

Wisdom in Loose Form

THE LANGUAGE OF EGYPTIAN
AND GREEK PROVERBS IN
COLLECTIONS OF THE HELLENISTIC
AND ROMAN PERIODS



By

NIKOLAOS LAZARIDIS

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Cover illustration: A statue of a Greek philosopher buried in the sands of the Ancient Egyptian necropolis at Saqqara. From the *Philosophers' Circle*, Ptolemaic Period. Photo Courtesy of John Swanson.

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*Dedicated to my father, my mother,
and my sister*

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This project would not have been accomplished if I had not also had the constant support of my family and my friends. My father, mother, and sister were always by my side, overflowing my life with warm feelings. For the gift of such feelings, along with all kinds of support, I would like to thank Marwa, Manolis, Andras, and the rest of my friends in Oxford and elsewhere.

FOREWORD

This book is a modified and updated version of my D.Phil. thesis, which I submitted in August 2005 to Oxford University. It is the result of my three-year comfortable stay at Merton College, situated a few minutes away from some of the best British academic libraries, like the Bodleian and the Sackler.

The idea for undertaking this comparative study of ancient Egyptian and Greek literary material occurred to me during the second year of my Masters (also completed at Oxford, but this time at Brasenose College), for which I studied demotic and earlier Egyptian works of wisdom. In a way, with this cultural comparison, I tried to “reconcile” my Egypt-focused studies with my Greek background, building a firm bridge between the highly self-centred fields of Classics and Egyptology. Comparative studies of this sort have indeed become fashionable these days, following, in a sense, the well-trodden path of human logic, in which the mind, in order to comprehend the exotic, compares it with the familiar. However, in my case, since I am familiar with the theory, methodology, and material of both disciplines, the exotic lies in the marriage of these two types of literature and in its seeds. In this marriage, I have treated both the bride and groom as equals and have tried never to take sides, leaving at peace the comparative eye to gather similarities and differences. This marriage, being in its early days, has not yet become a conflict, and therefore reading through my book one does not find a winner or a loser, but rather observes from a safe distance the meeting of two literatures and hears their intimate conversation, during which a number of similar and different traits are uncovered. Some of these traits speak of inter-influence; others speak of cultural difference and distance. When put together, all these points of comparison sketch out a complicated, rather than a straightforward, type of relationship between the two cultures and their literatures.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

For abbreviations of classical Greek primary and secondary sources, see Hornblower, S., and Spawforth, A. (eds), 2003, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd ed. revised, Oxford U.P., and for abbreviations of Egyptological sources, see Helck, W., and Westendorf, W. (eds), 1972–1992, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, 7 vols, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden.

<i>AEL</i>	Lichtheim, M., 1973–1980, <i>Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings</i> , 3 vols, California U.P.
Ashm.	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
BM	British Museum, London.
CPG	Leutsch, E.L., and Schneidewin, F.G., 1839 and 1851, <i>Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum</i> , 2 vols, Göttingen.
<i>Demotic Dictionary</i>	Johnson, J.H. (ed.), 2001, <i>The Demotic Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> , Oriental Institute Online Publications, available at http://oi.uchicago.edu/OI/DEPT/PUB/SRC/CDD/CDD.html
<i>Der kleine Pauly</i>	Ziegler, K., and Sontheimer, W. (eds), 1979, <i>Der kleine Pauly: Lexikon der Antike. auf der Grundlage von Pauly's Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgelehrter</i> , Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, München.
<i>Der neue Pauly</i>	Cancik, H., and Schneider, H. (eds), 1996–2003, <i>Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike</i> , 15 vols, Metzler, Stuttgart.
<i>fr. / frf.</i>	Fragment / Fragments
<i>Glossar</i>	Erichsen, W., 1954, <i>Demotisches Glossar</i> , Munksgaard, Copenhagen.
<i>Grammar of Demotic</i>	Johnson, J.H., 2000, <i>Thus Wrote 'Onchesheshonqy. An Introductory Grammar of Demotic</i> , 3rd online ed., Oriental Institute Electronic Publications, SAOC 45, available at http://oi.uchicago.edu/OI/DEPT/PUB/SRC/SAOC/45/SAOC45.html
<i>LÄ</i>	<i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i>
<i>LSJ</i>	Liddell, H.G., and Scott, R., 1940, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , 9th ed. revised and augmented by H.S. Jones <i>et al</i> , Clarendon Press, Oxford.

P	Papyrus
PCG (or, K.-A.)	Kassel, R., and Austin, C., 1983–2001, <i>Poetae Comici Graeci</i> , 8 vols, de Gruyter, Berlin.
Schwyzzer-Debrunner	Schwyzzer, E., and Debrunner, A., 1950–1971, <i>Griechische Grammatik: auf der Grundlage von Karl Brugmanns Griechische Grammatik</i> , 3 vols, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 2.1, 2nd ed., Beck, München.
TUAT	Kaiser, O. (ed.), 1982–1997, <i>Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments</i> , 3 vols, Mohn, Gütersloh.
UPZ	Wilcken, U., 1927–1957, <i>Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit (Ältere Funde)</i> , 2 vols, de Gruyter, Berlin.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. *The Aims, Methodology, and Structure of the Study*

The purpose of my study is to examine a body of ancient Egyptian and ancient Greek proverbial material that is found in proverb collections, in an attempt to offer an insight into the mechanics of proverb production in the literature of these two major Mediterranean cultures. Ancient Egypt and ancient Greece have been selected as suitable candidates for such a comparison, because they both developed great literary traditions that often followed parallel and interacting paths while nevertheless retaining their cultural uniqueness. In such a case, a comparison can be very fruitful since it may touch upon a wide range of points concerning works and expressions that share generic features, borrow elements from each other, or take different approaches to similar matters.

This study is an original attempt to do what Egyptologists and Classicists have previously hesitated to take on as a task: to bring together bodies of Egyptian and Greek literary material and examine them in the light of cross-cultural comparison, bridging two major fields of ancient philology. The main difference between this analysis and previous scholarly works on ancient proverbs lies in the fact that the latter, in most cases, concentrated on the proverbs' themes and generic features, while this study will focus on their language and structure.¹

¹ The terms "proverb" and "proverbial sentence" are used conventionally and interchangeably as names for the sentences selected for analysis, and "proverb literature" and "proverb collection" for the works from which the material for the analysis has been drawn. The term "proverb" (παροιμία) with its derivatives is preferred here to "maxim" (γνώμη), as it relates to the material a number of generic features, observed in the proverbs of all cultures, that can help the reader easily distinguish these sentences from other forms of literary expression. Such features are the short form, general themes, catchy phrases, and a freedom of applicability that does not depend on a strict relation to the life and ideas of a certain individual, as the term "maxim" would imply. However, the distinction between these two terms, suggested by some of the scholarly works that will be reviewed below, is an unsolvable problem due to the very

The linguistic approach is preferred here to the other two methods commonly followed, because, in this way, the study frees itself from discussion of the historical, ideological, and generic value of such texts. Such discussions have so far led only to debatable conclusions and speculation, since they are frequently based on modern literary theories that are often inapplicable to ancient material.²

Therefore the core of the study will be a thorough comparative analysis of the linguistic structure of these proverbs, which will reveal the way in which ancient Egyptian and Greek authors reacted to the challenge of conveying their elaborate observations on general human matters in the form of short wisdom sayings. This task was made more difficult by the grammatical and syntactic restrictions and rules that applied to the language of these proverbs.

The identification of similarities and differences in the course of the comparison between Egyptian and Greek proverbs does not aim at leading to conclusions about who came first and who influenced whom, but rather at giving an insight into the literary production of ancient Egypt and Greece and even further, into their way of perceiving the world around them.³

The first step, which provides the basis for this study, comprises the selection of the material to be examined. This involves two choices that are justified by the general aim of the study. Thus, firstly, I have chosen to examine a form of proverbial expression that is common to both cultures, namely the freestanding single proverb.⁴ This form has been chosen because it best illustrates the challenge of producing proverbs by clearly marking the meeting point between brevity in expression and wide applicability in theme. The main characteristic of this type of proverb is that, although it stands on its own without the aid of

nature of the proverb, which can encompass a vast number of formal and semantic features.

² A preference for studying the structure of proverbs rather than their theme or usage is expressed in Alster 1975 in regard to Sumerian proverbs and in Dundes 1975 in regard to modern proverbs.

³ Burkert in his last book observes, among other things, that approaching Greek civilization from an oriental point of view "... does not mean that we can explain much of cultural development in a causal way. Causal explanations of complex phenomena will always remain tentative and one-sided. Yet a more dimensional view will yield more adequate descriptions..." (2004, p. 5).

⁴ By "single" I mean here the proverb that consists of only one sentence. For a contrast between using this term and Lichtheim's "monostich", see fn. 17 of this chapter.

any type of context, it still manages to convey an insight about life that even the modern reader can appreciate as a piece of universal wisdom.

This form of proverbial expression, in the case of ancient Egypt and Greece, is found in instructions, gnomic poems, *gnomologia*, and gnomic anthologies, which, in most cases, let such proverbs stand on their own without being tied to argumentation or logically coherent passages.

Secondly, I have chosen to concentrate on Egyptian and Greek proverb collections from the Hellenistic and Roman periods, as within this time span one can observe a parallel development in the production of works involving proverbs, as well as an intensive cultural contact between the two Mediterranean civilizations in question.

The combination of these two choices results in the compilation of a corpus of demotic instructions and contemporary Greek gnomic poems, *gnomologia*, and anthologies. By choosing to examine the material of such collections, the study focuses on uncontextualized proverbs whose function is not influenced by interplay with elements of the collections that contain them (such as the purpose or authorship of the latter) as much as a proverb within another textual context (for instance, a novel or a philosophical treatise) would be. Therefore, the study of the structure and function of these proverbs will not depend much on the historico-literary profile of their collections, a topic that involves unresolved problems like who their audience was and what their use was in ancient Egyptian and Greek society. Within such a relatively “inactive” context, each of the sentences examined gains to some degree the status of a proverb by the fact that it was brought into the collection and was recognized by the ancient writer as a proverb or as a related form of literary expression.

As far as the structure of this study is concerned, in the last section of the introduction, I present a survey of previous scholarly work on related wisdom material. In the second chapter, I describe thoroughly the collections that constitute the corpus for this study, giving some details about their date, provenance, authorship, purpose, transmission, and contents, as well as the editions of, and main studies on, the whole or parts of these collections. This is followed by a brief discussion of the place the collections selected for this study hold within Egyptian and Greek literature, and especially of their relationship with the other representatives of Egyptian and Greek wisdom literature. In this way, from the onset of my study, I show that the proverbs examined were

not disconnected from the larger body of wisdom material produced in the same fashion by both cultures.

In the third chapter, I first give a brief characterization of the languages in which the proverbs examined were composed, touching on their status in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, interaction, form, and morphology. This involves, among other points, introductory remarks about the grammar and syntax of the form of the Egyptian and Greek languages in which the proverbs studied were composed. Although some of these remarks may seem superfluous to Egyptologists and Classicists (and even more to experts in both languages), in order for my analysis to be lucid and to appeal to scholars of both fields of ancient philology the rules governing each language's grammar and syntax need to be clearly presented and exposed to the comparative eye that will examine and evaluate the material throughout the analysis.

Furthermore, in the same chapter, particular attention is given to the tense of demotic and Greek proverbs, since this was of paramount importance among the grammatical features that affected the mechanics of proverb production. Finally, this chapter also presents the different types of proverb studied, which are divided according to structural and morphosyntactic features.

The next two chapters (IV and V) constitute the core of the language analysis: Chapter IV discusses the monopartite proverbs and Chapter V the bipartite and multipartite ones. The division of proverbial sentences into these morphosyntactic categories, which follows the decision to focus on the language and structure of the material, applies to both the Egyptian and Greek proverbs examined, thus providing the language analysis with a firm basis. The analysis of each of these types of single proverb includes sections on the use of particular constructions/words that influenced, to a considerable extent, the structure of the proverbs, such as adverbials or anticipatory phrases, as well as of some special sub-types of this material, such as the rhetorical questions. All points raised are illustrated by examples from the demotic and Greek proverbs whose quotation in the original (in the case of Greek) or transliterated form (in the case of demotic) is followed by a literal English translation in which I try to respect the original form of the proverb.⁵ At the end of each of these two chapters, all these observations on the two bodies of texts are summarized and contrasted.

⁵ When the same examples are quoted again in another part of my study, they may

In the sixth chapter, I proceed with the analysis of Egyptian and Greek proverbs on stylistic and thematic levels, complementing the formal observations made in the course of the previous two chapters. Specifically, what is discussed in the sections of the sixth chapter is the use of metaphor, simile, and other literary figures, the tone of the proverbs, the question of their versification, their vocabulary, meaning, and themes. At this stage, I take into consideration points made in the course of the language analysis, weaving together a more complete image of the language employed to compose the proverbs under examination.

In the penultimate seventh chapter of the study, I throw some light on the relationship between the proverbs analyzed and their collections, and especially the way the features of the latter correspond to the status and function of the former. The features discussed are concerned with the claims for authorship, audience, and purpose, as well as the manner of organizing the material.⁶ The aim of this chapter is not to identify the author, audience, and purpose of the proverbs and their collections, a task linked to the historical profile of the collections, but rather to examine whether these claims of the collection contribute to the study of the features and function of their proverbs.

Finally, in the last chapter, I summarize all the main points made in the course of the study, reconsidering the similarities and differences observed between the Egyptian and Greek proverbs, and explaining them in cultural terms, as signs of cultural relationship. Moreover, by drawing together the various points on the structure and language of the proverbs examined, I propose a definition of what a “proverb” is in the light of this ancient material.

2. *Survey of Scholarship*

Wisdom literature is a conventional generic framework that encompasses a large number of texts, among which stand the proverb collections investigated in this book. As a significant genre that greatly affected the orientation and development of literary thought in both

be given only in their original or transliterated form, or only in translation, depending on what sort of observation they illustrate.

⁶ Note that the term “audience” will henceforth be used conventionally to refer to those who read or heard the proverbial material examined.

Egypt and Greece, wisdom literature has attracted the attention of numerous scholars. These scholars have studied single or groups of texts of this kind, in most cases, in an attempt to situate them within the corpus of Egyptian or Greek literature, defining their generic features in relation to other literary genres.

In the case of Egyptian wisdom literature, scholarly work can be divided into general surveys and catalogues of texts, general studies on the genre, studies on specific aspects of these texts, and their publications/editions. Firstly, the surveys review the scholarly work that has been done up to their time of publication and provide a list of the wisdom texts with their main publications/editions and studies.⁷ Corpora of such texts can also be found listed as appendices to studies on the wisdom literature of related Near Eastern civilizations, such as that of Israel.⁸ Secondly, general studies on wisdom literature attempt to locate its genre within the landscape of the various literary genres that compose the body of Egyptian literature.⁹ Such studies try to define the identity of this genre by discussing various generic features of its member texts, such as their original purpose, structure, and audience.¹⁰ Thirdly, much work has been done on the various wisdom themes that appear in these texts. The topic that has attracted the most attention is the notion of the divine.¹¹ Apart from the studies that have focused on the discussion of this topic, extensive references to it can be found in treatises on Egyptian religion.¹² Furthermore, other studies have concentrated on the discussion of specific phrases or passages that occur in these texts.¹³ Finally, there are the publications of individual texts, some of which attempt to relate the texts they study to other wisdom or wisdom-related literary works.¹⁴

⁷ See, for instance, Fox 1980 and Williams 1981–1982, as well as the overview in Brunner *et al.* 1980.

⁸ For example, see Kloppenborg 1987, pp. 329–334 and Weeks 1994, pp. 163–178.

⁹ For instance, Lichtheim 1996 or Vernus 2001, pp. 9ff.

¹⁰ See, for example, the recent study in Parkinson 2002, which discusses the purpose and audience of the Egyptian wisdom texts (pp. 235ff.), or the older study in Shirun-Grumach 1979, which focuses on the poetic rhythm of these compositions.

¹¹ For instance, Barta 1976 and Miosi 1982.

¹² For example, in Daumas 1965, pp. 115–126 and Hornung 1996, pp. 49–60.

¹³ For instance, see Shirun-Grumach 1990 or Peterson 1974.

¹⁴ For example, see the recent edition of the papyri of *The Instruction of Ani* in Quack 1994a, where, among other things, Quack attempts to set this work into the wider context of Egyptian wisdom (pp. 194–205).

The corpus of demotic instructions composed in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, on which this study will partially concentrate, is discussed by M. Smith in his article in the sixth volume of the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (1986). In this, he lists the provenances, dates, and publications of the papyri that contain these instructions in addition to brief comments on the structure and style of their language, organization, and main themes. A more recent attempt at gathering and discussing the corpus of these texts, in association with the earlier Egyptian instructions, has been made by J.R. Houser-Wegner.¹⁵

This corpus of demotic texts is the focus of M. Lichtheim's *Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature in the International Context* (1983),¹⁶ in which she elaborately presents her observations on the structure and usage of the single proverbs in these works (pp. 1–12),¹⁷ which she compares with other non-Egyptian wisdom works, such as those of Ahiqar¹⁸ and the Greek gnomologia.¹⁹ In the same book, Lichtheim also offers revised translations of *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy*, *The Instruction of P Insinger*, P Louvre 2414, and P Louvre 2377.²⁰ Furthermore, she lists the various themes of these instructions²¹ and argues that their presentation and discussion are structured on the basis of the “Cause-and-Effect relationship” (pp. 37–43) and the so-called “Golden Rule” (pp. 31–35). Lichtheim's main argument in this book is that demotic scribes were heavily influenced by the corpus of Greek and Near Eastern proverb collections, adopting their prosaic, single proverb, their loosely structured style of writing, and their wide range of themes.²² This, according to her, can be supported by the following two points: first, the fact that the use of

¹⁵ 2001, pp. 19–36 and 51–72.

¹⁶ Reviewed in Jasnow 1987a.

¹⁷ The term “monostich” introduced by Lichtheim reminds one of poetic compositions and in this way contradicts her observation that demotic proverbs are prosaic (p. 1). Therefore I have chosen the more neutral term “single proverb” instead, to characterize not only Lichtheim's demotic monostichs, which were written in a single line of text, but also the Greek proverbs studied here.

¹⁸ Through a comparison with *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy* (pp. 13–22).

¹⁹ A brief discussion of these is found on pp. 24–28, while various Greek proverbs are cited from K. Krumbacher's publications of Byzantine collections (1893 and 1900) on p. 28.

²⁰ The first on pp. 66ff. (compare to her earlier translation in *AEL* 3, pp. 161ff.), the second on pp. 197ff. (compare also to her earlier translation in *AEL* 3, pp. 186ff.), the third on pp. 94–95, and the fourth on pp. 100–101.

²¹ For example, the themes of *The Instruction of P Insinger* are discussed on pp. 116ff.

²² Compare Manfredi 1998 (especially p. 733).

the gnomic, single sentence did not originate in the Egyptian literary traditions, while it was widely used by non-Egyptian authors of wisdom texts; and second, the fact that there are many striking resemblances between the themes that are discussed in demotic and in non-Egyptian proverb collections.²³ However, Lichtheim's first argument touches only superficially on the form of the proverbs she examined, while her second argument is heavily based upon her own interpretations of the messages conveyed by the proverbs, which is a rather fragile basis for drawing her cross-cultural parallels.

Lichtheim's theory of foreign influences on demotic wisdom texts is partially refuted by J.R. Houser-Wegner in her recent dissertation on continuity in demotic instructions (2001). Among other points, Houser-Wegner argues that the demotic instructions were composed by Egyptians in Egyptian, although society was bilingual at that time, and that the proverbs Lichtheim found to have Hellenistic or Semitic origins may have been of a universal nature (p. 19). She supports her argument by bringing in evidence that shows, firstly, that the single proverbial expression could have originated in Egyptian and not in foreign literature;²⁴ secondly, that there were wisdom predecessors in Egypt for the loose structure that characterized demotic texts like that of *Ankhsheshonqy*;²⁵ and thirdly, that there was a strong sense of continuity in the themes that were discussed in such texts (pp. 38–42). However, she does not totally disregard the similarities between demotic wisdom texts and non-Egyptian ones, suggesting that “demotic scribes may have used foreign maxims to illustrate a well-established Egyptian belief” (p. 387).²⁶ Finally, following the example of Lichtheim, Houser-Wegner too does not undertake a close examination of the linguistic features involved in the construction of demotic proverbs, since she is concerned with drawing thematic and formal parallels with earlier Egyptian material.

Egyptian proverbs and wisdom texts are often also analyzed from an international perspective as parts of a wider Near Eastern wisdom

²³ See, for instance, her conclusions on the composition of *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy* on pp. 21–22.

²⁴ See her discussion of the pre-demotic wisdom text on Ostrakon Deir el-Medina 1090 (p. 187).

²⁵ According to her, following the observations in Jasnow 1999, the text of P Chester Beatty 4 is an early example of a loosely organized collection of proverbs (p. 187).

²⁶ Unfortunately, Houser-Wegner does not discuss the interesting question of why they used non-Egyptian material in this case, which arises from this observation.

context.²⁷ Such considerations have been taken up by non-Egyptologists who have used the Egyptian wisdom material comparatively, in search of common origins and generic characteristics that are shared with Near Eastern texts. Most of these comparative studies have been carried out in the light of Old Testament texts, whose strong links to the Egyptian wisdom literature (initiated by those between *The Instruction of Amenemope* and the *Proverbs*) have been identified by numerous scholars.²⁸

A major work of biblical scholarship that uses Egyptian wisdom material extensively is W. McKane's *Proverbs: A New Approach* (1970). In this book, the biblical scholar discusses the types of proverbs used in Egyptian instructions, categorizing them according to their structure,²⁹ on the one hand, and their theme and semantics,³⁰ on the other. His main contribution to the field of Near Eastern wisdom literature is his division of proverbial expressions into two kinds: the instruction and the proverbs.³¹ By bringing together biblical and Egyptian material, McKane has stressed the typological relationship between these two kinds of proverbial expression, giving the Egyptian instructions a prominent place in the development of wisdom writing in the ancient Near East. In addition, McKane is one of the few scholars who stressed the importance of the study of the linguistic features of such material in order to use them as a basis for cross-cultural comparisons. However, his typology is based solely upon formulae and semantic relationships; it ignores the morphological aspect of the material studied, which offers an insight into the linguistic tools employed for building proverbial expressions.

The significance of the relationship between Egyptian and biblical wisdom is also indicated by the fact that overviews of Egyptian wisdom

²⁷ The association of Egyptian wisdom with its Near Eastern counterpart is stressed, for example, in collections of translations of Near Eastern wisdom texts that include Egyptian instructions—see Pritchard 1969, Hallo 1997, or *TUAT* 3.1–2 (1990–1991).

²⁸ See, for example, Ruffle 1977 and Römheld 1989, while note also the unique comparison of an Old Testament work and demotic wisdom texts in Sanders c 1983.

²⁹ For instance, see his discussion of the proverbs of *The Instruction of Ptahhotep* (pp. 75–76).

³⁰ For example, see his division of the proverbs of *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy* into those that bear a literal meaning and those that are used metaphorically (pp. 123–124).

³¹ The first “...tries to communicate clearly and authoritatively and sacrifices the literary effectiveness of imaginative language in order to avoid ambiguities...” (p. 22), while the latter “...have a special kind of concreteness in virtue of which their meaning is open to the future and can be divined again and again in relation to a situation which calls forth the proverb’s apt comment” (p. 23).

literature are found in most introductory studies to biblical writings or in other works of biblical scholarship.³²

Biblical scholarship, in an attempt to discuss and solve problems that concern the corpus of its wisdom literature, has shown an equal interest in the ancient Greek wisdom texts, and especially those that seem to bear the seeds of early Christian philosophy of life, such as *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*, which is considered to be of Jewish origins, or *The Sentences of Sextus*, whose attitude towards life appears to involve a blend of Stoic and early Christian ideas.³³

One such biblical study is J.S. Kloppenborg's *The Formation of Q: Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections* (1987), which, as its title suggests, explores the nature and origin of the so-called *Collection of Q*, alternatively called the *Gospel of Jesus*. Given the similarities between the "Sayings of Jesus" and other Greek works, following a brief introduction to Egyptian and other Near Eastern instructions, Kloppenborg devotes the second part of his seventh chapter, "Q and Ancient Sayings Collections", to the Greek gnomologia and *chriae* collections. He attempts to draw a distinction between these two kinds of Greek wisdom literature by ascribing to the latter a biographical aspect that adds to its instructional potential (pp. 291–292). However, he then admits that "this distinction, of course, cannot be absolute..." and adds that it is only a useful convention (p. 292). Concerning these texts, he offers a number of valid comments on the morphology of their writings, their setting, tone, and hermeneutic (pp. 295–316),³⁴ but he does not undertake the task of diving into the mechanics of the language of proverbs.

Another significant study that—although it comes again from the world of biblical scholarship—discusses both the Greek wisdom literature as a genre and some of its representatives is M. Küchler's *Frühjüdische Weisheitstraditionen* (1979). In this monumental work, among other Greek texts Küchler sets *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides* (one of the texts selected for my study) in the context of the so-called Λόγοι Σοφῶν of the era before the rise of Christianity.³⁵ Before he starts discussing the

³² See Wood 1967, pp. 8ff., Crenshaw 1998, pp. 205–218, or Thompson 1974, pp. 37–41.

³³ For a more detailed discussion about these two texts, see the related sections in the discussion of the corpus below.

³⁴ By *hermeneutic* he means: "the way in which the instruction represents its mode of production or creation (the "authorial fiction", or "projected speaker") and the mode of appropriation which it recommends for itself" (p. 274).

³⁵ For the use and meaning of the term "Λόγοι Σοφῶν", see Robinson 1971.

first of these two texts, he briefly describes thirteen Greek wisdom texts (pp. 240–257), establishing the first substantial corpus of such works.

Summarizing his observations on these texts, Küchler concludes, firstly, that they are “...situationslose Katalogisierungen menschlicher Grundweisheit...”; secondly, that some of them are teachings based upon a father / teacher / friend—son / pupil / friend relationship, such as in the instruction in *The Life of Aesop* or *The Sentences of Chares*;³⁶ thirdly, that some purport to preserve the wisdom of famous sages of the past—as is the case, for instance, with the works of pseudo-Epicharmus / Axiopistos or Clitarchus;³⁷ and, finally, that some are collected teachings of a philosophical school, such as the collections of sayings of Pythagoras and Epicurus (p. 258). Following these conclusions, which are based upon the original purpose of these texts, he finally distinguishes the following six types of text: a) “Statuierung von Grundordnungen”; b) “Belehrung in den Dingen des Lebens”; c) “Erweis der Weisheit eines Einzelnen”; d) “Wahrung der gnomischen Weisheit der Alten”; e) “Festigung und Leitung der Schüler und Nachfolger”, and f) “Kunstgenuss” (p. 259). What brings these works together, regardless of the wide differences in their natures, is, according to Küchler, their loose structure, a basic characteristic of the organization of their material that all these texts have in common.³⁸ After setting out the generic features of the Greek wisdom texts, Küchler proceeds to analyze meticulously the text of *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*. His morphological analysis of the text is accompanied by a table in which he divides the gnostic sentences into those employing the indicative, the imperative, or an infinitival form (pp. 266–270). This represents an original attempt to analyze the language of proverbs that, however, fails to reach any important conclusions about the form of this type of expression in Greek. Another table provides the reader with a clear indication of the thematic changes through the course of pseudo-Phocylides’s poem (pp. 288–290). Finally, its generic context, its audience, and its association with the other Λόγοι Σοφῶν are discussed in a detailed manner.³⁹

³⁶ For these, see the editions in Eberhard 1872 and Perry 1952, and Gerhard 1912 and Young 1971, pp. 113–118 respectively.

³⁷ For the former, see the editions in Crönert 1912 and *PCG* 1, fr. 244–273, while for the latter see the corresponding section in the presentation of the corpus below.

³⁸ Thus he observes, among other things: “Die mehr oder weniger lose Aneinanderreihung kurzer, möglichst, prägnanter Worte ist die einzige sich durchhaltende formale Gemeinsamkeit” (p. 258).

³⁹ See pp. 261 ff.

Another major work of biblical scholarship that attempts to encompass all forms of Greek wisdom literature is a long article by K. Berger, entitled “Hellenistische Gattungen im Neuen Testament” (1984). In the first section of his article, Berger discusses the works that mainly employed gnomic language, ὑποθήκαι, and *sententiae*. He begins by giving a useful list of scholarly studies on wisdom texts (pp. 1049–1051), and proceeds to mention briefly what other scholars have said in the past about these texts and their language. Among other points, he identifies a number of differences between παραίνεσις and γνώμη, and between the latter and χρεία (p. 1052). As his study is oriented towards a form-critical analysis of wisdom language, Berger’s main concern appears to be the categorization of the various types of wisdom language, such as the “Reine Aufforderung” (imperative), the “Prohibitiv”, and the “Nicht-sondern” (do not do *x*, but *y*),⁴⁰ which amount to a total of forty-seven categories. Examples from the Greek wisdom corpus are given for each type, while twice in this section of the article Berger supplies tables, of which the first presents the results of his systematic analysis of the types of wisdom language, while the second shows graphically the so-called *Formgeschichte* of the Greek proverb.⁴¹ The aim of Berger’s study, however, is to present the types of Hellenistic wisdom literature that particularly influenced the wisdom texts of the New Testament and not to study the language of Greek proverbs; thus the typology it offers is too schematic and not sufficiently elaborated to be used as a basis for analyzing similar types of material.

Setting the literary context for the texts of the New Testament by way of describing the different types of Greek wisdom texts of the Hellenistic and Roman eras is also the aim of a book by W.T. Wilson, *Love without Pretense* (1991). Here the biblical scholar, after distinguishing the two main types of saying in Greek literature—that is, the proverb (παραομία) and the maxim (γνώμη)⁴²—examines the various uses of the latter type in literary contexts. According to him, there are five main patterns or contexts for the use of maxims: 1) maxims may be “personalized”, where a direct address, such as “my son”, or the use of a first or a second person pronominal subject is involved; 2) they may be supplemented with examples and explanations; 3) they may be supported

⁴⁰ All the categories are listed and illustrated on pp. 1059–1066.

⁴¹ The first in pl. 1 and the latter on p. 1073.

⁴² See his chapter “The Gnomic Saying in Antiquity” on pp. 9ff., and especially p. 12.

by reasons or epilogues; 4) they may be used as evidence or proof for an argument, and 5) they may operate at the beginning or conclusion of a distinct section of a text.⁴³ Overall, according to Wilson, maxims were used in works either of the sapiential or the non-sapiential genres. The first of these genres consisted of three sub-categories: a) gnomic poetry; b) gnomologia, and c) wisdom instruction.⁴⁴ The latter covered most of the known Greek literary genres, although it was mostly popular in hortatory literature—for example, the *παράινεις*, the diatribe, and the exhortatory letter (pp. 53–55). After examining this material, Wilson concludes that the three types of Greek wisdom text shared the following characteristics: 1) the same thematic focus; 2) a didactic setting that is adorned by aesthetic and artistic features; 3) the tendency to draw material from earlier sapiential sources; 4) the use of maxims as basic components, and 5) their division of material into thematic sections (p. 89).

Wilson's interest in studying and defining the wisdom genre in Greece is also evident in his more recent *The Mysteries of Righteousness* (1994),⁴⁵ which is a detailed analysis of *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*. His analysis is based upon the division of the material in thematically coherent sections (for instance, the “Exhortations on Moderation” or the “Exhortations on Wisdom and Speech”, the first including verses 55–96 and the second verses 122–131),⁴⁶ which, according to Wilson, strongly suggests an effort by the ancient author to organize the material on the basis of its themes. As in his *Love without Pretense*, in this work too Wilson discusses, this time more briefly, the main categories of Greek wisdom texts (namely, the gnomic poems, the gnomologia, and the wisdom instructions),⁴⁷ with which, after the analysis proper, he associates *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*.⁴⁸ Within the same section, he also compares *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides* to Egyptian instructions like *The Instruction of P Insinger*⁴⁹ and, finally, claims with certainty that *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides* was mainly a Greek gnomic poem⁵⁰ that,

⁴³ Wilson illustrates each case of usage separately by bringing in evidence from Greek wisdom texts (pp. 41–44).

⁴⁴ These are discussed on pp. 56 ff.

⁴⁵ Reviewed in Horst 1995.

⁴⁶ The mapping of these sections is given on pp. 92–93 and 114–115 respectively.

⁴⁷ Discussed on pp. 18–25, 25–33, and 33–41 respectively.

⁴⁸ See pp. 178 ff.

⁴⁹ See pp. 181–182.

⁵⁰ For the main features of a gnomic poem, see p. 182.

like most texts of its type, shared characteristics with member texts of related wisdom genres (p. 183). As far as the analysis of my study is concerned, Wilson makes a number of interesting points about the organization of the material in pseudo-Phocylides,⁵¹ finding patterns that bind together not only individual proverbs, but also specific sections already defined as coherent passages.⁵² Overall, however, both of his books aim at establishing the lines of distinction between wisdom sub-genres rather than examining the way the language of Greek proverbs functioned.

Wilson's twofold work on texts from the Bible and the Greek wisdom genres best illustrates the bridge that biblical scholarship has built, leading to the world of classical scholarship and its concerns about ancient Greek wisdom literature. Before I start discussing some of the most significant classical studies on this subject, it is interesting to note three points about the overall attitude of classical scholars towards Greek wisdom literature. Firstly, classical scholars are hesitant in bringing together different types of wisdom works, such as gnostic poems and gnomologia, avoiding treating Greek wisdom literature as a major literary genre.⁵³ Secondly, they are too much concerned with the definitions of, and distinction between, what constitutes a proverb, what a maxim, and what other types of sapiential expression. In this, they follow the example of classical writers like Aristotle or Demetrius Phalereus who have commented extensively on the nature of proverbs and their uses in literature.⁵⁴ Finally, in those rare instances when they study the language of the proverbs, they avoid collections and related types of sapiential context, preferring to study the use of proverbs within other, non-sapiential, literary contexts.⁵⁵ As a result, there are no general studies on Greek wisdom literature, unlike the case with its Egyptian counterpart. For this genre and its member works, one most frequently finds sections in books on Greek poetry and introductions in the editions of wisdom or related works.

⁵¹ See especially p. 30 and fn. 56.

⁵² See, for instance, p. 178, where he observes the buttressing of a proverb of the instructional type with a proverbial statement and the association of a block of sayings with general themes with another with specified themes.

⁵³ As Searby (1998) has done, for instance, searching for Aristotelian maxims only in Greek gnomologia.

⁵⁴ A good overview of the comments of ancient writers on Greek proverbs is given in Whiting 1932 and Kindstrand 1978.

⁵⁵ As Lardinois (1995) and Stenger (2004) have done, for example. An exception to this rule is the article of Russo (1983).

The same general studies on wisdom literature are those that show a preference for discussing the nature of proverbial expression. One such study is R. Strömberg's *Greek Proverbs* (1954), in which he collects παροιμῖαι that have not been listed by classical and Byzantine paroemiographers. In his introduction, Strömberg focuses on the discussion of the definition and generic features of the Greek proverb, disregarding the importance of the context in which these proverbs are found (pp. 7–13).

The significance of the (literary but not sapiential) context for the study of proverbial expressions is stressed by A.P.M.H. Lardinois in his dissertation *Wisdom in Context: the Use of Gnomic Statements in Archaic Greek Poetry* (1995), in which he collects and examines the nature and usage of γνῶμαι and γνῶμαι-like expressions in archaic Greek epic, iambic, elegiac, and lyric poetry. In his introduction, Lardinois speaks of a shift in the study of wisdom expressions (which took place around the 1960s) towards an approach with more respect for the context of such expressions, due to heavy influence from the development of ethno- and sociolinguistics (p. 2). However, although he examines carefully and points out the various types of context that can influence the usage of proverbial expressions, due to the focus of his study on Greek poetry his observations can apply only to a small extent to the use of proverbs in Greek wisdom texts, such as those studied here.

What is not discussed by Lardinois is briefly examined by J.W.B. Barns in his old but still valid bipartite article, *A New Gnomologium: with Some Remarks on Gnomic Anthologies* (1950 and 1951), in which he considers the wisdom sub-genre of gnomologia and anthologies. However, Barns concentrates only on the history and purpose of these collections / anthologies, arguing, among other things, that “gnomic anthology was in being when Plato wrote the *Laws* and approved its educational use...”,⁵⁶ or that “anthologies are collections of literary pieces with the main characteristic of educational purpose”.⁵⁷ Following the same pattern as the dissertation of Lardinois, Barns too examines only one sub-group of the genre of Greek wisdom literature, the gnomic anthologies, and thus his conclusions should be treated with caution when applied to other types of wisdom text like the poem of pseudo-Phocylides investigated here.

This hesitancy of authors of individual studies on Greek wisdom texts to recognize and deal with Greek wisdom literature as a *macrogenre*

⁵⁶ 1951, p. 8.

⁵⁷ 1950, p. 132.

encompassing texts that involve the use of proverbial expressions, noted by J.C. Thom in his recent edition of the pseudo-Pythagorean *Χρυσὰ Ἐπη*,⁵⁸ is counterbalanced by the “courage” of those scholars who have published overviews in the encyclopedias of classical antiquity, pulling together information from studies on specific texts or wisdom sub-genres.⁵⁹

By comparing surveys and overviews of Egyptian and Greek wisdom literatures, one can detect the main concerns of modern scholarship regarding these two genres. In general, Egyptologists, on the one hand, seem to be more concerned with the contents and hermeneutics of the Egyptian wisdom texts. Classicists, on the other hand, appear to be more concerned with the typology of proverbial expressions and the works that contain them, as well as with the actual editing of such works, which have survived in long copies or in scattered papyrus fragments. In other words, the former have difficulties in reading and interpreting the texts, while the main concern and interest of the latter is to bring together the vast range of material and to identify the genre of each work and the type of expression it involves.

It seems that such differences in attitude towards wisdom texts have not given space to scholars for cross-cultural comparisons that might have offered a new angle on the problems. Although similarities and signs of cultural interaction between ancient Egypt and Greece have been detected and examined in the past, their literatures, and especially their wisdom genres, have seldom attracted scholarly attention.⁶⁰ The rare examples of cross-cultural comparison were based upon detected similarities between specific works, such as those between Hesiod's *Works and Days* and *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy*.⁶¹ The case of Hesiodic similarities with Oriental wisdom has led scholars like M.L. West⁶² and P. Walcot to look outside the corpus of Greek literature and search for parallels in the corpus of Near Eastern wisdom literature, including, of course, works from Egypt.⁶³

⁵⁸ 1995, p. 72.

⁵⁹ The most frequently quoted of these encyclopedic overviews are Horna 1935 and Spoerri 1967.

⁶⁰ For comparative cross-cultural studies in literature, see, for example, Morenz 1954 and Patzek 1996.

⁶¹ Walcot 1962 and 1966.

⁶² See, for example, his edition of the *Works and Days*, and especially his overview of wisdom literature (1978a, pp. 3–25).

⁶³ Cf. Dougherty and Kurke 2003, pp. 2–4.

In contrast to the limited scope of such cross-cultural studies, in this study I examine in depth a corpus of Egyptian and Greek proverb collections that includes examples of most of the modes of wisdom expression that were available in Egypt and Greece of the Hellenistic and Roman eras.

CHAPTER II

THE EGYPTIAN AND GREEK CORPUS

1. *The Material Collected for the Analysis*

The works selected for analysis constitute a representative sample of demotic and Greek wisdom writing that is mainly composed of free-standing, single proverbs. Another criterion by which these collections have been selected is the condition of the medium on which they are inscribed. Thus the works selected include legible rather than fragmentary sentences that would call for an extensive restoration.

The proverbs examined here are selected from the following collections:

Egyptian:

- 1) P Louvre 2414 recto (or, *P 2414*);
- 2) P Louvre 2377 verso (or, *P 2377*);
- 3) P BM 10508 recto (or, *Ankh.*);
- 4) P Insinger (or, *Ins.*);
- 5) P Ashm. 1984.77 verso (or, *P Ashm.*);

Greek:

- 1) Menandri Monostichoi (or, *Men. Mon.*);
- 2) The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides (or, *Ps.-Phoc.*);
- 3) The Sentences of Moschion (or, *Mosch. Gn.*);
- 4) The Sentences of Clitarchus (or, *Clit.*);
- 5) The Sentences of Sextus (or, *Sext.*);
- 6) The Sayings of Philosophers (or, *Phil. Log.*).

Finally, it should be noted that, even in the collections selected for analysis, there are a number of proverbs that have been left out, because they do not fit the aforementioned selection criteria. Specifically, those left out include: a) narrative or other non-didactic sections; b) fragmentary lines that cannot be restored; c) reproductions of the same proverbs; d) sentences that do not make sense on their own and thus

cannot be characterized as freestanding, single proverbs, and e) proverbs that consist of more than one complete sentence.¹

The reasons stated in (a), (b), and (d) apply to both bodies of text, while those given in (c) and (e) pertain only to the Greek material. Points (a), (b), (c), and (e) are clear, in contrast to (d), which depends on the criteria employed in this study to distinguish the freestanding, single, proverbial sentences from the dependent, multi-linear ones. In the demotic collections, the single-lined alignment of text corresponds, in almost all cases, to the fact that each line consists of one sentence (thus M. Lichtheim's "monostichs") and therefore the distinction between a single proverb and a multi-linear one is equal to that between a semantically independent sentence and a group of semantically interdependent sentences. This also applies to the Greek collections of verse material, in which the "single proverbs" consist of all the full sentences written in one verse. In the Greek collections of proverbs in prose, the shortest semantically independent unit is the period and this is what will be selected as a "single proverb".

However, despite the fact that at first sight this selection process seems to be clear, the line of distinction between single and multi-linear proverbs becomes blurry once the hand of the collector² intervenes, grouping proverbs together. The main criterion for identifying such signs of intervention is based upon the question of whether a proverb can make sense, conveying a wisdom message, without the aid of the proverb(s) with which it seems to have been coupled or grouped. In other words, the distinction depends on determining whether a proverb is part of an argument or whether it is a complete semantic entity on its own. The latter applies to all the proverbial sentences selected, although in some examples organizational devices, which will be discussed later on (see VII.5), are in use. These mark out groupings whose nature (whether they build coherent arguments or not) is debatable, because it depends very much on the interpretation of the proverbs in question.

¹ For a detailed list of those sections and proverbs that have been left out, see appendix A. The fact that ancient writers / collectors included long, multi-lined sentences in their works suggests, firstly, that these collections were not originally meant to contain only one type of wisdom material and, secondly, that the identification of what is a piece of proverbial material was probably "form-flexible", based mostly upon non-formal criteria.

² Note that the term "collector" is conventionally used, since we cannot be certain in some cases whether a "second hand" reproduced or organized the proverbs.

2. *Description of the Corpus: The Egyptian Collections*

1. **P Louvre 2414 recto**

The text (no. 20 in M. Smith's corpus)³ consists of three columns. It originates from Memphis, dates to the mid-2nd century BC,⁴ and consists of thirty-three lines. On the verso of the papyrus, there is a Greek inventory written by Ptolemaios son of Glaukias, who lived during the reign of Ptolemy IV Philometor.⁵ Because it was accompanied by a draft of a petition of one Harmais, M. Lichtheim assumed that the demotic work too was a draft and not a complete instruction.⁶ Its text was published by A. Volten (1955) and G. Hughes (1982), while its translation was revised by Lichtheim,⁷ S.P. Vleeming (1983), and H.-J. Thissen (1991c). The first two scholars, together with Lichtheim, were the first to point out the great number of parallels in this work to *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy*. These parallels include proverbs that are either almost identical or treat identical themes in the same way.⁸ In addition, as is the case with *Ankhsheshonqy*, the form of expression is the freestanding, single proverb. In addition, the author of this work uses similar organizational devices (for instance, the associative method)⁹ to those used in *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy*. Finally, the language and tone of the two works are also similar.¹⁰ Examples of the former are the choice of words and the structure of sentences, and of the latter the strong sense of cynicism. The first thirteen proverbs are

³ 1986, col. 1202.

⁴ See the discussion about its date in Houser-Wegner 2001, pp. 68–69.

⁵ This inventory is published in *UPZ* 1, pp. 127 and 133ff. See also Houser-Wegner 2001, p. 69 with fn. 237 and the discussion about the life and activities of this Ptolemaios in Thompson 1988, pp. 213ff.

⁶ 1983, p. 93.

⁷ 1983, pp. 94–95.

⁸ Lichtheim 1983, pp. 98–99. In respect to the first type of parallel, there are five examples (for example, compare *P 2414* 1/10 to *Ankh.* 14/13). In respect to the latter type, there are ten examples (for instance, see *P 2414* 1/7 and *Ankh.* 18/13). One may remark here that, concerning the first type, Lichtheim has included a sixth proverb that, I think, however, does not convey the same message; this is the proverb *P 2414* 1/9: *pꜣ nt štm pr iw=f mwt hr 'šꜣ n=f pꜣy=f hns* 'The one who slanders the house that is dying, its stench is great for him' compared to *Ankh.* 14/5: *štm pr iw ir=f mwt n-im=s* 'Slander a house and it will perish because of it'.

⁹ That is, when one proverb contains a word that is also found in the previous proverb (Lichtheim 1983, p. 99).

¹⁰ Houser-Wegner 2001, p. 69.

of the statement type, while the rest of the text consists of a series of instructional vetitives. An example of the way this text flows is the following group of proverbs, found in lines 3/9–11:

*m-ir kt pzy=k w.y hr tzy=k h.t-d.t / m-ir kt pzy=k w.y iw=f hn irpy / m-ir ms
irm rmt swg*

‘Do not build your house upon your mansion of eternity / Do not build your house so that it will be near a temple / Do not walk about with a stupid man’

The beginning of the instruction survives in line 1/1, mentioning the name of *Pr-wr-dl*,¹¹ who is said to have written it for his son. This claim follows a well attested and probably pseudepigraphic motif that marked the genre of Egyptian instructions.¹²

2. P Louvre 2377 verso

This fragment of proverb collection (no. 18 in Smith’s corpus)¹³ is a palimpsest and comes from Memphis. It dates to the 2nd century BC and consists of thirteen well preserved lines. It was first reproduced in facsimile by J.A. Letronne,¹⁴ while it was published by R.J. Williams,¹⁵ and discussed by Lichtheim¹⁶ and Houser-Wegner.¹⁷ Out of its thirteen lines, five contain proverbs of the instructional type, while the rest are of the statement type. Instances of the proverbs in this text are found the following group, in lines 1–3:

*mn pz mr pz hy-hz m-tr pz tz / stm hrw s nb gm=k pz nt n3-nfr=f r d=s / mn pz tn
m-tr mt.t nfr:t n pz nt iw bw-ir=w rh s’h=f*

‘There is no loving for the haughty (lit. high-of-heart) by the land / Listen to the voice of every man, that you may find what is good to say / No honour is (brought) by a good deed to the one whom they cannot reprove’

Finally, it should be noted that Lichtheim in her discussion of this collection draws parallels between it and *The Sentences of Sextus*.¹⁸

¹¹ For this name, see Jasnow 2001b.

¹² For this, see comments in Shupak 1989.

¹³ 1986, col. 1202.

¹⁴ 1865, pl. XXXV, no. 54 verso.

¹⁵ 1976, pp. 264–266.

¹⁶ 1983, pp. 100–102. Here she also revises the translation of Williams.

¹⁷ 2001, pp. 69–70.

¹⁸ 1983, pp. 101–102. For instance, see *P 2377* 3 and *Sext.* 298, as well as VI.8.

3. P BM 10508 recto (*The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy*)

This long papyrus (no. 13 of Smith's corpus),¹⁹ which comes from Akhmim, contains one of the two major demotic proverb collections, namely *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy*.²⁰ This work comprises twenty-eight columns of an average of twenty-three lines each, amounting to 629 lines, in addition to five fragments that fill in some gaps in columns 1 and 2. The text is divided into two major sections: the frame story and the instruction proper. The former covers the first five columns and the latter the rest of the text. The instruction proper consists mainly of freestanding, prosaic, single proverbs, loosely arranged. An example of these is the group of proverbs found in lines 14/14–16:

*p3 nt phs n phs n hf hr snb.t=f hr hse nwh / rmt iw=f nw h.t=f bw-ir=f drp r
hy / m-ir h3' shm.t n p3y=k 'w.y iw bw-ir=s iwr ms*

'The one who has been bitten by the bite of a snake, he is afraid of a coil (of) rope / A man who looks in front of him, he does not stumble and (lit. to) fall / Do not abandon a woman of your household who does not conceive and give birth'

In the frame story, on the other hand, a series of events that took place at some unspecified point in the past are narrated. The Pharaoh's name is not mentioned and therefore the dating of the work cannot be based on the contents of this narrative.

Scholars are still debating the nature and the use of the frame story. S.R.K. Glanville, for example, suggested that it was written at the same time as the instruction, since the latter includes some direct references to it.²¹ However, I do not think certainty is possible if proverbs like *wn dth n ti 'nh / wn wy n htb* 'There is imprisonment for giving life / There is release for killing'²² are considered as direct references to specific events, since neither their abstract contents nor their function as proverbs call for such references. H.S. Smith, in contrast to Glanville, argued that the frame story might have been composed to introduce a wisdom text in general and not *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy* in particular.²³ Finally, in

¹⁹ 1986, cols. 1200–1201.

²⁰ The name "Ankhsheshonqy" probably sounded back then like "Khasheshonqy". This is noted in Stricker 1958b, p. 56 with fn. 3 and Quack 1991b, p. 91 with fn. 3, both quoted in Thissen 2004, p. 95.

²¹ 1955, p. xii. Thus he notes the scattered references to imprisonment, as in lines 8/9–10 and 26/1–8.

²² Lines 26/5–6.

²³ 1980, p. 156.

a more recent study, K. Ryholt suggested that the proverbs that seem to refer to the events narrated in the frame story might have been added to the text at a later date in order to unite the frame story and the instruction.²⁴

These scholarly discussions are mentioned at length by Houser-Wegner, who also gives a full account of the debate over the original date of composition of this collection.²⁵ In short, scholars have suggested various possible dates, ranging from the late Saitic²⁶ to the end of the Ptolemaic period.²⁷ Given that the date of P Insinger and P Spiegelberg (the latter containing part of the famous demotic cycle of Inaros / Petubastis stories)²⁸ has been pushed back to the 1st century BC,²⁹ the original assumption that P BM 10508 was earlier than these two papyri is now doubtful. As paleography suggests the late Ptolemaic period as a date for P BM 10508, its version of *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy* could be contemporary to P Insinger and P Spiegelberg.³⁰ Its demotic parallels suggest that its material was known from the 2nd century BC,³¹ while its parallels with *The Wisdom of Ahiqar* led E. Bresciani to the assumption that it could even date to the Persian period.³²

The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy, being a challenge to any scholar who studies it due to the ambiguities about the date and nature of its composition, has attracted the attention of many Egyptologists. Glanville (1955) has published its text and his publication was followed by translations and commentaries by B.H. Stricker (1958a and 1958b) and

²⁴ 2000, p. 120. Note that Ryholt publishes here a new version of the frame story found in P Carlsberg 304.

²⁵ 2001, pp. 52–57. See also Ryholt *op. cit.*, pp. 119–120.

²⁶ Lichtheim 1979, p. 303 and *AEL* 3, p. 159.

²⁷ For further suggestions on the date, see, for instance, Glanville 1955, pp. xii–xiii, *AEL* 3, p. 159, and Quack 2002, pp. 336–339 and 341–342.

²⁸ For P Spiegelberg, see Hoffmann 1994.

²⁹ Cf. Hoffmann, 1995b.

³⁰ For this, see Ryholt 2000, fn. 5 and Houser-Wegner 2001, p. 52 with fn. 177.

³¹ For example, its parallels to the demotic P Louvre 2414 are discussed in the corresponding section of this corpus, while it should be noted that there are a small number of parallels with *The Instruction of P Insinger*, discussed below (for instance, *Ankh.* 16/9–12 and *Ins.* 26/16). Finally, note that there are also two parallels with the demotic *Egyptians and Amazons* (published in Hoffmann 1995a) and P Spiegelberg (published in Spiegelberg 1910), namely between *Ankh.* 11/8 and Serpot 9/8 (cf. Jasnow 1987b) and between *Ankh.* 26/21 and *P Spiegelberg* 11/22–23 (cf. Lichtheim 1983, pp. 29–30).

³² 1990, p. 563. For an elaborate discussion of these parallels, see Lichtheim 1983, pp. 13–21.

Thissen (1984).³³ The last two scholars greatly revised Glanville's translation and interpretation of the text. Alongside these works, H.S. Smith has studied and translated the frame story, pointing out the misplacement of some fragments of the first two columns of the British Museum papyrus by Glanville.³⁴ Its text has been translated and commented on twice by Lichtheim,³⁵ who has also discussed its associations with international wisdom literature, the form and role of its proverbs, and its principal themes.³⁶ Furthermore, Houser-Wegner, in an attempt to refute some of Lichtheim's theories about this work, has studied its themes, the nature of its proverbs, and its organization.³⁷

Finally, I should also note that, at the end of the frame story, it is mentioned that Ankhsheshonqy wrote the work as an instruction for his son.³⁸ This is followed by the words of Ankhsheshonqy, who addresses an unnamed audience, asking them to realize the injustice that was done to him, since his imprisonment, according to the frame narrative, was unfair, given that he did not participate in the misdeeds of his friend Harsiese son of Ramose.³⁹ This address, however, seems to concern only the short, poetic passage that follows it, in which the speaker threatens his audience by describing what the god Pre can

³³ The latter has been reviewed in Tait 1987. See also Thissen's revised translation (1991a).

³⁴ *AEL* 3, pp. 133–134.

³⁵ *AEL* 3, pp. 159ff. and 1983, pp. 66ff.

³⁶ 1983, pp. 13ff.

³⁷ 2001, pp. 73ff., 146–148, and 148ff. respectively.

³⁸ The text runs: *twy=s t3 mtr:t r-sh it-ntr 'nh-ššnky s3 t3y-nfr mwt=f...p3y=f šr hr n3 bld'.w / n3 hn.w r-wn-n3w iw=w t3=w n=f r-hn hr mtk iw=f dth n3 y.w hr na-'sm-p3-nhs* ... 'Here is the testimony, which the divine father Ankhsheshonqy son of Tjainefer, his mother being..., wrote (for) his son upon the sherds / (of) the jars, which were brought in to him containing mixed wine, while he was imprisoned (in) the Houses (of) Detention (at) Daphnae' (4/17–18) [Note that the name of his mother cannot be read with certainty. It could be either *S3.t-nb.w Pth* or *S3.t n k3.w Pth*]. In the fragment studied by Ryholt the name mentioned is *Hhny* whose phonetic apodosis could be either Chachenqy or Shashenqy (2000, p. 117) instead of Ankhsheshonqy, which is the version used in this study and given in the P BM 10508.

³⁹ The passage runs: *hbr 3yt p3y=y nb '3 i P3-R' dth hbr p3 iir=w n=y r-tbe hpr bn-pw=y / htb rmt t3y=k bty:t t3y p3y=y nb '3 i P3-R' in n p3 gy h'r r tš nt iw P3-R' ir=f p3y i / n3 rmt.w nt iw=w gm n3 bld'.w n3 hn.w stm n-im=y n p3 gy n h'r r tš nt iw P3-R' ir=f* 'Oppression and misery, my great lord, O Pre! Imprisonment and oppression are what has been done to me in return for not having / killed a man. It is a crime against(?) you, my great lord, O Pre. Is this how Pre is angry against a land? O / (you) people, who shall find these sherds (of) jars, listen to me concerning the way (in which) Pre is angry against a land!' (4/19–21).

do when he is angry with a land.⁴⁰ When this poetic passage is over, the narrator (who is not identified with Anksheshonqy) speaks up again, introducing the instruction proper, which is explicitly addressed to Anksheshonqy's son.⁴¹

This double address to an unidentified audience and to Anksheshonqy's son may indicate that: a) one of the addresses was false and pseudepigraphic; b) while the main intention was to instruct the son, the fact that the work would have been read by a wider audience was surely known to its author; or c) the two passages were not written at the same time, but were only brought together in this papyrus. With regard to the first point, if one of the two addresses were false, it would probably be the one referring to the son, as "the instruction for the son" was commonly used in earlier Egyptian wisdom works as a standardized phrase that introduced an instruction proper.⁴² Of course, there is also the possibility that the address referring to the wider audience is a simple literary device that reflects the psychological tension of Anksheshonqy, who sounds desperate, calling out for justice in a time of injustice!

4. P Insinger and its parallels

This is the longest Egyptian instruction and its main part survives in P Insinger (hence its name), which is now kept in Leiden (no. 1 of Smith's corpus).⁴³ It consists of thirty-three complete columns with an average of twenty-three lines in each column, amounting to 636 lines. In addition, there are two more columns that contain fragments of forty-six lines. Some of the lacunae in the text of this papyrus can be filled in from two fragments in the Cairo National Library, three fragments in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, and a number of fragments in Paris. The Cairo fragments were recognized as parts of the instruction and were read by G.P.G. Sobhy.⁴⁴ Fragment G of these

⁴⁰ 5/1-13.

⁴¹ The relevant passage runs: *m-s3 n3y n3 mt.w r-wn-n3w 'nh-sšnky s3 t3y-nfr sh n-īm=w hr / n3 bld'.w n3 hn.w r-wn-n3w iw=w t.t=w n=f r-hn hr mtk r dt.t (s.t) / n sbz.t n p3y=f šr iw=w 'n-sm3 n-īm=w m-b3h Pr-'3 irm / n3y=f rmt.w 'y.w n mne...* 'Hereafter the words, which Anksheshonqy son of Tjainefer wrote on / the sherds (of) the jars that were brought in to him containing mixed wine, to give (them) / as an instruction to his son, they being reported before the Pharaoh and / his great men daily' (5/14-17).

⁴² Some of these texts are mentioned in II.4.

⁴³ 1986, col. 1197.

⁴⁴ 1930, pp. 3-4 and pl. VIII.

two contains the lost ending of the first chapter and the beginning of the second chapter of the instruction.⁴⁵ The University of Pennsylvania Museum fragments were first recognized as parts of this instruction by K.-Th. Zauzich (1978), whose translations and comments found their way into Lichtheim's *Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature*.⁴⁶ However, these fragments were only later published by Houser-Wegner (1998), who also included and re-examined them in her doctoral dissertation.⁴⁷ The first (P Philadelphia E 16334a) contains lines from the end of the second chapter and the beginning of the third, the second (P Philadelphia E 16333a) is too fragmentary for its place in the instruction to be identified, while the third (P Philadelphia E 16335) contains a fragmentary part of a moral or religious work that both Houser-Wegner and Zauzich suggested should be considered as also being a part of *The Instruction of P Insinger*.⁴⁸ Some lines that survive in these fragments bear parallels to the fragments from Paris.⁴⁹ Finally, the fragments from Paris—or, as they are often called, the “Ricci fragments”—were recognized as parts of the instruction and published by N. Giron (1908) and P.A.A. Boeser (1925). A brief description of these five fragments is found in Houser-Wegner's dissertation.⁵⁰

P Insinger is dated to the 1st century BC⁵¹ and comes from Akhmim. The work consists of single, prosaic proverbs, organized in twenty-five chapters, each of which is called *sb3.t* ‘teaching’ and bears a title that indicates the main theme of its contents. At the end of each chapter, the total number of proverbs is given. An instance of the way the text flows is the group of proverbs found in lines 16/8–10 as part of the fifteenth teaching, entitled ‘Do not be greedy, lest your name stink’:⁵²

*p3 nt mr p3 nt hne n=f p3 nt gm mhw.t n-kty=f / p3 syt nfr n p3 rmt nfr p3 nt ti ky
rn 's n ky r ky / h'r3.t iw mn bw3 n-im=s hr lg(=s) bw3 nb h.t=s*

‘The one who loves his neighbour (lit. the one who is near him) is the one who finds family around him / The good reputation of the good man is

⁴⁵ For a brief description of these, see Houser-Wegner 2001, p. 63.

⁴⁶ 1983, pp. 107–109.

⁴⁷ 2001, pp. 65–68.

⁴⁸ Cf. Houser-Wegner 2001, p. 68 and Lichtheim 1983, pp. 107–109.

⁴⁹ For this, see Houser-Wagner 2001, pp. 66–68.

⁵⁰ 2001, pp. 63–65.

⁵¹ For this, see Hoffmann 1995, pp. 38–39, who has pushed back the date most scholars till then (such as Smith 1986, col. 1197) assumed for this work (that is, the 1st century AD). See also Quack 2002, p. 336, which assigns P Insinger's material to the Saitic period.

⁵² 15/7.

turies AD, while the Greek document preserved on its recto suggests a Theban provenance.⁵⁹

The proverbs in this work are single and belong to both the instructional and the proverbial statement types. Examples of these are found in lines 2/5–6:

*m-ir šhte rmt n mt.t n 'de m-ir d mt.t dn.t iw=s hpr / n p3 myt(?) m-ir dyw iyp.t
m-ir krf mh3.t*

‘Do not obstruct a man with a falsehood (lit. word of falsehood). Do not say an evil word, it will come to be / in the street(?). Do not steal an oipe-measure. Do not be deceitful with a scale’

The proverbs in this work are concerned with a number of common wisdom topics, such as the worship of the god or the proper behaviour towards a brother or a friend.⁶⁰ In addition to this similarity regarding the choice of topics, a number of proverbs show parallels with other demotic proverb collections, either by discussing the same matter in the same way or, in at least one case, reproducing almost identical proverbs.⁶¹

3. *The Greek Collections*

1. **Menandri Monostichoi**

This is a long collection of single proverbs that is found in a number of Byzantine manuscripts written in Greek, as well as in manuscripts, or on papyri and ostraca, bearing translations in Coptic, Old Church Slavonic, and Arabic.⁶² Most of these fragments and manuscripts were first brought together and edited by S. Jäkel (1964),⁶³ while several scholars have studied the edited texts.⁶⁴ Much of its material seems

⁵⁹ This document is published in Hagedorn 1991.

⁶⁰ For the former, see lines 1/5–9, while for the latter, see lines 2/4–6.

⁶¹ This is the case of the proverb *P Ashm.* 1/10, which is identical to *Ankh.* 23/14 (this parallel is also discussed in VI.8).

⁶² For instance, see the editions of the Slavonic and Arabic versions of this gnomic collection in Führer 1982 and 1993, and the article on the Coptic version by S. Pernigotti (2003).

⁶³ See pp. 33ff. The most recent edition of this text is Liapis 2002, reviewed in Petrides 2003.

⁶⁴ See, for example, Görler 1963, the related articles in Funghi (ed.) 2003, or Tosi 2004.

to have been popular during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, as various fragments of papyri suggest.⁶⁵

It is not possible to determine with certainty the exact date of the composition of these proverbs. Given the lack of enough established parallels with the works (or, those known to us) of the famous playwright Menander, who lived in Athens during the 4th and 3rd centuries BC, only part of the material can be attributed to him. Therefore the use of his name may have been a pseudepigraphic technique that granted the proverbs an unquestionable tone of classical Greek wisdom.

The material, which was probably gathered and put together by a Hellenistic scholar, is arranged in alphabetical order, grouped together according to the first letter of each proverb. This method of arrangement very much resembles the way Byzantine paroemiographers presented their collections of Greek proverbs.⁶⁶ However, the difference with these paroemiographic collections lies in the fact that the author of the *Menandri Monostichoi* does not offer explanatory comments for each proverb, leaving the material to speak for itself. This may reflect a difference in the very purpose of this proverb collection. In other words, the presentation of a study of παροιμίες may have been intended either to help students of Greek classical scholarship in their reading of works that employed such proverbial sentences, or to constitute a folkloric research that preserved the wisdom and sense of classical Greek culture. By contrast, the collections of proverbs such as the *Menandri Monostichoi* were probably intended to provide writers who composed literary or non-literary works in Greek with a corpus of proverbs that they could use for their work, to be used in school for didactic purposes, or to offer entertainment to the readers of classical Greek literature.

The collector of the *Menandri Monostichoi* gathered 877 monostichic proverbs, most of which are either found in an identical form in, or show parallels with, classical Greek literary works⁶⁷ or other Byzantine gnomic collections.⁶⁸ The proverbs gathered in this collection are of

⁶⁵ A collection of such fragments can be found in Jäkel 1964, pp. 3–25, in C. Pernigotti 2003, and in Mertens and Pack 2005.

⁶⁶ See, for example, the Ζηνοβίου Ἐπιτομή and the Παροιμίες Δημόδεις ἐκ τοῦ Διογενιανοῦ Συναγωγῆς (in *CPG* 1, pp. 1 ff.).

⁶⁷ For instance, see the proverb in line 265, which is also found as a question asked by the servant of Hippolytus, in Eur. *Hip.* 95.

⁶⁸ For example, see the proverb in line 193, which is also found in Stob. *Flor.* 3.ix.6 (according to the numbering in Wachsmuth and Hense 1884–1912).

the instructional and the proverbial statement types, while there are also some ethical, rhetorical questions.⁶⁹ The way this text flows can be illustrated in the following group of proverbs found in lines 288–290:

ἦθος πονηρὸν φεῦγε καὶ κέρδος κακόν / ἡ γλῶσσα πολλοὺς εἰς ὄλεθρον
ἤγαγεν / ἥδιστόν ἐστιν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων κρατεῖν

‘Avoid evil behaviour and indecent profit / The tongue led many (people) to destruction / The most pleasant (thing) is to hold on to (your) possessions’.

Finally, it should be noted that some of the proverbs in this collection resemble each other greatly, their difference being a simple replacement of a word by a synonym.⁷⁰ In other cases, some proverbs appear to be variations of others, conveying the same wisdom message through a different wording.⁷¹

2. The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides

This celebrated piece of gnomic poetry, entitled Φωκυλίδου Γνώμαι (or in some manuscripts Φωκυλίδου φιλοσόφου ποίησις ὠφέλιμος ‘beneficent composition of the philosopher Phocylides’),⁷² is dated to the 1st–2nd centuries AD, although it claims to convey the wisdom of the famous Greek gnomic poet Phocylides, who lived during the 6th century BC.⁷³ Most scholars who have studied this text agree that it is pseudepigraphic, as its author was probably a Jewish poet of Alexandria who propagated the morals of the Torah.⁷⁴

The first verses present the proverbs as ταῦτα δίκησ’ ὁσίησι θεοῦ βουλευμάτων φαίνει / Φωκυλίδης ἀνδρῶν ὁ σοφώτατος ὄλβια δῶρα ‘Here are the thoughts that Phocylides, the wisest among men, / reveals in accordance with the sacred decrees of God, as gifts of prosperity’.⁷⁵

⁶⁹ An example of such a question is the proverb in line 46.

⁷⁰ See, for instance, the proverbs in lines 81 and 107.

⁷¹ For example, see the proverbs in lines 292 and 306, both claiming that silence can be compared only to good speech.

⁷² Wilson 1994, p. 147.

⁷³ Most of his popular proverbs were introduced by the phrase καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδεω ‘and so spoke Phocylides’. For the author and his material, see Keydell 1962 and West 1978. See also Korenjak and Rollinger 2001, whose study pushes back the date of the life of Phocylides.

⁷⁴ See, among others, van der Horst 1978, p. 65 and 70 and Wilson 1994, pp. 4–6 and 151.

⁷⁵ Lines 1–2, as in Young 1971.

This is a vague statement, used as the common *sphragis*,⁷⁶ which, even with the aid of the rest of the material, does not solve the problem of the original purpose behind this composition.

These introductory remarks are balanced by a short “epilogue” which calls the proverbs “mysteries of righteousness”. This reads: ταῦτα δικαιοσύνης μυστήρια, τοῖα βιεῦντες / ζοῖν ἐκτελείοιτ’ ἀγαθὴν μέχρι γή-
ραος οὐδοῦ ‘These are the mysteries of righteousness; living thus / may you live out a good life up to the threshold of old age’.⁷⁷

The text survives in a number of manuscripts⁷⁸ and consists of 230 hexametric verses which involve the use of both types of proverbial expressions, presented in a loose form. An example of the way the text flows is found in lines 161–163:

εἰ δὲ γεηπονίην μεθέπειν, μακραί τοι ἄρουραι / οὐδὲν ἄνευ καμάτου πέλει
ἀνδράσιν εὐπετές ἔργον / οὐδ’ αὐτοῖς μακάρεσσι· πόνος δ’ ἀρετὴν μέγ’ ὀφέλ-
λει

‘If you want to cultivate land, the fields are large / No easy work is
without toil for men; / not even for the dead man. But labour greatly
benefits virtue’.

Being one of the longest and most important gnomic poems of this period of Ancient History, this text has been edited and studied by several scholars.⁷⁹ Furthermore, due to its assumed Jewish origins it has also been discussed in biblical studies.⁸⁰

The material of this collection shows a great number of parallels with other works of Greek proverb literature. They mostly involve a similar treatment of common wisdom topics.⁸¹

⁷⁶ On this, see Wilson 1994, p. 149 and the bibliography he gives, as well as Edmunds 1997.

⁷⁷ Lines 229–230.

⁷⁸ A long list with a discussion of these manuscripts is found in Derron 1986, pp. lxxxiii ff.

⁷⁹ The main editions of the text are Young 1971, pp. 95 ff., van der Horst 1978 and Derron 1986, while it has been studied, for example, in Wilson 1991 and 1994.

⁸⁰ See, for instance, Küchler 1979, pp. 261–274 and Collins 1997, pp. 158–177.

⁸¹ For example, compare *Ps.-Phoc.* 27 to Isoc. *Ad Dem.* 29 (for the latter, see the edition in Mathieu and Brémond 1928, pp. 121–135) or *Ps.-Phoc.* 43 with *Men. et Phil. comp.* 232–233 (for the latter, see the edition in Jäkel 1964, pp. 103–113).

3. The Sentences of Moschion

This is a gnomic collection assigned to a certain Μοσχίων. The text, although it only survives in Byzantine manuscripts, is dated to the 2nd century AD and has been included in the works of Epictetus edited by H. Schenkl.⁸² Schenkl associated the proverbs of this collection with Epictetus since most of this material is found in the anthologies of Stobaeus under the name of the Greek philosopher who lived during the 1st and 2nd centuries AD.

The text consists of twenty-five proverbs, most of which are single. Almost all, except for one employing a verb in the imperative (that is, proverb 13), are of the statement type. The type of proverb found in this text is illustrated by the examples numbered in the edition as 9 and 10:

βέλτιόν ἐστιν ἐν μικρᾷ περιουσίᾳ συστελλόμενον εὐθυμεῖν ἢ ἐν μεγάλῃ τυγχάνοντα δυστυχεῖν / ὥσπερ οὐ τῷ ἵππῳ κόσμος οὐδὲ τοῖς ὄρνεσι καλλιὰ ὑψοῦται καὶ γαυριᾷ, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν τοῦ ποδὸς τῇ ὠκύτητι τοῖς δὲ τῶν πτερῶν, οὕτως οὐδ' ἀνθρώπῳ καλλωπισμὸς καὶ τρυφή, ἀλλὰ χρηστότης καὶ εὐποιία

'It is better to be moderately happy when in small property than to be unhappy with a big property accidentally acquired / As for a horse what is exalted is not the decoration, or for birds the nest, but speed in legs (for the first) and (speed) in wings (for the second), so for man beauty and luxuries (are not exalted) but goodness and good deeds'.

This text includes two proverbs whose parallels are found in the Μοσχίωνος Ὑποθήκαι,⁸³ while the rest of the material, where it appears in the anthologies of Stobaeus, is attributed either to Epictetus or to other famous Greek sages.⁸⁴

4. The Sentences of Clitarchus

There are four manuscripts, brought together and edited by H. Chadwick,⁸⁵ comprising a long proverb collection. Two of these manuscripts bear headings that include the name Κλείταρχος; the first is entitled

⁸² 1916, pp. 493–494.

⁸³ Also edited in Schenkl 1916, pp. 495–496. The parallels consist of the following examples: a) Mosch. *Gn.* 8 and Mosch. *Hyp.* 6, which are slightly different, and b) Mosch. *Gn.* 2 and Mosch. *Hyp.* 16, which are identical.

⁸⁴ See, for instance, proverb 8, a parallel of which is found in Stob. *Flor.* 4.xvii.18, where it is attributed to Euripides.

⁸⁵ 1959, pp. 73–83. For a list and discussion of the manuscripts, see pp. 73–74.

simply Κλειτάρχου,⁸⁶ the other as Ἐκ τοῦ Κλειτάρχου Πραγματικῶν Χρειῶν Συναγωγή.⁸⁷ The Clitarchus mentioned could refer either to the grammarian and lexicographer from Aegina, who lived during the 2nd–1st centuries BC, or to a historian who lived under the reign of Alexander the Great.⁸⁸

The collection consists of 144 proverbs, most of which are single, while there are also a number of compound ones.⁸⁹ Examples of these are the following, numbered in Chadwick's edition as 58–60:

βασιλέα φρόνησις, οὐ διάδημα ποιεῖ / νοῦς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ ἄρχων / ὁ βασιλεύων
ἀνθρώπων καλῶς βασιλεύεται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ

‘Wisdom not a tiara makes a king; / for the mind is that which rules / The one who governs men well is governed by God’.

The proverbs in this text include examples of both types of proverbial expression and show parallels with *The Sentences of Sextus* and with classical material.⁹⁰ These parallels vary from the reproduction of identical proverbs to variations of similar proverbs.⁹¹ The topics dealt with by the proverbs of this collection are common wisdom ones, such as those on God, or those on teachers and wise men.⁹² Some of the proverbs are grouped together according to topic; a sign of this is the repetition of key words related to the topic in question.⁹³

5. The Sentences of Sextus

This is a popular collection of 448 proverbs entitled in Greek Σέξιτου Γνώμαι and in Latin *Enchiridion Sexti*.⁹⁴ It is dated to the 2nd century AD, although its text is known from later manuscripts in Greek and

⁸⁶ *Parisinus gr.* 1168.

⁸⁷ *Vaticanus gr.* 1144.

⁸⁸ Montanari and Heinze 1999, col. 571.

⁸⁹ For example, proverbs 39 and 144.

⁹⁰ For parallels to classical material, see the famous Delphic proverb γνῶθι σαυτὸν ‘Know thyself’ reproduced here as proverb 2.

⁹¹ For the first case, see *Clit.* 62, which is identical to *Sext.* 473. For the second case, see *Clit.* 64 and *Sext.* 214, the latter replacing the verb δοξεῖ by φαίνεται.

⁹² For the former, see proverbs 3–9, while for the latter, see proverbs 77–78.

⁹³ See, for example, proverbs 56–58 and 60, which talk about the king, repeating the word βασιλέας.

⁹⁴ The Latin version contains three additional proverbs that are not included in the Greek one; these are proverbs 434, 437 and 440.

from translations in Latin, Syriac, Coptic, and Armenian.⁹⁵ The most important edition of all these versions (except for the Coptic Nag Hammadi manuscript found later)⁹⁶ was done by H. Chadwick,⁹⁷ while there are also other less complete editions in addition to a number of studies concerned with single versions.⁹⁸ In some of these versions, a number of proverbs have been added to the main collection.⁹⁹ However, as this material is dated roughly to the 5th century AD, it will not be part of this corpus.

The gnomic material of this text consists of single and compound proverbs that belong to both types of proverbial expression. Some of these proverbs are grouped together, forming a monothematic passage,¹⁰⁰ while most of them stand independently. The proverbs mostly discuss religious themes which are strongly associated with Pythagorean and Christian ethical principles.¹⁰¹ The flow of the text can be illustrated by the following group of proverbs, numbered as 385–387:

ἀρμόζου πρὸς τὰς περιστάσεις ἵνα εὐθυμῇς / μηδένα ἀδικῶν οὐδένα φοβη-
θήσῃ / τύραννος εὐδαιμονίαν οὐκ ἀφαιρεῖται

‘Adjust to circumstances so that you will be happy / Be unjust to no one
(and) you will fear no one / A tyrant cannot take away happiness’.

The proverbs included in this work show numerous parallels with the collections of *The Sentences of Clitarchus* and *The Pythagorean Sentences*, both presented in Chadwick’s edition.¹⁰² The parallels include reproduction of identical proverbs or a similar treatment of identical themes.¹⁰³

⁹⁵ The most popular version of this text was the Latin translation by Rufinus of Aquileia, who lived in the 4th century AD.

⁹⁶ Edwards and Wild 1981, pp. 2–4.

⁹⁷ 1959, pp. 12 ff. For a study of the manuscript tradition, see pp. 3–8.

⁹⁸ See, for example, for the first case Paolo 1937, and for the latter case Hermann 1938 on the Armenian version, and Ryssel 1895, 1896, and 1897 on the Syriac version.

⁹⁹ This material is what Chadwick calls “the Greek Appendices to Sextus” (1959, pp. 64–72).

¹⁰⁰ See, for instance, the first five proverbs of the text, where the chain of thought runs from proverb to proverb, repeating key words, such as θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος ‘man of God’ in proverbs 2 and 3, or ἄξιός θεοῦ ‘worthy of God’ in proverbs 3 and 4.

¹⁰¹ The word θεός ‘God’ is always used in the singular form alluding to Pythagorean and Christian religious doctrines. For a discussion of moral and religious matters in this text, see Wilken 1975, while for its Christian treatment and reproduction of ancient Greek material, see Carlini 2004.

¹⁰² 1959, pp. 76–83 and 84–94 respectively. According to Chadwick, Sextus’s text drew material from that of Clitarchus (1959, pp. 157–159).

¹⁰³ For the first, see fn. 91 of this chapter, and for the latter, compare *Sext.* 4 to *Pyth. Sent.* 40, both conveying the same message.

6. The Sayings of Philosophers

This is part of a group of gnomologia edited by J.F. Boissonade,¹⁰⁴ the other members being: a) Παραινέσεις Μενάνδρου κατὰ Στοιχείον, and b) Ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ Στοιχείον Γνωμικῶν τοῦ Μενάνδρου.¹⁰⁵ The date of the original composition of these collections cannot be determined with certainty. However, due to their resemblance to the other Greek gnomologia found in Byzantine manuscripts, such as the Menandrian collection mentioned above, it could be assumed that the classical and Hellenistic / Roman material in these works was collected by Hellenistic or Byzantine scholars.

The text consists of 139 lines, according to the lineation of Boissonade's edition, most of which involve the use of single proverbs that belong to both types of proverbial expression. The type of proverb found in this text is illustrated by the examples found in lines 17–23:

μέθην καὶ λαγνείαν μὴ ἐπιτήδευε / τῶν δούλων σου ἐπιμελοῦ, μεταδιδούς
αὐτοῖς ἀφ' ὧν ἔχεις, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ὡς κύριον σε φοβοῦνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς
εὐεργέτην τιμῶσιν / μὴ μέγα φρονῆς ἐπὶ χρήμασιν, μήτε ἐπὶ πενία ταπεινοῦ·
τὰ μὲν γὰρ καιρὸς ἀφαιρεῖται, ἡ δὲ ἀπόρρητος μένει

‘Do not get used to drunkenness and lustfulness / Take care of your servants, sharing with them from what you have, so that they not only fear you as (their) master, but also praise you as (their) benefactor / Neither think highly (of yourself) when you have (lit. in times of) money nor feel lowered when you are poor (lit. in times of poverty); for the former time can steal away, while the latter remains unravaged’.

In most cases, proverbs are attributed to famous Greek writers and philosophers, such as Isocrates, Epicurus, and Menander,¹⁰⁶ following the style of other Byzantine gnomonic collections like those of Stobaeus.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, the material included shows many parallels with other Greek gnomonic works.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ 1829, pp. 120–126.

¹⁰⁵ Boissonade 1829, pp. 153–160.

¹⁰⁶ For the first, see line 32, for the second, line 45, and for the third, line 109.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. the recent study of Stobaeus's florilegia in Hose 2005.

¹⁰⁸ For example, compare *Phil. Log.* 34–35, attributed to Isocrates, to Isoc. *Ad Dem.* 21, which bear the same meaning.

4. *The Collections and their Egyptian and Greek Literary Milieu*

The Egyptian and Greek collections selected here to form the corpus of the study are, as are all literary works, parts of a wider network of texts sharing similar features. However, regardless of the features compared it is possible to observe that there is a certain umbrella, or *macrogenre*,¹⁰⁹ under whose shade are born and raised a great many works that, in some cases, may share only one or two features and thus at first glance appear unrelated.

In order to limit the scope of this overview, I consider here two features that are employed in this study as criteria for associating and comparing works: a) the use of freestanding, single sentences touching on general matters of human interest, and b) the loose organization of this material within literary works. The combination of these two features could be seen as a specific phenomenon of literary production that I call here *wisdom in loose form*. This phenomenon is one of the main elements in the composition of the collections selected for the corpus and thus it is interesting to explore in what other types of text it appears and what the position of these works is within the context of ancient Egyptian and Greek literature.

In ancient Egypt, most of the works including *wisdom in loose form* belonged to the genre of the so-called “instructions”. These were parts of a long literary tradition that started with *The Instruction of Ptahhotep* and *The Instruction of King Merikare*, which survived in copies of the Middle Kingdom, continued during the New Kingdom with *The Instruction of Ani* and *The Instruction of Amenemope* and, via the fragmentary P Brooklyn 47.218.135 dating to the Late Period, culminated with the demotic instructions,¹¹⁰ most examples of which have been selected for the corpus of this book.

All the complete Egyptian instructions were attributed to individual authors, for some of whom there is evidence that they were known as wise men, and bore a clear, pseudo- or real didactic setting, including proverbs of the instructional and statement types.¹¹¹ The formal

¹⁰⁹ For the use of this term for wisdom literature, see Thom 1995, p. 72.

¹¹⁰ A good overview of these texts is found in Houser-Wegner 2001, pp. 19ff.

¹¹¹ In some instructions, such as the Middle Kingdom *Instruction of King Amenemhat I*, the selection of topics to be discussed by the proverbs is affected by the claimed purpose of the text, in these cases, the instruction of a prince or high officials of the court. For the purpose and audience of Middle Kingdom instructions, see Parkinson 2002, pp. 235–241.

and thematic similarities between the Pharaonic instructions and those written in demotic have been pointed out by a number of Egyptologists, establishing the latter's status as members of the same tradition.¹¹²

In addition to this distinctive type of text, glimpses of *wisdom in loose form* are afforded by other literary works such as *The Book of Thoth* and *The Myth of the Eye of the Sun*.¹¹³ The first is a compilation of sections in different styles, teaching the wisdom of Thoth, and closely resembling the style of the corpus of Hermetic texts. The second includes a narrative that weaves together a number of animal fables, while at some points there are short passages with loosely connected proverbs.¹¹⁴

In non-literary Egyptian contexts,¹¹⁵ examples of loosely connected exhortations can be found in educational texts like those found in P Lansing, which is assumed to have been a schoolbook written in the New Kingdom.¹¹⁶ However, the collected exhortations of this text focus on practical didactic matters (how, for instance, one can be a skilful scribe) and not general issues appropriate for proverbs.

Although such school material did not fully resemble the literary phenomenon of *wisdom in loose form*, it was partially responsible for the wide transmission of the Egyptian instructions. These instructions were in fact the most widely circulated of ancient Egyptian works, since numerous copies of some of them, it would appear, were still being made four or five centuries after the assumed date of original composition.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, school exercises often involved the copying of single or small groups of proverbs, showing that this type of material was very popular within an educational context.¹¹⁸

¹¹² See, for example, Jasnow 1999, pp. 193–210 and Houser-Wegner 2001, especially the latter's general conclusions on pp. 382–390.

¹¹³ The former is published in Jasnow and Zauzich 2005. The latter is published in Spiegelberg 1917 and Cenival 1988.

¹¹⁴ See, for example, lines 6/31–7/4.

¹¹⁵ Because, as the literary theorist T. Todorov suggested, for each type of literary discourse there is a corresponding non-literary relative, which may resemble the first in many aspects (cited in Dalzell 1996, p. 8).

¹¹⁶ For this text, see Erman and Lange 1925, Caminos 1954, pp. 373–428, and *AEL* 2, pp. 168–175.

¹¹⁷ See, for example, *The Instruction of King Amenemhet I*, probably composed during the 12th dynasty (roughly between the 20th–18th centuries BC), while numerous copies of it are dated to the New Kingdom (roughly the 16th–11th centuries BC) (cf. *AEL* 1, pp. 135–136 and Blumenthal 1980).

¹¹⁸ For this, see, for instance, the demotic Narmouthis ostraca, which are published in Bresciani *et al.* 1983, where there are three examples of exercises with proverbs not attested anywhere else (that is, ostraca nos. 1133, 1356, and 1438).

Sketching the relationship between the ancient Greek works selected and other literary or non-literary ancient Greek works is a more complicated task. The main reason for this is the survival of a group of writings that is much larger than that from Egypt, while its division into different genres (by ancient and modern scholars) results in the identification in most of these works of a mixture of different generic features, each example of which provides evidence of new types of contact between different groups of texts, rather than a single type of feature. Consequently, there are a variety of Greek literary genres recognized as related to the Greek collections selected for the corpus, the most significant of which are the gnomic poem, the gnomologium or the gnomic anthology, the paraenetic discourse, and the philosophical epitome.

Gnomic poems constitute a long literary tradition on their own, since they were composed from the early days of pre-classical Greece, with the most significant early representatives being Hesiod's *Works and Days* and the *Theognidea*.¹¹⁹ In them one finds a mixture of exhortations on practical and general topics, in the case of the first work, mainly functioning as advice in matters of farming. Later poems of this sort are, for instance, the pseudo-Pythagorean *Χρυσὰ Ἔπη*,¹²⁰ *The Sentences of Chares*,¹²¹ and *The Sentences of Pseudo-Epicharmus*.¹²² Similar to these works is *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides* examined here.

The genre of gnomologia is attested in a great number of manuscripts, most of which date to late Roman and Byzantine times, a period when monasteries and related institutions took over the task of collecting older material. Many of these manuscripts, in addition to some earlier papyrus fragments, contained material related to Menander, to whom the *Menandri Monostichoi* examined here is attributed.¹²³

¹¹⁹ The first has been dated to approximately the 8th century BC and has been edited in West 1978; the second has been dated to approximately the 6th century BC and has been edited in West 1998.

¹²⁰ Dated to the 4th century BC and edited by Young (1971, pp. 86–94) and Thom (1995).

¹²¹ The fragments of this poetic composition, dated from the 3rd century BC onwards, are edited in Gerhard 1912, Young 1971, pp. 113–118, and Jäkel 1964, pp. 26–30.

¹²² The fragments of this poetic composition, dated mainly to the 3rd century BC, are edited in Crönert 1912 and PCG 1, fr. 244–273.

¹²³ See, for instance, on the one hand, the *Παραίσεις Μενάνδρου κατὰ Στοιχείον*, edited in Boissonade 1829, pp. 153–159, and the *Menandri et Philistionis Disticha Parisina*, edited in Jäkel 1964, pp. 114–117, both surviving in late manuscripts, and on the other, the fragmentary P Oxy. 3004 and 3005, dated to the first centuries AD and published in Parsons 1974, pp. 19–25. Note that the *Disticha Parisina* was written in verse, including material probably heavily reworked to build a gnomic poem-like composition.

The Greek paraenetic discourse was a member of the extensive family of rhetorical works. Its admonitory contents were placed in a didactic setting, in which the famous orator addressed a specific person who needed advice. The best examples of this type of work, involving material presented in loose form, are the pseudo-Isocratean *Πρὸς Δημόνικον* and the Isocratean *Πρὸς Νικοκλέα*, both dated to the 4th century BC,¹²⁴ whose parallels with some of the proverb collections listed above have already been noted. Although here the phenomenon of *wisdom in loose form* is not in its pure form, since loosely organized proverbs in these works are almost always interrupted or elaborated by argumentative passages,¹²⁵ from a more general point of view, the greatest part of these works resembles to a large extent the loose organization of the works selected.

Finally, the philosophical epitome resembles an anthology or a gnomologium in the sense that it too collected rather than produced material, placing the proverbs or aphorisms one after the other, sometimes with no connection other than the fact that all are assigned to a specific wise man. The aim of such an epitome was to summarize and to give the basic elements of a school's philosophy. Examples of this are the epitomes of the philosophies of Epictetus and Epicurus.¹²⁶ In these examples, the organization resembles *wisdom in loose form*, but the material collected includes only a small proportion of single proverbs.

In addition to these types of literary text, one should mention the unique case (in Greek literature) of *The Life of Aesop*, a compilation of anecdotes about the legendary life of Aesop, probably compiled during the 1st century AD and surviving in a number of Hellenistic and Roman papyrus fragments and Byzantine manuscripts.¹²⁷ In this work, there is an interesting coincidence: when Aesop went to Egypt to help King Nectanebo, he instructed his son by giving him a number of loosely connected precepts, very much in the style of Egyptian instruc-

¹²⁴ See their publication in Mathieu and Brémond 1928, pp. 93–106 and 1938, pp. 97–111 respectively, and Norlin 1961, pp. 2–35 and 38–54 respectively.

¹²⁵ See, for example, Isoc. *Ad Dem.* 14 where loosely connected exhortations stand side by side with more elaborated ones.

¹²⁶ See *Επίκτητου Εγχειρίδιον*, composed by Arrian, dated to the 1st–2nd centuries AD and edited in Schenkl 1916, pp. 5–38 and in Oldfather 1996, pp. 479–537, and Epicurus's *Κύρια Δόξα*, dated to the 4th–3rd centuries BC and edited in Arrighetti 1973, pp. 121–137. A recent study on collections of the latter's maxims is Dorandi 2004.

¹²⁷ A list of these sources is given in the edition of Papathomopoulos (1991, pp. 19–22). Other significant editions are Eberhard 1872, pp. 226ff. and Perry 1952, pp. 1ff.

tions.¹²⁸ Thus here the *wisdom in loose form* was in full use, integrated in a long narrative, resembling to a certain degree the case of *The Myth of the Eye of the Sun* mentioned above.

Turning to the non-(or pseudo-)literary parallels, these mainly comprise examples of didactic texts on specific, technical matters and fragments probably from school exercises, the former displaying a loose organization of didactic material and the latter including isolated reproductions of single proverbs. Examples of the former type of text are the Late Greek didactic poems of Aratus on astronomy and of Nicander on poisons and venomous creatures,¹²⁹ or the Hermetic discourse between Νοῦς and Ἐρμῆς.¹³⁰ Examples of the latter are found in the list of papyrus fragments originally gathered by R.A. Pack.¹³¹ In this collection, more than thirty fragments have been identified as sayings of Menander, Diogenes, and pseudo-Epicharmus.¹³²

Finally, loosely connected precepts can also be found within a monumental context, as is the case, for instance, with the famous *Praecepta Delphica* found in an inscription at the 3rd-century BC temple at Milete (and now kept in the museum at Prusa).¹³³ Its short precepts were linked to the tradition of the sayings of the Greek Seven Sages first found inscribed on the walls of the pronaos of the temple of Apollo at Delphi.¹³⁴ In this case, the work took on a religious value, being associated with a cultic context.

In conclusion, as observed in this brief overview, the phenomenon of *wisdom in loose form* in ancient Greece was employed in more textual (and in the last example, monumental) contexts than in Egypt.

¹²⁸ Lines 109–110 in *Vita G.* The Oriental style of this section has been noted by a number of scholars, such as Oettinger (1992), who associates it with the story of Ahiqar.

¹²⁹ I mean Aratus's Φαινόμενα and Nicander's Θηριακά and Ἀλεξίφαρμακα, the first published in Martin 1956 and the second in Gow and Scholfield 1953, pp. 28ff. and 94ff. respectively. See the discussion of a number of similar texts in Effé 1977. Such poems could have been appreciated both for their non-literary contents and their literary style; thus both the terms *non-literary* or *pseudo-literary* could be employed to characterize them.

¹³⁰ Published in Festugière and Nock 1942, pp. 147–157.

¹³¹ For this, see the updated database of Mertens and Pack 2005.

¹³² See, for example, nos. 1569, 1582–1588, and 1987–1990. A recent study of some of the papyrus fragments containing proverbs is Messeri 2004.

¹³³ Published in Dittenberger 1982, pp. 392–397.

¹³⁴ The 'Sayings of the Seven Sages' constitute a long literary tradition in Greece. Compilations of these are found, for instance, in Stobaeus (*Edl.* III.1.172, also commented on in Wehrli 1968, p. 69) and Boissonade's edition (1829, pp. 135–144). For the tradition of the Seven Sages, see Martin 1998 and Nightingale 2000.

Therefore examples resembling the case of the Isocratean discourses or the monumental precepts at Milete, for instance, cannot be found in Egypt, where loosely connected proverbs were mainly employed in a more uniform type of context, namely the “instruction”. With regard to the appearance of *wisdom in loose form*, the Egyptian instructions shared similarities with the Greek wisdom poems and gnomologia, which is probably a sign of interaction and mutual influence between the Egyptian and Greek material.¹³⁵ Finally, it should be noted that *wisdom in loose form* from Greece is found in works dated from the Hellenistic period onwards, showing that a trend or fashion in producing (or reproducing) loosely connected proverbs was growing during that period.

The appearance of such proverbs in non-literary works suggests a probable sociological context for the use and transmission of this type of material. The most obvious context is the educational one, as many proverbs were reproduced in school exercises (see examples quoted above), making use, among other things, of the didactic messages of this material.¹³⁶

Less obvious was the use of such material outside an educational context, as is, for instance, the case with some of the Egyptian instructions, copies of which have been found in private archives and tombs.¹³⁷ In these cases, the possession of a literary work was associated with the identity of its owner.¹³⁸ Such a context, however, says little about the use of the works involved.¹³⁹ An indication of the variety of types of usage and their combination may be the survival of copies of the same text on

¹³⁵ See, for instance, Walcot 1962 and 1966 on the influence of Oriental instructions on Hesiod's *Works and Days*, and Lichtheim 1983 on the influence of Greek gnomologia on demotic instructions. A possible meeting point of the two wisdom traditions is the Ἀμενώθου Ὑποθήκαι (published in Wilcken 1897). This was a list of moral exhortations written on a 3rd-century BC ostrakon from Deir el-Bahari, which, although they were attributed to a certain Amenhotep, who could very much be the popular Egyptian sanctified sage Amenhotep son of Hapu (cf. Wildung 1977, pp. 83 ff.), were composed in Greek. For a further discussion of the interaction between the two bodies of literature, see III.2.

¹³⁶ Cf. Morgan 1998, pp. 120 ff., reviewed in Cribiore 1999, and Cribiore 2001, pp. 178–180 and 200.

¹³⁷ See examples in Brunner *et al.* 1980. For the context of Egyptian literature in general, see Assmann 1996 and Parkinson 2002, pp. 50–63.

¹³⁸ For the relationship of the collected material with the identity of its collector, see Bounia 2004, pp. 105 ff.

¹³⁹ As a funerary commodity, a criterion for the choice of which works to bury with the private deceased could have been the personal value these works had for the deceased. This is the case, for instance, with the Cynic Cercidas, who ordered the first two books of the *Iliad* to be buried with him (Dudley 1998, p. 84).

different types of material, as was the case, for example, with the popular Egyptian *Instruction of King Amenemhet I to his Son*, copies of which have been found on papyrus fragments, wooden tablets, and ostraca.¹⁴⁰

For most of the collections investigated, the original context has not survived, since most were preserved on papyri and manuscripts whose provenance is unknown. All we know about their context is that their original material was composed and circulated in the Mediterranean world of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, within which interaction between the Egyptian and Greek cultures blossomed. Focusing on these eras, the following chapter will discuss the status of, and the relationship between, the ancient Egyptian and Greek languages and bodies of literature.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. *AEL* 1, pp. 135–136, Blumenthal 1980, and Parkinson 1999.

CHAPTER III

THE LANGUAGE AND CLASSIFICATION OF THE PROVERBS

1. *The Status of Demotic and Greek in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*

Around the 7th century BC, when Egypt was living through the turbulent days of the Late Period, a new cursive Egyptian script started to be used alongside the traditional hieroglyphic and hieratic scripts which had been employed since the early days of Pharaonic civilization, namely demotic. This form of Egyptian script was probably closer to the spoken language of its time and showed many similarities with Late Egyptian, which preceded it, and with Coptic, which followed it. At first it was used only in administrative and business documents, while religious and literary works continued to be written in hieratic. In the Ptolemaic period, demotic began its career in the world of literature and religion. During this period, literary stories and wisdom texts, funerary and administrative stelae, scientific, religious, and magical texts were written in demotic. This is the script employed by the authors of the proverb collections investigated in this study. In the course of its approximately 1000-year history, demotic changed considerably in orthography, vocabulary, grammar, and syntax. These changes were added to the existing differences, which were based on the regional dialects, the typology of the texts, and the handwriting of each scribe. Demotists now tend to divide the history of demotic into three time periods: the Early or Saitic-Persian (7th century–332 BC); the Middle or Ptolemaic (332–30 BC), and the Late or Roman (30 BC – 5th century AD).¹ The demotic script used for the proverb collections falls into the last two periods and this late form of demotic is what I will discuss briefly here and compare with its contemporary form of Greek.

At the time demotic emerged in Egypt, in Greece a number of different dialects (mainly the Aeolic, the Doric, the Arcado-Cyprian, and

¹ The best overviews of the history of the demotic script are Lüddeckens 1975 and Depauw 1997, pp. 33–39, the latter reviewed in Johnson 2001.

the Ionic) were in use in different parts of the Greek lands. Many early works of Greek literature were written in a language that incorporated features of more than one dialect, as in the case of the 8th-century Homeric epic poems, which were written in the Ionic dialect with an admixture of Aeolic.² In the proverb collections examined here, the two main dialects employed were the Attic and the Koiné. The Attic dialect was kindred to the Ionic and was used by the great writers of Athens in the 5th and 4th centuries BC. It was the prominent dialect of Greek literature until Alexandrian scholarship invented the Koiné dialect. This dialect became the popular form of Greek in which most of the Hellenistic and Roman works of literature were written. The Koiné dialect reproduced most of the grammar, syntax, and orthography of Attic, including a considerable number of loan words from the other dialects that used Attic orthography. It was into a form of this dialect that the Old Testament was translated in Alexandria. While the employment of Koiné in the proverbs analyzed is a natural consequence of the prominence of this dialect in the Hellenistic and Roman eras, the common use of Attic in these collections suggests that some proverbs were either drawn from classical works of Greek literature or were composed by writers that favoured this dialect, as the reactionary *Atticists* of those times did.³

2. *Interaction between Demotic and Greek*

Most of the collections examined here were composed and circulated within the world of Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, a world of political and cultural interaction between the Greek palace and Greek immigrants that settled in the Egyptian lands, on the one hand, and the Egyptian population, on the other. Within this dynamic context of interaction and adaptation, the languages of the two cultures met and exchanged elements of linguistic mentality and material.⁴ This involved mainly an exchange of words or phrases rather than grammatical units. Thus, for instance, Greek and demotic words found their way into each

² For an overview of the Greek dialects, see García-Ramón and Binder 1998.

³ For the movement of the Atticists, see Calboli 1997, while for the relationship between this movement and the use of Koiné, see Frösén 1974.

⁴ For an overview of linguistic interaction between demotic and Greek, see Depauw 1997, pp. 41–46 and the sources cited there.

other's vocabulary, being transliterated or translated into each other's sounds and conceptions—such as the demotic rendering of the Greek word στρατιώτης 'soldier' as *srtyts*,⁵ or the Greek title φενηπαῖος, which came from the demotic *p3 hm-ntr n Pth* 'the priest of Ptah'.⁶ Moreover, Egyptian and Greek authors seem to have been affected by each other's style, as, for example, in the bilingual magical papyri in the British Museum, where the style of composing spells in Greek and demotic is very similar (if these are not really products of translations from one language to another).⁷

The peak of linguistic interaction between demotic and Greek is represented by texts in which demotic and Greek words were employed within the same lines of writing, as well as by a number of literary, administrative, and religious texts that were translated from demotic into Greek, or vice versa.⁸ Examples of the former are found in the ostraca from Medinet Maadi (ancient Narmouthis).⁹ For instance, in ostrakon no. 82, which is a note of service concerning astrological and administrative matters, line 8 runs: *k.t-mt.t n3 d'm(w) r-hn t3 xi-σση* 'Another matter: the documents, which are in the basket...'.¹⁰ An example of a religious text is the aforementioned *Myth of the Eye of the Sun* (2nd century AD), a long demotic narrative that was translated into Greek.¹¹ Moreover, examples of Greek versions of Egyptian texts that have not survived in their original form are the *Dream of Nectanebos* (middle 2nd century BC),¹² and the *Oracle of the Potter* (2nd century BC).¹³ Finally, examples of translations from Greek into demotic are the famous priestly decrees, such as those of Canopus and Memphis (issued

⁵ *Glossar*, p. 443. For an account of Greek loan-words in demotic, see Clarysse 1987, for Egyptian loan words taken over into Greek, see, for instance, the list in Torallas Tovar 2004, while for the relationship between demotic, Coptic, and Greek, see Roccati 1992.

⁶ In *UPZ* 180 a, 3/1, 17/9, and 30/1.

⁷ Cf. Bell, Nock, and Thompson 1933 and Betz (ed.) 1986. On these texts, see also the recent study in Dielemans 2005.

⁸ For a short account of such texts, see Thissen 1977 and Depauw 1997, pp. 42–43.

⁹ In addition to Bresciani *et al.* 1983, see also Gallo 1997.

¹⁰ Gallo 1997, pp. 86–87.

¹¹ The Greek version was published in West 1969, while, for the demotic version, see fn. 113 of chapter II.

¹² For a publication of this text (*UPZ* I 81), see Koenen 1985. Strangely, fragments of this text that are of a later date survive in demotic; for these, see Ryholt 1998.

¹³ Koenen 1968.

in 238 and 196 BC respectively),¹⁴ which were carved on large stelae in hieroglyphic, demotic, and Greek.

The examination of these texts is very important for the study of Egyptian and Greek linguistic and cultural interaction. Thus the first type of text can be considered as evidence for bilingualism and for the existence of scribes that knew how to write both demotic and Greek, while the second type of text is evidence for an interest in one another's literature and writings on the part of Egyptian and Greek scribes. It also gives a unique insight into the way they treated each other's language.¹⁵ However, two things should be kept in mind regarding the nature of these translations and what they can tell us about the relationship between the two languages: first, that the translated versions of these texts do not represent in the best way the mentality of the translator's language; and second, in such translations, the way of treating the other's language was related to the original intention in composing and using translations of this type within the social context of Hellenistic and Roman Egypt. Regarding the first point, we must not fail to consider that the translated text is always the outcome of an attempt to fit foreign concepts and constructions into the translator's native linguistic milieu; as a result, its language is not at its best, but is quite heavily influenced by the language it translates from. With respect to the second point, translations like those of the aforementioned priestly decrees differed greatly in their mentality and purpose from those of literary texts such as the *Myth of the Eye of the Sun*. The first group of texts was composed to propagandize decisions taken by the Ptolemaic palace and thus rendered religious and political terms in a way that would appeal to both Egyptian and Greek audiences, while literary texts were not intended as political propaganda and hence their way of rendering words and phrases was free and open to adaptation.

¹⁴ See the discussion of whether these decrees were written first in demotic or in Greek in Simpson 1996, pp. 22–24, reviewed in Quack 1997/8 and Depuydt 1998. Both of these decrees are published in Spiegelberg 1922.

¹⁵ Unfortunately, only Daumas (1952) has undertaken the task of comparing the language of such texts, and in particular of the aforementioned priestly decrees.

3. *The Form of Demotic and Greek*

The demotic script, like the other Egyptian scripts, employed alphabetic signs, syllabograms, and ideograms. The number of alphabetic signs and syllabograms was not the same in all the developmental phases of the Egyptian language. During the time demotic was in use, there were approximately thirty alphabetic signs, some of which were written in more than one form. During the Roman period, some words tended to be written in a more alphabetic way. Like alphabetic signs and syllabograms, the number of ideograms in use varied from one period to another. In general, ideograms were basically used in three ways: a) as silent determinatives at the end of words that were spelled in alphabetic signs or in syllabograms, indicating the category to which the word belonged (for instance, the verb *šn* 'to be sick', which ends with the determinative of the sparrow);¹⁶ b) having a multiconsonantal value when used along with alphabetic signs (for instance, the word for 'life', which incorporates the sign of life that reads *ʾnh*),¹⁷ and c) standing on their own and representing both the phonetic part and the determinative of the word (for instance, the word for 'house', most frequently written with a house determinative that reads *pr* followed by a stroke).¹⁸ In addition, there were examples of words that were spelled only with phonemes (for instance, some variants of the writing of the word *ʿ* 'great').¹⁹ Signs were often linked in ligatures that made the script more cursive and thus easier and faster for the scribe to write. Words were not separated in the lines of writing and could be spelled in different ways according to the personal style and choices of the scribe, his dialect, or the style of the text (for example, see the many variations of the spelling of the word *hrw* 'day').²⁰ However, most of the words used in demotic were written in a standardized fixed form.

There are two methods used to transliterate the demotic script: historically, based upon the way earlier Egyptian scripts are transliterated, particularly Middle Egyptian; and phonetically, transliterating words,

¹⁶ *Glossar*, p. 514.

¹⁷ *Demotic Dictionary*, 03.1 p. 79.

¹⁸ *Glossar*, p. 132.

¹⁹ *Glossar*, pp. 51 and 54 and *Demotic Dictionary*, 03.1 p. 19.

²⁰ *Demotic Dictionary*, 01.1 pp. 70–73.

especially those written with alphabetic signs, in the way they are spelled.²¹ In this study, when I transliterate demotic passages, I usually prefer the phonetic method, since it best reflects the spelling of each word.

In the case of Greek, the reading of words is much easier as the script employed a fixed number of alphabetic signs, which consisted of seven vowels and seventeen consonants. Greek texts were written in capital letters. The spelling of words depended on the dialect in which each text was composed. Furthermore, as in the case of demotic, words were not separated in Greek writing. This is the case with all the works included in the corpus investigated, which come from Hellenistic and Roman papyri; the writing of the rest of the works (which survived in Byzantine and medieval copies) followed the modern fashion of miniscule script with accentuation throughout.²²

4. *Demotic and Greek Grammar and Syntax*

Before I make some introductory remarks on the material examined, I will present some points of demotic and Greek grammar. This presentation, however, is not meant to be exhaustive, since what I have selected here are only the grammatical and syntactic points to which reference is made in the course of the analysis and/or which need clarification for the reader with only a classical Greek or with only an Egyptological background. The analysis of the language of demotic and Greek proverbs following this section provides the points made in this section with numerous illustrations, showing how the producers of this material employed the units and rules of grammar and syntax to express pieces of wisdom in pregnant brevity.

In general, demotic and Greek words are divided into the following categories: verbs, infinitives, participles, nouns, adjectives, numerals, adverbs, pronouns, prepositions, articles, connecting words, particles, and interjections.²³

²¹ For a discussion of these methods of transliteration, see Smith 1978 and Tait 1982.

²² For a general discussion of the historical development of Greek writing and accentuation, see Schwyzler-Debrunner i.137ff. and i.371ff.

²³ For studies on demotic grammar, see Spiegelberg 1925, *Grammar of Demotic* (first edition, reviewed in Chauveau 1992), and Simpson 1996, while for Greek grammar,

The *verb* in demotic²⁴ has persons, tenses, moods, and aspect. As it does not conjugate, its form does not change and therefore the reader assumes its person, tense, mood, and aspect from the context. The verb in Classical Greek²⁵ can conjugate and also does so according to persons, tenses, voices, and moods, while the sense of aspect is expressed by the particular use of tenses like the future perfect, which denotes an action completed in the future.

With respect to the demotic verb, there are eight persons, of which five are in the singular, three in the plural, two are masculine, two are feminine, and four are common to both genders. In Greek, there are eight persons, three in the singular, two in the dual, and three in the plural. In contrast to the demotic verb, in Greek there is no different feminine and masculine form in the second and third persons, while there is the addition of the rarely used dual number that refers to two people or things.²⁶

Secondly, in demotic, there are six forms in use: the present, the aorist, the future, the past, the perfect, and the imperfect (in the demotic proverbs examined the last three forms are seldom used). The present, future, and past are real tenses (that is, having a temporal value), while the rest have more of an aspectual value, since the aorist describes habitual actions/states²⁷ and the perfect and imperfect actions/states that have or have not been completed. Of these forms, it is only the aorist and the past that are formed with the *sḏm=f* (the first prefixed with *hr*),²⁸ while the future (*ḫw=f sḏm*), the perfect

see Goodwin 1894, Kühner 1890–1904, Schwyzer-Debrunner, and Smyth 1956. I must here warn the reader that the use of originally Greek/Latin terms, like *participle*, in demotic (and generally Egyptian) grammar may suggest that there is greater similarity with Greek grammar than is really there. Thus, we should look beyond the naming of grammatical categories and concentrate on form and function.

²⁴ For the demotic verb, see Johnson 1976, reviewed in Williams 1977/8 and Thissen 1981.

²⁵ For the Greek verb, see Duhoux 2000, reviewed in Wakker 2002, and Rijksbaron 2002.

²⁶ The dual number became largely obsolete from the classical period onwards (cf. Schwyzer-Debrunner, i.666–667).

²⁷ Due to this and in order to avoid confusion with the Greek “aorist”, the demotic aorist will henceforth be referred to as “habitual”.

²⁸ In demotic texts other than the proverb collections investigated here, the past tense may sometimes take the form of *ḫr=f sḏm*, which employs the infinitive instead of a bare verb.

(*wʒh sdm=f*), and the imperfect (*wn-nʒw* + sentence with adverbial predicate or other constructions) involve uses of the infinitive. The demotic present is mainly formed with a sentence with an adverbial predicate (see below). In addition, verbs like *wn* ‘to exist’ (negated with *mn*) or *mr* ‘to like / love’, although they have the form of a *sdm=f*, are also translated in the present.²⁹ These are exceptions to the rule that considers all *sdm=f* forms as past verb forms. Their exceptional present tense value is probably due to the fact that they describe activities like loving or hating that are not usually defined by a start or an end point. Each of the aforementioned verb formations has a distinctive negative counterpart (present: *bn...in*, aorist: *bw-ir=f sdm*, future: *bn-tw=f sdm*, past: *bn-pw=f sdm*, and perfect: *bw-ir-tw=f sdm*).

In Greek, on the other hand, there are seven tenses: the present, the perfect, the future, the future perfect, the imperfect, the pluperfect, and the aorist. In the majority of the Greek proverbs examined, the aorist, like the demotic “habitual”, describes habitual actions / states, best translated into the English simple present. Grammars call this type of aorist tense *gnomic aorist*.³⁰ Some Greek verbs have two forms for some of their tenses, as is the case, for example, with the passive verb *μεράννυμαι* ‘to be mixed’ that forms the aorist both as *ἐμέραθην* and *ἐμεράσθην*.³¹

Thirdly, in demotic, strictly speaking, there is only one voice, the active. Therefore, when the passive voice needs to be formed, a special active construction is used with an impersonal third person plural suffix pronoun subject. This pseudo-passive voice is rarely employed in proverbs. In Greek, there are three voices: the active, the middle, and the passive. The middle expresses an action that one does to or for oneself. In most cases, the middle and the passive share the same forms—see, for instance, the middle and passive form *νέμομαι* that means ‘to distribute oneself’ or ‘to be distributed’. Furthermore, some Greek verbs, which are called *deponent verbs*, have no active voice, but are used in the other two voices with an active meaning—see, for instance, the form *ἐργάζομαι*, which is translated as ‘to work’.³²

²⁹ *Grammar of Demotic*, §28.

³⁰ On the gnomic tenses, see Goodwin 1894, §276–277.

³¹ Cf. *LSJ*, s.v. *μεράννυμι*.

³² Cf. *LSJ*, s.v. *ἐργάζομαι*.

Fourthly, the demotic verb has four moods,³³ namely the indicative, the subjunctive, the imperative, and the optative.³⁴ The subjunctive is mostly used either when a *sdm=f* form plays the role of the direct object of the verb *tī* 'to cause' or in the formation of a dependent purpose clause. The rest of the moods can form independent clauses. Although moods, generally speaking (as is the case with persons, tenses, and aspect), are not indicated in the demotic proverbs analyzed by a change in form, there are some exceptional cases when special forms are employed to form the imperative of some verbs, such as *in* 'to bring' or *ḏ* 'to say', which turn into *r-iny* and *r-ḏy* respectively. The negative counterpart of the demotic imperative (that is, what demotists call *vetitive*) is normally formed with the negative form of the verb *tī* 'to cause', namely *m-ir sdm*, and in a few other cases with the negative particle *tm*. In addition, the verb form expresses two kinds of aspect, the perfective and the imperfective. The first denotes an action completed and the latter an action that is not completed. In the case of Greek, the same four moods are indicated by the use of different forms of the conjugated verb.

Apart from this, it should also be noted that, in demotic, adjectives are turned into *sdm=f* verb forms when they are prefixed by the morpheme *n3*. In this case, the *sdm=f* form is used for all the tenses and moods and therefore the translation depends only on the context.³⁵

Furthermore, the meaning of a Greek verb sometimes changes according to the form of its direct object. Some Greek verbs take direct nominal objects only in specific cases, while others bear different meanings depending on whether the direct object is a noun, an infinitive, and so on. For instance, the verb *voμίζω*, when it takes a nominal object in the dative, means 'to make common use of/use', while, when it takes an infinitive as a direct object, it means 'to be accustomed to do'.³⁶

The *infinitive* in demotic and Greek is formed on the basis of the verb root. In demotic, the infinitive has three forms: the absolute, the

³³ The identification of moods in demotic is a debatable matter, given that they employ undistinguishable forms. Therefore most scholars, for example, do not treat the imperative as a mood, but rather as a separate verb form (for instance, Johnson 1976, pp. 27–29). I, however, treat it here as a mood, adopting the system of classical grammarians.

³⁴ There is also the so-called *progressive mood* (*tw=y n3 sdm*), which, however, is not attested in the proverbs analyzed.

³⁵ *Grammar of Demotic*, §60–61.

³⁶ *LSJ*, s.v. *voμίζω*.

construct, and the pronominal. The absolute form is used when no pronoun or noun is suffixed to the infinitive. The construct is used when a noun object follows immediately after the infinitive. This form is not common in proverbs and when used it resembles the absolute form. However, the study of Coptic reveals that the resemblance of these two forms is only graphic, as there are differences in vocalization.³⁷ Finally, the pronominal form is used when a suffix pronoun is suffixed to the infinitive. With some verbs, and especially the so-called final weak-verbs, a *.t* is added after the determinative to mark the pronominal form, as with the verb *in* ‘to bring’ becoming *in.t*.³⁸

In Greek, on the contrary, although the form of the infinitive does not change when followed by a pronominal or nominal object, it does change according to the tense. Consequently, forms of the infinitive exist in the present, the future, the aorist, the perfect, and the future perfect tenses. The most common endings of the infinitive are in the active voice *-εν* or *-ναι*, and in the middle and passive *-σαι* or *-σθαι*.

With regard to its syntactic function, the demotic and Greek infinitive is a verbal noun that may have a subject or an object, and, in the case of Greek, voices and tenses. When the demotic infinitive is not prefixed by a definite article, it may be used in several constructions, some of which have been mentioned above, replacing the *sḏm=f* form. In fact, the demotic infinitive is used in more constructions than the *sḏm=f* form. The Greek infinitive is employed, firstly, as a subject of an impersonal verb, that is, of a verb in the third person singular like *προσήκει* ‘it belongs to / beseems’,³⁹ another infinitive, or a lexical verb in indirect speech; secondly, as a predicate nominative; thirdly, in apposition to a noun, and fourthly, as an object to verbs that express, for example, wish, advice, command, or cause—for instance, *βούλομαι διδάσκειν* ‘I wish to teach’.

Another form deriving from the demotic and Greek verb is the *participle*. In Greek, the participle is one word whose form changes according to gender, number, tense, and voice, and is declined as a noun. In demotic, what grammars most commonly call a “participle” is mainly another form of relative clause used when the antecedent is identical with the subject of the relative clause (thus, in the course of the

³⁷ See Layton 2004, p. 153 on the “pronominal state” of the infinitive, as he calls the construct form.

³⁸ This form is found, for instance, in *Ankh.* 2/11–12.

³⁹ Cf. *LSJ*, s.v. *προσῆκω*.

analysis, participles will also be called “relative clauses”).⁴⁰ Specifically, the demotic present participle is formed with *nt* plus an infinitive, while the past participle is formed with *īr* plus the infinitive.⁴¹ Such forms are most often nominalized in the demotic proverbs with the definite article preceding *nt* and *īr*.

In Greek, the use of participles is more common and more complex. According to the typology of use, there are three kinds of participle: the attributive, when it qualifies a noun and behaves like an adjective; the circumstantial, when it defines the circumstances of an action, qualifying a verbal construction, and the supplementary, when it is used to complete the meaning of certain verbs—for example, παύεται λέγων ‘he stops talking’. With regard to their formation, participles have different forms in the active and medio-passive present, future, aorist, perfect, and future perfect tenses (for example, in the active present λύων and passive λυόμενος; future active λύσων, middle λυθησόμενος, and passive λυσόμενος; aorist active λύσας, middle λυσάμενος, and passive λυθείς, and perfect λελυκώς and λελυμένος). In the case of the last two tenses, participles participate in all their periphrastic mood formations.

Apart from the infinitives and participles, other forms that are used in the proverbs are the demotic *qualitative* and the Greek *verbal adjective*. The qualitative is a verb form that indicates the static outcome of an action. As it expresses a state, in the case of transitive verbs, it is often translated into English as a passive. Some qualitatives have preserved the traditional endings that agreed in gender and number with their subject, as is the case with *mtr.w*, which is used in *Ankh.* 2/15. Others have special forms, such as *īr-rḥ* from the verb *rḥ* ‘to know’.⁴² The latter is the only attested form of a qualitative that takes a direct object.⁴³

Greek verbal adjectives are used as common adjectives. They are formed with the addition of the endings -τος / η / ον, and -τέος / α / ον to the verb stem. They are declined like participles and sometimes they are even treated as such—for instance, those in -τος being equated to perfect passive participles and those in -τέος to future passive partici-

⁴⁰ Compare what Simpson refers to as “synthetic verb-forms, which exist outside the system of relative conversion” (1996, p. 93). Such forms are rarely found in the demotic proverbs—see, for instance, the active participle in the standardized formation of the title *mr-šn* in *Ankh.* 24/11.

⁴¹ *Grammar of Demotic*, §85 and §84 respectively.

⁴² As in *Ins.* 8/10.

⁴³ *Grammar of Demotic*, §46.

ples. The form in -τέον is most frequently used as an impersonal construction being equivalent to δεῖ 'one must'.

Adjectives in demotic are used, firstly, as qualifiers of a noun and agree in number and gender with the noun they qualify; secondly, as nouns when they are nominalized, and thirdly, as predicates in sentences with the verb 'to be'. Furthermore, there are four adjective equivalents (or *augmentia*),⁴⁴ which are usually placed at the end of the sentence with a suffix pronoun referring back to the qualified word; these are: *tr* = 'all / entire'; *rn* = 'aforementioned'; *h'* = 'self', and *w't* 'alone / only'. It should also be noted that the demotic words for 'every' and 'other' (that is, *nb* and *ky* respectively) are not adjectives as is the case in Greek or English. The first is a determiner that has a fixed form for the masculine, feminine, singular, and plural, while the latter is a noun that can stand in a sentence independently.

Greek adjectives follow, to a great extent, the same grammatical and syntactic rules as demotic ones, with only a few differences. One is that they are declined and agree with the case of the word they qualify. Another concerns the formation of the comparative and superlative degrees, which, in Greek, are usually formed with the addition of the ending -τερος / η / ον and -τατος / η / ον respectively to the adjective stem. In demotic, the form does not change in the comparative, but is simply followed by the preposition *r*, which, in this case, means 'than', while the superlative degree is seldom used and, when it is, it is constructed in a periphrastic way—being followed, for instance, by the phrase *n p3 ts* 'on the entire earth'. Finally, in Greek, there are pronominal adjectives that are divided into the interrogative (for instance, πόσος 'how much'), the indefinite (for example, ποιός 'of some kind'), the demonstrative (for example, ἕτερος 'the one, the other'), and the relative (for instance, ἡλίκος 'of which age/size').

Kindred to adjectives are the *numerals*. In demotic, cardinal numerals can be used either independently or as qualifiers of nouns. In both cases, the noun they qualify is always written in the singular. In the second case, according to the choice of the scribe, they can either precede or follow the noun they qualify. Thus, for example, the author of *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy* writes numbers, with the exception of 1000, after the noun they qualify. As qualifiers of feminine nouns, cardinal numerals often show the feminine ending *.t*—see, for instance,

⁴⁴ As Simpson calls them (1996, p. 58).

the phrase *mh.t 20.t* '20 years'.⁴⁵ Demotic ordinal numerals, on the other hand, are most commonly used as qualifiers of nouns, often agreeing with their gender. They are formed with the word *mh* plus a cardinal number. This form always follows the noun it qualifies.

In Greek, there is more than one type of cardinal and ordinal numeral. There are numeral adjectives, nouns, and adverbs, each of which is declined following the rules of its corresponding grammatical category. In the case of numeral adjectives and in contrast to demotic numerals, when the noun they qualify is in the dual or the plural, it is written in the plural. In addition, the forms of the numeral adjectives change according to what they express. Thus there are special forms to express the order (πρῶτος, δεύτερα...), the time (δευτεραῖος, τριταῖος ...), the number of parts (τριπλοῦς, τετραπλοῦς...), and the analogy between one amount and another (διπλάσιος, τριπλάσιος...). The only indeclinable numerals are the cardinal numbers from 5 to 100. Finally, Greek numbers are often represented by the letters of the alphabet; this practice, however, is never found in the proverbs.

The use of *adverbs* in demotic is very limited. Most of the examples that are rendered in English as adverbs are prepositional phrases, like, for instance, the phrase *n t3y hty* 'immediately'. The few true adverbs, such as *n* 'again' and *ty* 'here', are most frequently placed at the end of the sentence, expressing place, quality, or time. In Greek, on the other hand, adverbs are formed from adjectives and are used much more frequently than their demotic equivalents. Sometimes the neuter accusative of an adjective can be used as an adverb—for instance, μό-voν 'only'. Most often it is the case that the neuter accusative singular of the adjective in the comparative form is used as the comparative of the adverb, while the neuter accusative plural of the adjective in the superlative form serves as the superlative of the adverb. Apart from the common adverbs formed from adjectives, there are a number of pronominal adverbs that correspond to the classification of the pronominal adjectives mentioned above. Greek adverbs, like their demotic counterparts, usually express quality, place, or time and are placed in various positions in the sentence, according to the desired emphasis.

Demotic *pronouns* are of the following types: independent (*ink*, *mtwk* ...); dependent (*t=y*, *t=k*...); interrogative (for example, *ih*); suffix (*=y*,

⁴⁵ Used in *Ankh*. 11/7.

=*k...*), and demonstrative (*pzy*, *tzy*, *nzy*). Their forms change according to the person, gender, and number, which resemble those used in verb conjugations. The first type is mainly used in nominal and cleft sentences (see below) and occasionally indicates possession—see, for example, the sentence *mtwk s* ‘It is yours’. The second is used as the direct object of some verbal constructions. The third type of pronoun is used as a noun equivalent. The most common pronouns of this type are *ih* and *nm*, which can mean ‘who’ or ‘what’ depending on the context. Fourthly, suffix pronouns are attached to verbs and nouns and are usually used as subjects of verbs, after a preposition, as direct objects of infinitives, and as possessives either by being attached directly to the noun qualified or by forming the possessive article. Finally, demonstratives are used independently, meaning ‘this / these’.

In Greek, there are eight types of pronoun: the personal (*ἐγώ*, *σύ...*); the intensive (*αὐτός* / *ή* / *ό*); the reflexive (*ἐμαυτόν* / *ήν*); the reciprocal (*ἀλλήλων*); the possessive (*ἐμός*, *σός...*); the demonstrative (*οὗτος*, *ὃδε* and their feminine and neutral forms); the interrogative (*τίς*, *τί*), and the indefinite pronouns (*τίς*, *τί*, *ἄλλος* / *η* / *ο*, *δεῖνα*). All these pronouns are declined like nouns and adjectives. The first type is used as the subject of verbs and stands mostly at the beginning of sentences. The second is used in oblique cases as a third person pronoun. In addition, it can be used as an intensive adjective meaning ‘self’. When *αὐτός* is preceded by the definite article, it means ‘the same’. The next type of pronoun is formed by the addition of *αὐτός* to the stems of personal pronouns. These pronouns are used mostly as objects of verbs, expressing the meaning of an action that one does to oneself. The reciprocal pronouns are used as objects of an action that members of a group do to one another. The next type is used like adjectives that express possession, as in the English ‘my’, ‘your’, and so on. Demonstratives are used like the English equivalent ‘this’ and ‘that’, while the interrogative is used like the English ‘who’ and ‘which’. Finally, indefinite pronouns express meanings like the English ‘any one’ (*τίς*), ‘other’ (*ἄλλος*), and ‘such and such’ (*δεῖνα*).

In both demotic and Greek, there are a great number of *prepositions* that are used in prepositional phrases. These can express time, place, direction, or various logical relationships. They can be used either after verbal constructions completing the meaning of the verb form or as predicates with the verb ‘to be’. In demotic, apart from the simple prepositions, there are compound ones, such as *ūr-hr* ‘in front of / before’ or *m-kty* ‘like’. Examples of verbs that are often followed

by prepositions that complete their meaning are the demotic *nw r* ‘to look at’ and the Greek λέγω κατὰ τινός ‘to speak against someone’.⁴⁶ In Greek, prepositions can express different qualities according to the case of their nominal objects. Thus, for example, the preposition ἐπί with an object in the genitive means ‘on / near / in front of’, while with an object in the accusative it means ‘towards / until / according to’.⁴⁷ In general, the meaning of the demotic and Greek prepositions depends much on the context, and especially the action described by the verbal construction.

In demotic, there are four types of *article*: the definite (*pʒ, tʒ, nʒ*); the indefinite (*wʹ, wʹ.t, hyn.w*); the possessive (*pʒy=y, tʒy=y, nʒy=y...*), and the demonstrative (*pʒy, tʒy, nʒy*). Of these, only the first exists in Greek. The Greek definite article (ὁ, ἡ, τό)—in contrast to the demotic one, whose form changes only according to gender and number—is declined following the case of the noun it qualifies. There is no indefinite article in Greek,⁴⁸ while use of the demotic one, and especially of its plural form, is rare. In the case of collective and generic nouns in demotic, either the definite article is used or no article at all. Furthermore, in some specific cases, no article is used in demotic even if the reference is definite—for instance, with compound nouns like *mr-ʂn* ‘chief inspector’, or prepositional phrases like *ʂʹ d.t* ‘forever’.⁴⁹ The possessive article consists of the definite article, which agrees in gender and number with the noun qualified, plus *y* plus a suffix pronoun that agrees with the person of the possessor.

In Greek, indeclinable *connecting words* (or, “connecting particles” as some Classicists prefer to call them)⁵⁰ are commonly used to connect two words or two clauses. Similar words also exist in demotic.⁵¹ Demotic words are most often connected by direct apposition, while the closest word to a coordinating conjunction like ‘and’ is the preposition *irm* meaning ‘together with’. Demotic sentences are linked through the use of clause markers (see below), as is the case with *mtw* intro-

⁴⁶ Cf. *Demotic Dictionary*, 04.1 p. 31 and *LSJ*, s.v. λέγω.

⁴⁷ Cf. *LSJ*, s.v. ἐπί.

⁴⁸ Sometimes the indefinite pronoun τίς, when it qualifies a noun, can be translated into English as an indefinite article—for instance, ἄνθρωπός τις is often translated as ‘a man’.

⁴⁹ *Grammar of Demotic*, §18.

⁵⁰ See, for instance, the well-known study of particles by Denniston (1996, pp. xliii ff.).

⁵¹ *Grammar of Demotic*, §75.

ducing the conjunctive. In Greek, the connecting words consist of conjunctions, particles, or adverbs that express various relationships between words or clauses. In the case of the latter, they can connect two main clauses (coordinating) or introduce dependent ones (subordinating). Examples of the first type are the affirmative καί ‘and’ and the causal γάρ ‘because’. An example of the second type is the conjunction ἵνα ‘in order to’, which introduces the finalis (see below).

Demotic *particles* are always placed at the beginning of their clause marking the sentence type. The most common particles are *hmy* ‘would that’ followed by a circumstantial clause, *hr* followed by a *sdm=f* and forming the demotic aorist, and *in* forming questions of interrogation (that is, questions that can be answered with a ‘yes’ or a ‘no’).⁵² In contrast, Greek particles, in addition to their use as connecting words, are employed for the sake of emphasis and can either stand independently in various positions in a clause, or be suffixed or prefixed to other words. Examples of the first type are εἴθε, which stands most often at the beginning of a clause expressing a wish, and ἄν, which is placed before or after a verbal construction expressing a possibility.⁵³ Examples of the latter type are the demonstrative -δε, which is suffixed to some pronouns, forming words like ὅδε or τοιόσδε, and the negative ἄ-, which is prefixed to words negating their meaning—see, for example, the adjective ἄ-γνωστος ‘unknown’.

The final grammatical unit that should be mentioned in this section is the *interjection*. In both demotic and Greek, interjections are short words that express various emotions or form vocatives. Examples of the first are found only in Greek, as is the case with οἶμοι meaning ‘woe’s to me!’.⁵⁴ On the other hand, in demotic proverbs, interjections are most often used to form a vocative—see, for example, the phrase *i n3 rmt.w* ‘O people!’.⁵⁵

In addition to what has been said already about the function and form of various demotic and Greek grammatical units, I will present here some general observations on the syntax of these two languages, and especially on the typology of sentences and the word order. All

⁵² The term “question for interrogation” and its counterpart “question for specification” are borrowed from *Grammar of Demotic*, § 69.

⁵³ For the complex use of this particle, see Goodwin 1894, § 277–280 and Schwyzler-Debrunner ii.305–306 and 558.

⁵⁴ Used in Men. *Mon.* 602.

⁵⁵ Employed in *Ankh.* 4/20–21.

these observations will be illustrated by examples from the bodies of demotic and Greek proverbs examined.

In general, a major division of demotic and Greek sentences is that between *sentences with the verb 'to be'* and *sentences with other verbs*. The former can describe an equation between two units (such as nouns or adverbials) with the verb 'to be' having a copulative value, or it can form "existence clauses"⁵⁶ with the verb 'to be' used with the meaning 'to exist/there is'. The latter type consists of sentences that mainly describe an action. In the case of demotic sentences with the copulative verb 'to be', the verb is sometimes written and sometimes not.⁵⁷ The latter occurs in demotic sentences with an adverbial predicate, often referred to in grammars as "present tense".⁵⁸ In this study, however, they will retain their original name (that is, "sentences with an adverbial predicate")⁵⁹ in order to avoid confusion with the present as a temporal value of various demotic and Greek constructions (for this, see III.5).

In demotic and Greek sentences with the copulative verb 'to be', the most common structure involves a subject, a form of this verb (when it is written), and a predicate. The predicate can be a nominal (only in Greek), an adjective, or an adverbial. In the case of sentences with verbs other than the verb 'to be', the most common structure involves a subject, a verb form, and an object, the last being direct or indirect. If the verb form is intransitive, then there is no direct object involved.

In both types of demotic sentence, the verb, when written, stands at the beginning of the sentence. If the verb takes a direct object, the word order of the sentence depends on whether the subject and the object are nouns or pronouns. Thus, if the subject is a suffix pronoun, it always precedes the object, while when it is a noun and the object is a pronoun, the latter precedes the first. Finally, if both subject and object are nouns, then the subject precedes the object. In addition to these elements, adverbs and prepositional phrases can be added to the end of the sentence. Examples of the structure of demotic sentences with the (copulative or existential) verb 'to be' (written or not) or other verbs are

⁵⁶ They are so termed in *Grammar of Demotic*, §10 and onwards.

⁵⁷ Cf. *Grammar of Demotic*, §49.

⁵⁸ Cf. *Grammar of Demotic*, §49. See also Collier's (1993) stand pro a "verbal interpretation" of such constructions in earlier Egyptian.

⁵⁹ Although it should be noted that what Johnson calls a "sentence with an adverbial predicate" includes examples with qualitatives (*Grammar of Demotic*, §49), which, strictly speaking, cannot function as adverbial predicates, since no preposition precedes them. In any case, examples with qualitatives are not common in the demotic proverbs.

the following proverbs: **D1**:⁶⁰ *ʒmy.t (n) rmt r hr=f* ‘(The) character (of) a man is on his face’; **D2**: *mn lh gm hʷ* ‘No fool finds profit’; **D3**: *wn pʒ nt tms=w iw=w twt.t mʷw pʒ ʒst hp=w* ‘There is the one who buries them (i.e. the goods) when they are gathered and the earth conceals them’, and **D4**: *hr in pʒ ʒy irm pʒ ntr mt.t nʒ-nfr.t m-sʒ rhy* ‘The fate and the god bring happiness after the dark hour’.⁶¹ In the first example, *ʒmy.t (n) rmt* is the subject and *r hr=f* is the adverbial predicate, while the verb ‘to be’ is omitted. In the second example, *lh* is the subject, *gm hʷ* is the predicate, and *mn* is the negative form of the verb ‘to be’. In the third example, *pʒ nt tms=w* is the subject and *wn* the existential verb, while the rest are subordinate clauses. Finally, in the fourth example, *hr* is the aorist marker, *in* the verb, *pʒ ʒy irm pʒ ntr* the subject, *mt.t nʒ-nfr.t* the direct object, and *m-sʒ rhy* a prepositional phrase.

The word order in Greek sentences with the verb ‘to be’ or other verbs is much looser than in their demotic counterparts. It mostly depends on the style of the text and what is to be emphasized in each sentence.⁶² In proverb literature, sentences are short and therefore the weight of focus is balanced and may fall on any of the words employed. As a result, the style of the language and the word order differ greatly from narratives and rhetorical works that contain long sentences of which only a small part is in focus in each instance. With regard to the second factor, emphasized words or phrases most often stand at the beginning of a proverb. Instances of Greek sentence structure with the verb ‘to be’ or other verbs are the proverbs **G1**: οὐκ ἔστιν σοφίας κτῆμα τιμώτερον ‘No possession (is) more honourable than wisdom’; **G2**: πιστοῦ πλοῦτος ἐγκράτεια ‘The wealth of a pious man (is) self-control’, and **G3**: ἐκ φιλαντίας ἀδικία φύεται ‘From selfishness injustice is grown’.⁶³ In the first instance, κτῆμα τιμώτερον is the subject and οὐκ ἔστιν is the existential verb, while σοφίας is a genitive of comparison complementing the adjective in the comparative. In the second instance, πιστοῦ πλοῦτος is the subject, ἐγκράτεια the predicate,

⁶⁰ Such a number and digit will henceforth refer to demotic (marked with “D”) and Greek (marked with “G”) proverbs, which are taken from the works of the corpus and are used as examples (note that sentences not included in the material gathered for analysis are not numbered in this way). A list of these examples can be found in appendix E.

⁶¹ *Ankh.* 11/13, *Ankh.* 21/8, *Ins.* 16/23, and *Ins.* 19/15.

⁶² On the importance of emphasis as a “structural factor” in demotic and Greek proverbs see, for example, IV.2.4 and IV.3.5.

⁶³ *Men. Mon.* 565, *Sext.* 294, and *Sext.* 138.

while the verb *ἐστίν* is omitted. In the third instance, *ἀδικία* is the subject, *φύεται* the intransitive verb, and *ἐκ φιλαυτίας* an adverbial element complementing the verb. Here, for reasons of emphasis, the prepositional phrase (which according to the rules of syntax should normally follow the verb) stands at the beginning, thus altering the word order. Finally, it should be noted that, in the case of Greek, although the norm is for the verb to stand at the beginning of an existential sentence, for the sake of emphasis (or sometimes even for the sake of metre), there are a few instances in which it is placed at the end of the sentence. Such is the case, for example, with the proverb **G4**: ἀλαζών φιλόσοφος οὐκ ἔστιν 'There is no braggart philosopher'.⁶⁴

In addition to these two main types of demotic and Greek sentence, there are a number of demotic special categories of sentence structure. Firstly, there is the category of demotic *nominal sentences*.⁶⁵ This comprises sentences with a nominal (or pronominal) subject and a nominal (or pronominal) predicate linked in some cases by the *copula pronoun* (*pzy/tzy/nzy*).⁶⁶ Demotic nominal sentences resemble in many ways Greek sentences, with the verb 'to be' taking a nominal predicate, and are negated like the sentences with an adverbial predicate. In such sentences, when the copula pronoun is used, the sentence is structured: subject + predicate + copula. In this case, the copula agrees in gender and number with the subject. When the copula pronoun is inserted between the two nouns, the noun preceding it functions as the predicate. If one of the two nominal elements of the sentence is a third person pronoun, the copula is used to replace it. On the other hand, if one of the two elements is in the first or second person singular or plural, the independent pronoun is used, standing first in the sentence. An instance of the demotic nominal sentence is the proverb **D5**: *sh̄m.t h̄e.t n̄ iny tzy* 'A woman is a stone quarry'.⁶⁷ Here *sh̄m.t* is the subject, *h̄e.t n̄ iny* the nominal predicate, and *tzy* the copula pronoun.

Secondly, there is the demotic construction called the *second tense*, whose use in verbal sentences alters the normal word order.⁶⁸ This construction involves the use of the converter *iir* introducing a verbal sentence that contains an adverb or a prepositional phrase that, in

⁶⁴ *Sext.* 284.

⁶⁵ For a discussion of this type of sentence, see Johnson 1981.

⁶⁶ Cf. *Grammar of Demotic*, § 22–25.

⁶⁷ *Ankh.* 24/20.

⁶⁸ Cf. *Grammar of Demotic*, § 95–99.

this case, is called an *adverbial adjunct*. In a second tense sentence, the emphasis is shifted from the main elements of the sentence (that is, the subject, the verb, and the object / predicate) to the adverbial adjunct. An example of the use of second tense is the proverb **D6**: *ûr pzy=w ssw tr=w dnt (n) tr.t (n) rmt rh* ‘By the wise man all their (i.e. patience and impatience’s) days are examined (lit. It is by the wise man that all their days are examined),’⁶⁹ where the emphasis is on the prepositional phrase *(n) tr.t (n) rmt-rh*.

Thirdly, there is also the demotic construction of the *cleft sentence*.⁷⁰ This consists of a freestanding pronoun or a noun that plays the role of the predicate plus a nominalized relative clause as the subject. In this construction, the emphasis falls on the predicate.⁷¹ An example of such a construction is highlighted in the proverb **D7**: *rmt iw n3-ħm mt.t mtw=f mtws t3 nt t.t=f* ‘A man who has a small concern, it is that which seizes him’.⁷² Cleft sentences were negated like sentences with an adverbial predicate.

In the previous example, the words *rmt* and *mt.t* are being *anticipated*. Anticipation is the syntactic phenomenon where nouns stand either alone or in a phrase in the first part of the sentence, while, in its main clause, they are referred to by pronouns. This construction is one of the most common in demotic proverbs and is used to emphasize the anticipated terms.⁷³

Finally, as noted before, there are a number of demotic constructions that are formed with the infinitive following the clause marker and the subject. Of these constructions, those that are found in the demotic proverbs analyzed are the affirmative and negative future, the negative aorist, and the negative past. In these cases, the word order is most commonly: clause marker + subject + infinitive.

In the case of subordination, dependent clauses are formed in several ways in demotic.⁷⁴ One way involves the use of a number of converters

⁶⁹ *Ins.* 22/1.

⁷⁰ Cf. *Grammar of Demotic*, §94.

⁷¹ For the history, structure, and function of the cleft sentence, see Simpson 1996, pp. 167–171.

⁷² *Ankh.* 14/4.

⁷³ For its appearance in Greek, see brief comments and examples in Kühner 1898, pp. 660–661 and Schwyzler-Debrunner ii.640. The term *anticipation* will henceforth refer to the appearance of the phenomenon in Greek proverbs too, although Classicists do not use it (see, for instance, Lardinois 2001, p. 100, where the term “preposed relative clause” for the anticipated relative clause is used instead).

⁷⁴ Cf. *Grammar of Demotic*, §104–116.

that are placed at the beginning of a clause. In this way, the circumstantial and the relative clauses are formed. Another way involves the use of a particle or a prepositional phrase at the beginning of the clause. The dependent clauses formed in this way are the terminative ($s^c\text{-}mtw=f\text{ }s\dot{d}m$), the temporal ($(n)\text{-}tr(.t)\text{ }s\dot{d}m=f$), the conjunctive ($mtw=f\text{ }s\dot{d}m$), and the conditional ($in\text{-}nzw + \text{noun} + s\dot{d}m$ or $\dot{i}w=f\text{ }s\dot{d}m$). A further way is with the help of a verbal construction called “the finalis” ($t\ddot{i}=y\text{ }s\dot{d}m=f$). Finally, the last way involves a simple juxtaposition to the main clause. In this case, the determination of whether the sentence is independent or subordinate depends solely on the context. The subordinate clause formed in the last way is the purpose clause. Of these types of clause, only the temporal and the purpose clause employ the $s\dot{d}m=f$ form, while the rest involve the use of the infinitive. Examples of these are found in **D3** where a circumstantial and a conjunctive clause are used.

Finally, Greek subordinate clauses resemble their demotic counterparts, since they too are marked at the beginning by a particle, a pronoun, or a conjunction, similar to a demotic converter. For example, circumstantial clauses are usually marked by the use of the temporal conjunction $\delta\tau\alpha\nu$ or $\delta\tau\epsilon$, both meaning ‘when’, while conditionals are marked by the conjunctions $\epsilon\dot{\iota}$, $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$, or $\acute{\alpha}\nu$, all meaning ‘if’. The use of subordinate clauses in Greek is illustrated by the proverb **G5**: $\epsilon\pi\alpha\iota\nu\nu\nu\ \epsilon\acute{\xi}\epsilon\iota\varsigma,\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\ \kappa\rho\alpha\tau\eta\eta\varsigma\ \acute{\omega}\nu\ \delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\ \kappa\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\dot{\iota}\nu$ ‘You will be praised (lit. have praise), if you control what one should control’.⁷⁵

5. *Tense in Demotic and Greek Proverbs*

Before I discuss the value of tenses in the proverbs examined, some introductory remarks on the nature of tense must be made. Verb forms and equations relate the action, motion, or state they describe to a temporal point. This indicates the temporal context of the reference point, to which the action, motion, or state is related. The temporal point can be either fictional (that is, when the temporal context of the sentence is not related to that of its author) or real (that is, when the temporal context of the sentence is related to that of its author). The temporal relations that are indicated in these two cases are expressed by a property of the verb forms that is called *tense*.

⁷⁵ Men. *Mon.* 210.

Tenses can denote temporal relationships between either two or more parts of the same sentence or the sentence and its context. Generally speaking, there are three basic kinds of temporal relationship, denoted by: a) the present, when the tense describes something that happens simultaneously with its point of reference; b) the past, when the tense describes something that happened before its point of reference, and c) the future, when the tense describes something that will happen after its point of reference.⁷⁶

The use of a tense for a verb form depends on the tense or temporal context of its point of reference. Therefore, if, for example, the point of reference is mentioned within the context of a proverb (that is, at some point in the text, in the preceding line, or in the first clause of a bi- or a multipartite proverb) and is in the present tense, the first type of relationship is expressed by the use of the present tense, the second type by the use of the past tense, and the third type by the use of the future tense.

However, since the demotic and Greek proverbs examined are not linked to any kind of textual context, they share a common reference point implied in their messages. This reference point is the fact that what the proverbs observe is always applicable. Thus their main tense assumes the form of an “omni-temporal present”, while non-present tenses are employed to indicate temporal or logical sequence rather than a real point in time. The majority of demotic and Greek proverbs examined involve constructions in this *omni-present*, such as the demotic sentence with an adverbial predicate or the Greek gnomic aorist. The action/state described in omni-present tense statements is not the result of another action/state, but it is rather a basis for the acquisition of useful knowledge and the establishment of proper conduct in life. In other words, statements that convey a general truth share the same purpose as the material surrounding them, that being the instruction of their audience (for the purpose of proverbs, see VII.4).

Demotic and Greek proverbs of the instructional type are also related to the omni-present tense. This is due to the fact that the time of giving the piece of advice or warning and the time of its application is unlimited, resembling in this way the range of applicability of proverbial statements. The main difference from proverbs of the statement type is that proverbs of the instructional type can be related to two tem-

⁷⁶ Allen 2000, pp. 148–149. Note also the way linguists discuss the distinction between tenses, as in Lyons 1977, pp. 809ff., and Cann 1993, pp. 241–246.

poral reference points, that is, the point of their composition and the point of their application. This twofold temporal relationship is due to their discursive form that is based upon the existence of an addresser and an addressee. In simple words, the one temporal point concerns the moment the addresser gives the advice or the warning to the addressee, while the other concerns the moment the addressee is supposed to follow this advice or warning. However, since proverbs of the instructional type are involved in a proverbial omni-temporal context, their temporal value is identical to that of proverbs of the statement type. In other words, in such a context, the time of the address of these pieces of advice and warnings stays undefined, while the time of their application is as unlimited as is the validity of the general truths conveyed by the proverbial statements, and this boundless validity and applicability of proverbs is expressed through the use of the omni-present tense.

Finally, it should be observed that, in addition to the general omni-temporal value of most of the proverbs, an indirect “temporal interplay” may be created through the employment of relative clauses or participles that bear some temporal value. This does not affect the tense of the proverbial message, since its interplay is limited between integral constructions of a proverb.

6. *The Classification of Demotic and Greek Proverbs*

Demotic and Greek proverbs either convey a general truth in the form of an affirmative or negative statement (proverbs of the statement type) or give a piece of advice or a warning in the form of a straightforward imperative or vetitive / prohibition (proverbs of the instructional type).⁷⁷ With few exceptions, these two types of proverbial sentence employ grammatical constructions that are related to the omni-present tense discussed above.

In this study, the main division of demotic and Greek proverbs is based upon their structure, in other words, the number and nature of clauses combined to form a proverb. According to these, the proverbs examined are primarily divided into those containing one clause (monopartite)—for example, **G6**: σαρκὸς μὴ ἔρα ‘Do not love the flesh’ and **D8**: *n3-‘n mwet n ʒyʔ r ‘nh n tm ʒyp* ‘Better is death in want than life in

⁷⁷ The term *prohibition* is preferred to *vetitive* for the Greek proverbs, since the latter is used in demotic grammar to denote the special form of the negative imperative.

shamelessness';⁷⁸ those containing two clauses (bipartite)—for example, **D9**: *bw-ir rmt-ntr mwh n thz bw-ir=w mwh n=f h=f* 'The man of god does not burn to injure (lit. for injuring), lest he is burned himself' and **G7**: σκέπτου πρὸ τοῦ λέγειν ἵνα μὴ λέγῃς εἰκῇ 'Think before you speak so that you do not speak at random',⁷⁹ and those containing more than two clauses (multipartite)—for example, **D10**: *ty hs ty hyr m-ir ir yp.t sksk* 'Gather dung, gather clay, but do not make a job out of scavenging' and **G8**: εὖχου δ' ἔχειν τι, καὶν ἔχῃς, ἔξεις φίλους 'Wish you own something, and if you do, you will have friends'.⁸⁰ Modern parallels to these types of proverb structure are the English 'A drowning man will catch a straw' (monopartite), the English 'United we stand, divided we fall' (bipartite), and the French 'Si jeunesse savait, si vieillesse pouvait, jamais le monde ne fallirait' (multipartite).⁸¹

In the case of the ancient bipartite proverbs examined, the clauses involved might be two independent (for example, in **D9**) or one independent and one subordinate (for instance, in **G7**).⁸² On the other hand, in the case of multipartite proverbs, the structure might involve the following combinations of clauses: 1) more than two independent clauses (for instance, in **D10**); 2) one main with two or more subordinate clauses—for example, **D11**: *iw=k hpr irm rmt mtw=k nfr irm=f iw=f n3-bn m-ir h3=f* 'If you grow up with a man and you are faring well with him, when he fares badly do not abandon him',⁸³ and 3) more than one main clause with one or more subordinate clauses (as in **G8**).

In the case of bi- and multipartite proverbs with subordination, it should be noted that the subordinate clauses that bear an adjectival value qualifying a nominal, rather than contributing to the meaning of the whole sentence, are not taken as substantial parts of the proverb's structure and therefore are not included in the category of subordinate clauses employed in bi- and multipartite proverbs. This group consists mainly of relative clauses. An instance of such a clause is found in the proverb **D12**: *bw-ir h3t (n) p3y=f it mr p3 'h' nt n3-'s3=f* 'The heart (of)

⁷⁸ *Sext.* 291 and *Ins.* 27/3.

⁷⁹ *Ins.* 30/10 and *Clit.* 29.

⁸⁰ *Ankh.* 17/24 and *Men. Mon.* 247.

⁸¹ Gluski 1971, nos. 18.1, 41.2, and 33.6.

⁸² The contrasted pairs "main-subordinate" and "independent-dependent" are used here interchangeably, the first group employed to denote the relationship between clauses in the case of *hypotaxis* / *subordination* and the second group employed to denote the relationship between clauses in the case of *parataxis* / *coordination*.

⁸³ *Ankh.* 17/18.

his (i.e. of the son who is not educated) father does not desire a lifetime that is long',⁸⁴ where the relative clause *nt n3-š3=f* qualifies the noun *p3 ʕ* and hence is not taken as a substantial part of the sentence structure; therefore this proverb is considered as a monopartite one.

Therefore the structure of a proverb is determined by the nature of and relationship between the clauses that play a substantial role in the construction and function of the sentence. Apart from such clauses, the proverb may contain adverbials that influence its construction and function. Such are the adverbials that express a logical relationship with the clause(s) of the sentence (for example, prepositional phrases that express the cause or the purpose of an action). These are marked in the structural models of the various types of mono-, bi-, and multipartite proverb given below and are discussed in detail in IV.2.2, IV.3.2, V.6.1, and V.8.2. Moreover, another type of construction that is marked in the structural models given below is the anticipatory unit. The importance of anticipation for the construction of proverbs is stressed especially through the use of extended anticipatory phrases that commonly influence the structure of the proverb and the logico-semantic relationships between its units by being related to the clauses in a variety of logical ways. The form and function of such phrases is discussed in IV.2.3, IV.3.4, V.6.2, and V.8.4.⁸⁵

In general, the analogy between the number of mono-, bi-, and multipartite proverbs in each of the Egyptian and Greek bodies of texts investigated varies. In most cases, however, monopartite proverbs comprise the majority of examples, followed by the bipartite and multipartite ones: thus, for instance, in *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy*, of the total of 328 proverbs examined, 178 are monopartite, 132 bipar-

⁸⁴ *Ins.* 9/13.

⁸⁵ Some notes about the presentation of the structure types should be made here: when the structure of mono-, bi-, or multipartite proverbs is presented in a formula-like form, it indicates: a) the person expressed by the verb form (only in proverbs of the instructional type); b) whether a clause is affirmative or negative; c) its tense, and d) its mood. The clauses and units identified are placed in order according to their significance with regard to the sentence structure. Thus, in monopartite proverbs, the pattern is 'independent clause + adverbial + anticipation'; in bipartite proverbs with coordination, 'first independent clause + second independent clause + adverbial + anticipation'; in bipartite proverbs with subordination, 'main clause + subordinate clause + adverbial + anticipation', and in multipartite proverbs, 'main clause(s) + subordinate clause(s) + adverbial + anticipation'. In the case of bipartite and multipartite proverbs, the connecting words are also indicated after the name of the clause they introduce, while, in the case of Greek proverbs of all types, the use of participles is also indicated after the adverbial.

tite, and 18 multipartite; in *The Instruction of P Insinger* 171 are bipartite, 152 monopartite, and 12 multipartite; in the *Menandri Monostichoi* 755 are monopartite, 98 bipartite, and only 2 multipartite, and in *The Sayings of Philosophers* 20 are monopartite, 21 bipartite, and 17 multipartite. In total, the monopartite examples analyzed are greater than the bipartite ones, but given that this is only a sample of proverbs, one cannot jump to a general conclusion about the analogy of these types of structure in Egyptian and Greek proverbial literature.

After introducing the rules and peculiarities of the language of demotic and Greek proverbs, as well as the main typological divisions of the proverbial material, the next step is to proceed with the analysis proper. Thus, in the next two chapters, the language of these proverbs will be examined, classified, and contrasted, and this thorough examination will provide the reader with a clear image of how proverbs were produced and structured by Egyptian and Greek writers.

CHAPTER IV

THE MONOPARTITE PROVERBS

1. *Monopartite Proverbs in Demotic and Greek: Introductory Remarks*

Demotic and Greek monopartite proverbs, strictly speaking, consist of one independent clause. In the demotic examples, this type of structure is commonly expanded by a phrase in anticipation, frequently placed at the beginning of a proverb (for instance, the bold part of **D13: *sh̄m.t dn̄.t mn-mtw=s hy*** ‘An evil woman, she does not have a husband’).¹ However, because the anticipatory unit can only be an unexpanded phrase rather than a full clause, the proverb containing it remains monopartite.

Similar to the common type of demotic monopartite proverbs with an anticipatory unit are the Greek monopartite proverbs with a circumstantial or a conditional participle (for example, **G9: οὐδεὶς πονηρὸν πράγμα *χρηστός ὢν* ποιεῖ** ‘No one does an evil thing, if he is good’).² Although such participles, when translated, can be developed into subordinate clauses, in their current unexpanded form, as is the case with the demotic anticipatory units discussed above, they do not affect the monopartite structure of the proverbs of which they form a part.

2. *Demotic Monopartite Proverbs*

As noted above in III.5, most of the demotic proverbs employ constructions associated with what has been called “the omni-present” tense. In monopartite proverbs, these constructions are: the habitual, the second present, some indicative *sḏm=fš*, the adjective-verb, the sentence with an adverbial predicate, the nominal sentence, the cleft sentence, and the imperative or the vetitive.

¹ *Ankh.* 25/22.

² *Men. Mon.* 615.

The habitual verb form [**dmA**]³ is, in general, the most common type of construction in demotic proverbs of the statement type.⁴ It is always used in the indicative, either in the affirmative (*hr sdm=f*) or the negative (*bw-ir=f sdm*),⁵ with or without an adverbial, with or without an anticipatory unit, and always conveying a general truth. Examples of this type of structure are proverbs **D14**: *hr tw dlh 3k rmt 3* ‘Disdain ruins the great man’, **D15**: *bw-ir rh rmt nzy=f ssw 3yt* ‘A man does not know his days (of) misfortune’,⁶ or **D16**: *hwt iu mn srgh bw-ir p3y=s nb tyt* ‘A feast in which there is no calm, its master cannot enjoy (it)’.⁷ As one can observe in these examples, the subject is always in the third person, and most frequently in the singular. This is a general characteristic of (mono-, bi-, or multipartite) proverbs of the statement type and is due to the fact that, in such statements, the nominals used as subjects or objects/predicates are ethical terms used generically to describe a common human character or a category of things, rather than a specific person or thing. In the aforementioned examples, *dlh*, *rmt 3*, *rmt*, *ssw 3yt*, and *hwt* are terms used in such a way (for a further discussion of the vocabulary used in the Egyptian and Greek bodies of text, see VI.6).

Moreover, in two examples from *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy*, the affirmative and negative habitual forms are used in proverbs introduced by *hmy iu* ‘would that’; these are: **D17**: *hmy iu hr hpr sp p3 mwt* ‘Would that existence (lit. becoming or happening) succeed death!’ and **D18**: *hmy iu bw-ir ts sh(.t) ir-uw wt* ‘Would that the field not fail to flourish!’.⁸ Here it may be observed that the addition of *hmy iu* at the beginning of each proverb affects the positioning of the constituents of the verbal

³ These initials are used henceforth to indicate the various structural models. In these indications, *dm* stands for “demotic monopartite”, *db* for “demotic bipartite”, *dmu* for “demotic multipartite”, *gm* for “Greek monopartite”, *gb* for “Greek bipartite”, and *gmu* for “Greek multipartite”, while the capital letters indicate the various types of sentence structure, a list of which is found in appendix B.

⁴ In *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy*, for instance, there are 53 examples of habitual constructions out of a total of 178 monopartite proverbs.

⁵ The only exception concerning the negative form is the negative habitual of the verb *rh* ‘to know’, which becomes *bw-ir rh=f* (*Grammar of Demotic*, §123).

⁶ *Ankh.* 12/10 and 12/3.

⁷ *Ins.* 23/9.

⁸ 10/25 and 10/18. Note that Lardinois excluded such wishes from his analysis, disagreeing with taking them as pieces of proverbial material (1995, p. 43—fn. 7). However, I choose to examine such sentences here given their position in the collections and their short, single-proverb-like form.

constructions, as the verb form *šp*, for instance, instead of directly following the habitual prefix, is placed after its nominal subject, occupying the position of (or, actually turning into) an infinitive.

The sense of the omni-present in monopartite proverbs is also expressed by the second present [**dmB**]. This tense is mostly used in proverbial statements, where the emphasis is put on their adverbial adjunct.⁹ Examples of such monopartite proverbs are found only in the affirmative and involve a prepositional phrase (highlighted here) as the adverbial adjunct, for example **D19**: *šr pr wn r p3 nt iw wn nkt tr.t=f* ‘It is to he who has something (in) his hand that a house is open’.¹⁰ Furthermore, in *The Instruction of P Insinger*, there are examples of the use of the second present in questions, emphasizing either an interrogative pronoun following a preposition or an interrogative adverb (see IV.2.1).

Apart from the habitual, as mentioned in III.4, verbs like *mr* ‘to love’ and *mst* ‘to hate’ (in addition to the verb *wn / mn* when it is employed to form existence clauses) also seem to describe, when used in a proverb, a state that occurs in the omni-present [**dmC**].¹¹ Examples of *sdm=f*s with *mr/mst* are very rare in monopartite proverbs¹²—for example, **D20**: *kl iw mr=f tgy mst=f p3 nt wnm=f* ‘A monkey that loves fruit, it hates the one who eats it’,¹³ where an anticipatory phrase precedes the main clause.

Kindred to these cases is the exceptional monopartite example of proverb **D21**: *in ‘nh=y hr=f n p3 šr-mwt* ‘“Am I alive?” asks he, namely the dead man’,¹⁴ where the idiomatic *hr=f* construction is employed.¹⁵ This construction is common to all Egyptian scripts and here it seems to replace a lexical verb.¹⁶

In contrast to these rare examples, existence clauses are more common in the demotic collections.¹⁷ Instances of monopartite existential

⁹ For the meaning of the demotic *adverbial adjunct*, see III.4.

¹⁰ *Ankh.* 14/13.

¹¹ For a discussion of the use of these verbs, see *Grammar of Demotic*, §28.

¹² For example, there is no instance of such a construction in an independent clause in the whole instruction of P Insinger.

¹³ *Ankh.* 23/15.

¹⁴ *Ankh.* 23/13.

¹⁵ Another instance of its use is *Ankh.* 23/16.

¹⁶ On its use in Middle and Late Egyptian, see Allen 2000, pp. 313–314 and Černý and Groll 1978, pp. 157–159.

¹⁷ In *The Instruction of Anksheshongy*, for instance, there are 33 examples of existential clauses out of a total of 325 proverbs examined.

proverbs are **D22**: *wn wy n htb* ‘There is release for killing’ and **D23**: *mn p3 mr p3 hy h3t m-tr p3 t3* ‘There is no love (for) the haughty (in) (lit. by) the land’,¹⁸ both involving adverbials.

As is the case with *sdm=f* forms, demotic adjective-verbs express the sense of the omni-present, often being part of a comparison [**dmD**]. An example of this is proverb **D24**: *n3-‘n sb3 r gtg n ls* ‘Better is muteness than a hasty tongue’,¹⁹ where a prepositional phrase introduced by the comparative *r* is employed, while a proverb without a comparison (or an adverbial) involved is **D25**: *n3-sbk mt.t 3.t iw sw l’l=s* ‘Few are (the) great thing(s) that are worthy of admiration’.²⁰

Less commonly a demotic monopartite proverb may include an adjectival predicate that precedes the nominal subject. Given that constructions of this type are more often expressed in demotic through the use of adjective-verbs, such examples can be considered as either signs of archaic or archaizing material, or as an indication of grammatical or dialectal variation (these involving two constructions that coexist and that may be used alternatively without showing any differences concerning their function and meaning). Instances of this type of sentence structure involve the following combination of constructions: adjective + an affirmative nominalized present relative clause + adverbial + anticipatory unit. An example of this is proverb **D26**: *p3 lh hn ir-shy dn p3 nt ir shne n-im=f* ‘The fool who has power, bad is what happens to him’.²¹

Moreover, the omni-present in monopartite proverbs is also expressed in the construction of sentences with an adverbial predicate [**dmE**]. Examples of this type of structure frequently have prepositional phrases of infinitives as their predicate and may begin with an anticipatory unit or include an additional adverbial, for example **D27**: *p3 nt hrs hn mt.t nh(t) p3y=f sy sm iy r-tbe.t=s* ‘The one who is steadfast in hardship, his fate goes and comes because of it’; **D28**: *p3 rmt rh n wy nb t3 hse.t n rm=f irm=f* ‘The wise man in every house, the praise of his name is with him’, and **D29**: *lh hn wy m-ktj mnh hn pr-ht irp* ‘A fool in a house is like fine clothes in a wine cellar’.²²

¹⁸ *Ankh.* 26/6 and *P* 2377 1.

¹⁹ *Ankh.* 15/16.

²⁰ *Ins.* 25/8.

²¹ *Ins.* 5/14.

²² *Ins.* 19/14, *Ins.* 29/5, and *Ankh.* 22/13.

Such a construction is also found in demotic monopartite proverbs introduced by *hmy iw/ür* ‘would that’. An instance of this is proverb **D30**: *hmy ür šr tn r pzy=f it* ‘Would that a son honour his father!’.²³

In addition to these constructions, another common omni-present verb form used in monopartite proverbs is the imperative. In fact, one of the reasons why scholars call Egyptian works like those investigated here “instructions” is the high frequency of their use of imperatives and vetitives. This frequent use of imperatives side by side with proverbial statements lends works of proverb literature an admonitory tone that evolves within the lines of didactic discourse between the “instructor / advisor” (that is, the author of these statements) and the “instructed / advisee” (that is, the person addressed by these second person singular imperatives).

Imperatives and vetitives in monopartite proverbs are always in the present tense and are always followed by one or more objects, sometimes combined with an adverbial [**dmF**]. Examples of such a construction are proverbs **D31**: *šms p3 nt iw=f šms.t=k* ‘Serve the one who will serve you’, **D32**: *m-ür mr pzy=k gy n ür-wp.t* ‘Do not be vexed about your occupation (lit. your manner of doing work)’, or **D33**: *m-ür dlh h’(m) sh h’(m) sty.t h’(m) gl-šr* ‘Do not disdain a small document, a small fire, or a small soldier’.²⁴

Less frequently, demotic monopartite proverbs are formed by nominal sentences with the copula occasionally omitted [**dmG**]. These involve the combinations: a) affirmative definite noun × 2 ±²⁵ copula ± adverbial ± anticipatory unit—for example, **D34**: *t3 rhne.t n p3 rmt-ntr hn st-the pzy p3 ntr pzy p3 ntr(sic)* ‘The support of the man of god in misfortune is the god’, **D35**: *yb ls n rmt rh’ pzy=f w.y pzy p3 ntr* ‘The heart and tongue of a wise man, the state (of) their (lit. its) house is the god’,²⁶ or **D36**: *rnm.t hwt-ntr w’b* ‘The wealth (of) a temple is the priest’;²⁷ b) affirmative definite noun + *n* of predication + indefinite noun + adverbial + anticipatory unit—for example, **D37**: *rmt iw=f mr tzy=f hm.t n lby m-b3h=f* ‘A man who is sick, his wife is a lioness before him’;²⁸ and c) affirmative indefinite noun × 2 ± copula + adverbial—for

²³ *Ankh.* 10/21. See comments on this proverb in Vittmann 1981, p. 23.

²⁴ *Ankh.* 6/4, 6/24, and 16/25.

²⁵ Note the use of ± here, which henceforth stands for ‘with or without’.

²⁶ *Ins.* 19/12 and 30/19. The reading and translation of the second proverb follow those in Quack 1996, p. 68.

²⁷ *Ankh.* 8/18.

²⁸ *Ankh.* 15/12.

example, **D38**: *lh r ms^c irm rmt rh ipt r ms^c irm tzy=f sfy* ‘A fool going with a wise man is (like) a bird going with its slaughter knife’, or **D39**: *amy.t rmt w^c.t y.t n-im=f tzy* ‘The character (of) a man is one of his limbs’.²⁹

The last category also includes examples with two parallel units, such as proverb **D40**: *sh.m.t grh hs.t mre* ‘A woman at night, praise by day’.³⁰ The meaning of this proverb is obscure. It could allude to the sexual activity of a woman at night, which is praised by her lover in the daytime. The parallel units here are the antonymous adverbials *grh* and *mre*.³¹ The semantic obscurity of this proverb is due to the extreme brevity of its language and the allusiveness of its message (for a discussion of such semantic obscurities, see VI.7). Concerning the latter, such instances may have alluded to a cultural reservoir that is not available to the modern reader.

Similar to the nominal sentences mentioned above is the type of sentence structure that involves the equation of a noun with a nominalized infinitive.³² Such examples follow the pattern ‘affirmative indefinite noun or nominalized infinitive(s) + affirmative or negative nominalized infinitive ± adverbial ± anticipatory unit’—for example, **D41**: *rm.t n tme tm t ri.t* ‘The wealth of a city is not taking sides’, **D42**: *rmt iw=f ti hpr ht mh-1 p3 swr=f p3 wnm=f p3 t=f* ‘A man who has acquired money for the first time, the drinking of it and the eating of it are the spending of it’,³³ **D43**: *sp n p3 ntr n p3 rmt-ntr ti y h3t=f n nzy=f ssw n^c* ‘A gift of the god to the man of god is making him patient (lit. causing his heart to be great) in his days of mercy’, or **D44**: *htb p3 rmt swg an4=f n tzy=f amy.t dn.t* ‘To kill the idiot is to draw him away from his bad character’.³⁴

Furthermore, cleft sentences are very common in monopartite proverbs [**dmH**]. They can be affirmative or negative, and they may employ an adverbial or an anticipatory unit. Thus they appear in the following combinations: 1) indefinite or definite noun(s) + affirmative nominalized present relative clause—for example, **D45**: *p3 sy irm p3 shn nt iy p3 ntr p3 nt t iy n-im=f tmt* 62 ‘The fate and the fortune that come, the god is the one who sends them (lit. it)—total 62’, **D46**: *(t3)*

²⁹ *Ankh.* 22/12 and 11/14.

³⁰ *Ankh.* 22/9. See also *Ankh.* 10/3.

³¹ These antonymous adverbials are also used in the bipartite proverb **D106**.

³² Such a type of structure can be taken either as a sub-category of sentences with an adverbial predicate or, as is the case here, as a sub-category of nominal equations (cf. Johnson 1981, pp. 418–419).

³³ *Ankh.* 9/3 and 15/10.

³⁴ *Ins.* 18/16 and 14/5.

dn.t nt ÿ n p3 lh he.t=f irm hnn=f p3 nt in.t=s ‘(The) evil that comes to the fool, his belly and his phallus are those (lit. the one) that bring it’, **D47**: *bn-ïw n rmt rh hn zmy.t p3 nt ÿh n-ïm=s in* ‘A wise man in character is not the one who lives by it’, or **D48**: *bn-ïw n lh n hr=f in p3 nt ÿw p3y=f ÿh nh.t* ‘A fool to his face (i.e. as such?)³⁵ is not the one whose life is hard’;³⁶ 2) independent pronoun + affirmative nominalized present relative clause—for example, **D49**: *mtw=f p3 nt h3’ s3b3 hn btw r-tbe dr-tr.t* ‘It is he (i.e. the god) the one who leaves the impious man to suffer (lit. in punishment) because of brutality’, or **D50**: *p3 h3t irm p3y=f sbk mtw=f p3 nt fy p3y=f nb* ‘The heart with its littleness, it is the one that carries its owner’,³⁷ and 3) affirmative nominalized present relative clause × 2—for example, **D51**: *p3 nt w n b3.t r-tbe hlf p3 nt ÿw p3y=f mwt nh.t* ‘The one who is wrathful (lit. great of anger) because of a mistake is the one whose death is hard’, or **D52**: *p3 nt ÿw ÿw=w hwr=f n w’ t n-ïm=w p3 nt ir s3b3 n h3t=f* ‘The one who is deprived of one of them (i.e. wine, women, and food) is the one who acts as an enemy of his heart’.³⁸

To these examples of cleft sentences should be added a few proverbs of the same type, which come from *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy* and which are introduced by *hmy ÿw* ‘would that’. These include the combinations of an indefinite or a definite noun plus an affirmative nominalized present relative clause with or without an adverbial—for example, **D53**: *hmy ÿw p3 sn ‘z p3 tme p3 nt ÿw=w hn=f n=f* ‘Would that the “elder brother”³⁹ (of) the town be the one to whom it is entrusted!’, or

³⁵ Thus Lichtheim 1983, p. 200.

³⁶ *Ins.* 5/11, 6/1, 5/5, and 5/6. The second example is a popular paradoxical ending of a “teaching” of *The Instruction of P Insinger* that contains a standardized phrase followed by an indication of the total number of sentences that constitute the “teaching” concerned.

³⁷ *Ins.* 23/24 and 24/22.

³⁸ *Ins.* 5/2 and 17/17. The last proverb is an example of the problems scholars face in determining whether the relative construction employed in such a case is in the present or in the future. I have chosen to translate this construction here in the present, following the example of other scholars (see, for instance, Lichtheim 1983, p. 215), although in the future it would still make sense, stressing an aspectual value of the state described; that is, the fact that even if this kind of deprivation occurs once, it is enough to turn a person against his body.

³⁹ The meaning of the term “elder brother” is obscure. It is most probably used metaphorically in the demotic instructions to denote a person with a high social status, like a respected member of the community who can be trusted (see also *Ankh.* 10/15 where one can act as an “elder brother”).

D54: *hmy iw šr hry p3 nt ir hry* ‘Would that a son (of) a superior be the one who acts as a superior!’.⁴⁰

Along with the majority of constructions used in monopartite proverbs and associated with the omni-present tense, there are a few exceptional examples of proverbs of the statement type that employ non-omni-present verbs. These types of monopartite proverb consist of some rare instances that employ either a future or a past tense with or without an anticipatory phrase or an adverbial [**dmI**].

The former group includes proverbs of the following type: affirmative or negative future indicative ± adverbial—for example, **D55:** *bn-iw šhnt=k dn3(.t)* ‘Being evil will not provide for you’, **D56:** *iw=k d šy nfr r phw n iw.t* ‘May you say “Good fortune” at the end of old age’,⁴¹ or **D57:** *bn-iw 3wy d msdr* ‘Praise will not speak (to) the ear’.⁴² In these examples the future could be taken as expressing either a wish or a trustworthy prediction.

Similar to this is the case of one exceptional example from *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy* in which the future follows the optative *hmy iw* ‘would that’; this is proverb **D58:** *hmy iw bn-iw=f mwt p3 nt iw=y pgy n=f p3y=y hbs* ‘Would that he not die, the one to whom I lend my clothing!’.⁴³ This is also one of the rare examples of the so-called “reversed anticipation” (for this, see IV.2.3), as the phrase *p3 nt iw=y pgy n=f p3y=y ib* qualifies the pronoun *f* used before it.

When the future tense makes a trustworthy prediction or warns, it alludes to one or more possible actions or states that occur in the present (that is, before the utterance of the warning). In other words, such an action/state is probably part of an implied hidden conditional. This justifies the use of the future here as a sign of the apodosis of the implied present protasis. Thus, for example, proverb **D55**, in order to make sense as a warning, needs to be translated like a proverb with a conditional: ‘If you are evil, this will not provide for you’. Therefore the main difference between such a statement in the future and an omni-present proverbial statement lies in that the former cannot stand without depending on a possible action, state, or event that invokes the addresser’s warning. Were this proverb in the omni-present, reading

⁴⁰ 10/14 and 10/22.

⁴¹ *Ankh.* 15/19 and 11/22.

⁴² *P 2414* 1/11. The reading and translation of this proverb follow those in Lichtheim 1983, p. 94 and fn. k.

⁴³ 10/13.

‘being evil does not provide for you’, it would make sense on its own, making a statement that was true under all circumstances.

In addition, there are examples of monopartite proverbs employing a past *sdm=f*. An instance of such a type of structure without an anticipatory unit is proverb **D59**: *tw=f hpr šme irm pry.t hn n3 h‘.w htp(.w) spt(.t)* ‘He (i.e. the god) created summer and winter through the risings and the settings (of) Sothis’.⁴⁴ Here the use of the past is justified by the fact that the proverb describes a mythico-historical event that took place during the days of the creation of the world with probable repercussions for the world of today. It should also be mentioned that this proverbial statement belongs to a long passage that contains similar statements about the past activities of the creator god (that is, lines 31/24–32/17).

Another instance of a monopartite proverb involving the use of a verb form in the past with an anticipatory unit is **D60**: *p3 htb rmt-rh bn-pw=w htb.t=f* ‘The prudent killer, he has not been killed’.⁴⁵ The meaning of this proverb is probably that a killer who is prudent does not get killed in the course of his action. Therefore the main clause with the past form here describes the effect of the killer’s prudence. The past form in this instance is used to convey a completed action expressed by the perfective aspect of the verb form. As a statement this proverb is slightly different from an omni-present proverbial statement, since it conveys the message that the killer has not been killed by allowing the possibility of him getting killed sometime in the future, while the corresponding omni-present statement (that is, ‘the prudent killer, he is not killed’) would refer to a killer that would never get killed.

The same type of non-omni-present construction includes a unique example with a unit in apposition (highlighted here); this is proverb **D61**: *tw=f hpr hr‘3.t wbe n3 nt ‘nh t3 hpry.t n n3 sh.w(t)* ‘He (i.e. the god) created food for those who live, the miracle of the fields’.⁴⁶ The placement of the phrase highlighted in apposition could be taken as a poetic manner of referring to the act of the god as he has miraculously created all that grows in the fields to feed mankind. This, although it makes perfect sense in its poetic translation into English, is very rare in demotic.

⁴⁴ *Ins.* 32/3.

⁴⁵ *Ankh.* 12/20.

⁴⁶ *Ins.* 32/4.

2.1. *Questions as Demotic Monopartite Proverbs*

Apart from the regular monopartite proverbs of the statement and the instructional types, there are three exceptional rhetorical questions [dmJ] found in *The Instruction of P Insinger*. These are **D62**: *ûr p3 r' irm yḥ šm iy ḥn t3 p.t iḥ* 'How do the sun and moon go and come in the sky?', **D63**: *ûr p3 mw irm t3 sty.t irm t3w šm iy tne* 'Whence go and come water, fire, and wind?', and **D64**: *ûr s3 ḥyk ḥpr pḥr.w n nm* 'Through whom do amulet and spell become remedies?'.⁴⁷ All these are monopartite proverbs with a second present putting the emphasis on the interrogative adverbials, which stand at the end of each proverb (that is, *iḥ*, *tne*, and *n nm*).

Being rhetorical questions, these proverbs create a pseudo-discursive atmosphere within which the author projects his amazement about the way Nature functions under the control of the god. The answer to these questions is probably given indirectly in the adjacent material: the proverbs preceding and following these questions discuss the hidden work of the god who is responsible for everything in the world, thus suggesting that what the questions enquire about are results of the work of the god.

2.2. *Adverbials in Demotic Monopartite Proverbs*

As mentioned above in the overview of demotic grammar, adverbials (that is, prepositional phrases and adverbs) can indicate time, place, and direction, as well as various types of logical relationship between persons, things, actions, and so on, such as comparison, purpose, or causality. The adverbial, in each case, expands the meaning of the verb or nominal form it qualifies. Some verb forms of incomplete predication can rarely stand without a prepositional phrase. Therefore, for instance, the meaning of verbs of motion almost always needs to be accompanied by a prepositional phrase that indicates direction. Moreover, other verb forms seem to take a prepositional phrase as their direct object. In such cases, the use of the prepositional phrase is necessary and such a phrase is an integral part of the verbal construction. Therefore such a phrase is not an independent unit of the proverb and its use does not affect the sentence structure.

⁴⁷ 31/20–31/22.

More important for the construction of a proverb is the use of prepositional phrases with verb forms of complete predication or other constructions. Such forms do not need to be complemented by a prepositional phrase. Therefore, in such cases, the prepositional phrases are not integral parts of the construction, but stand as independent units of the proverb. Such types of prepositional phrase can be divided into those describing spatial and temporal relationships and those describing logical relationships.⁴⁸

The first type of prepositional phrase occurs in numerous proverbs. Spatial relationships can be assigned to a place or to a person. These are most often described in phrases that are introduced by the prepositions *n* 'in', *r* 'at', and *m-b3h* or *iir-hr* 'in front of / before'. The last two are used mostly with persons and are frequently found in proverbs that describe rules of conduct before a superior. An instance of this is found in proverb **D65**: *tm ti ph rn=k iir-hr=f hn mt.t nb(.t) r-tbe shm.t* 'Do not let your name come before him (i.e. your master) in any matter that concerns a woman'.⁴⁹

Temporal relationships, on the other hand, are not as frequently expressed as spatial ones. Instead, the sense of time is more often indicated by adverbs like *grh* '(by) night' and *mre* '(by) day'.⁵⁰ In some rare instances, such relationships are described in prepositional phrases introduced by the preposition *s* 'until' or in standardized phrases like *r h.t* 'at the beginning / before' and *r d.t* 'forever'. An instance of the use of the first is proverb **D66**: *bw-ir=w gm h3t sr s' p3 sswe n wh3 nkt tr.t=f* 'The heart of a son is not discovered until the day of seeking property from him',⁵¹ and an example of the use of the second is proverb **D67**: *p3 iir=w n=f mt(.t) nfi.t r h.t bn-iw=f rh ti sp n=s* 'The one to whom a good deed was done before, he will not be able to repay it'.⁵²

More important than this category of prepositional phrases is that containing phrases that describe logical relationships. These play an important role in the construction and conveyance of the proverbial message. Such logical relationships found in the construction of monopartite proverbs express causality, purpose, comparison, agency, exception, medium, and concern.

⁴⁸ Some examples of the use of prepositional phrases and other adverbials in *The Instruction of P Insinger* can be found in Williams 1948, § 135–171.

⁴⁹ *Ins.* 11/5.

⁵⁰ See, for instance, **D40**.

⁵¹ *Ins.* 12/20.

⁵² *Ankh.* 13/3.

Causality is expressed through the use of the preposition *r-tbe* introducing a noun or a phrase. In monopartite proverbs, this preposition is most commonly used after the following constructions: a) affirmative or negative habitual—for example, **D68**: *hr ph grt n hp r rmt swg* *r-tbe* *he.t=f* ‘Lawful punishment reaches the foolish man because of his belly’, or **D69**: *bw-ir=f ip r rsyt* *r-tbe* *nh hr sn.nw* ‘He (i.e. the one who is greedy) does not think of the morrow because of (his) life under an inferior’;⁵³ b) imperative or vetitive—for example, **D70**: *iiry snte n-im=s* *r-tbe* *t3 snte.t H.t-Hr* ‘Fear her (i.e. the bad woman) for fear (of) Hathor’, or **D71**: *tm nhet lh* *r-tbe* *nh* ‘Do not trust a fool because of an oath’;⁵⁴ c) second present—for example, **D72**: *iir=s ti g‘ r-hr ntr* *r-tbe* *m=s* ‘It is because of its name that one places a chapel under a god’;⁵⁵ d) adjective-verb—for example, **D73**: *p3 h‘(m) nm n3-z=f* *r-tbe* *rn=f* ‘The small dwarf, he is great because of his name’;⁵⁶ e) affirmative or negative existence clause—for example, **D74**: *wn p3 nt shne n zh* *r-tbe* *shne n rmt swg* ‘There is the one who meets grief because of meeting a foolish man’, or **D75**: *mn špy nhet n p3 lh* *r-tbe* *w-n-he.t* ‘There is no shame (or) trust for the fool because of (his) gluttony (lit. greatness of belly)’;⁵⁷ f) sentence with an adverbial predicate—for example, **D27**: *p3 nt hrš hn mt.t nht(.t) p3y=f šy šm iy* *r-tbe.t=s*, and g) cleft sentence—for example, **D49**: *mtw=f p3 nt h3‘ s3b3 hn btw* *r-tbe* *dr-tr.t*. In all these examples, the prepositional phrase is placed after the main construction of the proverb, introducing a noun (as in **D68**) or a phrase (for instance, in **D74**).

In addition, this kind of prepositional phrase can be employed in the anticipatory phrase instead of the main clause of a monopartite proverb. For instance, in proverb **D76**: *p3 hl nt snte r-tbe špy* *bw-ir=w* *s3=f hn btw* ‘The youth who has respect because of shame (towards the elders), he is not scorned through punishment’;⁵⁸ where such a prepositional phrase is included in the highlighted anticipatory unit of the sentence, the sense of causality expressed in the prepositional phrase does not concern the action described in the main clause, but rather the action described in the relative form of the anticipatory phrase.

⁵³ *Ins.* 7/9 and 15/16. The reading and translation of these proverbs follow those in Quack 1994b, p. 68.

⁵⁴ *Ins.* 8/11 and 12/11.

⁵⁵ *Ins.* 23/11.

⁵⁶ *Ins.* 24/9.

⁵⁷ *Ins.* 13/21 and 6/19.

⁵⁸ *Ins.* 9/8.

Apart from the case of causality, the preposition *r-tbe* is also used in monopartite proverbs to express *purpose* after an action described by a verbal construction. When it is employed in such a way, it complements the meaning of the following constructions: a) affirmative or negative habitual—for example, **D77**: *hr tw=f s n pzy=f mryt r-tbe lg rwš hn hzt=f* ‘He (i.e. the god) gives it (i.e. money) to his beloved in order to remove worry from his heart’, or **D78**: *bw-ir=w ti h‘ n p3 iir sk r-tbe hwy.t=w r ky m-sz=f* ‘A lifetime is not given to the one who has hoarded in order to leave them (i.e. the millions, which he acquired by hoarding) to another after him’,⁵⁹ b) vetitive—for example, **D79**: *tm wstn=f n hrw=k r-tbe rh pzy=k w n hzt=f* ‘Do not speak freely to him so that he knows your greatness (lit. for knowing your greatness in his heart)’,⁶⁰ and c) affirmative past—for example, **D80**: *tw=f hpr p3 nh irm p3 mwt m-bzh=f r-tbe p3 t-w.t p3 szb3* ‘He (i.e. the god) created life and death before him for the torment (lit. causing of torment) (of) the impious man’.⁶¹

Comparison is expressed by prepositional phrases introduced by either the preposition *r*, which is translated in this case as ‘more than’, or the preposition *m-ktty* with the meaning of ‘like’. The former are most commonly used after clauses with adjective-verbs, the latter after clauses with a habitual. An example of the former is proverb **D81**: *n3-š3 rnm.t wstn r rnm.t n f* ‘The wealth (of) generosity is greater than the wealth of greed’.⁶² In addition, there is one example where this type of prepositional phrase is not employed after an adjective-verb, namely proverb **D82**: *p3 ntr nt ww r pzy=f tmy bw-ir rh=w pzy=f w r ky* ‘The god who is far from his town, his greatness is not known more than another(’s)’.⁶³ Here what is being compared is not a quality, such as those indicated by the adjective-verbs, but a state (that is, that of being known).

Concerning the latter type of structure, these prepositional phrases are associated with either an affirmative or negative habitual, or a sentence with an adverbial predicate. Instances of these are **D83**: *p3 sdyn nt ph r p3 lh hr sz=f m-ktty p3 t3w* ‘The counsel that reaches the fool, it is weightless like the wind’, **D84**: *bw-ir=w gm hzt šm.t m-ktty t3*

⁵⁹ *Ins.* 15/20 and 18/14.

⁶⁰ *Ins.* 10/16.

⁶¹ *Ins.* 32/14.

⁶² *Ins.* 15/11.

⁶³ *Ins.* 28/6.

p.t ‘One does not discover the heart (of) a woman any more than (one knows) the sky (lit. like the sky)’,⁶⁴ and **D29**: *lh hn ‘w.y m-ky mnh hn pr-ht irp*.

In all these examples, the nouns that are being compared (that is, the counsel and the wind in the first example, the heart of the woman and the sky in the second, and the fool with fine clothes in the last) do not belong to the same generic categories and therefore their association is meant metaphorically in each case (for the use of metaphors in proverbs, see VI.3).

Agency is expressed through the use of the prepositions *n-tr* or *m-tr* ‘by’, or *n*. Examples of these are proverbs **D6**: *ir pzy=w ssw tr=w dnt (n)-tr rmt rh*, **D23**: *mn pz mr pz hy hzt m-tr pz tz*, and **D64**: *ir sz hyk hpr phr.w n nm*.

The sense of *exception* is conveyed through the use of a prepositional phrase that is introduced by *m-sz* ‘except for’. Such phrases are employed after clauses with an affirmative or a negative habitual. The only examples of this type of sentence structure are **D85**: *wn pz nt iw bw-ir=f nhet m-sz nhet n-im=f* ‘There is the one who does not trust (anyone) except for himself’, and **D86**: *mn sn hn mhw.t m-sz sn n ‘t n hzt=f* ‘There is no brother in the family except for the brother who is kindhearted’.⁶⁵

Furthermore, there is a sole example of the preposition *n* used with the meaning ‘by means of’, expressing, that is, the *medium*. This comes from *The Instruction of P Insinger* and reads in proverb **D87**: *hr ir hne pzy=f dnt ddy n pzy=f tm stm* ‘The fool makes an enemy of his questioner by means of his not listening’.⁶⁶

Finally, the category of *concern* consists of prepositional phrases introduced by the preposition *r-tbe* with the meaning ‘concerning’. An example of this is **D65**: *tm ti ph rn=k ir-hr=f hn mt.t nb(.t) r-tbe shm.t*.

In addition to these types of prepositional phrase, which describe logical relationships, there are those that play the role of the direct objects of certain verbs or idiomatic phrases. Examples of the first type are mentioned above in the course of the overview of demotic grammar and syntax.⁶⁷ Concerning the second type, the most common of these idiomatic phrases is that which is introduced by *n-tr n* or *n ‘*

⁶⁴ *Ins.* 22/19 and 12/22.

⁶⁵ *Ins.* 13/1 and 26/15.

⁶⁶ 26/4.

⁶⁷ See p. 57.

n ‘in the hand of’.⁶⁸ Instances of the use of such phrases are found in proverbs **D88**: *ûr sñy ip ïrm ‘w n hzt (n) ‘(n) p3 ntr* ‘It is (in) the hand (of) the god that are the taking of counsel, thought, and patience (lit. greatness of heart)’, and **D89**: *m-ïr hwy b3k n-tr (n) p3y=f hry* ‘Do not throw a servant into the hand (of) his master’.⁶⁹ As is obvious from the translation of these examples, the idiomatic phrase in question means ‘in the control / possession of’.

2.3. *Anticipation in Demotic Monopartite Proverbs*

In the case of anticipation in monopartite proverbs, the anticipatory phrase is always resumed by a personal pronoun employed in the main clause of the proverb. Thus, for example, in proverb **D90**: *⟨p3⟩ šw3 nt ‘w r p3y=f dnf hr ht=w p3y=f hw3 n-ïm=f* ‘(The) beam that is longer than its (right) measure, its excess is cut off from it’,⁷⁰ the anticipatory phrase highlighted is identical to what is denoted by the suffix pronoun *f* used twice in the main clause.

Such an anticipatory unit can consist of one or more words or clauses that qualify a nominal term that is referred to by a pronoun in the main clause. The main clause, on the other hand, can be a proverb of the statement or the instructional type (see examples of both types below), involving the use of one of the aforementioned omni-present or non-omni-present constructions.

Anticipatory phrases in monopartite proverbs include the following constructions in various combinations: a) indefinite or definite noun(s) + affirmative or negative present relative clause ± adverbial—for example, **D46**: *⟨t3⟩ dn.t nt iy n p3 lh he.t=f ïrm hnm=f p3 nt in.t=s*, **D91**: *lh iw bw-ïr rh=f rh bw-ïr=f wy r 3h* ‘The fool who is not able to acquire knowledge (lit. to know), he is not far from trouble’,⁷¹ or **D45**: *p3 šy ïrm p3 shn nt iy p3 ntr p3 nt t iy n-ïm=f tmt* 62; b) affirmative nominalized present relative clause ± affirmative present relative clause—for example, **D92**: *p3 nt nk shm.t iw wn-mtw=s hy hr glg ûr=w nk t3y=f hm.t hr p3 itn* ‘He who violates on the bed a woman that has a husband, it is on the ground that his wife is violated’, or **D93**: *p3 nt ‘š3y sš mt.t ûr=f mwt n-ïm=s* ‘The one who often scorns a matter, it

⁶⁸ *Glossar*, pp. 643 and 52.

⁶⁹ *Ins.* 22/5 and *Ankh.* 16/6.

⁷⁰ *Ins.* 4/14.

⁷¹ *Ins.* 4/20.

is through it that he will die’;⁷² c) definite noun + negative past relative clause—for example, **Dg4**: *p3 šr nt iw bn-pw=w mtre=f hr ir p3y=f* ⟨...⟩ *hpryt* ‘The son who has not been instructed, his ⟨...⟩ causes wonder’;⁷³ d) freestanding nominal or affirmative nominalized present relative clause + prepositional phrase—for example, **Dg5**: *iry n lh r-tbe ls=f n3-š3 (n3 nt) gm.t=f m šš* ‘A companion of a man who is a fool (lit. of a fool) because of his tongue, numerous are (those who) surely find out (that he is a fool)’; or **Dg6**: *p3 nt ths r-tbe he.t=f n3y=f iry.w n3 nt nk=f* ‘The one who eats because of his belly, his companions are those that violate him’;⁷⁴ e) freestanding nominal ± adjective—for example, **Dg7**: *hrw 3 hr ir=f ss.t hn n3 y.w m-kty p3 šny* ‘A loud voice, it causes harm in the parts of the body like an illness’;⁷⁵ and f) affirmative nominalized future relative clause—for example, **Dg8**: *p3 nt iw=f d bn-iw=y rh ir t3 wp.t my wšd=f p3-R* ‘The one who says: “I shall not be able to do the task”, let him (also) pray to Re’.⁷⁶

As can be observed from these examples, the anticipatory elements of a monopartite proverb can be either a short phrase (all instances except **Dg7**) or a nominal expanded by an adjective (**Dg7**). In the first case, the phrase most commonly consists of either a noun qualified by a relative clause (as in **Dg1**) or a qualified or freestanding nominalized relative clause (for instance, in **Dg2** and **Dg3** respectively). In addition, nouns or nominalized relative clauses are found in anticipatory phrases also qualified by adjectives or prepositional phrases (for example, in **Dg7** and **Dg5** respectively). In some instances, relative forms can be attached to other subordinate clauses that expand the qualification of the emphasized term (as in **Dg2**). The relative forms employed in both cases can be in the present (for example, in **Dg2–g3**) or in the past (in **Dg4**).

When the subordinate clause used in the anticipatory phrase of a proverb is in the present, the action it describes takes place simultaneously with what is being described in the main clause. For instance, in **Dg2**, the man whose wife is violated in the present is he who violates a married woman in the present. This proverb, however, could also be translated as a present conditional, where the anticipatory phrase

⁷² *Ankh.* 21/19 and 9/9.

⁷³ *Ins.* 9/12.

⁷⁴ *Ins.* 12/24 and 6/21.

⁷⁵ *Ins.* 22/11.

⁷⁶ *P* 2377 9.

would play the role of the protasis and the main clause that of the apodosis. In this case, the proverb would be translated: 'If a man violates a married woman on her bed, his wife will be violated on the ground'.⁷⁷ This possibility is valid, because the anticipatory phrase can be taken logically as indicating the cause of the action described in the main clause.

Finally, when the subordinate clause used in an anticipatory phrase is in the past, what it describes has happened before what is described in the main clause. Thus, in **D94**, this temporal relationship marks the fact that what is described by the habitual in the main clause probably results from what is described in the past anticipatory phrase.

All these examples involve the use of one phrase or word in anticipation placed before the main clause of the proverb. However, there is also the case of double anticipation preceding such a clause. This involves the use of more than one anticipatory word or phrase. The first case is illustrated by proverb **D99**: *kns ʔyt krš tm n^c bw-ir=w htp 'n sp-sn* 'Violence, need, insult, unkindness, they never rest!'⁷⁸ where four nominals are anticipatory and are referred to in the main clause by the suffix pronoun *w*.⁷⁹ In the second case, there is only one proverb with a combination of a noun and a phrase in anticipation, namely proverb **D100**: *pʔ ls iw bw-ir-tw=w šn.t=f nʔy=f d pʔ ntr ir-rh s.t* 'Before the tongue has been questioned (lit. the tongue that is not questioned), its words, the god knows them'.⁸⁰ Here the first part of the anticipation contains a clause with a perfect relative (*iw bw-ir tw=w šn.t=f*), while the second consists of a freestanding noun (*nʔy=f d*). In this example, there is a chain of consecutive references, as the first phrase in anticipation names the nominal that is referred to in the second phrase in anticipation (that is, *pʔ ls*), while this, in its turn, names the nominal that is referred to in the main clause (that is, *nʔy=f d*).

As can be observed from the above instances with anticipation, the device of anticipation in monopartite proverbs is employed to lay an emphasis on a nominal unit of the proverb and/or to express a

⁷⁷ Most scholars choose a middle way of translating this proverb, keeping the future tense of the apodosis and thus reading the main clause as 'he will have his wife violated on the ground' (see, for instance, Glanville 1955, p. 49, and Lichtheim 1983, p. 86).

⁷⁸ *Ins.* 35/1.

⁷⁹ It is worth noting that referring to more than one object with a pronoun in the singular instead of the plural, as is the case in this proverb, is a common characteristic of demotic.

⁸⁰ *Ins.* 31/5.

prerequisite for making possible the situation described in the main clause of the proverb. An example of simple emphasis is **D99**, where the anticipatory unit lists the four subjects of the verb form used in the main clause (that is, violence, need, insult, and unkindness). An example of a combination of emphasis and logical function is **D92**, according to which the ravishment of the wife will happen only if her husband ravishes a married woman, the hypothetical condition being implied in the anticipatory phrase.

Finally, it should be noted that there are a few examples of a monopartite proverb involving a “reversed anticipation”, that is, a freestanding phrase that is placed after the main clause, which includes a pronoun that refers to it; such is the case in **D58**: *hmy iw bn-iw=f mwt p3 nt iw=y pgy n=f p3y=y hbs*, for instance. This exceptional construction is a rare deviation from the solid word order of demotic.

2.4. Other Emphatic Devices in Demotic Monopartite Proverbs

In demotic, word order is more fixed than in Greek and therefore, apart from anticipation, there was no opportunity for an Egyptian writer to play with the arrangement of the words of a proverb, putting, for example, what s / he would have liked to emphasize at the beginning of a proverb without disregarding the rules of syntax, as was possible in Greek. Instead, an Egyptian writer of proverbs employed either the second tense, which put the emphasis on the adverbial adjunct of the proverb, or the cleft sentence.⁸¹

The instances of the second present in monopartite proverbs discussed above take as their adverbial adjunct an interrogative adverb, an interrogative pronoun introduced by a preposition, or a prepositional phrase (see **dmB**).⁸²

This form of emphasis commonly found in monopartite proverbs of the statement type can also be combined with anticipation, as **D93**: *p3 nt š3y sš mt.t iir=f mwt n-im=s* shows. The two emphatic devices focus on different parts of the main clause, namely, the anticipation on the subject of the second present and the second tense on the adverbial.

In addition to the second tense, the Egyptian writer could emphasize the predicate of a nominal construction by using the cleft sentence.

⁸¹ See the discussion about the emphatic value of the cleft sentence and the second present contrasted to that of the anticipatory phrase in Depuydt 1991.

⁸² As examples of these see **D63–64** and **D19** respectively.

Examples of this are given above (such as **D45**: *p3 šy irm p3 šln nt iy p3 ntr p3 nt t iy n-im=f tmt* 62), while there are also examples where a cleft sentence can be used with anticipation (as in **D50**: *p3 h3t irm p3y=f sbk mtw=f p3 nt fy p3y=f nb*).

2.5. *Connecting Words in Demotic Monopartite Proverbs*

The only two connecting words that are used in monopartite proverbs to connect two units of a proverb are the marker of the relative clause and the preposition *irm*.⁸³ The former connects two clauses and the latter two nominal units, these being subjects or objects / predicates. There are numerous instances of the former, used either in the main body of a proverb or in a proverb's anticipatory unit (for instance, in **D91**: *lh iw bw-ir rh=f rh bw-ir=f wy r sh*). An instance of the use of the latter is found in **D59**: *tw=f hpr sme irm pry.t hn n3 h'w htp(.w) spt(.t)*, while *irm* can also be employed in anticipatory phrases, as is the case with **D45**: *p3 šy irm p3 šln nt iy p3 ntr p3 nt t iy n-im=f tmt* 62.

3. *Greek Monopartite Proverbs*

Greek monopartite proverbs, like their demotic counterparts, employ a wide range of constructions, most of which are in the present tense (in the indicative or a conditional in the case of proverbs of the statement type, or in the imperative and the subjunctive in the case of proverbs of the instructional type) or are associated with the proverbs' omni-present tense (such as the gnomic aorist), in addition to a smaller number of examples in the future and the past tenses.

Starting with the present tense proverbs of the statement type, there are two main categories of construction involved, those with the present tense indicative and those with impersonal verbal constructions (that is, verbs in the third person singular that do not take a personal subject). The former includes a great variety of verbs, while the latter includes fewer examples, always followed by a present tense infinitive that functions as their subject.⁸⁴

⁸³ For the use of *irm* in *The Instruction of P Insinger*, see brief comments in Williams 1948, §30.

⁸⁴ Schwyzler-Debrunner ii.366–367.

The former category of proverbs mainly employs the verb ‘to be’ and other verbs in the third person singular with some exceptions in the second person singular. The semantic value of such constructions is often expanded by a prepositional phrase or by an infinitival construction that describes a logical relationship and so plays a substantial role in the formation of a proverb. Finally, such proverbs often include connecting words like γάρ and δέ, which, being detached from their original context, do not seem to have an actual semantic value and therefore are left untranslated (see also the comments in fn. 202 of this chapter).

Greek monopartite proverbs with verbs in the present indicative include examples with the verb ‘to be’ and other verbs [gmA]. In examples of the former type, the verb ‘to be’ can take nominal, adjectival, or adverbial predicates. The category of examples with nominal predicates includes the following types of structure:

a) one or more definite nouns + indefinite noun ± verb ‘to be’ in the affirmative + adverbial—for example, **G10**: ἀγαθὸν μέγιστον ἢ φρόνησίς ἐστ’ αἰεί ‘Prudence is always the greatest good’, or **G11**: γυναικὶ κόσμος ὁ τρόπος, οὐ τὰ χρυσία ‘The ornament of a woman (is her) conduct not (her) golden jewellery’;⁸⁵

b) one or more indefinite nouns or a demonstrative + indefinite noun ± verb ‘to be’ in the affirmative or negative ± adverbial ± anticipatory phrase—for example, **G12**: ἀναφαίρετον κτῆμ’ ἐστὶ παιδεία βροτοῖς ‘Education for human beings (lit. mortals) is a possession that cannot be taken away’, **G13**: βίος βίου δεόμενος οὐκ ἔστιν βίος ‘A life that is lacking in (means of) life is not life’, **G14**: μεγάλη τυραννὶς ἀνδρὶ τέκνα καὶ γυνή ‘A great tyranny for a man (are his) children and wife’, or **G15**: κοινὸν ἀγαθὸν τοῦτ’ ἐστὶ, χρηστὸς εὐτυχῶν ‘This is a public good, (that is,) a good (man) who is in good fortune’;⁸⁶

c) indefinite noun or affirmative infinitive + possessive or subjective genitive ± verb ‘to be’ in the affirmative or negative ± adverbial—for example, **G16**: ἀνώμαλοι πλάστιγγες ἀστάτου τύχης ‘Uneven (are) the scales of balance of unstable fortune’, **G17**: γυναικὸς ἐσθλῆς ἐστὶ σφ-

⁸⁵ Men. *Mon.* 14 and 148.

⁸⁶ Men. *Mon.* 2, 115, 506, and 420.

ζειν οἰκίαν ‘Preserving a house is (a characteristic) of a noble woman’, or **G18**: δις ἑξαμαρτεῖν ταῦτόν οὐκ ἀνδρὸς σοφοῦ ‘To make the same mistake twice (is) not (a characteristic) of a wise man’,⁸⁷ and

d) pronoun + indefinite noun + affirmative verb ‘to be’ + participle—for example, **G19**: ὃν ἐπιθυμεῖ τις δοῦλός ἐστιν ‘One is a slave when he desires (something)’.⁸⁸

In group (c), the nominals in the genitive express possession when the subject of the equation is a noun (as in **G16**), and are the subject of an action when the subject of the equation is an infinitive (for example, in **G17–18**). As is the case with some demotic monopartite proverbs, the infinitives here can stand on their own without being qualified by the definite article, which is the proper marker of nominalization in this case. Finally, we must note the case of **G15** with “reversed anticipation”, a phenomenon also observed in some rare demotic monopartite examples (see IV.3.4).

In addition to these, there is one proverb of the last category (that is, infinitive + noun in genitive) where the two parts of the equation are interrupted by a vocative; this is **G20**: ἔστι(ν) τὸ τολμᾶν, ὦ φίλ’, ἀνδρὸς οὐ σοφοῦ ‘To dare, friend, is not (a characteristic) of a wise man’.⁸⁹ This is one of the rare examples where the infinitive is nominalized in the same way as a demotic infinitive, that is, by being introduced by the definite article.

Finally, to this category of monopartite proverbs with nominal predicates belongs an elliptical example; this is proverb **G21**: θάλασσα καὶ πῦρ καὶ γυνὴ τρίτον κακόν ‘Woman (is) the third evil thing (after) sea and fire’.⁹⁰ This is a popular proverb, versions of which are still used today in Modern Greek. Its elliptical structure seems to omit not only the verb ‘to be’, whose predicate would be the τρίτον κακόν, but also a preposition that would connect the first two nouns with γυνή. In other words, the prepositional phrase would probably be μετὰ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τοῦ πυρός.

Greek monopartite proverbs with adjectival predicates appear in the following combinations:

⁸⁷ Men. *Mon.* 82, 140, and 183.

⁸⁸ *Clit.* 12.

⁸⁹ Men. *Mon.* 248.

⁹⁰ Men. *Mon.* 323.

1) indefinite noun + adjective \pm verb ‘to be’ in the affirmative—for example, **G22**: εὐκαταφρόνητός ἐστι σιγηρὸς τρόπος ‘Contemptible is a silent way of conduct’, or **G23**: εὐπειστον ἀνὴρ δυστυχῆς καὶ λυπούμενος ‘A sad and miserable man (is) easily convinced’;⁹¹

2) one or two affirmative or negative infinitives linked by ἀλλά + adjective \pm verb ‘to be’ \pm adverbial \pm anticipatory unit—for example, **G24**: ἀπαξ ἀκοῦσαι τοὺς ἐλευθέρους καλόν ‘It (is) good that the free (men) listen (at least) once’, **G25**: εὗρεῖν τὸ δίκαιον πανταχῶς οὐ ῥάδιον ‘To find justice in every way (is) not easy’;⁹² **G26**: ὧν κοινὸς ὁ θεὸς καὶ ταῦτα ὡς πατήρ, τούτων μὴ κοινὰ εἶναι τὰ κτήματα οὐκ εὐσεβές ‘For men who have God in common, and that as Father, for those it (is) impious for their possessions not to be in common’, **G27**: οὐ χαλεπὸν καὶ ἐν λόγῳ νενικησθαι ‘It (is) not difficult to have good knowledge and yet lose an argument’;⁹³ or **G28**: οὐ τὸ μὴ ζῆν δεινόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ καλῶς ζῆν ‘Not living is not a sad (thing), but not living well (is)’;⁹⁴

3) indefinite noun + adjective + verb ‘to be’ in the negative with ἄν and optative—for example, **G29**: ἀνὴρ ἄριστος οὐκ ἂν εἴη δυσγενής ‘A very noble man is not likely to be low-born’;⁹⁵

4) indefinite noun or affirmative or negative infinitive + adjective in the comparative \pm verb ‘to be’ in the affirmative + genitive or ἢ with noun or infinitive \pm participle \pm adverbial—for example, **G30**: βέλτιον πολλὰ χρήματα ἀπολέσαντα ἕνα φίλον κτήσασθαι ἢ ἕνα φίλον ἀπολέσαντα πολλὰ χρήματα κτήσασθαι ‘To have one friend after you have lost a lot of money (is) better than having a lot of money after you have lost one friend’, **G31**: ἄμεινον δικαίως κρίναντα πρὸς τοῦ καταδικασθέντος ἀδίκως μεμφθῆναι ἢ κρίναντα παρὰ τῇ φύσει δικαίως ψέγεσθαι ‘Better (is) to accuse the one who justly judges of a (man) who has been wrongly condemned than to blame the one who judges justly by nature’;⁹⁶ **G32**: γυναῖκα θάπτειν κρεῖσσόν ἐστι(ν) ἢ γαμεῖν ‘To bury a woman is bet-

⁹¹ Men. *Mon.* 240 and 249. Note that, in the second example, the ending -ov is not in accordance with the ἀνὴρ, while the metre is also off. For this, see Liapis 2002, pp. 327–328 with n. 242.

⁹² Men. *Mon.* 6 and 257.

⁹³ *Sext.* 228 and 187.

⁹⁴ *Phil. Log.* 51–52.

⁹⁵ Men. *Mon.* 32.

⁹⁶ Mosch. *Gn.* 4 and 15.

ter than marrying (one)', **G33**: γνώμη γερόντων ἀσφαλεστέρα νέων 'The opinion of the old men (is) safer than (that) of young ones', or **G34**: ἄμεινόν (ἐστιν) ἀνδρὶ μὴ γαμετὴν [ἐκ]τρέφειν '(It is) better for a man not to feed a wife';⁹⁷

5) affirmative present relative clause + adjective—for example, **G35**: ἀχάριστος, ὅστις εὖ παθὼν ἀνημιμονεῖ 'Ungrateful (is) the one who forgets when he receives benefits';⁹⁸

6) second person singular verb 'to be' in the affirmative optative + adjective + participle + adverbial—for example, **G36**: χρηστός ὢν εἰς τοὺς δεομένους μέγας ἂν εἴης παρὰ θεῷ 'If you are good to the needy, you would be great in God's sight',⁹⁹ and

7) one or two definite nouns linked by ἀλλά + adjective ± verb 'to be' in the affirmative or negative ± adverbial—for example, **G37**: σώφρων ἐστὶν οὐχ ὁ τῶν κωλυομένων μὴ ἀπτόμενος, ἀλλ' ὁ τῶν συγχωρουμένων φειδόμενος 'Prudent is not the one who does not touch what is forbidden, but the one who is sparing of what is permitted',¹⁰⁰ **G38**: πιστός ἀληθείᾳ ὁ ἀναμάρτητος 'The sinless (man) (is) truly faithful', or **G39**: οὐ γὰρ μικρὸν ἐν βίῳ τὸ παρὰ μικρὸν 'In life (even) the smallest thing (is) not trivial (lit. small)'.¹⁰¹

In almost all these examples, the adjectival predicate, as expected, agrees in gender and number with the nominal subject. However, as in **G23**, it is often the case in Greek monopartite proverbs that the adjectival predicate appears in the neutral singular regardless of the gender and number of its nominal subject. A similar example to **G23** is proverb **G40**: ἀσυλλόγιστόν ἐστιν ἡ πονηρία 'An unreasoning (thing) is wickedness'.¹⁰² In this case, as the translation suggests, ἀσυλλόγιστον should be considered as a nominal. Therefore such a proverb is an example not with an adjectival predicate but with a nominal one.

Furthermore, two proverbs, belonging to categories (5) and (4) respectively, should also be noted here, the first involving an exclamation

⁹⁷ Men. *Mon.* 151, 164, and 90.

⁹⁸ Men. *Mon.* 12.

⁹⁹ *Sext.* 52.

¹⁰⁰ Mosch. *Gn.* 8.

¹⁰¹ *Sext.* 8 and 10.

¹⁰² Men. *Mon.* 36.

in place of a statement¹⁰³ and the second involving a vocative in addition to a statement; these are **G41**: ὃ τρισκακοδαίμων, ὅστις ὦν πένης γαμῇ ‘O thrice-wretched (lit. possessed by an evil genius), he who marries when poor!’ and **G42**: ὃ Ζεῦ, τὸ πάντων κρεῖττον ἐστὶ νοῦν ἔχειν ‘O Zeus, better than anything is to be sensible’.¹⁰⁴

Finally, to this type of Greek monopartite construction one should add the numerous examples of sentences containing οὐδέν in their adjectival predicate. This is a very common type of construction in which οὐδέν is combined:

a) with nominal (noun + relative clause or adjective) ± verb ‘to be’—for example, **G43**: φιλόσοφον οὐδέν ἐστὶν ὃ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀφαιρεῖται ‘No thing that takes away freedom is philosophical’, or **G44**: οὐδέν ἀκοινώνητον ἀγαθόν ‘Nothing that is not shared (is) good’.¹⁰⁵

b) with adjective + adverbial ± verb ‘to be’—for example, **G45**: ἀνευ προφάσεως οὐδέν ἀνθρώποις κακόν ‘No bad (thing) for men (exists) without a reason’, or **G46**: βέβαιον οὐδέν ἐστὶν ἐν θνητῷ βίῳ ‘Nothing is certain in mortal life’.¹⁰⁶ and

c) with adjective in the comparative + noun in genitive ± verb ‘to be’—for example, **G47**: βουλῆς γὰρ ὀρθῆς οὐδέν ἀσφαλέστερον ‘Nothing (is) more reliable than right counsel’, or **G48**: ἰσχυρότερον δέ γ’ οὐδέν ἐστὶ τοῦ λόγου ‘Nothing is indeed stronger than reasoning’.¹⁰⁷

Moving to monopartite proverbs with adverbial predicates, there are a smaller number of examples in comparison to those involving nominal and adjectival predicates. Such proverbs have a uniform type of structure that involves the pattern ‘definite noun or affirmative infinitive + one or more adverbials with the affirmative present verb ‘to be’ omitted’. Instances of such a structure are proverbs **G49**: ἀνδρὸς καλῶς

¹⁰³ For a modern parallel of such a construction, see the English ‘Here lies the rub!’ (Gluski 1971, no. 12.29).

¹⁰⁴ Men. *Mon.* 861 and 866. For the original context of the latter’s dramatic exclamation, see the extensive comments in Liapis 2002, p. 488–490 with n. 851. Furthermore, for similar types of address to that employed in the first proverb, see Dickey 1996, pp. 167 ff. Finally, it should be noted that the structure of **G41** is very similar to that of **G35**, the only difference being that, in **G35**, there is no exclamatory particle.

¹⁰⁵ *Sext.* 275 and 296.

¹⁰⁶ Men. *Mon.* 44 and 96.

¹⁰⁷ Men. *Mon.* 109 and 361.

πράττοντος ἐγγὺς οἱ φίλοι ‘His friends (are) close to the man who is enjoying good fortune’, **G50**: ἐν πλησμονῇ τοι Κύπρις, ἐν πεινῶσι οὐ ‘Aphrodite (goes) indeed to the sated and not to the hungry’,¹⁰⁸ or **G51**: οἰκείων ὀργὰς δύνασθαι φέρειν κατὰ φιλόσοφον ‘The ability to endure the anger of friends (is) in accord with the philosopher’.¹⁰⁹

The category of Greek monopartite proverbs with verbs other than the verb ‘to be’ in the present indicative involves the use of the following constructions:

a) affirmative or negative indicative with one or more subjects linked in some cases by ἀλλά or οὐκ-οὐδέ-οὐδέ-ἀλλά ± second person singular personal pronoun as object ± adverbial—for example, **G52**: διὰ τὰς γυναικάς πάντα τὰ κακὰ γίγνεται ‘On account of women all evils come to pass’, **G53**: ὁ μὴ δαρεῖς ἄνθρωπος οὐ παιδεύεται ‘The man who does not get beaten does not get educated’, **G54**: ὃν οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν, ἀποθνήσκει νέος ‘The one whom the gods like dies young’, **G55**: γυνὴ (δὲ) κολακεύει σε τοῦ λαβεῖν χάριν ‘A woman flatters you for the sake of getting (something)’,¹¹⁰ **G56**: οὐκ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐδὲ χεὶρ ἀμαρτάνει οὐδὲ τι τῶν ὁμοίων, ἀλλ’ ὁ κακῶς χρῶμενος χειρὶ καὶ ὀφθαλμῷ ‘Neither an eye nor a hand nor any such thing sins, but he who misuses a hand and an eye’, or **G57**: οὐ τὰ εἰσιόντα διὰ τοῦ στόματος σιτία καὶ ποτὰ μαιίνει τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἀπὸ κακοῦ ἥθους ἐξιόντα ‘Not the food and drinks that come in through the mouth, but what results from an evil moral defiles a man’,¹¹¹ and

b) affirmative or negative optative + adverbial ± participle—for example, **G58**: σοφοῦ ψυχῆς μέγεθος οὐκ ἂν ἐξεύροις μᾶλλον ἢπερ καὶ θεοῦ ‘You would not discover the greatness of a wise man’s soul any more than the very (greatness) of God’, or **G59**: τὸν ἀδικοῦντα τοῦ ἀδικεῖν ἀπαλλάττων κολάζεις ἂν κατὰ θεόν ‘By releasing an unjust (person) from (his) wrongdoing, you would punish (him) in accord with God’.¹¹²

This category also includes an example where an interjection is employed introducing the proverbial statement, namely **G60**: οἴμοι, τὸ γὰρ

¹⁰⁸ Men. *Mon.* 71 and 231. For the Aphroditic-erotic connotations of the reference to “the Cypriot”, see comments by Liapis (2002, pp. 321–323 with n. 225).

¹⁰⁹ *Sext.* 293.

¹¹⁰ Men. *Mon.* 203, 573, 583, and 167.

¹¹¹ *Sext.* 12 and 110.

¹¹² *Sext.* 403 and 63.

ἄφνω δυστυχεῖν μανίαν ποιεῖ ‘Woe’s me, the sudden misfortune gives birth to (lit. makes) madness!’.¹¹³ The use of an interjection here grants the proverb a dramatic tone.

Additionally, to the last category of monopartite proverbs with verbs in the present indicative belong two examples with elliptical constructions; these are proverbs **G61**: σοφὸν ὁ μὴ φιλῶν, οὐδὲ ἑαυτὸν ‘The one who does not love a wise man (he does not) also (love) himself’, and **G62**: ὦ γῆρας ἀνθρώποισιν εὐκταῖον κακόν ‘O old age, evil (thing) desired by men!’.¹¹⁴ In the first example, the main verb of the proverb is omitted, that being probably the third person singular of the present indicative (or, maybe ἄν with present subjunctive to express the sense of capability) of the verb φιλῶ. The second example is a straightforward exclamation with a noun followed by a group of qualifiers without a verb connecting them. If one wanted to turn this into a proverbial statement, one would probably take the first noun as the subject of an equation with a nominal predicate. Resembling **G41**, this proverb too carries a certain tone that points towards an original context of the poetic or the discursive type.

The category of Greek monopartite proverbs including present tense impersonal verbal constructions [**gmB**] consists of the following types of structure:

1) δεῖ in the affirmative or negative + one or two infinitival subjects ± participle—for example, **G63**: ἀνθρωπον ὄντα δεῖ φρονεῖν τάνθρωπινα ‘Being a man, (one) should think (only) of human matters’,¹¹⁵ **G64**: τὸν φιλόσοφον οὐ τὸν χρηματισμὸν ἐλευθεροῦν δεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὴν ψυχὴν ‘The philosopher must be free not in the collection of wealth but in the soul’,¹¹⁶ or **G65**: γράμματα μαθεῖν δεῖ καὶ μαθόντα νοῦν ἔχειν ‘(A man) should learn to read and write and when he has learned, he would be sensible’;¹¹⁷

2) πρέπει in the affirmative or negative + infinitival subject ± adverbial—for example, **G66**: κακοπραγμονεῖν γὰρ οὐ πρέπει τὸν ἐλεύθερον ‘The free man must not harm (anyone)’, or **G67**: νέφθ δὲ σιγᾶν μᾶλλον ἢ

¹¹³ Men. *Mon.* 602.

¹¹⁴ Men. *Mon.* 877 and *Sext.* 226.

¹¹⁵ Men. *Mon.* 1.

¹¹⁶ *Sext.* 392.

¹¹⁷ Men. *Mon.* 152.

λαλεῖν πρόπει ‘To the young man it is appropriate to keep silent rather than speak’;¹¹⁸

3) *χρή* in the affirmative or negative + infinitival subject + adverbial—for example, **G68**: σοφοῦ παρ’ ἀνδρὸς *χρή* σοφόν τι μανθάνειν ‘From a wise man (one) should learn something wise’, or **G69**: οὐ *χρή* φέρειν τὰ πρόσθεν ἐν μνήμῃ κακά ‘(A man) must not bear bad matters of the past in (his) memory’;¹¹⁹

4) *δοκεῖ* in the affirmative + first person singular pronoun in the dative + infinitival subject + adverbial—for example, **G70**: ὁ προσδεχόμενος κατὰ τοῦ φίλου φαῦλον λόγον, οὐχ ἥττον τοῦ ἐνδιαβάλλοντος εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ ‘It seems to me that the one who accepts a bad word against a friend is not less (responsible)¹²⁰ than the one who calumniates’;¹²¹ and

5) *ἔξεστι* in the negative + infinitival subject + adverbial—for example, **G71**: ἐν γὰρ γυναιξὶ πίστιν οὐκ ἔξεστ’ ἰδεῖν ‘It is not possible to find faith in women’.¹²²

Of these proverbs, **G64** and **G66** contain a noun in the accusative (τὸν φιλόσοφον and τὸν ἐλεύθερον respectively) that functions directly as the subject of the infinitival construction and indirectly as the subject of the impersonal construction. Moreover, **G70** contains a personal pronoun in the personal dative functioning as the actual subject of the action described by the impersonal verb form. In the rest of the examples, the subject of the impersonal construction is unspecified.

Apart from these regular examples of monopartite structure, there is one exceptional instance in which the verbal construction is preceded by an interjection, namely **G72**: βαβαὶ τὸ μικρὸν ὄμμα πῶς πολλὰ βλέπει ‘Ah, how many (things) the small eye can see!’.¹²³ The exclamatory tone of this example could be either a trace of an original discursive context from which the proverb has been drawn or a device of the language of proverbs for making the statement more dramatic.

¹¹⁸ Men. *Mon.* 428 and 521.

¹¹⁹ Men. *Mon.* 718 and 589.

¹²⁰ Probably φαῦλος or an adjective with a similar meaning needs to be added here.

¹²¹ *Phil. Log.* 115–116.

¹²² Men. *Mon.* 233.

¹²³ Men. *Mon.* 130.

Moreover, another exceptional case involves two examples from the *Menandri Monostichoi* in which a dialectal form of a verb is employed instead of the standard Attic one. Such is the case with proverb **G73**: *καιρὸς γὰρ δεσποτεύων καὶ πᾶσιν δύναμιν διδοῖ* ‘Time that rules grants power to everyone’,¹²⁴ where an Ionic type of the third person singular present indicative of the verb *δίδωμι* ‘to give’¹²⁵ is used, instead of the more common Attic form *δίδωσι*.¹²⁶ This grammatical variation may be considered as evidence for the existence of multiple sources from which the collector drew his material in this case.

Moving to the monoptite proverbs of the instructional type, as in the case of demotic, there are two main verb forms employed in such proverbs: the imperative and the prohibition. The imperatives used in such cases can be either in the second or in the third person singular. The latter resembles in meaning and function the demotic causative structure *my* + infinitive (‘let (someone) do...’).

In contrast to the present imperatives, the present prohibitions can be in the second or the third person singular or in the first person plural. Furthermore, these prohibitions can be formed with *μή* + present imperative, *μή* + present or aorist subjunctive,¹²⁷ or *μή* + infinitive.¹²⁸ These forms frequently involve the use of the negative compound *μηδέ* instead of the simple negative *μή*.

The monoptite proverbs with present imperatives [**gmC**] found in the Greek body of proverbial material include mostly forms of verbs other than the verb ‘to be’; these involve the use of the following constructions:

a) second person singular imperative (or infinitive) ± adverbial ± participle ± anticipatory unit—for example, **G74**: *ἀεὶ τὸ λυποῦν ἐκδίωκε*

¹²⁴ 424.

¹²⁵ Cf. *LSJ*, s.v. *δίδωμι*.

¹²⁶ For this, see Jäkel 1964, p. 57, as well as further comments by Liapis on the meaning of the proverb (2002, pp. 371–373 with n. 416). The other example is *Men. Mon.* 212 where the same Ionic form is used. It should finally be noted that **G73** is unmetrical.

¹²⁷ By contrast to what Goodwin claims in his grammar (1894, §1346–1347), in the proverbial material examined, not only the second person of the negated aorist subjunctive, but also the second and third persons of the negated present subjunctive are common forms used to express prohibition (see also Schwyzler-Debrunner ii.315 and 343).

¹²⁸ The use of the infinitive in the place of the second person imperative (in commands or prohibitions) is found exclusively in the poem of pseudo-Phocylides (probably with the exception of **G362**). For this phenomenon, see Schwyzler-Debrunner ii.380.

τοῦ βίου ‘Always chase away what is painful from life’, **G75**: ἄνθρωπος ὢν μέμνησο τῆς κοινῆς τύχης ‘Being a man, remember the common fate’, **G76**: δίκαιος εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ χρηστὸς θέλε ‘Aim to be righteous rather than good’,¹²⁹ **G77**: ὧν ἡγεμόνες οἱ πόνοι, ταῦτά σοι εὐχου γενέσθαι μετὰ τοὺς πόνους ‘The things that come through hard effort (lit. the things whose leaders (are) the toils), wish for yourself that these come as a reward for your toils’,¹³⁰ or **G78**: αἰροῦ πάντα τὰ θνητὰ καὶ τὰ γήινα ἀπολέσαντα ἓνα ἀθάνατον καὶ οὐράνιον κτήσασθαι ‘Choose, after you have lost all the mortal and earthly (things), to have one immortal and heavenly (thing)’;¹³¹

b) second person singular imperative + two objects linked by δέ-δέ, μέν-δέ, or μή-ἀλλά ± participle ± adverbial—for example, **G79**: γάμει δέ μὴ τὴν προῖκα, τὴν γυναῖκα δέ ‘Marry not the dowry but the woman’,¹³² **G80**: ἄρχων μὲν ἐπιτήδευε προῶς εἶναι, ἀρχόμενος δὲ μεγαλόφρων ‘When you are ruling, accustom (yourself) to being calm, while when you are being ruled, (accustom yourself to being) high-minded’,¹³³ **G81**: τὰ μὲν τοῦ κόσμου τῷ κόσμῳ, τὰ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ θεῷ ἀκριβῶς ἀποδίδου ‘Render with care the (things) of the world to the world and the (things) of God to God’,¹³⁴ or **G82**: εὐγενεῖς εἶναι νόμιζε, μὴ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν γεγενημένους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς καλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ προαιρουμένους ‘Consider noble not those who are born from fine and good parents, but those who choose fine and good (things)’;¹³⁵ and

c) third person singular imperative ± second person singular pronoun ± adverbial ± participle ± anticipatory unit—for example, **G83**: σοφὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ γυμνὸς ὢν δοκείτω σοι σοφὸς εἶναι ‘Let yourself consider a wise man to be wise even when he is naked’, **G84**: ἀνιάτω σε μᾶλλον τέκνα κακῶς ζῶντα τοῦ μὴ ζῆν ‘Let yourself be more distressed about children who live wickedly than by death’, **G85**: ὁ προνοῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐχόμενός τε ὑπὲρ πάντων οὕτως ἀληθεῖα θεοῦ νομιζέσθω ‘The one who takes care

¹²⁹ Men. *Mon.* 3, 10, and 174. Concerning the last example, Dr. M. West suggested to me that *χρηστός* could alternatively mean ‘acknowledged worthy’.

¹³⁰ *Sext.* 125.

¹³¹ Mosch. *Gn.* 13.

¹³² Men. *Mon.* 154.

¹³³ *Clit.* 55.

¹³⁴ *Sext.* 20.

¹³⁵ *Phil. Log.* 79–81.

of people and prays for everyone's sake, let this (man) be considered truly (a man) of God', or **G86**: ποτόν σοι πᾶν ἡδὺ ἔστω 'Let every drink be pleasing to you'.¹³⁶

In all these examples, the verbs in the imperative take a direct object, that being either a noun (as in **G86**) or an infinitive with expansions (for instance, in **G83**). When the verb in the imperative is intransitive, such as δοκεῖτω in **G83**, it takes, instead of a direct object, other types of expansion, such as the infinitive εἶναι and the second person singular pronoun in the dative in this case.

In addition to these, there are a few examples of a monopartite proverb of the instructional type with the verb 'to be' in the present imperative and an adjectival predicate. An instance of this is proverb **G87**: ἐλεγχόμενος ἵνα γένη σοφὸς χάριν ἴσθι τοῖς ἐλέγχουσιν 'When you are being examined (or, rebuked) in order to become wise, be grateful to those who examine (or, rebuke) you'.¹³⁷ The proverbs of this type fall into the structural pattern 'second person present imperative ± adverbial ± participle'.

Similar types of structure to those in the imperative are used in the construction of monopartite present prohibitions [**gmD**]. The majority of these employ verbs other than the verb 'to be', as is the case with the imperative above. These occur in the following types of structure:

1) second person singular prohibition (imperative, subjunctive, or infinitive) ± adverbial ± participle ± anticipatory unit—for example, **G88**: ἀθάνατον ἔχθραν μὴ φύλαττε θνητὸς ὢν 'Do not maintain immortal enmity, since you are a mortal', **G89**: σύμβουλος ἐσθλός, μὴ κακὸς γίνου φίλοις 'Be a good counsellor and not a bad one to (your) friends',¹³⁸ **G90**: ἃ ψέγεις, μὴδὲ ποιεῖ 'What you reproach do not do', **G91**: ὅπερ μεταδιδούς ἄλλοις αὐτὸς οὐχ ἔξεις, μὴ κρίνης ἀγαθὸν εἶναι 'The very (thing) that after giving others part (of it) you will not have for yourself do not consider good', **G92**: ὃ πράττων οὐκ ἂν θέλοις εἰδέναι τὸν θεόν, τοῦτο μὴ πράξεις 'Whatever you do and would not want God to know, this do not do',¹³⁹ **G93**: ὅπερ φεύγεις παθεῖν, τοῦτο μὴ ἐπι-

¹³⁶ *Sext.* 191, 254, 372, and 268.

¹³⁷ *Sext.* 245.

¹³⁸ *Men. Mon.* 5 and 704.

¹³⁹ *Sext.* 90, 295, and 94.

χείρει διατιθέναι ‘Exactly what you avoid having done (to you), this do not try to arrange (for others)’,¹⁴⁰ or **G94**: μηδὲ κασιγνήτων ἀλόχων ἐπὶ δέμνια βαίνειν ‘Do not go to bed with the wives of your brothers’;¹⁴¹

2) third person singular prohibition (only with imperative)—for example, **G95**: ἀνὴρ ἀχάριστος μὴ νομιζέσθω φίλος ‘Let not an ungrateful man be considered a friend’;¹⁴² and

3) first person plural prohibition (only with subjunctive) + anticipatory unit—for example, **G96**: ἃ ψέγομεν ἡμεῖς, ταῦτα μὴ μιμώμεθα ‘What we reproach, these let us not imitate’.¹⁴³

In addition to these, there are a few examples with present prohibitions formed with the verb ‘to be’. An instance of this is proverb **G97**: μὴ ἴσθι χαίρων ἐπ’ ἀλλοτρίοις κακοῖς, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ οἰκείοις ἀγαθοῖς ‘Do not be glad with the misfortunes of others but more with your own good (things)’.¹⁴⁴

As is the case with monopartite proverbs of the statement type, monopartite proverbs of the instructional type contain a few examples with vocatives. An example of this is proverb **G98**: πρόνοιαν ἀγαθοῦ πανταχοῦ ποιοῦ, φίλος ‘Take thought for the good in all cases, friend’.¹⁴⁵

Another category of monopartite proverbs consists of examples of present existence sentences [**gmE**]. These are formed by the impersonal οὐκ ἔστι(ν) translated as either ‘there is no’ or ‘it is not possible’. This is combined:

1) with noun + adjective in the comparative + noun in genitive ± adverbial—for example, **G99**: οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν κτῆμα κάλλιον φίλου ‘There is no better possession than a friend’, or **G100**: οὐκ ἔστι λύπης χεῖρον ἀνθρώποις κακόν ‘There is no worse evil for men than pain’;¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁰ Mosch. *Gn.* 7.

¹⁴¹ *Ps.-Phoc.* 183.

¹⁴² Men. *Mon.* 49.

¹⁴³ Men. *Mon.* 7.

¹⁴⁴ *Phil. Log.* 77–78.

¹⁴⁵ Men. *Mon.* 676. For the use of this type of vocative in Greek literary texts, see Dickey 1996, pp. 107ff., while for the omission of ὦ, see the discussion in Dickey 1996, pp. 199ff.

¹⁴⁶ Men. *Mon.* 575 and 563.

2) with compound negative + relative clause—for example, **G101**: οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδείς, ὅστις οὐχ αὐτὸν φιλεῖ ‘There is no one who does not love himself’;¹⁴⁷

3) with noun + relative clause—for example, **G102**: οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅστις πάντ’ ἀνὴρ εὐδαιμονεῖ ‘There is no man who is fortunate in everything’;¹⁴⁸ and

4) with one or more affirmative infinitives ± adverbial—for example, **G103**: οὐκ ἔστιν εὖρεῖν βίον ἄλυπον οὐδενός ‘It is not possible to find a life of someone that (is) without pain’;¹⁴⁹ **G104**: οὐκ ἔστιν βιῶναι καλῶς μὴ πεπιστευκότα γνησίως ‘It is not possible for the one who does not really have faith to live well’, or **G105**: οὐκ ἔστιν κατὰ θεὸν ζῆν ἄνευ τοῦ σωφρόνως καὶ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως πράττειν ‘It is not possible to live in accord with God without acting prudently, graciously, and righteously’.¹⁵⁰

In all these examples, the existential form stands at the beginning of the proverb. Moreover, **G102** resembles the case of an adjectival predicate taking a relative clause as its subject, discussed in **gmA**.

Parallel to these examples is an instance of a proverb employing οὐκ ἔστι(ν) in an idiomatic way, namely **G106**: οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἀδικῶν τις ἀνθρώπον σέβει τὸν θεόν ‘It cannot be that the one who wrongs a man worships God’.¹⁵¹ Here οὐκ ἔστι(ν) takes as its subject a whole subordinate clause.¹⁵²

In addition to the monopartite proverbs with omni-present tense constructions, there are a number of proverbs that employ non-omni-present ones [**gmF**]. These consist of examples either of proverbs of the statement type with constructions in the future or in the aorist indicative, or of proverbs of the instructional type with constructions in the aorist subjunctive or in the perfect imperative. Both cases mostly include verbs other than the verb ‘to be’. In these cases, the future tense always seems to retain its original function as an indicator of an action taking place after a present point of reference, while the

¹⁴⁷ Men. *Mon.* 560.

¹⁴⁸ Men. *Mon.* 596.

¹⁴⁹ Men. *Mon.* 570.

¹⁵⁰ *Sext.* 196 and 399.

¹⁵¹ *Sext.* 370.

¹⁵² For this, see *LSJ*, s.v. ὅπως.

aorist and perfect seem in most examples to lose it, as they are used to convey a truth applicable in all possible cases. Consequently, some of the proverbs with aorist verb forms are examples of the so-called *gnomic aorist*, which is similar to the demotic habitual, and therefore are best translated as present tense proverbs, while, in other examples, the aorist preserves only an aspectual value, describing a completed action.¹⁵³

Firstly, concerning proverbs with the future tense, the following constructions are employed:

a) affirmative or negative indicative + adverbial ± participle ± anticipatory unit—for example, **G107**: ἄξεις ἀλύπως τὸν βίον χωρὶς γάμου ‘You will lead a life without misery, if you do not get married (lit. without marriage)’, **G108**: δίκαια δράσας συμμάχους ἔξεις θεούς ‘Having acted justly you will have gods as your allies’,¹⁵⁴ **G109**: φιλῶν ἃ μὴ δεῖ οὐ φιλήσεις ἃ δεῖ ‘If/when you love what you should not, you will not love what you should’, or **G110**: ὅποτε ἁμαρτάνων εἰ τάληθῃ λέγων, ἀναγκαιῶς τότε ψευδῇ λέγων οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεις ‘When you sin by speaking the truth, (it is) then that surely you will not sin by speaking insincerely’,¹⁵⁵ and

b) affirmative indicative ± second person pronoun as object ± adverbial ± anticipatory unit—for example, **G111**: ἀνὴρ ὃ φεύγων καὶ πάλιν μαχήσεται ‘The man who escapes (or, the accused man) will fight again’, or **G112**: ὃ ἂν τιμήσῃς ὑπὲρ πάντα, ἐκεῖνό σου κυριεύσει ‘Whatever you honour above all, that will rule you’.¹⁵⁶

The exceptional use of the future tense in these proverbs of the statement type could be justified by the fact that the verbal constructions in the future describe an action that is the effect of another action or state. The action or state that determines what takes place in the future can be in the present or in the past tense and accordingly is expressed by a present or an aorist participle (see, for instance, **G111** and **G108**

¹⁵³ Compare the comments of Beetham 2002 on the use of the aorist indicative in other literary contexts (and especially his observation on p. 228 that the aorist in a short sentence can function as the apodosis of an implied conditional, which could apply to some of the monopartite examples here), as well as those of Bakker 1966 on the aspectual differences observed in non-proverbial contexts between the present imperative / prohibition and its aorist counterpart.

¹⁵⁴ Men. *Mon.* 72 and 188.

¹⁵⁵ Sext. 141 and 165e.

¹⁵⁶ Men. *Mon.* 56 and Sext. 41.

respectively). Such participles are conditional or temporal and therefore each can be analyzed into a present or a past protasis or temporal clause whose apodosis or sequence is provided by the clause in the future. In other words, by expressing present or past suppositions, the participles mark the possible circumstances in which the action in the future can take place. Thus, for instance, in **G109**, the participial phrase φιλῶν ἃ μὴ δεῖ analyzed into the present protasis εἰ φιλεῖς ἃ μὴ δεῖ ‘if/when you love what you should not’ describes the particular condition / cause, which leads to οὐ φιλήσεις ἃ δεῖ.

In some other examples, the condition / cause of the action in the future is implied rather than described by a participle. For instance, in **G107**, this condition / cause is implied by the prepositional phrase χωρὶς γάμου and therefore the translation ‘if you do not get married’ is preferred to the more literal ‘without marriage’.

Another possibility for the participial phrase in **G109** and the prepositional phrase in **G107** is to interpret them as describing states contemporaneous with what is described in the main clauses. In this case, the two phrases can be considered as describing the manner (instead of the condition / cause) in which what is described in the main clause can happen. If we choose to read it in this way, we will observe that the clause in the future here makes a prediction instead of describing a logical result.

The same applies to **G111**, where the future indicative is definitely not used as the apodosis of a hidden conditional. Here the verb form in the future expresses a prediction that will come after the reference point that is indicated by the present relative participle ὁ φεύγων qualifying the subject of the proverb (that is, ἀνὴρ). In other words, the author of the proverb predicts that the man who escapes a situation (probably that of fighting on the battlefield) in the present will need to face it again at some point in the future.

In addition to these examples with verbs other than the verb ‘to be’, there is one instance with the copulative verb ‘to be’ in the future; this is proverb **G113**: κηδόμενος ὀρφανῶν πατὴρ ἔσῃ πλειόνων τέκνων θεοφιλῆς ‘If you take care of orphans, you will be a father of many children and loved by God’.¹⁵⁷ Here the affirmative second person singular form of the verb ‘to be’ takes a nominal (πατὴρ πλειόνων τέκνων) and an adjectival predicate (θεοφιλῆς), the whole clause being accompanied by a participial phrase.

¹⁵⁷ *Sext.* 340.

With regard to monopartite proverbs employing constructions in the aorist, the following combinations exist:

1) aorist indicative + adverbial \pm anticipatory unit—for example, **G114**: οὐπόποτ' ἐξήλωσα πολυτελῇ νεκρόν 'I have never envied a man buried in a costly way', **G115**: λιμὸς μέγιστον ἄλγος ἀνθρώποις ἔφν 'Hunger is (by nature) the greatest pain for human beings',¹⁵⁸ or **G116**: ὁ θεὸς ὅσα ἐποίησεν, ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων αὐτὰ ἐποίησεν 'What God has created, he created for the sake of men';¹⁵⁹

2) aorist indicative \pm first person singular personal pronoun as object + adverbial \pm participle—for example, **G117**: λόγῳ μ' ἔπεισας φαρμάκῳ σοφωτάτῳ 'You have convinced me with reasoning, the cleverest remedy', or **G118**: πιστὸν εἰπὼν σεαυτὸν ὡμολόγησας μηδὲ ἁμαρτεῖν θεῷ 'By calling yourself a believer you have pledged that you will not sin (against) God',¹⁶⁰ and

3) second person singular aorist imperative + participle—for example, **G119**: γαμεῖν δὲ μέλλων βλέψον εἰς τοὺς γείτονας 'When you are planning to get married, rely on (or, look upon) the neighbours'.¹⁶¹

As can be observed in these examples, constructions in the aorist are most often found in types of sentence structure similar to their present tense counterparts. The only form used exclusively in the aorist is the first person singular. The main difficulty in interpreting the aorist in monopartite proverbs lies in the dilemma over whether one should take each form as a real or as a gnomic aorist.

The gnomic aorist indicative, as noted above, is associated with the proverbs' omni-present sense conveying a general truth applicable to all possible circumstances. Such is the case of **G115**, for instance, where the author makes a general observation about the effects of starvation on humanity. In contrast, in **G114**, the use of the first person subject and the compound adverb οὐπόποτε decreases the range of

¹⁵⁸ Men. *Mon.* 446 and 601.

¹⁵⁹ *Sext.* 31.

¹⁶⁰ Men. *Mon.* 437 and *Sext.* 234. I should observe here that the first example cannot easily be taken as a proverbial statement, given that the use of the first and second person pronouns makes it look more like a part of a narrative rather than a piece of timeless wisdom.

¹⁶¹ Men. *Mon.* 160.

applicability in the observation made by the proverb, making it more specific and therefore determining the use of the aorist as a past tense. The function of such a specific observation among proverbs that convey general truths is probably linked to the original context from which this proverb was drawn. Finally, in **G119**, it seems that the gnomic aorist is used with an aspectual value, describing, that is, a complete action that is contrasted to the actions described by the present participle and the present infinitive employed in this proverb.

Apart from these instances with aorist constructions, there are a few exceptional examples where the imperfect form of an impersonal verb is used. An instance of such a construction is proverb **G120**: ζῆν οὐκ ἔδει γυναῖκα κατὰ πολλοὺς τρόπους ‘A woman ought not to be alive for many reasons’,¹⁶² where the verbal construction is expanded by a prepositional phrase. Here the imperfect form actually reads as an unreal indicative conveying an omni-present, ever-applicable, proverbial message.

A similar gnomic value to that which characterizes proverbs in the aorist is possessed by verb forms in the present perfect used in Greek monopartite proverbs of the instructional type. Such cases are rare and often involve an anticipatory phrase—for example, **G121**: ἐφ’ οἷς εὐλόγως μεγαλοφρονεῖς, ταῦτα κέκτησο ‘The (things) of which you are rightfully proud, possess these’.¹⁶³

Moreover, the present perfect can be used in monopartite proverbs of the statement type. However, the sole example of such a use is proverb **G122**: εἰάν τι δῶς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γνωσθῆναι, οὐκ ἀνθρώπῳ δέδωκας, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἡδονῇ ‘If you give something in order to attract attention, you have given it not for the sake of humanity, but for your own pleasure’.¹⁶⁴ Here the present perfect is used to form the apodosis of a present real conditional and indicates that the action it describes has been completed. The structure of the proverb can be analyzed as ‘negative present perfect indicative + participle + adverbial’.

3.1. *Questions as Greek Monopartite Proverbs*

In addition to the common monopartite proverbs of the statement or the instructional type, there are five monopartite questions [**gmG**],

¹⁶² Men. *Mon.* 283.

¹⁶³ *Sext.* 121b.

¹⁶⁴ *Sext.* 342.

four of which come from the *Menandri Monostichoi*. These are **G123**: ἄρ' ἐστὶ θυμοῦ φάρμακον χρηστὸς λόγος; 'Is good reasoning the remedy of temper?'; **G124**: ἄρ' ἐστὶ πάντων ἀγρυπνία καλλίστατον; 'Is wakefulness the best among all (things)?'; **G125**: ἄρ' ἐστὶ συγγενές τι λύπη καὶ βίος; 'Is misery a thing akin to life?'; **G126**: γήρως δὲ φαύλου τίς γένοιτ' ἂν ἐντροπή; 'What respect would there be for bad old age?';¹⁶⁵ and **G127**: τρίχας τὰς τοῦ σώματος μὴ δυνάμενος φέρειν πῶς οἴσεις πανοπλίαν; 'If you are not able to carry a hair from (your) body, how will you carry armour?'.¹⁶⁶

Of these proverbs, those with the interrogative particle ἄρα are formed with the verb 'to be' taking a nominal predicate. **G126** is formed with another verb and involves an 'ἄν+present optative' construction describing a possible event, while the last proverb employs a future indicative construction. The future here is employed both to construct the common present real conditional and to describe a punctual action.

All these questions are rhetorical and, since they are not related to their surrounding material, it is fair to assume that they originally came from a discursive context, in which they could even have functioned as real questions. Nevertheless, within a proverb collection, such rhetorical questions attempt to voice the author's thoughts about ethical matters. In essence, they convey an ethical message, because, as rhetorical pseudo-questions, they also include the answer. In this way, they are similar to proverbs of the statement type, making an ever-true moral observation.

3.2. *Adverbials in Greek Monopartite Proverbs*

In contrast to demotic, the category of adverbials in Greek contains, in general, a much greater variety of words and phrases, including adverbs, prepositional phrases, as well as nouns, or less frequently infinitives, in the oblique cases. All these types of adverbial are used extensively in Greek proverbs. Therefore, in order to limit the discussion about the function of adverbials in Greek proverbs, I have decided, as was the case with demotic adverbials, to deal here only with the adverbials that affect the sentence structure. Accordingly, adverbials that function only as expansions of verb forms will not be discussed.

¹⁶⁵ Men. *Mon.* 46, 53, 54, and 156.

¹⁶⁶ *Clit.* 130.

Before discussing adverbials that describe logical relationships, a few words should be said about the Greek adverbials that describe relationships of time, place, and manner. Such adverbials are used very frequently not only in monopartite, but also in bi- and multipartite proverbs. Their use enhances their proverbial value by marking the wide range of possible circumstances under which the message of each proverb is valid. Examples of such adverbials are the adverbs and prepositional phrases formed on the basis of the adjective *πᾶς* ‘all, entire’, such as *πανταχοῦ* ‘everywhere’, *πανταχῶς* ‘in every way’, or *διὰ παντός* ‘always’. An instance of such a use is proverb **G128**: *τὸν ἐλεύθερον δεῖ πανταχοῦ φρονεῖν μέγα* ‘The free (man) should always be proud’.¹⁶⁷ Here the message of the proverb lays claim to endless applicability that is stressed through the use of the adverb *πανταχοῦ*, which expands the circumstantial limits and suggests that what the proverb advises should be done everywhere and under all circumstances. Therefore, although this adverb, strictly speaking, denotes place, within a proverb collection it denotes the general circumstances in which the action the proverb describes can happen. This function also applies to the adjective *πᾶς*, which, however, has a more limited attributive value like any adjective, as it expands only the meaning of the nominal term it qualifies.

Other adverbs that are commonly used in monopartite proverbs in the same way as those formed from *πᾶς* are those formed from the particle *ποτέ*, such as *οὐδέποτε* or *μήποτε*, both meaning ‘never’, and the adverb *ἀεί* meaning ‘always’. Instances of the use of these are proverbs **G129**: *λόγον παρ’ ἐχθροῦ μήποθ’ ἡγήσῃ φίλον* ‘What the enemy says you should never consider as friendly talk (lit. as friend)’ and **G130**: *σοφοῦ διάνοια ἀεὶ παρὰ θεῶ* ‘The mind of a sage (is) always by God’.¹⁶⁸ Like the adverbs mentioned above, these adverbs denoting time expand the circumstantial limits within which each proverbial message applies.

The broadening of the range of circumstances, which is the effect of the use of such adverbials, is also the result of the common use in proverbs of the statement and the instructional types of prepositional phrase involving the word *βίος* ‘life’, such as *ἐν βίῳ* ‘in life’, or *διὰ βίου* ‘for life’. For example, in proverb **G131**: *οὐκ ἔσθ’ ὑγείας κρεῖττον οὐδὲν*

¹⁶⁷ Men. *Mon.* 768.

¹⁶⁸ Men. *Mon.* 451 and *Sext.* 143.

ἐν βίῳ ‘There is nothing better in life than health’,¹⁶⁹ the adverbial lends the proverb a tone of universality and the value of wide applicability.

Furthermore, numeral adverbs are often used to denote order or hierarchy within a series of actions or states. An example of such a use is proverb **G132**: πρῶτα θεὸν τιμᾶν, μετέπειτα δὲ σεῖο γονῆας ‘First honour God, and afterwards your parents’,¹⁷⁰ where the adverb πρῶτα indicates the order of significance of the beings one should honour in one’s life.

The order or hierarchy of actions or states can also be expressed through the use of prepositional phrases denoting time sequence. Such a use of a prepositional phrase is found in proverb **G133**: πρὸ δὲ παντὸς ἔργου καὶ λόγου τὸν θεὸν σέβου, καθαρὸς ὢν ἀπὸ πάσης κακίας ‘Before all actions and words honour God, being pure of all evil’.¹⁷¹

Finally, another type of prepositional phrase that does not describe a logical relationship and which is used frequently in Greek monopartite proverbs is that introduced by the preposition παρὰ when it means ‘before / in front of’. παρὰ, in this case, denotes place, and specifically in a proverb collection the presence of a superior (in most cases this superior is God). Such a prepositional phrase is used, for instance, in proverb **G134**: τὸ μὴ ὄν δίκαιον ἔργον μισητὸν παρὰ θεῷ ‘The deed that is not just (is) hateful before God’.¹⁷² As is the case with its demotic adverbial counterparts (such as phrases introduced by *m-bʒh* discussed above), such a phrase is used in a proverb collection referring to God as a moral standard against which all human actions or states are measured.

In addition, there are a number of prepositional phrases and adverbs used to describe logical relationships. Specifically, they express source, cause, instrument, comparison, resemblance, support, and exclusion.

Source or *cause* (the first, strictly speaking, in the case of states or events and the second in the case of actions) is expressed in prepositional phrases that are introduced by ἐκ ‘from’. Instances of such a use are proverbs **G135**: ἐκ τῶν γυναικῶν ὄλλυται κόσμος μέγας ‘Because of women a great world is destroyed’ and **G136**: ἐξ ἡδονῆς γὰρ φύεται τὸ δυστυχεῖν ‘Misery is born out of pleasure’.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁹ Men. Mon. 562.

¹⁷⁰ Ps.-Phoc. 8.

¹⁷¹ Phil. Log. 4–5.

¹⁷² Phil. Log. 107.

¹⁷³ Men. Mon. 218 and 250.

Cause is sometimes also expressed by prepositional phrases with *διά* ‘on account of / because of’. Such is the case with proverb **G137**: *διά πενίας (σὺ) μηδενὸς καταφρόνει* ‘Because of poverty you should not look down upon anyone’.¹⁷⁴

The same type of prepositional phrase can also be used to describe the *instrument* of an action. Such is the case in proverb **G138**: *κρεῖττον ἀποθανεῖν λιμῷ ἢ διὰ γαστρὸς ἀκρασίαν ψυχὴν ἀμαυρῶσαι* ‘(It is) better to die of hunger than to impair the soul through gluttony’.¹⁷⁵

Comparison between two words or phrases is made through the use of the adverb *μᾶλλον* + *ἢ* ‘rather than’ qualifying the two compared terms. This applies to all grammatical units except for adjectives and the adverbs formed out of them, which bear distinctive comparative forms. An example of the use of this adverb is proverb **G139**: *φίλων ἔπαινον μᾶλλον ἢ σαυτοῦ λέγε* ‘Speak out the praise of friends more than (the praise) of yourself’.¹⁷⁶ Here the terms compared are the nouns in the objective genitive *φίλων* and *σαυτοῦ*.

Resemblance works in the same way as comparison, since two terms are being shown as similar with the help of an adverb, in this case *ὥς* or *ὥσπερ*, both with the meaning ‘like / as’. An example of the use of an adverbial expressing resemblance is proverb **G140**: *ῥοπή ’στιν ἡμῶν ὁ βίος, ὥσπερ ὁ ζυγός* ‘(A matter of) balancing is our life, as (is the case with) the beam of the scale’,¹⁷⁷ where the nouns *ὁ βίος* and *ὁ ζυγός* are compared.

Support is expressed in a prepositional phrase introduced by *ὑπὲρ* ‘for / for the sake of’. An instance of such a use is proverb **G141**: *ὑπὲρ σεαυτοῦ καὶ φίλου μάχου πάνυ* ‘Fight without reserve for yourself and a friend’,¹⁷⁸ in which, as the prepositional phrase stands at the beginning of the proverb, the emphasis falls on the adverbial.

Finally, *exclusion* is expressed in prepositional phrases with *ἄνευ*, *πλὴν*, or *χωρὶς*, all meaning ‘without’. Instances of such cases are proverbs **G142**: *ἄνευ δὲ λύπης οὐδὲ εἷς βροτῶν βίος* ‘Without pain there is no mortal life (lit. life of mortals)’, **G143**: *γυνὴ γὰρ οὐδὲν οἶδε πλὴν ὁ βούλεται* ‘A woman knows nothing except what she wants’, and **G144**:

¹⁷⁴ Men. Mon. 209.

¹⁷⁵ Sext. 345.

¹⁷⁶ Men. Mon. 807.

¹⁷⁷ Men. Mon. 689.

¹⁷⁸ Men. Mon. 791.

νόμου (δέ) χωρὶς οὐδὲν {γίνεται} ἐν βίῳ καλόν ‘Without law nothing good happens in life’.¹⁷⁹

Along with adverbs and prepositional phrases, nouns (or less frequently infinitives) in the oblique cases are often used adverbially, playing an essential role in the formation of a monopartite proverb. (This is in contrast to cases like the genitive of comparison, which is an integral part of the comparative construction¹⁸⁰ and therefore does not stand independently affecting the whole sentence structure.) The most common examples of this in Greek proverbs use the dative to express advantage and disadvantage, instrument, and cause. These have an independent function and are used in various types of proverbial structure—for example, **G145**: τῷ γὰρ καλῶς πράσσοντι πᾶσα γῆ πατρὶς ‘For the one who fares well the entire earth (is his) homeland’¹⁸¹ (dative of advantage), **G117**: λόγῳ μ’ ἔπεισας φαριμάκῳ σοφωτάτῳ (instrumental dative), and **G146**: οἶνῳ γὰρ ἐμποδίζεται τὸ συμφέρον ‘The benefit is impeded because of (drinking) wine’¹⁸² (causal dative).

3.3. *Participles in Greek Monopartite Proverbs*

Close to the function of adverbials in monopartite proverbs is that of participles. Participles that qualify the whole sentence rather than one word or phrase are circumstantial and express mainly time and condition in Greek proverbs.¹⁸³ Examples of such uses of participles are found among the proverbs quoted above.¹⁸⁴ The circumstantial participles can often have a multi-levelled semantic function in a proverb collection; that is, expressing more than one logical relationship in each case. Therefore, for instance, in the monopartite proverb **G147**: ἄνθρωπος ὢν γίνωσκε τῆς ὀργῆς κρατεῖν ‘Being human, know how to restrain anger’,¹⁸⁵ the participial phrase ἄνθρωπος ὢν expresses cause, as the proverb advises men to control their anger because they are human beings and need to.¹⁸⁶

¹⁷⁹ Men. *Mon.* 65, 143, and 538.

¹⁸⁰ Schwyzler-Debrunner ii.98–101.

¹⁸¹ Men. *Mon.* 735.

¹⁸² Men. *Mon.* 585.

¹⁸³ For these types of participle, see Schwyzler-Debrunner ii.385 ff.

¹⁸⁴ For instance, for participles denoting condition, see **G36** and **G108**, while for participles denoting time, see **G19**.

¹⁸⁵ Men. *Mon.* 22.

¹⁸⁶ For such a use of a participial phrase, see also **G88**.

3.4. *Anticipation in Greek Monopartite Proverbs*

An anticipatory unit is sometimes used in monopartite proverbs. Such a phrase is most commonly a relative clause that either stands on its own or qualifies a preceding nominal. The freestanding relative clause or the qualified nominal is always referred to in the main clause by a demonstrative or other type of pronoun, or an adverb. The pronoun used in monopartite examples almost always plays the role of the direct object of the verb form.

The freestanding relative clauses in anticipation involve the following constructions:

- a) affirmative present subjunctive—for example, **G148**: ὧν καταφρονῶν ἐπαινῇ εὐλόγως, τούτων μὴ περιέχου ‘For the things, for which you are rightfully praised for despising, do not cling to these’;¹⁸⁷
- b) affirmative aorist subjunctive linked in some cases by ὁπότεν—for example, **G112**: ὃ ἂν τιμήσῃς ὑπὲρ πάντα, ἐκεῖνό σου κυριεύσει, or **G149**: ὁπότεν εὐξαμένῳ σοι γένηται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, τότε ἔξουσίαν ἔχειν ἡγοῦ παρὰ θεῷ ‘Whenever your prayer is granted by God, then think you have power from God’;¹⁸⁸
- c) affirmative present with adjectival predicate—for example, **G26**: ὧν κοινὸς ὁ θεὸς καὶ ταῦτα ὡς πατήρ, τούτων μὴ κοινὰ εἶναι τὰ κτήματα οὐκ εὐσεβές;
- d) affirmative present with an adverbial predicate linked by ὅπου—ἐκεῖ—for example, **G150**: ὅπου σου τὸ φρονοῦν, ἐκεῖ σου τὸ ἀγαθόν ‘Where your reason (is), there your good (is)’;¹⁸⁹
- e) affirmative present with nominal predicate—for example, **G151**: ὅσα πάθη ψυχῆς, τοσοῦτοι δεσπότες ‘The passions of the soul (are) as many as (its) masters’;¹⁹⁰ and
- f) affirmative aorist indicative—for example, **G116**: ὁ θεὸς ὅσα ἐποίησεν, ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων αὐτὰ ἐποίησεν.

The less common anticipatory phrases with a nominal qualified by a relative clause involve the same constructions as the aforementioned examples. For instance, a noun can be qualified by a relative clause with

¹⁸⁷ *Sext.* 121a.

¹⁸⁸ *Sext.* 375. See also *Sext.* 364, whose structure resembles that of *Sext.* 375, the only difference being that the latter employs a participial phrase instead of the clause with ὁπότεν.

¹⁸⁹ *Sext.* 316.

¹⁹⁰ *Sext.* 75b.

an aorist subjunctive or with a present indicative—for example, **G152**: τὸν χρόνον ὃν ἂν μὴ νοήσῃς τὸν θεόν, τοῦτον νόμιζέ σοι ἀπολωλέναι ‘The time, during which you would not think of God, consider it as lost’,¹⁹¹ or **G96**: ἃ ψέγομεν ἡμεῖς, ταῦτα μὴ μωώμεθα.

In some cases, the anticipatory phrase is a participial one that does not contain a relative clause. An example of such a case is **G85**: ὁ προνοῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐχόμενός τε ὑπὲρ πάντων οὗτος ἀληθεία θεοῦ νομιζέσθω. In all these cases, the anticipatory phrase is resumed in the main clause by a demonstrative pronoun that plays the role of the object of the verb form.

Along with the examples of anticipation analyzed above and involving a relative clause at the beginning of the proverb, there is one exceptional example of a group of nominals in place of a relative clause forming the anticipatory phrase; this is proverb **G153**: πλούτου γὰρ ἀρετὴν, δόξαν ἐξ αὐτῆς ποιεῖ ‘(The) virtue of wealth, make (your) fame out of this’.¹⁹² In this case, it should be noted that the pronoun is used in a prepositional phrase.

As is the case with demotic proverbs, anticipation in Greek monopartite proverbs has an emphatic value. As a result, it resembles the emphasis achieved by the arrangement of the word order. For example, proverbs like **G154**: ἃ μὴ θέλεις παθεῖν, μὴδὲ ποιεῖ ‘What you do not want to happen to you, do not do’¹⁹³ (a structure employed extensively in *The Sentences of Sextus*, such as *Sext.* 82a, 127, or 128) resemble in many ways proverbs with the anticipatory model ‘ἃ+relative clause with ταῦτα+main clause’ (for example, **G96**).¹⁹⁴ Specifically, in both cases, the relative clauses are the objects of the main clause verb forms and stand at the beginning of the proverb, separated from the main clause units. Given these close resemblances, one wonders whether proverbs like the former are really proverbs with anticipation in which the demonstrative pronoun in the main clause has been omitted. This assumption can be supported by the comparison of two proverbs with similar types of structure and vocabulary, namely **G155**: ἃ δίδωσι παιδεία, ταῦτα οὐδεὶς σε ἀφαιρήσεται ‘The things that education gives, nobody will take these away from you’ and **G156**: ἃ δίδωσιν ὁ θεός, οὐ-

¹⁹¹ *Sext.* 54.

¹⁹² *Men. Mon.* 683.

¹⁹³ *Sext.* 179.

¹⁹⁴ For this, see comments in Schwyzer-Debrunner ii.641.

δεις ἀφαιρεῖται ‘The things God gives nobody can take away’.¹⁹⁵ Given that these proverbs come from bodies of texts that show a multitude of parallels and therefore belong to the same proverbial tradition, the two proverbs seem to be variations of the same type of sentence structure, which offers a similar degree of emphatic value to the same grammatical units in each proverb.

Similar to the proverbs with anticipation, proverb **G157**: τοῦτο σὸν κτήμα οὐκ ἔστιν, ὃ παρόσον μεταδίδως τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔξεις ‘This is not your possession, (namely) that which as far as you share with others will not have for yourself’¹⁹⁶ uses a relative clause that is referred to in the main clause by the demonstrative τοῦτο. It differs from other monopartite proverbs with anticipation in two points: firstly, the fact that the relative clause stands at the end of the proverb and, secondly, that the main clause is nominal. This proverb could be simply a variation of a monopartite proverb with anticipation whose author, given the freedom that characterizes Greek word arrangement, altered the clause order.¹⁹⁷

3.5. *Other Emphatic Devices in Greek Monopartite Proverbs*

Apart from anticipation, and given the looseness of word order in Greek, emphasis in monopartite proverbs is mostly achieved by manipulating the order of the units of a proverb. Due to the brevity of the proverbs examined, however, determining in each case on which unit the emphasis is put is a difficult task.

In general, the words or phrases that stand at the beginning of the proverb seem to be there in order to be emphasized, as is the case with anticipation. For instance, in proverb **G158**: σοφὸν τίμα μετὰ θεόν ‘Honour the wise man after God’,¹⁹⁸ the emphasis is placed on the first word, which is the direct object of the imperative. In this case, this agrees with the fact that the same word is repeated in the following proverb and therefore seems to be used as a link between the two proverbs.

Various particles are often also employed as minor emphatic devices in monopartite proverbs, standing either independently or in com-

¹⁹⁵ *Clit.* 15 and *Sext.* 92.

¹⁹⁶ *Clit.* 105.

¹⁹⁷ See also *Sext.* 134 and 209.

¹⁹⁸ *Sext.* 244.

pounds and emphasizing in either case the word they follow. The most common are the enclitics γε and περ,¹⁹⁹ the former most often standing independently, the latter always forming compounds. An example of this is found in proverb **G159**: βέλτιόν ἐστι σῶμά γ' ἢ ψυχὴν νοσεῖν 'It is better for a body indeed to be sick than a soul',²⁰⁰ where a minor emphasis is put on σῶμα.

In some cases, such emphatic particles can be employed in combination with other devices of emphasis like anticipation. An instance of this is **G93**: ὅπερ φεύγεις παθεῖν, τοῦτο μὴ ἐπιχείρει διατιθέναι, where -περ is used in the anticipatory relative clause focusing on the relative pronoun ὅ, to which it is attached, while anticipation is employed to emphasize the whole relative clause, which plays the role of the object of the main verb.

Finally, in proverbs such as **G64**: τὸν φιλόσοφον οὐ τὸν χρηματισμὸν ἐλευθεροῦν δεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὴν ψυχὴν, emphasis is marked by the combination of οὐ with ἀλλά, where the emphasized units are the nouns following the particle and the conjunction.

3.6. *Connecting Words in Greek Monopartite Proverbs*

It is often the case in monopartite proverbs that one or more non-emphatic particles and / or conjunctions can be used to influence the binding of the units or the tone of the proverb. The most significant of these (that is, those that originally express a logical relationship) are: γάρ, δέ, μέν-δέ, δέ-δέ, τοίνυν, and ἀλλά.

The first is a causal conjunction best translated as 'for / because'. As is the case with some examples of the use of τοίνυν and δέ, the use of this conjunction can be seen as a remnant of the original context, in which the proverb was employed to explain why something described there happened.²⁰¹ However, in most cases, this original context does not survive, while the possible late reproduction of the material may suggest that some words have been added, probably to build a metrical pattern.²⁰² Therefore, in the present state of the material, this conjunc-

¹⁹⁹ For these particles see Denniston 1996, pp. 114ff. and 481ff. respectively.

²⁰⁰ Men. *Mon.* 116.

²⁰¹ This is the case with Men. *Mon.* 445, for instance, which comes from an unknown play of Menander (see comments in Liapis 2002, p. 379 with n. 437).

²⁰² This was suggested to me by Dr. V. Liapis, who, after studying Byzantine sources, has discovered that conjunctions or particles were not used by post-classical authors with their original classical Greek meaning, but were rather employed for metrical or

tion, as mentioned above, does not have an actual value and thus it is left untranslated.

The second²⁰³ is the most common particle in Greek monopartite proverbs and appears either on its own or grouped with μέν or another δέ. An example where it is employed on its own is proverb **G160**: νύμφη δ' ἄπροικος οὐκ ἔχει παρρησίαν 'A bride without dowry does not have freedom of speech'.²⁰⁴ In this case, the proverb is not connected to its surrounding material and therefore δέ is not used with its usual continuative or adversative value. This appears to be the case with the use of most particles of this sort in single proverbs that have lost contact with their original context.

However, when δέ is grouped with μέν,²⁰⁵ both particles maintain their contrastive value, which operates on two contrasted units of the same proverb. These are rarely employed in monopartite proverbs, one instance being their use in proverb **G161**: δεῖ τοὺς μὲν εἶναι δυστυχεῖς, τοὺς δ' εὐτυχεῖς 'It is necessary that some are unfortunate, while some others are fortunate'.²⁰⁶ Here the contrasted units are the nominalized adjectives τοὺς δυστυχεῖς and τοὺς εὐτυχεῖς, both being direct objects of the impersonal form and semantically parallel.²⁰⁷

The same applies to the case of duplication of δέ.²⁰⁸ An instance of the use of this duplicated particle, which is equally rare in monopartite proverbs, is **G79**: γάμει δὲ μὴ τὴν προῖκα, τὴν γυναῖκα δέ, where the contrasted units are the nouns τὴν προῖκα and τὴν γυναῖκα, both being direct objects of the verb form. The contrast between these two nouns is emphasized by the twofold imperative, which advises the addressee, on the one hand, not to do one thing and on the other, to do something else instead (that is, to marry not the dowry but the woman).

other superfluous purposes (personal communication). Therefore this could be the case for the post-Hellenistic / Roman reproducers of the material of the *Menandri Monostichoi* and an example of this case is Men. *Mon.* 696, commented on in Liapis 2002, p. 444 with n. 687. Contrast also *Clit.* 24 and *Sext.* 138 (**G3**), proverbs that come from the same tradition and which are probably variations of each other: the first includes γὰρ and the second does not.

²⁰³ Denniston 1996, pp. 162ff.

²⁰⁴ Men. *Mon.* 548.

²⁰⁵ Denniston 1996, pp. 369ff.

²⁰⁶ Men. *Mon.* 187.

²⁰⁷ For semantic parallelism in literature, see Fabb 1997, pp. 139–142. In addition, parallelism is discussed among other figures of speech in VI.5.

²⁰⁸ Denniston 1996, pp. 183ff.

The next word examined here is the inferential particle *τοίνυν* ‘therefore’.²⁰⁹ An instance of its use is proverb **G162**: *μάθε τοίνυν τί δεῖ ποιεῖν τὸν εὐδαιμονήσοντα* ‘Learn what the man who is to be happy must do’.²¹⁰ The particle here makes the command sound like a conclusion that comes as either a result of what has been argued in the previous proverbs (logical use) or an introduction to what will be argued in the following proverbs (transitional use). However, like *γάρ* and *δέ* when used alone, the original value of this particle cannot have an actual function in this unconnected piece of wisdom and therefore it is not translated in the examples quoted in the study.

Finally, *ἀλλά* is another conjunction that is rarely used in monopartite proverbs; when it is used, it contrasts two units of the proverb. Thus, in proverb **G163**: *εὐσεβῆς οὐχ ὁ πολλὰ θύων, ἀλλ’ ὁ μηδὲν ἀδικῶν* ‘Pious (is) not the one who sacrifices a lot, but the one who is not unfair to anyone’,²¹¹ the two contrasted units are the nominalized relative participles *ὁ πολλὰ θύων* and *ὁ μηδὲν ἀδικῶν*, both being the subjects of the same adjectival predicate. Moreover, as is the case with all contrasts, the contrasted units are syntactically parallel, a fact that is made more obvious through the use of the semantically contradictory words *πολλὰ* and *μηδέν*.

4. *Comparison of Demotic and Greek Monopartite Proverbs with Regard to their Structure, Grammar, and Syntax*

In general, the demotic and Greek body of monopartite proverbs consists of short proverbial sentences of the statement and the instructional type. The former involves the use of a multitude of constructions in various tenses and moods (the second only in the case of Greek), while the latter involves a smaller variety of constructions, consisting only of imperatives and vetitives / prohibitions.

Demotic and Greek monopartite proverbs of the statement type include constructions some of which are related to the proverbs’ omni-present sense and some of which are not. Demotic omni-present proverbs [**dmA-H**] involve a greater variety of forms than Greek ones [**gmA-E**].

²⁰⁹ Denniston 1996, pp. 568ff.

²¹⁰ *Sext.* 344.

²¹¹ *Clit.* 6.

In addition to the regular types of construction, Greek monopartite proverbs also use impersonal verb forms [**gmB**] whose logical subject is seldom identified. Exceptions to this are impersonal constructions involving the personal dative or the nominal in the accusative as subject of the infinitive. Examples of impersonal constructions employed in proverbs are also found in modern paroemiological corpora. This is the case, for instance, in the Italian ‘Bisogna navigare secondo il vento’.²¹²

With regard to non-omni-present constructions (see **dmI** and **gmF**), the Greek examples include more types of construction than the demotic ones. Firstly, the Greek aorist in most examples is gnomic, being within a proverb collection a construction related to the proverbs’ omni-present sense and thus conveying general, ever-applicable truths.

In contrast to the Greek gnomic aorist, there are a few exceptions (mentioned in **dmI** and **gmF**) in both the demotic and Greek material where some past forms maintain part of their original value. These are most often used in either an aspectual sense, describing completed or punctual actions, or in a sequential sense, describing actions that took place before the actions in the omni-present. In both cases, the determination of their aspectual or sequential sense is based upon the temporal relationship between such forms and other forms in the omni-present.

With regard to the use of future forms, their tense maintains its temporal value either in a sequential sense, describing an action/state that takes place after an action/state in the omni-present or, in special cases, making a prediction or a wish for an action/state that takes place after the given omni-present point of reference of the audience. Such examples are also found among modern proverbs, as is the case with the English ‘There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth’.²¹³

With respect to the moods of the verb forms employed in demotic and Greek monopartite proverbs of the statement type, in demotic, constructions are almost always in the indicative with the exception of proverbial wishes like **D17**. Examples of such a type of proverbial expression are absent from the Greek body of proverbial material examined. The only instances of such a structure are attested in *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*, as parts of proverbial passages rather than single proverbs.²¹⁴ In Greek, there are also a few exceptions to the nor-

²¹² Gluski 1971, no. 18.10.

²¹³ Gluski 1971, no. 19.29.

²¹⁴ See *Ps.-Phoc.* 33 and 45.

mal use of indicative. These are linked to a hidden protasis (denoted by a participle or implied in other units of the proverb) and thus their use is justified as part of conditional structure.

Special types of existence clause as monopartite proverbs exist both in demotic and Greek (see **dmC** and **gmE**). Proverbs of this sort are always in the present and appear in the affirmative or in the negative. Similar to these examples are modern proverbs like the English 'There are black sheep in every flock'.²¹⁵

Furthermore, demotic and Greek monopartite proverbs of the statement type most frequently involve the use of the third person singular, less frequently the second person singular, and even less frequently the first person singular or plural, all used as subjects or objects of actions. Of these, the third person may sometimes be qualified by attributive units like adjectives or relative forms, but is never identified as a specific person, following the standard rules of proverbial expression. The same applies to the second and the first persons, which, although sometimes qualified by a vocative involving a general term like 'man' or 'friend', are always left anonymous. Such vocatives are found only in the Greek examples and are parallel to modern proverbs such as the German 'Friss, Vogel, oder stirb'.²¹⁶

When demotic and Greek monopartite proverbs employ the verb 'to be', they include examples with nominal, adjectival, and adverbial predicates (see, for instance, **dmD**, **dmE**, or **gmA**). In the demotic monopartite proverbs of this type, the verb 'to be' (as is the case with the copula of nominal sentences) is written less frequently than in their Greek counterparts.

With regard to proverbs of the instructional type, imperatives and vetitives in demotic (see **dmF**) involve more fixed ways of formulation than their Greek counterparts (see **gmC–D**). The latter include a number of constructions forming prohibitions, some of which may employ an aorist subjunctive instead of a present one (see examples of the former in **gmD**). Finally, monopartite proverbs of the instructional type with the verb 'to be' exist only in Greek.

Along with these types of monopartite proverb come a small number of demotic and Greek rhetorical questions (see **dmJ** and **gmG**). In the case of demotic, such questions involve the use of interrogative adverbs

²¹⁵ Gluski 1971, no. 16.17.

²¹⁶ Gluski 1971, no. 18.13.

and pronouns, which are stressed by the second present employed and which form questions of specification (that is, questions that ask ‘who?’, ‘what?’, and so on). As they are integral parts of a specific passage discussing the relationship between Nature and the god, they function as a pure rhetorical device that voices the thoughts of the author. Being parts of such passages, they too discuss cosmological matters.

In contrast, three out of the four Greek monopartite questions are questions of interrogation (that is, questions that can be answered simply by ‘yes’ or ‘no’). These three employ the verb ‘to be’, while the fourth employs another verb. In contrast to their demotic counterparts, they are not grouped together, but are simply related to the general purpose of their collections to discuss moral issues. Parallel instances of proverbs in the form of questions can be identified in modern paroemiological corpora, as is the case, for example, of the German ‘Was soll der Blinde mit dem Spiegel?’.²¹⁷

Moreover, the Greek body of text includes proverbs with elliptical constructions, examples of which (such as **G61**) are noted in the course of the analysis. In most of these examples, the reader can assume a more developed version of the elliptical construction.

Both demotic and Greek monopartite proverbs often contain adverbials, which, in the case of Greek, involve a greater number of forms. The types of logical relationship described in the demotic examples are of a greater variety than those described in the Greek ones. Due to differences regarding linguistic expression some logical relationships are described with different constructions, as is the case, for example, with the sense of *exclusion*, which, in Greek, is conveyed by a number of prepositional phrases while, in demotic, it is conveyed only by the circumstantial existence clause (*iw mn...* ‘when there is no...’).

Moreover, demotic and Greek monopartite proverbs often involve anticipation. In demotic, the anticipatory unit can be a freestanding nominal or a phrase consisting in most instances of a noun qualified by a relative clause, both, by definition, standing at the beginning of the proverb. In contrast, Greek monopartite proverbs with anticipation almost always involve a freestanding relative clause at the beginning of the proverb. This clause is referred to by a demonstrative pronoun in the main clause, while, in the case of demotic, the resumptive pronoun is always a personal pronoun. In both cases, anticipation is a mor-

²¹⁷ Gluski 1971, no. 15.4.

phostylistic device that is employed in these proverbs to put an emphasis on the anticipatory word or phrase.

However, anticipatory phrases in demotic monopartite proverbs may sometimes play a more vital logico-semantic role in the structure of the proverb, by implying, for example, a hidden protasis of which the apodosis is the main clause, or expressing the cause for the action/state described in the main clause. Such logico-semantic relationships are often indicated by a change of tense from the anticipatory phrase to the main clause marking a sequence of actions/states. In other words, demotic anticipatory phrases function like the circumstantial participles in Greek monopartite proverbs, as they describe a secondary action/state that stands in association with that of the main clause. Therefore, although such proverbs are morphologically monopartite, semantically they resemble types of bipartite structure.

Apart from the phenomenon of anticipation, demotic and Greek monopartite proverbs often involve the use of other emphatic devices that do not influence the sentence structure as much as anticipation does. Therefore Egyptian authors employed the second tense and the cleft sentence for this purpose, while Greek authors altered the word order or used emphatic particles. Each of these devices was employed to emphasize chosen units of the proverb. Thus the second tense emphasizes the adverbials, the cleft sentence the subjects of nominal constructions, the particles the word(s) they qualify, and so on.

Finally, conjunctions and other connecting words are more abundant in the Greek material, since, in demotic, words or phrases are usually linked paratactically. In Greek, conjunctions and connecting particles are sometimes indicative of various logical relationships.

In general, the number and variation of combinations of structural units observed in demotic and Greek monopartite proverbs increase in bipartite and multipartite proverbs. By including more units in their structure, the Egyptian and Greek authors of bipartite and multipartite proverbs created a more elaborate network of logico-semantic and morphosyntactic relationships than that involved in monopartite proverbs. In the following chapter, a great variety of types of relationship between structural units will be identified and discussed, following the method by which I have examined the monopartite proverbs.

CHAPTER V

THE BIPARTITE AND MULTIPARTITE PROVERBS

1. *Bipartite Proverbs in Demotic and Greek: Introductory Remarks*

Bipartite proverbs consist of two clauses: when a proverb contains two independent clauses, it is termed a “proverb with coordination”, and when it contains one independent and one subordinate clause, it is termed a “proverb with subordination”.

In demotic bipartite proverbs, the distinction between independent and subordinate clauses is based mainly upon the usage of clause markers (for instance, the marker *iw* introducing circumstantial clauses), while, in Greek, bipartite proverbs are marked by conjunctions, some of which introduce independent clauses and some subordinate ones (for example, the coordinating adversative conjunction *ἀλλά* ‘but’ contrasted with the subordinating final conjunction *ἵνα* ‘so that’).

The independent clauses used in bipartite proverbs have the same characteristics as those in monopartite proverbs. In other words, they express a statement or give a piece of advice or a warning, employing mostly constructions in the indicative in the first case, and imperatives or vetitives / prohibitions in the second. In both cases, most of the verb forms used are related to the omni-present sense.

Finally, to avoid confusion, a clear distinction should be made between a monopartite sentence whose units are doubled (in most cases the object of a verb or the predicate of a construction with the verb ‘to be’, the latter only in a Greek clause) and a bipartite proverb that involves (at least) two essential units doubled (in most cases the verb forms and their objects or the subjects and their predicates, the latter only in Greek clauses). Examples of such cases are the monopartite proverb **G27**: οὐ χαλεπὸν ἐπίστασθαι καὶ ἐν λόγῳ νενικῆσθαι and the bipartite one **G195**: ὁ μηδὲν ἀδικῶν οὐδενὸς δεῖται νόμου· πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς πονηροὺς εἰσὶν οἱ νόμοι ἐξευρημένοι (the latter is fully quoted in the course of the analysis below).

2. Demotic bipartite proverbs with coordination and subordination

2.1. Coordination in Demotic Bipartite Proverbs

In comparison to demotic monopartite proverbs, the range of omnipresent-related verb forms that are employed in the independent clauses of demotic bipartite proverbs is smaller. These are: the habitual; the second present; some indicative *sḏm=f*s; the adjective-verb; the sentence with adjectival or adverbial predicate; the nominal sentence, and the cleft sentence. Such constructions are commonly combined, being linked logico-semantically or through a common referent.

Starting with the use of a habitual in the first independent clause [dbA], firstly, there is the case of a habitual combined with another habitual. An instance of this is proverb **D101**: *ḥr šp=w tp-n-izwt nb r w.y bw-ir=w šp ʔd* ‘All kinds of cattle are welcomed in a house; a thief is not welcomed’,¹ where the constituent clauses are parallel. The figure of *parallelismus membrorum* is employed here through the repeated use of the same verbal constructions (that is, *šp* in the habitual).²

In addition, in proverb **D102**: *bw-ir rmt-ntr mwḥ n thʔ bw-ir=w mwḥ n=f ḥ=f* ‘The man of the god does not burn to injure, lest he is burned himself’,³ two negative habituals are combined, with the second habitual playing the same role as the habitual used after a vetitive (that is, translated as ‘lest something happen to x’). This type of logico-semantic link between two negative habituals, however, is not the rule in demotic bipartite proverbs. Thus, in proverb **D103**: *bw-ir pʔ šy nwṯ ḥ.t=f bw-ir pʔ tbe šm iy kʔ* ‘The fate does not look ahead and the retaliation does not go and come wrongfully’,⁴ for instance, the two habituals describe simultaneous actions and are simply juxtaposed instead.⁵ Finally, it should be mentioned that there are no examples of coordination in demotic proverbs involving the use of a negative habitual preceding an affirmative habitual or two affirmative habituals combined.

Thirdly, there is one example in which an independent clause with a habitual is employed with an independent cleft sentence, namely

¹ *Ankh.* 20/15.

² *Parallelismus* is common in this type of structure—for this, see also **D187**, in which the verb *ʔt* ‘to return’ is repeated in both clauses. For a discussion of this figure, see VI.5.

³ *Ins.* 30/10.

⁴ *Ins.* 33/4.

⁵ See also *Ins.* 33/10 and 33/11.

proverb **D104**: *hr tw rmt nb hpr nkt rmt rh p3 nt rh 'rd=f* 'Every man acquires property; the wise man is the one who knows (how) to conserve it'.⁶ The two clauses are linked through a common reference to 'property' (that is, by the noun *nkt* in the first clause and the pronoun *f* in the second) and logico-semantically, since the first clause makes a general observation that is narrowed down (the nominal *rmt nb* 'every man' in the first clause is replaced by *rmt rh* 'wise man' in the second) and elaborated on by the statement of the second clause.

Finally, there is the combination of a habitual with a second present. The only example of this type of structure is proverb **D105**: *bw-ir msh mwt n 3rl ir=f mwt n hk* 'A crocodile does not die from a desire; it is from hunger that it dies'.⁷ The link between the two clauses is made through a common reference to the crocodile (referred to by the noun *msh* in the first clause and the pronoun *f* in the second). Moreover, the first observation is elaborated on by the second.

With regard to the use of a second present in the first clause in coordination [**dbB**], a second present construction is only combined with another second present. An instance of this is proverb **D106**: *ir 3d dwy grh ir=w gm.t=f n mre* 'It is (by) night that a thief steals; it is by day that he is discovered'.⁸ Here the two clauses are linked through a common referent, as the suffix pronoun *f* in the second clause refers to the word *3d* 'thief' mentioned in the first. Moreover, the logico-semantic link between the two independent clauses is made clear by the *parallelismus* of two antonymous prepositional phrases (that is, *grh* '(by) night' and *n mre* 'by day'), which add the sense of temporal sequence to the relationship of the two clauses.⁹ In other words, it is made clear that the action described in the second clause occurs after the action described in the first.

The existence clauses in demotic bipartite proverbs [**dbC**] are only coordinated with other existence clauses. This type of structure is found in only one instance, namely proverb **D107**: *wn p3 nt mtre n sy wn p3 nt mtre n n3y=f rh.w* 'There is the one who is satisfied with (his) fate and

⁶ *Ankh.* 13/9.

⁷ *Ankh.* 10/5. On the reading of this proverb, and especially the word *3rl*, see Lichtheim 1985.

⁸ *Ankh.* 14/11.

⁹ Contrast the example of *Ankh.* 19/4, where the same type of structure involves the parallel prepositional phrases *n sh.t* 'from the field' and *r p3 tme* 'to the town', expressing spatial contrast.

there is the one who is satisfied with his knowledge'.¹⁰ Morphologically the two affirmative existence clauses are linked through the repetition of the group of words *wn p3 nt mtre* at the beginning of each clause. This morphological link is also combined with a semantic one, since both clauses describe human characters that are satisfied with different aspects of their lives, while the second clause elaborates on the observation of the first. This is also an example of the figure of *parallelismus membrorum*, as the two introductory phrases of the clauses employ the same constructions and are parallel.

Adjective-verbs in bipartite proverbs [dbD] can be used in coordination with a wider range of constructions. There is one example in which two affirmative adjective-verbs are combined, reading in **D108**: *p3 the n3-hy=f r-tbe rm=f n3-dlh=f r-tbe hm-h3t* 'Retaliation is exalted because of its name and belittled because of impatience (lit. smallness-(of)-heart)'.¹¹ Here the two *sdm=f*s share the same subject (that is, retaliation), which is resumed in both clauses by the pronoun *f*. However, this is not the only link between these two clauses: they are also linked through a striking structural similarity involving a *sdm=f* followed by a prepositional phrase that expresses the cause and is introduced by the compound preposition *r-tbe*. Therefore this is another example of the figure of *parallelismus*, which is enhanced semantically by the use of two parallel antonyms, namely the verbs *n3-hy* 'to be exalted' and *n3-dlh* 'to be belittled', used in two clauses that elaborate on each other's observation.

In addition, there is one example of an affirmative adjective-verb clause followed by an affirmative cleft sentence. This is in proverb **D109**: *n3-nfr rmt r '3 r(?) nk t3y=f 3sw.t t3 nt 3nt.f=f* 'A man is better than a donkey in copulating; his purse is what restrains him'.¹² The link between the two clauses in this example is a common referent (that is, the double use of the suffix pronoun *f* in the second clause referring to *rmt* mentioned in the first). Moreover, there is a logico-semantic link as the latter clause elaborates on the observation of the former.

Similar to this type of structure is that involving a clause with an adjectival predicate as the first independent clause of the bipartite proverb. An instance of this is proverb **D110**: *w3 n3 ip(.w) n p3 ntr w3 n3 ip(.w) rmt* 'The plans of the god are one thing, the plans (of) a man

¹⁰ *Ins.* 5/4.

¹¹ *Ins.* 34/3.

¹² *Ankh.* 24/10.

are another',¹³ where the adjective *wł* stands at the beginning of two affirmative independent clauses. As the structures of the two clauses are identical and hence parallel, *parallelismus* is in use, linking the two clauses stylistically.

Along with these types of bipartite structure, there are a number of examples of a sentence with an adverbial predicate as the first independent clause of a bipartite proverb [**dbE**]. Instances of this are proverbs **D111**: *n3 hrt.w n p3 lh mš n p3 hyr na-p3 rmt rh st he.t=f* 'The children of the fool walk in the street, those of the wise man stand before him (lit. are in his body)' and **D112**: *1000 b3k pr šwt p3 šwt w' n-im=w* '1000 servants are (in) the house (of) a merchant and the merchant is one of them'.¹⁴ In the first instance, the construction with the infinitive is followed by a similar one with a prepositional phrase as its predicate. The latter describes a fact contradictory to what the first clause describes. In the second instance, the two independent clauses are linked logico-semantically, elaborating on each other's observation (and the connection is enhanced by the repetition of the word *šwt*), as well as through the use of the resumptive pronoun *w* in the second clause, referring back to *1000 b3k*.

Furthermore, there are a number of examples where an imperative or a vetitive is combined with other independent clauses in bipartite proverbs [**dbF**]. These include the following clause combinations, all referring to the same anonymous addressee and thus linked through a common referent:

- 1) imperative + vetitive—for example, **D113**: *rh p3 šhne n t3y=f 3my.t tm ir t3 bty.t n h3t=f* 'Know the disposition of his (i.e. your master's) character; do not do what his heart despises (lit. the hatred of his heart)';¹⁵
- 2) imperative × 2—for example, **D114**: *r-ddy mt.t m3'.t rmt nb my šbn=s r3=k* 'Speak truth (to) all men; let it cleave to your mouth';¹⁶
- 3) vetitive × 2—for example, **D115**: *m-ir d p3y=y yh rt m-ir ir-wš mšt.t=f* 'Do not say: "My land thrives"; do not cease to inspect it';¹⁷

¹³ *PAshm.* 4/9.

¹⁴ *Ankh.* 18/11 and 19/18. For the reading of the first proverb, see Glanville 1955, n. 224.

¹⁵ *Ins.* 11/10.

¹⁶ *Ankh.* 13/15.

¹⁷ *Ankh.* 9/11.

- 4) vetitive + affirmative future indicative + adverbial—for example, **D116**: *m-ir swr mw pr šwt iw=f ip r-ir=k r-tbe ht* ‘Do not drink water (in) the house (of) a merchant; he will charge you for it’;¹⁸
- 5) vetitive + affirmative or negative habitual + adverbial ± anticipatory unit—for example, **D117**: *tm dlh=f n p3 h3r bw-ir p3y=f šy¹⁹ tbe=k* ‘Do not slight him (i.e. your master) in the street, lest his stick(?) punish you’, **D118**: *m-ir hms n ‘w.y iw=f šny p3 mwt bw-ir=f d tw=y iw* ‘Do not sit in a house that is decaying; death, it does not say: “I am coming”’, or **D119**: *m-ir t h3r hr hb p3 [‘h’] n p3 nt ir=s* ‘Do not seize food; the [lifetime] of the one who does is shortened’;²⁰
- 6) imperative or vetitive + affirmative second present + adverbial—for example, **D120**: *štm pr iir=f mwt n-im=s* ‘Shut up a house and it is through it that it perishes’, or **D121**: *m-ir ršy n p3 ‘ny n t3y=k hm.t iir h3t=s hr p3y nk=s* ‘Do not rejoice over the beauty of your wife; it is on her lover (lit. the one with whom she has had sexual intercourse) that her heart is (set)’;²¹
- 7) vetitive + affirmative adjective-verb + adverbial—for example, **D122**: *tm th3 n h3t hn dth n3-‘3 t3 wp.t n p3 ntr* ‘Do not be sore-hearted in imprisonment; the work of the god is great’;²² and
- 8) vetitive + affirmative sentence with adverbial predicate + adverbial—for example, **D123**: *m-ir wn h3t=k r t3y=k hm.t n3 d=k n=s st p3 h3r* ‘Do not open your heart to your wife; what you tell her goes (lit. is) (in) the street’.²³

In each of these examples (except for **D122**) the two clauses are linked through a common referent (for example, in **D113** the repeated use of *f*, both referring to ‘your master’). Moreover, the second independent clause in each of these proverbs adds to (in **D115**), describes the result of (in **D123**), or describes the cause for (in **D122**), what the first independent clause describes. It should also be noted that the combination

¹⁸ *Ankh.* 16/5.

¹⁹ Emended to *šb.t* according to Volten 1941, p. 14, whose emendation is adopted by Lichtheim 1983, p. 207 with fn. 181.

²⁰ *Ins.* 10/17, *Ankh.* 20/12, and *P* 2377 7. In the last example, the emendation follows that in Williams 1976, p. 264 with note f.

²¹ *Ankh.* 14/5 and 18/15.

²² *Ins.* 20/4.

²³ *Ankh.* 13/16.

of a vetitive with a negative habitual is one of the most common bipartite structures in demotic proverbs.²⁴

In addition, there are demotic bipartite proverbs with coordination whose first clause is a nominal sentence [dbG]. The structural combination is: indefinite noun + indefinite noun with affirmative nominalized past relative + *n* of predication + definite noun. An example of this type is proverb **D124**: *bk n lh rmt hm shy p3 ïr hy n h3t=f* ‘The reward of a fool and a low man is laughing; what has fallen is their (lit. his) heart’.²⁵

Furthermore, there are some instances of bipartite proverbs with coordination where the two clauses are cleft sentences [dbH]. Such is the case with **D125**: *t3 mw.t t3 nt ms t3 my.t t3 nt tl ïry* ‘The mother is the one who gives birth; the street is the one that gives a companion’,²⁶ for example, where each of the two cleft sentences consists of a definite noun and an affirmative nominalized present relative clause. In this example, there is *parallelismus membrorum*, since two similarly structured independent clauses are juxtaposed. In addition, this is the only demotic bipartite proverb that involves two independent clauses connected only by the figure of *parallelismus* and not through any sort of logico-semantic link and / or the use of a resumptive pronoun, as is the case with the majority of types of structure discussed above.

Finally, there are some exceptional examples among demotic bipartite proverbs with coordination in which the first clause involves the use of non-omni-present constructions [dbI]. Examples of this are proverbs **D126**: *ðrp=k r rte.t=k ïw.y n rmt ‘3 bn-ïw ðrp=k r ls=k* ‘You may stumble over your foot (in) the house of a great man, but you should not stumble over your tongue’, **D127**: *ïw=k wn=f r t3y=k mw.t ‘r.r.t t3y shm.t* ‘May you open it (i.e. your heart) to your mother; she is a discreet(?)²⁷ woman’, **D128**: *bn-pw p3y=y sn ðm r ðwy bn-pw=y ðm r snh=f* ‘(As long as) my brother has not desisted²⁸ from stealing, I have not desisted from

²⁴ For example, in *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy*, there are 25 instances in a total of 132 bipartite proverbs.

²⁵ *Ins.* 26/1. The translation here does not follow those by other scholars, who translate the relative clause as a non-nominalized present (see, for instance, Lexa 1926, p. 82, or Lichtheim 1983, p. 223). See also the brief discussion of the translation of this proverb in Lichtheim 1981, p. 466.

²⁶ *Ankh.* 13/8.

²⁷ I have followed Glanville’s (1955, p. 33) and Lichtheim’s (1983, p. 78) translations here, while Thissen points out that the literal rendering of the word is ‘Korb’ (1984, p. 58).

²⁸ Note that Thissen prefers to translate *ðm* as ‘sich schämen’ (1984, p. 138).

restraining him',²⁹ or **D129**: *iw=f ir-rh n pzy=f mryt iw=f ti nkt n p3 ur ti n=f* 'He (i.e. the god) will know his favourite and will give goods to the one who has given to him'.³⁰

Here **D126** consists of a prospective *sdm=f* followed by a negative future complementing the meaning of the first clause.³¹ The two clauses are also linked through the repeated use of the suffix pronoun *k* in both clauses, referring to the anonymous addressee of the proverb. **D127** begins with a future construction followed by a nominal sentence. The latter seems to explain why what the first clause advises is valid. **D128** combines two negative past constructions, the first probably describing the cause for the action described by the second.³² The two clauses are also linked through the first person singular common referent. Finally, **D129** includes two future constructions, each adding to the message of the other. Moreover, the two clauses are linked through the double use of *f* referring to *p3 ntr*.

2.2. Subordination in Demotic Bipartite Proverbs

The tense and mood of the subordinate clauses used in bipartite proverbs and associated with the types of main clause discussed above vary depending upon the tense and mood of the main clause (subordinate clauses here denote only dependent clauses that play a substantial role in the sentence structure).

The first type of bipartite structure with subordination involves the use of a main clause in the habitual combined with an affirmative conditional, an affirmative circumstantial present or past, an affirmative conjunctive, or an affirmative terminative [**dbJ**], all highlighted below. Examples of these combinations are proverbs **D130**: *p3 nt sm iwł sn 2 iw=w hnt hr tw=w st iwł=w iw=w htp* 'The one who goes between two brothers when they quarrel, he is placed between them when they are reconciled',³³ **D131**: *in-nzw hzt=f mr irp bw-ir=f rh swr r thy* 'If his heart (i.e. the heart of the man who passes sixty years of life) loves wine, he cannot drink to drunkenness', **D132**: *bw-ir=w gm hzt rmt hn tzy=f amy.t iw bn-pw=w hb=f* 'One does not discover the heart (of) a man in his

²⁹ *Ankh.* 10/7, 13/18, and 12/15.

³⁰ *Ins.* 30/8.

³¹ For the prospective *sdm=f*, see *Grammar of Demotic*, §68.

³² For an "affirmative version" of this, see *Ins.* 20/17.

³³ *Ankh.* 19/12.

character when / if he has not been sent (out for a mission)', **D133**: *hr h3' p3 szb3 nzy=f sk.w n p3 mwt mtw ky w' t.t=w* 'The impious (man) leaves his savings at death and another takes them', and **D134**: *hr hpr rmt-ntr hn st-tbe š'-tw p3 ntr htp* 'The godly man stays (lit. happens) in misfortune till the god is satisfied'.³⁴

The two clauses in each of these examples (except for the last) are linked through a common referent (for instance, in **D131** the double use of the pronoun *f* referring to the same person). Furthermore, one can also observe the *parallelismus* between the two antonymous circumstantial clauses (the first in the anticipatory unit and the second in the main unit) in **D130**.

The next type of structure consists of an affirmative or a negative existence clause followed by a conjunctive, a circumstantial, or a terminative [**dbK**]³⁵—for example, **D135**: *mn p3 nt hws r p3 '3 r-ir=f iw bn-iw mtw=f p3 nt hws.t in* 'There is none who insults his superior and will not be insulted in turn',³⁵ **D136**: *wn p3 nt ir pzy=f stny mtw=f gm htb n-im=f* 'There is the one who follows (lit. who does) his (i.e. the god's) counsel and yet finds killing through it', or **D137**: *wn p3 nt sk n t3 wr3.t š'-tw p3 mwt ph* 'There is the one who hoards riches until death arrives (lit. reaches)'.³⁶ In such a combination of clauses, the conjunctive almost always contradicts the statement made by the main clause, creating a paradox, while the circumstantial and the terminative simply elaborate on the message of the main clause. Moreover, the two clauses in **D136** and **D137** are linked through the use of the resumptive pronoun *f*.³⁷

The third type of bipartite structure with subordination involves the use of an affirmative second tense in the main clause and an affirmative or negative circumstantial habitual, perfect, or present [**dbL**]. This type of structure can be illustrated by proverbs **D138**: *p3 why iir=f hwy n mr(.t) iw bw-ir rh=f d p3 ntr p3 nt w.t r 'w,y nb* 'The fisherman, it is on board(?) that he throws, while he does not know that the god is the one who sends to every house', **D139**: *iir irp 'w iw bw-ir-tw=w glp=f* 'It is not

³⁴ *Ins.* 17/12, 12/14, 4/9, and 30/12.

³⁵ *Ankh.* 21/9.

³⁶ *Ins.* 32/23 and 19/2.

³⁷ It should also be noted that there are some exceptions in this type of structure where the conjunctive seems not to contradict, but to elaborate, and these cannot be taken as paradoxes—such as *Ins.* 27/17 (except if the obscure term *hy-n-hr*, literally meaning 'high-of-face', is wrongly translated as 'arrogant' in Lichtheim 1983, p. 225, among other studies, and means something positive instead).

until one has uncovered it that wine matures',³⁸ or **D140**: *îr p3 îry n p3 lh sdr îw=f snh îrm=f* 'The friend of the fool sleeps, while he is bound to (lit. with) him'.³⁹

Here **D138** uses a noun in anticipation (*p3 why*) that plays the role of the subject in the main clause. This noun is also the subject of the circumstantial clause that follows. In **D139** and **D140**, the clauses are linked through the use of the suffix pronoun *f* referring to a nominal in the first clause. The use of the verb form in the perfect in **D139** indicates that the action it describes has been completed, contrasting it to the action described in the main clause, which has not been completed.

Another type of structure involving omni-present constructions in the main clause of a proverb is that which contains an adjective-verb in its independent clause [**dbM**]. Instances of such a structure involve combinations of an affirmative adjective-verb with an affirmative present conditional clause(?) or with an affirmative conjunctive. This is the case in proverbs **D141**: *n3-ñ p3 h'm nt îrm=f îr-hr sy h'r3.t hw3 mtw=f* 'Good is the little which he (i.e. the fool) has (lit. which is with him), if⁴⁰ he is sated with plenty of food (lit. if satiety of much food is with him)' and **D142**: *n3-ñ h'ke n p3 nt îw îw=f rh sy mtw bkw tm ph=f* 'Hunger is good for the one who can be sated and harm does not befall him'.⁴¹

In **D141**, the main clause with the adjective verb is followed by a clause introduced by the rare particle *îr-hr*,⁴² which some scholars take as conditional and others as temporal.⁴³ Apart from the apparent logico-semantic relationship between a protasis and its apodosis in **D141**, the two clauses are linked through the double use of the suffix pronoun *f* referring to the same nominal term (that is, *p3 lh*, which is mentioned in the previous proverb). Finally, in **D142**, the subordinate clause describes the consequence of and involves a common referent with the first clause (namely, the pronoun *f*).

Before the analysis turns to the bipartite proverbs with subordination involving an independent clause of the instructional type, we should

³⁸ *Ankh.* 11/15 and 19/23.

³⁹ *Ins.* 13/13.

⁴⁰ The rendering 'although' instead of 'if' in this case would be possible, although it would strip the proverb of its mild sense of irony.

⁴¹ *Ins.* 7/7 and 7/8.

⁴² I owe this reading to Prof. M. Smith.

⁴³ See discussion in Johnson 1976, pp. 243–244.

also note the idiomatic construction in proverb **D143**: *hwš r-hr=y p3 nt iw=w ir=f hr=f n p3 lh iw=w mtr.t=f* ‘“What they do insults me”, says he, namely the fool, when he is instructed’.⁴⁴ This highlighted construction, as mentioned above, replaces a lexical verb.⁴⁵

The use of an imperative or a vetitive in the main clause of a bipartite proverb [**dbN**] is very common and involves the following types of clause combination:

- 1) imperative or vetitive + affirmative conditional + adverbial—for example, **D144**: *iw=k ‘nh n ir-shy my hm b3.t h3t=k* ‘If you live as one who is mighty, let the anger (in) your heart be small’, or **D145**: *iw=f hpr iw p3y=k hry hms r-hr p3 yr m-ir / thb tr.t=k m-b3h=f* ‘If it happens that your master is sitting by the river, do not / immerse your hand before him’;⁴⁶
- 2) vetitive + affirmative conjunctive—for example, **D146**: *m-ir thb hf mtw=k h3 ‘ste.t=f* ‘Do not kill a snake and leave its tail’;⁴⁷
- 3) vetitive + affirmative circumstantial present + adverbial—for example, **D147**: *m-ir mkh=k iw wn-mtw=k* ‘Do not worry as long as you own something’;⁴⁸
- 4) vetitive + affirmative terminative—for example, **D148**: *tm kby r p3 ir kby š ‘p3y=f hrw ph* ‘Do not be vengeful to the one who is vengeful until his day comes’;⁴⁹
- 5) vetitive + negative circumstantial past or perfect ± adverbial—for example, **D149**: *tm š3y wpy ls=k r sdym iw bn-pw=w šn.t=k* ‘Do not make a habit of giving liberty to your tongue (lit. do not (let) your tongue be free many times) to counsel when you have not been asked’, or **D150**: *tm wnm p3 hw3 n t3 hny.t iw bw-ir-tw p3 šy di.t <s(t)>* ‘Do not eat the profit of something if / when the fate has not given it’;⁵⁰
- 6) imperative or vetitive + affirmative purpose clause ± adverbial—for example, **D151**: *my 3 n3 rmt.w nt 3-n-ms h3t=k 3=k n h3t rmt nb* ‘Let men of noble birth be highly esteemed by you (lit. be high

⁴⁴ *Ankh.* 10/6.

⁴⁵ See another use in the monopartite proverb **D21** and *Ankh.* 23/16.

⁴⁶ *Ins.* 33/23 and *Ankh.* 10/9–10. The latter is a unique example in the texts examined of a demotic proverb that extends to more than one line.

⁴⁷ *Ankh.* 11/8.

⁴⁸ *Ankh.* 6/22.

⁴⁹ *Ins.* 22/16. Here the participle can be read either as in the past or in the present tense (see discussion in Lichtheim 1981, p. 467, and Depauw 2002).

⁵⁰ *Ins.* 22/20 and 4/7.

(in) your heart), so that you are highly esteemed by (lit. high in the heart (of)) every man', or **D152**: *tm dlh mt.t Pr-ʿz mt.t p3 ntr r ti 3k s* 'Do not slight a matter of the Pharaoh (or) of the god in order to injure it',⁵¹

- 7) vetitive + affirmative or negative circumstantial future (or conditional) ± adverbial—for example, **D153**: *tm ir wp.t iw=s sš iw iw=k rh nh n k.t* 'Do not do a job that is scorned when you are able to live by another', or **D154**: *m-ir hwy nw iw bn-iw iw=k rh mht ph.t=f* 'Do not throw a lance when/if you will not be able to control its end',⁵² and
- 8) imperative + affirmative finalis + adverbial—for example, **D155**: *h'm-b3.t tw=y y t3y=k šf.t n h3t rmt nb* 'Be modest (lit. small-(of)-anger) so that your reputation increases in the heart (of) every man'.⁵³

The structure of the last proverb is unique: a freestanding adjectival compound stands at the beginning of the independent clause playing the role of a verb in the imperative. In other words, it seems that this adjectival compound is an adjective-verb whose introductory particle *n3* has been omitted.

With regard to the links through a common referent between the main and the subordinate clauses (highlighted above) of these proverbs, in most examples, the pronoun *k* is used in the subordinate clause referring to the anonymous addressee of the admonition—see **D144**, **D146–147**, **D149**, and **D150**. In the rest of the examples, the pronouns used in the subordinate clauses refer back to other units of the main clause—see, for instance, **D152**, where the suffix pronoun *s* refers back to *mt.t Pr-ʿz* and *mt.t p3 ntr*. Moreover, in all these examples (except for those including conditionals), the subordinate clauses follow the main ones. Finally, concerning the logico-semantic relationship of the clauses, the clauses highlighted elaborate on the other clause's observation (in **D146**), describe circumstances (in **D149**), or describe the purpose of what is described in the other clause (in **D152**).

Besides these types of structure, there are some examples in which the main clause of the proverb is a sentence with an adverbial predicate [**dbO**]. In these examples, the main clause is combined with an affir-

⁵¹ *Ankh.* 20/18 and *Ins.* 23/25.

⁵² *Ins.* 26/11 and *Ankh.* 11/9.

⁵³ *Ankh.* 17/26.

mative conditional or an affirmative circumstantial present—for example, **D156**: *in-n3w rwš hpr p3 h3t wh3 p3 mwt n rn=f* ‘If worry happens, the heart desires death by reason of it’, or **D157**: *t3 sty.t nt mwh h‘ hr mw iw p3 mw wtb r hr=s* ‘The burning fire is extinguished by water while the water turns into it’.⁵⁴

Belonging to the same type of structure are some examples in which an affirmative sentence with an adverbial predicate is introduced by *hmy iw/iir* ‘would that’. Instances of this are found in proverbs **D158**: *hmy iir i‘h šp p3-r‘ iw bw-ir=f ir-wš h‘* ‘Would that (the) moon succeed the sun while it does not fail to rise!’ and **D159**: *hmy iw=y ir-rh p3y=y sn wn=y h3t=y r-ir=f* ‘Would that I knew my brother that I could open my heart to him!’.⁵⁵ In the first proverb, the subordinate clause is a negative circumstantial habitual, while in the second proverb it is an affirmative purpose clause. In both proverbs, there are links through common referents between the two clauses. These are established through the use of the pronouns *f*, and *y* and *f* in the subordinate clauses respectively, referring back to units of the main clauses. Concerning the logico-semantic link between the two clauses, in the first instance, the subordinate clause elaborates on the message of the main clause, while in the second instance, the unit highlighted describes the purpose behind the wish described in the first clause. In both proverbs, the only link between the two clauses is logico-semantic (that is, in the first instance the relationship between a protasis and its apodosis, and in the second with the subordinate clause elaborating on the main clause’s message) and not through a common referent, as no unit of the main clause is mentioned in the subordinate one.

Moreover, there are instances of bipartite proverbs with subordination whose independent clause is a nominal sentence [**dbP**]. These include the following clause combinations:

- 1) affirmative indefinite noun + definite noun with affirmative purpose clause + adverbial—for example, **D160**: *ht p3 hky r-h3‘ p3 ntr n p3 t3 n p3 s3be rwš=f hr hrw* ‘Money is the snare that the god has placed on earth for the impious man so that he suffers daily’;⁵⁶
- 2) *hmy iw* + definite noun × 2 with affirmative purpose clause—for example, **D161**: *hmy iw t3y=y mw.t t3y=y nšy.t ir=s n=y p3 nt n3-‘n=f*

⁵⁴ *Ins.* 19/8 and 29/21.

⁵⁵ *Ankh.* 10/24 and 11/4.

⁵⁶ *Ins.* 15/19.

‘Would that my mother be my hairdresser, so that she may do to me what is pleasant!’;⁵⁷

- 3) affirmative definite noun \times 2 with affirmative conditional + adverbial—for example, **D162**: *iw=k hpr tme iw mn-mtw=k rmt n-im=f tzy=k zmy.t tzy=k mhw.t* ‘If you stay (in) a town where you have no one, your character is your family’;⁵⁸ and
- 4) affirmative definite noun + infinitive with affirmative circumstantial existence clause—for example, **D163**: *p3 sp nfr n rmt rh sk iw mn f* ‘The virtue of a wise man is to gather without greed (lit. while there is no greed)’.⁵⁹

Concerning the links between the clauses of these proverbs, suffix pronouns are used in all examples resuming a nominal term of the independent clause (for instance, in **D160** the pronoun *f* referring to *p3 szbe*). With regard to the logico-semantic value of the clauses, in the first two groups the subordinate clause describes the purpose of what is described in the main clause, while in the third group the main clause is the apodosis of a conditional, and in the last group the subordinate clause elaborates on the message of the main clause.

In addition to these structures, there are a few instances with a cleft sentence in the main clause of a bipartite proverb [**dbR**]. An example of this is proverb **D164**: *p3 nt why n nzy=f rmt.w p3 nt mwt iw bn-pw=w srl n=f* ‘The one who is mean to his people is the one who dies while no one has prayed for him’.⁶⁰ Here the cleft sentence is formed with two affirmative nominalized present relative clauses followed by a negative circumstantial past.

Finally, the structure of a bipartite proverb with subordination whose main construction is non-omni-present involves the following combinations of clauses [**dbS**]: a) affirmative future with affirmative conditional \pm adverbial—for example, **D165**: *ur n3-n shm.t iw=k grp pzy=k hry n-im=s* ‘If a woman is beautiful, may you reveal your mastery over her’, or **D166**: *in-n3w shm.t mr msh iw=s t tzy=f zmy.t* ‘If a woman loves a crocodile, she will take on its character’;⁶¹ and b) affirmative *sdm=f* with affirmative or negative circumstantial present, or affirmative purpose clause + adverbial—for example, **D167**: *tw=f hpr n3 shne.w n3 nt hn t3 p.t*

⁵⁷ *Ankh.* 10/23.

⁵⁸ *Ankh.* 21/25.

⁵⁹ *Ins.* 5/16.

⁶⁰ *Ins.* 16/17.

⁶¹ *Ins.* 8/4 and *Ankh.* 22/8.

iw n3 nt hr p3 t3 ir-rh st ‘He (i.e. the god) created the constellations (of) those that are in the sky while those who are on earth know them’, **D168**: *tw=f hpr p3 t3w hn t3 swh.t iw mn my.t n-im=s* ‘He (i.e. the god) created the breath in the egg while there is no access (lit. path) to it’, or **D169**: *tw=f hpr hyn.w m-s3 hyn.w n-im=w hn p3 dm iir s’nh=w* ‘He (i.e. the god) created the succession of generations (lit. some after the other of them in the generation) so as to make them live’.⁶²

In each of these examples, the link between the two clauses is made through a common referent (for instance, in **D166** the *s* referring to *shm.t*) and through a logico-semantic relationship (for example, in **D169** the subordinate clause describes the purpose lying behind what the main clause describes).

3. Greek Bipartite Proverbs with Coordination and Subordination

3.1. Coordination in Greek Bipartite Proverbs

The constructions employed in the independent clauses of Greek bipartite proverbs with coordination are in the present indicative, the present imperative, the present or aorist subjunctive (the latter only in prohibitions), the gnomic aorist indicative, and the future indicative.

Starting with the bipartite proverbs with coordination whose first clause is of the statement type involving the use of a verb in the present indicative [**gbA**], the following clause combinations are observed when this verb is the verb ‘to be’:

1) affirmative present indicative with nominal predicate \pm verb ‘to be’ + affirmative or negative present indicative linked by $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ or $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ — $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ —for example, **G164**: $\iota\sigma\chi\upsilon\rho\acute{o}\nu\ \delta\gamma\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\nu,\ \omicron\upsilon\kappa\ \acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \nu\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}$ ‘The crowd is a powerful (thing), but it does not have a brain’, or **G165**: $\Pi\epsilon\upsilon\theta\acute{\omega}\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \delta\upsilon\nu\epsilon\iota\alpha\omicron,\ \text{Ἡ}\epsilon\rho\iota\varsigma\ \delta'\ \acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\phi\upsilon\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota$ ‘Persuasion (is) a benefit, while Strife bears again strife’;⁶³

2) affirmative present indicative with nominal predicate \pm verb ‘to be’ + affirmative present with adjectival predicate linked in some cases

⁶² *Ins.* 32/5, 32/7, and 32/17. Note that, in the last example, there is the possibility of taking *iir s’nh* as a past participle and translating the last part of the sentence as ‘generations that were vivified’. As a purpose clause, this is the only instance among the demotic proverbs where *iir* is used in place of *r ir*.

⁶³ *Men. Mon.* 372 and *Ps.-Phoc.* 78.

by οὖν or μέν-δέ ± adverbial—for example, **G166**: νοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ θεός· τοῦτον {τὸν ν}οὖν ἔχειν καλόν ‘God is mind; (it is) good to have this mind’;⁶⁴ **G167**: τροφῆς δεομένῳ μεταδιδόντος ἕξ ὅλης ψυχῆς δόμα μὲν τι βραχυῖ, προθυμία δὲ μεγάλη παρὰ θεῷ ‘When someone gives part of (his) food readily to a needy (man), (his) gift (is) something small, but (his) willingness (to give is) a great thing (lit. great) before God’, or **G168**: ἄγγελος ὑπηρέτης θεοῦ πρὸς ἄνθρωπον, οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρὸς οὐδένα ἄλλον τιμώτερον οὖν ἄνθρωπος ἀγγέλου παρὰ θεῷ ‘An angel (is) a servant of God for man and not for anyone else; therefore a man (is) more honourable than an angel before God’;⁶⁵

3) affirmative or negative present indicative with nominal predicate × 2 ± verb ‘to be’ linked in some cases by μέν-δέ, δέ, or δέ-δέ—for example, **G169**: θεὸς καὶ υἱὸς θεοῦ τὸ μὲν ἄριστον, τὸ δὲ ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ ἀρίστου ‘God and son of God, the former is the best, the latter is the closest to the best’, **G170**: κόρου πέρας ὕβρις, ὕβρεως δὲ ὄλεθρος ‘The result of evil (is) insolence, while (the result of) insolence (is) destruction’;⁶⁶ **G171**: ἀγνείη ψυχῆς, οὐ σώματός εἰσι καθαρμοὶ ‘Purity (belongs to) the soul, purifications do not concern (lit. are not of) the body’, or **G172**: ὀργὴ δ’ ἐστὶν ὄρεξις, ὑπερβαίνουσα δὲ μῆνις ‘Rage is desire while wrath (is) excessive’;⁶⁷ and

4) affirmative present indicative with nominal predicate + verb ‘to be’ + second person singular imperative + adverbial—for example, **G173**: εὐσεβῆς βίος μέγιστον ἐφόδιον θνητοῖς ἐστὶ· φρόνει δικαιοσύνην ‘A pious life (is) the best provision for mortals; (therefore) think justice’.⁶⁸

Bipartite proverbs with coordination and the verb ‘to be’ taking adjectival predicates include the following examples:

1) affirmative or negative present indicative with adjectival predicate × 2 ± verb ‘to be’ linked by ἀλλά, μέν-δέ, δέ, or μέντοι ± adverbial—for example, **G174**: καλὸν τὸ νικᾶν ἀλλ’ ὑπερνικᾶν κακόν ‘To win (is) good,

⁶⁴ Men. Mon. 531.

⁶⁵ Sext. 379 and 32. In the latter example, the first construction has two predicates, one affirmative and one negative linked by γὰρ δὴ. This, however, does not affect the main bipartite structure of the sentence.

⁶⁶ Sext. 376b and 203.

⁶⁷ Ps.-Phoc. 228 and 64.

⁶⁸ Phil. Log. 111–112. This proverb is attributed to Epicharmus.

but to win too much (is) bad',⁶⁹ **G175**: τὸ μὲν εἰς ἀχάριστον ἀναλῶσαι ἐπιζήμιον, τὸ δὲ εἰς εὐχάριστον μὴ ἀναλῶσαι βλαβερόν 'To spend on (someone) ungrateful (is) unprofitable, while not to spend on (someone) grateful (is) harmful',⁷⁰ **G176**: δυνατόν ἀπατῆσαι λόγῳ ἄνθρωπον, θεὸν μέντοι ἀδύνατον 'To deceive a man with words (is) possible, but (to deceive) God (is) impossible',⁷¹ or **G177**: κτήσις ὀνήσιμός ἐσθ' ὁσίων, ἀδίκων δὲ πονηρά 'The possession of righteous property is advantageous, while (the possession of) dishonestly acquired (things is) bad',⁷²

2) affirmative present indicative with adjectival predicate + affirmative present indicative linked by μέν-δέ, γάρ, or δέ + adverbial—for example, **G178**: ἀνδρὸς σοφοῦ ζῶντος μὲν ὀλίγος ὁ λόγος παρὰ ἀνθρώποις, τελευτήσαντος δὲ τὸ κλέος ἄδεται 'The fame of a wise man who (is) alive is small among men, but when he dies (lit. (the fame of a wise man) who is dead), (his) praises are sung', **G179**: οἶεσθαι μὲν περὶ θεοῦ εὐμαρές, λέγειν δὲ ἀληθὲς μόνῳ τῷ δικαίῳ συγκεχώρηται 'To think about God (is) easy, while to speak (of God is) true only (when it is done) by a righteous (man)',⁷³ **G180**: ξίφους πληγὴ κουφοτέρα γλώττης· τὸ μὲν γὰρ σῶμα, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴν τιτρώσκει 'The wound of a sword (is) lighter than that of a tongue; for the former would hurt the body, but the latter the soul',⁷⁴ or **G181**: τόλμα κακῶν ὀλοή, μέγ' ὀφέλλει δ' ἐσθλὰ πονεῦντα 'Courage in bad things (is) disastrous, while it is very beneficial to the one who does good things',⁷⁵

3) negative present indicative with adjectival predicate + negative present with adverbial predicate linked by μέν-δέ—for example, **G182**: θησαυρὸν κατατίθεσθαι μὲν οὐ φιλόανθρωπον, ἀναιρεῖσθαι δὲ οὐ κατὰ φιλόσοφον 'To hoard riches (is) inhuman, but (even) to withdraw (them is) contrary to philosophy',⁷⁶ and

4) negative present indicative with two adjectival predicates linked by οὔτε-οὔτε + affirmative present indicative with two adjectival predicates

⁶⁹ Men. *Mon.* 419.

⁷⁰ Mosch. *Gn.* 6.

⁷¹ *Sext.* 186 and 300.

⁷² *Ps.-Phoc.* 37.

⁷³ *Sext.* 410 and 53. For a parallel to the latter, see *Clit.* 137.

⁷⁴ *Phil. Log.* 103–104. This proverb is attributed to Pythagoras. Note that the particles μέν-δέ here link the two parts of the second clause rather than the two clauses as γάρ does.

⁷⁵ *Ps.-Phoc.* 66.

⁷⁶ *Sext.* 300.

linked by καί-καί, the two clauses linked by δέ + adverbial—for example, **G183**: τὸ ὑπὸ πολλῶν διαβάλλεσθαι κακῶν οὔτε ἀληθές οὔτε βλαβερόν, τὸ δὲ ὑφ' ἑνὸς ἀγαθοῦ ψέγεσθαι καὶ ἀληθές καὶ λυσιτελές 'To be calumniated by many evil men (is) neither true nor harmful, but to be criticized by one virtuous man (is) both true and advantageous'.⁷⁷

Finally, bipartite proverbs of the same type but with the verb 'to be' taking adverbial predicates show the following clause combinations: a) affirmative or negative indicative with adverbial predicate + affirmative present indicative with adverbial predicate linked by γὰρ μέν-δέ + adverbial—for example, **G184**: τὸ γὰρ ζῆν μὲν οὐκ ἔφ' ἡμῖν, καλῶς δὲ ζῆν καὶ ἔφ' ἡμῖν 'We cannot control the length of our life (lit. living is not because of us), while we can control whether we live properly (lit. living properly is because of us)',⁷⁸ and b) affirmative indicative with adverbial predicate + verb 'to be' + affirmative present indicative linked by γὰρ-τε—for example, **G185**: πάντη γὰρ ἐστὶ πάντα τε βλέπει θεός 'God is everywhere and sees everything'.⁷⁹

In most examples of bipartite proverbs with coordination and with the verb 'to be' in the first clause, the second clause elaborates on or contrasts with the message of the first. However, when οὖν is employed (as in **G168**), and exceptionally in **G173** where the second clause is an imperative, the second clause of the bipartite structure seems to describe the logical consequence of the first clause. Finally, it should also be noted that in **G166** a demonstrative pronoun is used in the second clause to refer back to a nominal part of the first clause. This is the only example of this type of structure, in which the two clauses are linked through a common referent in a manner resembling that of anticipation. In all other proverbs, the link between the two clauses is simply logico-semantic, enhanced by the use of connecting words.

When the first independent clause of such proverbs includes a verb other than the verb 'to be', the following clause combinations are observed:

a) affirmative present indicative × 2 linked by μέν-δέ, δέ, γὰρ, γὰρ-καί, καί, ἀλλά, οὖν, or καὶ οὖν ± adverbial—for example, **G186**: τὴν σοφίην σοφὸς εὐθύνει, τέχνας δ' ὁμότεχνος 'A wise man preserves wisdom,

⁷⁷ Mosch. *Gn.* 16.

⁷⁸ *Sext.* 255. For a parallel, see *Clit.* 76.

⁷⁹ Men. *Mon.* 688.

while a craftsman his crafts',⁸⁰ **G187**: ἀνὴρ γὰρ ἄνδρα καὶ πόλις σώζει πόλιν 'Man (saves) man and city saves city', **G188**: βουλόμεθα πλουτεῖν πάντες, ἀλλ' οὐ δυνάμεθα 'We all want to become rich, but we are not (all) able to (make ourselves rich)', **G189**: γῆ πάντα τίκτει καὶ πάλιν κομίζεται 'The earth gives birth to all (things) and takes (them) back again',⁸¹ **G190**: σοφὸν ὁ τοῦ σώματος ἀφαιρούμενος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ κακίᾳ εὐεργετῇ, λύεται γὰρ ὡς ἐκ δεσμῶν 'Whoever deprives a wise man of (his) body by his own wickedness benefits (the wise man), for he is released as though from chains', **G191**: ἐξουσίαν πιστῷ ὁ θεὸς δίδωσι τὴν κατὰ θεὸν καθαρὰν οὖν δίδωσι καὶ ἀναμάρτητον 'God gives power that befits God to a faithful (man); thus, He gives a pure and sinless (power)', **G192**: αἰσχροῦς ἡδονῆς τὸ μὲν ἡδὺ ταχέως ἄπεισιν, τὸ δὲ ὄνειδος παραμένει 'The sweetness of disgraceful pleasure swiftly departs, while the reproach remains', **G193**: χαίρει τῷ ἀρχομένῳ τὸ ἄρχον, καὶ ὁ θεὸς οὖν σοφῷ χαίρει 'What rules takes pleasure in what it rules, and so God takes pleasure in the sage', or **G194**: ἐκλεκτὸς ἄνθρωπος ποιεῖ μὲν πάντα κατὰ θεόν, εἶναι δὲ οὐχ ὑπισχνεῖται 'The chosen man does all (things) in accord with God, but he does not claim to be (in accord with God)';⁸²

b) affirmative indicative + affirmative present with adjectival predicate (+ verb 'to be') linked by γὰρ + adverbial—for example, **G195**: ὁ μηδὲν ἀδικῶν οὐδενὸς δεῖται νόμου· πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς πονηροὺς εἰσὶν οἱ νόμοι ἐξευρημένοι 'The one who is in no way unjust does not need any law, because the laws have been invented for the base men',⁸³

c) affirmative indicative + negative present with nominal predicate linked by γὰρ—for example, **G196**: ἄνθρωπος μαρολογῶν πολὺ ἄλογώτερος τῶν κτηνῶν ὑπάρχει· οὐ γὰρ τῆς ἀνάγκης ὁ μισθός, ἀλλὰ τῆς προαιρέσεως 'A man who speaks foully is⁸⁴ much more irrational than

⁸⁰ *Ps.-Phoc.* 88.

⁸¹ *Men. Mon.* 31, 104, and 145. The first proverb is also an example of the common structure where, although the verb is written in only one of the two clauses, it is to be assumed in the other clause too (this is the figure ἀπὸ κοινοῦ σχῆμα discussed in VI.5). The same figure involves the nominal subject (that is, γῆ) in **G189**.

⁸² *Sext.* 322, 36, 272, 422, and 433.

⁸³ *Phil. Log.* 109–110. This proverb is attributed to Menander. Here the words τοὺς and οἱ νόμοι are interpolated words destroying the metre.

⁸⁴ It is possible here that ὑπάρχει is used as an impersonal verb meaning 'it is possible that / it is the fact that' (for this, see *LSJ*, s.v. ὑπάρχω).

beasts, because the reward (is) not for (what is done out of) necessity, but for (what is done by) choice’;⁸⁵

d) affirmative indicative + second person singular present imperative linked by οὖν + adverbial + participle—for example, **G197**: ἐκλεκτὸς ὢν ἔχεις τι ἐν τῇ συστάσει σου ὅποιον θεός· χρῶ οὖν τῇ συστάσει σου ὡς ἱερῷ θεοῦ ‘Being an elect, you have something God-like within you, therefore treat your constitution as a temple of God’;⁸⁶

e) affirmative optative with ἄν + affirmative present with adjectival predicate linked by γάρ—for example, **G198**: πλῆθος πιστῶν οὐκ ἂν ἐξεύροις· σπάνιον γάρ τὸ ἀγαθόν ‘You will not be able to find a multitude of believers, for goodness (is) rare’;⁸⁷ and

f) present existence clause + affirmative present with adjectival predicate linked by μέν-δέ + adverbial—for example, **G199**: ὁμοιον μὲν οὐδὲν θεῷ, προσφύλεσται δὲ τὸ εἰς δύναμιν ἐξομοιούμενον ‘Nothing is like God, but what imitates Him as far as possible (is) most pleasing (to Him)’.⁸⁸

The clauses of most of these examples are linked logico-semantically through the use of causal or inferential conjunctions (as in **G198** and **G197** respectively). In the rest, the subordinate clauses employed simply elaborate on or contrast the message conveyed by the main clauses (for instance, in **G187** and **G188**).

In the majority of bipartite proverbs of the instructional type with coordination, the first clause employs a verb in the present imperative other than the verb ‘to be’ [**gbB**], with one of the following constructions:

1) second person singular imperative + present existence clause linked by γάρ + adverbial—for example, **G200**: τὸν πολλὰ ὀμνύοντα, ὡς τὸν ἐπίορκον, φεῦγε· ἐν γὰρ πολλοῖς ὅρκοις πλεῖσται ἐπιορκίαι ‘Avoid the one who swears for many things as (you avoid) the one who swears falsely, because in many oaths (there are) a lot of false ones’;⁸⁹

⁸⁵ *Phil. Log.* 129–131. This proverb is attributed to Sextus.

⁸⁶ *Sext.* 35.

⁸⁷ *Sext.* 243.

⁸⁸ *Sext.* 45.

⁸⁹ *Phil. Log.* 71–72. This proverb is attributed to Epicurus.

2) second person singular imperative (or infinitive) × 2 linked in some cases by δέ (in the first or the second clause), δέ-δέ, ἤ-ἤ, μήτε-μήτε, δέ-καί, καί, ἤπερ, or οὖν ± adverbial—for example, **G201**: φεῦγε κακὴν φήμην, φεῦγ' ἀνθρώπους ἀθεμίστους 'Avoid bad reputation, avoid lawless people', **G202**: χεῖρα πεσόντι δίδου, σῶσον δ' ἀπερίστατον ἄνδρα 'Give a hand to the one who has fallen (or, falls), and save the desolate man', **G203**: ἀρκεῖσθαι παρ' ἐοῖσι καὶ ἄλλοτριῶν ἀπέχεσθαι 'Be content with your (things) and stay away from (the things) of others',⁹⁰ **G204**: αἰσχρὸν δὲ μηδὲν προᾶπτε, μηδὲ μάνθανε 'Neither do nor learn an evil (thing)', **G205**: ἢ λέγε τι σιγῆς κρεῖττον ἢ σιγὴν ἔχε 'Either say something better than silence or keep silent', **G206**: ἰσότητα δ' αἰροῦ (καί) πλεονεξίαν φύγε 'Choose equality and avoid greediness', **G207**: ἃ μὴ προσήκει μὴτ' ἄκουε μὴθ' ὄρα 'What is improper neither listen to nor see',⁹¹ **G208**: ἐν πιστοῖς ὦν μᾶλλον ἄκουε ἤπερ λέγε 'When among pious (men) listen rather than speak', or **G209**: ἐκμαγεῖον τὸ σῶμά σου νόμιζε τῆς ψυχῆς· καθαρὸν οὖν τήρει 'Consider that your body bears the imprint of the soul; therefore keep it pure';⁹²

3) second person singular imperative (or infinitive) + second person singular prohibition (present subjunctive or infinitive) linked in some cases by δέ, δὲ ἄρα, μέν-δέ, or καί ± adverbial—for example, **G210**: ἀρχόμενος φείδου πάντων, μὴ τέρμ' ἐπιδεύης 'When you rule, be sparing of everything, lest you be in need at the end', **G211**: καιρῷ λατρεύειν, μὴ δ' ἀντιπνέειν ἀνέμοισιν 'Follow circumstances and do not blow against the winds', **G212**: ἀγροῦ γειτονέοντος ἀπόσχεο μὴ δ' ἄρ' ὑπερβῆς 'Stay away from the field of the neighbour and thus do not trespass on (it)', **G213**: πάντα δίκαια νέμειν, μὴ δὲ κρίσιν ἐς χάριν ἔλκειν 'Assign everything justly and do not stretch judgement for a favour',⁹³ **G214**: ἴσχυε μέν, μὴ χροῶ δὲ συντόνως θράσει 'Be strong, but do not use over-boldness intensively',⁹⁴ or **G215**: σέβου τὸ ἐν σοὶ καὶ ταῖς τοῦ σώματος ἐπιθυμίαις μὴ καθυβρίσῃς 'Respect what is within you and do not insult (it) with the bodily lusts';⁹⁵

⁹⁰ *Ps.-Phoc.* 146, 26, and 6.

⁹¹ *Men. Mon.* 24, 292, 366, and 48.

⁹² *Sext.* 171b and 346.

⁹³ *Ps.-Phoc.* 138, 121, 35, and 9.

⁹⁴ *Men. Mon.* 360.

⁹⁵ *Sext.* 448.

4) second person singular imperative + affirmative or negative future indicative linked by *καί* or *γάρ*—for example, **G216**: ξένον προτίμα και φίλον κτήση καλόν ‘Prefer (the company of) a stranger and you will win a good friend’, or **G217**: γύμναζε παῖδας· ἄνδρας οὐ γὰρ γυμνάσεις ‘Train children, for you will not (need to) train (them after they become) men’;⁹⁶

5) second person singular imperative + affirmative or negative present indicative linked in some cases by *γάρ* or *ἵνα* ± adverbial—for example, **G218**: θυμὸν φυλάττου· τὸ φρονεῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἔχει ‘Abstain from anger, for it does not involve reasoning’, **G219**: μηδὲν λογίζου, πάντα καιρῶ γίνεται ‘Calculate nothing; everything happens in (its) time’;⁹⁷ or **G220**: γίνου τοῖς φίλοις πρᾶος καὶ μεταδοτικός, ἵν’ εὐνοητικῶς σοι συναναστρέφονται ‘Be gentle and generous to (your) friends in order for them to be associated with you in a well-disposed manner’;⁹⁸

6) second person singular imperative (or infinitive) + affirmative present with adjectival predicate (± verb ‘to be’) linked by *δέ*, *δέ-γάρ*, *ἐφ’ ὅσον*, or *γάρ* ± adverbial—for example, **G221**: μέτρα νέμειν τὰ δίκαια, καλὸν δ’ ἐπίμετρον ἀπάντων ‘Measure things out in a fair way, while adding something to the measurement of everything (is) good’, **G222**: μοίρας πᾶσι νέμειν, ἰσότης δ’ ἐν πᾶσιν ἄριστον ‘Distribute to everyone (their) portions, equality in everything is the best (thing)’, **G223**: μέτρα δὲ τεῦχ’ ἔθ’ ἔοισι· τὸ γὰρ μέτρον ἐστὶν ἄριστον ‘Be moderate in your grief,’⁹⁹ because moderation is the best (thing)’, **G224**: στέργε φίλους ἄχρις θανάτου· πίστις γὰρ ἀμείνων ‘Love (your) friends till death, because loyalty (is) a preferable (thing)’;¹⁰⁰ or **G225**: ἀποτάττου τοῖς τοῦ σώματος, ἐφ’ ὅσον δυνατὸς εἶ ‘Put aside the (things) of the body as much as you can’;¹⁰¹

7) second person singular imperative + affirmative present with nominal predicate (+ verb ‘to be’) linked by *γάρ*—for example, **G226**: ψεύδεσθαι φυλάττου· ἔστιν γὰρ ἀπατᾶν καὶ ἀπατᾶσθαι ‘Abstain from lying; for to deceive is to be deceived’;¹⁰²

⁹⁶ Men. *Mon.* 558 and 161.

⁹⁷ Men. *Mon.* 355 and 504.

⁹⁸ Phil. *Log.* 6–7.

⁹⁹ Reading, as van der Horst has suggested (1978, p. 95 with n. 2), γόοισι instead.

¹⁰⁰ Ps.-Phoc. 14, 137, 98, and 218.

¹⁰¹ Sext. 78.

¹⁰² Sext. 393.

8) third person singular imperative + second person singular imperative linked by ἤ + adverbial—for example, **G227**: ἡ γλῶσσά σου χαλινὸν ἐχέτω ἢ εὐκόπως λάλει ‘Let your tongue have a curb or speak easily’,¹⁰³ and

9) third person singular imperative + third person singular imperative linked by μέν-δέ + adverbial—for example, **G228**: τὸ μὲν σῶμά σου μόνον ἐπιδημείτω τῇ γῇ, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ ἀεὶ ἔστω παρὰ θεῶ ‘Let your body alone be at home on earth, but let (your) soul be always with God’.¹⁰⁴

The second clause in these examples gives the reason (in **G226**), elaborates on (in **G215**), contrasts (in **G228**), or infers (in **G220**). Furthermore, there are examples where the two clauses of the sentence are not linked by a conjunction (*asyndeton*). In such a case, the second clause seems either simply to elaborate on the message of the first clause, to add another command or another prohibition to the first command (in **G211**), or to explain it (in **G219**).

In addition to these examples of the instructional type, one proverb employs a vocative that names the addressee of the present imperative, who is normally left anonymous. This is proverb **G229**: ἀκουε πάντα καὶ λάλει καιρῷ, φίλος ‘Listen to everything and speak at the proper time, O friend’,¹⁰⁵ where the nominative φίλος is used instead of the proper vocative form φίλε.¹⁰⁶

Finally, along with the aforementioned examples of verbs other than the verb ‘to be’, there are a much smaller number of examples with the verb ‘to be’ in the present imperative with the following constructions: a) second person singular with adjectival predicate + future indicative linked by καὶ ± adverbial ± participle—for example, **G230**: ξένος ὢν ἀπράγμων ἴσθι καὶ πράξεις καλῶς ‘If you are a stranger, do not meddle in public affairs (lit. be inactive) and you will fare well’, or **G231**: φιλόπονος ἴσθι καὶ βίον κτήσῃ καλόν ‘Be a lover of toil and you will acquire a good livelihood’,¹⁰⁷ and b) second person singular with adjectival predicate + second person singular imperative linked by καὶ or δέ-δέ + adverbial—for example, **G232**: ἄξιος ἔσο τοῦ ἀξιώσαντός

¹⁰³ Men. *Mon.* 318.

¹⁰⁴ *Sext.* 55.

¹⁰⁵ Men. *Mon.* 88.

¹⁰⁶ See a similar use in **G98**. It is also possible that this is used with the effect of ‘dear’ (*LSJ*, s.v. φίλος).

¹⁰⁷ Men. *Mon.* 552 and 811.

σε εἰπεῖν υἱὸν καὶ πρᾶττε πάντα ὡς υἱὸς θεοῦ ‘Be worthy of the One who deems you worthy to be called (His) son and act always as a son of God’, or **G233**: πᾶσιν δ’ ἀπλῶος ἴσθι, τὰ δ’ ἐκ ψυχῆς ἀγόρευε ‘To everyone be straightforward and speak from the heart’.¹⁰⁸

Here the future indicatives in **G230** (πράξεις) and **G231** (κτήση) are used to describe the result of the states described by the present imperatives. Therefore καί here is not a simple paratactic conjunction, but rather means ‘and so’.¹⁰⁹

With regard to the construction of bipartite present prohibitions with coordination [**gbC**], the following structure types (involving verbs other than the verb ‘to be’) are attested:

a) second person singular prohibition (imperative) + affirmative future indicative linked by γάρ + adverbial + participle—for example, **G234**: ἐν οἴνῳ μὴ πολυλόγει ἐπιδεικνύμενος παιδείαν· χολερά γὰρ ἀποφθέγγῃ ‘(When you are) drunk (lit. in wine) do not speak much showing off (your) education, for you will speak bitter (words)’;¹¹⁰

b) second person singular prohibition (present imperative or present or aorist subjunctive) × 2 linked by μή-μηδέ, μήτε-μήτε, μέν-δέ, or ἢ ± adverbial—for example, **G235**: διαβολαῖς μὴ πεισθῆς, μηδὲ πάντα ἀπίσται ‘Do not be convinced by slander, but do not (either) be a complete unbeliever (to anyone)’, **G236**: μήτε αἴτιον κακῶν τὸ Θεῖον ὑπολάμβανε, μήτε χωρὶς αὐτοῦ δυστυχεῖν ἡμᾶς νόμιζε ‘Neither consider the Divine as a cause of evil things nor think that without It we become miserable’,¹¹¹ **G237**: μήτ’ ἀδικεῖν ἐθέλῃς μήτ’ οὖν ἀδικοῦντα ἐάσεις ‘Neither want to do injustice nor allow another to do injustice’,¹¹² **G238**: ἔπαινον πλήθους μὴ θαύμαζε ἢ μὴ ἀτίμαζε ‘Neither admire nor slight the praise of the mob’,¹¹³ or **G239**: θανάτου μὲν σαυτῷ παραίτιος μὴ γένῃ, τῷ δὲ ἀφαιρουμένῳ τοῦ σώματος μὴ ἀγανάκτει ‘Do not become the cause of your own death, but do not (also) be angry with the person who would deprive you of your body’;¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁸ *Sext.* 58 and *Ps.-Phoc.* 50.

¹⁰⁹ For further remarks on this use of καί, see V.8.6.

¹¹⁰ *Phil. Log.* 8–9.

¹¹¹ *Phil. Log.* 16 and 73–74. The second proverb is attributed to Theopompus.

¹¹² *Ps.-Phoc.* 21.

¹¹³ *Clit.* 111.

¹¹⁴ *Sext.* 321.

c) second person singular prohibition (imperative or infinitive) + second person singular imperative (or infinitive) linked by *ἀλλά, ἢ-ἢ, γάρ*, or *δέ* ± adverbial ± participle—for example, **G240**: ὁμνυόντων μὴ τοῖς λόγοις πίστευε, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τρόποις πρόσεχε ‘Do not trust the words of those who swear oaths, but pay attention to (their) ways of behaving’, **G241**: μυστήριον ἐν φιλίᾳ ἀκούσας, ὕστερον, ἐχθρὸς γενόμενος, μὴ ἐκφάνῃς· ἀδικεῖ γὰρ οὐ τὸν ἐχθρὸν, ἀλλὰ τὴν φιλίαν ‘After you have learned about a secret concerning a friend (lit. in a friendship) and then you become an enemy (to him), do not reveal (it), because (this) does not do injustice to (your) enemy but to the friendship’,¹¹⁵ **G242**: ἢ μὴ ποίει τὸ κρυπτὸν ἢ μόνος ποίει ‘Either do not do what is hidden or do (it) alone’,¹¹⁶ or **G243**: ψεύδεα μὴ βάζειν, τὰ δ’ ἐτήτυμα πάντ’ ἀγορεύειν ‘Do not tell lies, but speak out all the true (things)’;¹¹⁷

d) second person singular prohibition (infinitive) + affirmative present with adjectival predicate linked in some cases by *γάρ*—for example, **G244**: σπέρματα μὴ κλέπτειν· ἐπαράσιμος ὅστις ἔλῃται ‘Do not steal what is sown; cursed (is) anyone who snatches (them)’, or **G245**: ὑποχρεῶς ὢν τινι, ἀγνώμων μὴ γίνου· ἀνελεύθερον γάρ ‘Being obliged to someone do not be ungrateful, for (this is a sign of) lack of freedom’;¹¹⁸

e) second person singular prohibition (imperative or subjunctive) + affirmative or negative present indicative linked by *δέ-γάρ* or *γάρ* + adverbial—for example, **G246**: ὃ μὴ κατέθου, μηδ’ ἀνέλῃς, οὐ γὰρ κατὰ τὸν αὐτάρκη πολυτεύῃ ‘What you have not deposited do not (try to) collect, for (in this way) you do not live in accord with self-sufficiency’, or **G247**: τοὺς ἀδικήσαντας μὴ εἰσπραττε δίκας· ἀρκεῖ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας ταπεινοῦσθαι κακίας ‘Do not punish those who act unjustly, because it is enough for them that they have been humiliated under their own wickedness’;¹¹⁹

f) second person singular prohibition (subjunctive) + affirmative present with adverbial predicate (+verb ‘to be’) linked by *γάρ*—for example,

¹¹⁵ *Phil. Log.* 53–54 and 121–123. The first proverb is attributed to Epicurus and the second to Sextus.

¹¹⁶ *Men. Mon.* 316.

¹¹⁷ *Ps.-Phoc.* 7.

¹¹⁸ *Ps.-Phoc.* 18 and *Phil. Log.* 65–66. The latter is attributed to Isocrates.

¹¹⁹ *Sext.* 263 and *Phil. Log.* 98–100. The latter is attributed to Pythagoras.

G248: μὴ ὀνειδίσῃς τὸν φίλον σου χάριτας· ἔστιν γὰρ ὥς οὐ δεδοκώς ‘Do not reproach your friend for (his) favours, for it is (then) as if he had not given (them)’;¹²⁰

g) second person singular prohibition (imperative) + affirmative present with adjectival predicate + verb ‘to be’ in the optative) linked by ἀλλά—for example, **G249:** παισὶν μὴ χαλέπαινε τεοῖσ’, ἀλλ’ ἥπιος εἶης ‘Do not be severe with your children, but be gentle’,¹²¹ and

h) second person singular prohibition (aorist subjunctive) + affirmative present with adjectival predicate (+ verb ‘to be’) + adverbial—for example, **G250:** μὴ κακὸν εὖ ἔρξῃς· σπεῖρειν ἴσον ἔστ’ ἐνὶ πόντῳ ‘Do not confer a benefit on a rogue; it is equal to sowing in the sea’.¹²²

In most of these examples, the second clause simply elaborates on, or contrasts, the prohibition of the first clause, while, when γάρ is employed (as in **G248**), the second clause gives the reason why the command of the first clause should be followed. The reason given in such examples may be an action or a state that occurs at the same time with or after the action described by the prohibition. In the second case, such a reason may be described with a future verb form, as in **G234**.

The types of bipartite verbal structure with coordination involving non-omni-present constructions consist of a few examples with forms in the future and in the aorist [**gbD**]. Such constructions with verbs other than the verb ‘to be’ are employed in the following combinations: 1) affirmative future indicative + negative future indicative linked by μέν-δέ ± participle—for example, **G251:** θεοφιλοῦς ἀνδρὸς σώματος μὲν ἄρξεις, λόγου δὲ οὐ κυριεύσεις ‘You may have power over the body of a man who loves God, but you will not control (his) reason’, or **G252:** ἀρετὴν μὲν ἔχων πάντα ἔξεις, κακίαν δὲ οὐδὲ σεαυτὸν ‘If you are virtuous (lit. have virtue) you will have everything, but (if you are) evil (you will not have) even yourself’,¹²³ and 2) affirmative aorist indicative + affirmative or negative aorist indicative linked in some cases by δέ ± adverbial—for example, **G253:** τύχη τέχνην ὥρθωσεν, οὐ τέχνην τύχην ‘Luck raises art, not art luck’, or **G254:** ἰσχύς μετὰ φρονήσεως

¹²⁰ *Phil. Log.* 119–120. This proverb is attributed to Sextus.

¹²¹ *Ps.-Phoc.* 207.

¹²² *Ps.-Phoc.* 152.

¹²³ *Sext.* 363a and *Clit.* 99.

ὠφέλησεν· ἄνευ δὲ ταύτης, πλέω τοὺς ἔχοντας ἔβλαψεν ‘Power with reason is beneficial, but without it, it harms more those who have (it)’.¹²⁴

The future indicative in **G251–252** may be used to describe a more punctual action than would the present. In **G253–254**, the aorist is gnomic and once again it is used as a present conveying an ever-true message.

In addition to these examples, there are a few instances of the use of non-omni-present constructions with the verb ‘to be’. These consist of the following structures: 1) affirmative with adjectival predicate and with the third person singular verb ‘to be’ in the imperfect indicative + second person singular present prohibition (imperative) linked by μέν-δέ + adverbial—for example, **G255**: σίδηρον ἀνδροφόνον ἄριστον μὲν ἦν μὴ γενέσθαι, γενόμενον δὲ σοὶ μὴ νόμιζε εἶναι ‘It would have been best if murderous weapons did not exist, but as they do, think as if they were not’,¹²⁵ and 2) negative with adjectival predicate + second person singular verb ‘to be’ in the future indicative + second person singular imperative + adverbial—for example, **G256**: χωρὶς μαθήματος οὐκ ἔσῃ θεοφιλὴς ἐκείνου περιέχου ὡς ἀναγκαίου ‘Without learning you will not be a person who loves God; cling to that as a necessary (thing)’.¹²⁶

The imperfect construction in the first example describes an imaginary state (being a sign of wishful thinking) that is contrasted with the true statement of the second clause, which is in the present. In **G256**, the future construction describes a state that comes as a result of what the adverbial implies, that is, the case when one does not receive an education. The action commanded by the present imperative of the second clause is continuous, since it is associated with a command valid under all circumstances. With regard to this example, it should also be noted that the use of the demonstrative ἐκείνου gives the proverb a form that resembles that of a monopartite proverb with anticipation. The difference here is that, in a similar monopartite example, the demonstrative would refer back to the whole of the anticipatory unit, while, in this example, the demonstrative seems to refer back to the value of learning only and not to the entire statement of the first clause.

¹²⁴ Men. *Mon.* 740 and *Phil. Log.* 32–33. This proverb is attributed to Isocrates.

¹²⁵ *Sext.* 324.

¹²⁶ *Sext.* 251.

3.2. Subordination in Greek Bipartite Proverbs

Greek independent clauses in a bipartite structure are combined with a wide range of subordinate clauses¹²⁷ that describe an action or a state that occurs in logical relation to the action or state described in the main clause.

The first type of bipartite structure with subordination to be examined includes proverbs of the statement type whose independent clause employs either the verb ‘to be’ or other verbs, all in the present indicative [gbE]. In those with the verb ‘to be’, the following clause combinations are observed: a) affirmative present indicative with adjectival predicate + verb ‘to be’ + affirmative or negative present conditional introduced by *ἐάν* + adverbial—for example, **G257**: ἀβεβαιοῦς ἐστὶ πλοῦτος, ἐάν τις εὖ φρονῇ ‘Wealth is unsecured (lit. uncertain), if one thinks rightly’,¹²⁸ and b) affirmative with nominal predicate + verb ‘to be’ + affirmative present conditional introduced by *ἄν*—for example, **G258**: ὡς χαρίεν ἐστ’ ἀνθρώπος, ἄν ἀνθρώπος ᾖ ‘So, a beautiful (being) is a man, if he is (really) a man!’, or **G259**: βίος ἔστιν, ἄν τις τῷ βίῳ χαίρῃ βίων ‘(This) is a life: if one enjoys living his life’.¹²⁹ Here both types of structure involve subordinate clauses that set the conditions for which the statements made in the main clauses are true.

When the main clause employs a verb other than the verb ‘to be’, the following types of structure are seen:

1) affirmative present indicative + affirmative or negative present conditional (in some cases with adjectival predicate) introduced by *κἄν*, *ἄν*, *ἤν*, or *εἰ*, or linked by *δέ-κἄν* ± adverbial—for example, **G260**: ἀνὴρ πονηρὸς δυστυχεῖ, κἄν εὐτυχῇ ‘An evil man is unfortunate, even when he is fortunate’, **G261**: βίον καλὸν ζῆς, ἄν γυναῖκα μὴ τρέφῃς ‘You live a good life, if you do not maintain a woman’, **G262**: γελά δ’ ὁ μῶρος, κἄν τι μὴ γελοῖον ᾖ ‘The stupid person laughs, even if something is not funny’, **G263**: εἰ μὴ φυλάσσεις μίκρον, ἀπολεῖς τὰ μείζονα ‘If you do not take care of the small (things), you will lose the bigger ones’, or **G264**:

¹²⁷ As has been explained above, relative clauses are excluded from the examination of subordinate clauses, because they function as adjectives or nominals rather than as clauses or as other substantial units of the sentence structure.

¹²⁸ Men. *Mon.* 73.

¹²⁹ Men. *Mon.* 852 and 120. Equally, one could translate the latter proverb as ‘if a man enjoys living (his) life, there is a life (for him)’.

ἔξον βίον ζῆς, ἣν γυναῖκα μὴ τρέφης ‘You live more comfortably, if you do not sustain a wife’;¹³⁰

2) affirmative present indicative + affirmative present or aorist subjunctive introduced by ὅταν, ὁπότε, μέχρις οὗ καί, or ἵνα ± adverbial—for example, **G265**: μισῶ πονηρόν, χρηστὸν ὅταν εἴπῃ λόγον ‘I hate an evil (man), when he says a good word’, **G266**: μαινόμεθα πάντες, ὁπότεν ὀργιζόμεθα ‘We all go mad whenever we get angry’;¹³¹ **G267**: ὀφείλομεν ἑαυτοὺς ἐθίζειν ἀπὸ ὀλίγων ζῆν, ἵνα μηδὲν αἰσχροῦ ἐνεκεν χρημάτων πράττειν μάθωμεν ‘We ought to accustom ourselves to get used to living with few things so that we learn to do nothing evil for money’;¹³² or **G268**: κακῶς ζῶντα μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ σώματος εὐθύνει κακὸς δαίμων μέχρις οὗ καὶ τὸν ἔσχατον κοδραντήν ἀπολάβῃ ‘The one who lives an evil life, after (his) release from the body, is called to account by an evil demon until he (i.e. the demon) receives the last penny (as payment)’;¹³³

3) affirmative present indicative + future subjunctive linked by γάρ-ἵνα + personal dative + adverbial—for example, **G269**: γάμον γάρ δίδωσίν σοι παραιεῖσθαι ἵνα ζήσης ὡς πάρεδρος θεῷ ‘It is allowed for you to renounce marriage in order to live as a companion of God’;¹³⁴

4) affirmative present indicative + the impersonal form ἔοικε¹³⁵ introduced by ὡς—for example, **G270**: ὁ χρηστὸς ὡς ἔοικε καὶ χρηστοὺς ποιεῖ ‘The good man, as it seems, makes (other) good (people)’;¹³⁶

5) hortative present optative + negative present perfect conditional introduced by εἰ δέ + adverbial—for example, **G271**: εἰ δέ τις οὐ δεδάηκε τέχνης, σκάπτειτο δικέλλῃ ‘If someone has not learned an art, let him dig with a mattock’;¹³⁷

6) hortative present optative + present optative with adjectival predicate introduced by ἵνα + adverbial—for example, **G272**: δούλω τακτὰ νέμοις,

¹³⁰ Men. *Mon.* 21, 118, 165, 245, and 700.

¹³¹ Men. *Mon.* 483 and 503.

¹³² *Clit.* 140.

¹³³ *Sext.* 39.

¹³⁴ *Sext.* 230a.

¹³⁵ For the use of this form, see *LSJ*, s.v. ἔοικα.

¹³⁶ Men. *Mon.* 598.

¹³⁷ *Ps.-Phoc.* 158.

ἵνα τοι καταθύμιος εἴῃ ‘May you regularly feed (your) slave so that he is obedient to (lit. in accord with?) you’,¹³⁸

7) affirmative existence clause + affirmative present conditional introduced by εἰ or ἐπὶν ± adverbial—for example, **G273**: μέγ’ ἐστὶ κέρδος, εἰ διδάσκεισθαι μάθῃς ‘Great is the profit, if you learn to be taught’, or **G274**: ἔστι βίω πᾶν ἔργον, ἐπὶν μοχθεῖν ἐθέλησθαι ‘There is every (kind of) job in life, if you want to work’,¹³⁹ and

8) affirmative present indicative + affirmative present indicative introduced by ὅτε, ἐφ’ ὅσον, or ὥσπερ-οὕτως + adverbial—for example, **G275**: ὅτε λέγεις περὶ θεοῦ, κρίνη ὑπὸ θεοῦ ‘When you talk about God, you are judged by God’, **G276**: ἐφ’ ὅσον ποθεῖ τὸ σῶμα, ἡ ψυχὴ τὸν θεὸν ἀγνοεῖ ‘As long as the body desires (something), the soul does not know God’,¹⁴⁰ or **G277**: ὥσπερ οὐ τῷ ἵππῳ κόσμος οὐδὲ τοῖς ὄρνεσι καλιὰ ὑψοῦται καὶ γαυριᾷ, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν τοῦ ποδὸς τῇ ὠκύτητι τοῖς δὲ τῶν πτερῶν, οὕτως οὐδ’ ἀνθρώπῳ καλλωπισμὸς καὶ τρυφή, ἀλλὰ χρηστότης καὶ εὐποία ‘As for a horse what is exalted is not the decoration, or for birds the nest, but speed in legs (for the first) and (speed) in wings (for the second), so for man beauty and luxuries (are not exalted) but goodness and good deeds’.¹⁴¹

In most of these examples, the subordinate clauses are either present conditional (in **G260–264**) or present inferential (in **G267**). The conditional clauses employed describe real conditions, while most of the inferential clauses describe an action or a state that is as widely applicable as that which is described in the main clause. It is only in **G269**, where the inferential clause is in the future, that the action it describes occurs after the action described in the main clause. Finally, in **G271**, the present perfect is used in the conditional clause to describe a completed action.

Furthermore, when such a proverb includes a command in the independent clause [**gbF**], most of the examples employ a present tense verb other than the verb ‘to be’:

a) second person singular imperative + affirmative or negative present or aorist subjunctive introduced by ἵνα, καί, ἵνα καί, ὅταν, μήποτε, ὅπως

¹³⁸ *Ps.-Phoc.* 224.

¹³⁹ *Men. Mon.* 488 and *Ps.-Phoc.* 159.

¹⁴⁰ *Sext.* 22 and 136.

¹⁴¹ *Mosch. Gn.* 10.

ἄν, or πρὶν ἄν ± adverbial—for example, **G278**: βάδιζε τὴν εὐθεΐαν, ἵνα δίκαιος ᾦς ‘Walk the straight line so that you are righteous’, **G279**: δῆμους σοφῶν ὁδεύε καὶ χάριν τύχης ‘Travel to cities of wise men so that you come across kindness’, **G280**: μηδένα νομίζε(τ’) εὐτυχεῖν, πρὶν ἄν θάνῃ ‘Think that no one is happy, before he reaches the moment of death (lit. dies)’, **G281**: ξένους ξένιζε, μήποτε ξένος γένῃ ‘Be a (good) host to strangers, lest you (too) become a stranger’,¹⁴² **G282**: ἔθισον σαυτὸν τῇ λιτῇ διαίτῃ, ἵνα τῆς πολυτελοῦς μήποτε προσδεθῇς ‘Accustom yourself to frugal diet so that you never feel the need of a luxurious one’, **G283**: ἔθιζε σεαυτὸν πόνοις ἐκουσίοις, ὅπως ἂν δυνηθῇς καὶ τοὺς ἀκουσίους ὑποφέρειν ‘Let yourself get used to voluntary toils so that you are able to bear the involuntary ones, too’,¹⁴³ **G284**: τίμα τὸ ἄριστον, ἵνα καὶ ἄρχῃ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρίστου ‘Honour what is best so that you may also be governed by what is best’, or **G285**: ὅταν υἱὸν σε λέγῃ τις, μέμνησο τίνος σε λέγει υἱόν ‘When someone calls you “son”, remember Whose son he calls you’;¹⁴⁴

b) second person singular imperative + present indicative (or impersonal) introduced by ὡς-καί, ὡς καί, ὅτε, or καθ’ ὅσον ± adverbial—for example, **G286**: ἀσπίλωτόν σου τὸ σῶμα τήρει ὡς ἔνδυμα τῆς ψυχῆς παρὰ θεοῦ, ὡς καὶ τὸν χιτῶνά σου τηρεῖς ἀσπίλωτον ἔνδυμα ὄντα τῆς σαρκός ‘Keep your body spotless as a garment of the soul from God, just as you keep spotless your tunic, being a garment of the flesh’, **G287**: περὶ ὧν οἶδας, ὅτε δεῖ λέγε ‘When you should, speak about what you know’, **G288**: ὡς θέλεις χρήσασθαί σοι τοὺς πέλας, καὶ σὺ χρῶ αὐτοῖς ‘As you want the neighbours to treat you, treat them too’,¹⁴⁵ or **G289**: χάριν χαρίζου, καθ’ ὅσον ἰσχύειν δοκεῖς ‘Grant a favour as long as you think that you have the power’;¹⁴⁶

c) second person singular imperative + affirmative aorist subjunctive introduced by ὡς—for example, **G290**: δίδου πένησιν ὡς λάβῃς θεὸν δότην ‘Give to the poor so that you find God giving (to you)’;¹⁴⁷

¹⁴² *Men. Mon.* 101, 200, 498, and 554.

¹⁴³ *Phil. Log.* 138–139 and 34–35. The first proverb is attributed to Sextus and the second to Isocrates.

¹⁴⁴ *Sext.* 42 and 221.

¹⁴⁵ *Sext.* 449, 162b, and 89.

¹⁴⁶ *Men. Mon.* 825.

¹⁴⁷ *Men. Mon.* 198.

d) second person singular imperative + affirmative present conditional (in some cases with adjectival predicate and the verb ‘to be’ in the affirmative) introduced by ἄνπερ, καὶ ἄν, or ἄν ± adverbial—for example, **G291**: θυμῷ χαρίζον μηδὲν ἄνπερ νοῦν ἔχῃς ‘Indulge nothing to your anger, if indeed you have a brain’, **G292**: κόλαζε τὸν πονηρόν, ἄνπερ δυνατὸς ᾔῃς ‘Punish the evil man, if indeed you are able’, **G293**: νόμιζε πλουτεῖν, ἄν φίλους πολλοὺς ἔχῃς ‘Consider (yourself) rich, if you have a lot of friends’, or **G294**: ὄρκον δὲ φεῦγε, καὶ δικαίως ὁμνύῃς ‘Avoid (taking) an oath, even if you take it truthfully’,¹⁴⁸

e) second person singular imperative + future subjunctive introduced by ὥς + participle—for example, **G295**: μέμνησο νέος ὦν ὥς γέροντος ἔσῃ ποτὲ ‘Remember when you are young that you will be old at some point’,¹⁴⁹ and

f) second person singular imperative + affirmative present indicative with adjectival predicate introduced by ἐπεὶ—for example, **G296**: ναυηγούς οἰκτιρον, ἐπεὶ πλόος ἐστὶν ἄδηλος ‘Be merciful to shipwrecked men, because a voyage is unpredictable’.¹⁵⁰

In addition to these examples, there are some proverbs of this type employing the verb ‘to be’ in the present imperative. These include the following types of structure: 1) second person singular imperative with adjectival predicate + affirmative present subjunctive introduced by ἵνα—for example, **G297**: δίκαιος ἴσθι, ἵνα δικαίων δὴ τύχῃς ‘Be just so that you indeed happen to be with just (people / things)’,¹⁵¹ and 2) second person singular imperative with adjectival predicate + affirmative present conditional introduced by καὶ ἄν + adverbial—for example, **G298**: ἴσος ἴσθι πᾶσι, καὶ ἄν ὑπερέχῃς τῷ βίῳ ‘Treat everyone equally, even if you outdo (them) in the way of living’.¹⁵² Here the examples include an inferential (**G297**) or a conditional (**G298**) clause linked with independent clauses of the instructional type.

Finally, this type of bipartite proverb with subordination includes one example with a vocative naming the addressee of the command; this is proverb **G299**: εἰ θνητὸς εἶ, βέλτιστε, θνητὰ καὶ φρόνει ‘If you are

¹⁴⁸ Men. *Mon.* 339, 389, 541, and 592.

¹⁴⁹ Men. *Mon.* 485.

¹⁵⁰ Ps.-Phoc. 25.

¹⁵¹ Men. *Mon.* 179.

¹⁵² Men. *Mon.* 358.

mortal, my dear friend,¹⁵³ think mortal (thoughts)'.¹⁵⁴ Here the main clause with the imperative is preceded by a present conditional (εἰ θνητὸς εἶ).

Similar types of structure are also used in the examples of present prohibitions found in bipartite proverbs with subordination [gbG]. All of these employ a verb other than the verb 'to be' and are found in the following combinations:

1) second person prohibition (imperative or subjunctive) + affirmative or negative present or aorist subjunctive introduced in some cases by μηδ' ὅταν, ἵνα, πρὶν ἄν, or κἂν ± participle—for example, **G300**: γυναικὶ μὴ πίστευε μηδ' ὅταν θάνῃ 'Do not trust a woman even when she dies', **G301**: μὴ σπεῦδε πλουτῶν, μὴ ταχὺς πένης γένῃ 'Do not hurry to get rich, lest you are quick to become poor (lit. a fast poor)',¹⁵⁵ **G302**: μὴ σοφίζου παρόντων σοφῶν, οὐκ ὦν αὐτὸς σοφός, ἵνα μὴ πέρας καταγελασθῇς 'Do not play the wise man when wise (men) are present and you yourself are not wise so that you do not get ridiculed at the end',¹⁵⁶ **G303**: μηδὲ δίκην δικάσης, πρὶν <ἄν> ἄμφω μῦθον ἀκούσης 'Do not judge a case before you hear both sides of the story',¹⁵⁷ or **G304**: ἃ δέδοται σοι, κἂν ἀφέληταί σοι τις, μὴ ἀγανάκτει 'Even if someone takes away from you what has been given to you, do not be vexed';¹⁵⁸

2) second person singular prohibition (imperative) + affirmative or negative future indicative introduced by κοῦκ or πρὶν ± adverbial—for example, **G305**: μὴ(ποτε) γάμει γυναῖκα κοῦκ {ἄν} οἷξεις τάφον 'Do not ever marry a woman and you will not open (your) grave', or **G306**: μὴ πίστευε τάχιστα, πρὶν ἀτρεκέως πέρας ὄψῃ 'Do not quickly believe (something) before you see the end (of it)',¹⁵⁹ and

3) second person singular prohibition (imperative) + affirmative present impersonal introduced by ὅποτε—for example, **G307**: ὅποτε δεῖ πράττειν, λόγῳ μὴ χρῶ 'When you must act, do not talk (lit. use speech)'.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵³ For the vocative βέλτιστε rendered as 'my dear friend', see *LSJ*, s.v. βέλτερος.

¹⁵⁴ *Men. Mon.* 246.

¹⁵⁵ *Men. Mon.* 171 and 487.

¹⁵⁶ *Phil. Log.* 10–11.

¹⁵⁷ *Ps.-Phoc.* 87.

¹⁵⁸ *Sext.* 91b. For this, see also the parallel *Sext.* 15.

¹⁵⁹ *Men. Mon.* 502 and *Ps.-Phoc.* 79.

¹⁶⁰ *Sext.* 163b.

In some examples of **gbF** and **gbG**, the subordinate clauses employed are causal (in **G296**), inferential (in **G284**), conditional (in **G291–292**), or temporal (in **G285**). In other examples, the subordinate clause describes an action that occurs before or simultaneously with the action described in the main clause, by either simply setting a time reference (in **G280**) or establishing a precondition (in **G289** and **G306**). Finally, in **G286**, the subordinate clause describes an action that is compared to the action described in the main clause. In most of these examples, the constructions used in the subordinate clauses are in the present tense. In group (2) of **gbG**, the future indicative is employed to describe either an action that happens as a result of the prohibition given in the main clause (namely, **G305**) or a punctual action that is compared to the continuously valid command given by the omnipresent form of the main clause (that is, **G306**).

In addition, there are a few examples of non-omni-present examples of bipartite proverbs with subordination [**gbH**]. These involve the following types of structure:

1) affirmative or negative future indicative + affirmative aorist subjunctive linked by *πρότερον-πριν ἂν* or *ὥς ἂν-καί*—for example, **G308**: οὐ πρότερον γνώσῃ ὃ μὴ οἶσθα, πρὶν ἂν γνώσῃς οὐκ εἰδώς ‘You will not learn what you do not know before you learn that you do not know (it)’, or **G309**: ὥς ἂν γαστρὸς ἄρξῃς, καὶ ἀφροδισίων ἄρξῃς ‘As you control your stomach, so you will control your sexual desires’,¹⁶¹

2) affirmative future indicative + affirmative present conditional (in some cases with adjectival predicate) introduced by *ἂν, ἐάν, ἥν*, or *ἐάν δέ ± participle*¹⁶²—for example, **G310**: ἂν εὖ φρονῇς, τὰ πάντα γ’ εὐδαίμων ἔσῃ ‘If you think rightly, you will indeed be happy in everything’, **G311**: δίκαιος ἐάν ᾗς, πανταχοῦ λαληθήσῃ ‘If you are righteous, they will talk about you everywhere’, **G312**: ἐάν δ’ ἔχωμεν χρήμαθ’, ἔξομεν φίλους ‘If we have money, we will have friends’, **G313**: ζήσεις βίον κράτιστον, ἥν θυμοῦ κρατῇς ‘You will live the best life, if you control anger’, **G314**: νέος {ἐ} ἂν πονήσῃς, γῆρας ἔξεις εὐθαλές ‘If you toil, (when you are) young, you will have a flowering old age’, **G315**: πολλοὶ σε μισήσουσιν, ἂν σταντὸν φιλῇς ‘Many will hate you, if you love

¹⁶¹ *Clit.* 109 and *Sext.* 240. For a parallel of the former proverb, see *Sext.* 333.

¹⁶² This is found only in **G314**, where the participle *ὄν* seems to have been omitted.

yourself', or **G316**: πενόμενον {ἐ}ἄν ἴδωσι{ν}, κάμπουσιν φίλοι 'If they see (somebody) being impoverished, (his) friends turn aside (lit. bend down)';¹⁶³

3) affirmative present perfect indicative + affirmative present indicative linked by δ' ὥς—for example, **G317**: βίος κέκληται δ' ὥς βία πορίζεται '(It) has been called "life" because it is supplied through toil',¹⁶⁴ and

4) affirmative with nominal predicate with the second person singular form of the verb 'to be' in the future indicative + affirmative present conditional introduced by ἐάν—for example, **G318**: ῥάθυμος ἐάν ᾖς πλούσιος, πένης ἔσῃ 'If you are a lazy rich man,¹⁶⁵ you will be poor'.¹⁶⁶

In **G308**, the future is used to indicate that the action it describes occurs after the action described by the aorist subjunctive, which is employed here, as usual, with the value of the present. This sense of sequence is also stressed through the combined use of the adverb πρότερον and the conjunction πρίν. In **G309–314**, the forms in the future participate in the construction of the common present real conditional. Finally, in the last example, the present perfect is employed to indicate that the action it describes has occurred only once in the past, this contrasting with the omni-present form that is used in the subordinate clause which describes a continually reoccurring action.

4. *Multipartite Proverbs in Demotic and Greek: Introductory Remarks*

Multipartite proverbs consist of more than two clauses, among which there is always at least one independent clause. In the Greek body of text examined, where the use of connecting words is more common, there are no instances of an *asyndeton*, as all clauses are linked by various kinds of connecting word. As shown in III.6, this type of proverb structure involves the smallest number of examples in comparison with the mono- and bipartite types.

¹⁶³ Men. *Mon.* 74, 205, 238, 269, 536, 678, and 687.

¹⁶⁴ Men. *Mon.* 106.

¹⁶⁵ Here πλούσιος is taken as a nominalized adjective as there is no conjunction employed to connect it to the adjective ῥάθυμος.

¹⁶⁶ Men. *Mon.* 698.

5. *Demotic Multipartite Proverbs*

A considerable number of multipartite proverbs have been identified in the demotic collections, and especially in *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy* and *The Instruction of P Insinger*. Of these, most consist of three clauses and the rest of four clauses; the latter being either all independent or including a combination of independent and subordinate clauses.

The multipartite proverbs with coordination [**dmuA**] always include three clauses—for example, **D170**: *p3 3d p3 tny p3 mzy h3t=f m-ir ir=f n=k iry bw-ir=f ti htb=w k* ‘The thief (of) the town is the lion (in) its heart; do not make him your (lit. make him for you) companion lest he causes you to be killed’¹⁶⁷ (affirmative nominal sentence with definite noun × 2 + vetitive + negative habitual), or **D171**: *m-ir d sk=y t3 sh(.t) bn-pw=w ir iw sk ‘n n3-nfr sk* ‘Do not say: “I have ploughed the field and I haven’t been paid”; plough again, to plough is good’¹⁶⁸ (vetitive + imperative + affirmative adjective-verb).

One should also mention here the obscure example of proverb **D172**: *hns p3 ssw wnf p3 ssw hr ‘š3 nkt rn hr=f* ‘(When) times are strait or (when) times are happy, property grows because (of) spreading it’,¹⁶⁹ where the first two combinations of an adjective and a noun resemble the construction of adjective-verbs, the only difference being that there is no *n3* preceding the adjectival predicates.¹⁷⁰ This seems to be the reason why some scholars have translated these constructions as prepositional phrases instead.¹⁷¹ However, the positioning of the adjectives before the nouns they seem to qualify suggests that they are predicates and I translate them thus here, analyzing the sentence as a multipartite one with three independent clauses.

Multipartite proverbs with subordination [**dmuB**] occur much more frequently than those with coordination and involve the following clause combinations:

- 1) three clauses (two independent and one subordinate)—for example, **D173**: *m-ir hbr iw=k n3-nfr bw-ir=k n dn* ‘Do not abuse when you fare well, lest you fare badly’¹⁷² (vetitive + negative habitual +

¹⁶⁷ *P 2414* 1/3.

¹⁶⁸ *Ankh.* 9/14.

¹⁶⁹ *Ankh.* 8/13.

¹⁷⁰ See **D26**, for instance.

¹⁷¹ See, for instance, Glanville 1955, p. 23, and *AEL* 3, p. 166, and contrast their translations to those in Lichtheim 1983, p. 73, and in Thissen 1984, p. 22.

¹⁷² *Ankh.* 6/11.

affirmative circumstantial present), or **D174**: *ir=w tî k n mr-šn r-lbe šn iw=f tm šn iw=w s'f=f* 'It is for inspecting that one gives bread to an inspector; if he does not inspect, one will cut it off'¹⁷³ (affirmative second present + affirmative future + negative conditional + adverbial);

- 2) three clauses (one independent and two subordinate)—for example, **D175**: *šms pzy=k i' tzy=k mwt šm=k iw=k mnh* 'Serve your father and your mother that you may go and prosper (lit. while you prosper)'¹⁷⁴ (imperative + affirmative purpose clause + affirmative circumstantial present), **D176**: *hr ir=f (rnp.t) 10.t iw=f sbk-ms iw bw-ir-tw=f gm p3 mwt irm p3 nh* 'He (i.e. a man) spends 10 (years) being a child before he understands death and life'¹⁷⁵ (affirmative habitual + affirmative circumstantial present + negative circumstantial perfect), or **D177**: *p3 ntr p3 nt tî p3 h3t mtw=f tî p3 šr mtw=f tî t3 3my.t nfr.t* 'The god is the one who gives the heart, the son, and the good character (lit. and he gives the son and he gives the good character)'¹⁷⁶ (affirmative cleft sentence with a definite noun plus an affirmative nominalized present relative clause + affirmative conjunctive × 2);
- 3) four clauses (two independent and two subordinate)—for example, **D178**: *iw=k hk3 wnm tzy=k bty.t iw=k sy bty.t=s* 'If you are hungry, eat what you despise (lit. your despised one), if you are sated, despise it'¹⁷⁷ (imperative × 2 + affirmative conditional × 2), or **D179**: *m-ir mky.t=k iw=k hl bw-ir=k hsy iw=k 3* 'Do not pamper yourself when you are young, lest you become weary when you are old'¹⁷⁸ (vetitive + negative habitual + affirmative circumstantial present × 2), and
- 4) four clauses (one independent and three subordinate)—for example, **D181**: *iw=k hpr irm rmt mtw=k nfr irm=f iw=f n3-bn m-ir h3=f* (vetitive + affirmative conditional + affirmative conjunctive + affirmative circumstantial present).

In all these instances, the links between the clauses of each proverb are formed by means of resumptive pronouns (for example, in **D179**, *k* is

¹⁷³ *Ankh.* 24/11.

¹⁷⁴ *Ankh.* 6/6.

¹⁷⁵ *Ins.* 17/22.

¹⁷⁶ *Ins.* 9/19.

¹⁷⁷ *Ankh.* 22/16.

¹⁷⁸ *Ankh.* 6/19.

used four times to refer to the anonymous addressee of the admonition). Moreover, only in **D178** is there *parallelismus membrorum*. This functions morphologically through the use of identical structures, namely a conditional clause followed by an imperative + direct object, as well as logico-semantically through the use of the antonyms *h̄k̄z* and *sy*, on the one hand, and the forms of the same word (that is, *by.t*), on the other, all symmetrically juxtaposed. Furthermore, the clauses of most of these proverbs have logico-semantic links. Thus, for instance, in **D179**, the habitual following the vetitive warns against an unwanted state that will come about if the addressee does not follow the advice of the vetitive.

Such logico-semantic relationships in most examples involve two parts, a feature that is linked to the fact that almost all these instances of demotic multipartite proverbs can be reduced to bipartite structures—see, for instance, in **D179**, vetitive + habitual (see **dbF** above), or in **D174**, second present + future indicative (there is no corresponding structure among the demotic bipartite proverbs examined). Exceptions to this are proverbs **D170** and **D174**. In the former, although one would expect an anticipatory phrase before the common bipartite combination of a vetitive and a habitual (see **dbF** above), one finds instead a complete clause that does not allow the structure to be reduced into a bipartite one. The same applies to the latter example, in this case because the proverb consists of a monopartite structure (that is, *īr=w tī k̄ n mr-š̄n r-tbe š̄n*) plus a bipartite conditional.

6. Observations on Demotic Bipartite and Multipartite Remarks

6.1. Adverbials in Demotic Bipartite and Multipartite Proverbs

Adverbials in demotic bipartite and multipartite proverbs do not differ in use or typology from those found in demotic monopartite ones.¹⁷⁹ Among them there are several prepositional phrases and adverbs expressing time, place, manner, and related relationships; these are widely employed in all types of bipartite and multipartite construction, in a similar manner to their usage in monopartite proverbs.

¹⁷⁹ Examples of the use of adverbials in the *Instruction of P Insinger* can also be found in Williams 1948, §135–171.

Examples of such adverbials are found and highlighted in the following bipartite and multipartite proverbs (some are also commonly used in monopartite proverbs): **D180**: *m-ir d iir-hr pzy=k hry iw=y ti n=k pz nkt bn iw iw=f mtw=k in* ‘Do not say before your master: “I will give you the property” (while) you have none’,¹⁸⁰ **D181**: *m-ir sm n=k m-s3 mhy.t=k iir=w bw-ir=w kb pzy=k btw* ‘Do not run away after you have been beaten, lest your punishment is doubled’, **D182**: *iw=w hwy.t=k [r(?)]* **bl n pz ‘w.y pzy=k hry iiry n=f mn.t** ‘If you are thrown out of the house (of) your master, act as his doorkeeper’, **D183**: *m-ir shst(?) mtw=k ph sr*¹⁸¹ *mtw=k zn.t.t=k n tr.t=f* ‘Do not hasten to (lit. and) reach a magistrate and then draw back from his hand’,¹⁸² and **D101**: *hr sp=w tp-n-izwt nb r ‘w.y bw-ir=w sp zd*.

The second type of adverbial that expresses logical relationships is more commonly used in bipartite proverbs (**D174** is the only example of a multipartite proverb employing it). The variety of relationships expressed is lesser than those expressed in monopartite proverbs: these are *causality* (in **D184**: *iw=k nw.t m-s3 pz gby snte n pz sy r-tbe gby* ‘When you look after a weak man, fear the fate because of weakness’,¹⁸³ or in **D108**: *p3 tbe n3-hy=f r-tbe rn=f n3-dlh=f r-tbe hm-h3t*); *referentiality* (in **D185**: *tm wsb iir=f sn.t=k hn pz ‘s-shn nt iw bw-ir rh=k st* ‘Do not answer when he (i.e. your master) questions you about an undertaking that you do not know’);¹⁸⁴ *source* (in **D105**: *bw-ir msh mwt n 3rl iir=f mwt n hk*); *agency* (in **D186**: *mn pz ‘n m-tr pz sp n pz nt iw bw-ir=w rh s’h=f* ‘No goodness is (brought) by the deed of the one who cannot be reproved’);¹⁸⁵ and *advantage / disadvantage* (in **D160**: *ht pz hky r-h3‘ p3 ntr n pz t3 n pz s3be rws=f hr hrw*).

In general, adverbials of these types can be used in independent or subordinate clauses and are commonly employed in *parallelismus*. An example of the latter case is proverb **D106**: *iir zd dwy grh iir=w gm.t=f n mre*, where *grh* is parallel to *n mre*.

¹⁸⁰ P 2414 2/12.

¹⁸¹ For the reading of this word, see Quack 1991a.

¹⁸² *Ankh.* 7/12, 10/8, and 21/13. The translation of the last example follows the reading by Lichtheim, which is based upon the reading by Stricker (*AEL* 3, p. 183 with n. 80). Note here the literal use of the prepositional phrase highlighted and contrast it to the metaphorical use of similar phrases mentioned in IV.2.2.

¹⁸³ *Ins.* 34/1.

¹⁸⁴ *Ins.* 11/3.

¹⁸⁵ P 2377 3. Both reading and translation follow those in Quack 1994b, p. 68.

6.2. *Anticipation in Demotic Bipartite and Multipartite Proverbs*

In contrast to demotic monopartite proverbs, the phenomenon of anticipation is rare in bipartite proverbs, while in multipartite ones it is completely absent. In fact, only six bipartite examples with anticipation have been found in the proverbs examined. The scarcity of anticipatory phrases or words is probably due to the fact that the main clause in bipartite proverbs is accompanied by another clause, the two together building an elaborate and complete construction, while in the case of monopartite proverbs, such a type of construction is only possible with the addition of an anticipatory phrase in which a full clause is often implied.

In five of the six bipartite examples with anticipation, the anticipatory units are placed at the beginning of the proverb, which is the most common position for emphasized units. However, the anticipatory unit is placed in the middle of the proverb (but preceding the clause, of which the anticipated term is a part) in **D187**: *hr st p3 ntr htp p3 nt mwt bw-ir=f st=f* ‘The god returns contentment, the dead man, he does not return it’.¹⁸⁶ Here the highlighted anticipatory unit is a nominalized present relative clause whose use as an anticipatory unit puts the emphasis on the subject of the clause that follows it. This is a bipartite proverb with coordination where the two independent clauses are parallel in two ways, these being the double use of the verb *st* and the contrast of affirmative and negative habituals. Finally, the two clauses are linked through the use of the pronoun *f* at the end of the line referring back to *htp*, as well as logico-semantically adding to the observation of each other.

Among the proverbs with the anticipatory units placed at the beginning, some use an anticipatory word, while others employ a simple or a complex phrase. An example of the first is proverb **D108**: *p3 the n3-hy=f r-tbe rn=f n3-dlh=f r-tbe hm-h3t*, where *p3 the* is the anticipatory word resumed in both clauses by the pronoun *f*, linking the two clauses through a common referent.

An instance of the second type of construction is the bipartite proverb with subordination **D188**: *shm.t iw mr=w s iir=w h3'=s iw h3'=w s* ‘A woman that is loved, when one has abandoned her, she is (truly) abandoned’.¹⁸⁷ In this example, the anticipatory phrase highlighted

¹⁸⁶ *Ins.* 19/19.

¹⁸⁷ *Ankh.* 17/21.

consists of a noun plus a relative clause, the word *šm.t* being referred to in the following clauses by the pronoun *s* linking the two clauses through a common referent.

Finally, an example of the third type is the bipartite proverb with subordination **D130**: *p3 nt šm iwł sn 2 iw=w hnt hr tw=w st iwł=w iw=w htp*. In this example, the anticipatory phrase highlighted consists of an affirmative nominalized present relative clause plus a circumstantial present, the unit being resumed once in the main clause of the proverb by the pronoun *st*. In this example, the two circumstantial clauses are parallel. The *parallelismus* here is indicated morphosemantically as the clauses in question are antonymous (that is, *iw=w hnt* and *iw=w htp*). This example resembles the monopartite proverbs with anticipatory phrases where these phrases help to convey the proverbial message by playing an essential logico-semantic role in the construction of the proverb.

6.3. Other Emphatic Devices in Demotic Bipartite and Multipartite Proverbs

In addition to the phenomenon of anticipation, the other emphatic device used in bipartite and multipartite proverbs is the second tense, which functions in the same way as in demotic monopartite proverbs. An example of such use is found in the bipartite proverb **D121**: *m-ir ršy n p3 'ny n t3y=k hm.t iir h3t=s hr p3y nk=s*.

In some examples, the second present is used in both clauses of a bipartite proverb. An example is proverb **D106**: *iir 3d dwy grh iir=w gm.t=f n mre*. In contrast to the demotic monopartite proverbs, in bipartite proverbs the examples with a second tense do not contain anticipatory words or phrases. Furthermore, and also in contrast to monopartite proverbs, in bipartite proverbs there is no instance involving the use of a cleft sentence as an emphatic device, while among multipartite proverbs there is the example of **D177**: *p3 ntr p3 nt ti p3 h3t mtw=f ti p3 šr mtw=f ti t3 smy.t nfr.t*.

6.4. Connecting Words in Demotic Bipartite and Multipartite Proverbs

Demotic bipartite and multipartite proverbs employ more connecting words than do monopartite proverbs. Examples are the conjunctive *mtw*, the conditional *in-n3w* and *iw* (and maybe also *ir-hr*), the circumstantial *iw*, and the paratactic *irm*. The first three connect clauses, the last words or phrases.

Mtw is the particle that introduces the demotic conjunctive (such examples must be distinguished from those using *mtw* as a preposition or as a marker of the subject of a cleft sentence). It is always employed to connect two clauses (either independent or subordinate) that contain constructions in the same tense. An example of this is the bipartite proverb with coordination **D189**: *tm d n3-ʿn p3 sp mtw=k 3bh r p3 šy n-im=f* ‘Do not say: “The chance is good” and forget the fate in it’.¹⁸⁸

Conditional and circumstantial particles have a great number of uses in demotic bipartite and multipartite proverbs and their function resembles that of the English ‘if’ and ‘when’. Examples of their use are found in **D131**: *in-n3w h3t=f mr irp bw-ir=f rh swr r thy*, **D132**: *bw-ir=w gm h3t rmt hn t3y=f 3my.t iw bn-pw=w hb=f*, and **D179**: *m-ir mky.t=k iw=k hl bw-ir=k hsy iw=k ʿ3*.

Irm functions in bipartite and in multipartite proverbs in the same way as in monopartite ones, that is, connecting nominal units of the sentence. Such use is rare in this type of demotic proverb, although an instance is found in the multipartite proverb **D176**: *hr ir=f (rnp.t) 10.t iw=f sbk-ms iw bw-ir-tw=f gm p3 mwt irm p3 ʿnh*.

7. Greek Multipartite Proverbs

Although the Greek body of works contains more examples of multipartite proverbs in comparison to the demotic material, in most of these works the percentage of such proverbs is very small. The only exception to this rule is *The Sayings of Philosophers*, in which there is a stronger preference for multipartite proverbial sentences, since 17 out of the 58 single proverbs involved are of this type.

Of this small number of multipartite examples, most contain only independent clauses (thirteen proverbs), while the other examples combine independent and subordinate ones (ten proverbs). Specifically, the multipartite proverbs with coordination [**gmuA**] involve the following combinations of constructions:¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸ *Ins.* 4/12.

¹⁸⁹ As, in general, there is no single structural model common to more than one multipartite proverb, the grouping of such proverbs with coordination will depend simply on the combination of the same number of clauses.

- a) three clauses (all with the verb ‘to be’)—for example, **G319**: κοινὰ πάθη πάντων· ὁ βίος τροχός· ἄστατος ὄλβος ‘Suffering (is) common to all; life (is) a wheel; prosperity (is) unstable’;¹⁹⁰
- b) three clauses (all with verbs other than the verb ‘to be’)—for example, **G320**: μέτρω ἔδειν, μέτρω δὲ πιεῖν καὶ μυθολογεῦν ‘Eat in moderation, drink in moderation, and talk (moderately)’;¹⁹¹
- c) three clauses (one with the verb ‘to be’ and two with other verbs)—for example, **G321**: ὀργῆς ἀπέχου καὶ θυμοῦ ἀφίστασο· θηρίων γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ‘Stay away from wrath and keep your distance from anger; for these (things belong to) animals and not to men’;¹⁹²
- d) three clauses (two with the verb ‘to be’ and another verb)—for example, **G322**: μηδενὶ συμφορὰν ὀνειδίσῃς· κοινὴ γὰρ ἡ τύχη καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἀόρατον ‘You shouldn’t reproach a misfortune; for (our) fate (is) common and the future invisible’;¹⁹³ and
- e) four clauses (all with verbs other than the verb ‘to be’)—for example, **G323**: μὴ μέγα φρονῆς ἐπὶ χρήμασιν, μήτε ἐπὶ πενίᾳ ταπεινοῦ· τὰ μὲν γὰρ καιρὸς ἀφαιρεῖται, ἡ δὲ ἀπόρρητος μένει ‘Neither think highly (of yourself) when you have (lit. in times of) money nor feel lowered when you are poor (lit. in times of poverty); for the former time can steal away, while the latter remains unravaged’.¹⁹⁴

The same type of proverb with subordination [**gmuB**], on the other hand, employs the following combinations of constructions:

- 1) three clauses (two independent and one subordinate)—for example, **G324**: κακῶς μὲν ποιῆσαι θεὸν δυνατὸς οὐδεὶς, ἀσεβέστατος δὲ ὁ βλασφημῶν· δυνατὸς γὰρ ὢν κἂν ἐποίησεν ‘No one (is) able to harm God, but the most impious (is) the blasphemer, for, if he could, he would have done (it)’;¹⁹⁵
- 2) three clauses (one independent and two subordinate)—for example, **G325**: τῶν δούλων σου ἐπιμελοῦ, μεταδιδούς αὐτοῖς ἀφ’ ὧν ἔχεις, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ὡς κύριον σε φοβοῦνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς εὐεργέτην

¹⁹⁰ *Ps.-Phoc.* 27.

¹⁹¹ *Ps.-Phoc.* 69.

¹⁹² *Phil. Log.* 14–15.

¹⁹³ *Phil. Log.* 36–37. This proverb is attributed to Isocrates.

¹⁹⁴ *Phil. Log.* 21–23.

¹⁹⁵ *Sext.* 85.

τιμῶσιν ‘Take care of your servants, sharing with them from what you have, so that they not only fear you as (their) master, but also praise you as (their) benefactor’;¹⁹⁶

- 3) four clauses (three independent and one subordinate)—for example, **G326**: ἐπὶ τοῖς σπουδαίοις πράγμασι μὴ γελοιάζε, ἵνα μὴ δόξης ἀπαίδευτος εἶναι· μηδὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ τοῖς γελοίοις σπουδάζε· ἀνοήτου γὰρ ἀμφοτέρω ‘Do not jest about serious matters so that you are not taken as an uneducated (person); but also do not be serious with funny (matters); for both (are features) of a silly (man)’;¹⁹⁷
- 4) five clauses (three independent and two subordinate)—for example, **G327**: χρὴ τέχνην τοὺς υἱοὺς διδάσκειν, ἵν’, ὅταν τῆς ἄλλης κτήσεως ἀποστερηθῶσιν, ἐπὶ τὴν τέχνην, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τροφέα καὶ πατέρα, καταφεύγῃν ἔχωσιν ‘You must teach (your) sons an art, so that when they are deprived from the other possessions, they may flee to the art for protection, exactly as to him who raised them up, or to (their) father’;¹⁹⁸ and
- 5) five clauses (four independent and one subordinate)—for example, **G328**: ὁ βίος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὀλίγος ἐστίν, καὶ εἰ ζήσομεν τὴν σήμερον οὐκ οἶδαμεν· δάνειον γὰρ ὀφειλόμεθα τῷ θανάτῳ· καὶ πάντες ἀποστώμεθα κακῶν ‘The lifetime of men is short, and whether we will live today we do not know; for we (have) a debt to repay to death and (then) we are all redeemed from evil (things)’.¹⁹⁹

To this category also belong some examples of multipartite proverbs with elliptical constructions, such as proverbs **G329**: πιστὸς εἶναι θέλων μάλιστα μὲν μὴ ἀμαρτίας, εἰ δέ τι, μὴ δισσῶς τὸ αὐτό ‘If you wish to be faithful, above all do not sin, but if you do, do not (commit) the same (sin) twice’, **G330**: εἰμαρμένη θεοῦ χάριτος οὐκ ἄρχει· εἰ δέ μή, καὶ θεοῦ ‘Fate does not govern God’s grace or else (it would govern) God too’, and **G331**: τὸν προσομιλοῦντα τριχῇ διασκοποῦ ἢ ὡς ἀμείνονα ἢ ὡς ἥττονα ἢ ὡς ἴσον· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀμείνονα, ἀκούειν χρὴ καὶ πείθεσθαι αὐτῷ· εἰ δέ ἥττονα, πείθειν· εἰ δέ ἴσον, συμφωνεῖν ‘Look at the one you are holding intercourse with in three ways: as a better (man), as a worse

¹⁹⁶ *Phil. Log.* 18–20.

¹⁹⁷ *Phil. Log.* 58–60. This proverb is attributed to Epicurus.

¹⁹⁸ *Phil. Log.* 84–86. This proverb is attributed to Theopompus.

¹⁹⁹ *Phil. Log.* 95–97. This proverb is attributed to Iamblichus.

(man), or as an equal; and if (he is) better, you should listen to and obey him; if (he is) worse, (you should) make (him) accept your views; if (he is) equal, (you should) agree (with him)'.²⁰⁰

The first example can be analyzed as follows: second person singular prohibition (subjunctive) (+ participle + adverb) (independent) + affirmative conditional elliptical phrase linked by μέν-δέ (subordinate) + second person singular prohibition (subjunctive) (+ adverb) (independent). Here the elliptical phrase εἰ δέ τι implies a full present conditional clause that if written would be εἰ δὲ ἀμαρτάνεις.

The second example can be analyzed as follows: negative present indicative + elliptical present irrealis conditional²⁰¹ + affirmative imperfect indicative with ἄν. In this proverb, both parts of the conditional (the protasis and the apodosis) are elliptical and if written in full would be εἰ δὲ εἰμαρμένη θεοῦ χάριτος ἦρχε, ἄν ἦρχε καὶ θεοῦ.

Finally, the third example is divided into four parts, consisting in total of four independent and three subordinate clauses and so making it the longest proverb examined in this study. The first part is an independent clause with a present imperative, followed by three present conditionals linked through the use of the particles μέν and δέ (used twice). All three conditional clauses are elliptical (with τὸν προσομιλοῦντα τριχῇ διασχοποῦ ὥς implied), and so are the last two apodoses of the conditionals (with χοῆ implied). This multipartite proverb could be reduced to a clause with a verb other than the verb 'to be' and a full conditional (such as the aforementioned example), but not to a bipartite structure.

As can be observed from these examples, the multipartite proverbs in the Greek body of works vary in length from three to five clauses. These clauses are linked in various ways, building a number of logico-semantic relationships between each other. Specifically, interrelated clauses may give a reason (in **G328** and its fourth clause), describe a purpose (in **G325** and its last clause), build a conditional (in **G328** and its second clause) or a temporal relationship (in **G327** and its second clause), or simply add to the observation of another clause (in **G321** and its third clause).

Some of these types of multipartite structure can be reduced to corresponding bipartite ones, as is the case with **G321**, for instance, which can be reduced to the bipartite structure 'present imperative + present

²⁰⁰ *Sext.* 247, *Sext.* 436b, and *Mosch. Gn.* 11.

²⁰¹ In fact εἰ δὲ μή is an elliptical phrase often used idiomatically to mean 'otherwise' (see *LSJ*, s.v. εἰ).

indicative with nominal predicate linked by γάρ (see **gbA**) or **G325**, which can be reduced to ‘present imperative + present subjunctive introduced by ἵνα’ (see **gbG**). However, other types cannot be reduced to a bipartite structure; this is the case with **G328**, for example.

Finally, one can observe that, in **G326**, some parts of the clauses are semantically and morphosyntactically parallel; these involve the following pairs: ἐπὶ τοῖς σπουδαίοις—μὴ γελοιάζε and ἐπὶ τοῖς γελοίοις—μηδὲ σπούδαζε. In addition, there is also the parallel repeated combination of a prohibition with a clause with the verb ‘to be’ taking a nominal predicate.

The figure of *parallelismus* can involve more elements in other multipartite examples. This is the case, for instance, with proverb **G332**: ὥσπερ μέλιτταν οὐ διὰ τὸ κέντρον μισεῖς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν καρπὸν τημελεῖς, οὕτω καὶ φίλον μὴ δι’ ἐπίπληξιν ἀποστραφεῖς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν εὐνοίαν ἀγάπα ‘As you do not hate the bee for the sting, but you take care (of it) for what it produces (lit. the product), in the same way do not turn away from a friend because of a rebuke, but love (him) because of (his) goodwill’,²⁰² where prepositional phrases of the same type (that is, phrases introduced by διὰ) and antonymous verbs (that is, μισεῖς-τημελεῖς and ἀποστραφεῖς-ἀγάπα) are parallel.

8. *Observations on Greek Bipartite and Multipartite Proverbs*

8.1. *Questions as Greek Bipartite and Multipartite Proverbs*

In addition to proverbs of the statement and instructional types examined in this chapter, there is one example of a bipartite rhetorical question [**gbI**], which resembles in function its monopartite counterparts discussed above and which conveys an ethical message (in contrast, no multipartite examples of rhetorical questions are found among the Greek proverbs). This is proverb **G333**: ἀνθρώπους ἴδοις ἂν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ σώματος ἔχειν ἐρρωμένον ἀποκόπτοντας ἑαυτῶν καὶ ῥίπτοντας μέλη πόσῳ βέλτιον ὑπὲρ τοῦ σωφρονεῖν; ‘You may see men who, in order to keep the rest of their bodies healthy, cut off their own limbs and throw them away; how much better (would it be to do this) for the sake of self-control?’²⁰³ Here the second coordinated clause is elliptical,

²⁰² Mosch. *Gn.* 12.

²⁰³ *Sext.* 273.

since parts of the construction with the nominal predicate (that is, the subject and the copulative verb) are omitted.

8.2. *Adverbials in Greek Bipartite and Multipartite Proverbs*

As is the case with the Greek monopartite proverbs, most of the adverbials employed in bipartite and multipartite proverbs indicate place, direction, or time. Bipartite examples involve prepositional phrases (in **G250**: μὴ κακὸν εὖ ἔρξης· σπείρειν ἴσον ἔστ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ), adverbs (in **G294**: ὄρκον δὲ φεῦγε, καὶ δικαίως ὁμνύης), and nouns used adverbially (in **G219**: μηδὲν λογίζου, πάντα καιρῷ γίνεται). We may note the use of adverbs like αἰεί and πανταχοῦ (the first employed, for example, in **G228**: τὸ μὲν σῶμά σου μόνον ἐπιδημείτω τῇ γῇ, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ αἰεὶ ἔστω παρὰ θεῶ, and the second in **G311**: δίκαιος ἐὰν ᾔς, πανταχοῦ λαληθήσῃ). Such adverbs, as already noted, emphasize the universal applicability of the proverbs in which they are used.

In addition to such adverbials, the most common use of adverbs in Greek bipartite and multipartite proverbs is as qualifiers of an action, describing the way in which the action takes place. When the action qualified plays a primary role in the construction of a proverb, they emphasize the play of contrast and association between the various actions, states, and qualities found in that proverb. An example of such usage is seen in the bipartite proverb **G220**: γίνου τοῖς φίλοις πρῶος καὶ μεταδοτικὸς, ἵν' εὐνοητικῶς σοι συναναστρέφονται, in which εὐνοητικῶς qualifies the action described by the verb συναναστρέφονται.

Furthermore, a number of adverbials found in bipartite proverbs of both types express the following logical relationships: accordance, resemblance, source, exclusion, instrument, and advantage / disadvantage.

Accordance is expressed by the prepositional phrase κατὰ + noun in the accusative. An instance of such use is found in **G182**: θησαυρὸν κατατίθεσθαι μὲν οὐ φιλόανθρωπον, ἀναιρεῖσθαι δὲ οὐ κατὰ φιλόσοφον.

Resemblance is frequently expressed in bipartite structures with the prepositional phrase ὡς + noun in the accusative. An instance of this is found in **G200**: τὸν πολλὰ ὁμνύοντα, ὡς τὸν ἐπίορκον, φεῦγε· ἐν γὰρ πολλοῖς ὅρκοις πλείσται ἐπιорκίαι. Sometimes this phrase can be formed with a participle in place of the noun (as in **G248**: μὴ ὀνειδίσης τὸν φίλον σου χάριτας· ἔστιν γὰρ ὡς οὐ δεδοκώς).

Source is usually expressed with the prepositional phrase ἐκ + noun in the genitive. An example is found in **G233**: πᾶσιν δ' ἀπλόος ἴσθι, τὰ δ' ἐκ ψυχῆς ἀγόρευε.

Exclusion is expressed in a few examples with the prepositional phrase χωρίς or ἄνευ + noun in the genitive; instances are found in **G236**: μήτε αἴτιον κακῶν τὸ Θεῖον ὑπολάμβανε, μήτε χωρίς αὐτοῦ δυστυχεῖν ἡμᾶς νόμιζε and **G254**: ἰσχύς μετὰ φρονήσεως ὠφέλησεν· ἄνευ δὲ ταύτης, πλέω τοὺς ἔχοντας ἔβλαπεν.

Instrument is expressed by a noun in the dative qualifying an action. An example is found in **G271**: εἰ δέ τις οὐ δεδάηκε τέχνης, σκάπτοιο δικέλλη.

Finally, *advantage / disadvantage* is most commonly expressed by a noun in the dative. This can be seen in the construction of **G173**: εὐσεβὴς βίος μέγιστον ἐφόδιον θνητοῖς ἐστὶ· φρόνει δικαιοσύνην.

8.3. Participles in Greek Bipartite and Multipartite Proverbs

As in monopartite proverbs, participles can be used in bipartite and multipartite proverbs either as adjectives qualifying a specific unit of the proverb, or as adverbials describing conditions under which the action or the state with which they are associated occurs. In the latter case, participles can be analyzed and are best translated as causal or temporal / conditional clauses. An instance of the second use is found in **G295**: μέμνησο νέος ὢν ὡς γέρον ἔση ποτέ.

In some examples, a conditional participle is followed by a future clause describing the result of the implied protasis. One example is **G252**: ἀρετὴν μὲν ἔχων πάντα ἔξεις, κακίαν δὲ οὐδὲ σεαυτόν.

In rare examples, temporal participles are employed to describe the context of an action or of a state instead of the condition, which constitutes the first stage of a logical sequence. In these cases, the participle is a more integral part of the construction describing the action or the state with which it is associated. An instance of such use is found in **G302**: μὴ σοφίζου παρόντων σοφῶν, οὐκ ὢν αὐτὸς σοφός, ἵνα μὴ πέρας καταγελασθῇς.

Finally, a causal participle is used when the clause implied employs the verb 'to be' and its predicate is a general trait of human character, something that is taken for granted and does not change and which

therefore cannot be described in a temporal or a conditional clause, since the first describes an action/state involving a beginning and an end, while the second refers to an action/state that is not taken for granted. An example of such use of a participle is found in **G197**: ἐκλεκτὸς ὢν ἔχεις τι ἐν τῇ συστάσει σου ὅποιον θεός· χρῶ οὖν τῇ συστάσει σου ὡς ἰερῷ θεοῦ.

8.4. *Anticipation in Greek Bipartite and Multipartite Proverbs*

There are no Greek bipartite or multipartite proverbs involving an anticipatory phrase, as is the case with their demotic counterparts. This is due to the fact that, in most examples, the anticipatory phrase in a monopartite structure sets the condition under which the statement or the command conveyed is valid. Consequently, given that, in a bipartite or a multipartite structure, such a condition is described in a separate clause, an anticipatory phrase is not needed.

The closest to a structure with anticipation are those examples with a demonstrative pronoun or an adverb that refers back to parts of the first clause. One example is proverb **G334**: πολλοὺς φαλακροὺς εἶδον· τούτου καὶ ὁ ἐγκέφαλος ἐξηλθεν ‘I have seen a lot of bald people; in the case of such a man (lit. for this one) even his brain has been exposed’.²⁰⁴ In the former example, as mentioned before, the demonstrative employed refers back to a part of the first clause, while, in the latter example, τούτου refers to a bald man, thus anticipation does not function here.

8.5. *Other Emphatic Devices in Greek Bipartite and Multipartite Proverbs*

In contrast to the monopartite Greek proverbs, emphasis in bipartite and multipartite proverbs is put on one or more units of the proverb only through manipulation of the word order and/or the addition of emphatic particles.

Manipulation of word order may aim to emphasize a whole clause of the sentence and/or a specific unit of a clause.²⁰⁵ In some cases, it seems that only one of these types of emphasis is employed, while, in others, both are simultaneously in play.

²⁰⁴ Mosch. *Gn.* 25.

²⁰⁵ One should always bear in mind that, given that the original context of the

An instance of the first is the bipartite proverb **G316**: **πενόμενον** {ἐ} ἂν ἴδωσι{ν}, κάμπουσιν φίλοι, where one can observe that the participle highlighted here is placed at the beginning of the conditional clause, which, as expected, precedes the main clause (that is, the apodosis).

In another bipartite proverb, namely **G315**: πολλοί σε μισήσουσιν, **ἂν σαυτὸν φιλήῃς**, the conditional clause (highlighted here) is placed after the main clause. Furthermore, within the conditional clause the verb φιλήῃς is preceded by its object σαυτὸν, and that could also be taken as a sign of emphasis.

In a multipartite proverb like **G332**: ὥσπερ μέλιτταν οὐ διὰ τὸ κέντρον μισεῖς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν καρπὸν τημελεῖς, οὕτω καὶ φίλον μὴ δι' ἐπίπληξιν ἀποστραφῇς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν εὐνοίαν ἀγάπα, the mechanics of word order manipulation are also at play, not only emphasizing units of the proverb, but also contributing to the function of *parallelismus*. For example, the two objects of the constructions of each part (that is, μέλιτταν and φίλον) are not only parallel, but also emphasized, since they are placed close to the beginning of the parts to which they belong, and well before the verb forms associated with them.

With regard to the emphatic particles used either along with other devices of emphasis or independently, as in monopartite proverbs, one finds two types, those used on their own, placed next to the words they emphasize, and those forming compounds.

Particles of the first type are δὴ and γέ, employed exclusively in bipartite proverbs (for instance, in **G297**: δίκαιος ἴσθι, ἵνα δικαίων **δὴ** τύχῃς and in **G310**: ἂν εὖ φρονῇς, τὰ πάντα **γ'** εὐδαίμων ἔσῃ).

In addition to these particles, one should note the emphatic value of some uses of the conjunction καὶ in bipartite proverbs.²⁰⁶ When this conjunction is used in such a way, it does not connect words, but is best translated as 'even' and emphasizes the word that follows it. An example of such use is found in proverb **G335**: σοφοῦ σώματος καὶ λέων ἄρχει, τούτου δὴ μόνου καὶ τύραννος 'Even a lion (can) control the body of a sage, and in fact this (is) the only thing (i.e. the body of a sage) a

proverbs does not survive and that a multitude of factors (such as metre) could affect the choice of the positioning of words, it is very difficult to determine the scope of a change in the word order of a proverb.

²⁰⁶ For this use of καί, see Denniston 1996, pp. 293–294.

tyrant (can control) too'.²⁰⁷ Here the first καὶ bears the emphatic value, while the second connects λέων with τύραννος.

The other type is the particle -περ, which attaches to connecting words like ἄν (as in **G291**: θυμῷ χαρίζου μηδὲν ἄνπερ νοῦν ἔχῃς) and ὥς (for example, in **G332**: ὥσπερ μέλιτταν οὐ διὰ τὸ κέντρον μισεῖς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν καρπὸν τημελεῖς, οὕτω καὶ φίλον μὴ δι' ἐπίπληξιν ἀποστραφῇς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν εὖνοιαν ἀγάπα).

8.6. *Connecting Words in Greek Bipartite and Multipartite Proverbs*

The conjunctions, particles, and adverbs employed in Greek bipartite and multipartite proverbs most commonly connect two clauses; two independent ones (paratactic conjunctions) in the case of coordination and one independent and one subordinate (hypotactic conjunctions) in the case of subordination. In general, these two types of conjunction cannot be mixed, although there are some exceptions to this rule, noted below.

The paratactic connecting words that are used in bipartite proverbs in various combinations are: καί, μέν, δέ, γάρ, οὖν, ἦ, τε, ἀλλά, and μέντοι.

The conjunction καί is most often used with its copulative value, placed at the beginning of the second clause and joining independent clauses.²⁰⁸ An instance of such use is found in **G189**: γῇ πάντα τίκτει καὶ πάλιν κομίζεται. In addition, when καί stands at the beginning of a clause in the future, which follows a clause in the present, it appears to express the result of the action or state described in the first clause. This is strongly connected to the sense of temporal sequence that the combination of present and future conveys. An example of this is found in **G216**: ξένον προτίμα καὶ φίλον κτήση καλόν.²⁰⁹

The particle μέν is always placed in the first clause followed by δέ in the second clause.²¹⁰ The clause that contains it is the first limb of an antithesis. An instance of such construction is found in **G194**: ἐκλεκτὸς ἄνθρωπος ποιεῖ μέν πάντα κατὰ θεόν, εἶναι δέ οὐχ ὑπισχνεῖται. Furthermore, μέν can also be linked to γάρ and δέ (that is, ... μέν

²⁰⁷ *Sext.* 363b. This proverb resembles the case of **G166**, mentioned above, whose structure is similar to that of a monopartite proverb with anticipation.

²⁰⁸ Denniston 1996, pp. 289–290.

²⁰⁹ Although Denniston does quote examples with future indicative introduced by καί, he does not interpret them in the same way as I attempt to do here (1996, p. 314).

²¹⁰ Denniston 1996, pp. 369ff.

γάρ ..., ...δέ...).²¹¹ This construction is illustrated in **G165**: Πειθὼ μὲν γὰρ ὄνειαρ, ἔρις δ' ἔριν ἀντιφρυτεύει.²¹²

The particle δέ, apart from being used with μὲν, can stand alone in the first or the second clause of a bipartite proverb. Examples are proverbs **G294**: ὄρκον δέ φεῦγε, κἄν δικαίως ὀμνήης and **G213**: πάντα δίκαια νέμειν, μὴ δέ κρίσιν ἐς χάριν ἔλκειν respectively. When δέ is employed in the second clause of a bipartite proverb, it expresses a sense of balanced contrast.²¹³ However, when it is used in the first clause, it is either superfluous²¹⁴ or adversative with the first limb of the antithesis given in the lost original preceding proverb. Moreover, δέ, when it is used in the first clause of a bipartite proverb, can be followed by a γάρ used in the second clause (for instance, in **G223**: μέτρα δέ τεῦχ' ἔθ' ἑοῖσι· τὸ γὰρ μέτρον ἐστὶν ἄριστον). Finally, δέ can be duplicated and used in both clauses of a bipartite proverb (as in **G233**: πᾶσιν δ' ἀπλόος ἴσθι, τὰ δ' ἐκ ψυχῆς ἀγόρευε).²¹⁵

The conjunction γάρ is very common in bipartite proverbs and can be used either alone or combined with other connecting words, placed in either the first or the second clause. When γάρ is used on its own, it always appears in the second clause (for example, in **G190**: σοφὸν ὁ τοῦ σώματος ἀφαιρούμενος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ κακίᾳ εὐεργετῇ, λύεται γὰρ ὡς ἐκ δεσμῶν). When it is combined with other connecting words, apart from the combinations mentioned above, it is used in the first clause with the second clause containing a καί or a τε (as in **G187**: ἀνὴρ γὰρ ἄνδρα καὶ πόλις σφῆζει πόλιν and **G185**: πάντῃ γὰρ ἐστὶ πάντα τε βλέπει θεός).

The next connecting word is the adverb οὖν. This is always employed in the second clause of a bipartite proverb with an inferential value.²¹⁶ An instance of such use is found in **G197**: ἐκλεκτός ὢν ἔχεις τι ἐν τῇ συστάσει σου ὅποιον θεός· χρῶ οὖν τῇ συστάσει σου ὡς ἱερῷ θεοῦ.

The disjunctive conjunction ἢ is used either on its own connecting the two clauses or duplicated at the beginning of each clause. Examples

²¹¹ Denniston 1996, p. 67.

²¹² For the use of γάρ with a non-causal value, see fn. 202 of Chapter IV. In this case, it is possible that γάρ connects the proverb quoted with the preceding sentence.

²¹³ Denniston 1996, pp. 165–166.

²¹⁴ Denniston 1996, pp. 171–173. Here Denniston mentions the case when δέ is used in a discursive context, in passionate exclamations, or at the beginning of a speech. Such a context is probable for the proverbs involving this use of δέ, although one should bear in mind that the use of such particles could always be due to a desire to conform to a metrical pattern.

²¹⁵ Denniston 1996, pp. 183–185.

²¹⁶ Denniston 1996, p. 426.

are found in **G238**: ἐπαινον πλήθους μὴ θαύμαζε ἢ μὴ ἀτίμαζε and **G227**: ἢ γλῶσσά σου χαλινὸν ἐχέτω ἢ εὐκόπως λάλει.

τε is similar in function to καί and is also translated as ‘and’.²¹⁷ This is either preceded by a γάρ (see above) or attached to the negative μή and duplicated (resembling the combination οὔτε-οὔτε, as in **G183**: τὸ ὑπὸ πολλῶν διαβάλλεσθαι κακῶν οὔτε ἀληθὲς οὔτε βλαβερόν, τὸ δὲ ὑφ’ ἐνὸς ἀγαθοῦ ψέγεσθαι καὶ ἀληθὲς καὶ λυσιτελές). An instance of the latter use is found in **G236**: μήτε αἴτιον κακῶν τὸ Θεῖον ὑπολάμβανε, μήτε χωρὶς αὐτοῦ δυστυχεῖν ἡμᾶς νόμιζε.

The next connecting word frequently used in Greek bipartite and multipartite proverbs is ἀλλά. This is an adversative conjunction²¹⁸ that is always used on its own in bipartite proverbs, placed at the beginning of the second clause and connecting two contrasted clauses. An example of this is found in **G240**: ὁμνυόντων μὴ τοῖς λόγοις πίστευε, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τρόποις πρόσεχε.

Finally, the compound particle μέντοι is rarely employed in bipartite and multipartite proverbs. This is placed in the second clause and has an adversative sense.²¹⁹ An example of its use is found in **G176**: δυνατόν ἀπατῆσαι λόγῳ ἄνθρωπον, θεὸν μέντοι ἀδύνατον.

The hypotactic connecting words used in bipartite and multipartite proverbs introducing subordinate clauses are: ἄν, εἰ, ἐάν, ἥν, ὅταν, ὅπου, ὥστε, ὡς, ὅπως ἄν, πρίν, μήποτε, ἐπεὶ, and καθ’ ὅσον.

The first four connecting words introduce conditional clauses and, depending on where the protasis of the conditional is placed, they can appear either at the beginning or in the middle of the proverb. Examples of the use of these words are the following proverbs: **G310**: ἄν εὖ φρονῇς, τὰ πάντα γ’ εὐδαίμων ἔσῃ, **G311**: δίκαιος ἐάν ᾔς, πανταχοῦ λαληθήσῃ, **G313**: ζήσεις βίον κράτιστον, ἥν θυμοῦ κρατῇς, and **G263**: εἰ μὴ φυλάσσεις μίκρ’, ἀπολεῖς τὰ μείζονα. ἄν can also appear in combination with the conjunction καί, as in **G304**: ἃ δέδοται σοι, καὶ ἂν ἀφέλῃται σου τις, μὴ ἀγανάκτει. When this form is used, it can be preceded by a probably superfluous δέ used in the main clause of the proverb (for instance, in **G294**: ὄρξον δὲ φεῦγε, καὶ ἂν δικαίως ὀμνύῃς).

The adverb ὅταν is employed to introduce temporal clauses that describe possible actions or states. Such a clause is found in **G265**:

²¹⁷ Denniston 1996, pp. 497–498.

²¹⁸ Denniston 1996, pp. 1–2.

²¹⁹ Denniston 1996, pp. 398–399.

μισῶ πονηρόν, χρηστὸν **ὅταν** εἴπῃ λόγον. Furthermore, this adverb can be preceded by the negative μήδε emphasizing the value of a preceding prohibition (for example, in **G300**: γυναικὶ μὴ πιστεύε **μηδ' ὅταν** θάνῃ).

Similar to ὅταν is the compound adverb of time ὁπόταν, which is used to introduce temporal clauses that, resembling the previous example, describe a possible action or state. Such a use is found in **G266**: μαινόμεθα πάντες, **ὁπόταν** ὀργιζώμεθα.

The next conjunction is ἵνα. This introduces final clauses that mostly follow constructions with a verb other than the verb 'to be' (for instance, in **G267**: ὀφείλομεν ἑαυτοὺς ἐθίζειν ἀπὸ ὀλίγων ζῆν, **ἵνα** μηδὲν αἰσχροὺς ἔνεκεν χρημάτων πράττειν μάθωμεν). In some examples, the main clause of the proverb with the final clause may involve the use of γάρ (as in **G269**: γάμον **γάρ** δίδωσίν σοι παραιτεῖσθαι **ἵνα** ζήσης ὡς πάρεδρος θεῶ). Finally, the value of this conjunction may be emphasized through the attachment of καί following it (for instance, in **G284**: τίμα τὸ ἄριστον, **ἵνα** καὶ ἄρχῃ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρίστου).

The word ὡς is used both as a preposition of manner (see above) and as a conjunction in Greek bipartite and multipartite proverbs. As a conjunction, it may have a causal value, often being preceded by δέ (in **G317**: βίος κέκληται **δ' ὡς** βία πορίζεται), an inferential value (in **G290**: δίδου πένησιν **ὡς** λάβῃς θεὸν δότην), or it can be used with substantive clauses (in **G295**: μέμνησο νέος ὢν **ὡς** γέροντος **ἔση ποτέ**).

The next connecting word is the final conjunction ὅπως. This is employed in bipartite proverbs, almost always followed by ἂν. An instance of such use is found in **G283**: ἔθιξε σεαυτὸν πόνοις ἐκουσίους, **ὅπως ἂν** δυναθῇς καὶ τοὺς ἀκουσίους ὑποφέρειν.

πρὶν is an adverb of time that can be used in the following ways: a) on its own (in **G306**: μὴ πιστεύε τάχιστα, **πρὶν** ἀτρεκέως πέρας ὄψῃ); b) followed by ἂν (in **G280**: μηδένα νομίζε(τ') εὐτυχεῖν, **πρὶν ἂν** θάνῃ), and c) when followed by ἂν also preceded by the adverb πρότερον placed in the main clause (in **G308**: οὐ **πρότερον** γνώσῃ ὃ μὴ οἶσθα, **πρὶν ἂν** γνώσῃς οὐκ εἰδώς).

The particle μήποτε has the meaning 'lest ever' and most often follows commands or prohibitions. An example is found in **G281**: ξένους ξένιζε, **μήποτε** ξένος γένη.

The causal conjunction ἐπεὶ is rarely used in the bipartite and multipartite proverbs examined. One example is **G296**: ναυηγούς οἴκτιρον, **ἐπεὶ** πλόος ἐστὶν ἄδηλος.

The last connecting word to be cited here is the adverbial compound formed by the preposition κατά and the adverb ὅσον. This is also rarely

employed, although an example of its use is found in **G289**: χάριν χαρίζου, **καθ' ὅσον** ἰσχύειν δοκεῖς.

In addition to these examples, some of the paratactic conjunctions are used in bipartite and multipartite proverbs to connect words or phrases instead of whole clauses. This type of usage is best illustrated in **G183**: τὸ ὑπὸ πολλῶν διαβάλλεσθαι κακῶν οὔτε ἀληθὲς οὔτε βλαβερόν, τὸ δὲ ὑφ' ἐνὸς ἀγαθοῦ ψέγεσθαι καὶ ἀληθὲς καὶ λυσιτελές, in which the following connections are observed: 1) οὔτε-οὔτε connecting the two predicates found in the first independent clause; 2) καί-καί connecting the two predicates found in the second independent clause, and 3) δέ linking the two independent clauses.

In some multipartite proverbs, paratactic and hypotactic connecting words are combined connecting independent and/or subordinate clauses. One instance is **G324**: κακῶς μὲν ποιῆσαι θεὸν δυνατὸς οὐδεὶς, ἀσεβέστατος δὲ ὁ βλασφημῶν· δυνατὸς γὰρ ὢν ἅν ἐποίησεν, where the first two independent clauses are linked by μὲν-δέ. These are followed by an elliptical conditional whose protasis is a participial phrase linked by the paratactic γὰρ, while its apodosis is a clause introduced by ἅν.

9. *Comparison between Demotic and Greek Bipartite and Multipartite Proverbs with Regard to their Structure, Syntax, and Grammar*

Most of the demotic and Greek bipartite and multipartite proverbs include a verbal construction in their main clause that is associated with the proverbs' omni-present sense. The constructions used in bipartite proverbs are of the same types as those involved in the formation of monopartite proverbs, in addition to the exceptional case of a bipartite proverb employing a prospective *sdm=f* (see **dbI**), of which no example has been found among the monopartite proverbs. In Greek, the verb forms employed in the main clause of bipartite proverbs are most often in the present / gnomic aorist indicative, the present / aorist imperative, or the present / aorist subjunctive (the last only in prohibitions—see **gbD** and **gbH**).

When non-omni-present verb forms are used in the independent clauses of bipartite and multipartite proverbs with coordination or subordination, they always describe an action/state with reference to another action/state in another tense (in most cases in the present) and so build a sequence of two actions / states. In contrast to the Greek bipartite and multipartite proverbs where non-omni-present structures are

found in all types of construction, in their demotic counterparts, non-omni-present verb forms are employed only in independent clauses following other clauses of this sort with a construction in the present (see examples in the future in **dbI**).

On the other hand, in Greek bipartite proverbs, a greater variety of non-omni-present forms are employed, these being in the future or the perfect (see **gbD** and **gbH**). When these forms are juxtaposed with forms in the present or in the gnomic aorist, they too build a sequence based upon a temporal or a logical scale (see, for instance, the common case when the future indicative is employed in the apodosis of present conditional, an example of which is proverb **G312**: ἐὰν δ' ἔχωμεν χρήμαθ', ἔξομεν φίλους). In Greek bipartite and multipartite proverbs, however, in contrast to their demotic counterparts, there are examples where the reference points of these non-omni-present forms are not in the present. In such cases, the non-omni-present forms bear special semantic values, for instance two associated future indicatives used to describe possible actions or expressing predictions (for example, in **G251**: θεοφίλους ἀνδρὸς σώματος μὲν ἀρξεις, λόγου δὲ οὐ κυριεύσεις).

Constructions with the verb 'to be' in the independent clauses of bipartite and multipartite proverbs (discussed, for instance, in **dbE**, **gbA**, **dmuA-B**, and **gmuA-B**) involve a smaller number and variety of examples than the constructions with other verbs used in such clauses. In both demotic and Greek, constructions with the verb 'to be' include nominal, adjectival, or adverbial predicates with the copulative unit occasionally omitted. In demotic, such constructions do not include non-omni-present forms, while, in Greek, there are examples when the verb 'to be' is in the future or the imperfect (see, for instance, examples in **gbH**). In such cases, the non-omni-present constructions are always employed in reference to other present tense forms, describing a temporal or logical sequence or a difference (see, for instance, **G256**: χωρὶς μαθήματος οὐκ ἔσθι θεοφιλὴς· ἐκείνου περιέχου ὡς ἀναγκαίου for the former and **G255**: σίδηρον ἀνδροφόνον ἀριστον μὲν ἦν μὴ γενέσθαι, γενόμενον δὲ σοὶ μὴ νόμιζε εἶναι for the latter).

Constructions with the verb 'to be' or other verbs can also be used in the subordinate clauses of demotic and Greek bipartite and multipartite proverbs. In such cases, they are always in a tense related to the proverbs' omni-present sense, while their mood varies (especially in the Greek examples) according to the type of subordinate clause, with the subjunctive being the most frequently used.

The most common types of subordinate clause are the causal, the final, and the conditional, the first giving the reason for which the statement or the command/prohibition of the main clause is valid, the second describing the result of the action or the state described in the preceding main clause, and the third being the protasis, of which the apodosis is the main clause. Of these types of subordinate clause, only the conditional frequently stands at the beginning of the sentence. This is the rule for demotic conditionals, while Greek examples, making use of the looser word order in Greek, can precede or follow their apodosis.

Furthermore, besides the bipartite and multipartite proverbs of the statement and instructional types, in Greek there is one example of a bipartite rhetorical question (see model **gbI**) that in function resembles its monopartite counterparts (see **gmG**).

In addition, there is one bipartite example with elliptical constructions, along with a few multipartite ones. Such a case of ellipsis does not, however, greatly influence the whole proverb, as it concerns only one of the clauses involved in the structure. Examples of this phenomenon are not found in bipartite and multipartite demotic proverbs.

Bipartite and multipartite proverbs involve the use of adverbials that consist of prepositional phrases, adverbs, and nouns used adverbially (the latter only in Greek). The logical relationships that are expressed by the adverbials employed in demotic bipartite and multipartite proverbs are less varied than those expressed in their Greek counterparts. The only relationship that is expressed in both demotic and Greek proverbs of these types is that of *source*.

In addition, demotic and Greek bipartite and multipartite proverbs employ the same number of emphatic devices as their monopartite counterparts, minus that of anticipation. Anticipation is totally absent from demotic and Greek bipartite and multipartite proverbs, because what an anticipatory phrase (or sometimes a participle in the case of Greek) does in a monopartite proverb, an independent or subordinate clause does in a bipartite or a multipartite one, and therefore there is no room for an anticipatory phrase. Except for anticipation, other emphatic devices are employed in the same way in both the demotic and Greek monopartite proverbs. Moreover, the writers of Greek proverbs, in contrast to those of Egyptian ones, used an extra tool of emphasis, namely the manipulation of word order, where the emphasized unit is in most examples placed at the beginning of the proverb.

Finally, bipartite and multipartite examples with coordination can be distinguished from those with subordination, because they use connecting words and/or clause markers. In demotic connecting words are not used in all examples, resulting in the common appearance of an *asyndeton* that leaves the reader with the difficult task of determining the relationship between the clauses constructed. In Greek, on the other hand, indeclinable words are most often used either to connect two clauses or to introduce a subordinate clause. In some examples, such words, rather than standing between the two clauses they connect, appear in the first independent clause of the proverb. The only possible explanations for this are that they are used either to connect the proverb to a lost context or to provide the proverb with a special tone or an emphatic value that cannot be determined in their current state.

10. *General Observations on Structural Patterns in Demotic and Greek Proverbs*

After examining in detail the structure of a representative corpus of demotic and Greek proverbs, we can observe that, although the monopartite proverb is the most common form of this type of expression, in all of the examples analyzed the basis for constructing a proverb is bipartite, since one part must convey what we shall call the *main message* of the proverb and the other must describe what we shall call the *condition*, under which this message is valid. This *condition* can be the reason why what the main message describes occurs, the main message's purpose, or the main message's prerequisite. The main message in the proverbs examined is always written, while the condition may be fully written and elaborated, may be implied by a form that can be developed into a clause, or may be omitted completely. By definition, the first occurs only in bipartite and multipartite proverbs, while the second and third occur only in monopartite ones.

When the condition is fully written and elaborated in demotic and Greek bipartite proverbs, it is most often described in an independent clause in the case of coordination, or in an independent or subordinate one in the case of subordination. Such a clause most commonly stands before the *main message*.

In the case of coordination, the independent clause (*condition*) in demotic and Greek proverbs can be a command, a vetitive / prohibition, or a statement. Examples of these are proverbs **G336**: **θεὸν σέβου**

καὶ πάντα πράξεις εὐθέως ‘Respect God and you will do everything in an honest way’,²²⁰ **D190**: *t3 my.t n p3 ntr iir-hr rmt nb* *bw-ir p3 hne gm.t=s* ‘(Although) the path of the god is before every man, the fool does not find it’, and **D191**: *tm nhet irm p3y=k ddy bw-ir h3t=f ms w* ‘Do not trust your enemy, lest his heart bear cursing’.²²¹ Here the imperative and statements highlighted describe the condition under which the message of the other independent clauses is valid. In the first and last examples, however, the relationship between the two clauses is also logical, since the second clause in each instance describes the action resulting from that which is described in the first clause.

When two independent statements constitute a proverb and when there are no connecting words to mark their function, the determination of which one is the condition and which the main message depends on the association of tenses (as in **G306**: μὴ πίστευε τάχιστα, πρὶν ἀτρεκέως πέρας ὄψει with the future indicative indicating that the action it describes succeeds the one described by the imperative / condition) or simply on the interpretation of the relationship between clauses (for instance, see **D190** above).

In cases of subordination, the condition can be expressed in a more direct way. In such a case, it is described in a conditional or a circumstantial clause, while the main message may involve an independent clause of any type. Instances of this structure type are proverbs **D192**: *wn t3 nt mh p3y=s* *w.y rmn.t iw mn iw* ‘There is the one who fills her house with wealth while there is no income’ and **G337**: τὸ κέρδος ἡγοῦ κέρδος, ἂν δίκαιον ᾖ ‘Consider the profit as profit, if it is fair’.²²² Here the clause highlighted in the first proverb is circumstantial and in the second proverb conditional.

Similar to these instances is the type of bipartite structure that includes a causal clause that plays the role of the condition. Such examples are rare and found only in Greek proverbs (as in **G247**: ‘Do not punish those who act unjustly, because it is enough for them that they have been humiliated under their own wickedness’).

In other cases with subordination, the condition can be described in the independent clause of the proverb, most often followed by a final clause. This is the case, for instance, in proverbs **D193**: *snhy p3y=k w.y tn wne sp-sn gm=k p3y=f 3d* ‘Inspect your house hourly so that you find its

²²⁰ Men. Mon. 321 [gbH].

²²¹ Ankh. 23/12 [dbE] and Ins. 12/8 [dbF].

²²² Ins. 8/8 [dbK] and Men. Mon. 729 [gbF].

thief' and **G338**: σκέπτου πρὸ τοῦ λέγειν ἵνα μὴ λέγῃς ἃ μὴ δεῖ 'Think before you speak so that you do not say what you should not'.²²³

Modern examples of bipartite proverbs in which one of the two clauses (an independent or a subordinate one) is the condition are the French 'Quand on est bien il faut s'y tenir' and the international 'If the mountain will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet must go to the mountain'.²²⁴ In these proverbs, 'il faut s'y tenir' and 'Mahomet must go to the mountain' are the main messages and the subordinate clauses the condition.

The same rules that govern the structural analysis of bipartite proverbs are also employed in the analysis of multipartite proverbs. In this case, such an analysis involves two steps: first the reduction of the multipartite structure to a bipartite one (or, when this is not possible, at least to two groups of clauses), and second the determination of which part is the condition and which the main message. A number of examples of reduction of multipartite structure (such as **D174** and **G321**) are given in V.5 and V.7.

The case of multipartite proverbs divided into a condition and a main message can be illustrated by the modern Italian proverb 'Il mondo è fatto a scale; c'è chi scende c'è chi sale',²²⁵ which consists of three independent clauses; the first ('il mondo è fatto a scale') is the condition and the other two the main message.²²⁶

In monopartite proverbs, the condition is either not written at all or is implied by subsidiary forms. Such forms are the anticipatory phrase and the adverbial, used in both demotic and Greek proverbs, or the participle employed only in Greek proverbs. Examples of such forms are found in proverbs **D194**: *p3 nt ti šm tf3 r t3 p.t* *ūr=f hy r-hr=f* 'The one who sends spittle to the sky, it is upon him that it falls' and **G339**: ὅποια δ' ἂν ἐπιτηδεύσῃ ψυχὴ ἐνοικοῦσα τῷ σώματι, τοιαῦτα μαρτύρια ἔχουσα ἄπεισιν ἐπὶ τὴν κρίσιν 'Whatever a soul pursues while inhabiting the body, these will escort (it) as evidence at the time of judgment'²²⁷ (anticipatory phrase), **D195**: *ūr p3 lh hr hnsf.t n p3 hyr r-tbe* *ʔw-n-he.t* 'It is because of gluttony (lit. greatness-of-belly) that the fool is in bad odour in the street' and **G340**: ῥήματα ἄνευ νοῦ ψόφοι 'Words without

²²³ *Ankh.* 17/22 [dbN] and *Sext.* 153 [gbF]. For a parallel of the latter, see **G7**.

²²⁴ Gluski 1971, no. 16.19 and 18.18.

²²⁵ Gluski 1971, no. 44.3.

²²⁶ Thus the proverb means that 'given that the world is made out of staircases, there are those who go down and those who go up in it'.

²²⁷ *Ankh.* 11/10 [dmB] and *Sext.* 347 [gmF].

thought (are mere) noise'²²⁸ (prepositional phrase), and **G341**: **θέλων καλῶς ζῆν** μὴ τὰ τῶν φαύλων φρόνει 'If you want to have a good life, do not have the same thoughts as paltry men'²²⁹ (participle).

In addition, in some monopartite examples, the condition can be determined only through the interpretation of the proverb's message. The determination of which is the condition in such cases depends on the interpretation of the meaning of the proverb. Instances of these are proverbs **D196**: *ls hne rmt swg tzy=f sfy n št 'h* 'The foolish tongue (of) a stupid man is the knife that cuts off his life (lit. his knife for cutting off life)' and **G342**: **ὁ κρίνων ἄνθρωπον κρίνεται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ** 'The one who judges a man is judged by God'.²³⁰ The condition in the first proverb is the implied cause, for which the tongue of a man becomes the knife that cuts off life. This cause can be analyzed into a clause meaning 'because the man is stupid and has a foolish tongue'. Similarly, in the second proverb the condition can be analyzed into the clause 'because one judges a man'. Therefore, in both proverbs, the condition is implied by a human attribute described by a short adjectival form (namely, the adjective *swg* and the participle *κρίνων*).

When the condition is not described in a monopartite proverb, the sentence plays the role of the main message, whose condition is the general implication of its proverbial context, namely that the messages of most proverbs are applicable under all general circumstances. Such is the case, for instance, in proverbs **G343**: **σοφὸς ὀλίγοις γινώσκεται** 'A wise man is recognized by few' and **D197**: *m-ir ht r p3 tš n ky* 'Do not trespass on the territory of another'.²³¹ Such proverbs convey straightforward messages that are always valid.

Modern examples of a monopartite proverb with condition given or omitted are the English 'A golden key opens every door' and the Italian 'Necessità non conosce'.²³² Here the condition is given only in the English proverb with the adjective 'golden', implying that it is only when a key is golden (i.e. when there is money) that every door is open.²³³

In other cases, especially in bipartite proverbs, the clauses that constitute the proverb can be parallel, contrasting, or may simply elaborate

²²⁸ *Ins.* 5/18 [**dmB**] and *Sext.* 154 [**gmA**].

²²⁹ *Men. Mon.* 324 [**gmD**].

²³⁰ *Ins.* 4/5 [**dmG**] and *Sext.* 183 [**gmA**].

²³¹ *Sext.* 145 [**gmA**] and *Ankh.* 14/21 [**dmF**].

²³² Gluski 1971, nos. 25.6 and 18.5.

²³³ For an ancient parallel, see the demotic proverb **D19**.

on each other's message. Examples of these are proverbs **D125**: 'The mother is the one who gives birth; the street is the one that gives a companion' and **G253**: 'Luck raises art, not art luck'. In this case, the identification of the condition and the main message depends on the interpretation of the clauses. In the first proverb, the two clauses are parallel; the first ('the mother is the one who gives birth') is a well-known fact, while the second ('the street is the one that gives a companion') is an observation of the author. Since these two clauses are equated, the second becomes a valid statement because the first is valid as well. In other words, to indicate the relationship between these two clauses more precisely, the meaning of the proverb can best be put as 'if the fact that the mother is she who gives birth is true, then the fact that the street is that which gives a companion is also true'. Therefore the logical relationship between a condition and a main message is also valid here, appealing this time, however, to the degree of semantic validity of the two clauses.

On the other hand, in the case of **G253**, the two clauses that constitute it are contrasted, since the second ('art does not raise luck') negates the meaning of the first ('luck raises art'). Both clauses are simple observations and not well-known facts (at least, it can be said that they are not universal facts about human nature) and thus the validity of the message of the one does not depend on that of the other. The second clause enhances the degree of validity of the message conveyed by the first.

Finally, the last type of structural pattern is found with both bipartite and multipartite proverbs and consists of at least two clauses of the same type, each elaborating on the message of the other. Instances of this are proverbs **D198**: *tm hms tm 'h' hn 'š-shn iw=fys* 'Do not sit, do not stand in an affair that is urgent' and **G344**: μαρτυρίην ψευδῆ φεύγειν· τὰ δίκαια βραβεύειν 'Flee false witness; reward the just things'.²³⁴ In the former example, the proverb consists of two vetitives and, in the latter, of two imperatives. In each example, the second clause simply adds another warning or command to that of the first.

In general, the study of the proverbs' structural units and their interplay has shown that, although a great variety of associations is involved on all levels, the production of demotic and Greek proverbs follows a uniform strategy that, as observed above, focuses on the formulation

²³⁴ *Ins.* 10/21 [**dbF**] and *Ps-Phoc.* 12 [**gbB**].

of a central bipartite structure, around which all the logico-semantic and morphosyntactic relationships among structural units revolve. This is not, however, the end of the road, since this strategy for producing proverbs establishes rules and formulae concerning not only the manner in which a proverb should be structured, but also the way in which it should convey its message. Thus the following chapter touches upon the style and meaning of proverbs, discussing features of demotic and Greek proverbs that are simultaneously in function with those employed in the structure.

CHAPTER VI

THE STYLE AND SEMANTICS OF THE PROVERBS

1. *Introductory Remarks*

As mentioned in I.1, in this chapter, the focus falls on the stylistic, semantic, and thematic aspects of the proverbs studied, beginning with the issue of versification, which stands between the worlds of morphology and stylistics. The aim of the following sections is to complement the results produced by the linguistic analysis and to establish connections between the structure and grammar of the proverbs and between their style and meaning.¹ The observations in these sections build on those made in the course of the linguistic analysis, in this way decreasing the degree of influence personal interpretation has on the stylistic, semantic, and thematic assessment of the proverbs.

2. *The Question of Versification in Demotic and Greek Proverbs*

One of the most essential questions formed in the course of the study of the language of demotic and Greek proverbs is whether these proverbs are written in verse or prose. Usually, the most significant aid for tackling such an issue should, in theory, come from the original context, which could be a verse or a prose composition.² However, given that the original context of the proverbs studied cannot, in most cases, be identified, what remains is to examine whether there are traces of metre or rhythm among them; if yes, it suggests that they were verses, and if not, it suggests that they were composed in prose.

This may at first appear to be a simple task, but in fact it is not, particularly for Egyptian proverbs, since a number of problems remain

¹ Resembling, in many ways, what linguists call “structural semantics”. On this term and the relationship between form and meaning, see the introductory comments in Lyons 1995, pp. 103–107 and 131 ff.

² For the identification of prose in literary works in general, see Fabb 1997, pp. 25 ff.

unsolved due to the difficulty of comprehending the mechanics of the Egyptian language, as well as the lack of a well-established rule for the function of metre and rhythm in works of Egyptian literature.³ Moreover, given that the arrangement of writings on a papyrus cannot be used as a criterion for determining whether its text consists of verses or prose lines, one should not rush to consider the demotic proverbs as pieces of verse composition based upon the “monostichic-looking” way of arrangement in the demotic collections. The only sign of an attempt at verse composition is the use of stylistic devices to group two or more single proverbs, examples of which will be mentioned in VI.5. These, however, are relatively rare.

In the Greek material, there are examples where, although there is no structural, semantic, or stylistic association between proverbs, there is a common metrical pattern.⁴ This is the case with the proverbs from the *Menandri Monostichoi* and *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*. The former mostly comprises proverbs composed in iambic trimetre,⁵ the latter proverbs composed in dactylic hexametre. In the rest of the Greek proverb collections investigated, there are no apparent traces of an effort to collect, produce, or reproduce proverbs in a consistent metrical pattern. Thus, for example, *The Sayings of Philosophers* begins with a tristic verse passage in iambic trimetre, while the rest of the collection consists of unmetrical proverbs that could originally have been pieces drawn from prose compositions.

With regard to the question of whether demotic proverbs are pieces of a verse or a prose composition, the opinions of scholars vary, mainly as a result of the fragility of theories on Egyptian metre and rhythm. Thus, for instance, M. Lichtheim supported the idea that these proverbs are strictly prosaic,⁶ while other scholars like F. Lexa have grouped some of them in pairs and treated them as thought couplets,⁷ in accor-

³ The two main theories about the metrical analysis of an Egyptian text so far suggested are those of Fecht 1970, according to which one should count the stresses / word clusters of a sentence, and of Foster 1994 and Lichtheim 1971–1972, according to which a sentence’s analysis is based upon the *parallelismus membrorum* and the making of “thought couplets”. For a recent critical overview of these theories, see Burkard 1996 and Parkinson 2002, pp. 113–114.

⁴ For Greek metre and its various types, see West 1982.

⁵ There are some exceptional unmetrical examples in this collection, like *Men. Mon.* 212. For further instances without metre or with a defective metre in this collection, see Martinelli 2003, pp. 32–33.

⁶ First advanced in Lichtheim 1979, p. 285.

⁷ Lexa arranges the transcribed proverbs of *The Instruction of P. Insinger* mostly

dance with the “thought couplet” metrical system developed by Foster and Lichtheim.

Such treatment, however, is sometimes wrong, since a careful study of the demotic material reveals that the styles vary, so that some proverbs form thought couplets with parallel structures (see, for instance, **D223** below with external *parallelismus*), a feature that could suggest an attempt at metre, while others stand alone as straightforward monostichs. The variety of possibilities is evident in the ninth teaching of P Insinger (lines 7/21–8/20), where, in the 22 lines, there are four thought couplets / distichs, some of which involve parallel words or word clusters (i.e. **D199**: *bn-šw n3-š3 šhm.t dn.t hn t3 my.t n rn=s in / hr hpr šn nfr r hrw p3 ntr n-im=w* ‘The women who follow the above teaching are rarely bad / (Their) good condition comes about through the god’s command (lit. through the voice (of) the god in them)’⁸ and the proverbs in lines 7/21–22, 7/23–24, 8/1–2, 8/6–7), two tristichs also with parallel parts (i.e. **D200**: *wn t3 nt mh p3y=s w.y rnn.t iw mn iw / wn t3 nt ir nb(.t) h3.t nb(.t) pr hn t3y=s 3my.t / wn t3 nt iw iw=y ir-rh st hr p3 h3f n šhm.t dn(.t)* ‘There is the one who fills her house (with) wealth while there is no income / There is the one who acts as mistress (of) praise (and as) mistress (of the) house by virtue of her character / There is the one whom I hold her in contempt (lit. know her under contempt) as a bad woman’⁹ and 8/15–17), and nine monostichs (e.g. **D201**: *bn-šw šhm.t ‘n.t in t3 nt h3y n h3f ky* ‘A good woman is not the one who praises the heart (of) another (man)’).¹⁰

The pairing of some demotic proverbs is sometimes stressed through the use of a number of figures of speech, among them *parallelismus membrorum*, the favourite figure of “thought couplets” supporters. For instance, the use of anaphora or epiphora in examples like **G97** and **D222** (quoted below) can be taken as traces of verse composition in demotic proverbs. In general, the fact that some proverbs employ verse devices and some do not may suggest either that the material comes from different sources (some of which could be in verse and some

according to two-proverb groupings (1926). See also Tait 2003, where the proverbs of this collection are called “pairs of short, interrelated maxims” (p. 26), echoing the “thought couplet” theory.

⁸ *Ins.* 8/6–7.

⁹ *Ins.* 8/8–10. For the readings of 8/9 and 8/10, see comments in *AEL* 3, pp. 214 with n. 22 and 23, while for a discussion of these proverbs, see Thissen 1986.

¹⁰ *Ins.* 8/15.

in prose), or that the existing theories on Egyptian metre and prose are still inadequate to identify with certainty the differences between them.¹¹

Finally, in almost all cases the demotic proverbs are written in single lines, each of which could be analyzed into a certain number of stresses that do not, however, build into one or more apparent metrical patterns, as Fecht's theory would expect. Therefore it seems that more work remains to be done on the rules of this theory, since the problem of how the rules of metre presented by Fecht can apply to the Egyptian material has not yet been solved.

But how important for the study of the language of demotic and Greek proverbs is the presence or absence of metre? What metre really influences is the form of a proverb, as a proverb's author positions the words to fit the metrical pattern. This is more significant in the case of the Greek material; as mentioned before, in Greek the word order is much looser and therefore more easily manipulated.¹² In contrast, the form of the demotic sentence is rigid and there is no great variety in the word order. Moreover, the application of metre affects the choice of words, which are also selected to fit the metrical pattern.

When no metre is observed, prose rules come into play, and the author does not have to build metrical patterns.¹³ The meaning and function of prose, however, differs in Egyptian and Greek literature. While in the latter prose is distinguishable from verse, in the case of the former, the distinction is not clear at all.

¹¹ Prof. J. Ray has suggested viewing the two options in more reconciliatory terms, as the combined use of verse devices, like figures of speech, combined with the absence of metre could point towards a "middle way"; a type of composition, in other words, that stands somewhere between prose and verse (personal communication). This is similar to the "orational style" proposed and discussed by M. Lichtheim in *AEL* 2, pp. 5–12, a type of metrical prose that has been compared to the language of Heraclitus in Robb 1983b, p. 153 and fn. 3. Such a theory, however, must be put to the test through the examination of other Egyptian instructions before reaching definite conclusions about its application to the analysis of Egyptian literary composition.

¹² For a study of word order in non-proverbial Greek verse, see Fraser 2002.

¹³ Whether composing these proverbs in verse is easier or harder than composing them in prose is a difficult question. Since, however, the form of these proverbs seems to have favoured "patterns", in general, using formulaic language and following specific structural models, it is plausible that writing proverbs in metrical patterns would have been easier.

In both cases, however, the oral transmission and performance of texts¹⁴ (particularly proverbs, whose value as cultural products was probably linked to their memorization and oral usage) resulted in the application of language patterns or formulae (for example, figures of speech or even the structural models the analysis has identified above). These functioned most probably as mnemonic tools and resembled verse devices in some ways.¹⁵ Metre could be one of these devices and therefore its possible application in the case of Egyptian and Greek proverbs could also have been a practical medium for their circulation and transmission. After all, the bulk of this proverbial material was composed and reproduced in its collections as "...part of a living tradition in which every performance was a re-creation of the saying, very much like epic verse".¹⁶

3. *The Imagery of Demotic and Greek Proverbs: Metaphors, Similes, and Personification*

A selection of images is employed in the proverbs examined, giving a rather lyrical contribution to the conveyance of the proverbial messages. Given that the purpose of such messages was to appeal to, and be understood by, a wide audience, one can assume that the imagery as much as the vocabulary of these proverbs was drawn out of a common cultural reservoir that was accessible to both author and audience. In other words, by examining the imagery employed in these proverbs it is possible to gain an insight into the cultural background of their ancient Egyptian and Greek authors and audiences.

With regard to the mechanics of proverbial expression, the study of imagery involves the examination of the typology and function of metaphors, similes,¹⁷ and personification in proverbs. The use of metaphor is very significant for the study of proverbs, since, according to

¹⁴ For the complex relationship between oral and written production in Egypt, see Parkinson 2002, pp. 55–60.

¹⁵ For the production of formulaic language as a mnemonic tool in Greek oral poetry, see Thomas 1992, pp. 29ff. (and especially pp. 40–50), while for the connection between the use of verse devices and orality in ancient Egyptian works, see Eyre and Baines 1989.

¹⁶ Lardinois 2001, p. 94.

¹⁷ In my definition, the difference between a metaphor and a simile is neither a semantic nor a functional one, but rather a morphological one, as the latter always involves a preposition denoting similarity like 'as' or 'like' in English. For this view, see,

classical and modern definitions, one of the main distinctions between what is a proverb and what is a maxim is based upon the use of metaphors.¹⁸

Before examining the use of metaphor in the demotic and Greek proverbs investigated, it should be noted that, as is the case with the use of metaphor in modern languages, demotic and Greek include a number of examples where "...the use of a word seems to be metaphorical indeed, but where such a use is so firmly anchored in the language concerned that we cannot but presume that *consequently* a new literal way of using it has developed, so that, in fact, there is no metaphor any longer".¹⁹ The identification of such "dead metaphors" in ancient languages depends upon how well the student knows the language studied and the idioms it employs. Whether a metaphor is worn-out or not can be determined in the case of any ancient material only through examination of the entire corpus of its literary expressions; examples of the use of such a worn-out metaphor are the highlighted parts of the following demotic and Greek proverbs: **D202**: *h3' p3y=k ʕ-shn (n) ' (n) p3 ntr* 'Leave your fortune (in) the hand (of) the god' and **G345**: ἀφεις ἃ κέκτησαι ἀκολούθει τῷ ὀρθῷ λόγῳ '(After) you let go of what you have possessed, follow the right teaching'.²⁰ In the first instance, the "dead metaphor" is a common idiomatic phrase that means 'to entrust something to someone',²¹ while, in the second, it is a verb literally describing the movement of following someone or something and metaphorically meaning 'to follow / obey an idea'.

What I discuss here is only the "true metaphor" (in contrast to the aforementioned "dead metaphors"), whose immediate and wider contexts suggest that it was indeed used in a metaphorical sense at

for instance, Arist. *Rhet.* III.3 and 10 quoted and discussed in Bedell Stanford 1936, pp. 25–30.

¹⁸ See, for instance, Russo 1997, p. 52. The frequency of use of metaphors and similes in the Egyptian and Greek works analyzed is not very high. In some works, such as *The Sentences of Sextus* or *P Louvre 2377 verso*, these stylistic figures are almost never employed (in the case of the former, there are only 29 examples out of the 444 proverbs examined, and in the case of the latter, no example among the 9 proverbs examined). In other works, such as the *Menandri Monostichoi* and *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy*, the rate of these figures' usage is only a little higher (in the case of the former, there are 41 examples out of the 855 proverbs studied, and in the case of the latter, 18 examples out of the 325 proverbs studied).

¹⁹ Mooij 1976, p. 5.

²⁰ *Ankh.* 11/23 and *Sext.* 264a.

²¹ See also *Ins.* 28/5 with the similar phrase *tī...n tr.t n*.

the time of the composition of the proverbs in which it is employed. This type of metaphor, as observed in the demotic and Greek proverbs, involves images drawn from nature or everyday life; that is, images common to everyone, appealing most of the time even to a modern reader.

Such images are expressed through a metaphor whose function is based upon a central association or an equation between at least two units of a proverb meant in a literal sense. Accordingly, there are proverbs that mention both parts of this association/equation and some that mention only one part, leaving its interpretation to the audience. In addition, sometimes all the main units (that is, verb or nominal forms, or whole phrases) of a proverb are used in a metaphorical way, while, in other instances, only some of them are used thus.

An example that combines the first and last possibilities is proverb **G346**: λμῖν νεὼς ὄρμος, βίου δ' ἄλυπία 'The refuge of a ship (is) the port, while (the refuge) of life (is) freedom from worry'.²² Here the metaphor is expressed through an equation between life and a ship, and freedom from worry and a port. In this case, all the words seen independently (except for ὄρμος omitted from the second clause) are used literally, but their value as parts of a metaphor is due to the equation which is the heart of the proverbial message. A similar example from the demotic material is proverb **D37**: 'A man who is sick, his wife is a lioness before him', where the equated parts are 'his wife' and 'a lioness'.

In another case (with examples only from the Greek material), a proverb involves a literal and a metaphorical part, and these two are not equated but associated. An instance of this is **G271**: 'If someone has not learned an art, let him dig with a mattock', where "digging with a mattock" means doing hard manual labour in the fields. Here the interpretation of the metaphor is left to the audience.

Moreover, in many instances (all from the demotic material), whole proverbs without imagery seem capable of being understood only in a metaphorical way. An instance of this is proverb **D203**: *m-īr d šm pzy wn-mtw=f pr.t* 'Do not say: "It is summer"; there is winter (too)',²³ where the message advises men to prepare for the hard times that may succeed happy ones.²⁴ The assumption that this proverb bears a

²² Men. Mon. 436.

²³ Ankh. 9/16.

²⁴ Note that this message is elaborated on by the next proverb.

metaphorical meaning instead of a literal one is related to the purpose of its proverbial context (that is, the specific proverb collection), which is mainly a guide for moral matters. Once again, the audience of such a proverb will decide how to interpret its message, depending generally on their available cultural referents.

However, there are some instances of the same type where the immediate context helps a reader to realize that the message of a proverb is meant in a metaphorical way. This is the case with proverbs **D204**: *hr st p3 ntr hnwh hn gw3.t iw p3 mwt hne / hr nhm=f p3 ih nt iw t3 nmy.t m-s3 tb=f* ‘The god turns away fear in the straits when death is near / He saves the ox after whose branding is the slaughter stone’,²⁵ where the second proverb is meant metaphorically and elaborates on the literal statement of the first proverb.

Furthermore, like many metaphors, similes involve an equation, one of whose parts is meant metaphorically. Instances of this are proverbs **D205**: *iw=f mhy iw=f htb bw-ir=f n‘ m-ky msh* ‘He (i.e. the god) is similar (to a snake?) when he kills; he is merciless like a crocodile’ and **G347**: *κρίνει φίλους ὁ καιρός, ὡς χρυσὸν τὸ πῦρ* ‘Time puts friends to the test (lit. judges friends), as fire (does) to gold’.²⁶

Along with the use of metaphor and simile comes the phenomenon of personification, where a non-human thing is treated as partially or wholly human. This occurs in a great number of examples from the demotic and Greek proverbs, as in **D206**: *hr t nkt p3y=f nb* ‘Wealth seizes its owner’ and **G348**: *θυμὸς ὑπερχόμενος μανίην ὀλοόφρονα τεύχει* ‘Anger that steals over one gives birth to baleful madness’.²⁷ In these examples, the personified notions of ‘wealth’ and ‘anger’ seize, come, and create like human beings.

The most common personified notion in the demotic collections is that of a god or a divine power. The numerous examples of this phenomenon describe a divine being performing not only traditionally established anthropomorphized deeds, such as creating and ruling the world, but also deeds that affect most aspects of human life. In such instances, a god judges,²⁸ wants,²⁹ rewards a man,³⁰ and so

²⁵ *Ins.* 20/21–22.

²⁶ *Ins.* 29/14 and *Men. Mon.* 385.

²⁷ *Ankh.* 9/22 and *Ps.-Phoc.* 63.

²⁸ **G275**.

²⁹ *Men. Mon.* 349.

³⁰ *Ins.* 27/20.

on. In addition, there are some less common examples in which a man may do things to such a being, as in *Ins.* 24/6, slighting a small god.

4. *The Tone of Demotic and Greek Proverbs*

Most of the demotic and Greek proverbs convey their wisdom in a serious tone, since their main task is to discuss general human matters seriously and to instruct their audience about them. However, there are instances where the reader may recognize a humorous or an ironic tone in these proverbs.

In general, the identification of the tone of any literary material without an immediate textual or performative context, as is the case with the proverbs examined, is one of the most difficult tasks for the student, who is torn between the need to interpret and evaluate the material in his / her own way, and the need to give fair treatment to the ancient material—in other words, treatment that avoids the imposition of modern or subjective ideas and tastes upon the ancient and now out-of-context texts.³¹

The solution to this problem, in the case of the proverbs studied, calls for a compromise in which the degree of unavoidable subjectivity is curtailed by the recognition of patterns that characterize the majority of proverbs, these patterns being based upon the study of the form and function of proverbial language.

Accordingly, most proverbs appear to convey serious, straightforward messages (even to the modern reader), employing a combination of words interpreted in either a literal or a metaphorical sense, and involving the use of images and ideas common to most human cultures. An example of such a proverbial message is conveyed in the Greek proverb **G349**: ἄξιος ἀνθρώπου θεοῦ θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποις 'A man worthy of God (is) a god among human beings',³² where every word in use carries a strictly literal sense. Such a proverb could be ironic or humorous only within an ironic or a humorous context, which is not the case with the collection of *The Sentences of Sextus* where this example is found.

In another instance, although the demotic proverb **D83**: 'The counsel that reaches the fool, it is weightless like the wind' employs a simile,

³¹ Cf. Eyre 1998, p. 235.

³² *Sext.* 376a.

because the core of this simile is the conception of the wind as a weightless thing, a conception that is universal and comprehensible even to a modern mentality, a modern reader may say with confidence that there are no signs of humour or irony here either.

Before I present the main patterns, which, I believe, will enable a reader to recognize a non-serious tone in the proverbs examined, some words should be said about humour and irony in ancient literature.

Definitions of humour and irony in ancient works have been discussed at length by Egyptologists, Classicists, and other scholars in related fields.³³ Some of these scholars have restricted themselves to defining humour and irony according to their purpose and meaning, while others have stressed linguistic features like figures of speech, vocabulary, and so on, which help the reader identify humour and irony in a text.³⁴

What is important for this study is not to attempt a general definition of humour and irony in literature, but to identify patterns in the language of proverbs that may aid the reader to distinguish, firstly, the serious from the ironic and humorous and, secondly, the humorous from the ironic.

Theoretically, the difference between a serious and an ironic statement is that the former means exactly what it says, while the latter carries a hidden meaning that is less serious than that which appears on the surface. Therefore the ironic statement is a method of suggestion rather than a straightforward statement and, because of this, its value depends on the ability of the reader to recognize the joke behind the serious.³⁵

Humour, on the other hand, points out the absurd and grotesque, "...but if it does not sting, it is not ironic but merely funny".³⁶ Another difference between the humorous and the ironic is that the first is sincere when making a statement, while the second is not.³⁷

³³ Two of the most recent works that make reference to such studies are Jasnow 2001a (see especially fn. 2 and 17) and Houlihan 2001 (see especially p. 1 with note 1). The definition of humour and irony is treated as a highly arguable matter by scholars of modern literature (for a critical overview of this debate, see Lang 1988, pp. 37–69).

³⁴ Compare, for example, the definition of humour suggested in Foster 1995, p. 2459, quoted in Jasnow 2001a, fn. 2, or the observations in Booth 1974, pp. 53–76, with those in Guglielmi 1979a, some of which are also discussed in Jasnow 2001a, p. 66.

³⁵ Good 1981, p. 31.

³⁶ Good 1981, p. 26.

³⁷ Jonsson 1985, p. 22.

As regards the language of the proverbs investigated, the humorous and ironic statements revolve around the *unexpected*. The core of the unexpected is an association of words and messages that differs from what the reader would expect to find in the majority of “serious” proverbs. When this unexpected association is identified, the next step is to decide whether the tone of the proverb is humorous or ironic, and that depends on whether the meaning of the proverb is absurd, and thus humorous, or logical, and thus ironic. These points are illustrated by the examples given below.

In demotic proverbs, humour or irony is, firstly, conveyed through the *unexpected association* of the messages of two clauses / parts of a proverb. Such is the case with proverb **D207**: *my nw tzy=k hm.t r pzy=k nkt m-ir nh̄te.t=s r-ir=f* ‘Let your wife look at your property; do not trust her with it’,³⁸ for example. Here the reader faces a bizarre (but logical) command in the first clause that only reveals its ironic tone after it has been associated with the second clause. It should also be noted that, in this case, the irony of the proverb is enhanced by the message of the proverb following it: **D208**: *m-ir nh̄te.t=s r pzy=s spte w.t rnp(.t)* ‘Do not trust her (even) with her provisions (of) one year’.³⁹

In other demotic examples, humour or irony is conveyed by the *unexpected equation* of a phrase used literally with a phrase used metaphorically. An instance of this is the humorous proverb **D209**: *sb̄z.t n sh̄m.t myh̄ s̄c iw=f š̄t̄ t.t=f* ‘The teaching of a woman is (like) a sack (of) sand whose side is split open’,⁴⁰ where the first part of the equation (i.e. the teaching of a woman) is meant literally and the second metaphorically.

Furthermore, demotic proverbs seem to make humorous or ironic statements when the first part of a proverb is followed by an *unexpected turn* in meaning. This turn always involves the use of parallel antonyms, instances of which are highlighted in proverb **D210**: *iw=k dr̄ h̄wy nzy=k dm̄.w r pzyr iw=k gby h̄wy st̄ n̄* ‘If you are strong, throw your documents into the river; if you are weak, throw them also’.⁴¹ Here the humour is enhanced by the description of a genuinely absurd image, that is,

³⁸ *Ankh.* 12/13.

³⁹ *Ankh.* 12/14.

⁴⁰ *Ankh.* 13/20. This proverb is the best representative of the ironic, misogynistic attitude of the author(s) of *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy* (for a similar attitude in Greek proverbs, see Morgan 1998, pp. 135–137). Signs of this attitude also survive in the following two lines, i.e. 13/21–22.

⁴¹ *Ankh.* 18/6. For this proverb and its humorous tone, see Jasnow 2001a, p. 72 with fn. 64.

the throwing of documents into the river (meaning to discard them as useless),⁴² as well as the use of *ʿn* at the end of the proverb. The latter is mainly responsible for giving the proverb an unexpected turn.⁴³

In another instance, *dark irony* seems to run in a group of proverbs that discusses matters concerning the death of a greedy man. For instance, in proverb **D211**: *hne ʿw bw-ʿr=f nʿ p3 nt mwħwħ n n3y=f ʿwf.w* ‘A friend who is merciless is the one who burns his limbs’,⁴⁴ the word *hne* ‘friend’ is probably used ironically as a name for the ‘chief demon’ mentioned before in line 18/8. The irony here is also enhanced by the contrast between the “innocent” word ‘friend’ and the “dark” action associated with it, that is, the burning of limbs.⁴⁵

Moreover, there is one example in which a humorous tone is carried by a proverb that insults the wrongdoer by calling him an ox; this is proverb **D212**: *ħ3ʿ p3 btw n wʿ ħrš sm ʿr=f wʿ ʿħ* ‘Leave the wrongdoer⁴⁶ to a bundle (of) hay that he may be an ox’.⁴⁷

Irony also appears to accompany the message of *paradoxical statements*. In most cases, such statements involve existence clauses that report and enumerate examples of situations in which, in a most unpredictable way, two or more opposed actions / states may coincide or be logically related. Such statements almost always come in groupings, creating an atmosphere of ironic questioning of the authoritative tone which features in the rest of the proverbs. Most instances of this type come from *The Instruction of P Insinger*, whose author seems to have the habit of placing such paradoxes at the end of each of its “teachings”, followed by proverbs stressing the fact that it is the god and fate which are responsible for the occurrence of paradoxes in life. This is the case with proverbs **D213**: *wn p3 nt ʿnh sbk r-tbe sk mtw=w ʿr šft.t / wn p3 nt bw-ʿr rh=f mtw p3 šy tī rnm.t* ‘There is the one who lives on little in order to save and he becomes poor / There is the one who does not know and fate gives

⁴² This act could have been serious, if it were part of some kind of Egyptian ritual, tradition, or common everyday practice, evidence of which, however, does not exist.

⁴³ Such humorous unexpected terms are common in modern proverbs, as is the case, for instance, of the English ‘Who marries does well, who marries not does better’ (Gluski 1971, no. 31.9).

⁴⁴ *Ins.* 18/10.

⁴⁵ This proverb and the passage it belongs to are discussed in Stadler 2001, pp. 340–342 and 345. Parallel to this demotic proverb is the English ‘He that died half a year ago is as dead as Adam’ (Gluski 1971, no. 34.24), which has the potential to be employed to convey dark irony.

⁴⁶ For the translation of *p3 btw* as ‘wrongdoer’, see Williams 1976, p. 266 with fn. 1.

⁴⁷ *P* 2377 13.

(him) wealth'⁴⁸ followed after two lines by proverbs **D214**: *hr tw p3 ntr rnn.t hn wtb iw mn iw / hr tw=f hpr šft.t 'n hn 3sw3.t iw mn ht* 'The god gives a wealth of (lit. in) supplies without an income / He also gives poverty to the purse without spending (lit. without money)'.⁴⁹ Here the proverbs describe paradoxes of life, and especially paradoxes concerning money. In the first proverb, the cause of the paradox is not mentioned, while, in the last three, fate or the god causes the paradoxes. The passage ends with the common statement that it is the god that sends fate and fortune (7/19), which is also the end of the eighth chapter of the instruction.

The construction of these paradoxes resembles that of humorous or ironic statements in which the second part of the proverb is an unexpected turn in the proverbial message. This turn is described in the second clause of a proverb, the conjunctives in the former two examples, and the circumstantial in the latter.

The few paradoxical statements in *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy* are also existence clauses (in this case, monopartite and not bipartite like those from *The Instruction of P Insinger*), involving an unexpected association of nominals rather than an unexpected turn. Examples of such statements are proverbs **D215**: *wn dth tī 'nh / wn wy n htb* 'There is imprisonment (for) giving life / There is release for killing'.⁵⁰

Finally, kindred to humorous and ironic remarks are numerous instances involving intelligent interplay between imagery and meaning. Such intelligent interplay is identified, in most cases, by a keen observation on life and Nature that best illustrates a proverbial message. Demotic examples of this are found in a group of proverbs in *The Instruction of P Insinger* that illustrates the message that a man's belly is a cause for evil (6/1); two of these, for instance, are proverbs **D216**: *hr <ir> grmp 3ss.t n tzy=s nb r-tbe he.t=s* 'A pigeon brings harm to its master'⁵¹ because of its belly' and **D217**: *hr <ir> bne ph r btw r-tbe h'r3.wt sbk mtw=s* 'A swallow comes to punishment (or, grief?)⁵² because of the little food it has'.⁵³

⁴⁸ 7/13–14.

⁴⁹ 7/17–18.

⁵⁰ 26/5–6.

⁵¹ Lichtheim reads 'its young', adopting an emendation made on the basis of the parallel copies of the text in Copenhagen (1983, p. 202).

⁵² Suggested in Lichtheim 1983, p. 202.

⁵³ 6/6 and 6/7.

Such a type of wit may sometimes be linked to humour, as is the case with proverb **D218**: *bw-ir=w ššš 'š hr tzy=f štp.t r-tbe hwhw* 'One does not praise a donkey carrying a load because of (its) bray'.⁵⁴ Here the intelligent choice of imagery adds to the entertaining conveyance of the message, a style that is characteristic of most proverbs from the nineteenth teaching of P Insinger, from which this example comes. The message of this proverb is that however loud the sound a suffering being makes, it does not affect one's opinion about it.

Wit and humour may be used in a series of proverbs forming an amusing passage rich in imagery and unexpected associations. Such a passage is that found in *Ins.* 22/22 to line 23/3. The proverbs in this passage share morphosyntactic features, such as the use of the negative habitual at the beginning of each line. The five proverbs in this passage also convey the same aforementioned general message, each one offering an illustration of it.⁵⁵

Similarly to the demotic proverbs, the identification of humour and irony in the Greek proverbs involves a search for unexpected equations/associations and turns. Thus, in proverb **G350**: *ἔρωτα παύει λιμὸς ἢ χαλκοῦ σπάνις* 'Hunger or lack of money brings love to an end',⁵⁶ for instance, some degree of irony is identified in the *unexpected association* of famine with love and famine with lack of money. Both are literal associations and the former is probably made in order to stress that it is very difficult to stop being in love with someone, while the latter implies that love depends heavily on spending money for the sake of pleasing or seducing one's lover.

The unexpected association that conveys irony can sometimes be indirect, as is the case, for instance, with **G334**: 'I have seen a lot of

⁵⁴ *Ins.* 23/3.

⁵⁵ Treating a group of demotic proverbs that share common morphosyntactic or semantic features as a passage (determining, that is, their relationship) is a risky decision the student of this material has to make, mainly due to the fact that this relationship depends on the features of the collection including it, and especially on the unsolved question of the authorship of these proverbs (for a discussion of these features, see Chapter VII). Therefore Jasnow's note that "one observes sometimes a set up for a humorous remark...[where] the previous unexceptional statements prepare the reader or listener for a 'punch line', dramatic escalation" (2001a, p. 72) may be far-fetched, granting more credit than it should to the composers of these works. Accordingly, I believe his example with *Ankh.* 16/9–11 does not illustrate his observation, as I fail to see how the last proverb can function as a 'punch line' here.

⁵⁶ *Men. Mon.* 228.

bald people; in the case of such a man (lit. for this one) even his brain has been exposed'. Here the irony is based upon the association of a bald man with a brainless one. The author, in other words, plays here with the idea that baldness can be both an "external" and an "internal" feature!

The type of irony created by an *unexpected equation* of things, observed in demotic proverbs, is also found in the Greek material examined. An example of this is proverb **G351**: γέλως ἄκαιρος κλανυμάτων παραίτιος 'Laughter that comes in the wrong time (is) also responsible for tears'.⁵⁷ Here irony is due to the equation of two opposite things, that is, laughter and tears.

Humour is also conveyed by *exaggerated statements*, a phenomenon unattested in the demotic proverbs. One instance of such a statement is **G135**: 'Because of women a great world is destroyed'. In this example, it is not only the action described that is exaggerated, but also the very combination of the noun κόσμος with the adjective μέγας.

Furthermore, instances of *unexpected turns* are also found in the Greek collections. Such is the case with proverb **G352**: καλὸν τὸ γηρᾶν καὶ τὸ μὴ γηρᾶν πάλιν 'Good is growing old, and not growing old, too'.⁵⁸ The turn is accomplished by the use of the antonyms highlighted as well as by the use of πάλιν at the end of the line (resembling the use of ἦ in the aforementioned demotic example of this type).

Moreover, in some examples, a *comic* tone is conveyed through the use of humorous words. An instance of this is **G41**: 'O thrice-wretched (lit. possessed by an evil genius), he who marries when poor!' with its humorous exclamation ὦ τρισκακοδαίμων. In this case, the proverb comes from a lost Menandrian comedy⁵⁹ where the use of such an exclamation would have been less unexpected than in a "serious" proverb collection.⁶⁰

No examples of *dark irony* are found among the Greek proverbs, although, in many cases, the topic of death is discussed, sometimes involving intelligent associations and wordplays. An instance of such a case is proverb **G353**: τὸ γὰρ θανεῖν οὐκ αἰσχρόν, ἀλλ' αἰσχρῶς θανεῖν

⁵⁷ Men. *Mon.* 144.

⁵⁸ Men. *Mon.* 396.

⁵⁹ Men. *II fr.* 335,1 according to Jäkel 1964, p. 82.

⁶⁰ Note also a similar use of the comically exaggerated adjective τρισάθλιος 'thrice-wretched' in Men. *Mon.* 776.

‘For to die (is) not disgraceful, but to die disgracefully (is)’.⁶¹ Wordplay is made here with the words *θανεῖν* and *αἰσχρόν* used in different grammatical forms to convey different messages (for the figure of wordplay, see VI.5).

Such wordplay is often used in the Greek proverbs examined, unlike their demotic counterparts where intelligent associations are restricted to the selection of appropriate metaphors or illustrative images. Greek proverbs also employ such metaphors / images, which are used to convey serious proverbial messages. An example is proverb **G354**: *δρυὸς πεσοῦσης πᾶς ἀνὴρ ξυλεύεται* ‘Every man cuts the wood of a tree that has fallen’,⁶² which is still popular in modern Greece. This statement makes the observation that all men tend to abuse a weak man.

Finally, the Greek proverbs, like their demotic counterparts, involve a number of instances of *paradoxical statements*, some of which convey irony. One example is proverb **G355**: *ἡ γλῶσσ’ ἀμαρτάνουσα τἀληθὴ λέγει* ‘The tongue, when it makes a mistake, says the truth’.⁶³ Here the paradox of life described is the fact that a slip of the tongue can reveal the truth, associating the negative attribute of a slip of the tongue with the positive value of speaking the truth.

5. *Figures of Speech in Demotic and Greek Proverbs*

Along with figures of thought like metaphor, simile, and personification, a wide range of figures of speech is employed in the proverbs investigated.⁶⁴ This could be taken as a sign of the proverbs’ high literariness, as well as of their function as mnemonic pieces of orally transmitted wisdom.⁶⁵ The use of figures of speech affects the form of a proverb, as words have to be positioned according to the rules governing the figure in use. The most commonly used figures of speech in the proverbs examined are *parallelismus membrorum* (internal, that is, within the same proverb, or external, that is, in two or more succeeding proverbs), *rep-*

⁶¹ Men. *Mon.* 742. For a similar type of statement, see *Clit.* 62.

⁶² Men. *Mon.* 185.

⁶³ Men. *Mon.* 294.

⁶⁴ For the difference between a “figure of thought” and a “figure of speech”, see Cic. *Rhet. Her.*, 4.XII ff.

⁶⁵ For the relationship between orality and proverbs, see Russo 1983, Russo 1997, Martin 1998, and Lardinois 2001.

etition (including internal or external *anaphora* and *epiphora*), *anastrophe*, *hyperbaton*, *assonance*, *alliteration* (or *homeoprophoron*), *paromoeosis*, ἀπό κοινοῦ σχήμα, *synonymia*, *antonomasia*, and *wordplay*.⁶⁶ The following are some examples of their use:

- a) *parallelismus membrorum*: **G356**: ταχὺς γίνου πρὸς εὐεργεσίαν, βραδὺς δὲ πρὸς τιμωρίαν ‘Be quick (when you are heading) towards benefaction, but (be) slow (when you are heading) towards punishment’ and **D219**: ἱῦρ ἡ’³.^t *ty* ἡ^t *nb* ἱῦρ ἡ’³.^t *ty* *nh* ‘End by planting any tree, begin by planting a sycamore’ (internal),⁶⁷ or **D220**: *rmt* ἡ^m ἰ^w *n3*-’³ *t3y*=*f* *b3.t* *n3*-’³ *t3y*=*f* ἡ^mṣṣ^t.^t / *rmt* ’³ ἰ^w *n3*-ἡ^m *t3y*=*f* *b3.t* *n3*-’³ *t3y*=*f* ἡ^s.^t ‘A small man whose anger is great, his stench is great / A great man whose anger is small, his praises are many’ (external);⁶⁸
- b) *repetition*: **G357**: εὖχου δ’ ἔχειν τι, καὶν ἔχῃς, ἔξεις φίλους ‘Wish that you have something, and if you do, you will have friends’ and **D221**: *m*-*ir* *štm* *bw*-*ir*=*w* *štm*=*k* ‘Do not slander (anyone) so that no one slanders you’⁶⁹ (same word), **G97**: μὴ ἴσθι χαίρων ἐπ’ ἀλλοτρίοις κακοῖς, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ οἰκείοις ἀγαθοῖς (internal epiphora), **D222**: *p3* *nt* ἰ^w=*f* *d* *bn*-ἰ^w=*y* *rh* ṣ^{sp} *mr* *my* *wšd*=*f* *p3*-*R*’ / *p3* *nt* ἰ^w=*f* *d* *bn*-ἰ^w=*y* *rh* ἰ^r *t3* *w*^{p.t} *my* *wšd*=*f* *p3*-*R*’ ‘The one who says: “I shall not be able to endure suffering”, let him pray to Re / The one who says: “I shall not be able to do the task”, let him (also) pray to Re’⁷⁰ (external anaphora and

⁶⁶ All these figures, except for *parallelismus*, *assonance*, and *wordplay*, are defined in Lausberg 1998: repetition §608–635, *anastrophe* §713–715, *hyperbaton* §716–718, *alliteration* §975, *paromoeosis* §732, *synonymia* §698, ἀπό κοινοῦ σχήμα §649–656, and *antonomasia* §580–581, and are also discussed in Guglielmi 1986a and Walde 1996. *Parallelismus membrorum* is discussed in Assmann 1982, while for the figures of *assonance* and *wordplay* (the latter used here not as a general term but rather to denote the combination of plays of sound and meaning), see Osing 1975, Guglielmi 1986b, Walde, *op. cit.*, and Loprieno 2000. For the use of such figures in earlier Egyptian works, see Guglielmi 1996.

⁶⁷ *Phil. Log.* 69–70 and *Ankh.* 20/4. In the first proverb, the parallel parts are antonymous, while it should also be noted that γίνου is omitted in the second part of the proverb creating the figure of ἀπό κοινοῦ σχήμα illustrated below.

⁶⁸ *Ankh.* 7/19–20. Here most of the words and units of the proverbs are semantically and/or morphologically parallel. For the use of repetition in modern proverbs, see Norrick 1991.

⁶⁹ *Men. Mon.* 247 and *P* 2414 2/1.

⁷⁰ *P* 2377 8–9 (the second proverb has been quoted before as **D98**, but it is fully written out again here for the sake of comparison with its pair). Here the parts

epiphora), **D200**: *wn t3 nt mh pzγ=s* 'ω.γ rnn.t iw mn iw / *wn t3 nt* *ir nb(t) hs.t nb(t) pr hn t3γ=s my.t / wn t3 nt* iw iw=γ *ir-rh st hr pz hsf* *n shm.t dn(t)* (external anaphora);

- c) *anastrophe*: **G358**: σεαυτοῦ τὰ ἀτυχήματα τῶν φίλων ἡγοῦ, τῶν δὲ ἰδίων εὐτυχημάτων κοινώνει τοῖς φίλοις 'Consider the accidents of friends yours (and) share the happy events of your (life) with friends';⁷¹
- d) *hyperbaton*: **G359**: ἐν πλησμονῇ μέγιστον ἡ Κύπρις κράτος 'Concerning satiety of food, Aphrodite is the greatest power';⁷²
- e) *assonance*: **G82**: εὐγενεῖς εἶναι νόμιζε, μὴ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν γεγεννημένους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς καλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ προαιρουμένους⁷³ and **D223**: *ir pr wn.w pz nt iw wn tr.t=f* 'A house is open (to) the one who has something (in) his hand';⁷⁴
- f) *alliteration*: **G360**: θυμοῦ κρατῆσαι ἀπιθυμίας καλόν 'It is good to control (your) anger and desire' and **D224**: *m-ir mr ml.t* 'Do not worry about anything';⁷⁵
- g) *paromoeosis*: **G265**: μισῶ πονηρόν, χρηστὸν ὅταν εἴπῃ λόγον;
- h) ἀπὸ κοινοῦ σχήμα: **G361**: ὁ μὲν θεὸς οὐδενὸς δεῖται, ὁ δὲ σοφὸς μόνου θεοῦ 'God does not need anyone, while the wise man (needs) only God';⁷⁶
- i) *synonymia*: **G362**: ἢ ζῆν ἀλύπως, ἢ θανεῖν εὐδαιμόνως 'Either live without pain or die happily';⁷⁷
- j) *antonomasia*: **D211**: 'A friend who is merciless is the one who burns his limbs';⁷⁸ and

involved in the anaphora and epiphora can also be taken as elements of *parallelismus membrorum* or even, if one pursues the comparison further, as the one proverb being a variation of the other, as a major part of the sentence is repeated in the two proverbs.

⁷¹ *Clit.* 90. In this case, the verb in the imperative would be expected to appear at the beginning of the command instead.

⁷² *Men. Mon.* 276. In this proverb, the adjective μέγιστον is separated from the noun κράτος, which it qualifies. For the Aphroditean-erotic connotations of the reference to "the Cypriot", see fn. 108 of Chapter IV.

⁷³ Here the use of γεγεννημένους and προαιρουμένους also creates internal epiphora.

⁷⁴ *P 2414* 1/10.

⁷⁵ *Men. Mon.* 348 and *Ankh.* 6/23.

⁷⁶ *Clit.* 4. For a variation of this proverb, see *Sext.* 49. Here the word omitted in the second part of the proverb is δεῖται.

⁷⁷ *Men. Mon.* 286.

⁷⁸ For the use of the word 'friend' here, see the discussion of "dark irony" in this proverb above.

- k) *wordplay*: **G353**: τὸ γὰρ θανεῖν οὐκ αἰσχρόν, ἀλλ' αἰσχρὸς θανεῖν⁷⁹
and **D225**: *hē.t šm.t h3t hte* 'Belly (of) a woman, heart (of) a horse'.⁸⁰

As shown from the examples quoted, not all figures of speech are employed in both the demotic and Greek proverbs investigated. In short, those used in both types of material are *parallelismus*, repetition, assonance, alliteration, and wordplay, while anastrophe, hyperbaton, paromoeosis, ἀπὸ κοινοῦ σχῆμα, and synonymia are found only in the Greek proverbs, and antonomasia only in the demotic ones.

The most common of these figures are *parallelismus* and repetition, both of which involve parallel units of a proverb, these being either single words (only in the case of repetition) or groups of words (in both *parallelismus* and repetition). *Parallelismus* is the most significant figure in the language of demotic proverbs (especially in bipartite and multipartite examples) and numerous instances of its use, especially of the internal type, have been discussed in the course of the linguistic analysis above—see, for instance, **D177**. The importance of *parallelismus* in Egyptian is also shown by the fact that one of the two main types of metrical analysis of Egyptian works suggested by scholars is solely based upon the use of this figure in Egyptian sentences (see discussion in VI.2).

6. *The Vocabulary of Demotic and Greek Proverbs*

Since the proverbs examined show a preference for discussing general human matters, their vocabulary is full of nominal forms that describe traits of human character, defining, in this way, a series of distinctive types of personality. In the Greek proverbs, on the one hand, these forms are most frequently adjectives used as substantives (such as ὁ πιστός 'the faithful/trustworthy man', or ὁ σώφρων 'the prudent man')⁸¹ and participial phrases (such as ὁ μηδὲν ἄδικῶν 'the one who

⁷⁹ In this instance, the author plays with the change of meaning, which results from the use of the different forms of θανεῖν and αἰσχρός highlighted (see also comments on p. 198).

⁸⁰ *Ankh.* 23/24. In this enigmatic proverb, the wordplay involves sound and semantic combinations resulting from the use of the repeated sounds of *h-t* and *h-t*.

⁸¹ Examples of use of these two "ethical terms" are *Sext.* 49 and Mosch. *Gn.* 23 respectively. For this use of adjectives, see Schwyzer-Debrunner ii.174–175.

is unfair to no one', or ὁ τῶν συγχωρουμένων φειδόμενος 'the one who is sparing of what is permitted'),⁸² while, in a few cases, they consist of adjectives qualifying nouns that denote categories of beings (such as σοφὸς ἀνὴρ 'wise man').⁸³

In the demotic proverbs, on the other hand, such constructions involve adjectives that qualify nouns denoting categories of beings (for instance, *p3 rmt dn* 'the evil man'),⁸⁴ nouns freestanding or qualified by short relative clauses (such as (*p3*) *lh* 'the / a fool', or *p3 lh nt n3-hm-h3t=f* 'the fool who is impatient'),⁸⁵ and nominalized relative clauses (for example, *p3 nt hrh n=f* 'the one who guards himself').⁸⁶ The last form is very common in *The Instruction of P Insinger*. Such a form describes a character periphrastically by mentioning one or more traits of character type.

While in the Greek proverbs such terms can stand in any position in the sentence, in the demotic proverbs, the prominence of these ethical terms is reflected in the fact that the author frequently places them at the beginning of a proverb, often in anticipation; an example of this is found in proverb **D226**: *p3 nt iw bw-ir=f t h.t sm bw-ir=f hm=f n prt* 'The one who does not gather wood in the summer, he is not warm in the winter'.⁸⁷ The nominalized relative clause highlighted bears a neutral value when it is used alone, given that it is not used in any other proverb in the collection. What makes it semantically negative is its association with the main clause, where failure to gather wood appears as the cause of an unwanted result (namely, that one will not be warm in the winter). With such periphrastic forms, it is difficult to determine whether what is meant was originally considered to be positive or negative, something that is more straightforward with shorter forms, nouns and adjectives whose meaning is well-established (such as the demotic 'fool' or the Greek 'pious man' mentioned above).

The distinction between positive and negative terms (what is good and what is bad) is of paramount importance in a body of proverbs, given that the proverbs advise on ethical matters. This strict line of

⁸² Cf. *Clit.* 6 and **G37** respectively.

⁸³ See, for instance, *Sext.* 190 and **G178**.

⁸⁴ Cf. *Ins.* 12/3.

⁸⁵ There are numerous instances of the former, such as *Ins.* 13/16 and 19/13, while the latter is found only in *Ins.* 21/18.

⁸⁶ *Ins.* 25/11.

⁸⁷ *Ankh.* 9/17.

distinction is only blurred by paradoxical statements or proverbs with a clear sense of irony or humour, instances of which have been discussed above.⁸⁸

7. *How do Demotic and Greek Proverbs Work?*

Observations on the vocabulary of demotic and Greek proverbs bring us to the issue of meaning and its relationship with the form and the morphosyntactic models identified in the analysis. "How do all these grammatical and syntactic forms contribute to the conveyance of proverbial messages?" and "What are the prerequisites for a reader to understand these proverbs?" are some of the questions that will be approached in the following discussion.

Before addressing this issue, it is important to note the difference between a *theme* and a *meaning*. According to P. Seitel, who follows M. Bakhtin's observations, "theme emerges as a result of relationships perceived between the constituent parts of a work or utterance" and is constant throughout a text, "...while meaning [comes] as a result of relationships perceived between the utterance or work and the context, in which it is spoken or performed and received".⁸⁹ In order to apply this defining distinction between *theme* and *meaning* to the proverbs studied, one should omit the words "utterance", "spoken", and "performed" from this definition, since the probable, original, performative context of these proverbs does not survive.⁹⁰ In addition, one should add the relationship of dependence between theme and meaning, which is ignored here, since, in order to identify the theme of a group of proverbs, one must first *understand* these proverbs and *interpret* them according to one's own cultural background. Consequently, the problem of meaning, I believe, should be discussed before any attempt at thematic classification.

The messages of the demotic and Greek proverbs can be successfully conveyed to their audiences only through the use of comprehensible words and constructions. Such units of demotic and Greek and their combinations have to appeal to their Egyptian and Greek audiences'

⁸⁸ See VI.3 and VI.4.

⁸⁹ 1999, pp. 4-5.

⁹⁰ For the significance of the influence of performative context on the meaning of proverbs, see Jason 1971 and Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1973.

cultural backgrounds. Direct references to these backgrounds are found in proverbs with religio-mythological connotations, such as **D227**: *gby p3-R' h.(t) n3 szbz.w gby=w h.t=f m wħm / ħpr Hr iw=f kpe h.(t) p3 dwf ir=f ħry r p3 t3 n wħm* 'When Pre had weakened before the enemies, they weakened before him in turn / When Horus had been hidden behind the papyrus swamp, he became master of the earth in turn'.⁹¹ The common cultural background to which these mythological images allude enabled the audience to interpret correctly the intentions of, and the messages conveyed by, the author of this material. Units of this sort, most pregnant in cultural connotations, are, firstly, those that carry imagery often used metaphorically and, secondly, those that describe ethical characters. These are the units of language that a modern reader would also find, in some cases, most difficult to understand.

In addition, some proverbs may appear obscure to the interpreter due to the uncertainties of whether they should be read literally or metaphorically (an issue touched on in VI.3). In general, the criterion for determining whether a proverb is meant metaphorically or not is the wide applicability of its message (that being a defining characteristic of most of the proverbial expressions investigated). If a proverb's message seems to be widely applicable when read literally, it should be taken in a literal sense (demotic and Greek examples), while, if its message does not seem to be widely applicable when read literally, it should be taken in a metaphorical sense (demotic examples only). An instance of the first type is proverb **G170**: 'The result of evil (is) insolence, while (the result of) insolence (is) destruction', and an example of the second type is proverb **D203**: 'Do not say: "It is summer"; there is winter (too)'.

The veil of obscurity covering a considerable number of the proverbs examined can be drawn clear through the study of form (that is, linguistic constructions and their grammar and syntax)⁹² and sometimes also through the study of the other proverbs included in the same collection.

Taking advantage of the aid provided by the study of form, the analysis produced above has pointed out various structural models upon which the construction of the demotic and Greek proverbs studied is based. Within such models, grammatical units adopt a number of fixed syntactic roles used in fixed types of combination. The study of these roles and combinations allows one to identify a number of positions

⁹¹ *Ins.* 20/17–18.

⁹² For the general contribution of the study of grammar to meaning, see Rundle 1979, pp. 377ff., and especially pp. 383–389 and 423–431.

in the proverb in which each unit is expected to stand. Some of these positions bear a high or low degree of emphasis, while other positions are not the object of emphasis at all. An emphatic position is a sign of the semantic focus of the proverb; in other words, it is an indicator of what the proverb is talking about, or what its theme is. Consequently, the study of form, in this case, guides the reader towards the focus of the message a proverb is attempting to convey and helps him/her to determine the type of unit and its relationship to other units, but not its actual meaning.

These observations can be applied, for instance, to proverbs **D228**: *wn p3 nt iw iw=w sš=f r-tbe gnn mtw=f w h3t ky n-im=s* 'There is the one who is scorned because of (his) gentleness and yet he is patient (lit. great-(of)-heart) (towards) another through it' and **G363**: *μισθὸν μοχθήσαντι δίδου, μὴ θλίβῃς πένητα* 'Give a salary to the one who has worked a lot and (or, so that you) do not suppress a poor man'.⁹³ The demotic example follows the monopartite model **dmE**, which involves some paradoxical statements, while the Greek example follows the bipartite model **gbB**. Therefore, in the case of the demotic example, study of the structural model and its variations prepares the reader for a paradox that describes a human character who, being subject to Fate, faces a situation that stands in conflict with his character traits. These traits are described in the first part of the nominalized relative clause (namely, *p3 nt iw iw=w sš=f r-tbe gnn*), while the unexpected situation is introduced by the conjunctive. As regards the Greek example, it has been shown above that the combination of an imperative with a prohibition in a bipartite structure predicts the use of the latter either as a simple elaboration of the statement of the former (linked by 'and') or as a description of a possible result of the former (linked by 'so that'). Therefore these small, morphological observations indicate the type of relationship between the units involved and can be a useful guide for the understanding and interpretation of the proverb, even without knowing the meaning of one or more words employed.

Taking advantage of the aid provided by the study of proverbs included in the same collection as that in question, what can help the reader to determine the meaning of a proverb are mainly the features and messages of the surrounding proverbs. The most important among the first is the purpose, which, since it is related to the defining, didactic

⁹³ *Ins.* 27/16 and *Ps-Phoc.* 19.

nature of a proverb, is common to all demotic and Greek proverbs. Given that a proverb's main purpose is to convey a piece of ever-true wisdom (see VII.4), its message most often relates to universal matters of human affairs readily comprehensible to any reader.

Let us take **D228** and **G363**, mentioned above, and analyze them in the light of their surrounding material. The demotic example comes from *The Instruction of P Insinger*, a collection that, as noted, is divided into thematically coherent "teachings". The passage comes from the twenty-first teaching, entitled 'The teaching not to slight lest you be slighted',⁹⁴ which discusses the themes of praise and scorn. Thus, from this, one can identify the thematic focus of the proverb in question (at least in this collection).⁹⁵ Furthermore, the proverb comes from the end of the teaching, where the author commonly inserted paradoxical statements, while the following proverb (namely, *Ins.* 27/17) is also a paradoxical statement and shows morphological parallels to that in question.⁹⁶ Finally, the observation made by this proverb has to appeal to any reader and thus the vocabulary it employs cannot be very specific or technical.

The Greek example comes from the pseudo-Phocylidean collection, whose general purpose seems to be highly didactic. Therefore the imperative and prohibition serve to instruct on a matter comprehensible to many. Moreover, the proverb in question is surrounded by proverbs that instruct the reader how to behave justly on various occasions. In addition, a few lines after this proverb the issue of how to behave towards a man in need is dealt with again (namely, in lines 23–27, where the proverb encourages its audience to help those who need help). Thus the thematic focus of the proverb in question (at least in this collection) is "being good to a poor man".

However, while knowledge of the original context from which a proverb is drawn can be helpful, in some cases it can also be misleading. For example, in the case of Greek proverb **G364**: τὸ μὴ δὲν ἀδικοῦν καὶ καλοῦς ἡμᾶς ποιεῖ 'Being fair (lit. not being unfair) makes us also good (people)',⁹⁷ part of its original immediate context in a Menandrian

⁹⁴ 25/14.

⁹⁵ For exceptional proverbs in *The Instruction of P Insinger* that do not convey a message related to the theme of their teaching and the "temporariness" of such a thematic focus, see VII.5.

⁹⁶ That is, they are both combinations of an affirmative existence clause with an affirmative conjunctive one.

⁹⁷ Men. *Mon.* 767.

comedy survives and suggests that its original tone was humorous or ironic.⁹⁸ Furthermore, its original context suggests that the adjective *καλός* was originally used in a literal sense to mean 'beautiful', without any moral connotations that would be naturally assumed for such a proverb found in a proverb collection.

In such a case, however, the status of the proverb is determined by its reproduction in a proverb collection and not by its original context, as this very reproduction is what makes this sentence a proverb. Within the *Menandri Monostichoi*, the proverb sounds serious, while *καλός* in combination with *τὸ μηδὲν ἄδικεῖν* 'to act fairly' seems to bear moral connotations (indicated by the choice of translating it as 'good' rather than 'beautiful') that fit the didactic purposes of the model for proverbial expression.

The only case in which such a proverb would retain its original tone would be if it were a very popular saying, quoted and recognized by many as being part of a popular literary work. In such a case, the proverb examined here would have been instantly recognized by its audience as coming from a particular Menandrian comedy, resembling the case of the English saying 'To be or not to be: that is the question', universally recognized nowadays as a tragic utterance of the Shakespearean figure Hamlet. Whether the Greek proverb discussed was as popular as the Shakespearean saying is a question that cannot be answered by a modern reader, given our limited knowledge of the wider usage of such material in an oral or a textual context.

Dealing with instances of semantic obscurity among the proverbs investigated, however, can sometimes be difficult. This is due to: 1) the use of semantically obscure words; 2) the involvement of elliptical morphological constructions; 3) the brevity of expression required by the limited space of the single proverb, and 4) the lack of parallel surrounding proverbs. Of course, these problems may very well affect only a modern reader, since the contemporary ancient audience would have shared the same cultural background as the writer(s) of the proverbs, unlike us. The biggest obstacle to understanding is the use of semantically obscure words, which are the direct result of the loss of a considerable body of ancient literature that has probably not survived to modern times. Due to this, many words are *hapax legomena*, which cannot be compared to other examples that could elucidate their meaning.

⁹⁸ It is found in fr. 352 K.-A. which is quoted and discussed in Liapis 2002, p. 466 with n. 758.

This has more bearing on the study of the demotic material than on the Greek one, since the surviving body of demotic literature is much smaller than that of the latter.

An example of a proverb whose meaning is obscure to the modern reader because of a combination of the above reasons is **D225**: ‘Belly (of) a woman, heart (of) a horse’. Although this proverb does not employ obscure vocabulary, its meaning is obscure, both because it is too short a statement to contain an explanatory elaboration and because it is not related to the other proverbs of *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy*, whence it comes.⁹⁹

8. *Semantic Parallels in Demotic and Greek Proverbs*

Parallels between proverbs that convey the same or a related message can be identified within the same collection, the same corpus, or different bodies of material. In other words, a demotic proverb can be a parallel to another demotic proverb and / or to a Greek one, and vice versa. Most of these parallels tend to involve the same or similar words and / or the same or similar morphological units.¹⁰⁰

Examples of parallel demotic proverbs found in the same collection are present only in *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy*. Instances of these are: a) **D229**: *m-ir kpe mtw=k ti gm=w t=k* ‘Do not hide and then let yourself be found’ and **D230**: *m-ir sm n=k mtw=k iy h=k* ‘Do not go away and then come back on your own’,¹⁰¹ and b) **D231**: *amy.t rmt tzy=f mhw.t* ‘The character (of) a man is his family’, **D232**: *rmt iw mn-mtw=f tne tzy=f amy.t tzy=f mhw.t* ‘A man who has no town, his character is his family’,¹⁰² and **D162**: ‘If you stay (in) a town where you have no one, your character is your family’.

In group (a), both proverbs advise against inconsistency of action and involve the same structural pattern (‘vetitive + conjunctive’).¹⁰³ In group (b), what differs between the proverbs involved is what I have defined as the “condition” of a proverb; thus, in the first example, the statement

⁹⁹ The structure of this demotic proverb has many parallels among modern proverbs, such as the German ‘Kalte Hände, warme Liebe’ (Gluski 1971, no. 30.13).

¹⁰⁰ A list of examples of parallel proverbs is given in appendix C.

¹⁰¹ *Ankh.* 7/8 and 7/11. See also *Ankh.* 11/8 and 16/14, all noted in *AEL* 3, p. 182 with n. 25.

¹⁰² *Ankh.* 11/11 and 18/13.

¹⁰³ Cf. model **dbN**.

is valid on all occasions, in the second, it is valid when a person has no town to call his own and, in the third, it is valid when a person happens to be in a town where he has no friends or relatives. It should also be noted that, in the last group of examples, the phrase ‘his / your character is his / your family’ is constantly repeated.

For the last group of proverbs there is a parallel in *The Instruction of P Insinger* where *amy.t* ‘character’ is replaced by *h3t* ‘heart’—i.e. **D233**: *tmy iw mn-mtw=k mhw.t n-im=f h3t=k t3y=k mhw.t* ‘(In) a town in which you have no family, your heart is your family’.¹⁰⁴ Unfortunately, the difference between the demotic idioms ‘your character is your family’ and ‘your heart is your family’ cannot be determined with certainty. Other instances of inter-textual parallels have been noted in the course of the presentation of the demotic corpus, which has led scholars to make links between the various demotic collections.¹⁰⁵

All these demotic examples are to a certain degree parallel but never identical. The only example of identical reproduction is proverb **D234**: *tr.t nb(.t) swtn r p3 ntr ur=f sp tr.t p3y=f mr.t* ‘Every hand is stretched out to the god, (but) he receives (only) the hand (of) his beloved’,¹⁰⁶ reproduced in *PAshm*. 1/10.

Examples of these types of parallel proverb are also found in the Greek material. Many parallels can be observed, for instance, between proverbs from the *Menandri Monostichoi*. Examples are **G205**: ‘Either say something better than silence or keep silent’ and **G365**: ἢ δεῖ σιωπᾶν ἢ λέγε ἀμείνονα ‘Either (you) must be silent or say something better’,¹⁰⁷ or **G299**: ‘If you are mortal, my dear friend, think mortal (thoughts)’ and **G366**: θνητὸς γεγώς,¹⁰⁸ ἄνθρωπε, μὴ φρόνει μέγα ‘As you have been born mortal, man, do not think highly (of yourself)’.¹⁰⁹ The first two proverbs convey an identical message, while the last two have similar ones. Such parallels are also found in *The Sentences of Sextus* (such as **G156**: ἃ δίδωσιν ὁ θεός, οὐδείς ἀφαιρεῖται and *Sext.* 404, with ἄ being simply replaced by ὅσα). In the same collection, there is also a unique example of

¹⁰⁴ 25/16. This parallel and the other three in *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy* are pointed out in *AEL* 3, p. 183 with n. 82, and p. 216 with n. 79.

¹⁰⁵ On the relationship of *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy* with P Louvre 2414, for instance, see fn. 8 of Chapter II, as well as the comments in Lichtheim 1983, pp. 98–100.

¹⁰⁶ *Ankh.* 23/14.

¹⁰⁷ 306.

¹⁰⁸ Or γεγονώς, according to Liapis 2002, p. 162 and n. 343.

¹⁰⁹ 350.

identical reproduction, involving proverbs **G367**: θεὸν πατέρα καλῶν ἐν οἷς πράττεις τούτου μέμνησο ‘That God (is) a father to good (men), remember this in what you do’¹¹⁰ and *Sext.* 222. In the rest of the Greek works investigated, no parallels of this sort can be identified.¹¹¹

On the other hand, numerous parallels between *The Sentences of Sextus* and *The Sentences of Clitarchus* have been noted before, both in the presentation of the corpus and in the course of the analysis,¹¹² and they are included there, because these works probably belonged to the same tradition of circulating proverbial material.

Finally, there are cross-cultural parallels. Parallels between the demotic collections and Greek works of literature have been identified in M. Lichtheim’s *Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature*.¹¹³ Among these parallels, there are examples that include proverbs from the *Menandri Monostichoi*, *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*, and *The Sentences of Sextus*.¹¹⁴ Given, however, that Lichtheim does not define what she takes as a parallel, it is no surprise that her “parallels” include several different types and degrees of similarity. Thus most parallels involving proverbs from the bodies of material examined here are thematic (for examples of thematic similarity, see below); they are less often semantic, and never linguistic. In other words, one finds examples of demotic and Greek proverbs discussing the same topic, less commonly conveying the same message, but never using the same wording.¹¹⁵

Instances of demotic and Greek proverbs conveying similar messages are: **D235**: *n3-š3 mt.t hm.t iw šw snte n=s* ‘Many are (the) small things that are worthy of respect (lit. for which respect is worthy)’¹¹⁶ compared

¹¹⁰ *Sext.* 59.

¹¹¹ There is one example of identical reproduction in *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides* involving lines 36 and 69b, but it is possible that this reproduction is only a repetition of the same line due to confusion between manuscript traditions (cf. van der Horst 1978, p. 137).

¹¹² See pp. 33–34 and, for example, fn. 73 of Chapter V.

¹¹³ See some examples discussed in 1983, pp. 28–31.

¹¹⁴ See, for instance, *Ins.* 30/6 with *Men. Mon.* 89, *Ins.* 18/13 with *Ps.-Phoc.* 109–110, and *P* 2377 3 with *Sext.* 298 (1983, pp. 168, 156–158, and 101 respectively. A list of the parallels identified by Lichtheim is given in appendix C).

¹¹⁵ Compare cross-cultural variants of medieval and modern proverbs, most of which are results of direct translation; instances of these are found in the aforementioned Latin translation of *The Sentences of Sextus* (Chadwick 1959, pp. 13 ff.) or in the corpora of modern popular proverbs like the English ‘It is an ill bird that fouls its own nest’ with its multilingual variants studied in Kunstmann 1939.

¹¹⁶ *Ins.* 25/7.

with **G39**: ‘In life (even) the smallest thing (is) not trivial (lit. small),’¹¹⁷ and **D236**: *p3 nt prī n p3 3st hr st=f s r-ir=f n* ‘What comes out from the earth, it returns to it again’¹¹⁸ compared with **G189**: ‘The earth gives birth to all (things) and takes (them) back again’.¹¹⁹

In contrast to these two pairs of proverbs, whose whole messages are parallel, there are examples of demotic and Greek proverbs for which only a part of their message is parallel. An instance of this is found in proverbs **D37**: ‘A man who is sick, his wife is a lioness before him’ and **G368**: ἴση λεαίνης καὶ γυναικὸς ὀμότης ‘Same is the fierceness of a woman and a lioness’.¹²⁰ Here the parallel is the association of a woman with a lioness, which, in both cases, stresses that the characteristic of cruelty is common to a woman and a lioness. The difference between these two proverbs lies in that the demotic proverb sets this observation within a specific set of circumstances (that is, when the woman is married and her husband is suffering), while the Greek one speaks generally about any woman under any circumstances.

In contrast to instances of parallel proverbs, one must also note that proverbs with contradictory messages exist in some of the collections. Such instances are found in *The Instruction of P Insinger*, *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy*, and the *Menandri Monostichoi*. A demotic example involves proverbs **D237**: *p3 nt snte n=f h(.t) btw hr ir=f bl r btw nb* ‘The one who fears harm for himself, he escapes all harm’ and **D238**: *tm hyt tm dm(.t) tm ir wdz nwš* ‘Do not fear, do not be lazy, do not let worry flourish’,¹²¹ while a Greek example involves proverbs **G369**: ζητει γυναῖκα σύμμαχον τῶν πραγμάτων ‘Look for a woman to be (your) ally in matters (of life)’ and **G370**: λύπη παροῦσα πάντοτ’ ἐστὶν ἡ γυνή ‘The woman is a misfortune that is present in everything’.¹²² In the demotic pair of contradictory proverbs, the first proverb portrays the fear of harm as a good thing, while the second proverb advises men to fear nothing. In the Greek pair, the first proverb presents woman as a precious ally in life, while the second proverb presents her as a great misfortune in life.

Such contradictory statements are very common among proverbs, as is the case, for example, with the English proverbs ‘Boys will be

¹¹⁷ Parallels with similar messages are discussed in Lichtheim 1983, pp. 163 and 188.

¹¹⁸ *Ins.* 30/6.

¹¹⁹ This parallel is discussed in Lichtheim 1983, p. 168.

¹²⁰ *Men. Mon.* 374.

¹²¹ *Ins.* 24/1 and 25/24.

¹²² *Men. Mon.* 271 and 450.

boys' and 'Boys will be men'.¹²³ This phenomenon is related to the fact that the meaning of proverbs is linked to a great extent to their situational usage.¹²⁴ Therefore such proverbs are not only contradictory to other proverbs, but also conflict with the image they project of being ever-true, absolute truths (especially those that employ words like 'always' or 'everything', as in **G370**). In this way, they reflect life with its diversity of circumstances and perspectives, which does not leave space for dogmatism.

By placing contradictory proverbs in the same collection (if that was deliberate and not because the collector was not careful about what s/he included), the collector acknowledged this diversity in life, as well as the great influence circumstances have over a person's judgement. Moreover, the existence of contradictory proverbs in a collection may suggest that the collection was not meant to be a coherent treatise propagating a specific philosophy of life, but a collection of philosophies of life, a puzzle of different perspectives.

Finally, similar to the instances of contradictory proverbs are those of complementary proverbs, which are found in all the collections investigated. Examples are the demotic proverbs **D239**: *š[ms pzy]=k ntr ir=f n=k tym / šms nzy=k sn.w hpr n=k syt nfr / šms rmt rh ir=f šms.t=k* 'Serve [your] god that he may protect you / Serve your brothers so that you may have a good reputation / Serve a wise man that he may serve you'¹²⁵ and the Greek proverbs **G371**: ἀγάπα τὸ ὁμόφυλον / ἀγάπα τὸν θεὸν καὶ πρὸ τῆς ψυχῆς σου 'Love what is akin to you / Love God even more than (lit. before) your soul'.¹²⁶ In both instances, the proverbs describe similar actions (grouped together probably on the basis of the repetition of the initial verbs). Each of the proverbs included in each group conveys a message that, although it is valid under all circumstances, is not exclusive and so can be complemented by the messages of the other proverbs.

¹²³ Gluski 1971, 33.1 and 33.2.

¹²⁴ For modern contradictory proverbs, see Goodwin and Wenzel 1979, p. 290.

¹²⁵ *Ankh.* 6/1–3.

¹²⁶ *Sext.* 106a–b.

9. *Types of Theme in Demotic and Greek Proverbs*

As mentioned above, the identification of a theme presupposes that a number of sentences discuss the same topic. In the collections investigated, such thematically associated proverbs are more frequently found scattered around and less frequently gathered together and forming a thematically coherent passage (for example, the teachings of *The Instruction of P Insinger*). In other words, these works of proverb literature rarely use theme as an organizational device. Therefore what is left to the student of this material is to interpret on his/her own the proverbial messages and to group together those that seem to cover the same theme.

This has been done before by Egyptologists and Classicists who skimmed through the material and produced an overview or list of the topics it discussed.¹²⁷ This, however, is a risky job as it may result in treating works of proverbial literature as philosophical treatises that self-consciously present the ideology of one or more authors or philosophical schools. My opinion is that when the collection itself does not show signs of “thematic consciousness”, that is, making an effort to identify themes and focus on them, this indicates that theme is not a significant feature of the collection and so it should not be used to characterize the collection *per se*. What the study of themes indicates instead is the choice of the producers of proverbs to touch on some areas of interest and to ignore others. Before talking about this choice, however, I should comment on the nature and typology of the themes and the matters they discuss.

These matters, by definition, are concerned with general human affairs and consist of general observations and/or of specific pieces of advice. An instance of a combination of proverbial statements and admonitions is the theme of “friendship”, which is popular in the Greek material. Examples of proverbs treating this theme are found in *The Sayings of Philosophers*, **G372**: αἱ νέαι φιλίαι ἀναγκαῖαι μὲν, αἱ δὲ παλαιαὶ ἀναγκαιότεραι ‘New friendships (are) necessary, but old ones (are even) more necessary’¹²⁸ and **G248**: ‘Do not reproach your friend for (his) favours, for it is (then) as if he had not given (them)’. The first makes a general observation about the value of friendship and the second

¹²⁷ See, for instance, Lichtheim on *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy* (1983, pp. 52–56) or Chadwick on *The Sentences of Sextus* (1959, pp. 97ff.).

¹²⁸ 117–118. This proverb is attributed to Antiphanes.

advises on how to behave towards a friend in specific circumstances (when a friend does you a favour).

A similar combination of statements and admonitions is found in discussion of the theme of “the foolish man (*lh* or *rmt swg*) and how to behave towards him” in *The Instruction of P Insinger*. This theme includes a great number of proverbs of the statement type observing characteristics of a foolish man’s behaviour, such as **D240**: *p3 rmt swg nt wh3 sf hr in n=f ls=f sy.t* ‘The stupid man who wants to deceive, his tongue brings him harm’.¹²⁹ A smaller number of proverbs of the instructional type (the difference in quantity being due to the general preference in this work for proverbs of the statement type) describe how one should treat such a man, for instance **D241**: *tm nhet irm lh r-tbe p3 in n=k iw=f sm* ‘Do not trust a fool because of bringing to you (something) that is blessed’,¹³⁰ which precedes the previously mentioned proverb.

In addition, in the collections investigated, a small number of themes are discussed by proverbs of either only the statement type or only the instructional type. Examples of the first are the demotic theme of “human character (*amy.t*)” in *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy* (e.g. **D231**: ‘The character (of) a man is his family’) and the Greek theme of “the prudent man” in *The Sentences of Moschion* (e.g. **G37**: ‘Prudent is not the one who does not touch what is forbidden, but the one who is sparing of what is permitted’). In the latter collection, the last theme occurs in only two proverbs; elsewhere, as in the *Menandri Monostichoi*, it is treated in proverbs of both types (for instance, **G373**: ζήλου τὸν ἐσθλὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν σόφρονα ‘Admire the good man and the prudent’).¹³¹

An instance of themes treated exclusively in admonitions is the group of pieces of practical advice on agricultural matters found in *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy*. The audience is instructed, for instance, in **D115**: ‘Do not say: “My land thrives”; do not cease to inspect it’ and in **D242**: *m-ir w3h iy y n sh.t* ‘Do not put a house on agricultural land’.¹³² Given the proverbs adjacent to those in question, and especially the fact that this particular work of proverbial literature contains other pieces of advice on agricultural or other matters of outdoor labour, one can say with certainty that such proverbs were originally meant to be understood in a literal sense. However, because in general there are not many

¹²⁹ 12/5.

¹³⁰ 12/4.

¹³¹ 275.

¹³² 14/22.

examples of admonitions dealing with agricultural matters in the collections investigated, if a student finds a proverb of this type in such a collection, he/she should probably interpret it in a metaphorical way, conveying a more general message which is more appropriate to the type of material in question. An instance of this is **G271**: 'If someone has not learned an art, let him dig with a mattock'. Since it comes from *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*, in which several proverbs discuss labour in general rather than giving specific, technical advice (as in lines 159–163), digging with a mattock seems not to be intended literally, but rather to stand for manual labour generally.

10. *Thematic Similarities and Differences between Demotic and Greek Proverbs and their Cultural Interpretation*

A simple glance at the themes discussed by the demotic and Greek proverbs studied here reveals that similarities are predominant. Thus, for instance, both demotic and Greek proverbs discuss death, the characteristics of a wise man versus those of a fool, the god(s), life, and so on. However, the similarity in themes should not be a surprise, since proverbs, by definition, are concerned with general human matters that touch on universal norms of human society, which are bound to be common to works from different cultures. Underlying all of these themes is the morality of human action and how humans should behave; in other words, in a multitude of circumstances, what makes them good men and what bad men.

More interesting in a comparative study of themes discussed by demotic and Greek proverbs are the differences observed. Thematic differences are fewer than similarities and may represent differences either in the ideologies and activities of the two cultures compared or simply in the mentality of proverb production, that is, what themes the producers of these proverbs considered appropriate for such material. With regard to the first, it should be noted that this material gives only a small insight into its parent cultures and therefore does not allow its modern student to jump to grand conclusions.¹³³

¹³³ "Reading cultures through proverbs" was fashionable among nineteenth-century scholars, as is the case, for example, with Lister's (1874–1875) readings of old Chinese proverbs. Against reading ancient Greek culture through its proverbs, see Pearson 1962, p. 9.

Instances of thematic difference concern only minor themes, such as the differences between body and soul and how one should treat them, discussed only in the Greek material. Proverbs on this theme instruct their audience, among other things, that the body is the carrier of the soul (**G206**), and state that a man should take care of his soul rather than his body (**G374**: οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι τῆς τοῦ σώματος εὐεξίας φροντίζουσιν· ὁ δὲ σοφὸς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπάθειαν ‘While the other men give heed to the good health of the body, the wise man (considers) the immunity of the soul’).¹³⁴ This theme is not found in the demotic proverbs examined. In this case, the difference could be explained in relation to what we know about the two cultures. Greek culture and its philosophies recognized an entity that it called the “soul” and this entity greatly affected human ethics, making it an appropriate topic for discussion in proverbs like those studied here. In contrast, the demotic proverbs analyzed do not discuss this issue, probably because Egyptian culture, with its essentially unitarian concept of the human being,¹³⁵ had no concept corresponding to the concrete Greek notion of the soul.

Furthermore, although some major themes are common to both groups of works, they are sometimes approached in a different way. In fact, each group of works discusses different aspects of the same theme, revealing in this way what each culture considered as significant and what insignificant.

For example, within the boundaries of the theme of “death”, discussed by both the demotic and the Greek proverbs, the former refer to the process of mummification and actual burial in relation to the judgement of the deceased (**D243**: *syf sntr ḥsmn ḥmz phr.t ḥm.t phr(.t) n3y=f shy.w* ‘Cedar oil, incense, natron, salt, and “burning remedy” are remedy (for) his (i.e. of him who thinks of death for the sake of gain) wounds’),¹³⁶ while the latter do not discuss funerary practices.

If this tendency of the demotic proverb literature for discussing the importance of funerary practices is to be explained in cultural terms, one could observe that, in general, the process of mummification in Egypt was considered as a divinizing medium for the mortal deceased and thus a significant preparatory stage for a happy afterlife, while, in

¹³⁴ *Phil. Log.* 101–102. For the meaning of the verb φροντίζω when it takes an object in the accusative and when in the genitive, see *LSJ*, s.v. φροντίζω.

¹³⁵ For a brief discussion of this concept, see Ikram 2003, pp. 23–31.

¹³⁶ *Ins.* 18/9.

the case of Greece, funerary preparations were not thought to play such a significant role in the post-mortem survival of the deceased.¹³⁷

Another instance of one body of proverbial material discussing a concept that did not exist in the culture of the other is found in proverb **G375**: ὁμοία πόρνη δάκρυ(α) καὶ ῥήτωρ ἔχει 'A prostitute and a rhetorician (or, advocate) shed the same kind of tears',¹³⁸ which implies that one should mistrust the rhetorician / advocate who gets emotional, as he is a professional and his job is to make people think that what he says is good. This concept of a public speaker (ῥήτωρ) is central to the culture of classical Greece, while it is absent from any phase of Egyptian culture.

Such thematic differences resemble those which involve the use of different images / metaphors, since both seem to imply the existence of a particular, nation-limited, cultural reservoir that was not available to an audience in another culture. Similarly, drawing an example from the corpora of modern paroemiology, the modern Arabic proverb 'The Arab nomad knows the path to the water'¹³⁹ would not be popular among peoples that do not identify with or know about Bedouins and desert culture. Such cases are rare in the world of modern proverbs, however, as nowadays there is much more communication between cultures, associated with and enhanced by a high degree of multilingualism, resulting in an intensive exchange of ideas, imagery, and even whole proverbs. This was probably not the case with the ancient Egyptian and Greek cultures examined here, and so proverbial material retained a more distinctive national character. Such cases reveal the heart of a conflict, since the two cultures' proverbs seem both to touch on similar general matters, proving the universality of this form of literary expression, and to make use of different themes that are restricted to one culture, proving, in this way, the distinctive national character of this literary material.

¹³⁷ Compare the overviews of ancient Egyptian and Greek funerary ideas and practices found in Quirke 1992, pp. 141–144 and Burkert 1996, pp. 190–194 respectively.

¹³⁸ Men. Mon. 584.

¹³⁹ Basha 1986, no. 1877. In Arabic the proverb reads: العرب الرحالة تعرف طريق المياه.

11. *Comparison of Demotic and Greek Proverbs with
Regard to their Versification, Use of Stylistic Devices, Tone, Vocabulary,
Meaning, Semantic Parallels, and Thematic Typology*

Firstly, in general the use of metre in demotic proverbs still remains a matter for further investigation, while in the case of Greek proverbs in verse, it appears to affect the structure of each proverb greatly, as well as influencing its relationship with other proverbs in the relevant collection.

Secondly, the demotic and Greek proverbs studied show a number of similarities concerning their use of stylistic devices. As shown in VI.3, they employ a similar type of imagery that involves the use of metaphors to convey proverbial messages. In the Greek material, on the one hand, all proverbs with metaphors refer to something meant in a literal sense that is equated or associated with the metaphor. In the demotic material, on the other hand, there are instances where metaphors are used independently without a reference to a literal association or equation that would help the audience to interpret the metaphor. In general, in both types of material, metaphors are preferred to similes.

Thirdly, a great number of figures of speech are employed, contributing to the organization of material as well as to the structure of each proverb. Such figures could have been used as mnemonic devices in both types of material, suggesting an oral use and transmission for such material. The same preference for the use of such figures applies to modern proverbs; this is the case, for example, with the German 'Eintracht ernährt, Zwietracht verzehrt',¹⁴⁰ where the nominal and verbal antonyms are parallel in addition to the apparent application of rhyme to the two parts of the proverb. Finally, the common use of figures of speech in these proverbs could be a sign of high literariness, a feature that grants both the demotic and the Greek proverb a significant position at the heart of Egyptian and Greek literary productions.

Finally, although the majority of the demotic and Greek proverbs investigated convey messages in a serious, authoritative tone, signs of irony and humour can often be identified, closely linked to the use of metaphors and other figures.

¹⁴⁰ Gluski 1971, no. 41.2.

With regard to the vocabulary employed in the proverbs examined, as pieces of didactic material that concentrate on moral issues, both demotic and Greek proverbs share a common preference for employing ethical terms. In both bodies of text, these take the form of nominal forms describing or alluding to aspects of human nature. Such terms are often used in modern proverbial examples too. This is the case, for instance, with the English proverb 'To err is human',¹⁴¹ where the sense of 'erring' can be employed with ethical connotations.

Regardless of the similarities observed in the form and meaning of demotic and Greek ethical terms, demotic and Greek proverbs can be difficult to understand owing both to the use of words that are obscure to those who do not share the cultural background of the ancient author and audience, and/or to metaphorical uses of familiar words. In both cases and in both the demotic and Greek material, this difficulty can be overcome, at least partially, by the study of the form of proverbs and their surrounding material. The usefulness of the latter, however, is limited, as only in some exceptional Greek examples whose original source can be identified does the original literary context offer some aid. As is shown above, even this can be misleading, since the status of the material changes to a certain extent after it enters a proverb collection.

Based on the study of the form of modern proverbs, one could take the French proverb 'Tout est faillible'¹⁴² as an example meant literally and the Italian proverb 'Chi guarda ad ogni nuvola, non fa mai viaggio'¹⁴³ as an example meant metaphorically (meaning, if one pays too much attention to small difficulties, one will never be able to proceed with a plan). In the case of the former, its literal message can apply under all circumstances (suggested by the use of 'tout'), while, in the case of the latter, its message must be interpreted metaphorically to win a wide, semantic applicability. An example of how the textual context of a proverb can help us to understand it is the French proverb 'Il est impossible d'aimer une seconde fois ce qu'on a véritablement cessé d'aimer', which is found in the collection of maxims of the seventeenth-

¹⁴¹ Gluski 1971, no. 47.29.

¹⁴² Gluski 1971, no. 47.29.

¹⁴³ Gluski 1971, no. 21.8. The reader should be reminded here, however, that whether a modern proverb is meant literally or metaphorically depends very much on the context in which it is used.

century French author François de la Rochefoucauld.¹⁴⁴ In this case, given that the majority of the sayings in the collection are literal observations on life, one would not doubt that within this collection such a saying was intended literally.

Proverbs that convey the same message occur in both the demotic and Greek collections. Some are found in the same collection, some are found in different collections of the same corpus, and, finally, some rare ones are found in the different corpora. The first two groups include instances of proverbs sharing linguistic features while the last group does not.

The first group may imply that the collections, within which parallel examples of this type occur, consist of material drawn from different sources which contain similar proverbs. The second type suggests connections between the collections in which parallel instances of this type are identified. In other words, it suggests that the collections in question shared common sources from which they drew the proverbial material or borrowed proverbs from each other.

The last group comprises too small a number of examples to suggest with any confidence a possible connection between an Egyptian and a Greek collection/proverbial tradition. Only if these rare examples are considered side by side with the other examples identified by Lichtheim, including proverbs from Greek collections that are not examined here, can Lichtheim's overall assumption that the two bodies of proverbial material were somehow in contact be supported.

In addition, several of the collections include examples of contradictory proverbs, a feature that points to corpora of modern proverbs and their aim of making themselves available for usage under different circumstances.

Finally, with regard to the themes of the proverbs analyzed, both bodies of text include general themes that are discussed by proverbs of the statement and the instructional type. In some demotic and Greek collections, themes may occur only in proverbial statements, but themes occurring only in admonitions are found exclusively in the demotic collections, the latter being a sign of the strong tendency of the demotic material to discuss practical matters.

In general, the study so far has focused on the individual character of demotic and Greek proverbs and has examined their form, style, and

¹⁴⁴ For this collection, see Lafond 1998, and for the maxim quoted, see Lafond 1998, p. 109—réflexion morale no. 286.

messages. In addition, some words must be said about the relationship of these proverbs to their collections, since it is to these collections that the proverbs owe their “free-from-context” status. Thus the next chapter will discuss briefly the nature of this relationship, and especially the way in which the proverbs’ features are associated with their manner of presentation in these collections.

CHAPTER VII

THE PROVERBS AND THEIR COLLECTIONS

1. *Introductory Remarks*

As shown in the course of the preceding analysis, the demotic and Greek sentences examined function as proverbs without the help of any kind of context (ranging from the adjacent sentences to the features of the collections including them), and so they have been repeatedly called “freestanding” and “uncontextualized” sentences. However, in spite of their major formal, stylistic, and semantic independence, these proverbs are integral parts of collections and therefore, to some degree, they are related to the features of these collections.

These features constitute what I call here the “frame” of the proverbs. This term is preferred here to “context”, as the latter is mainly a term a literary critic or a historian would use to denote the historical profile of a text, an issue that, as mentioned in the introduction, does not concern this study. A *frame*, in this case, consists of a collection’s claims about its authorship, audience, and purpose, as well as of the manner in which a collection chooses to present its proverbial material. In the case of *The Instruction of P Insinger*, for instance, the frame involves the following features: a) the mention of *P3-hb* son of *D-Hr-p3-“n* probably as its author or commissioner (line 35/14); b) the use of the word *sb3.t* ‘teaching’ as a name for its chapters, perhaps implying a didactic purpose for its proverbs, and c) the thematic division of its proverbs into chapters. A corresponding example from the Greek corpus would be *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*, whose frame involves: a) mentioning Phocylides as its author (line 2); b) referring to the proverbs both as ‘thoughts that Phocylides, the wisest among men, reveals in accordance with the sacred decrees of God, as gifts of prosperity’ (lines 1–2) and as ‘the mysteries of righteousness’ that one should follow in order to have a good life (lines 229–230), perhaps signs of the didactic purpose of the proverbs, and c) grouping most of the proverbs together on the basis of their theme.

Thus the following four sections examine the way the frames of

the collections investigated treat and present the demotic and Greek proverbs and how that corresponds to the features of proverbial expression already observed in the course of the analysis.

2. *The Authorship of Demotic and Greek Proverbs*

As mentioned in the presentation of the corpus, most of the demotic and Greek collections investigated contain claims for their authorship. These claims involve one or more references to a single learned man who is supposed to be the author of the proverbs.¹ However, almost all scholars who have studied these collections have expressed their strong belief that these claims are pseudepigraphic.² The question that will concern us here is not whether these claims for authorship are true or false, but whether the inclusion of such claims in the collections, and consequently the assignment of the proverbs to a specific author, is related to the function of the sentences collected as proverbs.

Some of the authors to whom the proverbs were attributed were famous intellectuals in antiquity, while, in the case of others, there is no evidence for their fame. The first case includes only a few of the Greek wise men mentioned, like Menander in the *Menandri Monostichoi*, Iamblichus in *The Sayings of Philosophers* (line 92), or Phocylides in *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*.³ However, the names of other Greek sages,

¹ The name of the author of *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy* is mentioned more than once in the frame story (such as *Ankh.* 5/17), of *The Instruction of P. Insinger* in the colophon (35/14) (for this, see p. 27), of P. Louvre 2414 in the first line of the text, of the *Menandri Monostichoi*, *The Sentences of Sextus*, *The Sentences of Clitarchus*, and *The Sentences of Moschion* in the title, of *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides* in line 2, while, in *The Sayings of Philosophers*, the various authors of the collected proverbs are mentioned in lines 32, 45, 73, 92, 98, 109, 111, 113, 117, and 119. In the rest of the works their author is not mentioned. For the authorship of the demotic collections, see Tait 1992, while for the authorship of Egyptian works of literature in general, see Derchain 1996.

² See, for instance, the observation of Williams on the Egyptian works of wisdom that, although anonymity was the rule in the ancient Egyptian literature, such writings were exceptional, since they were often ascribed to famous sages for the sake of lending authority to their sayings (1990, p. 24). Hence scholars have chosen to call *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides* "pseudo". The question of authorship in the case of these collections resembles the issue of authorship in other traditional or folkloric material, such as biblical works (cf. Alter 1992, pp. 2–4 and 153 ff.).

³ For Menander's fame, see Blanchard 1997; for the circulation of the maxims of Iamblichus, see O'Meara 1980, while for attestations of the name of Phocylides in ancient testimonia, see van der Horst 1978, pp. 60–62.

like Clitarchus or Moschion (as well as those of the sages mentioned in the demotic collections) are either not attested at all in ancient sources or, when attested, are not associated with a reputation as authors of wisdom material, and therefore we cannot determine whether they were famous figures in antiquity or not.

The assignment of the demotic and Greek proverbs to specific wise men probably aimed at establishing a “superior-inferior” relationship between the addresser and the addressee of the proverbs. The superior, in this case, was the wise man who had knowledge to convey. In some of the demotic collections, the superior addresser was identified with a father who is instructing his son. The establishment of such a relationship is a literary device that enhances the authority and prestige of the proverbs, the first of which is an integral element of the way the proverbs convey their messages.

The construction of such a relationship probably made the proverbial observations sound more reliable and more important, winning the attention and trust of the audience. In addition, an eponymous authorship could have helped the collections and their proverbs to be more easily transmitted, establishing among their audiences a point of reference which was easy to remember and to employ. However, the style and messages of the proverbs do not seem (at least in the cases of the sages whose work and philosophy is known to modern scholarship) to be linked to the particular style of writing and philosophy of their claimed authors, and thus no idiosyncrasies in the style and contents of the proverbs can be associated with known characters.

Only *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy* appears to be, in some aspects, idiosyncratic in comparison to the other demotic instructions and can therefore be associated with the character of a specific author. Such signs of idiosyncrasy could be, for instance, Ankhsheshonqy’s misogynistic observations and his occasional sense of irony (for example, **D209**: ‘The teaching of a woman is (like) a sack (of) sand whose side is split open’ and **D207**: ‘Let your wife look at your property; do not trust her with it’ respectively), both being unique in demotic literature. However, all we know about Ankhsheshonqy comes from the introductory story, in which Ankhsheshonqy is portrayed as a sensible but unfortunate priest, and that is not enough to justify his particular style of writing. The claim of *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy* for a uniform authorship for its proverbs may agree with the few signs of idiosyncrasy in style and content, but such signs are not common enough to characterize all the proverbs of the instruction.

A higher degree of uniformity concerning the contents of proverbs is observed in *The Sentences of Sextus* and, in this case, the claim for uniform authorship agrees more with some features of the proverbs involved. However, the same uniformity does not apply to the style of writing since, for instance, some proverbs are short commands, while others are elaborate sentences (compare **G376**: μεγαλοψυχίαν ἄσκει ‘Exercise generosity’⁴ with **G333**: ‘You may see men who, in order to keep the rest of their bodies healthy, cut off their own limbs and throw them away; how much better (would it be to do this) for the sake of self-control?’). In the rest of the collections, there are no substantial signs of the uniformity that is suggested by their claims for authorship.

Along with the suggestion that the author of each of these collections was a single famous sage, it must also be noted that the claims for authorship always refer to a man. In the case of the demotic instructions involving the literary *topos* of a father instructing a son, the male author is shown to be addressing a male audience.

This “male dominance” implied in the frame of some demotic collections corresponds to a small number of exclusively “male” concerns occasionally communicated in demotic and Greek proverbs. Examples of such concerns are discussed in proverbs **D244**: ἴῃ n=k ἡm.t ἰw=k ἡ‘ rnp(.t) 20.t ἡpr n=k šr ἰw=k ἡl ‘Take a wife for yourself when you are twenty years old so that you may have a son (lit. that a son may happen for you) while you are young’ and **G377**: μηδ’ ἐπὶ σῇ ἀλόχῳ ἐγκύμονι χεῖρα βάλῃαι ‘Lay not your hand upon your wife, when she is pregnant’.⁵ In fact, among the proverbs examined there is not a single instance where what is said would have to be spoken by a woman,⁶ while the majority of the proverbs are “genderless” and could have been addressed by and to either a man or a woman.

Although in a collection of personal, wise observations (as these collections appeared to be), one would expect the *persona* of the author to be voiced in the first person pronouns, this is not the case in the

⁴ *Sext.* 120.

⁵ *Ankh.* 11/7 and *Ps.-Phoc.* 186. Concerning the latter, the male gender of the speaker and the audience is indicated throughout lines 175–206. In this passage, it is interesting to note that whenever a proverb observes something about a woman, it does it in the third person as a statement always mentioning the word ‘woman’ as a subject (such as *Ps.-Phoc.* 204), while the addressee of the imperatives is clearly an unmentioned male.

⁶ In contrast, for example, to the following Sumerian proverb: ‘My mouth makes me comparable with men’, where it seems, as Lambert first suggested, that it is a woman that speaks (noted in Harris 1990, p. 9 with n. 34).

demotic and Greek proverbs. In the limited number of examples where such pronouns are used,⁷ the first person seems to represent the every-man who can identify with the characters mentioned in the proverbs.⁸ In this way, the personal experience of the author, upon which the production of a proverb is based, becomes common experience, shared by all the members of the audience.⁹ Examples of the use of the first person singular pronoun are: **D245**: *hmy iw wn mtw=y iw wn mtw pzy=y sn wnm=y pzy=y iw bn-pw=y dm* ‘May I have something when my brother has something, so that I eat my own without having struggled (for it)!’ and **G378**: ἐλεεινότατόν μοι φαίνεται ἀτυχία φίλου ‘The saddest (thing) to me seems to be a misfortune of a friend’.¹⁰

The sense of shared experience is directly conveyed in the instances of the use of first person plural pronouns, as in proverbs **D246**: *p3 mwt im p3 nh rsy bwt-ir rh=n n pzy=f <sp>* ‘The death and the life (of) tomorrow, we do not know of its (or, their) <nature>’¹¹ and **G184**: ‘We cannot control the length of our life (lit. living is not because of us), while we can control whether we live properly (lit. living properly is because of us)’.

Therefore, in general, no voice of a specific author is present among the demotic and Greek proverbs studied, contradicting the claims made in the frame of most of the collections. In fact, all the proverbs needed for their function was a hint that they were products of a wise mind whose observations in matters of life were reliable enough for the reader to be eager to listen to them.

⁷ The frequency of use of such pronouns fluctuates from zero examples to a considerable number; instances of the first case are P Ashm. 1984.77 verso and *The Sentences of Clitarchus* and, of the second, *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy* (with 26 examples) and the *Menandri Monostichoi* (with 31 examples).

⁸ In the same way that ‘I’ represents every user in ‘I think therefore I am’, which nowadays functions as a popular proverb whose value does not depend on whether or not its user knows it was originally attributed to Descartes, or whether or not Descartes meant himself when using the first person pronoun.

⁹ See also what Lardinois (1995, p. 246 with note 41) has to say about the use of first person pronouns in indefinite statements.

¹⁰ *Ankh.* 10/16 and *Men. Mon.* 251.

¹¹ *Ins.* 17/6.

3. *The Audience of Demotic and Greek Proverbs*

Similarly with the case of authorship, references to an audience in the demotic and Greek collections seem to function as literary devices.¹² Most of them, such as the vocatives and the anonymous “you” of the proverbs of the instructional type, are found among the proverbs. It is only in *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy*, P Louvre 2414, and *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides* that such references are made within the frames of the collections.

In the first case, lines 4/20–21 mention that the material is meant to be read by all men who will get hold of this collection: ...*ī / n3 rmt.w nt īw=w gm n3 bld̄.w n3 hn.w stm n-īm=y n p3 gy n h̄r r tš nt īw P3-r' īr=f* ‘...O / people who will find the sherds (of) the jars, listen to me concerning the way (in which) Pre becomes angry against a land (lit. of anger against a land that Pre makes)!’. These lines follow a dramatic call to the god Pre to whom Ankhsheshonqy complains about the injustices that were committed against him (namely, lines 4/19–20). Therefore the address here could have been a literary device for dramatization, making the image of Ankhsheshonqy crying out about the injustices more vivid. In addition, as mentioned above, the proverbs of this collection are presented as teachings for Ankhsheshonqy’s son (lines 4/11–12, 4/17, and 5/19). This is a well-known literary *topos* of Egyptian instructions; the audience is identified with the son of the author, establishing the common “superior-inferior” relationship and granting the proverbs a didactic purpose.

The same applies to P Louvre 2414, where line 1/1 mentions that this is an instruction *P3-wr-dl* gave to his beloved son. If these pseudo-contexts created in the frame of demotic collections were to be taken as true statements, then most of the messages given in the proverbs would have to be read as constantly referring to the status of Ankhsheshonqy’s and *P3-wr-dl*’s sons. Although that would suit the few examples where exclusively “male” matters are discussed, the anonymity of most proverbs would be unexpected if the instruction was meant to address a specific person whose character the author knew very well.

In the case of *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*, the epilogue to the collection includes a second person plural verb form (ἐκτελέοιτε) that refers to the audience (line 230). Such a reference is as vague as the

¹² I should remind the reader at this point that the term “audience” is employed conventionally, stripped of any associations with oral transmission.

anonymous second person singular pronoun of the commands and admonitions of the collection and thus can only be taken as a literary device.

The vagueness of the references made in the frames of collections corresponds to that of those made in the proverbs. Thus the first person plural pronoun, which could have referred to both the author and the audience of the proverbs (as in the case of the aforementioned **D246** and **G184**) is never specified. These are the only instances where a wise speaker seems to equate himself with the audience, all being members of a human community concerned with the same human matters. In all other examples, the speaker implied takes the role of the distant observer and advisor.

As shown in several examples above, “you” could have been a male who shared the social and moral concerns of his male addresser, although, in most proverbs, the audience implied is as “genderless” as the voice of the speaker. Therefore the audience implied by the first person plural pronoun is not meant to be identified with a particular type of man or woman, with specific interests in life. On the contrary, it should be identified with any men or women who are reasonable enough to learn from these proverbs.

Moreover, in a few examples, vocatives are found to escort the proverbial statements or admonitions and they seem to address the audience directly. Such vocatives are found only in the *Menandri Monostichoi*, employing a general term that could apply to any human character. This is the case, for example, with **G98**: ‘Take thought for the good in all cases, friend’. Here the vocative seems to lighten up the tone of the piece of prudential advice, as it creates the sense of a wise author speaking out of care and friendly feelings for his audience.¹³

That the intended addressee is any person and not a specific type of audience is shown in two other examples where the vocative is ‘man’ (for example **G366**: ‘As you have been born mortal, man, do not think highly (of yourself)’).¹⁴ Finally, in another example, the vocative is not addressed to the audience, but rather acts as a poetic device that adds to the dramatic tone of the proverb; this is the case with the aforementioned **G42**: ‘O Zeus, better than anything is to be sensible’.

In conclusion, the few references to an audience made in the frames of collections correspond to those made in the proverbs themselves by

¹³ See also **G98**.

¹⁴ The other example is *Men. Mon.* 443.

means of the first person plural pronoun or vocatives. Both types of reference are vague and do not indicate a specified type of audience, agreeing, in this way, with the wide applicability of proverbial messages.

In some cases, scholars have suggested a possible targeted audience, such as the Jews of Alexandria for *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*.¹⁵ Such suggestions are always made on the basis of the contents of the collections, especially when they involve material showing signs of specific ideology (that is, of the Jewish religion in this example). Given, however, that the majority of such proverbs do not explicitly refer to specific rituals, or other particulars of a religion or a philosophical movement,¹⁶ they do not lose their potential to be used as more general pieces of wisdom, even by non-members of the assumed targeted audience. That this happened in antiquity is shown by the fact that these collections and their material circulated for long after their original composition and away from their original setting and purpose.¹⁷

4. *The Purpose of Demotic and Greek Proverbs*

Directly linked to the identity of an audience is the purpose of the demotic and Greek collections. As observed above in VI.4, close study of the proverbs and their messages shows that they have an apparent didactic tone, suggesting they were meant for teaching someone. This didactic value corresponds to occasional references to the collections (made in their frames) as “instructions”, as well as to comments that their purpose was to instruct.

In the case of the demotic body of material, such references are combined in the frame of *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy*. For instance, in *Ankh.* 5/16, the collection is called an “instruction” and, in *Ankh.*

¹⁵ Cf. van der Horst 1978, pp. 70–76.

¹⁶ Cf. Alster 1975, p. 12 and n. 8. A small number of such proverbs are found in *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*, such as the proverb in line 31: ‘Do not eat blood; abstain from food sacrificed to idols’, conveying an obviously anti-pagan feeling.

¹⁷ For example, classical material was reproduced by Byzantine collectors (as is the case with the *Menandri Monostichoï*) moving the proverbs mentioning Greek gods (such as **G42**) away from their originally targeted pagan audience, without depriving them of their value as pieces of wisdom. Such is the case even with some modern proverbs, like the Greek σὺν Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ χεῖρα κίνει ‘With the help of Athena move your hand too’ (that is, even if you have the support of a god, you must take the initiative and act), which, although originally a piece of ancient wisdom mentioning the goddess Athena (see *CPG* 1, pp. 157–158), is still widely used in modern Greece.

4/12, it is mentioned that Ankhsheshonqy writes the proverbs in order to instruct his son. The only other demotic collection in whose frame the text is called an “instruction” is P Louvre 2414 (in line 1/1).

In the rest of the demotic collections, references to the didactic value of their proverbs are made indirectly in the proverbs themselves through references to the value of education and the inclusion of a great number of proverbs of the instructional type. An example of the former is the eleventh chapter of *The Instruction of P Insinger* (lines 8/21–9/20) entitled ‘The teaching not to weary of instructing your son’. In addition, the same collection chooses to call its thematic divisions of proverbs “teachings”, a feature that could also reflect the instructive value of the material. Finally, examples of proverbs of the instructional type are found in large quantities in all the demotic collections,¹⁸ contributing to the construction of the image of a wise speaker instructing a less wise audience.

As regards the Greek collections, *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides* is the only collection that calls its proverbial material “gifts” offered by the wise Phocylides (line 2), presumably for the instruction of his audience.¹⁹ In the rest of the Greek collections, the only indication of their didactic value is their great number of proverbs of the instructional type together with frequent references to the value of teaching (as in **G12**: ‘Education for human beings (lit. mortals) is a possession that cannot be taken away’).

5. *The Organization of Demotic and Greek Proverbs in Collections*

All the demotic and Greek collections involve the use of organizational devices that group together proverbs on the basis of various criteria. The way the collections organize their proverbs reflects the way the collector viewed the proverbs and what s/he thought to be their most important features. By grouping together proverbs, the collector put an emphasis on some of their features and established relationships between two or more proverbs. The features emphasized in each case

¹⁸ So, for instance, in P Louvre 2414, out of the 42 proverbs only 10 are of the statement type.

¹⁹ Compare the first four lines of the fourteenth-century A.D. proverb collection / poetic instruction of Nicole Bozon that read in medieval French as follows: “Cher ami, receuez de moy / Un bel present ke vous envoy, / Nous pas de or ne de argent / Mes de bon enseignement” (Thorn 1921, p. 1).

became the basis for the groupings. Therefore, when an organizational device that is based upon morphological features is in use, for instance, the emphasis falls on one or more morphosyntactic constructions of a proverb, while, when the basis for the grouping is lexical, the emphasis falls on one or more words of a proverb. Accordingly, the single proverbs, which were grouped together, could: a) show morphological parallels; b) contain identical or related word(s); c) be linked through a common referent; d) discuss the same topic; e) start with the same letter, or f) be attributed to the same source. All these devices, except for the last, are based upon the linguistic features of the proverbs they bring together. Moreover, it should also be noted that these devices are more often combined rather than being employed alone.

The first type of organizational device is based upon the repetition of morphological units. Instances of proverbs brought together exclusively because of their morphological similarity (without, that is, involving even repetition of words) are rare and come only from the Greek collections. An example of this involves proverbs **G379**: ἀκολασίαν φεῦγε / εὐλογιστίαν ἄσκει 'Avoid licentiousness / Exercise circumspection',²⁰ both being short imperatives. Their exclusive appearance in the Greek material can be explained as a result of the fact that tense and mood construction in demotic is based solely upon the use of markers, such as the vetitive *m-ir* or the habitual *hr*, which are thus bound to be repeated, while, in Greek, such constructions do not depend on the use of markers, but are rather indicated in the various formations of grammatical units.

On the other hand, examples of morphological similarity with repetition of words as an organizational device are more common in both bodies of text. This can involve repetition of a single construction (such as **D247**: *mn iry sny w'.t=f / mn rmt rh gm zsy* 'No companion goes by alone / No wise man comes to grief'²¹ with a negative present tense clause and *mn* repeated, or **G123-124**: ἄρ' ἐστὶ θυμοῦ φάρμακον χρηστός λόγος; and ἄρ' ἐστὶ πάντων ἀγρυπνία καλλίστατον; with a present tense question and ἄρ' ἐστὶ repeated) or alternatively repetition of more than one construction combined with repetition of some words (for instance, **D248**: *m-ir f' bw-ir=w štm.t=k / m-ir hns bw-ir=w mst.t=k* 'Do not be greedy, lest you be scolded / Do not be stingy, lest you be

²⁰ *Sext.* 68–69. The repeated forms continue to line 71a.

²¹ *Ankh.* 21/6–7. The repeated forms stretch from line 21/5 to line 21/8.

hated'²² with the structural model 'vetitive + negative habitual' and *m-ir*, *bw-ir=w*, and *f.k* repeated). The combined use of these organizational devices may extend over more than two or three proverbs, building in this case a passage-like body of proverbs (for instance, the passage on the creator god in *The Instruction of P Insinger*, lines 31/23–32/17). Such passages, however, do not involve argumentation, but rather consist of a series of independent observations that add to (rather than justify or explain) one another's messages.

When similar constructions are combined with repetition of key-words (for the meaning of the proverb), a thematic similarity is likely to be present too (see more about the problems concerning this kind of similarity below). This is the case with proverbs **G380**: ὁ δεῖ ποιεῖν, ἐκὼν ποιεῖ / ὁ μὴ δεῖ ποιεῖν, μηδενὶ τρόπῳ ποιεῖ 'What (you) must do, do it willingly / What (you) must not do, do not do it ever (lit. in any manner)'²³ with the structural pattern 'anticipatory phrase + present imperative' and ὁ, δεῖ, ποιεῖν, and ποιεῖ repeated, and **D222**: *p3 nt iw=f d bn-iw=y rh šsp mr my wšd=f p3-R' / p3 nt iw=f d bn-iw=y rh ir t3 wpt my wšd=f p3-R'*, where most of the words and constructions are repeated. The Greek examples here discuss in what way one should perform what one should or should not do, and the demotic ones, whom one should allow to pray to Pre.

The second type involves repetition of the same word or group of words, or repetition of a semantically related word or group of words, placed either in the same or in a different position. In most of the collections, there are no instances of repetition of words that do not involve morphological and / or thematic similarities, the combinations of which are illustrated above. It is only in the case of the *Menandri Monostichoi* that repetition of words may stand as the sole organizational device in use. This involves the use of repeated words that may bear a slightly different meaning and which are found at the beginning of the grouped proverbs, since the material of this collection is mainly organized in alphabetical order. An instance of this is the group of proverbs in *Men. Mon.* 25–29, where the word in question is ἀνὴρ 'man', sometimes used alone with a generic meaning (in **G381**: ἀνδρὸς χαρακτήρ ἐκ λόγου γνωρίζεται 'The character of a man is known through (his) words')²⁴ and sometimes used with an adjectival qualifier to describe a type of

²² *Ankh.* 21/15–16.

²³ *Sext.* 388–389a.

²⁴ *Men. Mon.* 27.

human character (in **G382**: ἀνὴρ δὲ χρηστὸς χρηστὸν οὐ μισεῖ ποτε 'A good man never hates a good (man)'²⁵ and the rest of the proverbs in this group).

The third type of organizational device is used exclusively in the demotic material analyzed and involves the use of pronouns referring back to nominal terms found in preceding proverbs that occasionally play the same syntactic roles with the pronouns. This device is mostly employed in *The Instruction of P Insinger*.²⁶ This collection, as mentioned before, is a special case, because its author attempted to organize the material in thematically coherent teachings. Thus all its proverbs showing grammatical links are also directly or indirectly linked on a thematic basis. For example, in *Ins.* 34/4–12, the proverbs involve the constant use of the third person singular masculine suffix pronoun, which refers to “retaliation”, a notion mentioned not only in the proverb preceding this group (that is, *Ins.* 34/3), but also in the title of the teaching (*Ins.* 33/7). Within this group, proverbs **D249**: *ἴρ=f pḥ r 'w,y ἴw p3 šy wḥ3 ἴr bl ḥ.t=f / ἴρ=f pḥ r mḥw.t ἴw=f ḥ3' n3 sn.w ἴw=w ddy* ‘When it reaches a house, the fate will seek to escape from it / When it reaches a family, it will leave the brothers as (lit. while they are) enemies’,²⁷ for example, also involve morphological and lexical similarities (that is, with the structural pattern ‘conditional + future indicative’ and *ἴr=f pḥ r* and *ἴw* repeated).

In the case of *The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy*, such an organizational device is less common,²⁸ but when it is used, it is most often accompanied by a thematic similarity. An instance of this is found in proverbs **D250**: *my pḥ=f r t3y=f ḥw.t nḥe / p3 nt ἴw=f ἵy m-s3=f ἴw=f tḥ 'nḥ=k* ‘Let him reach his house (of) eternity / The one who comes after him, he will support you (lit. cause that you live)’,²⁹ where the third person singular pronoun refers to ‘the man with whom you have grown up and are faring well’, mentioned in **D11**, and the theme is that of how one should treat such a man.

²⁵ Men. *Mon.* 29.

²⁶ In this work, there are 52 examples of the use of this organizational device, consisting of 64 single proverbs. For the use of this organizational device in *The Instruction of P Insinger*, see Lichtheim 1979, p. 289.

²⁷ *Ins.* 34/6–7.

²⁸ In this collection, 9 examples of its use are identified, consisting of 19 single proverbs. Such an organizational device is also employed in P Louvre 2414, in 4 instances.

²⁹ *Ankh.* 17/19–20.

Close to this grammatical device of bringing together proverbs that show linguistic similarities is the bond created in demotic proverbs through the use of the adverb 'n 'also/too'. This is found only in *The Instruction of P Insinger*, where it is used in eleven examples, each consisting of two single proverbs tied together.³⁰ An example of its use is found in **D214**: *hr tw p3 ntr rnm.t hn wtb iw mn iw / hr tw=f hpr šft.t 'n hn swet iw mn ht*, in which, besides 'n, the two proverbs are also linked morphologically (habituals), through a common referent (*f* referring to *p3 ntr*), lexically (*hr tw*), and thematically (the god giving and taking wealth as he pleases, his actions being unpredictable or unexplainable).

As regards the fourth type of organizational device, as noted above in VI.9, determining a theme is a difficult task, as it depends to a great extent on the interpretation of the ancient material. Thus the analysis of a thematic link between proverbs varies from one scholar to another.³¹

As seen, most examples of thematic organization also involve morphological, lexical, and / or grammatical similarities. In demotic, this is the case with all examples of thematic grouping, except for the case of *The Instruction of P Insinger* where, because the organization in teachings is mainly thematic, almost every proverb can be interpreted as being directly or indirectly linked to the main theme of the teaching including it, regardless of whether it shares linguistic features with other proverbs of the same teaching or not.

There are instances, however, where such a link between the main theme of a teaching in P Insinger and an individual proverb seems (at least to the modern reader who cannot be confident about his/her interpretations of the ancient material) to be weak and doubtful. An example of such a case is proverb **D251**: *ybz.t rmt rh rmt-ntr iw=s hne r p3 mwt hr nhf=s p3y=s nb n-im=s* 'A sickness (of) a wise man and a man of god, when it is close to death, it strengthens its victim (lit. master) through it'.³² Here there is a linguistic link between this proverb and the preceding two: **D252**: *wpt sbk.t hr'z.t sbk.t n3-'n=f r sy iw=k ww / wpt n lh r-tbe he.t=f kty m-s3 p3 mwt n kns* 'A lowly occupation and lowly food, they are better than being sated when you are away / The occupation of one who is foolish about his belly (lit. a fool because of his belly) is roaming

³⁰ Cf. Lichtheim 1979, pp. 289–290.

³¹ Some scholars, such as D. Agut-Labordère (2003), attempt to bring together proverbs that others have not.

³² *Ins.* 28/3.

after a violent death',³³ as *p3 mwt* 'death' is repeated in *Ins.* 28/2–3, while there also appears to be a wordplay with *wpt* 'occupation / work' and *ybz.t* 'sickness', in addition to a contrast between the fool and the wise and the godly man. However, although the first two proverbs may be connected to the theme of the teaching, which is determined by the title 'The teaching of not abandoning the place, in which you can live',³⁴ since they refer to 'being away' and 'roaming' (two key-terms for this teaching), the thematic link of the proverb in question with the theme of the teaching is doubtful. In other words, this proverb seems to be connected to the preceding proverb rather than to its framing teaching. Does this, however, mean that the two thematically linked proverbs form a couplet or that the collector did not choose the appropriate proverb here? These questions cannot be answered with certainty in the present state of our knowledge, as a modern reader cannot be certain about the intentions of the ancient collector.

Finally, the last two types of organizational device are not concerned with the language of the proverbs they group together. These are used only in two Greek collections, the *Menandri Monostichoi* and *The Sayings of Philosophers*. The former, as mentioned above, organizes its material alphabetically,³⁵ while the latter organizes the majority of its proverbs by attributing them to various famous Greek wise men like Menander, Sextus, or Isocrates. Only the first 31 lines are not attributed to any sage. Because of this non-linguistic type of organization, all other types of link in the two collections are rare and presumably unintentional.

In general, whenever the demotic and Greek proverbs analyzed are grouped together in these collections, they do not become parts of argumentation and thus do not lose their status as freestanding, single proverbs. Such groupings only place an emphasis on some of the features of a proverb. Regardless of what the collector thought of as important in the proverbs and the emphasis s/he placed on some of their features, the proverbs retained the potential for multiple usage and applicability. The emphasis that was laid through the organizational devices probably had only a temporary value, as it was based on the one-sided reading of the collector. For example, in *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*, the collector seems to make "the pitiful attitude

³³ *Ins.* 28/1–2.

³⁴ *Ins.* 27/23.

³⁵ See the comments of Morgan (1998, p. 124 with n. 16) on the alphabetization of the *Menandri Monostichoi*, which she bases on the study of Daly 1967.

towards the unfortunate man” the thematic focus of proverb **G296**: ‘Be merciful to shipwrecked men, because a voyage is unpredictable’. This is suggested by the adjacent proverbs, all of which advise on the way one should treat unfortunate people (for example, **G383**: ἀστεγον εἰς οἶκον δέξαι καὶ τυφλὸν ὁδηγήει ‘Receive a homeless (man) in (your) house and lead a blind (man)’).³⁶ The proverb itself, however, could be used in another context to discuss the unpredictability of a sea voyage, with the thematic focus falling onto the second clause rather than the first one. Given that there is no argument involved in the association of this proverb with the adjacent ones, the choice of how to read a proverb is solely in the hands of its reader and potential user.

In conclusion, the way a collection organizes its material derives from those features of the proverbs that the collector thinks are important enough to be employed as a basis for a grouping. This may build temporary associations between proverbs and, in this way, it suggests one of the many possible readings and uses of the proverbs. In other words, the collector is simply a user of the material with the privilege to intervene and make changes to fit the organizational scheme in use.

6. *Comparison of Demotic and Greek Proverbs with Regard to the Authorship, Audience, Purpose, and Organization in their Collections*

The authorship, audience, and purpose mentioned in the frames of demotic collections revolve around the Egyptian literary *topos* of a father instructing his son. This is found in two of the collections investigated, while, in the rest, either no such claims are made (as in P Louvre 2377), or only an ambiguous claim for authorship is made (that is, in the last section of *The Instruction of P Insinger*).

In the case of the Greek collections, there is more diversity in the claims made in their frames. In most of the collections, as in the *Menandri Monostichoi* and *The Sentences of Sextus*, the name of a single wise man is associated as the author of their proverbs. In *The Sayings of Philosophers*, different groups of proverbs are attributed to different authors. Finally, in *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*, there are claims not only for the proverbs’ authorship, but also for their audience and purpose.

³⁶ *Ps.-Phoc.* 24.

In both bodies of text, the claims made function as literary devices, corresponding to elements of proverbial expression, such as an authoritative tone or an unspecified audience. The only aspect of the claims made in the frames of most of the demotic and Greek collections which does not correspond to such elements is the specified, uniform authorship. In none of the collections can any features of the proverbs be used with confidence as evidence for a single specific character behind their production.

Finally, as regards the organization of the proverbs in their collections, both the demotic and Greek proverbs are found to be most commonly grouped on the basis of a combination of shared morphological units, words, and themes. Examples of rare groupings based upon the exclusive use of one of the organizational devices observed are: repetition of words only in the *Menandri Monostichoi*; link through a common referent only in the demotic collections; thematic link in *The Instruction of P Insinger* and *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*, and organization solely on the basis of alphabetical order and source in the *Menandri Monostichoi* and *The Sayings of Philosophers* respectively. In both bodies of text, such groupings involve a much smaller number of examples than the ungrouped, freestanding, single proverbs.

Overall, the study of the frames of the proverbs examined stresses the significance of some of the proverbial features identified and described in the course of the preceding analysis. Thus, firstly, the claims for authorship stress the proverbs' need for authoritative tone so as to appear as reliable sources of advice. Secondly, the claimed didactic purpose stresses the proverbs' didactic tone and interest in instructing their audience. Thirdly, the unspecified audience, which adopted the role of the student of the wise man teaching in proverbs, stresses the wide applicability of the proverbs' messages, which taught the everyman. Finally, the attempts at organization stress the proverbs' flexibility and adaptability, since those that were grouped together managed to adapt to the thematic focus of their group without having surrendered their value as individual pieces of wisdom. In general, the way in which proverbs reacted when they were brought into the demotic and Greek collections is a sample of the proverbs' great potential for use in a multitude of contexts.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY OF SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN EGYPTIAN AND GREEK PROVERBS AND CONCLUSIONS

In general, this study shows that the relationship between the ancient Egyptian and Greek bodies of text examined involves a network of points of similarity and difference that touch on various aspects of the language employed. At the end of each of the preceding sections, such points were drawn together, each time sketching a small or a large part of the whole. Now it is time to combine all these points and let the full face of the relationship between these two bodies of wisdom material show itself.

Starting from the analysis of structural patterns, it has been observed that, in both bodies of text, monopartite and bipartite proverbs are equally common. Furthermore, it has been shown that all three structural types of demotic and Greek proverb consist of a multitude of combinations of constructions and clauses. Some of these structural models are common to both bodies of material, while others are unique to one of them. Such similarities and differences result mainly from the linguistic potential, and the rules, of the grammar and syntax of each body of works. Thus, on the one hand, demotic proverbs include, for instance, examples of “second present” (see **dmB**, **dbB**, and **dbL**), a construction that does not exist in Greek. On the other hand, Greek proverbs include, for instance, examples of the use of the verb ‘to be’ in the imperative (see **gmC** and **gmD**), a form that does not exist in demotic. Although the differences with regard to the types of constructions employed are numerous, by skimming through appendix B, it is possible to identify some similar structural models, such as **dmF** and **gmC-D**, or **dmI** and **gmF**.

Regardless of the structural differences between the Egyptian and the Greek proverbs or of whether they are proverbs of the statement or the instructional type, all three forms of Egyptian and Greek proverbial expression preserve a basic binary structure that resembles a conditional and revolves around the coupling of what I have called a *condition* and a *main message* (see V.10). The latter is more important in conveying

the message of the proverb and therefore, in contrast to the *condition*, it is never omitted in the examples examined, even in the very elliptical ones.

The extensive typology this analysis has produced is intended as a basic guide for the structural examination of any Egyptian or Greek proverbs. Its range of applicability is, of course, restricted by the limitations of the corpus selected for analysis (as well as of the idiosyncrasies of the form of Egyptian and Greek in which the proverbs were written). Thus, as is the case with most typologies of this sort, the bigger the corpus examined the greater the variety of types and sub-types identified. In general, the diversity of constructions and forms attested in the various Egyptian and Greek structural models gives an idea of the extent to which the producers of proverbs used the grammatical and syntactic resources of the language in which they were writing, in an attempt to express as many types of logico-semantic relationship as possible within the limited space a single proverb offered.

Turning away from structure, in the chapter on style and meaning, the only point of comparison that did not produce results was that of versification, since metrical patterns cannot be identified in the Egyptian material examined due to the lack of adequate theoretical work in the area. However, the study of figures of thought and speech has shown similar trends with respect to their use and function in the Egyptian and Greek proverbs. Figures of speech that are found in both bodies of text can be taken as signs of orality. Through the extensive use of figures of thought, like the metaphor, the simile, and personification, the language of the Egyptian and Greek proverbs became vivid, full of imagery, and probably also memorable.

Although the Egyptian and Greek proverbs are similar in their use of such figures, the imagery lying at the heart of the metaphors and similes employed exhibits a number of differences, because the imagery draws upon various cultural traditions. As the few examples of modern proverbs used as illustrations in the course of the analysis showed, such differences can also be found in different modern proverb corpora, despite the highly developed communication and interaction between modern cultures.

Differences like those involving imagery do not apply to the tone or the vocabulary of the proverbs (although each corpus includes examples of terminology that did not exist in the language and culture of the other, as shown in VI.10). The same variation in tone and vocabulary is observed in both bodies of proverbial material and, in both cases, the

majority convey their messages in the same serious, didactic tone, with occasional passages of humour and irony, all commonly involving the use of metaphorical or literal terms with ethical connotations.

The study has also examined the way these proverbs convey a wisdom message that was probably designed to appeal to a wide audience. The main difficulty in this case is associated with whether one interprets a proverb literally or metaphorically. An aid for this, in both the Egyptian and Greek proverbs investigated, comes from the study of the form and the surrounding material. The first relates a proverb to the general generic features of proverbial expression, among which the most important, in this case, is its wide applicability, and the second to the collection containing it, and especially its general preference for either metaphorical or literal messages.

After establishing the rules for understanding the message of ancient Egyptian and Greek proverbs, the study continued with a discussion of various examples of semantic parallels and types of theme chosen by the ancient writers as befitting their proverbs. In contrast to the small number of semantic parallels between the two bodies of wisdom material, the majority of themes are common to both demotic and Greek proverb collections, showing that the ancient proverbs, as much as the modern examples mentioned above, prefer to discuss universal matters of human interest. The few differences in theme are due to cultural differences, very much resembling the case of metaphors mentioned above. In any case, it has been shown that a one-sided study of proverbs based solely upon their themes would only lead to weak conclusions that would depend to a great extent on the personal interpretation of the proverbial messages; even with modern proverbs this is a difficult task, prone to producing unreliable results.

Next, the relationship between the ancient Egyptian and Greek proverbs and their collections was analyzed. Firstly, the claims made in the frames of the collections with regard to the authorship, audience, and purpose of the Egyptian and Greek proverbs were examined. Regardless of how elaborate such claims were in the Egyptian and Greek collections, the independent nature and function of the proverbs did not leave them space to affect the proverbs. Therefore all such claims functioned solely as literary devices, binding together different units of the collection and modelling its profile. The same applies to proverbs used nowadays, as they always appear to be sentences that, although they can fit a multitude of contexts of usage and can be assembled in different collections, retain their original proverbial value.

Following this, the organization of these proverbs in their collections was studied. Attempts to organize the proverbial material in collections resulted in establishing associations between proverbs of the same collection, which, when they were based on theme, showed the way the collector interpreted their messages. In other cases, when proverbs were organized on the basis of morphological or other linguistic features, their style of organization revealed what the collector thought to be significant in the language of these proverbs.

In general, with regard to the issues approached in the seventh chapter, the Egyptian and Greek texts share most of the features identified. In both cases, the relationship between the proverbs and their collections revolves around the task of the collector in “taming” the single proverbs and their uncontextualized nature and stringing them together to form a collection.

In short, the only differences observed between the two bodies of proverbial material are minor ones and concern mainly the combination of morphosyntactic constructions, the types of imagery, some vocabulary, and some minor themes. All these differences are based on the fact that the two groups of works compared made use of different resources, linked to different cultural referents. Therefore, as noted in VI.10, the comparison between Egyptian and Greek proverbs undertaken in this study suggests a balance between common general features that indicate a common status for both bodies of proverbial material, and a number of minor points of difference that throw in pigments of distinctive cultural character. Put simply, the ancient Egyptian and Greek producers of the proverbial wisdom studied here seem to have chosen to use a form of expression common to their cultures, following its rules and challenges, but also making use of the space and liberties it offered for adding pieces of their own cultural experience.

In general, I do not believe that the structural similarities identified could have been products of direct inter-cultural communication for the following reasons: firstly, the fact that most of the forms of proverbial expression employed at this stage also existed in the Egyptian and Greek literatures produced in the era before the Hellenistic and Roman period; secondly, the absence of any interest in the other’s grammar and syntax (since, even in the case of translations, examples of which are mentioned in III.2, no demotic grammatical constructions found their way into Greek writing and vice versa), and, thirdly, the absence of any major direct translations from each other’s body of proverbs. Thus the comparison of the proverbs in these collections has shown

that the producers of proverbs did not step out of the limits of their native grammar and syntax in order to adopt one another's structural peculiarities, as was the case, for example, with the faithful translation of the Semitic works of the Bible into Greek.

Theoretically speaking, the scholar who attempts to compare such bodies of common, transcultural, literary material must be aware of the different areas (such as the form, the grammar, the stylistics, etc.) in which similarities and differences may be identified. In each of these areas, the results of the comparison may be explained in different ways, leading to different conclusions about the status of the inter-cultural contact involved.¹

Such variety in the types of relationship is evident in the bodies of proverbial material I have studied. Specifically, the high degree of similarity observed among the themes of the Egyptian and Greek proverbs, or even with regard to their binary type of structure, seems to point towards a common ground not only in literary expression, but also in human logic and concerns. In other words, such types of similarity depict proverb production as a common phenomenon of human societies. On the other hand, similarity in the type and use of metaphors, and of the association between an image and a characteristic of humanity (as with **D37** and **G368**, touching upon the common association between a lioness and woman's cruelty) may be explained as the result of a common manner of experiencing the Mediterranean scenery and of relating it to human action and its ethics. Finally, similarities in the manner of presenting, and maybe also of using, this common sort of literary material, such as the similar, loose form of the Egyptian and Greek collections examined, may be the result of a general inter-cultural influence and exchange that could have happened in this or an earlier historical point of contact between these two literary traditions.

In conclusion, comments such as "the Egyptian material was influenced by the Greek proverbs" or "the Greek writers copied their Egyptian colleagues" cannot reflect the actual complexity of the problem. With this in mind, I must express once again my opinion that, given the cultural traditions thriving in Egypt and Greece of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the contemporary circulating collections of proverbs seem to have been inter-influenced only with regard to the

¹ Compare the discussion in Mondì 1990 (especially on pp. 141–157) about the contact between Greek and Near Eastern mythologies.

form of constructing the collections. However, the form, theme, and style of the proverbs produced in the two cultures probably followed parallel routes of development whose boundaries were set long before this period. Contact could have been developed between the two bodies of proverbial material, but there are no striking signs of original ideas exchanged among the examples of the common proverbial form of expression employed. Whether the preference for using a common proverbial form was the result of Egyptian writers imitating Greek works, or vice versa, is a question that needs further consideration. I believe that the similarities or differences identified in the course of this study are not conclusive in this respect and further work must be done, expanding the corpus for analysis and drawing material from more sources of Greek proverbs.

But what is this common form of expression? As we have seen in the course of this study, "this common form" actually consists of a multitude of variants and sub-types, whose distinction depends on the point of view from which one approaches them. Therefore, by focusing on their morphology and grammar, one ends up talking about short mono-, bi-, and multipartite proverbs employing the verb 'to be', other verbs, or nominal constructions. By focusing on their style, one ends up seeing pithy statements and authoritative precepts. Finally, by focusing on their meaning and theme, one ends up classifying them as general and specific or theoretical and practical observations. This list of different typological divisions could go on and suggests that from each standpoint from which one chooses to look at these sentences, a different face is seen.

The same problem of definition applies to modern proverbs. The modern proverbs quoted in this study are but few among a multitude that could be brought forth in each case to parallel the features of the ancient proverbs observed in the corpora of modern paroemiology. These widespread parallels suggest that there exist a number of similarities on many levels between the ancient proverbs studied and their modern counterparts. But there is one principal difference between the ancient and modern material: the association of the latter with an oral performative context, which does not survive for the ancient proverbs. However, this active modern context, which constantly evolves within the ever-changing world of social dynamics, seems to be the main source of confusion in defining this form of expression. While a scholar is striving to put in writing what s/he thinks a proverb is, at the same moment a multitude of proverbs and similar types of expression travel

from mouth to mouth taking on new forms or abandoning old ones. Thus, while modern paroemiology is fortunate in having access to such a type of context, it is also doomed to fail to communicate the “incommunicable”, as the famous paroemiologist A. Taylor first remarked, referring to one of the main features of proverbs and their study.²

In order to avoid this dead end, which modern paroemiology has long since reached, the student of ancient proverbs should respect the choice of the ancient collectors to put together a variety of types of wisdom material. This choice is nothing other than what the ancient collector saw, looking from his chosen vantage point at the many faces of this form of expression. Therefore, in the case of the ancient Egyptian and Greek collections, whose sentences I have chosen to call conventionally “proverbs” and to analyze, what their collector saw was a short sentence that was formed on the basis of structural formulae, that was pregnant in imagery and literary figures, and that conveyed a general observation about life and its moral principles.

² 1931, p. 3.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF PROVERBS OMITTED FROM THE ANALYSIS

This is a list of the sentences that are omitted from the analysis for the reasons that are mentioned in II.1.

P Louvre 2414 recto: 1/1, 1/5, 3/1, 3/13, 3/14. Total: 5 lines

P Louvre 2377 verso: 4, 5, 6, 10. Total: 4 lines

P BM 10508 recto: columns 1-5, 7/1, 8/1, 9/1, 10/1-2, 11/1-2, 12/1-2, 13/1-2, 14/1-2, 15/1-4, 16/1-2, 17/1-2, 18/1-3, 19/1-3, 20/1-3, 21/1-3, 22/1-4, 23/1-3, 23/5, 24/1-5, 24/9, 24/13-17, 25/1-5, 25/8, 25/16, 25/23-24, 26/1-3, 26/15-16, 26/19-23, 27/1-6, 27/8-9, 27/11-12, 27/15-23, 28/1-3, 28/5-6, 28/8-9. Total: 301 lines

P Insinger: column 1, 2/1-5, 2/13-18, 2/21-25, 6/10, 7/24, 8/1, 9/12, 10/1, 17/22-18/3, 20/16, 27/5, 34/5, 35/2-15. Total: 62 lines

P Ashm. 1984.77 verso: 1/1-9, 1/12, 2/1-3, 2/11, 3/1-5, 3/7-10, 4/1-8. Total: 31 lines

Menandri Monostichoi: 37-38, 39-40, 42-43, 57-58, 79-80, 86-87, 243-244, 398-399, 642-643, 769-770, 869-870. Total: 22 lines

The Sentences of Moschion: 2, 5. Total: 2 proverbs

The Sentences of Clitarchus: 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 28, 30, 32, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 53, 85, 107, 110, 112, 113, 120, 124, 127, 143, 144. Total: 30 proverbs

The Sentences of Sextus: 28, 64-65, 162a-b, 373-374. Total: 7 proverbs

The Sayings of Philosophers: 1-3, 28-31, 49-50. Total: 9 lines

APPENDIX B

LIST OF STRUCTURAL MODELS WITH FURTHER EXAMPLES

This is a list of the structural models analyzed in chapters IV and V. For each of the models some further examples of proverbs that have not been quoted in the analysis are given. Note, however, that in some models, such as dmJ and gmG, all examples identified are given in the analysis and thus there is no need to be mentioned here too.

- dmA demotic monopartite proverbs with a habitual: *Ankh.* 9/17, 17/13, 19/9;
Ins. 4/13, 4/14, 23/8
- dmB demotic monopartite proverbs with a second present: *Ankh.* 11/20,
19/22, 20/6; *Ins.* 3/17, 4/17, 5/9; *P 2414* 1/2
- dmC demotic monopartite proverbs with an existence clause or a present
sgm=f: *Ankh.* 15/6, 19/7, 19/17; *Ins.* 14/6, 24/11
- dmD demotic monopartite proverbs with an adjective-verb or an adjectival
predicate: *Ankh.* 12/8, 18/5, 20/9; *Ins.* 2/8, 3/21, 9/15, 18/17
- dmE demotic monopartite proverbs with an adverbial predicate: *Ankh.* 11/13,
19/16, 25/14
- dmF demotic monopartite proverbs with an imperative or a vetitive: *Ankh.*
17/12, 17/15, 17/19; *Ins.* 3/1, 3/2; *P Ashm.* 2/4, 2/5, 2/9; *P 2414* 2/2,
2/3
- dmG demotic monopartite proverbs with nominal sentences: *Ins.* 2/11; *P*
2414 1/6
- dmH demotic monopartite proverbs with cleft sentences: *Ankh.* 12/11, 14/4;
Ins. 4/3, 23/24
- dmI demotic monopartite proverbs with a non-omni-present construction:
Ankh. 9/25, 17/20, 17/2, 18/10; *Ins.* 4/18, 6/20, 7/6; *P 2377* 12
- dmJ questions as demotic monopartite proverbs
- gmA Greek monopartite proverbs with the verb 'to be' and other verbs in
the present indicative: (1) *Men. Mon.* 41, 70; *Sext.* 30, 44, 76, 361; *Clit.* 9,
126b (with nominal predicates); (2) *Men. Mon.* 97; *Sext.* 18, 40, 147; *Phil.*
Log. 107; *Clit.* 43, 51, 135; *Ps.-Phoc.* 129; *Mosch. Gn.* 9 (with adjectival
predicates); (3) *Men. Mon.* 34; *Sext.* 114 (with adverbial predicates); (4)
Men. Mon. 9, 17; *Sext.* 24, 27, 48; *Phil. Log.* 105–106, 108; *Clit.* 8, 10, 17;
Ps.-Phoc. 68, 71, 80; *Mosch. Gn.* 14 (with verbs other than the verb 'to
be')
- gmB Greek monopartite proverbs with a present impersonal construction:
Men. Mon. 175, 229, 255; *Sext.* 165d; *Phil. Log.* 45–46
- gmC Greek monopartite proverbs with a present imperative: (1) *Men. Mon.*
25, 135; *Sext.* 9, 14, 17; *Phil. Log.* 43–44, 82–83; *Clit.* 1, 2, 41; *Ps.-Phoc.* 30

- (with verbs other than the verb 'to be'); (2) Men. *Mon.* 55, 114, 208 (with the verb 'to be');
- gmD Greek monopartite proverbs with a present prohibition: Men. *Mon.* 19, 52, 98; *Sext.* 16, 25, 112; *Clit.* 35, 46, 50; *Ps.-Phoc.* 32, 83, 86 (with verbs other than the verb 'to be')
- gmE Greek monopartite proverbs with a present existence clause: Men. *Mon.* 590; *Sext.* 369, 399; *Phil. Log.* 113–114
- gmF Greek monopartite proverbs with non-omni-present constructions: (1) Men. *Mon.* 199, 293; *Sext.* 43, 142, 199; *Clit.* 54, 72, 73; *Ps.-Phoc.* 141 (with future constructions); (2) Men. *Mon.* 87 (with aorist constructions)
- gmG questions as Greek monopartite proverbs
- dbA demotic bipartite proverbs with coordination and with a habitual in the first independent clause: *Ankh.* 18/17; *Ins.* 30/10, 33/4, 33/10
- dbB demotic bipartite proverbs with coordination and with a second present in the first independent clause: *Ankh.* 19/4
- dbC demotic bipartite proverbs with coordination and an existence clause as the first independent clause
- dbD demotic bipartite proverbs with coordination and with an adjective-verb or an adjectival predicate in the first independent clause: *P Ashm.* 4/9
- dbE demotic bipartite proverbs with coordination and a sentence with an adverbial predicate as the first independent clause
- dbF demotic bipartite proverbs with coordination with an imperative or a vetitive in the first independent clause: *Ankh.* 6/10, 6/12, 8/16, 18/9; *Ins.* 2/9, 3/20, 10/10; *P 2414* 1/14, 2/1, 2/5–6
- dbG demotic bipartite proverbs in present, with coordination, and a nominal sentence as the first independent clause
- dbH demotic bipartite proverbs with coordination and a cleft sentence as the first independent clause
- dbI demotic bipartite proverbs with coordination and a non-omni-present construction in the first independent clause: *Ankh.* 23/20, 23/21; *Ins.* 2/10, 20/17
- dbJ demotic bipartite proverbs with subordination and with a habitual in the independent clause: *Ankh.* 22/24; *Ins.* 4/21, 7/17, 7/18, 23/1
- dbK demotic bipartite proverbs with subordination and an existence clause as the independent clause: *Ankh.* 21/10; *Ins.* 5/21, 5/22, 8/14
- dbL demotic bipartite proverbs with subordination and with a second present in the independent clause
- dbM demotic bipartite proverbs with subordination and with an adjective-verb in the independent clause
- dbN demotic bipartite proverbs with subordination and with an imperative or a vetitive in the independent clause: *Ankh.* 6/13, 7/3, 10/8; *Ins.* 10/11, 22/20; *P 2377* 2, 13; *P 2414* 1/12, 2/7, 2/12
- dbO demotic bipartite proverbs with subordination and a sentence with adverbial predicate as the independent clause: *Ins.* 19/8, 28/24, 31/2
- dbP demotic bipartite proverbs with subordination and a nominal sentence as the independent clause

- dbR demotic bipartite proverbs with subordination and a cleft sentence as the independent clause: *Ins.* 17/10, 17/20; *P* 2414 1/7
- dbS demotic bipartite proverbs with subordination and with a non-omni-present construction in the independent clause: *Ankh.* 8/6, 10/4, 18/7
- gbA Greek bipartite proverbs with coordination and with verbs in the present indicative in the first independent clause: *Sext.* 109; *Phil. Log.* 75–76, 117–118; *Clit.* 91; *Ps.-Phoc.* 67, 111, 117 (with adjectival predicate); *Sext.* 322, 382, 421; *Phil. Log.* 32–33, 109–110; *Ps.-Phoc.* 155 (with verbs other than the verb ‘to be’)
- gbB Greek bipartite proverbs with coordination and with a present imperative in the first independent clause: *Men. Mon.* 100, 184, 192; *Sext.* 13; *Clit.* 142; *Ps.-Phoc.* 12, 13
- gbC Greek bipartite proverbs with coordination and with a present prohibition in the first independent clause: *Phil. Log.* 26–27, 98–100; *Ps.-Phoc.* 15
- gbD Greek bipartite proverbs with coordination and with a non-omni-present construction in the first independent clause
- gbE Greek bipartite proverbs with subordination and with verbs in the present indicative in the independent clause
- gbF Greek bipartite proverbs with subordination and with a present imperative in the independent clause: *Sext.* 385; *Phil. Log.* 90–91; *Ps.-Phoc.* 140
- gbG Greek bipartite proverbs with subordination and with a present prohibition in the independent clause: *Sext.* 15
- gbH Greek bipartite proverbs with subordination and with a non-omni-present construction in the independent clause
- gbI questions as Greek bipartite proverbs
- dmuA demotic multipartite proverbs with coordination: *Ankh.* 17/24, 7/23, 9/14; *Ins.* 10/21, 22/12, 25/18
- dmuB demotic multipartite proverbs with subordination: *Ankh.* 6/6, 6/11, 11/7, 14/9; *Ins.* 3/11, 10/13, 11/8, 11/11
- gmuA Greek multipartite proverbs with coordination: *Sext.* 423; *Phil. Log.* 61–62, 63–64
- gmuB Greek multipartite proverbs with subordination: *Men. Mon.* 273; *Sext.* 93, 230b, 233, 320; *Phil. Log.* 38–42, 67–68, 84–86, 135–137

APPENDIX C

EXAMPLES OF SEMANTIC PARALLELS

This appendix lists examples of semantic parallels, some of which have been mentioned in the course of the study. Note that, in (c), all the examples of parallel proverbs identified by M. Lichtheim, regardless of whether they are semantic or thematic, have been included.

a. *Parallels within the same texts*

Ankh. 7/8 \approx 7/11 \approx 11/8 \approx 16/14, 11/11 \approx 18/13 \approx 21/25
Men. Mon. 34 \approx 71, 81 \approx 107, 292 \approx 306, 246 \approx 350
Sext. 59 = 222, 89 \approx 210b, 92 \approx 404, 407 \approx 451
Ps.-Phoc. 36 = 69b

b. *Parallels and reproductions between the Egyptian or between the Greek texts*

Ankh. 7/20 \approx *P 2414* 1/8; *Ankh.* 11/11, 18/13, 21/25 \approx *Ins.* 25/16 \approx *P 2414* 1/13;
Ankh. 14/3 \approx *P 2414* 1/3; *Ankh.* 14/13 \approx *P 2414* 1/10; *Ankh.* 16/9–12 \approx *Ins.* 26/16; *Ankh.* 18/22 \approx *P 2414* 2/12; *Ankh.* 21/20 \approx *Ins.* 8/22; *Ankh.* 23/14 = *P Ashm.* 1/10; *Ankh.* 26/14 \approx *P Ashm.* 4/9
Sext 238 \approx *Clit.* 72; *Sext.* 399 \approx *Clit.* 123; *Sext.* 270 \approx *Clit.* 95

c. *Cross-cultural parallels (identified by M. Lichtheim)*

Ankh. 14/13 \approx *Men. Mon.* 374
Ins. 5/8 and 31/3–4 \approx *Sext.* 57a and 66; *Ins.* 9/12–14 \approx *Sext.* 254 and 256; *Ins.* 14/12–13 \approx *Sext.* 63; *Ins.* 16/3.4.11–13 \approx *Sext.* 52, 267, 379 and 382; *Ins.* 18/8 \approx *Sext.* 39; *Ins.* 18/13 \approx *Ps.-Phoc.* 109–110; *Ins.* 25/7 \approx *Sext.* 10 (= *Clit.* 66); *Ins.* 25/22 \approx *Sext.* 9–10; *Ins.* 26/22 \approx *Sext.* 151; *Ins.* 27/3 \approx *Men. Mon.* 276; *Ins.* 27/9 \approx *Sext.* 15; *Ins.* 30/1 and 27/3 \approx *Sext.* 86a, 108a, and 345; *Ins.* 30/2 \approx *Sext.* 62; *Ins.* 30/3 \approx *Sext.* 42 and 56; *Ins.* 30/6 \approx *Men. Mon.* 145; *Ins.* 30/19 \approx *Sext.* 46a and 61; *Ins.* 31/18 \approx *Sext.* 312
P 2377 3 \approx *Sext.* 298

APPENDIX D

FURTHER EXAMPLES OF THEMES

This appendix gives some further examples of themes treated in the demotic and Greek proverbs.

a. *Common themes*

- Value of education / teaching: *Ankh.* 6/9, 7/4, 7/5; *Ins.* ‘Tenth Teaching’: 8/21–9/21; *P 2414* 1/12; *Men. Mon.* 2, 4, 50; *Mosch. Gn.* 2, *Sext.* 248, 290; *Clit.* 77, 78; *Phil. Log.* 79–82; *Ps.-Phoc.* 89, 90
- Marriage and the affairs of a husband and a wife: *Ankh.* 8/12, 13/22, 25/15; *Ins.* 8/14, 32/20; *P 2414* 1/7, 2/8; *P 2377* 11; *Men. Mon.* 72, 90, 118; *Sext.* 230a, 239; *Clit.* 69; *Phil. Log.* 61–62; *Ps.-Phoc.* 199, 205
- Money and wealth: *Ankh.* 6/10, 9/25, 15/10; *Ins.* 4/8, 6/24, 16/12; *Men. Mon.* 73, 87, 406; *Mosch. Gn.* 9, 14; *Sext.* 192, 193; *Clit.* 24; *Phil. Log.* 21–23, 92–94; *Ps.-Phoc.* 5, 109
- Relationship between man and the god(s): *Ankh.* 6/1, 7/14, 18/17; *Ins.* ‘Twenty-fourth Teaching’: 30/17–33/6; *P Ashm.* 4/9; *Men. Mon.* 63, 197, 212; *Sext.* 134, 144, 183; *Clit.* 1, 4, 7; *Phil. Log.* 4–5, 45–46; *Ps.-Phoc.* 8, 11, 17

b. *Themes exclusive to the Egyptian or to the Greek proverbs*

Only in demotic proverbs

- Merchants: *Ankh.* 16/5, 19/18
- Scribes: *Ankh.* 8/9–10, 28/10
- Affairs of a townsman: *Ankh.* 9/15, 10/14; *Ins.* 29/7, 32/21; *P 2414* 1/13

Only in Greek proverbs

- Evil stepmother: *Men. Mon.* 183
- Carnal pleasures (ἡδονή): *Men. Mon.* 67, 302; *Sext.* 70, 272; *Clit.* 10
- Art: *Men. Mon.* 430, 740; *Phil. Log.* 80–82

APPENDIX E

LIST OF EXAMPLES QUOTED IN THE ANALYSIS

This is a list of the demotic and Greek proverbs quoted and numbered in the study. The concordance of the examples is based upon the numbering given in the study rather than their location in the ancient collection, so that the reader can trace more easily the cross-references made in the course of the study.

Egyptian proverbs

- D1** *ꜣmy.t (n) rmt r hr=f* ‘(The) character (of) a man is on his face’ (Ankh. 11/13) p. 60
- D2** *mn lh gm hꜣw* ‘No fool finds profit’ (Ankh. 21/8) p. 60
- D3** *wꜣn pꜣ nt tms=w iw=w twt.t mtw pꜣ ꜣst hꜣp=w* ‘There is the one who buries them (i.e. the goods) when they are gathered and the earth conceals them’ (Ins. 16/23) pp. 60, 63
- D4** *hr in pꜣ šy irm pꜣ ntr mt.t nꜣ-nfr.t m-sꜣ rhy* ‘The fate and the god bring happiness after the dark hour’ (Ins. 19/15) p. 60
- D5** *šꜣm.t he.t n iny tꜣy* ‘A woman is a stone quarry’ (Ankh. 24/20) p. 61
- D6** *iir pꜣy=w sꜣw tr=w dnt (n) tr.t (n) rmt rh* ‘By the wise man all their (i.e. patience and impatience’s) days are examined (lit. it is by the wise man that all their days are examined)’ (Ins. 22/1) pp. 62, 82
- D7** *rmt iw nꜣ-hꜣm mt.t mtw=f mꜣwꜣs tꜣ nt t.t=f* ‘A man who has a small concern, it is that which seizes him’ (Ankh. 14/4) p. 62
- D8** *nꜣ-n mꜣwꜣt n ꜣyt r nꜣh n tm šꜣp* ‘Better is death in want than life in shamelessness’ (Ins. 27/3) p. 65
- D9** *bw-ir rmt-ntr mꜣwꜣh n thꜣ bw-ir=w mꜣwꜣh n=f hꜣ=f* ‘The man of god does not burn to injure (lit. for injuring), lest he is burned himself’ (Ins. 30/10) p. 66
- D10** *ty hs ty hyr m-ir ir yp.t sksk* ‘Gather dung, gather clay, but do not make a job out of scavenging’ (Ankh. 17/24) p. 66
- D11** *iw=k hꜣr irm rmt mtw=k nfr irm=f iw=f nꜣ-bꜣ m-ir hꜣ=f* ‘If you grow up with a man and you are faring well with him, when he fares badly do not abandon him’ (Ankh. 17/18) pp. 66, 156, 233
- D12** *bw-ir hꜣt (n) pꜣy=f iꜣ mr pꜣ hꜣ nt nꜣ-šꜣ=f* ‘The heart (of) his (i.e. of the son who is not educated) father does not desire a lifetime that is long’ (Ins. 9/13) p. 66
- D13** *šꜣm.t dꜣ.t mn-mtw=s hy* ‘An evil woman, she does not have a husband’ (Ankh. 25/22) p. 69
- D14** *hr tw dlh ꜣk rmt ꜣ* ‘Disdain ruins the great man’ (Ankh. 12/10) p. 70
- D15** *bw-ir rh rmt nꜣy=f sꜣw ꜣyt* ‘A man does not know his days (of) misfortune’ (Ankh. 12/3) p. 70

- D16** *hwtꜥ ꜥw mn srgh bw-ir ꝓꝓ=s nb tyt* ‘A feast in which there is no calm, its master cannot enjoy (it)’ (Ins. 23/9) p. 70
- D17** *hmy ꜥw hr hꝓr šꝓ ꝓꝓ mwꝓ* ‘Would that existence (lit. becoming or happening) succeed death!’ (Ankh. 10/25) pp. 70, 116
- D18** *hmy ꜥw bw-ir tꝓ sh(.t) ir-wꝓ wtꜥ* ‘Would that the field not fail to flourish!’ (Ankh. 10/18) p. 70
- D19** *ir ꝓr wn r ꝓꝓ nt ꜥw wn nkt trꝥ=f* ‘It is to he who has something (in) his hand that a house is open’ (Ankh. 14/13) pp. 71, 86, 180
- D20** *kl ꜥw mr=f tgy mst=f ꝓꝓ nt wnm=f* ‘A monkey that loves fruit, it hates the one who eats it’ (Ankh. 23/15) p. 71
- D21** *in ‘nhꝥy hr=f n ꝓꝓ ir-mwꝓ* ‘“Am I alive?” asks he, namely the dead man’ (Ankh. 23/13) pp. 71, 130
- D22** *wn wy n hꝓb* ‘There is release for killing’ (Ankh. 26/6) p. 72
- D23** *mn ꝓꝓ mr ꝓꝓ hy hꝓꝓ m-tr ꝓꝓ tꝓ* ‘There is no love (for) the haughty (in) (lit. by) the land’ (P 2377 1) pp. 72, 82
- D24** *nꝓ-‘n ꝓꝓꝓ r gtg n ls* ‘Better is muteness than a hasty tongue’ (Ankh. 15/16) p. 72
- D25** *nꝓ-sbꝓꝓ mt.t ‘ꝓ.t ꜥw šw l’l’=s* ‘Few are (the) great thing(s) that are worthy of admiration’ (Ins. 25/8) p. 72
- D26** *ꝓꝓ lh hn ir-shꝓ dn ꝓꝓ nt ir shꝓe n-ꝓm=f* ‘The fool who has power, bad is what happens to him’ (Ins. 5/14) pp. 72, 155
- D27** *ꝓꝓ nt hrꝓ hn mt.t nhꝥ(.t) ꝓꝓꝓ=f šꝓ šꝓ ꝓꝓ r-tbe.t=s* ‘The one who is steadfast in hardship, his fate goes and comes because of it’ (Ins. 19/14) pp. 72, 80
- D28** *ꝓꝓ rmt rhꝓ n ‘wy nb tꝓ hꝓe.t n rn=f irm=f* ‘The wise man in every house, the praise of his name is with him’ (Ins. 29/5) p. 72
- D29** *lh hn ‘wy m-kꝓy mnꝓ hn ꝓr-hꝓ irꝓ* ‘A fool in a house is like fine clothes in a wine cellar’ (Ankh. 22/13) pp. 72, 82
- D30** *hmy ir šꝓ tr n ꝓꝓꝓ=f ꝓꝓ* ‘Would that a son honour his father!’ (Ankh. 10/21) p. 73
- D31** *šꝓs ꝓꝓ nt ꜥw=f šꝓs.t=k* ‘Serve the one who will serve you’ (Ankh. 6/4) p. 73
- D32** *m-ir mr ꝓꝓꝓ=k gy n ir-wꝓ.t* ‘Do not be vexed about your occupation (lit. your manner of doing work)’ (Ankh. 6/24) p. 73
- D33** *m-ir dlꝓ hꝥ(m) shꝓ hꝥ(m) sty.t hꝥ(m) gl-šꝓ* ‘Do not disdain a small document, a small fire, or a small soldier’ (Ankh. 16/25) p. 73
- D34** *tꝓ rhꝓe.t n ꝓꝓ rmt-ntr hn st-tbe ꝓꝓꝓ ꝓꝓ ntr ꝓꝓꝓ ꝓꝓ ntr(sic)* ‘The support of the man of god in misfortune is the god’ (Ins. 19/12) p. 73
- D35** *yꝓ ls n rmt rhꝓ ‘ꝓꝓꝓ=f ‘wy ꝓꝓꝓ ꝓꝓ ntr* ‘The heart and tongue of a wise man, the state (of) their (lit. its) house is the god’ (Ins. 30/19) p. 73
- D36** *rnm.t hꝓw.t-ntr wꝓ* ‘The wealth (of) a temple is the priest’ (Ankh. 8/18) p. 73
- D37** *rmt ꜥw=f mr tꝓꝓꝓ=f hm.t n lby m-bꝓhꝥ=f* ‘A man who is sick, his wife is a lioness before him’ (Ankh. 15/12) pp. 73, 189, 211, 242
- D38** *lhꝓ mꝓꝓꝓ irm rmt rhꝓ ꝓꝓꝓ r mꝓꝓꝓ tꝓꝓꝓ=f šꝓꝓ* ‘A fool going with a wise man is (like) a bird going with its slaughter knife’ (Ankh. 22/12) p. 74
- D39** *ꝓꝓꝓꝓ rmt wꝥ.t ꝓꝓꝓ n-ꝓm=f tꝓꝓ* ‘The character (of) a man is one of his limbs’ (Ankh. 11/14) p. 74

- D40** *šhm.t grh ḥs.t mre* ‘A woman at night, praise by day’ (Ankh. 22/9) pp. 74, 79
- D41** *rnn.t n tme tm t ri.t* ‘The wealth of a city is not taking sides’ (Ankh. 9/3) p. 74
- D42** *rmt iw=f t ḥpr ht mh-1 p3 swr=f p3 wnm=f p3 t=f* ‘A man who has acquired money for the first time, the drinking of it and the eating of it are the spending of it’ (Ankh. 15/10) p. 74
- D43** *šp n p3 ntr n p3 rmt-ntr ti y ḥz=f n nzy=f ssw n* ‘A gift of the god to the man of god is making him patient (lit. causing his heart to be great) in his days of mercy’ (Ins. 18/16) p. 74
- D44** *ḥtb p3 rmt swg mnt=f n tzy=f my.t dn.t* ‘To kill the idiot is to draw him away from his bad character’ (Ins. 14/5) p. 74
- D45** *p3 šy irm p3 šhn nt iy p3 ntr p3 nt t iy n-im=f tmt* 62 ‘The fate and the fortune that come, the god is the one who sends them (lit. it)—total 62’ (Ins. 5/11) pp. 74, 83, 87
- D46** *(t3) dn.t nt iy n p3 ḥ he.t=f irm hnn=f p3 nt in.t=s* ‘(The) evil that comes to the fool, his belly and his phallus are those (lit. the one) that bring it’ (Ins. 6/1) pp. 74, 83
- D47** *bn-īw n rmt rh ḥn my.t p3 nt nḥ n-im=s in* ‘A wise man in character is not the one who lives by it’ (Ins. 5/5) p. 75
- D48** *bn-īw n ḥh n hr=f in p3 nt iw pzy=f nḥ nḥt* ‘A fool to his face (i.e. as such?) is not the one whose life is hard’ (Ins. 5/6) p. 75
- D49** *mtw=f p3 nt ḥ3 s3b3 ḥn btw r-the dr-tr.t* ‘It is he (i.e. the god) the one who leaves the impious man to suffer (lit. in punishment) because of brutality’ (Ins. 23/24) pp. 75, 80
- D50** *p3 ḥzḥt irm pzy=f sbk mtw=f p3 nt fy pzy=f nb* ‘The heart with its littleness, it is the one that carries its owner’ (Ins. 24/22) pp. 75, 87
- D51** *p3 nt w n b3.t r-the ḥlf p3 nt iw pzy=f mwt nḥt* ‘The one who is wrathful (lit. great of anger) because of a mistake is the one whose death is hard’ (Ins. 5/2) p. 75
- D52** *p3 nt iw iw=w ḥwr=f n w.t n-im=w p3 nt ir s3b3 n ḥzḥt=f* ‘The one who is deprived of one of them (i.e. wine, women, and food) is the one who acts as an enemy of his heart’ (Ins. 17/17) p. 75
- D53** *hmy iw p3 sn ‘3 p3 tme p3 nt iw=w ḥn=f n=f* ‘Would that the “elder brother” (of) the town be the one to whom it is entrusted!’ (Ankh. 10/14) p. 75
- D54** *hmy iw šr ḥry p3 nt ir ḥry* ‘Would that a son (of) a superior be the one who acts as a superior!’ (Ankh. 10/22) p. 76
- D55** *bn-īw šhnt=k dn3(.t)* ‘Being evil will not provide for you’ (Ankh. 15/19) p. 76
- D56** *iw=k d šy nfr r phw n izw.t* ‘May you say “Good fortune” at the end of old age’ (Ankh. 11/22) p. 76
- D57** *bn-īw zwy d msdr* ‘Praise will not speak (to) the ear’ (P 2414 1/11) p. 76
- D58** *hmy iw bn-īw=f mwt p3 nt iw=y pgy n=f pzy=y ḥbs* ‘Would that he not die, the one to whom I lend my clothing!’ (Ankh. 10/13) pp. 76, 86
- D59** *tw=f ḥpr šme irm pry.t ḥn n3 ḥ.w ḥtp(.w) spt(.t)* ‘He (i.e. the god) created

summer and winter through the risings and the settings (of) Sothis' (Ins. 32/3) pp. 77, 87

D60 *p3 htb rmt-rh bn-pw=w htb.t=f* 'The prudent killer, he has not been killed' (Ankh. 12/20) p. 77

D61 *tw=f hpr hr'3.t wbe n3 nt 'nh t3 hpri.t n n3 sh.w(t)* 'He (i.e. the god) created food for those who live, the miracle of the fields' (Ins. 32/4) p. 77

D62 *ir p3 r' irm yh sm iy hn t3 p.t th* 'How do the sun and moon go and come in the sky?' (Ins. 31/20) p. 78

D63 *ir p3 mw irm t3 sty.t irm t3w sm iy tne* 'Whence go and come water, fire, and wind?' (Ins. 31/21) p. 78

D64 *ir s3 hyk hpr phr.w n nm* 'Through whom do amulet and spell become remedies?' (Ins. 31/22) pp. 78, 82

D65 *tm ti ph rn=k ir-hr=f hn mt.t nb(t) r-tbe shm.t* 'Do not let your name come before him (i.e. your master) in any matter that concerns a woman' (Ins. 11/5) pp. 79, 82

D66 *bw-ir=w gm h3t sr s' p3 ssw n wh3 nkt tr.t=f* 'The heart of a son is not discovered until the day of seeking property from him' (Ins. 12/20) p. 79

D67 *p3 ir=w n=f mt(t) nfr.t r h.t bn-ir=f rh ti sp n=s* 'The one to whom a good deed was done before, he will not be able to repay it' (Ankh. 13/3) p. 79

D68 *hr ph grt n hp r rmt swg r-tbe he.t=f* 'Lawful punishment reaches the foolish man because of his belly' (Ins. 7/9) p. 80

D69 *bw-ir=f ip r rsy.t r-tbe 'nh hr sn.nw* 'He (i.e. the one who is greedy) does not think of the morrow because of (his) life under an inferior' (Ins. 15/16) p. 80

D70 *iry snte n-im=s r-tbe t3 snte.t H.t-Hr* 'Fear her (i.e. the bad woman) for the fear (of) Hathor' (Ins. 8/11) p. 80

D71 *tm nhet lh r-tbe 'nh* 'Do not trust a fool because of an oath' (Ins. 12/11) p. 80

D72 *ir=s ti g' r-hr ntr r-tbe rn=s* 'It is because of its name that one places a chapel under a god' (Ins. 23/11) p. 80

D73 *p3 h'(m) nm n3-'3=f r-tbe rn=f* 'The small dwarf, he is great because of his name' (Ins. 24/9) p. 80

D74 *wn p3 nt shne n sh r-tbe shne n rmt swg* 'There is the one who meets grief because of meeting a foolish man' (Ins. 13/21) p. 80

D75 *mn shpy nhet n p3 lh r-tbe 'w n he.t* 'There is no shame (or) trust for the fool because of (his) gluttony (lit. greatness of belly)' (Ins. 6/19) p. 80

D76 *p3 hl nt snte r-tbe shpy bw-ir=w s3=f hn btw* 'The youth who has respect because of shame, he is not scorned through punishment' (Ins. 9/8) p. 80

D77 *hr tw=f s n p3y=f mry.t r-tbe lg rw3 hn h3t=f* 'He (i.e. the god) gives it (i.e. money) to his beloved in order to remove worry from his heart' (Ins. 15/20) p. 81

D78 *bw-ir=w ti 'h' n p3 ir sk r-tbe hwy.t=w r ky m-s3=f* 'A lifetime is not given to the one who has hoarded in order to leave them (i.e. the millions, which he acquired by hoarding) to another after him' (Ins. 18/14) p. 81

- D79** *tm wštn=f n lrw=k r-tbe rh pzy=k 'w n hzt=f* 'Do not speak freely to him so that he knows your greatness (lit. for knowing your greatness in his heart)' (Ins. 10/16) p. 81
- D80** *tw=f hpr pz 'nh irm pz mwt m-bzh=f r-tbe pz t-ūw.t pz szbz* 'He (i.e. the god) created life and death before him for the torment (lit. causing of torment) (of) the impious man' (Ins. 32/14) p. 81
- D81** *n3-š3 rnn.t wštn r rnn.t n f* 'The wealth (of) generosity is greater than the wealth of greed' (Ins. 15/11) p. 81
- D82** *p3 ntr nt ww r pzy=f tny bw-ir rh=w pzy=f 'w r ky* 'The god who is far from his town, his greatness is not known more than another(s)' (Ins. 28/6) p. 81
- D83** *p3 sdyn nt ph r pz lh hr zš=f m-ky p3 t3w* 'The counsel that reaches the fool, it is weightless like the wind' (Ins. 22/19) pp. 81, 191
- D84** *bw-ir=w gm hzt šm.t m-ky t3 p.t* 'One does not discover the heart (of) a woman any more than (one knows) the sky (lit. like the sky)' (Ins. 12/22) p. 81
- D85** *wn pz nt ūw bw-ir=f nhet m-s3 nhet n-im=f* 'There is the one who does not trust (anyone) except for himself' (Ins. 13/1) p. 82
- D86** *mn sn hn mhw.t m-s3 sn n'.t n hzt=f* 'There is no brother in the family except for the brother who is kindhearted' (Ins. 26/15) p. 82
- D87** *hr ir hne pzy=f dnt ddy n pzy=f tm stm* 'The fool makes an enemy of his questioner by means of his not listening' (Ins. 26/4) p. 82
- D88** *ūr šny ip irm 'w n hzt (n) ' (n) pz ntr* 'It is (in) the hand (of) the god that are the taking of counsel, thought, and patience (lit. greatness of heart)' (Ins. 22/5) p. 83
- D89** *m-ir hwy bsk n-tr (n) pzy=f hry* 'Do not throw a servant into the hand (of) his master' (Ankh. 16/6) p. 83
- D90** *⟨p3⟩ šw3 nt 'w r pzy=f dnt hr ht=w pzy=f hws3 n-im=f* '(The) beam that is longer than its (right) measure, its excess is cut off from it' (Ins. 4/14) p. 83
- D91** *lh ūw bw-ir rh=f rh bw-ir=f wy r sh* 'The fool who is not able to acquire knowledge (lit. to know), he is not far from trouble' (Ins. 4/20) pp. 83, 84, 87
- D92** *p3 nt nk šm.t ūw wn-mtw=s hy hr glg ūr=w nk tzy=f hm.t hr pz itm* 'He who violates on the bed a woman that has a husband, it is on the ground that his wife is violated' (Ankh. 21/19) pp. 83, 84, 86
- D93** *p3 nt šzy sš mt.t ūr=f mwt n-im=s* 'The one who often scorns a matter, it is through it that he will die' (Ankh. 9/9) pp. 83, 84
- D94** *p3 šr nt ūw bn-pw=w mtr=f hr ir pzy=f ⟨...⟩ hpryt* 'The son who has not been instructed, his ⟨...⟩ causes wonder' (Ins. 9/12) pp. 84, 85
- D95** *iry n lh r-tbe ls=f n3-š3 (n3 nt) gm.t=f m šs* 'A companion of a man who is a fool (lit. of a fool) because of his tongue, numerous are (those who) surely find out (that he is a fool)' (Ins. 12/24) p. 84
- D96** *p3 nt ths r-tbe he.t=f nzy=f iry.w n3 nt nk=f* 'The one who eats because of his belly, his companions are those that violate him' (Ins. 6/21) p. 84
- D97** *lrw 'z hr ir=f ss.t hn n3 'y.w m-ky pz šny* 'A loud voice, it causes harm in the parts of the body like an illness' (Ins. 22/11) p. 84

- D98** *p3 nt iw=f d bn-iw=y rh ir t3 wp.t my wšd=f p3-R* ‘The one who says: “I shall not be able to do the task”, let him (also) pray to Re’ (P 2377 9) pp. 84, 199
- D99** *kns 3yt krs tm n’ bw-ir=w htp ‘n sp-sn* ‘Violence, need, insult, unkindness, they never rest!’ (Ins. 35/1) pp. 85, 86
- D100** *p3 ls iw bw-ir-tw=w šn.t=f n3y=f d p3 ntr ir-rh s.t* ‘Before the tongue has been questioned (lit. the tongue that is not questioned), its words, the god knows them’ (Ins. 31/5) p. 85
- D101** *hr šp=w tp-n-i3wt nb r ‘w.y bw-ir=w šp 3d* ‘All kinds of cattle are welcomed in a house; a thief is not welcomed’ (Ankh. 20/15) pp. 121, 158
- D102** *bw-ir rmt-ntr mwh n th3 bw-ir=w mwh n=f h=f* ‘The man of the god does not burn to injure, lest he is burned himself’ (Ins. 30/10) p. 121
- D103** *bw-ir p3 šy wwt h.t=f bw-ir p3 tbe šm iy ks* ‘The fate does not look ahead and the retaliation does not go and come wrongfully’ (Ins. 33/4) p. 121
- D104** *hr tw rmt nb hpr nkt rmt rh p3 nt rh ‘rd=f* ‘Every man acquires property; the wise man is the one who knows (how) to conserve it’ (Ankh. 13/9) p. 122
- D105** *bw-ir msh mwt n 3rl iir=f mwt n hk* ‘A crocodile does not die from a desire; it is from hunger that it dies’ (Ankh. 10/5) pp. 122, 158
- D106** *iir 3d dwy grh iir=w gm.t=f n mre* ‘It is (by) night that a thief steals; it is by day that he is discovered’ (Ankh. 14/11) pp. 74, 122, 158, 160
- D107** *wn p3 nt mtre n šy wn p3 nt mtre n n3y=f rh.w* ‘There is the one who is satisfied with (his) fate and there is the one who is satisfied with his knowledge’ (Ins. 5/4) p. 122
- D108** *p3 tbe n3-hy=f r-tbe rn=f n3-dlh=f r-tbe hm-h3t* ‘Retaliation is exalted because of its name and belittled because of impatience (lit. smallness-(of)-heart)’ (Ins. 34/3) pp. 123, 158, 159
- D109** *n3-nfr rmt r ‘3 r(?) nk t3y=f 3sw.t t3 nt 3nt.t=f* ‘A man is better than a donkey in copulating; his purse is what restrains him’ (Ankh. 24/10) p. 123
- D110** *wł n3 ip(.w) n p3 ntr wł n3 ip(.w) rmt* ‘The plans of the god are one thing, the plans (of) a man are another’ (P Ashm. 4/9) p. 123
- D111** *n3 hrł.w n p3 lh mš n p3 hyr na-p3 rmt rh st he.t=f* ‘The children of the fool walk in the street, those of the wise man stand before him (lit. are in his body)’ (Ankh. 18/11) p. 124
- D112** *1000 b3k pr šwt p3 šwt w’ n-im=w* ‘1000 servants are (in) the house (of) a merchant and the merchant is one of them’ (Ankh. 19/18) p. 124
- D113** *rh p3 šhne n t3y=f 3my.t tm ir t3 bly.t n h3t=f* ‘Know the disposition of his (i.e. your master’s) character; do not do what his heart despises (lit. the hatred of his heart)’ (Ins. 11/10) pp. 124, 125
- D114** *r-ddy mt.t m3.t rmt nb my šbn=s r3=k* ‘Speak truth (to) all men; let it cleave to your mouth’ (Ankh. 13/15) p. 124
- D115** *m-ir d p3y=y yh rt m-ir ir-wš mš.t=f* ‘Do not say: “My land thrives;” do not cease to inspect it’ (Ankh. 9/11) pp. 124, 125, 214
- D116** *m-ir swr mw pr šwt iw=f ip r-ir=k r-tbe ht* ‘Do not drink water (in) the house (of) a merchant; he will charge you for it’ (Ankh. 16/5) p. 125
- D117** *tm dlh=f n p3 hyr bw-ir p3y=f šy tbe=k* ‘Do not slight him (i.e. your master) in the street, lest his stick(?) punish you’ (Ins. 10/17) p. 125

- D118** *m-ir hms n 'w.y iw=f šny p3 mwt bw-ir=f d tw=y iw* 'Do not sit in a house that is decaying, death, it does not say: "I am coming"' (Ankh. 20/12) p. 125
- D119** *m-ir t hry hr hb p3 ['h'] n p3 nt ir=s* 'Do not seize food; the [lifetime] of the one who does is shortened' (P 2377 7) p. 125
- D120** *štm pr iir=f mwt n-im=s* 'Shut up a house and it is through it that it perishes' (Ankh. 14/5) p. 125
- D121** *m-ir ršy n p3 'ny n tzy=k hm.t iir h3t=s hr p3y nk=s* 'Do not rejoice over the beauty of your wife; it is on her lover (lit. the one with whom she has had sexual intercourse) that her heart is (set)' (Ankh. 18/15) pp. 125, 160
- D122** *tm th3 n h3t hn dth n3-3 t3 wp.t n p3 ntr* 'Do not be sore-hearted in imprisonment; the work of the god is great' (Ins. 20/4) p. 125
- D123** *m-ir wn h3t=k r tzy=k hm.t n3 d=k n=s st p3 h3r* 'Do not open your heart to your wife; what you tell her goes (lit. is) (in) the street' (Ankh. 13/16) p. 125
- D124** *bk n lh rmt hm sby p3 iir hy n h3t=f* 'The reward of a fool and a low man is laughing; what has fallen is their (lit. his) heart' (Ins. 26/1) p. 126
- D125** *t3 mw.t t3 nt ms t3 my.t t3 nt ti iry* 'The mother is the one who gives birth; the street is the one that gives a companion' (Ankh. 13/8) pp. 126, 181
- D126** *drp=k r rte.t=k 'w.y n rmt '3 bn-iw drp=k r ls=k* 'You may stumble over your foot (in) the house of a great man, but you should not stumble over your tongue' (Ankh. 10/7) pp. 126, 127
- D127** *iw=k wn=f r tzy=k mw.t 'r'it tzy šlm.t* 'May you open it (i.e. your heart) to your mother; she is a discreet(?) woman' (Ankh. 13/18) pp. 126, 127
- D128** *bn-pw p3y= sn dm r dwy bn-pw=y dm r snh=f* '(As long as) my brother has not desisted from stealing, I have not desisted from restraining him' (Ankh. 12/15) pp. 126, 127
- D129** *iw=f ir-rh n p3y=f mryt iw=f ti nkt n p3 iir ti n=f* 'He (i.e. the god) will know his favourite and will give goods to the one who has given to him' (Ins. 30/8) p. 127
- D130** *p3 nt šm iwš sn 2 iw=w hnt hr tw=w st iwš=w iw=w htp* 'The one who goes between two brothers when they quarrel, he is placed between them when they are reconciled' (Ankh. 19/12) pp. 127, 128, 160
- D131** *in-n3w h3t=f mr irp bw-ir=f rh swr r thy* 'If his heart (i.e. the heart of the man who passes sixty years of life) loves the wine, he cannot drink to drunkenness' (Ins. 17/12) pp. 127, 128, 161
- D132** *bw-ir=w gm h3t rmt hn tzy=f amy.t iw bn-pw=w hb=f* 'One does not discover the heart (of) a man in his character when/if he has not been sent (out for a mission)' (Ins. 12/14) pp. 127, 161
- D133** *hr h3' p3 s3b3 n3y=f sk.w n p3 mwt mtw ky w' t.t=w* 'The impious (man) leaves his savings at death and another takes them' (Ins. 4/9) p. 128
- D134** *hr hpr rmt-ntr hn st-the š'-tw p3 ntr htp* 'The godly man stays (lit. happens) in misfortune till the god is satisfied' (Ins. 30/12) p. 128
- D135** *mn p3 nt hwš r p3 '3 r-ir=f iw bn-iw mkw=f p3 nt hwš.t in* 'There is none who insults his superior and will not be insulted in turn' (Ankh. 21/9) p. 128

- D136** *wn p3 nt ir p3y=f stny mkw=f gm htb n-im=f* ‘There is the one who follows (lit. who does) his (i.e. the god’s) counsel and yet finds killing through it’ (Ins. 32/3) p. 128
- D137** *wn p3 nt sk n t3 wr3.t s'-tw p3 mwt ph* ‘There is the one who hoards riches until death arrives (lit. reaches)’ (Ins. 19/2) p. 128
- D138** *p3 why ir=f hwy n mr(.t) iw bw-ir rh=f d p3 ntr p3 nt w3 r 'wy nb* ‘The fisherman, it is on board(?) that he throws while he does not know that the god is the one who sends to every house’ (Ankh. 11/15) pp. 128, 129
- D139** *ir irp 'w iw bw-ir-tw=w glp=f* ‘It is not until one has uncovered it that wine matures’ (Ankh. 19/23) pp. 128, 129
- D140** *ir p3 iry n p3 lh sdr iw=f snh irm=f* ‘The friend of the fool sleeps while he is bound to (lit. with) him’ (Ins. 13/13) p. 129
- D141** *n3-'n p3 hm nt irm=f ir-hr sy h'3.t hws mkw=f* ‘Good is the little which he (i.e. the fool) has (lit. which is with him), if he is sated with plenty of food (lit. if satiety of much food is with him)’ (Ins. 7/7) p. 129
- D142** *n3-'n hke n p3 nt iw=w rh sy mte bte tm ph=f* ‘Hunger is good for the one who can be sated and harm does not befall him’ (Ins. 7/8) p. 129
- D143** *hws r-hr=y p3 nt iw=w ir=f hr=f n p3 lh iw=w mte.f=f* ‘“What they do insults me”, says he, namely the fool, when he is instructed’ (Ankh. 10/6) p. 130
- D144** *iw=k 'nh n ir-shy my hm b3.t h3t=k* ‘If you live as one who is mighty, let the anger (in) your heart be small’ (Ins. 33/23) pp. 130, 131
- D145** *iw=f hpr iw p3y=k hry hms r-hr p3 yr m-ir / thb tr.t=k m-b3h=f* ‘If it happens that your master is sitting by the river, do not / immerse your hand before him’ (Ankh. 10/9–10) p. 130
- D146** *m-ir htb hf mte=k h3' ste.f=f* ‘Do not kill a snake and leave its tail’ (Ankh. 11/8) pp. 130, 131
- D147** *m-ir mkh=k iw wn-mte=k* ‘Do not worry as long as you own something’ (Ankh. 6/22) pp. 130, 131
- D148** *tm kby r p3 ir kby s' p3y=f hrw ph* ‘Do not be vengeful to the one who is vengeful until his day comes’ (Ins. 22/16) p. 130
- D149** *tm '3zy wpy ls=k r sdyn iw bn-pw=w sn.t=k* ‘Do not make a habit of giving liberty to your tongue (lit. do not (let) your tongue be free many times) to counsel when you have not been asked’ (Ins. 22/20) pp. 130, 131
- D150** *tm wnm p3 hws n t3 hny.t iw bw-ir-tw p3 sy di.t (s(.t))* ‘Do not eat the profit of something if / when the fate has not given it’ (Ins. 4/7) pp. 130, 131
- D151** *my 'y n3 rmt.w nt 'y-n-ms h3t=k 'y=k n h3t rmt nb* ‘Let men of noble birth be highly esteemed by you (lit. be high (in) your heart), so that you are highly esteemed by (lit. high in the heart (of)) every man’ (Ankh. 20/18) p. 130
- D152** *tm dlh mt.t Pr-'3 mt.t p3 ntr r ti sk s* ‘Do not slight a matter of the Pharaoh (or) of the god in order to injure it’ (Ins. 23/25) p. 131
- D153** *tm ir wp.t iw=s ss iw iw=k rh 'nh n k.t* ‘Do not do a job that is scorned when you are able to live by another’ (Ins. 26/11) p. 131
- D154** *m-ir hwy nw iw bn-iw iw=k rh mht ph.f=f* ‘Do not throw a lance when / if you will not be able to control its end’ (Ankh. 11/9) p. 131
- D155** *h'm-b3.t tw=y 'y t3y=k sf'.t n h3t rmt nb* ‘Be modest (lit. small-(of)-anger)

so that your reputation increase in the heart (of) every man' (Ankh. 17/26) p. 131

- D156** *in-n3w rwš hpr p3 h3t wħ3 p3 mwt n rn=f* 'If worry happens, the heart desires death by reason of it' (Ins. 19/8) p. 132
- D157** *t3 sty.t nt mwħ h' hr mw iw p3 mw wtb r hr=s* 'The burning fire is extinguished by water while the water turns into it' (Ins. 29/21) p. 132
- D158** *hmy iir i'h šp p3-r' iw bw-ir=f ir-wš h'* 'Would that (the) moon succeed the sun while it does not fail to rise!' (Ankh. 10/24) p. 132
- D159** *hmy iw=y ir-rħ p3y=y sn wn=y h3t=y r-ir=f* 'Would that I knew my brother that I could open my heart to him!' (Ankh. 11/4) p. 132
- D160** *ħt p3 hky r-h3' p3 ntr n p3 t3 n p3 s3be rwš=f hr hrw* 'Money is the snare that the god has placed on earth for the impious man so that he suffers daily' (Ins. 15/19) pp. 132, 133, 158
- D161** *hmy iw t3y=y mw.t t3y=y nšy.t ir=s n=y p3 nt n3-n=f* 'Would that my mother be my hairdresser, so that she may do to me what is pleasant!' (Ankh. 10/23) p. 132
- D162** *iw=k hpr tme iw mn-mtw=k rmt n-im=f t3y=k 3my.t t3y=k mhwt* 'If you stay (in) a town where you have no one, your character is your family' (Ankh. 21/25) pp. 133, 208
- D163** *p3 šp nfr n rmt rh šk iw mn f'* 'The virtue of a wise man is to gather without greed (lit. while there is no greed)' (Ins. 5/16) p. 133
- D164** *p3 nt why n n3y=f rmt.w p3 nt mwt iw bn-pw=w šrl n=f* 'The one who is mean to his people is the one who dies while no one has prayed for him' (Ins. 16/17) p. 133
- D165** *iir n3-n šm.t iw=k grp p3y=k hry n-im=s* 'If a woman is beautiful, may you reveal your mastery over her' (Ins. 8/4) p. 133
- D166** *in-n3w šm.t mr msh iw=s t t3y=f 3my.t* 'If a woman loves a crocodile, she will take on its character' (Ankh. 22/8) pp. 133, 134
- D167** *tw=f hpr n3 šhne.w n3 nt ħn t3 p.t iw n3 nt hr p3 t3 ir-rħ st* 'He (i.e. the god) created the constellations (of) those that are in the sky while those who are on earth know them' (Ins. 32/5) p. 133
- D168** *tw=f hpr p3 t3w ħn t3 swħ.t iw mn my.t n-im=s* 'He (i.e. the god) created the breath in the egg while there is no access (lit. path) to it' (Ins. 32/7) p. 134
- D169** *tw=f hpr hyn.w m-s3 hyn.w n-im=w ħn p3 dm iir s'nh=w* 'He (i.e. the god) created the succession of generations (lit. some after the other of them in the generation) so as to make them live' (Ins. 32/17) p. 134
- D170** *p3 3d p3 tmy p3 m3y h3t=f m-ir ir=f n=k iry bw-ir=f ti ħtb=w k* 'The thief (of) the town is the lion (in) its heart; do not make him your (lit. make him for you) companion lest he causes you to be killed' (P 2414 1/3) pp. 155, 157
- D171** *m-ir d sk=y t3 sh(.t) bn-pw=w ir iw sk 'n n3-nfr sk* 'Do not say: "I have ploughed the field and I haven't been paid"; plough again, to plough is good' (Ankh. 9/14) p. 155
- D172** *ħns p3 ssw wnf p3 ssw hr 'š3 nkt rn hr=f* '(When) times are strait or (when) times are happy, property grows because (of) spreading it' (Ankh. 8/13) p. 155

- D173** *m-ir hbr iw=k n3-nfr bw-ir=k n dn* ‘Do not abuse when you fare well, lest you fare badly’ (Ankh. 6/11) p. 155
- D174** *ir=w ti k n mr-sn r-tbe sn iw=f tm sn iw=w s’t=f* ‘It is for inspecting that one gives bread to an inspector; if he does not inspect, one will cut it off’ (Ankh. 24/11) pp. 156–158, 179
- D175** *šms p3y=k it t3y=k mw.t šm=k iw=k mnḥ* ‘Serve your father and your mother that you may go and prosper (lit. while you prosper)’ (Ankh. 6/6) p. 156
- D176** *hr ir=f (rnp.t) 10.t iw=f sbk-ms iw bw-ir-tw=f gm p3 mwt irm p3 nḥ* ‘He (i.e. a man) spends 10 (years) being a child before he understands death and life’ (Ins. 17/22) pp. 156, 161
- D177** *p3 ntr p3 nt ti p3 h3t mtw=f ti p3 šr mtw=f ti t3 3my.t nfi.t* ‘The god is the one who gives the heart, the son, and the good character (lit. and he gives the son and he gives the good character)’ (Ins. 9/19) pp. 156, 160, 201
- D178** *iw=k hk3 wnm t3y=k bty.t iw=k sy bty.t=s* ‘If you are hungry, eat what you despise (lit. your despised one), if you are sated, despise it’ (Ankh. 22/16) pp. 156, 157
- D179** *m-ir mky.t=k iw=k hl bw-ir=k ḥsy iw=k 3* ‘Do not pamper yourself when you are young, lest you become weary when you are old’ (Ankh. 6/19) pp. 156, 157, 161
- D180** *m-ir d ir-hr p3y=k hry iw=y ti n=k p3 nkt bn iw iw=f mtw=k in* ‘Do not say before your master: “I will give you the property” (while) you have none’ (P 2414 2/12) p. 158
- D181** *m-ir šm n=k m-s3 mhy.t=k ir=w bw-ir=w kb p3y=k btw* ‘Do not run away after you have been beaten, lest your punishment is doubled’ (Ankh. 7/12) p. 158
- D182** *iw=w ḥwy.t=k [r(?)] bl n p3 w.y p3y=k hry iry n=f mnḥ* ‘If you are thrown out of the house (of) your master, act as his doorkeeper’ (Ankh. 10/8) p. 158
- D183** *m-ir shst(?) mtw=k ph sr mtw=k 3nt.t=k n tr.t=f* ‘Do not hasten to (lit. and) reach a magistrate and then draw back from his hand’ (Ankh. 21/13) p. 158
- D184** *iw=k nwḥ m-s3 p3 gby snṯ n p3 šy r-tbe gby* ‘When you look after a weak man, fear the fate because of weakness’ (Ins. 34/1) p. 158
- D185** *tm wšb ir=f šn.t=k hn p3 3-šn nt iw bw-ir rh=k st* ‘Do not answer when he (i.e. your master) questions you about an undertaking that you do not know’ (Ins. 11/3) p. 158
- D186** *mn p3 n m-tr p3 sp n p3 nt iw bw-ir=w rh s’h=f* ‘No goodness is (brought) by the deed of the one who cannot be reproved’ (P 2377 3) p. 158
- D187** *hr st p3 ntr htp p3 nt mwt bw-ir=f st=f* ‘The god returns contentment, the dead man, he does not return it’ (Ins. 19/19) pp. 121, 159
- D188** *šhm.t iw mr=w s ir=w h3=s iw h3=w s* ‘A woman that is loved, when one has abandoned her, she is (truly) abandoned’ (Ankh. 17/21) p. 159
- D189** *tm d n3-n p3 sp mtw=k 3bh r p3 šy n-im=f* ‘Do not say: “The chance is good” and forget the fate in it’ (Ins. 4/12) p. 161
- D190** *t3 my.t n p3 ntr ir-hr rmt nb bw-ir p3 hne gm.t=s* ‘(Although) the path of the god is before every man, the fool does not find it’ (Ankh. 23/12) p. 178

- D191** *tm nhet irm pzy=k ddy bw-ir hzt=f ms w* ‘Do not trust your enemy, lest his heart bear cursing’ (Ins. 12/8) p. 178
- D192** *wn t3 nt mh pzy=s w.y rnn.t iw mn iw* ‘There is the one who fills her house with wealth while there is no income’ (Ins. 8/8) p. 178
- D193** *snhy pzy=k w.y tn wne sp-sn gm=k pzy=f 3d* ‘Inspect your house hourly so that you find its thief’ (Ankh. 17/22) p. 178
- D194** *p3 nt ti sm tf3 r t3 p.t iir=f hy r-hr=f* ‘The one who sends spittle to the sky, it is upon him that it falls’ (Ankh. 11/10) p. 179
- D195** *iir p3 lh hr hnst.t n p3 hyr r-tbe w-n-he.t* ‘It is because of gluttony (lit. greatness-of-belly) that the fool is in bad odour in the street’ (Ins. 5/18) p. 179
- D196** *ls hne rmt swg tzy=f sfy n st ht* ‘The foolish tongue (of) a stupid man is the knife that cuts off his life (lit. his knife for cutting off life)’ (Ins. 4/5) p. 180
- D197** *m-ir ht r p3 ts n ky* ‘Do not trespass on the territory of another’ (Ankh. 14/21) p. 180
- D198** *tm hms tm ht hn st-shn iw=f yys* ‘Do not sit, do not stand in an affair that is urgent’ (Ins. 10/21) p. 181
- D199** *bn-iw n3-s3 shm.t dn.t hn t3 my.t n rn=s in / hr hyr shn nfr r hrw p3 ntr n-im=w* ‘The women who follow the above teaching are rarely bad / (Their) good condition comes about through the god’s command (lit. through the voice (of) the god in them)’ (Ins. 8/6–7) p. 185
- D200** *wn t3 nt mh pzy=s w.y rnn.t iw mn iw / wn t3 nt ir nb(.t) hs.t nb(.t) pr hn tzy=s 3my.t / wn t3 nt iw iw=y ir-rh st hr p3 hsf n shm.t dn(.t)* ‘There is the one who fills her house (with) wealth while there is no income / There is the one who acts as mistress (of) praise (and as) mistress (of the) house by virtue of her character / There is the one whom I hold her in contempt (lit. know her under contempt) as a bad woman’ (Ins. 8/8–10) pp. 185, 200
- D201** *bn-iw shm.t n.t in t3 nt hsy n hzt ky* ‘A good woman is not the one who praises the heart (of) another (man)’ (Ins. 8/15) p. 185
- D202** *h3 pzy=k st-shn (n) (n) p3 ntr* ‘Leave your fortune (in) the hand (of) the god’ (Ankh. 11/23) p. 188
- D203** *m-ir d sm pzy wn-mtw=f pr.t* ‘Do not say: “It is summer”; there is winter (too)’ (Ankh. 9/16) pp. 189, 204
- D204** *hr st p3 ntr hnwh hn gw3.t iw p3 mwt hne / hr nhm=f p3 ih nt iw t3 nmy.t m-s3 tb=f* ‘The god turns away fear in the straits when death is near / He saves the ox after whose branding is the slaughter stone’ (Ins. 20/21–22) p. 190
- D205** *iw=f mhy iw=f htb bw-ir=f n m-kt y msh* ‘He (i.e. the god) is similar (to a snake?) when he kills; he is merciless like a crocodile’ (Ins. 29/14) p. 190
- D206** *hr t nkt pzy=f nb* ‘Wealth seizes its owner’ (Ankh. 9/22) p. 190
- D207** *my nw tzy=k hm.t r pzy=k nkt m-ir nhte.t=s r-ir=f* ‘Let your wife look at your property; do not trust her with it’ (Ankh. 12/1) pp. 193, 224
- D208** *m-ir nhte.t=s r pzy=s spte w.t rnp(.t)* ‘Do not trust her (even) with her provisions (of) one year’ (Ankh. 12/14) p. 193
- D209** *sb3.t n shm.t myh s iw=f st t.t=f* ‘The teaching of a woman is (like) a sack (of) sand whose side is split open’ (Ankh. 13/20) pp. 193, 224

- D210** *iw=k dr hwy nzy=k dm'.w r p3 yr iw=k gby hwy st 'n* 'If you are strong, throw your documents into the river; if you are weak, throw them also' (Ankh. 18/6) p. 193
- D211** *hne iw bw-ir=f n' p3 nt mwahw h n nzy=f iwfw* 'A friend who is merciless is the one who burns his limbs' (Ins. 18/10) pp. 194, 200
- D212** *h3' p3 btw n w' hr3 sm ir=f w' ih* 'Leave the wrongdoer to a bundle (of) hay that he may be an ox' (P 2377 13) p. 194
- D213** *wn p3 nt 'nh sbk r-tbe sk mtw=w ir 3ft.t / wn p3 nt bw-ir rh=f mtw p3 3y ti rnn.t* 'There is the one who lives on little in order to save and he becomes poor / There is the one who does not know and the fate gives (him) wealth' (Ins. 7/13–14) p. 194
- D214** *hr tw p3 ntr rnn.t hn wtb iw mn iw / hr tw=f hpr 3ft.t 'n hn 3sw3.t iw mn ht* 'The god gives a wealth of (lit. in) supplies without an income / He also gives poverty to the purse without spending (lit. without money)' (Ins. 7/17–18) pp. 195, 234
- D215** *wn dth ti 'nh / wn wy n htb* 'There is imprisonment (for) giving life / There is release for killing' (Ankh. 26/5–6) p. 195
- D216** *hr (ir) grmp 3ss.t n tzy=s nb r-tbe he.t=s* 'A pigeon brings harm to its master because of its belly' (Ins. 6/6) p. 195
- D217** *hr (ir) bne ph r btw r-tbe hr3.wt sbk mtw=s* 'A swallow comes to punishment (or, grief?) because of the little food it has' (Ins. 6/7) p. 195
- D218** *bw-ir=w 33' '3 hr tzy=f 3tp.t r-tbe hwhw* 'One does not praise a donkey carrying a load because of (its) bray' (Ins. 23/3) p. 196
- D219** *ihy h3.t tgy ht nb ihy h.t tgy nhy* 'End by planting any tree, begin by planting a sycamore' (Ankh. 20/4) p. 199
- D220** *rmt hm iw n3-'3 tzy=f b3.t n3-'3 tzy=f hm3t.t / rmt '3 iw n3-hm tzy=f b3.t n3-'3 tzy=f hs.t* 'A small man whose anger is great, his stench is great / A great man whose anger is small, his praises are many' (Ankh. 7/19–20) p. 199
- D221** *m-ir 3tm bw-ir=w 3tm=k* 'Do not slander (anyone) so that no one slanders you' (P 2414 2/1) p. 199
- D222** *p3 nt iw=f d bn-iw=y rh 3sp mr my w3d=f p3-R' / p3 nt iw=f d bn-iw=y rh ir* *p3 wpt.t my w3d=f p3-R'* 'The one who says: "I shall not be able to endure suffering", let him pray to Re / The one who says: "I shall not be able to do the task", let him (also) pray to Re' (P 2377 8–9) pp. 185, 199, 232
- D223** *ih pr wn.w p3 nt iw wn tr.t=f* 'A house is open (to) the one who has something (in) his hand' (P 2414 1/10) pp. 185, 200
- D224** *m-ir mr mt.t* 'Do not worry about anything' (Ankh. 6/23) p. 200
- D225** *he.t 3hm.t h3t hte* 'Belly (of) a woman, heart (of) a horse' (Ankh. 23/24) pp. 201, 208
- D226** *p3 nt iw bw-ir=f t h.t sm bw-ir=f hm=f n pr.t* 'The one who does not gather wood in the summer, he is not warm in the winter' (Ankh. 9/17) p. 202
- D227** *gby p3-R' h.(t) n3 3sb3.w gby=w h.t=f m whm / hpr Hr iw=f kpe h.(t) p3 dwf* *ir=f hry r p3 t3 n whm* 'When Pre had weakened before the enemies, they weakened before him in turn / When Horus had been hidden behind the papyrus swamp, he became master of the earth in turn' (Ins. 20/17–18) p. 204

- D228** *wn p3 nt iw iw=w sš=f r-tbe gnn mtw=f w h3t ky n-im=s* ‘There is the one who is scorned because of (his) gentleness and yet he is patient (lit. great-(of)-heart) (towards) another through it’ (Ins. 27/16) pp. 205, 206
- D229** *m-ir kpe mtw=k ti gm=w t=k* ‘Do not hide and then let yourself be found’ (Ankh. 7/8) p. 208
- D230** *m-ir šm n=k mtw=k iy h’=k* ‘Do not go away and then come back on your own’ (Ankh. 7/11) p. 208
- D231** *šmy.t rmt t3y=f mhw.t* ‘The character (of) a man is his family’ (Ankh. 11/11) pp. 208, 214
- D232** *rmt iw mn-mtw=f tme t3y=f šmy.t t3y=f mhw.t* ‘A man who has no town, his character is his family’ (Ankh. 18/13) p. 208
- D233** *tmy iw mn-mtw=k mhw.t n-im=f h3t=k t3y=k mhw.t* ‘(In) a town in which you have no family, your heart is your family’ (Ankh. 25/16) p. 209
- D234** *tr.t nb(.t) swtn r p3 ntr iir=f šp tr.t p3y=f mrt* ‘Every hand is stretched out to the god, (but) he receives (only) the hand (of) his beloved’ (Ankh. 23/14) p. 209
- D235** *n3-š3 mt.t hm.t iw šw snte n=s* ‘Many are (the) small things that are worthy of respect (lit. for which respect is worthy)’ (Ins. 25/7) p. 210
- D236** *p3 nt prī n p3 3st hr st=f s r-ir=f n* ‘What comes out from the earth, it returns to it again’ (Ins. 30/6) p. 211
- D237** *p3 nt snte n=f h(.t) btw hr ir=f bl r btw nb* ‘The one who fears harm for himself, he escapes all harm’ (Ins. 24/1) p. 211
- D238** *tm hyt tm dm’.t tm ir wd3 rwš* ‘Do not fear, do not be lazy, do not let worry flourish’ (Ins. 25/24) p. 211
- D239** *š[ms p3y]=k ntr ir=f n=k tym / šms n3y=k sn.w hpr n=k syt nfr / šms rmt rh ir=f šms.t=k* ‘Serve [your] god that he may protect you / Serve your brothers so that you may have a good reputation / Serve a wise man that he may serve you’ (Ankh. 6/1–3) p. 298
- D240** *p3 rmt swg nt wh3 sif hr in n=f ls=f sy.t* ‘The stupid man who wants to deceive, his tongue brings him harm’ (Ins. 12/5) p. 212
- D241** *tm nhēt irm lh r-tbe p3 in n=k iw=f sm* ‘Do not trust a fool because of bringing to you (something) that is blessed’ (Ins. 12/4) p. 214
- D242** *m-ir w3h w.y n sh.t* ‘Do not put a house on agricultural land’ (Ankh. 14/22) p. 214
- D243** *syf sntr hsmn hm3 phr.t hm.t phr(.t) n3y=f shy.w* ‘Cedar oil, incense, natron, salt, and “burning remedy” are remedy (for) his (i.e. of him who thinks of death for the sake of gain) wounds’ (Ins. 18/9) p. 216
- D244** *iiry n=k hm.t iw=k h’ rnp(.t) 20.t hpr n=k šr iw=k hl* ‘Take a wife for yourself when you are twenty years old so that you may have a son (lit. that a son may happen for you) while you are young’ (Ankh. 11/7) p. 225
- D245** *hmy iw wn mtw=y iw wn mtw p3y=y sn wnm=y p3y=y iw bn-pw=y dm* ‘May I have something when my brother has something, so that I eat my own without having struggled (for it)!’ (Ankh. 10/16) p. 226
- D246** *p3 mwt irm p3 nhl rsyf bw-ir rh=n n p3y=f šp* ‘The death and the life (of) tomorrow, we do not know of its (or, their) (nature)’ (Ins. 17/6) pp. 226, 228

- D247** *mn ʾry sny wʿ.ḏ=f / mn rmt rh gm sy* ‘No companion goes by alone / No wise man comes to grief’ (Ankh. 21/6–7) p. 231
- D248** *m-ʾr ʿf bw-ʾr=w štm.ḏ=k / m-ʾr ḥns bw-ʾr=w mst.ḏ=k* ‘Do not be greedy, lest you be scolded / Do not be stingy, lest you be hated’ (Ankh. 21/15–16) p. 231
- D249** *ʾʾr=f ph r ʿw,y ʾw p3 sy wh3 ʾr bl ḥ.ḏ=f / ʾʾr=f ph r mhw.t ʾw=f ḥ3 ʿ n3 sn.w ʾw=w ḏḏy* ‘When it reaches a house, the fate will seek to escape from it / When it reaches a family, it will leave the brothers as (lit. while they are) enemies’ (Ins. 34/6–7) p. 233
- D250** *my ph=f r t3y=f hw.t nhe / p3 nt ʾw=f ʾy m-s3=f ʾw=f ti ʿnh=k* ‘Let him reach his house (of) eternity / The one who comes after him, he will support you (lit. cause that you live)’ (Ankh. 17/19–20) p. 233
- D251** *ybz.t rmt rh rmt-ntr ʾw=s hne r p3 mwt hr nhḏ=s p3y=s nb n-ʾm=s* ‘A sickness (of) a wise man and a man of god, when it is close to death, it strengthens its victim (lit. master) through it’ (Ins. 28/3) p. 234
- D252** *wḫ.t sbḏ.t hrʿ3.t sbḏ.t n3-ʿn=f r sy ʾw=k wḫ / wḫ.t n lh r-tbe he.ḏ=f kty m-s3 p3 mwt n ḥns* ‘A lowly occupation and lowly food, they are better than being sated when you are away / The occupation of one who is foolish about his belly (lit. a fool because of his belly) is roaming after a violent death’ (Ins. 28/1–2) p. 234

Greek proverbs

- G1** οὐκ ἔστιν σοφίας κτῆμα τιμώτερον ‘No possession (is) more honourable than wisdom’ (Clit. 68) p. 60
- G2** πιστοῦ πλοῦτος ἐγκράτεια ‘The wealth of a pious man (is) self-control’ (Sext. 294) p. 60
- G3** ἐκ φιλαυτίας ἀδικία φύεται ‘From selfishness injustice is grown’ (Sext. 138) pp. 60, 114
- G4** ἀλαζών φιλόσοφος οὐκ ἔστιν ‘There is no braggart philosopher’ (Sext. 284) p. 61
- G5** ἔπαινον ἔξεις, ἂν κρατῇς ὧν δεῖ κρατεῖν ‘You will be praised (lit. have praise), if you control what one should control’ (Men. Mon. 210) p. 63
- G6** σαρκὸς μὴ ἔρα ‘Do not love the flesh’ (Sext. 291) p. 65
- G7** σκέπτου πρὸ τοῦ λέγειν ἵνα μὴ λέγῃς εἰκῇ ‘Think before you speak so that you do not speak at random’ (Men. Mon. 565) pp. 66, 179
- G8** εὐχου δ’ ἔχειν τι, καὶ ἔχῃς, ἔξεις φίλους ‘Wish you own something, and if you do, you will have friends’ (Men. Mon. 247) p. 66
- G9** οὐδεὶς πονηρὸν προᾶγμα χρηστός ὢν ποιεῖ ‘No one does an evil thing, if he is good’ (Men. Mon. 615) p. 69
- G10** ἀγαθὸν μέγιστον ἢ φρόνησις ἐστὶ ἀεί ‘Prudence is always the greatest good’ (Men. Mon. 14) p. 88
- G11** γυναικὶ κόσμος ὁ τρόπος, οὐ τὰ χρυσία ‘The ornament of a woman (is her) conduct not (her) golden jewellery’ (Men. Mon. 148) p. 88
- G12** ἀναφαίρετον κτῆμ’ ἐστὶ παιδεία βροτοῖς ‘Education for human beings

- (lit. mortals) is a possession that cannot be taken away' (Men. Mon. 2) pp. 88, 230
- G13** βίος βίου δεόμενος οὐκ ἔστιν βίος 'A life that is lacking in (means of) life is not life' (Men. Mon. 115) p. 88
- G14** μεγάλη τυραννὶς ἀνδρὶ τέκνα καὶ γυνή 'A great tyranny for a man (are his) children and wife' (Men. Mon. 506) p. 88
- G15** κοινὸν ἀγαθὸν τοῦτ' ἐστὶ, χρηστὸς εὐτυχῶν 'This is a public good (thing), (that is,) a good (man) who is in good fortune' (Men. Mon. 420) pp. 88, 89
- G16** ἀνώμαλοι πλάστιγγες ἀστάτου τύχης 'Uneven (are) the scales of balance of unstable fortune' (Men. Mon. 82) pp. 88, 89
- G17** γυναικὸς ἐσθλῆς ἐστὶ σφῶζειν οἰκίαν 'Preserving a house is (a characteristic) of a noble woman' (Men. Mon. 140) pp. 88, 89
- G18** δις ἑξαμαρτεῖν ταῦτόν οὐκ ἀνδρὸς σοφοῦ 'To make the same mistake twice (is) not (a characteristic) of a wise man' (Men. Mon. 183) p. 89
- G19** ὧν ἐπιθυμεῖ τις δοῦλός ἐστιν 'One is a slave when he desires (something)' (Clit. 12) pp. 89, 109
- G20** ἔστι(ν) τὸ τολμᾶν, ὦ φίλ', ἀνδρὸς οὐ σοφοῦ 'To dare, friend, is not (a characteristic) of a wise man' (Men. Mon. 248) p. 89
- G21** θάλασσα καὶ πῦρ καὶ γυνὴ τρίτον κακόν 'Woman (is) the third evil thing (after) sea and fire' (Men. Mon. 323) p. 89
- G22** εὐκαταφρόνητός ἐστι σιγηρὸς τρόπος 'Contemptible is a silent way of conduct' (Men. Mon. 240) p. 90
- G23** εὐπειστον ἀνὴρ δυστυχῆς καὶ λυπούμενος 'A sad and miserable man (is) easily convinced' (Men. Mon. 249) pp. 90, 91
- G24** ἅπαξ ἀκοῦσαι τοὺς ἐλευθέρους καλόν 'It (is) good that the free (men) listen (at least) once' (Men. Mon. 6) p. 90
- G25** εὐρεῖν τὸ δίκαιον πανταχῶς οὐ ῥάδιον 'To find justice in every way (is) not easy' (Men. Mon. 257) p. 90
- G26** ὧν κοινὸς ὁ θεὸς καὶ ταῦτα ὡς πατήρ, τούτων μὴ κοινὰ εἶναι τὰ κτήματα οὐκ εὐσεβές 'For men who have God in common, and that as Father, for those it (is) impious for their possessions not to be in common' (Sext. 228) pp. 90, 110
- G27** οὐ χαλεπὸν καὶ ἐν λόγῳ νενικῆσθαι 'It (is) not difficult to have good knowledge and yet lose an argument' (Sext. 187) pp. 90, 120
- G28** οὐ τὸ μὴ ζῆν δεινόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ καλῶς ζῆν 'Not living is not a sad (thing), but not living well (is)' (Phil. Log. 51–52) p. 90
- G29** ἀνὴρ ἀριστος οὐκ ἂν εἴη δυσγενής 'A very noble man is not likely to be low-born' (Men. Mon. 32) p. 90
- G30** βέλτιον πολλὰ χρήματα ἀπολέσαντα ἓνα φίλον κτήσασθαι ἢ ἓνα φίλον ἀπολέσαντα πολλὰ χρήματα κτήσασθαι 'To have one friend after you have lost a lot of money (is) better than having a lot of money after you have lost one friend' (Mosch. Gn. 4) p. 90
- G31** ἄμεινον δικαίως κρίναντα πρὸς τοῦ καταδικασθέντος ἀδίκως μεμψῆσθαι ἢ κρίναντα παρὰ τῇ φύσει δικαίως ψέγεσθαι 'Better (is) to accuse the one who justly judges of a (man) who has been wrongly condemned

- than to blame the one who judges justly by nature' (Mosch. Gn. 15) p. 90
- G32** γυναῖκα θάπτειν κρείσσον ἔστι(ν) ἢ γαμεῖν 'To bury a woman is better than marrying (one)' (Men. Mon. 151) p. 90
- G33** γνώμη γερόντων ἀσφαλεστέρα νέων 'The opinion of the old men (is) safer than (that) of young ones' (Men. Mon. 164) p. 91
- G34** ἄμεινόν (ἐστιν) ἀνδρὶ μὴ γαμετὴν [ἐκ]τρέφειν '(It is) better for a man not to feed a wife' (Men. Mon. 90) p. 91
- G35** ἀχάριστος, ὅστις εὖ παθὼν ἀμνημονεῖ 'Ungrateful (is) the one who forgets when he receives benefits' (Men. Mon. 12) pp. 91, 92
- G36** χρηστός ὢν εἰς τοὺς δεομένους μέγας ἂν εἴης παρὰ θεῷ 'If you are good to the needy, you would be great in God's sight' (Sext. 52) pp. 91, 109
- G37** σώφρων ἐστὶν οὐχ ὁ τῶν κωλυομένων μὴ ἀπτόμενος, ἀλλ' ὁ τῶν συγχωρουμένων φειδόμενος 'Prudent is not the one who does not touch what is forbidden, but the one who is sparing of what is permitted' (Mosch. Gn. 8) pp. 91, 202, 214
- G38** πιστός ἀληθείᾳ ὁ ἀναμάρτητος 'The sinless (man) (is) truly faithful' (Sext. 8) p. 91
- G39** οὐ γὰρ μικρόν ἐν βίῳ τὸ παρὰ μικρόν 'In life (even) the smallest thing (is) not trivial (lit. small)' (Sext. 10) pp. 91, 211
- G40** ἀσυλλόγιστόν ἐστιν ἡ πονηρία 'An unreasoning (thing) is wickedness' (Men. Mon. 36) p. 91
- G41** ὃ τρισυκακοδαίμων, ὅστις ὢν πένης γαμεῖ 'O thrice-wretched (lit. possessed by an evil genius), he who marries when poor!' (Men. Mon. 861) pp. 92, 94, 197
- G42** ὃ Ζεῦ, τὸ πάντων κρείττον ἐστὶ νοῦν ἔχειν 'O Zeus, better than anything is to be sensible' (Men. Mon. 866) pp. 92, 228, 229
- G43** φιλόσοφον οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀφαιρεῖται 'No thing that takes away freedom is philosophical' (Sext. 275) p. 92
- G44** οὐδὲν ἀκοινώνητον ἀγαθόν 'Nothing that is not shared (is) good' (Sext. 296) p. 92
- G45** ἄνευ προφάσεως οὐδὲν ἀνθρώποις κακόν 'No bad (thing) for men (exists) without a reason' (Men. Mon. 44) p. 92
- G46** βέβαιον οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἐν θνητῷ βίῳ 'Nothing is certain in mortal life' (Men. Mon. 96) p. 92
- G47** βουλῆς γὰρ ὀρθῆς οὐδὲν ἀσφαλέστερον 'Nothing (is) more reliable than a right counsel' (Men. Mon. 109) p. 92
- G48** ἰσχυρότερον δέ γ' οὐδὲν ἐστὶ τοῦ λόγου 'Nothing is indeed stronger than reasoning' (Men. Mon. 361) p. 92
- G49** ἀνδρὸς καλῶς πράττοντος ἐγγὺς οἱ φίλοι 'His friends (are) close to the man who is enjoying good fortune' (Men. Mon. 71) p. 92
- G50** ἐν πλησμονῇ τοι Κύπρις, ἐν πεινῶσι οὐ 'Aphrodite (goes) indeed to the sated and not to the hungry' (Men. Mon. 231) p. 93
- G51** οἰκείων ὀργὰς δύνασθαι φέρειν κατὰ φιλόσοφον 'The ability to endure the anger of friends (is) in accord with the philosopher' (Sext. 293) p. 93

- G52** διὰ τὰς γυναῖκας πάντα τὰ κακά γίνεται ‘On account of women all evils come to pass’ (Men. Mon. 203) p. 93
- G53** ὁ μὴ δαρεῖς ἄνθρωπος οὐ παιδεύεται ‘The man who does not get beaten does not get educated’ (Men. Mon. 573) p. 93
- G54** ὃν οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν, ἀποθνήσκει νέος ‘The one whom the gods like dies young’ (Men. Mon. 583) p. 93
- G55** γυνὴ (δὲ) κολακεύει σε τοῦ λαβεῖν χάριν ‘A woman flatters you for the sake of getting (something)’ (Men. Mon. 167) p. 93
- G56** οὐκ ὀφθαλμός οὐδὲ χεὶρ ἁμαρτάνει οὐδέ τι τῶν ὁμοίων, ἀλλ’ ὁ κακῶς χρῶμενος χειρὶ καὶ ὀφθαλμῷ ‘Neither an eye nor a hand nor any such thing sins, but he who misuses a hand and an eye’ (Sext. 12) p. 93
- G57** οὐ τὰ εἰσιόντα διὰ τοῦ στόματος σιτία καὶ ποτὰ μαιίνει τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἀπὸ κακοῦ ἥθους ἐξιόντα ‘Not the food and drinks that come in through the mouth, but what results from an evil moral defiles a man’ (Sext. 110) p. 93
- G58** σοφοῦ ψυχῆς μέγεθος οὐκ ἂν ἐξεύροις μᾶλλον ἢ περ καὶ θεοῦ ‘You would not discover the greatness of a wise man’s soul any more than the very (greatness) of God’ (Sext. 403) p. 93
- G59** τὸν ἀδικοῦντα τοῦ ἀδικεῖν ἀπαλλάττων κολάζεις ἂν κατὰ θεόν ‘By releasing an unjust (person) from (his) wrongdoing, you would punish (him) in accord with God’ (Sext. 63) p. 93
- G60** οἷμοι, τὸ γὰρ ἄφνω δυστυχεῖν μανίαν ποιεῖ ‘Woe’s me, the sudden misfortune gives birth to (lit. makes) madness!’ (Men. Mon. 602) p. 93
- G61** σοφὸν ὁ μὴ φιλῶν, οὐδὲ ἑαυτόν ‘The one who does not love a wise man (he does not) also (love) himself’ (Men. Mon. 877) pp. 94, 118
- G62** ὃ γῆρας ἀνθρώποισιν εὐκταῖον κακόν ‘O old age, evil (thing) desired by men!’ (Sext. 226) p. 94
- G63** ἄνθρωπον ὄντα δεῖ φρονεῖν τὰνθρώπινα ‘Being a man, (one) should think (only) of human matters’ (Men. Mon. 1) pp. 86, 94
- G64** τὸν φιλόσοφον οὐ τὸν χρηματισμὸν ἐλευθεροῦν δεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὴν ψυχὴν ‘The philosopher must be free not in the collection of wealth but in the soul’ (Sext. 392) pp. 86, 94, 95, 113
- G65** γράμματα μαθεῖν δεῖ καὶ μαθόντα νοῦν ἔχειν ‘(A man) should learn to read and write and when he has learned, he would be sensible’ (Men. Mon. 152) p. 94
- G66** κακοπραγμανοεῖν γὰρ οὐ πρόπει τὸν ἐλεύθερον ‘The free man must not harm (anyone)’ (Men. Mon. 428) pp. 94, 95
- G67** νέῳ δὲ σιγᾶν μᾶλλον ἢ λαλεῖν πρέπει ‘To the young man it is appropriate to keep silent rather than speak’ (Men. Mon. 521) p. 94
- G68** σοφοῦ παρ’ ἀνδρὸς χρὴ σοφόν τι μανθάνειν ‘From a wise man (one) should learn something wise’ (Men. Mon. 718) p. 95
- G69** οὐ χρὴ φέρειν τὰ πρόσθεν ἐν μνήμῃ κακά ‘(A man) must not bear bad matters of the past in (his) memory’ (Men. Mon. 589) p. 95
- G70** ὁ προσδεχόμενος κατὰ τοῦ φίλου φαῦλον λόγον, οὐχ ἥττον τοῦ ἐνδιαβάλ-
λοντος εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ ‘It seems to me that the one who accepts a
bad word against a friend is not less (responsible) than the one who
calumniates’ (Phil. Log. 115–116) p. 95

- G71** ἐν γὰρ γυναίξιν πίστιν οὐκ ἔξεστ' ἰδεῖν 'It is not possible to find faith in women' (Men. Mon. 233) p. 95
- G72** βαβαὶ τὸ μικρὸν ὄμμα πῶς πολλὰ βλέπει 'Ah, how many (things) the small eye can see!' (Men. Mon. 130) p. 95
- G73** καιρὸς γὰρ δεσποτεῦων καὶ πᾶσιν δύναμιν διδοί 'Time that rules grants power to everyone' (Men. Mon. 424) p. 96
- G74** ἀεὶ τὸ λυποῦν ἐκδίωκε τοῦ βίου 'Always chase away what is painful from life' (Men. Mon. 3) p. 96
- G75** ἄνθρωπος ὢν μέμνησο τῆς κοινῆς τύχης 'Being a man, remember the common fate' (Men. Mon. 10) p. 97
- G76** δίκαιος εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ χρηστός θέλε 'Aim to be righteous rather than good' (Men. Mon. 174) p. 97
- G77** ὧν ἡγεμόνες οἱ πόνοι, ταῦτά σοι εὖχον γενέσθαι μετὰ τοὺς πόνους 'The things that come through hard effort (lit. the things whose leaders (are) the toils), wish for yourself that these come as a reward for your toils' (Sext. 125) p. 97
- G78** αἰοῦ πάντα τὰ θνητὰ καὶ τὰ γήινα ἀπολέσαντα ἓνα ἀθάνατον καὶ οὐράνιον κτήσασθαι 'Choose, after you have lost all the mortal and earthly (things), to have one immortal and heavenly (thing)' (Mosch. Gn. 13) p. 97
- G79** γάμει δὲ μὴ τὴν προῖκα, τὴν γυναῖκα δέ 'Marry not the dowry but the woman' (Men. Mon. 154) pp. 97, 114
- G80** ἄρχων μὲν ἐπιτήδευε προῖος εἶναι, ἀρχόμενος δὲ μεγαλόφρων 'When you are ruling, accustom (yourself) to being calm, while when you are being ruled, (accustom yourself to being) high-minded' (Clit. 55) p. 97
- G81** τὰ μὲν τοῦ κόσμου τῷ κόσμῳ, τὰ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ θεῷ ἀκριβῶς ἀποδίδου 'Render with care the (things) of the world to the world and the (things) of God to God' (Sext. 20) p. 97
- G82** εὐγενεῖς εἶναι νόμιζε, μὴ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν γεγεννημένους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς καλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ προαιρουμένους 'Consider noble not those who are born from fine and good parents, but those who choose fine and good (things)' (Phil. Log. 79–81) pp. 97, 200
- G83** σοφὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ γυμνὸς ὢν δοκεῖτω σοὶ σοφὸς εἶναι 'Let yourself consider a wise man to be wise even when he is naked' (Sext. 191) pp. 97, 98
- G84** ἀνιάτω σε μᾶλλον τέκνα κακῶς ζῶντα τοῦ μὴ ζῆν 'Let yourself be more distressed about children who live wickedly than by death' (Sext. 254) p. 97
- G85** ὁ προνοῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐχόμενός τε ὑπὲρ πάντων οὗτος ἀληθεῖα θεοῦ νομίζεσθω 'The one who takes care of people and prays for everyone's sake, let this (man) be considered truly (a man) of God' (Sext. 372) pp. 97, 111
- G86** ποτόν σοι πᾶν ἥδὺ ἔστω 'Let every drink be pleasing to you' (Sext. 268) p. 98
- G87** ἐλεγγόμενος ἵνα γένη σοφὸς χάριν ἴσθι τοῖς ἐλέγχουσιν 'When you are being examined (or, rebuked) in order to become wise, be grateful to those who examine (or, rebuke) you' (Sext. 245) p. 98

- G88** ἀθάνατον ἔχθραν μὴ φύλαττε θνητὸς ὢν ‘Do not maintain immortal enmity, since you are a mortal’ (Men. Mon. 5) pp. 98, 109
- G89** σύμβουλος ἐσθλός, μὴ κακὸς γίνου φίλοις ‘Be a good counsellor and not a bad one to (your) friends’ (Men. Mon. 704) p. 98
- G90** ἃ ψέγεις, μὴδὲ ποιεῖ ‘What you reproach do not do’ (Sext. 90) p. 98
- G91** ὅπερ μεταδιδούς ἄλλοις αὐτὸς οὐχ ἔξεις, μὴ κρίνης ἀγαθὸν εἶναι ‘The very (thing) that after giving others part (of it) you will not have for yourself do not consider good’ (Sext. 295) p. 98
- G92** ὃ πράττων οὐκ ἂν θέλοις εἰδέναι τὸν θεόν, τοῦτο μὴ πράξεις ‘Whatever you do and would not want God to know, this do not do’ (Sext. 94) p. 98
- G93** ὅπερ φεύγεις παθεῖν, τοῦτο μὴ ἐπιχείρει διατιθέναι ‘Exactly what you avoid having been done (to you), this do not try to arrange (for others)’ (Mosch. Gn. 7) pp. 98, 113
- G94** μὴδὲ κασιγνήτων ἀλόχων ἐπὶ δέμνια βαίνειν ‘Do not go to bed with the wives of your brothers’ (Ps.-Phoc. 183) p. 99
- G95** ἀνὴρ ἀχάριστος μὴ νομιζέσθω φίλος ‘Let not an ungrateful man be considered a friend’ (Men. Mon. 49) p. 99
- G96** ἃ ψέγομεν ἡμεῖς, ταῦτα μὴ μιμώμεθα ‘What we reproach, these let us not imitate’ (Men. Mon. 7) pp. 99, 111
- G97** μὴ ἴσθι χαίρων ἐπ’ ἀλλοτρίοις κακοῖς, ἀλλὰ μάλλον ἐπὶ οἰκείοις ἀγαθοῖς ‘Do not be glad with the misfortunes of others but more with your own good (things)’ (Phil. Log. 77–78) pp. 99, 185, 199
- G98** πρόνοιαν ἀγαθοῦ πανταχοῦ ποιοῦ, φίλος ‘Take thought for the good in all cases, friend’ (Men. Mon. 676) pp. 99, 142, 228
- G99** οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν κτῆμα κάλλιον φίλου ‘There is no better possession than a friend’ (Men. Mon. 575) p. 99
- G100** οὐκ ἔστι λύπης χεῖρον ἀνθρώποις κακόν ‘There is no worse evil for men than pain’ (Men. Mon. 563) p. 99
- G101** οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς, ὅστις οὐχ αὐτὸν φιλεῖ ‘There is no one who does not love himself’ (Men. Mon. 560) p. 100
- G102** οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅστις πάντ’ ἀνὴρ εὐδαμονεῖ ‘There is no man who is fortunate in everything’ (Men. Mon. 596) p. 100
- G103** οὐκ ἔστιν εὐρεῖν βίον ἄλυπον οὐδενὸς ‘It is not possible to find a life of someone that (is) without pain’ (Men. Mon. 570) p. 100
- G104** οὐκ ἔστιν βιώναι καλῶς μὴ πεπιστευκότα γνησίως ‘It is not possible for the one who does not really have faith to live well’ (Sext. 196) p. 100
- G105** οὐκ ἔστιν κατὰ θεὸν ζῆν ἄνευ τοῦ σωφρόνως καὶ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως πράττειν ‘It is not possible to live in accord with God without acting prudently, graciously, and righteously’ (Sext. 399) p. 100
- G106** οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἀδικῶν τις ἀνθρώπον σέβει τὸν θεόν ‘It cannot be that the one who wrongs a man worships God’ (Sext. 370) p. 100
- G107** ἄξεις ἀλύτῳ τὸν βίον χωρὶς γάμου ‘You will lead a life without misery, if you do not get married (lit. without marriage)’ (Men. Mon. 72) pp. 101, 102
- G108** δίκαια δράσας συμμάχους ἔξεις θεούς ‘Having acted justly you will have gods as your allies’ (Men. Mon. 188) pp. 101, 109

- G109** φιλῶν ἃ μὴ δεῖ οὐ φιλήσεις ἃ δεῖ 'If/when you love what you should not, you will not love what you should' (Sext. 141) pp. 101, 102
- G110** ὁπότε ἁμαρτάνων εἰ τἀληθῆ λέγων, ἀναγκαίως τότε ψευδῆ λέγων οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεις 'When you sin by speaking the truth, (it is) then that surely you will not sin by speaking insincerely' (Sext. 165c) p. 101
- G111** ἀνὴρ ὁ φεύγων καὶ πάλιν μαχήσεται 'The man who escapes (or, the accused man) will fight again' (Men. Mon. 56) pp. 101, 102
- G112** ὃ ἂν τιμήσῃς ὑπὲρ πάντα, ἐκεῖνό σου κυριεύσει 'Whatever you honour above all, that will rule you' (Sext. 41) pp. 101, 110
- G113** κηδόμενος ὀρφανῶν πατὴρ ἔσῃ πλειόνων τέκνων θεοφιλῆς 'If you take care of orphans, you will be a father of many children and loved by God' (Sext. 340) p. 102
- G114** οὐπώποτ' ἐξήλωσα πολυτελῆ νεκρόν 'I have never till now envied a man buried in a costly way' (Men. Mon. 446) p. 103
- G115** λιμός μέγιστον ἄλγος ἀνθρώποις ἔφυ 'Hunger is (by nature) the greatest pain for human beings' (Men. Mon. 601) p. 103
- G116** ὁ θεὸς ὅσα ἐποίησεν, ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων αὐτὰ ἐποίησεν 'What God has created, he created them for the sake of men' (Sext. 31) pp. 103, 110
- G117** λόγῳ μ' ἐπεισας φαρμάκῳ σοφωτάτῳ 'You have convinced me with reasoning, the clearest remedy' (Men. Mon. 437) pp. 103, 109
- G118** πιστὸν εἰπὼν σεαυτὸν ὁμολόγησας μὴδὲ ἁμαρτεῖν θεῷ 'By calling yourself a believer you have pledged that you will not sin (against) God' (Sext. 234) p. 103
- G119** γαμεῖν δὲ μέλλων βλέπον εἰς τοὺς γείτονας 'When you are planning to get married, rely on (or, look upon) the neighbours' (Men. Mon. 160) pp. 103, 104
- G120** ζῆν οὐκ ἔδει γυναῖκα κατὰ πολλοὺς τρόπους 'A woman ought not to be alive for many reasons' (Men. Mon. 283) p. 104
- G121** ἐφ' οἷς εὐλόγως μεγαλοφρονεῖς, ταῦτα κέκτησο 'The (things) of which you are rightfully proud, possess these' (Sext. 121b) p. 104
- G122** ἐάν τι δῶς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γνωσθῆναι, οὐκ ἀνθρώπῳ δέδωκας, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἡδονῇ 'If you give something in order to attract attention, you have given it not for the sake of humanity, but for your own pleasure' (Sext. 342) p. 104
- G123** ἄρ' ἐστὶ θυμοῦ φάρμακον χρηστὸς λόγος; 'Is good reasoning the remedy of temper?' (Men. Mon. 46) pp. 105, 231
- G124** ἄρ' ἐστὶ πάντων ἀγρυπνία καλλίστατον; 'Is wakefulness the best among all (things)?' (Men. Mon. 53) pp. 105, 231
- G125** ἄρ' ἐστὶ συγγενές τι λύπη καὶ βίος; 'Is misery a thing akin to life?' (Men. Mon. 54) p. 105
- G126** γήρως δὲ φαύλου τίς γένοιτ' ἂν ἐντροπή; 'What respect would there be for bad old age?' (Men. Mon. 156) p. 105
- G127** τρίχας τὰς τοῦ σώματος μὴ δυνάμενος φέρειν πῶς οἴσεις πανοπλίαν; 'If you are not able to carry a hair from (your) body, how will you carry armour?' (Clit. 130) p. 105
- G128** τὸν ἐλεύθερον δεῖ πανταχοῦ φρονεῖν μέγα 'The free (man) should always be proud' (Men. Mon. 768) p. 106

- G129** λόγον παρ' ἐχθροῦ μήποθ' ἡγήσῃ φίλον 'What the enemy says you should never consider as friendly talk (lit. as friend)' (Men. Mon. 451) p. 106
- G130** σοφοῦ διάνοια αἰεὶ παρὰ θεῷ 'The mind of a sage (is) always by God' (Sext. 143) p. 106
- G131** οὐκ ἔσθ' ὑγείας κρεῖττον οὐδὲν ἐν βίῳ 'There is nothing better in life than health' (Men. Mon. 562) p. 106
- G132** πρῶτα θεὸν τιμᾶν, μετέπειτα δὲ σεῖο γονῆας 'First honour God, and afterwards your parents' (Ps.-Phoc. 8) p. 107
- G133** πρὸ δὲ παντὸς ἔργου καὶ λόγου τὸν θεὸν σέβου, καθαρὸς ὢν ἀπὸ πάσης κακίας 'Before all actions and words honour God, being pure of all evil' (Phil. Log. 4-5) p. 107
- G134** τὸ μὴ ὄν δίκαιον ἔργον μισητὸν παρὰ θεῷ 'The deed that is not just (is) hateful before God' (Phil. Log. 107) p. 107
- G135** ἐκ τῶν γυναικῶν ὄλλυται κόσμος μέγας 'Because of women a great world is destroyed' (Men. Mon. 218) pp. 107, 197
- G136** ἐξ ἡδονῆς γὰρ φέρεται τὸ δυστυχεῖν 'Misery is born out of pleasure' (Men. Mon. 250) p. 107
- G137** διὰ πενίας (σὺ) μηδενὸς καταφρόνει 'Because of poverty you should not look down upon anyone' (Men. Mon. 209) p. 108
- G138** κρεῖττον ἀποθανεῖν λιμῷ ἢ διὰ γαστρὸς ἀκρασίαν ψυχὴν ἀμαυρῶσαι '(It is) better to die of hunger than to impair the soul through gluttony' (Sext. 345) p. 108
- G139** φίλων ἔπαινον μᾶλλον ἢ σαντοῦ λέγε 'Speak out the praise of friends more than (the praise) of yourself' (Men. Mon. 807) p. 108
- G140** ῥοπή 'στιν ἡμῶν ὁ βίος, ὥσπερ ὁ ζυγός '(A matter of) balancing is our life, as (is the case with) the beam of the scale' (Men. Mon. 689) p. 108
- G141** ὑπὲρ σεαυτοῦ καὶ φίλου μάχου πάνυ 'Fight without reserve for yourself and a friend' (Men. Mon. 791) p. 108
- G142** ἄνευ δὲ λύπης οὐδὲ εἷς βροτῶν βίος 'Without pain there is no mortal life (lit. life of mortals)' (Men. Mon. 65) p. 108
- G143** γυνὴ γὰρ οὐδὲν οἶδε πλὴν ὃ βούλεται 'A woman knows nothing except what she wants' (Men. Mon. 143) p. 108
- G144** νόμου (δὲ) χωρὶς οὐδὲν {γίνεται} ἐν βίῳ καλόν 'Without law nothing good happens in life' (Men. Mon. 538) p. 108
- G145** τῷ γὰρ καλῶς πρᾶσσοντι πᾶσα γῆ πατρίς 'For the one who fares well the entire earth (is his) homeland' (Men. Mon. 735) p. 109
- G146** οἴνω γὰρ ἐμποδίζεται τὸ συμφέρον 'The benefit is impeded because of (drinking) wine' (Men. Mon. 585) p. 109
- G147** ἄνθρωπος ὢν γίνωσκε τῆς ὀργῆς κρατεῖν 'Being human, know how to restrain anger' (Men. Mon. 22) p. 109
- G148** ὧν καταφρονῶν ἐπαινῇ εὐλόγως, τούτων μὴ περιέχου 'For the things, for which you are rightfully praised for despising, do not cling to these' (Sext. 121a) p. 110
- G149** ὁπότεν εὐξαμένῳ σοι γένηται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, τότε ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν ἡγοῦ παρὰ θεῷ 'Whenever your prayer is granted by God, then think you have power from God' (Sext. 375) p. 110

- G150** ὅπου σου τὸ φρονοῦν, ἐκεῖ σου τὸ ἀγαθόν ‘Where your reason (is), there your good (is)’ (Sext. 316) p. 110
- G151** ὅσα πάθη ψυχῆς, τοσοῦτοι δεσπόται ‘The passions of the soul (are) as many as (its) masters’ (Sext. 75b) p. 110
- G152** τὸν χρόνον ὃν ἂν μὴ νοήσῃς τὸν θεόν, τοῦτον νόμιξέ σοι ἀπολωλέναι ‘The time, during which you would not think of God, consider it as lost’ (Sext. 54) p. 111
- G153** πλούτου γὰρ ἀρετὴν, δόξαν ἐξ αὐτῆς ποιεῖ ‘(The) virtue of wealth, make (your) fame out of this’ (Men. Mon. 683) p. 111
- G154** ἃ μὴ θέλεις παθεῖν, μηδὲ ποιεῖ ‘What you do not want to happen to you, do not do’ (Sext. 179) p. 111
- G155** ἃ δίδωσι παιδεία, ταῦτα οὐδεὶς σε ἀφαιρήσεται ‘The things that education gives, nobody will take these away from you’ (Clit. 15) p. 111
- G156** ἃ δίδωσιν ὁ θεός, οὐδεὶς ἀφαιρεῖται ‘The things God gives nobody can take away’ (Sext. 92) pp. 111, 209
- G157** τοῦτο σὸν κτῆμα οὐκ ἔστιν, ὃ παρόσον μεταδίδως τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτὸς οὐχ ἔξεις ‘This is not your possession, (namely) that which as far as you share with others will not have for yourself’ (Clit. 105) p. 112
- G158** σοφὸν τίμα μετὰ θεόν ‘Honour the wise man after God’ (Sext. 244) p. 112
- G159** βέλτιόν ἐστι σῶμά γ’ ἢ ψυχὴν νοσεῖν ‘It is better for a body indeed to be sick than a soul’ (Men. Mon. 116) p. 113
- G160** νύμφη δ’ ἄπροικος οὐκ ἔχει παρρησίαν ‘A bride without dowry does not have freedom of speech’ (Men. Mon. 548) p. 114
- G161** δεῖ τοὺς μὲν εἶναι δυστυχεῖς, τοὺς δ’ εὐτυχεῖς ‘It is necessary that some are unfortunate, while some others are fortunate’ (Men. Mon. 187) p. 114
- G162** μάθε τοίνυν τί δεῖ ποιεῖν τὸν εὐδαμονήσοντα ‘Learn what the man who is to be happy must do’ (Sext. 344) p. 115
- G163** εὐσεβῆς οὐχ ὁ πολλὰ θύων, ἀλλ’ ὁ μηδὲν ἀδίκων ‘Pious (is) not the one who sacrifices a lot, but the one who is not unfair to anyone’ (Clit. 6) p. 115
- G164** ἰσχυρὸν ὄχλος ἐστίν, οὐκ ἔχει δὲ νοῦν ‘The crowd is a powerful (thing), but it does not have a brain’ (Men. Mon. 372) p. 134
- G165** Πειθὼ μὲν γὰρ ὄνειρα, Ἔρις δ’ ἔριν ἀντιφυτεύει ‘Persuasion (is) a benefit, while Strife bears again strife’ (Ps.-Phoc. 78) pp. 134, 171
- G166** νοῦς ἐστίν ὁ θεός· τοῦτον {τὸν ν}οῦν ἔχειν καλόν ‘God is mind; (it is) good to have this mind’ (Men. Mon. 531) pp. 135, 137, 170
- G167** τροφῆς δεομένῳ μεταδιδόντος ἕξ’ ὅλης ψυχῆς δόμα μὲν τι βραχὺ, προθυμία δὲ μεγάλη παρὰ θεῷ ‘When someone gives part of (his) food readily to a needy (man), (his) gift (is) something small, but (his) willingness (to give is) a great thing (lit. great) before God’ (Sext. 379) p. 135
- G168** ἄγγελος ὑπηρετὴς θεοῦ πρὸς ἄνθρωπον, οὐ γὰρ διὰ πρὸς οὐδένα ἄλλον τιμώτερον οὐκ ἄνθρωπος ἀγγέλου παρὰ θεῷ ‘An angel (is) a servant of God for man and not for anyone else; therefore a man (is) more honourable than an angel before God’ (Sext. 32) pp. 135, 137

- G169** θεός καὶ υἱός θεοῦ τὸ μὲν ἄριστον, τὸ δὲ ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ ἀρίστου ‘God and son of God, the former is the best, the latter is the closest to the best’ (Sext. 376b) p. 135
- G170** κόρον πέρας ὕβρις, ὕβρεως δὲ ὄλεθρος ‘The result of evil (is) insolence, while (the result of) insolence (is) destruction’ (Sext. 203) pp. 135, 204
- G171** ἀγνείη ψυχῆς, οὐ σώματός εἰσι καθαροί ‘Purity (belongs to) the soul, purifications do not concern (lit. are not of) the body’ (Ps.-Phoc. 228) p. 135
- G172** ὀργὴ δ’ ἐστὶν ὄρεξις, ὑπερβαίνουσα δὲ μῆνις ‘Rage is desire while wrath (is) excessive’ (Ps.-Phoc. 64) p. 135
- G173** εὐσεβίης βίος μέγιστον ἐφόδιον θνητοῖς ἐστὶ· φρόνει δικαιοσύνην ‘A pious life (is) the best provision for mortals; (therefore) think justice’ (Phil. Log. 111–112) pp. 135, 137, 167
- G174** καλὸν τὸ νικᾶν ἀλλ’ ὑπερνικᾶν κακόν ‘To win (is) good, but to win too much (is) bad’ (Men. Mon. 419) p. 135
- G175** τὸ μὲν εἰς ἀχάριστον ἀναλῶσαι ἐπιζήμιον, τὸ δὲ εἰς εὐχάριστον μὴ ἀναλῶσαι βλαβερόν ‘To spend on (someone) ungrateful (is) unprofitable, while not to spend on (someone) grateful (is) harmful’ (Mosch. Gn. 6) p. 136
- G176** δυνατὸν ἀπατηῖσθαι λόγῳ ἄνθρωπον, θεὸν μέντοι ἀδύνατον ‘To deceive a man with words (is) possible, but (to deceive) God (is) impossible’ (Sext. 186) pp. 136, 172
- G177** κτήσις δὴ οὐσιμὸς ἐστὶν ὁσίων, ἀδίκων δὲ πονηρά ‘The possession of righteous property is advantageous, while (the possession of) dishonestly acquired (things is) bad’ (Ps.-Phoc. 37) p. 136
- G178** ἀνδρὸς σοφοῦ ζώντος μὲν ὀλίγος ὁ λόγος παρὰ ἀνθρώποις, τελευτήσαντος δὲ τὸ κλέος ἄδεται ‘The fame of a wise man who (is) alive is small among men, but when he dies (lit. (the fame of a wise man) who is dead), (his) praises are sung’ (Sext. 410) pp. 136, 202
- G179** οἶεσθαι μὲν περὶ θεοῦ εὐμαρές, λέγειν δὲ ἀληθές μόνῳ τῷ δικαίῳ συγκεχώρηται ‘To think about God (is) easy, while to speak (of God is) true only (when it is done) by a righteous (man)’ (Sext. 53) p. 136
- G180** ξίφους πληγὴ κουφοτέρα γλώττης· τὸ μὲν γὰρ σῶμα, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴν τιτρώσκει ‘The wound of a sword (is) lighter than that of a tongue; for the former would hurt the body, but the latter the soul’ (Phil. Log. 103–104) p. 136
- G181** τόλμα κακῶν ὀλοή, μέγ’ ὀφέλλει δ’ ἐσθλά πονεῦντα ‘Courage in bad things (is) disastrous, while it is very beneficial to the one who does good things’ (Ps.-Phoc. 66) p. 136
- G182** θησαυρὸν κατατίθεσθαι μὲν οὐ φιλόνητον, ἀναρεῖσθαι δὲ οὐ κατὰ φιλόσοφον ‘To hoard riches (is) inhuman, but (even) to withdraw (them is) contrary to philosophy’ (Sext. 300) pp. 136, 166
- G183** τὸ ὑπὸ πολλῶν διαβάλλεσθαι κακῶν οὔτε ἀληθές οὔτε βλαβερόν, τὸ δὲ ὕψ’ ἐνὸς ἀγαθοῦ ψέγεσθαι καὶ ἀληθές καὶ λυσιτελές ‘To be calumniated by many evil men (is) neither true nor harmful, but to be criticized by one virtuous man (is) both true and advantageous’ (Mosch. Gn. 16) pp. 137, 172, 174
- G184** τὸ γὰρ ζῆν μὲν οὐκ ἐφ’ ἡμῖν, καλῶς δὲ ζῆν καὶ ἐφ’ ἡμῖν ‘We cannot

control the length of our life (lit. living is not because of us), while we can control whether we live properly (lit. living properly is because of us)' (Sext. 255) pp. 137, 226, 228

G185 πάντα γὰρ ἔστι πάντα τε βλέπει θεός 'God is everywhere and sees everything' (Men. Mon. 688) pp. 137, 171

G186 τὴν σοφίην σοφὸς εὐθύνει, τέχνας δ' ὁμότεχνος 'A wise man preserves wisdom, while a craftsman his crafts' (Ps.-Phoc. 88) p. 137

G187 ἀνὴρ γὰρ ἄνδρα καὶ πόλιν σφύζει πόλιν 'Man (saves) man and city saves city' (Men. Mon. 31) pp. 138, 139, 171

G188 βουλόμεθα πλουτεῖν πάντες, ἀλλ' οὐ δυνάμεθα 'We all want to become rich, but we are not (all) able to (make ourselves rich)' (Men. Mon. 104) pp. 138, 139

G189 γῇ πάντα τίττει καὶ πάλιν κομίζεται 'The earth gives birth to all (things) and takes (them) back again' (Men. Mon. 145) pp. 138, 170, 211

G190 σοφὸν ὁ τοῦ σώματος ἀφαιρούμενος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ κακίᾳ εὐεργετῇ, λύεται γὰρ ὡς ἐκ δεσμῶν 'Whoever deprives a wise man of (his) body by his own wickedness benefits (the wise man), for he is released as though from chains' (Sext. 322) pp. 138, 171

G191 ἐξουσίαν πιστῷ ὁ θεὸς δίδωσι τὴν κατὰ θεόν καθαράν οὖν δίδωσι καὶ ἀναμάρτητον 'God gives power that befits to God to a faithful (man); thus, He gives a pure and sinless (power)' (Sext. 36) p. 138

G192 αἰσχρᾶς ἡδονῆς τὸ μὲν ἡδὺ ταχέως ἀπεισιν, τὸ δὲ ὄνειδος παραμένει 'The sweetness of disgraceful pleasure swiftly departs, while the reproach remains' (Sext. 272) p. 138

G193 χαίρει τῷ ἀρχομένῳ τὸ ἀρχον, καὶ ὁ θεὸς οὖν σοφῷ χαίρει 'What rules takes pleasure in what it rules, and so God takes pleasure in the sage' (Sext. 422) p. 138

G194 ἐκλεκτὸς ἄνθρωπος ποιεῖ μὲν πάντα κατὰ θεόν, εἶναι δὲ οὐχ ὑπισχνεῖται 'The chosen man does all (things) in accord with God, but he does not claim to be (in accord with God)' (Sext. 433) pp. 138, 170

G195 ὁ μὴδὲν ἀδικῶν οὐδενὸς δεῖται νόμου· πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς πονηροὺς εἰσὶν οἱ νόμοι ἐξευρημένοι 'The one who is in no way unjust does not need any law, because the laws have been invented for the base men' (Phil. Log. 109–110) pp. 120, 138

G196 ἄνθρωπος μαρολογῶν πολὺ ἀλογώτερος τῶν κτηνῶν ὑπάρχει· οὐ γὰρ τῆς ἀνάγκης ὁ μισθός, ἀλλὰ τῆς προαιρέσεως 'A man who speaks foully is much more irrational than beasts, because the reward (is) not for (what is done out of) necessity, but for (what is done by) choice' (Phil. Log. 129–131) p. 138

G197 ἐκλεκτὸς ὢν ἔχεις τι ἐν τῇ συστάσει σου ὅποιον θεός· χρῶ οὖν τῇ συστάσει σου ὡς ἱερῷ θεοῦ 'Being an elect, you have something God-like within you, therefore treat your constitution as a temple of God' (Sext. 35) pp. 139, 168, 171

G198 πλῆθος πιστῶν οὐκ ἂν ἐξεύροις· σπάνιον γὰρ τὸ ἀγαθόν 'You will not be able to find a multitude of believers, for goodness (is) rare' (Sext. 243) p. 139

G199 ὅμοιον μὲν οὐδὲν θεῷ, προσφιλέστατον δὲ τὸ εἰς δύναμιν ἐξομοιούμενον

- ‘Nothing is like God, but what imitates Him as far as possible (is) most pleasing (to Him)’ (Sext. 45) p. 139
- G200** τὸν πολλὰ ὀμνύοντα, ὥς τὸν ἐπίορκον, φεῦγε· ἐν γὰρ πολλοῖς ὅρκοις πλεῖσται ἐπιorkαίαι ‘Avoid the one who swears for many things as (you avoid) the one who swears falsely, because in many oaths (there are) a lot of false ones’ (Phil. Log. 71–72) pp. 139, 166
- G201** φεῦγε κακὴν φήμην, φεῦγε ἀνθρώπους ἀθεμίστους ‘Avoid bad reputation, avoid lawless people’ (Ps.-Phoc. 146) p. 140
- G202** χεῖρα περόντι δίδου, σῶσον δ’ ἀπερίστατον ἄνδρα ‘Give a hand to the one who has fallen (or, falls), and save the desolate man’ (Ps.-Phoc. 26) p. 140
- G203** ἀρκεῖσθαι παρ’ ἐοῖσι καὶ ἄλλοτρίων ἀπέχεσθαι ‘Be content with your (things) and stay away from (the things) of others’ (Ps.-Phoc. 6) p. 140
- G204** αἰσχρὸν δὲ μὴδὲν πράττε, μὴδὲ μάνανε ‘Neither do nor learn an evil (thing)’ (Men. Mon. 24) p. 140
- G205** ἢ λέγε τι σιγῆς κρεῖττον ἢ σιγὴν ἔχε ‘Either say something better than silence or keep silent’ (Men. Mon. 292) pp. 140, 209
- G206** ἰσότητα δ’ αἰοῦ (καὶ) πλεονεξίαν φύγε ‘Choose equality and avoid greediness’ (Men. Mon. 366) pp. 140, 216
- G207** ἂ μὴ προσήκει μὴτ’ ἄκουε μὴθ’ ὄρα ‘What is improper neither listen to nor see’ (Men. Mon. 48) p. 140
- G208** ἐν πιστοῖς ὧν μᾶλλον ἄκουε ἢπερ λέγε ‘When among pious (men) listen rather than speak’ (Sext. 171b) p. 140
- G209** ἐκμαγεῖον τὸ σῶμά σου νόμιζε τῆς ψυχῆς· καθαρόν οὖν τήρει ‘Consider that your body bears the imprint of the soul; therefore keep it pure’ (Sext. 346) p. 140
- G210** ἀρχόμενος φείδου πάντων, μὴ τέρμ’ ἐπιδεύης ‘When you rule, be sparing of everything, lest you be in need at the end’ (Ps.-Phoc. 138) p. 140
- G211** καιρῷ λατρεύειν, μὴ δ’ ἀντιπνέειν ἀνέμοισιν ‘Follow the circumstances and do not blow against the winds’ (Ps.-Phoc. 121) pp. 140, 142
- G212** ἀγροῦ γειτονέοντος ἀπόσχεο μὴ δ’ ἄρ’ ὑπερβῆς ‘Stay away from the field of the neighbour and thus do not trespass on (it)’ (Ps.-Phoc. 35) p. 140
- G213** πάντα δίκαια νέμειν, μὴ δὲ κρίσιν ἐς χάριν ἔλκειν ‘Assign everything justly and do not stretch judgement for a favour’ (Ps.-Phoc. 9) pp. 140, 171
- G214** ἰσχυε μέν, μὴ χρῶ δὲ συντόνως θράσει ‘Be strong, but do not use overboldness intensively’ (Men. Mon. 360) p. 140
- G215** σέβου τὸ ἐν σοὶ καὶ ταῖς τοῦ σώματος ἐπιθυμίαις μὴ καθυβρίσῃς ‘Respect what is within you and do not insult (it) with the bodily lusts’ (Sext. 448) pp. 140, 142
- G216** ξένον προτίμα καὶ φίλον κτήσῃ καλόν ‘Prefer (the company of) a stranger and you will win a good friend’ (Men. Mon. 558) pp. 141, 170
- G217** γύμναζε παῖδας· ἄνδρας οὐ γὰρ γυμνάσεις ‘Train children, for you will not (need to) train (them after they become) men’ (Men. Mon. 161) p. 141
- G218** θυμὸν φυλάττου· τὸ φρονεῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἔχει ‘Abstain from anger, for it does not involve reasoning’ (Men. Mon. 355) p. 141

- G219** μηδὲν λογίζου, πάντα καιρῷ γίνεται ‘Calculate nothing; everything happens in (its) time’ (Men. Mon. 504) pp. 141, 142, 166
- G220** γίνου τοῖς φίλοις πρᾶος καὶ μεταδοτικὸς, ἵν’ εὐνοητικῶς σοι συναναστρέφονται ‘Be gentle and generous to (your) friends in order for them to be associated with you in a well-disposed manner’ (Phil. Log. 6–7) pp. 141, 142, 166
- G221** μέτρα νέμειν τὰ δίκαια, καλὸν δ’ ἐπίμετρον ἀπάντων ‘Measure things out in a fair way, while adding something to the measurement of everything (is) good’ (Ps.-Phoc. 14) p. 141
- G222** μοίρας πᾶσι νέμειν, ἰσότης δ’ ἐν πᾶσιν ἄριστον ‘Distribute to everyone (their) portions, equality in everything is the best (thing)’ (Ps.-Phoc. 137) p. 141
- G223** μέτρα δὲ τευγ’ ἔθ’ ἔοισι· τὸ γὰρ μέτρον ἐστὶν ἄριστον ‘Be moderate in your grief, because moderation is the best (thing)’ (Ps.-Phoc. 98) pp. 141, 171
- G224** στέργε φίλους ἄχρῃς θανάτου· πίστις γὰρ ἀμείνων ‘Love (your) friends till death, because loyalty (is) a preferable (thing)’ (Ps.-Phoc. 218) p. 141
- G225** ἀποτάττου τοῖς τοῦ σώματος, ἐφ’ ὅσον δυνατὸς εἶ ‘Put aside the (things) of the body as much as you can’ (Sext. 78) p. 141
- G226** ψεύδεσθαι φυλάττου· ἔστιν γὰρ ἀπατᾶν καὶ ἀπατᾶσθαι ‘Abstain from lying; for to deceive is to be deceived’ (Sext. 393) pp. 141, 142
- G227** ἡ γλῶσσά σου χαλινὸν ἔχέτω ἢ εὐκόπως λάλει ‘Let your tongue have a curb or speak easily’ (Men. Mon. 318) pp. 142, 172
- G228** τὸ μὲν σῶμά σου μόνον ἐπιδημεῖτω τῇ γῇ, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ αἰεὶ ἔστω παρὰ θεῷ ‘Let your body alone be at home on earth, but let (your) soul be always with God’ (Sext. 55) pp. 142, 166
- G229** ἄκουε πάντα καὶ λάλει καιρῷ, φίλος ‘Listen to everything and speak at the proper time, O friend’ (Men. Mon. 88) p. 142
- G230** ξένος ὢν ἀπράγμων ἴσθι καὶ πράξεις καλῶς ‘If you are a stranger, do not meddle in public affairs (lit. be inactive) and you will fare well’ (Men. Mon. 552) pp. 142, 143
- G231** φιλόπονος ἴσθι καὶ βίον κτήσῃ καλόν ‘Be a lover of toil and you will acquire a good livelihood’ (Men. Mon. 811) pp. 142, 143
- G232** ἄξιος ἔσο τοῦ ἀξιώσαντός σε εἰπεῖν υἱὸν καὶ πράττει πάντα ὡς υἱὸς θεοῦ ‘Be worthy of the One who deems you worthy to be called (His) son and act always as a son of God’ (Sext. 58) p. 142
- G233** πᾶσιν δ’ ἀπλὸς ἴσθι, τὰ δ’ ἐκ ψυχῆς ἀγόρευε ‘To everyone be straightforward and speak from the heart’ (Ps.-Phoc. 50) pp. 143, 167, 171
- G234** ἐν οἴνῳ μὴ πολυλόγῃ ἐπιδεικνύμενος παιδείαν· χολερά γὰρ ἀποφθέγξῃ ‘(When you are) drunk (lit. in wine) do not speak much showing off (your) education, for you will speak bitter (words)’ (Phil. Log. 8–9) pp. 143, 145
- G235** διαβολαῖς μὴ πεισθῆς, μηδὲ πάντῃ ἀπίσται ‘Do not be convinced by slander, but do not (either) be a complete unbeliever (to anyone)’ (Phil. Log. 16) p. 143
- G236** μήτε αἴτιον κακῶν τὸ Θεῖον ὑπολάμβανε, μήτε χωρὶς αὐτοῦ δυστυχεῖν ἡμᾶς νόμιζε ‘Neither consider the Divine as a cause of evil things nor

- think that without It we become miserable' (Phil. Log. 73–74) pp. 143, 167, 172
- G237** μήτ' ἀδικεῖν ἐθέλης μήτ' οὖν ἀδικοῦντα ἐάσης 'Neither want to do injustice nor allow another to do injustice' (Ps.-Phoc. 21) p. 143
- G238** ἔπαινον πλήθους μὴ θαύμαζε ἢ μὴ ἀτίμαζε 'Neither admire nor slight the praise of the mob' (Clit. 111) pp. 143, 172
- G239** θανάτου μὲν σαντῶ παραίτιος μὴ γένη, τῷ δὲ ἀφαιρουμένῳ τοῦ σώματος μὴ ἀγανάκτει 'Do not become the cause of your own death, but do not (also) be angry with the person who would deprive you of your body' (Sext. 321) p. 143
- G240** ὁμνούντων μὴ τοῖς λόγοις πίστευε, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τρόποις πρόσεχε 'Do not trust the words of those who swear oaths, but pay attention to (their) ways of behaving' (Phil. Log. 53–54) pp. 144, 172
- G241** μυστήριον ἐν φιλίᾳ ἀκούσας, ὕστερον, ἐχθρὸς γενόμενος, μὴ ἐκφάνης· ἀδικεῖ γὰρ οὐ τὸν ἐχθρὸν, ἀλλὰ τὴν φιλίαν 'After you have learned about a secret concerning a friend (lit. in a friendship) and then you become an enemy (to him), do not reveal (it), because (this) does not do injustice to (your) enemy but to the friendship' (Phil. Log. 121–123) p. 144
- G242** ἢ μὴ ποιεῖ τὸ κρυπτόν ἢ μόνος ποιεῖ 'Either do not do what is hidden or do (it) alone' (Men. Mon. 316) p. 144
- G243** ψεύδεα μὴ βάζειν, τὰ δ' ἐτήτυμα πάντ' ἀγορεύειν 'Do not tell lies, but speak out all the true (things)' (Ps.-Phoc. 7) p. 144
- G244** σπέρματα μὴ κλέπτειν· ἐπαράσιμος ὅστις ἔλθεται 'Do not steal what is sown; cursed (is) anyone who snatches (them)' (Ps.-Phoc. 18) p. 144
- G245** ὑπόχρεως ὢν τι, ἀγνώμων μὴ γίνου· ἀνελεύθερον γάρ 'Being obliged to someone do not be ungrateful, for (this is a sign of) lack of freedom' (Phil. Log. 65–66) pp. 144
- G246** ὃ μὴ κατέθου, μηδ' ἀνέλης, οὐ γὰρ κατὰ τὸν αὐτάρκη πολιτεύῃ 'What you have not deposited do not (try to) collect, for (in this way) you do not live in accord with self-sufficiency' (Sext. 263) p. 144
- G247** τοὺς ἀδικήσαντας μὴ εἰσπραττε δίκας· ἀρκεῖ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας ταπεινοῦσθαι κακίας 'Do not punish those who act unjustly, because it is enough for them that they have been humiliated under their own wickedness' (Phil. Log. 98–100) pp. 144, 178
- G248** μὴ ὀνειδίσῃς τὸν φίλον σου χάριτας· ἔστιν γὰρ ὡς οὐ δεδοκώς 'Do not reproach your friend for (his) favours, for it is (then) as if he had not given (them)' (Phil. Log. 119–120) pp. 145, 166, 213
- G249** παισὶν μὴ χαλέπαινε τεοῖσ', ἀλλ' ἥπιος εἴης 'Do not be severe with your children, but be gentle' (Ps.-Phoc. 207) p. 145
- G250** μὴ κακὸν εὖ ἐρῇς· σπεῖρειν ἴσον ἔστ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ 'Do not confer a benefit on a rogue; it is equal to sowing in the sea' (Ps.-Phoc. 152) pp. 145, 166
- G251** θεοφιλοῦς ἀνδρὸς σώματος μὲν ἄρξεις, λόγου δὲ οὐ κυριεύσεις 'You may have power over the body of a man who loves God, but you will not control (his) reason' (Sext. 363a) pp. 145, 146, 175
- G252** ἀρετὴν μὲν ἔχων πάντα ἔξεις, κακίαν δὲ οὐδὲ σεσυντόν 'If you are virtuous (lit. have virtue) you will have everything, but (if you are) evil (you will not have) even yourself' (Clit. 99) pp. 145, 146, 167

- G253** τύχη τέχνην ὥρθωσεν, οὐ τέχνη τύχην ‘Luck raises art, not art luck’ (Men. Mon. 740) pp. 145, 146, 181
- G254** ἰσχύς μετὰ φρονήσεως ὠφέλησεν· ἄνευ δὲ ταύτης, πλέω τοὺς ἔχοντας ἔβλαψεν ‘Power with reason is beneficial, but without it, it harms more those who have (it)’ (Phil. Log. 32–33) pp. 145, 146, 167
- G255** σίδηρον ἀνδροφόνον ἄριστον μὲν ἦν μὴ γενέσθαι, γενόμενον δὲ σοὶ μὴ νόμιζε εἶναι ‘It would have been best if murderous weapons did not exist, but as they do, think as if they were not’ (Sext. 324) pp. 146, 175
- G256** χωρὶς μαθήματος οὐκ ἔση θεοφιλῆς· ἐκείνου περιέχου ὥς ἀναγκαίου ‘Without learning you will not be a person who loves God; cling to that as a necessary (thing)’ (Sext. 251) pp. 146, 175
- G257** ἀβέβαιός ἐστι πλοῦτος, ἐάν τις εὖ φρονῇ ‘Wealth is unsecured (lit. uncertain), if one thinks rightly’ (Men. Mon. 73) p. 147
- G258** ὥς χαρίεν ἔστ’ ἄνθρωπος, ἂν ἄνθρωπος ᾖ ‘So, a beautiful (being) is a man, if he is (really) a man!’ (Men. Mon. 852) p. 147
- G259** βίος ἔστιν, ἂν τις τῷ βίῳ χαίρῃ βιῶν ‘(This) is a life: if one enjoys living his life’ (Men. Mon. 120) p. 147
- G260** ἀνὴρ πονηρὸς δυστυχεῖ, κἂν εὖτυχῇ ‘An evil man is unfortunate, even when he is fortunate’ (Men. Mon. 21) pp. 147, 149
- G261** βίον καλὸν ζῆς, ἂν γυναῖκα μὴ τρέφῃς ‘You live a good life, if you do not maintain a woman’ (Men. Mon. 118) pp. 147, 149
- G262** γελαῖ δ’ ὁ μῶρος, κἂν τι μὴ γελοῖον ᾖ ‘The stupid person laughs, even if something is not funny’ (Men. Mon. 165) pp. 147, 149
- G263** εἰ μὴ φυλάσσεις μίκρ’, ἀπολεῖς τὰ μείζονα ‘If you do not take care of the small (things), you will lose the bigger ones’ (Men. Mon. 245) pp. 147, 149, 172
- G264** ὁῶν βίον ζῆς, ἣν γυναῖκα μὴ τρέφῃς ‘You live more comfortably, if you do not sustain a wife’ (Men. Mon. 700) pp. 147, 149
- G265** μισῶ πονηρόν, χρηστὸν ὅταν εἴπῃ λόγον ‘I hate an evil (man), when he says a good word’ (Men. Mon. 483) pp. 148, 172, 200
- G266** μαίνόμεθα πάντες, ὁπότεν ὀργιζόμεθα ‘We all go mad whenever we get angry’ (Men. Mon. 503) pp. 148, 173
- G267** ὀφείλομεν ἑαυτοὺς ἐθίζειν ἀπὸ ὀλίγων ζῆν, ἵνα μηδὲν αἰσχροὺς ἔνεκεν χρημάτων πράττειν μάθωμεν ‘We ought to accustom ourselves to get used to living with few things so that we learn to do nothing evil for money’ (Clit. 140) pp. 148, 149, 173
- G268** κακῶς ζῶντα μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ σώματος εὐθύνει κακὸς δαίμων μέχρις οὗ καὶ τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην ἀπολάβῃ ‘The one who lives an evil life, after (his) release from the body, is called to account by an evil demon until he (i.e. the demon) receives the last penny (as payment)’ (Sext. 39) p. 148
- G269** γάμον γὰρ δίδωσίν σοι παραιτεῖσθαι ἵνα ζήσης ὥς πάρεδρος θεῷ ‘It is allowed for you to renounce marriage in order to live as a companion of God’ (Sext. 230a) pp. 148, 149, 173
- G270** ὁ χρηστὸς ὥς ἔοικε καὶ χρηστοὺς ποιεῖ ‘The good man, as it seems, makes (other) good (people)’ (Men. Mon. 598) p. 148
- G271** εἰ δὲ τις οὐ δεδάρακε τέχνης, σκάπτουτο δικέλλη ‘If someone has not

- learned an art, let him dig with a mattock' (Ps.-Phoc. 158) pp. 148, 149, 167, 189, 215
- G272** δούλω τακτὰ νέμοις, ἵνα τοι καταθύμιος εἴῃ 'May you regularly feed (your) slave so that he is obedient to (lit. in accord with?) you' (Ps.-Phoc. 224) p. 148
- G273** μέγ' ἐστὶ κέρδος, εἰ διδάσκεισθαι μάθῃς 'Great is the profit, if you learn to be taught' (Men. Mon. 488) p. 149
- G274** ἔστι βίω πᾶν ἔργον, ἐπὶν μοχθεῖν ἐθέλησθα 'There is every (kind of) job in life, if you want to work' (Ps.-Phoc. 159) p. 149
- G275** ὅτε λέγεις περὶ θεοῦ, κρίνῃ ὑπὸ θεοῦ 'When you talk about God, you are judged by God' (Sext. 22) pp. 149, 190
- G276** ἐφ' ὅσον ποθεῖ τὸ σῶμα, ἡ ψυχὴ τὸν θεὸν ἀγνοεῖ 'As long as the body desires (something), the soul does not know God' (Sext. 136) p. 149
- G277** ὥσπερ οὐ τῷ ἵπῳ κόσμος οὐδὲ τοῖς ὄρνεσι καλὰ ὑψοῦται καὶ γαυριᾷ, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν τοῦ ποδὸς τῇ ὠκύτητι τοῖς δὲ τῶν περὶ ὤμων, οὕτως οὐδ' ἀνθρώπῳ καλλωπισμὸς καὶ τροφή, ἀλλὰ χρηστότης καὶ εὐποιία 'As for a horse what is exalted is not the decoration, or for birds the nest, but speed in legs (for the first) and (speed) in wings (for the second), so for man beauty and luxuries (are not exalted) but goodness and good deeds' (Mosch. Gn. 10) p. 149
- G278** βάδιζε τὴν εὐθεῖαν, ἵνα δίκαιος ᾖς 'Walk the straight line so that you are righteous' (Men. Mon. 101) p. 150
- G279** δῆμους σοφῶν ὁδεύε καὶ χάριν τύχης 'Travel to cities of wise men so that you come across kindness' (Men. Mon. 200) p. 150
- G280** μηδένα νομίζε(τ') εὐτυχεῖν, πρὶν ἂν θάνῃ 'Think that no one is happy before he reaches the moment of death (lit. dies)' (Men. Mon. 498) pp. 150, 153, 173
- G281** ξένους ξένιζε, μήποτε ξένος γένῃ 'Be a (good) host to strangers, lest you (too) become a stranger' (Men. Mon. 554) pp. 150, 173
- G282** ἔθισον σαυτὸν τῇ λιτῇ διαίτῃ, ἵνα τῆς πολυτελοῦς μήποτε προσδεηθῇς 'Accustom yourself to frugal diet so that you never feel the need of a luxurious one' (Phil. Log. 138–139) p. 150
- G283** ἔθιζε σεαυτὸν πόνοις ἐκουσίοις, ὅπως ἂν δυνηθῇς καὶ τοὺς ἀκουσίους ὑποφέρειν 'Let yourself get used to voluntary toils so that you are able to bear the involuntary ones, too' (Phil. Log. 34–35) pp. 150, 173
- G284** τίμα τὸ ἀρίστον, ἵνα καὶ ἄρχῃ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρίστου 'Honour what is best so that you may also be governed by what is best' (Sext. 42) pp. 150, 153, 173
- G285** ὅταν υἱόν σε λέγῃ τις, μέμνησο τίνος σε λέγει υἱόν 'When someone calls you "son", remember Whose son he calls you' (Sext. 221) pp. 150, 153
- G286** ἀσπίλωτόν σου τὸ σῶμα τήρει ὡς ἔνδυμα τῆς ψυχῆς παρὰ θεοῦ, ὡς καὶ τὸν χιτῶνά σου τηρεῖς ἀσπίλωτον ἔνδυμα ὄντα τῆς σαρκὸς 'Keep your body spotless as a garment of the soul from God, just as you keep spotless your tunic, being a garment of the flesh' (Sext. 449) pp. 150, 153
- G287** περὶ ὧν οἶδας, ὅτε δεῖ λέγε 'When you should, speak about what you know' (Sext. 162b) p. 150

- G288** ὡς θέλεις χρήσασθαι σοι τοὺς πέλας, καὶ σὺ χρῶ αὐτοῖς 'As you want the neighbours to treat you, treat them too' (Sext. 89) p. 150
- G289** χάριν χαρίζου, καθ' ὅσον ἰσχύειν δοκεῖς 'Grant a favour as long as you think that you have the power' (Men. Mon. 825) pp. 150, 153, 174
- G290** δίδου πένησιν ὡς λάβῃς θεὸν δότην 'Give to the poor so that you find God giving (you)' (Men. Mon. 198) pp. 150, 173
- G291** θυμῷ χαρίζου μηδὲν ἄνπερ νοῦν ἔχῃς 'Indulge nothing to your anger, if indeed you have a brain' (Men. Mon. 339) pp. 151, 153, 170
- G292** κόλαζε τὸν πονηρόν, ἄνπερ δυνατὸς ᾖς 'Punish the evil man, if indeed you are able' (Men. Mon. 389) pp. 151, 153
- G293** νόμιζε πλουτεῖν, ἂν φίλους πολλοὺς ἔχῃς 'Consider (yourself) rich, if you have a lot of friends' (Men. Mon. 541) p. 151
- G294** ὄρκον δὲ φεύγε, κὰν δικαίως ὀμνύῃς 'Avoid (taking) an oath, even if you take it truthfully' (Men. Mon. 592) pp. 151, 166, 171, 172
- G295** μέμνησο νέος ὦν ὡς γέροντος ἔσῃ ποτέ 'Remember when you are young that you will be old at some point' (Men. Mon. 485) pp. 151, 167, 173
- G296** ναυηγούς οἰκτιρον, ἐπεὶ πλόος ἐστὶν ἀδολος 'Be merciful to shipwrecked men, because a voyage is unpredictable' (Ps.-Phoc. 25) pp. 151, 153, 173, 236
- G297** δίκαιος ἴσθι, ἵνα δικαίων δὴ τύχῃς 'Be just so that you indeed happen to be with just (people / things)' (Men. Mon. 179) pp. 151, 169
- G298** ἴσος ἴσθι πᾶσι, κὰν ὑπερέχῃς τῷ βίῳ 'Treat everyone equally, even if you outdo (them) in the way of living' (Men. Mon. 358) p. 151
- G299** εἰ θνητὸς εἶ, βέλτιστε, θνητὰ καὶ φρόνει 'If you are mortal, my dear friend, think mortal (thoughts)' (Men. Mon. 246) pp. 151, 209
- G300** γυναίκι μὴ πίστευε μηδ' ὅταν θάνῃ 'Do not trust a woman even when she dies' (Men. Mon. 171) pp. 152, 173
- G301** μὴ σπεῦδε πλουτῶν, μὴ ταχὺς πένης γένῃ 'Do not hurry to get rich, lest you are quick to become poor (lit. a fast poor)' (Men. Mon. 487) p. 152
- G302** μὴ σοφίζου παρόντων σοφῶν, οὐκ ὦν αὐτὸς σοφός, ἵνα μὴ πέρας καταγελασθῇς 'Do not play the wise man when wise (men) are present and you yourself are not wise so that you do not get ridiculed at the end' (Phil. Log. 10–11) pp. 152, 167
- G303** μηδὲ δίκην δικάσῃς, πρὶν (ἂν) ἄμφω μῦθον ἀκούσῃς 'Do not judge a case before you hear both sides of the story' (Ps.-Phoc. 87) p. 152
- G304** ἃ δέδοται σοι, κὰν ἀφέληται σου τις, μὴ ἀγανάκτει 'Even if someone takes away from you what has been given to you, do not be vexed' (Sext. 91b) pp. 152, 172
- G305** μὴ(ποτε) γάμει γυναῖκα κοῦκ {ἂν}οἴξῃς τάφον 'Do not ever marry a woman and you will not open (your) grave' (Men. Mon. 502) pp. 152, 153
- G306** μὴ πίστευε τάχιστα, πρὶν ἀτρεκέως πέρας ὄψῃ 'Do not quickly believe (something) before you see the end (of it)' (Ps.-Phoc. 79) pp. 152, 153, 173, 178
- G307** ὅποτε δεῖ πράττειν, λόγῳ μὴ χρῶ 'When you must act, do not talk (lit. use speech)' (Sext. 163b) p. 152
- G308** οὐ πρότερον γνώσῃ ὃ μὴ οἶσθα, πρὶν ἂν γνώσῃς οὐκ εἰδώς 'You will not

- learn what you do not know before you learn that you do not know (it)' (Clit. 109) pp. 153, 154, 173
- G309** ὥς ἂν γαστρὸς ἄρξεης, καὶ ἀφροδισίων ἄρξεις 'As you control your stomach, so you will control your sexual desires' (Sext. 240) pp. 153, 154
- G310** ἂν εὖ φρονῇς, τὰ πάντα γ' εὐδαίμων ἔσῃ 'If you think right, you will indeed be happy in everything' (Men. Mon. 74) pp. 153, 154, 169, 172
- G311** δίκαιος ἐὰν ᾖς, πανταχοῦ λαληθήσῃ 'If you are righteous, they will talk about you everywhere' (Men. Mon. 205) pp. 153, 154, 166, 172
- G312** ἐὰν δ' ἔχωμεν χρήμαθ', ἔξομεν φίλους 'If we have money, we will have friends' (Men. Mon. 238) pp. 153, 154, 175
- G313** ζήσεις βίον κράτιστον, ἢν θυμοῦ κρατῇς 'You will live the best life, if you control anger' (Men. Mon. 269) pp. 153, 154, 172
- G314** νέος {ἐ}ἂν πονήσης, γῆρας ἔξεις εὐθαλές 'If you toil, (when you are) young, you will have a flowering old age' (Men. Mon. 536) pp. 153, 154
- G315** πολλοὶ σε μισήσουσιν, ἂν σαντὸν φιλῇς 'Many will hate you, if you love yourself' (Men. Mon. 678) pp. 153, 169
- G316** πενόμενον {ἐ}ἂν ἴδωσι{ν}, κάμπτουσιν φίλοι 'If they see (somebody) being impoverished, (his) friends turn aside (lit. bend down)' (Men. Mon. 687) pp. 154, 169
- G317** βίος κέκληται δ' ὥς βίᾳ πορίζεται 'It has been called "life" because it is supplied through toil' (Men. Mon. 106) pp. 154, 173
- G318** ῥάθυμος ἐὰν ᾖς πλούσιος, πένης ἔσῃ 'If you are a lazy rich man, you will be poor' (Men. Mon. 698) p. 154
- G319** κοινὰ πάθῃ πάντων· ὁ βίος τροχός· ἄστατος ὄλβος 'Suffering (is) common to all; life (is) a wheel; prosperity (is) unstable' (Ps.-Phoc. 27) p. 162
- G320** μέτρω ἔδειν, μέτρω δὲ πίνειν καὶ μυθολογεῖν 'Eat in moderation, drink in moderation, and talk (moderately)' (Ps.-Phoc. 69) p. 162
- G321** ὀργῇς ἀπέχου καὶ θυμοῦ ἀφίστασο· θηρίων γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπων 'Stay away from wrath and keep your distance from anger; for these (things belong to) animals and not to men' (Phil. Log. 14–15) pp. 162, 164, 179
- G322** μηδενὶ συμφορὰν ὀνειδίσῃς· κοινὴ γὰρ ἡ τύχη καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἀόρατον 'You shouldn't reproach a misfortune; for (our) fate (is) common and the future invisible' (Phil. Log. 36–37) p. 162
- G323** μὴ μέγα φρονῇς ἐπὶ χρήμασιν, μήτε ἐπὶ πενίᾳ ταπεινοῦ· τὰ μὲν γὰρ καιρὸς ἀφαιρεῖται, ἡ δὲ ἀπόρρητος μένει 'Neither think highly (of yourself) when you have (lit. in times of) money nor feel lowered when you are poor (lit. in times of poverty); for the former time can steal away, while the latter remains unravaged' (Phil. Log. 21–23) p. 162
- G324** κακῶς μὲν ποιῆσαι θεὸν δυνατὸς οὐδεὶς, ἀσεβέστατος δὲ ὁ βλασφημῶν· δυνατὸς γὰρ ὢν καὶ ἐποίησεν 'No one (is) able to harm God, but the most impious (is) the blasphemer, for, if he could, he would have done (it)' (Sext. 85) pp. 162, 174
- G325** τῶν δοῦλων σου ἐπιμελοῦ, μεταδιδούς αὐτοῖς ἀφ' ὧν ἔχεις, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ὥς κύριον σε φοβούνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς εὐεργέτην τιμῶσιν 'Take care of your servants, sharing with them from what you have, so that they not

- only fear you as (their) master, but also praise you as (their) benefactor' (Phil. Log. 18–20) pp. 162, 164, 165
- G326** ἐπὶ τοῖς σπουδαίοις πράγμασι μὴ γελοίαζε, ἵνα μὴ δόξης ἀπαιδευτος εἶναι· μηδὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ τοῖς γελοίοις σπούδαζε· ἀνοήτου γὰρ ἀμφοτέρω· 'Do not jest about serious matters so that you are not taken as an uneducated (person); but also do not be serious with funny (matters); for both (are features) of a silly (man)' (Phil. Log. 58–60) pp. 163, 165
- G327** χρὴ τέχνην τοὺς υἱοὺς διδάσκειν, ἵν', ὅταν τῆς ἄλλης κτήσεως ἀποστερηθῶσιν, ἐπὶ τὴν τέχνην, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τροφέα καὶ πατέρα, καταφεύγειν ἔχωσιν· 'You must teach (your) sons an art, so that when they are deprived from the other possessions, they may flee to the art for protection, exactly as to him who raised them up, or to (their) father' (Phil. Log. 84–86) pp. 163, 164
- G328** ὁ βίος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὀλίγος ἐστίν, καὶ εἰ ζήσομεν τὴν σήμερον οὐκ οἶδαμεν· δάνειον γὰρ ὀφειλόμεθα τῷ θανάτῳ· καὶ πάντες ἀποστώμεθα κακῶν· 'The lifetime of men is short, and whether we will live today we do not know; for we (have) a debt to repay to death and (then) we are all redeemed from evil (things)' (Phil. Log. 95–97) p. 163–165
- G329** πιστὸς εἶναι θέλων μάλιστα μὲν μὴ ἀμάρτης, εἰ δὲ τι, μὴ δισώσῃ τὸ αὐτὸ· 'If you wish to be faithful, above all do not sin, but if you do, do not (commit) the same (sin) twice' (Sext. 247) p. 163
- G330** εἰμαρμένη θεοῦ χάριτος οὐκ ἄρχει· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ θεοῦ· 'Fate does not govern God's grace or else (it would govern) God too' (Sext. 436b) p. 163
- G331** τὸν προσομιλοῦντα τριχῇ διασκοποῦ ἢ ὡς ἀμείνονα ἢ ὡς ἥττονα ἢ ὡς ἴσον· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀμείνονα, ἀκούειν χρὴ καὶ πείθεσθαι αὐτῷ· εἰ δὲ ἥττονα, πείθειν· εἰ δὲ ἴσον, συμφωνεῖν· 'Look at the one you are holding intercourse with in three ways: as a better (man), as a worse (man), or as an equal; and if (he is) better, you should listen to and obey him; if (he is) worse, (you should) make (him) accept your views; if (he is) equal, (you should) agree (with him)' (Mosch. Gn. 11) p. 163
- G332** ὥσπερ μέλιτταν οὐ διὰ τὸ κέντρον μισεῖς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν καρπὸν τημελεῖς, οὕτω καὶ φίλον μὴ δι' ἐπίπληξιν ἀποστραφεῖς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν εὐνοιαν ἀγάπα· 'As you do not hate the bee for the sting, but you take care (of it) for what it produces (lit. the product), in the same way do not turn away from a friend because of a rebuke, but love (him) because of (his) goodwill' (Mosch. Gn. 12) pp. 165, 169, 170
- G333** ἀνθρώπους ἴδοις ἂν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ σώματος ἔχειν ἐρρωμένον ἀποκόπτοντας ἑαυτῶν καὶ ῥίπτοντας μέλη· πόσω βέλτιον ὑπὲρ τοῦ σωφρονεῖν;· 'You may see men who, in order to keep the rest of their bodies healthy, cut off their own limbs and throw them away; how much better (would it be to do this) for the sake of self-control?' (Sext. 273) pp. 165, 225
- G334** πολλοὺς φαλακροὺς εἶδον· τούτου καὶ ὁ ἐγκέφαλος ἐξηλθεν· 'I have seen a lot of bald people; in the case of such a man (lit. for this one) even his brain has been exposed' (Mosch. Gn. 25) pp. 168, 196
- G335** σοφοῦ σώματος καὶ λέων ἄρχει, τούτου δὴ μόνου καὶ τύραννος· 'Even a

- lion (can) control the body of a sage, and in fact this (is) the only thing (i.e. the body of a sage) a tyrant (can control) too' (Sext. 363b) p. 169
- G336** θεὸν σέβου καὶ πάντα πράξεις εὐθέως 'Respect God and you will do everything in an honest way' (Men. Mon. 321) p. 177
- G337** τὸ κέρδος ἡγοῦ κέρδος, ἂν δίκαιον ἦ 'Consider the profit as profit, if it is fair' (Men. Mon. 729) p. 178
- G338** σκέπτου πρὸ τοῦ λέγειν ἵνα μὴ λέγῃς ἃ μὴ δεῖ 'Think before you speak so that you do not say what you should not' (Sext. 153) p. 179
- G339** ὅποια δ' ἂν ἐπιτηδεύῃ ψυχὴ ἐνοικοῦσα τῷ σώματι, τοιαῦτα μαρτύρια ἔχουσα ἅπεισιν ἐπὶ τὴν κρίσιν 'Whatever a soul pursues while inhabiting the body, these will escort (it) as evidence at the time of judgment' (Sext. 347) p. 179
- G340** ῥήματα ἄνευ νοῦ ψόφοι 'Words without thought (are mere) noise' (Sext. 154) p. 179
- G341** θέλων καλῶς ζῆν μὴ τὰ τῶν φαύλων φρόνει 'If you want to have a good life, do not have the same thoughts as paltry men' (Men. Mon. 324) p. 180
- G342** ὁ κρίνων ἄνθρωπον κρίνεται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ 'The one who judges a man is judged by God' (Sext. 183) p. 180
- G343** σοφὸς ὀλίγοις γινώσκεται 'A wise man is recognized by few' (Sext. 145) p. 180
- G344** μαρτυρίην ψευδῇ φεύγειν· τὰ δίκαια βραβεύειν 'Flee false witness; reward the just things' (Ps.-Phoc. 12) p. 181
- G345** ἀφείς ἃ κέκτησαι ἀκολούθει τῷ ὀρθῷ λόγῳ '(After) you let go of what you have possessed, follow the right teaching' (Sext. 264a) p. 188
- G346** λιμὴν νεὼς ὁμοῖος, βίου δ' ἀλυπία 'The refuge of a ship (is) the port, while (the refuge) of life (is) freedom from worry' (Men. Mon. 436) p. 189
- G347** κρίνει φίλους ὁ καιρὸς, ὥς χρυσὸν τὸ πῦρ 'Time puts friends to the test (lit. judges friends), as fire (does) to gold' (Men. Mon. 385) p. 190
- G348** θυμὸς ὑπερχόμενος μανίην ὀλοόφρονα τεύχει 'Anger that steals over one gives birth to baleful madness' (Ps.-Phoc. 63) p. 190
- G349** ἄξιος ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποις 'A man worthy of God (is) a god among human beings' (Sext. 376a) p. 191
- G350** ἔρωτα παύει λιμὸς ἢ χαλκοῦ σπάνις 'Hunger or lack of money brings love to an end' (Men. Mon. 228) p. 196
- G351** γέλως ἀκαιρὸς κλαυθμῶτων παραίτιος 'Laughter that comes in the wrong time (is) also responsible for tears' (Men. Mon. 144) p. 197
- G352** καλὸν τὸ γηρᾶν καὶ τὸ μὴ γηρᾶν πάλιν 'Good is growing old and not growing old, too' (Men. Mon. 396) p. 197
- G353** τὸ γὰρ θανεῖν οὐκ αἰσχρόν, ἀλλ' αἰσχρῶς θανεῖν 'For to die (is) not disgraceful, but to die disgracefully (is)' (Men. Mon. 742) pp. 197, 201
- G354** δρυὸς πεσοῦσης πᾶς ἀνὴρ ξυλεύεται 'Every man cuts the wood of a tree that has fallen' (Men. Mon. 185) p. 198
- G355** ἡ γλῶσσ' ἀμαρτάνουσα τἀληθὴ λέγει 'The tongue, when it makes a mistake, says the truth' (Men. Mon. 294) p. 198
- G356** ταχὺς γίνου πρὸς εὐεργεσίαν, βραδὺς δὲ πρὸς τιμωρίαν 'Be quick (when

- you are heading) towards benefaction, but (be) slow (when you are heading) towards punishment' (Phil. Log. 69–70) p. 199
- G357** εὔχου δ' ἔχειν τι, καὶν ἔχῃς, ἔξεις φίλους 'Wish that you have something, and if you do, you will have friends' (Men. Mon. 247) p. 199
- G358** σεαυτοῦ τὰ ἀτυχήματα τῶν φίλων ἡγοῦ, τῶν δὲ ἰδίων εὐτυχημάτων κοινωνοῖ τοῖς φίλοις 'Consider the accidents of friends yours (and) share the happy events of your (life) with friends' (Clit. 90) p. 200
- G359** ἐν πλησμονῇ μέγιστον ἡ Κύπρις κράτος 'Concerning satiety of food, Aphrodite is the greatest power' (Men. Mon. 276) p. 200
- G360** θυμοῦ κρατῆσαι ἀπιθυμίας καλόν '(It is) good to control (your) anger and desire' (Men. Mon. 348) p. 200
- G361** ὁ μὲν θεὸς οὐδενὸς δεῖται, ὁ δὲ σοφὸς μόνου θεοῦ 'God does not need anyone, while the wise man (needs) only God' (Clit. 4) p. 200
- G362** ἢ ζῆν ἀλύπως, ἢ θανεῖν εὐδαιμόνως 'Either live without pain or die happily' (Men. Mon. 286) pp. 96, 200
- G363** μισθὸν μοχθήσαντι δίδου, μὴ θλίβε πέννητα 'Give a salary to the one who has worked a lot and (or, so that you) do not suppress a poor man' (Ps.-Phoc. 19) pp. 205, 206
- G364** τὸ μὴδὲν ἀδικεῖν καὶ καλοὺς ἡμᾶς ποιεῖ 'Being fair (lit. not being unfair) makes us also good (people)' (Men. Mon. 767) p. 206
- G365** ἢ δεῖ σιωπᾶν ἢ λέγε ἀμείνονα 'Either (you) must be silent or say something better' (Men. Mon. 306) p. 209
- G366** θνητὸς γεγώς, ἀνθρῶπε, μὴ φρόνει μέγα 'As you have been born mortal, man, do not think highly (of yourself)' (Men. Mon. 350) pp. 209, 228
- G367** θεὸν πατέρα καλῶν ἐν οἷς πράττεις τούτου μέμνησο 'That God (is) a father to good (men), remember this in what you do' (Sext. 59) p. 210
- G368** ἴση λεαινῆς καὶ γυναικὸς ὤμότης 'Same is the fierceness of a woman and a lioness' (Men. Mon. 374) pp. 211, 242
- G369** ζητεῖ γυναῖκα σύμμαχον τῶν πραγμάτων 'Look for a woman to be (your) ally in matters (of life)' (Men. Mon. 271) p. 211
- G370** λύπη παρούσα πάντοτ' ἐστὶν ἡ γυνή 'The woman is a misfortune that is present in everything' (Men. Mon. 450) pp. 211, 212
- G371** ἀγάπα τὸ ὁμόφυλον / ἀγάπα τὸν θεὸν καὶ πρὸ τῆς ψυχῆς σου 'Love what is akin to you / Love God even more than (lit. before) your soul' (Sext. 106a–b) p. 212
- G372** αἱ νέαι φιλῖαι ἀναγκαῖαι μὲν, αἱ δὲ παλαιαὶ ἀναγκαιότεραι 'New friendships (are) necessary, but old ones (are even) more necessary' (Phil. Log. 117–118) p. 213
- G373** ζηλοῦ τὸν ἐσθλὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν σώφρονα 'Admire the good man and the prudent' (Men. Mon. 275) p. 214
- G374** οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἀνθρῶποι τῆς τοῦ σώματος εὐεξίας φροντίζουσιν ὁ δὲ σοφὸς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπάθειαν 'While the other men give heed to the good health of the body, the wise man (considers) the immunity of the soul' (Phil. Log. 101–102) p. 216
- G375** ὅμοια πόρνη δάκρυ(α) καὶ ῥήτωρ ἔχει 'A prostitute and a rhetorician (or, advocate) shed the same kind of tears' (Men. Mon. 584) p. 217
- G376** μεγαλοψυχίαν ἄσκει 'Exercise generosity' (Sext. 120) p. 225

- G377** μηδ' ἐπὶ σῇ ἀλόχῳ ἐγκύμονι χεῖρα βάλλει 'Lay not your hand upon your wife when she is pregnant' (Ps.-Phoc. 186) p. 225
- G378** ἐλεεινότατόν μοι φαίνεται ἀτυχία φίλου 'The saddest (thing) to me seems to be a misfortune of a friend' (Men. Mon. 251) p. 226
- G379** ἀκολασίαν φεῦγε / εὐλογιστίαν ἄσκει 'Avoid licentiousness / Exercise circumspection' (Sext. 68–69) p. 231
- G380** ὁ δεῖ ποιεῖν, ἐκὼν ποιεῖ / ὁ μὴ δεῖ ποιεῖν, μηδενὶ τρόπῳ ποιεῖ 'What (you) must do, do it willingly / What (you) must not do, do not do it ever (lit. in any manner)' (Sext. 388–389a) p. 232
- G381** ἀνδρὸς χαρακτὴρ ἐκ λόγου γνωρίζεται 'The character of a man is known through (his) words' (Men. Mon. 27) p. 232
- G382** ἀνὴρ δὲ χρηστὸς χρηστὸν οὐ μισεῖ ποτε 'A good man never hates a good (man)' (Men. Mon. 29) p. 233
- G383** ἄστεγον εἰς οἶκον δέξαι καὶ τυφλὸν ὁδήγει 'Receive a homeless (man) in (your) house and lead a blind (man)' (Ps.-Phoc. 24) p. 236

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