν τῇ παρακειμένῃ καὶ περικεχυμένῃ θαλάττῃ θαυμαστὰ μεγέθη φυτῶν τρέφεται καὶ κατὰ βυθοῦ τέθηλεν· ὃν τὰ μὲν ἐλαίας, τὰ δὲ δάφνας, τὰ δὲ Ἰσιδος τρίχας καλοῦσιν· οἱ δὲ ἀνακαμψέρωτες οὗτοι προσαγορευόμενοι τῆς γῆς 15 20 939C 939D

3 συμπεραίνουσι RJ94 Basil.: συμπαραινοῦσι EB **4** ἡλίου οὐ B et E s.l.: ἡλίον E: οὐ del. RJ94 Basil. et alii | ἀντιθεὶς B: ἀντιθῆς E **5** ταῖς... πανσελήνους *conieci*: ταῖς – θεριναῖς συνόδοις τὰς πανσελήνους EB: τὰς – θερινὰς συνόδους ταῖς πανσελήνοις Bern. *in app.*: ταῖς – θεριναῖς πανσελήνοις τὰς συνόδους Adler ἐνθάδε *ante* ἔνδεκα *addidi*: δώδεκα *pro* ἔνδεκα Amyot et alii: ἐνθάδε *pro* ἔνδεκα Prickard | εἴσῃ] εἴτα Basil.: εἰκὸς Po. *in app.*: ὑποθῆ Ch. **6** ἔχούσαις E: ἔχούσας B: ἔχούσης Ald. Basil. et alii **7** ἐκ μέσου *correxī*: ἀμέσου EB: τὰ μέσα Basil.: διὰ μέσου Adler: ἀνὰ μέσον Po. *in app.* **8** προσφορωτάτην Ald. Basil. (προσφοροτάτην *sic*): προσφορωτάτων EB **10** συνεπερείδοντος θερμότητα Dübner.: συνεπερείδων τὴν θερμότητα EB: συνεπερείδα τὴν θερμότητα Amyot: συνεπερείδοντος τὴν θερμότητα Emp. **12** αὐτόθι Amyot: αὐτοὶ EB: αὐτοῦ Wyt. *in app.* **13** ἐτέρωθι Amyot: ἐτέρως EB **14** ἡ γῆ I.22: ἡ γε EB **16** συμφέρεσθαι I.22 SR67: συμφαίνεσθαι EB: συμφύρεσθαι Steph. **17** ἐὰν Bern.: εἰ EB | χειμῶσιν] χιόσιν E s.l. **18** Λιβύη E: λιβύι B **20** Γεδρωσίας B: γε δροσίας E | Τρωγλοδύτιδος E: τρωγλοδίτιδος B

έξαιρεθέντες οὐ μόνον ζῶσι κρεμάμενοι χρόνον ὅσον βούλεται τις,
ἀλλὰ βλαστάνουσιν ... Σπείρεται δέ, τὰ μὲν πρὸς χειμῶνος, τὰ δὲ
θέρους ἀκμάζοντος, ὥσπερ σήσαμον καὶ μελίνη· τὸ δὲ θύμον ἡ τὸ
κενταύριον ἀν εἰς ἀγαθὴν καὶ πίονα σπαρῇ χώραν καὶ βρέχηται καὶ
ἄρδηται τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἐξίσταται ποιότητος καὶ ἀποβάλλει τὴν
δύναμιν, αὐχμῷ δὲ χαίρει καὶ πρὸς | τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐπιδίδωσιν· εἰ δὲ, ὡς
φασιν, οὐδὲ τὰς δρόσους ἀνέχεται, καθάπερ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν
Ἀραβικῶν, ἀλλ’ ἐξαμαυροῦται διαινόμενα καὶ φθείρεται· τί δὴ
θαυμαστόν ἔστιν εἰ γίνονται περὶ τὴν σελήνην ρίζαι καὶ σπέρματα καὶ
ῦλαι μηθὲν ὑετῶν δεόμεναι μήτε χιόνων, ἀλλὰ πρόσφορον ἄέρα καὶ
λεπτὸν εὐφυῶς ἔχουσαι; Πῶς δὲ οὐκ εἰκὸς ἀνιέναι τε πνεύματα
θαλπόμενα τῇ σελήνῃ καὶ τῷ σάλῳ τῆς περιφορᾶς αὔρας τε
παρομαρτεῖν ἀτρέμα καὶ δρόσους καὶ ὑγρότητας ἐλαφρὰς
περιχεούσας καὶ διασπειρομένας ἐπαρκεῖν τοῖς βλαστάνουσιν· αὐτῇ
δὲ τῇ κράσει μὴ πυρώδη μηδὲ αὐχμηράν, | ἀλλὰ μαλακὴν καὶ
ὑδροποιὸν εἶναι; Ξηρότητος μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀφικνεῖται πάθος ἀπ’
αὐτῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὑγρότητος δὲ πολλὰ καὶ θηλύτητος· αὐξήσεις
φυτῶν, σήψεις κρεῶν, τροπαὶ καὶ ἀνέσεις οἴνων, μαλακότητες ἔνδιλων,
εὐτοκίαι γυναικῶν. Δέδοικα δὲ ἡσυχάζοντα Φαρνάκην αὐθίς ἐρεθίζειν
καὶ κινεῖν, || ὧκεανοῦ τε πλημμύρας, ώς λέγουσιν αὐτοί, καὶ πορθμῶν
ἐπιδόσεις διαχειμένων καὶ αὐξανομένων ὑπὸ τῆς σελήνης τῷ
ἀνυγραίνεσθαι παρατιθέμενος· διὸ πρὸς σὲ τρέψομαι μᾶλλον, ὡς φίλε
Θέων· λέγεις γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐξηγούμενος ταύτι τὰ Αλκμᾶνος

<Διός> θυγάτηρ Ἔρσα τρέφει καὶ Σελάνας,

2 lac. 21 lit. EB: *nil excidisse* Wyt. *in app.*: καὶ νέα βλαστήματα *suppl.* Bern. *in app.*: ἄλλα δ’ ἄλλης δεῖται τροφῆς Po. *in app.* **3** τὸ¹ E: τὸν B **6** εἰ SR67: οἱ EB: τὰ Basil.: ἔνια Paton **8** διαινόμενα RJ94: λειαινόμενα EB | δὴ SR67: δὲ EB **10** ὕλαι B: ὕλαι E | δεόμεναι RJ94: δεόμενα EB | πρόσφορον *correxī*: πρόσθερον EB: πρὸς θερινὸν SR67: πρὸς θερινὸν καὶ ξηρὸν RJ94: πρὸς θέρειον Bern. *in app.*: πρὸς θερμόν Raing. *in app.* **11** ἔχουσαι *punct. corr.* Steph.: ἔχουσαι· EB: ἔχουσα RJ94 **14** αὐτῇ] αὐτὴν Kepl. *et alii* **16** εἶναι *punct. corr.* Steph.: εἶναι· EB **20** ὧκεανοῦ τε Basil.: ὥστε καὶ ἀνοιγαὶ EB: ὥστε ἡ ἀναγώγαι RJ94: ἀνάγει *pro* ἀνοιγαὶ RJ94 ὧκεανοῦ τε πλημμύρας ώς *conieci*: **23** ταύτι Bern.: ταύτη EB: ταῦτα Steph. **24** Διός *suppl.* Steph.: lac. 7 lit. E, 12 lit. B: οἴα Δίος Xyl.¹⁵⁷⁰ | Ἔρσα I.22: ἔργα EB

ὅτι νῦν τὸν ἀέρα καλεῖ καὶ Δία, φησὶν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς σελήνης
 καθυγραινόμενον εἰς δρόσους τρέπεσθαι. Κινδυνεύει γάρ, ὃ ἔταιρε,
 πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον ἀντιπαθῆ φύσιν ἔχειν· εἴ γε μὴ μόνον ὅσα πυκνοῦν καὶ
 ξηραίνειν ἐκεῖνος, αὐτὴ μαλάσσειν καὶ διαχεῖν πέφυκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν
 5 ἀπ' ἐκείνου θερμότητα καθυγραίνειν καὶ καταψύχειν προσπίπτουσαν
 αὐτῇ καὶ συμμιγνυμένην. Οἵ τε δὴ τὴν σελήνην ἔμπυρον σῶμα καὶ
 διακαές εἶναι νομίζοντες ἀμαρτάνουσιν· οἵ τε τοῖς ἐκεῖ ζῷοις ὅσα τοῖς
 10 ἐνταῦθα πρὸς γένεσιν καὶ τροφὴν καὶ δίαιταν ἀξιοῦντες ὑπάρχειν,
 ἐοίκασι καὶ θεαταῖς τῶν περὶ τὴν φύσιν ἀνωμαλιῶν, ἐν αἷς μείζονας
 15 ἔστι καὶ πλέονας πρὸς ἄλληλα τῶν ζῴων ἢ πρὸς τὰ μὴ ζῷα διαφορὰς
 καὶ ἀνομοιότητας εὑρεῖν. Καὶ σύστομοι μὲν ἄνθρωποι καὶ ὀσμαῖς
 τρεφόμενοι μὴ ἔστωσαν, εἰ μὴ <Θέωνι ἄστο>μοι δοκοῦσι, τὴν δὲ
 20 ἀτμῶν οὓς ἡμῖν αὐτὸς ἐξηγεῖτο δύναμιν ἦνίξατο μὲν Ἡσίοδος εἰπών·
 25 οὐδ' ὅσον ἐν μαλάχῃ τε καὶ ἀσφοδέλῳ μέγ' ὄνειαρ.

940B

940C

15 Ἔργῳ δὲ ἐμφανῆ παρέσχεν Ἐπιμενίδης διδάξας, ὅτι μικρῷ
 παντάπασιν ἡ φύσις ὑπεκκαύματι ζωπυρεῖ καὶ συνέχει τὸ ζῷον, ἀν
 20 ὅσον ἐλαίας μέγεθος λάβῃ, μηδεμιᾶς ἔτι τροφῆς δεόμενον. Τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ
 τῆς σελήνης, εἴπερ εἰσίν, εὐσταλεῖς εἶναι τοῖς σώμασι καὶ διαρκεῖς
 25 ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων τρέφεσθαι πιθανόν ἔστι· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν τὴν
 σελήνην, ὥσπερ τὸν ἥλιον ζῷον ὄντα πύρινον καὶ τῆς γῆς ὄντα
 πολλαπλάσιον, ἀπὸ τῶν ὑγρῶν φασι τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τρέφεσθαι καὶ
 τοὺς ἄλλους ἀστέρας ἀπείρους ὄντας· οὕτως ἐλαφρὰ καὶ λιτὰ τῶν
 30 ἀναγκαίων | φέρειν ζῷα τὸν ἄνω τόπον ὑπολαμβάνουσιν. Ἄλλ' οὔτε
 ταῦτα συνορῶμεν οὔτε ὅτι καὶ χώρα καὶ φύσις καὶ κρᾶσις ἄλλη
 35 πρόσφορός ἔστιν αὐτοῖς· ὥσπερ οὖν εἰ τῇ θαλάττῃ μὴ δυναμένων
 ἡμῶν προσελθεῖν μηδὲ ἄψασθαι, μόνον δὲ τὴν θέαν αὐτῆς πόρρωθεν

940D

1 καὶ Δία] δία τὸν αέρα καλεῖ, καὶ φησὶν (*sic*) Xyl.¹⁵⁷⁰: διάφυσιν Steph.: δία καὶ φησὶν Kepl. **6** δὴ SR67: δὲ EB **9** ἐοίκασι καὶ θεαταῖς] ἐοίκασι οὐκ θεαταῖς I.22: ἐοίκασιν ἀθέατοι Xyl.¹⁵⁷⁰: ἐοίκασι ἀθέατοι Steph. | τὴν *om.* B **10** πλέονας E: πλείονας B **11** σύστομοι] ἄστομοι I.22 SR67: εὔστομοι Dübn. **12** Θέωνι ἄστομοι *supplevi et correxi: lac. 9 lit.* et μὴ EB: ζῆν ἄστοι δυνάμενοι *suppl.* Amyot: οἱ μηδὲ εἶναι μοι *suppl. et corr. Wyt. in app.*: ὑπάρχειν *et* δὴ *pro* μὴ Purser: Θέωνι γ' εἶναι Adler (1933): εἶναι Θέωνι *suppl. et corr.* Po.: οἱ Μεγασθένει γ' εἶναι *suppl. et corr.* Ch. (*sec.* Adler 1910 καὶ Μεγασθένει δοκοῦσι εἶναι) | τὴν δὲ ἀτμῶν οὓς *conieci* (τὴν δὲ Kepl.): τὴν τε ἄμμονος EB: ἦν γε ἄμμωνος RJ94: ἦν δ' ἄμμώνιος Amyot: ἦν δὲ ἄμμεως Adler (1910): τὴν δ' ἄλιμον, ἦς Po. Ch. (*sec.* Adler 1933 τὴν δ' ἄλιμον *et* ἦν *add. post* δύναμιν) **17** ἔτι B: ἐπὶ E

ἀφορώντων καὶ πυνθανομένων ὅτι πικρὸν καὶ ἄποτον καὶ ἀλμυρὸν
940E
ῦδωρ ἐστίν, ἔλεγέ τις ώς ζῷα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ παντοδαπὰ ταῖς
μορφαῖς τρέφει κατὰ βάθους καὶ θηρίων ἐστὶ πλήρης ὕδατι χρωμένων
ὅσαπερ ἡμεῖς ἀέρι, μύθοις ἀν ὅμοια καὶ τέρασιν ἐδόκει περαίνειν,
οὗτος ἐοίκαμεν ἔχειν καὶ τούτοις ἀσκεῖν πρὸς τὴν σελήνην,
ἀπιστοῦντες ἐκεῖ τινας ἀνθρώπους κατοικεῖν. Ἐκείνους δ' ἄν, οἴομαι,
πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀποθαυμάσαι τὴν γῆν, ἀφορῶντας οἶον ὑποστάθμην καὶ
ἰλὺν τοῦ παντὸς ἐν ὑγροῖς καὶ ὁμίχλαις καὶ νέφεσι διαφαινομένην
ἀλαμπὲς καὶ ταπεινὸν καὶ ἀκίνητον χωρίον, εἰ ζῷα φύει καὶ τρέφει
μετέχοντα κινήσεως, ἀναπνοῆς, θερμότητος· κὰν εἴ ποθεν αὐτοῖς
ἐγγένοιτο τῶν Ὄμηρικῶν τούτων ἀκοῦσαι,

5

10

σμερδαλέ’ εὐρώεντα τά τε στυγέουσι θεοί περ
καὶ
τόσσον ἔνερθ’ Άιδαο ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ’ ἀπὸ /γαίης·
940F
ταῦτα φήσουσιν ἀτεχνῶς περὶ τοῦ χωρίου τούτου λέγεσθαι καὶ
τὸν Ἀιδην ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸν | Τάρταρον ἀπωκίσθαι· γῆν δὲ μίαν εἶναι
τὴν σελήνην, ἵσον ἐκείνων τῶν ἄνω καὶ τῶν κάτω τούτων
ἀπέχουσαν.”

15

Ἐτι δέ μου σχεδὸν λέγοντος, ὁ Σύλλας ὑπολαβὼν “ἐπίσχες”
εἶπεν “ὦ Λαμπρία, καὶ παραβαλοῦ τὸ θυρίον τοῦ λόγου, μὴ λάθης τὸν
μῆθον, ὥσπερ εἰς γῆν ἐξοκείλας, καὶ συγχέης τὸ δρᾶμα τούμὸν ἐτέραν
941A
ἔχον σκηνὴν καὶ διάθεσιν. || Ἔγὼ μὲν οὖν ὑποκριτής εἰμι, πρότερον δὲ
αὐτοῦ φράσω τὸν ποιητὴν ἡμῖν εἰ μή τι κωλύει καθ’ Ὄμηρον
ἀρξάμενον,

Sulla

‘Ωγυγίη τις νῆσος ἀπόπροθεν εἰν ἀλὶ κεῖται,
δρόμον ἡμερῶν πέντε Βρεττανίας ἀπέχουσα πλέοντι πρὸς
ἐσπέραν· ἔτεραι δὲ τρεῖς ἵσον ἐκείνης ἀφεστῶσαι καὶ ἀλλήλων
πρόκεινται μάλιστα κατὰ δυσμὰς ἡλίου θερινάς. Ὡν ἐν μιᾷ τὸν

25

2 παντοδαπὰ E: πανταδοπὰ B 5 τούτοις ἀσκεῖν E: τούτους ἀσκεῖν B: οὗτοι
διακεῖσθαι Amyot: τὸ ἀύτὸ πάσχειν Wyt. in app.: τοῦτο πάσχειν Raing. 14 ὅσον E:
ὅσσον B 16 ἐνταῦθα] dupl. B | ἀπωκίσθαι· E: ἀποκεῖσθαι B 23 ἡμῖν] ύμῖν Steph.
et alii | κωλύει] κωλύοι B s.l. 24 ἀρξάμενον] ἀρξάμενος Amyot et alii 25 τις
Düb.: τις EB | ἀπόπροθεν RJ94: ἀπόπροσθεν EB

Κρόνον οἱ βάρβαροι καθεῖρχθαι μυθολογοῦσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Διός, τόνδε ώς
νίὸν ἔχοντα φρουρόν, τῶν τε νήσων ἐκείνων καὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἡν
Κρόνιον πέλαγος ὀνομάζουσι παρακάτω κεῖσθαι. Τὴν δὲ μεγάλην
ἡπειρον, ὑφ' ἡς ἡ μεγάλη περιέχεται κύκλῳ θάλαττα, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων
5 ἐλαττον ἀπέχειν, τῆς δὲ Ὄγυγίας περὶ πεντακισχιλίους σταδίους
κωπήρεσι πλοίοις κομιζομένῳ· βραδύπορον γὰρ εἶναι καὶ πηλῶδες
ὑπὸ πλήθους ῥευμάτων τὸ πέλαγος· τὰ δὲ ῥεύματα τὴν μεγάλην
ἐξιέναι γῆν καὶ γίνεσθαι προσχώσεις ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ βαρεῖαν εἶναι καὶ
γεώδη τὴν θάλατταν, ἡ καὶ πεπηγέναι δόξαν ἔσχε. Τῆς δὲ ἡπείρου τὰ
10 πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ κατοικεῖν Ἐλληνας περὶ κόλπον οὐκ ἐλάττονα τῆς
Μαιώτιδος, οὗ τὸ στόμα τῷ στόματι τοῦ Κασπίου πελάγους μάλιστα
κατ' εὐθεῖαν κεῖσθαι· καλεῖν δὲ καὶ νομίζειν ἐκείνους ἡπειρώτας μὲν
αὐτοὺς | ταύτην τὴν γῆν κατοικοῦντας, ώς καὶ κύκλῳ περίρρυτον
15 <οὐκ> οὖσαν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης. Οἰεσθαι δὲ τοῖς Κρόνου λαοῖς
ἀναμιχθέντας ὕστερον τοὺς μεθ' Ἡρακλέους παραγενομένους καὶ
ὑπολειφθέντας, ἥδη σβεννύμενον τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐκεῖ καὶ κρατούμενον
γλώττῃ τε βαρβαρικῇ καὶ νόμοις καὶ διαίταις οἷον ἀναζωπυρῆσαι
πάλιν ἰσχυρὸν καὶ πολὺ γενόμενον· διὸ τιμὰς ἔχειν πρώτας τὸν
Ἡρακλέα, δευτέρας δὲ τὸν Κρόνον. Ὅταν οὖν ὁ τοῦ Κρόνου ἀστήρ,
20 ὃν Φαίνοντα μὲν ἡμεῖς ἐκείνους δὲ Νυκτοῦρον ἔφη καλεῖν, εἰς
Ταῦρον παραγένηται δι' ἐτῶν τριάκοντα, παρασκευασμένους ἐν
χρόνῳ πολλῷ τὰ περὶ τὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὸν ἀ... | ἐκπέμπειν κλήρῳ
λαχόντας ἐν πλοίοις τοσούτοις θεραπείαν τε πολλὴν καὶ παρασκευὴν
25 ἀναγκαίαν μέλλουσι πλεῖν πέλαγος τοσοῦτον εἰρεσίᾳ καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ
ξένης βιοτεύειν πολὺν ἐμβαλλομένους. Ἀναγθέντας οὖν χρῆσθαι

941B

941C

941D

1 τόνδε ώς νίὸν *correxī*: τὸν δὲ, ώς νίὸν (*sic*) EB: τὸν δὲ ὕγυον Amyot: τὸν δὲ ώς
ὕπνον Wyt. *in app.*: Βριάρεων δὲ τὸν νίὸν Adler: τὸν δ' ὑπνώδως Purser: τὸν δὲ
Βριάρεων Kalt.: τὸν δ' Ὄγυγον Apelt: τὸν δὲ Βριάρεων ώς νίὸν Po. *in app.*
2 φρουρόν] φρουρὰν Kalt. *et alii* **3** παρακάτω κεῖσθαι] παρακατακεῖσθαι Amyot:
πέραν κατφκίσθαι Dübn.: παρακατφκίσθαι Apelt **5** ἀπέχειν Basil.: ἀπέχει EB
8 προσχώσεις Xyl.: προχώσεις EB **9** ἥ| ἥ Xyl. *et alii* **12** κεῖσθαι. E: κινεῖσθαι B
13 αὐτοὺς I.22: αὐτοὺς EB: νησιώτας δὲ *add. post* αὐτοὺς Basil.: τοὺς *add. post*
νησιώτας δὲ Wyt. *in app.* **14** οὐκ *addidi* **19** οὖν E: δὲ B: δὲ οὖν Raing. **22** ἀ et
lac. 23 *lit.* E, 17 *lit.* B: ἀπόπλουν Amyot Xyl.¹⁵⁷⁰: ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας πλοῦν Bern. *in*
app.: ἀποπλοῦν ἐπὶ τὴν Κρόνου νῆσον Po. *in app.*: ἀπόστολον θεωροὺς ἱκανοὺς
Ch.: ἀναπλοῦν *conieci* **23** παρασκευὴν B: *vac.* 3 *lit.* σκευὴν E **25** ἐμβαλλομένους
Kepl.: ἐμβάλλομεν οὓς EB: ἐμβαίνοντας οὖν καὶ Amyot | οὖν Wyt.: οὐ EB: οὐ *del.*
RJ94 | χρῆσθαι Amyot Xyl.¹⁵⁷⁰: χρὴ EB

τύχαις, ώς είκός, ἄλλους ἄλλαις, τοὺς δὲ διασωθέντας ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς προκειμένας νήσους οἰκουμένας δὲ ύφ' Ἑλλήνων κατίσχειν καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ὅρᾶν κρυπτόμενον ὥρας μιᾶς ἔλαττον ἐφ' ἡμέρας τριάκοντα· καὶ νύκτα τοῦτο εἶναι, σκότος ἔχουσαν ἐλαφρὸν καὶ λυκανγὲς ἀπὸ δυσμῶν περιλαμπόμενον. Ἐκεῖ δὲ διατρίψαντας
 5
 941E ἡμέρας ἐνενήκοντα καὶ μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ φιλοφροσύνης ιεροὺς νομιζομένους καὶ προσαγορευομένους, | ύπὸ πνευμάτων ἥδη περαιοῦσθαι· μηδὲ ἄλλους τινὰς ἐνοικεῖν ἢ σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτῶν ἀποπεμφθέντας. Ἐξεῖναι μὲν γὰρ ἀποπλεῖν οἴκαδε τοὺς τῷ θεῷ τὰ τρὶς δέκ' ἔτη συλλατρεύσαντας, αἱρεῖσθαι δὲ τοὺς πλείστους
 10
 941F ἐπιεικῶς αὐτόθι κατοικεῖν· τοὺς μὲν ύπὸ συνηθείας, τοὺς δὲ ὅτι πόνου δίχα καὶ πραγμάτων ἄφθονα πάρεστι πάντα πρὸς θυσίας καὶ χορηγίαις, οἵ περι λόγους τινὰς αἰεὶ καὶ φιλοσοφίαν διατρίβουσι. Θαυμαστὴν γὰρ εἶναι τῆς τε νήσου τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὴν πραότητα τοῦ περιέχοντος ἀέρος· ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἐμποδὼν γίνεσθαι
 15
 942A διανοηθεῖσιν ἀποπλεῖν ὥσπερ συνήθεσι καὶ φίλοις ἐπιδεικνύμενον, οὐκ ὅναρ μόνον οὐδὲ διὰ συμβόλων, ἀλλὰ καὶ φανερῶς ἐντυγχάνειν πολλοὺς ὅψεσι δαιμόνων καὶ φωναῖς· αὐτὸν μὲν γὰρ τὸν Κρόνον ἐν ἄντρῳ βαθεῖ περιέχεσθαι πέτρας χρυσοειδοῦς καθεύδοντα, τὸν γὰρ ὕπνον αὐτῷ μεμηχανῆσθαι δεσμὸν ύπὸ τοῦ Διός, ὅρνιθας δὲ τῆς πέτρας κατὰ κορυφήν εἰσπετομένους ἀμβροσίαν ἐπιφέρειν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν νῆσον εὐωδίᾳ κατέχεσθαι πᾶσαν, ὥσπερ ἐκ πηγῆς σκιδναμένη τῆς πέτρας. || Τοὺς δὲ δαίμονας ἐκείνους περιέπειν καὶ θεραπεύειν τὸν Κρόνον, ἔταίρους αὐτῷ γενομένους ὅτε δὴ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐβασίλευσε· καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν μαντικοὺς ὄντας προλέγειν, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα καὶ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ώς ὀνείρατα τοῦ Κρόνου κατιόντας ἐξαγγέλλειν· ὅσα γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς προδιανοεῖται, ταῦτα ὀνειροπολεῖν τὸν Κρόνον, εἶναι δὲ ανάστασιν τὰ τιτανικὰ πάθη καὶ κινήματα τῆς ψυχῆς
 20
 25

6 καὶ¹ *om.* E **7** ἥδη] οὗ δεῖ Bern. *in app. et alii* **10** τὰ τρὶς δέκ' ἔτη Bern.: τῷ τρισκαιδεκάτῳ EB: τρισκαιδεκα ἔτη *vel* τριάκοντα SR67 **13** οὗ] ἢ RJ94 *et alii* **19** πέτρας] ἐπὶ πέτρας I.22 *et alii* **21** εἰσπετομένους Madv.: οὓς πετομένους EB: πετομένους Wyt. *in app.* **25** ἐβασίλευσε·] ἐβασίλευε Emp. **27** ἐξαγγέλλειν· E: ἐξαγγέλλειν B | προδιανοεῖται E: προσδιανοεῖται B: ὑπάρ διανοεῖται Wyt. *in app.* **28** εἶναι δὲ ανάστασιν] κατ' ἀνάστασιν Kepl.: αὐτοῦ *add. post* ανάστασιν Wyt. *in app.*: εἶναι δ' ἐν ἀναστάσει corr. Herw.: ἐπειδὰν στασιάσαντα Po. (*sec.* ἐπειδὰν παύσῃ Madv.): εἶναι δ' ἀνάτασιν Ch.: ἔχειν δ' οὕτως ἵνα *vel* εἶναι δὲ τοῦτο ἵνα Do.

<ἔως> ἀν αὐτῷ παντάπασιν ὁ ὑπνος ... καὶ γένηται τὸ βασιλικὸν καὶ θεῖον αὐτὸ καθ' ἐαυτὸ καθαρὸν καὶ ἀκήρατον. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ κομισθείς,
 5 ώς ἔλεγεν ὁ ξένος, καὶ θεραπεύων τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ σχολῆς, ἀστρολογίας μὲν ἐφ' ὅσον γεωμετρήσαντι πορρωτάτῳ προελθεῖν δυνατόν ἐστιν,
 εἶπειρίαν ἔσχε φιλοσοφίας δὲ τῆς ἄλλης τῷ φυσικῷ χρώμενος.
 Ἐπιθυμίαν δέ τινα καὶ πόθον ἔχων γενέσθαι τῆς μεγάλης νήσου
 θεατῆς, οὕτω γὰρ ὡς ἔοικε τὴν παρ' ἡμῖν οἰκουμένην ὀνομάζουσιν,
 ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τριάκοντα ἔτη διῆλθεν, ἀφικομένων τῶν διαδόχων οἴκοθεν,
 10 ἀσπασάμενος τοὺς φίλους ἐξέπλευσε, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατεσκευασμένος
 εὐσταλῶς, ἐφόδιον δὲ συχνὸν ἐν χρυσοῖς ἐκπώμασι κομίζων. Ἄ μὲν
 οὗν ἔπαθε καὶ ὅσους ἀνθρώπους διῆλθεν, ιεροῖς τε γράμμασιν
 15 ἐντυγχάνων ἐν τελεταῖς τε πά|σαις τελούμενος, οὐ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἔργον
 ἐστὶ διελθεῖν, ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἡμῖν ἀπήγγελεν εῦ μάλα καὶ καθ' ἔκαστον
 ἀπομνημονεύων· ὅσα δὲ οἰκεῖα τῆς ἐνεστώσης διατριβῆς ἐστιν,
 20 ἀκούσατε. Πλεῖστον γὰρ ἐν Καρχηδόνι χρόνον διέτριψεν, ἅτε δὴ παρ'
 ἡμῖν μεγάλας ἔχοντος <τιμᾶς> καὶ τινὰς ὅτε ἡ προτέρα πόλις
 ἀπώλλυτο διφθέρας ιερὰς ὑπεκκομισθείσας κρύφα καὶ διαλαθούσας
 πολὺν χρόνον ἐν γῇ κειμένας ἐξεῦρεν. Τῶν τε φαινομένων θεῶν ἔφη
 χρῆναι, καὶ μοι παρεκελεύετο, τιμᾶν διαφερόντως τὴν σελήνην, ὡς
 25 τοῦ βίου κυριωτάτην οὔσαν ... | ἔχομένην. Θαυμάζοντος δέ μου ταῦτα
 καὶ δεομένου σαφέστερον ἀκοῦσαι, “πολλὰ” εἶπεν “ὦ Σύλλα, περὶ
 θεῶν οὐ πάντα δὲ καλῶς λέγεται παρ' Ἑλλησιν, οἷον εὐθὺς ὁρθῶς
 Δήμητραν καὶ Κόρην ὀνομάζοντες, οὐκ ὁρθῶς ὁμοῦ καὶ περὶ τὸν
 αὐτὸν ἀμφοτέρας εἶναι τόπον νομίζουσιν. Ή μὲν γὰρ ἐν γῇ καὶ κυρίᾳ
 942D

1 ἔως ἀν add. et corr. Ch. (sec. Bern. in app. ἔως ἀν ἐν): ἐν EB: ἀ κατευνάζων pro ἐν αὐτῷ παντάπασιν Wyt. in app.: πάντα ἔως ἀν πᾶσιν et αὐτῷ del. Herw. παντάπασιν] πάντα παύσῃ Bern. in app.: πάλιν ἀνάπαυσιν Ch. | lac. 10 lit. E, 13 lit. B: συστέλλει, ἔως κοσμηθῇ suppl. Wyt. in app.: καὶ κατακοσμήσῃ suppl. Bern. in app.: lac. et καὶ del. Herw.: κατακοιμήσῃ Po.: καταστήσῃ Ch. **8** ἐπεὶ δὲ] ἐπεί γε Wyt. in app.: ἐπεὶ δὴ Raing. (sec. Madv. ἐπειδὴ) **9** ἀσπασάμενος E: ἀσπασαμένους B **10** εὐσταλῶς RJ94: εὐσταθῶς EB | ἐν om. B **12** τε om. B: τε transp. ante τελεταῖς Emp. **16** τιμᾶς addidi: μεγάλης corr. et τιμᾶς pro τινὰς Basil.: τυχῶν αξιώσεως καὶ τιμῆς corr. Amyot: τοῦ Κρόνου add. et τιμᾶς καὶ pro καὶ τιμᾶς Wyt. in app.: τοῦ Κρόνου add. et τιμᾶς, καὶ τινὰς corr. Emp.: τοῦ Κρόνου τιμᾶς transp. ante ἔχοντος Bern. in app. **18** ἐξεῦρεν Adler: ἐξευρεῖν EB: ἐξευρών Basil. **20** lac. 30 lit. E, 25 lit. B: ἡγεμονα· τὴν δὲ γῆν suppl. Wyt. in app.: ἡγεμονα· ταύτης δὲ τὴν γῆν Bern. in app.: πλεῖστά τε μετὰ τῆς μετρός ἀγαθὰ παρεχομένην Po. in app.: καὶ τοῦ θανάτου, τῶν Ἀιδου λειμώνων Ch. **21** εἶπεν I.22: εἶπεν EB

	τῶν περὶ γῆν ἐστιν, ἡ δὲ ἐν σελήνῃ καὶ τῶν περὶ σελήνην, Κόρη τε καὶ Φερσεφόνη κέκληται, τὸ μὲν ὡς φωσφόρος οὖσα, Κόρη δὲ ὅτι καὶ τοῦ ὄμματος ἐν ᾧ τὸ εἰδωλον ἀντιλάμπει τοῦ βλέποντος, ὥσπερ τὸ ἡλίου φέγγος ἐνορᾶται τῇ σελήνῃ, κόρην προσαγορεύομεν. Τοῖς τε περὶ τὴν πλάνην καὶ τὴν ζήτησιν αὐτῶν λεγομένοις ἔνεστιν ... τὸ ἀληθές·	5
942E	ἀλλήλων γάρ ἐφίενται χωρὶς οὖσαι καὶ συμπλέκονται περὶ τὴν σκιὰν πολλάκις· τὸ δὲ νῦν μὲν ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ φωτί, νῦν δὲ ἐν σκότῳ καὶ νυκτὶ γενέσθαι περὶ τὴν Κόρην ψεῦδος μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν, τοῦ δὲ χρόνου τῷ ἀριθμῷ πλάνην παρέσχηκεν· οὐ γάρ ἐξ μῆνας, ἀλλὰ παρ' ἐξ μῆνας ὄρῶμεν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τῆς μητρός, τῇ σκιᾷ λαμβανομένην, ὀλιγάκις δὲ τοῦτο διὰ πέντε μηνῶν παθοῦσαν ἐπεὶ τόν γε Ἄιδην ἀπολιπεῖν ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν αὐτήν, τοῦ Ἄιδου περ οὖσαν·	10
942F	ώσπερ καὶ Ὄμηρος ἐπικρυψάμενος οὐ φαύλως τοῦτο εἶπεν ἀλλὰ ἐξ Ἡλύσιον πεδίον καὶ πείρατα γαίης.	
	Ὥοπου γάρ ἡ σκιὰ τῆς γῆς ἐπινεμομένη παύεται, τοῦτο τέρμα τῆς γῆς ἔθετο καὶ πέρας. Εἰς δὲ τοῦτο φαῦλος μὲν οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ ἀκάθαρτος ἄνεισιν, οἱ δὲ χρηστοὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν κομισθέντες αὐτόθι, ῥάστον μὲν οὗτῳ βίον, οὐ μὴν μακάριον οὐδὲ θεῖον ἔχοντες ἄχρι τοῦ δευτέρου θανάτου διατελοῦσι. Τίς δὲ οὗτός ἐστιν, ὃ Σύλλα, μὴ περὶ τούτων ἔρῃ, μέλλω γάρ αὐτὸς διηγεῖσθαι. Τὸν ἄνθρωπον οἱ πολλοὶ σύνθετον μὲν ὄρθως ἐκ δυοῖν δὲ μόνων σύνθετον οὐκ ὄρθως ἥγοῦνται. Μόριον γάρ εἴναι πως ψυχῆς οἴονται τὸν νοῦν, οὐδὲν ἡττον ἐκείνων ἀμαρτάνοντες οἵ τις ἡ ψυχὴ δοκεῖ μόριον εἶναι τοῦ σώματος· νοῦς γάρ ψυχῆς, ὅσῳ ψυχὴ σώματος, ἀμεινόν ἐστι καὶ θειότερον. Ποιεῖ δὲ ἡ μὲν ψυχῆς <καὶ σώματος τὸ ἄλογον καὶ τὸ παθητικόν, ἡ δὲ	15
943A	σύνθετον μὲν ὄρθως ἐκ δυοῖν δὲ μόνων σύνθετον οὐδὲ χρόνου Raing.: οὐδὲ χρόνου EB: ὁ δὲ χρόνος SR67 10 τοῦ δὲ χρόνου Raing.: οὐδὲ χρόνου EB: ὁ δὲ χρόνος SR67: ἐπὶ EB 15 παθοῦσαν Wyt. in app.: παροῦσαν EB: πάσχουσαν Kepl. ἐπεὶ SR67: ἐπὶ EB 20 περ οὖσαν] πέρας οὖσαν RJ94 et alii: περοῦσαν Steph. 21 μόνων E: μόνον B 25 καὶ σώματος τὸ ἄλογον καὶ τὸ παθητικόν ἡ δὲ νοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς addidi (sec. Bern. καὶ σώματος μῖξις τὸ ἄλογον καὶ τὸ παθητικόν ἡ δὲ νοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς): μετὰ νοῦ λόγον, μετὰ δὲ σώματος πάθος add. post σύνοδος et λόγον del. Amyot: καὶ σώματος σύνοδος πάθος, ἡ δὲ νοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς add. et σύνοδος del. Wyt. in app.: καὶ σώματος μῖξις αἴσθησιν ἡ δὲ νοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς Raing.: ποιεῖ δὲ ἡ μὲν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος μῖξις αἴσθησιν ἡ δὲ νοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς Po.	20
		25

1 περὶ σελήνην E: περὶ τὴν σελήνην B 2 Φερσεφόνη Dübn.: Περσεφόνη EB φωσφόρος E: φοσφόρος B 5 ἔνεστιν et lac. 8 lit. E, ἔνεστι et lac. 10 lit. B: lac. del. et ti pro τὸ Xyl. 1570: ἐπιεικῶς σὺν τῷ μυθῷ καὶ suppl. Wyt. in app.: ὡς ἔοικε suppl. et ti pro τὸ Bern. in app.: μέν τι καὶ Po.: ἡνιγμένον Ch.: ὄντως καὶ suppl. 7 τὸ Basil.: ὁ EB 8 τοῦ δὲ χρόνου Raing.: οὐδὲ χρόνου EB: ὁ δὲ χρόνος SR67
11 παθοῦσαν Wyt. in app.: παροῦσαν EB: πάσχουσαν Kepl. | ἐπεὶ SR67: ἐπὶ EB
12 περ οὖσαν] πέρας οὖσαν RJ94 et alii: περοῦσαν Steph. 21 μόνων E: μόνον B
15 καὶ σώματος τὸ ἄλογον καὶ τὸ παθητικόν ἡ δὲ νοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς addidi (sec. Bern. καὶ σώματος μῖξις τὸ ἄλογον καὶ τὸ παθητικόν ἡ δὲ νοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς): μετὰ νοῦ λόγον, μετὰ δὲ σώματος πάθος add. post σύνοδος et λόγον del. Amyot: καὶ σώματος σύνοδος πάθος, ἡ δὲ νοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς add. et σύνοδος del. Wyt. in app.: καὶ σώματος μῖξις αἴσθησιν ἡ δὲ νοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς Raing.: ποιεῖ δὲ ἡ μὲν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος μῖξις αἴσθησιν ἡ δὲ νοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς Po.

νοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς σύνοδος, λόγον· ὃν τὸ μὲν ἡδονῆς ἀρχὴ καὶ πόνου, τὸ δὲ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας. Τριῶν δὲ τούτων συμπαγέντων, τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἡ γῆ, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ἡ σελήνη, τὸν δὲ νοῦν ὁ ἥλιος παρέσχεν εἰς τὴν γένεσιν ... ὥσπερ αὖ τῇ σελήνῃ τὸ φέγγος. Ὄν δὲ ἀποθνήσκομεν θάνατον, ὁ μὲν ἐκ | τριῶν δύο ποιεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὁ δὲ ἐν ἐκ δυοῖν,
 5 943B
 καὶ ὁ μέν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ τῆς Δήμητρος <γῆ> ... ἐν αὐτῇ τελεῖν καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς Αθηναῖοι δημητρείους ὠνόμαζον τὸ παλαιόν, <ό> δὲ ἐν τῇ σελήνῃ τῆς Φερσεφόνης· καὶ σύνοικός ἐστι τῆς μὲν χθόνιος ὁ Ἐρμῆς,
 10 τῆς δὲ οὐρανίος. Λύει δὲ αὕτη μὲν ταχὺ καὶ μετὰ βίας τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, ἡ δὲ Φερσεφόνη πράως καὶ χρόνῳ πολλῷ τὸν νοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μονογενῆς κέκληται· μόνον γάρ γίνεται τὸ βέλτιστον τοῦ ἄνθρωπου διακρινόμενον <ὑπ’> αὐτῆς. Συντυγχάνει δὲ οὗτος κατὰ φύσιν ἐκάτερον· πᾶσαν ψυχήν, ἄνουν | τε καὶ σὺν νῷ,
 15 943C
 σώματος ἐκπεσοῦσαν είμαρμένον ἐστὶν <ἐν> τῷ μεταξὺ γῆς καὶ σελήνης χωρίῳ πλανηθῆναι χρόνον οὐκ ἵσον, ἀλλ’ αἱ μὲν ἄδικοι καὶ ἀκόλαστοι δίκας τῶν ἀδικημάτων τίνουσι, τὰς δὲ ἐπιεικεῖς ὅσον ἀφαγνεῦσαι καὶ ἀποπνεῦσαι <τοὺς> ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, ὥσπερ αἵτιον πονηροῦ, μιασμοὺς ἐν τῷ πραοτάτῳ τοῦ ἀέρος, ὃν λειψῶνας Ἀιδου καλοῦσι, δεῖ γίνεσθαι χρόνον τινὰ τεταγμένον, <ἐν φῷ> οἷον ἐξ ἀποδημίας ἀνακομιζόμεναι φυγαδικῆς εἰς πατρίδα γεύονται χαρᾶς οἷον οἱ τελούμενοι μάλιστα θορύβῳ καὶ πτοήσει συγκεκραμένῃ μετ’ ἐλπίδος ιδίας ἔχουσι. Πολλὰς γάρ ἐξωθεῖ καὶ ἀποκυματίζει γλιχομένας ἡδη τῆς σελήνης, ἐνίας δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ περικάτω
 20 943D

4 lac. 8 lit. E, 11 lit. B: παρέχει δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ τὸν λόγον ὁ νοῦς *suppl.* et ὥσπερ τῇ σελήνῃ τὸ φέγγος ὁ ἥλιος *corr.* Amyot: καὶ γάρ καὶ ἡ σελήνη παρέχει τῇ γῇ ὑγρότητα γόνιμον καὶ φέγγος *suppl.* et ὥσπερ αὖ ὁ ἥλιος τῇ σελήνῃ τὸ φέγγος *corr.* Wyt. *in app.*: τὰνθρώπῳ Bern. *in app.* (*sec. transl.* Amyot) | αὖ E: οὖν B: αὐτῇ Raing. *in app.* **6** ἐν τῇ τῇ γῇ *add. ante* τῆς Madv.: γῇ *pro* τῇ Raing. | γῇ *supplevi*: lac. 21 lit. E, 26 lit. B: χώρᾳ *suppl.* Amyot: μοίρᾳ: ὅθεν τὸ μιεῖσθαι, παρωνύμως τῷ τελευτᾷ Wyt. *in app.*: διὸ προσέοικε τῷ τελευτᾷ Bern. *in app.*: ὅθεν τὸ τελευτᾶν ὄμωνύμως *et λέγεται τῷ pro* ἐν αὐτῇ Adler: ὅθεν αὐτῇ τελεῖσθαι φαμεν καὶ τὸν βίον Po. *in app.*: διὸ τελευτᾶν λέγεται τὸν βίον *suppl.* et ἐν *del.* Ch. **7** ὁ *add.* Amyot **8** Φερσεφόνης] Περσεφόνης E *s.l.* **9** αὐτῇ Bern.: αὐτῇ EB **11** μόνον I.22 SR67: μόνη EB **12** ὑπὸ *add.* I.22 **14** ἐν *add.* Wyt. *in app.* **17** τοὺς *add.* Dübn. | αἵτιον] ἀτμοῦ Emp. *et alii* **18** ὃν B *et E s.l.* **19** ἐν φῷ *addidi*: εἴτα *add.* Basil.: μεθ’ ὃν *add.* Bern. *in app.*: ἐνθ’ *add.* Po. **21** συγκεκραμένῃ] συγκεκραμένην Amyot *et alii* **22** ιδίας] ηδείας Xyl.1570 (*transl.*) *et alii* **23** περικάτῳ Madv.: περὶ κάτῳ EB: περὶ τὰ κάτω Kepl.: κάτῳ περιτρεπομένας Purser

τρεπομένας, οῖον εἰς βυθὸν αῦθις, ὄρῶσι καταδυομένας. Αἱ δὲ ἄνω γενόμεναι καὶ βεβαίως ἰδρυθεῖσαι πρῶτον μέν, ὥσπερ οἱ νικηφόροι, περιίασιν ἀναδούμεναι στεφάνοις πτερῶν εὐσταθείας λεγομένοις, ὅτι τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ἄλογον καὶ τὸ παθητικὸν εὐήνιον ἐπιεικῶς τῷ λόγῳ καὶ κεκοσμημένον ἐν τῷ βίῳ παρέσχοντο. Δεύτερον <δὲ> ἀκτῖνι τὴν ὄψιν ἔοικυῖαι, περὶ δὲ τὴν φύσιν ἄνω κουφιζομένην ὥσπερ ἐνταῦθα τῷ περὶ τὴν σελήνην αἰθέρι, καὶ τόνον ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ δύναμιν οἶον τὰ στομούμενα βαφὴν ἵσχουσι· τὸ γὰρ ἀραιὸν ἔτι καὶ διακεχυμένον ῥώννυται καὶ | γίνεται σταθερὸν καὶ διαυγές, ὥστε ὑπὸ τῆς τυχούσης ἀναθυμιάσεως τρέφεσθαι· καὶ καλῶς Ἡράκλειτος εἶπεν ὅτι

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943E

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αἱ ψυχαὶ ὁσμῶνται καθ’ Ἄιδην.

Ἐφορῶσι δὲ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῆς σελήνης τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὴν φύσιν οὐχ ἀπλῆν οὐδὲ ἄμικτον ἀλλ’ οἶον ἀστρου σύγκραμα καὶ γῆς οῦσαν· ώς γὰρ ἡ γῆ πνεύματι μεμιγμένη καὶ ὑγρῷ μαλακῇ γέγονε καὶ τὸ αἷμα τῇ σαρκὶ παρέχει τὴν αἴσθησιν ἐγκεκραμένον, οὗτο τῷ αἰθέρι λέγουσι τὴν σελήνην ἀνακεκραμένην διὰ βάθους, ἀμα μὲν ἔμψυχον εἶναι καὶ γόνιμον, ἀμα δὲ ἰσόρροπον ἔχειν τὴν πρὸς τὸ βαρὺ συμμετρίαν τῆς κουφότητος. Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν οὗτο τὸν κόσμον ἐκ τῶν ἄνω καὶ τῶν κάτω φύσει φερομένων συνηρμοσμένον ἀπηλλάχθαι παντάπασι τῆς κατὰ τόπον κινήσεως. Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Ξενοκράτης ἔοικεν ἐννοησαι θείῳ τινὶ λογισμῷ, τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβὼν παρὰ Πλάτωνος. Πλάτων γάρ ἐστιν ὁ καὶ τῶν ἀστέρων ἔκαστον ἐκ γῆς καὶ πυρὸς συνηρμόσθαι διὰ τῶν <δυοῖν> μεταξὺ φύσεων ἀναλογίᾳ δοθεισῶν ἀποφηνάμενος· οὐδὲν γὰρ εἰς αἴσθησιν ἔξικνεῖσθαι φῇ μή τι γῆς ἐμμέμικται καὶ φωτός. Ό δὲ Ξενοκράτης, τὰ

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943F

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1 καταδυομένας E: καταγινομένας B: κάτω γινομένας Raing. *in app.* **2** ιδρυθεῖσαι Wyt. *in app.*: ιδρύθησαν EB **3** περιίασιν RJ94: περιύστασιν E: περιστᾶσιν B ἀναδούμεναι Hutten: ἀναδούμενοι EB **5** δὲ add. SR67 **6** ἔοικυῖαι Wyt. *in app.*: ἔοικέναι EB | περὶ δὲ τὴν φύσιν Ch. (*sec. Sandb.* πυρὶ δὲ τὴν φύσιν): περὶ δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν EB: πυρὶ δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν Wyt. *in app.* | ὥσπερ ἐνταῦθα] ὥσπερ ἐντετάσθαι Amyot: τῷ ἀέρι *add. post* ὥσπερ ἐνταῦθα Sandb.: ἔξομοιοῦνται *vel* ἐνδιαιτῶνται Po. *in app.*: *del.* Lern. **7** ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ Wyt. *in app.*: ἀφ’ αὐτοῦ EB **8** βαφὴν] βαφῆ Bern. *in app.*: ἀπὸ βαφῆς Lern. **14** ὑγρῷ *et lac.* *del.* Ald. Basil.: *lac.* 5 *lit.* EB: ὑγρότητι *suppl.* Papabas. **19** ἐκ τῶν ἄνω καὶ τῶν κάτω SR67: ἐν τῷ ἄνω καὶ τῷ κάτω EB: ἐν τῶν ἐκ τῷ ἄνω καὶ τῶν κάτω Raing. **23** δυοῖν *suppl.* Po.: *lac.* 5 *lit.* EB: τούτων Adler: δυεῖν *vel* διττῶν Purser **24** δοθεισῶν] δεθεισῶν SR67 *et alii* | οὐδὲν SR67: οὐδένα EB

μὲν ἄστρα καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἐκ πυρός φησι καὶ τοῦ πρώτου πυκνοῦ συγκεῖσθαι, || τὴν δὲ σελήνην ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου πυκνοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἴδιου ἀέρος, τὴν δὲ γῆν ἔξ ὕδατος [καὶ ἀέρος] καὶ τοῦ τρίτου τῶν πυκνῶν· ὅλως δὲ μήτε τὸ πυκνὸν αὐτὸν καθ' αὐτὸν μήτε τὸ μανὸν εἶναι ψυχῆς δεκτικόν. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ οὐσίας σελήνης. Εὗρος δὲ καὶ μέγεθος οὐχ ὅσον οἱ γεωμέτραι λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ μεῖζον πολλάκις ἐστί· καταμετρεῖ δὲ τὴν σκιὰν τῆς γῆς ὀλιγάκις τοῖς ἑαυτῆς μεγέθεσιν οὐχ ὑπὸ σμικρότητος, ἀλλὰ θερμότητι ἐπείγει τὴν κίνησιν, ὅπως ταχὺ διεκπερᾶ τὸν σκοτώδη τόπον ὑπεκφέρουσα <τὰς> τῶν ἀγαθῶν σπευδούσας καὶ βιώσας· οὐκέτι γὰρ ἔξακούουσιν ἐν τῇ σκιᾷ γενόμεναι τῆς περὶ | τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀρμονίας· ἂμα δὲ καὶ κάτωθεν αἱ τῶν κολαζομένων ψυχαὶ τηνικαῦτα διὰ τῆς σκιᾶς ὀδυρόμεναι, ἀλλαλάζουσαι προσφέρονται, διὸ καὶ κροτεῖν ἐν ταῖς ἐκλείψεσιν εἰώθασιν οἱ πλεῖστοι χαλκώματα καὶ ψόφον ποιεῖν καὶ πάταγον ἐπὶ 10 τὰς φαύλας. Ἐκφοβεῖ δὲ αὐτὰς καὶ τὸ καλούμενον πρόσωπον, ὅταν ἐγγὺς γένωνται, βλοσυρόν τι καὶ φρικῶδες ὁρώμενον. Ἐστι δὲ οὐ τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἡ παρ' ἡμῖν ἔχει γῆ κόλπους βαθεῖς καὶ μεγάλους, ἔνα μὲν ἐνταῦθα διὰ στηλῶν Ἡρακλείων ἀναχεόμενον εἴσω πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἔξω δὲ τὸν Κάσπιον καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλατταν, 15 οὕτω βάθη ταῦτα τῆς σελήνης ἐστὶ καὶ κοιλώματα. Καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτῶν | τὸ μὲν μέγιστον Ἐκάτης μυχόν, ὅπου καὶ δίκας διδόασιν αἱ ψυχαὶ καὶ λαμβάνουσιν ὃν ἀν ἥδη γεγενημέναι δαίμονες ἡ πάθωσιν ἡ δράσωσι, τὰ δὲ δύο Μακάρων· περαιοῦνται γὰρ αἱ ψυχαὶ δι' αὐτῶν, νῦν μὲν εἰς τὰ πρὸς οὐρανὸν τῆς σελήνης, νῦν δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὰ πρὸς γῆν· 20

944A

944B

944C

3 καὶ ἀέρος *secl. Ch.*: καὶ ἀέρος E: καὶ πυρὸς B | τοῦ E et B *s.l.* **5** Εὗρος Steph.: εὗρος E: εὗρος B **6** πολλάκις] πολλῷ SR67 (πολλῷ *sic*) *et alii* **7** ἑαυτῆς E: ἑαυτοῦ B **8** ἀλλὰ θερμότητι ἐπείγει B: ἀλλὰ θερμὸν *lac.* 7 *lit.* ἐπείγει E: ἀναθερμότητα ἐπάγει Ald.: ἀλλὰ θερμότατα ἐπάγει I.22: ἀλλὰ θερμοτάτην ἐπάγει SR67: ἀλλὰ θερμότερον ἐπείγει Arnim: ἀλλὰ θερμότητος, ἡ κατ' ἐπείγει Po. (*sec. Wyt. in app.* ἀλλὰ θερμότητος, ἡ ἐπείγει): ἀλλὰ θερμοτάτην ἐπείγει Ch. **9** τὰς *addidi* (*sec. SR67* τὰς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ψυχάς): ψυχὰς *add. ante* τῶν ἀγαθῶν Basil.: τὰς ψυχὰς *add. post* βιώσας Bern.: τὰς ψυχὰς *add. post* τῶν ἀγαθῶν Po. **12** ὀδυρόμεναι ἀλλαλάζουσαι προσφέρονται] ὀδυρόμεναι, ἀλλαλάζουσαι (*sic*) προσφερόντας Ald.: ὀδυρόμεναι, ἀλλαλάζουσι (*sic*) διαφερόντως SR67 *et alii*: ὀδυρόμεναι, καὶ ἀλλαλάζουσαι προσφέρονται Basil. **15** φαύλας Po.: φυλὰς EB: ψυχὰς I.22 SR67 *et alii* **16** βλοσυρόν Steph.: βλοσυρόν EB **23** τὰ δὲ δύο Μακάρων· P.J.: τὰς δὲ δύο Μακράς EB: τὰ δὲ δύο μικρὰ SR67: τὰ δὲ δύο μικρὰ Dübni.: ὁδοὺς *add. post* τὰς δὲ δύο Μακράς Raing. *in comm.*: τὰ δὲ δύο μικρὰ *corr. et tās* Πύλας *add. Ch.*

944D	<p>‘Ο τι δ’ ἀν μὴ καλῶς περὶ ταῦτα πράξωσιν, ἀλλὰ ὑπ’ ὄργης ἢ πρὸς ἀδικον χάριν ἢ φθόνῳ, δίκην τίνουσιν· ὡθοῦνται γὰρ αὖθις ἐπὶ γῆν συρρηγγνύμενοι σώμασιν ἀνθρωπίνοις. Ἐκ δὲ τῶν βελτιόνων ἐκείνων οἵ τε περὶ τὸν Κρόνον ὅντες ἔφασαν αὐτοὺς εἶναι, καὶ πρότερον ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ τοὺς Ἰδαίους Δακτύλους ἐν τε Φρυγίᾳ τοὺς Κορύβαντας γενέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς περὶ Βοιωτίαν ἐν αὐλῶνι Τροφωνιάδας καὶ μυρίους ἄλλους πολλαχόθι τῆς οἰκουμένης· ὃν ἵερα καὶ τιμαὶ καὶ προστηρίαι διαμένουσιν, αἱ δὲ δυνάμεις ἐνίων εἰς ἔτερον τόπον τῆς ἀρίστης ἔξαλλαγῆς τυγχανόντων.</p>
944E	<p>Τυγχάνουσι δέ, οἱ μὲν πρότερον, οἱ δὲ ὕστερον, ὅταν ὁ νοῦς ἀποκριθῇ τῆς ψυχῆς· ἀποκρίνεται δὲ ἔρωτι τῆς περὶ τὸν ἥλιον εἰκόνος, δι’ ἣς ἐπιλάμπει τὸ ἐφετὸν καὶ καλὸν καὶ θεῖον καὶ μακάριον, οὗ πᾶσα φύσις ἄλλη δὲ ἄλλως ὀρέγεται. Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν τὴν σελήνην ἔρωτι τοῦ ἥλιου περιπολεῖν δεῖ καὶ συγγίνεσθαι, ὀρεγομένην ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τὸ γονιμώτατον. Λείπεται δὲ ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς φύσις ἐπὶ τὴν σελήνην, οἷον ἵχνη τινὰ βίου καὶ ὀνείρατα διαφυλάττουσα· καὶ περὶ ταύτης ὀρθῶς ἡγοῦ λελέχθαι, τὸ</p>
944F	<p>ψυχὴ δ’ ἡντ’ ὄνειρος ἀποπταμένη πεπότηται.</p> <p>Οὐδὲ γὰρ εὐθὺς οὐδὲ τοῦ σώματος ἀπαλλαγεῖσα τοῦτο πέπονθεν, ἀλλὰ ὕστερον ὅταν ἔρημος καὶ μόνη τοῦ νοῦ ἀπαλλαττομένη γένηται.</p>

1 ὀνομάζεται Kepl.: ὀνομάζεσθαι EB | πεδίον B: παιδίον E 2 οὐκ ἀντίχθονος *del.* Amyot: οἴκος ἀντίχθονος Ch. (*sec. Arnim* ὀνομάζεσθαι ... οἴκον ἀντίχθονος) 3 χρηστηρίων SR67: χρηστηρίφ EB 4 ἀνωτάτῳ B: ἀνωτάταις E 7 ὑπ’ ὄργης SR67: ὑπὲρ γῆς EB 8 συρρηγγνύμενοι] συνειργνύμενοι RJ94 *et alii* 10 αὐτοὺς] αὐτοὺς Bern. *et alii* | Ἰδαίους Ald. Basil.: ιδίους EB 11 περὶ B: πε E 12 ἐν αὐλῶνι P.J.: ἐν Οὐδώρᾳ EB: ἐνουδώσα Ald.: ἐν λεβαδείᾳ SR67: ἐν λεβαδίᾳ Basil.: ἐν οὐδ’ ὕρας *corr.* *et* μιᾶς πολὺ πλέον ἐντεῦθεν ἀπέχοντι χωρίφ *add.* Po. *in app.*: ἐνιδρυμένους *vel* ἐνιδρυθέντας *vel* ἐνιδρύοντας Lehnus 14 ἐνίων] ἀπολείπουσιν *add. post* ἐνίων SR67: ἔτι·ἀπολείπουσιν *add. et* δ’ αἱ pro αἱ δὲ Bern.: ἔξελιπον *add. ante* ἐνίων Po.: ἐνευον *pro* ἐνίων Apelt 19 περιπολεῖν B: περιπεριπολεῖν E | δεῖ Ch.: ἀεὶ EB 20 γονιμώτατον] δέχεσθαι *vel* λαμβάνειν *add. post* γονιμώτατον Wyt. *in app.*: τῷ γονιμωτάτῳ Emp.: τοῦ γονιμωτάτου *et* φασίν. ἔται *pro* λείπεται Bern. *in app.*

καὶ Ὁμηρος ὃν εἶπε πάντων μάλιστα δὴ κατὰ θεὸν εἰπεῖν ἔοικε περὶ τῶν καθ' Ἀιδου

τὸν δὲ μετ' εἰσενόησα βίην Ἡρακληίην,
εἴδωλον· αὐτὸς δὲ μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν.

5 Αὐτός τε γάρ ἔκαστος ἡμῶν οὐ θυμός ἐστιν· οὐδὲ φόβος οὐδὲ ἐπιθυμία, καθάπερ οὐδὲ σάρκες οὐδὲ ὑγρότητες, ἀλλ’ ὁ διανοούμεθα καὶ φρονοῦμεν· || ἡ τε ψυχή, τυπουμένη μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ, τυποῦσα δὲ τὸ σῶμα καὶ περιπτύσσουσα πανταχόθεν ἐκμάττεται τὸ εἶδος, ὥστε κἄν πολὺν χρόνον χωρὶς ἐκατέρου γένηται, διατηροῦσα τὴν
10 όμοιότητα καὶ τὸν τύπον, εἴδωλον ὄρθως ὀνομάζεται. Τούτων δὲ ἡ σελήνη, καθάπερ εἴρηται, στοιχεῖόν ἐστιν. Άναλύονται γὰρ εἰς ταύτην, ὥσπερ εἰς τὴν γῆν τὰ σώματα τῶν νεκρῶν, ταχὺ μὲν αἱ σώφρονες μετὰ σχολῆς, ἀπράγμονα καὶ φιλόσοφον στέρχασαι βίον, ἀφεθεῖσαι γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ καὶ πρὸς οὐθὲν ἔτι χρώμεναι τοῖς πάθεσιν
15 ἀπομαραίνονται. Τῶν δὲ φιλοτίμων καὶ πρακτικῶν, ἐρωτικῶν τε περὶ σώματα καὶ θυμοειδῶν, αἱ μὲν, οἵον ἐν ὕπνῳ, ταῖς τοῦ βίου μνημοσύναις ὀνείρασι χρώμεναι, διαφέρονται καθάπερ ἡ τοῦ Ἐνδυμίωνος· ἐπεὶ δ’ αὐτὰς τὸ ἄστατον καὶ τὸ ἀπειθὲς ἐξίστησι καὶ ἀφέλκει τῆς σελήνης πρὸς ἄλλην γένεσιν, οὐκ ἐᾶ ... ἀλλ’ ἀνακαλεῖται
20 καὶ καταθέλγει. Μικρὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἥσυχον, οὐδὲ ὄμοιογούμενον ἔργον ἐστίν, ὅταν ἄνευ νοῦ τῷ παθητικῷ σώματος ἐπιλάβωνται. Τίτυοι δὲ καὶ Τυφῶνες, ὁ τε Δελφοὺς κατασχὼν καὶ συνταράξας τὸ χρηστήριον ὕβρει καὶ βίᾳ τύφων, ἐξ ἐκείνων ἄρα τῶν ψυχῶν ἥσαν,
25 ἐρήμων λόγου καὶ τύφῳ πλανηθέντι τῷ παθητικῷ χρησαμένων· χρόνῳ δὲ κάκείνας κατέδησεν εἰς αὐτὴν ἡ σελήνη καὶ κατεκόσμησεν.

945A

945B

945C

2 καθ' Ἀιδου Amyot: καθόλου EB **3** Ἡρακληίην Steph.: ἡρακλείην EB **5** οὐ θυμός I.22 SR67: εὐθυμός EB **6** ὁ] Ṗ SR67 *et alii* **8** περιπτύσσουσα E: περιπτύσσου B: περὶ πτύπου Ald. Basil. **9** κἄν πολὺν χρόνον χωρὶς ἐκατέρου γένηται B: κἄν χωρὶς ἐκατέρου γένηται, πολὺν χρόνον E: πολὺν χρόνον *del. Lern.* **10** τύπον] SR67: τόπον EB **18** ἀπειθὲς *conieci*: ἀπαθὲς EB: εὐπαθὲς SR67: εὐπαθὲς *vel* ἀειπαθὲς Kepl.: ἐμπαθὲς Wyt. *in app.*: ἀπαγές P.J. **19** *lac.* 13 *lit.* E: 11 *lit.* B: οὐδ’ *corr. et* πρὸς τοὺς σώφρονας βίους τρέπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀκολάστους *suppl. et* ἀλλ’ *del.* Wyt. *in app.*: καταμένειν Bern. *in app.* (*sec. transl.* Amyot): καθησυχάζειν Po.: νεύειν ἐπὶ γῆν Ch. **20** καταθέλγει E *et B i.l.*: ἀναθέλγει B **23** τύφων *corr. P.J.*: τυφῶν EB: Πύθων Kalt. *et alii* **24** ἐρήμων Kepl.: ἐρημοι EB: ἐρημία Wyt. *in app.* | λόγου Wyt. *in app.*: λόγῳ EB **25** κατέδησεν] P.J.: κατέδειξεν EB: κατεδεξαμένη I.22: κατεδέξατο SR67: κατέδεξεν Basil.: δεξαμένη Steph. | αὐτὴν B *i.t.*: αὐτὴν EB



Εῖτα τὸν νοῦν αὐθις ἐπισπείραντος τοῦ ἡλίου τῷ ζωτικῷ δεχομένη,
νέας ποιεῖ ψυχάς, ἡ δὲ γῆ τρίτον σῶμα παρέσχεν. Οὐδὲν γὰρ αὕτη
δίδωσι μετὰ θάνατον ὅσα λαμβάνει πρὸς γένεσιν· ἥλιος δὲ λαμβάνει
μὲν οὐδέν, ἀπολαμβάνει δὲ τὸν νοῦν διδούς, σελήνη δὲ καὶ λαμβάνει
καὶ δίδωσι καὶ συντίθησι καὶ διαιρεῖ καὶ κατ’ ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην
δύναμιν, ὃν Εἰλείθυια μὲν ἡ συντίθησιν, Ἄρτεμις δὲ ἡ διαιρεῖ,
καλεῖται. Καὶ τριῶν Μοιρῶν, ἡ μὲν Ἄτροπος περὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἰδρυμένη
945D | τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνδίδωσι τῆς γενέσεως, ἡ δὲ Κλωθώ, περὶ τὴν σελήνην
φερομένη, συνδεῖ καὶ μίγνυσιν, ἐσχάτη δὲ συνεφάπτεται περὶ γῆν ἡ
Λάχεσις, ἥ πλεῖστον τύχης μέτεστι. Τὸ γὰρ ἄψυχον ἄκυρον αὐτὸν καὶ
παθητὸν ὑπ’ ἄλλων, δὲ νοῦς ἀπαθῆς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ, μικτὸν δὲ καὶ
μέσον ἡ ψυχή, καθάπερ ἡ σελήνη τῶν ἄνω καὶ κάτω σύμμιγμα καὶ
μετακέρας ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ γέγονε, τοῦτον ἄρα πρὸς ἥλιον ἔχουσα τὸν
λόγον, ὃν ἔχει γῆ πρὸς σελήνην. Ταῦτ” εἶπεν ὁ Σύλλας “ἐγὼ μὲν
945E ἥκουσα τοῦ ξένου διεξιόντος, ἐκείνῳ δὲ οἱ τοῦ Κρόνου κατευνασταὶ
καὶ θεράποντες, ὡς ἔλεγεν αὐτός, ἐξήγγειλαν. | Ὅμιν δέ, ὃ Λαμπρία,
χρῆσθαι τῷ λόγῳ πάρεστιν ἥ βούλεσθε.”

5

10

15

3 δίδωσι] τοῖς ἄλλοις δυσί, ἀλλ’ αποδίδωσι *add. post* δίδωσι Wyt. *in app.*: ἀλλ’ αποδίδωσι *add. Dübn.*: ἀποδιδοῦσα *add. post* γένεσιν Ch. **5** καὶ^{4]} *del. Basil. et alii*
6 Εἰλείθυια Ε: εἰλήθυια Β **10** μέτεστι Ε: μετέστι Β **12** σύμμιγμα Ε *et B s.l.*: σύμμιγμα Β **13** μετακέρας P.J.: μέγα κέρας EB: μέγα κέρασμα Amyot Xyl.1570:
μέγα τέρας Kepl.: μετακέρασμα *vel* σύγκριμα Wyt. *in app.*



CHAPTER 4. COMMENTARY TO THE CRITICAL EDITION

4.1. Introduction. Criteria for the Commentary

The commentary is organized to both illustrate and solve, through specific problematic passages, the difficulties within *De facie*. The arrangement of the various headings follows the formal structure proposed in Chapter 2. Besides illuminating the text and providing explanations where necessary, the headings also indicate the real provenance of scholarly interventions in the text as well as indicating which of those textual interventions are, in my view, unnecessary.

In general, a passage is included in the commentary when it presents one or more of the following aspects:

- The manuscripts have a physical lacuna.¹
- The passage has syntactic or semantic difficulties.
- This edition proposes a new correction or conjecture.
- This edition maintains EB's reading against a tradition of modifying it.

Each heading normally keeps the following structure: first, it includes the text of the present edition, accompanied by the reading transmitted in the manuscripts; second, a summary of the problems that are involved in the passage; third, plausible solutions proposed by previous scholarship, fourth, the plausible solution adopted in the present edition; and fifth, a translation of the passage.²

¹ When a lacuna is deducted by the context and an addition is needed, I include the passage in the commentary only in relevant cases.

² Translation of singular terms is not provided unless the issue at stake is precisely the meaning of the words transmitted by the manuscripts.



With a view to avoiding the overload of footnotes in the commentary, previous proposals are referred to by means of the editor's name. Their interventions in the text are easily traceable, since Chapter 3, under “*Editores citati*,” provides full references. Differently, when emendations are not included in an edition but in specific studies, a full reference is provided in the footnotes.

4.2. Commentary to the Critical Edition

4.2.1. 920B-921D. The Stains and Irregularities on the Moon's Surface

920B 1-2³ ... Ὁ μὲν οὖν Σύλλας ταῦτα εἶπε· “τῷ γὰρ ἐμῷ μύθῳ προσήκει κάκεῖθέν ἔστιν·

EB: Ὅαυνοσυλλας Ε / ὁ μὲν οὖν σύλλας Β ταῦτα εἶπε. τῷ γὰρ ἐμῷ μύθῳ προσήκει· κάκεῖθέν ἔστιν·

The beginning of the treatise is plausibly lost.⁴ With most editions, I accept B's reading for the first sentence (Ο μὲν οὖν σύλλας), against the corrupted reading of E (Οαυνοσυλλας). Raingeard and Cherniss preferred to start directly with ὁ Σύλλας; and Pohlenz, in his edition, maintained the corrupted form of E, preceded by the *crux philologica*, and suggested (in the apparatus) the conjecture ἀκούσωμεν οὖν ὁ Σύλλας.

B's reading, interestingly, coincides with the beginning of *Quaest. conv.* 3.4, which also starts by referring to the same Sulla: Ο μὲν οὖν Σύλλας ταῦτ' εἶπεν. B's beginning might consequently be an attempt to correct the incomprehensible form of E into an existing form found elsewhere in Plutarch's work.⁵ However, it must be kept in mind that the current beginning most probably was not the original beginning of *De facie*.

E's reading (Οαυνοσυλλας) could be explained as a corruption of ὁ οὖν followed by an erroneous repetition of the article: ὁ οὖν ὁ Σύλλας. Without the erroneous repetition, this construction is used elsewhere in Plutarch for the introduction of a character.⁶

The plausible loss of the beginning has caused different interpretations of the first sentences' syntax. The pronoun ταῦτα could allude to the previous words, from the lost part of

³ Line numbers correspond to the text included in Chapter 3, 3.3. “*De facie*.”

⁴ See Chapter 2, 2.5.1. “The Lost Beginning,” on this matter.

⁵ Prickard, *Plutarch on The Face*, 52.

⁶ See *Sept. sap. conv.* 151F (ὁ οὖν Νειλόξενος ἡσυχῇ πρὸς ἐμέ “πολλά γ',” εἶπεν.) and *De comm. not.* 1069B (ὁ οὖν Ὄδυσσεος).

the treatise, thus functioning as object of the verb εἶπε (...Σύλλας ταῦτα εἶπε.); or the pronoun ταῦτα could be part of Sulla's following words, thus functioning as subject of the verbs προσήκει and ἔστιν, which would make the whole sentence as object of εἶπε (...Σύλλας “ταῦτα” εἶπε “τῷ γὰρ ἐμῷ μύθῳ προσήκει κάκεῖθέν ἔστιν”). The first option is the one transmitted by the manuscripts—according to their punctuation—and was maintained both in 16th century editions and by Raingeard and Cherniss, but it has the inconvenience of leaving the second part of the sentence without a subject.⁷ The second option, however, places γάρ in the middle of the sentence, something which goes against the laws that govern the position of particles in Greek.⁸ This problem was easily solved by an annotation in RJ94, which simply eliminated the problematic particle. Wytttenbach differently changed γάρ into γ' and suggested (in the critical apparatus) a further option: “*poterat item τῷ παρ' ἐμοὶ μύθῳ corrigi.*” Johann Nicolas Madvig proposed to replace τῷ γάρ ἐμῷ with τῷ παραμέσω.⁹ Given the uncertain state of the text as it has reached us, these corrections do not seem to be fully justified.

Translation: “... And thus Sulla said these words: ‘well, it concerns my myth and comes out of it.’”¹⁰

920B 4-6 “Τί δὲ οὐκ ἐμέλλομεν” εἶπον “ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τούτοις ἀπορίας ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνα ἀπωσθέντες;”
EB: τί δὲ οὐκ ἐμέλλομεν εἶπον ύπὸ τῆς ἐν τούτοις ἀπορίας ἐπ’ ἐκείνους ἀπωσθέντες.

The demonstrative pronouns τούτοις and ἐπ’ ἐκείνους—in both manuscripts—are without clear antecedents, which makes Lamprias' words ambiguous and unclear. If ἐν τούτοις refers to the traditional opinions just mentioned above by Sulla (920B, τὰς ἀνὰ χεῖρα ταῦτας καὶ διὰ στόματος πᾶσι δόξας) it should be seen as neuter. This, in turn, would imply that the expression ἐπ’ ἐκείνους refers to another kind of opinion, namely innovative and unconventional δόξας that could help to solve the problematic nature of the moon. However, ἐπ’ ἐκείνους is masculine and cannot refer to the feminine noun δόξα.

An annotation in RJ94 tried to solve this difficulty by changing the form into ἐπ’ ἐκείνας, but this change adds another problem, since it is then necessary to modify ἐν τούτοις as well, for it can only be masculine or neuter. Later, Wytttenbach (in the apparatus) accepted

⁷ Cherniss, “Concerning the Face,” 3 n. a, dismissed the modifications introduced in the rest of the sentence by other scholars on the grounds that the copyist of B might have corrected E’s reading.

⁸ J.D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981 [1934]) LVIII-LXI, and 56-114 for the uses of γάρ.

⁹ J.N. Madvig, *Adversaria critica ad scriptores graecos*, vol. 1 (Copenhagen: J.H. Schultz, 1871) 664.

¹⁰ Translations are based on Cherniss, “Concerning the Face,” but modified according to the critical choices and conjectures of this edition.

RJ94's modification into ἐπ' ἐκείνας and furthermore changed τούτοις into ταύταις. However, Pohlenz substituted ἐπ' ἐκείνους for the neuter plural ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα, which has now the same gender as ἐν τούτοις: both are neuter plural designating “opinions,” ordinary the former and extravagant the latter.

Pohlenz stated that this correction was found in “ζ”—siglum which he used to refer to 16th century scholars. However, I have not been able to find it in any of the handwritten corrections by the 16th century scholars, nor in the editions published during that century.¹¹ Consequently, I attribute the correction to him.¹²

The corruption of the manuscripts' reading ἐπ' ἐκείνους could be explained by the attraction of the preceding pronoun (τούτοις), which may have been interpreted by the copyist as a masculine. Another possible interpretation, however, is that both ἐν τούτοις and ἐπ' ἐκείνους are indeed masculine pronouns, in cataphoric function anticipating the syntagma κοινοὶ λόγοι that appears a few lines after. However, in my opinion this syntagma is placed too far for the reader to remember the connection; consequently, it is more probable that we are dealing with a scribal mistake.

Translation: ““What else would have we done’ I said ‘since we were pushed by the difficulty in these towards those others?””

920C 12-14 όρᾶς γὰρ εὐθὺς ώς ἄτοπος ὁ λέγων τὸ φαινόμενον εἶδος ἐν τῇ σελήνῃ πάθος εῖναι τῆς ὄψεως ὑπεικούσης τῇ λαμπρότητι δι' ἀσθένειαν, ὃ <πρόσωπον> καλοῦμεν,¹³

EB: όρᾶς γὰρ εὐθὺς ώς ἄτοπος ὁ λέγων τὸ φαινόμενον εἶδος ἐν τῇ σελήνῃ πάθος εῖναι τῆς ὄψεως ὑπεικούσης τῇ λαμπρότητι δι' ἀσθένειαν ὃ ... καλοῦμεν;

Both manuscripts transmit a lacuna of seven letters, which obviously should have included the object of the verb καλοῦμεν. Many scholars have proposed various ways to complete the text: an annotation in RJ94 proposed ὅπερ ἀνάκλασιν; Amyot, ἀμβλυωπίαν; Xylander (in the commentary to his translation), ἀμβλυώττειν; Wyttenbach (in the apparatus), μαρανγεῖν; Raingeard, μαρμαρυγάς; Pohlenz, μαρμαρυγήν; and Cherniss, μαρανγίαν.¹⁴ It is

¹¹ See Pohlenz, “De facie in orbe lunae,” XII; and Chapter 1.

¹² Other instances of this same phenomenon occur in headings 921D, 940A, 944BC, 945B and 945D.

¹³ I owe the punctuation of this sentence to the *Basiliensis* edition, which corrected the interrogation mark that appears in both manuscripts.

¹⁴ Xylander, *Plutarchi Chaeronensis*, 717.

easy to see that all proposals resemble each other, but Plutarch's custom is to combine this verb with a substantive and never with an infinitive, which allows us to reduce the possibilities.¹⁵

Even if all scholars chose a technical term for the phaenomenon described, in my view, it is plausible that Plutarch may have employed precisely the common term we usually use to refer to the irregularities of the moon's surface, namely 'face' (*πρόσωπον*). This noun fits into the lacuna and is the simplest solution for the missing term.

Translation: "Well, you see how absurd is he who says that the figure that appears on the moon, which we call <face>, is an affection of vision giving way to brilliance because of its feebleness."

920C 17 ἥλιος ὀξυβελῆς ἡ δὲ ἰλάειρα σελήνη,

EB: ἥλιος ὀξυμελῆς ἡ δὲ λάιρα σελήνη,

The problem concerning the quote of Empedocles in EB (B 40 DK, "ἥλιος ὀξυμελῆς ἡ δὲ λάιρα σελήνη) is that it includes two non-existing words: ὀξυμελῆς—a hapax appearing in Ar. *Av.* 1095, which seems in fact to be a *falsa lectio*, according to Bailly—and λάιρα.

The two handwritten corrections present in the Aldine RJ94, ὀξυβελῆς and ἰλάειρα (under the erroneous form of ἰλάειρα), fit the quotation and could explain the corruption of the text. Amyot proposed ὀξυβελῆς ἡ καὶ λάινα, maintaining the word λάινα transmitted by the Aldine and the *Basiliensis* editions. RJ94's emendations, however, have had better fortune and are accepted—with further modifications—by later scholars. Some editors understood that the verse, after accepting RJ94's corrections, does not form a hexameter: – uu – uu – uu u – uu –. Xylander (in the commentary to his translation) replaced ἡ δέ for ἡ δ' αῖ or ἡ δ' αῖ, thus, ἰλάειρα maintains its quantity (iota and alpha both short), but the corruption is not easy to explain.¹⁶ Wytttenbach—followed by Dübner, Bernardakis and Raingeard—replaced ἡ δέ with ἡδ', which is more palaeographically plausible, but ἰλάειρα obtains a metric *ad hoc* (iota long, alpha long). Louis Claude Purser, in turn, suggested ἡδ' ἡδ' instead of ἡ δέ—ἴλάειρα maintains the normal quantity of its vowels and the conjecture is better from the palaeographic point of view.¹⁷ None of them, however, seemed to have noticed that the particle δέ, transmitted by both manuscripts and maintained by RJ94, can be scanned as long, given that it appears in *arsis* before the caesura

¹⁵ According to the *TLG*, in 39 uses of the verbal form καλοῦμεν none appears with an infinitive as object.

¹⁶ Xylander, *Plutarchi Chaeronensis*, 717.

¹⁷ L.C. Purser, "Mr. Prickard's Translation of Plutarch's *De facie*," *Hermathena* 16 (1911) 310.

after seven half-feet: the verse, accepting RJ94's corrections only, has a correct metrical form:

–UU –UU --- UU –UU --.

Translation: “The sun keen-shafted and the gentle moon.”

920D 24-2 ἔδει γάρ, οἶμαι, τούναντίον εἴπερ ἡττωμένου πά<θημα> ὅμματος ἐποίει τὴν φαντασίαν, ὅπου τὸ πάσχον ἀσθενέστερον, <σαφέστερον> εῖναι τὸ φαινόμενον.

EB: ἔδει γὰρ οἶμαι τούναντίον εἴπερ ἡττωμένου πά ... ὅμματος ἐποίει τὴν φαντασίαν, οπου Ε/ ὅπου Β τὸ πάσχον ἀσθενέστερον εῖναι τὸ φαινόμενον.

The difficulty of this passage lies in its two lacunae: the first is a physical blank of about five letters after πά in both manuscripts, the second is assumed from the context.

Regarding the first lacuna, the Aldine edition, perhaps by mistake, transformed the syllable πά into the article neuter plural τά, and the following editions of Basel, Stephanus and Xylander maintained this reading. This conditioned some of the emendations that took τά as a starting point: RJ94, for instance, has an annotation correcting the article into neuter genitive singular (τοῦ) in order to match it with the first word after the lacuna (ὅμματος). Amyot, after accepting τά, conjectured πάθη. Later corrections took the manuscripts' reading πά as starting point. Wytténbach proposed πά<θος>—in my view, building on Amyot's correction, but with an eye on the manuscripts—; Raingeard proposed πάθημά τι. Given that πάθημα alone fits the space provided by EB better than πάθος, but that the indefinite pronoun τι adds no specific value to the sentence, I supply the lacuna only with the noun.

A bit further in the same passage, the lack of coherence seems to point to the existence of another lacuna. In the previous sentence, Lamprias disproved the idea that the image of a face in the moon is caused by an affection of sight because those with great and acute sight distinguish the figure very clearly. In this sentence, he seems to be making the same statement, but uses the opposite reasoning: if the image was indeed created by a weak sight, those with deficient sight should perceive it more distinctly. However, as it has come to us (ὅπου τὸ πάσχον ἀσθενέστερον εῖναι τὸ φαινόμενον), the sentence leaves the second part of the comparison incomplete: it lacks, at least, a comparative in correspondence with the second nominalized participle.

Amyot wrote on the margin of his *Basiliensis* the correction τὸ πάσχον ἀσθενὲς σαφέστερον and added the alternative reading ἐναργέσθερον. Wytténbach—with no reference to his predecessor—proposed the conjecture ἔστιν σαφέστερον after ἀσθενέστερον. Hutten simplified Wytténbach's conjecture by omitting the copulative verb. I agree with Hutten in that

only σαφέστερον is necessary and the addition of the verb only complicates the explanation of the corruption: without ἐστιν, the copyist, having two adjectives in comparative form with the same endings, following one another, would have jumped from the first directly to what comes after the second.

Translation: “In fact the contrary, I think, should have been the case if an <affection> of the eye that it is overpowered created the image: the weaker the subject affected, <the more distinct> should be the appearance of the image.”

920EF 10-14 ὅντως γάρ ύποδύεται περιόντα τοῖς λαμπροῖς τὰ σκιερά καὶ πιέζει, πάλιν ύπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποκοπτόμενα, καὶ ὅλως πέπλεκται δι’ ἀλλήλων <ώστε> γραφικὴν τὴν δια<τύπωσιν> εἶναι τοῦ σχήματος. <Τοῦτο δὲ> καὶ πρὸς Κλέαρχον, ὡς Ἀριστότελες, οὐκ ἀπιθάνως ἐδόκει λέγεσθαι τὸν ὑμέτερον.

EB: ὅντως γάρ ύποδύεται περιόντα τοῖς λαμπροῖς τὰ σκιερά· καὶ πιέζει πάλιν ύπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποκοπτόμενα· καὶ ὅλως πέπλεκται δι’ ἀλλήλων ... γραφικὴν τὴν δια ... εἶναι τοῦ σχήματος. ... καὶ πρὸς κλέαρχον ὡς ἀριστότελες οὐκ ἀπιθάνως ἐδόκει λέγεσθαι τὸν ὑμέτερον.

This passage presents three difficulties: a) there is a verb whose meaning does not fit in the context; b) something seems to be missing in the sentence from ὅντως γάρ to δι’ ἀλλήλων, even though neither of the manuscripts records a lacuna; and c) there are three lacunae following one another very closely in the final part of the passage.

As far as the first issue is concerned, both manuscripts report the form περιόντα, participle of περίειμι, ‘to be situated around.’ Since the passage is referring to the shadowy parts that penetrate into the luminous ones (ύποδύεται [...] τοῖς λαμπροῖς τὰ σκιερά), it seems necessary to switch this participle for a verb of movement, such as περίειμι, ‘to go around,’ whose participle is περιόντα. This form was proposed for the first time by an annotation on the margin of RJ94.¹⁸

Regarding the second issue, the alleged lacuna in the text, the sentence explains how the shadowy and luminous parts are intermingled with one another in order to form the figure perceived from the earth (καὶ πιέζει πάλιν ύπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποκοπτόμενα καὶ ὅλως πέπλεκται δι’ ἀλλήλων). As it is nowadays, the text includes a verb in 3rd person present active voice (πιέζει), a present participle medium-passive (ἀποκοπτόμενα), an agent separated from what could be

¹⁸ Admittedly, the participle of this verb can, on occasion, also be written with a single iota—which would agree with the reading of EB—but that is only allowed when prosodic needs apply, which is not the case.

its verb—the medium-passive participle—by the conjunction καὶ, and another verb in 3rd person present but in passive voice (πέπλεκται). Consequently, most scholars thought that the text is incomplete.

The Aldine RJ94 noted the simplest solution: suppressing the conjunction that separates participle and agent. Centuries later, Bernardakis suggested adding καὶ πιέζεται before καὶ πιέζει; Adler proposed the addition of ἐκεῖνα καὶ πιέζεται after καὶ πιέζει; Purser, the addition of καὶ ἀποκόπτοντα after ἀποκοπτόμενα; and both Pohlenz and Cherniss presented as their own the correction πιέζόμενα after καὶ πιέζει.¹⁹ All of them supposed the presence of a polyptoton in the passage and explained the corruption as caused by an omission of one of the verbs.

I believe there is no need to alter the text, since a slight change in the punctuation solves the problems. When placing πάλιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποκοπτόμενα between commas, καὶ, before the participle ἀποκοπτόμενα, functions as an adverb. The two other καὶ—one before πιέζει and one before ὅλως πέπλεκται—both function as conjunction and link the following verbs.

Regarding the third issue, the three lacunae closely following one another referred to above (καὶ ὅλως πέπλεκται δι' ἀλλήλων ... γραφικὴν τὴν δια... εἶναι τοῦ σχήματος ... καὶ πρὸς Κλέαρχον), the first occupies a space of five letters in E and around eight in B; the second approximately the same space; and the third about seven letters in both manuscripts. For the first lacuna, Amyot suggested ὥστε εἰκόνα αὐτῶν; Wytttenbach simplified this conjecture and kept the conjunction only; and Pohlenz (in the apparatus) suggested ώς μονονού. I accept the conjecture ὥστε based on the presence of the infinitive εἶναι a bit later in the same sentence, for they form a construction rather common to express consequence, <ὥστε> [...] εἶναι ('in order to make [...]').²⁰

In the second lacuna, after the article τήν, the text seems to require a noun in the accusative, beginning with δια-: RJ94 conjectured δια<γραφικήν>; Amyot, δια<γραφῆ>; and Kepler wrote down δια<τύπωσιν>.²¹ I accept Kepler's conjecture, since a bit further in the text Plutarch uses the verb διετύπωσαν ('to represent,' or 'to describe') to refer to the forms drawn on the moon's surface by the luminous and shadowy layers (921BC, αἱ τῶν φωτεινῶν ἐπιβολαὶ τοῖς σκοτεινοῖς, ὕψους εἰκόνα καὶ βάθος λαμβάνουσαι, τὰς περὶ τὰ ὅμματα καὶ τὰ χείλη εἰκόνας φαινομένας ὄμοιότατα διετύπωσαν).

¹⁹ Adler, *Dissertationes philologae Vindobonenses*, 90; Purser, "Mr. Prickard's Translation," 310.

²⁰ J. Morwood, *Oxford Grammar of Classical Greek* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) 177-178. In *De facie* this construction is used elsewhere, for instance: 925B, ὥστε ἀντιφράττεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον ὑπ' αὐτῆς; 926B, ὥστε πάντα κατατείνειν ἐφ' ἔαντὸ καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ συνέχειν; and 935E, ὥστε σκιὰν ποιεῖν τοσαύτην.

²¹ Kepler, *Ioh. Keppleri Mathematici*, 101. Kelper's conjecture was later used by Wytttenbach as his own.

For the third lacuna, Amyot suggested προσωπου (*sic*), which might fit nicely if EB did not include a strong punctuation after τοῦ σχήματος. Wytttenbach suggested (in the apparatus) ὅθεν αὐτὸ τοῦτο; Bernardakis proposed τοῦτο δέ; Raingeard (also in the apparatus), αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα; and Pohlenz, ταῦτὸ δέ. Based on the frequency of each of these proposals in Plutarch's work, I include τοῦτο δέ in the main text with the idea that it may reflect Plutarch's style.²²

Translation: "In truth, the dark patches submerge beneath the bright ones encompassing them and they constrain, being in turn also cut by the others, and are intermingled completely with one another, <so as to> make the <delineation> of the figure as a painting. <This> also, Aristotle, seemed to be a point not without cogency against your Clearchus."

921B 12-13 εἰ μία φύσις τῆς ἔξω θαλάσσης ἐστί, σύρρουν καὶ συνεχὲς ... πέλαγος

EB: εἰ μία φύσις τῆς ἔξω θαλάσσης ἐστὶ σύρρουν καὶ συνεχὲς ... πέλαγος.

This sentence presents two problems: the conditional conjunction at the beginning and a lacuna of five letters.

First, the conditional conjunction *ei* transmitted by both manuscripts was soon turned into *η̄* by an annotation in the Aldine RJ94. With the exception of Raingeard, the correction was accepted by all scholars ever since.²³ In my view, this modification unnecessarily changes the sense of the text from a conditional statement to a consecutive one. Although the nature of the external ocean is not unique and continuous, Lamprias constructs an alternative reality with the use of a conditional. In the consecutive construction, Lamprias takes the uniformity and continuity of the external ocean for granted. Since such a statement does not fit reality, I maintain EB's reading.

Then, EB reflect a lacuna that, however, does not affect the meaning of the text. In this sense, a few editions, such as the Aldine, *Basiliensis*, Stephanus, Xylander and Wytttenbach, deleted the lacuna. Other editors suggested a conjecture, which, in my opinion, is neither convincing nor necessary. In an attempt to fill the lacuna, Bernardakis proposed (in the apparatus) δηλαδή; Adler suggested ἑσυτῷ; and Pohlenz, κύκλῳ.²⁴ I suggest the possibility of

²² According to the TLG, ὅθεν αὐτὸ τοῦτο: 0 occurrences; τοῦτο δέ: 63 occurrences; αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα: 0 occurrences; and ταῦτὸ δέ: 4 occurrences.

²³ Most scholars, however, attributed the correction to Wytttenbach, probably because he wrote in his apparatus "lego η̄."

²⁴ Adler, *Dissertationes philologae Vindobonenses*, 91.

καὶ τό, which maintains the meaning of the passage and fits the blank space, but since it is not necessary for the understanding of the text, I do not integrate it in the body of the text.

Translation: “if the nature of the outer ocean is a single thing, a confluent and continuous ... sea.”

921BC 15-19 Ὅθεν ἐκάστου τόπου χωρισθέντος καὶ πέρας ἕδιον ἔχοντος, αἱ τῶν φωτεινῶν ἐπιβολαὶ τοῖς σκοτεινοῖς, ὑψους εἰκόνα καὶ βάθος λαμβάνουσαι, τὰς περὶ τὰ ὅμματα καὶ τὰ χείλη εἰκόνας φαινομένας ὁμοιότατα διετύπωσαν·

EB: ὅθεν ἐκάστου τόπου χωρισθέντος καὶ πέρας ἕδιον ἔχοντος. αἱ τῶν φωτεινῶν ἐπιβολαὶ τοῖς σκοτεινοῖς, ὑφους εἰκόνα καὶ βάθος λαμβάνουσαι· τὰς περὶ τὰ ὅμματα καὶ τὰ χείλη εἰκόνας φαινομένας ὁμοιότατα διετύπωσαν.

The difficulties of this passage deal with EB’s reading of two words: ὑφους, genitive singular of ‘fabric,’ ‘text,’ and βάθος, neuter nominative or accusative singular of ‘depth.’ The meaning of the former poses a problem and most scholars have accepted Leonicus’ correction of ὑφους into ὑψους (‘summit,’ or ‘elevation’) which suits the context much better.²⁵ The second word, βάθος, depending how we understand it, might present a problem due to its case: there is no problem whatsoever if it is coordinated, as I think, with εἰκόνα; but if it relates to the genitive depending on εἰκόνα (ὑψους), its case would clearly be wrong and should be modified into a genitive as well (βάθους). This emendation was also suggested by Leonicus and accepted by most scholars.

The following sentence, which functions as an explanation for this one (921C, τὰς περὶ τὰ ὅμματα καὶ τὰ χείλη εἰκόνας φαινομένας ὁμοιότατα διετύπωσαν) compels me to accept Leonicus’ term ‘elevation.’ The image of eyes and lips connects with the moon’s orographic differences (ὑψους), it is not related to a net or a fabric (ὑφους). The second correction, even if it does simplify the syntax by coordinating ὑψους and βάθους and making both terms depend on εἰκόνα, is not necessary and seems to be compelled by the first emendation (ὑψους). Consequently, I maintain EB’s βάθος.

Translation: “Hence, since each part is separated and has its own boundary, the layers of light upon shadow, getting depth and a likeness of elevation, have produced a very close likeness of eyes and lips.”

²⁵ Wytttenbach surprisingly asserted that ὑψους is the reading of the manuscripts.

921C 23-24 εἰ τῆς οἰκουμένης εῦρος ἴσοῖς καὶ μῆκος ἐνδέχεται πᾶσαν ώσαύτως ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης ὅψιν ἀνακλωμένην ἐπιθιγγάνειν τῆς θαλάσσης

EB: εἰ τῆς οἰκουμένης εῦρος ἵσης καὶ μῆκος, ἐνδέχεται πᾶσαν ώσαύτως ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης ὅψιν ἀνακλωμένην ἐπιθιγγάνειν τῆς θαλάσσης,

The text of EB (εἰ τῆς οἰκουμένης εῦρος ἵσης καὶ μῆκος) does not seem to match reality, given that the inhabited world was not equal in width and length. Several editors corrected the form ἵσης: first, Leonicus suggested ἔχούσης; later on, Bernardakis proposed a combination of the transmitted text and Leonicus' correction, ἵσον ἔχούσης—which does not solve the problem of sense—; finally, Pohlenz offered the conjecture τοσαύτης.

Lamprias begins his statement with a false conditional clause that also includes a false consequence. Perhaps the false condition can be maintained if we interpret that he does not speak for himself, but attributes it to his interlocutor, Apollonides. This conjecture is plausible, given that in the preceding sentence Lamprias was indeed speaking directly to Apollonides (921C, Ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ ἐρωτᾶν ἀσφαλέστερόν ἐστιν ἢ ἀποφαίνεσθαι **σοῦ παρόντος**). The only intervention necessary is the correction of ἵσης into a verb in 2nd person singular. This is possible with the verb *ἴσοω* (*ἴσοῖς*, 'you make equal'), and the corruption can be explained as due to iotaism.

Translation: “whether it is possible, if you make equal the width and length of the inhabited world, that every visual ray when reflected from the moon should in like manner reach the ocean.”

921D 3-6 καίτοι γε φίλε πρίαμ ... ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς οὐκ ἀρέσκει φυσιολογῶν περὶ τῆς ὅψεως <ώς> αὐτὴν ὁμοπαθῆ κρᾶσιν ἵσχειν καὶ σύμπηξιν εἰκός ἐστι μᾶλλον ἢ πληγάς τινας καὶ ἀποπηδήσεις οἵας ἔπλαττε τῶν ἀτόμων Ἐπίκουρος.

EB: καίτοι γε φίλε πρίαμ ... ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς οὐκ ἀρέσκει φυσιολογῶν περὶ τῆς ὅψεως αὐτὴν ὁμοπαθῆ κρᾶσιν ἵσχειν καὶ σύμπηξιν, εἰκός ἐστι μᾶλλον, ἢ πληγάς τινας καὶ ἀποπηδήσεις οἵας ἔπλαττε τῶν ἀτόμων Ἐπίκουρος.

Two issues are at stake in this passage: firstly, there is a short lacuna at the beginning; and secondly, the syntax of the sentence that explains the way vision functions is unclear.

As far as the former is concerned, both manuscripts transmit a blank of three letters after φίλε πρίαμ. The first attempts to emend it come from annotations in the Aldine RJ94, one contributor with φίλε πρίαμε and another with φίλε λαμπρία, and in Amyot's *Basiliensis* with

φίλε λαμπρίας. They all are problematic: while the first one introduces a character (Priame) who is not part of the dialogue, the other two proposals make no sense, since it is Lamprias who speaks at the moment.²⁶ Later editions tried to offer more suitable conjectures: Wytttenbach suggested φίλος γ' ἀνήρ; Otto Apelt, ὥφειλε προτιμᾶσθαι; Pohlenz, φιλοπράγμων ἀνήρ; Cherniss, ἐφιλέργει ἀνήρ.²⁷ Adler, on his turn, suggested a rather daring option: to correct φίλε πρίαμ and supply the lacuna with ἔφη, ὡς Λαμπρία, τοῦδ' ἔστιν, implying, in this way, that Apollonides intervenes here and that Lamprias resumes his discourse afterwards.²⁸ However, as Purser already noticed, there is no indication whatsoever in the text for such a possibility, and the treatise always clearly marks switches of interlocutors.²⁹ The best solution, in my opinion, appears to be the combination of emendation and conjecture offered by Pohlenz. His correction not only provides a good sense for the passage—it would refer to Hipparchus, mentioned a few lines above—but it is also palaeographically explainable. However, given that possibilities are innumerable, to maintain the lacuna seems preferable.

Concerning the syntactic problem, the section that refers to Hipparchus' work on vision (οὐκ ἀρέσκει φυσιολογῶν περὶ τῆς ὄψεως αὐτὴν ὁμοπαθῆ κρᾶσιν ἵσχειν καὶ σύμπτηξιν εἰκός ἔστι μᾶλλον) lacks a subject for εἰκός ἔστι. To solve the problem, scholars have modified τῆς ὄψεως αὐτήν in the attempt to include the missing subject in accusative: Wytttenbach (in the apparatus) proposed ὄψεως αὐτῆς, ἦν; Jacob Johann Hartman, ὄψεως ἦν; Raingeard, ὄψεως. Αὐτήν; and Pohlenz, ὄψεως ώς αὐτήν.³⁰ Some scholars, however, not only tried to include a subject in that part of the passage, but also interpreted that vision itself cannot be the subject, rather the subject should be “the ray.” They consequently offered various solutions: Dübner, ὄψεως αὐγῆ; Bernardakis (in the apparatus), ὄψεως αὐγῆ γὰρ ταύτην; Adler accepted Wytttenbach's ὄψεως αὐτῆς, ἦν and added τῇ αὐγῇ after ὁμοπαθῆ.³¹

In my opinion, adding αὐγῆ does not have significant value, because vision is the topic of discussion and can perfectly function as the subject of the sentence. Of the remaining proposals, I find Pohlenz's conjecture the most convincing. In that case, ώς relates to the participle φυσιολογῶν, whose subject is Hipparchus, and its loss would be the result of a simple haplography (ὄψεως ώς). Furthermore, with this solution, the pronoun αὐτήν transmitted by EB can be maintained.

²⁶ On the participants in *De facie*, see Chapter 2, section 2.2. “Characters.”

²⁷ O. Apelt, “Zu Plutarch und Plato,” in *Jahresbericht über das Gymnasium Carolo-Alexandrinum zu Jena* (Jena: Universitäts-Buchdruckerei G. Neuenhahn, 1905) 16.

²⁸ Adler, *Dissertationes philologae Vindobonenses*, 91-92.

²⁹ Purser, “Mr. Prickard’s Translation,” 311.

³⁰ J.J. Hartman, *De Plutarcho scriptore et philosopho* (Leiden: Brill, 1916) 561.

³¹ Adler, *Dissertationes philologae Vindobonenses*, 92.

Translation: “Although dear ... but he does not please many when dealing with the issue of vision, <thinking that> it is more likely to involve a sympathetic compound and fusion than any impacts and rebounds such as those that Epicurus imagined of the atoms.”

4.2.2. 921D-923E. The Moon’s Nature: Aether and Light or Air and Fire

921D 9 τοιαύτῃ τὴν ὄψιν ἡ θραύειν προσήκει <ἢ> καὶ ἀποστρέφειν

EB: τοιαύτῃ τὴν ὄψιν ἡ θραῦσιν προσήκει καὶ ἀποστρέφειν.³²

As is transmitted, the text presents both syntactical and semantic difficulties. Concerning the former, the copulative conjunction *καὶ* cannot link a verb in personal form (*προσήκει*) with the infinitive that follows (*ἀποστρέφειν*). Therefore, some editions such as the *Basiliensis* or Xylander changed the verb into an infinitive (*προσήκειν*). This modification forced them in turn to transform the initial *τοιαύτῃ* into an accusative (*τοιαύτην τὴν ὄψιν ἡ θραῦσιν προσήκειν καὶ ἀποστρέφειν*). Raingeard offered a simpler solution, he removed the conjunction (*τοιαύτῃ τὴν ὄψιν ἡ θραῦσιν προσήκει ἀποστρέφειν*).

In regards to the semantic difficulties, the substantive *ὄψιν* should not be linked to *θραῦσιν* due to the meaning of the latter (‘slaughter,’ or ‘destruction’) which hardly collaborates with the contextual word “vision.” The first to offer a solution to this problem was one of the contributors to RJ94, who eliminated *ἢ* and corrected *θραῦσιν* into an infinitive, *θραύειν*. Thus, the other infinitive (*ἀποστρέφειν*) can be attached to *θραύειν* by the copulative conjunction *καὶ*. Another of the contributors of the same Aldine copy proposed to change *ἢ θραῦσιν* into *οὐ θραύειν*, perhaps in an attempt to account for the disjunctive, instead of simply eliminating it.

Later on, Pohlenz accepted Wytténbach’s addition of the particle *δέ* after the demonstrative adjective *τοιαύτῃ*, RJ94’s modification of *θραῦσιν* into *θραύειν*, but also maintained the disjunctive *ἢ* that precedes it—instead of eliminating it or changing it into *οὐ*. Pohlenz strangely attributed the correction *ἢ θραύειν* to RJ94. This, however, is not the case: RJ94’s correction links two infinitives through *καὶ* and for this to be possible the disjunctive construction must have been previously eliminated. In fact, in the Aldine copy both the disjunctive conjunction and the noun *θραῦσιν* are underlined, while only the infinitive is written

³² While the context requires a dative, Stephanus and Wytténbach include the nominative *τοιαύτῃ*. Whether this change results from a conscious decision or from inadvertance, given that the manuscripts do not transmit the subscribed iotas, we cannot know. On this issue and its implications, see Chapter 3, 65 and footnote 3.

on the margin as correction. Pohlenz, then, is responsible for maintaining ἢ before the infinitive, and he was able to do so only because he also added another disjunctive conjunction.³³ He substituted the copulative conjunction καὶ for a second disjunctive before the second infinitive: τοιαύτῃ δὲ τὴν ὄψιν ἢ θραύειν προσήκει ἢ ἀποστρέφειν.

I believe it is not necessary to modify the text to such an extent. The only compulsory changes are the following: θραῦσιν must be turned into an infinitive (θραύειν) to avoid its connection with ὄψιν and to allow the copulative conjunction to link two identical verbs (θραύειν and ἀποστρέφειν); another disjunctive conjunction (ἢ) should be added before the copulative one in order to preserve the first disjunctive conjunction and καὶ in adverbial function. In this case, the textual corruption can easily be explained: the infinitive was turned into an accusative due to the proximity of ὄψιν followed by the disjunction; the second disjunctive conjunction was lost due to the ease for monosyllabic words to disappear and to iotaism—the diphthong of the last syllable of the preceding word (προσήκει) was pronounced the same as ἢ.

Translation: “to such (a moon) it corresponds that the visual ray either shatters or also diverts.”

921E 14-15 Άλλ ... πρὸς τὸν Λεύκιον ἔφην ἀποβλέψας “ὅ πρῶτον ἐλέχθη τῶν ἡμετέρων ύπόμνησον.”

EB: ἀλλ ... πρὸς τὸν λεύκιον. ἐφ' ὃν ἀποβλέψας ὅ πρῶτον ἐλέχθη τῶν ἡμετέρων ύπόμνησον.

This sentence includes two complications: a lacuna at the beginning and a missing main verbal form.

Both manuscripts transmit a lacuna of 16 letters that, despite the length, does not affect the sense. The annotation found in the Aldine RJ94 merely added the alpha lacking in ἀλλ, which seems to indicate that the scholar eliminated the lacuna. Some editors, however, completed it with different variants of pronouns: Amyot suggested ἔγω; Wytténbach (in the apparatus) σύ γε. Adler is the only editor to offer a conjecture that fits the available space: ἔάσωμεν ταῦτα, καὶ σύ.³⁴ As said, however, the sense can be understood without intervening in the text, and, consequently, to simply note the lacuna seems preferable.

³³ See footnote 11, above, for other occurrences in which a conjecturer erroneously attributed his innovation to previous scholars.

³⁴ Adler, *Dissertationes philologae Vindobonenses*, 93.

In what regards the lack of the verbal form, editors modified the suspiciously corrupted ἐφ' ὅν of EB in an attempt to fix the syntax of the section: indeed, the passage includes no plural that could be the precedent of the relative pronoun ὅν, which appears to be completely out of place. One of the contributors to the Aldine RJ94 corrected it into εἰπον; Amyot offered ἔφην. Both εἰπον and ἔφην are certainly adequate proposals, but most editors tend to accept Amyot's correction.³⁵ So do I, based on two reasons: statistically, the imperfect ἔφην appears more often when Lamprias is speaking (10 times vs. 7 εἰπον); and, palaeographically, the corruption from ἔφην to ἐφ' ὅν is easier to explain.³⁶

Translation: “but with a glance at Lucius I said ‘recall to me what part of our position was stated first.’”

921F 18-1 εἶτα οἷον ἐν γαλήνῃ φρίκης ύποτρεχούσης φάσκοντα τοῦ ἀέρος διαμελαίνοντος
ἔμφασιν γίνεσθαι μορφοειδῆ.” “... χρηστῶς γε” εἰπον “ὦ Λεύκιε, τὴν ἀτοπίαν εὐφήμοις
περιαμπέχεις ὄνόμασιν.”

EB: εἶτα οἷον ἐν γαλήνῃ φρίκης ύποτρεχούσης φάσκοντα τοῦ ἀέρος διαμελαίνοντος,
ἔμφασιν γίνεσθαι μορφοειδῆ. ... χρηστῶς γε εἰπον ὦ λεύκιε τὴν ἀτοπίαν εὐφήμοις
περιαμπέχεις ὄνόμασιν.

In this passage, there is a lacuna of approximately five letters. It is located exactly where a switch of interlocutors takes place: Lucius finishes his intervention and Lamprias begins his. As a result, editors hesitated as to whom the lacking words should be attributed. Some attributed their conjectures to Lucius: Wytténbach completed the lacuna with τοῦ προσώπου, the complement of μορφοειδῆ; Henry van Herwerden conjectured ταύτη; and Purser, τοῦ σχήματος.³⁷ Others considered Lucius' words finished after μορφοειδῆ and put their conjectures in Lamprias' mouth: Νοὶ σύ, according to Amyot, and Μάλα or Πάνυ, according to Adler.³⁸ Raingeard eliminated the lacuna in his edition. I maintain the lacuna in the text, since none of the conjectures is fully convincing and the sentences of both Lucius and Lamprias can be understood without any addition.³⁹

³⁵ Editors, however, mistakenly attributed the correction to Wytténbach—who included it as his own in the apparatus.

³⁶ See for a detailed analysis Pérez Jiménez, “Gestos, palabras y actitudes,” 66-68.

³⁷ H. van Herwerden, “Novae curiae criticae Moralium Plutarchi (Ed. Bern.),” *Mnemosyne* 37 (1909) 213; Purser, “Mr. Prickard’s Translation,” 311.

³⁸ Adler, *Dissertationes philologae Vindobonenses*, 94.

³⁹ See comments on 921B, 921E, 939D or 945B for other instances where the presence of a lacuna does not affect the sense of a passage.

Translation: ““but then he says that what appears to be a figure is the result of the blackening of the air as when in a calm water there runs a ripple under the surface.’ ‘Very nicely,’ I said ‘Lucius, you dress up the absurdity in respectable language.’”

923A 23-26 ὥσπερ Ἀρίσταρχον φέτο δεῖν Κλεάνθης τὸν σάμιον ἀσεβείας προσκαλεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἑλληνας, ὡς κινοῦντα τοῦ κόσμου τὴν ἐστίαν, ὅτι <τὰ> φαινόμενα σώζειν ἀνήρ ἐπειρᾶτο, μένειν τὸν οὐρανὸν ὑποτιθέμενος,

EB: ὥσπερ ἀρίσταρχος ὥστο δεῖν κλεάνθη τὸν σάμιον ἀσεβείας προκαλεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἑλληνας. ὡς κινοῦντα τοῦ κόσμου τὴν ἐστίαν· ὅτι φαινόμενα σώζειν ἀνήρ ἐπειρᾶτο, μένειν τὸν οὐρανὸν ὑποτιθέμενος·

This passage presents several problems. The main issue concerns the syntactical function of the people involved in the accusation for impiety (Aristarchus and Cleanthes); the other three issues are of minor relevance, they concern both the syntax and the semantics of the infinitive *προκαλεῖσθαι*, the participle *φαινόμενα*, and the noun *ἀνήρ*.

Concerning the prosecution for impiety regarding Aristarchus and Cleanthes, EB state that Aristarchus wanted the Greeks to sue Cleanthes, but associate the adjective in accusative *τὸν σάμιον* to Cleanthes, even if the figure in question here is most probably the famous Cleanthes of Assos. The first intervention in the text appears in RJ94, which replaced *τὸν σάμιον* with *τὸν ἄσσιον*. In the 17th century, Gilles Ménage switched the order of elements of EB: Cleanthes becomes the subject and Aristarchus the object of the accusation.⁴⁰ In this correction, the adjective *τὸν σάμιον* refers to Aristarchus. Raingeard, differently, maintained EB's reading, claiming (in his commentary) that there is no need to assume that the text refers to Cleanthes of Assos and that it might very well be a countryman of Aristarchus, also from Samos.⁴¹ While Lucio Russo and Silvio Medaglia kept both the subject and the object of EB, they assumed a corruption elsewhere to explain the problematic adjective.⁴² They suggested replacing *τὸν σάμιον* with *τοὺς σαμίους* and adding the preposition *εἰς* before *τοὺς Ἑλληνας*. The adjective now refers to Aristarchus' countrymen, which would be the subject of the

⁴⁰ In Th., Aldobrandini, *Laertii Diogenis De vitis dogmatis et apophthegmatis eorum qui in philosophia claruerunt; libri X.* Thoma Aldobrandino interprete, cum annotationibus eiusdem. Quibus accesserunt annotationes H. Stephani, & Utriusque Casavboni; cum uberrimis Aegidii Menagii observationibus (London: Typis Tho. Radcliffe, 1664) 226, he wrote ἀρίσταρχον τὸν σάμιον ὥστο δεῖν κλεάνθης.

⁴¹ Raingeard, *Le peri toy prosopoy*, 69.

⁴² L. Russo & S.M. Medaglia, “Sulla presunta accusa di impietà ad Aristarco di Samo,” *QUCC* 53 (1996) 120.

dependent substantive clause, while τοὺς Ἔλληνας would in turn be a complement (ῶσπερ Ἀρίσταρχος ὥετο δεῖν Κλεάνθη τοὺς σαμίους ἀσεβείας προσκαλεῖσθαι εἰς τοὺς Ἔλληνας).

In my opinion, while RJ94's correction is rather efficient and simple, it does not provide an explanation for the corruption. Ménage's emendation, however, is backed up by some facts. Firstly, there is a mention, by Diogenes Laertius, of a work supposedly written by Cleanthes called Πρὸς Ἀρίσταρχον, which points to a polemic involving Cleanthes as the prosecutor of Aristarchus.⁴³ Secondly, with the correction there becomes a parallel structure between this passage and the previous: in the previous passage, Lucius asks a Stoic thinker (Pharnaces) not to lay suit against them; in the current passage, he uses as an example a Stoic thinker (Cleanthes) that laid a suit against someone (Aristarchus). I am not very convinced by Raingeard's denial that the text is referencing Cleanthes of Assos. Lastly, Russo and Medaglia need too many interventions just to maintain the syntactic function of Aristarchus and Cleanthes as transmitted by EB. Therefore, I accept Ménage's emendation.

Concerning the minor difficulties, the first one affects the meaning of the infinitive προκαλεῖσθαι ('to be challenged'). It was modified by the Aldine RJ94 into προσκαλεῖσθαι, given that προσκαλέω does not have a passive value but means 'to summon into court,' which is the meaning required by the context.

The second difficulty is related to the participle φαινόμενα, given that Plutarch never uses this participle in the sense of "the phenomena" without the article. Consequently, RJ94 added τά, which seems to be a mandatory intervention.⁴⁴

The third difficulty concerns ἀνήρ, which lacks its corresponding article. Dübner corrected the problem with a crasis between the article and the noun: he simply corrected the breathing of the manuscripts' reading into the rough form (ἀνήρ).⁴⁵

Translation: "just as Cleanthes thought that the Greeks ought to lay an action for impiety against Aristarchus the Samian on the grounds that he was moving the hearth of the universe because the man sought to save <the> phaenomena by assuming that the heaven is at rest."

923BC 12-15 περὶ δὲ τῆς γῆς ἵσως Αἰσχύλος ἡμᾶς πέπεικεν ώς ὁ Ἀτλας
ἔστηκε κίων οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ χθονός
ώμοις ἐρείδων ἄχθος οὐκ εὐάγκαλον·

⁴³ Aldobrandini, *Laertii Diogenis De vitis dogmatis*, 206.

⁴⁴ Most modern editors accepted both this correction and προσκαλεῖσθαι, but attributed them to 19th century scholarship: the first to Emperius, the second to Dübner.

⁴⁵ He made the same correction in 920F. There is another occurrence, also in 920F, but in that case Dübner suggested ὁ ἀνήρ, and it was Bernardakis to suggest ἀνήρ.

EB: περὶ δὲ τῆς γῆς ἵσως αἰσχύλος ἡμᾶς πέπεικεν ώς ὁ ἄτλας ἔστηκε κίων οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ χθονός· ὥμοις ἐρείδων ἄχθος οὐκ εὐάγκαλον·

Two modifications are introduced in the passage: the first one concerns the pronoun transmitted by the manuscripts (ἡμᾶς) and the other concerns Aeschylus' quote.⁴⁶ In my view, however, these changes are not necessary.

The pronoun ἡμᾶς was modified into the 2nd person plural by Stephanus, a correction always accepted ever since, with the exception of Raingeard. The confusion between pronouns was easy to happen, since both sounded the same due to iotaism, and in fact, the confusion occurs elsewhere in the treatise.⁴⁷ Here, Lucius is talking to Pharnaces—he first used σκόπει—and by extension to all Stoics—he then used the 2nd person plural δεδοίκατε. But this does not compel him to only use the 2nd person. The reference to a specific belief and the association of such belief with an authoritative composer could very well be in 1st person plural, in which case the idea is transformed into a general statement that involves Lucius' audience as a whole.

The verses of Aeschylus, even if being grammatically correct, as quoted by Plutarch, were corrected by an annotation in Turnebus' Aldine copy, which transformed the word κίων into the accusative κίον— an emendation accepted by most editors afterwards. The change is due to the fact that it appears under this form in Aeschylus, in which it is interpreted as the object of Atlas' action. While the correction is plausible, I prefer to maintain κίων, since the transmitted text is, in principle, correct, and we do not know whether Plutarch made a mistake quoting from memory or whether he knew the verse under a form unknown to us. It is also possible, as Raingeard suggests (in his commentary), that Plutarch might have consciously altered the text to highlight the architectural role of Atlas.⁴⁸

Translation: “whereas concerning the earth perhaps Aeschylus has convinced us that Atlas ‘stood as a column of heaven and earth, enduring over his shoulders a burden not easy to hold.’”

⁴⁶ *Prometheus Vinct.* 350-351.

⁴⁷ For instances where EB read a pronoun, either 1st or 2nd person plural, that must be changed, see the headings corresponding to 926D and 928EF. Notwithstanding this, I believe scholars have had a slight tendency to switch pronouns, modifying a text that perhaps did not need any intervention; see, beside this case, the entry on 941A.

⁴⁸ Raingeard, *Le peri toy prosopoy*, 72.

923C 18-20 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Φαρνάκης αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν ἀδείᾳ τοῦ πεσεῖν τὴν γῆν ἔστιν, οἰκτείρει δὲ τοὺς ὑποκειμένους τῇ μεταφορᾷ τῆς σελήνης Αἰθίοπας ἢ Ταπροβηνούς, μὴ βάρος αὐτοῖς ἐμπέσῃ τοσοῦτον.

EB: καὶ διατοῦτο φαρνάκης αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν ἀδείᾳ τοῦ πεσεῖν τὴν γῆν ἔστιν· οἰκτείρει δὲ τοὺς ὑποκειμένους τῇ μεταφορᾷ τῆς σελήνης αἰθίοπας· ἢ ταπροβηνοὺς, μὴ βάρος EB / βορός B s.l. αὐτοῖς ἐμπέσῃ τοσοῦτον.⁴⁹

The text, despite not presenting much trouble content wise, has been modified in four different places. While three of them are minor changes, one of them affects the interpretation of the passage.

Let us start with the minor revisions. Firstly, Bernardakis—followed by Pohlenz and Cherniss—changed the verb οἰκτείρει, transmitted by EB, into its attic equivalent οἰκτίρει. Secondly, the Aldine edition read αὐτῆς, instead of αὐτοῖς. Given that the nouns to which the pronoun refers are Αἰθίοπας ἢ Ταπροβηνούς, it can be easily explained as an erratum due to iotaicism. Most of the handwritten annotations of different Aldine copies corrected it into dative plural. Thirdly, Pohlenz closed the passage with a question mark (*τοσοῦτον?*). I do not adopt any of these changes, since they either are unnecessary or mistakes.

Concerning the fourth and more interesting modification to the text, the noun μεταφορᾶ has been replaced because of its meaning: ‘transport,’ or ‘change.’⁵⁰ An annotation in the Aldine RJ94 reads καταφορᾶ, which means ‘fall;’ Cherniss suggested περιφορᾶ, meaning ‘circular movement.’ Both of these changes provide the text with a more suitable substantive. In this case, Pharnaces expresses his fear for those who are placed either under the moon’s path or under the trajectory of its fall. Both options are supported by their appearance a few lines below: that of RJ94, in 923C, ὥσπερ ὅσα ταῖς σφενδόναις ἐντεθέντα τῆς καταφορᾶς κώλυσιν ἵσχει τὴν κύκλῳ περιδίνησιν; that of Cherniss, in 923D, διὸ τὴν σελήνην οὐκ ἄγει τὸ βάρος ὑπὸ τῆς περιφορᾶς τὴν ὁπτὴν ἐκκρουνόμενον.

Despite the apparent support it has, I do not think the correction is necessary. To begin with, the presence of these nouns later in the text does not imply their repetition here; furthermore, even if it may not be that technical, the reference to μεταφορᾶ is coherent, since it reinforces Lucius’ statement that it is precisely the moon’s shifting that prevents it from falling.

⁴⁹ Both E and B read βάρος (‘weight’), B adds *supra lineam* βορός, an adjective meaning “gluttonous” that obviously nobody accepted. See the emendation in 8. Appendix II.

⁵⁰ LSJ provides also the meaning “phase of the moon” and refers to this passage specifically. This seems not to be appropriate, as Cherniss already pointed out in “Notes on Plutarch’s *De facie*,” 139.

Translation: “and that is why Pharnaces is himself without any fear that the earth may fall but is sorry for the Ethiopians or Taprobanians, who live under the moon’s transference, least such a weight falls upon them.”

4.2.3. 923E-928D. The Order of the *Cosmos* and the Moon’s Place in it

923E 8-10 “Πάνυ μὲν οὖν” εἶπεν ὁ Φαρνάκης “τὸν οἰκεῖον καὶ κατὰ φύσιν τόπον ἔχουσαν, ὥσπερ αὐτὴ τὸν μέσον, οὗτος γάρ ἐστι περὶ ὃν ἀντερείδει πάντα τὰ βάρη ρέποντα καὶ φέρεται καὶ συννεύει πανταχόθεν.⁵¹

EB: πάνυ μὲν οὖν εἶπεν ὁ φαρνάκης. τὸν οἰκεῖον καὶ κατὰ φύσιν τόπον ἔχουσαν. ὥσπερ αὐτὴ τὸν μέσον. οὗτος γάρ ἐστι περὶ ὃν ἀντερείδει πάντα τὰ βάρη ρέποντα. καὶ φέρεται. καὶ συννεύει πανταχόθεν.

In this passage, Pharnaces defends the theories of natural positions in the cosmos and the earth’s central position in it. The section in which the latter issue is defended is corrupt (ὥσπερ αὐτὴ τὸν μέσον). The pronoun αὐτή should refer to the earth, the nearest feminine (γῆν in Lucius’ last sentence, and ἔχουσαν in Pharnaces’ reply), and τὸν μέσον should refer to τὸν [...] τόπον.

Whether intentionally or not, the Aldine and the *Basiliensis* editions transformed the pronoun into the neuter αὐτό. This, in turn, implies the replacement of the following article into a neuter as well (τό), a correction found in the Aldine belonging to Leonicus and the *Basiliensis*. The resulting text (ὥσπερ αὐτὸ τὸ μέσον) was accepted by Stephanus, Xylander and Wytténbach. Amyot—whose *Basiliensis* already read ὥσπερ αὐτὸ τὸ μέσον—proposed to correct the adverb ὥσπερ into the relative pronoun ὅπερ. Wytténbach suggested (in his critical apparatus) to reform the whole sentence into τὸν μέσον τόπον ἔχουσαν ὥσπερ αὐτῇ οἰκεῖον καὶ κατὰ φύσιν—which seems to be an unnecessary and excessive correction. Adolf Emperius introduced the syntagma ἡ γῆ between ὥσπερ and αὐτὸ τὸ μέσον; Hans von Arnim, followed by Cherniss, proposed to transform ὥσπερ into the relative pronoun in masculine—it modifies

⁵¹ The passage has been transmitted with many errata by the first editions: the Aldine edition replaced Φαρνάκης with Φανάκης, ὃν with ὃν, and ἀντερείδει with ἀνερείδει; the edition of Basel and that of Xylander transformed the adverb πανταχόθεν into πανταχώθεν.

τόπος—, corrected the feminine pronoun into a dative and maintained EB’s reading τὸν μέσον: ὅσπερ αὐτῇ τὸν μέσον; and Pohlenz simply switched αὐτή for αὕτη.⁵²

In my opinion, the adverb of manner ὅσπερ poses no problem and is an acceptable reading, and τὸν μέσον is correct, given that it refers to the masculine ὁ τόπος. The only mandatory modification affects, therefore, the pronoun αὐτή: I accept Von Arnim’s dative, which fits the grammar and whose corruption into the nominative is understandable.

Translation: ““Certainly it does’ said Pharnaces ‘in occupying the proper and natural place, as is the center for it (the earth), for this is the place about which all weights in their inclination press against and towards which they move and converge from every direction.””

924C 13-15 καὶ μὲν διασκάπτῃ τὸν ἐπέκεινα τόπον, ἀνακύπτον αὐτοῦ τὸ <κάτω ἄνω> εἶναι καὶ κάτω ἄνωθεν ἔλκεσθαι τὸν ἀνασκαπτόμενον·

EB: καὶ μὴ διασκάπτῃ τὸν ἐπέκεινα τόπον ἀνακύπτον αὐτοῦ τὸ ... εἶναι καὶ κάτω ἄνωθεν ἔλκεσθαι τὸν ἀνασκαπτόμενον·

Lamprias suggests a hypothetical scenario in which a man would lie in perfect consonance with the earth’s centre, and, from there, he constructs a whole series of implications. The present text concerns one of those implications, namely which parts of his body would be up or down if the man digs the ground up. It has been modified due to the complexity of the implication at stake and to the presence of a lacuna, of around eight letters in both manuscripts, that further complicates the proper understanding of the passage.

In the first place, Leonicus replaced the negative μή transmitted by EB with the particle μέν. Raingeard maintained the text of EB, interpreting that there would be no need to dig further, for the result would still be the same. Leonicus’ intervention, however, was accepted by most scholars, including myself, who saw a better syntax after the inclusion of the particle—καὶ μέν here, εἰ δέ in the next sentence—, and thus interpreted the text as an affirmative in order to provide meaning to the rhetorical and difficult to imagine situation that Lamprias describes.

Regarding the lacuna, the syntax of the sentence points to the loss of the object of the participle ἀνακύπτον, which must have had as its complement the pronoun αὐτοῦ. The first conjecture is an annotation in Turnebus’ Aldine copy, μέρος ἄνω; then that of Amyot, ἄνω

⁵² A. Emperius, *Opuscula Philologica et Historica* (Göttingen: F.G. Schneidewin, 1874) 288; *SVF* II, 646. For a historical overview of Stoic ideas, see M.L. Colish, *The Stoic Tradition from Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 1990).

κάτω. From Wyttenbach onwards, most propositions include the noun σῶμα: Wyttenbach suggested (in the apparatus) τὸ σῶμα ἄνω and the correction of εἶναι into ιέναι; Emperius, simply σῶμα; Gustave Edward Benseler, ταῦτόν, and he also deleted the following κάτω; Bernardakis suggested (in the apparatus) σῶμα ταῦτόν, but also added an excessively reworked correction of the rest of the text: καὶ κάτω καὶ ἄνω καὶ κάτωθεν καὶ ἄνωθεν ἔλκεσθαι; Adler added σῶμα κάτω and corrected εἶναι into χωρεῖν; and, lastly, Cherniss suggested κάτω ἄνω.⁵³ Those who introduced σῶμα were compelled to correct the article in front of the last participle (ἀνασκαπτόμενον) into a neuter: Wyttenbach stated “αὐτόν vel αὐτό (scilicet σῶμα),” and Emperius, Benseler, and Purser simply replaced τόν with τό.⁵⁴

In my view, it is not justified to modify the transmitted text according to a conjecture. The use of σῶμα only complicates the text, since it compels further arrangements and also represents a redundant addition: if a part of someone emerges (ἀνακύπτον αὐτοῦ) it is obviously a part of his body, without the need of explicitly using the noun. Consequently, the best conjecture, in my opinion, is that of Cherniss, which not only fits into the space of the lacuna and does not require further modifications, but it also offers a clear sentence and forms a chiastic structure common in Plutarch's style: participle + down/up (ἀνακύπτον [...] κάτω ἄνω) and down/up + participle (κάτω ἄνωθεν [...] τὸν ἀνασκαπτόμενον).⁵⁵

Translation: “moreover, if he dug through the further side, in emerging his <down> is <up>, and by digging up he would pull himself down from above.”

924CD 17-20 Τοιούτων μέντοι καὶ τοσούτων παραδοξολογιῶν οὐ μὰ Δία πεῖραν, ἀλλὰ θαυματοποιοῦ τινος ἀποσκευὴν καὶ πυλαίαν κατανωτισάμενοι καὶ παρέλκοντες, ἐτέρους φασὶ πελάζειν ἄνω τὴν σελήνην, γῆν οὖσαν, ἐνιδρύοντας οὐχ ὅπου τὸ μέσον ἔστι·

EB: τοιούτων μέντοι καὶ τοσούτων παραδοξολογιῶν E / παραδόξων λογιῶν B οὐ μὰ Δία πεῖραν. ἀλλὰ θαυματοποιοῦ τινος ἀποσκευὴν καὶ πυλαίαν κατανωτισάμενοι· καὶ παρέλκοντες ἐτέρους, φασὶ πελάζειν ἄνω τὴν σελήνην. γῆν οὖσαν ἐνιδρύοντες οὐχ ὅπου τὸ μέσον ἔστι· E / ἔστιν· B

⁵³ Emperius, *Opuscula*, 289; G.E. Benseler, *De hiatu in oratoribus Atticis et historicis Graecis, libri duo* (Freiberg: J.G. Engelhardt, 1841) 517; and Adler, *Dissertationes philologae Vindobonenses*, 96.

⁵⁴ Purser, “Mr. Prickard's Translation,” 312. He modified the whole passage excessively: ἀνακύπτειν αὐτοῦ τὸ <κατασκαπτό>μενον καὶ κάτω ἄνωθεν ἔλκεσθαι τὸ ἀνασκαπτόμενον.

⁵⁵ For the use of chiasmi see A. Pérez Jiménez, “Plutarch and Transgressions of Nature: Stylistic Analysis of *De facie in orbe lunae* 926CD,” in M. Meeusen & L. van der Stockt (eds.), *Natural Spectaculars. Aspects of Plutarch's Philosophy of Nature* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2015) 215-226.

In this passage, the manuscripts include different readings, and scholars have modified the noun *πεῖραν*, the infinitive *πελάζειν*, and the participle *ἐνιδρύοντες*.

Regarding the differences between the manuscripts, E presents *παραδόξολογιῶν* and B, *παραδόξων λογιῶν*. Editions that followed B had to correct the problem of two adjectives with no noun to modify: Leonicus suggested *παραδόξων λόγων*, a correction followed by most scholars of the 16th century. E's reading, however, does not need further intervention and can be accepted. Additionally, while E reads *ἐστί*, B presents the verb with the ephelcystic nu, *ἐστίν*. Provided that the word is followed by a point above the line, E's reading should be maintained.

In what regards the modifications to the text, three annotations are found in the Aldine copy of Turnebus, which have been accepted by most scholars.

The noun *πεῖραν* ('trial,' or 'attempt') was changed into *πήραν* ('bag') the meaning of which seems to better fit the context—in accordance with the following *ἀποσκευήν* ('luggage')—than the seemingly unsatisfactory meaning of the form transmitted by EB. In my view, together with Raingeard, *πεῖραν* can be maintained if taken in its meaning of 'attempt (to explain),' or 'make proof.' In that case, the sentence points to the lack of proof for the aforementioned strambotic tales rather than introducing the metaphor of "carrying a weight."

The infinitive *πελάζειν* ('to approach') was replaced with the verb *γελοιάζειν* ('to be kidding') by RJ94; and with *πλάζειν* ('to distract') by Amyot—even if no one followed the latter's proposal. The verb transmitted by EB, however, can be maintained as main verb of the subordinate clause with *ἄνω* as a complement and *τὴν σελήνην* as object.

Finally, the participle *ἐνιδρύοντες* in nominative plural was replaced by an accusative plural.⁵⁶ This change is necessary, given that the whole construction is a dependent substantive clause: the subject (*έτέρους*) is in accusative and, therefore, the participle that modifies it (*ἐνιδρύοντας*) must reflect this.

Translation: "For such a kind and number of strambotic tales (there is) no proof, for Zeus, but accepting and lugging in some juggler's pack and frivolity yet they say that other people bring the moon close to the upper region, even though it is earth, by placing it not where the center is."

924D 20-4 καίτοι γε εἰ πᾶν σῶμα ἐμβριθὲς εἰς τὸ αὐτὸν συννεύει καὶ πρὸς τὸ αὐτοῦ μέσον ἀντερείδει πᾶσι τοῖς μορίοις, οὐχ ως μέσον οὖσα τοῦ παντὸς ἡ γῆ μᾶλλον ἡ ως ὅλον

⁵⁶ This correction, which was already mentioned in RJ94 and in Amyot's *Basiliensis*, was mistakenly attributed to either Kaltwasser or Wyttenbach by later editors.

οίκειώσεται μέρη αὐτῆς ὄντα τὰ βάρη καὶ τεκμήριον ... ἔσται τῶν ρέποντων οὕτι τῆς μεσότητος πρὸς τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν γῆν κοινωνίας τινὸς καὶ συμφυΐας τοῖς ἀπωσμένοις αὐτῆς εἴτα πάλιν καταφερομένοις.

EB: καίτοι γε εἰ πᾶν σῶμα ἐμβριθὲς εἰς τὸ αὐτὸν συννεύει· καὶ πρὸς τὸ αὐτοῦ μέσον ἀντερείδει πᾶσι τοῖς μορίοις, οὐχ ως μέσον οὖσα τοῦ παντὸς ἡ γῆ μᾶλλον, ἢ ως ὅλον, οίκειώσεται μέρη αὐτῆς ὄντα τὰ βάρη· καὶ τεκμήριον· ... ἔσται τῶν ρέποντων οὐ τῇ τῆς μεσότητος πρὸς τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν γῆν κοινωνίας τινὸς καὶ συμφυΐας τοῖς ἀπωσμένοις αὐτῆς· EB / αὐτοῖς· B i.t. εἴτα πάλιν καταφερομένοις.

A few textual difficulties appear in the passage: a) the manuscripts report a lacuna, of approximately 11 letters in E and 16 in B; b) there is an incomplete syntagma, *τῇ τῆς μεσότητος*; and c) E and B differ in one word, namely the second occurrence of the pronoun *αὐτῆς*, which B corrects into *αὐτοῖς*. Beside these, scholarship has intervened in several places: they have modified the pronouns *εἰς τὸ αὐτόν*, *τὸ αὐτοῦ* and the first occurrence of *αὐτῆς*, and the participle *τοῖς ἀπωσμένοις* was changed from *ἀπωθέω* into *ἀποσπάω*.

Let us begin with the lacuna. The syntagma preceding the blank (*καὶ τεκμήριον*) seems to start a new argument, since the previous sentence is complete. Wytttenbach (in the apparatus) significantly rearranged the sentence up until the negative *οὐ*—something usual to his style: *τοῦ ἀνάγκη γίνεσθαι, τὴν ρόπην αὐτοῖς*; Emperius conjectured *ἐξ αὐτῆν*; Bernardakis proposed (in the apparatus) *ἐκ τῶν βαρέων*; and Cherniss suggested to supply a subject for the sentence, *τὸ κατωφερές*.⁵⁷

It is evident from the variety of conjectures that the syntax of the passage is complex. I personally agree with Cherniss' choice to interpret *τεκμήριον* as the attribute of the verb following the lacuna (*ἔσται*) and thus look for a subject. However, given the uncertainty of the sentence's construction, it is preferable to include the different options in the apparatus and not to integrate any in the body of text.

Next, the problem concerned with *τῇ τῆς μεσότητος* seems to reflect the loss of a noun in dative that should have been modified by *τῇ*. The simplest solution of deleting the problematic article was proposed by RJ94, but it is rather difficult to explain how the article would have found its way into the text. The text deals with the earth, but the reference to the earth is now far—placed before the lacuna. Remaining suggestions added the noun or a reference to it: Amyot transformed the article into a pronoun, *αὐτῇ τῇς μεσότητος*; Emperius

⁵⁷ Emperius, *Opuscula*, 289.

replaced the article with the noun, γῇ τῆς μεσότητος; Madvig replaced the second article instead, τῇ γῇ μεσότητος; and Von Arnim added the noun, τῇ γῇ τῆς μεσότητος.⁵⁸ While they all are acceptable variants, I suggest that the text does not require the clarification of the noun “earth.” A plausible solution might be to see οὐ τῇ as a corruption for οὐτι. The adverb’s meaning, ‘not at all,’ or ‘by no means,’ fits into the context and the corruption is explainable through iotaism, given that its last syllable is pronounced as the article.

Then, we have the pronoun issue to deal with from the latter part of the text (τοῖς ἀπωσμένοις αὐτῆς εἴτα πάλιν καταφερομένοις) where EB read αὐτῆς. B corrects it *in textu* into the form αὐτοῖς, constructing a syntagma with the preceding participle τοῖς ἀπωσμένοις.⁵⁹ The antecedent of the pronoun, however, is not the participle but ἡ γῆ, mentioned a few lines above: the pronoun must be maintained in feminine singular.

In regards to the transmission of pronouns, while both manuscripts often transmit the same form, whether the demonstrative or the attic contracted form of the reflexive personal, it seems that they lack a criterion and often mix their use. This is a matter that has caused recurrent problems for editors who tried to systematize them.⁶⁰ In this passage, there are three examples.

The first part of the passage deals with every heavy body (εἰ πᾶν σῶμα ἐμβριθές). The first syntagma depends on the verb συννεύει (‘to converge’), thus its complement can be εἰς τὸ αὐτό (‘towards the same point’), which is the form transmitted by EB. Wytttenbach, however, suggested the correction εἰς ἑαυτό (‘towards itself’). The second syntagma depends on the verb ἀντερείδει (‘to compress,’ or ‘to pressure’), and, again, the form of EB τὸ αὐτοῦ can be maintained, as a heavy body compresses with all its parts (πᾶσι τοῖς μορίοις) upon its center. Bernardakis, however, proposed to change it into τὸ αὐτοῦ (‘upon its own center’).

The second part of the passage deals with one specific heavy body, the earth (ἡ γῆ), which appropriates heavy bodies (οἰκειώσεται μέρη [...] τὰ βάρη) not as the center but as a whole (οὐχ ως μέσον οὖσα τοῦ παντὸς ἡ γῆ μᾶλλον ἡ ως ὅλον). EB’s reading αὐτῆς was changed by Cherniss into αὐτῆς with the idea that the earth appropriates things that are “of herself.” The use of a reflexive pronoun is not compulsory here either, given that the pronoun transmitted by the manuscripts provides the meaning requested by the context: the earth appropriates things that are “of the same” nature, to wit, earthy bodies.

⁵⁸ Emperius, *Opuscula*, 289; Madvig, *Adversaria critica*, 664; *SVF* II, 646. For the confusion between gamma and tau, see West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique*, 25. This confusion appears elsewhere in *De facie*: 922D with αὐγή corrupted into αὔτῃ; or 945D with μέγα κέρας for μετακέρας.

⁵⁹ See B’s emendation in 8. Appendix II.

⁶⁰ See footnote 46, above, for the same issue regarding the alternation between pronouns in 1st and 2nd person plural.

Finally, the participle ἀπωσμένοις (from ἀπωθέω, ‘to thrust away’) was changed into ἀποσπωμένοις (from ἀποσπάω, ‘to drag away’) by an annotation in Leonicus’ Aldine exemplar, which is a correction accepted by most of the 16th century scholars and Wytttenbach. The modification, however, does not improve the passage, since it is merely conditioned by the presence of this verb a few lines below (924E, Εἰ δέ τι τυγχάνει σῶμα τῇ γῇ μὴ προσνενεμημένον ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς μηδὲ ἀπεσπασμένον).

Translation: “yet if every heavy body converges to the same point and is compressed with all its parts upon its centre, it is no more as centre of the sum of things than as a whole that the earth would appropriate the heavy bodies that are parts of it; and … of falling bodies proves that the earth is by no means in the centre of the cosmos but that those bodies which when thrust away from the earth fall back to it again have some affinity and cohesion with it.”

924DE 4-6 Ός γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος εἰς ἔαυτὸν ἐπιστρέφει τὰ μέρη ἐξ ὅν συνέστηκε καὶ ἡ γῆ τὸν λίθον, ὥσπερ <αὐτῇ> προσήκοντα, δέχεται καὶ προσφέρει ἐκεῖνον·

EB: ως γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος εἰς ἔαυτὸν ἐπιστρέφει τὰ μέρη ἐξ ὅν συνέστηκε. καὶ ἡ γῆ τὸν λίθον ὥσπερ … προσήκοντα Ε / προσήκονται Β δέχεται καὶ φέρει πρὸς ἐκεῖνον,

Besides a lacuna, this passage presents a semantic difficulty with καὶ φέρει πρὸς ἐκεῖνον at the end in the sentence.

The lacuna reported by the manuscripts is enough for approximately five letters in E, which is then followed by προσήκοντα; in B, there is room for nine letters, which is followed by προσήκονται. The verbal form in plural of B is certainly out of place, because it affects only the earth’s behaviour, not that of the sun and the earth together. Various conjectures have been suggested to complete the lacuna: Amyot proposed αὐτῇ; Wytttenbach (in the apparatus), ἴδιον καὶ; Cherniss, αὐτῇ. Differently, Raingeard thought that if one deletes the lacuna the sentence seems to lack nothing.

Concerning the semantic problem in the last sentence (καὶ φέρει πρὸς ἐκεῖνον), the earth does not move towards the stony body, but rather attracts it. The first scholar to suggest a solution was Amyot with καὶ προσφέρει ἐκεῖνον; then Wytttenbach (in the apparatus) wrote “καταφερῇ πρὸς ἐκεῖνην: *forte probabilius* καὶ φέρει πως ἐκεῖνον;” Emperius proposed καταφερῇ πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον; Bernardakis (also in the apparatus), καὶ φέρει πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον; and A.J. Kronenberg, καὶ φέρει προσκείμενον.⁶¹

⁶¹ Emperius, *Opuscula*, 289; A.J. Kronenberg, “Ad Plutarchi *Moralia* (Continued),” *Mnemosyne* 10 (1941) 41.

I chose both of Amyot's proposals, because in the first case αὐτῇ provides more precision to the modal construction and in the second the corruption is easy to explain: a simple transposition that transforms the preverb into a preposition.

Translation: "For such as the sun turns towards itself the parts of that which is made of the same nature, so the earth, as it corresponds <to it>, receives and adds the stone."

924F 16-19 ἀλλ' ἐᾶς χωρὶς εἶναι συστάσεις πυρὸς τοσαύτας καὶ οὐ πάντας εἰς τοῦτο συνάγων τοὺς ἀστέρας σαφῶς οἴεται δεῖν καὶ σῶμα κοινὸν εἶναι τῶν ἄνω φορῶν καὶ φλογοειδῶν ἀπάντων.

EB: ἀλλ' ἐᾶς χωρὶς εἶναι συστάσεις πυρὸς τοσαύτας· καὶ οὐ πάντας εἰς τοῦτο συνάγων τοὺς ἀστέρας σαφῶς οἴεται δεῖν· καὶ σῶμα κοινὸν εἶναι τῶν ἀναφορῶν καὶ φλογοειδῶν ἀπάντων·

Some grammatical issues need attention in this sentence: a) the pronoun transmitted by EB, b) the participle ἀναφορῶν, and c) the obscure syntactical construction of the passage, which scholars have tried to solve by modifying different parts of the sentence.

Regarding the pronoun, scholars have claimed that the passage offers the idea that all bodies sharing the same nature are driven towards the same spot, not towards an undefined place, which would, in their view, be the reading transmitted by EB (*εἰς τοῦτο*). Consequently, Amyot was the first to correct the pronoun into *ταῦτο*, in order to provide the right meaning, namely 'to the same place.'⁶² The reading of the manuscripts, however, may be maintained if we accept *τοῦτο* as referring to fire. Fire is mentioned in the previous sentence, and it represents the same substance that creates the stars and is the substance towards which stars are driven.

Concerning the problem with the participle of the verb ἀναφορέω (*ἀναφορῶν*), its transitive use does not fit into the sentence ('to take up'). The form transmitted by EB has been changed since the 16th century: an annotation in Leonicus' Aldine copy reads ἄνω φορῶν ('moving in the upper region'); another in the Aldine exemplar of Turnebus reads ἀνωφερῶν ('that tends to move upwards'). The latter option is accepted by all modern scholars except Raingeard, who read ἀναφόρων, which he himself explained is a hapax constructed on the models of κατάφορος and διάφορος ("ce qui s'élève," in his translation).⁶³ The modification

⁶² None of the subsequent scholars attributed the authorship correctly: while Bernardakis, Raingeard, and Pohlenz stated that it was Dübner's, Cherniss stated Wyttbach—who did write in his apparatus “*legendum τὸ αὐτό*.”

⁶³ Raingeard, *Le peri toy prosopoy*, 81.

into a compound—of adverb and φορέω, frequentative of φέρω, or into an adjective—solves the problem; thus, to replace the transmitted text with a hapax seems unnecessarily risky. The reason why I accept Leonicus' correction is that it is better from the point of view of textual corruption, since it only requires the modification of EB in one letter.

The remaining modifications are due to the obscure syntax of the sentence: while the main verbs, ἐστι and οἴεται, are united by the first καί, the second conjunction appears to have no linking function: there is no verb in personal form after it, nor a noun before that could be coordinated with σῶμα, nor an infinitive to be coordinated with εἶναι.

An annotation in RJ94 relocated καί after εἶναι, in order to create the structure “both this and that” (καὶ τῶν ἀναφορῶν καὶ φλογοειδῶν ἀπάντων); Xylander solved the problem by turning the participle (συνάγων) into an infinitive (συνάγειν), thus coordinating it by means of καί with εἶναι; Wytttenbach offered two solutions (in the critical apparatus): (1) he simply deleted the conjunction, or (2) corrected and reorganized great part of the sentence (καὶ φῶς οἴεται δὴ ἐν καί); Bernardakis (in the apparatus) in the line of the second suggestion proposed δεῖν εἶναι σῶμα κοινὸν τῶν ἀνωφερῶν.⁶⁴ Others corrected a word preceding καί, in order to coordinate it with the noun that follows (σῶμα κοινόν): an annotation in RJ94 transformed the adverb σαφῶς into ἢ φῶς; and Kronenberg corrected it into ἐν φῶς.⁶⁵ Sandbach suggested that πάντας εἰς τοῦτο συνάγων τοὺς ἀστέρας σαφῶς is altogether “an intrusive explanation from the margin.”⁶⁶

Although these corrections simplify the grammar of the text, I believe none of them is actually mandatory: οὐ πάντας εἰς τοῦτο συνάγων τοὺς ἀστέρας is an aside, it does not have to be coordinated with the rest and needs no intervention. The word σαφῶς does not suppose a complication in itself, its modification is merely motivated to solve textual problems elsewhere in the sentence. The problem with καί, then, can be solved by interpreting it as an adverb and not as conjunction.

Translation: “but (he) allows so many separate concentrations of fire and, while not collecting all the stars towards it (the fire), clearly thinks that there must also be a body common to all things that move upwards and are fiery.”

925B 7-11 τῆς δὲ γῆς τρόπον τινὰ ψαύει καὶ περιφερομένη πλησίον,
ἄρματος ὥσπερ ἀν’ ἵχνος ἐλίσσεται,

⁶⁴ Oddly, he attributed this modification to Dübner.

⁶⁵ Kronenberg, “Ad Plutarchi *Moralia*,” 41.

⁶⁶ F.H. Sandbach, “Second Meeting,” *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* (1943) 15.

φησὶν Ἐμπεδοκλῆς,

ἢ τε παρ' ἄκραν...

EB: τῆς δὲ γῆς τρόπον τινὰ ψαύει. καὶ περιφερομένη πλησίον, ἄρματος ὥσπερ ἵχνος ἀνελίσσεται φησὶν ἐμπεδοκλῆς. ἢ τε περὶ ἄκραν...

When Plutarch deals with the movement of the moon revolving very close to the earth, he quotes a verse from Empedocles in order to introduce a comparison with a chariot (B 46 DK). The quotation presents several problems: to begin with, the verse is incomplete, since EB present a lacuna after ἄκραν of approximately 20 letters in the case of E and 26 letters in the case of B; then it presents some textual problems. The first part of the verse, ἄρματος ὥσπερ ἵχνος ἀνελίσσεται, was modified by Wytttenbach (in the apparatus) into ὥσπερ ἀν' ἵχνος ἐλίσσεται; and by Panzerbieter into ως πέρι χνοίη ἐλίσσεται.⁶⁷ The latter's motivation seems to be that the meaning of the noun and verb transmitted by the manuscripts are not suitable: the noun χνοίη, meaning 'axle-box,' would fit better in the context of the turning of a chariot than 'track,' or 'footstep;' and the verb ἐλίσσω, meaning 'to turn round or about' would be better than 'to unroll,' or 'to roll back.' Wytttenbach's correction, however, maintains both the noun and the verb of EB, with the only modification that the latter is separated from its preverb by the noun. With this simple intervention, Wytttenbach solves the problem of the metrical form of the verse.

Concerning the second part of the verse, ἢ τε was altered by an annotation in RJ94 into ἢδε; and Wytttenbach deleted τε. The lacuna was deleted by the *Basiliensis* edition and by Xylander; Hermann Diels proposed to correct περὶ ἄκραν into παρ' ἄκραν and supplied two variants, either νύσσαν ἐλαυνομένη or γαῖαν ἐλαυνομένη.⁶⁸ In my view, the very beginning of this second part of the verse does not need any intervention, and the lacuna cannot be successfully supplied given that no other testimony of such a verse has been preserved. I do, however, accept Diels's replacement of περὶ ἄκραν with παρ' ἄκραν based on metrical grounds: as with the first part of the verse, the text transmitted by EB does not provide part of a hexameter.

Translation: “(the moon) practically grazes the earth, and revolving close to it ‘like a chariot’s track reverses the direction of motion,’ Empedocles says, ‘near the post...’”

⁶⁷ According to DK, vol. 1, 331.

⁶⁸ DK, vol. 1, 331.



926A 20-23 <ἢ> εἰ ἄλλην τινὰ τοῦ μένειν εὐράμενος αἰτίαν ἔστηκεν, οὐ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ τόπου φύσιν, ὅμοια καὶ περὶ γῆς καὶ περὶ σελήνης εἰκάζειν τινὶ πάρεστιν ώς ἐτέρᾳ τινὶ ψυχῇ καὶ φύσει μᾶλλον <γίνονται> διαφοραῖ,⁶⁹

EB: εἰ ἄλλην τινὰ τοῦ μένειν εὐράμενος αἰτίαν Ε / αἰτίαν εὐράμενος Β ἔστηκεν, οὐ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ τόπου φύσιν, ὅμοια καὶ περὶ γῆς καὶ περὶ σελήνης εἰκάζειν τινὶ πάρεστιν ώς ἐτέρᾳ τινὶ Β Ε *s.l.* ψυχῇ καὶ φύσει μᾶλλον ... διαφοραῖ.

This passage presents a few minor grammatical issues and a lacuna of six letters in E and of nine in B.

Firstly, while the sentence is related to the previous one, no link between them has been transmitted. Consequently, the beginning has been modified in order to provide one: an annotation in RJ94 transformed the conditional *εἰ* into the disjunctive *ἢ*; Amyot added the particle *δέ* (*εἰ δ’ ἄλλην*); and Kepler added the disjunctive before the conditional (*ἢ εἰ*).⁷⁰

While the preceding sentence simply rejects the theory of natural positions by affirming that the universe has no fixed position (925F, ἀνέστιος καὶ ἀνίδρυτος ἔστιν ἐν ἀπείρῳ κενῷ φερόμενος πρὸς οὐδὲν οἰκεῖον), the current sentence envisages a new condition: after evaluating the possibility that the universe is unmoved, the text nevertheless denies that this is due to the theory of natural positions. I believe, therefore, that Kepler’s suggestion fits in the passage perfectly: a disjunctive opposing this sentence to the previous together with a conditional that introduces the new condition. Furthermore, the fall of *ἢ* can easily be explained by the frequent loss of monosyllables and by the identical sonority of both words (*ἢ εἰ*) due to iotaclasm.

Another grammatical issue concerns the different readings included by our two manuscripts. E reads εὐράμενος αἰτίαν, while B reads αἰτίαν εὐράμενος. B’s transposition was probably intended in order to avoid the syntagma ἄλλην τινὰ αἰτίαν being separated by both τοῦ μένειν and εὐράμενος. While E’s reading is perfectly acceptable, B introduces a *lectio facilior* that is not mandatory.⁷¹

The last grammatical issue regards the manuscripts’ reading ψυχῇ, which was replaced by Kepler with ρόπῃ; by Pohlenz with τόχῃ; and simply deleted by Purser.⁷² In my opinion, these modifications are not only unnecessary, but they also create a poorer text: the concept of

⁶⁹ The Aldine edition, I reckon by a mistake, omitted καὶ περὶ γῆς.

⁷⁰ Kepler, *Ioh. Keppleri Mathematici*, 112.

⁷¹ Wytténbach did not mention that E and B differ; and Raingeard, oddly enough, stated that εὐράμενος αἰτίαν is the reading of both E and B, and that the transposition was due to the Aldine edition.

⁷² Kepler, *Ioh. Keppleri Mathematici*, 112; Purser, “Mr. Prickard’s Translation,” 313.

ψυχή is clearly fundamental throughout the treatise and to replace an occurrence of the word instead of integrating its appearance into the greater picture is, in my view, a mistake. In this case, Lamprias defends that the universe's order must be ruled by something superior to natural positions: each body occupies a specific place due to a specific type of soul and nature (ψυχῇ καὶ φύσει). The two nouns transmitted by our manuscripts are pregnant with meaning—soul and nature are inherent to every cosmological body. The corrections ‘inclination’ and ‘fortune,’ on the contrary, present outer dispositions and are consequently inferior to EB’s reading.

Finally, there is a lacuna between μᾶλλον and διαφορά. It would seem that μᾶλλον requires ἢ, so thought Wytttenbach, who reorganized the whole sentence in the apparatus: ώς ἔτέρᾳ τινὶ, (*sic*) ψυχικῇ μᾶλλον ἢ φυσικῇ καὶ τοπικῇ; Bernardakis, who added ἢ τόπου; and Cherniss, who simplified Wytttenbach’s proposal into ἢ τοπικῇ. All of them must, then, correct the case of διαφορά into διαφορᾶ in order to connect it with the other nouns in dative (τινὶ ψυχῇ καὶ φύσει). Other scholars, however, maintained διαφορά: Amyot simply supplied the article *ai* in the lacuna; and Raingeard (in the apparatus) supplied the verb γίνονται.⁷³ In my view, Raingeard’s conjecture fits the syntax better, providing a verb for the subject διαφορά, which in turn does not need to be modified.

Translation: “<or> if it has come to rest because it has found some other reason for abiding, not because of the nature of its location, similar inferences are permissible in the cases of the earth and the moon, as the differences rather <appear> due to another soul or nature.”

926CD 23-25 Διὰ τοῦτο οὖν σώματι ψυχὴν μὴ λέγωμεν εἶναι μηδὲ νοῦν, χρῆμα θεῖον, ὑπὸ βρίθους καὶ πάχους, οὐρανόν τε πάντα καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν ἐν ταύτῳ περιπολοῦντα καὶ διπτάμενον εἰς σάρκας ἥκειν καὶ νεῦρα καὶ μυελοὺς καὶ παθέων μυρίων μεστὰς ὑγρότητας;

EB διατοῦτο οὖν σώματι ψυχὴν μὴ λέγωμεν Ε/ λέγομεν Β εἶναι μηδὲν οὐ χρῆμα θεῖον ὑπὸ βρίθους καὶ πάχους. οὐρανόν τε πάντα καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν ἐν ταυτῷ περιπολοῦντα καὶ διπτάμενον εἰς σάρκας ἥκειν καὶ νεῦρα καὶ μυελούς. καὶ παθέων μυρίων μετὰ ὑγρότητος.

Here we find a passage that poses quite a few textual problems. Not only has the text been corrected in several places by different scholars—see, for instance εἶναι, μηδὲν οὐ,

⁷³ Raingeard’s translation, however, suggests that he was indeed accepting Bernardakis’ ἢ τόπου: “c’est à une hétérogénéité de vie et de nature plutôt qu’à une raison de place que nous devons de voir cette différence.”

διστάμενον, and μετὰ ὑγρότητος—but also parts of it have been transposed—ὑπὸ βρίθους καὶ πάχους. Let us see the modifications more in detail.

The first change concerns the infinitive εῖναι, which was turned into ἐνεῖναι by Van Herwerden, a modification accepted by later scholars.⁷⁴ Although the meaning of the verb ἔνειμι, ‘to be in,’ or ‘to be among,’ fits in smoothly, in my opinion, the syntagma, σώματι ψυχὴν μὴ λέγωμεν εῖναι, with the complement of the infinitive in dative, can be maintained.

Then follows the modification of the strange reading μηδὲν οὐ: the first emendations to this text are from an annotation in the Aldine RJ94 that reads μηδενί, and Kepler’s correction μηδεμίαν.⁷⁵ Both interpreted that everything that follows relates to the soul, as the component opposed to the body. More interesting, from the point of view of contents, are the corrections that introduce a third component into the text: the intellect. Dübner was the first scholar to introduce it, with a rather smart switch: he attributed the nu of μηδέν to the following word οὐ (μηδὲ νοῦ); a few decades later, Madvig proposed the variant μηδὲ νοῦν, which provides the correct case.⁷⁶

In my view, given the central role that the intellect has in the development of the treatise, the inclusion of νοῦς is necessary in a passage that opposes a divine immaterial component to a material one (the body). Besides, Madvig’s conjecture has the convenience of fitting the syntax better.

This intervention, however, introduces a new complication, since the syntagma ὑπὸ βρίθους καὶ πάχους cannot allude to the immaterial intellect.⁷⁷ Emperius solved this issue in two different ways: by modifying the text into ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀβριθοῦς καὶ ἀπαχοῦς, or by changing the preposition into ἀπὸ βρίθους καὶ πάχους. Adler stated that ὑπὸ βρίθους ἢ πάχους must have been a text added in the margin and later integrated in the text by the copyist of our manuscripts, but in the wrong place; he solved the issue by transposing the whole syntagma almost to the end of the passage, between μεστάς and ὑγρότητας. Pohlenz added ἀγτῆτον in front of ὑπὸ βρίθους καὶ πάχους; and Cherniss and Donini followed Adler’s idea of transposing the syntagma.⁷⁸ The former transposed it after καὶ μυελούς, which, in turn, allows him to maintain

⁷⁴ Van Herwerden is the conjecturer according to Cherniss. I have not been able to check Van Herwerden’s study of 1882, and there is no trace of this correction in “Novae curiae criticae.” If the attribution happens to be a mistake, the author of ἐνεῖναι should then be Raingeard.

⁷⁵ Kepler, *Ioh. Keppleri Mathematici*, 114.

⁷⁶ Madvig, *Adversaria critica*, 665.

⁷⁷ The Aldine edition transformed the conjunction into a disjunctive (ὑπὸ βρίθους ἢ πάχους), a modification accepted by many scholars, among which is Wyttensbach who did not mention in the apparatus that it is not EB’s reading, Adler, and, surprisingly, Cherniss, who put the syntagma between brackets to transpose it—[ὑπὸ βρίθους ἢ πάχους]—and then offered the correct reading of the manuscripts a few lines below where he interpreted it should be placed—<ὑπὸ βρίθους καὶ πάχους>.

⁷⁸ Emperius, *Opuscula*, 289; Adler, *Dissertationes philologae Vindobonenses*, 98.

the otherwise problematic μετὰ ὑγρότητος (below); the latter transposed it to the very end of the passage, as the explanation for μεστὰς ὑγρότητας.⁷⁹ In my opinion, when understood as a parenthetical remark there is no need to move the syntagma.⁸⁰

The following modification was Wytttenbach's suggestion (in the apparatus) to transform the participle διστάμενον, whose meaning 'to separate,' or 'to turn away' hardly fits the context. Its subject is the intellect, its complement is οὐρανόν τε πάντα καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν ἐν ταύτῳ, and it is coordinated with περιπολοῦντα ('to round about,' or 'wander about').⁸¹ Wytttenbach's correction into διπτάμενον merely modifies the verb by one letter—lowercase sigma and pi can easily be misinterpreted by a scribe—and offers a better meaning: 'to fly through.'

Finally, μετὰ ὑγρότητος, in genitive, is coordinated through καὶ with the accusative εἰς σάρκας ἥκειν καὶ νεῦρα καὶ μυελούς. This is probably due to a scribal mistake influenced by the syntagma that immediately precedes it in genitive (παθέων μυρίων). Cherniss was able to maintain it because he previously transposed ὑπὸ βρίθους καὶ πάχους after καὶ μυελούς, thus turning καὶ παθέων μυρίων μετὰ ὑγρότητος into a coordination, not with the syntagma in accusative but with the genitives βρίθους and πάχους. However, his transposition, as noted above, is unnecessary. The problem with μετὰ ὑγρότητος was solved by Dübner: μεστὰς ὑγρότητας corrects the wrong case and also modifies the preposition that does not have the right meaning with the new accusative. He also transformed the punctuation of the manuscripts into a question mark.

Translation: "Shall we then on this account deny that soul has body or that mind, a divine thing, under the influence of weight and density, though it goes around and traverses instantaneously in its flight heaven and earth and sea, has passed into flesh and sinew and marrow and humidities full of thousands affections?"

926D 25-1 Ό δὲ Ζεὺς ὑμῖν οὗτος, οὐ τῇ μὲν αὐτοῦ φύσει χρώμενος ἐν ἐστι, μέγα πῦρ καὶ συνεχές; Νυνὶ δὲ ὑφεῖται καὶ κέκαμπται καὶ διεσχημάτισται, πᾶν χρῶμα γεγονὸς καὶ γινόμενος ἐν ταῖς μεταβολαῖς;⁸²

⁷⁹ Donini commented on his choice in *Plutarco. Il volto della luna*, 277 n. 121.

⁸⁰ In this, I concur with Pérez Jiménez, "Plutarch and Transgressions of Nature," 223 n. 17. Notice that all the modifications I accepted find backup in stylistic and rhythmic principles that Pérez Jiménez defended in his study.

⁸¹ Bernardakis added the breathing in EB's ταύτῳ.

⁸² The participle γινόμενος appeared in accusative in Xylander's edition, although it was probably an erratum and not an intended modification of EB's reading.

EB: ὁ δὲ ζεὺς ἡμῖν οὗτος, οὐ τῇ μὲν αὐτοῦ E B s.l. / αὐτοῦ B φύσει χρώμενος ἐν ἐστὶ E / ἔνεστι B μέγα πῦρ καὶ συνεχές; νυνίδε E/ νυνὶ δὲ B ὑφεῖται καὶ κέκαμπται καὶ διεσχημάτισται. πᾶν χρῶμα γεγονώς καὶ γινόμενος ἐν ταῖς μεταβολαῖς· E/ μεταβολαῖς; B

The two manuscripts report several different readings. Most of them, however, are of minor relevance and can be easily solved: see that E provides the correct form in αὐτοῦ against αὐτοῦ—although Stephanus, Xylander and Wytténbach follow B, the latter without any mention of E’s reading in the apparatus—and in ἐν ἐστὶ against ἔνεστι. B, however, provides the correct accentuation and punctuation in νυνὶ δέ against νυνίδε and μεταβολαῖς against μεταβολαῖς. The interventions in this passage affect the pronoun at the beginning (ἡμῖν), the noun (*χρῶμα*), and the punctuation.

Concerning the pronoun, it is transmitted by both manuscripts as ἡμῖν, but is soon modified by Xylander into ὑμῖν. This correction has been accepted by most scholars, whom I join, because Lamprias refers to Zeus from the specific point of view of Stoicism, namely pure fire (μέγα πῦρ καὶ συνεχές). As a Platonist, he would hardly have accepted such a Zeus as his supreme god, and therefore must have used the 2nd person plural instead of the 1st. Raingeard, who does not accept the emendation, sees in Lamprias’ definition of Zeus a dative of interest, and he believes that Empedocles’ influence can be appreciated.⁸³ This theory seems to me excessively complex, especially if we take into account that the confusion between 1st and 2nd person is a rather common mistake in textual transmission.⁸⁴

The following problem seems to be created by scholarship, rather than by real textual difficulties: ever since the annotation *χρῆμα* appeared in the Aldine copy that belonged to Leonicus, most scholars accepted the correction against the manuscripts’ reading *χρῶμα*.⁸⁵ Thus, Zeus no longer becomes every ‘color’ (*πᾶν χρῶμα γεγονώς*), but rather becomes ‘everything’ (*πᾶν χρῆμα γεγονώς*). As Pérez Jiménez has pointed out, the manuscripts’ reading can be accepted on the grounds of both style and philosophy.⁸⁶

A final, minor issue concerns the punctuation. Here, Lamprias poses the last in a series of rhetorical questions. While I accept B’s question mark at the end of the passage—as opposed to the point above the line of E—I do not accept the elimination of the manuscripts’ question

⁸³ Raingeard, *Le peri toy prosopoy*, 87.

⁸⁴ See above, footnote 46.

⁸⁵ Among these scholars we find Wytténbach, who did not note the correction in the critical apparatus; and Cherniss, who mistakenly attributed it to the Aldine exemplar belonging to Turnebus.

⁸⁶ Pérez Jiménez, “Plutarch and Transgressions of Nature,” 224.

mark after καὶ συνεχές proposed by the Aldine edition. Despite the general tendency to accept this correction, in my opinion, Lamprias may be dividing his question into two parts, and therefore both question marks may be maintained.

Translation: “And that Zeus of yours, is it not while in his own nature single, a great and continuous fire? But now he is slackened and subdued and transformed, having become and continuing to become every color in the course of his changes?”

926E 5-7 καὶ τὴν μυθικὴν ἐκείνην καὶ φοβερὰν ἀκοσμίαν καὶ πλημμέλειαν ἐπιδεῖν ποθῆς, χωρὶς τὸ βαρὺ πᾶν καὶ χωρὶς ... τὸ κοῦφον.

EB: καὶ τὴν μυθικὴν ἐκείνην καὶ φοβερὰν ἀκοσμίαν καὶ πλημμέλειαν ἐπιδεῖν ποθῆς, χωρὶς τὸ βαρὺ πᾶν καὶ χωρὶς ... τὸ κοῦφον.

Both manuscripts transmit a lacuna after χωρὶς: E counts approximately eight letters, while B counts four letters. The first suggestion to fill the blank is from RJ94, which constructed a parallel structure with the preceding text (χωρὶς τὸ βαρὺ πᾶν καὶ χωρὶς <πᾶν> τὸ κοῦφον). Wytttenbach suggested (in the apparatus) the participle διαστήσας, but he also said “*forte nil excidit*;” Emperius simply corrected πᾶν into the participle ποιῶν; Bernardakis supplied the lacuna with the participle τιθείς; Pohlenz (in the apparatus), with διαστάν; and Chernis with the combination of a participle and an adjective, θείς πᾶν.⁸⁷

In my opinion, there is no reason to modify a text that is sound both according to grammar and context. Perhaps, indeed, nothing is missing in the sentence, and thus it is preferable to maintain the lacuna in the text, while referring to the many conjectures in the critical apparatus.

Translation: “and long to look upon that mythical and dreadful disorder and discord, once everything is without what is heavy and without ... what is light.”

927A 19-22 καὶ τὰ μὲν κινήσεως, τὰ δὲ μονῆς ἀνάγκαις ἐνδεθέντα καὶ καταβιασθέντα πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον ἐξ οὗ πέφυκεν ἐνδοῦναι καὶ μεταστῆναι ... ἀρμονίαν καὶ κοινωνίαν ἀπεργάσηται τοῦ παντός.⁸⁸

EB: καὶ τὰ μὲν κινήσεως· τὰ δὲ, μονῆς ἀνάγκαις ἐνδεθέντα καὶ καταβιασθέντα πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον. ἐξ οὗ πέφυκεν ἐνδοῦναι καὶ μεταστῆναι ... ἀρμονίαν καὶ κοινωνίαν ἀπεργάσηται τοῦ παντός·

⁸⁷ Emperius, *Opuscula*, 290.

⁸⁸ The syntagma τοῦ παντός was omitted in both the Aldine and the *Basiliensis* editions.

Both manuscripts present a lacuna of approximately seven letters before ἀρμονίαν καὶ κοινωνίαν. Xylander wrote (in the commentary to his translation): “μεταστῆναι ἀρμονίαν nihil puto deesse.”⁸⁹ Some of the conjectures thus far proposed suggested the addition of an article, pronoun or noun that should relate to that syntagma: Amyot conjectured τήν; Bernardakis (in the apparatus), τάξιν καὶ; Adler, κόσμον καὶ *vel* σύγκρισιν καὶ; Raingeard (also in the apparatus), ταύτην τήν.⁹⁰ Other scholars, however, suggested options that should connect with the rest of the sentence, not with the closest syntagma: Wytttenbach proposed (in the apparatus) the participle ἀρξάμενα, which would relate to the previous ἐνδεθέντα καὶ καταβιασθέντα; and Cherniss supplied the subject that was omitted, τὰ σώματα.⁹¹ All of these conjectures are simple and coherent, but none are actually necessary for the text.

Translation: “and by being constrained some to be in motion and some to be at rest and compelled to give way and shift from what is natural toward the ‘better,’ it may produce a concord and community of the whole.”

927B 2-6 οὐδὲ κηπουρῶν οὐδὲ οἰκοδόμων, εἰ πῇ μὲν αὐτὸ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφ’ αὐτοῦ πέφυκεν ἐπεῖναι τοῖς δεομένοις καὶ κατάρδειν ἐπιρρέον, πῇ δὲ πλίνθοι καὶ ξύλα καὶ λίθοι ταῖς κατὰ φύσιν χρώμενα τροπαῖς καὶ νεύσεσιν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν καταλαμβάνειν τὴν προσήκουσαν ἀρμονίαν καὶ χώραν.

EB: οὐδὲ κηπουρῶν οὐδὲ οἰκοδόμων, εἰ πῇ μὲν αὐτὸ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ E / ἀφ’ αὐτοῦ B πέφυκεν ἐπεῖναι τοῖς δεομένοις καὶ κατάρδειν ἐπιρρέον· πῇ δὲ πλίνθοι καὶ ξύλα καὶ λίθοι ταῖς κατὰ φύσιν χρώμενα τροπαῖς καὶ νεύσεσιν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν καταλαμβάνειν τὴν προσήκουσαν ἀρμονίαν καὶ χώραν.

Manuscripts differ in the transmission of a pronoun: B provides the correct reflexive pronoun ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ, against the form ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ transmitted by E. The main difficulties of this passage, however, concern the infinitive ἐπεῖναι and the noun τροπαῖς; both of them are changed by scholarship.

The infinitive present ἐπεῖναι (of ἔπειμι, composite of εἰμί) was replaced by an annotation of the Aldine RJ94 with ἐπιρρεῖν (infinitive of ἐπιρρέω) and by Amyot with the

⁸⁹ Xylander, *Plutarchi Chaeronensis Moralia*, 718.

⁹⁰ Adler, *Dissertationes philologae Vindobonenses*, 99. See Raingeard’s notes on his choice in *Le peri toy prosopoy*, 89.

⁹¹ Cherniss, “Notes on Plutarch’s *De facie*,” 141.

infinitive ἐπιέναι (of ἔπειμι, composite of εἰμι).⁹² While the verb of movement suggested by Amyot fits smoothly, the subject of the sentence (water), the form transmitted by the manuscripts, can be maintained on the grounds that the sense of the sentence remains intact: whether water “runs” towards the places that need it or “remains” in the places that need it, the point is that gardeners are then useless.

Regarding the noun, τροπαῖς, meaning ‘turning,’ or ‘direction,’ it was soon corrected by an annotation in Turnebus’ Aldine copy to ρόπαῖς. This correction was accepted by most scholars, on the grounds that the replacement fits the context and finds support in the following passage (927C, Ως εἴ γε πάντα δεῖ ταῖς κατὰ φύσιν ρόπαῖς χρῆσθαι καὶ φέρεσθαι καθὸ πέφυκε). In my opinion, however, the meaning of ρόπαῖς, ‘inclination,’ or ‘impulse,’ excessively resembles the noun with which it is coordinated (καὶ νεύσεσιν, ‘inclination towards earth’). Furthermore, the noun transmitted by both manuscripts does not suppose an unsurmountable difficulty and can be maintained in coordination with καὶ νεύσεσιν.

Translation: “nor gardeners or builders, if here water all of itself naturally remains with the things that require it and irrigates them with its stream, and there bricks and timbers and stones, by following their natural directions and inclinations, assume of themselves their appropriate position and arrangement.”

927D 22-1 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ εἴ γε δεῖ τὰς καταδεδουλωμένας ἔξεις <καὶ> δόξας ἀφέντας ἥδη τὸ φαινόμενον ἀδεῶς λέγειν, οὐδὲν ἔοικεν ὅλου μέρος αὐτὸ καθ’ ἑαυτὸ τάξιν ἢ θέσιν ἡ κίνησιν ιδίαν ἔχειν, ἢ ἂν τις ἀπλῶς κατὰ φύσιν προσαγορεύσειεν·

EB: οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ εἴ γε δεῖ τὰς καταδεδουλωμένας ἔξεις ... δόξας ἀφέντας ἥδη τὸ φαινόμενον ἀδεῶς λέγειν, οὐδὲν ἔοικεν ὅλου μέρος αὐτὸ καθ’ ἑαυτὸ τάξιν ἢ θέσιν ἡ κίνησιν ιδίαν ἔχειν, ἢ ἂν τις ἀπλῶς κατὰ φύσιν προσαγορεύσειεν·

Two issues have to be dealt with in the passage. Firstly, there is a lacuna in both manuscripts between ἔξεις and δόξας: E reports a gap of only three letters, while B reports one of six; secondly, the form ἢ, transmitted by the manuscripts, was changed into ἢν in the 16th century, a correction accepted by later scholarship almost unanimously.

Concerning the lacuna, the first attempts to supply the missing text were those of Amyot and Xylander (in the commentary to his translation). While the former supplied the missing conjunction and the article in accusative plural (καὶ τάς), the latter only supplied the

⁹² Most scholars accepted ἐπιέναι, but Bernardakis, Pohlenz and Cherniss all attributed the emendation to Emperius.

conjunction.⁹³ Emperius suggested the correction of ἔξεις into ἔξει and the elimination of the blank that follows; Madvig proposed ἔθει instead of ἔξεις; and Bernandakis merged his predecessors' corrections and supplied the gap with ἔξει καὶ ἔθει; Pohlenz also accepted Emperius' emendation and used the final sigma of the manuscripts' ἔξεις as the beginning of the word that would have been lost in the lacuna: ἔξει σαθρῷ.⁹⁴

In my opinion, the only necessary element in the sentence is the coordination between the two nouns ἔξεις and δόξας, which is the reason why I integrate Xylander's conjecture in the body of text. While this fills the lacuna in E, the conjecture of Amyot (καὶ τάς), close in sense and also correct, would fill B's gap.

Concerning the replacement of ᾧ, scholars, in general, accepted the accusative ᾧ suggested by an annotation in the Aldine RJ94 and the *Basiliensis* edition. Consequently, the verb προσαγορεύσειεν would count with two accusatives: the relative pronoun that refers to τάξιν ἡ θέσιν ἡ κίνησιν ιδίαν and the syntagma κατὰ φύσιν.⁹⁵ I believe, however, that the manuscripts' reading can be maintained with a consecutive value.

Translation: “Nevertheless, if we are finally to throw off the habits <and> opinions that have enslaved our minds and to fearlessly say what appears to be the case, no part of a whole all by itself seems to have any order, position, or motion for which someone could call it unconditionally natural.”

928D 14-17 ἀλλ’ ὅμως ὁρᾶν πάρεστιν οὐκ ἀποκεκριμένην τοῦ αἰθέρος τὴν σελήνην, ἀλλ’ ἔτι πολλῷ ἐν τῷ περὶ αὐτὴν ἐμφερομένην, πολλὴν δὲ ύφ’ ἔσαυτὴν ἔχουσαν ἀνέμων <δίνην> δινεῖσθαι καὶ κομήτας:

EB: ἀλλ’ ὅμως ὁρᾶν πάρεστιν οὐκ ἀποκεκριμένου E/ ἀποκεκρυμμένου B τοῦ αἰθέρος τὴν σελήνην· ἀλλ’ ἔτι πολλῷ ἐν τῷ περὶ αὐτὴν ἐμφερομένην. πολλὴν δὲ ύφ’ ἔσαυτὴν ἔχουσαν ἀνέμων ... δινεῖσθαι καὶ κομήτας.

Here we find a complex passage that has been intervened many times in the attempt to provide a more distinct syntax. First, the manuscripts differ in one verb; second, minor

⁹³ Xylander, *Plutarchi Chaeronensis*, 718. Raingeard would present this conjecture as his own more than three centuries later.

⁹⁴ Emperius, *Opuscula*, 290; Madvig, *Adversaria critica*, 665.

⁹⁵ Among the followers of the correction, we have Wyttenebach, who did not clarify in the apparatus that it is an emendation of EB's text; Bernandakis, who did not attribute the correction to anyone; and Cherniss, who only mentioned the *Basiliensis* edition.

modifications affect the construction $\piολλω̄ \dot{\epsilon}ν τῷ$, the pronoun $αὐτήν$, and the adjective $πολλήν$; and finally, near the end of the passage there is a lacuna of approximately 25 letters.

Concerning the divergence between E and B, while E reads $\dot{\alpha}\piοκεκριμένου$ (of $\dot{\alpha}\piοκρίνω$, ‘to separate’), B reads $\dot{\alpha}\piοκεκρυμένου$ (of $\dot{\alpha}\piοκρύπτω$, ‘to hide’). The context points to E’s verb, although the case seems to be mistaken. An annotation in both the Aldine RJ94 and the *Basiliensis* edition suggested to transform the genitive into an accusative ($\dot{\alpha}\piοκεκριμένην$); Raingeard, however, maintained E’s reading. While Raingeard’s choice is interesting, implying that there is a genitive absolute ($οὐκ \dot{\alpha}\piοκεκριμένου τοῦ αἰθέρος$), it can hardly be accepted given the development of the sentence. Not only do the other participles in the passage ($\dot{\epsilon}\muφερομένην$, $\dot{\epsilon}\chiουσαν$) modify the moon in accusative, but more importantly, just after the supposedly genitive absolute is the adversative $\dot{\alpha}\lambda\lambda' \dot{\epsilon}\tauι$, which causes the rest of the passage to oppose this first part, something that Raingeard’s construction cannot admit—in point of fact, he suggests (in the apparatus) the modification of $\dot{\alpha}\lambda\lambda'$ into $\dot{\alpha}\mu'$ and does not translate the opposition: “Ce n’est pas cela, mais on peut voir sans mettre l’éther de côté, la lune emportée à travers celui qui l’environne.”

Regarding the construction $\piολλω̄ \dot{\epsilon}ν τῷ$, it has been modified in different fashions. An annotation in the Aldine RJ94 corrected $\piολλω̄$ into the feminine accusative ($πολλήν$); Amyot transposed the preposition before $\piολλω̄$ ($\dot{\epsilon}ν πολλω̄ τῷ$); Dübner deleted the preposition; Benseler replaced it with the particle $μέν$.⁹⁶ In my view, while the construction transmitted by EB is not the most common, it does not require a change.

Concerning the pronoun $αὐτήν$, it is corrected by Bernadakis into $αὐτήν$. An emendation that is not required by the text.

In what regards $πολλήν$, because the moon is the subject of both the following participle and its complement ($\dot{\nu}\varphi' \dot{\epsilon}\alphaντὴν \dot{\epsilon}\chiουσαν$), it cannot also be the object modified by this adjective in accusative. Amyot corrected it into $πολλών$ (*sic*), obviously meaning to write $πολών$, namely the aether.⁹⁷ While it is a reasonable option, given that the previous part of the passage deals precisely with aether ($τοῦ αἰθέρος$ and $πολλω̄$), I believe the reading of the manuscripts can be maintained if the lacuna is also taken into account (below).

As for the lacuna, its length has allowed for many conjectures over time, which, in turn, tend to further modify the surrounding text. An annotation in RJ94 conjectured $αἰθεροειδῆ οὐσίαν τῷ καὶ αὐτοῖς$; Amyot proposed a simple noun, $χώραν$; Wyttenbach proposed (in the

⁹⁶ Benseler, *De hiato in oratoribus Atticis*, 518.

⁹⁷ This correction was proposed by Madvig as his own; a mistake that Cherniss maintained when accepting the intervention.

apparatus) βίαν, ὑφ̄ ἡς ἄλλα τε εἰκός ἔστι; Emperius transformed the nouns ἀνέμων and κομῆτας and the verb following the lacuna into ἀνέμῳ ἐνδινεῖσθαι καὶ κομῆταις; Bernardakis conjectured (in the apparatus) τε ρίπας ὑφ̄ ὕν (*aut* αἵς) ἄλλα τε εἰκός; Pohlenz (also in the apparatus), βίαν ὑφ̄ ὕν ἐκθλιβέντας φασὶν ἐν τῷ αἰθέρι; and Cherniss who had previously accepted Madvig's transformation of ἀνέμων into ἐν φ̄, conjectured λέγουσιν αὐτοὶ τοὺς πωγωνίας.⁹⁸ Cherniss justified his suggestion by saying that ἀνέμων must have been a false doubling of the two last letters of ἔχουσαν and the following syntagma ἐν φ̄ and that the lacuna must have included a noun parallel to κομῆτας, but he did not explain the reason of the noun he chose or the reason to add λέγουσιν αὐτοί.⁹⁹

In my view, there is a simpler solution that solves both the issue with the adjective πολλήν and the content of the lacuna. If a feminine noun is added in the blank space, the adjective can then modify it instead of modifying the aether, and therefore would not need to be corrected. I conjecture δίνην, which functions as an object of the participle ἔχουσαν, modifies the preceding ἀνέμων, and is linked through καὶ with the accusative κομῆτας. Furthermore, its loss might be explained by the repetition of δίνη(ν) δινεῖ(σθαι).

Translation: “Yet all the same anyone can see that the moon whirls about without being separated from the aether, but rather being carried in a large amount that surrounds it, and having beneath much <whirling> of winds and the comets.”

4.2.4. 928D–929B. The Moon’s Nature According to Aristotelianism

928E 1-2 ὥστε ἐμέ τε πραγμάτων ἀπηλλάχθαι.” Καὶ <ό> Λεύκιος … “ώγαθὲ” εἴπεν¹⁰⁰

EB: ὥστε ἐμέ τε πραγμάτων ἀπηλλάχθαι καὶ ... λεύκιος ... ϖ γαθὲ E / ϖ' γαθὲ B εἴπεν.

In the transition from the last words of Aristotle to the reply of Lucius, both manuscripts transmit two lacunae, only separated by a word, Λεύκιος: the first one has a gap of approximately eight letters in E, and 10 in B; the second one amounts to around 10 letters in both manuscripts.

Everything that precedes the first lacuna might belong to Aristotle's words. In this case, the conjunction καὶ should link either ἐμέ with another subject of the subordinate clause, πραγμάτων with another noun, or ἀπηλλάχθαι with another infinitive. So thought Amyot who

⁹⁸ Emperius, *Opuscula*, 290; Madvig, *Adversaria critica*, 71.

⁹⁹ Cherniss, “Notes on Plutarch’s *De facie*,” 141.

¹⁰⁰ This is Stephanus' correction of the nonexistent forms of EB (E, ϖ γαθὲ, B, ϖ' γαθὲ).

suggested to complete the lacuna with τὸν κλέαρχον ἄλλα; also Wytttenbach who proposed (in his apparatus) <σὲ, (sic) ὦ Λεύκιε> καὶ <ό> Λεύκιος; and Pohlenz who proposed (in the apparatus) σὲ τό γε καθ' ἡμᾶς· ὁ δέ. Aristotle's sentence, however, makes complete sense as it has been transmitted, therefore καί might initiate a new sentence, functioning then as adverb, rather than as conjunction. I am inclined to this solution, as are other scholars, such as Emperius, who added only the article ὁ before Λεύκιος—following part of Wytttenbach's suggestion—; and Cherniss with ὑπολαβὼν ὁ.¹⁰¹ Both of them, in any case, supply the missing article preceding Lucius' name, the only thing required by the text.

Various conjectures were proposed for the second lacuna: Wytttenbach supplied (in the apparatus) the negation οὐκ; Bernardakis suggested ἥκιστα; and Raingeard οὐδ' ἐλάχιστον. None of these conjectures seems either necessary or based on firm grounds. The sentence, furthermore, makes sense as it is, which is the reason why I simply signal the lacuna in the text.

Translation: “so that I have been spared trouble.’ And Lucius said: ‘my dear...’”

928EF 2-5 “ἀλλὰ τὰ ἄλλα μὲν ἵσως ἄστρα καὶ τὸν ὅλον οὐρανὸν εἰς τινα φύσιν καθαρὰν καὶ εἰλικρινῆ καὶ τῆς κατὰ πάθος ἀπηλλαγμένην μεταβολῆς τιθεμένοις ὑμῖν καὶ κύκλον ἄγουσι, δι’ οὗ καὶ ἀτελευτήτου περιφορᾶς ... οὐκ ἂν τις ἐν γε τῷ νῦν διαμάχοιτο,
EB: ἀλλὰ τὰ ἄλλα μὲν ἵσως ἄστρα καὶ τὸν ὅλον οὐρανὸν εἰς τινα φύσιν καθαρὰν καὶ εἰλικρινῆ· καὶ τῆς κατὰ πάθος ἀπηλλαγμένην μεταβολῆς τιθεμένοις ἡμῖν καὶ κύκλον ἄγουσι· δι’ οὗ καὶ ἀτελευτήτου περιφορᾶς ... οὐκ ἂν τις ἐν γε τῷ νῦν διαμάχοιτο·

The reply of Lucius to Aristotle, besides being interrupted by a lacuna at the end, has been modified by scholarship in four places: a) at the beginning (ἀλλὰ τὰ ἄλλα); b) the pronoun ἡμῖν; c) the participle ἄγουσι; and d) the syntagma δι’ οὗ.

Let us first examine the interventions of scholars in the text. At the beginning (ἀλλὰ τὰ ἄλλα), the article was transformed by the Aldine and *Basiliensis* editions into τε, while Emperius eliminated the adversative.¹⁰² Either of these modifications, in my view, are necessary. The beginning of Lucius' intervention makes perfect sense within his argument: he is willing to disregard, for the moment, some of the beliefs of Aristotle and his companions in order to focus on one point only—the moon's nature.

The pronoun ἡμῖν was corrected by an annotation in RJ94 into the 2nd person ὑμῖν. Given that Lucius is replying to Aristotle and, by extension, to those who think both that stars

¹⁰¹ Emperius, *Opuscula*, 291.

¹⁰² Emperius, *Opuscula*, 291.

move in circle and that there is a substance superior to the four elements found in the sublunary realm, it seems obvious that he cannot include himself in this group.

The participle ἄγουσι is coordinated with τιθεμένοις and has the pronoun ύμῖν as a subject. Pohlenz (in the apparatus) and Cherniss seemed to have thought that its subject is τινα φύσιν, given that they corrected it to ἄγουσαν. Instead of taking “a nature” as the object of the participle and Aristotle and his companions (ύμῖν) as the subject, they assumed this was the subject (‘a nature which moves in circles’). Cherniss’ interpretation, which in my view is incorrect, might result from the parallelism he established with Aristotle’s speech a few lines above (κύκλῳ τε κινεῖσθαι κατὰ φύσιν), which may have forced him to modify the transmitted text in order to make τινα φύσιν the subject of the participle.¹⁰³

The form δι’ οὖ, appearing right after the participle, was corrected by Kepler into δίου θείου; and by Dübner into ἀιδίου—a correction accepted by Emperius, Bernardakis and Pohlenz.¹⁰⁴ While Kepler’s suggestion seems rather difficult to explain, Dübner’s proposal coordinates the adjective with the following καὶ ἀτελευτήτου: both of them are linked by their meaning given that the former means ‘forever’ and the latter, ‘without ending.’ Once again, there is no need for such an intervention, since the transmitted text is reasonably coherent.

Returning to the lacuna in this passage, it has 16 letters in E and 14 in B. Amyot supplied the blank with the participle μετέχουσι; Wytténbach (in the apparatus) with the infinitive κινεῖσθαι; Adler, explaining that there is no need for a new verb in the sentence, proposed τῶν οὐρανίων; Pohlenz (also in the apparatus), ὄμαλῷς περιπινόμενον; and Cherniss, οἴον τε φύσιν ἔχειν—again, making φύσιν the explicit subject of the subordinate clauses.¹⁰⁵ Donini followed Cherniss, but suggested that the repetition of φύσιν so soon after the previous occurrence of this noun would hardly fit in Plutarch’s style, so he proposed the alternative κίνησιν.¹⁰⁶

Taking the passage’s structure into consideration, I believe that the best option is a participle in dative that is coordinated with the other two participles, whose subject is ύμῖν. Amyot’s proposal, in this sense, is the most suitable, but it seems preferable to simply note the lacuna in the apparatus.

Translation: “but for now one would not quarrel with you, who ascribe to the rest of the stars and the whole heaven a nature pure and undefiled and free from qualitative change and who make it move in a circle, whereby also an endless revolution ...”

¹⁰³ Cherniss, “Notes on Plutarch’s *De facie*,” 142.

¹⁰⁴ Kepler, *Ioh. Kepleri Mathematici*, 119; Emperius, *Opuscula*, 291.

¹⁰⁵ Adler, *Dissertationes philologae Vindobonenses*, 102.

¹⁰⁶ Donini, *Plutarco. Il volto della luna*, 290 n. 158.

929Α 12-13 Αὐτῆς δὲ νώθειαν καὶ τάχους ἀμβλύτητα καὶ τὸ θερμὸν ἀδρανὲς καὶ ἀμαυρόν, <ῷ>
κατὰ τὸν Ἰωνα

μέλας οὐ πεπαίνεται βότρυς,
εἰς τί θησόμεθα πλὴν ἀσθένειαν αὐτῆς καὶ πάθος, <εὶ πάθους> ἀιδίῳ σώματι καὶ
όλυμπίῳ μέτεστιν.¹⁰⁷

EB αὐτῆς δὲ νώθειαν E/ νωθείαν B καὶ τάχους ἀμβλύτητα. καὶ τὸ θερμὸν ἀδρανὲς καὶ
ἀμαυρὸν, κατὰ E/ καὶ κατὰ B τὸν Ἰωνα μέλας οὐ πεπαίνεται βότρυς, εἰς τί θησόμεθα·
πλὴν ἀσθένειαν αὐτῆς· καὶ πάθος ἀιδίῳ σώματι καὶ ὀλυμπίῳ μέτεστιν.

Three issues appear in this passage: a) the manuscripts disagree in one reading; b) the introduction of an incomplete verse from Ion; and c) the lack of a complement required by the verb μέτεστιν in the last sentence.

Regarding the manuscripts' disagreement, while E transmits only the preposition κατά, B adds in front of it the conjunction καὶ, which is not necessary in the passage.

Concerning the quote of Ion's verse, the agent seems to be lost.¹⁰⁸ Plutarch quotes the same verse, complete, in *Quaest. conv.* 3.10: μέλας γὰρ αὐταῖς οὐ πεπαίνεται βότρυς. The dative αὐταῖς, which refers to the previously mentioned τὰς αὐγάς, functions in the verse as agent—a complement that has not been transmitted in *De facie*'s quote.¹⁰⁹ In this passage, the logical cause for the ripening of grapes is τὸ θερμὸν ἀδρανὲς καὶ ἀμαυρόν. The Aldine SR67 corrected οὐ into οῦ, which only complicates the matter further, given that it eliminates the negation necessary for the correct meaning of Ion's verse. The Aldine RJ94 and the *Basiliensis* edition proposed the addition of the relative pronoun ὃ before κατά, and, for that matter, they also deleted the conjunction καὶ that the Aldine edition maintained, following B's reading.¹¹⁰ In my view, ὃ is preferable because it fits the syntax better and, being a monosyllable, it may have easily dropped out by the scribe's lack of attention.

¹⁰⁷ Even though νώθειαν is the reading of E, Bernardakis strikingly presented it as his own, and Raingeard attributed it to his predecessor. Furthermore, according to Raingeard, ὄλυμπίῳ is the reading of B only, while E would transmit the form ὄλυμπίοο, which is only a misreading of the admittedly strange form of the omega in that manuscript.

¹⁰⁸ TGF 57 Snell.

¹⁰⁹ The presence of αὐγάς in *Quaest. conv.* might explain the correction suggested by Sandbach in "Second Meeting," 15, which was accepted by Pohlenz, reading αὐτῆς into αὐγῆς. This is a mistake: both νώθειαν and ἀμβλύτητα refer specifically to the moon (αὐτῆς), not to its rays. Sandbach, furthermore, modified the order of most elements in the sentence: αὐγῆς δὲ ἀμβλύτητα καὶ τάχους νώθειαν.

¹¹⁰ The addition of ὃ was accepted by most scholars, among them is Wyttenbach, who did not explain in the apparatus that it was not EB's reading, as well as Bernardakis, Raingeard, Pohlenz and Cherniss, none of whom mentioned the Aldine RJ94 as author.

Concerning the grammatical issue at the end of the passage, the problem arises through the lack of a complement required by μέτεστιν. In the Aldine SR67 we find the annotation εἰ πάθους to be added after καὶ πάθος.¹¹¹ The corruption can be explained by the simplification of the polyptoton (ἀσθένειαν αὐτῆς καὶ πάθος εἰ πάθους). In the margin of RJ94 there is the addition of ὃν οὐδετέρου also to be inserted after ἀσθένειαν αὐτῆς καὶ πάθος; Xylander suggested (in the commentary of 1570) the modification of the text into καὶ ὁ Αριστοτέλης· πάθος ἄρα ἀμίδιο, which not only is unnecessary but also unjustified; Stephanus proposed εἰ πάθος; and Pohlenz suggested the addition of πόθεν οὖν πάθους.¹¹² Differently, Raingeard solved the problem by modifying EB's punctuation: if Xylander's question mark after αὐτῆς and the Aldine and *Basiliensis* editions' question mark after μέτεστιν are accepted, then two different questions are created. While I appreciate the simplicity of Raingerad's solution, Leonicus' proposal seems to be more suitable from both a stylistic and a palaeographic point of view.

Translation: “The moon’s sluggishness and slackness of speed and the feebleness and faintness of its heat <which>, in the words of Ion, ‘ripes not the grape to duskiness,’ to what shall we ascribe them except to its weakness and affection, if an eternal and celestial body takes part of an affection?”

4.2.5. 929B-931D. The Question of the Moon’s Illumination

929BC 6-8 εἰ μὴ στέγει μηδὲ ἀντιφράττει τὸν ἥλιον, ἀλλὰ δίεισιν ὑπὸ μανότητος ἢ κατὰ σύγκρασιν εἰσλάμπει καὶ συνεξάπτει περὶ αὐτὴν τὸ φῶς·

EB: εἰ μὴ στέγει μὴ δὲ ἀντιφράττει τὸν ἥλιον, ἀλλὰ δίεισιν ὑπὸ μανότητος. ἢ κατὰ σύγκρασιν εἰσλάμπει καὶ συνεξάπτει περὶ αὐτὴν τὸ φῶς·

Three main modifications have been made to this sentence: the verb δίεισιν, the verb εἰσλάμπει, and its complement περὶ αὐτήν. All of them are, in my view, motivated by a misunderstanding of the passage’s syntax. A few scholars assumed that the whole passage has

¹¹¹ This suggestion was copied in all the Aldines exemplars that transmitted Leonicus’ corrections and was accepted by most editors, although Bernardakis, Pohlenz and Cherniss erroneously attributed it to Dübner. It is interesting to note that the contributor to RJ94 who systematically copied Leonicus’ corrections presented, in this case, the reading εἰ πάθῃ instead of εἰ πάθους. For the explanation of such a mistake, see my analysis in Lesage Gárriga, “Aldinas anotadas,” 258 and 262.

¹¹² Xylander, *Plutarchi Chaeronensis*, 718. Wytttenbach incorporated Stephanus’ conjecture in the text of his edition without specifying that it is not the manuscripts’ reading.

the same subject: the moon. Consequently, they are compelled to modify the text transmitted by EB, because it presents semantic difficulties.

Concerning δίεισιν, the verb was switched by Madvig into the same tense of διύημι (διύησιν) because of its meaning.¹¹³ While EB's reading means 'to go through,' or 'to pass,' Madvig's proposal means 'to send,' or 'to let go.' Madvig—and with him Bernardakis and Cherniss—was compelled to replace the verb with a more suitable one because the moon, indeed, cannot 'go through' itself, but rather 'lets something go.' Therefore, the object according to Madvig is τὸ φῶς.

Concerning the modification of εἰσλάμπει, it was motivated by the supposedly unfitting meaning of the preverb. Sandbach changed the verb into ἐκλάμπει, which means 'to shine suddenly,' or 'to enlighten,' whose transitive value can have τὸ φῶς as object, and thus fits the structure of the sentence, in his view, better than εἰσλάμπω, 'to shine in.'¹¹⁴

Regarding περὶ αὐτήν, it was corrected by an annotation in RJ94 to περὶ αὐτήν, so that it would reinforce the idea of the moon being the recipient of light ('in itself').¹¹⁵

While it is true that the moon is the subject of the first part of the passage (929B, Οὕτω γὰρ οὐδὲν ἥττον ἐν νουμηνίαις ἢ διχομηνίαις ἔσται πανσέληνος ἡμῖν, εἰ μὴ στέγει μηδὲ ἀντιφράττει τὸν ἥλιον), in my opinion, there is a switch of subject in the second part of the sentence: τὸ φῶς is not the object—as these scholars supposed—but the new subject. In this sense, the first verb that both manuscripts report (δίεισιν) can be maintained, because light can 'go through' the moon. Also the forms εἰσλάμπει and περὶ αὐτήν are valid if the moon no longer is the subject: light, in point of fact, can 'shine in' the moon when going through it, and can also join in kindling the moon when 'around it.'

Translation: "if the moon does not conceal and obstruct the sun, but its light goes through because of the moon's subtlety or as a result of a combination, it shines in and joins in kindling when around the moon."

929D 26-27 ὅθεν οὐδὲ θερμὸν οὐδὲ λαμπρὸν ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὥσπερ ἦν εἰκὸς ἐξάψεως καὶ μίξεως <τῶν> φώτων γεγενημένης,¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Madvig, *Adversaria critica*, 665.

¹¹⁴ I have not been able to trace where he proposed such a change; I, therefore, rely on Cherniss' attribution.

¹¹⁵ Cherniss, who attributed this and the preceding correction to Sandbach, failed to notice that the modification of the breathing was already proposed in the Aldine exemplar belonging to Turnebus.

¹¹⁶ The participle γεγενημένης was transmitted by a mistake of iotaism as γεγενημένοις in the Aldine and the *Basiliensis* editions. A mistake soon corrected into the genitive by annotations in the copies of Leonicus, Turnebus and Amyot.

EB: ὅθεν οὐδὲ θερμὸν οὐδὲ λαμπρὸν ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὥσπερ ἦν εἰκὸς ἔξαψεως καὶ μίξεως ... φώτων γεγενημένης.

A lacuna is reported by the manuscripts between μίξεως and φώτων: E presents a gap of five letters, and B a gap of only three. The first conjecture is found in the Aldine SR67 with τῶν, which is the article that should accompany the following φώτων. Xylander simply deleted the lacuna, interpreting that no text is missing. Wytttenbach stunningly stated (in the apparatus) that there is no lacuna in B, and proposed τινός, thus relating the missing part to the preceding syntagma ἔξαψεως καὶ μίξεως; Raingeard conjectured δύο; and Pohlenz, the variation δυοῖν. Curiously, Raingeard affirmed in the commentary that τῶν cannot be the right conjecture, because “nous ne savons pas expressément de quelles lumières il s’agit,” but he then suggested δύο, which implies that he had indeed two particular lights in mind—I suppose the lights of the sun and the moon, as the passage itself suggests and most scholars infer.¹¹⁷

In my view, the two nouns in genitive singular preceding the lacuna can be understood as an indefinite without the need of adding the pronoun, but φώτων does need a determinative. The addition of the article in genitive plural seems to me the most appropriate option: while the options of numeral and dual are both correct, they simply make explicit information already contained in the article.¹¹⁸

Translation: “that is why there is neither warmth nor brilliance that reaches us, as we should expect if there had been a kindling and mixture of <the> lights.”

930B 25-1 διαβάλλεται δὲ τοῖς διπτύχοις κατόπτροις, ως ἐπικλιθέντων πρὸς ἄλληλα καὶ γωνίας ἐντὸς γενομένης, ἐκάτερον τῶν ἐπιπέδων διττὴν ἔμφασιν ἀποδίδωσι καὶ ποιεῖ τέτταρας εἰκόνας ἀφ' ἐνὸς προσώπου, δύο μὲν ἀντιστρόφους τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἐναργεστέρας μέρεσι, δύο δὲ δεξιοφανεῖς ἀμαυρὰς ἐν βάθει τῶν κατόπτρων,¹¹⁹

EB: διαβάλλεται δὲ τοῖς διπτύχοις κατόπτροις ως ἐπικριθέντων πρὸς ἄλληλα· καὶ γωνίας ἐντὸς γενομένης ἐκάτερον τῶν ἐπιπέδων διττῆς ἔμφασιν ἀποδίδωσι· καὶ ποιεῖ

¹¹⁷ Raingeard, *Le peri toy prosopoy*, 99.

¹¹⁸ Bernardakis and Cherniss also accepted Leonicus' conjecture, but the former presented it as his own and the latter maintained this misattribution.

¹¹⁹ There is a dittography in both manuscripts, from ὅταν ἐμφάσεις ποιῇ το διαβάλλεται δέ, after that they present a lacuna—14 letters E, 11 letters B. This repetition is also transmitted in the Aldine and the *Basilensis* editions. Many scholars of the 16th century either underlined or crossed out the repetition, among which are Leonicus and Turnebus; although, only the latter is credited for the elimination of the doubled sentence. Furthermore, the Aldine edition reads γενομένοις instead of γενομένης, a mistake probably due to iotaicism and soon corrected by Forteguerri, Leonicus and Turnebus in their copies.

τέτταρας εικόνας ἀφ' ἐνὸς προσώπου· δύο μὲν ἀντιστρόφους τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἀριστεροῖς μέρεσι· δύο δὲ δεξιοφανεῖς ἀμαυρὰς ἐν βάθει τῶν κατόπτρων,

The whole passage deals with the law of reflexion, which it refutes on the grounds of two examples: firstly, of convex mirrors (930AB, διαβάλλεται μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν κυρτῶν κατόπτρων, ὅταν ἐμφάσεις ποιῇ μείζονας ἑαυτῶν πρὸς ἐν τῷ τῆς ὄψεως σημεῖον); secondly, of folding mirrors.¹²⁰ The explanation of the type of images created by these mirrors includes some problems.

The first one is the manuscripts' reading ώς ἐπικριθέντων: the meaning of the verb, 'to decide about or against,' or 'to choose,' does not seem to fit the context, and the adverb seems somehow out of place, which is a reason why both were modified by an annotation in RJ94 to read ὃν ἐπικλιθέντων. The relative pronoun refers to the antecedent τοῖς διπτύχοις κατόπτροις and the verb's meaning, 'to lean on,' or 'to bend toward,' which is a simple but effective emendation.

While I agree with the replacement of a verb that made no sense in the present passage, I have reservations about the modification of the adverb. It is true that ὃν improves the syntax of the sentence, but ώς is not *per se* a bad reading, which is the reason why I maintain EB's text.

The second issue is the form διπτῆς, transmitted by EB: given that it modifies the noun ἐμφασιν, it must be corrected into an accusative. The correction was first suggested by Forteguerri.¹²¹ Raingeard, however, maintained EB's reading and pointed (in his commentary) that it modifies γωνίας.¹²² In that case, the subject of the main clause (ἐκάτερον τῶν ἐπιπέδων) breaks the genitive absolute in two pieces, which is doubtful. Furthermore, it is more plausible that the numeral modifies the noun that immediately follows it, rather than a noun mentioned significantly earlier.

Then comes the problematic nature of the images created by the folding mirrors. These, being inclined towards each other and having formed an inner angle, are said to give a double image of a single object and to create four likenesses: two of a kind, and the other two of another. The first two images are ἀντιστρόφους, 'reversed,' and are located τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἀριστεροῖς μέρεσι in 'the parts that are outer left.' The first issue at stake is that the two left

¹²⁰ This entry represents a shorter version of the analysis of the passage developed in L. Lesage Gárriga, "Plutarch and the Law of Reflection: Critical and Literary Commentary to *De facie* 930A-C," *Ploutarchos* 15 (in press).

¹²¹ All modern scholars, however, mistakenly attributed the correction to Turnebus.

¹²² Raingeard, *Le peri toy prosopoy*, 101.

parts of two folding mirrors cannot both be at the same time “outer.” The other two images are ἀμαυράς, ‘dim,’ or ‘faint,’ located ἐν βάθει τῶν κατόπτρων, ‘in the depth of the mirrors.’ But they are also said to be δεξιοφανεῖς, an adjective that has two different meanings: ‘shown straight,’ namely not reversed (thus opposed to ἀντιστρόφους, above), and ‘shown on the right side’ (thus opposed to ἀριστεροῖς, above). Amyot, Wyttenbach and Prickard interpreted its second meaning, which, in turn, poses the same problem as ἀριστεροῖς: the two right parts of two folding mirrors cannot be both in depth, namely in the inner angle.¹²³ This allows for the exclusion of δεξιοφανεῖς’ second meaning, but the problem with ἀριστεροῖς still remains.

Other scholars tried to solve it differently. First, Wyttenbach reorganized most of the sentence into δύο μὲν ἀριστεράς, δύο δὲ δεξιοφανεῖς, τὰς μὲν ἀντιστρόφους τοῖς ἔξωθεν μέρεσι, τὰς δὲ ἀμαυρὰς ἐν βάθει τῶν κατόπτρων. While his conjecture provides the passage with sense, it is difficult to explain how the text could have been so corrupted from the reading transmitted by the manuscripts. Dübner added the preposition ἐν before the syntagma τοῖς [...] μέρεσι and secluded the problematic ἀριστεροῖς, which should be seen as a gloss integrated in the text following a misinterpretation of the meaning of δεξιοφανεῖς. Most scholars adopted this solution. However, while the seclusion of the problematic term appears to be the easiest solution, it actually presumes two different mistakes: the misinterpretation of δεξιοφανεῖς, and the wrong inclusion of a gloss meant to parallel that term. A few scholars solve the problem differently. Emperius accepted Dübner’s interventions and turned the preposition ἐν before βάθει into the article τῷ.¹²⁴ Schmidt suggested to modify ἀριστεροῖς into σαφεστέρας, meaning ‘clearer,’ or ‘more distinctive;’ and Raingeard, in the same line, wrote ἐναργεστέρας, meaning ‘clearer,’ or ‘more visible.’¹²⁵ And Pohlenz, while accepting only the seclusion by Emperius, added ἀλλ’ after δεξιοφανεῖς, which is superfluous.

In my view, the meaning of Schmidt’s and Raingeard’s corrections fits the context, but the solution of the latter is the most suitable from a palaeographic perspective: ἐναργεστέρας would have been corrupted into ἀριστεροῖς by the loss of the first syllable (ἐν) due to haplography with the ending of the previous word (ἔξωθεν), and by the attraction to the case of the surrounding words, all in dative (τοῖς [...] μέρεσι). I thus accept Raingeard’s ἐναργεστέρας.

Translation: “and it is refuted by folding mirrors, as each of the planes inclined to each other and having formed an inner angle exhibits a double image and creates four likenesses of

¹²³ Amyot, *Les Œuvres Morales*, 619; Prickard, *Plutarch on The Face*, 29.

¹²⁴ Emperius, *Opuscula*, 291.

¹²⁵ L. Nix, & W. Schmidt, *Heronis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt omnia*, vol. 2. Mechanica et Catoptrica (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010 [1900]) 313 n. 2.

a single object: two reversed, clearer in the outer parts, and two straight, dim in the depth of the mirrors.”

930C 4-7 Εἴπερ οὖν τῶν ὄψεων εὐθὺς πρὸς ἡμᾶς <αἱ μὲν> ἀνατρέχουσιν, αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα μέρη τῶν κατόπτρων ὀλισθαίνουσαι πάλιν ἐκεῖθεν ἀναφέρονται πρὸς ἡμᾶς, οὐ δυνατόν ἔστιν ἐν ἵσαις γωνίαις γίνεσθαι πάσας ἀνακλάσεις,¹²⁶

EB: εἴπερ οὖν τῶν ὄψεων εὐθὺς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ... ἀνατρέχουσιν· αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα μέρη τῶν κατόπτρων ὀλισθαίνουσαι, πάλιν ἐκεῖθεν ἀναφέρονται πρὸς ἡμᾶς, οὐ δυνατόν ἔστιν ἐν ἵσαις γωνίαις γίνεσθαι πάσας ἀνακλάσεις.

E reports a lacuna of 19 letters and B reports one of 14 letters, in both cases, the lacuna appears after πρὸς ἡμᾶς. The appearance of αἱ δέ in the following sentence seems to point to a sequence, where αἱ μὲν must have been lost.

The loss of the article and the particle was already noted by 16th century scholars; most of them, however, placed the addition of αἱ μὲν right after τῶν ὄψεων—not in the lacuna—where it would have been more natural to find it, according to Greek syntax.¹²⁷ Among those scholars, the first seems to have been Leonicus, but the same annotation is present in the Aldine copy of Turnebus, and Amyot also wrote it down in the margin of his *Basiliensis*, although he hesitated regarding where to place it, marking the symbol “^” both after τῶν ὄψεων and in the lacuna.¹²⁸ Wytténbach integrated αἱ μὲν after τῶν ὄψεων without stating that it is an addition to the manuscripts’ text. This in turn explains why he suggested (in the apparatus) that *nihil excidit* in the lacuna; although, he added the possibility τῶν κατόπτρων. Other scholars thought that αἱ μὲν should be part of the text lost in the lacuna. This is the interpretation of Adler, who conjectured αἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἔξωθεν; Pohlenz proposed (in the apparatus) αἱ μὲν κατ’ ἀνάκλασιν; and Cherniss conjectured αἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιπέδων.¹²⁹

While αἱ μὲν perfectly fits after τῶν ὄψεων, it is difficult to explain how it disappeared during the process of textual transmission. It might be the case, therefore, that it appeared in the

¹²⁶ The adverb εὐθύς was corrected into εὐθύ by Papabasileios, according to Cherniss (footnote 10 in Chapter 3). I do not concur with this modification, given that of all the occurrences of the adverb in the treatise (920C, 923E, 925E twice, 930C, 931D, 938C, 942D and 944F) both manuscripts always read εὐθύς, and it has never been modified excepted this case. Bernardakis and Pohlenz transmitted ὀλισθάνουσαι instead of ὀλισθαίνουσαι without any mention in the apparatuses. This, perhaps, was an attempt of systematization, as ὀλισθάνω is more common than the other form. In fact, in the occurrence of the same verb, in 929F, where both manuscripts read ἀλλὰ ὀλισθαίνειν ἐπέκεινα τῆς γῆς, they both replaced the verb with ὀλισθάνειν.

¹²⁷ Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, LVIII-LXI, and 359-396 for the uses of μὲν.

¹²⁸ Raingeard mistakenly affirmed that Turnebus placed αἱ μὲν in the lacuna.

¹²⁹ M. Adler, “Zwei beiträge zum Plutarchischen dialog De facie in orbe lunae,” *Jahresbericht des K. K. Staatsgymnasiums in Nikolsburg, 1909-1910* (Nikolsburg: Verlag des k.k. Staats-Gymnasium, 1910) 8.

lacuna. The rest of conjectures, however, seem superfluous, and, once *ai μέν* has been restablished, as Wyttenbach suggested, no part of the sentence may be missing.

Translation: “So, if of the visual rays <some> revert straight to us while others glance off to the opposite sides of the mirrors and thence return to us again, it is not possible that all reflections occur at equal angles.”

930EF 25-5 εἰ γὰρ αἰθέριον ὅγκον ἢ πύρινον ὄντα τὸν τῆς σελήνης ἐφώτιζεν ὁ ἥλιος, οὐκ ἀν ἀπέλειπεν αὐτῇ σκιερὸν ἀεὶ καὶ ἀλαμπὲς ἡμισφαίριον πρὸς αἴσθησιν, ἀλλ’ εἰ καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἔψαυε περιών πολλὴν ἀναπίμπλασθαι καὶ δι’ ὅλης τρέφεσθαι τῷ φωτὶ πανταχόσε χωροῦντι δι’ εὐπετείας ἣν προσῆκον.¹³⁰

EB: εἰ γὰρ αἰθέριον ὅγκον ἢ πύρινον ὄντα τὸν τῆς σελήνης ἐφώτιζεν ὁ ἥλιος, οὐκ ἀν ἀπέλειπεν αὐτῇ σκιερὸν ἀεὶ καὶ ἀλαμπὲς ἡμισφαίριον πρὸς αἴσθησιν· ἀλλ’ εἰ καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἔψαυε περὶ ὃν πολλὴν ἀναπίμπλασθαι καὶ δι’ ὅλης τρέφεσθαι τῷ φωτὶ πανταχόσε χωροῦντι δι’ εὐπετείας ἣν προσῆκον.

This passage presents an uncommon syntax (the construction ἀπέλειπεν with dative, *αὐτῇ*), along with presenting some problems in the substantive clause depending on *ἢν προσῆκον*.

Concerning the dative, it was transformed by Wyttenbach (in the apparatus) into genitive; Raingeard (also in the apparatus) suggested the addition of the preposition *ἐν* in front of the pronoun. Admittedly, the construction of *ἀπολείπω* with dative is unusual, but Cherniss provided a few valid examples of occurrences within Plutarch’s works, which is the reason why I maintain the text of EB.¹³¹

Concerning the problems in the subordinate clause, the first issue regards the syntagma *περὶ ὃν*, for there is no plural noun that could act as its antecedent. In the Aldine copy of Forteguerri, there is the correction *περὶ ἢν*; Kepler, for his part, suggested the substitution of the syntagma for *περίοδον*.¹³² More interesting are the emendations found in Leonicus’ and Turnebus’ Aldine copies. The former transformed the syntagma into *περιών*; the latter read *περιών*, in which a second iota has probably been forcibly introduced by a different hand.¹³³

¹³⁰ Stephanus, and Wyttenbach, without any mention in the apparatus—therefore, I cannot tell if it was a conscious modification of EB’s text or simply the acceptance of the text he used as basis for his own edition—transmitted the aorist *ἀπέλιπεν*, instead of the imperfect *ἀπέλειπεν*.

¹³¹ Cherniss, “Concerning the Face,” 112 n. a.

¹³² Kepler, *Ioh. Kepleri Mathematici*, 131.

¹³³ See Lesage Gárriga, “Aldinas anotadas,” 259-260, for a detailed study on the contributor who copied Leonicus’ corrections into the Aldine RJ94. In this case, he seems to have added the second iota to a conjecture

Leonicus' proposal, *περιών*, seems to be preferable, both from a palaeographic and a semantic point of view, to *περὶ ἦν* and *περίοδον*; also, being a verb of movement, it applies better to the present context than *περιών*. The nominative singular relates to the sun, which was the subject of the preceding sentence: his revolution around the moon and the subtle touch (*κατὰ μικρὸν ἔψαυε*) is a somewhat sexual allusion that can be found elsewhere in the treatise.¹³⁴

The second problem derives from the adjective transmitted by both manuscripts, *πολλήν*. Lucius is making an argument that the minimum touch of light should illuminate the whole moon, if, indeed, it is of a fire-like nature. The idea of completeness in the verb *τρέφεσθαι* is reinforced by the appearance of *δι’ ὅλης*, but the adjective *πολλήν* was not thought to be strong enough to highlight this idea with regards to the verb *ἀναπίμπλασθαι*. For this reason, the correction proposed by Forteguerri, *ὅλην*, was accepted by most scholars.¹³⁵ EB's reading, however, is coherent from the stylistic perspective: there is, in the passage, a gradation from little (*κατὰ μικρόν*), to a lot (*πολλήν*), to completeness (*δι’ ὅλης*). Consequently, the manuscripts need no intervention.

The third and last issue concerns the infinitive *τρέφεσθαι*, whose meaning seems slightly off in the present context. While, according to EB, the moon is completely ‘condensed,’ or ‘cherished,’ or ‘nourished’ by the sun’s light, an annotation in RJ94 transformed the verb into *τρέπεσθαι*, ‘to turn,’ or ‘to alter.’ Despite the general tendency to accept this correction, EB's verb might be maintained: either with the meaning ‘to cherish,’ which would fit the allusion to the relationship between the sun and the moon mentioned above, or with the general meaning ‘to nourish,’ if the light coming from the sun is taken as the nourishment needed by the moon.

Translation: “after all, if the mass of the moon that the sun illuminates were ethereal or fiery, the sun would not leave a hemisphere in it that to our perception is ever in shadow and unilluminated; on the contrary, if when revolving the sun even minimally grazed it, the moon should be very much saturated and cherished entirely, giving in to light proceeding easily in all directions.”

previously made by another of the contributors. The wrong attribution of authorship concerning this particular case astounds me: Raingeard and Cherniss attributed *περιών* to RJ94, and Cherniss, together with Wyttenbach, stated that *περιών* comes from Stephanus, who, in turn, copied it from Leonicus. Bernardakis, in a much simpler mistake, attributed *περιών* to Wyttenbach.

¹³⁴ See, for instance, 933A and 944E.

¹³⁵ With misattributions, once again: Wyttenbach did not explain, in the apparatus, that *ὅλην* is a correction of the manuscripts' text; Bernardakis did not specify the provenance; and both Pohlenz and Cherniss attributed the correction to Stephanus.

930F 5-7 ὅπου γὰρ οἶνος ὕδατος θιγών κατὰ πέρας καὶ σταγῶν αἵματος εἰς ύγρὸν ἐμπεσόντος ἀνέχρωσε πᾶν ἄμα ... φοινιχθέν.¹³⁶

EB: ὅπου γὰρ οἶνος ὕδατος θιγών ατὰ πέρας Ε/ κατὰ πέρας Β καὶ σταγῶν αἵματος εἰς ύγρὸν ἐμπεσόντος, ἀνέχρωσε πᾶν αἷμα ... φοινιχθέν.

Both manuscripts report a lacuna after the word αἷμα. An annotation in RJ94 changed it into ἄμα. Later scholars accepted RJ94's correction, on the basis that the noun "blood" is already mentioned in the sentence, as one of the two examples of a red liquid being mixed with a transparent liquid—wine and water, in one case, and a drop of blood and an unspecified liquid, in the other. Amyot, however, simply altered the case so it would fit the sentence, αἵματι.¹³⁷

Regarding the lacuna, and on the grounds that most scholars accept RJ94's correction into ἄμα, there are two solutions: either interpret that the text lacks nothing and delete it, as Wytténbach suggested (in the apparatus); or assume that something is missing and attempt to supply it. As for the latter, another hand in the Aldine RJ94 conjectured the article neuter, in order to nominalize the following participle (<τό> φοινιχθέν); Van Herwerden proposed a pronoun and a prefix to the verb (<τοῦτο δια>φοινιχθέν); Bernardakis (in the apparatus) simplified his predecessor's suggestion into διαφοινιχθέν—which, as a matter of fact, barely changes the meaning of φοινιχθέν—; Adler proposed two conjectures: τῷ ψαύειν and τῷ θιγεῖν; Purser corrected the text preceding the lacuna and supplied αἵματώδης ἄμα; and Raingeard conjectured (in his commentary) αἵμα τι ἡ οινῳ.¹³⁸ Given that nothing is required from the text, as the rather unsuccessful conjectures show, it seems preferable to simply accept the correction ἄμα and note the lacuna.

Translation: "since wine that just touches water at its surface and a drop of blood fallen into liquid at the moment stains all the liquid red..."

4.2.6. 931D-935D. The Question of the Moon's Obscuration

931E 21-25 Εἰ δὲ μή, Θέων ἡμῖν οὗτος τὸν Μίμνερμον ἐπάξει καὶ τὸν Κυδίαν καὶ τὸν Αρχίλοχον, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸν Στησίχορον καὶ τὸν Πίνδαρον ἐν ταῖς ἐκλείψεσιν

¹³⁶ EB transmit θιγών; the accent was correctly introduced by Dübner and maintained by following scholars, although, without any allusion in the critical apparatuses.

¹³⁷ Amyot also corrected the participle ἐμπεσόντος into a nominative (ἐμπεσών) in order to relate it to σταγῶν instead of to the genitive αἵματος, which is a superfluous correction.

¹³⁸ Van Herwerden, "Novae curiae criticae," 213; Adler, *Dissertationes philologae Vindobonenses*, 104; Purser, "Mr. Prickard's Translation," 314; and Raingeard, *Le peri toy prosopoy*, 104.

όλοφυρομένους τὸν φανερώτατον κλεπτόμενον καὶ μέσῳ ἄματι τὴν νύκτα γινομένην καὶ τὴν ἀκτῖνα τοῦ ἡλίου σκότους ἀτραπὸν <ἐσσυμέναν> φάσκοντας,¹³⁹

ΕΒ εἰ δὲ μὴ θεῶν ήμīν οὗτος ἐργομίμναμον ἐπάξει καὶ τὸν κυδίαν καὶ τὸν ἀρχίλοχον· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸν στησίχορον καὶ τὸν πίνδαρον ἐν ταῖς ἐκλείψεσιν ὀλοφυρομένους τὸν φανερώτατον κλεπτόμενον. καὶ μέσῳ ἄμα τὴν νύκτα γινομένην· καὶ τὴν ἀκτῖνα τοῦ ἡλίου σκότος Ε / σκότους Β ἀτραπὸν ... φάσκοντας·

This passage presents a number of textual corruptions (θεῶν, ἐργομίμναμον, ἄμα τὴν νύκτα) and a lacuna. None of these issues, fortunately, obscures the general meaning. It has also been intervened to improve its readability.

Concerning the textual corruptions, the first problem derives from the manuscripts' obviously incorrect reading θεῶν. Lucius is naming his colleague, specialist in literature, Theon: Theon will be in charge to recall various authors who wrote about eclipses, if need be. Consequently, the genitive plural θεῶν was soon changed by the Aldine SR67 into Θέων.¹⁴⁰

The second corruption concerns the otherwise non-existent form ἐργομίμναμον, transmitted by both manuscripts. The context, full of references to well-known authors (καὶ τὸν Κυδίαν καὶ τὸν Ἀρχίλοχον, [...] τὸν Στησίχορον καὶ τὸν Πίνδαρον), helps to correctly interpret the text: a reference to yet another author must have been included here. Forteguerri and Leonicus were the first scholars to provide a correct reading, τὸν Μίμνερμον—the latter added ἦ Μίμερμον, a form that does not exist—; in Turnebus' Aldine copy, we can find a correction as well, ἔργῳ Μίμνερμον, which, perhaps, is closer to the manuscripts' reading yet the sense of which is not suitable in the present context; the *Basiliensis* edition included Μίμνερμον without the article.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ According to Bernardakis, Bergk read σκότου—from the masculine noun σκότος, -ου—but this is an unnecessary correction, given that B reports the correct case from the less common neuter noun σκότος, -ους. This unusual form is used in at least two occasions (929D, καθάπερ εἰς νύκτα καὶ σκότος and 932A, εἰ δὲ οὐχ οὕτω τὸ περὶ τὰς ἐκλείψεις σκότος βύθιόν ἔστιν), which proves B correct.

¹⁴⁰ The correction appears in all the compilatories of Leonicus' corrections and has been accepted by modern scholars, who, however, misattributed the authorship. Wytténbach and Raingeard accepted it without any notice in the apparatus; Bernardakis claimed it as his own; Pohlenz did not specify the authorship; and Cherniss attributed it to the *Basiliensis* edition.

¹⁴¹ See Lesage Gárriga, "Aldinas anotadas," 256-257, on the different versions of Leonicus' correction found in compilations and how this helped to sort the relationships between those compilations. Again, some issues with the authorship appeared with later scholars. Wytténbach integrated τὸν Μίμνερμον in the text with no reference in the apparatus; Bernardakis did not explicitly refer to any provenance; Raingeard attributed the correction to Turnebus' Aldine copy; Pohlenz, to the rather unsatisfactory "ς;" and Cherniss, to Stephanus. It is true that Turnebus' Aldine copy presents the correction τὸν Μίμνερμον beside the aforementioned ἔργῳ Μίμνερμον, but it belongs to the contributor that I have proved provided a copy of Leonicus' corrections.

The third corruption affects the text καὶ μέσῳ ἄμα τὴν νύκτα γινομένην where a complement of time in dative seems to be lacking.¹⁴² The first modifications are located in the Aldine edition, which (most probably involuntary) transmitted the participle in masculine, and the *Basiliensis*, which maintained this mistake and also deleted the article τήν. More interesting, however, is Leonicus' suggestion to correct ἄμα into ἄματι (*sic*) (ἄματι τὴν νύκτα γινομένην), for this improves the sentence by including the missing complement. Wytttenbach transmitted ἄματι (*sic*) νύκτα γινομένην—transforming the article into the ending of the noun (-την = -τι)—and Bernardakis, Raingeard, Pohlenz, and Cherniss read ἄματι νύκτα γινομένην—again, deleting the article, but with the correct breathing for ἄματι in this case.¹⁴³

In my view, the correction from ἄμα into ἄματι is necessary, and Leonicus' suggestion is preferable given that the corruption, namely the loss of the last syllable (τι), is explainable by haplography with the following article (τήν).

Regarding the lacuna, it occupies a space of 16 letters in both manuscripts. It is preceded by an allusion to the behaviour of the sun during the eclipses (καὶ τὴν ἀκτῖνα τοῦ ἥλιου σκότους ἀτραπόν) and followed by the participle (φάσκοντας) that modifies all the preceding subordinate clauses in which different writings about eclipses by various authors are listed. It seems, thus, that the subject of this clause (τὴν ἀκτῖνα) lacks its verb.

Amyot conjectured ιεμέμην; Xylander conjectured (in the commentary to his translation) ύποδῦναι; Wytttenbach suggested (in the apparatus) that perhaps nothing is missing—thus, interpreting the sentence as non-verbal: “the sun’s ray, a path of shadow”—; and Adler proposed ἐσσυμέναν.¹⁴⁴ Given that the remaining subordinate clauses depending on φάσκοντας are both constructed with participles (κλεπτόμενον and γινομένην), one may assume a parallel structure. Furthermore, Adler’s conjecture is based in a fragment of Pindar’s *Paean*, 9.5 that transmits the verse ἐπίσκοτον ἀτραπὸν ἐσσυμένα. Indeed, Pindar is the last author quoted in the passage of *De facie* before the citation, which makes reasonable to accept ἐσσυμέναν.

We now come to the intervention in the text. In the sentence about the disappearance of the sun during eclipses (ἐν ταῖς ἐκλείψεσιν ὀλοφυρομένους τὸν φανερώτατον κλεπτόμενον),

¹⁴² This seems to be a verse from Stesichorus: fr. 94 Page.

¹⁴³ All of them, with no exceptions, wrongly attributed the correction to Leonicus. Here we have a very fine example of how modern editors worked with 16th century scholars: many times Leonicus is not acknowledged for his contributions, but, in a few cases, even worse, he is mentioned as conjecturer of an emendation he did not make! Other examples are found in the headings to 930EF and 944BC. See Chapter 1, 1.3.1. “The Aldine Edition,” and Lesage Gárriga, “Aldinas anotadas,” on this problem.

¹⁴⁴ Xylander, *Plutarchi Chaeronensis*, 719; Adler, *Dissertationes philologae Vindobonenses*, 105. Adler, in fact, suggested that the uncommonness of the word may have urged the copyist to leave a blank. See W.H. Race, *Pindar*, vol. 2 (Cambridge-Massachusetts: Loeb Classical Library, 1997) for Pindar’s edition.

Wyttchenbach suggested (in the apparatus) to add θεόν after τὸν φανερώτατον; Theodor Bergk, according to Bernardakis, added ἄστρον between the article and the adjective, but, according to Cherniss, he transformed the article into ἄστρον. The poetic language of the section, however, seems to make these corrections unnecessary.

Translation: “If not, Theon here will cite us Mimnermus and Cydias and Archilochus, and beside also Stesichorus and Pindar, who during eclipses bewail ‘the capture of the brightest’ and ‘the appearance of night right in the middle of the day,’ and say that the beam of the sun <is sped> the path of shade.”

931EF 26-2 ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τὸν Ὀμηρον νυκτὶ καὶ ζόφῳ τὰ πρόσωπα κατέχεσθαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων λέγοντα καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἐξαπολωλέναι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ περὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ ... τοῦτο γίνεσθαι πεφυκέναι, τοῦ μὲν φθίνοντος μηνός, τοῦ δὲ ίσταμένου.¹⁴⁵

EB: ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τὸν Ὀμηρον νυκτὶ καὶ ζόφῳ τὰ πρῶτα κατέχεσθαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων λέγοντα. καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἐξαπολωλέναι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ περὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ ... τοῦτο γίνεσθαι πέφυκε. τοῦ μὲν, φθίνοντος μηνὸς τοῦ δὲ, ίσταμένου.

Two textual problems occur in this passage. Firstly, the words attributed to Homer; then, a lacuna of around 12 letters after περὶ τὴν σελήνην καί.

Regarding the first issue, the text νυκτὶ καὶ ζόφῳ τὰ πρῶτα κατέχεσθαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων seems to be taken from *Odyssey* 20.351-352: νυκτὶ μὲν ύμέων/ εἰλύναται κεφαλαί τε πρόσωπά τε νέρθε τε γοῦνα. In Homer’s text, the parts of men that are shrouded in night are the heads, faces, and knees; in *De facie*, however, there is no subject. An annotation in RJ94 suggested the correction of τῶν ἀνθρώπων into an accusative singular (τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν), thus making this noun the subject of the quote; Xylander suggested (in the commentary to his translation) to correct τὰ πρῶτα into τὰ πρόσωπα, providing the sentence not only with a subject but also bringing it closer to Homer’s words.¹⁴⁶ This emendation has been unanimously accepted by scholars, and I agree with them.

In what concerns the lacuna, it seems to leave the syntagma περὶ τὴν σελήνην unconnected with the rest of the passage, given that what precedes it corresponds to another

¹⁴⁵ Raingeard strangely presented λέγονται instead of λέγοντα, which absolutely cannot fit the grammar. The fact that he did not explain this in the apparatus points to an erratum.

¹⁴⁶ Xylander, *Plutarchi Chaeronensis*, 719.

quotation of Homer (καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἐξαπολωλέναι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ) and what follows is a proper, complete sentence (τοῦτο γίνεσθαι πέφυκε).¹⁴⁷

Xylander wrote (in the commentary to his translation): “*nihil (ut videtur) praeterea inter καὶ τοῦτο frustra est asteriscus.*”¹⁴⁸ In this sense, the problem can be solved by correcting the punctuation: to finish a sentence after Homer’s words and to delete the lacuna. This option is appealing were it not for what follows, which is, again, a quote of Homer (τοῦ μὲν φθίνοντος μηνός, τοῦ δὲ ισταμένου).¹⁴⁹ Of course, it could be that this second quote is not grammatically attached to the first one, but it seems more reasonable to think that both depend on ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τὸν Ὁμηρον [...] λέγοντα.

This is the reason why most editors opted to complete the lacuna and even modify the surrounding text. An annotation in RJ94 corrected πέφυκε into πεφυκέναι because it fits the syntax better: it coordinates this verb with κατέχεσθαι and ἐξαπολωλέναι, since both verbs of the subordinate clauses depend on λέγοντα. Wytttenbach (in the apparatus) incorporated this modification into his larger correction, although he did not mention the Aldine copy: καὶ περὶ τὴν σελήνης σύνοδον τοῦτο γίνεσθαι πεφυκέναι; Bernardakis proposed (in the apparatus) the combination of a correction and a conjecture παρὰ τὴν σελήνην καὶ ώς ἐν σύνοδῳ; Adler supplied ἥλιον σύνοδον and also corrected the verb into πεφυκέναι; Pohlenz modified the transmitted text and proposed a conjecture for the lacuna as well, περὶ τὴν σύνοδον καὶ ἐπιστάμενον ὅτι τοῦτο; Cherniss supplied αἰνιττόμενον ώς; Herwig Görgemanns, προσδηλοῦντα ώς.¹⁵⁰

The correction from πέφυκε into πεφυκέναι is required for proper syntax. On the basis that what follows the lacuna is *Odyssey* 19.307, I suggest that the text lost in the lacuna could have been τελείεσθαι, a verb included in *Odyssey* 19.305 (τάδε πάντα τελείεται), which fits the context. The lack of certainty, however, makes preferable to note the lacuna.

Translation: “and above all Homer, who says ‘with night’ and gloom ‘the faces’ of men are covered and ‘the sun has perished from the heaven’ surrounding the moon and ... that this naturally occurs ‘from waning month to waxing month.’”

931F 2-3 Τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ οἷμαι ταῖς μαθηματικαῖς ἀκριβείαις εἰς τὸν ... ἐξῆχθαι καὶ βέβαιον·

EB: τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ οἷμαι ταῖς μαθηματικαῖς ἀκριβείαις εἰς τὸν ... ἐξῆχθαι καὶ βέβαιον·

¹⁴⁷ *Od.* 20.356-357.

¹⁴⁸ Xylander, *Plutarchi Chaeronensis*, 719.

¹⁴⁹ *Od.* 19.307.

¹⁵⁰ Adler, *Dissertationes philologae Vindobonenses*, 106; H. Görgemanns, *Untersuchungen zu Plutarchs Dialog De facie in orbe lunae* (Heidelberg: Heidelberg University Press, 1970) 128.

A lacuna of eight letters appears in both manuscripts after εἰς τόν. The syntax of the passage suggests that an element of the coordination with καὶ βέβαιον has been lost. Given that we do preserve the preposition and the article in accusative masculine (εἰς τόν) and that βέβαιον is an adjective, most probably, the content of the lacuna was both a noun and an adjective. This was Amyot’s suggestion: ἀποδεικτικὸν λόγον; Wytttenbach suggested (in the critical apparatus) ἀσφαλῆ λόγον; Emperius proposed πιστόν, and he further corrected the preceding article into the neuter, in order to nominalize both the lost adjective and βέβαιον; Van Herwerden suggested a similar solution, τὸ πιθανόν; Adler suggested either τὸ νημερτές or τὸ νητρεκές, in an attempt to give use to the nu of the article transmitted by the manuscripts; and Cherniss conjectured σαφῆ λόγον.¹⁵¹

The modification of the article into a neuter does not seem to be justified, given that the blank space left by both manuscripts allows for the conjecture of both a noun and an adjective: Emperius’, Van Herwerden’s, and Adler’s suggestions, therefore, are not sustainable. The introduction of the noun λόγος, however, might be reasonable and perhaps correct: Lamprias is indeed referring to the objectivity, or rationality, of mathematics when dealing with any kind of matter. Given the lack of certainty, however, concerning the possible adjective, it is preferable to note the lacuna.

Translation: “For the rest, I think that it has been reduced by the precision of mathematics to the certain and ...”

932BC 22-1 Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ὁ παλαιὸς αἰτίαν τοῦ πλεονάκις τὴν σελήνην ἐκλείπουσαν ἢ τὸν ἥλιον καθορᾶσθαι, πρὸς ἄλλαις τισὶ καὶ ταύτην ἀποδίδωσιν· ἥλιον γὰρ ἐκλείπειν σελήνης ἀντιφράξει, σελήνην δὲ <γῆς>.

EB: ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ὁ παλαιὸς αἰτίαν τοῦ πλεονάκις τὴν σελήνην ἐκλείπουσαν ἢ τὸν ἥλιον καθορᾶσθαι· πρὸς ἄλλαις τισὶ, καὶ ταύτην ἀποδίδωσιν· ἥλιον γὰρ ἐκλείπειν σελήνης ἀντιφράξει. σελήνην δὲ ...

Both manuscripts present a lacuna after σελήνην δέ: E has a gap of 30 letters and B has a gap of 23. The missing text was most certainly part of the previous sentence, given that σελήνην δέ is the counterpart to ἥλιον γάρ and that what comes after the lacuna is clearly the

¹⁵¹ Emperius, *Opuscula*, 292; Van Herwerden, “Novae curae criticae,” 214; and Adler, *Dissertationes philologae Vindobonenses*, 106. See Cherniss’ strong arguments to dismiss Adler’s proposals in “Notes on Plutarch’s *De facie*,” 143.

beginning of a new sentence (Ο δὲ Ποσειδώνιος...). The passage deals with Aristotle's account of types and frequency of eclipses: that of the sun occurs when the moon intercepts it, the lacuna, however, interrupts the part concerning that of the moon. It can safely be assumed that at least one thing has been lost, which is most likely the element that intercepts the moon in order to cause an eclipse—the earth.

This conclusion is what we find as an annotation in the Aldine RJ94 ($\gamma\eta\varsigma$), and all other conjectures included this element as well, but as a part of larger proposals: Amyot suggested $\gamma\eta\varsigma$ πολλῷ (*sic*) μείζονος; Wytttenbach (in the apparatus), $\gamma\eta\varsigma$, ἡν πολὺ μείζονα οῦσαν πλεονάκις ἀποκρύπτειν τὴν σελήνην—a sentence whose disappearance could be explained by haplography from σελήνην δέ to the repetition of the same noun—; Bernardakis (in the apparatus) proposed $\gamma\eta\varsigma$ πλεονάκις μείζονος οῦσης; and Adler proposed $\gamma\eta\varsigma$, πολλῷ μείζονος οῦσης, which merely adds the participle to Amyot's proposal.¹⁵²

All these larger conjectures point to the size of the earth as the reason for the moon being eclipsed more frequently than the sun, but, in my opinion, the context only requires a mention of the element causing eclipses of the moon ($\gamma\eta\varsigma$).

Translation: “And the ancient Aristotle gives this as a reason besides some others why the moon is observed in eclipse more frequently than the sun, for the sun is eclipsed by interposition of the moon but the moon by that <of the earth>.”

932C 1-5 Ο δὲ Ποσειδώνιος όρισάμενος οὗτως· τόδε τὸ πάθος ἔκλειψις ἐστιν ἥλιου, σύνοδος σκιᾶς σελήνης οἵ τὴν ἔκλειψιν <πάθουσιν> ἐκείνοις γὰρ μόνοις ἔκλειψις ἐστιν ὃν ἂν ἡ σκιὰ τῆς σελήνης καταλαβοῦσα τὴν ὄψιν ἀντιφράξῃ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον.¹⁵³

EB: ὁ δὲ ποσειδώνιος όρισάμενος οὗτως. τὸ δὲ πάθος· E/ τόδε τὸ πάθος, B *et* E *s.l.* ἔκλειψις ἐστὶν ἥλιου, σύνοδος σκιᾶς σελήνης, ἡς EB/ οἵς E *i.t.* τὴν ἔκλειψιν· ... ἐκείνοις γὰρ μόνοις ἔκλειψις ἐστὶν· ὃν ἂν ἡ σκιὰ τῆς σελήνης καταλαβοῦσα τὴν ὄψιν ἀντιφράξαι πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον·

The passage seems to transmit the idea that a solar eclipse does not obscure everything, but only the part that is affected by the cone of umbra, namely that there is an eclipse only for those that are in the spot covered by the shadow. Unfortunately, the combination of several

¹⁵² Adler, *Dissertationes philologae Vindobonenses*, 107.

¹⁵³ The Aldine and the Basiliensis editions transmitted the pronoun ἐκείνης, a mistake probably caused by iotaism, reason why ἐκείνης was replaced with EB's reading ἐκείνοις by Leonicus, Turnebus and Amyot in their personal copies. Oddly, none of the modern editors signaled that manuscripts differ in one reading: B and E *supra lineam* present τόδε τὸ πάθος, while E presents τὸ δὲ πάθος. See 8. Appendix II on this emendation by E.

divergences between the manuscripts ($\tauὸ δὲ πάθος$: against $\tauόδε τὸ πάθος$, and $\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ against $oī\varsigma$), an extensive lacuna—22 letters in E and 11 letters in B—, together with the problematic infinitive at the end of the passage complicates a proper understanding, which gives raise to a rather problematic definition of the phaenomenon of the eclipse by Posidonius.

Let us start with the lacuna, given that conjectures affect the syntax of the rest of the passage. Wytttenbach (in the apparatus) not only supplied the lacuna, but also deeply modified the transmitted text: ὁρισάμενος, ὅτι $\tauόδε τὸ πάθος$ $\tauῆς ἔψεως$ ἔστιν οὐχ ἡλίου, καὶ σύνοδος σκιᾶ σελήνης ἦν δὴ ἔκλειψιν <ἡλίου καλοῦμεν· ὄμοιογῶν γε>; Bernardakis (also in the apparatus) modified the text and supplied the lacuna: < $\tilde{\eta}$ σελήνης σκιᾶ γ> $\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ τὴν ἔκλειψιν <οὐκ ὄρθως ώρισατο> ἐκείνοις κέ; Adler corrected σύνοδος σκιᾶς σελήνης, $\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ τὴν ἔκλειψιν into σύνοδος σελήνη, $\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ σκιὰ τὴν ἔκλειψιν and supplied the lacuna with τοῖς ἀφωτίστοις τῆς γῆς μέρεσι ποιεῖ ὄρθως μὲν μείζονα τὴν γῆν εἶναι τῆς ὑπέθετο; Purser reversed the order of the syntagma $\tauόδε τὸ πάθος$ and $\tauὴν ἔκλειψιν$ and supplied the lacuna with ἀν̄ $\tilde{\eta}$ ταῦτο πως λέγει; Prickard deleted τὴν ἔκλειψιν; this option was accepted by Cherniss who also accepted the pronoun $oī\varsigma$ provided by E and supplied the lacuna with ἀν̄ γῆς μέρεσι κατασκιάζῃ; Görgemanns deleted σύνοδος, turned σκιὰ into σκιᾶς and supplied the lacuna with ποιεῖ, τούτοις ἐπισκοτοῦσα.¹⁵⁴

Differently, I suggest a conjecture that does not imply the modification of the transmitted text, however complex it might look at first: with the addition of a verb of affection followed by a point above the line ($\piάθουσιν$) and the selection of the more suitable readings among the divergences in the manuscripts ($\tauόδε τὸ πάθος$ and $oī\varsigma$), the text provides the required reasoning, namely that a solar eclipse is the concurrence of the shadow of the moon with the people that are affected by the shadow.

Concerning the issue with the infinitive transmitted by EB, ἀντιφράξαι, it is unfitting for the sentence's grammar, which needs a main verb in optative or subjunctive, because of the presence of \check{av} .¹⁵⁵ It was soon changed by an annotation in Turnebus' Aldine copy into ἀντιφράξῃ, a correction accepted by modern scholars.

Translation: “Posidonius gave this definition: this circumstance is an eclipse of the sun, a conjunction of the shadow of the moon with those who suffer the eclipse; for there is an

¹⁵⁴ Adler, *Dissertationes philologae Vindobonenses*, 109; Purser, “Mr. Prickard’s Translation,” 315—he noted that a definition of an eclipse would hardly include the noun ἔκλειψιν—; Prickard, *Plutarch on The Face*, 58; and Görgemanns, *Untersuchungen zu Plutarchs Dialog*, 144.

¹⁵⁵ See LSJ II and DGE B II for the use of \check{av} with subjunctive to indicate limitation or condition.

eclipse only for those whose visual ray the shadow of the moon intercepts and screens from the sun.”

933A 16-18 Ἐπιβάλλει δέ, ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἀφ' ἐσπέρας, ἡ σελήνη πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀμιλλωμένη, ταύτῃ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνατολῶν, ώς πρὸς τούναντίον ὑποφερομένη.

EB: ἐπιβάλλει δὲ ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἀφ' ἐσπέρας ἡ σελήνη πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀμιλλωμένη· ταύτῃ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνατολῶν, ώς πρὸς τούναντίον ὑποφερομένη·

Several modern scholars believe that the passage needs emendation, since, while the subject is expressed in the first sentence (ἡ σελήνη), it is lacking in the second one. In order to solve this, Madvig suggested the addition of ἡ γῆ after ταύτῃ δέ. More complexly, Adler stated that what covers the moon in 932F is the earth’s shadow, not the earth itself, which is the reason why he added ἡ σκιὰ τῆς γῆς after ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνατολῶν, thus paralleling the order of elements in the first sentence: ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἀφ' ἐσπέρας ἡ σελήνη - ταύτῃ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνατολῶν ἡ σκιὰ τῆς γῆς.¹⁵⁶

Perhaps, the text needs no intervention, if the syntax is interpreted differently. In the first part of the passage, ἡ σελήνη πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀμιλλωμένη does not function as a subject, but as an apposition to the subject, which is expressed in the previous sentence: τὸ ἐπιπροσθοῦν. This is also the subject in the second part of the passage, which is the reason why there is no need to introduce any modifications.

It should be noted that the manuscripts’ participle ὑποφερομένη must be interpreted as a dative: it modifies the moon, whose last occurrence is the pronoun ταύτῃ, which parallels the structure of the previous sentence: ἐκείνῳ μὲν - ταύτῃ δέ.¹⁵⁷ Because the Aldine edition transmitted the participle as a nominative, most scholars—with the exception of the RJ94 copy and the *Basiliensis* edition, which read, indeed, the dative—have assumed that the manuscripts meant ὑποφερομένη, and that it modifies the subject that they themselves introduced in the text—ἡ γῆ, or ἡ σκιὰ τῆς γῆς.¹⁵⁸ The participle, however, modifies the moon, which is undertaken by the shadow.

Translation: “It tosses over the sun from the west, the moon hastening eagerly towards it, and over the moon, from the east, as the moon is taken from under in the opposite direction.”

¹⁵⁶ Madvig, *Adversaria critica*, 665; Adler, *Dissertationes philologae Vindobonenses*, 109.

¹⁵⁷ The manuscripts do not write down the subscribed iota. See footnote 3 in Chapter 3 for another example in which this issue has given rise to different interpretations of a passage.

¹⁵⁸ The Aldine edition, in fact, also claimed the nominative for the pronoun (ταύτῃ).

933EF 22-28 Ἐδει τοίνυν διὰ τοσούτων χρόνων φαίνεσθαι τὴν σελήνην ἐν τῇ σκιᾷ λαμπρυνομένην, ή δέ, ἐν <αὐτῇ> μὲν ἐκλείπει καὶ ἀπόλλυσι τὸ φῶς, ἀναλαμβάνει δὲ αὖθις ὅταν ἐκφύγῃ τὴν σκιάν [...] Εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ Λευκίου, συνεξέδραμον ἄμα πως τῷ <λέγειν> ὅ τε Φαρνάκης καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλωνίδης·

EB: ἔδει τοίνυν διὰ τοσούτων χρόνων φαίνεσθαι τὴν σελήνην ἐν τῇ σκιᾷ λαμπρυνομένην· ή δέ, ἐν ... μὲν ἐκλείπει καὶ ἀπόλλυσι τὸ φῶς· ἀναλαμβάνει δὲ αὖθις ὅταν ἐκφύγῃ τὴν σκιάν· [...] εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ λευκίου, συνεξέδραμον ἄμα πως τῷ ... ὅ τε φαρνάκης καὶ ὁ ἀπολλωνίδης·

A series of short lacunae have been transmitted at the end of 933 and at the beginning of 934. In order to simplify the commentary, I will discuss them in separate headings.

The first lacuna occupies five letters in both manuscripts; it appears after ή δέ, ἐν and is followed by the particle μέν that correlates with ἀναλαμβάνει δέ later on in the same sentence. The context clearly points to the disappearance of the moon's light, as opposed to its reappearance when escaping the shadow (ἀναλαμβάνει δὲ αὖθις ὅταν ἐκφύγῃ τὴν σκιάν), and the preposition ἐν further points to the place where the moon is eclipsed: a dative is needed.

An annotation in RJ94 suggests the addition of σκιᾶ; Wytttenbach proposed (in the apparatus) τῇ σκιᾷ; Cherniss followed the latter in the text, but added (in the apparatus) αὐτῇ as another possibility—the pronoun obviously refers to the syntagma ἐν τῇ σκιᾷ in the preceding sentence.¹⁵⁹ In my opinion, Cherniss' suggestion is appealing, insofar as it avoids the repetition of the same substantive three times in the same passage (ἐν τῇ σκιᾷ, τῇ σκιᾳ, and τὴν σκιάν), which is the reason why I integrate it in the body of the text.

The second lacuna, a blank after τῷ that has approximately six letters, does not seem to compromise the general sense of the sentence but needs to be completed in order to provide all the required syntactical elements. An annotation in the Aldine RJ94 suggested αὐτῷ; Amyot suggested λόγῳ ἐπιβαλλόμενοι, which, despite being too long for the space of the manuscripts, seems to point in the right direction by including the noun λόγος; Wytttenbach (in the apparatus) supplied the lacuna only with this noun (λόγῳ); later scholars played with this term in its verbal form: Raingeard suggested (in the apparatus) λήγοντι; Pohlenz (also in the apparatus) and Cherniss both proposed as their own λέγειν.

¹⁵⁹ Wytttenbach mistakenly attributed the whole syntagma to RJ94.

In my opinion, the infinitive better conveys the notion of finality required by the context.¹⁶⁰ Given the high number of occurrences of τῷ followed by λέγειν in Plutarch's work, I opt to include Pohlenz's and Cherniss' conjecture in the text.¹⁶¹

Translation: "It ought to have been at such times that the moon is revealed resplendent in the shadow, whereas in <it> it is eclipsed and loses its light, but regains it again as soon as it escapes the shadow [...]. When Lucius said this, almost at a time Pharnaces and Apollonides sprang forth together in order <to speak>."

933F 2-4 Ό δὲ Ἀπολλωνίδης ἐνέστη περὶ τῆς σκιᾶς· ἀεὶ γὰρ οὕτως ... ὄνομάζειν τοὺς μαθηματικοὺς τὸν ἀλαμπῆ τόπον ... σκιάν τε μὴ δέχεσθαι τὸν οὐρανόν.

EB: ο δὲ ἀπολλωνίδης ἐνέστη περὶ τῆς σκιᾶς· ἀεὶ γὰρ οὕτως ... ὄνομάζειν Ε / οὕτως ὄνομάζειν ... Β τοὺς μαθηματικοὺς τὸν ἀλαμπῆ τόπον ... σκιάν τε μὴ δέχεσθαι τὸν οὐρανόν.

According to both manuscripts, the current text includes two lacunae, but, at first glance, the section does not seem to lack anything. Besides, the first lacuna is registered in different places by both manuscripts: while E has a gap of three letters before the infinitive ὄνομάζειν, B has a gap of six letters after it. Filling B's lacuna was first initiated by an annotation in the Aldine RJ94 that proposed to supply πάντα; Amyot suggested ὄντως. Kepler was the first scholar to delete the lacuna (he commented "videtur nihil deesse"). Raingeard followed E and suggested a preverb for the infinitive to fill the gap (ἐξονομάζειν). And, lastly, Pohlenz (in the apparatus) provided two options: the first, to fill E's blank, was μόνον; and the second, for B's blank, supplied κατά in the lacuna after transforming ἀεί into δεῖν.¹⁶²

The second lacuna, of approximately four letters in E and seven letters in B, comes after τὸν ἀλαμπῆ τόπον. In the wake of the Aldine and the *Basiliensis* editions, most modern scholars deleted it; Pohlenz, however, suggested (in the apparatus) two options, each of them in correlation with each of the conjectures for the previous lacuna: the first was ἐπὶ γῆς and the second, μόνον.

Given that the sentence stands on its own and does not need any grammatical or syntactical element to be understood, I tend to agree with the scholars that deleted the lacunae.

¹⁶⁰ E. Crespo, L. Conti, & H. Maquieira, (eds.), *Sintaxis del griego clásico* (Madrid: Gredos, 2003) 419.

¹⁶¹ According to the TLG, τῷ λέγειν has 25 occurrences.

¹⁶² Kepler, *Ioh. Keppleri Mathematici*, 144.

Translation: “And Apollonides raised the issue concerning the ‘shadow,’ on the grounds that astronomers always give this name to the region that is without light and the heaven does not admit shadow.”

934A 6-10 τὸν γὰρ ἀντιφραττόμενον ύπὸ τῆς γῆς τόπον εἰ μὴ σκιάν τις ἐθέλοι καλεῖν ἀλλ’ ἀφεγγὲς χωρίον, ὅμως ἀναγκαῖον ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν σελήνην γενομένην ... Καὶ ὅλως” ἔφην “εὕηθές ἐστιν ἐκεῖ μὴ φάναι τῆς γῆς ἐξικνεῖσθαι τὴν σκιάν <ὅθεν> ἡ σκιὰ τῆς σελήνης ἐπιπίπτουσα τῇ ὄψει καὶ ... πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἔκλειψιν ἥλιου ποιεῖ.¹⁶³

EB: τὸν γὰρ ἀντιφραττόμενον ύπὸ τῆς γῆς τόπον. εἰ μὴ σκιάν τις ἐθέλοι καλεῖν ἀλλ’ ἀφεγγὲς χωρίον, ὅμως ἀναγκαῖον ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν σελήνην γενομένην ... καὶ ὅλως ἔφην εὕηθές ἐστιν ἐκεῖ μὴ φάναι τῆς γῆς ἐξικνεῖσθαι τὴν σκιάν ... ἡ σκιὰ τῆς σελήνης ἐπιπίπτουσα τῇ ὄψει καὶ ... πρὸς τὴν γῆν, ἔκλειψιν ἥλιου ποιεῖν.

Lamprias’ answer to Apollonides’ remark, concerning the lack of shadow in the universe, has been transmitted with three lacunae and a minor textual issue regarding the last verb, *ποιεῖν*. Nevertheless, from the beginning of the passage, it is clear that Lamprias refutes the problem raised by Apollonides: whether we call the space “shadow” or “lightless” does not change the fact that the moon moves to that place and is eclipsed.

The first lacuna appears after the participle *γενομένην*: E has a gap of 30 letters, and B has a gap of 34 letters. The grammar requires, at least, an infinitive that modifies the subject of the subordinate clause, *τὴν σελήνην*. Furthermore, the context demands that the lacking verb specifies how the moon reacts when caught in the lightless spot. If the moon is an earthy body—as Lamprias and Lucius defend—it should disappear out of sight; if it is a star—as the Stoics defend—it should shine even more. Among the conjectures proposed over the centuries, it is possible to distinguish two trends.

In the consideration that the moon is earthy, Amyot conjectured two possibilities, either *ἐξαμαυροῦσθαι* or *ἐκκλείψαι*; Wytténbach proposed (in the apparatus) *σκοτοῦσθαι*; Bernardakis (also in the apparatus) accepted Wytténbach’s conjecture and added another infinitive, *σκοτοῦσθαι καὶ ἀμαυροῦσθαι*; Adler supplied the lacuna with *ἐπιπροσθεῖσθαι ύπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐκλείπειν*; Purser, with *εἴ γε γῆ τις ἐστι, ἀφεγγῆ καὶ ἀλαμπῆ γενέσθαι*; Pohlenz conjectured (in the critical apparatus) two options, the first agreeing with the earthy nature, *καὶ ἐπισκοτουμένην ἄστρον μὴ εἶναι*; and Cherniss suggested *ἐπισκοτεῖσθαι τοῦ ἥλιακοῦ φωτὸς*.

¹⁶³ The infinitive *φάναι* is correctly accentuated by the Aldine and the *Basiliensis* editions, while both manuscripts read *φᾶναι*.

στερομένην.¹⁶⁴ Siding with the second trend, the star-like nature of the moon, an annotation in RJ94 suggested μᾶλλον λάμπειν καὶ διαφαίνεσθαι, and Pohlenz, as second option, suggested εἴ γ' ἄστρον ἔστιν, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκλάμπειν.

In my opinion, Lucius had already distinctly refuted the Stoic theory of the moon as a star-like body, because, as he says, it should be concealed when it shines (933E, Ἐδει τοίνυν διὰ τοσούτων χρόνων φαίνεσθαι τὴν σελήνην ἐν τῇ σκιᾷ λαμπρυνομένην, ή δέ, ἐν <αὐτῇ> μὲν ἐκλείπει καὶ ἀπόλλυσι τὸ φῶς, ἀναλαμβάνει δὲ αὐθις ὅταν ἐκφύγῃ τὴν σκιάν). Furthermore, here, Lamprias is specifically answering Apollonides' concern, so he is not yet speaking to Pharnaces. Consequently, Lamprias would not again be refuting the Stoic view on the moon, which means that we can disprove the conjectures by RJ94 and Pohlenz. Given the large dimension of the lacuna in both manuscripts, however, I prefer to maintain the lacuna in the body of text.

The second lacuna affects Lamprias' new thought on the shadows of both the earth and the moon and breaks the sentence in the middle: between τῆς γῆς ἐξικνεῖσθαι τὴν σκιάν and ή σκιὰ τῆς σελήνης there is a void of eleven letters in E and a void of eight letters in B. The text lacks a correlative adverb that connects both parts: an annotation in RJ94 proposed ὅπου; Amyot, ὅθεν; Bernardakis (in the apparatus), ἐνθαπερ; Purser, ὅπόθεν καί; Pohlenz (in the apparatus), ὅθεν ἔοικεν; and Raingeard accepted ὅπου and suggested (in his commentary) the further addition of δύναται.¹⁶⁵

Despite the effort of the editors to take the lacuna's length into account, statistically, the low chances for ἐνθαπερ, ὅπόθεν καί and ὅθεν ἔοικεν to be the correct conjecture compel me to dismiss them; between RJ94's and Amyot's proposals, I chose the latter because it is far more common in Plutarch's vocabulary.¹⁶⁶

The third lacuna, of seven letters in both manuscripts, is placed after the conjunction καί, which suggests that a second participle was coordinated with ἐπιπίπτουσα, and its meaning must have been concerned with the moon's relation with the earth, given that its complement is πρὸς τὴν γῆν. There are only three conjectures so far suggested for this lacuna: an annotation in RJ94 proposed διήκουσα, which has been accepted by most modern scholars; and Amyot proposed either ἀντερείδουσα or φερομένη. Here again, the possibilities for the selection of the proper verb are vast, which is the reason why I do not include any in the body of text.

¹⁶⁴ Adler, *Dissertationes philologae Vindobonenses*, 109; and Purser, "Mr. Prickard's Translation," 315.

¹⁶⁵ Purser, "Mr. Prickard's Translation," 315; and Raingeard, *Le peri toy prosopoy*, 114. Cherniss accepted Purser's ὅπόθεν καί and interpreted that it is the sense implied by Amyot's translation.

¹⁶⁶ According to the TLG, among the three first options, ὅθεν ἔοικεν appears in Plutarch's work only in one occurrence. Between ὅπου and ὅθεν, the latter counts with approximately 200 cases more than the former.

A final, minor problem in the passage concerns the verb ποιεῖν. While transmitted by both manuscripts as an infinitive, it necessarily must be changed into a personal form, given that the subject is ἡ σκιὰ τῆς σελήνης. I, along with all scholars, accept RJ94's correction into ποιεῖ.

Translation: “‘if one does not want to call the region screened by the earth ‘shadow’ but ‘lightless space,’ nevertheless when the moon gets there it must... Speaking generally too,’ I said ‘it is silly to deny that the shadow of the earth reaches that point <whence> the shadow of the moon by impinging upon the sight and ... to the earth produces a solar eclipse.’”

935B 11-13 τό γε μὴν τίμιον οὐκ ἀπόλλυσι τῆς δόξης οὐδὲ τὸ θεῖον ἡ σελήνη· ἥτις ... ιερὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων νομιζομένη, μᾶλλον ἢ πῦρ θολερόν, ὥσπερ οἱ Στωικοὶ λέγουσι, καὶ τρυγῶδες·

EB: τό γε μὴν τίμιον οὐκ ἀπόλλυσι τῆς δόξης οὐδὲ τὸ θεῖον ἡ σελήνη· ἥτις ... ιερὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων νομιζομένη· ἢ μᾶλλον πῦρ θολερὸν ὥσπερ οἱ στωικοὶ λέγουσι καὶ τρυγῶδες·

Two issues should be discussed in this section: while the main one is the lacuna after ἥτις, there is also a minor difficulty that concerns the reading ἢ μᾶλλον.

As far as the lacuna is concerned, it is a blank space of 10 letters in E and 13 letters in B. The sense of the passage is clear, despite the lacuna: Lamprias praises the sacred nature of the moon and compares it with the highly esteemed earth. Most scholars, however, opt to make the comparison with the earth more explicit by introducing a noun referring to it. An annotation in RJ94 simply supplied the lacuna with γῆ; Amyot corrected ἥτις into γῇ τις (*sic*) and supplied the lacuna with ὄλυμπια καί; Wytttenbach, differently, suggested (in the apparatus) ἡ τις θεὸς διατελεῖ καί; Emperius offered γῆ τις instead of ἥτις and deleted the lacuna; Bernardakis stated that Emperius' correction was ἥτις γῆ τις and proposed as his own, γῆ τις, as well as ὄλυμπια καί.¹⁶⁷

While Amyot's suggestion is interesting, it has been accepted on the grounds of the expression γῆν οὖσαν ὄλυμπίαν used a few lines below (935C) and ὄλυμπίαν γῆν in *De defectu* 416E. In neither of those passages does Plutarch connect ὄλυμπια with ιερά. While *De defectu* highlights the moon's mixed nature, *De facie* highlights its sacredness. Lamprias distinctly refers to this trait, not only here by the use of ιερά, but also in the previous sentence with τό γε

¹⁶⁷ Emperius, *Opuscula*, 292. Three scholars corrected the relative pronoun into a noun and an indefinite pronoun and claimed the authorship for it. Later scholars maintained the error of attribution. The whole correction, as a matter of fact, was already proposed by Amyot in the 16th century.

μὴν τίμιον [...] τῆς δόξης οὐδὲ τὸ θεῖον ἡ σελήνη. The reasons adduced to supply the lacuna with ὄλύμπια are, consequently, not fully convincing.

Kepler, for his part, did not supply the lacuna, nor introduced the noun earth, but corrected *ἰερά* into *αέρια*, interpreting the moon to be an “aerial earth,” which is a beautiful image but an unnecessary modification of the text.¹⁶⁸

In what regards the difficulty with the reading ἡ μᾶλλον, the presence of ἡ in first place supposes the construction of two options in which the second option is considered to be better than the first (‘this or rather that’). Here, however, Lamprias presents the moon’s earthy nature as the first option and the Stoic view of its fiery nature as the second option. It is hardly conceivable that Lamprias suggests the Stoic theory as the best option, especially taking into account that the following sentence connects fire with barbaric traditions (935B, πῦρ μέν γε παρὰ Μήδοις καὶ Ασσυρίοις βαρβαρικὰς ἔχει τιμάς). In fact, Lamprias defends the opposite point of view; therefore, the first alternative must be preferred to the second one. Thus, an annotation in the Aldine RJ94 inverted the order into μᾶλλον ἡ.

Translation: “the moon does not lose the honour nor the divinity of its repute, because it is held by men to be sacred, rather than a turbid and dreggish fire, as Stoics say.”

4.2.7. 935D-937C. Possible Refutations of the Academic Theory

936EF 11-14 Καίτοι καὶ ταῦτα δήπουθεν, ἐὰν ἀμυχῇ τις ἡ ρύπος ἡ τραχύτης καταλάβῃ τὸ σημεῖον [ἄν] ἀφ' οὗ πέφυκεν ἡ ὄψις ἀνακλᾶσθαι, τυποῦται, καὶ βλέπεται μὲν αὐτά, τὴν δὲ ἀνταύγειαν οὐκ ἀποδίδωσιν.¹⁶⁹

EB: καίτοι καὶ ταῦτα δήπουθεν ἐὰν ἀμυχῇ τις ἡ ρύπος ἡ τραχύτης καταλάβῃ, τὸ σημεῖον ἄν ἀφ' οὗ πέφυκεν ἡ ὄψις ἀνακλασθὲν τυποῦται. καὶ βλέπεται μὲν αὐτὰ τὴν δὲ ἀνταύγειαν οὐκ ἀποδίδωσιν.

The passage presents a few difficulties: a) an erroneous modal particle (*ἄν*); b) a missing infinitive; c) the problematic participle *ἀνακλασθέν*; and d) a dubious pronoun (*αὐτά*).

Concerning the particle *ἄν*, not only there is no verb in subjunctive or optative that could legitimate it, but, in fact, the construction of the passage does not need one. Perhaps the

¹⁶⁸ Kepler, *Ioh. Keppleri Mathematici*, 146.

¹⁶⁹ The Aldine edition made the mistake of reading *ταραχύτης* in place of *τραχύτης*—and once again a bit below, in 937C, with *ταραχύτητα* instead of *τραχύτητα*. Annotations in the Aldine copies of Forteguerri, Leonicus and Turnebus corrected it into the manuscripts’ reading; the *Basiliensis* edition and those of Stephanus and Xylander corrected it into *ταραχή τις*.

transmission of ἦν was influenced by the preceding εἴαν, which has its own verb (καταλάβῃ). This sentence, however, is the main clause on which the previous conditional depends, and thus there is no need for verbal forms other than indicative. In line with Wytttenbach and most of the subsequent editors, I delete the particle.

Next is the issue of the missing infinitive, which is required by the presence of πέφυκεν. Some scholars sought it in the problematic participle (ἀνακλασθέν): Kepler suggested to transform it into ἀνακλᾶσθαι; Dübner, into ἀνακλασθῆναι.¹⁷⁰ Amyot, differently, looked for the missing infinitive in one of the main verbs, τυποῦται. This, however, compelled him to delete the following conjunction καί. Amyot also corrected the dubious participle neuter nominative singular (ἀνακλασθέν) into the equivalent in feminine (ἀνακλασθεῖσα) so that it modifies ή ὄψις. The participle in neuter is evidently an erratum, given that it is included in the relative clause and therefore must modify an element within that clause. Perhaps, the mistake was due to the close presence of τὸ σημεῖον, which, however, is part of the main clause, not of the relative clause.

In my view, Kepler's correction provides the most suitable solution. On the one hand, from the point of view of textual transmission, the similarity in sound between the final syllables of both the participle (ἀνακλασθέν) and the infinitive (ἀνακλᾶσθαι) sufficiently explains the corruption; on the other, the replacement of the participle, with no noun to modify, into the required infinitive avoids further modifications, such as that of the main verb.

Despite this, Dübner suggested to replace the verb τυπώ with τυφλώ (τυφλοῦται), a modification which is accepted by all following scholars except Raingeard. I follow the latter who thought that the meaning of τυπώ, 'to mark an imprint,' fits in the context, especially when related to mirrors receiving dirt and scratches.

Concerning the pronoun αὐτά, it can be interpreted in two ways. Either the pronoun relates to ταῦτα, namely the mirrors, and can be maintained; or it refers to τὸ σημεῖον and needs to be corrected. The latter option is chosen by Leonicus, who wrote in the margin of his Aldine copy αὐτό. In this sense, ταῦτα functions as the subject of the first part of the sentence and τὸ σημεῖον as subject of the rest. This is not the case, however, since that leaves us with no verb for the first subject. As a matter of fact, the entire passage has the mirrors as its subject, with its three main verbs (τυποῦται, βλέπεται and ἀποδίδωσιν), while τὸ σημεῖον is the object within the conditional clause. The pronoun αὐτά, therefore, is a mere actualization of the subject.

¹⁷⁰ Kepler, *Ioh. Keppleri Mathematici*, 151; Bernardakis accepted Kepler's emendation, but strangely attributed it to Wytttenbach, and so Cherniss, who attributed it to Bernardakis. Pohlenz transmitted Dübner's emendation, but claimed it as his own.

Translation: “Yet even these, clearly, if a scratch or dirt or roughness catches the point from which the visual ray is naturally reflected, get the imprint, and while they are seen they do not return the reflection.”

937AB 1-4 τὰ δὲ κυρτὰ καὶ τὰ σφαιροειδῆ, τῷ μὴ πανταχόθεν ἀντερείδειν ἀσθενῆ καὶ ἀμαυράν-

... ὄρᾶται δήπουθεν, ὅταν ἥριδες δύο φανῶσι, νέφους νέφος ἐμπεριέχοντος, ἀμαυρὰν ποιοῦσαν καὶ ἀσαφῆ τὰ χρώματα τὴν περιέχουσαν.¹⁷¹

EB: τὰ δὲ κυρτὰ καὶ τὰ σφαιροειδῆ Ε/ καὶ σφαιροειδῆ Β, τῷ μὴ πανταχόθεν ἀντερείδειν ἀσθενῆ καὶ ἀμαυράν· ... · ὄρᾶται δήπουθεν· ὅταν ἥριδες δύο φανῶσι νέφους νέφος ἐμπεριέχοντος, ἀμαυρὰν ποιοῦσαν καὶ ἀσαφῆ τὰ χρώματα τὴν περιέχουσαν·

The passage includes a couple of difficulties: firstly, both manuscripts include a lacuna; and secondly, the words ὄρᾶται and ἀμαυράν, in the last part of the passage, have been modified.

In what concerns the lacuna, it appears after ἀσθενῆ καὶ ἀμαυράν: E presents a 13-letter-gap and B presents a 17-letter-gap. The preceding sentence has complete sense, and both manuscripts present a point above the line after ἀμαυράν, which suggests that no text is missing. The following sentence seems to be complete as well: Lamprias is about to provide a practical example of the way in which convex and spherical mirrors operate.

Different conjectures supply the lacuna with a verb in 3rd person to display a parallel structure between this section and the previous part of the passage, starting with τὰ μέν (937A, τὰ μὲν κοῖλα τῶν ἐσόπτρων, εὐτονωτέραν ποιεῖ τῆς προηγουμένης αὐγῆς τὴν ἀνακλωμένην). Amyot wrote ποιεῖ; Bernardakis conjectured (in the apparatus) ἀποδίδωσιν; Adler, αὐτὴν ἀναδίδωσιν; Raingeard (in the apparatus), αὐγὴν ἀποδίδωσιν; and Pohlenz proposed (also in the apparatus) μᾶλλον ἀποδίδωσιν.¹⁷² All are small variations around the same idea, which, in my opinion, are not mandatory. The verb ποιεῖ, of the previous section, can be applied here even if omitted.

Concerning the modifications in the last part of the passage, the first is the verbal form in 3rd person singular, ὄρᾶται. Ever since an annotation in RJ94 corrected the indicative into the

¹⁷¹ The second occurrence of τά is omitted in B, and although it is grammatically correct, E offers a better syntax. All editions from the 16th century transmitted B's reading, and so did Wyttensbach without noting, in the apparatus, that E provides a different reading. The editions of Basel and Xylander read the particle μέν instead of the negative μὴ. The editions of the 16th century and Wyttensbach, without stating in the apparatus that this was not the manuscripts' reading, all transmitted περιτρέχουσαν instead of περιέχουσαν. This form, whether is due to a conscious modification of EB or an accident, does not offer a better meaning and should not be accepted.

¹⁷² Adler, *Dissertationes philologae Vindobonenses*, 110.

imperative ópāte, most scholars have accepted the emendation on the grounds that Lamprias is requiring the attention of his audience in order to introduce the practical example. The reading of EB, however, is not necessarily mistaken and can be maintained.

The second intervention concerns ἀμαυράν. The accusative singular was understood as a mistake probably due to the two occurrences of participles in accusative singular in this sentence (*ποιοῦσαν* and *τὴν περιέχουσαν*) and corrected in order to coordinate with ἀσαφῆ, both depending on τὰ χρώματα. The emendation into ἀμαυρά was suggested by Amyot under the erroneously accentuated form ἀμαυρά; Kepler (in the notes to his Latin translation of the treatise) also transmitted it with the correct accent.¹⁷³ In my view, the reading ἀμαυράν can function as a predicative complement of the verb ópātai, and consequently needs no intervention.

Translation: “convex and spherical mirrors by not exerting counterpressure upon it from all points, (make) it weak and faint. Whenever two rainbows appear as one cloud encloses another, it is doubtless apparent that being faint, the encompassing rainbow produces colours that are also indistinct.”

4.2.8. 937D-938C. Transition: Theon’s Four Arguments

937E 5-6 τοὺς δὲ οἰκοῦντας αὐτὸν πάλιν ἐπ’ αὐτῆς ὥσπερ Ἰξίονας ἐνδεδεμένους ρύμῃ τόσῃ ...

EB: τοὺς δὲ οἰκοῦντας αὐτὸν πάλιν ἐπ’ αὐτῆς ὥσπερ ιξίονας ἐνδεδεμένους ρύμῃ τόσῃ ...

Both manuscripts report an extensive lacuna: E leaves an entire line blank (approximately 42 letters), and B leaves two half lines blank (32 letters). The sentence that precedes this lacuna is correlated with the previous one, as indicated by the construction τοῖς μέν - τοὺς δέ. They are both subordinate clauses depending on an infinitive, which functions as the object of the verb in personal form (φασί). The sentence that concerns us now lacks the infinitive that should function as the verb.

Amyot suggested περικινεῖσθαι ὥστε μὴ πεσεῖν; Wytténbach, for once, provided (in the apparatus) a simple conjecture, τοσαύτῃ δινεῖσθαι—where τοσαύτῃ is a correction of the demonstrative adjective τόσῃ, which modifies the substantive in dative ρύμῃ—; Bernardakis followed him in the main text, but added in his apparatus the possibility of τοσαύτῃ

¹⁷³ It was not uncommon for Amyot to confuse the accents of a word, see headings in 920EF, 932BC, and 935AB, for other occurrences. Kepler, *Ioh. Keppleri Mathematici*, 152. Pohlenz and Cherniss presented this correction as their own.

περιδινεῖσθαι, ὥστ' ἐκπεσεῖν μὴ δύνασθαι; Adler proposed τοσαύτῃ κινουμένης ἀεὶ περιδινεῖσθαι, Purser suggested τοσαύτῃ καὶ δίνῃ περιφερομένους μὴ ἐκπεσεῖν, Pohlenz conjectured τοσαύτῃ περιδινούμήνης οὐδέποτ' ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ βεβηκέναι, although he also suggested, for the last part of his conjecture, the option ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν; Cherniss proposed τοσαύτῃ, τῆς καταφορᾶς κωλύειν τὴν κύκλῳ περιδίνησιν; and Görgemanns conjectured τοσαύτῃ πληγαῖς τοῦ περιέχοντος ἀέρος ἀεὶ χειμάζεσθαι.¹⁷⁴

With the exception of Amyot, all other editors correct, unnecessarily in my view, the adjective τόσῃ into τοσαύτῃ, some probably motivated by their use of ὥστε afterwards or in an effort to add letters to complete the space of the lacuna. A number of conjectures seem to understand the speed of the moon's movement as something that would prevent its possible inhabitants from falling. I am not fully convinced by this interpretation, since Theon's following words argue that the moon's velocity seems to make life on it impossible: the fact that we do not see people falling from the moon is in fact the proof, according to him. Perhaps, the sense of this passage was that those who live under the moon have the constant fear that it might fall upon them (like Tantalus), and those who live on it, even though fixed like Ixions, would fear to be ejected by such a high velocity. The lacuna, however, is too long to entertain any hypothesis as probable.

Translation: “and those who live on it, in turn, fixed like Ixions, with such a speed...”

938B 3-5 ἀλλ' ... ἥδη καὶ σάλον ἔχων ὑπὸ κουφότητος ὁ ἀὴρ ἐκφεύγει τὴν σύστασιν ταύτην καὶ πύκνωσιν.

EB: ἀλλ' ... ἥδη καὶ σάλον ἔχων ὑπὸ κουφότητος ὁ ἀὴρ, ἐκφεύγει τὴν σύστασιν ταύτην καὶ πύκνωσιν.

Both manuscripts report a lacuna of 10 letters. After that space, we encounter the conjunction καὶ, followed by the noun σάλον and the participle ἔχων. It seems rather probable, then, that either a noun, or a combination of participle and complement, were in place of the current lacuna, coordinated with what follows.

¹⁷⁴ Adler, *Dissertationes philologae Vindobonenses*, 110; Purser, “Mr. Prickard’s Translation,” 318; Görgemanns, *Untersuchungen zu Plutarch’s Dialog*, 83. Cherniss, “Notes on Plutarch’s *De facie*,” 146, believed that what is said in this passage refers to Lucius’ speech in 923C (ὅσπερ ὅσα ταῖς σφενδόναις ἐντεθέντα τῆς καταφορᾶς κώλυσιν ἵσχει τὴν κύκλῳ περιδίνησιν), which is the reason why Lucius’ words should somehow be included in the lacuna.

Some scholars chose the first option: Wyttenbach proposed (in his apparatus) λεπτότητα; Purser, μάνωσιν; and Pohlenz conjectured (in the apparatus) διάχυσιν.¹⁷⁵ Other editors included the second option in their conjectures: Amyot proposed εῖλικρινῆς ὥν and corrected the text following the lacuna into ἥδη καὶ σάλον οὐκ ἔχων; Emperius also corrected the passage in the same idea: ἀλλὰ γαλήνην ἀσάλευτον ἔχον; Bernardakis conjectured (in the apparatus) two options, λεπτός and ἀραιός ὥν; and Pohlenz suggested another option, beside the substantive, seen above, καθαρὸς ὥν.¹⁷⁶

Perhaps, given that the adversative previous to the lacuna is preserved as ἀλλ' and not ἀλλά, a noun or a participle beginning with a vowel would be most probable. However, the lack of any certainty makes it preferable not to include these possibilities in the main body of the text.

Translation: “but the air ... already and having a rolling swell due to its lightness, escapes this compaction and condensation.”

938BC 9-12 Τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἰνδικὴν ρίζαν, ἣν φησι Μεγασθένης τοὺς μήτε πίνοντας, ἀλλ' ἀστόμους ὄντας ὑποτύφειν καὶ θυμιᾶν καὶ τρέφεσθαι τῇ ὄσμῃ, πόθεν ἂν τις ἐκεῖ φυομένην λάβοι μὴ βρεχομένης τῆς σελήνης;
EB: τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἰνδικὴν ρίζαν ἣν φησὶ μεγασθένης τοὺς μήτε πίνοντας, ἀλλ' εὐστόμους ὄντας ὑποτύφειν καὶ θυμιᾶν καὶ τρέφεσθαι τῇ ὄσμῃ, πόθεν ἂν τις ἐκεῖ φυομένην λάβοι μὴ βρεχομένης τῆς σελήνης.

This passage poses two problems, both are related to the description of certain men, who do not drink and, as a result, only feed on vapors. The first problem arises from the presence of μήτε πίνοντας with no correlation; the second concerns the qualification εὐστόμους. Additionally, one minor issue concerns the passage's punctuation.

Regarding the first difficulty, some scholars thought that a section of the text is missing: to begin with there is the presence of μήτε πίνοντας with no correlation; then, the fact that “not drinking” does not provide a strong argument to explain the tradition of smoking vapors. Thus, Leonicus suggested the inclusion of μήτε ἐσθίοντας after the article (τοὺς μήτε ἐσθίοντας μήτε

¹⁷⁵ Purser, “Mr. Prickard’s Translation,” 318.

¹⁷⁶ Emperius, *Opuscula*, 293.

πίνοντας); Stephanus accepted Leonicus' conjecture, and, furthermore, eliminated the preceding article.¹⁷⁷

Perhaps, the sense of the text can be maintained without any intervention. The negation can be understood through the definition ‘not even,’ in which case, men who cannot even drink would also not be able to consume solid food, which is the reason why they have no option other than to feed through the smoke and vapours from a root.¹⁷⁸

Concerning the second problem, the non-drinking men are described as εὐστόμους ὄντας. The meaning of the adjective, ‘big-mouthed,’ ‘of a beautiful mouth,’ or ‘that which is pleasant to the palate,’ certainly clashes with the rest of the passage. Forteguerri and Leonicus emended it by suggesting ἀστόμους; Dübner, Bernardakis and Raingerard, however, maintained the manuscripts’ adjective, although neither LSJ nor Bailly provides the meaning they attribute to it: “sed ore prorsus casto puroque sint,” “se gardent la bouche pure.” Forteguerri’s and Leonicus’ suggestion is, in my opinion, more suitable. I find reasonable justification for this emendation in other authors who also mention Megasthenes and these peculiar men together. Furthermore the confusion α/ευ is frequent in the manuscript transmission.¹⁷⁹

Regarding the punctuation issue, it is necessary to correct the point above the line transmitted by both manuscripts. Theon is suggesting the improbability of a root growing on the moon’s soil if it does not receive rainwater. The dubitative aspect of his statement is confirmed by the presence of the correlative adverb πόθεν. I follow Stephanus who was the first scholar to suggest the correction into a question mark.

Translation: “For the Indian root which Megasthenes says that those who do not even drink, but, not having a mouth, ignite, burn and inhale for their nourishment, how could it be supposed to grow there if the moon is not moistened by rain?”

¹⁷⁷ Although Leonicus’ conjecture has been accepted by most editors, it appears with some errors of attribution in the apparatuses: Bernardakis assigned the correction to Hutton and Cherniss assigned it to RJ94.

¹⁷⁸ According to the TLG, there are a few occurrences in Plutarch’s work where μήτε appears with no correlation: see *Arist.* 3.4; *Flam.* 7.3; *Sept. sap. conv.* 153A; *De gar.* 514B.

¹⁷⁹ See Pliny, *H.N.* 7.2, 25 and Strabo, *Geogr.* 2.1, 9 and 15.1, 57. For the confusion α/ευ, see West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique*, 25, and, concerning specifically *De facie*, the comment in 945B with ἀπαθές (EB) and εὐπαθές (Leonicus’ correction). The correction of Forteguerri and Leonicus was followed by many editors, although with misattributions again: Cherniss assigned it to the *Basiliensis* and the copy RJ94 and Raingeard indicated in his apparatus that ἀστόμους is a correction of the thin handwriting found in RJ94, while the thick one would suggest σύστομοι ἄ. Concerning Raingeard’s strange note in the apparatus, I believe the second option actually refers to the correction proposed in 940B, which is a passage which comes back to the same creatures described here, and thus it is not a correction to the text itself. In fact, the case (nominative plural) corresponds to that later passage, not to the accusative plural we are dealing with here. See heading below for that passage.

4.2.9. 938C-940F. Transition: Lamprias' Reply to Theon

938C 12-15 Ταῦτα τοῦ Θέωνος εἰπόντος, “<κάλλιστά> γε” ἔφην “καὶ ἄριστα τῇ παιδιᾷ τοῦ λόγου τὰς ὄφρυς … ἀ καὶ θάρσος ἡμῖν ἐγγίνεται πρὸς τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, μὴ πάνυ πικρὰν μηδὲ αὐστηρὰν εὐθύνην προσδοκῶσι.¹⁸⁰

EB: ταῦτα τοῦ Θέωνος εἰπόντος, … γε ἔφην καὶ ἄριστα τῇ παιδιᾳ τοῦ λόγου τὰς ὄφρυς … ἀ καὶ θάρσος ἡμῖν ἐγγίνεται πρὸς τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, μὴ πάνυ μικρὰν EB / πικρὰν B s.l. μὴ δὲ αὐστηρὰν εὐθύνην προσδοκῶσι.

There are two consecutive lacunae in this passage. After the genitive absolute *ταῦτα τοῦ Θέωνος εἰπόντος*, both manuscripts leave a gap of approximately eight letters; and after *τὰς ὄφρυς*, another lacuna appears, of around 16 letters in the case of E and of 12 letters in the case of B.

The first lacuna appears after Theon just finishes his speech and Lamprias intervenes to congratulate him. Most probably, the lost section should include an adverb or an adjective in superlative degree with adverbial function coordinated with the following *καὶ ἄριστα*. We find several suggestions in this sense: Amyot proposed *δεξιώτατα*; Wytténbach conjectured (in the critical apparatus) *κάλλιστα*; Raingeard suggested *εὐκαίρως*; and Cherniss, *ὑπέρευ*. Emperius, besides completing the lacuna, corrected the following text: he added *καλῶς* and substituted *καὶ ἄριστα* for *καθαιρεῖς*—thus providing the required verbal form that most scholars supply in the following lacuna (see below).¹⁸¹ In my view, Wytténbach's proposal is quite plausible: besides its simplicity, *κάλλιστα* frequently appears together with *ἄριστος*.¹⁸²

Concerning the second lacuna, it effects the part in which Lamprias praises Theon's intervention. From the context, we know that the narrator applauds the participation of his colleague, that he underscores the ludic aspect that the meeting is acquiring—as opposed to the seriousness of the previous discussion—and that he is willing to reply to Theon's concerns without expecting a harsh or severe critique.

Immediately preceding the lacuna there is a reference to the eyebrows (*τὰς ὄφρυς*)—it is a reference to facial expressions in general—which functions as the object of the sentence.

¹⁸⁰ It is rather striking that the Aldine edition, followed by those of Basel, Stephanus, Xylander and Wytténbach all transmitted the verbal form *περιδοκῶσι* in place of *προσδοκῶσι*, for which there is no entry neither in LSJ nor in Bailly.

¹⁸¹ Emperius, *Opuscula*, 293.

¹⁸² According to the TLG, in Plutarch's work it specifically appears in superlative degree coordinated with *ἄριστα* four times, which makes it convincing enough to be integrated in the text.

Immediately following the lacuna there is the relative pronoun in adverbial function ἃ, which implies that the following καὶ must function as an adverb and not as a conjunction. The lacuna should then have included the main verb of the sentence, and given that Lamprias is directly addressing Theon in his reply, this verb must have been in 2nd person singular.

In fact, various conjectures affirm this direction: Amyot suggested ἀφήρηκας, and also corrected ἃ into ᾧ—this is an unnecessary modification since the relative has an adverbial function here. Wytttenbach, in turn, proposed ἡμῶν ἀνῆκας, δι' and erroneously corrected θάρσος into θάρσον; Bernardakis suggested ἡμῶν ἔλυσας· δι'; and Cherniss, ἡμῶν καθῆκας, δι'.

While I accept Wytttenbach's conjecture for the first lacuna, infinite possibilities could fit into the second one. If we add the fact that the general sense of the passage is clear from the context, adopting any of the conjectures is unnecessary, in my view.

Translation: “When Theon had so spoken, I said ‘<beautifully> and most excellently the brows by the sport of your speech ..., wherefore there is confidence in us reply, since we anticipate no very sharp or bitter scrutiny.’”

938D 20-23 οὐδὲ γὰρ τήνδε τὴν γῆν δι' ὅλης ἐνεργὸν οὐδὲ προσοικουμένην ὄρῶμεν, ἀλλὰ μικρὸν αὐτῆς μέρος, ὥσπερ ἄκραις τισὶν ἡ χερρονήσοις ἀνεχούσης ἐκ βυθοῦ, γόνιμὸν ἐστι ζῷων καὶ φυτῶν.¹⁸³

EB: οὐδὲ γὰρ τήνδε τὴν γῆν δι' ὅλης ἐνεργὸν οὐδὲ προσοικουμένην ὄρῶμεν· ἀλλὰ μικρὸν αὐτῆς μέρος ὥσπερ ἄκροις τισὶν ἡ χερρονήσοις Ε / χερονήσοις Β ἀνέχουσιν ἐκ βυθοῦ γόνιμὸν ἐστι ζῷων καὶ φυτῶν·

This passage presents two textual complications related to one another: the adjective ἄκροις and the participle ἀνέχουσιν, both part of the comparison ὥσπερ ἄκροις τισὶν ἡ χερρονήσοις ἀνέχουσιν. They have been modified several times, because the construction ὥσπερ with dative is unusual.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸³ The noun χερρονήσοις is correctly reported by E, while B transmits it with a single rho and two nu (χερονήσοις). This form is maintained by the Aldine and Xylander's editions, and was corrected, erroneously, into χερρονήσοις by an annotation in RJ94—a correction that both Stephanus and Wytttenbach followed, the latter without commenting in the apparatus that it is not the manuscripts' reading.

¹⁸⁴ On the construction, see the thoughts of A. Pérez Jiménez, “Las regiones fértiles de la tierra: nueva propuesta crítica a Plu., *De facie 938D*,” in M. Sanz Morales, R. González Delgado, M. Librán Moreno & J. Ureña Bracero (eds.), *La (inter)textualidad en Plutarco. Actas del XII Simposio Internacional de la Sociedad Española de Plutarquistas (Cáceres, 8-10 de Octubre de 2015)* (Coimbra: Coimbra University Press, 2017) 44-46.

The Aldine edition changed the adjective into ἄκρως, noting a corruption that might be simply due to an erroneous reading. Forteguerri's annotation to his Aldine copy, however, changed it into ἄκραις.¹⁸⁵ The fact is that this correction does not simplify the syntax, but makes it more complex: ἄκραις τισὶν and χερρονήσοις would, then, be two feminine words referring to a masculine or neuter participle (ἀνέχουσιν). This is the reason why an annotation in RJ94 changed the participle into neuter nominative singular (ἀνέχον), in order to match it with μέρος instead of with ἄκραις τισὶν ἢ χερρονήσοις. Emperius suggested another solution: he transformed the participle into feminine dative plural (ἀνεχούσαις); and Raingeard, who stressed (in his commentary) the syntactic problem, solved it by adding the preposition ἐν in front of the datives.¹⁸⁶ Pérez Jiménez accepted the correction ἄκραις and suggested to change the participle into a feminine genitive singular (ἀνεχούσης), thus, modifying the pronoun αὐτῆς, instead of μέρος.¹⁸⁷

The emendation of RJ94 is hardly explainable: from a syntactical point of view, the corruption from a common neuter nominative singular into a problematic masculine or neuter dative plural is dubious, and, from a palaeographic point of view, there is no explanation. In my opinion, Emperius' correction does not solve the problem of the construction ὥσπερ with dative; and, in Raingeard's conjecture, it is difficult to explain the disappearance of ἐν. By inserting a genitive absolute, Pérez Jiménez's emendation solves both the problem posed by two feminine words referring to a participle neuter or masculine and that of the construction ὥσπερ with dative. Furthermore, the corruption from genitive singular (-ης) into dative plural (-ιν) could be explained as caused by an attraction to the surrounding datives; the corruption of the feminine adjective (-αις) into a masculine or neuter (-οις) would be motivated by the participle's previous corruption.

Translation: “for we see that this earth of ours is not productive and inhabited entirely either, but only a small part of it, as it were rising out of the deep with peaks and peninsulas, is fruitful of animals and plants.”

939A 21-25 εἰ δὲ μὴ δι’ ἔαυτὴν καὶ τὸ ποικίλον τοῦτο τῆς φορᾶς καὶ πεπλανημένον οὐκ ἀνωμαλίας οὐδὲ ταραχῆς ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ θαυμαστὴν ἐπιδείκνυνται τάξιν ἐν τούτοις καὶ

¹⁸⁵ The option ἄκραις is also found in the Aldine RJ94 and integrated in the text of the *Basiliensis*. Wytttenbach included it in his edition without noting that it is not EB's reading.

¹⁸⁶ Emperius, *Opuscula*, 293; Raingeard, *Le peri toy prosopoy*, 127.

¹⁸⁷ Pérez Jiménez, “Las regiones fériles,” 46.

πορείαν οἱ ἀστρολόγοι κύκλοις τισὶ περὶ κύκλους ἑτέρους ἐξελιττομένοις συνάγοντες αὐτήν.

EB: εἰ δὲ μὴ δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ τὸ ποικίλον τοῦτο τῆς φορᾶς καὶ πεπλανημένον, οὐκ ἀνωμαλίας οὐδὲ ταραχῆς ἔστιν· ἀλλὰ θαυμαστὴν ἐπιδείκνυται τάξιν ἐν τούτοις καὶ πορείαν οἱ ἀστρολόγοι κύκλοις τισὶ περὶ κύκλους ἑτέρους ἐξελιττομένοις συνάγοντες αὐτήν.

The main problem of the passage lies in its beginning—εἰ δὲ μὴ δὲ αὐτῇ in EB—but the verb ἐπιδείκνυται, in the second part of the passage, also poses some difficulties.

Concerning the beginning of the sentence, the pronoun αὐτή has caused some trouble for editors. Amyot suggested a very innovative correction, since he read εἰ μὴ καὶ αὐτῇ, where αὐτῇ refers to the moon, and attached this conditional to the previous sentence, thus stating: the only possibility for the inhabitants of the moon to fall is if the moon itself falls. Wytténbach suggested (in the apparatus) ἔτι δὲ, νὴ Δι', αὐτό γε, which appears to overload the text with unnecessary interventions; Dübner proposed ἡ δὲ μεταλλαγή, a correction which was slightly modified by Bernardakis into ἡ τε μεταλλαγή. Raingeard was the only one to accept the manuscripts' text, pointing (in the commentary) to the reference δίνη and translating it as “la rotation à part.”¹⁸⁸ Admittedly, αὐτή could refer to ἡ δίνη, mentioned a few lines above (938F), but, in that case, the syntax of the sentence needs to be adjusted. Pohlenz thought that the passage might be a *locus desperatus* but suggested (in the apparatus) ἡ τε μὴ διὰ μιᾶς κίνησις αὕτη; Cherniss corrected αὐτή into ἀπλῆ.

In my view, δίνη might be, indeed, the antecedent of the pronoun, not as the subject of the sentence, but as the cause for the moon's harmonious movement. Lamprias states that if the moon's harmonious movement is not convincingly explained by its rotation alone, then τὸ ποικίλον τοῦτο τῆς φορᾶς καὶ πεπλανημένον should also be added as cause. As a result, I propose to change δὲ αὐτή into δι' ἐαυτήν. The corruption is due to the transformation of the preposition into a particle by misplacing the epsilon; the disappearance of the preposition, in turn, explains the change of case.

Regarding the verb, ἐπιδείκνυται poses a problem, because it has been transmitted in singular and the subject of the sentence is οἱ ἀστρολόγοι. The mistake might have been caused by the presence of καὶ τὸ ποικίλον τοῦτο τῆς φορᾶς καὶ πεπλανημένον, which precedes the verb and could be interpreted as its subject—thus allowing a singular, since both are neuters. This

¹⁸⁸ Raingeard, *Le peri toy prosopoy*, 128.



interpretation, however, cannot be adopted, for οἱ ἀστρολόγοι would lack its verb. Additionally, the *Basiliensis* proposed the plural ἐπιδείκνυνται.¹⁸⁹

Translation: “and if not by rotation itself, also this variation of movement and wandering is not attributable to irregularity or confusion, but in them astronomers demonstrate a marvelous order and progression, conducting the moon in circles that unroll about other circles.”

939B 3-5 Τὴν δὲ πολλὴν θερμότητα καὶ συνεχῆ πύρωσιν ὑπὸ ἡλίου οὐ παύσῃ φοβούμενος ἀν πρῶτον μὲν ἀντιθεὶς ταῖς <ἐνθάδε> ἔνδεκα θερινὰς <σὺν> συνόδοις τὰς πανσελήνους, EB: τὴν δὲ πολλὴν θερμότητα καὶ συνεχῆ πύρωσιν ὑπὸ ἡλίου Ε / ἡλίου οὐ Β, E s.l. παύσῃ φοβούμενος ἀν πρῶτον μὲν ἀντιθῆς Ε / ἀντιθεὶς Β ταῖς ἔνδεκα θεριναῖς συνόδοις τὰς πανσελήνους,

In this passage, Lamprias refutes Theon’s theory (938A) according to which the excessive warmth due to 12 summer solstices—equivalent to the 12 full moons—would make any form of life impossible to subsist. The text, however, presents many dubious readings that must be dealt with separately.

Firstly, the beginning of the text reads, τὴν δὲ πολλὴν θερμότητα καὶ συνεχῆ πύρωσιν ὑπὸ ἡλίου οὐ παύσῃ φοβούμενος. The negation before παύσῃ φοβούμενος has often been regarded as an error, given that Lamprias seems to be making the opposite point: Theon can cease his fear of excessive warmth and continuous abrasions, because the situation is not as he described. All modern editors agreed on this point and eliminated the negation—although, Raingeard suggested (in his commentary) that the text could be maintained if a question mark is added to the sentence.¹⁹⁰

This intervention, however, is actually motivated by additional modifications in the following text, which transformed it to say the opposite of its original form.¹⁹¹ Lamprias, contrary to the general opinion, warns Theon that he will *not* cease to fear the excessive warmth if he insists on thinking the way he does. He then explains Theon’s theory, in order to refute it.

¹⁸⁹ This correction was accepted by most editors, although Wytténbach and Bernardakis did not allude to the change—as if it were EB’s reading—and Pohlenz, strangely enough, seems to have understood that the singular is E’s reading only.

¹⁹⁰ Raingeard, *Le peri toy prosopoy*, 129.

¹⁹¹ Perhaps, the elimination of οὐ might not be conditioned only by following interventions in the sentence, but also by the odd way in which it is transmitted in E (see 8. Appendix II). It would seem as if the copyist transformed the ending of the preceding noun into a negative (ἡλίον), after which he added οὐ in abbreviated form above the line. Some editors might have interpreted this οὐ as a scribal mistake later maintained by the manuscripts copied from E and decided to eliminate it.

Secondly, the numeral transmitted by EB, ἔνδεκα, has also been regarded as a mistake, for both Theon and Lamprias are dealing with the 12 full moons. Amyot changed it into the (too obvious) form δώδεκα.¹⁹² In my opinion, it is quite difficult to explain how a dubious ἔνδεκα would have found its way into the text, replacing a perfectly suitable δώδεκα. Purser suggested that perhaps the number 11 was given by accident on Plutarch's part, on the idea that the moon has 11 more summers than the earth.¹⁹³ I believe that Lamprias is indeed adding 11 to the one already mentioned by Theon in his speech, thus arriving, admittedly in a rather unorthodox way, to the expected 12. Thus, EB's reading can be maintained.

The third issue arises from the two syntagma at the end of the passage, which are at the very least confusing: ταῖς - θεριναῖς συνόδοις τὰς πανσελήνους.¹⁹⁴ Given that editorial interventions have transformed the first part of the passage into an affirmative clause ('you will cease to fear'), they now try to introduce the reason for Theon not to fear the excessive warmth of the moon: while the 12 summery full moons (moon in opposition) might bring too much warmth, the 12 new moons in which the moon is occluded from the sun (in conjunction, as the text says) should, in turn, appease this warmth. Adler, followed by Raingeard and Cherniss, proposed the correction ταῖς - θεριναῖς πανσελήνοις τὰς συνόδους, and Bernardakis proposed τὰς - θερινὰς συνόδους ταῖς πανσελήνοις.¹⁹⁵

My suggestions, differently, are the following:

- 1) To transform, in the first place, the dative θεριναῖς into an accusative (θερινάς), which is then related to τὰς πανσελήνους;
- 2) To add <ἐνθάδε> before ἔνδεκα, which may have easily dropped off because of the similarity between both words; and,
- 3) To add (for the sake of clarity, although the text could do without it) the preposition σύν before the dative συνόδοις, the fall of which is easily explained by way of haplography.

With the resulting text, ταῖς <ἐνθάδε> ἔνδεκα θερινὰς <σὺν> συνόδοις τὰς πανσελήνους, Lamprias derisively affirms that Theon, after adding to our only yearly summer eleven other summers due to the full moons (thus reaching a yearly total of 12 summers), necessarily fears the excessive warmth.

¹⁹² While all scholars accepted his correction, some of them assigned it to Kepler, such as Pohlenz and Cherniss—although, the latter did mention Amyot's translation—and others to undetermined “editors,” such as Raingeard.

¹⁹³ Purser, “Mr. Prickard's Translation,” 319.

¹⁹⁴ The symbol “-” stands for the number, either 11 as EB transmit, or 12, as all editors corrected.

¹⁹⁵ Adler, *Dissertationes philologae Vindobonenses*, 112. He correctly indicated that “σύνοδοι *non* θεριναὶ esse possunt,” a point unnoticed to Bernardakis, given his emendation to the text.

Fourthly, there is a minor issue regarding the verbal choice between E's and B's different readings. I prefer B's reading, ἀντιθείς, because it allows us to keep the verb εῖσῃ—2nd person singular, future of εῖδω (εῖσομαι)—a bit below. Most scholars, however, choose E's ἀντιθῆς, which, in turn, imposes the modification of εῖσῃ, given that the sentence already presents a main verb. The edition of Basel changed it into εἶτα; Pohlenz (in the apparatus) into εἰκός; and Cherniss into ύποθῆ.

By limiting the modifications of the transmitted text to a minimum—accepting EB's negative οὐ, ἔνδεκα, ταῖς - συνόδοις, τὰς πανσελήνους, and εῖσῃ—our text provides a reasonable and coherent answer to Theon's fear of an excessive temperature on the moon.

Translation: “As to the great heat and continual scorching of the sun, you will not cease to fear it, first of all, if contrasting to those <here> eleven summer full moons with their conjunctions.”

939D 24-3 οἱ δὲ ἀνακαμψέρωτες οὗτοι προσαγορευόμενοι τῆς γῆς ἐξαιρεθέντες οὐ μόνον ζῶσι κρεμάμενοι χρόνον ὅσον βούλεται τις, ἀλλὰ βλαστάνουσιν ... Σπείρεται δέ, τὰ μὲν πρὸς χειμῶνος, τὰ δὲ θέρους ἀκμάζοντος, ὥσπερ σήσαμον καὶ μελίνη·

EB: οἱ δὲ ἀνακαμψέρωτες οὗτοι προσαγορευόμενοι, τῆς γῆς ἐξαιρεθέντες, οὐ μόνον ζῶσι κρεμάμενοι χρόνον ὅσον βούλεται τις. ἀλλὰ βλαστάνουσιν ... σπείρεται δὲ τὰ μὲν, πρὸς χειμῶνος· τὰ δὲ θέρους ἀκμάζοντος· ὥσπερ σήσαμον καὶ μελίνη·

Both manuscripts report a lacuna of around 20 letters after βλαστάνουσιν. Wytttenbach wrote in the apparatus that “nothing seems to be lacking in the passage” (*nil excidisse, sed lacunae signum non suo loco positum, videtur*); Bernardakis proposed (in the apparatus) the conjecture καὶ νέα βλαστήματα; and Pohlenz (also in the apparatus), ἄλλα δ' ἄλλης δεῖται τροφῆς. I agree with Wytttenbach, in that the passage makes sense as it stands.

Translation: “and the plants here called ‘love-restorers’ when lifted out of the earth not only live as long as you wish when hung up but sprout. Some plants are sown towards winter, and some at the height of summer as sesame and millet.”

939E 8-11 τί δὴ θαυμαστόν ἔστιν εἰ γίνονται περὶ τὴν σελήνην ρίζαι καὶ σπέρματα καὶ ὄλαι μηθὲν ὑετῶν δεόμεναι μήτε χιόνων, ἀλλὰ πρόσφορον ἀέρα καὶ λεπτὸν εὐφυῶς ἔχουσαι;¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁶ Bernardakis, followed by Pohlenz and Cherniss, changed μηθέν and μήτε into μηδέν and μηδέ, but the change is not mandatory. And χιόνων ('of snows') was changed into χειμώνων ('of storms') by the Aldine and the

EB: τί δὲ θαυμαστόν ἔστιν εἰ γίνονται περὶ τὴν σελήνην ρίζαι καὶ σπέρματα καὶ ὕλαι Ε / ὕλαι Β μηθὲν ὑετῶν δεόμενα μήτε χιόνων· ἀλλὰ πρόσθερον ἀέρα καὶ λεπτὸν εὐφυῶς ἔχουσαι·

This sentence needed an intervention in three places: a) the particle δέ; b) the participle δεόμενα; and c) the adjective πρόσθερον.

Regarding the first particle, there is no opposition between this sentence and what was said in the previous, yet there is a correlation with the following conditional. It was changed, for the first time by an annotation in SR67, into δή.¹⁹⁷

Regarding the participle neuter plural, it must be an error of transmission, given that it refers to ρίζαι καὶ σπέρματα καὶ ὕλαι, a plural formed by both feminine and neuter nouns. An annotation in the margin of RJ94 corrected it into δεόμεναι.¹⁹⁸

Concerning the adjective, both manuscripts transmit the nonexistent form πρόσθερον. An annotation in SR67 changed it into πρὸς θερινόν; RJ94 also provided this correction and added καὶ ξηρόν; Bernardakis also opted for πρὸς θερινόν, but suggested (in the apparatus) πρὸς θέρειον; and Raingeard (also in the apparatus) suggested πρὸς θερμόν. In my view, another option is possible: πρόσφορον, meaning ‘useful,’ or ‘suitable.’ The corruption into a false compound of θέρος may be explained by the influence of the reference to the summer season in the passage (939D, Σπείρεται δέ, τὰ μὲν πρὸς χειμῶνος, τὰ δὲ θέρους ἀκμάζοντος). This text, thus, refers to the propitious conditions of the air on the moon, which are adapted to its nature.

Translation: “What wonder is there then if on the moon there grow roots and seeds and trees that have no need of rain nor yet of snow but are naturally adapted to a suitable and rarefied air?”

940A 23-2 λέγεις γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐξηγούμενος ταῦτι τὰ Ἀλκμᾶνος.¹⁹⁹

Basiliensis editions. This unnecessary alteration of the text was maintained by Stephanus, Xylander and Wyttensbach. The modification might have been motivated by the appearance of χειμῶσιν a few lines above (939C), which, incidentally, E unnecessarily corrected *supra lineam* into χιόσιν. On this emendation by E, see 8. Appendix II.

¹⁹⁷ All editors have accepted the change, although Raingeard and Cherniss attributed it to RJ94; and Pohlenz, to “ς.”

¹⁹⁸ Later scholars, however, erred in the attribution: Bernardakis presented it as his own; Pohlenz and Cherniss attributed it to Bernardakis; and Raingeard integrated it into the text but made no allusion to the change in the apparatus.

¹⁹⁹ Ταῦτι was Bernardakis’ correction, instead of ταύτῃ, in both manuscripts. Before him, the *Basiliensis* edition, which some scholars followed, proposed to correct the case into neuter accusative plural, ταῦτα. The attic equivalent later proposed by Bernardakis is better explained from a palaeographic point of view: the corruption would be due to iotaism.

<Διὸς> θυγάτηρ Ἐρσα τρέφει καὶ Σελάνας,
ὅτι νῦν τὸν ἀέρα καλεῖ καὶ Δία, φησὶν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς σελήνης καθυγραινόμενον εἰς
δρόσους τρέπεσθαι.

EB: λέγεις γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐξηγούμενος ταύτη τὰ ἀλκμᾶνος ... θυγάτηρ ἔργα τρέφει καὶ
σελάνας· ὅτι νῦν τὸν ἀέρα καλεῖ· καὶ δία φησὶν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς σελήνης
καθυγραινόμενον εἰς δρόσους τρέπεσθαι·

The difficulties of this passage concern Alcman's verse and the causal clause after the quotation.²⁰⁰

Alcman's verse underwent some alterations during textual transmission. Both manuscripts present a lacuna of seven letters at the beginning, and read θυγάτηρ ἔργα τρέφει καὶ σελάνας. Firstly, concerning the lacuna, the first conjectures date from the 16th century and all introduce the name of Zeus: Xylander (in the commentary to his translation) proposed οἴα Δίος (*sic*); Stephanus conjectured Διός.²⁰¹ This inclusion seems supported by the fact that the god is mentioned in the following line.

Secondly, if the verse deals with a daughter of Zeus and the moon, it seems evident that the noun ἔργα should be modified. The mistake was noted by many 16th century scholars, first of all by Forteguerri, who turned the noun into ἔρσα.

This verse underwent a third and last alteration. Some scholars stressed the lack of the adjective "divine" modifying the moon: Stephanus—followed by Wytttenbach, Dübner and Cherniss—added δίας after σελάνας; Bernardakis and Pohlenz added it before the noun. Plutarch quotes this same verse in two other treatises. The suggestion of οἴα Δίος—instead of Zeus' name only—by Xylander and the addition of δίας by the above mentioned scholars were dependent on these texts. Notwithstanding this, they omitted to mention that the quotes found in *Quaest. conv.* 3.10 and *Quaestiones naturales* (*Quaest. nat.* from now on) 918A also show variations caused by textual corruption. In *Quaest. conv.* the text reads: οἴα φησὶ Διὸς θυγάτηρ μέγα τρέφει καὶ ἀσελάνας, with errata in μέγα and ἀσελάνας. In *Quaest. nat.* it appears as: Διὸς θύγατερ Ἐρσα τρέφει καὶ Σελάνας [δίας], with the erroneous form θύγατερ, instead of θυγάτηρ, and the adjective was secluded by editors because it was unmetrical.

Given that the other attestations by Plutarch do not provide a reliable version, I only keep the conjecture Διός and the correction to ἔρσα, since they are the only required emendations that assure meaning.

²⁰⁰ Fr. 57 Page.

²⁰¹ Xylander, *Plutarchi Chaeronensis*, 719.

Regarding the causal clause, EB read: ὅτι νῦν τὸν ἀέρα καλεῖ· καὶ δίᾳ φησὶν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς σελήνης καθυγραινόμενον εἰς δρόσους τρέπεσθαι. Lamprias provides an explanation of the verse's meaning, but the strong pause after καλεῖ implies that the verb lacks a second substantive in accusative.

Xylander suggested (in the commentary to his translation) the conjecture ὅτι τὸν δίᾳ τὸν ἀέρα καλεῖ, καὶ φησὶν (*sic*); Kepler suggested to delete the strong punctuation after καλεῖ and to invert the order of words from καὶ δίᾳ φησὶν into δίᾳ καὶ φησὶν.²⁰² In both cases, καλεῖ receives two accusatives (τὸν ἀέρα and δίᾳ) and the conjunction links this verb with φησὶν. Raingeard opted to maintain the manuscripts' reading and stated that changing the text would create confusion, for the text reads: "le poète nomme l'air et raconte que Zeus lui-même humidifié par la lune se tourne en rosée."²⁰³

In my view, another plausible solution is to interpret καὶ as an adverb. In this sense, after the elimination of the strong punctuation, no other intervention is required: τὸν ἀέρα and δίᾳ are associated through the adverb to the verb καλεῖ. This verb belongs to the causal clause and consequently does not need a link with the verb of the main sentence, φησὶν.

Translation: "for when you expound these words of Alcman's, 'Dew, daughter <of Zeus> and Selene nourishes,' you tell us that, because now he calls the air also 'Zeus,' he says that it is liquefied by the moon and turns to dew-drops."

940BC 11-13 Καὶ σύστομοι μὲν ἄνθρωποι καὶ ὁσμαῖς τρεφόμενοι μὴ ἔστωσαν, εἰ μὴ <Θέωνι
ἄστο>μοι δοκοῦσι, τὴν δὲ ἀτμῶν οὓς ἡμῖν αὐτὸς ἐξηγεῖτο δύναμιν ἤνιξατο μὲν Ἡσίοδος
εἰπών·

EB: καὶ σύστομοι μὲν ἄνθρωποι καὶ ὁσμαῖς τρεφόμενοι μὴ ἔστωσαν, εἰ μὴ ... μὴ
δοκοῦσι· τὴν τε ἄμμονος ἡμῖν αὐτὸς ἐξηγεῖτο δύναμιν, ἤνιξατο μὲν Ἡσίοδος εἰπών·

This passage includes three problems. Firstly, the adjective σύστομοι; then, the lacuna of approximately eight letters transmitted in both manuscripts preceded and followed by μὴ; and finally, the reading ἄμμονος, otherwise not attested.

In what regards σύστομοι, the adjective is used in correlation with Theon's words explaining the men who feed on smoke and steam from an Indian root (938D). Despite the presence of a lacuna and textual corruption, the references to the utility of plants, such as mallow and daffodil (μαλάχη and ἀσφοδέλῳ), and to the sufficiency of small quantities of food

²⁰² Xylander, *Plutarchi Chaeronensis*, 719; Kepler, *Ioh. Keppleri Mathematici*, 165.

²⁰³ Raingeard, *Le peri toy prosopoy*, 132.

points to the fact that Lamprias is indeed replying to Theon's words. He, however, used the term εὐστόμους ('of good mouth') when referring the vapor feeding men, which required a correction.²⁰⁴

The problem in this passage is that the meaning of σύστομοι, 'of a narrow mouth,' does not seem to fit in the context. As stated above, the aforementioned men should feed through their nostrils (smell), due to the fact that they do not have an aperture allowing the ingestion of solids or liquids. Forteguerri's and Leonicus' emendation to ἄστομος seems to suit the context better. Dübner—followed by Bernardakis and Raingeard—however, corrected the adjective to match the one in 938D (εὔστομος), as he had previously accepted it there.

In my view, the adjective σύστομοι can be maintained depending on what is conjectured for the following lacuna, since Lamprias might not be repeating Theon's thought word for word.

Regarding the lacuna, most scholars attempted to make the reference to the previous passage (938D) more explicit. Amyot was the first to propose a correction: ζῆν ἄστοι δυνάμενοι; Wytttenbach proposed (in the apparatus) μηδὲ εἶναι μοι, and corrected the conditional conjunction that precedes the first negation into the relative οἵ; Purser supplied ὑπάρχειν δή and eliminated the second occurrence of μή; Pohlenz, based on one of Adler's proposals, referred to Theon in his conjecture, εἶναι Θέωντι; Cherniss accepted the relative pronoun and, based on another of Adler's proposals, referred to Megasthenes, the character mentioned in the previous passage, Μεγασθένει γ' εἴναι.²⁰⁵

While Lamprias does not directly address Theon, but the audience in general, he is, however, referring to Theon's speech. Consequently, a new character should not be introduced in the lacuna, as some scholars have proposed. In my opinion, Lamprias might not be questioning whether Theon doubts the existence of people feeding through smoke and vapours, but only the fact that they are 'mouthless,' the word used by Theon in 938D. Lamprias, therefore, instead of using Theon's adjective, uses σύστομοι, 'narrow-mouthed,' to correct the idea of people having no mouth at all, even if doubting their existence. Consequently, I maintain EB's σύστομοι, and I suggest to supply the lacuna with Θέωντι ἄστο and to modify the following μή into μοι. While this perfectly fits the space provided by the manuscripts, the corruption into the negation is explained by iotaism.

²⁰⁴ See heading in 938BC, above.

²⁰⁵ Purser, "Mr. Prickard's Translation," 320. Adler studied the passage in three occasions—1910, 1921 and 1933—providing different solutions each time. Pohlenz used M. Adler, "Ein Zitat aus des Megasthenes 'Ινδικά bei Plutarch," in O. Stein & W. Gampert (eds.), *Festschrift Moriz Winternitz* (Leipzig, 1933) 301, where Adler proposed εἰ <Θέωντι γ' εἴναι> μή; Cherniss differently used Adler, *Dissertationes philologae Vindobonenses*, 112, with the conjecture καὶ Μεγασθένει δοκοῦσι εἴναι.

Regarding the corruption of ἄμμονος, many corrections have been suggested over time that not only corrected this word, but also changed the particle τε into γε or δέ, and included a pronoun, either replacing the article τήν or adding the pronoun after the article. The Aldine RJ94 included the annotation ἦν γε ἄμμωνος; Amyot wrote ἦν δ' ἄμμώνιος, referring to Plutarch's teacher; Adler, firstly, proposed ἦν δὲ ἄμμεως, and then τὴν δ' ἄλιμον along with ἦν after δύναμιν; Cherniss and Pohlenz both suggested τὴν δ' ἄλιμον, ἦς.²⁰⁶

In my opinion, it is necessary to correct τε into δέ, for what follows is a restriction to what was said before. The changes ἄμμωνος and ἄμμώνιος imply the introduction of a new subject for the pronoun αὐτός and the verb ἐξηγεῖτο, which further complicates the comprehension of the sentence. As I suggested above, Lamprias is referring to Theon, who is, consequently, the subject (in 3rd person) of the sentence. Conjectures to solve the problem with ἄμμωνος—as those previously to supply the lacuna—should not introduce a new subject.²⁰⁷ The addition of a relative, however, seems necessary: τὴν δέ - δύναμιν is the object of the sentence ἤντιξατο μὲν Ἡσίοδος, but the sentence ἡμῖν αὐτὸς ἐξηγεῖτο lacks its own object. I propose τὴν δὲ ἀτμῶν οὓς in place of τὴν τε ἄμμωνος. The noun ἀτμός refers to the vapour or steam obtained from the Indian root alluded to previously by Theon (938BC, Τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἰνδικὴν ρίζαν [...] ὑποτύφειν καὶ θυμιᾶν καὶ τρέφεσθαι τῇ ὄσμῃ). Lamprias, here, questions the authenticity of the existence of mouthless or narrow-mouthed men, but accepts the possibility of another way of being fed, by suggesting that even Hesiod made an allusion to this topic.

Translation: “And let there not be ‘narrow-mouthed’ men nourished by odours, if <Theon> does not think they are <‘mouthless’>, yet the power of vapours, which he himself (Theon) explained to us, also Hesiod pointed at when he said...”

4.2.10.941A-942F. The Journey of the Servitors

941A 22-24 Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ὑποκριτής εἰμι, πρότερον δὲ αὐτοῦ φράσω τὸν ποιητὴν ἡμῖν εἰ μή τι κωλύει καθ' Ὀμηρον ἀρξάμενον·

²⁰⁶ Adler, *Dissertationes philologae Vindobonenses*, 114; Adler, “Ein Zitat aus des Megasthenes Ἰνδικά bei Plutarch,” 301.

²⁰⁷ Cherniss, “Notes on Plutarch’s *De facie*,” 148, thought that Theon cannot be the subject of ἐξηγεῖτο, since Lamprias is addressing him directly in this passage (if he were the subject, Lamprias should use the 2nd person singular). This is the reason why Cherniss accepted Adler’s correction introducing Megasthenes, instead of Adler’s very last intervention (Θέων γ’ εἶναι): if he introduces a reference to Megasthenes, Lamprias can use the verb in 3rd person ἐξηγεῖτο.

EB: ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ὑποκριτὴς εἰμί· πρότερον δὲ αὐτοῦ φράσω τὸν ποιητὴν ἡμῖν εἰ μή τι κωλύει EB / κωλύοι B s.l. καθ' ὅμηρον ἀρξάμενον·

Scholarship has tended to modify the beginning of the myth: the participle in accusative singular (*ἀρξάμενον*) was transformed into a nominative; the pronoun in dative 1st person plural (*ἡμῖν*) was changed into a 2nd person plural. If we analyse these alterations carefully, I believe either of them is justified. Furthermore, the manuscripts present different readings for the verb of the conditional clause.

Regarding the participle, Amyot changed it into the nominative singular based on the understanding that Sulla is the author of the story that is told immediately afterwards.²⁰⁸ In my view, this intervention is unnecessary, if we understand that the subject is not *ἐγώ* (Sulla), but *τὸν ποιητὴν*. This “creator” is no other than the Stranger, the character who had told the whole myth to Sulla in the first place when they met in Carthage. This is the reason why Sulla calls himself ‘a mere actor’ (*ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ὑποκριτής εἰμι*); he is not the author but the narrator.

Turning to the pronoun, if *τὸν ποιητὴν ... ἀρξάμενον* refers to the Stranger, we can conclude that the pronoun in dative plural refers to the audience present when the Stranger first narrated the tale, including Sulla himself, and not to the interlocutors of the dialogue in *De facie*. Therefore, Sulla uses the 1st person plural to refer to those present in Carthage. Thus, the change proposed by Stephanus into a 2nd person plural is dismissed as well.

Finally, in what concerns the verb of the conditional clause, while it appears in both manuscripts in indicative, it is corrected *supra lineam* by B into an optative (*κωλύοι*).²⁰⁹ This was probably motivated by the presence of *εἰ μή* preceding the verb. The form *εἰ μή*, however, appears in Plutarch’s work followed by indicative, subjunctive, and optative, thus, B’s correction of *κωλύει* is not mandatory.²¹⁰

Translation: “Well, I am the narrator, and I will firstly say, if nothing prevents it, that its author began for us by quoting Homer.”

941A 1-3 τὸν Κρόνον οἱ βάρβαροι καθεῖρχθαι μυθολογοῦσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Διός, τόνδε ώς νιὸν ἔχοντα φρουρόν, τῶν τε νήσων ἐκείνων καὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἦν Κρόνιον πέλαγος ὀνομάζουσι παρακάτω κεῖσθαι.

²⁰⁸ Some editors accepted this correction, but wrongly attributed it to Hutten—among them Bernardakis, Raingeard, and Cherniss.

²⁰⁹ See the emendation in 8. Appendix II.

²¹⁰ See *Num.* 14.15, *Publ.* 2.1, and *Tim.* 30.5, for a few instances in which *εἰ μή* appears with present indicative. Furthermore, see LSJ I.1 for the use of *εἰ* with any tense of the indicative.

EB: τὸν Κρόνον οἱ βάρβαροι καθεῖρχθαι μυθολογοῦσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Διός· τὸν δὲ, ὡς νιὸν ἔχοντα φρουρὸν τῶν τε νήσων ἐκείνων καὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἣν κρόνιον πέλαγος ὄνομάζουσι. παρακάτω κεῖσθαι.

The text transmitted by EB has suffered changes in three places, all closely related to each other: a) ὡς νιὸν appears to be out of place in this context; b) the intervention in ὡς νιὸν implied the change of φρουρόν, a word that should not be a problem in-itself; and c) παρακάτω and the infinitive κεῖσθαι have also been corrected into different proposals.

Regarding the form τὸν δὲ, ὡς νιὸν (*sic*), it was modified in order to introduce a subject for the following participle, ἔχοντα. Amyot was the first to change the text. He included a reference to Briareus, taking as basis *De defectu* 420A, a passage where this character is explicitly mentioned as Cronos' guardian: τὸν δὲ, ὥγυον. Most editors changed the text with the same idea, seeking to include, in one way or another, an allusion to Briareus: Apelt, τὸν δ' Ὠγυγὸν; Adler, Βριάρεων δὲ τὸν νιὸν; Pohlenz (in the apparatus), τὸν δὲ Βριάρεων ὡς νιὸν; and Cherniss, τὸν δ' ὠγύγιον Βριάρεων.²¹¹ The only scholars who maintained Cronos as the subject were Wytténbach, who changed the text (in the critical apparatus) into ὡς ὕπνον, and Purser, who turned it into τὸν δ' ὑπνώδως.²¹² Only one editor maintained the manuscripts' reading, Raingeard. According to Raingeard, Zeus is guardian of Cronos and of the islands in his role of son of the god; additionally, he claimed there is no contradiction with the passage of *De defectu*, because Briareus is a minister of Zeus, which means that, ultimately, it is Zeus who holds Cronos prisoner.²¹³

The problem with the introduction of a new character and with Raingeard's choice to maintain the manuscripts arises because scholars assumed that the rest of sentence referred to either Briareus or Zeus. On one side, either would be the subject of the participle ἔχοντα, which in turn cannot have as subject φρουρόν. Johann Friedrich Salomon Kaltwasser thus suggested to correct it into φρουράν.²¹⁴ On the other, either would also have to be the subject of the infinitive at the end of the passage. This, in turn, locates either Briareus or Zeus on the island, despite the fact that it is explicitly stated further below that the only inhabitants of the island are Cronos and his servitors (941A and 941E).

²¹¹ Apelt, "Zu Plutarch und Plato," 17; Adler, *Dissertationes philologae Vindobonenses*, 117.

²¹² Purser, "Mr. Prickard's Translation," 321.

²¹³ Raingeard, *Le peri toy prosopoy*, 135.

²¹⁴ Raingeard later claimed the authorship of the emendation.

The term *παρακάτω* preceding *κεῖσθαι* poses some issues: Bailly does not include it and some editors affirmed that it does not exist; in LSJ, however, it appears with the meaning ‘just below’ with genitive or as an adverb. Both of them, the infinitive mainly due to the difficulty raised by the adverb, have gone through various modifications: Amyot proposed *παρακατακίσθαι*; Dübner, *πέραν κατωκίσθαι*; and Apelt, *παρακατωκίσθαι*.²¹⁵

In my opinion, Cronos has a guardian (*ἔχοντα φρουρόν*) and is located below the ground (*παρακάτω κεῖσθαι*). Thus, *τὸν Κρόνον* functions as the subject of both *ἔχοντα* and *κεῖσθαι*. This statement is supported by the context: firstly, Cronos is, in fact, also the subject of the infinitive in the previous sentence, *καθεῖρχθαι*; secondly, the description of Cronos’ imprisonment in a later passage, when he is said to be held in a deep cave, corroborates the use of the problematic ‘just below,’ here (941F, *αὐτὸν μὲν γὰρ τὸν Κρόνον ἐν ἄντρῳ βαθεῖ περιέχεσθαι πέτρας χρυσοειδοῦς καθεύδοντα*). I, consequently, suggest to correct *τὸν δέ, ώς νιόν* into *τόνδε ώς νιὸν* and to eliminate the pause after *ὄνομάζουσι*. The first intervention, the replacement of the article with a demonstrative pronoun, allows for the maintenance of Cronos as the subject of *ἔχοντα*, while still conceding that Zeus, as son, is his guardian. With the second intervention, the syntagma with its relative clause *τῶν τε νήσων ἐκείνων καὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἣν Κρόνιον πέλαγος ὄνομάζουσι* no longer belongs to the domain of the guardian, but to the place where Cronos is located. In this sense, *παρακάτω*, while placed by the verb, actually rules the syntagma in genitive. The prolepsis of the syntagma regarding the islands and the sea can be explained as relevant to the tale explaining the geographical description were Cronos is imprisoned.

Translation: “the natives narrate that Cronos is confined by Zeus, having him, as son, as his guardian, and below the ground of those islands and of the sea that they call Cronian he is settled.”

941BC 12-14 *καλεῖν δὲ καὶ νομίζειν ἐκείνους ἡπειρώτας μὲν αὐτοὺς ταύτην τὴν γῆν κατοικοῦντας, ώς καὶ κύκλῳ περίρρυτον <οὐκ> οὖσαν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης*.²¹⁶

EB: *καλεῖν δὲ καὶ νομίζειν ἐκείνους ἡπειρώτας μὲν αὐτοὺς ταύτην τὴν γῆν κατοικοῦντας ώς καὶ κύκλῳ περίρρυτον οὖσαν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης*.

²¹⁵ Apelt, “Zu Plutarch und Plato,” 17. There are discrepancies on who the author of this correction is: Raingeard claimed the authorship and Pohlenz assigned it to Adler.

²¹⁶ Bernardakis presented, in his edition, the form *λαλεῖν* instead of *καλεῖν*, which is probably a mistake and not a purposeful intervention.

This sentence caused a couple of problems for scholars: firstly, neither the pronouns ἐκείνους and αὐτούς nor the participle κατοικοῦντας seem to have a clear referent; and secondly, the presence of the particle μέν without the correlation δέ contributes to the feeling that the text lacks something.

Forteguerri was the first scholar to intervene in the text, by modifying αὐτούς into αύτούς—a correction that I follow.²¹⁷ Later on, most probably unaware of Forteguerri's modification, the *Basiliensis* edition added νησιώτας δέ after the counterpoint ἡπειρώτας μὲν αύτούς: ἐκείνους are the Greeks of the Great Continent, self-referring as ‘continentals’ (ἡπειρώτας μέν), and αύτούς are those who inhabit ταύτην τὴν γῆν, Ogygia, whom they call ‘islanders’ (νησιώτας δέ). Following the correction suggested by the *Basiliensis* but seeking to strengthen the nominalization of the participle κατοικοῦντας, Wytttenbach proposed (in the apparatus) the addition of the article τούς after νησιώτας δέ (νησιώτας δέ τοὺς ταύτην τὴν γῆν κατοικοῦντας).

The main problem of these interventions, in my view, lies in that they produce a text that has no informative value whatsoever: Greeks from the mainland call themselves “continentals” and regard the people living in the island of Ogygia as “islanders.” Furthermore, the digression following this passage (ώς καὶ κύκλῳ περίρρυτον οὖσαν ύπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης) has no sense whatsoever, since it is obvious that they would think that an island is surrounded by the sea. Another possible interpretation would be that ταύτην τὴν γῆν κατοικοῦντας does not refer to the inhabitants of Ogygia, but to our continent, Europe, which will be called later in the narration ‘the big island’ (942B, τῆς μεγάλης νήσου). In this case, the different denominations and the digression, taken as the origin of those denominations, would make sense. This is the interpretation of most scholars, but, in my view, a reference to our continent is improbable in this passage, because it is focused on the description of the Atlantic Ocean, the archipelago of Ogygia, and the Great Continent beyond the Ocean.

To solve the passage's difficulties, I suggest to modify only the explicative clause. Obviating the generally accepted addition of νησιώτας δέ, the text only refers to ἡπειρώτας ('continentals'), employed by the Greeks of the Great Continent to qualify the inhabitants of elsewhere. Since I believe the core of the description is composed by the Great Continent and Ogygia's archipelago, the denomination “continentals” is being applied to the inhabitants of the island, thus the need of an explicative clause to explain the reason for such a denomination. I propose to add οὐκ before οὖσαν, in order to transform the sentence into a negative one and to

²¹⁷ This correction was included in the text by Dübner, Bernardakis, Raingeard, and Cherniss, but none of them mentioned Forteguerri.

understand ώς as providing subjective value: ώς καὶ κύκλῳ περίρρυτον <οὐκ> οὗσαν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης.

The corruption can be explained without trouble: because the negation and the participle begin with the same syllable, the copyist may have easily omitted οὐκ. The wrong belief that Ogygia was not an island would be provoked by what had been said above (941B): the sea is muddy and earthy, giving the impression of being frozen, solid. And so, the digression is justified: mainlanders call the islanders of Ogygia “continentals,” on the grounds of a belief that does not fit reality—that Ogygia is not surrounded by sea.

Translation: “they call and regard as continentals precisely those that inhabit this land, as if it were <not> completely surrounded by the sea.”

941CD 21-25 παρασκευασαμένους ἐν χρόνῳ πολλῷ τὰ περὶ τὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὸν ἀ... ἐκπέμπειν κλήρῳ λαχόντας ἐν πλοίοις τοσούτοις θεραπείαν τε πολλὴν καὶ παρασκευὴν ἀναγκαίαν μέλλουσι πλεῖν πέλαγος τοσοῦτον εἰρεσίᾳ καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ ξένης βιοτεύειν πολὺν ἐμβαλλομένους.

EB: παρασκευασαμένους ἐν χρόνῳ πολλῷ τὰ περὶ τὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὸν ἀ... ἐκπέμπειν κλήρῳ λαχόντας ἐν πλοίοις τοσούτοις· θεραπείαν τε πολλὴν καὶ ...σκευὴν Ε / παρασκευὴν Β ἀναγκαίαν μέλλουσι πλεῖν πέλαγος τοσοῦτον εἰρεσίᾳ· καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ ξένης βιοτεύειν πολὺν ἐμβάλλομεν· οὖς

Two issues must be solved in this passage: both manuscripts report a lacuna after τὸν ἀ: approximately 23 letters in E, and 17 letters in B; and a verb in 1st person plural clashes with the context.

Regarding the lacuna, it is preceded by a participle with its complement (παρασκευασαμένους - τὰ περὶ τὴν θυσίαν) and the conjunction καὶ, which makes rather probable the supposition that the missing text was a noun coordinated with τὰ περὶ τὴν θυσίαν, both complements of παρασκευασαμένους.

The first scholars to complete the lacuna were Amyot and Xylander (in the commentary of his translation): they both suggested ἀπόπλουν, which, despite being too short for the space available, perfectly adapts to the context.²¹⁸ This noun was accepted by most scholars, including Bernardakis and Pohlenz, who also proposed (in the apparatus) ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας πλοῦν, and ἀποπλοῦν ἐπὶ τὴν Κρόνου νῆσον, both in an attempt to complete the whole space of the

²¹⁸ Xylander, *Plutarchi Chaeronensis Moralia*, 719.

manuscripts. Also, Raingeard followed this option, but further observed (in the commentary) that in the lacuna should appear the sum of envoys, in order to justify τοσούτοις, which corresponds to a number mentioned before.²¹⁹ Cherniss might have been inspired by this comment for his conjecture, which not only provided the lacking complement for παρασκευασμένους but also an object for ἐκπέμπειν: ἀπόστολον θεωροὺς ἰκανούς.

For the lost noun, one might suggest ἀνάπλουν, as an alternative to ἀπόπλουν. In fact, ἀνά provides a more specific meaning of departure, compared to that of ‘return home’ by ἀπό.²²⁰ To mention one example of this, the verb used a few lines below (ἀποπλεῖν οἴκαδε) is precisely used in the sense of “return to the fatherland.”

Regarding the verbal form in 1st person plural, ἐμβάλλομεν, it clashes with the context, given that the myth is being narrated by Sulla, who transmits the words of the Stranger. Amyot suggested to emend the text into ἐμβαίνοντας οῦν καί; and Kepler proposed ἐμβαλλομένους—a participle formed by fusing the verb with pronoun οὗς transmitted after the verb by both manuscripts.²²¹ Kepler’s proposal is more plausible from both the palaeographical perspective, and the syntactical, since the participle refers to the infinitive ἐκπέμπειν and has as complements ἐν πλοίοις τοσούτοις θεραπείαν τε πολλήν καὶ παρασκευήν ἀναγκαίαν.²²²

Translation: “having spent a long time in preparation for the sacrifice and the ... after choosing by lot they send it forth in a sufficient number of ships, putting aboard a large retinue and the provisions necessary for men who are going to cross so much sea by oar and live such a long time in a foreign land.”

942A 28-2 εἶναι δὲ ανάστασιν τὰ τιτανικὰ πάθη καὶ κινήματα τῆς ψυχῆς <ἔως> ἀν αὐτῷ παντάπασιν ὁ ὑπνος ... καὶ γένηται τὸ βασιλικὸν καὶ θεῖον αὐτὸ καθ’ ἔαυτὸ καθαρὸν καὶ ἀκήρατον.

EB: εἶναι δὲ ανάστασιν τὰ τιτανικὰ πάθη καὶ κινήματα τῆς ψυχῆς ἐν αὐτῷ παντάπασιν ὁ ὑπνος: ... καὶ γένηται τὸ βασιλικὸν καὶ θεῖον αὐτὸ καθ’ ἔαυτὸ καθαρὸν καὶ ἀκήρατον.

The manuscripts present some textual problems, the beginning εἶναι δὲ ανάστασιν, the subjunctive γένηται, and a lacuna of around 10 letters in E and 13 letters in B that complicates the correct interpretation of the passage.

²¹⁹ Raingeard, *Le peri toy prosopoy*, 137.

²²⁰ See LSJ I and DGE I.2.

²²¹ Kepler, *Joh. Keppleri Mathematici*, 171.

²²² Later editors accepted Kepler’s correction, but mistakenly attributed it to Wyttenbach.

Generally speaking, the passage seems to have two parts neatly differentiated, both related to Cronos: his titanic and rebellious nature on the one hand, and his divine and royal nature on the other. The only editor disagreeing with this view was Raingeard, who, incomprehensibly in my opinion, interpreted that τὰ τιτανικὰ πάθη is the suffering caused by Zeus upon his enemies, which causes Cronos to stand up in distress when he foresees it.²²³

Many editors modified the first part of the passage (εἴναι δὲ ανάστασιν): Kepler replaced the verb, κατ’ ἀνάστασιν; Wytttenbach (in the apparatus) added αὐτοῦ after ανάστασιν; Van Herwerden proposed the addition of ἐν and the correction of the noun into ἀναστάσει; Pohlenz replaced it with ἐπειδὸν στασιάσαντα, based in Madvig’s text (ἐπειδὸν παύσῃ); Cherniss corrected it into εἴναι δ’ ἀνάτασιν; and Donini presented here one of the few cases of personal interventions in the text, either ἔχειν δ’ οὕτως ἵνα or εἴναι δὲ τοῦτο ἵνα.²²⁴ Madvig, Pohlenz and Donini looked for a conjunction that, as we shall see below, is lacking in the text; Van Herwerden and Cherniss believed that the text could not be understood as it stands. All of them, in any case, took the chance to substitute ανάστασιν, which supposes a difficulty to them. Cherniss, for example, believed that it is a scribal mistake for ἀνάτασιν, a term that he defended as being common in Neoplatonic vocabulary.²²⁵ However correct this opinion might be, it provides no reason to alter Plutarch’s text in order for it to fit the vocabulary of later authors. Furthermore, in the present context, I believe that Cronos’ titanic passions and commotions do imply a ‘revolt,’ a ‘destabilization,’ (ανάστασιν) which will be appeased through sleep. Therefore, I propose to maintain the manuscripts’ text.

The following difficulty is posed by the lacuna. The text presents two subjects—οὗπνος, before the lacuna, and τὸ βασιλικὸν καὶ θεῖον, after the lacuna—and a single verb, γένηται, that clearly cannot refer to both subjects. Since this verb is preceded by the copulative conjunction καί, I believe the lacuna might have included another verb in subjunctive, the subject of which is οὗπνος. This is the position of Wytttenbach (in the apparatus), with συστέλλει, ἔως κοσμηθῇ; Bernardakis (in the apparatus), with καὶ κατακοσμήσῃ; Pohlenz, with κατακοιμήσῃ; or Cherniss, with καταστήσῃ. Van Herwerden, however, deleted the lacuna and secluded καί.²²⁶

Due to their introduction of a verb that requires an object, Bernardakis and Cherniss were forced to modify the adverb παντάπασιν to include one. Bernardakis corrected it into

²²³ Raingeard, *Le peri toy prosopoy*, 140.

²²⁴ Kepler, *Ioh. Keppleri Mathematici*, 172; Van Herwerden, “Novae curiae criticae,” 214; Madvig, *Adversaria critica*, 666; and Donini, *Plutarco. Il volto della luna*, 343-344 n. 365.

²²⁵ Cherniss, “Notes on Plutarch’s *De facie*,” 150.

²²⁶ Van Herwerden, “Novae curiae criticae,” 214.

πάντα παύσῃ, which, in addition to an object, included a new verb to be coordinated with the one lost in the lacuna, κατακοσμήσῃ, and with γένηται. Cherniss corrected παντάπασιν into πάλιν ἀνάπαυσιν. I see no reason to modify the text in this sense, since the adverb fits the context perfectly: sleep, the remedy designed by Zeus for the titanic nature of Cronos, completely soothes him—we do not know exactly what the effects are, as this is part of the lost text.

Concerning the subjunctive γένηται, it requires a subordinating conjunction that has not been preserved. This conjunction cannot have been part of the text lost in the lacuna, given that it must precede the subjects of the subordinate clause and the first of these subjects, ὁ ὕπνος, appears before the lacuna. Consequently, the conjunction should have been placed in the first part of the passage. As seen above, Pohlenz and Donini placed it at the very beginning—ἐπειδάν στασιάσαντα, and ἔχειν δ'οὕτως ἵνα or εἴναι δὲ τοῦτο ἵνα. In my opinion, it would be more plausible to place the conjunction near the circumstantial complement ἐν αὐτῷ, where the opposition between the titanic passions and the effect of sleep, liberating the god's divine and royal nature, begins. The first to have placed it there was Bernardakis, who added the temporal conjunction ἔως, followed by the modal particle ἂν before ἐν αὐτῷ; Cherniss proposed to substitute the preposition ἐν for ἂν (ἔως ἂν αὐτῷ). The corruption is better explained in this way: influenced by the dative that follows, the copyist would have transformed both words (ἔως ἂν) into the preposition ἐν in a sort of crasis.

In my opinion, this minimal modification is enough to maintain the sense of the passage. I, therefore, follow Cherniss' proposal regarding the subordinating conjunction and maintain the rest as transmitted. I do not include, in the body of text, any of the attempts to supply the lacuna: not only are the possibilities much too broad, but the context provides enough sense to the passage.

Translation: “and the titanic passions and commotions of the soul are a destabilization <until> sleep completely ... him and his royal and divine power can become in itself pure and unalloyed.”

942C 15-17 Πλεῖστον γὰρ ἐν Καρχηδόνι χρόνον διέτριψεν, ἄτε δὴ παρ' ἡμῖν μεγάλας ἔχοντος
<τιμᾶς> καὶ τινὰς ὅτε ἡ προτέρα πόλις ἀπώλλυτο διφθέρας ιεράς

EB: πλεῖστον γὰρ ἐν καρχηδόνι χρόνον διέτριψεν. ἄτε δὴ παρ' ἡμῖν μεγάλας ἔχοντος
καὶ τινὰς ὅτε ἡ προτέρα πόλις ἀπώλλυτο διφθέρας ιεράς



Even if neither of the manuscripts reports a lacuna, the text surely lacks something in the subordinate clause ἅτε δὴ παρ' ἡμῖν μεγάλας ἔχοντος καὶ τινάς: there is an adjective and a participle without a noun to modify and a conjunction without anything to link.

The first to correct the text was the *Basiliensis* edition, which proposed to substitute μεγάλας ἔχοντος καὶ τινάς with μεγάλης ἔχοντος καὶ τιμάς. Amyot wrote, in the margin of his copy, the emendation μεγάλης τυχὸν αξιώσεως καὶ τιμῆς. Wytténbach proposed another correction: he suggested (in the apparatus) μεγάλας ἔχοντος τοῦ Κρόνου τιμάς· καί, introducing the figure of Cronos in the passage and laying the foundations for following conjectures. Emperius proposed μεγάλας ἔχοντος τοῦ Κρόνου τιμάς, καὶ τινάς—maintaining the pronoun τινάς transmitted by the manuscripts—; Bernardakis (in the apparatus) proposed μεγάλας τοῦ Κρόνου τιμὰς ἔχοντος, placing the subject of the genitive absolute before its verb.²²⁷

In my view, these suggestions are not quite convincing. First, there is no indication in the text that would validate the inclusion of Cronos. Second, most of these editors do not even explain how Cronos' syntagma went lost. Only Raingeard suggested that it might have been due to the proximity of the noun χρόνον, which is not a very strong argument.²²⁸

A stronger argument for the Stranger's stay in Carthage would be the gratitude and appreciation on behalf of the city due to his discovery of sacred writings (as the text states below, 942C, διφθέρας ιερὰς ὑπεκκομισθείσας κρύφα καὶ διαλαθούσας πολὺν χρόνον ἐν γῇ κειμένας ἔξευρεν). In the tradition of Amyot and Kepler, who both changed the participle in genitive into a nominative—the former into τυχών and the latter into ἔχων—I believe that the Stranger is the subject of the construction and that there is no need to introduce another character in the passage.²²⁹ Differently, however, I maintain the genitive absolute (ἔχοντος), because it does not prevent the Stranger from being the (omitted) subject. I think τιμάς might have appeared before καὶ τινὰς ὅτε in the original text, which would have been omitted by haplography, since the two are seemingly similar words. The text, then, looks as follows: ἅτε δὴ παρ' ἡμῖν μεγάλας ἔχοντος τιμὰς καὶ τινάς.

Translation: “For he spent a great deal of time in Carthage, as he receives great <honours> in our country, and (he found) a number of sacred parchments from when the earlier city was destroyed.”

²²⁷ Emperius, *Opuscula*, 295.

²²⁸ Raingeard, *Le peri toy prosopoy*, 140.

²²⁹ Kepler, *Ioh. Keppleri Mathematici*, 173.

942CD 18-20 Τῶν τε φαινομένων θεῶν ἔφη χρῆναι, καί μοι παρεκελεύετο, τιμᾶν διαφερόντως τὴν σελήνην, ώς τοῦ βίου κυριωτάτην οὖσαν ... ἔχομένην.

EB: τῶν τε φαινομένων θεῶν ἔφη χρῆναι, καί μοι παρεκελεύετο, τιμᾶν διαφερόντως τὴν σελήνην· ώς τοῦ βίου κυριωτάτην οὖσαν ... ἔχομένην.

The manuscripts present a lacuna of approximately 30 letters in E and 25 letters in B, after the participle οὖσαν, which leaves the second participle (ἔχομένην) isolated from the sentence. Both participles have the moon (τὴν σελήνην) as subject, but the object of ἔχω is missing.

Wytttenbach was the first scholar to propose a conjecture (in the apparatus), ἡγεμονα· τὴν δὲ γῆν; in his wake, Bernardakis suggested (in the apparatus) ἡγεμονα· ταύτης δὲ τὴν γῆν; Pohlenz proposed (also in the apparatus) πλεῖστά τε μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς ἀγαθὰ παρεχομένην; Cherniss, taking two later passages as a basis (942F and 943C), completed the lacuna with καὶ τοῦ θανάτου, τῶν Ἀιδου λειμώνων.

While those two passages deal with the Prairies of Hades and the moon's close relation with them, I am not convinced they should be used as support to introduce the mention of Hades in this lacuna. Nor does the addition necessarily concern the earth, as Wytttenbach and Bernardakis suggested, or the mother, as did Pohlenz. Here, the focus is the moon's role in human life, and the reference to a second element is not suggested by any remaining part of the text. Given the lack of hints about what could be the object of ἔχομένην, keeping the lacuna seems preferable.

Translation: "Among the visible gods he said that one should especially honour the moon, and so he kept exhorting me to do, inasmuch as it is sovereign over life ... has."

942DE 4-5 Τοῖς τε περὶ τὴν πλάνην καὶ τὴν ζήτησιν αὐτῶν λεγομένοις ἔνεστιν ... τὸ ἀληθές·

EB: τοῖς τε περὶ τὴν πλάνην καὶ τὴν ζήτησιν αὐτῶν λεγομένοις, ἔνεστιν E / ἔνεστι B ... τὸ ἀληθές·

EB report a lacuna of approximately 10 letters; however, each presents a different form for the verb before the lacuna. While E's verb reads ἔνεστιν, B transmits ἔνεστι. E's reading allows us to suppose that the following word should start with a vowel, for B may have not taken into account the lacuna and changed the form according to the word that follows it, which starts with a consonant (τό).

Conjectures evaluate the two options: Xylander eliminated the lacuna and corrected the article τό into τι; Wyttenbach supplied (in the apparatus) ἐπιεικῶς σὺν τῷ μυθώδει καὶ; Bernardakis, ὃς ἔσωκε and also corrected the article; Raingeard entered εἰς τὸ ὅλον; Pohlenz proposed μέν τι καὶ and eliminated τό; and Cherniss supplied ἥντιμένον.

All these conjectures share the same understanding of the passage: while not every detail in the traditional myth is correct, there are some aspects that are true—those concerning the wander and search of the goddesses. This interpretation is backed up by the preceding passage, where it is said that among the Greeks some beliefs about the gods are true and some false. In this sense, I suggest another possibility: ὄντως καὶ. Despite the fact that Demeter's and Persephone's myth might seem to be only fiction, this sentence emphasizes the unexpected truth included in it. The adverb underlines this. However, I do not include the conjecture in the body of text, since it is not syntactically necessary and not a secure reading.

Translation: “and among the things being said about the wander and search of them there is ... some truth.”

4.2.11. 943AB. Cosmological-anthropology: Disintegration of Human Beings

943A 2-4 τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἡ γῆ, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ἡ σελήνη, τὸν δὲ νοῦν ὁ ἥλιος παρέσχεν εἰς τὴν γένεσιν ... ὥσπερ αὖ τῇ σελήνῃ τὸ φέγγος.

EB: τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἡ γῆ, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ἡ σελήνη· τὸν δὲ νοῦν ὁ ἥλιος παρέσχεν εἰς τὴν γένεσιν ... ὥσπερ αὖ Ε / οὖν Β τῇ σελήνῃ τὸ φέγγος·

Both manuscripts report a lacuna. E has a gap of eight letters followed by ὥσπερ αὖ, and B has a gap of 11 letters followed by οὖν.

The first scholar to suggest a conjecture was Amyot: he interpreted that after γένεσιν there is a strong punctuation, so he added παρέχει δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ τὸν λόγον ὁ νοῦς and corrected the following sentence into ὥσπερ τῇ σελήνῃ τὸ φέγγος ὁ ἥλιος. Wyttenbach was the following scholar to present a conjecture (in the apparatus): he supplied καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ σελήνη παρέχει τῇ γῇ ὑγρότητα γόνιμον καὶ φέγγος, and added the subject ὁ ἥλιος into the following part (ὥσπερ αὖ ὁ ἥλιος τῇ σελήνῃ τὸ φέγγος); Bernardakis proposed (in the apparatus) to supply the lacuna with τὰνθρώπῳ; Pohlenz conjectured (in the apparatus) τῇ ψυχῇ προσγινόμενον; and Raingeard did not supply the lacuna but simply replaced (in the apparatus) the adverbs of EB (αὖ Ε / οὖν Β) with the pronoun αὐτῇ (ὥσπερ αὐτῇ τῇ σελήνῃ τὸ φέγγος).



In what regards the different readings transmitted by the manuscripts, in my view, E's option is better than that of B, because it presents a less common adverb that provides a better value for the sentence. Concerning the lacuna, while Wytténbach created a structure that parallels the first part of the passage by including, again, the three bodies (earth, moon and sun), Amyot's proposal focused only on the moon and the sun, a choice that is supported by other passages in the treatise.²³⁰ None of the remaining options are grounded in syntactical requirements of the text. The passage, in fact, can be understood without any addition.

Translation: “earth provides the body, the moon provides the soul, and the sun provides the intellect to the generation … as in turn light to the moon.”

943B 6-8 καὶ ὁ μέν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ τῆς Δήμητρος <γῆ> ... ἐν αὐτῇ τελεῖν καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς Άθηναῖοι δημητρείους ὀνόμαζον τὸ παλαιόν, <ό> δὲ ἐν τῇ σελήνῃ τῆς Φερσεφόνης.²³¹

EB: καὶ ὁ μέν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ τῆς δήμητρος ... ἐν αὐτῇ τελεῖν· καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀθηναῖοι δημητρείους ὀνόμαζον· τὸ παλαιόν δὲ ἐν τῇ σελήνῃ τῆς φερσεφόνης EB/ περσεφόνης E s.l.

There are two lacunae in the passage; while the first one is a blank left by the manuscripts after the syntagma ἐν τῇ τῆς Δήμητρος—21 letters in E and 26 letters in B—the second is assumed from the context.

Regarding the first lacuna, the preceding syntagma points to its possible content. There is a sequence of two articles, one in genitive followed by Δήμητρος and another in dative with no noun attached: we miss, therefore, a substantive. More text could be lost however: both the length of the lacuna and the fact that the rest of the passage seems to be incomplete point in this direction.

Given that the first section of the passage deals with Demeter and the second deals with Persephone and the moon (ό δὲ ἐν τῇ σελήνῃ τῆς Φερσεφόνης), it seems rather probable that the lost noun accompanying τῇ is γῆ. Madvig was the first scholar to suggest this conjecture, with a proposal that replicates the structure of the second section of the passage (ἐν τῇ <γῆ> τῆς

²³⁰ In 932B and 933A, Plutarch puts aside the earth's role in the phenomenon of the eclipse, which he repeats in 945C when describing the function of each cosmological element, focusing on the moon-soul and the sun-intellect.

²³¹ Note that both ὁ μέν and ὁ δέ refer to ὄν δὲ ἀποθνήσκομεν θάνατον, appearing a few lines above (943AB). Amyot suggested the correction into the plural, ὕν δὲ ἀποθνήσκομεν θανάτων, taking into account the development of the text, which evidently refers to more than one death. So did Kepler, *Joh. Keppleri Mathematici*, 175. Bernardakis, centuries after, presented it as his own in the apparatus, making no reference to his predecessors. Although it is a clever correction, it unnecessarily modifies the manuscripts' text.

Δήμητρος - ἐν τῇ σελήνῃ τῆς Φερσεφόνης); Raingeard proposed to replace the article in dative with the noun (ἐν γῇ τῆς Δήμητρος).²³² However, in my opinion, the noun might have been placed in the lacuna, since the genitive is frequently introduced in the middle of the syntagma on which it depends. Therefore, I propose not to alter the text preceding the lacuna and to supply part of it with γῇ (ἐν τῇ τῆς Δήμητρος γῇ).

The conjectures proposed for the lacuna rely on the incompleteness of the following part of the sentence (ἐν αὐτῇ τελεῖν). Wyttenbach conjectured (in the apparatus) μοίρᾳ ὅθεν τὸ μυεῖσθαι, παρωνύμως τῷ τελευτᾶν; Bernardakis (also in the apparatus), διὸ προσέοικε τῷ τελευτᾶν; Adler proposed ὅθεν τὸ τελευτᾶν ὄμωνύμως and replaced ἐν αὐτῇ with λέγεται τῷ; Pohlenz suggested (in the apparatus) ὅθεν αὐτῇ τελεῖσθαι φαμεν καὶ τὸν βίον ἐν; Cherniss, διὸ τελευτᾶν λέγεται τὸν βίον, where the last syllable of βίον is the emendation of the preposition ἐν transmitted by EB; Alain Lernould followed Cherniss' conjecture and further replaced the active voice infinitive τελεῖν with a passive form (τελεῖσθαι).²³³

The reason why all these scholars proposed the inclusion of the terms τελευτᾶν and τελεῖσθαι is that the following reference to the denomination given by Athenians to their dead is an allusion to the mystery cults of Eleusis (καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς Ἀθηναῖοι δημητρείους ὠνόμαζον τὸ παλαιόν). Lernould's correction of the infinitive following the lacuna is motivated by the fact that the verb τελέω in its meaning ‘initiate in mystery rites’ normally appears in passive. Notwithstanding the statistics, the passive form is not mandatory, thus the modification is not necessary.²³⁴

While I do not include any of the conjectures into the body of text because there are too many possibilities and it is difficult to determine which one is correct, I do agree with previous editors in the general sense of the passage: there seems to be a connection between the role that the goddess plays in the death on earth and the mystery rites associated to her, which means that there is a play on words between “to die” and “to be initiated.”

Regarding the second lacuna, as stated above, the correspondence between the first and the second sections is evident. While the former reads, at the beginning, ὁ μέν, the latter includes no article in nominative masculine that could refer to the previously mentioned ‘death’ (943A,

²³² Madvig, *Adversaria critica*, 666.

²³³ Adler, *Dissertationes philologae Vindobonenses*, 119. A. Lernould's τελεῖσθαι in *Plutarque. Le visage qui apparaît dans le disque de la lune* (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2013) 80, was clearly inspired by Cherniss' suggestion in “Notes on Plutarch's *De facie*,” 151; although, he did not mention his predecessor. On this, see L. Lesage Gárriga, “Review of A. Lernould, *Plutarque. Le visage qui apparaît dans le disque de la lune* (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2013),” *Ploutarchos* 11 (2014) 140-141.

²³⁴ See Bailly IV. Within Plutarch's work, the active voice appears in *Agis et Cleomenes* 54.2 and *Non posse* 1105B.

δν δὲ ἀποθνήσκομεν θάνατον). Amyot corrected this problem by adding the article ὁ at the beginning of the second section. In this sense, the parallel structure is complete: καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔστιν ἐν τῇ τῆς Δήμητρος γῇ - ὁ δὲ ἐν τῇ σελήνῃ τῆς Φερσεφόνης.²³⁵

Translation: “and the former takes place in the <earth> that belongs to Demeter ... to finish in it and Athenians used in olden times to call the dead ‘Demetrians,’ <the latter> in the moon that belongs to Persephone.”

4.2.12.943C-945B. The Ascent of the Soul and of the Intellect

943C 19-22 <ἐν φ> οὗν ἐξ ἀποδημίας ἀνακομιζόμεναι φυγαδικῆς εἰς πατρίδα γεύονται χαρᾶς οὗν οἱ τελούμενοι μάλιστα θορύβῳ καὶ πτοήσει συγκεκραμένῃ μετ’ ἐλπίδος ιδίας ἔχουσι.

EB: οὗν ἐξ ἀποδημίας ἀνακομιζόμεναι φυγαδικῆς εἰς πατρίδα γεύονται χαρᾶς, οὗν οἱ τελούμενοι μάλιστα θορύβῳ καὶ πτοήσει συγκεκραμένῃ, μετ’ ἐλπίδος ιδίας ἔχουσι·

This passage lacks a connector to link it with the previous passage. Beside this, scholars have further modified several parts—οὗν, συγκεκραμένῃ and ιδίας—which, in my view, need no intervention.

The text describes the feelings that souls have when they are waiting to be completely purified in the air between the earth and the moon, during the process of returning to the moon after the first death. While there is a thematic switch regarding the preceding passage, which focuses on the purification process itself, some editors also saw a temporal switch. They interpreted, wrongly in my view, that the variety of feelings experienced by the souls (joy, fear, exaltation, hope) happens when they are finally back on the moon. In this sense, the *Basiliensis* edition proposed to add εἴτα before οὗν ἐξ ἀποδημίας ἀνακομιζόμεναι, and Bernardakis suggested (in the apparatus) μεθ’ ὅν. Pohlenz, who did not suppose the aforementioned temporal switch, nevertheless, proposed the addition of ἐνθε.

I agree with previous scholars in that we need a link between this passage and the preceding one. However, I agree only with Pohlenz’s claim that the varied range of feelings experienced by souls occurs during their sojourn in the air between the earth and the moon, while being purified, and not after reaching the astral body. Consequently, there is no temporary

²³⁵ As usually happens with Amyot’s interventions, he was not credited for this conjecture. Wytttenbach stated (in the apparatus): “ita constituendum duxi hunc locum;” all modern scholars included the article but attributed it to Kaltwasser’s translation.

split between both scenes.²³⁶ I propose to amend the lack of connection between the two scenes with ἐν ὧ, whose antecedent is χρόνον τινὰ τεταγμένον, and which implies the simultaneity of both scenes. The corruption can be explained by the resemblance between the last two syllables of the preceding participle, τεταγμένον, and the preposition with the relative pronoun.

Regarding the interventions in the rest of the passage, the first one concerns οὗον. The *Basiliensis* edition changed it into οἵαν—οἵαν (*sic*)—in order to connect it with the feminine χαρᾶς. This correction was accepted by several scholars, but EB’s reading appears in adverbial function and needs no emendation.²³⁷

The same conclusion can be applied to the modification of the participle συγκεκραμένη. It appears in nominative (συγκεκραμένη) in the Aldine and the *Basiliensis* editions. Amyot corrected this error by turning it into an accusative (συγκεκραμένην), thus referring to the previous correction οἵαν.²³⁸ The participle’s subject, however, is πτοήσει (‘exaltation’). It is this noun, in dative, that is mixed with hope: the participle in dative singular of the manuscripts is then correct.

This leads us to the adjective ιδίας, also corrected by most editors into ἡδείας, an adaption of Xylander’s translation “*suavi spe.*” I do not consider the emendation appropriate, given that the text makes sense and is superior to the correction. The hope felt by these souls is compared to the similar feeling experienced by initiates: it is not a usual hope, but a special hope belonging to a very limited group. Thus, in the same way that not all people are initiated, not all souls reach the moon—as the text explicits in 943D—and so, their feelings are ‘peculiar,’ or ‘particular.’

Translation: “<during which>, as if brought home from banishment abroad, they savour joy most like that of initiates, with confusion and excitement commingled with a particular expectation.”

943D 1-3 Αἱ δὲ ἄνω γενόμεναι καὶ βεβαίως ιδρυθεῖσαι πρῶτον μὲν, ὥσπερ οἱ νικηφόροι,
περιάσιν ἀναδούμεναι στεφάνοις πτερῶν εὐσταθείας λεγομένοις,

EB: αἱ δὲ ἄνω γενόμεναι καὶ βεβαίως ιδρύθησαν· πρῶτον μὲν, ὥσπερ οἱ νικηφόροι
περιστασιν Ε / περιστᾶσιν Β ἀναδούμενοι στεφάνοις πτερῶν εὐσταθείας λεγομένοις·

²³⁶ The context corroborates this interpretation. On this see 5.3.3.3. “The Souls, True Inhabitants of the Moon,” in Chapter 5.

²³⁷ Pohlenz held that οὗον was given by E, from which it should be deducted that οἵαν is the reading of B—which is not the case—and Raingeard, who maintained the reading of EB, believed that οἵαν was Reiske’s correction.

²³⁸ Modern editors accepted the accusative, but did not seem to agree on the source of this emendation: Madvig and Bernardakis presented it as their own; Pohlenz attributed it to Bernardakis; and Cherniss to Madvig.

Here, we are faced with a complex passage that needs to be emended in several places. The whole passage moves from *αἱ δὲ ἄνω γενόμεναι* to *οἵον τὰ στομούμενα βαφήν ἴσχουσι*, all of which has the subject *αἱ δὲ ἄνω γενόμεναι καὶ βεβαίως ιδρύθησαν*, according to EB's text, namely referring to the souls that finally arrived to the moon and firmly settled in. Within the passage, there is a division into two sections: the first (*πρῶτον μέν*) explains the behavior of these souls; the second (*δεύτερον <δέ>*) focuses on their appearance and nature. To simplify the analysis of such a long passage, I have created an entry for each of its sections (*πρῶτον μέν* and *δεύτερον δέ*).

All the difficulties concerning this first section are related to the verbal forms: *ιδρύθησαν*, *περιίστασιν*, *ἀναδούμενοι*, and *λεγομένοις*.

Regarding *ιδρύθησαν*, EB transmit a 3rd person plural, aorist passive, but this must be a mistake given that it is linked to the participle of aorist *γενόμεναι* by means of the conjunction *καὶ*. A more plausible text, from a syntactic point of view, is the one proposed by Wytténbach (in the apparatus): *ιδρυθεῖσαι*, a participle in nominative plural, aorist passive, matching the participle *γενόμεναι*. Despite orthographic differences, both forms sounded similar due to iotaism ($\theta\eta = \theta\varepsilon\tilde{\imath}$).

In what concerns the main verb, both manuscripts present the 3rd person plural of *περιίστημι* differently accentuated: E *περιίστασιν* and B *περιιστᾶσιν*. The problem with this verb is its transitive value: ‘to place around.’ This was corrected, already in the 16th century, by one of the contributors in the Aldine RJ94, using, as a replacement, a verb of movement, *περιάσιν* (*περίειμι*, ‘to surround,’ or ‘go around’).²³⁹

Concerning the participle *ἀναδούμενοι*, it is a mistake probably resulting from the influence of the closest nominative plural, a masculine (*οἱ νικηφόροι*).²⁴⁰ Hutten corrected it with a feminine, *ἀναδούμεναι*. As mentioned above, the subject of the participle is the same as that of the rest of the passage, the souls. The closest nominative in masculine only concerns the comparison, *ώσπερ οἱ νικηφόροι*. The reason why those girded with crowns cannot be the winning athletes is provided in the following lines: the crowns are called ‘crowns of righteousness’ due to the proper behavior of the souls during life (943D, *στεφάνοις πτερῶν*

²³⁹ This correction was accepted by almost every scholar ever since—with the exception of Raingeard—but because Wytténbach presented it as his own, subsequent scholars gave an erroneous attribution.

²⁴⁰ Wytténbach in his text wrote *νικηφόροις*, and explained in the apparatus “*lego νικηφόροι*,” from what it can be deducted that, according to him, *νικηφόροις* is the reading transmitted by the manuscripts, which is a mistake.

εὐσταθείας λεγομένοις, ὅτι τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ἄλογον καὶ τὸ παθητικὸν εὐήνιον ἐπιεικῶς τῷ λόγῳ καὶ κεκοσμημένον ἐν τῷ βίῳ παρέσχοντο).

Regarding the last participle (λεγομένοις), several editors modified it, needlessly, in my opinion. The Aldine and the *Basiliensis* editions presented the form λεγομένας.²⁴¹ The use of an accusative can only be explained if εὐσταθείας is understood as an accusative plural instead of a genitive singular and, consequently, taken as its subject. Perhaps, this is why the Aldine RJ94 has an annotation correcting the participle into a genitive singular (λεγομένης), which maintains εὐσταθείας as subject, but turns the participle into the case in which the noun actually appears in the sentence. However, the participle in dative plural modifies στεφάνοις πτερῶν. It is the crowns of feathers which are called “of righteousness.”

Translation: “Those that have got up and have settled in firmly, first, like victors, go around crowned with crowns of feathers called ‘of steadfastness.’”

943D 5-8 Δεύτερον <δὲ> ἀκτῖνι τὴν ὄψιν ἔοικυῖαι, περὶ δὲ τὴν φύσιν ἄνω κουφιζομένην ὥσπερ ἐνταῦθα τῷ περὶ τὴν σελήνην αἰθέρι, καὶ τόνον ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ δύναμιν οἷον τὰ στομούμενα βαφῆν ἵσχουσι·

EB: δεύτερον, ἀκτῖνι τὴν ὄψιν ἔοικέναι περὶ δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ἄνω κουφιζομένην ὥσπερ ἐνταῦθα τῷ περὶ τὴν σελήνην αἰθέρι, καὶ τόνον ἀφ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ δύναμιν, οἷον τὰ στομούμενα βαφῆν ἵσχουσι·

The second part of the passage has also gone through many interventions, due to its complexity.²⁴² The difficulties concern the beginning of the sentence, the infinitive ἔοικέναι, the syntagma περὶ δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν, the comparison ὥσπερ ἐνταῦθα, the pronoun in ἀφ’ αὐτοῦ, and the term βαφῆν.

Concerning the very beginning, as stated above, the whole passage deals with souls settling on the moon and is divided into two sections: while the first one starts with πρῶτον μέν, the second lacks the correlative particle after δεύτερον. Leonicus added δέ.²⁴³

Concerning the infinitive transmitted by both manuscripts (ἔοικέναι), it is clearly wrong, since the syntax requires a participle. Wytténbach suggested correcting it with ἔοικυῖαι. His conjecture seems to be corroborated by the chiastic construction of both parts of the passage:

²⁴¹ This form was also offered by Wytténbach, who did not mention that the reading does not belong to the manuscripts.

²⁴² On the first part of the passage, see the preceding heading.

²⁴³ Oddly, Pohlensz attributed the authorship to the Aldine edition, and Raingeard stated that the Aldine edition transposed δέ after περὶ, as if the manuscripts actually do read δέ, which is incorrect as well.

the first one with γενόμεναι and ιδρυθεῖσαι πρῶτον μέν; the second with δεύτερον <δὲ> [...] ἔοικυῖαι.

This verb is followed by the syntagma περὶ δὲ τὴν ψυχήν, which clearly does not fit into the context. Given that the subject of the sentence are the souls that settled on the moon, the text, as preserved, poses a problem both of content and grammar, by stating that souls are “regarding their soul.” Wytttenbach suggested (in the apparatus) to correct περί into πνοί, so the soul would be similar to fire; Sandbach considered the possibility of περὶ δὲ τὴν ψυχήν ἄνω being a marginal note altogether; but, in case it were not, he accepted Wytttenbach’s intervention and further suggested to replace ψυχήν for φύσιν; Cherniss proposed the maintenance of the preposition περί and accepted Sandbach’s replacement of ψυχήν.²⁴⁴

While Wytttenbach’s suggestion solves the grammatical issue by including the missing complement, it does not solve the problem of content, for the text now states that the souls are, regarding their soul, similar to fire. Sandbach’s correction, however, replaces the problematic occurrence of τὴν ψυχήν with a more suitable noun, so the text reads: the souls are, regarding their nature, similar to fire. The mistaken noun could be due to the remoteness of the subject, which is present at the very beginning of this long passage. Although I agree with the intervention concerning ψυχήν, the replacement of περί with πνοί is difficult to maintain. It is primarily based on the assumption that most of the passage presents Stoic notions, which, in my opinion, is not important enough to modify the text accordingly. Cherniss’ proposal is consequently the most plausible and suitable for the context. The structure of this part of the sentence becomes clearer with his intervention: the participle ἔοικυῖαι has two groups of complements, each formed by an accusative of specification and an indirect complement: on the one side, τὴν ὄψιν and ἀκτῖνη, and, on the other side, περὶ δὲ τὴν φύσιν and τῷ [...] αἰθέρι.

Interpretations and modifications of the text also motivated other interventions in what follows, ἄνω κουφιζομένην ὥσπερ ἐνταῦθα τῷ περὶ τὴν σελήνην αἰθέρι. Amyot was the first to suggest a correction: ὥσπερ ἐντετάσθαι; Wytttenbach proposed (in his apparatus) to place the comparison before ἄνω κουφιζομένην and to add the preposition ἐν before τῷ αἰθέρι (ὥσπερ ἐνταῦθα, ἄνω κουφιζομένην, ἐν τῷ περὶ τὴν σελήνην αἰθέρι); Sandbach added τῷ ἀέρι after ὥσπερ ἐνταῦθα; and Lernould secluded the comparison altogether.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁴ Sandbach, “Second Meeting,” 15.

²⁴⁵ Sandbach, “Second Meeting,” 15. On Lernould’s textual choices, see Lesage Gárriga, “Review of A. Lernould,” 140; and H. Görgemanns, “Review of A. Lernould, *Plutarque. Le visage qui apparaît dans le disque de la lune* (Villeneuve d’Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2013),” *Gnomon* 88 (2016) 20-23.

In my opinion, once we accept the correction *περὶ δὲ τὴν φύσιν*, the comparison presents no problems: since *τῷ περὶ τὴν σελήνην αἰθέρι* is ἐουκυῖατ's indirect complement—and not *πυρί*, rejected as emendation—it no longer needs the addition of a preposition for it to function as complement of location (as Wyttenbach suggested). But, it does not need the addition of a second element to be contrasted with either (as Sandbach proposed); nor to be agent of the participle *κουφιζομένην* (as Lernould interpreted). The text states that the soul preserves the light nature that characterizes it both during its stay in a material body, here on earth, and after the first death, on the moon.

Concerning the pronoun, the manuscripts' reading cannot be maintained on the grounds that the noun to which the syntagma refers, aether, should have been the subject of the sentence. This not the case, since it appears in dative (*τῷ περὶ τὴν σελήνην αἰθέρι*). Wyttenbach correctly solved the issue by replacing *ἀφ' αὐτοῦ* with *ἀπ' αὐτοῦ*.

Regarding the difficulty with *βαφήν*, the form transmitted by EB was modified by a few scholars in the attempt to improve the quality of the comparison in which it appears. Bernardakis proposed (in the apparatus) to change the accusative into a dative (*βαφῆ*), and Lernould replaced it with the syntagma *ἀπὸ βαφῆς*. Both editors interpreted that there is only one object for *ἴσχουσι* (*καὶ τόνον [...] καὶ δύναμιν*), which affects both subjects, the souls and weapons. In the latter case, weapons obtain “strength and vigour” through the temper, hence the dative or the preposition *ἀπό* with genitive, according to each editor. The verb *ἴσχουσι*, however, has a different object for each subject: souls obtain strength and vigour (*καὶ τόνον [...] καὶ δύναμιν*) and weapons obtain their temper (*βαφήν*). As a matter of fact, in the syntagma (*καὶ τόνον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ δύναμιν*), *ἀπ' αὐτοῦ* refers to aether, a substance that in no case can cause the strength and vigour of weapons—it can only invigorate the souls. This eliminates the possibility of both subjects sharing the same object. In my view, both scholars were conditioned by the main meaning of *βαφή*, ‘immersion of red-hot iron in water in order to strengthen it,’ but, as LSJ and Bailly prove, it can also point to the result of such immersion, thus meaning ‘strength.’

Translation: “And secondly, resembling in appearance a ray of light but in respect to their nature, which in the upper region is lightweight as it is here, resembling the aether around the moon, they get from it both tension and strength, as instruments get their temper.”

943F 22-24 Πλάτων γάρ ἔστιν ὁ καὶ τῶν ἀστέρων ἔκαστον ἐκ γῆς καὶ πυρὸς συνηρμόσθαι διὰ τῶν <δυοῖν> μεταξὺ φύσεων ἀναλογίᾳ δοθεισῶν ἀποφηνάμενος·

EB: πλάτων γάρ ἔστιν ὁ καὶ τῶν ἀστέρων ἔκαστον ἐκ γῆς καὶ πυρὸς συνηρμόσθαι διὰ τῶν ... μεταξὺ φύσεων ἀναλογίᾳ δοθεισῶν ἀποφηνάμενος·

This passage presents a gap of approximately five letters, and editors have modified the participle δοθεισῶν, unnecessarily, in my opinion.

Regarding the lacuna, it most probably included a determinative for τῶν - μεταξὺ φύσεων, since it is placed in the middle of the syntagma. Given that the whole passage is inspired by *Timaeus* 31-32, it is useful to turn to Plato's vocabulary, in order to sort out which type of information can be applied here: Plato speaks about the combination of fire and earth with the other two elements. With this in mind, Adler supplied the lacuna with τούτων; Purser proposed two conjectures, either δυεῖν or διττῶν; Pohlenz, probably based on Purser's conjecture, although he did not mention his predecessor, proposed the variant δυοῖν.²⁴⁶

These conjectures fit into the context perfectly, and have the right length for the space provided by the manuscripts. Purser's and Pohlenz's proposals are more specific than that of Adler, given that we know from *Timaeus* that the quoted passage specifically deals with two intermediate natures, beside fire and earth. In my opinion, the conjecture suggested by Pohlenz is more plausible, based on the grounds that there are other two occurrences in *De facie* (943A and 943B) wherein the manuscripts read δυοῖν, not the attic δυεῖν.

The participle aorist passive (δοθεισῶν) was modified in the attempt to provide the text with a more accurate meaning. Leonicus corrected the verb transmitted by EB, δίδωμι, into δέω, 'to tie together' (δεθεισῶν). His emendation has been followed by most editors ever since, with the exception of Raingeard. Cherniss, for instance, supported this intervention on *Timaeus* and *De animae procreatione* 1017A. This is questionable, given that the verb used in both texts is τίθημι, 'to put,' or 'to position' (θείς). In my view, these two texts provide support to maintain EB's verb rather than to replace it. In both, the divinity "disposes" the intermediate natures; in *De facie*, with a change into the passive voice, intermediate natures 'have been given' (δοθεισῶν). None of the three passages include an allusion to "tying" or "uniting," as Leonicus' intervention would imply.

Translation: "For it is Plato who declared that each of the stars is composed by earth and fire through the two intermediate natures, which have been given proportionately."

²⁴⁶ Adler, *Dissertationes philologae Vindobonenses*, 119; Purser, "Mr. Prickard's Translation," 323.

944A 7-8 καταμετρεῖ δὲ τὴν σκιὰν τῆς γῆς ὀλιγάκις τοῖς ἑαυτῆς μεγέθεσιν οὐχ ὑπὸ σμικρότητος, ἀλλὰ θερμότητι ἐπείγει τὴν κίνησιν,

EB: καταμετρεῖ δὲ τὴν σκιὰν τῆς γῆς ὀλιγάκις τοῖς ἑαυτῆς Ε / ἑαυτοῦ Β μεγέθεσιν, οὐχ ὑπὸ σμικρότητος, ἀλλὰ θερμ ... ἐπείγει Ε / θερμότητι ἐπείγει Β τὴν κίνησιν.

The manuscripts present two different readings in this sentence: a pronoun and a noun. While the first issue poses no trouble, the later has led to many corrections.

Concerning the pronoun, while E reads ἑαυτῆς, B reads ἑαυτοῦ. The election is easily solved, because the subject of the sentence is the moon, the feminine must be maintained.

Concerning the second disagreement, while E reports a lacuna of seven letters after θερμ, it has traditionally been accepted that B reads θερμότητος. I say “traditionally been accepted” because B actually ends the last two syllables of the noun with the abbreviation τ^t. I have checked the appearances of this abbreviation throughout the treatise: 15 times in total, of which 12 represent an accusative singular, one is a dative singular (936A, βαθύτητι), another is a genitive singular (it is the word σμικρότητος appearing in this sentence), and the last appearance is the word concerning us here. Consequently, nothing compells θερμότης to be in genitive, in this case.

The Aldine edition, the first to modify the passage, transmitted ἀναθερμότητα ἐπάγει. The preverb (ἀνα) replaces the adversative conjunction, the noun is corrected into an accusative, and the verb of the manuscripts ἐπείγει ('to press,' or 'to push vividly') is unnecessarily corrected into ἐπάγω, which has almost the same meaning ('to take toward,' or 'to push against'). We cannot be sure if the accusative is due to the assumption that the abbreviation was meant only for accusatives, or if it is an intended emendation of what was thought to be a genitive. The modification of the verb implies that many scholars took the new reading for their corrections. Leonicus proposed ἀλλὰ θερμοτάτην ἐπάγει—he returned to the original adversative and suggested the superlative of θερμός, instead of the noun θερμότης. His replacement from noun to adjective is, in turn, followed by some editors: the *Basiliensis* edition read ἀλλὰ θερμότατα ἐπάγει; and Von Arnim corrected it into ἀλλὰ θερμότερον επείγει.²⁴⁷ Wytttenbach adopted, in the main body of the text, Leonicus' correction, and, while he did not mention (in the apparatus) the source of such a correction, he did say that B's reading is θερμότητος, in genitive. He further proposed the emendation ἀλλὰ θερμότητος, ἡ επείγει; this, Pohlenz would take as the basis for his proposal, ἀλλὰ θερμότητος, ἡ κατεπείγει—here,

²⁴⁷ H. von Arnim, *Plutarch über Dämonen und Mantik* (Amsterdam: Johannes Müller, 1921) 56-57.

however, the modification of the verb into κατεπείγω ('to press,' or 'to hasten') not only makes the correction too long for the space provided by E, but also adds no substantial value to the verb's meaning.

In my opinion, Wytttenbach's claim about θερμότης being in genitive, which is incidentally accepted by following scholars, is conditioned by the proximity of the noun, σμικρότητος, in genitive. This genitive, however, is imposed by the preposition preceding it (ύπο), which does not apply to θερμότης. The abbreviation in B can be interpreted as a dative: this option, as far as I know, has not been contemplated by any scholar, and is backed up by the occurrence in 936A, where βαθύτ^r undubitably stands for βαθύτητι. If interpreted in this way, there is no need to modify the sentence at all: ἀλλὰ θερμότητι επείγει τὴν κίνησιν.

Translation: "(the moon) measures off the earth's shadow with few of its own magnitudes not because (the shadow) is small but because with warmth it hastens its motion."

944A 8-10 ὅπως ταχὺ διεκπερᾶ τὸν σκοτώδη τόπον ύπεκφέρουσα <τὰς> τῶν ἀγαθῶν σπευδούσας καὶ βοώσας.²⁴⁸

EB: ὅπως ταχὺ διεκπερᾶ τὸν σκοτώδη τόπον ύπεκφέρουσα τῶν ἀγαθῶν σπευδούσας καὶ βοώσας.

Neither of the manuscripts signal a lacuna, but it is evident that a noun is missing: it should function as the object of ύπεκφέρουσα, be the reference of τῶν ἀγαθῶν, and the subject of the two participles at the end, σπευδούσας καὶ βοώσας.

This problem was noticed by Leonicus, who conjectured <τὰς> τῶν ἀγαθῶν <ψυχάς>; the *Basiliensis* edition conjectured <ψυχὰς> τῶν ἀγαθῶν; Bernardakis suggested (in the apparatus) that τὰς ψυχάς should be placed after βοώσας; and Pohlenz proposed τῶν ἀγαθῶν <τὰς ψυχάς>, but strangely assigned it to Bernardakis.²⁴⁹

Based on Leonicus' proposal, I suggest to insert only the article into the text, which would nominalize the following participles: τὰς τῶν ἀγαθῶν σπευδούσας καὶ βοώσας. Syntactically, this is the only addition required by the text, but obviously the presence of the article τὰς implies that there is a noun underlying. In this case, the noun is easily deducted from

²⁴⁸ The Aldine and the *Basiliensis* editions read the verb διαπερᾶ—I cannot tell whether intentionally or not, given that it has the same meaning as the verb transmitted by EB. Wytttenbach also included διαπερᾶ, without specifying in the apparatus that it is not the manuscripts' reading.

²⁴⁹ While most of the editors integrated Leonicus' conjecture, they erred in the attribution of authorship: Wytttenbach and Bernardakis simply omitted that it is not the manuscripts' text; Cherniss erroneously attributed it to Reiske.

the context: the souls. While they have been left aside for a moment in the previous passage, they are the focus of the whole myth and always in the readers' minds.

Translation: “in order that (the moon) may quickly pass through the shadowy place bearing away <those> of the good which urge it on and cry out.”

944BC 20-23 Καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ μὲν μέγιστον Ἐκάτης μυχόν, ὅπου καὶ δίκας διδόασιν αἱ ψυχαὶ καὶ λαμβάνουσιν ὃν ἂν ἥδη γεγενημέναι δαίμονες ἢ πάθωσιν ἢ δράσωσι, τὰ δὲ δύο Μακάρων·

EB: καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ μὲν μέγιστον, Ἐκάτης μυχόν. ὅπου καὶ δίκας διδόασιν αἱ ψυχαὶ καὶ λαμβάνουσιν, ὃν ἂν ἥδη γεγενημέναι δαίμονες, ἢ πάθωσιν ἢ δράσωσι. τὰς δὲ δύο μακράς·

The passage deals with the moon's geographical accidents and the name they receive. EB state that the largest one is called 'recess of Hecate' (*τὸ μὲν μέγιστον ἐκάτης μυχόν*) and the other two, 'the long ones' (*τὰς δὲ δύο μακράς*).²⁵⁰ Two difficulties need to be solved. The first is that these geographical accidents refer to the two neuter nouns given the previous sentence (944B), βάθη καὶ κοιλώματα. While the gender is maintained in the first part of our passage (*τὸ μὲν μέγιστον*), it is not in the second (*τὰς δὲ δύο μακράς*). The second difficulty regards the semantics of the name: the use of length for the second designation seems to clash with the the first one, since it alludes to magnitude.

Leonicus transformed the syntagma *τὰς δὲ δύο μακράς* into a neuter and switched the adjective into *μικρός* (*τὰ δὲ δύο μικρά*). This emendation was followed by all scholars of the 16th century and Wytttenbach. The latter, however, affirmed (in the apparatus) that *μικρά* was the correction of Stephanus, Turnebus, and Amyot, and added that Leonicus' correction was *μακρά*. This statement actually makes Wytttenbach the involuntary author of *τὰ δὲ δύο μακρά*—an emendation that appears nowhere before his edition, least of all in Leonicus' Aldine copy.²⁵¹ Raingeard suggested (in the commentary) the addition of *όδούς* after *τὰς δὲ δύο μακράς*—the feminine transmitted by EB can then be maintained and explained by the attraction to the

²⁵⁰ On this passage, see, also, Cherniss, “Notes on Plutarch’s *De facie*,” 153 and A. Pérez Jiménez, “Selenographic Description: Critical Annotation to Plutarch, *De facie* 944C,” in J. Opsomer, G. Roskam & F.B. Titchener (eds.), *A Versatile Gentleman. Consistency in Plutarch’s Writing* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2016) 255-265.

²⁵¹ Wytttenbach’s misattribution was maintained by later scholars: Dübner and Bernardakis accepted *μακρά*, the latter attributing it to Leonicus; Raingeard maintained the mistaken text of EB in his edition, but offered Leonicus’ suggestion in the apparatus with Turnebus as author; Cherniss stated that he based the first part of his proposal in Leonicus’ correction.

following feminine noun—; Cherniss conjectured τὰ δὲ δύο μακρὰ <τὰς Πύλας>; Pérez Jiménez conjectured τὰ δὲ δύο Μακάρων.²⁵²

While I agree with Raingeard and Cherniss in that part of the text seems to be missing—perhaps, as they suggest, a noun modified by the adjective transmitted by EB—I do not follow their proposals because the corruption does not seem to be explainable, from a palaeographic point of view. In my opinion, Pérez Jiménez’s conjecture is more adequate: given the evident similarity between μακράς and μακάρων, the copyist may have written the adjective influenced by the presence of μέγιστον lines above.²⁵³

Translation: “Of these they call the largest ‘recess of Hecate, where the souls suffer and exact penalties for whatever they endured or committed after having already become daemons, and the other two ‘of the Blessed.’”

944D 6-9 Ὁ τι δ' ἀν μὴ καλῶς περὶ ταῦτα πράξωσιν, ἀλλὰ ὑπ' ὄργης ἢ πρὸς ἄδικον χάριν ἢ φθόνῳ, δίκην τίνουσιν· ὡθοῦνται γὰρ αὐθίς ἐπὶ γῆν συρρηγγύμενοι σώμασιν ἀνθρωπίνοις.

EB: Ὁ τι δ' ἀν μὴ καλῶς περὶ ταῦτα πράξωσιν, ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ γῆς ἢ πρὸς ἄδικον χάριν ἢ φθόνῳ, δίκην τίνουσιν. ὡθοῦνται γὰρ αὐθίς ἐπὶ γῆν συρρηγγύμενοι σώμασιν ἀνθρωπίνοις.

This passage deals with the daemons that act with malignity and do not correctly fulfill their tasks, for which, they receive a punishment. The syntagma ὑπὲρ γῆς and the participle συρρηγγύμενοι are the difficulties included in it.

Concerning ὑπὲρ γῆς, the problem is posed because, while being inserted in the adversative clause introduced by ἀλλά, which explains the kind of influences that push the daemons to behave improperly, the syntagma actually relates to the punishment that results from such behaviours, providing the location where it takes place. The whole passage, consequently, lacks coherence. For ὑπὲρ γῆς to be maintained, it should be transposed before δίκην τίνουσιν, however, it seems more plausible that this is a textual corruption. So proposed Leonicus, who wrote, in his Aldine copy, ὑπ' ὄργης—the mistake is explained simply by the

²⁵² Raingeard, *Le peri toy prosopoy*, 151; Pérez Jiménez, “Selenographic Description,” 260-261.

²⁵³ From the point of view of content, the allusion to the Isles of the Blessed is relevant in the first part of the myth. On the connection between both parts, see L. Lesage Gárriga, “Imagen y función de Oigia en el mito de *De facie in orbe lunae*,” in S. Amendola, G. Pace & P. Volpe Cacciatore (eds.), *Immagini letterarie e iconografia nelle opere di Plutarco* (Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas, 2017) 179-188, and heading 5.3.2.2. “The Archipelago of Ogygia and the Moon,” in Chapter 5.

replacement of the omicron with an epsilon.²⁵⁴ Raingeard maintained EB's text, but, for his translation to be understandable, he was obliged to add a verb that has not been transmitted by the manuscripts and to further omit the adversative ("si sur terre ils ont cédé à une injuste partialité ou à la haine, ils expient").

Concerning the participle *συρρηγνύμενοι*, it has also been corrected by most scholars, needlessly, in my view. The verb transmitted by both manuscripts is *συρρήγνυμι*, meaning 'to destroy,' 'to clash,' or 'to smash one against the other.' An annotation in the Aldine RJ94 replaced it for the corresponding participle from *συνέργω* (*συνειργνύμενοι*), which means 'to gather,' or 'to reunite.'²⁵⁵

In my opinion, the warlike and violent sense of the verb transmitted by both manuscripts offers a distinct idea of the disagreeable experience that is to be put back in a human body: daemons are forced, compelled against their will. Thus, the correction *συνειργνύμενοι* devalues the original text, in which the reading *συρρηγνύμενοι* better fits the punishment of evil daemons.

Translation: "For any act that they perform in these matters not fairly but inspired by wrath or for an unjust end or out of envy they are penalized, for they are again cast out upon earth smashed in human bodies."

944D 9-13 Ἐκ δὲ τῶν βελτιόνων ἐκείνων οἵ τε περὶ τὸν Κρόνον ὄντες ἔφασαν αὐτοὺς εῖναι, καὶ πρότερον ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ τοὺς Ἰδαίους Δακτύλους ἐν τε Φρυγίᾳ τοὺς Κορύβαντας γενέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς περὶ Βοιωτίαν ἐν αὐλῶντι Τροφωνιάδας, καὶ μυρίους ἄλλους πολλαχόθι τῆς οἰκουμένης·

EB: ἐκ δὲ τῶν βελτιόνων ἐκείνων οἵ τε περὶ τὸν κρόνον ὄντες, ἔφασαν αὐτοὺς εῖναι καὶ πρότερον ἐν τῇ κρήτῃ τοὺς ἰδίους δακτύλους ἐν τε φρυγίᾳ τοὺς κορύβαντας γενέσθαι· καὶ τοὺς πε / Ε / περὶ Β βοιωτίαν ἐν οὐδώρᾳ τροφωνιάδας· καὶ μυρίους ἄλλους πολλαχόθι τῆς οἰκουμένης·

This passage, dealing with first order daemons, presents a couple of corruptions in the text: *ἰδίους* and *ἐν οὐδώρᾳ*.

²⁵⁴ Although Leonicus was followed by all the scholars of the 16th century and by most of the editors of the text, some provided erroneous attributions of authorship: Wytténbach, Dübner and Bernardakis—who, incidentally, suggested (in the apparatus) the addition of ḥ before ὑπ' ὄργῆς—did not say that it is not the manuscripts' reading, while Cherniss attributed the correction to the Aldine RJ94.

²⁵⁵ This correction, similar to that of Leonicus, above, presents some mistakes in the attribution of authorship: Wytténbach put it (in the apparatus) together with *forte*, with no mention to the Aldine copy; Bernardakis, consequently, signaled Wytténbach as the author.

The adjective *iδίους*, transmitted by EB in the syntagma *τοὺς iδίους Δακτύλους*, seems to be an erratum. The correction of the Aldine edition into *Ιδαίους* is an efficient intervention, given that it includes an epithet often associated to the dactyls. It has been maintained by all editors with no exception, whom I join.

Concerning the second issue, not only is *ἐν οὐδώρᾳ* a hapax, so it is also the community of daemons associated to this place, *τροφωνιάδας*. While the nonexistent place must be corrected, the group of daemons might be a reference to Trophonius—in the sense of ‘followers of Trophonius’—and does not need emendation. The Aldine edition replaced *ἐν οὐδώρᾳ* with the form *ἐνουδώσα*, which seems to be an erratum due to the misunderstanding of the text; Leonicus proposed *ἐν λεβαδείᾳ*, so did the *Basiliensis* edition, under the form *ἐν λεβαδίᾳ*. Pohlenz, differently, suggested to correct the text *ἐν οὐδ’ ὥρας* and added *μιᾶς πολὺ πλέον ἐντεῦθεν ἀπέχοντι χωρίῳ*; Luigi Lehnus proposed three variants of the same verb: *ἐνιδρυμένους*, *ἐνιδρυθέντας*, or *ἐνιδρύοντας*; and Pérez Jiménez conjectured *ἐν αὐλῶνι*.²⁵⁶

I agree with Bernardakis in that it seems unlikely that the original text would have read “Lebadea,” because each group of daemons is associated to a location where they develop their activities and, in this case, two places are provided for only one community of daemons (*περὶ βοιωτίαν* and *ἐν οὐδώρᾳ*). Also, Cherniss agreed in that is a small likelihood of Lebadea being part of the original text, but not for the same reasons. He adduced that the passage only refers to inactive oracles; and, because *De defectu* 411EF states that the oracle of Lebadea was the only one still active during Plutarch’s time, he concluded that it could not be the oracle mentioned in *Defacie*.²⁵⁷ In my opinion, his statement relies on an understanding of the passage to a certain extent mistaken. The passage is constructed as a series of dependent substantive clauses, coordinated through three *καὶ* where the several groups of daemons, in accusative, are the subject of the infinitives *εἶναι* and *γενέσθαι*. Because, after the mention of Cronos’ caretakers, there is *καὶ πρότερον*, Cherniss interpreted that all the remaining groups are older than this one and already disappeared. However, within this first coordinated group where *πρότερον* is included, there are two communities of daemons (dactyls and coribants) coordinated through *τε* and with their own verb, the infinitive aorist *γενέσθαι*. The text, thus, presents the following structure within the subordinate clauses: subject + verb *εἶναι*, *καὶ* (subject *τε* subject + verb *γενέσθαι*), *καὶ* subject, *καὶ* subject. While *πρότερον* only applies for the part

²⁵⁶ Lehnus, *Plutarco. Il volto della luna*, 174-175 n. 309; A. Pérez Jiménez, “Los habitantes de la Luna (Plut., *De fac.* 944C-945B). Notas críticas sobre las propuestas textuales y traducciones del XVI,” in F. Frazier & O. Guerrier (eds.), *Plutarque. Éditions, Traductions, Paratextes* (Coimbra: Coimbra University Press, 2016) 129-130.

²⁵⁷ Cherniss, “Concerning the Face,” 213 n. e.

of the subordinate clause in which it is included, the rest is coordinated through καὶ with the main sentence, and, thus, it has as main verb the infinitive present εἰναι. Consequently, there are groups of daemons still alive and functioning, just as Cronos' caretakers.

In my view, Pérez Jiménez's correction is the most interesting: the noun αὐλόν ('hollow,' or 'channel') suggests a reference to Trophonius' cave, and, from a palaeographic point of view, given that capital delta and lambda are quite similar, the two intermediate syllables of his correction could be easily interchangeable with (ἐν) οὐδώ(ρα).²⁵⁸

Translation: "To the former class of better daemons the attendants of Cronos said that they belong, as did aforetime the Idaean Dactyls in Crete and the Corybants in Phrygia, as well as belong the Trophoniads in a cave near Boeotia and thousands of others in many parts of the world."

945B 18-20 ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτὰς τὸ ἄστατον καὶ τὸ ἀπειθὲς ἔξιστησι καὶ ἀφέλκει τῆς σελήνης πρὸς ἄλλην γένεσιν, οὐκ ἐᾶ ... ἀλλ' ἀνακαλεῖται καὶ καταθέλγει.

EB: ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτὰς τὸ ἄστατον καὶ τὸ ἀπαθὲς ἔξιστησι. καὶ ἀφέλκει τῆς σελήνης πρὸς ἄλλην γένεσιν, οὐκ ἐᾶ ... ἀλλ' ἀνακαλεῖται καὶ καταθέλγει E, B i.l. / ἀναθέλγει B.²⁵⁹

This sentence presents two textual problems: a nominalized adjective whose meaning does not fit the context, and a lacuna—E presents a gap of around 13 letters, and B presents a gap of 11 letters. The temporal conjunction ἐπεί, at the beginning, has also been modified, unnecessarily, in my view.

Let us examine the replacement of the conjunction ἐπεί first. The sentence, as it has been transmitted, states that at some point the troubled souls will attempt to go back to earth to resume the disordered life that they lived there. Pohlenz transformed the temporal clause into a conditional clause by replacing ἐπεί with εἰ. According to him, it is uncertain whether these souls will have such a temptation or not.

Concerning the problematic adjective, the meaning of ἀπαθές, 'that which does not suffer,' or 'impassible,' clashes with the context. Not only does it mean almost the opposite of the adjective with which it is coordinated (τὸ ἄστατον, 'that which is unstable,' or 'uncertain'), but also seems to be opposite to the type of souls treated in the passage—souls which are

²⁵⁸ Pérez Jiménez, "Los habitantes de la Luna," 129-130.

²⁵⁹ The verbal form in B, ἀναθέλγει, does not exist. Its presence is probably influenced by the preverb of the previous verb (ἀνακαλεῖται). The copyist must have noticed the mistake right away, given that the correct preverb is written below the line, next to a cross. See this emendation in 8. Appendix II.

impelled to be ruled by their visceral part, hence their desire to go back to earth, where they could give free expression to their passions.

Leonicus proposed the emendation εὐπαθές, whose meaning ‘sensible,’ or ‘easily affected’ still poses an issue because of its positive nuance; Kepler corrected it into ἀειπαθές, meaning ‘perpetually passive;’ Wytténbach suggested (in the apparatus) ἐμπαθές—he stated that this was the word suggested by Amyot in his translation, but he is the real author of such proposal.²⁶⁰ These corrections improve the general sense of the passage, but, in my opinion, what drives these souls away from the moon is not what is affected in them, but rather that which allows them to be affected, their unruly nature. Pérez Jiménez’s correction seemed to go in this direction: ἀπαγές, which means ‘inconsistent,’ or ‘what is not fixed or established.’²⁶¹ However, I believe that this adjective has a meaning too close to the one with which it is coordinated, ἄστατον.

I suggest ἀπειθές, meaning ‘desobedient,’ or ‘that which cannot be dominated.’ From a palaeographic perspective, it is easy to confound alpha with the symbol used in EB for the diphthong ει—an inclined bar with a semicircle on the left side—and, from a semantic perspective, the word expresses exactly the unruly part of the souls’ nature, which cannot adapt to the established process towards their dissolution. It is because of that undisciplined and rebellious character that the moon is obliged to invoke and seduce the souls (ἀνακαλεῖται καὶ καταθέλγει). This adjective is used in seven occurrences throughout Plutarch’s work—four of them nominalized, as in this passage.²⁶²

Regarding the lacuna, it is placed between a negative sentence (*οὐκ ἔã*) and an adversative (*ἀλλ’ ἀνακαλεῖται καὶ καταθέλγει*), of which the moon is subject. The first scholar to propose a conjecture was Wytténbach, with a proposal too extense and not very justifiable: *οὐδ’ ἔã πρὸς τοὺς σώφρονας βίους τρέπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀκολάστους*; Bernardakis suggested *καταμένειν*, probably influenced by Amyot’s and Kepler’s translations; Pohlenz proposed *καθησυχάζειν*; and Cherniss completed the lacuna with *νεύειν ἐπὶ γῆν*—a calembour between the syntagma *γένεσις* and *γῆν νεῦσις* based in *De sera* 566A.

Here, as in other places where a lacuna is marked by the manuscripts, there is nothing missing in the text. While all the conjectures include an infinitive to be the object of *ἔã*, the text does not require it, and, in fact, the sentence can be understood as it has been preserved.

²⁶⁰ Kepler, *Ioh. Keppleri Mathematici*, 180. Amyot, in fact, wrote in the margin of his *Basiliensis* copy the same correction of Leonicus, εὐπαθές.

²⁶¹ Pérez Jiménez, “Los habitantes de la Luna,” 134.

²⁶² On this, see L. Lesage Gárriga, “Las almas indisciplinadas: comentario crítico y estilístico de Plut., *De facie* 945B,” *Humanitas* 68 (2016) 185.

Translation: “but, when what is uncertain and disobedient in them excites them and draws them away from the moon to another birth, the moon does not allow it, but invokes and enchant them back.”

945BC 22-24 Τιτυοὶ δὲ καὶ Τυφῶνες, ὃ τε Δελφοὺς κατασχὼν καὶ συνταράξας τὸ χρηστήριον ὕβρει καὶ βίᾳ τύφων, ἐξ ἐκείνων ἄρα τῶν ψυχῶν ἥσαν, ἐρήμων λόγου καὶ τύφῳ πλανηθέντι τῷ παθητικῷ χρησαμένων·

EB: τιτυοὶ δὲ καὶ τυφῶνες, ὃ τε δελφοὺς κατασχὼν καὶ συνταράξας τὸ χρηστήριον ὕβρει καὶ βίᾳ τυφών, ἐξ ἐκείνων ἄρα τῶν ψυχῶν ἥσαν ἐρημοι λόγῳ καὶ τύφῳ πλανηθέντι τῷ παθητικῷ χρησαμένων·

This text presents three problems: the word *τυφών*, the adjective *ἐρήμοι*, and the noun *λόγῳ*.

Firstly, *τυφών* has been interpreted by editors to be the name of the monster Typhon, but this can certainly not be the original word for two reasons: there is already a reference in the first part of the sentence to this creature, in plural (*τυφῶνες*), in the sense of ‘beings such as Typhon;’ and Typhon had nothing to do with the episode of the attack perpetrated against Delphi, as the text reads (*ὅ τε δελφοὺς κατασχὼν καὶ συνταράξας τὸ χρηστήριον ὕβρει καὶ βίᾳ τυφών*).

In order to solve this issue, Kaltwasser conjectured to replace *τυφών* with *Πύθων*, the monstrous being that, in fact, attacked the oracle at Delphi. For Günther Zuntz, who agreed with Kaltwasser, the corruption from *Πύθων* to *τυφών* must have been due to the proximity both of the name in plural (*Τυφῶνες*), lines above, and of the noun *τύφῳ*, lines below.²⁶³ Pérez Jiménez, differently, suggested to maintain EB’s form with a different accent, obtaining the present participle in nominative singular of the verb *τύφω* (*τύφων*).²⁶⁴ He proved that the polyptoton of the root shared by both the verb and the noun is part of the stylistic play that Plutarch is developing in the passage. The anecdote still alludes to Python, obviously, but there is no need to explicitly express the name, given that Plutarch’s readership would easily recognize the creature involved in Delphi’s episode.

²⁶³ G. Zuntz, “Notes on Plutarch’s *Moralia*,” *RhM* 96, 3 (1953) 234.

²⁶⁴ A. Pérez Jiménez, “De Titios y Tifones. Anotaciones estilísticas a Plu., *De facie in orbe lunae* 945B,” in A. Setaioli (ed.), *Apis Matina. Studi in onore di Carlo Santini* (Trieste: Trieste University Press, 2016) (POLYMNIA *Studi di filologia classica* 20, special issue) 525-523.

Secondly, the adjective ἐρήμοι presents a problem, because EB transmit it in nominative plural; therefore, it modifies the subject—the three monstrous beings: Tityus, Typhon and Python. The problem occurs right before ἐρήμοι, thus, the text refers once again to the souls, not to the monsters (ἐξ ἐκείνων ἄρα τῶν ψυχῶν ἡσαν) and, right after it, continues referring to the souls: it seems improbable for the adjective to modify the subject, rather far from it now, instead of modifying the word, souls, which precede and follow it. Kepler proposed to correct the case into genitive plural, so that it concerts with the souls' case (ἐρήμων); Wyttenbach corrected it into ἐρημίᾳ, in order to connect it with the following λόγῳ καὶ τύφῳ (see below).²⁶⁵

Concerning the noun in dative singular λόγῳ, it appears coordinated with τύφῳ, despite their meaning not being relatable to each other, especially if associated to passionate souls: ‘reasoning’ and ‘slumber.’ Wyttenbach connected his previous correction ἐρημίᾳ with τύφῳ and corrected λόγῳ into a genitive (λόγου), because, while the main meaning of ἔρημος is ‘desert,’ or ‘empty,’ when followed by a genitive, it acquires the sense of ‘to be devoid of.’²⁶⁶ While Wyttenbach’s correction into λόγου solves the problem concerning the two nouns, Kepler’s correction of ἐρήμοι into ἐρήμων is, in my view, more plausible for the problem concerning the adjective. Consequently, I accept the combination of both scholars’ corrections: ἐρήμων λόγου καὶ τύφῳ.²⁶⁷

Translation: “Creatures like Tityus, and Typhon, and the one who, after occupying Delphi and confounding the oracle, covered it in smoke with its insolence and violence, all belonged to this class of souls, void of reason and subject to the affective part gone astray through delusion.”

4.2.13. 945CD. Cosmological-anthropology: Composition of Human Beings

945C 2-7 Οὐδὲν γὰρ αὕτη δίδωσι μετὰ θάνατον ὅσα λαμβάνει πρὸς γένεσιν· ἥλιος δὲ λαμβάνει μὲν οὐδέν, ἀπολαμβάνει δὲ τὸν νοῦν διδούς, σελήνη δὲ καὶ λαμβάνει καὶ δίδωσι καὶ συντίθησι καὶ διαιρεῖ καὶ κατ’ ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην δύναμιν, ὃν Εἰλείθυια μὲν ἡ συντίθησιν, Ἀρτεμις δὲ ἡ διαιρεῖ, καλεῖται.

EB: οὐδὲν γὰρ αὕτη δίδωσι μετὰ θάνατον ὅσα λαμβάνει πρὸς γένεσιν· ἥλιος δὲ λαμβάνει μὲν οὐδέν· ἀπολαμβάνει δὲ τὸν νοῦν διδούς. σελήνη δὲ καὶ λαμβάνει καὶ

²⁶⁵ Kepler, *Ioh. Keppleri Mathematici*, 180.

²⁶⁶ See LSJ II, Bailly II.1.

²⁶⁷ So did previous scholars, but incidentally with wrong attributions of authorship: Raingeard presented the double correction (ἐρήμων λόγου) as his own; Pohlenz accepted it, but attributed it to Wyttenbach and Kaltwasser; and Cherniss attributed it all to Kaltwasser.

δίδωσι καὶ συντίθησι καὶ διαιρεῖ καὶ κατ' ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην δύναμιν ὡν εἰλείθυια Ε / εἰλήθυια Β μὲν, ἢ συντίθησιν· ἀρτεμις δὲ, ἢ διαιρεῖ καλεῖται.

This passage, which deals with the contribution of each of the cosmological bodies (earth, moon, sun) to the creation of the human being, poses two syntactic issues: the first concerns the verbs dealing with the earth; the second concerns the moon's duties and powers, at the end of the sentence.

To fully comprehend the changes applied to the part concerning the earth, an overview of the whole structure and its verbs will be useful. The sentences concerning the sun and the moon pose no problem: the sun does not take anything (new), it recovers the intellect previously given (*ἥλιος δὲ λαμβάνει μὲν οὐδὲν, ἀπολαμβάνει δὲ τὸν νοῦν διδούς*), and the moon takes the intellect (new to it) and gives it together with the souls it creates to the earth (*σελήνη δὲ καὶ λαμβάνει καὶ δίδωσι*), and also joins and separates—joins the intellect to the soul first, for the birth, and then separates them, in the second death—(*καὶ συντίθησι καὶ διαιρεῖ*). The part concerning the earth (*οὐδὲν γὰρ αὕτη δίδωσι μετὰ θάνατον ὅσα λαμβάνει πρὸς γένεσιν*), however, has been modified by some editors, all of them with proposals that introduce the verb *ἀποδίδωμι*, for they interpret that, as it stands, the text states that the earth does not return anything of what it takes at the beginning, which is not the case.

The first scholar to establish that part of the text might be missing was Wytttenbach, who conjectured (in his apparatus) *τοῖς ἄλλοις δυσί, ἀλλ' αποδίδωσι* after *δίδωσι*; Dübner simplified the proposal of his predecessor into *ἀλλ' αποδίδωσι*, although he signaled with two asterisks that more text could be missing between *δίδωσι* and the conjecture; and Cherniss entered *ἀποδιδοῦσα* after *γένεσιν*, at the end of the sentence.

While Wytttenbach's emendation offers a very elaborate structure, proper to his style, he never was concerned with finding a conjecture that could be explained on the grounds of textual corruption, Dübner's *ἀλλ' αποδίδωσιν*, however, is explainable by haplography, with the preceding verb (*δίδωσι*). Cherniss' conjecture seems to be mediocre, given that, on the one hand, it is difficult to explain why the copyist would have omitted the participle and, on the other, it does not present a syntax as polished as Wytttenbach's.

In my view, there is no need to modify EB's text. The adverb *ὅσα* can have as secondary meaning 'only up to,' or 'so far as.'²⁶⁸ Thus, it can be interpreted that the earth does not give anything after death—where *δίδωσι* means 'to give something new,' because the body it created

²⁶⁸ See LSJ IV.2, Bailly B I.3.

remains there (οὐδὲν γὰρ αὕτη δίδωσι μετὰ θάνατον)—‘only up to’ what it takes for the generation, namely the soul and the intellect, which is precisely what it returns after the first death (ὅσα λαμβάνει πρὸς γένεσιν).

Concerning the second issue, after the four coordinated verbs, whose subject is the moon, there is a fifth *καὶ* which is not followed by a verb. This last conjunction is followed by *κατ’ ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην δύναμιν*, a syntagma that depends upon the two last verbs of the preceding relation (*συντίθησι καὶ διαιρεῖ*), and then by a relative clause (*ὅν Εἰλείθυια μὲν ἡ συντίθησιν, Ἀρτεμις δὲ ἡ διαιρεῖ καλεῖται*). The problem was easily solved with the suggestion of the *Basiliensis* edition’s to delete the conjunction interposed between the two verbs and their complement. This solution has been adopted by every editor since Wytttenbach.

In my opinion, however, the fifth *καὶ* can be maintained if understood as coordinating the previous verbs with *καλεῖται*, at the end of the passage. The relative clause, in turn, would not have this as its main verb, as it has been generally assumed, but only an omitted *εἰμί*. Consequently, the subject of *καλεῖται* remains the moon, as for the other four verbs, and not the goddesses Eileithyia and Artemis, as generally assumed. These two, in turn, are the appellations of the moon’s powers.

Translation: “In fact, the earth gives nothing after death, only as much as it takes for the generation, and the sun takes nothing but regains the mind that it gives, whereas the moon both takes and gives, and unites and separates, and is denominated according to each power, of which Eileithyia is the one that unites and Artemis the one that separates.”



CHAPTER 5. A PHILOSOPHY OF

THE MOON

5.1. Introduction

In *De facie*, Plutarch ponders the nature and purpose of the moon. Due to the wide variety of ideas offered by the text, *De facie* has proved difficult for scholars to assess as a whole. Despite the possible pitfalls (explained below), this chapter will attempt to unearth and demonstrate the solid, coherent, and systematic body of thought of *De facie*.

In my view, the traditional division of the contents into two categories, proposed by scholarship, has hindered a proper interpretation of *De facie*'s thought. To a certain extent, in this approach, we hear the echoes of the binary primitive/positive thinking in vogue from the 19th and 20th centuries: while the former was seen as typical of underdeveloped, tribal societies, the latter was seen as characteristic of more civilized ones, notably Western Civilization, which conjures its origin and role model in Ancient Greece.¹ Expectably, this framework was also applied to Greek thought: while myth was the original, more primitive, and not necessarily coherent form of thinking and expression, logos or reason represented the positivistic side of the spectrum. This approach shaped the well-known motto “vom Mythos zum Logos,” according to which, myth ($\mu\omega\thetao\zeta$), the more primitive way of thought, was slowly transformed into, or simply replaced by, reason ($\lambda\omega\gammao\zeta$).² Thus, while mythical discourse is pre-rational and is kin to

¹ See J.P. Vernant, *Myth and Thought Among the Greeks* (London-Boston-Melbourne: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983 [1965]) ch. 7, “From myth to reason.”

² On this evolution, see J.P. Vernant, *Mythe et société en Grèce ancienne* (Paris: François Maspero, 1974) 195-216, where he provides an overview of the theories about the evolution of Greek thought in the 19th and 20th centuries and the corresponding approaches to the study of myths.



superstitious and contradictory language, scientific discourse—the epitome of reason—is logical and rational *par excellence*. Scholars applied this very idea to the contents of *De facie*, creating a neat, firm distinction between the contents associated to *reason*, namely physical theories about the moon and its constitution, and those associated to *myth*, namely the symbolic, non-rational eschatology. This, in turn, had an important impact on the interpretation of our treatise:

1. The study of *De facie* has been, up to date, artificially dominated by the binary science/myth. These two levels of discourse are conceived of as strictly separated and uncommunicated with one another. As a result, they have virtually no links or connection with each other.³
2. The division is so drastic that scholars tended to focus on either of the two levels, and, occasionally, some did not even mention the existence of the part that did not fall under the scope of their study.⁴

Furthermore, most scholars, based on their application of the bipartition logos/mythos to the contents, structured the treatise as if it were written by Plutarch in a bipartition.⁵ This resulted in an association of each type of content with the formal part to which they belong, assuming that the first part included the *reason* and the second the *myth*. This improper assimilation of form and content further complicated a sound interpretation of *De facie*'s content, for, as I see it, such a binary is not the case: while the treatise can formally be divided in different parts, according to various motivations, its contents cannot be discussed strictly in terms of “scientific” vs. “mythological.”

Against this tendency, recent studies are beginning to realize the need for an integral approach that pays attention to the relationship between mythical and scientific thinking: the so-called scientific and mythological aspects are so intrinsically intertwined that one cannot understand the one without the other. Even if still trapped within the dichotomous framework and focusing on either of the two parts, scholars such as Görgemanns and Yvonne Vernière, for example, already noted the indissoluble

³ This tendency is continued by the scholars who most recently worked on *De facie*, such as Lernould, *Plutarque. Le visage*.

⁴ S. Sambursky, *The Physical World of the Greeks* (transl. by M. Dagut) (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987 [1956]) 205. This can condition an uninformed reader to think that *De facie* is only a scientific treatise or a philosophical myth.

⁵ I, however, follow a few scholars who structured *De facie* in a clear tripartition: while the first part is a discussion among several participants; the second is a dialogue between two of them; and the third is presented as a tale entirely narrated by one of the characters. More on this classification in section 2.5. “Structure of the Treatise and Summary of the Contents,” in Chapter 2.

relationship between both perspectives in Plutarch's thought.⁶ To this trend belongs Donini, perhaps the scholar that has devoted more time and energy into bringing together science and philosophy in *De facie*.⁷ Indeed, ever since the 1980's, he has tried to place Plutarch in the cultural context of the 1st century CE, in which irrational, magic, superstitious, and religious beliefs could be easily combined within the parameters of what we now call scientific thought.⁸ Also, Françoise Frazier recently brought to the fore the need and benefit of approaching *De facie* from an integral point of view—such an approach enables us to reach a sound comprehension of the text.⁹

Unfortunately, the influence of these pioneers has been limited, firstly, due to the restricted scope of their studies, centered as they were in the analysis of a few particular passages only.¹⁰ At the same time, their approaches were still governed by the dichotomy present in previous studies: the point of departure was always the division between science and myth, and their goal consisted in trying to connect both.¹¹ It is, therefore, time for a change: instead of dealing with so-called scientific and mythological contents separately or of building bridges between them, a sound understanding of the treatise implies a holistic approach that brings to the fore the topics and ideas that, present throughout the treatise, articulate the whole exposition. This is what I hope to fulfill with the present study.

Besides, what appears to be scientific may be the result of a reformulation of legendary stories; and what appears to be mythological may express important physical

⁶ Görgemanns, *Untersuchungen zu Plutarcks Dialog*, 35; Y. Vernière, *Symboles et mythes dans la pensée de Plutarque: Essais d'interprétation philosophique et religieuse des Moralia* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1977) 87-91.

⁷ The terms “science” and “philosophy” are used here with the same sense employed by Donini, namely as two contrasting concepts. In my view, both physical and mythological concerns belong under the umbrella of philosophical inquiry. See below on this issue.

⁸ P.L. Donini, “Problemi del pensiero scientifico a Roma: il primo e il secondo secolo d.C.,” in G. Giannantoni & M. Vegetti (eds.), *Scienza Ellenistica. Atti delle tre giornate di studio tenutesi a Pavia dal 14 al 16 aprile 1982* (Naples: Bibliopolis, 1984) 369; Donini, “Science and Metaphysics,” 126-144.

⁹ Frazier, “De la physique à la métaphysique.”

¹⁰ This limitation is comprehensible in what regards the space limits of papers. In the case of Donini’s translation of *De facie*, *Plutarco Il volto della luna*, differently, he chose to devote most of the introduction to the parallelisms between *De facie* and *De def. or.*

¹¹ The title of their contributions already suggests the dichotomy: “Science and Metaphysics. Platonism, Aristotelianism, and Stoicism in Plutarch’s *On the face of the moon*” (Donini); “De la physique à la Métaphysique. Une lecture du *De facie*” (Frazier). I do not share the former’s attempt to present Platonic, Aristotelian and Stoic traits included in *De facie* as characteristic of Plutarch’s eclecticism. Stoic notions are mainly used for two reasons: to present Stoic theories and to reject those very theories. Donini’s conclusion that “a clear and strong interest in his opponents’ theses may have facilitated his (Plutarch’s) assimilation of Stoic elements” (329) seems, in my view, to impose a scholarly systematization on Plutarch’s thought. Frazier, with whom I concur, disliked the terms “science” and “myth” used by the Donini in his study (246 n. 18).

tenets, albeit not in rational formulation. When characterizing the contents of *De facie* as scientific on the one side and mythological or philosophical on the other, modern scholars applied modern constructs to ancient thought.¹² We should not forget that all the disciplines integrated in the analysis of *De facie*, such as astronomy, cosmology, geometry, optics, or philosophy, can be subsumed under a broader, inclusive type of (re)search called philosophical inquiry, which moreover also included myth as a valid way of approaching philosophical matters or conveying philosophical contents. As Plutarch himself explains in his oeuvre, philosophy is the only path to attain truth—a variety of perspectives and fields should contribute to reach this ultimate goal of philosophical inquiry.¹³

Conscious of the risk of anachronism when applying modern conceptions to the study of the past, the following categories are intentionally broad so as to incorporate the ancient approaches to the field, with no regard as to whether or not the term was used in Antiquity.¹⁴

- 1) Astronomy: study of the stars, planets, and natural objects in space.
- 2) Physics: study of physis, namely the theory concerning the physical world and the arrangement, forces, and events in it.
- 3) Metaphysics: study of the first principles beyond the physical realm.
- 4) Religious practices or beliefs. In this study, I avoided the use of the term “religion,” which is most controversial when concerning research on the Ancient World.¹⁵ However, the adjective “religious” appears so as to designate the practices and beliefs concerned with the divine.
- 5) Theology: study of the nature of god(s) and of the relationship between the divine, mankind and the universe.
- 6) Science: this term is employed with two meanings. On the one hand, usually with quotation marks, it means the study of the nature and behavior of natural things based on observance, experiments and measurements, and it is intended to represent the use of the term by previous scholarship when referring to the contents included in the first part of the treatise. On

¹² On the problematic approach to ancient realities for a modern scholar, see Nongbri, B., *Before Religion: a History of a Modern Concept* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

¹³ *De lib. educ.* 7CD; *De aud.* 47AC; *De Is. et Os.* 382E; *De exilio* 603E; *Alex.* 7.

¹⁴ The definitions have been retrieved from the Collins Online Dictionary (www.collinsdictionary.com) and duly adapted to the needs of this commentary.

¹⁵ Nongbri, *Before Religion*, 25-45.

the other, usually preceded by the adjective “theoretical,” it refers to the classification employed by Plato and Aristotle—and later on by Plutarch—to distinguish various fields of knowledge, and it can be regarded as a synonym of “discipline,” a particular area of study.

- 7) Philosophy: the overarching and general inquiry concerning the study of the cosmos and man’s place in it; the nature and significance of natural phaenomena and their underlying principles. A search for the truth.

The philosophical study of physis, both in the cultural context of Plutarch’s time and in *De facie*, shows that Plutarch did not intend to sharply distinguish the contents included in his treatise. I will deal with this matter in the three following sections: while the first section focuses on the external evidence, namely Plutarch’s cultural context, and intends to show how physis was investigated at his time; the second and third sections center on the internal evidence, namely, first, how Plutarch himself approached the subject matter, and second, how his ideas are expressed in *De facie*.

5.1.1. External Evidence

The study of physis in Plutarch’s time was conditioned by the influence of Pythagorean, Platonic and Aristotelian theories.¹⁶ The central place that Pythagoreans attributed to arithmetic and harmony, in what regards the distances and movements of astral bodies, was received and re-elaborated by Plato.¹⁷ According to him, the apparent disordered movements these bodies show when observed from earth must, in fact, hide an ordered movement. He also strongly associated astronomy to geometry. In his view, because the most perfect figure is the circle and the most perfect body is the sphere, both must rule existence in the upper, most perfect region.¹⁸ This is also true for Aristotle, who established the (meta)physical laws that ruled sublunar and heavenly realms for centuries to come. In his view, the cosmos is spherical and knows regular movement only; right in the center of this cosmos we find the unmoved earth, which, as was to be expected, is also spherical.¹⁹ Aristotle also asserted the existence of a fifth element—in addition to

¹⁶ Sambursky, *The Physical World of the Greeks*, 26-49 and 79-105; M.R., Wright, *Cosmology in Antiquity* (London-New York: Routledge, 1995). Plutarch integrates Aristotelian ideas that in his view are in accordance with Plato’s teachings. The title of a lost treatise (Lamprias Cat. 63: *On the Unity of the Academy Since Plato*) shows Plutarch’s attempt to demonstrate that the Platonic tradition was unified.

¹⁷ Plato, *Rep.* 530D and 617B.

¹⁸ Plato, *Tim.* 33AC; *Rep.* 529D-530D.

¹⁹ Arist., *Cael.* 286B and 288A-289A; 295A-298A. On the concept of “cosmos,” see A. Finkelberg, “On the History of the Greek κόσμος,” *HSPh* 98 (1998) 103-136.

the four sublunary ones—of which substance, exempt of alteration and decay, all astral bodies are made and whose movement is circular.²⁰

The notions of harmony, perfection, and eternity applied by these philosophers to the upper realm are, to a certain extent, the result of conceiving this realm as divine.²¹ Astronomy, or the study of the “visible gods” in Plato’s terms, could not be studied from a purely physical perspective, in the modern sense of the word.²² On the one hand, astronomy and theology were intrinsically entangled; on the other, so were physics and metaphysics.²³ In other words, knowledge of physis, in the Ancient World, results from a wide range of disciplines that cannot be detached from one another.

These cosmological ideas, based on mathematical-aesthetic type by Plato and based on physical type by Aristotle, were generally accepted by most philosophical schools of the later period and were not abandoned until the 16th-17th centuries.²⁴ Based on observation of the phaenomena, however, some thinkers departed from—and sometimes even actively rejected—one or more of these principles, if doing so facilitated a more accurate explanation of cosmos. Among them, Heraclides of Pontus seems to have been the first to suggest that Venus and Mercury might turn around the sun, instead of around the earth, so as to account for the particular movement they show. Aristarchus applied this idea to all the planets, consequently proposing the first fully heliocentric theory of cosmos.²⁵ The members of the so-called Alexandrian school contributed with the substitution of the theory of homocentric spheres—proposed by Plato’s friend, Eudoxus—with other theories of spheres with different centers.²⁶ All these theories rejected an important Aristotelian principle, namely that the earth was the center around which all the other bodies of cosmos moved. This, in turn, allowed for a better explanation

²⁰ Arist., *Cael.* 268B-269B. See also *Ph.* 261B27-265A20, where he defends that circular motion has no contraries (differently from rectilinear motion, which has up and down tendencies), is infinite, and is prior to other types of locomotion.

²¹ This Greek conception was shared by many other cultures in Antiquity. See C. Préaux, *La lune dans la pensée grecque* (Brussels: Académie Royale de Belgique, 1973) 57-63, for what concerns the divinity of the moon specifically.

²² Plato, *Tim.* 40D and 41A; Plutarch uses the expression in *De facie* 942C.

²³ M. Baldassarri, “Condizioni e limiti della scienza fisica nel *De facie* plutarcheo,” in I. Gallo (ed.), *Plutarco e le Scienze. Atti del IV Convegno Plutarcheo (Genova-Bocca di Magra, 22-25 aprile 1991)* (Geneva: Sagep, 1992) 268.

²⁴ Philosophical schools used these principles to legitimize their own cosmological views. As G.E.R. Lloyd, “Aspects of Science, Folklore and Ideology in the Ancient World,” in G. Giannantoni & M. Vegetti (eds.), *Scienza Ellenistica. Atti delle tre giornate di studio tenutesi a Pavia dal 14 al 16 aprile 1982* (Naples: Bibliopolis, 1984) 422-423, noted, all ancient science is ideological, because philosophers were actively engaged in legitimating the positions of their own schools.

²⁵ See T.L. Heath, *Greek Astronomy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932) 105-109.

²⁶ We know little about their work, which is commented upon by Ptolemy in the *Almagest*. On these theories and pertinent bibliography, see footnote 209 to this Chapter.

of certain phenomena, such as the zodiacal anomaly, the heliacal anomaly, or the variance in shining that the planets show.²⁷ The idea that the geometrical theory of motions *ought to work* in detail came with Hipparchus: he sought to demonstrate the validity of logical theories through quantitative data obtained via observation. Thus, beside the rejection of Aristotelian principles, thinkers also contributed to the field of astronomy with their own valuable theories, obtained in accordance with observation and logical thinking.²⁸

Plutarch shows solid knowledge of all these theories, even if they were not generally accepted or even acknowledged at his time. In this sense, together with the influence of Plato and Aristotle, we also need to pay attention to the influence of thinkers such as Empedocles, Parmenides, and Anaxagoras; and of astronomers such as Aristarchus and Hipparchus.²⁹ As a matter of fact, Plutarch did not espouse any of their ideas in particular, but creatively combined Platonic ideas influenced by Neo-Pythagorean and Aristotelian tones with the views of all these other thinkers and astronomers.³⁰ In the case of his treatise on the moon, it is precisely this combination that makes his approach especially interesting and comprehensive.

5.1.2. Internal Evidence: Plutarch

Plutarch, in general, agrees with Plato and Aristotle on the division of theoretical sciences. In his view, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and especially philosophy and theology belong to the preparatory training necessary for the achievement of knowledge

²⁷ On these phenomena, see Evans, *The History and Practice of Ancient Astronomy*, 210-211; and A. Rioja & J. Ordóñez, *Teorías del Universo*, vol. 1. *De los Pitagóricos a Galileo* (Madrid: Síntesis, 1999) 61-73.

²⁸ For an overview of the development of these theories, see J.L.E. Dreyer, *A History of Astronomy. From Thales to Kepler* (New York: Dover, 1953 [1906]).

²⁹ The issue of Plutarch's Platonism and its Aristotelian influences has been dealt with by some scholars: A.P. Bos, *Cosmic and Meta-cosmic Theology in Aristotle's Lost Dialogues* (Leiden: Brill, 1989), and "The Distinction Between 'Platonic' and 'Aristotelian' Dualism, Illustrated from Plutarch's Myth in *De facie in orbe Lunae*," in A. Pérez Jiménez & F. Casadesús (eds.), *Estudios sobre Plutarco: Misticismo y Religiones Mistéricas en la obra de Plutarco. Actas del VII Simposio Español sobre Plutarco (Palma de Mallorca, 2-4 de noviembre de 2000)* (Madrid-Málaga: Ediciones Clásicas, 2001) 57-69; P.L. Donini, "Lo scetticismo academico, Aristotele e l'unità della tradizione platonica secondo Plutarco," in G. Cambiano (ed.), *Storiografia e dossografia nella filosofia antica* (Turin: Tirrenia Stampatori, 1986) 203-227, and "Science and Metaphysics," and A. Pérez Jiménez, J. García López & R.M. Aguilar (eds.), *Plutarco, Platón y Aristoteles. Actas del V Congreso Internacional de la I.P.S. (Madrid-Cuenca, 4-7 mayo 1999)* (Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas, 1999).

³⁰ On the references to these thinkers in *De facie*, see J. Boulogne, "Le visage des citations dans le cercle du dialogue," in A. Lernould (ed.), *Plutarque. Le visage qui apparaît dans le disque de la lune* (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2013) 91-101.

on a subject matter in particular and of truth in general.³¹ The allusion to a hierarchy of theoretical sciences in *De E apud Delphos* 387F—where Plutarch recalls the importance of mathematics, to which he was so devoted as a young student—shows Plutarch’s acquiescence with Platonic and Aristotelian views. As Flacelière noted, *mathemata*, if taken in the Platonic sense, might allude not only to mathematics but to the three theoretical sciences in which every free man should engage: arithmetic, geometry and astronomy.³² Given that Plutarch places his devotion for these sciences in his youth, it is plausible that later in his adulthood he was more interested in other disciplines, such as philosophy and theology. The study of the latter can only start after completing the study of the lower disciplines, but all of them are necessary for the curriculum of philosophical inquiry. The hierarchy among these sciences finds its explanation in Plutarch’s views concerning physical and divine causes ruling the cosmos: only philosophy and theology are concerned with the divine cause, namely the final cause.³³

In my view, this was precisely Plutarch’s goal in *De facie*: to show both how the cosmological views were thoroughly discussed in the different philosophical schools and how the astronomical knowledge had evolved mainly due to Alexandrian astronomy.³⁴ In so doing, Plutarch resorted to all the theoretical sciences mentioned above, in such a way that each could contribute to our understanding of lunar phenomena, namely the apparent face, phases, eclipses, and movements. The way in which he interpreted the information of these disciplines, however, was not always straightforward, since an excessively strict

³¹ Plato, *Rep.* 521C-536E; Arist., *Metaph.* 1026A, and also 995A15-20. On the search for truth in Plutarch’s time, see J. Opsomer, *In Search of the Truth. Academic Tendencies in Middle Platonism* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1998) 127-212.

³² R. Flacelière, “Plutarque et les éclipses de la lune,” *REG* 53 (1951) 215; Plato, *Leg.* 817E.

³³ On the issue of the subordination of the physical cause to the divine, see A. Pérez Jiménez, “Alle frontiere della scienza: Plutarco e l’astrologia,” in I. Gallo (ed.), *Plutarco e le Scienze. Atti del IV Convegno Plutarchoe (Genova-Bocca di Magra, 22-25 aprile 1991)* (Geneva: Sagep, 1992) 281, where he analyzed the meaning of the anecdote involving Pericles and Anaxagoras in *Life of Pericles* 6. On this passage and that of *Nicias* 23 in connection with the double causality, see L. Lesage Gárriga, “Metón en Plutarco: ¿astrónomo o astrólogo?,” in A. Casanova (ed.), *Figure d’Atene nelle opere di Plutarco* (Florence: Florence University Press, 2013) 59-67; and M. Meeusen, “Plutarch on the Platonic Synthesis: a Synthesis,” in L. Roig Lanzillotta & R. Hirsch-Lüpold (in press). Plutarch praises Plato, *Nicias* 23 and *De def. or.* 435F-436A, because he subordinated the physical cause to the divine one. In both cases, he contrasts Plato to Anaxagoras, who would be too concerned with the physical cause only. On this, see J. Hershbell, “Plutarch and Anaxagoras,” *ICS* 7, 1 (1982), 143. Concerning the issue of natural and final causes, see P.L. Donini, “I fondamenti della fisica e la teoria delle cause in Plutarco,” in P.L. Donini & M. Bonazzi (eds.), *Commentary and Tradition. Aristotelianism, Platonism, and post-Hellenistic Philosophy* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010) 341-357; and Donini, *Plutarco. Il volto della luna*, 90, where he concluded that the topic of the moon becomes an excuse to discuss the limits of human knowledge.

³⁴ On the scission during the Hellenistic period between the type of research undertaken by philosophical schools and that of Alexandrian astronomers, see Rioja & Ordóñez, *Teorías del Universo*, 76-84.

grasp of the information might overlook important insights of a given subject matter. In *De Iside et Osiride*, for example, he explains that the literal interpretation cannot suffice to attain knowledge and that it necessarily needs to be complemented by the allegorical explanation.³⁵

This brief overview of how Plutarch, as a man of his time, conceived of physis and how he thought a proper study of physis had to be carried out shows the need for an overarching, holistic study of *De facie*. In so doing, one notices that the text itself continually suggests to the reader that correct understanding results from a comprehensive approach to any given subject matter. It requires the reader to gather dispersed pieces of information in order to be able to disclose its meaning. In this sense, *De facie* applies to the specific topic of the moon the sort of philosophical inquiry that Plutarch esteemed the most.

5.1.3. Internal Evidence: *De facie*

To begin with, the treatise opens and closes with an emphasis on the importance of combining a number of perspectives when analyzing difficult matters. In 920BC, after mentioning that “when the ordinary and reputable and customary accounts are not persuasive, it is necessary to try those that are more out of the way and not scorn them,” Lamprias encourages his companions to let the “charms of the Ancient involve” them.³⁶ In 945E, Sulla, on his turn, closes his final intervention with advice to Lamprias and the other participants to “make what they will of the tale.”³⁷ Sulla’s advice should not be understood simply as to use the tale or not, but rather to accept or reject its content only after a proper interpretation. The tools available to decode and elucidate its content depend on the philosophical training of the individual, since these potential abilities marks one’s limits of the understanding of the myth.³⁸ Certainly, a better preparation allows for a less literal interpretation of the narration, something necessary when, as it is

³⁵ *De Is. et Os.* 359A, 374E, and 383A. For an overview of the allegorical reading in Ancient Greece, see D. Dawson, *Allegorical Readers and Cultural Revision in Ancient Alexandria* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-Oxford: California University Press, 1992), 59-66 are dedicated to Plutarch’s views on the matter.

³⁶ 920BC, οὗτος ἀναγκαῖον ἐν δυσθεωρήτοις καὶ ἀπόροις σκέψεσιν, ὅταν οἱ κοινοὶ καὶ ἔνδοξοὶ καὶ συνήθεις λόγοι μὴ πείθωσι, πειρᾶσθαι τῶν ἀτοπωτέρων καὶ μὴ καταφρονεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐπάδειν ἀτεχνῶς ἔσυτοις τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ διὰ πάντων τάληθὲς ἐξελέγχειν. Whether he intends the ordinary accounts to be natural philosophy or teleology is an issue that has been duly discussed—see Vernière, *Symboles et mythes*, 90—but in my view the answer to that question is not relevant because Lamprias’ point is clear in either case: when the limits of one discipline have been reached, a different one must be undertaken.

³⁷ 945E, ‘Υμῖν δέ, ὦ Λαμπρίᾳ, χρῆσθαι τῷ λόγῳ πάρεστιν ἡ βούλεσθε.

³⁸ Donini, *Plutarco. Il volto della luna*, 364 n. 439, suggested that perhaps metaphysical matters cannot be fully comprehended by mankind.

the case, the subject matter cannot be empirically verified. Sulla's myth is consequently presented only as a plausible account of the facts, the meaning of which should be approached both literally and allegorically in order to achieve the best interpretation.³⁹ The fact that the treatise begins and ends with this sort of remarks emphasizes the added value of integrating various disciplines in the search for truth and the relevance of proper instruction for the correct interpretation of the information: while Lamprias warns against the limits of biased and superficial research, Sulla differently points to each's own background and level of philosophical training as determining success or failure in the interpretive enterprise.

The need to combine different approaches to achieve a correct study of certain difficult matters reappears several times throughout the treatise. It turns up again in 923F where Lamprias criticizes philosophers who "desire to repulse paradoxes with paradoxes and (who) in struggling against opinions that are amazing fabricate others that are more amazing and outlandish."⁴⁰ While this remark introduces the reader to the critique of the theory of motion to the center, in a broader sense, it ponders the limitations of a field of study. The need of combining different perspectives in an inquiry ultimately derives from the fact that no perspective can provide, on its own, a complete answer to difficult matters. Because the physical perspective has its own limits, when the latter are reached, one should combine this perspective with another one. According to Lamprias, by adding dubious hypotheses one arrives at even more dubious conclusions. This, in turn, harms the aim of the inquiry, whose main goal is to find truth and understanding. He suggests that, instead of proceeding in such a useless way, one should turn to other perspectives that might contribute to find an answer and then resume the inquiry.

A bit further, in 927D, Lamprias recommends to "get rid of the habits and opinions that have enslaved our minds."⁴¹ The sentence is used, again, to confront a particular theory—that of natural positions, in this case—but the underlying idea is that constrictions imposed by a given set of principles can hinder the right process of finding the truth. One should avoid problematic principles and be willing to question and modify

³⁹ This translates into an advice of caution: one should avoid reaching conclusions in matters beyond verification—such as that of the afterlife. This advice is found elsewhere in Plutarch: *De Sera* 561B, *De genio Socratis* 589F; and can be traced back to Plato: *Phd.* 114D, *Men.* 86B, *Grg.* 527A, *Phdr.* 246A. See footnote 193 on this cautious attitude.

⁴⁰ 923F, "καὶ δοτέον" εἰπον "ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἐκείνοις, φιλοσόφων δὲ οὐκ ἀκουστέον, ἀν τὰ παράδοξα παραδόξοις ἀμύνεσθαι βούλωνται καὶ μαχόμενοι πρὸς τὰ θαυμάσια τῶν δογμάτων ἀτοπώτερα καὶ θαυμασιώτερα πλάττωσιν.

⁴¹ 927D, Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἴ γε δεῖ τὰς καταδεδουλωμένας ἔξεις <καὶ> δόξας ἀφέντας ἥδη τὸ φαινόμενον ἀδεῶς λέγειν.

them whenever they are not fit. Lamprias expresses the will to look either for new physical principles that fit reality better or for radically different disciplines that may produce understanding. In this passage, for instance, Plutarch's criticism against the theory of natural positions not only attacks the Stoic school, but also the Aristotelian principles that, as stated in the previous section, had ruled the study of physics for centuries. Plutarch willingly rejected these generally unquestionable principles—that in Lamprias' words are “the habits and opinions that have enslaved our minds”—in an attempt to provide a more suitable explanation for lunar phaenomena. Plutarch's departure from mainstream Aristotelian physics is due to the fact that these did not adequately account for the moon's earthy nature.⁴² While his attempt was not necessarily original, it certainly was not common at his time. These attempts by Plutarch and his predecessors to deviate in certain points from Plato's and Aristotle's cosmology and astronomy, however, were foreclosed once Ptolemy embraced the Aristotelian principles, dismissing the discussion on the nature of the universe for centuries.⁴³

In 940DE, Lamprias brings up, again, the complexity inherent to inquiries involving a subject matter that is beyond direct verification. In order to do so, he refers to the assumptions we would make if, not being able to approach the sea, we found out that animals and plants live in it, despite its bitter and salty water.⁴⁴ He then compares this situation with our attitude towards the moon, which we cannot approach or touch either, but make assumptions about its nature, habitability and purpose. By an amusing turn of roles, he wonders what the inhabitants of the moon would think about the earth under these same conditions.⁴⁵ In this sense, Lamprias clearly recommends carefulness when direct observation reaches its limits, and he implicitly recommends inquirers not to jump to conclusions when full evidence is lacking.⁴⁶

⁴² As Sambursky noted in *The Physical World of the Greeks*, 212, Plutarch “eventually reaches a conclusion which renders the whole of Aristotelian dynamics null and void.” However, he adds that in place of Aristotelian physics Plutarch did not erect any other system that could count for the phaenomena (213). This is probably one of the main reasons why his contribution could not be durable in time.

⁴³ Ptolemy, *Almagest* 1. On the astronomical aspects in *De facie*, see E.A. Whitaker, “De facie in orbe lunae,” *Astronomy Quarterly* 1 (1977) 175-180.

⁴⁴ 940DE, ὡσπερ οὖν εἰ τῇ θαλάττῃ μὴ δυναμένων ἡμῶν προσελθεῖν μηδὲ ἀψασθαι, μόνον δὲ τὴν θέαν αὐτῆς πόρρωθεν ἀφορώντων καὶ πυνθανομένων ὅτι πικρὸν καὶ ἄποτον καὶ ἀλμυρὸν ὕδωρ ἔστιν, ἔλεγέ τις ὁς ζῷα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ παντοδαπὰ ταῖς μορφαῖς τρέφει κατὰ βάθους καὶ θηρίων ἔστι πλήρης ὕδατι χρωμένων ὀσταπερ ἡμεῖς ἀέρι, μύθοις ἀν̄ ὄμοια καὶ τέρασιν ἐδόκει περαίνειν, οὔτως ἐοίκαμεν ἔχειν καὶ τούτοις ἀσκεῖν πρὸς τὴν σελήνην, ἀπιστοῦντες ἐκεῖ τινας ἀνθρώπους κατοικεῖν.

⁴⁵ On this passage and the inhabitants of the moon, see 5.3.3.1. “Life on the Moon as a Reflection of that on Earth.”

⁴⁶ See footnotes 39 and 193 on Plutarch's cautious attitude.

The role of proper training, in dealing with difficult inquiries, is reintroduced in 942AB. The Stranger becomes “acquainted with astronomy, in which he made as much progress as one can by practicing geometry, and with the rest of philosophy by dealing with so much of it as is possible for natural science.”⁴⁷ Afterwards, he completes his preparation with sacred books and initiation into all mystery rites.⁴⁸ The reference to different theoretical disciplines and the subtle hierarchy among them shows Aristotle’s tripartite division of knowledge and Plutarch’s use of it.⁴⁹ The training on the island seems to be associated to the lower disciplines, whereas his instruction afterwards is associated with theology, highest in the order. The Stranger is presented, consequently, as the ideal individual who investigates complex matters in a comprehensive way. His detailed knowledge concerning the topic of the moon, which goes beyond the limitations of a particular given field, proves this.⁵⁰

Independently of their particular foci, all these passages defend the need for an integral approach that combines different theoretical sciences. This method helps to sort the obstacles posed by the intrinsic limits of each particular field and brings the philosopher closer a true understanding of reality. Furthermore, as remarked above, this method is enriched when interpretation is not limited only to the literal. This is, in point of fact, the only truly comprehensive approach that enables a full understanding of the topic in question.

5.1.4. Criteria for the Study

It is precisely the integral and holistic nature of Plutarch’s study that explains the title of this study on *De facie*’s content, “A Philosophy of the Moon.” As anticipated above, all the disciplines integrated in the treatise are subsumed under the general umbrella of philosophical inquiry. The ideas included in *De facie*, and explored in this analysis, consequently, constitute a philosophy on the subject matter of the moon. In my

⁴⁷ 942AB, ἀστρολογίας μὲν ἐφ' ὅσον γεωμετρήσαντι πορρωτάτῳ προελθεῖν δυνατόν ἔστιν, ἐμπειρίαν ἔσχε φιλοσοφίας δὲ τῆς ἄλλης τῷ φυσικῷ χρώμενος.

⁴⁸ The relevance of mystery cults in Plutarch is studied by G. Roskam, “And a Great Silence Filled the Temple...” Plutarch on the Connections Between Mystery Cults and Philosophy,” in A. Pérez Jiménez & F. Casadesús Bordoy (eds.), *Estudios sobre Plutarco: Misticismo y Religiones Mistéricas en la obra de Plutarco. Actas del VII Simposio Español sobre Plutarco (Palma de Mallorca, 2-4 de noviembre de 2000)* (Madrid-Málaga: Ediciones Clásicas, 2001) 221-232.

⁴⁹ This was noted by Donini, “Science and Metaphysics,” 331. In my view, however, he seemed to go too far when he equated the island of Cronos to a typical Platonic school of the 1st century CE.

⁵⁰ On the philosophical training of this character, see Lesage Gárriga, “L’Étranger (*De facie*) et Diotime (*Symp.*),” and 5.3.2.2. “The Archipelago of Ogygia and the Moon.”

study, I intend to offer a new analysis of this philosophy of the moon, firstly, identifying the main ideas that structure the treatise, and, secondly, studying the way they are presented in different sections, and how they reappear, albeit in diverse forms and perspectives, in other sections of the treatise. As a matter of fact, ideas are repeated, revised, corrected, and expanded throughout the treatise, as a result of which the traditional dichotomy science/myth fails to provide a sound understanding of *De facie*. In this sense, obviating previous dichotomies based on prejudices, I intend to offer a new, holistic approach to Plutarch's treatise that attempts to trace and place the ideas independently of the passage where they are located.

For heuristic purposes, I class these recurrent ideas in three thematic sections: (1) the moon's nature; (2) its habitability; and (3) the place the moon occupies in Plutarch's view of the cosmos. Because the moon, as stated above, was seen as both a material body and a living (divine) being, the ideas included in each thematic section have been arranged according to either perspective: (a) the moon's materiality or (b) the moon's liveness. The study is consequently structured around these three thematic sections, each of which is then analyzed from both perspectives.

In this sense, the first thematic section, "Nature of the Moon," contains the recurrent ideas that deal with the moon's nature. The headings of its first subsection (Ontology) specifically regard its materiality, and those of the second subsection (Mythology) regard its liveness. The second thematic section, "Habitability of the Moon," contains the recurrent ideas that deal with the possibility of the existence of inhabitants, and the headings included in each subsection (Orography and Demography) deal with each perspective, namely its materiality and its liveness. The third thematic section, finally, "Position of the Moon," contains recurrent ideas dealing with the moon's place, with its subsections (Cosmography and Anthropology), again, focused on each perspective.

5.2. Nature of the Moon

5.2.1. Introduction

While modern readers might assume that a thematic section such as "Nature of the Moon" concerns the material out of which the moon is composed, this is not so for ancient readers. As mentioned in the "Introduction" to the study, in Greek thought, astral bodies were not only material bodies, but also divinities. As such, they were endowed



with soul, life, and energy.⁵¹ This view is inherent to Plutarch's thought and pervades *De facie*. To begin with, Lamprias presents the moon as honorable, divine, and sacred; and as such, it should receive honors in the same degree as the rest of the gods (935B). Then, the Stranger goes a step further, suggesting that the moon must be revered even above the rest of the gods (942C).

Plutarch discusses the nature of the moon from the perspectives of its materiality and liveness. While the former is concerned with topics such as its substance and its size—analyzed in the subsection Ontology—the latter is presented through the moon's association to different divinities—outlined in each entry of the subsection Mythology.

Thus, Plutarch's philosophical inquiry regarding the moon combines astronomical theories with the literary, mythological views of divine figures that could share some aspect with the astral body. It will be the reader's task to gather all these scattered pieces in order to get a comprehensive view on the nature of the moon.

5.2.2. Ontology

5.2.2.1. *The Substance of the Moon*

Given that one of the main goals of the text's discussion is to defend the moon's earthy nature against other theories, the moon's substance is thoroughly discussed in the treatise. I will analyze below only the most relevant passages: that of 923A, in which Lucius replies to Pharnaces' criticism, and the Stranger's addition in 943E, which seeks to disclose the complete nature of the moon.

Philosophers such as Anaximenes, Anaxagoras and Democritus had already proposed the theory of an earthy moon.⁵² While this theory had little influence on astronomical views and was not common in Plutarch's time, he chose to defend it in *De facie* through the main speakers, Lamprias and Lucius.⁵³

Before delving into their claims, let us briefly review which theories are the target of their disapproval. As could be expected, Stoicism receives most of the attacks, since

⁵¹ See above, 5.1. "Introduction" and footnote 21 for Préaux's contribution on the matter.

⁵² According to Anaximenes (A 7DK) the moon is fiery but produced from earth. According to Anaxagoras (A 42DK), sun, moon, and stars are stones on fire, or the moon is specifically an incandescent solid, Aetius 2.25, 9 in H. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci* (Berlin: De Gruyter 1965 [1879]) 356 [see also the new translation of Aetius' book 2 in J. Mansfeld, & D.T. Runia (eds.), *Aëtiana. The Method and Intellectual Context of a Doxographer* (Leiden: Brill, 2009) 663-717]. In Democritus' view (A 90DK), the moon is earthy.

⁵³ The defense of the solid, heavy, earthy moon is discussed or alluded to in 921D, 923A, 925A, 926C, 928C, 934F-935A, 943E, and 945D. See Cherniss, "Concerning the Face," 140-141 n. a, on whether the mention to Socrates's myth in 934F-935A meant to symbolize this earth or the moon.

this school defended that the moon was composed out of air and fire.⁵⁴ Lamprias' and Lucius' expositions continually emphasize the obvious problems derived from this theory, in an attempt to outrightly reject it (see 921F, 922A, 922C, and 933F).⁵⁵ Next comes the Aristotelian theory of aether as substance of the moon (921D and 928D-929A).⁵⁶ While Lucius states that he will not deal with all the problems of such theory—in fact, Aristotelianism can be an ally in other areas, so a direct confrontation with this school is avoided—he nevertheless rejects it.⁵⁷

In 923A, after Pharnaces' two accusations that the Academy always attacks other opinions but never defends its own and that the Academic theory turns the cosmos upside down, Lucius introduces the theory of an earthy moon (922E-923A).⁵⁸ In his view, the hypothesis of a solid substance—namely, a heavy body placed in the upper region and not where heavy bodies are—does not turn the cosmos upside down any more than Stoics placing the earth, also heavy, suspended in the air.⁵⁹ He then proceeds to explain that the moon's movement guarantees that it remains in its present location.

Even if Lucius and Lamprias clearly defend the solid substance of the moon throughout the treatise, Lucius strikingly opens his intervention, asserting that “we express no opinion of our own.” In my view, two motives explain Plutarch's assertion. On the one hand, there is Lamprias' and Lucius' philosophical affiliation: while they appear to defend the ideas of the Academic school, contrary to general belief, a moon

⁵⁴ More on the relationship between Stoicism and Platonism in Plutarch's time in T. Engberg-Pedersen, “Setting the Scene: Stoicism and Platonism in the Transitional Period in Ancient Philosophy,” in T. Rasimus, T. Engberg-Pedersen, & I. Dunderberg (eds.), *Stoicism in Early Christianity* (Michigan: Baker Academic, 2010) 1-14.

⁵⁵ See *SVF* II, 671 and II, 674 for authors other than Plutarch alluding to Stoic theories on the moon's substance. Stoics struggled to explain the problems raised in *De facie*. Posidonius, for instance, had difficulties to account for the fact that there is always a side of the moon which is in shadow, because this would mean that the sun's light does not pierce the whole moon continually, despite its fiery nature. Plutarch refers to Posidonius' theory in 929D. See also, M. Laffranque, *Poseidonios d'Apamée. Essai de mise au point* (Paris: PUF, 1964) 299-301.

⁵⁶ Arist., *Cael.* 269A-270B; Ps. Arist., *Mu.* 392A5-10; Aetius, *De placitis* 2.7.5 (Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, 336).

⁵⁷ According to Lucius, the moon's face is the result of either an alteration of its substance or a mixture of substances. Aristotelian aether, however, is an eternal, immutable substance, which cannot allow any alteration or mixture (Arist., *Cael.* 268B-269B). Aether, therefore, is not the substance of the moon.

⁵⁸ 922E-923A, Καὶ ὁ Φαρνάκης ἔτι μου λέγοντος “τοῦτο ἐκεῖνο πάλιν” εἶπεν “ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀφίκται τὸ περίακτον ἐκ τῆς Ἀκαδημείας, ἐν τῷ πρὸς ἑτέρους λέγειν διατρίβοντας, ἐκάστοτε μὴ παρέχειν ἔλεγχον ὃν αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπολογουμένοις δεῖ χρῆσθαι μὴ κατηγοροῦσιν ἂν ἐντυγχάνωσιν· ἐμὲ δ' οὖν οὐκ ἔξαξεσθε τήμερον εἰς τὸ διδόναι λόγον ὃν ἐπικαλείτε τοῖς Στωικοῖς πρὶν εὐθύνας λαβεῖν παρ' ὑμῶν ἄνω τὰ κάτω τοῦ κόσμου ποιούντων.” [...] “Ημεῖς μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν αὐτοὶ παρ' αὐτῶν λέγομεν, οἱ δὲ γῆν ὑποτιθέμενοι τὴν σελήνην, ὃ βέλτιστε, τί μᾶλλον ὑμῶν ἄνω τὰ κάτω ποιοῦσι, τὴν γῆν ιδρυόντων ἐνταῦθα μετέωρον ἐν τῷ ἀέρι.”

⁵⁹ *SVF* II, 555.

composed purely out of earth is not the standard Academic position on the issue.⁶⁰ In fact, Plato points to a composite nature rather than a simple nature for the moon. In *Symposium* 190B, the moon participates in the substance of the earth and the sun. In *Timaeus* 38C, the sun, the moon, and the five planets are said to be of the same nature, which in 40A is specified as “mostly fire.”⁶¹

On the other hand, later on in the treatise, a second element together with the earth is said to participate in the composition of the moon. Despite the fact that throughout the entire discussion the moon is said to be composed essentially out of earth, in 943E we read that its nature is “not simple and unmixed, but kind of a mixture of star and earth.”⁶² As it appears, the consideration of the moon as purely earthy does not suffice for a correct understanding of its function. In fact, the Stranger explains why the moon has such a nature immediately afterwards: this mixture makes it animated and fertile and creates a perfect equilibrium between heavy and light elements.⁶³

The view of the moon as an animated being appears recurrently in *De facie* and is emphasized, mainly, but not only, through the connection between the moon and specific divinities.⁶⁴ In 943E, however, the idea is not reinforced with literary and mythological references, but by means of its very substance. The composite nature, furthermore, implies that the moon is fertile. The relation between the moon and human fertility is deeply rooted in Greek culture, and we find it in many of Plutarch’s works.⁶⁵ This passage in *De facie* asserts not only that the moon influences human fertility, but also that it has an active role in the creation of human beings. The participants in the dialogue now discover that the functions of the moon go beyond their expectations: Lamprias’ previous doubts in 928C, as to whether the moon has functions other than the ones described at that moment, are finally answered.⁶⁶ The Stranger’s addition also indicates that the moon’s composite nature reaches a perfect balance. This idea, which is reiterated in 945D,

⁶⁰ Raingeard, *Le peri toy prosopoy*, IX; Cherniss, “Concerning the Face,” 45-46 n. e and 55 n. b; Ramón Palerm, “Sobre la cara visible de la luna,” 124. See Donini, “Science and Metaphysics,” 329-330 and n. 10, for a correction of this general misunderstanding.

⁶¹ On Plato’s views concerning the cosmos, see F.M. Cornford, *Plato’s Cosmology* (New York: The liberal arts press, 1957 [1937]); and C. Freeland, “The Role of Cosmology in Plato’s Philosophy,” in H.H. Benson (ed.) *A Companion to Plato* (Chichester: Blackwell, 2006) 199-213.

⁶² 943E, καὶ τὴν φύσιν οὐχ ἀπλῆν οὐδὲ ἄμικτον ἀλλ’ οἷον ἀστρου σύγκραμα καὶ γῆς οὖσαν.

⁶³ 943E, ως γὰρ ή γῆ πνεύματι μεμιγμένη καὶ ὑγρῷ μαλακῇ γέγονε καὶ τὸ αἷμα τῇ σαρκὶ παρέχει τὴν αἴσθησιν ἐγκεκραμένον, οὕτω τῷ αἰθέρι λέγουσι τὴν σελήνην ἀνακεκραμένην διὰ βάθους, ἄμα μὲν ἔμψυχον εἶναι καὶ γόνιμον, ἄμα δὲ ισόρροπον ἔχειν τὴν πρὸς τὸ βαρὺ συμμετρίαν τῆς κουφότητος.

⁶⁴ For the relation between the moon and goddesses, see 5.2.3. “Mythology.”

⁶⁵ On Greek culture in general, see Préaux, *La lune dans la pensée grecque*, 88-91; on Plutarch, see *Quaest. conv.* 3.10, *Quaest. rom.* 282CD and *De facie* 939F.

⁶⁶ On this passage and the scholarly discussion about it, see footnote 277, below.

brings to the fore the moon's intermediate nature: the moon has been made by the divinity out of things from above and from below ("star" and "earth," in 943E).⁶⁷ This reference to the divinity's creative work at the very end of the treatise emphasizes the notion of divine providence that occupied Lamprias' long intervention earlier in the treatise (927A-928D): the moon, Plutarch teaches us, has an intermediate nature that belongs to and participates in both the upper and the lower realms, because the divinity finds this best for the proper running of the universe. Despite Donini's opinion, the additional information provided in 943E is not necessarily in contradiction with the idea defended earlier in the discussion.⁶⁸ Rather, it complements the description so as to unveil the moon's *true* nature. When the moon is studied exclusively from the perspective of one discipline, the conclusions of the research will be necessarily limited; therefore, the need of integrating more than one perspective in philosophical inquiry.

Even if there is no hint as to the superiority of one of the approaches, Plutarch seems to prefer the theory of a composite nature. And, in point of fact, this is the view he defends in other treatises.⁶⁹ As stated above, this composite nature seems to have been Plato's view as well.⁷⁰ In my opinion, Plutarch's defense of a moon exclusively made of earth is justified inasmuch as it relies on more accurate theories on the moon's nature than those available to and used by Plato, who in fact never really engaged in serious physical inquiries. During the five centuries that separate Plato from Plutarch, however, astronomical observation increased and diverse hypotheses, many of which Plutarch was well aware, attempted to account for lunar phenomena. While these physical theories provide precise information as to how things function, they do not fully elucidate why things are the way they are. This sustains Plutarch's later insertion, in the same treatise, of the moon's composite nature. The combination of earth and astral substance entails the

⁶⁷ 945D, ἡ σελήνη τῶν ἄνω καὶ κάτω σύμμιγμα καὶ μετακέρας ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ γέγονε. Frazier called this trait "le métaxu" in "De la physique à la métaphysique," 264, using Plato's term to refer to Eros in *Symp.* 202A. The term appears also in *De facie* 928BC, to refer to the moon's position between the earth and the sun (Σελήνη δὲ ἥλιου μεταξὺ καὶ γῆς). See also J. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists. 80 BC to AD 220* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977) 217.

⁶⁸ Donini, *Plutarco. Il volto della luna*, 352 n. 397, also believed that the subsequent introduction of another reason for the moon's stability is in contradiction with the one provided in 923CD (353-534 n. 401). In my view, however, there are two different causes at stake. Here, the equilibrium is the result of the moon's substance; in 923CD, it was the result of its movement.

⁶⁹ *De def. or.* 416E, where the moon is described as a mixed body called by some an "earth-like star" and by others a "star-like earth;" and *Amatorius* 764D, where it is described as both earthly and heavenly, a place where the immortal is mixed with the mortal.

⁷⁰ Plato, *Symp.* 190B; *Tim.* 38C (see footnote 61, above, on Plato's views concerning the cosmos). Plato and Xenocrates are, in fact, cited after this passage as advocates of a composite nature in what regards the moon (943F-944A).

inclusion of the moon's animation and fertility in the argument. Only after duly assessing all the positions by means of literal and allegorical interpretation shall the nature of the moon be fully disclosed.

5.2.2.2. *The Size of the Moon*

The matter of the moon's size is addressed in a number passages throughout the treatise. In all the cases we find different estimates, resulting from the use of various sources: in 923AB the size of the moon is discussed in accordance with the calculations by astronomers during eclipses; in 932AB the moon's size results from a comparison of its diameter with that of the earth; in 935CE more details about the size are added in order to evaluate the nature of the shadowy spots; and in 944A the calculations by the astronomers are refuted and a new size is suggested.

According to Lucius, in 923AB, astronomers calculate the moon's size by the length of time it needs to cross the earth's cone of umbra during eclipses.⁷¹ After a brief consideration regarding the reason why the form of the earth's shadow is conical, Lucius affirms that it takes three times the moon's size to cross the narrowest part of that shadow, and, consequently, he wonders how many times the earth is bigger than the moon.⁷² This estimate roughly corresponds to that of Hipparchus who stated that the cone of umbra is two and half times the moon's diameter.⁷³

Later on (932AB), Lucius discusses the issue again. In this case, he offers different calculations for the moon's diameter in respect to that of the earth: according to the Egyptians, the moon is 1/72 of the earth; according to Anaxagoras, it is the size of the Peloponnesus; and he concludes that Aristarchus demonstrated that the ratio of the diameter of the earth to that of the moon is smaller than 60 to 19 and greater than 108 to 43.⁷⁴ The last estimate— $60/19 = 3.15$, $108/43 = 2.51$ —results in the claim that the

⁷¹ 923AB, τὴν γῆν [...], πολλῷ τινι μείζονα τῆς σελήνης οὖσαν, ώς ἐν τοῖς ἐκλειπτικοῖς πάθεσιν οἱ μαθηματικοὶ καὶ ταῖς διὰ τοῦ σκιάσματος παρόδοις τῆς ἐποχῆς τὸ μέγεθος ἀναμετροῦσιν; [...] ὑπὸ τούτου δὲ ὅμως ἀλισκομένη ταῖς ἐκλειψεσιν ἡ σελήνη, τρισὶ μόλις τοῖς αὐτῆς μεγέθεσιν ἀπολλάττεται.

⁷² See Cherniss, "Concerning the Face," 56 n. b, for the meaning of the reference to Homer.

⁷³ Hipparchus' estimate is included in Ptolemy, *Almagest* 4.9. According to Torracca, "L'astronomia lunare in Plutarco," in I. Gallo (ed.), *Plutarco e le Scienze. Atti del IV Convegno Plutarcheo (Genova-Bocca di Magra 22-25 aprile 1991)* (Geneva: Sagep, 1992) 233, the slight exaggeration of estimations by previous thinkers was a rhetorical strategy widely adopted in Antiquity. He further affirmed that the fact that the moon needs three of its own measurements to cross the earth's shadow does not imply that the moon's diameter is 1/3 of the earth's diameter—as implied by Cherniss, "Concerning the Face," 144-145 n. a. Torracca rightly explained that the moon is caught, according to the text, in the narrowest part of the earth's shadow, and, therefore, the earth must be many times larger than that (234-235).

⁷⁴ 932AB, Άλλὰ Αἰγυπτίους μὲν ἐβδομηκοστόδυνον, οἵματι, φάναι μόριον εἶναι τὴν σελήνην, Αναξαγόραν δέ, ὅση Πελοπόννησος. Ἀρίσταρχος δὲ τὴν διάμετρον τῆς σελήνης λόγον ἔχουσαν

diameter of the earth should be between two and half and three times that of the moon, an estimate, again, close to Hipparchus' calculation.⁷⁵

Further on in the discussion (935CE), Apollonides will allude to the moon's measurements in an attempt to show that the huge size of the shadowy spots imply that the bodies casting the shadow must be enormous. Because we do not see these enormous bodies, he concludes that that shadowy spots are not the result of geographical features. He estimates that the moon's diameter measures twelve digits at its mean distance from the earth and that each of the black and shadowy spots is greater than half a digit, consequently greater than one twenty-fourth of the moon's diameter. He then applies specific calculations to this first estimate: if the circumference of the moon is thirty thousand stades and its diameter ten thousand, each of the shadowy spots should accordingly measure no less than five hundred stades.⁷⁶ It has been pointed out that his estimates tend to be an exaggeration, probably in order to make his point more convincing: five hundred stades is $1/20$, not $1/24$, of ten thousand stades; and a moon's circumference of only thirty thousand stades is an impressively small estimate compared to other calculations existing at the time.⁷⁷ Despite Apollonides' attempt to provide specific calculations to support his rejection that the shadowy spots are geographical features, Lamprias will demonstrate his whole formulation to be inconsistent: the big size of a shadow does not necessarily imply a big body casting the shadow, since this depends on the distance—and of course inclination, but Lamprias does not mention this detail—of the source of light.

When the measure of the moon is again addressed in 944A, the Stranger puts into question all previous estimates. In order to prove that the moon's size is bigger than what

ἀποδείκνυσιν, ὃς ἔλαττων μὲν ἡ ἐξήκοντα πρὸς δεκαεννέα, μείζων δέ πως <ἢ> ἑκατὸν ὀκτὼ πρὸς τεσσαράκοντα τρία ἔστιν. Cherniss, "Concerning the Face," 120 n. b, stated that he knows of no other reference for the Egyptian estimate. Görgemanns, *Untersuchungen zu Plutarchs Dialog*, 130-135, differently, suggested that the estimate is, in fact, Pythagorean, but mistakenly attributed to Egyptian tradition. Anaxagoras is known for having compared the size of the Peloponnesus with the sun (A 42.8DK and A 72DK), but the comparison with the moon is not included in Diels-Kranz. Aristarchus' estimate corresponds with proposition 17 of *On the Sizes and Distances of the Sun and Moon*.

⁷⁵ Ptolemy, *Almagest* 4.9. See Torraca's analysis of this passage in "L'astronomia lunare in Plutarco," 234.

⁷⁶ 935DE, ἡ μὲν διάμετρος τῆς σελήνης δυοκαίδεκα δακτύλους ἔχει τὸ φαινόμενον ἐν τοῖς μέσοις ἀποστήμασι μέγεθος, τῶν δὲ μελάνων καὶ σκιερῶν ἑκαστον ἡμιδακτυλίου φαίνεται μεῖζον, ὥστε τῆς διαμέτρου μεῖζον ἡ εἰκοστοτέταρτον εἶναι· καὶ μήν, εἰ μόνων ὑποθοίμεθα τὴν περίμετρον τῆς σελήνης τρισμυρίων σταδίων, μυρίων δὲ τὴν διάμετρον, κατὰ τὸ ὑποκείμενον οὐκ ἔλαττον ἂν εἶναι πεντακοσίων σταδίων ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν σκιερῶν ἑκαστον.

⁷⁷ Cherniss, "Concerning the Face," 144-145 n. a; Torraca, "L'astronomia lunare in Plutarco," 235. The latter, after comparing this passage and the information contained in 925D about the earth's diameter, concluded that the correlation between the diameters of earth and moon is $1/8$ and that the closest estimate available to Plutarch was that of Posidonius.

astronomers had so far assumed, he affirms that the moon measures off the earth's shadow during eclipses with few of its own magnitudes due to its speed.⁷⁸ Given the numerous references to astronomers and eclipses, this passage clearly presents a connection to 923AB. The formulation employed is bewildering, at the very least, as Cherniss rightly noted.⁷⁹ The speed does not affect the correlation between the diameter of the object and the distance traversed. Consequently, the cause provided seems slightly contradict the Stranger's claim that the moon is bigger than what astronomers had calculated. Whether this is a simple lapsus on Plutarch's behalf or a way to implicitly discredit the Stranger's claim is not yet clear.⁸⁰

These passages show that Plutarch has quite some knowledge concerning previous research on the moon and that he works with very different sources, namely Anaxagoras, Egyptian tradition, Aristarchus and Hipparchus. Furthermore, it is interesting to see how he applies such knowledge. Earlier research is, in general, presented to show the ridiculous conclusions one may reach (as in the case of Apollonides), as if Plutarch intended to emphasize the limitations of empirical inquiry or warn audiences about the risks of jumping to inadequate conclusions from the astronomical data.⁸¹ In my view, the false reasoning of the Stranger might go in this same direction. The fact that he possesses a knowledge beyond that of the common human being should not be taken as a guarantee that his speech involves the truth. As already advanced, the information provided in the Stranger's tale should be properly interpreted, not directly accepted.

5.2.3. Mythology

5.2.3.1. *Artemis (& Eileithyia)*

Artemis and the moon are connected three times in *Defacie*. In the first occurrence (922A), Artemis and Athena are said to be appellations that Stoic philosophers give to the moon. In the second (938EF), the moon is equated to Artemis on the grounds that

⁷⁸ 944A, Εὗρος δὲ καὶ μέγεθος οὐχ ὄσον οἱ γεωμέτραι λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ μεῖζον πολλάκις ἐστί· καταμετρεῖ δὲ τὴν σκιὰν τῆς γῆς ὀλιγάκις τοῖς ἔσωτῆς μεγέθεσιν οὐχ ὑπὸ σμικρότητος, ἀλλὰ θερμότητι ἐπείγει τὴν κίνησιν. The syntagma οὐχ ὑπὸ σμικρότητος should not be interpreted as referring to the smallness of the moon, but to that of the earth's shadow. In 923AB, in fact, the moon was said to be caught in the narrowest part of the cone of umbra. On the moon's speed, see 5.3.3.2. "Fall of the moon and its inhabitants," below.

⁷⁹ Cherniss, "Notes on Plutarch's *Defacie*," 153.

⁸⁰ Scholars tended to note that this passage is a correction of the information provided in the scientific section without looking for a reason for the amendment. See Cherniss, "Notes on Plutarch's *Defacie*," 152-153; Baldassarri, "Condizioni e limiti della scienza fisica," 268.

⁸¹ A moderate mistrust of the astronomical field is introduced, beside this passage, in *De def. or.* 410C and *Quaest. rom.* 269D.



both are maidens and childless, yet helpful to married women and mothers. In the last occurrence (945C), the moon receives a name according to the task it develops: Artemis when it divides souls and intellects, and Eileithyia when it joins them together.⁸²

Artemis was first associated with the moon in the Hellenistic period. Stoics, such as Chrysippus and Diogenes of Babylon, associated Artemis and the moon, perhaps as a result of Apollo's, Artemis' twin brother, prior identification with the sun.⁸³ In 922A, Lamprias seeks to highlight a Stoic contradiction by associating Artemis and Athena with the moon: Stoics conceive of the moon's nature as a compound of murky air and smoldering fire, which seems to undermine the moon altogether. Notwithstanding this, they believe the moon to be a divine entity, given that they call the moon "Artemis" and "Athena."⁸⁴ Lamprias obviously does not question the divinity of the moon here, but rather the contradictory Stoic views regarding the moon's nature.

In the second passage under scrutiny (938EF), there is an allusion to the feminine properties of the moon and its beneficial influence for women.⁸⁵ It is interesting to note that the Stranger's tale at the end of the treatise will correct this view. Against the Stoic association of Artemis/moon with notions of virginity and sterility, the Stranger will emphasize that the moon is far from sterile, since it is fecundated by the sun with the intellect (944E and 945C). The connection with Artemis is still valid—in fact, it will be used again in the Stranger's tale—but not for the reasons given by Stoic philosophers, named in 938EF.

The aforementioned feminine properties of the moon are put forward also in 939F—although, Artemis is not explicitly mentioned in this case—through a few examples: the growth of plants, the decay of meats, the souring and flattening of wine, the softening of timbers, and the easy delivery of women. The same examples are found

⁸² For the difficulties raised by this last conjunction, see the corresponding heading in Chapter 4. Scholars who eliminated it made Eileithyia and Artemis the names of the moon's tasks; I, on the other hand, maintain the text of the manuscripts, and consequently interpret that Eileithyia and Artemis are two appellations of the moon. It is the moon, as a matter of fact, which is associated with different divinities throughout the treatise, not merely its powers.

⁸³ See *SVF* II, 748 and III, 33. According to W.H. Roscher, *Über Selene und Verwandtes* (Leipzig: Teubner 1890) 116, the first testimony of their identification appears in Aeschylus, but he provided no specific reference. For Apollo and the sun, see *SVF* III, 33; Suda s.v. ταυροπολά.

⁸⁴ 922A, οὐχ οὕτω δὲ ὁ ἑταῖρος ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἀληθές ἦν ἔλεγεν, ὑποπίεζειν αὐτοὺς τὴν σελήνην σπίλων καὶ μελασμῶν ἀναπιμπλάντας, || ὁμοῦ μὲν Ἀρτεμιν καὶ Αθηνᾶν ἀνακαλοῦντας, ὁμοῦ δὲ σύμμιγμα καὶ φύραμα ποιοῦντας ἄερος ζυφεροῦ καὶ πυρὸς ἀνθρακώδους, οὐκ ἔχουσαν ἔξαιριν οὐδὲ αὐγὴν οἰκείαν.

⁸⁵ 938EF, καὶ πού τι καὶ παλαιῷ φήμῃ διδόντες Ἀρτεμιν αὐτὴν νομισθῆναι φήσομεν ως παρθένον καὶ ἄγονον, ἀλλως δὲ βοηθητικὴν καὶ ώφελιμον. On the moon's properties, see Préaux, *La lune dans la pensée grecque*. Cf. *Orphic Hymn* 9, where the moon is associated to both feminine and masculine qualities.

in *Quaest. conv.* 3.10, where Artemis is named and associated to such properties. And together with Artemis, the passage incorporates other appellations linked to her, such as Locheia and Eileithyia.⁸⁶

The somewhat loose use of these goddesses as different appellations for the same divinity appears in several parts of Plutarch's oeuvre. Eileithyia and Artemis appear together in *De facie* 945C.⁸⁷ In this case, however, they are not equated to one another, as in *Quaest. conv.*, but each is associated to a different task: Eileithyia to the power that joins souls and intellects together; Artemis to the one that separates them.⁸⁸ While the former is connected to birth and (easy) delivery, the latter's meaning is transformed and is now related to (easy) death, a task less usual for Artemis, but which can also be found in Ancient literature.⁸⁹ The ease with which Plutarch adapts the goddesses and their tasks according to his needs indicates that he is not so much interested in the divinities themselves as he is in some of their particular traits. Specific properties or characteristics are allegorically interpreted to convey comprehensive knowledge of the moon's nature.

5.2.3.2. *Athena*

The goddess is associated with the moon in four occasions. In the first (922A), Athena appears named together with Artemis (see previous heading), as appellations given to the moon by Stoic philosophers. In the second and third passages (929C and 934CD), the epithet “bright-eyed” is applied to the moon. And in the fourth (938B), Theon mentions Athena in a mythological anecdote involving Achilles, followed by her identification with the moon.⁹⁰

Notwithstanding these four cases included in one and the same treatise, it is unusual to find in Ancient literature the figure of Athena associated with the moon. Beside a fragment in which Aristotle connects the two, Plutarch is, in fact, one of the few authors

⁸⁶ On this passage, see S.T. Teodorson, *A Commentary on Plutarch's Table Talks*, vol. 1 (Gothenburg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1989) 388.

⁸⁷ 945C, σελήνη δὲ καὶ λαμβάνει καὶ δίδωσι καὶ συντίθησι καὶ διαιρεῖ καὶ κατ' ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην δύναμιν, ὃν Εἰλείθυια μὲν ἡ συντίθησιν, Ἀρτεμις δὲ ἡ διαιρεῖ, καλεῖται.

⁸⁸ According to Cherniss, “Concerning the Face,” 220-221 n. a, L.A. Post suggested that the etymology of Artemis may have been related to ὄρταμεν, meaning ‘to cut in pieces.’

⁸⁹ On Eileithyia, see Homer, *Il.* 16.187 and 19.103. Her association with childbirth proves a strong link with human destiny in general. In this sense, Eileithyia sometimes appears together with the Moirai (see Pindar *N.* 7.1 and Plato, *Symp.* 297A). These divine figures are also associated to the moon in *De facie* (see heading below). On Artemis, see Homer, *Od.* 11.172-173 and 18.201. When stating the peacefulness and ease of death on the moon in 943B, Plutarch certainly had in mind the association between Artemis and a calm, easy death, even if in that passage the moon is identified with another goddess, Persephone (Λύει [...] ἡ δὲ Φερσεφόνη πράως καὶ χρόνῳ πολλῷ τὸν νοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς).

⁹⁰ The anecdote can be found in Homer, *Il.* 19.340-356.

to make such a link.⁹¹ Regarding the first appearance of Athena in *De facie*, the Stoia never associates Athena with the moon—at least not in the texts that have been preserved.⁹² Why Lamprias affirms such a thing remains unclear, but it may be a rhetorical device to highlight his polemic against the Stoic school.

In the second and third cases, the moon receives the epithet “bright-eyed” (γλαυκώπιδος μήνης in 929C and γλαυκῶπιν αὐτήν in 934CD), which traditionally refers either to the color of Athena’s eyes (γλαυκός) or to their resemblance to those of an owl (γλαῦξ), the animal associated to the goddess.⁹³ In 929C, Lucius quotes a verse from a fragment by Empedocles (B 42DK) that includes the epithet in a discussion of the moon’s obscuration.⁹⁴ In 934CD, Lamprias refers to its use by poets and by Empedocles, because the moon acquires a bluish tone when eclipsed near dawn.⁹⁵ In both cases, therefore, “bright-eyed” is used to highlight the moon’s peculiar light precisely at the moment when it is eclipsed, vanishing from sight.

In the fourth occurrence, the anecdote involving Athena feeding Achilles with nectar and ambrosia is introduced in order to reinforce the idea that different forms of feeding are suitable to different needs.⁹⁶ Athena feeding Achilles parallels the moon “feeding,” namely providing sustainable conditions for, its inhabitants. In this particular case, the link between the moon and the goddess concludes with a strong statement: the moon *is* Athena in name and fact.

While the first and fourth associations displayed in *De facie* stress the moon’s divinity, the second and third accentuate, through literary and mythological figures—

⁹¹ V. Rose, *Aristoteles Pseudepigraphus* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1971) 616 n. 4. Cf. W. Hübner, *Athena am Sternhimmel bei Proklos. Astrologie im Dienste neuplatonischer Philosophie* (Munich: Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2017) 16, where he included a fragment of Porphyry supposedly provided by Proclus in which Athena and the moon are identified. In *De Is. et Os.*, according to Egyptian beliefs Athena and Isis are identified (354C and 376A), and given that Isis and the moon are the same entity (372D), it follows that Athena is identified to the moon as well.

⁹² The only testimony that might point to such an identification is *SVF* III, 33, where Diogenes of Babylon made an etymological association between Athena and aether. However, it is quite a leap to identify Athena with the moon from this perspective. On the identification with Artemis in this same passage, see entry above.

⁹³ 929C, τόσσον ὅσον τ' εὑρος γλαυκώπιδος ἔπλετο μήνης; and 934CD, καὶ τέλος ἡδη πρὸς ἔω, λαμβάνει χρόαν κυανοειδῆ καὶ χαροπήν ἀφ' ἣς δὴ καὶ μάλιστα γλαυκῶπιν αὐτήν οἱ ποιηταὶ καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἀνακαλοῦνται. The epithet appears already in Homer, *Il.* 1.206, 4.439; *Od.* 1.44, 2.39; *Orphic Hymn* 32, 17.

⁹⁴ Plutarch seems to have deep knowledge about the work of this philosopher. He quotes Empedocles ten times in *De facie*, and according to Battegazzore, “L’atteggiamento di Plutarco,” 26, Plutarch cites 41 out of 133 fragments of Wright’s edition.

⁹⁵ For the fragment of Empedocles, see previous footnote, 94; as for the poets, see *TGF* 1009 Kannicht.

⁹⁶ 938B, εἰ μὴ νῇ Δίᾳ φήσομεν ὥσπερ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ νέκταρός τι καὶ ἀμβροσίας ἐνέσταξε μὴ προσιεμένῳ τροφήν, οὕτω τὴν σελήνην, Ἀθηνᾶν λεγομένην καὶ οὔσαν.

Empedocles, the poets, and Athena—ideas such as the moon’s peculiar light, usually discussed in more astronomical terms. This allegorical interpretation of its light emphasizes, in turn, the need to examine any given topic from various perspectives.

5.2.3.3. *Hecate*

The moon is connected with Hecate on three occasions. In the first (937E), the moon is qualified as “trioiditis;” in the second (943B), as “single-born;” and in the third (944BC), one of the moon’s orographic features is called the recess of Hecate.

Given the syncretism, already at an earlier stage, between Hecate and Artemis—and between Artemis and the moon—it seems only natural that Hecate and the moon are closely connected.⁹⁷ Although we see some precedents, Plutarch is, in fact, our first clear witness for a connection between the two (*De defectu* 416E, *Defacie*), a connection which would become commonplace by the time of Eusebius.⁹⁸

Hecate suits Plutarch’s needs because her attributes can be easily linked with the moon: she, like the moon, is associated to liminal zones—such as crossroads and paths to celestial regions—serves as guide of disembodied souls, and is related to magic.⁹⁹ Her most suitable trait, undoubtedly, is being the goddess of the in-betweens.¹⁰⁰ Plutarch stresses this aspect in *De Defectu* 416DE where he connects Hecate with daemons and with the moon. Both the moon and daemons play an intermediary role in *Defacie* as well: the former is mid-way between heavenly and earthly elements, the latter enables the communication between gods and mankind.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Hecate began to adopt some of the functions of Artemis—such as being helper in labors—as early as in the Classical period. See Aesch., *Suppl.* 676; and Eur., *Phoen.* 110. On Artemis and the moon, see entry 5.2.3.1. “Artemis (& Eileithyia),” above.

⁹⁸ See Soph., *TGF* 535 Radt; Theocr. 2; Sen., *Medea* 790. For the development of this syncretism in Neoplatonic authors, such as Proclus, and how Plutarch might have been an antecedent of this development, see A. Lernould, “De la Lune et d’Hécate dans le mythe du *De facie* de Plutarque et dans le Néoplatonisme tardif,” in A. Lernould (ed.), *Plutarque. Le visage qui apparaît dans le disque de la lune* (Villeneuve d’Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2013) 117-133. Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* 3.16, 126C. See also Magical Papyri 4.2563 and 2710-2725, where the terms “moon” and “Hecate” (and even “Artemis”) seem to be interchangeable.

⁹⁹ Some examples of these attributes are found in Ov., *Metamorph.* 7.194; Sen., *Oedip.* 568; Apul., *Metamorph.* 11.2, Luc., *Philopseudes* 15 and 22-24; Virg., *Eneid* 6.247; and *Orphic Hymn* 1. For a broader approach to Hecate’s figure, see S.I. Johnston, *Hekate Soteira: A Study of Hekate’s Roles in the Chaldean Oracles and Related Literature* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), and for references of Hecate in Plutarch, the question is studied by N. López Carrasco in “The Conception of the Goddess Hecate in Plutarch,” in L. Roig Lanzillotta & R. Hirsch-Luipold (in press).

¹⁰⁰ This facet appears as early as in Hesiod, *Theog.* 411, where she plays the role of an intermediate being between gods and humans: even if participating in the nature of both, belongs to neither of them; but also in a late testimony such as the Chaldaean Oracles, frgs. 6 and 32.

¹⁰¹ On the role of daemons, see 5.3.3.3. “The Souls, True Inhabitants of the Moon;” on the moon’s nature, see 5.2.2.1. “The Substance of the Moon.”

Despite this clarity of the goddess' liminal role, the allusions to Hecate in *De facie* require some explanation. The use of the epithets “trioditis” and “single-born,” together with the name of the goddess as the denomination for an orographic feature of the moon, seems, at first sight, to have little to do with Hecate herself. A closer look, however, proves otherwise. While “trioditis” (*τριοδίτις*) is usually applied to the goddess Hecate, as guardian of the roads thanks to her three faces, Theon, differently, uses it in *De facie* (937E) as a reference to the three movements of the moon: in longitude, latitude and depth in the zodiac.¹⁰² After the association of Hecate with the moon, the goddess' epithet has been recharacterized so as to refer to lunar phaenomena: she “who [follows] three paths,” instead of “who is over the three paths.”

Next, in *De facie* 943B, Plutarch uses the epithet “single-born” (*μονογενής*) for Persephone—who has previously been assimilated to the moon—a rare occurrence in Ancient literature.¹⁰³ The epithet was commonly applied to Hecate, alluding to her status as “only-begotten.”¹⁰⁴ Thus, the text fuses both goddesses and the moon into a single entity.¹⁰⁵ In doing so, Plutarch emphasizes their similar roles as rulers of liminal zones and guides of disembodied souls to Hades, precisely in a passage describing the moon's task of separating the components of the human being after death.¹⁰⁶ However, Plutarch does not use the epithet *μονογενής* with the same meaning as when applied to Hecate or Persephone ('the only-begotten'). In the case of the moon, the epithet must be interpreted in an active sense, ‘what generates something unique.’¹⁰⁷ Indeed, after enacting the separation of intellect and soul after the second death, the intellect recovers its pristine status and becomes something unique. Thanks to Plutarch, then, the use of the adjective is extended to a new entity, the moon, and it has gained an entirely new meaning.

Finally, in the recess of Hecate, daemons “suffer and exact penalties for whatever they have endured or committed” so as to move forward to the next step—it being either

¹⁰² For the use of the epithet, see Magical Papyri 4.1431 and 2727; Ov., *Fasti* 1.140-144 and *Metamorph.* 7.194; and Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 7.325A. 937E, ὡς που καὶ λέγεται τριοδίτις ἐστίν, ὥμα μῆκος ἐπὶ τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ καὶ πλάτος φερομένη καὶ βάθος. These are, as a matter of fact, the three movements attributed to the moon until Ptolemy discovered a forth, now called evection. On Ptolemy's theory of the moon's motions see *Almagest* 4, and J. North, *Cosmos. An Illustrated History of Astronomy and Cosmology* (Chicago-London: Chicago University Press, 2008) 111-113. On the three movements named by Theon, see Torraca, “L'astronomia lunare in Plutarco,” 237-340.

¹⁰³ See, for instance, *Orphic Hymn* 29.1-2.

¹⁰⁴ See, Hesiod, *Theog.* 426 and 448; A.R., *Argon.* 847.

¹⁰⁵ It is not the only occasion in which he associates the moon with two goddesses through a notion that traditionally belongs to only one of them. See this Chapter, footnote 89, concerning Artemis.

¹⁰⁶ 943B, Λέτι δὲ αὕτη μὲν ταχὺ καὶ μετὰ βίας τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, ἡ δὲ Φερσεφόνη πρώτης καὶ χρόνῳ πολλῷ τὸν νοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μονογενής κέκληται.

¹⁰⁷ Cherniss noted this subtlety in “Concerning the Face,” 199 n. f.

the second death or reincarnation in a new human body as a punishment.¹⁰⁸ By designating the name Hecate to this place, Plutarch brings together the moon, Hecate and daemons, as in *De defectu* (416E). By highlighting the intermediary nature of the recess in which the transition between two states of being takes place, Plutarch reinforces the moon's intermediate role as the location for the processes of creation and dissolution of human beings.

All three allusions to Hecate in *De facie*, consequently, tend to emphasize the divine character of the moon and bring to the fore its liminal nature; these two aspects are essential and need to be taken into account for a correct knowledge of the moon.

5.2.3.4. *Persephone-Kore*

The moon is linked to Persephone-Kore twice in *De facie*. Firstly, in 942DE, within the development of a new version of Demeter's and Persephone's myth; secondly, in 944C, where the name of the goddess is associated with one of the moon's features, the plain of Persephone.¹⁰⁹

The association between Persephone and the moon was well-established in Plutarch's period.¹¹⁰ It is the result of attributing certain characteristics of the goddess to the moon, such as the connection with the abode of the dead, and assimilating their role as hosts of the incoming souls and as generative and destructive forces of everything that

¹⁰⁸ 944BC, Καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ μὲν μέγιστον Ἐκάτης μυχόν, ὅπου καὶ δίκαις διδόσασιν αἱ ψυχαὶ καὶ λαμβάνουσιν ὃν ἂν ἥδη γεγενημέναι δαίμονες ἢ πάθωσιν ἢ δράσωσι. It is not yet clear what Plutarch meant by “paying and exacting penalties” in what regards the suffering of these daemons (πάθωσιν). See Donini's comment, *Plutarco. Il volto della luna*, 357 n. 414. On the recess as an orographic feature of the moon, see 5.3.2.3. “The Moon's Surface: a Selenography.” The word ‘recess’ (μυχόν) is associated to the souls' punishment in *De sup.* 167A. Plutarch seemingly had this passage in mind when writing *De facie*, since all the details included in *De sup.* —the doors of Hades, grim visages and loud noises—are also included in *De facie* (944B). On the date of composition of *De sup.*, see J. Defradas, “De la superstition,” in J. Defradas, J. Hani, & R. Klaerr, (eds.), *Plutarque. Œuvres Morales*, vol. 2 (Paris: Belles Lettres, 2003 [1985]) 242 and n. 2. Hecate is also related to geographic features, such as caves (ἄντρον) in *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 2.25.

¹⁰⁹ The same type of “geographical-mythological” association appears in 944C, see 5.2.3.3. “Hecate,” above.

¹¹⁰ Plutarch assimilates Persephone and the moon also in *De Is. et Os.* through the intermediary associations of Persephone to Isis (361E), and of Isis to the moon (372D).

exists.¹¹¹ The similarities had already been noticed in the fifth century BCE, and Epicharmus seems to have been the first to bring both divinities together.¹¹²

In the first passage in *De facie* (942DE), Plutarch reformulates the traditional version of Demeter's and Persephone's myth in order to integrate it with the phaenomenon of the eclipse.¹¹³ He does this by relocating and identifying mother and daughter with the earth and moon, respectively.¹¹⁴ This first modification is used as ground for the following variations:

- 1) The new version of the myth alters the location in which mother and daughter encounter one another: while, according to the traditional myth, Persephone meets her mother on earth in daylight, in *De facie* it happens during the eclipse, when the moon is caught by the earth in the shadows.
- 2) Also, the timing is different: while according to traditional myth the reunion takes place *during* six months—spring and summer—in *De facie* it occurs *every* six months (every time eclipses take place).
- 3) The roles of the goddesses are inverted: while in the traditional version Demeter is the wanderer, in *De facie* the earth is stationary and the moon moves.¹¹⁵

As in other cases in *De facie*, Plutarch does not merely connect a goddess with the moon, he rearranges the necessary elements according to the specific needs of each occasion. In this case, he is interested in providing either an astronomical reinterpretation of the myth or an allegorical interpretation of the phaenomenon of the eclipse.

In the second passage, Persephone's name is used to denominate the place where daemons must go to before reincarnation, namely the plain of Persephone, which faces

¹¹¹ See *Orphic Hymn* 29.15 on Persephone's link to life and death, and *Orphic Hymn* 9.4 for the moon's waxing and waning, which was in turn associated with growth and decay. Some of these tasks can also be related to other goddesses such as Artemis and Hecate, and Plutarch will not hesitate to connect all of them in *De facie* (see the corresponding headings in this subsection).

¹¹² See Varro, *De lingua Latina* 5.68. Later examples include Porphyry, *De antro nymph.* 8, and *Vita Pyth.* 41—where he calls the planets “hounds of Persephone”—and Iamblichus in Lydus, *De Mensibus* 4.149.

¹¹³ For the traditional version of the myth, see *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, and Apoll., *Bibliotheca* 1.5. On Plutarch's astronomical reinterpretation, see 5.4.2.2. “Obscuration.”

¹¹⁴ 942D, ‘Η μὲν γὰρ ἐν γῇ καὶ κυρίᾳ τῶν περὶ γῆν ἔστιν, ή δὲ ἐν σελήνῃ καὶ τῶν περὶ σελήνην, Κόρη τε καὶ Φερσεφόνη κέκληται. For the appellations Persephone and Kore, see 5.4.2.1. “Illumination,” below. Persephone's relocation is noteworthy inasmuch as she should, in her role of queen of Hades, remain there. However, it is coherent with the rest of the myth, given that a few lines below this passage Hades is no longer situated beneath the earth, but in the surroundings of the moon. For Hades' location in *De facie*, see 5.3.2.3. “The Moon's Surface: a Selenography.”

¹¹⁵ See this Chapter, footnote 198, for passages concerning the earth's immobility. This implication raised by the new version of the myth was already pointed out by Raingeard, *Le peri toy prosopoy*, 142.

earth.¹¹⁶ It is the counterpart of the Elysian plain, where daemons go to experience the second death, placed on the side of the moon facing heaven.¹¹⁷ There is a close relationship between Persephone, Demeter, and Hades through their cosmological equivalences—the moon, the earth and the space in between. Consequently, the location of the plain of Persephone fits Plutarch’s cosmography perfectly, since it is on the side of the moon always connecting with Hades and during eclipses reaching Demeter.¹¹⁸

These two passages associating the moon with Persephone seek primarily to reinforce the elaborated cosmography of the myth included in *De facie* (Demeter/earth, Persephone/moon, Hades/space in between) through an astronomical reinterpretation of their traditional myth. This, in turn, stresses once again the intermediate role of the moon.

5.2.3.5. *Moirai*

The three Moirai appear in 945CD, where each develops a specific task regarding human generation and is placed in a different location of the cosmos.

In early Greek mythology the Moirai are daughters of Night and granddaughters of Chaos. Due to these family ties, they soon enter the sphere of death and fate.¹¹⁹ From Plato onwards, however, they acquire a new cosmological function: not only are they associated to the destiny of human beings, but also to the functioning of the universe.¹²⁰ Plutarch certainly draws from the master, as well as from Xenocrates’ use of the Moirai, especially in what concerns their inclusion into an epistemological-cosmological framework.¹²¹

¹¹⁶ 944C, περαιοῦνται γὰρ αἱ ψυχαὶ δι’ αὐτῶν, νῦν μὲν εἰς τὰ πρὸς οὐρανὸν τῆς σελήνης, νῦν δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὰ πρὸς γῆν· ὄνομάζεται δὲ τὰ μὲν πρὸς οὐρανὸν τῆς σελήνης Ἡλύσιον πεδίον, τὰ δ’ ἐνταῦθα Φερσεφόνης [οὐκ ἀντίχθονος]. While there have been different attempts to solve the problem raised by οὐκ ἀντίχθονος, I have accepted Amyot’s seclusion. According to Pérez Jiménez, “Selenographic Description,” 263-264, it most probably was a gloss, later integrated in the text by mistake to notify that this should not be associated with the Pythagorean “counter-earth.” This “counter-earth,” a body placed between the earth and the central fire, according to some Pythagorean philosophers, such as Philolaus (A 16DK), was introduced in order to account for the higher frequency of lunar eclipses in comparison to solar eclipses. See Heath, *Greek Astronomy*, XXXVI-XXXVII.

¹¹⁷ The Elysian plain is used by Plutarch to designate the side of the moon that faces heaven also in 942EF and in frg. 201 Sandbach, in both texts citing Homer, *Od.* 4.563. See 5.4.2.1. “Illumination,” below.

¹¹⁸ This also agrees with *De genio* 591A, where one of the four regions in which the universe is divided, the one lying between the moon’s path and the earth, receives the name ‘portion of Persephone’ (τὴν δὲ Φερσεφόνης μοῖραν).

¹¹⁹ Hesiod, *Theog.* 211-220; Homer, *Od.* 7.196-198 and *Il.* 24.49. See J. Villemonteix, “Puissances de mort et de fécondité à propos de la généalogie des Moires et des Heures,” in F. Jouan (ed.), *Mort et fécondité dans les mythologies* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1986) 83-91.

¹²⁰ Plato, *Rep.* 617CD. On the Moirai as fate of the human soul, *Leg.* 960C and *Rep.* 620DE.

¹²¹ Fr. 5 in R. Heinze, *Xenokrates. Darstellung der Lehre und Sammlung der Fragmente* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1965 [1892]) 161 [= fr. 83 in M. Isnardi Parente, *Senocrate, Ermودоро.*

Beside some passages of minor relevance that simply refer in passing to the Moirai or mention only one of them, four works of Plutarch present them as figures involved in the fate of cosmos and mankind: *De facie* 945CD, *De genio* 591B, *Quaest. conv.* 9.13 and *De fato* 568E.¹²² Given the different aims and purpose of these texts, the function, location, and order of the Moirai vary significantly from one another, which complicates the reconstruction of Plutarch's views about them. In *De facie* the influence of Plato and Xenocrates is obvious. While the order of appearance of the three sisters—Atropos, Clotho, Lachesis—follows Xenocrates' formulation, the hierarchy according to their functions is from Plato's *Laws* 960C, but in inverted order instead.¹²³ The place and function of each Moira is closely related to their names: Atropos ('the immutable') is enthroned, motionless; Clotho ('the spinner') sews the thread of life by mingling and binding together; and Lachesis ('the distributor of sorts') partakes in the tasks of the other two. Atropos, the highest in rank for Plutarch, is located in the sun and involved with the highest component of the human being, the intellect. Clotho is placed on the moon, the intermediate body between earth and sun in the cosmological framework, and is in charge of the soul, the intermediary component in Plutarch's tripartite anthropological framework. Lachesis, finally, is involved with the lot of the body, which is the support of the other two components, just as she supports the work of her two sisters.¹²⁴

If we compare this text to the other three some remarkable differences appear. The first difference is the hierarchy among the Moirai: while *De genio* and *Quaest. conv.* agree with *De facie*, *De fato* gives Clotho the highest rank, followed by Atropos and Lachesis respectively. This text is the only one that replicates Plato's passages in *Republic*. The second difference is the location. *De fato* and *Quaest. conv.* both focus on regions of the universe: the fixed stars, the wanderers/planets, and the earth/sublunary realm. *De genio*,

Frammenti (Naples: Bibliopolis, 1981)]. The ideas of this Platonic thinker are relevant for Plutarch when shaping his own thought. See, for instance, the structure of cosmos provided a bit earlier in the myth, where both Plato and Xenocrates are explicitly named (943F-944A). More on Xenocrates' reception of Platonic theories in J. Dillon, *The Heirs of Plato: A Study of the Old Academy (347-274 BC)* (Oxford: Oxford Scholarship Online, 2003) 89-155.

¹²² For their appearance in other Plutarchan works, see for instance, *Quaest. conv.* 2.10; *Cons. Ap.* 119E; *Mul. Virt.* 260B; and *De fato* 568D. See S.T. Teodorson, *A Commentary on Plutarch's Table Talks*, vol. 3 (Gothenburg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1996) 358-360.

¹²³ 945CD, Καὶ τριῶν Μοιρῶν, ἡ μὲν Ἀτροπος περὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἰδρυμένη τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνδίδωσι τῆς γενέσεως, ἡ δὲ Κλωθώ, περὶ τὴν σελήνην φερομένη, συνδεῖ καὶ μίγνυσιν, ἐσχάτη δὲ συνεφάπτεται περὶ γῆν ἡ Λάχεσις, ἡ πλεῖστον τύχης μέτεστι.

¹²⁴ Her function as mediator or complement to the function of her sisters might explain her middle position in the first text, which mentions each of them separately (Hesiod, *Theog.* 219 and 905: Clotho – Lachesis – Atropos), and, in Xenocrates' order, according to their rank, in fr. 5 Heinze (= fr. 83 Isnardi Parente).

on its turn, is closer to *De facie*'s passage in highlighting the relevance of sun and moon, but differs from it in allocating the third element, which in *De genio* is the highest (the invisible) and in *De facie* the lowest (the earth).¹²⁵ *De genio*, in this sense, differs from all the other accounts in not paying heed to the earthly region and in placing all the Moirai one position higher in the cosmological framework.¹²⁶ The third difference concerns the focus of the passage: while the three other texts are only interested in the cosmological aspect, *De facie* adds the anthropological framework as well. In this sense, *De facie*'s focus not only differs from Plutarch's other texts, but also from those of Plato and Xenocrates. While both philosophers see all three Moirai in connection with the human soul, not so *De facie*, in which only one of them (Clotho) takes care of binding and mingling the soul and the intellect on the moon.

The task of the three Moirai finds a counterpart in the presentation of Demeter, Persephone and Hermes in 943B as active participants in the destiny of human beings. As stated in Chapter 2, *De facie*'s myth can be divided into four sections.¹²⁷ The second section includes a cosmological-anthropology that explains the separation of the different parts of a human being, including the cosmological elements involved in the process—earth, moon and sun—which are linked to the participation of Demeter, Persephone, and Hermes. While Demeter separates the body from the rest during the first death and Persephone severs the intellect from the soul during the second death, Hermes *chthonios* and *ouranios* helps each one of the goddesses in their tasks.¹²⁸ The fourth section is a

¹²⁵ On the difficulties raised by *De genio*'s division of the cosmos into four regions, see W. Hamilton, "The Myth in Plutarch's *De genio* (589F-592E)," *CQ* 28, 3-4 (1934) 175-182; F. Ferrari, *Dio, Idee e Materia. La struttura del cosmo in Plutarco di Cheronea* (Naples: M. D'Auria, 1995) 176-177.

¹²⁶ See H. Dörrie's insights concerning Plutarch's use of the Moirai in "Zum Ursprung der Neuplatonischen Hypostasenlehre," *Hermes* 82 (1954) 337-339; and for a comparison between *De genio* and *De facie*, L. Roig Lanzillotta "Plutarch's Anthropology and its Influence on his Cosmological Framework," in M. Meeusen & L. van der Stockt (eds.), *Natural Spectaculars. Aspects of Plutarch's Philosophy of Nature* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2015) 189-190.

¹²⁷ See section 2.5. "Structure of the Treatise and Summary of the Contents" in Chapter 2 for this cosmological-anthropology.

¹²⁸ Hermes, as courier of the gods, requests the souls of those who are about to die and accompanies them to their final destination, hence his epithet "psychopomp," guide of souls, used in *Amatorius* 758B; D.S. 1.96, 6; and L. Anneo Cornutus, *De natura deorum* 22.8. Since Plutarch invents the theory of two deaths in two different places, his adaptation of Hermes' characterization is justified. Hermes is commonly referred to as *χθόνιος*, see Aesch., *Ch.* 1; Soph., *El.* 110 and *Aj.* 832; Ar., *Ra.* 1145, Plut., *Arist.* 21. Despite the fact that I could not find the appellation *օυρανίος* applied to him anywhere else, his connection with the moon, specifically, is found elsewhere. Plutarch himself provides two examples in *De Is. et Os.* 355D and 367DE. In the second passage, Egyptians are said to believe that Hermes accompanies the moon just as Heracles accompanies the sun in its revolutions. Plutarch might have been influenced by astronomical and astrological conceptions that connect the moon and planet Mercury—symbols of Persephone and Hermes respectively. See A. Pérez Jiménez, "Elementi astrali nei miti di Plutarco," in I. Gallo (ed.), *Plutarco e la Religione. Atti del VI Convegno Plutarcheo (Ravello, 29-31 maggio 1995)* (Naples: M. D'Auria, 1996) 303, for a comprehensive description of these doctrines. In "Alle frontiere della scienza," 273, Pérez Jiménez

cosmological-anthropology that explains the generation of new human beings, including the cosmological elements involved in the process and the work of the three Moirai. Both sections reinforce the idea of a tripartite scheme: each component of the human being (body, soul and intellect in both sections) is provided by a cosmological element (earth, moon and sun in both sections) and involves three divine beings in the process: Demeter, Persephone and Hermes in section 2, the three Moirai in section 4.¹²⁹ Each section, however, is centered on opposite sides of the process: while section 2 deals with the dismemberment of dead human beings, section 4 focuses on the generation of new human beings.

	943A: De-construction	945C: Re-construction
Human Component	body – soul – intellect	body – soul – intellect
Cosmological Element	Earth – Moon – Sun	Earth – Moon – Sun
Divinity	Demeter – Persephone – Hermes	Lachesis – Clotho – Atropos
Function	Separation of human beings	Creation of human beings

5.3. Habitability of the Moon

5.3.1. Introduction

The second thematic section discusses a wide range of aspects that can be grouped together under the umbrella title of “Habitability of the Moon.” On the one side, the possibility of life on the moon is assessed through the direct relation between the possible inhabitants, the type of soil, and the geographical features of the moon. This is related to the moon’s materiality and is analyzed in the subsection Orography. This subsection, consequently, includes headings regarding the moon’s apparent face, a comparison between earthly and lunar settings and their function, as well as the description of specific geographic features of the moon (selenography).

affirmed that some elements present in the eschatology of *De facie*, indeed, show that Plutarch was aware of Chaldaean astrology.

¹²⁹ On Plutarch’s interest in the number three in the final part of the myth, see A. Pérez Jiménez, “En el reino de las Moiras: comentario estilístico de Plu., *De facie in orbe lunae* 945C-945D,” *GIF* 67 (2015), 182-183. Against the accusation of inconsistency in Plutarch’s use of the Moirai, the author suggested that one should rather speak of literary adequacy. Plutarch includes the three sisters in the manner that is most convenient for his specific concerns.

On the other side, the possibility of life is determined by evaluating different types of creatures that could live on the moon. This is related to the moon's liveness and analyzed in the subsection Demography. The components of the subsection first compare the moon's possible inhabitants with those of earth; and, second, describe the constitution and sustenance of the specific beings living on the moon, human souls. While in this case “what is alive” might, at first sight, seem to be not the moon but its inhabitants—one would then think of “livability” rather than of “liveness”—the fact is that the moon itself creates the beings living on its surface. Therefore, the moon's liveness makes possible the existence of lunar beings.

The idea that there might be creatures living on the moon is not Plutarch's innovation. Differently than earlier authors, however, he discusses the issue in a more detailed and thorough way. He integrates this topic all along *De facie*, showing an interest in the information obtained both from the observation of physical phaenomena as well as from literary and philosophical traditions.

5.3.2. Orography

5.3.2.1. *The Face of the Moon*

Lamprias and Lucius assert that the appearance of a face on the moon is caused by the irregularities of the moon's ground, which derives from its earthy nature. While they reiterate their position, they also reject all other explanations of the phaenomenon (922D, 935C). The Stranger, later on, will agree with their views (944BC).

Plutarch defends both the theory of the earthy nature of the moon and combines descriptions of its rough surface as defended by Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, and Democritus. While Anaxagoras thought that the moon had plains and ravines, Democritus imagined it had hollows and valleys.¹³⁰

This point is discussed in 922D when Lamprias refutes the Stoic theory that makes the moon a composition of air and fire. According to such theory, the stains perceived are the result of accumulations of air intermingled with fire. Lamprias explains that air should shine in its entirety when illuminated, and thus the stains perceived on the face of the moon should not exist. Differently, if the moon has an earthy nature, there should be depths and hollows, as those existing on earth, for the air to hide, unilluminated.¹³¹

¹³⁰ Anaxagoras (A 42DK); Democritus (A 90DK). See subsection 5.2.2. “Ontology.”

¹³¹ 922CD αὐτοὶ δὲ τὴν σελήνην σφαῖραν οὖσαν πυρὸς ἀέρα φασὶν ἄλλον ἄλλη διεσπασμένον περιέχειν καὶ ταῦτα μῆτε ρήξεις ἔχουσαν ἐν ἑαυτῇ μῆτε βάθη καὶ κοιλότητας, ἅπερ οἱ γεώδη ποιοῦντες

During the discussion, the so-called stains forming the face that appears on the moon are explained as irregularities of the moon's solid ground. Thus, in 935C, Lamprias plainly compares them with the earth's irregularities in the following terms: "let us not think it an offence to suppose that the moon is earth and that for this which appears to be its face, just as our earth has certain great gulfs, so the moon opens out with great depths and clefts which contain water or murky air."¹³² With the equivalence between moon and earth, he seeks to reinforce the intrinsic relationship between both as the result of their corresponding natures.

The face of the moon is brought up again in 944BC. The Stranger affirms that the face is the cause of the fear felt by foul souls.¹³³ These, he explains, should not be afraid inasmuch as the face simply results from the moon's orographic features: "just as our earth contains gulfs that are deep and extensive, one here pouring in towards us through the Pillars of Heracles and outside the Caspian and the Red Sea with its gulfs, so those features are depths and hollows of the moon."¹³⁴ The Stranger insists that there is no need for these souls to be afraid, and, for this, he provides a rational argument to counteract their fear. Interestingly, this same fear of the souls appears also in *De genio* 591C, but, in this case, the moon purposefully acts scary to keep away the foul and unclean souls. As in other occasions, divergences between both texts are part of the author's different motivations in each case.¹³⁵ While the eschatological myth in *De genio* represents a near-to-death experience in which the moon's behaviour is enough justification for the scene, *De facie* provides a rational explanation for the irregularities of the ground, already discussed earlier in the treatise.

When pondering the scared souls, the Stranger is able to take the interpretation of the moon's face a step further by adding an allegorical dimension. With the mention of

ἀπολείπουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐπιτολῆς δηλονότι τῇ κυρτότητι ἐπικείμενον. [...] Καὶ γὰρ παρ' ἡμῖν, ὁ μὲν ἐν βάθεσι καὶ κοιλώμασι τῆς γῆς οὖν μὴ δίεισιν αὐγὴ διαμένει σκιώδης καὶ ἀφωτιστος· ὁ δὲ ἔξωθεν τῇ γῇ περικεχυμένος φέγγος ἵσχει καὶ χρόαν αὐγοειδῆ.

¹³² 935C, "Οστε μηδὲν οἰώμεθα πλημμελεῖν γῆν αὐτὴν θέμενοι· τὸ δὲ φαινόμενον τουτὶ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς, ὥσπερ ἡ παρ' ἡμῖν ἔχει γῆ κόλπους τινάς μεγάλους, οὕτως ἐκείνην ἀνεπτύχαι βάθεσι μεγάλους καὶ ὥρησιν ὅδωρ ἡ ζοφερὸν ἀέρα περιέχουσιν. See Plato's *Phd.* 109BD for a similar description of the earth's geographic accidents, a mention to the Pillars of Heracles, and even the idea that men think they live in heaven while truth is they live in the lower part of the universe. All of these ideas appear in the different passages of *De facie* discussed in this entry.

¹³³ 944B, "Ἐκφοβεῖ δὲ αὐτὰς καὶ τὸ καλούμενον πρόσωπον, ὅταν ἐγγὺς γένωνται, βλοσυρόν τι καὶ φρικῶδες ὄρωμενον. Differently, in *De Pythiae* 398CD and *De Sera* 566D, Plutarch asserts that the Sibyl is the face of the moon, who still prophesizes after her own death.

¹³⁴ 944B, "Εστι δὲ οὐ τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἡ παρ' ἡμῖν ἔχει γῆ κόλπους βαθεῖς καὶ μεγάλους, ἔνα μὲν ἐνταῦθα διὰ στηλῶν Ἡρακλείων ἀναχεόμενον εἴσω πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἔξω δὲ τὸν Κάσπιον καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλατταν, οὕτω βάθη ταῦτα τῆς σελήνης ἔστι καὶ κοιλώματα.

¹³⁵ Cherniss, "Concerning the Face," 208-209 n. b, and 5.1. "Introduction" to the Chapter.

the Caspian Sea and the Pillars of Heracles, eastern and western limits of the *oikoumene*, he associates the moon's features and functions to the human ethical quest for salvation. The reader realizes, at this point, that the orographic features of the moon at the same time reflect the moon's substance and the moon's function. It seems obvious that this new aspect could not be part of Lamprias's intervention, since it clearly trespasses the limits of empiric observation.¹³⁶ The most he could do is to push the comparison between earth and moon to the point in which the moon is presented as the real, true earth (940EF): "Hell and Tartarus have been relegated hither while the moon alone is earth, since it is equally distant from those upper regions and these lower ones."¹³⁷ By downgrading the earth, Plutarch accentuates the moon's perfect intermediate position, which replaces both the earth's central place in the universe and its primal relevance in the cosmological framework.¹³⁸ While the negative view of the earth described in the passage is not Plutarch's innovation, as it appears in other cultural currents of his time, Plutarch uses it to hint at the high value that the moon truly has.¹³⁹ However, it is only in the words of the Stranger's allegorical interpretation that the moon receives the relevance it deserves.

In the broader context of *De facie*, the language employed in 944BC recalls other treatments earlier in the treatise, which include almost the same expressions: 922D, Καὶ γὰρ παρ' ἡμῖν, ὁ μὲν ἐν βάθεσι καὶ κοιλώμασι τῆς γῆς; 935C, ὥσπερ ἡ παρ' ἡμῖν ἔχει γῆ κόλπους τινὰς μεγάλους, [...] βάθεσι μεγάλοις καὶ ρήξεσιν; 944B, ὥσπερ ἡ παρ' ἡμῖν ἔχει γῆ κόλπους βαθεῖς καὶ μεγάλους. It is an interesting metalinguistical procedure, inasmuch as the expressions are used by two different characters who do not even meet. More importantly, the procedure emphasizes the thematic, formal and stylistic continuity

¹³⁶ On this step beyond observation see 5.3.2.3. "The Moon's Surface: a Selenography," below.

¹³⁷ 940EF, καὶ τὸν Ἀιδηνὸν ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸν Τάρταρον ἀπωκίσθαι· γῆν δὲ μίαν εἶναι τὴν σελήνην, ἵσον ἐκείνων τῶν ἄνω καὶ τῶν κάτω τούτων ἀπέχουσαν.

¹³⁸ The replacement of the earth's centrality should be seen as an allusion to Stoic and Aristotelian beliefs that defended the theory of natural positions and the earth's central position, both of which have been duly and thoroughly refuted earlier in the treatise (see 5.1. "Introduction").

¹³⁹ The association of earth with hell, darkness, and despair is found as well in a number of Gnostic texts as a consequence of a dualistic conception of reality. In *GTruth*, for instance, an error (*πλάνη*) in the upper realm causes the appearance of ignorance, which first turns light into fog and then fog into matter—this being our world—producing fear and passions of the soul. Man's salvation, consequently, consists in acknowledging the existence of the divine region and abandoning this realm of darkness. See the common traits between Plutarch's and Gnostic's worldviews in L. Roig Lanzillotta, "Plutarch of Chaeronea and the Gnostic Worldview: Middle Platonism and the Nag Hammadi Library," in J.M^a. Candau Morón, F.J. González Ponce, & A.L. Chávez Reino (eds.), *Plutarco como transmisor. Actas del X Simposio Internacional de la Sociedad Española de Plutarquistas (Sevilla, 12-14 de noviembre de 2009)* (Seville: Seville University Press, 2011) 401-417.

of the treatise, offering another argument to disprove scholarly approaches to *De facie* that deal with the contents of different parts of the treatise separately.¹⁴⁰

5.3.2.2. *The Archipelago of Ogygia and the Moon*

The presentation of Ogygia and the surrounding islands in 941AE anticipates the description of the moon and its surroundings as the abode of human souls later in the narration (943C-944E). The intention behind the description of both island and inhabitants is analogous, albeit in different formulation, to the intention behind the description of the moon. Consequently, a study on the intended meaning of this passage will be helpful to clarify the function of the moon as well.¹⁴¹

The main elements involved in 941AE are (a) the archipelago's location in the Atlantic Ocean; (b) a brief description of the Great Continent lying on the other side and its colony of Greek people, among which Cronos' servitors are chosen; (c) the adventures of the convoys before reaching Cronos' island and the kind of life they spend during their stay there; (d) and the island's peculiar nature.¹⁴²

Long ago, Hamilton showed that Plutarch's description roughly follows Plato's myth of Atlantis in *Timaeus* 24-25.¹⁴³ Besides the obvious Platonic elements, Plutarch adds other details, especially in the description of the island and its inhabitants, from literary accounts of fantastic trips to marvelous and sacred destinations.¹⁴⁴ The island is wonderful, has a gentle climate, and scatters a splendid fragrance.¹⁴⁵ It also provides

¹⁴⁰ Donini, *Plutarco. Il volto della luna*, 356 n. 412, pointed out that neither “science” or “myth” can provide enough explanations in themselves. He rightly noted the need of an inclusive type of inquiry, but separated science and myth without realizing that there is no such division. The topic under discussion is a good example of the lack of such division: both the discussion of its physical nature and the description of souls’ fear coincide in their explanation of the face on the moon.

¹⁴¹ For a thorough study on the function of the geographical description, see Lesage Gárriga, “Imagen y función de Ogygia,” 179-187.

¹⁴² Ever since A. Ortelius, *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1595 [1570]) 5, and Kepler, *Ioh. Keppleri Mathematici*, 169-170, some authors have identified Plutarch’s Great Continent with America. For an exhaustive analysis, see Lehnus’ geographical appendix in *Plutarco. Il volto della luna*, 184-189.

¹⁴³ W. Hamilton, “The Myth in Plutarch’s,” 24-30. Atlantis is to be found also in *Critias* 108-109, but Plutarch’s geographical description resembles the structure of *Timaeus* 24-25.

¹⁴⁴ On marvelous islands, see Ps.-Aristotle’s description of an isle beyond the Pillars of Hercules (*Mir.* 84); Diodorus Siculus’ narrations about the Island of the Hyperboreans and the Island of the Sun (D.S. 2.47, 1 and 2.56, 7-57, 2); as well as the Great Isle of Solstice of the 12th century writer Trezenzonio (C. van Duzer, “The Voyage of Trezenzonio to the Great Island of the Solstice: English Translation and Commentary,” *Folklore* 119, 3 [2008] 340). All of them share qualities of abundance and kind nature, such as the island described by Plutarch, which can be traced back to Homer’s description of Alcinous’ orchard in *Od.* 7.120-121.

¹⁴⁵ 941E, Θαυμαστὴν γὰρ εἶναι τῆς τε νῆσου τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὴν πραότητα τοῦ περιέχοντος ἀέρος; and 941F, καὶ τὴν νῆσον εὐώδια κατέχεσθαι πᾶσαν, ὥσπερ ἐκ πηγῆς σκιδναμένη τῆς πέτρας. See Vernière, *Symboles et mythes*, 187, for the relevance of odour in connection with superior creatures.

everything Cronos' attendants need: they live at ease without the need to labor, spending their time in ceremonial rites and enjoying a contemplative life devoted to philosophy.¹⁴⁶ There are two kinds of inhabitants:

- 1) On the one hand, there is Cronos, who has lived on the island ever since Zeus imprisoned him after the Titanomachy (941A);
- 2) On the other hand, Cronos' attendants, who take care of the god. Among them, we find daemons and special human beings, who are allowed to serve the god and enjoy a semi-divine status as the chosen ones (941D and 942A).¹⁴⁷

This combination of elements, the presence of a god, of sacred dwellers and the amazing characteristics of the isle's nature, immediately brings to mind the Isles of the Blessed.¹⁴⁸ I believe it is no coincidence that Plutarch in *De facie* placed Cronos precisely in this idyllic scene. Ever since Hesiod, Cronos was considered the king of the Isles of the Blessed, where the heroes of the fourth generation spent a pleasant and peaceful life.¹⁴⁹ Besides the reference to the inhabitants' continuous dedication to philosophy also corroborates the parallel between Ogygia and the Islands of the Blessed. The latter is also mentioned by Aristotle when referring to study and philosophy as especially necessary in ideal societies, because prosperous environments tend to make mankind insolent.¹⁵⁰

However, while the island's nature, its sacred dwellers, and the study of philosophy all show a deliberate intention on the part of Plutarch to connect the island with the Isles of the Blessed, he also enriches and enlarges his description, creating a complex and comprehensive image in an effort to present a geographical description that

¹⁴⁶ 941E, πόνου δίχα καὶ πραγμάτων ἄφθονα πάρεστι πάντα πρὸς θυσίαις καὶ χορηγίαις, οἳ περὶ λόγους τινὰς αἱὲν καὶ φιλοσοφίαν διατρίβουσι.

¹⁴⁷ 941A, Ὡν ἐν μιᾷ τὸν Κρόνον οἱ βάρβαροι καθεῖρχθαι μυθολογοῦσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Διός; 941D, Ἐκεῖ δὲ διατρίψαντας ἡμέρας ἐνενήκοντα καὶ μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ φιλοφροσύνης ιεροὺς νομιζομένους καὶ προσαγορευομένους; and 942A, Τοὺς δὲ δαίμονας ἐκείνους περιέπειν καὶ θεραπεύειν τὸν Κρόνον, ἔταιρους αὐτῷ γενομένους ὅτε δὴ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐβασίλευσε.

¹⁴⁸ These isles are mentioned for the first time in Hesiod's *Op.* 168-173, where they are associated to ideas of abundance and kind climate. Plutarch alludes to them in *Sert.* 8. The combination of an island, a divinity, and semi-divine inhabitants can also be found in earlier travel literature: the inhabitants of the Island of Hyperboreans worship Apollo, who pays a visit to them every 19 years (D.S. 2.47, 2-3 and 6); the inhabitants of the island visited by Iambulus worship celestial bodies, especially the sun (D.S. 2.59, 2).

¹⁴⁹ *Op.* 168-173. Pindar, *Olymp.* 2.68-74, makes Cronos the king of the Isles of the Blessed after being liberated from its punishment by Zeus. Plato mentions the simple and kind life that existed while Cronos was the ruler in *Plt.* 272A. In point of fact, Plutarch makes a reference to that passage in our treatise (935A). As Donini, *Plutarco. Il volto della luna*, 341 n. 358 pointed out, it is not unexpected that the same connection between Cronos and the marvellous life on an insland appears here again.

¹⁵⁰ Arist., *Pol.* 7.1334. The idea of a wisdom attained in the Isles of the Blessed can also be found in *Protr.* fr. 12 Ross, and can be related to *Protr.* fr. 5b Ross. This last fragment is especially interesting in the present context, since it connects philosophy, wisdom, the Pillars of Hercules and the metaphor of shrinking as failing to do something, all of which are contained in the first part of the myth in *De facie*.

would suit his needs for the rest of the eschatological myth. Although he does not mention Thule at any moment, various aspects of the Plutarchan description have been traditionally related to this mysterious island in the far north, a symbol of the earth's northern limits.¹⁵¹ To begin with, Plutarch places this ideal setting of abundance and bliss in a rather striking environment, as Lehnus sufficiently pointed out.¹⁵² *De facie's* archipelago is not facing strictly west, as the Isles of the Blessed usually are, but in the direction to the summer sunset, which is north-west.¹⁵³ The fact that Thule is the island traditionally situated in the north seems to indicate that Plutarch had both islands in mind when creating his description. This hypothesis is reinforced by other references. The sea surrounding the archipelago and extending towards the Great Continent, which Plutarch conveniently names "Cronian," is muddy and hard to sail, thus giving the impression of being frozen.¹⁵⁴ The idea was not original to him: Strabo and Pliny both use the appellative "Cronian" as an alternative name for the "frozen ocean" when describing Pytheas' expedition to Thule.¹⁵⁵ Another reference pointing to Thule is the length of nights on the islands surrounding that of Cronos: the sun disappears less than an hour during thirty days.¹⁵⁶ Historically, Thule has been characterized by the shortness of its nights: Pliny affirms that there is no night at all during the summer solstice and adds that other authors even say there is no night for six months; Tacitus, in line with Plutarch's description, asserts that there is a crepuscular light from sunset to sunrise.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵¹ According to Strabo 1.2, Pytheas calculated the location of the island taking Britannia as point of departure, just as Plutarch does with Ogygia. For more information on Thule, see J.S. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992) 121-171.

¹⁵² Lehnus, *Il volto della luna*, 165 n. 265.

¹⁵³ 941A, δρόμον ἡμερῶν πέντε Βρεττανίας ἀπέχουσα πλέοντι πρὸς ἐσπέραν· ἔτεραι δὲ τρεῖς ἵσον ἐκείνης ἀφεστῶσαι καὶ ἄλλήλων πρόκεινται μάλιστα κατὰ δυσμὰς ἥλιου θερινᾶς. The abode of the dead is traditionally located in the West because it is associated to the sun's trajectory and the sunset. On this, see M. Martínez Hernández, "Islas escatológicas en Plutarco," in M. García Valdés (ed.), *Estudios sobre Plutarco: Ideas Religiosas* (Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas, 1994) 83.

¹⁵⁴ 941B, βραδύπορον γὰρ εἶναι καὶ πηλῶδες ὑπὸ πλήθους ρένυμάτων τὸ πέλαγος· τὰ δὲ ρέύματα τὴν μεγάλην ἔξιέναι γῆν καὶ γίνεσθαι προσχώσεις ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ βαρεῖαν εἶναι καὶ γεώδη τὴν θάλατταν, ἥ καὶ πεπηγέναι δόξαν ἔσχε. Apollonius of Rhodes, differently, uses the appellation "Cronian" for the Adriatic Sea in *Argon.* 4.327, 509 y 546.

¹⁵⁵ Strabo, 1.4, 2; Pliny, *H.N.*, 4.16. A sea difficult to sail across due to mud and strong currents appears in Tacitus, *Agricola*, 10 and *Germania*, 45. Plutarch also makes use of the trait hardened silt buildup in *De exilio* 602D. In that case, it is applied to the river Achelous, following Thucydides' example in *Historiae* 2.102.

¹⁵⁶ 941D, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς προκειμένας νήσους οἰκουμένας δὲ ὑφ' Ἐλλήνων κατίσχειν καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ὄραν κρυπτόμενον ὥρας μιᾶς ἔλαττον ἐφ' ἡμέρας τριάκοντα· καὶ νῦκτα τοῦτο εἶναι, σκότος ἔχουσαν ἔλαφρὸν καὶ λυκανγές ἀπὸ δυσμῶν περιλαμπόμενον. The syntax of this passage does not allow a clear interpretation as to whether the sun disappears less than an hour each day during thirty days, or less than an hour in total during the period of thirty days.

¹⁵⁷ Pliny, *H.N.*, 4.16; Tacitus, *Agricola*, 10. In the Middle Ages, Trezenzonio resorted to this topic in order to describe the nights of the Great Island of the Solstice, which are never fully dark (see Van Duzer, "The Voyage of Trezenzonio," 340).

Interestingly enough, all the characteristics mentioned so far in connection to fantastic islands, such as Thule and the Isles of the Blessed, are also often found in literature on the moon. A contemporary of Plutarch, Antonius Diogenes, connected Thule with the moon in his book *The Wonders Beyond Thule*. In the book, the Sybil lived on the moon and prophesized for those who, travelling beyond Thule, arrived at the limits of the earth, which are closest to the moon.¹⁵⁸ Furthermore, the Orphic-Pythagorean connection between the moon and the abode of the dead was not uncommon in Ancient Greece.¹⁵⁹ It is noticeable that Servius, in his commentary on the *Aeneid*, explains the Elysium in three ways: according to poets, it is part of hell; according to philosophers, it is the Isles of the Blessed; and according to theologians, it is located in the space that surrounds the moon.¹⁶⁰ While Servius lived about three centuries after Plutarch, it is obvious that they both resort to similar literary traditions. In *De facie*, the far away islands (941AE), the moon, and its surroundings (942F, 943B and following) are characterized in such a way that they could very well be the abode of the dead.

Once the equivalence of the correlations has been acknowledged—namely, the correlation between both Thule and the Isles of the Blessed with the archipelago of Cronos on the one hand, and with the moon, on the other—the formal parallelism between the archipelago and the moon can be extended to the content of both parts of the narration. As for the first part, the passage 941CF describes how a delegation including the future attendants of Cronos departs from the continent and reaches the islands near Cronos' island, where they remain for a period of ninety days. Afterwards, the group sails towards Cronos' island, where the servants must remain to live a pleasant and peaceful life for thirty years, after which they are released from duty. In the second part, section 943C-944E describes how soul-intellects after the first death ascend towards the air between earth and moon, where they must remain for a fixed period of time. After this period, they ascend to the moon, where they will live a comfortable life, until the second death occurs.

Both descriptions show conspicuous similarities, and there are traces in the text that give credence to intentionality.

¹⁵⁸ Phocion, *Bibl.* 166. This author shares with Plutarch the motif of the Sybil on the moon (*De pythiae* 398; *De sera* 566BE).

¹⁵⁹ For instance, Iamblichus affirms that the sun and the moon are in fact the Isles of the Blessed, when speaking about the oral teachings of the master Pythagoras (*V.P.* 18.82).

¹⁶⁰ Serv., *A.*, 5.735. Plutarch includes the connection between the Isles of the Blessed and the Elysium in *Sert.* 8; and a scholium to Hesiod's *Op.* 171 explains that these islands are either Paradise or the Elysian plain. This scholium is particularly interesting inasmuch as it also integrates the verse from *Od.* 4.563, also used by Plutarch in 942F, after the conclusion of the geographical description, to introduce his lunar eschatology.

- 1) Each description begins with a journey.
- 2) Both the elected attendants of the god and the soul-intellects remain for a set period of time in a different location before reaching their final destination.
- 3) In the same way that not all those elected to become Cronos' attendants survive the trip to Cronos' island, not all soul-intellects manage to arrive to the moon at first try, but only those that are duly prepared. In my view, the use of marine vocabulary in 943CD to describe the rejection of souls by the moon (*ἀποκυματίζει*) enhances the parallelism with the servants sailing towards Cronos' island.¹⁶¹
- 4) In both cases, there is a differentiation between average and outstanding individuals. In the first case, most of the attendants prefer to stay in the island after their service because it offers a simple life, but the Stranger, who represents the best prepared among human beings, decides to leave and live new, enriching experiences. In the second case, while some souls need a longer time to fulfil their tasks and pass the different penalties and purifications, others—those that obeyed the intellect and properly behaved both during life and after the first death—attain the second death quicker, allowing the intellects to continue their ascent towards the sun.

These parallelisms, as well as the allusions to similar notions on the basis of fictional, literary islands, suggest that both island and moon are conceived as fulfilling a comparable function. On the one hand, Cronos' island is presented as an earthly paradise that is not such a thing, since the stay on it is not meant to be eternal. The island, rather, functions as an intermediate stop for those who seek advanced knowledge. In a similar way, the moon offers a temporary stay for soul-intellects after the first death, but life there it is “not blessed nor divine” (942F). The moon is also, once again, presented as an intermediate place enabling contact between the lower and higher stages in the quest. The final destination will be attained elsewhere, another death is yet to come.¹⁶²

In this sense, by means of these parallelisms, the myth describes the human quest for bliss as consisting of two subsequent steps: the first of them takes place while we are

¹⁶¹ Barigazzi, “L’arresto della freccia del tempo,” 64, saw the journey of Cronos’ attendants, both to and from Cronos’ island, as that of pilgrims wandering in search of the fatherland. Furthermore, he paralleled their journey with the ascent of souls towards the moon.

¹⁶² 942F, οἱ δὲ χρηστοὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν κομισθέντες αὐτόθι, ῥᾶστον μὲν οὗτῳ βίον, οὐ μὴν μακάριον οὐδὲ θεῖον ἔχοντες ἄχρι τοῦ δευτέρου θανάτου διατελοῦσι.



alive; the second step takes place after death.¹⁶³ At the same time, each of these steps includes two stages. As to the bliss attained during this life, Cronos' island is an allegory of the first stage every human being ideally should reach in order to achieve a happy *human* destiny. However, this is by no means the highest stage in the quest for bliss, which is only attained after perfecting the previous stage with the necessary initiations into higher mysteries. As to the bliss attained after death, the stay on the moon, analogously, represents the first stage of the quest.¹⁶⁴ However, the highest stage will be only achieved by the most perseverant after the second death, when the most divine component of the human being finally reaches its destiny.

Such a thought-out symmetry in the myth shows that the geography of the archipelago is an integral part of it and essential to reach a sound understanding of its contents.

5.3.2.3. *The Moon's Surface: a Selenography*

The moon's function for its inhabitants can be understood through descriptions of the surroundings of the moon (943C) and its orographic features (944BC). This function is related to eschatology and, more precisely, to the process of purification and punishment of souls after the first death.

The rich details, concerning both geographical and functional particulars of the moon's orography, raise the question: where does the information come from? Certainly it cannot result from direct observation. Given the place in which this information comes to the fore and the character that provides it, namely the Stranger, it is likely to think that it is a "revealed" kind of information. The Stranger may have received it from the daemons during the time that he was serving Cronos on the island. In two occasions along the description of this selenography a verb in plural (*καλοῦσται*, in 943C and 944B) points to them as probable source of information.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³ According to the structure of the myth that I propose, each part of the quest is developed in sections 1 and 3. See Chapter 2, section 2.5. "Structure of the Treatise and Summary of the Contents."

¹⁶⁴ The second stage of each part will also parallel one another. Firstly, both highlight the importance of mystery cults both before and after life. The Stranger, after leaving the island, was in contact with numerous sacred books and was initiated in every rite (942C); soul-intellects, after the first death, share the feeling of the initiated in mystery cults when they are about to reach the moon (943CD). Secondly, both present the idea that this higher stage is not available to everyone: many servants prefer to stay in the island after the end of their duty (941E); some souls must reincarnate instead of reaching the final dissolution (944CD). Thirdly, neither of these higher stages represents the end of the quest. While, in the first part, humans must die the first death, soul-intellects, in the second part, must die the second death.

¹⁶⁵ This was noted by W. Deuse, "Plutarch's Eschatological Myths," in H.G. Nesselrath (ed.), *Plutarch. On the Daimonion of Socrates* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010) 181. He opposed the

The first location in this selenography are the meadows of Hades (*λειμῶνας Ήιδου*), the place in the mildest part of the air between the earth and the moon, where righteous soul-intellects dwell for a while (943BC).¹⁶⁶ We can conclude that Hades should be placed somewhere between the earth and the moon, as the location in which the unjust and licentious soul-intellects spend time paying penalties for their offences, although this place does not receive a specific name.¹⁶⁷

The description of Hades's location in this passage matches the description in 942EF where Persephone, identified with the moon, is not allowed to abandon Hades, here called the earth's shadow.¹⁶⁸ Plutarch establishes the limits of Hades in a very vague way, by simply referring to Homer's enigmatic quote “but to the Elysian plain, and to the ends of the earth.”¹⁶⁹ However, Plutarch's explanation of this verse in fr. 201 Sandbach, might be helpful in understanding what is meant in *De facie*. According to that fragment, the Elysian plain is the side of the moon that faces the sun, and the “ends of the earth” symbolize the point in which its shadow ceases to expand.¹⁷⁰ The allusion to the earth's shadow in both texts is meant to refer to the cone of umbra projected during an eclipse. This is evident in 942E because the phaenomenon is implicitly described.¹⁷¹ It is confirmed by a later passage (944A), in which, we find a repetition of eclipses being

knowledge of *De facie*'s daemons, obtained from their wanderings between realms, to the experiences of Timarchus and Thespis in the other two Plutarchan myths, who remain fettered by their earthly existence. The two occurrences of a verb in 3rd person plural have led some scholars, such as Raingeard, *Le peri toy prosopoy*, 148, and Donini, *Plutarco. Il volto della luna*, 353 n. 399, to assume that the subject of *λέγουσι* in 943E are also the daemons. This is absurd, given that what is at stake in the passage are various Presocratic notions, Stoic theories of the cosmos, and even an explicit reference to Plato and Xenocrates. The highly intellectual character of the passage seems to disprove the possibility of daemons being its subject. More cautious, H. von Arnim, *Plutarch über Dämonen und Mantik*, 67, suggested a Platonic philosopher of eclectic tendency; and Cherniss defended both in “Notes on Plutarch's *De facie*,” 152, and in “Concerning the Face,” 205 n. e, that the source of the passage should be found in “human authors” without providing further specification. See subsection 2.5.2. “Means of Communication,” in Chapter 2 on how the information is transmitted in the treatise.

¹⁶⁶ 943BC, πᾶσαν ψυχήν, ἄνουν τε καὶ σὺν νῷ σώματος ἐκπεσοῦσαν είμαρμένον ἔστιν <ἐν> τῷ μεταξὺ γῆς καὶ σελήνης χωρίῳ πλανηθῆναι χρόνον οὐκ ἵσον, ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν ἄδικοι καὶ ἀκόλαστοι δίκας τῶν ἀδικημάτων τίνουσι, τὰς δὲ ἐπιεικεῖς ὅσον ἀφαγεῦσαν καὶ ἀποπνεῦσαν <τοὺς> ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, ὥσπερ αἰτίου πονηροῦ, μιασμοὺς ἐν τῷ πραοτάτῳ τοῦ ἀέρος, διν λειμῶνας Ήιδου καλοῦσι, δεῖ γίνεσθαι χρόνον τινὰ τεταγμένον. The word ‘meadow’ (*λειμῶν*) was associated with the underworld, always in connection with the asphodelus, in Homer, *Od.* 11.539, 573 and 24.13-14. It appears in Plato, *Grg.* 524A, and *Rep.* 614E and 616B; and is associated specifically with Hades in Ar., *Ra.* 326, 343 and 374; and by Plutarch as well in fr. 178 Sandbach.

¹⁶⁷ On Hades in Plutarch, see the recent study of A. Mihai, *L'Hades céleste. Histoire du Purgatoire dans l'Antiquité* (Paris: Garnier, 2015) 185-224.

¹⁶⁸ See 5.2.3.4. “Persephone-Kore” on the identification moon-Persephone.

¹⁶⁹ *Od.* 4.563 (see footnote 183, below), where Menelaus is told about his fate.

¹⁷⁰ The etymology of Elysium is here associated to Helios. In 944C, Plutarch affirms that the side of the moon that faces the sun is called Elysian plain (see below on this).

¹⁷¹ 942E, οὐ γὰρ ἔξ μηνας, ἀλλὰ παρ' ἔξ μηνας ὄρῶμεν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τῆς μητρός, τῇ σκιᾷ λαμβανομένην, ὀλιγάκις δὲ τοῦτο διὰ πέντε μηνῶν παθοῦσαν. On the phaenomenon of eclipses, see 5.4.2.2. “Obscuration.”

implicitly evoked and the shadow symbolizing Hades. There, the moon is said to speed its path up to cross the shadow more quickly so as to take the good soul-intellects dwelling in that space (below).¹⁷² The soul-intellects in Hades in 944A are, therefore, the ones previously mentioned in 943C.

While *De genio*'s myth (591A) places Hades on the earth and its shadow is the Styx, all the references in *Defacie*'s narration (942F, 943C, and 944AC) coherently locate Hades between the earth and the moon.¹⁷³ The celestial location might be the result of the myth of the ascent of the soul. True, Plato consistently locates Hades in the underground, but, at the same time, he places souls waiting for incarnation in the “upper region” in *Phaedrus* (248B). In this sense, he could be seen as the starting point for later philosophers to place souls both before and after incarnation in the astral region.¹⁷⁴ The development of this myth implies the establishment of Hades in the sky.¹⁷⁵

Besides the description of the surroundings of the moon, the passage also provides a thorough description of the moon. The comparison between the earth's geographical accidents and the moon's supposedly dreadful features in 944BC serves as starting point to further develop the selenography.¹⁷⁶ The various orographic features are displayed in

¹⁷² 944A, ὅπως ταχὺ διεκπερῷ τὸν σκοτώδη τόπον ύπεκφέρουσα <τὰς> τῶν ἀγαθῶν σπευδούσας καὶ βοῶσας.

¹⁷³ Vernière, *Symboles et mythes*, 180-181. However, if *De Is. et Os.* (382F) is included in the comparison, then a different picture appears: the belief that Hades is connected with the earth is corrected. While the majority of people suspect Osiris—who is equated to the Greek Hades in the passage—to dwell on earth and beneath the earth, the god is, in fact, far removed from earth, because he has no connection with material issues; he only becomes the guide and leader of souls once they have been set free and migrate into the realm of the invisible and the unseen. Thus, it could be interpreted that Plutarch developed different locations for Hades according to different cosmological and soteriological needs. *De Is. et Os.* is usually accepted to have been written around 115 (see Jones, “Towards a Chronology,” 73); *De genio*, however, is harder to date, but might be an earlier work than *De facie* (see Hamilton, “The Myth in Plutarch’s *De genio*,” 179, on this possibility). If, then, *De Is. et Os.* and *De facie* are later works than *De genio*, it could be argued that Plutarch varied his views on the issue at a later period of his life.

¹⁷⁴ Plato, *Leg.* 904D, *Cra.* 403A and *Grg.* 493B. In this sense, Vernière, *Symboles et mythes*, 157, signaled that *Phaedrus'* winged souls could have contributed to the development of the soul's ascent theory. The first mention to sky as the sphere of the soul in a Greek testimony is an epitaph in memory of the dead in Potidea (432 BCE) that reads: “aither received their souls, earth their bodies.” (transl. by M.N. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, vol. 1 [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946]).

¹⁷⁵ On this see A. Pérez Jiménez, “El viaje sidéreo de las almas: origen y fortuna de un tema clásico en Occidente,” *Fortunatae* 5 (1993), 109 n. 22. According to Dillon, *The Middle Platonists*, 191, placing Hades in the air between the moon and the earth was common in Middle Platonic authors, and he traced the idea back to Xenocrates (fr. 15 Heinze [fr. 213 Isnardi Parente]). This fragment, however, is problematic, because the reference to Hades appears in a conjecture by the editor (see Heinze, *Xenokrates*, 165).

¹⁷⁶ 944BC, Καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ μὲν μέγιστον Ἐκάτης μυχόν, ὅπου καὶ δίκαις διδόσασιν αἱ ψυχαὶ καὶ λαμβάνουσιν ὃν ἂν ἥδη γεγενημέναι δαίμονες ἢ πάθωσιν ἢ δράσωσι, τὰ δὲ δύο Μακάρων· περαιοῦνται γὰρ αἱ ψυχαὶ δι’ αὐτῶν, νῦν μὲν εἰς τὰ πρὸς οὐρανὸν τῆς σελήνης, νῦν δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὰ πρὸς γῆν· ὄνομάζεται δὲ τὰ μὲν πρὸς οὐρανὸν τῆς σελήνης Ἁλύσιον πεδίον, τὰ δ’ ἐνταῦθα Φερσεφόνης [οὐν ἀντίθονος]. On the comparison between the features of the earth and the moon, see 5.3.2.1. “The face of the moon,” above.

order to present the soul-intellects' ascent: they must overcome tests, punishments and purifications in the different places so as to finally attain the second death.¹⁷⁷

Plutarch names the largest orographic feature of the moon "recess of Hecate" ($\tauὸ\ μὲν\ μέγιστον\ Ἐκάτης\ μυχόν$).¹⁷⁸ Here, the soul-intellects are judged according their deeds, "while already converted in daemons."¹⁷⁹ This will allow them to continue towards the next step—either the second death or a rebirth in a new human body as a punishment.¹⁸⁰ With the reference to the conversion of soul-intellects into daemons ($αἵ\ ψυχαὶ\ [...] \ \etaδη\ γεγενημέναι\ δαίμονες$), Plutarch places the focus on specific soul-intellects, to wit those already advanced in the process of purification (called daemons), and, therefore, superior to the soul-intellects which recently experienced the first death. The behavior of such daemons, as the narration will confirm a bit further (944CD), is not fixed, since they may either behave properly and do their job as assistants on earth, or become prey to envious and hateful acts.¹⁸¹ Depending on their choice, the paths of these daemons will separate in the next step of the ascent, as represented by other orographic features.

The description, then, presents the two recesses of the Blessed ($\tauὰ\ δὲ\ δύο\ Μακάρων$), one of them is called the Elysian plain and the other Persephone's plain.¹⁸² As already advanced, Plutarch uses the denomination "Elysian plain" to describe the side that faces heaven, which he uses both in 942EF and in fr. 201 Sandbach, where he explains that the expression comes from Homer.¹⁸³ In the latter, he adds: "he (*scil.* Homer) aptly gave the name of Elysian plain to the surface of the moon that is illuminated by the sun, when, in words of Timotheus, the sun's rays bless it."¹⁸⁴ Given the relevant role of

¹⁷⁷ See 5.3.3.3. "The Souls, True Inhabitants of the Moon," for the ascent of soul-intellects.

¹⁷⁸ See the corresponding heading in subsection 5.2.3. "Mythology" and footnote 108.

¹⁷⁹ On the question of daemonology, see the diachronic study of T. Andrei, *La démonologie platonicienne: histoire de la notion de daimon de Platon aux derniers néoplatoniciens* (Leiden: Brill, 2012) (*Philosophia Antiqua* 128, special issue).

¹⁸⁰ Soury, *La démonologie de Plutarque*, 201, saw a neat difference between the group of daemons described here and those in 944D. In his view, daemons in 944BC are involved with issues concerning daemons exclusively, and the atonement is suffered on the spot; daemons in 944D are involved with earthly matters, and the punishment is reincarnation.

¹⁸¹ 944CD, χρηστηρίων δεῦρο κατίσιν ἐπιμελησόμενοι καὶ ταῖς ἀνωτάτῳ συμπάρεισι καὶ συνοργιάζουσι τῶν τελετῶν, κολασταὶ τε γίνονται καὶ φύλακες ἀδικημάτων καὶ σωτῆρες ἐν τε πολέμοις καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐπιλάμπουσιν. Ὁ τι δ' ἂν μὴ καλῶς περὶ ταῦτα πράξωσιν, ἀλλὰ ὑπ' ὄργῆς ἢ πρὸς ἄδικον χάριν ἡ φθόνῳ, δίκην τίνουσιν.

¹⁸² 944C, ὀνομάζεται δὲ τὰ μὲν πρὸς οὐρανὸν τῆς σελήνης Ἡλύσιον πεδίον, τὰ δ' ἐνταῦθα Φερσεφόνης [οὐκ ἀντίχθονος]. The transmitted text is clearly corrupted. This interpretation is based on the conjecture of Pérez Jiménez, which not only fits perfectly from a palaeographic point of view, but also from the perspective of content. On the corruption, see the corresponding heading in Chapter 4.

¹⁸³ *Od.* 4.563: "but to the Elysian plain, and the ends of the earth."

¹⁸⁴ Translation by F.H. Sandbach, "Fragments," in *idem* (ed.), *Plutarch's Moralia*, vol. 15 (Cambridge-Massachusetts: Loeb Classical Library, 1969) 375.

the sun as provider of the divine and immortal component of the human being in *De facie*, it is only natural that the side of the moon connected with final salvation is the one facing the sun. As a matter of fact, further in the narration, Plutarch explicitly associates the sun with the visible image of the divinity, towards which the intellect, and all nature is driven.¹⁸⁵

The name “Persephone’s plain” for the side of the moon facing the earth is wisely chosen as well. Given the associations between the moon, the earth, the space in-between, and their divine equivalences—Persephone, Demeter, and Hades—the denomination Persephone’s plain, for the side of the moon that faces the earth, which is caught in shadow during eclipses, is very appropriate.¹⁸⁶ In Greek mythology, Persephone awaits to reunite with her mother, Demeter, in the realm of Hades.

Daemons go through them either towards the side of the moon that faces heaven or back to the side that faces earth. In accordance with this twofold partition, daemons, which fulfilled their tasks dutifully and followed the right ethics during their previous life in a body and after the first death, head towards the Elysian plain, where they will experience the second death. After this, the soul dissolves into the moon’s essence and the intellect returns to the sun. In turn, daemons that behaved improperly are directed to Persephone’s plain in order to be reincarnated in a human body.

It is noticeable that Plutarch uses the physical description of the surroundings of the moon and of its orographic features in order to allegorically convey the importance of ethics in the journey of human beings from birth to the second death.

5.3.3. Demography

5.3.3.1. *Life on the Moon as a Reflection of that on Earth*

In 940BE, Lamprias compares the different forms of life on earth and applies the conclusions to possible life on the moon. The topic of the inhabitants of the moon is, thus, discussed in terms of similarities and differences to those of the earth.

¹⁸⁵ 944E, ὅταν ὁ νοῦς ἀποκριθῇ τῆς ψυχῆς· ἀποκρίνεται δὲ ἔρωτι τῆς περὶ τὸν ἥλιον εἰκόνος, δι’ ἣς ἐπιλάμπει τὸ ἐφετὸν καὶ καλὸν καὶ θεῖον καὶ μακάριον, οὐ πᾶσα φύσις ἄλλη δὲ ἄλλως ὄρέγεται. The relevance of the sun is not only perceptible in *De facie*, but also in other Plutarchan treatises, where the sun is sometimes identified with Eros, with Apollo, the highest divinity within the material world according to Plutarch, and also with light, as the visible image of the transcendent god (see *De E* 393E; *De Is. et Os.* 372A; *De def. or.* 433D; *Amatorius* 764B and 764E). All of these ideas, naturally, can be traced back to Plato: *Rep.* 509A and *Phd.* 99DE. Bos, *Cosmic and Meta-cosmic Theology*, 46, rightly argued that, within physis, the sun shows the nearest resemblance to the transcendent principle.

¹⁸⁶ On the relationship between the moon and Persephone, see the corresponding heading, in 5.2.3. “Mythology,” and footnote 118.

According to Aetius, Pythagoreans contemplated the idea of the existence of lunar beings already in the 5th century BCE; also, Athenaeus mentions that the same idea appears in Herodorus of Heraclea (4th century BCE).¹⁸⁷ Furthermore, Aristotle discusses lunar beings in *De generatione animalium*, where he cites three tribes of animate beings which combine the elements of air, earth and water, and suggests that the forth tribe, of fire, should be searched for on the moon.¹⁸⁸ Plutarch, in *De facie 940BE*, is not as much interested in the existence of lunar creatures; his main interest is to determine which type of beings lunar creatures could be.

Lamprias initiates his considerations on the issue by noticing the diversity of life on earth. According to him, “those who demand that living beings there (the moon) be equipped just as those here are for generation, nourishment, and livelihood seem to observe the diversities of nature, among which one can discover more and greater differences and dissimilarities between living beings than between them and inanimate objects.”¹⁸⁹ This unequivocally refers to Aristotle’s distinction between animate and inanimate beings and the intricate difficulty for a precise classification.¹⁹⁰ Our speaker, however, seeks a different goal. The great amount of differences among living beings on earth shows to what extent the inhabitants of the moon might differ from those on earth. People should not expect them to have the exact same generation, nourishment, and livelihood as the ones on earth. As a matter of fact, he continues, “it is plausible that those on the moon, if they do exist, are slight of body and capable of being nourished by whatever comes their way.”¹⁹¹

Lamprias points out that it is a mistake to assume the nature of these creatures despite our inability to verify it—not being able, as we are, to approach or touch them. In any case, he concludes that the possibility of life on the moon, if not verifiable, is plausible. As mentioned in the “Introduction” to this Chapter, he illustrates this possibility by describing the following hypothetical situation: if the sea was out of our reach and someone would come and tell us that its bitter and salty water was the habitat of a variety

¹⁸⁷ Aetius 2.30, 1 (Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, 361); Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 2.57F. Aetius records both Plutarch’s and Stobaeus’ versions: while the former only mentions “Pythagoreans,” the latter directly cites Philolaus (included as fr. A 20DK).

¹⁸⁸ Arist., *GA* 761B21-23.

¹⁸⁹ 940B, οἵ τε τοῖς ἐκεῖ ζῷοις ὅσα τοῖς ἐνταῦθα πρὸς γένεσιν καὶ τροφὴν καὶ δίαιταν ἀξιοῦντες ὑπάρχειν, ἐοίκασι καὶ θεαταῖς τῶν περὶ τὴν φύσιν ἀνωμαλιῶν, ἐν αἷς μείζονας ἔστι καὶ πλέονας πρὸς ἄλληλα τῶν ζῴων ἡ πρὸς τὰ μὴ ζῷα διαφορὰς καὶ ἀνομοιότητας εὑρεῖν.

¹⁹⁰ Arist., *HA* 588B4 and *PA* 681A12-15.

¹⁹¹ 940C, Τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς σελήνης, εἴπερ εἰσίν, εὐσταλεῖς εἶναι τοῖς σώμασι καὶ διαρκεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων τρέφεσθαι πιθανόν ἔστι.

of beings, such remarks would seem like “myths and marvels” (<μύθοις καὶ τέρασιν>). With these two terms, Lamprias denominates the statements that seem extraordinary but are in fact true, as there are numerous creatures inhabiting the sea. This helps to contextualize the intrinsic value of myths and marvel stories and puts into perspective the value of Sulla’s subsequent tale. While his narration is called “a myth” in 920B and 940F and its content might appear as marvellous, it is included in the treatise inasmuch as it conveys a truth or truths.¹⁹² These are not obvious at first sight, but must be elucidated by means of a proper interpretation.

Lamprias is certainly not trying to convince his audience about the existence of life on the moon. He knows that it is not a fact that can be proved through observation. However, he points to its plausibility, because, just as it cannot be confirmed, it cannot be disproved either.¹⁹³ While his evaluation of the possibility of life on the moon is based on a common sense, rational perspective, Sulla will later take a different approach and describe the specific nature of the inhabitants of the moon, namely the souls, and their relationship with the moon itself (more on this below). In spite of these different approaches, more cautious by Lamprias and more positive by Sulla, their interventions share common notions and even complement one another. To mention a couple of examples:

- 1) The allusion to the nourishment of the inhabitants, in terms such as “capable of being nourished by whatever comes their way” (940C, ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων τρέφεσθαι πιθανόν ἔστι), in Lamprias’ words, finds confirmation in Sulla’s narration: the souls “are nourished by whatever exhalations they find” (943E, ὥστε ὑπὸ τῆς τυχούσης ἀναθυμιάσεως τρέφεσθαι).¹⁹⁴

¹⁹² On the value of myth for Plutarch, see the considerations of B. Boulet, “The Use of Myths and Superstition in Plutarch,” in L. van der Stockt, F. Titchener, H.G. Ingenkamp & A. Pérez Jiménez (eds.), *Gods, Daimones, Rituals, Myths and History in Plutarch’s Works* (Málaga: Málaga University Press / Logan: Utah State University Press, 2010) 59-64; and R. Hirsch-Luipold, “Religion and Myth,” in M. Beck (ed.), *A Companion to Plutarch* (Chichester: Blackwell, 2014) 163-176. Plutarch’s conception of myth naturally derives from that of Plato. On this issue see C. Collobert, F.J. González, & P. Destree (eds.), *Plato and Myth: Studies on the Use and Status of Platonic Myths* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

¹⁹³ Lamprias’ cautious attitude can be put in relation with the Platonic *epochē*. Plutarch would not commit to a definite solution on a matter that cannot be verified, but rather would raise possible hypotheses and argue for a prudent conclusion (see *De prim. frig.* 955A; *Adv. Col.* 1124AB). See D. Babut, “Du scepticisme au dépassement de la raison: philosophie et foi religieuse chez Plutarque,” in *Parerga. Choix d’articles de Daniel Babut (1974-1994)* (Lyon: Université Lumière Lyon 2, 1994) 549-581; M. Bonazzi, “Plutarch and the Skeptics,” in M. Beck (ed.), *A Companion to Plutarch* (Chichester: Blackwell, 2014) 121-133; and Donini, “Science and Metaphysics.”

¹⁹⁴ See footnote 278 below, and R.M^a. Aguilar, “El concepto de *anathymiasis* en Plutarco,” in M. García Valdés (ed.), *Estudios sobre Plutarco: Ideas Religiosas* (Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas, 1994) 25-32.

2) The expression “certain men dwell there” (940E, ἐκεῖ τινας ἀνθρώπους κατοικεῖν) suggests that Lamprias still conceives of the inhabitants of the moon as men, despite his emphasis on the differences in generation, nature, and nourishment between them and us.¹⁹⁵ Sulla’s contribution will redefine this belief. While not entirely wrong, it should be noted that, technically, there are no men on the moon because only two of the three components of men dwell there, the soul-intellects, and only the soul truly belongs to the moon.

The comparison between the inhabitants of earth and the hypothetical inhabitants of the moon not only shows Plutarch’s curiosity concerning the plausibility of the moon’s habitability, but also anticipates a deeper concern: the function of the moon. In point of fact, the relationship that unites the moon with its inhabitants hints at this function, which the reader gradually discovers is related to ethics.

5.3.3.2. *Fall of the Moon and its Inhabitants*

The fall of the moon is an idea contemplated a few times in the treatise. Arguments in favor and against this possibility are given by several characters and some subsume the problem of the fall of its inhabitants as the result (Lucius in 923CD, Theon in 937E, Lamprias in 938F-939A, the Stranger, 943D).

The problem that the moon may fall is first raised by Lucius in 923C. He suggests that Pharnaces, while convinced of the earth’s stability, might be afraid of the fall of the moon.¹⁹⁶ Lucius attributes this belief to poets—Aeschylus and Pindar are cited—and the participants in the conversation would easily associate it to Aristotle as well.¹⁹⁷ According to the philosopher, the earth is spherical, immobile and located at the center, because earthy objects are, by nature, driven towards the center. They press the earth until they are perfectly shaped in accordance and not constrained to movement anymore.¹⁹⁸ The rest of the astral bodies, differently, are not driven towards the earth, because they are made of a different substance, aether, which is characterized by circular motion.¹⁹⁹ Against this theory, Lucius criticizes the notion of circular movement as the natural movement of

¹⁹⁵ This was noticed by Raingeard, *Le peri toy prosopoy*, 133.

¹⁹⁶ 923C, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Φαρνάκης αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν ἀδείᾳ τοῦ πεσεῖν τὴν γῆν ἔστιν, οἰκτείρει δὲ τοὺς ὑποκειμένους τῇ μεταφορᾷ τῆς σελήνης Αἰθίοπας ἢ Ταπροβηνούς, μὴ βάρος αὐτοῖς ἐμπέσῃ τοσοῦτον.

¹⁹⁷ Aesch., *Pr.* 349-350; Pindar, fr. *On Delos* Sandys.

¹⁹⁸ Arist., *Cael.* 284A17-23, where he mentions the tradition that attributes the world’s stability to Atlas, also mentioned in *De facie*’s passage; and 295A-298A. The idea of the earth’s stability was already present in Presocratic thinkers: Anaximander (A 11DK); Parmenides (A 44DK); and Democritus (A 98DK). In *De facie*, the earth’s immobility is alluded to in 923A, here in 923C, and in 926A.

¹⁹⁹ Arist., *Cael.* 268B-270B.

astral bodies. He compares the moon's movements with that of missiles placed in a sling: in both cases, the speed of the movement is what prevents the object from falling. The consequence of this equation is that astral and earthy bodies obtain the same type of (downward) movement and gravity.²⁰⁰ Because Lucius cannot use circular motion as the cause for the moon's stability, he suggests that its motions and speed prevent its downward tendency to prevail.²⁰¹

While the issue of the moon's fall is supposedly solved with Lucius' argumentation, Theon restates it in new terms in 937E. His first concern is the people upon whom the moon would fall, "people like Tantalus;" his second concern is the resulting fall, in such a case, of its plausible inhabitants, namely those "bound to it like so many Ixions."²⁰² In his view, the disordered and chaotic nature of the moon's movements should expel any creature living on its surface. Theon's fear that the movements of the moon might eject its inhabitants obviously finds its source in the opposition between moon and earth: given that the earth is thought to be immobile, its stability prevents any problem with its inhabitants.²⁰³ Since the moon's movement has been proved, and there are not people or animals falling off of it, he logically infers that there are no creatures living on it.²⁰⁴

In 938F-939A, to reassure Theon about his concerns on the fall of the moon and its inhabitants, Lamprias adduces that the cause of the moon's stability, besides its

²⁰⁰ On this, see L. Russo, *The Forgotten Revolution. How Science Was Born in 300 BC and Why It Had to Be Reborn* (transl. by S. Levy) (Berlin-Heidelberg-New York: Springer, 1996) 287. Lucius cannot use the argument that the moon has a natural circular motion that prevents its fall, because, in his opinion, the moon is not composed out of the Aristotelian fifth element, aether (928F-929A). In order to dismiss both Aristotelian and Stoic doctrines defending the fiery nature of astral bodies, Lamprias had previously argued that these cannot be said to move in circles precisely because their fiery nature would have an upward tendency (927C). With this argument, he clearly seeks to accentuate the contradiction underlying in these doctrines.

²⁰¹ 923C κίνησις αὐτὴ καὶ τὸ ροιζῶδες τῆς περιαγωγῆς. Empedocles apparently used this same argument to advocate for the earth's stability (cf. Arist., *Cael.* 284A20-26 and 295A15-21). Because Plutarch adds to these physical causes providence (927A-928C), Préaux, *La lune dans la pensée grecque*, 194-201, accused the author of bringing together incompatible explanations. However, as discussed in 5.1. "Introduction" to this Chapter, physical and divine causes are not mutually exclusive in Plutarch's thought.

²⁰² 937E, Τοῖς μὲν γάρ ὑπὸ τὴν σελήνην οἰκοῦσιν ὥσπερ Ταντάλοις ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἐκκρέμασθαι φασι· τοὺς δὲ οἰκοῦντας αὖ πάλιν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὥσπερ Ιἴζονας ἐνδεδεμένους ρύμῃ τόσῃ. See the reference in Cherniss, "Concerning the Face," 158 n. a., to the interpretation that the stone threatening Tantalus is the sun, as punishment for having declared that the sun is an incandescent mass.

²⁰³ On the earth's stability in *Defacie*, see footnote 198, above. A few thinkers, however, explained the phenomena observed in the sky by defending the movement of earth. On the issue, see the views of some Pythagoreans, Hycetas of Syracuse, and Aristarchus, in Rioja & Ordóñez, *Teorías del Universo*, 84-88.

²⁰⁴ For the mention to the lion in this passage, see P.J. Bicknel, "Lunar Eclipses and 'Selenites,'" *Apeiron* 1 (1967) 16-21.

rotation, is the ordered combination of its movements.²⁰⁵ As Theon did in his intervention, Lamprias reinforces his argument by turning to theories of astronomy.²⁰⁶ According to him, “astronomers had been able to appreciate a marvelous order and to explain the phaenomena by recurring to circles that move within other circles, and while some made the moon itself unmoved in those circles, others made it retrogress smoothly and with constant speed.”²⁰⁷ The final reference to the behavior of the moon within the moving circles suggests at least a basic knowledge of different theories attempting to account for the planets’ apparent variance in movement. On one hand, the description of the “moon itself unmoved in those circles” can be associated to the theory of homocentric spheres (with earth as the center) of Eudoxus and later of Aristotle.²⁰⁸ On the other hand, the moon in “retrogression” and “with constant speed” suggests the theory of eccentric circles offered by Hipparchus.²⁰⁹ The references to these theories, however, are not necessarily useful for resolving the problem at hand, namely the fall of the moon and its inhabitants; therefore, it would seem that Lamprias simply boasts his own knowledge. It could also be argued, however, that Plutarch is willing to ground the stability of the astral body and its beings on the most technical and up-to-date theories about the movement of the planets. As a matter of fact, given that these theories seek to confirm the idea of the astral bodies’ uniform movement, Lamprias’ reply solves both the problem of the fall of the moon and of the fall of its inhabitants: the moon’s movement is uniform, so gentle and calm that it smooths the surrounding air, thus preventing any danger altogether.²¹⁰

The fall of the moon’s inhabitants is also addressed in 943D. According to the Stranger, the souls that reach the moon prematurely are said to fall off of it.²¹¹ The result,

²⁰⁵ 939A εἰ δὲ μὴ δι’ ἑαυτὴν καὶ τὸ ποικίλον τοῦτο τῆς φορᾶς καὶ πεπλανημένον οὐκ ἀνωμαλίας οὐδὲ ταραχῆς ἔστιν. On the three movements, see footnote 102, above.

²⁰⁶ While Theon employs the term μαθηματικοί, Lamprias replies with ἀστρολόγοι. On Plutarch’s use of these terms, see Pérez Jiménez, “Alle frontiere della scienza,” 272. Plutarch refers to the complexity of the moon’s movements and the difficulty for astronomers to figure them out also in *Quaest. rom.* 269D.

²⁰⁷ 939A, οὐκ ἀνωμαλίας οὐδὲ ταραχῆς ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ θαυμαστὴν ἐπιδείκνυνται τάξιν ἐν τούτοις καὶ πορείαν οἱ ἀστρολόγοι κύκλοις τισὶ περὶ κύκλους ἐτέρους ἐξελιττομένοις συνάγοντες αὐτήν· οἱ μὲν ἀτρεμοῦσαν, οἱ δὲ λείως καὶ ὄμαλῶς ἀεὶ τάχεσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀνθυποφερομένην.

²⁰⁸ Arist., *Metaph.* 1073B-1074A.

²⁰⁹ Ptolemy, *Almagest* 4.5. There seems to be scholarly agreement that the theory of eccentric circles can be traced back to Apollonius of Perga, who apparently proved the equivalence between this theory and that of epicycles (Ptolemy, *Almagest* 9). See Evans’ considerations on this issue in *The History and Practice of Ancient Astronomy*, 211-215.

²¹⁰ 938F-939A, ἡτε γὰρ δίνη πολλὴν ἔχουσα πραότητα καὶ γαλήνην ἐπιλεαίνει τὸν ἀέρα καὶ διαμένει συγκατακοσμούμενον, ὥστε μηδὲν εἶναι δέος ἐκπεσεῖν καὶ ἀποσφαλῆναι τὸν ἐκεῖ βεβιωκότας.

²¹¹ 943D, ἐνίας δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ περικάτῳ τρεπομένας, οἷον εἰς βυθὸν αὐθίς, ὥρωσι καταδυομένας. On this passage and its connection with the ascent of the soul, see 5.3.3.3. “The Souls, True Inhabitants of the Moon,” below.

however, is not as catastrophic as Theon predicted: they simply return to the space between the earth and the moon, so as to complete the required process of cleansing.²¹²

The several allusions to the topic throughout the treatise underline the continuity of argumentation. So, for example, Theon's worries regarding people both on and under the moon seem to be connected with Lucius' ideas on the matter in 923C, where he mentions the dangers for Ethiopians and Taprobanians, who are said to live under the moon.²¹³ The continuity in narrative is also present in Lamprias' use of the moon's movements as the cause of its stability, and, as a consequence, of that of its inhabitants, which shows, again, a connection with Lucius' intervention in 923CD. Lamprias restates the main formulation employed by Lucius against the fall of the moon. Finally, the addition of the Stranger reinforces the opinions of the other characters: the cases in which the inhabitants fall are not caused by any instability of the moon, but by an (ethical) instability of the inhabitants themselves. Consequently, all the passages involved with the fear that the moon and its inhabitants might fall suggest that, rather than providing a linear argumentation, Plutarch distributed the information and required the reader to reorganize it and properly interpret it. In this sense, Plutarch forces his readers to become philosophers (per his definition): a comprehensive approach not only involves the inquiry itself, but also the interpretation of the material.

5.3.3.3. *The Souls, True Inhabitants of the Moon*

The description of the souls as inhabitants of the moon occupies the sections 943C to 945B. It contains several types of souls which are described according to their good or bad ethical behavior.²¹⁴ Plutarch describes different stages of the souls' lives and associates them to various locations in the (sub)lunary region. In what follows, I offer an

²¹² Several scholars, such as Soury, *La démonologie de Plutarque*, 201; Vernière, *Symboles et mythes*, 204 n.1, and also 207; and Bos, *Cosmic and Meta-cosmic Theology*, 48-49, have tended to see in the fall of these souls another reference to reincarnation. I have defended that it is not case in L. Lesage Gárriga, "Reincarnation and other Experiences of the Soul in Plutarch's *De facie*: Two Case Studies," in L. Roig Lanzillotta & R. Hirsch-Lüpold (eds.) (in press).

²¹³ 923C, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Φαρνάκης αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν ἀδείᾳ τοῦ πεσεῖν τὴν γῆν ἔστιν, οἰκτείρει δὲ τοὺς ύποκειμένους τῇ μεταφορᾷ τῆς σελήνης Αἰθίοπας ἢ Ταπροβηνούς, μὴ βάρος αὐτοῖς ἐμπέσῃ τοσοῦτον. Interestingly, Ethiopians are mentioned again in 938A (under the name "Troglobytes"), where they are said to be black because they have the sun pending over their heads during the summer solstice. The references by Lucius in 923C and Theon in 937E are interesting, since the former deals with real people, and the latter with mythological characters. This subtle combination shows the nature of Plutarch's study, which combines ethnographic and literary material for the sake of the same argument.

²¹⁴ This entry is a short, revised version of the study "Reincarnation and other Experiences of the Soul," (in press), which contains, besides the overview of souls, two case studies.

overview of the souls described in the text according to two criteria: life-stage and location.

1. Three life-stages are described: (a) soul-intellects recently detached from the body; (b) soul-intellects already promoted to the rank of daemons; and (c) souls detached from intellects.
2. Each of the aforementioned life-stages is located in different places: the earth, the space between the earth and the moon, and the moon, depending on the processes of judgment, atonement, and purification.

Based on these two criteria, the following overview shows the orderly scenario depicted in *De facie*:

- 1) soul-intellects
 - a) between the earth and the moon: two passages place the soul-intellects there after the first death, the former describes the function of the stay, the latter the behavior of the soul-intellects during the stay;
 - b) on the moon: the habitat connatural to souls is described;
- 2) daemons
 - a) on the moon: daemons must fulfil several purification stages;
 - b) on earth: they descend either as part of their activities or due to reincarnation;
- 3) souls
 - a) on the moon: after the second death, they remain there until they dissolve;
 - b) on earth: there is an improper descent by some rebellious souls.

The first life-stage is composed by soul-intellects recently detached from the body (943B-944B). The ascent begins after the first death with the statement that every soul, be it “with or without intellect” (*πᾶσαν ψυχὴν ἄνουν τε καὶ σὸν νῷ*), must spend some time in the air between the earth and the moon (943BD).²¹⁵ This first description focuses on the function of their stay there. The unjust and licentious souls (*αἱ μὲν ἄδικοι καὶ*

²¹⁵ 943BD, *πᾶσαν ψυχήν, ἄνουν τε καὶ σὸν νῷ, σώματος ἐκπεσοῦσαν είμαρμένον ἔστιν <ἐν> τῷ μεταξὺ γῆς καὶ σελήνης χωρίῳ πλανηθῆναι χρόνον οὐκ ἵσον, ἀλλ’ αἱ μὲν ἄδικοι καὶ ἀκόλαστοι δίκαιας τῶν ἀδικημάτων τίνουσι, τὰς δὲ ἐπιεικεῖς ὅσον ἀφαγεῦσαι καὶ ἀποπνεῦσαι <τοὺς> ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, ὥσπερ αἵτιον πονηροῦ, μιασμοὺς ἐν τῷ πραοτάτῳ τοῦ ἀέρος, ὃν λειμῶνας Ἄιδου καλοῦσι, δεῖ γίνεσθαι χρόνον τινὰ τεταγμένον. <ἐν φ> οἷον ἐξ ἀποδημίας ἀνακομιζόμεναι φυγαδικῆς εἰς πατρίδα γεύονται χαρᾶς οἷον οἱ τελούμενοι μάλιστα θορύβῳ καὶ πτοήσει συγκεκραμένῃ μετ’ ἐλπίδος ιδίας ἔχουσι. Πολλὰς γὰρ ἐξωθεῖ καὶ ἀποκυματίζει γλιχομένας ἥδη τῆς σελήνης, ἐνίας δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ περικάτω τρεπομένας, οἷον εἰς βυθὸν αὖθις, ὄρῶσι καταδυομένας.*

ἀκόλαστοι) must pay penalties, while the righteous ones ($\tau\alpha\zeta$ δὲ ἐπιεικεῖς) must be purified from the contact with the body.²¹⁶ Some, among these soul-intellects, are said to approach the moon before being ready to do so: many of them ($\pi\omega\lambda\lambda\zeta$ γάρ) try to reach the moon prematurely and are therefore rejected by it; few others ($\grave{\epsilon}\nu\iota\alpha\zeta$ δέ) manage to reach the moon despite not being ready and consequently end up falling back.²¹⁷ When ready, soul-intellects ascend to a new location: they reach the moon and settle in (943DE).²¹⁸ The text focuses first on their behavior: they settle firmly and go around in a circle, as winners, with crowns of wings called “of stability;” then, secondly, on their appearance and nature: they resemble a ray and are lightweight. However, no further classification of souls is provided.

Then follows the second of the descriptions placing the soul-intellects in the space between the earth and the moon with a focus on their behavior (944AB).²¹⁹ This allows for a new typology distinguishing the good souls from the bad: while the good (< $\tau\alpha\zeta$ > τῶν ἀγαθῶν) cry and call for the moon to rescue them because they can no longer hear the harmony of the heavens, the souls of the chastised (αἱ τῶν κολαζομένων ψυχαί) approach from below through the shadows, being afraid of the so-called face.²²⁰

²¹⁶ The notion of souls stained by the contact with the material world is found elsewhere, for instance in *Ex.Soul* 132. On this treatise and its connections with Platonic philosophy, see L. Roig Lanzillotta, L., “Platonism and *The Expository Treatise on the Soul* (NHC II,6),” in L. van der Stockt, F. Titchener, H.G. Ingenkamp & A. Pérez Jiménez (eds.), *Gods, Daimones, Rituals, Myths and History in Plutarch’s Works* (Málaga: Málaga University Press / Logan: Utah State University Press, 2010) 345-362. The purification process should not be understood only as an ethical or moral endeavor but as a physical cleansing as well. On the issue, see Layton, B., “The Soul as a Dirty Garment,” *Le Muséon* 91 (1978) 155-169; and more generally, R. Parker, *Miasma. Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983).

²¹⁷ Scholarship has up to now interpreted that these groups do not belong to the location previously mentioned. Both G.N. Bernardakis, *Plutarchi Chaeronensis Moralia*, vol. 5, with the emendation of the text, and Donini, *Plutarco. Il volto della luna*, 351 n. 391-392, interpreted that the experiences of the groups would occur when the soul-intellects have already reached the moon. This view is not supported by the text, as I defended in “Reincarnation and other Experiences of the Soul,” (in press).

²¹⁸ 943DE, Αἱ δὲ ἄνω γενόμεναι καὶ βεβαίως ιδρυθεῖσαι πρῶτον μέν, ὥσπερ οἱ νικηφόροι, περιίασιν ἀναδούμεναι στεφάνοις πτερῶν εὐσταθείας λεγομένοις, ὅτι τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ἄλογον καὶ τὸ παθητικὸν εὐήνιον ἐπιεικῶς τῷ λόγῳ καὶ κεκοσμημένον ἐν τῷ βίῳ παρέσχοντο. Δεύτερον <δὲ> ἀκτῖνι τὴν ὅψιν ἔοικιται, περὶ δὲ τὴν φύσιν ἄνω κουφιζομένην ὥσπερ ἐνταῦθα τῷ περὶ τὴν σελήνην αἰθέρι, καὶ τόνον ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ δύναμιν οἷον τὰ στομούμενα βαφὴν ἵσχουσι.

²¹⁹ 944AB, ἀλλὰ θερμότητι ἐπείγει τὴν κίνησιν, ὅπως ταχὺ διεκπερᾶ τὸν σκοτώδη τόπον ὑπεκφέρουσα < $\tau\alpha\zeta$ > τῶν ἀγαθῶν σπενδούσας καὶ βοῶσας· οὐκέτι γάρ ἐξακούουσιν ἐν τῇ σκιᾷ γενόμεναι τῆς περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀρμονίας· ἂμα δὲ καὶ κάτωθεν αἱ τῶν κολαζομένων ψυχαὶ τηγικαῦτα διὰ τῆς σκιᾶς ὁδυρόμεναι, ἀλαλάζουσαι προσφέρονται, διὸ καὶ κροτεῖν ἐν ταῖς ἐκλείψεσιν εἰώθασιν οἱ πλεῖστοι χαλκώματα καὶ ψόφον ποιεῖν καὶ πάταγον ἐπὶ τὰς φαύλας.

²²⁰ The harmony of heavens, mentioned above in 5.1. “Introduction” to the Chapter, was a Pythagorean and Platonic notion received by Plutarch: Plato, *Rep.* 617B. See also Plutarch, *De genio* 590C and *De musica* 1147A. Aristotle, differently, asserted the impossibility of bodies, such as planets, making a sound that was not thunderous for us (*Cael.* 290B10-291A).

Plutarch introduces, at this point, a digression to the traditional practice of making noises with cymbals and bronze instruments during eclipses. The goal of this custom was usually to get the moon's light back, because the disappearance of the moon was interpreted as a bad omen.²²¹ This passage, differently, suggests another objective for the strident music: to scare the souls away. The souls that are being punished take the opportunity created by the shadow of the earth during eclipses to approach it while yelling and screaming. Thus the need to make noise to conceal their yelling.²²² Both bad and good souls feel uncertainty, fear and despair: in the case of the bad souls, these feelings are simply due to their ignorance regarding the cause of the moon's face, namely its orographic features; in the case of the good souls, these feelings are caused by the realization that having been good during life does not guarantee salvation after death. By means of their unease, the text anticipates that their ethical worth will still be tested after reaching the moon and that the effort to behave correctly must continue (see below, the performance as daemons).

The second life-stage of souls is attained by soul-intellects that have been upgraded to the rank of daemons (*αἱ ψυχαὶ [...] γεγενημέναι δαίμονες*) (944BE). The text first presents daemons on the moon (944BC).²²³ While no further classification is displayed in the passage, the description of the moon's orography with several stages of purification implies it: in the recess of Hecate, daemons must be judged for their actions on earth; in the recesses of the Blessed, daemons go either towards salvation or towards a reincarnation on earth.²²⁴ The references to punishment, salvation, and reincarnation show that these superior souls can also behave improperly due to preponderance of the irrational part of the soul (see below for their duties and their misbehavior). This shows the need of a sound ethical code both during life and after the first death in order to assure

²²¹ For the folkloric interpretation of the meaning of eclipses, see Préaux, *La lune dans la pensée grecque*, 123-128. The custom appears, for instance, in Pliny, *H.N.* 2.54; Tacitus, *Annals* 1.28; Juvenal, 6.442-443; Martial, *Epigrams*, 12.57 and 16-17; and Plutarch, *Aem. Paulus* 17.9.

²²² Souls approaching the moon and being scared away with noise is also found in *De genio* 591C. In this case, there is no folk tradition involved: the moon itself makes noises (a terrible roar) and uses lighting to block their approach. On this, see 5.3.2.1. “The Face of the Moon.”

²²³ 944BC, Καλούσι δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ μὲν μέγιστον Ἐκάτης μυχόν, ὅπου καὶ δίκας διδόσασιν αἱ ψυχαὶ καὶ λαμβάνουσιν ὃν ἀνήδη γεγενημέναι δαίμονες ἡ πάθωσιν ἡ δράσωσι, τὰ δὲ δύο Μακάρων· περαιοῦνται γὰρ αἱ ψυχαὶ δι' αὐτῶν, νῦν μὲν εἰς τὰ πρὸς οὐρανὸν τῆς σελήνης, νῦν δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὰ πρὸς γῆν· ὄνομάζεται δὲ τὰ μὲν πρὸς οὐρανὸν τῆς σελήνης Ἡλύσιον πεδίον, τὰ δ' ἐνταῦθα Φερσεφόνης [οὐκ ἀντίχθονος].

²²⁴ Concerning the corruption of the text, see the corresponding heading in Chapter 4.

a continuous rational control of the irrational, a constant activity that is the precondition for souls to achieve their goal.²²⁵

Later on in the narration (944CD), these daemons will be placed on earth.²²⁶ The description focuses on their activities: daemons help with oracles and rituals, as well as in wars and sea wrecks.²²⁷ This section also introduces a new typology distinguishing good from bad daemons: those who do not fulfill their tasks correctly ($\mu\bar{n}$ καλῶς περὶ ταῦτα πράξωσιν) will face the punishment of reincarnation; some other groups, differently, excel in these tasks and stand out among all others ($\acute{e}k$ δὲ τῶν βελτιόνων ἔκεινων). The passage includes a list with specific examples of the latter type: the attendants of Cronos, Idaean Dactyls, Corybants, Trophoniads, and thousands of others in many parts of the world.²²⁸

In the third life-stage souls do not form a compound with the intellect (944E-945B). Firstly, the text presents these souls on the moon, after the detachment of the intellect in the second death, where they remain until they finally dissolve into its essence

²²⁵ *De facie* refers to this constant effort of the souls in 943D (ἀναδούμεναι στεφάνοις πτερῶν εὐσταθείας λεγομένοις, ὅτι τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ἄλογον καὶ τὸ παθητικὸν εὐήνιον ἐπιεικῶς τῷ λόγῳ καὶ κεκοσμημένον ἐν τῷ βίῳ παρέσχοντο). Not only the reference to the concept of εὐστάθεια, but the whole sentence reminds Democritus' philosophy, as found in the most extensive of the fragments conserved, B 191DK. See L. Roig Lanzillotta's analysis in "Διδαχὴ μεταρυσμοῦ: Proceso comparativo y cuadro axiológico en la ética democritea," *CFC(G)* 11 (2001) 49-77. On the crowns as the distinctive feature of the initiates, see Plut., fr. 178 Sandbach, and Vernière, *Symboles et mythes*, 211-212. The connection is not without pertinence, given that in the previous passage the emotions of the souls were equated to those of the initiates. All the ideas included in Plutarch's description—namely the image of the athlete, wings of the soul and a life ruled by order—are present in *Phdr.* 256B.

²²⁶ 944CD, Οὐκ ἀεὶ δὲ διατρίβουσιν ἐπ’ αὐτὴν οἱ δαίμονες, ἀλλὰ χρηστηρίων δεῦρο κατίσιαν ἐπιμελησόμενοι καὶ ταῖς ἀνωτάτῳ συμπάρεισι καὶ συνοργιάζουσι τῶν τελετῶν, κολασταί τε γίνονται καὶ φύλακες ἀδικημάτων καὶ σωτῆρες ἐν τε πολέμοις καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐπιλάμπουσιν. Ό τι δ’ ἂν μὴ καλῶς περὶ ταῦτα πράξωσιν, ἀλλὰ ὑπ’ ὄργης ἢ πρὸς ἀδίκον χάριν ἢ φθόνῳ, δίκην τίνουσιν· ὥθοινται γὰρ αὖθις ἐπὶ γῆν συρρηγγνύμενοι σώμασιν ἀνθρωπίνοις. Ἐκ δὲ τῶν βελτιόνων ἔκεινων οἵ τε περὶ τὸν Κρόνον ὄντες ἔφασαν αὐτοὺς εἶναι, καὶ πρότερον ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ τοὺς Ἰδαίους Δακτύλους ἐν τε Φρυγίᾳ τοὺς Κορύβαντας γενέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς περὶ Βοιωτίαν ἐν αὐλῶνι Τροφωνιάδας, καὶ μυρίους ἄλλους πολλαχόθι τῆς οἰκουμένης.

²²⁷ Plutarch refers to these functions also in *De def. or.* 415B and 431CE, where he also insists on both the daemons' intermediate nature, linking higher and lower beings (416F), and their connection with sanctuaries and mysteries (417AB). This function of daemons can be traced back to Plato, *Symp.* 202E and *Rep.* 260D. On the role of daemons in Plutarch's oeuvre, see C. Santaniello, "Aspetti della demonologia Plutarca: tra il *De defectu oraculorum* e altri scritti del corpus," in I. Gallo (ed.), *Plutarco e la Religione. Atti del VI Convegno Plutarcho (Ravello, 29-31 maggio 1995)* (Naples: M. D'Auria, 1996) 357-371; and more recently C. Alcalde Martín touches upon the relation between daemons and sacrifices in Plutarch, "Human sacrifices: can they be justified?," in L. Roig Lanzillotta & R. Hirsch-Lipold (eds.) (in press).

²²⁸ On the Idaean Dactyls, companions of the goddess Rhea, and the Corybants, companions of the Phrygian goddess Cybele, see Apoll., *Bibliotheca* 1.1122; D.S. 5.48, 2; Paus. 57.6; Cicero, *De nat. deor.*, 3.16; and Pliny, *H.N.* 7.56. Plutarch also mentions them in *De musica* 5 and *Amatorius* 759A, in connection with the dactylic rhythm and music in general. While the word Τροφωνιάδας appears nowhere else, the term has been associated to the oracle of Trophonius in Lebadea, which appears in the myth of *De genio* (see P. Bonnechere, "Trophonius of Lebadea. Mystery Aspects of an Oracular cult in Boeotia," in M.B. Cosmopoulos (ed.), *Greek Mysteries. The Archaeology of Ancient Greek Secret Cults* [London: Routledge, 2002] 171 and 171 n. 14).

(945AB).²²⁹ Among them, we see, once again, a distinction between good and bad souls. Reasonable souls (*ai σώφρονες*) are recompensed with immediate dissolution, since they devoted their time to philosophy and successfully subdued passions both during life and later as daemons. From the group of ambitious and active souls, inclined to bodily pleasures and irascible (*τῶν δὲ φιλοτίμων καὶ πρακτικῶν, ἐρωτικῶν τε περὶ σώματα καὶ θυμοειδῶν*), some (*ai μέν*) spend their time on the moon in a sort of daydream, until instability and insubordination originates in them the desire to return to a body, which the moon forbids, charming them back.²³⁰ Given that the passage opens with the general statement that souls dissolve into the moon (*ἀναλύονται γὰρ εἰς ταύτην*), even if not explicitly stated for this type of souls, it seems reasonable to assume that, despite needing more time than the first type, they follow the same fate and in due time dissolve as well.

Secondly, the text describes some souls without intellect (*ἄνευ νοῦ*) that manage to descend to earth (945BC),²³¹ which the moon will eventually bring back and set in order. Differently than in previous cases, there is no opposition between good and bad souls, but the group includes only the bad souls, among which are a few monstrous beings, such as Tityus, Typhon and Python.²³² By not including a good type of soul when

²²⁹ Αναλύονται γὰρ εἰς ταύτην, ὥσπερ εἰς τὴν γῆν τὰ σώματα τῶν νεκρῶν, ταχὺ μὲν αἱ σώφρονες μετὰ σχολῆς, ἀπράγμονα καὶ φιλόσοφον στέρξασι βίον, ἀφεθεῖσαι γὰρ ύπὸ τοῦ νοῦ καὶ πρὸς οὐθὲν ἔτι χρώμεναι τοὶς πάθεσιν ἀπομαραίνονται. Τῶν δὲ φιλοτίμων καὶ πρακτικῶν, ἐρωτικῶν τε περὶ σώματα καὶ θυμοειδῶν, αἱ μέν, οἷον ἐν ὑπνῳ, ταῖς τοῦ βίου μνημοσύναις ὄνείρασι χρώμεναι, διαφέρονται καθάπερ ἡ τοῦ Ἐνδυμίωνος: ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτὰς τὸ ἀστατον καὶ τὸ ἀπειθὲς ἔξιστησι καὶ ἀφέλκει τῆς σελήνης πρὸς ἄλλην γένεσιν, οὐκ ἐᾶ ... ἀλλ' ἀνακαλεῖται καὶ καταθέλγει.

²³⁰ One would expect a counterpart to this subtype initiated with ‘some’ (*ai μέν*), namely ‘others,’ but the reader never gets to know if, indeed, there is one or what this specific sort would look like. Strangely enough, some scholars (Soury, *La démonologie de Plutarque*, 207 n. 1; and Y. Vernière, “La lune, réservoir des âmes,” in F. Jouan [ed.], *Mort et fécondité dans les mythologies. Actes du colloque de Poitiers 13-14 mai 1983* [Paris: Belles Lettres, 1986] 106) interpreted that ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτὰς is, in fact, the counterpart of *ai μέν*—perhaps based on the correlative particle *δέ*. They, consequently, juxtapose the souls dreaming on the moon to those that try to go back to earth. In my view, this is an erroneous interpretation, given that αὐτάς refers to *ai μέν*: because they dream of their previous life, they desire to return to it.

²³¹ 945BC, Μικρὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἡσυχον, οὐδὲ ὁμοιογούμενον ἔργον ἔστιν, ὅταν ἄνευ νοῦ τῷ παθητικῷ σώματος ἐπιλάβωνται. Τίτοι δὲ καὶ Τυφῶνες, ὃ τε Δελφοὺς κατασχὼν καὶ συνταράξας τὸ χρηστήριον ὕβρει καὶ βίᾳ τύφων, ἐξ ἐκείνων ἄρα τῶν ψυχῶν ἥσαν, ἐρήμων λόγου καὶ τύφω πλανηθέντι τῷ παθητικῷ χρησαμένων· χρόνῳ δὲ κάκείνας κατέδησεν εἰς αὐτὴν ἡ σελήνη καὶ κατεκόσμησεν.

²³² For more on Tityus, who belongs to the race of Giants and is associated to the episode of Leto’s rape, for which he was sent to Tartarus, see Homer, *Od.* 11.576-581; Pindar, *Pyth.* 4.90; and Plutarch, *Pelop.* 16. Typhon, a cruel being with one hundred heads, was Gea’s and Tartarus’ son (see *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 3.306-348; Hesiod, *Theog.* 306-307; Pindar, *Olymp.* 4.6-8 and *Pyth.* 1.15-28; Ov., *Metam.* 5.346). Plutarch devotes much of *De Is. et Os.* to Typhon and his relationship with Isis and Osiris: while Typhon represents the World Soul, the irrational element in need of order, Isis’ role is to maintain the balance and restrain his actions. Given the parallelisms between Isis and the moon (both are assimilated in *De Is. et Os.* 372D), this role of the goddess can be related to the moon’s role in *De facie*, which must bring these monstrous souls back into order (κατέδησεν [...] καὶ κατεκόσμησεν). Python was killed by Apollo as revenge for having chased Apollo’s mother to prevent her from giving birth. See further Hyg., *Fabulae* 140; Apoll., *Bibliotheca* 1.4.1 3-5; Strab. 9.12; Plutarch, *De def. or.* 421C and *Pelop.* 16.

discussing these terrible souls seizing upon a body while deprived of an intellect, Plutarch highlights the utmost importance of the intellect and the need for a soul to obey to it.

The overview and analysis of the moon's inhabitants, to wit the souls, according to the life-stage of their existence and the location in which they appear, brings to the fore the relevance of ethical values not only during life on earth but also all through the soul's existence.²³³

5.4. Position of the Moon

5.4.1. Introduction

The name of this third thematic section on the “Position of the Moon” needs to be understood in a broad sense, since it addresses not only the *location* of the moon but also its *role* in relation to other bodies. At a macro level, the text describes the position of the moon in relationship to the cosmos, namely Cosmography; at a micro level, in turn, it describes its role in relation to humans, namely Anthropology. As is also the case in previous thematic sections, Plutarch brings together astronomical data, philosophical theories, and literary elements in order to offer an overarching investigation on the moon's position in both cosmographic and anthropological frameworks.

The subsection Cosmography includes headings analyzing the location and role of the moon in relation to the sun and the earth. In this sense, Plutarch is especially interested in the phaenomena of illumination and obscuration of the moon. This is not only due to the fact that they are the main arguments in favor of the earthy nature of the moon defended by the main characters, but also due to the fact that both phaenomena account for the position of the moon in the cosmos. The subsection Anthropology, in turn, deals with notions related to the moon's liveness. This is directly connected with the view of the cosmos as a living being equipped with equivalent or similar components as those of a human being—an idea included in *De facie* 928AC and 935B.²³⁴ In this case, the moon is associated with human beings inasmuch as it determines the processes of generation and dissolution of mortals.

²³³ On the meaning of practical ethics for Plutarch, see L. van Hoof, *Plutarch's Practical Ethics. The Social Dynamics of Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), who, unfortunately, paid no attention to *De facie*.

²³⁴ This notion can be traced back to Democritus (B 34DK) and appears in Plato, *Cra.* 40BD; *Tim.* 47D; and *Rep.* 530A.

5.4.2. Cosmography

5.4.2.1. Illumination

Several passages address the moon's position in the cosmos in relation to the light of the sun (929AD, 931A, 942D, 944E). This, in turn, elucidates the symbolic relationship between moon and sun.

Lucius introduces the topic of the moon's lack of light in 929AD when rejecting the moon's ethereal nature proposed by Aristotle. First, he points to the fact that among all the astral bodies the moon alone is “in need of alien light.”²³⁵ For this, he offers the support of Ancient philosophers. He begins by quoting a verse of Parmenides: “always fixing her glance on the beams of the sun” (B 15DK, ἀεὶ παπταίνουσα πρὸς αὐγὰς ἡλίοιο).²³⁶ However, it should be noted that just because Parmenides noticed that the bright side of the moon continually faces the sun does not necessarily imply that he understood the cause of its illumination. In fact, given that he thought that the moon was of a fiery nature, its illumination should derive from ignition rather than from reflection.²³⁷ Because of Parmenides' views on the moon's nature, the theory of the reflected light can hardly be attributed to him.²³⁸

Lucius, then, refers to Anaxagoras, since he was apparently the first to rightly explain the phenomena of phases and eclipses of the moon.²³⁹ While the mention of Parmenides comes first in *De facie*, Plutarch seems to attribute to Anaxagoras a more relevant role in the question by using the expression τὸ Ἀναξαγόρειον in reference to Anaxagoras' theory that “the sun imparts to the moon her brilliance” (B 18DK).²⁴⁰ Notwithstanding this, while Anaxagoras considered the moon's nature as earthy, for him

²³⁵ 929A, εἴ γε τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ τοσούτων τὸ πλῆθος ὄντων, μόνη φωτὸς ἀλλοτρίου δεομένη περίειστι.

²³⁶ Plutarch cites another verse of Parmenides in *Adversus Colotem* 1116A, with the same intention of proving that the moon seeks the sun's light (B 14DK, νυκτιφαὲς περὶ γαῖαν ἀλώμενον ἀλλότριον φῶς). Interestingly, he repeats the verse of *De facie* in *Quaestiones Romanae* 282B, not in order to state that the moon is in need of the light of the sun, but rather that the moon is less important than the sun. Raingeard, *Le peri toy prosopoy*, 97, noted that with this Plutarch illustrates the idea that that which is second in place must remain obedient to the first in rank. The occurrence in *Quaest. rom.* 282B is not integrated in Diels-Kranz.

²³⁷ On this see Heath, *Greek Astronomy*, XXX-XXXI; Evans, *The History and Practice of Ancient Astronomy*, 44-45.

²³⁸ However, a number of ancient sources assumed that this was, in fact, the case. The discovery that the moon reflected the light of the sun was attributed in Antiquity to Parmenides, Anaximenes, Pythagoras, Anaxagoras and Empedocles. See D. O'Brien, “Derived Light and Eclipses in the Fifth Century,” *JHS* 88 (1968) 118-119.

²³⁹ Heath, *Greek Astronomy*, XXXIII; Evans, *The History and Practice of Ancient Astronomy*, 46.

²⁴⁰ 929B, Ο μὲν οὖν ἑταῖρος ἐν τῇ διατριβῇ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ Ἀναξαγόρειον ἀποδεικνὺς ὡς ἥλιος ἐντίθησι τῇ σελήνῃ τὸ λαμπρὸν ἡδοκίμησεν. DK.

it was still lit on fire—a stone on fire, to be precise.²⁴¹ Thus, even if partaking in the sun’s light, the moon has light of its own too.

In 929D, Lucius adds a third philosopher to support his view. After rejecting the theories of the sun irradiating and shining through the moon or concentrating its brilliance on it, he sees no other plausible option but “that of Empedocles” ($\tauὸ\ τοῦ\ Ἐμπεδοκλέους$). The moonlight observed from earth comes from the reflection of the sun’s light on the moon, which is the reason why it is faint and weak.²⁴² In this sense, the section seems to present the theory of the extrinsic origin of the moon’s light in an evolutionary way: in a first stage, with Parmenides, it was seen as the result of kindling; next, with Anaxagoras, light was conceived as the reflection of the sun’s light on the (fiery) moon; in the third stage, with Empedocles, the light of the moon was explained as the light’s reflection on a solid body.²⁴³

After a short interruption, due to Sulla’s intervention in 929E, Lucius returns to the issue of the moonlight again in 931A. Because in his view the moon is an earthy body, he concludes that its illumination must be the result of extrinsic light reflecting upon it. The moon, therefore, “is not only illuminated itself, but also transmits to us the semblance of the illumination.”²⁴⁴ The last words ($\tauῆς\ αὐγῆς\ ἀναπέμπει\ τὸ\ εἴδωλον$) have generally been interpreted as if the moon sends the image of *its own* illumination.²⁴⁵ However, if we accept that the light transmitted by the moon is that of the sun, then, here, the allusion to the likeness must be a reference to the sun. In this sense, the text anticipates the passage in 944E, where an image in the sun is also alluded to: “the image in the sun ($\tauῆς\ περὶ\ τὸ\ ἥλιον\ εἰκόνος$) through which shines forth manifest the desirable and fair and divine and blessed towards which all nature in one way or another yearns.”²⁴⁶ The parallel language

²⁴¹ Anaxagoras (A 42DK). To compare the views on Plutarch’s knowledge regarding the theories of Anaxagoras, see Lehnus, *Plutarco. Il volto della luna*, 139 n. 118; and Hershbell, “Plutarch and Anaxagoras”.

²⁴² 929D, ἀνακλάσει τινὶ τοῦ ἥλιον πρὸς τὴν σελήνην γίνεσθαι τὸν ἐνταῦθα φωτισμὸν ἀπ’ αὐτῆς, οὗτον οὐδὲ θερμὸν οὐδὲ λαμπρὸν ἀφικεῖται πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὥσπερ ἦν εἰκὸς ἔξαψεως καὶ μίξεως <τῶν> φώτων γεγενημένης. He later introduces Empedocles’ fr. (B 43DK) to corroborate this explanation. On the lacuna and other possible conjectures, see the corresponding heading in Chapter 4.

²⁴³ Noted by Lehnus in *Plutarco. Il volto della luna*, 139 n. 118.

²⁴⁴ 931AB, παντὸς μᾶλλον ἐπιδείκνυσιν οὐ σύγκρασιν ἀλλ’ ἐπαφήν, οὐδὲ σύλλαμψιν ἀλλὰ περίλαμψιν αὐτῆς ὄντα τὸν φωτισμὸν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ αὐτῇ φωτίζεται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεῦρο τῆς αὐγῆς ἀναπέμπει τὸ εἴδωλον.

²⁴⁵ Cherniss, “Concerning the Face,” 115; Lehnus, *Plutarco. Il volto della luna*, 78; Ramón Palerm, “Sobre la cara visible de la luna,” 161; and Donini, *Plutarco. Il volto della luna*, 177. Raingeard, *Le peri toy prosopoy*, 22, on the contrary, translated “elle renvoie jusqu’ici le reflet de l’éclat du soleil;” and Lernould followed Raingeard in *Plutarque. Le visage*, 51.

²⁴⁶ 944E, τῆς περὶ τὸν ἥλιον εἰκόνος, δι’ ᾧς ἐπιλάμπει τὸ ἐφετὸν καὶ καλὸν καὶ θεῖον καὶ μακάριον, οὐ πᾶσα φύσις ἄλλη δὲ ἄλλως ὄρέγεται. Here, Plutarch unquestionably conflates Platonic and Aristotelian concepts of the highest divinity (see Plato, *Tim.* 42B; Arist., *De An.* 3.5). On the return of the intellect to

of these passages encourages us to interpret them together. At first glance, the reader notices that in both cases the element whose likeness is projected cannot physically be seen: the sun, itself, cannot be seen on the moon, and the transcendent divinity cannot be seen in the sun either.²⁴⁷ However, both passages affirm that the images can be seen. The reference to likenesses raises the point, in an allegorical way, of the hierarchical nature dividing the roles of moon and sun. The moon brings to us the likeness of the sun; the sun, in turn, brings to us the likeness of the highest being, the transcendent divinity. Furthermore, the text in 944E states that all nature, particularly the intellect, yearns towards this divinity.²⁴⁸ The reader, by this point, is well aware that the intellect is the component of human beings that the sun provides to the moon. Consequently, the moon not only receives its light from the sun, but also the much more valuable intellect. The relationship between moon and sun acquires a new meaning, one of an intimate kind. This idea is reinforced by the possible sexual character of the verbs ὑπολαμβάνει and δέχεται, used in the first passage (929C).²⁴⁹ If the moon “seduces and receives” the sun, later in 944E, the moon “out of love for the sun goes its rounds and unites with it for what is most fructifying.”²⁵⁰ Also, in 930EF, if we accept the text of the manuscripts, the relationship between the sun and the moon has sexual implications, for the moon is “cherished entirely when grazed by the sun,” and, in 933A, the moon is said to “strive after the sun.”²⁵¹

the sun and the meaning of the passage, see P.L. Donini, “Il *De facie* di Plutarco e la teología medioplatonica,” in S. Gersh & C. Kannengiesser (eds.), *Platonism in Late Antiquity* (Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992), 105 and 107.

²⁴⁷ The question of why the sun is not visible on the orb of the moon is thoroughly discussed by Lamprias in 936B-937A.

²⁴⁸ 944E, ὅταν ὁ νοῦς ἀποκριθῇ τῆς ψυχῆς: ἀποκρίνεται δὲ ἔρωτι τῆς περὶ τὸν ἥλιον εἰκόνος. The issue of yearning for the divine is discussed by F. Becchi, “Plutarco e la dottrina dell’OMOIΩΣΙΣ ΘΕΩΙ tra platonismo ed aristotelismo,” in I. Gallo (ed.), *Plutarco e la Religione. Atti del VI Convegno Plutarcheo (Ravello, 29-31 maggio 1995)* (Naples: M. D’Auria, 1996) 321-355; F. Ferrari, “I fondamenti metafisici dell’etica di Plutarco,” *Ploutarchos* 5 (2004-2005) 19-31; L. Roig Lanzillotta, “A Way of Salvation: Becoming like God in Nag Hammadi,” *Numen* 60 (2013) 71-102; and G. Roskam, “Plutarch’s Yearning after Divinity: the Introduction to *On Isis and Osiris*,” *CJ* 110, 2 (2014) 213-239.

²⁴⁹ For sexual connotations, see: ὑπολαμβάνω, LSJ meaning IV; and δέχομαι, Semon. 7.49, and Arist., *HA* 585A35. Cherniss, “Concerning the Face,” 102 n. a, and 214 n. a., noted other passages by Plutarch in which this sexual relation between moon and sun is implicit, such as *Amatorius* 770A. Vernière, *Symboles et mythes*, 176-177, also stressed the sexual vocabulary and connected it (177 n. 1) with *De Is. et Os.* 367CD. Strangely enough, the author was surprised by the fact that these allusions to a human conduct of astral bodies are placed together with “serious scientific” considerations, “sans que la contradiction semble choquer l’auteur.” Coming from one of the scholars who emphasized the presence of both “scientific” and “religious/philosophical” matters in Plutarch’s work, such a sharp condemn astounds.

²⁵⁰ 944E, Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν τὴν σελήνην ἔρωτι τοῦ ἥλιου περιπολεῖν δεῖ καὶ συγγίνεσθαι, ὀρεγομένην ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τὸ γονιμώτατον.

²⁵¹ 930EF, ἀλλ’ εἰ καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἔψαυε περιών, πολλὴν ἀνατίμπλασθαι καὶ δι’ ὅλης τρέφεσθαι. On the textual problem, see the corresponding heading in Chapter 4. 933A, ἡ σελήνη πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀμιλλωμένη.

The moon's relationship with the sun's light is reinforced by one other passage, through a (hardly conceivable) etymological play so dear to Plutarch. In 942D, the two names attributed to the moon, Persephone and Kore, find their origin in light: the former is due to the fact that the moon is “a bearer of light,” and the latter because “that is what we call the part of the eye in which is reflected the semblance of the one who looks into it as the light of the sun is seen in the moon.”²⁵² There seems to be no ancient parallel to the etymology suggested by Plutarch for Persephone.²⁵³ The second etymology, that of Kore, with its allusion to the reflection of a semblance of the person who looks into the pupil ($\tauὸ\ εἰδωλὸν\ ἀντιλάμπει$) and to the sun's light shining on the moon, must no doubt be connected with the aspects dealt with in 931AB and 944E.

Consequently, the relationship between moon and sun appears to be more complex than the moon merely reflecting the sun's light. From an allegorical perspective, Plutarch points also to another sort of light—that of the divine seed, which the moon receives and, after combining it with a soul, sends towards the earth.

5.4.2.2. Obscuration

The moon's obscuration, which occurs in conjunction (new moon) and in opposition (full moon, when eclipsed) with respect to the sun, is discussed in several passages: 931CD, 932DE, 933AB, 933DE, and 942E. Because the obscuration is only possible when the moon is lined up with the earth and the sun, the phenomenon helps to put the moon's cosmological position in perspective.

In 931CD, Lucius tries to prove that the moon must be composed of the same material as the earth. He does so with two analogies:

- 1) the moon and the earth are affected in the same manner by external influences, and
- 2) they both cause the same reactions on a third body.²⁵⁴

²⁵² 942D, Κόρη τε καὶ Φερσεφόνη κέκληται, τὸ μὲν ώς φωσφόρος οὖσα, Κόρη δὲ ὅτι καὶ τοῦ ὄμματος ἐν ᾧ τὸ εἰδωλὸν ἀντιλάμπει τοῦ βλέποντος, ὡσπερ τὸ ἡλίου φέγγος ἐνορᾶται τῇ σελήνῃ, κόρην προσαγορεύομεν.

²⁵³ Cherniss, “Concerning the Face,” 193 n. c. He also pointed to the fact that Plutarch suggests a different etymology for Persephone in *De Is. et Os.* 377D: according to the Stoic Cleanthes, the breath of air is carried (φερόμενον) by Persephone and suffers dissolution (φονευόμενον). Raingeard, *Le peri toy prosopoy*, 141, saw in the goddess' name the root of φέρω, and while struggling to find a relation with fire or light, he suggested to look for an adjective such as πυρσοφόρος. Vernière, “La Lune, réservoir des âmes,” 107, affirmed that this “bizarrie etymologique” can be found in Hermetic texts and magic papyri, yet he does not provide any specific reference.

²⁵⁴ 931CD, Δότε δή μοι γεωμετρικῶς εἰπεῖν πρὸς ἀνολογίαν· ώς εἰ τριῶν ὄντων οἵς τὸ ἀφ' ἡλίου φῶς πλησιάζει· γῆς, σελήνης, ἀέρος, ὁρῶμεν οὐχ ώς ὁ ἀήρ μᾶλλον ἢ ώς ἡ γῆ φωτιζομένην τὴν σελήνην,

According to the first analogy, when the sun illuminates earth, moon, and air, the moon reacts to light in the same manner as the earth, which is different than the air: only the side that receives light is illuminated, instead of the whole body shining through. Thus, he concludes that “the things upon which the same agent produces the same effects must be of a similar nature.” With this analogy, everyone agrees and, consequently, he feels encouraged to propose a second one. He equates the setting of the sun to a solar eclipse, on the grounds that both are caused by the same phenomenon: the former by the interposition of the earth, and the latter by that of the moon. Since the effects are alike, so must be the nature of earth and moon.

The following passages show the extent of Plutarch’s familiarity with astronomical theories concerning eclipses.²⁵⁵ In 932DE, Theon inquires about lunar and solar eclipses. He claims to know only the basics, but the explanation provided is rather specific: “when the three bodies, earth and sun and moon, get into a straight line, eclipses take place because the earth deprives the moon or the moon, on the other hand, deprives the earth of the sun, the sun being eclipsed when the moon and the moon when the earth takes the middle position of the three, the former of which cases occurs at conjunction and the latter at the middle of the month.”²⁵⁶ To be precise, conjunction refers to the position of the moon in relation to the sun during a new moon, and “the middle of the month” indicates the moment in which the moon is in opposition, namely the full moon. The allusion to the phases of the moon shows Theon’s awareness of the revolution of both the moon and the sun in the ecliptic and the specific positions necessary for a solar or lunar eclipse. Needless to say, the position of the moon in conjunction or opposition with respect to the sun does not automatically imply the occurrence of an eclipse, otherwise there would be eclipses twice every month.²⁵⁷ While Theon does not mention this fact in the passage, it is clear that Plutarch was well aware of the requirements for the factual

ἀνάγκη φύσιν ἔχειν ὁμοίαν ἢ τὰ αὐτὰ πάσχειν ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πέφυκεν.” [...] “καὶ δεύτερον ἀναλογίᾳ προσχρηστέον, ὅπως μὴ <τῷ> τὰ αὐτὰ πάσχειν ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ταὐτὰ ποιεῖν ταύτον, ἀποδείξωμεν τῇ γῇ τὴν σελήνην προσεοικύιαν· ὅτι μὲν γάρ οὐδὲν οὕτως τῶν περὶ τὸν ἥλιον γινομένων ὅμοιόν ἐστιν ὡς ἐκλειψις ἥλιον δύσει, δότε μοι. Lucius opens the first analogy and closes the second one with the same expression (δότε δή μοι and δότε μοι), in the attempt to earn benevolence and good disposition from his audience.

²⁵⁵ On the extent of Plutarch’s knowledge, see Stephenson & Fatoohi, “The Total Solar Eclipse;” and section 2.4. “Date and Location of the Dramatic Action,” in Chapter 2.

²⁵⁶ 932DE, ταύτῃ μόνον ἀκηκοώς ὡς ἐπὶ μίαν [μὲν] εὐθεῖαν τῶν τριῶν σωμάτων γινομένων, γῆς καὶ ἥλιου καὶ σελήνης, αἱ ἐκλείψεις συντυγχάνουσιν· ἡ γάρ γῇ τῆς σελήνης ἡ πάλιν ἡ σελήνη τῆς γῆς ἀφαιρεῖται τὸν ἥλιον. Ἐκλείπει γάρ οὗτος μὲν σελήνης, σελήνη δὲ γῆς ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τριῶν ισταμένης· ὃν γίνεται, τὸ μὲν ἐν συνόδῳ, τὸ δὲ ἐν διχομηνίᾳ.

²⁵⁷ A. McLeod, *Astronomy in the Ancient World. Early and Modern Views on Celestial Events* (Berlin-Heidelberg-New York: Springer, 2016) 171-181, pages devoted to eclipses.

eclipse. In 929C, for instance, he asserts that the moon often conceals the sun when in conjunction. The adverb “often” (*πολλάκις*), note he does not say “always,” evidences that the position in conjunction does not guarantee the occurrence of an eclipse.²⁵⁸ In 933DE, he offers approximate calculations as to when an eclipse occurs (see below). Obviously, one can calculate the times in which an eclipse occurs only if one knows its causes. In 937E and 938F-939A, he comments on the moon’s movements, among which is the one in latitude (*πλάτος*).²⁵⁹ This movement results, as Hipparchus had already shown, from the fact that the moon remains elevated about 5° with respect to the ecliptic.²⁶⁰ Observed from earth, the moon progresses “up and down” with respect to the ecliptic. Plutarch correctly understood that this affects the occurrence of eclipses: due to this movement of the moon, the three bodies—sun, earth and moon—do not stand in a straight line every month.²⁶¹ This, in turn, rules out the possibility of an eclipse every month.

The topic of the moon’s obscuration is addressed again in 933AB, when Lucius refers to the different places in which the earth’s shadow captures the moon.²⁶² An eclipse can take place either closer or farther from earth: the former case is called “perigee” and the latter “apogee.” According to Lucius, when the moon is eclipsed near the earth, it takes a longer period to get out of the shadow; when the moon is eclipsed far from the earth, it is concealed for a shorter time. The reason for this variance, he says, lies in the shadow, which is broadest at the base and thinnest at the tip—like the figure of a cone.²⁶³ Interestingly, he attributes different speeds to the moon: when in perigee its motion is

²⁵⁸ 929C, *περὶ τὴν σύνοδον [...] αὐτῇ τε γὰρ ἄδηλός ἐστι τηνικαῦτα κάκεῖνον ἀπέκρυψε καὶ ηφάνισε πολλάκις*. Lehnus, *Plutarco. Il volto della luna*, 140 n. 125.

²⁵⁹ On the moon’s movements and their relation to its inhabitants, see 5.3.3.2. “Fall of the Moon and its Inhabitants,” and Torraca, “L’astronomia lunare in Plutarco,” 237-240.

²⁶⁰ Ptolemy, *Almagest* 4.11.

²⁶¹ The occurrences in which the moon intersects the ecliptic—and consequently stands in line with earth and sun—are now called as “lunar nodes.” These happen twice every month, but only when they occur at conjunction or opposition will there be an eclipse. See McLeod, *Astronomy in the Ancient World*, 175-176.

²⁶² 933B, ὑψηλὴ μὲν ἐκλείπουσα καὶ ἀπόγειος ὀλίγον ἀποκρύπτεται χρόνον, πρόσγειος δὲ καὶ ταπεινὴ αὐτὸ τοῦτο παθοῦσα σφόδρα πιέζεται καὶ βραδέως ἐκ τῆς σκιᾶς ἀπεισι. Καίτοι ταπεινὴ μὲν οὖσα τοῖς μεγίστοις χρῆται κινήμασιν, ὑψηλὴ δὲ τοῖς ἐλαχίστοις: ἀλλὰ τὸ αἴτιον ἐν τῇ σκιᾷ τῆς διαφορᾶς ἐστιν· εὑρυτάτη γὰρ οὖσα περὶ τὴν βάσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ κῶνοι, συστελλομένη τε κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς ὁξὺ τῇ κορυφῇ καὶ λεπτὸν ἀπολήγει πέρας. The moon’s location in perigee or apogee results from one of its three movements, the one in ‘depth’ (*βάθος*) is mentioned by Theon and Lamprias (see references in footnote 102, above).

²⁶³ Plutarch’s claims that the moon is concealed for a shorter time in apogee, however, are incorrect. In spite of the fact that the path of shadow to be crossed by the moon is thinner in apogee, the moon has been proven to be eclipsed for a longer time in apogee than in perigee. This fact seems to have been firstly noted by Kepler in *Ioh. Keppleri Mathematici*, 140. See Cherniss, “Concerning the Face,” 128-129 n. b, for specific calculations.

faster than when in apogee.²⁶⁴ This statement not only rejects the Aristotelian principle that all heavenly bodies move in a uniform (circular) motion, but, furthermore, seems to imply that the moon deliberately changes its speed at times.²⁶⁵ Consequently, while the idea is based on observational data, the way in which it is expressed tends to reinforce the moon's animated nature. In point of fact, this very idea is reiterated in 944A, where the moon hastens its speed to take the good souls that are in the space between earth and moon crying for help.²⁶⁶ The eclipse, in fact, is also involved in this passage, since the Stranger specifies that the chastised souls approach the moon through the earth's shadow from below.

In 933DE, Lucius refers to eclipses and, by extension, to the relation between moon, sun and earth. He refutes the fiery nature of the moon on the grounds that it should either disappear or shine bright at the opposite times in which it does. To corroborate his argument, he refers to the disappearance of the moon during an eclipse, an event occurring “at intervals of six months or again at intervals of five when it sinks under the shadow of the earth, since of 465 ecliptic full moons 404 occur in cycles of six months and the rest in cycles of five months.”²⁶⁷ This calculation, adding to a total of 2.729 synodic months ($404*6 + 61*5$), has been proved to be one-half of the period of 5.458 months proposed by Hipparchus.²⁶⁸ It is not yet certain whether Hipparchus proposed two different periods—one of 2.729 lunar months and another of 5.458—or only one of 2.729 months that Ptolemy, our source for Hipparchus, might have doubled for some reason.²⁶⁹ It is quite probable, in any case, that Plutarch simply transmits a theory belonging to Hipparchus with no modifications.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁴ For the same apparent variation in speed, with regard to the sun's movement when in perigee and apogee, see Rioja & Ordóñez, *Teorías del Universo*, 60-61.

²⁶⁵ Raingeard, *Le peri toy prosopoy*, 111; Cherniss, “Concerning the Face,” 128-129 n. b.

²⁶⁶ 944A, ὅπως ταχὺ διεκπερᾶ τὸν σκοτώδη τόπον ὑπεκφέρουσα <τὰς> τῶν ἀγαθῶν σπευδούσας καὶ βοώσας.

²⁶⁷ 933DE, δι' ἐξ μηνῶν καὶ πάλιν διὰ πέντε τῇ σκιᾷ τῆς γῆς ὑποδυομένην· αἱ γὰρ πέντε καὶ ἔξηκοντα καὶ τετρακόσιαι περίοδοι τῶν ἐκλειπτικῶν πανσελήνων, τὰς τέσσαρας καὶ τετρακοσίας ἔξαμήνους ἔχουσι, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πενταμήνους. On the expression “ecliptic full moons,” it obviously refers to the full moon in which the moon happens to be eclipsed, as opposed to the full moons in which there is no eclipse. Plutarch uses the expression again in *Con. praec.* 145D.

²⁶⁸ Flacelière, “Plutarque et les éclipses de la lune,” 215-220; Cherniss, “Notes on Plutarch's *De facie*,” 145. It appears that both scholars reached their conclusions separately, given that their studies were published in the same year and neither quote the other.

²⁶⁹ Ptolemy, *Almagest* 4.2. Flacelière, “Plutarque et les éclipses de la lune,” 217.

²⁷⁰ Plutarch cites Hipparchus in *De facie* 921D, but, in other treatises, such as *De Pythiae* 402F, he also cites Aristarchus, Timocharis, and Aristyllus with Hipparchus; and in *Non posse* 1094C, Hipparchus with Eudoxus and Archimedes.

This calculation is reiterated by the Stranger in 942E, when narrating the encounter of the goddesses Demeter and Persephone.²⁷¹ According to him, they long for each other when they are apart and they often embrace in the shadow.²⁷² However, the time in which this encounter takes place, according to the Stranger, has been misinterpreted, for it is not during six months. According to the astronomical reinterpretation of the myth, mother and daughter meet in the cone of umbra during an eclipse, and thus they meet *every* five or six months, not *during* six months.²⁷³

In the Stranger's version there are some notions that clearly recall earlier passages of *De facie*. Firstly, the expression “as if embraced by its mother,” employed to express the moment in which the moon is caught in the earth’s shadow (όρῶμεν αὐτὴν ύπὸ τῆς γῆς, ὥσπερ ύπὸ τῆς μητρός, τῇ σκιᾷ λαμβανομένην), recalls the section 925B: “but the moon seems to revolve so close, almost within arm’s reach of the earth (ἐν ἀγκάλαις τῆς γῆς), as to be screened by it from the sun.”²⁷⁴ While the allusion to a hug fits smoothly in the myth referring to the goddesses, it is not so in the earlier discussion. The expression “the arms of the earth” in 925B, therefore, suggests that Plutarch anticipates an idea that will appear later in the treatise. Secondly, the vocabulary employed to express that Demeter and Persephone only meet during an eclipse parallels that of Lucius in 933DE: δι’ ἐξ μηνῶν καὶ πάλιν διὰ πέντε τῇ σκιᾷ τῆς γῆς ύποδυομένην in the first passage, and then ἀλλὰ παρ’ ἐξ μῆνας ὄρῶμεν αὐτὴν ύπὸ τῆς γῆς [...] τῇ σκιᾷ λαμβανομένην, ὀλιγάκις δὲ τοῦτο διὰ πέντε μηνῶν παθοῦσαν in the second passage. Thirdly, the inversion of roles between mother and daughter, in which the former is stationary and the latter receives the role of the wanderer, better suits the remaining considerations about eclipses (923AC,

²⁷¹ For early versions of the myth, see *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, and Apoll., *Bibliotheca* 1.5. The revision of the myth by Plutarch is treated in 5.2.3.4. “Persephone-Kore.”

²⁷² In *De genio* 591C, the shadow projected by the earth is equated to the Styx, which the moon usually avoids, but is caught once in a hundred and seventy-seven secondary measures. The meaning of the calculation, namely once every six months, was elucidated by Flacelière in “Plutarque et les éclipses de la lune,” 203-221.

²⁷³ 942E, ἀλλήλων γάρ ἐφίενται χωρὶς οὖσαι καὶ συμπλέκονται περὶ τὴν σκιὰν πολλάκις· τὸ δὲ νῦν μὲν ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ φωτὶ, νῦν δὲ ἐν σκότῳ καὶ νυκτὶ γενέσθαι περὶ τὴν Κόρην ψεῦδος μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν, τοῦ δὲ χρόνου τῷ ἀριθμῷ πλάνην παρέσχηκεν· οὐ γάρ ἐξ μῆνας, ἀλλὰ παρ’ ἐξ μῆνας ὄρῶμεν αὐτὴν ύπὸ τῆς γῆς, ὥσπερ ύπὸ τῆς μητρός, τῇ σκιᾷ λαμβανομένην, ὀλιγάκις δὲ τοῦτο διὰ πέντε μηνῶν παθοῦσαν. Donini, *Plutarco. Il volto della luna*, 346, n. 373, seemed perplexed with the rectification of the time’s computation. He did not understand what exactly Plutarch corrects here, since the first part of the treatise reaches the same computation for eclipses. The rectification, however, does not affect the internal elements of *De facie*, but the traditional version of Demeter’s myth.

²⁷⁴ 925B, ἀλλ’ οὕτως ἔσικεν ἐν χρῷ καὶ σχεδὸν ἐν ἀγκάλαις τῆς γῆς περιπολεῖν, ὥστε ἀντιφράττεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον ύπ’ αὐτῆς. The—almost motherly—closeness between the earth and the moon is implicit in many passages throughout the treatise: for instance, a bit earlier in 925AB, and in 942E where earth and moon are symbolized by Demeter and her daughter Persephone.

931CD, 932DE), wherein the earth remains immobile and the moon's movements allow for the occurrence of an eclipse at given moments.

5.4.3. Anthropology

5.4.3.1. The Moon and Mankind

The moon's place in cosmos is strongly associated with the role it plays with regard to the human being. This role consists in the creation and dissolution of one component of man, the soul. The interrelationship between macro and microcosmos is alluded to in 928BC, 943A and 945C.

In 928BC, Lamprias compares the universe with a living being, and he compares its parts with parts of the human body. The moon is qualified as intermediate (*μεταξύ*) between the sun and the earth and is said to have functions connected to both: it “transmits hither the warmth from above and sends upwards the exhalations from our region, refining them in itself by a kind of concoction and purification.”²⁷⁵ While the three bodies are loosely connected to parts of the human body—the sun with the heart, the earth with bowels and bladder, and the moon with the liver or another of the soft viscera—their function with respect to the anthropological framework remains rather unspecified, for now.²⁷⁶ This description fits the cosmographical picture developed in the passage, but, interpreted in an allegorical way, it anticipates the intermediate role that the moon also plays at the anthropological level. As a matter of fact, at this moment, Lamprias wonders whether the earthly nature of the moon has other goals besides the ones described in the passage.²⁷⁷ In this sense, the allusion to the exhalations (*ἀναθυμιάσεις*) conveys more information than it might seem at first sight. While these are associated in this passage—as well as in 938E and 939B—to the moon's functions in regard to the cosmos, in 943DE

²⁷⁵ 928C, ἐγκειμένη τὴν τε ἄνωθεν ἀλέαν ἐνταῦθα διαπέμπει καὶ τὰς ἐντεῦθεν ἀναθυμιάσεις πέψει τινὶ καὶ καθάρσει λεπτύνουσα περὶ ἑαυτὴν ἀναδίδωσιν.

²⁷⁶ 928BC, ἥλιος δὲ καρδίας ἔχων δύναμιν [...], γῆ δὲ καὶ θαλάσσῃ χρῆται κατὰ φύσιν ὁ κόσμος ὅσα κοιλίᾳ καὶ κύστει ἔχειν. Σελήνη δὲ ἥλιον μεταξὺ καὶ γῆς, ὥσπερ καρδίας καὶ κοιλίας ἡπαρ ἡ τι μαλθακὸν ἄλλο σπλάγχνον.

²⁷⁷ 928C, εἰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλα τὸ γεῶδες αὐτῆς καὶ στερέμνιον ἔχει τινὰ πρόσφορον χρείαν, ἀδηλον ἡμῖν. These last words subtly connect the natural cause in discussion with the final cause. As stated in 5.1. “Introduction” to the Chapter, both are intertwined in Plutarch's thought: while the former provides explanation as to how things work, the latter shows why things are the way they are. However, because Lamprias attaches the function and position of earth, moon and sun to the intervention of Providence, Préaux, *La lune dans la pensée grecque*, 200-201, remarked that Plutarch does not seem to realize that by attributing all of it to a divinity, he is rendering the natural cause obsolete. While this view relies on a rather strict modern understanding of what science is, in Plutarch's thought these should not be seen as exclusive causes, but as complementary. See also Donini, “Science and Metaphysics,” 333; and Frazier, “De la physique à la métaphysique,” 249.

the reader finds out that the exhalations also concern mankind, given that they nourish the souls on the moon.²⁷⁸

In 943A and 945C, the realities of microcosmos and macrocosmos are represented by three elements respectively: body, soul, and intellect, on the one hand, and earth, moon, sun, on the other.²⁷⁹ Each of the cosmological elements provides one of the components of human beings. With this perfect set of parallels, Plutarch builds both an anthropology and a cosmography that faithfully reflects his concerns regarding soteriology.²⁸⁰ The information provided in 943A is scarce: each body is simply said to provide (*παρέσχεν*) one component.²⁸¹ The vocabulary employed in 945C offers more nuances. The sun plants a seed (*ἐπισπείραντος*) with its vital force (*τῷ ζωτικῷ*), the moon makes the souls (*ποιεῖ*), and the earth, the lowest in the hierarchy, simply provides a body (*παρέσχεν*).²⁸² While sun and earth only provide the intellect and the body, respectively, the moon receives and gives away, it joins together and divides, and in each of these capacities it receives a different appellation, Eileithyia and Artemis.²⁸³ The complexity of the moon's role, in comparison to that of the sun and the earth, is not only the result of its primordial relevance in the treatise but also of the intermediate position it has, midway between the lowest and the highest realms, always connecting them and allowing the proper function of the whole. Unsurprisingly, this is precisely the same function of the soul with regard to the intellect and the body.

As a matter of fact, the passages 943A and 945C constitute sections 2 and 4 of the myth structure proposed above: they both deal with a cosmological-anthropology that reinforces the idea of a tripartite scheme both in the cosmos and in human beings.²⁸⁴ The

²⁷⁸ 943DE, τὸ γὰρ ἄραιὸν ἔτι καὶ διακεχυμένον ρόννυται καὶ γίνεται σταθερὸν καὶ διανγές, ὥστε ύπὸ τῆς τυχούσης ἀναθυμιάσεως τρέφεσθαι. On the exhalations in *De facie* see also 5.3.3.1. “Life on the Moon as a Reflection of that on Earth.”

²⁷⁹ On the relation between microcosmos and macrocosmos see Wright, *Cosmology in Antiquity*, 56-74. With regard to Plutarch's myths, see L. Roig Lanzillotta, “Plutarch's Anthropology and its Influence,” 179-195.

²⁸⁰ Such a tripartite view of cosmos can be found in Gnostic texts presenting the Pleroma, the Arcontic or astral region, and the sublunar region, such as *HypArch* 94 and *ApocJn* 12 and 14. See footnote 248 on the way of salvation in Plutarch's oeuvre.

²⁸¹ 943A, Τριῶν δὲ τούτων συμπαγέντων, τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἡ γῆ, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ἡ σελήνη, τὸν δὲ νοῦν ὁ ἥλιος παρέσχεν εἰς τὴν γένεσιν.

²⁸² On the sun's vital force, see *Aqua an ignis* 958E, applied in this case to fire, one of the four elements. It is curious that some scholars, such as Donini, *Plutarco. Il volto della luna*, 245, have attributed the adjective *τῷ ζωτικῷ* to the moon, instead.

²⁸³ 945C, σελήνη δὲ καὶ λαμβάνει καὶ δίδωσι καὶ συντίθησι καὶ διαιρεῖ καὶ κατ' ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην δύναμιν, ὃν Εἰλείθυια μὲν ἡ συντίθησιν, Ἀρτεμις δὲ ἡ διαιρεῖ, καλεῖται. On this association with the goddesses, see the corresponding heading in 5.2.3. “Mythology.”

²⁸⁴ See Chapter 2, section 2.5. “Structure of the Treatise and Summary of the Contents,” and the graphic in 5.2.3.5. “Moirai,” above.

difference corresponds to the focus of each section: while 943A focuses on the deconstruction of human beings in the two deaths and takes the narration to the following eschatology, 945C focuses rather on the re-construction of a human being and suggests the continuum of a never ending cosmic process.

5.4.3.2. *The Tripartite Human Being*

Because the moon is directly involved with one of the components of man, a closer look to Plutarch's anthropological framework is in order. In 943A, Plutarch includes the first explicit statement of an anthropological tripartition in Late Antiquity, with a description of the three components that constitute a human being. To establish the tripartition, Plutarch rejects both the view of human beings as a unit and of human beings as a compound of two parts.²⁸⁵ The monistic view can be found both in the Old Testament and in early Greek thought, where the soul was still conceived as a material substance.²⁸⁶ Some of the first testimonies of a bipartite view can be found to Pindar.²⁸⁷ This conception eventually led to a hierarchy in which the soul was conceived as superior, more divine, and even immortal.

In *De facie*, the specific target when rejecting monistic views surely was the Stoa.²⁸⁸ The rejection of the bipartite view, however, is rather striking, given that it was the standard Platonic position on the issue.²⁸⁹ Plutarch's deviance from the bipartite view of the human being then relies on the influence of another philosopher, Aristotle.²⁹⁰ While Aristotle never explicitly asserted the tripartition, his noetics, especially his theories on

²⁸⁵ 943A, Τὸν ἄνθρωπον οἱ πολλοὶ σύνθετον μὲν ὄρθως ἐκ δυοῖν δὲ μόνων σύνθετον οὐκ ὄρθως ἡγοῦνται. Μόριον γὰρ εἶναι πῶς ψυχῆς οἴονται τὸν νοῦν, οὐδὲν ἡττον ἐκείνων ἀμαρτάνοντες οἵ τις ή ψυχὴ δοκεῖ μόριον εἶναι τὸ σώματος· νοῦς γὰρ ψυχῆς, ὅσῳ ψυχὴ σώματος, ἀμεινόν ἔστι καὶ θειότερον.

²⁸⁶ For the monistic view in the Old Testament, see L. Roig Lanzillotta, "One Human Being, Three Early Christian Anthropologies," *VChr* 61 (2007) 418-420. For this view in Greek thought, see K. Corrigan, "Body and Soul in Ancient Religious Experience," in A.H. Armstrong (ed.), *Classical Mediterranean Spirituality. Egyptian, Greek, Roman* (New York: Crossroad, 1986) 365. The soul as a material substance is found, among others, in Orphics and Pythagoreans (B 11DK and B 40DK); in Presocratics such as Heraclitus (B 118DK), Anaximenes (B 2DK) or Democritus (B 31, 187 and 191DK); and in Stoics, for whom soul was pneuma: *SVF* II, 774; II, 777; II, 779; and II, 782. See Arist., *De an.* 404A for more opinions by early philosophers concerning the soul.

²⁸⁷ Fr. 131 Sandys.

²⁸⁸ Polemics against Stoics regarding this issue are found elsewhere in Plutarch's work: *De Stoic. rep.* 1052F and *De comm. not.* 1084DE.

²⁸⁹ For a general approach to the topic in Plato, see J.L. Stocks, "Plato and the Tripartite Soul," *Mind*, 24, 94 (1915), 207-221; and W.K.C. Guthrie, "Plato's view on the nature of the soul," in G. Vlastos (ed.), *Plato. A Collection of Critical Essays. 2 Ethics, Politics, and Philosophy of Art and Religion* (New York: Anchor Books, 1971) 230-243.

²⁹⁰ See F.H. Sandbach, "Plutarch and Aristotle," *ICS* 7, 2 (1982) 230, on whether Plutarch had direct knowledge of Aristotle or not. He knew of Aristotle's definition of soul (*De an.* 414AB), since he quotes it in *Quaest. Plat.* 1006D.

the intellect as the highest and the only divine component that comes from without, do point to a tripartite human being. According to him, the soul has potentiality for intellect, but is always connected to a body; only when actualized, it becomes intellect, and, therefore, it no longer has a connection with the material world.²⁹¹

Despite the clarity with which Plutarch presents the tripartite anthropology, some scholars insisted in attributing a bipartite scheme to *De facie*.²⁹² This could be due to the fact that, being so positive about Plutarch's dependence on Plato, they overlooked any text suggesting a disagreement between both. Other scholars, although accepting the tripartition, seemed to formulate their commentaries in such ambiguous or depreciatory terms that one could even pass through this passage without noticing Plutarch's important innovation.²⁹³ His reinterpretation of Platonic and Aristotelian anthropology, however, does not stand alone: a few other contemporary literary trends, such as Middle Platonism, the Corpus Hermeticum and Gnosticism, also built a tripartite anthropology to back up their own worldviews.²⁹⁴

The relevance of a tripartite anthropology in the context of *De facie* is that the intellect and the body are radically opposed to one another. In order to explain the links between the lower and the higher components of the human being, the soul, consequently, must function as the intermediate component allowing the communication between the

²⁹¹ On the intellect as divine, see *EE* 1248A25-30, *GA* 736B25, *NE* 1177A20 and 1177B30, *De An.* 408B20-35 and 413B10-35. On the intellect as proceeding from without, *GA* 736B25 and 737A10, *De An.* 408B20-35 and 413B10-35. For the actualization, see *De an.* 429AB. See A.P. Bos, *The Soul and its Instrumental Body. A Reinterpretation of Aristotle's Philosophy of Living Nature* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), for a new interpretation of what Aristotle meant by "body" in this case.

²⁹² Soury, *La démonologie de Plutarque*, 179; Lehnus, *Plutarco. Il volto della luna*, 170 n. 283. See Bos, "The Distinction Between 'Platonic' and 'Aristotelian' Dualism," 58-60, for the different views in scholarly discussion concerning this passage.

²⁹³ Raingeard, *Le peri toy prosopoy*, 143, saw the tripartite division as naturally taken from Platonic teaching ("sans grande dépense d'originalité") and believed that Plutarch only used it because he needed three components to associate each part of the human being with each part of his tripartite cosmos. Donini, *Plutarco. Il volto della luna*, 347 n. 379, seemed to place Plutarch's innovative development as part of the standard trend within both Platonic and Aristotelian schools.

²⁹⁴ Marcus Aurelius 3.16 can be seen as a slightly younger testimony of a tripartition. Some examples of tripartite anthropologies are found, for instance, in Middle Platonic authors (*Alcin.*, *Didask.* 164.20-25); in the *Corpus Hermeticum* (tractate 10.16-17); in the Nag Hammadi library (*Treat.Res* 45.39-46.2; *Ap.Adam* 84; *TeachSilv* 92.10.32; *Trim.Prot.* 35.15; and *GosMary* 10.14-16); and in the apocryphal *Acta Andreae* V^r91-101 (B.40.31-41.7). L. Roig Lanzillotta recently pointed out many of the characteristics that all these trends share in common in "Plutarch of Chaeronea and the Gnostic Worldview," 401-417; and in "Plutarch's Idea of God in the Religious and Philosophical Context of Late Antiquity," in L. Roig Lanzillotta & I. Muñoz Gallarte (eds.), *Plutarch in the Religious and Philosophical Discourse of Late Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill, 2012) 137-150.

other two.²⁹⁵ For this, the soul itself must have a lower and a higher part.²⁹⁶ Although *De facie* does not address the division of the soul as such, three topics thoroughly discussed suggest the existence of irrational and rational parts within it. In the first case (941CF and 942BC), the description of Cronos' attendants, and especially the journey of the Stranger, suggests two types of people, each ruled by one part of the soul: those inclined to the body and those inclined to the intellect. The second case (942A) concerns the relationship between Cronos and Zeus, the former symbolizes the soul, whose passionate side must be under the control of the rational component, which is represented by Zeus. This emphasizes the importance of moderating one's passions in order to ensure a correct and functional communication between the lower and the higher components of the soul. The third case (943C-944E), with the experiences of the soul-intellects that ascend to the moon, shows that many struggle to behave correctly with perseverance, and thus are led astray by the impulses of the irrational part of the soul.²⁹⁷

The soul's nature, consequently, is double and composite.²⁹⁸ The composite nature and the intermediate function of the soul, as expected, parallel the nature and function of the moon.

5.5. Conclusions

The analysis of the recurring ideas disseminated throughout the treatise enables us to conclude that two main motifs lend coherence and unity to Plutarch's exposition. The first motif is the intermediate nature of the moon; the second motif is the primal

²⁹⁵ Plutarch's thoughts concerning the soul and the independence of the intellect can be found in *De virt. mor.* 441D-442A and 451AB, *De Is. et Os.* 371AB—where the use of the adjective τίτανικός can be linked to the figure of Cronos in *De facie*: his titanic nature is the symbol of the passionate part of the soul that must be subdued—*De lib. et aegr.* 9, *De sera* 563E, 564C and 566D, and *De genio* 591DE. For the connections between *De virt. mor.* and *De facie*, see S.T. Teodorson, “The Psychology of *De facie* and *De virtute morali*,” in M. García Valdés (ed.), *Estudios sobre Plutarco: Ideas Religiosas* (Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas, 1994) 115-122.

²⁹⁶ This notion is integrated in the thought of Plato and Aristotle. In Plato's work, we find the soul both as an undivided element (*Phd.* 78C) and a tripartite division into rational, spirited and appetitive (*Tim.* 69C-70B; *Phdr.* 247C-248B; *Rep.* 439-442). While Aristotle first followed Plato's tripartite scheme (*Top.* 133A30, *NE* 1102B2), he developed a bipartition of the soul in *NE* 1102A25-1102B20, *GA* 736B15, *Metaph.* 1071A1-5. For more information on this issue, see J. Opsomer, “Plutarch on the Division of the Soul,” in T. Brennan, R. Barney & C. Brittain (eds.), *Plato and the Divided Self* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) 311-330.

²⁹⁷ The first and the third passages are analysed in 5.3.2.2. “The Archipelago of Ogygia and the Moon” and 5.3.3.3. “The Souls, True Inhabitants of the Moon.”

²⁹⁸ Bos, *Cosmic and Meta-cosmic Theology*, 44, rightly stressed the soul's nature as “both ‘non-soma’ and ‘non-nous,’ but also as both ‘more soma than the nous’ and ‘more nous than the soma.’” See also, Roig Lanzillotta, “Plutarch's Anthropology and its Influence,” 180-183.

importance of ethics both for the universe and for human life. The motifs are intrinsically interrelated. At the macro level, the intermediate nature and location of the moon are the direct result of the divine ordering that imparts the most suitable rules for a correct government of the cosmos. At the micro level, the moon's intermediate nature and role has an impact on the nature and function of the soul, given that the moon is responsible for the human component, which should be ruled by moderation—the golden mean.

The next two subsections, “Intermediacy” and “Ethical concern,” will address both motifs separately in order to cast light upon Plutarch’s goals when composing his piece about the moon. In dealing with both motifs, however, Plutarch incorporates material that cannot be taken simply *au pied de la lettre*. The literal, the allegorical, and the tension between both is essential for Plutarch in order to convey his message and for the right interpretation of the treatise’s subject theme. This issue, consequently, will be addressed in the third subsection of these conclusions, “Literal and Allegorical interpretations of the moon.”

5.5.1. Intermediacy

The motif of the moon’s intermediate character emerges in numerous interactions throughout the treatise, which are subsumed in several headings of the previous study: The substance of the moon; Hecate; Persephone-Kore; Moirai; The face of the moon; The archipelago of Ogygia and the moon; The moon and mankind; and The tripartite human being. The centrality of the motif of the moon’s intermediacy is clear from the fact that most of the topics included in *Defacie* are framed around it. The moon’s intermediacy is perceptible from five angles:

- 1) Ontological: its substance is a combination of earth and aether, namely a combination of substances of the sublunar region and the upper realm. In this sense, its hybridity can be considered as “in-between” both realms.
- 2) Cosmographical: the moon is placed between the earth and the sun. In other words, between the sublunar region and the upper realm.
- 3) Theological: it is the residence of daemons, whose intermediary function is to allow the communication between mankind and gods.
- 4) Anthropological: of the three components that constitute man, the moon produces and dissolves the intermediary one, the soul.

- 5) Ethical/Soteriological: the moon is in charge of the judgment, purification, and punishment of the component that truly influences the destiny of man: man's intermediate component, the soul.

Plutarch employs the moon's intermediate nature as a means to convey its most relevant function, namely to link the different levels of existence: firstly, within cosmos, because it bridges the immanent and the transcendent—the physical and metaphysical realities; secondly, between cosmos and man, inasmuch as it bonds the divine with the mortal—gods/astral bodies with humans; and, thirdly, within human beings themselves, because it is in charge of the component that holds the human being together.

5.5.2. Ethical Concern

The second motif is the relevance of ethics, namely the rules and principles that ought to govern cosmic and human conduct. *De facie* envisages this motif in different ideas discussed throughout the treatise, which are included in the following headings of the previous study: The face of the moon; The archipelago of Ogygia and the moon; The moon's surface: a selenography; Fall of the moon and its inhabitants; The souls, true inhabitants of the moon; and The tripartite human being. *De facie* conceives of the central role of ethics from a twofold perspective: on one hand, it plays a crucial role in the correct functioning of the universe; on the other, it provides the framework for a sound human life.

As far as the functioning of the universe is concerned, ethics is intrinsically linked with providence and with divine arrangement of the cosmos for its best functioning. Divine intervention assures that the cosmos works perfectly, because the divinity is benevolent and rules with view to the best. The role of the moon also derives from divine will, and, consequently, both its position between the earth and the sun and its function as mediator help to the best functioning of the universe. However, the moon's nature, location, and function are useful and beneficial, not only with respect to other parts of the cosmos, but also with respect to human beings.

The relevance of ethics in human life derives from the intrinsic relationship between moon and soul, the seat of ethical values. The soul's function as mediator between the other two components makes it vulnerable to their influence: it can be dragged down by bodily pleasures or pulled up by the intellect's command. Only when constantly concerned with proper behavior, control of passions, and obedience to the



intellect can the soul develop its function correctly, which represents the only possible path towards the salvation. In accordance with the double death exposed in *De facie*, human salvation can only be attained if proper ethics rule human life during the earthly sojourn and after the first death. It is the role of the moon to judge whether or not each soul followed the proper ethical path.

Consequently, from a twofold perspective, *De facie* emphasizes the benefits of rules and principles that, in accordance with the will of the divinity, assure the correct functioning of the universe and of a human life.

5.5.3. Literal and Allegorical Interpretations of the Moon

In order to offer an overarching view of the moon, Plutarch incorporated into his treatise as much information as possible. Not all the information included, however, is to be dealt with in the same way: while part of the material on the moon is meant to be understood literally, other parts require allegorical interpretation. Consequently, a right comprehension of *De facie* will result from a correct understanding of the nature of the materials we are dealing with, so as to apply either the literal or the allegorical reading in the analysis. A number of *De facie*'s contents are allegorically imbedded, which are included in several headings: The substance of the moon, Artemis (& Eileithyia), Athena, Hecate, The face of the moon, The moon's surface: a selenography, Illumination, and The moon and mankind.

From this combination of literal and allegorical perspectives throughout the treatise, two implications follow. Firstly, the literal interpretation did not suffice to convey all the information on the moon that Plutarch had at his disposal. To restrict himself to a literal approach would have severely restricted the reach and significance of his study. Differently, his resorting to allegory not only enriched his study from a literary point of view, but also helped to grant the best and most thorough book on the moon. Secondly, literal and allegorical meaning should not be associated with the contents of the discussion and the final monologue respectively. The contents of the later do not simply complete, correct or disprove those of the discussion in an allegorical fashion, as scholarship has often suggested. On the contrary, the analysis and classification of recurrent ideas proposed in this study has shown that intertwining the literal and allegorical readings of the same elements are required to attain proper knowledge of most of the topics included in the treatise.



Summing up, this study has identified the recurring topics of the treatise in order to unveil their underlying schemes and to accentuate their coherence. The analysis of contents has facilitated two findings: to begin with, I have firmly established the role of intermediacy and ethical motifs, which provides unity and structure to the whole treatise; and, I have shown the importance of recognizing the combination of literal and allegorical interpretations, which, in turn, allow for a deeper, sounder comprehension of *De facie*'s meaning.





CHAPTER 6. GENERAL

CONCLUSIONS

It is time to draw to a close and summarize the main results of this investigation on Plutarch's *De facie*.

6.1. Study of the Manuscripts

In this thesis, I have scrutinized the text of *De facie* in the two manuscripts available (E and B). This scrutiny has proven that, in spite of several errata and some obscure syntactical constructions, they both provide a fairly coherent and grammatically correct text. In this sense, Chapters 3 and 4 (devoted to the Critical Edition and to the commentary to the Critical Edition) have shown that the readings of the manuscripts need far less interventions than generally assumed. This seems to be particularly true for the pronouns transmitted by EB, often replaced with different forms. This is especially the case with the demonstrative, the attic contracted form of the reflexive personal, and the 1st and 2nd person plural of the personal pronouns. The same can be said of the completion of certain lacunae in the manuscripts, in which, despite the presence of a blank space, the syntax and the sense appear to be sound and complete. Notwithstanding this, scholars have not only attempted to reconstruct the missing text, but also corrected the surrounding passage to match their conjectures. As a result, reconstructions of the text are often not built upon syntactically or contextually firm ground. While personal interpretation is perhaps unavoidable, the new critical edition of *De facie* has evidenced the need for cautious scholarship and retaining the manuscripts' reading whenever possible, so long as they provide a fairly correct syntax and meaning.



6.2. The Testimony of the First Printed Editions

The detailed analysis of several annotated copies of the first printed editions of *Moralia* in Chapter 1 (Textual Transmission of *De facie*) has brought about interesting results. On the one hand, up to present, the relationships between the Aldine copies have not yet been duly assessed; on the other, the corrections to the text included in both the Aldine and the *Basiliensis* exemplars have often been neglected or misattributed by later scholarship.

The analysis of *De facie*'s text in seven Aldine copies has helped us to clarify their interrelationships, so as to determine priority and posteriority and to assess mutual dependences. As a result, this survey has proved, for example, that Scipione Forteguerri must have been the first scholar to work on the Aldine text. While his exemplar has never been accounted for, modern apparatuses include many of his corrections, but mistakenly attribute them to other scholars or editors. The Aldine copy that belonged to Turnebus, and to other scholars afterwards, differently, has been excessively considered as origin of several emendations that appear in earlier Aldine exemplars, such as those of Forteguerri and Leonicus. Finally, Amyot's editorial work has been associated with his French translation of *Moralia* rather than to the personal annotations included in his *Basiliensis* copy. Consequently, what appears as Amyot's corrections' in modern critical apparatuses is in fact the personal interpretation of scholars based on Amyot's translation, and not the corrections to the Greek text that Amyot wrote on the margins on his *Basiliensis* copy.

The Critical Edition tries to solve all the inconsistencies with regard to *De facie*'s text and to properly attribute contributions to the correct scholars. However, given the interest of these testimonies both for the history and the understanding of *De facie*, this study has evidenced the need to collate these testimonies for the rest of Plutarch's corpus in order to properly integrate the editorial work of 16th century scholars into modern critical apparatuses.

6.3. The Text in Modern Editions

Editorial labor in the last two centuries has contributed valuable corrections and conjectures. This new critical edition could only be built upon this common effort to understand *De facie*. However, Chapters 3 and 4 have sufficiently stressed the excessive



tendency by previous scholarship to modify parts of the transmitted text. The new critical edition aims to identify these types of irrelevant conjectures and, whenever possible, avoid them.

6.4. Identification of the Characters in *De facie*

The study of the personae participating in *De facie* in Chapter 2 (Literary study) has allowed us to distinguish between historical or fictitious characters. Of the eight characters, five also show up elsewhere in Plutarch's work and in most cases their characterization includes consistent personal traits, which suggests that they are historical. These are Sulla, Theon, Lucius, Apollonides, and Plutarch's brother Lamprias. The other three, differently, do not appear in any other of Plutarch's works. As far as Aristotle and Pharnaces are concerned, their stereotypical traits rather suggest they might very well be literary creations, even though the possibility that they were historical cannot, naturally, be excluded. Menelaus, described as an astronomer, could be identified with Menelaus of Alexandria.

This identification is helpful inasmuch as it enables us to locate the historical characters, which helps to narrow down the possible dates for treatise composition and, consequently, also the date and location of the dramatic action.

6.5. Date of Composition of *De facie*

For the date of composition, the treatise provides no internal evidence. The identification of some of the characters as historical, however, enabled us to search in other writings for evidence in order to advance a probable date of composition. As pointed out in Chapter 2, the information provided by two sources is determinant. On the one hand, we have the dinner in Plutarch's *Quaest. conv.* 8, organized in Rome around 98 CE, which included Sulla, Lucius, and Theon as guests. On the other hand, according to Ptolemy's *Almagest*, Menelaus was in Rome in 98 for astronomical observations. This allows for the assumption that the meeting of these four people, together with Plutarch and perhaps his brother Lamprias, could have taken place that same year, in Rome. Two of the three remaining characters seem to be literary creations and provide no additional information—only Apollonides, if historial, would remain un-situated. This sets a *terminus post quem*: it is plausible to think that Plutarch wrote the treatise not long after



the meeting. Consequently, against hypotheses regarding earlier dates, my contention is that the composition of *De facie* should be rather roughly dated to the turn of the 1st century into the 2nd century.

6.6. Date and Location of the Dramatic Action

The evidence to date and locate the dramatic action is scant, and only two passages provide some hints. While the second passage simply mentions the participants' decision to stop their promenade and sit, and does not help to narrow down the place of the action, the first passage describes a total solar eclipse that supposedly occurred not long before the meeting of the interlocutors of the dialogue. Based on a recent re-evaluation of astronomical observations from the past, we completed a new analysis of the Greek text. From this, we may conclude that the total solar eclipse in December of 83 matches the event described in *De facie*. The other suggested eclipses of April of 59, March of 71, January of 75 and June of 113 do not hold up to scrutiny. That of 83 attained a 98% of obscuration at 14:45 in Alexandria, which matches all four details mentioned in *De facie*: it took place not long before the dinner of 98 in Rome; it started after the end of midday; it made stars shine during the day; and the temperature descended.

While the identification of the eclipse helps us set the date of the dramatic action, it does not, however, provide any evidence to determine the location. Against the traditional claim that the location of the eclipse and that of the meeting had to be one and the same, this study has shown that no internal evidence in the text supports this view. It is more reasonable to assume that Plutarch recalls a total solar eclipse that some characters might have seen and others could have heard of. In order to narrow down the location, resorting to sources other than *De facie* was necessary. On the basis of *Quaest. conv.* 8 and of Ptolemy's testimony (above), the most reasonable conclusion is that the meeting took place in Rome, where many of the characters seem to have been around 98 CE.

6.7. Structure of the Text

From the analysis of the treatise, we have concluded that the text can be divided into three sections. The first part presents a discussion in which several characters participate; this is followed by the second, transitional section that includes the dialogue between two characters only; the third part is a tale entirely narrated by a single character.



Most of previous studies, however, tended to see a bipartite structure: a dichotomic interpretation of the text according to which the first part concerned scientific matters and the latter mythical matters. This facilitated the assimilation between form and content, favoring the bipartite structure. This simplification of matters, as discussed in Chapter 5 (A philosophy of the moon), should be avoided.

In what concerns the structure of the third part, the monologue by Sulla, the results of the internal analysis also seem to challenge traditional views. If previous interpretations always saw the first part of the narration as a mere introduction with no functional connection to the rest, closer analysis revealed intentional parallels between the geographical description of the archipelago and the experiences of the inhabitants of Cronos' island, on the one hand, and the geographical description of the moon and the experiences of its inhabitants, on the other. Consequently, I see the first part of the narration as a relevant and integral part of the whole, consisting of four sections. Sections 1 and 3 parallel each other and focus on geographical descriptions; sections 2 and 4, also paralleling each other, are devoted to a cosmological-anthropology and concerned with the role of earth, moon, and sun in the creation of a human being constituted by three components. Consequently, the division in four sections emphasizes the intentional and well-balanced structure of the myth, leaving no part unconnected or deemed as less valuable than the rest.

6.8. Conceptual Framework of *De facie*

When addressed as a unitary literary composition, *De facie* shows a coherent body of thought. From beginning to end Plutarch resorts to a vast selection of sources, upon which he builds his own thought. This selection includes the philosophical schools of his time; poetic, literary, and traditional folklore; and theories by various thinkers of different periods. Among the first, as was to be expected, the treatise presents clear Platonic tendencies and incorporates Aristotelian thought. Among the poetic, literary, and traditional views, it suffices to mention Homer, Pindar, and Roman customs, amid others. Finally, a number of Presocratic thinkers concerned with the study of the universe are cited, such as Empedocles, Parmenides, and Anaxagoras, as well as a number of later thinkers, such as Hipparchus and Aristarchus.

Plutarch, however, does not slavishly follow his sources. Rather, he selects and adapts them to fit his own literary needs. A clear example is his selective use of Aristotle:



while he often assimilates Aristotelian ideas in the realm of ethics and noetics, this is not the case with Aristotelian physics, with which Plutarch was not satisfied, due to his preference for more recent and accurate empirical data. In point of fact, in several cases, he adopts physical ideas that, differently from Aristotelian physics, were not commonly accepted at his time. This, in turn, demonstrates that *De facie* does not simply provide an overview of the current state of affairs regarding research of the moon, but rather is an original, personal work, which includes Plutarch's views on the subject-matter.

6.9. Philosophical Purpose of *De facie*

The conceptual analysis in Chapter 5 has revealed that *De facie* is framed around the idea of intermediacy and measure. This affects both the microcosmos and the macrocosmos. Concerning the former, *De facie* presents human beings as composed of body, soul, and intellect. Concerning the latter, the treatise focuses on three bodies, earth, moon and sun. The middle component in each case, soul and moon respectively, is the turning point of existence; this liminal component links the other two and is intended as touchstone for the balance in its corresponding realm. The result is that the human being can achieve salvation and the cosmos function properly. These views stem from Plutarch's understanding of ethics, which, due to its Platonic-Peripatetic background, conceived of virtue as a mean between excess and deficiency. When engaging with the moon, its intermediacy is the focus point of the text and becomes its most recognizable trait at every level: ontological, cosmological, theological, anthropological, and ethical. It is precisely the moon's intermediacy what allows it to link the different levels of existence.

The analysis has further evidenced that a proper understanding of the philosophical dimension of the treatise can only be attained after complete analysis of the treatise's elements. This means that the interpretive enterprise must be undertaken both from a literal and an allegorical perspective, since both approaches are entangled throughout the treatise.

6.10. Value of the Present Investigation

The results listed above prove that the treatise of *De facie* had not yet been duly assessed. Its study has too often been tackled with partial interests, be it on the text, the



contents, or the literary configuration. On the one hand, despite the many editions and studies focused on the text, there still exists a crucial lack of attention to the first steps of the textual transmission as well as a tendency to modify the transmitted text needlessly. On the other hand, given that no real attempt to analyze *De facie* as a unitary, coherent and cohesive composition was ever undertaken, no study could have truly grasped Plutarch's intentions when creating this treatise. These were precisely the main objectives of the present investigation: 1) to provide a text that is faithful to the manuscripts whenever possible as well as an accurate critical apparatus, and 2) to offer literary and philosophical analyses that cast light on the meaning of the treatise. The combination of both objectives has redounded to a sound interpretation of *De facie quae in orbe lunae appetet*.





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8. APPENDIX I. DISCREPANCIES

BETWEEN THE MANUSCRIPTS

920B	Όαυνοσυλλας E: Ό μὲν οὖν σύλλας B
920D	οπου E: ὅπου B
920E	μέσση E: μέση B
921A	κατ' εὐθυωρίαν E: κατευθυωρίαν B
921A	ĩ vac. E: vac. B
921C	νη E: νὴ B
921E	τοῦτο E: τούτων B
922B	ἀεὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς μέρεσι E: τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ μέρεσι B
922D	άμαυροῦσθαι E: ἀμαυροῦσθαι B
923B	ἐλάττω E: ἐλάττων B
923C	ροιζῶδες E: ριζῶδες B
924C	τις E: τίς B
924C	παραδοξολογιῶν E: παραδόξων λογιῶν B
924D	ἐστί E: ἐστίν B
924D	προσήκοντα E: προσήκονται B
925A	καταδεδυκυῖαν. E: καταδεδυκυῖαν; B
925B	νυκτέριον E: νυκτερινὸν B
925C	αὐτὴ E: αὕτῃ B
926A	εὐράμενος αἰτίαν E: αἰτίαν εὐράμενος B
926B	αύτὸ E: αὐτὸ B
926C	εῖπον E: εἶπεν B
926D	λέγωμεν E: λέγομεν B
926D	ἔν ἐστι E: ἔνεστι B
926D	νυνίδε E: νυνὶ δὲ B
926D	μεταβολαῖς· E: μεταβολαῖς; B



927A	μηδεμιᾶς E: μὴ δὲ μιᾶς B
927B	υ E: οὐ B
927B	ἀπ' αὐτοῦ E: ἀφ' αὐτοῦ B
927C	μὲν <i>om.</i> E
927C	φαίνεσθαι E: φέρεσθαι B
927E	τὰ E: τὸν B
928B	ζυγῷ σταθμοῦ E: ζυγῷ σταθμοῦς B
928B	ρέψαντος E: ρέψαντας B
928C	σπλάγχνον E: σπλάχνον B
928D	ἀποκεκριμένου E: ἀποκεκρυμμένου B
928E	ῷ γαθὲ E: ὥ' γαθὲ B
929A	νώθειαν E: νωθείαν B
929A	καὶ <i>om.</i> E
929B	παρυμῶν E: παρ' ὑμῶν B
929B	τοῦτο <i>om.</i> B
929C	αὐτῇ E: αὖτῃ B
929C	γλαυκώπιδος ἔπλετο μήνης E: ἔπλετο γλαυκώπιδος μήνης B
929D	διαυτῆς E: δι' αὐτῆς B
929D	ὅλος E: ὅλως B
929E	ἀμαυροτέραν E: ἀμαυρωτέραν B
929E	εύρὺν E: εύρὺν B
930C	ρήμασι E: ρεύμασι B
930D	ἀνακλᾶσθαι τὲ E: ἀνακλᾶσθαι τε B
930D	έαυτῇ E: έαυτῇ B
930F	ατὰ E: κατὰ B
930F	κατὰ νύξιν E: κατάνυξιν B
930F	ἐξηλιοῦσθαι E: ἐξηλλοιοῦσθαι B
930F	κεράννυσθαι E: κεράννισθαι B
930F	δι' ὅλου E: διόλου B
931A	περὶ E: πρὸς B
931A	νοειδεῖς E: μηνοειδεῖς B
931A	εῦρο E: δεῦρο B
931B	ἀπὸ φωτὸς E: ἀποφωτὸς B



931C	τοσοῦτον E: τοσοῦτο B
931D	τῆς <i>om.</i> E
931E	σκότος E: σκότους B
932AB	πελοπόνησος E: πελοπόννησος B
932D	ποιεῖ E: ποιεῖν B
932D	δὴ τί E: τί δὴ B
932D	ύπομνήσας E: ύπέμνησας B
932D	πεπεισμένων E: πεποιημένων B
933A	τι E: τοι B
933A	λάβε <i>om.</i> B
933B	εὐρυτάτη E: εὐρυτάτη B
933C	ἰδία E: ἰδίους B
933C	ἀπορρεύσεις E: ἀπορεύσεις B
933F	<i>vac. ante</i> ὄνομάζειν E: <i>lac. post</i> ὄνομάζειν B
934C	τοῦ <i>om.</i> B
934C	ἢδη E: ἢδη B
934E	περιελαυνομένου E: ἐλαυνομένου B
934F	κύμα E: κῦμα B
934F	ῶσπερ <i>om.</i> B
935A	ἀλουργοὺς E: ἀλουργὰς B
935B	τινὶ E: τινὶ B
935B	θεῶν E: θεὸν B
935B	δεῖ δī μὲν E: δεῖ οī μὲν B
935D	ἀκούοιτε δὲ καίπερ οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες E:
-	καίπερ οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες ἀκούοιτε δὲ B
935E	ἀλλωάδων E: ἀλωάδων B
935E	ἐκεῖν E: ἐκείνων B
935E	εἶναι μείζονας E: μείζονας εἶναι B
935F	τεθρυλλημένον E: θρυλλούμενον B
936A	όρῶν E: ὄρῶν B
936C	ἐπιδεικνύαι E: ἐπιδεικνῦαι B
936C	μεθ' ἡμέραν E: μεθημέραν B
936D	οὐ E: οὐδὲ B



936E	ἐσόπρων E: ἐσόπτρων B
937A	ἄλλεσθαι E: ἄλλεσθαι B
937A	τὰ <i>om.</i> B
937B	ἢ που E: ἢ που B
937E	φερομένη E: ἐπιφερομένη B
937F	δεὸν E: δὲ B
937F	ἔχούσαις E: ἔχουσαν B
937F	πελοπόνησον E: πελοπόννησον B
937F	υῖων E: βίων B
938A	γὰρ <i>om.</i> E
938A	δυναται E: δύναται B
938D	χερρονήσοις E: χερονήσοις B
938D	ἀναγινώσκοντος E: ἀναγινώσκων B
938E	τε <i>om.</i> B
938E	τε <i>om.</i> E
938EF	αὐτὸς <i>lac.</i> E: αὐτὴν B
939B	ἀντιθῆς E: ἀντιθεὶς B
939B	ἔχούσαις E: ἔχούσας B
939C	λιβύη E: λιβύι B
939C	γε δροσίας E: γεδρωσίας B
939C	τρωγλοδύτιδος E: τρωγλοδίτιδος B
939D	τὸ E: τὸν B
939E	ῦλαι E: ῦλαι B
940B	τὴν <i>om.</i> B
940B	πλέονας E: πλείονας B
940C	ἐπὶ E: ἔτι B
940D	παντοδαπὰ E: πανταδοπὰ B
940D	τούτοις ἀσκεῖν E: τούτους ἀσκεῖν B
940E	ὅσον E: ὅσσον B
940E	ἐνταῦθα <i>dupl.</i> B
940F	ἀπωκίσθαι E: ἀποκεισθαι B
941B	κεῖσθαι E: κινεῖσθαι B
941C	οὖν E: δὲ B

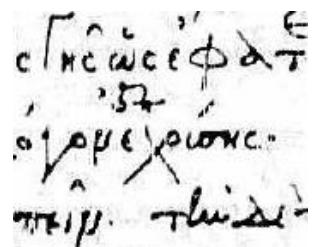
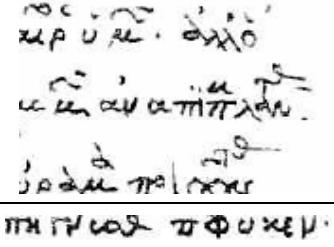
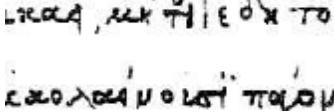
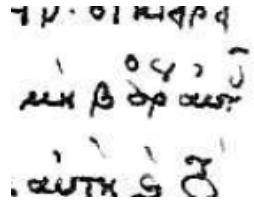
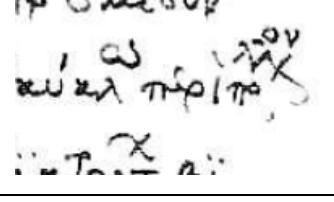
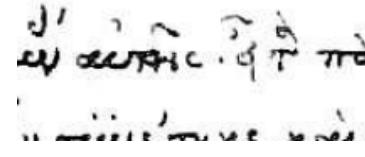


941D	<i>vac.</i> σκευὴν E: παρασκευὴν B
941D	καὶ <i>om.</i> E
942A	ἐξαγγέλλειν E: ἐξαγγέλειν B
942A	προδιανοεῖται E: προσδιανοεῖται B
942B	ἀσπασάμενος E: ἀσπασαμένους B
942B	ἐν <i>om.</i> B
942B	τε <i>om.</i> B
942D	τὴν <i>om.</i> E
942D	φωσφόρος E: φοσφόρος B
942E	ἔνεστιν E: ἔνεστι B
943A	μόνων E: μόνον B
943A	αὐτὸν E: οὐν B
943D	καταδυομένας E: καταγινομένας B
943D	περιίστασιν E: περιιστᾶσιν B
944A	ἀέρος E: πνρὸς B
944A	εὺρος E: εῦρος B
944A	έαυτῆς E: έαυτοῦ B
944A	θερμ <i>lac.</i> E: θερμότητι B
944C	παιδίον E: πεδίον B
944C	ἀνωτάταις E: ἀνωτάτῳ B
944D	πε E: περὶ B
944E	περιπεριπολεῖν E: περιπολεῖν B
945A	περιπτύσσουσα E: περιπτύσσου B
945A	κὰν χωρὶς ἐκατέρου γένηται, πολὺν χρόνον E
-	κὰν πολὺν χρόνον χωρὶς ἐκατέρου γένηται B
945C	εἰλείθυια E: εἱληθυια B
945D	μέτεστι E: μετέστι B





8. APPENDIX II. EMENDATIONS BY THE MANUSCRIPTS

<p>921D, ἐπεχούσης B et E <i>supra lineam</i>: ἐχούσης E</p>	
<p>921F, ἀναπιπλάντας E et B <i>supra lineam</i>: ἀναπιπλάντας B</p>	
<p>922C, μήτι EB: μή τοι B <i>supra lineam</i></p>	
<p>923C, βάρος EB: βορὸς B <i>supra lineam</i>.</p>	
<p>924B, περὶ πόλιν E: περὶ πόλλων B: περὶ πόλον B <i>supra lineam</i></p>	
<p>924D, αὐτῆς EB: αὐτοῖς B <i>in textu</i></p>	



925B, ὅσον – μέτρον E et B <i>supra lineam</i> : ὅσο – μέτρω B	<p>πίν, ὅσον ουκαιτιέσποι μήρω· μέτρη ταντα πλε.</p>
925C, ἐν τοῖς γῆς ὄροις EB: ἐν τῆς γῆς ὄροις E <i>supra lineam</i>	<p>μτόπομ, ὁστης προσεπ α, της τοῖς γῆς ὄροις πρα , αὐτης τοῦ προσθυμέρη.</p>
925C, ἀπέχει EB: ἀπέχειν B <i>supra lineam</i>	<p>παπλοσιον, ροι, απάφη — κα —</p>
926A, τινὶ B et E <i>supra lineam</i>	<p>και ωρις / και ισχερε την την ενι.</p>
926D, αὐτοῦ E et B <i>in textu</i> : αὐτοῦ B	<p>ανηρε πανει μενού φιν και δισχιμάτι</p>
927C, παραγένηται B et E <i>supra lineam</i> : γένηται E	<p>παναφαιρεται φορ νόμωρ γερνητη τη πεπιαστη σιναι τη</p>
927E, ἐκφύονται E et B <i>supra lineam</i> : ἐμφύονται B	<p>φαληρι θετησε μεσοι εκατοθε λεφύουται. Σι την αιτια την αιτια</p>
929A, περίεισι E et B <i>supra lineam</i> : περίεστι B	<p>ποληρυθρημεσε, μεμη πτοι εστι κατα. ποει τη διαβηβη</p>



929B, ὕελον B et E <i>supra lineam</i> : ὕελον B	ΚΑΛΘΑΛΟΥ ΗΣ Ἄγαστελον τοπίων τηλετήν
929C, αὐτὴν B et E <i>in textu</i> : αὐτὴν E	ΙΦΩΤΗΣ ΟΜΙΓΓΗΣ, ΩΕΓΓΕΔΙΤΗΡΗΤ ΚΟΣΜΗ. ΛΙΔΙ.
929C, τόσσον B et E <i>supra lineam</i> : τόσον B	ΠΕΘΑΝΕΙΟΣ ΣΩΣΙΩΣ ΓΟΥΛΙΚΟΣ ΤΟΣΣΟΝ, ΟΣΣΟ · · · ·
930F, οἴονται B et E <i>in textu</i> : οἴονται E	ΤΕΕΟΖΧΑΙΟΝ ΑΙΔΙΟΣ Ή ΔΙΕΙΟΥ ΟΙΩΝΤ ΜΗΧΗ · · · ΚΑΙ ΜΗΧΑΒΟΛ
931A, τε B et E <i>supra lineam</i>	ΣΩΤΗΚΕΙΝΟΥ ΤΘΕΜΙΕΔΑΙ ΔΙΕΥΤΡΟΥ-ΜΑΡΙΟΣ ΖΩΚΙΕΡΟΥ
932C, τόδε τὸ πάθος B et E <i>supra lineam</i> : τὸ δὲ πάθος E	ΤΟΔΕ ΤΟΔΙΘΟΣ · · ·
932C, ἡς EB: οἵς E <i>in textu</i>	ΤΟΔΕ ΤΟΔΙΘΟΣ ΙΚΛΙΝΗΤΙΟ ΔΗΠΗΣ, ΔΙΣΤΗΡΗ ΕΚΛΕΙΣΤΗΡ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΙΟΣ ΔΗΜΟΡΟΙ ΕΙΧΑΙ
932D, ποιήσωμαι EB: ποιήσωμεν B <i>supra lineam</i>	ΑΧΡΑΝ ΣΠΙΡΤΟΥΣΙ ΠΟΛΙΚΟΣ ΦΑΛΑΙΚΟΣ Ω
932E, μέν τι E: μέν B et τοι <i>supra lineam</i>	· · · ΑΡΓΑ · · · ΤΟΙ, ΗΣΕΙΣ ΤΩΡΑΣ · · · ΠΗΝΟΧΙΕΩΣ Ω

933B, ἀποκρύπτεται E et B <i>supra lineam</i> : απολείπεται B	<p>οὐ δόγμα ἐμπολεμπτή επιβολέσθω</p>
933C, ταχύτητι EB: ταχυτῆτι B <i>supra lineam</i>	<p>Ορεστής χατιτήν ἐταυτότη</p>
933D, βληχροῦ E et B <i>in textu</i> : βληχροῦ B	<p>ε· σκιδύκοστήρει μχεβάκχρεναι πάσχονταφάν</p>
934B, στορέσας EB: στορέσασα B <i>supra lineam</i>	<p>ινκουσέλλαρ φρε ικηφορέσσαν. φρ</p>
934C, ἵησι EB: ἵησι B <i>in textu</i>	<p>επένησεν ηιήσι. και ηηναλ. και</p>
934C, καὶ E et B <i>supra lineam</i>	<p>εητησιητοι απύρπυρα εητησιητοι</p>
935F, πλευρᾶς EB: πλευρὰς B <i>in textu</i>	<p>ιιαπαιούρας ιιαπαιούρας λακ ιιαπαιούρας λακ</p>
936B, τὴν B et E <i>supra lineam</i>	<p>τοτωζην πορρων αληθηδητηλητηλητη αληθηδητηλητηλητη</p>



936D, καὶ E et B <i>supra lineam</i>	<i>ταρέστικάτος ὅ</i> <i>ταρέστικάτος ὅ</i>
936D, τῇ γῇ τὴν κορυφὴν E et B <i>supra lineam</i> : τὴν κορυφὴν τῇ γῇ B	<i>πρὸ τῆς κορυφῆς τῇ γῇ</i>
937B, τὴν ἵσην EB: τὸν ἵσον B <i>supra lineam</i>	<i>τὴν ἵσην</i> <i>τὴν ἵσην</i>
938C, μικρὰν EB: πικρὰν B <i>supra lineam</i>	<i>μικρὰν</i> <i>πικρὰν</i>
939B, ἥλιον οὐ B et E <i>supra lineam</i> : ἥλιού E	<i>ἥλιον</i> . <i>ἥλιον</i> αἴσθεται <i>ἥλιον</i> αἴσθεται. <i>ἥλιον</i> αἴσθεται.
939C, χειμῶσιν EB: χιόσιν E <i>supra lineam</i>	<i>χειμῶσιν</i> <i>χειμῶσιν</i> , <i>ἐκ φύσεως</i>
941A, κωλύει EB: κωλύοι B <i>supra lineam</i>	<i>κωλύει</i> <i>κωλύει</i> <i>κωλύει</i>
943B, Φερσεφόνης EB: Περσεφόνης E <i>supra lineam</i>	<i>Φερσεφόνης</i> <i>Φερσεφόνης</i> -κα <i>Φερσεφόνης</i> . <i>τῆσδε</i> , οὐ
943C, δὲ B et E <i>supra lineam</i>	<i>δὲ</i> <i>πρῶτης</i> τὸς καρούλου. <i>δέ</i> <i>πρῶτης</i> μαστίχας. <i>δέ</i> <i>πρῶτης</i> μαστίχας.



944A, τοῦ E et B <i>supra lineam</i>	<p>Κ του οευτρού πνεύμου, Σ πριτού ςημ πνεύμαρ. ὁ Τι ~ θα ~</p>
945B, καταθέλγει E et B <i>infra lineam</i> : ἀναθέλγει B	<p>Φελεπ τ σελκή πρ ο και αφαθέλγει. αισχρ φιλος</p>
945C, αὐτὸν EB: αὐτὸν B <i>in textu</i>	<p>Θέλετο φε πλε ιγ γεωπήν κ σελ ετι μεθόμενη</p>
945D, σύμμιγμα E et B <i>supra lineam</i> : σύμμιγμα B	<p>απαραγε καλωδιών πάτοι, συμμιγμ ζη ει αισχρό πο σεληνη</p>



8. APPENDIX III. RESUMEN EN ESPAÑOL

Título: Edición crítica del tratado de Plutarco *De facie quae in orbe lunae appareat* con comentarios crítico, literario y filosófico.

Autor: Luisa Lesage Gárriga

Directores: C. Alcalde Martín, A. Pérez Jiménez, L. Roig Lanzillotta

Tesis en Cotutela (Universidad de Groningen, Países Bajos)

1. Antecedentes y *status quaestionis*. Justificación del proyecto.

El tratado *Περὶ τοῦ ἐμφαίνομένου προσώπου τῷ κύκλῳ τῆς σελήνης – De facie quae in orbe lunae appareat* (*De facie* en adelante) pertenece al corpus de *Moralia* de Plutarco. Conservado únicamente en dos manuscritos de los siglos XIV y XV (*Parisinus Graecus* 1672 y 1675), ha sido objeto de numerosos estudios y ediciones a lo largo de los siglos. Está presente en la edición Aldina de *Moralia* de 1509 y en varias ediciones renacentistas –destaca la de 1599, con texto griego de H. Stephanus y traducción latina de G. Xylander. Entre las ediciones modernas más notables contamos con las de dos grandes editores, M. Pohlenz para la *Bibliotheca Teubneriana* y H. Cherniss para la *Loeb Classical Library*, quienes publicaron excelentes trabajos que han servido de referencia para estudios posteriores.

El texto de *De facie* trata exclusivamente de la luna, cubriendo prácticamente todos los aspectos concernientes a su naturaleza y función. No hay detalle que escape a la atención de Plutarco: el relieve de su superficie; sus movimientos, tamaño y distancias con respecto a otros cuerpos; los fenómenos de las fases, eclipses y reflexión de luz; así como sus funciones en relación con el universo y con el ser humano.

Este fascinante tema ha atraído la atención de gran número de estudiosos a lo largo de la historia: filólogos desde N. Leonicus a H. Cherniss han revisado y corregido el texto, astrónomos como J. Kepler y matemáticos como L. Russo han comentado las teorías incluidas en el tratado, historiadores como F. Cumont y eruditos como P.L. Donini han situado su contenido en el contexto cultural del autor. La recepción de *De facie*, sin embargo, presenta una curiosa contradicción, y es que, pese al esfuerzo dedicado por



numerosos estudiosos tanto al texto como al contenido, todavía a día de hoy no se ha llegado a una interpretación completa y cabal del tratado.

A esta situación han contribuido tres problemas, diferentes pero complementarios. El primero deriva del hecho de que el tratado haya llegado únicamente a través de dos manuscritos, lo que dificulta la labor de edición. Se impone decidir entre lecturas únicas que pueden ser erróneas y es necesario reflexionar sobre las lagunas que presentan los manuscritos así como sobre transposiciones, correcciones u omisiones del texto entre ambos manuscritos.

El segundo surge de las intervenciones textuales en el texto mismo. Si bien existen testimonios del esfuerzo filológico por conseguir un texto coherente y gramaticalmente correcto desde las primeras ediciones impresas del siglo XVI hasta los estudios más recientes del siglo XXI, tales esfuerzos se ven debilitados por dos hechos. Por un lado, los primeros intentos han sido considerablemente ignorados o erróneamente atribuidos por estudiosos posteriores; y, por otro lado, las correcciones más recientes –a partir del siglo XVIII– tienden a regularizar en exceso el texto transmitido y a aceptar intervenciones que no siempre cuentan con una base sólida y objetiva. Estos problemas implican que los primeros esfuerzos filológicos no han sido correctamente incluidos en los aparatos críticos modernos, y que el texto ha sido modificado innecesariamente en numerosos pasajes.

El tercer problema concierne la interpretación tanto de la estructura como del contenido del tratado. Si bien el tema en discusión es simple –la luna–, el tratamiento exhaustivo que le dedica Plutarco es complejo, a veces incluso desconcertante. Para solventar esta complicación, ha habido cierta tendencia a simplificar la cuestión. En términos generales los estudiosos han considerado que el tratado presenta dos tipos de contenido: uno de tipo físico, ‘científico’, y otro de tipo filosófico-religioso, ‘mitológico’. De manera similar, la mayoría de los estudios ha clasificado la estructura de *De facie* en concordancia, es decir, se ha establecido una bipartición en la que cada una de las dos partes incluye uno de los tipos de contenidos –la primera parte integra las teorías astronómicas y la segunda, las nociones escatológicas. De ello se deriva que haya habido una tendencia a asimilar estructura y contenidos, pero esta interpretación, sin embargo, es problemática. Por una parte, tal discriminación conlleva una bipartición, tanto formal como argumental que no necesariamente concuerda con las intenciones de Plutarco. Por otra parte, dado que los estudiosos han sido propensos a centrarse en uno u otro tipo de contenidos, el ‘científico’ o el ‘mitológico’, sus interpretaciones siempre han sido



parciales, lo que supone que desde un primer momento el acercamiento integral de la obra ha quedado excluido.

De acuerdo con lo mencionado líneas arriba, hasta cierto punto estos problemas están conectados, puesto que la interpretación a menudo es la base de determinadas intervenciones textuales. Siguiendo motivaciones de tipo conceptual y filosófico, en lugar de textual, ciertos eruditos han introducido en el texto ideas que podrían respaldar sus propias interpretaciones del pensamiento de Plutarco. Lo que es más grave es que en ocasiones ciertas intervenciones textuales aspiran a una homogeneización del pensamiento de Plutarco, limando aspectos complejos o contradictorios entre sus obras. Así ocurre con los mitos escatológicos de *De facie*, *De genio Socratis* y *De sera numinis vindicta*. Aunque la comparación de los tres mitos es necesaria para entender el pensamiento de Plutarco, cada uno de los tratados debería ser analizado como pieza individual antes de buscar conexiones con el resto de la obra del autor. En todo caso, las intervenciones en el texto deberían ser introducidas en esta fase preliminar, bajo ningún concepto como resultado de interpretaciones globales alcanzadas tras la comparación de los diferentes mitos.

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3. Objetivos de la investigación

3.1. Objetivos metodológicos. Aprender a investigar.

Este objetivo principal se ha dividido en sub-objetivos menores de manera que resulte más abordable su consecución. Así, por ejemplo:

3.1.1. Buscar y clasificar bibliografía.

3.1.2. Desarrollar el análisis crítico de las fuentes.

3.1.3. Colacionar manuscritos.

3.1.4. Hacer comentarios críticos, filosófico-religiosos, y estilístico-literarios.

3.1.5. Conseguir un currículum de calidad a través de la participación en congresos, publicaciones, estancias de investigación, etc.

3.1.6. Conocer cómo funciona el ámbito científico en otros lugares, cómo trabajan otras personas y asimilar estos procesos a través de la participación activa –con estancias breves en otros centros y gracias a la realización de una tesis en régimen de cotutela.



3.2. Objetivos del proyecto

El objetivo principal del presente proyecto de tesis es ofrecer un análisis consistente del texto de *De facie* como creación literaria que necesariamente refleja y expresa una visión coherente del mundo. Con el fin de alcanzar dicho objetivo, esta tesis presenta una nueva edición del texto acompañada de un aparato crítico así como de un comentario crítico al texto que evalúa las dificultades textuales y los problemas del tratado. Los comentarios literario y filosófico, por su parte, aspiran a ofrecer una panorámica de los acercamientos previos, así como a vencer inconsistencias y parcialidades con vistas a presentar una comprensión sólida y global del tratado.

4. Lista de competencias adquiridas

A lo largo de los cinco años en que se ha realizado esta tesis se han adquirido ciertas competencias que son de ayuda a la hora de formar parte activa del ámbito científico. Entre ellas, es fundamental ser capaz de:

- 4.1. Colacionar manuscritos antiguos y valorar la información que su tipo de escritura, sus lagunas y sus errores nos proporcionan.
- 4.2. Realizar un análisis crítico y sintetizar ideas nuevas, así como formular juicios a partir de información limitada.
- 4.3. Llevar a cabo la crítica y defensa intelectual de opiniones y soluciones.
- 4.4. Traducir los resultados del aprendizaje de estos años en contribuciones tanto en congresos como en publicaciones varias. Contribuir con ello al avance científico y cultural de una sociedad basada en el conocimiento.
- 4.5. Comunicar avances y resultados en las diferentes lenguas en que se comunican los integrantes de la comunidad científica –principalmente inglés, francés, e italiano.

5. Diseminación de resultados

Con vistas a conseguir una tesis lo más trabajada, contrastada y completa posible, ha sido esencial la presentación y publicación de resultados de las diferentes etapas de trabajo en los medios que estaban a nuestra disposición.

Especialmente relevante ha sido presentar los avances que se han obtenido en diferentes congresos donde otros estudiosos de la materia e interesados en el tema han podido aportar sus consideraciones al respecto. De este modo, y en la medida de lo posible, se ha presentado el trabajo realizado en congresos especializados en Plutarco, como pueden ser los anuales de la *Red de Plutarco* –en los que participan las diez universidades europeas integrantes de la red–, los de la *Sociedad Española de Plutarquistas* o los de la *International Plutarch Society*, que tienen lugar cada tres años.

Asimismo parte del fruto de esta investigación se ha publicado en revistas científicas de prestigio internacional, procurando divulgar los resultados obtenidos tanto en España como fuera del país y procurando igualmente que se tratara de publicaciones de calidad.

6. Estructura de la tesis

Este estudio ha sido organizado en cinco capítulos, cada uno de ellos dedicado a un aspecto diferente de la investigación. El primero se centra en el desarrollo diacrónico del texto. El análisis sigue la evolución desde los primeros testimonios, dos manuscritos de los siglos XIV y XV, hasta las últimas ediciones, del siglo XX. Este panorama muestra, por un lado, el alcance del menospicio por parte de editores modernos en lo que concierne las primeras etapas de labor editorial sobre el texto de *De facie*. Por otro lado, deja claro que parte de las intervenciones textuales recientes son resultado de un intento de homogeneización basado en fundamentos más bien conceptuales que textuales, y por tanto son prescindibles.

Sigue a la historia del texto presentada en el capítulo primero un acercamiento literario, es decir, un estudio crítico del texto como objeto literario. Este segundo capítulo evalúa los personajes que participan en el diálogo, la fecha de composición, y la fecha y lugar de la acción dramática, e incluye además un análisis de la estructura del tratado y un resumen de los contenidos. Con ello, este capítulo desafía posiciones tradicionales, lo cual permite, a su vez, alcanzar un mejor entendimiento de *De facie* como composición literaria.

El tercer capítulo presenta la edición del texto junto con un aparato crítico. El objetivo principal de esta edición es mantener el texto de los manuscritos en la medida de lo posible, evitando así modificaciones innecesarias. A su vez, procura ofrecer una visión sistemática de todas las contribuciones e intervenciones previas.

El comentario crítico al texto ocupa el cuarto capítulo. Las entradas del comentario se centran en problemas recurrentes tales como lagunas, corrupciones del texto, y pasajes de gramática y sintaxis complejas. El propósito general es proveer una defensa bien argumentada del texto de los manuscritos frente a la fuerte tendencia de los estudiosos a intervenir en él. Asimismo, explica y asienta las conjeturas y correcciones personales propuestas en la nueva edición. En este sentido, el comentario ayuda a contextualizar los problemas sufridos por el texto de *De facie* a través de su evolución diacrónica.

El quinto capítulo, por su parte, se centra en la dimensión conceptual del tratado. Construido en torno a ciertas bases asentadas en el segundo capítulo concernientes a la coherencia entre forma y contenido, este capítulo muestra que, si bien ambos están intrínsecamente relacionados, no son equivalentes. Los contenidos no deben ser asociados con una u otra de las partes formales, porque, en realidad, se despliegan con continuidad a lo largo del tratado. Precisamente, el comentario filosófico pretende demostrar que el tratado presenta un pensamiento consistente.

De hecho, Plutarco elabora un marco conceptual integral en el que consideraciones filosóficas, de tipo tanto físico como metafísico, se extienden a través del texto. Su acercamiento personal al tema de la luna es resultado de una admirable combinación de elementos de filosofía platónica con influencias aristotélicas por un lado, y de teorías astronómicas no tradicionalmente aceptadas en su época por otro. Si bien los estudios han tratado cada una de estas perspectivas por separado, aún hoy no se ha prestado la atención que corresponde a la combinación de ambas en una única exposición sobre el tema. En contra de la tendencia tradicional a desconectar ambas perspectivas, el comentario filosófico enfatiza la unidad de este tratado de Plutarco. En este sentido, busca recalcar los temas recurrentes de manera que se revele la forma complementaria en que las ideas son expuestas.

7. Resultados

7.1. Estudio de los manuscritos

La colación del texto de *De facie* en los dos manuscritos que lo conservan ha demostrado que, pese a numerosas erratas y algunas construcciones sintácticas oscuras, ambos poseen un texto suficientemente coherente y gramaticalmente correcto. En este sentido, los capítulos tercero y cuarto, dedicados a la edición crítica y al comentario



crítico del texto, han mostrado que las lecturas de los manuscritos necesitan de muchas menos intervenciones de lo que hasta ahora se había asumido. Este hecho queda especialmente reflejado en lo que concierne a ciertos pronombres transmitidos por EB, a menudo reemplazados por otros tipos. Véase sobre todo el caso de los demostrativos, la forma ática contracta del personal reflexivo, y los pronombres personales de 1^a y 2^a persona del plural. Lo mismo puede decirse de la compleción de determinadas lagunas de los manuscritos, donde, pese a la presencia de un espacio en blanco, la sintaxis y el sentido parecen coherentes y completos. Pese a ello, a menudo los estudiosos no sólo han intentado reconstruir el texto perdido, sino que además han corregido el resto del pasaje de acuerdo con las conjeturas propuestas para la laguna. Como resultado, numerosas reconstrucciones del texto no han sido elaboradas sobre fundamentos sintácticos o contextuales. Si bien la interpretación personal es quizás una cuestión ineludible, la nueva edición crítica de *De facie* ha evidenciado la necesidad de cautela y de mantener en la medida de lo posible las lecturas de los manuscritos, siempre y cuando éstos presenten una sintaxis y sentido correctos.

7.2. Testimonio de las primeras ediciones impresas

El minucioso análisis desarrollado en el capítulo primero (Transmisión textual de *De facie*) de varios ejemplares con anotaciones de las primeras ediciones de *Moralia*, Aldina de 1509 y Basiliense de 1542, ha revelado interesantes resultados. Por un lado, todavía a día de hoy las relaciones entre ejemplares de la edición Aldina no han sido debidamente establecidas. Por otro, las correcciones al texto incluidas tanto en la Aldina como en la Basiliense han sido con demasiada frecuencia desatendidas por la tradición posterior.

El análisis de siete copias Aldinas ha ayudado a esclarecer las inter-relaciones entre ellas, de manera a poder determinar prioridad y posterioridad así como a evaluar mutuas dependencias. Como resultado, este sondeo ha mostrado, por ejemplo, que S. Forteguerri debió haber sido el primer erudito en trabajar en el texto Aldino. Si bien este estudioso no ha sido nunca incluido como origen de ninguna corrección por editores posteriores, muchas de sus correcciones han sido aceptadas e integradas en los aparatos críticos modernos, pero erróneamente atribuidas a otros estudiosos y editores. La Aldina perteneciente a A. Turnebus y a otros eruditos después, en cambio, ha sido excesivamente considerada como origen de varias enmiendas que aparecen en Aldinas anteriores a ella,



como las de S. Forteguerri y N. Leonicus. Finalmente, la labor editorial de J. Amyot ha sido asociada a su traducción francesa de *Moralia* en lugar de a las anotaciones por él inscritas en su ejemplar Basiliense. Esto significa que los editores modernos han atribuido a J. Amyot correcciones al texto griego que en realidad no aparecen anotadas en su ejemplar, porque en realidad son las interpretaciones personales de los propios editores, basadas en la traducción de J. Amyot. En consecuencia, son los editores modernos los creadores originales de tales conjeturas al texto. Este interesante fenómeno –la creación de una nueva conjetura sin embargo atribuida a estudiosos del siglo XVI– no afecta sólo a J. Amyot, sino también a N. Leonicus y A. Turnebus, por ejemplo. La nueva edición crítica intenta resolver todos las inconsistencias con respecto al texto de *De facie* y atribuir la corrección adecuada al creador adecuado.

7.3. El texto en ediciones modernas

La labor editorial desarrollada en los dos siglos pasados ha contribuido con valiosas correcciones y conjeturas que han permitido esclarecer pasajes considerados hasta entonces como desesperados. La nueva edición crítica no podría haber sido establecida sin este esfuerzo común por comprender el texto de *De facie*.

Como se ha avanzado líneas arriba, sin embargo, los capítulos tercero y cuarto enfatizan la excesiva tendencia de algunos editores a modificar innecesariamente partes del texto transmitido. Esta tendencia resulta, en parte, del deseo de regularizar el texto. Aunque esta intención no es errónea en sí, llevada como lo ha sido a extremos, conlleva reemplazar la lectura de los manuscritos con propuestas injustificadas. La nueva edición crítica pretende identificar y eliminar este tipo de conjeturas irrelevantes.

7.4. Identificación de los personajes de *De facie*

El estudio de los personajes que participan en *De facie* en el capítulo segundo (Comentario literario) ha permitido distinguir entre personajes históricos y personajes ficticios. De los ocho personajes, cinco aparecen en otras obras de Plutarco y en la mayoría de los casos con una caracterización que enfatiza detalles personales, lo cual sugiere que son históricos. Estos son Sila, Lucio, Teón, Apolónides, y el hermano de Plutarco Lamprias. Los tres restantes, en cambio, no aparecen en ningún otro tratado de Plutarco. Hasta donde concierne a Aristóteles y Fárnaces, su caracterización estereotípica sugiere que podrían ser una creación literaria, aunque la posibilidad de que fueran reales,

naturalmente, no puede ser completamente excluida. Menelao, descrito como astrónomo, puede ser identificado con Menelao de Alejandría.

Esta identificación es útil en tanto que permite localizar los personajes históricos de modo a reducir posibles fechas de composición y, como consecuencia, también para datar y localizar la acción dramática.

7.5. Fecha de composición de *De facie*

En lo que concierne a la fecha de composición, no hay indicios en el propio tratado. Pese a esta falta de información inicial, la identificación de algunos personajes como históricos ha permitido buscar material en otros escritos para proponer una fecha de composición. Como se apunta en el segundo capítulo, la información aportada por dos fuentes ha sido determinante. La primera, la cena en *Quaestiones convivales* 8 de Plutarco, organizada en Roma alrededor del año 98, que incluye a Sila, Lucio y Teón como invitados. La segunda, la visita que realizó Menelao a Roma en 98 para realizar observaciones astronómicas, según el *Almagesto* de Ptolomeo. La información incluida en estas fuentes permite suponer que el encuentro entre estas cuatro personas, junto con Plutarco y quizás su hermano Lamprias, pudo tener lugar ese mismo año, en Roma. Dos de los tres personajes restantes parecen ser una creación literaria y por tanto no aportan información adicional –solo quedaría Apolónides sin situar. Esto establece un *terminus post quem*: es plausible pensar que Plutarco redactó el tratado poco tiempo después del encuentro. En consecuencia, y en contra de hipótesis que han propuesto fechas más tempranas, el comentario literario establece que la composición de *De facie* debería ser datada en el punto de inflexión entre los siglos I y II.

7.6. Fecha y localización de la acción dramática

La información para poder datar y localizar la acción incluida en *De facie* es escasa, tan solo dos pasajes aluden al entorno en el que se encuentran los personajes. El primer pasaje describe un eclipse solar total que supuestamente ocurrió poco antes del encuentro. Sobre la base de un meticuloso análisis del texto griego, completado con un reciente estudio sobre observaciones astronómicas en el pasado, el comentario literario establece que el eclipse total de diciembre del año 83 concuerda con el descrito en *De facie*. A diferencia de los eclipses de abril de 59, marzo de 71, enero de 75 y junio de 113, todos ellos propuestos como posibilidad, el eclipse del 83, que alcanzó una oscuración de



98% a las 14:45 en Alejandría, encaja con los cuatro detalles mencionados en *De facie*: tuvo lugar no mucho antes del encuentro en Roma en el 98, empezó al final del mediodía, e hizo que las estrellas brillaran durante el día y que la temperatura descendiera.

El segundo pasaje únicamente alude a la decisión de los participantes de detener su paseo y sentarse. Este detalle, desgraciadamente, no aporta información concluyente, lo que no permite reducir la fecha y lugar de la acción dramática.

Si bien la identificación del eclipse permite situar la fecha de la acción, no permite, en cambio, situar la localización. En contra de la postura tradicional de que la localización del eclipse se corresponde con la del encuentro entre los personajes, este estudio ha demostrado que no hay ninguna evidencia interna que la corrobore. Es más razonable suponer que Plutarco evoca un eclipse solar total que algunos personajes pudieron haber visto en persona y del que otros pudieron haber oído hablar. Con el fin de precisar una localización, el recurso a fuentes distintas a *De facie* ha sido necesario. Sobre la base de *Quaestiones convivales* 8 y del testimonio de Ptolomeo (véase arriba), la sugerencia más razonable es que el encuentro debió tener lugar en Roma, donde varios de los personajes se encontraban en torno al año 98.

7.7. Estructura del texto

El análisis del tratado ha evidenciado que puede ser estructurado en tres secciones. Una primera parte presenta una discusión en la que intervienen varios personajes; le sigue la segunda parte, una sección transicional que incluye un diálogo entre dos personajes; y la tercera parte, finalmente, es una historia narrada enteramente por un único personaje. A día de hoy, sin embargo, los estudios académicos han titubeado entre dos estructuras: una bipartición y una tripartición. El éxito notablemente superior de la bipartición se debe al hecho de que el contenido del tratado ha sido tradicionalmente interpretado como ‘científico’ por una parte, y ‘mitológico’ por otra. Esto ha facilitado la asimilación entre forma y contenido, favoreciendo la estructura bipartita. Esta simplificación de la cuestión, como se ha discutido en el quinto capítulo (Una filosofía de la luna), debería ser evitada.

En lo que concierne específicamente a la estructura de la tercera parte, el mito, los resultados de la investigación también parecen desafiar estructuras tradicionales. Si interpretaciones anteriores siempre consideraron la primera parte del mito como una mera introducción sin conexión funcional con el resto, un análisis meticuloso ha revelado que existen evidentes paralelos entre la descripción geográfica del archipiélago con las



experiencias de los habitantes de la Isla de Cronos, por un lado, y la descripción geográfica de la luna con las experiencias de sus habitantes, por otro. Por consiguiente, la primera parte del mito tiene una función relevante dentro de la totalidad, que, según se establece en el capítulo, consiste en cuatro secciones. Mientras que las descripciones geográficas paralelas corresponden a las secciones 1 y 3; las secciones 2 y 4 también presentan paralelos entre ellas, siendo cada una de ellas una ‘antropología cosmológica’ donde se enfatiza el rol de la tierra, la luna y el sol en la creación de seres humanos, constituidos ellos a su vez por tres componentes. En consecuencia, la división en cuatro secciones destaca la estructura equilibrada y elegantemente elaborada del mito, sin que ninguna parte quede desconectada o sea considerada como menos relevante que el resto.

7.8. Marco conceptual de *De facie*

Cuando se aborda como composición literaria, sin divisiones de contenido en concordancia con una partición estructural, *De facie* presenta un pensamiento coherente. De principio a fin Plutarco recurre a una amplia gama de fuentes, sobre las que construye su pensamiento. Esta selección incluye las escuelas filosóficas de su tiempo, opiniones poético-literarias y tradiciones folclóricas, así como teorías de varios pensadores de distintos períodos. Entre las primeras, como era de esperar, el tratado presenta una clara tendencia platónica que incorpora en su herencia común el pensamiento aristotélico. Entre las segundas, cabe mencionar a Homero y Píndaro, entre otros, así como ciertas tradiciones romanas. Finalmente, se citan varios pensadores pre-socráticos interesados en el estudio del universo como Empédocles, Parménides, Anaxágoras, así como pensadores tardíos, como Hiparco y Aristarco.

Plutarco, sin embargo, no sigue servilmente a sus fuentes, sino que las selecciona y adapta a sus necesidades literarias. Un claro ejemplo de ello es su uso selectivo de Aristóteles: si bien a menudo acepta ideas aristotélicas en áreas como la ética y la noética, no es este el caso en el ámbito de la física aristotélica. La presente investigación ha demostrado que Plutarco no estaba satisfecho con ella, puesto que a menudo la pone en entredicho y la rechaza en base a datos empíricos más rigurosos. De hecho, en varios casos Plutarco adopta nociones de física que, a diferencia de los principios de física aristotélica, no eran generalmente aceptadas en su tiempo. Queda patente, por tanto, que *De facie* no consiste simplemente en un estado de la cuestión sobre el estudio de la luna,



sino que representa una obra personal y original, que incluye el punto de vista propio de Plutarco sobre la cuestión.

7.9. Finalidad filosófica de *De facie*

El análisis conceptual del quinto capítulo ha revelado que *De facie* está construido sobre la idea de medianía y medida. Esto afecta tanto al microcosmos como al macrocosmos. En lo que respecta al primero, *De facie* presenta al hombre como compuesto de cuerpo, alma e intelecto. En lo que concierne al segundo, el tratado se centra en tres cuerpos celestes, la tierra, la luna y el sol. El componente intermedio en cada caso, el alma y la luna respectivamente, representa el punto de inflexión de la existencia, se trata del componente que vincula a los otros dos y que simboliza la piedra angular que mantiene el equilibrio en su nivel correspondiente. Esta función permite al ser humano alcanzar la salvación y al cosmos funcionar apropiadamente. Tales consideraciones sobre medianía y medida resultan del campo de la ética tal como lo concibe Plutarco, cuyo marco platónico-aristotélico entiende la virtud como punto intermedio entre el exceso y la deficiencia. Aplicada al tema de la luna en particular, la medianía se convierte en su característica más emblemática en todos los niveles: ontológico, cosmológico, teológico, antropológico y ético. Es precisamente el rasgo de medianía de la luna lo que le permite conectar los distintos niveles de existencia.

El análisis ha permitido, además, evidenciar que una comprensión adecuada del valor filosófico del tratado puede adquirirse únicamente cuando el material ha sido adecuadamente abordado. Esto significa que la iniciativa de interpretación debe abordarse tanto desde la perspectiva literal como alegórica, dado que ambas se complementan entre sí a lo largo del tratado. A través del análisis de los temas recurrentes en el tratado (es decir, la naturaleza, la habitabilidad y la posición de la luna), el comentario filosófico ha mostrado que, lejos de quedar restringidas una al contenido de la discusión y la otra al del mito únicamente, ambas perspectivas, literal y alegórica, son necesarias para la correcta comprensión de la información incluida en el tratado.

7.10. Valor de la presente investigación

Los resultados obtenidos en la presente investigación demuestran que el tratado *De facie* todavía a día de hoy presentaba dificultades. Demasiado a menudo se ha emprendido el estudio de esta obra con intereses parciales, ya sea en el texto, en el



contenido, o en su configuración literaria. Por un lado, pese a la existencia de un gran número de ediciones y estudios dedicados al texto, estos aún adolecen tanto de una falta de atención a las primeras etapas de la transmisión textual como de cierta tendencia a modificar innecesariamente el texto transmitido. Por otra parte, dado que no se ha intentado analizar *De facie* como composición unitaria, coherente y cohesiva, ningún estudio ha podido realmente captar las intenciones de Plutarco al crear esta obra. Estos han sido precisamente los principales objetivos de esta investigación: 1) proveer un texto fiel a los manuscritos siempre que fuera posible acompañado de un aparato y un comentario críticos rigurosos, y 2) ofrecer análisis de tipo literario y filosófico que esclarecieran el significado del tratado. La combinación de estos objetivos ha permitido ofrecer una interpretación integral de *De facie quae in orbe lunae apparent*.

