## DE GRUYTER

Georgios Pachymeres
COMMENTARY ON
ARISTOTLE,
,NICOMACHEAN
ETHICS
CRITICAL EDITION WITH INTRODUCTION AND TRANSLATION

Edited by Sophia Xenophontos
Translated by Sophia Xenophontos and Crystal Addey

## Georgios Pachymeres

Commentary on Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics

Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften

# Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca et Byzantina (CAGB) 

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Dieter Harlfinger, Christof Rapp, Marwan Rashed, Diether R. Reinsch

## Band 7

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## Preface

The volume before you represents the editio princeps of George Pachymeres’ Commentary on Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics. It is the product of a deep interest in the reception of the classical tradition in late Byzantium, with a special focus on Greek ethics and morality. A series of interpretative studies I have published on this topic have made me acutely aware of the proclivity of Byzantine scholars to transform ancient Greek moral thought, but they have also triggered a march into uncharted territories. One of these was the inclusion of classical ethical philosophy in late Byzantine pedagogy, not merely or necessarily as a school subject in an institutional context, but as a set of practical injunctions leading to the good life by advocating for a habituation to self-discipline. In Pachymeres' text, much of this has been embellished by a religious understanding of ethics based in elements drawn from the social and cultural requirements in Constantinople at the turn of the fourteenth century. Tradition and variation, cognitive learning and moral didacticism, pagan and Christian material are therefore among the themes and dichotomies negotiated or alluded to in this fascinating document. I leave it to readers to reflect on these matters as they leaf through the text for the first time, although a background to it is offered by the Introduction, which aims to spark interest and prompt further investigation.

This book was undertaken in the framework of a major research grant for the project "The reception of Aristotle in Byzantium: The first critical edition of George Pachymeres' Commentary on Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics", for which I was the Principal Investigator. The project was generously funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) in the UK (AH/P008887/1), not only allowing me to engage full-time with the edition, translation, introduction, and related impact activities, but also furnishing me with precious collaborators. I am deeply indebted to Crystal Addey (University College Cork) for her hard work and substantial contribution to the English translation of the text during her Research Associateship on the project. Special thanks also go to Anna Marmodoro (Co-Investigator, University of Oxford/University of Durham) and Riccardo Chiaradonna (International Advisor, Roma Tre University) for offering advice, particularly but not exclusively at our scheduled workshops, where editorial and other matters were discussed. I would also like to acknowledge the financial assistance of the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland for a Research Incentive Grant I was awarded at an early stage of the work, of the Department of Classics and the School of Humanities at the University of Glasgow for supporting various research trips through their Incentivisation Fund, and of the AHRC for covering the Open Access fees for this book. In addition, I am grateful to the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, the Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial, and the Biblioteca nazionale Marciana for allowing me to consult in situ manuscripts central to the edition. Crystal Addey would also like to
thank the late Sarah Broadie and most especially Michael Griffin for their assistance with the translation.

Most important, I owe a debt of gratitude to the Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca et Byzantina research project (CAGB) at the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, and in particular to Dieter Harlfinger and Lutz Koch, for entrusting me with the edition and for their helpful editorial guidance during preparation and revision. I would also like to record my thanks to Nikos Agiotis for advising me on the presentation and edition of the diagrams, to Ioannis Polemis for editorial comments, to Georgi Parpulov for palaeographical assistance, to Michele Trizio for commenting on the Introduction, and to Ciro Giacomelli, Pelagia Vera Loungi, and Niccolò Zorzi for informal correspondence and exchange of ideas. At a later stage, Pantelis Golitsis and Diether R. Reinsch went through the entire book and provided invaluable remarks and suggestions. Some of the material treated in the Introduction was delivered at conferences and workshops in Oxford, Vienna and Athens, and I am grateful for feedback received on those occasions. My most profound thanks are due to my husband Petros Bouras-Vallianatos, who has been a constant source of encouragement and inspiration, having read and commented incisively on all parts of the manuscript from its inception on. This book is for him.

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## Bibliography

## Abbreviations

CAG $=$ Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca, 23 vols. (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1882-1909)
CMG = Corpus Medicorum Graecorum (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1908 - ).
GMG = D. Holton, G. Horrocks, M. Janssen, T. Lendari, I. Manolessou, and N. Toufexis, The Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019)
DK = ed.: H. Diels and W. Kranz, Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, vol. 1, $6^{\text {th }}$ edn. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1951) [Heraclitus = Heracl.; Zeno = Zen.]

FCG = ed.: A. Meineke, Fragmenta Comicorum Graecorum, vol. 5.1 (Berlin: Reimer, 1857) (repr. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1970)
L = ed.: E. L. von Leutsch, Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum, vol. 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck \& Ruprecht, 1851) (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1958) [Apostolius = Apost.]
LS = ed.: F. G. Schneidewin and E. L. von Leutsch, Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum, vol. 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck \& Ruprecht, 1839) (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965) [Zenobius = Zenob.]
LSJ = A Greek-English Lexicon, compiled by H. G. Liddell and R. Scott. Revised and augmented throughout by $\operatorname{Sir} \mathrm{H}$. S. Jones, with the assistance of R. McKenzie, and with the co-operation of many scholars. $9^{\text {th }}$ edn. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940). With a Revised Supplement edited by P. G. W. Glare with the assistance of A. A. Thompson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996)
$O C D=$ S. H. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, eds. Oxford Classical Dictionary, $4^{\text {th }}$ edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)
ODB = A. Kazhdan et al., eds. Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, 3 vols. (New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991)
PG = ed.: J. P. Migne, Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Graeca (Paris: Garnier Frères, 18571866)
$R G K=$ E. Gamillscheg, D. Harlfinger, H. Hunger, eds. Repertorium der Griechischen Kopisten, 8001600, 3 vols. (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981-1997) $P L P=$ E. Trapp, ed. Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit, 12 vols. (Vienna, 1976-1996) SVF = ed.: J. von Arnim, Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903)

# Editions of ancient, late antique, and Byzantine authors 

Alexander of Aphrodisias (Alex.)<br>In Metaph. = In Metaphysica commentaria (ed.: M. Hayduck, Alexandri Aphrodisiensis in Aristotelis metaphysica commentaria, CAG 1. Berlin: Reimer, 1891)<br>In Top. = In Topica commentaria (ed.: M. Wallies, Alexandri Aphrodisiensis in Aristotelis topicorum libros octo commentaria, CAG 2.2. Berlin: Reimer, 1891)

## Anonymous (Anon.)

In EN = In Ethica Nicomachea commentaria (ed.: G. Heylbut, Eustratii et Michaelis et anonyma in ethica Nicomachea commentaria, CAG 20. Berlin: Reimer, 1892)

## Aristotle (Arist.)

De an. = De anima (ed.: W. D. Ross, Aristotle. De anima, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961; repr. 1967)

EN = Ethica Nicomachea (ed.: I. Bywater, Aristotelis Ethica Nicomachea, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894; repr. 1962)
Metaph. = Metaphysica (ed.: W. D. Ross, Aristotle's Metaphysics, 2 vols., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924; repr. 1970 [of 1953 corr. edn.])
PA = De partibus animalium (ed.: P. Louis, Aristote. Les parties des animaux, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1956)
Phys. = Physica (ed.: W. D. Ross, Aristotelis Physica, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950; repr. 1966 [1 ${ }^{\text {st }}$ edn. corr.])
Post. An. = Analytica Posteriora (ed.: W. D. Ross, Aristotelis analytica priora et posteriora, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964; repr. 1968)
Top. = Topica (ed.: W. D. Ross, Aristotelis topica et sophistici elenchi, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958; repr. 1970 [1 ${ }^{\text {st }}$ edn. corr.])

## Aspasius (Asp.)

In EN = In Ethica Nicomachea commentaria (ed.: G. Heylbut, Aspasii in ethica Nicomachea quae supersunt commentaria, CAG 19.1. Berlin: Reimer, 1889)

## Choerilus (Choer.)

(ed.: H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons, Supplementum Hellenisticum, Berlin-New York: De Gruyter, 1983)

## Damascius (Dam.)

In Phaed. = In Phaedonem commentarium (ed.: L. G. Westerink, The Greek commentaries on Plato's Phaedo, vol. 2, Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Co., 1977)

## David (Dav.)

Proleg. Philos. = Prolegomena philosophiae (ed.: A. Busse, Davidis prolegomena et in Porphyrii isagogen commentarium, CAG 18.2. Berlin: Reimer, 1904)

## [Elias] ([Eli.])

In Porph. Isag. = In Porphyrii isagogen (ed.: A. Busse, Eliae in Porphyrii isagogen et Aristotelis categorias commentaria, CAG 18.1. Berlin: Reimer, 1900)

## Etymologicum Gudianum (Etym. Gudian.)

(ed.: E. L. de Stefani, Etymologicum Gudianum, fasc. 1 \& 2, Leipzig: Teubner, 1:1909; 2:1920; repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1965)

## Euclides (Eucl.)

El. = Elementa (ed.: E. S. Stamatis (post J. L. Heiberg), Euclidis elementa, 6 vols., $2^{\text {nd }}$ edn., Leipzig: Teubner, 1969-1977)

## Euripides (Eur.)

Fragm. = Fragmenta (ed.: R. Kannicht, Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, vol. 5, Euripides (in two parts). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck \& Ruprecht, 2004)
Hec. = Hecuba (ed.: J. Diggle, Euripidis fabulae, vol. 1, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984)

## Eustratius (Eustr.)

In EN = In Ethica Nicomachea commentaria (ed.: G. Heylbut, Eustratii et Michaelis et anonyma in ethica Nicomachea commentaria, CAG 20. Berlin: Reimer, 1892)

## Evenus (Even.)

Fragm. = Fragmenta (ed.: M. L. West, Iambi et elegi Graeci, vol. 2, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972)

## Gennadios Scholarios (Genn. Schol.)

Epit. Sum. theol. = Epitome Primae secundae Summae theologicae Thomae Aquinae (ed.: M. Jugie, L. Petit, and X. A. Siderides, Oeuvres complètes de Georges (Gennadios) Scholarios, vol. 6, Paris: Maison de la bonne presse, 1933)
In De phys. = Translatio Thomae Aquinae commentarii in Aristotelis De physico audito (ed.: M. Jugie, L. Petit, and X. A. Siderides, Oeuvres complètes de Georges (Gennadios) Scholarios, vol. 8, Paris: Maison de la bonne presse, 1936)

## George Pachymeres (Georg. Pachym.)

Quadriv. = Quadrivium vel $\Sigma u ́ v \tau \alpha \gamma \mu \alpha \tau \tilde{v} \tau \varepsilon \sigma \sigma \alpha \dot{\rho} \rho \omega v \mu \alpha \theta \eta \mu \alpha \dot{\tau} \tau \omega v$ (ed.: R. P. E. Stephanou and P. Tannery, Quadrivium de Georges Pachymère, Studi e Testi 94. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1940)
Hist. = Historia (ed.: A. Failler, Georges Pachymérès, Relations historiques, édition, introduction et notes par A. Failler, traduction française par V. Laurent, coll. Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae XXIV 1-5. Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1984-2000)
Paraphr. In EN = Paraphrasis In Ethica Nicomachea (ed.: K. Oikomomakos, Bıß入iov ह́vסદ́ккtov: T̀̀
 antina 3. Athens: Academy of Athens, 2005)

## [Heliodorus] ([Heliod.])

In EN = Paraphrasis In Ethica Nicomachea (ed.: G. Heylbut, Heliodori in ethica Nicomachea paraphrasis, CAG 19.2. Berlin: Reimer, 1889)

## Hermias (Herm.)

In Phaedr. = Scholia In Platonis Phaedrum (ed.: C. M. Lucarini and C. Moreschini, Hermias Alexandrinus: In Platonis Phaedrum Scholia, Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012)

## Herodotus (Herod.)

Hist. = Historiae (ed.: N. G. Wilson, Herodoti Historiae, 2 vols., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015)

## Hesiod (Hes.)

Fragm. = Fragmenta (ed.: R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, Fragmenta Hesiodea, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967)

## Hippocratic corpus (Hipp.)

Aph. = Aphorismi (ed W. H. S. Jones, Hippocrates, Aphorisms - Hippocrates Volume IV, Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931)
De nat. hom. = De natura hominis (ed.: J. Jouanna, Hippocratis De natura hominis, edidit, in linguam Francogallicam vertit, commentatus est J. Jouanna, CMGI1,3. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2002)

## Homer (Hom.)

II. = Iliad (ed.: T. W. Allen, Homeri Ilias, vols. 2-3, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931)

## John of Damascus (John Damasc.)

Exp. fid. = Expositio fidei (ed.: P. B. Kotter, Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos, vol. 2, Patristische Texte und Studien 12. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1973)

## John Pediasimos (John Pedias.)

In Post. An. = Scholia in Aristotelis Analytica posteriora (ed.: V. de Falco, Ioannis Pediasimi in Aristotelis Analytica scholia selecta, Naples: Sangiovanni, 1926)

## John Philoponus (Philop.)

In De an. = In De anima commentaria (ed.: M. Hayduck, Ioannis Philoponi in Aristotelis de anima libros commentaria, CAG 15. Berlin: Reimer, 1897)
In De gener. et corrupt. = In De generatione et corruptione commentaria (ed.: H. Vitelli, Ioannis Philoponi in Aristotelis libros de generatione et corruptione commentaria, CAG 14.2. Berlin: Reimer, 1897)
In Prior. An. = In Analytica priora commentaria (ed.: M. Wallies, Ioannis Philoponi in Aristotelis analytica priora commentaria, CAG 13.2. Berlin: Reimer, 1905)

## John Stobaeus (Stob.)

Anthol. = Anthologium (ed.: O. Hense and C. Wachsmuth, Ioannis Stobaei anthologium, 5 vols., Berlin: Weidmann, 1-2:1884; 3:1894; 4:1909; 5:1912; repr. 1958)

## Michael of Ephesus (Mich.)

In EN = In Ethica Nicomachea (ed.: G. Heylbut, Eustratii et Michaelis et anonyma in ethica Nicomachea commentaria, CAG 20. Berlin: Reimer, 1892)

## Michael Psellos (Psel.)

Opusc. = Opuscula logica, physica, allegorica, alia (ed.: J. M. Duffy, Michaelis Pselli philosophica minora, Leipzig: Teubner, 1992)
In Phys. = In Physica commentarium (ed. L. G. Benakis, Michael Psellos Kommentar zur Physik des Aristoteles, Corpus philosophorum Medii Aevi. Commentaria in Aristotelem Byzantina 5. Athens: Academia Atheniensis, Institutum Litterarum Graecorum et Latinarum, 2008)

## Nemesius (Nemes.)

De nat. hom. = De natura hominis (ed.: M. Morani, Nemesii Emeseni de natura hominis, Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Leipzig: Teubner, 1987)

## Nicephoros Basilaces (Nic. Basil.)

Or. = Orationes (ed.: A. Garzya, Nicephori Basilacae orationes et epistolae, Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Leipzig: Teubner, 1984)

## Olympiodorus (Olymp.)

In Cat. = In Aristotelis categorias commentarium (ed.: A. Busse, Olympiodori prolegomena et in categorias commentarium, CAG 12.1. Berlin: Reimer, 1902)

## Paul (Paul.)

Ep. Thess. = Epistulae ad Thessalonicenses (ed.: K. Aland, M. Black, C. M. Martini, B. M. Metzger, and A. Wikgren, The Greek New Testament, $2^{\text {nd }}$ edn., Stuttgart: Württemberg Bible Society, 1968)

## Plato (Pl.)

Leg. = Leges (ed.: J. Burnet, Platonis opera, vol. 5, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907; repr. 1967)
Prot. = Protagoras (ed.: J. Burnet, Platonis opera, vol. 3, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903; repr. 1968).
Resp. = Respublica (ed.: S. R. Slings, Platonis Rempublicam, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003)

## Proclus (Procl.)

In Plat. Alc. = In Platonis Alcibiadem i commentarium (ed.: L. G. Westerink, Proclus Diadochus:
Commentary on the first Alcibiades of Plato, Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Co., 1954)

## [Pythagoras] (Ps.-Pyth.)

Carm. aur. = Carmen aureum (ed.: D. Young; post E. Diehl, Theognis, Leipzig: Teubner, 1971)

## Scholia in Aristotelis Ethica Nicomachea (scholia vetera et recentiora) (Schol. In EN)

ed.: J. A. Cramer, Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis bibliothecae regiae Parisiensis, vol. 1, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1839 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1967)

## Septuaginta (Sept.)

Ex. = Exodus (ed.: A. Rahlfs, Septuaginta, vol. 1, $9^{\text {th }}$ edn., Stuttgart: Württemberg Bible Society, 1935; repr. 1971)
Psalm. = Psalmus (ed.: A. Rahlfs, Septuaginta, vol. 2, $9^{\text {th }}$ edn., Stuttgart: Württemberg Bible Society, 1935 (repr. 1971)

## Sophocles (Soph.)

Schol. In Ant. = Scholia vetera in Sophoclis Antigonam (ed.: Georgios A. Xenis, Scholia vetera in Sophoclis Antigonam, Berlin-Boston: De Gruyter, 2021)

## Suda

= ed.: A. Adler, Suidae lexicon, 4 vols., Lexicographi Graeci 1.1-1.4. Leipzig: Teubner, 1928-1935

## Theognis (Theogn.)

Eleg. = Elegiae (ed.: D. Young; post E. Diehl, Theognis, $2^{\text {nd }}$ edn., Leipzig: Teubner, 1971)

## Note to the reader

Proper names of ancient authors follow LSJ (9 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ edn, 1940; revised supplement, 1996). For late antique and Byzantine authors, the most well-known Anglicised version of names has been adopted.

Transliteration of Greek terms follows the Library of Congress system (http:// www.loc.gov/catdir/cpso/romanization/greek.pdf, accessed 29 December 2021).

I use the capitalised form 'Commentary' only when referring to Pachymeres’ exegesis of the Nicomachean Ethics. The uncapitalised forms "commentary/-ies" are reserved for other exegetical works or are used with reference to the genre and form specific to traditional commentaries, i.e. as a scholiastic entity and a sequence text, respectively.

Part I Introduction

## 1 George Pachymeres: His life and work

George Pachymeres, a major figure in the intellectual landscape of the early Palaiologan period (1261-1341), ${ }^{1}$ was born in Nicaea in 1242. He received his elementary education there and then moved to Constantinople upon its recapture by the Byzantines in 1261. Although we have scant knowledge of the higher studies he pursued in the capital, since no historical source mentions this period in his life, some critics consider him to have been a student of George Akropolites (1217-1282), who was responsible for the supervision and re-organisation of higher education at the time. Pachymeres' public career was then marked by the assumption of a number of ecclesiastical and civil offices: he was a deacon of the Great Church in the capital (1265) and a notary (1266); he served as didaskalos tou apostolou (responsible for commenting on the Epistles and the Acts of the Apostles, 1277) and as hieromnēmōn (in charge of religious matters, particularly ordinations, 1285), and held the progressively more important posts of dikaiophylax (judge, guardian of the laws) and prōtekdikos (head of the ecclesiastical tribunal, shortly after 1285 until his death around 1310). ${ }^{2}$

[^0]Pachymeres' output is vast and wide-ranging, reflecting some of the trends of his era, for example a resurgence of interest in classical texts and a heightened focus on the study of philosophy and science prompted by interaction with prominent individuals and scholarly networks. His comprehensive history ( $\Sigma v \gamma \gamma \rho \alpha \varphi \iota к \alpha \grave{l}$ iбторíal) describes the reigns of Michael VIII and Andronikos II from 1260 to $1308 .{ }^{3}$ One of its main concerns was to expose the theological controversies that troubled the empire, possibly with a view to giving prominence to current political calamities. In addition to his History, Pachymeres wrote on rhetoric (e.g. declamations, progymnasmata, letters), religion (e.g. a treatise on the procession of the Holy Spirit, PG 144, 924B-928D), philology (e.g. scholia to Homer), and science (e.g. the Quadrivium, an educational manual on arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy). ${ }^{4} \mathrm{He}$ also penned a paraphrase of the work of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (PG 3-4 passim), ${ }^{5}$ a few poems, ${ }^{6}$ and his Philosophia, a compendium of twelve works of the Aristotelian corpus, which takes the hybrid form of a paraphrase intertwined with elements of exegetical analysis. ${ }^{7}$

The last few decades have seen enormous developments in scholarship focusing on Pachymeres' philosophical production, due in particular to the burgeoning edi-

[^1]torial activity associated with the Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca et Byzantina research project in Berlin（CAGB）and in the Academy of Athens（Corpus Philosopho－ rum Medii Aevi／Commentaria in Aristotelem Byzantina $=C P h M A / C A B) .{ }^{8}$ The Philo－ sophia is testimony to Pachymeres＇contribution to the increasing importance of Aristotlelian studies in late Byzantine education．${ }^{9}$ But it is also a didactic manual that enjoyed considerable popularity in several other settings from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries，as seen in the circulation of numerous manuscripts and a sixteenth－century Latin translation by D．Ph．Becchius（Basel 1560）．${ }^{10}$

Pachymeres＇interest in philosophy extended beyond the aforementioned Aris－ totelian abridgment to include a group of individual specialised commentaries：a continuation of Proclus＇unfinished commentary on Plato＇s Parmenides，${ }^{11}$ as well as commentaries on Aristotle＇s Organon，the Physics，${ }^{12}$ the Metaphysics，${ }^{13}$ On the Parts

8 Published so far：a）E．Pappa（ed．），Georgios Pachymeres，Philosophia，Buch 10：Kommentar zur Metaphysik des Aristoteles（Athens 2002），b）K．Oikonomakos（ed．），Гє＇́ $\rho \gamma \iota \varsigma ~ П \alpha \chi \nu \mu \varepsilon ́ \rho \eta \varsigma ~ Ф ı \lambda о \sigma о \varphi i ́ \alpha, ~$ Bıß入íov＇Evঠ́́кктоv：Tà ’HӨıка́，グтоı $\tau \alpha ̀ ~ N ı к о \mu \alpha ́ \chi \chi є \alpha ~(A t h e n s ~ 2005), ~ с) ~ E . ~ P a p p a ~(e d),. ~ G e o r g i o s ~$ Pachymeres Philosophia．Buch 6：Kommentar zu de Partibus Animalium des Aristoteles（Athens 2008），d）E．Pappa（ed．），Georgios Pachymeres Scholien und Glossen zu de Partibus Animalium des Aristoteles（cod．Vatic．Gr．261）（Athens 2009），e）I．Telelis（ed．），Georgios Pachymeres Philosophia： Book 5，Commentary in Aristotle＇s Meteorologica（Athens 2012），f）I．Telelis（ed．），Georgios Pachymeres Philosophia：Book 3，In Aristotelis De Caelo Commentary（Athens 2016）．
9 There is an additional suggestion that the Philosophia operated as a polemical work against the Patriarch Athanasios I，who was opposed to the study of secular philosophy and science，consider－ ing them detrimental to monastic principles，on which see P．Golitsis，＂Un livre reçu par le patri－ arche Athanase Ier et retourné à l＇expéditeur＂，Revue des Études Byzantines 68 （2010）201－208．
10 For Ermolao Barbaro＇s use of Pachymeres＇commentary on the EN，for example，see N．Zorzi， ＂Per la tradizione manoscritta dell＇inedito commento all＇Etica nicomachea di Giorgio Pachimere：I． Il Marc．gr． 212 di Bessarione e i suoi apografi．II．Ermolao Barbaro e il commento di Pachimere（con
 $1-8$ ，at 281－296．
11 This is the only extant late Byzantine commentary on Plato．Edition of the text by T．A．Gadra，S． M．Honea，P．M．Stinger，G．Umholtz，Introduction by L．G．Westerink，George Pachymeres，Commen－ tary on Plato＇s Parmenides［Anonymous Sequel to Proclus＇Commentary］，Corpus philosophorum Medii Aevi．Philosophi Byzantini 4 （Athens，Paris，Brussels 1989）．For Pachymeres＇interest in Plato－ nism，see Golitsis，＂Georges Pachymère comme didascale＂（n．6），60．Indicative studies on the commentary per se include：L．Couloubaritsis，＂Georges Pachymère et le Parménide de Platon＂，in M．Barbanti and F．Romano（eds），Il Parmenide di Platone e la sua tradizione，CUECM（Catania 2002） 355－370；C．Steel and C．Macé，＂Georges Pachymère philologue：Le Commentaire de Proclus au Parménide dans le manuscrit Parisinus gr．1810＂，in M．Cacouros and M．－H．Congourdeau（eds）， Philosophie et sciences à Byzance de 1204 à 1453．Les textes，les doctrines et leur transmission，Orien－ talia Lovaniensia Analecta 146 （Leuven，Paris，Dudley，MA 2006）77－99．
12 In one branch of the manuscript tradition the title of the work was changed by a later hand， mistakenly attributing the work to Michael Psellos．For the commentary＇s authorship，see P．Golit－ sis，＂Un commentaire perpétuel de Georges Pachymère à la Physique d＇Aristote faussement attri－ buteé à Michael Psellos＂，Byzantinische Zeitschrift 100.2 （2007）637－676，P．Golitsis，＂Georges Pa－ chymère comme didascale＂（n．6），55，57－58 and 66－67，and now P．Golitsis，＂Nicéphore Calliste
of Animals, and the Nicomachean Ethics, the latter being the object of the current edition. All these commentaries offer further evidence of Pachymeres' determined efforts as educator to place ancient philosophy and science firmly on the agenda of late Byzantine learning.

[^2]
## 2 The Commentary on Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics

### 2.1 A brief history of commentary writing on the EN from antiquity to the late Middle Ages

Numerous commentaries on individual books of the Nicomachean Ethics (henceforth abbreviated $E N$ ) have come down to us. The earliest surviving are those by Aspasius in the second century AD on Books $1-4$ and 7 and 8 of the $E N{ }^{14}$ We also have anonymous scholia to Books 2, 3, 4, and 5, probably dating to the final quarter of the second century AD. ${ }^{15}$ The next systematic effort to interpret the $E N$ occurs, unexpectedly, after a gap of almost ten centuries, ${ }^{16}$ when Eustratius (ca. 1050-ca. 1120), metropolitan bishop of Nicaea, commented on Books 1 and 6, and his contemporary Michael of Ephesus (ca. 1060-1130/1135) on Books 5, 9, and 10. Both Eustratius and Michael are thought to have operated in a context of imperial patronage at the behest of the princess Anna Komnene, ${ }^{17}$ while their combined efforts

14 Cf. J. Barnes, "Introduction to Aspasius", in A. Alberti and R. W. Sharples (eds), Aspasius: The Earliest Extant Commentary on Aristotle's Ethics (Berlin 1999) 1-50.
15 The scholia seem to have been compiled from various sources, for example Adrastus of Aphrodisias (2 ${ }^{\text {nd }}$ century AD). See H. P. F. Mercken, "The Greek Commentators on Aristotle’s Ethics", in R. Sorabji (ed.), Aristotle Transformed: The Ancient Commentators and their Influence (Ithaca 1990), 407-444, at 408 and 421-429.
16 According to Arabic sources, Porphyry and Themistius produced scholia to the $E N$ which are not mentioned in the Greek tradition. The EN were translated into Arabic partly by Ḥunayn ibn Ishāa and partly by Usṭāth. Arabic philosophers who produced commentaries on or scholia to the EN include Al-Fārābī (not extant) and Ibn Rushd (Latinised as Averroes; only fragments survive). See the general study by P. Adamson, "Aristotle and the Arabic Commentary Tradition", in C. Shields (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Aristotle (Oxford 2012) 645-664. Specifically for the EN, see J. Hayes, "The Arabic Reception of the Nicomachean Ethics", in A. Alwishah and J. Hayes (eds), Aristotle and the Arabic Tradition (Cambridge, MA 2015) 200-213.
17 R. Browning, "An Unpublished Funeral Oration on Anna Comnena", Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society 8 (1962) 1-12; P. Frankopan, "The Literary, Cultural and Political Context for the Twelfth-Century Commentary on the Nicomachean Ethics", in C. Barber and D. Jenkins (eds), Medieval Greek Commentaries on the Nicomachean Ethics (Leiden-Boston 2009) 45-62; L. Garland, "Mary 'of Alania', Anna Komnene, and the Revival of Aristotelianism in Byzantium", Byzantinoslavica 75 (2017) 123-163; and M. Trizio, "Forging Identities between Heaven and Earth: Commentaries on Aristotle and Authorial Practices in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Byzantium", in P. Marciniak, B. Van der Berg and D. Manolova (eds), Byzantine Commentaries on Ancient Greek Texts (forthcoming; I am grateful to the author for sharing this paper with me ahead of publication). Specifically for Michael of Ephesus' activity, see, e.g., G. Arabatzis, "Michel d'Ephèse, commentateur d'Aristote et auteur", Peitho: Examina Antiqua 3 (2012) 199-209. For fresh evidence regarding the transmission process of the Greek commentaries on the $E N$ in light of the new Budapest fragments of Eustratius' commentary on $E N$, see A. Németh, "Fragments from the earliest Parchment
influenced the reception of the $E N$ in the West, since in the mid-thirteenth century Robert Grosseteste produced a Latin translation of a compilation of Greek commentaries on the $E N$ in which the works of Eustratius and Michael played a key role. ${ }^{18}$ An anonymous commentary on Book 7, cautiously dated to the thirteen century, also exists. ${ }^{19}$ In addition, a mysterious late paraphrase of the $E N$ was copied in 1366 for the emperor John VI Kantakouzenos (monastic name Ioasaph, d. 1383). Its authorship is dubious, although it is sometimes erroneously attributed to Andronicus of Rhodes, Olympiodorus, or Heliodorus of Prusa. ${ }^{20}$ George Pachymeres himself also wrote a paraphrase of the EN as part of his Philosophia (Book XI). Finally, Protheōroumena (introductory notes) to the EN were produced by George-Gennadios Scholarios in the fifteenth century, as well as a Clarification ( $\delta \iota \alpha \sigma \alpha \varphi \eta \sigma \iota s)$ of the same work by Theodore Gaza. ${ }^{21}$

[^3]This brief history of commentary writing on the $E N$ testifies to a vigorous exegetical effort to make sense of Aristotelian ethics particularly in the Komnenian years. The method and style of the twelfth-century commentaries point to the fact that they were written for a specialised audience, elite readers of philosophy, adapting the form and content of the philosophical commentaries of late antiquity to the requirements of the contemporary cultural context. It has rightly been suggested, for example, that " $[t]$ he twelfth-century philosophical commentators hoped and expected that their texts would help readers not merely to understand Aristotle better but also to become better people by applying his Ethics to their lives". ${ }^{22}$ The scholarly and practical deployment of Aristotle's ethics was taken up by later Byzantine scholars such as Nicephoros Blemmydes (1197-1272), Emperor Theodore II Laskaris (1222-1258), Theodore Metochites (1270-1332), and Manuel Palaiologos (1455-1512), all of whom showed an interest in ethics as an academic and practical discipline in self-standing essays, orations, and works in other genres.

### 2.2 Readership, aims, and chronology of Pachymeres' Commentary

The same emphasis on moral theory and practice, in this case by a purely exegetical route, is apparent in Pachymeres' Commentary on the EN, which seeks to serve philosophical students (as his other individual commentaries do as well), while at the same time allowing for a hands-on use of ethics by achieving a philosophicallyminded life of self-control, as will be seen later on. The composition of the Commentary must thus be understood in the light of Pachymeres' role as an educator in Constantinople, which in turn helps explain the pervasive didactic and moralising features running through the text. ${ }^{23}$

In the Commentary, Pachymeres refers in passing to other parts of the Aristotelian corpus such as On the Soul, the Physics, and the Metaphysics, presupposing familiarity with their main subjects. To that end, he sometimes interjects reminders to students to recall sections from the Aristotelian tradition already examined or discussed on a previous occasion. In addition, he brings in rudimentary school logic to illustrate complex philosophical theorems and to help his students come to grips with the notional niceties of ethical philosophy. This auxiliary material is drawn

[^4]either directly from Aristotle or from the works of his commentators, such as Alexander of Aphrodisias' commentary on Aristotle's Topics, and relates, for example, to types of syllogisms, first principles, definition and demonstration, categories, or species, genus, and differentiae. On other occasions, basic arithmetic and geometry (e.g. arithmetical proportion, geometrical proportion, reciprocally related figures) as well as astronomy (e.g. the fact that eclipses prove the circular shape of the moon, and that the proximity of the planets is demonstrated by their failure to twinkle) enter the Commentary to assist comprehension. The above are a safe index of the educational background of Pachymeres' intended addressees, who must have been relatively advanced in their studies and certainly not novices, given that knowledge of these subjects preceded the study of ethics in the curriculum. ${ }^{24}$

As to the Commentary's other aims, despite its fragmentary state, ${ }^{25}$ we have enough to suggest that it represents a focused plan to comment on the $E N$ as a whole. Unlike its predecessors, which expound separate and (often) widely separated Books of the Aristotelian original, in what survives of the Commentary, Pachymeres offers a sparser and more economical interpretation of the text, opting for analysis of specific Aristotelian lines and not for a line-by-line or word-for-word interpretation, as Eustratius does, for example. To present this in figures, Pachymeres' Commentary on Book 1 contains approximately 8,700 words, whereas Eustratius' commentary on the same Book contains ca. 45,600 words and is thus about six times as long. ${ }^{26}$ This authorial aim to make a concise analysis of the ancient model aligns with the form and function of Pachymeres' commentaries on the Physics or the Organon, as is reflected in their titles, according to which the commentaries were meant to be brief explications of the corresponding Aristotelian treatises. ${ }^{27}$ On the other hand, as the last surviving exegetical commentary on the $E N$ in Greek in the strict sense of the term, Pachymeres' work forms a counterpart to the exegetical commentaries of the Alexandrian teaching curriculum, reviving and emulating them. Its augmented pedagogical character presumably evinces an effort to compensate for the lack of a late antique commentary on the text consequent on the decreased interest in ethics in the curriculum, in which Aristotle's logic took centre stage instead. ${ }^{28}$

24 More on the educational level of Pachymeres’ addresses in Xenophontos "George Pachymeres’ Commentary" (n. 23), 234-236.
25 The explication ends abruptly after the beginning of Book 6 of the $E N$ (expl. " $\alpha \rho \xi \dot{\alpha} \mu \varepsilon v o ı ~ \delta{ }^{\prime} \alpha v ̃ \theta$ ıs $\pi \varepsilon \rho i ̀ ~ \tau o u ́ \tau \omega \nu \lambda \varepsilon ́ y \omega \mu \varepsilon \nu ")$, with the last exegetical section coinciding with EN 1139 b 14.
26 Similarly, Pachymeres' Commentary on Book 5 is roughly 9,780 words, against Michael of Ephesus' commentary on the same book, which contains ca. 28,750 words.
 $\sigma \cup v \tau о \mu \omega \tau \alpha ́ \tau \eta ~ \kappa \alpha i ̀ ~ \lambda i ́ \alpha v ~ \lambda \alpha \mu \pi \rho \alpha ̀ ~ \varepsilon i ́ s ~ o ̋ \lambda o v ~ \tau o ̀ ~ " O \rho \gamma \alpha v o v, ~ r e s p e c t i v e l y . ~$



As for the date of the work, Pachymeres' individual commentaries, including the one on the $E N$, are thought to have been written towards the end of his life, and more specifically after 1307, the year marking his sudden abandonment of his historical work with a view, it has been argued, to launching his philosophical writing. ${ }^{29}$ It has also been suggested that the commentary on the Metaphysics predates that on the $E N$, reflecting the order in which the Aristotelian works are summarised in the Philosophia (Metaphysics $=$ Book 10, EN = Book 11). ${ }^{30}$ Still, given the absence of any explicit reference to the Commentary on the $E N$ in any other work by Pachymeres or any other author, no firm conclusions can be reached regarding its precise chronology. If the first suggestion above has some validity, the segmented form of the work might perhaps be explained in light of Pachymeres' death around 1310, although the possibility that the copyist of the oldest witness (Marcianus Gr. Z. $212=\mathrm{M}$ ), Cardinal Bessarion (1408-1472), lacked a witness to the rest of the text or even have decided - for some unknown reason - not to proceed with copying should not be rejected out of hand.

### 2.3 Structure, layout, and genre

In line with the standard practice in medieval manuscripts of incorporating commentaries into the same codex as the ancient text, Pachymeres' Commentary as seen in M surrounds, in the form of "frame layout", the version of the $E N$ that occupies the central part of the page, with the base text and Commentary synchronised as far as possible (see Image 1). ${ }^{31}$ In the absence of Pachymeres' autograph, we cannot tell if the same format was used there as well, but there is no reason to think otherwise, given Pachymeres' similar practice in some of his surviving autographs. ${ }^{32}$

[^5]The text under discussion is a lemmatic commentary, which consists of individual entries taking the form of short blocks or units explicating a portion of the reference text. ${ }^{33}$ Each entry is introduced by a lemma, or heading, indicating the subject of annotation, followed by Pachymeres' exegetical analysis. These blocks are admirably even in extent, taking up roughly 30-40 lines on average, with the exception of the final block of some Books, which is occasionally a bit shorter, ca. 15 lines on average (Book 1 and 3). ${ }^{34}$

The management of the page reflects a coherent system of cross-reference, in which each entry is introduced by a lower-case letter of the Greek alphabet in red ink, which is also repeated above or before the relevant section of the original to which the entry refers. ${ }^{35}$ This arrangement significantly enhances the readerfriendliness of the Commentary, as the reader is certain at all times of the section of the base text the commentator is discussing. With the exception of the second entry in Book 1, which quotes the first four words of the Aristotelian lemma ("tivas yò $\rho$ عĩval $\chi \rho \varepsilon \dot{\omega} v "$ ", the other lemmata are not reproduced in this version of Pachymeres' Commentary, probably because the latter was expected to be read in close conjunction with the Aristotelian original. It is interesting, in that respect, that in the other two witnesses preserving the Commentary, both sixteenth-century descendants of

Pérez Martín (eds), The Legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon: Three Hundred Years of Studies on Greek Handwriting. Proceedings of the Seventh International Colloquium of Greek Palaeography (MadridSalamanca, 15-20 September 2008), Bibliologia 31 (Turnhout 2010) 157-170, 757-768, at 160, n. 16; cf. Golitsis, "Un commentaire perpétuel" (n. 12), 646-647 with reference to the way Pachymeres arranged and presented the commentary of the Physics in the autograph Laurentianus 87.5.
33 The Commentary on Book 1 of the EN comprises 20 entries, that on Book 213 entries, on Book 3 19 entries, on Book 419 entries, and on Book 5 again 19 entries.
34 The almost equal length of the exegetical sections might be owed to the fact that Pachymeres added each lemma where page divisions occurred in the version of the Aristotelian text he had in front of him while composing his Commentary. See P. Golitsis' relevant observations with reference to the layout of the commentary on Aristotle's Physics in Laurentianus 87.5, "Un commentaire perpétuel" (n. 12), 647-650, which further supports the thesis that the positioning of the lemmata in the Commentary on the $E N$ too follows the page divisions of the Aristotelian text consulted by the commentator. Cf. also H. von Staden's view that "[ $t$ ]he lemmatic fragmentation of the ancient text entails a fragmentation of the commentator's decisions", adding that the commentator "had his mind on the here and now, on the lemma of the moment." H. von Staden, "'A Woman does not become Ambidextrous': Galen and the Culture of Scientific Commentary", in R. K. Gibson and C. Kraus (eds), The Classical Commentary: Histories, Practices, Theory (Leiden/Boston/Köln 2002) 109-139, at 136.
35 This is the so-called "système alphanumérique" (unlike the "système signalétique"). See M.

 alphanumerical system also crops up in the commentaries on the On the Parts of Animals and on the Metaphysics, but not in the commentaries on the Organon and the Physics. This system is more complex and may represent a development in Pachymeres' presentation of his exegeses, which could suggest that the commentaries on On the Parts of Animals, the Metaphysics and the EN may have been written after the commentaries on the Organon and the Physics.

M, Scorialensis T. I. 18 (gr. 138), ff. 1r-74v, and Vaticanus gr. 1429, ff. 1r-76v, in which the Commentary stands on its own in the centre of each page, the lemmata are quoted in full, compensating for the absence of the source-text. In these two cases, it seems that the Commentary was expected to be read on its own, saving the reader from having to keep the entire text of the $E N$ to hand.

It is also worth mentioning that each of Pachymeres' entries tackles later sections of the reference text than what is actually or supposedly quoted, so that the lemma is merely indicative, whence the editorial decision to add three dots at the end of each entry. ${ }^{36}$ Despite the presence of individual segments of explicationwhat has been termed "atomisation" or "lemmatisation", "the broken-up nature of the commentary" ${ }^{37}$-Pachymeres' text is permeated by a remarkable degree of unity and cohesion, which makes it tie in nicely with its generic label "running commentary" ("commentaire perpétuel"). ${ }^{38}$ To that end, a) Various connecting elements or narratives are employed, e.g. "... the human good, which can be found both in an individual person and in the city," at the start of the second entry of Book 1 (Pachymeres In EN 1, 2, 4.13-14) is a throwback to the end of the proem "For there is a concept of happiness for the household and a concept of happiness for the city" (Pachymeres In EN 1, 1, 2.14-15); b) Brief internal cross-references guide the reader from one entry to another ("as we said", "as we have seen", e.g. Pachymeres In EN 1, 20, 48.1); c) Longer summarising sections gather main points from several preceding entries; d) The entries are prefaced by what seems to be a formal proem making the commentary look like a unified whole.

In terms of genre, Pachymeres' Commentary may be placed in the tradition of the typical exegetical commentary as advocated by Alexander of Aphrodisias and emulated by the twelfth-century commentators, ${ }^{39}$ although it differs from these earlier works in its brevity. We know of a range of possible styles of philosophical commentaries in late antiquity. One involved the division of each entry into a section that offered a general explanation of theoretical notions (theōria), followed by comments on specific points, including language and wording (lexis). Pachymeres

[^6]eschews this division, but retains specific emphases within individual sections. ${ }^{40}$ Although the title attached to the text describes it as an "exact paraphrase" ( $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha ́ \varphi \rho \alpha \sigma ı \varsigma ~ \eta ं \kappa \rho ı \beta \omega \mu \varepsilon ́ v \eta$ ), there is little doubt that this label is misleading (in all likelihood because it is a later addition), since the work is clearly an exegesis. ${ }^{41}$

### 2.4 Sources and formative influences

### 2.4.1 Aristotle's EN

Pachymeres' Commentary, therefore, seeks primarily to explicate Aristotle's $E N$ for the purposes of advanced study by offering a more concise option than the full-scale exegeses on this work by Eustratius and Michael of Ephesus, which would also have been available at the time. It therefore comes as no surprise that the main formative text for the Commentary is the $E N$ itself, which the Byzantine educator must have consulted directly, given the abundance of quotations of it. These are either cited verbatim or slightly changed, as the style and syntax of Pachymeres' text require. The Aristotelian provenance of extracts or concepts is typically signalled by use of the verb "he says" ( $\lambda$ ह́yعı or $\varphi \eta \sigma^{\prime}$ in their various forms), but such signs are not always there to alert the reader, who is accordingly unable to recognise unmarked Aristotelian quotations unless he checks the original text. The Aristotelian borrowings examined in the Commentary are interspersed with Pachymeres' interpretations, examples, clarifications, and qualitative evaluations, all shaped into a coherent narrative, rendering the final product a helpful intellectual synthesis.

The following passage from entry 2, Book 3 illustrates the point. The general topic here is constraint ( $\kappa \alpha \tau^{\prime} \alpha \dot{\alpha} v \alpha ́ \gamma к \eta v$ ) as a factor that impedes an agent's voluntary choice ( $\pi \rho о \alpha i ́ \rho \varepsilon \sigma \iota)$ under specific circumstances, eventually leading him to perform actions that are against his will. The Aristotelian text in the background is $E N$ 1110b1-15, and in what follows direct references to the passage are italicised (as usually throughout) to better demonstrate what is distinctly Aristotelian and how and to what extent Pachymeres taps into it:








[^7]




Purely compulsory actions occur when the cause lies in external circumstances and the agent contributes nothing. But how can the agent be put under compulsion? When actions are intrinsically involuntary (since they are not freely chosen), but voluntary in a different sense, because of the end the agent expects to get due to compulsion.

But it is not easy to lay down general rules for what should be traded for what, because these matters are put to the test in specific circumstances, whereas the exposition is inclined to treat the issue in general terms. Since pleasant objects move us from without, one might suppose, he says, that these [objects] constrain us by force. As a way of refuting this argument, therefore, he says that on this basis one could claim that all noble acts, since they motivate us and are intrinsically external, are forced, because what is noble is a final cause. But those who perform actions that have intrinsic ends because their teachers force them to do so feel pain, whereas those who undertake a noble action for [nobility's sake] get pleasure. As a consequence, it is absurd to blame externalities rather than oneself as easily falling victim to such things. This is why I said "when the agent contributes nothing". However, since we choose both noble and base [actions and objects], we are easy prey in both cases, except that we ought to attribute responsibility for our noble deeds to ourselves but for our disgraceful actions to pleasures.

Pachymeres In EN 3, 2, 92.26-94.11
In addition to the fact that the italicised items may sometimes result from a process of condensation, simplification, paraphrastic summary, elision, transposition, or mixing-and-matching of the individual elements of the Aristotelian material, the commentator's intervention is attested by the insertion of: a) apt questions requiring immediate clarification ("But how can the agent be put under compulsion?"), b) parenthetical or side explanations ("since they are not freely chosen", "since they motivate us and are intrinsically external", "because what is noble is a final cause"), c) additional elucidation not found in Aristotle ("voluntary in a different sense, because of the end the agent expects to get due to compulsion"), d) linguistic improvement of the argument on certain points ("But it is not easy to lay down general rules..."), in this case including the use of antithesis to make the point clearer ("because these matters are put to the test in specific circumstances, whereas the exposition is inclined to treat the issue in general terms"), e) philosophical guidance tracing Aristotle's sequence of thought and purpose ("As a way of refuting this argument, therefore, he says that on this basis one could claim that..."), and f) exemplification ("because their teachers force them to do so..."). All in all, Pachymeres effectively spells out the sense of a dense and convoluted technical passage and translates it into student language. ${ }^{42}$

[^8]Interestingly, Pachymeres' representation of the Aristotelian original is so dynamic that he even allows his didactic persona to enter the analysis through the use of the first-person singular, which attributes to the commentator what is clearly an Aristotelian phrase: "This is why I said 'when the agent contributes nothing'". The same practice occurs elsewhere as well, ${ }^{43}$ and rather than being taken as a clumsy attempt at plagiarism, it should instead be associated with Pachymeres' selfawareness as an exegete and his positioning vis-à-vis his predecessor: the Byzantine scholar envisages the teaching and interpretation of the $E N$ as a double duty on the part of the ancient authority, who provides robust raw material, and, perhaps most importantly, of the later commentator, who efficiently expounds it for contemporary purposes. On the other hand, the important role of the exegete in this passage and others also relates to one of the main tensions in the history of commentary writing, which conjures up a "professional affinity" between the ancient author and the later commentator, as well as a critical awareness on the latter's part that he belongs to the exegetical tradition "as a specialist in linguistic interpretation" ${ }^{44}$ and someone who can stand his own ground. Pachymeres often touches on the fact that Aristotle's account requires clarification, a deficit he eagerly remedies, as for example at In EN 5, 14, where he declares that more clarity must be added to the exposition (kaì
 less than 180 words to do so. These issues are discussed at great length in sections 2.8 and 2.10.

[^9]
### 2.4.2 Eustratius

Besides Aristotle's EN, the other two works on which Pachymeres draws most heavily are Eustratius of Nicaea's commentary on Book 1 of the $E N$ for his explication of the same Book, and John of Damascus' Exposition of the Orthodox Faith for some sections of his Commentary on Book 3. There are also some linguistic parallels with [Heliodorus]' paraphrase of the $E N,{ }^{45}$ and some small-scale (verbatim) quotations

45 For which see M. Trizio, "Eliodoro di Prusa e i commentatori greco-bizantini di Aristotele", in A. Rigo, A. Babuin, and M. Trizio (eds), Vie per Bisanzio: Atti del VIII Congresso Nazionale dell'Associazione Italiana di Studi Bizantini. Venezia, 25-28 novembre 2009 (Bari 2013) 803-830, who argues that this paraphrase depends on Eustratius and Michael. Although there are no extensive verbatim quotations from Pachymeres' Commentary in [Heliodorus]' paraphrase to support the latter's dependence on Pachymeres, some verbal similarities as well as affinities in the syntax of short passages point in that direction (see the items marked in bold in the examples below). If this hypothesis is valid, [Heliodorus]' paraphrase must be considered an example of the immediate reception of Pachymeres' commentary, and its dating could be safely narrowed down to the years between 1307 and 1366. Examples demonstrating the possible influence of Pachymeres on [Heliodorus] are:



 In EN 5.33-37 Heylbut.









 11.20-23 Heylbut.

 EN 13.33-34 Heylbut.


See also the occurrences of [Heliodorus]' paraphrase In EN in the apparatus of parallel passages. Edoardo Stefani has found additional parallels between Pachymeres and [Heliodorus], the most


 rus] In EN 82.33-35 Heylbut. I thank Edoardo Stefani for supplying me with unpublished material, and I am also grateful to Michele Trizio for alerting me to the possible connection between Pachymeres and [Heliodorus] in the first place.
from Aspasius for Books 1-46 and from the anonymous scholia to Books 2-5. Furthermore, there are occasional verbal resemblances to Pachymeres' paraphrase of the $E N$, although the uncertain relative chronology of this work and the Commentary on the $E N$ makes it difficult to determine the direction of influence. A striking absence is Michael of Ephesus' commentary on Book 5, which for reasons that cannot be established does not seem to have been used by Pachymeres. ${ }^{47}$ I discuss below some examples of Pachymeres' use of Eustratius and John to highlight the main reasons which prompted him to make use of the two authors and to show how they served Pachymeres' distinctive emphases in his own exegetical composition.

To start with, Pachymeres seems to have been inspired to some extent by Eustratius' long proem, as he adopts elements from it for his own short preface. These include, e.g., the traditional division of philosophy into a theoretical and a practical part (Eustr. In EN proem. 1.3-4), the tripartite subdivision of the practical part into ethics, economics, and politics (Eustr. In EN proem. 1.9-10), and an explanation of their differences depending on their subject matter (Eustr. In EN proem. 1.27-2.3). ${ }^{48}$ That said, Pachymeres' dependence on Eustratius should not be overestimated, given that his use of his predecessor is never faithful at any great length nor, for that matter, uncreative. ${ }^{49}$

To stick to the proem, although the justification of the title for the $E N$ as devoted to a person named Nicomachus features already in Eustratius (Eustr. In EN proem. 1.11-12: тŋ̀v $\pi \rho o ̀ \varsigma ~ N เ \kappa o ́ \mu \alpha \chi o ́ v ~ \tau i v \alpha ~ y \varepsilon v o \mu \varepsilon ́ v \eta \nu), ~ P a c h y m e r e s ~ i n ~ h i s ~ o w n ~ p r o e m ~ i m m e-~$ diately inserts the additional possibility that the addressee of the $E N$ might have been Aristotle's own son Nicomachus, a piece of information which in Eustratius is somewhat postponed (Eustr. In EN 4.17-19). As will be seen later on, Pachymeres tends to merge passages which stand far apart in their original contexts. In addition,

[^10]he does not follow Eustratius in inserting meta-commentary, as for instance when Eustratius states that his work aims at "clarifying the first book of Aristotle's $E N$ " (Eustr. In EN proem. 1.14-15: દ̇к $\theta \varepsilon ́ \sigma \alpha ı ~ \sigma \alpha \varphi \eta ́ v \varepsilon ı \alpha v ~ \tau o v ̃ ~ \pi \rho \omega ́ \tau o v ~ \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu ~ A \rho ı \sigma \tau o \tau \varepsilon ́ \lambda o u s ~$
 $\left.\left.\dot{\varepsilon} \xi \eta \eta_{\eta \eta \sigma ı v} \alpha \dot{\eta}\right\rceil \tau \eta \mu \varepsilon \theta \alpha\right)$. Nor does he offer explicit contemporary nuances at this stage, as Eustratius does when he refers to the combination of pagan and Christian examples as the main components for the study of political philosophy (Eustr. In EN 3.35-
 кגi t̀̀̀s $\theta \dot{v} \rho \alpha \theta \varepsilon v)$. Moreover, Pachymeres’ preface is more of a synthetic amalgamation of other sources, especially late antique ones, as some notions in it seem to derive from John Philoponus' commentary on On the Soul (e.g. кגì тoũ $\mu \varepsilon ̀ v ~ \tau \varepsilon ́ \lambda o s ~$

 11, cf. Philop. In De an. 194.19-22) or [Elias]' commentary on Porphyry's Isagoge (عioi



The above, taken together, show that Pachymeres' interaction with Eustratius, as with other commentators, is critical and selective. This conclusion is supported by the fact that, although Eustratius' proem is drawn upon for extrageneric quotes from classical literature, these are always adjusted to the new narrative setting to meet the needs of Pachymeres' exposition. In discussing happiness as the end of individual action, for example, Pachymeres stresses that moral agents should consistently act in a moderate fashion and should remain alert to the need to account for their personal actions at all times. To help the reader come to grips with what this means, he adduces a line from Phocylides (Ps.-Pyth. Carm. aur. 42) regarding the importance of self-criticism as a means to individual happiness:





For the end of the actions an individual personally performs is happiness, so that he ought to [be able to] account for every separate action when asked about them. And when he is not asked [about his actions] but simply contemplates them on his own, he repeats every day the maxim attributed to Phocylides:

Wherein did I transgress? What did I do? What duty did I not accomplish?

Pachymeres In EN 1, 2, 4.27-31
The same quote by Phocylides features in Eustratius' proem (Eustr. In EN proem. $2.10-11$ ), but in a context in which the concept of moral improvement through selfexamination in general plays the key role, with Eustratius going on at length about
the edifying function of Aristotle's $E N$ in regard to the control of impulses and desires more broadly (Eustr. In EN proem. 2.1-18).

Pachymeres' text proceeds to link individual happiness with political happiness, this time inserting a quote from Euripides' Hecuba 306-308:



The city has the same end. "For in this", says Euripides, "many cities suffer, when a good man, despite his eagerness, gets no greater honour than his inferiors".

Pachymeres In EN 1, 2, 6.1-2
Again, the same line is found in Eustratius' proem, but in a different context, where the author comments on injustice and relaxation as deleterious to the well-being of the polis (Eustr. In EN 3.10-12). Pachymeres thus combines two quotations from pagan literature found in different places in his Eustratean source and appropriates them to serve the needs of his own argument, which focuses specifically on personal prosperity.

Pachymeres' critical engagement with Eustratius is also detectable on the level of philosophical beliefs and allegiances. In referring to Aristotle's criticism of Plato's ideal good, Pachymeres describes the former's way of expressing disapproval as relying on his use of plausibility and argument ('Evסó $\omega \omega$ к кì боүıбтıк$\tilde{\omega}$, Pachymeres In EN 1, 6, 14.2). Pachymeres' $\sigma 0 \varphi \iota \sigma \tau \iota \kappa \tilde{\omega} \varsigma ~ s e e m s ~ t o ~ e c h o ~ E u s t r a t i u s ' ~$ employment of this term three times in his explication of the same Aristotelian passage (i.e. in Eustr. In $E N 45.38,46.2,50.32$ ), ${ }^{50}$ where in all cases it helps Eustratius stress that Aristotle's anti-Platonic arguments are a piece of sophistry, in which $\sigma о \varphi \iota \sigma \tau \iota \kappa \tilde{\omega} \varsigma$ has a negative connotation, unlike Pachymeres' use of $\sigma 0 \varphi \iota \sigma \tau \iota \kappa \tilde{\omega} \varsigma$, which gravitates towards its positive connotation. It is therefore interesting that, while using Eustratius' wording, Pachymeres does not embrace his criticism of Aristotle, both because he thought more highly of Aristotle than Eustratius did and because he did not want to introduce alien elements into his text.

Another level of use of Eustratius as a source for Pachymeres' Commentary is the citation of verbatim passages of no more than 60 words on average, when Pachymeres wants to supplement his explication of Aristotle. The Table below shows that Pachymeres’ work involves two strata of textual interpretation, one drawing from and expounding Aristotle directly, the other complementing the Commentary on Aristotle via another commentator, in this case Eustratius.

[^11]
## Table

Similar or identical passages in Aristotle and Pachymeres are printed in bold； similar or identical passages in Eustratius and Pachymeres are printed in italics； identical passages in all three sources are printed in bold italics．

Aristotle EN 1196b5－16




 $\theta \tilde{\eta} \sigma \alpha$ । ठокєĩ．$\alpha \lambda \lambda \dot{\alpha} \pi \varepsilon \rho \grave{~} \mu \varepsilon ̀ v$




 عĩठоৎ $\tau \dot{\alpha} \kappa \alpha \theta^{\prime} \alpha \cup ̇ \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \delta \iota \omega \kappa o ́ \mu \varepsilon v \alpha$ каı̀ $\alpha{ }^{\prime} \gamma \boldsymbol{\alpha} \omega \dot{\mu} \mu \varepsilon v \alpha, \tau \dot{\alpha} \boldsymbol{\delta} \dot{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{\pi} \boldsymbol{\pi} \boldsymbol{\eta} \boldsymbol{\tau} \iota-$


 a̋入入ov．$\delta \tilde{n} \lambda o v$ oũ̃v őtı $\delta \iota \tau \tau \tilde{\omega} \varsigma$ $\lambda \varepsilon ́ y o ı \tau ’$ öv $\tau \alpha ̉ y \alpha \theta \alpha ́$ ，к $\alpha i ̀ \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \mu \varepsilon ̀ v ~$ $\boldsymbol{\kappa} \boldsymbol{\theta} \boldsymbol{\theta}$ 人 $\boldsymbol{\alpha} \boldsymbol{v} \tau \alpha ́, ~ Ө \alpha ́ \tau \varepsilon \rho \alpha ~ \delta \dot{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{\delta} \boldsymbol{\delta} \dot{\alpha}$ $\tau \alpha \tilde{v} \tau \alpha$ ．$\chi \omega \rho$ í $\sigma \alpha v \tau \varepsilon \varsigma$ oṽv $\alpha \boldsymbol{\alpha} \pi \grave{~}$ $\tau \tilde{\omega} v \dot{\omega} \varphi \varepsilon \lambda^{\prime} \mu \omega \nu \tau \dot{\alpha} \kappa \alpha \theta^{\prime} \alpha \dot{\omega} \tau \dot{\alpha}$ $\sigma \kappa \varepsilon \psi \omega ́ \mu \varepsilon \theta \alpha$ عi $\lambda \varepsilon ́ y \varepsilon \tau \alpha เ ~ \kappa \alpha \tau \alpha ̀ ~$ $\mu i ́ \alpha v i \delta \varepsilon ́ \alpha v$ ．

Eustratius In EN 51．10－15 and
$51.20-27$ respectively
$\lambda \varepsilon ́ y o เ ~ \delta ’$ ơv，őтı $\tau o ̀ ~ \varepsilon ̌ v ~ \varepsilon ُ v ~ \tau \tilde{\eta} \tau \tilde{\omega} v$ ג́ $\gamma \alpha \theta \tilde{\omega} v$ бvбтогх́ą oi Пv日aүó－
 $\varphi v ́ \sigma เ v ~ \alpha u ̉ \tau o u ̃ ~ \tau \varepsilon \lambda \varepsilon ı \omega \tau ı \kappa \eta ่ v ~ \tau ı v \alpha ~$
 $\pi \rho \alpha у \mu \alpha ́ \tau \omega v$ ह่v тои́т $\omega$ т $\varepsilon \lambda \varepsilon ו о \tilde{-}-$ $\tau \alpha \iota ~ к \alpha \grave{~ \alpha ̉ \gamma \alpha \theta ט ́ v \varepsilon \tau \alpha \iota ~ к \alpha ı ̀ ~ \tau \eta \rho \varepsilon і ̃ \tau \alpha \iota, ~}$
 סaбтоv őv каì áठıaípetov．


 ג’ $\alpha$ Өov кגì ì $\delta \varepsilon ́ \alpha \nu \tau i \theta \varepsilon \sigma \theta \alpha \iota ~ \alpha v ̉ \tau o ́ . ~$
 тוv人̀ ن̇тоßа́入入єוv $\pi \varepsilon \rho і ̀ ~ \tau о \tilde{~}$ $\dot{\alpha} \gamma \alpha \theta o \tilde{v}, \dot{\varepsilon} \xi \xi \tilde{\eta} \varsigma ~ \varepsilon \dot{v} \rho \eta \dot{\eta} \sigma \varepsilon \iota ~ \pi \rho o ́ \varphi \alpha-$

 кєा̃v غ่пıนє́ $\mu \varphi \varepsilon \sigma \theta \alpha \iota \dot{\varepsilon} \alpha \nu \tau \tilde{\omega} \dot{\omega} \varsigma$

 ү̀̀ $\rho$ бv́o，甲ๆб́，тро́тоис лєуо－ $\mu \varepsilon ́ v \omega \nu \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu \dot{\alpha} \gamma \alpha \theta \tilde{\omega} v, \sigma \nu \gamma \kappa \varepsilon \chi \nu \mu \varepsilon ́-$
 тои́т $\omega v$ 入óyoৎ уєус́vŋтаı．入દ́yє－





 ย̇кยモ̃va．

Pachymeres In EN 1，6，14．14－ 16.8
 ПขӨаүо́рєıоı тєрі тои̃ áy $\alpha \theta$ ои̃，

 ouv бvбтотхí $\propto$ ，$\mu i \not \alpha v ~ \alpha ̉ y \alpha \theta \tilde{\omega} v$ каı ${ }^{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \eta \nu$ к $\alpha \kappa \tilde{\omega} \nu . ~ \tau ı \theta \varepsilon ́ v \tau \varepsilon \varsigma ~$ тoívuv $\tau o ̀ ~ \varepsilon ̈ v ~ \varepsilon ̇ v ~ \tau \tilde{\eta} \tau \tilde{\omega} v \dot{\alpha} \gamma \alpha \theta \tilde{\omega} v$ бvбтoıxía，$\pi \alpha \rho ı \sigma \tau \tilde{\omega} \sigma \iota \tau \eta ̀ v ~ \varphi v ́ \sigma ı v$
 $\sigma \omega \tau \eta \dot{\rho} \iota o v$ ．غ̈ккотоv $\gamma \grave{\alpha} \rho \tau \tilde{\omega} v$ $\pi \rho \alpha у \mu \dot{\alpha} \tau \omega \nu$ ह́v тои́т $\omega$ т $\varepsilon \lambda \varepsilon \iota \circ \tilde{v}-$ $\tau \alpha \iota ~ к \alpha \grave{~ \alpha ̉ \gamma \alpha \theta u ́ v \varepsilon \tau \alpha \iota ~ к \alpha ı ̀ ~ \tau \eta \rho \varepsilon і ̃ \tau \alpha \iota, ~}$ ह่v $\tau \tilde{\omega} \mu \varepsilon ́ v \varepsilon เ v \dot{\varepsilon} v \tau \tilde{\varphi} \dot{\varepsilon} v i ̀ \alpha ̉ \sigma \kappa \varepsilon ́-$ $\delta \alpha \sigma \tau o v \cdot \sigma \kappa \varepsilon \delta \alpha \sigma \theta$ غ̀v $\delta \grave{\varepsilon} \kappa \alpha \grave{\iota} \delta \iota \alpha \iota-$


 $\kappa \alpha i ̀ ~ i \delta \varepsilon ́ \alpha \nu$ ．Акрıßо入оүсі̃т $\alpha \iota ~ \delta غ ̀ ~$ غ̇пıл入દ́ov $\pi \varepsilon \rho \grave{~ \tau o v ̃ ~ \alpha ́ y \alpha \theta o v ̃, ~ o ̋ \theta \varepsilon v ~}$
 $\chi \varepsilon \iota \rho \tilde{\eta} \sigma \alpha \iota ~ \kappa \alpha i ̀ ~ \varepsilon i ́ \sigma \varepsilon ́ \tau \iota ~ \tau \tilde{\eta} \varsigma ~ \pi \varepsilon \rho \grave{~ \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu}$
 уои̃v $\dot{\varepsilon} \alpha \nu \tau \tilde{\varphi}, \dot{\omega} \varsigma ~ \sigma \nu \gamma к \varepsilon \chi \nu \mu \varepsilon ́ v \omega \varsigma$





 $\theta \dot{\alpha}, \tau \dot{\alpha} \boldsymbol{\delta} \dot{\varepsilon} \boldsymbol{\delta} \boldsymbol{i}^{\prime} \alpha \boldsymbol{v} \tau \dot{\alpha} \dot{\omega} \varsigma \boldsymbol{\varphi} \boldsymbol{\varphi} \lambda \alpha \kappa-$
 т $\tilde{\boldsymbol{\omega}} \boldsymbol{v}$ ع่vavtí $\omega v$ ．поі̃а $\delta \dot{\varepsilon} \tau \alpha ข ̃ \tau \alpha$
 т ${ }^{\alpha}$ уои̃v $\boldsymbol{\omega} \varphi \varepsilon ́ \lambda ı \mu \alpha ~ \chi \omega \rho i ́ \sigma \alpha v-~$
 $\tau \grave{\alpha}$ y $\alpha \rho$ к $\left.\alpha \theta^{\prime} \alpha \dot{\tau} \tau \dot{\alpha} \tau \varepsilon \lambda \varepsilon เ \omega \tau \iota \kappa \alpha ́\right)$,
 $\mu o ́ v \alpha$ v̇лò $\mu i ́ \alpha v$ í íć $\alpha v$ ỏvóyov－ $\tau \boldsymbol{\tau}$.

What is worth noting in regard to the Eustratean passages Pachymeres quotes, is that the first chunk (from $\lambda \varepsilon ́ y o \iota \delta^{\prime}$ őv... up to $\tau i \theta \varepsilon \sigma \theta \alpha ı$ $\left.\alpha \cup ̉ t o ́\right) ~ p r o v i d e s ~ E u s t r a t i u s ’ ~$ perspective on Aristotle's ideas, whereas the second (from "Eoוkعv $\dot{\varepsilon} \alpha \nu \tau \tilde{\omega} . .$. to $\dot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \dot{\alpha}$ סı’ غ̇кદĩv $\alpha$ ) represents his understanding and assessment of Aristotle’s methodology and style of argument; this chimes with what was noted earlier about Pachymeres' keen interest in expounding both Aristotle's spirit and his phraseology. The lack of direct acknowledgment of his source shows, I think, Pachymeres' tacit agreement with his twelfth-century precursor. ${ }^{51}$

On another level, the peculiar features of Pachymeres' exegetical methodology remain easy to decipher, despite the brevity of the text actually authored by him in the third column (in upright, plain font). First, he invariably maintains his tendency to construct sentences via division (note the sentence " $\delta$ v́o y ̀ $\rho$ ह̇пoíouv ovotorxíac,

 infers what sort the one and the other are"). Second, he clarifies the meaning of
 $\tau \dot{\alpha}$ y $\dot{\alpha} \rho \kappa \alpha \theta$ " $\alpha \dot{\tau} \tau \dot{\alpha} \tau \varepsilon \lambda \varepsilon เ \omega \tau เ \kappa \alpha ́ ", ~ " w h i c h ~ a r e ~ t h o s e ~ t h a t ~ h a p p e n ~ f o r ~ t h e ~ s a k e ~ o f ~ o t h e r ~$ [goods]; for things [good] in themselves are perfective", towards the end of the passage). ${ }^{52}$ Along similar lines, when he adopts Eustratius' approach to the text, Pachymeres nonetheless adds his own clarifications to it, enhancing the EN's readability even more through exegetical improvement of what is already an exegetical textual layer. In discussing the definition of happiness with reference to moral approbation, i.e. whether happiness belongs to the things we praise or the things we honour, Pachymeres explicates two lines from the base work as follows:

 ov̉k हैбтเv.

[^12]














 عủ $\delta \boldsymbol{\alpha} \boldsymbol{\mu} \boldsymbol{\prime}$ víav. ${ }^{53}$

[^13]As is clear from the above, Pachymeres' exegesis draws to a large extent from Eustratius both verbally and conceptually, but it also contains individual twists that make the passage more compact and more easily digested. Pachymeres usefully adds that there are three possible answers as to where happiness should be placed

 division. He also complements Eustratius' first two options, i.e. $\tau \tilde{\omega} v \theta \varepsilon i ́ \omega v$ and $\tau \tilde{\omega} v$
 tively, thus making it clearer that the first two areas of happiness include both issues ( $\pi \rho \alpha ́ y \mu \alpha \tau \alpha$ ) and agents. Finally, Pachymeres displaces Eustratius' emphasis on the fact that some human matters are called capacities because they may turn out one way or another ( $\varepsilon \pi \alpha \mu \varphi о \tau \varepsilon \rho i ́ \zeta о \nu \tau \alpha$ ) and applies this notion to the arts instead, so

[^14]as to better explain why the latter are called capacities. On occasions, consequently, what Pachymeres actually expounds and reworks is Eustratius' commentary, which shows the high esteem the latter held in Pachymeres' exegetical agenda.

A similar appreciation for Eustratius' commentary on the EN on Pachymeres' part is also apparent in instances where Pachymeres relies on Eustratius to provide a valid reference to other Aristotelian works:

 $\tau \tilde{\omega}$ В каі $\tau \tilde{\omega}$ М каі̀ $\tau \tilde{\omega} N$.

But these questions should be set aside, he says; because these topics are in the treatise the "Metaphysics", since he speaks there in Book Delta about much-debated subjects, as also about the form of the good and of other things in Books Beta and Mu and Nu.

Pachymeres In EN 1, 7, 18.8-10, drawing on Eustratius In EN 56.12-16 in the italicised section

Elsewhere, finally, Pachymeres' use of Eustratius serves to abridge and condense.

 $E N 1,11,26.10-12$ ) is a succinct summary of the main points under discussion in Aristotle drawn from Eustratius In EN 78.32-34.54 Interestingly, although Pachymeres incorporates verbatim quotes from Eustratius into his explication, he elegantly departs from his source when the latter reproduces examples from the Aristotelian original, thus remaining consistent with his modus operandi throughout his Commentary of not replicating extensive lists of examples from the arts and sciences. ${ }^{55}$

[^15]
### 2.4.3 John of Damascus

In Book 3, Pachymeres' use of John of Damascus (d. ca. 750) reveals some points in common with his use of Eustratius. In this case, Pachymeres employs the authority not of an influential peer from the circle of Aristotelian commentators but of a prominent Christian thinker to embellish his Commentary and elaborate on key Aristotelian concepts. ${ }^{56}$ The Exposition of the Orthodox Faith is an influential text linked to asceticism. It includes inter alia a detailed section on the human constitution and psychology relying to a large extent on Nemesius of Emesa's On the Nature of Man. Being "a collection of considerations, or meditations, to help Christians understand and articulate their religious identity, over against those amongst whom they live, who maintain different doctrines and ways of devotion", ${ }^{57}$ John's Exposition of the Orthodox Faith is selectively incorporated into Pachymeres' Commentary, clothing it in notably Christian garb.

At the beginning of Book 3 of the $E N$, Aristotle discusses voluntary and involuntary actions, arguing that people are praised or blamed for voluntary actions, whereas for involuntary ones they are condoned or pitied. This leads him to explain that the legislator too must be aware of the difference between the two sorts of actions, so as to properly assign rewards and punishments (EN 1109b30-35). In explicating this portion of the Aristotelian text (verbatim quotes from the $E N$ are printed in dotted underlining), Pachymeres makes the following argumentative moves. First, unlike Aristotle, he explicitly connects virtue to prohairetic action by repeating an earlier section of the $E N$ that makes this point (see the sentence in bold in the passage below). Second, he elaborates his Commentary on the voluntary and the involuntary with a verbatim section excerpted from the chapter "Concerning what is voluntary and involuntary" in John's Exposition of the Orthodox Faith 38.2-8 (underlined):






 ката́ $\tau \imath v \alpha$ र $\rho o ́ v o v, \dot{o} \mu o i ́ \omega \varsigma ~ \delta \grave{\varepsilon} k \alpha i ̀ ~ \tau \tilde{\omega} v ~ \varphi \varepsilon v к \tau \tilde{\omega} v$ (John of Damascus, Exposition of the Orthodox


[^16]It is necessary for those who discuss virtue, which is a preferred disposition lying in a mean that is relative to us (earlier section of the $E N$, 1106b36-1107a1), also to discuss [the concepts] of the voluntary and the involuntary, of which in one case-the voluntary-choice is evident, while the involuntary is said to involve no choice. Since then these matters [i.e. the voluntary and the involuntaryl involve action of some sort, and many people also believe that what is genuinely involuntary involves not only being affected but action as well, we must define action, [assertingl that it is rational activity. Actions attract either praise or blame, and some of them are undertaken with pleasure, others with distress; and some of them are matters of positive choices by the agent, while others are matters of avoidance, and just as of those that are genuinely matters of positive choice some are always so, while others are so at a given time, likewise with those that are matters of avoidance. (John of Damascus, Exposition of the Orthodox Faith 38.2-8). All of this will also be useful to the legislators in assigning rewards and punishments.

Pachymeres In EN 3, 1, 90.3-11
Immediately afterward this, Pachymeres quotes also John for the purpose of abridgment, as he cites two short sections from him (nos 1 and 2, in bold below) summarising points from Aristotle which are far apart from one another in the $E N$ :



 ảyvoías кגì ov̉ $\sigma u y y ı v \omega ́ \sigma \kappa \varepsilon \tau \alpha ı ~ \dot{\omega} \varsigma ~ \alpha ̉ y v o \eta ́ \sigma \alpha \varsigma ~(2 . ~ J o h n ~ D a m a s c . ~ E x p . ~ f i d . ~ 38.20-24 ; ~ c f . ~ E N ~$


 30).

One type of involuntary action, then, involves force, while another [comes about] through ignorance; and when the productive origin [i.e. the initiating or efficient cause] is external, then [the action] is designated as involving compulsion (1. John Damasc. Exp. fid. 38.15-16; cf. Arist. EN 1109b35-1110a2); whereas "an [action] through ignorance" [is the designation] whenever we ourselves do not supply a cause for our ignorance, but it occurs contingently in this way, as if someone who is drunk were to commit a murder; for in this case he himself supplied the cause of his own ignorance and so he cannot be pardoned as having acted in ignorance (2. John Damasc. Exp. fid. 38.20-24; cf. EN 1110b18-19). Since the involuntary is twofold, therefore, the voluntary is opposed to both as what happens neither under compulsion nor out of ignorance, and whose origin and cause are found in the agent, who is aware of the particulars, which legal experts term "circumstantial" (3. John Damasc. Exp. fid. 38.26-30).

Pachymeres In EN 3, 1, 90.12-18
The wording of the first quote in particular makes it apparent that Pachymeres is referring to Aristotle via John, while the third (no 3) is an abridged version of the main points of the Aristotelian original that Pachymeres also takes from John.

These case-studies show that Pachymeres uses Eustratius and John as ancillary exegetical sources to summarise or unpack Aristotle's original. The extent to which the two sources are employed, however, is neither substantial nor decisive to the formation of Pachymeres' explication in every case, especially when one considers that Pachymeres is already skilled in condensing and supplementing, and has no urgent need to resort to other authorities from the commentary tradition to achieve that. In addition, this kind of continuous word-for-word quotation, with no linguistic modifications, is starkly at odds with what Pachymeres does with Aristotle, as already noted, which is another reason to think that Eustratius and John enter the Commentary cursorily rather than for a truly meaningful purpose. One possible interpretation of this is that the long borrowings from Eustratius (7 in total) consolidate the generic identity of Pachymeres' work as a specimen of an established tradition of commentary writing on the $E N$, while those from John of Damascus (3 in total) add a Christian framework to the interpretation of Aristotle.

### 2.4.4 Other sources

Finally, Pachymeres' Commentary features quotes from or references to classical literature and philosophy: Homer, Hesiod, Phocylides, Theognis, Choerilus, Euripides, Hippocrates, Heraclitus and Zeno, Plato (Laws, Protagoras, Republic), other parts of the Aristotelian corpus (e.g. On the Soul, Posterior Analytics, Topics, Physics, Metaphysics), and the Stoics (e.g. Ariston). There are also citations from or mentions of other representatives of the commentary tradition in antiquity and late antiquity: Alexander of Aphrodisias' commentary on Aristotle's Topics, Damascius' commentary on Plato's Phaedo, Hermias' commentary on Plato's Phaedrus, Proclus' commentary on Plato's Alcibiades I, Olympiodorus' commentary on Aristotle's Categories, and notions which seem to derive from John Philoponus' commentary on On the Soul and on the Prior Analytics, or [Elias]' commentary on Porphyry's Isagoge. A number of Christian elements punctuate the work, for example a short motto from Paul's Epistle to the Thessalonians and a few brief lines from the Psalms and Exodus from the Old Testament. The Commentary contains proverbs and etymological glosses which betray engagement with known etymological lexica, e.g. the Etymologicum Gudianum. Finally, to exemplify philosophical concepts from Book 5 of the $E N$, Pachymeres creates analogies from arithmetic and geometry, drawing on his Quadrivium. For precise references to all the above, the reader is referred to the apparatus of parallel passages. In only a few cases does Pachymeres take these sources from other commentaries (see e.g. the Phocylides fragment and the lines from Euripides' Hecuba above, excerpted from Eustratius). In most instances he draws directly from the sources listed here.

## 2．5 Christianisation of a pagan text

Although Pachymeres＇Commentary is not as a rule marked by overtly Christian components，a number of instances disclose subtle Christianising of the material． This is achieved in a number of ways．For example，in a passage stressing，as per the Aristotelian base text，the application of moral virtues in the context of social inter－ action and political involvement，Pachymeres notes that virtues of character cannot be performed against a backdrop of individual insularity，and offers the following parenthetical statement，where he denounces ascetic ideals：${ }^{58}$


#### Abstract

Пєрì тои̃ ảvӨן      тןò̧ モ̇кعĩvo tò té入oc عióiv）．．．


After setting out to offer instruction concerning the human good，which can be found both in an individual person and in the city，he turns his attention to the virtues of character，since they cannot be found in a solitary existence，but rather with reference to groups of persons or a multitude（for these are properly the moral virtues．Indeed，what is magnificence，if one spends one＇s time in the mountains？What is friendship，if one is isolated？And what is truth，if one converses with no one？Fasting，silence，temperance and despising everything are solitary virtues，which contribute nothing to human life and its end，unless in fact they exist for the sake of the virtues aimed at that end）．

Pachymeres In EN 1，2，4．13－19

The terms in bold represent Christian virtues associated with an ascetic lifestyle，all found in close conjunction with one another in Patristic texts such as John Chrysos－ tom（On Penance vol．60，689．47－49）or Symeon the New Theologian（Catechesis， 60－62）．What is more，a bit further on in the same entry，Pachymeres refers to moral agents as＂human beings，who are liable to change and mutable＂（ ${ }^{\alpha} v \theta \rho \omega \pi o t$ $\tau \rho \varepsilon \pi \tau о \grave{~ k \alpha i ̀ ~ \alpha ́ \lambda \lambda o ı \omega \tau o i ́, ~ I n ~ E N ~} 1,2,6.8$ ）．This phraseology likely echoes the numerous theological debates about the mutable nature of Christ，since the latter is referred to with similar vocabulary，for instance，in Athanasius＇On the Decisions of the Synod of
入оуıк人́（cf．Basil，Epistle 125，2．14－16）．The same terminology is used with reference to human beings as well in related theological discussions（e．g．Gregory of Nanzian－ zus，Apologia to His Father on the Occasion of His Own Ordination（Orat．9），vol．35，

58 For Pachymeres＇opposition to ascetic ideals，see Golitsis，＂Un livre reçu par le patriarche Atha－ nase Ier＂（n．9）．
 Didymus Caecus, Fragments on Psalms (fr. 895) referring to Psalm. 88,47.48a:



Christian interpretations are also apparent in the definition of happiness. In a separate section of the Commentary, Pachymeres brings together for his reader's convenience three distinct readings of the concept, the first of which, preceding the definitions by Aristotle and Eustratius, is from the Psalms:






For blessed are the blameless, those who walk the law of the Lord, in the path in this life
 this is so, we shall pronounce blessed those of the living who possess and are destined to go on possessing good things, and we will also call blessed people (EN 1101a19-21) for whom, obviously, there is every sort of dissolution and change from both internal and external phenomena, since there is another form of blessedness in their spiritual and divine nature, [that is] being in a state that contains and admits no change at all (Eustr. In EN 102.12-14).

Occasional remarks reflecting contemporary religious practice are also introduced to clarify philosophical notions, as when Pachymeres elucidates the close relationship between means and end though an example from fasting ("because things done for the sake of an end are futile without the end for which they are done, just as fasting [is futile] without being humble"; tà yà $\rho$ हैveкर́ тou ס'́x $\alpha$ тоũ oũ हैveка
 with the daily experiences of his Christian audience.

Christianisation of the text through omission of portions of the EN that do not align with Christian morality is also possible, as for instance when Pachymeres, at the end of entry 14 of Book 3, does not reproduce Aristotle's reference to adulterers, who are led by lust to undertake daring actions (EN 1117a1-2). In similar fashion, in another section (In EN 3, 16), he omits Aristotle's reference to eating, drinking, and sex ( $E N$ 1118a30-32). It is interesting, however, that elsewhere a portion of the $E N$ that deals with eating and sexual pleasures does enter the Commentary, although only because it seems integral to the flow and logical cohesion of the argument and

[^17]its clarification (EN 1118b10-11 in In EN 3, 17). In the hierarchy of authorial priorities, explication of Aristotle thus comes before any concern for religious sensibilities. ${ }^{60}$

### 2.6 Pachymeres' exegetical methodology

In aiming to provide a useful explication of the $E N$, Pachymeres employs the following exegetical techniques, most of which aim at a direct educational effect:

Exegetical method and impact

Presentation of the philosophical material in short, clear sentences, neatly organised in line with the diairetic method prominent in late antique commentaries. The aim is to enhance the reader's ability to recall the information offered without becoming bogged down in unnecessary details or the refinements of complex philosophical analysis.

Addition or amplification of relevant material not found in the source text, normally quotes from classical philosophy intended to better elucidate the $E N$.

Clarifications of philosophical and nonphilosophical terminology in the main narrative or in parenthetical asides and other sorts of digressions, sometimes introduced with n’youv (namely).

Example(s) from the Commentary

- "...just as is true of its [i.e. the soul's] division, namely that one part of it is rational, the other nonrational. ... Of the non-rational part [of the soul], one portion is vegetative, and before talking about the other portion, which is the perceptive..." (In EN 1, 19) - If the legal [type of justice] is not enacted, it has no influence, regardless of whether one could act this way or contrarily; but once it is enacted, it is firmly established..." (In EN 5, 12)
- "...as Heraclitus [who said] that everything changes and Zeno [who stated] that everything is unchanged" (In EN 1, 5)
- "But when we say that 'one must overlook pleasure’ in relation to Epicurus or Eudoxus, at that point the difficulty of the injunction becomes conspicuous." (In EN 2, 13)
- "[Aristotle] says, therefore, that every art, the nonrational handling of things that are subject to rational account, and every inquiry, the preparation in conformity with the rational principle for a good end that either exists or appears to exist, and every practical pursuit, the handling of things that is endowed with reason ..." (In EN 1, 1)
- "For some are products, for example a chair or a bench (ク̉youv $Ө \rho o ́ v o s ~ \eta ̂ ~ \beta \alpha ́ \theta \rho o v), ~ w h i l e ~ o t h e r s ~ a r e ~$ activities." (In EN 1, 1)
- "For just as for acratics (those who are not strong enough to control their passions are called 'acratics') learning about these matters is no help once they have been overpowered by their passions, likewise knowledge will bring no profit to persons who lack control over their passions." (In EN 1, 3)

[^18]- "just as painters first draw the outline when they make a sketch, then fill in the details afterwards ('filling in the details' refers to the second draft), so we must behave in our discussion of these matters;" (In EN 1, 10)
- "...and we would proclaim that the happy person is in fact a chameleon (an animal that changes into every colour)." (In EN 1, 15)

Along similar lines, the commentator frequently explains why Aristotle preferred one term over another (e.g. "this is why he said $x$, and not $y$ "), paying attention to the precise use of terminology.

Pithy revisions, personal explanations or clarifications by Pachymeres, often introduced with $\mu \tilde{\alpha} \lambda \lambda o v$, to enhance understanding of the text.

Illustration through examples introduced by Pachymeres.

Rhetorical questions intended to emphasise the meaning of particular terms or ideas and to prompt students to think critically, making the passages relevant and situational.

- "...he did not say that the human good 'is' an activity of soul in accord with virtue, but in order to represent the active component of the activity, he says 'it turns out to be, [an activity of soul in accord with virtue]." (In EN 1, 10)
- "Accordingly, this sort of virtue, namely justice, is perfect and [at the same time it is displayed] towards another person. And since it is perfect, it is apparently the greatest of the virtues, for which reason it has been said that 'In justice all virtue is summed up.'" (In EN 5, 2)
- "...rather ( $\mu \tilde{\alpha} \lambda \lambda$ ov $\mu \varepsilon ̀ v ~ o u ̃ v), ~ h e ~ w i l l ~ r e c e i v e ~ t h e s e ~$ subjects as only the crowd would." (In EN 1, 3)
- "...or rather ( $\eta \boldsymbol{\eta} \tilde{\alpha} \lambda \lambda o v$ ) who are stirred in accord with the desire in a rational way and at the same time also act rationally, learning would be of great benefit." (In EN 1, 3)
- "Or rather, in order that I might speak accurately

- "for in acting in accord with itself [i.e. as an end], the soul does not yield a product, as the art of construction, for example, might yield a house." (In EN 1, 11)
- "[The fact is that] it is not the same with regard to dispositions as with regard to sciences and capacities, since sciences and capacities involve contrary activities. For a captain is able to save a ship or to sink it, and one knows simultaneously what is good and what is evil." (In EN 5, 1)
- "Indeed, what is magnificence, if one spends one's time in the mountains? What is friendship, if one is isolated? And what is truth, if one converses with no one?" (In EN 1, 2)
- "Also, 'not about irregular events' that happen, 'such as droughts', he says. What then? Are we not to deliberate about the droughts that will take place, as if we are going to lay aside events driven by necessity? We do not deliberate about droughts in this case,

Signposting information regarding Aristotle's argumentative methodology.

Basic categorical oppositions which prioritise or eliminate one possibility or interpretation over another.

Etymological glosses and longer explanations of technical nomenclature not featured in Aristotle, playing on the impact of lexical semantics and pointing to an inter-
however, but about what necessity has in store for us." (In EN 3, 5)

- "Albeit he is not considered foolish, but rather perceptive. What does the term 'perceptive' (noeros) mean? That he understands (noei) himself to be somewhat worthy of honour, but rejects receiving honours because of his fairness. This is what the term 'perceptive' (noeron) means..." (In EN 4, 12)
- "And following his usual practice, as he does in many other works as well, he begins with general statements." (In EN 1, 1)
- "...something [Aristotle] refutes by means of the deductive argument in the second figure." (In EN 1, 4) - "Since, therefore, there is no synonymy among the good [things] when they might possibly be subsumed under a single form, he inquires into the style of homonymy, according to which they will have the same name." (In EN 1, 7)
- "Since the latter are related to the emotions, therefore, he examines which of the three categories virtue belongs to, and by excluding two of the options, he brings forward the third by way of hypothesis; initially, he removes two via direct reduction [of the syllogisms], since every hypothetical [syllogism] is made perfect by means of the direct reduction [of syllogisms]." (In EN 2, 6)
- "The virtue that we must consider is human virtue, not the one specific to non-rational things or even the one that exists with God and is beyond the human being; because natural science will investigate the former, and theological science the latter." (In EN 1, 18)
- "Its scale, however, is not defined in relation to itself, but is relative to something else and indefinite in relation to the hypothetical persons [involved]." (In EN 4, 6)
- "At any rate, either it must be stated this way or, given that 'to love' (philein) signifies both feeling affection (agapan) and bestowing a kiss (philēma), the contrary state, namely hatred, does not bear the same name; for it is distinguished from a single species of love." (In EN 5, 1)
- "For this reason they rightly derive 'the good’ [agathon] from 'everyone runs [theein] very fast [agan] towards it'. Hence it is not called 'agathōtaton', since agan [already] includes the superlative degree." (In EN 1, 1)
est in the importance of wording (lexis) and metalanguage in exegetical contexts.

Use of proverbs adding to the Commentary's pragmatic character, especially where this facilitates exemplification.

Frequent recapitulations before proceeding to a new topic, and insertion of neat synopses of the main issues discussed at length, mostly but not always at the beginning of individual entries.

Use of appropriate grammatical person:
a) first-person plural forms to create an inclusive and communal learning experience;
b) second-person singular imperatives to draw the student's attention to key points.

Interrogative expressions and other erotapocritic elements reminiscent of the ques-tion-and-answer format conspicuous in antique and late antique pedagogical discourse (e.g, $\delta \iota \alpha \tau i ́ ;$ őtı or $\pi \tilde{\omega} \varsigma ~ \delta غ ̀ ~ . . . ; ~ o ̈ \tau ı), ~$

- "That is why men of this sort are called 'greedybellies' ( $\gamma \alpha \sigma \tau \rho \prime \mu \alpha \rho y o t$ ), in the sense that they are gluttonous in relation to their stomach (oiovei $\mu$ 人́pyot $\kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \dot{\alpha} \tau \eta v \gamma \alpha \sigma \tau \varepsilon ́ \rho \alpha)$, and they are also termed 'slavish' ( $\alpha v \delta \rho \alpha \pi o \delta \omega \dot{\omega} \delta \varepsilon ı \varsigma)$, since they have the desires of slaves rather than of free persons ( $\dot{\omega} \varsigma \dot{\eta} \delta o v \alpha ̀ \varsigma ~ e ́ \chi o v \tau \varepsilon \varsigma ~$
 - "That the liberal man is defined by his donation or acquisition [of money] is established by the name used for 'money' (chrēmata), since the usefulness (chrēsimon) of money (chrēmata) is considerable; for this reason, therefore, it is termed 'money' (chrēmata)." (In EN 4, 2)
- "this is [the sense of] the phrase 'tasteless' (para melos), which is proverbial and is derived from those who speak discordantly (ekmelōs)." (In EN 4, 8)
- "This is why we must inquire again specifically into the principle of happiness, namely the principle of the fact just as we defined it. For we drew conclusions about it [i.e. the principle of happiness] from many things, first that it is a human product, next that it is rational and not non-rational in accord with some [human] standard. After this, we established that it is an activity, which is greater than a disposition. After this, [we established that it must be possessed] throughout one's life or throughout most of it." (In EN 1,11)
- "And because we are eagerly pursuing ( $\theta \eta \rho \omega \dot{\mu} \mu \varepsilon \theta \alpha$ ) a definition of it as an end, before speaking of the things that lead to the end (for the end is a goal, and by aiming at it we achieve [ $\pi \rho \alpha ́ \tau \tau о \mu \varepsilon v$ ] other things), we seek more information (弓птои̃ $\mu \varepsilon v$ ) about it [i.e. happiness]." (In EN 1, 9)
- "Just as we investigated ( $\varepsilon \zeta\lceil\tau \tau o u ̃ \mu \varepsilon v)$ the other [dispositions]..." (In EN 5, 3)
 lawgivers] Solon in Athens and Zaleucus among the people of Croton and the rest of them." (In EN 1,18 )
_ "Why is the latter [i.e. stinginess] not a case of going over the top, whereas the former [i.e. vulgarity] is? Because in the latter case ..." (In EN 2, 9)
- "What does 'those at the extremes lay claim to the middle position' mean? Is it that, since being in the
mostly pointing to the oral nature of teaching. ${ }^{61}$
middle has no name-and this is properly speaking the kind of ambition towards the right people [i.e. in the right direction], in the right manner, in the right amount, in the right context, and from the right motives-this [intermediate quality] could be called both unambitious and ambitious, meaning 'unambitious' by comparison with too much ambition, but 'ambitious' by comparison with too little?" (In EN 2, 10)
- "Why then is [miserliness] not opposed to wastefulness as well? Because then one thing would be opposed to two things, whereas the logical principle is that one thing is opposed to one. One must therefore say that miserliness is opposed to wastefulness in an absolute sense, as one vice is opposed to another vice." (In EN 4, 6)
- "For we have mentioned ( $\mu \varepsilon \mu v \eta \dot{\mu} \varepsilon \theta \alpha$ ) in the additional specification..." (In EN 2, 9)
- "...one must bear in mind ( $\mu \varepsilon \mu v \tilde{\eta} \sigma \theta \alpha \iota$ ) the rule that we are investigating the deficiency of the underlying quality..." (In EN 2, 11)
- "After setting out to offer instruction concerning the human good (Пعрì тoṽ $\alpha v \theta \rho \omega \pi i ́ v o v ~ \alpha ́ y \alpha \theta o v ̃ ~$

- "He [i.e. Aristotle] tailors his teaching towards what is common [among citizens] (ảvóyعı $\pi \rho$ òs tò koıvòv т̀̀v $\delta \iota \delta \alpha \sigma \kappa \alpha \lambda$ í $\alpha v . .) ".($ In EN 1, 2)


### 2.7 Moralism and social critique

Another overarching feature in the Commentary, which testifies to Pachymeres' selfdepiction as a professional commentator, is the inclusion of moralism and social critique to complement the elucidation of Aristotelian ethics. These examples represent important material for the modern scholarly debate as to whether and, if so, to what extent, the commentary should be seen as a "secondary" text subordinate to

[^19]the authoritative text to which it is appended; ${ }^{63}$ this in turn relates to the issue of the power relationship between the ancient authority and the later exegete discussed in the next section. As it will be shown, the commentator's voice, building on the Aristotelian material, is clearly distinguishable in certain sections of the text, especially those that communicate Pachymeres' ethical admonitions.

Moral consideration projected onto the reader, first of all, is a key component of Pachymeres' practical instruction, as for example when he furnishes Aristotle's statements with personal interpretations by means of rhetorical questions, attempting to guide the reader's understanding and subsequent behaviour:
 $\varphi \rho о \nu \iota \mu \omega \tau \varepsilon ́ \rho \omega v$ Ө ่́





#### Abstract

For they pursue honour, he says, in order to have confidence that they themselves are good. For this reason, they wish to be honoured by men of greater practical wisdom, because the latter offer the best judgments. Since, then, they choose honour for the sake of virtue, virtue would be even more the end [of the political life than honour], being that for the sake of which honour in fact is sought. Why are they unable to believe on their own behalf that they are virtuous, but rely on other people who bestow honour? Is it because everyone is self-centred that everything personal is looked upon with suspicion?


Pachymeres In EN 1, 5, 10.27-12.1

Pachymeres also offers direct moral assessment of particular patterns of conduct, again not found in Aristotle, intertwining this with social critique:





For pleasure and honour are both valued for their own sake, if not by everyone at any rate by many. For some people yearn for the [type of] honour that deals with everything else [i.e. external goods] and do not care about virtue, since they are tyrants and violent. They in fact punish those who fail to honour them, whom they would not punish in this manner if they [i.e. the people who yearn for honour] were interested in virtue and in appearing to be virtuous.

Pachymeres In EN 1, 5, 12.13-17

63 Budelmann, "Classical Commentary in Byzantium" (n. 37), 142; Sluiter, "The Dialectics of Genre" (n. 44). The "secondary" nature of commentaries is also suggested by the modern terms attached to them as "literature of hermeneutics", "secondary literature", or " $\pi \varepsilon \rho$ í-literature".

The characterisations that describe the attitude of individuals who are fond of honours are negatively loaded, implicitly discouraging readers from embracing similar manners. This is akin to what is termed a "distancing strategy" in post-Hellenistic practical ethics, ${ }^{64}$ which Pachymeres reinvigorates throughout the Commentary as a way of problematising moral issues for his readers and shifting his focus from philosophical explication to moral didacticism. ${ }^{65}$ Although the Commentary is primarily a functional text which serves to explain its canonical antecedent, therefore, it is no less important than the latter in terms of content and outlook, especially in view of the moral benefit it attempts to bestow on its readership.

### 2.8 Power dynamics between the ancient authority and the Byzantine exegete

As we have seen, Pachymeres is a resourceful exegete, whose Commentary provided his audience with a textbook for philosophical studies and at the same time with an ethical vade mecum for their daily behaviour. Modern textbooks are generally intended to be consulted in conjunction with the primary narrative they explicate. Pachymeres' "textbook", on the other hand, essentially replaces Aristotle's $E N$ by reproducing its fundamental ideas and formulations and enhancing them with the commentator's distinctive explications. That is one aspect of the commentator's contribution to the historical reception of the ancient work. Another involves the special features of the textbook, mainly its didactic and moralising character, which further attest to the commentator's authority as well as his emphatic claims to infuse the text with his personal outlook. In what follows, I discuss the "power dynamics" ${ }^{66}$ between the Byzantine commentator and his ancient model in the light of direct address or criticism of the latter; the transformation of the source text by the commentator; the addition of inflationary notes not found in the source text, mostly designed to achieve doctrinal elucidation; and creative shifts of emphasis on philosophical notions treated differently in the source text.

I begin with the relationship between Pachymeres and his ancient predecessor. Determining the former's attitude towards the latter is not a straightforward task,

64 Cf. for instance, L. van Hoof, Plutarch's Practical Ethics: The Social Dynamics of Philosophy (Oxford 2010) 160-161.
65 On other occasions, there are less direct moral admonitions through the application of an exploratory kind of moralism, and introduction of ethical assessment meant to serve Pachymeres’ Christian audience. Full discussion is provided in Xenophontos, "George Pachymeres’ Commentary" (n. 23), 240-246.
66 The term is taken from I. Sluiter, "The Violent Scholiast: Power Issues in Ancient Commentaries", in M. Asper (ed.), Writing Science: Mathematical and Medical Authorship in Ancient Greece (Berlin 2013) 191-213.
although we would be on relatively safe ground if we said that his overall approach seems to be one of admiration and approbation. ${ }^{67}$ For one thing, towards the beginning of his Commentary on Book 1, describing Aristotle's choice of topics to discuss, Pachymeres claims that the ancient philosopher was prompted by caution (In EN 1, 1) and a desire to avoid labouring in vain (In $E N 1,1$ and In $E N 1,3$ ). Both comments are consistent with the traditional appraisal of ancient authors on the part of their later exegetes, as is the use of the verb "he says" throughout, pointing to the ancient philosopher's accepted - almost undisputable - authority. ${ }^{68}$ In addition, in an intriguing passage in the Commentary on Book 3, Pachymeres, in a direct apostrophe, praises Aristotle for his methodology, which he briefly outlines:







My compliments to you, Aristotle, for this particular insight, since you made it your target to investigate what choice is. And when you rejected the other [options] and discovered that which most closely resembled it, you began to examine the objects of deliberation. And since choice is manifestly a voluntary [action], although not every voluntary act is chosen but [only the one] preceded by deliberation, you set aside the discussion of choice and wish, and began to scrutinise the object of deliberation. After this you also search for the object of choice, and you discover choice from [an investigation of] what is chosen. The end is thus what is wished for, while the means to the end are the objects of deliberation.

This is the first and one of the very few times that Aristotle's name is explicitly cited in the Commentary, ${ }^{69}$ with Pachymeres' outburst of praise soon coming to an end and the explication of the $E N$ continuing as before, in its normal form and style. ${ }^{70}$ This brief digression looks like a spontaneous move on Pachymeres' part to highlight Aristotle's philosophical dexterity, a topic he cannot elaborate too much, however, if the Commentary's generally impartial tone is to be retained. According to Sophonias' well-known distinction between commentators and paraphrasts, the former should distance themselves from the base text and by implication from the

67 Remember also that in section 2.4.2 above, Pachymeres does not share Eustratius' criticism of Aristotle.
68 See, e.g., I. Sluiter, "The Violent Scholiast" (n. 66), 195-196.
69 The second and last time Pachymeres refers to Aristotle by name is in In EN 3, 18, while in two other cases only, at the beginning of Book 3 and in In EN 5, 8, he is mentioned as "the philosopher". 70 In Eustratius' commentary, for example, Aristotle's name appears frequently, also in the form of appellations in the vocative.
author they discuss (In De an. 1.4-3.9), ${ }^{71}$ which might partially account for Pachymeres' quick wrapping up of the exclamatory passage quoted above. ${ }^{72}$

On the other hand, the Commentary is not free of instances which betray Pachymeres' scepticism towards Aristotelian statements, although these are limited in number and extent. In In EN 2, 5, for example, Pachymeres characterises Aristotle's example of sick people who neglect carrying out a doctor's prescriptions (EN
 $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha ́ \delta \varepsilon เ y \mu \alpha$, In EN 2, 5, 62.2-3), going on to explain why he considers this to be so ("But if one were to judge [these two groups] according to their attitude, one would find them to be on a par; for just as the first group do something not because it is noble, but because it is considered noble, and in this manner they are not accounted virtuous, so too the second group", In EN 2, 5). Along similar lines, in another case Pachymeres regards one of Aristotle's statements as "truthful, but not clear (toũto $\delta \varepsilon ̀ ~ \alpha ̉ \lambda \eta \theta ı v o ̀ v ~ \mu \varepsilon ́ v, ~ o v ̉ ~ \sigma \alpha \varphi \varepsilon ̀ \varsigma ~ \delta \varepsilon ́, ~ I n ~ E N ~ 6, ~ 1, ~ 236.18-19) . ~ P a c h y m e r e s ’ ~ s c e p t i c i s m ~ a s ~ t o ~$ Aristotle's obscurity here seems to be aligned with the classical topos in the exegetical tradition of underscoring the lack of clarity in the Stagirite's writings.

There are also less direct cases of deviation from Aristotle's statements: one appears at the beginning of the Commentary on Book 4, where Pachymeres unpacks Aristotle's text on liberality and meanness by supplementing it with his own interpretations:



[^20]


Miserliness is characteristic of those who are devoted to money or steadfastly hold onto their personal funds or even try to make more in any way possible or spend very little in comparison to their needs; whereas wastefulness is also intertwined with those who lack self-control, since it is not just the individual who spends his personal resources beyond what is needed who is wasteful, but also the one who spends [money] to satisfy his personal appetites.

Pachymeres In EN 4, 1, 138.12-16
In another case, Pachymeres inserts his personal opinion right next to the quoted Aristotelian phrase ("If there are multiple virtues, as there surely are...", Pachymeres In EN 1, 10), and elsewhere he critiques Socratic views as well: e.g. "And no virtue of character [exists] without practical wisdom, even if Socrates subsumed them all into one, i.e. practical wisdom. Except that this alone does not suffice, and one must also add...", Pachymeres In EN 1, 10). Pachymeres' involvement with the commented text becomes more visible as a result of his habit of refraining from reproducing lines Aristotle cites from ancient poetry (e.g. Pachymeres In EN 1 , 4 omitting the Hesiodic quote from EN 1095b10-14) or, on other occasions, of adding his own ancient quotes to reinforce specific points, as when he inserts Evenus' "Habit, I say, is a long-term matter, | and ultimately becomes nature" at the beginning of the Commentary on Book 2 to stress the importance of habituation as second nature. ${ }^{73}$

In connection with this, on a number of occasions Pachymeres' engagement with classical quotations seems to be more effective compared to the corresponding citation of the same lines by Aristotle. In referring to pleasure and how people approach it, Aristotle says:
"and in everything we must beware above all of pleasure and its sources; for we are already biased in its favour when we come to judge it. Hence we must react to it as the elders reacted to Helen, and on each occasion repeat what they said; for if we do this, and send it off, we shall be less in error." (EN 1109b7-12; transl. T. Irwin)

What Aristotle means is not entirely clear unless one recalls the Iliadic passage to which he refers (Iliad 3.156-160). Presenting the extract's "intended meaning" in a

[^21]fuller form, Pachymeres makes the moral injunction more straightforward and to the point:










#### Abstract

We must be especially on our guard against pleasure, particularly since we judge the mean pleasant, for we are partial judges in our judgement of this, being motivated by desire. [This is precisely] what the elders do in Homer, praising Helen, but recommending that even so she ought to be sent back home, lest there be grief for their city and for them. It is incumbent on us to do the same and banish pleasure, and if we behave this way we shall have our best opportunity to reach the intermediate condition. Perhaps this is difficult, and more so since we are controlled by particular pleasures; for the common saying "one must overlook pleasure" appears easy since it is common. But when we say that "one must overlook pleasure" in relation to Epicurus or Eudoxus, at that point the difficulty of the injunction becomes conspicuous. It is the same in the case of the mean as well.


Pachymeres In EN 2, 13, 86.24-33
The addition of the line printed in bold shows that Pachymeres stays closer to the Homeric text than Aristotle does, and in fact that he must have checked it from the original, since the line creatively reproduces the locution in Iliad 3.159-160: $\dot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \dot{\alpha}$
 ("Yet, lovely as she is, let her sail home, | not stay to be a bane to us and our children"). Pachymeres' addition of the term пó入єь in particular reflects his general tendency to supplement his ancient sources with an emphasis on the notion of the city, which he conceptualises as an organised community comprising morally and socially responsible members. Furthermore, as seen above, Pachymeres goes on to expand on Aristotle's understandings of pleasure by inserting a proverb which allows him to usher in Epicurus' and Eudoxus' related perspectives, thus achieving plurality of philosophical views on the subject.

It goes without saying that Pachymeres' clarification of the text is only to be expected in the context of an exegetical writing. But the commentator's creativity in the techniques he applies adds further support to the idea that, although his commentary is in theory a by-product in support of the main text, it is also a work in its own right, with its own raison d'être. A case in point comes from a setting in which the connection between involuntary action and ignorance is discussed, drawing on EN 1111a3-6. In this passage, Aristotle lists the circumstances that have a bearing on involuntary action, but Pachymeres incorporates Aristotle’s list into a unified sce-
nario which associates the specific circumstances with particular examples to facilitate the reader's understanding:


#### Abstract

   ...One is ignorant with regard to something, for example, of who it is whom he strikes. Perhaps it's his own father! [He may also be ignorant of] what [he does], namely that he sticks his dagger [in him]. [He may be ignorant of] the precise occasion: that he administers drugs in winter. [He may be ignorant of] the manner, i.e. he is unaware that he stabs him with the knife. [He may be ignorant of] why [he acted in this way]: i.e. that [he wanted] to save his [father's] life, but killed him unintentionally), and simply put [he may be ignorant] of one of the circumstances.


Pachymeres In EN 3, 2, 96.2-5
So far we have explored Pachymeres' transformative approach to his ancient prototype as a salient trait of his self-presentation as commentator. The reliability of the material he transmits is another parameter of his dynamic role in the Aristotelian commentary tradition, given that Pachymeres' exegesis is generally respectful of its reference text. There is perhaps only one instance in which Aristotle seems to be

 involved, when the distribution occurs, will be equal to the ratio between the distributed shares") seems to be unreasonably duplicating the same notion and is at odds
 ("since the ratio between the distributed things will be equal to the ratio between the persons", EN 1131a21-22), which compares the ratio between things with the ratio between people, and not the ratio between things with the ratio between
 which $\dot{\varepsilon} v$ oís refers to things/shares, whereas simply oís to people, is attested in other representatives of the Aristotelian tradition: E.g. Anon. In EN 261.21-22: $\dot{\omega} \varsigma$ y $\dot{\alpha} \rho$


 ov̋́t кג́кعivol. To avoid duplicating the notion, Pachymeres ought thus to have written "since the ratio between the people involved (oís), when the distribution occurs, will be equal to the ratio between the distributed shares", unless we assume that he follows Michael's alternative interpretation of the passage, according to




mind, this is less likely, given that in other exegetical sentences in the same section of the text Pachymeres uses oís with reference to people, not things, e.g. हैס $\sigma t$ y $\dot{\alpha} \rho$ q $\dot{\alpha}$
 (In EN 5, 5, 190.9-10). Moreover, Michael's commentary is not a source for Pachymeres' own Commentary, so it would be risky to assume that Pachymeres was actually aware of Michael's In EN 19.27-31.

### 2.9 Pachymeres' Commentary on the EN and his paraphrase (Book XI of the Philosophia)

As already noted, the Commentary on the $E N$ has a sibling work, a paraphrase of the EN forming Book XI of Pachymeres' Philosophia. The two texts differ in both form and function, since the latter, unlike the Commentary, offers a synopsis of the $E N$ as a whole, providing an introduction to Aristotle's ethics and familiarising students with the essential topics and arguments dealt with in the EN. ${ }^{74}$ This is reflected, for instance, in the epitomic nature of the paraphrase, and specifically in its division

 be the learning cycle in the educational setting in which Pachymeres was operating, his paraphrase of the $E N$ would have catered to tyros with no prior background, whereas his Commentary would have been used at a more advanced stage to help students who already had a basic acquaintance with the subject delve into the more specific, complex, and thorny aspects of the $E N$.

To make better sense of the above points, let us compare the treatment of virtue as an intermediate state between extremes in the two works. This is the main topic of discussion in Title $\alpha^{\prime}$, chapter $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ of Pachymeres' paraphrase (Paraphr. In

74 In line with Themistius' programmatic statements in favour of paraphrases as expounded in his own paraphrase of Aristotle's Posterior Analytics 1.2-16; here the emphasis is on brevity, which helps the student easily remember the Aristotelian material in the course of learning: 'E $\mu$ oì










 analyticorum posteriorum paraphrasis, CAG 5.1 (Berlin 1900).
$E N$ 26.5-29.6), and of entry $\theta^{\prime}$ to the beginning of entry ty'of Book 2 (... $\pi \lambda \alpha \tau \cup \kappa \omega ́ \tau \varepsilon \rho \circ v$ ह́ $\check{\varepsilon \tau \alpha ́ \zeta o u \sigma เ v) ~ o f ~ t h e ~ C o m m e n t a r y, ~ b o t h ~ o f ~ w h i c h ~ c o v e r ~ E N ~ 1107 a 33-~}$ 1109b1. In the paraphrastic passage, Pachymeres quotes the relevant section of the EN faithfully, although he leaves out some words, phrases, or sentences as appropriate to create a compressed version of Aristotle: the original contains ca. 1260 words, whereas the reduced paraphrase contains ca. 700. A reading of the paraphrastic passage also brings out its aim of listing, without expansive details, the mean in particular cases (for instance in giving and taking money, generosity is the mean, wastefulness the excess, a lack of generosity the deficiency; in honour and dishonour, magnanimity is the mean, vanity the excess, cowardice the deficiency, etc.), and of advancing the central claim that virtue opposes the extremes, and that human beings should therefore abstain from moral deviation. This is communicated almost verbatim via Aristotle's words rather than through Pachymeres' remarks, and leads easily to the next subject of the paraphrase, which focuses on voluntary and involuntary action. ${ }^{75}$

In the Commentary, on the other hand, the same issues are dealt with in a different way, mainly through scrutinising the philosophical terms and signposting the sequence of Aristotle's argument, and by adding explanatory comments and vivid examples building on the Aristotelian passage, reminders to students of relevant material already digested in the classroom, and questions and answers clarifying abstract notions, to mention only some of Pachymeres' exegetical methods.

There are other portions of the paraphrase which do not consist merely of Aristotelian quotations, but which also include a) summaries in Pachymeres' own words (e.g. Title $\beta^{\prime}$, chapter $\alpha^{\prime}$ Paraphr. In EN 29.15-18 ~ EN 1110a1-11), alternating with direct quotations, and b) occasionally some forms of exegesis. In general, the paraphrase pays particular attention to citing large chunks from the Eudemian Ethics as well as the Magna Moralia, so that the student is made familiar with other witnesses to Aristotle's moral philosophy. This stands in stark contrast to the Commentary,

[^22]which contains no references at all to these works. ${ }^{76}$ In a similar vein, the paraphrase does not make use of Aristotle's commentators, such as Eustratius, although as in the case of the Commentary, there are occasional references to Patristic works that add Christian connotations to a number of passages. There is also a pagan element in the paraphrase, in that there are several quotes from Homer other than those already in the $E N$ (indeed, many more than in the Commentary) (e.g. Paraphr. In EN $4.27-28$ = Iliad 1.593-594). This likely points to the centrality of the Homeric epics in the elementary teaching programme, which would have made them resonate with the educational experience of intended audiences and with their appreciation of Homer as a canonical author. ${ }^{77}$ Interestingly, the use of Homeric material in the paraphrase sometimes facilitates Pachymeres' exegetical needs; when discussing the Aristotelian phrase $\Delta$ окعı̃ $\delta \varepsilon$ к кגì $\tau \alpha ̀ ~ \varepsilon u ̉ \tau u \chi \eta ́ \mu \alpha \tau \alpha ~ \sigma u \mu \beta \alpha ́ \lambda \lambda \varepsilon \sigma \theta \alpha ı ~ \pi \rho o ̀ \varsigma ~$ $\mu \varepsilon \gamma \alpha \lambda о \psi u x i ́ \alpha v$ (EN 1124a20-21), for example, Pachymeres adds кגi $\tau \alpha \dot{\alpha} \pi \rho о \tau \varepsilon \rho \eta ́ \mu \alpha \tau \alpha$ ("advantages") (Paraphr. In EN 42.20) and goes on to explain the notion of $\pi \rho о \tau \varepsilon ́ \rho \eta \mu \alpha$ against a distinctly Homeric backdrop, in which heroes such as Achilles, Ajax, and Meleager take centre-stage:




Paraphr. In EN 42.19-23

### 2.10 Independent thinking in the context of exegesis?

In previous sections, we have seen that Pachymeres modifies the text of Aristotle to organically integrate it into the exegetical plot of his Commentary. He achieves this through a variety of devices, some of which operate on the level of form (e.g. reordering, expansion, compression, etc.), others on the level of content (e.g. insertion of moralising and Christian elements). Despite the generic constraints the Commentary imposes - its educational mission is so attentively undertaken that it leaves prima facie little room for personal expression - does it provide any opportunity for Pachymeres to present his own philosophical views rather than simply teach? To some extent it does, and what follows will show that some degree of independent thinking is observable, pointing to how Pachymeres sets up a dialogue with Aristotle in probing key philosophical points.

[^23]The first example centres on the theory of externals and their contribution to happiness, a theme Pachymeres is keen to tackle whenever the opportunity arises. Notwithstanding variations in formulation and context in different sections of the $E N$, this theory in Aristotle emphasises that external goods, such as wealth and honour, play a role in making virtuous activity and therefore happiness possible (e.g. EN 1098b23-31). It also stresses that bodily and external goods are essential for eudaimonia either as indispensable conditions ( $\tau \alpha \dot{\alpha} \mu \varepsilon ̀ v ~ ن ́ \pi \alpha ́ \rho \chi \varepsilon ı v ~ \alpha ́ v \alpha \gamma к \alpha i ̃ o v) ~ o r ~ a s ~$ auxiliary means that are useful as instruments ( ( $\dot{\alpha}$ $\delta \dot{\varepsilon} ~ \sigma u v \varepsilon \rho \gamma \alpha ̀ ~ \kappa \alpha i ̀ ~ \chi \rho \eta ́ \sigma \mu \alpha ~ \pi \varepsilon ́ \varphi v к \varepsilon v ~$ ópyoviк$\tilde{c} \varsigma$ ) (e.g. EN 1099a27-1099b8). Elsewhere, the focus is on how under different circumstances externals differ and might sometimes act as impediments, but overall external apparatus is necessary for human beings to engage in virtuous behaviour and flourish (EN 1178a23-1178b7).

When referring to the theory of externals in various parts of the Commentary, Pachymeres repeats the Aristotelian position of the $E N$ in his expounding analysis, showing that he is well acquainted with it, as is obvious from the following passage:






 ג̉ $\rho \varepsilon \tau \eta ̀ v ~ \kappa \alpha i ̀ ~ \varepsilon u ̉ \delta \alpha ı \mu o v i ́ \alpha v . ~$

> Happiness seems to require external goods as well, including even goods related to the body, if not as essential parts in relation to them, at all events as instruments. For many [actions] are accomplished by means of them [i.e. bodily goods], and this is why some people identify good fortune with happiness, since the external goods are matters of fortune for the most part. Others, however, identify happiness with virtue. How so? It is because virtue is twofold, one [part] relating to the soul, the other to the body (for keen perception, health and strength are physical virtues). Since therefore happiness is fulfilled by means [of the goods] relating to soul, but uses the bodily goods as instruments (for perhaps when one is healthy and one's soul is in a good condition, one might act readily), it is for these reasons that they identify virtue and happiness.

Pachymeres In EN 1, 13, 30.4-12
Although Pachymeres aligns with Aristotle's stance in its basics, he draws a clear distinction between what he terms $\sigma \nu \mu \lambda \eta \rho \omega \tau \iota \kappa \alpha ́$ (cf. $\sigma \nu \mu \pi \lambda \eta \rho o v ̃ \tau \alpha 1 ; ~ e l s e w h e r e ~$ called $\alpha \dot{\alpha} \alpha \pi \lambda \eta \rho \omega \tau \tau \kappa \alpha)$, i.e. prerequisites for happiness (referring to the goods of the soul), and what is an instrument (ópyóv $\omega v$, ópyóvois) to it (referring to the goods of
the body), a distinction which is not foregrounded this way in Aristotle, ${ }^{78}$ where the nominalised adjectives $\sigma \nu \mu \pi \lambda \eta \rho \omega \tau \iota \kappa \alpha ́ \alpha$ and $\alpha \dot{\nu} \alpha \pi \lambda \eta \rho \omega \tau \iota \kappa \alpha ́$ are absent. Furthermore, the use of the adverb "perhaps" (i' $\sigma \omega \varsigma$ ) in the parenthesis might not be without significance, since it hints at the commentator's modest reluctance to blindly subscribe to the views of his forebear.

This adverbial hesitation ties in well with another section in Pachymeres, which articulates more directly his critical engagement with Aristotelian externalities. In commenting on the section of the $E N$ that discusses popular understandings of happiness with a focus on external goods, Pachymeres assumes the authoritative firstperson singular (indicated in bold in the passage below) and radically recasts Aristotle's sequence of ideas and related emphasis by imposing a short moral commentary:


#### Abstract

       


78 Likewise, in his Paraphrase of the EN, Pachymeres calls externals "dंvardn $\rho \omega \tau \tau \kappa \alpha{ }_{\alpha}$ tñऽ عủסaıuovíac" (Paraphr. In EN 7.16-18), an expression which he also uses in his Commentary: "Some
 events [that function as possible means to an end] and not such [i.e. ends] by themselves" (In EN 1 ,

 namely goods of the soul (e.g. intelligence and justice), goods of the body (e.g. strength and beauty), and external goods (e.g. honour and money), with the first class being superior to the other two. Although Pachymeres does seem aware of the three classes elsewhere ( $\eta$ そ $\kappa \alpha \dot{\alpha} \psi u x \grave{v} v \dot{\alpha} \kappa o ́ \lambda \alpha \sigma \tau o i ́$

 in terms of their bodies, have maimed limbs or, in terms of externalities, are poor and suffer dishon-

甲íगot каi tò $\lambda o t \pi \alpha \dot{\alpha} . . .$, "So since the goods are said to be of three kinds-in accord with the soul, such as practical wisdom, temperance, and good-naturedness; in accord with the body, such as strength, beauty, and the like; and in accord with externalities, such as wealth, friendship, and the rest...", In

 "What then is this? One must understand what sort of a good worthiness is, psychic, physical, or of external phenomena; that is, it involves psychic goods, physical goods, or external goods"), he desists from using it in the passages above. For the complexities of the role of external goods in Aristotle, see T. D. Roche, "Happiness and the External Goods", in R. Polansky (ed.), The Cambridge Companion to Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics (Cambridge 2014) 34-63.


#### Abstract

Everyone says that this is happiness, both average people and the wise, and in so far as they agree on its name, they assume that to live well and fare well is to be happy (EN 1095a18-20). And furthermore, such persons do not deem happy anyone who seems prosperous and good but is in a miserable situation. For with regard to living well and faring well, some argue for pleasure, others wealth, and others honour, considering this to be happiness (EN 1095a21-23). But it is possible, I say, to both live well and fare well while in grief and poor and lacking honour, so long as one is leading one's life admirably and as one must. Or rather, in order that I might speak accurately, no distress affects persons of the sort who are always rejoicing in accord with the saying "Rejoice at all times!" (Paul's Epistle to the Thessalonians 5, 16-18). For this is what the man who pronounced these words [i.e. Paul] had in mind.


Pachymeres In EN 1, 3, 8.9-17

As it stands, the extract puts on display the focalisation of Pachymeres, who boldly claims that external goods have no bearing on individual happiness. Although Pachymeres understood his source correctly, as noted earlier, he diverges from it here by embracing a more Stoic-oriented thesis that dismisses external goods as being morally indifferent. ${ }^{79}$ In addition, Pachymeres strategically accompanies his understanding of Aristotelian externals with the motto "Rejoice at all times!", which advocates a positive attitude towards life as a means to prevent distress (full quota-

 ing a Christian reading to the notion of happiness, with Pachymeres' role as a commentator briefly extending to the realm of religious elucidation, this time of the epistolographer (note the final line of the quoted passage). This comment, like the other Christian overtones in the Commentary, is probably connected with Pachymeres' role as Professor of New Testament exegesis (didaskalos tou apostolou) at the Patriarchal School. At any rate, his departure from Aristotle brings him much closer to Christian thinking, which offered equal chances for happiness to all people irrespective of social class (e.g. poor, slave) or physical condition (e.g. sick). ${ }^{80}$ In addition, with this deviation Pachymeres bluntly advocates - not quite as Aristotle does - full self-sufficiency (i.e. complete independence from external resources) and opposes moral luck, ${ }^{81}$ again approaching happiness through a Christian lens, as per Paul's injunction.

[^24]This observation is relevant to Pachymeres' repeated focus on the notion of moral agency, which might be explained in the light of Christian anthropology and ethics, which consider man an intellectual being fully equipped with the ability to assent to sense-perceptions and thoughts. ${ }^{82}$ At no less than six points in the Commentary, human agents are referred to as "those who possess the dispositions" (oi
 they direct them, an expression never found in this form in the reference text. In addition, Pachymeres depicts human beings as active entities responsible for their moral choices, by introducing elegant twists to the $E N$ :
a) In a section dealing with the definition of the small-souled man ( $\mu$ кко́ $\psi v \chi \circ \varsigma$, EN 1125a19-27), Pachymeres follows Aristotle in arguing that this type of man is not considered foolish, but rather "perceptive" (vocpós) (EN 1125a24). ${ }^{83} \mathrm{He}$ then goes to some length to provide a semantic clarification of the term (not found in Aristotle), highlighting the moral usefulness perceptiveness brings, but also its risks, such as ethical deterioration, which Pachymeres' readers are implicitly urged to avoid. This is facilitated by the use of the language of moral assessment in the relevant passage:






#### Abstract

What does the term "perceptive" (noeros) mean? That he understands (noei) himself to be somewhat worthy of honour, but rejects receiving honours because of his fairness. This is what the term "perceptive" (noeron) means, if it is praiseworthy, as it should be, given that the injunction of the Pythia advises "Know yourself!"; for knowing oneself is extremely useful, although often it makes certain people worse, when it is applied as it should not be.


Again, Pachymeres places significant emphasis on man's capacity to exercise rational thought by rejecting reprehensible moral options.
b) This relates to another section, which deals with the Aristotelian thesis that we are neither blamed nor praised for our emotions, but for our virtues and vices (EN 1105b30-32). Here Pachymeres twice conveniently replaces Aristotle's "in some way" ( $\pi \tilde{\omega} \varsigma$ in $E N$ 1106a1) with his own "inappropriate", as seen below (oủX $\dot{\omega} \varsigma ~ \delta \varepsilon \tilde{\imath}$, únèp tò $\delta \varepsilon \dot{\varepsilon} \circ v$ ), to add moral assessment to a specific type of conduct and thus assign moral responsibility:
has more to do with the agent's ability in practical wisdom and contemplation than with nonreliance on external goods.
82 G. Karamanolis, The Philosophy of Early Christianity (Durham 2013) 216-217.
 of the standard edition.


because a person is not blamed simply because he becomes upset, but rather because he inappropriately becomes upset (oủX $\dot{\omega} \varsigma \delta \varepsilon \tilde{i} ;$ vs. $\pi \tilde{\omega} \varsigma E N 1106 a 1$ ), just as the person who feels anger is also not [blamed] because he experiences anger (for anger is a natural emotion of the soul), but because he feels anger beyond what is appropriate.

Pachymeres In EN 2, 6, 64.18-20
c) The same pattern features in Pachymeres' explication of $E N$ 1100b7-1101a6, with the connection between fortune and happiness located at the heart of the section. Aristotle's main points here are two: i) that happiness depends on actions undertaken in accord with virtue, not on fortune's favours; ii) that even in misfortunes, nobility can prevail when someone bears them with a good spirit. In his corresponding treatment, Pachymeres echoes Aristotle while introducing two important changes. First, he is explicit that "everything fortune brings us is not in our power, but

 ushering in the notion of " $\dot{\varepsilon} \varphi$ ' $\dot{\eta} \mu \tilde{v}>$ ", which does not appear in Aristotle in this context; he also states that what is not up to us does not account for our happiness (Pachymeres In EN 1, 15, 34.14-16: "Because it is for this reason that a happy person is deemed blessed, because that which is not in our power makes us neither blessed nor wretched, but they only contribute to our happiness as instruments of a sort",

 tle, he stresses that we are not to be blamed for things that are not in our power, but only for things that are, suggesting that "what is in our power is to preserve and patiently endure our difficulties, especially when there is a means to escape from

 тои́ $\omega \omega$ 人 $\dot{\pi} \alpha \lambda \lambda \alpha \dot{\alpha} \tau \tau \varepsilon \sigma \theta \alpha ı$, Pachymeres In EN 1, 16, 36.12-14). Pachymeres’ tendency to interpolate Aristotle's understandings of virtuous action with "what is up to us" is evident throughout. ${ }^{84}$

84 E.g. Pachymeres' explication "To be treated unjustly is a lesser injustice than to act unjustly, and to act unjustly is a greater injustice than suffering injustice; because acting unjustly is in our own power, and the wickedness involved is evidently our own, whereas suffering injustice is one of the


 emphasis on the $\dot{\varepsilon} \varphi \varphi^{\prime} \dot{\eta} \mu \mathrm{v} v$ absent from the corresponding $E N$ section, 1134a12-13.

To sum up, human beings are at the very core of the moral world Pachymeres constructs in his Commentary, armed with moral agency due to their rational strength and attracting moral approbation or disapprobation as a result of their choices. It is true, however, that the engagement with the Aristotelian passages considered above does not represent a radical or deconstructive modification of the $E N$, but rather brief remarks and apt interpolations that communicate an idiosyncratic approach to certain aspects of Aristotelian ethics. A study tool of this sort is not the ideal place for innovation or ground-breaking philosophical contributions, although Pachymeres' analytical discourse - even though it is restricted in length and scope - does show something of his identity as a luminary thinker in late Byzantium.

## 3 The manuscript tradition

### 3.1 The sources for the text

The Commentary on Aristotle's $E N$ is preserved in: ${ }^{85}$
(a) the margins of Marcianus gr. Z. 212 (= 606), ff. 1r-44v (15th c.), surrounding the version of the $E N$ located in the centre of the page.
(b) Scorialensis T. I. 18 (gr. 138), ff. 1r-74v (16th c.), and
(c) Vaticanus gr. 1429, ff. 1r-76v (16th c.), where the Commentary occupies the whole of the page.

Their different page layouts (mise-en-page) notwithstanding, all three witnesses are
 $\eta{ }_{\eta} \kappa \curlywedge \beta \omega \mu \varepsilon ́ v \eta$ тои̃ $\Pi \alpha \chi \nu \mu \varepsilon ́ \rho \eta "{ }^{86}$ and in interrupting their explication just after the beginning of the Commentary on Book 6 (expl. "d̉ $\zeta \xi \alpha ́ \mu \varepsilon v o ı ~ \delta ’ ~ \alpha u ̃ ̈ ı s ~ \pi \varepsilon \rho i ̀ ~ \tau o v ́ \tau \omega v ~$ $\lambda \varepsilon ́ y \omega \mu \varepsilon v$ "). ${ }^{87}$ In addition, they all preserve the same diagrams that lend visual form to philosophical categories and/or notions, as well as a number of supplementary annotations of varying length that accompany the Commentary on Books 2 and 3 and occasionally 4 and 5 (see Appendix of Supplementary Notes). These annotations take the form of quotations (in most instances verbatim or slightly altered) deriving from the anonymous scholia to the $E N$ or from other main branches of the Aristotelian commentary tradition, especially Aspasius (see Section 4.2).

No other witnesses for Pachymeres' Commentary are known, although their existence cannot be ruled out, given the shortage of up-to-date library catalogues. N . Zorzi, for example, has recently proposed that the humanist scholar Ermolao Barbaro (1454-1493) may have owned an as yet unidentified copy of Pachymeres' text. ${ }^{88}$ The issue is complicated further by the fact that Pachymeres' Commentary on the EN is often erroneously listed in catalogues along with Book XI of his Philosophia, with

[^25]the result that witnesses to the latter work are usually reported as preserving the former. ${ }^{89}$

### 3.2 Description of the manuscripts

Venetus Marcianus gr. Z. 212 (coll. 606) (= M)
M (also known as $G^{\text {a }}$ in Aristotelian editions) first received close scholarly attention from D. Harlfinger and E. Mioni, ${ }^{90}$ and has been studied more recently by M. Rashed, F. Berger, P. Golitsis, N. Zorzi, and V. Lorusso. ${ }^{91}$ The manuscript was written in the first half of the fifteenth century ${ }^{92}$ on paper. It is 292 mm . by 218 mm . in size and has 25-39 lines to the page; ${ }^{93}$ ff. II + VIII, 499, VIII + II. An ownership mark in Latin and Greek reporting possession of the codex by Cardinal Bessarion, and an index of the contents written in his hand, is in evidence on the preliminary f .8 v . The codex contains a large collection of works by Aristotle and other texts included in the Aristotelian corpus in the following order: Nicomachean Ethics, framed across roughly its first half by George Pachymeres’ Commentary on the Nicomachean Ethics

[^26]copied by Bessarion ${ }^{94}$; On the Heavens; On Generation and Corruption; Meteorology; History of Animals; On the Parts of Animals; Progression of Animals; On the Soul; On Sense and the Sensible; On Memory and Reminiscence; On Sleep and Sleeplessness; On Dreams; On Divination in Sleep; Movement of Animals; Generation of Animals; On Longevity and Shortness of Life; On Youth, Old Age, Life and Death; On Respiration; On Colours; On Indivisible Lines. Detailed palaeographical and codicological investigation confirms that four copyists operated throughout, i.e. the anonymous copyists A (also known as "Anonymous $\chi \lambda$ "), B, and C, and Bessarion. The minor annotations in the margins of the History of Animals have been assigned to George of Trebizond. ${ }^{95}$

M is one of the earliest books in Bessarion's library ${ }^{96}$ and offers interesting information about his early education, including his acquaintance with Aristotelianism while he was still in Constantinople pursuing his studies under John Chortasmenos and George Chrysokokkes. Throughout the manuscript, Bessarion inserted corrections, notabilia, explanatory comments, and other scholia, attesting to the breadth and depth of his intellectual interests as well as his philological diligence. ${ }^{97}$ M is also a fascinating specimen of Bessarion's working methods and his sustained collaboration with the scribes who worked for him (e.g. the Anonymous $\chi \lambda$ ) in an effort to produce a systematically set-out collection of Aristotle's writings, initially, it seems, for his personal use but then at a later stage for the benefit of his scholarly network in Italy. ${ }^{98}$

[^27]Scorialensis T. I. 18 (gr. 138) (= E)
A paper manuscript of 78 leaves (1-75, 14bis, 15bis, 65bis) plus 5 preliminary, unfoliated leaves and 3 final, unfoliated leaves; it is 328 mm . by 220 mm . in size and has ca. 29 lines to the page. E contains only Pachymeres' Commentary on the EN, in full page (1r-74v). ${ }^{99}$ The titles, lemmata, and initial letters of individual entries are given in red ink. The manuscript's watermark is dated to about $1542 .{ }^{100} \mathrm{E}$ was written by an unknown copyist, who seems to have worked for the owner of the codex, don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1504-1575) (see the mark of ownership in the lower margin of f. 1r), a Spanish ambassador to Venice from 1539 to 1546 and an avid collector of Aristotle codices, who often used the manuscript repository of the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. ${ }^{101}$ Concrete evidence suggests that Mendoza borrowed a codex of the $E N$, in all likelihood M, on 26 October 1545 and returned it on the last day of February $1546 ;{ }^{102}$ this likely points to the period in which $E$ was copied. E reproduces all diagrams found in the margins of $M$ (almost always placing them at the centre of the folio) and in most cases it follows the same format (red letters and phrases where M has them). ${ }^{103}$ It also faithfully reproduces folio headers (e.g. E 28v = M 14r) and most exegetical annotations, all good indications of the relationship between the two codices (see below, Section 4.3.3).

V = Vaticanus gr. 1429 (= V)
A paper manuscript of 192 foliated leaves; it is 346 mm . by 240 mm . in size, with 29-30 lines to the page. V is a sixteenth-century codex, which belonged to the Italian cardinal and scholar Guglielmo Sirleto (1514-1585) and is classified as number 4 in his collection of philosophical manuscripts. ${ }^{104}$ Pachymeres’ Commentary covers

[^28]$\mathrm{ff} .1 \mathrm{r}-27 \mathrm{v}$ and then $\mathrm{ff} .36 \mathrm{r}-76 \mathrm{v}$, with an interpolated quire in between written by another hand ("scribe of Brussels") on ff. 28r-35v and preserving a section of the second letter of Nikolaos Artabasdos (Rabdas) (PLP I, no. 1437) on arithmetic. Pachymeres' Commentary was copied by anonymous A, who collaborated with John Mauromates during the years 1541-1547. If E was copied by February 1546, in line with the suggestion above, and given that V is a direct copy of E , as shown below, the terminus post quem for V must be February 1546. The titles, lemmata, and initial letters of individual entries in the Commentary are in red ink. Other scribes working on V were John Mauromates, who copied the Mechanica by Heron of Byzantium (ff. 137r-169r; with illuminations of various siege machines in ff. 171r-192r), and Camillo Zanetti, who copied Choricius of Gaza's Patrocli ad Achillem declamatio (Decl. 10) (ff. 77r-113v) and John Pediasimos' Geometria (ff. 115r-135v). ${ }^{105}$

### 3.3 The relationship between the manuscripts

Examination of the manuscripts, including a complete collation, shows that E contains idiosyncratic errors and omissions not found in $M$, all of which $V$ reproduces alongside its own unique errors and other characteristics. This confirms that V is an apograph of E , and E an apograph of M . This stemmatic relationship agrees with Zorzi's recent findings, reached independently on the basis of partial evidence gathered from a collation of entry 18 of Book 4 in the three manuscripts. ${ }^{106} \mathrm{~A}$ comprehensive list of shared and individual errors and omissions, along with other evidence for the relationship between the codices, is offered below. E and V have been eliminated on this basis, and the present edition accordingly relies exclusively on M , a high-quality witness with few copying errors or other faults, most likely reflecting Bessarion's philological rigour as a scribe, and perhaps suggesting that the codex he relied upon was not far removed from the author's original. I have consulted E by way of exception (raro memoratur) only in order to restore a few readings in places where M is lacunose or damaged.
I. Common errors of $E$ and $V$ not found in $M$

## Book 1

$2.1 \pi \rho \omega \tau \varepsilon \kappa \delta$ і́коч М : лротєкбі́коч Е V
4.25 خоıл ${ }^{\prime} \mathrm{M}$ : $\lambda ı \pi \alpha i ́ ~ E ~ V ~$

[^29]106 Zorzi, "Per la tradizione manoscritta" (n. 10), 270 and 300-304.
10.21 غ́ $\varphi u ́ \beta \rho \iota \sigma \alpha \mathrm{M}$ : v̇ $\varphi$ úß $\rho \iota \sigma \alpha \mathrm{E} \mathrm{V}$






32.12 кроі̃боข M : крєі̃боv E V
36.4 к кк $\tilde{\varsigma}$ M : к $\alpha \lambda \tilde{\omega} \varsigma$ E V

40.29 бкол $\tilde{v} \nu$ ӧт $\omega \varsigma$ M : бкол $\tilde{\nu} \nu$ ӧтєр E V
$44.3 \pi \alpha \rho о \mu о \iota \alpha ́ \zeta \varepsilon \iota v \mathrm{M}: \pi \alpha \rho \alpha \mu ı \alpha ́ \zeta \varepsilon เ v \mathrm{E} \mathrm{V}$
Book 2

58.10 ஸ́рíбаขто M: є́píซаขто E V


Book 3

96.17 入 $\varepsilon \lambda о у \chi \varepsilon \cup \mu \varepsilon ́ v o v ~ M ~: ~ \lambda \varepsilon \lambda о \chi \varepsilon v \mu \varepsilon ́ v o v ~ E ~ V ~$

$100.5 \pi \rho о \alpha \iota \rho о и ́ \mu \varepsilon Ө \alpha \mathrm{M}$ : лрогрои́ $\mu \varepsilon \theta \alpha \mathrm{E} \mathrm{V}$


110.26 غ̇autòv عí̧ M : غ̇autóveı E V
$122.22 \pi \varepsilon \rho \grave{\mu} \mu \varepsilon ̀ v \tau \alpha \dot{\alpha} \alpha \lambda \lambda \alpha \mathrm{M}$ : $\pi \varepsilon \rho \grave{\mu} \mu \varepsilon ̀ v \tau \alpha ̀ \alpha \not \partial \lambda \omega \mathrm{EV}$

132.1-2 甲ибıкаì кגì коıvaí M : коıvás E V
132.6 лाєโ̃v M : лоєєі̃v E V


Book 4
$142.6 \pi \alpha \rho \alpha \lambda \alpha \beta o ́ v \tau \varepsilon \varsigma \mathrm{M}: \pi \alpha \rho \alpha \beta$ óvtȩ E V
146.20 oi $\mu \varepsilon ̀ v \mathrm{M}: \grave{\eta} \mu \varepsilon ̀ v \mathrm{E}$ V

150.14 ov̉ каӨò $\pi \rho о \sigma \kappa \tau \eta \eta^{\sigma} \sigma \tau \alpha i ́ ~ \tau ı ~ M ~: ~ o v ̉ ~ \kappa \alpha Ө o ̀ ~ \pi \rho о \sigma \kappa \tau \eta ́ \sigma \varepsilon \tau \alpha i ́ ~ \tau ı, ~ \alpha ̉ \lambda \lambda \alpha ̀ ~ \kappa \alpha Ө o ̀ ~ \pi \rho o \sigma \kappa \tau \eta ́-~$ бєт $\boldsymbol{i}$ тı E V
$150.23 \pi \rho \varepsilon ́ \pi \varepsilon เ \nu \mathrm{M}$ : $\pi \rho \varepsilon ́ \pi \varepsilon เ ~ E ~ V ~$
150.30 عíớ $\pi \alpha \xi \mathrm{M}: ~ \varepsilon ̇ \sigma \alpha ́ \pi \alpha \xi$ E V

$162.23 \pi \lambda \varepsilon ́ o v$ M : кגì $\pi \lambda \varepsilon ́ o v$ E V

## Book 5

180.13 кגì voбะĩv M : • бعĩv E V




218.26 ठ $\delta \delta \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \omega \tilde{\sigma} \theta \alpha \iota M: \delta \varepsilon \kappa \alpha เ \tilde{\omega} \sigma \theta \alpha \iota E V$

II. Common omissions of E and V not found in M

Book 1



42.10 عiठ $\delta$ v́vı $\pi \omega \varsigma$ M : $\pi \omega \varsigma$ om. E V

Book 2






80.21 غ் $\alpha \cup \tau n ̃ ~ \tau \alpha \nu \tau \eta ̀ ~ \kappa \alpha i ̀ ~ o ́ \mu o i ́ \alpha ~ M ~: ~ \tau \alpha u \tau \eta ̀ ~ o m . ~ E ~ V ~$
 om. E V

Book 3




112.8 ท̂ $̇$ ék vóбov M : غ̇к om. E V

 om. E V

Book 4
$144.24 \beta \varepsilon \lambda \tau i ́ \omega v \tau$ тои̃ ảv $\varepsilon \lambda \varepsilon u \theta \varepsilon ́ \rho o v \mathrm{M}$ : тoṽ om. E V
148.13 ठокєĩ yà $\rho$ каì $\alpha u ̉ t \eta ̀ ~ M ~: ~ y \alpha ̀ \rho ~ o m . ~ E ~ V ~$
$156.13 \pi \varepsilon \rho i ̀ ~ \tau o v ̃ \tau o v ~ \dot{~} \dot{\alpha} \tau \mu \dot{i}^{\alpha} \alpha \mathrm{M}$ : $\mathfrak{\eta}$ om. E V



172.6-7 тои̃ $\psi \varepsilon u ́ \delta o u \varsigma ~ к \varepsilon ́ \rho \delta o \varsigma, ~ \varepsilon u ̉ \lambda \alpha \beta \eta Ө \eta ́ \sigma \varepsilon \tau \alpha ı ~ M ~: ~ к \varepsilon ́ \rho \delta o \varsigma ~ o m . ~ E ~ V ~$

Book 5
198.15-16 то入入ахои̃, $\varphi \eta \sigma$ '́, $\delta \iota \alpha \varphi \omega \nu \varepsilon і ̃ ~ M ~: ~ \pi о \lambda \lambda \alpha \chi о и ̃ \sigma ı ~ \delta ı \alpha \varphi \omega \nu \varepsilon ı ̃ ~ o m . ~ E ~ V ~$


Book 6



III. Readings (errors and omissions) peculiar to V and not found in M E

Book 1








6.20-21 $\mu \eta \eta^{2} \omega \varsigma \mu \alpha \tau \alpha i ́ \omega \varsigma \pi 0 v o i ́ \eta ~ M ~ E ~: ~ \mu \eta ́ \pi \omega \varsigma ~ \mu \alpha \tau \alpha i ́ \omega \varsigma ~ \pi o v o i ́ \eta ~ V ~$

6.29 кعvòv ME: кavòv V



Book 2


64.16 otouסגĩoı M E : סouסaĩot V


132.14 र $\alpha$ ípouoı M E: $\chi$ ह́pouoı V

Book 3



$136.15 \pi \alpha เ \delta \alpha y \omega \gamma \tilde{\varphi}$ M E : $\delta \alpha y \omega y \tilde{\omega}$ V
136.20-21 őтı каì ג̉ $\mu \varphi$ оі̃v M E : к $\alpha i ̀ ~ o m . ~ V ~$
$162.19 \pi о \lambda \lambda \tilde{\omega} \nu \mathrm{M} \mathrm{E} \mathrm{:} \mathrm{\pi о} \mathrm{\lambda} \mathrm{\tilde{} \mathrm{\omega} \nu \mathrm{~V}}$
166.20 побóv M E : лобผ́v V

Book 4
$156.23 \alpha \dot{\alpha} \gamma \alpha \pi \omega \mu \dot{\varepsilon} v \omega \nu \mathrm{M} \mathrm{E} \mathrm{:} \alpha \quad \gamma \alpha \pi о \mu \varepsilon ́ v \omega \nu \mathrm{~V}$
156.28 عป̉yยvદĩ̧ M E : ảyعvદĩৎ V

入́́yovtaı V

## Book 5


 тoútoıs V


## IV. Other evidence that $V$ is copied from E



ii. V copies post correctionem forms in E: e.g. a) ö $\lambda \omega \varsigma ~ \gamma \grave{\alpha} \rho$ ov̉ $\theta$ ' $\dot{\pi} \varepsilon \rho \beta \circ \lambda \tilde{\eta} \varsigma$ post correctionem E: ő $\lambda \omega \varsigma$ y $\alpha \rho$ ov̉ $\left.\theta^{\prime} \dot{v} \pi \varepsilon \rho \beta о \lambda \tilde{\eta} \varsigma V ; b\right) \alpha \cup ̉ \tau \tilde{\omega}$ ү $\varepsilon \mu o ́ v \omega$ post correctionem $E$ :
 V copying the correct form кגi cis тò $\sigma \omega ́ \zeta \varepsilon ı v$ directly.

## iii. Deletions

In V f. 39v-40r, almost two folia were crossed out by the scribe when he realised
 118.3-4), he had jumped back to the beginning of the previous entry ( $\varepsilon$ v $\mu \varepsilon \sigma o ́ \tau \eta \tau \iota$
 shown by the fact that $\dot{\varepsilon} v$ кú $\mu \alpha \sigma \iota .$. is the final phrase in f .36 r in E and $\dot{\varepsilon} v \mu \varepsilon \sigma o ́ \tau \eta \tau \iota$ $\delta$ ย́o какı$\tilde{\omega} \nu$ the beginning of another folio (not the correct one in sequence), explaining the confusion. The same pattern of V accidentally disturbing the text sequence when moving from one folio in $E$ to another is seen in $V$ f. 63r. Here the scribe deletes a section he mistakenly copied in the move from f. 62r to a new folio

 $\dot{o} \mu$ oí $\omega \varsigma$ عis $\gamma \zeta^{\circ}$, In $E N 5,7,196.7-8$ ). A deletion restores the correct sequence of the
text. Similarly, in V f. 69r there is a deletion of nearly a line, which the scribe erroneously copied in the move from E f. 67r to a new page ( $\delta \iota \alpha \sigma \alpha \varphi \eta \theta n ̃$ ò $\lambda o ́ y o \varsigma, ~ \dot{\varepsilon} v ~ \mu \varepsilon ̀ v$ тоі̃ৎ $\sigma u v \alpha \lambda \lambda \alpha ́ \gamma \mu \alpha \sigma \iota$, In EN 5, 14, 216.18-19).

In sum, it is clear from the above that $V$ is a direct descendant of $E$, which is in turn a descendant of M .

### 3.4 Pachymeres' copy of the Nicomachean Ethics

Evidence brought to light in the past few years puts us in a position to draw more secure conclusions than was possible earlier with regard to Pachymeres' exemplar for the $E N$. First, research has confirmed that the Aristotelian manuscript preserving the $E N M^{\text {b }}$ (= Marcianus gr. Z. 213, dated to ca. 1466-1468), previously employed for collation purposes in editions of Pachymeres, actually depends on M. ${ }^{107}$ Second, it has become clear that M and $\mathrm{M}^{\mathrm{b}}$ derive from a common ancestor, Vat. gr. 506 (ca. 1300). ${ }^{108}$ In addition, we know that the version of the $E N$ in Vat. gr. 506 served as an exemplar for the paraphrase of the $E N$ in the Philosophia, ${ }^{109}$ substantiating and updating Oikonomakos' thesis, according to which the Aristotelian working copy Pachymeres consulted for his paraphrase of the EN in Book XI of his Philosophia was directly related to $\mathrm{M}^{\mathrm{b}} .^{110}$ The stemmatic significance of Vat. gr. 506 has also been supported by historical data, which show that this codex was the copy of the text circulating in and used extensively by Pachymeres' immediate circle. ${ }^{111}$ The above

[^30]evidence has necessitated a collation of the version of the $E N$ in Pachymeres' Commentary with that in Vat. gr. 506 (= W), in order to check whether the conclusions reached in the case of Book XI of the Philosophia extend to the Commentary as well.

Some indicative examples of common and variant readings between M and W in relation to the "standard version" of the Aristotelian original (as reconstructed in Bywater's edition) are listed below. Aristotle's reading, as per Bywater's text, is given first.
i. M in agreement with W

28.15, 1099a22 $\alpha \not \gamma \alpha \theta \alpha i ́ ~ y \varepsilon ~ к \alpha i ̀ ~ к \alpha \lambda \alpha i ́ ~: ~ \alpha ̉ y \alpha \theta \alpha i ̀ ~ к \alpha i ̀ ~ к \alpha \lambda \alpha i ́ ~ M ~ W ~$

82.6, 1108а31 т $\quad$ Өท́ $\mu \alpha \sigma ı: \pi \alpha ́ \theta \varepsilon \sigma ı ~ M ~ W ~$


106.17, 1113a6 ávayóyn : ảvóyn M W
112.14, 1114b1 тоเои̃то : тооои̃тоv M W
114.15, 1114b21 גu̇tòv : aútò M W
114.22, 1114b28 к $\alpha \theta^{\prime} \alpha \cup \dot{\tau} \alpha \alpha^{\prime}$ : к $\alpha \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \tau \alpha v ́ \tau \alpha \varsigma ~ M ~ W ~$
116.17, 1115a18 גútòv: גủtผ̃v M W

134.30, 1119a27 غ́Өเ $\sigma \mu$ oí : $\dot{\omega} \theta ı \sigma \mu$ ó M W
154.25, 1123b25 $\mu \varepsilon y \alpha \lambda о \psi v ́ \chi o v: ~ \mu \varepsilon y \alpha ́ \lambda o v ~ M ~ W ~$



170.33, 1127b2 है $\xi เ v: \tau \alpha ́ \xi ı v M W$
172.24, 1127b27 $\beta \alpha v к о \pi \alpha v о и ̃ \rho y o ı ~: ~ \beta \alpha v \alpha v \sigma о \pi \alpha v o v ́ \rho у о и я ~ M ~ W ~$

186.7, 1130b11 $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha ́ v o \mu o v ~ B y w . ~\left(e x ~ \pi \alpha \rho \alpha ́ v o \mu o v ~ \pi \lambda \varepsilon ́ o v ~ K^{b} \Gamma\right){ }^{112}$ : $\pi \lambda \varepsilon ́ o v ~ M ~ W ~$
198.26, 1133а3 غ́ $\mu \pi о \delta \grave{\omega} v$ recte : غ́клобふ̀v M W
208.23, 1134a35 خóyov: vó $\mu$ о̧ M W


ii. Unique readings of $M$ in disagreement with $W$



[^31]30．6，1099b7 $\tau \alpha$ ủtò W ：тגutòv M
 42．29，1102a33－34 סúvaرıv W ：ह̌ $\zeta \imath \mathrm{M}$ 94．22，1110b32 גití́ W ：ク̉тоו M 100．24，1111b33 廿عטঠعĩ W ：廿عúठعı M 106．16，1113a6 غ̇גutòv M ：גủtòv W
 140．4，1120a16 $\mu$ ŋ̀ $\lambda \alpha \mu \beta \alpha ́ v o v \tau ı ~ W: ~ \mu \eta ̀ ~ o m . ~ M ~$

The affinities noted above might at first glance suggest that Pachymeres＇Commen－ tary takes Vat．gr． 506 into account．On the other hand，the various unique readings in M not also found in W perhaps point to the possibility that Pachymeres consulted another witness to the $E N$ ，and the possibility that Pachymeres himself is responsi－ ble for at least some of the deviations evident in $M$ in order to meet the needs of his exegesis cannot be excluded．The loss of Pachymeres＇autograph leaves these possi－ bilities open．

## 4 Paratextual elements

### 4.1 Diagrams

Preserved along with Pachymeres' Commentary are a number of diagrams, ${ }^{113}$ which provide conceptual representations of Aristotelian psychology and moral philosophy (e.g. the bipartition of the soul, virtue as a mean between excess and deficiency) or give visual form to arithmetical and geometrical proportions pertaining to ethics. In $M$, these diagrams are drawn freehand in the margins by Bessarion and take various shapes, mainly branch (or tree) diagrams in the form of divisions (diairesis), crescent-shaped diagrams, triangle diagrams with abbreviated quantifiers of the sort typically used for the three syllogistic figures, and tables. On other occasions, they incorporate a variety of geometrical shapes, for example parallelograms, horizontal lines, and semi-circles. To render the visual display more comprehensible and thereby memorable, the diagrams are often prefaced by headlines and/or complemented by succinct descriptive labels (see Images 2 and 3), which are at times largely original (see below).

From late antiquity onwards in particular, diagrams were a fundamental feature of pedagogical settings, playing a key role as heuristic tools to facilitate the study and understanding of philosophy and science. ${ }^{114}$ Pachymeres tapped into this prac-

[^32]tice in his didactic agenda, producing diagrams in his autographs to lend an iconic element to his main educational texts, the Philosophia (e.g. Berolinensis Hamilton 512, gr. 408) and Quadrivium (Angelicus gr. 38). The same is true of Pachymeres' Commentary on the Physics, which he also accompanied with a vast array of diagrams, as can be seen from his autograph Laurentianus 87.5.

Despite his practice elsewhere, in the case of M it is difficult to be certain whether the diagrams were drafted by Pachymeres himself as appendages to his Commentary. It is similarly unclear if the diagrams were conceptualised by Pachymeres or go back to an earlier period of scholastic dissemination of the $E N$, handed down in older codices, from which the Byzantine scholar got them. There seems to be evidence in favour of both scenarios. ${ }^{115}$

Having said that, it should be noted that there are remarkable vocabulary affinities between the diagrams and Pachymeres’ Commentary. For example, $\check{\omega} \sigma \pi \varepsilon \rho \tau o \tilde{v}$
 vov $\theta \varepsilon \tau \eta \dot{\sigma} \sigma \omega \varsigma$ in diagr. ii corresponds much better to $\ddot{\sigma} \sigma \pi \varepsilon \rho$ каі̀ $\tau о \tilde{v} \pi \alpha \tau \rho o ́ \varsigma ~ \varphi \alpha \mu \varepsilon v$
 vov $\theta \varepsilon \tau \eta \dot{\sigma} \sigma \omega \varsigma$ (In EN 1, 20, 48.10-12) of the Commentary than to the relevant section of the $E N$ (1102b32-1103a3). Furthermore, the diagrams are sometimes directly linked to the content of the Commentary: e.g. diagr. i presents two columns corresponding specifically to Pachymeres' explication סv́o y ̀̀ $\rho$ ह̇noíouv $\sigma v \sigma \tau o เ x i ́ \alpha \varsigma, ~ \mu i ́ \alpha v ~$ $\alpha \dot{\alpha} \gamma \alpha \theta \tilde{\omega} \nu$ к $\alpha \grave{l} \alpha \not \lambda \lambda \eta \nu$ к $\alpha \kappa \tilde{\omega} \nu$ (In $E N 1,6,14.15-16$ ). An intriguing instance is diagr. vii, which is an integral supplement to the Commentary, as it comes naturally just after the point where the exegesis of the $E N$ has ended (i.e. 1111b11, $\sigma \cup \lambda \lambda о ү і$ '̧عтаı $\delta \dot{\varepsilon}$ őтı oú
 diagrammatic form the next few lines in the $E N$, i.e. 1111b12-16, which are not verbally explicated in the Commentary, and then moves over to the next exegetical entry, which starts from $E N$ 1111b16-17, thus filling the textual gap via visual supplementation of the argumentation. This shows that the diagram was drawn with Pachymeres' narrative in mind, rather than the Nicomachean Ethics. Finally, diagr. xv (In $E N 5,10$ ) contains the exegetical marker $\varphi \eta \sigma$ ' "he says" ( $\tau o ̀ ~ o u ̃ v ~ \alpha, ~ \varphi \eta \sigma i ́, ~ t o ̀ ~$
 pointing to the fact that the exegete is at work here, commenting on Aristotle's words and ideas, as he does throughout the Commentary. In addition to the above,

[^33]there are some stronger notional resemblances between the diagrams and the Commentary as opposed to Aristotle's $E N$ (e.g. diagr. x), while it is also noteworthy that diagr. ix, diagr. xi, and diagr. xiii have no textual counterpart within the EN. The above considerations show that the diagrams are attached to Pachymeres’ exegesis rather than its ancient model. This accounts for the decision here to edit all schematic figures and their explanatory headings and/or accompanying notes at the relevant points in the main text. Diagrams are also translated into English and, where applicable, they are accompanied by information on their relationship to other textual witnesses in an apparatus fontium. Important variant readings are sometimes recorded in a brief apparatus criticus. In a few instances, further remarks are provided to help readers make better sense of them.

Diagrammatic material has its own editorial value, helping the reader get an overview of the full range of information preserved in the earliest surviving witness. The supplementary notes are another such salient paratextual component.

### 4.2 Supplementary notes

Pachymeres' Commentary on Books 2-5 of the EN occasionally alternates with scholiastic notes in the margins. ${ }^{116}$ These are not introduced by Greek numerals, as is the case with the Commentary's exegetical entries, but are marked with a variety of other symbols designed to link each note to a specific portion of the Aristotelian original (see Image 4).

In the vast majority of instances, the notes take the form of extensive verbatim quotations from Aspasius or the anonymous collection of scholia to the EN. Their function is to supplement Pachymeres' text with sources not mentioned or expounded at specific points in the Commentary, ultimately offering an allencompassing, diachronic exegetical background to the EN. ${ }^{117}$ Apart from a) substantial exegetical quotations, other types of notes include: b) brief scholia explaining keywords often present in both the $E N$ and the Commentary, c) notabilia drawing attention to noteworthy passages or ideas in the main text, sometimes also linked to the Commentary entries, d) editorial interventions in the main text, particularly additions of dropped lines, ${ }^{118} \mathrm{e}$ ) notabilia clearly appended to the Aristotelian

116 Referred to as "schol." in the apparatus criticus and elsewhere.
117 For the variety of marginal notes in general, see e.g. C. Brockmann, "Scribal Annotations as Evidence of Learning in Manuscripts from the first Byzantine Humanism: The 'Philosophical Collection'", in J. B. Quenzer, D. Bondarev, and J. U. Sobisch (eds), Manuscript Cultures: Mapping the Field, Studies in Manuscript Cultures 1 (Berlin 2014), 11-33.
118 Groups a, b, and to some extent c feature in the Appendix of Supplementary Notes; group d does not, since it relates to the textual constitution of the $E N$, not its scholiastic interpretation. An

text, as they extend well beyond the folios including the exegesis on the $E N$ to provide concise, mnemonic-style titles for all the Aristotelian works included in M.

That the supplementary annotations are distinguished from the Commentary by different navigational signs, along with the fact that there is frequently a considerable degree of overlap between Commentary and notes (on the level of both content and phraseology) in the analysis of certain segments of the EN, ${ }^{119}$ suggests that the
 $\tau \alpha \tilde{v} \tau \alpha \delta \dot{\varepsilon}$ ( $E N$ 1110b4-7) (f. 16v, outer, left-hand margin) is added as a supplement, since it was initially left out of the version of the $E N$ located in the centre of the page. The addition is introduced by the word кс'́ $\mu \varepsilon v o v$ in red ink.

Where brief notabilia to the $E N$ itself occur (group e), unless they are attached to the scholiastic entries, they are also left out of the Appendix of Supplementary Notes, since they have no exegetical effect. E.g. in f. 39r (right-hand margin), there is a notabilium to the phrase каì $\dot{\eta} \mu \varepsilon)^{v} \delta \iota \kappa \alpha \iota o \sigma u ́ v \eta$ ह́бтì ( $E N$ 1134a1) introduced with $\Sigma \eta \mu \varepsilon i ́ \omega \sigma \alpha$ o ő $\rho o v$ in red ink. A similar example occurs in the right-
 үع $\omega \mu \varepsilon \tau \rho \iota \kappa \mathfrak{v} \cdot$ •). See also right-hand margin in f. 37 r and lower left-hand margin in f. 37v. Group e also includes brief headings, sometimes quoted verbatim from the Aristotelian text, which function as mnemonics concerning the subject of the main text:








f. 44v: $\mathfrak{\eta} \tau \varepsilon ́ \chi \vee \eta ~ \tau о и ̃ ~ \varepsilon ่ v \delta \varepsilon \chi о \mu \varepsilon ́ v o u ~ \pi о ı \eta \tau เ к \eta ́ \cdot ~$

There are also a few interlinear notes to the $E N$ in M and some brief marginalia in the outer margins also related to the reference text. These constitute another body of annotation, which is different from the extensive exegetical notes attached to Pachymeres' Commentary and, of course, from the Commentary itself; hence they are also not edited in the present edition. For example, above the line


 1198b4) is exemplified by means of the interlinear note $\ddot{\omega} \sigma \pi \varepsilon \rho \varepsilon ̇ \pi \grave{\iota} \tau \tilde{\omega} v \alpha \dot{\alpha} \rho \varepsilon \tau \tilde{\omega} v$. As regards margina-
 3 of the $E N$ (as per the aide-memoires listed above for group e). For interlinear and marginal scholia, see the general study by F. Montana, "The Making of Greek Scholiastic Corpora", in F. Montanari and L. Pagani (eds), From Scholars to Scholia: Chapters in the History of Ancient Greek Scholarship (Berlin 2011) 105-161.






annotations were not originally part of the Commentary. This conclusion is reinforced by the exegetical notes' tendency to offer lengthy quotations without much authorial intervention, which is inconsistent with Pachymeres' technique in the Commentary, where rarely - if ever - does he reproduce his source material faithfully and at length. Finally, neither the anonymous scholia nor Aspasius is a significant source for the Commentary itself, which might explain why they have been added independently.

In view of the above, it seems likely that the notes belong to a later stage of exegetical and editorial revision, which may or may not go back to Pachymeres himself and/or his direct collaborators. ${ }^{120}$ In the absence of any concrete evidence for the authorship of the notes, another possibility is that their addition as a supplement to Pachymeres' Commentary reflects an attempt on Bessarion's part to compile the fullest exegetical entity possible, probably for personal reading. This aligns with the fact that scholars have observed that this is one of the rare cases in which Bessarion copied a long text in a period when he was pursuing his studies in Constantinople under John Chortasmenos. ${ }^{121}$

[^34]Given that we cannot be sure whether the notes go back to Pachymeres, and taking into account that they generally do not seem to have been an indispensable part of the Commentary for the reasons explained above, they are presented here in an appendix (Appendix of Supplementary Notes), offering readers the opportunity to consult them at their own discretion.

## 5 Editorial principles

Recent scholarly work on the editing of Byzantine texts has tended to advocate faithful conformity to manuscript accentuation and punctuation especially in the case of autograph or partly autograph codices. ${ }^{122}$ Although the idiosyncratic character of Byzantine textual situations should be respected, ${ }^{123}$ this should occur, in my judgment, on levels that do not detract from modern comprehension of the text, e.g. on the level of vocabulary. Consequently, this edition aims to present a version of the text that will serve the needs primarily of a modern readership through normalisation of accents and punctuation, while retaining late Byzantine linguistic and syntactic peculiarities that are not overly distracting.

In establishing the text on the basis of M , the following editorial principles have been adopted:

## Book titles and individual entries

As already noted, Pachymeres' Commentary is lemmatic, broken down into shorter units which are numbered consecutively by means of alphabetic numerals; each numeral is followed by a brief heading quoted from the Aristotelian exemplar, which marks the starting point of an individual unit of explication. This structural system is in evidence only in the second entry of Book 1 , where it is most likely intended to serve as a prototype, and is repeated nowhere else. To facilitate comprehension of the arrangement of the commentary, in the edition I have always supplied the individual headings (lemmata) (in their briefest possible form) following Bywater's edition (1894, reprint 1962) and providing references consistent with the standard Bekker pagination (based on the 1831 edition). In supplying the Aristotelian lemmata I have decided not to base myself on the version of the $E N$ found in the centre of the pages in M; when checked against Pachymeres' verbatim quotations from the $E N$, this version of the text does not seem to correspond to the one used by

[^35]Pachymeres to write his Commentary. In a few cases numerals signalling entries are omitted, while the titles for the individual Books of the $E N$ are always absent from the commentary, most likely because they are already indicated in the main text preserved in the manuscript and often in the upper margins as a reminder. I have therefore provided any missing letters or titles in order to present Pachymeres' Commentary as a free-standing textual entity. Subdivision of individual entries into paragraphs is my own, either to mark a transition to a new topic or where there is also a paragraph break in the Aristotelian original.

## Quotations and parallel passages

I have italicised verbatim quotations from the $E N$ or other major formative sources, including cases in which there is a slight variation in grammatical form (e.g. different number, case, or mood, elision or another speech phenomenon) or where Pachymeres uses a word that has the same root as or is almost synonymous to the wording of his source. Verbatim quotations from philosophers other than Aristotle (e.g. Aspasius, Alexander of Aphrodisias, Eustratius) have been italicised only when they are sufficiently extensive (normally more than ca. five words) to suggest direct consultation.

The apparatus of parallel passages includes only passages which belong either to the Aristotelian/ethical tradition on which Pachymeres draws or to another author or work which Pachymeres mentions or alludes to. On some occasions, the apparatus also includes works postdating Pachymeres' Commentary, e.g. [Heliodorus]' paraphrase, to draw the reader's attention to noteworthy parallel passages shared between Pachymeres' Commentary and later sources, without necessarily suggesting direct influence or reception. For non-verbatim citations or verbatim citations that contain additions or omissions, or in which the sequence of the phraseology is somewhat altered, I add "cf." before the reference, inviting readers to cross-check the text at their discretion. The edition of diagrams and the supplementary notes is accompanied by an apparatus diagrammatum and an apparatus scholiorum respectively.

In editing Aristotelian or other quotations in the commentary, I have retained variant readings which offer an alternative form of a word normally found in Pachymeres' works (esp. those surviving in autograph) or in other late Byzantine texts, so long as they do not disturb the meaning (e.g. ùyદí $\alpha v$ for úyızí $\alpha$; ùmóyvo for
 the manuscript tradition of the $E N$, provided they conform to Pachymeres' context, grammatical sense, and syntax and simultaneously do not violate or obscure Aristotle's interpretation in the relevant section. An apt example showing that variant readings are not without editorial value is the following: drawing on EN 1115a31-32,


 variant for the $\mu$ ovópxoıs attested, for example, in $\mathrm{M}^{\mathrm{b}} . \mu$ оvoú́ $\chi$ o七s, semantically embedded in Pachymeres' sentence, is not to be replaced by the "standard" reading.

On the other hand, when a quotation presents a variant reading inconsistent with Aristotle, his commentators (including Pachymeres) or the manuscript tradition, and/or does not serve the meaning of the passage, I have altered the text to conform to the closest Aristotelian parallel, e.g. In EN 3, 18, 134.30: $\dot{\varepsilon}$ Өıб $\mu$ oí scripsi ex Arist. EN 1119a27: $\dot{\omega} \theta$ เ $\sigma \mu$ oí $M$ (cum $\mathrm{M}^{\mathrm{b}}$ ). Readings of Aristotle are referenced in the apparatus criticus when they are preferred to the corresponding reading of $M$ (in the form of "Y scripsi/correxi ex Arist."), or when their reading is (radically) different from the one adopted, sometimes with indications of the Aristotelian witnesses seconding M's reading (e.g. M cum L' ${ }^{\text {b }}$ ) as taken from the standard Bekker, Bywater, and Susemihl editions. Finally, variant readings in M's quotations of classical sources (e.g. the epigram on the tomb of Sardanapallus in In EN 1, 4; the line from Euripides' Bellerophon in In EN 5, 15) have also been retained, with indications of their form in the most recent standard edition.

## Punctuation, accentuation, orthography, and other linguistic remarks

Given that the text is over-punctuated with commas and upper stops, I have intervened extensively here to make the punctuation of the manuscript match its syntax, where appropriate adopting the punctuation of the Aristotelian source in line with the standard edition.

In addition, I have regularised the accentuation. I have added iota subscript,
 coronis (e.g. тaủtóv) throughout. I have tacitly converted the grave accent into an acute when it is followed by punctuation, as is the convention in modern printed editions (e.g. $\delta \dot{\varepsilon},=\delta \dot{\varepsilon}$,). There is generally no elision in the manuscript, and I have retained that feature. The text sometimes deviates from the rules of accentuation of enclitics (although elsewhere it is respected: e.g. $\left.\pi \rho \frac{\prime}{\varsigma} \tau i ; \dot{\varepsilon} v i ́ \tau i v ı\right)$, so I have accordingly accented them in the conventional manner throughout (e.g. $\varepsilon$ í $\tau \varepsilon=\varepsilon$ i's $\tau \varepsilon ; \dot{\omega} \varsigma$
 tacitly changed the erroneous acute accents to circumflex accents (e.g. $\alpha \cup ้ \tau \alpha t=\alpha \tilde{v} \tau \alpha \mathrm{t}$,
 бítoৎ=бĩтоৎ). I have tacitly replaced the erroneous rough breathings with smooth
 notice also that there is some discrepancy in the use of the personal or definite meaning of the pronoun $\alpha v ̉ \tau o v ̃ ~ i n ~ p l a c e ~ o f ~ t h e ~ r e f l e x i v e ~ p r o n o u n ~ \alpha u ́ t o \tilde{=}=\dot{\varepsilon} \alpha v \tau o u ̃$, which I have also silently changed). I have also tacitly accented unaccented words, as well as letters used as numerals. I have capitalised the initial letters of proper names and of titles of works. I have inserted a question mark in direct questions and
parenthesis marks which may or may not go back to the Aristotelian standard text, in order to clarify the meaning.

Finally, I have retained idiosyncratic deviations such as duplication of conso-
 autographs (e.g. Berolinensis Hamilton 512, gr. 408), unless confusion with another grammatical form is possible, in which cases I have stuck to the standard form (e.g. I have changed $\mu \dot{\varepsilon} \lambda \lambda \varepsilon \varepsilon$ to $\mu \dot{\varepsilon} \lambda \varepsilon \iota)$. I have also retained the peculiar use of the optative
 ג́ $\pi о \tau \nu \gamma \chi \alpha ́ v o \not \mu \varepsilon v, ~ I n ~ E N ~ 1, ~ 1, ~ 4.9-10), ~ a o r i s t ~ s u b j u n c t i v e ~ c o m b i n e d ~ w i t h ~ f u t u r e ~ i n d i c a-~$

 tions of words, usually adverb(s) plus a noun or pronoun written as a single word
 $\kappa \alpha \Theta \dot{\varepsilon} \kappa \alpha \sigma \tau \alpha$ etc. modo Pachymerico et more byzantino), although I have kept their separate forms when the manuscript does so ( $\delta \iota \alpha \grave{\alpha} \tau \alpha \tilde{\tau} \tau \alpha$ and $\delta ı \alpha \tau \alpha \tilde{\tau} \tau \alpha, \mu \eta ̀ \delta \varepsilon$ and $\mu \eta \delta \varepsilon ́, \pi \alpha \rho o ́ ~ a n d ~ \pi \alpha \rho^{\prime}$ ö). I have also kept the Pachymerean use of second-person singular aorist active imperative " $\delta \varepsilon \varepsilon$ for ì $\delta \dot{\varepsilon}, \dot{\varepsilon} \kappa \tau \iota \theta$ oṽбı (a late form for third-person




In general, I have not standardised irregular moods in subordinate clauses, including conditional sentences. I have, however, regularised orthographic irregulari-
 ठí乡cıєv M; $\varepsilon i \rho \omega v \varepsilon i_{\alpha} \alpha$ correxi : $\left.\varepsilon i \rho \omega v i ́ \alpha v M\right)$.

## 6 Language

In addition to the peculiar features of Pachymeres' text noted above, other linguistic peculiarities include: ${ }^{124}$

Periphrastic verb forms using ${ }^{*} \chi \omega$ together with adverbs, nouns, or adjectives:







$\varepsilon \bar{\varepsilon} \chi \omega$ + infinitive, indicating capability: ${ }^{125}$
oủk $\varepsilon$ モ̉


ỏ $\varphi \varepsilon^{\prime} \lambda \omega, \mu \dot{\varepsilon} \lambda \lambda \omega, \theta \varepsilon ́ \lambda \omega+$ infinitive mostly as future-equivalents: ${ }^{126}$


ỏ $\varphi \varepsilon i ́ \lambda \varepsilon ı ~ \zeta \eta \tau \varepsilon і ̃ \sigma \theta \alpha ı ~(54.9) ~$



Article + conjunction as a noun:
тท̃ $\varphi$ ט́бદı тои̃ סเóтı (8.26)
тoṽ őtı каì $̇ \kappa ~ \tau o v ̃ ~ \alpha i ́ t ı \alpha \tau o v ̃ ~ \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \alpha i ̉ t ı \alpha ~(8.30-10.1) ~$

Infinitive accompanied by definite article in place of noun:
тò $\tau \alpha ̀ ~ \pi \alpha ́ v \tau \alpha ~ \pi \varepsilon \rho ı \varphi \rho о \nu \varepsilon і ̃ v ~(4.17-18) ~$




124 Pachymeres’ language has been thoroughly examined, for example, by Oikonomakos, Гєஸ́руıоц Паұขцє́рŋऽ Фıлобочí (n. 8), 41*-63*, Pappa, Georgios Pachymeres Philosophia. Buch 6 (n. 8), 103*-116*, and Telelis, Georgios Pachymeres Philosophia, Book 3 (n. 8), 127*-140* in the Prolegomena of their respective editions of parts of the Philosophia.
125 Cf. GMG, 1867-1868.
126 Cf. GMG, 1868.

тò $\mu \grave{~ \zeta \eta \tau \varepsilon i ̃ v ~(18.24) ~}$
кגì тò סıん $\varphi \omega$ veĩv（18．25）

Predilection for adverbial adjectives ending in－七ย́o̧：

$\pi \rho \circ \sigma \theta \varepsilon \tau \varepsilon ́ o v ~(96.23) ~$
ŋ่ $\mu \mathrm{\imath} v$ тоıŋтદ́ov（24．16）


Alternative forms of the same lexical type placed adjacent to one another in paratax－ is：

ó $\pi \lambda \eta \gamma \varepsilon i \varsigma ~ \omega ̈ \sigma \tau \varepsilon \alpha \dot{\alpha} v \tau \iota \pi \lambda \tilde{\eta} \xi \alpha \iota ~ \tau o ̀ v ~ \pi \lambda \eta \chi \theta$ ச́v $v \alpha$（198．24）

Use of a singular verb with neuter plural as subject：
$\tau \alpha \tilde{\tau} \tau \alpha \dot{\rho} \eta \theta \dot{ŋ} \sigma \varepsilon \tau \alpha \iota(16.17)$

But also：
$\pi \alpha ́ v \tau \alpha$ кıvoṽvтаı（12．5）
ท̃ $\sigma \alpha \nu \pi \alpha ́ v \tau \alpha ~ \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \alpha ̉ y \alpha \theta \dot{\alpha}(14.5-6)$

Predilection for optative，either to minimise the factual sense of the indicative or to indicate future action：${ }^{127}$

 （54．15）
$\dot{\omega} \varsigma ~ \varepsilon u ̉ \varepsilon \kappa т о$ ín tò $\sigma \tilde{\omega} \mu \alpha$（134．21）

 （228．6－7）

Dual forms：
غ́ ${ }^{\prime}$＇${ }^{\prime} \lambda \lambda$ 人oıv（148．11）

I also provide a list of hapax legomena and rare words or expressions featured in the Commentary on the $E N$ ：

Hapax legomena：

127 Cf．$G M G, 1758,1763$.

عป̉т $\rho ı \chi^{\prime} \alpha$ (22.7)


غ̇тоцоклı七ѐऽ (112.24)
о’укпро́тпта (172.25)
$\mu \alpha \chi \propto ı о$ ооьптıкп̃ऽ (238.15)
$\mu \varepsilon \sigma о$ о́кпऽ (194.12)

Rare words:

סvđóvтŋ (12.19)
ब̉veкори́ழоu>ảv $\alpha \kappa о \rho v \varphi o ́ \omega ~(24.10) ~$
غ̇v $\sigma \sigma \mu \varepsilon v i ́ \zeta o u \sigma ı v ~(28.9) ~$
عै $\theta$ เбıら (52.26)
$\dot{\varepsilon} \kappa о ч \sigma \iota \alpha к о \cup \sigma i ́ \omega \nu$ (90.19)
кі́ $\mu$ ккос (146.19)

кричóvot (166.10)

غ̇ $\lambda \alpha \tau \tau$ оvoú $\mu \varepsilon$ vos (192.25)
દ̇ $\xi \varepsilon \cup \mu \alpha \rho \iota \sigma \theta \eta ́ \sigma \varepsilon \tau \alpha \iota(200.6)$
ठદ $\varphi \varepsilon v \delta \varepsilon u ́ \varepsilon \iota($ byz/demotic) (218.8)

## 7 A note on the translation

The translation that accompanies this edition aims to provide a readable English text, but at the same time to reflect the original Greek as closely as it can, preserving Pachymeres' individual style and diction as far as possible. To maximise readability, long periods have been broken up into shorter, coherent units. The text shows a

 モ́ $\chi o ́ v \tau \omega v$ ह́бтí, In EN 3, 11, 118.17), which has required reordering to streamline the English. Reordering has been applied elsewhere as well, where syntax demands. Beginnings of periods and semi-periods with "for/since" and repetitions of the same word have been preserved in order to remain faithful to the author's stylistic intricacies, despite the fact that this rendering of the English can sometimes sound stilted. For the sake of clarity and economy, adverbial lexical items that do not affect the meaning (e.g. the overuse of каí or té $\omega \varsigma$ ) are occasionally left untranslated. Pachymeres' prose is terse and opaque, so that implied terms have often had to be supplied to render the text more comprehensible. Indefinite or unspecified terms have been reworded to make them more specific and explicit. Long vowels in transliterated Greek words are marked: e. g. aretē, agathōtaton. The titles of works in translation are placed within quotation marks in regular type; italicisation has been eschewed to avoid confusion with direct quotations. A common term within the Commentary is logos, which often refers to "(the faculty of) reason" contrasted to passions; its other meanings include "(rational) principle", "rationality", "reasoning", and "the capacity for rational thought", or even "account", "discussion", and "argument".

In the translation of quotes from Aristotle in Pachymeres' text, considerable use has been made of T. Irwin, Aristotle: Nicomachean Ethics, $2^{\text {nd }}$ ed., Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company 1999; H. Rackham, Aristotle: The Nicomachean Ethics, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: W. Heinemann 1934, Loeb Classical Library 73; Chr. Rowe, Aristotle Nicomachean Ethics, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2002 (with philosophical introduction and commentary by S. Broadie); and D. Ross, Aristotle: The Nicomachean Ethics (revised with an introduction and notes by L. Brown), Oxford: Oxford University Press 2009. For specific sections from Aspasius' commentary on the $E N$ and [Heliodorus'] paraphrase featured in Pachymeres, account has also been taken of D. Konstan, On Aristotle Nicomachean Ethics, 1-4, 78 Aspasius, London: Duckworth 2008, and E. Hatch, The Moral Philosophy of Aristotle: Consisting of a Translation of the Nicomachean Ethics, and of the Paraphrase attributed to Andronicus of Rhodes, with an Introductory Analysis of each Book, London: Murray 1879.

## Symbols

[...] = Translator's insertions for the purpose of clarification have been enclosed in square brackets. They are intended only to illuminate particularly tricky passages or to contribute to a better understanding of the intended sense of the Greek.
$\langle. .\rangle=$. Angle brackets indicate editorial additions.
(...) = Round brackets are used for ordinary parenthesis and to enclose transliterations of Greek terms.

## 8 Images



Image 1: Marcianus Gr. Z. 212, f. 1r © Biblioteca nazionale Marciana

## a



























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Image 2: Marcianus Gr. Z. 212, f. 9r © Biblioteca nazionale Marciana

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Image 3：Marcianus Gr．Z．212，f．37v
© Biblioteca nazionale Marciana

## B＇gik Nimmetawn， 6 hath．





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Image 4：Marcianus Gr．Z．212，f．11r
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## 9 Sigla

## Codex

M＝Venetus Marcianus gr．Z． 212 （a．1440）

## Raro memoratur

$\mathrm{E}=$ Scorialensis T．I． 18 （gr．138）（saec．XVI）

Codices aristotelici，quorum lectiones ex editionibus Bekkeri（I．Bekker，Aristotelis Ethica Nicoma－ chea，Berlin：Reimer，1831．），Bywateri（I．Bywater，Aristotelis Ethica Nicomachea，Oxford：Clarendon Press，1894，repr．1962）et Susemihli（F．Susemihl，Aristotelis Ethica Nicomachea，ed．3；curavit 0. Apelt，Leipzig：Teubner，1912）recepi：
$H^{\text {a }} \quad$ Venetus Marcianus gr．Z 214 （saec．XIII－XIV）
$\mathrm{K}^{\text {b }} \quad$ Florentinus Laurentianus Plut．81． 11 （saec．IX－X）
L ${ }^{\text {b }} \quad$ Parisinus gr． 1854 （saec．XII－XIII）
$M^{b} \quad$ Venetus Marcianus gr． 213 （saec．XV）
$\mathrm{N}^{\mathrm{b}} \quad$ Venetus Marcianus gr．IV． 53 （saec．XII）
$0^{\text {b }} \quad$ Florentinus Riccardianus 46 （saec．XII［？］）
$\Gamma \quad$ antiqua traductio（ed．Paris．a．1497）
vulg．codices plerique

## Editiones et studia

Asp．Aspasii commentaria（CAG XIX）
Eustr．Eustratii commentaria（CAG XX）

Byw．I．Bywater，Aristotelis ethica Nicomachea，Oxford：Clarendon Press，1894；repr． 1962.
Gol．P．Golitsis，＂Georges Pachymère comme didascale．Essai pour une reconstitution de sa carrière et de son enseignement philosophique＂，Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinis－ tik 58 （2008）53－68．
Zor．N．Zorzi，＂Per la tradizione manoscritta dell＇inedito commento all＇Etica nicomachea di Giorgio Pachimere：I．Il Marc．gr． 212 di Bessarione e i suoi apografi．II．Ermolao Barbaro e il commento di Pachimere（con una proekdosis del cap．18）＂，N $\varepsilon$（＇P $\dot{\mu} \mu \eta$ ．Rivista di ricerche bizantinistiche 12 （2015）245－304，tavv．1－8．

## Cetera

## append．appendix

a．corr．ante correctionem
add．addidit
codd．codices
〈．．．〉 addenda
［．．．］delenda
corr．correxit
diagr．diagramma
f．folium
fragm．fragmentum
in marg. in margine
in ras. in rasura
lac. lacunam
litt. littera, ae etc
Im. lemma
om. omisit
p. corr. post correctionem
schol. scholium, a
scr. scripsit
s.l. supra lineam
superscr. superscriptum, a
vid. vide
 п $\alpha \alpha ́ \varphi \rho \alpha \sigma ı \varsigma ~ \eta ่ к \rho ı \beta \omega \mu \varepsilon ́ v \eta ~ т о и ̃ ~ П \alpha \chi u \mu \varepsilon ́ \rho \eta ~$ Text and Translation
[1r] Tои̃ ठıк $]$



























[^36]
## ［Book 1 of the＂Nicomachean Ethics＂］

1094a1－1094a28 1．〈Every art and every inquiry．．．〉
Philosophy being divided into two parts，the theoretical and the practical，the first having truth as its end，the other the good，the present treatise 〈falls under〉 the practical part．The same work is called both＂Ethics＂and＂Nicomachean＂；＂Nico－ machean＂because it is dedicated to his［i．e．Aristotle＇s］son Nicomachus or some other person，just as the one dedicated to Eudemus is the＂Eudemian＂．And there is also the＂Great Nicomachean＂，which is dedicated to his father Nicomachus，so they say．It is also called＂Ethics＂as opposed to household management and politics． These［sciences］differ with regard to their subject matter，even though they have the same end，which is the good，because ethics is concerned with one person，who in accord with ethics can organise the activities through which he can attain the human end，which the philosopher defines as happiness．Household management，on the other hand，is concerned with the household，being that in accord with which not only that man but also those subject to him will pass their lives in the best possible fashion．And politics has to do with the city，in accord with which every city may achieve happiness．For there is a concept of happiness for the household and a concept of happiness for the city．
［Aristotle］says，therefore，that every art，the non－rational handling of things that are subject to rational account，and every inquiry，the preparation in conformity with the rational principle for a good end that either exists or appears to exist，and every practical pursuit，the handling of things that is endowed with reason，and likewise ［every］choice appears to aim at a good［saying this］either out of philosophical cau－ tion or because it seems this way to others，in order that there be no labour in vain． And following his usual practice，as he does in many other works as well，he begins with general statements．These matters［i．e．art，practical pursuits and choice］are not aimed at in accord with themselves，but according to the agents that have these dispositions．For this reason they rightly derive＂the good＂［agathon］from＂everyone runs［theein］very fast［agan］towards it＂．Hence it is not called＂agathōtaton＂，since agan［already］includes the superlative degree．So for human beings who choose the path of virtue the end is happiness，which is an activity and not a product，because there is a variety among ends．For some are products，for example a chair or a bench， while others are activities．Thus in those cases where there are both activities and products，the products are better，because they are that for the sake of which the effect is produced．But in cases where the products precede and the activity is the end，as here with happiness，the activity is better．The ends are different，because the

















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[^37] principles)
actions are also different. Observe that when he said "every art" etc., he did not say "and scientific knowledge". For the end of scientific knowledge is not the good but truth. However, when he refers to the differences among the ends, he also mentions knowledge. For knowledge too has its own end, even if it is not the good. There are also master-sciences, those that have other [sciences] subordinate to them, whose ends are subordinate to the end of knowledge, which is preferable to anything else, because it is for the sake of this [that effects are produced].

If, therefore, there are also things we choose for their own sake and not always for the sake of something else (in order that the desire not result in a process ad infinitum and not become futile on the grounds that it does not attain the end), clearly this must be the chief good of all. Will not the knowledge of it as well, therefore, benefit [us] enormously, so that we might not, like archers who lack a mark to aim at, miss our target? As a consequence, we must try to determine of which science this is the object; surely [it is the object] of the most authoritative [of them], and politics appears to be of this sort.

1094a28-1095a2 2. For which are to exist...
After setting out to offer instruction concerning the human good, which can be found both in an individual person and in the city, he turns his attention to the virtues of character, since they cannot be found in a solitary existence, but rather with reference to groups of persons or a multitude (for these are properly the moral virtues. Indeed, what is magnificence, if one spends one's time in the mountains? What is friendship, if one is isolated? And what is truth, if one converses with no one? Fasting, silence, temperance and despising everything are solitary virtues, which contribute nothing to human life and its end, unless in fact they exist for the sake of the virtues aimed at that end). He [i.e. Aristotle] tailors his teaching towards what is common [among citizens] \| and defines the capacity that leads to the human end, namely happiness, as political. For the good of the city is greater and more perfect, as he says, even though it is the same for the individual person and the city. And this sort of politics knows and will prescribe which of the sciences in the cities the [persons] within those cities will pursue and how worthy they are and up to what point to learn them. Furthermore, he says, even the most highly esteemed capacities, such as military leadership and the rest, are subordinate to that one [i.e. politics], so that a capacity of this sort may impose commands on the practical sciences and their ends will be led to its end. For the human good is the same for the individual and for the city. For the end of the actions an individual personally performs is happiness, so that he ought to [be able to] account for every separate action when asked about them. And when he is not asked [about his actions] but simply contemplates them on his own, he repeats every day the maxim attributed to Phocylides:


 каі̀ $\alpha y \alpha \pi \eta \tau o ̀ v ~ к \alpha i ̀ ~ \varepsilon ́ v i ̀ ~ \pi \rho о \sigma o ̀ v ~ t o ̀ ~ \tau o o o v ̃ \tau o v . ~ \dot{\eta}$ yoũv $\mu \varepsilon ́ \theta o \delta o \varsigma ~ \alpha u ̈ \tau \eta . ~$















 $\mu \alpha \tau \alpha i ́ \omega \varsigma ~ \pi о v о i ́ \eta), ~ \dot{\alpha} \pi о \delta о к ц \alpha ́ \zeta \varepsilon \iota ~ \mu \grave{~} \mu$ óvov $\tau o ̀ v ~ к \alpha \tau \grave{\alpha} ~ \chi \rho o ́ v o v ~ v \varepsilon ́ o v, ~ \alpha ̉ \lambda \lambda \alpha ̀ ~ к \alpha i ̀ ~ \tau o ̀ v ~ v \varepsilon \alpha \rho o ̀ v ~$










The city has the same end. "For in this", says Euripides, "many cities suffer, when a good man, despite his eagerness, gets no greater honour than his inferiors". In the meantime, both in attaining and preserving it, the [good] of the state is more perfect and more divine, even if such a thing, when present, is desirable also for a single person. This, then, is how the investigation stands.

Since we do not seek precision in a similar manner in all subjects but in accord with the subject matter (for the creator will make his statue out of lead in one way, but out of gold and ivory in a different way), precision must be sought in regard to these things as well, in accord with the subject matter. The subject matter of these things is human beings, who are liable to change and mutable, and human affairs, which appear to be goods of some sort, although they result in harm to many people, as a consequence of which they also appear to be evil, with the result that just matters too come to seem fine and helpful by convention only and not by nature. Human goods in fact exhibit a fluctuation of this sort. Since, therefore, matters are such in regard to the issues we have discussed, and in the light of the premises we are attempting to expose they depend in this manner on nature and judgment, we must try to indicate the truth in outline in discussing such subjects. For these matters are not necessary, but are only for the most part, and so also the conclusion from such subjects is only for the most part. It is the mark of an educated man to look for just that amount of exactitude with regard to these subjects and others that the nature of the matter allows. For neither will the mathematician use merely probable conclusions (for this is the concern of the rhetorician) nor will the rhetorician prove by demonstration (for this is the task of a scientist). As a consequence, a man will judge well that which he knows well.

1095a2-1095b1 3. 〈Hence a young man is not an appropriate student of politics...〉 In his search for the appropriate student of ethics (for this is another characteristic of the philosopher, to avoid working in vain), he rejects as unfit not only a man who is young in years, but also the one who is youthful in character, since they are one and the same thing, to the extent that [neither] studiously accepts instruction in such matters. Why? Because, he says, such a person is inexperienced with regard to daily affairs, while discussions of ethics draw conclusions from these matters as if from premises. Thus the person who is unable to acquire the knowledge of first principles will not accept the conclusion either. Furthermore, since he is liable to yield to his passions, he will pay no attention and will study to no purpose. How [will it be] to no purpose? Because if the end of such subjects were knowledge, he would perhaps receive and know them, even though he is hindered by his passions. But since the end aimed at is action, he will hear [the lecture] and will learn in a fruitless manner; rather, he will receive these subjects as only the crowd would [i.e. as a matter of annoyance]. \| For just as for acratics (those who are not strong enough to control
their passions are called "acratics") learning about these matters is no help once
































5-11 $\varepsilon \pi \varepsilon เ \delta \grave{\eta} . . . \pi \rho \alpha ́ \tau \tau \varepsilon เ v]$ cf. Arist. EN 1095a14-20 12-13 $\alpha \mu \varphi \iota \sigma \beta \eta \tau о v ̃ \sigma เ \nu . . . \tau \mu \eta ́ v]$ cf. Arist. EN

 cf. Arist. EN 1095a32-1095b2 30-10,1 $\dot{\alpha} \pi \grave{o} . . . \dot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \eta \lambda \alpha]$ cf. Arist. Post. An. 78a26-30; cf. Eustr. In EN 31.32-32.5

5 лєпрооє $\mu^{\prime} \alpha[\sigma \tau \alpha \mathrm{l}]$ : lac. supplevi ex E 12 §غ̀ s.l. 25 lm. addidi
they have been overpowered by their passions, likewise knowledge will bring no profit to persons who lack control over their passions. But for those who make their desires accord with reason (for there is a rational faculty of desire and not only a nonrational one, as he stated in his work "On the Soul") and do not merely feel the desire, or rather who are stirred in accord with the desire in a rational way and at the same time also act rationally, learning would be of great benefit.

Now that a preface of this sort has been offered, we start from the beginning. Since all knowledge (he also includes art and inquiry in the term "knowledge") and every choice (in which he also includes action) aims at some good, what kind of the good is the one at which politics-being a choice and action-aims, which is also the highest good achievable by action? Everyone says that this is happiness, both average people and the wise, and in so far as they agree on its name, they assume that to live well and fare well is to be happy. And furthermore, such persons do not deem happy anyone who seems prosperous and good but is in a miserable situation. For with regard to living well and faring well, some argue for pleasure, others wealth, and others honour, considering this to be happiness. But it is possible, I say, to both live well and fare well while in grief and poor and lacking honour, so long as one is leading one's life admirably and as one must. Or rather, in order that I might speak accurately, no distress affects persons of the sort who are always rejoicing in accord with the saying "Rejoice at all times!" For this is what the man who pronounced these words [i.e. Paul] had in mind. Thus, then, they dispute with one another concerning [the nature of] happiness, so that they are in dispute with themselves as well as one another. For [Aristotle] says that often the same man declares faring well to be one thing and then another thing, depending on the circumstances. But Plato sets the form of the good in contrast to the particularities [i.e. specific circumstances]. Now to scrutinise everything closely is fruitless, but it is sufficient to examine the most prominent opinions or even those that seem to have some justification. And since the things that are prior by nature are the most obscure, while those familiar to us are better known, the road to knowledge begins from what is better known. Even Plato was perplexed as to where one should begin in regard to these issues, and he himself [i.e. Aristotle] in the present case, being at a loss, chooses that which is more familiar.

1095b2-1095b26 4. (For we must begin with what is known...)
The starting point of proof is things that are better known, whether [they are better known] due to the nature of their cause (for universals are the causes of particulars, and what is true of our existence holds also for the proof; the proof of cause shows what is produced on the basis of its cause) or whether the things from which proof occurs are better known to us; just as the circular shape of the moon [is proved] from eclipses, and the proximity of the planets from their failure to twinkle, the causes of
 גitiou тє кגì גitı $\alpha$ тоṽ.













 इарбаvaла́лоv•



1095b26-1096a28 $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ (દ̌тı $\delta^{\prime}$ દ̉ó́кабı đף̀v тı





$\square$

[^38]
.
reason are apparent from what is produced. These things occur in reciprocal relation to each other, cause and effect.

Since, therefore, here as well he determines the mode of proof of his arguments from what is evident to us (since those who possess the dispositions are better known to us than the dispositions as such) and on this account he determines that the one who is to listen [to discussions] concerning these matters must be well educated in his qualities of character, the syllogism of reason occurs. And if this be sufficiently ascertained, there will be no need also [to know], he says, the cause. Such a pupil, since he will attend lectures for the sake not of knowledge but of action, can easily get a starting-point either from himself or from elsewhere. || But as for the man who cannot get either of these since he is in a terrible state, he will listen to the words of Hesiod.

Hence let us resume our discussion from the point at which we digressed, [where we said] that the good and happiness are parallel to one another or that [people] not unreasonably suspect on the basis of their [own] lives that the good is universal and that the human good is happiness. For seeing that there are different lifestyles, they also offer various opinions as to the end. There are three lifestyles: the life of pleasure, which was led by Sardanapalus (those who choose this succeed in gaining some renown and honour because they have experiences similar to those of people who occupy high positions) and the political life and the contemplative life. In the life of luxury, therefore, which is also called the life subject to passions, they make pleasure their end. For the inscription on the tomb of Sardanapalus runs:

> Knowing well that you were born mortal, feed your soul, delighting in banquets; after you are dead, nothing will do you any good. For I too am dust, who once ruled great Nineveh. What I have is what I ate, my insolent behaviour, and the pleasures I got in love; but all the many other happy things are gone.

And in the political life, [they make] honour [their end], something [Aristotle] refutes by means of the deductive argument in the second figure; for the good is something of one's own, whereas honour [belongs] to those who bestow it, not those who receive it.

1095b26-1096a28 5. 〈Still they seem to pursue honour...〉
With regard to honour he attempts to prove in another way that this is not the end of human life. For they pursue honour, he says, in order to have confidence that they themselves are good. For this reason, they wish to be honoured by men of greater practical wisdom, because the latter offer the best judgments. Since, then, they choose honour for the sake of virtue, virtue would be even more the end [of the political life than honour], being that for the sake of which honour in fact is sought. Why are they unable to believe on their own behalf that they are virtuous, but rely on other people who bestow honour? Is it because everyone is self-centred that everything






























[^39]$15 \mu \varepsilon ́ \lambda \varepsilon ı$ scripsi : $\mu \varepsilon ́ \lambda \lambda \varepsilon ı M$
personal is looked upon with suspicion? But that virtue is not the end is also apparent from the fact that this is unaccomplished while its bearer is asleep or inactive not only for a limited period of time but throughout life, or while he is suffering trouble. Who would call [such a person] happy, he says, unless one was holding a paradoxical thesis, as Heraclitus [who said] that everything changes and Zeno [who stated] that everything is unchanged? Accordingly, after discussing the two [other] lifestyles, he also discusses the contemplative life, which is also described as passion-free, with the political life being one of moderate passions, just as the life of pleasure is subject to passions. He nonetheless delays his consideration of the contemplative life, because he will handle this in greater detail and will seek the human end from this [kind of life].

He also mentions the moneymaker's [life], since he stated that happiness is considered by some to be wealth (this [life] is also violent [i.e. not natural, forced on him], and everything that is violent is distasteful and inappropriate to happiness) and that wealth is not a good in itself, but merely something useful for the sake of another goal. For this reason, the things mentioned previously-that is to say, pleasure and honour-might be considered ends more than wealth might. For pleasure and honour are both valued for their own sake, if not by everyone at any rate by many. For some people yearn for the [type of] honour that deals with everything else [i.e. external goods] and do not care about virtue, since they are tyrants and violent. They in fact punish those who fail to honour them, whom they would not punish in this manner if they [i.e. the people who yearn for honour] were interested in virtue and in appearing to be virtuous.
|| Next he wishes to offer instruction concerning the universal good, which is the basic form of good things, but he holds that the inquiry is made uphill [or: is unwelcome] because it was his friends who discussed the forms, which is Plato. But it is at the same time fitting, he says, to destroy even what is one's own for the purpose of saving only the truth, and that because we are philosophers who possess, as the end of contemplation of these matters, truth, which piety in fact requires us to honour first even before our friends. Furthermore, on the basis of this opinion of theirs it is not possible to speak of a form of the good. For those men [i.e. Plato and his philosophical followers] did not set up forms [of classes] that contain the notions of prior and posterior [i.e. Aristotle's categories], for which reason they also did not establish $a$ form of number in general, but rather spoke of forms as numbers. But the good is found in all the categories; these include the prior and the posterior. For substance is the first existent thing to which the rest of things refer, and these things resemble offshoots of what is; this is the dialectical proof from the prior and posterior. And put differently, since what exists has the same name [but different definitions], and hence the good too [has the same name and different senses], how could the good be one and shared in these cases?


















 тíӨcoӨaı aủтò каì ìćav.
 12-15 Eí... $\varepsilon$ v] cf. Arist. EN 1096b3-6; cf. Eustr. In EN 50.3-8 16-20 tò...í $\delta \varepsilon ́ \alpha v]$ cf. Eustr. In EN 51.10-15



1096a29-1096b20 6. (Further, since in relation to the things that correspond to a single basic form...)
He attempts [to prove this] plausibly and via argument also in another way, [by claiming] that it is impossible for the common [i.e. universal] good to exist. And that is because in relation to things corresponding to a single form, knowledge is also of single kind. For suppose there is one form for the colours and for the flavours, and also a single kind of knowledge [of them], then more so in the case of substance, because those who introduced forms have set out forms of substance. There is one form of all men or dolphins, and there is a single knowledge [of them]. If all goods were subject to one form, they would necessarily also be subject to a single kind of knowledge. But as it is, in order that one might demonstrate this from the greater degree, there is not even the same kind of knowledge of things that fall under one category, as he shows inductively. Therefore he sets out a notable difficulty with regard to the absolute universal-what in the world will the universal be, if the same definition holds for the universal and for the particulars?-and he transfers this argument to the good. For it is possible to say in response to these points that there is one account for what is immaterial and another for what is material.

But if someone, he says, were to say that the form is eternal and were to demonstrate from this the difference between the thing itself and the particular, he sets out [in reply the example of] "white", [specifically] that what is [white and] very longlasting is not whiter than what is [white and] short-lived. But the Pythagoreans say something more persuasive about the good when they place the One in their column of goods. For they constructed two columns, one of goods and the other of evils. Placing the One in their column of goods, then, they compare its nature to that which perfects and saves. For each of the principles is perfected, becomes good and is preserved only when it remains undispersed in the One. But if it is dispersed and divided, it disappears and is destroyed. This is more closely associated with the good rather than making this a form of the universal.

Diagramma i

|  |  | какóv |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\pi \varepsilon$ токऽ | 9 | ӓлعьро⿱ |
|  | O | а̋ртьо⿱ |
| ع̌v | $\bigcirc$ | $\pi \lambda \tilde{\eta}$ Өоs |
| $\delta \varepsilon \xi$ ıóv | $\bigcirc$ | ápıбтерóv |
| ＜＜$\rho \rho \varepsilon$ v | $\bigcirc{ }^{\circ}$ | $\theta \tilde{\eta} \lambda \nu$ |
| ท่ $¢$ ¢ $<$ о̃v | 8. | кıvoú $\mu$ ¢vov |
| عủӨú | 约 | к $\alpha \mu \pi$ ט́ло |
| $\varphi \tilde{\omega}$ ¢ | $<$ | бко́тоऽ |
| $\tau \varepsilon \tau \rho \alpha ́ y \omega v o v$ |  | غ̇тєро́ $\mu \eta к \varepsilon \varsigma$ |

cf．Arist．Metaph．986a23－26；cf．Arist．EN 1096b5－6；cf．Asp．In EN 13．11－17；cf．Eustr．In EN 50．35－ 51．1；cf．［Heliod．］In EN 9．39－10．3















1096b26－1097a22 ケ＇〈 $\alpha \lambda \lambda \alpha \dot{\alpha} \pi \tilde{\omega} \varsigma ~ \delta \grave{~ \lambda \varepsilon ́ y \varepsilon \tau \alpha ı ; . . .\rangle ~}$



[^40]

## Diagram i

| good |  | bad |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| limited |  | unlimited |
| odd |  | even |
| one | O ${ }_{0}^{0}$ | plurality |
| right | 응 | left |
| male | 兂 | female |
| resting | ก | moving |
| straight | $\bigcirc$ | curved |
| light |  | darkness |
| square |  | oblong |

｜｜He accurately expands on his views concerning the good even further，for which［3v］ reason he will devise a pretext to endeavour to discuss in yet greater detail his notion concerning the forms．And indeed he casts blame upon himself，as speaking in a confused way about the good．For while the good is spoken of in two ways，he himself simply took account of this［fact］and did away with the form of the good．For there are some things that are good in accord with themselves，while others［are good］by reason of preserving，producing or preventing their opposites．He himself infers what sort the one and the other are．And accordingly let us distinguish between useful things（which are those that happen for the sake of other［goods］；for things［good］in themselves are perfective）and let us examine whether the things that are only good in accord with themselves fall under a single form．By saying that the things that are good in accord with themselves are not understanding but the act of understanding， he applies to seeing as well the activities rather than their dispositions and pleasures－some those pertaining to noble men and some those pertaining to the prudent－because if these were not goods in accord with themselves，nor anything other than the form，the species would in this way be empty．For the form is naturally disposed to be a cause of the particulars，of things just like it；and this is so，if there are no other things in accord with themselves except the form．But if there are also other things in this case，everything will hold to the same account；and again the universal in this case is empty．

1096b26－1097a22 7．〈But how，then，is［good］spoken of？．．．〉
Since，therefore，there is no synonymy among the good［things］when they might possibly be subsumed under a single form，he inquires into the style of homonymy， according to which they will have the same name．And to begin with he does away































1-7 т $\alpha \tilde{\tau} \tau \alpha \ldots$... $\varphi \theta \theta \alpha \lambda \mu \tilde{\omega}]$ cf. Eustr. In EN 55.24-33 3-5 тoùৎ... $\left.\alpha v \alpha \lambda o y^{\prime} \alpha v\right]$ cf. Arist. EN 1096b27-28
 8-10 $\left.\alpha \lambda \lambda \alpha \alpha_{\ldots} . . \mathrm{N}\right]$ cf. Eustr. In EN 56.12-16 11-12 Tह́ $\omega$ ¢...ктптóv] cf. Arist. EN 1096b32-34 13-14 $\mathfrak{j} \mu \varepsilon i ̃ \varsigma . . . \delta o ́ \xi \varepsilon เ \varepsilon v] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~ 1096 b 34-35 ~ 14-15 ~ \dot{\omega} \varsigma . . . \varepsilon ่ \pi ı \tau v \gamma \chi \alpha ́ v o \not \mu \varepsilon v] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~$
 26-28 $\pi \tilde{\omega} \varsigma . . . \tau \circ v ̃ \delta \varepsilon]$ cf. Arist. EN 1097a8-13 28-30 $\pi \alpha \dot{\lambda} \lambda ı \ldots \pi \rho \alpha ́ \tau \tau о \nu \tau \alpha ı] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~ 1097 a 15-22 ~$
$\left.7{ }^{\circ} \psi \nless \varsigma^{1}\right] \psi \cup \chi \eta$ ex ő $\psi \iota \varsigma$ perperam corr. M $11 \delta \tilde{\eta} \lambda \lambda o v$ sic $M$; servavi (vid. Editorial principles) 29 т $̇ \lambda \varepsilon ı \circ \vee ~ M ~(c u m ~ M ~ M) ~: ~ \tau \varepsilon ́ \lambda o s ~ A r i s t . ~ v u l g . ~(E N ~ 1097 a 21) ~ e t ~ E u s t r . ~ I n ~ E N ~ 60.13-14 ~$
with things that bear the same name by mere chance. These things are those that have no pragmatic connection, except if a name is used for purposes of specification, for example elaia the [olive] tree and the game. And he quite accepts the two other [modes of homonymy], [first] the one [that holds that things are called good because they derive] from one good and [contribute] to one, and [second] the one by analogy. And for the moment [he focuses on] the from one good and to one; for everything looks towards one thing, what is perfect and beautiful. But thereafter, he says, [he pays] more [attention to] the mode by analogy; for these things have a pragmatic connection indeed; for $a$ [medical] book and a drug have to do with the medical art; and that which is sight in the case of the body, that is intelligence in the case of the soul, or even sight in the case of the eye. For the analogy gives these things a certain kinship. But these questions should be set aside, he says; because these topics are in the treatise the "Metaphysics", since he speaks there in Book Delta about muchdebated subjects, as also about the form of the good and of other things in Books Beta and $M u$ and $N u$.

But meanwhile, even if there is a good capable of independent existence and a form, he says it is clear that this is neither achievable nor attainable, namely it cannot be attained by means of action. For when will anyone attain the form? We are looking for a good of this sort that is achievable and attainable. But perhaps someone might think that knowledge of this is useful; for we might look to that [i.e. the good itself] as towards a model, as painters do, and we might have better chances of attaining it. Then he refutes the objection from the [procedures of] the sciences and arts, except when the argument is plausible from both sides. He says even in these cases that an argument of this type, which establishes that it is necessary to discover the universal in order that we might succeed in gaining knowledge of the particular from that source, has some plausibility. And he brings forward [the procedures of] the sciences and arts that are implicated in both sides of the argument. For inasmuch as they aim at the good in accord with themselves and seek what is lacking, knowledge of this [i.e. the good itself] should have been sought, but they leave this out. Yet again, to omit a resource of this sort and fail to look for it is not reasonable, just as in those cases. Knowledge of the universal must be passed over, just as the knowledge of the particular good is passed over in the sciences, \| and one must seek [it] in another way, because not seeking it even in the sciences is unreasonable. Because of the fixed nature of the opinions on both sides, disagreement was established in those cases as well.

Consequently, this plausibility is also refuted. For how will a weaver be helped if he possesses [knowledge of] the form of the good itself, when even a doctor seeks health in relation to particulars [i.e. rather than health as a whole] and especially the [health] of this [particular] individual? But again returning [to the main subject], he seeks what then the good is and he states [that it is] one thing in one matter, another in another by analogy, but in every action and choice [it is] the final [end]. For this is the ultimate aim, for the sake of which everything else is done, as if on this account.

## 












 к人ì $\delta ı \alpha ̀ ~ \tau \eta ̀ v ~ \varepsilon v ̉ \delta \alpha ı \mu о v i ́ \alpha v . ~ \tau \alpha u ̃ \tau \alpha ~ ү \alpha ̀ \rho ~ \sigma u v \alpha у o ́ \mu \varepsilon v \alpha ~ \tau \eta ̀ v ~ \varepsilon v ̉ \delta \alpha ı \mu о v i ́ \alpha v ~ \alpha ̉ \pi о \pi \lambda \eta \rho о v ̃ \sigma ı v, ~$











 кєऽ.




[^41]1 lm . addidi 21 t $^{2}$ scripsi : tò M $28 \theta^{\prime}$ addidi ex E \| lm. addidi

1097a22-1097b13 8. 〈So that if there is an end for all practical undertakings...〉
The end of practical undertakings is a good achievable by actions, and if there are several [such ends], these are the ends of the choice itself. Thus the argument turns in its course and arrives at its concluding point, which is most connected with final causality. But if there is one [end], this would be the good being sought. Since the ends are evidently several, and we choose the first of these as being the concluding one, and there are also the things prior to the end [which we choose] as instruments, it is clear that not all ends are final. But since happiness is what is best, this would be the final [end]. For the best is final, so that although there are many [ends], the more final one is the best. And the more final is defined as that which is desirable only for itself rather than for something else by comparison; and what is never desirable as a means to anything else is more final than those things that are desirable for themselves and are also chosen on this account. The more final and the highest of all and absolutely final is the one that is not chosen on account of something else [i.e. as a means], but because of itself [i.e. as an end]. And happiness is found to be something of this sort: for we choose this for its own sake and not for the sake of something else; for we do not want to be happy for the sake of something else but for its own sake. And we wish to receive honour and pleasure, to understand what is profitable and to be virtuous for the sake of these goods themselves, but also for the sake of happiness. Because these things combined complete happiness, which is the human good. For some people say that a daimōn is good luck, others intelligence, as Proclus explains Socrates' daimonion. The happy person (eudaimōn) is the one who abounds in intelligence or in good luck, and a person who has good luck and intelligence is the one who is self-sufficient concerning all human affairs and lacks nothing at all.

But this [i.e. self-sufficiency] will be defined as not [sufficient] for a solitary person by himself; for what is the good for him, if his parents, friends, children and ancestors are unfortunate, or if some of them are undisciplined and stubborn in their hearts, or, in terms of their bodies, have maimed limbs or, in terms of externalities, are poor and suffer dishonour? Since man is by nature a civic being \| and does not lead an [4v] isolated life, it is also necessary for him, since he lives with others, to bring forward the goods arising from them in support of his individual happiness. He now delays the discussion of the degree to which this will extend, so that it will not go on to infinity, creating the danger of no one being happy. He will discuss [this issue] in Book 10, when he talks about happiness. He also defines self-sufficiency [there].

1097b16-1098a12 9. (Moreover, most desirable of all things...)
We think that happiness both lacks nothing and is the most final and desirable of all things, not something counted as one good among the rest, as is clear from the things that happen for the sake of happiness, which we also call "the things [that happen]






























 $\pi \rho o ́ \sigma \theta \varepsilon \sigma \iota v]$ cf. Arist. EN 1097b16-20 9-10 т $̇ \lambda \varepsilon ı o v . . . \tau \varepsilon ́ \lambda o c ̧ ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~ 1097 b 20-21 ~$
 15-17 $̈ \sigma \pi \varepsilon \rho . . . \pi о \delta o ́ \varsigma] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~ 1097 b 25-32 ~ 18-19 ~ \omega ̈ \sigma \pi \varepsilon \rho . . . ~ ह ै \lambda \varepsilon у \varepsilon v] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ P A ~ 641 a 2 ; ~ c f . ~$ Arist. De an. 420b6-8 21 A A $\left.\left.\lambda \lambda^{\prime} . . . \varphi \cup \tau о ⿱ ̃ \varsigma\right] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~ 1097 b 32-34 ~ 21-27 ~ \varepsilon ̇ \kappa ß \lambda \eta \tau \varepsilon ́ o v . . . \alpha ̈ ~ \lambda \lambda \omega \nu\right] ~ c f . ~$ Arist. EN 1097b34-1098a15 29-30 Zñ ... $\mu$ óvnv] cf. Arist. EN 1097b33-1098a3; cf. [Heliod.] In EN 24.9-11

28 lm. addidi
because of something". For the ends are not to be enumerated among the things whose ends they are: a house is not to be included in the count of its walls and thatch and of each of its individual elements (and this is what complete and desirable, or better praiseworthy, means), but only the house per se, lacking nothing in itself with respect to what it is and its desirability for certain people. For Alexander too says in the third book of the "Topics" that the things contained are not to be counted among the things that contain them. And if, he says, this [i.e. happiness] were to be counted together with any of the things that are prior to it, to such an extent is happiness self-sufficient and lacking in nothing, that combined with the least of goods (the least of goods [are] speed of foot perhaps, beautiful hair, and a nice appearance) becomes more desirable. For let this too alongside happiness be the least good by addition. For happiness is complete by itself and self-sufficient, and is the end not simply of all things and of issues relating to contemplation but only of practical undertakings.

Therefore because happiness is patently the chief good, he says, a clearer account of what it is is also required. And because we are eagerly pursuing a definition of it as an end, before speaking of the things that lead to the end (for the end is a goal, and by aiming at it we achieve other things), we seek more information about it [i.e. happiness]. And since it is the chief [good] of all practical undertakings, the function of the human being must be sought. For just as in other matters, the efficiency of function is sought, so also in this case. What is it then? For, is it the case that $a$ carpenter and a shoemaker have certain functions, while a human has no function? But it is clear from his parts, an eye, a hand, and a foot, [that he must have a function]. For if these parts are inanimate, they have no function, but are referred to by the same name, like flutes made of stone, as he said in his "On the Soul"; whereas if they are animate and have a function, so then does the entire living human being.

Surely life is a function of the human being, but this is shared with plants as well. Thus one must reject this feature peculiar to plants and next [judge] that senseperception is not the function of the human being, since this too is shared [in this case] with non-rational beings. Then there remains rational action. And this is twofold: because one [element possesses reason] in so far as it is obedient to reason, even if it is not rational, for example the act of building; the other one in so far as it is itself rational action, such as the act of reasoning. This also has two meanings: the first is in accord with disposition, the second in accord with activity. And the function of a human being and of a good human being is exactly the same, but differs in respect to its efficacy, as also in the other instances.
|| 1098a12-1098b3 10. 〈If this is the case, we declare the human being's function [5r] to be a particular kind of life...)
Plants are also alive, but this involves the nutritive part of the soul and the one that promotes growth, namely the vegetative [part of the soul]. A horse and an ox are also alive, but in accord with sense-perception only. A human being is also alive in accord

























 $\dot{\alpha} \rho \chi \eta \dot{\eta}$.






[^42]$11 \pi \lambda \varepsilon$ ع́́ $\sigma \tau \omega$ scripsi : $\pi \lambda \varepsilon$ í $\sigma \tau 0 \cup$ M 28 lm . addidi
with those capacities, but he also lives in accord with a type of life that involves virtue, which is an activity of the soul and a practical pursuit that does not come from nature [alone] but is accompanied by reason. If one lives this life well (in the way that we established the function of the cithara-player and of the man who plays the cithara well, the latter being the accomplished cithara-player), this person is happy, and each thing is considered well performed when it is performed in accord with its own proper excellence. Therefore if the treatment of the general discussion is valid in this case too, he did not say that the human good "is" an activity of soul in accord with virtue, but in order to represent the active component of the activity, he says "it turns out to be" [an activity of soul in accord with virtue]. If there are multiple virtues, as there surely are, [these are performed] in accord with the best and most complete [virtue], which is practical wisdom (for this is a virtue that belongs to the rational [part of the soul]). And no virtue of character [exists] without practical wisdom, even if Socrates subsumed them all into one, i.e. practical wisdom. Except that this alone does not suffice, and one must also add in a complete life, as if he were saying that [one must possess it] for most of one's time and throughout one's life. For the inference from the proverb demonstrates this: neither does one swallow make a summer nor does $a$ single day or a single period make a happy life.

Thus the human good is of this sort in outline: just as painters first draw the outline when they make a sketch, then fill in the details afterwards ("filling in the details" refers to the second draft), so we must behave in our discussion of these matters; for we must not abandon these questions before we fill out our definition of happiness. This is the most important point and "the beginning", they say, "is half of the whole"; because anyone can add what is missing and complete the details of something well outlined, and time assists with this. Because after he said "a discoverer" (since time discovers nothing, but in time everything is discovered), he added the term "assistant". But one must also bear in mind what was said before, so that we do not look for precision in the same way in everything, but in accord with the subject matter; since both a carpenter and a geometer investigate a right angle, but each does so differently; for the geometer contemplates the truth, while the carpenter makes products. One must investigate the cause in a similar fashion. For the fact is sufficient, if the reason is well established. Moreover, first principles are also recognised on the basis of fact, and because of this the fact is the primary thing and first principle.

1098b7-1099a5 11. 〈For the beginning seems to be more than half of the whole...〉 Principles are of great importance in relation to what follows, since the proverb says that "the beginning is half or even more than half of the whole". For many of the matters under investigation become evident through their beginning. This is why we must inquire again specifically into the principle of happiness, namely the principle of the fact just as we defined it. For we drew conclusions about it [i.e. the principle of happiness] from many things, first that it is a human product, next that it is rational













 оiкобонєкท̀ тvхòv оiкќav.











 'Oגи $\mu \varepsilon \nu o \iota$.




[^43]15 oíkí $\alpha v$ scripsi : oíксí $\alpha v$ M 30 lm . addidi
and not non-rational in accord with some [human] standard. After this, we established that it is an activity, which is greater than a disposition. After this, [we established that it must be possessed] throughout one's life or throughout most of it.

Because he sets these out as conclusions, from which the argument concerning this [principle] was proven. But now he combines this with what is said on the subject; for all facts are in accord with the truth, while the truth is in discord with the false, and for these reasons it is tested by it. \| So since the goods are said to be of three kinds-in accord with the soul, such as practical wisdom, temperance, and good-naturedness; in accord with the body, such as strength, beauty, and the like; and in accord with externalities, such as wealth, friendship, and the rest-we call those that are in accord with the soul most properly goods, and we assess actions and soul-related activities as relating to soul, and he accordingly syllogises potentially as follows: good actions and activities are included in the category of unqualified actions and activities, and all actions and activities have to do with the soul. Hence it has been rightly said, in accord with the ancient and agreed-upon opinion concerning these matters, that happiness is an activity of the soul. The following is also correct, namely that we declared that the end is an activity and not a product; for in acting in accord with itself [i.e. as an end], the soul does not yield a product, as the art of construction, for example, might yield a house.

Another belief that harmonises with our account is that they say that the happy person lives and fares well; because happiness is a sort of living and faring well. For just as the divine life is an activity, so also the life of the soul is an activity; and the activity of the soul fulfilling its own proper function is good, just as the soul that is corrupted is evil, but surely less so the characteristics we looked for in happiness (he says "characteristics" since these are in dispute). For how do virtue, practical wisdom, philosophic wisdom or happiness combine in this account? For they said that these are happiness, accompanied by pleasure or not without pleasure; and all of these are activities. Some attribute externalities to a certain satisfaction, even if they are contingent events [that function as possible means to an end] and not such [i.e. ends] by themselves. These views were held both by men who are many and retain the dignity [bestowed on them] due to the length of time, and by others who are few [and retain their dignity] due to their high reputation. He also investigates how the chief good must be understood in these cases; for goods possessed and used are instruments, whereas the goods that involve disposition and activity relate only to the soul. In relation to these matters, again, disposition is insufficient to produce the good [result], but activity does yield the best [result], just as happens also at the Olympic Games; for it is not those who merely train well who are crowned in the contests, but those who compete.

1099a7-1099b4 12. 〈Their life, too, is pleasant in itself...)
After demonstrating sufficiently both that happiness exists and what it is, he moves on from there to the remaining two problems, what exists within it [i.e. what its subsist-

























[^44]6 ท̇ठù scripsi ex Arist. EN 1099a8 : ŋ̀ठù̧ M
ence of qualities is] and why it exists; this is the sort of thing it is and why it is [like this]. [Aristotle] therefore will affirm confidently that what is most pleasant, what is most noble, and what is most beautiful supervene on happiness, and that this is in accord with the views of the ancients regarding it. For they said that it [i.e. happiness] exists either with pleasure or not without pleasure, just as [they said that] either pleasure exists as a part of happiness or pleasure is attached to externality like something that follows [it].
[Aristotle] then refers the discussion to what is more general and he has recourse to the matter at hand. For to each individual, he says, that thing is pleasant in relation to which he is described as "fond of" so-and-so, and he sets out these points inductively. Since some of these pleasures are [pleasant] in themselves, such as that of philosophy, that of scientific knowledge, and that of virtue, while others are not [pleasant] in accord with their own nature but according to those who do the judging, the choice is precarious. And because some people take pleasure in wine rather than in virtue, and in wealth rather than in scientific knowledge, he distinguishes these pursuits from one another. For virtuous actions are pleasant in themselves rather than in accord with those [pursuits] that have been organised on a non-rational basis. Happiness accordingly has no need of external pleasure; for the happy life is pleasant in itself. This is argued in the following manner: everyone who feels joy has pleasure, but someone who takes no delight in good actions is not good, \| nor is anyone just unless he rejoices in just actions. Virtuous actions thus possess pleasure in themselves without [being in need of] pleasure as an ornamental appendage, and in this way they are good and noble; besides, such a life has each of these [actions] to the highest degree, so as to be the best with regard to them. For if he judges such actions to be necessary, a person will cherish them with all his heart; because evil will not be admitted alongside what is noble, nor will the worst [be admitted] alongside the good. Such qualities together are complementary, since they are in themselves part of the virtuous life, and they are together and they are not separated, as the inscription at Delos has it:

What is best contributes to health, what is noblest contributes to outmost justice; but what is most pleasant contributes to getting what one desires.

These qualities together belong to the best activities; and these, or one of them, the most perfect, we identify as happiness, which will need external goods as well, if not for its own sake, then so that it can make these things [i.e. external goods] known. For how does he who lacks external resources undertake noble acts, and how will he perform them? Therefore, let these [external goods] be established as instruments; and in order that the happiness of happy individuals not be hindered by lack [of externalities], and the blessedness associated with it not take on a stain, [happiness] will be in need not just of externals but also of physical advantages; for an extremely










 عv̉סaцرovíav.



















[^45]3 lm . addidi
ugly [person] is not our idea of a happy man, since he will lack the potential for happiness.

1099b6-1100a4 13. 〈[Happiness] seems also to need this sort of prosperity...〉
Happiness seems to require external goods as well, including even goods related to the body, if not as essential parts in relation to them, at all events as instruments. For many [actions] are accomplished by means of them [i.e. bodily goods], and this is why some people identify good fortune with happiness, since the external goods are matters of fortune for the most part. Others, however, identify happiness with virtue. How so? It is because virtue is twofold, one [part] relating to the soul, the other to the body (for keen perception, health and strength are physical virtues). Since therefore happiness is fulfilled by means [of the goods] relating to the soul, but uses the bodily goods as instruments (for perhaps when one is healthy and one's soul is in a good condition, one might act readily), it is for these reasons that they identify virtue and happiness.

For this reason the question arises as to whether [happiness] is acquired by learning from without or by habituation or cultivated in some other manner by means of work, or whether it comes to human beings by divine dispensation or even by chance. Now if there is anything else, he says, which comes from the most beautiful [gifts] of divine dispensation, it is most especially likely that happiness is god-given. But this question perhaps belongs to the sphere of theology to investigate, and this inquiry also [forms] part of discussions regarding [the nature of] divine providence, but it appears in any case to be the most divine [of human possessions]; for the prize of virtue is proposed whether it is dispensed by god or if it comes from daily practice and effort. But simultaneously it would also be something widely available, || since everyone is capable of attaining happiness, unless someone were to be maimed as regards their potential for virtue either due to intemperance or because of some physical disability; people thus become happy by means of a type of study and care. For if it is admitted that it is better, so to speak, [to be happy] in this way [i.e. as a result of one's own exertions] than through chance, if in fact matters in the natural world and matters in the realm of artifice [are concerned], the former involve nature in such a way that it acts as an efficient cause for achieving the end from it [i.e. nature] and not through chance, whereas the latter involve craft in such a way that it acts as an efficient cause for reaching the best from there and not through some kind of chance. To hand over to chance, however, what is so much the greatest and most noble [would be] an act of extreme neglect.

It is plain also from our definition that happiness does not arise from chance; for activity of the soul in accord with excellence is said to be the best, noblest, and most pleasurable, and that it is impossible for an activity of soul [to result] from chance; and the same things hold for any determinant of virtue. After saying "in accord with excellence", since happiness is also established in accord with the other goods, he also mentions the other [goods] but only as being instruments. He also attempts to







 $\sigma \varepsilon \iota, ~$ ои̃т $\omega \varsigma \dot{\alpha} \theta \lambda i ́ \omega \varsigma ~ \alpha \dot{\alpha} \pi о \theta \alpha v o ́ v \tau \alpha$;























[^46]4 lm. addidi
prove [this] in another way, from common knowledge, [that is to say] political science; for this [science] is concerned with the greatest matters and does not entrust making the citizens virtuous to chance, so that from these [arguments] we gain [the idea] that neither a non-rational animal nor a child could ever be counted as happy; when the child is spoken of thus [i.e. as happy], it is being complimented for its hope for the future.

1100a5-1100a32 14. 〈Since many changes take place...〉
He then raises a difficulty as to when and to what extent we will call a human being happy, since many changes resulting from chance occur in life, and many people, although fortunate in their youth, suffer misfortune in their old age, just as the ancients record with regard to Priam; for [Aristotle] talks about the events in his life in the light of the ancient story and myth. Who then would count such a man as happy, when he died so wretchedly?

Shall we therefore call no one else at all happy, he says, while he lives, but [only] after death, if he manages to maintain all the possessions which he enjoyed while he was alive, just as Solon declared? [Solon] did not in any way count Croesus as happy on account of his ingots of gold and such an enormous heap of possessions when he came to visit him. But it is utterly absurd to hold that a human being is happy only after his death and when he no longer exists, and especially for us who claim that happiness is an activity; for how could a dead person be active? Unless we claim that someone is happy when he is dead; because we are not saying that Solon's point was this, but rather that [when a man has died] one can safely call him happy on the thesis that he outlasted the goods he had during his lifetime, there being no certainty of this while he was alive. Due to the mutability of fortune, the issue again admits of some dispute; for someone who is dead seems to have an allotment of both good and bad, just as much as another man does who is alive but does not perceive what is happening to him. Hence, another point of dispute || arises, whether the dead man himself, who might even be called happy because he has ended his life in security in possession of his goods, might be in danger with regard to his happiness due to the misfortunes of his descendants, if both honours and dishonours were to follow him after he was dead.

There is also the multifaceted and diversified distance between a man and his ancestors; for a son will have one degree of affinity toward the original person, a descendant another, and an offspring yet another. As a consequence, there will be different hindrances to happiness, with the result that the same man might be both happy and unhappy due to his descendants, to either a greater or lesser extent due to the difference of kinship. And again it would be odd if [the fortunes of the descendants] did not for some time have an effect on their ancestors; for this is inhuman and heartless. But we must return to our initial point, the one [raised by] Solon; for perhaps this problem might be solved from [consideration of] that one.









 عủסаípova.










 גíoӨव́vet $\alpha$.





 $\sigma \varepsilon \iota ~ \delta \varepsilon ̀ ~ o ̋ \tau \iota ~ \mu \varepsilon \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \lambda o ́ y o v ~ \alpha u ̉ \tau \tilde{\varphi} ~ к \alpha i ̀ ~ \tau \tilde{\eta} \varsigma ~ \varepsilon ́ \kappa ~ \lambda o ́ y o v ~ \chi \rho \eta ́ \sigma \varepsilon \omega \varsigma ~ \grave{\eta} \pi \tilde{\alpha} \sigma \alpha ~ к \alpha \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \tau o ̀ v ~ \beta i ́ o v ~ \varepsilon ̉ v \varepsilon ́ \rho y \varepsilon ı \alpha, ~$




[^47]

1100a34-1100b30 15. 〈How is it not strange...〉
When the fact holds, if someone asserted that about the happy person, he would predicate truly; and this is said to be part of how matters are, namely what exists by a combination or separation of terms, just as falsity is a way of "not-being." It is therefore strange if at the actual time when someone is happy and living happily the saying concerning that person that "he is happy" is false. But this will happen because it is not the norm to call anyone who is alive "happy" owing to the vicissitudes of fortune, because happiness aims to be something permanent, while the wheel of fortune often turns full circle, with the result that, even though people are happy, we would not call them happy owing to our expectation that their fortunes could change. For if we were to track what happens to people, we would often call the same person both happy and miserable, and we would proclaim that the happy person is in fact $a$ chameleon (an animal that changes into every colour).

After making these arguments, [Aristotle] attempts to refute the opposite case. Thus, tracking what happens to people, he says, is not correct, given that everything fortune brings us is not in our power, but procuring what brings happiness is. Because it is for this reason that a happy person is deemed blessed, because that which is not in our power makes us neither blessed nor wretched, but they only contribute to our happiness as instruments of a sort. Rather, it is activities in conformity with virtue that are responsible for our happiness, just as wicked activities are [responsible for] our misfortune. The present difficulty bears witness to our account, since-owing to the vicissitudes of fortune-happiness will not be permanent, though it should be by all means. For the virtues are more durable, he says, than even the various kinds of knowledge themselves, and in particular the more honourable of these kinds of activities are the more durable, because the blessed spend their lives most readily and continuously [occupied] with these; or rather they live in conformity with them, as if someone were to say "their life is united with them". For this is the reason we do not forget them; because no one forgets what he understands.

The attribute that we are looking for, namely happiness, will belong to the happy person. Because since we do not entrust happiness or blessedness to chance events but rather to virtuous actions which have some durability, the happy person will not lose the attribute of happiness because his fortunes change. For always or at least most often compared to other people, the happy individual will do and contemplate what is excellent; he will act through the practical virtues, while he will contemplate by means of the contemplative [virtues]; or he will act because he operates in conformity with the pursuit [of virtue] when he conducts his affairs throughout his life [in this way], and he will contemplate because all of his activity throughout his life, which is called reason and practical intelligence, is owed to his reason and his use of reason, which takes charge of his life-giving impulses and of his sensations themselves, operating by means of these [capacities] and with them and successfully accomplishing what is necessary. The "truly good" and "foursquare" (from a metaphor of dice which, when



























 $\mu \varepsilon ̀ v \delta v \sigma \delta \alpha i ́ \mu \omega v, \kappa \alpha \lambda \tilde{\omega} v \delta \varepsilon ̀ ~ \varepsilon v ̉ \delta \alpha i ́ \mu \omega v$.



2-5 $\pi о \lambda \lambda \tilde{\omega} \nu . . . \alpha \dot{y} \alpha \theta \alpha i ̃ ̧] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~ 1100 b 22-30 ~ 7-9 ~ E i ̉ \pi \grave{\omega} v . . . ~ к \alpha \lambda o ́ v] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~ 1100 b 29-31 ~$ 10 y $\left.\varepsilon v v \alpha ́ \delta \alpha \varsigma . . . \alpha \dot{\alpha} \alpha \lambda \gamma \eta \sigma_{i} \alpha v\right]$ cf. Arist. EN 1100b32 15-27 Eí... $\tau \varepsilon \lambda \varepsilon^{\prime}(\omega]$ cf. Arist. EN 1100b33-1101a13 24-25 ov̋โع... $\alpha \cup ̉ \tau \tilde{\mu}]$ cf. Eustr. In EN 100.28-30 28-31 каì ${ }^{1}$... $\left.\tau \varepsilon \lambda \varepsilon \cup \tau \eta ́ \sigma o v \tau \alpha\right]$ cf. Arist. EN 1100a12-17

6 lm. addidi 24 £̇k addidi ex Arist. EN 1101a9 et Eustr. In EN 100.28
thrown, stand firmly) will bear the chances of fortune most nobly and altogether decorously, neither being elevated by his successes nor defeated by his misfortunes. Many events occur by chance, both small and great, and small bits of fortune do not change the whole course of [a person's] life in either a positive or a negative direction, while great bits of fortune, if they are good add to the pre-existing beauty, but if they are bad hinder many good activities of the soul.

1100b30-1101a21 16. (Nevertheless, even in these circumstances nobility shines through...)
After saying that the greatest misfortunes hinder many activities, preventing happiness from being well attained, he revises this point and affirms rather that even in these circumstances nobility shines through; for the patient endurance of the happy person is evident in that he bears these [misfortunes] too in one way only, by living life in conformity with virtue and nobility, rather than by means of a sort of detachment and insensibility. For if misfortunes arose from that which is in our power, we would perhaps be at fault in these circumstances, even if we endured these [misfortunes]. But since they are not in our power, whatever is in our power vis-à-vis these circumstances must be done; and what is in our power is to preserve and patiently endure our difficulties, especially when there is a means to escape from them through a form of flattery or servility.

If activities are what determines the character of the aforementioned happy life and not the sufferings [that occur during its course], no blessed person would be miserable due to chance adversities. This is because a person is miserable when he commits hateful, vile acts, not when he suffers something; for in the former case, activities would originate from the soul, but in the latter case sufferings would; and the former are in our power, whereas the latter are not. For the genuinely happy person would bear the chances of life with good grace and would act in the best way from the possibilities [available], just as a general, whatever the quality of the army he finds, will use it well and as is best for himself, and a shoemaker, whatever the quality of the leather he finds, will make the best shoes he can. If this is the case, no one who is happy [would become] miserable, nor [would] every blessed person [become miserable] if he met with the incidents that befell Priam. Nor will the happy individual be alterable or liable to change because of his fortunes; for neither by his fortunes [in general] nor by small misadventures will he be dislodged (from> being as we stated [i.e. happy], but if any severe and frequent disasters were to befall him, he would not again recover from them back to his state of happiness in a short period of time, but after one that is long and complete; for the great calamities over a short period of time will make him unhappy. Also, someone who behaves badly over an extended and complete passage of time is unhappy, whereas someone who behaves well is happy.

What then prevents us from calling the one who acts in conformity with virtue happy? We should add that he must also be destined to go on living and die in the same
































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manner and not, as it seems to Solon, [judge him thus only] after death. For if someone is to be deemed happy on the basis of his activity, the one who acts well up to this point is blessed; for the end is there [i.e. at death], and the life [lived] in conformity with this principle is said to be perfect. || For blessed are the blameless, those who walk the law of the Lord, in the path in this life. If this is so, we shall pronounce blessed those of the living who possess and are destined to go on possessing good things, and we will also call blessed people for whom, obviously, there is every sort of dissolution and change from both internal and external phenomena, since there is another form of blessedness in their spiritual and divine nature, [that is] being in a state that contains and admits no change at all. [Aristotle] then begins [again] and discusses regarding the descendants [of the happy person] to what extent co-operation or obstacles from them will extend to the persons in question.

1101a28-1101b27 17. 〈If, then, just like the misfortunes that affect oneself...〉
After this he sets out the measure of commonality between what happens to their descendants and [their] loved ones in relation to people who are happy, establishing their differences in general terms and in outline. First, [he sets out the difference] according to the greater or lesser scale of the events; for just as, he says, among a person's, namely the happy person's, own misfortunes those that have a greater weight exercise a certain influence with regard to the variation in his life, while slight [misfortunes] have less power to cause a change to the worse in life, the same is true of the events involving our loved ones, including our descendants too in this group, since children are also referred to as dearest.

Then he sets out a second difference between them; for it is different, he says, whether these [i.e. the misfortunes] occur in connection with people who are living or dead, and this makes more of a difference than the lawless and terrible events in a tragedy, whether they are discussed in regard to people who are experiencing them and have departed or still survive. For this difference concerning the happy person must also be taken into account when doubt is felt regarding whether the dead share any good with their living descendants or the opposite. For it seems from the points we have made regarding hardships that, even if any events here, evil or even good, do penetrate to them, they must be weak, either intrinsically, as if he were speaking of their own nature, or for them, namely with regard to the dead. Therefore both the former and the latter [i.e. both evil and good events], he says, affect the dead, but by reference only, i.e. [when we say] that the descendant of so-and-so suffers this or that, and similarly in the case of his friend. But it does not have so large [an effect] as to make the happy individuals unhappy.

After these points have been clarified, he passes on to another issue, specifically where happiness must be placed; since there are three [options]-things that are honoured, as in the case of the gods and divine things, things that are praised, as in the case of human beings and human affairs, and capacities, as in the case of the arts that have the capacity to turn out in one of two ways, as in the case of medicine or































 26-42,1 'Елєі.... ^uкои́рyov] cf. Arist. EN 1102a5-11

4 тoเoút $\omega v$ post к $\alpha i ̀ \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu$ primum scripsit, deinde erasit M 10 ın' addidi |lm. addidi 12 oủסદís M a.

rhetoric or piloting a boat（for these skills may turn out one way or another，and for that reason they are termed＂capacities＂）－he inquires where happiness should be located．And that it is not included among the capacities is clear，he says，from the fact that it is not possible for this to go in either direction and to make the agent both good and bad．He inquires into the［remaining］two［possibilities］and at this point he investigates praise and the praiseworthy things，those that are praised in relation to their qualities and how they stand in relation to something else，and he sets out examples relating to both the soul and the body．For even if we praise the gods，he says，although this is by means of our standards，we speak this way．Therefore，if the praise belongs to us，it is apparent that this would not be one of the best things，but something else；happiness，however，is what is best，and therefore it is also held in honour；for we call blessed both the most godlike of men and the most godlike of goods，since they approach the gods．
｜｜1101b27－1102a19〈18．〉 〈Eudoxus was apparently right in advocating．．．〉
［Aristotle］brings forward Eudoxus as well as a witness for his arguments．For the latter，holding that pleasure［is］a good，because［he realised that］no encomium had been produced for it by the encomiasts，argued plausibly on that basis for its supremacy and blessedness，and he used to say that this［i．e．pleasure］［is］superior to the things we praise，since［it is］something more godlike and blessed，and that something similar holds for God himself and the good，thus identifying God with the good．In consequence，just as it［i．e．the good］is beyond praise，so too he affirmed that pleasure is beyond praise，since it too is referred to the same standards as the rest of the human goods are，namely the good and God．

After this he also establishes a distinction between praise and encomium in a different way from how the sophist Aphthonius does．For he specifies that encomia pertain to deeds and actions，be they in the sphere of the body or that of the soul， while to virtue，by which we are rendered capable of accomplishing noble deeds，he assigns praise for being unique and a blessing in an absolute sense．Aphthonius also speaks thus about praise，when we praise a single human action and do not speak exhaustively about many［actions］．However，to develop this subject is perhaps rather the business of rhetoricians；but it is clear to us for many reasons that happiness is among the things that are honourable and perfect．It seems to be thus because it is $a$ first principle connected with final causality and other things are done for its sake； and what is done for its own sake is good in all circumstances，whether it exists or merely appears to exist．

Since we define happiness using virtue［as a starting point］，we must also discuss the nature of virtue，so that after it is precisely described，the definiendum（namely happiness）will be made precise as well．It seems that the true statesman，if he intended to maintain the standard of his political community，would have invested much effort in virtue itself，thinking about how the citizens could be made virtuous in every matter and obedient to the laws．This is apparent from［the examples of］the








 ойт $\omega \varsigma$, $\delta \varepsilon і ̃, ~ \varphi \eta \sigma i ́, ~ \tau o ̀ v ~ \pi о \lambda \iota \tau \iota \kappa o ̀ v ~ \varepsilon i ́ \delta \varepsilon ́ v \alpha ı ~ \pi \omega \varsigma ~ \kappa \alpha i ̀ ~ \pi \varepsilon \rho i ̀ ~ \psi u \chi \eta ̃ \varsigma, ~ o v ̉ ~ \pi \varepsilon \rho i ̀ ~ \tau \eta ̃ \varsigma ~ o v ̉ \sigma i ́ \alpha \varsigma ~ \alpha v ̉ \tau \eta ̃ \varsigma, ~$


## 1102a21-1102b19 $\theta^{\prime}\left\langle\tau \tilde{\omega} v \delta^{\prime}\right.$ ỉ $\alpha \tau \tilde{\omega} v$ oi $\left.\chi \alpha \rho i \varepsilon v \tau \varepsilon \varsigma \ldots\right\rangle$





















[^49]lawgivers in various places, from Minos among the Cretans and Lycurgus among the Spartans; for Plato admires these men in the "Laws". You should also count [among the lawgivers] Solon in Athens and Zaleucus among the people of Croton and the rest of them. For all of them aimed at and seriously engaged in acquainting their citizens with the political virtues. We say "political", because one set of virtues is appropriate for a solitary person and another for the person who lives in a city, and they [i.e. the above-mentioned lawgivers] were concerned with the latter.

The virtue that we must consider is human virtue, not the one specific to nonrational things or even the one that exists with God and is beyond the human being; because natural science will investigate the former, and theological science the latter. Again, [our interest is in excellence] not of the body (such as health and speed), but of the soul, because we also established that happiness is a virtuous activity of the soul. And if this is so, the statesman, he says, must also have some knowledge about the soul, not about its essential nature but about its functions.

1102a21-1102b19 19. 〈Physicians of the better class...)
Just as the more accomplished physicians devote much attention to the study of the human body, how it is a composite entity rather than a unity (for Hippocrates used to say: "if man were a unity, he would not feel pain. And if he felt pain, the cure too would have to be a unity") and how its parts have been joined together in conformity with some rational principle, and they discuss many other matters relating to the body, so also the student of politics is in need of knowledge regarding the soul, not necessarily how it understands or how it perceives or how it forms an opinion or thinks [in an abstract sense], but how it receives the moral virtues and how, despite possessing them, it comes to lack them, and in one word everything one can ask regarding choosing the expedient and avoiding the harmful.
$\|$ For to investigate this subject in greater detail than this lies outside the scope of
this inquiry and is instead appropriate to natural science, which he also calls extraneous discourses, comparing ethics as well to the current points, just as is true of its [i.e. the soul's] division, namely that one part of it is rational, the other nonrational. It makes no difference for present purposes to investigate with reference to these parts whether they are also separated in terms of localisation, like the parts of the body, or [they are distinguishable] in thought only, like the convex and concave sides of a curved surface (because the edge line without latitude is complete); nor are they separable in relation to place, even if they are separable by definition.

Of the non-rational part [of the soul], one portion is vegetative, and before talking about the other portion, which is the perceptive, he inquires regarding the latter whether it is receptive of excellence and he rejects this [possibility] by virtue of its aforementioned habit; because this is the part responsible for growth and nutrition, which is its role in regard to both embryos and fully-developed organisms. For it is quite reasonable to assign this [faculty] to fully-grown creatures as well, since nature is always active in such [creatures] in connection with it, both when they are asleep








 $\tau \tilde{\eta} \varsigma \dot{\alpha} \nu \theta \rho \omega \pi \iota \kappa \tilde{\eta} \varsigma \alpha \dot{\alpha} \rho \tau \tilde{\eta} \varsigma \not{\alpha} \mu о \iota \rho о v \pi \varepsilon ́ \varphi \cup \kappa \varepsilon v$.






 $\lambda \nu \mu \varepsilon ́ v \omega \nu \mu \varepsilon \rho \tilde{\omega} v \tau \sigma \tilde{v} \sigma \omega ́ \mu \alpha \tau o \varsigma$.

[^50]
and when they are awake. Therefore, this excellence appears to be common to all plants and embryos and not something specifically human. The good person and the bad, whom ethics focuses on, cannot be clearly differentiated while they are sleeping; because neither is doing anything, with the result that these [people] are much alike in the half of their lives in which they are asleep. For Ariston also used to say that sleep, just like the tax-collector, deprives us of half our lives; because sleep is inactivity of the soul, and for this reason both the good and the bad [soul] are inactive at this time, except that in some small degree certain fictitious sense-impressions may penetrate the dreams of those who are sleeping, so that certain traces of each person's actions that impose themselves daily are reflected [in their dreams]. For at that point the dreams of the good are better than those of ordinary people. This is enough on this subject, however, but we may omit from consideration the aforementioned nutritive [part of the soul], since it has by its nature no share in human excellence.

But there appears to be another non-rational element in the soul as well, which in the case of a human being appears to participate somehow in reason. This is evident from [the behaviour of] both the uncontrolled and self-controlled person, since reason fights with desire and often overcomes [it], so that the individual becomes selfcontrolled, but in many other cases it is defeated [by desire], so that [the individual] is said to be uncontrolled. Extolling the rational part [of the soul] is appropriate to ethics, because it [i.e. the rational part] urges people towards what is best. It is clear, however, that [the non-rational part of the soul] frequently overpowers rationality and engenders incontinence; for the part that combats rationality, sometimes triumphing over it but sometimes succumbing to it, is governed by it. This is confirmed by the palsied portions of the body.

Diagramma ii
Tท̃ऽ $\psi u x \eta ̃ \varsigma$
тò $\mu \dot{\varepsilon} v \dot{\varepsilon} \sigma \tau \iota \cdot \tau o ̀ ~ \delta \check{\varepsilon}$ '.


ои̉кои̃v $\tau \tilde{\omega} v \dot{\alpha} \rho \varepsilon \tau \tilde{\omega} v$ ai $\mu \varepsilon ́ v ~ \varepsilon i ́ \sigma ı ~ \delta ı \alpha v o \eta \tau ı к \alpha i ́, ~$ $\alpha i \delta^{\varepsilon} \dot{\eta} \theta$ เк $\alpha i ́$.
cf. Arist. EN 1102b32-1103a7, 1102a32-1102b6, 1102b11-31



 $\alpha v \theta \rho \omega \pi i v \eta \varsigma ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \pi \alpha \rho \alpha ̀ ~ \tau \eta ̀ v ~ \pi \varepsilon ו Ө \alpha \rho \chi i ́ \alpha v ~ \tau о и ̃ ~ \lambda o ́ y o v ~ \pi \alpha \rho \alpha \varphi \varepsilon \rho o ́ \mu \varepsilon v o v . ~ o v ̉ \delta \varepsilon ̀ v ~ \delta \varepsilon ̀ ~ \delta ı \alpha \varphi \varepsilon ́ \rho \varepsilon ı ~$


[^51][^52]
## Diagram ii

The soul's

Thus some of the virtues are intellectual, while others are moral.

1102b21-1103a10 20. 〈But in the case of bodies, we see the part that moves astray...)
We see the part of the body that moves astray, since it is perceptible, but we cannot see the erratic member of the soul. Thus, just as a [palsied] limb disobeys when nature or an independent impulse moves it in one direction and it is carried off in the wrong direction, so too in the case of the human soul one must make sense of the fact that it moves astray in defiance of obedience to reason's command. For the purposes of the present investigation, it is not important whether the faculties of the desire and of appetite are different or identical, the one part being obedient to reason and the other refusing to listen to it. Just as we said, we reiterate this point alone: since in the


















 1102b11-31 2-3 Tò...óp $\tilde{\omega} \mu \varepsilon v]$ cf. Arist. EN 1102b21-23 5-48,18 ov̉8èv... $\lambda \varepsilon ́ y o \mu \varepsilon v] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~$ 1102b23-1103a10
$17 \dot{\varepsilon} \kappa^{1}$ addidi
case of the human being there is an element of such a sort that, when a struggle arises between it and reason, it prevails in many cases but is defeated in many others, this element can reasonably be said to participate in reason; and in the selfcontrolled person this element obeys the authority of reason, but in the case of the unrestrained person it resists. Because of this, he also affirms "in the case of the moderate and brave person", because this part does not initially resist rationality and then later submits to it, but is obedient to reason from the beginning; for the latter [i.e. obedience to reason] is [characteristic] of the self-controlled person, who even when he is suffering is not affected [by his situation], while the former [i.e. initially resisting rationality and later submitting to it] is characteristic of people who do not suffer anything at all.

Therefore it is inferred from these points collectively that the non-rational part [of the soul] is divided into two subsections: one subsection of it has no share of rationality, since it is specific to plants, but the other does in a sense participate [in it] and \| is said "to take account"; not in the way that in mathematics conclusions are drawn by means of reason, but in the sense that we speak of taking account of advice from one's father, since sometimes one is obedient, but at other times one resists; and this is apparent from our practice of admonishing people. Consequently, if it is [more] correct to speak also of [the appetitive part of the soul] as rational, it is on that basis [that the point is made] and not as in the sense of the objects of thought. Surely then [the part of the soul] that possesses reason is also divided into two subsections, one subsection [having rationality] in the proper sense and in itself, the other only in the sense of following [reason]. The virtues are also differentiated in correspondence with this division: some virtues are intellectual and belong to the rational faculty, while others are moral and they belong to the part of the soul that is rational in a straightforward way. For wisdom and practical intelligence are intellectual virtues, and we praise those who have these virtues for their disposition. And we use the term "virtues" for dispositions that are praiseworthy rather than those that stem 〈from〉 wickedness or vice or another bad character trait.






 $\kappa \alpha i ̀ \tau \alpha u ́ \tau \eta \nu ~ \delta \grave{\eta} \tau \varepsilon \lambda \varepsilon \nu \tau \tilde{\omega} \sigma \alpha \nu \varphi v ́ \sigma I v ~ \varepsilon i ̃ v \alpha \iota$.






















 $\left.\tau \alpha \cup ́ \tau \alpha \varsigma^{1}\right]$ cf. Arist. EN 1103a28-31

1 'HӨเк $\tilde{\nu}$ Nıко $\mu \alpha \chi \varepsilon i ́ \omega v \beta \tilde{\eta} \tau \alpha$ in marg. superiore 11 post $\mu \eta$ schol. i (vid. append.) 12 lm . addidi

[Book 2 of the "Nicomachean Ethics"]
[Beginning] of Book 2: Therefore, virtue is of two kinds, one intellectual and the other moral, and the former pertains to the rational faculty, the latter to the appetitive faculty which complies with reason; intellectual virtue is for the most part both produced and increased while one is engaged in learning (for wisdom and practical intelligence are examples of this type), for which reason it has need of both time and experience for the acquisition of knowledge; moral virtue, on the other hand, comes about as the result of habit ("ethos"), as its name illustrates. For Evenus states:

Habit, I say, is a long-term matter, and ultimately becomes nature.
as if a human being acquired his nature in the course of it. So he [i.e. Aristotle] attempts [to prove] that moral virtues are not engendered by nature from the fact that no natural property can be brought into another condition through habituation. Therefore a human being is able to form or not form a habit in conformity with these [moral virtues].

1103a23-1103b20 1. 〈The virtues therefore are engendered [in us] neither by nature nor contrary to nature...)
All the current points are constructive for the argument that the virtues come about in us from habituation rather than from nature. For they come about [for us] neither by nature nor in fact contrary to nature, as often happens with the stone that has the attribute of moving upwards in response to some more powerful necessity, but we are naturally adapted to receive the virtues (for such is our nature; it is capable of receiving the virtues, just as bronze [is capable of receiving] the shape of a statue), while on the other hand we are made perfect in them not by nature but as a result of teaching and, in another way, by habituation.

Again, he infers [this argument] syllogistically in another manner: in the case of the things that accrue to us from nature, we possess [them] first in a potential form [i.e. as capacities] and afterwards we exhibit their actual activity in this manner [i.e. through habit]. Everything human or involved in generation [i.e. everything that is subject to change] differs from divine matters in this respect, that the latter are always actualities (because they lack matter, which makes it possible to be in both states [i.e. potentiality and actuality]), whereas the former [i.e. everything human and involved in generation] transitions from potentiality to actuality. In any case, let no one say in regard to our senses that we possess them simultaneously with our generation, and that for these reasons we may seem to exercise them without potentiality. For we refer to our activity for these things [i.e. sensations] as distinct from our capacity, just as we have learned in his "On the Soul", so that our senseperception [arises] simultaneously with our creation, whereas the act of senseperception is an activity that originates from a capacity.
















 каì oi $\mu \varepsilon ̀ v ~ \sigma \dot{\omega} \varphi \rho о \nu \varepsilon \varsigma ~ o i ~ \delta ’ ~ \alpha ́ \kappa o ́ \lambda \alpha \sigma \tau о ı . ~$










[^53]18 post $\alpha$ кó $\lambda \alpha \sigma \tau o u$ schol. ii (vid. append.) 19 lm . addidi

The difference between sense-perception and the virtues, then, lies in the fact that in the former case we did not acquire the faculty of sight as a result of repeated acts of seeing, but instead, because we already had the faculties of sense-perception by nature, we used them and brought what we had through capacity to activity; whereas in the case of the virtues we acquire them by practising them. But how is it possible that in the case of the virtues as well we do not advance from what we have through capacity to activity, if we do not have them but only acquired them at a later stage? Surely the dialectical proof must be examined precisely: for he is not speaking of the sort of activity by which one transitions from what is incomplete in capacity, but about the sort in accord with which we act having complete capacity, i.e. that which answers to a formed state. For observe also the example that has to do with our senses: even if these are potentially endowed with the capacity to be completed by means of the sensible objects, they come about via exercise [of that capacity]. Even so, since these dispositions are perfect in conformity with which we will exercise our activity, if we wish to do so, we exercise our activity. For this is why he said in reference to the capacities that "they are bestowed on us", since we are born in accord with a formed state, and in reference to the activities that "we exhibit them", because we exercise them when we wish to, which is not the case in reference to the virtues.

He also adduces examples immediately and invokes the law-givers to witness these claims. || Again, he states that the [virtues] both arise and are destroyed by means of the same activities-the same in genus; for noble and base activities are the same in genus, but differ in species. He also advances the argument using an analogy from the arts; because both good harp players and bad [ones] are formed from an activity that is the same in genus, and this is why a teacher is needed. One must hold this view in reference to the virtues as well: it is from the modes of behaviour that are the same in respect to their genus, but not in respect to their species, that some of us become brave, others cowardly, and some temperate, others unrestrained.

1103b21-1104a13 2. 〈Our moral dispositions are formed as a result of similar activities...)
In the case of our physical qualities, our activities [originate] from [inborn] tendencies, whereas in the case of our moral qualities, our dispositions become either good or bad as a result of our activities and from engaging many times in the same [actions], whether noble or base. For this is what he affirms, namely that we necessarily produce activities of a certain kind, because the settled dispositions too are produced corresponding to the differences between these [repeated actions]. For it makes no small difference whether we form habits of one kind rather than another. And after affirming "on the contrary, it is of very great [importance]", in order to prevent any other understanding in regard to these matters, he adds "rather it makes all the difference" and reasonably so; because since the moral virtues are developed through habituation, accustomation is surely indispensable for the perfection of the




























[^54]13 ov̉ $\delta$ と̀ in ras. | ov̉ठદ̀ $\tau \alpha v ̃ \tau \alpha$ post $\sigma \cup \mu \varphi \varepsilon ́ \rho o v \tau \alpha$ primum scripsit, deinde erasit M 21 schol. iii in marg. exteriore (vid. append.) | lm. addidi $25 \varphi \alpha v \varepsilon \rho \tilde{\omega} v$ scripsi : $\varphi \alpha v \varepsilon \rho o ́ v ~ M ~$
virtues; by saying "all the difference", he rejects the notion that these [virtues] come about in a different manner.

Since then our present inquiry does not aim at theoretical knowledge, in which case we would examine only the truth of the [arguments] proposed, but also has a practical aim, evidently in order that we may become good, since, if it were not intended for this end, our investigation would be of no use (because things done for the sake of an end are futile without the end for which they are done, just as fasting [is futile] without being humble), it is necessary for these reasons to consider the nature of actions, namely how one is to perform them with an eye to accomplishing the good. Let the notion that one ought to act in conformity with correct reason be assumed as a common principle for every action; for if [an action] is not done in accord with correct reason, it will be thoroughly bad and will lack the property of being done well and in conformity with virtue.

Since discussion of this [issue] has been delayed for a while, let this be conceded beforehand, as he also said previously, that the correct account of matters of conduct ought to be investigated in outline and not precisely, since accounts must only be required to match their subject matter. For we shall neither seek specifications of statues in the same manner in every possible chance material, nor [shall we seek] the correct account of action for every chance individual person; for the wise person and the ordinary person would perform the same action in different ways. And [the point that] in matters of conduct not even matters of expediency have anything fixed is also unavoidable, since it is frequently the case that what is beneficial for one person will not be so for another, and that what will be suitable for him at the present time will be otherwise tomorrow, just as healthy foods would benefit one person but will remain useless for another. And if the general theory [of ethics] is such, the account will be even more unreliable, if particular cases [of action] || were investigated; for the same expertise and the same set of prescriptions will not apply to the same agents, but they must also consider the occasion, just as is the case with the art of medicine or of navigation. But we must try to lend some aid to this discussion, and the first observation that must be made is that excesses and deficiencies destroy these good actions.

1104a24-1104b18 3. 〈The person who shuns all [pleasure], as boors do...〉
Since every virtue is intermediate, it is destroyed by the two extremes [i.e. excess and deficiency]; because it inclines away from the intermediary position, in which it was safe, and is immediately destroyed. But not only, he says, [are the virtues] generated and fostered from actions that are the same in genus, as we were saying, but they will also find their full exercise in the same actions; and he takes bodily strength as an example, because invisible things are illustrated from qualities that are generally visible. Strength, for example, is produced by the intake of large quantities of appropriate food, and is increased by undergoing much exertion; because one must distinguish "from the same [actions]" with reference to the production, and "by the same





















 u̇yı́孔દбӨaı.




 $\varphi v ́ \sigma \varepsilon \omega \varsigma$ ò $\mu \varepsilon ̀ v \beta \varepsilon \lambda \tau i ́ \omega v$ yıyvó $\mu \varepsilon v o \varsigma ~ \pi \varepsilon \rho i ̀ ~ \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \tau o u ̃ ~ \Theta \varepsilon o ́ y v ı \delta o \varsigma, ~ o ̀ ~ \delta \varepsilon ̀ ~ \chi \varepsilon i ́ p \omega v ~ \pi \varepsilon \rho i ̀ ~ \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \tau o u ̃ ~$

[actions]" with reference to the growth [of strength]. Observe e.g. also the activity associated with strength; for if someone is strong, he will be able both to eat much food and to endure much trouble; and again strength is diminished by eating very little and never working hard, with the result that on account of the latter the small quantity [of food] admitted is not distributed [throughout the body] in service of a proper digestion. Yet the activity of the person who lacks strength is characterised by the inability to eat much or to undertake much exertion. This is also the case in regard to the virtues: moderation is engendered in us by our abstaining from pleasures, and we abstain from pleasures when we are temperate. Abstinence should not trouble us, since it is a suspension of self-indulgence rather than an activity of moderation; because abstinence from the pleasures is our inactivity in relation to the pleasures, but is an activity regarding moderation, which dismisses the pleasures and as it were resists them; it is the same in the case of courage.

We must, he says, establish a sign for ourselves of how we are disposed with respect to the dispositions and virtues (lest somehow we persist in the virtues as if we were under compulsion and involuntarily, and are not satisfied with our dispositions from ourselves) towards the pleasure or pain that supervenes on actions performed in accord with virtue, so that if we take pleasure in instances in which we act moderately, we are shown to be moderate, whereas if we feel pain, it is apparent that some external constraint or power compels us to these [actions]. And if we were to chance upon some opportunity, we will clearly be moving away [from this] towards the opposite [condition]. But this does not belong to virtue nor [is it] the style of a man who loves virtue.

That moral virtue is entirely concerned with pleasures and pains is also shown by Plato \| when he urges [the importance of] being guided to them from childhood. Furthermore, [Aristotle] actually proves [this point] by a deductive argument: for the virtues have to do with feelings and actions; every feeling or action is accompanied by pleasure or pain; it follows, then, that the virtues have to do with pleasures and pains. And this is clear from punishments too, since they consist of certain forms of pain and are a kind of medicine counteracting the pleasures; because opposites are naturally suited to be healed by means of their opposites.

1104b18-1105a12 4. 〈Again, as we said previously...〉
Moreover, he elaborates on the argument and shows how moral virtue is concerned with pleasures and pains, and after this he states that every formed disposition of the soul has a nature concerned with the kind of things by which [the soul] tends to be made either better or worse, better, for instance, from the admonitions of Theognis, but worse from those of Choerilus. So [everyone] has his natural tendency with regard to and towards these things, one man becoming better in connection with the writings of Theognis, another worse in connection with the works of Choerilus. It is by means of pleasures and pains that people become worse and better; better by pursuing the pleasure of learning while avoiding the pleasure of indulgence, and





 غ́ $\zeta \alpha \sigma \varphi \alpha \lambda ı \zeta$ о́ $\mu \varepsilon v o ı$.








 $\rho o v ~ \dot{\eta} \delta v ́, ~ \kappa \alpha i ̀ ~ \alpha u ̃ \theta ı \varsigma ~ \alpha i \sigma \chi \rho o ̀ v ~ \alpha ̉ \sigma u ́ \mu \varphi о \rho о v ~ \lambda \nu \pi \eta \rho o ́ v . ~ \pi \varepsilon \rho i ̀ ~ \tau \alpha \tilde{\tau} \tau \alpha ~ \mu \varepsilon ̀ v ~ o ́ ~ \mu \varepsilon ̀ v ~ \alpha ̉ y \alpha \theta o ̀ \varsigma ~ к \alpha \tau о \rho-~$


 $\tau \tilde{\nu}$ оікєі́ $\omega v \pi \rho о \sigma \delta เ о \rho เ \sigma \mu \tilde{\omega} v$.










moreover by avoiding the pleasure of a board game while pursuing the pain of abstinence from pleasures; and again [they become] worse in the opposite way. After saying "by pursuing" and "by avoiding", he specifies in reference to those who [become] better, avoiding pleasures one ought not [to enjoy] or [that are enjoyed] at the wrong time or in the wrong manner, but in reference to those who [become] worse, [he specifies] the pursuit of those things; for it is not enough to avoid things one ought not [to enjoy], but one must also [avoid them] when one ought not [to enjoy them] and in the right way and to the right extent and in terms of any other determinations we establish in securing the proposition.

After discussing avoidance, given that avoiding harmful things and abstaining from them is a kind of inactivity and rest of the soul, he moves on to the way in which some [thinkers] defined the virtues as states of impassivity and tranquillity. But this is not well [argued], because they used these terms in an absolute sense and did not add the appropriate specifications; for one will frequently avoid some given thing as harmful, but in some specific circumstance or amount or way it will be useful, the thing those [thinkers] define as absolutely worthless. In line with the other [authorities], then, moral virtue is assumed to be concerned with pleasures and pains, so that it involves the quality of acting in the best way, while vice [involves the quality of acting] in the worst way.

He infers another dialectical proof: that there are three objects we choose and in opposition to these also three in number others we avoid, and that these are the following: the noble, the expedient, and the pleasant, and on the other hand the shameful, the non-expedient, and the painful. In respect to all these, the good person will succeed in choosing the better objects and avoiding the worse ones, although with the appropriate specifications in regard to both (because this is what it means to choose successfully); whereas the bad person is likely to go wrong by choosing what should be avoided and avoiding what should be chosen, except in these cases as well with the appropriate specifications [in regard to both].

Of the three objects of choice, at any rate, the pleasant is more universal and common to all living creatures and is a concomitant of the remaining objects of choice; since both the noble and the expedient are often pleasant, if not always; because drinking medicine is useful but not pleasant. On another ground as well the pleasant appears to be more dominant, namely the fact that it is with us from infancy, whereas the noble and the expedient develop in us [only] as we are mature. For this reason also, as if the pleasant has been engrained in us, we are not able to eradicate it easily. We regulate all our actions, some of us more and some less, by the standards of pleasure and pain. For we want to know which things please this person and which pain that person, and we judge their character by that standard. The feeling of pleasure is so hard to wash out that even Heraclitus bears witness to the fight against it, showing the faculty of the appetites to be harder to overcome than the faculty of anger; but virtue, like art, is always associated with what is harder, since a good result
 $\alpha ́ \zeta \varepsilon \tau \alpha \iota ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \pi \rho o ́ \beta \lambda \eta \mu \alpha$.











 каі̀ $\dot{\omega} \varsigma \delta \varepsilon \tilde{\text { I. }}$



















[^55]3 lm . addidi $33 \mu \varepsilon \lambda \lambda \eta$ ŋ́ $\sigma \varepsilon \iota$ scripsi : $\mu \varepsilon \lambda \eta \dot{\eta} \sigma \varepsilon ı M$
is even better when it is more difficult, because it is not easy. Hence, for this reason too the problem is constructed.
|| 1105a17-1105b18 5. 〈One might be at a loss as to what we mean...〉
After saying that we become just by behaving justly and that our dispositions do not pre-exist, so that we might behave in accord with them, as holds true in the case of the senses, but rather our dispositions arise from our actions, he sets out a difficulty in relation to these matters; given that [virtue] does not exist on the day of our birth, why do we say that we become just by behaving justly? For those who behave justly seem to be just already rather than becoming so, just as, he says, also holds true in the case of the arts; for those who can read and write do not become literate, but they are scholars. As a way of resolving this difficulty, he first raises the objection "Or is it not this way in the case of the arts?", and is it not the case that every individual who reads and writes is literate, just as he who steals is not a thief and he who runs is not a runner? Because it is possible to write a word correctly both by chance and by instruction [i.e. because you have been taught]; for spelling correctly is not sufficient for being or being called a scholar, but one must [do so] as a literate person does, i.e. in accord with the rules of grammar and as is proper.

Then he argues dialectically, putting the case the other way around, that matters are different in regard to the arts and in regard to the virtues; because works of art have their merit in themselves, so that if they are good, they are praiseworthy regardless of the artistic ability of their creator or how he is disposed towards his work. Whereas in the case of [acts of] virtues, it is not enough if they are good, and are considered, for instance, just and moderate, to make the agent just and moderate; because many people act justly out of fear of the laws, becoming defective in regard to their disposition to justice, and many behave moderately although they are fond of self-indulgence, even if they abstain from it out of fear. But one must observe the agent as well, he says, how he acts and what his attitude is towards the action undertaken; because these questions are not raised in relation to works of art, but [Aristotle] wants the only one of the additional determinants to be that [the agent] acts knowledgably, so that he does not act aimlessly and do what he does in ignorance. Whereas in the case of the virtues, knowing what moderation is and how it benefits the one who practises it contributes little or nothing, but the other [two] conditions are all-important, and they rather result from repeated performance and from becoming habituated to them.

In consequence, he argues vehemently that mere deeds are not said to be just, even if they seem to be just to the extent that they conform to the account of these, but [only] when they are performed as just and moderate people do them. We are correct, at any rate, to say that someone becomes just by behaving justly, and so too in regard to being moderate. But as a consequence of not acting, not only is one not good but one will not become good either. But most people act justly not spontaneously, but simply because [people] speak of these as good [actions], and they








[12r] || Diagramma iii


 $\dot{\eta} \delta o v \eta ̀ ~ \eta ̄ ~ \lambda र ́ \pi \eta$.
cf. Arist. EN 1105b20-27

поıптıкоі̀ Georg. Pachym. Paraph. In EN 22.19 (cum M ${ }^{b}$ ): $\pi \alpha \theta \eta \tau \iota \kappa o ̀ ̀$ Arist. vulg. (EN 1105b24)
behave like sick people: they listen carefully to the doctors, but they do not do what is prescribed. The example, however, is not very easily understood. But if one were to judge [these two groups] according to their attitude, one would find them to be on a par; for just as the first group do something not because it is noble, but because it is considered noble, and in this manner they are not accounted virtuous, so too the second group; they listen but do not carry out the prescription carefully and gladly, and so they are not accounted healthy; and if they do not act, the example is [still] fitting as written, because just as the first group philosophise about virtue and do not act [in conformity with it] but [still] think they are pursuing philosophy, so also the second group listen but do not act, which [i.e. acting] would have been better.
|| Diagram iii
There are three states that arise in the soul:

such as anger confidence envy fear
desire

joy friendship hatred longing jealousy

pity, and in general the feelings that are accompanied by pleasure or pain.




























[^56]1 ante $\operatorname{lm} . \sigma \tau^{\prime}$ schol. vii (vid. append.) | lm. addidi 17 סعv́tع $\quad$ os scripsi : $\delta \varepsilon v ́ \tau \varepsilon \rho o v ~ M ~$

1105b19-1106a26 6. 〈After this, we must consider what virtue is...)
Next he investigates what virtue is, and advances the discourse in accord with the diairetic style [i.e. the method of division]. Since he does not examine physical virtue, which consists of health, keen perception, speed, and the rest, but rather that which has to do with the soul, the characteristics of the soul, he says, are of three kinds: emotions, capacities, and dispositions. Emotions [are] states of anger, fears, and the like, while capacities are [the faculties] in virtue of which we are capable of feeling any of those [emotions]; for a stone lacks the capacity for feeling anger or pain, but a human being [has it], just as he says in the "Metaphysics" with regard to the possible meanings of "capacity". And dispositions are [the faculties] in accord with which we are either well or ill disposed in relation to the emotions, so that where there are emotions, there are both capacities and dispositions as well. Since the latter are related to the emotions, therefore, he examines which of the three categories virtue belongs to, and by excluding two of the options, he brings forward the third by way of hypothesis; initially, he removes two via direct reduction [of the syllogisms], since every hypothetical [syllogism] is made perfect by means of the direct reduction [of syllogisms].

First, he demonstrates that the virtues are not emotions by means of four deductive arguments. He added that the vices are also not emotions although they certainly seem quite like emotions, because where the contrary is, there also is its opposite. The first deductive argument, then, is that we are called good or bad on the basis of our virtues and our vices, but that we are not said to be such on the basis of our emotions; instead, we are said to be inclined to anger on the basis of our anger, and merciful because of our pity, but we are not called good or bad [on this basis]. The second [deduction] is that we are neither blamed nor praised for our emotions. Refuting an objection to this argument, he inserts "merely", because a person is not blamed simply because he becomes upset, but rather because he inappropriately becomes upset, just as the person who feels anger is also not [blamed] because he experiences anger (for anger is a natural emotion of the soul), but because he feels anger beyond what is appropriate. [So] we are praised in accord with our virtues and blamed in accord with our vices. The third [deductive argument] is that emotions arise involuntarily, inasmuch as they are innate within the soul, whereas virtues and vices [arise] from free choice. The fourth [deductive argument] is that we are moved in accord with our emotions, whereas in accord with these [i.e. virtues and vices] we are not moved but are disposed in a certain way.

This is why he also attempts to show that [virtues and vices] are also not capacities by means of three deductive arguments: for we are said to be neither good nor bad in accord with these [i.e. our capacities for virtue or vice], but [we are called] good in accord with our virtues and bad in accord with our vices; and [he also says] that we are neither praised nor blamed by reason of the latter [i.e. our capacities] but in accord with the former [i.e. our virtues and vices], indeed; and [he claims that] our
 каӨó̀оv $\dot{\eta} \dot{\alpha} \rho \varepsilon \tau \eta$ и́, $\varepsilon і \rho \eta \tau \alpha$.







 عiӨıбт

Diagramma iv

cf. Arist. EN 1106a33-36













[^57]11 post $\varepsilon$ $\theta \iota \sigma \tau \alpha \iota$ schol. viii et ix (vid. append.) 12 lm . addidi
capacities are by nature, while virtues and vices are not by nature. The general definition of virtue has thus been given.

Examining whether [virtue] exists is thus superfluous, but knowing what it is [generically] is insufficient, and [we must also discuss] what species [of thing] it is. We must then specify this too by defining it fully on the basis of its features; because it is customary to search for definitions in this manner. Every virtue, then, is a quality of something that makes the thing itself good and the performance of it good as well; and he adduces as examples the virtue of the eye and furthermore of the horse. In conformity with these same examples, then, \| he says, the virtue of a human being will also be a disposition that renders him a good person and will cause him to perform his function well. This topic has been discussed by means of many alternative [arguments] we have articulated, but it will become even more evident if we consider what constitutes the specific nature of virtue, which he also infers in general terms, as he is accustomed to do in many cases.

Diagram iv

arithmetical proportion
1106a26-1106b27 7. 〈Now in everything that is continuous and divisible, it is possible to take...)
Now in everything, he says, that is divisible, both what is perceptible and what is intelligible, provided it is continuous, it is possible to take a larger part, a smaller part, or an amount intermediate [between them], and these parts [may be larger, smaller, or intermediate] either in terms of the thing itself or relative to us. "In terms of the thing itself" [means] whenever we take the greater part of the thing or the smaller part, or we divide the whole into equal amounts. "Relative to us", on the other hand, [means that] it is not always the case that if we consider what has been taken as much, what is left behind is necessarily small; because it is possible to take away a small amount from the whole and consider it much unless, prompted by his primary aim of teaching about the intermediate position [between them], where he will include virtue as well, he idiosyncratically understands the intermediate to mean both "relative to the object" and "relative to us". Because virtue will be found to be the mean relative to us rather than relative to the object, since one must have confidence as to the proper measure, time, and manner, as well as the other conditions we specified in addition; for one and the same mean will appear to one person to be deficient, to another person to be excessive, but to a third person moderate and truly





















[13r] || 1106b29-1107a32 $\eta^{\prime}$ ( tò yò̀ какòv тoṽ ảtعípov...)







2-21 $\left.\beta^{\prime} . . . \varepsilon \dot{\varepsilon} \sigma \tau \iota v\right]$ cf. Arist. EN 1106a33-1106b27 23-70,27 $\left.\Lambda \varepsilon ́ y \varepsilon \iota . . . \lambda \varepsilon ́ y \varepsilon ı v\right] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~$ 1106b28-1107a32 25-26 oi... $\dot{y} y \alpha \theta \tilde{\omega} v]$ cf. Anon. In EN 133.1-3

22 ante lm. $\eta^{\prime}$ schol. x (vid. append.) | lm. addidi 23 к $\alpha \kappa \alpha ̀$ correxi : к M
a mean. For this reason, the mean is calculated relative to us rather than relative to the object.

Because the mean is not the same for everyone, as the [mean] of the object is, as the example from arithmetic illustrates: for 2 and 6 and 10 comprise the arithmetical proportion; because the greater number [i.e. 10] exceeds the mean [i.e. 6] and the mean [exceeds] the lesser number [i.e. 2] by the same amount [i.e. 4]. Consuming six pounds of food, for example, is a large amount in relation to the object, but in relation to various persons it will be found to be both deficient and excessive; because for Milo, who eats eighty barley-cakes, it will be counted as a small amount, but for the beginner in athletic exercises as a large one. Likewise, every craftsman and expert will avoid the two opposite [extremes] and will aim at the mean (just as they are accustomed to say in reference to good works of art that it is impossible either to add anything to them or to take anything away from them; because the perfection [of these works of art] is destroyed by each of the two [extremes], but is preserved by adherence to the mean).

Hence, since every art aims at the mean, and virtue is more accurate and better than any art (since none of the arts can educate the soul nor even bring to perfection anything innate [within it]), [it follows that virtue] itself also has the quality of aiming at the mean, since nature too aims at the mean and fashions the body parts without going beyond or contrary to what is needed. I do not refer to intellectual virtue, which is part of the rational faculty, but rather to moral virtue, since this pertains to [states] that are subject to excess, deficiency, or a mean. For one can be too active in respect to each of the emotions, if the emotions are activities, so let it be assumed that in the same sense one can be less [active than desirable], and that neither case is good. Because an error is involved in the case of [experiencing feelings] too much, while a fault is involved in the case of [experiencing them] too little, since excess [i.e. feeling too much] would seem to contribute to the praise of the one who pursues [the object], but nonetheless it involves a failure with regard to his disposition; while deficiency is reasonably faulted since it does not attain the mean. The mean, however, is praised and constitutes success. And praise and success are characteristic of virtue.
|| 1106b29-1107a32 8. 〈For evil is a form of the unlimited...)
After this he discusses how evils are manifold and how one can go wrong in many ways, since it is possible [to do so] in accord with both excess and deficiency, whereas success [is possible] in only one way, namely in relation to the mean, because, he says, evil is a form of the unlimited, just as the Pythagoreans pictured it by placing the unlimited in the column of evils, and the limited in the column of goods (which is why evil [i.e. to fail] is easier, since it is multiform and it is possible to fall in with one of the two forms [i.e. one of the two extremes]; whereas the good is difficult, because it involves one way only and must be hit on accurately).












 тò $\mu \varepsilon ́ \sigma o v ~ к \alpha i ̀ ~ \varepsilon u ́ \rho i ́ \sigma к \varepsilon เ v ~ к \alpha i ̀ ~ \alpha i \rho \varepsilon ı ̃ \sigma \theta \alpha ı . ~$











 к 1 ச́кк $\alpha \sigma \tau \alpha$ 入દ́yยıv.

10-12 к $\left.\alpha \theta \grave{\omega} \varsigma . . . \alpha{ }^{\prime} v \theta \rho \omega \pi о v\right]$ cf. Arist. Metaph. 1053a35-36
$9 \dot{\omega} \varsigma \mathrm{M}$ (cum codd) : $\tilde{\omega}$ Arist. EN 1107a1 12 каì oủ tòv $\varphi \rho o ́ v \mu o v$ bis M 27 post 入éyદıv schol. xi et xii (vid. append.)

For that reason, the definition of virtue is put together from the predicates attributed to virtue, that it is a disposition rather than an emotion or a capacity, as he said previously, and this is [the definition of it] in terms of its genus. He also said that it is "concerned with choice" to distinguish it from physical [i.e. bodily] virtue, and "located in a mean" by virtue of its two extreme flaws [i.e. excess and deficiency]. He added that "it is relative to us" due to the mean of the object, which is one and the same for everyone, and that "it is determined by reason", since the opposing extremes are indeterminate [evils]; this is because departing from what is determined is unlimited in terms of excess and deficiency, and for these reasons the evils are manifold. Since the mean itself is likely to be determined differently in relation to the relevant persons and in the context of [varying] determinants which have been established, as we discussed [previously], he adds to these [conditions] "as the person of prudent wisdom would determine it"; because the person of prudent wisdom will determine [the mean] prudently in accord with his disposition; and the person of prudent wisdom is the measure of the mean, just as in the "Metaphysics" as well he contradicted Protagoras, who said "man is the measure of all things" without [specifying] the person of prudent wisdom and the expert in relation to each of the existing subjects and conditions. In consequence, the excesses exceed what is right, while the deficiencies fall short, whereas virtue ascertains and adopts the mean.

In respect to its substance and its definition, virtue is the mean, but in respect to what is best, it is an extreme. There are some actions and emotions, however, that are intrinsically associated with badness, and these characteristics [i.e. excess, deficiency, and the mean] are not inherent in them, because it is impossible ever to go right in regard to them. This is because in regard to their additional determinants they will not sometimes seem bad, at other times good, but will always seem bad. Thinking that the mean is applicable in the above cases is like thinking that there is a mean of excess or a mean of deficiency; because just as the former are always bad, so too the latter are always bad. But someone who thinks this would also think there is an excess of excess; and since he posits a mean of it [i.e. of excess] and a deficiency of deficiency, he will think that there is another "mean" of this very mean, and another excess and deficiency.
\| The discussion of excess and deficiency, at any rate, is couched in general terms, [13v] and universal principles have a wider application, while those that are particular possess a higher degree of truth, because conduct is concerned with particular cases; as a consequence, our theories must rather accord with these. For these reasons, [Aristotle] begins to discuss particular cases.

Diagramma v
Пгрі̀ чóßous каı̀ $\theta \dot{\alpha} \rho \rho \eta$
SعıNía $\dot{\alpha} v \delta \rho \varepsilon i ́ \alpha ~ \theta \rho \alpha \sigma u ́ t \eta \zeta ~$
ह̈入入єı廿ıৎ $\dot{\sim} \pi \varepsilon \rho \beta о \lambda \eta \dot{\prime}$
Пعрì ท̇סovàऽ каì 入úтаऽ

$\mu \varepsilon \iota о \vee \varepsilon \xi i ́ \alpha ~ \delta เ к \alpha \iota о \sigma u ́ v \eta \quad \pi \lambda \varepsilon о v \varepsilon \xi i ́ \alpha$




Пعрі̀ סóбıv $\chi \rho \eta \mu \alpha ́ \tau \omega \nu$ каі̀ $\lambda \tilde{\eta} \psi \iota v$
àveג $\varepsilon v \theta \varepsilon \rho i ́ \alpha \quad \dot{\alpha} \lambda \varepsilon v \theta \varepsilon \rho เ o ́ t \eta \varsigma ~ \dot{\alpha} \sigma \omega \tau i \alpha$





cf．Arist．EN 1107a33－1107b26

1 а̉лєเрок $\alpha \lambda \lambda$ í $\alpha$ sic M；servavi（vid．Editorial principles）

## Diagram v

Concerning feelings of fear and confidence
cowardice courage rashness


Concerning pleasures and pains
insensibility
[to pleasure and pain] moderation self-indulgence

taking less
than one's due justice greed

folly
good-sense
malice


Concerning the donation and acquisition of money
meanness open-handedness wastefulness


This [mean, i.e. magnificence] too is concerned with the donation and acquisition of money, but it differs from open-handedness, in that the former [i.e. open-handedness] involves small monetary expenses, whereas magnificence involves large amounts.
stinginess magnificence tastelessness and vulgarity











 каі̀ $\delta ı \alpha \tau \alpha \tilde{\tau} \tau \alpha \kappa \alpha \kappa i \zeta \varepsilon \tau \alpha ı$.
" $\Omega \sigma \pi \varepsilon \rho$ oũv $\tilde{j} \sigma \alpha \nu \tau \alpha \tilde{\tau} \tau \alpha \pi \varepsilon \rho i ̀ ~ \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \theta \alpha ́ \rho \rho \eta ~ \kappa \alpha i ̀ ~ \tau o u ̀ \varsigma ~ \varphi o ́ ß o u ৎ, ~ o u ̋ \tau \omega \varsigma ~ \varepsilon i ́ \sigma i v ~ \varepsilon ̌ \tau \varepsilon \rho \alpha ~ \pi \varepsilon \rho i ̀ ~$





 $\mu \varepsilon \sigma o ́ \tau \eta \tau \iota, \pi \lambda \grave{\eta} \nu$ ̌ $\sigma \omega \varsigma ~ \tau \iota \omega \tilde{\omega} \nu$.






 бтєроv ข̈бтєроv.





 1107b5-1107b31

1 lm . addidi

1107a33-1107b31 9. 〈With regard to feelings of fear and confidence, courage is the mean...)
After saying that the mean with regard to feelings of fear and confidence is courage, he also investigates the two extremes, namely excess and deficiency. He first discusses those that exceed, for there are two ways of exceeding in this case (even if there is one mean, namely courage): one type of excess involves fearlessness, another the feeling of confidence. The man who exceeds in fearlessness, he says, that is to say the fearless individual, is utterly nameless, while the individual who exceeds in feeling confident is rash. Just as fearlessness naturally has an excessive component, which nonetheless has not been assigned a special name, so too fear has an excessive component, which patently corresponds to a deficiency in confidence. Such a person is said to be cowardly, since cowardice is a deficiency in courage, just as rashness is an excess [of it]. For we have mentioned in the additional specification, from which [we concluded that] even if the rash person is confident but is not so in the right way or in relation to the right people or in a timely manner but rather turns away from such conditions, on these accounts he is reproached.

Just as these [extremes] concern feelings of confidence or of fear, therefore, so also there are others that concern pleasures and pains, although not all pleasures; for the study of geometrical theorems is a pleasure that is not antithetical to pain, and for these reasons "pleasure" is a word with two meanings, because the former type [i.e. pleasure in general] has an opposite, whereas the latter [i.e. pleasure deriving from geometry] does not. Consequently, these [extremes] are not investigated in relation to all pleasures and only to a lesser degree in relation to pains, because the mean and the opposite extremes will seldom be found in connection with these [i.e. pains]; because just as he said previously that some are inherently combined with evil and are always bad, so too the [extremes] of pains are always implicated in vice and are not in a mean, save perhaps those of some of them.

The mean in relation to the pleasures, then, is moderation, while the excess is selfindulgence; since we do not examine the excess of moderation but that of pleasure, just as [we investigated] the excess of confidence rather than that of courage. The deficiency in respect to the pleasures, he says, has not been given a name, but let it be [called] insensibility, which they also refer to as folly. There are other means relating to the donation and acquisition of money, such as open-handedness, of which the excess is wastefulness and the deficiency is meanness. With respect to donation and acquisition, these exceed and fall short of open-handedness-which always lies in a mean and which will be discussed in detail and with greater precision later-in opposite ways from one another.

In relation to money, there are other intermediate states, such as magnificence (the magnificent man differs from the open-handed one, in that the magnificent man is concerned with large buildings and fine garments, whereas the open-handed man is concerned with small monetary expenditures), the excess of which is vulgarity, "going over the top" (chydaiotēs), as it were, and tastelessness, while its deficiency is




"Ебтı $\mu \varepsilon \sigma o ́ \tau \eta \varsigma ~ к \alpha i ̀ ~ \pi \varepsilon \rho i ̀ ~ \tau \iota \mu \grave{v ~ к \alpha i ̀ ~ \alpha ̇ \tau ı \mu i \alpha v ~ \grave{~} \mu \varepsilon \gamma \alpha \lambda о \psi v \chi i ́ \alpha, ~ \tilde{\eta} \varsigma ~ \pi \alpha \rho ’ ~ \varepsilon ̇ \kappa \alpha ́ \tau \varepsilon \rho \alpha ~ \chi \alpha \nu v o ́-~}$



[14r] || Diagramma vi




Пєрі̀ ỏ $\rho \gamma \eta{ }^{\prime} v$


3 tǹv dubitanter legitur
stinginess. Why is the latter [i.e. stinginess] not a case of going over the top, whereas the former [i.e. vulgarity] is? Because in the latter case, someone who has a capacity does not act according to his capacity, but in the former case, someone who lacks a capacity acts beyond what is appropriate to him, and for these reasons, since he is not being wholly proper and is overextending himself, he is called "vulgar".

The mean in respect to honour and dishonour is greatness of soul, of which the two extremes are vanity and smallness of soul; and this differs from another quality in the same way that magnificence was different from open-handedness in respect to magnitude; no specific name has been assigned to the mean [of this quality], in conformity with which one wishes to attain appropriate honours; the two extremes of it are ambition and lack of ambition.

## || Diagram vi

Both [means] concern ambition and lack of ambition; the ambition of the ambitious man differs from greatness of soul, in that the latter is concerned with great honour, whereas the former relates to minor honour:
smallness of soul greatness of soul vulgarity

lack of ambition
the mean is nameless
ambition
or [is called] the ambition of the ambitious man


Concerning anger



$$
\text { Пعрі̀ тò } \alpha \lambda \lambda \theta \varepsilon ́ \varsigma
$$



Пєрі̀ $\tau \grave{\eta} \eta \mathfrak{\eta} \delta \grave{v} \tau o ̀ ~ \varepsilon ̉ v ~ \pi \alpha ı \delta ı \tilde{\alpha}$





cf. Arist. EN 1107b21-1108b5





[^58]1 lm. addidi 4 ठ s.l.

Concerning intercourse in conversations and actions; all three of these are in common:

## Concerning truth

self-deprecation truthfulness boastfulness


Concerning pleasantness in social amusement


Concerning pleasantness in the general affairs of life
obsequious, flatterer friend quarrelsome and peevish


The following two [means] concern the emotions:

spitefulness righteousness envy


1107b31-1108a30 10. (For which reason those at the extremes lay claim to the middle position...)
What does "those at the extremes lay claim to the middle position" mean? Is it that, since being in the middle has no name-and this is properly speaking the kind of ambition towards the right people [i.e. in the right direction], in the right manner, in the right amount, in the right context, and from the right motives-this [intermediate quality] could be called both unambitious and ambitious, meaning "unambitious" by







 $\tau \tilde{\varsigma}$ ỏpyñऽ т $\alpha$ тoút $\omega v$ ỏvó $\mu \alpha \tau \alpha$.




















[^59]23 ช̋ $\lambda เ$ เov: an "ßıov scribendum?
comparison with too much ambition, but "ambitious" by comparison with too little? For these reasons those at the extremes lay claim to the mean; and in fact we ourselves sometimes praise the ambitious person as attaining the mean and sometimes the unambitious person, with the result that the moderately ambitious person and the moderately unambitious person are praised equally, since they are the same [in their attainment of the mean]. How this happens will be discussed in what follows.

These three states [i.e. excess, deficiency, and the observance of the mean], then, also hold with respect to anger as a subject matter (just as with respect to honour, truthfulness, money, and the other subjects), the mean of which is designated gentleness, while the two extremes have not been assigned a name, as a consequence of which they are rarely discussed, except in cases when they are discussed on the basis of the underlying subject [i.e. anger] and get their name from it: because spiritlessness (aorgēsia) and irascibility (orgilotēs) derive their names from anger (orgē).

There are also three other [modes of observing the mean] related to some sort of intercourse in conversation and action, rather than merely in conversation; since discourses that are extraneous, unless they have a disposition of the soul with reference to the subject to which they are addressed, cannot be ranked among the ethical [treatises]. For these reasons, he writes "and action". [The three modes] differ, however, in that one of them has a single subject, truthfulness, and has to do not simply with speech but also with character; because of this, he says "truth in this sphere", i.e. in speech, since the quality of truth in regard to other matters arises from conduct; for actions do not exist in so far as we speak of them and tell the truth about them, but in so far as actions exist, we speak the truth about them. The other two means, then, concern what is pleasant, and these too differ from one another, since one kind [relates to what is pleasant] in social amusement, while the other sort [is concerned with what is pleasant] in daily life, but in all circumstances pertaining to daily life without being limited to any specific part of life-activities.

We must discuss these qualities as well, he says, in order that we may learn from all of them that the mean is to be praised and so that the truth of our discussion may appear consistent and coherent; for nothing is so easy to follow as a truthful statement. He accordingly discusses first the mean that has as its subject what is true, which is truth without pretence, while at the opposed extremes is the pretence of truth, in the one case in the form of exaggeration (which is an excess of truth), that is boastfulness, but in the other case in the form of understatement, that is selfdepreciation, while the man who has this [form of truth] is the self-deprecator. In respect to what is pleasant, let the mean in relation to social amusement be discussed first, and it is wittiness; at the opposed extremes, the excess is buffoonery, which has its name from those who "make stupid jokes" (bōmolochountōn), while the deficiency is boorishness. The other mean in the general affairs of life is friendliness (not affection), which he is about to discuss, although [discussion takes place] from the extremes, because, since he praises the quality in the one case more than usual, and

















 yivovtaı $\alpha \lambda \lambda ’ \varepsilon ่ \mu \varphi \alpha i ́ v o v \tau \alpha ı), \mu \varepsilon \tau \alpha \tau \alpha \tilde{v} \tau \alpha \lambda \varepsilon ́ y \omega \mu \varepsilon v$.






 $\pi \alpha \dot{\theta} \eta$.



6-19 Eíøì...入દ́y $\omega \mu \varepsilon v$ ] cf. Arist. EN 1108a30-1108b10 20-84,7 Tplãv...ov̉ $\alpha \alpha \mu \tilde{\omega} \varsigma]$ cf. Arist. EN
1108b11-33
 Arist. EN 1108b12 $24 \mu \varepsilon ́ y \alpha$ M (cum M ${ }^{b} \mathrm{O}^{\text {b }}$ ) : $\mu \varepsilon \tilde{\imath} \zeta$ ov Arist. vulg. (EN 1108b16)
he does so in two ways, i.e. either it is not for the sake of some advantage, and the man is designated obsequious, or it is for the sake of their personal advantage, and the man is called a flatterer, whereas in the other case the person is discontented with something apparently good and is called peevish, the mean [is described] in the way customary friendship [functions]. [Aristotle] pursues his discussion only to the extent that this seems to be the case.

1108a30-1108b33 11. (There are also means in the sphere of and in relation to the emotions...)
There are also means in the sphere of the emotions, such as modesty, the opposed extremes of which are the bashful man, who is excessive in relation to this emotion and not as modesty requires, $\|$ and on the other hand the person who is deficient [in shame] or abashed at nothing whatsoever, the shameless man, inasmuch as the individual who is moderately deficient could not be ranked precisely in the degree of his deficiency; and the person who has attained the mean of modesty is called modest. Again, righteous indignation is a mean with opposed extremes, in respect of excess, envy-by whose action the envious man derives pain from everyone and fails to distinguish between the person who deserves to suffer and the one who does not-but in respect of deficiency, spitefulness, for [the spiteful individual] takes pleasure in the misfortunes of his neighbours. For this reason, this [quality] is assigned to the deficiency, because [the spiteful person] falls so far short of feeling pain that he actually feels pleasure. If one were to have difficulty understanding how spitefulness is a deficiency of righteous indignation, in cases where the [spiteful person] feels more pleasure than the indignant man who suffers pain when [others] prosper undeservedly, one must bear in mind the rule that we are investigating the deficiency of the underlying quality; and in this case pain is the underlying subject, and for these reasons it is assigned to deficiency. With regard to justice, since it is said to have more than one meaning (and similarly with regard to the rational virtues, which are not produced but are manifested in principles), let us discuss this afterwards.

There are accordingly three dispositions with regard to each quality, two vices which are opposed extremes, and one 〈virtue〉, which is the mean; and they are all opposed to all the others not in the same manner but in conformity with their sequence; because this makes clear how they are aligned, for the extremes are the opposite both of the middle state and of each other (since vice combats both itself and virtue), while the mean combats the extremes in turn; since just as what is equal is said to be great in comparison with less, but less in comparison with more, so also the middle states of character are in excess as compared with the deficiencies and deficient as compared with the excesses, whether they have to do with actions or feelings.

And immediately [after this] he sets out the arguments by induction, saying that "the brave man", for example, "appears rash in contrast with the coward, but















 $\sigma \omega \varphi \rho о \sigma \cup ́ v \eta), \dot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda ’ \dot{\eta} \alpha \dot{\alpha} \kappa о \lambda \alpha \sigma i \alpha$.









 $\tau \varepsilon \varsigma ~ \delta \varepsilon ̀ ~ \tau \alpha u ́ \tau \eta ~ \theta \varepsilon i ̃ v \alpha ı ~ \varepsilon ̇ v \alpha v \tau i ́ \alpha v, ~ o u ̉ ~ \tau \eta ̀ v ~ \alpha ̛ v \alpha เ \sigma \theta \eta \sigma i ́ \alpha v ~ Ө \eta ́ \sigma o \mu \varepsilon v . ~ к \alpha i ̀ ~ y a ̀ \rho ~ \varepsilon i ̉ ~ \pi \rho o ̀ \varsigma ~ \tau \eta ̀ v ~$
cowardly in contrast with the rash man; and similarly the prudent man self-indulgent in contrast with the man who is insensible [to pleasure and pain]"-namely, the person without sense-"but insensible in contrast with the self-indulgent individual". Hence the extreme characters push the intermediate man towards an extreme, as for instance an open-handed man, a mean man, and a wasteful man, with open-handed the intermediate term: the mean man pushes the intermediate man towards the wasteful person, since he thinks this individual is wasteful, while the wasteful man [pushes] the intermediate man towards the mean individual, since he holds him to be such. The greatest degree of contrariety, however, is that of the extremes to one another rather than to the mean; for these [extremes] are further apart [from one another] than the mean [is from them]. And again [it is the case] that the excesses bear a resemblance to the mean, but the extremes in no way [resemble one another].

## || 1108b33-1109a31 12. (The greatest unlikeness...)

The greatest degree of contrariety is that of the extremes to one another rather than to the mean. The definition of opposites is that they are the furthest removed from another, so that the further apart things are, the more contrary they are, and we stated correctly that the extremes are further apart from each other than from the mean. The two extremes are not opposed to the mean at the same time, but in some cases the deficiency [is opposed to the mean], while in others the excess is; for example it is not rashness that is opposed to courage (for we said that rashness bears a certain resemblance to courage, and qualities that resemble each other somewhat do not have a clear antithesis), but cowardice, which is a deficiency; whereas what is more opposed to moderation is not the deficient state of insensibility (since moderation resembles this more closely than it resembles self-indulgence) but self-indulgence.

He says that there are two causes for this, one which arises from the thing itself, while the other has its origin in us, resulting from our being disposed towards them in some way. The first cause-the one arising from the thing itself-is that which we already specified; for since there are two extremes for each mean, and the mean is more similar to one of the two [extremes], it is reasonable that one of the two extremes not be opposed to the mean, whereas the other [extreme] is. For we establish that those extremes that are more remote from the mean are more contrary to it, while that which is dissimilar to the mean is more remote from it. And this then is the one cause, the one that arises out of the thing itself. The other cause has its origin in us and is as follows: we establish that those things toward which we are somehow more inclined by nature are contrary to the mean. Precisely what do I mean? That we are more inclined to pleasures than to moderation, and for this reason self-indulgence will somehow seem contrary to this moderation, in accord with our current judgement. Because since we are well-disposed towards pleasures, we shrink from temperance, and if we seek to set an extreme to this [i.e. self-indulgence], we will not set insensibility [as the contrary]. For even if we were to shrink from temperance due to our fondness for

 $\sigma \omega \varphi \rho о \sigma$ v̀n.
































[^60]
pleasures, we would shrink much more from insensibility, and for these reasons we apprehend that self-indulgence is the contrary of temperance.

Since it has been stated then, he says, that virtue is a mean, this is why precisely attaining the mean is a difficult task; because anyone can spend money, but only a very few [can spend it] in the right amount and on the right person and for the right purpose; just as it is a difficult task to find the centre of a circle; for unless this is demonstrated by the geometer, how will we find the intermediate point [i.e. the centre]? The first rule is that one must avoid the [extreme] that is more opposed [to the mean], whether a deficiency or an excess is in question, since this is clearly contrary, and thereafter seek to avoid the other extreme as well.

1109a30-1109b23 13. 〈To avoid the more opposed [extreme]...〉
In the first place, therefore, he says, one must abstain from the most conspicuous and more serious evils, then from the lesser one, since to hit the mean precisely is similarly difficult. The second best way to sail, as they say, is that one must accept the least of the evils, as the proverb goes, which, he says, seem to be identical with the mean. This will happen if we act on the model of those people who distinguish different kinds of metals. The first rule is to reject the most obvious evils and whatever might seem to be contrary to the mean, beginning with banishing and excluding this; then afterwards [to reject] the least of these [evils], until we are in a position to assess the mean, [judging] what sort it might appear to us as we scrutinise it more broadly.
|| We should also notice what the errors are to which we are ourselves most prone, in order that we not be controlled by our inclination to habit and by our appetite and be hindered in relation to our choice of the mean. And this will be discovered not by our understanding or by some demonstrative proof, but from the pleasure and pain we experience in relation to these, so that we feel pleasure if we have these things, but pain if we should be deprived [of them]. By dragging ourselves away from this and by pulling far back from error, we shall reach the intermediate state with difficulty, just as men do when they straighten out warped pieces of wood. We must be especially on our guard against pleasure, particularly since we judge the mean pleasant, for we are partial judges in our judgement of this, being motivated by desire. [This is precisely] what the elders do in Homer, praising Helen, but recommending that even so she ought to be sent back home, lest there be grief for their city and for them. It is incumbent on us to do the same and banish pleasure, and if we behave this way we shall have our best opportunity to reach the intermediate condition. Perhaps this is difficult, and more so since we are controlled by particular pleasures; for the common saying "one must overlook pleasure" appears easy since it is common. But when we say that "one must overlook pleasure" in relation to Epicurus or Eudoxus, at that point the difficulty of the injunction becomes conspicuous. It is the same in the case of the mean as well; because it is difficult [to define] in what manner and with what people and for how long one ought to be angry with one's ruler, since we sometimes




 5

praise people who err on the side of deficiency [in this matter], and at other times those who tend towards excess, not as excessive or deficient but as people who seem to have reached and attained the mean.

Finally, no censure is directed at someone who diverges a bit from the mean towards one of the two extremes, but it is directed at someone who diverges more widely, because he diverges conspicuously and his error does not go unnoticed. Yet to what degree [the individual] errs in this case is not easy to define on principle, nor is any other object of perception, since the decision depends not on the principle but on the perception.








 10






 $\kappa \alpha \lambda \varepsilon i ̃ \tau \alpha \iota \pi \alpha \rho \dot{\alpha} \tau о і ̃ \varsigma ~ \rho ீ \eta ́ \tau о \rho \sigma \iota ~ \pi \varepsilon \rho \iota \sigma \tau \alpha \tau \iota \kappa \alpha ́$.










[^61]1109b30-1110a29 1. 〈Since virtue is concerned with emotions and actions...〉
It is necessary for those who discuss virtue, which is a preferred disposition lying in a mean that is relative to us, also to discuss [the concepts] of the voluntary and the involuntary, of which in one case-the voluntary-choice is evident, while the involuntary is said to involve no choice. Since then these matters [i.e. the voluntary and the involuntary] involve action of some sort, and many people also believe that what is genuinely involuntary involves not only being affected but action as well, we must define action, [asserting] that it is rational activity. Actions attract either praise or blame, and some of them are undertaken with pleasure, others with distress; and some of them are matters of positive choices by the agent, while others are matters of avoidance, and just as of those that are genuinely matters of positive choice some are always so, while others are so at a given time, likewise with those that are matters of avoidance. All of this will also be useful to the legislators in assigning rewards and punishments.
|| One type of involuntary action, then, involves force, while another [comes about] through ignorance; and when the productive origin [i.e. the initiating or efficient cause] is external, then [the action] is designated as involving compulsion; whereas "an [action] through ignorance" [is the designation] whenever we ourselves do not supply a cause for our ignorance, but it occurs contingently in this way, as if someone who is drunk were to commit a murder; for in this case he himself supplied the cause of his own ignorance, so that he cannot be pardoned as having acted in ignorance. Since the involuntary is twofold, therefore, the voluntary is opposed to both as what happens neither under compulsion nor out of ignorance, and whose origin and cause are found in the agent, who is aware of the particulars, which legal experts term "circumstantial".

The Philosopher [i.e. Aristotle] also investigates the [actions] intermediary between these [i.e. the voluntary and the involuntary], namely those designated "voluntary-involuntary" [i.e. mixed or composite actions which are partially voluntary and partially involuntary], [considering] whether one must place these [actions] among the voluntary or the involuntary, as when one jettisons a ship's cargo in a storm, and in determining [this issue], he states that such actions seem closer to the voluntary class. For since we said that matters of voluntary choice are twofold, some being always [desirable] and occurring for their own sake, while others [are desirable] at a given time and for a reason, such things are chosen when they are done; for the origin of the action is in the agent himself, who has deliberately chosen to act thus; he assesses this [choice] on the basis of its end, for the sake of which other things are done. The person [mentioned previously], then, jettisons his cargo for the sake of the end, that is the safety of his ship, as the occasion [i.e. the critical circumstances] allows at the time; for it does not allow for the ship to be saved through pilotage alone, unless they [i.e. the captain and crew] throw some of their

 каıро̧̀ عíซŋүعі̃т $\alpha$.









 $\mu \grave{v}$ ठغ̀ каі̀ л $\rho о \alpha \iota \rho о \nu ́ \mu \varepsilon v \alpha$, каі̀ öба סıà $\theta v \mu o ̀ v ~ \pi \rho \alpha ́ \tau \tau о \mu \varepsilon v ~ \mu \eta ̀ ~ \pi \rho о \beta о v \lambda \varepsilon v \sigma \alpha ́ \mu \varepsilon v o ı), ~$














[^62]10 post 'А $\lambda \kappa \mu \alpha i \not \omega v \alpha$ schol. xvi et xvii (vid. append.) 11 lm . addidi 17 тоṽ s.l. 21 -ovt $\alpha$ scripsi (-ovs.l.) : - عт $\alpha \mathrm{M}$
freight overboard. Both the voluntary, then, and the involuntary must be determined on the basis of the occasion, [namely] when one acts, and [on the basis of] why the actions are performed. Such [actions] are thus undertaken by a willing agent for the sake of safety, as the occasion demands.

Consequently, when assessing these questions, he says that such acts are voluntary, but simpliciter [i.e. when considered apart from the specific circumstances] they are involuntary. This is also proven in a different way, because praise is bestowed on those who voluntarily undertake voluntary acts. Sometimes such people are actually praised for having performed well deeds one might have the power to do for no noble end or even for a trivial one and might easily be blamed for. Since therefore some bad actions are pitied, while others are deemed worthy of pardon, and yet others are hated and punished, he also investigates forgiveness, [in cases] where free choice does not precede. There must be a sufficient degree of compulsion [in this case], although not like the manner in which Alcmaeon was constrained.

1110a29-1111a5 2. 〈But it is sometimes difficult to decide...〉
In cases that involve constraint, since voluntary choice is not the guiding principle in those circumstances and it is natural to commit many acts contrary to one's own choice (just as little children and non-rational animals both act voluntarily but do not also choose [what to do], and [similarly] whatever we do through anger without forethought), it must be something else that motivates [us], and this is constraint. In that case, instead of doing something considered noble, we do something else. It is difficult to decide, he says, what should be chosen in preference to what: either to do what we are commanded in return for our life or instead to die in the belief that this is the most noble [course]. It is still more difficult actually to abide by our decision after it has been made (for many people recognise that death as the price of refusing to obey is better than obeying and living, but they do not abide by their decisions); for by and large the anticipated results, what people are likely to suffer if they disobey, are painful, whereas the actions they are compelled [to undertake] are [merely] dishonourable; and so they avoid the former due to the pain involved, for which reason both praise, if they abide by [their decisions], and blame, if they do not abide by them, are bestowed on those who are under compulsion, in contrast to those who are not under compulsion. He says this not because those who are not under compulsion are free from accountability, but because if they did not act, they get no praise (for no compulsion was involved), whereas if they did act, they are not merely blamed but actually punished.

Purely compulsory actions occur when the cause lies in external circumstances and the agent $\|$ contributes nothing. But how can the agent be put under compulsion? When actions are intrinsically involuntary (since they are not freely chosen), but voluntary in a different sense, because of the end the agent expects to get due to compulsion.
 $\lambda \alpha \beta \varepsilon i ̃ v$.

 ウ่ $\delta \varepsilon ́ \alpha ~ \varepsilon ̋ \xi \omega \theta \varepsilon v ~ \kappa ı v o v ̃ \sigma ı, ~ \varphi \alpha i ́ \eta ~ \alpha ̋ v ~ \tau ı \varsigma, ~ \varphi \eta \sigma i ́, ~ к \alpha i ̀ ~ \tau \alpha u ̃ \tau \alpha ~ \beta i ́ \alpha ı \alpha . ~ \lambda u ́ \omega v ~ o u ̃ v ~ \tau o ̀ v ~ \lambda o ́ y o v ~ \varphi \eta \sigma i ̀ v ~$




 $\kappa \alpha \lambda \tilde{\omega} v \dot{\varepsilon} \alpha \nu \tau o v ̀ \varsigma ~ \alpha i \tau \iota \alpha \tau \varepsilon ́ o v \tau \tilde{\omega} v ~ \delta \dot{\varepsilon} \kappa \alpha \kappa \tilde{\omega} v \tau \alpha \grave{~ \eta} \delta \varepsilon ́ \alpha$.











 $\sigma \nu y y ı v \omega ́ \sigma \kappa \varepsilon \tau \alpha \iota ~ \eta ᄁ ~ \varepsilon ̇ \lambda \varepsilon \varepsilon i ̃ \tau \alpha ı . ~$





But it is not easy to lay down general rules for what should be traded for what, because these matters are put to the test in specific circumstances, whereas the exposition is inclined to treat the issue in general terms. Since pleasant objects move us from without, one might suppose, he says, that these [objects] constrain us by force. As a way of refuting this argument, therefore, he says that on this basis one could claim that all noble acts, since they motivate us and are intrinsically external, are forced, because what is noble is a final cause. But those who perform actions that have intrinsic ends because their teachers force them to do so feel pain, whereas those who undertake a noble action for [nobility's sake] get pleasure. As a consequence, it is absurd to blame externalities rather than oneself as easily falling victim to such things. This is why I said "when the agent contributes nothing". However, since we choose both noble and base [actions and objects], we are easy prey in both cases, except that we ought to attribute responsibility for our noble deeds to ourselves but for our disgraceful actions to pleasures.

After this, he deals with acts performed through ignorance; as for what is not voluntary, he says that it is done by someone acting in ignorance and the thing is not deliberately chosen; but on the other hand, when the act either is painful and $a$ cause for regret [for the agent], or not, the former [i.e. an act that causes the agent pain and regret] is involuntary, he says, and that person is said to act unwillingly, whereas he calls the latter [i.e. an act that involves no pain or regret for the agent] neither voluntary nor involuntary. Yet he states that the agent is neither willing, since he was unaware of what he was doing, nor unwilling, since he does not regret [the act] presumably because he did not act voluntarily. Since the one individual is different from the other, the former may be designated "involuntary", whereas the latter can certainly not be called "voluntary" but rather "non-voluntary", which is intermediate between "involuntary" and "voluntary".

Acting through ignorance, however, he says, [is] different from being ignorant; because a drunk person does not act out of ignorance but out of inebriation, and an enraged individual [acts] because of his anger, not out of a lack of awareness that his action is base. But ignorance is properly what is involved in the case of people with a wicked disposition; for ignorance in matters of [moral] choice, i.e. when the bad is taken to be the good, is not the cause of involuntary action but of ugly behaviour, nor [is the cause] general ignorance, which is characteristic of the dullard and fool, on the basis of which he is blamed and neither excused nor pitied.

After discussing ignorance in particulars, he spells these [particulars] out: they are what legal experts call the circumstances [of the action]. Because since the involuntary is twofold-one kind involves compulsion, while the other is due to ignorance-after examining the former, he also discusses involuntary action due to ignorance. Acting out of ignorance, at any rate, is different from being ignorant, because a person is liable to ignore something voluntarily in line with his decision, something that does not involve a lack of volition but rather vice; and general ignorance does not involve the involuntary, but rather being ignorant with regard to





























[^63][^64]something (because the former is blamed, whereas the latter is pitied or excused. One is ignorant with regard to something, for example, of who it is whom he strikes. Perhaps it's his own father! [He may also be ignorant of] what [he does], namely that he sticks his dagger [in him]. [He may be ignorant of] the precise occasion: that he administers drugs in winter. [He may be ignorant of] the manner, i.e. he is unaware that he stabs him with the knife. [He may be ignorant of] why [he acted in this way]: i.e. that [he wanted] to save his [father's] life, but killed him unintentionally), and simply put [he may be ignorant] of one of the circumstances.

1111a7-1111b12 3. 〈Evidently, he could not [be ignorant] of the agent...)
He investigates the concept of acting in ignorance, which we classified as a part of the involuntary. An agent who acts voluntarily thus knows the circumstances [of the action]; for we defined the voluntary according to a negation of the involuntary as that which is undertaken neither due to force nor out of ignorance, adding that its "origin" and cause [i.e. of the voluntary act] are located "in the agent" who knows the particulars, which are the circumstances.

Who could be ignorant, he says, of all these circumstances together when he acted, unless he were mad? Surely he will not be ignorant of the agent, which is himself, I believe, unless, like Aeschylus, he brings the initiate onstage out of his senses; otherwise it is evident that he knows the circumstances of the action, but was ignorant of some element of them. For the man who wanted to show off the catapult shot if off, and he knew all [the circumstances] at the time, but was ignorant of exactly what he could show off; another person knew all [the relevant circumstances], but injured his son when he thought he was an enemy, \| while another individual knew what a sharp spear is and that it rushes headlong against a person, but he nonetheless thought the spear had a blunt end and did not realise that it was sharp, with the result that he delivered a serious wound; another person failed to recognise a stone and mistook it for a pumice-stone, although he was aware of the other [circumstances], and when he threw it, he killed someone; another individual killed [a man] when striving to save his life, without knowing the end [of his action]; while another intended to tap [his adversary], as people do when sparring in the wrestling-schools, but punched and killed him. Consequently, since ignorance is possible in relation to [all] these aspects of a situation (because the action is actually located within these [circumstantial factors]), one who has acted in ignorance of any of them seems to have acted involuntarily; for it is not necessary to be ignorant of everything; because in that case one would be devoid of all perception. One must add to these [conditions] that "the action produces sorrow and involves repentance". What then? If someone were to achieve something good through ignorance, [would] this not also be involuntary? Or must we specify [as an additional condition], since there is no discussion of the noble [action], when and how it should be accomplished? For the agent will not be praised [in this case], since he did not do this voluntarily, but neither will he be punished, of course; because what was done is











 кגì oủk $\varepsilon$ ह̉v $\mu$ óvoı̧ aủtoĩ̧.



Diagramma vii

 14-15 'Ev ${ }^{\prime} \varepsilon \tilde{\theta} \theta \varepsilon v$... $\delta$ ó $\xi \alpha$ ] cf. Arist. EN 1111b4-12

15 post $\delta o ́ \xi \alpha$ schol. xxi et xxii (vid. append.)
noble. For these reasons we were correct to say that the voluntary is [ascertained] from a negation of the involuntary.

It is a mistake to say that acts produced by anger and desire are involuntary, because, in the first place, non-rational animals will not act voluntarily, given that they act out of anger and desire, nor will children, since they do not act in accordance with reason either. Next, since we also act nobly out of anger and desire, will none of these actions be voluntary, or are the noble ones voluntary and the base ones involuntary? But this is ridiculous, since one and the same thing is the cause of both cases, namely anger and desire. It would also be absurd to say that "things we ought to desire are involuntary", since we ought to feel angry in response to certain things, but we do not desire them, and again [we ought] to desire health, but not involuntarily. And he draws the following syllogism: since involuntary actions are painful, whereas desirable actions are not painful but pleasant, it follows that there is no involuntary motivation in the things we desire. Moreover, errors are made in accord with some rational calculation and not merely out of anger or desire. So how is this different from both being involuntary? In reality, both are to be avoided, and even more so human feelings that resemble those of non-rational creatures, in which the involuntary abounds, and not in them only.

After this, he goes on to discuss choice, which the voluntary is full of. He concludes syllogistically that [choice] is not anger [i.e. a passion] or desire or wanting or opinion.

Diagram vii

in accord with choice in accord with desire

in accord with choice
in accord with desire

cf. Arist. EN 1111b12-16; cf. Asp. In EN 67.34-68.5; cf. [Heliod.] In EN 45.18-24
Note: $\pi=\pi \alpha v \tau i ́ ~ / ~ o v ̉ \delta=o v ̉ \delta \varepsilon v i ́ ~$










 غ̇птхદьр $\mu \alpha \dot{\alpha} \tau \omega \nu$.




 ठغ̀ $\lambda \varepsilon ́ y \varepsilon ı ~ \delta ı \alpha ̀ ~ \tau \eta ̀ \nu ~ \alpha ̉ \sigma \varphi \alpha ́ \lambda \varepsilon ı \alpha v, ~ o ̋ \tau ı ~ \beta о u ́ \lambda \eta \sigma i ́ \varsigma ~ \varepsilon ̇ \sigma \tau ı ~ к \alpha i ́ ~ \tau ı \nu \omega \nu ~ \tau \omega ̃ \nu ~ \pi \rho o ̀ \varsigma ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \tau \varepsilon ́ \lambda o \varsigma, ~ o ̋ \tau \alpha v ~$







[^65]


Note: $\mathrm{a}=$ of every/every; $\mathrm{e}=$ of no/no
|| 1111b16-1112a14 4. 〈And desire relates to the pleasant and the painful...〉
He also puts forward another deductive argument that separates desire from choice, because desire relates to the pleasant and the painful. That it relates to the pleasant is obvious, but how can it also [relate to] the painful? Or [is this the case] whenever I desire something bad not for myself but for another person? But choice is not concerned with these [i.e. the pleasant or the painful]. Why is it not? Either because we do not deliberately choose the pleasant but we choose to abstain from the painful, or because we choose many other [objects], which are neither pleasant nor painful. Furthermore, non-rational animals and children feel both pleasure and pain, but they do not make deliberate choices. This would have been necessary, if choice were related to the pleasant and the painful.

Although he intended to say with regard to anger [i.e. passion] that choice is not [equivalent to] anger, [Aristotle] was satisfied with a single dialectical proof that states "if what is more generally held to be [i.e. the superior line of proof or argument] is not the case, then neither is clearly held to be the lesser argument". This is one mode of syllogism among the four arguments from probability.

He also used several dialectical proofs to set apart the wish, which is even more closely akin to the other [options, i.e. choice and passion], and he says: "A choice cannot have impossibilities for its object" (since one chooses things that are possible), "but a wish can". And a wish can also involve those objects one cannot secure oneself, as for example an actor wishes for a particular victory. But no one chooses things that cannot naturally happen through his own efforts. Furthermore, a wish is rather for an end [sc. than for a means to an end]. And he discusses this to make the matter certain, because a wish is also concerned with certain things that are means to the end, when these are regarded as ends; because this is why the final end is also said to be most connected with final causality. A choice, however, is for the means to our end; and in general, choice is concerned with things within our own control.

After this, he distinguishes opinion from choice. For opinion is concerned with everything, including what is eternal (for we also form opinions about such issues) and impossible things just as much as with what is within our power, whereas choice is not concerned with everything but only with what is in our power, and it exists for the sake of an end. Furthermore, opinion is divided by true and false, but choice by good





























[^66]13 lm . addidi
and bad. In general, then, not every opinion is a choice, but choice is not the same as an opinion; because it is by making choices that we get a reputation for having a particular character (for [we can come to be known] as lovers of the good or as taking pleasure in vice), not by holding opinions.

And we choose either to take or to avoid [any given object], but we have opinions about what a thing is or for whom it is advantageous; but we do not form an opinion as to how we ought to take or avoid these things. And choice is praised if we choose rightly and the right object, while opinion [is praised] if we arrive at truth by means of it. Moreover, we choose the things we know to be good, whereas we hold opinions about things we do not know for certain; but the same individual does not [necessarily] simultaneously have the best opinions and make the best decisions, but someone may have better opinions but choose the worse [option] due to wickedness. That an opinion frequently precedes choice (because after we form an opinion that something is good, we also choose it) or accompanies it (since we choose what we frequently considered and found to be advantageous), is irrelevant; for this is not the issue we are investigating. What then is choice? It is voluntary, but this [i.e. the voluntary] is full of choice, as has been stated.
|| 1112a19-1112b20 5. 〈The term "object of deliberation" presumably must be [18r] defined...)
In treating the subject of deliberation, [arguing] that choice is not deliberation, he encounters a problem, [which is] whether one must deliberate about everything and whether everything is open to deliberation; and, in resolving the difficulty, he says "or is there no deliberation about some matters?". He explains what these matters are shortly afterward, after previously establishing the object of deliberation a fool or a madman might not deliberate about (for such people might deliberate often, and if they must cast themselves down into the depths of the sea, [they think that] even this will be of use to them when they are drowned). What matters are not naturally disposed to being deliberated? Eternal matters and matters that cannot be otherwise, namely scientific phenomena; the things that are in motion but are always identical and occur in a similar manner, be it by nature (like moving upwards, in the case of fire) or out of necessity (such as the occurrence of thunderstorms in winter) or some other regular procedure (for instance, a person might have a fixed habit of leaving his household every day, unless illness prevents him from doing so).

Also, "not about irregular events" that happen, "such as droughts", he says. What then? Are we not to deliberate about the droughts that will take place, as if we are going to lay aside events driven by necessity? We do not deliberate about droughts in this case, however, but about what necessity has in store for us. No one will deliberate about droughts, just as [we do] not [deliberate about] events that result from chance. Nor [do we even deliberate] about all human affairs, but about whatever matters are related to us and are affected by our own agency, for the most part, and
 каi àváyклऽ каі̀ тúxŋऽ，каì $\lambda \alpha \mu \beta \alpha v o \mu \varepsilon ́ v o v ~ \mu o ́ v o v ~ \tau о и ̃ ~ v o \tilde{v}$.









 $\mu \varepsilon \gamma \alpha ́ \lambda \omega \nu$ ßоu入єบт $\omega \tau$.

















[^67]18 lm．addidi
for which we are responsible, when the other causes are excluded, namely nature, necessity, and chance, and only intelligence is admitted [as a cause].

In addition, one must not deliberate, he says, about precise sciences (for these have an innate exactitude and there is no need of deliberation to make them more accurate), but about crafts that inspire doubts [as to our ability to deliberate them], such as navigation and medicine (because these have been less completely reduced to a science than athletic training has). And not only must we deliberate about rules that generally apply, but also about matters where the outcome is obscure and in those where it is indeterminate whether something will happen or not, which refers to "the equally possible". We call in others to help us deliberate on the most important questions, since we lack confidence in ourselves (for self-satisfaction and selfjudgment dangerously corrupt one's verdicts on the matter, for which reason an individual who did something alone that turned out badly cannot say "It seemed good to me this way"; for he will be told that a person who sinks a ship could also say this). And to the extent that one has been entrusted with important matters, to that same extent one needs many important councillors.

We deliberate not about ends but about the means to our ends, how and what must be done, in order that our end be attained. Since some ends by their nature are achieved by a number of means, one must deliberate in these cases by what kind of [means] [they will be achieved] most easily; whereas since other [ends can be achieved] through only one means, [one must deliberate] how [it can be achieved] by that one. And one must begin from below, in order that what is being sought can be last.

## || 1112b21-1113a22 6. 〈It appears that investigation...〉

My compliments to you, Aristotle, for this particular insight, since you made it your target to investigate what choice is. And when you rejected the other [options] and discovered that which most closely resembled it, you began to examine the objects of deliberation. And since choice is manifestly a voluntary [action], although not every voluntary act is chosen but [only the one] preceded by deliberation, you set aside the discussion of choice and wish, and began to scrutinise the object of deliberation. After this you also search for the object of choice, and you discover choice from [an investigation of] what is chosen. The end is thus what is wished for, while the means to the end are the objects of deliberation.

He is about to discuss the object of the wish, therefore, but first [he discusses] the object of deliberation; for just as in geometrical diagrams the present [figure] is demonstrated from a different, preceding [figure], and that [figure] from another, and this [figure] from yet another, until the point when we arrive at the first principles, so too in this case, after establishing the end, we deliberate about the means leading to it and in the first place those that are close [to the end], then what comes before that, and in a similar manner what is before it, and in a similar manner what is first, and the last step in this analysis is the first step in the order of coming into being. And if we



























[^68]$6 \mu$ ќخ oı scripsi : $\mu \varepsilon ́ \lambda \lambda$ дoı M
encounter an impossibility in our investigation of the means to the end in sequence, we desist; but if [we encounter] something possible, we undertake it. Possible things are those we could achieve through our own agency or by means of our friends, because the latter [i.e. what our friends achieve] are akin [to being accomplished] through our efforts; for we do not investigate what is possible in an unqualified sense, but what is possible for us. For why should we care if these things are possible for a rich man or a king, but impossible for us? We often deliberate with regard to friends or money the source from which they will be secured, because these things are instruments. At other times [we deliberate] about their use; if we possess [them], [we deliberate] how will we make use of them.

It is inferred, then, on this basis that a human being is the origin of his actions; for he himself deliberates the actions that are within his own power, and let it be no different if [he deliberates] also the actions [accomplished] by means of his friends. Every action is [undertaken] for the sake of an end. Consequently, we were right to say that one must not deliberate about the end, because the end is not for the sake of something else, but rather the other [things] are [undertaken] for its sake. One must not deliberate about matters that involve direct perception, and one must not be always deliberating about one thing that is for the sake of another, because in this manner [the deliberation] will embark on a process ad infinitum.

It was therefore inferred from these points that the object of deliberation and the object of choice are the same, except that the object of choice comprises a part of the object of deliberation; for a determined object of deliberation is an object of choice, because the latter has been selected. Since our investigation will not be endless, the person investigating [how he should act] will cease as soon as he has brought the origin of action to himself and back to the ruling part of himself, for this is the part that decides. This is also evident from the work of Homer, because when the kings chose something and established themselves as a principle for action [i.e. as an authority on which to decide action], at that point they proclaimed [the measures they had chosen] to the people, with the result that the object of choice is a specific object of deliberation, namely an object of desire, although an object of desire from among the things in our power, and whatever it produces contributes to our capacity for coming into being. In the light of the above, therefore, choice is a deliberate desire for things in our power. Thus the nature of choice has been described in outline, as well as the nature of its objects. But since, he said, we feel desire in accord with our wish, he also investigates this.

A wish is for the end, and an end is either the good or what appears good. Accordingly, if [it is] the absolute good, how could what one can choose wrongly be good? But if it [merely] appears [good], the good that is wished for will not [be wished for] by nature, but as it might appear [to someone to be good]. He defines this excellently.






















 દ̇ $\varphi$ ’ öбоv каі̀ $\tau \alpha ̀ \tau \varepsilon ́ \kappa v \alpha$.
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[^69]1 lm. addidi
|| 1113a22-1113b25 7. 〈If therefore these views are not satisfactory...〉
That the end is what is wished for and the means to the end is the object of deliberation, and that every end is good either in actuality or in appearance (for which reason, [Aristotle] said, the Euripidean line is amusing, when he said "He has reached his end, for the sake of which he was born") is apparent from many aspects. That there is dispute concerning this good, whether it is genuinely good or merely so in appearance, he argued dialectically from both sides [of the question]. He determines extremely well that it is reasonable that what is wished for as an end is good, except that what is wished for in reality is good, but for each person what is in appearance [good is good]. For the excellent man will seek what is [wished for] in reality, whereas the base man [will seek] whatever it turns out to be, as also in the other cases, those relating to bodily constitutions; because truly healthy food will seem best for health to men of a sound constitution, while to those who are sickly some sort of diet other than what is best for health [will seem healthy]. And similarly in the case of honey; it will appear sweet to those in sound health, but bitter to those who are jaundiced. And light objects will appear heavy to those who are sickly, while heavy objects will seem light to those who are strong. For noble things are specific to each disposition, and there are countless differences among those who judge these things. But deception occurs due to pleasure [arising] from desire; for the latter [i.e. pleasure] appears to be a good even though it is not actually one, just as every type of pain [seems to be] an evil.

Since the end is what is wished for, whereas the matters of deliberation are the means to the end and are matters of choice on this account, the actions associated with the means to the end are voluntary and a matter of choice. The activities in which the virtues are exercised are also associated with these means. Virtue and vice are in our own power, because it is in our power to act, as is not acting, and this is what being good or wicked means.

For these reasons as well, when people say "no one is voluntarily wicked or involuntarily blessed", this happens to be partly false and partly true; because the statement that "no one is voluntarily wicked" is false, since wickedness is voluntary. Because if this were not the case, we would as a result have to dispute what was already asserted, and we would have to deny that a human being is the origin of all his actions, since he chose them; for the agent engenders his actions by his own choice, effort, and faculty of will to the same extent that [he engenders] his children.

But if we have no other origins back to which we can trace our actions except ourselves and our own choice, surely these [actions depend] on us and are voluntary. And those who say "no one is wicked voluntarily", on the ground that wickedness [arises] perhaps from necessity, are wrong; for why do the laws punish the wicked, except if they do evil under compulsion or out of ignorance? For in that case, they will perhaps be pardoned. But if someone were to call desire the cause of the shameful behaviour, there is an opposing argument from the other side, and we maintain a balanced approach to both.
 غ゙хоцєv.
[19v] || 1113b26-1114a25 $\eta^{\prime}\langle\kappa \alpha i ́ t o ı ~ o ̋ \sigma \alpha ~ \mu \eta ́ \tau ’ ~ غ ̇ \varphi ’ ~ \eta \dot{\mu i ̃ v ~ \varepsilon ̇ \sigma \tau i ̀ . . . 〉 ~}$







 $\mu \varepsilon \theta v \sigma \theta \tilde{\eta} v \alpha \iota, \tau o ̀ ~ \delta \varepsilon ̀ ~ \mu \varepsilon Ө v \sigma \theta \tilde{\eta} v \alpha ı ~ \alpha i ̈ \tau ı o v ~ y \varepsilon ́ y o v \varepsilon ~ \tau \tilde{\eta} \varsigma ~ \alpha ̉ y v o i ́ \alpha \varsigma . ~$



















[^70]3 lm . addidi
|| 1113b26-1114a25 8. 〈But what does not depend on us...〉
Then he maintains that every vice depends on us and is voluntary, and this is evident from the encouragement of our teachers, friends, and relatives; because if there were no gain for people who experience emotions in being persuaded [not to feel them], but they necessarily had these [emotions] nonetheless even after exhortation, what would the point be in persuading and exhorting [them] to things they would be unlikely to accomplish? Why do I say this? Where an offence was committed in ignorance, there forgiveness has a place; some people are punished and seem to be punished justly, if they should demonstrate that they are responsible for their own ignorance; for people who are drunk, when they do something wrong unawares due to their drunkenness, receive double penalties; because the origin of the ignorance is in them, since they had the power not to get drunk, and their intoxication was the cause of their not knowing [what they were doing].

And why do I say this? Because the lawgivers also punish those who [commit an offence] through ignorance of a provision of the law they ought to have known and could have learned without difficulty, and so too in other cases where [offences] are committed through negligence, because they [i.e. the offenders] have the option of whether to be negligent or not. He then raises an objection to this point, saying "But perhaps he is not the sort of person to take care" (i.e. [he is] sluggish or dull), and as a way of refuting [this objection] he says "but they themselves are responsible for this [carelessness] by spending their time in the wrong way"; because they are continually engaged in inappropriate behaviour, and just as in the case of virtue we discussed the fact that we become just by behaving justly, so also we become wicked by engaging in inappropriate behaviour and acting wickedly.

Because anyone who fails to realise that our dispositions arise from our activities in every kind of matter is altogether stupid, this being different from what happens with our senses; for in the latter case our activities seem to proceed from our dispositions. All these [activities] are confirmatory [of our dispositions], since one acts wrongly voluntarily; for it is unreasonable to say that a person who acts unjustly does not wish to be unjust. Because if someone is aware of the sort of acts by which wickedness is attached to him, then he is wicked voluntarily, and he would not stop [being unjust] at all were he [merely] to wish not to be unjust, or be just once he has handed himself over to injustice.
[Aristotle] attempts to prove this by drawing an analogy with an illness that seems to occur quite involuntarily, because this too often arises as a result of our voluntary [behaviour]; because if we live in an intemperate manner and neglect the doctors, we become ill voluntarily, since it was possible for us to avoid the illness. And when we have thrown away the means to be healthy, it is not possible to avoid illness, just as in the case of throwing a stone, to send [it forth] or to avoid doing so is our own



 $\pi \rho о \alpha \iota \rho \varepsilon ́ \sigma \varepsilon \omega \varsigma ~ к \alpha i ̀ ~ \mu \alpha ́ \lambda \alpha$.

1114a27-1114b24 $\theta^{\prime}\left\langle\tau \tilde{\omega} \delta^{\prime}\right.$ ह̇ oỉvo $\left.^{\prime} \lambda \nu y^{\prime} \alpha \varsigma . ..\right\rangle$













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 26-114,2 عí... हln $^{\prime \prime}$ ] cf. Arist. EN 1114b3-12

decision, but after we have thrown it, we have no power to bring it back, because the origin of the act of throwing is dependent on ourselves only. So too then in the case of illnesses of the soul, at the outset it was possible [for us] to avoid becoming wicked, but after becoming so, it is no longer possible [for us] not to be so. So too in the case of the body and its diseases; because we do not find fault with states that are congenital or a result of disease, but vigorously [find fault] with those that result from choice.

1114a27-1114b24 9. 〈the one from heavy drinking...〉
That many of the sufferings that affect the body are voluntary, then, is shown by the blindness caused by drunkenness (not the blindness that is congenital or a result of illness), in accord with which we would reproach rather than pity the sufferer. The same point is also true with reference to the soul.

On that basis, he raises an objection by a hypothetical interlocutor: if someone says "Everyone seeks what seems good to them" (not the good that stands in contrast to the genuinely good and only appears [to be such], but what might appear to someone to be the good, be it genuine and really good or only an apparent good), \| "but we are not responsible for its appearance [i.e. for it seeming good], let the interlocutor, however, acknowledge that the sort of character each of us is is a matter of choice, and the end too seems to each person to be such as it appears to be [i.e. since each man is responsible for his moral disposition, he will somehow be responsible for his conception of the good]. For someone might be effeminate or lecherous from a particular mixture, and for this reason sexual impurity seems good to him, and on the basis of this argument [the hypothetical interlocutor] wants to prove that vice is not voluntary, even if he grants that virtue is voluntary; for [Aristotle] said "no one is involuntarily happy", but the proposition "no one is voluntarily wicked" is set out by him to discredit. Consequently, if someone expressing these views will say that vice is involuntary, [Aristotle] says, [this thesis] must be discussed, just as he extends the argument for the solution [to the difficulty] at length, speaking hypothetically. For self-indulgence happens to be a disposition, but there is also an appearance involving this that supposedly reckons it to be good.

Well, if a human being is somehow responsible for his disposition, since he was raised badly and not as he should have been, he will somehow be responsible for the appearance [of our ends] as well, for example, for reckoning what is not good to be good. For the very inclination to the passions will itself foreground the appearance of self-indulgence as a kind of good. And it is once again the human being who is somehow responsible for such an appearance, and on that basis vice is again shown to be voluntary. If this is not the case, then no one is responsible for his own wrongdoing, as suggested, but because of the seeming good he performs these actions out of ignorance of the [right] end, thinking that the situation will be best for himself if he acts this way. And his aiming at the end is not self-chosen or naturally voluntary, whatever sort that might actually be; rather a person needs to be born with moral vision, so to speak, and to have the ability to choose what is truly good as a matter of natural
























 $\dot{\omega} \varsigma$ äv ó ó $\rho$ Өò $\pi$ л






[^71][^72]disposition, and to possess what is greatest and finest so as to realise that he possesses this thing from birth. This will constitute a naturally good disposition in the full and true meaning of the term.

If this is indeed the case (that we are in some sense naturally endowed to know the end, whether it is truly good or only appears to be good), how in consequence will virtue be any more voluntary than vice? For since he has a good natural disposition, he will recognise the quality of the end, but when it is not properly good, virtue will not act through it by setting aside the bad, whereas vice will act through pleasure, surpassing the appearance [of the end]; but when [the end] is truly good, the man who takes pleasure in virtue will choose it, whereas the man who prefers vice to virtue will flee [from this end]. Because both for the good man and the bad alike, I say, the end appears at a given time by nature or however it may be in another way by habituation, and it remains like this, and they do everything else with reference to that [end].

Whether the end is not determined by nature but depends in part on the person, because he co-operates [with nature], or whether the end is determined by nature, but virtue is voluntary because the good man acts voluntarily to gain his end, vice too will be no less voluntary; because in the case of the bad man, just as in that of the good one, there is equally present that which depends on the man himself even if not on [his choice of] an end (for that is very much despised), but still on the actions [he has adopted to attain] that end. But if, as we said, virtues are voluntary (and in fact we are in a sense ourselves partly responsible for our moral dispositions on the basis of our way of life, and by being persons who love what is good we define the end as good), then our vices are surely voluntary as well.

1114b26-1115a33 10. 〈We have then discussed the virtues in outline...〉
We have discussed virtue, both what it is in its genus (namely that it is a disposition and that it seems to lie in a mean between two vices), and what it is produced from (namely that [it is produced] by us and our conduct and our own choice), and that we are able to accomplish the virtues, but in conformity with them (because we are just by acting justly; for we are unable to accomplish this virtue, but we are perfected in accord with another), and that it depends on us and is voluntary (since right reason decides in one way in these circumstances, while the reason that is perverted by illness, madness, or pleasure takes a different position), and as right reason would prescribe.

And since the actions which are a means to virtue are voluntary, and the dispositions, like the virtues, are voluntary as self-chosen ends, he distinguishes them according to the manner in which they are voluntary. For the voluntary character of our actions, he says, is from beginning to end, because we do not act under any kind of compulsion. But if something were to compel us, such as the law or a judge, what is involuntary in some respect would not be part of virtue. For if we do not like what we do, we are law-abiding, but we are not virtuous, and our conduct is not the






















 $\mu \varepsilon ́ y ı \sigma \tau \alpha ; ~ \varphi о \beta \varepsilon \rho \omega ́ \tau \alpha \tau о v ~ \delta غ ̀ ~ o ́ ~ \theta \alpha ́ v \alpha \tau o \varsigma, ~ \alpha ̉ \lambda \lambda ’ ~ ह ै \sigma \tau ı ~ к \alpha i ̀ ~ \alpha u ̉ \tau o ̀ \varsigma ~ o ̀ ~ \varepsilon ̉ v ~ \tau o i ̃ ৎ ~ к ו \nu \delta u ́ v o ı \varsigma ~ \tau \tilde{\omega} v$

 $\pi \varepsilon \rho i ̀ ~ \tau o ̀ v ~ к \alpha \lambda o ̀ v ~ \theta \alpha ́ v \alpha \tau о v ~ \alpha ̛ ~ \delta \varepsilon \eta ́ \zeta . ~$






[^73]17 aútòv scripsi ex Arist. EN 1115a18 : aủtũv M 28 lm. addidi
aforementioned virtue, but is noble by force or necessity. Because of this it does not get much praise or rewards; because the slave is deprived of virtue in respect to whatever he does out of fear and under compulsion, unless he acts somehow independently and not in response to orders. And our actions are thus voluntary from beginning to end, whereas our dispositions are voluntary thanks to their beginning (since we become just by acting justly); but each separate addition to the beginning is imperceptible, because one person may improve less, another person more, just as in the case of illnesses the beginnings often depend on us, but their progress differs in individual cases. And in this respect, because we are free to use the beginning or not, our dispositions are designated voluntary.

Resuming again his account of the virtues, he first discusses courage, which was said to be a mean lying between fear and confidence; we fear frightening things, and these are evils, which are also listed. || But the courageous person, he says, seems not to be concerned with all of them, for there are some evils which it is base to have courage in, just as on the other hand it is right to fear [some things], for instance disgrace; because the man who fears this is better than the one who feels courage regarding it. The courageous man is not designated by a literal name in all cases, but in many cases he is called "courageous" in a metaphorical sense, for example in so far as a fearless man is termed "courageous"; because a courageous man is also fearless, so that "fearless" is more universal.

However, we ought not to fear those [evils] which are not naturally caused by vice or due to the person himself. The person who is fearless with regard to these things is termed "courageous" by analogy, since courage is revealed in the face of dangers. At any rate, some men who are not courageous but cowardly with regard to the dangers of war are open-handed in spending money. Why is this? They will be called "courageous" for the following reason: they stand their ground in throwing away money. Nor is someone a coward if he fears insult to his relatives, nor if he is confident when he is about to be flogged will he be called "courageous", but rather "a house-born slave" and a "rogue" [lit. "one who wants whipping"]. Then in regard to what sort of frightening matters is the brave man [brave]? Is it [not] in regard to the greatest? What is most frightening of all is death, but there is also the kind of death that occurs amidst the dangers of wars, producing courage. For note that in certain cities honours are bestowed in particular on those who fight in single combat and those who face dangers in war; whence it might be determined that the courageous man is the one who has no fear of a noble death.

1115a34-1115b29 11. 〈And some sudden peril that involves death...〉
After defining who the courageous man is (namely that a courageous man is one who has no fear of a noble death), he adds "and some sudden peril that involves death"; for, the perils of war are certain to bring death close. For these reasons, the man who endures fearful things in those situations is called "courageous". The blows [of war] are fearful, and so too the death caused by the blows. Certainly the courageous man
 ג̉ $\delta \varepsilon \eta ̀ \varsigma ~ o ́ ~ \alpha ̉ v \delta \rho \varepsilon I ̃ o \varsigma ~ \varphi \alpha i ́ v \varepsilon \tau \alpha ı . ~$












 тò $\varphi o \beta \varepsilon \rho o ̀ v ~ \kappa \alpha \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \tau \eta ̀ v ~ \alpha ̉ v \delta \rho \varepsilon i ́ \alpha v ~ o v ̉ ~ \varphi o ß \eta \tau \varepsilon ́ o v . ~ \varepsilon i ́ \sigma i ̀ ~ \gamma \alpha ́ \rho ~ \tau ı v \alpha ~ к \alpha i ̀ ~ \varphi о \beta \varepsilon \rho \alpha ̀ ~ \tau \alpha ̀ ~ v i \pi \varepsilon ̀ \rho ~$














 $\kappa \alpha \tau \grave{\alpha} \tau o ̀ ~ \theta \alpha \rho \rho \varepsilon \tilde{v} v ~ \dot{v} \pi \varepsilon \rho \beta о \lambda \grave{\eta}$ tòv $\theta \rho \alpha \sigma u ́ v$.

[^74] ع̌tع
also appears fearless both at sea, when he is buffeted by waves, and in illness, when he is on the verge of death.

Then he distinguishes courageous men from sailors, for when the former despair of survival, they feel distress at the idea of drowning in waves (since despair produces an inability to act, but what is coming [brings about] a feeling of distress, and if they endure being unable to do anything, they wait most patiently in their despair), whereas sailors are brave and hopeful of surviving due to their experience, not their experience at sea but their implanted experience of courage. He refers to this as experience, because such experience is produced by frequently encountering difficulties and surviving them by bearing them patiently. For he said concerning just men that they become just by frequently behaving justly. These men, at any rate, are optimistic about their chances of survival because of the experience they have within them, and they display courage in situations where they are strong enough to escape from the sea, and in the case of war to be victorious; but if they happen to fall in battle, they [are strong enough] to fall gloriously. For in such deaths there is nothing else that makes these men display their bravery than the nobility of their end.

The same thing does not frighten everyone, because some men fear one thing, others another, but one must not fear everything that is frightening in accord with courage. For there are some terrors beyond the human (which belong to the divine sphere), which it is a mark of sensible men to fear, but terror on a human scale differs in degree, as do the situations inspiring confidence. The courageous man is bound to be intrepid, albeit up to the point that is appropriate for a human being and does not exceed the human scale, \|| since even he will experience fear, but he will endure it in the right way and as reason will instruct, for the sake of what is noble; because this is the end [at which virtue aims].

It is possible to experience too much or too little fear, and there is a risk that one will be found a coward in relation to fearing excessively, and rash [in fearing] too little, contrary to how one should. Some men exaggerate with regard to fearing too much, with the result that they even fear things that are not frightening. Various errors occur in connection with the latter: one is that they ought not to feel fear but they do, while other men fear frightening objects but in the wrong manner; a second [error] is that what they fear is not frightening, while men [fear objects] as if they were frightening. The situation is similar with regard to occasions for confidence, and just as the coward is revealed in the former case, so the rash man is in the latter; whereas the man who feels fear as he should and endures it as he should and to the extent he should is courageous. Since everything is defined by its end, the activity of the courageous man will be defined by its nobility, because he endures, acts, and feels for the sake of what is noble. Appropriate fearlessness will thus identify the courageous man, whereas excessive fearlessness identifies someone for whom there is no term, along the lines of "mad" or "insensitive to pain"; but an excess of confidence [identifies] the rash man.

















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1115b29-1116a33 12. (The rash man seems to be a boaster...)
It has been stated previously that boastfulness in speech is a kind of overshooting the truth opposed to the pretence at the [other] extreme. Now, he says, the rash man also seems to be a boaster ([he is] rash as regards his disposition, but a boaster in terms of his speech), and he will pretend to acts of courage while avoiding cowardice to the extent this is possible; because due to the fact that [the rash man] does not often appear cowardly, he will not shrink from it [i.e. cowardice] to the right extent and in the right manner, since in this way he would make fun of courage, but in a manner appropriate to people who avoid excessively obstinate attitudes and fall into weakness. So too this man, in seeking to avoid cowardice to the wrong extent and in the wrong manner, will undergo a change to rashness and pretend to courage, since just as the courageous individual is disposed to endure fearful things, so in this case [the rash man] will appear [to do so].

But since the latter [i.e. the rash man] wishes only to appear [to be courageous], when difficulties arise he is even more slack than one might expect and becomes a boastful coward. For at that point [i.e. when he faces difficulties], his apparent perseverance is shown to be cowardice due to his previous rashness. This disposition is a mix of two forms of vice: his previous rashness and his subsequent timidity; because [his disposition] is not reduced in conformity with virtue or with a rational fear, but in conformity with vice via a loss of his rashness, although it is not by shrinking from rashness but by remaining in it that he acquires the latter [quality, i.e. courage]. The deficiency of courage is cowardice; for the coward flees from everything and on this account he is excessively afraid, and this is more conspicuous in painful situations, because the coward is a despondent sort of person.

Next he says that the objects are in common in the three [dispositions], towards which [the agents] are surely differently disposed and not in a similar manner (for the dispositions are also the same). Therefore, rash people, although they boast in advance of frightening situations, draw back when they confront them (namely, when those situations occur); for if they stood their ground, they would perhaps be in the realm of virtue, even if excessively so, but because they draw back, they are boastful cowards. Whereas courageous men are calm beforehand, since they have confidence due to their disposition, and are keen at the time of action, when frightening situations confront them. For they choose what is noble and they stand their ground for its sake; for they endure either because standing one's ground is noble or because not doing so is base. But to try to escape troubles because they are painful and to seek death $\|$ is the act of a thoroughly cowardly and weak man and of one who has an insufficient ability to endure. At all events, he endures, for example, death by hanging not because he considers this type of death noble, but to avoid an evil.

After discussing courage, then, which does not involve determinants from some outside source but from within, from the soul alone and its disposition, he enumerates five other kinds of courage involving external catalysts. First the civic type of courage, which is evident in cities; because citizens withstand dangers on account of







 $\dot{\alpha} \pi \varepsilon เ \lambda \varepsilon \tilde{\sigma} \sigma \alpha \mathrm{\alpha}$.

1116a36-1116b33 เy' 〈кגì oi $\pi \rho о \sigma \tau \alpha ́ \sigma \sigma o v \tau \varepsilon \varsigma, ~ \kappa \alpha ̋ v ~ \alpha ̉ v \alpha \chi \omega \rho \tilde{\omega} \sigma 1 . .$.









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[^75]10 lm . addidi
the legal penalties, the punishments, and the honours [awarded for bravery]; this is why cowards too are held in disgrace, while courageous men are held in honour. Homer bears witness to this by introducing Diomedes and Hector, who stood firm against difficulties because of their sense of shame (since they aimed at acquiring honour), and this type of courage closely resembles the one described earlier, which was prompted by virtue, since this too [i.e. civic courage] arises from a sense of shame and from a desire for what is noble and the wish to avoid what is shameful. Those who are compelled by their superiors may also be placed in this class, although they are inferior to the others [i.e. those motivated by a desire for what is noble etc.], since they do not act out of a sense of shame but out of fear; for they do not try to avoid what is shameful, like them, but pain, namely punishments, just as Hector does in Homer, when he says they will face danger.

1116a36-1116b33 13. 〈And the commanders, even if they retreat...〉
[Aristotle] puts together the civic form of courage from the verses about Hector, who threatened [his troops] when addressing them, while also commanders who post [their troops] and strike them if they give ground, or who line them up in front of ditches or strongholds of some sort to fight against their adversaries, do nothing other than this; because compulsion from their commanders is placed upon all those under their authority. But the courageous man should not be courageous because he is compelled to be so (for no virtue is involuntary), but because of the good itself and the end. Experience regarding particular situations also seems, he says, to be a form of courage-particular situations, not all, but only those realised by this disposition (I refer to wars, battles, and the endurance of painful situations), since experience in grammar does not produce courage, except metaphorically, given that someone who is experienced in grammar would courageously give an account of a paradigm-and for these reasons Socrates, he states, thought that courage was knowledge, because it is a product of experience.

Different people [have this sort of courage] in regard to different matters, [for example] professional soldiers in regard to wars, since there are some aspects of war, which soldiers have observed more than others have; because everyone knows the dangerous nature of battle, but only soldiers know how troops should be drawn up to fight, and in what numbers, and how to win. At any rate, those [soldiers] appear courageous compared to others, because the others are entirely ignorant of the kinds of dangers associated with war, nor do they wish to hear of war even in their dreams, and if they do hear of war, they shudder with terror. Moreover, their experience makes them capable of acting [i.e. of inflicting loss on the enemy] without suffering themselves. As if one side were unarmed and the others armed, this is how soldiers fight against those who lack experience, because they have experience with their weaponry. And it is evident from athletic contests that it is not the bravest men who compete in these, but the best fighters. Why does [Aristotle] say this? Because in the
 $\theta \alpha \rho \rho \alpha \lambda \varepsilon$ ќov.




























case of courage we do not seek victorious accomplishments, but only endurance in the face of terrors and confidence.

For there is a point where professional soldiers, although they fight, prove cowards, \| which is when the danger becomes too intense, so that although they have experience, they do not have courage; whereas those who possess civic courage, namely those who wish to act for the sake of honours, stand their ground and die fighting even though they often lack bodily strength but are armed with courage in their soul, as happened, he states, at the temple of Hermes. For courageous people considered it disgraceful to try to run away, and death was held preferable to safety procured by flight [from the battlefield]. Whereas those who were experienced [in warfare] and possessed only physical strength faced the danger from the outset in a superior position, but when they discovered that they were being defeated, they ran away, since they feared death more than disgrace. Some people refer anger to courage, except for courageous individuals, who make the noble an end and act for its own sake, and anger is their assistant; whereas how are wild animals courageous, if they act courageously only out of pain or the fear of being wounded?

1116b30-1117a28 14. 〈Courageous people for the sake of the noble...〉
He established five types of courage alongside genuine courage (whose end is the noble), which comes from virtue or rather true virtue. They are the following: first the civic [type of courage], which is motivated by a sense of shame and honours. The second [type] is that which occurs in response to the compulsion imposed by one's commanders. It differs from the first type in that the former is for the sake of honour and praise, whereas the latter is motivated by fear of punishments. The third [type] is experience regarding a particular situation. The fourth [type] comes from wrath and anger; even wild animals have a share in it. The fifth [type] is that of hopeful people, with whom we should also place those who are confident due to ignorance, because the former are not far from those who are hopeful due to their ignorance.

Up to this point, he defines the type of courage caused by wrath as quite unlike the genuine type of courage, since the latter is for the sake of the noble, while this [type] is due to pain, as happens in the case of wild animals, or due to the fear of being wounded. Since, he says, if we were to describe wild animals as brave due to these [motivations], we might also call asses brave when they are hungry, because they do not stop [feeding] even when they are beaten. Surely, then, animals that rush headlong into danger due to pain or anger are not genuinely brave. Rather, therefore, the form of courage that is due to wrath seems to be what is most natural, since courage gets assistance from wrath; because when courage is reinforced by deliberate choice (because the person motivated by wrath kills almost without deliberation) and purpose, it becomes [true] courage.

It is apparent from [the behaviour] of human beings that they feel pain when they are angry because they are carried away unwillingly rather than for the sake of a worthy end, and they take pleasure in exacting revenge since they seem to endure





























terrible things when they endure these punishments and have this end and experience this endurance involuntarily. But those whose fight when motivated by anger and vengeance are effective in fighting but not courageous; because some fight as a result of anger, while others wish to retaliate because of their pain. In consequence, they do not fight for the sake of what is noble, but due to their feeling. Yet both have something in common, which is the feeling that drives them to anger. Nor are hopeful men brave in the proper sense, for they are confident about winning because they have often been victorious [on previous occasions]. The courageous man and the hopeful man possess a common kind of confidence, even if they differ from one another in this respect (since the courageous man is confident in one way and the hopeful man in another); for the hopeful man's confidence resembles the boldness of those who are getting drunk, whereas that of the courageous man is the power of enduring for the sake of the noble. This is why a person appears more courageous if he is fearless in the face of sudden terrors rather than in dangers that are foreseen; $\|$ because such a man will be afraid more as a result of his disposition and less from preparation, because it is from calculation that he does what he does at a given time, since it results from his disposition.

Those who are ignorant [when they face danger] would be placed in the same category as hopeful men, but they are inferior because they lack self-confidence, whereas those men [i.e. the hopeful] have it; because [hopeful men] are confident regarding frightening situations and [are sure] they will survive, and they stand their ground for a time, but [the ignorant] are not confident at all, and if they learn [the true state of affairs], they depart as if they had been deceived. Who courageous men are and who those who [merely] appear to be so are has thus been discussed.

## 1117a29-1117b28 15. 〈With respect to confidence and fear...)

The courageous man, therefore, is concerned with confidence and objects of fear, albeit not with respect to both equally, but more in respect to fearful objects than those that inspire confidence, since the man who is able to endure painful things is courageous. Courage thus involves pain and is rightly praised, since enduring pain is more difficult than abstaining from pleasure, except in so far as courage involves pain. For although standing one's ground courageously when confronting frightening situations is painful, even so it has an end that is pleasant. But this pleasant character of the end is obscured by the attendant bad circumstances, something that also happens in athletic contests; since the end boxers aim for is pleasant because of what accompanies that end, the wreaths and honours, but being struck must undoubtedly be painful for them, given that they are made of flesh, and every sort of exertion brings pain with it. As a consequence of which, because the blows and exertions are so numerous, the end, being pleasant but insufficient in comparison to them, appears not to be pleasant, since it is obscured by what is momentarily painful.

The situation involving courage is somewhat similar: the end is noble, but the means to the end are painful, as is death itself as well, but nevertheless [the

















 $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau o ̀ v ~ \varepsilon ̇ v ~ \pi о \lambda \varepsilon ́ \mu ~ \varphi ~ \varepsilon u ̉ k \lambda \varepsilon \alpha ̃ ~ Ө \alpha ́ v \alpha \tau о \nu . ~$













[^76]$2 \mu \tilde{\alpha} \lambda \lambda$ ov addidi ex Arist. EN 1117b11 24 lm . addidi
courageous man] endures this, because endurance is a noble thing and because a failure to endure is base. The result is that the more the sufferer is happy and possesses virtue in its entirety, 〈the more〉 pain death causes him; for others will vote for such a man to live, and even more will he [vote] so for himself, and it is painful if someone who possesses this disposition, that he is worthy of life, will die, but nevertheless in this sense he will be justly distressed. For we said that the virtuous man is characterised by the pleasure he has in connection with virtue, so that if he does not take pleasure in virtue, he is not really virtuous. But this man, although rightly distressed, would nonetheless be no less courageous and be called so, and perhaps indeed he is more courageous on the following account, that, although he possesses these goods on account of which he judges himself worthy of life and on account of them feels distress when he faces these dangers, he prefers the nobility found in war. As a result, one must conclude that it is not the case with all the virtues that the exercise of them is pleasant, except with reference to the end, since this is both noble and pleasant.

Because [the end] is noble, nothing prevents those who lack many goods from being the best soldiers, and those who are less courageous will be the best soldiers, since they possess nothing else of value or possess less [of value], and reasonably so. For if courageous men feel pain on account of the goods which belong to them, since it seems to them that they ought not to have to die when they possess such great goods and so many of them, those who are less courageous, if they possessed the remaining goods, would all be comfortable with this aim [i.e. to avoid dying] and the judgement that it is not noble [for courageous men] to die, and they would despise the nobility found in war. But since they lack the other goods and are less courageous, they would barter their lives for small profits, and even more for a noble death in warfare.

After this he discusses moderation, to the effect that courage is much more concerned with enduring pain than with avoiding pleasures, whereas moderation is concerned with pleasures, but with pain only to a lesser degree and differently than courage is. For that reason he distinguishes among the pleasures and examines what sort of pleasures moderation is concerned with.
|| 1117b28-1118b5 16. (Let there be a distinction between [pleasures] of the soul...) He distinguishes between pleasures of the soul and those of the body, and he refers moderation to bodily pleasures, but only some rather than all of them. And since pleasures [are experienced] by means of sense-perception, he first rejects [pleasure achieved] by means of sight, since those who delight in colours and pictures are not termed "moderate", if they delight [in them] in the right manner and to the right extent, nor are those who take more pleasure than this [termed] "self-indulgent"; in fact, it is natural to take pleasure in these [i.e. objects of vision] in the right manner or to one extreme or the other, sometimes exceeding what is appropriate and sometimes falling short of it. Similarly, those who enjoy the objects of hearing are unlikely to be















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 $\tau \iota v \alpha \mu \varepsilon ́ \rho \eta ~ \sigma \omega \mu \alpha \tau \iota \kappa \alpha ́$.


 an. 413b4-10, 414a3, 414b3, 435a12-435b3 15-16 $\alpha$ v̌тๆ... हौл $\varepsilon y \varepsilon]$ cf. Arist. De an. 413b1-10 19-21 oi... $\alpha i \sigma \theta \eta ́ \sigma \varepsilon \omega \varsigma]$ cf. Arist. EN 1118a29-31 21-24 غ́ $\pi \varepsilon i . . . \pi \rho o \sigma \lambda о y i ́ \zeta o v \tau \alpha ı] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~$

$11 \tau \varepsilon$ s.l. $19 \mu \eta$ seclusi 25 lm . addidi
called "moderate" or "self-indulgent", since we do not refer to those who take an excessive pleasure in music as self-indulgent, nor [do we do so] when they pay attention to what the actors [in the theatre] say with pleasure and excessively. Nor do we describe those who are immoderately concerned with smells self-indulgent, unless by accident; for those who delight in the scent of apples perhaps are not fond of the fruit because of its scent alone, but instead because of the nourishment [it supplies]; and those who take pleasure in the scent of roses or incense would also not be called self-indulgent in the proper sense, because they do not relate to a type of desire. But if they were to take pleasure in the smell of perfumes or of tasty dishes, they might be called accidentally "self-indulgent", because these [odours] remind them of the objects of their desire, the former of debauchery, while the latter of self-indulgence and consuming food. This is evident from people who are hungry, because they take pleasure in the smell of food.

Like human beings, at any rate, the other animals as well get no pleasure from these senses, namely sight, hearing, and add smell too, except accidentally. For a lion sees a goat and hears an ox, and a dog catches the scent of a hare, and they take pleasure in these [objects of sense-perception], but [they do so] because they are prey and food. [To find out] which pleasures moderation and self-indulgence are concerned with, or because desire is a non-rational part of the soul, we must investigate the [kind of pleasure] that is most common in all living creatures, and this is [the pleasure of] touch, because this is the most powerful [sense], as he said in "On the Soul", given that it obliterates the other [senses], without being obliterated along with them.

The sense of taste too is subordinate to the sense of touch, for these kinds of sense-perception appear servile and bestial. Consequently, those who are selfindulgent do not take much pleasure in these [senses], but what self-indulgent people take pleasure in is [rather] the enjoyment of these [objects], \| which comes about by the sense of touch, in which taste is manifest. Since touch is the most widely shared, therefore, and is more irrational than the remaining [senses], and the intemperate enjoyment of some pleasures relates to touch, this sort of enjoyment would reasonably be regarded as a matter of reproach, because one takes pleasure in it not in the way a human being would, but in the way an animal does. For the most refined of the pleasures of touch are not reckoned among these.

1118b4-1119a7 17. 〈Moreover, the most refined...〉
Self-indulgent people, he says, are not attached to every type of pleasure, for example they often do not accept the most refined [pleasures], which are those produced in gymnasia by rubbing and warm baths. Because the pleasure of touch of the self-indulgent person, he says, does not involve the entire body, but only certain bodily parts.

After this, since pleasures have their place among the desires, he distinguishes among the desires and maintains that they are of two sorts: one kind seem to be





















 $\pi \alpha \rho \varepsilon i ̃ v \alpha$ ı.

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 $\pi \rho о \sigma \eta ́ \kappa \varepsilon \iota ~ \tau о і ̃ \varsigma ~ \alpha ̉ v \theta \rho \omega ́ \pi o ı \varsigma ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \varepsilon ̇ y y u ̀ \varsigma ~ \varepsilon i ̃ v \alpha ı ~ \tau o ı \alpha v ́ \tau \eta \varsigma ~ \alpha ̉ v \alpha ı \sigma \theta \eta \sigma i ́ \alpha \varsigma . ~$

[^77]
universal and more a matter of nature, while the other are peculiar to individuals and acquired. The desires for food and drink are natural and universal, as are sexual desires, as Homer says, except that it is not [desired] by all but by those who are in their physical prime; whereas appetites for this or that specific food are not universal to everybody, because different foods are pleasant to different people. To a certain extent, this [preference] is natural and derives from our bodily mixture. In the case of our natural desires, then, any error is minor (given that when we are hungry, we all desire to eat, and when we are thirsty, to drink) and we all do this in one way only, that of excess in quantity. He speaks of "excess in quantity" because of the fact that some men eat in excess or [eat] whatever is at hand until they are too full, and so they exceed the natural order in terms of amount, since the natural desire is to satisfy one's needs, and what is beyond this is a kind of excess and error. That is why men of this sort are called "greedy-bellies", in the sense that they are gluttonous in relation to their stomach, and they are also termed "slavish", since they have the desires of slaves rather than of free persons.

With regard to the natural [desires], at any rate, any error is slight, but in regard to pleasures peculiar to individual persons many people go wrong and in many ways. For they are personally fond of such-and-such (perhaps they like sweets, or wine, or dainties) and often enjoy the kind of things one should not, or more than most people do, or as one should not, and self-indulgent men outdo them, since they like some things one should not or [enjoy them] in a way one should not, but [they do so] excessively. It is also apparent that excess in relation to pleasures is a kind of selfindulgence and that it is blameworthy. With regard to pains, on the other hand, [the self-indulgent man] has a converse relationship to the courageous man; \| for the courageous man is more prone to be such in enduring pains than in not enjoying pleasures; whereas, in this case [i.e. moderation] a person is not called moderate for enduring pains, and self-indulgent for not enduring pains, but rather the self-indulgent person [is so called] for feeling more pain than he should, because he fails to get pleasures (and pleasure produces this pain, and just as he is pleased when he gets them, to the same extent he is distressed when he fails to get them); whereas the moderate individual [is so called] because he does not feel pain at the absence of pleasures or in abstaining from them when they are present.

The self-indulgent man thus desires all pleasures or those that are most pleasant, and he is led by his desire, and he places pleasure above everything else. Hence, when he fails [to get pleasure], he feels pain, as also when he desires something, because he is unable to attain it, and something else because he suspects he will fail [to get it]. Feeling pain because of pleasure seems almost absurd, but it arises in these situations; these attributes are characteristic of those who excessively [seek pleasure], whereas those [who err] on the side of deficiency [with regard to pleasure] are few, because being akin to such insensibility is not typical of human beings.






















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[^78]

1119a9-1119b6 18. 〈If he takes no pleasure at all...〉
Moderation has to do with pleasures, but not those connected to the soul (for how would moderation be involved in the intellectual pleasures, such as those evident in investigations of geometry? Because Aristotle in the "Topics" makes it clear that these too are pleasures, where he shows that pleasure has the same name [in different situations], since the pleasure involved in investigations [of the arts and sciences] is not opposed to pain, whereas the form of pleasure discussed above is opposed to pain). Consequently, moderation has to do not with pleasures of the soul but with those of the body, and not with all of these but only with those got through touch or taste. An excess of [such] pleasures produces self-indulgence; because it is crucial to investigate the excess of our subjects rather than the intermediate state of this moderation. Since this is rather called a deficiency with regard to the pleasures, and because this deficiency is rare and affects a limited number of individuals, it has no specific name; for in accord with this, the man who possesses [this deficiency] is removed from humanity, while some refer to it as folly.

The moderate man stands in the middle between these two [extremes], and he neither takes pleasure in the same way in the things the self-indulgent man enjoys, but instead dislikes them, nor does he feel pain at their absence or desire them when they are not there. For how is it that he not want to enjoy [pleasures that are] at hand? In order that he not fall into the vice at one of the opposite extremes, when desire is completely set free, [Aristotle] inserts the expression "or in a moderate degree". Because it is likely that even the moderate individual desires some pleasures, not insofar as they are pleasant but as they are perhaps conducive to health or fitness, he also discusses them, to the effect that [the moderate man] will desire them in a moderate degree and in the proper manner, as also other pleasures not detrimental to health. For [the moderate man] will make habitual use [of these pleasures] in these circumstances as well, so as to not be self-indulgent concerning them. In fact we reproach the patient undergoing several medical treatments for wishing to keep his body in a good condition. The moderate man, at any rate, will care for pleasures in a moderate fashion, for those not detrimental to either his nobility or his means. The man who exceeds these limits cares for such pleasures more than they are worth, whereas the moderate man will care for them just as right reason will suggest.

Self-indulgence seems to be more voluntary than cowardice is, because the former is caused by pleasure, which we pursue voluntarily, the latter by pain, which comes upon us against our will and which we avoid. Also pain upsets us and destroys the nature of the person who feels it, while pleasure does nothing of the sort. Inasmuch as the act of self-indulgence is more voluntary, it is also more reprehensible than cowardice. And in fact it is easier to train oneself to resist such things [i.e. the temptations of pleasure] (for choice precedes [self-indulgence]), and being accustomed to them does not bring danger, whereas in the case of objects of fear, the coward cannot easily become accustomed [to them], but fearful situations often produce danger when they are mentioned or set before one.
 $\pi \rho о \beta \alpha \lambda \lambda o ́ \mu \varepsilon v \alpha$.





















[^79]

But cowardice cannot be avoided in the same way. The same thing holds for cowardice per se as for its specific manifestations, because cowardice itself is painless, but specific acts of cowardice depart from what is reasonable because of the pain. But for the self-indulgent person, to the contrary, specific acts [of self-indulgence] are \| voluntary and chosen, but with reference to [his character] in general less so, since no one desires to be self-indulgent. The term "self-indulgence" is also applied to children, who need to be punished for naughty things they have done. Which of the two gets its name from the other, whether it is from children but applied here or applied from here to children, is not important to consider. In any case, since children live at the prompting of desire, so too these men [i.e. the self-indulgent] need punishment just as they do.

1119b11-1119b18 19. 〈This is why they must be moderate...〉
Just as the unadmonished person is self-indulgent, whether he be a child or if an appetite causes him trouble (for Plato used to say that those who are not admonished (by) their rulers are morally impure), so in turn we describe the man who is ready to obey as "chastened". If one obeys the laws, at any rate, one can also be corrected by them, and if one [obeys] one's ruler or tutor, [one will be corrected] by them, since punishment is not correction in the proper sense but the prevention of desire. Therefore, the indulgences of the moderate person must be moderate and few, and should never oppose reason. For just as a child is obliged to live according to the direction of his tutor, so too the appetitive part of us [is obliged to live] by the direction of reason; for reason is the tutor of the appetitive element [of the soul], since it is authoritative and the ruler. The appetitive element in the moderate man, therefore, must be in harmony with reason, because both reason and temperance have a single end, the noble; and what reason will prescribe, the temperate man will accomplish in accord with his individual desire.

1119b22-1120a7 $\alpha^{\prime}\left\langle\Lambda \varepsilon ́ y \omega \mu \varepsilon v \delta^{\prime} \dot{\varepsilon} \xi \tilde{\eta} \varsigma \pi \varepsilon \rho \grave{~ c ̇ \lambda} \lambda \varepsilon v \theta \varepsilon \rho เ \frac{\tau}{\tau} \eta \tau о \varsigma . ..\right\rangle$



















 $\varepsilon ้ \chi \omega \nu \tau \tilde{\omega} \chi \rho \eta \sigma \dot{\prime} \mu \omega \pi \lambda о v ́ \tau \omega \kappa \alpha \lambda \tilde{\omega} \varsigma \chi \rho \eta \dot{\sigma} \sigma \tau \alpha \iota$.








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1119b22－1120a7 1．〈Next let us discuss liberality．．．〉
After this，［Aristotle］examines liberality in detail，and he investigates both its substance and each of its opposite extremes，which are classified as vice seeing as they are types of excess and deficiency，since liberality being a virtue lies in the mean position．At any rate，the liberal man is not such in conditions of war，as the courageous man is，nor，on the other hand，in matters in which the temperate person ［is defined］（given that these involve bodily pleasures），nor in certain judicial decisions，as he said with regard to the man inclined to just indignation（for he sees what happens to lucky people as undeserved and feels indignant about this），but rather the liberal individual is defined by the acquisition and donation of wealth，and especially by the donation．

Wealth is also defined，since we use＂wealth＂to refer to those things whose value is measured by money，so that a given object is worth a certain amount．The opposite extremes of liberality are wastefulness and miserliness；the former is the excess，while the latter is the deficiency．Miserliness is characteristic of those who are devoted to money or steadfastly hold onto their personal funds or even try to make more in any way possible or spend very little in comparison to their needs；whereas wastefulness is also intertwined with those who lack self－control，since it is not just the individual who spends his personal resources beyond what is needed who is wasteful，but also the one who spends［money］to satisfy his personal appetites．This is why we use the term＂wasteful＂for those who are passionately excited about self－indulgence，even if they do not spend large sums．This is also why \｜wasteful people are regarded as extremely bad；because they are implicated in many vices as a result of their reckless spending of money，although such people are not correctly referred to［thus］．For the man who ruins his estate is＂wasteful＂in the proper sense of the term，as is the man who ruins himself．For the ruining of one＇s own property is a sort of 〈self－〉destruction， inasmuch as wealth is the means of life．In cases where there is need for giving，the question of＂well＂or＂badly＂arises；and the person who possesses the virtue related to wealth will make good use of useful riches．

1120a8－1120b6 2．〈But the use seems to be．．．〉
That the liberal man is defined by his donation or acquisition［of money］is established by the name used for＂money＂（chrēmata），since the usefulness（chrēsi－ mon）of money（chrēmata）is considerable；for this reason，therefore，it is termed ＂money＂（chrēmata）．The use［of wealth］has to do with spending and giving，whereas acquisition and having of money are modes of the possession rather［than of the use］． This is why giving［money］rather than getting it is characteristic of the liberal man， with the former［i．e．giving］being concerned with to whom one ought to give，the latter［i．e．getting］with whence one ought and whence one ought not to get it．For this seems to be virtue，namely，getting［money］from the right sources．But he
















 $\pi \varepsilon \rho i ́ \sigma \tau \alpha \sigma ı \nu ~ \delta \varepsilon ́ \delta \omega \kappa \varepsilon v ;$







[^82]$4 \mu \eta$ addidi ex Arist. EN $1120 a 1619$ ő $\theta \varepsilon v$ ante oủ 8 è primum scripsit, deinde erasit M
establishes this anew on the basis of personal virtue, since it is more characteristic of virtue to do good than to receive good, and to perform noble deeds than to not perform base ones. It is evident that donation involves doing good, whereas acquisition [involves] being treated well, and this will become a cause of the recipient's not behaving shamefully.

Gratitude is felt more towards the giver rather than towards the person who〈refrains from> taking, and praise [also goes to the giver] for the following reason: whatever is harder to accomplish, that is virtue. It is easier, then, to refrain from taking than to give, since people are more reluctant to surrender what belongs to them than to refrain from taking what belongs to someone else. At any rate, if refraining from receiving surpasses giving on our calculation of virtue, by how much more it will surpass receiving [from others]! That is why those who give are called "generous", whereas those who refrain from taking are nonetheless just; and the former are praised because they refrain from taking, while those who take are not praised at all, even if they receive what they deserve and what belongs to them. They [i.e. generous people] are more beloved than other types of virtuous people because they are beneficial [to others].

Since virtuous acts are noble and aim at what is good, the generous man will also aim at what is good in his giving, but only if he gives in the proper way and in accord with the additional conditions [specified for right giving, i.e. at the right time, to the right people, etc.] and with pleasure or [at least] without pain, because what is done in accord with virtue is pleasant or [at any rate] painless or only slightly painful. The man who gives out of different motives [i.e. other than for nobility's sake], however, will not be [called] "generous", but will be called someone who is extremely conflicted with regard to his gifts and his motive for giving. Nor is the man who feels pain when he gives generous; since why would that man feel distress, other than because he prefers money to making a noble gift, even if he has made his gift due to some other circumstantial cause?

Nor \|| will [the generous man] take money whence he should not. How can this be? It is because he does not regard money as more valuable than making a noble gift. For this reason he would not be fond of asking for favours; for how could someone who chooses to confer benefits accept receiving benefits? He will acquire wealth whence he ought, but from his own justly-acquired [possessions], not because acquiring [money] is noble but since it is necessary, in order to be able to give. For these reasons, he will not be careless of his property, nor will he give indiscriminately to any random person, in order that he may be able to give to the proper persons. But the generous person is certainly prone to give much rather than to leave it behind for himself, since he does not regard his own interest as leading to the end [at which he aims].








 غ̇ $\zeta \alpha \nu \tau \lambda$ oíๆ.





















[^83]

1120b7-1121a7 3. 〈For what is generous does not depend on the quantity of what is given...)
The generous man is not characterised by the quantity of his giving, but by the disposition of the giver, since the disposition gives in accord with the power of its substance. For this reason, nothing prevents the person who gives less from being more generous, if he is less wealthy but gives abundantly from his means in accord with his own choice. Who are naturally disposed to be more broadly generous? Those who have not acquired their wealth by means of hard work, but inherited it from their fathers. This is because they have no experience of poverty and of how their resources were obtained by their fathers, and also because, as human beings, we are naturally disposed to be fonder of our own [creations] than of those of others. For this reason, the man who acquires [wealth] by his own efforts will be quite sparing with it, whereas the man who has inherited wealth that belonged to others would draw on it more liberally.

But it is not easy for a generous man to grow rich, because he falls short in getting [money] and does not keep what he has acquired, but also [because] he spends profusely and does not value wealth for its own sake but as a means of giving. Indeed, that is why some people denounce fortune, because those who have the most right to be wealthy, in order that they might give, are the least wealthy. This occurs reasonably, however, because it is impossible for a man to have money unless he takes pains to have it. The generous man, however, will not make gifts at random apart from the conditions previously outlined, so that he might not spend money in vain and be unable to spend at the right time. Because one must act and spend in proportion to one's means, whereas he who gives too much and beyond his means is wasteful. This is why tyrants are not generous (and kings too must be called tyrants), because the amount they possess is large, but it does not seem easy for them to spend or give in excess; for which reason, the same people [i.e. rulers] are not wasteful in the proper sense of the term.

Therefore, since generosity is a mean in relation to giving and acquiring of money, the generous man will both give and get in conformity with $\|$ the conditions specified previously; for he will do both in the right way, since proper acquisition goes along with proper giving. But if this acquisition is not fair in the way giving is, that is a cause having to do specifically with acquisition, so that the same man would be both generous with respect to giving and otherwise with respect to acquisition.

At any rate, then, if both [practices] [i.e. giving and acquiring in the right manner] accompany one another, they are found in the same man at the same time, whereas it is clear that the contrary states are not found in one and the same disposition, but there is another cause in regard to acquisition, so that this man [i.e. the one who acquires wrongly but gives rightly] seems to be opposed to himself, because his dispositions are opposed. If [the generous man] happens to spend in a manner contrary to what is right, he will feel pain, but by maintaining his virtue in line with his disposition, he will for these reasons feel pain to a moderate degree and in the

 $\alpha \dot{\alpha} v \alpha ́ \lambda \omega \sigma \varepsilon v$.



































1 ó p. corr. (к a. corr.) M 4 lm. addidi 23 -oı scripsi (-oı s.l.) : $-\varepsilon ı M$
proper manner. For it is a mark of virtue to feel both pleasure and pain, but in the right manner in both cases. The generous man will be easy to deal with in his lending and his borrowing and in his giving a dowry, and he will be more distressed if he did not spend what he should have than if he spent what he should not have.

1121a10-1121b11 4. 〈We have said then that they are excesses...)
[Aristotle] sets out the opposite extremes of liberality. Wastefulness is an excess of the disposition in giving, and since giving is defined in relation to the bestowal of a certain gratitude, he says that we also count spending as giving. Wastefulness, then, is excessive in giving and in not acquiring, but deficient in acquiring. For this reason, acquiring must be assigned to the disposition of the opposite extreme, namely miserliness, since the latter is deficient in giving, but excessive in acquiring. And since liberality has been found to involve giving money rather than acquiring it, for these reasons an excess of giving is in one way an excess of the disposition [i.e. of liberality], but in another way the deficiency [of giving] is a deficiency of the disposition.

He has added "but only on a small scale" because miserliness is not concerned with acquiring large amounts [only], but small ones too. For it is rather the wasteful man that will be engaged in acquiring large amounts, since that type of person, since he is spending large sums [of money], will not put up with acquiring small amounts. If, then, he does not acquire great sums of money, the characteristics of wastefulness [i.e. excessive giving and falling short in acquiring] will scarcely be increased as [the man] becomes progressively more and more wasteful; for this is not easy, because the givers' resources will soon be exhausted if they are private citizens, the emperor excepted. For these people [i.e. private citizens] actually appear to be wasteful; since the wasteful man is much superior to the miserly man, because he gives [money] and does not acquire. And he can be subject to cure both by growing older and by poverty, because he will advance after he strengthens his practical wisdom, and after experiencing poverty he will come to his senses, and he will immediately attain the mean; for in fact he possesses the characteristics of the generous man, even if in an excessive manner.

But if he changes in any way through habituation, he would attain the mean [i.e. generosity], for which reason [the wasteful man] does not seem bad in character; || but this type of man is much better than the miser both due to the reasons stated previously and because he benefits many people, whereas [the miser] benefits no one, not even himself, because he does not even spend [money] on his personal needs. Most wasteful people, however, also acquire [money] in order to have it to spend, and in this respect they are miserly. They accordingly become disposed to taking because of their wish to give and their inability to do so, and so [the wasteful man] will accomplish this [i.e. acquisition] by procuring resources [from others]. At the same time, because he cares nothing for what is noble, he will acquire [money] recklessly from every available source. On this account, since they do not care where they could acquire money from, because they do not act for the sake of nobility, their actions are not





## 1121b11-1122a9 $\varepsilon^{\prime}\left\langle\tau \cup \chi \dot{\omega} \nu \delta^{\prime} \dot{~ \varepsilon ̇ \pi \mu \mu} \lambda \lambda \varepsilon^{\prime} \alpha \varsigma . ..\right\rangle$


















 кат $\alpha$ тŋ̀v $\delta$ óбıv, ov̉ $\lambda \alpha \mu \beta \alpha ́ v o v o ı ~ \delta \varepsilon ́ . ~$
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[^84]5 lm . addidi 19 ќ́ $\mu \mu \kappa \varepsilon \varsigma ~ M: ~ к i ́ \mu \beta ı к \varepsilon \varsigma ~ A r i s t . ~ v u l g . ~(E N ~ 1121 b 22) ~ 23 ~ \mu \varepsilon ̀ v ¹ ~ d e l e v i ~$
generous, since they do not give for the sake of nobility. Instead, sometimes they enrich people who ought to be poor, and give nothing to people with sound characters, but to parasites and flatterers instead. As a consequence, many wasteful people are self-indulgent, and for these reasons we established that the wasteful man is entangled in vice, since he remains undisciplined.

1121b11-1122a9 5. (But if he is treated with care...)
Wastefulness, he says, is better than miserliness, because if the wasteful man gets care he might attain the right scale [of open-handedness], whereas miserliness is incurable; and this is reasonably so, given that it is likely that [the wasteful man] might desist from excess, whereas it is unlikely that the miser would rise above [his faults] to attain the mean. This is because the man who spends much [money] is also capable of spending little, but he who spends very little is incapable [of spending] much. He also says that, if in some people miserliness is more prevalent, [this is] in those who are old or frail (since such people are selfish and feel little concern about people other than themselves, perhaps because there is little natural warmth in them; for Talthybius speaks well when he says "I am an old man, but even so I desired to die" rather than suffer such terrible things. For if someone were not to speak this way, his speech would be contradictory, because it is more fitting to say "I am young, but even so I desired to die"), and [he also says that] miserliness is more appropriate to human nature than wastefulness is.

Furthermore, [miserliness] extends rather wide and has many species, as he determines. For although it consists in two things, in taking and acquiring, it is not often found in both cases simultaneously, but these acts [i.e. of acquiring and giving] occur separately, with the result that it is possible that some people only want to acquire [money], whereas others want to give little and in the wrong manner, because they are cheap and grasping and stingy. As a result of a certain stinginess they fall short in giving, but they do not wish to acquire [from others] for many reasons, some due to a sense of fairness, so they say, \|l but others out of fear, being afraid that, because they take from others, they themselves might be forced to endure similar things [i.e. having their own resources taken away] due to some chance or necessity. Therefore they prefer neither to take nor to give, and these people fall short in giving, but they do not acquire.

Others exceed in acquiring, in that they want to acquire all they can from every source, for example those who work in degraded and sordidly acquisitive occupations, such as pimps and money-lenders, since all these acquire from inappropriate sources and do business for the sake of profit, even though the profit is shameful, for which reason they are called "sordidly acquisitive", because they endure reproach for gain that is shameful, minor, and worthless. One must attribute to miserly persons gain on a small scale, which they aim for. Because we refer to those who acquire large sums from improper sources, or sums one ought not to acquire, such as bandits and temple-robbers, not as miserly but as wicked, impious, and unjust. One must assign



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 $\pi \varepsilon ા \alpha$.










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the gambler and brigand to the same category as them, since they too do their business for the sake of gain.

1122a13-1122b8 6. 〈Naturally in relation to generosity...〉
It is quite natural, he says, that miserliness is more opposed to generosity than wastefulness is, since it is a greater evil than wastefulness (things very much at variance from one another are defined as opposites). Why then is [miserliness] not opposed to wastefulness as well? Because then one thing would be opposed to two things, whereas the logical principle is that one thing is opposed to one. One must therefore say that miserliness is opposed to wastefulness in an absolute sense, as one vice is opposed to another vice. In regard to the comparison of which of the two vices would be opposed to generosity, miserliness will be judged to be more so than wastefulness is; because wastefulness is easy to cure, as we said, whereas miserliness is incurable. Why is [this disposition] not called "eleutheria" (freedom) but "eleutheriotēs" (generosity) instead? This term "eleutheria" (freedom) was borrowed for two other things as slavery is opposed [to freedom].

Following this, he also discusses magnificence. For this too seems to be a virtue concerned with wealth. But this does not extend to many actions involving money, as generosity does, but it is specifically concerned only with heavy expenditures, not with giving generally. || It surpasses generosity in scale, as its name in fact suggests, because it is [called] "megaloprepeia" (magnificence). Its scale, however, is not defined in relation to itself, but is relative to something else and indefinite in relation to the hypothetical persons [involved]. For the captain of a trireme will spend [money] in one way while commanding a ship and many people in a military action, whereas the chief of a sacred embassy [will spend it] in another way, although he too leads [people], but on a pilgrimage to a festival rather than into battle, with the result that magnificence concerns occasions when money is spent on a great scale and in an amount worthy of them.

The man who spends adequate sums on matters of trivial importance is not magnificent but generous instead. For the magnificent man is generous, but not every generous person is also magnificent, but only the man who spends a great deal in an appropriate manner on matters of great importance. The deficiency that corresponds to this mean [i.e. magnificence] is stinginess, whereas the excess is vulgarity, that is to say, tastelessness and coarseness.

The magnificent man is like a scientific expert, for just as the expert discerns the appropriate amount for him in his current circumstances, so too he [i.e. the magnificent man] will discern the appropriate amount in all circumstances and will spend great sums on matters of great importance. Just as his expenditures are [i.e. large and fitting], so too will the results be. And the result must be worthy of the expense, and the expense worthy of the result, or often the expense may even exceed [the result] due to the disposition of the magnificent person. He [i.e. the magnificent man] will spend,
 $\lambda \nu \pi о$ и́ $\varepsilon$ соз.




 غ̇へعuӨ́́pıos.






 ع̌p

 $\theta \varepsilon \omega \rho i ́ \alpha ~ \theta \alpha \nu \mu \alpha \sigma \tau \eta \dot{\prime}, \tau o ̀ ~ \delta \varepsilon ̀ ~ \mu \varepsilon \gamma \alpha \lambda о \pi \rho \varepsilon \pi \varepsilon ̀ \varsigma ~ \theta \alpha v \mu \alpha \sigma \tau o ̀ v ~ \delta ı \alpha ̀ ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \tau \eta ̃ ऽ ~ \delta \alpha \pi \alpha ́ v \eta \varsigma ~ \mu \varepsilon ́ y \varepsilon \theta o \varsigma . ~$
[28r] $\|$ Eioì $\delta \varepsilon ̀ ~ к \alpha i ̀ ~ \delta \alpha \pi \alpha v \eta ́ \mu \alpha \tau \alpha ~ \tau i ́ \mu ı \alpha, ~ \tau \grave{\alpha} \pi \varepsilon \rho i ̀ ~ \tau o v ̀ \varsigma ~ \theta \varepsilon o v ̀ \varsigma ~ к \alpha i ̀ ~ \pi \alpha ̃ v ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \delta \alpha ı \mu o ́ v ı o v, ~ a ̈ ~ \delta \eta ̀ ~ к \alpha i ̀ ~$ גủtà Ө




$\qquad$
just as the generous man will give, for the sake of what is noble, and gladly and readily, feeling no distress.

1122b8-1123a9 7. 〈For niggardliness is shabby...〉
Miserliness, he says, is alien to the magnificent man. Therefore, the magnificent man would examine how [his result] will be most noble and splendid more closely than how much it will cost, and he would <not> consider not even how the most noble project would be executed for the least expense. For these reasons, then, the magnificent individual must share the character of the liberal person, since the man who is not grasping in regard to gifts or expenditures is liberal.

The element "great" (mega) in the liberal man is the "magnitude" (megethos) of the magnificent man; for the liberal man will give small gifts lavishly and gladly only if he has limited, moderate resources, but he will also provide great gifts in like manner [i.e. lavishly and gladly], if he has abundant wealth. Therefore, the "greatness" (mega) evident in this type of man [i.e. the liberal man] will be "magnitude" (megethos) in the magnificent man. When the liberal man, then, is confronted with the undertaking of a specific project, he will perform the task by means of a great expenditure and in this respect he will be like the magnificent man in a way, not in so far as he possesses something, but in so far as he does [something].

For there is one kind of excellence that involves possession and another that involves achievement, because [the excellence] of a possession is that it is of some great worth, whereas [the excellence] of an achievement is that it is great and noble. With respect to the achievement, at any rate, they will be equal, because the achievement confers the quality of "greatness" (mega), from which the "magnificent" (megaloprepēs) man gets his name. The liberal individual will both make eager efforts, in his own way, with regard to a certain acquisition and will make many gifts in an appropriate manner beyond what he has acquired. For the spectacle of the achievement inspires admiration, and magnificence is admirable due to the magnitude of the expenditure.
|| There are expenditures that bring honour, those connected with the gods and any form of divine generally, which are in fact admirable undertakings in themselves, and magnificence is naturally and necessarily part of these [types of benefaction], as also in benefactions to the community. All these types of expenditure will be calculated with reference to the person who performs them, namely who it is that carries out such benefactions; because not everyone can do such things, since magnificence must be appropriate to both the project and the producer. Magnificence is accordingly not fitting for the poor man, and if someone [of this sort] should attempt [expenditure on a magnificent scale], [he would be] foolish, because it is beyond his means, since acting properly implies acting virtuously. The project must be appropriate not only for the producer, but also for his ancestors and relatives, since persons who possess great resources and an honourable reputation will undertake these [benefactions] magnificently.



















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 ódíya, по入入á.

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[^86]6 lm . addidi

The magnificent man is therefore especially concerned with communal benefactions that are useful to the population at large; but [magnificence is also shown on] whatever private occasions happen only once, such as a marriage or the like. These [events] are valued highly, because they happen only once and focus on one's own needs. Magnificence therefore occurs mostly in relation to matters which attract the interest of the whole city. For the magnificent man [spends money] on public affairs rather than himself, and gifts to humanity and votive-offerings to the gods are similar. It is also characteristic of a magnificent man to furnish his house in a manner that suits his wealth; for even though he focuses on himself, at all events [his house] is evidently public, since it is a building in the city.

1123a9-1123b13 8. 〈For the same gifts are not suitable for the gods...)
Since the same [gifts] are not suitable for the gods and for human beings, nor [is the same expenditure appropriate] for a temple and a tomb. Every expenditure ought to have the magnitude that is in its subject and conforms to its subject, and in an absolute sense, greatness [is found] in a "great" object. In cases such as these, both divine and human, the greatness [particular] to them [is what is appropriate]. The greatness of the result achieved is not the same as the greatness of the expenditure. For there is a kind of "greatness" in a ball or an oil-flask, which are the finest presents for children, but their price $\|$ is a small and insignificant amount. For this reason it is characteristic of the magnificent man to aim at the result he would like to produce and to spend the proportionate amount; because the result will determine the scale of the expenditure, and for these reasons no one else will surpass [the magnificent man] in achieving such a result, namely one that is proportionate to the cost.

So this is the magnificent man. By contrast, the man who exceeds in his expenditures is vulgar, because he spends beyond what is necessary; for he spends a great deal and makes an inappropriate display on unimportant occasions; this is [the sense of] the phrase "tasteless" (para melos), which is proverbial and is derived from those who speak discordantly (ekmelōs). [Aristotle] also discusses the actions of the vulgar man: to give a dinner party in the style of a wedding banquet for those who gather at joint expense and on the basis of individual payment; to sponsor choruses for comedies; to bring the chorus [on stage] dressed in purple at its first entrance. He does all of this not from a noble motive, he says, but to show off inappropriately, because he spends money in violation of what is necessary, [spending] little where much is necessary, and much where little is necessary.

The petty man, on the other hand, is the opposite of this one [i.e. the vulgar man]; even when he is spending very large amounts on some trivial undertaking (since he spends in a petty fashion) and considering how he may spend a limited amount, even if he spent a great deal due to some obligation or necessity, he will spoil the fine result, [Aristotle] states, because he is grudging and thinks that he is doing more than is necessary. These, then, are the dispositions at the opposite extremes, but they do not bring disgrace, even if it is the mean [i.e. magnificence] that is commended. Why
 $\pi \varepsilon ́ \lambda \alpha \varsigma ~ o u ̋ \tau \varepsilon ~ \lambda i ́ \alpha v ~ \alpha ̉ \sigma \chi \eta ́ \mu o v \varepsilon \varsigma . ~$
















 $\nu \eta$, દ̇кعĩvo үívetal.









 Arist. EN 1123b21-29
 M 11 عí tò in ras. M; tò seclusi 13 lm . addidi $25 \mu \varepsilon \gamma^{\alpha} \lambda$ ov $M$ (cum $L^{b} M^{b}$ ) : $\mu \varepsilon \gamma \alpha \lambda o \psi v ́ \chi o u$ Arist. vulg. (EN 1123b25)
do they not bring disgrace? Because they are neither harmful to one's neighbour nor excessively unseemly.

After this, [Aristotle] also treats greatness of soul, because this also involves an eagerness for what is "great", as its name already makes clear. He investigates what sort of objects it involves; and since it is easier to infer these from those who have the disposition, he passes over the disposition itself and uses as a substitute those who have [the disposition]. At any rate, the man who thinks himself worthy of great things and is in fact worthy of them is great-souled, whereas the man [who claims this] without deserving it is foolish. But how could the foolish and senseless person be virtuous? He who deserves little and considers himself worthy only of this is modest but not great-souled, since greatness of soul involves a certain scale, just as beauty involves a large body; for small people might be called good-looking or cute, but not beautiful. On the other hand, someone who is unworthy but thinks himself worthy of much is vain, while someone who deserves great things or moderate or limited things, but regards himself as deserving less [than this] is small-souled, and especially if he deserves great things. For what would this type of person have done in seeking to avoid the esteem, if he was not such a character [i.e. someone who deserves much] but deserved little?
|| 1123b15-1124a15 9. (If, then, he thinks himself worthy of great things...)
The issue of what great things the great-souled man considers himself to deserve is determined. And since, [Aristotle] says, he claims what is greatest, what is greatest is a single object, and he would be deserving in regard to that single object. What then is this? One must understand what sort of a good worthiness is, psychic, physical, or of external phenomena; that is, it involves psychic goods, physical goods, or external goods. Since, then, [worthiness] involves external goods, the greatest good would be what we render to the gods and what eminent people seek, and the prize for the finest deeds-and this is honour. For if some other [good] results when honour leads the way, the latter becomes [the greatest good].

The great-souled man is therefore concerned with honours and dishonours: with honours, those he will receive, and with dishonours, those he will not endure. And even without argument it is apparent that great-souled people are concerned with honour; for it is honour above all else that great individuals think themselves worthy of, although in accord with their worth; for the great-souled man will seek what he thinks himself worthy of, but the small-souled man is deficient both in regard to his personal worth, since he does not have that which is worthy of honour, and in relation to his estimate of what is greatest, namely honour.

The vain man, however, who is excessive in comparison to the great-souled man [in terms of the means and its extremes, i.e. small-souled man, great-souled man, vain], excels by his own standard, because he has [the qualities] that deserve honour and on this account it would be possible for him to be honoured just when he seeks this; but he falls short compared to the great-souled man for the following reason: the














1124a13-1124b15 '' 〈ov̉ $\mu \grave{v}$ và $\lambda \lambda \alpha \grave{~ к \alpha i ̀ ~ \pi \varepsilon p i ̀ ~ \pi \lambda о и ̃ т o v . . .) ~}$








 ттаı סoкoṽovv घĩval.





[^87]15 lm . addidi
latter is the best, and the better man deserves more honour. For the vain man does not excel in comparison with this man [i.e. the great-souled man] in the goods [he has], but only in his search for honour. But if that man [i.e. the vain man] excelled in the goods [he had], he would be the best, and as the better man he would deserve more.

Therefore, the great-souled person is good and will do nothing base that does not involve something great. For if he were not good, the great-souled man would seem quite ridiculous in seeking to receive honour, since honour is the prize of virtue. Consequently, greatness of soul is, as it were, a sort of crowning adornment of the virtues. This is why it is difficult for someone who has no virtues and is not adorned with them to be truly great-souled. But [Aristotle] revises [this point] afterwards, saying that the great-souled man is concerned with honours and dishonours, not with those awarded by common people, however, but with those awarded by persons of worth. This is because he will gain only those that belong to him from those it is appropriate [to receive them from], or rather even less, since no honour can be adequate to perfect virtue, but still he will accept them, because those who honour him have no greater tribute to offer him. || But he will despise the honour rendered by common people and on trivial grounds on the ground that it is unworthy of them. Similarly, he will also despise dishonour in a great-souled manner, since the dishonour attached to him cannot be just at all. He will also have a moderate attitude towards every sort of good or bad fortune, however it turns out.

1124a13-1124b15 10. 〈But he will also be concerned with wealth...〉
The great-souled man will endure both his successes and his misfortunes with moderation (for since he is concerned with honour, he knows that fortune is unlikely to produce honour; for many people who are fortunate nevertheless possess no honour as a consequence of their moderate actions; on the other hand, the great-souled man does not lay claim to the honour awarded by ordinary people; and [the great-souled man also knows] that evil events resulting from fortune are not powerful enough to extinguish the honour, which, being himself a good man, he has acquired from people who judge the matter rightly) and he will not rejoice when he is fortunate beyond what is appropriate, nor will he be disproportionately distressed when he is unfortunate. For his attitude towards honour is that it is not the greatest good, although it is greater than wealth and power, which are desired for the honour they bring, since he is eager not merely for distinction but for nobility, and he knows that honour is one of the noble qualities and something better. This is why [great-souled people] appear haughty.

Meanwhile, the gifts of fortune, he says, also contribute to greatness of soul. Because if the great-souled man wishes to get what he deserves and deserves it, he will make a substantial contribution to this in accord with his good fortune. For if the well-born and powerful are thought worthy of honour for these reasons, how will the man who possesses more goodness than they do not be honoured more? And further-








 ( $\alpha$ v̉тòs $\gamma \grave{\alpha} \rho \dot{\alpha} \lambda \eta \theta \tilde{\omega} \varsigma ~ \delta o \zeta \alpha ́ \zeta \varepsilon ו), ~ o i ~ \delta غ ̀ ~ \pi o \lambda \lambda o i ̀ ~ \tau \nu \chi o ́ v \tau \omega \varsigma . ~$





















[^88]11 тикvoкívסvvo̧̧ M (cum Lb ${ }^{\text {b }}$, Asp. In EN 112.28) : $\mu$ ккрокívסvvo̧ Arist. vulg. (EN 1124b7)
 correxi : tupßó $\mu \varepsilon v o v \mathrm{M}$
more, the gifts of fortune will contribute to the virtue and disposition of the greatsouled man.

But those who possess the goods of fortune without virtue are unjustified in thinking themselves worthy of great things and are not to be designated "great-souled"; for such goods without virtue render those who possess them haughty and insolent, especially since without virtue they do not bear fortune's gifts becomingly, because in thinking themselves superior to others they despise them and act with regard to no one else. Since the great-souled individual is also said to be haughty and despises many things for these reasons, but he acts this way out of virtue, [Aristotle] defines the difference between him and those who act without virtue as the fact that he is justified [in his conduct] (because his estimation is correct), whereas most lack grounds [for their pride].
[The great-souled man] is not often in danger nor keen on danger, but he will face danger for a great cause; for because he places little value on anything having to do with honour, he will never face danger for such matters, but when it comes to something for which he will face danger ([this is] the guardian of true honour, obviously), he will run great risks, and at that point he will be unsparing of his life, since it is not worth living if his life is thus. He is ashamed of receiving benefits, but more approving of conferring them, since the former is a mark of an inferior person, whereas the latter is a mark of a superior one. On this account he is eager to return a favour, so that the original benefactor receives the results of the good deed he initiated from him. || [Great-souled men] have a better memory for benefits they have conferred than for those which they have received, because they wish to be superior, whereas the recipient of a benefit is inferior to the man who performed it. And they find no pleasure in being praised for benefactions they first got from another.

1124b17-1125a22 11. (It is also characteristic of the great-souled man to ask for nothing...)
It is also characteristic of the great-souled man to ask for nothing or only to ask when driven by necessity, and instead to willingly offer assistance (because he wishes not to receive benefits but to bestow them, knowing that receiving benefits is a mark of inferiority, while conferring them is a mark of superiority) and to consider it appropriate to be grand towards the eminent (since the great-souled man is unimpressed by such people), but to be moderate towards those of a moderate status. Because when superiority is difficult, one must contend with that person [i.e. the grand], whereas when it is easy, one must show contempt, since in the former case behaving loftily is not ignoble, but it is vulgar to adopt a lofty manner towards humble people, on the model of not displaying strength against the weak.

Again, [it is characteristic of the great-souled man] not to pursue things commonly held in honour (in order that he might not seem to have fallen away from his disposition when outdone) or go where others excel; and also to be idle and slow to act rather than actively engaged, and to attach honour to other people rather than himself,






 $\dot{\alpha} \lambda \eta \theta \varepsilon i ́ \alpha \varsigma ~ \mu \varepsilon ́ \lambda \varepsilon ı ~ \eta ̀ ~ \delta о к \eta ́ \sigma \varepsilon \omega \varsigma) . ~ \delta ı \alpha \tau \alpha \tilde{\tau \alpha ~ к \alpha i ̀ ~ \varphi \alpha \nu \varepsilon \rho \tilde{\omega} \varsigma ~ к \alpha i ̀ ~ \lambda \varepsilon ́ \xi \varepsilon ı ~ к \alpha i ̀ ~ \pi \rho \alpha ́ \xi \varepsilon ı ~(o ̈ т ı ~ к \alpha \grave{~}}$


 каі̀ талєıvoí.










 $\dot{\alpha} \xi \iota o v ̃ v \dot{\varepsilon} \alpha \nu \tau o ̀ v \tau \tilde{\omega} v$ ót $\omega \sigma o u ̃ v \alpha \dot{\alpha} y \alpha \theta \tilde{\omega} v$.

Diagramma viii

cf. Arist. EN 1125a16-18
$4 \varphi i \lambda \eta{ }^{\prime} \sigma \varepsilon \iota^{2}: ~ l i t t . ~ \varphi i \lambda-$ in ras.
except when a high honour or great achievement lies ahead, so that the honour gained from this undertaking is also extended to those who assist [with the project]. The great-souled man will engage in few undertakings but distinguished ones, since he does not seek an ordinary kind of nobility but instead the single and foremost one, namely genuine honour, of which the divine evidently has a share. And anyone he hates, he will hate openly, and anyone he loves, he will love openly (since he will love not like a flatterer but like someone fond of nobility, and he will hate not as someone who is jealous but like someone who hates wickedness). He will do these things openly out of confidence in his own personal disposition, so that it will be thought of him that he loves one type of thing and hates another in this way and for this cause (because he who does such things in secret acts out of fear, whereas he cares more for the truth than for what people will think). For these reasons he will speak and act openly (because he will also speak freely; this is why he is frank and disdainful, except perhaps when he resorts to irony, which he may use in conversation with ordinary people, since he despises honour from that source). He is unable to live at the will of another, unless that of a friend, because that form is slavish; hence, flatterers are servile and degraded.

Nor is he prone to admiration, for why would he admire what is not great? He does not bear a grudge, because anyone who due to his disposition overlooks the fact that he has received a benefit will be indignant at this. Nor does he engage in gossip about others, either blaming them or even praising them. Nor does he praise himself; he is neither lavish of praise nor abusive even of his enemies, except perhaps often because of their insolence (understanding that for these reasons he would be deprived of what he is eager to achieve). He is not inclined to lamentation or to asking for help with respect to problems that are unnecessary for life and minor, and he will seem to wish rather for things that are beautiful and unprofitable (except, clearly, if someone were to praise him; because praise is the profit that comes from noble actions) rather than for those that are profitable and useful; because he is not fond of honour for its own sake, but he wants it to accompany his works. Furthermore, he will walk slowly and will not speak in a shrill voice, \|| because he strives for few things and has no pretensions. Such is the character of the great-souled man. The opposite extremes [of greatness of soul, i.e. being small-souled and the vain] are not vicious but mistaken. Immediately after this, [Aristotle] juxtaposes the characteristics of the small-souled man, whose fault is that he does not consider himself deserving of good things in any way.

Diagram viii















 $\dot{\varepsilon} \pi \iota \tau \eta \delta \varepsilon v \mu \alpha \dot{\tau} \tau \omega v \kappa \alpha \grave{\tau} \tau \tilde{\nu} \varepsilon$ ह́ктòs $\dot{\alpha} \gamma \alpha \theta \tilde{\omega} v$.




 $\tau \alpha$.
 Өátع









[^89] M; servavi (vid. Editorial principles)

1125a20-1125b18 12. 〈He seems to have something bad [about him]...)
[Aristotle] stated with regard to the vain man and the small-souled man, who are situated at the opposite extremes from the magnificent man, the former on the side of excess, the latter on the side of deficiency, that they are not evil-doers but mistaken. First he says that the small-souled man seems to have something bad about him, in that he does not think himself worthy of good things in any way, and he does not know himself, since if he knew [himself], he would have aimed for the things he was worthy of and would not have deprived himself of them. Albeit he is not considered foolish, but rather perceptive. What does the term "perceptive" (noeros) mean? That he understands (noei) himself to be somewhat worthy of honour, but rejects receiving honours because of his fairness. This is what the term "perceptive" (noeron) means, if it is praiseworthy, as it should be, given that the injunction of the Pythia advises "Know yourself!"; for knowing oneself is extremely useful, although often it makes certain people worse, when it is applied as it should not be. Because many perceptive people restrict themselves more than is necessary, so as not to seem stubborn, and they suffer loss in appearing to be worse and more humble than necessary; for everyone aims for what they deserve, but the man who fails to aim for what he deserves is worse, because he transgresses common custom. For those reasons, these small-souled individuals place restrictions on themselves even in situations where they can perform well, and they stand back from noble actions and pursuits and from external goods, because they are supposedly unworthy of them.

Vain people, on the other hand, are more foolish and deficient in self-knowledge, since they do not know their own limit and the extent to which they have accomplished something, and they are conspicuous in this because they have been extolled by many people. For they take more pleasure than is appropriate in honourable activities, and then, because they undertake them in a conspicuous manner, they are found out as desiring honour beyond what is appropriate. On account of this, they embellish themselves and they want their good fortune to be conspicuous for the purpose of receiving honour, and they boast about them so as to be held in esteem.

Since these [dispositions] are opposed to the mean and one is inclined more towards the mean than the other, smallness of soul is more opposed to the mean than vanity is, for it is more prevalent than the other and worse than it, and that which is much worse is opposed to what is much better; and what is much better is the mean. Since the great-souled man is concerned with great honours, [Aristotle] examines ambition.

This is related to greatness of soul as the more partial relates to the general, in the same way that open-handedness relates to magnificence. For both, as intermediate states, have nothing to do with excess, but dispose us towards appropriate objects. Just as in that case [i.e. in getting and giving money] [there is a mean, but also excess and deficiency], then, so too in the appetite for honour there is that which exceeds propriety (which is an excess) and that which is less [than appropriate] (which is a deficiency) and that which is appropriate (which is the mean). \| On this account, the ambitious [31r]



 калоі̃ऽ тıиа̃ $\theta \alpha \iota ~ \pi \rho о \alpha \iota \rho о и ́ \mu \varepsilon v о \nu . ~$

## 








 $\mu o v$.
















1-2 тоṽ... $\dot{\varepsilon} \kappa \alpha \tau \varepsilon ́ \rho \alpha]$ cf. Arist. EN 1125b17-18 2-5 $\delta ı \alpha \tau \alpha \tilde{\tau} \tau \alpha ́ . . . \pi \rho о \alpha \iota \rho o v ́ \mu \varepsilon v o v] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~$


 cf. Arist. EN 1126a4-18

6 lm . addidi
man is assigned to excess, the unambitious man to deficiency. As the mean has no name, the extremes stand apart from it. For these reasons, in some cases we praise the ambitious man, while in others we reproach him: we [praise him] as manly and as a lover of what is noble, but [we reproach him] as seeking honour more than is appropriate. And, on the other hand, we both praise and blame the unambitious man, in the former case as modest and temperate, in the latter for not caring about being honoured even on noble grounds.

1125b20-1126a18 13. 〈Therefore, this disposition is praised...)
Since the mean between ambition and lack of ambition is nameless and the opposite extremes stand apart from it because the same [dispositions] are both praised and reproached, he says that the mean will not be named in any way except in relation to the struggle between the opposite extremes, so that compared with lack of honour [it is] a fondness of honour, and compared with fondness of honour [it is] indifference to honour, and compared with both [it appears] in a sense to be both, so as to be designated both "ambition" and "lack of ambition". "In a sense" is added, because if it is called something [derived] from the two [extremes], it will get this designation in line with the praiseworthy element [of the disposition], not the blameworthy one. But in the present case the opposition is evident in relation to the extremes, so that the unambitious man is opposed to the ambitious man because the intermediate [character] is unsubstantial and nameless.

After this he discusses gentleness; this, he says, is related to anger as an underlying subject. It too is more or less nameless, just as its extremes are. Although the excess of this so-called "gentleness" is "irascibility", the designation "more or less" serves the purposes of the current discussion; or, as he himself will say, gentleness is not a mean in the proper sense. For the gentle person tends to be calm and not irritated at all, but the mean with respect to anger also tends to involve the irritation from being angry at the appropriate objects, at the appropriate time, and to the appropriate extent, which is in fact praised. Gentleness thus inclines to the side of the deficiency; deficiency, however, in so far as it is a vice, is reproached and blamed, since the gentle man is inclined to make allowances rather than seek revenge. Just as this [disposition, i.e. gentleness] will not maintain the mean with respect to anger, so too the deficiency, which is designated as "spiritlessness", will not maintain [the mean] with respect to anger; for anger must necessarily be in proportion to what is appropriate.

The man who does not get angry seems not to feel an injury or to be inclined to defend himself; to put up with it when he is insulted and to allow his friends to be treated abusively [seems to be a condition of] vice; and this passion is servile, like a slavish spirit. On the other hand, the excess, which is irascibility, involves everything that exceeds what is appropriate, albeit all [these excesses] are not characteristic of one and the same man; since evil destroys even itself, \| and if it becomes full-blown, it is unbearable. [Aristotle] also says with respect to irascible people that they get angry
























 vóvtev.




[^90]4 lm. addidi 13 ó $\chi \lambda$ n $\rho o i ̀ ~ s c r i p s i ~: ~ o ́ \chi \lambda \eta \rho o i ̃ ৎ ~ M ~$
very quickly, and since they have the best disposition, they cease [being angry] quickly, because they do not restrain their anger but satisfy their desire [for it] due to their quickness of temper and immediately stop [being angry]. Such are irascible people, and they are the quick-tempered.

1126a19-1126b18 14. 〈Bitter people are hard to reconcile...)
Of those who are prone to anger, some are called "irascible", others "bitter", and others "difficult." After speaking, then, of the characteristics of irascible people, that they grow extremely angry and swiftly change their mood, he discusses the characteristics of bitter people as well. They are hard to appease, remain angry for a long time and hold their temper in; they stop being angry only with difficulty, when they have retaliated sufficiently, since they feel pain until the pleasure of getting redress replaces the pain of their resentment. Because they brood over their anger and conceal their feelings for these reasons, no one can persuade them to change [their behaviour], and digesting their anger by themselves takes a long time. On this account, such people are troublesome both to themselves and to their friends-to themselves, because they hold their temper in, and to their friends, because they seem to be annoying, since they always recall their resentment.

He also discusses the third type [of angry persons], the "difficult" ones, saying that harsh-tempered people get angry at the inappropriate things, more than one should and for a longer time, and they are not reconciled unless there is redress. Since [Aristotle] also investigated in regard to the other [dispositions] which of the two extremes is more opposed to the mean, he establishes in this case as well that excess is opposed to gentleness as a mean; since it is more characteristic of human beings to try to exact a penalty from offenders, and the harsh-tempered are worse at living with other people. But it is impossible to define to some specific degree the virtue or the vice related to anger. For the person who deviates slightly from what is suitable is not blamed directly, as if this disposition were a vice. But since the transgression is twofold, one on the side of excess and the other on the side of defect, [Aristotle] adds the following point: we sometimes praise those who fall short of what is reasonable [in anger], thinking that they are almost gentle, and again we regard those who behave harshly as manly, because they were not contemptible, and commend them. For such people [i.e. the harsh-tempered] are useful for ruling [others], since they disregard nothing that happens.

Consequently, the extent to which a person who deviates, be it on the side of excess or the side of defect, is blameworthy is not easy to say, since this is determined on the basis of specific circumstances. But it is clear that the mean is praiseworthy, whereas excesses and deficiencies are blameworthy. The extent to which they are blameworthy [depends on] how far they deviate: if a little way, minimally; if a moderate amount, moderately; if greatly, very much. || The characteristics of the dispositions[32r] relating to anger have thus been discussed.































There are also other，similar dispositions in relation to conversation and social life，which we discussed in relation to a mode of life．He also distinguishes the characteristics of these［dispositions］：those who praise everything in order to please， if they do so for their own advantage，are termed＂flatterers＂，while those who do so for reasons other than advantage are termed＂obsequious＂．Those who are the oppos－ ite of these persons［are termed］＂contentious＂and＂quarrelsome＂．The mean between them，then，is laudable．

1126b19－1127a12 15．〈Similarly，he will even disapprove．．．）
He says that the intermediate disposition between obsequiousness and flattery，on the one hand，and contentiousness and quarrelsomeness，on the other，is nameless， although it closely resembles friendship．The man who conforms to this［disposition］ might accordingly be called＂a friend＂，and if an element of affection is attached to him，he will be called＂a sociable friend to everyone＂．This friendship lacks any emotional factor or any element of affection for those he associates with；for he accepts gestures that deserve to be accepted and disapproves of those that deserve disapproval，except that he does not accept the former out of being somehow disposed toward friendship nor does he dispose of the latter out of being somehow disposed toward hostility，but because this is his character，namely to accept what is noble in line with his disposition，even if his associate is at variance［with him］，and to disapprove of anything different［from the noble］，even if his associate is a dear friend and familiar to him．For these reasons，he will display this disposition to acquaintances and strangers alike，to people with whom he is familiar and those with whom he is not．

Friendship therefore has the same name as pleasure does．For one part of this ［i．e．friendship］has hatred as its opposite，but the other has no opposite．Accord－ ingly，although he has the same disposition towards both intimates and strangers，he will maintain fitting behaviour in both cases；because he will show more regard for strangers 〈than〉 for friends so as not to cause them pain．By referring everything to the fine and the beneficial，he will give sufficient consideration to where to avoid causing pain and where to share pleasure．And if［it is an occasion for］sharing pleasure in what is either harmful or dishonourable，he will rather disapprove and will decide to cause pain instead，even if this brings disgrace to the person who acts or speaks．But if sharing pleasure does not cause any harm，he will approve［of it］．He will behave differently with persons of high position and with ordinary people，and would impart to each the appropriate degree of deference，preferring to join in the pleasures of his companions as a guiding principle，and being reluctant to give pain．After this，guided by the outcomes and if these things are greater，which are the fine and the expedient or the base and inexpedient，and judging by these［criteria］，he will either approve or reject what is said or done．For he will inflict limited pain for the sake of pleasure in the future．


































[^91][^92]This is the intermediate man, although he has no \|name, because he is called a "friend" metaphorically rather than in the proper sense of the term. For just as a friend will show his true character to someone he likes, if he is a genuine friend, so also this man: he will approve or disapprove of his friend not because of some affection, but in conformity with the truth as regards what is said or done. Of these characters, the man at the opposite extreme who is excessive for the sake of personal advantage is a flatterer, while the one who does so for no ulterior motive is obsequious; but the man who is deficient is surly and quarrelsome. The extremes are opposed to one another because the mean with which they struggle is unclear.

1127a16-1127b12 16. (That the virtues are a mean...)
Truth itself resembles and agrees with itself. If, then, the same thing will be found to apply in every instance, it is clear that the virtues are modes of observing the mean in every case. And since it happened that the intermediate states in social life and the opposite extremes have been determined (when we discussed obsequious people and flatterers, on the one hand, and surly and quarrelsome people, on the other, as well as the mean between them, friendship without love, and the feeling of affection; for both pleasure and pain were implicated in social relations in that case), let us also discuss those who are truthful in social life, who hold to the mean, and those who are false at the opposite extremes, to excess and deficiency. The characteristics of these dispositions, namely of truth and of its opposite extremes-I mean boastfulness and self-deprecation-occur in words, in actions and mere pretence, since those who pretend to something neither talk nor act.

First [he discusses] the excessive boaster, who claims qualities that are creditable but do not exist [in him] or are supposedly greater than they really are; whereas the deficient self-deprecator will be found [located] opposite him, since he disclaims or belittles the qualities he possesses, pretending to humility. The man who attains the mean, since he is sincere in both behaviour and speech, acknowledges the qualities he has without exaggerating or understating them. These, then, are the characteristics of the three dispositions; one can act thus with or without an ulterior motive.

As a person is in his disposition, so he could act and speak, and in this manner he could live, even with no ulterior motive. What the opposite extremes possess is in itself blameworthy, whereas truth, which possesses the mean and reality, is praiseworthy. The dispositions of those who speak falsely at the opposite extremes are both blameworthy, but more so the boaster, who actually pretends to qualities that are absent [from him].

Let us first discuss the mean: since the truthful man is twofold, and one kind [is truthful] in the context of [business] agreements and dealings, where he brings about justice, should he act in accord with his agreements, or injustice, should he not act in accord with them, whereas the other kind is truthful in situations where none of this is involved, in both speech and conduct in conformity with his own rank, more ought to be said about the second type. This type of truthful man, then, would seem to be




 [33r] $\sigma u v \alpha \lambda \lambda \alpha ́ y \mu \alpha \sigma ı v . ~| | ~ o ̂ ~ y \alpha ̀ ̀ ~ \eta u ̉ \lambda \alpha \beta \varepsilon i ̃ \tau o ~ к \alpha \theta ’ ~ \alpha v ̇ \tau o ̀ ~ \psi \varepsilon v ̃ \delta o \varsigma, ~ к \alpha i ̀ ~ o ̋ \pi о v ~ \alpha i \sigma \chi \rho o ̀ v ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \alpha ̉ \pi o ̀ ~ \tau о v ̃ ~$


 тои́тоט $\delta ı \alpha \lambda \alpha \mu \beta \alpha ́ v \varepsilon เ$.






















[^93]

decent because he is a lover of truth, and the extent and quality of his actual [character] is known from his speech and how he lives. For the man who speaks the truth when it is not obligatory will be even more truthful when it is obligatory, as happens in business dealings; for this is what "to make a difference" means, i.e. that at that time is when he must necessarily be truthful, [namely] in the context of business agreements and dealings. || For he avoided falsehood for its own sake, and where the advantage to be gained from falsehood is morally base, he will avoid it. A man of this type [i.e. a sincere man] will diverge [from the truth] rather in the direction of understatement, namely of understating his personal qualities, because it is burdensome to seem to be boasting. And since the man who pretends to more merit [than he has] acts or speaks either for an ulterior purpose or for no such purpose, [Aristotle] treats this [individual] next.

1127b14-1128a12 17. 〈It is not capacity that makes the boaster...〉
We should not, [Aristotle] says, refer to the person who is able to achieve what he brings about as a "boaster", nor should we avoid the name for the person who is unable [to achieve this]; since it is not his capacity that defines the boaster, but his choice, regardless of whether or not he can act on it; for the disposition and quality of the soul, not its capacity, produces boastfulness. Similarly the liar [is such] by disposition, whether he is able or unable to escape detection when he lies. Those, then, who boast for the sake of reputation pretend to possess great qualities for which they will be praised, while those who do so for profit use such rhetorical artifice [about their accomplishments], which gives enjoyment to their neighbours and on account of which many people struggle to detect such pretensions, for example in regard to proficiency in divination or in medical science, since the qualities mentioned are found in these [arts].
[Aristotle] then says about self-deprecators that they seem to be of a more refined character than boasters are, since they understate their own fine qualities not for the sake of profit, but to avoid ostentation, just as Socrates also used to deny his notable qualities via a form of dissimulation, in the way that Plato frequently depicts him as conversing. Dissimulating at length or pretending to lack minor or obvious qualities makes people crafty and silly, since pretending to lack minor qualities is sordid and has no expectation of ostentatiousness, while [disclaiming] obvious qualities is shameful and patently false. Sometimes such cases create the impression of boastfulness, because in wishing to be honoured for their greatest [achievements] they deny utterly the minor and apparent qualities they have, their intention being to lead their audience to think that they have the greatest distinctions as well and that just as they reject these [minor distinctions] because of some praiseworthy disposition of their character, they would likewise reject those [i.e. the major distinctions] too. But those who are moderate in their self-depreciation and in relation to things that are not overly obvious (for he refers to these as "commonplace objects" (ta empodōn), since they lie at our feet (podōn)) are more attractive. Although, of the two forms of vice, the
 $\theta \alpha \tau \varepsilon ́ p o v ~ \tau \tilde{\varphi}$ 人̉ $\lambda \eta \theta \varepsilon v \tau \iota \kappa \tilde{\omega} \dot{\alpha} \nu \tau \iota \kappa \varepsilon \dot{\prime} \sigma \varepsilon \tau \alpha \iota$.




























[33v

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boaster will be the opposite of the sincere man, since he is worse than the other [i.e. the self-deprecator].

Furthermore, he also treats conversation that has a playful character, and relaxed social behaviour, [considering] not only those who engage in this sort of conversation, but also those who listen. These matters involve another distinction, that which has to do with the size of the audience; if one were to speak in the presence of many people or a few. The mean therefore is wittiness, which is a kind of "versatility" (eutropia), since it comes from the movement of one's character. As for the opposite extremes, the excess is buffoonery, while the deficiency is boorishness, and the underlying subject they pertain to is laughter.
|| 1128a11-1128b10 18. 〈As bodies are judged by their movements...〉
Both bodies and characters are judged on the basis of an identical, equal standard having to do with their movements. For if they move with strength and vigour, bodies appear strong, whereas if [they move] carelessly and feebly, bodies [appear] weak. In the same way, people's characters are also judged from their movements; for the gentle man will move in one way, the rash man in another, and the modest man will move in one way, the intemperate man in another. On which account, he says, it is evident that there are many occasions for laughter in life, and this is what "prevalent" means: for it offers delight, as is clear from the characters of those who tell jokes. For this reason buffoons, whom we described as excessively elegant and classed under vice, are called "witty" or "elegant"; and that [these two types] are different, he says, is quite clear from what we said.

They call this intermediate disposition both wittiness and tactfulness, since a witty man will hear and say such things as are appropriate for a civilised man, with the result that the civilised man's jesting is different from the jesting of a man of servile nature, as is that of an educated man from that of an uneducated man. This is also clear from a comparison of the old and the new comedies, since in the former obscenity was a source of humour, whereas in the new comedies it was only the innuendo of shamefulness that was thrown about that moved the spectators to laughter.

Wanting to define the kind of person who jokes well, then, he raises a difficulty as to how he will define him, for example, [whether] by making the kind of jokes that are appropriate for a gentleman or by his not giving pain to his auditor; for it is possible to joke well in both ways. Because if he were to say things appropriate to a gentleman, he would in any case cause pain to the person to whom the words were addressed, since he would scrutinise the feeling in a civilised and witty fashion. But if he were to speak with a view to not causing distress, he would evidently not be [speaking] for the purpose of the joke, or if rather for the purpose of giving pleasure, even more so. But this is impossible to define, since different things are pleasant or painful to different people, with the result that he will not do anything to make a joke (since this is a mark of a harsh character), and such jesting is a sort of abuse, which the
























Eí $\delta$ ' $\varepsilon i \sigma i ̀ ~ \delta ı \tau \tau \alpha ́ \alpha ~ \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \alpha i \sigma \chi \rho \alpha ́, ~ \tau \grave{\alpha} \mu \varepsilon ̀ v ~ \alpha ̉ \lambda \eta \theta \tilde{\omega} \varsigma ~ \alpha i \sigma \chi \rho \alpha ̀ ~ \tau \grave{\alpha} ~ \delta \varepsilon ̀ ~ \delta о к о v ̃ v \tau \alpha, ~ o v ̉ \delta e ̀ v ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \pi \alpha \rho o ̀ v ~$








lawgivers forbid in all cases. On the other hand, one ought to joke and not do away with innuendo completely.
[Aristotle] therefore establishes that the gracious man is a law unto himself [i.e. he regulates and controls his own wit], because when he speaks he does so as tactfully as possible. The buffoon, on the other hand, who conforms to the excess of this mean [i.e. of wittiness], absolutely cannot resist a joke and spares neither himself nor others, since he is determined to raise a laugh. Those specifically called "mimes" (paigniōtai) are like this; for they say the sort of things the cultivated man will never allow himself to say, and some of that he would not even be willing to hear. The man who is uncultivated in accord with a deficiency of the intermediate state is useless in life; for amusement is a necessary element in life. After discussing these three modes having to do with life and social interaction, he defines modesty as well.

1128b11-1128b35 19. 〈For it seems to be an emotion rather than a disposition...〉 || The virtues were described as dispositions and activities, but modesty should not be included among the dispositions, since it is an emotion. He establishes that modesty is an emotion from a similarity drawn from fear. For just as the man who fears dangers turns pale and a common emotion of body and soul occurs, so also the man who feels disgraced blushes. Both of these emotions are quite corporeal, since they change bodies along with souls, which is why modesty should not be classified among the virtues. But if one must discuss this [i.e. modesty], which is twofold (according to the poet [i.e. Homer] and Hesiod as well, it is both praiseworthy and blameworthy), this [i.e. modesty] is not suitable to every age but only to the youth. For it is proper for young people to be modest, because as they live in an emotional fashion they have the capacity to commit many errors, but nevertheless they are held back by a sense of modesty. On this basis, we praise a young man who he is modest, since he has been prevented by modesty from making mistakes, because committing errors threatens him due to his youth; whereas no one would praise an older man for being shamefaced; for he ought to be prevented from undertaking base actions not by modesty, but rather by a correct judgement and disposition.

But if shameful actions are twofold, some genuinely shameful, others merely reputed to be so, the present [distinction] makes no difference, since the older man should refrain from both. For we also extend no praise in the case of someone who is of such a nature that he is ashamed if he acts shamefully, since shame is felt in relation to what is in our power and what we do voluntarily. No one virtuous would willingly behave shamefully. What then? On this account is modesty not virtuous as opposed to shamelessness, which is a vice? Let [modesty], then, be conditionally [lit. on an assumption] virtuous since, just as constraint is twofold (one is the absolute constraint, the other is the conditional constraint, and the constraint must necessarily belong to one of the two options), so modesty is also not simply virtuous per se, but conditionally. For when the underlying form of conduct on which shame is consequent [occurs], if a man were to feel ashamed, he would be virtuous and praise-



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worthy only if he were to repent and change his mind, with the result that this [i.e. modesty] is not a virtue in an absolute sense. Nor, if shamelessness is base with regard to committing shameful acts, is shame that relates to these deeds when the deed occurs beforehand [ $a$ virtue in an absolute sense]. For virtue will not be established in any other way, just as self-restraint arising from modesty is not a virtue per se, but somehow mixed, as he will say later on in relation to this.











 тñ Tñऽ vóбov．



 $\theta \alpha \tau \varepsilon ́ \rho \alpha$ ஸ́ऽ в̇пıтопо入и́．


[^94]
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 $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha ́ \delta \varepsilon เ y \mu \alpha, \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu \delta \varepsilon ̀ ~ \mu \eta ̀ ~ \tau о เ o v ́ \tau \omega \nu ~ к \alpha i ̀ ~ \alpha ̋ \lambda \lambda \alpha ~ \mu \varepsilon ̀ v ~ \pi о \lambda \lambda \alpha ́ . ~$







[^95] $26 \mu$ èv s．l．

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1129a3-1129b10 1. 〈In regard to justice and injustice we must examine...)
Note that [Aristotle] treats both justice and injustice; for these are evident, which is why he did not speak of the excess relating to them, which he revealed through the common form of injustice. One must conduct [the investigation] into this [disposition], as well as into the other [dispositions], on the basis of those who possess the dispositions and those who understand them. Just as one is designated "just" by engaging in just actions and wanting what is just, similarly one is "unjust" by engaging in unjust actions and wanting what is unjust. Let these points accordingly be assumed first. [The fact is that] it is not $\|$ the same with regard to dispositions as with regard to sciences and capacities, since sciences and capacities involve contrary activities. For a captain is able to save a ship or to sink it, and one knows simultaneously what is good and what is evil. The dispositions, however, do not work this way, because the same disposition does not deal with contraries: their subject, as a capacity, is capable of providing both illness and health, but not simultaneously. The disposition of health, however, is not the same as that of illness.

One of a pair of contrary dispositions, then, is often recognised from its contrary, just as illness [is recognised] from health and what is base from what is noble; but it is not the same [disposition]. And dispositions are frequently recognised from the subjects that exhibit them, since the things that possess the dispositions are more easily distinguishable than the dispositions themselves. Given that the dispositions are contrary states, therefore, if one is [spoken of] in more than one way, the other is too, for the most part.

He discusses this point by means of the intermediate states of the virtues, because often the virtue of the mean does not have the same name [i.e. it is equivocal], whereas the vice conforming to it does so in all cases in regard to both excess and deficiency. At any rate, either it must be stated this way or, given that "to love" (philein) signifies both feeling affection (agapan) and bestowing a kiss (philēma), the contrary state, namely hatred, does not bear the same name; for it is distinguished from a single species of love. The equivocal uses [of a word], therefore, are not detected, if they are closely connected, whereas if they are more distant [i.e. in meaning but called by the same name], they are obvious. And among the obvious [different meanings of a term], let "kleis" (key) be an example [i.e. it can refer either to the collar bone or the door key], whereas of equivocations of a different sort [there are] many other examples.

The same holds for justice: the ambiguity is much more apparent from [the use of] its opposite, injustice; and in turn, things that possess the dispositions are much more apparent than the dispositions [themselves]. The man who breaks the law is accordingly called "unjust", since he violates communal law, but the one who takes more than his due and is unfair is also called this, with the result that "the just man" can also have two meanings, namely "the law-abiding man" and "the fair man."





[35r] || 1129b12-1130a13 $\beta^{\prime}$ ( ह̇бтí $\pi \omega \varsigma \delta^{\prime \prime} \kappa \alpha ı \alpha \ldots$...)






















[^96]$\overline{6 \mathrm{~lm} . \text { addidi }}$

But since the unjust man is an overreacher, he will not be covetous of all good things, but of external and acquired [goods]; for the [goods] of the soul and the body are such. These external goods, at any rate, are [always] good in the absolute sense of the term, but they are not always good for a particular person. For the wealth an individual accrues ruins him, and knowledge hinders bravery. Yet people pray for these [goods] indiscriminately, whereas they ought to pray that what is good in an absolute sense also be good for them, and choose the things that are good for them. The unjust man frequently chooses the lesser evil, in fact, because this appears good by comparison with what is bad in an absolute sense; so that he might be called "greedy" in accord with this.
|| 1129b12-1130a13 2. 〈Are just in one sense...〉
All lawful things will be just in one sense, he says, in accord with what is apparently "justice", not in accord with what is genuinely and truly so. Because the lawgivers, he says, since they aim for some type of justice, set out their laws either in the common interest of the city or in the interest of an aristocracy or in the interest of rulers determined either by some standard of excellence or in another way. As a result, since "justice" is ambiguous, we designate as "just" in one sense of the term anything which produces or preserves happiness. The particular virtues are constituent parts of happiness, on the basis of which it is established, which [i.e. constituent parts] he then infers as well.

For the lawgiver prescribes what the brave man is to do, i.e. to not shun war or throw away his shield, but to be courageous when facing dangers for the sake of his city; and the deeds of the moderate man, i.e. to not commit adultery or aim at things that do not belong to him, but rather to be well-behaved and moderate; and the deeds of the gentle man, i.e. to not strike or verbally abuse [anyone], to not boast or denounce [anyone]; and then [characteristics] of the other [dispositions]. Because these are the typical actions of virtuous people, the sort of actions towards which they are inclined and from which they shrink, since they are contrary to the good disposition; for where one pole is implied, the other pole is there as well. And a law is correct if it is framed rightly with regard to these [actions and dispositions], but worse if it is corrupt; for he describes this as "[the law] that has been made off-hand".

Accordingly, this sort of virtue, namely justice, is perfect and [at the same time it is displayed] towards another person. And since it is perfect, it is apparently the greatest of the virtues, for which reason it has been said that "In justice all virtue is summed up". Inasmuch as [it is displayed] towards another person, for this reason it is thought to be a good for others. For there are many people who can practise justice in relation to their own affairs, but cannot do so in their relations with others, since they lack a perfect disposition. Bias was therefore right to say that "ruling will reveal the man", since justice and every form of ruling relate to another person within the context of a community. Therefore, every virtue is reckoned sufficient, and if one acts self-consistently in accord with it, justice is composed and demonstrated in respect








## [35v] || 1130a12-1130b11 $\gamma^{\prime}\left\langle\alpha ̉ \lambda \lambda^{\prime} \tilde{\eta} \mu \varepsilon ̀ v \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \varepsilon ̌ \tau \varepsilon \rho o v . ..\right\rangle ~$




 ג̉ $\rho \varepsilon \tau \tilde{n}$.



 $\mu о \chi Ө \eta \rho i ́ \alpha \varsigma ~ o ́ ~ \varepsilon ̇ v \varepsilon \rho \gamma \tilde{\omega} v ~ \alpha ̉ \delta เ к \varepsilon ı ̃ ~ \mu \varepsilon ́ v, ~ \pi \lambda \varepsilon о v \varepsilon к \tau \varepsilon ı ̃ ~ \delta ’ ~ o v ̉ . ~$








<br>$\qquad$

to things relating to another person, since the just man acts for the advantage of another rather than for himself. Consequently, that man is the greatest, that is to say, the one who exercises this kind of virtue towards another, and to himself as well. For how much more would the man who acts justly towards others do so towards himself!

The worst man is the one who practises vice towards his friends as well as himself. Consequently, justice in this sense is not a part of virtue in an absolute sense, as the rest of the virtues are, but some virtue as a whole. And injustice is likewise not a part of vice, but the whole of vice. But virtue differs from justice in that it is the same as justice [as a quality of mind], but in its essence one of the two is not the same as the other.
|| 1130a12-1130b11 3. 〈But what is displayed as relation to others...〉
Since he said that justice is universal and approaches the general form of virtue, he investigated whether it is the same as or different from the latter. He resolves [the question] by saying "It is exactly the same", i.e. the same in that it refers to the whole and in that it extends to many. But in that justice is extended to another, whereas virtue is a kind of disposition of the soul in itself, justice is not the same as virtue.

In the meantime, however, we are not investigating universal justice, which the correct law-both the written and natural-propounds, but the justice which is a part of virtue. Just as we investigated the other [dispositions], so too [we are investigating] injustice in the particular sense, because this too is a kind of specific justice and injustice. Proof [of this] is that someone who acts in accord with the other vices [i.e. throws away the shield, reviles someone, or refuses the help someone with money] behaves unjustly, but does not overreach.

And straightaway he establishes this inductively: we are investigating, then, the type of injustice which relates to greed, not the kind that extends to many vices, with the result that there is a form of injustice that is particular [i.e. a part of vice], and there is something unjust that is part of the whole that is against the law. Further, A commits adultery in order to get some profit from the woman he seduces rather than yielding to his feelings, while $B$ adds desire to the equation and is penalised for this while frequently spending money until he fritters it away; so it follows that both are unjust persons, but the latter is self-indulgent, because he yields to his desire, whereas the former is unjust in the proper sense of the term, because he is overreaching, since he seeks to profit from this emotion.

Further, in connection with other unjust actions there is a reference to another form of wickedness. And he immediately [infers] inductively: if he profited [from an unjust act], he is referred to no other form of wickedness but the one and the same injustice. For he has attained more and seems to be overreaching, so that it is evident that there is a sort of injustice besides injustice as a whole that is synonymous [with it], since it has the same definition; for they are reduced to a single genus. For both the universal and the particular justice have their area of competence in relation to anoth-






 ǐva عưpŋ tò そŋтoú $\mu \varepsilon v o v$.

1130b8-1131a12 $\delta^{\prime}\langle\delta \iota \omega ́ \rho ı \sigma \tau \alpha ı$ ס̀̀ tò ő $\delta \iota к о v . .$.



 है $\chi \varepsilon \iota ~ \tau$ ò őठıкоv, тò $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha ́ v o \mu o v ~ к \alpha i ̀ ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \alpha ̋ v ı \sigma o v, ~ к \alpha \tau \grave{\alpha} \mu \varepsilon ̀ v ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \pi \alpha \rho \alpha ́ v o \mu o v, ~ \varphi \eta \sigma i ́, ~ \delta \iota \omega ́ \rho ı \sigma \tau \alpha ı ~$










甲


 18-19 $\left.\pi \tilde{\alpha} \nu^{1} \ldots \pi \alpha \rho \alpha ́ v o \mu o v\right]$ cf. Arist. EN 1130b10-13 20 ov̉... $\left.{ }^{1} v{ }^{2} \sigma o v\right]$ cf. Arist. EN 1130b12-13 23-25 кגì $\left.\left.{ }^{1} . . \lambda \varepsilon \kappa \tau \varepsilon ́ o v\right] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~ 1130 b 13-17 ~ 25-26 ~ \alpha ́ \varphi ~ с ́ \sigma \theta \omega \sigma \alpha v . . . \delta ı o \rho ı \sigma \tau \varepsilon ́ o v\right] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~$ 1130b18-22 26 кат...$\delta \iota o \rho \iota \sigma \theta \eta ́ \sigma o v \tau \alpha ı] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~ 1130 b 22-25 ~ 26-188,6 ~ \pi \varepsilon \rho i ̀ . . . \alpha ́ к о и ́ \sigma ı \alpha] ~ c f . ~$ Arist. EN 1130b26-1131a6
 $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha ́ v o \mu o v$ Arist. vulg. (EN 1130b12) | $\pi \lambda \varepsilon \varepsilon_{0} v^{2} \mathrm{M}\left(\mathrm{cum} \mathrm{K} \mathrm{K}^{\mathrm{b}}\right.$ ) : $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha ́ v o \mu o v$ Arist. vulg. (EN 1130b12-13)
er [person], but the latter [i.e. injustice in the particular sense] is concerned with honour, pleasure and other such matters, which cannot be described with a single name, whereas the former [i.e. the universal kind of justice] is concerned with the areas the virtuous individual is engaged in.

Furthermore, there are not only two [kinds of justice], but many [types], as is evident in relation to the underlying subjects; and we must grasp what the partial kind [that exists] besides the type that is the whole [of justice] is and what its character is. Let injustice be taken [as the focus of our examination], since it is much more apparent. "The unjust" has been defined as what is unlawful and unfair. [Injustice] in the sense previously mentioned, then, corresponds to the meaning "unlawful". But since the unfair is not the same as overreaching, he also examines the unfair [as one kind of injustice] in order to discover the object of his inquiry.

1130b8-1131a12 4. 〈Now "the unjust" has been defined...〉
|| Since he is about to discuss justice and injustice as particulars, he bases his discussion on the more general sense. And he says that "the unjust" has been defined by the unlawful and unfair, because examination of the just is always undertaken on the basis of the unjust, since the unjust is more convenient than the just and more prevalent among human beings. Since, then, "the unjust" has two meanings, the unlawful and the unfair, the type of injustice already mentioned, he says, corresponds to "the unlawful", i.e. the more general type, given that lawful acts encompass more or less all justice. And opposed to these are unlawful [actions] that are at the same time unjust. He attempts to discover the particular type of injustice on the basis of the unfair, and he demonstrates first that the unequal is more general than the concept "too much"; for everything that is "too much" is unfair, but not everything that is unfair is "too much", since it can also be "too little". And again, everything unfair is unlawful, since the law is a reference point for equality, but not everything unlawful is unfair; this is because not every law relates to distribution and to business transactions, where the equal and the unequal are relevant, but these include lawful actions and other matters, which do not involve a calculation of equal and unequal. For these reasons, not everything unlawful is unfair, but everything unfair is unlawful, so that injustice and the unjust are not the same as these [i.e. injustice and the unjust in the universal sense], but different from them. And some of these unjust actions are like parts, while others are like wholes, and so too in the case of justice. As a consequence, we must discuss these [i.e. justice and injustice] in the particular sense. But let the universal types [of justice and injustice] be set aside, since it is clear how they should be defined, given that they will be defined in conformity to legal prescriptions. For those [rules] deal with the general human education, according to which political science is established. As for the education of the individual as such, [that is] how a person can become good, whether this is the business of political science or some other science, i.e. ethics, must be determined later; for the latter [i.e. ethics]










## [36v] || 1131a13-1131b13 $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ ( $\varepsilon$ ỉ oũv tò a̋ठıкov a̋vıoov...〉





















makes an individual person good, whereas the former [i.e. political science] [improves] every citizen.

One kind of particular justice accordingly involves the distribution of honour, wealth and the like, while another supplies a corrective principle in private transactions and agreements. The latter has two sub-divisions, since injustices are also twofold: some are voluntary, which are enumerated, while others are involuntary, which he discusses individually, except that with respect to voluntary actions he discusses those a person will do himself, while with respect to involuntary actions [he discusses] those that an individual might experience, since these too are injustices in the transactions of one person with another. Now since an unjust man is unfair in matters which admit of both more and less, there will necessarily be in these contexts the intermediate state as well, namely the equal.

## || 1131a13-1131b13 5. 〈If, then, the unjust is unequal...〉

The unjust was affirmed as being unlawful and unequal. The unlawful, then, incorporates the universal type of injustice, since the law establishes universal justice, whereas the unequal [incorporates] the particular kind of injustice, the one related to distributions and transactions. If, then, the unjust is unequal, the just is equal. The equal, on the other hand, has been shown to be intermediate between "too much" and "less", and the just is therefore also intermediate. The equal implies at least two things, and it is also [used] in many contexts: for what is equal is equal in relation to something else that is equal and for equal people, with the result that the just is both a mean and equal. The just, since it is equal, is also relative to human beings, since this [type of justice] relates to certain persons rather than to the person who possesses justice. For this kind of virtue is relative to another [person].

As a consequence, the intermediate, the equal, and the just are inferred to be identical; insofar as it is intermediate, it undoubtedly [implies] certain [extremes between which it lies]; and this is indeterminately so, not between "that much and that much", but between "certain" [extremes]. For the mean has been found in many locations between opposite extremes. Insofar as it is equal, it involves no more than two things; and insofar as it is just, [it is so] for certain persons for whom the distribution will be just according to each individual. For these reasons, the just involves at least four terms, since equality exists and is investigated in relation to the supply of what is offered and in relation to the human beings who receive [these shares]; because since they are equal, they will be deemed worthy of equal shares. This is [the meaning] of "[two persons] for whom [it is just] and [two shares] in which [there is justice]", since the ratio between the things involved [sic; see Introduction 2.8, p. LVLVI], when the distribution occurs, will be equal to the ratio between the distributed shares. But it is not necessarily [the case that] if the persons are equal, these shares [will be] equal as well, but if those [persons] [are equal] by perhaps a multiple of two, then the [shares] will also be unequal by a multiple of two; for this too is a kind of equality, that unequal things are proportionately bestowed upon unequal persons.












 $\theta \alpha ́ \tau \varepsilon \rho о v$ тòv $\lambda \alpha \mu \beta \alpha ́ v o v \tau \alpha$.

Diagramma ix


Eỉ $\sigma v v \delta v \alpha \sigma \theta \tilde{\omega} \sigma ı, \varphi \eta \sigma i ́, ~ \kappa \alpha i ̀ ~ \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \delta ı \delta o ́ \mu \varepsilon v \alpha ~ \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau о u ̀ \varsigma ~ \lambda \alpha \mu ß \alpha ́ v o v \tau \alpha \varsigma ~ \kappa \alpha i ̀ ~ ह ै \pi \varepsilon ı \tau \alpha ~ \delta o Ө n ̃ ~ o ̈ \lambda o v ~$






[^97]16 lm . addidi

For the principle "according to merit" will produce equality; and this principle "according to merit" differs depending on the form of the political community involved: since democrats will require equality relating to free birth, while supporters of oligarchy [will require equality relating] sometimes to wealth, in other cases to noble birth (for that which is found among few people, on the basis of which ruling officials are also approved among them [i.e. the few], is apparent in those who are rich or are of noble birth; the latter require not what is best, but what appears [to be so] among a few persons; and both wealth and nobility are apparent among a few persons); and supporters of aristocracy [require equality relating] to excellence.

Justice, then, is a sort of proportion in two double senses, because proportion is not a property of numerical quantity only (for every man is equal in proportion to himself), but of quantity generally. Thus, a divided proportion involves four terms and a continuous [proportion has] three terms, but even then it comprises four terms, since we use one term, the mean, as two. For these reasons, the just involves four terms at least, since two of these relate to the shares distributed, and two relate to those who receive [those shares]; and he refers to these as "for whom and which" [i.e. the persons and the shares]. In accord with this, let A and B represent the two shares of what is distributed, and $C$ and $D$ the two people who receive [these shares], so that when the distribution is combined for the two, a whole results [in the same ratio] to the whole, and thus in alternation; and in like manner in accord with geometrical proportion: as one share of what is bestowed is relative to one person, so the other share corresponds to the other person who receives [the share].

Diagram ix
worth two minae
three

1131b14-1132a12 6. 〈The whole to the whole...〉
If the shares bestowed are combined, he says, in relation to the people who receive them, and $a$ whole is then assigned to a whole, the same proportion will be maintained, which one part had in relation to the corresponding part in accord with the alternate proportion. For it maintains the same proportion, that of one term to the other. For let there be six and three, and again four and two. Each term then maintains the double proportion to the other, and when the combined six and four [relate to] three and two combined, they will maintain the equal proportion. Let the worth of two minae therefore be given to one person and the worth of two minae to another person: that is equality of ratios. Let the two values of two minae be













 $\dot{\omega} \sigma \alpha \cup ́ \tau \omega \varsigma$.










 $\pi \alpha \tau \alpha ́ \xi \alpha \varsigma, ~ \varepsilon i ́ ~ \kappa \alpha \grave{~ \mu \eta ̀ ~ o i ́ \kappa \varepsilon I ̃ o v ~ o ̋ v o \mu \alpha ~ \tau о v ́ \tau \omega ~ \tau \varepsilon ́ \theta \varepsilon ı \tau \alpha ı . ~}$

5-15 Ov̉... $\dot{\omega} \sigma \alpha v ́ \tau \omega \varsigma]$ cf. Arist. EN 1131b15-24 16-19 Tò...d̉pı $\theta \mu \eta \tau \iota \kappa \eta ́ v]$ cf. Arist. EN

combined and let them become the value of four minae; and let the people receiving the minae also be combined, then they themselves received [what they were due] in accord with the proportion of each. In that case, there is equality for the two people according to their share, but equality also exists in the other case for the two who are combined by their receiving the whole.

But here the proportion cannot be continuous, since there is not one numerical term, and the same [term] follows, which is what "the recipient" refers to, but it also leads, which is what the "share" refers to. Therefore, you have the just in the distributive sense of the word, and when this takes place in accord with proportion, \| the unjust will be shown to be what violates proportion, because one person receives more than he deserves, whereas the other person has less than he personally deserves, as appears to actually occur in practice: the person who acts unjustly takes too much, whereas the person who suffers injustice [gets] too little, if what is distributed is a good. But if it is an evil, then the reverse is true: the person who acts unjustly [gets] less, whereas the person who suffers injustice [gets] more. Finally, he also judges this point in accord with the former one: for the lesser evil compared to the greater evil counts as a good, and it is therefore preferable; and what is desirable is altogether good, just as the more desirable it is, the greater good it is. This then is one kind of justice and likewise [one kind of] injustice.

The corrective kind of justice in relation to private transactions is different. For the previous type [i.e. the just in distribution] is found in common matters, whether these are funds or some other sort of common stock, and it admits of distribution. But [the just] involved in private transactions, although it is just to the extent it is equal, and unjust to the extent it is unequal, nonetheless the equality and inequality is not in accord with the geometrical proportion discussed earlier, but in accord with the arithmetical one. Because the former was concerned with quality rather than quantity, whereas the latter is concerned with quantity rather than the quality. For the judge will endeavour to correct the wrong itself and he will not trouble himself over the nature of those who acted wrongly, i.e. that the adulterer happens to be an important man with a good reputation, whereas the man whose wife was seduced is an average, unimportant person; instead [the judge] will seek the extent of the damage in the case of the highly-respected and the disreputable man alike. The judge attempts to equalise this type of unequal injustice, then, by means of the appropriate penalty, to prevent one man from making a profit while the other is penalised and suffers loss. The one man killed, he says, and the other died; the one man struck a blow, and the other received one. For the person who struck a blow is said to have gained an advantage, even if the name [i.e. "an advantage"] that has been assigned to this [action] is inappropriate.

Diagramma x

$\alpha \dot{\alpha} \rho ı \mu \mu \tau \iota \kappa \eta$ ́

























[^98][^99]
## Diagram x


arithmetical [proportion]

1132a13-1132b9 7. (But when what was suffered is measured...)
When what was suffered is measured, he says, that is, what one man did and another endured, it is reckoned as a gain for the man who performed the action and a loss for the man who endured it. For the man who acted unjustly will achieve a gain, because he unjustly inflicted damage on his neighbour, while the victim will regard what he suffers a loss. As a consequence, since there is more on the one side, in the form of gain, while there is less on the other side, in the form of loss, what is just would appear to be a sort of equality intermediate between these. Gain and loss are judged by reference to the [pertinent] objects, that is, what one gains and what one is deprived of; if [the object] is good, there is mostly gain and less loss, whereas if it is harmful, there is mostly loss and less gain. What is intermediate between these, namely "more" and "less", is the equal, which we also refer to as "just". Hence, restorative justice is what is pertinent to the arbiter, and this is the mean between more and less, since the judge apportions these equally.

This is why, when people have a dispute, they have recourse to a judge, because he will restore equality. || This is also why [a judge] is also called "a mediator of justice", since he effects the mean, and why the reconciled parties are referred to as "those who have received mediation" (mesolabētai). For just as in the case of a line, if it is divided into [two] unequal parts and the larger one is subtracted-not all of it, but [only] as much as should be added to the smaller segment [i.e. to make it equal in length to the longer one]-one would make the segments equal in comparison to one another, so too in the case of these [i.e. the loss and gain as equalised by a judge]. For then the mean is produced in relation to these [i.e. the greater and the less] according to arithmetical proportion, since the mean exceeds the lesser [lit. the last] by the amount it is exceeded by the greater. For instance, [take] 6, 4, and 2; since 6 is the greater amount, whereas 2 is the lesser amount, by subtracting the excess from 6 , that is 2 , and adding it to 2 [i.e. the lesser amount], the mean incorporated the equal to these and to itself; for all these numbers [i.e. 6, 4, and 2] become 12 in groups of four [i.e. their total is 12 and their average is 4]; and the mean contains neither more via the addition to itself, nor less, because it is 4 .
[Aristotle] sets out another example as well, demonstrating how much one must subtract from that which has more: not the whole [amount], but the amount by which it exceeds the lesser [amount]; for if the subtracted amount is not added to the lesser [amount], then let the whole amount be subtracted. But if the amount subtracted from the one that has more is going to be added to the one that has less, if so much is



 $\dot{\alpha} \varphi \eta \rho \varepsilon ́ \theta \eta, \dot{\varepsilon} v i ́$.
 $\tau о \tilde{v} \alpha\langle\alpha\rangle \tau o ̀ ~ \alpha \varepsilon \mu \varepsilon ́ \rho o \varsigma ~ \kappa \alpha i ̀ ~ \pi \rho о \sigma \tau \varepsilon \theta \varepsilon i ́ \sigma \theta \omega ~ \tau о і ̃ \varsigma ~ \gamma \gamma ~ к \alpha i ~ y \varepsilon v \varepsilon ́ \sigma \theta \omega ~ \gamma \gamma \delta . ~ \tau \varepsilon \tau \mu \eta ́ \sigma \theta \omega ~ \delta \varepsilon ̀ ~ к \alpha i ̀ ~ \tau o ̀ ~$
 тои́т $\omega v$.

Diagramma xi

yívovtaı $\tau \grave{\alpha} \pi \alpha ́ v \tau \alpha$ ı $\beta^{\prime}$
т ${ }^{\prime} \beta^{\prime}$ ' про̀s tòv $\eta^{\prime}$ סưì тotov́toss บ்ாعрદ́久દı ої $\omega$ غ̇vì $\tau \tilde{\omega} v$ BB

cf. Arist. EN 1132b6-9

1 E addidi 2 A correxi: $\beta \mathrm{M}$

## Notes:

- for clarity's sake, the letters indicating the starting and ending points of intervals have been capitalised, e.g. AA, ВВ, ГГ, ГГД.
- the numerals $\beta^{\prime}$, $\eta^{\prime}$, and $\beta^{\prime}$ (i.e. 2, 8, and 12 respectively) refer to base/measure units associated with the length of the respective intervals.
- $\quad \mathbf{I}$ (in bold) indicates both the length of the lines АА, ВВ, ГГ (which total 10) and the middle of the line ('ı'бov as $\mu \varepsilon ́ \sigma o v$ ) in all three cases.
- $\quad \beta^{\prime}$ and $\eta^{\prime}$ indicate intervals (not points); thus $\beta^{\prime}$ in the first line corresponds to AE , while $\beta^{\prime}$ in the last line corresponds to $Г Z$ or $Г \Delta$.
taken away and added to the one that has less, inequality has occurred on the opposite side. But since the larger sum exceeds by twice, let one [of these parts] be taken away and added to the lesser, and in this manner both will be equalised. For when [the same amount] is subtracted from one of two [equals] and added to the other, provided that they are equal, one part is in excess in relation to the other by these two; but compared to the mean, [it exceeds] by one [part], and the mean, again compared to that from which [a part] was taken, [will exceed] that part by one.

The following example is set out: let there be equal lines, he says, $A A^{\prime}, B B^{\prime}, C C^{\prime}$. Let a segment $A E$ be taken away from the line $A\langle A\rangle^{\prime}$, and let it be added to the line $C C^{\prime}$, so as to produce $C C D^{\prime}$. Let $C C^{\prime}$ be similarly divided into segment $C F$. Segment $C C D$ will exceed segment $E A$ by $C D$ and $C F$, being two equal parts, and line $B B$ by one of these segments [i.e. either CD or CF].

## Diagram xi

Let it be divided into 2 and 8
28


1132b11-1133a10 $\eta^{\prime}(\varepsilon ̇ \lambda \eta \dot{\lambda} \lambda v \theta \varepsilon$ ס $\varepsilon$ tà ỏvó $\mu \alpha \tau \alpha . .$.




























[^100] $\mathrm{M}^{\mathrm{b}}$ )

1132b11-1133a10 8. 〈The terms have come...〉
These terms, by which I mean "loss" and "gain", were transferred to these contexts from voluntary exchange, which many people refer to as "business"; because in that context it is called "gaining", if one procures more than one had previously, whereas if one had less than at the outset, it is termed "losing". Yet, when a man has neither more nor less than he had previously, they say that he "has his own". As a result, the mean between loss and gain is the equal and the just, in the sense of having an equal amount before and after [the transaction], in the context of voluntary transactions when no one forces one to act.

Some other people, however, hold the view that reciprocity is just without qualification, as the Pythagoreans used to say; and they similarly introduced || Rhadam- [38r] anthys' conception of justice by bringing forward the line:

If he suffered what he did, upright justice would be done.

The Philosopher [i.e. Aristotle] wants to reject this notion of the just, which is based on the model of reciprocity. For he says that it does not fit either with distributive justice (for what does it have in common with [the type of justice where] the same [amount] is distributed justly to certain people?) or with corrective justice (although some want to claim this, understanding reciprocal proportion to be a kind of corrective [justice]). But in many cases, he says, this [i.e. reciprocity] conflicts with [corrective justice]. For if an office-holder struck [someone], it would not be at all just that he be struck in retaliation by the person he struck; but if someone struck a magistrate, it would not be just that the offender merely be wounded, but that he be punished as well. Moreover, there is a great difference between what is done voluntarily and involuntarily; for example, the first person struck the blow involuntarily and did so unwillingly. How then will the offence be equalised, if one voluntarily struck that person [i.e. the original perpetrator] in retaliation?

But in [business] transactions, he says, this [type of justice] will be allowed, with the caveat that even in that case it will be on the basis of proportion, not on the basis of due measure, since when one suffers, one will respond proportionately. For this [i.e. reciprocal action based on proportion] holds the city together in conformity with the due human measure. For the city seeks either to return evil for evil, so that the one who was struck will not seem to be in the position of a slave, with the result that he retaliates against receiving a blow, or good for good, so that a favour be given reciprocally to the person who originally bestowed it by the person who received it. For these reasons, they set up the temple of the Graces in a prominent public place, to encourage reciprocal giving.

Reciprocal exchange will be sought on the basis of proportion, not in relation to due measure. For example, let there be a shoemaker, and let there be a builder; and the shoemaker's product is a shoe, while the builder's product is a house. What then? In light of the above, if the former produces a shoe for the latter, the latter will build
 оiкќav oỉкобоцŋ́бєı.

Diagramma xii

cf. Arist. EN 1133a7-10

Diagramma xiii













15







[^101]3 lm . addidi 10 oũv bis M
a house for the former [in a diagonal combination that produces proportionate exchange].

Diagram xii

| A | B | C | D |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| builder | shoemaker | house | shoe |

Diagram xiii


1133a10-1133b8 9. 〈If, then, first of all, proportionate equality is found...〉
One must investigate first proportionate equality, namely, how much one man differs from another, and again how much one man's product [differs from] the other man's. And then one must make the reciprocal proportion in accord with the proportion [between them] and in this way their partnership will be made easy. The term "reciprocal proportion" is derived from the reciprocally proportional parallelograms used by geometers; because they assert that figures are reciprocally related when there are antecedent and consequent ratios in each of two figures. For let there be two equal parallelograms of 12 units or spans; one parallelogram is two times six, while the other is three times 4 . Thus the ratio that 6 has to 4 , i.e. the longer side [of the first figure] in relation to the longer [side of the second figure], is the ratio that 3 has to 2 , which is the shorter side of the second [figure] in relation to the shorter side of the first [figure].

And the term "keep together" [is used] instead of "bring into union". For the partnership [for the interchange of services], he says, is not between doctor and doctor, but between different craftsmen. So let the reciprocal proportion be between an antecedent craftsman, on the one hand, and a consequent one, on the other; and again [let] the second craftsman's product be antecedent compared to the first craftsman's product, as consequent. For in this way they will be made equal; because the associations [for exchange of goods and services] would be ruined, if there were not both an active element [i.e. the producer] and a passive element [i.e. the consumer], since the active element produces a certain quality and quantity, and the passive element receives a certain quality and quantity, such that both parties move so that the association [of exchange] is equal.

Since, then, these [products or services] could not be genuinely equalised unless they were measured, money was introduced. It was for this very reason that it was called "money", namely so that both [sets of goods or services] could be measured.


 ह̈л $\lambda \varepsilon \iota \psi \iota \nu \tau \tilde{v} v \pi \rho \alpha ү \mu \alpha \dot{\tau} \omega \nu$.
















Diagramma xiv

cf. Arist. EN 1133b4-5









21-204,5 Tó $\tau \varepsilon . . . \pi \rho \alpha у \mu \alpha ́ \tau \omega v]$ cf. Arist. EN 1133b7-14
$\mathbf{8} \mathfrak{\eta} \alpha \cup ̉ \nmid \eta ̀ ~ p o s t ~ \dot{\alpha} \pi \lambda \tilde{\omega} \varsigma$ primum scripsit, deinde erasit M $\mathbf{2 0} \mathrm{lm}$. addidi

For everything that is measured is measured by a single standard, as [Aristotle] stated frequently in many contexts; minae [are measured] by a mina, songs by the smallest interval in the scale, a syllogism by a premise, and property and goods by money, which in fact constitutes in a way a middle term between two different things and will measure both the superior and inferior value of goods.

And since a shoe is inferior compared to a house, how will there be a partnership [for the exchange of services] midway between $a$ shoemaker and $a$ builder, unless money measures how many shoes are equivalent to one house and such? Necessity produced these [standards of measurement], since if people needed nothing at all or if both parties did not have a similar need of both sets of goods, \|t there would simply be no exchange or not the same exchange; for the former is connected with simple demand, which the parties need in some way or other, while the latter [is connected with] different parties having a similar need for both sets of goods. Money thus became a sort of means of exchange of need, since it is adequate to provide both parties with what they need. And it is called "money" (nomisma, [i.e. "customary currency"]) because it is up to us to use it or to render it useless.
[Aristotle] also explains how reciprocal proportion will occur: as this [craftsman or producer] stands in relation to that [craftsman or producer], so the one man's product stands in relation to the other man's product. Because it is not altogether necessary to maintain the form of a proportion in relation to the same [goods or services], so as to say that as this craftsman is to that one, so also this man's product is to that man's product. For it is natural that great excess be produced to one of the two opposite extremes, so that one person is greater and one product greater compared with the other. For let there be a farmer, grain, a shoemaker, and a shoe: what is deficient needs to be equalised by receiving whatever quantity of shoes counterbalances the quantity of food.

Diagram xiv

A B C D
farmer shoemaker food: grain the shoemaker's product, the shoe.

1133b8-1134a7 10. 〈Or one of the parties, they do not exchange...〉
The exchange of products occurs at the point when either both parties are in need of each other or one needs the other, so that [for example] when someone has wine but needs grain, and the other party has grain but needs wine. For that is when a partnership [for the purposes of exchange] takes place, namely when the man who has wine gives it to the one who needs it and has grain, and the man who receives wine gives grain to the other party; because the wine allows the export of grain. Therefore, each commodity must be made equal to the other either by more wine being offered or more grain. But if one party needs [one of the commodities in question], but the other does not, although perhaps he will need it at a later time, money enters as a kind of















 גi $\pi \varepsilon ́ v \tau \varepsilon \kappa \lambda \tilde{v} v \alpha i ́ ~ \varepsilon i ́ \sigma เ v . ~$

Diagramma xv
$\alpha$ oikí $\alpha$
$\beta \mu \nu \alpha i ̃ \iota \prime$
$\gamma к \lambda i ́ v \eta$
 દ̇бтiv $\mathfrak{\eta}$ оíкía.

cf. Arist. EN 1133b23-28

[^102]16 post őoov diagr. xv
guarantor in support of such an exchange in the future; for the person who pays can take what he needs when he wishes; and again in that case he will provide this money, which he offered in the exchange [of goods], because [the amount of money] will be equalised in relation to the object sold, so that the amount given is either that much or more or less. For money does not always have the same value, yet it tends to be more stable, because it is without the expense of those expensive goods.

This is why all goods must be subject to a price and there must always be exchange [of goods]. This currency, then, is capable of making all goods commensurate and of equalising unequal things by means of proportion. And since it makes all goods commensurate, commensurability produces equality, equality [produces] exchange, and exchange [produces] association. Thus, although in truth things which are very different, he says, do not become commensurate in a precise sense, nevertheless need makes them so via the mutual agreement of the contracted parties by means of that one standard unit of currency or another, which by stipulation is called "currency" (nomisma). He accordingly sets out [the following]: for example, let there be a house and ten minae. Let half of the minae [i.e. five minae] be the assessed value of the house. Let there also be a bed which is [equivalent to] a tenth of the ten minae, i.e. worth one mina. It is now evident that five beds are equivalent to the house. It is clear, he says, that this is how the ancients used to exchange goods before money was invented; for there is no real difference between giving five beds for the purchase of such $a$ house or as much currency as $\|$ five beds are worth.

Diagram xv
A house

B 10 minae
$C$ bed
Hence $A$, he says, is [equivalent] to half of $B$, i.e. half of 10 minae, if the house is worth five minae.











Diagramma xvi

cf. Arist. EN 1133b29-1134a1














[^103]Well then, the issues concerning the unjust and the just have been discussed. He also discusses just action (just action is the activity of the just man) and he establishes it too as a mean between acting unjustly and suffering injustice. Justice, he says, is a mean, not in the same way as the virtues previously discussed are, but because equality is a mean between more and less. Justice, then, involves an intermediate equality, whereas injustice [involves] the extremes. A just man is defined as one who effects that which is just by deliberate choice, not by being forced to do so, and when he distributes things, whether he doles them out between himself and another or he doles them out among others, [and he does so] not in such a way that one person has more and the other less, whether [what is shared] is good or harmful, but an equal share, although according to proportion; whereas the unjust man is the one who deliberately chooses to do what is unjust.

Diagram xvi


1134a6-1134b8 11. (Injustice, on the other hand, is related to the unjust...) Injustice is an excess or deficiency of what is beneficial or harmful. And since no one injures himself voluntarily, as [Aristotle] will discuss below, he also distinguishes these [notions], because in the offenders' own case, what is beneficial is excessive and what is harmful is deficient. In the case of other people, the object offered is thus distributed in an unequal manner (for this is [what Aristotle means by] "similarly"), but with reference to due proportion, for example when the distribution is judged in relation to due proportion, since what is unjust is disproportionate. If due proportion is maintained, it would be just both for the person who has more and for the person who has less. Whereas if due proportion is not maintained, to which of the two parties the greater share will be assigned and to which of the two parties the smaller share [will be assigned] is unclear. The text reads "disproportionate" and the reading is more comprehensible, since he refers to what is unjust as "disproportionate". At any rate, it is unclear to whom the smaller share will be given so that he suffers injustice (for the man who gets more has not suffered injustice); and not as it was in his own case, since he awarded the greater share to himself and treated the man he was sharing with unjustly in regard to goods, but the other way around in relation to evils. To be treated unjustly is a lesser injustice than to act unjustly, and to act unjustly





























[^104][^105]is a greater injustice than suffering injustice; because acting unjustly is in our own power, and the wickedness involved is evidently our own, whereas suffering injustice is one of the things that is not in our power, but is external.

Since a disposition is one thing, an activity another (the runner runs, but not every man who runs is a runner; and the unjust man acts unjustly, but a man who acted unjustly is certainly not unjust, unless he commits the injustice continuously; because this is why he [i.e. Aristotle] said "not necessarily"), he asks what sort of unjust acts someone must have done already in order to be called unjust in regard to every type of injustice. And in resolving this [issue] he says "This [i.e. the type of action] will make no difference", with the result that an act is called "unjust" in relation to the scale of the unjust act; for the disposition and the person who acts in accord with the disposition are judged on the basis of the deliberate choice regarding the vice and on the basis of habit, and not [depending on] whether someone has committed a great crime. For the man who has intercourse with a woman in the first instance because of a deliberate choice is an adulterer, whereas the man who does so only under the influence of passion, since he has been defeated by his passion, commits an injustice, but he is not unjust.

But we must not forget the fact, he says, that we are investigating a common life aimed at allowing our citizens to enjoy freedom and equality in a self-sufficient fashion, and the equality [they enjoy] is twofold: either according to proportion (for this is equality, even if it arises in inequality) or according to an arithmetic standard (by one person getting the same amount as the other person). || If then this [feature] does not exist among those [who are free and equal] (as they say it was for the Cyclopes; because each of them managed his private affairs, and there was no need for law among them, since they lived peacefully), they lack the political justice discussed by the laws which, as we were saying, equalise inequalities. But what is just is defined by analogy. For political justice belongs only to those who are governed by law, especially in their mutual relations rather than in their relations to people from outside [the community]. But law exists among those between whom there is injustice; for unless they act without regard for equity, how would the law's nature be to produce equity? And where there is injustice, there is also unjust action, even though the relation might not be reciprocal. What unjust action is has been discussed many times.

This is why it is not a human being that rules, but the law, because [the human being] provides himself with a greater share of the goods and becomes unjust. If, however, he clings to the just and does not supply himself with a greater share [of the goods] (except that this is often somehow proportionate [to his merits], and for these reasons one labours not for oneself, but for another; since justice was said to be another person's good), a reward must be given to the ruler, [that is] honour and privilege. But he for whom such rewards are insufficient is a tyrant. Since one part of political justice is distributive, whereas the other part is corrective (the former of these is defined in accord with geometrical proportion, while the corrective conforms to
























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[^106]3 lm . addidi $4 \mu \grave{~ s . l . ~} 17$ тoıoṽtov s.l. $22 \pi \varepsilon ı v \alpha ́ \sigma \alpha \nu \tau \alpha \varsigma ~ c o r r e x i ~: ~ \pi ı v \alpha ́ \sigma \alpha \nu \tau \alpha ~ M ~$
arithmetical proportion), for this reason he also says that the former accords with due proportion, the latter with arithmetical [proportion], demonstrating the two forms of political justice.

1134b8-1135a9 12. 〈Justice for a master...〉
He also discusses the kind of justice that is not political, but is analogous to this, namely that of a master (that which a master has in relation to his property and slaves) and that of a father (that which he has in relation to his children). And he says that this justice is not the same as those discussed previously [i.e. absolute and political justice], but [is] something similar. Why is this so? Because there can be no injustice towards what is one's own, since no one treats himself unjustly. And if there is no injustice, there is certainly nothing just, since the latter is the mean of injustice. But how can there be no injustice in these contexts? In fact, if one's property and one's children are conceived as parts [of oneself], he says that one's possession or one's child, until it is old enough (as long as [the child] is subject to the authority of another and is incomplete because of its youth and does not assume a separate status), is counted as part of oneself. And just as no one will injure himself, so too no one will treat his children or property unjustly. Most forms of just action are matters of who injures and who is injured, but just action involving a master is not [of this sort], because his children and slaves are parts of the whole [household]; and just as no one will injure himself or a part of himself, he will surely not injure these [i.e. his children or slaves], with the result that in these cases neither justice nor injustice in the political sense exists. For the political form of justice has been established by law among persons whose relations are naturally regulated by law. This political justice thus exists in a fuller degree in one's relation to one's wife, since it is prohibited by law to dissolve one's affection towards her and attach oneself to other women. But the just action that relates to one's children and property is domestic justice, and this is different from political justice.

One part of political justice is natural, the other legal. The natural has the same validity everywhere, since everyone considers it good to eat when they feel hungry and not to commit suicide or murder, to honour one's father, to help those in need, to worship God, and the like. If the legal [type of justice] is not enacted, it has no influence, regardless of whether one could act this way or contrarily; but once it is enacted, it is firmly established, for example that the ransom of a prisoner should not exceed one mina, or that the sacrifice should consist of a goat rather than sheep, and countless other [regulations] enacted for particular cases. But others determine differently, because a law of nature is immutable, whereas legal prescription can be altered. This is not [entirely] so, however, but there is also the natural that is liable to alteration, although not in every case.
|| Next, he asks, if both [the natural and the legal] are changeable, in the case of natural [types of justice] what sort of object is liable to alteration, and what sort is not. It has been found, for example, that the right hand is naturally stronger, but this is



 $\pi \omega \lambda \varepsilon \tilde{v}$.














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different for many people，and some are either ambidextrous or left－handed；and if some are［ambidextrous］，it is possible for everyone to become this way．The rules of justice based on convention，since they can be changed to match what will be expedi－ ent，are like measures，and some people sell with one and buy with another，so that the same individuals use larger measures when they buy，but smaller when they sell．

Similarly，there are many such laws 〈not〉 ordained by nature but by human ［enactment］and which do not extend to other living creatures．For only human beings have a form of government，and their political constitutions vary，one of which，that by nature，as it were，［is］the best．Each［type of］just and lawful［action］is related as a universal to the［corresponding］particulars；for the actions performed are many and particular，whereas each［type］is one，since it is universal；perhaps［it is］a democracy or an aristocracy or a monarchy；for each of these is one；and what is just for each political constitution is one，while the events included in it［i．e．the constitu－ tion and thus the area it governs］are many．After this，he also discusses the difference between＂an act of injustice＂and＂what is unjust＂，and between＂an act of justice＂and＂what is just＂．

1135a8－1135b8 13．〈An act of injustice and what is unjust are different．．．）
An unjust act is judged in relation to activity［i．e．performance］，since before it is done，it is called＂unjust＂，but after it has been done［it is termed］＂an unjust act＂．And similarly，before［a just act］is done［it is called］＂just＂，but after it has been done，it is designated＂a just act＂；however，it is more commonly and generally called＂just behaviour＂，since＂a just act＂strictly speaking is the rectification of an act of injustice， and the manner in which this is done is corrective．We will consider later how many kinds of these unjust and just actions there are，as well as the nature of the things to which they relate．

Assuming that just and unjust actions are as described，a person behaves unjustly or justly by coincidence，in the sense that a person who is truly unjust coincidentally behaves in accord with this and acts unjustly，while the person who is truly just ［coincidentally］behaves justly；because the activity follows those who possess the disposition［in question］．He says＂coincidentally＂，because it can happen that a just person is forced to act unjustly or an unjust person is forced to act justly，rather than because what is just coincides with conduct which conforms to justice．At any rate，it falls to the lot of those who are just by disposition to do what is just；and if they are just coincidentally，their conduct is also just in a coincidental sense，while the conduct of those who are unjust［coincidentally］is unjust［coincidentally as well］．In relation to the other virtues，however，this conduct is not what is asked after，but the disposition is established by the frequent exercise［of the virtue in question］．Justice， on the other hand，requires［expression in］action，and genuinely just persons will act justly，while genuinely unjust persons will act unjustly；and these are matters of coincidence．












 ő $\mu \omega \varsigma$ ои̋тє $\dot{\alpha} \kappa о \nu \sigma i ́ \omega \varsigma ~ o v ̉ \theta ' ~ غ ́ \kappa о \nu \sigma i ́ \omega \varsigma ~ \tau \alpha \tilde{\tau} \tau \alpha ~ \pi \alpha ́ \sigma \chi о \mu \varepsilon v . ~ \tau \alpha u ̃ \tau \alpha ~ \delta غ ̀ ~ \pi \alpha ́ v \tau \alpha ~ \tau o ̀ ~ к \alpha \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \sigma v \mu \beta \varepsilon-~$




’Елì $\mu \varepsilon ̀ v \tau \eta ̃ \varsigma ~ \pi \rho o \beta o v \lambda \varepsilon v ́ \sigma \varepsilon \omega \varsigma ~ \kappa \alpha \grave{~ \tau \omega ̃ \nu ~ o ̋ \sigma \alpha ~ \varepsilon ̇ \kappa ~ \tau \alpha u ́ t \eta \varsigma ~ \pi \rho \alpha ́ \tau \tau о \mu \varepsilon v ~ « \pi \rho о \varepsilon \lambda o ́ \mu \varepsilon v o เ » ~ \lambda \varepsilon ́ y \varepsilon ı, ~}$





 vaı ỏvóyкп.



An unjust behaviour and a just behaviour are defined by what is voluntary, so that they are denoted such [i.e. as "acts of injustice or of justice"] when they take place voluntarily, but are not denoted such if [they take place] involuntarily. For many things are unjust and are done unjustly, but they are not yet acts of injustice, unless they are performed voluntarily. A "voluntary action" is defined as any action within the agent's own control which he performs knowingly and not in ignorance, be it of whom he strikes, or of the instrument with which he strikes, or of the goal for which he strikes. Let "that which is not coincidental" be added [to the definition]; since every kind of ignorance of these [factors] is naturally excluded, and [this means that] the action is again not voluntary. For $A$ used the hand of $B$ and struck $C$ [with it], although B knew all these factors, namely, both whom he was striking and with what. And [Aristotle] also adds "the goal for which", in order to insult the person [i.e. C]. Or again, it is possible that his father might be the person struck, without him being aware of this; all these [types of ignorance] may be defined in relation both to the goal and ends attained, and to the action as a whole.

An act committed in ignorance, or one that is not done in ignorance \| but is performed under compulsion, is thus involuntary; for knowledge does not make the action voluntary in every case, since there are many natural processes that we perform or endure knowingly but involuntarily; because growing old and dying are obvious examples, but nevertheless we experience these [processes] neither voluntarily nor involuntarily. All these [types of actions] are just or unjust in a coincidental sense; because it is just to return a deposit, but nonetheless when one returns it unwillingly, one should not say that that person acted justly, except coincidentally. Similarly, the person who under compulsion fails to return [a deposit] acts unjustly in a coincidental sense.

1135b8-1135b33 14. (We perform some voluntary actions by choice...)
With regard to antecedent deliberation and whatever acts we undertake on that basis, he says [we do these] "on the basis of a previous decision", whereas in the case of acts done without antecedent deliberation, "we [act] not on the basis of a previous decision", he says, choosing his words very carefully. For where there is antecedent deliberation and a previous choice to undertake these actions, our previous choice comes to fruition, and in these circumstances the expression "we [act] on a previous decision" is appropriate. But when we act without forethought, choice has no part, and the expression "we [act] on the basis of no previous decision" is appropriate in these circumstances. For acting without choice is not the same in these contexts; for in regard to cases of forethought, either one chose ahead of time or one did not, whereas actions undertaken without deliberation do not involve initial consideration, nor even when previous choice is necessary.

Of the three ways of inflicting harms in these [sorts of interactions], therefore, actions done out of ignorance are errors, if someone performs them [while unaware of] the person whom he struck, or what he does, or the instrument with which he acts, or



















 ठík
 $\chi \rho \eta ̀ ~ y \varepsilon v \varepsilon ́ \sigma \theta \alpha ı ~ \eta ̉ ~ o v ̋ \tau \omega \varsigma ~ o u ̉ k ~ \alpha ̉ \mu \varphi ı ß \eta \tau \varepsilon i ̃ \tau \alpha ı ~ \delta ı \alpha ̀ ~ \tau \eta ̀ v ~ o ̉ \rho y \eta ́ v \cdot ~ \alpha ̉ \mu \varphi ı \sigma \beta \eta \tau \varepsilon i ̃ \tau \alpha ı ~ \delta \varepsilon ̀ ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \delta i ́ k \alpha ı o v, ~$

 $\tau \alpha ı \cdot \kappa \alpha i ̀ ~ o v ̉ \kappa ~ \alpha ̉ \mu \varphi เ \sigma ß \eta \tau \varepsilon і ̃ \tau \alpha ı ~ \alpha ̉ \lambda \eta \theta \tilde{\omega} \varsigma ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \delta i ́ к \alpha ı o v . ~$




why he undertook [the action]. In regard to these errors in the general sense of the term, if the harm is inflicted contrary to reasonable expectation, it is called "a misfortune"; and when it is not contrary to reasonable expectation, but is done without malice, [it is called] "an error" (for the origin is from the agent, whereas in the case of a misfortune it is from outside; this is why in the former case the offence occurs contrary to reasonable expectation). Unjust acts are whatever someone has done knowingly but without advance deliberation, for example due to anger, wrath, grief or natural passions of this sort. For these [acts] are referred to as "unjust deeds", but the agents are not unjust on account of the unjust acts in themselves, nor are they wicked on account of them; because the harm does not occur due to wickedness (because [the agents] were spurred on by passion). On the other hand, when [an injury is done] with premeditation, then the agent is unjust and wicked.

As a consequence, acts driven by anger do not result from premeditation, because it is not the man who acted out of passion who initiated the situation, but the man who provoked him. Moreover, the matter in dispute is not whether the event occurred or not, since the anger burst in and disrupted [the agent's] ability to think ahead, but whether it was just and nothing more, since in the heat of the moment [the agent] considers self-defence just. For anger is a superficial injustice, and there is no dispute about whether anger takes control of the action, but about the justice [of the situation], meaning which of the two parties has justice on his side.

The opposite occurs in commercial transactions, because the fact of the injury is disputed, and one of the two parties is [supposedly] wicked, since he does not act in accord with their agreement, unless he neglected what had been contracted due to forgetfulness. But in the case under consideration, they agree about the matter itself, but are in dispute about which side justice lies on. In order to add further clarity to this account, in business transactions there is an agreement, and what has been covenanted to is [defined as] just and is clear, and the party who does not behave according to the agreement is [defined as] wicked. That the agreement took place, at any rate, and that the person who acts [in accord with it] is just, is [regarded as] beyond dispute; what is in dispute is which side is in the right; and it is also disputed whether what happened is what was agreed to. But in the case of impulsive anger, whether it should have happened this way or that is not in dispute, because of the anger [involved]; but what is just is in dispute, as is the action there, since justice is apparent due to the agreement. And if one party plots against the other, he is not unaware of the terms of their agreement; and in that case he is unjust, while the other party is treated unjustly. But what is just is not truly a matter of dispute.
|| 1136a5-1136a35 15. 〈Some involuntary actions are pardonable...)
Of the involuntary offences that human beings commit in ignorance, there are two sorts: because they do some in ignorance and out of ignorance, and these are said to be pardonable. For example, someone is unaware that the law punishes the man who has intercourse with another man's wife; he acts out of ignorance, because
























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[^107] servavi 20 عi $\mu$ ŋ̀ bis M
although he knows this [i.e. that he is sleeping with a woman], he does not know that the woman is living with a man. These errors are thus pardonable in these cases. Whereas those committed in ignorance of the law, but are nonetheless done by choice and not out of ignorance (so as not to know a particular [circumstantial] detail; for people [generally] perhaps know that she is living with a man), nor do they commit them in response to a physical drive, e.g. in response to hunger, or a human emotion, e.g. in response to anger or pain, [these errors] are not to be pardoned. Because people who are carried away by an unexpected impulse or passion, be it natural, for example, or fitting for humans (because these [errors], again can be pardoned), they are deserving of forgiveness. Whereas the contrary errors [i.e. those committed in ignorance, but not due to some natural or human passion] do not deserve forgiveness; for, the fact that the agents are ignorant does not justify their being excused from blame-it is rather the passion that can be defended-and for this reason they do not deserve forgiveness.

After this, he raises a difficulty in regard to what Euripides said in his "Bellerophon", whether it is true that someone can suffer injustice voluntarily. Since the poet says:

He willingly killed her who was willing;
or against his will, although she wanted it.

Is, then, suffering injustice always involuntary, just as acting unjustly is always voluntary? Or is it sometimes voluntary, sometimes involuntary? And similarly with regard to being treated justly, one must question whether it is always voluntary or if it can be involuntary as well. For active behaviour, such as behaving justly, is always voluntary. I mean that behaving justly is voluntary, because it includes the initiation of the movement; for if someone behaved justly under compulsion from an external [catalyst], how is that voluntary? For this is reasonable, since being treated unjustly and being treated justly are opposites: if one is to be taken in an absolute sense, the other is also to be taken in an absolute sense, whereas if being treated unjustly can be both voluntary and involuntary, then being treated justly too can be both voluntary and involuntary.

It would accordingly appear strange, he says, [if this were true] in the case of being treated justly, unless it is also possible to be involuntarily treated justly. Because many people are treated justly against their will, as when people unawares and without seeking a penalty that is appropriate to them get this form the judges. Or in a different case, when an individual acting with unjust greed is deprived of his illgotten gains; because in that case he is said to be treated justly involuntarily, just as the person who received the wrong he was done [is said to be] voluntarily treated justly, since a man who is punished by the judge is also said to have been treated justly, and punishments [are called] just treatment. So too the man who has suffered vengeance has been treated justly in conformity with what he deserves.




















## 












 1136a31-1136b5 28-29 $\pi \alpha \rho \grave{\alpha}^{2}$...Aíyv́nt $\omega$ ] cf. Sept. Exod. 14.11

20 lm . addidi 23 tıc scripsi : $\tau \iota$ (s.l.) M | ov̉ (s.l.) seclusi

For this further difficulty might be raised, whether everyone who has suffered something unjust is treated unjustly, or whether it is the same in the case of acting as it is in the case of suffering; because not everyone who performs just deeds behaves justly, since it is possible to do just deeds involuntarily out of fear. As a consequence, in that case one may have a share in just acts coincidentally; and one must understand this point also in relation to unjust acts, because one has a share in both kinds of acts coincidentally, in just acts, if one behaves justly involuntarily and out of fear, and in unjust acts, if one endures injustice as if it were somehow appropriate, because in that case, although he suffers injustice, he is not treated unjustly; and this is evident from the active senses [of the verb], since doing unjust deeds is not the same, he says, as acting unjustly. For perhaps a slave under orders did unjust things, but he is not unjust. And similarly a person who is not just behaves justly, because he is a slave and is under orders. So too in regard to the passive sense [of the verb]; because in the same way that not everyone who suffers injustice is treated unjustly, so too not everyone who is treated justly gets his just deserts in a just fashion; for the man who suffers unjust things as a result of drinking neat wine is not treated unjustly. Because it is impossible to be treated unjustly if no one acts unjustly, but also again no one treats himself unjustly, so that since it is contrary to nature for the man who drinks unmixed wine to be treated unjustly by himself, it follows that he is not treated unjustly at all, although he suffers unjust things, since there is no one who treats him unjustly. For how would he treat himself unjustly in that case? Similarly, no one is treated justly, unless someone else acts justly. An individual who cultivates virtue for himself also experiences just things, but he is not treated justly, because no one is behaving justly. And if one were to say that it is the man himself, he would be talking nonsense; for that man is complete in virtue, despite being incomplete himself, but he could not bring something to completion while being incomplete.

1136a3-1137a4 16. 〈But if to act unjustly is simply...〉
Moreover, [Aristotle] attempts to straighten out the quotation from Euripides and he offers the definition of unjust action on the basis of the intemperate man, because he [i.e. the intemperate man] harms himself voluntarily; and given that he recognises what is harmful and how he will be harmed, [Aristotle] concludes that one is harmed voluntarily, with the result that one can voluntarily \|| be treated unjustly. Although this is a debated question, he says "whether it is possible for a person to act unjustly towards himself". And if we fail to grant this, he says, then one person may voluntarily submit to being harmed by another, so that a person can also be treated unjustly voluntarily.

In resolving [this difficulty], he concludes that this definition of unjust action is incorrect; for we must also add "against that person's [i.e. the victim's] wish". Since this term "para" ("against") has two senses, meaning both "outside" (for example, what is "para" the just is outside of the just) and "because" (as in "because ["para"] there are no graves in Egypt"), it can be understood in two ways, with regard to


 $\pi \rho \alpha ́ т t о ⿱ 亠 䒑 𧰨 о \varsigma . ~$




















 $\tau \tilde{\omega}$ ठıаvє́ $\mu о \nu \tau \iota$.

[^108]22 т $\tilde{\sim}$ scripsi ：tò $M$
someone who acts unjustly and someone who is treated unjustly. Because the person who commits an injustice acts in accord with his own wish, and the person who is treated unjustly suffers contrary to his own wish. For this reason, when discussing the definition of "acting unjustly", he adds "against that person's wish" as a way of indicating the passive character of being treated unjustly, since one is treated unjustly "against" one's own wish, "because" of the agent who acts in accord with his own wish.

Since then we are investigating the intemperate man, whether he acts unjustly towards himself with the result that he is treated unjustly by himself, and we find that this person does not act voluntarily, but contrary to his wish (for we only wish for good things), he consequently does not treat himself unjustly, given that he acts contrary to his own wish. But if he does not treat himself unjustly nor is he treated unjustly by himself, he is still harmed, since a person can be harmed voluntarily, but he cannot suffer injustice voluntarily. Accordingly, on the basis of the fact that one cannot act unjustly towards oneself (because he acts contrary to his personal wish), [Aristotle] establishes that a person cannot be treated unjustly by himself (because when no one is acting unjustly, there can be no suffering injustice; and someone who gives away his own property does not suffer injustice at his own hands, because the giving is up to him) and there must be someone to do him injustice.

He discusses two further questions: one is whether it is the person who assigns another more than his share that acts unjustly or the one who has the larger share after getting it from the other. The second is whether it is possible to treat oneself unjustly. But one may say that when he made this [argument] he established that no one suffers injustice voluntarily. How then does he propose to discuss it again rather than something new? This is because he wants the facts regarding this issue to be determined accurately, since he also said above that one of the questions was whether it is possible for a person to treat himself unjustly. For if this is the case, the distributor acts unjustly, but the man who receives a larger share [than he should] does not, something one can observe in the case of moderate people, since the descent person allots the smaller share to himself.

In resolving [this question], he says that the situation is not straightforward, for perhaps if he gives himself the smaller share and is thought to treat himself unjustly, he might nonetheless get the larger share in another way, by getting a better reputation as a consequence or by appearing to be a lover of goodness. Furthermore, in line with the definition of doing injustice, since [the distributor] has nothing done to himself contrary to his wish, he suffers no injustice; and if he suffers no injustice, he also does not act unjustly. Then the man who has the larger share does not always act unjustly, even if there is injustice in his case; because the injustice is not located here [i.e. in the recipient], but acting unjustly is always there [i.e. in the agent]. Nor does the origin of the action lie in him [i.e. the recipient], but in the distributor [of the unduly large share].



















 ג́ $\sigma \varphi \alpha \lambda \tilde{\omega} \varsigma$ tò yúvaıov;






 $\dot{\omega} \varphi \varepsilon \lambda \varepsilon і ̃ ~ \tau o ́ \delta \varepsilon ~ \varepsilon i ́ \varsigma ~ \tau \eta ́ v \delta \varepsilon ~ \tau \eta ̀ \nu ~ v o ́ \sigma o v \cdot ~ \alpha ̉ \lambda \lambda \alpha ̀ ~ \pi \tilde{\omega} \varsigma ~ \sigma \kappa \varepsilon v \alpha \sigma \theta \eta ́ \sigma \varepsilon \tau \alpha ı ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \varphi \alpha ́ \rho \mu \alpha к о \nu ~ к \alpha i ̀ ~ \pi o ́ \tau \varepsilon ~ \kappa \alpha \grave{~}$



 27-226,15 с́ncí... $\delta \iota \alpha \lambda \alpha \mu \beta \alpha ́ v o \mu \varepsilon v] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~ 1137 a 14-30 ~$

11 lm . addidi 28 غ́ $\lambda \lambda \varepsilon ́ \beta o \rho o \varsigma ~ s c r i p s i ~: ~ \varepsilon ̇ \lambda \varepsilon ́ ß o \rho o v ~ M ~$

Again, since "to do" [is used] in a variety of ways (because inanimate objects can kill, as can a hand, given that he [i.e. the killer] [acts] by means of his body part, or a slave acting on the orders of his master), this person who has the larger share does something unjust without acting unjustly. For the inanimate instruments and the hand and the slave do unjust things but are not acting unjustly, since something external impels them, as in this case the distributor does. Furthermore, with regard to the distributor he says that if out of ignorance he made judgment of what seems legally correct rather than what is really [correct], he does no injustice. Yet if on the other hand he knowingly offered a false judgment, he is greedy either for gratitude from the recipient of the unduly large share or for the penalty, which he is likely to get for judging falsely, namely blame. But if this man is a fellow-participant in greed with the man who got more than his due, but he does not get a share of what is distributed, this is nothing to be amazed about. For even the man who out of greed judges unjustly about land does not receive land; but if he takes a bribe, he gets money, but does not get a share of the land.
|| 1137a4-1137b6 17. 〈People think it is up to them...〉
Here he refutes an opinion people have; since they think, he says, that acting unjustly is up to them, and that is why we are ready [to act in a certain way] when we so wish. No one will dispute that acting unjustly is one of the things in our power. How then does he claim that this is not in our power, but rather that it contributes in various ways to how we manage our conduct, since the other things that are in our power are not few and they involve contradictory manners, i.e. becoming skilled [or] making efforts to earn money? He thus says at this point that acting unjustly is not in our power, not on account of the nature of the matter but on account of its manner; which question he reverses: for, in some sense, to have intercourse with the wife of one's neighbour or to strike someone or slip money into the hand of the person who takes a bribe are genuinely in our power, but the manner of doing so is not easy and is not in our power. For how [is it possible], if the wife is securely guarded?

Similarly, he dismisses another opinion: for [people] think that it requires no wisdom to know what is just and what is unjust, since the law deals with these matters. But in resolving [this point] he says that this, namely the knowledge of what is just, is not just action; because many people know what actions are just, but they fail to perform them due to certain passions; because it is not sufficient simply to know [this], but also how they will be commended, if these actions are performed. Because some people will act, but if they misunderstand the proper style of conduct or do not know it, they do not act justly. Because many people will also know what is healthy, and that this is wine, and that olive oil, and that is hellebore, and perhaps that this is of benefit in the case of a particular disease. But how the medicine will be prepared and when and for whom and how it will be administered to the patient is not for everyone to know, but for the doctor.











 ảy $\alpha$ Өoùs yà $\rho$ ővт










## 





 к人ì tò סík



 1137b11-13
$12 \dot{\alpha} \pi \lambda \tilde{\omega} \varsigma ~ s c r i p s i ~ e x ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~ 1137 a 26 ~: ~ o ̈ ~ \lambda \lambda \omega \varsigma ~ M ~ 22 ~ p o s t ~ \delta i ́ k \alpha \iota o v ~ s c h o l . ~ x x i v ~(v i d . ~ a p p e n d) ~ 23 l m .$. addidi

Because of this knowledge of the unjust [people] think that the just man acts no less unjustly than the unjust man, because this man [i.e. the just man] is more capable than the unjust of doing the things that the person of sound mind [is able to do] compared to the person who has been incited by passion. As a result, the just man will be more easily capable of committing adultery or striking a blow, just as the brave man [will be] of throwing away his shield and turning to run this way or that. But in resolving [this issue], he says that neither being unjust, as in the former example, nor being coward, as in the second [example], consists in doing these things, except coincidentally. For the person of sound mind is able, not through passion but for another reason (perhaps because he wants to get some advantage from the woman), to have sex with her, and the brave man [is able] to throw his shield, because he did not receive his pay. But just as in the case of practising medicine it is not merely cutting or cauterising that makes one a doctor, but doing this in a certain manner and in conformity with a specific style, similarly in this case as well, if people were to act in a certain manner when driven by their passions.

Just actions belong to people who have a share in things that are good without qualification, because if people are not good, they cannot be just. In the gods there is no excess of what is just, whereas in morally bad people there is no share at all of what is just, and in moderate individuals [there is a share of the just] up to a point. For this reason, we are not concerned with divine justice but with the human variety.

It remains to discuss equity as well, how it relates to justice (since equity is concerned with corrective rather than distributive justice), and also the equitable and how it relates to the just. For they are not the same without qualification, nor do they appear to be different in kind. We praise equity so much that we transfer the term and apply it to the other goods as well. We are accordingly unsure if what is equitable should somehow be praised in contrast to what is just; because it is either the same thing [as the just] or, if it is different, it is not praiseworthy; alternatively [the equitable] is excellent in itself, but justice is not excellent, if the equitable is different in contrast to what is just.
|| 1137b7-1138a11 18. 〈They are all in a manner...〉
As for the points he made about the equitable, posing a puzzle he determines that they are all correct in some manner. For either [the equitable] is the same as justice or it is different; and if it is something else but still praiseworthy, the just would not be excellent, because [the equitable] is excellent. But if both are excellent, [the equitable] would be the same thing as justice. Why, then, if the equitable is praiseworthy and excellent, would the just not be excellent and praiseworthy, as if it were not admitted that both the equitable and the just are praiseworthy? It is, then, as if the temperate is praiseworthy, but the just is also praiseworthy. Or should one say that both the equitable and the just are concerned with the legally just, and the equitable rectifies the pronouncements of the law relentlessly, as it were, and for this reason he discusses them in this manner? For equity is a better form of justice than one kind of


 $\kappa \alpha \tau \grave{\alpha}$ vó $\mu о \nu \varsigma$ уралттои̃ סıкаíov.
























 غ̇л $\alpha$ เvetท́.




1-4 tò... סıкаíov] cf. Arist. EN 1137b8-13 10-12 ^દ́yદı...каӨó入ov] cf. Arist. EN 1137b13-14 12 тò $\left.{ }^{1} . . \lambda \alpha \mu \beta \alpha \dot{\alpha} v \varepsilon \iota\right]$ cf. Arist. EN 1137b15-16 12-14 каi.... $\varphi$ v́бعı] cf. Arist. EN 1137b17-18 14-18 тóтє... тov́t $\omega v$ ] cf. Arist. EN 1137b20-27 18-23 тои̃тó... $\mu \varepsilon \tau \alpha \kappa ı v o v ́ \mu \varepsilon v o c ̧] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~$
 Arist. EN 1138a4-6
$9 \pi \alpha \rho \tilde{v} v$ scripsi; cf. Arist. EN 1137b23, [Heliod.] In EN 109.33, Mich. In EN 68.1, Schol. In EN
 68.1, Schol. In EN 205.14-15 : תعрı $\quad v$ M 24 post vo $\mu$ ípou una litt. rasa in M
justice, and it is not per se better than the just as a different class of thing. So in a certain way equity is the same as justice, since equity is just, although not in a strictly legal way, but as a rectification of the justice embodied in legal prescripts.

We will discuss an example of how [this functions]: there is a law that a thief should be killed. Suppose a person who has stolen something is caught, although he is not a thief but was compelled [to steal] due to hunger. He is brought to trial, and the legal form of justice condemns him, but the equitable character of judgement holds him guiltless because of the compulsion his hunger generated, and the equitable serves as a correction of legal justice. [Aristotle] says precisely these things that the legislator would have said, if he were present.

He discusses the reason for this, namely that the law concerning theft is universal and is not arranged for this or that thief [in particular] or one who is so merely by circumstance. Yet in some cases it is impossible to make a statement that is universally correct, but [the law] takes the most general view and is no the less correct [on this account]. For this kind of error is not in the law or in the legislator, but in the nature of the case. In that case the law is right in general, but where it fails us, the legislator has erred, and equity then rectifies the defect.

This is why the equitable is superior to one sort of justice, since this type of justice possesses a kind of defect due to the generality of its judgement. And [Aristotle] says the same thing that the legislator would himself have said, if he were present, if he had framed his law for these [specific cases]. This is why not all matters are subject to legislation, because it is impossible to lay down a law about what happens on a daily basis, with the result that a special ordinance is needed for such [cases]. For the standard applied to the indefinite is [itself] indefinite. So chance events are indefinite, and special ordinances are indefinite, as it were, since they are determined with reference to the circumstances that occur, in accord with the leaden rule of Lesbian construction, which adapts itself to every shape of the stone as it moves. What the equitable is, therefore, and what equity is, and that it is superior to one sort of justice, i.e. to the legal form rather than the natural one, in which the deficiency occurred on the basis of the subject matter of the events, has been stated.

Equity, on the other hand, is clear from the character of the equitable person: for he is one who prefers what is equitable, if it is merely a matter of preference, and who makes it happen, if he is to act as a judge, and who is not a stickler for justice in the bad sense but tends to take less than his share, \| even though he has the law on his side, even if it wanted to pronounce a bitter and harsh judgement. This [i.e. equity] is then a kind of justice, and this disposition is praiseworthy.

After this, the dilemma is resolved as to whether someone can treat himself unjustly. First he attempts [to make the case] from the opposite, that since some just actions are in accord with every virtue (because all lawful actions are deemed just, since the law pronounces on all of them), while others [are in accord with] one particular [virtue] (just as justice was said to be both universal and particular), he attempts to prove that in relation to neither form of injustice, namely the universal or







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[^109]the particular kind, does a person commit injustice against himself. First, in regard to the universal type of justice, he attempts to [make the case] from the opposite: the law, he says, does not sanction suicide, and the person who kills himself commits injustice against himself by acting unlawfully in relation to himself. But he assuredly harms himself not to cause vexation in return [for something else]; for what injury could someone get from himself that would make him injure himself? Therefore he voluntarily treats himself unjustly; [the action] is voluntary because he knew that it was himself he intended to murder, and because he intends to commit the murder despite having suffered nothing at his own hands that would render this harm in return. But [Aristotle] solves [the problem] by saying that the man does not act unjustly towards himself in that case, but towards the city he inhabits, and by this [argument] he refutes the claim which asserts that someone can treat himself unjustly.

1138a9-1138b13 19. 〈But he who kills himself out of anger...〉
Observe that it is discovered that the person who kills himself voluntarily acts unjustly, in conformity with the definition that one who acts unjustly does so voluntarily; because he knows the person whom he is killing and in what way. Since, then, he acts unjustly towards someone, he certainly acts unjustly, because if [he acts unjustly towards] no one, he does not act unjustly at all; so he acts unjustly towards himself. But in resolving [this problem], [Aristotle] says it is not [against himself] but against the city, by eliminating its citizen. The man in question suffers voluntarily, but neither he himself nor anyone else suffers injustice voluntarily. But since the city is treated unjustly, [Aristotle] also adduces the penalty [exacted] from the one who has acted unjustly; for [the city] does not allow the suicide victim to be buried, perhaps, nor does it provide him a funeral service. It is in the penalty paid that suffering injustice consists, not in the wrong-doer.

After demonstrating on the basis of the universal form of injustice that one does not treat oneself unjustly, he turns to the other [form], the one that opposes the particular form of justice, which is greed. For in fact, greed is more opposed to justice than taking less than one's due is. Moreover, at any rate, he says, [it is impossible to act unjustly towards oneself] in the sense in which a person is unjust (this is the greedy person), who is not wicked in himself but merely acts unjustly to the extent that he gets the unduly large share for himself in respect to goods and the smaller share in respect to evils. For he says that this person differs from the one who is unjust in a universal sense, because this unjust person is wicked in the same way as the coward is; for a coward is not universally wicked, nor is this person universally unjust, but [merely] greedy. And just as the coward, by shunning war, acts unjustly not in a universal but in a particular sense, and is wicked with regard to the city in only a specific sense, so too this person [acts unjustly in only a specific sense]. For the coward does not act unjustly in conformity with complete wickedness, nor does this type of unjust person, that is to say the greedy man and utter villain who stands


 $\tau \omega \nu \delta \varepsilon i \xi \varepsilon \varepsilon$.













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[^110] delevit M
opposed to the partially just man. Because the man who acts unjustly out of complete wickedness is completely wicked and destructive to both himself and his fellow citizens, since he conducts his life in ways opposed to all possible paths of virtue. But this person is not the one who acts unjustly out of universal wickedness, so that not even in accord with this partial form of injustice does he wrong himself, as [Aristotle] will show through many dialectical proofs.

First is [the fact] that it would then be the case [that the same thing be taken away and added] to the same thing simultaneously. The [argument] is as follows; for, that someone cannot act unjustly towards himself in conformity with the particular type of justice is clear in consequence. For since the greedy person is unjust, he is inequitable, as has been stated, and he possesses an unduly large share. Therefore, if this type of person commits injustice towards himself, then at the same time that he acts unjustly, he will possess the undue share, and at the same time that he is treated unjustly, [he will possess] the smaller share; and he is deprived of the larger share inasmuch as he is treated unjustly and he is attached to the larger share inasmuch as he acts unjustly, which is impossible. But the fact is that justice and injustice always imply more than one person, and the remaining [arguments] serve to provide evidence that it is impossible to treat oneself unjustly. For in the case of the greedy person, there is one person who receives more than his share, and another who receives less, with the result that more than one person is involved rather than one, both the person who acts unjustly and the person who is treated unjustly.

Furthermore, an act of injustice is voluntary and is committed by choice and comes first. At any rate if it is acknowledged that to be treated unjustly is to be harmed involuntarily; and he who voluntarily treats himself unjustly is then harmed willingly and voluntarily, which is not established [as a hypothesis]. And "comes first" is also included, so that someone who retaliates is not thought to act unjustly; for which reason treating oneself unjustly is both voluntary and [undertaken] by choice. And foremost, it will be inferred that one is voluntarily treated unjustly and injured, but this is not established in this manner, because no one is voluntarily treated unjustly. In addition, injustice involves matters of division, not private matters, but in this case a private person is [unjust] to himself; for no one does injustice except in matters of unjust division, because one will not accomplish injustice in relation to personal matters. Those acts which do not involve matters of division are irreproachable and are not injustices, but are instead just in the legal sense, if we have some personal point of justice in these matters.

Again, with respect to the point that one cannot treat himself unjustly, the following should also be discussed: I mean the definition regarding being voluntarily treated unjustly, because knowledge regards the person affected, the act, and how the victim is harmed, but one must add the qualification "against that person's own wish", which does not follow for someone who treats himself unjustly, because this happens in accord with his own wish. This problem is resolved in the following manner. Although both doing and suffering injustice are reprehensible, doing injustice

 $\tau o ̀ ~ \varepsilon ́ \kappa о v ́ \sigma ı o v ~ \mu \varepsilon \tau \grave{\alpha} \alpha ̉ \delta ı \kappa i ́ \alpha \varsigma », ~ \delta ı \alpha ̀ ~ \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \alpha ̉ \pi \rho о \alpha i ́ p \varepsilon \tau \alpha . ~$









 «̋pरovt $\alpha]$ cf. Arist. EN 1138b8-13

11 post ${ }^{\prime} \rho \chi{ }^{\prime}{ }^{\circ} \tau \tau \alpha$ schol. xxvi (vid. append.)
is more reprehensible, because it occurs by choice and implies vice that is either unqualified or nearly unqualified, since it involves a choice that is almost not a choice. For on this account he also asserts "since not every voluntary [act of injustice] is combined with [actual] injustice", because of actions committed with no deliberate purpose.

So the less bad, which is suffering injustice, may turn out to be a greater [evil] at some time, if a person suffers greater injustices. But science, he says, is not concerned with this, since \| a doctor declares pleurisy to be a more serious illness than a sprain, but nevertheless in many cases this sort of sprain causes death when a man is seized by the enemy as a consequence and killed, even though his pleurisy got medical treatment. When one is just towards oneself, this is said metaphorically in relation to the idea of the just occurring between different parts of oneself; I mean [the kind of justice] that exists between a master and slave, or within a household, not the political type. Injustice towards oneself arises when the non-rational part of the soul becomes greedy; this is the part properly subject to authority, with the rational part being assigned to the position of ruler.







 $\pi \rho \alpha \dot{\tau} \tau \omega v$ ท̂ ह̇лıє






















[^111]1 ＇HӨเк $\tilde{v}$ Nıко $\alpha \alpha \chi \varepsilon i \omega \nu \zeta \tilde{\eta} \tau \alpha$ in marg．superiore 2 lm．addidi 31 ǹ supplevi

1138b18-1139a16 1. 〈Since we have previously said...〉
After saying that the moral virtues are intermediate states of a sort between the opposite extremes, with two vices apiece (I mean excess and deficiency), and that the person who wants to conduct his life correctly must choose the mean (it is a mean as the correct reason prescribes), [Aristotle] also wishes to discuss the intellectual, i.e. the contemplative, virtues. And first he begins to distinguish the characteristics of this [i.e. correct reason], that is what we mean by "as the correct reason prescribes", and what it is, and what "what correct reason prescribes" extends to. For all the practical moral dispositions, like every type of conduct, are followed by a certain mark or target upon which the agent who adheres to right conduct fixes his gaze and increases or relaxes the tension so as to attain the mean, just as holds true in the case of a musical tune or the strings [of a lyre]; because either the strings are tightened to a higher pitch or they are relaxed to a lower pitch, so that the tune produced becomes the one that is good to hear. There is also a standard for the mean states, according to which they identify an intermediate position between excess and deficiency.

Accordingly, to put it this way, that the intermediate state between excess and deficiency is virtue in every form of conduct, is true, but offers no clarity. For in other pursuits as well, one can make this statement; because one ought to exert neither too much nor too little, but as much as the rational principle prescribes. At any rate, $a$ person who has this [knowledge] is no wiser. And [Aristotle] provides the example of the medical art: what [medicines] must be applied? Those which the rational principle of the medical art prescribes. This statement is truthful, but not clear. The same holds true with regard to the dispositions of the soul, because not only should this [judgment] be true, but it should also be determinative of what the rational principle is and what the standard that it determines is, so that we can direct our actions and our purpose towards that.

Previously, then, we divided the virtues of the soul into moral and intellectual ones. And we have now completed our discussion of the moral virtues, but about the rest of them we say the following, after discussing the soul. It was said, then, that there are two \|p parts of the soul, a rational and a non-rational. Of the rational part, let one portion be the scientific faculty, another the calculative [faculty]. The scientific faculty is what we use to contemplate the first principles [or: originative causes] of the things that must be and cannot be otherwise [i.e. are invariable]; whereas the calculative faculty is what we use to contemplate what variably exists and could be otherwise. For some things are necessary, while others admit of variation; and just as these differ from one another, likewise the dispositions of the soul, by which these [things] can be comprehended, are different from one another, assuming that knowledge is based on some kind of likeness or affinity between [subject and object]. For just as the senseorgans apprehend sensible objects through a kind of affinity [with them], and sight



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7-11 'Елєì... ̌̌pyov] cf. Arist. EN 1139a11-17
17-240,15 "E $\sigma \tau \iota . . . \lambda \varepsilon ́ y \omega \mu \varepsilon v]$ cf. Arist. EN 1139a17-1139b14
$6 \beta^{\prime}$ addidi; vid. Zor. 253, n. 24. | lm. addidi 7 'Eлєì correxi : $\pi \varepsilon i ̀ M \quad 24$ ő $\rho \varepsilon \xi ו v ~ s c r i p s i ~ e x ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~$ 1139a23-24: $\pi \rho \tilde{\alpha} \xi เ v$ M 27-28 практєкои̃ scripsi : $\delta \iota \alpha v o \eta \tau \iota к о и ̃ ~ M ~$
could not lay hold of flavour，nor could taste［apprehend］sounds，so too the disposi－ tions of the soul judge various objects in various manners．That we rightly called the one faculty，the one that concerns possible objects，calculative，is obvious；because deliberation concerns things that admit of variation，not things that are always as they are．Deliberation is the same as calculation．We must therefore ascertain the qualities of these［faculties］．

1139a15－1139b14 〈2．〉 〈We must therefore ascertain what the best disposition of each of these faculties．．．）
Since one of the rational faculties［of the soul］was scientific，meaning the one concerned with things that are necessary，while the other was calculative，meaning the one concerned with variable objects about which there is deliberation，and deliberation is the same as calculation，we must ascertain，he says，which is the best disposition；because the goals of these［dispositions］are not always attained，but the mark is sometimes missed．We must therefore investigate the best disposition；for this is the special virtue of each of the two，and the virtue［of a faculty］is relevant to the special function of each［virtue］individually；for scientific［art］will not exhibit the particular virtue that is relevant to the task of the calculative art，which takes place with regard to variable objects，nor will the calculative［art］possess the particular virtue relevant to objects that are eternal and invariable，and the task connected with these，just as in fact the art of shoemaking will not exhibit the particular virtue relevant to the work of knife－manufacturing，nor will this［i．e．the art of knife－ manufacturing］［exhibit］the virtue needed for the work［of shoemaking］，but each of the two［will exhibit the virtue needed］for its own particular［business］．

There are three elements in the soul which control action and truth；one of which is sense－perception，even if it is a cause of truth，but as is apparent from animals，in the case of which no action is involved，not of action．Just as，therefore，in the sphere of the intellect，where affirmation and negation［are involved］（not in the primary sense by which we recognise definitions），so too are pursuit and avoidance in regard to desire．Since，then，moral virtue is a disposition concerned with choice，and choice is desire，but not the non－rational kind，which even animals possess，but instead the deliberate kind，it must be the case that truth involves the mind，whereas what is correct involves the sphere of the appetite，if the choice is to be good，so that reasoning must speak the truth，and desire must pursue what is correct．This reasoning，then，is concerned with action，because it combines with desire，and it pursues what appears noble to the latter because it is correct．For this reason truth is in fact practical．But contemplative thought，just as what is in good and bad state are the things［practical reasoning］pertains to，so contemplative reasoning［pertains to］truth and falsehood； for this［i．e．the attainment of truth］is the function of the intellect rather than of practical thinking．But［the function of］what is simultaneously contemplative and practical is truth in accord with what is correct as defined by desire．







 о" $\varnothing \varepsilon \xi \varsigma$.




 $\delta^{\prime} \alpha \tilde{v} \theta \iota \varsigma \pi \varepsilon \rho i ̀ ~ \tau o v ́ \tau \omega \nu ~ \lambda \varepsilon ́ y \omega \mu \varepsilon \nu$.

Now the cause of action-the source of the motion, but not as a goal-is choice, and again the cause of choice is desire combined with reasoning directed to an end. Choice is devoid of neither rationality nor an ethical disposition, because good conduct and its opposite, bad conduct, do not exist without rationality or moral character. Rationality by itself, although it reveals the truth, produces no movement, but only [rationality] that is combined with desire and is practical. Given that everyone who does something does it for an end, and since practical action is for the sake of an end, rationality is combined with the latter, and for these reasons it is an efficient cause along with it. And that which is done is not an end in the unqualified sense, but belongs to and is a means to one of the goods, and likewise with whatever is done that desire aims for.

Hence if one wishes to define choice, [one] may either call it thought combined with desire or desire coloured by thought, and it is \| an originator [of action] for a human being. What has happened already is unconnected with choice, because it is not a matter for deliberation, but what lies in the future and is contingent [is connected with choice]. Although there are two parts of the intellectual faculty, then, rationality operating alone and rationality co-operating with desire, what they accomplish is truth. The dispositions according to which either of the two will attain to truth are virtues and the relevant dispositions. Let us begin again and discuss these.

## Appendix of Supplementary Notes

I provide below an edition of the supplementary notes running alongside Pachymeres' Commentary. Important variant readings between M and the standard editions of the anonymous scholia and Aspasius are recorded in the apparatus criticus. The same is true for corrections necessitated by the context.

## Scholium i

Location in the printed Commentary: 50.11
Location in the codex: f. 9v, left-hand margin
 غ̇yүívet $\alpha$ ı"
Function: exegetical note on the phrase above and its immediate context
Form and Source: verbatim quotation from Anon. In EN 123.11-18








[^112]
## Scholium ii

Location in the printed Commentary: 52.18
Location in the codex: f. 10r, upper margin
 Function: exegetical note on the phrase above and its immediate context
Form and Source: " $\Sigma u v \varepsilon \lambda o ́ v \tau \iota ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \pi \tilde{\alpha} v . . . \tau \grave{\alpha} \varsigma ~ \varepsilon ́ v \varepsilon \rho y \varepsilon i ́ \alpha \varsigma ~ \pi o ı \alpha ̀ \varsigma ~ \alpha ́ \pi o \delta ı \delta o ́ v \alpha ı " ~(1.1-4) ~ i s ~ a ~ v e r b a t i m ~ q u o t a-~$
 (1. 4-6), cf. Asp. In EN 39.32-34







[^113]
## Scholium iii

Location in the printed commentary: 54.21
Location in the codex: f. 10v, outer left-hand margin (written vertically)

Function: exegetical note on the phrase above and its immediate context
Form and Source: verbatim quotation from Anon. In EN 126.21-23



## Scholium iv

Location in the printed Commentary: 56.23
Location in the codex: f. 11r, upper margin

Function: exegetical note on the phrase above and its immediate context
Form and Source: with some slight alterations indicated below, this is a quotation from Anon. In EN 127.29-128.2










[^114]
## Scholium v

Location in the printed Commentary: 56.23
Location in the codex: f. 11r, right-hand margin
Cross-reference marked in the codex: EN 1105a9 "yívetaı кגi đ̉ $\rho \varepsilon \tau \eta$ ""
Function: exegetical note on the phrase above and its immediate context
Form and Source: verbatim quotation from Anon. In EN 128.21-129.3




 5











 yívoito Anon. In EN 129.1

## Scholium vi

Location in the printed Commentary: 62.8
Location in the codex: f. 11v, left-hand margin
Cross-reference marked in the codex: EN 1105b2 "tò $\mu \varepsilon ̀ v ~ \varepsilon i ́ \delta \varepsilon ́ v \alpha । " ~$
Function: exegetical note on the phrase above and its immediate context
Form and Source: verbatim quotation from Anon. In EN 129.21-26






## Scholium vii

Location in the printed Commentary: 64.1
Location in the codex: f. 12r, upper margin

Function: exegetical note on the phrase above and its immediate context
Form and Source: the vast majority of the extract draws in an almost unchanged form on Anon. In EN 130.13-131.2












 ह̈そદıৎ $\beta \varepsilon \lambda \tau i ́ \sigma \tau \alpha \varsigma$.


## Scholium viii

Location in the printed Commentary: 66.11
Location in the codex: f. 12v, upper and left-hand margin

Function: exegetical note on the phrase above and its immediate context. The section is introduced by the word " $\alpha$ лорí $\alpha$ ", followed by " $\lambda \cup ́ \sigma ı \varsigma ", ~ b o t h ~ i n ~ r e d ~ i n k ~ a n d ~ a b b r e v i a t e d . ~$
Form and Source: a long quotation from Anon. In EN 131.19-20; In EN 131.25-132.12


















[^115]
## Scholium ix

Location in the printed Commentary: 66.11
Location in the codex: f. 12v, left-hand margin

Function: exegetical note on the phrase above and its immediate context
Form and Source: quotation (slightly altered) from Anon. In EN 132.29-31




## Scholium $x$

Location in the printed Commentary: 68.22
Location in the codex: f. 13r, upper and right-hand margin
 $\mu \varepsilon \sigma o ́ \tau \eta \varsigma$ हैбтı""
Function: exegetical notes on the phrase above and its immediate context
Form and Source: a cluster of notes comprising three extracts from a) Asp. In EN 50.15-33, b) Asp. In $E N 52.20-25$, c) Asp. In EN 53.23-54.2 respectively. The first extract is introduced by the word " $\alpha$ лорía" followed by " $\lambda$ úбıs"





 : ${ }_{\alpha}^{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \omega \varsigma$ M $\mid{ }^{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \eta \varsigma^{2}$ scripsi ex Asp. In EN 50.21 : ${ }^{\circ} \lambda \lambda \omega \varsigma$ M

















 vũv s.l.

## Scholium xi

Location in the printed Commentary: 70.27
Location in the codex: f. 13v, upper margin

Function: exegetical note on the phrase above and its immediate context
Form and Source: verbatim quotation from Anon. In EN 134.26-135.2







 $\tau \tilde{v} \nu \alpha \not \lambda \lambda \omega v \dot{o} \mu o i ́ \omega \varsigma$.

3 oủ kevòv scripsi ex Anon. In EN 134.29 : oủk $\varepsilon$ ह̉vòv M 7 y $\alpha$ p inserui ex Anon. In EN 134.33

## Scholium xii

Location in the printed Commentary: 70.27
Location in the codex: f. 13v, upper margin
Cross-reference marked in the codex: EN 1107a32-33 " $\varepsilon$ к $\tau \tilde{\eta} \varsigma \delta ı \alpha \gamma \rho \alpha \tilde{\eta} \varsigma$ "
Function: exegetical note on the phrase above and its immediate context
Form and Source: an almost entirely faithful quotation of Anon. In EN 135.10-13


 גi $\alpha \rho \varepsilon \tau \alpha i ́, ~ \dot{\omega} \varsigma \kappa \alpha \tau \varepsilon у \rho \alpha ́ \varphi \eta \sigma \alpha v$.

[^116]
## Scholium xiii

Location in the printed Commentary: 86.9
Location in the codex: f. 15r, right-hand margin
Cross-reference marked in the codex: EN 1109a32 "к $\alpha \pi v о$ и̃ к $\alpha \grave{~ к и ́ \mu \alpha т о \varsigma " ~}$
Function: exegetical note on the phrase above and its immediate context
Form and Source: an almost verbatim quotation from Anon. In EN 139.20-24





4 ó $\mu o t \alpha ́ \zeta \varepsilon ı v:$ litt. - $\varepsilon$ - vix leguntur in M

## Scholium xiv

Location in the printed Commentary: 88.6
Location in the codex: f. 15v, left-hand margin
Cross-reference marked in the codex: EN 1109b9 "oi $\delta \eta \mu о у \varepsilon ́ \rho о v \tau \varepsilon \varsigma ~ ع ٌ \pi \alpha \theta o v " ~$
Function: exegetical note on the phrase above and its immediate context
Form and Source: a verbatim quotation from Anon. In EN 139.28-140.1








## Scholium xv

Location in the printed Commentary: 90.2
Location in the codex: f .15 v , lower left-hand margin
Cross-reference marked in the codex: EN 1109 b 33 "i̋ $\sigma \omega \varsigma$ סıopí $\sigma$ ı"
Function: exegetical note on the phrase above and its immediate context
Form and Source: verbatim quotation from Anon. In EN 141.5-7



## Scholium xvi

Location in the printed Commentary: 92.10
Location in the codex: f. 16r, right-hand margin
Cross-reference marked in the codex: EN 1110a28 "tòv Eủpıлíסov A A $\lambda \kappa \mu \alpha i ́ \omega v \alpha "$
Function: exegetical note on the phrase above and its immediate context
Form and Source: verbatim quotation from Anon. In EN 142.24-30







## Scholium xvii

Location in the printed Commentary: 92.10
Location in the codex: f. 16r, right-hand margin

Function: exegetical note on the phrase above and its immediate context
Form and Source: verbatim quotation from Anon. In EN 143.7-14








1 tò supplevi ex Anon. In EN 143.7

## Scholium xviii

Location in the printed Commentary: 96.5
Location in the codex: f. 16v, upper left-hand margin
Cross-reference marked in the codex: EN 1110b23 " $\check{\varepsilon} \sigma \tau \omega$ ov̉ $\dot{\varepsilon} \kappa \omega ́ v$ "
Function: exegetical note on the phrase above and its immediate context
Form and Source: verbatim quotation from Anon. In EN 144.9-12




3 ع́koứóou correxi ex Anon. In EN 144.12 : ảkoưiov M

## Scholium xix

Location in the printed Commentary: 96.5
Location in the codex: f. 16v, left-hand margin
Cross-reference marked in the codex: EN 1110b32 "ov́ $\delta$ ' $\dot{\eta} \kappa \alpha \theta$ ó $\lambda$ ou"
Function: exegetical note on the phrase above and its immediate context
Form and Source: verbatim quotation from Anon. In EN 144.25-28

 $\mu о \chi Ө \eta \rho i ́ \alpha v$ व̀ $\mu \alpha \rho \tau \alpha ́ v o \mu \varepsilon v$.

1 oĩov M : toṽ Anon. In EN 144.26

## Scholium xx

Location in the printed Commentary: 96.5
Location in the codex: f. 16v, left-hand margin
Cross-reference marked in the codex: EN 1110b33 " $\alpha \lambda \lambda \lambda$ ' $\dot{\eta} \kappa \alpha \theta^{\prime}$ हैк $\alpha \sigma \tau \alpha$ "
Function: exegetical note on the phrase above and its immediate context
Form and Source: verbatim quotation from Anon. In EN 144.28-145.3









## Scholium xxi

Location in the printed Commentary: 98.15
Location in the codex: f. 17r, right-hand margin
 $\mu \varepsilon \tau \alpha \mu \varepsilon \lambda \varepsilon$ íą"
Function: exegetical note on the phrase above and its immediate context. In this note, the Aristote-

 the right-hand margin, which in turn is followed by " $\lambda$ v́бıs" further below.
Form and Source: verbatim quotation from Anon. In EN 146.25-147.4









[^117]
## Scholium xxii

Location in the printed Commentary: 98.15
Location in the codex: f. 17r, right-hand margin
 $\alpha$ đ๊̉̃"
Function: exegetical note on the phrase above and its immediate context
Form and Source: verbatim quotation from Anon. In EN 147.6-17











9 ठ $\dot{\mathrm{c}} \mathrm{M}: \tau \varepsilon$ Anon. In EN 147.16

## Scholium xxiii

Location in the printed Commentary: 174.8
Location in the codex: f. 33r, lower margin
Cross-reference marked in the codex: EN 1127b28 "oiov $\dot{\eta} \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu \Lambda \alpha \kappa \omega ́ v \omega \nu$ ह̇бӨńๆ"
Function: brief explanatory comment on the phrase above
Form and Source: slightly altered in Georg. Pachym. Paraph. In EN 49.2-4
 ท̃ $\sigma \alpha v$ уєуч $\mu \nu \omega \mu$ ع́vo.

## Scholium xxiv

Location in the printed Commentary: 226.22
Location in the codex: f. 42r, lower right-hand margin
Cross-reference marked in the codex: EN 1137a26-27 "oís $\mu \varepsilon \varepsilon^{\tau} \tau \sigma \tau \iota \tau \tilde{\omega} v \dot{\alpha} \pi \lambda \tilde{\omega} \varsigma \dot{\alpha} y \alpha \theta \tilde{\omega} v$ "
Function: brief explanatory comment on the term " $\dot{\alpha} \pi \lambda \tilde{\omega} \varsigma \dot{\alpha} y \alpha \theta \tilde{\omega} v$ "




## Scholium xxv

Location in the printed Commentary: 230.9
Location in the codex: f. 43r, right-hand margin


Function: brief explanatory comment on the phrase above and its immediate context Form and Source: the note draws from Dio Chrysostom, Oration 64.2-4




## Scholium xxvi

Location in the printed Commentary: 234.11
Location in the codex: f .43 v , upper margin

Function: exegetical note on the phrase above and its immediate context
Form and Source: some linguistic affiliation with Anon. In EN 254.22-255.13 is apparent; cf. also
 (1. 4-6), see Georg. Pachym. Paraph. In EN 59.6-9



















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[^0]:    1 Detailed treatments of the political history of this period can be found in D. M. Nicol, The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261-1453 (London 1972) 39-167, A. Laiou, Constantinople and the Latins: The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282-1328 (Cambridge, MA 1972), and A. Laiou, "The Byzantine Empire in the Fourteenth Century", in M. Jones (ed.), The New Cambridge Medieval History: Volume VI c. 1300-c. 1415 (Cambridge 2000) 795-824; cf. D. Angelov, Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium 1204-1330 (Cambridge 2006). For a concise discussion, see S. Runciman, The Last Byzantine Renaissance (Cambridge 1970) 1-48. For the intellectual setting of the Palaiologan period, see I. Ševčenko, "Society and Intellectual Life in the Fourteenth Century", in M. Berza and E. Stănescu (eds), Actes du XIVe congrès international des études byzantine, 3 vols (Bucharest 1974-1976) I (1974) 69-92, reprinted in I. Ševčenko, Society and Intellectual Life in Late Byzantium (London 1981); I. Ševčenko, "The Decline of Byzantium seen through the Eyes of its Intellectuals", Dumbarton Oaks Papers 15 (1961) 169-186, reprinted in Ševčenko, "Society and Intellectual Life" (above); see also S. Mergiali, L'Enseignement et les lettrés pendant l'epoque des Paléologues, Société des Amis du Peuple, Centre d'études byzantines (Athens 1996); A. Riehle, "Rhetorik, Ritual und Repräsentation: Zur Briefliteratur gebildeter Eliten im spätbyzantinischen Konstantinopel (1261-1338)", in K. Beyer and M. Grünbart (eds), Urbanitas und Asteiotes: Kulturelle Ausdrucksformen von Status, 10-15. Jahrhundert, Frühmittelalterliche Studien 45 (Berlin 2011) 259-276; N. Gaul, Thomas Magistros und die spätbyzantinische Sophistik. Studien zum Humanismus urbaner Eliten der frühen Palaiologenzeit, Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik 10 (Wiesbaden 2011).
    2 On Pachymeres' life and work, see P. Golitsis, "Pachymérès Georgios", in R. Goulet (ed.), Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques, t. VII (Paris 2018) 627-632. Cf. ODB III, 1550, PLP IX, no. 22186; A. Failler, Georges Pachymérès, Relations historiques, CFHB XXIV/1-5 (Paris 1984-2000), I, xix-xxiii;
     21-38; G. Zografidis, "George Pachymeres", in H. Lagerlund (ed.), Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy: Philosophy Between 500 and 1500, I (Dordrecht 2011) 394-397. On his didactic role, see M. Cacouros, "La philosophie et les sciences du Trivium et du Quadrivium à Byzance de 1204 à 1453

[^1]:    entre tradition et innovation: les textes et l'enseignement, le cas de l'école du Prodrome (Pétra)", in M. Cacouros and M.-H. Congourdeau (eds), Philosophie et Sciences à Byzance de 1204 à 1453. Les textes, les doctrines et leur transmission (Leuven 2006) 1-51, at 13-17.
    3 On Pachymeres’ narrative technique in his History, see e.g. V. Stanković, "The Writer Behind the Historian: Observations on George Pachymeres’ Narrative on Constantine Tich and Contemporary Events in Bulgaria", Bulgaria Mediaevalis 3 (2012) 127-138. On the main themes of the History, see
    
     Historiographical Work of George Pachymeris", $\Sigma \dot{\prime} \mu \mu \varepsilon ו \kappa \tau \alpha 16$ (2003) 133-138.
    4 See, e.g., A. Megremi and G. Christianides, "Interpreting Tables of the Arithmetical Introduction of Nicomachus through Pachymeres' Treatment of Arithmetic: Preliminary Observations", in A. Volkov and V. Freiman (eds), Computations and Computing Devices in Mathematics Education Before the Advent of Electronic Calculators (Cham 2018) 65-93.
     not a paraphrase sensu stricto but also has features of exegesis and interpretative analysis. See C. Terezis and L. Petridou, "Aspects of the Question on Matter in the Byzantine Thinker George Pachymeres", Akropolis 1 (2017) 138-157.
    6 For the first-ever list of all of Pachymeres' works and their editions, the reader is referred to P. Golitsis, "Georges Pachymère comme didascale. Essai pour une reconstitution de son enseignement philosophique", Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik 58 (2008) 53-68, at 64-66.
    7 On Pachymeres' philosophical writings and his role in Byzantine literary culture, see Golitsis, "Georges Pachymère comme didascale" (n. 6), 53-68; P. Golitsis, "A Byzantine Philosopher’s Devoutness toward God: George Pachymeres' Poetic Epilogue to his Commentary on Aristotle's Physics", in B. Bydén and K. Ierodiakonou (eds), The Many Faces of Byzantine Philosophy (Athens 2012) 109-127; C. N. Constantinidis, Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries, 1204-ca. 1310 (Nicosia 1982) 59-65. For late Byzantine education, see, e.g., the study by F. Nousia, Byzantine Textbooks of the Palaeologan Period (Vatican City 2016).

[^2]:    Xanthopoulos, élève de Georges Pachymère", in M. Cronier and B. Mondrain (eds), Le livre manuscrit grec: écritures, matériaux, histoire (Paris 2020) 305-315. The work was attributed to Psellos when it was edited by L. Benakis (ed.), Michael Psellos: Kommentar zur Physik des Aristoteles (Athens 2008).

    13 This was known as Pseudo-Philoponus' commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics. Stefan Alexandru's study (S. Alexandru, "A New Manuscript of Pseudo-Philoponus' Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics containing a hitherto unknown ascription of the work", Phronesis 44 [1999] 347-352) has helped assign it to Pachymeres. The commentaries on the Metaphysics and the Organon are still unedited, while that on the Physics awaits a new edition.

[^3]:    Manuscript of Eustratius' Commentary on Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics", Revue d'histoire des textes 9 (2014) 51-78.
    18 Grosseteste had access to a manuscript which encompassed the commentaries by Eustratius and Michael alongside the anonymous scholia to Books 2-5, the anonymous commentary on Book 7 and Aspasius' commentary on Book 8. See H. P. F. Mercken, The Greek Commentaries on the Nicomachean Ethics in the Latin Translation of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln ( +1253 ): Eustratius on Book I and the Anonymous Scholia on Books II, III, and IV, Corpus Latinum Commentariorum in Aristotelem Graecorum 6.1 (Leiden 1973) $3^{\star}-29^{\star}$. See also M. Trizio "From Anna Komnene to Dante: The Byzantine Roots of Western Debates on Aristotle’s Nicomachean Ethics", in J. M. Ziolkowski (ed.), Dante and the Greeks, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Humanities (Washington, DC 2014) 105-139.
    19 It has been suggested that the author is Stephanos Skylitses, bishop of Trebizond, who in his scholia to Aristotle's Rhetoric refers to his own (lost) scholia to the EN. For a balanced discussion of this possibility, see, e.g. E. A. Fisher, "The Anonymous Commentary on Nicomachean Ethics VII: Language, Style and Implications", in C. Barber and D. Jenkins (eds), Medieval Greek Commentaries on the Nicomachean Ethics (Leiden-Boston 2009) 145-161, at 155-158.
    20 D. M. Nicol, "A Paraphrase of the Nicomachean Ethics attributed to the Emperor John VI Cantacuzene", Byzantinoslavica 29 (1968) 1-16. See also note 45 below.
    21 See also L. Benakis, "Aristotelian Ethics in Byzantium", in C. Barber and D. Jenkins (eds), Medieval Greek commentaries on the Nicomachean Ethics (Leiden-Boston 2009) 63-69. Cf. H. Baltussen, "Aristotelian Commentary Tradition", in P. Remes and S. Slaveva-Griffin (eds), The Routledge Handbook of Neoplatonism (London-New York 2014) 106-114 and H. Baltussen, "Philosophers, Exegetes, Scholars: The Ancient Philosophical Commentary from Plato to Simplicius", in C. S. Kraus and C. Stray (eds), Classical Commentaries: Explorations in a Scholarly Genre (Oxford 2016) 173-194. Also, L. Benakis, "Commentaries and Commentators on the Logical Works of Aristotle in Byzantium," in R. Claussen and R. Daube-Schackat (eds), Gedankenzeichen: Festschrift für Klaus Oehler (Tübingen 1988) 3-12; L. Benakis, "Commentaries and Commentators on the Works of Aristotle (except the Logical ones) in Byzantium", in B. Mojsisch, O. Pluta (eds), Historia Philosophiae Medii Aevi: Studien zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters. Festschrift für Kurt Flasch zu seinem 60. Geburtstag (Amsterdam 1991) 45-54. On Theodore Gaza's paraphrase of the EN, see J. Monfasani, "Theodore Gaza as a Philosopher. A Preliminary Survey", in R. Maisano and A. Rollo (eds), Manuele Crisolora e il ritorno del greco in Occidente. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Napoli, 26-29 giugno 1997) (Naples 2002) 269-281, at 269, 273, 274, and 275. A critical edition of Theodore Gaza's work is prepared by S. Xenophontos for the Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca et Byzantina series.

[^4]:    22 A. Kaldellis, "Classical Scholarship in Twelfth-Century Byzantium", in C. Barber and D. Jenkins (eds), Medieval Greek Commentaries on the Nicomachean Ethics (Leiden-Boston 2009) 1-43, at 40. See also Benakis "Aristotelian Ethics in Byzantium" (n. 21), 64.
    23 See more in S. Xenophontos, "George Pachymeres' Commentary on Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics: A New witness to Philosophical Instruction and Moral Didacticism in Late Byzantium", in S. Xenophontos and A. Marmodoro (eds), The Reception of Greek Ethics in Late Antiquity and Byzantium (Cambridge 2021) 226-248.

[^5]:    29 P. Golitsis, "La date de composition de la Philosophia de Georges Pachymère et quelques précisions sur la vie de l’auteur", Revue des Études Byzantines 67 (2009) 209-215; cf. Golitsis, "Georges Pachymère comme didascale" (n. 6), 59-60 with n. 37, 63-64.
    30 Golitsis, "Georges Pachymère comme didascale" (n. 6), 60, n. 37, where it is also posited that the absence of reference to the $E N$ in a letter by Constantine Akropolites supposedly addressed to George Pachymeres suggests that the other running commentaries were composed before the one on the $E N$.

    31 For the different types of layout in manuscripts preserving base text and commentary, see the informative study of M. Maniaci, "Words within Words: Layout Strategies in Some Glossed Manuscripts of the Iliad", Manuscripta 50 (2006) 241-268.
    32 E.g. the Vat. Gr. 261, considered by D. Harlfinger a Pachymereian autograph lato sensu, includes Aristotle's On the Parts of Animals in the centre of the page, surrounded by Pachymeres' reworking of Michael of Ephesus' commentary on the same work written in Pachymeres' hand; see D. Harlfinger, "Autographa aus der Palaiologenzeit", in W. Seibt (ed.), Geschichte und Kultur der Palaiologenzeit: Referate des Internationalen Symposions zu Ehren von Herbert Hunger (Wien, 30. November bis 3. Dezember 1994) (Vienna 1996) 42-50, at 48. See also P. Golitsis, "Copistes, élèves et érudits: la production de manuscrits philosophiques autour de Georges Pachymère", in A. Bravo García and I.

[^6]:    36 E.g. " $\pi \tilde{\alpha} \sigma \alpha$ т $\varepsilon ́ \chi \vee \eta ~ \kappa \alpha \grave{~} \pi \tilde{\alpha} \sigma \alpha \mu \varepsilon ́ \theta$ o $\delta o \varsigma . . . ", ~ P a c h y m e r e s ~ I n ~ E N ~ 1, ~ 1, ~ 2.3 . ~ S e e ~ a l s o ~ " E d i t o r i a l ~ p r i n c i p l e s " . ~$
    37 F. Budelmann, "Classical Commentary in Byzantium: John Tzetzes on Ancient Greek Literature", in R. K. Gibson and C. S. Kraus (eds), The Classical Commentary: Histories, Practices, Theory (Leiden 2002) 141-169, at 153-157.

    38 I.e. a "meta-text explicating and expanding on a base text while following its original arrangement", Baltussen, "Philosophers, Exegetes, Scholars" (n. 21), 186. Apart from running commentaries, there were also paraphrases, essays, and scholia. See, e.g. M. Trizio, "Reading and Commenting on Aristotle", in A. Kaldellis and N. Siniossoglou (eds), The Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium (Cambridge 2017) 397-412, at 405-411. On the history of the commentary, see H. Baltussen, "From Polemic to Exegesis: The Ancient Philosophical Commentary", Poetics Today 28.2 (2007) 247-281.
    39 For the ambiguity of the term hypomnēma and its basic features, see Karamanolis, "H yદ́vعఠŋ кגı
    

[^7]:    40 See, for example, 2.4. "Sources and formative influences".
    41 Golitsis, "Georges Pachymère comme didascale" (n. 6), 56 with n. 24, has suggested that the title of the work was deliberately reformulated by Bessarion as a simplification. Note that Pachymeres' commentary on Plato's Parmenides also lacks an original title.

[^8]:    42 For purposes of comparison, the Aristotelian source text reads as follows: $\tau \alpha \dot{\alpha} \delta \eta \eta_{~ \pi o i ̃ ~} \varphi \alpha \tau \varepsilon \in \sigma$
    

[^9]:    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
    43 Pantelis Golitsis remarked (per litteras) that this device does not occur in the other unedited commentaries, which might be a further sign of the later date of the Commentary on $E N$. He also thinks that this is probably also why Bessarion called Pachymeres' Commentary a $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha \varphi \rho \alpha \sigma \iota \varsigma$, since the paraphrasts tended to impersonate Aristotle by using the first-person singular. Cf. K. Ierodiakonou, "Psellos' Paraphrasis on Aristotle's De Interpretatione", in K. Ierodiakonou (ed.), Byzantine Philosophy and its Ancient Sources (Oxford 2002) 157-181, at 165-166.
    44 Quotes taken from I. Sluiter, "The Dialectics of Genre: Some Aspects of Secondary Literature and Genre in Antiquity", in M. Depew and D. Obbink (eds), Matrices of Genre: Authors, Canons, and Society (Cambridge, MA 2000) 183-203, at 190. On the self-presentation of exegetes specifically in the Palaiologan period, see K. Ierodiakonou, "The Byzantine Commentator's Task: Transmitting, Transforming or Transcending Aristotle's Text", in A. Speer and P. Steinkrüger (eds), Knotenpunkt Byzanz: Wissensformen und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen (Berlin 2012) 199-209.

[^10]:    46 One of the most extensive quotations from Aspasius is in Pachymeres In EN 2, 1, 52.12-15: है $\tau \iota$
    
    
     yívovt $\alpha$ ı...; cf. Asp. In EN 39.20-28.
    47 The only exception is at Pachymeres In EN 5, 11, 208.27-210.1: દ̇пદì סغ̀ тoṽ ло入ıтıкоṽ סıкаíov тò
     غ́л $\alpha v о \rho \theta \omega \tau \iota \kappa \grave{v} \kappa \alpha \tau \dot{\alpha} \alpha \dot{\alpha} \rho \iota \theta \eta \tau \iota \kappa \eta ́ v) . .$. , which seems to correspond to Mich. In EN 42.27-29 (italics indicate verbal similarities between the two passages). Given that no other such similarities exist, the possibility that the passage may derive from a source that Pachymeres and Michael shared seems more reasonable.
    48 On Eustratius in general, see the monograph by M. Trizio, Il neoplatonismo di Eustrazio di Nicea (Bari 2016).
    49 Cf. Trizio, "From Anna Komnene to Dante" (n. 18), 108. See e.g. M. Trizio, "On the Byzantine Fortune of Eustratios of Nicaea's Commentary on Books I and VI of the Nicomachean Ethics", in B. Bydén and K. Ierodiakonou (eds), The Many Faces of Byzantine Philosophy (Athens 2012) 199-224, at 206. Also Zorzi, "Per la tradizione manoscritta" (n. 10), 253-254.

[^11]:    50 I am indebted to Michele Trizio for bringing these passages to my attention and sharing his thoughts on them with me.

[^12]:    51 Other examples of Pachymeres quoting Eustratius for supplementation: غ̇̇cì yò̀ oú túxaı̧ tò
    
    
    
    
    
    
     т̀̀ $\delta \varepsilon ́ o v \tau \alpha ~ к \alpha \tau о \rho \theta \tilde{\omega} v ~(i t a l i c s ~ i n d i c a t e ~ d e p e n d e n c e ~ o n ~ E u s t r . ~ I n ~ E N ~ 97.21-25) ~(P a c h y m e r e s ~ I n ~ E N ~ 1, ~ 15, ~$ 34.24-32).

    52 See also Section 2.6. Pachymeres' exegetical methodology.

[^13]:    *Quotes from Aristotle in italics; verbal or conceptual proximity to Eustratius in bold (in both Pachymeres' and Eustratius' text); Pachymeres' interventions underlined.

[^14]:    53 Translation: After these points have been clarified, he passes on to another issue, specifically where happiness must be placed; since there are three [options]-things that are honoured, as in the case of the gods and divine things, things that are praised, as in the case of human beings and human affairs, and capacities, as in the case of the arts that have the capacity to turn out in one of two ways, as in the case of medicine or rhetoric or piloting a boat (for these skills may turn out one way or another, and for that reason they are termed "capacities")-he inquires where happiness should be located.

[^15]:    
    
    
    
    
     ence on Eustr. In EN 81.29-82.4.
    
    
    
    
    
    
    
     $\kappa \alpha \tau ’$ ápetŋ̀v $\tau \tilde{\varphi} \varphi \iota \lambda \alpha \rho \varepsilon ́ \tau \omega$.$] The text included in square brackets encompasses examples which$ Eustratius takes from Aristotle EN 1099a9-13 and which Pachymeres eliminates.

[^16]:    56 John of Damascus' Dialectic influenced Pachymeres' paraphrase of and commentary on the Organon; see E. Pappa, "Die Kommentare des Georgios Pachymeres zum Organon", in I. Vassis, G. S. Henrich, and D. Reinsch (eds), Lesarten: Festschrift für Athanasios Kambylis (Berlin-New York 1998) 198-210, at 207.
    57 A. Louth, St John Damascene (Oxford 2002), 85.

[^17]:    
    

[^18]:    60 Cf. Section 2.10 (quote from Paul).

[^19]:    61 Y. Papadoyiannakis, "Instruction by Question and Answer: The Case of the Late Antique and Byzantine Erotapokriseis", in S. F. Johnson (ed.), Greek Literature in Late Antiquity: Dynamism, Didacticism, Classicism (Aldershot 2006) 91-105.
    62 See e.g. I. Sluiter, "Commentaries and the Didactic Tradition", in G. Most (ed.), Commentaries = Kommentare (Gottingen 1999) 173-205.

[^20]:    71 Edition by M. Hayduck (ed.), Sophoniae in libros Aristotelis de anima paraphrasis, CAG 23.1 (Berlin 1883).
    72 Simplicius' own definition of the "worthy exegete" might also be relevant here: "The worthy exegete of Aristotle's writings must not fall wholly short of the latter's greatness of intellect. He must also have experience ( $\varepsilon \not \mu \pi \varepsilon \iota \rho o v)$ of everything the Philosopher has written, and must be a
     $\alpha \dot{\alpha} \varepsilon \dot{\varepsilon} \kappa \alpha \sigma \tau o v)$, so that he may neither, out of misplaced zeal, seek to prove something well said to be unsatisfactory, nor, if some point should require attention, should he obstinately persist in trying to demonstrate that [Aristotle] is always and everywhere infallible, as if he had enrolled himself in the Philosopher's school. [The good exegete] must, I believe, not convict the philosophers of discordance by looking only at the letter of what [Aristotle] says against Plato; but he must look towards the spirit, and track down the harmony which reigns between them on the majority of points", In Arist. Cat. 7.23-32; translated in M. Chase, Simplicius, On Aristotle's "Categories" 1-4 (London 2003) 23. Edition of the text by K. Kalbfleisch (ed.), Simplicii in Aristotelis categorias commentarium, CAG 8 (Berlin 1907). Pachymeres seems to conform to the formal criteria of a worthy exegete as described by Simplicius, with the exception that he does not try to harmonise Plato and Aristotle. As is obvious from the Commentary, Pachymeres refers to Plato to acquaint learners with some basic Platonic notions or briefly mention the content of a Platonic dialogue. Thus, references to Plato have a propedeutic function, preparing learners for the study of Plato.

[^21]:    73 A similar example in which Pachymeres makes productive use of classical quotations is seen in In EN 4, 5; in an extensive side-note, Pachymeres uses two lines put in the mouth of Talthybius in Euripides' Hecuba 497-498: "those who are old or frail (since such people are selfish and feel little concern about people other than themselves, perhaps because there is little natural warmth in them; for Talthybius speaks well when he says "I am an old man, but even so I desired to die" rather than suffer such terrible things. For if someone were not to speak this way, his speech would be contradictory, because it is more fitting to say "I am young, but even so I desired to die"), and [he also says that] miserliness is more appropriate to human nature than wastefulness is". It is interesting that Pachymeres revises the quote.

[^22]:    75 For some of Pachymeres' techniques in his Philosophia, see the study of B. Bydén,
     Yло́ $\mu v \eta \mu \alpha \sigma \tau \eta$ Фıлобоৎía 4 (2006) 221-251, at 236-240. For his compositional methodology and role as a paraphrast, see I. Telelis, "Tع $\chi$ vıкòs $\delta \iota \delta \alpha ́ \sigma \kappa \alpha \lambda$ оৎ: Georgios Pachymeres as Paraphrast of Aristotelian Meteorology", in A. Cuomo and E. Trapp (eds), Toward a Historical Sociolinguistic Poetics of Medieval Greek, BYZANTIOS. Studies in Byzantine History and Civilization 12 (Turnhout 2017), 119142. Cf. Pappa, "Die Kommentare" (n. 56), esp. 206-210, who compares Pachymeres’ authorial practices in the first Book of the Philosophia which treats the Organon, and in the individual commentary on the same Aristotelian work. See also Oikonomakos, Гє́́ $\rho у \iota \varsigma ~ П \alpha \chi \nu \mu \varepsilon ́ \rho \eta \varsigma ~ Ф ı \lambda о \sigma о \varphi i ́ \alpha ~(n . ~$ 8), 19^-23^; Pappa, Georgios Pachymeres Philosophia, Buch 10 (n. 8), 29^-36*; Pappa, Georgios Pachymeres Philosophia. Buch 6 (n. 8), 33^-39*; Telelis, Georgios Pachymeres Philosophia, Book 5 (n. 8), $37^{\star}-48^{\star}$; Telelis, Georgios Pachymeres Philosophia, Book 3 (n. 8), 15*-71*.

[^23]:    76 In the paraphrase, the On the Soul is also referenced (e.g. Paraphr. In EN 15.17; Paraphr. In EN 16.4-5), a work that features in the Commentary on the $E N$ too.

    77 E.g. A. Markopoulos, "Education", in E. Jeffreys, J. Haldon, and R. Cormack (eds), The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies (Oxford 2008) 785-795, at 788.

[^24]:    79 Wealth, honor, power, and friends are what the Stoics classified as "preferred indifferents".
    80 D. Bradshaw, "Aristotelianism", in D. G. Hunter, P. J. J. van Geest, and B. J. L. Peerbolte (eds), Brill Encyclopedia of Early Christianity Online, Consulted online on 06 February 2019 <http://dx.doi. org/10.1163/2589-7993_EECO_SIM_00000286>, under Ethics.
    81 See, e.g. M. Gasser-Wingate, "Aristotle on Self-Sufficiency, External Goods, and Contemplation", Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie 102.1 (2020) 1-28, who argues that Aristotelian self-sufficiency

[^25]:    85 See Golitsis, "Georges Pachymère comme didascale" (n. 6), 66.
    86 Although variant readings are in evidence; see the list below, under Section 3.3. On the authenticity of the title, see Section 2.3.
    87 See Section 2.2.
    88 N. Zorzi, "Per la tradizione manoscritta" (n. 10), 281-287; also 292 for the possibility that Barbaro copied directly from Marcianus gr. Z. 212. On the reception of the EN in Renaissance Italy through commentaries and paraphrases, see E. Refini, "Aristotelian Commentaries and the Dialogue Form in Cinquecento Italy", in L. Bianchi, S. Gilson, and J. Kraye (eds), Vernacular Aristotelianism in Italy from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century (London 2016) 93-107.

[^26]:    
     containing Book XI of the Philosophia (not the individual Commentary on the $E N$ ), is cited under the vague heading "Пара́ $\varphi \rho \alpha \sigma ı \varsigma ~ к \alpha i ̀ ~ \sigma \chi о ́ \lambda ı \alpha ~ \varepsilon i \varsigma ~ ’ A \rho ı \sigma т о т \varepsilon ́ \lambda о и я ~ ’ Н Ө ı к \alpha ̀ ~ N ı к о \mu \alpha ́ \chi \varepsilon ı \alpha " ~ t o g e t h e r ~ w i t h ~ S c o r i-~$ alensis T. I. 18 (gr. 138). Likewise, E. Mioni, Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum codices graeci manuscript, Volumen I: Thesaurus antiquus. Codices 1-299 (Rome 1981) 326, mistakenly treats Ph. Becchius' Latin edition of Philosophia Book XI published in 1560 as an edition of the individual Commentary on the EN.
    90 D. Harlfinger, Die Textgeschichte der pseudo-Aristotelischen Schrift Пєрі̀ $\alpha$ д́ó $\mu \omega \nu$ ура $\mu \tilde{\omega} \nu$ : Ein kodikologisch-kulturgeschichtlicher Beitrag zur Klärung der Überlieferungsverhältnisse im Corpus Aristotelicum (Amsterdam 1971) 174-183; Mioni, Bibliothecae Divi Marci (n. 89), 326-327.
    91 M. Rashed, Die Überlieferungsgeschichte der aristotelischen Schrift De generatione et corruptione, Serta Graeca 12 (Wiesbaden 2001) 31, 97, 110-116, 293-295. F. Berger, Die Textgeschichte der Historia animalium des Aristoteles, Serta Graeca 21 (Wiesbaden 2005) 65, 78-80, 82, 83-87, 100, 110, 201, pl. 4a-b. Golitsis, "Georges Pachymère comme didascale" (n. 6), at 56, 66, 67-68; Zorzi, "Per la tradizione manoscritta" (n. 10), 252-269. V. Lorusso, "Locating Greek Manuscripts through Paratexts: Examples from the Library of Cardinal Bessarion and other Manuscript Collections", in G. Ciotti and H. Lin (eds), Tracing Manuscripts in Time and Space through Paratexts, Studies in Manuscript Cultures 7 (Berlin-Boston 2016) 223-268, at 236-245.
    92 Before 1440, according to E. Mioni, Bibliothecae Divi Marci (n. 89), 332. As Berger has noted (Die Textgeschichte der Historia animalium, n. 91, 78, 83, the earlier parts of this manuscript have watermarks dating back to the years before 1425. For a useful overview on the dating and the scribes of the different sections of the manuscript, see Zorzi, "Per la tradizione manoscritta" (n. 10), 255-265.
    93 An updated description of the manuscript is given in Ciro Giacomelli' study, accessible online through the «Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca et Byzantina» website at <https://cagb-digital.de/ handschriften/diktyon-69683> (last accessed 24 January 2021), where an extensive bibliography for the codex may also be found.

[^27]:    94 E. Mioni, Bibliothecae Divi Marci (n. 89), 326. For additional references, see Zorzi, "Per la tradizione manoscritta" (n. 10), 252, n. 20. On Bessarion's activity as a transcriber, see Harlfinger, "Autographa aus der Palaiologenzeit" (n. 32), 47. Also, RGK, I, no. 41; II, no. 61; III, no. 77. On the Aristotelian section of Bessarion's library, see C. Giacomelli, "Aristotele e i suoi commentatori nella biblioteca di Bessarione: i manoscritti greci", in A. Rigo and N. Zorzi (eds), I libri di Bessarione: Studi sui manoscritti del Cardinale a Venezia e in Europa (Turnhout 2021) 219-275.
    95 See succinctly [https://cagb-digital.de/handschriften/diktyon-69683](https://cagb-digital.de/handschriften/diktyon-69683), section "Kopist" (last accessed 24 January 2021).
    96 Like the Marcianus gr. 148; see Harlfinger, Die Textgeschichte (n. 90), 182. For Bessarion’s library, see e.g. L. Labowski, Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana: Six Early Inventories (Rome 1979).
    
    
    
    
    
    98 See A. Diller, "Three Greek Scribes working for Bessarion: Trivizias, Callistus, Hermonymus", Italia Medioevale e Umanistica 10 (1967) 403-410; E. Mioni, "Bessarione scriba e alcuni suoi collaboratori", in Miscellanea Marciana di studi bessarionei (a coronamento del V Centenario della donazione nicena) (Padua 1976) 263-318. Bessarion himself produced a compendium of the first books of Aristotle's physics. See P. Eleuteri, "Una parafrasi di Bessarione alla Fisica di Aristotele", Thesaurisamata 24 (1994) 189-202.

[^28]:    99 A. Revilla, Catálogo de los Códices Griegos de la Biblioteca de El Escorial: T. I. (Madrid 1936) 449-450. Available online at: <http://rbme.patrimonionacional.es/home/Bibliografia/Manuscritos/ Griegos.aspx> (last accessed 3 December 2018)
    100 M. L. Sosower, Signa officinarum chartariarum in codicibus Graecis saeculo sexton decimo fabricatis in bibliothecis Hispaniae (Amsterdam 2004) 501, Lettres assemblées 344, no. 24 (ca. 1542 <Venice>).
    101 For don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, see in general E. Spivakovsky, Son of the Alhambra: Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, 1504-1575 (Austin 1970). Cf. T. Martínez Manzano, "La biblioteca manuscrita griega de Diego Hurtado de Mendoza: problemas y prospectivas", Segno e testo 16 (2018) 317-433.
    102 E.g. H. Omont, "Deux registres de prêts de manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Saint-Marc à Venise (1545-1559)", in Bibliothèque de l’École des chartes 1887, t. 48, 651-686, at 654; C. Castellani, "Il prestito dei codici manoscritti della Biblioteca di San Marco in Venezia ne’ suoi primi tempi e le conseguenti perdite de’ codici stessi. Ricerche e notizie", Atti del R. Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, ser. VII, 8 (1896-1897), 311-377, at 328.
    103 One exceptional instance of altered format involves the management of the page; see $E 22 r=M$ 13 v .
    104 For a more complete description of V, see Zorzi, "Per la tradizione manoscritta" (n. 10), 272277.

[^29]:    105 John Mauromates: RGK III, no. 283; Camillo Zanetti: RGK III, no. 351. For a brief description of the manuscript and its contents, see S. Lucà, "La silloge manoscritta greca di Guglielmo Sirleto: Un primo saggio di ricostruzione", in Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae, XIX, Studi e Testi 474 (Vatican City 2012) 317-355, at 340.

[^30]:    107 C. Giacomelli's description of $M^{b}$ in [https://cagb-digital.de/handschriften/diktyon-69684](https://cagb-digital.de/handschriften/diktyon-69684) (last accessed 24 January 2022), citing E. Mioni, Aristotelis codices Graeci qui in bibliothecis Venetis asservantur (Padova 1958) 85-88. The transmission of the Nicomachean Ethics has not yet been studied in a comprehensive fashion. There is a recent PhD thesis by Pelagia Vera Loungi, Die Manuskripte und die Überlieferung der Nikomachischen Ethik des Aristoteles (Buch I), University of Hamburg 2017. I would like to thank the author for allowing me to consult the relevant portions of her thesis. For Aristotelian manuscripts in general, see R. D. Argyropoulos and I. Caras, Inventaire des manuscrits grecs d'Aristote et de ses commentateurs: contribution a l'histoire du texte d'Aristote, Supplement (Paris 1980).
    108 Loungi, Die Manuskripte und die Überlieferung (n. 107), 273-280. Vat. gr. 506 was used by John Chortasmenos and his student Bessarion; see Berger, Die Textgeschichte der Historia animalium (n. 91), 78 and 80. In connection with this, it has been shown that the version of the Historia Animalium in Vat. gr. 506 was the model for the corresponding text Bessarion copied in M, suggesting that he may have done the same with the $E N$; see Loungi, Die Manuskripte und die Überlieferung (n. 107), 275.

    109 Loungi, Die Manuskripte und die Überlieferung (n. 107), 278-280.
     copy of Aristotle was either a vertical ancestor of $\mathrm{M}^{\mathrm{b}}$ or a manuscript affiliated with $\mathrm{M}^{\mathrm{b}}$.
    111 Berger, Die Textgeschichte der Historia animalium (n. 91), 125-126; Loungi, Die Manuskripte und die Überlieferung (n. 107), 273-278.

[^31]:    $112 \mathrm{~K}^{\mathrm{b}}=$ Laurentianus Plut. 81.11 (9th-10th c.); $\Gamma=$ antiqua traductio (ed. Paris. a. 1497). See also Section 9 Sigla.

[^32]:    113 Referred to as "diagr."
    114 Diagrams are fundamentally important to any study of the transmission and transformation of knowledge, both in giving visual expression to and in interpreting information. On syllogistic diagrams related to the Aristotelian corpus, see e.g. M. Wesoły, "Restoring Aristotle's Lost Diagrams of the Syllogistic Figures", Peitho 3 (2012) 83-114 (online at <http://peitho.amu.edu.pl/volume3/ wesoly.pdf>; last accessed 10 January 2022); cf. N. Agiotis "Inventarisierung von Scholien, Glossen und Diagrammen der handschriftlichen Überlieferung zu Aristoteles' De interpretatione (c. 1 - 4)", Working Paper des SFB 980 Episteme in Bewegung 5 (2015) 1-119 (available at [http://www.sfb-episteme.de/Listen_Read_Watch/Working-Papers/](http://www.sfb-episteme.de/Listen_Read_Watch/Working-Papers/); last accessed 10 January 2022). On diagrams in philosophical works in general, see e.g. J. van Leeuwen, "Thinking and Learning from Diagrams in the Aristotelian Mechanics", Nuncius 29 (2014) 53-87; G. Uhlmann, "The Noise of the Books: Practices of Knowledge Transfer in Damascius’ Vita Isidori", Working Paper des SFB 980 Episteme in Bewegung 8 (2016) 1-32, at 6-7 (available at <http://www.sfb-episteme.de/Listen_Read_Watch/ Working-Papers/>; last accessed 10 January 2022); M. Cacouros, "Les schémas dans les manuscrits grecs de contenu logique: raisons d'être, fonctions et typologie", Gazette du livre médiéval 39 (2001) $21-33$. For the use of diagrams in medical commentaries, see O. Temkin, "Studies on Late Alexandrian Medicine, I: Alexandrian Commentaries on Galen's De Sectis ad Introducendos", Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine 3 (1935) 405-430, at 412-420; B. Gundert, "Die Tabulae Vindobonenses als Zeugnis alexandrinischer Lehrtätigkeit", in K.-D. Fischer, D. Nickel, and P. Potter (eds), Text and Tradition: Studies in Ancient Medicine and its Transmission (Leiden 1998), 91-144; 0. Overwien, "Medizinische Lehrwerke aus dem spätantiken Alexandria", Les Études Classiques 80 (2012) 157-186, at 169-175. For mathematical diagrams, see the concise entry by C. Roby, "Diagrams, mathematical", in R. S. Bagnall, K. Brodersen, C. B. Champion, A. Erskine, and S. R. Huebner (eds),

[^33]:    The Encyclopedia of Ancient History (Oxford 2013) 2068-2069. See also I. Garipzanov, "The Rise of Graphicacy in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages", Viator 46.2 (2015) 1-22.
    115 a) Conceptualised by Pachymeres, probably diagr. ix and diagr. xi. b) Taken from older EN manuscripts: e.g. in $L^{\text {b }}$ (=Parisinus gr. 1854) bottom right-hand margin, f. 5r, we find a Pythagorean table of opposites nearly identical to that in Pachymeres (diagr. i); likewise in the right-hand margin, f. 26 r in $\mathrm{L}^{\mathrm{b}}$ the diagram is nearly identical to diagr. xiii in Pachymeres. See also Telelis, Georgios Pachymeres Philosophia, Book 3 (n. 8), 116*-117*. Interestingly, there are no common diagrams between M and its cognate manuscripts Vat. gr. 506 or Marc. gr. 213.

[^34]:    סúvacӨaı) and Pachymeres' corresponding explication of the same section of the EN (1103a20-28),
    
    
    
    
     50.13-18, give a sense of stilted repetition when read together.

    120 In his paraphrase of Aristotle's Meteorologica, for example, forming Book 5 of his Philosophia (preserved on the autograph codex Berolinensis Hamilton 512, gr. 408 and the partly autograph Parisinus gr. 1930), Pachymeres and his collaborators added marginal annotations when they revised the paraphrase; see Telelis, Georgios Pachymeres Philosophia, Book 5 (n. 8), 49^; cf. P. Golitsis, "La date de composition de la Philosophia" (n. 29), 215; cf. Golitsis, "Un commentaire perpétuel" (n. 12), 655-663. The same is true for the autograph paraphrase of De Caelo (Book 3 of the Philosophia), which is also interpolated by marginal notes produced after the completion of the paraphrase, possibly by Pachymeres' collaborators; see Telelis, Georgios Pachymeres Philosophia, Book 3 (n. 8), 113*. M. Cacouros briefly refers to the problematic nature of such notes in "To $\alpha \rho \iota \sigma \tau о \tau \varepsilon \lambda เ \kappa o ́$ vтó $\mu \nu \eta \mu \alpha$ бто Bи弓́́vть"" (n. 35), at 167-168. For the complexity of the issue in Byzantine editorial practice today, see e.g. S. Wahlgren, "Close to the Author - But how close? Theodorus Metochites", in E. Göransson, G. Iversen, et al. (eds), The Arts of Editing Medieval Greek and Latin: A Casebook (Toronto, Ontario 2016) 387-398. Cf. also C. Steel and C. Macé, "Georges Pachymère philologue", who show that Pachymeres added his own scholia to his commentary on the Parmenides with the aim of facilitating study of the Platonic work.
    121 Zorzi, "Per la tradizione manoscritta" (n. 10), 252-253 with n. 21. This assumption too has its own precedent in the manuscript culture of late Byzantium: in the margins of Pachymeres' paraphrase of Aristotle's Meteorologica (Philosophia, Book 5) the knowledgeable and well-educated scribe Matthaios Kamariotes added his own notes, excerpting them from the relevant commentaries of Alexander of Aphrodisias, Olympiodorus, and John Philoponus and aiming to use this material

[^35]:    122 See recent discussions by D. R. Reinsch, "What should an Editor do with a Text like the 'Chronographia’ of Michael Psellos?", in A. Bucossi and E. Kihlman (eds), Ars Edendi: Lecture Series, vol. II (Stockholm 2012) 131-154, B. Bydén, "Imprimatur? Unconventional Punctuation and Diacritics in Manuscripts of Medieval Greek Philosophical Works", in A. Bucossi and E. Kihlman (eds), Ars Edendi: Lecture Series, vol. II (Stockholm 2012) 155-172, and E. Cullhed, "Editing Byzantine Scholarly Texts in Authorized Manuscripts: The Case of Eustathios of Thessalonike’s Parekbolai on the Odyssey", in E. Göransson, G. Iversen, B. Crostini (eds), The Arts of Editing Medieval Greek and Latin: A Casebook (Toronto 2016) 72-95. The discussion goes further back, e.g. to J. Noret, "Notes de ponctuation et d'accentuation byzantines", Byzantion 65 (1995) 69-88. For a succinct diachronic summary
    
    123 See, e.g. M. Jeffreys, "Textual Criticism", in E. Jeffreys, J. F. Haldon and R. Cormack (eds), The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies (Oxford 2008) 86-94.

[^36]:     Georg. Pachym. Paraphr. In EN 3.7 6-10 ’HӨıкฑ̀... 宀̇локє $\mu \varepsilon ́ v \omega$ ] cf. Eustr. In EN 1.9-15; 1.27-2.1;
     cf. Philop. In De an. 194.19-22 13-14 $\dot{\eta}$... $\delta$ ó́ $\xi_{\text {ovovı] cf. Eustr. In EN 2.27-29 } 14 \dot{\eta} . . .}$
    
    
     Psel. Opusc. 49.57-58 21-22 סıò... $\alpha$ y $\alpha$ Өòv] cf. Arist. EN 1094a2-3 22 áy $\alpha$ Oòv... $\pi \alpha ́ v \tau \alpha c] ~ c f . ~ E t y m . ~$
    
    
     ŋં $\theta$ เк

[^37]:    3 ö $\tau \varepsilon$... $\varepsilon \mu \nu \eta \mu o ́ v \varepsilon v \sigma \varepsilon v]$ cf. Arist. EN 1094a16-18; cf. Eustr. In EN 7.18-19; 7.31-32 4-6 عioì...
     по $\iota \tau \iota \kappa \eta ์] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~ 1094 a 21-28 ; ~ c f . ~ E u s t r . ~ I n ~ E N ~ 14.9-13 ~ 13-15 ~ П \varepsilon \rho і . . . . \pi \lambda \tilde{\eta} \theta o \varsigma] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~$
    
    
    

[^38]:    

[^39]:    
    
     Arist. EN 1096a5-9; Asp. In EN 10.32-11.4 18-22 ’Evtعũ $\because \varepsilon v . . . \varphi i ́ \lambda o u c] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~ 1096 a 11-17 ~$
    
     غ̇оі́кабı] cf. Arist. EN 1096a21-22 $29 \pi \tilde{\omega} \varsigma . .$. кoเvóv] cf. Arist. EN 1096a27-28

[^40]:    
    
    
    

[^41]:    
    
     גipetóv] cf. Arist. EN 1097a32-34 11-12 тoเoṽтov... $\left.{ }^{2} \lambda \lambda^{1}{ }^{1}\right]$ cf. Arist. EN 1097a34-1097b1
    
    
    
     $\sigma v v \alpha \rho 1 \theta \mu \circ \nu \mu \varepsilon ́ v \eta \nu]$ cf. Arist. EN 1097b15-18

[^42]:     $\tau \varepsilon \lambda \varepsilon \iota \circ \tau \alpha ́ \tau \eta \nu]$ cf. Arist. EN 1098a16-18 10-15 $\left.\pi \lambda \grave{\eta} \nu . . . \alpha \dot{\alpha} v y_{\rho} \alpha^{\prime} \varphi o u \sigma ı v\right]$ cf. Arist. EN 1098a18-22
    
     Arist. EN 1098a22-26 21-24 $\sigma u v \varepsilon \rho y o ́ \varsigma . . . \varepsilon ̋ p y \omega v] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~ 1098 a 24-32 ~ 25-27 ~ \dot{\omega} \sigma \alpha u ́ \tau \omega \varsigma . . . ~$
    

[^43]:    4-6 T $\alpha \tilde{\tau} \tau \alpha . . . \tau \alpha ̉ \lambda \eta \theta \varepsilon ́ \varsigma]$ cf. Arist. EN 1098b9-12 6-10 $\tau \tilde{\omega} \nu . . . \tau i ́ \theta \varepsilon \mu \varepsilon v]$ cf. Arist. EN 1098b12-16
    
    
    
     EN 1098b32-1099a5 31-28,4 $\Delta \varepsilon^{\prime} \dot{\zeta} \alpha \varsigma \ldots \grave{j}$... $\left.\delta o v \eta ́ v\right]$ cf. Eustr. In EN 81.29-82.4

[^44]:    1-2 $่ \pi \alpha \dot{\rho} \rho \chi \varepsilon เ \nu . . . к \alpha ́ \lambda \lambda ı \sigma \tau o v] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~ 1199 a 24-25 ~ 5-6 ~ A v \alpha ́ y \varepsilon ı . . . \tau \alpha u ̃ \tau \alpha] ~ c f . ~ E u s t r . ~ I n ~ E N ~ 82.8-14 ~$
    
     Eustr. In EN 84.18-23; cf. Georg. Pachym. Paraphr. In EN 10.29-11.1 19-22 кגi...évepyعíaı̧] cf. [Heliod.] In EN 17.21-26 20-21 tò $^{1} . .$. हैpotaı] cf. Theogn. Eleg. 255-256; cf. Stob. Anthol. 4, 39, 8 22-23 таũт $\ldots$.. $\left.{ }^{\prime} y \alpha \theta \tilde{\omega} v\right]$ cf. Arist. EN 1099a29-32 24-30,1 $\left.\pi \tilde{\omega} \varsigma \ldots \pi \alpha v \alpha{ }^{\prime} \sigma \chi \eta \varsigma\right]$ cf. Arist. EN
    

[^45]:    
     EN 1099b9-1100a4

[^46]:    
     94.2-3 29-30 $\dot{\alpha} \kappa о \iota v \omega ́ v \eta \tau о v . . . \alpha \not \sigma \pi \lambda \alpha у \chi \chi$ оv] cf. Eustr. In EN 94.22-23

[^47]:    2-13 "O日'...ỏ $\rho \theta$ óv] cf. Arist. EN 1100a34-1100b8 3 tò ${ }^{1}$... $\left.\delta ı \alpha i ́ \rho \varepsilon \sigma ı v\right] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ M e t a p h . ~$ 1027b18-19 | ढ̈блєр...őv] cf. Alex. In Metaph. 448.6 12-14 Kגì... $\varepsilon$ íбı] cf. Eustr. In EN 95.30-34 16-21 ки́pı $\left.1 . . . \mu \alpha \kappa \alpha ́ \rho ı o ı] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~ 1100 b 8-16 ~ 21-22 ~ \grave{~} . . . \sigma v v o v \sigma^{\prime} \omega \tau \alpha \iota\right]$ cf. Dam. In Phaed.
    
     97.21-25 33-36,1 tó... túxac] cf. Arist. EN 1100b20-21; cf. Asp. In EN 30.2-3; cf. Eustr. In EN 97.29-31 $33 \alpha \dot{\alpha} \lambda \eta \theta \tilde{\omega} \varsigma . . . \tau \varepsilon \tau \rho \alpha ́ y \omega v o \varsigma]$ cf. Pl. Prot. 339a-b

[^48]:    2-3 $\mu$ ккќpıoı...òס $\tilde{\omega}]$ Sept. Psalm. 118: 1
    3-4 عi.... $\alpha$ vӨрஸ́touc] cf. Arist. EN 1101a19-21
     103.12-20; cf. Arist. EN 1101a22-31 17-19 Eĩt $\ldots . . \delta \varepsilon ı v \alpha ́] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~ 1101 a 31-33 ~ 20-22 ~ \delta \varepsilon i ̃ . . . ~$
    
     104.21-105.3 28-40,9 Tov́т $\left.\omega v \ldots \mu \alpha \kappa \alpha \rho^{\prime} \zeta \rho \mu \varepsilon v\right]$ cf. Arist. EN 1101b10-25 28 ह́ $\varphi^{\prime} .$. . Чท́ $\left.\tau \eta \mu \alpha\right]$ Eustr. In EN 104.21

[^49]:    1-2 ع̌к...Nó $\mu$ oı̧] cf. Pl. Leg. 630d5-7, 632d2-4 6-10 Пعрì...廿uरñ¢] cf. Arist. EN 1102a13-19
     168.4-6; cf. SVF II, fragm. 420 (138.19-20); cf. Philop. In De gener. et corrupt. 4.33-34
     27-44,18 Toũ... $\sigma \omega ́ \mu \alpha \tau о \varsigma] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~ 1102 a 32-1102 b 19 ~$

[^50]:    4-5 ع̌ $\lambda \varepsilon y \varepsilon \ldots$.. $\eta \mu \tau \sigma]$ cf. SVF I, fragm. 403 (90.9-11)

[^51]:    

[^52]:    1 lm . addidi 3 кıvoúбņ scripsi : кıvov́бגৎ M

[^53]:    
    
    
     Arist. EN 1103b21-25

[^54]:    1-7’Елєi... $\left.\left.{ }^{\prime} \rho \varepsilon \tau \eta ŋ v\right] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~ 1103 b 26-34 ~ 8-10 ~ T \varepsilon ́ \omega \varsigma . . . \alpha ́ \pi \alpha ı \tau \eta \tau \varepsilon ́ o t\right] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~$
    
     cf. Arist. EN 1104a27-1104b18

[^55]:    4-62,8 Eỉnढ̀̀v... крعĩтtov] cf. Arist. EN 1105a17-1105b18

[^56]:    
     12-66,2 Kaì...عi̋p $\uparrow \tau$ ı] cf. Arist. EN 1105b28-1106a13

[^57]:    3-11 Tò... $\varepsilon$ ̋ $\theta \iota \sigma \tau \alpha \iota]$ cf. Arist. EN 1106a14-26 12-14 $\pi \alpha v \tau i . . . \pi \rho \tilde{y} y \mu \alpha]$ cf. Arist. EN 1106a33-36 13-16 'Ev... $\lambda \eta \varphi \theta \varepsilon ́ v]$ cf. Arist. EN 1106a26-28 19 кגı $^{1} \ldots$.. $\left.\eta \mu \tilde{\alpha} ¢\right]$ cf. Arist. EN $1106 a 28$

[^58]:    1 i'] cf. Arist. EN 1107b21-1108b5 2-80,12 Tí... $\pi \rho \alpha ́ \xi \varepsilon \omega v]$ cf. Arist. EN 1107b31-1108a11

[^59]:    

[^60]:    4-9 "Oтı... $\theta \alpha \tau \varepsilon ́ \rho o v] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~ 1109 a 20-31 ~ 11-14 ~ П р \tilde{\tau \tau o v . . . \mu \varepsilon \sigma o ́ \tau \eta ̧] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~ 1109 a 33-35 ~}$
     [Heliod.] In EN 40.20-23 29-88,6 $\chi \alpha \lambda \varepsilon \pi$ о̀v... yívet ${ }^{29}$ ] cf. Arist. EN 1109b14-23

[^61]:    
     93．24－94．7 ；cf．John Damasc．Exp．fid．38．2－8 7－8 таĩৎ．．．భóyoç］cf．Arist．EN 1109b31 10－11 т $\alpha \tilde{\tau} \tau \alpha \ldots$ ．．．ко入́́бєıৎ］cf．Arist．EN 1109b34－35 12－13 Toṽ．．．$\lambda \varepsilon ́ y \varepsilon \tau \alpha ı] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~$ 1109b35－1110a2；cf．John Damasc．Exp．fid．38．15－16 13－14 tò．．．ảyvoíaç cf．Arist．EN 1110b18－19 13－15 tò．．．$\alpha$ yvoí $\alpha \varsigma] ~ c f . ~ J o h n ~ D a m a s c . ~ E x p . ~ f i d . ~ 38.20-24 ~ 15-18 ~ \tau о u ̃ . . . \pi \varepsilon \rho ı \sigma \tau \alpha \tau ı к \alpha ́] ~] ~$ cf．John Damasc．Exp．fid．38．26－30 19－20 そף $\tau \varepsilon \tilde{1} . . . \lambda \varepsilon y o \mu \varepsilon ́ v \omega v$ ］cf．Arist．EN 1110a11－12
     25－26 $\pi \rho \alpha ́ \tau \tau \varepsilon เ . . . \delta i ́ \delta \omega \sigma ı v]$ cf．Arist．EN 1110a13－14 25 દ́кßo入ウ̀v］cf．Arist．EN 1110a9 27－92，1 к $\mathrm{i}^{2}$ ．．．ópıotéov］cf．Arist．EN 1110a13－15

    1 ＇HӨเк $\omega \nu$ Nıко $\alpha \chi \varepsilon \varepsilon^{\prime} \omega \nu$ ү $\alpha$ $\mu \mu \alpha$ in marg．superiore 2 ante lm．$\alpha^{\prime}$ schol．xv（vid．append．）｜lm．addidi $8 \pi \rho \alpha ́ \tau \tau 0 v \tau \alpha \iota ~ s c r i p s i ~ e x ~ N e m e s . ~ D e ~ n a t . ~ h o m . ~ 94.5 ~ e t ~ J o h n ~ D a m a s c . ~ E x p . ~ f i d . ~ 38.6: \pi \rho \alpha ́ \tau \tau \varepsilon \tau \alpha ı ~ M ~$ 9 dipetũv scripsi ex Nemes．De nat．hom． 94.6 et John Damasc．Exp．fid． 38.7 ：$\alpha \rho \varepsilon \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu \mathrm{M}$ 20 غ́kouóoış：litt．$\dot{\varepsilon}-\mathrm{p}$ ．corr．M

[^62]:     38.8-10 9 лєрі̀ $\sigma \cup y \gamma v \omega ́ \mu \eta \varsigma]$ cf. Arist. EN 1110a24 9-10 бعĩ...'A $\lambda \kappa \mu \alpha i ́ \omega v \alpha]$ cf. Arist. EN 1110a26-29 13-14 $̈ \sigma \pi \varepsilon \rho . . . \pi \rho о ß о u \lambda \varepsilon v \sigma \alpha ́ \mu \varepsilon v o ı] ~ c f . ~ N e m e s . ~ D e ~ n a t . ~ h o m . ~ 99.15-16, ~ J o h n ~ D a m a s c . ~$
    
     1110a31-32 21 ä... $\alpha \dot{\sigma} \sigma \rho \alpha ́]$ Arist. EN 1110a32-33 22-23 öӨ $\varepsilon v \ldots$... $\left.{ }^{2} \nu \alpha \gamma к \alpha \sigma \theta \varepsilon ́ v \tau \alpha \varsigma^{2}\right]$ cf. Arist. EN
    

[^63]:    
     1110b4 11-24 Taũt $\ldots . . \mu \varepsilon \tau \alpha \mu \varepsilon \lambda \varepsilon i ́ \alpha ̣] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~ 1111 a 6-21 ~ 14-20 ~ \delta \varepsilon \check{\xi ̌ \alpha ı . . . \tau \varepsilon ́ \lambda o c ̧] ~ c f . ~[H e l i o d .] ~ I n ~}$ EN 44.14-18

[^64]:    5 post $\pi \varepsilon \rho \iota \sigma \tau \alpha \tau \iota \kappa \tilde{\omega} \nu$ schol. xviii, xix et xx (vid. append.) 6 lm . addidi $14 \delta \varepsilon \tilde{\xi} \xi \alpha \iota$ correxi : $\delta i ́ \xi \alpha \iota M$
     23 वُvaíซӨŋто̧: litt. - ${ }^{1}-$ in ras.

[^65]:    
     10 عí... है $\sigma \tau i v]$ cf. Arist. Top. 127b26, 127b34-35 13-17 ’Ек $\beta \alpha \dot{\lambda} \lambda \lambda \varepsilon \iota . . . \varepsilon ́ \sigma \tau i ́] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~ 1111 b 19-26 ~$
    
     $\dot{\varepsilon} \sigma \tau 1]$ cf. Arist. EN 1111b30 24-102,1 т $\tilde{\omega}^{1} \ldots$ как $\left.\tilde{\omega}\right]$ cf. Arist. EN 1111b33-34

[^66]:    1-12 ö $\lambda \omega \varsigma . . . \varepsilon$ ̋ $\rho \eta \tau \alpha$ ] cf. Arist. EN 1111b34-1112a14 14-17 Пعрì... $\mu \alpha ı v o ́ \mu \varepsilon v o \varsigma]$ cf. Arist. EN
     24-104,2 'А $\lambda \lambda^{\prime} . .$. voṽ] cf. Arist. EN 1112a26-33

[^67]:    3－9 Kגì．．．$\dot{\varepsilon} \alpha \cup \tau o i ̃ ৎ] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~ 1112 a 34-1112 b 11 ~ 9-12 ~ \delta \varepsilon ı v o ̀ v . . . v \eta o ́ ̧] ~ c f . ~ G e o r g . ~ P a c h y m . ~ H i s t . ~$
     EN 1112b16－20 21－22 каì．．．بaívetoı］cf．Arist．EN 1111b6－7 22 ov̉．．．$\beta \varepsilon \beta o u \lambda \varepsilon v \mu \varepsilon ́ v o v] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~$ EN 1112a14－15 24－25 ßou入ŋтòv．．．тと́入os²］cf．Nemes．De nat．hom．100．16－17；cf．Georg．Pachym．
    

[^68]:    1-2 кגỉ $^{3} \ldots$.. $\left.\gamma \varepsilon ́ v \varepsilon \sigma เ v\right]$ cf. Arist. EN 1112b23-24
    2-5 köv...ท $\mu \mu \tilde{\omega} v$ ] cf. Arist. EN 1112b24-28
    
    
     74.25-27 16-20 $\pi \alpha v ́ \sigma \varepsilon \tau \alpha 1 . . . \dot{\eta} \mu \tilde{v} v]$ cf. Arist. EN 1113a5-10 $21 \dot{\eta} \ldots \dot{\eta} \mu \mathrm{v} v]$ Arist. EN 1113a10-11 $\left.22 \tau \cup ́ \pi \omega . . . \varepsilon ̇ \sigma \tau v^{2}\right]$ cf. Arist. EN 1113a12-13 22-23 ópعyó $\mu \varepsilon \theta \alpha \ldots \beta o v ́ \lambda \eta \sigma v$ ] Arist. EN $1113 a 12$ 24-26 Kגì... סó orl] cf. Arist. EN 1113a15-22 $^{2}$

[^69]:     Phys. 194a30-32; FCG fragm. 395; cf. Genn. Schol. In De phys. 2, 224.26-28 6-10 кат ${ }^{\prime} .$. v̇yıєıvá] cf. Arist. EN 1113a23-28 $\mathbf{1 0 - 1 1}$ ò $\mu$ oí $\omega \varsigma . . . \beta \alpha \rho \varepsilon ́ \alpha]$ cf. Arist. EN 1113a28-29 $\quad \mathbf{1 0 - 1 1 ~ т о i ̃ \varsigma . . . \pi เ к \rho o ́ v ] ~}$
     1113a31-33 13-14 $\dot{\eta} . .$. кккóv] cf. Arist. EN 1113a33-1113b2 15-18 ’Епєì... $\left.\pi \rho \alpha ́ \tau \tau \varepsilon \varepsilon \nu^{2}\right]$ cf. Arist.
     1113b14-21 27 ov̉ठعiц... тоvŋคò̧] Arist. EN 1113b14-15 27-28 ǐv $\ldots . . \pi \rho \alpha ́ \tau \tau o เ \varepsilon v] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~$ 1113b23-25

[^70]:     13-15 kai $\left.{ }^{2} \ldots \mu \eta ́\right]$ cf. Arist. EN 1113b33-1114a2 16-18 $\alpha \lambda \lambda$ ’...óp $\left.\theta \tilde{\omega} \varsigma\right]$ cf. Arist. EN 1114a3-5
    
    
    

[^71]:    
    
    

[^72]:    $4 \mu \tilde{\alpha} \lambda \lambda o v^{2}$ seclusi 15 aútòv scripsi ex Arist. EN 1114b21 : aútò M 19 lm. addidi 21 yívetaı scripsi : yívovtoı M

[^73]:    
    
    14-20 кат...$\chi \rho \eta \mu \alpha ́ \tau \omega \nu$ ] cf. Arist. EN 1115a14-22 21-22 ov̉ס’... $\alpha v \delta \rho \varepsilon \tau ̃ o \varsigma] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~$
    
    
    

[^74]:    1-2 oủ... ỏvס $\rho \varepsilon \tilde{\pi}$ oc] cf. Arist. EN 1115a35-1115b1
    3-7 $\theta \alpha \lambda \alpha \tau \tau i ́ \omega v . . . \varepsilon ่ \mu \pi \varepsilon \iota \rho i ́ \alpha v] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~$
    
     20-22 $\varphi \circ \beta$ ク́ $\left.\sigma \varepsilon \tau \alpha \iota . . . \tilde{\eta} \tau \tau o v] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~ 1115 b 11-14 ~ 22-23 ~ к \alpha i^{2} . . . \theta \rho \alpha \sigma v ́ \varsigma\right] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~$ 1115b15-16 24-32 кגì...Өpaбv́v] cf. Arist. EN 1115b14-29

[^75]:    
     1116b9-12 28-31 $\left.{ }^{\omega} \sigma \pi \varepsilon \rho \ldots \mu \alpha \iota \mu \omega ́ \tau \alpha \tau о \iota\right] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~ 1116 b 12-14 ~$

[^76]:    6-13 $\alpha \lambda^{\prime} \lambda^{\prime} . . \dot{\alpha} \gamma \alpha \theta$ òv] cf. Arist. EN $1117 \mathrm{~b} 13-1918$ ővtعৎ... к $\left.\varepsilon \dot{\rho} \rho \delta \eta\right]$ cf. Arist. EN 1117b19-20 20-23 M $\varepsilon \tau \alpha \tau \alpha$ ṽ $\alpha \ldots . . \sigma \omega \varphi \rho о \sigma u ́ v \eta]$ cf. Arist. EN 1117b23-28 $25 \Delta \iota \alpha \iota \varepsilon ı ̃ . . . \sigma \omega \mu \alpha \tau \iota \kappa \alpha ́ \varsigma] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~$ 1117b28-29 25-26 $̇ \pi i . . . . \pi \alpha \sigma \tilde{\omega} v] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~ 1118 a 1-3 ~ 27-130,9 ~ \delta i ́ . . . \beta \rho \omega \mu \alpha ́ \tau \omega v] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~$ 1118a3-15 31 бف́بробเv... ф́ко入óбтоıৎ] cf. Arist. EN 1118a4-5

[^77]:    2 кגì... "O

[^78]:    4-6 őтı... $\alpha v \tau \iota \delta \iota \varepsilon ́ \sigma \tau \alpha \lambda \tau \alpha ı]$ cf. Arist. Top. 106a36-106b4 8 бi’... $\gamma \varepsilon v ́ \sigma \varepsilon \omega \varsigma]$ cf. Arist. EN 1118a26
    
    
    

[^79]:    
    
    17-18 $\dot{\omega} \varsigma . . . \lambda$ 久óyov] cf. Arist. EN 1119b13-15 19-22 $\delta \varepsilon \tilde{\ldots} \ldots . \delta \iota \alpha \pi \rho \alpha ́ \xi \varepsilon \tau \alpha ı] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~ 1119 b 15-18 ~$

[^80]:     1119b27-30 14-23 $\dot{\eta} \ldots$... $\rho \tilde{\prime} \sigma \varepsilon \tau \alpha ı]$ cf. Arist. EN 1119b30-1120a7 27-29 $\left.\chi \rho \tilde{\eta} \sigma \iota \varsigma \ldots \delta \tilde{1}^{1}\right]$ cf. Arist. EN 1120a8-10 29 ő $\left.\theta \varepsilon v^{1} . . \delta \varepsilon \varepsilon^{3}\right]$ ] Arist. EN 1120a10-11 $\left.\quad 30-140,6 \alpha \dot{\alpha} \rho \varepsilon \tau \tilde{\eta} \varsigma^{2} \ldots \alpha \dot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda o ́ \tau \rho ı o v\right] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~$ 1120a11-18

[^81]:     24 lm. addidi 27 т s.l.

[^82]:    
    
     cf. Arist. EN 1120a34-1120b6

[^83]:    2-8 Ov̉... $\left.{ }^{\prime} y \alpha \pi \alpha \tilde{\alpha} v\right]$ cf. Arist. EN 1120b7-13 11-20 Ov̉...кvрí $\omega \varsigma$ ] cf. Arist. EN 1120b14-27
    
    

[^84]:    6-7 őtı... $\varepsilon \sigma \tau \iota]$ cf. Arist. EN 1121b10-13 $\mathbf{1 0}$ тoĩৎ... $\alpha$ סuvótoıç cf. Arist. EN 1121b13-14
    
     19-20 $\varphi \varepsilon \iota \delta \omega \lambda$ oì... ठóбєı] cf. Georg. Pachym. Paraphr. In EN 38.11-13 21-22 oi ... $\alpha v \alpha ́ y \kappa \eta \nu] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~$
    

[^85]:    
    
     cf. Arist. EN 1122b2-8

[^86]:    

[^87]:     cf. Arist. EN 1124a1-2; cf. Asp. In EN 109.14-15 6-13 סı $\alpha$ тоṽтo... $\alpha$ тı ${ }^{\prime} \alpha$ ] cf. Arist. EN 1124a3-12
     21-22 ov̋ $\tau^{1} \ldots$...őv] cf. Arist. EN 1124a15-17 22-23 каí $\left.\pi \varepsilon \rho \ldots \alpha \not \gamma \alpha \pi \omega \mu \varepsilon ́ v \omega v\right]$ cf. Arist. EN 1124a17-18 24-25 бı̀...عĩvaı] cf. Arist. EN 1124a20 26 к $\alpha$.... $\mu \varepsilon \gamma \alpha \lambda о \psi v \chi i ́ \alpha v] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~$ 1124a20-21 28-29 عí... $\tau \mu \tilde{\Upsilon}\rceil$ ] cf. Arist. EN 1124a21-22

[^88]:     Arist. EN 1124b17-1125a22

[^89]:    2-7 'EtíӨعı... $\delta \grave{\varepsilon}]$ cf. Arist. EN 1125a16-24 12-19 $\chi \varepsilon i ́ \rho o u \varsigma . . . \pi о \lambda \lambda \tilde{\omega} v] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~ 1125 a 24-28 ~$
    

[^90]:     14-19 $\chi \alpha \lambda \varepsilon \pi \tilde{\omega} \nu . . . \chi \alpha \lambda \varepsilon \pi о$ í] cf. Arist. EN 1126a26-31 19-20 ov̉к...к ккí $\alpha v$ ] cf. Arist. EN
     Arist. EN 1126b2-18

[^91]:     $\mu \varepsilon \sigma o ́ \tau \eta \tau \alpha \varsigma]$ cf. Arist. EN 1127a17-18 11-12 öтع... $\delta v \sigma \varepsilon \rho i ́ \delta \omega v]$ cf. Arist. EN 1127a8-12 12-13 $\left.\tau \tilde{\varsigma^{2}}{ }^{2} . . \alpha \dot{\alpha} \gamma \alpha \pi \eta ́ \sigma \varepsilon \omega \varsigma\right]$ cf. Arist. EN 1126b22-23 13-14 $\left.̇ \kappa \varepsilon \tilde{\sigma} \sigma \varepsilon . . . \sigma u v i ́ \sigma \tau \alpha v \tau o\right] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~$ 1126b11-16 14-18 عi̋л $\omega \mu \varepsilon v . . . \pi \rho о \sigma \pi о є \varepsilon ́ \sigma \theta \alpha ı] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~ 1127 a 17-20 ~ 19-23 ~ \alpha ́ \lambda \alpha \zeta o ́ v o \varsigma . . . ~$
    

[^92]:    
    

[^93]:    
    
    

[^94]:    

[^95]:    
    
    

[^96]:    
    
     In Ant. 175; cf. [Heliod.] In EN 87.40

[^97]:     EN 1131b14 19 о̋лєр...غ̇ка́тєро ${ }^{2}$ ] Arist. EN 1131b14-15

[^98]:    
    

[^99]:    1 lm . addidi 16 diagr. x repetitum in marg. superiore (leviter mutatum) 18 tò ${ }^{2}$ scripsi : $\tau \grave{\alpha} \mathrm{M}$

[^100]:    
     yع́voıтo] Hes. fragm. 286, 2; cf. Arist. EN 1132b27; Anon. In EN 222.26 12-13 oủк... $\delta \iota \alpha v \varepsilon \mu \eta \tau เ \kappa o ́ v] ~$ cf. Arist. EN 1132b23-24 $\mathbf{1 4}$ оv̋тع... $\delta \iota \rho \rho \theta \omega \tau เ \kappa o ́ v] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~ 1132 b 24-25 ~ 15-18 ~ \pi о \lambda \lambda \alpha \chi о v ̃ . . . ~$
    

[^101]:     Georg. Pachym. Quadriv. 221.12-13; 286.14-15; cf. John Pedias. In Post. An. 115.12-14 13 Tò... $\left.\sigma u v^{\prime} \sigma \tau \alpha \tau \alpha \iota\right]$ cf. Arist. EN 1133 a 12 13-202,19 $\mathfrak{\eta} . . . \alpha \dot{v \tau ı \sigma \eta \kappa \omega ́ \sigma o v \sigma ı v] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~ 1133 a 12-1133 b 8 ~}$

[^102]:    6-17 Kגì... $\varepsilon i \sigma \iota v]$ cf. Arist. EN 1133b14-28

[^103]:    
    

[^104]:    5-7 $\mu$ ท́ $\pi \omega$... $\tau$ ои̃тo] cf. Arist. EN 1134a17-19
    9-11 ó... हैбтı] cf. Arist. EN 1134a19-21
    
     cf. Arist. EN 1134a32 23-24 $\Delta$ iò... $\alpha$ ©ıко̧] cf. Arist. EN 1134a35-1134b1 24-27 عíl...túpavvoç]
    

[^105]:     (EN 1134a35) 24 व̋ठıкоৎ M : túpavvo̧ Arist. vulg. (EN 1134b1)

[^106]:     17-18 $\mu \tilde{\alpha} \lambda \lambda$ лоv... $\dot{\varepsilon} \sigma \tau \iota]$ cf. Arist. EN 1134b15-16 19-20 тò... то入ıтıкоũ] cf. Arist. EN 1134b16-18
    
     cf. Arist. EN 1134b33-1135a9

[^107]:     1136a10-19 $12 \dot{\varepsilon} \kappa \check{\omega} \nu . . . \dot{\varepsilon} \kappa \omega ́ v]$ Eur. fragm. 304a Kannicht; cf. EN 1136a13-14; cf. [Heliod.] In EN 105.10-11; cf. Eustr. In EN 240.30-35 17-21 عűخoyov... غ́кóvte¢] cf. Arist. EN 1136a19-23

[^108]:    
    
    
    

[^109]:    
    

[^110]:    2-3 ov̉ cf. Arist. EN 1138a18-20 $\mathbf{1 4}$ "Eтı... $\pi \rho o ́ \tau \varepsilon \rho o v] ~ c f . ~ A r i s t . ~ E N ~ 1138 a 20-21 ~ 16 ~ \tau o ̀ . . . \pi \rho о \sigma \tau \varepsilon ́ \theta \varepsilon ı \tau \alpha ı] ~ c f . ~$
    
     1136b4-5 27 oṽт $\omega . . \tau$ тoเoṽтov] cf. Arist. EN 1138a27 28-234,1 $\varphi \varepsilon \cup \kappa \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu \ldots \dot{\alpha} \pi \lambda \tilde{\omega} \varsigma^{2}$ ] cf. Arist. EN 1138a28-33

[^111]:    3－8 Пعрі．．．入óyoc］cf．Schol．In EN 206．16－25 4－5 ט̇лєрßо入ñऽ．．．入óyoc］cf．Arist．EN 1138b18－20
     ávínoıv］cf．Arist．EN 1138b21－23 12－20 каi²．．．tov́tov］cf．Arist．EN 1138b23－34 22－238，5 Про́тєроข．．．тоv́тんv］cf．Arist．EN 1138b35－1139a16

[^112]:    1 бט́p甲utos correxi ex Anon. In EN 123.11 : $\sigma \cup ́ \mu \varphi \cup \sigma \tau o \varsigma ~ M ~ \mid ~ p o s t ~ s c h o l . ~ h a e c ~ n o t a ~ s e q u i t u r: ~$
    
     $\pi \tilde{\omega} \varsigma \dot{o} \rho \tilde{\omega} \mu \varepsilon \nu$.

[^113]:    $4 \mu \eta$ s.l.

[^114]:     M | $\alpha \varsigma$ scripsi ex Anon. In EN 127.32 : $\alpha$ M 4 oíov $\tilde{\eta} \pi \alpha \rho \pi о \lambda \varepsilon \mu i ́ o v ~ M ~: ~ o i o v \varepsilon i ̀ ~ \pi \alpha \rho \alpha ̀ ~ \pi o \lambda \varepsilon \mu i ́ \omega \nu ~ A n o n . ~$ In EN 127.337 vo $\mu i ́ \mu \omega \varsigma$ M : vo $\mu \dot{\prime} \mu \eta \varsigma$ Anon. In EN 128.1

[^115]:     $10 \dot{\eta}$ in ras.

[^116]:    3 है $\lambda \lambda \varepsilon ı \psi \iota \nu$ M : $\varepsilon$ हैv $\delta \varepsilon ı \alpha \nu$ Anon. In EN 135.12

[^117]:    
    

