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DIOGENES LAERTIUS

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DIOGENES LAERTIUS

LIVES OF EMINENT PHILOSOPHERS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN TWO VOLUMES

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260241
20.10.31

LONDON: WILLIAM HEINEMANN
NEW YORK: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
MCMXXV

PA
3965
D6
1925
V. 2

Printed in Great Britain.

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DIOGENES LAERTIUS

ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΛΑΕΡΤΙΟΥ

ΒΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΓΝΩΜΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΙ ΕΥΔΟΚΙΜΗΣΑΝΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΔΕΚΑ ΤΟ ΕΚΤΟΝ

Κεφ. α΄. ΑΝΤΙΣΘΕΝΗΣ

1 Ἀντισθένης Ἀντισθένους Ἀθηναῖος. ἐλέγετο δ' οὐκ εἶναι ἰθαγενής· ὅθεν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ὀνειδίζοντα εἰπεῖν, "καὶ ἡ μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν Φρυγία ἐστίν." ἐδόκει γὰρ εἶναι Θρᾴττης μητρός· ὅθεν καὶ ἐν Τανάγρᾳ κατὰ τὴν μάχην εὐδοκιμήσας ἔδωκε λέγειν Σωκράτει ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐκ δυοῖν Ἀθηναίων οὕτω γεγόνοι γενναῖος. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ τῷ γηγενεῖς εἶναι σεμνυνομένους ἐκφαυλίζων ἔλεγε μηδὲν εἶναι κοχλιῶν καὶ ἀττελέβων εὐγενεστέρους.

Οὗτος κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἤκουσε Γοργίου τοῦ ῥήτορος· ὅθεν τὸ ῥητορικὸν εἶδος ἐν τοῖς διαλόγοις ἐπιφέρει καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῇ Ἀληθείᾳ καὶ τοῖς
2 Προτρεπτικοῖς. φησὶ δ' Ἕρμιππος ὅτι προείλετο ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἰσθμίων πανηγύρει ψέξαι τε καὶ ἐπαινέσαι Ἀθηναίους, Θηβαίους, Λακεδαιμονίους· εἶτα

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[a] *Cf.* Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 66.

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch, *De exilio*, 607 A; Sen. *De const. sap.* c. 18, § 5.

[c] Probably the battle in 426 B.C. mentioned in Thuc. iii. 91.

DIOGENES LAERTIUS

LIVES AND OPINIONS OF EMINENT PHILOSOPHERS IN TEN BOOKS

BOOK VI

Chapter 1. ANTISTHENES (*c.* 446–366 b.c.)

Antisthenes,[a] the son of Antisthenes, was an Athenian. It was said, however, that he was not of pure Attic blood. Hence his reply to one who taunted him with this: "The mother of the gods too is a Phrygian."[b] For his mother was supposed to have been a Thracian. Hence it was that, when he had distinguished himself in the battle of Tanagra,[c] he gave Socrates occasion to remark that, if both his parents had been Athenians, he would not have turned out so brave. He himself showed his contempt for the airs which the Athenians gave themselves on the strength of being sprung from the soil by the remark that this did not make them any better born than snails or wingless locusts.

To begin with, he became a pupil of Gorgias the rhetorician, and hence the rhetorical style that he introduces in his dialogues, and especially in his *Truth* and in his *Exhortations*. According to Hermippus he intended at the public gathering for the Isthmian games to discourse on the faults and merits of Athenians, Thebans and Lacedaemonians,

μέντοι παραιτήσασθαι ἰδόντα πλείους ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἀφιγμένους.

Ὕστερον δὲ παρέβαλε Σωκράτει, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὤνατο αὐτοῦ, ὥστε παρῄνει τοῖς μαθηταῖς γενέσθαι αὐτῷ πρὸς Σωκράτην συμμαθητάς. οἰκῶν τ' ἐν Πειραιεῖ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν τοὺς τετταράκοντα σταδίους ἀνιὼν ἤκουε Σωκράτους, παρ' οὗ καὶ τὸ καρτερικὸν λαβὼν καὶ τὸ ἀπαθὲς ζηλώσας κατῆρξε πρῶτος τοῦ κυνισμοῦ. καὶ ὅτι ὁ πόνος ἀγαθὸν συνέστησε διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου Ἡρακλέους καὶ τοῦ Κύρου, τὸ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἑλκύσας.

3 Πρῶτός τε ὡρίσατο λόγον εἰπών, "λόγος ἐστὶν ὁ τὸ τί ἦν ἢ ἔστι δηλῶν." ἔλεγέ τε συνεχές, "μανείην μᾶλλον ἢ ἡσθείην"· καὶ "χρὴ τοιαύταις πλησιάζειν γυναιξὶν αἳ χάριν εἴσονται." πρός τε τὸ Ποντικὸν μειράκιον μέλλον φοιτᾶν αὐτῷ καὶ πυθόμενον τίνων αὐτῷ δεῖ, φησί, "βιβλιαρίου καινοῦ καὶ γραφείου καινοῦ καὶ πινακιδίου καινοῦ," τὸν νοῦν παρεμφαίνων. πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἐρόμενον ποδαπὴν γῆμαι, ἔφη, "ἂν μὲν καλήν, ἕξεις κοινήν, ἂν δὲ αἰσχράν, ἕξεις ποινήν." ἀκούσας ποτὲ ὅτι Πλάτων αὐτὸν κακῶς λέγει, "βασιλικόν," ἔφη, "καλῶς ποιοῦντα κακῶς ἀκούειν."

4 Μυούμενός ποτε τὰ Ὀρφικά, τοῦ ἱερέως εἰπόντος ὅτι οἱ ταῦτα μυούμενοι πολλῶν ἐν ᾅδου ἀγαθῶν μετίσχουσι, "τί οὖν," ἔφη, "οὐκ ἀποθνήσκεις;"

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[a] There is the same untranslateable pun upon καινοῦ = "new" and καὶ νοῦ = "a mind too," as in ii. § 118.

[b] *Cf.* M. Anton. vii. 36 Ἀντισθενικόν, βασιλικὸν μὲν εὖ πράττειν, κακῶς δὲ ἀκούειν, and Plutarch, *Alex.* c. 41 (of Alexander).

but begged to be excused when he saw throngs arriving from those cities.

Later on, however, he came into touch with Socrates, and derived so much benefit from him that he used to advise his own disciples to become fellow-pupils with him of Socrates. He lived in the Peiraeus, and every day would tramp the five miles to Athens in order to hear Socrates. From Socrates he learned his hardihood, emulating his disregard of feeling, and thus he inaugurated the Cynic way of life. He demonstrated that pain is a good thing by instancing the great Heracles and Cyrus, drawing the one example from the Greek world and the other from the barbarians.

He was the first to define statement (or assertion) by saying that a statement is that which sets forth what a thing was or is. He used repeatedly to say, "I'd rather be mad than feel pleasure," and "We ought to make love to such women as will feel a proper gratitude." When a lad from Pontus was about to attend his lectures, and asked him what he required, the answer was, "Come with a new book, a new pen, and new tablets, if you have a mind to" (implying the need of brains as well).[a] When someone inquired what sort of wife he ought to marry, he said, "If she's beautiful, you'll not have her to yourself; if she's ugly, you'll pay for it dearly." Being told that Plato was abusing him, he remarked, "It is a royal privilege to do good and be ill spoken of."[b]

When he was being initiated into the Orphic mysteries, the priest said that those admitted into these rites would be partakers of many good things in Hades. "Why then," said he, "don't you die?"

ὀνειδιζόμενός ποτε ὡς οὐκ εἴη ἐκ δύο ἐλευθέρων, "οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκ δύο," ἔφη, "παλαιστικῶν, ἀλλὰ παλαιστικός εἰμι." ἐρωτώμενος διὰ τί ὀλίγους ἔχει μαθητάς, ἔφη, "ὅτι ἀργυρέᾳ αὐτοὺς ἐκβάλλω ῥάβδῳ." ἐρωτηθεὶς διὰ τί πικρῶς τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐπιπλήττει, "καὶ οἱ ἰατροί," φησί, "τοῖς κάμνουσιν." ἰδών ποτε μοιχὸν φεύγοντα, "ὦ δυστυχής," εἶπε, "πηλίκον κίνδυνον ὀβολοῦ διαφυγεῖν ἴσχυες." κρεῖττον ἔλεγε, καθά φησιν Ἑκάτων ἐν ταῖς Χρείαις, εἰς κόρακας ἢ εἰς κόλακας ἐμπεσεῖν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ νεκρούς, οἱ δὲ ζῶντας ἐσθίουσιν.

5 Ἐρωτηθεὶς τί μακαριώτατον ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ἔφη, "τὸ εὐτυχοῦντα ἀποθανεῖν." γνωρίμου ποτὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποδυρομένου ὡς εἴη τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἀπολωλεκώς, "ἔδει γάρ," ἔφη, "ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτὰ καὶ μὴ ἐν τοῖς χαρτίοις καταγράφειν." ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰοῦ τὸν σίδηρον, οὕτως ἔλεγε τοὺς φθονεροὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου ἤθους κατεσθίεσθαι. τοὺς βουλομένους ἀθανάτους εἶναι ἔφη δεῖν εὐσεβῶς καὶ δικαίως ζῆν. τότ' ἔφη τὰς πόλεις ἀπόλλυσθαι, ὅταν μὴ δύνωνται τοὺς φαύλους ἀπὸ τῶν σπουδαίων διακρίνειν. ἐπαινούμενός ποτε ὑπὸ πονηρῶν, ἔφη, "ἀγωνιῶ μή τι κακὸν εἴργασμαι."

6 Ὁμονοούντων ἀδελφῶν συμβίωσιν παντὸς ἔφη τείχους ἰσχυροτέραν εἶναι. τοιαῦτ' ἔφη δεῖν ποιεῖσθαι ἐφόδια ἃ καὶ ναυαγήσαντι συγκολυμβήσει. ὀνειδιζόμενός ποτ' ἐπὶ τῷ πονηροῖς συγγενέσθαι, "καὶ οἱ ἰατροί," φησί, "μετὰ τῶν νοσούντων εἰσίν,

Being reproached because his parents were not both free-born, "Nor were they both wrestlers," quoth he, "but yet I am a wrestler." To the question why he had but few disciples he replied, "Because I use a silver rod to eject them." When he was asked why he was so bitter in reproving his pupils he replied, "Physicians are just the same with their patients." One day upon seeing an adulterer running for his life he exclaimed, "Poor wretch, what peril you might have escaped at the price of an obol." He used to say, as we learn from Hecato in his *Anecdotes*, that it is better to fall in with crows than with flatterers; for in the one case you are devoured when dead, in the other case while alive.

Being asked what was the height of human bliss, he replied, "To die happy." When a friend complained to him that he had lost his notes, "You should have inscribed them," said he, "on your mind instead of on paper." As iron is eaten away by rust, so, said he, the envious are consumed by their own passion. Those who would fain be immortal must, he declared, live piously and justly. States, said he, are doomed when they are unable to distinguish good men from bad. Once, when he was applauded by rascals, he remarked, "I am horribly afraid I have done something wrong."

When brothers agree, no fortress is so strong as their common life, he said. The right outfit for a voyage, he said, is such as, even if you are shipwrecked, will go through the water with you. One day when he was censured for keeping company with evil men, the reply he made was, "Well, physicians are in attendance on their patients without getting

ἀλλ' οὐ πυρέττουσιν." ἄτοπον ἔφη τοῦ μὲν σίτου τὰς αἴρας ἐκλέγειν καὶ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τοὺς ἀχρείους, ἐν δὲ πολιτείᾳ τοὺς πονηροὺς μὴ παραιτεῖσθαι. ἐρωτηθεὶς τί αὐτῷ περιγέγονεν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας, ἔφη, "τὸ δύνασθαι ἑαυτῷ ὁμιλεῖν." εἰπόντος αὐτῷ τινος παρὰ πότον, "ᾆσον," "σὺ δέ μοι," φησίν, "αὔλησον." Διογένει χιτῶνα αἰτοῦντι πτύξαι προσ-
7 έταξε θοιμάτιον. ἐρωτηθεὶς τί τῶν μαθημάτων ἀναγκαιότατον, "τὸ περιαιρεῖν," ἔφη, "τὸ ἀπομανθάνειν." παρεκελεύετό τε κακῶς ἀκούοντας καρτερεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ λίθοις τις βάλλοιτο.

Ἔσκωπτέ τε Πλάτωνα ὡς τετυφωμένον. πομπῆς γοῦν γενομένης ἵππον θεασάμενος φρυακτὴν φησι πρὸς τὸν Πλάτωνα, "ἐδόκεις μοι καὶ σὺ ἵππος ἂν εἶναι λαμπρυντής." τοῦτο δὲ ἐπεὶ καὶ συνεχὲς ὁ Πλάτων ἵππον ἐπῄνει. καί ποτ' ἐλθὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν νοσοῦντα καὶ θεασάμενος λεκάνην ἔνθα ὁ Πλάτων ἐμημέκει ἔφη, "χολὴν μὲν ὁρῶ ἐνταῦθα,
8 τῦφον δὲ οὐχ ὁρῶ." συνεβούλευεν Ἀθηναίοις τοὺς ὄνους ἵππους ψηφίσασθαι· ἄλογον δὲ ἡγουμένων, "ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ στρατηγοί," φησί, "φαίνονται παρ' ὑμῖν μηδὲν μαθόντες, μόνον δὲ χειροτονηθέντες." πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, "πολλοί σε ἐπαινοῦσι," "τί γάρ," ἔφη, "κακὸν πεποίηκα;" στρέψαντος αὐτοῦ τὸ διερρωγὸς τοῦ τρίβωνος εἰς τὸ προφανές, Σωκράτης ἰδών φησιν, "ὁρῶ σου διὰ τοῦ τρίβωνος τὴν φιλοδοξίαν." ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπό του, καθά φησι Φανίας ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Σωκρατικῶν, τί ποιῶν

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[a] *Cf.* Plato, *Phaedrus* 260 c.
[b] *Cf.* Aelian, *Var. Hist.* ix. 35

the fever themselves." "It is strange," said he, "that we weed out the darnel from the corn and the unfit in war, but do not excuse evil men from the service of the state." When he was asked what advantage had accrued to him from philosophy, his answer was, "The ability to hold converse with myself." Some one having called upon him over the wine for a song, he replied, "Then you must accompany me on the pipe." When Diogenes begged a coat of him, he bade him fold his cloak around him double. Being asked what learning is the most necessary, he replied, "How to get rid of having anything to unlearn." And he advised that when men are slandered, they should endure it more courageously than if they were pelted with stones.

And he used to taunt Plato with being conceited. At all events when in a procession he spied a spirited charger he said, turning to Plato, "It seems to me that you would have made just such a proud, showy steed." This because Plato was constantly praising horseflesh. And one day he visited Plato, who was ill, and seeing the basin into which Plato had vomited, remarked, "The bile I see, but not the pride." He used to recommend the Athenians to vote that asses are horses.[a] When they deemed this absurd, his reply was, "But yet generals are found among you who had had no training, but were merely elected." "Many men praise you," said one. "Why, what wrong have I done?" was his rejoinder. When he turned the torn part of his cloak so that it came into view, Socrates no sooner saw this than he said, "I spy your love of fame peeping through your cloak."[b] Phanias in his work on the Socratics tells us how some one asked him

καλὸς κἀγαθὸς ἔσοιτο, ἔφη, "εἰ τὰ κακὰ ἃ ἔχεις ὅτι φευκτά ἐστι μάθοις παρὰ τῶν εἰδότων." πρὸς τὸν ἐπαινοῦντα τρυφήν, "ἐχθρῶν παῖδες," ἔφη, "τρυφήσειαν."

9 Πρὸς τὸ παρασχηματίζον αὐτὸ τῷ πλάστῃ μειράκιον, "εἰπέ μοι," φησίν, "εἰ φωνὴν λάβοι ὁ χαλκός, ἐπὶ τίνι ἂν οἴει σεμνυνθῆναι;" τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος, "ἐπὶ κάλλει," "οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ οὖν," ἔφη, "τὰ ὅμοια γεγηθὼς ἀψύχῳ;" Ποντικοῦ νεανίσκου πολυωρήσειν αὐτοῦ ἐπαγγελλομένου, εἰ τὸ πλοῖον ἀφίκοιτο τῶν ταρίχων, λαβὼν αὐτὸν καὶ θύλακον κενὸν πρὸς ἀλφιτόπωλιν ἧκε καὶ σαξάμενος ἀπῄει· τῆς δὲ αἰτούσης τὸ διάφορον, "ὁ νεανίσκος," ἔφη, "δώσει ἐὰν τὸ πλοῖον αὐτοῦ τῶν ταρίχων ἀφίκηται."

Αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ Ἀνύτῳ τῆς φυγῆς αἴτιος
10 γενέσθαι δοκεῖ καὶ Μελήτῳ τοῦ θανάτου. Ποντικοῖς γὰρ νεανίσκοις κατὰ κλέος τοῦ Σωκράτους ἀφιγμένοις περιτυχὼν ἀπήγαγεν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν Ἄνυτον, εἰπὼν ἐν ἤθει σοφώτερον εἶναι τοῦ Σωκράτους· ἐφ' ᾧ διαγανακτήσαντας τοὺς περιεστῶτας ἐκδιῶξαι αὐτόν. εἰ δέ ποθι θεάσαιτο γύναιον κεκοσμημένον, ἀπῄει ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῆς καὶ ἐκέλευε τὸν ἄνδρα ἐξαγαγεῖν ἵππον καὶ ὅπλα, ὥστ' εἰ μὲν ἔχοι ταῦτα, ἐᾶν τρυφᾶν· ἀμυνεῖσθαι[1] γὰρ τούτοις· εἰ δὲ μή, περιαιρεῖν τὸν κόσμον.

Ἤρεσκεν αὐτῷ καὶ τάδε. διδακτὴν ἀπεδείκνυε

[1] ἀμύνεσθαι vulg.

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[a] Here follow three extracts of Cynic maxims or rules of conduct; for, strictly speaking, they had no tenets proper (δόξαι, δόγματα). The last (§ 13) seems to be derived from Diocles.

what he must do to be good and noble, and he replied, "You must learn from those who know that the faults you have are to be avoided." When some one extolled luxury his reply was, "May the sons of your enemies live in luxury."

To the youth who was posing fantastically as an artist's model he put this question, "Tell me, if the bronze could speak, on what, think you, would it pride itself most?" "On its beauty," was the reply. "Then," said he, "are you not ashamed of delighting in the very same quality as an inanimate object?" When a young man from Pontus promised to treat him with great consideration as soon as his boat with its freight of salt fish should arrive, he took him and an empty wallet to a flour-dealer's, got it filled, and was going away. When the woman asked for the money, "The young man will pay," said he, "when his boatload of salt fish arrives."

Antisthenes is held responsible for the exile of Anytus and the execution of Meletus. For he fell in with some youths from Pontus whom the fame of Socrates had brought to Athens, and he led them off to Anytus, whom he ironically declared to be wiser than Socrates; whereupon (it is said) those about him with much indignation drove Anytus out of the city. If he saw a woman anywhere decked out with ornaments, he would hasten to her house and bid her husband bring out his horse and arms, and then, if the man possessed them, let his extravagance alone, for (he said) the man could with these defend himself; but, if he had none, he would bid him strip off the finery.

Favourite themes [a] with him were the following. He would prove that virtue can be taught; that

τὴν ἀρετήν. τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐγενεῖς [τ]ούς[1] καὶ
11 ἐναρέτους· αὐτάρκη δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν, μηδενὸς προσδεομένην ὅτι μὴ Σωκρατικῆς ἰσχύος. τήν τ' ἀρετὴν τῶν ἔργων εἶναι, μήτε λόγων πλείστων δεομένην μήτε μαθημάτων. αὐτάρκη τ' εἶναι τὸν σοφόν· πάντα γὰρ αὐτοῦ εἶναι τὰ τῶν ἄλλων. τήν τ' ἀδοξίαν ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἴσον τῷ πόνῳ. καὶ τὸν σοφὸν οὐ κατὰ τοὺς κειμένους νόμους πολιτεύσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς. γαμήσειν τε τεκνοποιίας χάριν, ταῖς εὐφυεστάταις συνιόντα γυναιξί. καὶ ἐρασθήσεσθαι δέ· μόνον γὰρ εἰδέναι τὸν σοφὸν τίνων χρὴ ἐρᾶν.

12 Ἀναγράφει δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Διοκλῆς ταυτί. τῷ σοφῷ ξένον οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἄπορον.[2] ἀξιέραστος ὁ ἀγαθός· οἱ σπουδαῖοι φίλοι· συμμάχους ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς εὐψύχους ἅμα καὶ δικαίους· ἀναφαίρετον ὅπλον ἡ ἀρετή· κρεῖττόν ἐστι μετ' ὀλίγων ἀγαθῶν πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς κακοὺς ἢ μετὰ πολλῶν κακῶν πρὸς ὀλίγους ἀγαθοὺς μάχεσθαι. προσέχειν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς· πρῶτοι γὰρ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων αἰσθάνονται. τὸν δίκαιον περὶ πλείονος ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ συγγενοῦς· ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ἡ αὐτὴ ἀρετή· τἀγαθὰ καλά, τὰ κακὰ αἰσχρά· τὰ πονηρὰ νόμιζε πάντα ξενικά.

13 Τεῖχος ἀσφαλέστατον φρόνησιν· μήτε γὰρ καταρρεῖν μήτε προδίδοσθαι. τείχη κατασκευαστέον ἐν τοῖς αὑτῶν ἀναλώτοις λογισμοῖς. διελέγετο δ' ἐν τῷ Κυνοσάργει γυμνασίῳ μικρὸν ἄποθεν τῶν πυλῶν· ὅθεν τινὲς καὶ τὴν κυνικὴν ἐντεῦθεν ὀνο-

[1] τοὺς vulg.: οὓς Richards.
[2] ἄπορον coni. Henr. Steph. for ἄπο codd.

nobility belongs to none other than the virtuous. And he held virtue to be sufficient in itself to ensure happiness, since it needed nothing else except the strength of a Socrates. And he maintained that virtue is an affair of deeds and does not need a store of words or learning; that the wise man is self-sufficing, for all the goods of others are his; that ill repute is a good thing and much the same as pain; that the wise man will be guided in his public acts not by the established laws but by the law of virtue; that he will also marry in order to have children from union with the handsomest women; furthermore that he will not disdain to love, for only the wise man knows who are worthy to be loved.

Diocles records the following sayings of his: To the wise man nothing is foreign or impracticable. A good man deserves to be loved. Men of worth are friends. Make allies of men who are at once brave and just. Virtue is a weapon that cannot be taken away. It is better to be with a handful of good men fighting against all the bad, than with hosts of bad men against a handful of good men. Pay attention to your enemies, for they are the first to discover your mistakes. Esteem an honest man above a kinsman. Virtue is the same for women as for men. Good actions are fair and evil actions foul. Count all wickedness foreign and alien.

Wisdom is a most sure stronghold which never crumbles away nor is betrayed. Walls of defence must be constructed in our own impregnable reasonings. He used to converse in the gymnasium of Cynosarges (White hound) at no great distance from the gates, and some think that the Cynic school derived its name from Cynosarges. Antisthenes

μασθῆναι. αὐτός τ' ἐπεκαλεῖτο Ἁπλοκύων.[1] καὶ πρῶτος ἐδίπλωσε τὸν τρίβωνα, καθά φησι Διοκλῆς, καὶ μόνῳ αὐτῷ ἐχρῆτο· βάκτρον τ' ἀνέλαβε καὶ πήραν. πρῶτον δὲ καὶ Νεάνθης φησὶ διπλῶσαι θοἰμάτιον. Σωσικράτης δ' ἐν τρίτῃ Διαδοχῶν Διόδωρον τὸν Ἀσπένδιον, καὶ πώγωνα καθεῖναι καὶ πήρᾳ καὶ βάκτρῳ χρῆσθαι.

14 Τοῦτον μόνον ἐκ πάντων[2] Σωκρατικῶν Θεόπομπος ἐπαινεῖ καί φησι δεινόν τ' εἶναι καὶ δι' ὁμιλίας ἐμμελοῦς ὑπαγαγέσθαι πάνθ' ὁντινοῦν. δῆλον δ' ἐκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων κἀκ τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος Συμποσίου. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀνδρωδεστάτης Στωικῆς κατάρξαι· ὅθεν καὶ Ἀθήναιος ὁ ἐπιγραμματοποιὸς περὶ αὐτῶν φησιν οὕτως·

ὦ στωικῶν μύθων εἰδήμονες, ὦ πανάριστα
δόγματα ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐνθέμενοι σελίσιν,
τὰν ἀρετὰν ψυχᾶς ἀγαθὸν μόνον· ἅδε γὰρ ἀνδρῶν
μούνα καὶ βιοτὰν ῥύσατο καὶ πόλιας.
σαρκὸς δ' ἡδυπάθημα, φίλον τέλος ἀνδράσιν ἄλλοις,
ἡ μία τῶν Μνήμης ἤνυσε θυγατέρων.

15 Οὗτος ἡγήσατο καὶ τῆς Διογένους ἀπαθείας καὶ τῆς Κράτητος ἐγκρατείας καὶ τῆς Ζήνωνος καρτερίας, αὐτὸς ὑποθέμενος τῇ πολιτείᾳ τὰ θεμέλια. ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἥδιστον μὲν εἶναι περὶ τὰς ὁμιλίας φησὶν αὐτόν, ἐγκρατέστατον δὲ περὶ τἆλλα.

Φέρονται δ' αὐτοῦ συγγράμματα τόμοι δέκα· πρῶτος ἐν ᾧ

[1] Αὐτοκύων: Reiske. [2] πάντων <τῶν> Richards.

[a] *Anth. Pal.* ix. 496.
[b] *i.e.* Erato; *cf.* Athen. xiii. p. 555 b, Ap. Rhod. iii. 1.

himself too was nicknamed a hound pure and simple. And he was the first, Diocles tells us, to double his cloak and be content with that one garment and to take up a staff and a wallet. Neanthes too asserts that he was the first to double his mantle. Sosicrates, however, in the third book of his *Successions of Philosophers* says this was first done by Diodorus of Aspendus, who also let his beard grow and used a staff and a wallet.

Of all the Socratics Antisthenes alone is praised by Theopompus, who says he had consummate skill and could by means of agreeable discourse win over whomsoever he pleased. And this is clear from his writings and from Xenophon's *Banquet*. It would seem that the most manly section of the Stoic School owed its origin to him. Hence Athenaeus the epigrammatist writes thus of them [a]:

Ye experts in Stoic story, ye who commit to sacred pages most excellent doctrines—that virtue alone is the good of the soul: for virtue alone saves man's life and cities. But that Muse [b] that is one of the daughters of Memory approves the pampering of the flesh, which other men have chosen for their aim.

Antisthenes [c] gave the impulse to the indifference of Diogenes, the continence of Crates, and the hardihood of Zeno, himself laying the foundations of their state. Xenophon calls him the most agreeable of men in conversation and the most temperate in everything else.

His writings are preserved in ten volumes. The first includes :

[c] It seems clear that the passage which begins here is not from the same source as that (in § 14) which precedes the epigram.

Περὶ λέξεως ἢ περὶ χαρακτήρων.
Αἴας ἢ Αἴαντος λόγος.
Ὀδυσσεὺς ἢ περὶ Ὀδυσσέως.
Ὀρέστου ἀπολογία ἢ περὶ τῶν δικογράφων.
Ἰσογραφὴ ἢ Λυσίας καὶ Ἰσοκράτης.
Πρὸς τὸν Ἰσοκράτους Ἀμάρτυρον.

Τόμος δεύτερος ἐν ᾧ

16 Περὶ ζῴων φύσεως.
Περὶ παιδοποιίας ἢ περὶ γάμου ἐρωτικός.
Περὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν φυσιογνωμονικός.
Περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀνδρείας προτρεπτικὸς πρῶτος, δεύτερος, τρίτος.
Περὶ Θεόγνιδος δʹ εʹ.

Τόμος τρίτος ἐν ᾧ

Περὶ ἀγαθοῦ.
Περὶ ἀνδρείας.
Περὶ νόμου ἢ περὶ πολιτείας.
Περὶ νόμου ἢ περὶ καλοῦ καὶ δικαίου.
Περὶ ἐλευθερίας καὶ δουλείας.
Περὶ πίστεως.
Περὶ ἐπιτρόπου ἢ περὶ τοῦ πείθεσθαι.
Περὶ νίκης οἰκονομικός.

Τόμος τέταρτος ἐν ᾧ

Κῦρος.
Ἡρακλῆς ὁ μείζων ἢ περὶ ἰσχύος.

Τόμος πέμπτος ἐν ᾧ

Κῦρος ἢ περὶ βασιλείας.
Ἀσπασία.

A Treatise on Expression, or Styles of Speaking.
Ajax, or The Speech of Ajax.
Odysseus, or Concerning Odysseus.
A Defence of Orestes, or Concerning Forensic Writers.
Isography (similar writing), or Lysias and Isocrates.
A Reply to the Speech of Isocrates entitled "Without Witnesses."

Vol. 2 includes :
Of the Nature of Animals.
Of Procreation of Children, or Of Marriage : a discourse on love.
Of the Sophists : a work on Physiognomy.
On Justice and Courage : a hortative work in three books.
Concerning Theognis, making a fourth and a fifth book.

In the third volume are treatises :
Of the Good.
Of Courage.
Of Law, or Of a Commonwealth.
Of Law, or Of Goodness and Justice.
Of Freedom and Slavery.
Of Belief.
Of the Guardian, or On Obedience.
Of Victory : an economic work.

In the fourth volume are included :
Cyrus.
The Greater Heracles, or Of Strength.

The fifth contains :
Cyrus, or Of Sovereignty.
Aspasia.

Τόμος ἕκτος ἐν ᾧ
Ἀλήθεια.
Περὶ τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι ἀντιλογικός.
Σάθων ἢ περὶ τοῦ ἀντιλέγειν α′ β′ γ′.
Περὶ διαλέκτου.

17 Τόμος ἕβδομος ἐν ᾧ
Περὶ παιδείας ἢ ὀνομάτων α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′.
Περὶ ὀνομάτων χρήσεως ἐριστικός.
Περὶ ἐρωτήσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως.
Περὶ δόξης καὶ ἐπιστήμης α′ β′ γ′ δ′.
Περὶ τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν.
Περὶ ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου.
Περὶ τῶν ἐν ᾅδου.
Περὶ φύσεως α′ β′.
Ἐρώτημα περὶ φύσεως β′.
Δόξαι ἢ ἐριστικός.
Περὶ τοῦ μανθάνειν προβλήματα.

Τόμος ὄγδοος ἐν ᾧ
Περὶ μουσικῆς.
Περὶ ἐξηγητῶν.
Περὶ Ὁμήρου.
Περὶ ἀδικίας καὶ ἀσεβείας.
Περὶ Κάλχαντος.
Περὶ κατασκόπου.
Περὶ ἡδονῆς.

Τόμος ἔνατος ἐν ᾧ
Περὶ Ὀδυσσείας.
Περὶ τῆς ῥάβδου.
Ἀθηνᾶ ἢ περὶ Τηλεμάχου.
Περὶ Ἑλένης καὶ Πηνελόπης.
Περὶ Πρωτέως.
Κύκλωψ ἢ περὶ Ὀδυσσέως.

The sixth:

Truth.
Of Discussion: a handbook of debate.
Satho, or Of Contradiction, in three books.
On Talk.

The seventh volume contains the following:

On Education, or On Names, in five books.
On the Use of Names: a controversial work.
Of Questioning and Answering.
Of Opinion and Knowledge, in four books.
Of Dying.
Of Life and Death.
Of Those in the Underworld.
Of Nature, in two books.
A Problem concerning Nature, two books.
Opinions, or The Controversialist.
Problems about Learning.

In the eighth volume are:

On Music.
On Commentators.
On Homer.
On Wickedness and Impiety.
On Calchas.
On the Scout.
On Pleasure.

The ninth volume contains:

Of the Odyssey.
Of the Minstrel's Staff.
Athena, or Of Telemachus.
Of Helen and Penelope.
Of Proteus.
Cyclops, or Of Odysseus.

18 Περὶ οἴνου χρήσεως ἢ περὶ μέθης ἢ περὶ τοῦ Κύκλωπος.
Περὶ Κίρκης.
Περὶ Ἀμφιαράου.
Περὶ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως καὶ Πηνελόπης καὶ περὶ τοῦ κυνός.

Τόμος δέκατος ἐν ᾧ

Ἡρακλῆς ἢ Μίδας.
Ἡρακλῆς ἢ περὶ φρονήσεως ἢ ἰσχύος.
Κῦρος ἢ ἐρώμενος.
Κῦρος ἢ κατάσκοποι.
Μενέξενος ἢ περὶ τοῦ ἄρχειν.
Ἀλκιβιάδης.
Ἀρχέλαος ἢ περὶ βασιλείας.

Καὶ ταῦτα μέν ἐστιν ἃ συνέγραψεν.

Ὧι Τίμων διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπιτιμῶν "παντοφυῆ φλέδονα" φησιν αὐτόν. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ ἀρρωστίᾳ· ὅτε καὶ Διογένης εἰσιὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη, "μήτι χρεία φίλου;" καί ποτε παρ' αὐτὸν ξιφίδιον ἔχων εἰσῄει. τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος, "τίς ἂν ἀπολύσειέ με τῶν πόνων;" δείξας τὸ ξιφίδιον, ἔφη, "τοῦτο"· καὶ ὅς, "τῶν πόνων," εἶπον, "οὐ
19 τοῦ ζῆν." ἐδόκει γάρ πως μαλακώτερον φέρειν τὴν νόσον ὑπὸ φιλοζωίας. καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχον·

τὸν βίον ἦσθα κύων, Ἀντίσθενες, ὧδε πεφυκὼς
 ὥστε δακεῖν κραδίην ῥήμασιν, οὐ στόμασιν·
ἀλλ' ἔθανες φθισικός, τάχ' ἐρεῖ τις ἴσως· τί δὲ τοῦτο;
 πάντως εἰς Ἀΐδην δεῖ τιν' ὁδηγὸν ἔχειν.

Γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Ἀντισθένεις τρεῖς· Ἡρα-

Of the Use of Wine, or Of Intoxication, or Of the Cyclops.
Of Circe.
Of Amphiaraus.
Of Odysseus, Penelope and the Dog.

The contents of the tenth volume are :
Heracles, or Midas.
Heracles, or Of Wisdom or Strength.
Cyrus, or The Beloved.
Cyrus, or The Scouts.
Menexenus, or On Ruling.
Alcibiades.
Archelaus, or Of Kingship.

This is the list of his writings.

Timon finds fault with him for writing so much and calls him a prolific trifler. He died of disease just as Diogenes, who had come in, inquired of him, "Have you need of a friend?" Once too Diogenes, when he came to him, brought a dagger. And when Antisthenes cried out, "Who will release me from these pains?" replied, "This," showing him the dagger. "I said," quoth the other, "from my pains, not from life." It was thought that he showed some weakness in bearing his malady through love of life. And here are my verses upon him[a]:

Such was your nature, Antisthenes, that in your lifetime you were a very bulldog to rend the heart with words, if not with teeth. Yet you died of consumption. Maybe some one will say, What of that? We must anyhow have some guide to the world below.

There have been three other men named Antisthenes: one a follower of Heraclitus, another a

[a] *Anth. Pal.* vii. 115.

κλείτειος εἷς, καὶ ἕτερος Ἐφέσιος, καὶ Ῥόδιός τις ἱστορικός.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοὺς ἀπ' Ἀριστίππου διεληλύθαμεν καὶ Φαίδωνος, νῦν ἑλκύσωμεν τοὺς ἀπ' Ἀντισθένους κυνικούς τε καὶ στωικούς. καὶ ἐχέτω ὧδε.

Κεφ. β'. ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ

20 Διογένης Ἱκεσίου τραπεζίτου Σινωπεύς. φησὶ δὲ Διοκλῆς, δημοσίαν αὐτοῦ τὴν τράπεζαν ἔχοντος τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ παραχαράξαντος τὸ νόμισμα, φυγεῖν. Εὐβουλίδης δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Διογένους αὐτόν φησι Διογένην τοῦτο πρᾶξαι καὶ συναλᾶσθαι τῷ πατρί. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν ἐν τῷ Πορδάλῳ ὡς παραχαράξαι τὸ νόμισμα. ἔνιοι δ' ἐπιμελητὴν γενόμενον ἀναπεισθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν τεχνιτῶν καὶ ἐλθόντα εἰς Δελφοὺς ἢ εἰς τὸ Δήλιον ἐν τῇ πατρίδι Ἀπόλλωνος πυνθάνεσθαι εἰ ταῦτα πράξει ἅπερ ἀναπείθεται· τοῦ δὲ συγχωρήσαντος τὸ πολιτικὸν νόμισμα, οὐ συνείς, τὸ κέρμα ἐκιβδήλευσε καὶ φωραθείς, ὡς μέν τινες, ἐφυγαδεύθη,
21 ὡς δέ τινες, ἑκὼν ὑπεξῆλθε φοβηθείς. ἔνιοι δέ φασι παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτὸν λαβόντα τὸ νόμισμα διαφθεῖραι· καὶ τὸν μὲν δεθέντα ἀποθανεῖν, τὸν δὲ φυγεῖν ἐλθεῖν τ' εἰς Δελφοὺς καὶ πυνθανόμενον οὐκ εἰ παραχαράξει, ἀλλὰ τί ποιήσας ἐνδοξότατος ἔσται, οὕτω λαβεῖν τὸν χρησμὸν τοῦτον.

native of Ephesus, and the third of Rhodes, a historian.

And whereas we have enumerated the pupils of Aristippus and of Phaedo, we will now append an account of the Cynics and Stoics who derive from Antisthenes. And let it be in the following order.

Chapter 2. DIOGENES (404–323 B.C.)

Diogenes was a native of Sinope, son of Hicesius, a banker. Diocles relates that he went into exile because his father was entrusted with the money of the state and adulterated the coinage. But Eubulides in his book on Diogenes says that Diogenes himself did this and was forced to leave home along with his father. Moreover Diogenes himself actually confesses in his *Pordalus* that he adulterated the coinage. Some say that having been appointed to superintend the workmen he was persuaded by them, and that he went to Delphi or to the Delian oracle in his own city and inquired of Apollo whether he should do what he was urged to do. When the god gave him permission to alter the political currency, not understanding what this meant, he adulterated the state coinage, and when he was detected, according to some he was banished, while according to others he voluntarily quitted the city for fear of consequences. One version is that his father entrusted him with the money and that he debased it, in consequence of which the father was imprisoned and died, while the son fled, came to Delphi, and inquired, not whether he should falsify the coinage, but what he should do to gain the greatest reputation; and that then it was that he received the oracle.

Γενόμενος δὲ Ἀθήνησιν Ἀντισθένει παρέβαλε. τοῦ δὲ διωθουμένου διὰ τὸ μηδένα προσίεσθαι, ἐξεβιάζετο τῇ προσεδρίᾳ. καί ποτε τὴν βακτηρίαν ἐπανατειναμένου αὐτῷ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑποσχών, "παῖε," εἶπεν· "οὐ γὰρ εὑρήσεις οὕτω σκληρὸν ξύλον ᾧ με ἀπείρξεις ἕως ἄν τι φαίνῃ λέγων." τοὐντεῦθεν διήκουσεν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἅτε φυγὰς ὢν ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν εὐτελῆ βίον.

22 Μῦν θεασάμενος διατρέχοντα, καθά φησι Θεόφραστος ἐν τῷ Μεγαρικῷ, καὶ μήτε κοίτην ἐπιζητοῦντα μήτε σκότος εὐλαβούμενον ἢ ποθοῦντά τι τῶν δοκούντων ἀπολαυστῶν, πόρον ἐξεῦρε τῆς περιστάσεως. τρίβωνα διπλώσας πρῶτος κατά τινας διὰ τὸ ἀνάγκην ἔχειν καὶ ἐνεύδειν αὐτῷ, πήραν τ᾽ ἐκομίσατο, ἔνθα αὐτῷ τὰ σιτία ἦν, καὶ παντὶ τόπῳ ἐχρῆτο εἰς πάντα, ἀριστῶν τε καὶ καθεύδων καὶ διαλεγόμενος. ὅτε καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔφασκε, δεικνὺς τὴν τοῦ Διὸς στοὰν καὶ τὸ Πομπεῖον,
23 αὐτῷ κατεσκευακέναι ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι. βακτηρίᾳ δ᾽ ἐπεστηρίζετο ἀσθενήσας· ἔπειτα μέντοι καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐφόρει, οὐ μὴν ἐν ἄστει, ἀλλὰ καθ᾽ ὁδὸν αὐτῇ τε καὶ τῇ πήρᾳ, καθά φησιν Ἀθηνόδωρος ὁ Ἀθηναίων προστατήσας καὶ Πολύευκτος ὁ ῥήτωρ καὶ Λυσανίας ὁ Αἰσχρίωνος. ἐπιστείλας δέ τινι οἰκίδιον αὐτῷ προνοήσασθαι, βραδύνοντος, τὸν ἐν τῷ Μητρῴῳ πίθον ἔσχεν οἰκίαν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς διασαφεῖ. καὶ θέρους μὲν ἐπὶ

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[a] An eminent politician. Pausanias, i. cc. 25, 26, describes a statue of Olympiodorus in the Acropolis, and takes occasion to recount his exploits, how (*c.* 288 B.C.) he delivered Athens from the Macedonians (*cf.* Plut. *Demetr.* c. 46). As to

On reaching Athens he fell in with Antisthenes. Being repulsed by him, because he never welcomed pupils, by sheer persistence Diogenes wore him out. Once when he stretched out his staff against him, the pupil offered his head with the words, "Strike, for you will find no wood hard enough to keep me away from you, so long as I think you've something to say." From that time forward he was his pupil, and, exile as he was, set out upon a simple life.

Through watching a mouse running about, says Theophrastus in the Megarian dialogue, not looking for a place to lie down in, not afraid of the dark, not seeking any of the things which are considered to be dainties, he discovered the means of adapting himself to circumstances. He was the first, say some, to fold his cloak because he was obliged to sleep in it as well, and he carried a wallet to hold his victuals, and he used any place for any purpose, for breakfasting, sleeping, or conversing. And then he would say, pointing to the portico of Zeus and the Hall of Processions, that the Athenians had provided him with places to live in. He did not lean upon a staff until he grew infirm; but afterwards he would carry it everywhere, not indeed in the city, but when walking along the road with it and with his wallet; so say Olympiodorus,[a] once a magistrate at Athens, Polyeuctus the orator, and Lysanias the son of Aeschrio. He had written to some one to try and procure a cottage for him. When this man was a long time about it, he took for his abode the tub in the Metroön, as he himself explains in his letters. And in summer he used to roll in it over hot sand,

the variant Ἀθηνόδωρος, nothing is known of any Athenian politician of that name.

ψάμμου ζεστῆς ἐκυλινδεῖτο, χειμῶνος δ' ἀνδριάντας κεχιονισμένους περιελάμβανε, πανταχόθεν ἑαυτὸν συνασκῶν.

24 *Δεινός τ' ἦν κατασοβαρεύσασθαι τῶν ἄλλων. καὶ τὴν μὲν Εὐκλείδου σχολὴν ἔλεγε χολήν, τὴν δὲ Πλάτωνος διατριβὴν κατατριβήν, τοὺς δὲ Διονυσιακοὺς ἀγῶνας μεγάλα θαύματα μωροῖς ἔλεγε καὶ τοὺς δημαγωγοὺς ὄχλου διακόνους. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ ὡς ὅτε μὲν ἴδοι κυβερνήτας ἐν τῷ βίῳ καὶ ἰατροὺς καὶ φιλοσόφους, συνετώτατον εἶναι τῶν ζῴων νομίζειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον· ὅτε δὲ πάλιν ὀνειροκρίτας καὶ μάντεις καὶ τοὺς προσέχοντας τούτοις ἢ τοὺς ἐπὶ δόξῃ καὶ πλούτῳ πεφυσημένους, οὐδὲν ματαιότερον νομίζειν ἀνθρώπου. συνεχές τε ἔλεγεν εἰς τὸν βίον παρεσκευάσθαι δεῖν λόγον ἢ βρόχον.*

25 *Καί ποτε Πλάτωνα ἐν δείπνῳ πολυτελεῖ κατανοήσας ἐλάας ἁψάμενον, "τί," φησίν, "ὁ σοφὸς εἰς Σικελίαν πλεύσας τῶν τραπεζῶν τούτων χάριν, νῦν παρακειμένων οὐκ ἀπολαύεις;" καὶ ὅς, "ἀλλὰ νὴ τοὺς θεούς," φησί, "Διόγενες, κἀκεῖ τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς ἐλάας καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐγινόμην." ὁ δέ, "τί οὖν ἔδει πλεῖν εἰς Συρακούσας; ἢ τότε ἡ 'Αττικὴ οὐκ ἔφερεν ἐλάας;" Φαβωρῖνος δέ φησιν ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ 'Αρίστιππον εἰπεῖν τοῦτο. καὶ ἄλλοτε ἰσχάδας ἐσθίων ἀπήντετ' αὐτῷ φησί τε, "ἔξεστί σοι μετασχεῖν"· τοῦ δὲ λαβόντος καὶ φαγόντος, ἔφη, "μετασχεῖν εἶπον, οὐ καταφαγεῖν."*

26 *Πατῶν αὐτοῦ ποτε τὰ στρώματα κεκληκότος*

[a] Some of the stories which follow are so much alike that it is charitable to suppose that Laertius drew from more than one collection of the sayings of Diogenes.

while in winter he used to embrace statues covered with snow, using every means of inuring himself to hardship.

He was great at pouring scorn on his contemporaries. The school of Euclides he called bilious, and Plato's lectures waste of time, the performances at the Dionysia great peep-shows for fools, and the demagogues the mob's lacqueys. He used also to say that when he saw physicians, philosophers and pilots at their work, he deemed man the most intelligent of all animals; but when again he saw interpreters of dreams and diviners and those who attended to them, or those who were puffed up with conceit of wealth, he thought no animal more silly. He would continually say[a] that for the conduct of life we need right reason or a halter.

Observing Plato one day at a costly banquet taking olives, "How is it," he said,[b] "that you the philosopher who sailed to Sicily for the sake of these dishes, now when they are before you do not enjoy them?" "Nay, by the gods, Diogenes," replied Plato, "there also for the most part I lived upon olives and such like." "Why then," said Diogenes, "did you need to go to Syracuse? Was it that Attica at that time did not grow olives?" But Favorinus in his *Miscellaneous History* attributes this to Aristippus. Again, another time he was eating dried figs when he encountered Plato and offered him a share of them. When Plato took them and ate them, he said, "I said you might share them, not that you might eat them all up."

And one day when Plato had invited to his house

[b] Obviously Favorinus was not the author (*vide infra*) whom Laertius followed here.

φίλους παρὰ Διονυσίου, ἔφη, “ πατῶ τὴν Πλά-
τωνος κενοσπουδίαν”· πρὸς ὃν ὁ Πλάτων, “ ὅσον,
ὦ Διόγενες, τοῦ τύφου διαφαίνεις, δοκῶν μὴ
τετυφῶσθαι.” οἱ δέ φασι τὸν Διογένην εἰπεῖν,
“ πατῶ τὸν Πλάτωνος τῦφον”· τὸν δὲ φάναι,
“ ἑτέρῳ γε τύφῳ, Διόγενες”· Σωτίων δ᾽ ἐν τῷ
τετάρτῳ φησὶ τοῦτο πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν τὸν Πλά-
τωνα τὸν κύνα. Διογένης οἶνόν ποτ᾽ ᾔτησεν αὐτόν·
τότε δὲ καὶ ἰσχάδας. ὁ δὲ κεράμιον ὅλον ἔπεμψεν
αὐτῷ· καὶ ὅς, “ σύ,” φησίν, “ ἐὰν ἐρωτηθῇς δύο καὶ
δύο πόσα ἐστίν, Εἴκοσιν ἀποκρινῇ; οὕτως οὔτε
πρὸς τὰ αἰτούμενα δίδως οὔτε πρὸς τὰ ἐρωτώμεν᾽
ἀποκρίνῃ.” ἔσκωψε δὴ ὡς ἀπεραντολόγον.
27 Ἐρωτηθεὶς ποῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἴδοι ἀγαθοὺς
ἄνδρας, “ ἄνδρας μέν,” εἶπεν, “ οὐδαμοῦ, παῖδας
δ᾽ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι.” σπουδαιολογουμένῳ ποτὲ
ὡς οὐδεὶς προσῄει, ἐπέβαλε τερετίζειν· ἀθροι-
σθέντων δέ, ὠνείδισεν ὡς ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς φληνάφους
ἀφικνουμένων σπουδαίως, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ σπουδαῖα
βραδυνόντων [ὀλιγώρως]. ἔλεγέ τε περὶ μὲν τοῦ
παρορύττειν καὶ λακτίζειν ἀγωνίζεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώ-
πους, περὶ δὲ καλοκἀγαθίας μηδένα. τούς τε
γραμματικοὺς ἐθαύμαζε τὰ μὲν τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως
κακὰ ἀναζητοῦντας, τὰ δ᾽ ἴδια ἀγνοοῦντας. καὶ
μὴν καὶ τοὺς μουσικοὺς τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ λύρᾳ χορδὰς
ἁρμόττεσθαι, ἀνάρμοστα δ᾽ ἔχειν τῆς ψυχῆς τὰ
28 ἤθη· τοὺς μαθηματικοὺς ἀποβλέπειν μὲν πρὸς τὸν

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[a] The point of Sotion's version is best seen if for the indirect τὸν Πλάτωνα τὸν κύνα (*sc.* πατεῖν) we substitute the direct speech τὸν Πλάτωνα ὁ κύων (*sc.* πατῶ).

[b] From Epictetus iii. 15. 4 it is evident that competition in digging trenches (ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι παρορύσσεσθαι) formed a

friends coming from Dionysius, Diogenes trampled upon his carpets and said, "I trample upon Plato's vainglory." Plato's reply was, "How much pride you expose to view, Diogenes, by seeming not to be proud." Others tell us that what Diogenes said was, "I trample upon the pride of Plato," who retorted, "Yes, Diogenes, with pride of another sort." Sotion,[a] however, in his fourth book makes the Cynic address this remark to Plato himself. Diogenes once asked him for wine, and after that also for some dried figs; and Plato sent him a whole jar full. Then the other said, "If some one asks you how many two and two are, will you answer, Twenty? So, it seems, you neither give as you are asked nor answer as you are questioned." Thus he scoffed at him as one who talked without end.

Being asked where in Greece he saw good men, he replied, "Good men nowhere, but good boys at Lacedaemon." When one day he was gravely discoursing and nobody attended to him, he began whistling, and as people clustered about him, he reproached them with coming in all seriousness to hear nonsense, but slowly and contemptuously when the theme was serious. He would say that men strive in digging[b] and kicking to outdo one another, but no one strives to become a good man and true. And he would wonder that the grammarians should investigate the ills of Odysseus, while they were ignorant of their own. Or that the musicians should tune the strings of the lyre, while leaving the dispositions of their own souls discordant; that the mathematicians should gaze at the sun

part of the course of preparation which athletes underwent at Olympia.

ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην, τὰ δ' ἐν ποσὶ πράγματα παρορᾶν· τοὺς ῥήτορας λέγειν μὲν ἐσπουδακέναι τὰ δίκαια, πράττειν δὲ μηδαμῶς· ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοὺς φιλαργύρους ψέγειν μὲν τὸ ἀργύριον, ὑπεραγαπᾶν δέ. κατεγίνωσκε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπαινούντων μὲν τοὺς δικαίους, ὅτι χρημάτων ἐπάνω εἶεν, ζηλούντων δὲ τοὺς πολυχρημάτους. ἐκίνει δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ θύειν μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς ὑπὲρ ὑγιείας, ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ θυσίᾳ κατὰ τῆς ὑγιείας δειπνεῖν. ἄγασθαι δὲ καὶ τῶν δούλων οἳ λαβροφαγοῦντας ὁρῶντες τοὺς δεσπότας μηδὲν ἁρπάζοιεν τῶν ἐσθιομένων.

29 ἐπῄνει τοὺς μέλλοντας γαμεῖν καὶ μὴ γαμεῖν, καὶ τοὺς μέλλοντας καταπλεῖν καὶ μὴ καταπλεῖν, καὶ τοὺς μέλλοντας πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ μὴ πολιτεύεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς παιδοτροφεῖν καὶ μὴ παιδοτροφεῖν, καὶ τοὺς παρασκευαζομένους συμβιοῦν τοῖς δυνάσταις καὶ μὴ προσιόντας. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ δεῖν τὰς χεῖρας[a] ἐπὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐκτείνειν μὴ συγκεκαμμένοις τοῖς δακτύλοις. φησὶ δὲ Μένιππος ἐν τῇ Διογένους Πράσει ὡς ἁλοὺς καὶ πωλούμενος ἠρωτήθη τί οἶδε ποιεῖν. ἀπεκρίνατο, "ἀνδρῶν ἄρχειν"· καὶ πρὸς τὸν κήρυκα, "κήρυσσε," ἔφη, "εἴ τις ἐθέλει δεσπότην αὑτῷ πρίασθαι." κωλυθεὶς καθίζεσθαι, "οὐδέν," ἔφη, "διαφέρει· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἰχθῦς ὅπως ἂν κέοιντο

30 πιπράσκεσθαι." θαυμάζειν τ' ἔφη εἰ χύτραν μὲν καὶ λοπάδα ὠνούμενοι κομποῦμεν· ἄνθρωπον δὲ

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[a] *Cf.* Ecclus. iv. 31 (36) μὴ ἔστω ἡ χείρ σου ἐκτεταμένη εἰς τὸ λαβεῖν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀποδιδόναι συνεσταλμένη, "let not thine hand be stretched out to receive, and shut when thou shouldest repay."

[b] Menagius, followed by Hübner, on the authority of

and the moon, but overlook matters close at hand; that the orators should make a fuss about justice in their speeches, but never practise it; or that the avaricious should cry out against money, while inordinately fond of it. He used also to condemn those who praised honest men for being superior to money, while themselves envying the very rich. He was moved to anger that men should sacrifice to the gods to ensure health and in the midst of the sacrifice should feast to the detriment of health. He was astonished that when slaves saw their masters were gluttons, they did not steal some of the viands. He would praise those who were about to marry and refrained, those who intending to go a voyage never set sail, those who thinking to engage in politics do no such thing, those also who purposing to rear a family do not do so, and those who make ready to live with potentates, yet never come near them after all. He used to say, moreover, that we ought to stretch out our hands to our friends with the fingers open and not closed.[a] Menippus[b] in his *Sale of Diogenes* tells how, when he was captured and put up for sale, he was asked what he could do. He replied, "Govern men." And he told the crier to give notice in case anybody wanted to purchase a master for himself. Having been forbidden to sit down, "It makes no difference," said he, "for in whatever position fishes lie, they still find purchasers." And he said he marvelled that before we buy a jar or dish we try whether it rings true, but if it is a man are content merely to look

Ambrosius, reads "Hermippus"; for among the works of Menippus enumerated by Laertius below (§ 101) there is no mention of a "Sale of Diogenes."

μόνῃ τῇ ὄψει ἀρκούμεθα. ἔλεγε τῷ Ξενιάδῃ τῷ πριαμένῳ αὐτόν, δεῖν πείθεσθαι αὐτῷ, εἰ καὶ δοῦλος εἴη· καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἰατρὸς ἢ κυβερνήτης ἦν δοῦλος, πεισθῆναι ἂν αὐτῷ. Εὔβουλος δέ φησιν ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Διογένους Πρᾶσις οὕτως ἄγειν τοὺς παῖδας τοῦ Ξενιάδου, μετὰ τὰ λοιπὰ μαθήματα ἱππεύειν, τοξεύειν, σφενδονᾶν, ἀκοντίζειν· ἔπειτ' ἐν τῇ παλαίστρᾳ οὐκ ἐπέτρεπε τῷ παιδοτρίβῃ ἀθλητικῶς ἄγειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ μόνον ἐρυθήματος χάριν καὶ εὐεξίας.

31 Κατεῖχον δὲ οἱ παῖδες πολλὰ ποιητῶν καὶ συγγραφέων καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ Διογένους, πᾶσάν τ' ἔφοδον σύντομον πρὸς τὸ εὐμνημόνευτον ἐπήσκει. ἐν οἴκῳ τ' ἐδίδασκε διακονεῖσθαι λιτῇ τροφῇ χρωμένους καὶ ὕδωρ πίνοντας, ἐν χρῷ κουρίας τε καὶ ἀκαλλωπίστους εἰργάζετο καὶ ἀχίτωνας καὶ ἀνυποδήτους καὶ σιωπηλοὺς καὶ καθ' αὑτοὺς βλέποντας ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς. ἐξῆγε δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ κυνηγέσια. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ Διογένους ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποιοῦντο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γονέας αἰτητικῶς εἶχον. ὁ δ' αὐτός φησι παρὰ τῷ Ξενιάδῃ καὶ γηρᾶσαι αὐτὸν καὶ θανόντα ταφῆναι πρὸς τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ. ἔνθα καὶ πυνθανομένου τοῦ Ξενιάδου πῶς αὐτὸν θάψειεν,
32 ἔφη, "ἐπὶ πρόσωπον"· τοῦ δ' ἐρομένου "διὰ τί;" "ὅτι μετ' ὀλίγον," εἶπε, "μέλλει τὰ κάτω ἄνω στρέφεσθαι." τοῦτο δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐπικρατεῖν ἤδη τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἢ ἐκ ταπεινῶν ὑψηλοὺς γίνεσθαι. εἰσαγαγόντος τινὸς αὐτὸν εἰς οἶκον πολυτελῆ καὶ κωλύοντος πτύσαι, ἐπειδὴ ἐχρέμψατο, εἰς τὴν ὄψιν

at him. To Xeniades who purchased him he said, "You must obey me, although I am a slave; for, if a physician or a steersman were in slavery, he would be obeyed." Eubulus in his book entitled *The Sale of Diogenes* tells us that this was how he trained the sons of Xeniades. After their other studies he taught them to ride, to shoot with the bow, to sling stones and to hurl javelins. Later, when they reached the wrestling-school, he would not permit the master to give them full athletic training, but only so much as to heighten their colour and keep them in good condition.

The boys used to get by heart many passages from poets, historians, and the writings of Diogenes himself; and he would practise them in every short cut to a good memory. In the house too he taught them to wait upon themselves, and to be content with plain fare and water to drink. He used to make them crop their hair close and to wear it unadorned, and to go lightly clad, barefoot, silent, and not looking about them in the streets. He would also take them out hunting. They on their part had a great regard for Diogenes and made requests of their parents for him. The same Eubulus relates that he grew old in the house of Xeniades, and when he died was buried by his sons. There Xeniades once asked him how he wished to be buried. To which he replied, "On my face." "Why?" inquired the other. "Because," said he, "after a little time down will be converted into up." This because the Macedonians had now got the supremacy, that is, had risen high from a humble position. Some one took him into a magnificent house and warned him not to expectorate, whereupon having cleared his throat

αὐτοῦ ἔπτυσεν, εἰπὼν χείρονα τόπον μὴ εὑρηκέναι. οἱ δὲ τοῦτο Ἀριστίππου φασί. φωνήσας ποτέ, "ἰὼ ἄνθρωποι," [καὶ] συνελθόντων, καθίκετο τῇ βακτηρίᾳ, εἰπών, "ἀνθρώπους ἐκάλεσα, οὐ καθάρματα," ὥς φησιν Ἑκάτων ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Χρειῶν. φασὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον εἰπεῖν ὡς εἴπερ Ἀλέξανδρος μὴ ἐγεγόνειν, ἠθέλησα ἂν Διογένης γενέσθαι.

33 Ἀναπήρους ἔλεγεν οὐ τοὺς κωφοὺς καὶ τυφλούς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὴ ἔχοντας πήραν. εἰσελθών ποτε ἡμιξύρητος εἰς νέων συμπόσιον, καθά φησι Μητροκλῆς ἐν ταῖς Χρείαις, πληγὰς ἔλαβε· μετὰ δὲ ἐγγράψας τὰ ὀνόματα εἰς λεύκωμα τῶν πληξάντων περιῄει ἐξημμένος, ἕως αὐτοὺς ὕβρει περιέθηκε καταγινωσκομένους καὶ ἐπιπληττομένους. ἔλεγεν ἑαυτὸν κύνα εἶναι τῶν ἐπαινουμένων, ἀλλὰ μηδένα τολμᾶν τῶν ἐπαινούντων συνεξιέναι ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν. πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, "Πύθια νικῶ ἄνδρας," "ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν," εἶπεν, "ἄνδρας, σὺ δ' ἀνδράποδα."

34 Πρὸς τοὺς εἰπόντας, "γέρων εἶ καὶ λοιπὸν ἄνες," "τί δέ," ἔφη, "εἰ δόλιχον ἔτρεχον, πρὸς τῷ τέλει ἔδει με ἀνεῖναι καὶ μὴ μᾶλλον ἐπιτεῖναι;" κληθεὶς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον οὐκ ἔφη παρέσεσθαι· μηδὲ γὰρ πρῴην αὐτῷ χάριν ἐγνωκέναι. γυμνοῖς ποσὶ χιόνα ἐπάτει καὶ τἄλλα ὅσα ἄνω προείρηται· καὶ

he discharged the phlegm into the man's face, being unable, he said, to find a meaner receptacle. Others father this upon Aristippus. One day he shouted out for men, and when people collected, hit out at them with his stick, saying, "It was men I called for, not scoundrels." This is told by Hecato in the first book of his *Anecdotes*. Alexander is reported to have said, "Had I not been Alexander, I should have liked to be Diogenes."

The word "disabled" (ἀναπήρους), Diogenes held, ought to be applied not to the deaf or blind, but to those who have no wallet (πήρα). One day he made his way with head half shaven into a party of young revellers, as Metrocles relates in his *Anecdotes*, and was roughly handled by them. Afterwards he entered on a tablet the names of those who had struck him and went about with the tablet hung round his neck, till he had covered them with ridicule and brought universal blame and discredit upon them. He described himself as a hound of the sort which all men praise, but no one, he added, of his admirers dared go out hunting along with him. When some one boasted that at the Pythian games he had vanquished men, Diogenes replied, "Nay, I defeat men, you defeat slaves."

To those who said to him, "You are an old man; take a rest," "What?" he replied, "if I were running in the stadium, ought I to slacken my pace when approaching the goal? ought I not rather to put on speed?" Having been invited to a dinner, he declared that he wouldn't go; for, the last time he went, his host had not expressed a proper gratitude. He would walk upon snow barefoot and do the other things mentioned above. Not only so; he

ὠμὰ δὲ κρέα ἐπεχείρησε φαγεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐ διῴκησε. κατέλαβέ ποτε Δημοσθένην τὸν ῥήτορα ἐν πανδοκείῳ ἀριστῶντα. τοῦ δ' ὑποχωροῦντος, "τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον," ἔφη, "ἔσῃ ἐν τῷ πανδοκείῳ." ξένων δέ ποτε θεάσασθαι θελόντων Δημοσθένην, τὸν μέσον δάκτυλον ἐκτείνας, "οὗτος ὑμῖν," ἔφη, "ἐστὶν ὁ
35 Ἀθηναίων δημαγωγός." ἐκβαλόντος δ' ἄρτον τινὸς καὶ αἰσχυνομένου ἀνελέσθαι, βουλόμενος αὐτὸν νουθετῆσαι, κεράμου τράχηλον δήσας ἔσυρε διὰ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ.

Μιμεῖσθαι ἔλεγε τοὺς χοροδιδασκάλους· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνους ὑπὲρ τόνον ἐνδιδόναι ἕνεκα τοῦ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἅψασθαι τοῦ προσήκοντος τόνου. τοὺς πλείστους ἔλεγε παρὰ δάκτυλον μαίνεσθαι· ἐὰν οὖν τις τὸν μέσον προτείνας πορεύηται, δόξει τῳ μαίνεσθαι, ἐὰν δὲ τὸν λιχανόν, οὐκέτι. τὰ πολλοῦ ἄξια τοῦ μηδενὸς ἔλεγε πιπράσκεσθαι καὶ ἔμπαλιν· ἀνδριάντα γοῦν τρισχιλίων πιπράσκεσθαι, χοίνικα δ' ἀλφίτων δύο χαλκῶν.

36 Τῷ πριαμένῳ αὐτὸν Ξενιάδῃ φησί, "ἄγε ὅπως τὸ προσταττόμενον ποιήσεις." τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος,

ἄνω ποταμῶν χωροῦσι παγαί,[a]

"εἰ δὲ ἰατρὸν ἐπρίω νοσῶν, οὐκ ἄν," ἔφη, "αὐτῷ ἐπείθου, ἀλλ' εἶπες ἂν ὡς ἄνω ποταμῶν χωροῦσι παγαί;" ἤθελέ τις παρ' αὐτῷ φιλοσοφεῖν· ὁ δέ οἱ σαπέρδην δοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἀκολουθεῖν. ὡς δ' ὑπ' αἰδοῦς ῥίψας ἀπῆλθε, μετὰ χρόνον ὑπαντήσας

[a] Eur. *Med.* 410.

even attempted to eat meat raw, but could not manage to digest it. He once found Demosthenes the orator lunching at an inn, and, when he retired within, Diogenes said, "All the more you will be inside the tavern." When some strangers expressed a wish to see Demosthenes, he stretched out his middle finger and said, "There goes the demagogue of Athens." Some one dropped a loaf of bread and was ashamed to pick it up; whereupon Diogenes, wishing to read him a lesson, tied a rope to the neck of a wine-jar and proceeded to drag it across the Ceramicus.

He used to say that he followed the example of the trainers of choruses; for they too set the note a little high, to ensure that the rest should hit the right note. Most people, he would say, are so nearly mad that a finger makes all the difference. For, if you go along with your middle finger stretched out, some one will think you mad, but, if it's the little finger, he will not think so. Very valuable things, said he, were bartered for things of no value, and *vice versa*. At all events a statue fetches three thousand drachmas, while a quart of barley-flour is sold for two copper coins.

To Xeniades, who purchased him, he said, "Come, see that you obey orders." When he quoted the line,

Backward the streams flow to their founts,[a]

Diogenes asked, "If you had been ill and had purchased a doctor, would you then, instead of obeying him, have said "'Backward the streams flow to their founts'"? Some one wanted to study philosophy under him. Diogenes gave him a tunny to carry and told him to follow him. And when for shame the man threw it away and departed,

αὐτῷ καὶ γελάσας λέγει, "τὴν σὴν καὶ ἐμὴν φιλίαν σαπέρδης διέλυσε." Διοκλῆς δ' οὕτως ἀναγράφει. εἰπόντος τινὸς αὐτῷ, "ἐπίταττε ἡμῖν, Διόγενες," ἀπαγαγὼν αὐτὸν ἡμιωβολίου τυρὸν ἐδίδου φέρειν· ἀρνησαμένου δέ, "τὴν σήν," ἔφη, "καὶ ἐμὴν φιλίαν ἡμιωβολίου τυρίδιον διαλέλυκε."

37 Θεασάμενός ποτε παιδίον ταῖς χερσὶ πῖνον ἐξέρριψε τῆς πήρας τὴν κοτύλην, εἰπών, "παιδίον με νενίκηκεν εὐτελείᾳ." ἐξέβαλε δὲ καὶ τὸ τρυβλίον, ὁμοίως παιδίον θεασάμενος, ἐπειδὴ κατέαξε τὸ σκεῦος, τῷ κοίλῳ τοῦ ψωμίου τὴν φακῆν ὑποδεχόμενον. συνελογίζετο δὲ καὶ οὕτως· τῶν θεῶν ἐστι πάντα· φίλοι δὲ οἱ σοφοὶ τοῖς θεοῖς· κοινὰ δὲ τὰ τῶν φίλων. πάντ' ἄρα ἐστὶ τῶν σοφῶν. θεασάμενός ποτε γυναῖκα ἀσχημονέστερον τοῖς θεοῖς προσπίπτουσαν, βουλόμενος αὐτῆς περιελεῖν τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν, καθά φησι Ζωίλος ὁ Περγαῖος, προσελθὼν εἶπεν, "οὐκ εὐλαβῇ, ὦ γύναι, μή ποτε θεοῦ ὄπισθεν ἑστῶτος—πάντα γάρ
38 ἐστιν αὐτοῦ πλήρη—ἀσχημονήσῃς;" τῷ 'Ασκληπιῷ ἀνέθηκε πλήκτην, ὃς τοὺς ἐπὶ στόμα πίπτοντας ἐπιτρέχων συνέτριβεν.

Εἰώθει δὲ λέγειν τὰς τραγικὰς ἀρὰς αὐτῷ συνηντηκέναι· εἶναι γοῦν

> ἄπολις, ἄοικος, πατρίδος ἐστερημένος,
> πτωχός, πλανήτης, βίον ἔχων τοὐφ' ἡμέραν.

ἔφασκε δ' ἀντιτιθέναι τύχῃ μὲν θάρσος, νόμῳ δὲ[1]

[1] δὲ <δεῖν> Richards.

[a] Nauck, *T.G.F.*², *Adesp.* 284.

some time after on meeting him he laughed and said, "The friendship between you and me was broken by a tunny." The version given by Diocles, however, is as follows. Some one having said to him, "Lay your commands upon us, Diogenes," he took him away and gave him a cheese to carry, which cost half an obol. The other declined; whereupon he remarked, "The friendship between you and me is broken by a little cheese worth half an obol."

One day, observing a child drinking out of his hands, he cast away the cup from his wallet with the words, "A child has beaten me in plainness of living." He also threw away his bowl when in like manner he saw a child who had broken his plate taking up his lentils with the hollow part of a morsel of bread. He used also to reason thus: "All things belong to the gods. The wise are friends of the gods, and friends hold things in common. Therefore all things belong to the wise." One day he saw a woman kneeling before the gods in an ungraceful attitude, and wishing to free her of superstition, according to Zoïlus of Perga, he came forward and said, "Are you not afraid, my good woman, that a god may be standing behind you?—for all things are full of his presence—and you may be put to shame?" He dedicated to Asclepius a bruiser who, whenever people fell on their faces, used to run up to them and bruise them.

All the curses of tragedy, he used to say, had lighted upon him. At all events he was

> A homeless exile, to his country dead.
> A wanderer who begs his daily bread.[a]

But he claimed that to fortune he could oppose

φύσιν, πάθει δὲ λόγον. ἐν τῷ Κρανείῳ ἡλιουμένῳ αὐτῷ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπιστάς φησιν, "αἴτησόν με ὃ θέλεις." καὶ ὅς, "ἀποσκότησόν μου," φησί. μακρά τινος ἀναγινώσκοντος καὶ πρὸς τῷ τέλει τοῦ βιβλίου ἄγραφόν τι παραδείξαντος "θαρρεῖτε," ἔφη, "ἄνδρες· γῆν ὁρῶ." πρὸς τὸν συλλογισάμενον ὅτι κέρατα ἔχει, ἁψάμενος τοῦ μετώπου, "ἐγὼ
39 μέν," ἔφη, "οὐχ ὁρῶ." ὁμοίως καὶ πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα ὅτι κίνησις οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀναστὰς περιεπάτει. πρὸς τὸν λέγοντα περὶ τῶν μετεώρων, "ποσταῖος," ἔφη, "πάρει ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ;" εὐνούχου μοχθηροῦ ἐπιγράψαντος ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν, "μηδὲν εἰσίτω κακόν," "ὁ οὖν κύριος," ἔφη, "τῆς οἰκίας ποῦ εἰσέλθῃ;" τῷ μύρῳ τοὺς πόδας ἀλειψάμενος ἔφη ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς εἰς τὸν ἀέρα ἀπιέναι τὸ μύρον, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ποδῶν εἰς τὴν ὄσφρησιν. ἀξιούντων Ἀθηναίων μυηθῆναι αὐτὸν καὶ λεγόντων ὡς ἐν ᾅδου προεδρίας οἱ μεμυημένοι τυγχάνουσι, "γελοῖον," ἔφη, "εἰ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν καὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐν τῷ βορβόρῳ διάξουσιν, εὐτελεῖς δέ τινες μεμυημένοι ἐν ταῖς μακάρων νήσοις ἔσονται."

40 Πρὸς τοὺς ἑρπύσαντας ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν μῦς, "ἰδού," φησί, "καὶ Διογένης παρασίτους τρέφει." Πλάτωνος εἰπόντος αὐτὸν κύνα, "ναί," ἔφη· "ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐπανῆλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς πεπρακότας." ἐκ τοῦ

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[a] *Cf* Plut. *Alex.* c. 14.

courage, to convention nature, to passion reason. When he was sunning himself in the Craneum, Alexander came and stood over him and said, "Ask of me any boon you like." To which he replied, "Stand out of my light."[a] Some one had been reading aloud for a very long time, and when he was near the end of the roll pointed to a space with no writing on it. "Cheer up, my men," cried Diogenes; "there's land in sight." To one who by argument had proved conclusively that he had horns, he said, touching his forehead, "Well, I for my part don't see any." In like manner, when somebody declared that there is no such thing as motion, he got up and walked about. When some one was discoursing on celestial phenomena, "How many days," asked Diogenes, "were you in coming from the sky?" A eunuch of bad character had inscribed on his door the words, "Let nothing evil enter." "How then," he asked, "is the master of the house to get in?" When he had anointed his feet with unguent, he declared that from his head the unguent passed into the air, but from his feet into his nostrils. The Athenians urged him to become initiated, and told him that in the other world those who have been initiated enjoy a special privilege. "It would be ludicrous," quoth he, "if Agesilaus and Epaminondas are to dwell in the mire, while certain folk of no account will live in the Isles of the Blest because they have been initiated."

When mice crept on to the table he addressed them thus, "See now even Diogenes keeps parasites." When Plato styled him a dog, "Quite true," he said, "for I come back again and again to those who have sold me." As he was leaving the public

βαλανείου ἐξιὼν τῷ μὲν πυθομένῳ εἰ πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι λοῦνται, ἠρνήσατο· τῷ δ', εἰ πολὺς ὄχλος, ὡμολόγησε. Πλάτωνος ὁρισαμένου, Ἄνθρωπός ἐστι ζῷον δίπουν ἄπτερον, καὶ εὐδοκιμοῦντος, τίλας ἀλεκτρυόνα εἰσήνεγκεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν σχολὴν καί φησιν, "οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Πλάτωνος ἄνθρωπος." ὅθεν τῷ ὅρῳ προσετέθη τὸ πλατυώνυχον. πρὸς τὸν πυθόμενον ποίᾳ ὥρᾳ δεῖ ἀριστᾶν, "εἰ μὲν πλούσιος," ἔφη, "ὅταν θέλῃ· εἰ δὲ πένης, ὅταν ἔχῃ."

41 *Ἐν Μεγάροις ἰδὼν τὰ μὲν πρόβατα τοῖς δέρμασιν ἐσκεπασμένα, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας αὐτῶν γυμνούς, ἔφη, "λυσιτελέστερόν ἐστι Μεγαρέως κριὸν εἶναι ἢ υἱόν." πρὸς τὸν ἐντινάξαντα αὐτῷ δοκόν, εἶτα εἰπόντα, "φύλαξαι," "πάλιν γάρ με," ἔφη, "παίειν μέλλεις;" ἔλεγε τοὺς μὲν δημαγωγοὺς ὄχλου διακόνους, τοὺς δὲ στεφάνους δόξης ἐξανθήματα. λύχνον μεθ' ἡμέραν ἅψας περιῄει λέγων "ἄνθρωπον ζητῶ." εἱστήκει ποτε κατακρουνιζόμενος· τῶν δὲ περιεστώτων ἐλεούντων, παρὼν Πλάτων ἔφη, "εἰ βούλεσθ' αὐτὸν ἐλεῆσαι, ἀπόστητε," ἐνδεικνύμενος φιλοδοξίαν αὐτοῦ. ἐντρίψαντος αὐτῷ κόνδυλόν τινος, "Ἡράκλεις," ἔφη, "οἷόν με χρῆμ' ἐλάνθανε τὸ μετὰ περικεφαλαίας περιπατεῖν."*

42 *ἀλλὰ καὶ Μειδίου κονδυλίσαντος αὐτὸν καὶ εἰπόντος, "τρισχίλιαί σοι κεῖνται ἐπὶ τῇ τραπέζῃ," τῇ ἑξῆς πυκτικοὺς λαβὼν ἱμάντας καὶ καταλοήσας αὐτὸν ἔφη, "τρισχίλιαί σοι κεῖνται ἐπὶ τῇ τραπέζῃ."*

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[a] Where the wool was of fine quality, as near Tarentum (Hor. *Carm.* ii. 6. 10 "pellitis ovibus"), the fleeces were protected by coverings of skin, partly against damage from brambles and partly to preserve the colour (Varro, *R.R.* ii. 2).

baths, somebody inquired if many men were bathing. He said, No. But to another who asked if there was a great crowd of bathers, he said, Yes. Plato had defined Man as an animal, biped and featherless, and was applauded. Diogenes plucked a fowl and brought it into the lecture-room with the words, "Here is Plato's man." In consequence of which there was added to the definition, "having broad nails." To one who asked what was the proper time for lunch, he said, "If a rich man, when you will; if a poor man, when you can."

At Megara he saw the sheep protected by leather jackets, while the children went bare. "It's better," said he, "to be a Megarian's ram than his son." [a] To one who had brandished a beam at him and then cried, "Look out," he replied, "What, are you intending to strike me again?" He used to call the demagogues the lackeys of the people and the crowns awarded to them the efflorescence of fame. He lit a lamp in broad daylight and said, as he went about, "I am looking for a man." One day he got a thorough drenching where he stood, and, when the bystanders pitied him, Plato said, if they really pitied him, they should move away, alluding to his vanity. When some one hit him a blow with his fist, "Heracles," said he, "how came I to forget to put on a helmet when I walked out?" Further, when Meidias assaulted him and went on to say, "There are 3000 drachmas to your credit," the next day he took a pair of boxing-gauntlets, gave him a thrashing and said, "There are 3000 blows to *your* credit."

[a] We are reminded of what Augustus said when he heard of the execution of Antipater, "It is better to be Herod's pig than his son."

Λυσίου τοῦ φαρμακοπώλου πυθομένου εἰ θεοὺς νομίζει, "πῶς δέ," εἶπεν, "οὐ νομίζω, ὅπου καὶ σὲ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸν ὑπολαμβάνω;" οἱ δὲ Θεόδωρον εἰπεῖν τοῦτο. ἰδών τινα περιρραινόμενον ἐπεῖπεν, "ὦ κακόδαιμον, οὐκ ἐπίστασαι ὅτι ὥσπερ τῶν ἐν γραμματικῇ ἁμαρτημάτων περιρραινόμενος οὐκ ἂν ἀπαλλαγείης, οὕτως οὐδὲ τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ;" ἐνεκάλει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις περὶ τῆς εὐχῆς, αἰτεῖσθαι λέγων αὐτοὺς ἀγαθὰ τὰ αὐτοῖς δοκοῦντα καὶ οὐ
43 τὰ κατ' ἀλήθειαν. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὰ ὀνείρατα ἐπτοημένους ἔλεγεν ὡς ὑπὲρ ὧν μὲν πράττουσιν ὕπαρ, οὐκ ἐπιστρέφονται, ὑπὲρ ὧν δὲ καθεύδοντες φαντασιοῦνται, πολυπραγμονοῦσιν. Ὀλυμπίασι τοῦ κήρυκος ἀνειπόντος, "νικᾷ Διώξιππος ἄνδρας," "οὗτος μὲν δὴ ἀνδράποδα, ἄνδρας δ' ἐγώ."

Ἠγαπᾶτο δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίων· μειρακίου γοῦν τὸν πίθον αὐτοῦ συντρίψαντος, τῷ μὲν πληγὰς ἔδοσαν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἄλλον παρέσχον. φησὶ δὲ Διονύσιος ὁ στωικὸς ὡς μετὰ Χαιρώνειαν συλληφθεὶς ἀπήχθη πρὸς Φίλιππον· καὶ ἐρωτηθεὶς ὅστις εἴη, ἀπεκρίνατο, "κατάσκοπος τῆς σῆς ἀπληστίας·" ὅθεν θαυμασθεὶς ἀφείθη.

44 Ἀλεξάνδρου ποτὲ πέμψαντος ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον εἰς Ἀθήνας διά τινος Ἀθλίου, παρὼν ἔφη·

ἄθλιος παρ' ἀθλίου δι' ἀθλίου πρὸς ἄθλιον.

Περδίκκου ἀπειλήσαντος, εἰ μὴ ἔλθοι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀποκτενεῖν, ἔφη, "οὐδὲν μέγα· καὶ γὰρ κάνθαρος καὶ φαλάγγιον τοῦτ' ἂν πράξειεν·"

When Lysias the druggist asked him if he believed in the gods, "How can I help believing in them," said he, "when I see a god-forsaken wretch like you?" Others give this retort to Theodorus. Seeing some one perform religious purification, he said, "Unhappy man, don't you know that you can no more get rid of errors of conduct by sprinklings than you can of mistakes in grammar?" He would rebuke men in general with regard to their prayers, declaring that they asked for those things which seemed to them to be good. not for such as are truly good. As for those who were excited over their dreams he would say that they cared nothing for what they did in their waking hours, but kept their curiosity for the visions called up in their sleep. At Olympia, when the herald proclaimed Dioxippus to be victor over the men, Diogenes protested, "Nay, he is victorious over slaves, I over men."

Still he was loved by the Athenians. At all events, when a youngster broke up his tub, they gave the boy a flogging and presented Diogenes with another. Dionysius the Stoic says that after Chaeronea he was seized and dragged off to Philip, and being asked who he was, replied, "A spy upon your insatiable greed." For this he was admired and set free.

Alexander having on one occasion sent a letter to Antipater at Athens by a certain Athlios, Diogenes, who was present, said:

Graceless son of graceless sire to graceless wight by graceless squire.

Perdiccas having threatened to put him to death unless he came to him, "That's nothing wonderful," quoth he, "for a beetle or a tarantula would

ἐκεῖνο δὲ μᾶλλον ἀπειλεῖν ἠξίου ὡς "εἰ καὶ χωρὶς ἐμοῦ ζήσαι, εὐδαιμόνως ζήσοιτο." ἐβόα πολλάκις λέγων τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον ῥᾴδιον ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν δεδόσθαι, ἀποκεκρύφθαι δ' αὐτῶν ζητούντων μελίπηκτα καὶ μύρα καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια. ὅθεν πρὸς τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰκέτου ὑποδούμενον, "οὔπω," εἶπε, "μακάριος εἶ, ἂν μή σε καὶ ἀπομύξῃ· τοῦτο δ' ἔσται πηρωθέντι σοι τὰς χεῖρας."

45 Θεασάμενός ποτε τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας τῶν ταμιῶν τινα φιάλην ὑφῃρημένον ἀπάγοντας ἔφη, "οἱ μεγάλοι κλέπται τὸν μικρὸν ἀπάγουσι." θεασάμενός ποτε μειράκιον λίθους βάλλον ἐπὶ σταυρόν, "εὖγε," εἶπε, "τεύξῃ γὰρ τοῦ σκοποῦ." πρὸς τὰ περιστάντα μειράκια καὶ εἰπόντα, "βλέπωμεν μὴ δάκῃ ἡμᾶς," "θαρρεῖτε," ἔφη, "παιδία· κύων τευτλία οὐκ ἐσθίει." πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ λεοντῇ θρυπτόμενον, "παῦσαι," ἔφη, "τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς στρώματα καταισχύνων." πρὸς τὸν μακαρίζοντα Καλλισθένην καὶ λέγοντα ὡς πολυτελῶν παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μετέχει, "κακοδαίμων μὲν οὖν ἐστιν," εἶπεν, "ὃς καὶ ἀριστᾷ καὶ δειπνεῖ ὅταν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δόξῃ."

46 Χρημάτων δεόμενος ἀπαιτεῖν ἔλεγε τοὺς φίλους, οὐκ αἰτεῖν. ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς ποτε χειρουργῶν, "εἴθε," ἔφη, "καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν ἦν παρατρίψαντα μὴ πεινῆν." μειράκιον θεασάμενος μετὰ σατραπῶν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἀπιόν, ἀποσπάσας πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἀπήγαγε

[a] *i.e.* "some day you'll come to the gallows."

do the same." Instead of that he would have expected the threat to be that Perdiccas would be quite happy to do without his company. He would often insist loudly that the gods had given to men the means of living easily, but this had been put out of sight, because we require honeyed cakes, unguents and the like. Hence to a man whose shoes were being put on by his servant, he said, "You have not attained to full felicity, unless he wipes your nose as well; and that will come, when you have lost the use of your hands."

Once he saw the officials of a temple leading away some one who had stolen a bowl belonging to the treasurers, and said, "The great thieves are leading away the little thief." Noticing a lad one day throwing stones at a cross (gibbet), "Well done," he said, "you will hit your mark."[a] When some boys clustered round him and said, "Take care he doesn't bite us," he answered, "Never fear, boys, a dog does not eat beetroot." To one who was proud of wearing a lion's skin his words were, "Leave off dishonouring the habiliments of courage." When some one was extolling the good fortune of Callisthenes and saying what splendour he shared in the suite of Alexander, "Not so," said Diogenes, "but rather ill fortune; for he breakfasts and dines when Alexander thinks fit."

Being short of money, he told his friends that he applied to them not for alms, but for repayment of his due. When behaving indecently in the marketplace, he wished it were as easy to relieve hunger by rubbing an empty stomach. Seeing a youth starting off to dine with satraps, he dragged him off, took him to his friends and bade them keep

καὶ ἐκέλευσε τηρεῖν. πρὸς τὸ κεκοσμημένον μειράκιον πυθόμενόν τι ἔφη οὐ πρότερον λέξειν αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ ἀνασυράμενος δείξειε πότερον γυνή ἐστιν ἢ ἀνήρ. πρὸς τὸ κοτταβίζον ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ μειράκιόν φησιν, "ὅσῳ βέλτιον, τοσούτῳ χεῖρον." ἐν δείπνῳ προσερρίπτουν αὐτῷ τινες ὀστάρια ὡς κυνί· καὶ ὃς ἀπαλλαττόμενος προσεούρησεν αὐτοῖς ὡς κύων.

47 *Τοὺς ῥήτορας καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐνδοξολογοῦντας τρισανθρώπους ἀπεκάλει ἀντὶ τοῦ τρισαθλίους. τὸν ἀμαθῆ πλούσιον πρόβατον εἶπε χρυσόμαλλον. θεασάμενος ἐπὶ ἀσώτου οἰκίᾳ ἐπιγεγραμμένον, "πράσιμος," "ᾔδειν," εἶπεν, "ὅτι οὕτω κραιπαλῶσα ῥᾳδίως ἐξεμέσοις τὸν κεκτημένον." πρὸς τὸ καταιτιώμενον μειράκιον τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐνοχλούντων, "παῦσαι γάρ," ἔφη, "καὶ σὺ τὰ δείγματα τοῦ πασχητιῶντος περιφέρων." πρὸς τὸ ῥυπαρὸν βαλανεῖον, "οἱ ἐνθάδε," ἔφη, "λουσάμενοι ποῦ λοῦνται;" παχέος κιθαρῳδοῦ πρὸς πάντων μεμφομένου αὐτὸς μόνος ἐπῄνει· ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ διὰ τί, ἔφη, "ὅτι τηλικοῦτος ὢν κιθαρῳδεῖ καὶ οὐ λῃστεύει."*

48 *Τὸν κιθαρῳδὸν ἀεὶ καταλειπόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκροατῶν ἠσπάσατο, "χαῖρε ἀλέκτορ"· τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, "διὰ τί;" "ὅτι," ἔφη, "ᾄδων πάντας ἐγείρεις." μειρακίου ἐπιδεικνυμένου πληρώσας τὸ προκόλπιον θέρμων ἀντικρὺ ἔκαπτε· τοῦ δὲ πλήθους εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφορῶντος θαυμάζειν ἔφη πῶς*

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[a] "You would not see so many bones if I were the dog," was Dante's retort when annoyed by similar attentions at the table of Can Grande.

strict watch over him. When a youth effeminately attired put a question to him, he declined to answer unless he pulled up his robe and showed whether he was man or woman. A youth was playing cottabos in the baths. Diogenes said to him, "The better you play, the worse it is for you." At a feast certain people kept throwing all the bones to him as they would have done to a dog.[a] Thereupon he played a dog's trick and drenched them.

Rhetoricians and all who talked for reputation he used to call "thrice human," meaning thereby "thrice wretched." An ignorant rich man he used to call "the sheep with the golden fleece." Seeing a notice on the house of a profligate, "To be sold," he said, "I knew well that after such surfeiting you would throw up the owner." To a young man who complained of the number of people who annoyed him by their attentions he said, "Cease to hang out a sign of invitation." Of a public bath which was dirty he said, "When people have bathed here, where are they to go to get clean?" There was a stout musician whom everybody depreciated and Diogenes alone praised. When asked why, he said, "Because being so big, he yet sings to his lute and does not turn brigand."

The musician who was always deserted by his audience he greeted with a "Hail chanticleer," and when asked why he so addressed him, replied, "Because your song makes every one get up." A young man was delivering a set speech, when Diogenes, having filled the front fold of his dress with lupins, began to eat them, standing right opposite to him. Having thus drawn off the attention of the assemblage, he said he was greatly surprised

ἐκεῖνον ἀφέντες εἰς αὐτὸν ὁρῶσι. λέγοντος δ' αὐτῷ τινος ἰσχυρῶς δεισιδαίμονος, "μιᾷ πληγῇ τὴν κεφαλήν σου διαρρήξω," "ἐγὼ δέ γε," εἶπε, "πταρὼν ἐξ ἀριστερῶν τρέμειν σε ποιήσω." Ἡγησίου παρακαλοῦντος χρῆσαί τι αὐτῷ τῶν συγγραμμάτων, "μάταιος," ἔφη, "τυγχάνεις, ὦ Ἡγησία, ὃς ἰσχάδας μὲν γραπτὰς οὐχ αἱρῇ, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀληθινάς· ἄσκησιν δὲ παριδὼν τὴν ἀληθινὴν ἐπὶ τὴν γεγραμμένην ὁρμᾷς."

49 *Πρός τε τὸν ὀνειδίσαντα αὐτῷ τὴν φυγήν, "ἀλλὰ τούτου γ' ἕνεκεν," εἶπεν, "ὦ κακόδαιμον, ἐφιλοσόφησα." καὶ πάλιν εἰπόντος τινός, "Σινωπεῖς σου φυγὴν κατέγνωσαν," "ἐγὼ δέ γε," εἶπεν, "ἐκείνων μονήν." ἰδών ποτ' Ὀλυμπιονίκην πρόβατα νέμοντα, "ταχέως," εἶπεν, "ὦ βέλτιστε, μετέβης ἀπὸ τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἐπὶ τὰ Νέμεα." ἐρωτηθεὶς διὰ τί οἱ ἀθληταὶ ἀναίσθητοί εἰσιν, ἔφη, "ὅτι κρέασιν ὑείοις καὶ βοείοις ἀνῳκοδόμηνται." ᾔτει ποτὲ ἀνδριάντα· ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ διὰ τί τοῦτο ποιεῖ, "μελετῶ," εἶπεν, "ἀποτυγχάνειν." αἰτῶν τινα—καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἐποίει διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν—ἔφη, "εἰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλῳ δέδωκας, δὸς κἀμοί· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἄρξαι."*

50 *Ἐρωτηθείς ποτε ὑπὸ τυράννου ποῖος εἴη ἀμείνων χαλκὸς εἰς ἀνδριάντα, ἔφη, "ἀφ' οὗ Ἁρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων ἐχαλκεύθησαν." ἐρωτηθεὶς πῶς χρῆται Διονύσιος τοῖς φίλοις, ἔφη, "ὡς θυλάκοις, τοὺς μὲν πλήρεις κρημνῶν, τοὺς δὲ κενοὺς ῥίπτων." νεογάμου ἐπιγράψαντος ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν,*

that they should desert the orator to look at himself. A very superstitious person addressed him thus, "With one blow I will break your head." "And I," said Diogenes, "by a sneeze from the left will make you tremble." Hegesias having asked him to lend him one of his writings, he said, "You are a simpleton, Hegesias; you do not choose painted figs, but real ones; and yet you pass over the true training and would apply yourself to written rules."

When some one reproached him with his exile, his reply was, "Nay, it was through that, you miserable fellow, that I came to be a philosopher." Again, when some one reminded him that the people of Sinope had sentenced him to exile, "And I them," said he, "to home-staying." Once he saw an Olympic victor tending sheep and thus accosted him: "Too quickly, my good friend, have you left Olympia for Nemea.[a]" Being asked why athletes are so stupid, his answer was, "Because they are built up of pork and beef." He once begged alms of a statue, and, when asked why he did so, replied, "To get practice in being refused." In asking alms—as he did at first by reason of his poverty—he used this form: "If you have already given to anyone else, give to me also; if not, begin with me."

On being asked by a tyrant what bronze is best for a statue, he replied, "That of which Harmodius and Aristogiton were moulded." Asked how Dionysius treated his friends, "Like purses," he replied; "so long as they are full, he hangs them up, and, when they are empty, he throws them away." Some one lately wed had set up on his door the notice:

[a] Shepherd's Bush.

ὁ τοῦ Διὸς παῖς καλλίνικος Ἡρακλῆς
ἐνθάδε κατοικεῖ. μηδὲν εἰσίτω κακόν·

ἐπέγραψε· "μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἡ συμμαχία." τὴν φιλαργυρίαν εἶπε μητρόπολιν πάντων τῶν κακῶν. ἄσωτον θεασάμενος ἐν πανδοκείῳ ἐλάας ἐσθίοντ' ἔφη, "εἰ οὕτως ἠρίστας, οὐκ ἂν οὕτως ἐδείπνεις."

51 Τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας θεῶν εἰκόνας εἶναι· τὸν ἔρωτα σχολαζόντων ἀσχολίαν. ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ἄθλιον ἐν βίῳ, ἔφη, "γέρων ἄπορος." ἐρωτηθεὶς τί τῶν θηρίων κάκιστα δάκνει, ἔφη, "τῶν μὲν ἀγρίων συκοφάντης, τῶν δὲ ἡμέρων κόλαξ." ἰδών ποτε δύο κενταύρους κάκιστα ἐζωγραφημένους ἔφη· "πότερος τούτων Χείρων ἐστί;" τὸν πρὸς χάριν λόγον ἔφη μελιτίνην ἀγχόνην εἶναι. [a] τὴν γαστέρα Χάρυβδιν ἔλεγε τοῦ βίου. ἀκούσας ποτὲ ὅτι Διδύμων ὁ αὐλητὴς μοιχὸς ἑάλω, "ἄξιος," ἔφη, "ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος κρέμασθαι." ἐρωτηθεὶς διὰ τί τὸ χρυσίον χλωρόν ἐστιν, ἔφη, "ὅτι πολλοὺς ἔχει τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας." ἰδὼν γυναῖκα ἐν φορείῳ, "οὐ κατὰ τὸ θηρίον," ἔφη, "ἡ γαλεάγρα."

52 Ἰδών ποτε δραπέτην ἐπὶ φρέατι καθήμενον ἔφη, "μειράκιον, βλέπε μὴ ἐμπέσῃς." ἰδὼν [μειρακύλλιον] ἱματιοκλέπτην ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ ἔφη, "ἐπ' ἀλειμμάτιον ἢ ἐπ' ἄλλ' ἱμάτιον;" ἰδὼν ποτε γυναῖκας ἀπ' ἐλαίας ἀπηγχονισμένας, "εἴθε γάρ," ἔφη, "πάντα τὰ δένδρα τοιοῦτον καρπὸν ἤνεγκεν." ἰδὼν λωποδύτην ἔφη,

[a] *Cf. inf.* vii. § 111; 1 Tim. vi. 10, "The love of money is the root of all evil."

The son of Zeus, victorious Heracles,
Dwells here ; let nothing evil enter in.

To which Diogenes added " After war, alliance." The love of money he declared to be mother-city of all evils.[a] Seeing a spendthrift eating olives in a tavern, he said, " If you had breakfasted in this fashion, you would not so be dining."

Good men he called images of the gods, and love the business of the idle. To the question what is wretched in life he replied, " An old man destitute." Being asked what creature's bite is the worst, he said, " Of those that are wild a sycophant's ; of those that are tame a flatterer's." Upon seeing two centaurs very badly painted, he asked, " Which of these is Chiron ? " (worse man). Ingratiating speech he compared to honey used to choke you. The stomach he called livelihood's Charybdis.[b] Hearing a report that Didymon the flute-player had been caught in adultery, his comment was, " His name alone is sufficient to hang him." To the question why gold is pale, his reply was, " Because it has so many thieves plotting against it." On seeing a woman carried in a litter, he remarked that the cage was not in keeping with the quarry.

One day seeing a runaway slave sitting on the brink of a well, he said, " Take care, my lad, you don't fall in." Seeing a boy taking clothes at the baths, he asked, " Is it for a little unguent (*ἀλειμμάτιον*) or is it for a new cloak (*ἄλλ' ἱμάτιον*) ? " Seeing some women hanged from an olive-tree, he said, " Would that every tree bore similar fruit." On seeing a footpad he accosted him thus :

[b] *i.e.* a whirlpool engulfing a man's livelihood.

τίπτε σὺ ὧδε, φέριστε;
ἦ τινα συλήσων νεκύων κατατεθνηώτων;

ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ παιδισκάριον ἢ παιδάριον ἔχοι, ἔφη, "οὔ·" τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, "ἐὰν οὖν ἀποθάνῃς, τίς σε ἐξοίσει;" ἔφη, "ὁ χρῄζων τῆς οἰκίας."

53 Μειράκιον εὔμορφον ἀφυλάκτως ἰδὼν κοιμώμενον, νύξας, "ἐπέγειραι," ἔφη,

μή τίς τοι εὕδοντι μεταφρένῳ ἐν δόρυ πήξῃ.

πρὸς τὸν πολυτελῶς ὀψωνοῦντα,

ὠκύμορος δή μοι, τέκος, ἔσσεαι, οἷ' ἀγοράζεις;

Πλάτωνος περὶ ἰδεῶν διαλεγομένου καὶ ὀνομάζοντος τραπεζότητα καὶ κυαθότητα, "ἐγώ," εἶπεν, "ὦ Πλάτων, τράπεζαν μὲν καὶ κύαθον ὁρῶ· τραπεζότητα δὲ καὶ κυαθότητα οὐδαμῶς·" καὶ ὅς, "κατὰ λόγον," ἔφη· "οἷς μὲν γὰρ κύαθος καὶ τράπεζα θεωρεῖται, ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχεις· ᾧ δὲ τραπεζότης καὶ κυαθότης βλέπεται, νοῦν οὐκ ἔχεις."

54 Ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπό τινος, "ποῖός τίς σοι Διογένης δοκεῖ;" "Σωκράτης," εἶπε, "μαινόμενος."[1] ἐρωτηθεὶς ποίῳ καιρῷ δεῖ γαμεῖν, ἔφη, "τοὺς μὲν νέους μηδέπω, τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους μηδεπώποτε." ἐρωτηθεὶς τί θέλοι κονδύλου λαβεῖν, "περικεφαλαίαν," ἔφη. μειράκιον ἰδὼν καλλωπιζόμενον ἔφη, "εἰ μὲν πρὸς ἄνδρας, ἀτυχεῖς· εἰ δὲ πρὸς γυναῖκας, ἀδικεῖς." ἰδών ποτε μειράκιον ἐρυθριῶν, "θάρρει," ἔφη· "τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τῆς ἀρετῆς

[1] ἐρωτηθεὶς . . . μαινόμενος cancellis inclusit Cobet.

What mak'st thou here, my gallant?
Com'st thou perchance for plunder of the dead? [a]

Being asked whether he had any maid or boy to wait on him, he said "No." "If you should die, then, who will carry you out to burial?" "Whoever wants the house," he replied.

Noticing a good-looking youth lying in an exposed position, he nudged him and cried, "Up, man, up, lest some foe thrust a dart into thy back!" To one who was feasting lavishly he said:

Short-liv'd thou'lt be, my son, by what thou—buy'st.[b]

As Plato was conversing about Ideas and using the nouns "tablehood" and "cuphood," he said, "Table and cup I see; but your tablehood and cuphood, Plato, I can nowise see." "That's readily accounted for," said Plato, "for you have the eyes to see the visible table and cup; but not the understanding by which ideal tablehood and cuphood are discerned."

On being asked by somebody, "What sort of a man do you consider Diogenes to be?" "A Socrates gone mad," said he.[c] Being asked what was the right time to marry, Diogenes replied, "For a young man not yet: for an old man never at all." Being asked what he would take to be soundly cuffed, he replied, "A helmet." Seeing a youth dressing with elaborate care, he said, "If it's for men, you're a fool; if for women, a knave." One day he detected a youth blushing. "Courage," quoth he, "that is the hue

[a] Hom. *Il.* x. 343, 387.

[b] *Cf.* Hom. *Il.* v. 40, xviii. 95.

[c] *i.e.* Plato. This anecdote is found in Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xiv. 33 *εἰώθει δέ, φασίν, ὁ Πλάτων περὶ Διογένους λέγειν ὅτι μαινόμενος οὗτος Σωκράτης ἐστίν.*

τὸ χρῶμα." δυοῖν ποτε νομικοῖν ἀκούσας τοὺς δύο κατέκρινεν, εἰπὼν τὸν μὲν κεκλοφέναι, τὸν δὲ μὴ ἀπολωλεκέναι. ἐρωτηθεὶς ποῖον οἶνον ἡδέως πίνει, ἔφη, "τὸν ἀλλότριον." πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, "πολλοί σου καταγελῶσιν," "ἀλλ' ἐγώ," ἔφη, "οὐ καταγελῶμαι."

55 Πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα κακὸν εἶναι τὸ ζῆν, "οὐ τὸ ζῆν," εἶπεν, "ἀλλὰ τὸ κακῶς ζῆν." πρὸς τοὺς συμβουλεύοντας τὸν ἀποδράντα αὐτοῦ δοῦλον ζητεῖν, "γελοῖον," ἔφη, "εἰ Μάνης μὲν χωρὶς Διογένους ζῇ, Διογένης δὲ χωρὶς Μάνου οὐ δυνήσεται." ἀριστῶν ἐλάας, πλακοῦντος ἐπεισενεχθέντος, ῥίψας φησίν,

ὦ ξένε, τυράννοις ἐκποδὼν μεθίστασο·[a]

καὶ ἄλλοτε,

μάστιξεν δ' ἐλάαν.[b]

ἐρωτηθεὶς ποταπὸς εἴη κύων; ἔφη "πεινῶν μὲν Μελιταῖος, χορτασθεὶς δὲ Μολοττικός, τούτων οὓς ἐπαινοῦντες οἱ πολλοὶ οὐ τολμῶσι διὰ τὸν πόνον συνεξιέναι αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν· οὕτως οὐδ' ἐμοὶ δύνασθε συμβιοῦν διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν ἀλγηδόνων."

56 Ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ οἱ σοφοὶ πλακοῦντα ἐσθίουσι, "πάντα," εἶπεν, "ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἄνθρωποι." ἐρωτηθεὶς διὰ τί προσαίταις μὲν ἐπιδιδόασι, φιλοσόφοις δὲ οὔ, ἔφη, "ὅτι χωλοὶ μὲν καὶ τυφλοὶ γενέσθαι ἐλπίζουσι, φιλοσοφῆσαι δ' οὐδέποτε." φιλάργυρον ᾔτει· τοῦ δὲ βραδύνοντος, "ἄνθρωπε,"

[a] Eur. *Phoen.* 40.

[b] Hom. *Il.* v. 366, viii. 45. In the Homeric lines, however, ἐλάαν is a verb in the infinitive mood: "he lashed the steeds to make them run."

of virtue." One day after listening to a couple of lawyers disputing, he condemned them both, saying that the one had no doubt stolen, but the other had not lost anything. To the question what wine he found pleasant to drink, he replied, "That for which other people pay." When he was told that many people laughed at him, he made answer, "But I am not laughed down."

When some one declared that life is an evil, he corrected him: "Not life itself, but living ill." When he was advised to go in pursuit of his runaway slave, he replied, "It would be absurd, if Manes can live without Diogenes, but Diogenes cannot get on without Manes." When breakfasting on olives amongst which a cake had been inserted, he flung it away and addressed it thus:

> Stranger, betake thee from the princes' path.[a]

And on another occasion thus:

> He lashed an olive.[b]

Being asked what kind of hound he was, he replied, "When hungry, a Maltese; when full, a Molossian—two breeds which most people praise, though for fear of fatigue they do not venture out hunting with them. So neither can you live with me, because you are afraid of the discomforts."

Being asked if the wise eat cakes, "Yes," he said, "cakes of all kinds, just like other men." Being asked why people give to beggars but not to philosophers, he said, "Because they think they may one day be lame or blind, but never expect that they will turn to philosophy." He was begging of a miserly man who was slow to respond; so he

εἶπεν, "εἰς τροφήν σε αἰτῶ, οὐκ εἰς ταφήν." ὀνειδιζόμενός ποτε ἐπὶ τῷ παραχαράξαι τὸ νόμισμα ἔφη, "ἦν ποτε χρόνος ἐκεῖνος ὅτ' ἤμην ἐγὼ τοιοῦτος ὁποῖος σὺ νῦν· ὁποῖος δ' ἐγὼ νῦν, σὺ οὐδέποτε." καὶ πρὸς ἄλλον ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ὀνειδίσαντα, "καὶ γὰρ ἐνεούρουν θᾶττον, ἀλλὰ νῦν οὔ."

57 Εἰς Μύνδον ἐλθὼν καὶ θεασάμενος μεγάλας τὰς πύλας, μικρὰν δὲ τὴν πόλιν, "ἄνδρες Μύνδιοι," ἔφη, "κλείσατε τὰς πύλας, μὴ ἡ πόλις ὑμῶν ἐξέλθῃ." θεασάμενός ποτε πορφυροκλέπτην πεφωραμένον ἔφη,

ἔλλαβε πορφύρεος θάνατος καὶ Μοῖρα κραταιή.[a]

Κρατέρου ἀξιοῦντος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπιέναι, "ἀλλὰ βούλομαι," ἔφη, "ἐν Ἀθήναις ἅλα λείχειν ἢ παρὰ Κρατέρῳ τῆς πολυτελοῦς τραπέζης ἀπολαύειν." Ἀναξιμένει τῷ ῥήτορι παχεῖ ὄντι προσελθών, "ἐπίδος καὶ ἡμῖν," ἔφη, "τοῖς πτωχοῖς τῆς γαστρός· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς κουφισθήσῃ καὶ ἡμᾶς ὠφελήσεις." διαλεγομένου ποτὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τάριχος προτείνας περιέσπασε τοὺς ἀκροατάς· ἀγανακτοῦντος δέ, "τὴν Ἀναξιμένους," ἔφη, "διάλεξιν ὀβολοῦ τάριχος διαλέλυκεν."

58 Ὀνειδιζόμενός ποτε ὅτι ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἔφαγεν, "ἐν ἀγορᾷ γάρ," ἔφη, "καὶ ἐπείνησα." ἔνιοι δὲ τούτου φασὶν εἶναι κἀκεῖνο, ὅτι Πλάτων θεασάμενος αὐτὸν λάχανα πλύνοντα, προσελθὼν ἡσυχῇ εἴποι αὐτῷ· "εἰ Διονύσιον ἐθεράπευες, οὐκ ἂν λάχανα ἔπλυνες." τὸν δ' ἀποκρίνασθαι ὁμοίως ἡσυχῇ, "καὶ σὺ εἰ

[a] *Il.* v. 83.

said, "My friend, it's for food that I'm asking, not for funeral expenses." Being reproached one day for having falsified the currency, he said, "That was the time when I was such as you are now; but such as I am now, you will never be." To another who reproached him for the same offence he made a more scurrilous repartee.

On coming to Myndus and finding the gates large, though the city itself was very small, he cried, "Men of Myndus, bar your gates, lest the city should run away." Seeing a man who had been caught stealing purple, he said:

> Fast gripped by purple death and forceful fate.[a]

When Craterus wanted him to come and visit him, "No," he replied, "I would rather live on a few grains of salt at Athens than enjoy sumptuous fare at Craterus's table." He went up to Anaximenes the rhetorician, who was fat, and said, "Let us beggars have something of your paunch; it will be a relief to you, and we shall get advantage." And when the same man was discoursing, Diogenes distracted his audience by producing some salt fish. This annoyed the lecturer, and Diogenes said, "An obol's worth of salt fish has broken up Anaximenes' lecture-class."

Being reproached for eating in the market-place, "Well, it was in the market-place," he said, "that I felt hungry." Some authors affirm that the following also belongs to him: that Plato saw him washing lettuces, came up to him and quietly said to him, "Had you paid court to Dionysius, you wouldn't now be washing lettuces," and that he with equal calmness made answer, "If you had washed lettuces,

λάχανα ἔπλυνες, οὐκ ἂν Διονύσιον ἐθεράπευες." πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, "οἱ πλείους σου καταγελῶσι," "κἀκείνων τυχόν," εἶπεν, "οἱ ὄνοι· ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἐκεῖνοι τῶν ὄνων ἐπιστρέφονται, οὔτ' ἐγὼ ἐκείνων." θεασάμενός ποτε μειράκιον φιλοσοφοῦν, "εὖγε," εἶπεν, "ὅτι τοὺς τοῦ σώματος ἐραστὰς ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς κάλλος μετάγεις."

59 Θαυμάζοντός τινος τὰ ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ ἀναθήματα, ἔφη, "πολλῷ ἂν ἦν πλείω εἰ καὶ οἱ μὴ σωθέντες ἀνετίθεσαν·" οἱ δὲ τοῦτο Διαγόρου φασὶ τοῦ Μηλίου. εὐμόρφῳ μειρακίῳ ἀπιόντι εἰς συμπόσιον ἔφη, "χείρων ἐπανήξεις·" τοῦ δ' ἐπανελθόντος καὶ τῇ ἑξῆς εἰπόντος, "καὶ ἀπῆλθον καὶ χείρων οὐκ ἐγενόμην," ἔφη, "Χείρων μὲν οὔ, Εὐρυτίων δέ."[a] δύσκολον ᾔτει· τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος, "ἐάν με πείσῃς·" ἔφη, "εἴ σε ἐδυνάμην πεῖσαι, ἔπεισα ἄν σε ἀπάγξασθαι." ἐπανήρχετο ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος εἰς Ἀθήνας· πρὸς οὖν τὸν πυθόμενον, "ποῖ καὶ πόθεν;" "ἐκ τῆς ἀνδρωνίτιδος," εἶπεν, "εἰς τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν."

60 Ἐπανῄει ἀπ' Ὀλυμπίων· πρὸς οὖν τὸν πυθόμενον εἰ ὄχλος εἴη πολύς, "πολὺς μέν," εἶπεν, "ὁ ὄχλος, ὀλίγοι δ' οἱ ἄνθρωποι." τοὺς ἀσώτους εἶπε παραπλησίους εἶναι συκαῖς ἐπὶ κρημνῷ πεφυκυίαις, ὧν τοῦ καρποῦ ἄνθρωπος μὲν οὐκ ἀπογεύεται, κόρακες δὲ καὶ γῦπες ἐσθίουσι. Φρύνης Ἀφροδίτην χρυσῆν ἀναθείσης ἐν Δελφοῖς φασὶ τοῦτον ἐπιγράψαι, "ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἑλ-

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[a] As Chiron was the wisest and best, so Eurytion was the most intemperate, of the Centaurs: "Eurytion, ebriosus ille Centaurus" (Menagius).

you wouldn't have paid court to Dionysius." When some one said, "Most people laugh at you," his reply was, "And so very likely do the asses at them; but as they don't care for the asses, so neither do I care for them." One day observing a youth studying philosophy, he said, "Well done, Philosophy, that thou divertest admirers of bodily charms to the real beauty of the soul."

When some one expressed astonishment at the votive offerings in Samothrace, his comment was, "There would have been far more, if those who were not saved had set up offerings." But others attribute this remark to Diagoras of Melos. To a handsome youth, who was going out to dinner, he said, "You will come back a worse man." When he came back and said next day, "I went and am none the worse for it," Diogenes said, "Not Worse-man (Chiron), but Lax-man (Eurytion)." [a] He was asking alms of a bad-tempered man, who said, "Yes, if you can persuade me." "If I could have persuaded you," said Diogenes, "I would have persuaded you to hang yourself." He was returning from Lacedaemon to Athens; and on some one asking, "Whither and whence?" he replied, "From the men's apartments to the women's."

He was returning from Olympia, and when somebody inquired whether there was a great crowd, "Yes," he said, "a great crowd, but few who could be called men." Libertines he compared to fig-trees growing upon a cliff: whose fruit is not enjoyed by any man, but is eaten by ravens and vultures. When Phryne set up a golden statue of Aphrodite in Delphi, Diogenes is said to have written upon it: "From the licentiousness of Greece."

λήνων ἀκρασίας." Ἀλεξάνδρου ποτὲ ἐπιστάντος
αὐτῷ καὶ εἰπόντος, "ἐγώ εἰμι Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ
μέγας βασιλεύς," "κἀγώ," φησί, "Διογένης ὁ
κύων." ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ποιῶν κύων καλεῖται, ἔφη,
"τοὺς μὲν διδόντας σαίνων, τοὺς δὲ μὴ διδόντας
ὑλακτῶν, τοὺς δὲ πονηροὺς δάκνων."

61 Ἀπὸ συκῆς ὠπώριζε· τοῦ δὲ φυλάττοντος εἰπόντος,
"αὐτόθεν πρῴην ἄνθρωπος ἀπήγξατο," "ἐγὼ οὖν,"
φησίν, "αὐτὴν καθαρῶ." ἰδὼν Ὀλυμπιονίκην εἰς
ἑταίραν πυκνότερον ἀτενίζοντα, "ἴδε," ἔφη, "κριὸν
Ἀρειμάνιον ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ τυχόντος κορασίου τραχη-
λίζεται." τὰς εὐπρεπεῖς ἑταίρας ἔλεγε θανασίμῳ
μελικράτῳ παραπλησίας εἶναι. ἀριστῶντι αὐτῷ
ἐν ἀγορᾷ οἱ περιεστῶτες συνεχὲς ἔλεγον, "κύον·"
ὁ δέ, "ὑμεῖς," εἶπεν, "ἐστὲ κύνες, οἵ με ἀριστῶντα
περιεστήκατε." δύο μαλακῶν περικρυπτομένων
αὐτὸν ἔφη, "μὴ εὐλαβεῖσθε· κύων τευτλία οὐ
τρώγει." περὶ παιδὸς πεπορνευκότος ἐρωτηθεὶς
62 πόθεν εἴη, "Τεγεάτης," ἔφη. ἀφυῆ παλαιστὴν
θεασάμενος ἰατρεύοντα ἔφη, "τί τοῦτο; ἢ ἵνα
τούς ποτέ σε νικήσαντας νῦν καταβάλῃς;" θεασά-
μενος υἱὸν ἑταίρας λίθον εἰς ὄχλον βάλλοντα,
"πρόσεχε," ἔφη, "μὴ τὸν πατέρα πλήξῃς."

Δείξαντος αὐτῷ παιδαρίου μάχαιραν ἣν εἰλήφει
παρ᾽ ἐραστοῦ, "ἡ μὲν μάχαιρα," ἔφη, "καλή, ἡ
δὲ λαβὴ αἰσχρά·" ἐπαινούντων τινῶν τὸν ἐπιδόντα
αὐτῷ ἔφη, "ἐμὲ δ᾽ οὐκ ἐπαινεῖτε τὸν ἄξιον λαβεῖν."
ἀπαιτούμενος ὑπό τινος τρίβωνα ἔφη, "εἰ μὲν

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[a] Literally "Diogenes the Hound"; *cf.* ii. § 66.

Alexander once came and stood opposite him and said, " I am Alexander the great king." " And I," said he, " am Diogenes the Cynic." [a] Being asked what he had done to be called a hound, he said, " I fawn on those who give me anything, I yelp at those who refuse, and I set my teeth in rascals."

He was gathering figs, and was told by the keeper that not long before a man had hanged himself on that very fig-tree. " Then," said he, " I will now purge it." Seeing an Olympian victor casting repeated glances at a courtesan, " See," he said, " yonder ram frenzied for battle, how he is held fast by the neck fascinated by a common minx." Handsome courtesans he would compare to a deadly honeyed potion. He was breakfasting in the marketplace, and the bystanders gathered round him with cries of " dog." " It is you who are dogs," cried he, " when you stand round and watch me at my breakfast." When two cowards hid away from him, he called out, " Don't be afraid, a hound is not fond of beetroot." After seeing a stupid wrestler practising as a doctor he inquired of him, " What does this mean ? Is it that you may now have your revenge on the rivals who formerly beat you ? " Seeing the child of a courtesan throw stones at a crowd, he cried out, " Take care you don't hit your father."

A boy having shown him a dagger that he had received from an admirer, Diogenes remarked, " A pretty blade with an ugly handle." When some people commended a person who had given him a gratuity, he broke in with " You have no praise for me who was worthy to receive it." When some one asked that he might have back his cloak, " If it was

ἐχαρίσω, ἔχω· εἰ δ' ἔχρησας, χρῶμαι." ὑποβολιμαίου τινὸς εἰπόντος αὐτῷ ὅτι χρυσὸν ἔχοι ἐν τῷ ἱματίῳ, "ναί," ἔφη, "διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸ ὑποβεβλη-
63 μένος κοιμᾷ." ἐρωτηθεὶς τί αὐτῷ περιγέγονεν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας, ἔφη, "εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τὸ γοῦν πρὸς πᾶσαν τύχην παρεσκευάσθαι." ἐρωτηθεὶς πόθεν εἴη, "κοσμοπολίτης," ἔφη. θυόντων τινῶν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ υἱὸν γενέσθαι, ἔφη, "περὶ δὲ τοῦ ποδαπὸς ἐκβῇ οὐ θύετε;" ἔρανόν ποτ' ἀπαιτούμενος πρὸς τὸν ἐρανάρχην ἔφη,

τοὺς ἄλλους ἐράνιζ', ἀπὸ δ' Ἕκτορος ἴσχεο χεῖρας.

Τὰς ἑταίρας ἔφη βασιλέων εἶναι βασιλίσσας· πράττειν γὰρ ὅ τι ἂν δόξῃ αὐταῖς. ψηφισαμένων Ἀθηναίων Ἀλέξανδρον Διόνυσον, "κἀμέ," ἔφη, "Σάραπιν ποιήσατε." πρὸς τὸν ὀνειδίζοντα ὅτι εἰς τόπους ἀκαθάρτους εἰσίοι, "καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος," ἔφη, "εἰς τοὺς ἀποπάτους, ἀλλ' οὐ μιαίνεται."

64 Ἐν ἱερῷ δειπνῶν, μεταξὺ ῥυπαρῶν ἄρτων παρατεθέντων, ἄρας αὐτοὺς ἔρριψεν, εἰπὼν εἰς ἱερὸν μηδὲν δεῖν ῥυπαρὸν εἰσιέναι. πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, "οὐδὲν εἰδὼς φιλοσοφεῖς," ἔφη, "εἰ καὶ προσ-

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[a] If this answer is authentic, it apparently shows that the famous term "cosmopolitan" originated with Diogenes.

[b] There is no such line in our MSS. of Homer; it is unknown to the Scholiasts and to Eustathius. Joshua Barnes, in his edition of the *Iliad*, introduced it as xvi. 82*a*. Pope rendered it, about 1718, as follows (*Il.* xvi. 86):

> "Rage uncontrolled through all the hostile crew,
> But touch not Hector, Hector is my due."

In Clarke's edition of 1740 it is expelled from the text and relegated to a footnote. J. H. Voss, however, making a German translation of the *Iliad*, probably between 1781 and

a gift," replied Diogenes, "I possess it; while, if it was a loan, I am using it." A supposititious son having told him that he had gold in the pocket of his dress, "True," said he, "and therefore you sleep with it under your pillow." On being asked what he had gained from philosophy, he replied, "This at least, if nothing else—to be prepared for every fortune." Asked where he came from, he said, "I am a citizen of the world."[a] Certain parents were sacrificing to the gods, that a son might be born to them. "But," said he, "do you not sacrifice to ensure what manner of man he shall turn out to be?" When asked for a subscription towards a club, he said to the president:

Despoil the rest; off Hector keep thy hands.[b]

The mistresses of kings he designated queens; for, said he, they make the kings do their bidding. When the Athenians gave Alexander the title of Dionysus, he said, "Me too you might make Sarapis."[c] Some one having reproached him for going into dirty places, his reply was that the sun too visits cesspools without being defiled.

When he was dining in a temple, and in the course of the meal loaves not free from dirt were put on the table, he took them up and threw them away, declaring that nothing unclean ought to enter a temple. To the man who said to him, "You don't know anything, although you are a philosopher," he replied, "Even if I am but a pretender to wisdom,

1793, still regarded it as Homeric, but found a fresh place for it, after xvi. 90.

[c] "Sarapis" was represented, like Pluto, as seated with an animal by his side having the head of a dog, lion, or wolf combined (according to Baumeister) in "a three-headed Cerberus."

ποιοῦμαι σοφίαν, καὶ τοῦτο φιλοσοφεῖν ἐστι." πρὸς τὸν συνιστάντα τὸν παῖδα καὶ λέγοντα ὡς εὐφυέστατός ἐστι καὶ τὰ ἤθη κράτιστος, "τί οὖν," εἶπεν, "ἐμοῦ χρῄζει;" τοὺς λέγοντας μὲν τὰ σπουδαῖα, μὴ ποιοῦντας δέ, ἔλεγε μηδὲν διαφέρειν κιθάρας· καὶ γὰρ ταύτην μήτ' ἀκούειν μήτ' αἰσθάνεσθαι. εἰς θέατρον εἰσῄει ἐναντίος τοῖς ἐξιοῦσιν· ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ διὰ τί, "τοῦτο," ἔφη, "ἐν παντὶ τῷ βίῳ ἐπιτηδεύω ποιεῖν."

65 Ἰδών ποτε νεανίσκον θηλυνόμενον, "οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ," ἔφη, "χείρονα τῆς φύσεως περὶ σεαυτοῦ βουλευόμενος; ἡ μὲν γάρ σε ἄνδρα ἐποίησε, σὺ δὲ σεαυτὸν βιάζῃ γυναῖκα εἶναι." ἰδὼν ἄφρονα ψαλτήριον ἁρμοζόμενον "οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ," ἔφη, "τοὺς μὲν φθόγγους τῷ ξύλῳ προσαρμόττων, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν εἰς τὸν βίον μὴ ἁρμόττων;" πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, "ἀνεπιτήδειός εἰμι πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν," "τί οὖν," ἔφη, "ζῇς, εἰ τοῦ καλῶς ζῆν μὴ μέλει σοι;" πρὸς τὸν καταφρονοῦντα τοῦ πατρός, "οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ," ἔφη, "καταφρονῶν τούτου δι' ὃν μέγα φρονεῖς;" ἰδὼν εὐπρεπῆ νεανίσκον ἀπρεπῶς λαλοῦντα, "οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ," ἔφη, "ἐξ ἐλεφαντίνου κολεοῦ μολυβδίνην ἕλκων μάχαιραν;"

66 Ὀνειδιζόμενος ὅτι ἐν καπηλείῳ πίνει, "καὶ γὰρ ἐν κουρείῳ," φησί, "κείρομαι." ὀνειδιζόμενος ὅτι παρ' Ἀντιπάτρου τριβώνιον ἔλαβεν, ἔφη,

οὔτοι ἀπόβλητ' ἐστὶ θεῶν ἐρικυδέα δῶρα.

Πρὸς τὸν ἐνσείσαντα αὐτῷ δοκόν, εἶτα εἰπόντα, "φύλαξαι," πλήξας αὐτὸν τῇ βακτηρίᾳ εἶπε,

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[a] *Il.* iii. 65.

that in itself is philosophy." When some one brought a child to him and declared him to be highly gifted and of excellent character, "What need then," said he, "has he of me?" Those who say admirable things, but fail to do them, he compared to a harp; for the harp, like them, he said, has neither hearing nor perception. He was going into a theatre, meeting face to face those who were coming out, and being asked why, "This," he said, "is what I practise doing all my life."

Seeing a young man behaving effeminately, "Are you not ashamed," he said, "that your own intention about yourself should be worse than nature's: for nature made you a man, but you are forcing yourself to play the woman." Observing a fool tuning a psaltery, "Are you not ashamed," said he, "to give this wood concordant sounds, while you fail to harmonize your soul with life?" To one who protested that he was ill adapted for the study of philosophy, he said, "Why then do you live, if you do not care to live well?" To one who despised his father, "Are you not ashamed," he said, "to despise him to whom you owe it that you can so pride yourself?" Noticing a handsome youth chattering in unseemly fashion, "Are you not ashamed," he said, "to draw a dagger of lead from an ivory scabbard?"

Being reproached with drinking in a tavern, "Well," said he, "I also get my hair cut in a barber's shop." Being reproached with accepting a cloak from Antipater, he replied:

> The gods' choice gifts are nowise to be spurned.[a]

When some one first shook a beam at him and then shouted "Look out," Diogenes struck the man with

"φύλαξαι." πρὸς τὸν λιπαροῦντα τὴν ἑταίραν,[1] "τί θέλεις," ἔφη, "τυχεῖν, ὦ ταλαίπωρε, οὗ τὸ ἀποτυχεῖν ἄμεινόν ἐστι;" πρὸς τὸν μυριζόμενον, "βλέπε," εἶπε, "μὴ ἡ τῆς κεφαλῆς σου εὐωδία δυσωδίαν σου τῷ βίῳ παράσχῃ." τοὺς μὲν οἰκέτας ἔφη τοῖς δεσπόταις, τοὺς δὲ φαύλους ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις δουλεύειν.

67 Ἐρωτηθεὶς διὰ τί ἀνδράποδα ἐκλήθη, "ὅτι," φησί, "τοὺς πόδας ἀνδρῶν εἶχον, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ὁποίαν σὺ νῦν ὁ ἐξετάζων." ἄσωτον ᾔτει μνᾶν· πυθομένου δὲ διὰ τί τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ὀβολὸν αἰτεῖ, αὐτὸν δὲ μνᾶν, "ὅτι," εἶπε, "παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων πάλιν ἐλπίζω λαβεῖν, παρὰ δὲ σοῦ θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται εἰ πάλιν λήψομαι." ὀνειδιζόμενος ὅτι αὐτὸς αἰτεῖ, Πλάτωνος μὴ αἰτοῦντος, "κἀκεῖνος," εἶπεν, "αἰτεῖ, ἀλλ'

ἄγχι σχὼν κεφαλήν, ἵνα μὴ πευθοίαθ' οἱ ἄλλοι."

ἰδὼν τοξότην ἀφυῆ παρὰ τὸν σκοπὸν ἐκάθισεν, εἰπών, "ἵνα μὴ πληγῶ." τοὺς ἐρῶντας ἔφη πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀτυχεῖν.

68 Ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ κακὸν[2] ὁ θάνατος, "πῶς," εἶπε, "κακός, οὗ παρόντος οὐκ αἰσθανόμεθα;" πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιστάντα καὶ εἰπόντα, "οὐ φοβῇ με;" "τί γάρ," εἶπεν, "εἶ; ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν;" τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, "ἀγαθόν," "τίς οὖν," εἶπε, "τὸ ἀγαθὸν φοβεῖται;" τὴν παιδείαν εἶπε τοῖς μὲν νέοις σωφροσύνην, τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέροις παραμυθίαν,

[1] τῇ ἑταίρᾳ vulg.: corr. Richards.
[2] κακὸς vulg.: corr. Richards.

[a] *Od.* i. 157, iv. 70.

his staff and added " Look out." To a man who was urgently pressing his suit to a courtesan he said, " Why, hapless man, are you at such pains to gain your suit, when it would be better for you to lose it ? " To one with perfumed hair he said, " Beware lest the sweet scent on your head cause an ill odour in your life." He said that bad men obey their lusts as servants obey their masters.

The question being asked why footmen are so called, he replied, " Because they have the feet of men, but souls such as you, my questioner, have." He asked a spendthrift for a mina. The man inquired why it was that he asked others for an obol but him for a mina. " Because," said Diogenes, " I expect to receive from others again, but whether I shall ever get anything from you again lies on the knees of the gods." Being reproached with begging when Plato did not beg, " Oh yes," says he, " he does, but when he does so—

> He holds his head down close, that none may hear." [a]

Seeing a bad archer, he sat down beside the target with the words " in order not to get hit." Lovers, he declared, derive their pleasures from their misfortune.

Being asked whether death was an evil thing, he replied, " How can it be evil, when in its presence we are not aware of it ? " When Alexander stood opposite him and asked, " Are you not afraid of me ? " " Why, what are you ? " said he, " a good thing or a bad ? " Upon Alexander replying " A good thing," " Who then," said Diogenes, " is afraid of the good ? " Education, according to him, is a controlling grace to the young, consolation to the

τοῖς δὲ πένησι πλοῦτον, τοῖς δὲ πλουσίοις κόσμον εἶναι. πρὸς Διδύμωνα τὸν μοιχὸν ἰατρεύοντά ποτε κόρης ὀφθαλμόν, "ὅρα," φησί, "μὴ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τῆς παρθένου θεραπεύων τὴν κόρην φθείρῃς." εἰπόντος τινὸς ὅτι ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἐπιβουλεύεται, "καὶ τί δεῖ πράττειν," ἔφη, "εἰ δεήσει τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὁμοίως χρῆσθαι;"

69 Ἐρωτηθεὶς τί κάλλιστον ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ἔφη, "παρρησία." εἰσελθὼν εἰς διδασκάλου καὶ Μούσας μὲν ἰδὼν πολλάς, μαθητὰς δὲ ὀλίγους, "σὺν θεοῖς," ἔφη, "διδάσκαλε, πολλοὺς μαθητὰς ἔχεις." εἰώθει δὲ πάντα ποιεῖν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, καὶ τὰ Δήμητρος καὶ τὰ Ἀφροδίτης. καὶ τοιούτους τινὰς ἠρώτα λόγους· εἰ τὸ ἀριστᾶν μηδέν ἐστιν ἄτοπον, οὐδ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐστιν ἄτοπον· οὐκ ἔστι δ' ἄτοπον τὸ ἀριστᾶν· οὐδ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἄρα ἐστὶν ἄτοπον. χειρουργῶν τ' ἐν τῷ μέσῳ συνεχές, "εἴθε ἦν," ἔλεγε, "καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν παρατριψάμενον τοῦ λιμοῦ παύσασθαι·" ἀναφέρεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα εἰς αὐτόν, ἃ μακρὸν ἂν εἴη καταλέγειν πολλὰ ὄντα.

70 Διττὴν δ' ἔλεγεν εἶναι τὴν ἄσκησιν, τὴν μὲν ψυχικήν, τὴν δὲ σωματικήν· ταύτην καθ' ἣν ἐν γυμνασίᾳ συνεχεῖ[1] γινόμεναι φαντασίαι εὐλυσίαν πρὸς τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔργα παρέχονται. εἶναι δ' ἀτελῆ τὴν ἑτέραν χωρὶς τῆς ἑτέρας, οὐδὲν ἧττον εὐεξίας καὶ ἰσχύος ἐν τοῖς προσήκουσι γενομένης, ὡς περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ περὶ τὸ σῶμα. παρετίθετο δὲ τεκμήρια τοῦ ῥᾳδίως ἀπὸ τῆς γυμνασίας ἐν

[1] συνεχεῖς vulg.: corr. Reiske.

[a] §§ 70-73. As § 74 joins on well to § 69, the intermediate

old, wealth to the poor, and ornament to the rich. When Didymon, who was a rake, was once treating a girl's eye, "Beware," says Diogenes, "lest the oculist instead of curing the eye should ruin the pupil." On somebody declaring that his own friends were plotting against him, Diogenes exclaimed, "What is to be done then, if you have to treat friends and enemies alike?"

Being asked what was the most beautiful thing in the world, he replied, "Freedom of speech." On entering a boys' school, he found there many statues of the Muses, but few pupils. "By the help of the gods," said he, "schoolmaster, you have plenty of pupils." It was his habit to do everything in public, the works of Demeter and of Aphrodite alike. He used to draw out the following arguments. "If to breakfast be not absurd, neither is it absurd in the market-place; but to breakfast is not absurd, therefore it is not absurd to breakfast in the market-place." Behaving indecently in public, he wished "it were as easy to banish hunger by rubbing the belly." Many other sayings are attributed to him, which it would take long to enumerate.[a]

He used to affirm that training was of two kinds, mental and bodily: the latter being that whereby, with constant exercise, perceptions are formed such as secure freedom of movement for virtuous deeds; and the one half of this training is incomplete without the other, good health and strength being just as much included among the essential things, whether for body or soul. And he would adduce indisputable evidence to show how easily from

specimens of Cynic maxims (*cf.* note on § 10) are clearly an insertion, probably from a different source.

τῇ ἀρετῇ καταγίνεσθαι· ὁρᾶν τε γὰρ ἔν τε ταῖς τέχναις ταῖς βαναύσοις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ὀξυχειρίαν τοὺς τεχνίτας ἀπὸ τῆς μελέτης περιπεποιημένους τούς τ' αὐλητὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀθλητὰς ὅσον ὑπερφέρουσιν ἑκάτεροι τῇ ἰδίᾳ πονήσει τῇ συνεχεῖ, καὶ ὡς οὗτοι εἰ μετήνεγκαν τὴν ἄσκησιν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχήν, οὐκ ἂν ἀνωφελῶς καὶ ἀτελῶς ἐμόχθουν.

71 Οὐδέν γε μὴν ἔλεγε τὸ παράπαν ἐν τῷ βίῳ χωρὶς ἀσκήσεως κατορθοῦσθαι, δυνατὴν δὲ ταύτην πᾶν ἐκνικῆσαι. δέον οὖν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀχρήστων πόνων τοὺς κατὰ φύσιν ἑλομένους ζῆν εὐδαιμόνως, παρὰ τὴν ἄνοιαν κακοδαιμονοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἡ καταφρόνησις ἡδυτάτη προμελετηθεῖσα, καὶ ὥσπερ οἱ συνεθισθέντες ἡδέως ζῆν, ἀηδῶς ἐπὶ τοὐναντίον μετίασιν, οὕτως οἱ τοὐναντίον ἀσκηθέντες ἥδιον αὐτῶν τῶν ἡδονῶν καταφρονοῦσι. τοιαῦτα διελέγετο καὶ ποιῶν ἐφαίνετο, ὄντως νόμισμα παραχαράττων, μηδὲν οὕτω τοῖς κατὰ νόμον ὡς τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν διδούς· τὸν αὐτὸν χαρακτῆρα τοῦ βίου λέγων διεξάγειν ὅνπερ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς, μηδὲν ἐλευθερίας προκρίνων.

72 Πάντα τῶν σοφῶν εἶναι λέγων καὶ τοιούτους λόγους ἐρωτῶν οἵους ἄνω προειρήκαμεν· πάντα τῶν θεῶν ἐστι· φίλοι δὲ τοῖς σοφοῖς οἱ θεοί· κοινὰ δὲ τὰ τῶν φίλων. πάντα ἄρα τῶν σοφῶν. περί

gymnastic training we arrive at virtue. For in the manual crafts and other arts it can be seen that the craftsmen develop extraordinary manual skill through practice. Again, take the case of flute-players and of athletes: what surpassing skill they acquire by their own incessant toil; and, if they had transferred their efforts to the training of the mind, how certainly their labours would not have been unprofitable or ineffective.

Nothing in life, however, he maintained, has any chance of succeeding without strenuous practice; and this is capable of overcoming anything. Accordingly, instead of useless toils men should choose such as nature recommends, whereby they might have lived happily. Yet such is their madness that they choose to be miserable. For even the despising of pleasure is itself most pleasurable, when we are habituated to it; and just as those accustomed to a life of pleasure feel disgust when they pass over to the opposite experience, so those whose training has been of the opposite kind derive more pleasure from despising pleasure than from the pleasures themselves. This was the gist of his conversation; and it was plain that he acted accordingly, adulterating currency in very truth, allowing convention no such authority as he allowed to natural right, and asserting that the manner of life he lived was the same as that of Heracles when he preferred liberty to everything.

He maintained that all things are the property of the wise, and employed such arguments as those cited above. All things belong to the gods. The gods are friends to the wise, and friends share all property in common; therefore all things are the property of the wise. Again as to law: that it is

τε τοῦ νόμου ὅτι χωρὶς αὐτοῦ οὐχ οἷόν τε πολιτεύεσθαι· οὐ γάρ φησιν ἄνευ πόλεως ὄφελός τι εἶναι ἀστείου· ἀστεῖον δὲ ἡ πόλις· νόμου δὲ ἄνευ πόλεως οὐδὲν ὄφελος· ἀστεῖον ἄρα ὁ νόμος. εὐγενείας δὲ καὶ δόξας καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα διέπαιζε, προκοσμήματα κακίας εἶναι λέγων· μόνην τε ὀρθὴν πολιτείαν εἶναι τὴν ἐν κόσμῳ. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ κοινὰς εἶναι δεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας, γάμον μηδένα νομίζων, ἀλλὰ τὸν πείσαντα τῇ πεισθείσῃ συνεῖναι· κοινοὺς δὲ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς υἱέας.

73 Μηδέν τε ἄτοπον εἶναι ἐξ ἱεροῦ τι λαβεῖν ἢ τῶν ζῴων τινὸς γεύσασθαι· μηδ' ἀνόσιον εἶναι τὸ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων κρεῶν ἅψασθαι, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐθῶν· καὶ τῷ ὀρθῷ λόγῳ πάντ' ἐν πᾶσι καὶ διὰ πάντων εἶναι λέγων. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἄρτῳ κρέας εἶναι καὶ ἐν τῷ λαχάνῳ ἄρτον, καὶ τῶν σωμάτων τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν πᾶσι διά τινων ἀδήλων πόρων [καὶ][1] ὄγκων εἰσκρινομένων καὶ συνατμιζομένων, ὡς δῆλον ἐν τῷ Θυέστῃ ποιεῖ, εἴ γ' αὐτοῦ αἱ τραγῳδίαι καὶ μὴ Φιλίσκου τοῦ Αἰγινήτου ἐκείνου γνωρίμου ἢ Πασιφῶντος τοῦ Λουκιανοῦ, ὅν φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτοῦ συγγράψαι. μουσικῆς τε καὶ γεωμετρικῆς καὶ ἀστρολογίας καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀμελεῖν, ὡς ἀχρήστων καὶ οὐκ ἀναγκαίων.

[1] καὶ seclusit Meric. Casaubon.

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[a] It has been conjectured that the Pasiphon meant was the philosopher of Eretria, to whom Persaeus attributed the composition of spurious Socratic Dialogues (*v. supra*, ii. 61). Modern scholars incline to regard him as the author of the Πίναξ attributed to Cebes by D. L. ii. 125 (v. Susemihl, *Griechische Literatur in der Alexandrinerzeit*, i. p. 20, Welcker, *Kl. Schr.* i. p. 422, n. 18). Wilamowitz conjectures

impossible for society to exist without law; for without a city no benefit can be derived from that which is civilized. But the city is civilized, and there is no advantage in law without a city; therefore law is something civilized. He would ridicule good birth and fame and all such distinctions, calling them showy ornaments of vice. The only true commonwealth was, he said, that which is as wide as the universe. He advocated community of wives, recognizing no other marriage than a union of the man who persuades with the woman who consents. And for this reason he thought sons too should be held in common.

And he saw no impropriety either in stealing anything from a temple or in eating the flesh of any animal; nor even anything impious in touching human flesh, this, he said, being clear from the custom of some foreign nations. Moreover, according to right reason, as he put it, all elements are contained in all things and pervade everything: since not only is meat a constituent of bread, but bread of vegetables; and all other bodies also, by means of certain invisible passages and particles, find their way in and unite with all substances in the form of vapour. This he makes plain in the *Thyestes*, if the tragedies are really his and not the work of his friend Philiscus of Aegina or of Pasiphon, the son of Lucian,[a] who according to Favorinus in his *Miscellaneous History* wrote them after the death of Diogenes. He held that we should neglect music, geometry, astronomy, and the like studies, as useless and unnecessary.

that Λουκιανοῦ has displaced the local adjective of his birthplace.

74 Εὐστοχώτατος δ᾿ ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἀπαντήσεσι τῶν λόγων, ὡς δῆλον ἐξ ὧν προειρήκαμεν.

Καὶ πρᾶσιν ἤνεγκε γενναιότατα· πλέων γὰρ εἰς Αἴγιναν καὶ πειραταῖς ἁλοὺς ὧν ἦρχε Σκίρπαλος, εἰς Κρήτην ἀπαχθεὶς ἐπιπράσκετο· καὶ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος τί οἶδε ποιεῖν, ἔφη, "ἀνθρώπων ἄρχειν." ὅτε καὶ δείξας τινὰ Κορίνθιον εὐπάρυφον, τὸν προειρημένον Ξενιάδην, ἔφη, "τούτῳ με πώλει· οὗτος δεσπότου χρῄζει." ὠνεῖται δὴ αὐτὸν ὁ Ξενιάδης καὶ ἀπαγαγὼν εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον ἐπέστησε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ παιδίοις καὶ πᾶσαν ἐνεχείρισε τὴν οἰκίαν. ὁ δὲ οὕτως αὐτὴν ἐν πᾶσι διετίθει, ὥστε ἐκεῖνος περιιὼν ἔλεγεν· "ἀγαθὸς δαίμων εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν μου εἰσελήλυθε."

75 Φησὶ δὲ Κλεομένης ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Παιδαγωγικῷ τοὺς γνωρίμους λυτρώσασθαι αὐτὸν θελῆσαι, τὸν δ᾿ εὐήθεις αὐτοὺς εἰπεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς λέοντας δούλους εἶναι τῶν τρεφόντων, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τρέφοντας τῶν λεόντων. δούλου γὰρ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι, τὰ δὲ θηρία φοβερὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἶναι. θαυμαστὴ δέ τις ἦν περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα πειθώ, ὥστε πάνθ᾿ ὁντινοῦν ῥᾳδίως αἱρεῖν τοῖς λόγοις. λέγεται γοῦν Ὀνησίκριτόν τινα Αἰγινήτην πέμψαι εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας δυοῖν ὄντοιν υἱοῖν τὸν ἕτερον Ἀνδροσθένην, ὃν ἀκούσαντα τοῦ Διογένους αὐτόθι προσμεῖναι· τὸν δ᾿ ἐπ᾿ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀποστεῖλαι τὸν πρεσβύτερον Φιλίσκον τὸν προειρημένον, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν Φιλίσκον κατα-
76 σχεθῆναι· τὸ τρίτον αὐτὸν ἀφιγμένον μηδὲν ἧττον

[a] "Harpalus" according to Cic. *N.D.* iii. 34. 83.

He became very ready also at repartee in verbal debates, as is evident from what has been said above.

Further, when he was sold as a slave, he endured it most nobly. For on a voyage to Aegina he was captured by pirates under the command of Scirpalus,[a] conveyed to Crete and exposed for sale. When the auctioneer asked in what he was proficient, he replied, "In ruling men." Thereupon he pointed to a certain Corinthian with a fine purple border to his robe, the man named Xeniades above-mentioned, and said, "Sell me to this man; he needs a master." Thus Xeniades came to buy him, and took him to Corinth and set him over his own children and entrusted his whole household to him. And he administered it in all respects in such a manner that Xeniades used to go about saying, "A good genius has entered my house."

Cleomenes in his work entitled *Concerning Pedagogues* says that the friends of Diogenes wanted to ransom him, whereupon he called them simpletons; for, said he, lions are not the slaves of those who feed them, but rather those who feed them are at the mercy of the lions: for fear is the mark of the slave, whereas wild beasts make men afraid of them. The man had in fact a wonderful gift of persuasion, so that he could easily vanquish anyone he liked in argument. At all events a certain Onesicritus of Aegina is said to have sent to Athens the one of his two sons named Androsthenes, and he having become a pupil of Diogenes stayed there; the father then sent the other also, the aforesaid Philiscus, who was the elder, in search of him; but Philiscus also was detained in the same way. When, thirdly, the father himself arrived, he was just as much attracted to the

συνεῖναι τοῖς παισὶ συμφιλοσοφοῦντα. τοιαύτη τις προσῆν ἴυγξ τοῖς Διογένους λόγοις. ἤκουσε δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Φωκίων ὁ ἐπίκλην χρηστὸς καὶ Στίλπων ὁ Μεγαρεὺς καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους ἄνδρες πολιτικοί.

Λέγεται δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη βιοὺς τελευτῆσαι. περὶ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου διάφοροι λέγονται λόγοι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολύποδα φαγόντα ὠμὸν χολερικῇ ληφθῆναι καὶ ὧδε τελευτῆσαι· οἱ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα συγκρατήσαντα, ὧν ἐστι καὶ Κερκιδᾶς ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης [ἢ Κρής], λέγων ἐν τοῖς μελιάμβοις οὕτως·

οὐ μὰν ὁ πάρος γε Σινωπεὺς
τῆνος ὁ βακτροφόρας, διπλοείματος, αἰθεριβόσκας,
77 *ἀλλ' ἀνέβα χεῖλος ποτ' ὀδόντας ἐρείσας*
[καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα συνδακών]. ἦς γὰρ ἀλαθέως
Διογένης Ζανὸς γόνος οὐράνιός τε κύων.

Ἄλλοι φασὶ πολύπουν κυσὶ συμμερίσασθαι βουλόμενον οὕτω δηχθῆναι τοῦ ποδὸς τὸν τένοντα καὶ καταστρέψαι. οἱ μέντοι γνώριμοι αὐτοῦ, καθά φησιν Ἀντισθένης ἐν Διαδοχαῖς, εἴκαζον τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος συγκράτησιν. ἐτύγχανε μὲν γὰρ διάγων ἐν τῷ Κρανείῳ τῷ πρὸ τῆς Κορίνθου γυμνασίῳ· κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἔθος ἧκον οἱ γνώριμοι καὶ αὐτὸν καταλαμβάνουσιν ἐγκεκαλυμμένον καὶ εἴκασαν αὐτὸν κοιμᾶσθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν τις νυσταλέος καὶ ὑπνηλός. ὅθεν, ἀποπετάσαντες τὸν τρίβωνα ἐκ-

pursuit of philosophy as his sons and joined the circle—so magical was the spell which the discourses of Diogenes exerted. Amongst his hearers was Phocion surnamed the Honest, and Stilpo the Megarian, and many other men prominent in political life.

Diogenes is said to have been nearly ninety years old when he died. Regarding his death there are several different accounts. One is that he was seized with colic after eating an octopus raw and so met his end. Another is that he died voluntarily by holding his breath. This account was followed by Cercidas of Megalopolis (or of Crete), who in his meliambics writes thus :

Not so he who aforetime was a citizen of Sinope,
That famous one who carried a staff, doubled his cloak, and lived in the open air.
But he soared aloft with his lip tightly pressed against his teeth
And holding his breath withal. For in truth he was rightly named
Diogenes, a true-born son of Zeus, a hound of heaven.

Another version is that, while trying to divide an octopus amongst the dogs, he was so severely bitten on the sinew of the foot that it caused his death. His friends, however, according to Antisthenes in his *Successions of Philosophers*, conjectured that it was due to the retention of his breath. For he happened to be living in the Craneum, the gymnasium in front of Corinth. When his friends came according to custom and found him wrapped up in his cloak, they thought that he must be asleep, although he was by no means of a drowsy or somnolent habit. They therefore drew aside his cloak and found that

πνουν αὐτὸν καταλαμβάνουσι καὶ ὑπέλαβον τοῦτο πρᾶξαι βουλόμενον λοιπὸν ὑπεξελθεῖν τοῦ βίου.

78 Ἔνθα καὶ στάσις, ὥς φασιν, ἐγένετο τῶν γνωρίμων, τίνες αὐτὸν θάψουσιν· ἀλλὰ καὶ μέχρι χειρῶν ἦλθον. ἀφικομένων δὲ τῶν πατέρων καὶ τῶν ὑπερεχόντων, ὑπὸ τούτοις ταφῆναι τὸν ἄνδρα παρὰ τῇ πύλῃ τῇ φερούσῃ εἰς τὸν Ἰσθμόν. ἐπέστησάν τ' αὐτῷ κίονα καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ λίθου Παρίου κύνα. ὕστερον δὲ καὶ οἱ πολῖται αὐτοῦ χαλκαῖς εἰκόσιν ἐτίμησαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπέγραψαν οὕτω·

γηράσκει καὶ χαλκὸς ὑπὸ χρόνου, ἀλλὰ σὸν οὔτι
  κῦδος ὁ πᾶς αἰών, Διόγενες, καθελεῖ·
μοῦνος ἐπεὶ βιοτᾶς αὐτάρκεα δόξαν ἔδειξας
  θνατοῖς καὶ ζωᾶς οἶμον ἐλαφροτάταν.

79 Ἔστι καὶ ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ προκελευσματικῷ μέτρῳ·

Α. Διόγενες, ἄγε λέγε τίς ἔλαβέ σε μόρος
ἐς Ἄϊδος. Δ. ἔλαβέ με κυνὸς ἄγριον ὀδάξ.

Ἔνιοι δέ φασι τελευτῶντα αὐτὸν [καὶ] ἐντείλασθαι ἄταφον ῥῖψαι ὡς πᾶν θηρίον αὐτοῦ μετάσχοι, ἢ εἴς γε βόθρον συνῶσαι καὶ ὀλίγην κόνιν ἐπαμῆσαι· οἱ δέ, εἰς τὸν Ἰλισσὸν ἐμβαλεῖν, ἵνα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς χρήσιμος γένηται.

Δημήτριος δ' ἐν τοῖς Ὁμωνύμοις φησὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι, Διογένην δ' ἐν Κορίνθῳ τελευτῆσαι. ἦν δὲ γέρων κατὰ τὴν τρίτην καὶ δεκάτην καὶ ἑκατοστὴν
80 Ὀλυμπιάδα.

Φέρεται δ' αὐτοῦ βιβλία τάδε· διάλογοι·

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[a] Anth. Pal. xvi. 334. [b] Anth. Pal. vii. 116.
[c] 324–321 B.C.

he was dead. This they supposed to have been his deliberate act in order to escape thenceforward from life.

Hence, it is said, arose a quarrel among his disciples as to who should bury him: nay, they even came to blows; but, when their fathers and men of influence arrived, under their direction he was buried beside the gate leading to the Isthmus. Over his grave they set up a pillar and a dog in Parian marble upon it. Subsequently his fellow-citizens honoured him with bronze statues, on which these verses were inscribed:

> Time makes even bronze grow old: but thy glory, Diogenes, all eternity will never destroy. Since thou alone didst point out to mortals the lesson of self-sufficingness and the easiest path of life.[a]

We too have written on him in the proceleusmatic metre:

> A. Diogenes, come tell me what fate took you to the world below?
>
> D. A dog's savage tooth.[b]

But some say that when dying he left instructions that they should throw him out unburied, that every wild beast might feed on him, or thrust him into a ditch and sprinkle a little dust over him. But according to others his instructions were that they should throw him into the Ilissus, in order that he might be useful to his brethren.

Demetrius in his work *On Men of the Same Name* asserts that on the same day on which Alexander died in Babylon Diogenes died in Corinth. He was an old man in the 113th Olympiad.[c]

The following writings are attributed to him. Dialogues:

Κεφαλίων.
Ἰχθύας.
Κολοιός.
Πόρδαλος.
Δῆμος Ἀθηναίων.
Πολιτεία.
Τέχνη ἠθική.
Περὶ πλούτου.
Ἐρωτικός.
Θεόδωρος.
Ὑψίας.
Ἀρίσταρχος.
Περὶ θανάτου.
Ἐπιστολαί.

Τραγῳδίαι ἑπτά·

Ἑλένη.
Θυέστης.
Ἡρακλῆς.
Ἀχιλλεύς.
Μήδεια.
Χρύσιππος.
Οἰδίπους.

Σωσικράτης δ' ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς Διαδοχῆς καὶ Σάτυρος ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ τῶν Βίων οὐδὲν εἶναι Διογένους φασί· τά τε τραγῳδάριά φησιν ὁ Σάτυρος Φιλίσκου εἶναι τοῦ Αἰγινήτου, γνωρίμου τοῦ Διογένους. Σωτίων δ' ἐν τῷ ἑβδόμῳ ταῦτα μόνα φησὶ Διογένους εἶναι, Περὶ ἀρετῆς, Περὶ ἀγαθοῦ, Ἐρωτικόν, Πτωχόν, Τολμαῖον, Πόρδαλον, Κάσανδρον, Κεφαλίωνα, Φιλίσκον, Ἀρίσταρχον, Σίσυφον, Γανυμήδην, Χρείας, Ἐπιστολάς.

81 Γεγόνασι δὲ Διογένεις πέντε· πρῶτος Ἀπολ-

Cephalion.
Ichthyas.
Jackdaw.
Pordalus.
The Athenian Demos.
Republic.
Art of Ethics.
On Wealth.
On Love.
Theodorus.
Hypsias.
Aristarchus.
On Death.
Letters.

Seven Tragedies :

Helen.
Thyestes.
Heracles.
Achilles.
Medea.
Chrysippus.
Oedipus.

Sosicrates in the first book of his *Successions*, and Satyrus in the fourth book of his *Lives*, allege that Diogenes left nothing in writing, and Satyrus adds that the sorry tragedies are by his friend Philiscus, the Aeginetan. Sotion in his seventh book declares that only the following are genuine works of Diogenes : On Virtue, On Good, On Love, A Mendicant, Tolmaeus, Pordalus, Casandrus, Cephalion, Philiscus, Aristarchus, Sisyphus, Ganymedes, Anecdotes, Letters.

There have been five men who were named Diogenes. The first, of Apollonia, a natural philo-

λωνιάτης, φυσικός· ἀρχὴ δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ συγγράμματος ἥδε· "Λόγου παντὸς ἀρχόμενον δοκέει μοι χρεὼν εἶναι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναμφισβήτητον παρέχεσθαι." δεύτερος Σικυώνιος, ὁ γράψας τὰ περὶ Πελοπόννησον· τρίτος αὐτὸς οὗτος· τέταρτος στωικός, γένος Σελευκεύς, ὁ καὶ Βαβυλώνιος καλούμενος διὰ τὴν γειτονίαν· πέμπτος Ταρσεύς, γεγραφὼς περὶ ποιητικῶν ζητημάτων ἃ λύειν ἐπιχειρεῖ.

Τὸν δὴ φιλόσοφον Ἀθηνόδωρός φησιν ἐν ὀγδόῃ Περιπάτων ἀεὶ στιλπνὸν φαίνεσθαι διὰ τὸ ἀλείφεσθαι.

Κεφ. γʹ. ΜΟΝΙΜΟΣ

82 Μόνιμος Συρακόσιος μαθητὴς μὲν Διογένους, οἰκέτης δέ τινος τραπεζίτου Κορινθίου, καθά φησι Σωσικράτης. πρὸς τοῦτον συνεχὲς ἀφικνούμενος ὁ Ξενιάδης ὁ τὸν Διογένην ἐωνημένος τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῶν λόγων διηγούμενος εἰς ἔρωτα τἀνδρὸς ἐνέβαλε τὸν Μόνιμον. αὐτίκα γὰρ ἐκεῖνος μανίαν προσποιηθεὶς τό τε κέρμα διερρίπτει καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης ἀργύριον, ἕως αὐτὸν ὁ δεσπότης παρῃτήσατο· καὶ ὃς εὐθέως Διογένους ἦν. παρηκολούθησε δὲ καὶ Κράτητι τῷ κυνικῷ συχνὰ καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων εἴχετο, ὅτε καὶ μᾶλλον ὁρῶν αὐτὸν ὁ δεσπότης ἐδόκει μαίνεσθαι.

83 Ἐγένετο δ' ἀνὴρ ἐλλόγιμος, ὡς καὶ Μένανδρον αὐτοῦ τὸν κωμικὸν μεμνῆσθαι. ἔν τινι γοῦν τῶν δραμάτων ἐν τῷ Ἱπποκόμῳ εἶπεν οὕτως·

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[a] *Cf.* Epictet. iii. 22. 88 ὡς Διογένης ἐποίει· στίλβων γὰρ περιήρχετο καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα ἐπέστρεφε τοὺς πολλούς.

sopher. The beginning of his treatise runs thus: "At the outset of every discourse, methinks, one should see to it that the basis laid down is unquestionable." The second—of Sicyon—who wrote an "Account of Peloponnesus." The third, our present subject. The fourth, a Stoic born at Seleucia, who is also called the Babylonian, because Seleucia is near Babylon. The fifth, of Tarsus, author of a work on poetical problems, which he attempts to solve.

Now the philosopher is said by Athenodorus in the eighth book of his *Walks* to have always had a sleek appearance owing to his use of unguents.[a]

Chapter 3. MONIMUS (fourth century B.C.)

Monimus of Syracuse was a pupil of Diogenes; and, according to Sosicrates, he was in the service of a certain Corinthian banker, to whom Xeniades, the purchaser of Diogenes, made frequent visits, and by the account which he gave of his goodness in word and deed, excited in Monimus a passionate admiration of Diogenes. For he forthwith pretended to be mad and proceeded to fling away the small change and all the money on the banker's table, until at length his master dismissed him; and he then straightway devoted himself to Diogenes. He often followed Crates the Cynic as well, and embraced the like pursuits; whereupon his master, seeing him do this, was all the more persuaded that he was mad.

He came to be a distinguished man; so much so that he is even mentioned by the comic poet Menander. At any rate in one of his plays, *The Groom*, his words are:

Μόνιμός τις ἦν ἄνθρωπος, ὦ Φίλων, σοφός,
ἀδοξότερος μικρῷ δ'. Α. ὁ τὴν πήραν ἔχων;
Β. πήρας μὲν οὖν τρεῖς· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος ῥῆμά τι
ἐφθέγξατ' οὐδὲν ἐμφερές, μὰ τὸν Δία,
τῷ γνῶθι σαυτόν, οὐδὲ τοῖς βοωμένοις
τούτοις, ὑπὲρ δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ προσαιτῶν καὶ ῥυπῶν·
τὸ γὰρ ὑποληφθὲν τῦφον εἶναι πᾶν ἔφη.

οὗτος μὲν ἐμβριθέστατος ἐγένετο, ὥστε δόξης μὲν καταφρονεῖν, πρὸς δ' ἀλήθειαν παρορμᾶν.

Γέγραφε δὲ παίγνια σπουδῇ λεληθυίᾳ μεμιγμένα καὶ Περὶ ὁρμῶν δύο καὶ Προτρεπτικόν.

Κεφ. δ'. ΟΝΗΣΙΚΡΙΤΟΣ

84 Ὀνησίκριτος· τοῦτον οἱ μὲν Αἰγινήτην, Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Μάγνης Ἀστυπαλαιᾶ φησιν εἶναι. καὶ οὗτος τῶν ἐλλογίμων Διογένους μαθητῶν. ἔοικε δέ τι ὅμοιον πεπονθέναι πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα. ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ Κύρῳ συνεστράτευσεν, οὗτος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· κἀκεῖνος μὲν Παιδείαν Κύρου, ὁ δὲ πῶς Ἀλέξανδρος ἤχθη γέγραφε· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐγκώμιον Κύρου, ὁ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου πεποίηκε. καὶ τῇ ἑρμηνείᾳ δὲ παραπλήσιος, πλὴν ὅτι ὡς ἀπόγραφος ἐξ ἀρχετύπου δευτερεύει.

Γέγονε καὶ Μένανδρος Διογένους μαθητής, ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Δρυμός, θαυμαστὴς Ὁμήρου, καὶ

One Monimus there was, a wise man, Philo,
But not so very famous.
A. He, you mean,
Who carried the scrip?
B. Nay, not one scrip, but three.
Yet never a word, so help me Zeus, spake he
To match the saying, Know thyself, nor such
Famed watchwords. Far beyond all these he went,
Your dusty mendicant, pronouncing wholly vain
All man's supposings.

Monimus indeed showed himself a very grave moralist, so that he ever despised mere opinion and sought only truth.

He has left us, besides some trifles blended with covert earnestness, two books, *On Impulses* and an *Exhortation to Philosophy*.

CHAPTER 4. ONESICRITUS (*flor.* 330 B.C.)

Onesicritus some report to have been an Aeginetan, but Demetrius of Magnesia says that he was a native of Astypalaea. He too was one of the distinguished pupils of Diogenes. His career seems to have resembled that of Xenophon; for Xenophon joined the expedition of Cyrus, Onesicritus that of Alexander; and the former wrote the *Cyropaedia, or Education of Cyrus*, while the latter has described how Alexander was educated: the one a laudation of Cyrus, the other of Alexander. And in their diction they are not unlike: except that Onesicritus, as is to be expected in an imitator, falls short of his model.

Amongst other pupils of Diogenes were Menander, who was nicknamed Drymus or "Oakwood," a great

Ἡγησίας Σινωπεὺς ὁ Κλοιὸς ἐπίκλην, καὶ Φιλίσκος ὁ Αἰγινήτης, ὡς προειρήκαμεν.

Κεφ. ε΄. ΚΡΑΤΗΣ

85 Κράτης Ἀσκώνδου Θηβαῖος. καὶ οὗτος τῶν ἐλλογίμων τοῦ κυνὸς μαθητῶν. Ἱππόβοτος δέ φησιν οὐ Διογένους αὐτὸν μαθητὴν γεγονέναι, ἀλλὰ Βρύσωνος τοῦ Ἀχαιοῦ. τούτου Παίγνια φέρεται τάδε·

Πήρη τις πόλις ἐστὶ μέσῳ ἐνὶ οἴνοπι τύφῳ,
καλὴ καὶ πίειρα, περίρρυπος, οὐδὲν ἔχουσα,
εἰς ἣν οὔτε τις εἰσπλεῖ ἀνὴρ μωρὸς παράσιτος,
οὔτε λίχνος πόρνης ἐπαγαλλόμενος πυγῇσιν·
ἀλλὰ θύμον καὶ σκόρδα φέρει καὶ σῦκα καὶ ἄρτους,
ἐξ ὧν οὐ πολεμοῦσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ τούτων,
οὐχ ὅπλα κέκτηνται περὶ κέρματος, οὐ περὶ δόξης.

86 Ἔστι καὶ ἐφημερὶς ἡ θρυλουμένη οὕτως ἔχουσα·

τίθει μαγείρῳ μνᾶς δέκ', ἰατρῷ δραχμήν,
κόλακι τάλαντα πέντε, συμβούλῳ καπνόν,
πόρνῃ τάλαντον, φιλοσόφῳ τριώβολον.

Ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Θυρεπανοίκτης διὰ τὸ εἰς πᾶσαν εἰσιέναι οἰκίαν καὶ νουθετεῖν· ἔστιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τόδε·

ταῦτ' ἔχω ὅσσ' ἔμαθον καὶ ἐφρόντισα καὶ μετὰ Μουσῶν
σέμν' ἐδάην· τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ὄλβια τῦφος ἔμαρψεν.

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[a] Not the same as Bryson of Heracleia, whom we know from the Platonic Epistles, from Aristotle, and from Athenaeus (xi. p. 508). He may, however, have been the

admirer of Homer; Hegesias of Sinope, nicknamed "Dog-collar"; and Philiscus of Aegina mentioned above.

Chapter 5. CRATES (of Thebes, *flor.* 326 B.C.)

Crates, son of Ascondas, was a Theban. He too was amongst the Cynic's famous pupils. Hippobotus, however, alleges that he was a pupil not of Diogenes, but of Bryson [a] the Achaean. The following playful lines are attributed to him [b]:

> There is a city Pera in the midst of wine-dark vapour,
> Fair, fruitful, passing squalid, owning nought,
> Into which sails nor fool nor parasite
> Nor glutton, slave of sensual appetite,
> But thyme it bears, garlic, and figs and loaves,
> For which things' sake men fight not each with other,
> Nor stand to arms for money or for fame.

There is also his widely circulated day-book, which runs as follows:

> Set down for the chef ten minas, for the doctor
> One drachma, for a flatterer talents five,
> For counsel smoke, for mercenary beauty
> A talent, for a philosopher three obols.

He was known as the "Door-opener"—the caller to whom all doors fly open—from his habit of entering every house and admonishing those within. Here is another specimen of his composition [c]:

> That much I have which I have learnt and thought,
> The noble lessons taught me by the Muses:
> But wealth amassed is prey to vanity.

disciple of Pythagoras mentioned by Iamblichus (*Vita Pyth.* c. 23).

[b] *Anth. Plan.* v. 13. [c] *Anth. Pal.* vii. 326.

καὶ ὅτι ἐκ φιλοσοφίας αὐτῷ περιγένοιτο

θέρμων τε χοῖνιξ καὶ τὸ μηδενὸς μέλειν.

φέρεται δ' αὐτοῦ κἀκεῖνο·

ἔρωτα παύει λιμός, εἰ δὲ μή, χρόνος·
ἐὰν δὲ τούτοις μὴ δύνῃ χρῆσθαι, βρόχος.

87 Ἤκμαζε δὲ κατὰ τὴν τρίτην καὶ δεκάτην καὶ ἑκατοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα.

Τοῦτόν φησιν Ἀντισθένης ἐν ταῖς Διαδοχαῖς θεασάμενον ἔν τινι τραγῳδίᾳ Τήλεφον σπυρίδιον ἔχοντα καὶ τἄλλα λυπρὸν ᾆξαι ἐπὶ τὴν κυνικὴν φιλοσοφίαν· ἐξαργυρισάμενόν τε τὴν οὐσίαν—καὶ γὰρ ἦν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν—ἀθροίσαντα πρὸς τὰ [ἑκατὸν] διακόσια τάλαντα, τοῖς πολίταις διανεῖμαι ταῦτα. αὐτὸν δὲ καρτερῶς οὕτω φιλοσοφεῖν ὡς καὶ Φιλήμονα τὸν κωμικὸν αὐτοῦ μεμνῆσθαι. φησὶ γοῦν·

καὶ τοῦ θέρους μὲν εἶχεν ἱμάτιον δασύ,
ἵν' ὡς Κράτης ᾖ, τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος ῥάκος.

φησὶ δὲ Διοκλῆς πεῖσαι αὐτὸν Διογένην τὴν οὐσίαν μηλόβοτον ἀνεῖναι καὶ εἴ τι ἀργύριον εἴη, εἰς θάλατταν βαλεῖν.

88 Καὶ Κράτητος μέν, φησίν, ὁ οἶκος ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου * * Ἱππαρχίας δὲ ὑπὸ Φιλίππου. πολλάκις τε τῇ βακτηρίᾳ τῶν συγγενῶν τινας προσιόντας καὶ ἀποτρέποντας ἐδίωκε καὶ ἦν γενναῖος. φησὶ δὲ Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης τραπεζίτῃ τινὶ παρακαταθέσθαι τἀργύριον, συνθέμενον, εἰ μὲν οἱ παῖδες ἰδιῶται γένοιντο, αὐτοῖς ἀποδοῦναι· εἰ δὲ

[a] *Anth. Pal.* ix. 497. [b] 328–324 B.C.

And again he says that what he has gained from philosophy is

> A quart of lupins and to care for no one.

This too is quoted as his [a]:

> Hunger stops love, or, if not hunger, Time,
> Or, failing both these means of help,—a halter.

He flourished in the 113th Olympiad.[b]

According to Antisthenes in his *Successions*, the first impulse to the Cynic philosophy was given to him when he saw Telephus in a certain tragedy carrying a little basket and altogether in a wretched plight. So he turned his property into money,—for he belonged to a distinguished family,—and having thus collected about 200 talents, distributed that sum among his fellow-citizens. And (it is added) so sturdy a philosopher did he become that he is mentioned by the comic poet Philemon. At all events the latter says:

> In summer-time a thick cloak he would wear
> To be like Crates, and in winter rags.

Diocles relates how Diogenes persuaded Crates to give up his fields to sheep pasture, and throw into the sea any money he had.

In the home of Crates Alexander is said to have lodged, as Philip once lived in Hipparchia's. Often, too, certain of his kinsmen would come to visit him and try to divert him from his purpose. These he would drive from him with his stick, and his resolution was unshaken. Demetrius of Magnesia tells a story that he entrusted a banker with a sum of money on condition that, if his sons proved ordinary men he was to pay it to them, but, if they became

φιλόσοφοι, τῷ δήμῳ διανεῖμαι· μηδενὸς γὰρ ἐκείνους δεήσεσθαι φιλοσοφοῦντας. Ἐρατοσθένης δέ φησιν, ἐξ Ἱππαρχίας, περὶ ἧς λέξομεν, γενομένου παιδὸς αὐτῷ ὄνομα Πασικλέους, ὅτ' ἐξ ἐφήβων ἐγένετο, ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπ' οἴκημα παιδίσκης καὶ φάναι τοῦτον αὐτῷ πατρῷον εἶναι τὸν
89 γάμον· τοὺς δὲ τῶν μοιχευόντων τραγικούς, φυγὰς <γὰρ> καὶ φόνους ἔχειν ἔπαθλον· τοὺς δὲ τῶν ἑταίραις προσιόντων κωμικούς· ἐξ ἀσωτίας γὰρ καὶ μέθης μανίαν ἀπεργάζεσθαι.

Τούτου γέγονε Πασικλῆς ἀδελφός, μαθητὴς Εὐκλείδου.

Χάριεν δ' αὐτοῦ Φαβωρῖνος ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων φέρει. φησὶ γάρ· παρακαλῶν περί του τὸν γυμνασίαρχον, τῶν ἰσχίων αὐτοῦ ἥπτετο· ἀγανακτοῦντος δέ, ἔφη, "τί γάρ; οὐχὶ καὶ ταῦτα σά ἐστι καθάπερ καὶ τὰ γόνατα;" ἔλεγέ τ' ἀδύνατον εἶναι ἀδιάπτωτον εὑρεῖν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν ῥοιᾷ καὶ σαπρόν τινα κόκκον εἶναι. Νικόδρομον ἐξερεθίσας τὸν κιθαρῳδὸν ὑπωπιάσθη· προσθεὶς οὖν πιττάκιον τῷ μετώπῳ ἐπέγραψε,
90 "Νικόδρομος ἐποίει." τὰς πόρνας ἐπίτηδες ἐλοιδόρει, συγγυμνάζων ἑαυτὸν πρὸς τὰς βλασφημίας.

Δημήτριον τὸν Φαληρέα πέμψαντα αὐτῷ ἄρτους καὶ οἶνον ὠνείδισεν εἰπών, "εἴθε γὰρ αἱ κρῆναι καὶ ἄρτους ἔφερον." δῆλον οὖν ὡς ὕδωρ ἔπινεν.

philosophers, then to distribute it among the people: for his sons would need nothing, if they took to philosophy. Eratosthenes tells us that by Hipparchia, of whom we shall presently speak, he had a son born to him named Pasicles, and after he had ceased to be a cadet on service, Crates took him to a brothel and told him that was how his father had married. The marriage of intrigue and adultery, he said, belonged to tragedy, having exile or assassination as its rewards; while the weddings of those who take up with courtesans are material for comedy, for as a result of extravagance and drunkenness they bring about madness.

This man had a brother named Pasicles, who was a disciple of Euclides.

Favorinus, in the second book of his *Memorabilia*, tells a pleasant story of Crates. For he relates how, when making some request of the master of the gymnasium, he laid hold on his hips; and when he demurred, said, "What, are not these hip-joints yours as much as your knees?" It was, he used to say, impossible to find anybody wholly free from flaws; but, just as in a pomegranate, one of the seeds is always going bad. Having exasperated the musician Nicodromus, he was struck by him on the face. So he stuck a plaster on his forehead with these words on it, "Nicodromus's handiwork." He carried on a regular campaign of invective against the courtesans, habituating himself to meet their abuse.

When Demetrius of Phalerum sent him loaves of bread and some wine, he reproached him, saying, "Oh that the springs yielded bread as well as water!" It is clear, then, that he was a water-drinker. When

ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἀστυνόμων ἐπιτιμηθεὶς ὅτι σινδόνα ἠμφίεστο, ἔφη, "καὶ Θεόφραστον ὑμῖν δείξω σινδόνα περιβεβλημένον·" ἀπιστούντων δέ, ἀπήγαγεν ἐπὶ κουρεῖον καὶ ἔδειξε κειρόμενον. ἐν Θήβαις ὑπὸ τοῦ γυμνασιάρχου μαστιγωθείς—οἱ δέ, ἐν Κορίνθῳ ὑπ' Εὐθυκράτους—καὶ ἑλκόμενος τοῦ ποδὸς ἐπέλεγεν ἀφροντιστῶν,

ἕλκε ποδὸς τεταγὼν διὰ βηλοῦ θεσπεσίοιο.

91 Διοκλῆς δέ φησιν ἑλχθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Μενεδήμου τοῦ Ἐρετρικοῦ. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εὐπρεπὴς ἦν καὶ ἐδόκει χρησιμεύειν Ἀσκληπιάδῃ τῷ Φλιασίῳ, ἁψάμενος αὐτοῦ τῶν μηρῶν ὁ Κράτης ἔφη, "ἔνδον Ἀσκληπιάδης." ἐφ' ᾧ δυσχεράναντα τὸν Μενέδημον ἕλκειν αὐτόν, τὸν δὲ τοῦτο ἐπιλέγειν.

Ζήνων δ' αὖ ὁ Κιτιεὺς ἐν ταῖς Χρείαις καὶ κώδιον αὐτόν φησί ποτε προσράψαι τῷ τρίβωνι ἀνεπιστρεπτοῦντα. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν αἰσχρὸς καὶ γυμναζόμενος ἐγελᾶτο. εἰώθει δὲ λέγειν ἐπαίρων τὰς χεῖρας, "θάρρει, Κράτης, ὑπὲρ ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ
92 τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος· τούτους δ' ὄψει τοὺς καταγελῶντας, ἤδη καὶ συνεσπασμένους ὑπὸ νόσου καί σε μακαρίζοντας, αὐτοὺς δὲ καταμεμφομένους ἐπὶ τῇ ἀργίᾳ." ἔλεγε δὲ μέχρι τούτου δεῖν φιλοσοφεῖν, μέχρι ἂν δόξωσιν οἱ στρατηγοὶ εἶναι ὀνηλάται. ἐρήμους ἔλεγε τοὺς μετὰ κολάκων ὄντας ὥσπερ τοὺς μόσχους ἐπειδὰν μετὰ λύκων ὦσιν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐκείνοις τοὺς προσήκοντας οὔτε τούτοις συνεῖναι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας. συν-

[a] Hom. *Il.* i. 591.

the police-inspectors found fault with him for wearing muslin, his answer was, "I'll show you that Theophrastus also wears muslin." This they would not believe: so he led them to a barber's shop and showed them Theophrastus being shaved. At Thebes he was flogged by the master of the gymnasium—another version being that it was by Euthycrates and at Corinth; and being dragged by the heels, he called out, as if it did not affect him [a]:

Seized by the foot and dragged o'er heaven's high threshold:

Diocles, however, says that it was by Menedemus of Eretria that he was thus dragged. For he being handsome and being thought to be intimate with Asclepiades the Phliasian, Crates slapped him on the side with a brutal taunt; whereupon Menedemus, full of indignation, dragged him along, and he declaimed as above.

Zeno of Citium in his *Anecdotes* relates that in a fit of heedlessness he sewed a sheepskin to his cloak. He was ugly to look at, and when performing his gymnastic exercises used to be laughed at. He was accustomed to say, raising his hands, "Take heart, Crates, for it is for the good of your eyes and of the rest of your body. You will see these men, who are laughing at you, tortured before long by disease, counting you happy, and reproaching themselves for their sluggishness." He used to say that we should study philosophy to the point of seeing in generals nothing but donkey-drivers. Those who live with flatterers he declared to be as defenceless as calves in the midst of wolves; for neither these nor those have any to protect them, but only such as plot against them. Perceiving that he was

αἰσθανόμενος ὅτι ἀποθνήσκει, ἐπῇδε πρὸς ἑαυτὸν λέγων,

> στείχεις δή, φίλε κυρτών,
> βαίνεις τ' εἰς 'Αΐδαο δόμους κυφὸς διὰ γῆρας.

ἦν γὰρ κυφὸς ὑπὸ χρόνου.

93 Πρὸς 'Αλέξανδρον πυθόμενον εἰ βούλεται αὐτοῦ τὴν πατρίδα ἀνορθωθῆναι, ἔφη, "καὶ τί δεῖ; πάλιν γὰρ ἴσως 'Αλέξανδρος ἄλλος αὐτὴν κατασκάψει." ἔχειν δὲ πατρίδα ἀδοξίαν καὶ πενίαν ἀνάλωτα τῇ τύχῃ καὶ Διογένους εἶναι πολίτης ἀνεπιβουλεύτου φθόνῳ. μέμνηται δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ Μένανδρος ἐν Διδύμαις οὕτως·

> συμπεριπατήσεις γὰρ τρίβων' ἔχουσ' ἐμοί,
> ὥσπερ Κράτητι τῷ κυνικῷ ποθ' ἡ γυνή,
> καὶ θυγατέρ' ἐξέδωκ' ἐκεῖνος, ὡς ἔφη
> αὐτός, ἐπὶ πείρᾳ δοὺς τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας.

Μαθηταὶ δ' αὐτοῦ.

Κεφ. ϛ'. ΜΗΤΡΟΚΛΗΣ

94 Μητροκλῆς ὁ Μαρωνείτης, ἀδελφὸς Ἱππαρχίας, ὃς πρότερον ἀκούων Θεοφράστου τοῦ περιπατητικοῦ τοσοῦτον διέφθαρτο, ὥστε ποτὲ μελετῶν καὶ μεταξύ πως ἀποπαρδὼν ὑπ' ἀθυμίας οἴκοι κατάκλειστος ἦν, ἀποκαρτερεῖν βουλόμενος. μαθὼν δὴ ὁ Κράτης εἰσῆλθε πρὸς αὐτὸν παρακληθεὶς καὶ θέρμους ἐπίτηδες βεβρωκὼς ἔπειθε μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ διὰ τῶν λόγων μηδὲν φαῦλον πεποιηκέναι· τέρας γὰρ ἂν γεγονέναι εἰ μὴ καὶ τὰ πνεύματα κατὰ φύσιν

dying, he would chant over himself this charm, "You are going, dear hunchback, you are off to the house of Hades,—bent crooked by old age." For his years had bowed him down.

When Alexander inquired whether he would like his native city to be rebuilt, his answer was, "Why should it be? Perhaps another Alexander will destroy it again." Ignominy and Poverty he declared to be his country, which Fortune could never take captive. He was, he said, a fellow-citizen of Diogenes, who defied all the plots of envy. Menander alludes to him in the *Twin Sisters* in the following lines:

> Wearing a cloak you'll go about with me,
> As once with Cynic Crates went his wife:
> His daughter too, as he himself declared,
> He gave in marriage for a month on trial.

We come now to his pupils.

Chapter 6. METROCLES (*c.* 300 B.C.)

Metrocles of Maroneia was the brother of Hipparchia. He had been formerly a pupil of Theophrastus the Peripatetic, and had been so far corrupted by weakness that, when he made a breach of good manners in the course of rehearsing a speech, it drove him to despair, and he shut himself up at home, intending to starve himself to death. On learning this Crates came to visit him as he had been asked to do, and after advisedly making a meal of lupins, he tried to persuade him by argument as well that he had committed no crime, for a prodigy would have happened if he had not taken the natural means of relieving

ἀπεκρίνετο· τέλος δὲ καὶ ἀποπαρδὼν αὐτὸν ἀνέρρωσεν, ἀφ' ὁμοιότητος τῶν ἔργων παραμυθησάμενος. τοὐντεῦθεν ἤκουεν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐγένετο ἀνὴρ ἱκανὸς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ.

95 Οὗτος τὰ ἑαυτοῦ συγγράμματα κατακαίων, ὥς φησιν Ἑκάτων ἐν πρώτῳ Χρειῶν, ἐπέλεγε·

τάδ' ἔστ' ὀνείρων νερτέρων φαντάσματα,

[οἷον λῆρος]· οἱ δ', ὅτι τὰς Θεοφράστου ἀκροάσεις καταφλέγων ἐπέλεγε,

Ἥφαιστε, πρόμολ' ὧδε, Θέτις νύ τι σεῖο χατίζει.

οὗτος ἔλεγε τῶν πραγμάτων τὰ μὲν ἀργυρίου ὠνητὰ εἶναι, οἷον οἰκίαν· τὰ δὲ χρόνου καὶ ἐπιμελείας, ὡς παιδείαν. τὸν πλοῦτον βλαβερόν, εἰ μή τις ἀξίως αὐτῷ χρῷτο.

Ἐτελεύτα δὲ ὑπὸ γήρως ἑαυτὸν πνίξας.

Μαθηταὶ δ' αὐτοῦ Θεόμβροτος καὶ Κλεομένης, Θεομβρότου Δημήτριος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεύς, Κλεομένους Τίμαρχος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς καὶ Ἐχεκλῆς Ἐφέσιος· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἐχεκλῆς Θεομβρότου διήκουσεν, οὗ Μενέδημος, περὶ οὗ λέξομεν. ἐγένετο καὶ Μένιππος Σινωπεὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐπιφανής.

Κεφ. ζʹ. ΙΠΠΑΡΧΙΑ

96 Ἐθηράθη δὲ τοῖς λόγοις καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ τοῦ Μητροκλέους Ἱππαρχία. Μαρωνεῖται δ' ἦσαν ἀμφότεροι.

Καὶ ἤρα τοῦ Κράτητος καὶ τῶν λόγων καὶ τοῦ βίου, οὐδενὸς τῶν μνηστευομένων ἐπιστρεφομένη,

himself. At last by reproducing the action he succeeded in lifting him from his dejection, using for his consolation the likeness of the occurrences. From that time forward Metrocles was his pupil, and became proficient in philosophy.

Hecato in the first book of his *Anecdotes* tells us he burned his compositions with the words [a]:

> Phantoms are these of dreams o' the world below.

Others say that when he set fire to his notes of Theophrastus's lectures, he added the line:

> Come hither, Hephaestus, Thetis now needeth thee.

He divided things into such as are procurable for money, like a house, and such as can be procured by time and trouble, like education. Wealth, he said, is harmful, unless we put it to a worthy use.

He died of old age, having choked himself.

His disciples were Theombrotus and Cleomenes: Theombrotus had for his pupil Demetrius of Alexandria, while Cleomenes instructed Timarchus of Alexandria and Echecles of Ephesus. Not but what Echecles also heard Theombrotus, whose lectures were attended by Menedemus, of whom we shall speak presently. Menippus of Sinope also became renowned amongst them.

Chapter 7. HIPPARCHIA (*c.* 300 B.C.)

Hipparchia too, sister of Metrocles, was captured by their doctrines. Both of them were born at Maroneia.

She fell in love with the discourses and the life of Crates, and would not pay attention to any of her

[a] Nauck, *T.G.F.*², *Adesp.* 285.

οὐ πλούτου, οὐκ εὐγενείας, οὐ κάλλους· ἀλλὰ πάντ' ἦν Κράτης αὐτῇ. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἠπείλει τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἀναιρήσειν αὑτήν, εἰ μὴ τούτῳ δοθείη. Κράτης μὲν οὖν παρακαλούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων αὐτῆς ἀποτρέψαι τὴν παῖδα, πάντ' ἐποίει, καὶ τέλος μὴ πείθων, ἀναστὰς καὶ ἀποθέμενος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκευὴν ἀντικρὺ αὐτῆς ἔφη, "ὁ μὲν νυμφίος οὗτος, ἡ δὲ κτῆσις αὕτη, πρὸς ταῦτα βουλεύου"· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔσεσθαι κοινωνόν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων γενηθείη.

97 Εἵλετο ἡ παῖς καὶ ταὐτὸν ἀναλαβοῦσα σχῆμα συμπεριῄει τἀνδρὶ καὶ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ συνεγίνετο καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ δεῖπνα ἀπῄει. ὅτε καὶ πρὸς Λυσίμαχον εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ἦλθεν, ἔνθα Θεόδωρον τὸν ἐπίκλην Ἄθεον ἐπήλεγξε, σόφισμα προτείνασα τοιοῦτον· ὃ ποιῶν Θεόδωρος οὐκ ἂν ἀδικεῖν λέγοιτο, οὐδ' Ἱππαρχία ποιοῦσα τοῦτο ἀδικεῖν λέγοιτ' ἄν· Θεόδωρος δὲ τύπτων ἑαυτὸν οὐκ ἀδικεῖ, οὐδ' ἄρα Ἱππαρχία Θεόδωρον τύπτουσα ἀδικεῖ. ὁ δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὸ λεχθὲν οὐδὲν ἀπήντησεν, ἀνέσυρε δ' αὐτῆς θοἰμάτιον· ἀλλ' οὔτε κατεπλάγη Ἱππαρχία οὔτε
98 διεταράχθη ὡς γυνή. ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰπόντος αὐτῇ,

αὕτη 'στὶν ἡ τὰς παρ' ἱστοῖς ἐκλιποῦσα κερκίδας;[a]

"ἐγώ," φησίν, "εἰμί, Θεόδωρε· ἀλλὰ μὴ κακῶς σοι δοκῶ βεβουλεῦσθαι περὶ αὑτῆς, εἰ, τὸν χρόνον ὃν ἔμελλον ἱστοῖς προσαναλώσειν, τοῦτον εἰς παιδείαν κατεχρησάμην;" καὶ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἄλλα μυρία τῆς φιλοσόφου.

Φέρεται δὲ τοῦ Κράτητος βιβλίον Ἐπιστολαί,

[a] Eur. *Bacch.* 1236.

suitors, their wealth, their high birth or their beauty. But to her Crates was everything. She used even to threaten her parents she would make away with herself, unless she were given in marriage to him. Crates therefore was implored by her parents to dissuade the girl, and did all he could, and at last, failing to persuade her, got up, took off his clothes before her face and said, " This is the bridegroom, here are his possessions ; make your choice accordingly ; for you will be no helpmeet of mine, unless you share my pursuits."

The girl chose and, adopting the same dress, went about with her husband and lived with him in public and went out to dinners with him. Accordingly she appeared at the banquet given by Lysimachus, and there put down Theodorus, known as the atheist, by means of the following sophism. Any action which would not be called wrong if done by Theodorus, would not be called wrong if done by Hipparchia. Now Theodorus does no wrong when he strikes himself : therefore neither does Hipparchia do wrong when she strikes Theodorus. He had no reply wherewith to meet the argument, but tried to strip her of her cloak. But Hipparchia showed no sign of alarm or of the perturbation natural in a woman. And when he said to her :

" Is this she
Who quitting woof and warp and comb and loom ?" [a]

she replied, " It is I, Theodorus,—but do you suppose that I have been ill advised about myself, if instead of wasting further time upon the loom I spent it in education ? " These tales and countless others are told of the female philosopher.

There is current a work of Crates entitled *Epistles*,

ἐν αἷς ἄριστα φιλοσοφεῖ, τὴν λέξιν ἔστιν ὅτε παραπλήσιος Πλάτωνι. γέγραφε καὶ τραγῳδίας ὑψηλότατον ἐχούσας φιλοσοφίας χαρακτῆρα, οἷόν ἐστι κἀκεῖνο·

> οὐχ εἷς πάτρας μοι πύργος, οὐ μία στέγη,
> πάσης δὲ χέρσου καὶ πόλισμα καὶ δόμος
> ἕτοιμος ἡμῖν ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι πάρα.

Ἐτελεύτησε δὲ γηραιὸς καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ.

Κεφ. η΄. ΜΕΝΙΠΠΟΣ

99 Μένιππος, καὶ οὗτος κυνικός, τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἦν Φοῖνιξ, δοῦλος, ὥς φησιν Ἀχαϊκὸς ἐν Ἠθικοῖς. Διοκλῆς δὲ καὶ τὸν δεσπότην αὐτοῦ Ποντικὸν εἶναι καὶ Βάτωνα καλεῖσθαι. ἀτηρότερον δ᾽ αἰτῶν ὑπὸ φιλαργυρίας ἴσχυσε Θηβαῖος γενέσθαι.

Φέρει μὲν οὖν σπουδαῖον οὐδέν· τὰ δὲ βιβλία αὐτοῦ πολλοῦ καταγέλωτος γέμει καί τι ἴσον τοῖς Μελεάγρου τοῦ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν γενομένου.

Φησὶ δ᾽ Ἕρμιππος ἡμεροδανειστὴν αὐτὸν γεγονέναι καὶ καλεῖσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ναυτικῷ τόκῳ δανείζειν καὶ ἐξενεχυριάζειν, ὥστε πάμπλειστα χρή-
100 ματα ἀθροίζειν· τέλος δ᾽ ἐπιβουλευθέντα πάντων στερηθῆναι καὶ ὑπ᾽ ἀθυμίας βρόχῳ τὸν βίον μεταλλάξαι. καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπαίξαμεν εἰς αὐτόν·

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[a] Nauck, *T.G.F.*[2], *Crat.* i. p. 810.

[b] "Menippus ille, nobilis quidem canis," Varro *apud* Nonium 333. *Cf.* Lucian, *Icaromenippus* 15, *Bis Accusatus* 33. Varro's *Saturae Menippeae*, a mixture of prose and verse,

containing excellent philosophy in a style which sometimes resembles that of Plato. He has also written tragedies, stamped with a very lofty kind of philosophy; as, for example, the following passage[a]:

> Not one tower hath my country nor one roof,
> But wide as the whole earth its citadel
> And home prepared for us to dwell therein.

He died in old age, and was buried in Boeotia.

Chapter 8. MENIPPUS

Menippus,[b] also a Cynic, was by descent a Phoenician—a slave, as Achaïcus in his treatise on *Ethics* says. Diocles further informs us that his master was a citizen of Pontus and was named Baton. But as avarice made him very resolute in begging, he succeeded in becoming a Theban.

There is no seriousness[c] in him; but his books overflow with laughter, much the same as those of his contemporary Meleager.[d]

Hermippus says that he lent out money by the day and got a nickname from doing so. For he used to make loans on bottomry and take security, thus accumulating a large fortune. At last, however, he fell a victim to a plot, was robbed of all, and in despair ended his days by hanging himself. I have composed a trifle upon him[e]:

were an imitation of the style of Menippus, although their subject matter was original and genuinely Roman.

[c] Strabo, however (xvi. p. 759), speaks of him as σπουδογέλοιος.

[d] For a fragment from his *Banquet* see Athenaeus 502 c.

[e] *Anth. Plan.* v. 41.

Φοίνικα τὸ γένος, ἀλλὰ Κρητικὸν κύνα,
ἡμεροδανειστήν—τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπεκλήζετο—
οἶσθα Μένιππον ἴσως.
Θήβησιν οὗτος ὡς διωρύγη ποτὲ
καὶ πάντ' ἀπέβαλεν οὐδ' ἐνόει φύσιν κυνός,
αὑτὸν ἀνεκρέμασεν.

Ἔνιοι δὲ τὰ βιβλί' αὐτοῦ οὐκ αὐτοῦ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ Διονυσίου καὶ Ζωπύρου τῶν Κολοφωνίων, οἳ τοῦ παίζειν ἕνεκα συγγράφοντες ἐδίδοσαν αὐτῷ ὡς εὖ δυναμένῳ διαθέσθαι.

101 Γεγόνασι δὲ Μένιπποι ἕξ· πρῶτος ὁ γράψας τὰ περὶ Λυδῶν καὶ Ξάνθον ἐπιτεμόμενος, δεύτερος αὐτὸς οὗτος, τρίτος Στρατονικεὺς σοφιστής, Κὰρ τὸ ἀνέκαθεν· τέταρτος ἀνδριαντοποιός, πέμπτος καὶ ἕκτος ζωγράφοι· μέμνηται δ' ἀμφοτέρων Ἀπολλόδωρος.

Τὰ δ' οὖν τοῦ κυνικοῦ βιβλία ἐστὶ δεκατρία,

Νέκυια.
Διαθῆκαι.
Ἐπιστολαὶ κεκομψευμέναι ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν θεῶν προσώπου.
Πρὸς τοὺς φυσικοὺς καὶ μαθηματικοὺς καὶ γραμματικοὺς καὶ
Γονὰς Ἐπικούρου καὶ
Τὰς θρησκευομένας ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἰκάδας.

καὶ ἄλλα.

Κεφ. θ'. ΜΕΝΕΔΗΜΟΣ

102 Μενέδημος Κωλώτου τοῦ Λαμψακηνοῦ μαθητής. οὗτος, καθά φησιν Ἱππόβοτος, εἰς τοσοῦτον

[a] *Cf.* Cic. *Brut.* 91, § 315 "post a me tota Asia peragrata est, ⟨fuique⟩ cum summis quidem oratoribus, quibus-

May be, you know Menippus,
Phoenician by birth, but a Cretan hound:
A money-lender by the day—so he was called—
At Thebes when once on a time his house was broken into
And he lost his all, not understanding what it is to be a Cynic,
He hanged himself.

Some authorities question the genuineness of the books attributed to him, alleging them to be by Dionysius and Zopyrus of Colophon, who, writing them for a joke, made them over to Menippus as a person able to dispose of them advantageously.

There have been six men named Menippus: the first the man who wrote a History of the Lydians and abridged Xanthus; the second my present subject; the third a sophist of Stratonicea, a Carian by descent[a]; the fourth a sculptor; the fifth and sixth painters, both mentioned by Apollodorus.

However, the writings of Menippus the Cynic are thirteen in number:

Necromancy.
Wills.
Epistles artificially composed as if by the gods.
Replies to the physicists and mathematicians and grammarians; and
A book about the birth of Epicurus; and
The School's reverence for the twentieth day.

Besides other works.

Chapter 9. MENEDEMUS

Menedemus was a pupil of Colotes of Lampsacus. According to Hippobotus he had attained such a

cum exercebar ipsis lubentibus; quorum erat princeps Menippus Stratonicensis meo iudicio tota Asia illis temporibus disertissimus," and Strabo xvi. 660.

τερατείας ἤλασεν ὥστε Ἐρινύος ἀναλαβὼν σχῆμα περιῄει, λέγων ἐπίσκοπος ἀφῖχθαι ἐξ ᾅδου τῶν ἁμαρτανομένων, ὅπως πάλιν κατιὼν ταῦτα ἀπαγγέλλοι τοῖς ἐκεῖ δαίμοσιν. ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ ἐσθὴς αὕτη· χιτὼν φαιὸς ποδήρης, περὶ αὐτῷ ζώνη φοινικῆ, πῖλος Ἀρκαδικὸς ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχων ἐνυφασμένα τὰ δώδεκα στοιχεῖα, ἐμβάται τραγικοί, πώγων ὑπερμεγέθης, ῥάβδος ἐν τῇ χειρὶ μειλίνη.

103 Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οἱ βίοι τῶν κυνικῶν ἑκάστου. προσυπογράψομεν δὲ καὶ τὰ κοινῇ ἀρέσκοντα αὐτοῖς, αἵρεσιν καὶ ταύτην εἶναι ἐγκρίνοντες τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, οὐ, καθά φασί τινες, ἔνστασιν βίου. ἀρέσκει οὖν αὐτοῖς τὸν λογικὸν καὶ τὸν φυσικὸν τόπον περιαιρεῖν, ἐμφερῶς Ἀρίστωνι τῷ Χίῳ, μόνῳ δὲ προσέχειν τῷ ἠθικῷ. καὶ ὅπερ τινὲς ἐπὶ Σωκράτους, τοῦτο Διοκλῆς ἐπὶ Διογένους ἀναγράφει, τοῦτον φάσκων λέγειν, Δεῖ ζητεῖν

ὅττι τοι ἐν μεγάροισι κακόν τ' ἀγαθόν τε τέτυκται.[a]

παραιτοῦνται δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐγκύκλια μαθήματα. γράμματα γοῦν μὴ μανθάνειν ἔφασκεν ὁ Ἀντισθένης τοὺς σώφρονας γενομένους, ἵνα μὴ δια-
104 στρέφοιντο τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις. περιαιροῦσι δὲ καὶ γεωμετρίαν καὶ μουσικὴν καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα. ὁ γοῦν Διογένης πρὸς τὸν ἐπιδεικνύντα αὐτῷ ὡροσκοπεῖον, "χρήσιμον," ἔφη, "τὸ ἔργον πρὸς τὸ μὴ ὑστερῆσαι δείπνου." πρὸς τὸν ἐπιδεικνύμενον αὐτῷ μουσικὸν ἔφη·

γνώμαις γὰρ ἀνδρῶν εὖ μὲν οἰκοῦνται πόλεις,
εὖ δ' οἶκος, οὐ ψαλμοῖσι καὶ τερετίσμασιν.[b]

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[a] Hom. *Od.* iv. 392.

[b] *Cf.* Eur. *Antiope*, Frag. 205 Dind.

degree of audacity in wonder-working that he went about in the guise of a Fury, saying that he had come from Hades to take cognisance of sins committed, and was going to return and report them to the powers down below. This was his attire : a grey tunic reaching to the feet, about it a crimson girdle ; an Arcadian hat on his head with the twelve signs of the zodiac inwrought in it ; buskins of tragedy ; and he wore a very long beard and carried an ashen staff in his hand.

Such are the lives of the several Cynics. But we will go on to append the doctrines which they held in common—if, that is, we decide that Cynicism is really a philosophy, and not, as some maintain, just a way of life. They are content then, like Ariston of Chios, to do away with the subjects of Logic and Physics and to devote their whole attention to Ethics. And what some assert of Socrates, Diocles records of Diogenes, representing him as saying : "We must inquire into

Whate'er of good or ill within our halls is wrought." [a]

They also dispense with the ordinary subjects of instruction. At least Antisthenes used to say that those who had attained discretion had better not study literature, lest they should be perverted by alien influences. So they get rid of geometry and music and all such studies. Anyhow, when somebody showed Diogenes a clock, he pronounced it a serviceable instrument to save one from being late for dinner. Again, to a man who gave a musical recital before him he said [b] :

By men's minds states are ordered well, and households,
Not by the lyre's twanged strings or flute's trilled notes.

Ἀρέσκει δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τέλος εἶναι τὸ κατ' ἀρετὴν ζῆν, ὡς Ἀντισθένης φησὶν ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, ὁμοίως τοῖς στωικοῖς· ἐπεὶ καὶ κοινωνία τις ταῖς δύο ταύταις αἱρέσεσίν ἐστιν. ὅθεν καὶ τὸν κυνισμὸν εἰρήκασι σύντομον ἐπ' ἀρετὴν ὁδόν. καὶ οὕτως ἐβίω καὶ Ζήνων ὁ Κιτιεύς.

Ἀρέσκει δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ λιτῶς βιοῦν, αὐτάρκεσι χρωμένοις σιτίοις καὶ τρίβωσι μόνοις, πλούτου καὶ δόξης καὶ εὐγενείας καταφρονοῦσιν. ἔνιοι[1] γοῦν καὶ βοτάναις καὶ παντάπασιν ὕδατι χρῶνται ψυχρῷ σκέπαις τε ταῖς τυχούσαις καὶ πίθοις, καθάπερ Διογένης, ὃς ἔφασκε θεῶν μὲν ἴδιον εἶναι μηδενὸς δεῖσθαι, τῶν δὲ θεοῖς ὁμοίων τὸ ὀλίγων χρῄζειν.

105 Ἀρέσκει δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν διδακτὴν εἶναι, καθά φησιν Ἀντισθένης ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, καὶ ἀναπόβλητον ὑπάρχειν· ἀξιέραστόν τε τὸν σοφὸν καὶ ἀναμάρτητον καὶ φίλον τῷ ὁμοίῳ, τύχῃ τε μηδὲν ἐπιτρέπειν. τὰ δὲ μεταξὺ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας ἀδιάφορα λέγουσιν ὁμοίως Ἀρίστωνι τῷ Χίῳ.

Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οἱ κυνικοί· μετιτέον δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς στωικούς, ὧν ἦρξε Ζήνων, μαθητὴς γενόμενος Κράτητος.

[1] ἔνιοί τε codd.: ἐνιότε Reiske.

They hold further that " Life according to Virtue " is the End to be sought, as Antisthenes says in his *Heracles* : exactly like the Stoics. For indeed there is a certain close relationship between the two schools. Hence it has been said that Cynicism is a short cut to virtue ; and after the same pattern did Zeno of Citium live his life.

They also hold that we should live frugally, eating food for nourishment only and wearing a single garment. Wealth and fame and high birth they despise. Some at all events are vegetarians and drink cold water only and are content with any kind of shelter or tubs, like Diogenes, who used to say that it was the privilege of the gods to need nothing and of god-like men to want but little.

They hold, further, that virtue can be taught, as Antisthenes maintains in his *Heracles*, and when once acquired cannot be lost ; and that the wise man is worthy to be loved, impeccable, and a friend to his like ; and that we should entrust nothing to fortune. Whatever is intermediate between Virtue and Vice they, in agreement with Ariston of Chios, account indifferent.

So much, then, for the Cynics. We must now pass on to the Stoics, whose founder was Zeno, a disciple of Crates.

ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ Ζ

Κεφ. α'. ΖΗΝΩΝ

1 Ζήνων Μνασέου ἢ Δημέου Κιτιεὺς ἀπὸ Κύπρου, πολίσματος Ἑλληνικοῦ, Φοίνικας ἐποίκους ἐσχηκότος.

Τὸν τράχηλον ἐπὶ θάτερα νενευκὼς ἦν, ὥς φησι Τιμόθεος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ βίων· καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος δέ φησιν ὁ Τύριος ὅτι ἰσχνὸς ἦν, ὑπομήκης, μελάγχρους—ὅθεν τις αὐτὸν εἶπεν Αἰγυπτίαν κληματίδα, καθά φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν πρώτῳ Παροιμιῶν—παχύκνημός τε καὶ ἀπαγὴς καὶ ἀσθενής· διὸ καί φησι Περσαῖος ἐν Ὑπομνήμασι συμποτικοῖς τὰ πλεῖστα αὐτὸν δεῖπνα παραιτεῖσθαι. ἔχαιρε δέ, φασί, σύκοις χλωροῖς καὶ ἡλιοκαΐαις.

2 Διήκουσε δέ, καθὰ προείρηται, Κράτητος· εἶτα καὶ Στίλπωνος ἀκοῦσαί φασιν αὐτὸν καὶ Ξενοκράτους ἔτη δέκα, ὡς Τιμοκράτης ἐν τῷ Δίωνι· ἀλλὰ καὶ Πολέμωνος. Ἑκάτων δέ φησι καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Τύριος ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ Ζήνωνος, χρηστηριασαμένου[1] αὐτοῦ τί πράττων ἄριστα βιώσεται, ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸν θεόν, εἰ συγχρωτίζοιτο τοῖς νεκροῖς· ὅθεν ξυνέντα τὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀναγινώσκειν. τῷ οὖν Κράτητι παρέβαλε τοῦτον

[1] χρηστηριαζομένου PFD Cobet.

BOOK VII

Chapter 1. ZENO (333–261 B.C.)

Zeno, the son of Mnaseas (or Demeas), was a native of Citium in Cyprus, a Greek city which had received Phoenician settlers. He had a wry neck, says Timotheus of Athens in his book *On Lives*. Moreover, Apollonius of Tyre says he was lean, fairly tall, and swarthy—hence some one called him an Egyptian vine-branch, according to Chrysippus in the first book of his *Proverbs*. He had thick legs; he was flabby and delicate. Hence Persaeus in his *Convivial Reminiscences* relates that he declined most invitations to dinner. They say he was fond of eating green figs and of basking in the sun.

He was a pupil of Crates, as stated above. Next they say he attended the lectures of Stilpo and Xenocrates for ten years—so Timocrates says in his *Dion*—and Polemo as well. It is stated by Hecato and by Apollonius of Tyre in his first book on Zeno that he consulted the oracle to know what he should do to attain the best life, and that the god's response was that he should take on the complexion of the dead. Whereupon, perceiving what this meant, he studied ancient authors. Now the way he came

τὸν τρόπον. πορφύραν ἐμπεπορευμένος ἀπὸ τῆς Φοινίκης πρὸς τῷ Πειραιεῖ ἐναυάγησεν. ἀνελθὼν δ' εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἤδη τριακοντούτης ἐκάθισε παρά τινα βιβλιοπώλην. ἀναγινώσκοντος δ' ἐκείνου τὸ δεύτερον τῶν Ξενοφῶντος Ἀπομνημονευμάτων, ἡσθεὶς ἐπύθετο ποῦ διατρίβοιεν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἄνδρες.
3 εὐκαίρως δὲ παριόντος Κράτητος, ὁ βιβλιοπώλης δείξας αὐτόν φησι, "τούτῳ παρακολούθησον." ἐντεῦθεν ἤκουσε τοῦ Κράτητος, ἄλλως μὲν εὔτονος ‹ὢν›[1] πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν, αἰδήμων δὲ ὡς πρὸς τὴν Κυνικὴν ἀναισχυντίαν. ὅθεν ὁ Κράτης βουλόμενος αὐτὸν[2] καὶ τοῦτο θεραπεῦσαι δίδωσι χύτραν φακῆς διὰ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ φέρειν. ἐπεὶ δ' εἶδεν αὐτὸν αἰδούμενον καὶ παρακαλύπτοντα, παίσας τῇ βακτηρίᾳ κατάγνυσι τὴν χύτραν· φεύγοντος δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς φακῆς κατὰ τῶν σκελῶν ῥεούσης, φησὶν ὁ Κράτης, "τί φεύγεις, Φοινικίδιον; οὐδὲν δεινὸν πέπονθας."

4 Ἕως μὲν οὖν τινὸς ἤκουσε τοῦ Κράτητος· ὅτε καὶ τὴν Πολιτείαν αὐτοῦ γράψαντος, τινὲς ἔλεγον παίζοντες ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ κυνὸς οὐρᾶς αὐτὴν γεγραφέναι. γέγραφε δὲ πρὸς τῇ Πολιτείᾳ καὶ τάδε·

Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν βίου.
Περὶ ὁρμῆς ἢ περὶ ἀνθρώπου φύσεως.
Περὶ παθῶν.
Περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος.

[1] ὢν add. Richards. [2] αὐτοῦ F Cobet.

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[a] Cynosura, Dog's Tail, like Dog's Head, Cynoscephalus,

across Crates was this. He was shipwrecked on a voyage from Phoenicia to Peiraeus with a cargo of purple. He went up into Athens and sat down in a bookseller's shop, being then a man of thirty. As he went on reading the second book of Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, he was so pleased that he inquired where men like Socrates were to be found. Crates passed by in the nick of time, so the bookseller pointed to him and said, "Follow yonder man." From that day he became Crates's pupil, showing in other respects a strong bent for philosophy, though with too much native modesty to assimilate Cynic shamelessness. Hence Crates, desirous of curing this defect in him, gave him a potful of lentil-soup to carry through the Ceramicus; and when he saw that he was ashamed and tried to keep it out of sight, with a blow of his staff he broke the pot. As Zeno took to flight with the lentil-soup flowing down his legs, "Why run away, my little Phoenician?" quoth Crates, "nothing terrible has befallen you."

For a certain space, then, he was instructed by Crates, and when at this time he had written his *Republic*, some said in jest that he had written it on Cynosura, *i.e.* on the dog's tail.[a] Besides the *Republic* he wrote the following works:

Of Life according to Nature.
Of Impulse, or Human Nature.
Of Emotions.
Of Duty.

was the name of several promontories, notably one in Athens and one in Salamis. Relatively to Cynicism, "holding on by the dog's tail" would seem a more appropriate interpretation.

Περὶ νόμου.
Περὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας.
Περὶ ὄψεως.
Περὶ τοῦ ὅλου.
Περὶ σημείων.
Πυθαγορικά.
Καθολικά.
Περὶ λέξεων.
Προβλημάτων Ὁμηρικῶν πέντε.
Περὶ ποιητικῆς ἀκροάσεως.

Ἔστι δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ

Τέχνη καὶ
Λύσεις καὶ
Ἔλεγχοι δύο.
Ἀπομνημονεύματα Κράτητος.
Ἠθικά.

Καὶ τάδε μὲν τὰ βιβλία. τελευταῖον δὲ ἀπέστη καὶ τῶν προειρημένων ἤκουσεν ἕως ἐτῶν εἴκοσιν· ἵνα καί φασιν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, "νῦν εὐπλόηκα, ὅτε νεναυάγηκα." οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ Κράτητος τοῦτ' αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν· ἄλλοι δὲ διατρίβοντα ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἀκοῦσαι τὴν ναυαγίαν καὶ εἰπεῖν, "εὖ γε ποιεῖ ἡ τύχη προσελαύνουσα ἡμᾶς φιλοσοφίᾳ." ἔνιοι δέ, διαθέμενον Ἀθήνησι τὰ φορτία, οὕτω τραπῆναι πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν.

Ἀνακάμπτων δὴ ἐν τῇ ποικίλῃ στοᾷ τῇ καὶ Πεισιανακτίῳ καλουμένῃ, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς γραφῆς τῆς

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[a] Our word "colonnade" better describes a roofed building, supported at least on one side by pillars and thus affording a public thoroughfare like an arcade or cloister, but open to the sun and air. Owing, however, to the Latin "porticus" Zeno's school has received in English literature the appellation of "the Porch." The frescoes or pictures, with

Of Law.
Of Greek Education.
Of Vision.
Of the Whole World.
Of Signs.
Pythagorean Questions.
Universals.
Of Varieties of Style.
Homeric Problems, in five books.
Of the Reading of Poetry.

There are also by him:

A Handbook of Rhetoric.
Solutions.
Two books of Refutations.
Recollections of Crates.
Ethics.

This is a list of his writings. But at last he left Crates, and the men above mentioned were his masters for twenty years. Hence he is reported to have said, "I made a prosperous voyage when I suffered shipwreck." But others attribute this saying of his to the time when he was under Crates. A different version of the story is that he was staying at Athens when he heard his ship was wrecked and said, "It is well done of thee, Fortune, thus to drive me to philosophy." But some say that he disposed of his cargo in Athens, before he turned his attention to philosophy.

He used then to discourse, pacing up and down in the painted colonnade, which is also called the colonnade or Portico [a] of Pisianax, but which received its name

which the Stoa was adorned, made it in some sense the National Gallery of Athens. For further information see by all means Frazer's note on Pausanias i. 15 (vol. ii. pp. 132-137).

Πολυγνώτου ποικίλῃ, διετίθετο τοὺς λόγους, βουλόμενος καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἀπερίστατον ποιῆσαι. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν τριάκοντα τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς τοῖς χιλίοις τετρακόσιοι[1] ἀνῄρηντ' ἐν αὐτῷ. προσῄεσαν δὴ λοιπὸν ἀκούοντες αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Στωικοὶ ἐκλήθησαν καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὁμοίως, πρότερον Ζηνώνειοι καλούμενοι, καθά φησι καὶ Ἐπίκουρος ἐν ἐπιστολαῖς. καὶ πρότερόν γε Στωικοὶ ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ διατρίβοντες ἐν αὐτῇ ποιηταί, καθά φησιν Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν ὀγδόῃ Περὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας, οἳ καὶ τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ πλεῖον ηὔξησαν.

6 Ἐτίμων δὴ οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι σφόδρα τὸν Ζήνωνα, οὕτως ὡς καὶ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτῷ τὰς κλεῖς παρακαταθέσθαι καὶ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ τιμῆσαι καὶ χαλκῇ εἰκόνι. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τοὺς πολίτας αὐτοῦ ποιῆσαι, κόσμον ἡγουμένους τὴν τἀνδρὸς εἰκόνα. ἀντεποιοῦντο δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἐν Σιδῶνι Κιτιεῖς. ἀπεδέχετο δ' αὐτὸν καὶ Ἀντίγονος καὶ εἴ ποτ' Ἀθήναζε ἥκοι, ἤκουεν αὐτοῦ πολλά τε παρεκάλει ἀφικέσθαι ὡς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν παρῃτήσατο, Περσαῖον δ' ἕνα τῶν γνωρίμων ἀπέστειλεν, ὃς ἦν Δημητρίου μὲν υἱός, Κιτιεὺς δὲ τὸ γένος, καὶ ἤκμαζε κατὰ τὴν τριακοστὴν καὶ ἑκατοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα, ἤδη γέροντος ὄντος Ζήνωνος. ἡ δ' ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου τοῦτον εἶχε τὸν τρόπον, καθὰ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Τύριος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Ζήνωνός φησι·

[1] So Cobet: MSS. read πρὸς τοὺς χιλίους τετρακοσίους, which may be right though the expression is unusual. Cf. "civium ad mille quadringentos occisi."

from the painting of Polygnotus; his object being to keep the spot clear of a concourse of idlers. It was the spot where in the time of the Thirty 1400 Athenian citizens had been put to death.[a] Hither, then, people came henceforth to hear Zeno, and this is why they were known as men of the Stoa, or Stoics; and the same name was given to his followers, who had formerly been known as Zenonians. So it is stated by Epicurus in his letters. According to Eratosthenes in his eighth book *On the Old Comedy*, the name of Stoic had formerly been applied to the poets who passed their time there, and they had made the name of Stoic still more famous.

The people of Athens held Zeno in high honour, as is proved by their depositing with him the keys of the city walls, and their honouring him with a golden crown and a bronze statue. This last mark of respect was also shown to him by citizens of his native town, who deemed his statue an ornament to their city,[b] and the men of Citium living in Sidon were also proud to claim him for their own. Antigonus (Gonatas) also favoured him, and whenever he came to Athens would hear him lecture and often invited him to come to his court. This offer he declined but dispatched thither one of his friends, Persaeus, the son of Demetrius and a native of Citium, who flourished in the 130th Olympiad (260–256 B.C.), at which time Zeno was already an old man. According to Apollonius of Tyre in his work upon Zeno, the letter of Antigonus was couched in the following terms:

[a] Probably the Thirty met in the Stoa and passed sentence of death there. It is not likely that this was the place of execution.

[b] Pliny, *N.H.* xxxiv. 92.

7 "Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος Ζήνωνι φιλοσόφῳ χαίρειν.

"Ἐγὼ τύχῃ μὲν καὶ δόξῃ νομίζω προτερεῖν τοῦ σοῦ βίου, λόγου δὲ καὶ παιδείας καθυστερεῖν καὶ τῆς τελείας εὐδαιμονίας ἣν σὺ κέκτησαι. διόπερ κέκρικα προσφωνῆσαί σοι παραγενέσθαι πρὸς ἐμέ, πεπεισμένος σε μὴ ἀντερεῖν πρὸς τὸ ἀξιούμενον. σὺ οὖν πειράθητι ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου συμμῖξαι μοι, διειληφὼς τοῦτο διότι οὐχ ἑνὸς ἐμοῦ παιδευτὴς ἔσῃ, πάντων δὲ Μακεδόνων συλλήβδην. ὁ γὰρ τὸν τῆς Μακεδονίας ἄρχοντα καὶ παιδεύων καὶ ἄγων ἐπὶ τὰ κατ' ἀρετὴν φανερὸς ἔσται[1] καὶ τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους παρασκευάζων πρὸς εὐανδρίαν. οἷος γὰρ ἂν ὁ ἡγούμενος ᾖ, τοιούτους εἰκὸς ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ γίγνεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους."

Καὶ ὁ Ζήνων ἀντιγράφει ὧδε·

8 "Βασιλεῖ Ἀντιγόνῳ Ζήνων χαίρειν.

"Ἀποδέχομαί σου τὴν φιλομάθειαν καθόσον τῆς ἀληθινῆς καὶ εἰς ὄνησιν τεινούσης, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τῆς δημώδους καὶ εἰς διαστροφὴν ἠθῶν ἀντέχῃ παιδείας. ὁ δὲ φιλοσοφίας ὠρεγμένος, ἐκκλίνων δὲ τὴν πολυθρύλητον ἡδονήν, ἣ τινῶν θηλύνει νέων ψυχάς, φανερός ἐστιν οὐ μόνον φύσει πρὸς εὐγένειαν κλίνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ προαιρέσει. φύσις δὲ εὐγενὴς μετρίαν ἄσκησιν προσλαβοῦσα, ἔτι δὲ τὸν ἀφθόνως διδάξοντα, ῥᾳδίως ἔρχεται πρὸς τὴν τελείαν ἀνά-
9 ληψιν τῆς ἀρετῆς. ἐγὼ δὲ συνέχομαι σώματι ἀσθενεῖ διὰ γῆρας· ἐτῶν γάρ εἰμι ὀγδοήκοντα· διόπερ οὐ δύναμαί σοι συμμῖξαι. ἀποστέλλω δέ σοί τινας τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ συσχολαστῶν, οἳ τοῖς μὲν κατὰ ψυχὴν οὐκ ἀπολείπονται ἐμοῦ, τοῖς δὲ

[1] ἐστι vulg.: corr. Richards.

"King Antigonus to Zeno the philosopher, greeting.

"While in fortune and fame I deem myself your superior, in reason and education I own myself inferior, as well as in the perfect happiness which you have attained. Wherefore I have decided to ask you to pay me a visit, being persuaded that you will not refuse the request. By all means, then, do your best to hold conference with me, understanding clearly that you will not be the instructor of myself alone but of all the Macedonians taken together. For it is obvious that whoever instructs the ruler of Macedonia and guides him in the paths of virtue will also be training his subjects to be good men. As is the ruler, such for the most part it may be expected that his subjects will become."

And Zeno's reply is as follows:

"Zeno to King Antigonus, greeting.

"I welcome your love of learning in so far as you cleave to that true education which tends to advantage and not to that popular counterfeit of it which serves only to corrupt morals. But if anyone has yearned for philosophy, turning away from much-vaunted pleasure which renders effeminate the souls of some of the young, it is evident that not by nature only, but also by the bent of his will he is inclined to nobility of character. But if a noble nature be aided by moderate exercise and further receive ungrudging instruction, it easily comes to acquire virtue in perfection. But I am constrained by bodily weakness, due to old age, for I am eighty years old; and for that reason I am unable to join you. But I send you certain companions of my studies whose mental powers are not inferior to mine, while their

κατὰσῶμα προτεροῦσιν· οἷς συνὼν οὐδενὸς καθυστερήσεις τῶν πρὸς τὴν τελείαν εὐδαιμονίαν ἀνηκόντων."

Ἀπέστειλε δὲ Περσαῖον καὶ Φιλωνίδην τὸν Θηβαῖον, ὧν ἀμφοτέρων Ἐπίκουρος μνημονεύει ὡς συνόντων Ἀντιγόνῳ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀριστόβουλον τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπιστολῇ. ἔδοξε δέ μοι καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα
10 τὸ περὶ αὐτοῦ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπογράψαι. καὶ ἔχει ὧδε·

" Ἐπ' Ἀρρενίδου ἄρχοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος πέμπτης πρυτανείας, Μαιμακτηριῶνος δεκάτῃ ὑστέρᾳ, τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας, ἐκκλησία κυρία, τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν Ἵππων Κρατιστοτέλους Ξυπεταιὼν καὶ οἱ συμπρόεδροι, Θράσων Θράσωνος Ἀνακαιεὺς εἶπεν·

" Ἐπειδὴ Ζήνων Μνασέου Κιτιεὺς ἔτη πολλὰ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν ἐν τῇ πόλει γενόμενος ἔν τε τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ὢν διετέλεσε καὶ τοὺς εἰς σύστασιν αὐτῷ τῶν νέων πορευομένους παρακαλῶν ἐπ' ἀρετὴν καὶ σωφροσύνην παρώρμα πρὸς τὰ βέλτιστα, παράδειγμα τὸν ἴδιον βίον ἐκθεὶς ἅπασιν
11 ἀκόλουθον ὄντα τοῖς λόγοις οἷς διελέγετο, τύχῃ ἀγαθῇ δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ, ἐπαινέσαι μὲν Ζήνωνα Μνασέου Κιτιέα καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ σωφροσύνης, οἰκοδομῆσαι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τάφον ἐπὶ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ δημοσίᾳ· τῆς δὲ ποιήσεως τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τοῦ τάφου χειροτονῆσαι τὸν δῆμον ἤδη τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους πέντε ἄνδρας ἐξ Ἀ-

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[a] *Cf.* Tarn, *Antig. Gon.* p. 309, especially note 106: he considers the decree, as we have it, a fusion of two genuine

bodily strength is far greater, and if you associate with these you will in no way fall short of the conditions necessary to perfect happiness."

So he sent Persaeus and Philonides the Theban; and Epicurus in his letter to his brother Aristobulus mentions them both as living with Antigonus. I have thought it well to append the decree also which the Athenians passed concerning him. It reads as follows[a]:

"In the archonship of Arrhenides, in the fifth prytany of the tribe Acamantis on the twenty-first day of Maemacterion, at the twenty-third plenary assembly of the prytany, one of the presidents, Hippo, the son of Cratistoteles, of the deme Xypetaeon, and his co-presidents put the question to the vote; Thraso, the son of Thraso of the deme Anacaea, moved:

"Whereas Zeno of Citium, son of Mnaseas, has for many years been devoted to philosophy in the city and has continued to be a man of worth in all other respects, exhorting to virtue and temperance those of the youth who come to him to be taught, directing them to what is best, affording to all in his own conduct a pattern for imitation in perfect consistency with his teaching, it has seemed good to the people—and may it turn out well—to bestow praise upon Zeno of Citium, the son of Mnaseas, and to crown him with a golden crown according to the law, for his goodness and temperance, and to build him a tomb in the Ceramicus at the public cost. And that for the making of the crown and the building of the tomb, the people shall now elect five commissioners

decrees, (1) voting a crown to Zeno in his life-time, (2) decreeing a public funeral after his death.

θηναίων. ἐγγράψαι δὲ <τόδε> τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ δήμου ἐν στήλαις <λιθίναις> δύο καὶ ἐξεῖναι αὐτῶν θεῖναι τὴν μὲν ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ, τὴν δὲ ἐν Λυκείῳ. τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα τὸ εἰς τὰς στήλας γινόμενον μερίσαι τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει, ὅπως <ἂν> ἅπαντες εἴδωσιν ὅτι ὁ δῆμος ὁ [τῶν] Ἀθηναίων τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ ζῶντας τιμᾷ καὶ
12 τελευτήσαντας. ἐπὶ [δὲ] τὴν <ποίησιν τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ τὴν> οἰκοδομὴν κεχειροτόνηνται Θράσων Ἀνακαιεύς, Φιλοκλῆς Πειραιεύς, Φαῖδρος Ἀναφλύστιος, Μέδων Ἀχαρνεύς, Μίκυθος Συπαληττεύς, Δίων Παιανιεύς."

Καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα μὲν ὧδε ἔχει.

Φησὶ δ' Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος οὐκ ἀρνεῖσθαι αὐτὸν εἶναι Κιτιέα. τῶν γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν τοῦ λουτρῶνος συμβαλλομένων εἷς ὢν καὶ ἀναγραφόμενος ἐν τῇ στήλῃ, "Ζήνωνος τοῦ φιλοσόφου," ἠξίωσε καὶ τὸ Κιτιεύς προστεθῆναι. ποιήσας δέ ποτε κοῖλον ἐπίθημα τῇ ληκύθῳ περιέφερε νόμισμα, λύσιν ἕτοιμον[1] τῶν ἀναγκαίων
13 ἵν' ἔχοι Κράτης ὁ διδάσκαλος. φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ χίλια τάλαντα ἔχοντα ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ταῦτα δανείζειν ναυτικῶς. ἤσθιε δ' ἀρτίδια καὶ μέλι καὶ ὀλίγον εὐώδους οἰναρίου ἔπινε. παιδαρίοις τε ἐχρῆτο σπανίως, ἅπαξ ἢ δίς που παιδισκαρίῳ τινί, ἵνα μὴ δοκοίη μισογύνης εἶναι, σύν τε Περσαίῳ τὴν αὐτὴν οἰκίαν ᾤκει· καὶ αὐτοῦ αὐλητρίδιον εἰσαγαγόντος πρὸς αὐτόν, σπάσας πρὸς τὸν Περσαῖον αὐτὸ ἀπήγαγεν. ἦν τε, φασίν, εὐσυμπερίφορος, ὡς πολλάκις Ἀντί-

[1] ἕτοιμον BP: ἑτοίμην ceteri.

from all Athenians, and the Secretary of State shall inscribe this decree on two stone pillars and it shall be lawful for him to set up one in the Academy and the other in the Lyceum. And that the magistrate presiding over the administration shall apportion the expense incurred upon the pillars, that all may know that the Athenian people honour the good both in their life and after their death. Thraso of the deme Anacaea, Philocles of Peiraeus, Phaedrus of Anaphlystus, Medon of Acharnae, Micythus of Sypalettus, and Dion of Paeania have been elected commissioners for the making of the crown and the building."

These are the terms of the decree.

Antigonus of Carystus tells us that he never denied that he was a citizen of Citium. For when he was one of those who contributed to the restoration of the baths and his name was inscribed upon the pillar as "Zeno the philosopher," he requested that the words "of Citium" should be added. He made a hollow lid for a flask and used to carry about money in it, in order that there might be provision at hand for the necessities of his master Crates. It is said that he had more than a thousand talents when he came to Greece, and that he lent this money on bottomry.[a] He used to eat little loaves and honey and to drink a little wine of good bouquet. He rarely employed men-servants; once or twice indeed he might have a young girl to wait on him in order not to seem a misogynist. He shared the same house with Persaeus, and when the latter brought in a little flute-player he lost no time in leading her straight to Persaeus. They tell us he readily adapted himself to circum-

[a] The security for the loan was either the cargo shipped or the vessel itself. As the risk was great, the interest was proportionately high. Demosth. *Or.* xxxiv. 23, l. 17, lvi. 17.

γονον τὸν βασιλέα ἐπικωμάσαι αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς Ἀριστοκλέα τὸν κιθαρῳδὸν ἅμ' αὐτῷ ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ
14 κῶμον, εἶτα μέντοι ὑποδῦναι. ἐξέκλινε δέ, φησί, καὶ τὸ πολυδημῶδες, ὡς ἐπ' ἄκρου καθίζεσθαι τοῦ βάθρου, κερδαίνοντα τὸ γοῦν ἕτερον μέρος τῆς ἐνοχλήσεως. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ μετὰ πλειόνων δύο ἢ τριῶν περιεπάτει. ἐνίοτε[1] δὲ καὶ χαλκὸν εἰσέπραττε τοὺς περιισταμένους, ‹ὥστε δεδιότας› τὸ διδόναι μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν, καθά φησι Κλεάνθης ἐν τῷ Περὶ χαλκοῦ· πλειόνων τε περιστάντων αὐτόν, δείξας ἐν τῇ στοᾷ κατ' ἄκρου τὸ ξύλινον περιφερὲς τοῦ βωμοῦ ἔφη, "τοῦτό ποτ' ἐν μέσῳ ἔκειτο, διὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμποδίζειν ἰδίᾳ ἐτέθη· καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου βαστάσαντες αὐτοὺς ἧττον ἡμῖν ἐνοχλήσετε."

Δημοχάρους δὲ τοῦ Λάχητος ἀσπαζομένου αὐτὸν καὶ φάσκοντος λέγειν καὶ γράφειν ὧν ἂν χρείαν ἔχῃ πρὸς Ἀντίγονον, ὡς ἐκείνου πάντα παρέξοντος,
51 ἀκούσας οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ συνδιέτριψε. λέγεται δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ Ζήνωνος εἰπεῖν τὸν Ἀντίγονον, οἷον εἴη θέατρον ἀπολωλεκώς· ὅθεν καὶ διὰ Θράσωνος πρεσβευτοῦ παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ᾔτησεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ ταφήν. ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ διὰ τί θαυμάζει αὐτόν, "ὅτι," ἔφη, "πολλῶν

[1] ἐνίους libri.

[a] Zeno must have foreseen that this compliment would be followed by a request to use his undoubted influence with the king on behalf of Demochares, who, as an Athenian patriot and the nephew of Demosthenes, was out of favour at the Macedonian court. Indeed the fact of his making

stances, so much so that King Antigonus often broke in on him with a noisy party, and once took him along with other revellers to Aristocles the musician; Zeno, however, in a little while gave them the slip. He disliked, they say, to be brought too near to people, so that he would take the end seat of a couch, thus saving himself at any rate from one half of such inconvenience. Nor indeed would he walk about with more than two or three. He would occasionally ask the bystanders for coppers, in order that, for fear of being asked to give, people might desist from mobbing him, as Cleanthes says in his work *On Bronze*. When several persons stood about him in the Colonnade he pointed to the wooden railing at the top round the altar and said, "This was once open to all, but because it was found to be a hindrance it was railed off. If you then will take yourselves off out of the way you will be the less annoyance to us."

When Demochares, the son of Laches, greeted him and told him he had only to speak or write for anything he wanted to Antigonus, who would be sure to grant all his requests, Zeno after hearing this would have nothing more to do with him.[a] After Zeno's death Antigonus is reported to have said, "What an audience I have lost."[b] Hence too he employed Thraso as his agent to request the Athenians to bury Zeno in the Ceramicus. And when asked why he admired him, "Because," said

such advances at all is so strange that Ferguson (p. 172) and Tarn (p. 94, note 11) feel constrained to offer hypothetical explanations.

[b] Tarn, *Antig. Gon.* p. 310, well compares Plato, *Politicus* 260 c, and Epicurus (*ap.* Senec. *Ep.* 7. 11), "satis enim magnum alter alteri theatrum sumus."

καὶ μεγάλων αὐτῷ διδομένων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ οὐδέποτ' ἐχαυνώθη οὐδὲ ταπεινὸς ὤφθη."

Ἦν δὲ καὶ ζητητικὸς καὶ περὶ πάντων ἀκριβολογούμενος· ὅθεν καὶ ὁ Τίμων ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις φησὶν οὕτω·

καὶ Φοίνισσαν ἴδον λιχνόγραυν σκιερῷ ἐνὶ τύφῳ
πάντων ἱμείρουσαν· ὁ δ' ἔρρει γυργαθὸς αὐτῆς
σμικρὸς ἐών· νοῦν δ' εἶχεν ἐλάσσονα κινδαψοῖο.

16 Ἐπιμελῶς δὲ καὶ πρὸς Φίλωνα τὸν διαλεκτικὸν διεκρίνετο καὶ συνεσχόλαζεν αὐτῷ· ὅθεν καὶ θαυμασθῆναι ὑπὸ Ζήνωνος τοῦ νεωτέρου οὐχ ἧττον Διοδώρου τοῦ διδασκάλου αὐτοῦ. ἦσαν δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ γυμνορρύπαροί τινες, ὥς φησι καὶ ὁ Τίμων·

ὄφρα πενεστάων[1] σύναγεν νέφος, οἳ περὶ πάντων
πτωχότατοί τ' ἦσαν καὶ κουφότατοι βροτοὶ ἀστῶν.

Αὐτὸν δὲ στυγνόν τ' εἶναι καὶ πικρόν, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον συνεσπασμένον. ἦν εὐτελής τε σφόδρα καὶ βαρβαρικῆς ἐχόμενος σμικρολογίας, προσχήματι οἰκονομίας. εἰ δέ τινα ἐπικόπτοι, περιεσταλμένως καὶ οὐ χάδην, ἀλλὰ πόρρωθεν· λέγω δὲ οἷον
17 ἐπὶ τοῦ καλλωπιζομένου ποτὲ ἔφη. ὀχέτιον γάρ τι ὀκνηρῶς αὐτοῦ ὑπερβαίνοντος, "δικαίως," εἶπεν, "ὑφορᾷ τὸν πηλόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ κατοπτρίσασθαι." ὡς δὲ Κυνικός τις οὐ φήσας ἔλαιον ἔχειν ἐν τῇ ληκύθῳ, προσῄτησεν αὐτόν, οὐκ ἔφη δώσειν· ἀπελθόντα[2] μέντοι ἐκέλευσε σκέψασθαι

[1] μεταναστῶν coll. Il. ix. 648 Diels.
[2] ἀπελθόντα vulg.: ἀπελθόντος Richards.

he, "the many ample gifts I offered him never made him conceited nor yet appear poor-spirited."

His bent was towards inquiry, and he was an exact reasoner on all subjects. Hence the words of Timon in his *Silli* [a]:

> A Phoenician too I saw, a pampered old woman ensconced in gloomy pride, longing for all things; but the meshes of her subtle web have perished, and she had no more intelligence than a banjo.[b]

He used to dispute very carefully with Philo the logician and study along with him. Hence Zeno, who was the junior, had as great an admiration for Philo as his master Diodorus. And he had about him certain ragged dirty fellows, as Timon says [c] in these lines:

> The while he got together a crowd of ignorant serfs, who surpassed all men in beggary and were the emptiest of townsfolk.[d]

Zeno himself was sour and of a frowning countenance. He was very niggardly too, clinging to meanness unworthy of a Greek, on the plea of economy. If he pitched into anyone he would do it concisely, and not effusively, keeping him rather at arm's length. I mean, for example, his remark upon the fop showing himself off. When he was slowly picking his way across a watercourse, "With good reason," quoth Zeno, "he looks askance at the mud, for he can't see his face in it." When a certain Cynic declared he had no oil in his flask and begged some of him, Zeno refused to give him any. However, as the man went away, Zeno bade him consider which of

[a] Frag. 38 D.
[b] *Cf. Od.* xi. 281, 271.
[c] Frag. 39 D.
[d] *Cf. Il.* ii. 831, xxiii. 133.

ὁπότερος εἴη ἀναιδέστερος. ἐρωτικῶς δὲ διακείμενος Χρεμωνίδου, παρακαθιζόντων αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Κλεάνθους, ἀνέστη· θαυμάζοντος δὲ τοῦ Κλεάνθους ἔφη "καὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν ἀκούω τῶν ἀγαθῶν, κράτιστον εἶναι φάρμακον πρὸς τὰ φλεγμαίνοντα ἡσυχίαν." δυοῖν δ' ὑπανακειμένοιν[1] ἐν πότῳ καὶ τοῦ ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν σκιμαλίζοντος τῷ ποδί, αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνον τῷ γόνατι. ἐπιστραφέντος δέ, "τί οὖν" <ἔφη> "οἴει τὸν ὑποκάτω σου πάσχειν
18 ὑπὸ σοῦ;" πρὸς δὲ τὸν φιλόπαιδα οὔτε τοὺς διδασκάλους ἔφη φρένας ἔχειν, ἀεὶ διατρίβοντας ἐν παιδαρίοις, οὔτ' ἐκείνους. ἔφασκε δὲ τοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀσολοίκων λόγους καὶ ἀπηρτισμένους ὁμοίους εἶναι τῷ ἀργυρίῳ τῷ Ἀλεξανδρίνῳ· εὐοφθάλμους μὲν καὶ περιγεγραμμένους καθὰ καὶ τὸ νόμισμα, οὐδὲν δὲ διὰ ταῦτα βελτίονας. τοὺς δὲ τοὐναντίον ἀφωμοίου τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς τετραδράχμοις εἰκῆ μὲν κεκομμένοις καὶ σολοίκως, καθέλκειν μέντοι πολλάκις τὰς κεκαλλιγραφημένας [λέξεις]. Ἀρίστωνος δὲ τοῦ μαθητοῦ πολλὰ διαλεγομένου οὐκ εὐφυῶς, ἔνια δὲ καὶ προπετῶς καὶ θρασέως, "ἀδύνατον," εἰπεῖν, "εἰ μή σε ὁ πατὴρ μεθύων ἐγέννησεν·" ὅθεν αὐτὸν καὶ λάλον ἀπεκάλει, βραχυλόγος ὤν.

19 Πρὸς δὲ τὸν ὀψοφάγον μηδὲν τοῖς συμβιωταῖς καταλιπόντα, παρατεθέντος ποτὲ μεγάλου ἰχθύος, ἄρας οἷος ἦν κατεσθίειν· ἐμβλέψαντος δέ, "τί οὖν," ἔφη, "τοὺς συμβιωτὰς οἴει πάσχειν καθ' ἡμέραν, εἰ σὺ μίαν μὴ δύνασαι ἐνεγκεῖν τὴν ἐμὴν ὀψο-

[1] ὑπερανακειμένοιν codd. corr. Menagius: ὑπερανακειμένου Casaubon.

the two was the more impudent. Being enamoured of Chremonides, as he and Cleanthes were sitting beside the youth, he got up, and upon Cleanthes expressing surprise, "Good physicians tell us," said he, "that the best cure for inflammation is repose." When of two reclining next to each other over the wine, the one who was neighbour to Zeno kicked the guest below him, Zeno himself nudged the man with his knee, and upon the man turning round, inquired, "How do you think your neighbour liked what you did to him?" To a lover of boys he remarked, "Just as schoolmasters lose their common-sense by spending all their time with boys, so it is with people like you." He used to say that the very exact expressions used by those who avoided solecisms were like the coins struck by Alexander: they were beautiful in appearance and well-rounded like the coins, but none the better on that account. Words of the opposite kind he would compare to the Attic tetradrachms, which, though struck carelessly and inartistically, nevertheless outweighed the ornate phrases. When his pupil Ariston discoursed at length in an uninspired manner, sometimes in a headstrong and over-confident way, "Your father," said he, "must have been drunk when he begat you." Hence he would call him a chatterbox, being himself concise in speech.

There was a gourmand so greedy that he left nothing for his table companions. A large fish having been served, Zeno took it up as if he were about to eat the whole. When the other looked at him, "What do you suppose," said he, "those who live with you feel every day, if you cannot put up with my gourmandise in this single instance?" A

φαγίαν;" μειρακίου δὲ περιεργότερον παρὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐρωτῶντος ζήτημά τι, προσήγαγε πρὸς κάτοπτρον καὶ ἐκέλευσεν ἐμβλέψαι· ἔπειτ' ἠρώτησεν εἰ δοκεῖ αὐτῷ ἁρμόττοντα εἶναι <τῇ> ὄψει τοιαύτῃ[1] ζητήματα. πρὸς δὲ τὸν φάσκοντα ὡς τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῷ Ἀντισθένης οὐκ ἀρέσκοι, χρείαν Σοφοκλέους προενεγκάμενος ἠρώτησεν εἴ τινα καὶ καλὰ ἔχειν αὐτῷ δοκεῖ· τοῦ δ' οὐκ εἰδέναι φήσαντος, "εἶτ' οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ," ἔφη, "εἰ μέν τι κακὸν ἦν εἰρημένον [ὑπ' Ἀντισθένους], τοῦτ' ἐκλεγόμενος καὶ μνημονεύων, εἰ δέ τι καλόν, οὐδ' ἐπιβαλλόμενος κατέχειν;"

20 Εἰπόντος δέ τινος ὅτι μικρὰ αὐτῷ δοκεῖ τὰ λογάρια τῶν φιλοσόφων, "λέγεις," εἶπε, "τἀληθῆ· δεῖ μέντοι καὶ τὰς συλλαβὰς αὐτῶν βραχείας εἶναι, εἰ δυνατόν." λέγοντος δέ τινος αὐτῷ περὶ Πολέμωνος ὡς ἄλλα προθέμενος ἄλλα λέγει, σκυθρωπάσας ἔφη "πόσου γὰρ <ἂν> ἠγάπας[2] τὰ διδόμενα;" δεῖν δ' ἔφη τόνῳ διαλεγόμενον ὥσπερ τοὺς ὑποκριτὰς τὴν μὲν φωνὴν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν μεγάλην ἔχειν, τὸ μέντοι στόμα μὴ διέλκειν· ὃ ποιεῖν τοὺς πολλὰ μὲν λαλοῦντας, ἀδύνατα δέ. τοῖς εὖ λεγομένοις οὐκ ἔφη δεῖν καταλείπεσθαι τόπον ὥσπερ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τεχνίταις εἰς τὸ θεάσασθαι, τοὐναντίον δὲ τὸν ἀκούοντα οὕτω πρὸς τοῖς λεγομένοις γίνεσθαι ὥστε μὴ λαμβάνειν χρόνον εἰς τὴν ἐπισημείωσιν.

21 Νεανίσκου πολλὰ λαλοῦντος ἔφη "τὰ ὦτά σου εἰς τὴν γλῶτταν συνερρύηκεν." πρὸς τὸν καλὸν εἰπόντα ὅτι οὐ δοκεῖ αὐτῷ ἐρασθήσεσθαι ὁ σοφός

[1] τοιαύτῃ vulg.: τοιαῦτα Richards: τὰ τοιαῦτα Cobet.
[2] πόσου γὰρ ἠγάπας vulg.: fort. πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἠγ. Richards.

youth was putting a question with more curiosity than became his years, whereupon Zeno led him to a mirror, and bade him look in it; after which he inquired if he thought it became anyone who looked like that to ask such questions. Some one said that he did not in general agree with Antisthenes, whereupon Zeno produced that author's essay on Sophocles, and asked him if he thought it had any excellence; to which the reply was that he did not know. "Then are you not ashamed," quoth he, "to pick out and mention anything wrong said by Antisthenes, while you suppress his good things without giving them a thought?"

Some one having said that he thought the chain-arguments of the philosophers seemed brief and curt, Zeno replied, "You are quite right; indeed, the very syllables ought, if possible, to be clipped." Some one remarked to him about Polemo, that his discourse was different from the subject he announced. He replied with a frown, "Well, what value would you have set upon what was given out?" He said that when conversing we ought to be earnest and, like actors, we should have a loud voice and great strength; but we ought not to open the mouth too wide, which is what your senseless chatterbox does. "Telling periods," he said, "unlike the works of good craftsmen, should need no pause for the contemplation of their excellences; on the contrary, the hearer should be so absorbed in the discourse itself as to have no leisure even to take notes."

Once when a young man was talking a good deal, he said, "Your ears have slid down and merged in your tongue." To the fair youth, who gave it as his opinion that the wise man would not fall in love,

"οὐδέν," ἔφη, "ὑμῶν ἀθλιώτερον ἔσεσθαι τῶν καλῶν." ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων τοὺς πλείστους τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἀσόφους εἶναι, τὰ δὲ μικρὰ καὶ τυχηρὰ ἀμαθεῖς. καὶ προεφέρετο τὸ τοῦ Καφισίου, ὃς ἐπιβαλομένου τινὸς τῶν μαθητῶν μεγάλα φυσᾶν, πατάξας εἶπεν ὡς οὐκ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ τὸ εὖ κείμενον εἴη, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ εὖ τὸ μέγα. νεανίσκου δέ τινος θρασύτερον διαλεγομένου, "οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμι," ἔφη, "μειράκιον, ἃ ἐπέρχεταί μοι."

22 Ῥοδίου δέ τινος καλοῦ καὶ πλουσίου, ἄλλως δὲ μηδέν, προσκειμένου αὐτῷ, μὴ βουλόμενος ἀνέχεσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ κεκονιμένα τῶν βάθρων ἐκάθιζεν αὐτόν, ἵνα μολύνῃ τὴν χλανίδα· ἔπειτα εἰς τὸν τῶν πτωχῶν τόπον, ὥστε συναναρίβεσθαι τοῖς ῥάκεσιν αὐτῶν· καὶ τέλος ἀπῆλθεν ὁ νεανίσκος. πάντων ἔλεγεν ἀπρεπέστερον[1] εἶναι τὸν τῦφον, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῶν νέων. μὴ τὰς φωνὰς καὶ τὰς λέξεις ἀπομνημονεύειν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν διάθεσιν τῆς χρείας τὸν νοῦν ἀσχολεῖσθαι, μὴ ὥσπερ ἕψησίν τινα ἢ σκευασίαν ἀναλαμβάνοντας. δεῖν τ' ἔλεγε τοὺς νέους πάσῃ κοσμιότητι χρῆσθαι ἐν πορείᾳ καὶ σχήματι καὶ περιβολῇ· συνεχές τε προεφέρετο τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ Καπανέως Εὐριπίδου στίχους, ὅτι βίος μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ

ἥκιστα δ' ὄλβῳ γαῦρος ἦν, φρόνημα δὲ
οὐδέν τι μεῖζον εἶχεν ἢ πένης ἀνήρ.

23 Ἔλεγε δὲ μηδὲν εἶναι τῆς οἰήσεως ἀλλοτριώτερον πρὸς κατάληψιν τῶν ἐπιστημῶν, μηδενός θ' ἡμᾶς

[1] ἀπρεπέστατον Richards.

[a] *Cf.* Athen. xiv. p. 629 B. [b] *Supplices*, 861-863.

his reply was: "Then who can be more hapless than you fair youths?" He used to say that even of philosophers the greater number were in most things unwise, while about small and casual things they were quite ignorant. And he used to cite the saying of Caphisius, who, when one of his pupils was endeavouring to blow the flute lustily, gave him a slap and told him that to play well does not depend on loudness, though playing loudly may follow upon playing well.[a] And to a youth who was talking somewhat saucily his rejoinder was, "I would rather not tell you what I am thinking, my lad."

A Rhodian, who was handsome and rich, but nothing more, insisted on joining his class; but so unwelcome was this pupil, that first of all Zeno made him sit on the benches that were dusty, that he might soil his cloak, and then he consigned him to the place where the beggars sat, that he might rub shoulders with their rags; so at last the young man went away. Nothing, he declared, was more unbecoming than arrogance, especially in the young. He used also to say that it was not the words and expressions that we ought to remember, but we should exercise our mind in disposing to advantage of what we hear, instead of, as it were, tasting a well-cooked dish or well-dressed meal. The young, he thought, should behave with perfect propriety in walk, gait and dress, and he used continually to quote the lines of Euripides about Capaneus:

> Large means had he, yet not the haughtiness
> That springs from wealth, nor cherished prouder thoughts
> Of vain ambition than the poorest man.[b]

Again he would say that if we want to master the sciences there is nothing so fatal as conceit, and

οὕτως εἶναι ἐνδεεῖς ὡς χρόνου. ἐρωτηθεὶς τίς ἐστι φίλος, "ἄλλος," ἔφη, "ἐγώ." δοῦλον ἐπὶ κλοπῇ, φασίν, ἐμαστίγου· τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος, "εἵμαρτό μοι κλέψαι," ἔφη, "καὶ δαρῆναι." τὸ κάλλος εἶπε τῆς σωφροσύνης ἄνθος εἶναι· οἱ δὲ τοῦ κάλλους τὴν σωφροσύνην. τῶν γνωρίμων τινὸς παιδάριον μεμωλωπισμένον θεασάμενος πρὸς αὐτόν, "ὁρῶ σου," ἔφη, "τοῦ θυμοῦ τὰ ἴχνη·" πρὸς τὸν κεχρισμένον τῷ μύρῳ, "τίς ἐστιν," ἔφη, "ὁ γυναικὸς ὄζων;" Διονυσίου δὲ τοῦ Μεταθεμένου εἰπόντος αὐτῷ διὰ τί αὐτὸν μόνον οὐ διορθοῖ, ἔφη, "οὐ γάρ σοι πιστεύω." πρὸς τὸ φλυαροῦν μειράκιον, "διὰ τοῦτο," εἶπε, "δύο ὦτα ἔχομεν, στόμα δὲ ἕν, ἵνα πλείονα μὲν ἀκούωμεν, ἥττονα δὲ λέγωμεν."
24 *ἐν συμποσίῳ κατακείμενος σιγῇ τὴν αἰτίαν ἠρωτήθη· ἔφη οὖν τῷ ἐγκαλέσαντι ἀπαγγεῖλαι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ὅτι παρῆν τις σιωπᾶν ἐπιστάμενος· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ ἐρωτήσαντες παρὰ Πτολεμαίου πρέσβεις ἀφικόμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι μαθεῖν τί εἴποιεν παρ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. ἐρωτηθεὶς πῶς ἔχει πρὸς λοιδορίαν, "καθάπερ," εἶπεν, "εἰ πρεσβευτὴς ἀναπόκριτος ἀποστέλλοιτο." φησὶ δ' Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Τύριος, ἕλκοντος αὐτὸν Κράτητος τοῦ ἱματίου ἀπὸ Στίλπωνος, εἰπεῖν, "ὦ Κράτης, λαβὴ φιλοσόφων ἐστὶν ἐπιδέξιος ἡ διὰ τῶν ὤτων· πείσας*

[a] The change of *φωνῆς . . . φωνήν* to *σωφροσύνης . . . σωφροσύνην* is due to Cobet. *Cf.* § 130 *ὥρα ἄνθος ἀρετῆς*, and § 173. For virtue in general Cobet's change here substitutes the particular virtue required. Von Arnim, adhering more

again there is nothing we stand so much in need of as time. To the question "Who is a friend?" his answer was, "A second self (*alter ego*)." We are told that he was once chastising a slave for stealing, and when the latter pleaded that it was his fate to steal, "Yes, and to be beaten too," said Zeno. Beauty he called the flower of chastity, while according to others it was chastity which he called the flower of beauty.[a] Once when he saw the slave of one of his acquaintance marked with weals, "I see," said he, "the imprints of your anger." To one who had been drenched with unguent, "Who is this," quoth he, "who smells of woman?" When Dionysius the Renegade asked, "Why am I the only pupil you do not correct?" the reply was, "Because I mistrust you." To a stripling who was talking nonsense his words were, "The reason why we have two ears and only one mouth is that we may listen the more and talk the less." One day at a banquet he was reclining in silence and was asked the reason: whereupon he bade his critic carry word to the king that there was one present who knew how to hold his tongue. Now those who inquired of him were ambassadors from King Ptolemy, and they wanted to know what message they should take back from him to the king. On being asked how he felt about abuse, he replied, "As an envoy feels who is dismissed without an answer." Apollonius of Tyre tells us how, when Crates laid hold on him by the cloak to drag him from Stilpo, Zeno said, "The right way to seize a philosopher, Crates, is by the ears:

closely to the MSS., would replace φωνῆς by ῥώμης and retain φωνήν, which would give the meaning, "Beauty he called the flower of strength, while according to others it was the voice which he called the flower of beauty."

οὖν ἕλκε τούτων· εἰ δέ με βιάζῃ, τὸ μὲν σῶμα παρὰ σοὶ ἔσται, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ παρὰ Στίλπωνι."

25 Συνδιέτριψε δὲ καὶ Διοδώρῳ, καθά φησιν Ἱππόβοτος· παρ' ᾧ καὶ τὰ διαλεκτικὰ ἐξεπόνησεν. ἤδη δὲ προκόπτων εἰσῄει καὶ πρὸς Πολέμωνα ὑπ' ἀτυφίας, ὥστε φασὶ λέγειν ἐκεῖνον, "οὐ λανθάνεις, ὦ Ζήνων, ταῖς κηπαίαις παρεισρέων θύραις καὶ τὰ δόγματα κλέπτων Φοινικικῶς μεταμφιεννύς." καὶ πρὸς τὸν δείξαντα δ' αὐτῷ διαλεκτικὸν ἐν τῷ θερίζοντι λόγῳ ἑπτὰ διαλεκτικὰς ἰδέας πυθέσθαι, πόσας εἰσπράττεται μισθοῦ· ἀκούσαντα δὲ ἑκατόν, διακοσίας αὐτῷ δοῦναι. τοσοῦτον ἤσκει φιλομάθειαν. φασὶ δὲ καὶ πρῶτον καθῆκον ὠνομακέναι καὶ λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ πεποιηκέναι. τούς θ' Ἡσιόδου στίχους μεταγράφειν οὕτω·

κεῖνος μὲν πανάριστος ὃς εὖ εἰπόντι πίθηται,
ἐσθλὸς δ' αὖ κἀκεῖνος ὃς αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσῃ.

26 κρείττονα γὰρ εἶναι τὸν ἀκοῦσαι καλῶς δυνάμενον τὸ λεγόμενον καὶ χρῆσθαι αὐτῷ τοῦ δι' αὑτοῦ τὸ πᾶν συννοήσαντος· τῷ μὲν γὰρ εἶναι μόνον τὸ συνεῖναι, τῷ δ' εὖ πεισθέντι προσεῖναι καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν.

Ἐρωτηθεὶς δέ, φησί, διὰ τί αὐστηρὸς ὢν ἐν τῷ πότῳ διαχεῖται ἔφη, "καὶ οἱ θέρμοι πικροὶ ὄντες βρεχόμενοι γλυκαίνονται." φησὶ δὲ καὶ Ἑκάτων ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Χρειῶν ἀνίεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις κοινωνίαις. ἔλεγέ τε κρεῖττον εἶναι τοῖς

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[a] Hesiod's lines as they stand (*Works and Days*, 293 f.) run thus:

"He is best of all, who finds out everything for himself; that man too is good who follows good advice."

persuade me then and drag me off by them ; but, if you use violence, my body will be with you, but my mind with Stilpo."

According to Hippobotus he forgathered with Diodorus, with whom he worked hard at dialectic. And when he was already making progress, he would enter Polemo's school : so far from all self-conceit was he. In consequence Polemo is said to have addressed him thus : "You slip in, Zeno, by the garden door—I'm quite aware of it—you filch my doctrines and give them a Phoenician make-up." A dialectician once showed him seven logical forms concerned with the sophism known as "The Reaper," and Zeno asked him how much he wanted for them. Being told a hundred drachmas, he promptly paid two hundred : to such lengths would he go in his love of learning. They say too that he first introduced the word Duty and wrote a treatise on the subject. It is said, moreover, that he corrected Hesiod's lines thus :

He is best of all men who follows good advice : good too is he who finds out all things for himself.[a]

The reason he gave for this was that the man capable of giving a proper hearing to what is said and profiting by it was superior to him who discovers everything himself. For the one had merely a right apprehension, the other in obeying good counsel superadded conduct.

When he was asked why he, though so austere, relaxed at a drinking-party, he said, "Lupins too are bitter, but when they are soaked become sweet." Hecato too in the second book of his *Anecdotes* says that he indulged freely at such gatherings. And he would say, "Better to trip with the feet than with

ποσὶν ὀλισθεῖν ἢ τῇ γλώττῃ. τὸ εὖ γίνεσθαι μὲν παρὰ μικρόν, οὐ μὴν μικρὸν εἶναι. [οἱ δὲ Σωκράτους.]

Ἦν δὲ καρτερικώτατος καὶ λιτότατος, ἀπύρῳ
27 τροφῇ χρώμενος καὶ τρίβωνι λεπτῷ, ὥστε λέγεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτοῦ·

τὸν δ' οὔτ' ἂρ χειμὼν κρυόεις, οὐκ ὄμβρος ἀπείρων,
οὐ φλὸξ ἠελίοιο δαμάζεται, οὐ νόσος αἰνή,
οὐκ ἔροτις δήμου ἐναρεῖ μένος,[1] ἀλλ' ὅ γ' ἀτειρὴς
ἀμφὶ διδασκαλίῃ τέταται νύκτας τε καὶ ἦμαρ.

οἵ γε μὴν κωμικοὶ ἐλάνθανον ἐπαινοῦντες αὐτὸν διὰ τῶν σκωμμάτων. ἵνα καὶ Φιλήμων φησὶν οὕτως ἐν δράματι Φιλοσόφοις·

εἷς ἄρτος, ὄψον ἰσχάς, ἐπιπιεῖν ὕδωρ.
φιλοσοφίαν καινὴν γὰρ οὗτος φιλοσοφεῖ,
πεινῆν διδάσκει καὶ μαθητὰς λαμβάνει·

οἱ δὲ Ποσειδίππου.

Ἤδη δὲ καὶ εἰς παροιμίαν σχεδὸν ἐχώρησεν. ἐλέγετο γοῦν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ·

τοῦ φιλοσόφου Ζήνωνος ἐγκρατέστερος.

ἀλλὰ καὶ Ποσείδιππος Μεταφερομένοις·

ὥστ' ἐν ἡμέραις δέκα
εἶναι δοκεῖν Ζήνωνος ἐγκρατέστερον.

28 Τῷ γὰρ ὄντι πάντας ὑπερεβάλλετο τῷ τ' εἴδει τούτῳ καὶ τῇ σεμνότητι καὶ δὴ νὴ Δία τῇ μακαριότητι· ὀκτὼ γὰρ πρὸς τοῖς ἐνενήκοντα βιοὺς ἔτη κατέστρεψεν, ἄνοσος καὶ ὑγιὴς διατελέσας.

[1] ἐναρίθμιος libri.

the tongue." "Well-being is attained by little and little, and nevertheless it is no little thing itself." [Others attribute this[a] to Socrates.]

He showed the utmost endurance, and the greatest frugality; the food he used required no fire to dress, and the cloak he wore was thin. Hence it was said of him:

The cold of winter and the ceaseless rain
Come powerless against him: weak the dart
Of the fierce summer sun or racking pain
To bend that iron frame. He stands apart
Unspoiled by public feast and jollity:
Patient, unwearied night and day doth he
Cling to his studies of philosophy.

Nay more: the comic poets by their very jests at his expense praised him without intending it. Thus Philemon says in a play, *Philosophers*:

This man adopts a new philosophy.
He teaches to go hungry: yet he gets
Disciples. One sole loaf of bread his food;
His best dessert dried figs; water his drink.

Others attribute these lines to Poseidippus.

By this time he had almost become a proverb. At all events, "More temperate than Zeno the philosopher" was a current saying about him. Poseidippus also writes in his *Men Transported*:

So that for ten whole days
More temperate than Zeno's self he seemed.

And in very truth in this species of virtue and in dignity he surpassed all mankind, ay, and in happiness; for he was ninety-eight when he died and had enjoyed good health without an ailment to the

[a] *Cf.* ii. 32.

Περσαῖος δέ φησιν ἐν ταῖς Ἠθικαῖς σχολαῖς δύο καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἐτῶν τελευτῆσαι αὐτόν, ἐλθεῖν δ' Ἀθήναζε δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν· ὁ δ' Ἀπολλώνιός φησιν ἀφηγήσασθαι τῆς σχολῆς αὐτὸν ἔτη δυοῖν δέοντα ἑξήκοντα. ἐτελεύτα δὴ οὕτως· ἐκ τῆς σχολῆς ἀπιὼν προσέπταισε καὶ τὸν δάκτυλον περιέρρηξε· παίσας δὲ τὴν γῆν τῇ χειρί, φησὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς Νιόβης,

ἔρχομαι· τί μ' αὔεις;

καὶ παραχρῆμα ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀποπνίξας ἑαυτόν.

29 *Ἀθηναῖοι δ' ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ καὶ ψηφίσμασι τοῖς προειρημένοις ἐτίμησαν, τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῷ προσμαρτυροῦντες. καὶ Ἀντίπατρος ὁ Σιδώνιος ἐποίησεν οὕτως εἰς αὐτόν·*

τῆνος ὅδε Ζήνων Κιτίῳ φίλος, ὅς ποτ' Ὄλυμπον
ἔδραμεν, οὐκ Ὄσσῃ Πήλιον ἀνθέμενος,
οὐδὲ τά γ' Ἡρακλῆος ἀέθλεε· τὰν δέ ποτ' ἄστρα
ἀτραπιτὸν μούνας εὗρε σαοφροσύνας.

30 *καὶ ἄλλο Ζηνόδοτος ὁ στωικός, Διογένους μαθητής·*

ἔκτισας αὐτάρκειαν, ἀφεὶς κενεαυχέα πλοῦτον,
Ζήνων, σὺν πολιῷ σεμνὸς ἐπισκυνίῳ·
ἄρσενα γὰρ λόγον εὗρες, ἐνηθλήσω δὲ προνοίᾳ
αἵρεσιν, ἀτρέστου ματέρ' ἐλευθερίας·
εἰ δὲ πάτρα Φοίνισσα, τίς ὁ φθόνος; οὐ καὶ ὁ Κάδμος
κεῖνος, ἀφ' οὗ γραπτὰν Ἑλλὰς ἔχει σελίδα;

καὶ κοινῇ δὲ καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν στωικῶν Ἀθήναιος ὁ ἐπιγραμματοποιός φησιν οὕτως·

last. Persaeus, however, in his ethical lectures makes him die at the age of seventy-two, having come to Athens at the age of twenty-two. But Apollonius says that he presided over the school for fifty-eight years. The manner of his death was as follows. As he was leaving the school he tripped and fell, breaking a toe. Striking the ground with his fist, he quoted the line from the *Niobe* [a]:

> I come, I come, why dost thou call for me?

and died on the spot through holding his breath.

The Athenians buried him in the Ceramicus and honoured him in the decrees already cited above, adding their testimony of his goodness. Here is the epitaph composed for him by Antipater of Sidon [b]:

> Here lies great Zeno, dear to Citium, who scaled high Olympus, though he piled not Pelion on Ossa, nor toiled at the labours of Heracles, but this was the path he found out to the stars—the way of temperance alone.

Here too is another by Zenodotus the Stoic, a pupil of Diogenes [c]:

> Thou madest self-sufficiency thy rule,
> Eschewing haughty wealth, O godlike Zeno,
> With aspect grave and hoary brow serene.
> A manly doctrine thine: and by thy prudence
> With much toil thou didst found a great new school,
> Chaste parent of unfearing liberty.
> And if thy native country was Phoenicia,
> What need to slight thee? came not Cadmus thence,
> Who gave to Greece her books and art of writing?

And Athenaeus the epigrammatist speaks of all the Stoics in common as follows [d]:

[a] Of Timotheus. See Nauck, *T.G.F.* p. 51.
[b] *Anth. Plan.* iii. 104. [c] *Anth. Pal.* vii. 117.
[d] *Anth. Pal.* ix. 496.

ὦ στωικῶν μύθων εἰδήμονες, ὦ πανάριστα
  δόγματα ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐνθέμενοι σελίσιν,
τὰν ἀρετὰν ψυχᾶς ἀγαθὸν μόνον· ἅδε γὰρ ἀνδρῶν
  μούνα καὶ βιοτὰν ῥύσατο καὶ πόλιας.
σαρκὸς δ' ἡδυπάθημα, φίλον τέλος ἀνδράσιν ἄλλοις,
  ἡ μία τῶν Μνήμης ἤνυσε θυγατέρων.

31 Εἴπομεν ὡς ἐτελεύτα ὁ Ζήνων καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ Παμμέτρῳ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον·

τὸν Κιτιᾶ Ζήνωνα θανεῖν λόγος ὡς ὑπὸ γήρως
  πολλὰ καμὼν ἐλύθη μένων ἄσιτος·
οἱ δ', ὅτι προσκόψας ποτ' ἔφη χερὶ γαῖαν ἀλοίσας
  ἔρχομαι αὐτόματος· τί δὴ καλεῖς με;

ἔνιοι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον τελευτῆσαί φασιν αὐτόν.

Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς τελευτῆς ταῦτα.

Φησὶ δὲ Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης ἐν τοῖς Ὁμωνύμοις τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Μνασέαν πολλάκις ἅτ' ἔμπορον Ἀθήναζε παραγίνεσθαι καὶ πολλὰ τῶν Σωκρατικῶν βιβλίων ἀποφέρειν ἔτι παιδὶ ὄντι τῷ Ζήνωνι·
32 ὅθεν καὶ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι συγκεκροτῆσθαι. καὶ οὕτως ἐλθόντα εἰς Ἀθήνας Κράτητι παραβαλεῖν. δοκεῖ δέ, φησί, καὶ τὸ τέλος αὐτὸς ὁρίσαι τῶν <ἄλλων> πλανωμένων περὶ τὰς ἀποφάσεις. ὤμνυε δέ, φασί, καὶ κάππαριν, καθάπερ Σωκράτης τὸν κύνα. ἔνιοι μέντοι, ἐξ ὧν εἰσιν οἱ περὶ Κάσσιον τὸν σκεπτικόν, ἐν πολλοῖς κατηγοροῦντες τοῦ Ζήνωνος, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν ἄχρηστον ἀποφαίνειν λέγουσιν[1] ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς Πολι-

[1] λέγοντα codd.: corr. Reiske.

[a] *Anth. Pal.* vii. 118.

O ye who've learnt the doctrines of the Porch
And have committed to your books divine
The best of human learning, teaching men
That the mind's virtue is the only good !
She only it is who keeps the lives of men
And cities,—safer than high gates and walls.
But those who place their happiness in pleasure
Are led by the least worthy of the Muses.

We have ourselves mentioned the manner of Zeno's death in the *Pammetros* (a collection of poems in various metres):

> The story goes that Zeno of Citium after enduring many hardships by reason of old age was set free, some say by ceasing to take food; others say that once when he had tripped he beat with his hand upon the earth and cried, "I come of my own accord; why then call me?" [a]

For there are some who hold this to have been the manner of his death.

So much then concerning his death.

Demetrius the Magnesian, in his work on *Men of the Same Name*, says of him: his father, Mnaseas, being a merchant often went to Athens and brought away many books about Socrates for Zeno while still a boy. Hence he had been well trained even before he left his native place. And thus it came about that on his arrival at Athens he attached himself to Crates. And it seems, he adds, that, when the rest were at a loss how to express their views, Zeno framed a definition of the end. They say that he was in the habit of swearing by "capers" just as Socrates used to swear by "the dog." Some there are, and among them Cassius the Sceptic and his disciples, who accuse Zeno at length. Their first count is that in the beginning of his *Republic* he

τείας, δεύτερον ἐχθροὺς καὶ πολεμίους καὶ δούλους
καὶ ἀλλοτρίους λέγειν αὐτὸν ἀλλήλων εἶναι πάντας
τοὺς μὴ σπουδαίους, καὶ γονεῖς τέκνων καὶ ἀδελφοὺς
ἀδελφῶν, <καὶ> οἰκείους οἰκείων.

33 Πάλιν ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ παριστάντα πολίτας καὶ
φίλους καὶ οἰκείους καὶ ἐλευθέρους τοὺς σπου-
δαίους μόνον, ὥστε τοῖς στωικοῖς οἱ γονεῖς καὶ τὰ
τέκνα ἐχθροί· οὐ γάρ εἰσι σοφοί. κοινάς τε τὰς
γυναῖκας δογματίζειν ὁμοίως ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ καὶ
κατὰ τοὺς διακοσίους <στίχους> μήθ' ἱερὰ μήτε
δικαστήρια μήτε γυμνάσια ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οἰκο-
δομεῖσθαι. περί τε νομίσματος οὕτως γράφειν,
"νόμισμα δ' οὔτ' ἀλλαγῆς ἕνεκεν οἴεσθαι δεῖν
κατασκευάζειν οὔτ' ἀποδημίας ἕνεκεν." καὶ ἐσθῆτι
δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ κελεύει χρῆσθαι καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας
34 καὶ μηδὲν μόριον ἀποκεκρύφθαι. ὅτι δ' αὐτοῦ
ἐστιν ἡ Πολιτεία καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ
πολιτείας φησί. περί τ' ἐρωτικῶν διείλεκται κατὰ
τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἐπιγραφομένης Ἐρωτικῆς τέχνης·
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς Διατριβαῖς τὰ παραπλήσια γράφει.
τοιουτότροπά τινά ἐστι παρὰ τῷ Κασσίῳ, ἀλλὰ
καὶ Ἰσιδώρῳ τῷ Περγαμηνῷ ῥήτορι· ὃς καὶ
ἐκτμηθῆναί φησιν ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τὰ κακῶς
λεγόμενα παρὰ τοῖς στωικοῖς ὑπ' Ἀθηνοδώρου
τοῦ στωικοῦ πιστευθέντος τὴν ἐν Περγάμῳ βιβλιο-
θήκην· εἶτ' ἀντιτεθῆναι αὐτά, φωραθέντος τοῦ
Ἀθηνοδώρου καὶ κινδυνεύσαντος. καὶ τοσαῦτα
μὲν περὶ τῶν ἀθετουμένων αὐτοῦ.

35 Γεγόνασι δὲ Ζήνωνες ὀκτώ· πρῶτος ὁ Ἐλεάτης,
περὶ οὗ λέξομεν· δεύτερος αὐτὸς οὗτος· τρίτος

pronounced the ordinary education useless: the next is that he applies to all men who are not virtuous the opprobrious epithets of foemen, enemies, slaves, and aliens to one another, parents to children, brothers to brothers, friends to friends.

Again, in the *Republic*, making an invidious contrast, he declares the good alone to be true citizens or friends or kindred or free men; and accordingly in the view of the Stoics parents and children are enemies, not being wise. Again, it is objected, in the *Republic* he lays down community of wives, and at line 200 prohibits the building of temples, law-courts and gymnasia in cities; while as regards a currency he writes that we should not think it need be introduced either for purposes of exchange or for travelling abroad. Further, he bids men and women wear the same dress and keep no part of the body entirely covered. That the *Republic* is the work of Zeno is attested by Chrysippus in his *De Republica*. And he discussed amatory subjects in the beginning of that book of his which is entitled "The Art of Love." Moreover, he writes much the same in his *Interludes*. So much for the criticisms to be found not only in Cassius but in Isidorus of Pergamum, the rhetorician. Isidorus likewise affirms that the passages disapproved by the school were expunged from his works by Athenodorus the Stoic, who was in charge of the Pergamene library; and that afterwards, when Athenodorus was detected and compromised, they were replaced. So much concerning the passages in his writings which are regarded as spurious.

There have been eight persons of the name of Zeno. First the Eleatic, of whom more hereafter; the second our present subject; the third a Rhodian

Ῥόδιος, τὴν ἐντόπιον γεγραφὼς ἱστορίαν ἐνιαίαν· τέταρτος ἱστορικός, τὴν Πύρρου γεγραφὼς στρατείαν εἰς Ἰταλίαν καὶ Σικελίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιτομὴν τῶν πεπραγμένων Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Καρχηδονίοις· πέμπτος Χρυσίππου μαθητής, βιβλία μὲν ὀλίγα γεγραφώς, μαθητὰς δὲ πλείστους καταλελοιπώς· ἕκτος ἰατρὸς Ἡροφίλειος, νοῆσαι μὲν ἱκανός, γράψαι δ' ἄτονος· ἕβδομος γραμματικός, οὗ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἐπιγράμματα φέρεται· ὄγδοος Σιδώνιος τὸ γένος, φιλόσοφος Ἐπικούρειος καὶ νοῆσαι καὶ ἑρμηνεῦσαι σαφής.

36 Μαθηταὶ δὲ Ζήνωνος πολλοὶ μέν, ἔνδοξοι δὲ Περσαῖος Δημητρίου Κιτιεύς, ὃν οἱ μὲν γνώριμον αὐτοῦ, οἱ δὲ οἰκέτην ἕνα τῶν εἰς βιβλιογραφίαν πεμπομένων αὐτῷ παρ' Ἀντιγόνου, οὗ καὶ τροφεὺς ἦν τοῦ παιδὸς Ἁλκυονέως. διάπειραν δέ ποτε βουληθεὶς λαβεῖν αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἀντίγονος ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ πλαστῶς ἀγγελθῆναι ὡς εἴη τὰ χωρία αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἀφῃρημένα· καὶ σκυθρωπάσαντος, "ὁρᾷς," ἔφη, "ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ πλοῦτος ἀδιάφορον;"

Βιβλία δὲ αὐτοῦ φέρεται τάδε·

Περὶ βασιλείας.
Πολιτεία Λακωνική.
Περὶ γάμου.
Περὶ ἀσεβείας.
Θυέστης.
Περὶ ἐρώτων.
Προτρεπτικοί.
Διατριβῶν.
Χρειῶν δ'
Ἀπομνημονεύματα.
Πρὸς τοὺς Πλάτωνος νόμους ζ'.

who wrote a local history in one volume ; the fourth a historian who wrote about the expedition of Pyrrhus into Italy and Sicily, and besides that an epitome of the political history of Rome and Carthage ; the fifth a pupil of Chrysippus, who left few writings but many disciples ; the sixth a physician of the school of Herophilus, a competent practitioner, though a poor writer ; the seventh a grammarian, who besides other writings has left behind him epigrams ; the eighth a Sidonian by birth and an Epicurean philosopher, lucid both in thinking and in style.

Of the many disciples of Zeno the following are the most famous : Persaeus, son of Demetrius, of Citium, whom some call a pupil and others one of the household, one of those sent him by Antigonus to act as secretary ; he had been tutor to Antigonus's son Halcyoneus. And Antigonus once, wishing to make trial of him, caused some false news to be brought to him that his estate had been ravaged by the enemy, and as his countenance fell, "Do you see," said he, "that wealth is not a matter of indifference ?"

The following works are by Persaeus :

Of Kingship.
The Spartan Constitution.
Of Marriage.
Of Impiety.
Thyestes.
Of Love.
Exhortations.
Interludes.
Four books of Anecdotes.
Memorabilia.
A Reply to Plato's *Laws* in seven books.

37 Ἀρίστων Μιλτιάδου Χῖος, ὁ τὴν ἀδιαφορίαν εἰσηγησάμενος. Ἥριλλος Καρχηδόνιος, ὁ τὴν ἐπιστήμην τέλος εἰπών. Διονύσιος ὁ μεταθέμενος εἰς τὴν ἡδονήν· διὰ γὰρ σφοδρὰν ὀφθαλμίαν ὤκνησεν ἔτι λέγειν τὸν πόνον ἀδιάφορον· οὗτος ἦν Ἡρακλεώτης. Σφαῖρος Βοσποριανός· Κλεάνθης Φανίου Ἄσσιος, ὁ διαδεξάμενος τὴν σχολήν· ὃν καὶ ἀφωμοίου ταῖς σκληροκήροις δέλτοις, αἳ μόλις μὲν γράφονται, διατηροῦσι δὲ τὰ γραφέντα. διήκουσε δ᾽ ὁ Σφαῖρος καὶ Κλεάνθους μετὰ τὴν Ζήνωνος τελευτήν· καὶ λέξομεν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Περὶ
38 Κλεάνθους. ἦσαν δὲ Ζήνωνος μαθηταὶ καὶ οἵδε, καθά φησιν Ἱππόβοτος· Φιλωνίδης Θηβαῖος, Κάλλιππος Κορίνθιος, Ποσειδώνιος Ἀλεξανδρεύς, Ἀθηνόδωρος Σολεύς, Ζήνων Σιδώνιος.

Κοινῇ δὲ περὶ πάντων τῶν στωικῶν δογμάτων ἔδοξέ μοι ἐν τῷ Ζήνωνος εἰπεῖν βίῳ, διὰ τὸ τοῦτον κτίστην γενέσθαι τῆς αἱρέσεως. ἔστι μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ προγεγραμμένα βιβλία πολλά, ἐν οἷς ἐλάλησεν ὡς οὐδεὶς τῶν στωικῶν. τὰ δὲ δόγματα κοινῶς ἐστι τάδε· λελέχθω δ᾽ ἐπὶ κεφαλαίων, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ποιεῖν εἰώθαμεν.

39 Τριμερῆ φασιν εἶναι τὸν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν λόγον· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ μέν τι φυσικόν, τὸ δὲ ἠθικόν, τὸ δὲ λογικόν. οὕτω δὲ πρῶτος διεῖλε Ζήνων ὁ Κιτιεὺς ἐν τῷ Περὶ λόγου καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ α′ Περὶ λόγου καὶ ἐν τῇ α′ τῶν Φυσικῶν καὶ Ἀπολ-

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[a] Perhaps an error for Zeno of Tarsus.

[b] Laertius adheres to his plan of arranging doctrine under two heads: (1) a general or summary, (2) a particular, treatment: *cf. inf.* vii. 48 κεφαλαιωδῶς . . κατὰ μέρος. Here follows a valuable and full doxography, extending to

Ariston, the son of Miltiades and a native of Chios, who introduced the doctrine of things morally indifferent; Herillus of Carthage, who affirmed knowledge to be the end; Dionysius, who became a renegade to the doctrine of pleasure, for owing to the severity of his ophthalmia he had no longer the nerve to call pain a thing indifferent: his native place was Heraclea; Sphaerus of Bosporus; Cleanthes, son of Phanias, of Assos, his successor in the school: him Zeno used to compare to hard waxen tablets which are difficult to write upon, but retain the characters written upon them. Sphaerus also became the pupil of Cleanthes after Zeno's death, and we shall have occasion to mention him in the *Life of Cleanthes*. And furthermore the following according to Hippobotus were pupils of Zeno: Philonides of Thebes; Callippus of Corinth; Posidonius of Alexandria; Athenodorus of Soli; and Zeno of Sidon.[a]

I have decided to give a general account of all the Stoic doctrines in the life of Zeno because he was the founder of the School. I have already given a list of his numerous writings, in which he has spoken as has no other of the Stoics. And his tenets in general are as follows. In accordance with my usual practice a summary statement must suffice.[b]

Philosophic doctrine, say the Stoics, falls into three parts: one physical, another ethical, and the third logical. Zeno of Citium was the first to make this division in his *Exposition of Doctrine*, and Chrysippus too did so in the first book of his *Exposition of Doctrine* and the first book of his *Physics*; and so

§ 160, collected from various sources; §§ 49-83 come from Diocles. The classification is roughly as follows: divisions of Philosophy, §§ 39-41; Logic, §§ 42-83; Ethics, §§ 84-131; Physics, §§ 132-160.

λόδωρος καὶ Σύλλος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Εἰς τὰ δόγματα εἰσαγωγῶν καὶ Εὔδρομος ἐν τῇ Ἠθικῇ στοιχειώσει καὶ Διογένης ὁ Βαβυλώνιος καὶ Ποσειδώνιος.

Ταῦτα δὲ τὰ μέρη ὁ μὲν Ἀπολλόδωρος τόπους καλεῖ, ὁ δὲ Χρύσιππος καὶ Εὔδρομος εἴδη, ἄλλοι
40 γένη. εἰκάζουσι δὲ ζῴῳ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, ὀστοῖς μὲν καὶ νεύροις τὸ λογικὸν προσομοιοῦντες, τοῖς δὲ σαρκωδεστέροις τὸ ἠθικόν, τῇ δὲ ψυχῇ τὸ φυσικόν. ἢ πάλιν ᾠῷ· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκτὸς εἶναι τὸ λογικόν, τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ ἠθικόν, τὰ δ᾿ ἐσωτάτω τὸ φυσικόν. ἢ ἀγρῷ παμφόρῳ· οὗ τὸν μὲν περιβεβλημένον φραγμὸν τὸ λογικόν, τὸν δὲ καρπὸν τὸ ἠθικόν, τὴν δὲ γῆν ἢ τὰ δένδρα τὸ φυσικόν. ἢ πόλει καλῶς τετειχισμένῃ καὶ κατὰ λόγον διοικουμένῃ.

Καὶ οὐθὲν μέρος τοῦ ἑτέρου ἀποκεκρίσθαι, καθά τινες αὐτῶν φασιν, ἀλλὰ μεμίχθαι αὐτά. καὶ τὴν παράδοσιν μικτὴν ἐποίουν. ἄλλοι δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τὸ λογικὸν τάττουσι, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ φυσικόν, καὶ τρίτον τὸ ἠθικόν· ὧν ἐστι Ζήνων ἐν τῷ Περὶ λόγου καὶ Χρύσιππος καὶ Ἀρχέδημος καὶ Εὔδρομος.

41 Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Πτολεμαεὺς Διογένης ἀπὸ τῶν ἠθικῶν ἄρχεται, ὁ δ᾿ Ἀπολλόδωρος δεύτερα τὰ ἠθικά, Παναίτιος δὲ καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἀπὸ τῶν φυσικῶν ἄρχονται, καθά φησι Φανίας ὁ Ποσειδωνίου γνώριμος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ποσειδωνείων σχολῶν. ὁ δὲ Κλεάνθης ἓξ μέρη φησί, διαλεκτικόν, ῥητορικόν, ἠθικόν, πολιτικόν, φυσικόν, θεολογικόν. ἄλλοι δ᾿ οὐ τοῦ λόγου ταῦτα μέρη φασίν, ἀλλ᾿ αὐτῆς τῆς φιλοσοφίας, ὡς Ζήνων ὁ Ταρσεύς. τὸ δὲ λογικὸν μέρος φασὶν ἔνιοι εἰς δύο διαιρεῖσθαι ἐπιστήμας, εἰς ῥητορικὴν καὶ εἰς διαλεκτικήν.

too Apollodorus and Syllus in the first part of their *Introductions to Stoic Doctrine*, as also Eudromus in his *Elementary Treatise on Ethics*, Diogenes the Babylonian, and Posidonius.

These parts are called by Apollodorus "Heads of Commonplace"; by Chrysippus and Eudromus specific divisions; by others generic divisions. Philosophy, they say, is like an animal, Logic corresponding to the bones and sinews, Ethics to the fleshy parts, Physics to the soul. Another simile they use is that of an egg: the shell is Logic, next comes the white, Ethics, and the yolk in the centre is Physics. Or, again, they liken Philosophy to a fertile field: Logic being the encircling fence, Ethics the crop, Physics the soil or the trees. Or, again, to a city strongly walled and governed by reason.

No single part, some Stoics declare, is independent of any other part, but all blend together. Nor was it usual to teach them separately. Others, however, start their course with Logic, go on to Physics, and finish with Ethics; and among those who so do are Zeno in his treatise *On Exposition*, Chrysippus, Archedemus and Eudromus.

Diogenes of Ptolemaïs, it is true, begins with Ethics; but Apollodorus puts Ethics second, while Panaetius and Posidonius begin with Physics, as stated by Phanias, the pupil of Posidonius, in the first book of his *Lectures of Posidonius*. Cleanthes makes not three, but six parts, Dialectic, Rhetoric, Ethics, Politics, Physics, Theology. But others say that these are divisions not of philosophic exposition, but of philosophy itself: so, for instance, Zeno of Tarsus. Some divide the logical part of the system into the two sciences of rhetoric and dialectic; while

τινὲς δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ ὁρικὸν εἶδος, τὸ περὶ κανόνων καὶ κριτηρίων· ἔνιοι δὲ τὸ ὁρικὸν περιαιροῦσι.

42 Τὸ *μὲν οὖν περὶ κανόνων καὶ κριτηρίων παραλαμβάνουσι πρὸς τὸ τὴν ἀλήθειαν εὑρεῖν· ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ τὰς τῶν φαντασιῶν διαφορὰς ἀπευθύνουσι. καὶ τὸ ὁρικὸν δὲ ὁμοίως πρὸς ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἀληθείας· διὰ γὰρ τῶν ἐννοιῶν τὰ πράγματα λαμβάνεται. τήν τε ῥητορικὴν ἐπιστήμην οὖσαν τοῦ εὖ λέγειν περὶ τῶν ἐν διεξόδῳ λόγων καὶ τὴν διαλεκτικὴν τοῦ ὀρθῶς διαλέγεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἐν ἐρωτήσει καὶ ἀποκρίσει λόγων· ὅθεν καὶ οὕτως αὐτὴν ὁρίζονται, ἐπιστήμην ἀληθῶν καὶ ψευδῶν καὶ οὐδετέρων.*

Καὶ *τὴν μὲν ῥητορικὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι λέγουσι τριμερῆ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς εἶναι συμβουλευτικόν, τὸ δὲ δικανικόν, τὸ δὲ ἐγκωμιαστικόν.*

43 Εἶναι *δ' αὐτῆς τὴν διαίρεσιν εἴς τε τὴν εὕρεσιν καὶ εἰς τὴν φράσιν καὶ εἰς τὴν τάξιν καὶ εἰς τὴν ὑπόκρισιν. τὸν δὲ ῥητορικὸν λόγον εἴς τε τὸ προοίμιον καὶ εἰς τὴν διήγησιν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιδίκους καὶ τὸν ἐπίλογον.*

Τὴν *διαλεκτικὴν διαιρεῖσθαι εἴς τε τὸν περὶ τῶν σημαινομένων καὶ τῆς φωνῆς τόπον· καὶ τὸν μὲν τῶν σημαινομένων εἴς τε τὸν περὶ τῶν φαντασιῶν τόπον καὶ τῶν ἐκ τούτων ὑφισταμένων λεκτῶν ἀξιωμάτων καὶ αὐτοτελῶν καὶ κατηγορημάτων καὶ*

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[a] The word *φαντασία* (=appearance or appearing) is a technical term in Stoic logic for which no one English equivalent is as yet unanimously adopted. It denotes the immediate datum of consciousness or experience, whether presented to sense or in certain cases to the mind. Hence "presentation" is nearer than "perception" or "impression." It might be thought to correspond to Locke's

some would add that which deals with definitions and another part concerning canons or criteria: some, however, dispense with the part about definitions.

Now the part which deals with canons or criteria they admit as a means for the discovery of truth, since in the course of it they explain the different kinds of perceptions that we have. And similarly the part about definitions is accepted as a means of recognizing truth, inasmuch as things are apprehended by means of general notions. Further, by rhetoric they understand the science of speaking well on matters set forth by plain narrative, and by dialectic that of correctly discussing subjects by question and answer; hence their alternative definition of it as the science of statements true, false, and neither true nor false.

Rhetoric itself, they say, has three divisions: deliberative, forensic, and panegyric.

Rhetoric according to them may be divided into invention of arguments, their expression in words, their arrangement, and delivery; and a rhetorical speech into introduction, narrative, replies to opponents, and peroration.

Dialectic (they hold) falls under two heads: subjects of discourse and language. And the subjects fall under the following headings: presentations[a] and the various products to which they give rise, propositions enunciated and their constituent subjects and predicates, and similar terms whether direct or reversed, genera and species, arguments

"simple ideas," for which Hume substituted "impressions and ideas"; but this is hardly so; for φαντασίαι are "given" as it were from without, and then with them as materials the mind itself constructs general notions and concepts.

τῶν ὁμοίων ὀρθῶν καὶ ὑπτίων καὶ γενῶν καὶ εἰδῶν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ λόγων καὶ τρόπων καὶ συλλογισμῶν καὶ τῶν παρὰ τὴν φωνὴν καὶ τὰ πράγ-
44 ματα σοφισμάτων· ὧν εἶναι ψευδομένους λόγους καὶ ἀληθεύοντας καὶ ἀποφάσκοντας σωρίτας τε καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους τούτοις, ἐλλιπεῖς καὶ ἀπόρους καὶ περαίνοντας καὶ ἐγκεκαλυμμένους κερατίνας τε καὶ οὔτιδας καὶ θερίζοντας.

Εἶναι δὲ τῆς διαλεκτικῆς ἴδιον τόπον καὶ τὸν προειρημένον περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς φωνῆς, ἐν ᾧ δείκνυται ἡ ἐγγράμματος φωνὴ καὶ τίνα τὰ τοῦ λόγου μέρη, καὶ περὶ σολοικισμοῦ καὶ βαρβαρισμοῦ καὶ ποιημάτων καὶ ἀμφιβολιῶν καὶ περὶ ἐμμελοῦς φωνῆς καὶ περὶ μουσικῆς καὶ περὶ ὅρων κατά τινας καὶ διαιρέσεων καὶ λέξεων.

45 Εὐχρηστοτάτην δέ φασιν εἶναι τὴν περὶ τῶν συλλογισμῶν θεωρίαν· τὸ γὰρ ἀποδεικτικὸν ἐμφαίνειν, ὅπερ συμβάλλεσθαι πολὺ πρὸς διόρθωσιν τῶν δογμάτων, καὶ τάξιν καὶ μνήμην τὸ ἐπιστατικὸν κατάλημμα ἐμφαίνειν.

Εἶναι δὲ τὸν λόγον αὐτὸν σύστημα ἐκ λημμάτων καὶ ἐπιφορᾶς· τὸν δὲ συλλογισμὸν λόγον συλλογιστικὸν ἐκ τούτων· τὴν δ᾿ ἀπόδειξιν λόγον διὰ τῶν μᾶλλον καταλαμβανομένων τὸ ἧττον καταλαμβανόμενον περαίνοντα.

Τὴν δὲ φαντασίαν εἶναι τύπωσιν ἐν ψυχῇ, τοῦ ὀνόματος οἰκείως μετενηνεγμένου ἀπὸ τῶν τύπων <τῶν> ἐν τῷ κηρῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ δακτυλίου γινομένων.
46 τῆς δὲ φαντασίας τὴν μὲν καταληπτικήν, τὴν δὲ ἀκατάληπτον· καταληπτικὴν μέν, ἣν κριτήριον εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων φασί, τὴν γινομένην ἀπὸ ὑπάρχοντος κατ᾿ αὐτὸ τὸ ὑπάρχον ἐναπεσφραγι-

too, moods, syllogisms and fallacies whether due to the subject matter or to the language; these including both false and true and negative arguments, sorites and the like, whether defective, insoluble, or conclusive, and the fallacies known as the Veiled, or Horned, No man, and The Mowers.

The second main head mentioned above as belonging to Dialectic is that of language, wherein are included written language and the parts of speech, with a discussion of errors in syntax and in single words, poetical diction, verbal ambiguities, euphony and music, and according to some writers chapters on terms, divisions, and style.

The study of syllogisms they declare to be of the greatest service, as showing us what is capable of yielding demonstration; and this contributes much to the formation of correct judgements, and their arrangement and retention in memory give a scientific character to our conception of things.

An argument is in itself a whole containing premisses and conclusion, and an inference (or syllogism) is an inferential argument composed of these. Demonstration is an argument inferring by means of what is better apprehended something less clearly apprehended.

A presentation (or mental impression) is an imprint on the soul: the name having been appropriately borrowed from the imprint made by the seal upon the wax. There are two species of presentation, the one apprehending a real object, the other not. The former, which they take to be the test of reality, is defined as that which proceeds from a real object, agrees with that object itself, and has been imprinted seal-fashion and stamped upon the mind:

σμένην καὶ ἐναπομεμαγμένην· ἀκατάληπτον δὲ τὴν μὴ ἀπὸ ὑπάρχοντος, ἢ ἀπὸ ὑπάρχοντος μέν, μὴ κατ' αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ὑπάρχον· τὴν μὴ τρανῆ μηδὲ ἔκτυπον.

Αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν διαλεκτικὴν ἀναγκαίαν εἶναι καὶ ἀρετὴν ἐν εἴδει περιέχουσαν ἀρετάς· τήν τ' ἀπροπτωσίαν ἐπιστήμην τοῦ πότε δεῖ συγκατατίθεσθαι καὶ μή· τὴν δ' ἀνεικαιότητα ἰσχυρὸν λόγον πρὸς
47 τὸ εἰκός, ὥστε μὴ ἐνδιδόναι αὐτῷ· τὴν δ' ἀνελεγξίαν ἰσχὺν ἐν λόγῳ, ὥστε μὴ ἀπάγεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ἀντικείμενον· τὴν δ' ἀματαιότητα ἕξιν ἀναφέρουσαν τὰς φαντασίας ἐπὶ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον. αὐτήν τε τὴν ἐπιστήμην φασὶν ἢ κατάληψιν ἀσφαλῆ ἢ ἕξιν ἐν φαντασιῶν προσδέξει ἀμετάπτωτον ὑπὸ λόγου. οὐκ ἄνευ δὲ τῆς διαλεκτικῆς θεωρίας τὸν σοφὸν ἄπτωτον ἔσεσθαι ἐν λόγῳ· τό τε γὰρ ἀληθὲς καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος διαγινώσκεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ πιθανὸν τό τ' ἀμφιβόλως λεγόμενον διευκρινεῖσθαι· χωρίς τ' αὐτῆς οὐκ εἶναι ὁδῷ ἐρωτᾶν καὶ ἀποκρίνεσθαι.

48 Διατείνειν δὲ τὴν ἐν ταῖς ἀποφάσεσι προπέτειαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ γινόμενα, ὥστ' εἰς ἀκοσμίαν καὶ εἰκαιότητα τρέπεσθαι τοὺς ἀγυμνάστους ἔχοντας τὰς φαντασίας. οὐκ ἄλλως τ' ὀξὺν καὶ ἀγχίνουν καὶ τὸ ὅλον δεινὸν ἐν λόγοις φανήσεσθαι τὸν σοφόν· τοῦ γὰρ αὐτοῦ εἶναι ὀρθῶς διαλέγεσθαι καὶ διαλογίζεσθαι καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρός τε τὰ προκείμενα διαλεχθῆναι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐρωτώμενον ἀποκρίνασθαι, ἅπερ ἐμπείρου διαλεκτικῆς ἀνδρὸς εἶναι.

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[a] *Cf.* Plut. *Mor.* 874 E and *inf.* §§ 62, 83.

the latter, or non-apprehending, that which does not proceed from any real object, or, if it does, fails to agree with the reality itself, not being clear or distinct.

Dialectic, they said, is indispensable and is itself a virtue, embracing other particular virtues under it.[a] Freedom from precipitancy is a knowledge when to give or withhold the mind's assent to impressions. By wariness they mean a strong presumption against what at the moment seems probable, so as not to be taken in by it. Irrefutability is strength in argument so as not to be brought over by it to the opposite side. Earnestness (or absence of frivolity) is a habit of referring presentations to right reason. Knowledge itself they define either as unerring apprehension or as a habit or state which in reception of presentations cannot be shaken by argument. Without the study of dialectic, they say, the wise man cannot guard himself in argument so as never to fall; for it enables him to distinguish between truth and falsehood, and to discriminate what is merely plausible and what is ambiguously expressed, and without it he cannot methodically put questions and give answers.

Overhastiness in assertion affects the actual course of events, so that, unless we have our perceptions well trained, we are liable to fall into unseemly conduct and heedlessness; and in no other way will the wise man approve himself acute, nimble-witted, and generally skilful in argument; for it belongs to the same person to converse well and to argue well, to put questions to the purpose and to respond to the questions put; and all these qualifications are qualifications belonging to the skilled dialectician.

Ἐν οὖν τοῖς λογικοῖς ταῦτ' αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ κεφαλαιωδῶς. καὶ ἵνα καὶ κατὰ μέρος εἴπωμεν καὶ τὰ ἅπερ αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν εἰσαγωγικὴν τείνει τέχνην, καὶ αὐτὰ ἐπὶ λέξεως τίθησι Διοκλῆς ὁ Μάγνης ἐν τῇ Ἐπιδρομῇ τῶν φιλοσόφων, λέγων οὕτως·

49 "Ἀρέσκει τοῖς Στωικοῖς τὸν περὶ φαντασίας καὶ αἰσθήσεως προτάττειν λόγον, καθότι τὸ κριτήριον, ᾧ ἡ ἀλήθεια τῶν πραγμάτων γινώσκεται, κατὰ γένος φαντασία ἐστί, καὶ καθότι ὁ περὶ συγκαταθέσεως καὶ ὁ περὶ καταλήψεως καὶ νοήσεως λόγος, προάγων τῶν ἄλλων, οὐκ ἄνευ φαντασίας συνίσταται. προηγεῖται γὰρ ἡ φαντασία, εἶθ' ἡ διάνοια ἐκλαλητικὴ ὑπάρχουσα, ὃ πάσχει ὑπὸ τῆς φαντασίας, τοῦτο ἐκφέρει λόγῳ."

50 Διαφέρει δὲ φαντασία καὶ φάντασμα· φάντασμα μὲν γάρ ἐστι δόκησις διανοίας οἵα γίνεται κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους, φαντασία δέ ἐστι τύπωσις ἐν ψυχῇ, τουτέστιν ἀλλοίωσις, ὡς ὁ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ Περὶ ψυχῆς ὑφίσταται. οὐ γὰρ δεκτέον τὴν τύπωσιν οἱονεὶ τύπον σφραγιστῆρος, ἐπεὶ ἀνένδεκτόν ἐστι πολλοὺς τύπους κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γίνεσθαι. νοεῖται δὲ [ἡ] φαντασία ἡ ἀπὸ ὑπάρχοντος κατὰ τὸ ὑπάρχον ἐναπομεμαγμένη καὶ ἐναποτετυπωμένη καὶ ἐναπεσφραγισμένη, οἵα οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο ἀπὸ μὴ ὑπάρχοντος.

51 Τῶν δὲ φαντασιῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς αἱ μέν εἰσιν

[a] *Cf. supra*, § 38 note. This distinction between the general and particular treatment is also frequent in Sextus Empiricus: *e.g. Pyrrh. Hyp.* i. 5 ὁ καθόλου λόγος as opposed to ὁ εἰδικὸς λόγος.

Such is, summarily stated, the substance of their logical teaching. And in order to give it also in detail,[a] let me now cite as much of it as comes within the scope of their introductory handbook. I will quote verbatim what Diocles the Magnesian says in his *Synopsis of Philosophers*. These are his words:

"The Stoics agree to put in the forefront the doctrine of presentation and sensation, inasmuch as the standard by which the truth of things is tested is generically a presentation, and again the theory of assent and that of apprehension and thought, which precedes all the rest, cannot be stated apart from presentation. For presentation comes first; then thought, which is capable of expressing itself, puts into the form of a proposition that which the subject receives from a presentation."

There is a difference between the process and the outcome of presentation. The latter is a semblance in the mind such as may occur in sleep, while the former is the act of imprinting something on the soul, that is a process of change, as is set forth by Chrysippus in the second book of his treatise *Of the Soul* (*De anima*). For, says he, we must not take "impression" in the literal sense of the stamp of a seal, because it is impossible to suppose that a number of such impressions should be in one and the same spot at one and the same time. The presentation meant is that which comes from a real object, agrees with that object, and has been stamped, imprinted, and pressed seal-fashion on the soul, as would not be the case if it came from an unreal object.

According to them some presentations are data of

αἰσθητικαί, αἱ δ' οὔ· αἰσθητικαὶ μὲν αἱ δι' αἰσθητηρίου ἢ αἰσθητηρίων λαμβανόμεναι, οὐκ αἰσθητικαὶ δ' αἱ διὰ τῆς διανοίας καθάπερ τῶν ἀσωμάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν λόγῳ λαμβανομένων. τῶν δὲ αἰσθητικῶν <αἱ μὲν> ἀπὸ ὑπαρχόντων μετ' εἴξεως καὶ συγκαταθέσεως γίνονται. εἰσὶ δὲ τῶν φαντασιῶν καὶ ἐμφάσεις αἱ ὡσανεὶ ἀπὸ ὑπαρχόντων γινόμεναι.

Ἔτι τῶν φαντασιῶν αἱ μέν εἰσι λογικαί, αἱ δὲ ἄλογοι· λογικαὶ μὲν αἱ τῶν λογικῶν ζῴων, ἄλογοι δὲ αἱ τῶν ἀλόγων. αἱ μὲν οὖν λογικαὶ νοήσεις εἰσίν, αἱ δ' ἄλογοι οὐ τετυχήκασιν ὀνόματος. καὶ αἱ μέν εἰσι τεχνικαί, αἱ δὲ ἄτεχνοι· ἄλλως γοῦν θεωρεῖται ὑπὸ τεχνίτου εἰκὼν καὶ ἄλλως ὑπὸ ἀτέχνου.

52 Αἴσθησις δὲ λέγεται κατὰ τοὺς Στωικοὺς τό τ' ἀφ' ἡγεμονικοῦ πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις διῆκον καὶ ἡ δι' αὐτῶν κατάληψις καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰ αἰσθητήρια κατασκευή, καθ' ἥν τινες πηροὶ γίνονται. καὶ ἡ ἐνέργεια δὲ αἴσθησις καλεῖται. ἡ δὲ κατάληψις γίνεται κατ' αὐτοὺς αἰσθήσει μὲν λευκῶν καὶ μελάνων καὶ τραχέων καὶ λείων, λόγῳ δὲ τῶν δι' ἀποδείξεως συναγομένων, ὥσπερ τοῦ θεοὺς εἶναι, καὶ προνοεῖν τούτους. τῶν γὰρ νοουμένων τὰ μὲν κατὰ περίπτωσιν ἐνοήθη, τὰ δὲ καθ' ὁμοιότητα, τὰ δὲ κατ' ἀναλογίαν, τὰ δὲ κατὰ μετάθεσιν, τὰ δὲ κατὰ σύνθεσιν, τὰ δὲ κατ' ἐναντίωσιν.

sense and others are not: the former are the impressions conveyed through one or more sense-organs; while the latter, which are not data of sense, are those received through the mind itself, as is the case with incorporeal things and all the other presentations which are received by reason. Of sensuous impressions some are from real objects and are accompanied by yielding and assent on our part. But there are also presentations that are appearances and no more, purporting, as it were, to come from real objects.

Another division of presentations is into rational and irrational, the former being those of rational creatures, the latter those of the irrational. Those which are rational are processes of thought, while those which are irrational have no name. Again, some of our impressions are scientific, others unscientific: at all events a statue is viewed in a totally different way by the trained eye of a sculptor and by an ordinary man.

The Stoics apply the term sense or sensation (αἴσθησις) to three things: (1) the current passing from the principal part of the soul to the senses, (2) apprehension by means of the senses, (3) the apparatus of the sense-organs, in which some persons are deficient. Moreover, the activity of the sense-organs is itself also called sensation. According to them it is by sense that we apprehend black and white, rough and smooth, whereas it is by reason that we apprehend the conclusions of demonstration, for instance the existence of gods and their providence. General notions, indeed, are gained in the following ways: some by direct contact, some by resemblance, some by analogy, some by transposition, some by composition, and some by contrariety.

53 Κατὰ περίπτωσιν μὲν οὖν ἐνοήθη τὰ αἰσθητά· καθ' ὁμοιότητα δὲ τὰ ἀπό τινος παρακειμένου, ὡς Σωκράτης ἀπὸ τῆς εἰκόνος· κατ' ἀναλογίαν δὲ αὐξητικῶς μέν, ὡς ὁ Τιτυὸς καὶ Κύκλωψ· μειωτικῶς δέ, ὡς ὁ Πυγμαῖος. καὶ τὸ κέντρον δὲ τῆς γῆς κατ' ἀναλογίαν ἐνοήθη ἀπὸ τῶν μικροτέρων σφαιρῶν. κατὰ μετάθεσιν δέ, οἷον ὀφθαλμοὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους· κατὰ σύνθεσιν δὲ ἐνοήθη Ἱπποκένταυρος· καὶ κατ' ἐναντίωσιν θάνατος. νοεῖται δὲ καὶ κατὰ μετάβασίν τινα, ὡς τὰ λεκτὰ καὶ ὁ τόπος. φυσικῶς δὲ νοεῖται δίκαιόν τι καὶ ἀγαθόν· καὶ κατὰ στέρησιν, οἷον ἄχειρ. τοιάδε τινὰ καὶ περὶ φαντασίας καὶ αἰσθήσεως καὶ νοήσεως δογματίζουσι.

54 Κριτήριον δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας φασὶ τυγχάνειν τὴν καταληπτικὴν φαντασίαν, τουτέστι τὴν ἀπὸ ὑπάρχοντος, καθά φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν τῇ δυωδεκάτῃ τῶν Φυσικῶν καὶ Ἀντίπατρος καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Βόηθος κριτήρια πλείονα ἀπολείπει, νοῦν καὶ αἴσθησιν καὶ ὄρεξιν καὶ ἐπιστήμην· ὁ δὲ Χρύσιππος διαφερόμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ λόγου κριτήριά φησιν εἶναι αἴσθησιν καὶ πρόληψιν· ἔστι δ' ἡ πρόληψις ἔννοια φυσικὴ τῶν καθόλου. ἄλλοι δέ τινες τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων Στωικῶν τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον κριτήριον ἀπο-

By incidence or direct contact have come our notions of sensible things; by resemblance notions whose origin is something before us, as the notion of Socrates which we get from his bust; while under notions derived from analogy come those which we get (1) by way of enlargement, like that of Tityos or the Cyclops, or (2) by way of diminution, like that of the Pygmy. And thus, too, the centre of the earth was originally conceived on the analogy of smaller spheres. Of notions obtained by transposition creatures with eyes on the chest would be an instance, while the centaur exemplifies those reached by composition, and death those due to contrariety. Furthermore, there are notions which imply a sort of transition to the realm of the imperceptible: such are those of space and of the meaning of terms. The notions of justice and goodness come by nature. Again, privation originates notions; for instance, that of the man without hands. Such are their tenets concerning presentation, sensation, and thought.

The standard of truth they declare to be the apprehending presentation, *i.e.* that which comes from a real object—according to Chrysippus in the twelfth book of his *Physics* and to Antipater and Apollodorus. Boëthus, on the other hand, admits a plurality of standards, namely intelligence, sense-perception, appetency, and knowledge; while Chrysippus in the first book of his *Exposition of Doctrine* contradicts himself and declares that sensation and preconception are the only standards, preconception being a general notion which comes by the gift of nature (an innate conception of universals or general concepts). Again, certain others of the older Stoics make Right Reason the

λείπουσιν, ὡς ὁ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ κριτηρίου φησί.

55 Τῆς δὲ διαλεκτικῆς θεωρίας συμφώνως δοκεῖ τοῖς πλείστοις ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ φωνῆς ἐνάρχεσθαι τόπου. ἔστι δὲ φωνὴ ἀὴρ πεπληγμένος ἢ τὸ ἴδιον αἰσθητὸν ἀκοῆς, ὥς φησι Διογένης ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἐν τῇ Περὶ φωνῆς τέχνῃ. ζῴου μέν ἐστι φωνὴ ἀὴρ ὑπὸ ὁρμῆς πεπληγμένος, ἀνθρώπου δ' ἔστιν ἔναρθρος καὶ ἀπὸ διανοίας ἐκπεμπομένη, ὡς ὁ Διογένης φησίν, ἥτις ἀπὸ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν τελειοῦται. καὶ σῶμα δ' ἐστὶν ἡ φωνὴ κατὰ τοὺς Στωικούς, ὥς φησιν Ἀρχέδημός τ' ἐν τῇ Περὶ φωνῆς καὶ Διογένης καὶ Ἀντίπατρος καὶ Χρύσ-
56 ιππος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Φυσικῶν. πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ποιοῦν σῶμά ἐστι· ποιεῖ δὲ ἡ φωνὴ προσιοῦσα τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν φωνούντων. λέξις δέ ἐστιν, ὥς φησι Διογένης, φωνὴ ἐγγράμματος, οἷον Ἡμέρα. λόγος δέ ἐστι φωνὴ σημαντικὴ ἀπὸ διανοίας ἐκπεμπομένη, οἷον Ἡμέρα ἐστί. διάλεκτος δέ ἐστι λέξις κεχαραγμένη ἐθνικῶς τε καὶ Ἑλληνικῶς, ἢ λέξις ποταπή, τουτέστι ποιὰ κατὰ διάλεκτον, οἷον κατὰ μὲν τὴν Ἀτθίδα Θάλαττα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰάδα Ἡμέρη.

Τῆς δὲ λέξεως στοιχεῖά ἐστι τὰ εἰκοσιτέσσαρα γράμματα. τριχῶς δὲ λέγεται τὸ γράμμα, τό τε στοιχεῖον ὅ τε χαρακτὴρ τοῦ στοιχείου καὶ τὸ

standard; so also does Posidonius in his treatise *On the Standard*.

In their theory of dialectic most of them see fit to take as their starting-point the topic of voice. Now voice is a percussion of the air or the proper object of the sense of hearing, as Diogenes the Babylonian says in his handbook *On Voice*. While the voice or cry of an animal is just a percussion of air brought about by natural impulse, man's voice is articulate and, as Diogenes puts it, an utterance of reason, having the quality of coming to maturity at the age of fourteen. Furthermore, voice according to the Stoics is something corporeal: I may cite for this Archedemus in his treatise *On Voice*, Diogenes, Antipater and Chrysippus in the second book of his *Physics*. For whatever produces an effect is body; and voice, as it proceeds from those who utter it to those who hear it, does produce an effect. Reduced to writing, what was voice becomes a verbal expression, as "day"; so says Diogenes. A statement or proposition is speech that issues from the mind and signifies something, *e.g.* "It is day." Dialect (διάλεκτος) means a variety of speech which is stamped on one part of the Greek world as distinct from another, or on the Greeks as distinct from other races; or, again, it means a form peculiar to some particular region, that is to say, it has a certain linguistic quality; *e.g.* in Attic the word for "sea" is not θάλασσα but θάλαττα, and in Ionic "day" is not ἡμέρα but ἡμέρη.

Elements of language are the four-and-twenty letters. "Letter," however, has three meanings: (1) the particular sound or element of speech; (2) its written symbol or character; (3) its name, as

57 ὄνομα, οἷον Ἄλφα· φωνήεντα δέ ἐστι τῶν στοιχείων ἑπτά, α, ε, η, ι, ο, υ, ω· ἄφωνα δὲ ἕξ, β, γ, δ, κ, π, τ. διαφέρει δὲ φωνὴ καὶ λέξις, ὅτι φωνὴ μὲν καὶ ὁ ἦχός ἐστι, λέξις δὲ τὸ ἔναρθρον μόνον. λέξις δὲ λόγου διαφέρει, ὅτι λόγος ἀεὶ σημαντικός ἐστι, λέξις δὲ καὶ ἄσημος, ὡς ἡ βλίτυρι, λόγος δὲ οὐδαμῶς. διαφέρει δὲ καὶ τὸ λέγειν τοῦ προφέρεσθαι· προφέρονται μὲν γὰρ αἱ φωναί, λέγεται δὲ τὰ πράγματα, ἃ δὴ καὶ λεκτὰ τυγχάνει.

Τοῦ δὲ λόγου ἐστὶ μέρη πέντε, ὥς φησι Διογένης τ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ φωνῆς καὶ Χρύσιππος, ὄνομα, προσηγορία, ῥῆμα, σύνδεσμος, ἄρθρον· ὁ δ' Ἀντίπατρος καὶ τὴν μεσότητα τίθησιν ἐν τοῖς Περὶ λέξεως καὶ τῶν λεγομένων.

58 Ἔστι δὲ προσηγορία μὲν κατὰ τὸν Διογένην μέρος λόγου σημαῖνον κοινὴν ποιότητα, οἷον Ἄνθρωπος, Ἵππος· ὄνομα δέ ἐστι μέρος λόγου δηλοῦν ἰδίαν ποιότητα, οἷον Διογένης, Σωκράτης· ῥῆμα δέ ἐστι μέρος λόγου σημαῖνον ἀσύνθετον κατηγόρημα, ὡς ὁ Διογένης, ἤ, ὥς τινες, στοιχεῖον λόγου ἄπτωτον, σημαῖνόν τι συντακτὸν περί τινος ἢ τινῶν, οἷον Γράφω, Λέγω· σύνδεσμος δέ ἐστι μέρος λόγου ἄπτωτον, συνδοῦν τὰ μέρη τοῦ λόγου· ἄρθρον δέ ἐστι στοιχεῖον λόγου πτωτικόν, διορίζον τὰ γένη τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ τοὺς ἀριθμούς, οἷον Ὁ, Ἡ, Τό, Οἱ, Αἱ, Τά.

59 Ἀρεταὶ δὲ λόγου εἰσὶ πέντε, Ἑλληνισμός, σαφήνεια, συντομία, πρέπον, κατασκευή. Ἑλληνισμὸς μὲν οὖν ἐστι φράσις ἀδιάπτωτος ἐν τῇ

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[a] *i.e.* the Babylonian.

[b] Probably "adverb."

[c] *Sc.* Apollodorus and his school: *cf. inf.* § 64.

[d] = "the," masc., fem. and neut., singular and plural.

Alpha is the name of the sound A. Seven of the letters are vowels, *a*, *e*, *ē*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *ō*, and six are mutes, *b*, *g*, *d*, *k*, *p*, *t*. There is a difference between voice and speech; because, while voice may include mere noise, speech is always articulate. Speech again differs from a sentence or statement, because the latter always signifies something, whereas a spoken word, as for example *βλίτυρι*, may be unintelligible—which a sentence never is. And to frame a sentence is more than mere utterance, for while vocal sounds are uttered, things are meant, that is, are matters of discourse.

There are, as stated by Diogenes [a] in his treatise on *Language* and by Chrysippus, five parts of speech: proper name, common noun, verb, conjunction, article. To these Antipater in his work *On Words and their Meaning* adds another part, the "mean." [b]

A common noun or appellative is defined by Diogenes as part of a sentence signifying a common quality, *e.g.* man, horse; whereas a name is a part of speech expressing a quality peculiar to an individual, *e.g.* Diogenes, Socrates. A verb is, according to Diogenes, a part of speech signifying an isolated predicate, or, as others [c] define it, an undeclined part of a sentence, signifying something that can be attached to one or more subjects, *e.g.* "I write," "I speak." A conjunction is an indeclinable part of speech, binding the various parts of a statement together; and an article is a declinable part of speech, distinguishing the genders and numbers of nouns, *e.g.* ὁ, ἡ, τό, οἱ, αἱ, τά. [d]

There are five excellences of speech—pure Greek, lucidity, conciseness, appropriateness, distinction. By good Greek is meant language faultless in point

τεχνικῇ καὶ μὴ εἰκαίᾳ συνηθείᾳ· σαφήνεια δέ ἐστι λέξις γνωρίμως παριστῶσα τὸ νοούμενον· συντομία δέ ἐστι λέξις αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα περιέχουσα πρὸς δήλωσιν τοῦ πράγματος· πρέπον δέ ἐστι λέξις οἰκεία τῷ πράγματι· κατασκευὴ δέ ἐστι λέξις ἐκπεφευγυῖα τὸν ἰδιωτισμόν. ὁ δὲ βαρβαρισμὸς ἐκ τῶν κακιῶν λέξις ἐστὶ παρὰ τὸ ἔθος τῶν εὐδοκιμούντων Ἑλλήνων, σολοικισμὸς δέ ἐστι λόγος ἀκαταλλήλως συντεταγμένος.

60 Ποίημα δέ ἐστιν, ὡς ὁ Ποσειδώνιός φησιν ἐν τῇ Περὶ λέξεως εἰσαγωγῇ, λέξις ἔμμετρος ἢ ἔνρυθμος μετὰ σκευῆς τὸ λογοειδὲς ἐκβεβηκυῖα· τὸ ἔνρυθμον δ' εἶναι τό

γαῖα μεγίστη καὶ Διὸς αἰθήρ.

ποίησις δέ ἐστι σημαντικὸν ποίημα, μίμησιν περιέχον θείων καὶ ἀνθρωπείων.

Ὅρος δέ ἐστιν, ὥς φησιν Ἀντίπατρος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ ὅρων, λόγος κατ' ἀνάλυσιν ἀπαρτιζόντως ἐκφερόμενος, ἤ, ὡς Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ ὅρων, ἰδίου ἀπόδοσις. ὑπογραφὴ δέ ἐστι λόγος τυπωδῶς εἰσάγων εἰς τὰ πράγματα, ἢ ὅρος ἁπλούστερον τὴν τοῦ ὅρου δύναμιν προσενηνεγμένος. γένος δέ ἐστὶ πλειόνων καὶ ἀναφαιρέτων ἐννοημάτων σύλληψις, οἷον Ζῷον· τοῦτο γὰρ περιείληφε τὰ κατὰ μέρος ζῷα.

61 Ἐννόημα δέ ἐστι φάντασμα διανοίας, οὔτε τὶ

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[a] Nauck, *T.G.F.*[2], *Eur.* 839.

[b] The author seems to have confused "term," which Antipater defines, with "definition," which, as Chrysippus says, is simply "giving back" the meaning in other words.

of grammar and free from careless vulgarity. Lucidity is a style which presents the thought in a way easily understood; conciseness a style that employs no more words than are necessary for setting forth the subject in hand; appropriateness lies in a style akin to the subject; distinction in the avoidance of colloquialism. Among vices of style barbarism is violation of the usage of Greeks of good standing; while there is solecism when the sentence has an incongruous construction.

Posidonius in his treatise *On Style* defines a poetical phrase as one that is metrical or rhythmical, thus mechanically avoiding the character of prose; an example of such rhythmical phrase is:

> O mightiest earth, O sky, God's canopy.[a]

And if such poetical phraseology is significant and includes a portrayal or representation of things human and divine, it is poetry.

A term is, as stated by Antipater in his first book *On Terms*, a word which, when a sentence is analysed, is uttered with complete meaning; or, according to Chrysippus in his book *On Definitions*, is a rendering back one's own.[b] Delineation is a statement which brings one to a knowledge of the subject in outline, or it may be called a definition which embodies the force of the definition proper in a simpler form. Genus (in logic) is the comprehension in one of a number of inseparable objects of thought: *e.g.* Animal; for this includes all particular animals.

A notion or object of thought is a presentation to the intellect, which though not really substance nor

Zeller's correction ἴδιον ἀπόδοσις for καὶ ἡ ἀπόδοσις comes from a scholion on Dionysius Thrax.

ὂν οὔτε ποιόν, ὡσανεὶ δέ τι ὂν καὶ ὡσανεὶ ποιόν, οἷον γίνεται ἀνατύπωμα ἵππου καὶ μὴ παρόντος.

Εἶδος δέ ἐστι τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ γένους περιεχόμενον, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ ζῴου ὁ ἄνθρωπος περιέχεται. γενικώτατον δέ ἐστιν ὃ γένος ὂν γένος οὐκ ἔχει, οἷον τὸ ὄν· εἰδικώτατον δέ ἐστιν ὃ εἶδος ὂν εἶδος οὐκ ἔχει, ὥσπερ ὁ Σωκράτης.

Διαίρεσις δέ ἐστι γένους ἡ εἰς τὰ προσεχῆ εἴδη τομή, οἷον Τῶν ζῴων τὰ μέν ἐστι λογικά, τὰ δὲ ἄλογα. ἀντιδιαίρεσις δέ ἐστι γένους εἰς εἶδος τομὴ κατὰ τοὐναντίον, ὡς ἂν κατ' ἀπόφασιν, οἷον Τῶν ὄντων τὰ μέν ἐστιν ἀγαθά, τὰ δ' οὐκ ἀγαθά. ὑποδιαίρεσις δέ ἐστι διαίρεσις ἐπὶ διαιρέσει, οἷον Τῶν ὄντων τὰ μέν ἐστιν ἀγαθά, τὰ δ' οὐκ ἀγαθά, καὶ Τῶν οὐκ ἀγαθῶν τὰ μέν ἐστι κακά, τὰ δὲ ἀδιάφορα.

62 Μερισμὸς δέ ἐστι γένους εἰς τόπους κατάταξις, ὡς ὁ Κρῖνις· οἷον Τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὰ μέν ἐστι περὶ ψυχήν, τὰ δὲ περὶ σῶμα.

Ἀμφιβολία δέ ἐστι λέξις δύο ἢ καὶ πλείονα πράγματα σημαίνουσα λεκτικῶς καὶ κυρίως καὶ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἔθος, ὥσθ' ἅμα τὰ πλείονα ἐκδέξασθαι κατὰ ταύτην τὴν λέξιν· οἷον Αὐλητρὶς πέπτωκε· δηλοῦνται γὰρ δι' αὐτῆς τὸ μὲν τοιοῦτον, Οἰκία τρὶς πέπτωκε, τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον, Αὐλήτρια πέπτωκε.

Διαλεκτικὴ δέ ἐστιν, ὥς φησι Ποσειδώνιος, ἐπιστήμη ἀληθῶν καὶ ψευδῶν καὶ οὐδετέρων·

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[a] *Cf.* Stob. *Ecl.* i. 136. 21 W.

attribute is quasi-substance or quasi-attribute.[a] Thus an image of a horse may rise before the mind, although there is no horse present.

Species is that which is comprehended under genus: thus Man is included under Animal. The highest or most universal genus is that which, being itself a genus, has no genus above: namely, reality or the real; and the lowest and most particular species is that which, being itself a species, has no species below it, *e.g.* Socrates.

Division of a genus means dissection of it into its proximate species, thus: Animals are either rational or irrational (dichotomy). Contrary division dissects the genus into species by contrary qualities: for example, by means of negation, as when all things that are are divided into good and not good. Subdivision is division applied to a previous division: for instance, after saying, "Of things that are some are good, some are not good," we proceed, "and of the not good some are bad, some are neither good nor bad (morally indifferent)."

Partition in logic is (according to Crinis) classification or distribution of a genus under heads: for instance, Of goods some are mental, others bodily.

Verbal ambiguity arises when a word properly, rightfully, and in accordance with fixed usage denotes two or more different things, so that at one and the same time we may take it in several distinct senses: *e.g.* in Greek, where by the same verbal expression may be meant in the one case that "A house has three times" fallen, in the other that "a dancing-girl" has fallen.

Posidonius defines Dialectic as the science dealing with truth, falsehood, and that which is neither true

τυγχάνει δ' αὕτη, ὡς ὁ Χρύσιππός φησι, περὶ σημαίνοντα καὶ σημαινόμενα. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ περὶ φωνῆς θεωρίᾳ τοιαῦτα λέγεται τοῖς Στωικοῖς.

63 *Ἐν δὲ τῷ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῶν σημαινομένων τόπῳ τέτακται ὁ περὶ λεκτῶν καὶ αὐτοτελῶν καὶ ἀξιωμάτων καὶ συλλογισμῶν λόγος καὶ ὁ περὶ ἐλλιπῶν τε καὶ κατηγορημάτων καὶ ὀρθῶν καὶ ὑπτίων.*

Φασὶ δὲ [τὸ] λεκτὸν εἶναι τὸ κατὰ φαντασίαν λογικὴν ὑφιστάμενον. τῶν δὲ λεκτῶν τὰ μὲν λέγουσιν εἶναι αὐτοτελῆ οἱ Στωικοί, τὰ δ' ἐλλιπῆ. ἐλλιπῆ μὲν οὖν ἐστι τὰ ἀναπάρτιστον ἔχοντα τὴν ἐκφοράν, οἷον Γράφει· ἐπιζητοῦμεν γάρ, Τίς; αὐτοτελῆ δ' ἐστὶ τὰ ἀπηρτισμένην ἔχοντα τὴν ἐκφοράν, οἷον Γράφει Σωκράτης. ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἐλλιπέσι λεκτοῖς τέτακται τὰ κατηγορήματα, ἐν δὲ τοῖς αὐτοτελέσι τὰ ἀξιώματα καὶ οἱ συλλογισμοὶ καὶ τὰ ἐρωτήματα καὶ τὰ πύσματα.

64 *Ἔστι δὲ τὸ κατηγόρημα τὸ κατά τινος ἀγορευόμενον ἢ πρᾶγμα συντακτὸν περί τινος ἢ τινῶν, ὡς οἱ περὶ Ἀπολλόδωρόν φασιν, ἢ λεκτὸν ἐλλιπὲς συντακτὸν ὀρθῇ πτώσει πρὸς ἀξιώματος γένεσιν. τῶν δὲ κατηγορημάτων τὰ μέν ἐστι συμβάματα, οἷον τὸ "διὰ πέτρας πλεῖν."* * *καὶ τὰ μέν ἐστι τῶν κατηγορημάτων ὀρθά, ἃ δ' ὕπτια, ἃ δ' οὐδέτερα. ὀρθὰ μὲν οὖν ἐστι τὰ συντασσόμενα μιᾷ τῶν πλαγίων πτώσεων πρὸς κατηγορήματος γένεσιν, οἷον Ἀκούει, Ὁρᾷ, Διαλέγεται· ὕπτια δ'*

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[a] "Direct Predicate" answers to our Active Verb, "Predicate reversed" to our Passive; *cf. supra*, 43.

[b] We should expect τὰ δὲ παρασυμβάματα to follow (*cf.* Luc. *Vit. Auct.* 21). By παρασύμβαμα is meant an im-

nor false; whereas Chrysippus takes its subject to be signs and things signified. Such then is the gist of what the Stoics say in their theory of language.

To the department dealing with things as such and things signified is assigned the doctrine of expressions, including those which are complete in themselves, as well as judgements and syllogisms and that of defective expressions comprising predicates both direct and reversed.[a]

By verbal expression they mean that of which the content corresponds to some rational presentation. Of such expressions the Stoics say that some are complete in themselves and others defective. Those are defective the enunciation of which is unfinished, as *e.g.* "writes," for we inquire "Who?" Whereas in those that are complete in themselves the enunciation is finished, as "Socrates writes." And so under the head of defective expressions are ranged all predicates, while under those complete in themselves fall judgements, syllogisms, questions, and inquiries.

A predicate is, according to the followers of Apollodorus, what is said of something; in other words, a thing associated with one or more subjects; or, again, it may be defined as a defective expression which has to be joined on to a nominative case in order to yield a judgement. Of predicates some are adjectival [and so have personal subjects], as *e.g.* "to sail through rocks."[b] Again, some predicates are direct, some reversed, some neither. Now direct predicates are those that are constructed with one of the oblique cases, as "hears," "sees," "con-

personal verb with subject in oblique case, as μέλει μοι. For other conjectures see Zeller, *Phil. der Gr.* iii. 1³, 89 note 2, 90.

ἐστὶ τὰ συντασσόμενα τῷ παθητικῷ μορίῳ, οἷον Ἀκούομαι, Ὁρῶμαι· οὐδέτερα δ' ἐστὶ τὰ μηδετέρως ἔχοντα, οἷον Φρονεῖ, Περιπατεῖ. ἀντιπεπονθότα δέ ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς ὑπτίοις, ἃ ὕπτια ὄντα ἐνεργήματα
65 [δέ] ἐστιν, οἷον Κείρεται· ἐμπεριέχει γὰρ ἑαυτὸν ὁ κειρόμενος. πλάγιαι δὲ πτώσεις εἰσὶ γενικὴ καὶ δοτικὴ καὶ αἰτιατική.

Ἀξίωμα δέ ἐστιν ὅ ἐστιν ἀληθὲς ἢ ψεῦδος· ἢ πρᾶγμα αὐτοτελὲς ἀποφαντὸν ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ, ὡς ὁ Χρύσιππός φησιν ἐν τοῖς Διαλεκτικοῖς ὅροις "ἀξίωμά ἐστι τὸ ἀποφαντὸν ἢ καταφαντὸν ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ, οἷον Ἡμέρα ἐστί, Δίων περιπατεῖ." ὠνόμασται δὲ τὸ ἀξίωμα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀξιοῦσθαι ἢ ἀθετεῖσθαι· ὁ γὰρ λέγων Ἡμέρα ἐστίν, ἀξιοῦν δοκεῖ τὸ ἡμέραν εἶναι. οὔσης μὲν οὖν ἡμέρας, ἀληθὲς γίνεται τὸ προκείμενον ἀξίωμα· μὴ οὔσης
66 δέ, ψεῦδος. διαφέρει δ' ἀξίωμα καὶ ἐρώτημα καὶ πύσμα <καὶ> προστακτικὸν καὶ ὁρκικὸν καὶ ἀρατικὸν καὶ ὑποθετικὸν καὶ προσαγορευτικὸν καὶ πρᾶγμα ὅμοιον ἀξιώματι. ἀξίωμα μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ὃ λέγοντες ἀποφαινόμεθα, ὅπερ ἢ ἀληθές ἐστιν ἢ ψεῦδος. ἐρώτημα δέ ἐστι πρᾶγμα αὐτοτελὲς μέν, ὡς καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα, αἰτητικὸν δὲ ἀποκρίσεως, οἷον "ἆρά γ' ἡμέρα ἐστί;" τοῦτο δ' οὔτε ἀληθές ἐστιν οὔτε ψεῦδος, ὥστε τὸ μὲν "ἡμέρα ἐστίν" ἀξίωμά ἐστι, τὸ δὲ "ἆρά γ' ἡμέρα ἐστίν;" ἐρώτημα. πύσμα δέ ἐστι πρᾶγμα πρὸς ὃ συμβολικῶς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀποκρίνεσθαι, ὡς

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[a] Obviously an attempt to distinguish what we call the Middle Voice from the Passive—as *e.g.* συνέθεντο, "they

verses" ; while reversed are those constructed with the passive voice, as "I am heard," "I am seen." Neutral are such as correspond to neither of these, as "thinks," "walks." Reflexive predicates are those among the passive, which, although in form reversed, are yet active operations,[a] as "he cuts his own hair" : for here the agent includes himself in the sphere of his action. The oblique cases are genitive, dative, and accusative.

A judgement is that which is either true or false, or a thing complete in itself, capable of being denied in and by itself, as Chrysippus says in his *Dialectical Definitions* : "A judgement is that which in and by itself can be denied or affirmed, *e.g.* 'It is day,' 'Dion is walking.'" The Greek word for judgement (ἀξίωμα) is derived from the verb ἀξιοῦν, as signifying acceptance or rejection ; for when you say "It is day," you seem to accept the fact that it is day. Now, if it really is day, the judgement before us is true, but if not, it is false. There is a difference between judgement, interrogation, and inquiry, as also between imperative, adjurative, optative, hypothetical, vocative, whether that to which these terms are applied be a thing or a judgement. For a judgement is that which, when we set it forth in speech, becomes an assertion, and is either false or true : an interrogation is a thing complete in itself like a judgement but demanding an answer, *e.g.* "Is it day ?" and this is so far neither true nor false. Thus "It is day" is a judgement ; "Is it day ?" an interrogation. An inquiry is something to which we cannot reply by signs, as you can nod Yes to an interroga-

made compacts with each other," is more active (ὀρθά) than passive (ὕπτια).

ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐρωτήματος, Ναί, ἀλλὰ δεῖ εἰπεῖν "οἰκεῖ ἐν τῷδε τῷ τόπῳ."

67 Προστακτικὸν δέ ἐστι πρᾶγμα ὃ λέγοντες προστάσσομεν, οἷον,

σὺ μὲν βάδιζε τὰς ἐπ' Ἰνάχου ῥοάς.

ὁρκικὸν δέ ἐστι πρᾶγμα * * <προσαγορευτικὸν> δέ ἐστι πρᾶγμα ὃ εἰ λέγοι τις, προσαγορεύοι ἄν, οἷον,

Ἀτρείδη κύδιστε, ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγάμεμνον.

ὅμοιον δ' ἐστὶν ἀξιώματι ὃ τὴν ἐκφορὰν ἔχον ἀξιωματικὴν παρά τινος μορίου πλεονασμὸν ἢ πάθος ἔξω πίπτει τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀξιωμάτων, οἷον,

καλός γ' ὁ παρθενών.
ὡς Πριαμίδῃσιν ἐμφερὴς ὁ βουκόλος.

68 Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπαπορητικόν τι πρᾶγμα διενηνοχὸς ἀξιώματος, ὃ εἰ λέγοι τις, ἀποροίη ἄν·

ἆρ' ἔστι συγγενές τι λύπη καὶ βίος;

οὔτε δ' ἀληθῆ ἐστιν οὔτε ψευδῆ τὰ ἐρωτήματα καὶ τὰ πύσματα καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια, τῶν ἀξιωμάτων ἢ ἀληθῶν ἢ ψευδῶν ὄντων.

Τῶν ἀξιωμάτων τὰ μέν ἐστιν ἁπλᾶ, τὰ δ' οὐχ ἁπλᾶ, ὥς φασιν οἱ περὶ Χρύσιππον καὶ Ἀρχέδημον καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρον καὶ Ἀντίπατρον καὶ Κρῖνιν. ἁπλᾶ μὲν οὖν ἐστι τὰ συνεστῶτα ἐξ ἀξιώματος μὴ διαφορουμένου [ἢ ἐξ ἀξιωμάτων], οἷον τὸ "ἡμέρα ἐστίν"· οὐχ ἁπλᾶ δ' ἐστὶ τὰ συνεστῶτ' ἐξ ἀξιώματος διαφορουμένου ἢ ἐξ ἀξιωμάτων.

tion; but you must express the answer in words, "He lives in this or that place."

An imperative is something which conveys a command: *e.g.*

> Go thou to the waters of Inachus.[a]

An adjurative utterance is something . . . A vocative utterance is something the use of which implies that you are addressing some one; for instance:

> Most glorious son of Atreus, Agamemnon, lord of men.[b]

A quasi-proposition is that which, having the enunciation of a judgement, yet in consequence of the intensified tone or emotion of one of its parts falls outside the class of judgements proper, *e.g.*

> Yea, fair indeed the Parthenon!
> How like to Priam's sons the cowherd is![c]

There is also, differing from a proposition or judgement, what may be called a timid suggestion, the expression of which leaves one at a loss, *e.g.*

> Can it be that pain and life are in some sort akin?

Interrogations, inquiries and the like are neither true nor false, whereas judgements (or propositions) are always either true or false.

The followers of Chrysippus, Archedemus, Athenodorus, Antipater and Crinis divide propositions into simple and not simple. Simple are those that consist of one or more propositions which are not ambiguous, as "It is day." Not simple are those that consist of one or more ambiguous propositions. They

[a] Nauck, *T.G.F.*[2], *Adesp.* 177; *cf.* Galen, xiii. p. 363 K.
[b] *Iliad* ix. 96.
[c] Nauck, *T.G.F.*[2], *Adesp.* 286.

69 ἐξ ἀξιώματος μὲν διαφορουμένου, οἷον "εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστίν, ‹ἡμέρα ἐστίν›"· ἐξ ἀξιωμάτων δέ, οἷον "εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστί, φῶς ἐστι."

Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἁπλοῖς ἀξιώμασίν ἐστι τὸ ἀποφατικὸν καὶ τὸ ἀρνητικὸν καὶ τὸ στερητικὸν καὶ τὸ κατηγορικὸν καὶ τὸ καταγορευτικὸν καὶ τὸ ἀόριστον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς οὐχ ἁπλοῖς ‹ἀξιώμασι› τὸ συνημμένον καὶ τὸ παρασυνημμένον καὶ τὸ συμπεπλεγμένον καὶ τὸ διεζευγμένον καὶ τὸ αἰτιῶδες καὶ τὸ διασαφοῦν τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ ἧττον. * * καὶ ἀποφατικὸν μὲν οἷον "οὐχὶ ἡμέρα ἐστίν." εἶδος δὲ τούτου τὸ ὑπεραποφατικόν. ὑπεραποφατικὸν δ' ἐστὶν ἀποφατικὸν ἀποφατικοῦ, οἷον "οὐχὶ ἡμέρα οὐκ ἔστι"· τίθησι δὲ τὸ "ἡμέρα ἐστίν."

70 Ἀρνητικὸν δέ ἐστι τὸ συνεστὸς ἐξ ἀρνητικοῦ μορίου καὶ κατηγορήματος, οἷον "οὐδεὶς περιπατεῖ"· στερητικὸν δέ ἐστι τὸ συνεστὸς ἐκ στερητικοῦ μορίου καὶ ἀξιώματος κατὰ δύναμιν, οἷον "ἀφιλάνθρωπός ἐστιν οὗτος"· κατηγορικὸν δέ ἐστι τὸ συνεστὸς ἐκ πτώσεως ὀρθῆς καὶ κατηγορήματος, οἷον "Δίων περιπατεῖ"· καταγορευτικὸν δέ ἐστι τὸ συνεστὸς ἐκ πτώσεως ὀρθῆς δεικτικῆς καὶ κατηγορήματος, οἷον "οὗτος περιπατεῖ"· ἀόριστον δέ ἐστι τὸ συνεστὸς ἐξ ἀορίστου μορίου ἢ ἀορίστων μορίων καὶ κατηγορήματος, οἷον "τὶς περιπατεῖ," "ἐκεῖνος κινεῖται."

71 Τῶν δ' οὐχ ἁπλῶν ἀξιωμάτων συνημμένον μέν ἐστιν, ὡς ὁ Χρύσιππος ἐν ταῖς Διαλεκτικαῖς φησι καὶ Διογένης ἐν τῇ Διαλεκτικῇ τέχνῃ, τὸ συνεστὸς διὰ τοῦ "εἰ" συναπτικοῦ συνδέσμου. ἐπαγγέλλεται δ' ὁ σύνδεσμος οὗτος ἀκολουθεῖν τὸ δεύτερον τῷ πρώτῳ, οἷον "εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστί, φῶς

may, that is, consist either of a single ambiguous proposition, *e.g.* "If it is day, it is day," or of more than one proposition, *e.g.* "If it is day, it is light."

With simple propositions are classed those of negation, denial, privation, affirmation, the definitive and the indefinitive; with those that are not simple the hypothetical, the inferential, the coupled or complex, the disjunctive, the causal, and that which indicates more or less. An example of a negative proposition is "It is not day." Of the negative proposition one species is the double negative. By double negative is meant the negation of a negation, *e.g.* "It is not not-day." Now this presupposes that it is day.

A denial contains a negative part or particle and a predication: such as this, "No one is walking." A privative proposition is one that contains a privative particle reversing the effect of a judgement, as, for example, "This man is unkind." An affirmative or assertory proposition is one that consists of a noun in the nominative case and a predicate, as "Dion is walking." A definitive proposition is one that consists of a demonstrative in the nominative case and a predicate, as "This man is walking." An indefinitive proposition is one that consists of an indefinite word or words and a predicate, *e.g.* "Some one is walking," or "There's some one walking"; "He is in motion."

Of propositions that are not simple the hypothetical, according to Chrysippus in his *Dialectics* and Diogenes in his *Art of Dialectic*, is one that is formed by means of the conditional conjunction "If." Now this conjunction promises that the second of two things follows consequentially upon the first, as, for instance,

ἐστι.'' παρασυνημμένον δέ ἐστιν, ὡς ὁ Κρῖνίς φησιν ἐν τῇ Διαλεκτικῇ τέχνῃ, ἀξίωμα ὃ ὑπὸ τοῦ '' ἐπεί '' συνδέσμου παρασυνῆπται ἀρχόμενον ἀπ' ἀξιώματος καὶ λῆγον εἰς ἀξίωμα, οἷον '' ἐπεὶ ἡμέρα ἐστί, φῶς ἐστιν.'' ἐπαγγέλλεται δ' ὁ σύνδεσμος ἀκολουθεῖν τε τὸ δεύτερον τῷ πρώτῳ
72 καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ὑφεστάναι. συμπεπλεγμένον δέ ἐστιν ἀξίωμα ὃ ὑπό τινων συμπλεκτικῶν συνδέσμων συμπέπλεκται, οἷον '' καὶ ἡμέρα ἐστὶ καὶ φῶς ἐστι.'' διεζευγμένον δέ ἐστιν ὃ ὑπὸ τοῦ '' ἤτοι '' διαζευκτικοῦ συνδέσμου διέζευκται, οἷον '' ἤτοι ἡμέρα ἐστὶν ἢ νύξ ἐστιν.'' ἐπαγγέλλεται δ' ὁ σύνδεσμος οὗτος τὸ ἕτερον τῶν ἀξιωμάτων ψεῦδος εἶναι. αἰτιῶδες δέ ἐστιν ἀξίωμα τὸ συντασσόμενον διὰ τοῦ '' διότι,'' οἷον '' διότι ἡμέρα ἐστί, φῶς ἐστιν ''· οἱονεὶ γὰρ αἴτιόν ἐστι τὸ πρῶτον τοῦ δευτέρου. διασαφοῦν δὲ τὸ μᾶλλον ἀξίωμά ἐστι τὸ συντασσόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ διασαφοῦντος τὸ μᾶλλον συνδέσμου καὶ τοῦ <'' ἢ ''> μέσου τῶν ἀξιωμάτων τασσομένου, οἷον '' μᾶλλον ἡμέρα
73 ἐστὶν ἢ νύξ ἐστι.'' διασαφοῦν δὲ τὸ ἧττον ἀξίωμά ἐστι τὸ ἐναντίον τῷ προκειμένῳ, οἷον '' ἧττον νύξ ἐστιν ἢ ἡμέρα ἐστίν.'' ἔτι τῶν ἀξιωμάτων κατά τ' ἀλήθειαν καὶ ψεῦδος ἀντικείμενα ἀλλήλοις ἐστίν, ὧν τὸ ἕτερον τοῦ ἑτέρου ἐστὶν ἀποφατικόν, οἷον τὸ '' ἡμέρα ἐστί '' καὶ τὸ '' οὐχ ἡμέρα ἐστί.'' συνημμένον οὖν ἀληθές ἐστιν οὗ τὸ ἀντικείμενον τοῦ λήγοντος μάχεται τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, οἷον '' εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστί, φῶς ἐστι.'' τοῦτ' ἀληθές ἐστι· τὸ γὰρ '' οὐχὶ φῶς,'' ἀντικείμενον τῷ λήγοντι, μάχεται τῷ '' ἡμέρα ἐστί.'' συνημμένον δὲ ψεῦδός

"If it is day, it is light." An inferential proposition according to Crinis in his *Art of Dialectic* is one which is introduced by the conjunction "Since" and consists of an initial proposition and a conclusion; for example, "Since it is day-time, it is light." This conjunction guarantees both that the second thing follows from the first and that the first is really a fact. A coupled proposition is one which is put together by certain coupling conjunctions, *e.g.* "It is day-time and it is light." A disjunctive proposition is one which is constituted such by the disjunctive conjunction "Either," as *e.g.* "Either it is day or it is night." This conjunction guarantees that one or other of the alternatives is false. A causal proposition is constructed by means of the conjunction "Because," *e.g.* "Because it is day, it is light." For the first clause is, as it were, the cause of the second. A proposition which indicates more or less is one that is formed by the word signifying "rather" and the word "than" in between the clauses, as, for example, "It is rather day-time than night." Opposite in character to the foregoing is a proposition which declares what is less the fact, as *e.g.* "It is less or not so much night as day." Further, among propositions there are some which in respect of truth and falsehood stand opposed to one another, of which the one is the negative of the other, as *e.g.* the propositions "It is day" and "It is not day." A hypothetical proposition is therefore true, if the contradictory of its conclusion is incompatible with its premiss, *e.g.* "If it is day, it is light." This is true. For the statement "It is not light," contradicting the conclusion, is incompatible with the premiss "It is day." On the other hand, a hypo-

ἐστιν οὗ τὸ ἀντικείμενον τοῦ λήγοντος οὐ μάχεται τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, οἷον "εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστί, Δίων περιπατεῖ"· τὸ γὰρ "οὐχὶ Δίων περιπατεῖ" οὐ μάχεται τῷ "ἡμέρα ἐστί."

74 Παρασυνημμένον δ' ἀληθὲς μέν ἐστιν ὃ ἀρχόμενον ἀπ' ἀληθοῦς εἰς ἀκόλουθον λήγει, οἷον "ἐπεὶ ἡμέρα ἐστίν, ἥλιός ἐστιν ὑπὲρ γῆς." ψεῦδος δ' <ὃ> ἢ ἀπὸ ψεύδους ἄρχεται ἢ μὴ εἰς ἀκόλουθον λήγει, οἷον "ἐπεὶ νύξ ἐστι, Δίων περιπατεῖ," ἂν ἡμέρας οὔσης λέγηται. αἰτιῶδες δ' ἀληθὲς μέν ἐστιν ὃ ἀρχόμενον ἀπ' ἀληθοῦς εἰς ἀκόλουθον λήγει, οὐ μὴν ἔχει τῷ λήγοντι τὸ ἀρχόμενον ἀκόλουθον, οἷον "διότι ἡμέρα ἐστί, φῶς ἐστι"· τῷ μὲν γὰρ "ἡμέρα ἐστίν" ἀκολουθεῖ τὸ "φῶς ἐστι," τῷ δὲ "φῶς ἐστιν" οὐχ ἕπεται τὸ "ἡμέρα ἐστίν." αἰτιῶδες δὲ ψεῦδός ἐστιν ὃ ἤτοι ἀπὸ ψεύδους ἄρχεται ἢ μὴ εἰς ἀκόλουθον λήγει ἢ ἔχει τῷ λήγοντι τὸ ἀρχόμενον ἀνακόλουθον, οἷον "διότι
75 νύξ ἐστι, Δίων περιπατεῖ." πιθανὸν δέ ἐστιν ἀξίωμα τὸ ἄγον εἰς συγκατάθεσιν, οἷον "εἴ τίς τι ἔτεκεν, ἐκείνη ἐκείνου μήτηρ ἐστί." ψεῦδος δὲ τοῦτο· οὐ γὰρ ἡ ὄρνις ᾠοῦ ἐστι μήτηρ.

Ἔτι τε τὰ μέν ἐστι δυνατά, τὰ δ' ἀδύνατα· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαῖα, τὰ δ' οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα. δυνατὸν μὲν τὸ ἐπιδεκτικὸν τοῦ ἀληθὲς εἶναι, τῶν ἐκτὸς μὴ ἐναντιουμένων πρὸς τὸ ἀληθὲς εἶναι, οἷον "ζῇ Διοκλῆς"· ἀδύνατον δὲ ὃ μή ἐστιν ἐπιδεκτικὸν τοῦ ἀληθὲς εἶναι, οἷον "ἡ γῆ ἵπταται." ἀναγκαῖον δέ ἐστιν ὅπερ ἀληθὲς ὂν οὐκ ἔστιν

thetical proposition is false, if the contradictory of its conclusion does not conflict with the premiss, *e.g.* " If it is day, Dion is walking." For the statement " Dion is not walking " does not conflict with the premiss " It is day."

An inferential proposition is true if starting from a true premiss it also has a consequent conclusion, as *e.g.* " Since it is day, the sun is above the horizon." But it is false if it starts from a false premiss or has an inconsequent conclusion, as *e.g.* " Since it is night, Dion is walking," if this be said in day-time. A causal proposition is true if its conclusion really follows from a premiss itself true, though the premiss does not follow conversely from the conclusion, as *e.g.* " Because it is day, it is light," where from the " it is day " the " it is light " duly follows, though from the statement " it is light " it would not follow that " it is day." But a causal proposition is false if it either starts from a false premiss or has an inconsequent conclusion or has a premiss that does not correspond with the conclusion, as *e.g.* " Because it is night, Dion is walking." A probable judgement is one which induces to assent, *e.g.* " Whoever gave birth to anything, is that thing's mother." This, however, is not necessarily true ; for the hen is not mother of an egg.

Again, some things are possible, others impossible ; and some things are necessary, others are not necessary. A proposition is possible which admits of being true, there being nothing in external circumstances to prevent it being true, *e.g.* " Diocles is alive." Impossible is one which does not admit of being true, as *e.g.* " The earth flies." That is necessary which besides being true does not admit of being

ἐπιδεκτικὸν τοῦ ψεῦδος εἶναι, ἢ ἐπιδεκτικὸν μέν ἐστι, τὰ δ' ἐκτὸς αὐτῷ ἐναντιοῦται πρὸς τὸ ψεῦδος εἶναι, οἷον "ἡ ἀρετὴ ὠφελεῖ." οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον δέ ἐστιν ὃ καὶ ἀληθές ἐστιν καὶ ψεῦδος οἷόν τε εἶναι, τῶν ἐκτὸς μηδὲν ἐναντιουμένων, οἷον τὸ
76 "περιπατεῖ Δίων." εὔλογον δέ ἐστιν ἀξίωμα τὸ πλείονας ἀφορμὰς ἔχον εἰς τὸ ἀληθὲς εἶναι, οἷον "βιώσομαι αὔριον."

Καὶ ἄλλαι δέ εἰσι διαφοραὶ ἀξιωμάτων καὶ μεταπτώσεις αὐτῶν ἐξ ἀληθῶν εἰς ψεύδη καὶ ἀντιστροφαί, περὶ ὧν ἐν τῷ πλάτει λέγομεν.

Λόγος δέ ἐστιν, ὡς οἱ περὶ τὸν Κρῖνίν φασι, τὸ συνεστηκὸς ἐκ λήμματος καὶ προσλήψεως καὶ ἐπιφορᾶς, οἷον ὁ τοιοῦτος, "εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστί, φῶς ἐστι· ἡμέρα δέ ἐστι· φῶς ἄρα ἐστί." λῆμμα μὲν γάρ ἐστι τὸ "εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστι, φῶς ἐστι"· πρόσληψις τὸ "ἡμέρα δέ ἐστιν"· ἐπιφορὰ δὲ τὸ "φῶς ἄρα ἐστί." τρόπος δέ ἐστιν οἱονεὶ σχῆμα λόγου, οἷον ὁ τοιοῦτος, "εἰ τὸ πρῶτον, τὸ δεύτερον· ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸ πρῶτον· τὸ ἄρα δεύτερον."

77 Λογότροπος δέ ἐστι τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων σύνθετον, οἷον "εἰ ζῇ Πλάτων, ἀναπνεῖ Πλάτων· ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸ πρῶτον· τὸ ἄρα δεύτερον." παρεισήχθη δὲ ὁ λογότροπος ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐν ταῖς μακροτέραις συντάξεσι τῶν λόγων μηκέτι τὴν πρόσληψιν μακρὰν οὖσαν καὶ τὴν ἐπιφορὰν λέγειν, ἀλλὰ συντόμως ἐπενεγκεῖν, "τὸ δὲ πρῶτον· τὸ ἄρα δεύτερον."

Τῶν δὲ λόγων οἱ μέν εἰσιν ἀπέραντοι, οἱ δὲ περαντικοί. ἀπέραντοι μὲν ὧν τὸ ἀντικείμενον τῆς ἐπιφορᾶς οὐ μάχεται τῇ διὰ τῶν λημμάτων

false or, while it may admit of being false, is prevented from being false by circumstances external to itself, as "Virtue is beneficial." Not necessary is that which, while true, yet is capable of being false if there are no external conditions to prevent, *e.g.* "Dion is walking." A reasonable proposition is one which has to start with more chances of being true than not, *e.g.* "I shall be alive to-morrow."

And there are other shades of difference in propositions and grades of transition from true to false—and conversions of their terms—which we now go on to describe broadly.

An argument, according to the followers of Crinis, consists of a major premiss, a minor premiss, and a conclusion, such as for example this: "If it is day, it is light; but it is day, therefore it is light." Here the sentence "If it is day, it is light" is the major premiss, the clause "it is day" is the minor premiss, and "therefore it is light" is the conclusion. A mood is a sort of outline of an argument, like the following: "If the first, then the second; but the first is, therefore the second is."

Symbolical argument is a combination of full argument and mood; *e.g.* "If Plato is alive, he breathes; but the first is true, therefore the second is true." This mode of argument was introduced in order that when dealing with long complex arguments we should not have to repeat the minor premiss, if it be long, and then state the conclusion, but may arrive at the conclusion as concisely as possible: if A, then B.

Of arguments some are conclusive, others inconclusive. Inconclusive are such that the contradictory of the conclusion is not incompatible with combina-

συμπλοκῇ, οἷον οἱ τοιοῦτοι, " εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστί, φῶς ἐστι· ἡμέρα δέ ἐστι· περιπατεῖ ἄρα Δίων."

78 Τῶν δὲ περαντικῶν λόγων οἱ μὲν ὁμωνύμως τῷ γένει λέγονται περαντικοί· οἱ δὲ συλλογιστικοί. συλλογιστικοὶ μὲν οὖν εἰσιν οἱ ἤτοι ἀναπόδεικτοι ὄντες ἢ ἀναγόμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀναποδείκτους κατά τι τῶν θεμάτων ἤ τινα, οἷον οἱ τοιοῦτοι " εἰ περιπατεῖ Δίων, <κινεῖται Δίων· ἀλλὰ μὴν περιπατεῖ Δίων>· κινεῖται ἄρα Δίων." περαντικοὶ δέ εἰσιν εἰδικῶς οἱ συνάγοντες μὴ συλλογιστικῶς, οἷον οἱ τοιοῦτοι, " ψεῦδός ἐστι τὸ ἡμέρα ἐστὶ καὶ νύξ ἐστι· ἡμέρα δέ ἐστιν· οὐκ ἄρα νύξ ἐστιν." ἀσυλλόγιστοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ παρακείμενοι μὲν πιθανῶς τοῖς συλλογιστικοῖς, οὐ συνάγοντες δέ, οἷον " εἰ ἵππος ἐστὶ Δίων, ζῷόν ἐστι Δίων· <ἀλλὰ μὴν ἵππος οὐκ ἔστι Δίων>· οὐκ ἄρα ζῷόν ἐστι Δίων."

79 Ἔτι τῶν λόγων οἱ μὲν ἀληθεῖς εἰσιν, οἱ δὲ ψευδεῖς. ἀληθεῖς μὲν οὖν εἰσι λόγοι οἱ δι' ἀληθῶν συνάγοντες, οἷον " εἰ ἡ ἀρετὴ ὠφελεῖ, ἡ κακία βλάπτει· <ἀλλὰ μὴν ὠφελεῖ ἡ ἀρετή· ἡ κακία ἄρα βλάπτει>." ψευδεῖς δέ εἰσιν οἱ τῶν λημμάτων ἔχοντές τι ψεῦδος ἢ ἀπέραντοι ὄντες, οἷον " εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστί, φῶς ἐστιν· ἡμέρα δέ ἐστι· ζῇ ἄρα Δίων." καὶ δυνατοὶ δ' εἰσὶ λόγοι καὶ ἀδύνατοι καὶ ἀναγκαῖοι καὶ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖοι· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἀναπόδεικτοί τινες, τῷ μὴ χρῄζειν ἀποδείξεως, ἄλλοι μὲν παρ' ἄλλοις, παρὰ δὲ τῷ Χρυσίππῳ πέντε, δι' ὧν πᾶς λόγος πλέκεται· οἵτινες λαμ-

tion of the premisses, as in the following: "If it is day, it is light; but it is day, therefore Dion walks." [a]

Of conclusive some are denoted by the common name of the whole class, "conclusive proper," others are called syllogistic. The syllogistic are such as either do not admit of, or are reducible to such as do not admit of, immediate proof in respect of one or more of the premisses; *e.g.* "If Dion walks, then Dion is in motion; but Dion is walking, therefore Dion is in motion." Conclusive specifically are those which draw conclusions, but not by syllogism; *e.g.* the statement "It is both day and night" is false: "now it is day; therefore it is not night." Arguments not syllogistic are those which plausibly resemble syllogistic arguments, but are not cogent proof; *e.g.* "If Dion is a horse, he is an animal; but Dion is not a horse, therefore he is not an animal."

Further, arguments may be divided into true and false. The former draw their conclusions by means of true premisses; *e.g.* "If virtue does good, vice does harm; but virtue does good, therefore vice does harm." [b] Those are false which have error in the premisses or are inconclusive; *e.g.* "If it is day, it is light; but it is day, therefore Dion is alive." Arguments may also be divided into possible and impossible, necessary and not necessary. Further, there are statements which are indemonstrable because they do not need demonstration; they are employed in the construction of every argument. As to the number of these, authorities differ; Chrysippus makes them five. These are assumed alike in reason-

[a] *Cf.* Sext. Emp. *Adv. math.* viii. 429.
[b] The example is badly chosen, confusing contrary with contradictory.

βάνονται ἐπὶ τῶν περαντικῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν συλ-
80 λογισμῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τροπικῶν. πρῶτος δέ ἐστιν ἀναπόδεικτος ἐν ᾧ πᾶς λόγος συντάσσεται ἐκ συνημμένου καὶ τοῦ ἡγουμένου, ἀφ' οὗ ἄρχεται τὸ συνημμένον καὶ τὸ λῆγον ἐπιφέρει, οἷον "εἰ τὸ πρῶτον, τὸ δεύτερον· ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸ πρῶτον· τὸ ἄρα δεύτερον." δεύτερος δ' ἐστὶν ἀναπόδεικτος ὁ διὰ συνημμένου καὶ τοῦ ἀντικειμένου τοῦ λήγοντος τὸ ἀντικείμενον τοῦ ἡγουμένου ἔχων συμπέρασμα, οἷον "εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστί, φῶς ἐστιν· ἀλλὰ μὴν νύξ ἐστιν· οὐκ ἄρα ἡμέρα ἐστίν." ἡ γὰρ πρόσληψις γίνεται ἐκ τοῦ ἀντικειμένου τῷ λήγοντι καὶ ἡ ἐπιφορὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀντικειμένου τῷ ἡγουμένῳ. τρίτος δέ ἐστιν ἀναπόδεικτος ὁ δι' ἀποφατικῆς συμπλοκῆς καὶ ἑνὸς τῶν ἐν τῇ συμπλοκῇ ἐπιφέρων τὸ ἀντικείμενον τοῦ λοιποῦ, οἷον "οὐχὶ τέθνηκε Πλάτων καὶ ζῇ Πλάτων· ἀλλὰ μὴν τέθνηκε
81 Πλάτων· οὐκ ἄρα ζῇ Πλάτων." τέταρτος δέ ἐστιν ἀναπόδεικτος ὁ διὰ διεζευγμένου καὶ ἑνὸς τῶν ἐν τῷ διεζευγμένῳ τὸ ἀντικείμενον τοῦ λοιποῦ ἔχων συμπέρασμα, οἷον "ἤτοι τὸ πρῶτον ἢ τὸ δεύτερον· ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸ πρῶτον· οὐκ ἄρα τὸ δεύτερον." πέμπτος δέ ἐστιν ἀναπόδεικτος ἐν ᾧ πᾶς λόγος συντάσσεται ἐκ διεζευγμένου καὶ ἑνὸς τῶν ἐν τῷ διεζευγμένῳ ἀντικειμένων καὶ ἐπιφέρει τὸ λοιπόν, οἷον "ἤτοι ἡμέρα ἐστὶν ἢ νύξ ἐστιν· οὐχὶ δὲ νύξ ἐστιν· ἡμέρα ἄρα ἐστίν."

Ἐπ' ἀληθεῖ δ' ἀληθὲς ἕπεται κατὰ τοὺς Στωικούς, ὡς τῷ "ἡμέρα ἐστὶ" τὸ "φῶς ἐστι"· καὶ ψεύδει

[a] *Cf.* Sext. Emp. *Pyrrh. Hyp.* ii. 157 *sq.*

ing specifically conclusive and in syllogisms both categorical and hypothetical. The first kind of indemonstrable statement is that in which the whole argument is constructed of a hypothetical proposition and the clause with which the hypothetical proposition begins, while the final clause is the conclusion; as *e.g.* "If the first, then the second; but the first is, therefore the second is." [a] The second is that which employs a hypothetical proposition and the contradictory of the consequent, while the conclusion is the contradictory of the antecedent; *e.g.* "If it is day, it is light; but it is night, therefore it is not day." Here the minor premiss is the contradictory of the consequent; the conclusion the contradictory of the antecedent. The third kind of indemonstrable employs a conjunction of negative propositions for major premiss and one of the conjoined propositions for minor premiss, concluding thence the contradictory of the remaining proposition; *e.g.* "It is not the case that Plato is both dead and alive; but he is dead, therefore Plato is not alive." The fourth kind employs a disjunctive proposition and one of the two alternatives in the disjunction as premisses, and its conclusion is the contradictory of the other alternative; *e.g.* "Either A or B; but A is, therefore B is not." The fifth kind is that in which the argument as a whole is constructed of a disjunctive proposition and the contradictory of one of the alternatives in the disjunction, its conclusion being the other alternative; *e.g.* "Either it is day or it is night; but it is not night, therefore it is day."

From a truth a truth follows, according to the Stoics, as *e.g.* "It is light" from "It is day"; and

ψεῦδος, ὡς τῷ "νύξ ἐστι" ψεύδει τὸ "σκότο ἐστί"· καὶ ψεύδει ἀληθές, ὡς τῷ "ἵπτασθαι τὴ. γῆν" τὸ "εἶναι τὴν γῆν." ἀληθεῖ μέντοι ψεῦδος οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ· τῷ γὰρ "εἶναι τὴν γῆν" τὸ "πέτεσθαι τὴν γῆν" οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ.

82 Καὶ ἄποροι δέ τινές εἰσι λόγοι ἐγκεκαλυμμένοι καὶ διαλεληθότες καὶ σωρῖται καὶ κερατίναι καὶ οὔτιδες. ἔστι δὲ ἐγκεκαλυμμένος, οἷον ὁ τοιοῦτος * * "οὐχὶ τὰ μὲν δύο ὀλίγα ἐστίν, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ τρία, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα μέν, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα καὶ οὕτω μέχρι τῶν δέκα· τὰ δὲ δύο ὀλίγα ἐστί· καὶ τὰ δέκα ἄρα." * * οὔτις δέ ἐ λόγος συνακτικὸς ἐξ ἀορίστου καὶ ὡρισμέ συνεστώς, πρόσληψιν δὲ καὶ ἐπιφορὰν ἔχων, ο "εἴ τίς ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκεῖνος ἐν Ῥό ‹ἀλλὰ μήν ἐστί τις ἐνταῦθα· οὐκ ἄρα τίς ἐστιν Ῥόδῳ›." * *

83 Καὶ τοιοῦτοι μὲν ἐν τοῖς λογικοῖς οἱ Στωικ ἵνα μάλιστα κρατύνωσι διαλεκτικὸν μόνον εἶ τὸν σοφόν· πάντα γὰρ τὰ πράγματα διὰ τι ἐν λόγοις θεωρίας ὁρᾶσθαι, ὅσα τε τοῦ φυσικοῦ τόπου τυγχάνει καὶ αὖ πάλιν ὅσα τοῦ ἠθικοῦ. εἰς μὲν γὰρ τὸ λογικὸν τί δεῖ λέγειν περί τ' ὀν·· μάτων ὀρθότητος, ὅπως διέταξαν οἱ νόμοι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις, οὐκ ἂν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν. δυοῖν δ' οὔσαιν συνηθείαιν ταῖν ὑποπιπτούσαιν τῇ ἀρετῇ, ἡ μὲν

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[a] *Cf. supra*, § 44.

[b] Here Laertius, as the text stands, gives examples of the Sorites and the Nobody, but none of the other three fallacies, the Veiled, Concealed, Horned.

[c] The vulgate, in which I have made no change, has been regarded with suspicion. Von Arnim conjectures:

"For if the logician ought to have something to say about

from a falsehood a falsehood, as "It is dark" from "It is night," if this latter be untrue. Also a truth may follow from a falsehood; *e.g.* from "The earth flies" will follow "The earth exists"; whereas from a truth no falsehood will follow, for from the existence of the earth it does not follow that the earth flies aloft.

There are also certain insoluble arguments[a]: the Veiled Men, the Concealed, Sorites, Horned Folk, the Nobodies. The Veiled is as follows[b]: . . . "It cannot be that if two is few, three is not so likewise, nor that if two or three are few, four is not so; and so on up to ten. But two is few, therefore so also is ten." . . . The Nobody argument is an argument whose major premiss consists of an indefinite and a definite clause, followed by a minor premiss and conclusion; for example, "If anyone is here, he is not in Rhodes; but there is some one here, therefore there is not anyone in Rhodes." . . .

Such, then, is the logic of the Stoics, by which they seek to establish their point that the wise man is the true dialectician. For all things, they say, are discerned by means of logical study, including whatever falls within the province of Physics, and again whatever belongs to that of Ethics. For else, say they, as regards statement and reasoning Physics and Ethics could not tell how to express themselves, or again concerning the proper use of terms, how the laws have defined various actions.[c] Moreover, of the two kinds of common-sense inquiry included under Virtue one considers the nature of each

the correct use of terms, how could he fail to lay down the proper names for actions?"

τί ἕκαστόν ἐστι τῶν ὄντων σκοπεῖ, ἡ δὲ τί καλεῖται. καὶ ὧδε μὲν αὐτοῖς ἔχει τὸ λογικόν.

84 Τὸ δ' ἠθικὸν μέρος τῆς φιλοσοφίας διαιροῦσιν εἴς τε τὸν περὶ ὁρμῆς καὶ εἰς τὸν περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν τόπον καὶ εἰς τὸν περὶ παθῶν καὶ περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ περὶ τέλους περί τε τῆς πρώτης ἀξίας καὶ τῶν πράξεων καὶ περὶ τῶν καθηκόντων προτροπῶν τε καὶ ἀποτροπῶν. [καὶ] οὕτω δ' ὑποδιαιροῦσιν οἱ περὶ Χρύσιππον καὶ Ἀρχέδημον καὶ Ζήνωνα τὸν Ταρσέα καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρον καὶ Διογένην καὶ Ἀντίπατρον καὶ Ποσειδώνιον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Κιτιεὺς Ζήνων καὶ ὁ Κλεάνθης, ὡς ἂν ἀρχαιότεροι, ἀφελέστερον περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων διέλαβον. οὗτοι δὲ διεῖλον καὶ τὸν λογικὸν καὶ τὸν φυσικόν.

85 Τὴν δὲ πρώτην ὁρμήν φασι τὸ ζῷον ἴσχειν ἐπὶ τὸ τηρεῖν ἑαυτό, οἰκειούσης αὐτῷ τῆς φύσεως ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, καθά φησιν ὁ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ τελῶν, πρῶτον οἰκεῖον λέγων εἶναι παντὶ ζῴῳ τὴν αὑτοῦ σύστασιν καὶ τὴν ταύτης συνείδησιν· οὔτε γὰρ ἀλλοτριῶσαι εἰκὸς ἦν αὐτὸ <αὑτῷ> τὸ ζῷον, οὔτε ποιήσασαν αὐτό, μήτ' ἀλλοτριῶσαι μήτ' οἰκειῶσαι. ἀπολείπεται τοίνυν λέγειν συστησαμένην αὐτὸ οἰκειῶσαι πρὸς ἑαυτό· οὕτω γὰρ τά τε βλάπτοντα διωθεῖται καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα προσίεται.

Ὃ δὲ λέγουσί τινες, πρὸς ἡδονὴν γίγνεσθαι τὴν πρώτην ὁρμὴν τοῖς ζῴοις, ψεῦδος ἀποφαίνουσιν.
86 ἐπιγέννημα γάρ φασιν, εἰ ἄρα ἔστιν, ἡδονὴν εἶναι

particular thing, the other asks what it is called. Thus much for their logic.

The ethical branch of philosophy they divide as follows: (1) the topic of impulse; (2) the topic of things good and evil; (3) that of the passions; (4) that of virtue; (5) that of the end; (6) that of primary value and of actions; (7) that of duties or the befitting; and (8) of inducements to act or refrain from acting. The foregoing is the subdivision adopted by Chrysippus, Archedemus, Zeno of Tarsus, Apollodorus, Diogenes, Antipater, and Posidonius, and their disciples. Zeno of Citium and Cleanthes treated the subject somewhat less elaborately, as might be expected in an older generation. They, however, did subdivide Logic and Physics as well as Ethics.

An animal's first impulse, say the Stoics, is to self-preservation, because nature from the outset endears it to itself, as Chrysippus affirms in the first book of his work *On Ends*: his words are, "The dearest thing to every animal is its own constitution and its consciousness thereof"; for it was not likely that nature should estrange the living thing from itself or that she should leave the creature she has made without either estrangement from or affection for its own constitution. We are forced then to conclude that nature in constituting the animal made it near and dear to itself: for so it comes to repel all that is injurious and give free access to all that is serviceable or akin to it.

As for the assertion made by some people that pleasure is the object to which the first impulse of animals is directed, it is shown by the Stoics to be false. For pleasure, if it is really felt, they declare

ὅταν αὐτὴ καθ' αὑτὴν ἡ φύσις ἐπιζητήσασα τὰ ἐναρμόζοντα τῇ συστάσει ἀπολάβῃ· ὃν τρόπον ἀφιλαρύνεται τὰ ζῷα καὶ θάλλει τὰ φυτά. οὐδέν τε, φασί, διήλλαξεν ἡ φύσις ἐπὶ τῶν φυτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ζῴων, ὅτι χωρὶς ὁρμῆς καὶ αἰσθήσεως κἀκεῖνα οἰκονομεῖ καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν τινα φυτοειδῶς γίνεται. ἐκ περιττοῦ δὲ τῆς ὁρμῆς τοῖς ζῴοις ἐπιγενομένης, ᾗ συγχρώμενα πορεύεται πρὸς τὰ οἰκεῖα, τούτοις μὲν τὸ κατὰ φύσιν τῷ κατὰ[1] *τὴν ὁρμὴν διοικεῖσθαι· τοῦ δὲ λόγου τοῖς λογικοῖς κατὰ τελειοτέραν προστασίαν δεδομένου, τὸ κατὰ λόγον ζῆν ὀρθῶς γίνεσθαι* <*τού*>*τοις κατὰ φύσιν· τεχνίτης γὰρ οὗτος ἐπιγίνεται τῆς ὁρμῆς.*

87 *Διόπερ πρῶτος ὁ* Ζήνων *ἐν τῷ* Περὶ *ἀνθρώπου φύσεως τέλος εἶπε τὸ ὁμολογουμένως τῇ φύσει ζῆν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ κατ' ἀρετὴν ζῆν· ἄγει γὰρ πρὸς ταύτην ἡμᾶς ἡ φύσις. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ* Κλεάνθης *ἐν τῷ* Περὶ *ἡδονῆς καὶ* Ποσειδώνιος *καὶ* Ἑκάτων *ἐν τοῖς* Περὶ *τελῶν. πάλιν δ' ἴσον ἐστὶ τὸ κατ' ἀρετὴν ζῆν τῷ κατ' ἐμπειρίαν τῶν φύσει συμβαινόντων ζῆν, ὥς φησι* Χρύσιππος *ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ* Περὶ *τελῶν· μέρη γάρ εἰσιν αἱ ἡμέτεραι φύσεις τῆς*
88 *τοῦ ὅλου. διόπερ τέλος γίνεται τὸ ἀκολούθως τῇ φύσει ζῆν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ κατά τε τὴν αὑτοῦ καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὅλων, οὐδὲν ἐνεργοῦντας ὧν ἀπαγορεύειν*

[1] *τὸ κατὰ* codd.: corr. Arnim.

to be a by-product, which never comes until nature by itself has sought and found the means suitable to the animal's existence or constitution ; it is an aftermath comparable to the condition of animals thriving and plants in full bloom. And nature, they say, made no difference originally between plants and animals, for she regulates the life of plants too, in their case without impulse and sensation, just as also certain processes go on of a vegetative kind in us. But when in the case of animals impulse has been superadded, whereby they are enabled to go in quest of their proper aliment, for them, say the Stoics, Nature's rule is to follow the direction of impulse. But when reason by way of a more perfect leadership has been bestowed on the beings we call rational, for them life according to reason rightly becomes the natural life. For reason supervenes to shape impulse scientifically.

This is why Zeno was the first (in his treatise *On the Nature of Man*) to designate as the end "life in agreement with nature" (or living agreeably to nature), which is the same as a virtuous life, virtue being the goal towards which nature guides us. So too Cleanthes in his treatise *On Pleasure*, as also Posidonius, and Hecato in his work *On Ends*. Again, living virtuously is equivalent to living in accordance with experience of the actual course of nature, as Chrysippus says in the first book of his *De finibus* ; for our individual natures are parts of the nature of the whole universe. And this is why the end may be defined as life in accordance with nature, or, in other words, in accordance with our own human nature as well as that of the universe, a life in which we refrain from every action forbidden

εἴωθεν ὁ νόμος ὁ κοινός, ὅσπερ ἐστὶν ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος, διὰ πάντων ἐρχόμενος, ὁ αὐτὸς ὢν τῷ Διί, καθηγεμόνι τούτῳ τῆς τῶν ὄντων διοικήσεως ὄντι· εἶναι δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὴν τοῦ εὐδαίμονος ἀρετὴν καὶ εὔροιαν βίου, ὅταν πάντα πράττηται κατὰ τὴν συμφωνίαν τοῦ παρ' ἑκάστῳ δαίμονος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ τῶν ὅλων διοικητοῦ βούλησιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Διογένης τέλος φησὶ ῥητῶς τὸ εὐλογιστεῖν ἐν τῇ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἐκλογῇ. Ἀρχέδημος δὲ τὸ πάντα τὰ καθήκοντα ἐπιτελοῦντα ζῆν.

89 Φύσιν δὲ Χρύσιππος μὲν ἐξακούει, ᾗ ἀκολούθως δεῖ ζῆν, τήν τε κοινὴν καὶ ἰδίως τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην· ὁ δὲ Κλεάνθης τὴν κοινὴν μόνην ἐκδέχεται φύσιν, ᾗ ἀκολουθεῖν δεῖ, οὐκέτι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ μέρους.

Τήν τ' ἀρετὴν διάθεσιν εἶναι ὁμολογουμένην· καὶ αὐτὴν δι' αὑτὴν εἶναι αἱρετήν, οὐ διά τινα φόβον ἢ ἐλπίδα ἤ τι τῶν ἔξωθεν· ἐν αὐτῇ τ' εἶναι τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, ἅτ' οὔσῃ ψυχῇ πεποιημένῃ πρὸς τὴν ὁμολογίαν παντὸς τοῦ βίου. διαστρέφεσθαι δὲ τὸ λογικὸν ζῷον, ποτὲ μὲν διὰ τὰς τῶν ἔξωθεν πραγματειῶν πιθανότητας, ποτὲ δὲ διὰ τὴν κατήχησιν τῶν συνόντων· ἐπεὶ ἡ φύσις ἀφορμὰς δίδωσιν ἀδιαστρόφους.

90 Ἀρετὴ δ' ἡ μέν τις κοινῶς παντὶ τελείωσις, ὥσπερ ἀνδριάντος· καὶ ἡ ἀθεώρητος, ὥσπερ ὑγίεια· καὶ ἡ θεωρηματική, ὡς φρόνησις. φησὶ γὰρ ὁ Ἑκάτων ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ ἀρετῶν ἐπιστημονικὰς μὲν εἶναι καὶ θεωρηματικὰς τὰς ἐχούσας τὴν σύστασιν ἐκ θεωρημάτων, ὡς φρόνησιν καὶ

by the law common to all things, that is to say, the right reason which pervades all things, and is identical with this Zeus, lord and ruler of all that is. And this very thing constitutes the virtue of the happy man and the smooth current of life, when all actions promote the harmony of the spirit dwelling in the individual man with the will of him who orders the universe. Diogenes then expressly declares the end to be to act with good reason in the selection of what is natural. Archedemus says the end is to live in the performance of all befitting actions.

By the nature with which our life ought to be in accord, Chrysippus understands both universal nature and more particularly the nature of man, whereas Cleanthes takes the nature of the universe alone as that which should be followed, without adding the nature of the individual.

And virtue, he holds, is a harmonious disposition, choice-worthy for its own sake and not from hope or fear or any external motive. Moreover, it is in virtue that happiness consists; for virtue is the state of mind which tends to make the whole of life harmonious. When a rational being is perverted, this is due to the deceptiveness of external pursuits or sometimes to the influence of associates. For the starting-points of nature are never perverse.

Virtue, in the first place, is in one sense the perfection of anything in general, say of a statue; again, it may be non-intellectual, like health, or intellectual, like prudence. For Hecato says in his first book *On the Virtues* that some are scientific and based upon theory, namely, those which have a structure of theoretical principles, such as prudence

δικαιοσύνην· ἀθεωρήτους δὲ τὰς κατὰ παρέκτασιν θεωρουμένας ταῖς ἐκ τῶν θεωρημάτων συνεστηκυίαις, καθάπερ ὑγίειαν καὶ ἰσχύν. τῇ γὰρ σωφροσύνῃ τεθεωρημένῃ ὑπαρχούσῃ συμβαίνει ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ παρεκτείνεσθαι τὴν ὑγίειαν, καθάπερ τῇ ψαλίδος οἰκοδομίᾳ τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐπιγίνεσθαι.
91 *καλοῦνται δ' ἀθεώρητοι ὅτι μὴ ἔχουσι συγκαταθέσεις, ἀλλ' ἐπιγίνονται καὶ περὶ φαύλους [γίγνονται], ὡς ὑγίεια, ἀνδρεία. τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦ ὑπαρκτὴν εἶναι τὴν ἀρετήν φησιν ὁ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τοῦ Ἠθικοῦ λόγου τὸ γενέσθαι ἐν προκοπῇ τοὺς περὶ Σωκράτην καὶ Διογένην καὶ Ἀντισθένην. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὴν κακίαν ὑπαρκτὴν διὰ τὸ ἀντικεῖσθαι τῇ ἀρετῇ. διδακτήν τ' εἶναι αὐτήν, λέγω δὲ τὴν ἀρετήν, καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ τέλους φησὶ καὶ Κλεάνθης καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τοῖς Προτρεπτικοῖς καὶ Ἑκάτων· ὅτι δὲ διδακτή ἐστι, δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ γίνεσθαι ἀγαθοὺς ἐκ φαύλων.*

92 *Παναίτιος μὲν οὖν δύο φησὶν ἀρετάς, θεωρητικὴν καὶ πρακτικήν· ἄλλοι δὲ λογικὴν καὶ φυσικὴν καὶ ἠθικήν· τέτταρας δὲ οἱ περὶ Ποσειδώνιον καὶ πλείονας οἱ περὶ Κλεάνθην καὶ Χρύσιππον καὶ Ἀντίπατρον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἀπολλοφάνης μίαν λέγει, τὴν φρόνησιν.*

Τῶν δ' ἀρετῶν τὰς μὲν πρώτας, τὰς δὲ ταύταις ὑποτεταγμένας. πρώτας μὲν τάσδε, φρόνησιν, ἀνδρείαν, δικαιοσύνην, σωφροσύνην· ἐν εἴδει δὲ τούτων μεγαλοψυχίαν, ἐγκράτειαν, καρτερίαν, ἀγχίνοιαν, εὐβουλίαν· καὶ τὴν μὲν φρόνησιν εἶναι ἐπιστήμην κακῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ οὐδετέρων, τὴν

[a] One of the older Stoics ; *cf. Frag. Vet. Stoic.* i. 90.

and justice; others are non-intellectual, those that are regarded as co-extensive and parallel with the former, like health and strength. For health is found to attend upon and be co-extensive with the intellectual virtue of temperance, just as strength is a result of the building of an arch. These are called non-intellectual, because they do not require the mind's assent; they supervene and they occur even in bad men: for instance, health, courage. The proof, says Posidonius in the first book of his treatise on *Ethics*, that virtue really exists is the fact that Socrates, Diogenes, and Antisthenes and their followers made moral progress. And for the existence of vice as a fundamental fact the proof is that it is the opposite of virtue. That it, virtue, can be taught is laid down by Chrysippus in the first book of his work *On the End*, by Cleanthes, by Posidonius in his *Protreptica*, and by Hecato; that it can be taught is clear from the case of bad men becoming good.

Panaetius, however, divides virtue into two kinds, theoretical and practical; others make a threefold division of it into logical, physical, and ethical; while by the school of Posidonius four types are recognized, and more than four by Cleanthes, Chrysippus, Antipater, and their followers. Apollophanes [a] for his part counts but one, namely, practical wisdom.

Amongst the virtues some are primary, some are subordinate to these. The following are the primary: wisdom, courage, justice, temperance. Particular virtues are magnanimity, continence, endurance, presence of mind, good counsel. And wisdom they define as the knowledge of things good and evil and

δ' ἀνδρείαν ἐπιστήμην ὧν αἱρετέον καὶ ὧν εὐλαβη-
93 τέον καὶ οὐδετέρων· τὴν δὲ δικαιοσύνην * * τὴν δὲ μεγαλοψυχίαν ἐπιστήμην ἢ ἕξιν ὑπεράνω ποιοῦσαν τῶν συμβαινόντων κοινῇ φαύλων τε καὶ σπουδαίων· τὴν δ' ἐγκράτειαν διάθεσιν ἀνυπέρβατον τῶν κατ' ὀρθὸν λόγον ἢ ἕξιν ἀήττητον ἡδονῶν. τὴν δὲ καρτερίαν ἐπιστήμην ἢ ἕξιν ὧν ἐμμενετέον καὶ μὴ καὶ οὐδετέρων. τὴν δ' ἀγχίνοιαν ἕξιν εὑρετικὴν τοῦ καθήκοντος ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα· τὴν δ' εὐβουλίαν ἐπιστήμην τοῦ σκοπεῖσθαι ποῖα καὶ πῶς πράττοντες πράξομεν συμφερόντως.

Ἀνὰ λόγον δὲ καὶ τῶν κακιῶν τὰς μὲν εἶναι πρώτας, τὰς δ' ὑπὸ ταύτας· οἷον ἀφροσύνην μὲν καὶ δειλίαν καὶ ἀδικίαν καὶ ἀκολασίαν ἐν ταῖς πρώταις, ἀκρασίαν δὲ καὶ βραδύνοιαν καὶ κακοβουλίαν ἐν ταῖς ὑπὸ ταύτας. εἶναι δ' ἀγνοίας τὰς κακίας, ὧν αἱ ἀρεταὶ ἐπιστῆμαι.

94 Ἀγαθὸν δὲ κοινῶς μὲν τὸ ‹οὗ› τι ὄφελος, ἰδίως δ' ἤτοι ταὐτὸν ἢ οὐχ ἕτερον ὠφελείας. ὅθεν αὐτήν τε τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸ μετέχον αὐτῆς ἀγαθὸν τριχῶς οὕτω λέγεσθαι· οἷον τὸ ‹μὲν› ἀγαθὸν ἀφ' οὗ συμβαίνει ‹ὠφελεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ καθ' ὃ συμβαίνει›, ὡς τὴν[1] πρᾶξιν τὴν κατ' ἀρετήν· ὑφ' οὗ δέ, ὡς τὸν σπουδαῖον τὸν μετέχοντα τῆς ἀρετῆς.

Ἄλλως δ' οὕτως ἰδίως ὁρίζονται τὸ ἀγαθόν, "τὸ τέλειον κατὰ φύσιν λογικοῦ ὡς λογικοῦ." τοιοῦτον δ' εἶναι τὴν ἀρετήν, ὥς τε μετέχοντα τάς

[1] ὥστε Arn.: ἧς τὰ coni. Reiske.

[a] It is obviously not courage which is here defined, but apparently wisdom over again. Hence I have marked a lacuna.

of what is neither good nor evil; courage[a] as knowledge of what we ought to choose, what we ought to beware of, and what is indifferent; justice . . . ; magnanimity as the knowledge or habit of mind which makes one superior to anything that happens, whether good or evil equally; continence as a disposition never overcome in that which concerns right reason, or a habit which no pleasures can get the better of; endurance as a knowledge or habit which suggests what we are to hold fast to, what not, and what is indifferent; presence of mind as a habit prompt to find out what is meet to be done at any moment; good counsel as knowledge by which we see what to do and how to do it if we would consult our own interests.

Similarly, of vices some are primary, others subordinate: *e.g.* folly, cowardice, injustice, profligacy are accounted primary; but incontinence, stupidity, ill-advisedness subordinate. Further, they hold that the vices are forms of ignorance of those things whereof the corresponding virtues are the knowledge.

Good in general is that from which some advantage comes, and more particularly what is either identical with or not distinct from benefit. Whence it follows that virtue itself and whatever partakes of virtue is called good in these three senses—viz. as being (1) the source from which benefit results; or (2) that in respect of which benefit results, *e.g.* the virtuous act; or (3) that by the agency of which benefit results, *e.g.* the good man who partakes in virtue.

Another particular definition of good which they give is "the natural perfection of a rational being *qua* rational." To this answers virtue and, as being

τε πράξεις τὰς κατ᾽ ἀρετὴν καὶ τοὺς σπουδαίους εἶναι· ἐπιγεννήματα δὲ τήν τε χαρὰν καὶ τὴν
95 εὐφροσύνην καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τῶν κακιῶν τὸ μὲν εἶναι ἀφροσύνην, δειλίαν, ἀδικίαν καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια· μετέχοντα δὲ κακίας τάς τε πράξεις τὰς κατὰ κακίαν καὶ τοὺς φαύλους· ἐπιγεννήματα δὲ τήν τε δυσθυμίαν καὶ τὴν δυσφροσύνην καὶ τὰ ὅμοια.

Ἔτι τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὰ μὲν εἶναι περὶ ψυχήν, τὰ δ᾽ ἐκτός, τὰ δ᾽ οὔτε περὶ ψυχὴν οὔτ᾽ ἐκτός. τὰ μὲν περὶ ψυχὴν ἀρετὰς καὶ τὰς κατὰ ταύτας πράξεις· τὰ δ᾽ ἐκτὸς τό τε σπουδαίαν ἔχειν πατρίδα καὶ σπουδαῖον φίλον καὶ τὴν τούτων εὐδαιμονίαν· τὰ δ᾽ οὔτ᾽ ἐκτὸς οὔτε περὶ ψυχὴν τὸ αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ
96 εἶναι σπουδαῖον καὶ εὐδαίμονα. ἀνάπαλιν δὲ καὶ τῶν κακῶν τὰ μὲν περὶ ψυχὴν εἶναι, τὰς κακίας καὶ τὰς κατ᾽ αὐτὰς πράξεις· τὰ δ᾽ ἐκτὸς τὸ ἄφρονα πατρίδα ἔχειν καὶ ἄφρονα φίλον καὶ τὴν τούτων κακοδαιμονίαν· τὰ δ᾽ οὔτ᾽ ἐκτὸς οὔτε περὶ ψυχὴν τὸ αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ εἶναι φαῦλον καὶ κακοδαίμονα.

Ἔτι τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὰ μὲν εἶναι τελικά, τὰ δὲ ποιητικά, τὰ δὲ τελικὰ καὶ ποιητικά. τὸν μὲν οὖν φίλον καὶ τὰς ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ γινομένας ὠφελείας ποιητικὰ εἶναι ἀγαθά· θάρσος δὲ καὶ φρόνημα καὶ ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τέρψιν καὶ εὐφροσύνην καὶ ἀλυπίαν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν κατ᾽ ἀρετὴν πρᾶξιν τελικά.

97 Ποιητικὰ δὲ καὶ τελικὰ εἶναι ἀγαθὰ <τὰς ἀρετάς>. καθὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀποτελοῦσι τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, ποιητικά ἐστιν ἀγαθά· καθὸ δὲ συμπληροῦσιν αὐτήν, ὥστε μέρη αὐτῆς γίνεσθαι, τελικά. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν κακῶν τὰ μὲν εἶναι τελικά, τὰ δὲ ποιητικά, τὰ δ᾽ ἀμφοτέρως ἔχοντα. τὸν μὲν

partakers in virtue, virtuous acts and good men; as also its supervening accessories, joy and gladness and the like. So with evils: either they are vices, folly, cowardice, injustice, and the like; or things which partake of vice, including vicious acts and wicked persons as well as their accompaniments, despair, moroseness, and the like.

Again, some goods are goods of the mind and others external, while some are neither mental nor external. The former include the virtues and virtuous acts; external goods are such as having a good country or a good friend, and the prosperity of such. Whereas to be good and happy oneself is of the class of goods neither mental nor external. Similarly of things evil some are mental evils, namely, vices and vicious actions; others are outward evils, as to have a foolish country or a foolish friend and the unhappiness of such; other evils again are neither mental nor outward, *e.g.* to be yourself bad and unhappy.

Again, goods are either of the nature of ends or they are the means to these ends, or they are at the same time end and means. A friend and the advantages derived from him are means to good, whereas confidence, high-spirit, liberty, delight, gladness, freedom from pain, and every virtuous act are of the nature of ends.

The virtues (they say) are goods of the nature at once of ends and of means. On the one hand, in so far as they cause happiness they are means, and on the other hand, in so far as they make it complete, and so are themselves part of it, they are ends. Similarly of evils some are of the nature of ends and some of means, while others are at once both means and ends. Your enemy and the harm he

ἐχθρὸν καὶ τὰς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γινομένας βλάβας ποιητικὰ εἶναι· κατάπληξιν δὲ καὶ ταπεινότητα καὶ δουλείαν καὶ ἀτερπίαν καὶ δυσθυμίαν καὶ περιλυπίαν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν κατὰ κακίαν πρᾶξιν τελικά· ἀμφοτέρως δ' ἔχοντα <τὰς κακίας>, ἐπεὶ καθὸ μὲν ἀποτελοῦσι τὴν κακοδαιμονίαν, ποιητικά ἐστι· καθὸ δὲ συμπληροῦσιν αὐτήν, ὥστε μέρη αὐτῆς γίνεσθαι, τελικά.

98 Ἔτι τῶν περὶ ψυχὴν ἀγαθῶν τὰ μέν εἰσιν ἕξεις, τὰ δὲ διαθέσεις, τὰ δ' οὔθ' ἕξεις οὔτε διαθέσεις. διαθέσεις μὲν αἱ ἀρεταί, ἕξεις δὲ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα, οὔτε δ' ἕξεις οὔτε διαθέσεις αἱ ἐνέργειαι. κοινῶς δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν μικτὰ μέν ἐστιν εὐτεκνία καὶ εὐγηρία, ἁπλοῦν δ' ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸν ἐπιστήμη. καὶ ἀεὶ μὲν παρόντα αἱ ἀρεταί, οὐκ ἀεὶ δέ, οἷον χαρά, περιπάτησις.

Πᾶν δ' ἀγαθὸν συμφέρον εἶναι καὶ δέον καὶ λυσιτελὲς καὶ χρήσιμον καὶ εὔχρηστον καὶ καλὸν
99 καὶ ὠφέλιμον καὶ αἱρετὸν καὶ δίκαιον. συμφέρον μὲν ὅτι φέρει τοιαῦτα ὧν συμβαινόντων ὠφελούμεθα· δέον δ' ὅτι συνέχει ἐν οἷς χρή· λυσιτελὲς δ' ὅτι λύει τὰ τελούμενα εἰς αὐτό, ὥστε τὴν ἀντικατάλλαξιν τὴν ἐκ τῆς πραγματείας ὑπεραίρειν τῇ ὠφελείᾳ· χρήσιμον δ' ὅτι χρείαν ὠφελείας παρέχεται· εὔχρηστον δ' ὅτι τὴν χρείαν ἐπαινετὴν ἀπεργάζεται· καλὸν δ' ὅτι συμμέτρως ἔχει πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χρείαν· ὠφέλιμον δ' ὅτι τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ὥστε ὠφελεῖν· αἱρετὸν δ' ὅτι τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ὥστε εὐλόγως αὐτὸ αἱρεῖσθαι· δίκαιον δ' ὅτι νόμῳ ἐστὶ σύμφωνον καὶ κοινωνίας ποιητικόν.

does you are means; consternation, abasement, slavery, gloom, despair, excess of grief, and every vicious action are of the nature of ends. Vices are evils both as ends and as means, since in so far as they cause misery they are means, but in so far as they make it complete, so that they become part of it, they are ends.

Of mental goods some are habits, others are dispositions, while others again are neither the one nor the other. The virtues are dispositions, while accomplishments or avocations are matters of habit, and activities as such or exercise of faculty neither the one nor the other. And in general there are some mixed goods: *e.g.* to be happy in one's children or in one's old age. But knowledge is a pure good. Again, some goods are permanent like the virtues, others transitory like joy and walking-exercise.

All good (they say) is expedient, binding, profitable, useful, serviceable, beautiful, beneficial, desirable, and just or right. It is expedient, because it brings about things of such a kind that by their occurrence we are benefited. It is binding, because it causes unity where unity is needed; profitable, because it defrays what is expended on it, so that the return yields a balance of benefit on the transaction. It is useful, because it secures the use of benefit; it is serviceable, because the utility it affords is worthy of all praise. It is beautiful, because the good is proportionate to the use made of it; beneficial, because by its inherent nature it benefits; choiceworthy, because it is such that to choose it is reasonable. It is also just or right, inasmuch as it is in harmony with law and tends to draw men together.

100 Καλὸν δὲ λέγουσι τὸ τέλειον ἀγαθὸν παρὰ τὸ πάντας ἀπέχειν τοὺς ἐπιζητουμένους ἀριθμοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἢ τὸ τελέως σύμμετρον. εἴδη δ' εἶναι τοῦ καλοῦ τέτταρα, δίκαιον, ἀνδρεῖον, κόσμιον, ἐπιστημονικόν· ἐν γὰρ τοῖσδε τὰς καλὰς πράξεις συντελεῖσθαι. ἀνὰ λόγον δὲ καὶ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ εἶναι εἴδη τέτταρα, τό τ' ἄδικον καὶ τὸ δειλὸν καὶ ἄκοσμον καὶ ἄφρον. λέγεσθαι δὲ τὸ καλὸν μοναχῶς μὲν τὸ ἐπαινετοὺς παρεχόμενον τοὺς ἔχοντας <ἢ> ἀγαθὸν ἐπαίνου ἄξιον· ἑτέρως δὲ τὸ εὖ πεφυκέναι πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον ἔργον· ἄλλως δὲ τὸ ἐπικοσμοῦν, ὅταν λέγωμεν μόνον τὸν σοφὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ καλὸν εἶναι.

101 Λέγουσι δὲ μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, καθά φησιν Ἑκάτων ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ Περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ· εἶναι δὲ τοῦτο ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸ μετέχον ἀρετῆς, ᾧ ἐστιν ἴσον τὸ πᾶν ἀγαθὸν καλὸν εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἰσοδυναμεῖν τῷ καλῷ τὸ ἀγαθόν, ὅπερ ἴσον ἐστὶ τούτῳ. ἐπεὶ γάρ ἐστιν ἀγαθόν, καλόν ἐστιν· ἔστι δὲ καλόν· ἀγαθὸν ἄρα ἐστί. δοκεῖ δὲ πάντα τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἴσα εἶναι καὶ πᾶν ἀγαθὸν ἐπ' ἄκρον εἶναι αἱρετὸν καὶ μήτ' ἄνεσιν μήτ' ἐπίτασιν ἐπιδέχεσθαι. τῶν δ' ὄντων φασὶ τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ εἶναι, τὰ δὲ κακά, τὰ δ' οὐδέτερα.

102 Ἀγαθὰ μὲν οὖν τάς τ' ἀρετάς, φρόνησιν, δικαιοσύνην, ἀνδρείαν, σωφροσύνην καὶ τὰ λοιπά· κακὰ δὲ τὰ ἐναντία, ἀφροσύνην, ἀδικίαν καὶ τὰ λοιπά.

The reason why they characterize the perfect good as beautiful is that it has in full all the "factors" required by nature or has perfect proportion. Of the beautiful there are (say they) four species, namely, what is just, courageous, orderly and wise; for it is under these forms that fair deeds are accomplished. Similarly there are four species of the base or ugly, namely, what is unjust, cowardly, disorderly, and unwise. By the beautiful is meant properly and in an unique sense that good which renders its possessors praiseworthy, or briefly, good which is worthy of praise; though in another sense it signifies a good aptitude for one's proper function; while in yet another sense the beautiful is that which lends new grace to anything, as when we say of the wise man that he alone is good and beautiful.

And they say that only the morally beautiful is good. So Hecato in his treatise *On Goods*, book iii., and Chrysippus in his work *On the Morally Beautiful*. They hold, that is, that virtue and whatever partakes of virtue consists in this: which is equivalent to saying that all that is good is beautiful, or that the term "good" has equal force with the term "beautiful," which comes to the same thing. "Since a thing is good, it is beautiful; now it is beautiful, therefore it is good." They hold that all goods are equal and that all good is desirable in the highest degree and admits of no lowering or heightening of intensity. Of things that are, some, they say, are good, some are evil, and some neither good nor evil (that is, morally indifferent).

Goods comprise the virtues of prudence, justice, courage, temperance, and the rest; while the opposites of these are evils, namely, folly, injustice, and

οὐδέτερα δὲ ὅσα μήτ' ὠφελεῖ μήτε βλάπτει, οἷον ζωή, ὑγίεια, ἡδονή, κάλλος, ἰσχύς, πλοῦτος, εὐδοξία, εὐγένεια· καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἐναντία, θάνατος, νόσος, πόνος, αἶσχος, ἀσθένεια, πενία, ἀδοξία, δυσγένεια καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια, καθά φησιν Ἑκάτων ἐν ἑβδόμῳ Περὶ τέλους καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῇ Ἠθικῇ καὶ Χρύσιππος. μὴ γὰρ εἶναι ταῦτ' ἀγαθά, ἀλλ' ἀδιάφορα κατ' εἶδος προηγμένα.
103 ὡς γὰρ ἴδιον θερμοῦ τὸ θερμαίνειν, οὐ τὸ ψύχειν, οὕτω καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τὸ ὠφελεῖν, οὐ τὸ βλάπτειν· οὐ μᾶλλον δ' ὠφελεῖ ἢ βλάπτει ὁ πλοῦτος καὶ ἡ ὑγίεια· οὐκ ἄρ' ἀγαθὸν οὔτε πλοῦτος οὔθ' ὑγίεια. ἔτι τέ φασιν, ᾧ ἔστιν εὖ καὶ κακῶς χρῆσθαι, τοῦτ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγαθόν· πλούτῳ δὲ καὶ ὑγιείᾳ ἔστιν εὖ καὶ κακῶς χρῆσθαι· οὐκ ἄρ' ἀγαθὸν πλοῦτος καὶ ὑγίεια. Ποσειδώνιος μέντοι καὶ ταῦτά φησι τῶν ἀγαθῶν εἶναι. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀγαθόν φασιν Ἑκάτων τ' ἐν τῷ ἐνάτῳ Περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ ἡδονῆς· εἶναι γὰρ καὶ αἰσχρὰς ἡδονάς, μηδὲν δ' αἰσχρὸν εἶναι ἀγαθόν.
104 ὠφελεῖν δέ ἐστι κινεῖν ἢ ἴσχειν κατ' ἀρετήν, βλάπτειν δὲ κινεῖν ἢ ἴσχειν κατὰ κακίαν.

Διχῶς δὲ λέγεσθαι ἀδιάφορα· ἅπαξ μὲν τὰ μήτε πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν μήτε πρὸς κακοδαιμονίαν συνεργοῦντα, ὡς ἔχει πλοῦτος, δόξα, ὑγίεια, ἰσχὺς καὶ τὰ ὅμοια· ἐνδέχεται γὰρ καὶ χωρὶς τούτων εὐδαιμονεῖν, τῆς ποιᾶς αὐτῶν χρήσεως εὐδαιμονικῆς

the rest. Neutral (neither good nor evil, that is) are all those things which neither benefit nor harm a man: such as life, health, pleasure, beauty, strength, wealth, fair fame and noble birth, and their opposites, death, disease, pain, ugliness, weakness, poverty, ignominy, low birth, and the like. This Hecato affirms in his *De fine*, book vii., and also Apollodorus in his *Ethics*, and Chrysippus. For, say they, such things (as life, health, and pleasure) are not in themselves goods, but are morally indifferent, though falling under the species or subdivision "things preferred." For as the property of hot is to warm, not to cool, so the property of good is to benefit, not to injure; but wealth and health do no more benefit than injury, therefore neither wealth nor health is good. Further, they say that that is not good of which both good and bad use can be made; but of wealth and health both good and bad use can be made; therefore wealth and health are not goods. On the other hand, Posidonius maintains that these things too are among goods. Hecato in the ninth book of his treatise *On Goods*, and Chrysippus in his work *On Pleasure*, deny that pleasure is a good either; for some pleasures are disgraceful, and nothing disgraceful is good. To benefit is to set in motion or sustain in accordance with virtue; whereas to harm is to set in motion or sustain in accordance with vice.

The term "indifferent" has two meanings: in the first it denotes the things which do not contribute either to happiness or to misery, as wealth, fame, health, strength, and the like; for it is possible to be happy without having these, although, if they are used in a certain way, such use of them tends to

οὔσης ἢ κακοδαιμονικῆς. ἄλλως δὲ λέγεται ἀδιάφορα τὰ μήθ' ὁρμῆς μήτ' ἀφορμῆς κινητικά, ὡς ἔχει τὸ ἀρτίας ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἢ περιττάς, ἢ ἐκτεῖναι τὸν δάκτυλον ἢ συστεῖλαι, τῶν προτέρων ἀδιαφόρων οὐκέθ' οὕτω λεγομένων· ὁρμῆς γάρ ἐστιν ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἀφορμῆς κινητικά.
105 διὸ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐκλέγεται, <τὰ δὲ ἀπεκλέγεται> τῶν ἑτέρων ἐπίσης ἐχόντων πρὸς αἵρεσιν καὶ φυγήν.

Τῶν ἀδιαφόρων τὰ μὲν λέγουσι προηγμένα, τὰ δὲ ἀποπροηγμένα· προηγμένα μὲν τὰ ἔχοντα ἀξίαν, ἀποπροηγμένα δὲ τὰ ἀπαξίαν ἔχοντα. ἀξίαν δὲ τὴν μέν τινα λέγουσι σύμβλησιν πρὸς τὸν ὁμολογούμενον βίον, ἥτις ἐστὶ περὶ πᾶν ἀγαθόν· τὴν δὲ εἶναι μέσην τινὰ δύναμιν ἢ χρείαν συμβαλλομένην πρὸς τὸν κατὰ φύσιν βίον, ὅμοιον εἰπεῖν ἥντινα προσφέρεται πρὸς τὸν κατὰ φύσιν βίον πλοῦτος ἢ ὑγίεια· τὴν δ' εἶναι ἀξίαν ἀμοιβὴν δοκιμαστοῦ, ἣν ἂν ὁ ἔμπειρος τῶν πραγμάτων τάξῃ, ὅμοιον εἰπεῖν ἀμείβεσθαι πυροὺς πρὸς τὰς σὺν ἡμιόνῳ[1] κριθάς.

106 Προηγμένα μὲν οὖν εἶναι ἃ καὶ ἀξίαν ἔχει, οἷον ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ψυχικῶν εὐφυΐαν, τέχνην, προκοπὴν καὶ τὰ ὅμοια· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν σωματικῶν ζωήν, ὑγίειαν, ῥώμην, εὐεξίαν, ἀρτιότητα, κάλλος <καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια>· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκτὸς πλοῦτον, δόξαν, εὐ-

[1] τὰς ἡμιολίους Arnim.

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[a] "Indirectly": more literally "contributing, as intermediary (μέσην), to."

[b] With Arnim's correction, wheat would exchange for $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the quantity of barley. The three meanings of ἀξία

happiness or misery. In quite another sense those things are said to be indifferent which are without the power of stirring inclination or aversion; *e.g.* the fact that the number of hairs on one's head is odd or even or whether you hold out your finger straight or bent. But it was not in this sense that the things mentioned above were termed indifferent, they being quite capable of exciting inclination or aversion. Hence of these latter some are taken by preference, others are rejected, whereas indifference in the other sense affords no ground for either choosing or avoiding.

Of things indifferent, as they express it, some are "preferred," others "rejected." Such as have value, they say, are "preferred," while such as have negative, instead of positive, value are "rejected." Value they define as, first, any contribution to harmonious living, such as attaches to every good; secondly, some faculty or use which indirectly [a] contributes to the life according to nature: which is as much as to say "any assistance brought by wealth or health towards living a natural life"; thirdly, value is the full equivalent of an appraiser, as fixed by an expert acquainted with the facts—as when it is said that wheat exchanges for so much barley with a mule thrown in.[b]

Thus things of the preferred class are those which have positive value, *e.g.* amongst mental qualities, natural ability, skill, moral improvement, and the like; among bodily qualities, life, health, strength, good condition, soundness of organs, beauty, and so forth; and in the sphere of external things, wealth,

are also given, but in a different order, by Stobaeus, *Ecl.* ii. 83. 10, who explains this as ἀμοιβὴν τοῦ δοκιμαστοῦ.

γένειαν καὶ τὰ ὅμοια. ἀποπροηγμένα δ' ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ψυχικῶν ἀφυΐαν, ἀτεχνίαν καὶ τὰ ὅμοια· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν σωματικῶν θάνατον, νόσον, ἀσθένειαν, καχεξίαν, πήρωσιν, αἶσχος καὶ τὰ ὅμοια· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκτὸς πενίαν, ἀδοξίαν, δυσγένειαν καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια· οὔτε δὲ προήχθη οὔτ' ἀποπροήχθη τὰ οὐδετέρως ἔχοντα.

107 Ἔτι τῶν προηγμένων τὰ μὲν δι' αὑτὰ προῆκται, τὰ δὲ δι' ἕτερα, τὰ δὲ καὶ δι' αὑτὰ καὶ δι' ἕτερα. δι' αὑτὰ μὲν εὐφυΐα, προκοπὴ καὶ τὰ ὅμοια· δι' ἕτερα δὲ πλοῦτος, εὐγένεια καὶ τὰ ὅμοια· δι' αὑτὰ δὲ καὶ δι' ἕτερα ἰσχύς, εὐαισθησία, ἀρτιότης. δι' αὑτὰ μέν, ὅτι κατὰ φύσιν ἐστί· δι' ἕτερα δέ, ὅτι περιποιεῖ χρείας οὐκ ὀλίγας. ὁμοίως δ' ἔχει καὶ τὸ ἀποπροηγμένον κατὰ τὸν ἐναντίον λόγον.

Ἔτι δὲ καθῆκόν φασιν εἶναι ὃ πραχθὲν εὔλογόν [τε] ἴσχει ἀπολογισμόν, οἷον τὸ ἀκόλουθον ἐν τῇ ζωῇ, ὅπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ φυτὰ καὶ ζῷα διατείνει· ὁρᾶσθαι γὰρ κἀπὶ τούτων καθήκοντα.

108 Κατωνομάσθαι δ' οὕτως ὑπὸ πρώτου Ζήνωνος τὸ καθῆκον, ἀπὸ τοῦ κατά τινας ἥκειν τῆς προσονομασίας εἰλημμένης. ἐνέργημα δ' αὐτὸ εἶναι

[a] The reading πραχθέν is now accepted in place of προαχθέν. "Duty," it should be noted, is a very inadequate rendering of καθῆκον, which in the present passage applies to the proper behaviour of plants and animals no less than to that of human beings. *Cf.* Stob. *Ecl.* ii. 85. 13 ὃ πραχθὲν εὔλογον ἀπολογίαν ἔχει; Sext. Emp. vii. 158.

[b] The ordinary meaning of the verb καθήκειν is well seen in Hdt. vii. 22 ὁ γὰρ Ἄθως ἐστὶ ὄρος μέγα τε καὶ ὀνομαστὸν ἐς θάλασσαν κατῆκον ("for Athos is a great and famous mountain, reaching down to the sea"). The term seems to have passed from this meaning to signify figuratively that which extends to, affects, or is incumbent on us: as near an approach, perhaps, to the idea of duty as can be expected

fame, noble birth, and the like. To the class of things "rejected" belong, of mental qualities, lack of ability, want of skill, and the like; among bodily qualities, death, disease, weakness, being out of condition, mutilation, ugliness, and the like; in the sphere of external things, poverty, ignominy, low birth, and so forth. But again there are things belonging to neither class; such are not preferred, neither are they rejected.

Again, of things preferred some are preferred for their own sake, some for the sake of something else, and others again both for their own sake and for the sake of something else. To the first of these classes belong natural ability, moral improvement, and the like; to the second wealth, noble birth, and the like; to the last strength, perfect faculties, soundness of bodily organs. Things are preferred for their own sake because they accord with nature; not for their own sake, but for the sake of something else, because they secure not a few utilities. And similarly with the class of things rejected under the contrary heads.

Furthermore, the term Duty is applied to that for which, when done,[a] a reasonable defence can be adduced, *e.g.* harmony in the tenor of life's process, which indeed pervades the growth of plants and animals. For even in plants and animals, they hold, you may discern fitness of behaviour.

Zeno was the first to use this term καθῆκον of conduct. Etymologically it is derived from κατά τινας ἥκειν, *i.e.* reaching as far as, being up to, or incumbent on so and so.[b] And it is an action in itself adapted

in any ancient system of Ethics, which regards human conduct not as obedience to law, but as determination and pursuit of good.

ταῖς κατὰ φύσιν κατασκευαῖς οἰκεῖον. τῶν γὰρ καθ' ὁρμὴν ἐνεργουμένων τὰ μὲν καθήκοντα εἶναι, τὰ δὲ παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον, τὰ δ' οὔτε καθήκοντα οὔτε παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον.

Καθήκοντα μὲν οὖν εἶναι ὅσα λόγος αἱρεῖ ποιεῖν, ὡς ἔχει τὸ γονεῖς τιμᾶν, ἀδελφούς, πατρίδα, συμπεριφέρεσθαι φίλοις· παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον δέ, ὅσα μὴ αἱρεῖ λόγος, ὡς ἔχει τὰ τοιαῦτα, γονέων ἀμελεῖν, ἀδελφῶν ἀφροντιστεῖν, φίλοις μὴ συνδιατίθεσθαι,
109 πατρίδα ὑπερορᾶν καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια· οὔτε δὲ καθήκοντα οὔτε παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον, ὅσα οὔθ' αἱρεῖ λόγος πράττειν οὔτ' ἀπαγορεύει, οἷον κάρφος ἀνελέσθαι, γραφεῖον κρατεῖν ἢ στλεγγίδα καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν εἶναι καθήκοντα ἄνευ περιστάσεως, τὰ δὲ περιστατικά. καὶ ἄνευ μὲν περιστάσεως τάδε, ὑγιείας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ αἰσθητηρίων καὶ τὰ ὅμοια· κατὰ περίστασιν δὲ τὸ πηροῦν ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὴν κτῆσιν διαρριπτεῖν. ἀνὰ λόγον δὲ καὶ τῶν παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον. ἔτι τῶν καθηκόντων τὰ μὲν ἀεὶ καθήκει, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἀεί. καὶ ἀεὶ μὲν καθήκει τὸ κατ' ἀρετὴν ζῆν, οὐκ ἀεὶ δὲ τὸ ἐρωτᾶν καὶ ἀποκρίνεσθαι καὶ περιπατεῖν καὶ τὰ ὅμοια. ὁ δ'
110 αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς μέσοις τι καθῆκον, ὡς τὸ πείθεσθαι τοὺς παῖδας τοῖς παιδαγωγοῖς.

Φασὶ δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν εἶναι ὀκταμερῆ· μέρη γὰρ

to nature's arrangements. For of the acts done at the prompting of impulse some, they observe, are fit and meet, others the reverse, while there is a third class which is neither the one nor the other.

Befitting acts are all those which reason prevails with us to do; and this is the case with honouring one's parents, brothers and country, and intercourse with friends. Unbefitting, or contrary to duty, are all acts that reason deprecates, *e.g.* to neglect one's parents, to be indifferent to one's brothers, not to agree with friends, to disregard the interests of one's country, and so forth. Acts which fall under neither of the foregoing classes are those which reason neither urges us to do nor forbids, such as picking up a twig, holding a style or a scraper, and the like.

Again, some duties are incumbent unconditionally, others in certain circumstances. Unconditional duties are the following: to take proper care of health and one's organs of sense, and things of that sort. Duties imposed by circumstances are such as maiming oneself and sacrifice of property. And so likewise with acts which are violations of duty. Another division is into duties which are always incumbent and those which are not. To live in accordance with virtue is always a duty, whereas dialectic by question and answer or walking-exercise and the like are not at all times incumbent. The same may be said of the violations of duty. And in things intermediate also there are duties; as that boys should obey the attendants who have charge of them.

According to the Stoics there is an eight-fold

αὐτῆς τά τε πέντε αἰσθητήρια καὶ τὸ φωνητικὸν μόριον καὶ τὸ διανοητικόν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν αὐτὴ ἡ διάνοια, καὶ τὸ γεννητικόν. ἐκ δὲ τῶν ψευδῶν ἐπιγίνεσθαι τὴν διαστροφὴν ἐπὶ τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀφ' ἧς πολλὰ πάθη βλαστάνειν καὶ ἀκαταστασίας αἴτια. ἔστι δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ πάθος κατὰ Ζήνωνα ἡ ἄλογος καὶ παρὰ φύσιν ψυχῆς κίνησις ἢ ὁρμὴ πλεονάζουσα.

Τῶν δὲ παθῶν τὰ ἀνωτάτω, καθά φησιν Ἑκάτων ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ παθῶν καὶ Ζήνων ἐν τῷ Περὶ παθῶν, εἶναι γένη τέτταρα, λύπην, φόβον,
111 ἐπιθυμίαν, ἡδονήν. δοκεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς τὰ πάθη κρίσεις εἶναι, καθά φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ παθῶν· ἥ τε γὰρ φιλαργυρία ὑπόληψίς ἐστι τοῦ τὸ ἀργύριον καλὸν εἶναι, καὶ ἡ μέθη δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀκολασία ὁμοίως καὶ τἄλλα.

Καὶ τὴν μὲν λύπην εἶναι συστολὴν ἄλογον· εἴδη δ' αὐτῆς ἔλεον, φθόνον, ζῆλον, ζηλοτυπίαν, ἄχθος, ἐνόχλησιν, ἀνίαν, ὀδύνην, σύγχυσιν. ἔλεον μὲν οὖν εἶναι λύπην ὡς ἐπ' ἀναξίως κακοπαθοῦντι, φθόνον δὲ λύπην ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίοις ἀγαθοῖς, ζῆλον δὲ λύπην ἐπὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ παρεῖναι ὧν αὐτὸς ἐπιθυμεῖ, ζηλοτυπίαν δὲ λύπην ἐπὶ τῷ καὶ ἄλλῳ παρεῖναι ἃ
112 καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχει, ἄχθος δὲ λύπην βαρύνουσαν, ἐνόχλησιν λύπην στενοχωροῦσαν καὶ δυσχωρίαν παρασκευάζουσαν, ἀνίαν λύπην ἐκ διαλογισμῶν μένουσαν ἢ ἐπιτεινομένην, ὀδύνην λύπην ἐπίπονον, σύγχυσιν λύπην ἄλογον, ἀποκναίουσαν καὶ κωλύουσαν τὰ παρόντα συνορᾶν.

division of the soul: the five senses, the faculty of speech, the intellectual faculty, which is the mind itself, and the generative faculty, being all parts of the soul. Now from falsehood there results perversion, which extends to the mind; and from this perversion arise many passions or emotions, which are causes of instability. Passion, or emotion, is defined by Zeno as an irrational and unnatural movement in the soul, or again as impulse in excess.

The main, or most universal, emotions, according to Hecato in his treatise *On the Passions*, book ii., and Zeno in his treatise with the same title, constitute four great classes, grief, fear, desire or craving, pleasure. They hold the emotions to be judgements, as is stated by Chrysippus in his treatise *On the Passions*: avarice being a supposition that money is a good, while the case is similar with drunkenness and profligacy and all the other emotions.

And grief or pain they hold to be an irrational mental contraction. Its species are pity, envy, jealousy, rivalry, heaviness, annoyance, distress, anguish, distraction. Pity is grief felt at undeserved suffering; envy, grief at others' prosperity; jealousy, grief at the possession by another of that which one desires for oneself; rivalry, pain at the possession by another of what one has oneself. Heaviness or vexation is grief which weighs us down, annoyance that which coops us up and straitens us for want of room, distress a pain brought on by anxious thought that lasts and increases, anguish painful grief, distraction irrational grief, rasping and hindering us from viewing the situation as a whole.

Ὁ δὲ φόβος ἐστὶ προσδοκία κακοῦ. εἰς δὲ τὸν φόβον ἀνάγεται καὶ ταῦτα, δεῖμα, ὄκνος, αἰσχύνη, ἔκπληξις, θόρυβος, ἀγωνία. δεῖμα μὲν οὖν ἐστι φόβος δέος ἐμποιῶν, αἰσχύνη δὲ φόβος ἀδοξίας, ὄκνος δὲ φόβος μελλούσης ἐνεργείας, ἔκπληξις δὲ
113 φόβος ἐκ φαντασίας ἀσυνήθους πράγματος, θόρυβος δὲ φόβος μετὰ κατεπείξεως φωνῆς, ἀγωνία δὲ φόβος ἀδήλου πράγματος.

Ἡ δ' ἐπιθυμία ἐστὶν ἄλογος ὄρεξις, ὑφ' ἣν τάττεται καὶ ταῦτα, σπάνις, μῖσος, φιλονεικία, ὀργή, ἔρως, μῆνις, θυμός. ἔστι δ' ἡ μὲν σπάνις ἐπιθυμία τις ἐν ἀποτεύξει καὶ οἷον κεχωρισμένη ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος, τεταμένη δὲ διακενῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸ καὶ σπωμένη· μῖσος δ' ἐστὶν ἐπιθυμία τις τοῦ κακῶς εἶναί τινι μετὰ προκοπῆς τινος καὶ παρατάσεως· φιλονεικία δ' ἐπιθυμία τις περὶ αἱρέσεως· ὀργὴ δ' ἐπιθυμία τιμωρίας τοῦ δοκοῦντος ἠδικηκέναι οὐ προσηκόντως· ἔρως δέ ἐστιν ἐπιθυμία τις οὐχὶ περὶ σπουδαίους· ἔστι γὰρ ἐπιβολὴ φιλοποιίας
114 διὰ κάλλος ἐμφαινόμενον. μῆνις δέ ἐστιν ὀργή τις πεπαλαιωμένη καὶ ἐπίκοτος, ἐπιτηρητικὴ δέ, ὅπερ ἐμφαίνεται διὰ τῶνδε·

εἴ περ γάρ τε χόλον γε καὶ αὐτῆμαρ καταπέψῃ,
ἀλλά τε καὶ μετόπισθεν ἔχει κότον, ὄφρα τελέσσῃ.

ὁ δὲ θυμός ἐστιν ὀργὴ ἀρχομένη.

Ἡδονὴ δέ ἐστιν ἄλογος ἔπαρσις ἐφ' αἱρετῷ δοκοῦντι ὑπάρχειν, ὑφ' ἣν τάττεται κήλησις, ἐπιχαιρεκακία, τέρψις, διάχυσις. κήλησις μὲν οὖν ἐστιν ἡδονὴ δι' ὤτων κατακηλοῦσα· ἐπιχαιρεκακία δὲ ἡδονὴ ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίοις κακοῖς· τέρψις δέ, οἷον

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[a] *Il.* i. 81, 82.

Fear is an expectation of evil. Under fear are ranged the following emotions: terror, nervous shrinking, shame, consternation, panic, mental agony. Terror is a fear which produces fright; shame is fear of disgrace; nervous shrinking is a fear that one will have to act; consternation is fear due to a presentation of some unusual occurrence; panic is fear with pressure exercised by sound; mental agony is fear felt when some issue is still in suspense.

Desire or craving is irrational appetency, and under it are ranged the following states: want, hatred, contentiousness, anger, love, wrath, resentment. Want, then, is a craving when it is baulked and, as it were, cut off from its object, but kept at full stretch and attracted towards it in vain. Hatred is a growing and lasting desire or craving that it should go ill with somebody. Contentiousness is a craving or desire connected with partisanship; anger a craving or desire to punish one who is thought to have done you an undeserved injury. The passion of love is a craving from which good men are free; for it is an effort to win affection due to the visible presence of beauty. Wrath is anger which has long rankled and has become malicious, waiting for its opportunity, as is illustrated by the lines [a]:

> Even though for the one day he swallow his anger, yet doth he still keep his displeasure thereafter in his heart, till he accomplish it.

Resentment is anger in an early stage.

Pleasure is an irrational elation at the accruing of what seems to be choiceworthy; and under it are ranged ravishment, malevolent joy, delight, transport. Ravishment is pleasure which charms the ear. Malevolent joy is pleasure at another's ills. Delight

τρέψις, προτροπή τις ψυχῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνειμένον· διάχυσις δ' ἀνάλυσις ἀρετῆς.

115 *Ὡς δὲ λέγεταί τινα ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀρρωστήματα, οἷον ποδάγρα καὶ ἀρθρίτιδες, οὕτω κἀπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς φιλοδοξία καὶ φιληδονία καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια. τὸ γὰρ ἀρρώστημά ἐστι νόσημα μετ' ἀσθενείας, τὸ δὲ νόσημα οἴησις σφόδρα δοκοῦντος αἱρετοῦ. καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος εὐεμπτωσίαι τινὲς λέγονται, οἷον κατάρρους καὶ διάρροια, οὕτω κἀπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς εἰσιν εὐκαταφορίαι, οἷον φθονερία, ἐλεημοσύνη, ἔριδες καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια.*

116 *Εἶναι δὲ καὶ εὐπαθείας φασὶ τρεῖς, χαράν, εὐλάβειαν, βούλησιν. καὶ τὴν μὲν χαρὰν ἐναντίαν [φασὶν] εἶναι τῇ ἡδονῇ, οὖσαν εὔλογον ἔπαρσιν· τὴν δ' εὐλάβειαν τῷ φόβῳ, οὖσαν εὔλογον ἔκκλισιν. φοβηθήσεσθαι μὲν γὰρ τὸν σοφὸν οὐδαμῶς, εὐλαβηθήσεσθαι δέ. τῇ δ' ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐναντίαν φασὶν εἶναι τὴν βούλησιν, οὖσαν εὔλογον ὄρεξιν. καθάπερ οὖν ὑπὸ τὰ πρῶτα πάθη πίπτει τινά, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς πρώτας εὐπαθείας· καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν βούλησιν εὔνοιαν, εὐμένειαν, ἀσπασμόν, ἀγάπησιν· ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν εὐλάβειαν αἰδῶ, ἁγνείαν· ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν χαρὰν τέρψιν, εὐφροσύνην, εὐθυμίαν.*

117 *Φασὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπαθῆ εἶναι τὸν σοφόν, διὰ τὸ ἀνέμπτωτον εἶναι· εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἀπαθῆ τὸν φαῦλον, ἐν ἴσῳ λεγόμενον τῷ σκληρῷ καὶ ἀτέγκτῳ.*

is the mind's propulsion to weakness, its name in Greek (τέρψις) being akin to τρέψις or turning. To be in transports of delight is the melting away of virtue.

And as there are said to be certain infirmities in the body, as for instance gout and arthritic disorders, so too there is in the soul love of fame, love of pleasure, and the like. By infirmity is meant disease accompanied by weakness ; and by disease is meant a fond imagining of something that seems desirable. And as in the body there are tendencies to certain maladies such as colds and diarrhoea, so it is with the soul, there are tendencies like enviousness, pitifulness, quarrelsomeness, and the like.

Also they say that there are three emotional states which are good, namely, joy, caution, and wishing. Joy, the counterpart of pleasure, is rational elation ; caution, the counterpart of fear, rational avoidance ; for though the wise man will never feel fear, he will yet use caution. And they make wishing the counterpart of desire (or craving), inasmuch as it is rational appetency. And accordingly, as under the primary passions are classed certain others subordinate to them, so too is it with the primary eupathies or good emotional states. Thus under wishing they bring well-wishing or benevolence, friendliness, respect, affection ; under caution, reverence and modesty ; under joy, delight, mirth, cheerfulness.

Now they say that the wise man is passionless, because he is not prone to fall into such infirmity. But they add that in another sense the term apathy is applied to the bad man, when, that is, it means that he is callous and relentless. Further, the wise

ἄτυφόν τ' εἶναι τὸν σοφόν· ἴσως γὰρ ἔχειν πρός τε τὸ ἔνδοξον καὶ τὸ ἄδοξον. εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἄτυφον, κατὰ τὸν εἰκαῖον τεταγμένον, ὅς ἐστι φαῦλος. καὶ αὐστηροὺς δέ φασιν εἶναι πάντας τοὺς σπουδαίους, τῷ μήτ' αὐτοὺς πρὸς ἡδονὴν ὁμιλεῖν μήτε παρ' ἄλλων τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν προσδέχεσθαι. καὶ ἄλλον δὲ εἶναι αὐστηρόν, παραπλησίως λεγόμενον τῷ αὐστηρῷ οἴνῳ, ᾧ πρὸς μὲν φαρμακοποιίαν χρῶνται, πρὸς δὲ πρόποσιν οὐ πάνυ.

118 Ἀκιβδήλους τοὺς σπουδαίους φυλακτικούς τ' εἶναι τοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον αὑτοὺς παριστάναι, διὰ παρασκευῆς τῆς τὰ φαῦλα μὲν ἀποκρυπτούσης, τὰ δ' ὑπάρχοντα ἀγαθὰ φαίνεσθαι ποιούσης. ἀπλάστους τε· περιῃρηκέναι γὰρ ἐν τῇ φωνῇ τὸ πλάσμα καὶ τῷ εἴδει. ἀπράγμονάς τ' εἶναι· ἐκκλίνειν γὰρ τὸ πράττειν τι παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον. καὶ οἰνωθήσεσθαι μέν, οὐ μεθυσθήσεσθαι δέ. ἔτι δ' οὐδὲ μανήσεσθαι· προσπεσεῖσθαι μέντοι ποτὲ αὐτῷ φαντασίας ἀλλοκότους διὰ μελαγχολίαν ἢ λήρησιν, οὐ κατὰ τὸν τῶν αἱρετῶν λόγον, ἀλλὰ παρὰ φύσιν. οὐδὲ μὴν λυπηθήσεσθαι τὸν σοφόν, διὰ τὸ τὴν λύπην ἄλογον εἶναι συστολὴν τῆς ψυχῆς, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρός φησιν ἐν τῇ Ἠθικῇ.

119 Θείους τ' εἶναι· ἔχειν γὰρ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς οἱονεὶ θεόν. τὸν δ' φαῦλον ἄθεον. διττὸν δὲ εἶναι τὸν ἄθεον, τόν τ' ἐναντίως τῷ θείῳ λεγόμενον καὶ τὸν ἐξουθενητικὸν τοῦ θείου· ὅπερ οὐκ εἶναι περὶ πάντα

man is said to be free from vanity; for he is indifferent to good or evil report. However, he is not alone in this, there being another who is also free from vanity, he who is ranged among the rash, and that is the bad man. Again, they tell us that all good men are austere or harsh, because they neither have dealings with pleasure themselves nor tolerate those who have. The term harsh is applied, however, to others as well, and in much the same sense as a wine is said to be harsh when it is employed medicinally and not for drinking at all.

Again, the good are genuinely in earnest and vigilant for their own improvement, using a manner of life which banishes evil out of sight and makes what good there is in things appear. At the same time they are free from pretence; for they have stripped off all pretence or "make-up" whether in voice or in look. Free too are they from all business cares, declining to do anything which conflicts with duty. They will take wine, but not get drunk. Nay more, they will not be liable to madness either; not but what there will at times occur to the good man strange impressions due to melancholy or delirium, ideas not determined by the principle of what is choiceworthy but contrary to nature. Nor indeed will the wise man ever feel grief; seeing that grief is irrational contraction of the soul, as Apollodorus says in his *Ethics*.

They are also, it is declared, godlike; for they have a something divine within them; whereas the bad man is godless. And yet of this word—godless or ungodly—there are two senses, one in which it is the opposite of the term "godly," the other denoting the man who ignores the divine altogether: in this

φαῦλον. θεοσεβεῖς τε τοὺς σπουδαίους· ἐμπείρους γὰρ εἶναι τῶν περὶ θεοὺς νομίμων· εἶναί τε τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἐπιστήμην θεῶν θεραπείας. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ θύσειν αὐτοὺς θεοῖς ἁγνούς θ' ὑπάρχειν· ἐκνεύειν γὰρ τὰ περὶ θεοὺς ἁμαρτήματα. καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἄγασθαι αὐτούς· ὁσίους τε γὰρ εἶναι καὶ δικαίους πρὸς τὸ θεῖον. μόνους θ' ἱερέας τοὺς σοφούς· ἐπεσκέφθαι γὰρ περὶ θυσιῶν, ἱδρύσεων, καθαρμῶν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρὸς θεοὺς οἰκείων.

120 Δοκεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ γονέας σέβεσθαι καὶ ἀδελφοὺς ἐν δευτέρᾳ μοίρᾳ μετὰ θεούς. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὰ τέκνα φιλοστοργίαν φυσικὴν εἶναι αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐν φαύλοις μὴ εἶναι.. ἀρέσκει τ' αὐτοῖς ἴσα ἡγεῖσθαι τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, καθά φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ τῶν Ἠθικῶν ζητημάτων καὶ Περσαῖος καὶ Ζήνων. εἰ γὰρ ἀληθὲς ἀληθοῦς μᾶλλον οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδὲ ψεῦδος ψεύδους· οὕτως οὐδ' ἀπάτη ἀπάτης, οὐδ' ἁμάρτημα ἁμαρτήματος. καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἑκατὸν σταδίους ἀπέχων Κανώβου καὶ ὁ ἕνα ἐπίσης οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐν Κανώβῳ· οὕτω καὶ ὁ πλέον καὶ ὁ ἔλαττον ἁμαρτάνων ἐπίσης οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ
121 κατορθοῦν. Ἡρακλείδης μέντοι ὁ Ταρσεύς, Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ Ταρσέως γνώριμος, καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρος ἄνισά φασι τὰ ἁμαρτήματα.

Πολιτεύσεσθαί φασι τὸν σοφὸν ἂν μή τι κωλύῃ, ὥς φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ βίων· καὶ γὰρ κακίαν ἐφέξειν καὶ ἐπ' ἀρετὴν παρορμήσειν.

latter sense, as they note, the term does not apply to every bad man. The good, it is added, are also worshippers of God; for they have acquaintance with the rites of the gods, and piety is the knowledge of how to serve the gods. Further, they will sacrifice to the gods and they keep themselves pure; for they avoid all acts that are offences against the gods, and the gods think highly of them: for they are holy and just in what concerns the gods. The wise too are the only priests; for they have made sacrifices their study, as also the building of temples, purifications, and all the other matters appertaining to the gods.

The Stoics approve also of honouring parents and brothers in the second place next after the gods. They further maintain that parental affection for children is natural to the good, but not to the bad. It is one of their tenets that sins are all equal: so Chrysippus in the fourth book of his *Ethical Questions*, as well as Persaeus and Zeno. For if one truth is not more true than another, neither is one falsehood more false than another, and in the same way one deceit is not more so than another, nor sin than sin. For he who is a hundred furlongs from Canopus and he who is only one furlong away are equally not in Canopus, and so too he who commits the greater sin and he who commits the less are equally not in the path of right conduct. But Heraclides of Tarsus, who was the disciple of Antipater of Tarsus, and Athenodorus both assert that sins are not equal.

Again, the Stoics say that the wise man will take part in politics, if nothing hinders him—so, for instance, Chrysippus in the first book of his work *On Various Types of Life*—since thus he will restrain vice and promote virtue. Also (they maintain) he

καὶ γαμήσειν, ὡς ὁ Ζήνων φησὶν ἐν Πολιτείᾳ, καὶ παιδοποιήσεσθαι. ἔτι τε μὴ δοξάσειν τὸν σοφόν, τουτέστι ψεύδει μὴ συγκαταθήσεσθαι μηδενί. κυνιεῖν τ' αὐτόν· εἶναι γὰρ τὸν κυνισμὸν σύντομον ἐπ' ἀρετὴν ὁδόν, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῇ Ἠθικῇ. γεύσεσθαί τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων σαρκῶν κατὰ περίστασιν. μόνον τ' ἐλεύθερον, τοὺς δὲ φαύλους δούλους· εἶναι γὰρ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοπραγίας, τὴν δὲ δουλείαν στέρησιν
122 αὐτοπραγίας. εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἄλλην δουλείαν τὴν ἐν ὑποτάξει καὶ τρίτην τὴν ἐν κτήσει τε καὶ ὑποτάξει, ᾗ ἀντιτίθεται ἡ δεσποτεία, φαύλη οὖσα καὶ αὕτη. οὐ μόνον δ' ἐλευθέρους εἶναι τοὺς σοφούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλέας, τῆς βασιλείας οὔσης ἀρχῆς ἀνυπευθύνου, ἥτις περὶ μόνους ἂν τοὺς σοφοὺς συσταίη, καθά φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ κυρίως κεχρῆσθαι Ζήνωνα τοῖς ὀνόμασιν· ἐγνωκέναι γάρ φησι δεῖν τὸν ἄρχοντα περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν, μηδένα δὲ τῶν φαύλων ἐπίστασθαι ταῦτα. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἀρχικοὺς δικαστικούς τε καὶ ῥητορικοὺς μόνους εἶναι, τῶν δὲ φαύλων οὐδένα. ἔτι καὶ ἀναμαρτήτους, τῷ ἀπεριπτώτους
123 εἶναι ἁμαρτήματι. ἀβλαβεῖς τ' εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλους βλάπτειν οὔθ' αὑτούς. ἐλεήμονάς τε μὴ εἶναι συγγνώμην τ' ἔχειν μηδενί· μὴ γὰρ παριέναι τὰς ἐκ τοῦ νόμου ἐπιβαλλούσας κολάσεις, ἐπεὶ τό γ' εἴκειν καὶ ὁ ἔλεος αὐτή θ' ἡ ἐπιείκεια οὐδένειά ἐστι ψυχῆς πρὸς κολάσεις προσποιουμένης χρηστότητα· μηδ' οἴεσθαι σκληροτέρας αὐτὰς εἶναι. ἔτι τε τὸν σοφὸν οὐδὲν θαυμάζειν τῶν

will marry, as Zeno says in his *Republic*, and beget children. Moreover, they say that the wise man will never form mere opinions, that is to say, he will never give assent to anything that is false; that he will also play the Cynic, Cynicism being a short cut to virtue, as Apollodorus calls it in his *Ethics*; that he will even turn cannibal under stress of circumstances. They declare that he alone is free and bad men are slaves, freedom being power of independent action, whereas slavery is privation of the same: though indeed there is also a second form of slavery consisting in subordination, and a third which implies possession of the slave as well as his subordination; the correlative of such servitude being lordship; and this too is evil. Moreover, according to them not only are the wise free, they are also kings; kingship being irresponsible rule, which none but the wise can maintain: so Chrysippus in his treatise vindicating Zeno's use of terminology. For he holds that knowledge of good and evil is a necessary attribute of the ruler, and that no bad man is acquainted with this science. Similarly the wise and good alone are fit to be magistrates, judges, or orators, whereas among the bad there is not one so qualified. Furthermore, the wise are infallible, not being liable to error. They are also without offence; for they do no hurt to others or to themselves. At the same time they are not pitiful and make no allowance for anyone; they never relax the penalties fixed by the laws, since indulgence and pity and even equitable consideration are marks of a weak mind, which affects kindness in place of chastizing. Nor do they deem punishments too severe. Again, they say that the wise man never wonders at any of the

δοκούντων παραδόξων, οἷον Χαρώνεια καὶ ἀμπώτιδας καὶ πηγὰς θερμῶν ὑδάτων καὶ πυρὸς ἀναφυσήματα. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ᾽ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ, φασί, βιώσεται ὁ σπουδαῖος· κοινωνικὸς γὰρ φύσει καὶ πρακτικός. τὴν μέντοι ἄσκησιν ἀποδέξεται ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ὑπομονῆς.

124 *Εὔξεταί τε, φασίν, ὁ σοφός, αἰτούμενος τὰ ἀγαθὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν, καθά φησι Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ καθηκόντων καὶ Ἑκάτων ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ παραδόξων. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τὴν φιλίαν ἐν μόνοις τοῖς σπουδαίοις εἶναι, διὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα· φασὶ δ᾽ αὐτὴν κοινωνίαν τινὰ εἶναι τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον, χρωμένων ἡμῶν τοῖς φίλοις ὡς ἑαυτοῖς. δι᾽ αὑτόν θ᾽ αἱρετὸν τὸν φίλον ἀποφαίνονται καὶ τὴν πολυφιλίαν ἀγαθόν. ἔν τε τοῖς φαύλοις μὴ εἶναι φιλίαν μηδενί τε τῶν φαύλων φίλον εἶναι. πάντας τε τοὺς ἄφρονας μαίνεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ φρονίμους εἶναι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν ἴσην τῇ ἀφροσύνῃ μανίαν πάντα πράττειν.*

125 *Πάντα τ᾽ εὖ ποιεῖν τὸν σοφόν, ὡς καὶ πάντα φαμὲν τὰ αὐλήματα εὖ αὐλεῖν τὸν Ἰσμηνίαν. καὶ τῶν σοφῶν δὲ πάντα εἶναι· δεδωκέναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς παντελῆ ἐξουσίαν τὸν νόμον. τῶν δὲ φαύλων εἶναί τινα λέγεται, ὃν τρόπον καὶ τῶν ἀδίκων, ἄλλως μὲν τῆς πόλεως, ἄλλως δὲ τῶν χρωμένων φαμέν.*

Τὰς δ᾽ ἀρετὰς λέγουσιν ἀντακολουθεῖν ἀλλήλαις καὶ τὸν μίαν ἔχοντα πάσας ἔχειν· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτῶν

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[a] Regarded as passages down to the underworld; *cf.* Virg. *Aen.* vi. 240 *seq.*, 299.

things which appear extraordinary, such as Charon's mephitic caverns,[a] ebbings of the tide, hot springs or fiery eruptions. Nor yet, they go on to say, will the wise man live in solitude; for he is naturally made for society and action. He will, however, submit to training to augment his powers of bodily endurance.

And the wise man, they say, will offer prayers, and ask for good things from the gods: so Posidonius in the first book of his treatise *On Duties*, and Hecato in his third book *On Paradoxes*. Friendship, they declare, exists only between the wise and good, by reason of their likeness to one another. And by friendship they mean a common use of all that has to do with life, wherein we treat our friends as we should ourselves. They argue that a friend is worth having for his own sake and that it is a good thing to have many friends. But among the bad there is, they hold, no such thing as friendship, and thus no bad man has a friend. Another of their tenets is that the unwise are all mad, inasmuch as they are not wise but do what they do from that madness which is the equivalent of their folly.

Furthermore, the wise man does all things well, just as we say that Ismenias plays all airs on the flute well. Also everything belongs to the wise. For the law, they say, has conferred upon them a perfect right to all things. It is true that certain things are said to belong to the bad, just as what has been dishonestly acquired may be said, in one sense, to belong to the state, in another sense to those who are enjoying it.

They hold that the virtues involve one another, and that the possessor of one is the possessor of all,

τὰ θεωρήματα κοινά, καθάπερ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ ἀρετῶν φησιν, Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ ἐν τῇ Φυσικῇ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν, Ἑκάτων δὲ ἐν τῷ
126 τρίτῳ Περὶ ἀρετῶν. τὸν γὰρ ἐνάρετον θεωρητικόν τ' εἶναι καὶ πρακτικὸν τῶν ποιητέων. τὰ δὲ ποιητέα καὶ αἱρετέα ἐστὶ καὶ ὑπομενητέα καὶ ἐμμενητέα καὶ ἀπονεμητέα, ὥστ' εἰ τὰ μὲν αἱρετικῶς ποιεῖ, τὰ δ' ὑπομενητικῶς, τὰ δ' ἀπονεμητικῶς, τὰ δ' ἐμμενητικῶς, φρόνιμός τ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνδρεῖος καὶ δίκαιος καὶ σώφρων. κεφαλαιοῦσθαί θ' ἑκάστην τῶν ἀρετῶν περί τι ἴδιον κεφάλαιον, οἷον τὴν ἀνδρείαν περὶ τὰ ὑπομενητέα, τὴν φρόνησιν περὶ τὰ ποιητέα καὶ μὴ καὶ οὐδέτερα· ὁμοίως τε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας περὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα τρέπεσθαι. ἕπονται δὲ τῇ μὲν φρονήσει εὐβουλία καὶ σύνεσις, τῇ δὲ σωφροσύνῃ εὐταξία καὶ κοσμιότης, τῇ δὲ δικαιοσύνῃ ἰσότης καὶ εὐγνωμοσύνη, τῇ δὲ ἀνδρείᾳ ἀπαραλλαξία καὶ εὐτονία.

127 Ἀρέσκει δ' αὐτοῖς μηδὲν μεταξὺ εἶναι ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας, τῶν Περιπατητικῶν μεταξὺ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας εἶναι λεγόντων τὴν προκοπήν· ὡς γὰρ δεῖν φασιν ἢ ὀρθὸν εἶναι ξύλον ἢ στρεβλόν, οὕτως ἢ δίκαιον ἢ ἄδικον, οὔτε δὲ δικαιότερον οὔτ' ἀδικώτερον, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίως. καὶ μὴν τὴν ἀρετὴν Χρύσιππος μὲν ἀποβλητήν, Κλεάνθης δὲ ἀναπόβλητον· ὁ μὲν ἀποβλητὴν διὰ μέθην καὶ

inasmuch as they have common principles, as Chrysippus says in the first book of his work *On Virtues*, Apollodorus in his *Physics according to the Early School*, and Hecato in the third book of his treatise *On Virtues*. For if a man be possessed of virtue, he is at once able to discover and to put into practice what he ought to do. Now such rules of conduct comprise rules for choosing, enduring, staying, and distributing; so that if a man does some things by intelligent choice, some things with fortitude, some things by way of just distribution, and some steadily, he is at once wise, courageous, just, and temperate. And each of the virtues has a particular subject with which it deals, as, for instance, courage is concerned with things that must be endured, practical wisdom with acts to be done, acts from which one must abstain, and those which fall under neither head. Similarly each of the other virtues is concerned with its own proper sphere. To wisdom are subordinate good counsel and understanding; to temperance, good discipline and orderliness; to justice, equality and fair-mindedness; to courage, constancy and vigour.

It is a tenet of theirs that between virtue and vice there is nothing intermediate, whereas according to the Peripatetics there is, namely, the state of moral improvement. For, say the Stoics, just as a stick must be either straight or crooked, so a man must be either just or unjust. Nor again are there degrees of justice and injustice; and the same rule applies to the other virtues. Further, while Chrysippus holds that virtue can be lost, Cleanthes maintains that it cannot. According to the former it may be lost in consequence of drunkenness or melancholy;

μελαγχολίαν, ὁ δ' ἀναπόβλητον διὰ βεβαίους καταλήψεις· καὶ αὐτὴν δι' <αὑτὴν> αἱρετὴν εἶναι. αἰσχυνόμεθα γοῦν ἐφ' οἷς κακῶς πράττομεν, ὡς ἂν μόνον τὸ καλὸν εἰδότες ἀγαθόν. αὐτάρκη τ' εἶναι αὐτὴν πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν, καθά φησι Ζήνων καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ ἀρετῶν καὶ
128 Ἑκάτων ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ ἀγαθῶν. "εἰ γάρ," φησίν, "αὐτάρκης ἐστὶν ἡ μεγαλοψυχία πρὸς τὸ πάντων ὑπεράνω ποιεῖν, ἔστι δὲ μέρος τῆς ἀρετῆς, αὐτάρκης ἔσται καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν καταφρονοῦσα καὶ τῶν δοκούντων ὀχληρῶν." ὁ μέντοι Παναίτιος καὶ Ποσειδώνιος οὐκ αὐτάρκη λέγουσι τὴν ἀρετήν, ἀλλὰ χρείαν εἶναί φασι καὶ ὑγιείας καὶ χορηγίας καὶ ἰσχύος.

Ἀρέσκει δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ διὰ παντὸς χρῆσθαι τῇ ἀρετῇ, ὡς οἱ περὶ Κλεάνθην φασίν· ἀναπόβλητος γάρ ἐστι καὶ πάντοτε τῇ ψυχῇ χρῆται οὔσῃ τελείᾳ ὁ σπουδαῖος. φύσει τε τὸ δίκαιον εἶναι καὶ μὴ θέσει, ὡς καὶ τὸν νόμον καὶ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον, καθά φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ.
129 δοκεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς μηδὲ διὰ τὴν διαφωνίαν ἀφίστασθαι φιλοσοφίας, ἐπεὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ προλείψειν ὅλον τὸν βίον, ὡς καὶ Ποσειδώνιός φησιν ἐν τοῖς Προτρεπτικοῖς. εὐχρηστεῖν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐγκύκλια μαθήματά φησιν ὁ Χρύσιππος.

Ἔτι ἀρέσκει αὐτοῖς μηδὲν εἶναι ἡμῖν δίκαιον πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα ζῷα, διὰ τὴν ἀνομοιότητα, καθά φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ δικαιοσύνης

the latter takes it to be inalienable owing to the certainty of our mental apprehension. And virtue in itself they hold to be worthy of choice for its own sake. At all events we are ashamed of bad conduct as if we knew that nothing is really good but the morally beautiful. Moreover, they hold that it is in itself sufficient to ensure well-being: thus Zeno, and Chrysippus in the first book of his treatise *On Virtues*, and Hecato in the second book of his treatise *On Goods*: "For if magnanimity by itself alone can raise us far above everything, and if magnanimity is but a part of virtue, then too virtue as a whole will be sufficient in itself for well-being—despising all things that seem troublesome." Panaetius, however, and Posidonius deny that virtue is self-sufficing: on the contrary, health is necessary, and some means of living and strength.

Another tenet of theirs is the perpetual exercise of virtue, as held by Cleanthes and his followers. For virtue can never be lost, and the good man is always exercising his mind, which is perfect. Again, they say that justice, as well as law and right reason, exists by nature and not by convention: so Chrysippus in his work *On the Morally Beautiful*. Neither do they think that the divergence of opinion between philosophers is any reason for abandoning the study of philosophy, since at that rate we should have to give up life altogether: so Posidonius in his *Exhortations*. Chrysippus allows that the ordinary Greek education is serviceable.

It is their doctrine that there can be no question of right as between man and the lower animals, because of their unlikeness. Thus Chrysippus in the first book of his treatise *On Justice*, and Posi-

καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ καθήκοντος. καὶ ἐρασθήσεσθαι δὲ τὸν σοφὸν τῶν νέων τῶν ἐμφαινόντων διὰ τοῦ εἴδους τὴν πρὸς ἀρετὴν εὐφυΐαν, ὥς φησι Ζήνων ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ βίων καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῇ Ἠθικῇ.

130 *Εἶναι δὲ τὸν ἔρωτα ἐπιβολὴν φιλοποιίας διὰ κάλλος ἐμφαινόμενον· καὶ μὴ εἶναι συνουσίας, ἀλλὰ φιλίας. τὸν γοῦν Θρασωνίδην καίπερ ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ ἔχοντα τὴν ἐρωμένην, διὰ τὸ μισεῖσθαι ἀπέχεσθαι αὐτῆς. εἶναι οὖν τὸν ἔρωτα φιλίας, ὡς καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἔρωτός φησι· καὶ μὴ εἶναι θεόπεμπτον αὐτόν. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὴν ὥραν ἄνθος ἀρετῆς.*

Βίων δὲ τριῶν ὄντων, θεωρητικοῦ καὶ πρακτικοῦ καὶ λογικοῦ, τὸν τρίτον φασὶν αἱρετέον· γεγονέναι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐπίτηδες τὸ λογικὸν ζῷον πρὸς θεωρίαν καὶ πρᾶξιν. εὐλόγως τέ φασιν ἐξάξειν ἑαυτὸν τοῦ βίου τὸν σοφόν, καὶ ὑπὲρ πατρίδος καὶ ὑπὲρ φίλων, κἂν ἐν σκληροτέρᾳ γένηται ἀλγηδόνι ἢ πηρώσεσιν ἢ νόσοις ἀνιάτοις.

131 *Ἀρέσκει δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ κοινὰς εἶναι τὰς γυναῖκας δεῖν παρὰ τοῖς σοφοῖς, ὥστε τὸν ἐντυχόντα τῇ ἐντυχούσῃ χρῆσθαι, καθά φησι Ζήνων ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ πολιτείας, [ἀλλ' ἔτι Διογένης ὁ κυνικὸς καὶ Πλάτων]. πάντας τε παῖδας ἐπίσης στέρξομεν πατέρων τρόπον καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ ζηλοτυπία περιαιρεθήσεται. πολιτείαν δ' ἀρίστην τὴν μικτὴν*

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[a] The words in brackets read like a marginal note, afterwards inserted in the text.

donius in the first book of his *De officio*. Further, they say that the wise man will feel affection for the youths who by their countenance show a natural endowment for virtue. So Zeno in his *Republic*, Chrysippus in book i. of his work *On Modes of Life*, and Apollodorus in his *Ethics*.

Their definition of love is an effort toward friendliness due to visible beauty appearing, its sole end being friendship, not bodily enjoyment. At all events, they allege that Thrasonides, although he had his mistress in his power, abstained from her because she hated him. By which it is shown, they think, that love depends upon regard, as Chrysippus says in his treatise *Of Love*, and is not sent by the gods. And beauty they describe as the bloom or flower of virtue.

Of the three kinds of life, the contemplative, the practical, and the rational, they declare that we ought to choose the last, for that a rational being is expressly produced by nature for contemplation and for action. They tell us that the wise man will for reasonable cause make his own exit from life, on his country's behalf or for the sake of his friends, or if he suffer intolerable pain, mutilation, or incurable disease.

It is also their doctrine that amongst the wise there should be a community of wives with free choice of partners, as Zeno says in his *Republic* and Chrysippus in his treatise *On Government* [and not only they, but also Diogenes the Cynic and Plato].[a] Under such circumstances we shall feel paternal affection for all the children alike, and there will be an end of the jealousies arising from adultery. The best form of government they hold to be a mixture

ἔκ τε δημοκρατίας καὶ βασιλείας καὶ ἀριστοκρατίας.

Καὶ ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἠθικοῖς δόγμασι τοιαῦτα λέγουσι καὶ τούτων πλείω μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἀποδείξεων· ταῦτα δ' ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίοις ἡμῖν λελέχθω καὶ στοιχειωδῶς.

132 Τὸν δὲ φυσικὸν λόγον διαιροῦσιν εἴς τε τὸν περὶ σωμάτων τόπον καὶ περὶ ἀρχῶν καὶ στοιχείων καὶ θεῶν καὶ περάτων καὶ τόπου καὶ κενοῦ. καὶ οὕτω μὲν εἰδικῶς, γενικῶς δ' εἰς τρεῖς τόπους, τόν τε περὶ κόσμου καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν στοιχείων καὶ τρίτον τὸν αἰτιολογικόν.

Τὸν δὲ περὶ τοῦ κόσμου διαιρεῖσθαί φασιν εἰς δύο μέρη. μιᾷ γὰρ σκέψει ἐπικοινωνεῖν αὐτοῦ[a] καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων, καθ' ἣν ζητοῦσι περί τε τῶν ἀπλανῶν καὶ τῶν πλανωμένων, οἷον εἰ ὁ ἥλιός ἐστι τηλικοῦτος ἡλίκος φαίνεται, καὶ ὁμοίως εἰ ἡ σελήνη, καὶ περὶ δινήσεως καὶ τῶν
133 ὁμοίων τούτοις ζητημάτων. ἑτέραν δ' αὐτοῦ σκέψιν εἶναι ἥτις μόνοις τοῖς φυσικοῖς ἐπιβάλλει, καθ' ἣν ζητεῖται ἥ τ' οὐσία αὐτοῦ [καὶ εἰ ὁ ἥλιος καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες ἐξ ὕλης καὶ εἴδους] καὶ εἰ γενητὸς ἢ ἀγένητος καὶ εἰ ἔμψυχος ἢ ἄψυχος καὶ εἰ φθαρτὸς ἢ ἄφθαρτος καὶ εἰ προνοίᾳ διοικεῖται καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν. τόν τ' αἰτιολογικὸν εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸν διμερῆ. μιᾷ δ' αὐτοῦ ἐπισκέψει ἐπικοινωνεῖν τὴν τῶν ἰατρῶν ζήτησιν, καθ' ἣν ζητοῦσι περί τε τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν ψυχῇ γινομένων

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[a] αὐτοῦ = τοῦ κόσμου.

of democracy, kingship, and aristocracy (or the rule of the best).

Such, then, are the statements they make in their ethical doctrines, with much more besides, together with their proper proofs: let this, however, suffice for a statement of them in a summary and elementary form.

Their physical doctrine they divide into sections (1) about bodies; (2) about principles; (3) about elements; (4) about the gods; (5) about bounding surfaces and space whether filled or empty. This is a division into species; but the generic division is into three parts, dealing with (i.) the universe; (ii.) the elements; (iii.) the subject of causation.

The part dealing with the universe admits, they say, of division into two: for with one aspect of it the mathematicians also are concerned, in so far as they treat questions relating to the fixed stars and the planets, *e.g.* whether the sun is or is not just so large as it appears to be, and the same about the moon, the question of their revolutions, and other inquiries of the same sort. But there is another aspect or field of cosmological [a] inquiry, which belongs to the physicists alone: this includes such questions as what the substance of the universe is, whether the sun and the stars are made up of form and matter, whether the world has had a beginning in time or not, whether it is animate or inanimate, whether it is destructible or indestructible, whether it is governed by providence, and all the rest. The part concerned with causation, again, is itself subdivided into two. And in one of its aspects medical inquiries have a share in it, in so far as it involves investigation of the ruling principle of the soul and the phenomena of

καὶ περὶ σπερμάτων καὶ τῶν τούτοις ὁμοίων· τοῦ δ' ἑτέρου καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, οἷον πῶς ὁρῶμεν, τίς ἡ αἰτία τῆς κατοπτρικῆς φαντασίας, ὅπως νέφη συνίσταται, βρονταὶ καὶ ἴριδες καὶ ἅλως καὶ κομῆται καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια.

134 Δοκεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς ἀρχὰς εἶναι τῶν ὅλων δύο, τὸ ποιοῦν καὶ τὸ πάσχον. τὸ μὲν οὖν πάσχον εἶναι τὴν ἄποιον οὐσίαν τὴν ὕλην, τὸ δὲ ποιοῦν τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ λόγον τὸν θεόν· τοῦτον γὰρ ἀΐδιον ὄντα διὰ πάσης αὐτῆς δημιουργεῖν ἕκαστα. τίθησι δὲ τὸ δόγμα τοῦτο Ζήνων μὲν ὁ Κιτιεὺς ἐν τῷ Περὶ οὐσίας, Κλεάνθης δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν ἀτόμων, Χρύσιππος δ' ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Φυσικῶν πρὸς τῷ τέλει, Ἀρχέδημος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ στοιχείων καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τοῦ Φυσικοῦ λόγου. διαφέρειν δέ φασιν ἀρχὰς καὶ στοιχεῖα· τὰς μὲν γὰρ εἶναι ἀγενήτους <καὶ> ἀφθάρτους, τὰ δὲ στοιχεῖα κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν φθείρεσθαι. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀσωμάτους[1] εἶναι τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ ἀμόρφους, τὰ δὲ μεμορφῶσθαι.

135 Σῶμα δ' ἐστίν, ὥς φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῇ Φυσικῇ, τὸ τριχῇ διαστατόν, εἰς μῆκος, εἰς πλάτος, εἰς βάθος· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ στερεὸν σῶμα καλεῖται. ἐπιφάνεια δ' ἐστὶ σώματος πέρας ἢ τὸ μῆκος καὶ πλάτος μόνον ἔχον, βάθος δ' οὔ· ταύτην δὲ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ μετεώρων καὶ κατ' ἐπίνοιαν καὶ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἀπολείπει. γραμμὴ δ' ἐστὶν ἐπιφανείας πέρας ἢ μῆκος ἀπλατὲς ἢ τὸ μῆκος μόνον ἔχον. στιγμὴ δ' ἐστὶ γραμμῆς πέρας, ἥτις ἐστὶ σημεῖον ἐλάχιστον.

[1] ἀσωμάτους Suid. (s.v. ἀρχή): σώματα vulg.

soul, seeds, and the like. Whereas the other part is claimed by the mathematicians also, *e.g.* how vision is to be explained, what causes the image on the mirror, what is the origin of clouds, thunder, rainbows, halos, comets, and the like.

They hold that there are two principles in the universe, the active principle and the passive. The passive principle, then, is a substance without quality, *i.e.* matter, whereas the active is the reason inherent in this substance, that is God. For he is everlasting and is the artificer of each several thing throughout the whole extent of matter. This doctrine is laid down by Zeno of Citium in his treatise *On Existence*, Cleanthes in his work *On Atoms*. Chrysippus in the first book of his *Physics* towards the end, Archedemus in his treatise *On Elements*, and Posidonius in the second book of his *Physical Exposition*. There is a difference, according to them, between principles and elements; the former being without generation or destruction, whereas the elements are destroyed when all things are resolved into fire. Moreover, the principles are incorporeal and destitute of form, while the elements have been endowed with form.

Body is defined by Apollodorus in his *Physics* as that which is extended in three dimensions, length, breadth, and depth. This is also called solid body. But surface is the extremity of a solid body, or that which has length and breadth only without depth. That surface exists not only in our thought but also in reality is maintained by Posidonius in the third book of his *Celestial Phenomena*. A line is the extremity of a surface or length without breadth, or that which has length alone. A point is the extremity of a line, the smallest possible mark or dot.

Ἕν τ' εἶναι θεὸν καὶ νοῦν καὶ εἱμαρμένην καὶ Δία· πολλάς τ' ἑτέρας ὀνομασίας προσονομάζεσθαι.[1]
136 κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν καθ' αὑτὸν ὄντα τρέπειν τὴν πᾶσαν οὐσίαν δι' ἀέρος εἰς ὕδωρ· καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ γονῇ τὸ σπέρμα περιέχεται, οὕτω καὶ τοῦτον σπερματικὸν λόγον ὄντα τοῦ κόσμου, τοιόνδ' ὑπολείπεσθαι ἐν τῷ ὑγρῷ, εὐεργὸν αὑτῷ ποιοῦντα τὴν ὕλην πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἑξῆς γένεσιν· εἶτ' ἀπογεννᾶν πρῶτον τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα, πῦρ, ὕδωρ, ἀέρα, γῆν. λέγει δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν Ζήνων τ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ ὅλου καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Φυσικῶν καὶ Ἀρχέδημος ἔν τινι Περὶ στοιχείων. ἔστι δὲ στοιχεῖον ἐξ οὗ πρώτου γίνεται τὰ γινόμενα καὶ
137 εἰς ὃ ἔσχατον ἀναλύεται. τὰ δὴ τέτταρα στοιχεῖα εἶναι ὁμοῦ τὴν ἄποιον οὐσίαν τὴν ὕλην· εἶναι δὲ τὸ μὲν πῦρ τὸ θερμόν, τὸ δ' ὕδωρ τὸ ὑγρόν, τόν τ' ἀέρα τὸ ψυχρὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν τὸ ξηρόν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔτι ἐν τῷ ἀέρι εἶναι τὸ αὐτὸ μέρος. ἀνωτάτω μὲν οὖν εἶναι τὸ πῦρ, ὃ δὴ αἰθέρα καλεῖσθαι, ἐν ᾧ πρώτην τὴν τῶν ἀπλανῶν σφαῖραν γεννᾶσθαι, εἶτα τὴν τῶν πλανωμένων· μεθ' ἣν τὸν ἀέρα, εἶτα τὸ ὕδωρ, ὑποστάθμην δὲ πάντων τὴν γῆν, μέσην ἁπάντων οὖσαν.

Λέγουσι δὲ κόσμον τριχῶς· αὐτόν τε τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἁπάσης οὐσίας ἰδίως ποιόν, ὃς δὴ ἄφθαρτός ἐστι καὶ ἀγένητος, δημιουργὸς ὢν τῆς διακοσμήσεως, κατὰ χρόνων ποιὰς περιόδους ἀναλίσκων εἰς ἑαυτὸν τὴν ἅπασαν οὐσίαν καὶ πάλιν
138 ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ γεννῶν. καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν διακόσμησιν

[1] Text B: πολλαῖς τε ἑτέραις ὀνομασίαις vulg.

[a] "The same part" (τὸ αὐτὸ μέρος) may refer to the quality of dryness last mentioned.

God is one and the same with Reason, Fate, and Zeus; he is also called by many other names. In the beginning he was by himself; he transformed the whole of substance through air into water, and just as in animal generation the seed has a moist vehicle, so in cosmic moisture God, who is the seminal reason of the universe, remains behind in the moisture as such an agent, adapting matter to himself with a view to the next stage of creation. Thereupon he created first of all the four elements, fire, water, air, earth. They are discussed by Zeno in his treatise *On the Whole*, by Chrysippus in the first book of his *Physics*, and by Archedemus in a work *On Elements*. An element is defined as that from which particular things first come to be at their birth and into which they are finally resolved. The four elements together constitute unqualified substance or matter. Fire is the hot element, water the moist, air the cold, earth the dry. Not but what the quality of dryness is also found in the air.[a] Fire has the uppermost place; it is also called aether, and in it the sphere of the fixed stars is first created; then comes the sphere of the planets, next to that the air, then the water, and lowest of all the earth, which is at the centre of all things.

The term universe or cosmos is used by them in three senses: (1) of God himself, the individual being whose quality is derived from the whole of substance; he is indestructible and ingenerable, being the artificer of this orderly arrangement, who at stated periods of time absorbs into himself the whole of substance and again creates it from himself. (2) Again, they give the name of cosmos to the orderly

τῶν ἀστέρων κόσμον εἶναι λέγουσι· καὶ τρίτον τὸ συνεστηκὸς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν. καὶ ἔστι κόσμος ὁ ἰδίως ποιὸς τῆς τῶν ὅλων οὐσίας ἤ, ὥς φησι Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῇ Μετεωρολογικῇ στοιχειώσει, σύστημα ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις φύσεων ἢ σύστημα ἐκ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἕνεκα τούτων γεγονότων. οὐρανὸς δέ ἐστιν ἡ ἐσχάτη περιφέρεια ἐν ᾗ πᾶν ἵδρυται τὸ θεῖον.

Τὸν δὴ κόσμον διοικεῖσθαι κατὰ νοῦν καὶ πρόνοιαν, καθά φησι Χρύσιππός τ' ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ Περὶ προνοίας καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ Περὶ θεῶν, εἰς ἅπαν αὐτοῦ μέρος διήκοντος τοῦ νοῦ, καθάπερ ἐφ' ἡμῶν τῆς ψυχῆς· ἀλλ' ἤδη δι' ὧν μὲν μᾶλλον,
139 δι' ὧν δὲ ἧττον. δι' ὧν μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἕξις κεχώρηκεν, ὡς διὰ τῶν ὀστῶν καὶ τῶν νεύρων· δι' ὧν δὲ ὡς νοῦς, ὡς διὰ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ. οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸν ὅλον κόσμον ζῷον ὄντα καὶ ἔμψυχον καὶ λογικόν, ἔχειν ἡγεμονικὸν μὲν τὸν αἰθέρα, καθά φησιν Ἀντίπατρος ὁ Τύριος ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ Περὶ κόσμου. Χρύσιππος δ' ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ προνοίας καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ θεῶν τὸν οὐρανόν φασι τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν τοῦ κόσμου, Κλεάνθης δὲ τὸν ἥλιον. ὁ μέντοι Χρύσιππος διαφορώτερον πάλιν τὸ καθαρώτερον τοῦ αἰθέρος ἐν ταὐτῷ, ὃ καὶ πρῶτον θεὸν λέγουσιν αἰσθητικῶς ὥσπερ κεχωρηκέναι

[a] "World" is normally the best rendering of *κόσμος*. "Universe," which some prefer, better suits *τὸ ὅλον*.

arrangement of the heavenly bodies in itself as such; and (3) in the third place to that whole of which these two are parts. Again, the cosmos is defined as the individual being qualifying the whole of substance, or, in the words of Posidonius in his elementary treatise on *Celestial Phenomena*, a system made up of heaven and earth and the natures in them, or, again, as a system constituted by gods and men and all things created for their sake. By heaven is meant the extreme circumference or ring in which the deity has his seat.

The world,[a] in their view, is ordered by reason and providence: so says Chrysippus in the fifth book of his treatise *On Providence* and Posidonius in his work *On the Gods*, book iii.—inasmuch as reason pervades every part of it, just as does the soul in us. Only there is a difference of degree; in some parts there is more of it, in others less. For through some parts it passes as a "hold" or containing force, as is the case with our bones and sinews; while through others it passes as intelligence, as in the ruling part of the soul. Thus, then, the whole world is a living being, endowed with soul and reason, and having aether for its ruling principle: so says Antipater of Tyre in the eighth book of his treatise *On the Cosmos*. Chrysippus in the first book of his work *On Providence* and Posidonius in his book *On the Gods* say that the heaven, but Cleanthes that the sun, is the ruling power of the world. Chrysippus, however, in the course of the same work gives a somewhat different account, namely, that it is the purer part of the aether; the same which they declare to be preeminently God and always to have, as it were in sensible fashion, pervaded all that is in the air, all

διὰ τῶν ἐν ἀέρι καὶ διὰ τῶν ζῴων ἁπάντων καὶ φυτῶν· διὰ δὲ τῆς γῆς αὐτῆς καθ' ἕξιν.

140 Ἕνα τὸν κόσμον εἶναι καὶ τοῦτον πεπερασμένον, σχῆμ' ἔχοντα σφαιροειδές· πρὸς γὰρ τὴν κίνησιν ἁρμοδιώτατον τὸ τοιοῦτον, καθά φησι Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τοῦ Φυσικοῦ λόγου καὶ οἱ περὶ Ἀντίπατρον ἐν τοῖς περὶ κόσμου. ἔξωθεν δ' αὐτοῦ περικεχυμένον εἶναι τὸ κενὸν ἄπειρον, ὅπερ ἀσώματον εἶναι· ἀσώματον δὲ τὸ οἷόν τε κατέχεσθαι ὑπὸ σωμάτων οὐ κατεχόμενον· ἐν δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ μηδὲν εἶναι κενόν, ἀλλ' ἡνῶσθαι αὐτόν· τοῦτο γὰρ ἀναγκάζειν τὴν τῶν οὐρανίων πρὸς τὰ ἐπίγεια σύμπνοιαν καὶ συντονίαν. φησὶ δὲ περὶ τοῦ κενοῦ Χρύσιππος μὲν ἐν τῷ Περὶ κενοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Φυσικῶν τεχνῶν καὶ Ἀπολλοφάνης ἐν τῇ Φυσικῇ καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν δευτέρῳ τοῦ Φυσικοῦ λόγου. εἶναι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα [ἀ]σώματα ὁμοίως.

141 Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸν χρόνον ἀσώματον, διάστημα ὄντα τῆς τοῦ κόσμου κινήσεως. τούτου δὲ τὸν μὲν παρῳχηκότα καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα ἀπείρους, τὸν δ' ἐνεστῶτα πεπερασμένον. ἀρέσκει δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ φθαρτὸν εἶναι τὸν κόσμον, ἅτε γενητὸν τῷ λόγῳ τῶν δι' αἰσθήσεως νοουμένων, οὗ τε τὰ μέρη φθαρτά ἐστι, καὶ τὸ ὅλον· τὰ δὲ μέρη τοῦ κόσμου φθαρτά· εἰς ἄλληλα γὰρ μεταβάλλει· φθαρτὸς ἄρα ὁ κόσμος. καὶ εἴ τι ἐπιδεκτικόν ἐστι τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον μεταβολῆς, φθαρτόν ἐστι· καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἄρα· ἐξαυχμοῦται γὰρ καὶ ἐξυδατοῦται.

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[a] The reading ἀσώματα can be retained if we alter ταῦτα to λεκτά, the sense thus being "the meanings of spoken words are also incorporeal." Yet a parallel change is re-

animals and plants, and also the earth itself, as a principle of cohesion.

The world, they say, is one and finite, having a spherical shape, such a shape being the most suitable for motion, as Posidonius says in the fifth book of his *Physical Discourse* and the disciples of Antipater in their works on the Cosmos. Outside of the world is diffused the infinite void, which is incorporeal. By incorporeal is meant that which, though capable of being occupied by body, is not so occupied. The world has no empty space within it, but forms one united whole. This is a necessary result of the sympathy and tension which binds together things in heaven and earth. Chrysippus discusses the void in his work *On Void* and in the first book of his *Physical Sciences*; so too Apollophanes in his *Physics*, Apollodorus, and Posidonius in his *Physical Discourse*, book ii. But these, it is added [*i.e.* sympathy and tension], are likewise bodies.[a]

Time too is incorporeal, being the measure of the world's motion. And time past and time future are infinite, but time present is finite. They hold that the world must come to an end, inasmuch as it had a beginning, on the analogy of those things which are understood by the senses. And that of which the parts are perishable is perishable as a whole. Now the parts of the world are perishable, seeing that they are transformed one into the other. Therefore the world itself is doomed to perish. Moreover, anything is destructible if it admits of deterioration; therefore the world is so, for it is first evaporated and again dissolved into water.

quired in § 134. Professor Pearson suggests εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀσώματα ὁμοίως, introducing § 141.

142 Γίνεσθαι δὲ τὸν κόσμον ὅταν ἐκ πυρὸς ἡ οὐσία τραπῇ δι' ἀέρος εἰς ὑγρότητα, εἶτα τὸ παχυμερὲς αὐτοῦ συστὰν ἀποτελεσθῇ γῆ, τὸ δὲ λεπτομερὲς ἐξαερωθῇ, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ πλέον λεπτυνθὲν πῦρ ἀπογεννήσῃ. εἶτα κατὰ μίξιν ἐκ τούτων φυτά τε καὶ ζῷα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα γένη. περὶ δὴ οὖν τῆς γενέσεως καὶ τῆς φθορᾶς τοῦ κόσμου φησὶ Ζήνων μὲν ἐν τῷ Περὶ ὅλου, Χρύσιππος δ' ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Φυσικῶν καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ κόσμου καὶ Κλεάνθης καὶ Ἀντίπατρος ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ Περὶ κόσμου. Παναίτιος δ' ἄφθαρτον ἀπεφήνατο τὸν κόσμον.

Ὅτι δὲ καὶ ζῷον ὁ κόσμος καὶ λογικὸν καὶ ἔμψυχον καὶ νοερὸν καὶ Χρύσιππός φησιν ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ προνοίας καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος [φησὶν]
143 ἐν τῇ Φυσικῇ καὶ Ποσειδώνιος· ζῷον μὲν οὕτως ὄντα, οὐσίαν ἔμψυχον αἰσθητικήν. τὸ γὰρ ζῷον τοῦ μὴ ζῴου κρεῖττον· οὐδὲν δὲ τοῦ κόσμου κρεῖττον· ζῷον ἄρ' ὁ κόσμος. ἔμψυχον δέ, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς ἐκεῖθεν οὔσης ἀποσπάσματος. Βόηθος δέ φησιν οὐκ εἶναι ζῷον τὸν κόσμον. ὅτι θ' εἷς ἐστι Ζήνων φησὶν ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ ὅλου καὶ Χρύσιππος καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῇ Φυσικῇ καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν πρώτῳ τοῦ Φυσικοῦ λόγου. τὸ δὲ πᾶν λέγεται, ὥς φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος, ὅ τε κόσμος καὶ καθ' ἕτερον τρόπον τὸ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ ἔξωθεν κενοῦ σύστημα. ὁ μὲν οὖν κόσμος πεπερασμένος ἐστί, τὸ δὲ κενὸν ἄπειρον.

The world, they hold, comes into being when its substance has first been converted from fire through air into moisture and then the coarser part of the moisture has condensed as earth, while that whose particles are fine has been turned into air, and this process of rarefaction goes on increasing till it generates fire. Thereupon out of these elements animals and plants and all other natural kinds are formed by their mixture. The generation and the destruction of the world are discussed by Zeno in his treatise *On the Whole*, by Chrysippus in the first book of his *Physics*, by Posidonius in the first book of his work *On the Cosmos*, by Cleanthes, and by Antipater in his tenth book *On the Cosmos*. Panaetius, however, maintained that the world is indestructible.

The doctrine that the world is a living being, rational, animate and intelligent, is laid down by Chrysippus in the first book of his treatise *On Providence*, by Apollodorus in his *Physics*, and by Posidonius. It is a living thing in the sense of an animate substance endowed with sensation; for animal is better than non-animal, and nothing is better than the world, *ergo* the world is a living being. And it is endowed with soul, as is clear from our several souls being each a fragment of it. Boëthus, however, denies that the world is a living thing. The unity of the world is maintained by Zeno in his treatise *On the Whole*, by Chrysippus, by Apollodorus in his *Physics*, and by Posidonius in the first book of his *Physical Discourse*. By the totality of things, the All, is meant, according to Apollodorus, (1) the world, and in another sense (2) the system composed of the world and the void outside it. The world then is finite, the void infinite.

144 Τῶν δ' ἄστρων τὰ μὲν ἀπλανῆ συμπεριφέρεσθαι τῷ ὅλῳ οὐρανῷ, τὰ δὲ πλανώμενα κατ' ἰδίας κινεῖσθαι κινήσεις. τὸν δ' ἥλιον λοξὴν τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι διὰ τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ κύκλου· ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν σελήνην ἑλικοειδῆ. εἶναι δὲ τὸν μὲν ἥλιον εἰλικρινὲς πῦρ, καθά φησι Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ ἑβδόμῳ Περὶ μετεώρων· καὶ μείζονα τῆς γῆς, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ ἕκτῳ τοῦ Φυσικοῦ λόγου· ἀλλὰ καὶ σφαιροειδῆ, ὡς οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν τοῦτόν φασιν, ἀναλόγως τῷ κόσμῳ. πῦρ μὲν οὖν εἶναι, ὅτι τὰ πυρὸς πάντα ποιεῖ· μείζω δὲ τῆς γῆς τῷ πᾶσαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φωτίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν οὐρανόν. καὶ τὸ τὴν γῆν δὲ κωνοειδῆ σκιὰν ἀποτελεῖν τὸ μείζονα εἶναι σημαίνει· πάντοθεν δὲ βλέπεσθαι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος.

145 Γεωδεστέραν δὲ τὴν σελήνην, ἅτε καὶ προσγειοτέραν οὖσαν. τρέφεσθαι δὲ τὰ ἔμπυρα ταῦτα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἄστρα, τὸν μὲν ἥλιον ἐκ τῆς μεγάλης θαλάττης νοερὸν ὄντα ἄναμμα· τὴν δὲ σελήνην ἐκ ποτίμων ὑδάτων, ἀερομιγῆ τυγχάνουσαν καὶ πρόσγειον οὖσαν, ὡς ὁ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ ἕκτῳ τοῦ Φυσικοῦ λόγου· τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς. δοκεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς σφαιροειδῆ εἶναι καὶ τὰ ἄστρα καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀκίνητον οὖσαν. τὴν δὲ σελήνην οὐκ ἴδιον ἔχειν φῶς, ἀλλὰ παρ' ἡλίου λαμβάνειν ἐπιλαμπομένην.

Ἐκλείπειν δὲ τὸν μὲν ἥλιον ἐπιπροσθούσης αὐτῷ σελήνης κατὰ τὸ πρὸς ἡμᾶς μέρος, ὡς Ζήνων
146 ἀναγράφει ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ ὅλου. φαίνεται γὰρ ὑπερχομένη ἐν ταῖς συνόδοις καὶ ἀποκρύπτουσα

Of the stars some are fixed, and are carried round with the whole heaven; others, the wandering stars or planets, have their special motions. The sun travels in an oblique path through the zodiac. Similarly the moon travels in a spiral path. The sun is pure fire: so Posidonius in the seventh book of his *Celestial Phenomena*. And it is larger than the earth, as the same author says in the sixth book of his *Physical Discourse*. Moreover it is spherical in shape like the world itself according to this same author and his school. That it is fire is proved by its producing all the effects of fire; that it is larger than the earth by the fact that all the earth is illuminated by it; nay more, the heaven beside. The fact too that the earth casts a conical shadow proves that the sun is greater than it. And it is because of its great size that it is seen from every part of the earth.

The moon, however, is of a more earthy composition, since it is nearer to the earth. These fiery bodies and the stars generally derive their nutriment, the sun from the wide ocean, being a fiery kindling, though intelligent; the moon from fresh waters, with an admixture of air, close to the earth as it is: thus Posidonius in the sixth book of his *Physics*; the other heavenly bodies being nourished from the earth. They hold that the stars are spherical in shape and that the earth too is so and is at rest; and that the moon does not shine by her own light, but by the borrowed light of the sun when he shines upon her.

An eclipse of the sun takes place when the moon passes in front of it on the side towards us, as shown by Zeno with a diagram in his treatise *On the Whole*. For the moon is seen approaching at conjunctions and

αὐτὸν καὶ πάλιν παραλλάττουσα· γνωρίζεται δὲ τοῦτο διὰ λεκάνης ὕδωρ ἐχούσης. τὴν δὲ σελήνην ἐμπίπτουσαν εἰς τὸ τῆς γῆς σκίασμα· ὅθεν καὶ ταῖς πανσελήνοις ἐκλείπειν μόναις, καίπερ κατὰ διάμετρον ἱσταμένην κατὰ μῆνα τῷ ἡλίῳ, ὅτι κατὰ λοξοῦ ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον κινουμένη παραλλάττει τῷ πλάτει, ἢ βορειοτέρα ἢ νοτιωτέρα γινομένη. ὅταν μέντοι τὸ πλάτος αὐτῆς κατὰ τὸν ἡλιακὸν καὶ τὸν διὰ μέσων γένηται, εἶτα διαμετρήσῃ τὸν ἥλιον, τότ᾽ ἐκλείπει· γίνεται δὲ τὸ πλάτος αὐτῆς κατὰ τὸν διὰ μέσων ἐν χηλαῖς καὶ σκορπίῳ καὶ κριῷ καὶ ταύρῳ, ὡς οἱ περὶ τὸν Ποσειδώνιον.

147 *Θεὸν δ᾽ εἶναι ζῷον ἀθάνατον, λογικόν, τέλειον ἢ νοερὸν ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ, κακοῦ παντὸς ἀνεπίδεκτον, προνοητικὸν κόσμου τε καὶ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ· μὴ εἶναι μέντοι ἀνθρωπόμορφον. εἶναι δὲ τὸν μὲν δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων καὶ ὥσπερ πατέρα πάντων κοινῶς τε καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ τὸ διῆκον διὰ πάντων, ὃ πολλαῖς προσηγορίαις προσονομάζεσθαι κατὰ τὰς δυνάμεις. Δία μὲν γάρ φασι δι᾽ ὃν τὰ πάντα, Ζῆνα δὲ καλοῦσι παρ᾽ ὅσον τοῦ ζῆν αἴτιός ἐστιν ἢ διὰ τοῦ ζῆν κεχώρηκεν, Ἀθηνᾶν δὲ κατὰ τὴν εἰς αἰθέρα διάτασιν τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ αὐτοῦ, Ἥραν δὲ κατὰ τὴν εἰς ἀέρα, καὶ Ἥφαιστον κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ τεχνικὸν πῦρ, καὶ Ποσειδῶνα κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ ὑγρόν, καὶ Δήμητραν κατὰ τὴν εἰς γῆν· ὁμοίως δὲ*

occulting it and then again receding from it. This can best be observed when they are mirrored in a basin of water. The moon is eclipsed when she falls into the earth's shadow: for which reason it is only at the full moon that an eclipse happens [and not always then], although she is in opposition to the sun every month; because the moon moves in an oblique orbit, diverging in latitude relatively to the orbit of the sun, and she accordingly goes farther to the north or to the south. When, however, the moon's motion in latitude has brought her into the sun's path through the zodiac, and she thus comes diametrically opposite to the sun, there is an eclipse. Now the moon is in latitude right on the zodiac,[a] when she is in the constellations of Cancer, Scorpio, Aries and Taurus: so Posidonius and his followers tell us.

The deity, say they, is a living being, immortal, rational, perfect or intelligent in happiness, admitting nothing evil [into him], taking providential care of the world and all that therein is, but he is not of human shape. He is, however, the artificer of the universe and, as it were, the father of all, both in general and in that particular part of him which is all-pervading, and which is called many names according to its various powers. They give the name Dia (Δία) because all things are due to (διά) him; Zeus (Ζῆνα) in so far as he is the cause of life (ζῆν) or pervades all life; the name Athena is given, because the ruling part of the divinity extends to the aether; the name Hera marks its extension to the air; he is called Hephaestus since it spreads to the creative fire; Poseidon, since it stretches to the sea; Demeter, since it reaches to the earth. Similarly men have

[a] *i.e.* the moon's latitude relatively to the zodiac is nil.

καὶ τὰς ἄλλας προσηγορίας ἐχόμενοί τινος οἰκειότητος ἀπέδοσαν.

148 Οὐσίαν δὲ θεοῦ Ζήνων μέν φησι τὸν ὅλον κόσμον καὶ τὸν οὐρανόν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ θεῶν καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ θεῶν. καὶ Ἀντίπατρος ἐν ἑβδόμῳ Περὶ κόσμου ἀεροειδῆ φησιν αὐτοῦ τὴν οὐσίαν· Βόηθος δὲ ἐν τῇ Περὶ φύσεως οὐσίαν θεοῦ τὴν τῶν ἀπλανῶν σφαῖραν. φύσιν δὲ ποτὲ μὲν ἀποφαίνονται τὴν συνέχουσαν τὸν κόσμον, ποτὲ δὲ τὴν φύουσαν τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς. ἔστι δὲ φύσις ἕξις ἐξ αὑτῆς κινουμένη κατὰ σπερματικοὺς λόγους ἀποτελοῦσά τε καὶ συνέχουσα τὰ ἐξ αὑτῆς ἐν ὡρισμένοις χρόνοις καὶ
149 τοιαῦτα δρῶσα ἀφ' οἵων ἀπεκρίθη. ταύτην δὲ καὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος στοχάζεσθαι καὶ ἡδονῆς, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δημιουργίας. καθ' εἱμαρμένην δέ φασι τὰ πάντα γίγνεσθαι Χρύσιππος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ εἱμαρμένης καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ εἱμαρμένης καὶ Ζήνων, Βόηθος δ' ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ εἱμαρμένης. ἔστι δ' εἱμαρμένη αἰτία τῶν ὄντων εἰρομένη ἢ λόγος καθ' ὃν ὁ κόσμος διεξάγεται. καὶ μὴν καὶ μαντικὴν ὑφεστάναι πᾶσάν φασιν, εἰ καὶ πρόνοιαν εἶναι· καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ τέχνην ἀποφαίνουσι διά τινας ἐκβάσεις, ὥς φησι Ζήνων τε καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ μαντικῆς καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρος καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τοῦ Φυσικοῦ λόγου καὶ ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ Περὶ μαντικῆς. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Παναίτιος ἀνυπόστατον αὐτήν φησιν.

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[a] Or perhaps "seminal proportions." This obscure expression would seem intended to assimilate all development and evolution to the growth, whether of plants or animals, from seed.

given the deity his other titles, fastening, as best they can, on some one or other of his peculiar attributes.

The substance of God is declared by Zeno to be the whole world and the heaven, as well as by Chrysippus in his first book *Of the Gods*, and by Posidonius in his first book with the same title. Again, Antipater in the seventh book of his work *On the Cosmos* says that the substance of God is akin to air, while Boëthus in his work *On Nature* speaks of the sphere of the fixed stars as the substance of God. Now the term Nature is used by them to mean sometimes that which holds the world together, sometimes that which causes terrestrial things to spring up. Nature is defined as a force moving of itself, producing and preserving in being its offspring in accordance with seminal principles [a] within definite periods, and effecting results homogeneous with their sources. Nature, they hold, aims both at utility and at pleasure, as is clear from the analogy of human craftsmanship. That all things happen by fate or destiny is maintained by Chrysippus in his treatise *De fato*, by Posidonius in his *De fato*, book ii., by Zeno and by Boëthus in his *De fato*, book i. Fate is defined as an endless chain of causation, whereby things are, or as the reason or formula by which the world goes on. What is more, they say that divination in all its forms is a real and substantial fact, if there is really Providence. And they prove it to be actually a science on the evidence of certain results: so Zeno, Chrysippus in the second book of his *De divinatione*, Athenodorus, and Posidonius in the second book of his *Physical Discourse* and the fifth book of his *De divinatione*. But Panaetius denies that divination has any real existence.

150 Οὐσίαν δέ φασι τῶν ὄντων ἁπάντων τὴν πρώτην ὕλην, ὡς καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Φυσικῶν καὶ Ζήνων. ὕλη δέ ἐστιν ἐξ ἧς ὁτιδηποτοῦν γίνεται. καλεῖται δὲ διχῶς, οὐσία τε καὶ ὕλη, ἥ τε τῶν πάντων καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους. ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν ὅλων οὔτε πλείων οὔτ' ἐλάττων γίνεται, ἡ δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους καὶ πλείων καὶ ἐλάττων. σῶμα δέ ἐστι κατ' αὐτοὺς ἡ οὐσία καὶ πεπερασμένη, καθά φησιν Ἀντίπατρος ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ οὐσίας καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῇ Φυσικῇ. καὶ παθητὴ δέ ἐστιν, ὡς ὁ αὐτός φησιν· εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἄτρεπτος, οὐκ ἂν τὰ γινόμενα ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐγίνετο· ἔνθεν κἀκεῖν' ὡς ἥ τε τομὴ εἰς ἄπειρόν ἐστιν. (ἣν ἄπειρον <οὐκ εἰς ἄπειρόν> φησιν ὁ Χρύσιππος· οὐ γάρ ἐστί τι ἄπειρον, εἰς ὃ γίνεται ἡ τομή. ἀλλ' ἀκατάληκτός ἐστι.)

151 Καὶ τὰς κράσεις δὲ διόλου γίνεσθαι, καθά φησιν ὁ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Φυσικῶν, καὶ μὴ κατὰ περιγραφὴν καὶ παράθεσιν· καὶ γὰρ εἰς πέλαγος ὀλίγος οἶνος βληθεὶς ἐπὶ ποσὸν ἀντιπαρεκταθήσεται, εἶτα συμφθαρήσεται.

Φασὶ δ' εἶναι καί τινας δαίμονας ἀνθρώπων συμπάθειαν ἔχοντας, ἐπόπτας τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων· καὶ ἥρωας τὰς ὑπολελειμμένας τῶν σπουδαίων ψυχάς.

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[a] For the meaning of this verb (συμφθείρεσθαι) see Wilamowitz on Eur. *H.F.* 932, and Plut. *Mor.* 436 B.

The primary matter they make the substratum of all things: so Chrysippus in the first book of his *Physics*, and Zeno. By matter is meant that out of which anything whatsoever is produced. Both substance and matter are terms used in a twofold sense according as they signify (1) universal or (2) particular substance or matter. The former neither increases nor diminishes, while the matter of particular things both increases and diminishes. Body according to them is substance which is finite: so Antipater in his second book *On Substance*, and Apollodorus in his *Physics*. Matter can also be acted upon, as the same author says, for if it were immutable, the things which are produced would never have been produced out of it. Hence the further doctrine that matter is divisible *ad infinitum*. Chrysippus says that the division is not *ad infinitum*, but itself infinite; for there is nothing infinitely small to which the division can extend. But nevertheless the division goes on without ceasing.

Hence, again, their explanation of the mixture of two substances is, according to Chrysippus in the third book of his *Physics*, that they permeate each other through and through, and that the particles of the one do not merely surround those of the other or lie beside them. Thus, if a little drop of wine be thrown into the sea, it will be equally diffused over the whole sea for a while and then will be blended [a] with it.

Also they hold that there are daemons (*δαίμονες*) who are in sympathy with mankind and watch over human affairs. They believe too in heroes, that is, the souls of the righteous that have survived their bodies.

Τῶν δ᾽ ἐν ἀέρι γινομένων χειμῶνα μὲν εἶναί φασι τὸν ὑπὲρ γῆς ἀέρα κατεψυγμένον διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου πρόσω ἄφοδον, ἔαρ δὲ τὴν εὐκρασίαν τοῦ
152 ἀέρος κατὰ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς πορείαν, θέρος δὲ τὸν ὑπὲρ γῆς ἀέρα καταθαλπόμενον τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου πρὸς ἄρκτον πορείᾳ, μετόπωρον δὲ τῇ παλινδρομίᾳ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν γίνεσθαι. <τοὺς δ᾽ ἀνέμους ἀέρος εἶναι ῥύσεις· παραλλαττούσας δὲ τὰς ἐπωνυμίας γίνεσθαι> παρὰ τοὺς τόπους ἀφ᾽ ὧν ῥέουσι. τῆς δὲ γενέσεως αὐτῶν αἴτιον γίνεσθαι τὸν ἥλιον ἐξατμίζοντα τὰ νέφη. ἶριν δ᾽ εἶναι αὐγὰς ἀφ᾽ ὑγρῶν νεφῶν ἀνακεκλασμένας ἤ, ὡς Ποσειδώνιός φησιν ἐν τῇ Μετεωρολογικῇ, ἔμφασιν ἡλίου τμήματος ἢ σελήνης ἐν νέφει δεδροσισμένῳ, κοίλῳ καὶ συνεχεῖ πρὸς φαντασίαν, ὡς ἐν κατόπτρῳ φανταζομένην κατὰ κύκλου περιφέρειαν. κομήτας τε καὶ πωγωνίας καὶ λαμπαδίας πυρὰ εἶναι ὑφεστῶτα πάχους ἀέρος εἰς τὸν αἰθερώδη τόπον ἀνενεχθέντος.
153 σέλας δὲ πυρὸς ἀθρόου ἔξαψιν ἐν ἀέρι φερομένου ταχέως καὶ φαντασίαν μήκους ἐμφαίνοντος. ὑετὸν δ᾽ ἐκ νέφους μεταβολὴν εἰς ὕδωρ, ἐπειδὰν ἢ ἐκ γῆς ἢ ἐκ θαλάττης ἀνενεχθεῖσα ὑγρασία ὑφ᾽ ἡλίου μὴ τυγχάνῃ κατεργασίας· καταψυχθὲν δὲ τοῦτο πάχνην καλεῖσθαι. χάλαζαν δὲ νέφος πεπηγός, ὑπὸ πνεύματος διαθρυφθέν· χιόνα δ᾽ ὑγρὸν ἐκ νέφους πεπηγότος, ὡς Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ τοῦ Φυσικοῦ λόγου· ἀστραπὴν δ᾽ ἔξαψιν νεφῶν παρατριβομένων ἢ ῥηγνυμένων ὑπὸ πνεύματος, ὡς Ζήνων ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ ὅλου· βροντὴν δὲ τὸν
154 τούτων ψόφον ἐκ παρατρίψεως ἢ ῥήξεως· κεραυνὸν

[a] The lacuna of the MSS. can be filled from the parallel passage of Aetius, Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, p. 374 a 23.

Of the changes which go on in the air, they describe winter as the cooling of the air above the earth due to the sun's departure to a distance from the earth; spring as the right temperature of the air consequent upon his approach to us; summer as the heating of the air above the earth when he travels to the north; while autumn they attribute to the receding of the sun from us. As for the winds, they are streams of air, differently named[a] according to the localities from which they blow. And the cause of their production is the sun through the evaporation of the clouds. The rainbow is explained as the reflection of the sun's rays from watery clouds or, as Posidonius says in his *Meteorology*, an image of a segment of the sun or moon in a cloud suffused with dew, which is hollow and visible without intermission, the image showing itself as if in a mirror in the form of a circular arch. Comets, bearded stars, and meteors are fires which arise when dense air is carried up to the region of aether. A shooting star is the sudden kindling of a mass of fire in rapid motion through the air, which leaves a trail behind it presenting an appearance of length. Rain is the transformation of cloud into water, when moisture drawn up by the sun from land or sea has been only partially evaporated. If this is cooled down, it is called hoar-frost. Hail is frozen cloud, crumbled by a wind; while snow is moist matter from a cloud which has congealed: so Posidonius in the eighth book of his *Physical Discourse*. Lightning is a kindling of clouds from being rubbed together or being rent by wind, as Zeno says in his treatise *On the Whole*; thunder the noise these clouds make when they rub against each other or burst. Thunderbolt is the term used when the fire is

δ᾽ ἔξαψιν σφοδρὰν μετὰ πολλῆς βίας πίπτουσαν ἐπὶ γῆς, νεφῶν παρατριβομένων ἢ ῥηγνυμένων ὑπὸ πνεύματος. οἱ δὲ συστροφὴν πυρώδους ἀέρος βιαίως καταφερομένην. τυφῶνα δὲ κεραυνὸν πολύν, βίαιον καὶ πνευματώδη ἢ πνεῦμα καπνῶδες ἐρρωγότος νέφους· πρηστῆρα ‹δὲ› νέφος περισχισθὲν πυρὶ μετὰ πνεύματος. ‹σεισμοὺς δὲ γίνεσθαι ῥυέντος πνεύματος› εἰς τὰ κοιλώματα τῆς γῆς ἢ καθειρχθέντος [πνεύματος] ἐν τῇ γῇ, καθά φησι Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ· εἶναι δ᾽ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν σεισματίας, τοὺς δὲ χασματίας, τοὺς δὲ κλιματίας, τοὺς δὲ βρασματίας.

155 Ἀρέσκει δ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν διακόσμησιν ὧδε ἔχειν· μέσην τὴν γῆν κέντρου λόγον ἐπέχουσαν, μεθ᾽ ἣν τὸ ὕδωρ σφαιροειδές, ἔχον τὸ αὐτὸ κέντρον τῇ γῇ, ὥστε τὴν γῆν ἐν ὕδατι εἶναι· μετὰ τὸ ὕδωρ δ᾽ ἀέρα ἐσφαιρωμένον. κύκλους δ᾽ εἶναι ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ πέντε, ὧν πρῶτον ἀρκτικὸν ἀεὶ φαινόμενον, δεύτερον τροπικὸν θερινόν, τρίτον ἰσημερινόν, τέταρτον χειμερινὸν τροπικόν, πέμπτον ἀνταρκτικὸν ἀφανῆ. λέγονται δὲ παράλληλοι καθότι οὐ συννεύουσιν εἰς ἀλλήλους· γράφονται μέντοι περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κέντρον. ὁ δὲ ζωδιακὸς λοξός ἐστιν,
156 ὡς ἐπιὼν τοὺς παραλλήλους. ζῶναί τ᾽ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἰσι πέντε· πρώτη βόρειος [καὶ] ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀρκτικὸν κύκλον, ἀοίκητος διὰ ψῦχος· δευτέρα εὔκρατος· τρίτη ἀοίκητος ὑπὸ καυμάτων, ἡ διακεκαυμένη καλουμένη· τετάρτη ἡ ἀντεύκρατος· πέμπτη νότιος, ἀοίκητος διὰ ψῦχος.

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[a] For καυματίας of mss. Cobet reads κλιματίας.

[b] The κέντρον is rather an axis (namely, a diameter of the celestial sphere) than a point.

violently kindled and hurled to the ground with great force as the clouds grind against each other or are torn by the wind. Others say that it is a compression of fiery air descending with great force. A typhoon is a great and violent thunderstorm whirlwind-like, or a whirlwind of smoke from a cloud that has burst. A "prester" is a cloud rent all round by the force of fire and wind. Earthquakes, say they, happen when the wind finds its way into, or is imprisoned in, the hollow parts of the earth: so Posidonius in his eighth book; and some of them are tremblings, others openings of the earth, others again lateral displacements,[a] and yet others vertical displacements.

They maintain that the parts of the world are arranged thus. The earth is in the middle answering to a centre; next comes the water, which is shaped like a sphere all round it, concentric with the earth, so that the earth is in water. After the water comes a spherical layer of air. There are five celestial circles: first, the arctic circle, which is always visible; second, the summer tropic; third, the circle of the equinox; fourth, the winter tropic; and fifth, the antarctic, which is invisible to us. They are called parallel, because they do not incline towards one another; yet they are described round the same centre.[b] The zodiac is an oblique circle, as it crosses the parallel circles. And there are five terrestrial zones: first, the northern zone which is beyond the arctic circle, uninhabitable because of the cold; second, a temperate zone; a third, uninhabitable because of great heats, called the torrid zone; fourth, a counter-temperate zone; fifth, the southern zone, uninhabitable because of its cold.

Δοκεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς τὴν μὲν φύσιν εἶναι πῦρ τεχνικόν, ὁδῷ βαδίζον εἰς γένεσιν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ πνεῦμα πυροειδὲς καὶ τεχνοειδές· τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν αἰσθητικὴν <φύσιν>. ταύτην δ' εἶναι τὸ συμφυὲς ἡμῖν πνεῦμα· διὸ καὶ σῶμα εἶναι καὶ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον ἐπιμένειν· φθαρτὴν δ' ὑπάρχειν, τὴν δὲ τῶν ὅλων ἄφθαρτον,
157 ἧς μέρη εἶναι τὰς ἐν τοῖς ζῴοις. Ζήνων δ' ὁ Κιτιεὺς καὶ Ἀντίπατρος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ Ποσειδώνιος πνεῦμα ἔνθερμον εἶναι τὴν ψυχήν· τούτῳ γὰρ ἡμᾶς εἶναι ἐμπνους καὶ ὑπὸ τούτου κινεῖσθαι. Κλεάνθης μὲν οὖν πάσας ἐπιδιαμένειν μέχρι τῆς ἐκπυρώσεως, Χρύσιππος δὲ τὰς τῶν σοφῶν μόνον.

Μέρη δὲ ψυχῆς λέγουσιν ὀκτώ, τὰς πέντ' αἰσθήσεις καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἡμῖν σπερματικοὺς λόγους καὶ τὸ φωνητικὸν καὶ τὸ λογιστικόν. ὁρᾶν δὲ τοῦ μεταξὺ τῆς ὁράσεως καὶ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου φωτὸς ἐντεινομένου κωνοειδῶς, καθά φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν Φυσικῶν καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος. γίνεσθαι μέντοι τὸ κωνοειδὲς τοῦ ἀέρος πρὸς τῇ ὄψει, τὴν δὲ βάσιν πρὸς τῷ ὁρωμένῳ· ὡς διὰ βακτηρίας οὖν τοῦ ταθέντος ἀέρος τὸ βλεπόμενον ἀναγγέλλεσθαι.

158 Ἀκούειν δὲ τοῦ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε φωνοῦντος καὶ τοῦ ἀκούοντος ἀέρος πληττομένου σφαιροειδῶς, εἶτα κυματουμένου καὶ ταῖς ἀκοαῖς προσπίπτοντος, ὡς κυματοῦται τὸ ἐν τῇ δεξαμενῇ ὕδωρ κατὰ κύκλους ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμβληθέντος λίθου. τὸν δὲ ὕπνον γίνεσθαι ἐκλυομένου τοῦ αἰσθητικοῦ τόνου

Nature in their view is an artistically working fire, going on its way to create; which is equivalent to a fiery, creative, or fashioning breath. And the soul is a nature capable of perception. And they regard it as the breath of life, congenital with us; from which they infer first that it is a body and secondly that it survives death. Yet it is perishable, though the soul of the universe, of which the individual souls of animals are parts, is indestructible. Zeno of Citium and Antipater, in their treatises *De anima*, and Posidonius define the soul as a warm breath; for by this we become animate and this enables us to move. Cleanthes indeed holds that all souls continue to exist until the general conflagration; but Chrysippus says that only the souls of the wise do so.[a]

They count eight parts of the soul: the five senses, the generative power in us, our power of speech, and that of reasoning. They hold that we see when the light between the visual organ and the object stretches in the form of a cone: so Chrysippus in the second book of his *Physics* and Apollodorus. The apex of the cone in the air is at the eye, the base at the object seen. Thus the thing seen is reported to us by the medium of the air stretching out towards it, as if by a stick.

We hear when the air between the sonant body and the organ of hearing suffers concussion, a vibration which spreads spherically and then forms waves and strikes upon the ears, just as the water in a reservoir forms wavy circles when a stone is thrown into it. Sleep is caused, they say, by the slackening of the tension in our senses, which affects the ruling part of

[a] *Cf.* Aet. *Plac.* iv. 19. 4 (Arnim, ii. p. 140).

περὶ τὸ ἡγεμονικόν. αἰτίας δὲ τῶν παθῶν ἀπολείπουσι τὰς περὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τροπάς.

Σπέρμα δὲ λέγουσιν εἶναι τὸ οἷόν τε γεννᾶν τοιαῦτ᾽ ἀφ᾽ οἵου καὶ αὐτὸ ἀπεκρίθη· ἀνθρώπου δὲ σπέρμα, ὃ μεθίησιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος μεθ᾽ ὑγροῦ, συγκιρνᾶσθαι τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς μέρεσι κατὰ μιγμὸν
159 τοῦ τῶν προγόνων λόγου. εἶναι δ᾽ αὐτὸ Χρύσιππός φησιν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Φυσικῶν πνεῦμα κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὴν γῆν καταβαλλομένων σπερμάτων, ἃ παλαιωθέντα οὐκέτι φύεται, ὡς δῆλον διαπεπνευκυίας αὐτοῖς τῆς δυνάμεως. καὶ ἀφ᾽ ὅλων δὲ τῶν σωμάτων αὐτό φασι καταφέρεσθαι οἱ περὶ τὸν Σφαῖρον· πάντων γοῦν γεννητικὸν εἶναι τῶν τοῦ σώματος μερῶν. τὸ δὲ τῆς θηλείας ἄγονον ἀποφαίνονται· ἄτονόν τε γὰρ εἶναι καὶ ὀλίγον καὶ ὑδατῶδες, ὡς ὁ Σφαῖρός φησιν. ἡγεμονικὸν δ᾽ εἶναι τὸ κυριώτατον τῆς ψυχῆς, ἐν ᾧ αἱ φαντασίαι καὶ αἱ ὁρμαὶ γίνονται καὶ ὅθεν ὁ λόγος ἀναπέμπεται· ὅπερ εἶναι ἐν καρδίᾳ.

160 Ταῦτα μὲν καὶ τὰ φυσικὰ τὸ ὅσον ἡμῖν ἀποχρώντως ἔχειν δοκεῖ, στοχαζομένοις τῆς συμμετρίας τοῦ συγγράμματος. ἃ δέ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν διηνέχθησαν, ἔστι τάδε.

Κεφ. β΄. ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝ

Ἀρίστων ὁ Χῖος ὁ Φάλανθος, ἐπικαλούμενος Σειρήν, τέλος ἔφησεν εἶναι τὸ ἀδιαφόρως ἔχοντα ζῆν πρὸς τὰ μεταξὺ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας μηδ᾽ ἡντινοῦν ἐν αὐτοῖς παραλλαγὴν ἀπολείποντα, ἀλλ᾽

the soul. They consider that the passions are caused by the variations of the vital breath.

Semen is by them defined as that which is capable of generating offspring like the parent. And the human semen which is emitted by a human parent in a moist vehicle is mingled with parts of the soul, blended in the same ratio in which they are present in the parent. Chrysippus in the second book of his *Physics* declares it to be in substance identical with vital breath or spirit. This, he thinks, can be seen from the seeds cast into the earth, which, if kept till they are old, do not germinate, plainly because their fertility has evaporated. Sphaerus and his followers also maintain that semen derives its origin from the whole of the body; at all events every part of the body can be reproduced from it. That of the female is according to them sterile, being, as Sphaerus says, without tension, scanty, and watery. By ruling part of the soul is meant that which is most truly soul proper, in which arise presentations and impulses and from which issues rational speech. And it has its seat in the heart.

Such is the summary of their Physics which I have deemed adequate, my aim being to preserve a due proportion in my work. But the points on which certain of the Stoics differed from the rest are the following.

Chapter 2. ARISTON (*c.* 320–250 B.C.)

Ariston the Bald, of Chios, who was also called the Siren, declared the end of action to be a life of perfect indifference to everything which is neither virtue nor vice; recognizing no distinction whatever

ἐπίσης ἐπὶ πάντων ἔχοντα· εἶναι γὰρ ὅμοιον τὸν σοφὸν τῷ ἀγαθῷ ὑποκριτῇ, ὃς ἄν τε Θερσίτου ἄν τε Ἀγαμέμνονος πρόσωπον ἀναλάβῃ, ἑκάτερον ὑποκρινεῖται προσηκόντως. τόν τε φυσικὸν τόπον καὶ τὸν λογικὸν ἀνῄρει, λέγων τὸν μὲν εἶναι ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς, τὸν δ' οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, μόνον δὲ τὸν ἠθικὸν εἶναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

161 *Ἐοικέναι δὲ τοὺς διαλεκτικοὺς λόγους τοῖς ἀραχνίοις, ἃ καίτοι δοκοῦντα τεχνικόν τι ἐμφαίνειν, ἄχρηστά ἐστιν. ἀρετάς τ' οὔτε πολλὰς εἰσῆγεν, ὡς ὁ Ζήνων, οὔτε μίαν πολλοῖς ὀνόμασι καλουμένην, ὡς οἱ Μεγαρικοί, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ πρός τί πως ἔχειν. οὕτω δὲ φιλοσοφῶν καὶ ἐν Κυνοσάργει διαλεγόμενος ἴσχυσεν αἱρετιστὴς ἀκοῦσαι. Μιλτιάδης οὖν καὶ Δίφιλος Ἀριστώνειοι προσηγορεύοντο. ἦν δέ τις πειστικὸς καὶ ὄχλῳ πεποιημένος· ὅθεν ὁ Τίμων φησὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ,*

καί τις Ἀρίστωνος γενεὴν ἀπὸ[1] αἱμύλου[2] ἕλκων.

162 *Παραβαλὼν δὲ Πολέμωνι, φησὶ Διοκλῆς ὁ Μάγνης, μετέθετο, Ζήνωνος ἀρρωστίᾳ μακρᾷ περιπεσόντος. μάλιστα δὲ προσεῖχε Στωικῷ δόγματι τῷ τὸν σοφὸν ἀδόξαστον εἶναι. πρὸς ὃ Περσαῖος ἐναντιούμενος διδύμων ἀδελφῶν τὸν ἕτερον ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ παρακαταθήκην δοῦναι, ἔπειτα τὸν ἕτερον ἀπολαβεῖν· καὶ οὕτως ἀπορούμενον διήλεγξεν. ἀπετείνετο δὲ πρὸς Ἀρκεσίλαον· ὅτε θεασάμενος ταῦρον τερατώδη μήτραν ἔχοντα,*

[1] γέννης ἄπο vulg.: corr. Meineke.
[2] τι . . . αἱμύλον Diels.

[a] Frag. 40 D.
[b] So Wachsmuth. Diels would prefer: "deriving winning manners from the wiles of Ariston."

in things indifferent, but treating them all alike. The wise man he compared to a good actor, who, if called upon to take the part of a Thersites or of an Agamemnon, will impersonate them both becomingly. He wished to discard both Logic and Physics, saying that Physics was beyond our reach and Logic did not concern us: all that did concern us was Ethics.

Dialectical reasonings, he said, are like spiders' webs, which, though they seem to display some artistic workmanship, are yet of no use. He would not admit a plurality of virtues with Zeno, nor again with the Megarians one single virtue called by many names; but he treated virtue in accordance with the category of relative modes. Teaching this sort of philosophy, and lecturing in the Cynosarges, he acquired such influence as to be called the founder of a sect. At any rate Miltiades and Diphilus were denominated Aristoneans. He was a plausible speaker and suited the taste of the general public. Hence Timon's verse about him [a]:

> One who from wily Ariston's line boasts his descent.[b]

After meeting Polemo, says Diocles of Magnesia, while Zeno was suffering from a protracted illness, he recanted his views. The Stoic doctrine to which he attached most importance was the wise man's refusal to hold mere opinions. And against this doctrine Persaeus was contending when he induced one of a pair of twins to deposit a certain sum with Ariston and afterwards got the other to reclaim it. Ariston being thus reduced to perplexity was refuted. He was at variance with Arcesilaus; and one day when he saw an abortion in the shape of a bull with

"οἴμοι," ἔφη, "δέδοται Ἀρκεσιλάῳ ἐπιχείρημα κατὰ τῆς ἐναργείας."

163 Πρὸς δὲ τὸν φάμενον Ἀκαδημαϊκὸν οὐδὲν καταλαμβάνειν, "ἆρ' οὐδὲ τὸν πλησίον σου καθήμενον ὁρᾷς;" εἶπεν· ἀρνησαμένου δέ,

τίς δέ σ' ἐτύφλωσεν (ἔφη), τίς ἀφείλετο λαμπάδος
αὐγάς;

Βιβλία δ' αὐτοῦ φέρεται τάδε·

Προτρεπτικῶν β'.
Περὶ τῶν Ζήνωνος δογμάτων.
Διάλογοι.
Σχολῶν ϛ'.
Περὶ σοφίας διατριβῶν ζ'.
Ἐρωτικαὶ διατριβαί.
Ὑπομνήματα ὑπὲρ κενοδοξίας.
Ὑπομνημάτων κε'.
Ἀπομνημονευμάτων γ'.
Χρειῶν ια'.
Πρὸς τοὺς ῥήτορας.
Πρὸς τὰς Ἀλεξίνου ἀντιγραφάς.
Πρὸς τοὺς διαλεκτικοὺς γ'.
Πρὸς Κλεάνθην, Ἐπιστολῶν δ'.

Παναίτιος δὲ καὶ Σωσικράτης μόνας αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπιστολάς φασι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τοῦ περιπατητικοῦ Ἀρίστωνος.

164 Τοῦτον λόγος φαλακρὸν ὄντα ἐγκαυθῆναι ὑπὸ ἡλίου καὶ ὧδε τελευτῆσαι. προσεπαίξαμεν δ' αὐτῷ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον τῷ ἰάμβῳ τῷ χωλῷ·

a uterus, he said, "Alas, here Arcesilaus has had given into his hand an argument against the evidence of the senses."

When some Academic alleged that he had no certainty of anything, Ariston said, "Do you not even see your neighbour sitting by you?" and when the other answered "No," he rejoined,

> Who can have blinded you? who robbed you of luminous eyesight?

The books attributed to him are as follows:

Exhortations, two books.
Of Zeno's Doctrines.
Dialogues.
Lectures, six books.
Dissertations on Philosophy, seven books.
Dissertations on Love.
Commonplaces on Vainglory.
Notebooks, twenty-five volumes.
Memorabilia, three books.
Anecdotes, eleven books.
Against the Rhetoricians.
An Answer to the Counter-pleas of Alexinus.
Against the Dialecticians, three books.
Letters to Cleanthes, four books.

Panaetius and Sosicrates consider the Letters to be alone genuine; all the other works named they attribute to Ariston the Peripatetic.

The story goes that being bald he had a sunstroke and so came to his end. I have composed a trifling poem upon him in limping iambics as follows[a]:

[a] *Anth. Plan.* v. 38.

τί δὴ γέρων ὢν καὶ φάλανθος, ὦ 'ρίστων,
τὸ βρέγμ' ἔδωκας ἡλίῳ κατοπτῆσαι;
τοιγὰρ τὸ θερμὸν πλεῖον ἢ δέοι ζητῶν
τὸν ψυχρὸν ὄντως εὗρες οὐ θέλων Ἅδην.

Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Ἀρίστων Ἰουλιήτης περιπατητικός, ὁ δέ τις μουσικὸς Ἀθηναῖος, τέταρτος ποιητὴς τραγῳδίας, πέμπτος Ἁλαιεὺς τέχνας γεγραφὼς ῥητορικάς, ἕκτος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς περιπατητικός.

Κεφ. γ'. ΗΡΙΛΛΟΣ

165 Ἥριλλος δ' ὁ Καρχηδόνιος τέλος εἶπε τὴν ἐπιστήμην, ὅπερ ἐστὶ ζῆν ἀεὶ πάντ' ἀναφέροντα πρὸς τὸ μετ' ἐπιστήμης ζῆν καὶ μὴ τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ διαβεβλημένον. εἶναι δὲ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἕξιν ἐν φαντασιῶν προσδέξει ἀνυπόπτωτον ὑπὸ λόγου. ποτὲ δ' ἔλεγε μηδὲν εἶναι τέλος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς περιστάσεις καὶ τὰ πράγματ' ἀλλάττεσθαι αὐτό, ὡς καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χαλκὸν ἢ Ἀλεξάνδρου γινόμενον ἀνδριάντα ἢ Σωκράτους. διαφέρειν δὲ τέλος καὶ ὑποτελίδα· τῆς μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοὺς μὴ σοφοὺς στοχάζεσθαι, τοῦ δὲ μόνον τὸν σοφόν. τὰ δὲ μεταξὺ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας ἀδιάφορα εἶναι. ἔστι δ' αὐτοῦ τὰ βιβλία ὀλιγόστιχα μέν, δυνάμεως δὲ μεστὰ καὶ περιέχοντα ἀντιρρήσεις πρὸς Ζήνωνα.

166 Λέγεται δ' ὅτι παιδὸς ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἠράσθησαν ἱκανοί, οὓς ἀποτρέψαι βουλόμενος ὁ Ζήνων ἠνάγκασε ξυρᾶσθαι Ἥριλλον, οἱ δ' ἀπετράποντο.

Τὰ δὲ βιβλία ἐστὶ τάδε·

Wherefore, Ariston, when old and bald did you let the sun roast your forehead? Thus seeking warmth more than was reasonable, you lit unwillingly upon the chill reality of Death.

There was also another Ariston, a native of Iulis[a]; a third, a musician of Athens; a fourth, a tragic poet; a fifth, of Halae, author of treatises on rhetoric; a sixth, a Peripatetic philosopher of Alexandria.

Chapter 3. HERILLUS (*flor. c.* 260 B.C.)

Herillus of Carthage declared the end of action to be Knowledge, that is, so to live always as to make the scientific life the standard in all things and not to be misled by ignorance. Knowledge he defined as a habit of mind, not to be upset by argument, in the acceptance of presentations. Sometimes he used to say there was no single end of action, but it shifted according to varying circumstances and objects, as the same bronze might become a statue either of Alexander or of Socrates. He made a distinction between end-in-chief and subordinate end: even the unwise may aim at the latter, but only the wise seek the true end of life. Everything that lies between virtue and vice he pronounced indifferent. His writings, though they do not occupy much space, are full of vigour and contain some controversial passages in reply to Zeno.

He is said to have had many admirers when a boy; and as Zeno wished to drive them away, he compelled Herillus to have his head shaved, which disgusted them.

His books are the following:

[a] The town in Ceos to which Bacchylides belonged: Ael. *Var. Hist.* iv. 15.

Περὶ ἀσκήσεως.
Περὶ παθῶν.
Περὶ ὑπολήψεως.
Νομοθέτης.
Μαιευτικός.
Ἀντιφέρων.
Διδάσκαλος.
Διασκευάζων.
Εὐθύνων.
Ἑρμῆς.
Μήδεια.
Διάλογοι.
Θέσεων ἠθικῶν.*

Κεφ. δʹ. ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ

Διονύσιος δ' ὁ Μεταθέμενος τέλος εἶπε τὴν ἡδονὴν διὰ περίστασιν ὀφθαλμίας· ἀλγήσας γὰρ ἐπιπόνως ὤκνησεν εἰπεῖν τὸν πόνον ἀδιάφορον.

Ἦν δὲ παῖς μὲν Θεοφάντου, πόλεως δ' Ἡρακλείας. ἤκουσε δέ, καθά φησι Διοκλῆς, πρῶτον μὲν Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ πολίτου, ἔπειτ' Ἀλεξίνου καὶ Μενεδήμου, τελευταῖον δὲ Ζήνωνος.

167 Καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν φιλογράμματος ὢν παντοδαποῖς ἐπεχείρει ποιήμασιν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ Ἄρατον ἀπεδέχετο, ζηλῶν αὐτόν. ἀποστὰς δὲ τοῦ Ζήνωνος πρὸς τοὺς Κυρηναϊκοὺς ἀπετράπη καὶ εἴς τε τὰ χαμαιτυπεῖα εἰσῄει καὶ τἄλλ' ἀπαρακαλύπτως ἡδυπάθει. βιοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὰ ὀγδοήκοντ' ἀσιτίᾳ κατέστρεψε.

[a] *Cf.* § 37.

[b] *i.e.* the author of the astronomical poem Φαινόμενα, not the statesman of that name, the protagonist of the Achaean League, whose Life we have in Plutarch.

Of Training.
Of the Passions.
Concerning Opinion or Belief.
The Legislator.
The Obstetrician.
The Challenger.
The Teacher.
The Reviser.
The Controller.
Hermes.
Medea.
Dialogues.
Ethical Themes.

Chapter 4. DIONYSIUS (*c.* 330–250 B.C.)

Dionysius, the Renegade,[a] declared that pleasure was the end of action; this under the trying circumstance of an attack of ophthalmia. For so violent was his suffering that he could not bring himself to call pain a thing indifferent.

He was the son of Theophantus and a native of Heraclea. At first, as Diocles relates, he was a pupil of his fellow-townsman, Heraclides, next of Alexinus and Menedemus, and lastly of Zeno.

At the outset of his career he was fond of literature and tried his hand at all kinds of poetry; afterwards he took Aratus[b] for his model, whom he strove to imitate. When he fell away from Zeno, he went over to the Cyrenaics, and used to frequent houses of ill fame and indulge in all other excesses without disguise. After living till he was nearly eighty years of age, he committed suicide by starving himself.

Βιβλία δ' αὐτοῦ φέρεται τάδε·

Περὶ ἀπαθείας β'.
Περὶ ἀσκήσεως β'.
Περὶ ἡδονῆς δ'.
Περὶ πλούτου καὶ χάριτος καὶ τιμωρίας.
Περὶ ἀνθρώπων χρήσεως.
Περὶ εὐτυχίας.
Περὶ ἀρχαίων βασιλέων.
Περὶ τῶν ἐπαινουμένων.
Περὶ βαρβαρικῶν ἐθῶν.

Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οἱ διενεχθέντες. διεδέξατο δὲ τὸν Ζήνωνα Κλεάνθης, περὶ οὗ λεκτέον.

168 Κεφ. ε'. ΚΛΕΑΝΘΗΣ

Κλεάνθης Φανίου Ἄσσιος. οὗτος πρῶτον ἦν πύκτης, ὥς φησιν Ἀντισθένης ἐν Διαδοχαῖς. ἀφικόμενος δ' εἰς Ἀθήνας τέσσαρας ἔχων δραχμάς, καθά φασί τινες, καὶ Ζήνωνι παραβαλὼν ἐφιλοσόφησε γενναιότατα καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔμεινε δογμάτων. διεβοήθη δ' ἐπὶ φιλοπονίᾳ, ὅς γε πένης ὢν ἄγαν ὥρμησε μισθοφορεῖν· καὶ νύκτωρ μὲν ἐν τοῖς κήποις ἤντλει, μεθ' ἡμέραν δ' ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἐγυμνάζετο· ὅθεν καὶ Φρεάντλης ἐκλήθη. φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς δικαστήριον ἀχθῆναι, λόγους δώσοντα πόθεν ἐς τοσοῦτον εὐέκτης ὢν διαζῇ· ἔπειτ' ἀποφυγεῖν, τόν τε κηπουρὸν μάρτυρα
169 παρασχόντα παρ' ὃν ἤντλει, καὶ τὴν ἀλφιτόπωλιν παρ' ᾗ τἄλφιτα ἔπεττεν. ἀποδεξαμένους δ' αὐτὸν τοὺς Ἀρεοπαγίτας ψηφίσασθαι δέκα μνᾶς δοθῆναι,

The following works are attributed to him :

Of Apathy, two books.
On Training, two books.
Of Pleasure, four books.
Of Wealth, Popularity and Revenge.
How to live amongst Men.
Of Prosperity.
Of Ancient Kings.
Of those who are Praised.
Of the Customs of Barbarians.

These three, then, are the heterodox Stoics. The legitimate successor to Zeno, however, was Cleanthes : of whom we have now to speak.

Chapter 5. CLEANTHES (331–232 B.C.)

Cleanthes, son of Phanias, was a native of Assos. This man, says Antisthenes in his *Successions of Philosophers*, was at first a pugilist. He arrived in Athens, as some people say, with four drachmas only, and meeting with Zeno he studied philosophy right nobly and adhered to the same doctrines throughout. He was renowned for his industry, being indeed driven by extreme poverty to work for a living. Thus, while by night he used to draw water in gardens, by day he exercised himself in arguments : hence the nickname Phreantles or Well-lifter was given him. He is said to have been brought into court to answer the inquiry how so sturdy a fellow as he made his living, and then to have been acquitted on producing as his witnesses the gardener in whose garden he drew water and the woman who sold the meal which he used to crush. The Areopagites were satisfied and voted him a

Ζήνωνα δὲ κωλῦσαι λαβεῖν. φασὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀντίγονον αὐτῷ τρισχιλίας δοῦναι. ἡγούμενόν τε τῶν ἐφήβων ἐπί τινα θέαν ὑπ' ἀνέμου παραγυμνωθῆναι καὶ ὀφθῆναι ἀχίτωνα· ἐφ' ᾧ κρότῳ τιμηθῆναι ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων, καθά φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης ἐν τοῖς Ὁμωνύμοις. ἐθαυμάσθη δὴ οὖν καὶ διὰ τόδε. φασὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀντίγονον αὐτοῦ πυθέσθαι ὄντα ἀκροατήν, διὰ τί ἀντλεῖ· τὸν δ' εἰπεῖν, "ἀντλῶ γὰρ μόνον; τ ίδ'; οὐχὶ σκάπτω; τί δ'; οὐκ ἄρδω καὶ πάντα ποιῶ φιλοσοφίας ἕνεκα;" καὶ γὰρ ὁ Ζήνων αὐτὸν συνεγύμναζεν εἰς τοῦτο καὶ ἐκέλευεν
170 ὀβολὸν φέρειν ἀποφορᾶς.[1] καί ποτ' ἀθροισθὲν τὸ κέρμα ἐκόμισεν εἰς μέσον τῶν γνωρίμων καί φησι, "Κλεάνθης μὲν καὶ ἄλλον Κλεάνθην δύναιτ' ἂν τρέφειν, εἰ βούλοιτο· οἱ δ' ἔχοντες ὅθεν τραφήσονται παρ' ἑτέρων ἐπιζητοῦσι τἀπιτήδεια, καίπερ ἀνειμένως φιλοσοφοῦντες." ὅθεν δὴ καὶ δεύτερος Ἡρακλῆς ὁ Κλεάνθης ἐκαλεῖτο. ἦν δὲ πονικὸς μέν, ἀφύσικος δὲ καὶ βραδὺς ὑπερβαλλόντως· διὸ καὶ Τίμων περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν οὕτως·

τίς δ' οὗτος κτίλος ὣς ἐπιπωλεῖται στίχας ἀνδρῶν,[2]
μωλύτης ἐπέων φίλος[3] Ἄσσιος, ὅλμος ἄτολμος;

Καὶ σκωπτόμενος δ' ὑπὸ τῶν συμμαθητῶν ἠνείχετο καὶ ὄνος ἀκούων προσεδέχετο, λέγων

[1] ἀποφοράν Richards coll. § 25.
[2] ἀνδρῶν; Diels. [3] λίθος Diels.

[a] A slave allowed by his master to hire himself out to another master was bound by Attic law to refund to his own master a part (ἀποφορά) of the wages he received. Zeno claimed a part of his pupil's earnings.

donation of ten minas, which Zeno forbade him to accept. We are also told that Antigonus made him a present of three thousand drachmas. Once, as he was conducting some youths to a public spectacle, the wind blew his cloak aside and disclosed the fact that he wore no shirt, whereupon he was applauded by the Athenians, as is stated by Demetrius of Magnesia in his work on *Men of the Same Name.* This then also increased the admiration felt for him. There is another story that Antigonus when attending his lectures inquired of him why he drew water and received the reply, "Is drawing water all I do? What? Do I not dig? What? Do I not water the garden? or undertake any other labour for the love of philosophy?" For Zeno used to discipline him to this and bid him return him an obol from his wages.[a] And one day he produced a handful of small coin before his acquaintance and said, "Cleanthes could even maintain a second Cleanthes, if he liked, whereas those who possess the means to keep themselves yet seek to live at the expense of others, and that too though they have plenty of time to spare from their studies." Hence Cleanthes was called a second Heracles. He had industry, but no natural aptitude for physics, and was extraordinarily slow. On which account Timon describes him thus[b]:

> Who is this that like a bell-wether ranges over the ranks of men, a dullard, lover of verse, hailing from Assos,[c] a mass of rock, unventuresome.

And he used to put up with gibes from his fellow-pupils and did not mind being called the ass, telling

[b] Frag. 41 D.

[c] Diels' reading λίθος gives the line a far better rhythm.

αὐτὸς μόνος δύνασθαι βαστάζειν τὸ Ζήνωνος
171 φορτίον. καί ποτ᾽ ὀνειδιζόμενος ὡς δειλός, "διὰ τοῦτο," εἶπεν, "ὀλίγα ἁμαρτάνω." προκρίνων δὲ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον τοῦ τῶν πλουσίων ἔλεγεν, ἐν ᾧ σφαιρίζουσιν ἐκεῖνοι γῆν σκληρὰν καὶ ἄκαρπον αὐτὸς ἐργάζεσθαι σκάπτων. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἐπέπληττεν· ὧν ἀκούσας Ἀρίστων, "τίνι," ἔφη, "ἐπιπλήττεις;" καὶ ὃς γελάσας, "πρεσβύτῃ," φησί, "πολιὰς μὲν ἔχοντι, νοῦν δὲ μή." εἰπόντος δέ τινος Ἀρκεσίλαον μὴ ποιεῖν τὰ δέοντα, "παῦσαι," ἔφη, "καὶ μὴ ψέγε· εἰ γὰρ καὶ λόγῳ τὸ καθῆκον ἀναιρεῖ, τοῖς γοῦν ἔργοις αὐτὸ τιθεῖ." καὶ ὁ Ἀρκεσίλαος, "οὐ κολακεύομαι," φησί· πρὸς ὃν ὁ Κλεάνθης, "ναί," ἔφη, "σὲ κολακεύω φάμενος ἄλλα μὲν λέγειν, ἕτερα δὲ ποιεῖν."

172 Ἐρομένου τινὸς τί ὑποτίθεσθαι δεῖ τῷ υἱῷ, "τὸ τῆς Ἠλέκτρας," ἔφη,

σῖγα, σῖγα, λεπτὸν ἴχνος.

Λάκωνός τινος εἰπόντος ὅτι ὁ πόνος ἀγαθόν, διαχυθείς φησιν,

αἵματός εἰς ἀγαθοῖο, φίλον τέκος.

φησὶ δ᾽ ὁ Ἑκάτων ἐν ταῖς Χρείαις, εὐμόρφου μειρακίου εἰπόντος, "εἰ ὁ εἰς τὴν γαστέρα τύπτων γαστρίζει, καὶ ὁ εἰς τοὺς μηροὺς τύπτων μηρίζει," ἔφη, "σὺ μέντοι τοὺς διαμηρισμοὺς ἔχε, μειράκιον· αἱ δ᾽ ἀνάλογοι φωναὶ τὰ ἀνάλογα οὐ πάντως σημαίνουσι πράγματα." μειρακίῳ ποτὲ διαλεγόμενος ἐπύθετο εἰ αἰσθάνεται· τοῦ δ᾽ ἐπινεύσαντος,

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[a] Eur. *El.* 140. [b] Hom. *Od.* iv. 611.

them that he alone was strong enough to carry the load of Zeno. Once when he was reproached with cowardice, he replied, "That is why I so seldom go wrong." Again, when extolling his own manner of life above that of the wealthy, he used to say that, while they were playing at ball, he was at work digging hard and barren ground. He would often find fault with himself too, and one day when Ariston heard him doing this and asked, "Who is it you are scolding so?" he, laughing, said, "An old man with grey hairs and no wits." To some one who declared that Arcesilaus did not do what he ought, his reply was, "No more of this; do not censure him. For if by his words he does away with duty, he maintains it at all events by his deeds." And Arcesilaus rejoined, "I am not to be won by flattery." Whereupon Cleanthes said, "True, but my flattery consists in alleging that your theory is incompatible with your practice."

When some one inquired of him what lesson he ought to give his son, Cleanthes in reply quoted words from the *Electra*:

Silence, silence, light be thy step.[a]

A Lacedaemonian having declared that toil was a good thing, he was overjoyed and said,

Thou art of gentle blood, dear child.[b]

Dicit autem Hecato in Sententiis eum, cum adulescens quidam formosus dixisset, Si pulsans ventrem ventrizat, pulsans coxas coxizat, dixisse, Tibi habeas, adulescens, coxizationes: nempe vocabula quae conveniunt analogia non semper etiam significatione conveniunt. Once in conversation with a youth he put the question, "Do you see?" and when the

“ διὰ τί οὖν,” εἶπεν, “ ἐγὼ οὐκ αἰσθάνομαι ὅτι αἰσθάνῃ; ”

173 Σωσιθέου τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἐν θεάτρῳ εἰπόντος πρὸς αὐτὸν παρόντα,

οὓς ἡ Κλεάνθους μωρία βοηλατεῖ,

ἔμεινεν ἐπὶ ταὐτοῦ σχήματος· ἐφ᾽ ᾧ ἀγασθέντες οἱ ἀκροαταὶ τὸν μὲν ἐκρότησαν, τὸν δὲ Σωσίθεον ἐξέβαλον. μεταγινώσκοντα δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ λοιδορίᾳ προσήκατο, εἰπὼν ἄτοπον εἶναι τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα φλυαρουμένους ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν μὴ ὀργίζεσθαι, αὐτὸν δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῇ τυχούσῃ βλασφημίᾳ δυσχεραίνειν. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ περιπάτου ὅμοιόν τι πάσχειν ταῖς λύραις, αἳ καλῶς φθεγξάμεναι αὑτῶν οὐκ ἀκούουσι. λέγεται δέ, φάσκοντος αὐτοῦ κατὰ Ζήνωνα καταληπτὸν εἶναι τὸ ἦθος ἐξ εἴδους, νεανίσκους τινὰς εὐτραπέλους ἀγαγεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν κίναιδον ἐσκληραγωγημένον ἐν ἀγρῷ καὶ ἀξιοῦν ἀποφαίνεσθαι περὶ τοῦ ἤθους· τὸν δὲ διαπορούμενον κελεῦσαι ἀπιέναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον. ὡς δ᾽ ἀπιὼν ἐκεῖνος ἔπταρεν, “ ἔχω,” εἶπεν, “ αὐτόν,” ὁ Κλεάνθης, “ μαλακός
174 ἐστι.” πρὸς δὲ τὸν μονήρη καὶ ἑαυτῷ λαλοῦντα, “ οὐ φαύλῳ,” ἔφη, “ ἀνθρώπῳ λαλεῖς.” ὀνειδίσαντος αὐτῷ τινος εἰς τὸ γῆρας, “ Κἀγώ,” ἔφη, “ ἀπιέναι βούλομαι· ὅταν δὲ πανταχόθεν ἐμαυτὸν ὑγιαίνοντα περινοῶ καὶ γράφοντα καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντα, πάλιν μένω.” τοῦτόν φασιν εἰς ὄστρακα καὶ βοῶν ὠμοπλάτας γράφειν ἅπερ ἤκουε παρὰ τοῦ Ζήνωνος, ἀπορίᾳ κερμάτων ὥστε ὠνήσασθαι χαρτία. τοιοῦτος δ᾽ ὢν ἐξίσχυσε, πολλῶν καὶ

[a] Nauck, *T.G.F.*², p. 823.

youth nodded assent, he went on, " Why, then, don't I see that you see ? "

He was present in the theatre when the poet Sositheus uttered the verse—

> Driven by Cleanthes' folly like dumb herds,[a]

and he remained unmoved in the same attitude. At which the audience were so astonished that they applauded him and drove Sositheus off the stage. Afterwards when the poet apologized for the insult, he accepted the apology, saying that, when Dionysus and Heracles were ridiculed by the poets without getting angry, it would be absurd for him to be annoyed at casual abuse. He used to say that the Peripatetics were in the same case as lyres which, although they give forth sweet sounds, never hear themselves. It is said that when he laid it down as Zeno's opinion that a man's character could be known from his looks, certain witty young men brought before him a rake with hands horny from toil in the country and requested him to state what the man's character was. Cleanthes was perplexed and ordered the man to go away : but when, as he was making off, he sneezed, " I have it," cried Cleanthes, " he is effeminate." To the solitary man who talked to himself he remarked, " You are not talking to a bad man." When some one twitted him on his old age, his reply was, " I too am ready to depart ; but when again I consider that I am in all points in good health and that I can still write and read, I am content to wait." We are told that he wrote down Zeno's lectures on oyster-shells and the blade-bones of oxen through lack of money to buy paper. Such was he ; and yet, although Zeno

ἄλλων ὄντων ἀξιολόγων Ζήνωνος μαθητῶν, αὐτὸς διαδέξασθαι τὴν σχολήν.

Βιβλία δὲ κάλλιστα καταλέλοιπεν, ἅ ἐστι τάδε·

Περὶ χρόνου.
Περὶ τῆς [τοῦ] Ζήνωνος φυσιολογίας δύο.
Τῶν Ἡρακλείτου ἐξηγήσεις, τέσσαρα.
Περὶ αἰσθήσεως.
Περὶ τέχνης.
Πρὸς Δημόκριτον.
Πρὸς Ἀρίσταρχον.
Πρὸς Ἥριλλον.
Περὶ ὁρμῆς δύο.
175 Ἀρχαιολογία.
Περὶ θεῶν.
Περὶ γιγάντων.
Περὶ ὑμεναίου.
Περὶ τοῦ ποιητοῦ.
Περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος τρια.
Περὶ εὐβουλίας.
Περὶ χάριτος.
Προτρεπτικός.
Περὶ ἀρετῶν.
Περὶ εὐφυΐας.
Περὶ Γοργίππου.
Περὶ φθονερίας
Περὶ ἔρωτος.
Περὶ ἐλευθερίας.
Ἐρωτικὴ τέχνη.
Περὶ τιμῆς.
Περὶ δόξης.
Πολιτικός.
Περὶ βουλῆς
Περὶ νόμων.

had many other eminent disciples, he was able to succeed him in the headship of the school.

He has left some very fine writings, which are as follows :

Of Time.
Of Zeno's Natural Philosophy, two books.
Interpretations of Heraclitus, four books.
De Sensu.
Of Art.
A Reply to Democritus.
A Reply to Aristarchus.
A Reply to Herillus.
Of Impulse, two books.
Antiquities.
Of the Gods.
Of Giants.
Of Marriage.
On Homer.
Of Duty, three books.
Of Good Counsel.
Of Gratitude.
An Exhortation.
Of the Virtues.
Of Natural Ability.
Of Gorgippus.
Of Envy.
Of Love.
Of Freedom.
The Art of Love.
Of Honour.
Of Fame.
The Statesman.
Of Deliberation.
Of Laws.

Περὶ τοῦ δικάζειν.
Περὶ ἀγωγῆς.
Περὶ τοῦ λόγου τρία.
Περὶ τέλους.
Περὶ καλῶν.
Περὶ πράξεων.
Περὶ ἐπιστήμης.
Περὶ βασιλείας.
Περὶ φιλίας.
Περὶ συμποσίου.
Περὶ τοῦ ὅτι ἡ αὐτὴ ἀρετὴ [καὶ] ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικός.
Περὶ τοῦ τὸν σοφὸν σοφιστεύειν.
Περὶ χρειῶν.
Διατριβῶν δύο.
Περὶ ἡδονῆς.
Περὶ ἰδίων.
Περὶ τῶν ἀπόρων.
Περὶ διαλεκτικῆς.
Περὶ τρόπων.
Περὶ κατηγορημάτων.

Ταῦτα αὐτῷ τὰ βιβλία.

176 Καὶ τελευτᾷ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· διῴδησεν αὐτῷ τὸ οὖλον· ἀπαγορευσάντων δὲ τῶν ἰατρῶν, δύο ἡμέρας ἀπέσχετο τροφῆς. καί πως ἔσχε καλῶς ὥστε τοὺς ἰατροὺς αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ συνήθη συγχωρεῖν· τὸν δὲ μὴ ἀνασχέσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰπόντα ἤδη αὐτῷ προωδοιπορῆσθαι καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἀποσχόμενον τελευτῆσαι ταὐτὰ Ζήνωνι, καθά φασί τινες, [ὀγδοήκοντα][1] ἔτη βιώσαντα καὶ ἀκούσαντα Ζήνωνος ἔτη ἐννεακαίδεκα.

Ἐπαίξαμεν δὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν οὕτως·

[1] ὀγδοήκοντα om. BP.

Of Litigation.
Of Education.
Of Logic, three books.
Of the End.
Of Beauty.
Of Conduct.
Of Knowledge.
Of Kingship.
Of Friendship.
On the Banquet.
On the Thesis that Virtue is the same in Man and in Woman.
On the Wise Man turning Sophist.
Of Usages.
Lectures, two books.
Of Pleasure.
On Properties.
On Insoluble Problems.
Of Dialectic.
Of Moods or Tropes.
Of Predicates.

This, then, is the list of his works.

His end was as follows. He had severe inflammation of the gums, and by the advice of his doctors he abstained from food for two whole days. As it happened, this treatment succeeded, so that the doctors were for allowing him to resume his usual diet. To this, however, he would not consent, but declaring that he had already got too far on the road, he went on fasting the rest of his days until his death at the same age as Zeno according to some authorities, having spent nineteen years as Zeno's pupil.

My lighter verse [a] on him runs thus :

[a] *Anth. Plan.* v. 36.

Αἰνῶ Κλεάνθην, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον Ἀΐδην·
ἰδὼν γὰρ αὐτὸν πρέσβυν οὐκ ἠνέσχετο
τὸ μὴ οὐ τὸ λοιπὸν ἄνεσιν ἐν φθιτοῖς ἔχειν
τοσοῦτον ἀντλήσαντα τοῦ βίου χρόνον.

Κεφ. ϛʹ. ΣΦΑΙΡΟΣ

177 Τούτου, καθάπερ προειρήκαμεν, ἤκουσε μετὰ Ζήνωνα καὶ Σφαῖρος ὁ Βοσποριανός, ὃς προκοπὴν ἱκανὴν περιποιησάμενος λόγων εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀπῄει πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Φιλοπάτορα. λόγου δέ ποτε γενομένου περὶ τοῦ δοξάσειν τὸν σοφὸν καὶ τοῦ Σφαίρου εἰπόντος ὡς οὐ δοξάσει, βουλόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐλέγξαι αὐτόν, κηρίνας ῥόας ἐκέλευσε παρατεθῆναι· τοῦ δὲ Σφαίρου ἀπατηθέντος ἀνεβόησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ψευδεῖ συγκατατεθεῖσθαι αὐτὸν φαντασίᾳ. πρὸς ὃν ὁ Σφαῖρος εὐστόχως ἀπεκρίνατο, εἰπὼν οὕτως συγκατατεθεῖσθαι, οὐχ ὅτι ῥόαι εἰσίν, ἀλλ' ὅτι εὔλογόν ἐστι ῥόας αὐτὰς εἶναι· διαφέρειν δὲ τὴν καταληπτικὴν φαντασίαν τοῦ εὐλόγου. πρὸς δὲ Μνησίστρατον κατηγοροῦντα αὐτοῦ ὅτι Πτολεμαῖον οὔ φησι βασιλέα εἶναι, "τοιοῦτον δ' ὄντα τὸν Πτολεμαῖον καὶ βασιλέα εἶναι."

178 Βιβλία δὲ γέγραφε τάδε·

Περὶ κόσμου δύο.
Περὶ στοιχείων.
Περὶ σπέρματος.
Περὶ τύχης.

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[a] § 37. [b] 222–205 B.C. [c] Cf. sup. § 162.

I praise Cleanthes, but praise Hades more,
Who could not bear to see him grown so old,
So gave him rest at last among the dead,
Who'd drawn such load of water while alive.

Chapter 6. SPHAERUS (*flor. c.* 220 b.c.)

Amongst those who after the death of Zeno became pupils of Cleanthes was Sphaerus of Bosporus, as already mentioned.[a] After making considerable progress in his studies, he went to Alexandria to the court of King Ptolemy Philopator.[b] One day when a discussion had arisen on the question whether the wise man could stoop to hold opinion,[c] and Sphaerus had maintained that this was impossible, the king, wishing to refute him, ordered some waxen pomegranates to be put on the table. Sphaerus was taken in and the king cried out, "You have given your assent to a presentation which is false." But Sphaerus was ready with a neat answer. "I assented not to the proposition that they are pomegranates, but to another, that there are good grounds for thinking them to be pomegranates. Certainty of presentation and reasonable probability are two totally different things." Mnesistratus having accused him of denying that Ptolemy was a king, his reply was, "Being of such quality as he is, Ptolemy is indeed a king."

The books that he wrote were as follows :

Of the Cosmos, two books.
Of Elements.
Of Seed.
Of Fortune.

Περὶ ἐλαχίστων.
Πρὸς τὰς ἀτόμους καὶ τὰ εἴδωλα.
Περὶ αἰσθητηρίων.
Περὶ Ἡρακλείτου πέντε διατριβῶν.
Περὶ τῆς ἠθικῆς διατάξεως.
Περὶ καθήκοντος.
Περὶ ὁρμῆς.
Περὶ παθῶν δύο.
Περὶ βασιλείας.
Περὶ Λακωνικῆς πολιτείας.
Περὶ Λυκούργου καὶ Σωκράτους τρία.
Περὶ νόμου.
Περὶ μαντικῆς.
Διαλόγους ἐρωτικούς.
Περὶ τῶν Ἐρετριακῶν φιλοσόφων.
Περὶ ὁμοίων.
Περὶ ὅρων.
Περὶ ἕξεως.
Περὶ τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων τρία.
Περὶ λόγου.
Περὶ πλούτου.
Περὶ δόξης.
Περὶ θανάτου.
Τέχνης διαλεκτικῆς δύο.
Περὶ κατηγορημάτων.
Περὶ ἀμφιβολιῶν.
Ἐπιστολάς.

Κεφ. ζʹ. ΧΡΥΣΙΠΠΟΣ

179 Χρύσιππος Ἀπολλωνίου Σολεὺς ἢ Ταρσεύς, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Διαδοχαῖς, μαθητὴς Κλεάνθους. οὗτος πρότερον μὲν δόλιχον ἤσκει, ἔπειτ' ἀκούσας

Of Minimal Parts.
Against Atoms and Images.
Of Organs of Sense.
A Course of Five Lectures on Heraclitus.
On the Right Arrangement of Ethical Doctrine.
Of Duty.
Of Impulse.
Of the Passions, two books.
Of Kingship.
Of the Spartan Constitution.
Of Lycurgus and Socrates, three books.
Of Law.
On Divination.
Dialogues on Love.
Of the School of Eretria.
Of Similars.
Of Terms.
Of Habit.
Of Contradictions, three books.
Of Discourse.
Of Wealth.
Of Fame.
Of Death.
Handbook of Dialectic, two books.
Of Predicates.
Of Ambiguous Terms.
Letters.

Chapter 7. CHRYSIPPUS (*c.* 282–206 B.C.)

Chrysippus, the son of Apollonius, came either from Soli or from Tarsus, as Alexander relates in his *Successions*. He was a pupil of Cleanthes. Before this he used to practise as a long-distance runner ;

Ζήνωνος ἢ Κλεάνθους, ὡς Διοκλῆς καὶ οἱ πλείους, ἔτι τε ζῶντος ἀπέστη αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν ἐγένετο κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν· ἀνὴρ εὐφυὴς καὶ ὀξύτατος ἐν παντὶ μέρει οὕτως ὥστε καὶ ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις διηνέχθη πρὸς Ζήνωνα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς Κλεάνθην, ᾧ καὶ πολλάκις ἔλεγε μόνης τῆς τῶν δογμάτων διδασκαλίας χρῄζειν, τὰς δὲ ἀποδείξεις αὐτὸς εὑρήσειν. μετενόει μέντοι ὁπότε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποτείνοιτο, ὥστε συνεχὲς προφέρεσθαι ταῦτα·

ἐγὼ δὲ τἄλλα μακάριος πέφυκ' ἀνὴρ
πλὴν εἰς Κλεάνθην· τοῦτο δ' οὐκ εὐδαιμονῶ.

180 *Οὕτω δ' ἐπίδοξος ἐν τοῖς διαλεκτικοῖς ἐγένετο, ὥστε δοκεῖν τοὺς πλείους ὅτι εἰ παρὰ θεοῖς ἦν [ἡ] διαλεκτική, οὐκ ἂν ἄλλη ἦν ἢ ἡ Χρυσίππειος. πλεονάσας δὲ τοῖς πράγμασι τὴν λέξιν οὐ κατώρθωσε. πονικώτατός τε παρ' ὁντινοῦν γέγονεν, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων αὐτοῦ· τὸν ἀριθμὸν γὰρ ὑπὲρ πέντε καὶ ἑπτακόσιά ἐστιν. ἐπλήθυνε δ' αὐτὰ πολλάκις ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ δόγματος ἐπιχειρῶν καὶ πᾶν τὸ ὑποπεσὸν γράφων καὶ διορθούμενος πλεονάκις πλείστῃ τε τῶν μαρτυριῶν παραθέσει χρώμενος· ὥστε καὶ ἐπειδή ποτ' ἔν τινι τῶν συγγραμμάτων παρ' ὀλίγον τὴν Εὐριπίδου Μήδειαν ὅλην παρετίθετο καί τις μετὰ χεῖρας εἶχε τὸ βιβλίον, πρὸς τὸν πυθόμενον τί ἄρα ἔχοι, ἔφη, " Χρυσίππου Μήδειαν."*

181 *Καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος δ' ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῇ Συναγωγῇ τῶν δογμάτων, βουλόμενος παριστάνειν ὅτι τὰ Ἐπικούρου οἰκείᾳ δυνάμει γεγραμμένα καὶ ἀπαράθετα ὄντα μυρίῳ πλείω ἐστὶ τῶν Χρυσίππου*

[a] Eur. *Or.* 540-1.

but afterwards he came to hear Zeno, or, as Diocles and most people say, Cleanthes; and then, while Cleanthes was still living, withdrew from his school and attained exceptional eminence as a philosopher. He had good natural parts and showed the greatest acuteness in every branch of the subject; so much so that he differed on most points from Zeno, and from Cleanthes as well, to whom he often used to say that all he wanted was to be told what the doctrines were; he would find out the proofs for himself. Nevertheless, whenever he had contended against Cleanthes, he would afterwards feel remorse, so that he constantly came out with the lines [a]:

> Blest in all else am I, save only where
> I touch Cleanthes: there I am ill-fortuned.

So renowned was he for dialectic that most people thought, if the gods took to dialectic, they would adopt no other system than that of Chrysippus. He had abundance of matter, but in style he was not successful. In industry he surpassed every one, as the list of his writings shows; for there are more than 705 of them. He increased their number by arguing repeatedly on the same subject, setting down anything that occurred to him, making many corrections and citing numerous authorities. So much so that in one of his treatises he copied out nearly the whole of Euripides' *Medea*, and some one who had taken up the volume, being asked what he was reading, replied, "The *Medea* of Chrysippus."

Apollodorus of Athens in his *Collection of Doctrines*, wishing to show that what Epicurus wrote with force and originality unaided by quotations was far greater in amount than the books of Chrysippus, says, to

βιβλίων, φησὶν οὕτως αὐτῇ τῇ λέξει· "εἰ γάρ τις ἀφέλοι τῶν Χρυσίππου βιβλίων ὅσ' ἀλλότρια παρατέθειται, κενὸς αὐτῷ ὁ χάρτης καταλελείψεται." καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἀπολλόδωρος. ἡ δὲ παρεδρεύουσα πρεσβῦτις αὐτῷ, ὥς φησι Διοκλῆς, ἔλεγεν ὡς πεντακοσίους γράφοι στίχους ἡμερησίους. Ἑκάτων δέ φησιν ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν, τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ τῆς πατρῴας εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀναληφθείσης.

182 Ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ σωμάτιον εὐτελής, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδριάντος τοῦ ἐν Κεραμεικῷ, ὃς σχεδόν τι ὑποκέκρυπται τῷ πλησίον ἱππεῖ· ὅθεν αὐτὸν ὁ Καρνεάδης Κρύψιππον ἔλεγεν. οὗτος ὀνειδισθεὶς ὑπό τινος ὅτι οὐχὶ παρ' Ἀρίστωνι μετὰ πολλῶν σχολάζοι, "εἰ τοῖς πολλοῖς," εἶπε "προσεῖχον, οὐκ ἂν ἐφιλοσόφησα." πρὸς δὲ τὸν κατεξανιστάμενον Κλεάνθους διαλεκτικὸν καὶ προτείνοντα αὐτῷ σοφίσματα, "πέπαυσο," εἶπε, "περιέλκων τὸν πρεσβύτην ἀπὸ τῶν πραγματικωτέρων, ἡμῖν δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρότεινε τοῖς νέοις." πάλιν δ' ἐπεί τις ζητῶν καταμόνας αὐτῷ διελέγετο εὐσταθῶς, ἔπειτα δὲ θεωρῶν προσιόντα ὄχλον ἤρχετο φιλονεικεῖν, ἔφη,

οἴμοι, κασίγνητ', ὄμμα σὸν ταράσσεται·
ταχὺς δὲ μετέθου λύσσαν ἀρτίως φρονῶν.[a]

183 Ἐν μέντοι ταῖς οἰνώσεσιν ἡσύχαζε παραφερόμενος τοῖς σκέλεσιν, ὥστ' εἰπεῖν τὴν δούλην, "Χρυσίππου μόνα τὰ σκέλη μεθύει." οὕτω δ' ἦν φρονηματίας ὥστ' ἐρομένου τινὸς "τίνι συστήσω τὸν υἱόν;" εἰπεῖν, "ἐμοί· καὶ γὰρ εἰ ὑπελάμβανον

[a] Eur. *Or.* 253.

quote his exact words, "If one were to strip the books of Chrysippus of all extraneous quotations, his pages would be left bare." So much for Apollodorus. Of Chrysippus the old woman who sat beside him used to say, according to Diocles, that he wrote 500 lines a day. Hecato says that he came to the study of philosophy, because the property which he had inherited from his father had been confiscated to the king's treasury.

In person he was insignificant, as is shown by the statue in the Ceramicus, which is almost hidden by an equestrian statue hard by; and this is why Carneades called him Crypsippus or Horse-hidden. Once when somebody reproached him for not going with the multitude to hear Ariston, he rejoined, "If I had followed the multitude, I should not have studied philosophy." When some dialectician got up and attacked Cleanthes, proposing sophistical fallacies to him, Chrysippus called to him, "Cease to distract your elder from matters of importance; propound such quibbles to us juniors." Again, when somebody who had a question to ask was steadily conversing with him in private, and then upon seeing a crowd approaching began to be more contentious, he said:

> Ah! brother mine, thine eye is growing wild:
> To madness fast thou'rt changing, sane but now.[a]

At wine-parties he used to behave quietly, though he was unsteady on his legs; which caused the woman-slave to say, "As for Chrysippus, only his legs get tipsy." His opinion of himself was so high that when some one inquired, "To whom shall I entrust my son?" he replied, "To me: for, if I had dreamt of there being anyone better than

εἶναί τιν' ἐμοῦ βελτίονα, παρ' αὐτῷ ἂν ἐγὼ ἐφιλοσόφουν." ὅθεν φασὶν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ λεχθῆναι,

οἶος πέπνυται, τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ ἀΐσσουσι·

καί,

εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν Χρύσιππος, οὐκ ἂν ἦν στοά.

Τέλος δ' Ἀρκεσιλάῳ καὶ Λακύδῃ, καθά φησι Σωτίων ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ, παραγενόμενος ἐν Ἀκα-
184 δημείᾳ συνεφιλοσόφησε· δι' ἣν αἰτίαν καὶ κατὰ τῆς συνηθείας καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐπεχείρησε, καὶ περὶ μεγεθῶν καὶ πληθῶν τῇ τῶν Ἀκαδημαϊκῶν συστάσει χρησάμενος.

Τοῦτον ἐν τῷ Ὠιδείῳ σχολάζοντά φησιν Ἕρμιππος ἐπὶ θυσίαν ὑπὸ τῶν μαθητῶν κληθῆναι· ἔνθα προσενεγκάμενον γλυκὺν ἄκρατον καὶ ἰλιγγιάσαντα πεμπταῖον ἀπελθεῖν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, τρία καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα βιώσαντ' ἔτη, κατὰ τὴν τρίτην καὶ τετταρακοστὴν καὶ ἑκατοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα, καθά φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς. καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν παίγνιον εἰς αὐτόν·

ἰλιγγίασε Βάκχον ἐκπιὼν χανδὸν
  Χρύσιππος, οὐδ' ἐφείσατο
οὐ τῆς στοᾶς οὐδ' ἧς πάτρης, οὐ τῆς ψυχῆς,
  ἀλλ' ἦλθε δῶμ' ἐς Ἀΐδεω.

185 Ἔνιοι δέ φασι γέλωτι συσχεθέντα αὐτὸν τελευτῆσαι· ὄνου γὰρ τὰ σῦκα αὐτῷ φαγόντος, εἰπόντα τῇ γραῒ διδόναι ἄκρατον ἐπιρροφῆσαι τῷ ὄνῳ, ὑπερκαγχάσαντα τελευτῆσαι.

myself, I should myself be studying with him." Hence, it is said, the application to him of the line [a]:

> He alone has understanding; the others flit shadow-like
> around;

and

> But for Chrysippus, there had been no Porch.

At last, however,—so we are told by Sotion in his eighth book,—he joined Arcesilaus and Lacydes and studied philosophy under them in the Academy. And this explains his arguing at one time against, and at another in support of, ordinary experience, and his use of the method of the Academy when treating of magnitudes and numbers.

On one occasion, as Hermippus relates, when he had his school in the Odeum, he was invited by his pupils to a sacrificial feast. There after he had taken a draught of sweet wine unmixed with water, he was seized with dizziness and departed this life five days afterwards, having reached the age of seventy-three years, in the 143rd Olympiad.[b] This is the date given by Apollodorus in his *Chronology*. I have toyed with the subject in the following verses [c]:

> Chrysippus turned giddy after gulping down a draught
> of Bacchus; he spared not the Porch nor his country nor
> his own life, but fared straight to the house of Hades.

Another account is that his death was caused by a violent fit of laughter; for after an ass had eaten up his figs, he cried out to the old woman, "Now give the ass a drink of pure wine to wash down the figs." And thereupon he laughed so heartily that he died.

[a] *Od.* x. 495. [b] 208–204 B.C. [c] *Anth. Pal.* vii. 706.

Δοκεῖ δ' ὑπερόπτης τις γεγονέναι. τοσαῦτα γοῦν συγγράψας οὐδενὶ τῶν βασιλέων προσπεφώνηκεν. ἠρκεῖτό τε γραϊδίῳ μόνῳ, καθὰ καὶ Δημήτριος ἐν Ὁμωνύμοις φησί. Πτολεμαίου τε πρὸς Κλεάνθην ἐπιστείλαντος ἢ αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν ἢ πέμψαι τινά, Σφαῖρος μὲν ἀπῆλθε, Χρύσιππος δὲ περιεῖδε. μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ τοὺς τῆς ἀδελφῆς υἱεῖς, Ἀριστοκρέοντα καὶ Φιλοκράτην, συνεκρότησε. καὶ πρῶτος ἐθάρρησε σχολὴν ἔχειν ὕπαιθρον ἐν Λυκείῳ, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ προειρημένος Δημήτριος ἱστορεῖ.

186 Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Χρύσιππος Κνίδιος ἰατρός, παρ' οὗ φησιν Ἐρασίστρατος εἰς τὰ μάλιστα ὠφελῆσθαι. καὶ ἕτερος υἱὸς[1] τούτου, ἰατρὸς Πτολεμαίου, ὃς διαβληθεὶς περιήχθη καὶ μαστιγούμενος ἐκολάσθη· ἄλλος μαθητὴς Ἐρασιστράτου, καί τις Γεωργικὰ γεγραφώς.

Ὁ δὴ φιλόσοφος καὶ τοιούτους τινὰς ἠρώτα λόγους· "ὁ λέγων τοῖς ἀμυήτοις τὰ μυστήρια ἀσεβεῖ· ὁ δέ γ' ἱεροφάντης τοῖς ἀμυήτοις λέγει <τὰ μυστήρια>· ἀσεβεῖ ἄρα ὁ ἱεροφάντης." ἄλλο· "ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ πόλει, τοῦτ' οὐδ' ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ· οὐκ ἔστι δὲ φρέαρ ἐν τῇ πόλει, οὐδ' ἄρ' ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ." ἄλλο· "ἔστι τις κεφαλή· ἐκείνην δ' οὐκ ἔχεις· ἔστι δέ γέ τις κεφαλὴ <ἣν οὐκ ἔχεις>· οὐκ
187 ἄρα ἔχεις κεφαλήν." ἄλλο· "εἴ τίς ἐστιν ἐν Μεγάροις, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν Ἀθήναις· ἄνθρωπος δ' ἐστὶν ἐν

[1] υἱὸς] υἱωνὸς coni. Wilam.

[a] In §§ 185-189 ; *cf*. Wilamowitz, *Antig. von K*. pp. 104 *sq*.
[b] *Cf*. viii. 89-90, and note *ad loc*. ; also Pliny, *N.H*. xxix. 5.
[c] Or perhaps a grandson, as Wilamowitz suggests, *Antig. von Kar*. p. 326.
[d] *Cf*. *supr*. ii. 101.

He appears to have been a very arrogant man.[a] At any rate, of all his many writings he dedicated none to any of the kings. And he was satisfied with one old woman's judgement, says Demetrius in his work called *Men of the Same Name*. When Ptolemy wrote to Cleanthes requesting him to come himself or else to send some one to his court, Sphaerus undertook the journey, while Chrysippus declined to go. On the other hand, he sent for his sister's sons, Aristocreon and Philocrates, and educated them. Demetrius above mentioned is also our authority for the statement that Chrysippus was the first who ventured to hold a lecture-class in the open air in the Lyceum.

There was another Chrysippus, a native of Cnidus, a physician,[b] to whom Erasistratus says that he was under great obligation. And another besides, a son[c] of the former, court-physician to Ptolemy, who on a false charge was dragged about and castigated with the lash. And yet another was a pupil of Erasistratus, and another the author of a work on *Agriculture*.

To return to the philosopher. He used to propound arguments such as the following: "He who divulges the mysteries to the uninitiated is guilty of impiety. Now the hierophant certainly does reveal the mysteries to the uninitiated, *ergo* he is guilty of impiety."[d] Or again: "What is not in the city is not in the house either: now there is no well in the city, *ergo* there is none in the house either." Yet another: "There is a certain head, and that head you have not. Now this being so, there is a head which you have not, therefore you are without a head." Again: "If anyone is in Megara, he is not in Athens: now there is a man in Megara,

Μεγάροις· οὐκ ἄρ' ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος ἐν Ἀθήναις." καὶ πάλιν· " εἴ τι λαλεῖς, τοῦτο διὰ τοῦ στόματός σου διέρχεται· ἅμαξαν δὲ λαλεῖς· ἅμαξα ἄρα διὰ τοῦ στόματός σου διέρχεται." καί· " εἴ τι οὐκ ἀπέβαλες, τοῦτ' ἔχεις· κέρατα δ' οὐκ ἀπέβαλες· κέρατ' ἄρ' ἔχεις." οἱ δ' Εὐβουλίδου τοῦτό φασιν.

Εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ κατατρέχουσι τοῦ Χρυσίππου ὡς πολλὰ αἰσχρῶς καὶ ἀρρήτως ἀναγεγραφότος. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ Περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων φυσιολόγων συγγράμματι αἰσχρῶς τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἥραν καὶ τὸν Δία ἀναπλάττει, λέγων κατὰ τοὺς ἑξακοσίους στίχους ἃ μηδεὶς ἠτυχηκὼς μολύνειν τὸ στόμα εἴποι ἄν.
188 αἰσχροτάτην γάρ, φασί, ταύτην ἀναπλάττει ἱστορίαν, εἰ καὶ ἐπαινεῖ ὡς φυσικήν, χαμαιτύπαις μᾶλλον πρέπουσαν ἢ θεοῖς, ἔτι τ' οὐδὲ παρὰ τοῖς περὶ πινάκων γράψασι κατακεχωρισμένην· μήτε γὰρ παρὰ Πολέμωνι μήτε παρ' Ὑψικράτει, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ παρ' Ἀντιγόνῳ εἶναι, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δὲ πεπλάσθαι. ἐν δὲ τῷ Περὶ πολιτείας καὶ μητράσι λέγει συνέρχεσθαι καὶ θυγατράσι καὶ υἱοῖς· τὰ δ' αὐτά φησι καὶ ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν μὴ δι' ἑαυτὰ αἱρετῶν εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ. ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ Περὶ δικαίου κατὰ τοὺς χιλίους στίχους καὶ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας κατεσθίειν κελεύων. ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ βίου καὶ πορισμοῦ προνοεῖν λέγων ὅπως ποριστέον τῷ
189 σοφῷ· " καίτοι τίνος χάριν ποριστέον αὐτῷ; εἰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ ζῆν ἕνεκεν, ἀδιάφορον τὸ ζῆν· εἰ δὲ ἡδονῆς, καὶ αὕτη ἀδιάφορος· εἰ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς,

therefore there is not a man in Athens." Again: "If you say something, it passes through your lips: now you say wagon, consequently a wagon passes through your lips." And further: "If you never lost something, you have it still: but you never lost horns, *ergo* you have horns." Others attribute this to Eubulides.

There are people who run Chrysippus down as having written much in a tone that is gross and indecent. For in his work *On the ancient Natural Philosophers* at line 600 or thereabouts he interprets the story of Hera and Zeus coarsely, with details which no one would soil his lips by repeating. Indeed, his interpretation of the story is condemned as most indecent. He may be commending physical doctrine; but the language used is more appropriate to street-walkers than to deities; and it is moreover not even mentioned by bibliographers, who wrote on the titles of books. What Chrysippus makes of it is not to be found in Polemo nor Hypsicrates, no, nor even in Antigonus. It is his own invention. Again, in his *Republic* he permits marriage with mothers and daughters and sons. He says the same in his work *On Things for their own Sake not Desirable*, right at the outset. In the third book of his treatise *On Justice*, at about line 1000, he permits eating of the corpses of the dead. And in the second book of his *On the Means of Livelihood*, where he professes to be considering *a priori* how the wise man is to get his living, occur the words: "And yet what reason is there that he should provide a living? For if it be to support life, life itself is after all a thing indifferent. If it be for pleasure, pleasure too is a thing indifferent. While if it be for virtue, virtue in itself is sufficient

αὐτάρκης αὕτη πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν. καταγέλαστοι δὲ καὶ οἱ τρόποι τοῦ πορισμοῦ, οἷον οἱ ἀπὸ βασιλέως· εἴκειν γὰρ αὐτῷ δεήσει. καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ φιλίας· λήμματος γὰρ ὤνιος ἡ φιλία ἔσται. καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ σοφίας· μισθαρνήσει γὰρ ἡ σοφία." καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐγκαλεῖται.

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐνδοξότατα τὰ βιβλί' ἐστὶν αὐτῷ, ἔδοξέ μοι καὶ τὴν πρὸς εἶδος ἀναγραφὴν αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα καταχωρίσαι. καὶ ἔστι τάδε·

Λογικοῦ τόπου.

Θέσεις λογικαί.
Τῶν τοῦ φιλοσόφου σκεμμάτων.
Ὅρων διαλεκτικῶν πρὸς Μητρόδωρον ϛʹ.
Περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν διαλεκτικὴν ὀνομάτων πρὸς Ζήνωνα αʹ.
190 *Τέχνη διαλεκτικὴ πρὸς Ἀρισταγόραν αʹ.*
Συνημμένων πιθανῶν πρὸς Διοσκουρίδην δʹ.

Λογικοῦ τόπου τοῦ περὶ τὰ πράγματα.

Σύνταξις πρώτη·

Περὶ ἀξιωμάτων αʹ.
Περὶ τῶν οὐχ ἁπλῶν ἀξιωμάτων αʹ.
Περὶ τοῦ συμπεπλεγμένου πρὸς Ἀθηνάδην αʹ βʹ.
Περὶ ἀποφατικῶν πρὸς Ἀρισταγόραν γʹ.
Περὶ τῶν καταγορευτικῶν πρὸς Ἀθηνόδωρον αʹ.

to constitute happiness. The modes of getting a livelihood are also ludicrous, as *e.g.* maintenance by a king; for he will have to be humoured: or by friends; for friendship will then be purchasable for money: or living by wisdom; for so wisdom will become mercenary." These are the objections urged against him.

As the reputation of his writings stands so high, I have decided to make a separate catalogue of them, arranged according to the class of subject treated. And they are as follows:

I. Logic.

Logical Theses.
The Philosopher's Inquiries.
Dialectical Definitions addressed to Metrodorus, six books.
On the Terms used in Dialectic, addressed to Zeno, one book.
Art of Dialectic, addressed to Aristagoras, one book.
Probable Hypothetical Judgements, addressed to Dioscurides, four books.

II. Logic dealing with the subject matter.

First series:

Of Judgements, one book.
Of Judgements which are not Simple, one book.
Of the Complex Judgement, addressed to Athenades, two books.
Of Negative Judgements, addressed to Aristagoras, three books.
Of Affirmative Judgements, addressed to Athenodorus, one book.

Περὶ τῶν κατὰ στέρησιν λεγομένων πρὸς Θέαρον α΄.
Περὶ τῶν ἀορίστων ἀξιωμάτων πρὸς Δίωνα α΄ β΄ γ΄.
Περὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς τῶν ἀορίστων α΄ β΄ γ΄ δ΄.
Περὶ τῶν κατὰ χρόνους λεγομένων α΄ β΄.
Περὶ συντελικῶν ἀξιωμάτων β΄.

Σύνταξις δευτέρα·

Περὶ ἀληθοῦς διεζευγμένου πρὸς Γοργιππίδην α΄.
Περὶ ἀληθοῦς συνημμένου πρὸς Γοργιππίδην α΄ β΄ γ΄ δ΄.
191 Αἵρεσις πρὸς Γοργιππίδην α΄.
Πρὸς τὸ περὶ ἀκολούθων α΄.
Περὶ τοῦ διὰ τριῶν πάλιν πρὸς Γοργιππίδην α΄.
Περὶ δυνατῶν πρὸς Κλεῖτον δ΄.
Πρὸς τὸ περὶ σημασιῶν Φίλωνος α΄.
Περὶ τοῦ τίνα ἐστὶ τὰ ψευδῆ α΄.

Σύνταξις τρίτη·

Περὶ προσταγμάτων β΄.
Περὶ ἐρωτήσεως β΄.
Περὶ πεύσεως δ΄.
Ἐπιτομὴ περὶ ἐρωτήσεως καὶ πεύσεως α΄.
Ἐπιτομὴ περὶ ἀποκρίσεως α΄.
Περὶ ζητήσεως β΄.
Περὶ ἀποκρίσεως δ΄.

192 Σύνταξις τετάρτη·

Περὶ τῶν κατηγορημάτων πρὸς Μητρόδωρον ι΄.

Of Judgements expressed by means of Privation, addressed to Thearus, one book.
Of Indefinite Judgements, addressed to Dion, three books.
On the Variety of Indefinite Judgements, four books.
On Temporal Judgements, two books.
On Judgements in the Perfect Tense, two books.

Second series :

Of a True Disjunctive Judgement, addressed to Gorgippides, one book.
Of a True Hypothetical Judgement, addressed to Gorgippides, four books.
Choosing from Alternatives, addressed to Gorgippides, one book.
A Contribution to the Subject of Consequents, one book.
On the Argument which employs three Terms, also addressed to Gorgippides, one book.
On Judgements of Possibility, addressed to Clitus, four books.
A Reply to the Work of Philo on Meanings, one book.
On the Question what are False Judgements, one book.

Third series :

Of Imperatives, two books.
Of Asking Questions, two books.
Of Inquiry, four books.
Epitome of Interrogation and Inquiry, one book.
Epitome of Reply, one book.
Of Investigation, two books.
Of Answering Questions, four books.

Fourth series :

Of Predicates, addressed to Metrodorus, ten books.

Περὶ ὀρθῶν καὶ ὑπτίων πρὸς Φύλαρχον α'.
Περὶ τῶν συναμμάτων πρὸς Ἀπολλωνίδην α'.
Πρὸς Πασύλον περὶ κατηγορημάτων δ'.

Σύνταξις πέμπτη·

Περὶ τῶν πέντε πτώσεων α'.
Περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ ὑποκείμενον ὡρισμένων ἐκφορῶν α'.
Περὶ παρεμφάσεως πρὸς Στησαγόραν β'.
Περὶ τῶν προσηγορικῶν β'.

Λογικοῦ τόπου περὶ τὰς λέξεις καὶ τὸν κατ' αὐτὰς λόγον.

Σύνταξις πρώτη·

Περὶ τῶν ἑνικῶν καὶ πληθυντικῶν ἐκφορῶν ϛ'.
Περὶ λέξεων πρὸς Σωσιγένην καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ε'.
Περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὰς λέξεις ἀνωμαλίας πρὸς Δίωνα δ'.
Περὶ τῶν πρὸς τὰς φωνὰς σωριτῶν λόγων γ'.
Περὶ σολοικισμῶν.
Περὶ σολοικιζόντων λόγων πρὸς Διονύσιον α'.
Λόγοι παρὰ τὰς συνηθείας α'.
Λέξις πρὸς Διονύσιον α'.

Σύνταξις δευτέρα·

Περὶ τῶν στοιχείων τοῦ λόγου καὶ τῶν λεγομένων ε'.
Περὶ τῆς συντάξεως τῶν λεγομένων δ'.

Of Nominatives and Oblique Cases, addressed to Phylarchus, one book.
Of Hypothetical Syllogisms, addressed to Apollonides, one book.
A Work, addressed to Pasylus, on Predicates, four books.

Fifth series :

Of the Five Cases, one book.
Of Enunciations classified according to subject matter, one book.
Of Modification of Significance, addressed to Stesagoras, two books.
Of Proper Nouns, two books.

III. Logic, as concerned with words or phrases and the sentence.

First series :

Of Singular and Plural Expressions, six books.
On Single Words, addressed to Sosigenes and Alexander, five books.
Of Anomalous Words or Phrases, addressed to Dion, four books.
Of the Sorites Argument as applied to Uttered Words, three books.
On Solecisms, one book.
On Solecistic Sentences, addressed to Dionysius, one book.
Sentences violating Ordinary Usage, one book.
Diction, addressed to Dionysius, one book.

Second series :

Of the Elements of Speech and on Words Spoken, five books.
Of the Arrangement of Words Spoken, four books.

193 Περὶ τῆς συντάξεως καὶ στοιχείων τῶν λεγομένων πρὸς Φίλιππον γʹ.
Περὶ τῶν στοιχείων τοῦ λόγου πρὸς Νικίαν αʹ.
Περὶ τοῦ πρὸς ἕτερα λεγομένου αʹ.

Σύνταξις τρίτη·

Πρὸς τοὺς μὴ διαιρουμένους βʹ.
Περὶ ἀμφιβολιῶν πρὸς Ἀπολλᾶν δʹ.
Περὶ τῶν τροπικῶν ἀμφιβολιῶν αʹ.
Περὶ συνημμένης τροπικῆς ἀμφιβολίας βʹ.
Πρὸς τὸ περὶ ἀμφιβολιῶν Πανθοίδου βʹ.
Περὶ τῆς εἰς τὰς ἀμφιβολίας εἰσαγωγῆς εʹ.
Ἐπιτομὴ τῶν πρὸς Ἐπικράτην ἀμφιβολιῶν αʹ.
Συνημμένα πρὸς τὴν εἰσαγωγὴν τῶν εἰς τὰς ἀμφιβολίας βʹ.

Λογικοῦ τόπου πρὸς τοὺς λόγους καὶ τοὺς τρόπους.

Σύνταξις πρώτη·

Τέχνη λόγων καὶ τρόπων πρὸς Διοσκουρίδην εʹ.
194 Περὶ τῶν λόγων γʹ.
Περὶ τρόπων συστάσεως πρὸς Στησαγόραν βʹ.
Σύγκρισις τῶν τροπικῶν ἀξιωμάτων αʹ.
Περὶ ἀντιστρεφόντων λόγων καὶ συνημμένων αʹ.
Πρὸς Ἀγάθωνα ἢ περὶ τῶν ἑξῆς προβλημάτων αʹ.
Περὶ τοῦ τίνα συλλογιστικά τινος μετ᾽ ἄλλου τε καὶ μετ᾽ ἄλλων αʹ.

Of the Arrangement and Elements of Sentences, addressed to Philip, three books.
Of the Elements of Speech, addressed to Nicias, one book.
Of the Relative Term, one book.

Third series :

Against Those who reject Division, two books.
On Ambiguous Forms of Speech, addressed to Apollas, four books.
On Figurative Ambiguities, one book.
Of Ambiguity in the Moods of the Hypothetical Syllogism, two books.
A Reply to the Work of Panthoides on Ambiguities, two books.
Introduction to the Study of Ambiguities, five books.
Epitome of the Work on Ambiguities, addressed to Epicrates, one book.
Materials collected for the Introduction to the Study of Ambiguities, two books.

IV. Logic as concerned with syllogisms and moods.

First series :

Handbook of Arguments and Moods, addressed to Dioscurides, five books.
Of Syllogisms, three books.
Of the Construction of Moods, addressed to Stesagoras, two books.
Comparison of the Judgements expressed in the Moods, one book.
Of Reciprocal and Hypothetical Syllogisms, one book.
To Agathon, or Of the Problems that remain, one book.
On the Question what Premisses are capable of demonstrating a given Conclusion with the Aid of one or more Subsidiary Premisses, one book.

Περὶ τῶν ἐπιφορῶν πρὸς Ἀρισταγόραν α'.

Περὶ τοῦ τάττεσθαι τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἐν πλείοσι τρόποις α'.

Πρὸς τὰ ἀντειρημένα τῷ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἐν συλλογιστικῷ καὶ ἀσυλλογίστῳ τετάχθαι τρόπῳ β'.

Πρὸς τὰ ἀντειρημένα ταῖς τῶν συλλογισμῶν ἀναλύσεσι γ'.

Πρὸς τὸ περὶ τρόπων Φίλωνος πρὸς Τιμόστρατον α'.

Λογικὰ συνημμένα πρὸς Τιμοκράτην καὶ Φιλομαθῆ· εἰς τὰ περὶ λόγων καὶ τρόπων α'.

195 Σύνταξις δευτέρα·

Περὶ τῶν περαινόντων λόγων πρὸς Ζήνωνα α'.

Περὶ τῶν πρώτων καὶ ἀναποδείκτων συλλογισμῶν πρὸς Ζήνωνα α'.

Περὶ τῆς ἀναλύσεως τῶν συλλογισμῶν α'.

Περὶ τῶν παρελκόντων λόγων πρὸς Πασύλον β'.

Περὶ τῶν εἰς τοὺς συλλογισμοὺς θεωρημάτων α'.

Περὶ συλλογισμῶν εἰσαγωγικῶν πρὸς Ζήνωνα α'.

Τῶν πρὸς εἰσαγωγὴν τρόπων πρὸς Ζήνωνα γ'.

Περὶ τῶν κατὰ ψευδῆ σχήματα συλλογισμῶν ε'.

Λόγοι συλλογιστικοὶ κατ' ἀνάλυσιν ἐν τοῖς ἀναποδείκτοις α'.

Τροπικὰ ζητήματα πρὸς Ζήνωνα καὶ Φιλομαθῆ α' (τοῦτο δοκεῖ ψευδεπίγραφον).

Of Inferences, addressed to Aristagoras, one book.
How the same Syllogism may be drawn up in several Moods, one book.
Reply to the Objections brought against drawing out the same Argument syllogistically and without a Syllogism, two books.
Reply to the Objections against the Analyses of Syllogisms, three books.
Reply to Philo's Work on Moods, addressed to Timostratus, one book.
Collected Logical Writings, addressed to Timocrates and Philomathes: a Criticism of their Works on Moods and Syllogisms, one book.

Second series:

On Conclusive Arguments, addressed to Zeno, one book.
On the Primary Indemonstrable Syllogisms, addressed to Zeno, one book.
On the Analysis of Syllogisms, one book.
Of Redundant Arguments, addressed to Pasylus, two books.
Of the Rules for Syllogisms, one book.
Of Introductory or Elementary Syllogisms, addressed to Zeno, one book.
Of the Introductory Moods, addressed to Zeno, three books.
Of the Syllogisms under False Figures, five books.
Syllogistic Arguments by Resolution in Indemonstrable Arguments, one book.
Inquiries into the Moods: addressed to Zeno and Philomathes, one book. (This appears to be spurious.)

Σύνταξις τρίτη·

Περὶ τῶν μεταπιπτόντων λόγων πρὸς Ἀθηνάδην α′ (ψευδεπίγραφον).

196 Λόγοι μεταπίπτοντες πρὸς τὴν μεσότητα γ′ (ψευδεπίγραφα).

Πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμεινίου διαζευκτικοὺς α′.

Σύνταξις τετάρτη·

Περὶ ὑποθέσεων πρὸς Μελέαγρον γ′.

Λόγοι ὑποθετικοὶ εἰς τοὺς νόμους πρὸς Μελέαγρον πάλιν α′.

Λόγοι ὑποθετικοὶ πρὸς εἰσαγωγὴν β′.

Λόγοι ὑποθετικοὶ θεωρημάτων β′.

Λύσεις τῶν Ἡδύλου ὑποθετικῶν β′.

Λύσεις τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου ὑποθετικῶν γ′ (ψευδεπίγραφα).

Περὶ ἐκθέσεων πρὸς Λαοδάμαντα α′.

Σύνταξις πέμπτη·

Περὶ τῆς εἰς τὸν ψευδόμενον εἰσαγωγῆς πρὸς Ἀριστοκρέοντα α′.

Λόγοι ψευδόμενοι πρὸς εἰσαγωγὴν α′.

Περὶ τοῦ ψευδομένου πρὸς Ἀριστοκρέοντα ϛ′.

Σύνταξις ἕκτη·

Πρὸς τοὺς νομίζοντας καὶ ψευδῆ καὶ ἀληθῆ εἶναι α′.

197 Πρὸς τοὺς διὰ τῆς τομῆς διαλύοντας τὸν ψευδόμενον λόγον πρὸς Ἀριστοκρέοντα β′.

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[a] A well-known fallacy; see Book II. § 108.

Third series :

On Variable Arguments, addressed to Athenades, one book. (This also is spurious.)

Variable Arguments concerning the Mean, three books. (Spurious.)

A Reply to Ameinias' "Disjunctive Syllogisms," one book.

Fourth series :

On Hypotheses, addressed to Meleager, three books.

Hypothetical Syllogisms upon the Laws, again addressed to Meleager, one book.

Hypothetical Syllogisms to serve as Introduction, two books.

Hypothetical Syllogisms consisting of Theorems, two books.

Solutions of the Hypothetical Arguments of Hedylus, two books.

Solutions of the Hypothetical Arguments of Alexander, three books. (Spurious.)

On Explanatory Symbols, addressed to Laodamas, one book.

Fifth series :

Introduction to the Mentiens [a] Argument, addressed to Aristocreon, one book.

Arguments of the Mentiens Type, to serve as Introduction, one book.

Of the Mentiens Argument, addressed to Aristocreon, six books.

Sixth series :

Reply to those who hold that Propositions may be at once False and True, one book.

To those who solve the Mentiens by dissecting it, addressed to Aristocreon, two books.

Ἀποδείξεις πρὸς τὸ μὴ δεῖν τέμνειν τὰ ἀόριστα α′.

Πρὸς τὰ ἀντειρημένα τοῖς κατὰ τῆς τομῆς τῶν ἀορίστων πρὸς Πασύλον γ′.

Λύσις κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους πρὸς Διοσκουρίδην α′.

Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ψευδομένου λύσεως πρὸς Ἀριστοκρέοντα γ′.

Λύσεις τῶν Ἡδύλου ὑποθετικῶν πρὸς Ἀριστοκρέοντα καὶ Ἀπολλᾶν α′.

Σύνταξις ἑβδόμη·

Πρὸς τοὺς φάσκοντας τὰ λήμματα ἔχειν ψευδῆ τὸν ψευδόμενον λόγον α′.

Περὶ ἀποφάσκοντος πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστοκρέοντα β′.

Λόγοι ἀποφάσκοντες πρὸς γυμνασίαν α′.

Περὶ τοῦ παρὰ μικρὸν λόγου πρὸς Στησαγόραν α′ β′.

Περὶ τῶν εἰς τὰς ὑπολήψεις λόγων καὶ ἡσυχαζόντων πρὸς Ὀνήτορα β′.

198 Περὶ τοῦ ἐγκεκαλυμμένου πρὸς Ἀριστόβουλον β′.

Περὶ τοῦ διαλεληθότος πρὸς Ἀθηνάδην α′.

Σύνταξις ὀγδόη·

Περὶ τοῦ οὔτιδος πρὸς Μενεκράτην η′.

Περὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀορίστου καὶ ὡρισμένου λόγων πρὸς Πασύλον β′.

Proofs showing that Indefinite Arguments ought not to be dissected, one book.

Reply to Objections urged against those who condemn the Dissection of Indefinite Arguments, addressed to Pasylus, three books.

Solution in the Style of the Ancients, addressed to Dioscurides, one book.

On the Solution of the Mentiens, addressed to Aristocreon, three books.

Solutions of the Hypothetical Arguments of Hedylus, addressed to Aristocreon and Apollas, one book.

Seventh series :

To those who maintain that the Premisses of the Mentiens are false, one book.

Of the Sceptic who denies, addressed to Aristocreon, two books.

Negative Arguments, to serve as Logical Exercises, one book.

Of the Argument from Small Increments, addressed to Stesagoras, two books.

Of the Arguments affecting Ordinary Suppositions and on those who are Inactive or Silent, addressed to Onetor, two books.

Of the Fallacy of "the Veiled Person," addressed to Aristobulus, two books.

On the Puzzle of "the Man who escapes Detection," addressed to Athenades, one book.

Eighth series :

Of the "Nobody" Puzzle, addressed to Menecrates, eight books.

Of the Arguments derived from the Indeterminate and the Determined, addressed to Pasylus, two books.

Περὶ οὔτιδος λόγου πρὸς Ἐπικράτην α′.

Σύνταξις ἐνάτη·

Περὶ τῶν σοφισμάτων πρὸς Ἡρακλείδην καὶ Πόλλιν β′.
Περὶ τῶν ἀπόρων διαλεκτικῶν πρὸς Διοσκουρίδην ε′.
Πρὸς τὸ Ἀρκεσιλάου μεθόδιον πρὸς Σφαῖρον α′.

Σύνταξις δεκάτη·

Κατὰ τῆς συνηθείας πρὸς Μητρόδωρον ϛ′.
Ὑπὲρ τῆς συνηθείας πρὸς Γοργιππίδην ζ′.

Λογικοῦ τόπου τὰ τῶν προειρημένων τεττάρων διαφορῶν ἐκτὸς ὄντα καὶ περιέχοντα <τὰς> σποράδην καὶ οὐ σωματικὰς ζητήσεις λογικάς, περὶ τῶν καταλεγομένων ζητημάτων ἐννέα καὶ τριάκοντα. ὁμοῦ τὰ πάντα τοῦ λογικοῦ ἕνδεκα καὶ τριακόσια.

199 Ἠθικοῦ λόγου τοῦ περὶ τὴν διάρθρωσιν τῶν ἠθικῶν ἐννοιῶν.

Σύνταξις πρώτη·

Ὑπογραφὴ τοῦ <ἠθικοῦ> λόγου πρὸς Θεόπορον α′.
Θέσεις ἠθικαὶ α′.
Πιθανὰ λήμματα εἰς τὰ δόγματα πρὸς Φιλομαθῆ γ′.
Ὅρων τῶν τοῦ ἀστείου πρὸς Μητρόδωρον β′.
Ὅρων τῶν τοῦ φαύλου πρὸς Μητρόδωρον β′.

Of the "Nobody" Argument, addressed to Epicrates, one book.

Ninth series :

Of Sophisms, addressed to Heraclides and Pollis, two books.

Of Dialectical Puzzles, addressed to Dioscurides, five books.

Reply to the Method of Arcesilaus, dedicated to Sphaerus, one book.

Tenth series :

Attack upon Common Sense, addressed to Metrodorus, six books.

Defence of Common Sense, addressed to Gorgippides, seven books.

V. Under Logic.

Thirty-nine investigations outside the range of the four above-mentioned main divisions dealing with isolated logical investigations not included in separate wholes of the subjects enumerated. The total of the logical writings is three hundred and eleven.

1. Ethics dealing with the classification of ethical conceptions.

First series :

Outline of Ethical Theory, addressed to Theoporos, one book.

Ethical Theses, one book.

Probable Premisses for Ethical Doctrines, addressed to Philomathes, three books.

Definitions of the Good or Virtuous, addressed to Metrodorus, two books.

Definitions of the Bad or Vicious, addressed to Metrodorus, two books.

Ὅρων τῶν ἀναμέσων πρὸς Μητρόδωρον β΄.
Ὅρων τῶν κατὰ γένος πρὸς Μητρόδωρον ζ΄.
Ὅρων τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας πρὸς Μητρόδωρον α΄ β΄.

Σύνταξις δευτέρα·

Περὶ τῶν ὁμοίων πρὸς Ἀριστοκλέα γ΄.
Περὶ τῶν ὅρων πρὸς Μητρόδωρον ζ΄.

Σύνταξις τρίτη·

Περὶ τῶν οὐκ ὀρθῶς τοῖς ὅροις ἀντιλεγομένων πρὸς Λαοδάμαντα ζ΄.
200 Πιθανὰ εἰς τοὺς ὅρους πρὸς Διοσκουρίδην β΄.
Περὶ εἰδῶν καὶ γενῶν πρὸς Γοργιππίδην β΄.
Περὶ διαιρέσεων α΄.
Περὶ ἐναντίων πρὸς Διονύσιον β΄.
Πιθανὰ πρὸς τὰς διαιρέσεις καὶ τὰ γένη καὶ τὰ εἴδη καὶ <τὰ> περὶ τῶν ἐναντίων α΄.

Σύνταξις τετάρτη·

Περὶ τῶν ἐτυμολογικῶν πρὸς Διοκλέα ζ΄.
Ἐτυμολογικῶν πρὸς Διοκλέα δ΄.

Σύνταξις πέμπτη·

Περὶ παροιμιῶν πρὸς Ζηνόδοτον β΄.
Περὶ ποιημάτων πρὸς Φιλομαθῆ α΄.
Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ τῶν ποιημάτων ἀκούειν β΄.
Πρὸς τοὺς κριτικοὺς πρὸς Διόδωρον α΄.

Definitions of the Morally Intermediate, addressed to Metrodorus, two books.
Definitions of the Generic Notions [in Ethics], addressed to Metrodorus, seven books.
Definitions concerned with other Branches of Science, addressed to Metrodorus, two books.

Second series :

Of Similes, addressed to Aristocles, three books.
Of Definitions, addressed to Metrodorus, seven books.

Third series :

Of the Objections wrongly urged against the Definitions, addressed to Laodamas, seven books.
Probabilities in Support of the Definitions, addressed to Dioscurides, two books.
Of Species and Genera, addressed to Gorgippides, two books.
Of Classifications, one book.
Of Contraries, addressed to Dionysius, two books.
Probable Arguments relative to the Classifications, Genera and Species, and the Treatment of Contraries, one book.

Fourth series :

Of Etymological Matters, addressed to Diocles, seven books.
Points of Etymology, addressed to Diocles, four books.

Fifth series :

Of Proverbs, addressed to Zenodotus, two books.
Of Poems, addressed to Philomathes, one book.
On the Right Way of reading Poetry, two books.
A Reply to Critics, addressed to Diodorus, one book.

201 Ἠθικοῦ τόπου περὶ τὸν κοινὸν λόγον καὶ τὰς ἐκ τούτου συνισταμένας τέχνας καὶ ἀρετάς.

Σύνταξις πρώτη·

Πρὸς τὰς ἀναζωγραφήσεις πρὸς Τιμώνακτα α′.

Περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἕκαστα λέγομεν καὶ διανοούμεθα α′.

Περὶ τῶν ἐννοιῶν πρὸς Λαοδάμαντα β′.

Περὶ ὑπολήψεως πρὸς Πυθώνακτα γ′.

Ἀποδείξεις πρὸς τὸ μὴ δοξάσειν τὸν σοφὸν α′.

Περὶ καταλήψεως καὶ ἐπιστήμης καὶ ἀγνοίας δ′.

Περὶ λόγου β′.

Περὶ τῆς χρήσεως τοῦ λόγου πρὸς Λεπτίνην.

Σύνταξις δευτέρα·

Περὶ τοῦ ἐγκρίνειν τοὺς ἀρχαίους τὴν διαλεκτικὴν σὺν ταῖς ἀποδείξεσι πρὸς Ζήνωνα β′.

202 Περὶ τῆς διαλεκτικῆς πρὸς Ἀριστοκρέοντα δ′.

Περὶ τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων τοῖς διαλεκτικοῖς γ′.

Περὶ τῆς ῥητορικῆς πρὸς Διοσκουρίδην δ′.

Σύνταξις τρίτη·

Περὶ ἕξεως πρὸς Κλέωνα γ′.

Περὶ τέχνης καὶ ἀτεχνίας πρὸς Ἀριστοκρέοντα δ′.

Περὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς τῶν ἀρετῶν πρὸς Διόδωρον δ′.

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[a] *Cf. supra*, § 162.

[b] *Cf.* Cicero, *Acad. post.* 42 "sed inter scientiam et inscientiam comprehensionem illam, quam dixi, collocabat" [*sc.* Zeno]; Sext. Emp. *Adv. math.* vii. 151.

2. Ethics dealing with the common view and the sciences and virtues thence arising.

First series :

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Of the Difference between the Virtues, addressed to Diodorus, four books.

Περὶ τοῦ ποιὰς εἶναι τὰς ἀρετὰς α΄.
Περὶ ἀρετῶν πρὸς Πόλλιν β΄.

Ἠθικοῦ τόπου περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν.

Σύνταξις πρώτη·

Περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς πρὸς Ἀριστοκρέοντα ι΄.
Ἀποδείξεις πρὸς τὸ μὴ εἶναι τὴν ἡδονὴν τέλος δ΄.
Ἀποδείξεις πρὸς τὸ μὴ εἶναι τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀγαθὸν δ΄.
Περὶ τῶν λεγομένων ὑπὲρ τῆς * * *

Of the Characters of the several Virtues, one book
Of Virtues, addressed to Pollis, two books.

3. Ethics, dealing with things good and evil.

First series :

Of the Good or Morally Beautiful and Pleasure, addressed to Aristocreon, ten books.
Proofs that Pleasure is not the End-in-chief of Action, four books.
Proofs that Pleasure is not a Good, four books.
Of the Arguments commonly used on Behalf of [Pleasure].

Η

Κεφ. α΄. ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΑΣ

1 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὴν Ἰωνικὴν φιλοσοφίαν τὴν ἀπὸ Θαλοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταύτῃ διαγενομένους ἄνδρας ἀξιολόγους διεληλύθαμεν, φέρε καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἰταλικῆς διαλάβωμεν, ἧς ἦρξε Πυθαγόρας Μνησάρχου δακτυλιογλύφου, ὥς φησιν Ἕρμιππος, Σάμιος ἤ, ὡς Ἀριστόξενος, Τυρρηνὸς ἀπὸ μιᾶς τῶν νήσων ἃς ἔσχον Ἀθηναῖοι Τυρρηνοὺς ἐκβαλόντες. ἔνιοι δ᾽ υἱὸν μὲν εἶναι Μαρμάκου τοῦ Ἱππάσου τοῦ Εὐθύφρονος τοῦ Κλεωνύμου φυγάδος ἐκ Φλιοῦντος, οἰκεῖν δ᾽ ἐν Σάμῳ τὸν Μάρμακον, ὅθεν Σάμιον τὸν Πυθαγόραν λέγεσθαι·
2 συστῆναι δ᾽ εἰς Λέσβον ἐλθόντα Φερεκύδῃ ὑπὸ Ζωίλου τοῦ θείου. καὶ τρία ποτήρια κατασκευασάμενος ἀργυρᾶ δῶρον ἀπήνεγκεν ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἱερέων εἰς Αἴγυπτον. ἔσχε δ᾽ ἀδελφούς, πρεσβύτερον μὲν Εὔνομον, μέσον δὲ Τυρρηνόν· καὶ δοῦλον Ζάμολξιν, ᾧ Γέται θύουσι, Κρόνον νομίζοντες, ὥς φησιν Ἡρόδοτος. οὗτος ἤκουσε μέν, καθὰ

[a] Compare Clement Alex. *Strom.* i. 62 Πυθαγόρας μὲν οὖν Μνησάρχου Σάμιος, ὥς φησιν Ἱππόβοτος, ὡς δὲ Ἀριστόξενος ἐν τῷ Πυθαγόρου βίῳ, καὶ Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ Θεόπομπος, Τυρρηνὸς ἦν, ὡς δὲ Νεάνθης, Σύριος ἢ Τύριος, ὥστε εἶναι κατὰ τοὺς πλείστους τὸν Πυθαγόραν βάρβαρον τὸ γένος. Porphyry also

BOOK VIII

CHAPTER 1. PYTHAGORAS (*c.* 582–500 B.C.)

Having now completed our account of the philosophy of Ionia starting with Thales, as well as of its chief representatives, let us proceed to examine the philosophy of Italy, which was started by Pythagoras,[a] son of the gem-engraver Mnesarchus, and according to Hermippus, a Samian, or, according to Aristoxenus, a Tyrrhenian from one of those islands which the Athenians held after clearing them of their Tyrrhenian inhabitants. Some indeed say that he was descended through Euthyphro, Hippasus and Marmacus from Cleonymus, who was exiled from Phlius, and that, as Marmacus lived in Samos, so Pythagoras was called a Samian. From Samos he went, it is said, to Lesbos with an introduction to Pherecydes from his uncle Zoïlus. He had three silver flagons made and took them as presents to each of the priests of Egypt. He had brothers, of whom Eunomus was the elder and Tyrrhenus the second; he also had a slave, Zamolxis, who is worshipped, so says Herodotus,[b] by the Getans,

(*V. Pyth.* i.) favours the connexion with Phoenicia, so that the boy Pythagoras was instructed there by Chaldaeans before, on his return to Samos, he enjoyed the instruction of Pherecydes of Syros and of Hermodamas of Samos.

[b] iv. 93 *sq.*

προείρηται, Φερεκύδου τοῦ Συρίου· μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν ἧκεν εἰς Σάμον καὶ ἤκουσεν Ἑρμοδάμαντος τοῦ ἀπογόνου Κρεωφύλου, ἤδη πρεσβυτέρου. νέος δ' ὢν καὶ φιλομαθὴς ἀπεδήμησε τῆς πατρίδος καὶ πάσας ἐμυήθη τάς θ' Ἑλληνικὰς
3 καὶ βαρβαρικὰς τελετάς. ἐγένετ' οὖν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ὁπηνίκα καὶ Πολυκράτης αὐτὸν Ἀμάσιδι συνέστησε δι' ἐπιστολῆς· καὶ ἐξέμαθε τὴν φωνὴν αὐτῶν, καθά φησιν Ἀντιφῶν ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν ἐν ἀρετῇ πρωτευσάντων, καὶ παρὰ Χαλδαίοις ἐγένετο καὶ Μάγοις. εἶτ' ἐν Κρήτῃ σὺν Ἐπιμενίδῃ κατῆλθεν εἰς τὸ Ἰδαῖον ἄντρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ εἰς τὰ ἄδυτα· καὶ τὰ περὶ θεῶν ἐν ἀπορρήτοις ἔμαθεν. εἶτ' ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Σάμον, καὶ εὑρὼν τὴν πατρίδα τυραννουμένην ὑπὸ Πολυκράτους, ἀπῆρεν εἰς Κρότωνα τῆς Ἰταλίας· κἀκεῖ νόμους θεὶς τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις ἐδοξάσθη σὺν τοῖς μαθηταῖς, οἳ πρὸς τοὺς τριακοσίους ὄντες ᾠκονόμουν ἄριστα τὰ πολιτικά, ὥστε σχεδὸν ἀριστοκρατίαν εἶναι τὴν πολιτείαν.

4 Τοῦτόν φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ τάδε λέγειν, ὡς εἴη ποτὲ γεγονὼς Αἰθαλίδης καὶ Ἑρμοῦ υἱὸς νομισθείη· τὸν δὲ Ἑρμῆν εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ ἑλέσθαι ὅ τι ἂν βούληται πλὴν ἀθανασίας. αἰτήσασθαι οὖν ζῶντα καὶ τελευτῶντα μνήμην ἔχειν τῶν συμβαινόντων. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ ζωῇ πάντων διαμνημονεῦσαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποθάνοι, τηρῆσαι

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[a] Compare Clement Alex. *Strom.* i. 66 Θαλῆς . . . *τοῖς Αἰγυπτίων προφήταις συμβεβληκέναι εἴρηται, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ Πυθαγόρας αὐτοῖς γε τούτοις δι' οὓς καὶ περιετέμνετο, ἵνα δὴ καὶ εἰς*

as Cronos. He was a pupil, as already stated, of Pherecydes of Syros, after whose death he went to Samos to be the pupil of Hermodamas, Creophylus's descendant, a man already advanced in years. While still young, so eager was he for knowledge, he left his own country and had himself initiated into all the mysteries and rites not only of Greece but also of foreign countries. Now he was in Egypt when Polycrates sent him a letter of introduction to Amasis; he learnt the Egyptian language, so we learn from Antiphon in his book *On Men of Outstanding Merit*, and he also journeyed among the Chaldaeans and Magi. Then while in Crete he went down into the cave of Ida with Epimenides; he also entered the Egyptian sanctuaries,[a] and was told their secret lore concerning the gods. After that he returned to Samos to find his country under the tyranny of Polycrates; so he sailed away to Croton in Italy, and there he laid down a constitution for the Italian Greeks, and he and his followers were held in great estimation; for, being nearly three hundred in number, so well did they govern the state that its constitution was in effect a true aristocracy (government by the best).

This is what Heraclides of Pontus tells us he used to say about himself: that he had once been Aethalides and was accounted to be Hermes' son, and Hermes told him he might choose any gift he liked except immortality; so he asked to retain through life and through death a memory of his experiences. Hence in life he could recall everything, and when he died he still kept the

τὰ ἄδυτα κατελθὼν τὴν μυστικὴν παρὰ Αἰγυπτίων ἐκμάθοι φιλοσοφίαν. *Cf.* also Iamblichus, *Vit. Pyth.* 18 *sq.*

τὴν αὐτὴν μνήμην. χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον εἰς Εὔφορβον ἐλθεῖν καὶ ὑπὸ Μενέλεω τρωθῆναι. ὁ δ' Εὔφορβος ἔλεγεν ὡς Αἰθαλίδης ποτὲ γεγόνοι καὶ ὅτι παρ' Ἑρμοῦ τὸ δῶρον λάβοι καὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς περιπόλησιν, ὡς περιεπολήθη καὶ εἰς ὅσα φυτὰ καὶ ζῷα παρεγένετο καὶ ὅσα ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν Ἅιδῃ ἔπαθε καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ τίνα ὑπομένουσιν.
5 ἐπειδὴ δὲ Εὔφορβος ἀποθάνοι, μεταβῆναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ εἰς Ἑρμότιμον, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς πίστιν θέλων δοῦναι εἶτ' ἀνῆλθεν[1] εἰς Βραγχίδας καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐπέδειξεν ἣν Μενέλαος ἀνέθηκεν ἀσπίδα, (ἔφη γὰρ αὐτόν, ὅτ' ἀπέπλει ἐκ Τροίας, ἀναθεῖναι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὴν ἀσπίδα,) διασεσηπυῖαν ἤδη, μόνον δὲ διαμένον τὸ ἐλεφάντινον πρόσωπον. ἐπειδὴ δ' Ἑρμότιμος ἀπέθανε, γενέσθαι Πύρρον τὸν Δήλιον ἁλιέα· καὶ πάντα πάλιν μνημονεύειν, πῶς πρόσθεν Αἰθαλίδης, εἶτ' Εὔφορβος, εἶτα Ἑρμότιμος, εἶτα Πύρρος γένοιτο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Πύρρος ἀπέθανε, γενέσθαι Πυθαγόραν καὶ πάντων τῶν εἰρημένων μεμνῆσθαι.

6 Ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν Πυθαγόραν μηδὲ ἓν καταλιπεῖν σύγγραμμά φασιν παίζοντες. Ἡράκλειτος γοῦν ὁ φυσικὸς μονονουχὶ κέκραγε καί φησι· "Πυθαγόρης Μνησάρχου ἱστορίην ἤσκησεν ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα πάντων καὶ ἐκλεξάμενος ταύτας τὰς συγγραφὰς ἐποιήσατο ἑαυτοῦ σοφίην, πολυμαθείην, κακοτεχνίην." οὕτω δ' εἶπεν, ἐπειδήπερ ἐναρχόμενος ὁ Πυθαγόρας τοῦ Φυσικοῦ συγγράμματος λέγει ὧδε· "οὐ μὰ τὸν ἀέρα, τὸν ἀναπνέω, οὐ μὰ τὸ ὕδωρ, τὸ πίνω, οὔ κοτ' οἴσω[2] ψόγον περὶ τοῦ

[1] εἶτ' ἀνῆλθεν] ἐπανῆλθεν vulg.
[2] κοτ' οἴσω Diels : κατοίσω MSS.

same memories. Afterwards in course of time his soul entered into Euphorbus and he was wounded by Menelaus. Now Euphorbus used to say that he had once been Aethalides and obtained this gift from Hermes, and then he told of the wanderings of his soul, how it migrated hither and thither, into how many plants and animals it had come, and all that it underwent in Hades, and all that the other souls there have to endure. When Euphorbus died, his soul passed into Hermotimus, and he also, wishing to authenticate the story, went up to the temple of Apollo at Branchidae, where he identified the shield which Menelaus, on his voyage home from Troy, had dedicated to Apollo, so he said; the shield being now so rotten through and through that the ivory facing only was left. When Hermotimus died, he became Pyrrhus, a fisherman of Delos, and again he remembered everything, how he was first Aethalides, then Euphorbus, then Hermotimus, and then Pyrrhus. But when Pyrrhus died, he became Pythagoras, and still remembered all the facts mentioned.

There are some who insist, absurdly enough, that Pythagoras left no writings whatever. At all events Heraclitus, the physicist,[a] almost shouts in our ear, "Pythagoras, son of Mnesarchus, practised inquiry beyond all other men, and in this selection of his writings made himself a wisdom of his own, showing much learning but poor workmanship." The occasion of this remark was the opening words of Pythagoras's treatise *On Nature*, namely, "Nay, I swear by the air I breathe, I swear by the water I drink, I will never suffer censure on account of this

[a] Fr. 129 D., 17 B.

λόγου τοῦδε.” γέγραπται δὲ τῷ Πυθαγόρᾳ συγγράμματα τρία, Παιδευτικόν, Πολιτικόν, Φυσικόν·
7 *τὸ δὲ φερόμενον ὡς Πυθαγόρου Λύσιδός ἐστι τοῦ Ταραντίνου Πυθαγορικοῦ, φυγόντος εἰς Θήβας καὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδα καθηγησαμένου. φησὶ δ' Ἡρακλείδης ὁ τοῦ Σαραπίωνος ἐν τῇ Σωτίωνος ἐπιτομῇ γεγραφέναι αὐτὸν καὶ Περὶ τοῦ ὅλου ἐν ἔπεσιν, δεύτερον τὸν Ἱερὸν λόγον, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή·*

ὦ νέοι, ἀλλὰ σέβεσθε μεθ' ἡσυχίης τάδε πάντα·

τρίτον Περὶ ψυχῆς, τέταρτον Περὶ εὐσεβείας, πέμπτον Ἡλοθαλῆ τὸν Ἐπιχάρμου τοῦ Κῴου πατέρα, ἕκτον Κρότωνα καὶ ἄλλους. τὸν δὲ Μυστικὸν λόγον Ἱππάσου φησὶν εἶναι, γεγραμμένον ἐπὶ διαβολῇ Πυθαγόρου, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἄστωνος τοῦ Κροτωνιάτου γραφέντας ἀνα-
8 *τεθῆναι Πυθαγόρᾳ. φησὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀριστόξενος τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἠθικῶν δογμάτων λαβεῖν τὸν Πυθαγόραν παρὰ Θεμιστοκλείας τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖς. Ἴων δὲ ὁ Χῖος ἐν τοῖς Τριαγμοῖς φησιν αὐτὸν ἔνια ποιήσαντα ἀνενεγκεῖν εἰς Ὀρφέα. αὐτοῦ λέγουσι καὶ τοὺς Σκοπιάδας, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή, “ Μὴ * * ἀνααίδευ μηδενί.” Σωσικράτης δ' ἐν Διαδοχαῖς φησιν αὐτὸν ἐρωτηθέντα ὑπὸ Λέοντος τοῦ Φλιασίων τυράννου τίς εἴη, φιλόσοφος, εἰπεῖν. καὶ τὸν βίον ἐοικέναι πανηγύρει· ὡς οὖν εἰς ταύτην οἱ μὲν*

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[a] §§ 6-7 *ἔνιοι μὲν . . . καθηγησαμένου.* Hesychius in Suidas (*s.v.*), an authority older than Schol. Plat. 600 B, proves that this passage is a coherent whole. The fragment of Heraclitus (B 129 Diels, 17 Byw.) is certainly genuine. There may be, in *ἱστορίην*, an allusion to the study of mensuration in Egypt. The pretended explanation, “ he spoke thus because . . .” introduces an extract from a work

work." Pythagoras in fact wrote three books, *On Education*, *On Statesmanship*. and *On Nature*. But the book which passes as the work of Pythagoras is by Lysis of Tarentum, a Pythagorean, who fled to Thebes and taught Epaminondas.[a] Heraclides, the son of Serapion, in his *Epitome of Sotion*, says that he also wrote a poem *On the Universe*, and secondly the *Sacred Poem* which begins :

> Young men, come reverence in quietude
> All these my words ;

thirdly *On the Soul*, fourthly *Of Piety*, fifthly *Helothales the Father of Epicharmus of Cos*, sixthly *Croton*, and other works as well. The same authority says that the poem *On the Mysteries* was written by Hippasus to defame Pythagoras, and that many others written by Aston of Croton were ascribed to Pythagoras. Aristoxenus says that Pythagoras got most of his moral doctrines from the Delphic priestess Themistoclea. According to Ion of Chios in his *Triagmi* he ascribed some poems of his own making to Orpheus.[b] They further attribute to him the *Scopiads* which begins thus :

> Be not shameless, before any man.

Sosicrates in his *Successions of Philosophers* says that, when Leon the tyrant of Phlius asked him who he was, he said, " A philosopher,"[c] and that he compared life to the Great Games, where some went to

which, like all those attributed to Pythagoras, must have been a late forgery.

[b] *F.H.G.* Fr. 12, ii. p. 49. The same fragment is found in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 131 Ἴων δὲ ὁ Χῖος ἐν τοῖς Τριαγμοῖς καὶ Πυθαγόραν εἰς Ὀρφέα ἀνενεγκεῖν τινα ἱστορεῖ. The verbal agreement, except for τινα ἱστορεῖ, is exact.

[c] *Cf.* i. 12, whence it would seem that Sosicrates used Heraclides of Pontus as his authority for this anecdote.

ἀγωνιούμενοι, οἱ δὲ κατ' ἐμπορίαν, οἱ δέ γε βέλτιστοι ἔρχονται θεαταί, οὕτως ἐν τῷ βίῳ οἱ μὲν ἀνδραποδώδεις, ἔφη, φύονται δόξης καὶ πλεονεξίας θηραταί, οἱ δὲ φιλόσοφοι τῆς ἀληθείας. καὶ τάδε μὲν ὧδε.

9 Ἐν δὲ τοῖς τρισὶ συγγράμμασι τοῖς προειρημένοις φέρεται Πυθαγόρου τάδε καθολικῶς. οὐκ ἐᾷ εὔχεσθαι ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι τὸ συμφέρον. τὴν μέθην ἓν ἀνθ' ἑνὸς βλάβην καλεῖ καὶ πλησμονὴν πᾶσαν ἀποδοκιμάζει, λέγων μὴ παραβαίνειν μήτε τῶν ποτῶν μήτε τῶν σιτίων μηδένα τὴν συμμετρίαν. καὶ περὶ ἀφροδισίων δέ φησιν οὕτως· "Ἀφροδίσια χειμῶνος ποιέεσθαι, μὴ θέρεος· φθινοπώρου δὲ καὶ ἦρος κουφότερα, βαρέα δὲ πᾶσαν ὥρην καὶ ἐς ὑγιείην οὐκ ἀγαθά." ἀλλὰ καί ποτ' ἐρωτηθέντα πότε δεῖ πλησιάζειν εἰπεῖν· ὅταν βούλῃ γενέσθαι σωυτοῦ ἀσθενέστερος.

10 Διαιρεῖται δὲ καὶ τὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου βίον οὕτως· "Παῖς εἴκοσι ἔτεα, νεηνίσκος εἴκοσι, νεηνίης εἴκοσι, γέρων εἴκοσι. αἱ δὲ ἡλικίαι πρὸς τὰς ὥρας ὧδε σύμμετροι· παῖς ἔαρ, νεηνίσκος θέρος, νεηνίης φθινόπωρον, γέρων χειμών." ἔστι δ' αὐτῷ ὁ μὲν νεηνίσκος μειράκιον, ὁ δὲ νεηνίης ἀνήρ. εἶπέ τε πρῶτος, ὥς φησι Τίμαιος, κοινὰ τὰ φίλων εἶναι καὶ φιλίαν ἰσότητα. καὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ μαθηταὶ κατετίθεντο τὰς οὐσίας εἰς ἓν [ποιούμενοι]. πενταετίαν θ' ἡσύχαζον, μόνον τῶν λόγων κατακούοντες καὶ οὐδέπω Πυθαγόραν ὁρῶντες εἰς ὃ δοκιμασθεῖεν· τοὐντεῦθεν δ' ἐγίνοντο τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ὄψεως μετεῖχον. ἀπείχοντο

[a] Because he lectured at night; *cf.* § 15 νυκτερινὴ ἀκρόασις.

compete for the prize and others went with wares to sell, but the best as spectators; for similarly, in life, some grow up with servile natures, greedy for fame and gain, but the philosopher seeks for truth. Thus much for this part of the subject.

The contents in general of the aforesaid three treatises of Pythagoras are as follows. He forbids us to pray for ourselves, because we do not know what will help us. Drinking he calls, in a word, a snare, and he discountenances all excess, saying that no one should go beyond due proportion either in drinking or in eating. Of sexual indulgence, too, he says, "Keep to the winter for sexual pleasures, in summer abstain; they are less harmful in autumn and spring, but they are always harmful and not conducive to health." Asked once when a man should consort with a woman, he replied, "When you want to lose what strength you have."

He divides man's life into four quarters thus: "Twenty years a boy, twenty years a youth, twenty years a young man, twenty years an old man; and these four periods correspond to the four seasons, the boy to spring, the youth to summer, the young man to autumn, and the old man to winter," meaning by youth one not yet grown up and by a young man a man of mature age. According to Timaeus, he was the first to say, "Friends have all things in common" and "Friendship is equality"; indeed, his disciples did put all their possessions into one common stock. For five whole years they had to keep silence, merely listening to his discourses without seeing him,[a] until they passed an examination, and thenceforward they were admitted to his house and allowed to see him. They would never

δὲ καὶ σοροῦ κυπαρισσίνης διὰ τὸ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς σκῆπτρον ἐντεῦθεν πεποιῆσθαι, ὥς φησιν Ἕρμιππος ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ Πυθαγόρου.

11 *Καὶ γὰρ καὶ σεμνοπρεπέστατος λέγεται γενέσθαι καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ δόξαν εἶχον περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς εἴη Ἀπόλλων ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἀφιγμένος. λόγος δέ ποτ᾿ αὐτοῦ παραγυμνωθέντος τὸν μηρὸν ὀφθῆναι χρυσοῦν· καὶ ὅτι Νέσσος ὁ ποταμὸς διαβαίνοντα αὐτὸν προσαγορεύσαι πολὺς ἦν ὁ φάσκων. Τίμαιός τέ φησιν ἐν δεκάτῃ Ἱστοριῶν λέγειν αὐτὸν τὰς συνοικούσας ἀνδράσι θεῶν ἔχειν ὀνόματα, Κόρας, Νύμφας, εἶτα Μητέρας καλουμένας. τοῦτον καὶ γεωμετρίαν ἐπὶ πέρας ἀγαγεῖν, Μοίριδος πρώτου εὑρόντος τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν στοιχείων αὐτῆς, ὥς φησιν Ἀντικλείδης ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου.*
12 *μάλιστα δὲ σχολάσαι τὸν Πυθαγόραν περὶ τὸ ἀριθμητικὸν εἶδος αὐτῆς· τόν τε κανόνα τὸν ἐκ μιᾶς χορδῆς εὑρεῖν. οὐκ ἠμέλησε δ᾿ οὐδ᾿ ἰατρικῆς. φησὶ δ᾿ Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ λογιστικὸς ἑκατόμβην θῦσαι αὐτόν, εὑρόντα ὅτι τοῦ ὀρθογωνίου τριγώνου ἡ ὑποτείνουσα πλευρὰ ἴσον δύναται ταῖς περιεχούσαις. καὶ ἔστιν ἐπίγραμμα οὕτως ἔχον·*

ἡνίκα Πυθαγόρης τὸ περικλεὲς εὕρετο γράμμα,
κεῖν᾿ ἐφ᾿ ὅτῳ κλεινὴν ἤγαγε βουθυσίην.

Λέγεται δὲ καὶ πρῶτος κρέασιν ἀσκῆσαι ἀθλητάς, καὶ πρῶτόν γ᾿ Εὐρυμένην, καθά φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν τρίτῳ τῶν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων, τῶν πρότερον

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[a] The allusion is to the Nymphs and the heavenly pair, mother and daughter (Demeter and Persephone).
[b] *Scriptorum Alex. ill. fr.* p. 147.
[c] *Anth. Pal.* vii. 119.
[d] The story of Eurymenes was known to Porphyry, *Vit.*

use coffins of cypress, because the sceptre of Zeus was made from it, so we are informed by Hermippus in his second book *On Pythagoras*.

Indeed, his bearing is said to have been most dignified, and his disciples held the opinion about him that he was Apollo come down from the far north. There is a story that once, when he was disrobed, his thigh was seen to be of gold; and when he crossed the river Nessus, quite a number of people said they heard it welcome him. According to Timaeus in the tenth book of his *History*, he remarked that the consorts of men bore divine names, being called first Virgins, then Brides, and then Mothers.[a] He it was who brought geometry to perfection, while it was Moeris who first discovered the beginnings of the elements of geometry: Anticlides in his second book *On Alexander* [b] affirms this, and further that Pythagoras spent most of his time upon the arithmetical aspect of geometry; he also discovered the musical intervals on the monochord. Nor did he neglect even medicine. We are told by Apollodorus the calculator that he offered a sacrifice of oxen on finding that in a right-angled triangle the square on the hypotenuse is equal to the squares on the sides containing the right angle. And there is an epigram running as follows [c]:

> What time Pythagoras that famed figure found,
> For which the noble offering he brought.

He is also said to have been the first to diet athletes on meat, trying first with Eurymenes [d]—so we learn from Favorinus in the third book of his *Memorabilia*—whereas in former times they had

Pyth. 18. We can still see how these quotations made by D. L. himself from Favorinus disturb the context.

ἰσχάσι ξηραῖς καὶ τυροῖς ὑγροῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πυροῖς σωμασκούντων αὐτούς, καθάπερ ὁ αὐτὸς Φαβωρῖνος
13 ἐν ὀγδόῃ Παντοδαπῆς ἱστορίας φησίν. οἱ δὲ Πυθαγόραν ἀλείπτην τινὰ τοῦτον σιτίσαι τὸν τρόπον, μὴ τοῦτον. τοῦτον γὰρ καὶ τὸ φονεύειν ἀπαγορεύειν, μὴ ὅτι γεύεσθαι τῶν ζῴων κοινὸν δίκαιον ἡμῖν ἐχόντων ψυχῆς. καὶ τόδε μὲν ἦν τὸ πρόσχημα· τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς τῶν ἐμψύχων ἀπηγόρευεν ἅπτεσθαι συνασκῶν καὶ συνεθίζων εἰς εὐκολίαν βίου τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὥστε εὐποριστους αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὰς τροφάς, ἄπυρα προσφερομένοις καὶ λιτὸν ὕδωρ πίνουσιν· ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ καὶ σώματος ὑγίειαν καὶ ψυχῆς ὀξύτητα περιγίνεσθαι. ἀμέλει καὶ βωμὸν προσκυνῆσαι μόνον ἐν Δήλῳ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ γενέτορος, ὅς ἐστιν ὄπισθεν τοῦ Κερατίνου, διὰ τὸ πυροὺς καὶ κριθὰς καὶ πόπανα μόνα τίθεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἄνευ πυρός, ἱερεῖον δὲ μηδέν, ὥς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν Δηλίων πολιτείᾳ.

14 Πρῶτόν τέ φασι τοῦτον ἀποφῆναι τὴν ψυχὴν κύκλον ἀνάγκης ἀμείβουσαν ἄλλοτ' ἄλλοις ἐνδεῖσθαι ζῴοις· καὶ πρῶτον εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας μέτρα καὶ σταθμὰ εἰσηγήσασθαι, καθά φησιν Ἀριστόξενος ὁ μουσικός· πρῶτόν τε Ἕσπερον καὶ Φωσφόρον τὸν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, ὥς φησι Παρμενίδης.[1] οὕτω δ' ἐθαυμάσθη ὥστ' ἔλεγον τοὺς γνωρίμους αὐτοῦ μάντιας θεῶ φωνᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ γραφῇ φησι δι' ἑπτὰ καὶ διηκοσίων ἐτέων ἐξ ἀΐδεω παραγεγενῆσθαι ἐς ἀνθρώπους. τοιγὰρ καὶ προσεκαρτέρουν αὐτῷ

[1] οἱ δέ φασι Παρμενίδην Casaubon.

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[a] Or rather "soft cheese"; *cf. supra*, i. § 7, note.

[b] *Cf.* Iamblichus, *Vit. Pyth.* 25, and Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, i. 26.

trained on dried figs, on butter,[a] and even on wheat-meal, as we are told by the same Favorinus in the eighth book of his *Miscellaneous History*. Some say it was a certain trainer named Pythagoras who instituted this diet,[b] and not our Pythagoras, who forbade even the killing, let alone the eating, of animals which share with us the privilege of having a soul. This was the excuse put forward; but his real reason for forbidding animal diet was to practise people and accustom them to simplicity of life, so that they could live on things easily procurable, spreading their tables with uncooked foods and drinking pure water only, for this was the way to a healthy body and a keen mind. Of course the only altar at which he worshipped was that of Apollo the Giver of Life, behind the Altar of Horns at Delos, for thereon were placed flour and meal and cakes, without the use of fire, and there was no animal victim, as we are told by Aristotle in his *Constitution of Delos*.

He was the first, they say, to declare that the soul, bound now in this creature, now in that, thus goes on a round ordained of necessity. He too, according to Aristoxenus the musician, was the first to introduce weights and measures into Greece. It was he who first declared that the Evening and Morning Stars are the same, as Parmenides maintains.[c] So greatly was he admired that his disciples used to be called "prophets to declare the voice of God," besides which he himself says in a written work that "after two hundred and seven years in Hades he has returned to the land of the living." Thus it was that they remained his staunch adherents,

[c] *Cf. inf.* ix. 23.

καὶ τῶν λόγων ἕνεκα προσήεσαν καὶ Λευκανοὶ καὶ Πευκέτιοι Μεσσάπιοί τε καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι.

15 *Μέχρι δὲ Φιλολάου οὐκ ἦν τι γνῶναι Πυθαγόρειον δόγμα· οὗτος δὲ μόνος ἐξήνεγκε τὰ διαβόητα τρία βιβλία, ἃ Πλάτων ἐπέστειλεν ἑκατὸν μνῶν ὠνηθῆναι. τῶν θ' ἑξακοσίων οὐκ ἐλάττους ἐπὶ τὴν νυκτερινὴν ἀκρόασιν ἀπήντων αὐτοῦ· καὶ εἴ τινες ἀξιωθεῖεν αὐτὸν θεάσασθαι, ἔγραφον πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ὡς μεγάλου τινὸς τετυχηκότες. Μεταποντῖνοί γε μὴν τὴν μὲν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν ἐκάλουν, τὸν στενωπὸν δὲ μουσεῖον, ὥς φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπαῖς ἱστορίαις· ἔλεγόν τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Πυθαγόρειοι μὴ εἶναι πρὸς πάντας πάντα ῥητά, ὥς φησιν Ἀριστόξενος ἐν*
16 *δεκάτῃ Παιδευτικῶν νόμων· ἔνθα καὶ Ξενόφιλον τὸν Πυθαγορικόν, ἐρωτηθέντα πῶς ἂν μάλιστα τὸν υἱὸν παιδεύσειεν, εἰπεῖν, εἰ πόλεως εὐνομουμένης γενηθείη. ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπεργάσασθαι καλούς τε κἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, ἀτὰρ καὶ Ζάλευκον καὶ Χαρώνδαν τοὺς νομοθέτας· ἱκανός τε γὰρ ἦν φιλίας ἐργάτης τά τ' ἄλλα καὶ εἴ τινα πύθοιτο τῶν συμβόλων αὐτοῦ κεκοινωνηκότα, εὐθύς τε προσηταιρίζετο καὶ φίλον κατεσκεύαζεν.*

17 *Ἦν δ' αὐτῷ τὰ σύμβολα τάδε· πῦρ μαχαίρᾳ μὴ σκαλεύειν, ζυγὸν μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν, ἐπὶ χοίνικος μὴ καθίζειν, καρδίην μὴ ἐσθίειν, φορτίον μὴ συγκαθαιρεῖν, συνεπιτιθέναι δέ, τὰ στρώματα ἀεὶ συνδεδεμένα ἔχειν, ἐν δακτυλίῳ εἰκόνα θεοῦ μὴ περιφέρειν, χύτρας ἴχνος συγχεῖν ἐν τῇ τέφρᾳ,*

[a] See, however, Porphyry, *Vit. Pyth.* 4, who cites as his authority Timaeus the Sicilian historian (*F.H.G.* i. p. 211, Fr. 78), who was not improbably the source used by Favorinus.

and men came to hear his words from afar, among them Lucanians, Peucetians, Messapians and Romans.

Down to the time of Philolaus it was not possible to acquire knowledge of any Pythagorean doctrine, and Philolaus alone brought out those three celebrated books which Plato sent a hundred minas to purchase. Not less than six hundred persons went to his evening lectures; and those who were privileged to see him wrote to their friends congratulating themselves on a great piece of good fortune. Moreover, the Metapontines named his house the Temple of Demeter and his porch the Museum, so we learn from Favorinus in his *Miscellaneous History*.[a] And the rest of the Pythagoreans used to say that not all his doctrines were for all men to hear, our authority for this being Aristoxenus in the tenth book of his *Rules of Pedagogy*, where we are also told that one of the school, Xenophilus by name, asked by some one how he could best educate his son, replied, "By making him the citizen of a well-governed state." Throughout Italy Pythagoras made many into good men and true, men too of note like the lawgivers Zaleucus and Charondas; for he had a great gift for friendship, and especially, when he found his own watchwords adopted by anyone, he would immediately take to that man and make a friend of him.

The following were his watchwords or precepts: don't stir the fire with a knife, don't step over the beam of a balance, don't sit down on your bushel,[b] don't eat your heart, don't help a man off with a load but help him on, always roll your bed-clothes up, don't put God's image on the circle of a ring, don't leave the pan's imprint on the ashes, don't wipe up

[b] The χοῖνιξ was about a *quart*, in dry measure.

δᾳδίῳ θᾶκον μὴ ὀμόργνυσθαι, πρὸς ἥλιον τετραμμένον μὴ ὀμίχειν, τὰς λεωφόρους μὴ βαδίζειν, μὴ ῥᾳδίως δεξιὰν ἐμβάλλειν, ὁμωροφίους χελιδόνας μὴ ἔχειν, γαμψώνυχα μὴ τρέφειν, ἀπονυχίσμασι καὶ κουραῖς μὴ ἐπουρεῖν μηδὲ ἐφίστασθαι, ὀξεῖαν μάχαιραν ἀποστρέφειν, ἀποδημοῦντα ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅροις ἀνεπιστρεπτεῖν.

18 *Ἤθελε δ' αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν πῦρ μαχαίρᾳ μὴ σκαλεύειν δυναστῶν ὀργὴν καὶ οἰδοῦντα θυμὸν μὴ κινεῖν. τὸ δὲ ζυγὸν μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν, τουτέστι το ἴσον καὶ δίκαιον μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν. ἐπί τε χοίνικος μὴ καθίζειν ἐν ἴσῳ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος φροντίδα ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος· ἡ γὰρ χοῖνιξ ἡμερησία τροφή. διὰ δὲ τοῦ καρδίαν μὴ ἐσθίειν ἐδήλου μὴ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνίαις καὶ λύπαις κατατήκειν. διὰ δὲ τοῦ εἰς ἀποδημίαν βαδίζοντα μὴ ἐπιστρέφεσθαι παρῄνει τοῖς ἀπαλλαττομένοις τοῦ βίου μὴ ἐπιθυμητικῶς ἔχειν τοῦ ζῆν μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἡδονῶν ἐπάγεσθαι. καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πρὸς ταῦτα λοιπόν ἐστιν ἐκλαμβάνειν, ἵνα μὴ παρέλκωμεν.*

19 *Παντὸς δὲ μᾶλλον ἀπηγόρευε μήτ' ἐρυθῖνον ἐσθίειν μήτε μελάνουρον, καρδίας τ' ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ κυάμων· Ἀριστοτέλης δέ φησι καὶ μήτρας καὶ τρίγλης ἐνίοτε. αὐτὸν δ' ἀρκεῖσθαι μέλιτι μόνῳ φασί τινες ἢ κηρίῳ ἢ ἄρτῳ, οἴνου δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν μὴ γεύεσθαι· ὄψῳ τε τὰ πολλὰ λαχάνοις ἑφθοῖς τε καὶ ὠμοῖς, τοῖς δὲ θαλαττίοις σπανίως. στολὴ δ' αὐτῷ λευκή, καθαρά, καὶ στρώματα λευκὰ ἐξ ἐρίων· τὰ γὰρ λινᾶ οὔπω εἰς ἐκείνους ἀφῖκτο τοὺς τόπους. οὐδέποτ' ἐγνώσθη οὔτε διαχωρῶν οὔτε ἀφροδισιάζων οὔτε μεθυσθείς.*
20 *ἀπείχετο καὶ γέλωτος καὶ πάσης ἀρεσκείας οἷον*

a mess with a torch, don't commit a nuisance towards the sun, don't walk the highway, don't shake hands too eagerly, don't have swallows under your own roof, don't keep birds with hooked claws, don't make water on nor stand upon your nail- and hair-trimmings, turn the sharp blade away, when you go abroad don't turn round at the frontier.

This is what they meant. Don't stir the fire with a knife: don't stir the passions or the swelling pride of the great. Don't step over the beam of a balance: don't overstep the bounds of equity and justice. Don't sit down on your bushel: have the same care of to-day and the future, a bushel being the day's ration. By not eating your heart he meant not wasting your life in troubles and pains. By saying do not turn round when you go abroad, he meant to advise those who are departing this life not to set their hearts' desire on living nor to be too much attracted by the pleasures of this life. The explanations of the rest are similar and would take too long to set out.

Above all, he forbade as food red mullet and blacktail, and he enjoined abstinence from the hearts of animals and from beans, and sometimes, according to Aristotle, even from paunch and gurnard. Some say that he contented himself with just some honey or a honeycomb or bread, never touching wine in the daytime, and with greens boiled or raw for dainties, and fish but rarely. His robe was white and spotless, his quilts of white wool, for linen had not yet reached those parts. He was never known to over-eat, to behave loosely, or to be drunk. He would avoid laughter and all pandering to tastes such as in-

σκωμμάτων καὶ διηγημάτων φορτικῶν. ὀργιζόμενός τ' οὔτε οἰκέτην ἐκόλαζεν οὔτ' ἐλεύθερον οὐδένα. ἐκάλει δὲ τὸ νουθετεῖν πεδαρτᾶν. μαντικῇ τ' ἐχρῆτο τῇ διὰ τῶν κληδόνων τε καὶ οἰωνῶν, ἥκιστα δὲ τῇ διὰ τῶν ἐμπύρων, ἔξω τῆς διὰ λιβάνου. θυσίαις τε ἐχρῆτο ἀψύχοις, οἱ δέ φασιν, ὅτι ἀλέκτορσι μόνον καὶ ἐρίφοις γαλαθηνοῖς καὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις ἁπαλίαις, ἥκιστα δὲ ἄρνασιν. ὅ γε μὴν Ἀριστόξενος πάντα μὲν τἄλλα συγχωρεῖν αὐτὸν ἐσθίειν ἔμψυχα, μόνον δ' ἀπέχεσθαι βοὸς ἀροτῆρος καὶ κριοῦ.

21 Ὁ δ' αὐτός φησιν, ὡς προείρηται, καὶ τὰ δόγματα λαβεῖν αὐτὸν παρὰ τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖς Θεμιστοκλείας. φησὶ δ' Ἱερώνυμος κατελθόντα αὐτὸν εἰς ᾅδου τὴν μὲν Ἡσιόδου ψυχὴν ἰδεῖν πρὸς κίονι χαλκῷ δεδεμένην καὶ τρίζουσαν, τὴν δ' Ὁμήρου κρεμαμένην ἀπὸ δένδρου καὶ ὄφεις περὶ αὐτὴν ἀνθ' ὧν εἶπον περὶ θεῶν, κολαζομένους δὲ καὶ τοὺς μὴ θέλοντας συνεῖναι ταῖς ἑαυτῶν γυναιξί· καὶ δὴ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τιμηθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Κρότωνι. φησὶ δ' Ἀρίστιππος ὁ Κυρηναῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ φυσιολόγων Πυθαγόραν αὐτὸν ὀνομασθῆναι ὅτι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἠγόρευεν οὐχ ἧττον τοῦ Πυθίου.

22 Λέγεται παρεγγυᾶν αὐτὸν ἑκάστοτε τοῖς μαθηταῖς τάδε λέγειν εἰς τὸν οἶκον εἰσιοῦσι,

πῇ παρέβην; τί δ' ἔρεξα; τί μοι δέον οὐκ ἐτελέσθη;

σφάγιά τε θεοῖς προσφέρειν κωλύειν, μόνον δὲ τὸν ἀναίμακτον βωμὸν προσκυνεῖν. μηδ' ὀμνύναι θεούς· ἀσκεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν δεῖν ἀξιόπιστον παρέχει

[a] The word Πυθαγόρας being taken to be a compou from Πύθιος and ἀγορεύειν.

sulting jests and vulgar tales. He would punish neither slave nor free man in anger. Admonition he used to call "setting right." He used to practise divination by sounds or voices and by auguries, never by burnt-offerings, beyond frankincense. The offerings he made were always inanimate; though some say that he would offer cocks, sucking goats and porkers, as they are called, but lambs never. However, Aristoxenus has it that he consented to the eating of all other animals, and only abstained from ploughing oxen and rams.

The same authority, as we have seen, asserts that Pythagoras took his doctrines from the Delphic priestess Themistoclea. Hieronymus, however, says that, when he had descended into Hades, he saw the soul of Hesiod bound fast to a brazen pillar and gibbering, and the soul of Homer hung on a tree with serpents writhing about it, this being their punishment for what they had said about the gods; he also saw under torture those who would not remain faithful to their wives. This, says our authority, is why he was honoured by the people of Croton. Aristippus of Cyrene affirms in his work *On the Physicists* that he was named Pythagoras because he uttered the truth as infallibly as did the Pythian oracle.[a]

He is said to have advised his disciples as follows: Always to say on entering their own doors:

> Where did I trespass? What did I achieve?
> And unfulfilled what duties did I leave?

Not to let victims be brought for sacrifice to the gods, and to worship only at the altar unstained with blood. Not to call the gods to witness, man's duty being rather to strive to make his own word carry

τούς τε πρεσβυτέρους τιμᾶν, τὸ προηγούμενον τῷ χρόνῳ τιμιώτερον ἡγουμένους· ὡς ἐν κόσμῳ μὲν ἀνατολὴν δύσεως, ἐν βίῳ δ' ἀρχὴν τελευτῆς, ἐν
23 ζωῇ δὲ γένεσιν φθορᾶς. καὶ θεοὺς μὲν δαιμόνων προτιμᾶν, ἥρωας δ' ἀνθρώπων, ἀνθρώπων δὲ μάλιστα τοὺς γονέας. ἀλλήλοις θ' ὁμιλεῖν, ὡς τοὺς μὲν φίλους ἐχθροὺς μὴ ποιῆσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐχθροὺς φίλους ἐργάσασθαι. ἴδιόν τε μηδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι. νόμῳ βοηθεῖν, ἀνομίᾳ πολεμεῖν· φυτὸν ἥμερον μήτε φθίνειν μήτε σίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ζῷον ὃ μὴ βλάπτει ἀνθρώπους. αἰδῶ καὶ εὐλάβειαν εἶναι μήτε γέλωτι κατέχεσθαι μήτε σκυθρωπάζειν. φεύγειν σαρκῶν πλεονασμόν, ὁδοιπορίης ἄνεσιν καὶ ἐπίτασιν ποιεῖσθαι, μνήμην ἀσκεῖν, ἐν ὀργῇ μήτε τι λέγειν μήτε πράσσειν, μαντικὴν
24 πᾶσαν[1] τιμᾶν, ᾠδαῖς χρῆσθαι πρὸς λύραν ὕμνῳ τε θεῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν εὔλογον χάριν ἔχειν. τῶν δὲ κυάμων ἀπέχεσθαι διὰ τὸ πνευματώδεις ὄντας μάλιστα μετέχειν τοῦ ψυχικοῦ· καὶ ἄλλως κοσμιωτέρας ἀπεργάζεσθαι τὰς γαστέρας, μὴ παραληφθέντας. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰς καθ' ὕπνους φαντασίας λείας καὶ ἀταράχους ἀποτελεῖν.

Φησὶ δ' ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Ταῖς τῶν φιλοσόφων διαδοχαῖς καὶ ταῦτα εὑρηκέναι ἐν Πυθαγορικοῖς
25 ὑπομνήμασιν. ἀρχὴν μὲν ἁπάντων μονάδα· ἐκ δὲ τῆς μονάδος ἀόριστον δυάδα ὡς ἂν ὕλην τῇ

[1] ⟨οὐ⟩ πᾶσαν coll. § 20 Casaubon.

[a] For the doctrines of Pythagoras (§§ 25-35) Alexander is taken as D. L.'s authority (see Introd. pp. xxvi, xxvii). This indefatigable pedant is known to have written a special work on the Pythagorean system. Our author may not have possessed this work by Alexander, but he probably had access to a public library containing it. In any case he

conviction. To honour their elders, on the principle that precedence in time gives a greater title to respect; for as in the world sunrise comes before sunset, so in human life the beginning before the end, and in all organic life birth precedes death. And he further bade them to honour gods before demi-gods, heroes before men, and first among men their parents; and so to behave one to another as not to make friends into enemies, but to turn enemies into friends. To deem nothing their own. To support the law, to wage war on lawlessness. Never to kill or injure trees that are not wild, nor even any animal that does not injure man. That it is seemly and advisable neither to give way to unbridled laughter nor to wear sullen looks. To avoid excess of flesh, on a journey to let exertion and slackening alternate, to train the memory, in wrath to restrain hand and tongue, to respect all divination, to sing to the lyre and by hymns to show due gratitude to gods and to good men. To abstain from beans because they are flatulent and partake most of the breath of life; and besides, it is better for the stomach if they are not taken, and this again will make our dreams in sleep smooth and untroubled.

Alexander in his *Successions of Philosophers* says that he found in the Pythagorean memoirs the following tenets as well.[a] The principle of all things is the monad or unit; arising from this monad the

deserves praise for the selection. Between Alexander Polyhistor in the first century B.C. and the threshold of the third century A.D. there had been an enormous increase in neo-Pythagorean literature, mostly dealing with mystical properties of numbers and with ethics based upon theology. All this D. L. ignores, going back to a Hellenistic document long forgotten.

μονάδι αἰτίῳ ὄντι ὑποστῆναι· ἐκ δὲ τῆς μονάδος καὶ τῆς ἀορίστου δυάδος τοὺς ἀριθμούς· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἀριθμῶν τὰ σημεῖα· ἐκ δὲ τούτων τὰς γραμμάς, ἐξ ὧν τὰ ἐπίπεδα σχήματα· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐπιπέδων τὰ στερεὰ σχήματα· ἐκ δὲ τούτων τὰ αἰσθητὰ σώματα, ὧν καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα εἶναι τέτταρα, πῦρ, ὕδωρ, γῆν, ἀέρα· μεταβάλλειν δὲ καὶ τρέπεσθαι δι' ὅλων, καὶ γίνεσθαι ἐξ αὐτῶν κόσμον ἔμψυχον, νοερόν, σφαιροειδῆ, μέσην περιέχοντα τὴν γῆν καὶ
26 αὐτὴν σφαιροειδῆ καὶ περιοικουμένην. εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἀντίποδας καὶ τὰ ἡμῖν κάτω ἐκείνοις ἄνω. ἰσόμοιρά τ' εἶναι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ φῶς καὶ σκότος, καὶ θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρόν, καὶ ξηρὸν καὶ ὑγρόν· ὧν κατ' ἐπικράτειαν θερμοῦ μὲν θέρος γίνεσθαι, ψυχροῦ δὲ χειμῶνα, ξηροῦ δ' ἔαρ, καὶ ὑγροῦ φθινόπωρον. ἐὰν δὲ ἰσομοιρῇ, τὰ κάλλιστα εἶναι τοῦ ἔτους, οὗ τὸ μὲν θάλλον ἔαρ ὑγιεινόν, τὸ δὲ φθίνον φθινόπωρον νοσερόν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας θάλλειν μὲν τὴν ἕω, φθίνειν δὲ τὴν ἑσπέραν· ὅθεν καὶ νοσερωτέραν εἶναι. τόν τε περὶ τὴν γῆν ἀέρα ἄσειστον καὶ νοσερὸν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα θνητά· τὸν δὲ ἀνωτάτω ἀεικίνητόν τ' εἶναι καὶ καθαρὸν καὶ ὑγιᾶ καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀθάνατα καὶ διὰ
27 τοῦτο θεῖα. ἥλιόν τε καὶ σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀστέρας εἶναι θεούς· ἐπικρατεῖν γὰρ τὸ θερμὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὅπερ ἐστὶ ζωῆς αἴτιον. τήν τε σελήνην λάμπεσθαι ὑφ' ἡλίου. καὶ ἀνθρώποις εἶναι πρὸς θεοὺς συγγένειαν, κατὰ τὸ μετέχειν ἄνθρωπον θερμοῦ· διὸ καὶ προνοεῖσθαι τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν. εἱμαρμένην τε τῶν ὅλων καὶ κατὰ μέρος αἰτίαν εἶναι τῆς διοικήσεως. διήκειν τ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀκτῖνα διὰ τοῦ αἰθέρος τοῦ τε ψυχροῦ καὶ παχέος.

undefined dyad or two serves as material substratum to the monad, which is cause; from the monad and the undefined dyad spring numbers; from numbers, points; from points, lines; from lines, plane figures; from plane figures, solid figures; from solid figures, sensible bodies, the elements of which are four, fire, water, earth and air; these elements interchange and turn into one another completely, and combine to produce a universe animate, intelligent, spherical, with the earth at its centre, the earth itself too being spherical and inhabited round about. There are also antipodes, and our "down" is their "up." Light and darkness have equal part[a] in the universe, so have hot and cold, and dry and moist; and of these, if hot preponderates, we have summer; if cold, winter; if dry, spring; if moist, late autumn. If all are in equilibrium, we have the best periods of the year, of which the freshness of spring constitutes the healthy season, and the decay of late autumn the unhealthy. So too, in the day, freshness belongs to the morning, and decay to the evening, which is therefore more unhealthy. The air about the earth is stagnant and unwholesome, and all within it is mortal; but the uppermost air is ever-moved and pure and healthy, and all within it is immortal and consequently divine. The sun, the moon, and the other stars are gods; for, in them, there is a preponderance of heat, and heat is the cause of life. The moon is illumined by the sun. Gods and men are akin, inasmuch as man partakes of heat; therefore God takes thought for man. Fate is the cause of things being thus ordered both as a whole and separately. The sun's ray penetrates through the

[a] *Cf.* Soph. *El.* 87 γῆς ἰσόμοιρ' ἀήρ.

καλοῦσι δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀέρα ψυχρὸν αἰθέρα, τὴν δὲ θάλασσαν καὶ τὸ ὑγρὸν παχὺν αἰθέρα. ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἀκτῖνα καὶ εἰς τὰ βένθη δύεσθαι καὶ διὰ
28 τοῦτο ζωοποιεῖν πάντα. καὶ ζῆν μὲν πάνθ' ὅσα μετέχει τοῦ θερμοῦ· διὸ καὶ τὰ φυτὰ ζῷα εἶναι· ψυχὴν μέντοι μὴ ἔχειν πάντα. εἶναι δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπόσπασμα αἰθέρος καὶ τοῦ θερμοῦ καὶ τοῦ ψυχροῦ, τῷ συμμετέχειν ψυχροῦ αἰθέρος. διαφέρειν τε ψυχὴν ζωῆς· ἀθάνατόν τ' εἶναι αὐτήν, ἐπειδήπερ καὶ τὸ ἀφ' οὗ ἀπέσπασται ἀθάνατόν ἐστι. τὰ δὲ ζῷα γεννᾶσθαι ἐξ ἀλλήλων ἀπὸ σπερμάτων, τὴν δ' ἐκ γῆς γένεσιν ἀδύνατον ὑφίστασθαι. τὸ δὲ σπέρμα εἶναι σταγόνα ἐγκεφάλου περιέχουσαν ἐν ἑαυτῇ θερμὸν ἀτμόν· ταύτην δὲ προσφερομένην τῇ μήτρᾳ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου ἰχῶρα καὶ ὑγρὸν καὶ αἷμα προΐεσθαι, ἐξ ὧν σάρκας τε καὶ νεῦρα καὶ ὀστᾶ καὶ τρίχας καὶ τὸ ὅλον συνίστασθαι σῶμα· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀτμοῦ ψυχὴν καὶ
29 αἴσθησιν. μορφοῦσθαι δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον παγὲν ἐν ἡμέραις τεσσαράκοντα, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς τῆς ἁρμονίας λόγους ἐν ἑπτὰ ἢ ἐννέα ἢ δέκα τὸ πλεῖστον μησὶ τελεωθὲν ἀποκυΐσκεσθαι τὸ βρέφος· ἔχειν δ' ἐν αὐτῷ πάντας τοὺς λόγους τῆς ζωῆς, ὧν εἰρομένων συνέχεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς τῆς ἁρμονίας λόγους, ἑκάστων ἐν τεταγμένοις καιροῖς ἐπιγινομένων. τήν τ' αἴσθησιν κοινῶς καὶ κατ' εἶδος τὴν ὅρασιν ἀτμόν τιν' εἶναι ἄγαν θερμόν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λέγεται δι' ἀέρος ὁρᾶν καὶ δι' ὕδατος· ἀντερείδεσθαι γὰρ τὸ θερμὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ. ἐπεί τοι εἰ ψυχρὸς ἦν ὁ ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασιν ἀτμός, διειστήκει ἂν πρὸς τὸν ὅμοιον ἀέρα· νῦν δὲ * * ἔστιν[1] ἐν οἷς ἡλίου πύλας καλεῖ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς.

aether, whether cold or dense—the air they call cold aether, and the sea and moisture dense aether—and this ray descends even to the depths and for this reason quickens all things. All things live which partake of heat—this is why plants are living things—but all have not soul, which is a detached part of aether, partly the hot and partly the cold, for it partakes of cold aether too. Soul is distinct from life; it is immortal, since that from which it is detached is immortal. Living creatures are reproduced from one another by germination; there is no such thing as spontaneous generation from earth. The germ is a clot of brain containing hot vapour within it; and this, when brought to the womb, throws out, from the brain, ichor, fluid and blood, whence are formed flesh, sinews, bones, hairs, and the whole of the body, while soul and sense come from the vapour within. First congealing in about forty days, it receives form and, according to the ratios of "harmony," in seven, nine, or at the most ten, months, the mature child is brought forth. It has in it all the relations constituting life, and these, forming a continuous series, keep it together according to the ratios of harmony, each appearing at regulated intervals. Sense generally, and sight in particular, is a certain unusually hot vapour. This is why it is said to see through air and water, because the hot aether is resisted by the cold; for, if the vapour in the eyes had been cold, it would have been dissipated on meeting the air, its like. As it is, in certain [lines] he calls the eyes the portals of

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[1] ἐστιν ⟨ἐναντίος⟩ Apelt.

τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀκοῆς καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν αἰσθήσεων δογματίζει.

30 Τὴν δ' ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴν διαιρεῖσθαι τριχῇ, εἴς τε νοῦν καὶ φρένας καὶ θυμόν. νοῦν μὲν οὖν καὶ θυμὸν εἶναι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῴοις, φρένας δὲ μόνον ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ. εἶναι δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ καρδίας μέχρις ἐγκεφάλου· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μέρος αὐτῆς ὑπάρχειν θυμόν, φρένας δὲ καὶ νοῦν τὰ ἐν τῷ ἐγκεφάλῳ· σταγόνας δ' εἶναι ἀπὸ τούτων τὰς αἰσθήσεις. καὶ τὸ μὲν φρόνιμον ἀθάνατον, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ θνητά. τρέφεσθαί τε τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος· τοὺς δὲ λόγους ψυχῆς ἀνέμους εἶναι. ἀόρατόν τ' εἶναι αὐτὴν καὶ τοὺς
31 λόγους, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ αἰθὴρ ἀόρατος. δεσμά τ' εἶναι τῆς ψυχῆς τὰς φλέβας καὶ τὰς ἀρτηρίας καὶ τὰ νεῦρα· ὅταν δ' ἰσχύῃ καὶ καθ' αὑτὴν γενομένη ἠρεμῇ, δεσμὰ γίνεσθαι αὐτῆς τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰ ἔργα. ἐκριφθεῖσαν δ' αὐτὴν ἐπὶ γῆς πλάζεσθαι ἐν τῷ ἀέρι ὁμοίαν τῷ σώματι. τὸν δ' Ἑρμῆν ταμίαν εἶναι τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πομπαῖον λέγεσθαι καὶ πυλαῖον καὶ χθόνιον, ἐπειδήπερ οὗτος εἰσπέμπει ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπό τε γῆς καὶ ἐκ θαλάττης· καὶ ἄγεσθαι τὰς μὲν καθαρὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ὕψιστον, τὰς δ' ἀκαθάρτους μήτ' ἐκείναις πελάζειν μήτ' ἀλλήλαις, δεῖσθαι δ' ἐν ἀρρήκτοις
32 δεσμοῖς ὑπ' Ἐρινύων. εἶναί τε πάντα τὸν ἀέρα ψυχῶν ἔμπλεων· καὶ ταύτας δαίμονάς τε καὶ ἥρωας ὀνομάζεσθαι· καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων πέμπεσθαι ἀνθρώποις τούς τ' ὀνείρους καὶ τὰ σημεῖα νόσου τε καὶ ὑγιείας, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ καὶ προ-

the sun. His conclusion is the same with regard to hearing and the other senses.

The soul of man, he says, is divided into three parts, intelligence, reason, and passion. Intelligence and passion are possessed by other animals as well, but reason by man alone. The seat of the soul extends from the heart to the brain: the part of it which is in the heart is passion, while the parts located in the brain are reason and intelligence. The senses are distillations from these. Reason is immortal, all else mortal. The soul draws nourishment from the blood; the faculties[a] of the soul are winds, for they as well as the soul are invisible, just as the aether is invisible. The veins, arteries, and sinews are the bonds of the soul. But when it is strong and settled down into itself, reasonings and deeds become its bonds. When cast out upon the earth, it wanders in the air like the body. Hermes is the steward of souls, and for that reason is called Hermes the Escorter, Hermes the Keeper of the Gate, and Hermes of the Underworld, since it is he who brings in the souls from their bodies both by land and sea; and the pure are taken into the uppermost region, but the impure are not permitted to approach the pure or each other, but are bound by the Furies in bonds unbreakable. The whole air is full of souls which are called genii[b] or heroes; these are they who send men dreams and signs of future disease and health, and not to men alone, but to

[a] The word λόγους is translated above by "ratios," *i.e.* proportionalities. With ἀνέμους compare the Stoic air-currents.

[b] The Greek daemons (δαίμονες) are, according to Hesiod, *W. and D.* 121-126, superhuman beings, guardians and benefactors of mankind, watching over the earth whereon once they lived.

βάτοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κτήνεσιν· εἴς τε τούτους γίνεσθαι τούς τε καθαρμοὺς καὶ ἀποτροπιασμοὺς μαντικήν τε πᾶσαν καὶ κληδόνας καὶ τὰ ὅμοια. μέγιστον δέ φησιν εἶναι τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις τὸ τὴν ψυχὴν πεῖσαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ κακόν. εὐδαιμονεῖν τ' ἀνθρώπους ὅταν ἀγαθὴ ψυχὴ προσγένηται, μηδέποτε δ' ἠρεμεῖν μηδὲ τὸν αὐτὸν * * ῥόον κρατεῖν.

33 Ὅρκιόν τ' εἶναι τὸ δίκαιον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Δία ὅρκιον λέγεσθαι. τήν τ' ἀρετὴν ἁρμονίαν εἶναι καὶ τὴν ὑγίειαν καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἅπαν καὶ τὸν θεόν· διὸ καὶ καθ' ἁρμονίαν συνεστάναι τὰ ὅλα. φιλίαν τ' εἶναι ἐναρμόνιον ἰσότητα. τιμὰς θεοῖς δεῖν νομίζειν καὶ ἥρωσι μὴ τὰς ἴσας, ἀλλὰ θεοῖς ἀεὶ μετ' εὐφημίας λευχειμονοῦντας καὶ ἁγνεύοντας, ἥρωσι δ' ἀπὸ μέσου ἡμέρας. τὴν δ' ἁγνείαν εἶναι διὰ καθαρμῶν καὶ λουτρῶν καὶ περιρραντηρίων καὶ διὰ τοῦ καθαρεύειν ἀπό τε κήδους καὶ λεχοῦς καὶ μιάσματος παντὸς καὶ ἀπέχεσθαι βρωτῶν θνησειδίων τε κρεῶν καὶ τριγλῶν καὶ μελανούρων καὶ ᾠῶν καὶ τῶν ᾠοτόκων ζῴων καὶ κυάμων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν παρακελεύονται καὶ οἱ τὰς τελετὰς ἐν

34 τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐπιτελοῦντες. φησὶ δ' Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων[1] παραγγέλλειν αὐτὸν ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν κυάμων ἤτοι ὅτι αἰδοίοις εἰσὶν ὅμοιοι ἢ ὅτι Ἅδου πύλαις. * * ἀγόνατον γὰρ μόνον· ἢ ὅτι φθείρει ἢ ὅτι τῇ τοῦ ὅλου φύσει ὅμοιον ἢ ὅτι ὀλιγαρχικόν· κληροῦνται γοῦν αὐτοῖς. τὰ δὲ πεσόντα μὴ ἀναιρεῖσθαι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐθίζεσθαι μὴ ἀκολάστως ἐσθίειν ἢ ὅτι ἐπὶ τελευτῇ τινος· καὶ

[1] The marginal lemma Περὶ τῶν κυάμων has supplanted the proper title of Aristotle's work, which probably was Περὶ τῶν Π.

sheep also and cattle as well: and it is to them that purifications and lustrations, all divination, omens and the like, have reference. The most momentous thing in human life is the art of winning the soul to good or to evil. Blest are the men who acquire a good soul; <if it be bad> they can never be at rest, nor ever keep the same course two days together.

Right has the force of an oath, and that is why Zeus is called the God of Oaths. Virtue is harmony, and so are health and all good and God himself; this is why they say that all things are constructed according to the laws of harmony. The love of friends is just concord and equality. We should not pay equal worship to gods and heroes, but to the gods always, with reverent silence, in white robes, and after purification, to the heroes only from midday onwards. Purification is by cleansing, baptism and lustration, and by keeping clean from all deaths and births and all pollution, and abstaining from meat and flesh of animals that have died, mullets, gurnards, eggs and egg-sprung animals, beans, and the other abstinences prescribed by those who perform mystic rites in the temples. According to Aristotle in his work *On the Pythagoreans*, Pythagoras counselled abstinence from beans either because they are like the genitals, or because they are like the gates of Hades . . . as being alone unjointed, or because they are injurious, or because they are like the form of the universe, or because they belong to oligarchy, since they are used in election by lot. He bade his disciples not to pick up fallen crumbs, either in order to accustom them not to eat immoderately, or because connected with a person's death; nay, even, according to Aristo-

Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ τῶν ἡρώων φησὶν εἶναι τὰ πίπτοντα, λέγων ἐν τοῖς Ἥρωσι,

> μηδὲ γεύεσθ' ἅττ' ἂν ἐντὸς τῆς τραπέζης καταπέσῃ.

Ἀλεκτρυόνος μὴ ἅπτεσθαι λευκοῦ, ὅτι ἱερὸς τοῦ Μηνὸς καὶ ἱκέτης· τὸ δ' ἦν τῶν ἀγαθῶν· τῷ τε Μηνὶ ἱερός· σημαίνει γὰρ τὰς ὥρας. καὶ τὸ μὲν λευκὸν τῆς τἀγαθοῦ φύσεως, τὸ δὲ μέλαν τοῦ κακοῦ. τῶν ἰχθύων μὴ ἅπτεσθαι, ὅσοι ἱεροί· μὴ γὰρ δεῖν τὰ αὐτὰ τετάχθαι θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἐλευθέροις καὶ δούλοις. ἄρτον μὴ καταγνύειν, ὅτι ἐπὶ ἕνα οἱ
35 πάλαι τῶν φίλων ἐφοίτων, καθάπερ ἔτι καὶ νῦν οἱ βάρβαροι· μηδὲ διαιρεῖν, ὃς συνάγει αὐτούς· οἱ δέ, πρὸς τὴν ἐν ᾅδου κρίσιν· οἱ δ' εἰς πόλεμον δειλίαν ποιεῖν· οἱ δέ, ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τούτου[1] ἄρχεται τὸ ὅλον.

Καὶ τῶν σχημάτων τὸ κάλλιστον σφαῖραν εἶναι τῶν στερεῶν, τῶν δ' ἐπιπέδων κύκλον. γῆρας καὶ πᾶν τὸ μειούμενον ὅμοιον· καὶ αὔξην καὶ νεότητα ταὐτόν. ὑγίειαν τὴν τοῦ εἴδους διαμονήν, νόσον τὴν τούτου φθοράν. περὶ τῶν ἁλῶν, ὅτι δεῖ παρατίθεσθαι πρὸς ὑπόμνησιν τοῦ δικαίου· οἱ γὰρ ἅλες πᾶν σῴζουσιν ὅ τι ἂν παραλάβωσι καὶ γεγόνασιν ἐκ τῶν καθαρωτάτων ἡλίου καὶ θαλάσσης.

36 Καὶ ταῦτα μέν φησιν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τοῖς Πυθαγορικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν εὑρηκέναι, καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων ἐχόμενα ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης.

Τὴν δὲ σεμνοπρέπειαν τοῦ Πυθαγόρου καὶ

[1] τούτου] v.l. τόπου.

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[a] Meineke, *C.G.F.* ii. 1070.

[b] This may have some hidden sense: but it is tempting to adopt τόπου for τούτου with the Borbonicus.

[c] Alexander is cited above (§ 24). εὑρηκέναι comes in

phanes, crumbs belong to the heroes, for in his *Heroes* he says [a] :

> Nor taste ye of what falls beneath the board !

Another of his precepts was not to eat white cocks, as being sacred to the Month and wearing suppliant garb—now supplication ranked with things good—sacred to the Month because they announce the time of day ; and again white represents the nature of the good, black the nature of evil. Not to touch such fish as were sacred ; for it is not right that gods and men should be allotted the same things, any more than free men and slaves. Not to break bread ; for once friends used to meet over one loaf, as the barbarians do even to this day ; and you should not divide bread which brings them together ; some give as the explanation of this that it has reference to the judgement of the dead in Hades, others that bread makes cowards in war, others again that it is from it that the whole world begins.[b]

He held that the most beautiful figure is the sphere among solids, and the circle among plane figures. Old age may be compared to everything that is decreasing, while youth is one with increase. Health means retention of the form, disease its destruction. Of salt he said it should be brought to table to remind us of what is right ; for salt preserves whatever it finds, and it arises from the purest sources, sun and sea.

This is what Alexander says that he found in the Pythagorean memoirs.[c] What follows is Aristotle's.

But Pythagoras's great dignity not even Timon

both sections. This means that, in the *Lives* of Pythagoras which D. L. consulted, the extract from Alexander has displaced a passage which came from a spurious Aristotelian treatise Περὶ Πυθαγορείων.

Τίμων ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις δάκνων αὐτὸν ὅμως οὐ παρέλιπεν, εἰπὼν οὕτω·

Πυθαγόρην τε γόητας ἀποκλίναντ' ἐπὶ δόξας
θήρῃ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων, σεμνηγορίης ὀαριστήν.

περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἄλλοτ' ἄλλον αὐτὸν γεγενῆσθαι Ξενοφάνης ἐν ἐλεγείᾳ προσμαρτυρεῖ, ἧς ἀρχή,

νῦν αὖτ' ἄλλον ἔπειμι λόγον, δείξω δὲ κέλευθον.

ὃ δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν, οὕτως ἔχει·

καί ποτέ μιν στυφελιζομένου σκύλακος παριόντα
φασὶν ἐποικτῖραι καὶ τόδε φάσθαι ἔπος·
"παῦσαι μηδὲ ῥάπιζ', ἐπεὶ ἦ φίλου ἀνέρος ἐστὶ
ψυχή, τὴν ἔγνων φθεγξαμένης ἀΐων."

37 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ξενοφάνης. ἔσκωψε δ' αὐτὸν Κρατῖνος μὲν ἐν Πυθαγοριζούσῃ· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν Ταραντίνοις φησὶν οὕτως·

ἔθος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς, ἄν τιν' ἰδιώτην ποθὲν
λάβωσιν εἰσελθόντα, διαπειρώμενον
τῆς τῶν λόγων ῥώμης ταράττειν καὶ κυκᾶν
τοῖς ἀντιθέτοις, τοῖς πέρασι, τοῖς παρισώμασιν,
τοῖς ἀποπλάνοις, τοῖς μεγέθεσιν νουβυστικῶς.

Μνησίμαχος δ' Ἀλκμαίωνι·

ὡς Πυθαγοριστὶ θύομεν τῷ Λοξίᾳ,
ἔμψυχον οὐδὲν ἐσθίοντες παντελῶς.

38 Ἀριστοφῶν Πυθαγοριστῇ·
ἔφη καταβὰς ἐς τὴν δίαιταν τῶν κάτω
ἰδεῖν ἑκάστους, διαφέρειν δὲ πάμπολυ
τοὺς Πυθαγοριστὰς τῶν νεκρῶν· μόνοισι γὰρ

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[a] Fr. 58 D. [b] Fr. 7 D.

overlooked, who, although he digs at him in his *Silli*,[a] speaks of

> Pythagoras, inclined to witching works and ways,
> Man-snarer, fond of noble periphrase.

Xenophanes [b] confirms the statement about his having been different people at different times in the elegiacs beginning:

> Now other thoughts, another path, I show.

What he says of him is as follows :

> They say that, passing a belaboured whelp,
> He, full of pity, spake these words of dole :
> " Stay, smite not ! 'Tis a friend, a human soul ;
> I knew him straight whenas I heard him yelp ! "

Thus Xenophanes. But Cratinus also lampooned him both in the *Pythagorizing Woman* and also in *The Tarentines*, where we read [c] :

> They are wont,
> If haply they a foreigner do find,
> To hold a cross-examination
> Of doctrines' worth, to trouble and confound him
> With terms, equations, and antitheses
> Brain-bung'd with magnitudes and periphrases.

Again, Mnesimachus in the *Alcmaeon* [d] :

> To Loxias we sacrifice : Pythagoras his rite,
> Of nothing that is animate we ever take a bite.

And Aristophon in the *Pythagorist* [e] :

A. He told how he travelled in Hades and looked on the dwellers below,
How each of them lives, but how different by far from the lives of the dead
Were the lives of the Pythagoreans, for these alone, so he said,

[c] Cratin. minor, Meineke, *C.G.F.* iii. 376.
[d] Meineke, *C.G.F.* iii. 567.
[e] Meineke, *C.G.F.* iii. 362.

τούτοισι τὸν Πλούτωνα συσσιτεῖν ἔφη
δι' εὐσέβειαν. Β. δυσχερῆ θεὸν λέγεις,
εἰ τοῖς ῥύπου μεστοῖσιν ἥδεται ξυνών.

ἔτι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ·

ἐσθίουσί τε
λάχανά τε καὶ πίνουσιν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὕδωρ·
φθεῖρας δὲ καὶ τρίβωνα τήν τ' ἀλουσίαν
οὐδεὶς ἂν ὑπομείνειε τῶν ἑτέρων ‹νεκρῶν›.

39 Ἐτελεύτα δ' ὁ Πυθαγόρας τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. συνεδρεύοντος μετὰ τῶν συνήθων ἐν τῇ Μίλωνος οἰκίᾳ [τούτου], ὑπό τινος τῶν μὴ παραδοχῆς ἀξιωθέντων διὰ φθόνον ὑποπρησθῆναι τὴν οἰκίαν συνέβη· τινὲς δ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς Κροτωνιάτας τοῦτο πρᾶξαι, τυραννίδος ἐπίθεσιν εὐλαβουμένους. τὸν δὴ Πυθαγόραν καταληφθῆναι διεξιόντα· καὶ πρός τινι χωρίῳ γενόμενος πλήρει κυάμων, ἵνα [αὐτόθι] ἔστη, εἰπὼν ἁλῶναι ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ πατῆσαι [ἀναιρεθῆναι δὲ κρεῖττον ἢ λαλῆσαι]· καὶ ὧδε πρὸς τῶν διωκόντων ἀποσφαγῆναι. οὕτω δὲ καὶ τοὺς

[a] In the account which follows two passages should be distinguished: (1) συνεδρεύοντος . . . συνέβη, and (2) οὕτω δὲ καὶ . . . (§ 40) ἀσιτήσαντα. A similar combination of Neanthes and Dicaearchus is found in Porphyry, *Vit. Pyth.* 55 *sqq.*, Neanthes apparently insisting on the absence, and Dicaearchus on the presence, of the master at the time when the brotherhood were attacked and scattered. Iamblichus, *Vit. Pyth.* 251 *sq.*, cites Nicomachus, whose version agrees with that of Neanthes.

[b] This passage, partly in direct (γενόμενος, ἔστη, εἰπών) and partly in reported speech (καταληφθῆναι, ἀποσφαγῆναι), receives some light from the story of Myllias and his wife Timycha as given by Iamblichus, *Vit. Pyth.* 189-194, on the authority of Hippobotus and Neanthes (*cf.* also Porphyry, *Vit. Pyth.* § 61, where the story of Damon and Phintias is said to have been transferred by Hippobotus and Neanthes

Were suffered to dine with King Pluto, which was for their piety's sake.
B. What an ill-tempered god for whom such swine, such creatures good company make;

and in the same later:

Their food is just greens, and to wet it pure water is all that they drink;
And the want of a bath, and the vermin, and their old threadbare coats so do stink
That none of the rest will come near them.

Pythagoras met his death in this wise.[a] As he sat one day among his acquaintances at the house of Milo, it chanced that the house was set ablaze out of jealousy by one of the people who were not accounted worthy of admittance to his presence, though some say it was the work of the inhabitants of Croton anxious to safeguard themselves against the setting-up of a tyranny. Pythagoras was caught as he tried to escape; he got as far as a certain field of beans, where he stopped, saying he would be captured rather than cross it, and be killed rather than prate about his doctrines; and so his pursuers cut his throat.[b] So also were murdered

to the same trusty pair, Myllias and Timycha). The story in Iamblichus represents a band of Pythagoreans pursued by a tyrant's myrmidons and caught in a plain where beans were growing, all of them preferring to die where they stood rather than trample on the beans; but this story might be located anywhere. It has nothing inherently to do with the end of Pythagoras. What remains, τὸν δὲ Π. καταληφθῆναι διεξιόντα, may be compared with Porphyry, *Vit. Pyth.* § 57, where we are told that the disciples made a bridge of their own bodies over the fire and thus the master escaped from the burning house but, in despair at the extinction of his school, chose a voluntary death. The words οὕτω δέ which follow come in awkwardly, as they are separated from the sentence about the fire.

πλείους τῶν ἑταίρων αὐτοῦ διαφθαρῆναι, ὄντας πρὸς τοὺς τετταράκοντα· διαφυγεῖν δ' ὀλίγους, ὧν ἦν καὶ Ἄρχιππος ὁ Ταραντῖνος καὶ Λῦσις ὁ προειρημένος.

40 Φησὶ δὲ Δικαίαρχος τὸν Πυθαγόραν ἀποθανεῖν καταφυγόντα εἰς τὸ ἐν Μεταποντίῳ ἱερὸν τῶν Μουσῶν, τετταράκοντ' ἡμέρας ἀσιτήσαντα. Ἡρακλείδης δέ φησιν ἐν τῇ τῶν Σατύρου βίων ἐπιτομῇ μετὰ τὸ θάψαι Φερεκύδην ἐν Δήλῳ ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς Ἰταλίαν καὶ * * πανδαισίαν εὑρόντα Κύλωνος τοῦ Κροτωνιάτου εἰς Μεταπόντιον ὑπεξελθεῖν κἀκεῖ τὸν βίον καταστρέψαι ἀσιτίᾳ, μὴ βουλόμενον περαιτέρω ζῆν. Ἕρμιππος δέ φησι, πολεμούντων Ἀκραγαντίνων καὶ Συρακοσίων, ἐξελθεῖν τὸν Πυθαγόραν μετὰ τῶν συνήθων καὶ προστῆναι τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων· τροπῆς δὲ γενομένης περικάμπτοντα αὐτὸν τὴν τῶν κυάμων χώραν ὑπὸ τῶν Συρακοσίων ἀναιρεθῆναι· τούς τε λοιπούς, ὄντας πρὸς τοὺς πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα, ἐν Τάραντι κατακαυθῆναι, θέλοντας ἀντιπολιτεύεσθαι τοῖς προεστῶσι.

41 Καὶ ἄλλο τι περὶ Πυθαγόρου φησὶν ὁ Ἕρμιππος. [λέγει γὰρ] ὡς γενόμενος ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ κατὰ γῆς οἰκίσκον ποιήσαι καὶ τῇ μητρὶ ἐντείλαιτο τὰ γινόμενα εἰς δέλτον γράφειν σημειουμένην καὶ τὸν χρόνον, ἔπειτα καθιέναι αὐτῷ ἔστ' ἂν ἀνέλθῃ. τοῦτο ποιῆσαι τὴν μητέρα. τὸν δὲ Πυθαγόραν μετὰ χρόνον ἀνελθεῖν ἰσχνὸν καὶ κατεσκελετευμένον· εἰσελθόντα τ' εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν φάσκειν ὡς ἀφῖκται ἐξ ᾅδου· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀνεγίνωσκεν αὐτοῖς τὰ συμβεβηκότα. οἱ δὲ σαινόμενοι τοῖς λεγομένοις ἐδάκρυόν τε καὶ ᾤμωζον καὶ ἐπίστευον εἶναι τὸν

more than half of his disciples, to the number of forty or thereabouts; but a very few escaped, including Archippus of Tarentum and Lysis, already mentioned.

Dicaearchus, however, says that Pythagoras died a fugitive in the temple of the Muses at Metapontum after forty days' starvation. Heraclides, in his *Epitome of the Lives of Satyrus*, says that, after burying Pherecydes at Delos, he returned to Italy and, when he found Cylon of Croton giving a luxurious banquet to all and sundry, retired to Metapontum to end his days there by starvation, having no wish to live longer. On the other hand, Hermippus relates that, when the men of Agrigentum and Syracuse were at war, Pythagoras and his disciples went out and fought in the van of the army of the Agrigentines, and, their line being turned, he was killed by the Syracusans as he was trying to avoid the beanfield; the rest, about thirty-five in number, were burned at the stake in Tarentum for trying to set up a government in opposition to those in power.

Hermippus gives another anecdote. Pythagoras, on coming to Italy, made a subterranean dwelling and enjoined on his mother to mark and record all that passed, and at what hour, and to send her notes down to him until he should ascend. She did so. Pythagoras some time afterwards came up withered and looking like a skeleton, then went into the assembly and declared he had been down to Hades, and even read out his experiences to them. They were so affected that they wept and wailed and looked upon him as divine, going so far as to send

Πυθαγόραν θεῖόν τινα, ὥστε καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῷ παραδοῦναι, ὡς καὶ μαθησομένας τι τῶν αὐτοῦ· ἃς καὶ Πυθαγορικὰς κληθῆναι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἕρμιππος.

42 *Ἦν δὲ τῷ Πυθαγόρᾳ καὶ γυνή, Θεανὼ ὄνομα, Βροντίνου τοῦ Κροτωνιάτου θυγάτηρ· οἱ δέ, γυναῖκα μὲν εἶναι Βροντίνου, μαθήτριαν δὲ Πυθαγόρου. ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ θυγάτηρ Δαμώ, ὥς φησι Λῦσις ἐν ἐπιστολῇ τῇ πρὸς Ἵππασον, περὶ Πυθαγόρου λέγων οὕτως· "λέγοντι δὲ πολλοὶ τὺ καὶ δαμοσίᾳ φιλοσοφέν, ὅπερ ἀπαξίωσε Πυθαγόρας, ὅς γέ τοι Δαμοῖ τᾷ ἑαυτοῦ θυγατρὶ παρακαταθέμενος τὰ ὑπομνάματα ἐπέσκαψε μηδενὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς τᾶς οἰκίας παραδιδόμεν. ἁ δὲ δυναμένα πολλῶν χραμάτων ἀποδίδοσθαι τὼς λόγως οὐκ ἐβουλάθη· πενίαν δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶ πατρὸς ἐπισκάψιας ἐνόμιζε χρυσῶ τιμιωτέρας ἦμεν, καὶ ταῦτα γυνά."*

43 *Ἦν καὶ Τηλαύγης υἱὸς αὐτοῖς, ὃς καὶ διεδέξατο τὸν πατέρα καὶ κατά τινας Ἐμπεδοκλέους καθηγήσατο· Ἱππόβοτός γέ τοί φησι λέγειν Ἐμπεδοκλέα,*

Τήλαυγες, κλυτὲ κοῦρε Θεανοῦς Πυθαγόρεώ τε.

σύγγραμμα δὲ [φέρεται] τοῦ Τηλαύγους οὐδέν, τῆς δὲ μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Θεανοῦς τινα. ἀλλὰ καί φασιν αὐτὴν ἐρωτηθεῖσαν ποσταία γυνὴ ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς καθαρεύει, φάναι, "ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ ἰδίου παραχρῆμα, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου οὐδέποτε." τῇ δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον ἄνδρα μελλούσῃ πορεύεσθαι παρῄνει ἅμα τοῖς ἐνδύμασι καὶ τὴν αἰσχύνην ἀποτίθεσθαι, ἀνισταμένην τε πάλιν ἅμ' αὐτοῖσιν

their wives to him in hopes that they would learn some of his doctrines; and so they were called Pythagorean women. Thus far Hermippus.

Pythagoras had a wife, Theano by name, daughter of Brontinus of Croton, though some call her Brontinus's wife and Pythagoras's pupil. He had a daughter Damo, according to the letter of Lysis to Hippasus, which says of him, "I am told by many that you discourse publicly, a thing which Pythagoras deemed unworthy, for certain it is that, when he entrusted his daughter Damo with the custody of his memoirs, he solemnly charged her never to give them to anyone outside his house. And, although she could have sold the writings for a large sum of money, she would not, but reckoned poverty and her father's solemn injunctions more precious than gold, for all that she was a woman."

They also had a son Telauges, who succeeded his father and, according to some, was Empedocles' instructor. At all events Hippobotus makes Empedocles say [a]:

Telauges, famed
Son of Theano and Pythagoras.

Telauges wrote nothing, so far as we know, but his mother Theano wrote a few things. Further, a story is told that being asked how many days it was before a woman becomes pure after intercourse, she replied, "With her own husband at once, with another man never." And she advised a woman going in to her own husband to put off her shame with her clothes, and on leaving him to put it on

[a] Fr. 155 D.

ἀναλαμβάνειν. ἐρωτηθεῖσα, " ποῖα; " ἔφη, " ταῦτα δι' ἃ γυνὴ κέκλημαι."

44 *Ὁ δ' οὖν Πυθαγόρας, ὡς μὲν Ἡρακλείδης φησὶν ὁ τοῦ Σαραπίωνος, ὀγδοηκοντούτης ἐτελεύτα, κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπογραφὴν τῶν ἡλικιῶν· ὡς δ' οἱ πλείους, ἔτη βιοὺς ἐνενήκοντα. καὶ ἡμῶν ἐστιν εἰς αὐτὸν πεπαιγμένα οὕτως ἔχοντα·*

οὐ μόνος ἐμψύχων ἄπεχες χέρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς·
τίς γὰρ ὃς ἐμψύχων ἥψατο, Πυθαγόρα;
ἀλλ' ὅταν ἑψηθῇ τι καὶ ὀπτηθῇ καὶ ἁλισθῇ,
δὴ τότε καὶ ψυχὴν οὐκ ἔχον ἐσθίομεν.

ἄλλο·

ἦν ἄρα Πυθαγόρης τοῖος σοφός, ὥστε μὲν αὐτὸς
μὴ ψαύειν κρειῶν καὶ λέγεν ὡς ἄδικον,
σιτίζειν δ' ἄλλους. ἄγαμαι σοφόν· αὐτὸς ἔφα μὲν
οὐκ ἀδικεῖν, ἄλλους δ' αὐτὸς ἔτευχ' ἀδικεῖν.

45 *καὶ ἄλλο·*

τὰς φρένας ἢν ἐθέλῃς τὰς Πυθαγόραο νοῆσαι,
ἀσπίδος Εὐφόρβου βλέψον ἐς ὀμφάλιον.
φησὶ γὰρ οὗτος, Ἐγὼν ἦν πρόβροτος· ὃς δ' ὅτε οὐκ ἦν,
φάσκων ὥς τις ἔην, οὔτις ἔην ὅτ' ἔην.

καὶ ἄλλο, ὡς ἐτελεύτα·

αἴ, αἴ, Πυθαγόρης τί τόσον κυάμους ἐσεβάσθη;
καὶ θάνε φοιτηταῖς ἄμμιγα τοῖς ἰδίοις.
χωρίον ἦν κυάμων· ἵνα μὴ τούτους δὲ πατήσῃ,
ἐξ Ἀκραγαντίνων κάτθαν' ἐνὶ τριόδῳ.

Ἤκμαζε δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἑξηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα,

again along with them. Asked "Put on what?" she replied, "What makes me to be called a woman."

To return to Pythagoras. According to Heraclides, the son of Serapion, he was eighty years old when he died, and this agrees with his own description of the life of man, though most authorities say he was ninety. And there are jesting lines of my own upon him as follows [a]:

Not thou alone from all things animate
  Didst keep, Pythagoras. All food is dead
  When boil'd and bak'd and salt-besprinkle-èd;
For then it surely is inanimate.

Again [b]:

So wise was wise Pythagoras that he
  Would touch no meats, but called it impious,
  Bade others eat. Good wisdom: not for us
To do the wrong; let others impious be.

And again [c]:

If thou wouldst know the mind of old Pythagoras,
  Look on Euphorbus' buckler and its boss.
He says "I've lived before." If, when he says he was,
  He was not, he was no-one when he was.

And again, of the manner of his death [d]:

Woe! Woe! Whence, Pythagoras, this deep reverence for beans? Why did he fall in the midst of his disciples? A bean-field there was he durst not cross; sooner than trample on it, he endured to be slain at the cross-roads by the men of Acragas.

He flourished in the 60th Olympiad [e] and his

[a] *Anth. Pal.* vii. 121.
[b] *Anth. Plan.* v. 34.
[c] *Anth. Plan.* v. 35.
[d] *Anth. Pal.* vii. 122.
[e] 540–536 B.C. *Cf.* Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 65 "in the 62nd Olympiad" [532–528 B.C.], eight years later, and contemporary with Polycrates of Samos.

καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ σύστημα διέμενε μέχρι γενεῶν ἐννέα
46 ἢ καὶ δέκα· τελευταῖοι γὰρ ἐγένοντο τῶν Πυθαγορείων, οὓς καὶ Ἀριστόξενος εἶδε, Ξενόφιλός τε ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς ἀπὸ Θρᾴκης καὶ Φάντων ὁ Φλιάσιος καὶ Ἐχεκράτης καὶ Διοκλῆς καὶ Πολύμναστος, Φλιάσιοι καὶ αὐτοί. ἦσαν δ' ἀκροαταὶ Φιλολάου καὶ Εὐρύτου τῶν Ταραντίνων.

Γεγόνασι δὲ Πυθαγόραι τέτταρες περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους, οὐ πολὺ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπέχοντες· εἷς μὲν Κροτωνιάτης, τυραννικὸς ἄνθρωπος· ἕτερος Φλιάσιος, σωμασκητής, [ἀλείπτης, ὥς φασί τινες]· τρίτος Ζακύνθιος· τέταρτος αὐτὸς οὗτος, οὗ φασιν εἶναι τἀπόρρητα τῆς φιλοσοφίας· [αὐτῶν διδάσκαλος·] ἐφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ Αὐτὸς ἔφα παροιμιακὸν
47 εἰς τὸν βίον ἦλθεν. οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἀνδριαντοποιὸν Ῥηγῖνον γεγονέναι φασὶ Πυθαγόραν, πρῶτον δοκοῦντα ῥυθμοῦ καὶ συμμετρίας ἐστοχάσθαι· καὶ ἄλλον ἀνδριαντοποιὸν Σάμιον· καὶ ἕτερον ῥήτορα μοχθηρόν· καὶ ἰατρὸν ἄλλον, τὰ περὶ κήλης γεγραφότα καί τινα περὶ Ὁμήρου συντεταγμένον· καὶ ἕτερον Δωρικὰ πεπραγματευμένον, ὡς Διονύσιος ἱστορεῖ. Ἐρατοσθένης δέ φησι, καθὸ καὶ Φαβωρῖνος ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ Παντοδαπῆς ἱστορίας παρατίθεται, τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν πρῶτον ἐντέχνως πυκτεύσαντα ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ τετταρακοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, κομήτην καὶ ἁλουργίδα φοροῦντα· ἐκκριθέντα τ' ἐκ τῶν παίδων καὶ χλευασθέντα αὐτίκα προσβῆναι τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ νικῆσαι.
48 δηλοῦν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τοὐπίγραμμα ὅπερ ἐποίησε Θεαίτητος·

school lasted until the ninth or tenth generation. For the last of the Pythagoreans, whom Aristoxenus in his time saw, were Xenophilus from the Thracian Chalcidice, Phanton of Phlius, and Echecrates, Diocles and Polymnastus, also of Phlius, who were pupils of Philolaus and Eurytus of Tarentum.

There were four men of the name of Pythagoras living about the same time and at no great distance from one another: (1) of Croton, a man with tyrannical leanings; (2) of Phlius, an athlete, some say a trainer; (3) of Zacynthus; (4) our subject, who discovered the secrets of philosophy [and taught them], and to whom was applied the phrase, "The Master said" (*Ipse dixit*), which passed into a proverb of ordinary life. Some say there was also another Pythagoras, a sculptor of Rhegium, who is thought to have been the first to aim at rhythm and symmetry; another a sculptor of Samos; another a bad orator; another a doctor who wrote on hernia and also compiled some things about Homer; and yet another who, so we are told by Dionysius, wrote a history of the Dorian race. Eratosthenes says, according to what we learn from Favorinus in the eighth book of his *Miscellaneous History*, that the last-named was the first to box scientifically, in the 48th Olympiad,[a] keeping his hair long and wearing a purple robe; and that when he was excluded with ridicule from the boys' contest, he went at once to the men's and won that; this is declared by Theaetetus's epigram[b]:

[a] 588–584 B.C.

[b] *Anth. Plan.* iii. 35.

Πυθαγόρην τινά, Πυθαγόρην, ὦ ξεῖνε, κομήτην,
ᾀδόμενον πύκτην εἰ κατέχεις Σάμιον,
Πυθαγόρης ἐγώ εἰμι· τὰ δ' ἔργα μου εἴ τιν' ἔροιο
Ἠλείων, φήσεις αὐτὸν ἄπιστα λέγειν.

Τοῦτον ὁ Φαβωρῖνός φησιν ὅροις χρήσασθαι διὰ τῆς μαθηματικῆς ὕλης, ἐπὶ πλέον δὲ Σωκράτην καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνῳ πλησιάσαντας, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ τοὺς στωικούς.

Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν πρῶτον ὀνομάσαι κόσμον καὶ τὴν γῆν στρογγύλην· ὡς δὲ Θεόφραστος,
49 Παρμενίδην· ὡς δὲ Ζήνων, Ἡσίοδον. τούτῳ φασὶν ἀντιπαρατάσσεσθαι Κύλωνα καθάπερ Ἀντίλοχον Σωκράτει.

Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀθλητοῦ Πυθαγόρου καὶ τοῦτ' ἐλέγετο τὸ ἐπίγραμμα·

οὗτος πυκτεύσων ἐς Ὀλύμπια παισὶν ἄνηβος
ἤλυθε Πυθαγόρης ὁ Κράτεω Σάμιος.

ὁ δὲ φιλόσοφος καὶ ὧδε ἐπέστειλε·

Πυθαγόρης Ἀναξιμένει.

"Καὶ σύ, ὦ λῷστε, εἰ μηδὲν ἀμείνων ἧς Πυθαγόρεω γενεήν τε καὶ κλέος, μεταναστὰς ἂν οἴχεο ἐκ Μιλήτου· νῦν δὲ κατερύκει σε ἡ πατρόθεν εὔκλεια, καὶ ἐμὲ δὲ ἂν κατείρυκεν Ἀναξιμένει ἐοικότα. εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς οἱ ὀνήιστοι τὰς πόλιας ἐκλείψετε, ἀπὸ μὲν αὐτέων ὁ κόσμος αἱρεθήσεται, ἐπικινδυνότερα
50 δ' αὐτῇσι τὰ ἐκ Μήδων. οὔτε δὲ αἰεὶ καλὸν αἰθερολογέειν μελεδωνόν τε εἶναι τῇ πατρίδι κάλλιον.

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[a] As Favorinus seems to have paid special attention to discoveries and the invention of names (*cf.* ii. 1, 20, viii.

Know'st one Pythagoras, long-haired Pythagoras,
The far-fam'd boxer of the Samians?
I am Pythagoras: ask the Elians
What were my feats, thou'lt not believe the tale.

Favorinus says that our philosopher used definitions throughout the subject matter of mathematics; their use was extended by Socrates and his disciples, and afterwards by Aristotle and the Stoics.

Further, we are told that he was the first to call the heaven the universe and the earth spherical,[a] though Theophrastus says it was Parmenides, and Zeno that it was Hesiod. It is said that Cylon was a rival of Pythagoras, as Antilochus [b] was of Socrates.

Pythagoras the athlete was also the subject of another epigram as follows [c]:

Gone to box with other lads
Is the lad Pythagoras,
Gone to the games Olympian
Crates' son the Samian.

The philosopher also wrote the following letter:

Pythagoras to Anaximenes.

"Even you, O most excellent of men, were you no better born and famed than Pythagoras, would have risen and departed from Miletus. But now your ancestral glory has detained you as it had detained me were I Anaximenes's peer. But if you, the best men, abandon your cities, then will their good order perish, and the peril from the Medes will increase. For always to scan the heavens is not well, but more seemly is it to be provident for one's

12, 47, ix. 23, 34), it seems likely that he is our author's authority here: so probably a different book of Favorinus is cited.

[b] Apelt suggests Antiphon, comparing Xen. *Mem.* i. 6.

[c] *Anth. Plan.* iii. 16.

καὶ ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ πάντα περὶ τοὺς ἐμεωυτοῦ μύθους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν πολέμοις οὓς διαφέρουσιν ἐς ἀλλήλους Ἰταλιῶται."

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ Πυθαγόρου διεληλύθαμεν, ῥητέον περὶ τῶν ἐλλογίμων Πυθαγορικῶν· μεθ' οὓς περὶ τῶν σποράδην κατά τινας φερομένων· ἔπειθ' οὕτως ἐξάψομεν τὴν διαδοχὴν τῶν ἀξίων λόγου ἕως Ἐπικούρου καθὰ καὶ προειρήκαμεν. περὶ μὲν οὖν Θεανοῦς καὶ Τηλαύγους διειλέγμεθα· λεκτέον δὲ νῦν περὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέους πρῶτον· κατὰ γάρ τινας Πυθαγόρου διήκουσεν.

Κεφ. β'. ΕΜΠΕΔΟΚΛΗΣ

51 Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, ὥς φησιν Ἱππόβοτος, Μέτωνος ἦν υἱὸς τοῦ Ἐμπεδοκλέους, Ἀκραγαντῖνος. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Τίμαιος ἐν τῇ πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν <λέγει προσιστορῶν> ἐπίσημον ἄνδρα γεγονέναι τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα τὸν πάππον τοῦ ποιητοῦ. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἕρμιππος τὰ αὐτὰ τούτῳ φησίν. ὁμοίως καὶ Ἡρακλείδης ἐν τῷ Περὶ νόσων, ὅτι λαμπρᾶς ἦν οἰκίας ἱπποτροφηκότος τοῦ πάππου. λέγει δὲ καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν τοῖς Ὀλυμπιονίκαις τὴν πρώτην καὶ ἑβδομηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα νενικηκέναι τὸν τοῦ Μέτωνος πατέρα, μάρτυρι χρώμενος
52 Ἀριστοτέλει. Ἀπολλόδωρος δ' ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς φησιν ὡς

> ἦν μὲν Μέτωνος υἱός, εἰς δὲ Θουρίους
> αὐτὸν νεωστὶ παντελῶς ἐκτισμένους
> <ὁ> Γλαῦκος ἐλθεῖν φησιν.

mother country. For I too am not altogether in my discourses but am found no less in the wars which the Italians wage with one another."

Having now finished our account of Pythagoras, we have next to speak of the noteworthy Pythagoreans; after them will come the philosophers whom some denominate "sporadic" [*i.e.* belonging to no particular school]; and then, in the next place, we will append the succession of all those worthy of notice as far as Epicurus, in the way that we promised. We have already treated of Theano and Telauges: so now we have first to speak of Empedocles, for some say he was a pupil of Pythagoras.

Chapter 2. EMPEDOCLES (484–424 B.C.)

Empedocles was, according to Hippobotus, the son of Meton and grandson of Empedocles, and was a native of Agrigentum. This is confirmed by Timaeus in the fifteenth book of his *Histories*, and he adds that Empedocles, the poet's grandfather, had been a man of distinction. Hermippus also agrees with Timaeus. So, too, Heraclides, in his treatise *On Diseases*,[a] says that he was of an illustrious family, his grandfather having kept racehorses. Eratosthenes also in his *Olympic Victories* records, on the authority of Aristotle, that the father of Meton was a victor in the 71st Olympiad.[b] The grammarian Apollodorus in his *Chronology* tells us that

> He was the son of Meton, and Glaucus says he went to Thurii, just then founded.[c]

[a] v. 67. [b] 496 B.C. [c] 445-444 B.C.

εἶθ' ὑποβάς·

> *οἱ δ' ἱστοροῦντες, ὡς πεφευγὼς οἴκοθεν*
> *εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας μετ' ἐκείνων ἐπολέμει*
> *πρὸς Ἀθηνάους ἐμοί <γε> τελέως ἀγνοεῖν*
> *δοκοῦσιν· ἢ γὰρ οὐκέτ' ἦν ἢ παντελῶς*
> *ὑπεργεγηρακώς, ὅπερ οὐχὶ φαίνεται.*

Ἀριστοτέλης γὰρ αὐτόν, ἔτι τε Ἡρακλείδης, ἑξήκοντα ἐτῶν φησὶ τετελευτηκέναι. ὁ δὲ <τὴν> μίαν καὶ ἑβδομηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα νενικηκὼς

> *κέλητι τούτου πάππος ἦν ὁμώνυμος,*

ὥσθ' ἅμα καὶ τὸν χρόνον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπολλοδώρου σημαίνεσθαι.

53 *Σάτυρος δ' ἐν τοῖς Βίοις φησὶν ὅτι Ἐμπεδοκλῆς υἱὸς μὲν ἦν Ἐξαινέτου, κατέλιπε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς υἱὸν Ἐξαίνετον· ἐπί τε τῆς αὐτῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος τὸν μὲν ἵππῳ κέλητι νενικηκέναι, τὸν δ' υἱὸν αὐτοῦ πάλῃ ἤ, ὡς Ἡρακλείδης ἐν τῇ Ἐπιτομῇ, δρόμῳ. ἐγὼ δ' εὗρον ἐν τοῖς Ὑπομνήμασι Φαβωρίνου ὅτι καὶ βοῦν ἔθυσε τοῖς θεωροῖς ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἐκ μέλιτος καὶ ἀλφίτων, καὶ ἀδελφὸν ἔσχε Καλλικρατίδην. Τηλαύγης δ' ὁ Πυθαγόρου παῖς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Φιλόλαον ἐπιστολῇ φησι τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα Ἀρχινόμου εἶναι υἱόν.*

54 *Ὅτι δ' ἦν Ἀκραγαντῖνος ἐκ Σικελίας, αὐτὸς ἐναρχόμενος τῶν Καθαρμῶν φησιν·*

> *ὦ φίλοι οἳ μέγα ἄστυ κατὰ ξανθοῦ Ἀκράγαντος*
> *ναίετ' ἀν' ἄκρα πόλεος.*

καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ τάδε.

Ἀκοῦσαι δ' αὐτὸν Πυθαγόρου Τίμαιος διὰ τῆς

Then farther on he adds :

> Those who relate that, being exiled from his home, he went to Syracuse and fought in their ranks against the Athenians seem, in my judgement at least, to be completely mistaken. For by that time either he was no longer living or in extreme old age, which is inconsistent with the story.

For Aristotle and Heraclides both affirm that he died at the age of sixty. The victor with the riding-horse in the 71st Olympiad was

> This man's namesake and grandfather,

so that Apollodorus in one and the same passage indicates the date as well as the fact.

But Satyrus in his *Lives* states that Empedocles was the son of Exaenetus and himself left a son named Exaenetus, and that in the same Olympiad Empedocles himself was victorious in the horse-race and his son in wrestling, or, as Heraclides [a] in his *Epitome* has it, in the foot-race. I found [b] in the *Memorabilia* of Favorinus a statement that Empedocles feasted the sacred envoys on a sacrificial ox made of honey and barley-meal, and that he had a brother named Callicratides. Telauges, the son of Pythagoras, in his letter to Philolaus calls Empedocles the son of Archinomus.

That he belonged to Agrigentum in Sicily he himself testifies at the beginning of his *Purifications* [c] :

> My friends, who dwell in the great city sloping down to yellow Acragas, hard by the citadel.

So much for his family.

Timaeus in the ninth book of his *Histories* says he

[a] *i.e.* Heraclides Lembus.
[b] *Cf.* Introd. p. xiv.
[c] Fr. 112 D.

ἐνάτης ἱστορεῖ, λέγων ὅτι καταγνωσθεὶς ἐπὶ λογοκλοπίᾳ τότε, καθὰ καὶ Πλάτων, τῶν λόγων ἐκωλύθη μετέχειν. μεμνῆσθαι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν Πυθαγόρου λέγοντα·

ἦν δέ τις ἐν κείνοισιν ἀνὴρ περιώσια εἰδώς,
ὃς δὴ μήκιστον πραπίδων ἐκτήσατο πλοῦτον.

οἱ δὲ τοῦτο εἰς Παρμενίδην αὐτὸν λέγειν ἀναφέροντα.

55 Φησὶ δὲ Νεάνθης ὅτι μέχρι Φιλολάου καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέους ἐκοινώνουν οἱ Πυθαγορικοὶ τῶν λόγων. ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτὸς διὰ τῆς ποιήσεως ἐδημοσίωσεν αὐτά, νόμον ἔθεντο μηδενὶ μεταδώσειν ἐποποιῷ. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Πλάτωνα παθεῖν φησι· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτον κωλυθῆναι. τίνος μέντοι γε αὐτῶν ἤκουσεν ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, οὐκ εἶπε· τὴν γὰρ περιφερομένην ὡς Τηλαύγους ἐπιστολὴν ὅτι τε μετέσχεν Ἱππάσου καὶ Βροντίνου, μὴ εἶναι ἀξιόπιστον.

Ὁ δὲ Θεόφραστος Παρμενίδου φησὶ ζηλωτὴν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι καὶ μιμητὴν ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον ἐν ἔπεσι τὸν Περὶ φύσεως ἐξενεγκεῖν
56 λόγον. Ἕρμιππος δὲ οὐ Παρμενίδου, Ξενοφάνους δὲ γεγονέναι ζηλωτήν, ᾧ καὶ συνδιατρῖψαι καὶ μιμήσασθαι τὴν ἐποποιίαν· ὕστερον δὲ τοῖς Πυθαγορικοῖς ἐντυχεῖν. Ἀλκιδάμας δ' ἐν τῷ Φυσικῷ φησι κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους Ζήνωνα καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέα ἀκοῦσαι Παρμενίδου, εἶθ' ὕστερον ἀποχωρῆσαι, καὶ τὸν μὲν Ζήνωνα κατ' ἰδίαν φιλοσοφῆσαι, τὸν δὲ Ἀναξαγόρου διακοῦσαι καὶ

[a] Fr. 129 D.

was a pupil of Pythagoras, adding that, having been convicted at that time of stealing his discourses, he was, like Plato, excluded from taking part in the discussions of the school; and further, that Empedocles himself mentions Pythagoras in the lines [a] :

And there lived among them a man of superhuman knowledge, who verily possessed the greatest wealth of wisdom.

Others say that it is to Parmenides that he is here referring.

Neanthes states that down to the time of Philolaus and Empedocles all Pythagoreans were admitted to the discussions. But when Empedocles himself made them public property by his poem, they made a law that they should not be imparted to any poet. He says the same thing also happened to Plato, for he too was excommunicated. But which of the Pythagoreans it was who had Empedocles for a pupil he did not say. For the epistle commonly attributed to Telauges and the statement that Empedocles was the pupil of both Hippasus and Brontinus he held to be unworthy of credence.

Theophrastus affirms that he was an admirer of Parmenides and imitated him in his verses, for Parmenides too had published his treatise *On Nature* in verse. But Hermippus's account is that he was an admirer not so much of Parmenides as of Xenophanes, with whom in fact he lived and whose writing of poetry he imitated, and that his meeting with the Pythagoreans was subsequent. Alcidamas tells us in his treatise on *Physics* that Zeno and Empedocles were pupils of Parmenides about the same time, that afterwards they left him, and that, while Zeno framed his own system, Empedocles became the pupil of Anaxagoras and Pythagoras,

Πυθαγόρου· καὶ τοῦ μὲν τὴν σεμνότητα ζηλῶσαι τοῦ τε βίου καὶ τοῦ σχήματος, τοῦ δὲ τὴν φυσιολογίαν.

57 Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν τῷ Σοφιστῇ φησι πρῶτον Ἐμπεδοκλέα ῥητορικὴν εὑρεῖν, Ζήνωνα δὲ διαλεκτικήν. ἐν δὲ τῷ Περὶ ποιητῶν φησιν ὅτι καὶ Ὁμηρικὸς ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ δεινὸς περὶ τὴν φράσιν γέγονεν, μεταφορητικός τε ὢν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς περὶ ποιητικὴν ἐπιτεύγμασι χρώμενος· καὶ διότι γράψαντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλα ποιήματα τήν τε τοῦ Ξέρξου διάβασιν καὶ προοίμιον εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα, ταῦθ' ὕστερον κατέκαυσεν ἀδελφή τις αὐτοῦ (ἢ θυγάτηρ, ὥς φησιν Ἱερώνυμος), τὸ μὲν προοίμιον ἄκουσα, τὰ δὲ Περσικὰ βουληθεῖσα διὰ τὸ
58 ἀτελείωτα εἶναι. καθόλου δέ φησι καὶ τραγῳδίας αὐτὸν γράψαι καὶ πολιτικούς· Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὁ τοῦ Σαραπίωνος ἑτέρου φησὶν εἶναι τὰς τραγῳδίας. Ἱερώνυμος δὲ τρισὶ καὶ τετταράκοντά φησιν ἐντετυχηκέναι, Νεάνθης δὲ νέον ὄντα γεγραφέναι τὰς τραγῳδίας καὶ αὐτῶν ἑπτὰ[1] ἐντετυχηκέναι.

Φησὶ δὲ Σάτυρος ἐν τοῖς Βίοις ὅτι καὶ ἰατρὸς ἦν καὶ ῥήτωρ ἄριστος. Γοργίαν γοῦν τὸν Λεοντῖνον αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι μαθητήν, ἄνδρα ὑπερέχοντα ἐν ῥητορικῇ καὶ Τέχνην ἀπολελοιπότα· ὅν φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς ἐννέα πρὸς τοῖς
59 ἑκατὸν ἔτη βιῶναι. τοῦτόν φησιν ὁ Σάτυρος λέγειν ὡς αὐτὸς παρείη τῷ Ἐμπεδοκλεῖ γοητεύοντι. ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν διὰ τῶν ποιημάτων ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι τοῦτό τε καὶ ἄλλα πλείω, δι' ὧν φησι·

[1] αὐτὸν ἔπειτα codd. : corr. Diels.

emulating the latter in dignity of life and bearing, and the former in his physical investigations.

Aristotle in his *Sophist* calls Empedocles the inventor of rhetoric as Zeno of dialectic. In his treatise *On Poets* he says that Empedocles was of Homer's school and powerful in diction, being great in metaphors and in the use of all other poetical devices. He also says that he wrote other poems, in particular the invasion of Xerxes and a hymn to Apollo, which a sister of his (or, according to Hieronymus, his daughter) afterwards burnt. The hymn she destroyed unintentionally, but the poem on the Persian war deliberately, because it was unfinished. And in general terms he says he wrote both tragedies and political discourses. But Heraclides, the son of Sarapion, attributes the tragedies to a different author. Hieronymus declares that he had come across forty-three of these plays, while Neanthes tells us that Empedocles wrote these tragedies in his youth, and that he, Neanthes, was acquainted with seven of them.

Satyrus in his *Lives* says that he was also a physician and an excellent orator: at all events Gorgias of Leontini, a man pre-eminent in oratory and the author of a treatise on the art, had been his pupil. Of Gorgias Apollodorus says in his *Chronology* that he lived to be one hundred and nine. Satyrus quotes this same Gorgias as saying that he himself was present when Empedocles performed magical feats. Nay more: he contends that Empedocles in his poems lays claim to this power and to much besides when he says [a]:

[a] Fr. 111 D.

φάρμακα δ' ὅσσα γεγᾶσι κακῶν καὶ γήραος ἄλκαρ
πεύσῃ, ἐπεὶ μούνῳ σοὶ ἐγὼ κρανέω τάδε πάντα.
παύσεις δ' ἀκαμάτων ἀνέμων μένος, οἵ τ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν
ὀρνύμενοι πνοιαῖσι καταφθινύθουσιν ἄρουραν·[1]
καὶ πάλιν, ἢν ἐθέλῃσθα, παλίντιτα πνεύματ' ἐπάξεις·
θήσεις δ' ἐξ ὄμβροιο κελαινοῦ καίριον αὐχμὸν
ἀνθρώποις, θήσεις δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐχμοῖο θερείου
ῥεύματα δενδρεόθρεπτα, τά τ' αἰθέρι ναιήσονται,
ἄξεις δ' ἐξ Ἀΐδαο καταφθιμένου μένος ἀνδρός.

60 *Φησὶ δὲ καὶ Τίμαιος ἐν τῇ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῃ κατὰ πολλοὺς τρόπους τεθαυμάσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα. καὶ γὰρ ἐτησίων ποτὲ σφοδρῶς πνευσάντων ὡς τοὺς καρποὺς λυμῆναι, κελεύσας ὄνους ἐκδαρῆναι καὶ ἀσκοὺς ποιῆσαι*[2] *περὶ τοὺς λόφους καὶ τὰς ἀκρωρείας διέτεινε πρὸς τὸ συλλαβεῖν τὸ πνεῦμα· λήξαντος δὲ κωλυσανέμαν κληθῆναι. Ἡρακλείδης τε ἐν τῷ Περὶ νόσων φησὶ καὶ Παυσανίᾳ ὑφηγήσασθαι αὐτὸν τὰ περὶ τὴν ἄπνουν. ἦν δ' ὁ Παυσανίας, ὥς φησιν Ἀρίστιππος καὶ Σάτυρος, ἐρώμενος αὐτοῦ, ᾧ δὴ καὶ τὰ Περὶ φύσεως προσπεφώνηκεν οὕτως·*

61 *Παυσανίῃ, σὺ δὲ κλῦθι, δαΐφρονος Ἀγχίτου υἱέ.*

ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα εἰς αὐτὸν ἐποίησε·

Παυσανίην ἰητρὸν ἐπώνυμον Ἀγχίτου υἱὸν
φῶτ' Ἀσκληπιάδην πατρὶς ἔθρεψε Γέλα,
ὃς πολλοὺς μογεροῖσι μαραινομένους καμάτοισι
φῶτας ἀπέστρεψεν Φερσεφόνης ἀδύτων.

τὴν γοῦν ἄπνουν ὁ Ἡρακλείδης φησὶ τοιοῦτόν τι

[1] *ἀρούρας* Clem. Tzetz. *Chil.* 906.
[2] *ποιεῖσθαι* Cobet.

And thou shalt learn all the drugs that are a defence to ward off ills and old age, since for thee alone shall I accomplish all this. Thou shalt arrest the violence of the unwearied winds that arise and sweep the earth, laying waste the cornfields with their blasts; and again, if thou so will, thou shalt call back winds in requital. Thou shalt make after the dark rain a seasonable drought for men, and again after the summer drought thou shalt cause tree-nourishing streams to pour from the sky. Thou shalt bring back from Hades a dead man's strength.

Timaeus also in the eighteenth[a] book of his *Histories* remarks that Empedocles has been admired on many grounds. For instance, when the etesian winds once began to blow violently and to damage the crops, he ordered asses to be flayed and bags to be made of their skin. These he stretched out here and there on the hills and headlands to catch the wind and, because this checked the wind, he was called the "wind-stayer." Heraclides in his book *On Diseases*[b] says that he furnished Pausanias with the facts about the woman in a trance. This Pausanias, according to Aristippus and Satyrus, was his bosom-friend, to whom he dedicated his poem *On Nature* thus[c]:

Give ear, Pausanias, thou son of Anchitus the wise!

Moreover he wrote an epigram upon him[d]:

The physician Pausanias, rightly so named, son of Anchitus, descendant of Asclepius, was born and bred at Gela. Many a wight pining in fell torments did he bring back from Persephone's inmost shrine.

At all events Heraclides testifies that the case of

[a] According to Beloch this should be the twelfth book; *cf. inf.* § 66.
[b] v. 67. [c] Fr. 1 D. [d] Fr. 156 D.

εἶναι, ὡς τριάκοντα ἡμέρας συντηρεῖν ἄπνουν καὶ ἄσφυκτον τὸ σῶμα· ὅθεν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἰητρὸν καὶ μάντιν, λαμβάνων ἅμα καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν στίχων·

62 ὦ φίλοι, οἳ μέγα ἄστυ κατὰ ξανθοῦ Ἀκράγαντος
ναίετ' ἀν' ἄκρα πόλεος, ἀγαθῶν μελεδήμονες ἔργων,
χαίρετ'· ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν θεὸς ἄμβροτος, οὐκέτι θνητὸς
πωλεῦμαι μετὰ πᾶσι τετιμένος, ὥσπερ ἔοικα,
ταινίαις τε περίστεπτος στέφεσίν τε θαλείοις·
τοῖσιν ἅμ' <εὖτ'> ἂν ἵκωμαι ἐς ἄστεα τηλεθάοντα,
ἀνδράσιν ἠδὲ γυναιξί, σεβίζομαι· οἱ δ' ἅμ' ἕπονται
μυρίοι, ἐξερέοντες ὅπῃ πρὸς κέρδος ἀταρπός·
οἱ μὲν μαντοσυνέων κεχρημένοι, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ νούσων
παντοίων ἐπύθοντο κλύειν εὐηκέα βάξιν.

63 Μέγαν δὲ τὸν Ἀκράγαντα εἰπεῖν φησιν[1] ἐπεὶ μυριάδες αὐτὸν κατῴκουν ὀγδοήκοντα· ὅθεν τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα εἰπεῖν, τρυφώντων αὐτῶν, "Ἀκραγαντῖνοι τρυφῶσι μὲν ὡς αὔριον ἀποθανούμενοι, οἰκίας δὲ κατασκευάζονται ὡς πάντα τὸν χρόνον βιωσόμενοι."

Αὐτοὺς δὲ τούτους τοὺς Καθαρμοὺς [ἐν] Ὀλυμπίασι ῥαψῳδῆσαι λέγεται Κλεομένη τὸν ῥαψῳδόν, ὡς καὶ Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Ἀπομνημονεύμασι. φησὶ δ' αὐτὸν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐλεύθερον γεγονέναι καὶ πάσης ἀρχῆς ἀλλότριον, εἴ γε τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῷ διδομένην παρῃτήσατο, καθάπερ Ξάνθος ἐν τοῖς

[1] After φησι two MSS. add Ποταμίλλα, which Diels explains as the corruption of a marginal scholion recording a variant "other copies read ποταμόν." The reading ποταμὸν ἄλλα is actually found in two MSS.

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[a] Fr. 112 D.

[b] According to the vulgate, an unknown writer Potamilla

the woman in a trance was such that for thirty days he kept her body without pulsation though she never breathed; and for that reason Heraclides called him not merely a physician but a diviner as well, deriving the titles from the following lines also [a]:

My friends, who dwell in the great city sloping down to yellow Acragas, hard by the citadel, busied with goodly works, all hail! I go about among you an immortal god, no more a mortal, so honoured of all, as is meet, crowned with fillets and flowery garlands. Straightway as soon as I enter with these, men and women, into flourishing towns, I am reverenced and tens of thousands follow, to learn where is the path which leads to welfare, some desirous of oracles, others suffering from all kinds of diseases, desiring to hear a message of healing.

Timaeus explains that he called Agrigentum great, inasmuch as it had 800,000 inhabitants.[b] Hence Empedocles, he continues, speaking of their luxury, said, "The Agrigentines live delicately as if to-morrow they would die, but they build their houses well as if they thought they would live for ever."

It is said that Cleomenes the rhapsode recited this very poem, the *Purifications*, at Olympia [c]: so Favorinus in his *Memorabilia*. Aristotle too declares him to have been a champion of freedom and averse to rule of every kind, seeing that, as Xanthus relates

is the authority cited by Diogenes. Diels, however (*Frag. der Vorsokr.* ii.³ p. 196), prefers the reading of two MSS. ποταμὸν ἄλλα (*sc.* ὑπομνήματα or ἀντίγραφα λέγει), regarding this as derived from a marginal note which was afterwards put in the text. In the Palatine MS. the gloss is ποταμὸν ἄλλοι. Apelt, however, suggests ποτ' ἀμέλει, not as a scholium, but as part of the text.

[c] *Cf.* Athenaeus xiv. 620 d, whence it appears that the ultimate authority is Dicaearchus; ἐν τῷ Ὀλυμπικῷ, *F.H.G.* ii. p. 249, fr. 47. Here again a citation from Favorinus seems to disturb the context.

περὶ αὑτοῦ λέγει, τὴν λιτότητα δηλονότι πλέον
64 ἀγαπήσας. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ Τίμαιος εἴρηκε, τὴν αἰτίαν ἅμα παρατιθέμενος τοῦ δημοτικὸν εἶναι τὸν ἄνδρα. φησὶ γὰρ ὅτι κληθεὶς ὑπό τινος τῶν ἀρχόντων ‹ὡς› προβαίνοντος τοῦ δείπνου τὸ ποτὸν οὐκ εἰσεφέρετο, τῶν ἄλλων[1] ἡσυχαζόντων, μισοπονήρως διατεθεὶς ἐκέλευσεν εἰσφέρειν· ὁ δὲ κεκληκὼς ἀναμένειν ἔφη τὸν τῆς βουλῆς ὑπηρέτην. ὡς δὲ παρεγένετο, ἐγενήθη συμποσίαρχος, τοῦ κεκληκότος δηλονότι καταστήσαντος, ὃς ὑπεγράφετο τυραννίδος ἀρχήν· ἐκέλευσε γὰρ ἢ πίνειν ἢ καταχεῖσθαι τῆς κεφαλῆς. τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἡσύχασε· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ εἰσαγαγὼν εἰς δικαστήριον ἀπέκτεινε καταδικάσας ἀμφοτέρους, τόν τε κλήτορα καὶ τὸν συμποσίαρχον. ἀρχὴ μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ τῆς πολιτείας ἥδε.

65 Πάλιν δ' Ἄκρωνος τοῦ ἰατροῦ τόπον αἰτοῦντος παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς εἰς κατασκευὴν πατρῴου μνήματος διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἰατροῖς ἀκρότητα παρελθὼν ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἐκώλυσε, τά τ' ἄλλα περὶ ἰσότητος διαλεχθεὶς καί τι καὶ τοιοῦτον ἐρωτήσας· "τί δ' ἐπιγράψομεν ἐλεγεῖον; ἢ τοῦτο;

ἄκρον ἰατρὸν Ἄκρων' Ἀκραγαντῖνον πατρὸς Ἄκρου
κρύπτει κρημνὸς ἄκρος πατρίδος ἀκροτάτης."

τινὲς δὲ τὸν δεύτερον στίχον οὕτω προφέρονται,

ἀκροτάτης κορυφῆς τύμβος ἄκρος κατέχει.

τοῦτό τινες Σιμωνίδου φασὶν εἶναι.

[1] δ' ἄλλων codd.: δαιταλέων conj. Apelt.

[a] Anth. Plan. v. 4.

in his account of him, he declined the kingship when it was offered to him, obviously because he preferred a frugal life. With this Timaeus agrees, at the same time giving the reason why Empedocles favoured democracy, namely, that, having been invited to dine with one of the magistrates, when the dinner had gone on some time and no wine was put on the table, though the other guests kept quiet, he, becoming indignant, ordered wine to be brought. Then the host confessed that he was waiting for the servant of the senate to appear. When he came he was made master of the revels, clearly by the arrangement of the host, whose design of making himself tyrant was but thinly veiled, for he ordered the guests either to drink wine or have it poured over their heads. For the time being Empedocles was reduced to silence; the next day he impeached both of them, the host and the master of the revels, and secured their condemnation and execution. This, then, was the beginning of his political career.

Again, when Acron the physician asked the council for a site on which to build a monument to his father, who had been eminent among physicians, Empedocles came forward and forbade it in a speech where he enlarged upon equality and in particular put the following question: "But what inscription shall we put upon it? Shall it be this?

> Acron the eminent physician of Agrigentum, son of Acros, is buried beneath the steep eminence of his most eminent native city?" [a]

Others give as the second line:

> Is laid in an exalted tomb on a most exalted peak.

Some attribute this couplet to Simonides.

66 Ὕστερον δ' ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ τὸ τῶν χιλίων ἄθροισμα κατέλυσε συνεστὸς ἐπὶ ἔτη τρία, ὥστε οὐ μόνον ἦν τῶν πλουσίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν τὰ δημοτικὰ φρονούντων. ὅ γέ τοι Τίμαιος ἐν τῇ ια' καὶ ιβ', πολλάκις γὰρ αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει, φησὶν ἐναντίαν ἐσχηκέναι γνώμην αὐτὸν[1] τῇ πολιτείᾳ φαίνεσθαι· <ἔστιν>[2] ὅπου δ' ἀλαζόνα καὶ φίλαυτον ἐν τῇ ποιήσει [ἴδοι τις ἄν]· φησὶ γοῦν,

χαίρετ'· ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν θεὸς ἄμβροτος, οὐκέτι θνητὸς
πωλεῦμαι,

καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. καθ' ὃν δὲ χρόνον ἐπεδήμει Ὀλυμπίασιν, ἐπιστροφῆς ἠξιοῦτο πλείονος, ὥστε μηδενὸς ἑτέρου μνείαν γίνεσθαι ἐν ταῖς ὁμιλίαις τοσαύτην ὅσην Ἐμπεδοκλέους.

67 Ὕστερον μέντοι τοῦ Ἀκράγαντος οἰκ<τ>ιζομένου,[3] ἀντέστησαν αὐτοῦ τῇ καθόδῳ οἱ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπόγονοι· διόπερ εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἀποχωρήσας ἐτελεύτησεν. οὐ παρῆκε δ' οὐδὲ τοῦτον ὁ Τίμων, ἀλλ' ὧδ' αὐτοῦ καθάπτεται λέγων·

καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἀγοραίων
ληκητὴς ἐπέων· ὅσα δ' ἔσθενε, τόσσα διεῖλεν,[4]
ἀρχῶν ὃς[5] διέθηκ' ἀρχὰς ἐπιδευέας ἄλλων.

Περὶ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου διάφορός ἐστιν αὐτοῦ λόγος.

[1] After αὐτὸν Diels proceeds: <ἔν> τε τῇ πολιτείᾳ <καὶ ἐν τῇ ποιήσει· ὅπου μὲν γὰρ μέτριον καὶ ἐπιεικῆ> φαίνεσθαι, ὅπου δὲ ἀλαζόνα καὶ φίλαυτον [ἐν τῇ ποιήσει]· φησὶ γοῦν κτλ.
[2] ἔστιν add. Richards. [3] οἰκιζομένου vulg.: corr. Apelt.
[4] τοσσάδε εἷλεν vulg.: τοσσάδ' ἔειλεν Diels: τόσσα διεῖλεν Apelt. [5] ἄρχειν, ἃς Diels.

Subsequently Empedocles broke up the assembly of the Thousand three years after it had been set up, which proves not only that he was wealthy but that he favoured the popular cause. At all events Timaeus in his eleventh and twelfth books (for he mentions him more than once) states that he seems to have held opposite views when in public life and when writing poetry.[a] In some passages one may see that he is boastful and selfish. At any rate these are his words : [b]

> All hail ! I go about among you an immortal god, no more a mortal, etc.

At the time when he visited Olympia he demanded an excessive deference, so that never was anyone so talked about in gatherings of friends as Empedocles.

Subsequently, however, when Agrigentum came to regret him, the descendants of his personal enemies opposed his return home ; and this was why he went to Peloponnesus, where he died. Nor did Timon let even him alone, but fastens upon him in these words : [c]

> Empedocles, too, mouthing tawdry verses ; to all that had independent force, he gave a separate existence ; and the principles he chose need others to explain them.

As to his death different accounts are given.

[a] This emphasis on the political leanings of Empedocles, backed by the authority of Timaeus, looks strange after the anecdote, also from Timaeus, of §§ 64, 65, nor is it clear that the attack on the close oligarchical corporation of the Thousand really took place at a later date (ὕστερον). That D. L. is working in two passages of Timaeus, in the second of which the first is not pre-supposed, is an obvious suggestion.

[b] Fr. 112. 4 D.

[c] Fr. 42 D.

Ἡρακλείδης μὲν γὰρ τὰ περὶ τῆς ἄπνου διηγησάμενος, ὡς ἐδοξάσθη Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἀποστείλας τὴν νεκρὰν ἄνθρωπον ζῶσαν, φησὶν ὅτι θυσίαν συνετέλει πρὸς τῷ Πεισιάνακτος ἀγρῷ. συνεκέκληντο
68 δὲ τῶν φίλων τινές, ἐν οἷς καὶ Παυσανίας. εἶτα μετὰ τὴν εὐωχίαν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι χωρισθέντες ἀνεπαύοντο, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῖς δένδροις ὡς ἀγροῦ παρακειμένου, οἱ δ' ὅπῃ βούλοιντο, αὐτὸς δ' ἔμεινεν ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου ἐφ' οὗπερ κατεκέκλιτο. ὡς δ' ἡμέρας γενηθείσης ἐξανέστησαν, οὐχ ηὑρέθη μόνος. ζητουμένου δὲ καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀνακρινομένων καὶ φασκόντων μὴ εἰδέναι, εἷς τις ἔφη μέσων νυκτῶν φωνῆς ὑπερμεγέθους ἀκοῦσαι προσκαλουμένης Ἐμπεδοκλέα, εἶτ' ἐξαναστὰς ἑωρακέναι φῶς οὐράνιον καὶ λαμπάδων φέγγος, ἄλλο δὲ μηδέν· τῶν δ' ἐπὶ τῷ γενομένῳ ἐκπλαγέντων, καταβὰς ὁ Παυσανίας ἔπεμψέ τινας ζητήσοντας. ὕστερον δὲ ἐκώλυε πολυπραγμονεῖν, φάσκων εὐχῆς ἄξια συμβεβηκέναι καὶ θύειν αὐτῷ δεῖν καθαπερεὶ γεγονότι θεῷ.

69 Ἕρμιππος δέ φησι Πάνθειάν τινα Ἀκραγαντίνην ἀπηλπισμένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν θεραπεῦσαι αὐτὸν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν θυσίαν ἐπιτελεῖν· τοὺς δὲ κληθέντας εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντα. Ἱππόβοτος δέ φησιν ἐξαναστάντα αὐτὸν ὡδευκέναι ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴτνην, εἶτα παραγενόμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς κρατῆρας τοῦ πυρὸς ἐναλέσθαι καὶ ἀφανισθῆναι, βουλόμενον τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ φήμην βεβαιῶσαι ὅτι γεγόνοι θεός, ὕστερον δὲ γνωσθῆναι, ἀναρριπισθείσης αὐτοῦ μιᾶς

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[a] In the list of the writings of Heraclides of Pontus (see v. 86 *sqq.*) occurs Περὶ τῶν ἐν ᾅδου, a dialogue on a similar subject, if not actually identical, with Περὶ τῆς ἄπνου. In the latter Pausanias was one of the characters; see next note.

Thus Heraclides,[a] after telling the story of the woman in a trance, how that Empedocles became famous because he had sent away the dead woman alive, goes on to say that he was offering a sacrifice close to the field of Peisianax. Some of his friends had been invited to the sacrifice, including Pausanias. Then, after the feast, the remainder of the company dispersed and retired to rest, some under the trees in the adjoining field, others wherever they chose, while Empedocles himself remained on the spot where he had reclined at table. At daybreak all got up, and he was the only one missing. A search was made, and they questioned the servants, who said they did not know where he was. Thereupon someone said that in the middle of the night he heard an exceedingly loud voice calling Empedocles. Then he got up and beheld a light in the heavens and a glitter of lamps, but nothing else. His hearers were amazed at what had occurred, and Pausanias came down and sent people to search for him. But later he bade them take no further trouble, for things beyond expectation had happened to him, and it was their duty to sacrifice to him since he was now a god.

Hermippus tells us that Empedocles cured Panthea, a woman of Agrigentum, who had been given up by the physicians, and this was why he was offering sacrifice, and that those invited were about eighty in number. Hippobotus, again, asserts that, when he got up, he set out on his way to Etna; then, when he had reached it, he plunged into the fiery craters and disappeared, his intention being to confirm the report that he had become a god. Afterwards the truth was known, because

τῶν κρηπίδων· χαλκᾶς γὰρ εἴθιστο ὑποδεῖσθαι. πρὸς τοῦθ' ὁ Παυσανίας ἀντέλεγε.

70 Διόδωρος δ' ὁ Ἐφέσιος περὶ Ἀναξιμάνδρου γράφων φησὶν ὅτι τοῦτον ἐζηλώκει, τραγικὸν ἀσκῶν τῦφον καὶ σεμνὴν ἀναλαβὼν ἐσθῆτα. τοῖς Σελινουντίοις ἐμπεσόντος λοιμοῦ διὰ τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ παρακειμένου ποταμοῦ δυσωδίας, ὥστε καὶ αὐτοὺς φθείρεσθαι καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας δυστοκεῖν, ἐπινοῆσαι τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα καὶ δύο τινὰς ποταμοὺς τῶν σύνεγγυς ἐπαγαγεῖν ἰδίαις δαπάναις· καὶ καταμίξαντα γλυκῆναι τὰ ῥεύματα. οὕτω δὴ λήξαντος τοῦ λοιμοῦ καὶ τῶν Σελινουντίων εὐωχουμένων ποτὲ παρὰ τῷ ποταμῷ, ἐπιφανῆναι τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα· τοὺς δ' ἐξαναστάντας προσκυνεῖν καὶ προσεύχεσθαι καθαπερεὶ θεῷ. ταύτην οὖν θέλοντα βεβαιῶσαι τὴν διάληψιν εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐναλέσθαι.

71 τούτοις δ' ἐναντιοῦται Τίμαιος, ῥητῶς λέγων ὡς ἐξεχώρησεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον καὶ τὸ σύνολον οὐκ ἐπανῆλθεν· ὅθεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τελευτὴν ἄδηλον εἶναι. πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἡρακλείδην καὶ ἐξ ὀνόματος ποιεῖται τὴν ἀντίρρησιν ἐν τῇ ιδ'· Συρακόσιόν τε γὰρ εἶναι τὸν Πεισιάνακτα καὶ ἀγρὸν οὐκ ἔχειν ἐν Ἀκράγαντι· Παυσανίαν τε μνημεῖον <ἂν> πεποιηκέναι τοῦ φίλου, τοιούτου διαδοθέντος λόγου, ἢ ἀγαλμάτιόν τι ἢ σηκὸν οἷα θεοῦ· καὶ γὰρ πλούσιον εἶναι. "πῶς οὖν," φησίν, "εἰς τοὺς κρατῆρας

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[a] ἀντέλεγε. The imperfect tense is convincing proof that D. L. (or his source) is drawing upon the dialogue, and not narrating facts as a historian; D. L. must be giving a large extract from the dialogue Περὶ τῆς ἄπνου, beginning in the second paragraph of § 67. Only D. L. has inserted, in § 69, (1) a note from Hermippus and (2) a résumé from Hippobotus

one of his slippers was thrown up in the flames; it had been his custom to wear slippers of bronze. To this story Pausanias is made (by Heraclides) to take exception.[a]

Diodorus of Ephesus, when writing of Anaximander, declares that Empedocles emulated him, displaying theatrical arrogance and wearing stately robes. We are told that the people of Selinus suffered from pestilence owing to the noisome smells from the river hard by, so that the citizens themselves perished and their women died in childbirth, that Empedocles conceived the plan of bringing two neighbouring rivers to the place at his own expense, and that by this admixture he sweetened the waters. When in this way the pestilence had been stayed and the Selinuntines were feasting on the river bank, Empedocles appeared; and the company rose up and worshipped and prayed to him as to a god. It was then to confirm this belief of theirs that he leapt into the fire. These stories are contradicted by Timaeus, who expressly says that he left Sicily for Peloponnesus and never returned at all; and this is the reason Timaeus gives for the fact that the manner of his death is unknown. He replies to Heraclides, whom he mentions by name, in his fourteenth book. Pisianax, he says, was a citizen of Syracuse and possessed no land at Agrigentum. Further, if such a story had been in circulation, Pausanias would have set up a monument to his friend, as to a god, in the form of a statue or shrine, for he was a wealthy man. "How came he," adds Timaeus, "to leap into the craters, which he had

of the very passage in the dialogue Περὶ τῆς ἄπνου with which D. L. has been dealing in §§ 67-69.

ἥλατο ὧν <ὡς> σύνεγγυς ὄντων οὐδὲ μνείαν ποτὲ ἐπεποίητο; τετελεύτηκεν οὖν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ.
72 οὐδὲν δὲ παράδοξον τάφον αὐτοῦ μὴ φαίνεσθαι· μηδὲ γὰρ ἄλλων πολλῶν." τοιαῦτά τινα εἰπὼν ὁ Τίμαιος ἐπιφέρει· " ἀλλὰ διὰ παντός ἐστιν Ἡρακλείδης τοιοῦτος παραδοξολόγος, καὶ ἐκ τῆς σελήνης πεπτωκέναι ἄνθρωπον λέγων."

Ἱππόβοτος δέ φησιν ὅτι ἀνδριὰς ἐγκεκαλυμμένος Ἐμπεδοκλέους ἔκειτο πρότερον μὲν ἐν Ἀκράγαντι, ὕστερον δὲ πρὸ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βουλευτηρίου ἀκάλυφος δηλονότι μεταθέντων αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ Ῥωμαίων· γραπταὶ μὲν γὰρ εἰκόνες καὶ νῦν περιφέρονται. Νεάνθης δ' ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ὁ καὶ περὶ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν εἰπών φησι Μέτωνος τελευτήσαντος τυραννίδος ἀρχὴν ὑποφύεσθαι· εἶτα τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα πεῖσαι τοὺς Ἀκραγαντίνους παύσασθαι μὲν τῶν στάσεων, ἰσότητα δὲ πολιτικὴν ἀσκεῖν.

73 Ἔτι τε πολλὰς τῶν πολιτίδων ἀπροίκους ὑπαρχούσας αὐτὸν προικίσαι διὰ τὸν παρόντα πλοῦτον· διὸ δὴ πορφύραν τε ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ στρόφιον ἐπιθέσθαι χρυσοῦν, ὡς Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Ἀπομνημονεύμασιν· ἔτι τ' ἐμβάδας χαλκᾶς καὶ στέμμα Δελφικόν. κόμη τε ἦν αὐτῷ βαθεῖα καὶ παῖδες ἀκόλουθοι· καὶ αὐτὸς ἀεὶ σκυθρωπὸς ἐφ' ἑνὸς σχήματος ἦν. τοιοῦτος δὴ προῄει, τῶν πολιτῶν ἐντυχόντων καὶ τοῦτ' ἀξιωσάντων οἱονεὶ βασιλείας τινὸς παράσημον. ὕστερον δὲ διά τινα πανήγυριν πορευόμενον ἐπ' ἁμάξης ὡς εἰς Μεσσήνην πεσεῖν καὶ τὸν μηρὸν κλάσαι· νοσήσαντα δ' ἐκ τούτου

never once mentioned though they were not far off? He must then have died in Peloponnesus. It is not at all surprising that his tomb is not found; the same is true of many other men." After urging some such arguments Timaeus goes on to say, "But Heraclides is everywhere just such a collector of absurdities, telling us, for instance, that a man dropped down to earth from the moon."

Hippobotus assures us that formerly there was in Agrigentum a statue of Empedocles with his head covered, and afterwards another with the head uncovered in front of the Senate House at Rome, which plainly the Romans had removed to that site. For portrait-statues with inscriptions are extant even now. Neanthes of Cyzicus, who tells about the Pythagoreans, relates that, after the death of Meton, the germs of a tyranny began to show themselves, that then it was Empedocles who persuaded the Agrigentines to put an end to their factions and cultivate equality in politics.

Moreover, from his abundant means he bestowed dowries upon many of the maidens of the city who had no dowry. No doubt it was the same means that enabled him to don a purple robe and over it a golden girdle, as Favorinus relates in his *Memorabilia*, and again slippers of bronze and a Delphic laurel-wreath. He had thick hair, and a train of boy attendants. He himself was always grave, and kept this gravity of demeanour unshaken. In such sort would he appear in public; when the citizens met him, they recognized in this demeanour the stamp, as it were, of royalty. But afterwards, as he was going in a carriage to Messene to attend some festival, he fell and broke his thigh; this

τελευτῆσαι ἐτῶν ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα. εἶναι δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τάφον ἐν Μεγάροις.

74 Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐτῶν Ἀριστοτέλης διαφέρεται· φησὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἑξήκοντ' ἐτῶν αὐτὸν τελευτῆσαι· οἱ δὲ ἐννέα καὶ ἑκατόν. ἤκμαζε δὲ κατὰ τὴν τετάρτην καὶ ὀγδοηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα. Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Τροιζήνιος ἐν τῷ Κατὰ σοφιστῶν βιβλίῳ φησὶν αὐτὸν καθ' Ὅμηρον

ἁψάμενον βρόχον αἰπὺν ἀφ' ὑψηλοῖο κρανείης
αὐχέν' ἀποκρεμάσαι, ψυχὴν δ' Ἄϊδόσδε κατελθεῖν.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ προειρημένῳ Τηλαύγους ἐπιστολίῳ λέγεται αὐτὸν εἰς θάλατταν ὑπὸ γήρως ὀλισθόντα τελευτῆσαι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τοσαῦτα.

Φέρεται δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Παμμέτρῳ σκωπτικὸν μέν, τοῦτον δ' ἔχον τὸν τρόπον·

75 καὶ σύ ποτ', Ἐμπεδόκλεις, διερῇ φλογὶ σῶμα καθήρας
πῦρ ἀπὸ κρητήρων ἔκπιες ἀθανάτων·
οὐκ ἐρέω δ' ὅτι σαυτὸν ἑκὼν βάλες ἐς ῥόον Αἴτνης,
ἀλλὰ λαθεῖν ἐθέλων ἔμπεσες οὐκ ἐθέλων.

καὶ ἄλλο·

ναὶ μὴν Ἐμπεδοκλῆα θανεῖν λόγος ὥς ποτ' ἀμάξης
ἔκπεσε καὶ μηρὸν κλάσσατο δεξιτερόν·
εἰ δὲ πυρὸς κρητῆρας ἐσήλατο καὶ πίε τὸ ζῆν,
πῶς ἂν ἔτ' ἐν Μεγάροις δείκνυτο τοῦδε τάφος;

76 Ἐδόκει δ' αὐτῷ τάδε· στοιχεῖα μὲν εἶναι τέτταρα, πῦρ, ὕδωρ, γῆν, ἀέρα· Φιλίαν θ' ᾗ συγκρίνεται καὶ Νεῖκος ᾧ διακρίνεται. φησὶ δ' οὕτω·

brought an illness which caused his death at the age of seventy-seven. Moreover, his tomb is in Megara.

As to his age, Aristotle's account is different, for he makes him to have been sixty when he died; while others make him one hundred and nine. He flourished in the 84th Olympiad.[a] Demetrius of Troezen in his pamphlet *Against the Sophists* said of him, adapting the words of Homer[b]:

> He tied a noose that hung aloft from a tall cornel-tree and thrust his neck into it, and his soul went down to Hades.

In the short letter of Telauges which was mentioned above[c] it is stated that by reason of his age he slipped into the sea and was drowned. Thus and thus much of his death.

There is an epigram of my own on him in my *Pammetros* in a satirical vein, as follows[d]:

> Thou, Empedocles, didst cleanse thy body with nimble flame, fire didst thou drink from everlasting bowls.[e] I will not say that of thine own will thou didst hurl thyself into the stream of Etna: thou didst fall in against thy will when thou wouldst fain not have been found out.

And another[f]:

> Verily there is a tale about the death of Empedocles, how that once he fell from a carriage and broke his right thigh. But if he leapt into the bowls of fire and so took a draught of life, how was it that his tomb was shown still in Megara?

His doctrines were as follows, that there are four elements, fire, water, earth and air, besides friendship by which these are united, and strife by which they are separated. These are his words[g]:

[a] 444–441 B.C. [b] *Od.* xi. 278. [c] viii. 35.
[d] *Anth. Pal.* vii. 123. [e] *i.e.* the craters of Etna.
[f] *Anth. Pal.* vii. 124. [g] Fr. 6 D.

Ζεὺς ἀργὴς Ἥρη τε φερέσβιος ἠδ' Ἀϊδωνεὺς
Νῆστίς θ', ἣ δακρύοις τέγγει κρούνωμα βρότειον·

Δία μὲν τὸ πῦρ λέγων, Ἥρην δὲ τὴν γῆν, Ἀϊδωνέα δὲ τὸν ἀέρα, Νῆστιν δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ.

"Καὶ ταῦτα," φησίν, "ἀλλάττοντα διαμπερὲς οὐδαμὰ λήγει," ὡς ἂν ἀϊδίου τῆς τοιαύτης διακοσμήσεως οὔσης· ἐπιφέρει γοῦν·

ἄλλοτε μὲν Φιλότητι συνερχόμεν' εἰς ἓν ἅπαντα,
ἄλλοτε δ' αὖ δίχ' ἕκαστα φορεύμενα Νείκεος ἔχθει.

77 Καὶ τὸν μὲν ἥλιόν φησι πυρὸς ἄθροισμα μέγα καὶ τῆς σελήνης μείζω· τὴν δὲ σελήνην δισκοειδῆ, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν οὐρανὸν κρυσταλλοειδῆ. καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν παντοῖα εἴδη ζῴων καὶ φυτῶν ἐνδύεσθαι· φησὶ γοῦν·

ἤδη γάρ ποτ' ἐγὼ γενόμην κοῦρός τε κόρη τε
θάμνος τ' οἰωνός τε καὶ ἔξαλος ἔμπυρος[1] ἰχθύς.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν Περὶ φύσεως αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ Καθαρμοὶ εἰς ἔπη τείνουσι πεντακισχίλια, ὁ δὲ Ἰατρικὸς λόγος εἰς ἔπη ἑξακόσια. περὶ δὲ τῶν τραγῳδιῶν προειρήκαμεν.

Κεφ. γ'. ΕΠΙΧΑΡΜΟΣ

78 Ἐπίχαρμος Ἡλοθαλοῦς Κῷος. καὶ οὗτος ἤκουσε Πυθαγόρου. τριμηνιαῖος δ' ὑπάρχων ἀπηνέχθη τῆς Σικελίας εἰς Μέγαρα, ἐντεῦθεν δ' εἰς Συρακούσας, ὥς φησι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς συγγράμμασιν. καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνδριάντος ἐπιγέγραπται τόδε·

[1] ἔμπορος is found Athenaeus viii. 365. The true reading ἔλλοπος in Clem. *Strom.* vi. 24.

Shining Zeus and life-bringing Hera, Aidoneus and Nestis, who lets flow from her tears the source of mortal life,

where by Zeus he means fire, by Hera earth, by Aidoneus air, and by Nestis water.

"And their continuous change," he says, "never ceases,"[a] as if this ordering of things were eternal. At all events he goes on[b]:

At one time all things uniting in one through Love, at another each carried in a different direction through the hatred born of strife.

The sun he calls a vast collection of fire and larger than the moon; the moon, he says, is of the shape of a quoit, and the heaven itself crystalline. The soul, again, assumes all the various forms of animals and plants. At any rate he says[c]:

Before now I was born a boy and a maid, a bush and a bird, and a dumb fish leaping out of the sea.

His poems *On Nature* and *Purifications* run to 5000 lines, his *Discourse on Medicine* to 600. Of the tragedies we have spoken above.

Chapter 3. EPICHARMUS (*c.* 550–460 B.C.)

Epicharmus of Cos, son of Helothales, was another pupil of Pythagoras. When three months old he was sent to Megara in Sicily and thence to Syracuse, as he tells us in his own writings. On his statue this epigram is written[d]:

[a] Fr. 17. 6 D.
[b] Fr. 17. 7 D.
[c] Fr. 117 D.
[d] *Anth. Pal.* vii. 78.

εἴ τι παραλλάσσει φαέθων μέγας ἅλιος ἄστρων
 καὶ πόντος ποταμῶν μείζον' ἔχει δύναμιν,
φαμὶ τοσοῦτον ἐγὼ σοφίᾳ προέχειν Ἐπίχαρμον,
 ὃν πατρὶς ἐστεφάνωσ' ἅδε Συρακοσίων.

οὗτος ὑπομνήματα καταλέλοιπεν ἐν οἷς φυσιολογεῖ, γνωμολογεῖ, ἰατρολογεῖ· καὶ παραστιχίδα γε ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν ὑπομνημάτων πεποίηκεν, οἷς διασαφεῖ ὅτι ἑαυτοῦ ἐστι τὰ συγγράμματα. βιοὺς δ' ἔτη ἐνενήκοντα κατέστρεψεν.

Κεφ. δ'. ΑΡΧΥΤΑΣ

79 Ἀρχύτας Μνησαγόρου Ταραντῖνος, ὡς δὲ Ἀριστόξενος, Ἑστιαίου, Πυθαγορικὸς καὶ αὐτός. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Πλάτωνα ῥυσάμενος δι' ἐπιστολῆς παρὰ Διονυσίου μέλλοντ' ἀναιρεῖσθαι. ἐθαυμάζετο δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐπὶ πάσῃ ἀρετῇ· καὶ δὴ ἑπτάκις τῶν πολιτῶν ἐστρατήγησε, τῶν ἄλλων μὴ πλέον ἐνιαυτοῦ στρατηγούντων διὰ τὸ κωλύειν τὸν νόμον. πρὸς τοῦτον καὶ Πλάτων γέγραφεν ἐπιστολὰς δύο, ἐπειδήπερ αὐτῷ πρότερος ἐγεγράφει τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον·

"Ἀρχύτας Πλάτωνι ὑγιαίνειν.

80 "Καλῶς ποιέεις ὅτι ἀποπέφευγας ἐκ τᾶς ἀρρωστίας· ταῦτα γὰρ αὐτός τυ ἐπέσταλκας καὶ τοὶ περὶ Λαμίσκον ἀπάγγελον. περὶ δὲ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἐπεμελήθημες καὶ ἀνήλθομες ὡς Λευκανὼς καὶ ἐνετύχομες τοῖς Ὀκκέλω ἐκγόνοις. τὰ μὲν ὦν Περὶ νόμω καὶ Βασιληίας καὶ Ὁσιότατος καὶ τᾶς τῶ παντὸς γενέσιος αὐτοί τ' ἔχομες καὶ τὶν ἀπεστάλκαμες· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ οὔτοι νῦν γα δύναται εὑρεθῆμεν, αἰ δέ κα εὑρεθῇ, ἥξει τοι."

If the great sun outshines the other stars,
If the great sea is mightier than the streams,
So Epicharmus' wisdom all excelled,
Whom Syracuse his fatherland thus crowned.

He has left memoirs containing his physical, ethical and medical doctrines, and he has made marginal notes in most of the memoirs, which clearly show that they were written by him. He died at the age of ninety.

Chapter 4. ARCHYTAS (fourth century B.C.)

Archytas of Tarentum, son of Mnesagoras or, if we may believe Aristoxenus, of Hestiaeus, was another of the Pythagoreans. He it was whose letter saved Plato when he was about to be put to death by Dionysius. He was generally admired for his excellence in all fields; thus he was generalissimo of his city seven times, while the law excluded all others even from a second year of command. We have two letters written to him by Plato, he having first written to Plato in these terms:

"Archytas wishes Plato good health.

"You have done well to get rid of your ailment, as we learn both from your own message and through Lamiscus that you have: we attended to the matter of the memoirs and went up to Lucania where we found the true progeny of Ocellus [to wit, his writings]. We did get the works *On Law*, *On Kingship*, *Of Piety*, and *On the Origin of the Universe*, all of which we have sent on to you; but the rest are, at present, nowhere to be found; if they should turn up, you shall have them."

Ὧδε μὲν ὁ Ἀρχύτας· ὁ δὲ Πλάτων ἀντεπιστέλλει τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον·

“ Πλάτων Ἀρχύτᾳ *εὖ πράττειν.*

81 “ Τὰ *μὲν παρὰ σοῦ ἐλθόντα ὑπομνήματα θαυμαστῶς ἄσμενοί τε ἐλάβομεν καὶ τοῦ γράψαντος αὐτὰ ἠγάσθημεν ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα, καὶ ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν ἀνὴρ ἄξιος ἐκείνων τῶν παλαιῶν προγόνων. λέγονται γὰρ δὴ οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι* Μυραῖοι *εἶναι· οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν τῶν ἐπὶ* Λαομέδοντος *ἐξαναστάντων* Τρώων *ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, ὡς ὁ παραδεδομένος μῦθος δηλοῖ. τὰ δὲ παρ' ἐμοῦ ὑπομνήματα, περὶ ὧν ἐπέστειλας, ἱκανῶς μὲν οὔπω ἔχει· ὡς δέ ποτε τυγχάνει ἔχοντα ἀπέσταλκά σοι. περὶ δὲ τῆς φυλακῆς ἀμφότεροι συμφωνοῦμεν, ὥστε οὐδὲν δεῖ παρακελεύεσθαι. ἔρρωσο.*”

Καὶ *ὧδε μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν αἱ ἐπιστολαί.*

82 Γε*γόνασι δ'* Ἀρχύται *τέτταρες· πρῶτος αὐτὸς οὗτος, δεύτερος* Μυτιληναῖος *μουσικός, τρίτος* Περὶ *γεωργίας συγγεγραφώς, τέταρτος ἐπιγραμματοποιός. ἔνιοι καὶ πέμπτον ἀρχιτέκτονά φασιν, οὗ φέρεται βιβλίον* Περὶ *μηχανῆς, ἀρχὴν ἔχον ταύτην,* “ *τάδε παρὰ* Τεύκρου Καρχηδονίου *διήκουσα.*” *περὶ δὲ τοῦ μουσικοῦ φέρεται καὶ τόδε, ὡς ὀνειδιζόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ἐξακούεσθαι εἴποι,* “ *τὸ γὰρ ὄργανον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ διαγωνιζόμενον λαλεῖ.*”

Τὸν *δὲ* Πυθαγορικὸν Ἀριστόξενός *φησι μηδέποτε στρατηγοῦντα ἡττηθῆναι· φθονούμενον δ' ἅπαξ ἐκχωρῆσαι τῆς στρατηγίας καὶ τοὺς αὐτίκα ληφθῆναι.*

83 Οὗτος *πρῶτος τὰ μηχανικὰ ταῖς μαθηματικαῖς προσχρησάμενος ἀρχαῖς μεθώδευσε καὶ πρῶτος*

This is Archytas's letter; and Plato's answer is as follows:

"Plato to Archytas greeting.

"I was overjoyed to get the memoirs which you sent, and I am very greatly pleased with the writer of them; he seems to be a right worthy descendant of his distant forbears. They came, so it is said, from Myra, and were among those who emigrated from Troy in Laomedon's time, really good men, as the traditional story shows. Those memoirs of mine about which you wrote are not yet in a fit state; but such as they are I have sent them on to you. We both agree about their custody, so I need not give any advice on that head. Farewell."

These then are the letters which passed between them.

Four men have borne the name of Archytas: (1) our subject; (2) a musician, of Mytilene; (3) the compiler of a work *On Agriculture*; (4) a writer of epigrams. Some speak of a fifth, an architect, to whom is attributed a book *On Mechanism* which begins like this: "These things I learnt from Teucer of Carthage." A tale is told of the musician that, when it was cast in his teeth that he could not be heard, he replied, "Well, my instrument shall speak for me and win the day."

Aristoxenus says that our Pythagorean was never defeated during his whole generalship, though he once resigned it owing to bad feeling against him, whereupon the army at once fell into the hands of the enemy.

He was the first to bring mechanics to a system by applying mathematical principles; he also first

κίνησιν ὀργανικὴν διαγράμματι γεωμετρικῷ προσήγαγε, διὰ τῆς τομῆς τοῦ ἡμικυλίνδρου δύο μέσας ἀνὰ λόγον λαβεῖν ζητῶν εἰς τὸν τοῦ κύβου διπλασιασμόν. κἀν γεωμετρίᾳ πρῶτος κύβον εὗρεν, ὥς φησι Πλάτων ἐν Πολιτείᾳ.

Κεφ. ε΄. ΑΛΚΜΑΙΩΝ

Ἀλκμαίων Κροτωνιάτης. καὶ οὗτος Πυθαγόρου διήκουσε· καὶ τὰ πλεῖστά γε ἰατρικὰ λέγει, ὅμως δὲ καὶ φυσιολογεῖ ἐνίοτε λέγων "δύο τὰ πολλά ἐστι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων." δοκεῖ δὲ πρῶτος φυσικὸν λόγον συγγεγραφέναι, καθά φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ, καὶ τὴν σελήνην καθόλου[1] *<τε τὰ ὑπὲρ> ταύτην ἔχειν ἀΐδιον φύσιν.*

Ἦν δὲ Πειρίθου υἱός, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐναρχόμενος τοῦ συγγράμματός φησιν· "Ἀλκμαίων Κροτωνιήτης τάδε ἔλεξε Πειρίθου υἱὸς Βροτίνῳ καὶ Λέοντι καὶ Βαθύλλῳ· 'περὶ τῶν ἀφανέων, περὶ τῶν θνητῶν σαφήνειαν μὲν θεοὶ ἔχοντι, ὡς δ' ἀνθρώποις τεκμαίρεσθαι' " καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς· ἔφη δὲ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀθάνατον, καὶ κινεῖσθαι αὐτὴν συνεχὲς ὡς τὸν ἥλιον.

Κεφ. ϛ΄. ΙΠΠΑΣΟΣ

84 *Ἵππασος Μεταποντῖνος καὶ αὐτὸς Πυθαγορικός. ἔφη δὲ χρόνον ὡρισμένον εἶναι τῆς τοῦ κόσμου*

[1] *καθόλου*] *καὶ ὅλον* dubitanter Apelt, coll. ii. 9: post *καθόλου* *<τε τὰ ὑπὲρ>* inseruit Diels: *ὅλον τὸν οὐρανὸν* Zeller.

[a] *Cf* T. L. Heath, *History of Greek Mathematics*, i. 246-249.

employed mechanical motion in a geometrical construction, namely, when he tried, by means of a section of a half-cylinder, to find two mean proportionals in order to duplicate the cube.[a] In geometry, too, he was the first to discover the cube, as Plato says in the *Republic*.[b]

Chapter 5. ALCMAEON

Alcmaeon of Croton, another disciple of Pythagoras, wrote chiefly on medicine, but now and again he touches on natural philosophy, as when he says, "Most human affairs go in pairs." He is thought to have been the first to compile a physical treatise, so we learn from Favorinus in his *Miscellaneous History*; and he said that the moon <and> generally <the heavenly bodies> are in their nature eternal.

He was the son of Pirithous, as he himself tells us at the beginning of his treatise[c]: "These are the words of Alcmaeon of Croton, son of Pirithous, which he spake to Brotinus, Leon and Bathyllus: 'Of things invisible, as of mortal things, only the gods have certain knowledge; but to us, as men, only inference from evidence is possible,' and so on." He held also that the soul is immortal and that it is continuously in motion like the sun.

Chapter 6. HIPPASUS (fourth century B.C.)

Hippasus of Metapontum was another Pythagorean, who held that there is a definite time which the

[b] 528 B.

[c] Fr. 1 Diels.

μεταβολῆς καὶ πεπερασμένον εἶναι τὸ πᾶν καὶ ἀεικίνητον.

Φησὶ δ' αὐτὸν Δημήτριος ἐν Ὁμωνύμοις μηδὲν καταλιπεῖν σύγγραμμα. γεγόνασι δ' Ἵππασοι δύο, οὗτός τε καὶ ἕτερος γεγραφὼς ἐν πέντε βιβλίοις Λακώνων πολιτείαν· ἦν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Λάκων.

Κεφ. ζ'. ΦΙΛΟΛΑΟΣ

Φιλόλαος Κροτωνιάτης Πυθαγορικός. παρὰ τούτου Πλάτων ὠνήσασθαι τὰ βιβλία τὰ Πυθαγορικὰ Δίωνι γράφει. ἐτελεύτα δὲ νομισθεὶς ἐπιτίθεσθαι τυραννίδι. καὶ ἡμῶν ἐστιν εἰς αὐτόν·

τὴν ὑπόνοιαν πᾶσι μάλιστα λέγω θεραπεύειν·
εἰ γὰρ καὶ μὴ δρᾷς, ἀλλὰ δοκεῖς, ἀτυχεῖς.
οὕτω καὶ Φιλόλαον ἀνεῖλε Κρότων ποτὲ πάτρη,
ὥς μιν ἔδοξε θέλειν δῶμα τύραννον ἔχειν.

85 *Δοκεῖ δ' αὐτῷ πάντα ἀνάγκῃ καὶ ἁρμονίᾳ γίνεσθαι. καὶ τὴν γῆν κινεῖσθαι κατὰ κύκλον πρῶτον εἰπεῖν· οἱ δ' Ἱκέταν <τὸν> Συρακόσιόν φασιν.*

Γέγραφε δὲ βιβλίον ἕν, ὅ φησιν Ἕρμιππος λέγειν τινὰ τῶν συγγραφέων Πλάτωνα τὸν φιλόσοφον παραγενόμενον εἰς Σικελίαν πρὸς Διονύσιον ὠνήσασθαι παρὰ τῶν συγγενῶν τοῦ Φιλολάου

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[a] *Cf.* iii. 9.

[b] The subject of ἐτελεύτα would naturally be Philolaus, and so D. L. understood it; but the original reference was clearly to Dion.

[c] *Anth. Pal.* vii. 126.

[d] Or in prose: "My chief advice to all men is: to lull suspicion to rest. For even if you don't do something, and

changes in the universe take to complete and that the All is limited and ever in motion.

According to Demetrius in his work on *Men of the Same Name*, he left nothing in writing. There were two men named Hippasus, one being our subject, and the other a man who wrote *The Laconian Constitution* in five books; and he himself was a Lacedaemonian.

Chapter 7. PHILOLAUS

(Perhaps late fifth century)

Philolaus of Croton was a Pythagorean, and it was from him that Plato requests Dion to buy the Pythagorean treatises.[a] He (Dion) was put to death because he was thought to be aiming at a tyranny.[b] This is what we have written upon him [c]:

Fancies of all things are most flattering;
If you intend, but *do* not, you are lost.
So Croton taught Philolaus to his cost,
Who fancied he would like to be their king.[d]

His doctrine is that all things are brought about by necessity and in harmonious inter-relation. He was the first to declare that the earth moves in a circle,[e] though some say that it was Hicetas of Syracuse.

He wrote one book, and it was this work which, according to Hermippus, some writer said that Plato the philosopher, when he went to Sicily to Dionysius's court, bought from Philolaus's relatives

people fancy you do, it is ill for you. So Croton, his native land, once put Philolaus to death, fancying he wished to have a tyrant's house."

[e] *i.e.* round the central fire. See T. L. Heath, *Aristarchus*, 187 *sqq.*

ἀργυρίου Ἀλεξανδρινῶν μνῶν τετταράκοντα καὶ ἐντεῦθεν μεταγεγραφέναι τὸν Τίμαιον. ἕτεροι δὲ λέγουσι τὸν Πλάτωνα λαβεῖν αὐτά, παρὰ Διονυσίου παραιτησάμενον ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς νεανίσκον ἀπηγμένον τῶν τοῦ Φιλολάου μαθητῶν.

Τοῦτόν φησι Δημήτριος ἐν Ὁμωνύμοις πρῶτον ἐκδοῦναι τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν <βιβλία καὶ ἐπιγράψαι> Περὶ φύσεως, ὧν ἀρχὴ ἥδε· "ἁ φύσις δ' ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἁρμόχθη ἐξ ἀπείρων τε καὶ περαινόντων καὶ ὅλος ὁ κόσμος καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα."

Κεφ. η'. ΕΥΔΟΞΟΣ

86 Εὔδοξος Αἰσχίνου Κνίδιος, ἀστρολόγος, γεωμέτρης, ἰατρός, νομοθέτης. οὗτος τὰ μὲν γεωμετρικὰ Ἀρχύτα διήκουσε, τὰ δ' ἰατρικὰ Φιλιστίωνος τοῦ Σικελιώτου, καθὰ Καλλίμαχος ἐν τοῖς Πίναξί φησι. Σωτίων δ' ἐν ταῖς Διαδοχαῖς λέγει καὶ Πλάτωνος αὐτὸν ἀκοῦσαι. γενόμενον γὰρ ἐτῶν τριῶν που καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ στενῶς διακείμενον κατὰ κλέος τῶν Σωκρατικῶν εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀπᾶραι σὺν Θεομέδοντι τῷ ἰατρῷ, τρεφόμενον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· οἱ δέ, καὶ παιδικὰ ὄντα· καταχθέντα δ' εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ὁσημέραι ἀνιέναι Ἀθήναζε καὶ ἀκού-
87 σαντα τῶν σοφιστῶν αὐτόθι ὑποστρέφειν. δύο δὴ μῆνας διατρίψαντα οἴκαδ' ἐπανελθεῖν καὶ πρὸς τῶν φίλων ἐρανισθέντα εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπᾶραι μετὰ Χρυσίππου τοῦ ἰατροῦ, συστατικὰς φέροντα

[a] Hermippus (*F.H.G.* iii. 42, fr. 25) seems to forget that Alexander was not born until after Plato's death. *Cf.* vii. 18.

for the sum of forty Alexandrine [a] minas of silver, from which also the *Timaeus* was transcribed. Others say that Plato received it as a present for having procured from Dionysius the release of a young disciple of Philolaus who had been cast into prison.

According to Demetrius in his work on *Men of the Same Name*, Philolaus was the first to publish the Pythagorean treatises, to which he gave the title *On Nature*, beginning as follows: "Nature in the ordered universe was composed of unlimited and limiting elements, and so was the whole universe and all that is therein."

Chapter 8. EUDOXUS (*c.* 407–357 B.C.)

Eudoxus of Cnidos, the son of Aeschines, was an astronomer, a geometer, a physician and a legislator. He learned geometry from Archytas and medicine from Philistion the Sicilian, as Callimachus tells us in his *Tables*. Sotion in his *Successions of Philosophers* says that he was also a pupil of Plato. When he was about twenty-three years old and in straitened circumstances, he was attracted by the reputation of the Socratics and set sail for Athens with Theomedon the physician, who provided for his wants. Some even say that he was Theomedon's favourite. Having disembarked at Piraeus he went up every day to Athens and, when he had attended the Sophists' lectures, returned again to the port. After spending two months there, he went home and, aided by the liberality of his friends, he proceeded to Egypt with Chrysippus the physician, bearing with him letters of introduction from Agesilaus

παρ' Ἀγησιλάου πρὸς Νεκτάναβιν· τὸν δὲ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν αὐτὸν συστῆσαι. καὶ τέτταρας μῆνας πρὸς ἐνιαυτῷ διατρίψαντ' αὐτόθι ξυρόμενόν θ' ὑπήνην καὶ ὀφρὺν τὴν Ὀκταετηρίδα κατά τινας συγγράψαι. ἐντεῦθέν τε γενέσθαι ἐν Κυζίκῳ καὶ τῇ Προποντίδι σοφιστεύοντα· ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Μαυσωλὸν ἀφικέσθαι. ἔπειθ' οὕτως ἐπανελθεῖν Ἀθήναζε, πάνυ πολλοὺς περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔχοντα μαθητάς, ὥς φασί τινες, ὑπὲρ τοῦ Πλάτωνα λυπῆσαι, ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτὸν παρεπέμψατο.
88 *τινὲς δέ φασι καὶ συμπόσιον ἔχοντι τῷ Πλάτωνι αὐτὸν τὴν ἡμικύκλιον κατάκλισιν, πολλῶν ὄντων, εἰσηγήσασθαι. φησὶ δ' αὐτὸν Νικόμαχος ὁ Ἀριστοτέλους τὴν ἡδονὴν λέγειν τὸ ἀγαθόν. ἀπεδέχθη δὴ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι μεγαλοτίμως, ὥς τό γε περὶ αὐτοῦ ψήφισμα γενόμενον δηλοῖ. ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπιφανέστατος ἐγένετο, γράψας τοῖς ἰδίοις πολίταις νόμους, ὥς φησιν Ἕρμιππος ἐν τετάρτῃ Περὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν, καὶ ἀστρολογούμενα καὶ γεωμετρούμενα καὶ ἕτερ' ἄττα ἀξιόλογα.*

Ἔσχε δὲ καὶ θυγατέρας τρεῖς, Ἀκτίδα, Φιλ-
89 *τίδα, Δελφίδα. φησὶ δ' αὐτὸν Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν τοῖς Πρὸς Βάτωνα καὶ Κυνῶν διαλόγους συνθεῖναι· οἱ δέ, γεγραφέναι μὲν Αἰγυπτίους τῇ αὐτῶν φωνῇ, τοῦτον δὲ μεθερμηνεύσαντα ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς Ἕλλησι. τούτου διήκουσε Χρύσιππος ὁ Ἐρίνεω Κνίδιος τά τε περὶ θεῶν καὶ κόσμου καὶ τῶν μετεωρο-*

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[a] The suggestion of hostile relations is held to be without foundation both by Tannery, *Astronomie ancienne*, p. 296, note 4, and T. L. Heath, *Aristarchus*, p. 192.

[b] The reference is to the *Nicomachean Ethics* of Aristotle

to Nectanabis, who recommended him to the priests. There he remained one year and four months with his beard and eyebrows shaved, and there, some say, he wrote his *Octaëteris*. From there he went to Cyzicus and the Propontis, giving lectures; afterwards he came to the court of Mausolus. Then at length he returned to Athens, bringing with him a great number of pupils: according to some, this was for the purpose of annoying Plato, who had originally passed him over.[a] Some say that, when Plato gave a banquet, Eudoxus, owing to the numbers present, introduced the fashion of arranging couches in a semicircle. Nicomachus, the son of Aristotle, states that he declared pleasure to be the good.[b] He was received in his native city with great honour, proof of this being the decree concerning him. But he also became famous throughout Greece, as legislator for his fellow-citizens, so we learn from Hermippus in his fourth book *On the Seven Sages*, and as the author of astronomical and geometrical treatises and other important works.

He had three daughters, Actis, Philtis and Delphis. Eratosthenes in his writings addressed to Baton tells us that he also composed Dialogues of Dogs; others say that they were written by Egyptians in their own language and that he translated them and published them in Greece. Chrysippus of Cnidos, the son of Erineus, attended his lectures on the gods, the world, and the phenomena of the heavens,

(i. 12, 1101 b 27; x. 2, 1172 b 9 *sq.*). That Nicomachus wrote the treatise called after him was a common error into which Cicero also fell (*De fin.* v. § 12).

λογουμένων, τὰ δ' ἰατρικὰ παρὰ Φιλιστίωνος τοῦ Σικελιώτου.

Κατέλιπε δὲ καὶ ὑπομνήματα κάλλιστα. τούτου γέγονε παῖς Ἀρισταγόρας, οὗ Χρύσιππος Ἀεθλίου μαθητής, οὗ τὰ θεραπεύματα φέρεται ὁρατικά, τῶν φυσικῶν θεωρημάτων [τῶν] ὑπὸ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ πεσόντων.

90 *Γεγόνασι δ' Εὔδοξοι τρεῖς· αὐτὸς οὗτος, ἕτερος Ῥόδιος ἱστορίας γεγραφώς, τρίτος Σικελιώτης παῖς Ἀγαθοκλέους, ποιητὴς κωμῳδίας, νίκας ἑλὼν ἀστικὰς μὲν τρεῖς, Ληναϊκὰς δὲ πέντε, καθά φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς. εὑρίσκομεν δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἰατρὸν Κνίδιον, περὶ οὗ φησιν Εὔδοξος ἐν Γῆς περιόδῳ ὡς εἴη παραγγέλλων ἀεὶ συνεχὲς κινεῖν τὰ ἄρθρα πάσῃ γυμνασίᾳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ὁμοίως.*

Ὁ δ' αὐτός φησι τὸν Κνίδιον Εὔδοξον ἀκμάσαι κατὰ τὴν τρίτην καὶ ἑκατοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα, εὑρεῖν τε τὰ περὶ τὰς καμπύλας γραμμάς. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ τρίτον ἄγων καὶ πεντηκοστὸν ἔτος. ὅτε δὲ συνεγένετο ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Χονούφιδι τῷ Ἡλιουπολίτῃ, ὁ Ἆπις αὐτοῦ θοἰμάτιον περιελιχμήσατο. ἔνδοξον οὖν αὐτὸν ἀλλ' ὀλιγοχρόνιον ἔφασαν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἔσεσθαι, καθά φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Ἀπομνημονεύμασιν.

91 *Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχον·*

ἐν Μέμφει λόγος ἐστὶν προμαθεῖν τὴν ἰδίην
Εὔδοξόν ποτε μοῖραν παρὰ τοῦ καλλικέρω
ταύρου. κοὐδὲν ἔλεξεν· βοῒ γὰρ πόθεν λόγος;

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[a] The wording suggests that this physician's name was not Eudoxus, but rather Chrysippus. He may have been the Chrysippus of Cnidos mentioned *supra*, vii. 186 (*cf.* Wilamo-

while in medicine he was the pupil of Philistion the Sicilian.

Eudoxus also left some excellent commentaries. He had a son Aristagoras, who had a son Chrysippus, the pupil of Aëthlius. To this Chrysippus we owe a medical work on the treatment of the eye, speculations upon nature having occupied his mind.

Three men have borne the name of Eudoxus: (1) our present subject; (2) a historian, of Rhodes; (3) a Sicilian Greek, the son of Agathocles, a comic poet, who three times won the prize in the city Dionysia and five times at the Lenaea, so we are told by Apollodorus in his *Chronology*. We also find another physician of Cnidos mentioned by Eudoxus [a] in his *Geography* as advising people to be always exercising their limbs by every form of gymnastics, and their sense-organs in the same way.

The same authority, Apollodorus, states that Eudoxus of Cnidos flourished about the 103rd Olympiad,[b] and that he discovered the properties of curves. He died in his fifty-third year. When he was in Egypt with Chonuphis of Heliopolis, the sacred bull Apis licked his cloak. From this the priests foretold that he would be famous but short-lived, so we are informed by Favorinus in his *Memorabilia*.

There is a poem of our own upon him, which runs thus [c]:

It is said that at Memphis Eudoxus learned his coming fate from the bull with beautiful horns. No words did it utter: for whence comes speech to a bull? Nature did not

witz, *Antig. v. Kar.* 324-326); see, however, Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* Chrysippos, 15 and 16.

[b] 368–364 B.C.

[c] *Anth. Pal.* vii. 744.

φύσις οὐκ ἔδωκε μόσχῳ λάλον Ἄπιδι στόμα.
παρὰ δ' αὐτὸν λέχριος στὰς ἐλιχμήσατο στολήν,
προφανῶς τοῦτο διδάσκων, Ἀποδύσῃ βιοτὴν
ὅσον οὔπω. διὸ καί οἱ ταχέως ἦλθε μόρος,
δεκάκις πέντ' ἐπὶ τρισσαῖς ἐσιδόντι Πλειάδας.

Τοῦτον ἀντὶ Εὐδόξου Ἔνδοξον ἐκάλουν διὰ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῆς φήμης.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐλλογίμων Πυθαγορικῶν διεληλύθαμεν, νῦν ἤδη περὶ τῶν σποράδην, ὥς φασι, διαλεχθῶμεν· λεκτέον δὲ πρῶτον περὶ Ἡρακλείτου.

provide the young bull Apis with a chattering tongue. But, standing sideways by him, it licked his robe, by which it plainly prophesied "you shall soon die." Whereupon, soon after, this fate overtook him, when he had seen fifty-three risings of the Pleiades.

Eudoxus used to be called *Endoxos* (illustrious) instead of Eudoxus by reason of his brilliant reputation.

Having now dealt with the famous Pythagoreans, let us next discuss the so-called "sporadic" philosophers. And first we must speak of Heraclitus.

Θ

Κεφ. α'. ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ

1 Ἡράκλειτος Βλόσωνος ἤ, ὥς τινες, Ἡράκωντος[1] Ἐφέσιος. οὗτος ἤκμαζε μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἐνάτην καὶ ἑξηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα. μεγαλόφρων δὲ γέγονε παρ' ὁντιναοῦν καὶ ὑπερόπτης, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ συγγράμματος αὐτοῦ δῆλον, ἐν ᾧ φησι, "πολυμαθίη νόον[2] οὐ διδάσκει· Ἡσίοδον γὰρ ἂν ἐδίδαξε καὶ Πυθαγόρην, αὖτίς τε Ξενοφάνεά τε καὶ Ἑκαταῖον." εἶναι γὰρ 'ἓν τὸ σοφόν, ἐπίστασθαι γνώμην, ὁτέη ἐκυβέρνησε πάντα διὰ πάντων." τόν τε Ὅμηρον ἔφασκεν ἄξιον ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων ἐκβάλλεσθαι καὶ ῥαπίζεσθαι, καὶ Ἀρχίλοχον ὁμοίως.

2 Ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ "ὕβριν χρὴ σβεννύναι μᾶλλον ἢ πυρκαϊὴν" καὶ "μάχεσθαι χρὴ τὸν δῆμον ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου ὅκωσπερ τείχεος.[3]" καθάπτεται δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἐφεσίων ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν ἑταῖρον ἐκβαλεῖν Ἑρμό-

[1] ἡρακίοντος F, but ἡρακίωντος BP, whence Bechtel restores ἡράκωντος.
[2] νόον ἔχειν Athen. xiii. p. 610 B; Clem. *Strom*. i. 19, p. 373.
[3] ὅκωσπερ τείχεος Diels.

[a] 504–500 B.C.
[b] The biographers used by our author laid evident stress

BOOK IX

Chapter 1. HERACLITUS

Heraclitus, son of Bloson or, according to some, of Heracon, was a native of Ephesus. He flourished in the 69th Olympiad.[a] He was lofty-minded beyond all other men,[b] and over-weening, as is clear from his book in which he says: "Much learning does not teach understanding; else would it have taught Hesiod and Pythagoras, or, again, Xenophanes and Hecataeus."[c] For "this one thing is wisdom, to understand thought, as that which guides all the world everywhere."[d] And he used to say that "Homer deserved to be chased out of the lists and beaten with rods, and Archilochus likewise."[e]

Again he would say: "There is more need to extinguish insolence than an outbreak of fire,"[f] and "The people must fight for the law as for city-walls."[g] He attacks the Ephesians, too, for banishing his friend Hermodorus: he says: "The Ephesians

on this characteristic of the Ephesian, for §§ 1-3 (excepting two fragments cited in § 2) dwell on this single theme. As to the criticism of Pythagoras *cf.* Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 129 *s.f.*, who, dealing with chronology, says that Heraclitus was later than Pythagoras, for Pythagoras is mentioned by him.

[c] Fr. 40 D., 16 B.

[d] Fr. 41 D., 19 B.

[e] Fr. 42 D., 119 B.

[f] Fr. 43 D., 103 B.

[g] Fr. 44 D., 100 B.

δωρον, ἐν οἷς φησιν, "ἄξιον Ἐφεσίοις ἡβηδὸν ἀποθανεῖν[1] πᾶσι καὶ τοῖς ἀνήβοις τὴν πόλιν καταλιπεῖν, οἵτινες Ἑρμόδωρον ἄνδρα ἑωυτῶν ὀνήιστον ἐξέβαλον λέγοντες, Ἡμέων μηδὲ εἷς ὀνήιστος ἔστω· εἰ δέ τις τοιοῦτος, ἄλλῃ τε καὶ μετ' ἄλλων." ἀξιούμενος δὲ καὶ νόμους θεῖναι πρὸς αὐτῶν ὑπερεῖδε διὰ τὸ ἤδη κεκρατῆσθαι τῇ πονηρᾷ
3 πολιτείᾳ τὴν πόλιν. ἀναχωρήσας δ' εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος μετὰ τῶν παίδων ἠστραγάλιζε· περιστάντων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν Ἐφεσίων, "τί, ὦ κάκιστοι, θαυμάζετε;" εἶπεν· "ἢ οὐ κρεῖττον τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἢ μεθ' ὑμῶν πολιτεύεσθαι;"

Καὶ τέλος μισανθρωπήσας καὶ ἐκπατήσας ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι διῃτᾶτο, πόας σιτούμενος καὶ βοτάνας. καὶ μέντοι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο περιτραπεὶς εἰς ὕδερον κατῆλθεν εἰς ἄστυ καὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν αἰνιγματωδῶς ἐπυνθάνετο εἰ δύναιντ' ἐξ ἐπομβρίας αὐχμὸν ποιῆσαι· τῶν δὲ μὴ συνιέντων, αὑτὸν εἰς βουστάσιον κατορύξας τῇ τῶν βολίτων ἀλέᾳ ἤλπισεν ἐξατμισθήσεσθαι. οὐδὲν δ' ἀνύων οὐδ' οὕτως, ἐτελεύτα βιοὺς ἔτη ἑξήκοντα.

4 Καὶ ἔστιν εἰς αὐτὸν ἡμῶν οὕτως ἔχον·

πολλάκις Ἡράκλειτον ἐθαύμασα, πῶς ποτε τὸ ζῆν
  ὧδε διαντλήσας δύσμορος εἶτ' ἔθανεν·
σῶμα γὰρ ἀρδεύσασα κακὴ νόσος ὕδατι φέγγος
  ἔσβεσεν ἐν βλεφάροις καὶ σκότον ἠγάγετο.

Ἕρμιππος δέ φησι λέγειν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἰατροῖς εἴ τις δύναται ‹τὰ› ἔντερα κεινώσας τὸ ὑγρὸν ἐξερᾶσαι· ἀπειπόντων δέ, θεῖναι αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν

[1] So Cic. *Tusc.* v. 105 "morte multandos," but ἀπάγξασθαι Strabo xiv. 25, p. 642, Musonius *ap.* Stob. *Fl.* xl. 9, Iamblichus, *De vit. Pyth.* 30, § 173 ed. Westermann.

would do well to end their lives, every grown man of them, and leave the city to beardless boys, for that they have driven out Hermodorus, the worthiest man among them, saying, 'We will have none who is worthiest among us ; or if there be any such, let him go elsewhere and consort with others.' "[a] And when he was requested by them to make laws, he scorned the request because the state was already in the grip of a bad constitution. He would retire to the temple of Artemis and play at knuckle-bones with the boys ; and when the Ephesians stood round him and looked on, " Why, you rascals," he said, " are you astonished ? Is it not better to do this than to take part in your civil life ? "

Finally, he became a hater of his kind and wandered on the mountains, and there he continued to live, making his diet of grass and herbs. However, when this gave him dropsy, he made his way back to the city and put this riddle to the physicians, whether they were competent to create a drought after heavy rain. They could make nothing of this, whereupon he buried himself in a cowshed, expecting that the noxious damp humour would be drawn out of him by the warmth of the manure. But, as even this was of no avail, he died at the age of sixty.

There is a piece of my own about him as follows[b] :

Often have I wondered how it came about that Heraclitus endured to live in this miserable fashion and then to die. For a fell disease flooded his body with water, quenched the light in his eyes and brought on darkness.

Hermippus, too, says that he asked the doctors whether anyone could by emptying the intestines draw off the moisture ; and when they said it was

[a] Fr. 121 D., 114 B. [b] *Anth. Pal.* vii. 127.

ἥλιον καὶ κελεύειν τοὺς παῖδας βολίτοις καταπλάττειν· οὕτω δὴ κατατεινόμενον δευτεραῖον τελευτῆσαι καὶ θαφθῆναι ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ. Νεάνθης δ' ὁ Κυζικηνός φησι μὴ δυνηθέντ' αὐτὸν ἀποσπάσαι τὰ βόλιτα μεῖναι καὶ διὰ τὴν μεταβολὴν ἀγνοηθέντα κυνόβρωτον γενέσθαι.

5 *Γέγονε δὲ θαυμάσιος ἐκ παίδων, ὅτε καὶ νέος ὢν ἔφασκε μηδὲν εἰδέναι, τέλειος μέντοι γενόμενος πάντ' ἐγνωκέναι. ἤκουσέ τ' οὐδενός, ἀλλ' αὑτὸν ἔφη διζήσασθαι καὶ μαθεῖν πάντα παρ' ἑαυτοῦ. Σωτίων δέ φησιν εἰρηκέναι τινὰς Ξενοφάνους αὐτὸν ἀκηκοέναι· λέγειν τε Ἀρίστωνα ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἡρακλείτου καὶ τὸν ὕδερον αὐτὸν θεραπευθῆναι, ἀποθανεῖν δ' ἄλλῃ νόσῳ. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ Ἱππόβοτός φησι.*

Τὸ δὲ φερόμενον αὐτοῦ βιβλίον ἐστὶ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ συνέχοντος Περὶ φύσεως, διῄρηται δ' εἰς τρεῖς λόγους, εἴς τε τὸν περὶ τοῦ παντὸς καὶ
6 *πολιτικὸν καὶ θεολογικόν. ἀνέθηκε δ' αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν, ὡς μέν τινες, ἐπιτηδεύσας ἀσαφέστερον γράψαι, ὅπως οἱ δυνάμενοι <μόνοι> προσίοιεν αὐτῷ καὶ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ δημώδους εὐκαταφρόνητον ᾖ. τοῦτον δὲ καὶ ὁ Τίμων ὑπογράφει λέγων,*

τοῖς δ' ἔνι κοκκυστής, ὀχλολοίδορος Ἡράκλειτος, αἰνικτὴς ἀνόρουσε.

Θεόφραστος δέ φησιν ὑπὸ μελαγχολίας τὰ μὲν ἡμιτελῆ, τὰ δ' ἄλλοτ' ἄλλως ἔχοντα γράψαι. σημεῖον δ' αὐτοῦ τῆς μεγαλοφροσύνης Ἀντισθένης

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[a] Fr. 101 D., 80 B. [b] Fr. 43 D.
[c] *Cf. Il.* i. 247, 248.

impossible, he put himself in the sun and bade his servants plaster him over with cow-dung. Being thus stretched and prone, he died the next day and was buried in the market-place. Neanthes of Cyzicus states that, being unable to tear off the dung, he remained as he was and, being unrecognizable when so transformed, he was devoured by dogs.

He was exceptional from his boyhood; for when a youth he used to say that he knew nothing, although when he was grown up he claimed that he knew everything. He was nobody's pupil, but he declared that he "inquired of himself,"[a] and learned everything from himself. Some, however, had said that he had been a pupil of Xenophanes, as we learn from Sotion, who also tells us that Ariston in his book *On Heraclitus* declares that he was cured of the dropsy and died of another disease. And Hippobotus has the same story.

As to the work which passes as his, it is a continuous treatise *On Nature*, but is divided into three discourses, one on the universe, another on politics, and a third on theology. This book he deposited in the temple of Artemis and, according to some, he deliberately made it the more obscure in order that none but adepts should approach it, and lest familiarity should breed contempt. Of our philosopher Timon[b] gives a sketch in these words[c]:

In their midst uprose shrill, cuckoo-like, a mob-reviler, riddling Heraclitus.

Theophrastus puts it down to melancholy that some parts of his work are half-finished, while other parts make a strange medley. As a proof of his magnanimity Antisthenes in his *Successions of*

φησὶν ἐν Διαδοχαῖς· ἐκχωρῆσαι γὰρ τἀδελφῷ τῆς βασιλείας. τοσαύτην δὲ δόξαν ἔσχε τὸ σύγγραμμα ὡς καὶ αἱρετιστὰς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι τοὺς κληθέντας Ἡρακλειτείους.

7 Ἐδόκει δ' αὐτῷ καθολικῶς μὲν τάδε· ἐκ πυρὸς τὰ πάντα συνεστάναι καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ἀναλύεσθαι· πάντα δὲ γίνεσθαι καθ' εἱμαρμένην καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐναντιοδρομίας ἡρμόσθαι τὰ ὄντα· καὶ πάντα ψυχῶν εἶναι καὶ δαιμόνων πλήρη. εἴρηκε δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ συνισταμένων πάντων παθῶν, ὅτι τε ὁ ἥλιός ἐστι τὸ μέγεθος οἷος φαίνεται. λέγεται δὲ καὶ "ψυχῆς πείρατα ἰὼν οὐκ ἂν ἐξεύροιο, πᾶσαν ἐπιπορευόμενος ὁδόν· οὕτω βαθὺν λόγον ἔχει." τήν τ' οἴησιν ἱερὰν νόσον ἔλεγε καὶ τὴν ὅρασιν ψεύδεσθαι. λαμπρῶς τ' ἐνίοτε ἐν τῷ συγγράμματι καὶ σαφῶς ἐκβάλλει, ὥστε καὶ τὸν νωθέστατον ῥᾳδίως γνῶναι καὶ δίαρμα ψυχῆς λαβεῖν· ἥ τε βραχύτης καὶ τὸ βάρος τῆς ἑρμηνείας ἀσύγκριτον.

8 Καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ μέρους δὲ αὐτῷ ὧδ' ἔχει τῶν δογμάτων· πῦρ εἶναι στοιχεῖον καὶ πυρὸς ἀμοιβὴν τὰ πάντα, ἀραιώσει καὶ πυκνώσει γινόμενα. σαφῶς δ' οὐδὲν ἐκτίθεται. γίνεσθαί τε πάντα κατ' ἐναντιότητα καὶ ῥεῖν τὰ ὅλα ποταμοῦ δίκην, πεπεράνθαι τε τὸ πᾶν καὶ ἕνα εἶναι κόσμον· γεννᾶσθαί τε αὐτὸν ἐκ πυρὸς καὶ πάλιν ἐκπυροῦσθαι κατά τινας περιόδους ἐναλλὰξ τὸν σύμπαντα αἰῶνα· τοῦτο δὲ γίνεσθαι καθ' εἱμαρμένην. τῶν δὲ ἐναντίων τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν γένεσιν ἄγον καλεῖσθαι πόλεμον καὶ ἔριν, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν ὁμο-

[a] Fr. 45 D., 71 B. [b] Fr. 46 D., 132 B.
[c] *Cf.* Fr. 90 D., 22 B. [d] *Cf.* Fr. 80 D., 62 B.

Philosophers cites the fact that he renounced his claim to the kingship in favour of his brother. So great fame did his book win that a sect was founded and called the Heracliteans, after him.

Here is a general summary of his doctrines. All things are composed of fire, and into fire they are again resolved; further, all things come about by destiny, and existent things are brought into harmony by the clash of opposing currents; again, all things are filled with souls and divinities. He has also given an account of all the orderly happenings in the universe, and declares the sun to be no larger than it appears. Another of his sayings is: "Of soul thou shalt never find boundaries, not if thou trackest it on every path; so deep is its cause."[a] Self-conceit he used to call a falling sickness (epilepsy) and eyesight a lying sense.[b] Sometimes, however, his utterances are clear and distinct, so that even the dullest can easily understand and derive therefrom elevation of soul. For brevity and weightiness his exposition is incomparable.

Coming now to his particular tenets, we may state them as follows: fire is the element, all things are exchange for fire and come into being by rarefaction and condensation[c]; but of this he gives no clear explanation. All things come into being by conflict of opposites, and the sum of things flows like a stream. Further, all that is is limited and forms one world. And it is alternately born from fire and again resolved into fire in fixed cycles to all eternity, and this is determined by destiny. Of the opposites that which tends to birth or creation is called war and strife, and that which tends to destruction by fire is called concord and peace.[d] Change he called

λογίαν καὶ εἰρήνην, καὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν ὁδὸν ἄνω κάτω, τόν τε κόσμον γίνεσθαι κατ᾽ αὐτήν.

9 Πυκνούμενον γὰρ τὸ πῦρ ἐξυγραίνεσθαι συνιστάμενόν τε γίνεσθαι ὕδωρ, πηγνύμενον δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς γῆν τρέπεσθαι· καὶ ταύτην ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὸ κάτω εἶναι. πάλιν τε αὖ τὴν γῆν χεῖσθαι, ἐξ ἧς τὸ ὕδωρ γίνεσθαι, ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰ λοιπά, σχεδὸν πάντα ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναθυμίασιν ἀνάγων τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης· αὕτη δέ ἐστιν ἡ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄνω ὁδός. γίνεσθαι δ᾽ ἀναθυμιάσεις ἀπό τε γῆς καὶ θαλάττης, ἃς μὲν λαμπρὰς καὶ καθαράς, ἃς δὲ σκοτεινάς. αὔξεσθαι δὲ τὸ μὲν πῦρ ὑπὸ τῶν λαμπρῶν, τὸ δὲ ὑγρὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἑτέρων. τὸ δὲ περιέχον ὁποῖόν ἐστιν οὐ δηλοῖ· εἶναι μέντοι ἐν αὐτῷ σκάφας ἐπεστραμμένας κατὰ κοῖλον πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἐν αἷς ἀθροιζομένας τὰς λαμπρὰς ἀναθυμιάσεις ἀποτελεῖν φλόγας, ἃς εἶναι τὰ ἄστρα.

10 λαμπροτάτην δὲ εἶναι τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου φλόγα καὶ θερμοτάτην. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα ἄστρα πλεῖον ἀπέχειν ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἧττον λάμπειν καὶ θάλπειν, τὴν δὲ σελήνην προσγειοτέραν οὖσαν μὴ διὰ τοῦ καθαροῦ φέρεσθαι τόπου. τὸν μέντοι ἥλιον ἐν διαυγεῖ καὶ ἀμιγεῖ κινεῖσθαι[1] καὶ σύμμετρον ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἔχειν διάστημα· τοιγάρτοι μᾶλλον θερμαίνειν τε καὶ φωτίζειν. ἐκλείπειν τε ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην, ἄνω στρεφομένων τῶν σκαφῶν· τούς τε κατὰ μῆνα τῆς σελήνης σχηματισμοὺς γίνεσθαι στρεφομένης ἐν αὐτῇ κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς σκάφης. ἡμέραν τε καὶ νύκτα γίνεσθαι καὶ μῆνας καὶ ὥρας ἐτείους καὶ ἐνιαυτοὺς ὑετούς τε καὶ πνεύματα καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια κατὰ τὰς διαφόρους ἀναθυμιάσεις.

11 τὴν μὲν γὰρ λαμπρὰν ἀναθυμίασιν φλογωθεῖσαν ἐν τῷ κύκλῳ[2] τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέραν ποιεῖν, τὴν δὲ ἐναντίαν

a pathway up and down, and this determines the birth of the world.

For fire by contracting turns into moisture, and this condensing turns into water; water again when congealed turns into earth. This process he calls the downward path. Then again earth is liquefied, and thus gives rise to water, and from water the rest of the series is derived. He reduces nearly everything to exhalation from the sea. This process is the upward path. Exhalations arise from earth as well as from sea; those from sea are bright and pure, those from earth dark. Fire is fed by the bright exhalations, the moist element by the others. He does not make clear the nature of the surrounding element. He says, however, that there are in it bowls with their concavities turned towards us, in which the bright exhalations collect and produce flames. These are the stars. The flame of the sun is the brightest and the hottest; the other stars are further from the earth and for that reason give it less light and heat. The moon, which is nearer to the earth, traverses a region which is not pure. The sun, however, moves in a clear and untroubled region, and keeps a proportionate distance from us. That is why it gives us more heat and light. Eclipses of the sun and moon occur when the bowls are turned upwards; the monthly phases of the moon are due to the bowl turning round in its place little by little. Day and night, months, seasons and years, rains and winds and other similar phenomena are accounted for by the various exhalations. Thus the bright exhalation, set aflame in the hollow orb of the sun, produces day, the opposite exhalation when it has

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[1] κεῖσθαι vulg.: corr. Reiske. [2] κοίλῳ Reiske.

ἐπικρατήσασαν νύκτ' ἀποτελεῖν· καὶ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ λαμπροῦ τὸ θερμὸν αὐξόμενον θέρος ποιεῖν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ σκοτεινοῦ τὸ ὑγρὸν πλεονάζον χειμῶνα ἀπεργάζεσθαι. ἀκολούθως δὲ τούτοις καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰτιολογεῖ. περὶ δὲ τῆς γῆς οὐδὲν ἀποφαίνεται ποία τίς ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν σκαφῶν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ δοκοῦντα.

Τὰ δὲ περὶ Σωκράτους καὶ ὅσα ἐντυχὼν τῷ συγγράμματι εἴποι, κομίσαντος Εὐριπίδου, καθά φησιν Ἀρίστων, ἐν τῷ περὶ Σωκράτους εἰρήκαμεν.
12 *Σέλευκος μέντοι φησὶν ὁ γραμματικὸς Κρότωνά τινα ἱστορεῖν ἐν τῷ Κατακολυμβητῇ Κράτητά τινα πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κομίσαι τὸ βιβλίον· <ὃν> καὶ εἰπεῖν Δηλίου τινὸς δεῖσθαι κολυμβητοῦ, ὃς οὐκ ἀποπνιγήσεται ἐν αὐτῷ. ἐπιγράφουσι δ' αὐτῷ οἱ μὲν Μούσας, οἱ δὲ Περὶ φύσεως, Διόδοτος δὲ*

ἀκριβὲς οἰάκισμα πρὸς σταθμὴν βίου,

ἄλλοι γνώμον' ἠθῶν, <τοῦ θ' ὅλου> κόσμου τρόπιν ἑνός τε ξυμπάντων τε.[1] *φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν ἐρωτηθέντα διὰ τί σιωπᾷ, φάναι "ἵν' ὑμεῖς λαλῆτε." ἐπόθησε δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Δαρεῖος μετασχεῖν καὶ ἔγραψεν ὧδε πρὸς αὐτόν·*

13 "Βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος πατρὸς Ὑστάσπεω Ἡράκλειτον Ἐφέσιον σοφὸν ἄνδρα προσαγορεύει χαίρειν.

"Καταβέβλησαι λόγον Περὶ φύσεως δυσνόητόν

[1] *καὶ γνώμον' ἠθῶν, <καὶ καλὸν> κόσμον τρόπων ἑνός τε συμπάντων τε* Diels.

[a] ii. 22.

[b] Plato, alluding to Heraclitus, speaks of "Ionian Muses" (*Soph.* 242 E). He is followed by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* v. 9, 682 P. *αἱ γοῦν Ἰάδες Μοῦσαι διαρρήδην λέγουσι*),

got the mastery causes night; the increase of warmth due to the bright exhalation produces summer, whereas the preponderance of moisture due to the dark exhalation brings about winter. His explanations of other phenomena are in harmony with this. He gives no account of the nature of the earth, nor even of the bowls. These, then, were his opinions.

The story told by Ariston of Socrates, and his remarks when he came upon the book of Heraclitus, which Euripides brought him, I have mentioned in my Life of Socrates.[a] However, Seleucus the grammarian says that a certain Croton relates in his book called *The Diver* that the said work of Heraclitus was first brought into Greece by one Crates, who further said it required a Delian diver not to be drowned in it. The title given to it by some is *The Muses*,[b] by others *Concerning Nature*; but Diodotus calls it[c]

> A helm unerring for the rule of life;

others "a guide of conduct, the keel of the whole world, for one and all alike." We are told that, when asked why he kept silence, he replied, "Why, to let you chatter." Darius, too, was eager to make his acquaintance, and wrote to him as follows[d]:

"King Darius, son of Hystaspes, to Heraclitus the wise man of Ephesus, greeting.

"You are the author of a treatise *On Nature* which

and possibly, as M. Ernout thinks, by Lucretius, i. 657, where "Musae" is the MS. reading. But *cf.* Lachmann, *ad loc.*

[c] Nauck, *T.G.F.*², *Adesp.* 287.

[d] The request of Darius is mentioned by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 65 οὗτος βασιλέα Δαρεῖον παρακαλοῦντα ἥκειν εἰς Πέρσας ὑπερεῖδεν. The story is not made more plausible by the two forged letters to which it must have given rise.

τε καὶ δυσεξήγητον. ἔν τισι μὲν οὖν ἑρμηνευόμενος κατὰ λέξιν σὴν δοκεῖ δύναμίν τινα περιέχειν θεωρίας κόσμου τε τοῦ σύμπαντος καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτῳ γινομένων, ἅπερ ἐστὶν ἐν θειοτάτῃ κείμενα κινήσει· τῶν δὲ πλείστων ἐποχὴν ἔχοντα, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον μετεσχηκότας συγγραμμάτων διαπορεῖσθαι τῆς ὀρθῆς[1] δοκούσης γεγράφθαι παρὰ σοὶ ἐξηγήσεως. βασιλεὺς οὖν Δαρεῖος Ὑστάσπου βούλεται τῆς σῆς ἀκροάσεως μετασχεῖν καὶ παιδείας Ἑλληνικῆς. ἔρχου δὴ συντόμως πρὸς ἐμὴν
14 ὄψιν καὶ βασίλειον οἶκον. Ἕλληνες γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἀνεπισήμαντοι σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὄντες παρορῶσι τὰ καλῶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐνδεικνύμενα πρὸς σπουδαίαν ἀκοὴν καὶ μάθησιν. παρ' ἐμοὶ δ' ὑπάρχει σοι πᾶσα μὲν προεδρία, καθ' ἡμέραν δὲ καλὴ καὶ σπουδαία προσαγόρευσις καὶ βίος εὐδόκιμος σαῖς παραινέσεσιν."

"Ἡράκλειτος Ἐφέσιος βασιλέϊ Δαρείῳ πατρὸς Ὑστάσπεω χαίρειν.

"Ὁκόσοι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες ἐπιχθόνιοι τῆς μὲν ἀληθηίης καὶ δικαιοπραγμοσύνης ἀπέχονται, ἀπληστίῃ δὲ καὶ δοξοκοπίῃ προσέχουσι κακῆς ἕνεκα ἀνοίης. ἐγὼ δ' ἀμνηστίην ἔχων πάσης πονηρίης καὶ κόρον φεύγων παντὸς οἰκειούμενον φθόνῳ καὶ διὰ τὸ περιίστασθαι ὑπερηφανίην οὐκ ἂν ἀφικοίμην εἰς Περσῶν χώρην, ὀλίγοις ἀρκεόμενος κατ' ἐμὴν γνώμην."

Τοιοῦτος μὲν ἀνὴρ καὶ πρὸς βασιλέα.

15 Δημήτριος δέ φησιν ἐν τοῖς Ὁμωνύμοις καὶ Ἀθηναίων αὐτὸν ὑπερφρονῆσαι, δόξαν ἔχοντα

[1] ὀρθῶς Richards.

is hard to understand and hard to interpret. In certain parts, if it be interpreted word for word, it seems to contain a power of speculation on the whole universe and all that goes on within it, which depends upon motion most divine; but for the most part judgement is suspended, so that even those who are the most conversant with literature are at a loss to know what is the right interpretation of your work. Accordingly King Darius, son of Hystaspes, wishes to enjoy your instruction and Greek culture. Come then with all speed to see me at my palace. For the Greeks as a rule are not prone to mark their wise men; nay, they neglect their excellent precepts which make for good hearing and learning. But at my court there is secured for you every privilege and daily conversation of a good and worthy kind, and a life in keeping with your counsels."

"Heraclitus of Ephesus to King Darius, son of Hystaspes, greeting.

"All men upon earth hold aloof from truth and justice, while, by reason of wicked folly, they devote themselves to avarice and thirst for popularity. But I, being forgetful of all wickedness, shunning the general satiety which is closely joined with envy, and because I have a horror of splendour, could not come to Persia, being content with little, when that little is to my mind."

So independent was he even when dealing with a king.

Demetrius, in his book on *Men of the Same Name*, says that he despised even the Athenians, although held by them in the highest estimation; and,

παμπλείστην, καταφρονούμενόν τε ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐφεσίων ἑλέσθαι μᾶλλον τὰ οἰκεῖα. μέμνηται αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος ἐν τῇ Σωκράτους ἀπολογίᾳ. πλεῖστοί τέ εἰσιν ὅσοι ἐξήγηνται αὐτοῦ τὸ σύγγραμμα· καὶ γὰρ Ἀντισθένης καὶ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς Κλεάνθης τε καὶ Σφαῖρος ὁ Στωικός, πρὸς δὲ Παυσανίας ὁ κληθεὶς Ἡρακλειτιστής, Νικομήδης τε καὶ Διονύσιος· τῶν δὲ γραμματικῶν Διόδοτος, ὅς οὔ φησι περὶ φύσεως εἶναι τὸ σύγγραμμα, ἀλλὰ περὶ πολιτείας, τὸ δὲ περὶ φύσεως ἐν παραδείγματος εἴδει κεῖσθαι.

16 *Ἱερώνυμος δέ φησι καὶ Σκυθῖνον τὸν τῶν ἰάμβων ποιητὴν ἐπιβαλέσθαι τὸν ἐκείνου λόγον διὰ μέτρου ἐκβάλλειν. πολλά τ' εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπιγράμματα φέρεται, ἀτὰρ δὴ καὶ τόδε·*

Ἡράκλειτος ἐγώ· τί μ' ἄνω κάτω ἕλκετ' ἄμουσοι;
οὐχ ὑμῖν ἐπόνουν, τοῖς δ' ἔμ' ἐπισταμένοις.
εἷς ἐμοὶ ἄνθρωπος τρισμύριοι, οἱ δ' ἀνάριθμοι
οὐδείς. ταῦτ' αὐδῶ καὶ παρὰ Φερσεφόνῃ.

καὶ ἄλλο τοιόνδε·

μὴ ταχὺς Ἡρακλείτου ἐπ' ὀμφαλὸν εἴλεε βίβλον
τοὐφεσίου· μάλα τοι δύσβατος ἀτραπιτός.
ὀρφνὴ καὶ σκότος ἐστὶν ἀλάμπετον· ἢν δέ σε μύστης
εἰσαγάγῃ, φανεροῦ λαμπρότερ' ἠελίου.

17 *Γεγόνασι δ' Ἡράκλειτοι πέντε· πρῶτος αὐτὸς οὗτος· δεύτερος ποιητὴς λυρικός, οὗ ἐστι τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν ἐγκώμιον· τρίτος ἐλεγείας ποιητὴς*

[a] This work is again quoted in ix. 37 and ix. 57, and is perhaps the source of the first sentence of § 52 also.

notwithstanding that the Ephesians thought little of him, he preferred his own home the more. Demetrius of Phalerum, too, mentions him in his *Defence of Socrates*[a]; and the commentators on his work are very numerous, including as they do Antisthenes and Heraclides of Pontus, Cleanthes and Sphaerus the Stoic, and again Pausanias who was called the imitator of Heraclitus, Nicomedes, Dionysius, and, among the grammarians, Diodotus. The latter affirms that it is not a treatise upon nature, but upon government, the physical part serving merely for illustration.[b]

Hieronymus tells us that Scythinus, the satirical poet, undertook to put the discourse of Heraclitus into verse. He is the subject of many epigrams, and amongst them of this one[c]:

Heraclitus am I. Why do ye drag me up and down, ye illiterate? It was not for you I toiled, but for such as understand me. One man in my sight is a match for thirty thousand, but the countless hosts do not make a single one. This I proclaim, yea in the halls of Persephone.

Another runs as follows[d]:

Do not be in too great a hurry to get to the end of Heraclitus the Ephesian's book: the path is hard to travel. Gloom is there and darkness devoid of light. But if an initiate be your guide, the path shines brighter than sunlight.

Five men have borne the name of Heraclitus: (1) our philosopher; (2) a lyric poet, who wrote a hymn of praise to the twelve gods; (3) an elegiac

[b] Apparently D. L. is using, through another of his sources, the very same citation from Diodotus which he has given verbatim in § 12.

[c] *Anth. Pal.* vii. 128. [d] *Anth. Pal.* ix. 540.

Ἁλικαρνασσεύς, εἰς ὃν Καλλίμαχος πεποίηκεν οὕτως·

εἶπέ τις, Ἡράκλειτε, τεὸν μόρον, ἐς δ' ἐμὲ δάκρυ
ἤγαγεν, ἐμνήσθην δ' ὁσσάκις ἀμφότεροι
ἥλιον ἐν λέσχῃ κατεδύσαμεν. ἀλλὰ σὺ μέν που,
ξεῖν' Ἁλικαρνασσεῦ, τετράπαλαι σποδιή,
αἱ δὲ τεαὶ ζώουσιν ἀηδόνες, ᾗσιν ὁ πάντων
ἁρπάκτης Ἀΐδης οὐκ ἐπὶ χεῖρα βαλεῖ.

τέταρτος Λέσβιος, ἱστορίαν γεγραφὼς Μακεδονικήν· πέμπτος σπουδογέλοιος, ἀπὸ κιθαρῳδίας μεταβεβηκὼς εἰς <τόδε> τὸ εἶδος.

Κεφ. β'. ΞΕΝΟΦΑΝΗΣ

18 Ξενοφάνης Δεξίου ἤ, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος, Ὀρθομένους Κολοφώνιος ἐπαινεῖται πρὸς τοῦ Τίμωνος· φησὶ γοῦν,

Ξεινοφάνην θ' ὑπάτυφον, Ὁμηραπάτην ἐπικόπτην.

οὗτος ἐκπεσὼν τῆς πατρίδος ἐν Ζάγκλῃ τῆς Σικελίας * * *[1] διέτριβε δὲ καὶ ἐν Κατάνῃ. διήκουσε δὲ κατ' ἐνίους μὲν οὐδενός, κατ' ἐνίους δὲ Βότω-

[1] Diels after Σικελίας inserts <διέτριβε καὶ τῆς εἰς Ἐλέαν ἀποικίας κοινωνήσας ἐδίδασκεν ἐκεῖ>.

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[a] *Anth. Pal.* vii. 80.

[b] From Cory's *Ionica*, p. 7. In bare prose: "One told me of thy death, Heraclitus, and moved me to tears, when I remembered how often we two watched the sun go down upon our talk. But though thou, I ween, my Halicarnassian friend, art dust long, long ago, yet do thy

poet of Halicarnassus, on whom Callimachus wrote the following epitaph[a]:

They told me, Heraclitus, they told me you were dead,
They brought me bitter news to hear and bitter tears to shed.
I wept as I remembered how often you and I
Had tired the sun with talking and sent him down the sky.

And now that thou art lying, my dear old Carian guest,
A handful of grey ashes, long, long ago at rest,
Still are thy pleasant voices, thy nightingales, awake;
For Death, he taketh all away, but them he cannot take;[b]

(4) a Lesbian who wrote a history of Macedonia; (5) a jester who adopted this profession after having been a musician.

Chapter 2. XENOPHANES[c] (570–478 B.C.)

Xenophanes, a native of Colophon, the son of Dexius, or, according to Apollodorus, of Orthomenes, is praised by Timon, whose words at all events are:

Xenophanes, not over-proud, perverter of Homer, castigator.

He was banished from his native city and lived at Zancle in Sicily ‹and having joined the colony planted at Elea taught there›. He also lived in Catana. According to some he was no man's pupil,

'Nightingales' live on, and Death, that insatiate ravisher, shall lay no hand on them." Perhaps "Nightingales" was the title of a work. Laertius deserves our gratitude for inserting this little poem, especially on so slight a pretext.

[c] Diels (*Dox. Gr.* p. 140) compares Hippolytus, *Ref. Haer.* i. 14. 1; Plutarch, *Strom.* 4; Aëtius, i. 3. 12, ii. 4. 11, ii. 20. 3, iii. 9. 4, ii. 24. 9, i. 3. 12, iii. 16. 5, ultimately from Theophrastus, *Phys. Opin.* Fr. 5, Fr. 16.

νος Ἀθηναίου ἤ, ὥς τινες, Ἀρχελάου. καί, ὡς Σωτίων φησί, κατ' Ἀναξίμανδρον ἦν. γέγραφε δὲ καὶ ἐν ἔπεσι καὶ ἐλεγείας καὶ ἰάμβους καθ' Ἡσιόδου καὶ Ὁμήρου, ἐπικόπτων αὐτῶν τὰ περὶ θεῶν εἰρημένα. ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐρραψῴδει τὰ ἑαυτοῦ. ἀντιδοξάσαι τε λέγεται Θαλῇ καὶ Πυθαγόρᾳ, καθάψασθαι δὲ καὶ Ἐπιμενίδου. μακροβιώτατός τε γέγονεν, ὥς που καὶ αὐτός φησιν·

19 ἤδη δ' ἑπτά τ' ἔασι καὶ ἑξήκοντ' ἐνιαυτοὶ
βληστρίζοντες ἐμὴν φροντίδ' ἀν' Ἑλλάδα γῆν·
ἐκ γενετῆς δὲ τότ' ἦσαν ἐείκοσι πέντε τε πρὸς τοῖς,
εἴπερ ἐγὼ περὶ τῶνδ' οἶδα λέγειν ἐτύμως.

Φησὶ δὲ τέτταρα εἶναι τῶν ὄντων στοιχεῖα, κόσμους δ' ἀπείρους, οὐ παραλλακτοὺς δέ. τὰ νέφη συνίστασθαι τῆς ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀτμίδος ἀναφερομένης καὶ αἰρούσης αὐτὰ εἰς τὸ περιέχον. οὐσίαν θεοῦ σφαιροειδῆ, μηδὲν ὅμοιον ἔχουσαν ἀνθρώπῳ· ὅλον δὲ ὁρᾶν καὶ ὅλον ἀκούειν, μὴ μέντοι ἀναπνεῖν· σύμπαντά τε εἶναι νοῦν καὶ φρόνησιν καὶ ἀΐδιον. πρῶτός τε ἀπεφήνατο ὅτι πᾶν τὸ γινόμενον φθαρτόν ἐστι καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ πνεῦμα.

20 Ἔφη δὲ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἥσσω νοῦ εἶναι. καὶ τοῖς τυράννοις ἐντυγχάνειν ἢ ὡς ἥκιστα ἢ ὡς ἥδιστα. Ἐμπεδοκλέους δὲ εἰπόντος αὐτῷ ὅτι ἀνεύρετός ἐστιν ὁ σοφός, "εἰκότως," ἔφη· "σοφὸν γὰρ εἶναι δεῖ τὸν ἐπιγνωσόμενον τὸν σοφόν." φησὶ δὲ Σωτίων

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[a] Possibly the same Boton who taught Theramenes rhetoric. If so, D. L. (or his authority) may have transferred to Xenophanes an excerpt intended for Xenophon. See the note of Diels, *Fr. d. Vors.*, on 11 A. 1 (Xenophanes)

[b] Fr. 8 D.

according to others he was a pupil of Boton of Athens,[a] or, as some say, of Archelaus. Sotion makes him a contemporary of Anaximander. His writings are in epic metre, as well as elegiacs and iambics attacking Hesiod and Homer and denouncing what they said about the gods. Furthermore he used to recite his own poems. It is stated that he opposed the views of Thales and Pythagoras, and attacked Epimenides also. He lived to a very great age, as his own words somewhere testify [b]:

Seven and sixty are now the years that have been tossing my cares up and down the land of Greece; and there were then twenty and five years more from my birth up, if I know how to speak truly about these things.

He holds that there are four elements of existent things, and worlds unlimited in number but not overlapping <in time>. Clouds are formed when the vapour from the sun is carried upwards and lifts them into the surrounding air. The substance of God is spherical, in no way resembling man. He is all eye and all ear, but does not breathe; he is the totality of mind and thought, and is eternal. Xenophanes was the first to declare that everything which comes into being is doomed to perish, and that the soul is breath.[c]

He also said that the mass of things falls short of thought; and again that our encounters with tyrants should be as few, or else as pleasant, as possible. When Empedocles remarked to him that it is impossible to find a wise man, "Naturally," he replied, "for it takes a wise man to recognize a wise man."

[c] Presumably followed by Epicharmus when he wrote

εὐσεβὴς νόῳ πεφυκὼς οὐ πάθοις κ' οὐδὲν κακὸν
κατθανών· ἄνω τὸ πνεῦμα διαμενεῖ κατ' οὐρανόν.

(Fr. 22, *ap.* Clem. *Strom.* iv. 170, p. 640 P.)

πρῶτον αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν ἀκατάληπτ' εἶναι τὰ πάντα, πλανώμενος.

Ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ Κολοφῶνος κτίσιν καὶ τὸν εἰς Ἐλέαν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀποικισμὸν ἔπη δισχίλια. καὶ ἤκμαζε κατὰ τὴν ἑξηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα. φησὶ δὲ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τῷ Περὶ γήρως καὶ Παναίτιος ὁ Στωικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ εὐθυμίας ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶ θάψαι τοὺς υἱεῖς αὐτόν, καθάπερ καὶ Ἀναξαγόραν. δοκεῖ δὲ πεπρᾶσθαι ὑπὸ * * <καὶ λελύσθαι ὑπὸ> τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν Παρμενίσκου καὶ Ὀρεστάδου, καθά φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων πρώτῳ. γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Ξενοφάνης Λέσβιος ποιητὴς ἰάμβων.

Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οἱ σποράδην.

Κεφ. γʹ. ΠΑΡΜΕΝΙΔΗΣ

21 Ξενοφάνους δὲ διήκουσε Παρμενίδης Πύρητος Ἐλεάτης (τοῦτον Θεόφραστος ἐν τῇ Ἐπιτομῇ Ἀναξιμάνδρου φησὶν ἀκοῦσαι). ὅμως δ' οὖν ἀκούσας καὶ Ξενοφάνους οὐκ ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ. ἐκοινώνησε δὲ καὶ Ἀμεινίᾳ Διοχαίτα τῷ Πυθαγορικῷ, ὡς ἔφη Σωτίων, ἀνδρὶ πένητι μέν, καλῷ δὲ καὶ ἀγαθῷ. ᾧ καὶ μᾶλλον ἠκολούθησε καὶ

[a] It would be rash to infer from this single notice, that Sotion, considering Xenophanes a Sceptic, did not derive him from the Pythagoreans through Telauges.

[b] 540–537 B.C.

[c] ii. 13.

[d] Diels (*op. cit.* p. 141) compares Hippolytus, *Ref. Haer.* i. 11. 1, 2; Plutarch, *Strom.* 5: Aëtius, i. 3. 14, iv. 9. 1, iv. 5. 12, iii. 15. 7: ultimately from Theophrastus, *Phys. Opin.* Fr. 6. 7, 17.

Sotion says that he was the first to maintain that all things are incognizable, but Sotion is in error.[a]

One of his poems is *The Founding of Colophon*, and another *The Settlement of a Colony at Elea in Italy*, making 2000 lines in all. He flourished about the 60th Olympiad.[b] That he buried his sons with his own hands like Anaxagoras[c] is stated by Demetrius of Phalerum in his work *On Old Age* and by Panaetius the Stoic in his book *Of Cheerfulness*. He is believed to have been sold into slavery by <. . . and to have been set free by> the Pythagoreans Parmeniscus and Orestades: so Favorinus in the first book of his *Memorabilia*. There was also another Xenophanes, of Lesbos, an iambic poet.

Such were the "sporadic" philosophers.

Chapter 3. PARMENIDES[d] [*flor.* c. 500 B.C.]

Parmenides, a native of Elea, son of Pyres, was a pupil of Xenophanes (Theophrastus in his *Epitome* makes him a pupil of Anaximander).[e] Parmenides, however, though he was instructed by Xenophanes, was no follower of his. According to Sotion[f] he also associated with Ameinias the Pythagorean, who was the son of Diochaetas and a worthy gentleman though poor. This Ameinias he was more inclined to follow,

[e] Diels considers this sentence to be a marginal note of an editor referring to Xenophanes, not Parmenides.

[f] Sotion would thus appear to separate Parmenides from Xenophanes. Compare note *a* on p. 426. Diels conjectures that an epitaph on the Pythagoreans mentioned is the ultimate authority here.

ἀποθανόντος ἡρῷον ἱδρύσατο γένους τε ὑπάρχων λαμπροῦ καὶ πλούτου, καὶ ὑπ' Ἀμεινίου ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὸ Ξενοφάνους εἰς ἡσυχίαν προετράπη.

Πρῶτος δ' οὗτος τὴν γῆν ἀπέφαινε σφαιροειδῆ καὶ ἐν μέσῳ κεῖσθαι. δύο τε εἶναι στοιχεῖα, πῦρ καὶ γῆν, καὶ τὸ μὲν δημιουργοῦ τάξιν ἔχειν, τὴν
22 *δ' ὕλης. γένεσίν τ' ἀνθρώπων ἐξ ἡλίου πρῶτον γενέσθαι· αὐτὸν δὲ ὑπερέχειν*[1] *τὸ θερμὸν καὶ τὸ ψυχρόν, ἐξ ὧν τὰ πάντα συνεστάναι. καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸν νοῦν ταὐτὸν εἶναι, καθὰ μέμνηται καὶ Θεόφραστος ἐν τοῖς Φυσικοῖς, πάντων σχεδὸν ἐκτιθέμενος τὰ δόγματα. δισσήν τε ἔφη τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, τὴν μὲν κατ' ἀλήθειαν, τὴν δὲ κατὰ δόξαν. διὸ καί φησί που·*

χρεὼ δέ σε πάντα πυθέσθαι
ἠμὲν Ἀληθείης εὐκυκλέος[2] *ἀτρεμὲς ἦτορ,*
ἠδὲ βροτῶν δόξας, ταῖς οὐκ ἔνι πίστις ἀληθής.

Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ ποιημάτων φιλοσοφεῖ, καθάπερ Ἡσίοδός τε καὶ Ξενοφάνης καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς. κριτήριον δὲ τὸν λόγον εἶπε· τάς τε αἰσθήσεις μὴ ἀκριβεῖς ὑπάρχειν. φησὶ γοῦν·

μηδέ σ' ἔθος πολύπειρον ὁδὸν κατὰ τήνδε βιάσθω
νωμᾶν ἄσκοπον ὄμμα καὶ ἠχήεσσαν ἀκουὴν
καὶ γλῶσσαν, κρῖναι δὲ λόγῳ πολύδηριν ἔλεγχον.

23 *διὸ καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν ὁ Τίμων·*

[1] *ὑπερέχειν*] *ὑπάρχειν* vulg.: corr. Apelt.
[2] *εὐπειθέος* vulg.

[a] Fr. 1. 28 D.
[b] The text of Parmenides had suffered in the course of time. Here Laertius, like Sextus Empiricus and Plutarch, read *εὐπειθέος ἀτρεκὲς*; Proclus, two centuries later, *εὐφεγγέος*;

and on his death he built a shrine to him, being himself of illustrious birth and possessed of great wealth; moreover it was Ameinias and not Xenophanes who led him to adopt the peaceful life of a student.

He was the first to declare that the earth is spherical and is situated in the centre of the universe. He held that there were two elements, fire and earth, and that the former discharged the function of a craftsman, the latter of his material. The generation of man proceeded from the sun as first cause; heat and cold, of which all things consist, surpass the sun itself. Again he held that soul and mind are one and the same, as Theophrastus mentions in his *Physics*, where he is setting forth the tenets of almost all the schools. He divided his philosophy into two parts dealing the one with truth, the other with opinion. Hence he somewhere says [a]:

Thou must needs learn all things, as well the unshakeable heart of well-rounded truth as the opinions of mortals in which there is no sure trust.[b]

Our philosopher too commits his doctrines to verse just as did Hesiod, Xenophanes and Empedocles. He made reason the standard and pronounced sensations to be inexact. At all events his words are [c]:

And let not long-practised wont force thee to tread this path, to be governed by an aimless eye, an echoing ear and a tongue, but do thou with understanding bring the much-contested issue to decision.

Hence Timon [d] says of him [e]:

but Simplicius, on *De caelo*, enables us to go behind our author by citing (as he no doubt would have wished to do) the better reading.

[c] Fr. 1. 34 D. [d] Fr. 44 D. [e] *Cf. Od.* xi. 601.

Παρμενίδου τε βίην μεγαλόφρονος οὐ πολύδοξον,
ὅς ῥ᾽ ἀπὸ φαντασίας ἀπάτης ἀνενείκατο νώσεις.

εἰς τοῦτον καὶ Πλάτων τὸν διάλογον γέγραφε, "Παρμενίδην" ἐπιγράψας "ἢ Περὶ ἰδεῶν."

Ἤκμαζε δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐνάτην καὶ ἑξηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα.[a] καὶ δοκεῖ πρῶτος πεφωρακέναι τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι Ἕσπερον καὶ Φωσφόρον, ὥς φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν πέμπτῳ Ἀπομνημονευμάτων· οἱ δὲ Πυθαγόραν· Καλλίμαχος δέ φησι μὴ εἶναι αὐτοῦ τὸ ποίημα. λέγεται δὲ καὶ νόμους θεῖναι τοῖς πολίταις, ὥς φησι Σπεύσιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ φιλοσόφων. καὶ πρῶτος ἐρωτῆσαι τὸν Ἀχιλλέα λόγον, ὡς Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ.

Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἕτερος Παρμενίδης, ῥήτωρ τεχνογράφος.

Κεφ. δ΄. ΜΕΛΙΣΣΟΣ

24 Μέλισσος Ἰθαιγένους Σάμιος. οὗτος ἤκουσε Παρμενίδου· ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς λόγους ἦλθεν Ἡρακλείτῳ· ὅτε καὶ συνέστησεν αὐτὸν τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις ἀγνοοῦσι, καθάπερ Ἱπποκράτης Δημόκριτον Ἀβδηρίταις. γέγονε δὲ καὶ πολιτικὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ ἀποδοχῆς παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ἠξιωμένος· ὅθεν ναύαρχος αἱρεθεὶς ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐθαυμάσθη διὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀρετήν.

Ἐδόκει δ᾽ αὐτῷ τὸ πᾶν ἄπειρον εἶναι καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον καὶ ἀκίνητον καὶ ἓν ὅμοιον ἑαυτῷ καὶ

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[a] 504–500 B.C. [b] *Cf. supra*, § 15.

And the strength of high-souled Parmenides, of no diverse opinions, who introduced thought instead of imagination's deceit.

It was about him that Plato wrote a dialogue with the title *Parmenides or Concerning Ideas*.

He flourished in the 69th Olympiad.[a] He is believed to have been the first to detect the identity of Hesperus, the evening-star, and Phosphorus, the morning-star; so Favorinus in the fifth book of his *Memorabilia*; but others attribute this to Pythagoras, whereas Callimachus holds that the poem in question was not the work of Pythagoras. Parmenides is said to have served his native city as a legislator: so we learn from Speusippus in his book *On Philosophers*. Also to have been the first to use the argument known as "Achilles <and the tortoise>": so Favorinus tells us in his *Miscellaneous History*.

There was also another Parmenides, a rhetorician who wrote a treatise on his art.

Chapter 4. MELISSUS

Melissus, the son of Ithaegenes, was a native of Samos. He was a pupil of Parmenides. Moreover he came into relations with Heraclitus, on which occasion the latter was introduced by him to the Ephesians, who did not know him,[b] as Democritus was to the citizens of Abdera by Hippocrates. He took part also in politics and won the approval of his countrymen, and for this reason he was elected admiral and won more admiration than ever through his own merit.

In his view the universe was unlimited, unchangeable and immovable, and was one, uniform

πλῆρες· κίνησίν τε μὴ εἶναι, δοκεῖν δ' εἶναι. ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ θεῶν ἔλεγε μὴ δεῖν ἀποφαίνεσθαι· μὴ γὰρ εἶναι γνῶσιν αὐτῶν.

Φησὶ δ' Ἀπολλόδωρος ἠκμακέναι αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν τετάρτην καὶ ὀγδοηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα.

Κεφ. ε'. ΖΗΝΩΝ ΕΛΕΑΤΗΣ

25 Ζήνων Ἐλεάτης. τοῦτον Ἀπολλόδωρός φησιν εἶναι ἐν Χρονικοῖς [Πύρητος τὸν δὲ Παρμενίδην] φύσει μὲν Τελευταγόρου, θέσει δὲ Παρμενίδου ‹τὸν δὲ Παρμενίδην Πύρητος[1]›. περὶ τούτου καὶ Μελίσσου Τίμων φησὶ ταῦτα·

ἀμφοτερογλώσσου τε μέγα σθένος οὐκ ἀλαπαδνὸν
Ζήνωνος πάντων ἐπιλήπτορος, ἠδὲ Μέλισσον,
πολλῶν φαντασμῶν ἐπάνω, παύρων γε μὲν ἥσσω.

Ὁ δὴ Ζήνων διακήκοε Παρμενίδου καὶ γέγονεν αὐτοῦ παιδικά. καὶ εὐμήκης ἦν, καθά φησι Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Παρμενίδῃ, ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ Σοφιστῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ Φαίδρῳ ‹αὐτοῦ μέμνηται› καὶ Ἐλεατικὸν Παλαμήδην αὐτὸν καλεῖ. φησὶ δ' Ἀριστοτέλης εὑρετὴν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι διαλεκτικῆς, ὥσπερ Ἐμπεδοκλέα ῥητορικῆς.

26 Γέγονε δὲ ἀνὴρ γενναιότατος καὶ ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ ἐν πολιτείᾳ· φέρεται γοῦν αὐτοῦ βιβλία πολλῆς συνέσεως γέμοντα. καθελεῖν δὲ θελήσας Νέαρχον τὸν τύραννον—οἱ δὲ Διομέδοντα—συνελήφθη, καθά φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ἐν τῇ Σατύρου ἐπιτομῇ. ὅτε καὶ ἐξεταζόμενος τοὺς συνειδότας καὶ περὶ τῶν

[1] τὸν δὲ . . . Πύρητος transposed by Karsten.

and full of matter. There was no real, but only apparent, motion. Moreover he said that we ought not to make any statements about the gods, for it was impossible to have knowledge of them.

According to Apollodorus, he flourished in the 84th Olympiad.[a]

Chapter 5. ZENO OF ELEA

Zeno was a citizen of Elea. Apollodorus in his *Chronology* says that he was the son of Teleutagoras by birth, but of Parmenides by adoption, while Parmenides was the son of Pyres. Of Zeno and Melissus Timon [b] speaks thus [c]:

> Great Zeno's strength which, never known to fail,
> On each side urged, on each side could prevail.
> In marshalling arguments Melissus too,
> More skilled than many a one, and matched by few.

Zeno, then, was all through a pupil of Parmenides and his bosom friend. He was tall in stature, as Plato says in his *Parmenides*.[d] The same philosopher ‹mentions him› in his *Sophist*,[e] ‹and *Phaedrus*,[f]› and calls him the Eleatic Palamedes. Aristotle says that Zeno was the inventor of dialectic, as Empedocles was of rhetoric.

He was a truly noble character both as philosopher and as politician; at all events, his extant books are brimful of intellect. Again, he plotted to overthrow Nearchus the tyrant (or, according to others, Diomedon) but was arrested: so Heraclides in his epitome of Satyrus. On that occasion he was cross-examined as to his accomplices and about the arms

[a] 444–440 B.C.
[b] Fr. 45 D.
[c] *Cf. Il.* xxiii. 827; v. 783.
[d] 127 B.
[e] p. 216 A.
[f] 261 D.

ὅπλων ὧν ἦγεν εἰς Λιπάραν, πάντας ἐμήνυσεν αὐτοῦ τοὺς φίλους, βουλόμενος αὐτὸν ἔρημον καταστῆσαι· εἶτα περί τινων εἰπεῖν ἔχειν τινα <*ἔφη*> *αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ οὖς καὶ δακὼν οὐκ ἀνῆκεν ἕως ἀπεκεντήθη, ταὐτὸν Ἀριστογείτονι τῷ τυραννοκτόνῳ παθών.*

27 *Δημήτριος δέ φησιν ἐν τοῖς Ὁμωνύμοις τὸν μυκτῆρα αὐτὸν ἀποτραγεῖν. Ἀντισθένης δὲ ἐν ταῖς Διαδοχαῖς φησι μετὰ τὸ μηνῦσαι τοὺς φίλους ἐρωτηθῆναι πρὸς τοῦ τυράννου εἴ τις ἄλλος εἴη· τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν, "σὺ ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἀλιτήριος." πρός τε τοὺς παρεστῶτας φάναι· "θαυμάζω ὑμῶν τὴν δειλίαν, εἰ τούτων ἕνεκεν ὧν νῦν ἐγὼ ὑπομένω, δουλεύετε τῷ τυράννῳ·" καὶ τέλος ἀποτραγόντα τὴν γλῶτταν προσπτύσαι αὐτῷ· τοὺς δὲ πολίτας παρορμηθέντας αὐτίκα τὸν τύραννον καταλεῦσαι. ταὐτὰ δὲ σχεδὸν οἱ πλείους λαλοῦσιν. Ἕρμιππος δέ φησιν εἰς ὅλμον αὐτὸν βληθῆναι καὶ κατακοπῆναι.*

28 *Καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἡμεῖς εἴπομεν οὕτως·*

ἤθελες, ὦ Ζήνων, καλὸν ἤθελες ἄνδρα τύραννον
κτείνας ἐκλῦσαι δουλοσύνης Ἐλέαν.
ἀλλ' ἐδάμης· δὴ γάρ σε λαβὼν ὁ τύραννος ἐν ὅλμῳ
κόψε. τί τοῦτο λέγω; σῶμα γάρ, οὐχὶ δὲ σέ.

Γέγονε δὲ τά τε ἄλλα ἀγαθὸς ὁ Ζήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπεροπτικὸς τῶν μειζόνων κατ' ἴσον Ἡρακλείτῳ·

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[a] The heroic death of Zeno and his defiance of the tyrant furnished a theme for various writers; *cf.* Plutarch, *Adv. Col.* p. 1126 D; *De garrulitate*, p. 505 D; *De Stoicorum*

which he was conveying to Lipara; he denounced all the tyrant's own friends, wishing to make him destitute of supporters. Then, saying that he had something to tell him about certain people in his private ear, he laid hold of it with his teeth and did not let go until stabbed to death, meeting the same fate as Aristogiton the tyrannicide.

Demetrius in his work on *Men of the Same Name* says that he bit off, not the ear, but the nose. According to Antisthenes in his *Successions of Philosophers*, after informing against the tyrant's friends, he was asked by the tyrant whether there was anyone else in the plot; whereupon he replied, "Yes, you, the curse of the city!"; and to the bystanders he said, "I marvel at your cowardice, that, for fear of any of those things which I am now enduring, you should be the tyrant's slaves." And at last he bit off his tongue and spat it at him; and his fellow-citizens were so worked upon that they forthwith stoned the tyrant to death.[a] In this version of the story most authors nearly agree, but Hermippus says he was cast into a mortar and beaten to death.

Of him also I have written as follows [b]:

You wished, Zeno, and noble was your wish, to slay the tyrant and set Elea free from bondage. But you were crushed; for, as all know, the tyrant caught you and beat you in a mortar. But what is this that I say? It was your body that he beat, and not you.

In all other respects Zeno was a gallant man; and in particular he despised the great no less than

repugn. p. 1051 c, where he is ranked with Socrates, Pythagoras and Antiphon. *Cf.* also Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 57, citing Eratosthenes.

[b] *Anth. Pal.* vii. 129.

καὶ γὰρ οὗτος τὴν πρότερον μὲν Ὑέλην, ὕστερον δ' Ἐλέαν, Φωκαέων οὖσαν ἀποικίαν, αὐτοῦ δὲ πατρίδα, πόλιν εὐτελῆ καὶ μόνον ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τρέφειν ἐπισταμένην ἠγάπησε μᾶλλον τῆς Ἀθηναίων μεγαλαυχίας, οὐκ ἐπιδημήσας πώμαλα πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀλλ' αὐτόθι καταβιούς.

29 Οὗτος καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα πρῶτος λόγον ἠρώτησε [Φαβωρῖνος δέ φησι Παρμενίδην] καὶ ἄλλους συχνούς. ἀρέσκει δ' αὐτῷ τάδε· κόσμους εἶναι κενόν τε μὴ εἶναι· γεγενῆσθαι δὲ τὴν τῶν πάντων φύσιν ἐκ θερμοῦ καὶ ψυχροῦ καὶ ξηροῦ καὶ ὑγροῦ, λαμβανόντων αὐτῶν εἰς ἄλληλα τὴν μεταβολήν· γένεσίν τε ἀνθρώπων ἐκ γῆς εἶναι καὶ ψυχὴν κρᾶμα ὑπάρχειν ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων κατὰ μηδενὸς τούτων ἐπικράτησιν.

Τοῦτόν φασι λοιδορούμενον ἀγανακτῆσαι· αἰτιασαμένου δέ τινος, φάναι "ἐὰν μὴ λοιδορούμενος προσποιῶμαι, οὐδ' ἐπαινούμενος αἰσθήσομαι."

Ὅτι δὲ γεγόνασι Ζήνωνες ὀκτὼ ἐν τῷ Κιτιεῖ διειλέγμεθα. ἤκμαζε δ' οὗτος κατὰ τὴν ἐνάτην ‹καὶ ἑβδομηκοστὴν› Ὀλυμπιάδα.

Κεφ. ϛ'. ΛΕΥΚΙΠΠΟΣ

30 Λεύκιππος Ἐλεάτης, ὡς δέ τινες, Ἀβδηρίτης, κατ' ἐνίους δὲ Μιλήσιος.[1] οὗτος ἤκουσε Ζήνωνος. ἤρεσκε δ' αὐτῷ ἄπειρα εἶναι τὰ πάντα καὶ εἰς

[1] Μήλιος codd.

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[a] A similar answer is ascribed to Empedocles in *Gnomologion Parisinum*, n. 153.

[b] vii. 35.

[c] 464–460 B.C.

Heraclitus. For example, his native place, the Phocaean colony, once known as Hyele and afterwards as Elea, a city of moderate size, skilled in nothing but to rear brave men, he preferred before all the splendour of Athens, hardly paying the Athenians a visit, but living all his life at home.

He was the first to propound the argument of the "Achilles," which Favorinus attributes to Parmenides, and many other arguments. His views are as follows. There are worlds, but there is no empty space. The substance of all things came from hot and cold, and dry and moist, which change into one another. The generation of man proceeds from earth, and the soul is formed by a union of all the foregoing, so blended that no one element predominates.

We are told that once when he was reviled he lost his temper, and, in reply to some one who blamed him for this, he said, "If when I am abused I pretend that I am not, then neither shall I be aware of it if I am praised." [a]

The fact that there were eight men of the name of Zeno we have already mentioned under Zeno of Citium.[b] Our philosopher flourished in the 79th Olympiad.[c]

Chapter 6. LEUCIPPUS [d]

Leucippus was born at Elea, but some say at Abdera and others at Miletus. He was a pupil of Zeno. His views were these. The sum of things

[d] With the account of Leucippus and Democritus Diels (*op. cit.* p. 142) compares Hippolytus, *Ref. Haeres.* i. 12. 1-2 and i. 13. 1; Aëtius i. 3. 15, i. 18. 3, ii. 1. 4, ii. 2. 2, ii. 7. 2, i. 3. 16; ultimately from Theophrastus, *Phys. Opin.* Fr. 8.

ἄλληλα μεταβάλλειν, τό τε πᾶν εἶναι κενὸν καὶ πλῆρες [σωμάτων]. τούς τε κόσμους γίνεσθαι σωμάτων εἰς τὸ κενὸν ἐμπιπτόντων καὶ ἀλλήλοις περιπλεκομένων· ἔκ τε τῆς κινήσεως κατὰ τὴν αὔξησιν αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι τὴν τῶν ἀστέρων φύσιν. φέρεσθαι δὲ τὸν ἥλιον ἐν μείζονι κύκλῳ περὶ τὴν σελήνην· τὴν γῆν ὀχεῖσθαι περὶ τὸ μέσον δινουμένην· σχῆμά τ' αὐτῆς τυμπανῶδες εἶναι. πρῶτός τε ἀτόμους ἀρχὰς ὑπεστήσατο. ‹καὶ› κεφαλαιωδῶς μὲν ταῦτα· ἐπὶ μέρους δ' ὧδε ἔχει.

31 Τὸ μὲν πᾶν ἄπειρόν φησιν, ὡς προείρηται· τούτου δὲ τὸ μὲν πλῆρες εἶναι, τὸ δὲ κενόν, ‹ἃ› καὶ στοιχεῖά φησι. κόσμους τε ἐκ τούτων ἀπείρους εἶναι καὶ διαλύεσθαι εἰς ταῦτα. γίνεσθαι δὲ τοὺς κόσμους οὕτω· φέρεσθαι κατ' ἀποτομὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀπείρου πολλὰ σώματα παντοῖα τοῖς σχήμασιν εἰς μέγα κενόν, ἅπερ ἀθροισθέντα δίνην ἀπεργάζεσθαι μίαν, καθ' ἣν προσκρούοντα ‹ἀλλήλοις› καὶ παντοδαπῶς κυκλούμενα διακρίνεσθαι χωρὶς τὰ ὅμοια πρὸς τὰ ὅμοια. ἰσορρόπων δὲ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος μηκέτι δυναμένων περιφέρεσθαι, τὰ μὲν λεπτὰ χωρεῖν εἰς τὸ ἔξω κενόν, ὥσπερ διαττώμενα· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ συμμένειν καὶ περιπλεκόμενα συγκατατρέχειν ἀλλήλοις καὶ ποιεῖν πρῶτόν τι σύστημα σφαιροειδές.
32 τοῦτο δ' οἷον ὑμένα ἀφίστασθαι, περιέχοντ' ἐν ἑαυτῷ παντοῖα σώματα· ὧν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ μέσου ἀντέρεισιν περιδινουμένων λεπτὸν γενέσθαι τὸν πέριξ ὑμένα, συρρεόντων ἀεὶ τῶν συνεχῶν κατ' ἐπίψαυσιν τῆς δίνης. καὶ οὕτω γενέσθαι τὴν γῆν,

is unlimited, and they all change into one another. The All includes the empty as well as the full. The worlds are formed when atoms fall into the void and are entangled with one another; and from their motion as they increase in bulk arises the substance of the stars. The sun revolves in a larger circle round the moon. The earth rides steadily, being whirled about the centre; its shape is like that of a drum. Leucippus was the first to set up atoms as first principles. Such is a general summary of his views; on particular points they are as follows.

He declares the All to be unlimited, as already stated; but of the All part is full and part empty,[a] and these he calls elements. Out of them arise the worlds unlimited in number and into them they are dissolved. This is how the worlds are formed. In a given section many atoms of all manner of shapes are carried from the unlimited into the vast empty space. These collect together and form a single vortex, in which they jostle against each other and, circling round in every possible way, separate off, by like atoms joining like. And, the atoms being so numerous that they can no longer revolve in equilibrium, the light ones pass into the empty space outside, as if they were being winnowed; the remainder keep together and, becoming entangled, go on their circuit together, and form a primary spherical system. This parts off like a shell, enclosing within it atoms of all kinds; and, as these are whirled round by virtue of the resistance of the centre, the enclosing shell becomes thinner, the adjacent atoms continually combining when they touch the vortex.

[a] By the "full" is meant matter, atoms; by the "empty," space.

συμμενόντων τῶν ἐνεχθέντων ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον. αὐτόν τε πάλιν τὸν περιέχοντα οἷον ὑμένα αὔξεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐπέκκρισιν[1] *τῶν ἔξωθεν σωμάτων· δίνῃ τε φερόμενον αὐτὸν ὧν ἂν ἐπιψαύσῃ, ταῦτα ἐπικτᾶσθαι. τούτων δέ τινα συμπλεκόμενα ποιεῖν σύστημα, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κάθυγρον καὶ πηλῶδες, ξηρανθέντα καὶ περιφερόμενα σὺν τῇ τοῦ ὅλου δίνῃ, εἶτ᾽ ἐκπυρωθέντα τὴν τῶν ἀστέρων ἀποτελέσαι φύσιν.*

33 Εἶναι δὲ τὸν τοῦ ἡλίου κύκλον ἐξώτατον, τὸν δὲ τῆς σελήνης προσγειότατον, τῶν ἄλλων μεταξὺ τούτων. καὶ πάντα μὲν τὰ ἄστρα πυροῦσθαι διὰ τὸ τάχος τῆς φορᾶς, τὸν δ᾽ ἥλιον ‹καὶ› ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστέρων ἐκπυροῦσθαι· τὴν δὲ σελήνην τοῦ πυρὸς ὀλίγον μεταλαμβάνειν. ἐκλείπειν δ᾽ ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην ‹* * τὴν δὲ λόξωσιν τοῦ Ζῳδιακοῦ γενέσθαι› τῷ κεκλίσθαι τὴν γῆν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν· τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἄρκτῳ ἀεί τε νίφεσθαι καὶ κατάψυχρα εἶναι καὶ πήγνυσθαι. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἥλιον ἐκλείπειν σπανίως, τὴν δὲ σελήνην συνεχές, διὰ τὸ ἀνίσους εἶναι τοὺς κύκλους αὐτῶν. εἶναί τε ὥσπερ γενέσεις κόσμου, οὕτω καὶ αὐξήσεις καὶ φθίσεις καὶ φθοράς, κατά τινα ἀνάγκην, ἣν ὁποία ἐστὶν ‹οὐ› διασαφεῖ.

Κεφ. ζ′. ΔΗΜΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ

34 Δημόκριτος Ἡγησιστράτου, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηνοκρίτου, τινὲς Δαμασίππου Ἀβδηρίτης ἤ, ὡς ἔνιοι, Μιλήσιος. οὗτος μάγων τινῶν διήκουσε καὶ Χαλδαίων, Ξέρξου

[1] For *ἐπέκρυσιν* of codd. Rohde conjectured *ἐπείσρυσιν*, Heidel *ἐπέκκρισιν*.

[a] So Diels; but see T. L. Heath, *Aristarchus* p. 122, note 3, who prefers to supply "the obliquity of the circles of the stars." *Cf.* also Aët. iii. 12. 1-2 (*Dox. Gr.* p. 377).

In this way the earth is formed by portions brought to the centre coalescing. And again, even the outer shell grows larger by the influx of atoms from outside, and, as it is carried round in the vortex, adds to itself whatever atoms it touches. And of these some portions are locked together and form a mass, at first damp and miry, but, when they have dried and revolve with the universal vortex, they afterwards take fire and form the substance of the stars.

The orbit of the sun is the outermost, that of the moon nearest to the earth ; the orbits of the other heavenly bodies lie between these two. All the stars are set on fire by the speed of their motion ; the burning of the sun is also helped by the stars ; the moon is only slightly kindled. The sun and the moon are eclipsed <when . . ., but the obliquity of the zodiacal circle is due [a]> to the inclination of the earth to the south ; the regions of the north are always shrouded in mist, and are extremely cold and frozen. Eclipses of the sun are rare ; eclipses of the moon constantly occur, and this because their orbits are unequal. As the world is born, so, too, it grows, decays and perishes, in virtue of some necessity, the nature of which he does <not> specify.

Chapter 7. DEMOCRITUS (? 460–357 B.C.)

Democritus was the son of Hegesistratus, though some say of Athenocritus, and others again of Damasippus. He was a native of Abdera or, according to some, of Miletus. He was a pupil of certain Magians and Chaldaeans. For when King

τοῦ βασιλέως τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστάτας καταλιπόντος, ἡνίκα ἐξενίσθη παρ' αὐτῷ, καθά φησι καὶ Ἡρόδοτος· παρ' ὧν τά τε περὶ θεολογίας καὶ ἀστρολογίας ἔμαθεν ἔτι παῖς ὤν. ὕστερον δὲ Λευκίππῳ παρέβαλε καὶ Ἀναξαγόρᾳ κατά τινας, ἔτεσιν ὢν αὐτοῦ νεώτερος τετταράκοντα. Φαβωρῖνος δέ φησιν ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ λέγειν Δημόκριτον περὶ Ἀναξαγόρου ὡς οὐκ εἴησαν αὐτοῦ αἱ δόξαι αἵ τε περὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης, ἀλλὰ ἀρχαῖαι,
35 τὸν δ' ὑφῃρῆσθαι. διασύρειν τε αὐτοῦ τὰ περὶ τῆς διακοσμήσεως καὶ τοῦ νοῦ, ἐχθρῶς ἔχοντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι δὴ μὴ προσήκατο αὐτόν. πῶς οὖν κατά τινας ἀκήκοεν αὐτοῦ;

Φησὶ δὲ Δημήτριος ἐν Ὁμωνύμοις καὶ Ἀντισθένης ἐν Διαδοχαῖς ἀποδημῆσαι αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς Αἴγυπτον πρὸς τοὺς ἱερέας γεωμετρίαν μαθησόμενον καὶ πρὸς Χαλδαίους εἰς τὴν Περσίδα καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν γενέσθαι. τοῖς τε Γυμνοσοφισταῖς φασί τινες συμμῖξαι αὐτὸν ἐν Ἰνδίᾳ καὶ εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν ἐλθεῖν. τρίτον τε ὄντα ἀδελφὸν νείμασθαι τὴν οὐσίαν· καὶ οἱ μὲν πλείους φασὶ τὴν ἐλάττω μοῖραν ἑλέσθαι τὴν ἐν ἀργυρίῳ, χρείαν ἔχοντα <διὰ τὸ> ἀποδημῆσαι τούτου κἀκείνων
36 δολίως ὑποπτευσάντων. ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος ὑπὲρ ἑκατὸν τάλαντά φησιν εἶναι αὐτῷ τὸ μέρος, ἃ πάντα καταναλῶσαι. λέγει δ' ὅτι τοσοῦτον ἦν φιλόπονος ὥστε τοῦ περικήπου δωμάτιόν τι ἀποτεμόμενος κατάκλειστος ἦν· καί ποτε τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ πρὸς θυσίαν βοῦν ἀγαγόντος καὶ αὐτόθι προσδήσαντος, ἱκανὸν χρόνον μὴ γνῶναι, ἕως αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνος

[a] Diels remarks that this is a free interpretation of Hdt. vii. 109, viii. 120.

Xerxes was entertained by the father of Democritus he left men in charge, as, in fact, is stated by Herodotus [a]; and from these men, while still a boy, he learned theology and astronomy. Afterwards he met Leucippus and, according to some, Anaxagoras, being forty years younger than the latter. But Favorinus in his *Miscellaneous History* tells us that Democritus, speaking of Anaxagoras, declared that his views on the sun and the moon were not original but of great antiquity, and that he had simply stolen them. Democritus also pulled to pieces the views of Anaxagoras on cosmogony and on mind, having a spite against him, because Anaxagoras did not take to him. If this be so, how could he have been his pupil, as some suggest?

According to Demetrius in his book on *Men of the Same Name* and Antisthenes in his *Successions of Philosophers*, he travelled into Egypt to learn geometry from the priests, and he also went into Persia to visit the Chaldaeans as well as to the Red Sea. Some say that he associated with the Gymnosophists in India and went to Aethiopia. Also that, being the third son, he divided the family property. Most authorities will have it that he chose the smaller portion, which was in money, because he had need of this to pay the cost of travel; besides, his brothers were crafty enough to foresee that this would be his choice. Demetrius estimates his share at over 100 talents, the whole of which he spent. His industry, says the same author, was so great that he cut off a little room in the garden round the house and shut himself up there. One day his father brought an ox to sacrifice and tied it there, and he was not aware of it for a considerable time,

διαναστήσας προφάσει τῆς θυσίας καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν βοῦν διηγήσατο. "δοκεῖ δέ," φησί, "καὶ Ἀθήναζε ἐλθεῖν καὶ μὴ σπουδάσαι γνωσθῆναι, δόξης καταφρονῶν. καὶ εἰδέναι μὲν Σωκράτη, ἀγνοεῖσθαι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· 'ἦλθον γάρ,' φησίν, 'εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ οὔτις με ἔγνωκεν.'"

37 "Εἴπερ οἱ Ἀντερασταὶ Πλάτωνός εἰσι," φησὶ Θρασύλος, "οὗτος ἂν εἴη ὁ παραγενόμενος ἀνώνυμος, τῶν περὶ Οἰνοπίδην καὶ Ἀναξαγόραν ἕτερος, ἐν τῇ πρὸς Σωκράτην ὁμιλίᾳ διαλεγόμενος περὶ φιλοσοφίας, ᾧ, φησίν, ὡς πεντάθλῳ ἔοικεν ὁ φιλόσοφος. καὶ ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ πένταθλος· τὰ γὰρ φυσικὰ καὶ τὰ ἠθικὰ <ἤσκητο>, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μαθηματικὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐγκυκλίους λόγους καὶ περὶ τεχνῶν πᾶσαν εἶχεν ἐμπειρίαν." τούτου ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ "λόγος ἔργου σκιή." Δημήτριος δὲ ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τῇ Σωκράτους ἀπολογίᾳ μηδὲ ἐλθεῖν φησιν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀθήνας. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ μεῖζον, εἴγε τοσαύτης πόλεως ὑπερεφρόνησεν, οὐκ ἐκ τόπου δόξαν λαβεῖν βουλόμενος, ἀλλὰ τόπῳ δόξαν περιθεῖναι προελόμενος.

38 Δῆλον δὲ κἀκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων οἷος ἦν. "δοκεῖ δέ," φησὶν ὁ Θρασύλος, "ζηλωτὴς γεγονέναι τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῦ Πυθαγόρου μέμνηται, θαυμάζων αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ὁμωνύμῳ συγγράμματι. πάντα δὲ δοκεῖν παρὰ τούτου λαβεῖν καὶ αὐτοῦ δ' ἂν ἀκηκοέναι, εἰ μὴ τὰ τῶν χρόνων ἐμάχετο." πάντως μέντοι τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν τινος

[a] *Rivals*, 132 A-C. [b] § 46.

until his father roused him to attend the sacrifice and told him about the ox. Demetrius goes on: "It would seem that he also went to Athens and was not anxious to be recognized, because he despised fame, and that while he knew of Socrates, he was not known to Socrates, his words being, 'I came to Athens and no one knew me.'"

"If the *Rivals* be the work of Plato," says Thrasylus, "Democritus will be the unnamed character, different from Oenopides and Anaxagoras, who makes his appearance when conversation is going on with Socrates about philosophy, and to whom Socrates says that the philosopher is like the all-round athlete.[a] And truly Democritus was versed in every department of philosophy, for he had trained himself both in physics and in ethics, nay more, in mathematics and the routine subjects of education, and he was quite an expert in the arts." From him we have the saying, "Speech is the shadow of action." Demetrius of Phalerum in his *Defence of Socrates* affirms that he did not even visit Athens. This is to make the larger claim, namely, that he thought that great city beneath his notice, because he did not care to win fame from a place, but preferred himself to make a place famous.

His character can also be seen from his writings. "He would seem," says Thrasylus, "to have been an admirer of the Pythagoreans. Moreover, he mentions Pythagoras himself, praising him in a work of his own entitled *Pythagoras*.[b] He seems to have taken all his ideas from him and, if chronology did not stand in the way, he might have been thought his pupil." Glaucus of Rhegium certainly says that

ἀκοῦσαί φησιν αὐτὸν Γλαῦκος ὁ Ῥηγῖνος, κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους αὐτῷ γεγονώς. φησὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Κυζικηνὸς Φιλολάῳ αὐτὸν συγγεγονέναι.

Ἤσκει δέ, φησὶν ὁ Ἀντισθένης, καὶ ποικίλως δοκιμάζειν τὰς φαντασίας, ἐρημάζων ἐνίοτε καὶ
39 τοῖς τάφοις ἐνδιατρίβων. ἐλθόντα δή φησιν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀποδημίας ταπεινότατα διάγειν, ἅτε πᾶσαν τὴν οὐσίαν καταναλωκότα· τρέφεσθαί τε διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν ἀπὸ τἀδελφοῦ Δαμάσου. ὡς δὲ προειπών τινα τῶν μελλόντων εὐδοκίμησε, λοιπὸν ἐνθέου δόξης παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις ἠξιώθη. νόμου δ' ὄντος τὸν ἀναλώσαντα τὴν πατρῴαν οὐσίαν μὴ ἀξιοῦσθαι ταφῆς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, φησὶν ὁ Ἀντισθένης συνέντα, μὴ ὑπεύθυνος γενηθείη πρός τινων φθονούντων καὶ συκοφαντούντων, ἀναγνῶναι αὐτοῖς τὸν Μέγαν διάκοσμον, ὃς ἁπάντων αὐτοῦ τῶν συγγραμμάτων προέχει· καὶ πεντακοσίοις ταλάντοις τιμηθῆναι· μὴ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαλκαῖς εἰκόσι· καὶ τελευτήσαντ' αὐτὸν δημοσίᾳ ταφῆναι, βιώσαντα
40 ὑπὲρ τὰ ἑκατὸν ἔτη. ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος τοὺς συγγενέας αὐτοῦ φησιν ἀναγνῶναι τὸν Μέγαν διάκοσμον, ὃν μόνον ἑκατὸν ταλάντων τιμηθῆναι. ταὐτὰ δὲ καὶ Ἱππόβοτός φησιν.

Ἀριστόξενος δ' ἐν τοῖς Ἱστορικοῖς ὑπομνήμασί φησι Πλάτωνα θελῆσαι συμφλέξαι τὰ Δημοκρίτου συγγράμματα, ὁπόσα ἐδυνήθη συναγαγεῖν, Ἀμύκλαν

[a] ὡς δὲ προειπών . . . ἠξιώθη. This sentence in *oratio recta*, interrupting the extract from Antisthenes, finds its counterpart in the stories attributing to Democritus the power of forecasting the weather or the seasons, on the

he was taught by one of the Pythagoreans, and Glaucus was his contemporary. Apollodorus of Cyzicus, again, will have it that he lived with Philolaus.

He would train himself, says Antisthenes, by a variety of means to test his sense-impressions by going at times into solitude and frequenting tombs. The same authority states that, when he returned from his travels, he was reduced to a humble mode of life because he had exhausted his means; and, because of his poverty, he was supported by his brother Damasus. But his reputation rose owing to his having foretold certain future events; and after that the public deemed him worthy of the honour paid to a god.[a] There was a law, says Antisthenes, that no one who had squandered his patrimony should be buried in his native city. Democritus, understanding this, and fearing lest he should be at the mercy of any envious or unscrupulous prosecutors, read aloud to the people his treatise, the *Great Diacosmos*, the best of all his works; and then he was rewarded with 500 talents; and, more than that, with bronze statues as well; and when he died, he received a public funeral after a lifetime of more than a century. Demetrius, however, says that it was not Democritus himself but his relatives who read the *Great Diacosmos*, and that the sum awarded was 100 talents only; with this account Hippobotus agrees.

Aristoxenus in his *Historical Notes* affirms that Plato wished to burn all the writings of Democritus that he could collect, but that Amyclas and Clinias

strength of his scientific attainments. *Cf.* Pliny, *N.H.* xviii. 273, 341, and Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 32.

δὲ καὶ Κλεινίαν τοὺς Πυθαγορικοὺς κωλῦσαι αὐτόν, ὡς οὐδὲν ὄφελος· παρὰ πολλοῖς γὰρ εἶναι ἤδη τὰ βιβλία. καὶ δῆλον δέ· πάντων γὰρ σχεδὸν τῶν ἀρχαίων μεμνημένος ὁ Πλάτων οὐδαμοῦ Δημοκρίτου διαμνημονεύει, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἔνθ' ἀντειπεῖν τι αὐτῷ δέοι, δῆλον <ὅτι> εἰδὼς ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἄριστον αὐτῷ τῶν φιλοσόφων <ὁ ἀγὼν> ἔσοιτο· ὅν γε καὶ Τίμων τοῦτον ἐπαινέσας τὸν τρόπον ἔχει·

οἷον Δημόκριτόν τε περίφρονα, ποιμένα μύθων,
ἀμφίνοον λεσχῆνα μετὰ πρώτοισιν ἀνέγνων.

41 Γέγονε δὲ τοῖς χρόνοις, ὡς αὐτός φησιν ἐν τῷ Μικρῷ διακόσμῳ, νέος κατὰ πρεσβύτην Ἀναξαγόραν, ἔτεσιν αὐτοῦ νεώτερος τετταράκοντα. συντετάχθαι δέ φησι τὸν Μικρὸν διάκοσμον ἔτεσιν ὕστερον τῆς Ἰλίου ἁλώσεως τριάκοντα καὶ ἑπτακοσίοις. γεγόνοι δ' ἄν, ὡς μὲν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς, κατὰ τὴν ὀγδοηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα· ὡς δὲ Θρασύλος ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Τὰ πρὸ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως τῶν Δημοκρίτου βιβλίων, κατὰ τὸ τρίτον ἔτος τῆς ἑβδόμης καὶ ἑβδομηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἐνιαυτῷ, φησί, πρεσβύτερος ὢν Σωκράτους. εἴη ἂν οὖν κατ' Ἀρχέλαον τὸν Ἀναξαγόρου μαθητὴν καὶ τοὺς περὶ Οἰνοπίδην· καὶ γὰρ τούτου
42 μέμνηται. μέμνηται δὲ καὶ τῆς περὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς δόξης τῶν περὶ Παρμενίδην καὶ Ζήνωνα, ὡς κατ' αὐτὸν μάλιστα διαβεβοημένων, καὶ Πρωταγόρου τοῦ Ἀβδηρίτου, ὃς ὁμολογεῖται κατὰ Σωκράτην γεγονέναι.

Φησὶ δ' Ἀθηνόδωρος ἐν ὀγδόῃ Περιπάτων, ἐλθόντος Ἱπποκράτους πρὸς αὐτόν, κελεῦσαι κομι-

the Pythagoreans prevented him, saying that there was no advantage in doing so, for already the books were widely circulated. And there is clear evidence for this in the fact that Plato, who mentions almost all the early philosophers, never once alludes to Democritus, not even where it would be necessary to controvert him, obviously because he knew that he would have to match himself against the prince of philosophers, for whom, to be sure, Timon [a] has this meed of praise [b]:

Such is the wise Democritus, the guardian of discourse, keen-witted disputant, among the best I ever read.

As regards chronology, he was, as he says himself in the *Lesser Diacosmos*, a young man when Anaxagoras was old, being forty years his junior. He says that the *Lesser Diacosmos* was compiled 730 years after the capture of Troy. According to Apollodorus in his *Chronology* he would thus have been born in the 80th Olympiad,[c] but according to Thrasylus in his pamphlet entitled *Prolegomena to the Reading of the Works of Democritus*, in the third year of the 77th Olympiad,[d] which makes him, adds Thrasylus, one year older than Socrates. He would then be a contemporary of Archelaus, the pupil of Anaxagoras, and of the school of Oenopides; indeed he mentions Oenopides. Again, he alludes to the doctrine of the One held by Parmenides and Zeno, they being evidently the persons most talked about in his day; he also mentions Protagoras of Abdera, who, it is admitted, was a contemporary of Socrates.

Athenodorus in the eighth book of his *Walks* relates that, when Hippocrates came to see him, he ordered

[a] Fr. 46 D.
[b] *Cf. Il.* i. 263, iv. 341.
[c] 460–457 B.C.
[d] 470–469 B.C.

σθῆναι γάλα· καὶ θεασάμενον τὸ γάλα εἰπεῖν εἶναι αἰγὸς πρωτοτόκου καὶ μελαίνης· ὅθεν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν αὐτοῦ θαυμάσαι τὸν Ἱπποκράτην. ἀλλὰ καὶ κόρης ἀκολουθούσης τῷ Ἱπποκράτει, τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀσπάσασθαι οὕτω "χαῖρε κόρη," τῇ δ' ἐχομένῃ "χαῖρε γύναι"· καὶ ἦν ἡ κόρη τῆς νυκτὸς διεφθαρμένη.

43 Τελευτῆσαι δὲ τὸν Δημόκριτόν φησιν Ἕρμιππος τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. ἤδη ὑπέργηρων ὄντα πρὸς τῷ καταστρέφειν εἶναι. τὴν οὖν ἀδελφὴν[1] λυπεῖσθαι ὅτι ἐν τῇ τῶν θεσμοφόρων ἑορτῇ μέλλοι τεθνήξεσθαι καὶ τῇ θεῷ τὸ καθῆκον αὐτὴ οὐ ποιήσειν· τὸν δὲ θαρρεῖν εἰπεῖν καὶ κελεῦσαι αὐτῷ προσφέρειν ἄρτους θερμοὺς ὁσημέραι. τούτους δὴ ταῖς ῥισὶ προσφέρων διεκράτησεν αὐτὸν τὴν ἑορτήν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρῆλθον αἱ ἡμέραι, τρεῖς δ' ἦσαν, ἀλυπότατα τὸν βίον προήκατο, ὥς φησιν ὁ Ἵππαρχος, ἐννέα πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν ἔτη βιούς.

Ἡμεῖς τ' εἰς αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Παμμέτρῳ τοῦτον ἐποιήσαμεν τὸν τρόπον·

καὶ τίς ἔφυ σοφὸς ὧδε, τίς ἔργον ἔρεξε τοσοῦτον
  ὅσσον ὁ παντοδαὴς ἤνυσε Δημόκριτος;
ὃς Θάνατον παρεόντα τρί' ἤματα δώμασιν ἔσχεν
  καὶ θερμοῖς ἄρτων ἄσθμασιν ἐξένισεν.

τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ βίος τἀνδρός.

44 Δοκεῖ δ' αὐτῷ τάδε· ἀρχὰς εἶναι τῶν ὅλων ἀτόμους καὶ κενόν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα νενομίσθαι· ἀπείρους τε εἶναι κόσμους καὶ γενητοὺς καὶ φθαρτούς. μηδέν τε ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος γίνεσθαι μηδὲ

[1] ἀδελφιδῆν coni. Reiske.

milk to be brought, and, having inspected it, pronounced it to be the milk of a black she-goat which had produced her first kid ; which made Hippocrates marvel at the accuracy of his observation. Moreover, Hippocrates being accompanied by a maidservant, on the first day Democritus greeted her with "Good morning, maiden," but the next day with "Good morning, woman." As a matter of fact the girl had been seduced in the night.

Of the death of Democritus the account given by Hermippus is as follows. When he was now very old and near his end, his sister was vexed that he seemed likely to die during the festival of Thesmophoria and she would be prevented from paying the fitting worship to the goddess. He bade her be of good cheer and ordered hot loaves to be brought to him every day. By applying these to his nostrils he contrived to outlive the festival ; and as soon as the three festival days were passed he let his life go from him without pain, having then, according to Hipparchus, attained his one hundred and ninth year.

In my *Pammetros* I have a piece on him as follows [a] :

> Pray who was so wise, who wrought so vast a work as the omniscient Democritus achieved ? When Death was near, for three days he kept him in his house and regaled him with the steam of hot loaves.

Such was the life of our philosopher.

His opinions are these. The first principles of the universe are atoms and empty space ; everything else is merely thought to exist. The worlds are unlimited ; they come into being and perish. Nothing can come into being from that which is not

[a] *Anth. Pal.* vii. 57.

εἰς τὸ μὴ ὂν φθείρεσθαι. καὶ τὰς ἀτόμους δὲ ἀπείρους εἶναι κατὰ μέγεθος καὶ πλῆθος, φέρεσθαι δ' ἐν τῷ ὅλῳ δινουμένας, καὶ οὕτω πάντα τὰ συγκρίματα γεννᾶν, πῦρ, ὕδωρ, ἀέρα, γῆν· εἶναι γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα ἐξ ἀτόμων τινῶν συστήματα· ἅπερ εἶναι ἀπαθῆ καὶ ἀναλλοίωτα διὰ τὴν στερρότητα. τόν τε ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην ἐκ τοιούτων λείων καὶ περιφερῶν ὄγκων συγκεκρίσθαι, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὁμοίως· ἣν καὶ νοῦν ταὐτὸν εἶναι. ὁρᾶν δ' ἡμᾶς κατ' εἰδώλων ἐμπτώσεις.

45 Πάντα τε κατ' ἀνάγκην γίνεσθαι, τῆς δίνης αἰτίας οὔσης τῆς γενέσεως πάντων, ἣν ἀνάγκην λέγει. τέλος δ' εἶναι τὴν εὐθυμίαν, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὖσαν τῇ ἡδονῇ, ὡς ἔνιοι παρακούσαντες ἐξεδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἣν γαληνῶς καὶ εὐσταθῶς ἡ ψυχὴ διάγει, ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ταραττομένη φόβου ἢ δεισιδαιμονίας ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς πάθους. καλεῖ δ' αὐτὴν καὶ εὐεστὼ καὶ πολλοῖς ἄλλοις ὀνόμασι. ποιότητας δὲ νόμῳ εἶναι, φύσει δ' ἄτομα καὶ κενόν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν αὐτῷ ἐδόκει.

Τὰ δὲ βιβλία αὐτοῦ καὶ Θρασύλος ἀναγέγραφε κατὰ τάξιν οὕτως ὡσπερεὶ καὶ τὰ Πλάτωνος κατὰ τετραλογίαν.

46 Ἔστι δε ἤθικα μὲν τάδε·

Πυθαγόρης.
Περὶ τῆς τοῦ σοφοῦ διαθέσεως.
Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἅιδου.
Τριτογένεια (τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν, ὅτι τρία γίνεται ἐξ αὐτῆς, ἃ πάντα ἀνθρώπινα συνέχει).

Περὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἢ περὶ ἀρετῆς.
Ἀμαλθείης κέρας.

nor pass away into that which is not. Further, the atoms are unlimited in size and number, and they are borne along in the whole universe in a vortex, and thereby generate all composite things—fire, water, air, earth ; for even these are conglomerations of given atoms. And it is because of their solidity that these atoms are impassive and unalterable. The sun and the moon have been composed of such smooth and spherical masses [*i.e.* atoms], and so also the soul, which is identical with reason. We see by virtue of the impact of images upon our eyes.

All things happen by virtue of necessity, the vortex being the cause of the creation of all things, and this he calls necessity. The end of action is tranquillity, which is not identical with pleasure, as some by a false interpretation have understood, but a state in which the soul continues calm and strong, undisturbed by any fear or superstition or any other emotion. This he calls well-being and many other names. The qualities of things exist merely by convention ; in nature there is nothing but atoms and void space. These, then, are his opinions.

Of his works Thrasylus has made an ordered catalogue, arranging them in fours, as he also arranged Plato's works.

The ethical works are the following :

I. Pythagoras.
Of the Disposition of the Wise Man.
Of those in Hades.
Tritogeneia (so called because three things, on which all mortal life depends, come from her).

II. Of Manly Excellence, or Of Virtue.
Amalthea's Horn (the Horn of Plenty).

Περὶ εὐθυμίης.
Ὑπομνημάτων ἠθικῶν· ἡ γὰρ Εὐεστὼ οὐχ εὑρίσκεται.

καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἠθικά.

Φυσικὰ δὲ τάδε·

Μέγας διάκοσμος (ὃν οἱ περὶ Θεόφραστον Λευκίππου φασὶν εἶναι).
Μικρὸς διάκοσμος.
Κοσμογραφίη.
Περὶ τῶν πλανήτων.

Περὶ φύσεως πρῶτον.
Περὶ ἀνθρώπου φύσιος (ἢ Περὶ σαρκός), δεύτερον.
Περὶ νοῦ.
Περὶ αἰσθησίων (ταῦτά τινες ὁμοῦ γράφοντες Περὶ ψυχῆς ἐπιγράφουσι).

Περὶ χυμῶν.
Περὶ χροῶν.
47 Περὶ τῶν διαφερόντων ῥυσμῶν.
Περὶ ἀμειψιρυσμιῶν.

Κρατυντήρια (ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐπικριτικὰ τῶν προειρημένων).
Περὶ εἰδώλων ἢ περὶ προνοίας.[1]
Περὶ λογικῶν ἢ κανὼν α′ β′ γ′.
Ἀπορημάτων.

ταῦτα καὶ περὶ φύσεως.

Τὰ δὲ ἀσύντακτά ἐστι τάδε·

Αἰτίαι οὐράνιαι.
Αἰτίαι ἀέριοι.
Αἰτίαι ἐπίπεδοι.
Αἰτίαι περὶ πυρὸς καὶ τῶν ἐν πυρί.

[1] προνοίας] ἀπορροίης coni. Krische.

Of Tranquillity.
Ethical Commentaries: the work on Well-being is not to be found.

So much for the ethical works.

The physical works are these:

III. The Great Diacosmos (which the school of Theophrastus attribute to Leucippus).
The Lesser Diacosmos.
Description of the World.
On the Planets.

IV. Of Nature, one book.
Of the Nature of Man, or Of Flesh, a second book on Nature.
Of Reason.
Of the Senses (some editors combine these two under the title Of the Soul).

V. Of Flavours.
Of Colours.
Of the Different Shapes (of Atoms).
Of Changes of Shape.

VI. Confirmations (summaries of the aforesaid works).
On Images, or On Foreknowledge of the Future.
On Logic, or Criterion of Thought, three books.
Problems.

So much for the physical works.

The following fall under no head:

Causes of Celestial Phenomena.
Causes of Phenomena in the Air.
Causes on the Earth's Surface.
Causes concerned with Fire and Things in Fire.

Αἰτίαι περὶ φωνῶν.
Αἰτίαι περὶ σπερμάτων καὶ φυτῶν καὶ καρπῶν.
Αἰτίαι περὶ ζῴων α΄ β΄ γ΄.
Αἰτίαι σύμμικτοι.
Περὶ τῆς λίθου.

ταῦτα καὶ τὰ ἀσύντακτα.

Μαθηματικὰ δὲ τάδε·

Περὶ διαφορῆς γωνίης[1] ἢ Περὶ ψαύσιος κύκλου καὶ σφαίρης.
Περὶ γεωμετρίης.
Γεωμετρικῶν.
Ἀριθμοί.

Περὶ ἀλόγων γραμμῶν καὶ ναστῶν α΄ β΄.
Ἐκπετάσματα.
48 Μέγας ἐνιαυτὸς ἢ Ἀστρονομίη, παράπηγμα.
Ἅμιλλα κλεψύδρας <καὶ οὐρανοῦ>.[2]

Οὐρανογραφίη.
Γεωγραφίη.
Πολογραφίη.
Ἀκτινογραφίη.

τοσαῦτα καὶ τὰ μαθηματικά.

Μουσικὰ δὲ τάδε·

Περὶ ῥυθμῶν καὶ ἁρμονίης.
Περὶ ποιήσιος.
Περὶ καλλοσύνης ἐπέων.
Περὶ εὐφώνων καὶ δυσφώνων γραμμάτων.

[1] γωνίης] γνώμης vulg.
[2] ἅμιλλα κλεψύδραι codd., coll. Art. Eudoxi 14. 13 (p. 21 Blass): corr. Diels.

Causes concerned with Sounds.
Causes concerned with Seeds, Plants and Fruits.
Causes concerned with Animals, three books.
Miscellaneous Causes.
Concerning the Magnet.

These works have not been arranged.

The mathematical works are these :

VII. On a Difference in an Angle, or On Contact with the Circle or the Sphere.
On Geometry.
Geometrica.
Numbers.

VIII. On Irrational Lines and Solids, two books.
Extensions[a] (Projections).
The Great Year, or Astronomy, Calendar.
Contention of the Water-clock <and the Heaven>.

IX. Description of the Heaven.
Geography.
Description of the Pole.
Description of Rays of Light.

These are the mathematical works.

The literary and musical works are these :

X. On Rhythms and Harmony.
On Poetry.
On Beauty of Verses.
On Euphonious and Cacophonous Letters.

[a] Diels compares Ptolemy, *Geogr.* vii. 7 *ὑπογραφὴ τοῦ ἐκπετάσματος. ὑπογραφὴ δ' ἔσται καὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐκπετάσεως ἁρμόζουσά τε καὶ κεφαλαιώδης. ἡ τοιαύτη τῆς κρικωτῆς σφαίρας ἐπιπέδῳ καταγραφή κτλ.* The title Ἐκπετάσματα may therefore mean " Projection of an armillary sphere on a plane."

Περὶ Ὁμήρου ἢ ὀρθοεπείης καὶ γλωσσέων.
Περὶ ἀοιδῆς.
Περὶ ῥημάτων.
Ὀνομαστικῶν.

τοσαῦτα καὶ τὰ μουσικά.

Τεχνικὰ δὲ τάδε·
Πρόγνωσις.
Περὶ διαίτης ἢ διαιτητικόν.
[Ἢ] Ἰητρικὴ γνώμη.
Αἰτίαι περὶ ἀκαιριῶν καὶ ἐπικαιριῶν.
Περὶ γεωργίης ἢ Γεωμετρικόν.
Περὶ ζωγραφίης.
Τακτικὸν καὶ
Ὁπλομαχικόν.

τοσαῦτα καὶ τάδε.

49 Τάττουσι δέ τινες κατ' ἰδίαν ἐκ τῶν Ὑπομνημάτων καὶ ταῦτα·
Περὶ τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἱερῶν γραμμάτων.
Περὶ τῶν ἐν Μερόῃ.
Ὠκεανοῦ περίπλους.
Περὶ ἱστορίης.
Χαλδαϊκὸς λόγος.
Φρύγιος λόγος.
Περὶ πυρετοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ νόσου βησσόντων.
Νομικὰ[1] αἴτια.
Χειρόκμητα [ἢ] προβλήματα.

Τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὅσα τινὲς ἀναφέρουσιν εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ

[1] Λοιμικὰ coni. Reiske.

[a] χειρόκμητα is a correction of Salmasius based upon Pliny, *N.H.* xxiv. 160, and Vitruvius, ix. i. 14. The MSS. give either χέρνιβα, "finger-bowls," or χερνικά, the sense of which is not clear; they read ἢ before προβλήματα.

XI. Concerning Homer, or On Correct Epic Diction, and On Glosses.
Of Song.
On Words.
A Vocabulary.

So much for the works on literature and music.

The works on the arts are these :

XII. Prognostication.
Of Diet, or Diaetetics.
Medical Regimen.
Causes concerned with Things Seasonable and Unseasonable.
XIII. Of Agriculture, or Concerning Land Measurements.
Of Painting.
Treatise on Tactics, and
On Fighting in Armour.

So much for these works.

Some include as separate items in the list the following works taken from his notes :

Of the Sacred Writings in Babylon.
Of those in Meroë.
A Voyage round the Ocean.
Of <the Right Use of> History.
A Chaldaean Treatise.
A Phrygian Treatise.
Concerning Fever and those whose Malady makes them Cough.
Legal Causes and Effects.
Problems wrought by Hand.[a]

The other works which some attribute to Demo-

μὲν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ διεσκεύασται, τὰ δ' ὁμολογουμένως ἐστὶν ἀλλότρια. ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τῶν βιβλίων αὐτοῦ καὶ τοσαῦτα.

Γεγόνασι δὲ Δημόκριτοι ἕξ· πρῶτος αὐτὸς οὗτος, δεύτερος Χῖος μουσικὸς κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, τρίτος ἀνδριαντοποιὸς οὗ μέμνηται Ἀντίγονος, τέταρτος περὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ γεγραφὼς καὶ τῆς πόλεως Σαμοθρᾴκης, πέμπτος ποιητὴς ἐπιγραμμάτων σαφὴς καὶ ἀνθηρός, ἕκτος Περγαμηνὸς ἀπὸ ῥητορικῶν λόγων <εὐδοκιμήσας>.

Κεφ. η'. ΠΡΩΤΑΓΟΡΑΣ

50 Πρωταγόρας Ἀρτέμωνος ἤ, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος καὶ Δείνων ἐν Περσικῶν ε', Μαιανδρίου Ἀβδηρίτης, καθά φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τοῖς Περὶ νόμων, ὃς καὶ Θουρίοις νόμους γράψαι φησὶν αὐτόν· ὡς δ' Εὔπολις ἐν Κόλαξιν, Τήιος· φησὶ γάρ,

Ἔνδοθι μέν ἐστι Πρωταγόρας ὁ Τήιος.

οὗτος καὶ Πρόδικος ὁ Κεῖος λόγους ἀναγινώσκοντες ἠρανίζοντο· καὶ Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Πρωταγόρᾳ φησὶ βαρύφωνον εἶναι τὸν Πρόδικον. διήκουσε δ' ὁ Πρωταγόρας Δημοκρίτου. ἐκαλεῖτό τε Σοφία, ὥς φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ.

51 Καὶ πρῶτος ἔφη δύο λόγους εἶναι περὶ παντὸς πράγματος ἀντικειμένους ἀλλήλοις· οἷς[1] καὶ συνηρώτα, πρῶτος τοῦτο πράξας. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἤρξατό που τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον· "πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον[2] ἄνθρωπος, τῶν μὲν ὄντων ὡς ἔστιν, τῶν δὲ οὐκ

[1] οἷς] fort. οὓς Richards.
[2] μέτρον ἐστὶν Diels ex Sext. Emp. *Adv. math.* vii. 60.

critus are either compilations from his writings or admittedly not genuine. So much for the books that he wrote and their number.

The name of Democritus has been borne by six persons: (1) our philosopher; (2) a contemporary of his, a musician of Chios; (3) a sculptor, mentioned by Antigonus; (4) an author who wrote on the temple at Ephesus and the state of Samothrace; (5) an epigrammatist whose style is lucid and ornate; (6) a native of Pergamum who made his mark by rhetorical speeches.

Chapter 8. PROTAGORAS (481–411 B.C.)

Protagoras, son of Artemon or, according to Apollodorus and Dinon in the fifth book of his *History of Persia*, of Maeandrius, was born at Abdera (so says Heraclides of Pontus in his treatise *On Laws*, and also that he made laws for Thurii) or, according to Eupolis in his *Flatterers*, at Teos; for the latter says:

Inside we've got Protagoras of Teos.

He and Prodicus of Ceos gave public readings for which fees were charged, and Plato in the *Protagoras* [a] calls Prodicus deep-voiced. Protagoras studied under Democritus. The latter [b] was nicknamed "Wisdom," according to Favorinus in his *Miscellaneous History*.

Protagoras was the first to maintain that there are two sides to every question, opposed to each other, and he even argued in this fashion, being the first to do so. Furthermore he began a work thus: "Man is the measure of all things, of things that are that they are, and of things that are not that they

[a] 316 A.

[b] *Cf.* Clem. *Strom.* vi. 32, and Suidas, *s.v.* Δημόκριτος.

ὄντων ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν." ἔλεγέ τε μηδὲν εἶναι ψυχὴν παρὰ τὰς αἰσθήσεις, καθὰ καὶ Πλάτων φησὶν ἐν Θεαιτήτῳ, καὶ πάντ' εἶναι ἀληθῆ. καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ δὲ τοῦτον ἤρξατο τὸν τρόπον· "περὶ μὲν θεῶν οὐκ ἔχω εἰδέναι οὔθ' ὡς εἰσίν, οὔθ' ὡς οὐκ εἰσίν·[1] πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ κωλύοντα εἰδέναι, ἥ τ' ἀδηλότης καὶ βραχὺς
52 ὢν ὁ βίος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου." διὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ συγγράμματος ἐξεβλήθη πρὸς Ἀθηναίων· καὶ τὰ βιβλί' αὐτοῦ κατέκαυσαν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ὑπὸ κήρυκι ἀναλεξάμενοι παρ' ἑκάστου τῶν κεκτημένων.

Οὗτος πρῶτος μισθὸν εἰσεπράξατο μνᾶς ἑκατόν· καὶ πρῶτος μέρη χρόνου διώρισε καὶ καιροῦ δύναμιν ἐξέθετο καὶ λόγων ἀγῶνας ἐποιήσατο καὶ σοφίσματα τοῖς πραγματολογοῦσι προσήγαγε· καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀφεὶς πρὸς τοὔνομα διελέχθη καὶ τὸ νῦν ἐπιπόλαιον γένος τῶν ἐριστικῶν ἐγέννησεν· ἵνα καὶ Τίμων φησὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ,

Πρωταγόρης τ' ἐπίμεικτος ἐριζέμεναι εὖ εἰδώς.

53 οὗτος καὶ τὸ Σωκρατικὸν εἶδος τῶν λόγων πρῶτος ἐκίνησε. καὶ τὸν Ἀντισθένους λόγον τὸν πειρώμενον ἀποδεικνύειν ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντιλέγειν, οὗτος πρῶτος διείλεκται, καθά φησι Πλάτων ἐν Εὐθυδήμῳ. καὶ πρῶτος κατέδειξε τὰς πρὸς τὰς θέσεις ἐπιχειρήσεις, ὥς φησιν Ἀρτεμίδωρος ὁ διαλεκτικὸς ἐν τῷ Πρὸς Χρύσιππον. καὶ πρῶτος τὴν καλουμένην τύλην, ἐφ' ἧς τὰ φορτία βαστάζουσιν, εὗρεν, ὥς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ Περὶ παιδείας· φορμοφόρος γὰρ ἦν, ὡς καὶ Ἐπίκουρός πού φησι. καὶ

[1] *οὐθ' ὁποῖοί τινες ἰδέαν* Diels ex Euseb. *P.E.* xiv. 3. 7.

[a] 152 A *sq.*
[b] Fr. 47 D.
[c] *Cf. Il.* xv. 679.
[d] 286 c.

are not." He used to say that soul was nothing apart from the senses, as we learn from Plato in the *Theaetetus*,[a] and that everything is true. In another work he began thus: "As to the gods, I have no means of knowing either that they exist or that they do not exist. For many are the obstacles that impede knowledge, both the obscurity of the question and the shortness of human life." For this introduction to his book the Athenians expelled him; and they burnt his works in the market-place, after sending round a herald to collect them from all who had copies in their possession.

He was the first to exact a fee of a hundred minae and the first to distinguish the tenses of verbs, to emphasize the importance of seizing the right moment, to institute contests in debating, and to teach rival pleaders the tricks of their trade. Furthermore, in his dialectic he neglected the meaning in favour of verbal quibbling, and he was the father of the whole tribe of eristical disputants now so much in evidence; insomuch that Timon[b] too speaks of him as[c]

> Protagoras, all mankind's epitome,
> Cunning, I trow, to war with words.

He too first introduced the method of discussion which is called Socratic. Again, as we learn from Plato in the *Euthydemus*,[d] he was the first to use in discussion the argument of Antisthenes which strives to prove that contradiction is impossible, and the first to point out how to attack and refute any proposition laid down: so Artemidorus the dialectician in his treatise *In Reply to Chrysippus*. He too invented the shoulder-pad on which porters carry their burdens, so we are told by Aristotle in his treatise *On Education*; for he himself had been a porter,

τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἤρθη πρὸς Δημοκρίτου ξύλα δεδεκὼς ὀφθείς. διεῖλέ τε τὸν λόγον πρῶτος εἰς τέτταρα, εὐχωλήν, ἐρώτησιν, ἀπόκρισιν, ἐντολήν· (οἱ
54 *δὲ εἰς ἑπτά, διήγησιν, ἐρώτησιν, ἀπόκρισιν, ἐντολήν, ἀπαγγελίαν, εὐχωλήν, κλῆσιν), οὓς καὶ πυθμένας εἶπε λόγων. Ἀλκιδάμας δὲ τέτταρας λόγους φησί, φάσιν, ἀπόφασιν, ἐρώτησιν, προσαγόρευσιν.*

Πρῶτον δὲ τῶν λόγων ἑαυτοῦ ἀνέγνω τὸν Περὶ θεῶν, οὗ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἄνω παρεθέμεθα· ἀνέγνω δ' Ἀθήνησιν ἐν τῇ Εὐριπίδου οἰκίᾳ ἤ, ὥς τινες, ἐν τῇ Μεγακλείδου· ἄλλοι ἐν Λυκείῳ, μαθητοῦ τὴν φωνὴν αὐτῷ χρήσαντος Ἀρχαγόρου τοῦ Θεοδότου. κατηγόρησε δ' αὐτοῦ Πυθόδωρος Πολυζήλου, εἷς τῶν τετρακοσίων· Ἀριστοτέλης δ' Εὔαθλόν φησιν.

55 *Ἔστι δὲ τὰ σωζόμενα αὐτοῦ βιβλία τάδε·*

** * Τέχνη ἐριστικῶν.*
Περὶ πάλης.
Περὶ τῶν μαθημάτων.
Περὶ πολιτείας.
Περὶ φιλοτιμίας.
Περὶ ἀρετῶν.
Περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀρχῇ καταστάσεως.
Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἅιδου.
Περὶ τῶν οὐκ ὀρθῶς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πρασσομένων.
Προστακτικός.
Δίκη ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ, Ἀντιλογιῶν α' β'.

καὶ ταῦτα μὲν αὐτῷ τὰ βιβλία. γέγραφε δὲ καὶ Πλάτων εἰς αὐτὸν διάλογον.

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[a] *Sc.* in an epistle, *Περὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων*, *cf.* Athen. viii. 354 c.

[b] This answers roughly to the optative, the indicative, and the imperative.

[c] That the list is defective is evident from the fact that the two works by which Protagoras is best known (*supra*, §§ 51, 54) are not here named.

says Epicurus somewhere.[a] This was how he was taken up by Democritus, who saw how skilfully his bundles of wood were tied. He was the first to mark off the parts of discourse into four, namely, wish, question, answer, command [b]; others divide into seven parts, narration, question, answer, command, rehearsal, wish, summoning; these he called the basic forms of speech. Alcidamas made discourse fourfold, affirmation, negation, question, address.

The first of his books he read in public was that *On the Gods*, the introduction to which we quoted above; he read it at Athens in Euripides' house, or, as some say, in Megaclides'; others again make the place the Lyceum and the reader his disciple Archagoras, Theodotus's son, who gave him the benefit of his voice. His accuser was Pythodorus, son of Polyzelus, one of the four hundred; Aristotle, however, says it was Euathlus.

The works of his which survive are these:

* * The Art of Controversy.
Of Wrestling.
On Mathematics.
Of the State.
Of Ambition.
Of Virtues.
Of the Ancient Order of Things.
On the Dwellers in Hades.
Of the Misdeeds of Mankind.
A Book of Precepts.
Of Forensic Speech for a Fee, two books of opposing arguments.

This is the list of his works.[c] Moreover there is a dialogue which Plato wrote upon him.

Φησὶ δὲ Φιλόχορος, πλέοντος αὐτοῦ ἐς Σικελίαν, τὴν ναῦν καταποντωθῆναι· καὶ τοῦτο αἰνίττεσθαι Εὐριπίδην ἐν τῷ Ἰξίονι. ἔνιοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τελευτῆσαι αὐτόν, βιώσαντα ἔτη πρὸς τὰ ἐνενήκοντα·
56 Ἀπολλόδωρος δέ φησιν ἑβδομήκοντα, σοφιστεῦσαι δὲ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἀκμάζειν κατὰ τὴν τετάρτην καὶ ὀγδοηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα.

Ἔστι καὶ εἰς τοῦτον ἡμῶν οὕτως ἔχον·

καὶ σεῦ, Πρωταγόρη, φάτιν ἔκλυον, ὥς ἄρ' Ἀθηνέων
ἔκ ποτ' ἰὼν καθ' ὁδὸν πρέσβυς ἐὼν ἔθανες·
εἵλετο γάρ σε φυγεῖν Κέκροπος πόλις· ἀλλὰ σὺ μέν που
Παλλάδος ἄστυ φύγες, Πλουτέα δ' οὐκ ἔφυγες.

Λέγεται δέ ποτ' αὐτὸν ἀπαιτοῦντα τὸν μισθὸν Εὔαθλον τὸν μαθητήν, ἐκείνου εἰπόντος, "ἀλλ' οὐδέπω νίκην νενίκηκα," εἰπεῖν, "ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἂν νικήσω, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐνίκησα, λαβεῖν με δεῖ· ἐὰν δὲ σύ, ὅτι σύ."

Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Πρωταγόρας ἀστρολόγος, εἰς ὃν καὶ Εὐφορίων ἐπικήδειον ἔγραψε· καὶ τρίτος Στωικὸς φιλόσοφος.

Κεφ. θ'. ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΗΣ

57 Διογένης Ἀπολλοθέμιδος Ἀπολλωνιάτης, ἀνὴρ φυσικὸς καὶ ἄγαν ἐλλόγιμος. ἤκουσε δέ, φησὶν

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[a] 444–441 B.C. [b] *Anth. Pal.* vii. 130.

[c] We naturally feel surprise when this early philosopher is interpolated between Protagoras and Anaxarchus, both

Philochorus says that, when he was on a voyage to Sicily, his ship went down, and that Euripides hints at this in his *Ixion*. According to some his death occurred, when he was on a journey, at nearly ninety years of age, though Apollodorus makes his age seventy, assigns forty years for his career as a sophist, and puts his *floruit* in the 84th Olympiad.[a]

There is an epigram of my own on him as follows [b]:

Protagoras, I hear it told of thee
Thou died'st in eld when Athens thou didst flee ;
Cecrops' town chose to banish thee ; but though
Thou 'scap'dst Athene, not so Hell below.

The story is told that once, when he asked Euathlus his disciple for his fee, the latter replied, "But I have not won a case yet." "Nay," said Protagoras, "if I win this case against you I must have the fee, for winning it ; if you win, I must have it, because *you* win it."

There was another Protagoras, an astronomer, for whom Euphorion wrote a dirge ; and a third who was a Stoic philosopher.

Chapter 9. DIOGENES OF APOLLONIA [c]

Diogenes of Apollonia, son of Apollothemis, was a natural philosopher and a most famous man. Anti-

assumed to be pupils of Democritus. The only explanation suggested is a severe reflection on our author's acquaintance with his subject. There was a certain Diogenes of Smyrna, an obscure adherent of the school of Abdera. D. L., or more probably one of his authorities, has confused this Democritean with the earlier and better-known Diogenes of Apollonia. It is also strange that there is no Life of Metrodorus of Chios or of Nausiphanes.

Ἀντισθένης, Ἀναξιμένους. ἦν δὲ τοῖς χρόνοις κατ' Ἀναξαγόραν. τοῦτόν φησιν ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος ἐν τῇ Σωκράτους ἀπολογίᾳ διὰ μέγαν φθόνον μικροῦ κινδυνεῦσαι Ἀθήνησιν.

Ἐδόκει δὲ αὐτῷ τάδε· στοιχεῖον εἶναι τὸν ἀέρα, κόσμους ἀπείρους καὶ κενὸν ἄπειρον· τόν τε ἀέρα πυκνούμενον καὶ ἀραιούμενον γεννητικὸν εἶναι τῶν κόσμων· οὐδὲν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος γίνεσθαι οὐδ' εἰς τὸ μὴ ὂν φθείρεσθαι· τὴν γῆν στρογγύλην, ἠρεισμένην ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, τὴν σύστασιν εἰληφυῖαν κατὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ θερμοῦ περιφορὰν καὶ πῆξιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ.

Ἀρχὴ δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ συγγράμματος ἥδε· "λόγου παντὸς ἀρχόμενον δοκεῖ μοι χρεὼν εἶναι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναμφισβήτητον παρέχεσθαι, τὴν δ' ἑρμηνείαν ἁπλῆν καὶ σεμνήν."

Κεφ. ι'. ΑΝΑΞΑΡΧΟΣ

58 Ἀνάξαρχος Ἀβδηρίτης. οὗτος ἤκουσε Διογένους τοῦ Σμυρναίου· ὁ δὲ Μητροδώρου τοῦ Χίου, ὃς ἔλεγε μηδ' αὐτὸ τοῦτ' εἰδέναι ὅτι οὐδὲν οἶδε. Μητρόδωρον δὲ Νεσσᾶ τοῦ Χίου, οἱ δὲ Δημοκρίτου φασὶν ἀκοῦσαι. ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀνάξαρχος καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνῆν καὶ ἤκμαζε κατὰ τὴν δεκάτην καὶ ἑκατοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ εἶχεν ἐχθρὸν Νικοκρέοντα τὸν Κύπρου τύραννον· καί ποτ' ἐν συμποσίῳ

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[a] *i.e.* Anaxagoras.

[b] Diels (*op. cit.* p. 144) compares Plutarch, *Strom.* apud Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* i. 8. 13; Aëtius i. 3. 26; Theophrastus, *Phys. Opin.* Fr. 2.

[c] Here a Diogenes is mentioned as a link between Demo-

sthenes calls him a pupil of Anaximenes; but he lived in Anaxagoras's time. This man,[a] so great was his unpopularity at Athens, almost lost his life, as Demetrius of Phalerum states in his *Defence of Socrates*.

The doctrines of Diogenes were as follows.[b] Air is the universal element. There are worlds unlimited in number, and unlimited empty space. Air by condensation and rarefaction generates the worlds. Nothing comes into being from what is not or passes away into what is not. The earth is spherical, firmly supported in the centre, having its construction determined by the revolution which comes from heat and by the congealment caused by cold.

The words with which his treatise begins are these: "At the beginning of every discourse I consider that one ought to make the starting-point unmistakably clear and the exposition simple and dignified."

Chapter 10. ANAXARCHUS

Anaxarchus, a native of Abdera, studied under Diogenes of Smyrna,[c] and the latter under Metrodorus of Chios, who used to declare that he knew nothing, not even the fact that he knew nothing; while Metrodorus was a pupil of Nessas of Chios, though some say that he was taught by Democritus. Now Anaxarchus accompanied Alexander and flourished in the 110th Olympiad.[d] He made an enemy of Nicocreon, tyrant of Cyprus. Once at a

critus and Anaxarchus. See p. 468, note *c*. *Cf.* Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 64, p. 301 D Δημοκρίτου δὲ ἀκουσταὶ Πρωταγόρας ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης καὶ Μητρόδωρος ὁ Χῖος, οὗ Διογένης ὁ Σμυρναῖος, οὗ Ἀνάξαρχος, τούτου δὲ Πύρρων, οὗ Ναυσιφάνης; Euseb. xiv. 17. 10; Epiphanius, *De fide*, 9, p. 591.

[d] 340–337 B.C.

τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐρωτήσαντος αὐτὸν τί ἄρα δοκεῖ τὸ δεῖπνον, εἰπεῖν φασιν, " ὦ βασιλεῦ, πάντα πολυτελῶς· ἔδει δὲ λοιπὸν κεφαλὴν σατράπου τινὸς παρα-
59 *τεθεῖσθαι·" ἀπορρίπτων πρὸς τὸν Νικοκρέοντα. ὁ δὲ μνησικακήσας μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ὅτε πλέων ἀκουσίως προσηνέχθη τῇ Κύπρῳ ὁ Ἀνάξαρχος, συλλαβὼν αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς ὅλμον βαλὼν ἐκέλευσε τύπτεσθαι σιδηροῖς ὑπέροις. τὸν δ' οὐ φροντίσαντα τῆς τιμωρίας εἰπεῖν ἐκεῖνο δὴ τὸ περιφερόμενον, " πτίσσε τὸν Ἀναξάρχου θύλακον, Ἀνάξαρχον δὲ οὐ πτίσσεις." κελεύσαντος δὲ τοῦ Νικοκρέοντος καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν αὐτοῦ ἐκτμηθῆναι, λόγος ἀποτραγόντα προσπτύσαι αὐτῷ. καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν οὕτως <ἔχον>·*

πτίσσετε, Νικοκρέων, ἔτι καὶ μάλα· θύλακός ἐστι·
πτίσσετ'· Ἀνάξαρχος δ' ἐν Διός ἐστι πάλαι.
καί σε διαστείλασα γνάφοις ὀλίγον τάδε λέξει
ῥήματα Φερσεφόνη, " ἔρρε μυλωθρὲ κακέ."

60 *Οὗτος διὰ τὴν ἀπάθειαν καὶ εὐκολίαν τοῦ βίου Εὐδαιμονικὸς ἐκαλεῖτο· καὶ ἦν ἐκ τοῦ ῥᾴστου δυνατὸς σωφρονίζειν. τὸν γοῦν Ἀλέξανδρον οἰόμενον εἶναι θεὸν ἐπέστρεψεν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἔκ τινος πληγῆς εἶδεν αὐτῷ καταρρέον αἷμα, δείξας τῇ χειρὶ πρὸς αὐτόν φησι, " τουτὶ μὲν αἷμα καὶ οὐκ*

ἰχὼρ οἷός πέρ τε ῥέει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσι."

Πλούταρχος δ' αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τοῦτο λέξαι πρὸς τοὺς φίλους φησίν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοτε προπίνοντα αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀνάξαρχον δεῖξαι τὴν κύλικα καὶ εἰπεῖν

βεβλήσεταί τις θεῶν βροτησίᾳ χερί.

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[a] *Anth. Pal.* vii. 133.
[b] *Il.* v. 340.
[c] *Vit. Alex.* c. 28.
[d] Euripides, *Orestes*, 271.

banquet, when asked by Alexander how he liked the feast, he is said to have answered, "Everything, O king, is magnificent; there is only one thing lacking, that the head of some satrap should be served up at table." This was a hit at Nicocreon, who never forgot it, and when after the king's death Anaxarchus was forced against his will to land in Cyprus, he seized him and, putting him in a mortar, ordered him to be pounded to death with iron pestles. But he, making light of the punishment, made that well-known speech, "Pound, pound the pouch containing Anaxarchus: ye pound not Anaxarchus." And when Nicocreon commanded his tongue to be cut out, they say he bit it off and spat it at him. This is what I have written upon him [a]:

Pound, Nicocreon, as hard as you like: it is but a pouch. Pound on; Anaxarchus's self long since is housed with Zeus. And after she has drawn you upon her carding-combs a little while, Persephone will utter words like these: "Out upon thee, villainous miller!"

For his fortitude and contentment in life he was called the Happy Man. He had, too, the capacity of bringing anyone to reason in the easiest possible way. At all events he succeeded in diverting Alexander when he had begun to think himself a god; for, seeing blood running from a wound he had sustained, he pointed to him with his finger and said, "See, there is blood and not

Ichor which courses in the veins of the blessed gods." [b]

Plutarch reports this as spoken by Alexander to his friends.[c] Moreover, on another occasion, when Anaxarchus was drinking Alexander's health, he held up his goblet and said:

One of the gods shall fall by the stroke of mortal man.[d]

Κεφ. ιαʹ. ΠΥΡΡΩΝ

61 Πύρρων Ἠλεῖος Πλειστάρχου μὲν ἦν υἱός, καθὰ καὶ Διοκλῆς ἱστορεῖ· ὥς φησι δ' Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς, πρότερον ἦν ζωγράφος, καὶ ἤκουσε Βρύσωνος τοῦ Στίλπωνος, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Διαδοχαῖς, εἶτ' Ἀναξάρχου, ξυνακολουθῶν πανταχοῦ, ὡς καὶ τοῖς Γυμνοσοφισταῖς ἐν Ἰνδίᾳ συμμίξαι καὶ τοῖς Μάγοις. ὅθεν γενναιότατα δοκεῖ φιλοσοφῆσαι, τὸ τῆς ἀκαταληψίας καὶ ἐποχῆς εἶδος εἰσαγαγών, ὡς Ἀσκάνιος ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης φησίν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔφασκεν οὔτε καλὸν οὔτ' αἰσχρὸν οὔτε δίκαιον οὔτ' ἄδικον· καὶ ὁμοίως ἐπὶ πάντων μηδὲν εἶναι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, νόμῳ δὲ καὶ ἔθει πάντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πράττειν· οὐ γὰρ μᾶλλον τόδε ἢ τόδε εἶναι ἕκαστον.

62 Ἀκόλουθος δ' ἦν καὶ τῷ βίῳ, μηδὲν ἐκτρεπόμενος μηδὲ φυλαττόμενος, ἅπαντα ὑφιστάμενος, ἁμάξας, εἰ τύχοι, καὶ κρημνοὺς καὶ κύνας καὶ ὅλως μηδὲν ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν ἐπιτρέπων. σώζεσθαι μέντοι, καθά φασιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Καρύστιον Ἀντίγονον, ὑπὸ τῶν γνωρίμων παρακολουθούντων. Αἰνεσίδημος δέ φησι φιλοσοφεῖν μὲν αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἐποχῆς λόγον, μὴ μέντοι γ' ἀπροοράτως ἕκαστα πράττειν. ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη κατεβίω.

Ἀντίγονος δέ φησιν ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Πύρρωνος τάδε περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἄδοξός τ' ἦν καὶ πένης καὶ ζωγράφος. σώζεσθαί τ' αὐτοῦ

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[a] For " Stilpo's son Bryson " Roeper's conjecture Βρύσωνος ἢ Στίλπωνος (*Philolog.* xxx. 462) would substitute " under Bryson or Stilpo." In any case chronology seems to forbid

Chapter 11. PYRRHO (*c.* 360–270 B.C.)

Pyrrho of Elis was the son of Pleistarchus, as Diocles relates. According to Apollodorus in his *Chronology*, he was first a painter; then he studied under Stilpo's son Bryson[a]: thus Alexander in his *Successions of Philosophers*. Afterwards he joined Anaxarchus, whom he accompanied on his travels everywhere so that he even forgathered with the Indian Gymnosophists and with the Magi. This led him to adopt a most noble philosophy, to quote Ascanius of Abdera, taking the form of agnosticism and suspension of judgement. He denied that anything was honourable or dishonourable, just or unjust.[b] And so, universally, he held that there is nothing really existent, but custom and convention govern human action; for no single thing is in itself any more this than that.

He led a life consistent with this doctrine, going out of his way for nothing, taking no precaution, but facing all risks as they came, whether carts, precipices, dogs or what not, and, generally, leaving nothing to the arbitrament of the senses; but he was kept out of harm's way by his friends who, as Antigonus of Carystus tells us, used to follow close after him. But Aenesidemus says that it was only his philosophy that was based upon suspension of judgement, and that he did not lack foresight in his everyday acts. He lived to be nearly ninety.

This is what Antigonus of Carystus says of Pyrrho in his book upon him. At first he was a poor and unknown painter, and there are still some indifferent

the supposition that Pyrrho was a pupil of either Stilpo or Bryson.

[b] *i.e.* a particular act is no more just than unjust.

ἐν Ἤλιδι ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ λαμπαδιστὰς μετρίως
63 *ἔχοντας. ἐκπατεῖν τ᾿ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐρημάζειν, σπανίως ποτ᾿ ἐπιφαινόμενον τοῖς οἴκοι. τοῦτο δὲ ποιεῖν ἀκούσαντα Ἰνδοῦ τινος ὀνειδίζοντος Ἀναξάρχῳ ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἕτερόν τινα διδάξαι οὗτος ἀγαθόν, αὐτὸς αὐλὰς βασιλικὰς θεραπεύων. ἀεί τ᾿ εἶναι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καταστήματι, ὥστ᾿ εἰ καί τις αὐτὸν καταλίποι μεταξὺ λέγοντα, αὐτῷ διαπεραίνειν τὸν λόγον, καίτοι κεκινημένον τε ⟨* * *⟩*[1] *ὄντα ἐν νεότητι. πολλάκις, φησί, καὶ ἀπεδήμει, μηδενὶ προειπών, καὶ συνερρέμβετο οἷστισιν ἤθελεν. καί ποτ᾿ Ἀναξάρχου εἰς τέλμα ἐμπεσόντος, παρῆλθεν οὐ βοηθήσας· τινῶν δὲ αἰτιωμένων, αὐτὸς Ἀνάξαρχος ἐπῄνει τὸ ἀδιάφορον καὶ ἄστοργον αὐτοῦ.*

64 Καταληφθεὶς *δέ ποτε καὶ αὐτῷ λαλῶν καὶ ἐρωτηθεὶς τὴν αἰτίαν ἔφη μελετᾶν χρηστὸς εἶναι. ἔν τε ταῖς ζητήσεσιν ὑπ᾿ οὐδενὸς κατεφρονεῖτο διὰ τὸ ⟨καὶ δι⟩εξοδικῶς λέγειν καὶ πρὸς ἐρώτησιν· ὅθεν καὶ Ναυσιφάνην ἤδη νεανίσκον ὄντα θηραθῆναι. ἔφασκε γοῦν γίνεσθαι δεῖν τῆς μὲν διαθέσεως τῆς Πυρρωνείου, τῶν δὲ λόγων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ. ἔλεγέ τε πολλάκις καὶ Ἐπίκουρον θαυμάζοντα τὴν Πύρρωνος ἀναστροφὴν συνεχὲς αὐτοῦ πυνθάνεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ. οὕτω δ᾿ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος τιμηθῆναι ὥστε καὶ ἀρχιερέα καταστῆσαι αὐτὸν καὶ δι᾿ ἐκεῖνον πᾶσι τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἀτέλειαν ψηφίσασθαι.*

Καὶ *δὴ καὶ ζηλωτὰς εἶχε πολλοὺς τῆς ἀπραγ-*

[1] Supplet Diels ⟨*τῷ τοῦ ὄχλου κρότῳ καὶ φιλόδοξον*⟩.

[a] Here Diels would insert in the text words which would make the meaning "easily moved by the applause of the crowd and ambitious of fame."

torch-racers of his in the gymnasium at Elis. He would withdraw from the world and live in solitude, rarely showing himself to his relatives; this he did because he had heard an Indian reproach Anaxarchus, telling him that he would never be able to teach others what is good while he himself danced attendance on kings in their courts. He would maintain the same composure at all times, so that, even if you left him when he was in the middle of a speech, he would finish what he had to say with no audience but himself, although in his youth he had been hasty.[a] Often, our informant adds, he would leave his home and, telling no one, would go roaming about with whomsoever he chanced to meet. And once, when Anaxarchus fell into a slough, he passed by without giving him any help, and, while others blamed him, Anaxarchus himself praised his indifference and *sang-froid*.

On being discovered once talking to himself, he answered, when asked the reason, that he was training to be good. In debate he was looked down upon by no one, for he could both discourse at length and also sustain a cross-examination, so that even Nausiphanes when a young man was captivated by him: at all events he used to say that we should follow Pyrrho in disposition but himself in doctrine; and he would often remark that Epicurus, greatly admiring Pyrrho's way of life, regularly asked him for information about Pyrrho; and that he was so respected by his native city that they made him high priest, and on his account they voted that all philosophers should be exempt from taxation.

Moreover, there were many who emulated his

μοσύνης· ὅθεν καὶ ὁ Τίμων περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν οὕτως ἐν τῷ Πύθωνι * * * καὶ ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις·

65 Ὦ γέρον, ὦ Πύρρων, πῶς ἢ πόθεν ἔκδυσιν εὗρες
λατρείης δοξῶν [τε] κενεοφροσύνης τε σοφιστῶν,
καὶ πάσης ἀπάτης πειθοῦς τ' ἀπελύσαο δεσμά;
οὐδ' ἔμελέν σοι ταῦτα μεταλλῆσαι, τίνες αὖραι
Ἑλλάδ' ἔχουσι, πόθεν τε καὶ εἰς ὅ, τι κύρει ἕκαστα.

καὶ πάλιν ἐν τοῖς Ἰνδαλμοῖς·

τοῦτό μοι, ὦ Πύρρων, ἱμείρεται ἦτορ ἀκοῦσαι,
πῶς ποτ' ἀνὴρ ἔτ' ἄγεις ῥᾷστα μεθ' ἡσυχίης
μοῦνος ἐν ἀνθρώποισι θεοῦ τρόπον ἡγεμονεύων.

Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ πολιτείᾳ αὐτὸν ἐτίμησαν, καθά φησι Διοκλῆς, ἐπὶ τῷ Κότυν τὸν Θρᾷκα δια-
66 χρήσασθαι. εὐσεβῶς δὲ καὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ συνεβίω μαίᾳ οὔσῃ, καθά φησιν Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν τῷ Περὶ πλούτου καὶ πενίας, ὅτε καὶ αὐτὸς φέρων εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐπίπρασκεν ὀρνίθια, εἰ τύχοι, καὶ χοιρίδια, καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἐκάθαιρεν ἀδιαφόρως. λέγεται δὲ καὶ δέλφακα λούειν αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἀδιαφορίας. καὶ χολήσας τι ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀδελφῆς, Φιλίστα δ' ἐκαλεῖτο, πρὸς τὸν ἐπιλαβόμενον εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐκ ἐν γυναίῳ ἡ ἐπίδειξις τῆς ἀδιαφορίας. καὶ κυνός ποτ' ἐπενεχθέντος διασοβηθέντα εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν αἰτιασάμενον, ὡς χαλεπὸν εἴη ὁλοσχερῶς ἐκδῦναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον· διαγωνίζεσθαι δ' ὡς οἷόν τε πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς ἔργοις πρὸς τὰ πράγματα, εἰ δὲ μή, τῷ γε λόγῳ.
67 Φασὶ δὲ καὶ σηπτικῶν φαρμάκων καὶ τομῶν καὶ καύσεων ἐπί τινος ἕλκους αὐτῷ προσενεχθέντων, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τὰς ὀφρῦς συναγαγεῖν. καὶ ὁ Τίμων δὲ

abstention from affairs, so that Timon in his *Pytho* [a] and in his *Silli* [b] says [c]:

> O Pyrrho, O aged Pyrrho, whence and how
> Found'st thou escape from servitude to sophists,
> Their dreams and vanities; how didst thou loose
> The bonds of trickery and specious craft?
> Nor reck'st thou to inquire such things as these,
> What breezes circle Hellas, to what end,
> And from what quarter each may chance to blow.

And again in the *Conceits* [d]:

> This, Pyrrho, this my heart is fain to know,
> Whence peace of mind to thee doth freely flow,
> Why among men thou like a god dost show?

Athens honoured him with her citizenship, says Diocles, for having slain the Thracian Cotys. He lived in fraternal piety with his sister, a midwife, so says Eratosthenes in his essay *On Wealth and Poverty*, now and then even taking things for sale to market, poultry perchance or pigs, and he would dust the things in the house, quite indifferent as to what he did. They say he showed his indifference by washing a porker. Once he got enraged in his sister's cause (her name was Philista), and he told the man who blamed him that it was not over a weak woman that one should display indifference. When a cur rushed at him and terrified him, he answered his critic that it was not easy entirely to strip oneself of human weakness; but one should strive with all one's might against facts, by deeds if possible, and if not, in word.

They say that, when septic salves and surgical and caustic remedies were applied to a wound he had sustained, he did not so much as frown. Timon

[a] The citation from the *Pytho* is lost.
[b] Fr. 48 D.
[c] *Il.* ii. 796; *Od.* xvi. 465.
[d] Fr. 67 D.

διασαφεῖ τὴν διάθεσιν αὐτοῦ ἐν οἷς πρὸς Πύθωνα διέξεισιν. ἀλλὰ καὶ Φίλων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, γνώριμος αὐτοῦ γεγονώς, ἔλεγεν ὡς ἐμέμνητο μάλιστα μὲν Δημοκρίτου, εἶτα δὲ καὶ Ὁμήρου, θαυμάζων αὐτὸν καὶ συνεχὲς λέγων,

οἵη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοίη δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν·

καὶ ὅτι σφηξὶ καὶ μυίαις καὶ ὀρνέοις εἴκαζε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. προφέρεσθαι δὲ καὶ τάδε·

ἀλλά, φίλος, θάνε καὶ σύ· τίη ὀλοφύρεαι οὕτως;
κάτθανε καὶ Πάτροκλος, ὅ περ σέο πολλὸν ἀμείνων·

καὶ ὅσα συντείνει εἰς τὸ ἀβέβαιον καὶ κενόσπουδον ἅμα καὶ παιδαριῶδες τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

68 *Ποσειδώνιος δὲ καὶ τοιοῦτόν τι διέξεισι περὶ αὐτοῦ. τῶν γὰρ συμπλεόντων αὐτῷ ἐσκυθρωπακότων ὑπὸ χειμῶνος, αὐτὸς γαληνὸς ὢν ἀνέρρωσε τὴν ψυχήν, δείξας ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ χοιρίδιον ἐσθίον καὶ εἰπὼν ὡς χρὴ τὸν σοφὸν ἐν τοιαύτῃ καθεστάναι ἀταραξίᾳ. μόνος δὲ Νουμήνιος καὶ δογματίσαι φησὶν αὐτόν. τούτου πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ μαθηταὶ γεγόνασιν ἐλλόγιμοι, ὧν Εὐρύλοχος· οὗ φέρεται ἐλάσσωμα τόδε. φασὶ γὰρ ὡς οὕτω παρωξύνθη ποτὲ ὥστε τὸν ὀβελίσκον ἄρας μετὰ τῶν κρεῶν*
69 *ἕως τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐδίωκε τὸν μάγειρον. καὶ ἐν Ἤλιδι καταπονούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ζητούντων ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ἀπορρίψας θοἰμάτιον διενήξατο [πέραν]*

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[a] *Il.* vi. 146.   [b] *Il.* xxi. 106 f.

[c] Here, it would seem, the materials which can be traced to Antigonus of Carystus come to an end. The source of the long passage §§ 69-108, with which must go the Sceptical Succession, §§ 115-116, is not obvious. It may be supposed that D. L. with his seeming partiality for the school (*cf.* § 109) has here taken pains to collect as much new material

also portrays his disposition in the full account which he gives of him to Pytho. Philo of Athens, a friend of his, used to say that he was most fond of Democritus, and then of Homer, admiring him and continually repeating the line

> As leaves on trees, such is the life of man.[a]

He also admired Homer because he likened men to wasps, flies, and birds, and would quote these verses as well :

> Ay, friend, die thou ; why thus thy fate deplore ?
> Patroclus too, thy better, is no more,[b]

and all the passages which dwell on the unstable purpose, vain pursuits, and childish folly of man.[c]

Posidonius, too, relates of him a story of this sort. When his fellow-passengers on board a ship were all unnerved by a storm, he kept calm and confident, pointing to a little pig in the ship that went on eating, and telling them that such was the unperturbed state in which the wise man should keep himself. Numenius alone attributes to him positive tenets. He had pupils of repute, in particular one Eurylochus, who fell short of his professions ; for they say that he was once so angry that he seized the spit with the meat on it and chased his cook right into the market-place. Once in Elis he was so hard pressed by his pupils' questions that he stripped

as possible. It is hardly likely that, without personal bias, a biographer would draw upon " the commentary of Apollonides on the *Silli* of Timon which he dedicated to Tiberius Caesar," and the like. It has indeed been said that D. L. had access to a sceptical monograph which he either had or wished to have copied for himself. If so, it must have been by a contemporary, or at any rate a writer not earlier than Antiochus of Laodicea (§ 106) and Sextus Empiricus (§ 87).

τὸν Ἀλφειόν. ἦν οὖν πολεμιώτατος τοῖς σοφισταῖς, ὡς καὶ Τίμων φησίν.

Ὁ δὲ Φίλων τὰ πλεῖστα διελέγετο <ἑαυτῷ>. ὅθεν καὶ περὶ τούτου φησὶν οὕτως·

ἢ τὸν ἀπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων αὐτόσχολον αὐτολαλητὴν
οὐκ ἐμπαζόμενον δόξης ἐρίδων τε Φίλωνα.

Πρὸς τούτοις διήκουε τοῦ Πύρρωνος Ἑκαταῖός τε ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης καὶ Τίμων ὁ Φλιάσιος ὁ τοὺς Σίλλους πεποιηκώς, περὶ οὗ λέξομεν, ἔτι τε Ναυσιφάνης <ὁ> Τήιος, οὗ φασί τινες ἀκοῦσαι Ἐπίκουρον. οὗτοι πάντες Πυρρώνειοι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ διδασκάλου, ἀπορητικοὶ δὲ καὶ σκεπτικοὶ καὶ ἔτι ἐφεκτικοὶ καὶ ζητητικοὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἷον δόγματος προσηγορεύοντο.
70 ζητητικοὶ μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ πάντοτε ζητεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, σκεπτικοὶ δ᾽ ἀπὸ τοῦ σκέπτεσθαι ἀεὶ καὶ μηδέποτε εὑρίσκειν, ἐφεκτικοὶ δ᾽ ἀπὸ τοῦ μετὰ τὴν ζήτησιν πάθους· λέγω δὲ τὴν ἐποχήν· ἀπορητικοὶ δ᾽ ἀπὸ τοῦ τοὺς δογματικοὺς ἀπορεῖν καὶ αὐτούς. Πυρρώνειοι δὲ ἀπὸ Πύρρωνος. Θεοδόσιος δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς Σκεπτικοῖς κεφαλαίοις οὔ φησι δεῖν Πυρρώνειον καλεῖσθαι τὴν σκεπτικήν· εἰ γὰρ τὸ καθ᾽ ἕτερον κίνημα τῆς διανοίας ἄληπτόν ἐστιν, οὐκ εἰσόμεθα τὴν Πύρρωνος διάθεσιν· μὴ εἰδότες δὲ οὐδὲ Πυρρώνειοι καλοίμεθ᾽ ἄν. πρὸς τῷ μηδὲ πρῶτον εὑρηκέναι τὴν σκεπτικὴν Πύρρωνα μηδ᾽ ἔχειν τι δόγμα. λέγοιτο δ᾽ ἄν τις Πυρρώνειος ὁμότροπος.

71 Ταύτης δὲ τῆς αἱρέσεως ἔνιοί φασιν Ὅμηρον κατάρξαι, ἐπεὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πραγμάτων παρ᾽

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[a] *Cf. Od.* xxi. 364.

and swam across the Alpheus. Now he was, as Timon too says, most hostile to Sophists.

Philo, again, who had a habit of very often talking to himself, is also referred to in the lines [a]:

> Yea, him that is far away from men, at leisure to himself,
> Philo, who recks not of opinion or of wrangling.

Besides these, Pyrrho's pupils included Hecataeus of Abdera, Timon of Phlius, author of the *Silli*, of whom more anon, and also Nausiphanes of Teos, said by some to have been a teacher of Epicurus. All these were called Pyrrhoneans after the name of their master, but Aporetics, Sceptics, Ephectics, and even Zetetics, from their principles, if we may call them such—Zetetics or seekers because they were ever seeking truth, Sceptics or inquirers because they were always looking for a solution and never finding one, Ephectics or doubters because of the state of mind which followed their inquiry, I mean, suspense of judgement, and finally Aporetics or those in perplexity, for not only they but even the dogmatic philosophers themselves in their turn were often perplexed. Pyrrhoneans, of course, they were called from Pyrrho. Theodosius in his *Sceptic Chapters* denies that Scepticism should be called Pyrrhonism; for if the movement of the mind in either direction is unattainable by us, we shall never know for certain what Pyrrho really intended, and without knowing that, we cannot be called Pyrrhoneans. Besides this (he says), there is the fact that Pyrrho was not the founder of Scepticism; nor had he any positive tenet; but a Pyrrhonean is one who in manners and life resembles Pyrrho.

Some call Homer the founder of this school, for to the same questions he more than anyone else is

ὁντινοῦν ἄλλοτ' ἄλλως ἀποφαίνεται καὶ οὐδὲν ὁρικῶς δογματίζει περὶ τὴν ἀπόφασιν. ἔπειτα καὶ τὰ τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν σκεπτικὰ εἶναι, οἷον τὸ Μηδὲν ἄγαν, καὶ Ἐγγύα, πάρα δ' ἄτα· δηλοῦσθαι γὰρ τῷ βεβαίως καὶ πεπεισμένως διεγγυωμένῳ ἐπακολουθεῖν ἄτην. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀρχίλοχον καὶ Εὐριπίδην σκεπτικῶς ἔχειν, ἐν οἷς Ἀρχίλοχος μέν φησι·

τοῖος ἀνθρώποισι θυμός, Γλαῦκε Λεπτίνεω πάϊ,
γίγνεται θνητοῖς ὁκοίην Ζεὺς ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἄγει.

Εὐριπίδης δέ·

(ὦ Ζεῦ,) τί δῆτα τοὺς ταλαιπώρους βροτοὺς
φρονεῖν λέγουσι; σοῦ γὰρ ἐξηρτήμεθα
δρῶμέν τε τοιάδ' ἃ 'ν σὺ τυγχάνῃς θέλων.

72 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Ξενοφάνης καὶ Ζήνων ὁ Ἐλεάτης καὶ Δημόκριτος κατ' αὐτοὺς σκεπτικοὶ τυγχάνουσιν· ἐν οἷς Ξενοφάνης μέν φησι,

καὶ τὸ μὲν οὖν σαφὲς οὔτις ἀνὴρ ἴδεν οὐδέ τις ἔσται
εἰδώς.

Ζήνων δὲ τὴν κίνησιν ἀναιρεῖ λέγων, "τὸ κινούμενον οὔτ' ἐν ᾧ ἐστι τόπῳ κινεῖται οὔτ' ἐν ᾧ μὴ ἔστι"· Δημόκριτος δὲ τὰς ποιότητας ἐκβάλλων, ἵνα φησί, "νόμῳ ψυχρόν, νόμῳ θερμόν, ἐτεῇ δὲ ἄτομα καὶ κενόν"· καὶ πάλιν, "ἐτεῇ δὲ οὐδὲν ἴδμεν· ἐν βυθῷ γὰρ ἡ ἀλήθεια." καὶ Πλάτωνα τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς θεοῖς τε καὶ θεῶν παισὶν ἐκχωρεῖν, τὸν δ' εἰκότα λόγον ζητεῖν. καὶ Εὐριπίδην λέγειν·

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[a] Fr. 70 B. [b] *Supplices*, 735-737. [c] Fr. 34 D.

always giving different answers at different times, and is never definite or dogmatic about the answer. The maxims of the Seven Wise Men, too, they call sceptical; for instance, "Observe the Golden Mean," and "A pledge is a curse at one's elbow," meaning that whoever plights his troth steadfastly and trustfully brings a curse on his own head. Sceptically-minded, again, were Archilochus and Euripides, for Archilochus says[a]:

> Man's soul, O Glaucus, son of Leptines,
> Is but as one short day that Zeus sends down.

And Euripides[b]:

> Great God! how can they say poor mortal men
> Have minds and think? Hang we not on thy will?
> Do we not what it pleaseth thee to wish?

Furthermore, they find Xenophanes, Zeno of Elea, and Democritus to be sceptics: Xenophanes because he says,[c]

> Clear truth hath no man seen nor e'er shall know;

and Zeno because he would destroy motion, saying, "A moving body moves neither where it is nor where it is not"; Democritus because he rejects qualities, saying, "Opinion says hot or cold, but the reality is atoms and empty space," and again, "Of a truth we know nothing, for truth is in a well."[d] Plato, too, leaves the truth to gods and sons of gods, and seeks after the probable explanation.[e] Euripides says[f]:

[d] This proverbial expression is inadequate; a more literal rendering of ἐν βύθῳ would be "in an abyss."
[e] *Tim.* 40 D.
[f] Nauck, *T.G.F.*², *Eur.* 638; *Polyid.* Fr. 7.

73 τίς δ' οἶδεν εἰ τὸ ζῆν μέν ἐστι κατθανεῖν,
τὸ κατθανεῖν δὲ ζῆν νομίζεται βροτοῖς;

ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέα·

οὕτως οὔτ' ἐπιδερκτὰ τάδ' ἀνδράσιν οὔτ' ἐπακουστὰ
οὔτε νόῳ περιληπτά·

καὶ ἐπάνω,

αὐτὸ μόνον πεισθέντες ὅτῳ προσέκυρσεν ἕκαστος·

ἔτι μὴν Ἡράκλειτον, "μὴ εἰκῇ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων συμβαλλώμεθα"· καὶ Ἱπποκράτην [ἔπειτα] ἐνδοιαστῶς καὶ ἀνθρωπίνως ἀποφαίνεσθαι· καὶ πρὶν Ὅμηρον,

στρεπτὴ δὲ γλῶσσ' ἐστὶ βροτῶν, πολέες δ' ἔνι
μῦθοι·

καὶ

ἐπέων δὲ πολὺς νομὸς ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα·

καὶ

ὁπποῖόν κ' εἴπησθα ἔπος, τοῖόν κ' ἐπακούσαις·

τὴν ἰσοσθένειαν λέγων καὶ ἀντίθεσιν τῶν λόγων.

74 Διετέλουν δὴ οἱ σκεπτικοὶ τὰ τῶν αἱρέσεων δόγματα πάντ' ἀνατρέποντες, αὐτοὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἀπεφαίνοντο δογματικῶς, ἕως δὲ τοῦ προφέρεσθαι τὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ διηγεῖσθαι μηδὲν ὁρίζοντες, μηδ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο. ὥστε καὶ τὸ μὴ ὁρίζειν ἀνῄρουν, λέγοντες οἷον Οὐδὲν ὁρίζομεν, ἐπεὶ ὥριζον ἄν· προφερόμεθα δέ, φασί, τὰς ἀποφάσεις εἰς μήνυσιν

[a] Fr. 2, l. 7. [b] *Ib.* l. 5. [c] Fr. 47 D., 48 B.
[d] *Il.* xx. 248-250. [e] διετέλουν, imperfect. [f] *Inf.* § 104.

Who knoweth if to die be but to live,
And that called life by mortals be but death?

So too Empedocles[a]:

So to these mortal may not list nor look
Nor yet conceive them in his mind;

and before that[b]:

Each believes naught but his experience.

And even Heraclitus: "Let us not conjecture on deepest questions what is likely."[c] Then again Hippocrates showed himself two-sided and but human. And before them all Homer[d]:

Pliant is the tongue of mortals: numberless the tales within it;

and

Ample is of words the pasture, hither thither widely ranging;

and

And the saying which thou sayest, back it cometh later on thee,

where he is speaking of the equal value of contradictory sayings.

The Sceptics, then, were constantly engaged[e] in overthrowing the dogmas of all schools, but enuntiated none themselves; and though they would go so far as to bring forward and expound the dogmas of the others, they themselves laid down nothing definitely, not even the laying down of nothing. So much so that they even refuted their laying down of nothing, saying, for instance, "We determine nothing," since otherwise they would have been betrayed into determining[f]; but we put forward, say they, all

τῆς ἀπροπτωσίας, ὡς, εἰ καὶ νεύσαντας, τοῦτο ἐνεδέχετο δηλῶσαι· διὰ τῆς οὖν Οὐδὲν ὁρίζομεν φωνῆς τὸ τῆς ἀρρεψίας πάθος δηλοῦται· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς Οὐδὲν μᾶλλον καὶ τῆς Παντὶ λόγῳ
75 λόγος ἀντίκειται καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων. λέγεται δὲ τὸ Οὐδὲν μᾶλλον καὶ θετικῶς, ὡς ὁμοίων τινῶν ὄντων· οἷον, Οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ὁ πειρατὴς κακός ἐστιν ἢ ὁ ψεύστης. ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν σκεπτικῶν οὐ θετικῶς ἀλλ' ἀναιρετικῶς λέγεται, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνασκευάζοντος καὶ λέγοντος, Οὐ μᾶλλον ἡ Σκύλλα γέγονεν ἢ ἡ Χίμαιρα. αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ Μᾶλλον ποτὲ μὲν συγκριτικῶς ἐκφέρεται, ὡς ὅταν φῶμεν μᾶλλον τὸ μέλι γλυκὺ ἢ τὴν σταφίδα· ποτὲ δὲ θετικῶς καὶ ἀναιρετικῶς, ὡς ὅταν φῶμεν, Μᾶλλον ἡ ἀρετὴ ὠφελεῖ ἢ βλάπτει· σημαίνομεν γὰρ ὅτι ἡ ἀρετὴ ὠφελεῖ, βλάπτει δ'
76 οὔ. ἀναιροῦσι δ' οἱ σκεπτικοὶ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν "Οὐδὲν μᾶλλον" φωνήν· ὡς γὰρ οὐ μᾶλλόν ἐστι πρόνοια ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν, οὕτω καὶ τὸ Οὐδὲν μᾶλλον οὐ μᾶλλόν ἐστιν ἢ οὐκ ἔστι. σημαίνει οὖν ἡ φωνή, καθά φησι καὶ Τίμων ἐν τῷ Πύθωνι, "τὸ μηδὲν ὁρίζειν, ἀλλ' ἀπροσθετεῖν." ἡ δὲ Παντὶ λόγῳ φωνὴ καὶ αὐτὴ συνάγει τὴν ἐποχήν· τῶν μὲν γὰρ πραγμάτων διαφωνούντων, τῶν δὲ λόγων ἰσοσθενούντων ἀγνωσία τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπακολουθεῖ· καὶ αὐτῷ δὲ τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ λόγος ἀντίκειται, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ τὸ ἀνελεῖν τοὺς ἄλλους ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ περιτραπεὶς ἀπόλλυται, κατ' ἴσον τοῖς καθαρτικοῖς,

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[a] *i.e.* "Every saying has its corresponding opposite" (*supra*, § 74).

the theories for the purpose of indicating our unprecipitate attitude, precisely as we might have done if we had actually assented to them. Thus by the expression "We determine nothing" is indicated their state of even balance; which is similarly indicated by the other expressions, "Not more (one thing than another)," "Every saying has its corresponding opposite," and the like. But "Not more (one thing than another)" can also be taken positively, indicating that two things are alike; for example, "The pirate is no more wicked than the liar." But the Sceptics meant it not positively but negatively, as when, in refuting an argument, one says, "Neither had more existence, Scylla or the Chimaera." And "More so" itself is sometimes comparative, as when we say that "Honey is more sweet than grapes"; sometimes both positive and negative, as when we say, "Virtue profits more than it harms," for in this phrase we indicate that virtue profits and does not harm. But the Sceptics even refute the statement "Not more (one thing than another)." For, as forethought is no more existent than non-existent, so "Not more (one thing than another)" is no more existent than not. Thus, as Timon says in the *Pytho*, the statement means just absence of all determination and withholding of assent. The other statement, "Every saying, etc.," [a] equally compels suspension of judgement; when facts disagree, but the contradictory statements have exactly the same weight, ignorance of the truth is the necessary consequence. But even this statement has its corresponding antithesis, so that after destroying others it turns round and destroys itself, like a purge which drives the substance

ἃ τὴν ὕλην προεκκρίναντα καὶ αὐτὰ ὑπεκκρίνεται καὶ ἐξαπόλλυται.

77 Πρὸς ὅ φασιν οἱ δογματικοὶ * * μὴ αἴρειν τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ προσεπισχυρίζειν. μόνον οὖν διακόνοις ἐχρῶντο τοῖς λόγοις· οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἦν μὴ λόγῳ λόγον ἀνελεῖν· καθ' ὃν τρόπον εἰώθαμεν λέγειν τόπον μὴ εἶναι καὶ δεῖ πάντως τὸν τόπον εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐ δογματικῶς, ἀποδεικτικῶς δέ· καὶ μηδὲν γίνεσθαι κατ' ἀνάγκην καὶ δεῖ τὴν ἀνάγκην εἰπεῖν. τοιούτῳ τινὶ τρόπῳ τῆς ἑρμηνείας ἐχρῶντο· οἷα γὰρ φαίνεται τὰ πράγματα, μὴ τοιαῦτα εἶναι τῇ φύσει, ἀλλὰ μόνον φαίνεσθαι· ζητεῖν τ' ἔλεγον οὐχ ἅπερ νοοῦσιν, ὅ τι γὰρ νοεῖται δῆλον, ἀλλ' ὧν ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι μετίσχουσιν.

78 Ἔστιν οὖν ὁ Πυρρώνειος λόγος μήνυσίς τις τῶν φαινομένων ἢ τῶν ὁπωσοῦν νοουμένων, καθ' ἣν πάντα πᾶσι συμβάλλεται καὶ συγκρινόμενα πολλὴν ἀνωμαλίαν καὶ ταραχὴν ἔχοντα εὑρίσκεται, καθά φησιν Αἰνεσίδημος ἐν τῇ εἰς τὰ Πυρρώνεια ὑποτυπώσει. πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἐν ταῖς σκέψεσιν ἀντιθέσεις προαποδεικνύντες καθ' οὓς τρόπους πείθει τὰ πράγματα, κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀνῄρουν τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν πίστιν· πείθειν γὰρ τά τε κατ' αἴσθησιν συμφώνως ἔχοντα καὶ τὰ μηδέποτε ἢ σπανίως γοῦν μεταπίπτοντα τά τε συνήθη καὶ τὰ νόμοις διεσταλμένα
79 καὶ τὰ τέρποντα καὶ τὰ θαυμαζόμενα. ἐδείκνυσαν οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων τοῖς πείθουσιν ἴσας τὰς πιθανότητας.

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[a] Here (as in § 104) the writer, whether D. L. or his source, seems to pose as a Sceptic himself; *cf.* Introd. p. xiii.

out and then in its turn is itself eliminated and destroyed.

This the dogmatists answer by saying that they do [not merely] not deny the statement, but even plainly assert it. So they were merely using the words as servants, as it was not possible not to refute one statement by another; just as we[a] are accustomed to say there is no such thing as space, and yet we have no alternative but to speak of space for the purpose of argument, though not of positive doctrine, and just as we say nothing comes about by necessity and yet have to speak of necessity. This was the sort of interpretation they used to give; though things appear to be such and such, they are not such in reality but only appear such. And they would say that they sought, not thoughts, since thoughts are evidently thought, but the things in which sensation plays a part.

Thus the Pyrrhonean principle, as Aenesidemus says in the introduction to his *Pyrrhonics*, is but a report on phenomena or on any kind of judgement, a report in which all things are brought to bear on one another, and in the comparison are found to present much anomaly and confusion. As to the contradictions in their doubts, they would first show the ways in which things gain credence, and then by the same methods they would destroy belief in them; for they say those things gain credence which either the senses are agreed upon or which never or at least rarely change, as well as things which become habitual or are determined by law and those which please or excite wonder. They showed, then, on the basis of that which is contrary to what induces belief, that the probabilities on both sides are equal.

Αἱ δ' ἀπορίαι κατὰ τὰς[1] συμφωνίας τῶν φαινομένων ἢ νοουμένων, ἃς ἀπεδίδοσαν, ἦσαν κατὰ δέκα τρόπους, καθ' οὓς τὰ ὑποκείμενα παραλλάττοντα ἐφαίνετο. τούτους δὲ τοὺς δέκα τρόπους τίθησιν.

[Εἷς][2] πρῶτος ὁ παρὰ τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν ζῴων πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ ἀλγηδόνα καὶ βλάβην καὶ ὠφέλειαν. συνάγεται δὲ δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ μὴ τὰς αὐτὰς ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν προσπίπτειν φαντασίας καὶ τὸ διότι τῇ τοιαύτῃ μάχῃ ἀκολουθεῖ τὸ ἐπέχειν· τῶν γὰρ ζῴων τὰ μὲν χωρὶς μίξεως γίνεσθαι, ὡς τὰ πυρίβια καὶ ὁ Ἀράβιος φοῖνιξ καὶ εὐλαί· τὰ δ' ἐξ ἐπιπλοκῆς,
80 ὡς ἄνθρωποι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα· καὶ τὰ μὲν οὕτως, τὰ δ' οὕτως συγκέκριται· διὸ καὶ τῇ αἰσθήσει διαφέρει, ὡς κίρκοι μὲν ὀξύτατοι, κύνες δ' ὀσφρητικώτατοι. εὔλογον οὖν τοῖς διαφόροις τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς διάφορα καὶ τὰ φαντάσματα προσπίπτειν· καὶ τῇ μὲν αἰγὶ τὸν θαλλὸν εἶναι ἐδώδιμον, ἀνθρώπῳ δὲ πικρόν, καὶ τὸ κώνειον ὄρτυγι μὲν τρόφιμον, ἀνθρώπῳ δὲ θανάσιμον, καὶ ὁ ἀπόπατος ὑῒ μὲν ἐδώδιμος, ἵππῳ δ' οὔ.

Δεύτερος ὁ παρὰ τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσεις καὶ τὰς ἰδιοσυγκρισίας· Δημοφῶν γοῦν ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου τραπεζοκόμος ἐν σκιᾷ ἐθάλπετο, ἐν ἡλίῳ δ' ἐρρίγου.
81 Ἄνδρων δ' ὁ Ἀργεῖος, ὥς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης, διὰ τῆς ἀνύδρου Λιβύης ὥδευεν ἄποτος. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἰατρικῆς, ὁ δὲ γεωργίας, ἄλλος δ' ἐμπορίας

[1] τὰς] τῆς Reiske.
[2] καὶ Θεοδόσιος τίθησιν. ὧν conj. Nietsche; but Tauchn. has καθ' οὓς τίθησιν, εἷς πρῶτος.

[a] If, however, with Reiske we here read τῆς for τὰς, the meaning is: "The objections urged *against* the (sup-

Perplexities arise from the agreements[a] between appearances or judgements, and these perplexities they distinguished under ten different modes in which the subjects in question appeared to vary. The following are the ten modes laid down.[b]

The *first* mode relates to the differences between living creatures in respect of those things which give them pleasure or pain, or are useful or harmful to them. By this it is inferred that they do not receive the same impressions from the same things, with the result that such a conflict necessarily leads to suspension of judgement. For some creatures multiply without intercourse, for example, creatures that live in fire, the Arabian phoenix and worms; others by union, such as man and the rest. Some are distinguished in one way, some in another, and for this reason they differ in their senses also, hawks for instance being most keen-sighted, and dogs having a most acute sense of smell. It is natural that if the senses, *e.g.* eyes, of animals differ, so also will the impressions produced upon them; so to the goat vine-shoots are good to eat, to man they are bitter; the quail thrives on hemlock, which is fatal to man; the pig will eat ordure, the horse will not.

The *second* mode has reference to the natures and idiosyncrasies of men; for instance, Demophon, Alexander's butler, used to get warm in the shade and shiver in the sun. Andron of Argos is reported by Aristotle[c] to have travelled across the waterless deserts of Libya without drinking. Moreover, one man fancies the profession of medicine, another

posed) consistency of our percepts or our concepts, were arranged by them under ten modes."

[b] *Cf.* Sext. Emp. *Pyrrh. Hyp.* i. §§ 36-163.

[c] Fr. 103 Rose.

ὀρέγεται· καὶ ταὐτὰ οὓς μὲν βλάπτει, οὓς δὲ ὠφελεῖ· ὅθεν ἐφεκτέον.

Τρίτος ὁ παρὰ τὰς τῶν αἰσθητικῶν πόρων διαφοράς. τὸ γοῦν μῆλον ὁράσει μὲν ὠχρόν, γεύσει δὲ γλυκύ, ὀσφρήσει δ' εὐῶδες ὑποπίπτει. καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ δὲ μορφὴ παρὰ τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν κατόπτρων ἀλλοία θεωρεῖται. ἀκολουθεῖ οὖν μὴ μᾶλλον εἶναι τοῖον τὸ φαινόμενον ἢ ἀλλοῖον.

82 Τέταρτος ὁ παρὰ τὰς διαθέσεις καὶ κοινῶς παραλλαγάς, οἷον ὑγίειαν, νόσον, ὕπνον, ἐγρήγορσιν, χαράν, λύπην, νεότητα, γῆρας, θάρσος, φόβον, ἔνδειαν, πλήρωσιν, μῖσος, φιλίαν, θερμασίαν, ψύξιν· παρὰ τὸ πνεῖν, παρὰ τὸ πιεσθῆναι τοὺς πόρους. ἀλλοῖα οὖν φαίνεται τὰ προσπίπτοντα παρὰ τὰς ποιὰς διαθέσεις. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ μαινόμενοι παρὰ φύσιν ἔχουσι· τί γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνοι ἢ ἡμεῖς; καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς τὸν ἥλιον ὡς ἑστῶτα βλέπομεν. Θέων δ' ὁ Τιθοραιεὺς ὁ στωικὸς κοιμώμενος περιεπάτει ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ καὶ Περικλέους δοῦλος ἐπ' ἄκρου τοῦ τέγους.

83 Πέμπτος ὁ παρὰ τὰς ἀγωγὰς καὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰς μυθικὰς πίστεις καὶ τὰς ἐθνικὰς συνθήκας καὶ δογματικὰς ὑπολήψεις. ἐν τούτῳ περιέχεται τὰ περὶ καλῶν καὶ αἰσχρῶν, περὶ ἀληθῶν καὶ ψευδῶν, περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν, περὶ θεῶν καὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς τῶν φαινομένων πάντων. τὸ γοῦν αὐτὸ παρ' οἷς μὲν δίκαιον, παρ' οἷς δὲ ἄδικον· καὶ

farming, and another commerce; and the same ways of life are injurious to one man but beneficial to another; from which it follows that judgement must be suspended.

The *third* mode depends on the differences between the sense-channels in different cases, for an apple gives the impression of being pale yellow in colour to the sight, sweet in taste and fragrant in smell. An object of the same shape is made to appear different by differences in the mirrors reflecting it. Thus it follows that what appears is no more such and such a thing than something different.

The *fourth* mode is that due to differences of condition and to changes in general; for instance, health, illness, sleep, waking, joy, sorrow, youth, old age, courage, fear, want, fullness, hate, love, heat, cold, to say nothing of breathing freely and having the passages obstructed. The impressions received thus appear to vary according to the nature of the conditions. Nay, even the state of madmen is not contrary to nature; for why should their state be so more than ours? Even to our view the sun has the appearance of standing still. And Theon of Tithorea used to go to bed and walk in his sleep, while Pericles' slave did the same on the housetop.

The *fifth* mode is derived from customs, laws, belief in myths, compacts between nations and dogmatic assumptions. This class includes considerations with regard to things beautiful and ugly, true and false, good and bad, with regard to the gods, and with regard to the coming into being and the passing away of the world of phenomena. Obviously the same thing is regarded by some as just and by others as unjust, or as good by some and

ἄλλοις μὲν ἀγαθόν, ἄλλοις δὲ κακόν. Πέρσαι μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἄτοπον ἡγοῦνται θυγατρὶ μίγνυσθαι, Ἕλληνες δ᾽ ἔκθεσμον. καὶ Μασσαγέται μέν, ὥς φησι καὶ Εὔδοξος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς Περιόδου, κοινὰς ἔχουσι τὰς γυναῖκας, Ἕλληνες δ᾽ οὔ· Κίλικές τε
84 *λῃστείαις ἔχαιρον, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ Ἕλληνες. θεούς τ᾽ ἄλλοι ἄλλους ἡγοῦνται· καὶ οἱ μὲν προνοεῖσθαι, οἱ δ᾽ οὔ. θάπτουσι δ᾽ Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν ταριχεύοντες, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καίοντες, Παίονες δ᾽ εἰς λίμνας ῥιπτοῦντες· ὅθεν περὶ τἀληθοῦς ἡ ἐποχή.*

*Ἕκτος ὁ παρὰ τὰς μίξεις καὶ κοινωνίας, καθ᾽ ὃν εἰλικρινῶς οὐδὲν καθ᾽ αὑτὸ φαίνεται, ἀλλὰ σὺν ἀέρι, σὺν φωτί, σὺν ὑγρῷ, σὺν στερεῷ, θερμότητι, ψυχρότητι, κινήσει, ἀναθυμιάσεσιν, ἄλλαις δυνάμεσιν. ἡ γοῦν πορφύρα διάφορον ὑποφαίνει χρῶμα ἐν ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ λύχνῳ. καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον χρῶμα ἀλλοῖον ὑπὸ τὴν μεσημβρίαν φαίνεται καὶ **
85 *ὑπὸ δύσιν*[1]*· καὶ ὁ ἐν ἀέρι ὑπὸ δυοῖν κουφιζόμενος λίθος ἐν ὕδατι ῥᾳδίως μετατίθεται, ἤτοι βαρὺς ὢν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος κουφιζόμενος ἢ ἐλαφρὸς [ὢν] καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀέρος βαρυνόμενος. ἀγνοοῦμεν οὖν τὸ κατ᾽ ἰδίαν, ὡς ἔλαιον*[2] *ἐν μύρῳ.*

Ἕβδομος ὁ παρὰ τὰς ἀποστάσεις καὶ ποιὰς θέσεις καὶ τοὺς τόπους καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς τόποις. κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον τὰ δοκοῦντ᾽ εἶναι μεγάλα μικρὰ φαίνεται, τὰ τετράγωνα στρογγύλα, τὰ ὁμαλὰ ἐξοχὰς ἔχοντα, τὰ ὀρθὰ κεκλασμένα, τὰ ὠχρὰ ἑτερόχροα. ὁ γοῦν ἥλιος παρὰ τὸ διάστημα μικρὸς φαίνεται· καὶ τὰ ὄρη πόρρωθεν ἀεροειδῆ

[1] *ὁ ἥλιος* vulg. : *ὑπὸ δείλην* Menag. : *δείλης* Reiske.
[2] *ἐλαίου* Reiske.

bad by others. Persians think it not unnatural for a man to marry his daughter; to Greeks it is unlawful. The Massagetae, acording to Eudoxus in the first book of his *Voyage round the World*, have their wives in common; the Greeks have not. The Cilicians used to delight in piracy; not so the Greeks. Different people believe in different gods; some in providence, others not. In burying their dead, the Egyptians embalm them; the Romans burn them; the Paeonians throw them into lakes. As to what is true, then, let suspension of judgement be our practice.

The *sixth* mode relates to mixtures and participations, by virtue of which nothing appears pure in and by itself, but only in combination with air, light, moisture, solidity, heat, cold, movement, exhalations and other forces. For purple shows different tints in sunlight, moonlight, and lamplight; and our own complexion does not appear the same at noon and when the sun is low. Again, a rock which in air takes two men to lift is easily moved about in water, either because, being in reality heavy, it is lifted by the water or because, being light, it is made heavy by the air. Of its own inherent property we know nothing, any more than of the constituent oils in an ointment.

The *seventh* mode has reference to distances, positions, places and the occupants of the places. In this mode things which are thought to be large appear small, square things round; flat things appear to have projections, straight things to be bent, and colourless coloured. So the sun, on account of its distance, appears small, mountains when far away appear misty and smooth, but when near at hand

86 καὶ λεῖα, ἐγγύθεν δὲ τραχέα. ἔτι ὁ ἥλιος ἀνίσχων μὲν ἀλλοῖος, μεσουρανῶν δ' οὐχ ὅμοιος. καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ σῶμα ἐν μὲν ἄλσει ἀλλοῖον, ἐν δὲ ψιλῇ γῇ ἕτερον· καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν παρὰ τὴν ποιὰν θέσιν, ὅ τε τῆς περιστερᾶς τράχηλος παρὰ τὴν στροφήν. ἐπεὶ οὖν οὐκ ἔνι ἔξω τόπων καὶ θέσεων ταῦτα κατανοῆσαι, ἀγνοεῖται ἡ φύσις αὐτῶν.

Ὄγδοος ὁ παρὰ τὰς ποσότητας καὶ ποιότητας αὐτῶν ἢ θερμότητας ἢ ψυχρότητας ἢ ταχύτητας ἢ βραδύτητας ἢ ὠχρότητας ἢ ἑτεροχροιότητας. ὁ γοῦν οἶνος μέτριος μὲν ληφθεὶς ῥώννυσι, πλείων δὲ παρίησιν· ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ τροφὴ καὶ τὰ ὅμοια.

87 Ἔνατος ὁ παρὰ τὸ ἐνδελεχὲς ἢ ξένον ἢ σπάνιον. οἱ γοῦν σεισμοὶ παρ' οἷς συνεχῶς ἀποτελοῦνται οὐ θαυμάζονται, οὐδ' ὁ ἥλιος, ὅτι καθ' ἡμέραν ὁρᾶται. τὸν ἔνατον Φαβωρῖνος ὄγδοον, Σέξτος δὲ καὶ Αἰνεσίδημος δέκατον· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δέκατον Σέξτος ὄγδοόν φησι, Φαβωρῖνος δὲ ἔνατον.

Δέκατος ὁ κατὰ τὴν πρὸς ἄλλα σύμβλησιν, καθάπερ τὸ κοῦφον παρὰ τὸ βαρύ, τὸ ἰσχυρὸν παρὰ τὸ ἀσθενές, τὸ μεῖζον παρὰ τὸ ἔλαττον, τὸ ἄνω παρὰ τὸ κάτω. τὸ γοῦν δεξιὸν φύσει μὲν οὐκ ἔστι δεξιόν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὡς πρὸς τὸ ἕτερον σχέσιν νοεῖται· μετατεθέντος γοῦν ἐκείνου, οὐκέτ' ἐστὶ δεξιόν.
88 ὁμοίως καὶ πατὴρ καὶ ἀδελφὸς ὡς πρός τι καὶ ἡμέρα ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον καὶ πάντα ὡς πρὸς τὴν διάνοιαν. ἄγνωστα οὖν τὰ πρός τι [ὡς] καθ' ἑαυτά. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οἱ δέκα τρόποι.

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[a] As contrasted, *e.g.*, with a comet: *cf.* Sext. Emp. *Pyrrh. Hyp.* i. 141.

rugged. Furthermore, the sun at its rising has a certain appearance, but has a dissimilar appearance when in mid-heaven, and the same body one appearance in a wood and another in open country. The image again varies according to the position of the object, and a dove's neck according to the way it is turned. Since, then, it is not possible to observe these things apart from places and positions, their real nature is unknowable.

The *eighth* mode is concerned with quantities and qualities of things, say heat or cold, swiftness or slowness, colourlessness or variety of colours. Thus wine taken in moderation strengthens the body, but too much of it is weakening; and so with food and other things.

The *ninth* mode has to do with perpetuity, strangeness, or rarity. Thus earthquakes are no surprise to those among whom they constantly take place; nor is the sun, for it is seen every day.[a] This ninth mode is put eighth by Favorinus and tenth by Sextus and Aenesidemus: moreover the tenth is put eighth by Sextus and ninth by Favorinus.

The *tenth* mode rests on inter-relation, *e.g.* between light and heavy, strong and weak, greater and less, up and down. Thus that which is on the right is not so by nature, but is so understood in virtue of its position with respect to something else; for, if that change its position, the thing is no longer on the right. Similarly father and brother are relative terms, day is relative to the sun, and all things relative to our mind. Thus relative terms are in and by themselves unknowable. These, then, are the ten modes of perplexity.

Οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἀγρίππαν τούτοις ἄλλους πέντε προσεισάγουσι, τόν τ' ἀπὸ τῆς διαφωνίας καὶ τὸν εἰς ἄπειρον ἐκβάλλοντα καὶ τὸν πρός τι καὶ τὸν ἐξ ὑποθέσεως καὶ τὸν δι' ἀλλήλων. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς διαφωνίας ὃ ἂν προτεθῇ ζήτημα παρὰ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἢ τῇ συνηθείᾳ, πλείστης μάχης καὶ ταραχῆς πλῆρες ἀποδεικνύει· ὁ δ' εἰς ἄπειρον ἐκβάλλων οὐκ ἐᾷ βεβαιοῦσθαι τὸ ζητούμενον, διὰ τὸ ἄλλο ἀπ' ἄλλου τὴν πίστιν λαμβάνειν καὶ οὕτως εἰς
89 ἄπειρον. ὁ δὲ πρός τι οὐδέν φησι καθ' ἑαυτὸ λαμβάνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μεθ' ἑτέρου. ὅθεν ἄγνωστα εἶναι. ὁ δ' ἐξ ὑποθέσεως τρόπος συνίσταται, οἰομένων τινῶν τὰ πρῶτα τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτόθεν δεῖν λαμβάνειν ὡς πιστὰ καὶ μὴ αἰτεῖσθαι· ὅ ἐστι μάταιον· τὸ ἐναντίον γάρ τις ὑποθήσεται. ὁ δὲ δι' ἀλλήλων τρόπος συνίσταται ὅταν τὸ ὀφεῖλον τοῦ ζητουμένου πράγματος εἶναι βεβαιωτικὸν χρείαν ἔχῃ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ ζητουμένου πίστεως, οἷον εἰ τὸ εἶναι πόρους τις βεβαιῶν διὰ τὸ ἀπορροίας γίνεσθαι, αὐτὸ τοῦτο παραλαμβάνοι πρὸς βεβαίωσιν το<ῦ> ἀπορροίας γίνεσθαι.

90 Ἀνῄρουν δ' οὗτοι καὶ πᾶσαν ἀπόδειξιν καὶ κριτήριον καὶ σημεῖον καὶ αἴτιον καὶ κίνησιν καὶ μάθησιν καὶ γένεσιν καὶ τὸ φύσει τι εἶναι ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν. πᾶσα γὰρ ἀπόδειξις, φασίν, ἢ ἐξ ἀποδεδειγμένων σύγκειται χρημάτων ἢ ἐξ ἀναποδείκτων. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀποδεδειγμένων, κἀκεῖνα δεήσεταί τινος

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[a] Sext. Emp. *Pyrrh. Hyp.* i. 37 ὄγδοος ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρός τι. The intention of Agrippa was to *replace* the ten modes by his five.

[b] This is what is commonly called arguing in a circle.

But Agrippa and his school add to them [a] five other modes, resulting respectively from disagreement, extension *ad infinitum*, relativity, hypothesis and reciprocal inference. The mode arising from disagreement proves, with regard to any inquiry whether in philosophy or in everyday life, that it is full of the utmost contentiousness and confusion. The mode which involves extension *ad infinitum* refuses to admit that what is sought to be proved is firmly established, because one thing furnishes the ground for belief in another, and so on *ad infinitum*. The mode derived from relativity declares that a thing can never be apprehended in and by itself, but only in connexion with something else. Hence all things are unknowable. The mode resulting from hypothesis arises when people suppose that you must take the most elementary of things as of themselves entitled to credence, instead of postulating them: which is useless, because some one else will adopt the contrary hypothesis. The mode arising from reciprocal inference is found whenever that which should be confirmatory of the thing requiring to be proved itself has to borrow credit from the latter, as, for example, if anyone seeking to establish the existence of pores on the ground that emanations take place should take this (the existence of pores) as proof that there are emanations.[b]

They would deny all demonstration, criterion, sign, cause, motion, the process of learning, coming into being, or that there is anything good or bad by nature. For all demonstration, say they, is constructed out of things either already proved or indemonstrable. If out of things already proved, those things too will require some demonstration,

ἀποδείξεως κἀντεῦθεν εἰς ἄπειρον· εἰ δ' ἐξ ἀναποδείκτων, ἤτοι πάντων ἢ τινῶν ἢ καὶ ἑνὸς μόνου διστάζομένου, καὶ τὸ ὅλον εἶναι ἀναπόδεικτον. εἰ δὲ δοκεῖ, φασίν, ὑπάρχειν τινὰ μηδεμιᾶς ἀποδείξεως δεόμενα, θαυμαστοὶ τῆς γνώμης, εἰ μὴ συνιᾶσιν ὅτι εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο πρῶτον, ὡς ἄρ' ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔχει
91 τὴν πίστιν, ἀποδείξεως χρή. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ τέτταρα εἶναι τὰ στοιχεῖα ἐκ τοῦ τέτταρα εἶναι τὰ στοιχεῖα βεβαιωτέον. πρὸς τῷ καὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀποδείξεων ἀπιστουμένων ἄπιστον εἶναι καὶ τὴν γενικὴν ἀπόδειξιν. ἵνα τε γνῶμεν ὅτι ἔστιν ἀπόδειξις, κριτηρίου δεῖ· καὶ ὅτι ἔστι κριτήριον, ἀποδείξεως δεῖ· ὅθεν ἑκάτερα ἀκατάληπτα ἀναπεμπόμενα ἐπ' ἄλληλα. πῶς ἂν οὖν καταλαμβάνοιτο τὰ ἄδηλα, τῆς ἀποδείξεως ἀγνοουμένης; ζητεῖται δ' οὐκ εἰ φαίνεται τοιαῦτα, ἀλλ' εἰ καθ' ὑπόστασιν οὕτως ἔχει.

Εὐήθεις δὲ τοὺς δογματικοὺς ἀπέφαινον. τὸ γὰρ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως περαινόμενον οὐ σκέψεως ἀλλὰ θέσεως ἔχει λόγον. τοιούτῳ δὲ λόγῳ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀδυνάτων ἔστιν ἐπιχειρεῖν. τοὺς δ' οἰομένους μὴ
92 δεῖν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ περίστασιν κρίνειν τἀληθὲς μηδ' ἐκ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν νομοθετεῖν, ἔλεγον αὐτοὺς μέτρα τῶν πάντων ὁρίζειν, οὐχ ὁρῶντας ὅτι πᾶν τὸ φαινόμενον κατ' ἀντιπερίστασιν καὶ διάθεσιν φαίνεται.

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[a] Compare Sext. Emp. *Pyrrh. Hyp.* ii. 185. "The dogmatists assert that the sceptical arguments against demonstration are either demonstrative or non-demonstrative. If the latter, they fail to establish their point [namely, that there is no such thing as demonstration]; if the former, the Sceptics by assuming demonstration confute themselves."

and so on *ad infinitum* ; if out of things indemonstrable, then, whether all or some or only a single one of the steps are the subject of doubt, the whole is indemonstrable.[a] If you think, they add, that there are some things which need no demonstration, yours must be a rare intellect, not to see that you must first have demonstration of the very fact that the things you refer to carry conviction in themselves. Nor must we prove that the elements are four from the fact that the elements are four. Besides, if we discredit particular demonstrations, we cannot accept the generalization from them. And in order that we may know that an argument constitutes a demonstration, we require a criterion ; but again, in order that we may know that it is a criterion we require a demonstration ; hence both the one and the other are incomprehensible, since each is referred to the other. How then are we to grasp the things which are uncertain, seeing that we know no demonstration? For what we wish to ascertain is not whether things appear to be such and such, but whether they are so in their essence.

They declared the dogmatic philosophers to be fools, observing that what is concluded *ex hypothesi* is properly described not as inquiry but assumption, and by reasoning of this kind one may even argue for impossibilities. As for those who think that we should not judge of truth from surrounding circumstances or legislate on the basis of what is found in nature, these men, they used to say, made themselves the measure of all things, and did not see that every phenomenon appears in a certain disposition and in a certain reciprocal relation to surrounding circumstances. Therefore we must affirm either that all

ἤτοι γοῦν πάντ' ἀληθῆ ῥητέον ἢ πάντα ψευδῆ. εἰ δ' ἔνιά ἐστιν ἀληθῆ, τίνι διακριτέον; οὔτε γὰρ αἰσθήσει τὰ κατ' αἴσθησιν, πάντων ἴσων αὐτῇ φαινομένων, οὔτε νοήσει διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν. ἄλλη δὲ παρὰ ταύτας εἰς ἐπίκρισιν δύναμις οὐχ ὁρᾶται. ὁ οὖν, φασί, περί τινος διαβεβαιούμενος αἰσθητοῦ ἢ νοητοῦ πρότερον ὀφείλει τὰς περὶ τούτου δόξας καταστῆσαι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα, οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνῃρήκασι. δεῖ δ' ἢ δι' αἰσθητοῦ ἢ νοητοῦ κριθῆναι.
93 ἑκάτερα δὲ ἀμφισβητεῖται. οὐδὲ τοίνυν δυνατὸν τὰς περὶ αἰσθητῶν ἢ νοητῶν ἐπικρῖναι δόξας· εἴ τε διὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς νοήσεσι μάχην ἀπιστητέον πᾶσιν, ἀναιρεθήσεται τὸ μέτρον ᾧ δοκεῖ τὰ πάντα διακριβοῦσθαι· πᾶν οὖν ἴσον ἡγήσονται. ἔτι, φασίν, ὁ συζητῶν ἡμῖν τὸ φαινόμενον πιστός ἐστιν ἢ οὔ. εἰ μὲν οὖν πιστός ἐστιν, οὐδὲν ἕξει λέγειν πρὸς τὸν ᾧ φαίνεται τοὐναντίον· ὡς γὰρ αὐτὸς πιστός ἐστι τὸ φαινόμενον λέγων, οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἐναντίος· εἰ δ' ἄπιστος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπιστηθήσεται τὸ φαινόμενον λέγων.

94 Τό τε πεῖθον οὐχ ὑποληπτέον ἀληθὲς ὑπάρχειν. οὐ γὰρ πάντας τὸ αὐτὸ πείθει οὐδὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς συνεχές. γίνεται δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὰ ἐκτὸς ἡ πιθανότης, παρὰ τὸ ἔνδοξον τοῦ λέγοντος ἢ παρὰ τὸ φροντι-

things are true or that all things are false. For if certain things only are true <and others are false>, how are we to distinguish them? Not by the senses, where things in the field of sense are in question, since all these things appear to sense to be on an equal footing; nor by the mind, for the same reason. Yet apart from these faculties there is no other, so far as we can see, to help us to a judgement. Whoever therefore, they say, would be firmly assured about anything sensible or intelligible must first establish the received opinions about it; for some have refuted one doctrine, others another. But things must be judged either by the sensible or by the intelligible, and both are disputed. Therefore it is impossible to pronounce judgement on opinions about sensibles or intelligibles; and if the conflict in our thoughts compels us to disbelieve every one, the standard or measure, by which it is held that all things are exactly determined, will be destroyed, and we must deem every statement of equal value. Further, say they, our partner in an inquiry into a phenomenon is either to be trusted or not. If he is, he will have nothing to reply to the man to whom it appears to be the opposite [a]; for just as our friend who describes what appears to him is to be trusted, so is his opponent. If he is not to be trusted, he will actually be disbelieved when he describes what appears to him.

We must not assume that what convinces us is actually true. For the same thing does not convince every one, nor even the same people always. Persuasiveness sometimes depends on external circumstances, on the reputation of the speaker,

[a] *e.g.* to be not a serpent, but a coil of rope.

στικὸν ἢ παρὰ τὸ αἱμύλον ἢ παρὰ τὸ σύνηθες ἢ παρὰ τὸ κεχαρισμένον.

Ἀνῄρουν δὲ καὶ τὸ κριτήριον λόγῳ τοιῷδε. ἤτοι κέκριται καὶ τὸ κριτήριον ἢ ἄκριτόν ἐστιν. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἄκριτόν ἐστιν, ἄπιστον καθέστηκε καὶ διημάρτηκε τἀληθοῦς καὶ τοῦ ψεύδους· εἰ δὲ κέκριται, ἓν τῶν κατὰ μέρος γενήσεται κρινομένων, ὥστ' ἂν τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ κρίνειν καὶ κρίνεσθαι καὶ τὸ κεκρικὸς τὸ κριτήριον ὑφ' ἑτέρου κριθήσεται κἀκεῖνο ὑπ' ἄλλου
95 *καὶ οὕτως εἰς ἄπειρον. πρὸς τῷ καὶ διαφωνεῖσθαι τὸ κριτήριον, τῶν μὲν τὸν ἄνθρωπον κριτήριον εἶναι λεγόντων, τῶν δὲ τὰς αἰσθήσεις, ἄλλων τὸν λόγον, ἐνίων τὴν καταληπτικὴν φαντασίαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄνθρωπος καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν διαφωνεῖ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τῶν διαφόρων νόμων καὶ ἐθῶν. αἱ δ' αἰσθήσεις ψεύδονται, ὁ δὲ λόγος διάφωνος. ἡ δὲ καταληπτικὴ φαντασία ὑπὸ νοῦ κρίνεται καὶ ὁ νοῦς ποικίλως τρέπεται. ἄγνωστον οὖν ἐστι τὸ κριτήριον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἡ ἀλήθεια.*

96 *Σημεῖόν τ' οὐκ εἶναι· εἰ γάρ ἐστι, φασί, σημεῖον, ἤτοι αἰσθητόν ἐστιν ἢ νοητόν· αἰσθητὸν μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐπεὶ τὸ αἰσθητὸν κοινόν ἐστι, τὸ δὲ σημεῖον ἴδιον. καὶ τὸ μὲν αἰσθητὸν τῶν κατὰ διαφοράν, τὸ δὲ σημεῖον τῶν πρός τι. νοητὸν δ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐπεὶ τὸ νοητὸν ἤτοι φαινόμενόν ἐστι φαινομένου ἢ ἀφανὲς ἀφανοῦς ἢ ἀφανὲς φαινομένου ἢ φαινόμενον ἀφανοῦς· οὐδὲν δὲ τούτων ἐστίν· οὐκ*

on his ability as a thinker or his artfulness, on the familiarity or the pleasantness of the topic.

Again, they would destroy the criterion by reasoning of this kind. Even the criterion has either been critically determined or not. If it has not, it is definitely untrustworthy, and in its purpose of distinguishing is no more true than false. If it has, it will belong to the class of particular judgements, so that one and the same thing determines and is determined, and the criterion which has determined will have to be determined by another, that other by another, and so on *ad infinitum*. In addition to this there is disagreement as to the criterion, some holding that man is the criterion, while for some it is the senses, for others reason, for others the apprehensive presentation. Now man disagrees with man and with himself, as is shown by differences of laws and customs. The senses deceive, and reason says different things. Finally, the apprehensive presentation is judged by the mind, and the mind itself changes in various ways. Hence the criterion is unknowable, and consequently truth also.

They deny, too, that there is such a thing as a sign. If there is, they say, it must either be sensible or intelligible. Now it is not sensible, because what is sensible is a common attribute, whereas a sign is a particular thing. Again, the sensible is one of the things which exist by way of difference, while the sign belongs to the category of relative. Nor is a sign an object of thought, for objects of thought are of four kinds, apparent judgements on things apparent, non-apparent judgements on things non-apparent, non-apparent on apparent, or apparent on non-apparent; and a sign is none of these, so

ἄρ᾽ ἐστὶ σημεῖον. φαινόμενον μὲν οὖν φαινομένου οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐπεὶ τὸ φαινόμενον οὐ δεῖται σημείου· ἀφανὲς δ᾽ ἀφανοῦς οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐπεὶ δεῖ φαίνεσθαι
97 *τὸ ἐκκαλυπτόμενον ὑπό τινος· ἀφανὲς δὲ φαινομένου οὐ δύναται, καθότι δεῖ φαίνεσθαι τὸ ἑτέρῳ παρέξον ἀφορμὴν καταλήψεως· φαινόμενον δ᾽ ἀφανοῦς οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅτι τὸ σημεῖον τῶν πρός τι ὂν συγκαταλαμβάνεσθαι ὀφείλει τῷ οὗ ἐστι σημεῖον, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἔστιν. οὐδὲν ἄρα τῶν ἀδήλων ἂν καταλαμβάνοιτο· διὰ γὰρ τῶν σημείων λέγεται τὰ ἄδηλα καταλαμβάνεσθαι.*

Ἀναιροῦσι δὲ τὸ αἴτιον ὧδε· τὸ αἴτιον τῶν πρός τι ἐστι· πρὸς γὰρ τὸ αἰτιατόν ἐστι· τὰ δὲ πρός τι
98 *ἐπινοεῖται μόνον, ὑπάρχει δ᾽ οὔ· καὶ τὸ αἴτιον οὖν ἐπινοοῖτ᾽ ἂν μόνον, ἐπεὶ εἴπερ ἐστὶν αἴτιον, ὀφείλει ἔχειν τὸ οὗ λέγεται αἴτιον, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔσται αἴτιον. καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ πατήρ, μὴ παρόντος τοῦ πρὸς ὃ λέγεται πατήρ, οὐκ ἂν εἴη πατήρ, οὑτωσὶ καὶ τὸ αἴτιον· οὐ πάρεστι δὲ πρὸς ὃ νοεῖται τὸ αἴτιον· οὔτε γὰρ γένεσις οὔτε φθορὰ οὔτ᾽ ἄλλο τι· οὐκ ἄρ᾽ ἐστὶν αἴτιον. καὶ μὴν εἰ ἔστιν αἴτιον, ἤτοι σῶμα σώματός ἐστιν αἴτιον ἢ ἀσώματον ἀσωμάτου· οὐδὲν δὲ τούτων· οὐκ ἄρ᾽ ἐστὶν αἴτιον. σῶμα μὲν οὖν σώματος οὐκ ἂν εἴη αἴτιον, ἐπείπερ ἀμφότερα τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει φύσιν. καὶ εἰ τὸ ἕτερον αἴτιον λέγεται παρ᾽*

[a] This conclusion would debar us from all extension of knowledge beyond what is apparent here and now; whereas the dogmatists permit us from such facts to advance to what is not immediately evident, the realm of the unknown or as yet unascertained (ἄδηλον).

that there is no such thing as a sign. A sign is not "apparent on apparent," for what is apparent needs no sign; nor is it non-apparent on non-apparent, for what is revealed by something must needs appear; nor is it non-apparent on apparent, for that which is to afford the means of apprehending something else must itself be apparent; nor, lastly, is it apparent on non-apparent, because the sign, being relative, must be apprehended along with that of which it is the sign, which is not here the case. It follows that nothing uncertain can be apprehended; for it is through signs that uncertain things are said to be apprehended.[a]

Causes, too, they destroy in this way. A cause is something relative; for it is relative to what can be caused, namely, the effect. But things which are relative are merely objects of thought and have no substantial existence. Therefore a cause can only be an object of thought; inasmuch as, if it be a cause, it must bring with it that of which it is said to be the cause, otherwise it will not be a cause. Just as a father, in the absence of that in relation to which he is called father, will not be a father, so too with a cause. But that in relation to which the cause is thought of, namely the effect, is not present; for there is no coming into being or passing away or any other process: therefore there is no such thing as cause.—Furthermore, if there is a cause, either bodies are the cause of bodies, or things incorporeal of things incorporeal: but neither is the case; therefore there is no such thing as cause. Body in fact could not be the cause of body, inasmuch as both have the same nature. And if either is

ὅσον ἐστὶ σῶμα, καὶ τὸ λοιπόν, σῶμα ὄν, αἴτιον
99 *γενήσεται. κοινῶς δ' ἀμφοτέρων αἰτίων ὄντων, οὐδὲν ἔσται τὸ πάσχον. ἀσώματον δ' ἀσωμάτου οὐκ ἂν εἴη αἴτιον διὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον· ἀσώματον δὲ σώματος οὐκ ἔστιν αἴτιον, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἀσώματον ποιεῖ σῶμα. σῶμα δ' ἀσωμάτου οὐκ ἂν εἴη αἴτιον, ὅτι τὸ γενόμενον τῆς πασχούσης ὕλης ὀφείλει εἶναι· μηδὲν δὲ πάσχον διὰ τὸ ἀσώματον εἶναι οὐδ' ἂν ὑπό τινος γένοιτο· οὐκ ἔστι τοίνυν αἴτιον. ᾧ συνεισάγεται τὸ ἀνυποστάτους εἶναι τὰς τῶν ὅλων ἀρχάς· δεῖ γὰρ εἶναί τι τὸ ποιοῦν καὶ δρῶν.*

Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ κίνησίς ἐστι· τὸ γὰρ κινούμενον ἤτοι ἐν ᾧ ἐστι τόπῳ κινεῖται ἢ ἐν ᾧ μὴ ἔστιν· καὶ ἐν ᾧ μέν ἐστι τόπῳ οὐ κινεῖται, ἐν ᾧ δ' οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ κινεῖται· οὐκ ἔστιν οὖν κίνησις.

100 *Ἀνῄρουν δὲ καὶ μάθησιν. εἴπερ, φασί, διδάσκεταί τι, ἤτοι τὸ ὂν τῷ εἶναι διδάσκεται ἢ τὸ μὴ ὂν τῷ μὴ εἶναι. οὔτε δὲ τὸ ὂν τῷ εἶναι διδάσκεται —ἡ γὰρ τῶν ὄντων φύσις πᾶσι φαίνεται καὶ γινώσκεται—οὔτε τὸ μὴ ὂν τῷ μὴ ὄντι· τῷ γὰρ μὴ ὄντι οὐδὲν συμβέβηκεν, ὥστ' οὐδὲ τὸ διδάσκεσθαι.*

Οὐδὲ μὴν γένεσίς ἐστι, φασίν. οὔτε γὰρ τὸ ὂν γίνεται, ἔστι γάρ, οὔτε τὸ μὴ ὄν, οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑφέστηκε·

called a cause in so far as it is a body, the other, being a body, will become a cause. But if both be alike causes, there will be nothing to be acted upon Nor can an incorporeal thing be the cause of an incorporeal thing, for the same reason. And a thing incorporeal cannot be the cause of a body, since nothing incorporeal creates anything corporeal. And, lastly, a body cannot be the cause of anything incorporeal, because what is produced must be of the material operated upon; but if it is not operated upon because it is incorporeal, it cannot be produced by anything whatever. Therefore there is no such thing as a cause. A corollary to this is their statement that the first principles of the universe have no real existence; for in that case something must have been there to create and act.

Furthermore there is no motion; for that which moves moves either in the place where it is or in a place where it is not. But it cannot move in the place where it is, still less in any place where it is not. Therefore there is no such thing as motion.

They used also to deny the possibility of learning. If anything is taught, they say, either the existent is taught through its existence or the non-existent through its non-existence. But the existent is not taught through its existence, for the nature of existing things is apparent to and recognized by all; nor is the non-existent taught through the non-existent, for with the non-existent nothing is ever done, so that it cannot be taught to anyone.

Nor, say they, is there any coming into being. For that which is does not come into being, since it *is*; nor yet that which is not, for it has no sub-

τὸ δὲ μὴ ὑφεστὼς μηδ' ὂν οὐδὲ τὸ γίνεσθαι εὐτύχηκε.

101 *Φύσει τε μὴ εἶναι ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν· εἰ γάρ τί ἐστι φύσει ἀγαθὸν καὶ κακόν, πᾶσιν ὀφείλει ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν ὑπάρχειν, ὥσπερ ἡ χιὼν πᾶσι ψυχρόν· κοινὸν δ' οὐδὲν πάντων ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν ἐστιν· οὐκ ἄρα ἐστὶ φύσει ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν. ἤτοι γὰρ πᾶν τὸ ὑπό τινος δοξαζόμενον ῥητέον ἀγαθὸν ἢ οὐ πᾶν· καὶ πᾶν μὲν οὐ ῥητέον, ἐπεὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὑφ' οὗ μὲν δοξάζεται ἀγαθόν, ὡς ἡ ἡδονὴ ὑπὸ Ἐπικούρου· ὑφ' οὗ δὲ κακόν, ὑπ' Ἀντισθένους. συμβήσεται τοίνυν τὸ αὐτὸ ἀγαθόν τ' εἶναι καὶ κακόν. εἰ δ' οὐ πᾶν λέγομεν τὸ ὑπό τινος δοξαζόμενον ἀγαθόν, δεήσει ἡμᾶς διακρίνειν τὰς δόξας· ὅπερ οὐκ ἐνδεχόμενόν ἐστι διὰ τὴν ἰσοσθένειαν τῶν λόγων. ἄγνωστον οὖν τὸ φύσει ἀγαθόν.*

102 *Ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὸν ὅλον τῆς συναγωγῆς αὐτῶν τρόπον συνιδεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀπολειφθεισῶν συντάξεων. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ὁ Πύρρων οὐδὲν ἀπέλιπεν, οἱ μέντοι συνήθεις αὐτοῦ Τίμων καὶ Αἰνεσίδημος καὶ Νουμήνιος καὶ Ναυσιφάνης καὶ ἄλλοι τοιοῦτοι.*

Οἷς ἀντιλέγοντες οἱ δογματικοί φασιν αὐτοὺς καταλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ δογματίζειν· ἐν ᾧ γὰρ δοκοῦσι διελέγχειν καταλαμβάνονται· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κρατύνουσι καὶ δογματίζουσι. καὶ γὰρ ὅτε φασὶ μηδὲν ὁρίζειν καὶ παντὶ λόγῳ λόγον ἀντικεῖσθαι, αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὁρίζονται καὶ δογ-
103 *ματίζουσι. πρὸς οὓς ἀποκρίνονται, Περὶ μὲν ὧν*

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[a] § 77.

stantial existence, and that which is neither substantial nor existent cannot have had the chance of coming into being either.

There is nothing good or bad by nature, for if there is anything good or bad by nature, it must be good or bad for all persons alike, just as snow is cold to all. But there is no good or bad which is such to all persons in common; therefore there is no such thing as good or bad by nature. For either all that is thought good by anyone whatever must be called good, or not all. Certainly all cannot be so called; since one and the same thing is thought good by one person and bad by another; for instance, Epicurus thought pleasure good and Antisthenes thought it bad; thus on our supposition it will follow that the same thing is both good and bad. But if we say that not all that anyone thinks good is good, we shall have to judge the different opinions; and this is impossible because of the equal validity of opposing arguments. Therefore the good by nature is unknowable.

The whole of their mode of inference can be gathered from their extant treatises. Pyrrho himself, indeed, left no writings, but his associates Timon, Aenesidemus, Numenius and Nausiphanes did; and others as well.

The dogmatists answer them by declaring that the Sceptics themselves do apprehend and dogmatize; for when they are thought to be refuting their hardest they do apprehend, for at the very same time they are asseverating and dogmatizing. Thus even when they declare that they determine nothing, and that to every argument there is an opposite argument, they are actually determining these very points and dogmatizing.[a] The others reply, "We

ὡς ἄνθρωποι πάσχομεν, ὁμολογοῦμεν· καὶ γὰρ ὅτι ἡμέρα ἐστὶ καὶ ὅτι ζῶμεν καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ φαινομένων διαγινώσκομεν· περὶ δ' ὧν οἱ δογματικοὶ διαβεβαιοῦνται τῷ λόγῳ, φάμενοι κατειλῆφθαι, περὶ τούτων ἐπέχομεν ὡς ἀδήλων, μόνα δὲ τὰ πάθη γινώσκομεν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὅτι ὁρῶμεν ὁμολογοῦμεν καὶ τὸ ὅτι τόδε νοοῦμεν γινώσκομεν, πῶς δ' ὁρῶμεν ἢ πῶς νοοῦμεν ἀγνοοῦμεν· καὶ ὅτι τόδε λευκὸν φαίνεται διηγηματικῶς λέγομεν, οὐ διαβεβαιούμενοι ὅτι καὶ ὄντως ἐστί. περὶ δὲ τῆς Οὐδὲν ὁρίζω φωνῆς καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων
104 *λέγομεν ὡς οὐ δογμάτων· οὐ γάρ εἰσιν ὅμοια τῷ λέγειν ὅτι σφαιροειδής ἐστιν ὁ κόσμος. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἄδηλον, αἱ δ' ἐξομολογήσεις εἰσί. ἐν ᾧ οὖν λέγομεν μηδὲν ὁρίζειν, οὐδ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὁρίζομεν.*

Πάλιν οἱ δογματικοί φασιν καὶ τὸν βίον αὐτοὺς ἀναιρεῖν, ἐν ᾧ πάντ' ἐκβάλλουσιν ἐξ ὧν ὁ βίος συνέστηκεν. οἱ δὲ ψεύδεσθαί φασιν αὐτούς· οὐ γὰρ τὸ ὁρᾶν ἀναιρεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πῶς ὁρᾶν ἀγνοεῖν. καὶ γὰρ τὸ φαινόμενον τιθέμεθα, οὐχ ὡς καὶ τοιοῦτον ὄν. καὶ ὅτι τὸ πῦρ καίει αἰσθανόμεθα· εἰ δὲ
105 *φύσιν ἔχει καυστικὴν ἐπέχομεν. καὶ ὅτι κινεῖταί τις βλέπομεν, καὶ ὅτι φθείρεται*[1]*· πῶς δὲ ταῦτα γίνεται οὐκ ἴσμεν. μόνον οὖν, φασίν, ἀνθιστάμεθα πρὸς τὰ παρυφιστάμενα τοῖς φαινομένοις ἄδηλα. καὶ γὰρ ὅτε τὴν εἰκόνα ἐξοχὰς λέγομεν ἔχειν, τὸ φαινόμενον διασαφοῦμεν· ὅταν δ' εἴπωμεν μὴ ἔχειν αὐτὴν ἐξοχάς, οὐκέτι ὃ φαίνεται, ἕτερον δὲ λέγομεν·*

[1] *φορεῖται* coni. Apelt.

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[a] *i.e.* all we know is that we feel. *Cf. supra*, ii. § 92.
[b] § 74.

confess to human weaknesses; for we recognize that it is day and that we are alive, and many other apparent facts in life; but with regard to the things about which our opponents argue so positively, claiming to have definitely apprehended them, we suspend our judgement because they are not certain, and confine knowledge to our impressions.[a] For we admit that we see, and we recognize that we think this or that, but how we see or how we think we know not. And we say in conversation that a certain thing appears white, but we are not positive that it really is white. As to our 'We determine nothing' and the like,[b] we use the expressions in an undogmatic sense, for they are not like the assertion that the world is spherical. Indeed the latter statement is not certain, but the others are mere admissions. Thus in saying 'We determine nothing,' we are *not* determining even that."

Again, the dogmatic philosophers maintain that the Sceptics do away with life itself, in that they reject all that life consists in. The others say this is false, for they do not deny that we see; they only say that they do not know how we see. "We admit the apparent fact," say they, "without admitting that it really is what it appears to be." We also perceive that fire burns; as to whether it is its nature to burn, we suspend our judgement. We see that a man moves, and that he perishes; how it happens we do not know. We merely object to accepting the unknown substance behind phenomena. When we say a picture has projections, we are describing what is apparent; but if we say that it has no projections, we are then speaking, not of what is apparent, but of something else. This is

ὅθεν καὶ ὁ Τίμων ἐν τῷ Πύθωνί φησι μὴ ἐκβεβηκέναι τὴν συνήθειαν. καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἰνδαλμοῖς οὕτω λέγει,

ἀλλὰ τὸ φαινόμενον πάντῃ σθένει οὗπερ ἂν ἔλθῃ.

καὶ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ αἰσθήσεών φησι, "τὸ μέλι ὅτι ἐστὶ γλυκὺ οὐ τίθημι, τὸ δ' ὅτι φαίνεται ὁμολογῶ."

106 Καὶ Αἰνεσίδημος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Πυρρωνείων λόγων οὐδέν φησιν ὁρίζειν τὸν Πύρρωνα δογματικῶς διὰ τὴν ἀντιλογίαν, τοῖς δὲ φαινομένοις ἀκολουθεῖν. ταὐτὰ δὲ λέγει κἀν τῷ Κατὰ σοφίας κἀν τῷ Περὶ ζητήσεως. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ζεῦξις ὁ Αἰνεσιδήμου γνώριμος ἐν τῷ Περὶ διττῶν λόγων καὶ Ἀντίοχος ὁ Λαοδικεὺς καὶ Ἀπελλᾶς ἐν τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ τιθέασι τὰ φαινόμενα μόνα. ἔστιν οὖν κριτήριον κατὰ τοὺς σκεπτικοὺς τὸ φαινόμενον, ὥς καὶ Αἰνεσίδημός φησιν· οὕτω δὲ καὶ Ἐπίκουρος. Δημόκριτος δὲ μηδὲν εἶναι τῶν φαινομένων, τὰ δὲ μὴ εἶναι.
107 πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ κριτήριον τῶν φαινομένων οἱ δογματικοί φασιν ὅτι ὅτ' ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν διάφοροι προσπίπτουσι φαντασίαι, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου ἢ στρογγύλου ἢ τετραγώνου, ὁ σκεπτικὸς εἰ μὲν οὐδετέραν προκρινεῖ, ἀπρακτήσει· εἰ δὲ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ κατακολουθήσει, οὐκέτι τὸ ἰσοσθενές, φασί, τοῖς φαινομένοις ἀποδώσει. πρὸς οὓς οἱ σκεπτικοί φασιν ὅτι ὅτε προσπίπτουσιν ἀλλοῖαι φαντασίαι, ἑκατέρας ἐροῦμεν φαίνεσθαι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰ φαινόμενα τιθέναι ὅτι φαίνεται. τέλος δὲ οἱ σκεπτικοί φασι τὴν ἐποχήν, ᾗ σκιᾶς τρόπον ἐπ-

[a] Fr. 69 D.

[b] *i.e.* the one has as much right to be called an appearance as the other.

what makes Timon say in his *Python* that he has not gone outside what is customary. And again in the *Conceits* he says [a] :

> But the apparent is omnipotent wherever it goes ;

and in his work *On the Senses*, " I do not lay it down that honey is sweet, but I admit that it appears to be so."

Aenesidemus too in the first book of his *Pyrrhonean Discourses* says that Pyrrho determines nothing dogmatically, because of the possibility of contradiction, but guides himself by apparent facts. Aenesidemus says the same in his works *Against Wisdom* and *On Inquiry*. Furthermore Zeuxis, the friend of Aenesidemus, in his work *On Two-sided Arguments*, Antiochus of Laodicea, and Apellas in his *Agrippa* all hold to phenomena alone. Therefore the apparent is the Sceptic's criterion, as indeed Aenesidemus says ; and so does Epicurus. Democritus, however, denied that any apparent fact could be a criterion, indeed he denied the very existence of the apparent. Against this criterion of appearances the dogmatic philosophers urge that, when the same appearances produce in us different impressions, *e.g.* a round or square tower, the Sceptic, unless he gives the preference to one or other, will be unable to take any course ; if on the other hand, say they, he follows either view, he is then no longer allowing equal value to all apparent facts. The Sceptics reply that, when different impressions are produced, they must both be said to appear [b] ; for things which are apparent are so called because they appear. The end to be realized they hold to be suspension of judgement, which brings with it

ακολουθεῖ ἡ ἀταραξία, ὥς φασιν οἵ τε περὶ τὸν
108 *Τίμωνα καὶ Αἰνεσίδημον· οὔτε[1] γὰρ τάδ' ἑλούμεθα ἢ ταῦτα φευξόμεθα ὅσα περὶ ἡμᾶς ἐστι· τὰ δ' ὅσα περὶ ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἀνάγκην, οὐ δυνάμεθα φεύγειν, ὡς τὸ πεινῆν καὶ διψῆν καὶ ἀλγεῖν· οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ λόγῳ περιελεῖν ταῦτα. λεγόντων δὲ τῶν δογματικῶν ὡς δυνήσεται βιοῦν ὁ σκεπτικὸς μὴ φεύγων τό, εἰ κελευσθείη, κρεουργεῖν τὸν πατέρα, φασὶν οἱ σκεπτικοὶ ὡς δυνήσεται βιοῦν* <*ὥστε*> * * *περὶ τῶν δογματικῶν ζητήσεων ἐπέχειν, οὐ περὶ τῶν βιωτικῶν καὶ τηρητικῶν. ὥστε καὶ αἱρούμεθά τι κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν καὶ φεύγομεν καὶ νόμοις χρώμεθα. τινὲς δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπάθειαν, ἄλλοι δὲ τὴν πρᾳότητα τέλος εἰπεῖν φασι τοὺς σκεπτικούς.*

Κεφ. ιβ'. ΤΙΜΩΝ

109 *Ἀπολλωνίδης ὁ Νικαεὺς ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Εἰς τοὺς Σίλλους ὑπομνήματι, ἃ προσφωνεῖ Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι, φησὶ τὸν Τίμωνα εἶναι πατρὸς μὲν Τιμάρχου, Φλιάσιον δὲ τὸ γένος· νέον δὲ καταλειφθέντα χορεύειν, ἔπειτα κατα-*

[1] *οὔτε*] *αὐτοὶ* coni. Apelt.

[a] Τὰ δ' ὅσα περὶ ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἀνάγκην, οὐ δυνάμεθα φεύγειν. This is explained by Sext. Emp. *Pyrrh. Hyp.* i. 29 ὀχλεῖσθαί φαμεν (sc. τὸν σκεπτικὸν) ὑπὸ τῶν κατηναγκασμένων : " For we admit that we feel cold, that we are thirsty," etc.

[b] *i.e.* a calm, the opposite of an excitable, temperament : *cf.* Plato, *Lys.* 211 E πρᾴως ἔχω.

[c] Ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν. Reiske took this to mean " my fellow-citizen," ὁ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως. Hence Usener inferred that Nicias of Nicaea was the author here used by D. L. ; but

tranquillity like its shadow: so Timon and Aenesidemus declare. For in matters which are for us to decide we shall neither choose this nor shrink from that; and things which are not for us to decide but happen of necessity, such as hunger, thirst and pain, we cannot escape,[a] for they are not to be removed by force of reason. And when the dogmatists argue that he may thus live in such a frame of mind that he would not shrink from killing and eating his own father if ordered to do so, the Sceptic replies that he will be able so to live as to suspend his judgement in cases where it is a question of arriving at the truth, but not in matters of life and the taking of precautions. Accordingly we may choose a thing or shrink from a thing by habit and may observe rules and customs. According to some authorities the end proposed by the Sceptics is insensibility; according to others, gentleness.[b]

CHAPTER 12. TIMON (*c.* 320–230 B.C.)

Timon, says our[c] Apollonides of Nicaea in the first book of his commentaries *On the Silli*, which he dedicated to Tiberius Caesar, was the son of Timarchus and a native of Phlius. Losing his parents when young, he became a stage-dancer, but later

nothing that we know of this Nicias tends to confirm such a conjecture. In favour of the translation adopted by most scholars it may be urged that Strabo calls the Stoics *οἱ ἡμέτεροι*, just as Cicero calls the Academics "nostri." Even if we accept this meaning, "a Sceptic like myself," a further subtlety arises. Is D. L. here speaking in his own person or has he merely transcribed *ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν* from a monograph of a Sceptic? Something may be urged on either side; for reasons given in Introd. p. xiii, the former conjecture seems somewhat more probable.

γνόντα ἀποδημῆσαι εἰς Μέγαρα πρὸς Στίλπωνα· κἀκείνῳ συνδιατρίψαντα αὖθις ἐπανελθεῖν οἴκαδε καὶ γῆμαι. εἶτα πρὸς Πύρρωνα εἰς Ἦλιν ἀποδημῆσαι μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς κἀκεῖ διατρίβειν ἕως αὐτῷ παῖδες ἐγένοντο, ὧν τὸν μὲν πρεσβύτερον Ξάνθον ἐκάλεσε καὶ ἰατρικὴν ἐδίδαξε καὶ διάδοχον
110 *τοῦ βίου κατέλιπε. ὁ δ' ἐλλόγιμος ἦν, ὡς καὶ Σωτίων ἐν τῷ ἑνδεκάτῳ φησίν. ἀπορῶν μέντοι τροφῶν ἀπῆρεν εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ τὴν Προποντίδα· ἐν Χαλκηδόνι τε σοφιστεύων ἐπὶ πλέον ἀποδοχῆς ἠξιώθη· ἐντεῦθέν τε πορισάμενος ἀπῆρεν εἰς Ἀθήνας, κἀκεῖ διέτριβε μέχρι καὶ τελευτῆς, ὀλίγον χρόνον εἰς Θήβας διαδραμών. ἐγνώσθη δὲ καὶ Ἀντιγόνῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Φιλαδέλφῳ, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ἰάμβοις αὐτῷ μαρτυρεῖ.*

Ἦν δέ, φησὶν ὁ Ἀντίγονος, καὶ φιλοπότης καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν φιλοσόφων εἰ σχολάζοι ποιήματα συνέγραφε καὶ ἔπη καὶ τραγῳδίας καὶ σατύρους καὶ δράματα κωμικὰ τριάκοντα, τὰ δὲ τραγικὰ
111 *ἑξήκοντα, σίλλους τε καὶ κιναίδους. φέρεται δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ καταλογάδην βιβλία εἰς ἐπῶν τείνοντα μυριάδας δύο, ὧν καὶ Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος μέμνηται, ἀναγεγραφὼς αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν βίον. τῶν δὲ σίλλων τρία ἐστίν, ἐν οἷς ὡς ἂν σκεπτικὸς ὢν πάντας λοιδορεῖ καὶ σιλλαίνει τοὺς δογματικοὺς ἐν παρῳδίας εἴδει. ὧν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτοδιήγητον ἔχει τὴν ἑρμηνείαν, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον ἐν διαλόγου σχήματι. φαίνεται γοῦν ἀνακρίνων Ξενοφάνην τὸν Κολοφώνιον περὶ ἑκάστων, ὁ δ' αὐτῷ διηγούμενός ἐστι· καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ δευτέρῳ περὶ τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων, ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ*

took a dislike to that pursuit and went abroad to Megara to stay with Stilpo; then after some time he returned home and married. After that he went to Pyrrho at Elis with his wife, and lived there until his children were born; the elder of these he called Xanthus, taught him medicine, and made him his heir. This son was a man of high repute, as we learn from Sotion in his eleventh book. Timon, however, found himself without means of support and sailed to the Hellespont and Propontis. Living now at Chalcedon as a sophist, he increased his reputation still further and, having made his fortune, went to Athens, where he lived until his death, except for a short period which he spent at Thebes. He was known to King Antigonus and to Ptolemy Philadelphus, as his own iambics [a] testify.

He was, according to Antigonus, fond of wine, and in the time that he could spare from philosophy he used to write poems. These included epics, tragedies, satyric dramas, thirty comedies and sixty tragedies, besides *silli* (lampoons) and obscene poems. There are also reputed works of his extending to twenty thousand verses which are mentioned by Antigonus of Carystus, who also wrote his life. There are three *silli* in which, from his point of view as a Sceptic, he abuses every one and lampoons the dogmatic philosophers, using the form of parody. In the first he speaks in the first person throughout, the second and third are in the form of dialogues: for he represents himself as questioning Xenophanes of Colophon about each philosopher in turn, while Xenophanes answers him; in the second he speaks of the more ancient philosophers, in the third of the

[a] Possibly the proem of the *Silli*.

περὶ τῶν ὑστέρων· ὅθεν δὴ αὐτῷ τινες καὶ Ἐπί-
112 λογον ἐπέγραψαν. τὸ δὲ πρῶτον ταὐτὰ περιέχει πράγματα, πλὴν ὅτι μονοπρόσωπός ἐστιν ἡ ποίησις· ἀρχὴ δὲ αὐτῷ ἥδε,

ἕσπετε νῦν μοι ὅσοι πολυπράγμονές ἐστε σοφισταί.

Ἐτελεύτησε δ' ἐγγὺς ἐτῶν ἐνενήκοντα, ὥς φησιν ὁ Ἀντίγονος καὶ Σωτίων ἐν τῷ ἑνδεκάτῳ. τοῦτον ἐγὼ καὶ ἑτερόφθαλμον ἤκουσα, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς αὑτὸν Κύκλωπα ἐκάλει. γέγονε καὶ ἕτερος Τίμων ὁ μισάνθρωπος.

Ὁ δ' οὖν φιλόσοφος καὶ φιλόκηπος ἦν σφόδρα καὶ ἰδιοπράγμων, ὡς καὶ Ἀντίγονός φησι. λόγος γοῦν εἰπεῖν Ἱερώνυμον τὸν περιπατητικὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, "Ὡς παρὰ τοῖς Σκύθαις καὶ οἱ φεύγοντες τοξεύουσι καὶ οἱ διώκοντες, οὕτω τῶν φιλοσόφων οἱ μὲν διώκοντες θηρῶσι τοὺς μαθητάς, οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ Τίμων."

113 Ἦν δὲ καὶ ὀξὺς νοῆσαι καὶ διαμυκτηρίσαι· φιλογράμματός τε καὶ τοῖς ποιηταῖς μύθους γράψαι ἱκανὸς καὶ δράματα συνδιατιθέναι. μετεδίδου δὲ τῶν τραγῳδιῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Ὁμήρῳ. θορυβούμενός θ' ὑπὸ τῶν θεραπαινῶν καὶ κυνῶν ἐποίει μηδέν, σπουδάζων περὶ τὸ ἠρεμάζειν. φασὶ δὲ καὶ Ἄρατον πυθέσθαι αὐτοῦ πῶς τὴν Ὁμήρου ποίησιν ἀσφαλῆ κτήσαιτο, τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν, "εἰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφοις ἐντυγχάνοι καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἤδη διωρθωμένοις." εἰκῇ τε αὐτῷ ἔκειτο τὰ

[a] Fr. 1 D.

[b] Diels regards the passage from *καὶ ἔπη*, § 110, down to *Τίμων ὁ μισάνθρωπος*, § 112, as an insertion, disturbing the symmetry of the materials derived from Antigonus of Carystus.

later, which is why some have entitled it the Epilogue. The first deals with the same subjects, except that the poem is a monologue. It begins as follows [a] :

Ye sophists, ye inquisitives, come ! follow !

He died at the age of nearly ninety, so we learn from Antigonus and from Sotion in his eleventh book. I have heard that he had only one eye ; indeed he used to call himself a Cyclops. There was another Timon, the misanthrope.[b]

Now this philosopher, according to Antigonus, was very fond of gardens and preferred to mind his own affairs. At all events there is a story that Hieronymus the Peripatetic said of him, "Just as with the Scythians those who are in flight shoot as well as those who pursue, so, among philosophers, some catch their disciples by pursuing them, some by fleeing from them, as for instance Timon."

He was quick to perceive anything and to turn up his nose in scorn ; he was fond of writing and at all times good at sketching plots for poets and collaborating in dramas. He used to give the dramatists Alexander and Homer materials for their tragedies.[c] When disturbed by maidservants and dogs, he would stop writing, his earnest desire being to maintain tranquillity. Aratus is said to have asked him how he could obtain a trustworthy text of Homer, to which he replied, " You can, if you get hold of the ancient copies, and not the corrected copies of our day." He used to let his own poems lie about, sometimes

[c] *i.e.* he collaborated with these two tragic poets, Alexander the Aetolian and Homer of Byzantium, partly by furnishing them with plots, partly by handing over scenes from unpublished plays of his own, or other similar material.

114 ποιήματα, ἐνίοτε ἡμίβρωτα· ὥστε καὶ Ζωπύρῳ τῷ ῥήτορι ἀναγινώσκοντά τι ἐπιτυλίττειν καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἐπελθὸν διεξιέναι· ἐλθόντα τ' ἐφ' ἡμισείας, οὕτως εὑρεῖν τὸ ἀπόσπασμα τέως ἀγνοοῦντα. τοσοῦτον ἦν ἀδιάφορος. ἀλλὰ καὶ εὔρους * ὡς μηδ' ἀριστᾶν συγχωρεῖν. φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν Ἀρκεσίλαον θεασάμενον διὰ τῶν Κερκώπων ἰόντα, εἰπεῖν, "τί σὺ δεῦρο, ἔνθαπερ ἡμεῖς οἱ ἐλεύθεροι;" συνεχές τε ἐπιλέγειν εἰώθει πρὸς τοὺς τὰς αἰσθήσεις μετ' ἐπιμαρτυροῦντος τοῦ νοῦ ἐγκρίνοντας,

συνῆλθεν Ἀτταγᾶς τε καὶ Νουμήνιος.

εἰώθει δὲ καὶ παίζειν τοιαῦτα. πρὸς οὖν τὸν θαυμάζοντα πάντα ἔφη, "τί δ' οὐ θαυμάζεις ὅτι τρεῖς ὄντες τέτταρας ἔχομεν ὀφθαλμούς;" ἦν δ' αὐτός τε ἑτερόφθαλμος καὶ ὁ Διοσκουρίδης μαθη-
115 τὴς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ πρὸς ὃν ἔλεγεν ὑγιής. ἐρωτηθεὶς δέ ποθ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρκεσιλάου διὰ τί παρείη ἐκ Θηβῶν, ἔφη, "ἵν' ὑμᾶς ἀναπεπταμένους ὁρῶν γελῶ." ὅμως δὲ καθαπτόμενος Ἀρκεσιλάου ἐν τοῖς σίλλοις ἐπήνεκεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ἀρκεσιλάου περιδείπνῳ.

Τούτου διάδοχος, ὡς μὲν Μηνόδοτός φησι, γέγονεν οὐδείς, ἀλλὰ διέλιπεν ἡ ἀγωγὴ ἕως αὐτὴν Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Κυρηναῖος ἀνεκτήσατο. ὡς δ' Ἱππόβοτός φησι καὶ Σωτίων, διήκουσαν αὐτοῦ Διοσκουρίδης Κύπριος καὶ Νικόλοχος Ῥόδιος καὶ Εὐφράνωρ Σελευκεὺς Πραΰλους τ' ἀπὸ Τρωάδος,

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[a] Similar carelessness is recorded of Lamartine.

[b] Usually explained, after Diogenianus, of two notorious thieves, Attagas the Thessalian and Numenius the Corinthian. There may, however, be a sly hit at Pyrrho's disciple

half eaten away. Hence, when he came to read parts of them to Zopyrus the orator, he would turn over the pages and recite whatever came handy; then, when he was half through, he would discover the piece which he had been looking for in vain, so careless was he.[a] Furthermore, he was so easy-going that he would readily go without his dinner. They say that once, when he saw Arcesilaus passing through the "knaves-market," he said, "What business have you to come here, where we are all free men?" He was constantly in the habit of quoting, to those who would admit the evidence of the senses when confirmed by the judgement of the mind, the line—

Birds of a feather flock together.[b]

Jesting in this fashion was habitual with him. When a man marvelled at everything, he said, "Why do you not marvel that we three have but four eyes between us?" for in fact he himself had only one eye, as also had his disciple Dioscurides, while the man whom he addressed was normal. Asked once by Arcesilaus why he had come there from Thebes, he replied, "Why, to laugh when I have you all in full view!" Yet, while attacking Arcesilaus in his *Silli*, he has praised him in his work entitled the *Funeral Banquet of Arcesilaus*.

According to Menodotus he left no successor, but his school lapsed until Ptolemy of Cyrene re-established it. Hippobotus and Sotion, however, say that he had as pupils Dioscurides of Cyprus, Nicolochus of Rhodes, Euphranor of Seleucia, and Praÿlus of the

Numenius (*supra*, § 102). Or merely the birds partridge and woodcock may be meant, not any Mr. Partridge and Mr. Woodcock.

ὃς οὕτω καρτερικὸς ἐγένετο, καθά φησι Φύλαρχος ἱστορῶν, ὥστ' ἀδίκως ὑπομεῖναι ὡς ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ κολασθῆναι, μηδὲ λόγου τοὺς πολίτας καταξιώσας.

116 *Εὐφράνορος δὲ διήκουσεν Εὔβουλος Ἀλεξανδρεύς, οὗ Πτολεμαῖος, οὗ Σαρπηδὼν καὶ Ἡρακλείδης, Ἡρακλείδου δ' Αἰνεσίδημος Κνώσιος, ὃς καὶ Πυρρωνείων λόγων ὀκτὼ συνέγραψε βιβλία· οὗ Ζεύξιππος ὁ πολίτης, οὗ Ζεῦξις ὁ Γωνιόπους, οὗ Ἀντίοχος Λαοδικεὺς ἀπὸ Λύκου· τούτου δὲ Μηνόδοτος ὁ Νικομηδεύς, ἰατρὸς ἐμπειρικός, καὶ Θειωδᾶς Λαοδικεύς· Μηνοδότου δὲ Ἡρόδοτος Ἀριέως Ταρσεύς· Ἡροδότου δὲ διήκουσε Σέξτος ὁ ἐμπειρικός, οὗ καὶ τὰ δέκα τῶν Σκεπτικῶν καὶ ἄλλα κάλλιστα· Σέξτου δὲ διήκουσε Σατορνῖνος ὁ Κυθηνᾶς, ἐμπειρικὸς καὶ αὐτός.*

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[a] This is probably the same person as is referred to by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 56, where the text reads Παῦλος ὁ Λακύδου γνώριμος. His heroic end was also extolled (Clement says) by Timotheus of Pergamum. See Wilamowitz, *Phil. Unters.* iv. p. 107.

Troad.[a] The latter, as we learn from the history of Phylarchus, was a man of such unflinching courage that, although unjustly accused, he patiently suffered a traitor's death, without so much as deigning to speak one word to his fellow-citizens.

Euphranor had as pupil Eubulus of Alexandria; Eubulus taught Ptolemy, and he again Sarpedon and Heraclides; Heraclides again taught Aenesidemus of Cnossus, the compiler of eight books of Pyrrhonean discourses; the latter was the instructor of Zeuxippus his fellow-citizen, he of Zeuxis of the angular foot (γωνιόπους, Cruickshank), he again of Antiochus of Laodicea on the Lycus, who had as pupils Menodotus of Nicomedia, an empiric physician, and Theiodas of Laodicea; Menodotus was the instructor of Herodotus of Tarsus, son of Arieus, and Herodotus taught Sextus Empiricus, who wrote ten books on Scepticism, and other fine works. Sextus taught Saturninus called Cythenas,[b] another empiricist.

[b] Possibly Κυδαθηναιεύς, *i.e.* a member of the well-known Attic deme, into which even Italians with such names as Saturninus might penetrate under the cosmopolitan empire of the Severi.

I

ΕΠΙΚΟΥΡΟΣ

1 Ἐπίκουρος Νεοκλέους καὶ Χαιρεστράτης, Ἀθηναῖος, τῶν δήμων Γαργήττιος, γένους τοῦ τῶν Φιλαϊδῶν, ὥς φησι Μητρόδωρος ἐν τῷ Περὶ εὐγενείας. τοῦτόν φασιν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἡρακλείδης ἐν τῇ Σωτίωνος ἐπιτομῇ κληρουχησάντων Ἀθηναίων τὴν Σάμον ἐκεῖθι τραφῆναι· ὀκτωκαιδεκέτη δ' ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἀθήνας, Ξενοκράτους μὲν ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ, Ἀριστοτέλους δ' ἐν Χαλκίδι διατρίβοντος. τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκπεσόντων ὑπὸ Περδίκκου μετελθεῖν εἰς Κολοφῶνα πρὸς τὸν
2 πατέρα· χρόνον δέ τινα διατρίψαντα αὐτόθι καὶ μαθητὰς ἀθροίσαντα πάλιν ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐπὶ Ἀναξικράτους· καὶ μέχρι μέν τινος κατ' ἐπιμιξίαν τοῖς ἄλλοις φιλοσοφεῖν, ἔπειτα ἰδίᾳ ἀπο‹φαίνεσθαι› τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κληθεῖσαν αἵρεσιν συστήσαντα. ἐφάψασθαι δὲ φιλοσοφίας αὐτός φησιν ἔτη γεγονὼς τετταρεσκαίδεκα. Ἀπολλόδωρος δ' ὁ Ἐπικούρειος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ τοῦ

BOOK X

EPICURUS (341–271 B.C.)

EPICURUS, son of Neocles and Chaerestrate, was a citizen of Athens of the deme Gargettus, and, as Metrodorus says in his book *On Noble Birth*, of the family of the Philaidae. He is said by Heraclides[a] in his *Epitome* of Sotion, as well as by other authorities, to have been brought up at Samos after the Athenians had sent settlers there and to have come to Athens at the age of eighteen, at the time when Xenocrates was lecturing at the Academy and Aristotle in Chalcis. Upon the death of Alexander of Macedon and the expulsion of the Athenian settlers from Samos by Perdiccas,[b] Epicurus left Athens to join his father in Colophon. For some time he stayed there and gathered disciples, but returned to Athens in the archonship of Anaxicrates.[c] And for a while, it is said, he prosecuted his studies in common with the other philosophers, but afterwards put forward independent views by the foundation of the school called after him. He says himself that he first came into contact with philosophy at the age of fourteen. Apollodorus the Epicurean, in the first book of his *Life of Epicurus*, says

[a] *i.e.* Heraclides Lembos (*F.H.G.* iii. p. 70).
[b] Diod. Sic. xviii. 18. 9.
[c] 307–306 B.C.

Ἐπικούρου βίου φησὶν ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν καταγνόντα τῶν γραμματιστῶν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἐδυνήθησαν ἑρμηνεῦσαι αὐτῷ τὰ περὶ τοῦ παρ' Ἡσιόδῳ χάους. φησὶ δ' Ἕρμιππος γραμματοδιδάσκαλον αὐτὸν γεγενῆσθαι, ἔπειτα μέντοι περιτυχόντα τοῖς
3 Δημοκρίτου βιβλίοις ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν ᾆξαι· διὸ καὶ τὸν Τίμωνα φάσκειν περὶ αὐτοῦ·

ὕστατος αὖ φυσικῶν καὶ κύντατος, ἐκ Σάμου ἐλθὼν
γραμμαδιδασκαλίδης, ἀναγωγότατος ζωόντων.

Συνεφιλοσόφουν δ' αὐτῷ προτρεψαμένῳ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τρεῖς ὄντες, Νεοκλῆς Χαιρέδημος Ἀριστόβουλος, καθά φησι Φιλόδημος ὁ Ἐπικούρειος ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ τῆς τῶν φιλοσόφων συντάξεως· ἀλλὰ καὶ δοῦλος Μῦς ὄνομα, καθά φησι Μυρωνιανὸς ἐν Ὁμοίοις ἱστορικοῖς κεφαλαίοις. Διότιμος δ' ὁ Στωικὸς δυσμενῶς ἔχων πρὸς αὐτὸν πικρότατα αὐτὸν διαβέβληκεν, ἐπιστολὰς φέρων πεντήκοντα ἀσελγεῖς ὡς Ἐπικούρου· καὶ ὁ τὰ εἰς Χρύσιππον ἀναφερόμενα ἐπιστόλια ὡς Ἐπικούρου συντάξας.
4 ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ περὶ Ποσειδώνιον τὸν στωικὸν καὶ Νικόλαος καὶ Σωτίων ἐν τῷ δωδεκάτῳ τῶν ἐπιγραφομένων Διοκλείων ἐλέγχων, ἅ ἐστι δ' πρὸς τοῖς κ', καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ἁλικαρνασσεύς. καὶ γὰρ σὺν τῇ μητρὶ περιιόντα αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ οἰκίδια καθαρμοὺς ἀναγινώσκειν, καὶ σὺν τῷ πατρὶ γράμματα διδάσκειν λυπροῦ τινος μισθαρίου. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν

[a] *Cf.* Sext. Emp. *Adv. math.* x. 18, where the story is well told.

[b] Fr. 51 D.

[c] The meaning is : " a schoolmaster like his father before him." *Cf.* Dem. *De cor.* § 258 ἅμα τῷ πατρὶ πρὸς τῷ διδα-

that he turned to philosophy in disgust at the schoolmasters who could not tell him the meaning of "chaos" in Hesiod.[a] According to Hermippus, however, he started as a schoolmaster, but on coming across the works of Democritus turned eagerly to philosophy. Hence the point of Timon's allusion[b] in the lines:

> Again there is the latest and most shameless of the physicists, the schoolmaster's son[c] from Samos, himself the most uneducated of mortals.

At his instigation his three brothers, Neocles, Chaeredemus, and Aristobulus, joined in his studies, according to Philodemus the Epicurean in the tenth book of his comprehensive work *On Philosophers*; furthermore his slave named Mys, as stated by Myronianus in his *Historical Parallels*. Diotimus[d] the Stoic, who is hostile to him, has assailed him with bitter slanders, adducing fifty scandalous letters as written by Epicurus; and so too did the author who ascribed to Epicurus the epistles commonly attributed to Chrysippus. They are followed by Posidonius the Stoic and his school, and Nicolaus and Sotion in the twelfth book of his work entitled *Dioclean Refutations*, consisting of twenty-four books; also by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. They allege that he used to go round with his mother to cottages and read charms, and assist his father in his school for a pitiful fee[e]; further, that one of his brothers was a pander and

σκαλείῳ προσεδρεύων. From Aristophanes, *Acharn.* 595-7, it seems that patronymics were used of persons engaged in hereditary occupations.

[d] One Diotimus who calumniated Epicurus and was answered by the Epicurean Zeno is mentioned by Athenaeus, xiii. 611 B, as having been put to death.

[e] Compare again Dem. *De cor.* § 258.

ἀδελφῶν ἕνα προαγωγεύειν, Λεοντίῳ καὶ συνεῖναι
τῇ ἑταίρᾳ. τὰ δὲ Δημοκρίτου περὶ τῶν ἀτόμων καὶ
Ἀριστίππου περὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς ὡς ἴδια λέγειν. μὴ
εἶναί τε γνησίως ἀστόν, ὡς Τιμοκράτης φησὶ καὶ
Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἐπικούρου ἐφηβείας.
Μιθρῆν τε αἰσχρῶς κολακεύειν τὸν Λυσιμάχου
διοικητήν, ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς Παιᾶνα καὶ ἄνακτα
5 καλοῦντα· ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰδομενέα καὶ Ἡρόδοτον καὶ
Τιμοκράτην τοὺς ἔκπυστα αὐτοῦ τὰ κρύφια ποιή-
σαντας ἐγκωμιάζειν καὶ κολακεύειν αὐτὸ τοῦτο.
ἔν τε ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς πρὸς μὲν Λεόντιον Παιὰν
ἄναξ, φίλον Λεοντάριον, οἵου κροτοθορύβου ἡμᾶς
ἐνέπλησας ἀναγνόντας σου τὸ ἐπιστόλιον· πρὸς δὲ
Θεμίσταν τὴν Λεοντέως γυναῖκα Οἷός τε φησίν
εἰμί, ἐὰν μὴ ὑμεῖς πρός με ἀφίκησθε, αὐτὸς τρι-
κύλιστος, ὅπου ἂν ὑμεῖς καὶ Θεμίστα παρακαλῆτε,
ὠθεῖσθαι. πρὸς δὲ Πυθοκλέα ὡραῖον ὄντα Καθ-
εδοῦμαι φησὶ προσδοκῶν τὴν ἱμερτὴν καὶ ἰσόθεόν
σου εἴσοδον. καὶ πάλιν πρὸς Θεμίσταν γράφων
νομίζειν αὐτῇ παραινεῖν, καθά φησι Θεόδωρος ἐν
6 τῷ τετάρτῳ τῶν Πρὸς Ἐπίκουρον. καὶ ἄλλαις
δὲ πολλαῖς ἑταίραις γράφειν, καὶ μάλιστα Λεοντίῳ,
ἧς καὶ Μητρόδωρον ἐρασθῆναι. ἔν τε τῷ Περὶ

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[a] Mithras was a Syrian. *Cf.* Plut. *Contra Epic.* 1097 B: *Adv. Col.* 1126 E.

[b] A perplexing passage. (1) As παραινετική is for the Stoics that branch of ethics which makes personal application of moral principles, the MSS. may be right. (2) By changing αὐτῇ to αὐτήν, a little more sting is given to this tame remark: "he thinks that *she* preaches." (3) If this

lived with Leontion the courtesan; that he put forward as his own the doctrines of Democritus about atoms and of Aristippus about pleasure; that he was not a genuine Athenian citizen, a charge brought by Timocrates and by Herodotus in a book *On the Training of Epicurus as a Cadet*; that he basely flattered Mithras,[a] the minister of Lysimachus, bestowing on him in his letters Apollo's titles of Healer and Lord. Furthermore that he extolled Idomeneus, Herodotus, and Timocrates, who had published his esoteric doctrines, and flattered them for that very reason. Also that in his letters he wrote to Leontion, "O Lord Apollo, my dear little Leontion, with what tumultuous applause we were inspired as we read your letter." Then again to Themista, the wife of Leonteus: "I am quite ready, if you do not come to see me, to spin thrice on my own axis and be propelled to any place that you, including Themista, agree upon"; and to the beautiful Pythocles he writes: "I will sit down and await thy divine advent, my heart's desire." And, as Theodorus says in the fourth book of his work, *Against Epicurus*, in another letter to Themista he thinks he preaches to her.[b] It is added that he corresponded with many courtesans, and especially with Leontion, of whom Metrodorus also was enamoured. It is observed too that in his treatise *On the Ethical End* he writes in these

is one of the fifty scandalous letters alluded to in § 3, Froben's αὐτὴν περαίνειν, which Bignone and Apelt adopt, may be right. (4) If emend we must, a rude remark is quite as probable as a compliment, *cf.* § 8. Hence νομίζει αὐτή⟨ν⟩ παρα⟨κ⟩ινεῖν, "he deems her mad," if she says or thinks so-and-so, would be in the master's blunt manner, and Themista (to use the language of *Phaedrus*, 249 D) νουθετεῖται ὡς παρακινοῦσα.

τέλους γράφειν οὕτως· Οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε ἔχω τί νοήσω τἀγαθόν, ἀφαιρῶν μὲν τὰς διὰ χυλῶν ἡδονάς, ἀφαιρῶν δὲ τὰς δι' ἀφροδισίων καὶ τὰς δι' ἀκροαμάτων καὶ τὰς διὰ μορφῆς. ἔν τε τῇ πρὸς Πυθοκλέα ἐπιστολῇ γράφειν Παιδείαν δὲ πᾶσαν, μακάριε, φεῦγε τἀκάτιον ἀράμενος. Ἐπίκτητός τε κιναιδολόγον αὐτὸν καλεῖ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα λοιδορεῖ.

Καὶ μὴν καὶ Τιμοκράτης ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγραφομένοις Εὐφραντοῖς ὁ Μητροδώρου μὲν ἀδελφός, μαθητὴς δὲ αὐτοῦ τῆς σχολῆς ἐκφοιτήσας φησὶ δὶς αὐτὸν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐμεῖν ἀπὸ τρυφῆς, ἑαυτόν τε διηγεῖται μόγις ἐκφυγεῖν ἰσχῦσαι τὰς νυκτερινὰς ἐκείνας φιλοσοφίας καὶ τὴν μυστικὴν ἐκείνην συνδιαγωγήν.
7 *τόν τε Ἐπίκουρον πολλὰ κατὰ τὸν λόγον ἠγνοηκέναι καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον κατὰ τὸν βίον, τό τε σῶμα ἐλεεινῶς διακεῖσθαι, ὡς πολλῶν ἐτῶν μὴ δύνασθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ φορείου διαναστῆναι· μνᾶν τε ἀναλίσκειν ἡμερησίαν εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Λεόντιον ἐπιστολῇ γράφει καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Μυτιλήνῃ φιλοσόφους. συνεῖναί τε αὐτῷ τε καὶ Μητροδώρῳ ἑταίρας καὶ ἄλλας, Μαμμάριον καὶ Ἡδεῖαν καὶ Ἐρώτιον καὶ Νικίδιον. καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα βίβλοις ταῖς Περὶ φύσεως τὰ πλεῖστα ταὐτὰ λέγειν καὶ ἀντιγράφειν ἐν αὐταῖς*

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[a] *Cf.* Athen. xii. 546 E, who cites the concluding words more fully thus: *καὶ τὰς διὰ μορφῆς κατ' ὄψιν ἡδείας κινήσεις*: also vii. 280 A and, for a shorter version than that of D. L., vii. 278 F. *Cf.* also Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* iii. 41. The last words have been taken to refer especially to the pleasures afforded by music and again by painting and the plastic arts. But perhaps Epicurus is merely citing typical examples of

terms [a]: "I know not how to conceive the good, apart from the pleasures of taste, sexual pleasures, the pleasures of sound and the pleasures of beautiful form." And in his letter to Pythocles: "Hoist all sail, my dear boy, and steer clear of all culture." Epictetus calls him preacher of effeminacy and showers abuse on him.

Again there was Timocrates, the brother of Metrodorus, who was his disciple and then left the school. He in the book entitled *Merriment* asserts that Epicurus vomited twice a day from over-indulgence, and goes on to say that he himself had much ado to escape from those notorious midnight philosophizings and the confraternity with all its secrets; further, that Epicurus's acquaintance with philosophy was small and his acquaintance with life even smaller; that his bodily health was pitiful,[b] so much so that for many years he was unable to rise from his chair; and that he spent a whole mina daily on his table, as he himself says in his letter to Leontion and in that to the philosophers at Mitylene. Also that among other courtesans who consorted with him and Metrodorus were Mammarion and Hedia and Erotion and Nikidion. He alleges too that in his thirty-seven books *On Nature* Epicurus uses much repetition and writes largely in sheer opposition to others,

intense pleasures under the heads of the four senses: (i.) taste; (ii.) touch; (iii.) hearing; (iv.) seeing. The omission of pleasant odours is curious; *cf.* Plato, *Phil.* 51 E *θεῖον γένος ἡδονῶν*.

[b] *Cf.* Aelian, Fr. 39 (*De Epicuro eiusque discipulis*). According to him the three brothers of Epicurus were all victims of disease. Plutarch (*Non posse suaviter*, etc., 1097 E) mentions the dropsy. However much his ailments were exaggerated by his enemies, they do not seem to have hindered him from literary work.

ἄλλοις τε καὶ Ναυσιφάνει τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ αὐτῇ λέξει φάσκειν οὕτως· "'Αλλ' ἴτωσαν· εἶχε γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὠδίνων τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος καύχησιν τὴν σοφιστικήν, καθάπερ καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τῶν

8 *ἀνδραπόδων." καὶ αὐτὸν 'Επίκουρον ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς περὶ Ναυσιφάνους λέγειν· "Ταῦτα ἤγαγεν αὐτὸν εἰς ἔκστασιν τοιαύτην, ὥστε μοι λοιδορεῖσθαι καὶ ἀποκαλεῖν διδάσκαλον." πλεύμονά τε αὐτὸν ἐκάλει καὶ ἀγράμματον καὶ ἀπατεῶνα καὶ πόρνην· τούς τε περὶ Πλάτωνα Διονυσοκόλακας καὶ αὐτὸν Πλάτωνα χρυσοῦν, καὶ 'Αριστοτέλη ἄσωτον, ‹ὃν› καταφαγόντα τὴν πατρῴαν οὐσίαν στρατεύεσθαι καὶ φαρμακοπωλεῖν· φορμοφόρον τε Πρωταγόραν καὶ γραφέα Δημοκρίτου καὶ ἐν κώμαις γράμματα διδάσκειν· 'Ηράκλειτόν τε κυκητὴν καὶ Δημόκριτον Ληρόκριτον καὶ 'Αντίδωρον Σαννίδωρον· τούς τε Κυνικοὺς ἐχθροὺς τῆς 'Ελλάδος· καὶ τοὺς διαλεκτικοὺς πολυφθόρους, Πύρρωνα δ' ἀμαθῆ καὶ ἀπαίδευτον.*

9 *Μεμήνασι δ' οὗτοι. τῷ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ μάρτυρες ἱκανοὶ τῆς ἀνυπερβλήτου πρὸς πάντας εὐγνωμοσύνης ἥ τε πατρὶς χαλκαῖς εἰκόσι τιμήσασα οἵ τε φίλοι τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος ὡς μηδ' ἂν πόλεσιν ὅλαις μετρεῖσθαι δύνασθαι· οἵ τε γνώριμοι πάντες ταῖς δογματικαῖς αὐτοῦ σειρῆσι προσκατασχεθέντες, πλὴν Μητροδώρου τοῦ Στρατονικέως πρὸς Καρ-*

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[a] *Cf.* Sext. Emp. *Adv. math.* i. 3 νῦν πλεύμονα καλῶν τὸν Ναυσιφάνην ὡς ἀναίσθητον; Plato, *Phil.* 21 c ζῆν δὲ οὐκ ἀνθρώπου βίον ἀλλά τινος πλεύμονος; Hesychius, *s.v.*; whence it appears that obtuseness and insensibility, not weakness or pliability, were the qualities imputed by this term.

[b] An ironical compliment, probably on Plato's style: *cf.*

especially to Nausiphanes, and here are his own words: "Nay, let them go hang; for, when labouring with an idea, he too had the sophist's off-hand boastfulness like many another servile soul"; besides, he himself in his letters says of Nausiphanes: "This so maddened him that he abused me and called me pedagogue." Epicurus used to call this Nausiphanes jelly-fish,[a] an illiterate, a fraud, and a trollop; Plato's school he called "the toadies of Dionysius," their master himself the "golden" Plato,[b] and Aristotle a profligate, who after devouring his patrimony took to soldiering and selling drugs; Protagoras a pack-carrier and the scribe of Democritus and village schoolmaster; Heraclitus a muddler[c]; Democritus Lerocritus (the nonsense-monger); and Antidorus Sannidorus (fawning gift-bearer); the Cynics foes of Greece; the Dialecticians despoilers; and Pyrrho an ignorant boor.

But these people are stark mad. For our philosopher has abundance of witnesses to attest his unsurpassed goodwill to all men—his native land, which honoured him with statues in bronze; his friends, so many in number that they could hardly be counted by whole cities, and indeed all who knew him, held fast as they were by the siren-charms of his doctrine, save Metrodorus[d] of Stratonicea, who

χρυσόστομος. It is not likely that Plato was ever regarded as a Midas or a golden simpleton, for which latter meaning Lucian, *Pro lapsu in sal.* i. ἐγὼ ὁ χρυσοῦς, is cited by Bignone.

[c] In the same ironical sense in which Plato speaks of the Heracliteans who preached flux as τοὺς ῥέοντας (*Theaet.* 181 A), "themselves in flux."

[d] This man (not to be confounded with the more famous Metrodorus of Lampsacus, *cf.* § 22) must belong to the second century B.C., if he was a contemporary of Carneades (*c.* 215–130 B.C.).

νεάδην ἀποχωρήσαντος, τάχα βαρυνθέντος ταῖς ἀνυπερβλήτοις αὐτοῦ χρηστότησιν· ἥ τε διαδοχή, πασῶν σχεδὸν ἐκλιπουσῶν τῶν ἄλλων, ἐσαεὶ διαμένουσα καὶ νηρίθμους ἀρχὰς ἀπολύουσα ἄλλην
10 ἐξ ἄλλης τῶν γνωρίμων· ἥ τε πρὸς τοὺς γονέας εὐχαριστία καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς εὐποιία πρός τε τοὺς οἰκέτας ἡμερότης, ὡς δῆλον κἀκ τῶν διαθηκῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅτι αὐτοὶ συνεφιλοσόφουν αὐτῷ, ὧν ἦν ἐνδοξότατος ὁ προειρημένος Μῦς· καθόλου τε ἡ πρὸς πάντας αὐτοῦ φιλανθρωπία. τῆς μὲν γὰρ πρὸς θεοὺς ὁσιότητος καὶ πρὸς πατρίδα φιλίας ἄλεκτος ἡ διάθεσις· ὑπερβολῇ γὰρ ἐπιεικείας οὐδὲ πολιτείας ἥψατο. καὶ χαλεπωτάτων δὲ καιρῶν κατασχόντων τηνικάδε τὴν Ἑλλάδα, αὐτόθι καταβιῶναι, δὶς ἢ τρὶς τοὺς περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν τόπους πρὸς τοὺς φίλους διαδραμόντα. οἳ καὶ πανταχόθεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικνοῦντο καὶ συνεβίουν αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ κήπῳ, καθά φησι καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος·
11 ὃν καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα μνῶν πρίασθαι. Διοκλῆς δ' ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῆς ἐπιδρομῆς φησιν εὐτελέστατα καὶ λιτότατα διαιτώμενοι. "κοτύλῃ γοῦν," φησίν, "οἰνιδίου ἠρκοῦντο, τὸ δὲ πᾶν ὕδωρ ἦν αὐτοῖς ποτόν." τόν τ' Ἐπίκουρον μὴ ἀξιοῦν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν κατατίθεσθαι τὰς οὐσίας, καθάπερ τὸν

[a] So Aristocles; *cf.* Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* xiv. 21. 1, and Numenius, *ib.* xiv. 5. 3. The indications of time are so vague that this defence of Epicurus might be ascribed to D. L. himself. If, however, we compare the list of calumniators of Epicurus cited in §§ 3, 4, we see that none of them is later than the Augustan age. To the same date belongs a passage in the article of Suidas on Epicurus—καὶ διέμεινεν ἡ αὐτοῦ σχόλη ἕως Καίσαρος τοῦ πρώτου ἔτη σκζʹ, ἐν οἷς διάδοχοι

went over to Carneades, being perhaps burdened by his master's excessive goodness; the School itself which, while nearly all the others have died out, continues for ever without interruption through numberless reigns of one scholarch after another [a]; his gratitude to his parents, his generosity to his brothers, his gentleness to his servants, as evidenced by the terms of his will and by the fact that they were members of the School, the most eminent of them being the aforesaid Mys; and in general, his benevolence to all mankind. His piety towards the gods and his affection for his country no words can describe. He carried deference to others to such excess that he did not even enter public life. He spent all his life in Greece, notwithstanding the calamities which had befallen her in that age [b]; when he did once or twice take a trip to Ionia, it was to visit his friends there.[c] Friends indeed came to him from all parts and lived with him in his garden. This is stated by Apollodorus, who also says that he purchased the garden for eighty minae; and to the same effect Diocles in the third book of his *Epitome* speaks of them as living a very simple and frugal life; at all events they were content with half a pint of thin wine and were, for the rest, thorough-going water-drinkers. He further says that Epicurus did not think it right that their property should be held in common, as required by the maxim of

αὐτῆς ἐγένοντο ιδ′. As Usener has shown (*Epicurea*, 373), the interval of 227 years is reckoned from 270 to 44 B.C.

[b] In the siege of Athens he is said to have maintained his disciples, counting out to each his ration of beans (Plut. *Demetr.* 34).

[c] *Cf. Epist.* 32 (Fr. 176 Usener). This celebrated letter to a child was written from Lampsacus on such a journey.

Πυθαγόραν κοινὰ τὰ φίλων λέγοντα· ἀπιστούντων γὰρ εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτον· εἰ δ' ἀπίστων οὐδὲ φίλων. αὐτός τέ φησιν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς, ὕδατι μόνον ἀρκεῖσθαι καὶ ἄρτῳ λιτῷ. καί, "πέμψον μοι τυροῦ," φησί, "κυθριδίου, ἵν' ὅταν βούλωμαι πολυτελεύσασθαι δύνωμαι." τοιοῦτος ἦν ὁ τὴν ἡδονὴν εἶναι τέλος δογματίζων, ὃν καὶ Ἀθήναιος δι' ἐπιγράμματος οὕτως ὑμνεῖ·

12 ἄνθρωποι, μοχθεῖτε τὰ χείρονα, καὶ διὰ κέρδος
ἄπληστοι νεικέων ἄρχετε καὶ πολέμων·
τᾶς φύσιος δ' ὁ πλοῦτος ὅρον τινὰ βαιὸν ἐπίσχει,
αἱ δὲ κεναὶ κρίσιες τὰν ἀπέραντον ὁδόν.
τοῦτο Νεοκλῆος πινυτὸν τέκος ἢ παρὰ Μουσέων
ἔκλυεν ἢ Πυθοῦς ἐξ ἱερῶν τριπόδων.

εἰσόμεθα δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον προϊόντες ἔκ τε τῶν δογμάτων ἔκ τε τῶν ῥητῶν αὐτοῦ.

Μάλιστα δ' ἀπεδέχετο, φησὶ Διοκλῆς, τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἀναξαγόραν, καίτοι ἔν τισιν ἀντειρηκὼς αὐτῷ, καὶ Ἀρχέλαον τὸν Σωκράτους διδάσκαλον. ἐγύμναζε δέ, φησί, τοὺς γνωρίμους καὶ διὰ μνήμης ἔχειν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ συγγράμματα.

13 Τοῦτον Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς Ναυσιφάνους ἀκοῦσαί φησι καὶ Πραξιφάνους· αὐτὸς δὲ οὔ φησιν, ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἐν τῇ πρὸς Εὐρύλοχον ἐπιστολῇ. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Λεύκιππόν τινα γεγενῆσθαί φησι φιλόσοφον, οὔτε αὐτὸς οὔτε Ἕρμαρχος, ὃν ἔνιοί φασι καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Ἐπικούρειος διδάσκαλον Δημοκρίτου γεγενῆσθαι. Δημήτριος δέ φησιν ὁ Μάγνης καὶ Ξενοκράτους αὐτὸν ἀκοῦσαι.

[a] *Anth. Plan.* iv. 43. [b] *Cf.* Petronius, *Sat.* 132.

Pythagoras about the goods of friends; such a practice in his opinion implied mistrust, and without confidence there is no friendship. In his correspondence he himself mentions that he was content with plain bread and water. And again: "Send me a little pot of cheese, that, when I like, I may fare sumptuously." Such was the man who laid down that pleasure was the end of life. And here is the epigram [a] in which Athenaeus eulogizes him:

Ye toil, O men, for paltry things and incessantly begin strife and war for gain; but nature's wealth extends to a moderate bound, whereas vain judgements have a limitless range. This message Neocles' wise son heard from the Muses or from the sacred tripod at Delphi.[b]

And, as we go on, we shall know this better from his doctrines and his sayings.

Among the early philosophers, says Diocles, his favourite was Anaxagoras, although he occasionally disagreed with him, and Archelaus the teacher of Socrates. Diocles adds that he used to train his friends in committing his treatises to memory.[c]

Apollodorus in his *Chronology* tells us that our philosopher was a pupil of Nausiphanes and Praxiphanes [d]; but in his letter to Eurylochus, Epicurus himself denies it and says that he was self-taught. Both Epicurus and Hermarchus deny the very existence of Leucippus the philosopher, though by some and by Apollodorus the Epicurean he is said to have been the teacher of Democritus. Demetrius the Magnesian affirms that Epicurus also attended the lectures of Xenocrates.

[c] *Cf. infra*, §§ 36, 83.

[d] If this Praxiphanes was the pupil of Theophrastus, considerations of age would make it highly improbable that he could have taught Epicurus; *cf.* Usener, Fr. 123.

Κέχρηται δὲ λέξει κυρίᾳ κατὰ τῶν πραγμάτων, ἣν ὅτι ἰδιωτάτη ἐστίν, Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ γραμματικὸς αἰτιᾶται. σαφὴς δ᾽ ἦν οὕτως, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ Περὶ ῥητορικῆς ἀξιοῖ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἢ σαφήνειαν
14 *ἀπαιτεῖν. καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἀντὶ τοῦ Χαίρειν Εὖ πράττειν καὶ Σπουδαίως ζῆν.*

Ἀρίστων δέ φησιν ἐν τῷ Ἐπικούρου βίῳ τὸν Κανόνα γράψαι αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ Ναυσιφάνους Τρίποδος, οὗ καὶ ἀκοῦσαί φησιν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Παμφίλου τοῦ Πλατωνικοῦ ἐν Σάμῳ. ἄρξασθαί τε φιλοσοφεῖν ἐτῶν ὑπάρχοντα δυοκαίδεκα, ἀφηγήσασθαι δὲ τῆς σχολῆς ἐτῶν ὄντα δύο πρὸς τοῖς τριάκοντα.

Ἐγεννήθη δέ, φησὶν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς, κατὰ τὸ τρίτον ἔτος τῆς ἐνάτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ Σωσιγένους ἄρχοντος μηνὸς γαμηλιῶνος ἑβδόμῃ, ἔτεσιν ὕστερον τῆς Πλάτωνος
15 *τελευτῆς ἑπτά. ὑπάρχοντα δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐτῶν δύο καὶ τριάκοντα πρῶτον ἐν Μυτιλήνῃ καὶ Λαμψάκῳ συστήσασθαι σχολὴν ἐπὶ ἔτη πέντε· ἔπειτα οὕτως εἰς Ἀθήνας μετελθεῖν καὶ τελευτῆσαι κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος τῆς ἑβδόμης καὶ εἰκοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ Πυθαράτου ἔτη βιώσαντα δύο πρὸς τοῖς ἑβδομήκοντα. τήν τε σχολὴν διαδέξασθαι Ἕρμαρχον Ἀγεμόρτου Μυτιληναῖον. τελευτῆσαι δ᾽ αὐτὸν λίθῳ τῶν οὔρων ἐπισχεθέντων, ὥς φησι καὶ Ἕρμαρχος ἐν ἐπιστολαῖς, ἡμέρας νοσήσαντα τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα. ὅτε καί φησιν Ἕρμιππος ἐμβάντα αὐτὸν εἰς πύελον χαλκῆν κεκραμένην ὕδατι θερμῷ καὶ αἰτήσαντα ἄκρατον ῥοφῆσαι·*

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[a] This is no doubt the Academic philosopher, Ariston of Alexandria, pupil of Antiochus, criticized by Philodemus in his Rhetoric, *V.H.*[2] iii. 168.

The terms he used for things were the ordinary terms, and Aristophanes the grammarian credits him with a very characteristic style. He was so lucid a writer that in the work *On Rhetoric* he makes clearness the sole requisite. And in his correspondence he replaces the usual greeting, "I wish you joy," by wishes for welfare and right living, "May you do well," and "Live well."

Ariston [a] says in his *Life of Epicurus* that he derived his work entitled *The Canon* from the *Tripod* of Nausiphanes, adding that Epicurus had been a pupil of this man as well as of the Platonist Pamphilus [b] in Samos. Further, that he began to study philosophy when he was twelve years old, and started his own school at thirty-two.

He was born, according to Apollodorus in his *Chronology*, in the third year of the 109th Olympiad, in the archonship of Sosigenes,[c] on the seventh day of the month Gamelion,[d] in the seventh year after the death of Plato. When he was thirty-two he founded a school of philosophy, first in Mitylene and Lampsacus, and then five years later removed to Athens, where he died in the second year of the 127th Olympiad,[e] in the archonship of Pytharatus, at the age of seventy-two; and Hermarchus the son of Agemortus, a Mitylenaean, took over the School. Epicurus died of renal calculus after an illness which lasted a fortnight: so Hermarchus tells us in his letters. Hermippus relates that he entered a bronze bath of lukewarm water and asked for unmixed wine,

[b] *Cf.* Suidas, *s.v.*; Cic. *N.D.* i. 72.

[c] 341 B.C.

[d] The eighth month of the Attic civil year. Thus he would be born about February, 341 B.C. Plato died 347 B.C.

[e] 271–270 B.C.

16 τοῖς τε φίλοις παραγγείλαντα τῶν δογμάτων μεμνῆσθαι, οὕτω τελευτῆσαι.

Καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν οὕτω·

χαίρετε, καὶ μέμνησθε τὰ δόγματα· τοῦτ᾿ Ἐπίκουρος
ὕστατον εἶπε φίλοις τοὔπος ἀποφθίμενος·
θερμὴν ἐς πύελον γὰρ ἐληλύθεεν καὶ ἄκρατον
ἔσπασεν, εἶτ᾿ Ἀΐδην ψυχρὸν ἐπεσπάσατο.

οὗτος μὲν ὁ βίος τἀνδρός, ἥδε <δὲ> ἡ τελευτή.

Καὶ διέθετο ὧδε· " Κατὰ τάδε δίδωμι τὰ ἐμαυτοῦ πάντα Ἀμυνομάχῳ Φιλοκράτους Βατῆθεν καὶ Τιμοκράτει Δημητρίου Ποταμίῳ κατὰ τὴν ἐν
17 τῷ Μητρῴῳ ἀναγεγραμμένην ἑκατέρῳ δόσιν, ἐφ᾿ ᾧ τε τὸν μὲν κῆπον καὶ τὰ προσόντα αὐτῷ παρέξουσιν Ἑρμάρχῳ Ἀγεμόρτου Μυτιληναίῳ καὶ τοῖς συμφιλοσοφοῦσιν αὐτῷ καὶ οἷς ἂν Ἕρμαρχος καταλίπῃ διαδόχοις τῆς φιλοσοφίας, ἐνδιατρίβειν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν· καὶ ἀεὶ δὲ τοῖς φιλοσοφοῦσιν ἀπὸ ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἂν συνδιασώσωσιν Ἀμυνομάχῳ καὶ Τιμοκράτει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, τὴν ἐν τῷ κήπῳ διατριβὴν παρακατατίθεμαι τοῖς τ᾿ αὐτῶν κληρονόμοις, ἐν ᾧ ἂν τρόπῳ ἀσφαλέστατον ᾖ, ὅπως ἂν κἀκεῖνοι διατηρῶσιν τὸν κῆπον, καθάπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἷς ἂν οἱ ἀπὸ ἡμῶν φιλοσοφοῦντες παραδῶσιν. τὴν δ᾿ οἰκίαν τὴν ἐν Μελίτῃ παρεχέτωσαν Ἀμυνόμαχος καὶ Τιμοκράτης ἐνοικεῖν Ἑρμάρχῳ καὶ τοῖς μετ᾿ αὐτοῦ φιλοσοφοῦσιν, ἕως ἂν Ἕρμαρχος ζῇ.

18 " Ἐκ δὲ τῶν γινομένων προσόδων τῶν δεδομένων ἀφ᾿ ἡμῶν Ἀμυνομάχῳ καὶ Τιμοκράτει κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν μεριζέσθωσαν μεθ᾿ Ἑρμάρχου σκοπούμενοι εἴς τε τὰ ἐναγίσματα τῷ τε πατρὶ καὶ τῇ

which he swallowed, and then, having bidden his friends remember his doctrines, breathed his last.

Here is something of my own about him [a]:

Farewell, my friends; the truths I taught hold fast:
Thus Epicurus spake, and breathed his last.
He sat in a warm bath and neat wine quaff'd,
And straightway found chill death in that same draught.

Such was the life of the sage and such his end.

His last will was as follows: "On this wise I give and bequeath all my property to Amynomachus, son of Philocrates of Bate and Timocrates, son of Demetrius of Potamus, to each severally according to the items of the deed of gift laid up in the Metroön, on condition that they shall place the garden and all that pertains to it at the disposal of Hermarchus, son of Agemortus, of Mitylene, and the members of his society, and those whom Hermarchus may leave as his successors, to live and study in.[b] And I entrust to my School in perpetuity the task of aiding Amynomachus and Timocrates and their heirs to preserve to the best of their power the common life in the garden in whatever way is best, and that these also (the heirs of the trustees) may help to maintain the garden in the same way as those to whom our successors in the School may bequeath it. And let Amynomachus and Timocrates permit Hermarchus and his fellow-members to live in the house in Melite for the lifetime of Hermarchus.

"And from the revenues made over by me to Amynomachus and Timocrates let them to the best of their power in consultation with Hermarchus make separate provision (1) for the funeral offerings to my

[a] *Anth. Pal.* vii. 106.

[b] *Cf.* v. 52 *supra.*

μητρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, καὶ ἡμῖν εἰς τὴν εἰθισμένην ἄγεσθαι γενέθλιον ἡμέραν ἑκάστου ἔτους τῇ προτέρᾳ δεκάτῃ τοῦ Γαμηλιῶνος, ὥσπερ καὶ εἰς τὴν γινομένην σύνοδον ἑκάστου μηνὸς ταῖς εἰκάσι τῶν συμφιλοσοφούντων ἡμῖν εἰς τὴν ἡμῶν τε καὶ Μητροδώρου ‹μνήμην› κατατεταγμένην. συντελείτωσαν δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμέραν τοῦ Ποσειδεῶνος· συντελείτωσαν δὲ καὶ τὴν Πολυαίνου τοῦ Μεταγειτνιῶνος καθάπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς.

19 "*Ἐπιμελείσθωσαν δὲ καὶ Ἀμυνόμαχος καὶ Τιμοκράτης τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Μητροδώρου Ἐπικούρου καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Πολυαίνου, φιλοσοφούντων αὐτῶν καὶ συζώντων μεθ' Ἑρμάρχου. ὡσαύτως δὲ τῆς θυγατρὸς τῆς Μητροδώρου τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιείσθωσαν, καὶ εἰς ἡλικίαν ἐλθοῦσαν ἐκδότωσαν ᾧ ἂν Ἕρμαρχος ἕληται τῶν φιλοσοφούντων μετ' αὐτοῦ, οὔσης αὐτῆς εὐτάκτου καὶ πειθαρχούσης Ἑρμάρχῳ. διδότωσαν δ' Ἀμυνόμαχος καὶ Τιμοκράτης ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχουσῶν ἡμῖν προσόδων εἰς τροφὴν τούτοις, ὅ τι ἂν αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπιδέχεσθαι δοκῇ σκοπουμένοις μεθ' Ἑρμάρχου.*

20 "*Ποιείσθωσαν δὲ μεθ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ Ἕρμαρχον κύριον τῶν προσόδων, ἵνα μετὰ τοῦ συγκαταγεγηρακότος ἡμῖν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ καταλελειμμένου ἡγεμόνος τῶν συμφιλοσοφούντων ἡμῖν ἕκαστα γίνηται. τὴν δὲ προῖκα τῷ θήλει παιδίῳ, ἐπειδὰν εἰς ἡλικίαν ἔλθῃ, μερισάτωσαν Ἀμυνόμαχος καὶ Τιμοκράτης ὅσον ἂν ἐπιδέχηται ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόν-*

[a] That this custom lasted in the school for centuries is proved by the testimony of Cicero (*De fin.* ii. 101) and Pliny (*H.N.* xxxv. 5), as well as by the epigram of Philodemus (*Anth. Pal.* xi. 44). *Cf.* Athen. vii. 298 D; *supra*, vi. 101.

father, mother, and brothers, and (2) for the customary celebration of my birthday on the tenth day of Gamelion in each year, and for the meeting of all my School held every month on the twentieth day to commemorate Metrodorus and myself according to the rules now in force.[a] Let them also join in celebrating the day in Poseideon which commemorates my brothers, and likewise the day in Metageitnion which commemorates Polyaenus, as I have done hitherto.

"And let Amynomachus and Timocrates take care of Epicurus, the son of Metrodorus, and of the son of Polyaenus, so long as they study and live with Hermarchus. Let them likewise provide for the maintenance of Metrodorus's daughter,[b] so long as she is well-ordered and obedient to Hermarchus; and, when she comes of age, give her in marriage to a husband selected by Hermarchus from among the members of the School; and out of the revenues accruing to me let Amynomachus and Timocrates in consultation with Hermarchus give to them as much as they think proper for their maintenance year by year.

"Let them make Hermarchus trustee of the funds[c] along with themselves, in order that everything may be done in concert with him, who has grown old with me in philosophy and is left at the head of the School. And when the girl comes of age, let Amynomachus and Timocrates pay her dowry, taking from the

[b] Possibly Danaë: *cf.* Athen. xiii. 593 c.

[c] That funds were raised by friends of Epicurus and placed at his disposal is certain from the letter to Idomeneus: Plut. *Adv. Col.* 18, 1117 D (Usener fr. 130) *πέμπε οὖν ἀπαρχὰς ἡμῖν εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ σώματος θεραπείαν.* Nicanor seems to have been a recipient of this bounty. How like Auguste Comte!

των ἀφαιροῦντες μετὰ τῆς Ἑρμάρχου γνώμης. ἐπιμελείσθωσαν δὲ καὶ Νικάνορος, καθάπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἵν' ὅσοι τῶν συμφιλοσοφούντων ἡμῖν χρείαν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις παρεσχημένοι καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν οἰκειότητα ἐνδεδειγμένοι συγκαταγηράσκειν μεθ' ἡμῶν προείλοντο ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, μηδενὸς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδεεῖς καθεστήκωσιν παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν δύναμιν.

21 "Δοῦναι δὲ τὰ βιβλία τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἡμῖν πάντα Ἑρμάρχῳ.

"Ἐὰν δέ τι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων περὶ Ἕρμαρχον γένηται πρὸ τοῦ τὰ Μητροδώρου παιδία εἰς ἡλικίαν ἐλθεῖν, δοῦναι Ἀμυνόμαχον καὶ Τιμοκράτην, ὅπως ἂν εὐτακτούντων αὐτῶν ἕκαστα γίνηται τῶν ἀναγκαίων, κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ἀπὸ τῶν καταλελειμμένων ὑφ' ἡμῶν προσόδων. καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἁπάντων ὡς συντετάχαμεν ἐπιμελείσθωσαν, ὅπως ἂν κατὰ τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον ἕκαστα γίγνηται. ἀφίημι δὲ τῶν παίδων ἐλεύθερον Μῦν, Νικίαν, Λύκωνα· ἀφίημι δὲ καὶ Φαίδριον ἐλευθερίᾳ."

22 Ἤδη δὲ τελευτῶν γράφει πρὸς Ἰδομενέα τήνδε ἐπιστολήν·

"Τὴν μακαρίαν ἄγοντες καὶ ἅμα τελευταίαν ἡμέραν τοῦ βίου ἐγράφομεν ὑμῖν ταυτί. στραγγουρία τε παρηκολουθήκει καὶ δυσεντερικὰ πάθη ὑπερβολὴν οὐκ ἀπολείποντα τοῦ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς μεγέθους. ἀντιπαρετάττετο δὲ πᾶσι τούτοις τὸ κατὰ ψυχὴν χαῖρον ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν γεγονότων ἡμῖν διαλογισμῶν μνήμῃ. σὺ δ' ἀξίως τῆς ἐκ μειρακίου παραστάσεως πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ἐπιμελοῦ τῶν παίδων Μητροδώρου."

Καὶ διέθετο μὲν ὧδε.

property as much as circumstances allow, subject to the approval of Hermarchus. Let them provide for Nicanor as I have hitherto done, so that none of those members of the school who have rendered service to me in private life and have shown me kindness in every way and have chosen to grow old with me in the School should, so far as my means go, lack the necessaries of life.

"All my books to be given to Hermarchus.

"And if anything should happen to Hermarchus before the children of Metrodorus grow up, Amynomachus and Timocrates shall give from the funds bequeathed by me, so far as possible, enough for their several needs, as long as they are well ordered. And let them provide for the rest according to my arrangements; that everything may be carried out, so far as it lies in their power. Of my slaves I manumit Mys, Nicias, Lycon, and I also give Phaedrium her liberty."

And when near his end he wrote the following letter to Idomeneus:

"On this blissful day, which is also the last of my life, I write this to you. My continual sufferings from strangury and dysentery are so great that nothing could augment them; but over against them all I set gladness of mind at the remembrance of our past conversations. But I would have you, as becomes your life-long attitude to me and to philosophy, watch over the children of Metrodorus."

Such were the terms of his will.

Μαθητὰς δὲ ἔσχε πολλοὺς μέν, σφόδρα δὲ ἐλλογίμους Μητρόδωρον Ἀθηναίου ἢ Τιμοκράτους καὶ Σάνδης Λαμψακηνόν· ὃς ἀφ᾽ οὗ τὸν ἄνδρα ἔγνω, οὐκ ἀπέστη ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πλὴν ἓξ μηνῶν
23 εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, ἔπειτ᾽ ἐπανῆλθε. γέγονε δὲ ἀγαθὸς πάντα, καθὰ καὶ Ἐπίκουρος ἐν προηγουμέναις γραφαῖς μαρτυρεῖ καὶ ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ Τιμοκράτους. τοιοῦτος δ᾽ ὢν καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν Βατίδα ἐξέδοτο Ἰδομενεῖ, καὶ Λεόντιον τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἑταίραν ἀναλαβὼν εἶχε παλλακήν. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀκατάπληκτος πρός τε τὰς ὀχλήσεις καὶ τὸν θάνατον, ὡς Ἐπίκουρος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Μητροδώρῳ φησί. φασὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸ ἑπτὰ ἐτῶν αὐτοῦ τελευτῆσαι πεντηκοστὸν τρίτον ἔτος ἄγοντα, καὶ αὐτὸς Ἐπίκουρος ἐν ταῖς προειρημέναις διαθήκαις, ὡς προαπεληλυθότος αὐτοῦ δηλονότι, ἐπισκήπτει περὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας αὐτοῦ τῶν παίδων. ἔσχε δὲ καὶ τὸν προειρημένον εἰκαῖόν τινα ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Μητροδώρου Τιμοκράτην.

24 Βιβλία δέ ἐστι τοῦ Μητροδώρου τάδε·

Πρὸς τοὺς ἰατροὺς τρία.
Περὶ αἰσθήσεων.
Πρὸς Τιμοκράτην.
Περὶ μεγαλοψυχίας.
Περὶ τῆς Ἐπικούρου ἀρρωστίας.

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[a] Metrodorus (330–277 B.C.) was the master's beloved disciple; but the encomium preserved by Seneca (*Ep.* 52. 3) is certainly discriminating: "Epicurus says: 'quosdam indigere ope aliena, non ituros si nemo praecesserit, sed bene secuturos: ex his Metrodorum ait esse.'"

[b] Epicurus seems to have prefixed dedications or other short notices to the separate books of his larger works. Thus

Among his disciples, of whom there were many, the following were eminent: Metrodorus,[a] the son of Athenaeus (or of Timocrates) and of Sande, a citizen of Lampsacus, who from his first acquaintance with Epicurus never left him except once for six months spent on a visit to his native place, from which he returned to him again. His goodness was proved in all ways, as Epicurus testifies in the introductions [b] to his works and in the third book of the *Timocrates*. Such he was: he gave his sister Batis to Idomeneus to wife, and himself took Leontion the Athenian courtesan as his concubine. He showed dauntless courage in meeting troubles and death, as Epicurus declares in the first book of his memoir. He died, we learn, seven years before Epicurus in his fifty-third year, and Epicurus himself in his will already cited clearly speaks of him as departed, and enjoins upon his executors to make provision for Metrodorus's children. The above-mentioned Timocrates [c] also, the brother of Metrodorus and a giddy fellow, was another of his pupils.

Metrodorus wrote the following works:

Against the Physicians, in three books.
Of Sensations.
Against Timocrates.
Of Magnanimity.
Of Epicurus's Weak Health.

book xxviii. of his great work *On Nature* was dedicated to Hermarchus, and this has come down to us in *Vol. Herc. Coll. Alt.* vi. fr. 45 *sqq*.

[c] This second mention of Timocrates (see § 6) may have been a marginal note, not very suitably placed, intended to distinguish the renegade Timocrates from his namesake, one of Epicurus' executors (§ 18).

Πρὸς τοὺς διαλεκτικούς.
Πρὸς τοὺς σοφιστὰς ἐννέα.
Περὶ τῆς ἐπὶ σοφίαν πορείας.
Περὶ τῆς μεταβολῆς.
Περὶ πλούτου.
Πρὸς Δημόκριτον.
Περὶ εὐγενείας.

Ἦν καὶ Πολύαινος Ἀθηνοδώρου Λαμψακηνός, ἐπιεικὴς καὶ φιλικός, ὡς οἱ περὶ Φιλόδημόν φασι. καὶ ὁ διαδεξάμενος αὐτὸν Ἕρμαρχος Ἀγεμόρτου Μυτιληναῖος, ἀνὴρ πατρὸς μὲν πένητος, τὰς δ' ἀρχὰς προσέχων ῥητορικοῖς.

Φέρεται καὶ τούτου βιβλία κάλλιστα τάδε·

Ἐπιστολικὰ περὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέους εἴκοσι καὶ δύο.
Περὶ τῶν μαθημάτων.
Πρὸς Πλάτωνα.
Πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλην.

Ἐτελεύτα δὲ παραλύσει, γενόμενος ἱκανὸς ἀνήρ. Λεοντεύς τε Λαμψακηνὸς ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ τούτου γυνὴ Θεμίστα, πρὸς ἣν καὶ γέγραφεν ὁ Ἐπίκουρος· ἔτι τε Κολώτης καὶ Ἰδομενεύς, καὶ αὐτοὶ Λαμψακηνοί. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐλλόγιμοι, ὧν ἦν καὶ Πολύστρατος ὁ διαδεξάμενος Ἕρμαρχον· ὃν διεδέξατο Διονύσιος· ὃν Βασιλείδης. καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος δ' ὁ Κηποτύραννος γέγονεν ἐλλόγιμος, ὃς

[a] One of the four pillars of the school: a great geometer until he became an Epicurean (Cic. *Ac. Pr.* 106 and *De fin.* i. 20). A letter of Epicurus to him is mentioned by Seneca (*Ep.* 18. 9).

[b] Colotes, a great admirer of the master, wrote a work to prove that life is impossible by the rules of any other philosophy. Plutarch wrote a tract against him: Πρὸς

Against the Dialecticians.
Against the Sophists, in nine books.
The Way to Wisdom.
Of Change.
Of Wealth.
In Criticism of Democritus.
Of Noble Birth.

Next came Polyaenus,[a] son of Athenodorus, a citizen of Lampsacus, a just and kindly man, as Philodemus and his pupils affirm. Next came Epicurus's successor Hermarchus, son of Agemortus, a citizen of Mitylene, the son of a poor man and at the outset a student of rhetoric.

There are in circulation the following excellent works by him :

Correspondence concerning Empedocles, in twenty-two books.
Of Mathematics.
Against Plato.
Against Aristotle.

He died of paralysis, but not till he had given full proof of his ability.

And then there is Leonteus of Lampsacus and his wife Themista, to whom Epicurus wrote letters ; further, Colotes [b] and Idomeneus, who were also natives of Lampsacus. All these were distinguished, and with them Polystratus, the successor of Hermarchus ; he was succeeded by Dionysius, and he by Basilides. Apollodorus, known as the tyrant of the garden, who wrote over four hundred books, is

Κολώτην, 1107 E-1127 ; and also a rejoinder entitled, Οὐδὲ ζῆν ἔστιν ἡδέως κατ' Ἐπίκουρον, to prove that even a pleasurable life is unattainable on the principles of Epicurus.

ὑπὲρ τετρακόσια συνέγραψε βιβλία· δύο τε Πτολεμαῖοι Ἀλεξανδρεῖς, ὅ τε μέλας καὶ ὁ λευκός. Ζήνων τε ὁ Σιδώνιος, ἀκροατὴς Ἀπολλοδώρου,
26 πολυγράφος ἀνήρ· καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Λάκων· Διογένης τε ὁ Ταρσεὺς ὁ τὰς ἐπιλέκτους σχολὰς συγγράψας· καὶ Ὠρίων καὶ ἄλλοι οὓς οἱ γνήσιοι Ἐπικούρειοι σοφιστὰς ἀποκαλοῦσιν.

Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Ἐπίκουροι τρεῖς· ὅ τε Λεοντέως υἱὸς καὶ Θεμίστας· ἕτερος Μάγνης· τέταρτος ὁπλομάχος.

Γέγονε δὲ πολυγραφώτατος ὁ Ἐπίκουρος, πάντας ὑπερβαλλόμενος πλήθει βιβλίων· κύλινδροι μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς τριακοσίους εἰσί. γέγραπται δὲ μαρτύριον ἔξωθεν ἐν αὐτοῖς οὐδέν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ εἰσιν Ἐπικούρου φωναί. ἐζήλου δὲ αὐτὸν Χρύσιππος ἐν πολυγραφίᾳ, καθά φησι καὶ Καρνεάδης παράσιτον αὐτὸν τῶν βιβλίων ἀποκαλῶν· εἰ γάρ τι γράψαι ὁ Ἐπίκουρος, φιλονεικεῖ τοσοῦτον γράψαι ὁ Χρύσιπ-
27 πος. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πολλάκις ταὐτὰ γέγραφε καὶ τὸ ἐπελθόν, καὶ ἀδιόρθωτα εἴακε τῷ ἐπείγεσθαι· καὶ τὰ μαρτύρια τοσαῦτά ἐστιν ὡς ἐκείνων μόνων γέμειν τὰ βιβλία, καθάπερ καὶ παρὰ Ζήνωνι ἔστιν εὑρεῖν καὶ παρὰ Ἀριστοτέλει. καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα μὲν Ἐπικούρῳ τοσαῦτα καὶ τηλικαῦτα, ὧν τὰ βέλτιστά ἐστι τάδε·

Περὶ φύσεως ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα.
Περὶ ἀτόμων καὶ κενοῦ.
Περὶ ἔρωτος.
Ἐπιτομὴ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς φυσικούς.
Πρὸς τοὺς Μεγαρικούς.

also famous : and the two Ptolemaei of Alexandria, the one black and the other white ; and Zeno[a] of Sidon, the pupil of Apollodorus, a voluminous author ; and Demetrius,[b] who was called the Laconian ; and Diogenes of Tarsus, who compiled the select lectures ; and Orion, and others whom the genuine Epicureans call Sophists.

There were three other men who bore the name of Epicurus : one the son of Leonteus and Themista ; another a Magnesian by birth ; and a third, a drill-sergeant.

Epicurus was a most prolific author and eclipsed all before him in the number of his writings : for they amount to about three hundred rolls, and contain not a single citation from other authors ; it is Epicurus himself who speaks throughout. Chrysippus tried to outdo him in authorship according to Carneades, who therefore calls him the literary parasite of Epicurus. " For every subject treated by Epicurus, Chrysippus in his contentiousness must treat at equal length ; hence he has frequently repeated himself and set down the first thought that occurred to him, and in his haste has left things unrevised, and he has so many citations that they alone fill his books : nor is this unexampled in Zeno and Aristotle." Such, then, in number and character are the writings of Epicurus, the best of which are the following :

Of Nature, thirty-seven books.
Of Atoms and Void.
Of Love.
Epitome of Objections to the Physicists.
Against the Megarians.

[a] *Cf.* Cic. *Ac. Post.* 146 ; *N.D.* i. 59.
[b] *Cf.* Sext. Emp. *Adv. math.* viii. 348 *sqq.* ; Strabo, xiv. 658.

Διαπορίαι.
Κύριαι δόξαι.
Περὶ αἱρέσεων καὶ φυγῶν.
Περὶ τέλους.
Περὶ κριτηρίου ἢ Κανών.
Χαιρέδημος.
Περὶ θεῶν.
Περὶ ὁσιότητος.
28 Ἡγησιάναξ.
Περὶ βίων δ'.
Περὶ δικαιοπραγίας.
Νεοκλῆς πρὸς Θεμίσταν.
Συμπόσιον.
Εὐρύλοχος πρὸς Μητρόδωρον.
Περὶ τοῦ ὁρᾶν.
Περὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ ἀτόμῳ γωνίας.
Περὶ ἁφῆς.
Περὶ εἱμαρμένης.
Περὶ παθῶν δόξαι πρὸς Τιμοκράτην.
Προγνωστικόν.
Προτρεπτικός.
Περὶ εἰδώλων.
Περὶ φαντασίας.
Ἀριστόβουλος.
Περὶ μουσικῆς.
Περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν.
Περὶ δώρων καὶ χάριτος.
Πολυμήδης.
Τιμοκράτης γ'.
Μητρόδωρος ε'.
Ἀντίδωρος β'.
Περὶ νόσων δόξαι πρὸς Μίθρην.

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[a] The full title, Περὶ νόσων καὶ θανάτου, " Of Diseases and

Problems.
Sovran Maxims.
Of Choice and Avoidance.
Of the End.
Of the Standard, a work entitled Canon.
Chaeredemus.
Of the Gods.
Of Piety.
Hegesianax.
Of Human Life, four books.
Of Just Dealing.
Neocles : dedicated to Themista.
Symposium.
Eurylochus : dedicated to Metrodorus.
Of Vision.
Of the Angle in the Atom.
Of Touch.
Of Fate.
Theories of the Feelings—against Timocrates.
Discovery of the Future.
Introduction to Philosophy.
Of Images.
Of Presentation.
Aristobulus.
Of Music.
Of Justice and the other Virtues.
Of Benefits and Gratitude.
Polymedes.
Timocrates, three books.
Metrodorus, five books.
Antidorus, two books.
Theories about Diseases <and Death>—to Mithras.[a]

Death," is preserved in a Herculaneum papyrus, 1012, col. 38, thus correcting our MSS. of D. L.

Καλλιστόλας.
Περὶ βασιλείας.
Ἀναξιμένης.
Ἐπιστολαί.

Ἃ[a] δὲ αὐτῷ δοκεῖ ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἐκθέσθαι πειράσομαι τρεῖς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ παραθέμενος, ἐν αἷς πᾶσαν
29 τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φιλοσοφίαν ἐπιτέτμηται· θήσομεν δὲ καὶ τὰς Κυρίας αὐτοῦ δόξας καὶ εἴ τι ἔδοξεν ἐκλογῆς ἀξίως ἀνεφθέγχθαι, ὥστε σὲ πανταχόθεν καταμαθεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα κἂν κρίνειν εἰδέναι.

Τὴν μὲν οὖν πρώτην ἐπιστολὴν γράφει πρὸς Ἡρόδοτον <ἥτις ἐστὶ περὶ τῶν φυσικῶν· τὴν δὲ δευτέραν πρὸς Πυθοκλέα>, ἥτις ἐστὶ περὶ μεταρσίων· τὴν τρίτην πρὸς Μενοικέα, ἔστι δ' ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ περὶ βίων. ἀρκτέον δὴ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης, ὀλίγα προειπόντα περὶ τῆς διαιρέσεως τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν φιλοσοφίας.

Διαιρεῖται τοίνυν εἰς τρία, τό τε κανονικὸν καὶ
30 φυσικὸν καὶ ἠθικόν. τὸ μὲν οὖν κανονικὸν ἐφόδους ἐπὶ τὴν πραγματείαν ἔχει, καὶ ἔστιν ἐν ἑνὶ τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Κανών· τὸ δὲ φυσικὸν τὴν περὶ φύσεως θεωρίαν πᾶσαν, καὶ ἔστιν ἐν ταῖς Περὶ φύσεως βίβλοις ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς κατὰ στοιχεῖον· τὸ δὲ ἠθικὸν τὰ περὶ αἱρέσεως καὶ φυγῆς· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς Περὶ βίων βίβλοις καὶ ἐπιστολαῖς καὶ τῷ Περὶ τέλους. εἰώθασι μέντοι τὸ κανονικὸν ὁμοῦ τῷ φυσικῷ τάττειν· καλοῦσι δ' αὐτὸ περὶ κριτηρίου καὶ ἀρχῆς, καὶ στοιχειωτικόν· τὸ δὲ φυσικὸν περὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς,

[a] *i.e.* §§ 29-34, the first of those summaries of doctrine which take up so much of Book X.

Callistolas.
Of Kingship.
Anaximenes.
Correspondence.

The views expressed in these works I will try to set forth by quoting three of his epistles, in which he has given an epitome of his whole system. I will also set down his *Sovran Maxims* and any other utterance of his that seems worth citing, that you may be in a position to study the philosopher on all sides and know how to judge him.

The first epistle is addressed to Herodotus and deals with physics; the second to Pythocles and deals with astronomy or meteorology; the third is addressed to Menoeceus and its subject is human life. We must begin with the first after some few preliminary remarks[a] upon his division of philosophy.

It is divided into three parts—Canonic, Physics, Ethics. Canonic forms the introduction to the system and is contained in a single work entitled *The Canon*. The physical part includes the entire theory of Nature: it is contained in the thirty-seven books *Of Nature* and, in a summary form, in the letters. The ethical part deals with the facts of choice and aversion: this may be found in the books *On Human Life*, in the letters, and in his treatise *Of the End*. The usual arrangement, however, is to conjoin canonic with physics, and the former they call the science which deals with the standard and the first principle, or the elementary part of philosophy, while physics proper, they say, deals with becoming and perishing and with nature; ethics, on the other

καὶ περὶ φύσεως· τὸ δὲ ἠθικὸν περὶ αἱρετῶν καὶ φευκτῶν καὶ περὶ βίων καὶ τέλους.

31 *Τὴν διαλεκτικὴν ὡς παρέλκουσαν ἀποδοκιμάζουσιν· ἀρκεῖν γὰρ τοὺς φυσικοὺς χωρεῖν κατὰ τοὺς τῶν πραγμάτων φθόγγους. ἐν τοίνυν τῷ Κανόνι λέγων ἐστὶν ὁ Ἐπίκουρος κριτήρια τῆς ἀληθείας εἶναι τὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ προλήψεις καὶ τὰ πάθη, οἱ δ' Ἐπικούρειοι καὶ τὰς φανταστικὰς ἐπιβολὰς τῆς διανοίας. λέγει δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἡρόδοτον ἐπιτομῇ καὶ ἐν ταῖς Κυρίαις δόξαις. "πᾶσα γάρ," φησίν, "αἴσθησις ἄλογός ἐστι καὶ μνήμης οὐδεμιᾶς δεκτική· οὔτε γὰρ ὑφ' αὑτῆς οὔτε ὑφ' ἑτέρου κινηθεῖσα δύναταί τι προσθεῖναι ἢ ἀφελεῖν· οὐδὲ ἔστι τὸ δυνάμενον αὐτὰς διελέγξαι.*
32 *οὔτε γὰρ ἡ ὁμογένεια αἴσθησις τὴν ὁμογενῆ διὰ τὴν ἰσοσθένειαν, οὔθ' ἡ ἀνομογένεια τὴν ἀνομογένειαν, οὐ γὰρ τῶν αὐτῶν εἰσι κριτικαί· οὔτε μὴν λόγος, πᾶς γὰρ λόγος ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἤρτηται. οὔθ' ἡ ἑτέρα τὴν ἑτέραν, πάσαις γὰρ προσέχομεν. καὶ τὸ τὰ ἐπαισθήματα δ' ὑφεστάναι πιστοῦται τὴν τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἀλήθειαν. ὑφέστηκε δὲ τό τε ὁρᾶν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀκούειν, ὥσπερ τὸ ἀλγεῖν· ὅθεν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀδήλων ἀπὸ τῶν φαινομένων χρὴ σημειοῦσθαι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐπίνοιαι*

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[a] An opinion often emphasized: *e.g.* §§ 37, 73, 82, 152. *Cf.* Lucr. iii. 931 *sqq.*

[b] Such mental pictures are caused by atoms too fine to affect sense: *cf.* § 64 *infra*; Lucr. ii. 740 *sqq.*, iv. 722 *sqq.*; Cic. *N.D.* i. 54. On the whole subject consult Usener's *Epicurea*, Fr. 242-265, and, more especially, Sext. Emp. *Adv. math.* vii. 203-216.

[c] *Cf. inf.* § 146.

[d] *i.e.* the trustworthiness of the senses (*αἰσθήσεων*) considered as faculties of sense-perception: *cf.* Sext. Emp. *Adv. math.* viii. 9 (Usener, Fr. 244).

hand, deals with things to be sought and avoided, with human life and with the end-in-chief.

They reject dialectic as superfluous ; holding that in their inquiries the physicists should be content to employ the ordinary terms for things.[a] Now in *The Canon* Epicurus affirms that our sensations and preconceptions and our feelings are the standards of truth ; the Epicureans generally make perceptions of mental presentations [b] to be also standards. His own statements are also to be found in the *Summary* addressed to Herodotus and in the *Sovran Maxims.* Every sensation, he says, is devoid of reason and incapable of memory ; for neither is it self-caused nor, regarded as having an external cause, can it add anything thereto or take anything therefrom. Nor is there anything which can refute sensations or convict them of error : one sensation cannot convict another and kindred sensation, for they are equally valid ; nor can one sensation refute another which is not kindred but heterogeneous, for the objects which the two senses judge are not the same [c] ; nor again can reason refute them, for reason is wholly dependent on sensation ; nor can one sense refute another, since we pay equal heed to all. And the reality of separate perceptions guarantees [d] the truth of our senses. But seeing and hearing are just as real as feeling pain. Hence it is from plain facts that we must start when we draw inferences about the unknown.[e] For all our notions are derived from

[e] More precisely ἄδηλον = that which does not come within the range of sense. Compare *e.g.* § 38 τὸ προσμένον καὶ τὸ ἄδηλον, and the way in which the conception of void is obtained in § 40. In § 62 it is called τὸ προσδοξαζόμενον περὶ τοῦ ἀοράτου.

πᾶσαι ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθήσεων γεγόνασι κατά τε περίπτωσιν καὶ ἀναλογίαν καὶ ὁμοιότητα καὶ σύνθεσιν, συμβαλλομένου τι καὶ τοῦ λογισμοῦ. τά τε τῶν μαινομένων φαντάσματα καὶ ‹τὰ› κατ' ὄναρ ἀληθῆ, κινεῖ γάρ· τὸ δὲ μὴ ὂν οὐ κινεῖ."

33 Τὴν δὲ πρόληψιν λέγουσιν οἱονεὶ κατάληψιν ἢ δόξαν ὀρθὴν ἢ ἔννοιαν ἢ καθολικὴν νόησιν ἐναποκειμένην, τουτέστι μνήμην τοῦ πολλάκις ἔξωθεν φανέντος, οἷον τὸ Τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος· ἅμα γὰρ τῷ ῥηθῆναι ἄνθρωπος εὐθὺς κατὰ πρόληψιν καὶ ὁ τύπος αὐτοῦ νοεῖται προηγουμένων τῶν αἰσθήσεων. παντὶ οὖν ὀνόματι τὸ πρώτως ὑποτεταγμένον ἐναργές ἐστι· καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐζητήσαμεν τὸ ζητούμενον, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἐγνώκειμεν αὐτό· οἷον Τὸ πόρρω ἑστὼς ἵππος ἐστὶν ἢ βοῦς· δεῖ γὰρ κατὰ πρόληψιν ἐγνωκέναι ποτὲ ἵππου καὶ βοὸς μορφήν· οὐδ' ἂν ὠνομάσαμέν τι μὴ πρότερον αὐτοῦ κατὰ πρόληψιν τὸν τύπον μαθόντες. ἐναργεῖς οὖν εἰσιν αἱ προλήψεις· καὶ τὸ δοξαστὸν ἀπὸ προτέρου τινὸς ἐναργοῦς ἤρτηται, ἐφ' ὃ ἀναφέροντες λέγομεν, οἷον Πόθεν ἴσμεν εἰ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος;

34 τὴν δὲ δόξαν καὶ ὑπόληψιν λέγουσιν, ἀληθῆ τέ φασι καὶ ψευδῆ· ἂν μὲν γὰρ ἐπιμαρτυρῆται ἢ μὴ ἀντιμαρτυρῆται, ἀληθῆ εἶναι· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐπιμαρτυρῆται ἢ ἀντιμαρτυρῆται, ψευδῆ τυγχάνειν. ὅθεν ‹τὸ› προσμένον εἰσήχθη· οἷον τὸ προσμεῖναι καὶ

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[a] *Cf.* Sext. Emp. *Adv. math.* viii. 63.

[b] *i.e.* in conformity with the sense-data which precede the recognition.

[c] See § 124, where a true πρόληψις is opposed to a false ὑπόληψις. In Aristotle ὑπόληψις is often a synonym of δόξα: *cf.* Bonitz, *Index Ar.*, *s.v.*

perceptions, either by actual contact or by analogy, or resemblance, or composition, with some slight aid from reasoning. And the objects presented to madmen [a] and to people in dreams are true, for they produce effects—*i.e.* movements in the mind—which that which is unreal never does.

By preconception they mean a sort of apprehension or a right opinion or notion, or universal idea stored in the mind; that is, a recollection of an external object often presented, *e.g.* Such and such a thing is a man: for no sooner is the word "man" uttered than we think of his shape by an act of preconception, in which the senses take the lead.[b] Thus the object primarily denoted by every term is then plain and clear. And we should never have started an investigation, unless we had known what it was that we were in search of. For example: The object standing yonder is a horse or a cow. Before making this judgement, we must at some time or other have known by preconception the shape of a horse or a cow. We should not have given anything a name, if we had not first learnt its form by way of preconception. It follows, then, that preconceptions are clear. The object of a judgement is derived from something previously clear, by reference to which we frame the proposition, *e.g.* "How do we know that this is a man?" Opinion they also call conception or assumption, and declare it to be true and false [c]; for it is true if it is subsequently confirmed or if it is not contradicted by evidence, and false if it is not subsequently confirmed or is contradicted by evidence. Hence the introduction of the phrase, "that which awaits" confirmation, *e.g.* to wait and

ἐγγὺς γενέσθαι τῷ πύργῳ καὶ μαθεῖν ὁποῖος ἐγγὺς φαίνεται.

Πάθη δὲ λέγουσιν εἶναι δύο, ἡδονὴν καὶ ἀλγηδόνα, ἱστάμενα περὶ πᾶν ζῷον, καὶ τὴν μὲν οἰκεῖον, τὴν δὲ ἀλλότριον· δι' ὧν κρίνεσθαι τὰς αἱρέσεις καὶ φυγάς. τῶν τε ζητήσεων εἶναι τὰς μὲν περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, τὰς δὲ περὶ ψιλὴν τὴν φωνήν. καὶ ταῦτα δὲ περὶ τῆς διαιρέσεως καὶ τοῦ κριτηρίου στοιχειωδῶς.

Ἀντιτέον δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπιστολήν.

"Ἐπίκουρος Ἡροδότῳ χαίρειν.

35 "Τοῖς μὴ δυναμένοις, ὦ Ἡρόδοτε, ἕκαστα τῶν περὶ φύσεως ἀναγεγραμμένων ἡμῖν ἐξακριβοῦν μηδὲ τὰς μείζους τῶν συντεταγμένων βίβλους διαθρεῖν ἐπιτομὴν τῆς ὅλης πραγματείας εἰς τὸ κατασχεῖν τῶν ὁλοσχερωτάτων γε δοξῶν τὴν μνήμην ἱκανῶς αὐτὸς[1] παρεσκεύασα, ἵνα παρ' ἑκάστους τῶν καιρῶν ἐν τοῖς κυριωτάτοις βοηθεῖν αὑτοῖς δύνωνται, καθ' ὅσον ἂν ἐφάπτωνται τῆς περὶ φύσεως θεωρίας. καὶ τοὺς προβεβηκότας δὲ ἱκανῶς ἐν τῇ τῶν ὅλων ἐπιβλέψει τὸν τύπον τῆς ὅλης πραγματείας τὸν κατεστοιχειωμένον δεῖ μνη-

[1] *αὐτοῖς* codd.: corr. Brieger.

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[a] See §§ 50, 147. The tower which seems round at a distance and square when we get up to it was the typical example in the school of that process of testing beliefs by observation which is here prescribed. *Cf.* Lucr. iv. 353 *sqq.*, 501 *sqq.*; Sext. Emp. *Adv. math.* vii. 208.

[b] *i.e.* pleasure and pain are the criteria by which we choose and avoid.

[c] *Cf. inf.* § 37.

[d] Division of philosophy is probably meant.

[e] The letter to Herodotus is the second and most valuable instalment of Epicurean doctrine. The manuscript seems to

get close to the tower and then learn what it looks like at close quarters.[a]

They affirm that there are two states of feeling, pleasure and pain, which arise in every animate being, and that the one is favourable and the other hostile to that being, and by their means choice and avoidance are determined[b]; and that there are two kinds of inquiry, the one concerned with things, the other with nothing but words.[c] So much, then, for his division[d] and criterion in their main outline.

But we must return to the letter.[e]

"Epicurus to Herodotus, greeting.

"For those who are unable to study carefully all my physical writings or to go into the longer treatises at all, I have myself prepared an epitome[f] of the whole system, Herodotus, to preserve in the memory enough of the principal doctrines,[g] to the end that on every occasion they may be able to aid themselves on the most important points, so far as they take up the study of Physics. Those who have made some advance in the survey of the entire system ought to fix in their minds under the principal headings an

have been entrusted to a scribe to copy, just as it was: scholia and marginal notes, even where they interrupt the thread of the argument, have been faithfully reproduced. See §§ 39, 40, 43, 44, 50, 66, 71, 73, 74, 75.

[f] This, as the most authentic summary of Epicurean physics which we possess, serves as a groundwork in modern histories, *e.g.* Zeller's. The reader may also consult with advantage Giussani, *Studi Lucreziani* (vol. i. of his *Lucretius*); Bignone, *Epicurea*, pp. 71-113; Hicks, *Stoic and Epicurean*, pp. 118-181.

[g] Only the principal doctrines are contained in this epistle; more, both general and particular, was given in the *Larger Compendium*.

μονεύειν· τῆς γὰρ ἀθρόας ἐπιβολῆς πυκνὸν δεόμεθα, τῆς δὲ κατὰ μέρος οὐχ ὁμοίως.

36 "Βαδιστέον μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα συνεχῶς, ἐν ‹δὲ›[1] τῇ μνήμῃ τὸ τοσοῦτο ποιητέον, ἀφ' οὗ ἥ τε κυριωτάτη ἐπιβολὴ ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα ἔσται καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ κατὰ μέρος ἀκρίβωμα πᾶν ἐξευρήσεται, τῶν ὁλοσχερωτάτων τύπων εὖ περιειλημμένων καὶ μνημονευομένων· ἐπεὶ καὶ τῷ τετελεσιουργημένῳ τοῦτο κυριώτατον τοῦ παντὸς ἀκριβώματος γίνεται, τὸ ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς ὀξέως δύνασθαι χρῆσθαι, ἑκάστων[2] πρὸς ἁπλᾶ στοιχειώματα καὶ φωνὰς συναγομένων. οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε τὸ πύκνωμα τῆς συνεχοῦς τῶν ὅλων περιοδείας εἰδέναι[3] μὴ δυνάμενον διὰ βραχεῶν φωνῶν ἅπαν ἐμπεριλαβεῖν ἐν αὑτῷ τὸ καὶ κατὰ μέρος ἂν ἐξακριβωθέν.

37 "Ὅθεν δὴ πᾶσι χρησίμης οὔσης τοῖς ᾠκειωμένοις φυσιολογίᾳ τῆς τοιαύτης ὁδοῦ, παρεγγυῶν τὸ συνεχὲς ἐνέργημα ἐν φυσιολογίᾳ καὶ τοιούτῳ μάλιστα ἐγγαληνίζων τῷ βίῳ ἐποίησά σοι καὶ τοιαύτην τινὰ ἐπιτομὴν καὶ στοιχείωσιν τῶν ὅλων δοξῶν.

"Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα τοῖς φθόγγοις, ὦ Ἡρόδοτε, δεῖ εἰληφέναι, ὅπως ἂν τὰ δοξαζόμενα ἢ ζητούμενα ἢ ἀπορούμενα ἔχωμεν εἰς ταῦτα ἀνάγοντες ἐπικρίνειν, καὶ μὴ ἄκριτα πάντα ἡμῖν ‹ἴῃ›[4] εἰς ἄπειρον ἀποδεικνύουσιν ἢ κενοὺς φθόγ-
38 γους ἔχωμεν. ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ἐννόημα καθ' ἕκαστον φθόγγον βλέπεσθαι καὶ μηθὲν ἀποδείξεως προσδεῖσθαι, εἴπερ ἕξομεν τὸ ζητούμενον ἢ ἀπορούμενον καὶ δοξαζόμενον ἐφ' ὃ ἀνάξομεν.

[1] δὲ suppl. Von der Muehll.
[2] ἑκάστων Us.: καὶ codd.
[3] εἶναι codd.: corr. Meibomius.
[4] ἴῃ suppl. Us.

elementary outline of the whole treatment of the subject. For a comprehensive view is often required, the details but seldom.

"To the former, then—the main heads—we must continually return, and must memorize them so far as to get a valid conception of the facts, as well as the means of discovering all the details exactly when once the general outlines are rightly understood and remembered; since it is the privilege of the mature student to make a ready use of his conceptions by referring every one of them to elementary facts and simple terms. For it is impossible to gather up the results of continuous diligent study of the entirety of things, unless we can embrace in short formulas and hold in mind all that might have been accurately expressed even to the minutest detail.

"Hence, since such a course is of service to all who take up natural science, I, who devote to the subject my continuous energy and reap the calm enjoyment of a life like this, have prepared for you just such an epitome and manual of the doctrines as a whole.

"In the first place, Herodotus, you must understand what it is that words denote, in order that by reference to this we may be in a position to test opinions, inquiries, or problems, so that our proofs may not run on untested *ad infinitum*, nor the terms we use be empty of meaning. For the primary signification of every term employed must be clearly seen, and ought to need no proving[a]: this being necessary, if we are to have something to which the point at issue or the problem or the opinion before us can be referred.

[a] Epicurus explains this more fully in Fr. 258 (Usener, p. 189). For "proof" and "proving" Bignone substitutes "declaration" and "declare."

"Ἔτι τε[1] τὰς αἰσθήσεις δεῖ πάντως τηρεῖν καὶ ἁπλῶς τὰς παρούσας ἐπιβολὰς εἴτε διανοίας εἴθ' ὅτου δήποτε τῶν κριτηρίων, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα πάθη, ὅπως ἂν καὶ τὸ προσμένον καὶ τὸ ἄδηλον ἔχωμεν οἷς σημειωσόμεθα.

"Ταῦτα δεῖ διαλαβόντας συνορᾶν ἤδη περὶ τῶν ἀδήλων· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι οὐδὲν γίνεται ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος. πᾶν γὰρ ἐκ παντὸς ἐγίνετ' ἂν σπερμά-
39 των γε οὐθὲν προσδεόμενον. καὶ εἰ ἐφθείρετο δὲ τὸ ἀφανιζόμενον εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν, πάντα ἂν ἀπωλώλει τὰ πράγματα, οὐκ ὄντων εἰς ἃ διελύετο. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἀεὶ τοιοῦτον ἦν οἷον νῦν ἐστι, καὶ ἀεὶ τοιοῦτον ἔσται. οὐθὲν γάρ ἐστιν εἰς ὃ μεταβαλεῖ.[2] παρὰ γὰρ τὸ πᾶν οὐθέν ἐστιν, ὃ ἂν εἰσελθὸν εἰς αὐτὸ τὴν μεταβολὴν ποιήσαιτο.

"Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ [τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ Μεγάλῃ ἐπιτομῇ φησι κατ' ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐν τῇ ά Περὶ φύσεως][3] τὸ πᾶν ἐστι σώματα καὶ κενόν· σώματα μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἔστιν, αὐτὴ ἡ αἴσθησις ἐπὶ πάντων μαρτυρεῖ, καθ' ἣν ἀναγκαῖον τὸ ἄδηλον τῷ λογισμῷ τεκμαίρεσθαι·
40 εἰ δὲ μὴ ἦν ὃ κενὸν καὶ χώραν καὶ ἀναφῆ φύσιν ὀνομάζομεν, οὐκ ἂν εἶχε τὰ σώματα ὅπου ἦν οὐδὲ

[1] εἴτε codd.: corr. Arndt.

[2] μεταβάλλει codd.: corr. Us.

[3] Passages which are obviously the work, not of Epicurus, but of Laertius himself or some Scholiast, are here underlined and translated in italics.

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[a] This is no innovation of Epicurus but a tenet common to all the pre-Socratics: the One, or Nature as a whole, assumed by the Ionians, is unchangeable in respect of generation and destruction; *cf.* Aristotle, *Met.* i. 3. 984 a 31. The pluralists were naturally even more explicit: see the well-

"Next, we must by all means stick to our sensations, that is, simply to the present impressions whether of the mind or of any criterion whatever, and similarly to our actual feelings, in order that we may have the means of determining that which needs confirmation and that which is obscure.

"When this is clearly understood, it is time to consider generally things which are obscure. To begin with, nothing comes into being out of what is non-existent.[a] For in that case anything would have arisen out of anything, standing as it would in no need of its proper germs.[b] And if that which disappears had been destroyed and become non-existent, everything would have perished, that into which the things were dissolved being non-existent. Moreover, the sum total of things was always such as it is now, and such it will ever remain. For there is nothing into which it can change. For outside the sum of things there is nothing which could enter into it and bring about the change.

"Further [*this he says also in the Larger Epitome near the beginning and in his First Book "On Nature"*], the whole of being consists of bodies and space.[c] For the existence of bodies is everywhere attested by sense itself, and it is upon sensation that reason must rely when it attempts to infer the unknown from the known. And if there were no space (which we call also void and place and intangible nature),[d] bodies would have nothing in which to be and

known fragments, Anax. 17 D, Emped. 8 D. Lucretius (i. 180 f.) expands the doctrine.

[b] *Cf.* §§ 41, 54. Lucr. i. 125 f. is the best commentary.

[c] Usener's insertion of "bodies and space" comes from § 86; *cf.* Diels, *Dox. Gr.* 581. 28.

[d] *Cf.* Lucr. i. 426.

δι' οὗ ἐκινεῖτο, καθάπερ φαίνεται κινούμενα. παρὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐθὲν οὐδ' ἐπινοηθῆναι δύναται οὔτε περιληπτῶς οὔτε ἀναλόγως τοῖς περιληπτοῖς ὡς καθ' ὅλας φύσεις λαμβανόμενα καὶ μὴ ὡς τὰ τούτων συμπτώματα ἢ συμβεβηκότα λεγόμενα.

"Καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν [τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ Περὶ φύσεως καὶ τῇ ιδ' καὶ ιε' καὶ τῇ Μεγάλῃ ἐπιτομῇ][1] σωμάτων τὰ μέν ἐστι συγκρίσεις, τὰ δ' ἐξ ὧν αἱ
41 συγκρίσεις πεποίηνται· ταῦτα δέ ἐστιν ἄτομα καὶ ἀμετάβλητα, εἴπερ μὴ μέλλει πάντα εἰς τὸ μὴ ὂν φθαρήσεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἰσχύοντα ὑπομένειν ἐν ταῖς διαλύσεσι τῶν συγκρίσεων, πλήρη τὴν φύσιν ὄντα, οἷα δὴ οὐκ ἔχοντα ὅπῃ ἢ ὅπως διαλυθήσεται. ὥστε τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀτόμους ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι σωμάτων φύσεις.

"Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἄπειρόν ἐστι. τὸ γὰρ πεπερασμένον ἄκρον ἔχει· τὸ δὲ ἄκρον παρ' ἕτερόν τι θεωρεῖται· ‹τὸ δὲ πᾶν οὐ παρ' ἕτερόν τι θεωρεῖται·›[2] ὥστε οὐκ ἔχον ἄκρον πέρας οὐκ ἔχει· πέρας δὲ οὐκ ἔχον ἄπειρον ἂν εἴη καὶ οὐ πεπερασμένον.

"Καὶ μὴν καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν σωμάτων ἄπειρόν
42 ἐστι τὸ πᾶν καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ κενοῦ. εἴ τε γὰρ ἦν τὸ κενὸν ἄπειρον, τὰ δὲ σώματα ὡρισμένα, οὐθαμοῦ ἂν ἔμενε τὰ σώματα, ἀλλ' ἐφέρετο κατὰ τὸ ἄπειρον κενὸν διεσπαρμένα, οὐκ ἔχοντα τὰ ὑπερ-

[1] See preceding note.
[2] Suppl. Us.

[a] *Cf.* § 54.
[b] The missing premiss is supplied by Cicero, *De div.* ii. 103 "at quod omne est, id non cernitur ex alio extrinsecus." *Cf.* Lucr. i. 960.

through which to move, as they are plainly seen to move. Beyond bodies and space there is nothing which by mental apprehension or on its analogy we can conceive to exist. When we speak of bodies and space, both are regarded as wholes or separate things, not as the properties or accidents of separate things.

"Again [*he repeats this in the First Book and in Books XIV. and XV. of the work* "*On Nature*" *and in the Larger Epitome*], of bodies some are composite, others the elements of which these composite bodies are made. These elements are indivisible and unchangeable, and necessarily so, if things are not all to be destroyed and pass into non-existence, but are to be strong enough to endure when the composite bodies are broken up, because they possess a solid nature and are incapable of being anywhere or anyhow dissolved.[a] It follows that the first beginnings must be indivisible, corporeal entities.

"Again, the sum of things is infinite. For what is finite has an extremity, and the extremity of anything is discerned only by comparison with something else. <Now the sum of things is not discerned by comparison with anything else:[b]> hence, since it has no extremity, it has no limit; and, since it has no limit, it must be unlimited or infinite.

"Moreover, the sum of things is unlimited both by reason of the multitude of the atoms and the extent of the void. For if the void were infinite and bodies finite, the bodies would not have stayed anywhere but would have been dispersed in their course through the infinite void, not having any supports or counter-

εἴδοντα καὶ στέλλοντα κατὰ τὰς ἀνακοπάς· εἴ τε τὸ κενὸν ἦν ὡρισμένον, οὐκ ἂν εἶχε τὰ ἄπειρα σώματα ὅπου ἐνέστη.

"*Πρός τε τούτοις τὰ ἄτομα τῶν σωμάτων καὶ μεστά, ἐξ ὧν καὶ αἱ συγκρίσεις γίνονται καὶ εἰς ἃ διαλύονται, ἀπερίληπτά ἐστι ταῖς διαφοραῖς τῶν σχημάτων· οὐ γὰρ δυνατὸν γενέσθαι τὰς τοσαύτας διαφορὰς ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν σχημάτων περιειλημμένων. καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην δὲ σχημάτισιν ἁπλῶς ἄπειροί εἰσιν αἱ ὅμοιαι, ταῖς δὲ διαφοραῖς οὐχ ἁπλῶς*
43 *ἄπειροι ἀλλὰ μόνον ἀπερίληπτοι, [οὐδὲ γάρ φησιν ἐνδοτέρω εἰς ἄπειρον τὴν τομὴν τυγχάνειν. λέγει δέ, ἐπειδὴ αἱ ποιότητες μεταβάλλονται, εἰ μέλλει τις μὴ καὶ τοῖς μεγέθεσιν ἁπλῶς εἰς ἄπειρον αὐτὰς ἐκβάλλειν].*

"*Κινοῦνταί τε συνεχῶς αἱ ἄτομοι [φησὶ δὲ ἐνδοτέρω καὶ ἰσοταχῶς αὐτὰς κινεῖσθαι τοῦ κενοῦ τὴν εἶξιν ὁμοίαν παρεχομένου καὶ τῇ κουφοτάτῃ καὶ τῇ βαρυτάτῃ.] τὸν αἰῶνα, καὶ αἱ μὲν εἰς μακρὰν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διιστάμεναι, αἱ δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν παλμὸν ἴσχουσιν, ὅταν τύχωσι τῇ περιπλοκῇ*[1] *κεκλειμέναι ἢ στεγαζόμενοι παρὰ τῶν πλεκτικῶν.*

44 "*Ἥ τε γὰρ τοῦ κενοῦ φύσις ἡ διορίζουσα ἑκάστην αὐτὴν τοῦτο παρασκευάζει, τὴν ὑπέρεισιν οὐχ οἵα τε οὖσα ποιεῖσθαι· ἥ τε στερεότης ἡ ὑπάρχουσα αὐταῖς κατὰ τὴν σύγκρουσιν τὸν ἀποπαλμὸν ποιεῖ,*

[1] *τὴν περιπλοκὴν* codd. : corr. Us.

[a] Properly " further within "—a proof that the Scholiast read his Epicurus from a papyrus scroll which had to be unrolled. Hence " further within " or " nearer the centre "

checks to send them back on their upward rebound. Again, if the void were finite, the infinity of bodies would not have anywhere to be.

"Furthermore, the atoms, which have no void in them—out of which composite bodies arise and into which they are dissolved—vary indefinitely in their shapes; for so many varieties of things as we see could never have arisen out of a recurrence of a definite number of the same shapes. The like atoms of each shape are absolutely infinite; but the variety of shapes, though indefinitely large, is not absolutely infinite. [*For neither does the divisibility go on "ad infinitum," he says below* [a]*; but he adds, since the qualities change, unless one is prepared to keep enlarging their magnitudes also simply "ad infinitum."*]

"The atoms are in continual motion through all eternity. [*Further, he says below,*[a] *that the atoms move with equal speed, since the void makes way for the lightest and heaviest alike.*] Some of them rebound to a considerable distance from each other, while others merely oscillate in one place when they chance to have got entangled or to be enclosed by a mass of other atoms shaped for entangling.[b]

"This is because each atom is separated from the rest by void, which is incapable of offering any resistance to the rebound; while it is the solidity of the atom which makes it rebound after a collision,

expresses the same thing as "further on" or "below" in a modern book.

[b] Note the distinction between (1) solids, composed of interlacing atoms (which have got entangled), and (2) fluids, composed of atoms not interlaced, needing a sheath or container of other atoms, if they are to remain united. To (2) belongs Soul (§ 66). See Lucr. ii. 80-141; Cic. *De fin.* i. 7.

ἐφ᾽ ὁπόσον ἂν ἡ περιπλοκὴ τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν ἐκ τῆς συγκρούσεως διδῷ. ἀρχὴ δὲ τούτων οὐκ ἔστιν, αἰδίων τῶν ἀτόμων οὐσῶν καὶ τοῦ κενοῦ. [φησὶ δ᾽ ἐνδοτέρω μηδὲ ποιότητά τινα περὶ τὰς ἀτόμους εἶναι πλὴν σχήματος καὶ μεγέθους καὶ βάρους· τὸ δὲ χρῶμα παρὰ τὴν θέσιν τῶν ἀτόμων ἀλλάττεσθαι ἐν ταῖς Δώδεκα στοιχειώσεσί φησι. πᾶν τε μέγεθος μὴ εἶναι περὶ αὐτάς· οὐδέποτε γοῦν ἄτομος ὤφθη αἰσθήσει.]

45 "Ἡ τοσαύτη δὴ φωνὴ τούτων πάντων μνημονευομένων τὸν ἱκανὸν τύπον ὑποβάλλει ‹ταῖς περὶ›[1] τῆς τῶν ὄντων φύσεως ἐπινοίαις.

"Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ κόσμοι ἄπειροί εἰσιν, οἵ θ᾽ ὅμοιοι τούτῳ καὶ ἀνόμοιοι. αἵ τε γὰρ ἄτομοι ἄπειροι οὖσαι, ὡς ἄρτι ἀπεδείχθη, φέρονται καὶ πορρωτάτω. οὐ γὰρ κατανήλωνται αἱ τοιαῦται ἄτομοι, ἐξ ὧν ἂν γένοιτο κόσμος ἢ ὑφ᾽ ὧν ἂν ποιηθείη, οὔτ᾽ εἰς ἕνα οὔτ᾽ εἰς πεπερασμένους, οὔθ᾽ ὅσοι τοιοῦτοι οὔθ᾽ ὅσοι διάφοροι τούτοις. ὥστε οὐδὲν τὸ ἐμποδοστατῆσόν ἐστι πρὸς τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν κόσμων.

46 "Καὶ μὴν καὶ τύποι ὁμοιοσχήμονες τοῖς στερεμνίοις εἰσί, λεπτότησιν ἀπέχοντες μακρὰν τῶν φαινομένων. οὔτε γὰρ συστάσεις ἀδυνατοῦσιν ἐν τῷ περιέχοντι γίνεσθαι τοιαῦται οὔτ᾽ ἐπιτηδειότητες πρὸς κατεργασίας τῶν κοιλωμάτων καὶ λεπτοτήτων γίνεσθαι, οὔτε ἀπόρροιαι τὴν ἑξῆς θέσιν καὶ βάσιν διατηροῦσαι, ἥνπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς στερεμνίοις εἶχον· τούτους δὲ τοὺς τύπους εἴδωλα προσαγορεύομεν.

[1] Suppl. Us.

however short the distance to which it rebounds, when it finds itself imprisoned in a mass of entangling atoms. Of all this there is no beginning, since both atoms and void exist from everlasting. [*He says below that atoms have no quality at all except shape, size, and weight. But that colour varies with the arrangement of the atoms he states in his "Twelve Rudiments"; further, that they are not of any and every size; at any rate no atom has ever been seen by our sense.*]

"The repetition at such length of all that we are now recalling to mind furnishes an adequate outline for our conception of the nature of things.

"Moreover, there is an infinite number of worlds, some like this world, others unlike it.[a] For the atoms being infinite in number, as has just been proved, are borne ever further in their course. For the atoms out of which a world might arise, or by which a world might be formed, have not all been expended on one world or a finite number of worlds, whether like or unlike this one. Hence there will be nothing to hinder an infinity of worlds.

"Again, there are outlines or films, which are of the same shape as solid bodies, but of a thinness far exceeding that of any object that we see. For it is not impossible that there should be found in the surrounding air combinations of this kind, materials adapted for expressing the hollowness and thinness of surfaces, and effluxes preserving the same relative position and motion which they had in the solid objects from which they come. To these films we give the name of 'images' or 'idols.' Further-

[a] This remark is not misplaced. For infinity of worlds follows from the infinity of (*a*) atoms, (*b*) space; see *inf.* §§ 73, 89; Lucr. ii. 1048 foll.

καὶ μὴν καὶ ἡ διὰ τοῦ κενοῦ φορὰ κατὰ μηδεμίαν ἀπάντησιν τῶν ἀντικοψόντων[1] γινομένη πᾶν μῆκος περιληπτὸν ἐν ἀπερινοήτῳ χρόνῳ συντελεῖ. βράδους γὰρ καὶ τάχους ἀντικοπὴ καὶ οὐκ ἀντικοπὴ ὁμοίωμα λαμβάνει.

47 "Οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἅμα κατὰ τοὺς διὰ λόγου θεωρητοὺς χρόνους αὐτὸ τὸ φερόμενον σῶμα ἐπὶ τοὺς πλείους τόπους ἀφικνεῖται — ἀδιανόητον γάρ, — καὶ τοῦτο συναφικνούμενον ἐν αἰσθητῷ χρόνῳ ὅθεν δήποθεν τοῦ ἀπείρου οὐκ ἐξ οὗ ἂν περιλάβωμεν τὴν φορὰν τόπου ἔσται ἀφιστάμενον· ἀντικοπῇ γὰρ ὅμοιον ἔσται, κἂν μέχρι τοσούτου τὸ τάχος τῆς φορᾶς μὴ ἀντικόπτον καταλίπωμεν. χρήσιμον δὴ καὶ τοῦτο κατασχεῖν τὸ στοιχεῖον. εἶθ' ὅτι τὰ εἴδωλα ταῖς λεπτότησιν ἀνυπερβλήτοις κέχρηται, οὐθὲν ἀντιμαρτυρεῖ τῶν φαινομένων· ὅθεν καὶ τάχη ἀνυπέρβλητα ἔχει, πάντα πόρον σύμμετρον ἔχοντα πρὸς τῷ <τῷ>[2] ἀπείρῳ αὐτῶν μηθὲν ἀντικόπτειν ἢ ὀλίγα ἀντικόπτειν, πολλαῖς δὲ καὶ ἀπείροις εὐθὺς ἀντικόπτειν τι.

48 "Πρός τε τούτοις, ὅτι ἡ γένεσις τῶν εἰδώλων ἅμα νοήματι συμβαίνει. καὶ γὰρ ῥεῦσις ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων τοῦ ἐπιπολῆς συνεχής, οὐκ ἐπίδηλος τῇ μειώσει[3] διὰ τὴν ἀνταναπλήρωσιν, σῴζουσα τὴν ἐπὶ

[1] ἀντικοψάντων codd. : corr. Us.
[2] τῷ suppl. Meibom. : τὸ Tescari.
[3] τῇ μειώσει Us. : σημειώσει V.d.M. : ἢ μειώσει codd.

[a] *Cf.* Lucr. iv. 794-8 : " In one unit of time, when we can perceive it by sense and while one single word is uttered, many latent times are contained which reason finds to exist." Obviously such minute " times " are immeasurably short. The unit of sensible time appears to be that called (in § 62) "the minimum continuous time." *Cf.* Sext. Emp. x. §§ 148-154.

more, so long as nothing comes in the way to offer resistance, motion through the void accomplishes any imaginable distance in an inconceivably short time. For resistance encountered is the equivalent of slowness, its absence the equivalent of speed.

"Not that, if we consider the minute times perceptible by reason alone,[a] the moving body itself arrives at more than one place simultaneously (for this too is inconceivable), although in time perceptible to sense it does arrive simultaneously, however different the point of departure from that conceived by us. For if it changed its direction, that would be equivalent to its meeting with resistance, even if up to that point we allow nothing to impede the rate of its flight. This is an elementary fact which in itself is well worth bearing in mind. In the next place the exceeding thinness of the images is contradicted by none of the facts under our observation. Hence also their velocities are enormous, since they always find a void passage to fit them. Besides, their incessant effluence meets with no resistance,[b] or very little, although many atoms, not to say an unlimited number, do at once encounter resistance.

"Besides this, remember that the production of the images is as quick as thought. For particles are continually streaming off from the surface of bodies, though no diminution of the bodies is observed, because other particles take their place.[c] And those

[b] Or, inserting τὸ, not τῷ, before τῷ ἀπείρῳ, "a passage of the proper size to secure that nothing obstructs their endless emanation." But the meaning cannot be called certain.

[c] If vision is to be not merely intermittent but continuous, images must be perpetually streaming from the objects seen to our eyes; there must be a continual succession of similar images. *Cf.* Fr. 282 (Us.); Lucr. ii. 67-76, iv. 143-167.

τοῦ στερεμνίου θέσιν καὶ τάξιν τῶν ἀτόμων ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον, εἰ καὶ ἐνίοτε συγχεομένη ὑπάρχει, καὶ συστάσεις ἐν τῷ περιέχοντι ὀξεῖαι διὰ τὸ μὴ δεῖν κατὰ βάθος τὸ συμπλήρωμα γίνεσθαι, καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ τρόποι τινὲς γεννητικοὶ τῶν τοιούτων φύσεων εἰσίν. οὐθὲν γὰρ τούτων ἀντιμαρτυρεῖται ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν, ἂν βλέπῃ τίς τινα τρόπον τὰς ἐναργείας ἵνα καὶ τὰς συμπαθείας ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀνοίσει.

49 *" Δεῖ δὲ καὶ νομίζειν ἐπεισιόντος τινὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν ὁρᾶν ἡμᾶς καὶ διανοεῖσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐναποσφραγίσαιτο τὰ ἔξω τὴν ἑαυτῶν φύσιν τοῦ τε χρώματος καὶ τῆς μορφῆς διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος τοῦ μεταξὺ ἡμῶν τε κἀκείνων, οὐδὲ διὰ τῶν ἀκτίνων ἢ ὡνδήποτε ῥευμάτων ἀφ' ἡμῶν πρὸς ἐκεῖνα παραγινομένων, οὕτως ὡς τύπων τινῶν ἐπεισιόντων ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων ὁμοχρόων τε καὶ ὁμοιομόρφων κατὰ τὸ ἐναρμόττον μέγεθος εἰς τὴν ὄψιν ἢ τὴν διάνοιαν, ὠκέως ταῖς φοραῖς χρωμένων,*
50 *εἶτα διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ ἑνὸς καὶ συνεχοῦς τὴν φαντασίαν ἀποδιδόντων καὶ τὴν συμπάθειαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου σῳζόντων κατὰ τὸν ἐκεῖθεν σύμμετρον ἐπερεισμὸν ἐκ τῆς κατὰ βάθος ἐν τῷ στερεμνίῳ τῶν ἀτόμων πάλσεως. καὶ ἣν ἂν λάβωμεν φαντασίαν ἐπιβλητικῶς τῇ διανοίᾳ ἢ*

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[a] *e.g.* mirage and monstrous shapes of clouds: Lucr. iv. 129-142; Diod. iii. 56.

[b] Thought, as well as vision, is explained by images, but images of a much finer texture, which fail to affect the eyes but do affect the mind: *cf.* Fr. 317 (Us.); Lucr. iv. 777 f.

[c] This was the view of Democritus: *cf.* Beare, *Greek Theories of Elementary Cognition*, p. 26.

[d] The reader is left to infer that, the more rapid the motion, the more continuous is the succession of fresh images. It is

given off for a long time retain the position and arrangement which their atoms had when they formed part of the solid bodies, although occasionally they are thrown into confusion. Sometimes such films[a] are formed very rapidly in the air, because they need not have any solid content; and there are other modes in which they may be formed. For there is nothing in all this which is contradicted by sensation, if we in some sort look at the clear evidence of sense, to which we should also refer the continuity of particles in the objects external to ourselves.

"We must also consider that it is by the entrance of something coming from external objects that we see their shapes and think of them.[b] For external things would not stamp on us their own nature of colour and form through the medium of the air which is between them and us,[c] or by means of rays of light or currents of any sort going from us to them, so well as by the entrance into our eyes or minds, to whichever their size is suitable, of certain films coming from the things themselves, these films or outlines being of the same colour and shape as the external things themselves. They move with rapid motion;[d] and this again explains why they present the appearance of the single continuous object, and retain the mutual interconnexion which they had in the object, when they impinge upon the sense, such impact being due to the oscillation of the atoms in the interior of the solid object from which they come. And whatever presentation we derive by direct contact, whether it be with the mind or with

this uninterrupted train of images which guarantees the continued existence of the external object, just as their similarity or identity guarantees its oneness: *cf.* Lucr. iv. 87, 104 f., 189, 256 f., 714 f.; Cic. *N.D.* i. 105.

τοῖς αἰσθητηρίοις εἴτε μορφῆς εἴτε συμβεβηκότων, μορφή ἐστιν αὕτη τοῦ στερεμνίου, γινομένη κατὰ τὸ ἑξῆς πύκνωμα ἢ ἐγκατάλειμμα τοῦ εἰδώλου· τὸ δὲ ψεῦδος καὶ τὸ διημαρτημένον ἐν τῷ προσδοξαζομένῳ ἀεί ἐστιν <ἐπὶ τοῦ προσμένοντος>[1] *ἐπιμαρτυρηθήσεσθαι ἢ μὴ ἀντιμαρτυρηθήσεσθαι, εἶτ᾽ οὐκ ἐπιμαρτυρουμένου <ἢ ἀντιμαρτυρουμένου>*[1] *[κατά τινα κίνησιν ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς συνημμένην τῇ φανταστικῇ ἐπιβολῇ, διάληψιν δὲ ἔχουσαν, καθ᾽ ἣν τὸ ψεῦδος γίνεται.]*

51 *" Ἥ τε γὰρ ὁμοιότης τῶν φαντασμῶν οἱονεὶ ἐν εἰκόνι λαμβανομένων ἢ καθ᾽ ὕπνους γινομένων ἢ κατ᾽ ἄλλας τινὰς ἐπιβολὰς τῆς διανοίας ἢ τῶν λοιπῶν κριτηρίων οὐκ ἄν ποτε ὑπῆρχε τοῖς οὖσί τε καὶ ἀληθέσι προσαγορευομένοις, εἰ μὴ ἦν τινα καὶ τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἃ παραβάλλομεν· τὸ δὲ διημαρτημένον οὐκ ἂν ὑπῆρχεν, εἰ μὴ ἐλαμβάνομεν καὶ ἄλλην τινὰ κίνησιν ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς συνημμένην μὲν τῇ φανταστικῇ ἐπιβολῇ, διάληψιν δὲ ἔχουσαν· κατὰ δὲ ταύτην, ἐὰν μὲν μὴ ἐπιμαρτυρηθῇ ἢ ἀντιμαρτυρηθῇ, τὸ ψεῦδος γίνεται· ἐὰν δὲ ἐπιμαρτυρηθῇ ἢ μὴ ἀντιμαρτυρηθῇ, τὸ ἀληθές.*

52 *" Καὶ ταύτην οὖν σφόδρα γε δεῖ τὴν δόξαν κατέχειν, ἵνα μήτε τὰ κριτήρια ἀναιρῆται τὰ κατὰ τὰς ἐναργείας μήτε τὸ διημαρτημένον ὁμοίως βεβαιούμενον πάντα συνταράττῃ.*

[1] Suppl. Us.

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[a] The film suffers from obstacles especially in its passage through the air, and is sometimes torn into tatters. When these reach the eye, the result is faulty perception; *e.g.* a square tower appears round, and the like: *cf.* Lucr. iv. 353-363, 379-390.

the sense-organs, be it shape that is presented or other properties, this shape as presented is the shape of the solid thing, and it is due either to a close coherence of the image as a whole or to a mere remnant of its parts.[a] Falsehood and error always depend upon the intrusion of opinion[b] <when a fact awaits> confirmation or the absence of contradiction, which fact is afterwards frequently not confirmed <or even contradicted> [*following a certain movement in ourselves connected with, but distinct from, the mental picture presented—which is the cause of error.*]

"For the presentations which, *e.g.*, are received in a picture or arise in dreams, or from any other form of apprehension by the mind or by the other criteria of truth, would never have resembled what we call the real and true things, had it not been for certain actual things of the kind with which we come in contact. Error would not have occurred, if we had not experienced some other movement in ourselves, conjoined with, but distinct from,[c] the perception of what is presented. And from this movement, if it be not confirmed or be contradicted, falsehood results; while, if it be confirmed or not contradicted, truth results.

"And to this view we must closely adhere, if we are not to repudiate the criteria founded on the clear evidence of sense, nor again to throw all these things into confusion by maintaining falsehood as if it were truth.[d]

[b] *Cf.* Fr. 247-254 (Us.); Lucr. iv. 462-468, 723-826.

[c] διάληψιν ἔχειν, "to be distinct"; again, § 58; so διαληπτόν, "distinguishable" (§ 57).

[d] Epicurus was a severe critic of the Sceptics; *cf.* §§ 146, 147; Frs. 252, 254 (Us.); Lucr. iv. 507-521.

"Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ ἀκούειν γίνεται ῥεύματος φερομένου ἀπὸ τοῦ φωνοῦντος ἢ ἠχοῦντος ἢ ψοφοῦντος ἢ ὁπωσδήποτε ἀκουστικὸν πάθος παρασκευάζοντος. τὸ δὲ ῥεῦμα τοῦτο εἰς ὁμοιομερεῖς ὄγκους διασπείρεται, ἅμα τινὰ διασῴζοντας συμπάθειαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἑνότητα ἰδιότροπον, διατείνουσαν πρὸς τὸ ἀποστεῖλαν καὶ τὴν ἐπαίσθησιν τὴν ἐπ' ἐκείνου ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ποιοῦσαν, εἰ δὲ μή γε, τὸ ἔξωθεν μόνον ἔνδηλον παρασκευάζουσαν·
53 ἄνευ γὰρ ἀναφερομένης τινὸς ἐκεῖθεν συμπαθείας οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο ἡ τοιαύτη ἐπαίσθησις. οὐκ αὐτὸν οὖν δεῖ νομίζειν τὸν ἀέρα ὑπὸ τῆς προιεμένης φωνῆς ἢ καὶ τῶν ὁμογενῶν σχηματίζεσθαι—πολλὴν γὰρ ἔνδειαν ἕξει τοῦτο πάσχων ὑπ' ἐκείνης,—ἀλλ' εὐθὺς τὴν γινομένην πληγὴν ἐν ἡμῖν, ὅταν φωνὴν ἀφίωμεν, τοιαύτην ἔκθλιψιν[1] ὄγκων τινῶν ῥεύματος πνευματώδους ἀποτελεστικῶν ποιεῖσθαι, ἣ τὸ πάθος τὸ ἀκουστικὸν ἡμῖν παρασκευάζει.

"Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὴν ὀσμὴν νομιστέον, ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν ἀκοὴν οὐκ ἄν ποτε οὐθὲν πάθος ἐργάσασθαι, εἰ μὴ ὄγκοι τινὲς ἦσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος ἀποφερόμενοι σύμμετροι πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ αἰσθητήριον κινεῖν, οἱ μὲν τοῖοι τεταραγμένως καὶ ἀλλοτρίως, οἱ δὲ τοῖοι ἀταράχως καὶ οἰκείως ἔχοντες.

54 "Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰς ἀτόμους νομιστέον μηδεμίαν ποιότητα τῶν φαινομένων προσφέρεσθαι πλὴν σχήματος καὶ βάρους καὶ μεγέθους καὶ ὅσα ἐξ

[1] ἐκλέθην, vel ἐκλήθην codd.: corr. Brieger: ἔγκλισιν Us.

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[a] Air is not, as Democritus held (Beare, *op. cit.* p. 99), the

"Again, hearing takes place when a current passes from the object, whether person or thing, which emits voice or sound or noise, or produces the sensation of hearing in any way whatever. This current is broken up into homogeneous particles, which at the same time preserve a certain mutual connexion and a distinctive unity extending to the object which emitted them, and thus, for the most part, cause the perception in that case or, if not, merely indicate the presence of the external object. For without the transmission from the object of a certain interconnexion of the parts no such sensation could arise. Therefore we must not suppose that the air itself is moulded into shape by the voice emitted or something similar[a]; for it is very far from being the case that the air is acted upon by it in this way. The blow which is struck in us when we utter a sound causes such a displacement of the particles as serves to produce a current resembling breath, and this displacement gives rise to the sensation of hearing.

"Again, we must believe that smelling,[b] like hearing, would produce no sensation, were there not particles conveyed from the object which are of the proper sort for exciting the organ of smelling, some of one sort, some of another, some exciting it confusedly and strangely, others quietly and agreeably.

"Moreover, we must hold that the atoms in fact possess none of the qualities belonging to things which come under our observation, except shape, weight, and size, and the properties necessarily con-

medium, any more than for vision (§ 49). By "something similar" Epicurus probably means to include sound or noise. Lucretius treats of hearing in iv. 524-614, ii. 410-413.

[b] *Cf.* Lucr. iv. 673-705, ii. 414-417. Neither taste nor touch is treated separately in this epistle.

ἀνάγκης σχήματος συμφυῆ ἐστι. ποιότης γὰρ πᾶσα μεταβάλλει· αἱ δὲ ἄτομοι οὐδὲν μεταβάλλουσιν, ἐπειδή περ δεῖ τι ὑπομένειν ἐν ταῖς διαλύσεσι τῶν συγκρίσεων στερεὸν καὶ ἀδιάλυτον, ὃ τὰς μεταβολὰς οὐκ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὂν ποιήσεται οὐδ' ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μεταθέσεις ἐν πολλοῖς, τινῶν δὲ καὶ προσόδους καὶ ἀφόδους. ὅθεν ἀναγκαῖον τὰ[1] μετατιθέμενα ἄφθαρτα εἶναι καὶ τὴν τοῦ μεταβάλλοντος φύσιν οὐκ ἔχοντα, ὄγκους δὲ καὶ σχηματισμοὺς ἰδίους· ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ὑπομένειν.

55 "Καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν μετασχηματιζομένοις κατὰ τὴν περιαίρεσιν τὸ σχῆμα ἐνυπάρχον λαμβάνεται, αἱ δὲ ποιότητες οὐκ ἐνυπάρχουσαι ἐν τῷ μεταβάλλοντι, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνο καταλείπεται, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος ἀπολλύμεναι. ἱκανὰ οὖν τὰ ὑπολειπόμενα ταῦτα τὰς τῶν συγκρίσεων διαφορὰς ποιεῖν, ἐπειδή περ ὑπολείπεσθαί γέ τινα ἀναγκαῖον καὶ μὴ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὂν φθείρεσθαι.

"Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ δεῖ νομίζειν πᾶν μέγεθος ἐν ταῖς ἀτόμοις ὑπάρχειν, ἵνα μὴ τὰ φαινόμενα ἀντιμαρτυρῇ· παραλλαγὰς δέ τινας μεγεθῶν νομιστέον εἶναι. βέλτιον γὰρ καὶ τούτου προσόντος τὰ κατὰ τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις γινόμενα ἀποδοθήσεται.

[1] τὰ μὴ codd. : corr. Weil.

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[a] For shape *cf.* Lucr. ii. 333-521, iii. 185-202; for weight *cf.* Lucr. ii. 184-215, i. 358-367. For qualities generally *cf.* Epic. Frs. 288, 289 (Us.); Sext. Emp. *Adv. math.* ix. 335. Atoms have no colour (Frs. 29, 30, 289 : Lucr. ii. 730-841), nor smell (Lucr. ii. 846-855) nor flavour nor sound nor cold nor heat (*ib.* 856-859), in short no variable quality (*ib.* 859-864); but the various qualities are due to the arrangement, positions, motions, and shape of the component atoms.

[b] If something unchanging underlies every change, the transformation of things and of their qualities must be due

joined with shape.[a] For every quality changes, but the atoms do not change, since, when the composite bodies are dissolved, there must needs be a permanent something, solid and indissoluble, left behind, which makes change possible: not changes into or from the non-existent, but often through differences of arrangement, and sometimes through additions and subtractions of the atoms.[b] Hence these somethings capable of being diversely arranged must be indestructible, exempt from change, but possessed each of its own distinctive mass [c] and configuration. This must remain.

"For in the case of changes of configuration within our experience the figure is supposed to be inherent when other qualities are stripped off, but the qualities are not supposed, like the shape which is left behind, to inhere in the subject of change, but to vanish altogether from the body. Thus, then, what is left behind is sufficient to account for the differences in composite bodies, since something at least must necessarily be left remaining and be immune from annihilation.

"Again, you should not suppose that the atoms have any and every size,[d] lest you be contradicted by facts; but differences of size must be admitted; for this addition renders the facts of feeling and sensation easier of explanation. But to attribute any and

to the motion of the component atoms. With ἐν πολλοῖς understand στερεμνίοις: the arrangement of the atoms varies in solid objects.

[c] In § 53 ὄγκος was translated "particle," since the context shows that a group of atoms analogous to a visible film is meant. But here each of the permanent somethings, *i.e.* the atoms, has its own mass (ὄγκος) and configuration.

[d] The opinion of Democritus.

56 *πᾶν δὲ μέγεθος ὑπάρχειν οὔτε χρήσιμόν ἐστι πρὸς τὰς τῶν ποιοτήτων διαφοράς, ἀφῖχθαί τε ἅμ' ἔδει*[1] *καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁρατὰς ἀτόμους· ὃ οὐ θεωρεῖται γινόμενον οὔθ' ὅπως ἂν γένοιτο ὁρατὴ ἄτομος ἔστιν ἐπινοῆσαι.*

" Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐ δεῖ νομίζειν ἐν τῷ ὡρισμένῳ σώματι ἀπείρους ὄγκους εἶναι οὐδ' ὁπηλίκους οὖν. ὥστε οὐ μόνον τὴν εἰς ἄπειρον τομὴν ἐπὶ τοὔλαττον ἀναιρετέον, ἵνα μὴ πάντα ἀσθενῆ ποιῶμεν κἀν ταῖς περιλήψεσι τῶν ἀθρόων εἰς τὸ μὴ ὂν ἀναγκαζώμεθα τὰ ὄντα θλίβοντες καταναλίσκειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν μετάβασιν μὴ νομιστέον γίνεσθαι ἐν τοῖς ὡρισμένοις εἰς ἄπειρον μηδ' ἐπὶ τοὔλαττον.

57 *" Οὔτε γὰρ ὅπως, ἐπειδὰν ἅπαξ τις εἴπῃ ὅτι ἄπειροι ὄγκοι ἔν τινι ὑπάρχουσιν ἢ ὁπηλίκοι οὖν, ἔστι νοῆσαι ὅπως*[2] *ἂν ἔτι τοῦτο πεπερασμένον εἴη τὸ μέγεθος. πηλίκοι γάρ τινες δῆλον ὡς οἱ ἄπειροί εἰσιν ὄγκοι· καὶ οὗτοι ὁπηλίκοι ἄν ποτε ὦσιν, ἄπειρον ἂν ἦν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος. ἄκρον τε ἔχοντος τοῦ πεπερασμένου διαληπτόν, εἰ μὴ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸ θεωρητόν, οὐκ ἔστι μὴ οὐ καὶ τὸ ἑξῆς τούτου τοιοῦτον νοεῖν καὶ οὕτω κατὰ τὸ ἑξῆς εἰς*

[1] *ἅμ' ἔδει* Us. : *ἀμέλει* codd.
[2] *ὅπως* Brieger : *πῶς τε* codd.

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[a] *Cf.* Lucr. iv. 110-128, i. 599-627, ii. 478-521. The first of these passages states that the atom is " far below the ken of our senses " and " much smaller than the things which our eyes begin to be able to see."

[b] Admitting indivisible atoms, hard solid bodies can be explained ; whereas, if atoms were soft and thus divisible *ad infinitum*, all things would be deprived of solidity (Lucr. i. 565-576). Just before Lucretius has argued that, if atoms did not set a limit to the division of things, production or re-

every magnitude to the atoms does not help to explain the differences of quality in things; moreover, in that case atoms large enough to be seen ought to have reached us, which is never observed to occur; nor can we conceive how its occurrence should be possible, *i.e.* that an atom should become visible.[a]

"Besides, you must not suppose that there are parts unlimited in number, be they ever so small, in any finite body. Hence not only must we reject as impossible subdivision *ad infinitum* into smaller and smaller parts, lest we make all things too weak and, in our conceptions of the aggregates, be driven to pulverize the things that exist, *i.e.* the atoms, and annihilate[b] them; but in dealing with finite things we must also reject as impossible the progression *ad infinitum* by less and less increments.

"For when once we have said that an infinite number of particles, however small, are contained in anything, it is not possible to conceive how it could any longer be limited or finite in size. For clearly our infinite number of particles must have some size; and then, of whatever size they were, the aggregate they made would be infinite. And, in the next place, since what is finite has an extremity which is distinguishable, even if it is not by itself observable, it is not possible to avoid thinking of another such extremity next to this. Nor can we help thinking that in this way, by proceeding for-

production would be impossible, since destruction is wrought more quickly than it is repaired, and endless future time could not undo the waste of endless past time. Possibly, however, Epicurus is thinking of an argument similar to that used by Lucretius in ii. 522-568—that a finite number of shapes implies and requires an infinity of atoms of each shape.

τοὔμπροσθεν βαδίζοντα εἰς τὸ ἄπειρον ὑπάρχειν καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀφικνεῖσθαι τῇ ἐννοίᾳ.

58 "Τό τε ἐλάχιστον τὸ ἐν τῇ αἰσθήσει δεῖ κατανοεῖν ὅτι οὔτε τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν οἷον τὸ τὰς μεταβάσεις ἔχον οὔτε πάντῃ πάντως ἀνόμοιον, ἀλλ' ἔχον μέν τινα κοινότητα τῶν μεταβατῶν,[1] διάληψιν δὲ μερῶν οὐκ ἔχον· ἀλλ' ὅταν διὰ τὴν τῆς κοινότητος προσεμφέρειαν οἰηθῶμεν διαλήψεσθαί τι αὐτοῦ, τὸ μὲν ἐπιτάδε, τὸ δὲ ἐπέκεινα, τὸ ἴσον ἡμῖν δεῖ προσπίπτειν. ἑξῆς τε θεωροῦμεν ταῦτα ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου καταρχόμενοι καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, οὐδὲ μέρεσι μερῶν ἁπτόμενα, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν τῇ ἰδιότητι τῇ ἑαυτῶν τὰ μεγέθη καταμετροῦντα, τὰ πλείω πλεῖον καὶ τὰ ἐλάττω ἔλαττον.

59 "Ταύτῃ τῇ ἀναλογίᾳ νομιστέον καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ ἀτόμῳ ἐλάχιστον κεχρῆσθαι· μικρότητι γὰρ ἐκεῖνο δῆλον ὡς διαφέρει τοῦ κατὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν θεωρουμένου, ἀναλογίᾳ δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ κέχρηται. ἐπεί περ καὶ ὅτι μέγεθος ἔχει ἡ ἄτομος, κατὰ τὴν ἐνταῦθα ἀναλογίαν κατηγορήσαμεν, μικρόν τι μόνον μακρὰν[2] ἐκβαλόντες. ἔτι τε τὰ ἐλάχιστα καὶ ἀμιγῆ πέρατα δεῖ νομίζειν τῶν μηκῶν τὸ καταμέτρημα ἐξ αὐτῶν πρώτων τοῖς μείζοσι καὶ ἐλάττοσι παρασκευάζοντα

[1] μεταβάντων codd.: corr. Schneider.
[2] μακρὸν codd.: corr. Us.

[a] Each visible body is the sum of minima, or least perceptible points, which, because they are of finite size, are also finite in number.

[b] "That which admits the successive transitions from part to part." As Bignone remarks, a mathematical series, whether of integers or fractions or powers, might be so described. But Epicurus is obviously dealing with areas and surfaces; since generally to us the "visible" will also be extended.

ward from one to the next in order, it is possible by such a progression to arrive in thought at infinity.[a]

"We must consider the minimum perceptible by sense as not corresponding to that which is capable of being traversed, *i.e.* is extended,[b] nor again as utterly unlike it, but as having something in common with the things capable of being traversed, though it is without distinction of parts. But when from the illusion created by this common property we think we shall distinguish something in the minimum, one part on one side and another part on the other side, it must be another minimum equal to the first which catches our eye. In fact, we see these minima one after another, beginning with the first, and not as occupying the same space; nor do we see them touch one another's parts with their parts, but we see that by virtue of their own peculiar character (*i.e.* as being unit indivisibles) they afford a means of measuring magnitudes: there are more of them, if the magnitude measured is greater; fewer of them, if the magnitude measured is less.

"We must recognize that this analogy also holds of the minimum in the atom; it is only in minuteness that it differs from that which is observed by sense, but it follows the same analogy. On the analogy of things within our experience we have declared that the atom has magnitude; and this, small as it is, we have merely reproduced on a larger scale. And further, the least and simplest[c] things must be regarded as extremities of lengths, furnishing from themselves as units the means of measuring lengths, whether greater or less, the mental vision being

[c] *i.e.* "uncompounded." But v. Arnim's ἀμερῆ, "void of parts," is more suitable.

τῇ διὰ λόγου θεωρίᾳ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀοράτων. ἡ γὰρ κοινότης ἡ ὑπάρχουσα αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὰ ἀμετάβολα ἱκανὴ τὸ μέχρι τούτου συντελέσαι, συμφόρησιν δὲ ἐκ τούτων κίνησιν ἐχόντων οὐχ οἷόν τε γίνεσθαι.

60 “ Καὶ[1] μὴν καὶ τοῦ ἀπείρου ὡς μὲν ἀνωτάτω καὶ κατώτατω οὐ δεῖ κατηγορεῖν τὸ ἄνω ἢ κάτω. ἴσμεν μέντοι τὸ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς, ὅθεν ἂν στῶμεν, εἰς ἄπειρον ἄγειν ὄν, μηδέποτε φανεῖσθαι τοῦτο ἡμῖν, ἢ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ νοηθέντος εἰς ἄπειρον, ἅμα ἄνω τε εἶναι καὶ κάτω πρὸς τὸ αὐτό· τοῦτο γὰρ ἀδύνατον διανοηθῆναι. ὥστε ἔστι μίαν λαβεῖν φορὰν τὴν ἄνω νοουμένην εἰς ἄπειρον καὶ μίαν τὴν κάτω, ἂν καὶ μυριάκις πρὸς τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἐπάνω τὸ παρ' ἡμῶν φερόμενον εἰς τοὺς ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἡμῶν τόπους ἀφικνῆται ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τῶν ὑποκάτω τὸ παρ' ἡμῶν κάτω φερόμενον· ἡ γὰρ ὅλη φορὰ οὐθὲν ἧττον ἑκατέρα ἑκατέρᾳ ἀντικειμένη ἐπ' ἄπειρον νοεῖται.

61 “ Καὶ μὴν καὶ ἰσοταχεῖς ἀναγκαῖον τὰς ἀτόμους εἶναι, ὅταν διὰ τοῦ κενοῦ εἰσφέρωνται μηθενὸς ἀντικόπτοντος. οὔτε γὰρ τὰ βαρέα θᾶττον οἰσθήσεται τῶν μικρῶν καὶ κούφων, ὅταν γε δὴ μηδὲν ἀπαντᾷ αὐτοῖς· οὔτε τὰ μικρὰ τῶν μεγάλων, πάντα πόρον σύμμετρον ἔχοντα, ὅταν μηθὲν μηδὲ

[1] Vide *Classical Review*, xxxvii. p. 108.

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[a] The parts of the atom are incapable of motion ; *cf.* Lucr. i. 628-634.

[b] Objection was taken by Aristotle to the atomic motion of Democritus, on the ground that it implied a point or region absolutely high, and an opposite point or region absolutely low, these terms being unmeaning in infinite space (Aristotle, *Phys.* iii. 5. 205 b 30 ; iv. 8. 215 a 8). See *Classical Review*, xxxv. p. 108.

employed, since direct observation is impossible. For the community which exists between them and the unchangeable parts (*i.e.* the minimal parts of area or surface) is sufficient to justify the conclusion so far as this goes. But it is not possible that these minima of the atom should group themselves together through the possession of motion.[a]

"Further, we must not assert 'up' or 'down' of that which is unlimited, as if there were a zenith or nadir.[b] As to the space overhead, however, if it be possible to draw[c] a line to infinity from the point where we stand, we know that never will this space—or, for that matter, the space below the supposed standpoint if produced to infinity—appear to us to be at the same time 'up' and 'down' with reference to the same point; for this is inconceivable. Hence it is possible to assume one direction of motion, which we conceive as extending upwards *ad infinitum*, and another downwards, even if it should happen ten thousand times that what moves from us to the spaces above our heads reaches the feet of those above us, or that which moves downwards from us the heads of those below us. None the less is it true that the whole of the motion in the respective cases is conceived as extending in opposite directions *ad infinitum*.

"When they are travelling through the void and meet with no resistance, the atoms must move with equal speed. Neither will heavy atoms travel more quickly than small and light ones, so long as nothing meets them, nor will small atoms travel more quickly than large ones, provided they always find a passage suitable to their size, and provided also that they

[c] This verb (ἄγειν) is technical in Euclid.

ἐκείνοις ἀντικόπτῃ· οὔθ' ἡ ἄνω οὔθ' ἡ εἰς τὸ πλάγιον διὰ τῶν κρούσεων φορά, οὔθ' ἡ κάτω διὰ τῶν ἰδίων βαρῶν. ἐφ' ὁπόσον γὰρ ἂν κατίσχῃ ἑκάτερον, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἅμα νοήματι τὴν φορὰν σχήσει, ἕως ἀντικόψῃ ἢ ἔξωθεν ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου βάρους πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πλήξαντος δύναμιν.

62 "Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ κατὰ τὰς συγκρίσεις θάττων ἑτέρα ἑτέρας <φορ>ηθήσεται[1] τῶν ἀτόμων ἰσοταχῶν οὐσῶν, τῷ ἐφ' ἕνα τόπον φέρεσθαι τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἀθροίσμασιν ἀτόμους κατὰ τὸν ἐλάχιστον συνεχῆ χρόνον, εἰ <καὶ>[2] μὴ ἐφ' ἕνα κατὰ τοὺς λόγῳ θεωρητοὺς χρόνους· ἀλλὰ πυκνὸν ἀντικόπτουσιν, ἕως ἂν ὑπὸ τὴν αἴσθησιν τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς φορᾶς γίνηται. τὸ γὰρ προσδοξαζόμενον περὶ τοῦ ἀοράτου, ὡς ἄρα καὶ οἱ διὰ λόγου θεωρητοὶ χρόνοι τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς φορᾶς ἕξουσιν, οὐκ ἀληθές ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων· ἐπεὶ τό γε θεωρούμενον πᾶν ἢ κατ' ἐπιβολὴν λαμβανόμενον τῇ διανοίᾳ ἀληθές ἐστι.

63 "Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δεῖ συνορᾶν ἀναφέροντα ἐπὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ τὰ πάθη—οὕτω γὰρ ἡ βεβαιοτάτη πίστις ἔσται,—ὅτι ἡ ψυχὴ σῶμά ἐστι λεπτομερὲς παρ' ὅλον τὸ ἄθροισμα παρεσπαρμένον, προσεμφερέστατον δὲ πνεύματι θερμοῦ τινα κρᾶσιν ἔχοντι καὶ πῇ μὲν τούτῳ προσεμφερές, πῇ δὲ τούτῳ· ἔστι δὲ τὸ <τρίτον>[3] μέρος πολλὴν παραλλαγὴν εἰληφὸς τῇ λεπτομερείᾳ καὶ αὐτῶν τούτων,

[1] <φορ> supplevi. [2] Suppl. V.d.M. [3] Suppl. Diels.

[a] When the atoms in a composite body are, during a continuous sensible time, however short, all moving in one single direction, then the composite body will be travelling from place to place and have a relative velocity.

[b] *Cf.* Lucr. iii. 161-176, 177-230.

meet with no obstruction. Nor will their upward or their lateral motion, which is due to collisions, nor again their downward motion, due to weight, affect their velocity. As long as either motion obtains, it must continue, quick as the speed of thought, provided there is no obstruction, whether due to external collision or to the atoms' own weight counteracting the force of the blow.

"Moreover, when we come to deal with composite bodies, one of them will travel faster than another, although their atoms have equal speed. This is because the atoms in the aggregates are travelling in one direction[a] during the shortest continuous time, albeit they move in different directions in times so short as to be appreciable only by the reason, but frequently collide until the continuity of their motion is appreciated by sense. For the assumption that beyond the range of direct observation even the minute times conceivable by reason will present continuity of motion is not true in the case before us. Our canon is that direct observation by sense and direct apprehension by the mind are alone invariably true.

"Next, keeping in view our perceptions and feelings (for so shall we have the surest grounds for belief), we must recognize generally that the soul is a corporeal thing, composed of fine particles, dispersed all over the frame,[b] most nearly resembling wind with an admixture of heat,[c] in some respects like wind, in others like heat. But, again, there is the third part which exceeds the other two in the fineness of

[c] *Cf.* Lucr. iii. 231-257, 425-430 ; Epic. Fr. (Us.) 315, 314. These authorities assume *four* component elements, while in this epistle one of these (ἀερῶδές τι) is omitted.

συμπαθὲς δὲ τούτῳ[1] *μᾶλλον καὶ τῷ λοιπῷ ἀθροίσματι· τοῦτο δὲ πᾶν αἱ δυνάμεις τῆς ψυχῆς δηλοῦσι καὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ αἱ εὐκινησίαι καὶ αἱ διανοήσεις καὶ ὧν στερόμενοι θνήσκομεν. καὶ μὴν ὅτι ἔχει ἡ ψυχὴ τῆς αἰσθήσεως τὴν πλείστην αἰτίαν δεῖ*
64 *κατέχειν· οὐ μὴν εἰλήφει ἂν ταύτην, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀθροίσματος ἐστεγάζετό πως. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἄθροισμα παρασκευάσαν ἐκείνῃ τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην μετείληφε καὶ αὐτὸ τοιούτου συμπτώματος παρ' ἐκείνης, οὐ μέντοι πάντων ὧν ἐκείνη κέκτηται· διὸ ἀπαλλαγείσης τῆς ψυχῆς οὐκ ἔχει τὴν αἴσθησιν. οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ταύτην ἐκέκτητο τὴν δύναμιν, ἀλλ' ἕτερον ἅμα συγγεγενημένον*[2] *αὐτῷ παρεσκεύαζεν, ὃ διὰ τῆς συντελεσθείσης περὶ αὐτὸ δυνάμεως κατὰ τὴν κίνησιν σύμπτωμα αἰσθητικὸν εὐθὺς ἀποτελοῦν ἑαυτῷ ἀπεδίδου κατὰ τὴν ὁμούρησιν καὶ συμπάθειαν καὶ ἐκείνῳ, καθάπερ εἶπον.*
65 "*Διὸ δὴ καὶ ἐνυπάρχουσα ἡ ψυχὴ οὐδέποτε ἄλλου τινὸς μέρους ἀπηλλαγμένου ἀναισθητεῖ· ἀλλ' ἃ ἂν καὶ ταύτης ξυναπόληται τοῦ στεγάζοντος λυθέντος εἴθ' ὅλου εἴτε καὶ μέρους τινός, ἐάν περ διαμένῃ, ἕξει*[3] *τὴν αἴσθησιν. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἄθροισμα διαμένον καὶ ὅλον καὶ κατὰ μέρος οὐκ ἔχει τὴν αἴ-*

[1] "Haud scio an *τούτῳ* sit pro *διὰ τοῦτο*" Schneider.
[2] *ἑτέρῳ ἅ. συγγεγενημένῳ* codd.: corr. Us.
[3] *ἕξει* Us.: *ὀξὺ* codd.

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[a] The so-called "nameless" substance (*nominis expers* Lucr. iii. 242, *ἀκατονόμαστον* in Epicurus).

[b] The body, by keeping soul-atoms together without much dispersion, allows them to vibrate with the motions that generate sentience and sensation.

[c] Since the participle *στεγάζον* is also found in the plural (*στεγάζοντα*), it seems best to assume with Bignone that the

its particles and thereby keeps in closer touch with the rest of the frame.[a] And this is shown by the mental faculties and feelings, by the ease with which the mind moves, and by thoughts, and by all those things the loss of which causes death. Further, we must keep in mind that soul has the greatest share in causing sensation. Still, it would not have had sensation, had it not been somehow confined within the rest of the frame. But the rest of the frame, though it provides this indispensable condition[b] for the soul, itself also has a share, derived from the soul, of the said quality; and yet does not possess all the qualities of soul. Hence on the departure of the soul it loses sentience. For it had not this power in itself; but something else, congenital with the body, supplied it to body: which other thing, through the potentiality actualized in it by means of motion, at once acquired for itself a quality of sentience, and, in virtue of the neighbourhood and interconnexion between them, imparted it (as I said) to the body also.

"Hence, so long as the soul is in the body, it never loses sentience through the removal of some other part. The containing sheath[c] may be dislocated in whole or in part, and portions of the soul may thereby be lost; yet in spite of this the soul, if it manage to survive, will have sentience. But the rest of the frame, whether the whole of it survives or only a part, no longer has sensation, when once those atoms

whole frame is regarded as the sum of parts, each of which serves as the envelope, sheath, or container of some part of the soul. Thus the loss of a limb is not fatal to life, because the rest of the frame has served in its capacity of envelope to preserve a sufficient number of soul-atoms in working order.

σθησιν ἐκείνου ἀπηλλαγμένου, ὅσον ποτέ ἐστι τὸ συντεῖνον τῶν ἀτόμων πλῆθος εἰς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς φύσιν. καὶ μὴν καὶ λυομένου τοῦ ὅλου ἀθροίσματος ἡ ψυχὴ διασπείρεται καὶ οὐκέτι ἔχει τὰς αὐτὰς δυνάμεις οὐδὲ κινεῖται, ὥσπερ οὐδ' αἴσθησιν κέκτηται.

66 *"Οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε νοεῖν αὐτὸ αἰσθανόμενον μὴ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ συστήματι καὶ ταῖς κινήσεσι ταύταις χρώμενον, ὅταν τὰ στεγάζοντα καὶ περιέχοντα μὴ τοιαῦτα ᾖ, ἐν οἷς νῦν οὖσα ἔχει ταύτας τὰς κινήσεις. [λέγει ἐν ἄλλοις καὶ ἐξ ἀτόμων αὐτὴν συγκεῖσθαι λειοτάτων καὶ στρογγυλωτάτων, πολλῷ τινι διαφερουσῶν τῶν τοῦ πυρός· καὶ τὸ μέν τι ἄλογον αὐτῆς, ὃ τῷ λοιπῷ παρεσπάρθαι σώματι· τὸ δὲ λογικὸν ἐν τῷ θώρακι, ὡς δῆλον ἔκ τε τῶν φόβων καὶ τῆς χαρᾶς. ὕπνον τε γίνεσθαι τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς μερῶν τῶν παρ' ὅλην τὴν σύγκρισιν παρεσπαρμένων ἐγκατεχομένων ἢ διαφορουμένων, εἶτα συμπιπτόντων τοῖς ἐπερεισμοῖς.[1] τό τε σπέρμα ἀφ' ὅλων τῶν σωμάτων φέρεσθαι.]*

67 *"Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τόδε γε δεῖ προσκατανοεῖν, ὅ τι τὸ ἀσώματον λέγομεν κατὰ τὴν πλείστην ὁμιλίαν τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐπὶ τοῦ καθ' ἑαυτὸ νοηθέντος ἄν· καθ' ἑαυτὸ δὲ οὐκ ἔστι νοῆσαι τὸ ἀσώματον πλὴν τοῦ κενοῦ. τὸ δὲ κενὸν οὔτε ποιῆσαι οὔτε παθεῖν δύναται, ἀλλὰ κίνησιν μόνον δι' ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς σώμασι παρέχεται. ὥστε οἱ λέγοντες ἀσώματον*

[1] *ἐπερεισμοῖς* Us. : *ποργμοῖς* codd.

[a] *Cf.* Lucr. ii. 944-962.

have departed, which, however few in number, are required to constitute the nature of soul. Moreover, when the whole frame is broken up,[a] the soul is scattered and has no longer the same powers as before, nor the same motions; hence it does not possess sentience either.

"For we cannot think of it[b] as sentient, except it be in this composite whole and moving with these movements; nor can we so think of it when the sheaths which enclose and surround it are not the same as those in which the soul is now located and in which it performs these movements. [*He says elsewhere that the soul is composed of the smoothest and roundest of atoms, far superior in both respects to those of fire; that part of it is irrational, this being scattered over the rest of the frame, while the rational part resides in the chest, as is manifest from our fears and our joy; that sleep occurs when the parts of the soul which have been scattered all over the composite organism are held fast in it or dispersed, and afterwards collide with one another by their impacts. The semen is derived from the whole of the body.*]

"There is the further point to be considered, what the incorporeal can be, if, I mean, according to current usage the term is applied to what can be conceived as self-existent.[c] But it is impossible to conceive anything that is incorporeal as self-existent except empty space. And empty space cannot itself either act or be acted upon, but simply allows body to move through it. Hence those who call soul in-

[b] It = the soul, the logical subject, the neuter replacing the more appropriate feminine pronoun.

[c] Or, if ὅτι τὸ ἀσώματον λέγομεν be read, "that according to current usage we apply the term *incorporeal* to that which can be conceived as self-existent."

εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν ματαΐζουσιν. οὐθὲν γὰρ ἂν ἐδύνατο ποιεῖν οὔτε πάσχειν, εἰ ἦν τοιαύτη· νῦν δ' ἐναργῶς ἀμφότερα ταῦτα διαλαμβάνεται περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τὰ συμπτώματα.

68 "Ταῦτα οὖν πάντα τὰ διαλογίσματα τὰ περὶ ψυχῆς ἀνάγων τις ἐπὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις, μνημονεύων τῶν ἐν ἀρχῇ ῥηθέντων, ἱκανῶς κατόψεται τοῖς τύποις ἐμπεριειλημμένα εἰς τὸ κατὰ μέρος ἀπὸ τούτων ἐξακριβοῦσθαι βεβαίως.

"Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰ σχήματα καὶ τὰ χρώματα καὶ τὰ μεγέθη καὶ τὰ βάρη καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα κατηγορεῖται σώματος ὡσανεὶ συμβεβηκότα ἢ πᾶσιν ἢ τοῖς ὁρατοῖς καὶ κατὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν αὐτὴν γνωστά,[1] οὔθ' ὡς καθ' ἑαυτάς εἰσι φύσεις δοξαστέον—οὐ γὰρ
69 δυνατὸν ἐπινοῆσαι τοῦτο—οὔτε ὅλως ὡς οὐκ εἰσίν, οὔθ' ὡς ἕτερ' ἄττα προσυπάρχοντα τούτῳ ἀσώματα, οὔθ' ὡς μόρια τούτου, ἀλλ' ὡς τὸ ὅλον σῶμα καθόλου ἐκ τούτων πάντων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ἔχον ἀΐδιον, οὐχ οἷον δὲ εἶναι συμπεφορημένον—ὥσπερ ὅταν ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ὄγκων μεῖζον ἄθροισμα συστῇ ἤτοι τῶν πρώτων ἢ τῶν τοῦ ὅλου μεγεθῶν τοῦδέ τινος ἐλαττόνων,—ἀλλὰ μονον, ὡς λέγω, ἐκ τούτων ἁπάντων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ἔχον ἀΐδιον. καὶ ἐπιβολὰς μὲν ἔχοντα ἰδίας πάντα ταῦτά ἐστι καὶ διαλήψεις, συμπαρακολουθοῦντος δὲ τοῦ ἀθρόου καὶ οὐθαμῇ ἀποσχιζομένου, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀθρόαν ἔννοιαν τοῦ σώματος κατηγορίαν εἰληφότος.

70 "Καὶ μὴν καὶ τοῖς σώμασι συμπίπτει πολλάκις

[1] γνωστοῖς codd.: corr. Us.

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[a] *Cf.* Lucr. i. 449 f.; Sext. Emp. *Adv. math.* x. §§ 221-223.
[b] *Cf.* Lucr. i. 478-482.

corporeal speak foolishly. For if it were so, it could neither act nor be acted upon. But, as it is, both these properties, you see, plainly belong to soul.

"If, then, we bring all these arguments concerning soul to the criterion of our feelings and perceptions, and if we keep in mind the proposition stated at the outset, we shall see that the subject has been adequately comprehended in outline: which will enable us to determine the details with accuracy and confidence.

"Moreover, shapes and colours, magnitudes and weights, and in short all those qualities which are predicated of body, in so far as they are perpetual properties either of all bodies or of visible bodies, are knowable by sensation of these very properties: these, I say, must not be supposed to exist independently by themselves [a] (for that is inconceivable), nor yet to be non-existent, nor to be some other and incorporeal entities cleaving to body,[b] nor again to be parts of body. We must consider the whole body in a general way to derive its permanent nature from all of them, though it is not, as it were, formed by grouping them together in the same way as when from the particles themselves a larger aggregate is made up, whether these particles be primary or any magnitudes whatsoever less than the particular whole. All these qualities, I repeat, merely give the body its own permanent nature. They all have their own characteristic modes of being perceived and distinguished, but always along with the whole body in which they inhere and never in separation from it; and it is in virtue of this complete conception of the body as a whole that it is so designated.

"Again, qualities often attach to bodies without

καὶ οὐκ ἀΐδιον παρακολουθεῖν οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς ἀοράτοις[1] *καὶ οὔτε ἀσώματα. ὥστε δὴ κατὰ τὴν πλείστην φορὰν τούτῳ τῷ ὀνόματι χρώμενοι φανερὰ ποιοῦμεν τὰ συμπτώματα οὔτε τὴν τοῦ ὅλου φύσιν ἔχειν, ὃ συλλαβόντες κατὰ τὸ ἀθρόον σῶμα προσαγορεύομεν, οὔτε τὴν τῶν ἀΐδιον παρακολουθούντων, ὧν ἄνευ σῶμα οὐ δυνατὸν νοεῖσθαι. κατ' ἐπιβολὰς δ' ἄν τινας παρακολουθοῦντος τοῦ ἀθρόου*
71 *ἕκαστα προσαγορευθείη, ἀλλ' ὅτε δήποτε ἕκαστα συμβαίνοντα θεωρεῖται, οὐκ ἀΐδιον τῶν συμπτωμάτων παρακολουθούντων. καὶ οὐκ ἐξελατέον ἐκ τοῦ ὄντος ταύτην τὴν ἐνάργειαν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔχει τὴν τοῦ ὅλου φύσιν ᾧ συμβαίνει ὃ δὴ καὶ σῶμα προσαγορεύομεν, οὐδὲ τὴν τῶν ἀΐδιον παρακολουθούντων, οὐδ' αὖ καθ' αὑτὰ νομιστέον—οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτο διανοητὸν οὔτ' ἐπὶ τούτων οὔτ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀΐδιον συμβεβηκότων,—ἀλλ' ὅπερ καὶ φαίνεται, συμπτώματα πάντα* <*κατὰ*> *τὰ σώματα νομιστέον, καὶ οὐκ ἀΐδιον παρακολουθοῦντα οὐδ' αὖ φύσεως καθ' ἑαυτὰ τάγμα ἔχοντα, ἀλλ' ὃν τρόπον αὐτὴ ἡ αἴσθησις τὴν ἰδιότητα ποιεῖ, θεωρεῖται.*

72 "Καὶ *μὴν καὶ τόδε γε δεῖ προσκατανοῆσαι σφοδρῶς· τὸν γὰρ δὴ χρόνον οὐ ζητητέον ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ λοιπά, ὅσα ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ ζητοῦμεν ἀνάγοντες ἐπὶ τὰς βλεπομένας παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς προλήψεις, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ ἐνάργημα, καθ' ὃ τὸν πολὺν ἢ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀναφωνοῦμεν, συγγενικῶς τοῦτο περιφέροντες, ἀναλογιστέον. καὶ οὔτε διαλέκτους*

[1] <*καὶ ἀναισθήτοις δοξαστέον εἶναι*> suppl. Bignone.

[a] *Cf.* Lucr. i. 455 f., where slavery, poverty, riches, war and peace are the examples chosen, as elsewhere are rest and motion.

[b] *Cf.* Sext. Emp. *Adv. math.* x. §§ 219 f., 224 f., 240-244.

being permanent concomitants. They are not to be classed among invisible entities nor are they incorporeal. Hence, using the term 'accidents'[a] in the commonest sense, we say plainly that 'accidents' have not the nature of the whole thing to which they belong, and to which, conceiving it as a whole, we give the name of body, nor that of the permanent properties without which body cannot be thought of. And in virtue of certain peculiar modes of apprehension into which the complete body always enters, each of them can be called an accident. But only as often as they are seen actually to belong to it, since such accidents are not perpetual concomitants. There is no need to banish from reality this clear evidence that the accident has not the nature of that whole—by us called body—to which it belongs, nor of the permanent properties which accompany the whole. Nor, on the other hand, must we suppose the accident to have independent existence (for this is just as inconceivable in the case of accidents as in that of the permanent properties); but, as is manifest, they should all be regarded as accidents, not as permanent concomitants, of bodies, nor yet as having the rank of independent existence. Rather they are seen to be exactly as and what sensation itself makes them individually claim to be.

"There is another thing which we must consider carefully. We must not investigate time as we do the other accidents which we investigate in a subject, namely, by referring them to the preconceptions envisaged in our minds; but we must take into account the plain fact itself, in virtue of which we speak of time as long or short, linking to it in intimate connexion this attribute of duration.[b] We need not

ὡς βελτίους μεταληπτέον, ἀλλ' αὐταῖς ταῖς ὑπαρχούσαις κατ' αὐτοῦ χρηστέον, οὔτε ἄλλο τι κατ' αὐτοῦ κατηγορητέον, ὡς τὴν αὐτὴν οὐσίαν ἔχοντος τῷ ἰδιώματι τούτῳ—καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ποιοῦσί τινες,—ἀλλὰ μόνον ᾧ συμπλέκομεν τὸ ἴδιον τοῦτο καὶ
73 παραμετροῦμεν, μάλιστα ἐπιλογιστέον. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀποδείξεως προσδεῖται ἀλλ' ἐπιλογισμοῦ, ὅτι ταῖς ἡμέραις καὶ ταῖς νυξὶ συμπλέκομεν καὶ τοῖς τούτων μέρεσιν, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοῖς πάθεσι καὶ ταῖς ἀπαθείαις, καὶ κινήσεσι καὶ στάσεσιν, ἴδιόν τι σύμπτωμα περὶ ταῦτα πάλιν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐννοοῦντες, καθ' ὃ χρόνον ὀνομάζομεν. [φησὶ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ Περὶ φύσεως καὶ ἐν τῇ Μεγάλῃ ἐπιτομῇ.]

"Ἐπί τε τοῖς προειρημένοις τοὺς κόσμους δεῖ καὶ πᾶσαν σύγκρισιν πεπερασμένην τὸ ὁμοειδὲς τοῖς θεωρουμένοις πυκνῶς ἔχουσαν νομίζειν γεγονέναι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπείρου, πάντων τούτων ἐκ συστροφῶν ἰδίων ἀποκεκριμένων καὶ μειζόνων καὶ ἐλαττόνων· καὶ πάλιν διαλύεσθαι πάντα, τὰ μὲν θᾶττον, τὰ δὲ βραδύτερον, καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν τοιῶνδε, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν τοιῶνδε τοῦτο πάσχοντα. [δῆλον οὖν ὡς καὶ φθαρτούς φησι τοὺς κόσμους, μεταβαλλόντων τῶν μερῶν. καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τὴν γῆν τῷ ἀέρι ἐποχεῖσθαι.]

74 "Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς κόσμους οὔτε ἐξ ἀνάγκης δεῖ νομίζειν ἕνα σχηματισμὸν ἔχοντας * * [ἀλλὰ καὶ διαφόρους αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ιβ' Περὶ φύσεως αὐτός φησιν· οὓς μὲν γὰρ σφαιροειδεῖς, καὶ ᾠοειδεῖς ἄλλους, καὶ ἀλλοιοσχήμονας ἑτέρους· οὐ

adopt any fresh terms as preferable, but should employ the usual expressions about it. Nor need we predicate anything else of time, as if this something else contained the same essence as is contained in the proper meaning of the word 'time' (for this also is done by some). We must chiefly reflect upon that to which we attach this peculiar character of time, and by which we measure it. No further proof is required: we have only to reflect that we attach the attribute of time to days and nights and their parts, and likewise to feelings of pleasure and pain and to neutral states, to states of movement and states of rest, conceiving a peculiar accident of these to be this very characteristic which we express by the word 'time.' [*He says this both in the second book "On Nature" and in the Larger Epitome.*]

"After the foregoing we have next to consider that the worlds and every finite aggregate which bears a strong resemblance to things we commonly see have arisen out of the infinite.[a] For all these, whether small or great, have been separated off from special conglomerations of atoms; and all things are again dissolved,[b] some faster, some slower, some through the action of one set of causes, others through the action of another. [*It is clear, then, that he also makes the worlds perishable, as their parts are subject to change. Elsewhere he says the earth is supported on the air.*]

"And further, we must not suppose that the worlds have necessarily one and the same shape. [*On the contrary, in the twelfth book "On Nature" he himself says that the shapes of the worlds differ, some being spherical, some oval, others again of shapes different*

[a] *Cf.* Lucr. ii. 1048-1089.

[b] *Cf.* Lucr. ii. 1144, 1145; Stob. *Ecl.* i. 20, 172 W.

μέντοι πᾶν σχῆμα ἔχειν. οὐδὲ ζῷα εἶναι ἀποκριθέντα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπείρου.] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἀποδείξειεν οὐδείς, ὡς <ἐν>[1] μὲν τῷ τοιούτῳ καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐμπεριελήφθη τὰ τοιαῦτα σπέρματα, ἐξ ὧν ζῷά τε καὶ φυτὰ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα <τὰ>[2] θεωρούμενα συνίσταται, ἐν δὲ τῷ τοιούτῳ οὐκ ἂν ἐδυνήθη. [ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἐντραφῆναι. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς νομιστέον.]

75 "Ἀλλὰ μὴν ὑποληπτέον καὶ τὴν φύσιν πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα ὑπὸ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων διδαχθῆναί τε καὶ ἀναγκασθῆναι· τὸν δὲ λογισμὸν τὰ ὑπὸ ταύτης παρεγγυηθέντα ὕστερον ἐπακριβοῦν καὶ προσεξευρίσκειν ἐν μὲν τισὶ θᾶττον, ἐν δὲ τισὶ βραδύτερον καὶ ἐν μὲν τισὶ περιόδοις καὶ χρόνοις <μείζους λαμβάνειν ἐπιδόσεις>,[3] ἐν δὲ τισὶ καὶ ἐλάττους.

"Ὅθεν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὴ θέσει γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτὰς τὰς φύσεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων καθ' ἕκαστα ἔθνη ἴδια πάσχουσας πάθη καὶ ἴδια λαμβανούσας φαντάσματα ἰδίως τὸν ἀέρα ἐκπέμπειν στελλόμενον ὑφ' ἑκάστων τῶν παθῶν καὶ τῶν φαντασμάτων, ὡς ἄν ποτε καὶ ἡ παρὰ τοὺς τόπους τῶν ἐθνῶν
76 διαφορὰ ᾖ[4]· ὕστερον δὲ κοινῶς καθ' ἕκαστα ἔθνη τὰ ἴδια τεθῆναι πρὸς τὸ τὰς δηλώσεις ἧττον ἀμφιβόλους γενέσθαι ἀλλήλοις καὶ συντομωτέρως δηλουμένας· τινὰ δὲ καὶ οὐ συνορώμενα πράγματα εἰσφέροντας τοὺς συνειδότας παρεγγυῆσαί τινας

[1] Suppl. Gassendi. [2] Suppl. Schneider.
[3] Suppl. Us., expulso glossemate ἀποτομὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπείρου.
[4] εἴη codd. : corr. Us.

from these. They do not, however, admit of every shape. Nor are they living beings which have been separated from the infinite.] For nobody can prove that in one sort of world there might not be contained, whereas in another sort of world there could not possibly be, the seeds out of which animals and plants arise and all the rest of the things we see. [*And the same holds good for their nurture in a world after they have arisen. And so too we must think it happens upon the earth also.*]

"Again, we must suppose that nature[a] too has been taught and forced to learn many various lessons by the facts themselves, that reason subsequently develops what it has thus received and makes fresh discoveries, among some tribes more quickly, among others more slowly, the progress thus made being at certain times and seasons greater, at others less.

"Hence even the names of things were not originally due to convention,[b] but in the several tribes under the impulse of special feelings and special presentations of sense primitive man uttered special cries.[c] The air thus emitted was moulded by their individual feelings or sense-presentations, and differently according to the difference of the regions which the tribes inhabited. Subsequently whole tribes adopted their own special names, in order that their communications might be less ambiguous to each other and more briefly expressed. And as for things not visible, so far as those who were conscious of them tried to introduce any such notion, they put in circulation certain names for them, either sounds which they

[a] That is, nature working in primitive man, almost the same thing as instinct.

[b] *Cf.* Lucr. v. 1041 f. Heraclitus, Democritus, and Aristotle derived language from convention.

[c] *Cf.* Lucr. v. 1028, 1029, 1056-1058.

φθόγγους ἀναγκασθέντας ἀναφωνῆσαι, τοὺς δὲ τῷ λογισμῷ ἑλομένους[1] *κατὰ τὴν πλείστην αἰτίαν οὕτως ἑρμηνεῦσαι.*

"Καὶ *μὴν ἐν τοῖς μετεώροις φορὰν καὶ τροπὴν καὶ ἔκλειψιν καὶ ἀνατολὴν καὶ δύσιν καὶ τὰ σύστοιχα τούτοις μήτε λειτουργοῦντός τινος νομίζειν δεῖ γενέσθαι καὶ διατάττοντος ἢ διατάξοντος καὶ ἅμα τὴν πᾶσαν μακαριότητα ἔχοντος μετ'*
77 *ἀφθαρσίας (οὐ γὰρ συμφωνοῦσιν πραγματεῖαι καὶ φροντίδες καὶ ὀργαὶ καὶ χάριτες μακαριότητι, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ καὶ φόβῳ καὶ προσδεήσει τῶν πλησίον ταῦτα γίγνεται), μήτε αὖ πυρὸς ἀνάμματα συνεστραμμένου τὴν μακαριότητα κεκτημένα κατὰ βούλησιν τὰς κινήσεις ταύτας λαμβάνειν· ἀλλὰ πᾶν τὸ σέμνωμα τηρεῖν, κατὰ πάντα ὀνόματα φερόμενον ἐπὶ τὰς τοιαύτας ἐννοίας, ἵνα*[2] *μηδ' ὑπεναντίαι ἐξ αὐτῶν* <*γένωνται*> *τῷ σεμνώματι δόξαι· εἰ δὲ μή, τὸν μέγιστον τάραχον ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς αὐτὴ ἡ ὑπεναντιότης παρασκευάσει. ὅθεν δὴ κατὰ τὰς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐναπολήψεις τῶν συστροφῶν τούτων ἐν τῇ τοῦ κόσμου γενέσει δεῖ δοξάζειν καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην ταύτην καὶ περίοδον συντελεῖσθαι.*

78 "Καὶ *μὴν καὶ τὸ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν κυριωτάτων αἰτίαν ἐξακριβῶσαι φυσιολογίας ἔργον εἶναι δεῖ νομίζειν, καὶ τὸ μακάριον ἐνταῦθα πεπτωκέναι καὶ ἐν τῷ τίνες φύσεις αἱ θεωρούμεναι κατὰ τὰ μετέωρα ταυτί, καὶ ὅσα συντείνει πρὸς τὴν εἰς τοῦτο ἀκρίβειαν.*

[1] *ἑπομένους* Schneider.
[2] *ἐὰν* codd.: corr. Us.

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[a] See Bignone, p. 107 note 3.
[b] *i.e.* to secure the end of happiness.

were instinctively compelled to utter or which they selected by reason on analogy according to the most general cause there can be for expressing oneself in such a way.[a]

"Nay more: we are bound to believe that in the sky revolutions, solstices, eclipses, risings and settings, and the like, take place without the ministration or command, either now or in the future, of any being who at the same time enjoys perfect bliss along with immortality. For troubles and anxieties and feelings of anger and partiality do not accord with bliss, but always imply weakness and fear and dependence upon one's neighbours. Nor, again, must we hold that things which are no more than globular masses of fire, being at the same time endowed with bliss, assume these motions at will. Nay, in every term we use we must hold fast to all the majesty which attaches to such notions as bliss and immortality, lest the terms should generate opinions inconsistent with this majesty. Otherwise such inconsistency will of itself suffice to produce the worst disturbance in our minds. Hence, where we find phenomena invariably recurring, the invariableness of the recurrence must be ascribed to the original interception and conglomeration of atoms whereby the world was formed.

"Further, we must hold that to arrive at accurate knowledge of the cause of things of most moment is the business of natural science, and that happiness depends on this (viz. on the knowledge of celestial and atmospheric phenomena), and upon knowing what the heavenly bodies really are, and any kindred facts contributing to exact knowledge in this respect.[b]

"Ἔτι τε οὐ τὸ πλεοναχῶς ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον καὶ ἄλλως πως ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς μὴ εἶναι ἐν ἀφθάρτῳ καὶ μακαρίᾳ φύσει τῶν διάκρισιν ὑποβαλλόντων ἢ τάραχον· μηθέν· καὶ τοῦτο καταλαβεῖν τῇ διανοίᾳ ἔστιν ἁπλῶς εἶναι.

79 "Τὸ δ' ἐν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ πεπτωκός, τῆς δύσεως καὶ ἀνατολῆς καὶ τροπῆς καὶ ἐκλείψεως καὶ ὅσα συγγενῆ τούτοις μηθὲν ἔτι πρὸς τὸ μακάριον τὰς γνώσεις συντείνειν, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως τοὺς φόβους ἔχειν τοὺς ταῦτα κατειδότας, τίνες δ' αἱ φύσεις ἀγνοοῦντας καὶ τίνες αἱ κυριώταται αἰτίαι, καὶ εἰ μὴ προσῄδεισαν ταῦτα· τάχα δὲ καὶ πλείους, ὅταν τὸ θάμβος ἐκ τῆς τούτων προσκατανοήσεως μὴ δύνηται τὴν λύσιν λαμβάνειν καὶ τὴν περὶ τῶν κυριωτάτων οἰκονομίαν.

"Διὸ δὴ κἂν[1] πλείους αἰτίας εὑρίσκωμεν τροπῶν καὶ δύσεων καὶ ἀνατολῶν καὶ ἐκλείψεων καὶ τῶν τοιουτοτρόπων, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ μέρος
80 γινομένοις ἦν, οὐ δεῖ νομίζειν τὴν ὑπὲρ τούτων χρείαν ἀκρίβειαν μὴ ἀπειληφέναι, ὅση πρὸς τὸ ἀτάραχον καὶ μακάριον ἡμῶν συντείνει. ὥστε παραθεωροῦντας ποσαχῶς παρ' ἡμῖν τὸ ὅμοιον γίνεται, αἰτιολογητέον ὑπέρ τε τῶν μετεώρων καὶ παντὸς τοῦ ἀδήλου, καταφρονοῦντας τῶν οὔτε τὸ μοναχῶς ἔχον ἢ γινόμενον γνωριζόντων οὔτε τὸ πλεοναχῶς συμβαῖνον, τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἀποστημάτων φαντασίαν παριδόντων,[2] ἔτι τε ἀγνοούντων καὶ ἐν ποίοις οὐκ ἔστιν ἀταρακτῆσαι <καὶ ἐν ποίοις

[1] καὶ codd.: corr. Us.
[2] παραδιδόντων codd.: corr. Us.

"Further, we must recognize on such points as this no plurality of causes or contingency, but must hold that nothing suggestive of conflict or disquiet is compatible with an immortal and blessed nature. And the mind can grasp the absolute truth of this.

"But when we come to subjects for special inquiry, there is nothing in the knowledge of risings and settings and solstices and eclipses and all kindred subjects that contributes to our happiness; but those who are well-informed about such matters and yet are ignorant what the heavenly bodies really are, and what are the most important causes of phenomena, feel quite as much fear as those who have no such special information—nay, perhaps even greater fear, when the curiosity excited by this additional knowledge cannot find a solution or understand the subordination of these phenomena to the highest causes.

"Hence, if we discover more than one cause that may account for solstices, settings and risings, eclipses and the like, as we did also in particular matters of detail, we must not suppose that our treatment of these matters fails of accuracy, so far as it is needful to ensure our tranquillity and happiness. When, therefore, we investigate the causes of celestial and atmospheric phenomena, as of all that is unknown, we must take into account the variety of ways in which analogous occurrences happen within our experience; while as for those who do not recognize the difference between what is or comes about from a single cause and that which may be the effect of any one of several causes, overlooking the fact that the objects are only seen at a distance, and are moreover ignorant of the conditions that render, or do not render, peace of mind impossible

ὁμοίως ἀταρακτῆσαι.>[1] ἂν οὖν οἰώμεθα καὶ ὡδί πως ἐνδεχόμενον αὐτὸ γίνεσθαι, αὐτὸ τὸ ὅτι πλεοναχῶς γίνεται γνωρίζοντες, ὥσπερ κἂν ὅτι ὡδί πως γίνεται εἴδωμεν, ἀταρακτήσομεν.

81 " Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὅλως ἅπασιν ἐκεῖνο δεῖ κατανοεῖν, ὅτι τάραχος ὁ κυριώτατος ταῖς ἀνθρωπίναις ψυχαῖς γίνεται ἐν τῷ ταῦτά τε μακάρια δοξάζειν <εἶναι>[2] καὶ ἄφθαρτα, καὶ ὑπεναντίας ἔχειν τούτῳ βουλήσεις ἅμα καὶ πράξεις καὶ αἰτίας, καὶ ἐν τῷ αἰώνιόν τι δεινὸν ἀεὶ προσδοκᾶν ἢ ὑποπτεύειν κατὰ τοὺς μύθους εἴ τε καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ἀναισθησίαν τὴν ἐν τῷ τεθνάναι φοβουμένους ὥσπερ οὖσαν κατ' αὐτούς, καὶ ἐν τῷ μὴ δόξαις ταῦτα πάσχειν ἀλλ' ἀλόγῳ γέ τινι παραστάσει, ὅθεν μὴ ὁρίζοντας τὸ δεινὸν τὴν ἴσην ἢ καὶ ἐπιτεταμένην ταραχὴν
82 λαμβάνειν τῷ εἰκαίως δοξάζοντι[3] ταῦτα· ἡ δὲ ἀταραξία τὸ τούτων πάντων ἀπολελύσθαι καὶ συνεχῆ μνήμην ἔχειν τῶν ὅλων καὶ κυριωτάτων.

" Ὅθεν τοῖς πάθεσι προσεκτέον τοῖς παροῦσι, κατὰ μὲν τὸ κοινὸν ταῖς κοιναῖς, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἴδιον ταῖς ἰδίαις, καὶ πάσῃ τῇ παρούσῃ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν κριτηρίων ἐναργείᾳ. ἂν γὰρ τούτοις προσέχωμεν, τὸ ὅθεν ὁ τάραχος καὶ ὁ φόβος ἐγίνετο ἐξαιτιολογήσομεν ὀρθῶς καὶ ἀπολύσομεν, ὑπέρ τε μετεώρων αἰτιολογοῦντες καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν ἀεὶ παρεμπιπτόντων, ὅσα φοβεῖ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐσχάτως.

" Ταῦτά σοι, ὦ Ἡρόδοτε, ἔστι κεφαλαιωδέστατα

[1] huc transtulit V.d.M. [2] Suppl. Us.
[3] εἰ καὶ ἐδόξαζον codd.: corr. Us.

—all such persons we must treat with contempt. If then we think that an event could happen in one or other particular way out of several, we shall be as tranquil when we recognize that it actually comes about in more ways than one as if we knew that it happens in this particular way.

"There is yet one more point to seize, namely, that the greatest anxiety of the human mind arises through the belief that the heavenly bodies are blessed and indestructible, and that at the same time they have volitions and actions and causality inconsistent with this belief; and through expecting or apprehending some everlasting evil, either because of the myths, or because we are in dread of the mere insensibility of death, as if it had to do with us; and through being reduced to this state not by conviction but by a certain irrational perversity, so that, if men do not set bounds to their terror, they endure as much or even more intense anxiety than the man whose views on these matters are quite vague. But mental tranquillity means being released from all these troubles and cherishing a continual remembrance of the highest and most important truths.

"Hence we must attend to present feelings and sense perceptions, whether those of mankind in general or those peculiar to the individual, and also attend to all the clear evidence available, as given by each of the standards of truth. For by studying them we shall rightly trace to its cause and banish the source of disturbance and dread, accounting for celestial phenomena and for all other things which from time to time befall us and cause the utmost alarm to the rest of mankind.

"Here then, Herodotus, you have the chief doctrines

ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ὅλων φύσεως ἐπιτετμημένα.
83 ὥστ᾽ ἐὰν γένηται δυνατὸς ὁ λόγος οὗτος κατασχεθεὶς μετ᾽ ἀκριβείας, οἶμαι, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντα βαδίσῃ τις τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀκριβωμάτων, ἀσύμβλητον αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνθρώπους ἁδρότητα λήψεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ καθαρὰ ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ ποιήσει πολλὰ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἐξακριβουμένων κατὰ τὴν ὅλην πραγματείαν ἡμῖν, καὶ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐν μνήμῃ τιθέμενα συνεχῶς βοηθήσει.

" Τοιαῦτα γάρ ἐστιν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς κατὰ μέρος ἤδη ἐξακριβοῦντας ἱκανῶς ἢ καὶ τελείως, εἰς τὰς τοιαύτας ἀναλύοντας ἐπιβολάς, τὰς πλείστας τῶν περιοδειῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὅλης φύσεως ποιεῖσθαι· ὅσοι δὲ μὴ παντελῶς τῶν ἀποτελουμένων εἰσίν,[1] ἐκ τούτων καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἄνευ φθόγγων τρόπον τὴν ἅμα νοήματι περίοδον τῶν κυριωτάτων πρὸς γαληνισμὸν ποιοῦνται."

Καὶ ἥδε μέν ἐστιν αὐτῷ ἐπιστολὴ περὶ τῶν φυσικῶν. περὶ δὲ τῶν μετεώρων ἥδε.

" Ἐπίκουρος Πυθοκλεῖ χαίρειν.

84 " Ἤνεγκέ μοι Κλέων ἐπιστολὴν παρά σου, ἐν ᾗ φιλοφρονούμενός τε περὶ ἡμᾶς διετέλεις ἀξίως τῆς ἡμετέρας περὶ σεαυτὸν σπουδῆς καὶ οὐκ ἀπιθάνως ἐπειρῶ μνημονεύειν τῶν εἰς μακάριον βίον συντεινόντων διαλογισμῶν, ἐδέου τε σεαυτῷ περὶ τῶν μετεώρων σύντομον καὶ εὐπερίγραφον διαλογισμὸν ἀποστεῖλαι, ἵνα ῥᾳδίως μνημονεύῃς· τὰ γὰρ ἐν ἄλλοις ἡμῖν γεγραμμένα δυσμνημόνευτα εἶναι, καί τοι, ὡς ἔφης, συνεχῶς αὐτὰ βαστάζεις.[2] ἡμεῖς δὲ ἡδέως τέ σου τὴν δέησιν ἀπεδεξάμεθα καὶ

[1] *εἰσὶν* post *ἐκ τούτων* codd. : corr. Kuehn.
[2] *βαστάζειν* codd. : *βαστάζοντι* Us.

of Physics in the form of a summary. So that, if this statement be accurately retained and take effect, a man will, I make no doubt, be incomparably better equipped than his fellows, even if he should never go into all the exact details. For he will clear up for himself many of the points which I have worked out in detail in my complete exposition; and the summary itself, if borne in mind, will be of constant service to him.

"It is of such a sort that those who are already tolerably, or even perfectly, well acquainted with the details can, by analysis of what they know into such elementary perceptions as these, best prosecute their researches in physical science as a whole; while those, on the other hand, who are not altogether entitled to rank as mature students can in silent fashion and as quick as thought run over the doctrines most important for their peace of mind."

Such is his epistle on Physics. Next comes the epistle on Celestial Phenomena.

"Epicurus to Pythocles, greeting.

"In your letter to me, of which Cleon was the bearer, you continue to show me affection which I have merited by my devotion to you, and you try, not without success, to recall the considerations which make for a happy life. To aid your memory you ask me for a clear and concise statement respecting celestial phenomena; for what we have written on this subject elsewhere is, you tell me, hard to remember, although you have my books constantly with you. I was glad to receive your request and

85 ἐλπίσιν ἡδείαις συνεσχέθημεν. γράψαντες οὖν τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα συντελοῦμεν ἅπερ ἠξίωσας πολλοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις ἐσόμενα χρήσιμα τὰ διαλογίσματα ταῦτα, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς νεωστὶ φυσιολογίας γνησίου γεγευμένοις καὶ τοῖς εἰς ἀσχολίας βαθυτέρας τῶν ἐγκυκλίων τινὸς ἐμπεπλεγμένοις. καλῶς δὴ αὐτὰ διάλαβε, καὶ διὰ μνήμης ἔχων ὀξέως αὐτὰ περιόδευε μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ὧν ἐν τῇ μικρᾷ ἐπιτομῇ πρὸς Ἡρόδοτον ἀπεστείλαμεν.

"Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν μὴ ἄλλο τι τέλος ἐκ[1] τῆς περὶ μετεώρων γνώσεως εἴτε κατὰ συναφὴν λεγομένων εἴτε αὐτοτελῶς νομίζειν εἶναι ἤπερ ἀταραξίαν καὶ πίστιν βέβαιον, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν.
86 μήτε τὸ ἀδύνατον παραβιάζεσθαι μήτε ὁμοίαν κατὰ πάντα τὴν θεωρίαν ἔχειν ἢ τοῖς περὶ βίων λόγοις ἢ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων φυσικῶν προβλημάτων κάθαρσιν, οἷον ὅτι τὸ πᾶν σώματα καὶ ἀναφὴς φύσις ἐστίν, ἢ ὅτι ἄτομα <τὰ>[2] στοιχεῖα, καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ὅσα μοναχὴν ἔχει τοῖς φαινομένοις συμφωνίαν· ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῶν μετεώρων οὐχ ὑπάρχει, ἀλλὰ ταῦτά γε πλεοναχὴν ἔχει καὶ τῆς γενέσεως αἰτίαν καὶ τῆς οὐσίας ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι σύμφωνον κατηγορίαν.

87 "Οὐ γὰρ κατὰ ἀξιώματα κενὰ καὶ νομοθεσίας φυσιολογητέον, ἀλλ' ὡς τὰ φαινόμενα ἐκκαλεῖται· οὐ γὰρ ἤδη ἀλογίας καὶ κενῆς δόξης ὁ βίος ἡμῶν ἔχει χρείαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἀθορύβως ἡμᾶς ζῆν. πάντα μὲν οὖν γίνεται ἀσείστως καί, πάντων κατὰ πλεο-

[1] ἐκ] εἰκὸς coni. Kochalsky. [2] Suppl. Us.

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[a] This would seem decisive of what the Shorter Catechism of Epicurus really was: see, however, § 135.

am full of pleasant expectations. We will then complete our writing and grant all you ask. Many others besides you will find these reasonings useful, and especially those who have but recently made acquaintance with the true story of nature and those who are attached to pursuits which go deeper than any part of ordinary education. So you will do well to take and learn them and get them up quickly along with the short epitome in my letter to Herodotus.[a]

"In the first place, remember that, like everything else, knowledge of celestial phenomena, whether taken along with other things or in isolation, has no other end in view than peace of mind and firm conviction.[b] We do not seek to wrest by force what is impossible, nor to understand all matters equally well, nor make our treatment always as clear as when we discuss human life or explain the principles of physics in general—for instance, that the whole of being consists of bodies and intangible nature, or that the ultimate elements of things are indivisible, or any other proposition which admits only one explanation of the phenomena to be possible. But this is not the case with celestial phenomena: these at any rate admit of manifold causes for their occurrence and manifold accounts, none of them contradictory of sensation, of their nature.

"For in the study of nature we must not conform to empty assumptions and arbitrary laws, but follow the promptings of the facts; for our life has no need now of unreason and false opinion; our one need is untroubled existence. All things go on uninterruptedly, if all be explained by the method of

[b] Philosophy is defined as "an activity which by words and arguments secures the happy life" (Sext. Emp. *Adv. math.* xi. § 169; *cf.* Epic. *Frag.* 222 Us.).

ναχὸν τρόπον ἐκκαθαιρομένων, συμφώνως τοῖς φαινομένοις, ὅταν τις τὸ πιθανολογούμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δεόντως καταλίπῃ· ὅταν δέ τις τὸ μὲν ἀπολίπῃ, τὸ δὲ ἐκβάλῃ ὁμοίως σύμφωνον ὂν τῷ φαινομένῳ, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἐκ παντὸς ἐκπίπτει φυσιολογήματος ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν μῦθον καταρρεῖ. σημεῖα δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς μετεώροις συντελουμένων φέρειν[1] τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν τινα φαινομένων, ἃ θεωρεῖται ᾗ ὑπάρχει, καὶ οὐ τὰ ἐν τοῖς μετεώροις φαινόμενα· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐνδέχεται πλεο-
88 ναχῶς γενέσθαι. τὸ μέντοι φάντασμα ἑκάστου τηρητέον καὶ ἔτι τὰ συναπτόμενα τούτῳ διαιρετέον, ἃ οὐκ ἀντιμαρτυρεῖται τοῖς παρ᾽ ἡμῖν γινομένοις πλεοναχῶς συντελεῖσθαι.

"Κόσμος ἐστὶ περιοχή ιτς οὐρανοῦ, ἄστρα τε καὶ γῆν καὶ πάντα τὰ φαινόμενα περιέχουσα, ἀποτομὴν ἔχουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπείρου καὶ λήγουσα [καὶ καταλήγουσα ἐν πέρατι ἢ ἀραιῷ ἢ πυκνῷ καὶ οὗ λυομένου πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ σύγχυσιν λήψεται.[2]] ἢ ἐν περιαγομένῳ ἢ ἐν στάσιν ἔχοντι καὶ στρογγύλην ἢ τρίγωνον ἢ οἵαν δήποτε περιγραφήν· πανταχῶς γὰρ ἐνδέχεται· τῶν γὰρ φαινομένων οὐδὲν ἀντιμαρτυρεῖ <ἐν>[3] τῷδε τῷ κόσμῳ, ἐν ᾧ λῆγον οὐκ ἔστι καταλαβεῖν.

89 "Ὅτι δὲ καὶ τοιοῦτοι κόσμοι εἰσὶν ἄπειροι τὸ πλῆθος ἔστι καταλαβεῖν, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ὁ τοιοῦτος δύναται κόσμος γίνεσθαι καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ μετακοσμίῳ, ὃ λέγομεν μεταξὺ κόσμων διάστημα, ἐν πολυκένῳ τόπῳ καὶ οὐκ ἐν μεγάλῳ εἰλικρινεῖ καὶ

[1] φέρει Kuehn.
[2] tamquam additamentum secl. Us.
[3] suppl. Us.

plurality of causes in conformity with the facts, so soon as we duly understand what may be plausibly alleged respecting them. But when we pick and choose among them, rejecting one equally consistent with the phenomena, we clearly fall away from the study of nature altogether and tumble into myth. Some phenomena within our experience afford evidence by which we may interpret what goes on in the heavens. We see how the former really take place, but not how the celestial phenomena take place, for their occurrence may possibly be due to a variety of causes. However, we must observe each fact as presented, and further separate from it all the facts presented along with it, the occurrence of which from various causes is not contradicted by facts within our experience.

"A world is a circumscribed portion of the universe, which contains stars and earth and all other visible things, cut off from the infinite, and terminating [*and terminating in a boundary which may be either thick or thin, a boundary whose dissolution will bring about the wreck of all within it*] in an exterior which may either revolve or be at rest, and be round or triangular or of any other shape whatever. All these alternatives are possible: they are contradicted by none of the facts in this world, in which an extremity can nowhere be discerned.

"That there is an infinite number of such worlds can be perceived, and that such a world may arise in a world or in one of the *intermundia* (by which term we mean the spaces between worlds) in a tolerably empty space and not, as some maintain, in a vast

κενῷ, καθάπερ τινές φασιν, ἐπιτηδείων τινῶν σπερμάτων ῥυέντων ἀφ᾽ ἑνὸς κόσμου ἢ μετακοσμίου ἢ καὶ ἀπὸ πλειόνων κατὰ μικρὸν προσθέσεις τε καὶ διαρθρώσεις καὶ μεταστάσεις ποιούντων ἐπ᾽ ἄλλον τόπον, ἐὰν οὕτω τύχῃ, καὶ ἐπαρδεύσεις ἐκ τῶν ἐχόντων ἐπιτηδείως ἕως τελειώσεως καὶ διαμονῆς ἐφ᾽ ὅσον τὰ ὑποβληθέντα θεμέλια τὴν
90 προσδοχὴν δύναται ποιεῖσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἀθροισμὸν δεῖ μόνον γενέσθαι οὐδὲ δῖνον ἐν ᾧ ἐνδέχεται κόσμον γίνεσθαι κενῷ κατὰ τὸ δοξαζόμενον ἐξ ἀνάγκης αὔξεσθαί τε, ἕως ἂν ἑτέρῳ προσκρούσῃ, καθάπερ τῶν φυσικῶν καλουμένων φησί τις· τοῦτο γὰρ μαχόμενόν ἐστι τοῖς φαινομένοις.

"Ἥλιός τε καὶ σελήνη καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἄστρα οὐ καθ᾽ ἑαυτὰ γενόμενα ὕστερον ἐμπεριελαμβάνετο ὑπὸ τοῦ κόσμου [καὶ ὅσα γε δὴ σῴζει[1]], ἀλλ᾽ εὐθὺς διεπλάττετο καὶ αὔξησιν ἐλάμβανεν [ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ γῆ καὶ θάλαττα[1]] κατὰ προσκρίσεις καὶ δινήσεις λεπτομερῶν τινων φύσεων, ἤτοι πνευματικῶν ἢ πυροειδῶν ἢ συναμφοτέρων· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα οὕτως ἡ αἴσθησις ὑποβάλλει.

91 "Τὸ δὲ μέγεθος ἡλίου τε καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἄστρων κατὰ μὲν τὸ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τηλικοῦτόν ἐστιν ἡλίκον φαίνεται· [τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ ια´ Περὶ φύσεως· εἰ γάρ, φησί, τὸ μέγεθος διὰ τὸ διάστημα ἀπεβεβλήκει, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἂν τὴν χρόαν. ἄλλο γὰρ τούτῳ συμμετρότερον διάστημα οὐθέν ἐστι.] κατὰ δὲ τὸ καθ᾽ αὑτὸ ἤτοι μεῖζον τοῦ ὁρωμένου ἢ μικρῷ

[1] tamquam additamenta secl. Us.

[a] *Cf.* Lucr. i. 334 ("locus intactus inane uacansque"), and ix. 31 *supra* for the view of Leucippus here rejected.

space perfectly clear and void.[a] It arises when certain suitable seeds rush in from a single world or *intermundium*, or from several, and undergo gradual additions or articulations or changes of place, it may be, and waterings from appropriate sources, until they are matured and firmly settled in so far as the foundations laid can receive them. For it is not enough that there should be an aggregation or a vortex in the empty space in which a world may arise, as the necessitarians hold, and may grow until it collide with another, as one of the so-called physicists[b] says. For this is in conflict with facts.

"The sun and moon and the stars generally were not of independent origin and later absorbed within our world, [such parts of it at least as serve at all for its defence]; but they at once began to take form and grow [and so too did earth and sea][c] by the accretions and whirling motions of certain substances of finest texture, of the nature either of wind or fire, or of both; for thus sense itself suggests.

"The size of the sun and the remaining stars relatively to us is just as great as it appears.[d] [*This he states in the eleventh book "On Nature." For, says he, if it had diminished in size on account of the distance, it would much more have diminished its brightness; for indeed there is no distance more proportionate to this diminution of size than is the distance at which the brightness begins to diminish.*] But in itself and actually it may be a little larger or a little smaller, or

[b] Democritus; *cf.* Hippol. p. 565, 13 D φθείρεσθαι δὲ τοὺς κόσμους ὑπ' ἀλλήλων προσπίπτοντας; Aëtius ii. 4. 9.

[c] This must be a gloss, because earth and sea are made of less subtle atoms than the heavenly bodies.

[d] *Cf.* Lucr. v. 564-591; Philodemus Περὶ σημείων 10. 35—11. 8; Cic. *Acad. Pr.* 82, 123; *De Fin.* i. 20.

ἔλαττον ἢ τηλικοῦτον τυγχάνει.[1] οὕτω γὰρ καὶ τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν πυρὰ ἐξ ἀποστήματος θεωρούμενα κατὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν θεωρεῖται. καὶ πᾶν δὲ εἰς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἔνστημα ῥᾳδίως διαλυθήσεται, ἐάν τις τοῖς ἐναργήμασι προσέχῃ, ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς
92 Περὶ φύσεως βιβλίοις δείκνυμεν. ἀνατολὰς καὶ δύσεις ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἄστρων καὶ κατὰ ἄναψιν γενέσθαι δυνατὸν καὶ σβέσιν, τοιαύτης οὔσης περιστάσεως καὶ καθ' ἑκατέρους τοὺς τόπους, ὥστε τὰ προειρημένα ἀποτελεῖσθαι· οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν φαινομένων ἀντιμαρτυρεῖ. καὶ κατ' ἐμφάνειάν τε ὑπὲρ γῆς καὶ πάλιν ἐπιπροσθέτησιν τὸ προειρημένον δύναιτ' ἂν συντελεῖσθαι· οὐδὲ γάρ τι τῶν φαινομένων ἀντιμαρτυρεῖ. τάς τε κινήσεις αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀδύνατον μὲν γίνεσθαι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ὅλου οὐρανοῦ δίνην, ἢ τούτου μὲν στάσιν, αὐτῶν δὲ δίνην κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐν τῇ γενέσει τοῦ κόσμου ἀνάγκην ἀπογεννηθεῖσαν ἐπ' ἀνατολῇ·
93 * * * <σφοδρο>τάτῃ θερμασίᾳ κατά τινα ἐπινέμησιν τοῦ πυρὸς ἀεὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑξῆς τόπους ἰόντος.

"Τροπὰς ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης ἐνδέχεται μὲν γίνεσθαι κατὰ λόξωσιν οὐρανοῦ οὕτω τοῖς χρόνοις κατηναγκασμένου· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ ἀέρος ἀντέξωσιν ἢ καὶ ὕλης ἀεὶ ἐπιτηδείας τῆς μὲν ἐχομένης ἐμπιπραμένης τῆς δ' ἐκλιπούσης· ἢ καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοιαύτην δίνην κατειληθῆναι τοῖς ἄστροις τούτοις, ὥσθ' οἷόν τιν'[2] ἕλικα κινεῖσθαι.

[1] οὐχ ἅμα codd. : corr. Us.
[2] τε codd. : corr. Us.

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[a] The opinion of Heraclitus (p. 32 B, 6 D) and Xenophanes, and Metrodorus of Chios. Servius, however (*ad* Verg. *G.* i. 249, *Aen.* iv. 584), attributes the theory to the Epicureans.

precisely as great as it is seen to be. For so too fires of which we have experience are seen by sense when we see them at a distance. And every objection brought against this part of the theory will easily be met by anyone who attends to plain facts, as I show in my work *On Nature*. And the rising and setting of the sun, moon, and stars may be due to kindling and quenching,[a] provided that the circumstances are such as to produce this result in each of the two regions, east and west: for no fact testifies against this. Or the result might be produced by their coming forward above the earth and again by its intervention to hide them: for no fact testifies against this either. And their motions [b] may be due to the rotation of the whole heaven, or the heaven may be at rest and they alone rotate according to some necessary impulse to rise, implanted at first when the world was made . . . and this through excessive heat, due to a certain extension of the fire which always encroaches upon that which is near it.[c]

"The turnings of the sun and moon in their course may be due to the obliquity of the heaven, whereby it is forced back at these times.[d] Again, they may equally be due to the contrary pressure of the air or, it may be, to the fact that either the fuel from time to time necessary has been consumed in the vicinity or there is a dearth of it. Or even because such a whirling motion was from the first inherent in these stars so that they move in a sort

[b] *Cf.* Lucr. v. 509 f.

[c] From Lucr. v. 519 f. it is probable that words are lost from the text which ascribed these motions to the quest of fiery atoms by the heavenly bodies.

[d] *Cf.* Lucr. v. 614 f.

πάντα γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ τούτοις συγγενῆ οὐθενὶ τῶν ἐναργημάτων διαφωνεῖ, ἐάν τις ἀεὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων μερῶν, ἐχόμενος τοῦ δυνατοῦ, εἰς τὸ σύμφωνον τοῖς φαινομένοις ἕκαστον τούτων δύνηται ἐπάγειν, μὴ φοβούμενος τὰς ἀνδραποδώδεις ἀστρολόγων τεχνιτείας.

94 "Κένωσίς τε σελήνης καὶ πάλιν πλήρωσις καὶ κατὰ στροφὴν τοῦ σώματος τούτου δύναιτ' ἂν γίνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ σχηματισμοὺς ἀέρος ὁμοίως, ἔτι τε καὶ κατ' ἐμπροσθετήσεις καὶ κατὰ πάντας τρόπους, καθ' οὓς καὶ τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν φαινόμενα ἐκκαλεῖται εἰς τὰς τοῦ εἴδους τούτου ἀποδόσεις, ἐὰν μή τις τὸν μοναχῇ τρόπον κατηγαπηκὼς τοὺς ἄλλους κενῶς ἀποδοκιμάζῃ, οὐ τεθεωρηκὼς τί δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπῳ θεωρῆσαι καὶ τί ἀδύνατον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀδύνατα θεωρεῖν ἐπιθυμῶν. ἔτι τε ἐνδέχεται τὴν σελήνην ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἔχειν τὸ φῶς,
95 ἐνδέχεται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου. καὶ γὰρ παρ' ἡμῖν θεωρεῖται πολλὰ μὲν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντα, πολλὰ δὲ ἀφ' ἑτέρων. καὶ οὐθὲν ἐμποδοστατεῖ τῶν ἐν τοῖς μετεώροις φαινομένων, ἐάν τις τοῦ πλεοναχοῦ τρόπου ἀεὶ μνήμην ἔχῃ καὶ τὰς ἀκολούθους αὐτοῖς ὑποθέσεις ἅμα καὶ αἰτίας συνθεωρῇ καὶ μὴ ἀναβλέπων εἰς τὰ ἀνακόλουθα ταῦτ' ὀγκοῖ ματαίως καὶ καταρρέπῃ ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἐπὶ τὸν μοναχὸν τρόπον. ἡ δὲ ἔμφασις τοῦ προσώπου ἐν αὐτῇ δύναται μὲν γίνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ παραλλαγὴν μερῶν καὶ κατ' ἐπιπροσθέτησιν, καὶ ὅσοι ποτ' ἂν τρόποι θεωροῖντο τὸ σύμφωνον τοῖς φαινομένοις κεκτη-
96 μένοι. ἐπὶ πάντων γὰρ τῶν μετεώρων τὴν τοιαύτην

of spiral. For all such explanations and the like do not conflict with any clear evidence, if only in such details we hold fast to what is possible, and can bring each of these explanations into accord with the facts, unmoved by the servile artifices of the astronomers.

"The waning of the moon and again her waxing[a] might be due to the rotation of the moon's body, and equally well to configurations which the air assumes; further, it may be due to the interposition of certain bodies. In short, it may happen in any of the ways in which the facts within our experience suggest such an appearance to be explicable. But one must not be so much in love with the explanation by a single way as wrongly to reject all the others from ignorance of what can, and what cannot, be within human knowledge, and consequent longing to discover the indiscoverable. Further, the moon may possibly shine by her own light, just as possibly she may derive her light from the sun; for in our own experience we see many things which shine by their own light and many also which shine by borrowed light. And none of the celestial phenomena stand in the way, if only we always keep in mind the method of plural explanation and the several consistent assumptions and causes, instead of dwelling on what is inconsistent and giving it a false importance so as always to fall back in one way or another upon the single explanation. The appearance of the face in the moon may equally well arise from interchange of parts, or from interposition of something, or in any other of the ways which might be seen to accord with the facts. For in all the celestial phenomena

[a] *Cf.* Lucr. v. 705-750.

ἴχνευσιν[1] οὐ προετέον. ἢν γάρ τις ᾖ μαχόμενος
τοῖς ἐναργήμασιν, οὐδέποτε δυνήσεται ἀταραξίας
γνησίου μεταλαβεῖν.

"Ἔκλειψις ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης δύναται μὲν γίνε-
σθαι καὶ κατὰ σβέσιν, καθάπερ καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν τοῦτο
θεωρεῖται γιγνόμενον· καὶ ἤδη καὶ κατ' ἐπιπροσ-
θέτησιν ἄλλων τινῶν, ἢ γῆς ἢ ἀοράτου[2] τινὸς
ἑτέρου τοιούτου. καὶ ὧδε τοὺς οἰκείους ἀλλήλοις
τρόπους συνθεωρητέον, καὶ τὰς ἅμα συγκυρήσεις
τινῶν ὅτι οὐκ ἀδύνατον γίνεσθαι. [ἐν δὲ τῇ ιβʹ
Περὶ φύσεως ταῦτα λέγει καὶ πρός, ἥλιον ἐκλείπειν
σελήνης ἐπισκοτούσης, σελήνην δὲ τοῦ τῆς γῆς
97 σκιάσματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' ἀναχώρησιν. τοῦτο δὲ
καὶ Διογένης ὁ Ἐπικούρειος ἐν τῇ αʹ τῶν Ἐπι-
λέκτων.]

"Ἔτι τε τάξις περιόδου, καθάπερ ἔνια καὶ παρ'
ἡμῖν τῶν τυχόντων γίνεται, λαμβανέσθω· καὶ ἡ
θεία φύσις πρὸς ταῦτα μηδαμῇ προσαγέσθω, ἀλλ'
ἀλειτούργητος διατηρείσθω καὶ ἐν τῇ πάσῃ μακα-
ριότητι· ὡς εἰ τοῦτο μὴ πραχθήσεται, ἅπασα ἡ
περὶ τῶν μετεώρων αἰτιολογία ματαία ἔσται,
καθάπερ τισὶν ἤδη ἐγένετο οὐ δυνατοῦ τρόπου
ἐφαψαμένοις, εἰς δὲ τὸ μάταιον ἐκπεσοῦσι τῷ
καθ' ἕνα τρόπον μόνον οἴεσθαι γίνεσθαι τοὺς
δ' ἄλλους ἅπαντας τοὺς κατὰ τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον
ἐκβάλλειν εἴς τε τὸ ἀδιανόητον φερομένους καὶ τὰ
φαινόμενα, ἃ δεῖ σημεῖα ἀποδέχεσθαι, μὴ δυναμένους
συνθεωρεῖν.

98 "Μήκη νυκτῶν καὶ ἡμερῶν παραλλάττοντα καὶ

[1] ἰχνεύειν codd.: corr. Us.
[2] οὐρανοῦ codd.: corr. Us.

such a line of research is not to be abandoned ; for, if you fight against clear evidence, you never can enjoy genuine peace of mind.

"An eclipse of the sun or moon may be due to the extinction of their light, just as within our own experience this is observed to happen ; and again by interposition of something else—whether it be the earth or some other invisible body like it. And thus we must take in conjunction the explanations which agree with one another, and remember that the concurrence of more than one at the same time may not impossibly happen. [*He says the same in Book XII. of his "De Natura," and further that the sun is eclipsed when the moon throws her shadow over him, and the moon is eclipsed by the shadow of the earth ; or again, eclipse may be due to the moon's withdrawal, and this is cited by Diogenes the Epicurean in the first book of his "Epilecta."*]

" And further, let the regularity of their orbits be explained in the same way as certain ordinary incidents within our own experience ; the divine nature must not on any account be adduced to explain this, but must be kept free from the task and in perfect bliss. Unless this be done, the whole study of celestial phenomena will be in vain, as indeed it has proved to be with some who did not lay hold of a possible method, but fell into the folly of supposing that these events happen in one single way only and of rejecting all the others which are possible, suffering themselves to be carried into the realm of the unintelligible, and being unable to take a comprehensive view of the facts which must be taken as clues to the rest.

"The variations in the length of nights and days

παρὰ τὸ ταχείας ἡλίου κινήσεις γίνεσθαι καὶ πάλιν βραδείας ὑπὲρ γῆς παρὰ τὰ μήκη τόπων παραλλάττοντα καὶ τόπους τινὰς περαιοῦν τάχιον ἢ βραδύτερον, ὡς καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν τινα θεωρεῖται, οἷς συμφώνως δεῖ λέγειν ἐπὶ τῶν μετεώρων. οἱ δὲ τὸ ἓν λαμβάνοντες τοῖς τε φαινομένοις μάχονται καὶ τοῦ ᾗ δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπῳ θεωρῆσαι διαπεπτώκασιν.

" Ἐπισημασίαι δύνανται γίνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ συγκυρήσεις καιρῶν, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐμφανέσι παρ' ἡμῖν ζῴοις, καὶ παρ' ἑτεροιώσεις ἀέρος καὶ μεταβολάς. ἀμφότερα γὰρ ταῦτα οὐ μάχεται τοῖς
99 φαινομένοις· ἐπὶ δὲ ποίοις παρὰ τοῦτο ἢ τοῦτο τὸ αἴτιον γίνεται οὐκ ἔστι συνιδεῖν.

" Νέφη δύναται γίνεσθαι καὶ συνίστασθαι καὶ παρὰ πιλήσεις ἀέρος πνευμάτων συνώσει, καὶ παρὰ περιπλοκὰς ἀλληλούχων ἀτόμων καὶ ἐπιτηδείων εἰς τὸ τοῦτο τελέσαι καὶ κατὰ ῥευμάτων συλλογὴν ἀπό τε γῆς καὶ ὑδάτων· καὶ κατ' ἄλλους δὲ τρόπους πλείους αἱ τῶν τοιούτων συστάσεις οὐκ ἀδυνατοῦσι συντελεῖσθαι. ἤδη δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν ᾗ μὲν θλιβομένων, ᾗ δὲ μεταβαλλόντων ὕδατα δύναται συν-
100 τελεῖσθαι, ἔτι τε ῥευμάτων[1] κατ' ἀποφορὰν ἀπὸ ἐπιτηδείων τόπων δι' ἀέρος κινουμένων, βιαιοτέρας ἐπαρδεύσεως γινομένης ἀπό τινων ἀθροισμάτων ἐπιτηδείων εἰς τὰς τοιαύτας ἐκπέμψεις. βροντὰς ἐνδέχεται γίνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ πνεύματος ἐν τοῖς κοιλώμασι τῶν νεφῶν ἀνείλησιν, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀγγείοις, καὶ παρὰ πυρὸς πεπνευμα-

[1] πνεύματα codd.: corr. Meibom. Bignone: πνευμάτων καταφορᾷ Us.

[a] Lucr. vi. 519.

may be due to the swiftness and again to the slowness of the sun's motion in the sky, owing to the variations in the length of spaces traversed and to his accomplishing some distances more swiftly or more slowly, as happens sometimes within our own experience; and with these facts our explanation of celestial phenomena must agree; whereas those who adopt only one explanation are in conflict with the facts and are utterly mistaken as to the way in which man can attain knowledge.

"The signs in the sky which betoken the weather may be due to mere coincidence of the seasons, as is the case with signs from animals seen on earth, or they may be caused by changes and alterations in the air. For neither the one explanation nor the other is in conflict with facts, and it is not easy to see in which cases the effect is due to one cause or to the other.

"Clouds may form and gather either because the air is condensed under the pressure of winds, or because atoms which hold together and are suitable to produce this result become mutually entangled, or because currents collect from the earth and the waters; and there are several other ways in which it is not impossible for the aggregations of such bodies into clouds to be brought about. And that being so, rain may be produced from them sometimes by their compression, sometimes by their transformation; or again may be caused by exhalations of moisture rising[a] from suitable places through the air, while a more violent inundation is due to certain accumulations suitable for such discharge. Thunder may be due to the rolling of wind in the hollow parts of the clouds, as it is sometimes imprisoned in vessels which we use; or to the roaring of

τωμένου βόμβον ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ κατὰ ῥήξεις δὲ νεφῶν καὶ διαστάσεις, καὶ κατὰ παρατρίψεις νεφῶν καὶ κατάξεις πῆξιν εἰληφότων κρυσταλλοειδῆ. καὶ τὸ ὅλον καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος πλεοναχῶς
101 *γίνεσθαι λέγειν ἐκκαλεῖται τὰ φαινόμενα. καὶ ἀστραπαὶ δ' ὡσαύτως γίνονται κατὰ πλείους τρόπους· καὶ γὰρ κατὰ παράτριψιν καὶ σύγκρουσιν νεφῶν ὁ πυρὸς ἀποτελεστικὸς σχηματισμὸς ἐξολισθαίνων ἀστραπὴν γεννᾷ· καὶ κατ' ἐκριπισμὸν ἐκ τῶν νεφῶν ὑπὸ πνευμάτων τῶν τοιούτων σωμάτων ἃ τὴν λαμπηδόνα ταύτην παρασκευάζει, καὶ κατ' ἐκπιασμόν, θλίψεως τῶν νεφῶν γινομένης, εἴθ' ὑπ' ἀλλήλων εἴθ' ὑπὸ πνευμάτων· καὶ κατ' ἐμπερίληψιν δὲ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄστρων κατεσπαρμένου φωτός, εἶτα συνελαυνομένου ὑπὸ τῆς κινήσεως νεφῶν τε καὶ πνευμάτων καὶ διεκπίπτοντος διὰ τῶν νεφῶν· ἢ κατὰ διήθησιν* <*διὰ*>[1] *τῶν νεφῶν τοῦ λεπτομερεστάτου φωτός, [ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς νέφη συνεφλέχθαι καὶ τὰς βροντὰς ἀποτελεῖσθαι]*[2] *καὶ τὴν τούτου κίνησιν· καὶ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ἐκπύρωσιν τὴν γινομένην διά τε συντονίαν φορᾶς καὶ διὰ σφοδρὰν κατείλησιν·*
102 *καὶ κατὰ ῥήξεις δὲ νεφῶν ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἔκπτωσίν τε πυρὸς ἀποτελεστικῶν ἀτόμων καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀστραπῆς φάντασμα ἀποτελουσῶν. καὶ κατ' ἄλλους δὲ πλείους τρόπους ῥᾳδίως ἔσται καθορᾶν ἐχόμενον ἀεὶ τῶν φαινομένων καὶ τὸ τούτοις ὅμοιον δυνάμενον συνθεωρεῖν. προτερεῖ δὲ ἀστραπὴ βροντῆς ἐν τοιᾷδέ τινι περιστάσει νεφῶν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἅμα τῷ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐμπίπτειν ἐξωθεῖσθαι τὸν ἀστραπῆς ἀποτελεστικὸν σχηματισμόν, ὕστερον δὲ*

[1] διὰ suppl. Us. [2] tamquam additamentum secl. Us.

fire in them when blown by a wind,[a] or to the rending and disruption of clouds, or to the friction and splitting up of clouds when they have become as firm as ice. As in the whole survey, so in this particular point, the facts invite us to give a plurality of explanations. Lightnings too happen in a variety of ways. For when the clouds rub against each other and collide, that collocation of atoms which is the cause of fire generates lightning ; or it may be due to the flashing forth from the clouds, by reason of winds, of particles capable of producing this brightness ; or else it is squeezed out of the clouds when they have been condensed either by their own action or by that of the winds ; or again, the light diffused from the stars may be enclosed in the clouds, then driven about by their motion and by that of the winds, and finally make its escape from the clouds ; or light of the finest texture may be filtered through the clouds (whereby the clouds may be set on fire and thunder produced), and the motion of this light may make lightning ; or it may arise from the combustion of wind brought about by the violence of its motion and the intensity of its compression ; or, when the clouds are rent asunder by winds, and the atoms which generate fire are expelled, these likewise cause lightning to appear. And it may easily be seen that its occurrence is possible in many other ways, so long as we hold fast to facts and take a general view of what is analogous to them. Lightning precedes thunder, when the clouds are constituted as mentioned above and the configuration which produces lightning is expelled at the moment when the wind falls upon the cloud, and

[a] *Cf.* Lucr. vi. 271-284.

τὸ πνεῦμα ἀνειλούμενον τὸν βόμβον ἀποτελεῖν τοῦτον· καὶ κατ᾽ ἔμπτωσιν δὲ ἀμφοτέρων ἅμα, τῷ τάχει συντονωτέρῳ κεχρῆσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὴν
103 *ἀστραπήν, ὑστερεῖν δὲ τὴν βροντήν, καθά περ ἐπ᾽ ἐνίων ἐξ ἀποστήματος θεωρουμένων καὶ πληγάς τινας ποιουμένων. κεραυνοὺς ἐνδέχεται γίνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ πλείονας πνευμάτων συλλογὰς καὶ κατείλησιν ἰσχυράν τε ἐκπύρωσιν· καὶ κατάρρηξιν μέρους καὶ ἔκπτωσιν ἰσχυροτέραν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς κάτω τόπους, τῆς ῥήξεως γινομένης διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἑξῆς τόπους πυκνοτέρους εἶναι διὰ πίλησιν νεφῶν· καὶ κατὰ αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς ἔκπτωσιν ἀνειλουμένου, καθὰ καὶ βροντὴν ἐνδέχεται γίνεσθαι, πλείονος γενομένου πυρὸς καὶ πνευματωθέντος ἰσχυρότερον καὶ ῥήξαντος τὸ νέφος διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ὑποχωρεῖν εἰς τὰ ἑξῆς, τῷ πίλησιν γίνεσθαι [τὸ μὲν πολὺ πρὸς ὄρος τι ὑψηλόν, ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα κεραυνοὶ*
104 *πίπτουσιν*],[1] *ἀεὶ πρὸς ἄλληλα. καὶ κατ᾽ ἄλλους δὲ τρόπους πλείονας ἐνδέχεται κεραυνοὺς ἀποτελεῖσθαι· μόνον ὁ μῦθος ἀπέστω· ἀπέσται δέ, ἐάν τις καλῶς τοῖς φαινομένοις ἀκολουθῶν περὶ τῶν ἀφανῶν σημειῶται.*

"*Πρηστῆρας ἐνδέχεται γίνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ κάθεσιν νέφους εἰς τοὺς κάτω τόπους στυλοειδῶς ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἀθρόου ὠσθέντος καὶ διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος πολλοῦ*[2] *φερομένου, ἅμα καὶ τὸ νέφος εἰς τὸ πλάγιον*[3] *ὠθοῦντος τοῦ ἐκτὸς πνεύματος· καὶ κατὰ περίστασιν δὲ πνεύματος εἰς κύκλον, ἀέρος τινὸς ἐπισυνωθουμένου ἄνωθεν· καὶ ῥύσεως πολλῆς πνευμάτων*

[1] tamquam additamentum secl. Us.
[2] *κύκλῳ* Us.
[3] *πλησίον* codd.: corr. Us.

the wind being rolled up afterwards produces the roar of thunder; or, if both are simultaneous, the lightning moves with a greater velocity towards us and the thunder lags behind, exactly as when persons who are striking blows are observed from a distance.[a] A thunderbolt is caused when winds are repeatedly collected, imprisoned, and violently ignited; or when a part is torn asunder and is more violently expelled downwards, the rending being due to the fact that the compression of the clouds has made the neighbouring parts more dense; or again it may be due like thunder merely to the expulsion of the imprisoned fire, when this has accumulated and been more violently inflated with wind and has torn the cloud, being unable to withdraw to the adjacent parts because it is continually more and more closely compressed—[generally by some high mountain where thunderbolts mostly fall]. And there are several other ways in which thunderbolts may possibly be produced. Exclusion of myth is the sole condition necessary; and it will be excluded, if one properly attends to the facts and hence draws inferences to interpret what is obscure.

" Fiery whirlwinds are due to the descent of a cloud forced downwards like a pillar by the wind in full force and carried by a gale round and round, while at the same time the outside wind gives the cloud a lateral thrust; or it may be due to a change of the wind which veers to all points of the compass as a current of air from above helps to force it to move; or it may be that a strong eddy of winds has been

[a] *e.g.*, as Apelt remarks, when the blows struck by a great hammer on a block of iron are watched from a distance, and it takes some time for the sound to reach one's ear.

γενομένης καὶ οὐ δυναμένης εἰς τὰ πλάγια δι-
105 αρρυῆναι διὰ τὴν πέριξ τοῦ ἀέρος πίλησιν. καὶ ἕως
μὲν γῆς τοῦ πρηστῆρος καθιεμένου στρόβιλοι
γίνονται, ὡς ἂν καὶ ἡ ἀπογέννησις κατὰ τὴν
κίνησιν τοῦ πνεύματος γίνηται· ἕως δὲ θαλάττης
δῖνοι ἀποτελοῦνται.

"Σεισμοὺς ἐνδέχεται γίνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ πνεύματος
ἐν τῇ γῇ ἀπόληψιν καὶ παρὰ μικροὺς ὄγκους
αὐτῆς παράθεσιν καὶ συνεχῆ κίνησιν, ὅταν κρά-
δανσιν τῇ γῇ παρασκευάζῃ. καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦτο
ἢ ἔξωθεν ἐμπεριλαμβάνει ⟨ἢ⟩ ἐκ τοῦ πίπτειν εἴσω
ἐδάφη εἰς ἀντροειδεῖς τόπους τῆς γῆς ἐκπνευμα-
τοῦντα ἐπειλημένον ἀέρα. ⟨καὶ⟩ κατ' αὐτὴν δὲ
τὴν διάδοσιν τῆς κινήσεως ἐκ τῶν πτώσεων
ἐδαφῶν πολλῶν καὶ πάλιν ἀνταπόδοσιν, ὅταν
πυκνώμασι σφοδροτέροις τῆς γῆς ἀπαντήσῃ, ἐν-
106 δέχεται σεισμοὺς ἀποτελεῖσθαι. καὶ κατ' ἄλλους
δὲ πλείους τρόπους τὰς κινήσεις ταύτας τῆς γῆς
γίνεσθαι.

"Τὰ δὲ πνεύματα συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι κατὰ χρόνον
ἀλλοφυλίας τινὸς ἀεὶ καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν παρεισ-
δυομένης, καὶ καθ' ὕδατος ἀφθόνου συλλογήν· τὰ
δὲ λοιπὰ πνεύματα γίνεται καὶ ὀλίγων πεσόντων
εἰς τὰ πολλὰ κοιλώματα, διαδόσεως τούτων
γινομένης.

"Χάλαζα συντελεῖται καὶ κατὰ πῆξιν ἰσχυροτέραν,
πάντοθεν δὲ πνευματωδῶν περίστασίν τινων κᾆτα
μέρισιν· καὶ ⟨κατὰ⟩ πῆξιν μετριωτέραν ὑδατοειδῶν
τινων, ⟨πνευματωδῶν δέ τινων⟩ ὁμούρησιν ἅμα
τήν τε σύνωσιν αὐτῶν ποιουμένην καὶ τὴν διάρ-
ρηξιν πρὸς τὸ κατὰ μέρη συνίστασθαι πηγνύμενα
107 καὶ κατ' ἀθροότητα. ἡ δὲ περιφέρεια οὐκ ἀδυνά-

started and is unable to burst through laterally because the air around is closely condensed. And when they descend upon land, they cause what are called tornadoes, in accordance with the various ways in which they are produced through the force of the wind; and when let down upon the sea, they cause waterspouts.

"Earthquakes may be due to the imprisonment of wind underground, and to its being interspersed with small masses of earth and then set in continuous motion, thus causing the earth to tremble. And the earth either takes in this wind from without or from the falling in of foundations, when undermined, into subterranean caverns, thus raising a wind in the imprisoned air. Or they may be due to the propagation of movement arising from the fall of many foundations and to its being again checked when it encounters the more solid resistance of earth. And there are many other causes to which these oscillations of the earth may be due.

"Winds arise from time to time when foreign matter continually and gradually finds its way into the air; also through the gathering of great store of water. The rest of the winds arise when a few of them fall into the many hollows and they are thus divided and multiplied.

"Hail is caused by the firmer congelation and complete transformation, and subsequent distribution into drops, of certain particles resembling wind: also by the slighter congelation of certain particles of moisture and the vicinity of certain particles of wind which at one and the same time forces them together and makes them burst, so that they become frozen in parts and in the whole mass. The round

τως μὲν ἔχει γίνεσθαι πάντοθεν τῶν ἄκρων ἀποτηκομένων καὶ ἐν τῇ συστάσει πάντοθεν, ὡς λέγεται, κατὰ μέρη ὁμαλῶς περιισταμένων εἴτε ὑδατοειδῶν τινων εἴτε πνευματωδῶν.

"Χιόνα δ' ἐνδέχεται συντελεῖσθαι καὶ ὕδατος λεπτοῦ ἐκχεομένου ἐκ τῶν νεφῶν διὰ πόρων συμμετρίας καὶ θλίψεις ἐπιτηδείων νεφῶν ἀεὶ ὑπὸ πνεύματος σφοδράς, εἶτα τούτου πῆξιν ἐν τῇ φορᾷ λαμβάνοντος διά τινα ἰσχυρὰν ἐν τοῖς κατωτέρω τόποις τῶν νεφῶν ψυχρασίας περίστασιν. καὶ κατὰ πῆξιν δ' ἐν τοῖς νέφεσιν ὁμαλῆ ἀραιότητα ἔχουσι τοιαύτη πρόεσις ἐκ τῶν νεφῶν γίνοιτο ἂν πρὸς ἄλληλα θλιβομένων ‹τῶν› ὑδατοειδῶν καὶ συμπαρακειμένων· ἃ οἱονεὶ σύνωσιν ποιούμενα χάλαζαν ἀποτελεῖ, ὃ μάλιστα γίνεται ἐν τῷ ἔαρι.
108 καὶ κατὰ τρίψιν δὲ νεφῶν πῆξιν εἰληφότων ἀπόπαλσιν ἂν λαμβάνοι τὸ τῆς χιόνος τοῦτο ἄθροισμα. καὶ κατ' ἄλλους δὲ τρόπους ἐνδέχεται χιόνα συντελεῖσθαι.

"Δρόσος συντελεῖται καὶ κατὰ σύνοδον πρὸς ἄλληλα ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος τῶν τοιούτων, ἃ τῆς τοιαύτης ὑγρασίας ἀποτελεστικὰ γίνεται· καὶ κατ' ἀναφορὰν δὲ ἢ ἀπὸ νοτερῶν τόπων ἢ ὕδατα κεκτημένων, ἐν οἵοις τόποις μάλιστα δρόσος συντελεῖται, εἶτα σύνοδον τούτων εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ λαβόντων καὶ ἀποτέλεσιν ὑγρασίας[1] καὶ πάλιν φορὰν ἐπὶ τοὺς κάτω τόπους, καθά περ ὁμοίως καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐπὶ πλειόνων
109 τοιαῦτά τινα ‹συντελούμενα θεωρεῖται. καὶ› πάχνη δὲ συντελεῖται ‹οὐ διαφερόντως› τῶν δρόσων, τοιούτων τινῶν πῆξίν τινα ποιὰν λαβόντων διὰ περίστασίν τινα ἀέρος ψυχροῦ.

[1] ‹παχυτέρας› ὑγρασίας Bignone.

shape of hailstones is not impossibly due to the extremities on all sides being melted and to the fact that, as explained, particles either of moisture or of wind surround them evenly on all sides and in every quarter, when they freeze.

"Snow may be formed when a fine rain issues from the clouds because the pores are symmetrical and because of the continuous and violent pressure of the winds upon clouds which are suitable ; and then this rain has been frozen on its way because of some violent change to coldness in the regions below the clouds. Or again, by congelation in clouds which have uniform density a fall of snow might occur through the clouds which contain moisture being densely packed in close proximity to each other ; and these clouds produce a sort of compression and cause hail, and this happens mostly in spring. And when frozen clouds rub against each other, this accumulation of snow might be thrown off. And there are other ways in which snow might be formed.

"Dew is formed when such particles as are capable of producing this sort of moisture meet each other from the air : again by their rising from moist and damp places, the sort of place where dew is chiefly formed, and their subsequent coalescence, so as to create moisture and fall downwards, just as in several cases something similar is observed to take place under our eyes. And the formation of hoar-frost is not different from that of dew, certain particles of such a nature becoming in some such way congealed owing to a certain condition of cold air.

"Κρύσταλλος συντελεῖται καὶ κατ' ἔκθλιψιν μὲν τοῦ περιφεροῦς σχηματισμοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος, σύνωσιν δὲ τῶν σκαληνῶν καὶ ὀξυγωνίων τῶν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι ὑπαρχόντων· καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἔξωθεν δὲ τῶν τοιούτων πρόσκρισιν, ἃ συνελασθέντα πῆξιν τῷ ὕδατι παρεσκεύασε, ποσὰ τῶν περιφερῶν ἐκθλίψαντα.

"Ἶρις γίνεται κατὰ πρόσλαμψιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου
πρὸς ἀέρα ὑδατοειδῆ· ἢ κατὰ <σύμ>φυσιν ἰδίαν τοῦ
τε φωτὸς καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος, ἣ τὰ τῶν χρωμάτων τού-
των ἰδιώματα ποιήσει εἴ τε πάντα εἴ τε μονοειδῶς·
ἀφ' οὗ πάλιν ἀπολάμποντος τὰ ὁμοροῦντα τοῦ
ἀέρος χρῶσιν ταύτην λήψεται, οἵαν θεωροῦμεν,
110 κατὰ πρόσλαμψιν πρὸς τὰ μέρη. τὸ δὲ τῆς
περιφερείας τοῦτο φάντασμα γίνεται διὰ τὸ τὸ
διάστημα πάντοθεν ἴσον ὑπὸ τῆς ὄψεως θεωρεῖσθαι,
ἢ σύνωσιν τοιαύτην λαμβανουσῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ ἀέρι
ἀτόμων ἢ ἐν τοῖς νέφεσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀπο-
φερομένων περιφέρειάν τινα καθίεσθαι τὴν σύγκρισιν
ταύτην.

"Ἅλως περὶ τὴν σελήνην γίνεται καὶ πάντοθεν
ἀέρος προσφερομένου πρὸς τὴν σελήνην ἢ τὰ ἀπ'
αὐτῆς ῥεύματα ἀποφερόμενα ὁμαλῶς ἀναστέλλον-
τος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐφ' ὅσον κύκλῳ περιστῆσαι τὸ
νεφοειδὲς τοῦτο καὶ μὴ τὸ παράπαν διακρῖναι, ἢ
καὶ τὸν πέριξ ἀέρα αὐτῆς ἀναστέλλοντος συμ-
μέτρως πάντοθεν εἰς τὸ περιφερὲς τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν
111 καὶ παχυμερὲς περιστῆσαι. ὃ γίνεται κατὰ μέρη
τινὰ ἤτοι ἔξωθεν βιασαμένου τινὸς ῥεύματος ἢ
τῆς θερμασίας ἐπιτηδείων πόρων ἐπιλαμβανομένης
εἰς τὸ τοῦτο ἀπεργάσασθαι.

"Κομῆται ἀστέρες γίνονται ἤτοι πυρὸς ἐν τόποις

"Ice is formed by the expulsion from the water of the circular, and the compression of the scalene and acute-angled atoms contained in it; further by the accretion of such atoms from without, which being driven together cause the water to solidify after the expulsion of a certain number of round atoms.

"The rainbow arises when the sun shines upon humid air; or again by a certain peculiar blending of light with air, which will cause either all the distinctive qualities of these colours or else some of them belonging to a single kind, and from the reflection of this light the air all around will be coloured as we see it to be, as the sun shines upon its parts. The circular shape which it assumes is due to the fact that the distance of every point is perceived by our sight to be equal; or it may be because, the atoms in the air or in the clouds and deriving from the sun having been thus united, the aggregate of them presents a sort of roundness.

"A halo round the moon arises because the air on all sides extends to the moon; or because it equably raises upwards the currents from the moon so high as to impress a circle upon the cloudy mass and not to separate it altogether; or because it raises the air which immediately surrounds the moon symmetrically from all sides up to a circumference round her and there forms a thick ring. And this happens at certain parts either because a current has forced its way in from without or because the heat has gained possession of certain passages in order to effect this.

"Comets arise either because fire is nourished in

τισὶ διὰ χρόνων τινῶν ἐν τοῖς μετεώροις συστρεφομένου περιστάσεως γινομένης, ἢ ἰδίαν τινὰ κίνησιν διὰ χρόνων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἴσχοντος ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς, ὥστε τὰ τοιαῦτα ἄστρα ἀναφανῆναι, ἢ αὐτὰ ἐν χρόνοις τισὶν ὁρμῆσαι διά τινα περίστασιν καὶ εἰς τοὺς καθ' ἡμᾶς τόπους ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἐκφανῆ γενέσθαι. τήν τε ἀφάνισιν τούτων γίνεσθαι παρὰ τὰς ἀντι-
112 κειμένας ταύταις αἰτίας. τινὰ ἄστρα στρέφεσθαι αὐτοῦ συμβαίνει οὐ μόνον τῷ τὸ μέρος τοῦτο τοῦ κόσμου ἑστάναι, περὶ ὃ τὸ λοιπὸν στρέφεται, καθάπερ τινές φασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ δίνην ἀέρος ἔγκυκλον αὐτῷ περιεστάναι, ἣ κωλυτικὴ γίνεται τοῦ περιπολεῖν, ὡς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα· ἢ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἑξῆς μὲν αὐτοῖς ὕλην ἐπιτηδείαν μὴ εἶναι, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ κείμενα θεωρεῖται. καὶ κατ' ἄλλους δὲ πλείονας τρόπους τοῦτο δυνατὸν συντελεῖσθαι, ἐάν τις δύνηται τὸ σύμφωνον τοῖς φαινομένοις συλλογίζεσθαι. τινὰ τῶν ἄστρων πλανᾶσθαι, εἰ οὕτω ταῖς κινήσεσι χρώμενα συμβαίνει, τινὰ δὲ
113 ὁμαλῶς κινεῖσθαι, ἐνδέχεται μὲν καὶ παρὰ τὸ κύκλῳ κινούμενα ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὕτω κατηναγκάσθαι, ὥστε τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν δίνην φέρεσθαι ὁμαλῆ οὖσαν, τὰ δὲ κατά τιν' ἄλλην τισὶν ἀνωμαλίαις χρωμένην. ἐνδέχεται δὲ καὶ καθ' οὓς τόπους φέρεται οὗ μὲν παρεκτάσεις ἀέρος εἶναι ὁμαλὰς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνωθούσας κατὰ τὸ ἑξῆς ὁμαλῶς τε ἐκκαούσας, οὗ δὲ ἀνωμαλεῖς οὕτως ὥστε τὰς θεωρουμένας παραλλαγὰς συντελεῖσθαι. τὸ δὲ μίαν αἰτίαν τούτων ἀποδιδόναι, πλεοναχῶς[1] τῶν φαινομένων ἐκκαλουμένων, μανικὸν καὶ οὐ καθηκόντως πραττόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν ματαίαν ἀστρολογίαν

[1] πλεοναχὰς coni. Byw.

certain places at certain intervals in the heavens, if circumstances are favourable; or because at times the heaven has a particular motion above us so that such stars appear; or because the stars themselves are set in motion under certain conditions and come to our neighbourhood and show themselves. And their disappearance is due to the causes which are the opposite of these. Certain stars may revolve without setting not only for the reason alleged by some, because this is the part of the world round which, itself unmoved, the rest revolves, but it may also be because a circular eddy of air surrounds this part, which prevents them from travelling out of sight like other stars; or because there is a dearth of necessary fuel farther on, while there is abundance in that part where they are seen to be. Moreover there are several other ways in which this might be brought about, as may be seen by anyone capable of reasoning in accordance with the facts. The wanderings of certain stars, if such wandering is their actual motion, and the regular movement of certain other stars, may be accounted for by saying that they originally moved in a circle and were constrained, some of them to be whirled round with the same uniform rotation and others with a whirling motion which varied; but it may also be that according to the diversity of the regions traversed in some places there are uniform tracts of air, forcing them forward in one direction and burning uniformly, in others these tracts present such irregularities as cause the motions observed. To assign a single cause for these effects when the facts suggest several causes is madness and a strange inconsistency; yet it is done by adherents of rash astronomy, who assign meaning-

ἐζηλωκότων καὶ εἰς τὸ κενὸν αἰτίας τινῶν ἀποδιδόντων, ὅταν τὴν θείαν φύσιν μηδαμῇ λειτουργιῶν
114 *ἀπολύωσι. τινὰ ἄστρα ὑπολειπόμενά τινων θεωρεῖσθαι συμβαίνει καὶ παρὰ τὸ βραδύτερον συμπεριφέρεσθαι τὸν αὐτὸν κύκλον περιιόντα καὶ παρὰ τὸ τὴν ἐναντίαν κινεῖσθαι ἀντισπώμενα ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς δίνης· καὶ παρὰ τὸ περιφέρεσθαι τὰ μὲν διὰ πλείονος τόπου, τὰ δὲ δι᾽ ἐλάττονος, τὴν αὐτὴν δίνην περικυκλοῦντα. τὸ δὲ ἁπλῶς ἀποφαίνεσθαι περὶ τούτων καθῆκόν ἐστι τοῖς τερατεύεσθαί τι πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς βουλομένοις.*

"*Οἱ λεγόμενοι ἀστέρες ἐκπίπτειν καὶ παρὰ μέρος κατὰ παράτριψιν ἑαυτῶν δύναται συντελεῖσθαι καὶ παρ᾽ ἔκπτωσιν οὗ ἂν ἡ ἐκπνευμάτωσις γένηται,*
115 *καθά περ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀστραπῶν ἐλέγομεν· καὶ κατὰ σύνοδον δὲ ἀτόμων πυρὸς ἀποτελεστικῶν, συμφυλίας γενομένης εἰς τὸ τοῦτο τελέσαι, καὶ κίνησιν οὗ ἂν ἡ ὁρμὴ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατὰ τὴν σύνοδον γένηται· καὶ κατὰ πνεύματος δὲ συλλογὴν ἐν πυκνώμασί τισιν ὁμιχλοειδέσι, καὶ ἐκπύρωσιν τούτου διὰ τὴν κατείλησιν, εἶτ᾽ ἐπέκρηξιν τῶν περιεχόντων, καὶ ἐφ᾽ ὃν ἂν τόπον ἡ ὁρμὴ γένηται τῆς φορᾶς, εἰς τοῦτον φερομένου. καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ τρόποι εἰς τὸ τοῦτο τελέσαι ἀμύθητοί εἰσιν.*

"*Αἱ δ᾽ ἐπισημασίαι αἱ γινόμεναι ἐπί τισι ζῴοις κατὰ συγκύρημα γίνονται τοῦ καιροῦ· οὐ γὰρ τὰ ζῷα ἀνάγκην τινὰ προσφέρεται τοῦ ἀποτελεσθῆναι χειμῶνα, οὐδὲ κάθηταί τις θεία φύσις παρατηροῦσα τὰς τῶν ζῴων τούτων ἐξόδους κἄπειτα τὰς ἐπισημα-*

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[a] *Cf.* § 98. The same topic is now treated again. Usener, who attributed this whole epistle to a compiler, believed that both passages were taken from the same part of Epicurus's *On Nature.*

less causes for the stars whenever they persist in saddling the divinity with burdensome tasks. That certain stars are seen to be left behind by others may be because they travel more slowly, though they go the same round as the others; or it may be that they are drawn back by the same whirling motion and move in the opposite direction; or again it may be that some travel over a larger and others over a smaller space in making the same revolution. But to lay down as assured a single explanation of these phenomena is worthy of those who seek to dazzle the multitude with marvels.

"Falling stars, as they are called, may in some cases be due to the mutual friction of the stars themselves, in other cases to the expulsion of certain parts when that mixture of fire and air takes place which was mentioned when we were discussing lightning; or it may be due to the meeting of atoms capable of generating fire, which accord so well as to produce this result, and their subsequent motion wherever the impulse which brought them together at first leads them; or it may be that wind collects in certain dense mist-like masses and, since it is imprisoned, ignites and then bursts forth upon whatever is round about it, and is carried to that place to which its motion impels it. And there are other ways in which this can be brought about without recourse to myths.

"The fact that the weather is sometimes foretold from the behaviour of certain animals is a mere coincidence in time.[a] For the animals offer no necessary reason why a storm should be produced; and no divine being sits observing when these animals go out and afterwards fulfilling the signs which they

116 *σίας ταύτας ἐπιτελεῖ. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰς τὸ τυχὸν ζῷον, κἂν <εἰ> μικρὸν χαριέστερον εἴη, ἡ τοιαύτη μωρία ἐμπέσοι, μὴ ὅτι εἰς παντελῆ εὐδαιμονίαν κεκτημένον.*

"Ταῦτα δὴ πάντα, Πυθόκλεις, μνημόνευσον· *κατὰ πολύ τε γὰρ τοῦ μύθου ἐκβήσῃ καὶ τὰ ὁμογενῆ τούτοις συνορᾶν δυνήσῃ· μάλιστα δὲ σεαυτὸν ἀπόδος εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀρχῶν καὶ ἀπειρίας καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν τούτοις θεωρίαν, ἔτι τε κριτηρίων καὶ παθῶν, καὶ οὗ ἕνεκεν ταῦτα ἐκλογιζόμεθα· ταῦτα γὰρ μάλιστα συνθεωρούμενα ῥᾳδίως τὰς περὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος αἰτίας συνορᾶν ποιήσει. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ καταγαπήσαντες ᾗ μάλιστα οὔτ' <ἂν> αὐτὰ ταῦτα καλῶς συνθεωρήσαιεν οὔτε οὗ ἕνεκεν δεῖ*
117 *θεωρεῖν ταῦτα περιεποιήσαντο."* *ταῦτα αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ τῶν μετεώρων δοκεῖ.*

Περὶ δὲ *τῶν βιωτικῶν καὶ ὅπως χρὴ τὰ μὲν ἡμᾶς αἱρεῖσθαι, τὰ δ' ἐκφεύγειν, οὑτωσὶ γράφει. πρότερον δὲ διέλθωμεν ἅ τε αὐτῷ δοκεῖ περὶ τοῦ σοφοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.*

Βλάβας *ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἢ διὰ μῖσος ἢ διὰ φθόνον ἢ διὰ καταφρόνησιν γίνεσθαι, ὧν τὸν σοφὸν λογισμῷ περιγίνεσθαι. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἅπαξ γενόμενον σοφὸν μηκέτι τὴν ἐναντίαν λαμβάνειν διάθεσιν μηδὲ πλάττειν ἑκόντα· πάθεσι μᾶλλον συσχεθήσεσθαι· οὐκ ἂν ἐμποδίσαι πρὸς τὴν σοφίαν. οὐδὲ μὴν ἐκ πάσης σώματος ἕξεως σοφὸν γενέσθαι ἂν οὐδ' ἐν παντὶ ἔθνει.*

[a] Between the letter to Pythocles and that to Menoeceus come excerpts (§§ 117-120) dealing with the wise man as

have given. For such folly as this would not possess the most ordinary being if ever so little enlightened, much less one who enjoys perfect felicity.

All this, Pythocles, you should keep in mind; for then you will escape a long way from myth, and you will be able to view in their connexion the instances which are similar to these. But above all give yourself up to the study of first principles and of infinity and of kindred subjects, and further of the standards and of the feelings and of the end for which we choose between them. For to study these subjects together will easily enable you to understand the causes of the particular phenomena. And those who have not fully accepted this, in proportion as they have not done so, will be ill acquainted with these very subjects, nor have they secured the end for which they ought to be studied." Such are his views on celestial phenomena.

But as to the conduct of life, what we ought to avoid and what to choose, he writes as follows.[a] Before quoting his words, however, let me go into the views of Epicurus himself and his school concerning the wise man.

There are three motives to injurious acts among men—hatred, envy, and contempt; and these the wise man overcomes by reason. Moreover, he who has once become wise never more assumes the opposite habit, not even in semblance, if he can help it. He will be more susceptible of emotion than other men: that will be no hindrance to his wisdom. However, not every bodily constitution nor every nationality would permit a man to become wise.

conceived by Epicurus, to which are added (§§ 120, 121) some ethical tenets.

118 κἂν στρεβλωθῇ δ' ὁ σοφός, εἶναι αὐτὸν εὐδαίμονα.
μόνον τε χάριν ἕξειν τὸν σοφόν, καὶ ἐπὶ φίλοις καὶ
παροῦσι καὶ ἀποῦσιν ὁμοίως διά τε λόγου[1] <καὶ
διὰ πράξεως>. ὅτε μέντοι στρεβλοῦται, ἔνθα καὶ
μύζει καὶ οἰμώζει. γυναικί τ' οὐ μιγήσεσθαι τὸν
σοφὸν ᾗ οἱ νόμοι ἀπαγορεύουσιν, ὥς φησι Διογένης
ἐν τῇ ἐπιτομῇ τῶν Ἐπικούρου ἠθικῶν δογμάτων.
οὐδὲ κολάσειν οἰκέτας, ἐλεήσειν μέντοι καὶ συγ-
γνώμην τινὶ ἕξειν τῶν σπουδαίων. ἐρασθήσεσθαι
τὸν σοφὸν οὐ δοκεῖ αὐτοῖς· οὐδὲ ταφῆς φροντιεῖν·
οὐδὲ θεόπεμπτον εἶναι τὸν ἔρωτα, ὡς Διογένης
ἐν τῷ δωδεκάτῳ φησίν. οὐδὲ ῥητορεύσειν καλῶς.
συνουσίαν δέ φασιν ὀνῆσαι μὲν οὐδέποτε, ἀγαπητὸν
δὲ εἰ μὴ καὶ ἔβλαψε.

119 Καὶ μηδὲ καὶ γαμήσειν καὶ τεκνοποιήσειν τὸν
σοφόν, ὡς Ἐπίκουρος ἐν ταῖς Διαπορίαις καὶ ἐν
τοῖς Περὶ φύσεως. κατὰ περίστασιν δέ ποτε βίου
γαμήσειν. καὶ διατραπήσεσθαί τινας. οὐδὲ μὴν
ληρήσειν ἐν μέθῃ φησὶν ὁ Ἐπίκουρος ἐν τῷ Συμ-
ποσίῳ. οὐδὲ πολιτεύσεσθαι, ὡς ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ Περὶ
βίων· οὐδὲ τυραννεύσειν· οὐδὲ κυνιεῖν, ὡς ἐν τῇ
δευτέρᾳ Περὶ βίων· οὐδὲ πτωχεύσειν. ἀλλὰ καὶ
πηρωθέντα[2] τὰς ὄψεις μὴ ἐξάξειν[3] αὑτὸν τοῦ βίου,
ὡς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ φησι. καὶ λυπηθήσεσθαι δὲ τὸν
σοφόν, ὡς ὁ Διογένης ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ τῶν Ἐπιλέκτων·
καὶ δικάσεσθαι· καὶ συγγράμματα καταλείψειν·
120 οὐ πανηγυριεῖν δέ· καὶ κτήσεως προνοήσεσθαι

[1] ὁδοῦ codd.: corr. et suppl. Us.
[2] πηρωθεὶς vulg.: corr. Bywater.
[3] μετέξει vel μετάξει codd.: corr. Bywater.

[a] *i.e.* by suicide, as recommended by the Stoics (*supra*, vii. 130).

Even on the rack the wise man is happy. He alone will feel gratitude towards friends, present and absent alike, and show it by word and deed. When on the rack, however, he will give vent to cries and groans. As regards women he will submit to the restrictions imposed by the law, as Diogenes says in his epitome of Epicurus' ethical doctrines. Nor will he punish his servants; rather he will pity them and make allowance on occasion for those who are of good character. The Epicureans do not suffer the wise man to fall in love; nor will he trouble himself about funeral rites; according to them love does not come by divine inspiration: so Diogenes in his twelfth book. The wise man will not make fine speeches. No one was ever the better for sexual indulgence, and it is well if he be not the worse.

Nor, again, will the wise man marry and rear a family: so Epicurus says in the *Problems* and in the *De Natura*. Occasionally he may marry owing to special circumstances in his life. Some too will turn aside from their purpose. Nor will he drivel, when drunken: so Epicurus says in the *Symposium*. Nor will he take part in politics, as is stated in the first book *On Life*; nor will he make himself a tyrant; nor will he turn Cynic (so the second book *On Life* tells us); nor will he be a mendicant. But even when he has lost his sight, he will not withdraw himself [a] from life: this is stated in the same book. The wise man will also feel grief, according to Diogenes in the fifth book of his *Epilecta*. And he will take a suit into court. He will leave written words behind him, but will not compose panegyric. He will have regard to his property and to the future.

καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος. φιλαγρήσειν. τύχῃ τ' ἀντιτάξεσθαι, φίλον τε οὐδένα προήσεσθαι.[1] εὐδοξίας ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον προνοήσεσθαι, ἐφ' ὅσον μὴ καταφρονήσεσθαι· μᾶλλόν τε εὐφρανθήσεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων ἐν ταῖς θεωρίαις.

Εἰκόνας τε ἀναθήσειν. <εὖ> εἰ ἔχοι, ἀδιαφόρως ἂν σχοίη. μόνον τε τὸν σοφὸν ὀρθῶς ἂν περί τε μουσικῆς καὶ ποιητικῆς διαλέξεσθαι· ποιήματά τε ἐνεργείᾳ οὐκ ἂν ποιῆσαι. οὐ κινεῖσθαί τε ἕτερον ἑτέρου σοφώτερον. χρηματιεῖσθαί τε, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ μόνης σοφίας, ἀπορήσαντα. καὶ μόναρχον ἐν καιρῷ θεραπεύσειν. καὶ ἐπιχαρήσεσθαί τινι ἐπὶ τῷ διορθώματι· καὶ σχολὴν κατασκευάσειν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥστ' ὀχλαγωγῆσαι· καὶ ἀναγνώσεσθαι ἐν πλήθει, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἑκόντα· δογματιεῖν τε καὶ οὐκ ἀπορήσειν· καὶ καθ' ὕπνους δὲ ὅμοιον ἔσεσθαι, καὶ ὑπὲρ φίλου ποτὲ τεθνήξεσθαι.

Δοκεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς ἁμαρτήματα ἄνισα εἶναι. καὶ τὴν ὑγίειαν τισὶ μὲν ἀγαθόν, τισὶ δ' ἀδιάφορον. τὴν δὲ ἀνδρείαν φύσει μὴ γίνεσθαι, λογισμῷ δὲ τοῦ συμφέροντος· καὶ τὴν φιλίαν διὰ τὰς χρείας· δεῖν μέντοι προκατάρχεσθαι (καὶ γὰρ τὴν γῆν σπείρομεν), συνίστασθαι δὲ αὐτὴν κατὰ κοινωνίαν τοῖς ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἐκπεπληρωμ<ένοις>.

121 Τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν διχῇ νοεῖσθαι, τήν τε ἀκροτάτην, οἵα ἐστὶ περὶ τὸν θεόν, ἐπίτασιν οὐκ ἔχουσαν· καὶ τὴν <κατὰ τὴν> προσθήκην καὶ ἀφαίρεσιν ἡδονῶν.

Μετιτέον δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπιστολήν.

[1] κτήσεσθαι codd. : corr. Bignone.

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[a] *Cf.* Philodemus, Περὶ εὐσεβείας (Us. p. 258).

[b] The transposition of this paragraph is due to Bignone (p. 214, notes 2, 4).

He will be fond of the country. He will be armed against fortune and will never give up a friend. He will pay just so much regard to his reputation as not to be looked down upon. He will take more delight than other men in state festivals.[a]

[b] The wise man will set up votive images. Whether he is well off or not will be matter of indifference to him. Only the wise man will be able to converse correctly about music and poetry, without however actually writing poems himself. One wise man does not move more wisely than another. And he will make money, but only by his wisdom, if he should be in poverty, and he will pay court to a king, if need be. He will be grateful to anyone when he is corrected. He will found a school, but not in such a manner as to draw the crowd after him ; and will give readings in public, but only by request. He will be a dogmatist but not a mere sceptic ; and he will be like himself even when asleep. And he will on occasion die for a friend.

The school holds that sins are not all equal ; that health is in some cases a good, in others a thing indifferent ; that courage is not a natural gift but comes from calculation of expediency ; and that friendship is prompted by our needs. One of the friends, however, must make the first advances (just as we have to cast seed into the earth), but it is maintained by a partnership in the enjoyment of life's pleasures.

Two sorts of happiness can be conceived, the one the highest possible, such as the gods enjoy, which cannot be augmented, the other admitting addition and subtraction of pleasures.

We must now proceed to his letter.

"Ἐπίκουρος Μενοικεῖ χαίρειν.

122 "Μήτε νέος τις ὢν μελλέτω φιλοσοφεῖν, μήτε γέρων ὑπάρχων κοπιάτω φιλοσοφῶν· οὔτε γὰρ ἄωρος οὐδείς ἐστιν οὔτε πάρωρος πρὸς τὸ κατὰ ψυχὴν ὑγιαῖνον. ὁ δὲ λέγων ἢ μήπω τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν ὑπάρχειν ἢ παρεληλυθέναι τὴν ὥραν ὅμοιός ἐστι τῷ λέγοντι πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ἢ μήπω παρεῖναι τὴν ὥραν ἢ μηκέτι εἶναι τὴν ὥραν. ὥστε φιλοσοφητέον καὶ νέῳ καὶ γέροντι, τῷ μὲν ὅπως γηράσκων νεάζῃ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς διὰ τὴν χάριν τῶν γεγονότων, τῷ δ' ὅπως νέος ἅμα καὶ παλαιὸς ᾖ διὰ τὴν ἀφοβίαν τῶν μελλόντων. μελετᾶν οὖν χρὴ τὰ ποιοῦντα τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, εἴ περ παρούσης μὲν αὐτῆς, πάντα ἔχομεν, ἀπούσης δέ, πάντα πράττομεν εἰς τὸ ταύτην ἔχειν.

123 "Ἃ δέ σοι συνεχῶς παρήγγελλον, ταῦτα καὶ πρᾶττε καὶ μελέτα, στοιχεῖα τοῦ καλῶς ζῆν ταῦτ' εἶναι διαλαμβάνων. πρῶτον μὲν τὸν θεὸν ζῷον ἄφθαρτον καὶ μακάριον νομίζων, ὡς ἡ κοινὴ τοῦ θεοῦ νόησις ὑπεγράφη, μηθὲν μήτε τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἀλλότριον μήτε τῆς μακαριότητος ἀνοίκειον αὐτῷ πρόσαπτε· πᾶν δὲ τὸ φυλάττειν αὐτοῦ δυνάμενον τὴν μετ' ἀφθαρσίας μακαριότητα περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξαζε. θεοὶ μὲν γάρ εἰσιν. ἐναργὴς δέ ἐστιν αὐτῶν ἡ γνῶσις· οἵους δ' αὐτοὺς <οἱ> πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν, οὐκ εἰσίν· οὐ γὰρ φυλάττουσιν αὐτοὺς οἵους νοοῦσιν. ἀσεβὴς δὲ οὐχ ὁ τοὺς τῶν πολλῶν θεοὺς ἀναιρῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ τὰς τῶν πολλῶν δόξας θεοῖς

"Epicurus to Menoeceus, greeting.

"Let no one be slow to seek wisdom when he is young nor weary in the search thereof when he is grown old. For no age is too early or too late for the health of the soul. And to say that the season for studying philosophy has not yet come, or that it is past and gone, is like saying that the season for happiness is not yet or that it is now no more. Therefore, both old and young ought to seek wisdom, the former in order that, as age comes over him, he may be young in good things because of the grace of what has been, and the latter in order that, while he is young, he may at the same time be old, because he has no fear of the things which are to come. So we must exercise ourselves in the things which bring happiness, since, if that be present, we have everything, and, if that be absent, all our actions are directed toward attaining it.

"Those things which without ceasing I have declared unto thee, those do, and exercise thyself therein, holding them to be the elements of right life. First believe that God is a living being immortal and blessed, according to the notion of a god indicated by the common sense of mankind; and so believing, thou shalt not affirm of him aught that is foreign to his immortality or that agrees not with blessedness, but shalt believe about him whatever may uphold both his blessedness and his immortality. For verily there are gods, and the knowledge of them is manifest; but they are not such as the multitude believe, seeing that men do not steadfastly maintain the notions they form respecting them. Not the man who denies the gods worshipped by the multitude, but he who affirms of the gods what the multi-

124 προσάπτων. οὐ γὰρ προλήψεις εἰσίν, ἀλλ' ὑπολή-
ψεις ψευδεῖς αἱ τῶν πολλῶν ὑπὲρ θεῶν ἀποφάσεις·
ἔνθεν αἱ μέγισται βλάβαι τε τοῖς κακοῖς ἐκ θεῶν
ἐπάγονται καὶ ὠφέλειαι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς. ταῖς γὰρ
ἰδίαις οἰκειούμενοι διὰ παντὸς ἀρεταῖς τοὺς ὁμοίους
ἀποδέχονται, πᾶν τὸ μὴ τοιοῦτον ὡς ἀλλότριον
νομίζοντες.

"Συνέθιζε δὲ ἐν τῷ νομίζειν μηδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς
εἶναι τὸν θάνατον· ἐπεὶ πᾶν ἀγαθὸν καὶ κακὸν ἐν
αἰσθήσει· στέρησις δέ ἐστιν αἰσθήσεως ὁ θάνατος.
ὅθεν γνῶσις ὀρθὴ τοῦ μηθὲν εἶναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸν
θάνατον ἀπολαυστὸν ποιεῖ τὸ τῆς ζωῆς θνητόν,
οὐκ ἄπειρον[1] προστιθεῖσα χρόνον ἀλλὰ τὸν τῆς
125 ἀθανασίας ἀφελομένη πόθον. οὐθὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἐν
τῷ ζῆν δεινὸν τῷ κατειληφότι γνησίως τὸ μηθὲν
ὑπάρχειν ἐν τῷ μὴ ζῆν δεινόν. ὥστε μάταιος ὁ
λέγων δεδιέναι τὸν θάνατον οὐχ ὅτι λυπήσει παρών,
ἀλλ' ὅτι λυπεῖ μέλλων. ὃ γὰρ παρὸν οὐκ ἐνοχλεῖ,
προσδοκώμενον κενῶς λυπεῖ. τὸ φρικωδέστατον
οὖν τῶν κακῶν ὁ θάνατος οὐθὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἐπειδή
περ ὅταν μὲν ἡμεῖς ὦμεν, ὁ θάνατος οὐ πάρεστιν·
ὅταν δ' ὁ θάνατος παρῇ, τόθ' ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐσμέν.
οὔτε οὖν πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντάς ἐστιν οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς
τετελευτηκότας, ἐπειδήπερ περὶ οὓς μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν,
οἱ δ' οὐκέτι εἰσίν. ἀλλ' οἱ πολλοὶ τὸν θάνατον ὁτὲ
μὲν ὡς μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν φεύγουσιν, ὁτὲ δὲ
ὡς ἀνάπαυσιν τῶν ἐν τῷ ζῆν <κακῶν αἱροῦνται. ὁ
126 δὲ σοφὸς οὔτε παραιτεῖται τὸ ζῆν> οὔτε φοβεῖται

[1] οὐκ ἄπορον codd.: corr. Menag.: sed post ἀλλὰ τὸν inf. (14) <ἄπορον> excidisse putat Bignone.

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[a] The striking resemblance to this passage of ps.-Plat. *Axiochus*, 369 B, has often been pointed out, most recently by

tude believes about them is truly impious. For the utterances of the multitude about the gods are not true preconceptions but false assumptions; hence it is that the greatest evils happen to the wicked and the greatest blessings happen to the good from the hand of the gods, seeing that they are always favourable to their own good qualities and take pleasure in men like unto themselves, but reject as alien whatever is not of their kind.

"Accustom thyself to believe that death is nothing to us, for good and evil imply sentience, and death is the privation of all sentience; therefore a right understanding that death is nothing to us makes the mortality of life enjoyable, not by adding to life an illimitable time, but by taking away the yearning after immortality. For life has no terrors for him who has thoroughly apprehended that there are no terrors for him in ceasing to live. Foolish, therefore, is the man who says that he fears death, not because it will pain when it comes, but because it pains in the prospect. Whatsoever causes no annoyance when it is present, causes only a groundless pain in the expectation. Death, therefore, the most awful of evils, is nothing to us, seeing that, when we are, death is not come, and, when death is come, we are not. It is nothing, then, either to the living or to the dead, for with the living it is not and the dead exist no longer.[a] But in the world, at one time men shun death as the greatest of all evils, and at another time choose it as a respite from the evils in life. The wise man does not deprecate life nor does he fear the cessation

E. Chevallier, *Étude crit. du dialogue ps.-plat. l'Axiochos* (Lyon, 1914, pp. 74 *sq.*); he rightly maintains the priority of the letter to Menoeceus (*ib.* p. 76).

τὸ μὴ ζῆν· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτῷ προσίσταται τὸ ζῆν οὔτε δοξάζεται κακὸν εἶναι τὸ μὴ ζῆν. ὥσπερ δὲ τὸ σιτίον οὐ τὸ πλεῖον πάντως ἀλλὰ τὸ ἥδιστον αἱρεῖται, οὕτω καὶ χρόνον οὐ τὸν μήκιστον ἀλλὰ τὸν ἥδιστον καρπίζεται. ὁ δὲ παραγγέλλων τὸν μὲν νέον καλῶς ζῆν, τὸν δὲ γέροντα καλῶς καταστρέφειν εὐήθης ἐστὶν οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ τῆς ζωῆς ἀσπαστόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι μελέτην τοῦ καλῶς ζῆν καὶ τοῦ καλῶς ἀποθνήσκειν. πολὺ δὲ χεῖρον καὶ ὁ λέγων, καλὸν μὲν μὴ φῦναι,

φύντα δ' ὅπως ὤκιστα πύλας Ἀΐδαο περῆσαι.

127 εἰ μὲν γὰρ πεποιθὼς τοῦτό φησι, πῶς οὐκ ἀπέρχεται τοῦ ζῆν; ἐν ἑτοίμῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ τοῦτ' ἔστιν, εἴπερ ἦν βεβουλευμένον αὐτῷ βεβαίως· εἰ δὲ μωκώμενος, μάταιος ἐν τοῖς οὐκ ἐπιδεχομένοις.

"Μνημονευτέον δὲ ὡς τὸ μέλλον οὔτε ἡμέτερον οὔτε πάντως οὐχ ἡμέτερον, ἵνα μήτε πάντως προσμένωμεν ὡς ἐσόμενον μήτε ἀπελπίζωμεν ὡς πάντως οὐκ ἐσόμενον.

"Ἀναλογιστέον δὲ ὡς τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν αἱ μέν εἰσι φυσικαί, αἱ δὲ κεναί. καὶ τῶν φυσικῶν αἱ μὲν ἀναγκαῖαι, αἱ δὲ φυσικαὶ μόνον· τῶν δ' ἀναγκαίων αἱ μὲν πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν εἰσὶν ἀναγκαῖαι, αἱ δὲ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀοχλησίαν, αἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸ
128 τὸ ζῆν. τούτων γὰρ ἀπλανὴς θεωρία πᾶσαν αἵρεσιν καὶ φυγὴν ἐπανάγειν οἶδεν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὑγίειαν καὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀταραξίαν, ἐπεὶ τοῦτο τοῦ μακαρίως ζῆν ἐστι τέλος. τούτου γὰρ χάριν πάντα πράττομεν, ὅπως μήτε ἀλγῶμεν μήτε ταρβῶμεν· ὅταν δ' ἅπαξ τοῦτο περὶ ἡμᾶς γένηται,

of life. The thought of life is no offence to him, nor is the cessation of life regarded as an evil. And even as men choose of food not merely and simply the larger portion, but the more pleasant, so the wise seek to enjoy the time which is most pleasant and not merely that which is longest. And he who admonishes the young to live well and the old to make a good end speaks foolishly, not merely because of the desirableness of life, but because the same exercise at once teaches to live well and to die well. Much worse is he who says that it were good not to be born, but when once one is born to pass with all speed through the gates of Hades.[a] For if he truly believes this, why does he not depart from life? It were easy for him to do so, if once he were firmly convinced. If he speaks only in mockery, his words are foolishness, for those who hear believe him not.

"We must remember that the future is neither wholly ours nor wholly not ours, so that neither must we count upon it as quite certain to come nor despair of it as quite certain not to come.

"We must also reflect that of desires some are natural, others are groundless; and that of the natural some are necessary as well as natural, and some natural only. And of the necessary desires some are necessary if we are to be happy, some if the body is to be rid of uneasiness, some if we are even to live. He who has a clear and certain understanding of these things will direct every preference and aversion toward securing health of body and tranquillity of mind, seeing that this is the sum and end of a blessed life. For the end of all our actions is to be free from pain and fear, and, when once we

[a] Theognis 425, 427.

λύεται πᾶς ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς χειμών, οὐκ ἔχοντος τοῦ ζῴου βαδίζειν ὡς πρὸς ἐνδέον τι καὶ ζητεῖν ἕτερον ᾧ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀγαθὸν συμπληρωθήσεται. τότε γὰρ ἡδονῆς χρείαν ἔχομεν, ὅταν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ παρεῖναι τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀλγῶμεν· ὅταν δὲ μὴ ἀλγῶμεν, οὐκέτι τῆς ἡδονῆς δεόμεθα. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος λέγομεν
129 *εἶναι τοῦ μακαρίως ζῆν· ταύτην γὰρ ἀγαθὸν πρῶτον καὶ συγγενικὸν ἔγνωμεν, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης καταρχόμεθα πάσης αἱρέσεως καὶ φυγῆς καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτην καταντῶμεν ὡς κανόνι τῷ πάθει πᾶν ἀγαθὸν κρίνοντες. καὶ ἐπεὶ πρῶτον ἀγαθὸν τοῦτο καὶ σύμφυτον, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οὐ πᾶσαν ἡδονὴν αἱρούμεθα, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅτε πολλὰς ἡδονὰς ὑπερβαίνομεν, ὅταν πλεῖον ἡμῖν τὸ δυσχερὲς ἐκ τούτων ἕπηται· καὶ πολλὰς ἀλγηδόνας ἡδονῶν κρείττους νομίζομεν, ἐπειδὰν μείζων ἡμῖν ἡδονὴ παρακολουθῇ πολὺν χρόνον ὑπομείνασι τὰς ἀλγηδόνας. πᾶσα οὖν ἡδονὴ διὰ τὸ φύσιν ἔχειν οἰκείαν ἀγαθόν, οὐ πᾶσα μέντοι ‹γ'› αἱρετή· καθά περ καὶ ἀλγηδὼν πᾶσα*
130 *κακόν, οὐ πᾶσα δὲ ἀεὶ φευκτὴ πεφυκυῖα. τῇ μέντοι συμμετρήσει καὶ συμφερόντων καὶ ἀσυμφόρων βλέψει ταῦτα πάντα κρίνειν καθήκει· χρώμεθα γὰρ τῷ μὲν ἀγαθῷ κατά τινας χρόνους ὡς κακῷ, τῷ δὲ κακῷ τἄμπαλιν ὡς ἀγαθῷ. καὶ τὴν αὐτάρκειαν δὲ ἀγαθὸν μέγα νομίζομεν, οὐχ ἵνα πάντως τοῖς ὀλίγοις χρώμεθα, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἐὰν μὴ ἔχωμεν τὰ πολλά, τοῖς ὀλίγοις ἀρκώμεθα, πεπεισμένοι γνησίως ὅτι ἥδιστα πολυτελείας ἀπολαύουσιν οἱ ἥκιστα ταύτης δεόμενοι, καὶ ὅτι τὸ μὲν φυσικὸν πᾶν εὐπόριστόν ἐστι, τὸ δὲ κενὸν δυσπόριστον. οἱ γὰρ λιτοὶ χυλοὶ ἴσην πολυτελεῖ*

have attained all this, the tempest of the soul is laid; seeing that the living creature has no need to go in search of something that is lacking, nor to look for anything else by which the good of the soul and of the body will be fulfilled. When we are pained because of the absence of pleasure, then, and then only, do we feel the need of pleasure. Wherefore we call pleasure the alpha and omega of a blessed life. Pleasure is our first and kindred good. It is the starting-point of every choice and of every aversion, and to it we come back, inasmuch as we make feeling the rule by which to judge of every good thing. And since pleasure is our first and native good, for that reason we do not choose every pleasure whatsoever, but ofttimes pass over many pleasures when a greater annoyance ensues from them. And ofttimes we consider pains superior to pleasures when submission to the pains for a long time brings us as a consequence a greater pleasure. While therefore all pleasure because it is naturally akin to us is good, not all pleasure is choiceworthy, just as all pain is an evil and yet not all pain is to be shunned. It is, however, by measuring one against another, and by looking at the conveniences and inconveniences, that all these matters must be judged. Sometimes we treat the good as an evil, and the evil, on the contrary, as a good. Again, we regard independence of outward things as a great good, not so as in all cases to use little, but so as to be contented with little if we have not much, being honestly persuaded that they have the sweetest enjoyment of luxury who stand least in need of it, and that whatever is natural is easily procured and only the vain and worthless hard to win. Plain fare

διαίτῃ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἐπιφέρουσιν, ὅταν ἅπαξ τὸ
131 ἀλγοῦν κατ' ἔνδειαν ἐξαιρεθῇ· καὶ μᾶζα καὶ ὕδωρ τὴν ἀκροτάτην ἀποδίδωσιν ἡδονήν, ἐπειδὰν ἐνδέων τις αὐτὰ προσενέγκηται. τὸ συνεθίζειν οὖν ἐν ταῖς ἁπλαῖς καὶ οὐ πολυτελέσι διαίταις καὶ ὑγιείας ἐστὶ συμπληρωτικὸν καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀναγκαίας τοῦ βίου χρήσεις ἄοκνον ποιεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ τοῖς πολυτελέσιν ἐκ διαλειμμάτων προσερχομένους κρεῖττον ἡμᾶς διατίθησι καὶ πρὸς τὴν τύχην ἀφόβους παρασκευάζει.

"Ὅταν οὖν λέγωμεν ἡδονὴν τέλος ὑπάρχειν, οὐ τὰς τῶν ἀσώτων ἡδονὰς καὶ τὰς ἐν ἀπολαύσει κειμένας λέγομεν, ὥς τινες ἀγνοοῦντες καὶ οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντες ἢ κακῶς ἐκδεχόμενοι νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μήτε ἀλγεῖν κατὰ σῶμα μήτε ταράττεσθαι κατὰ ψυχήν.
132 οὐ γὰρ πότοι καὶ κῶμοι συνείροντες οὐδ' ἀπολαύσεις παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν οὐδ' ἰχθύων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσα φέρει πολυτελὴς τράπεζα, τὸν ἡδὺν γεννᾷ βίον, ἀλλὰ νήφων λογισμὸς καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἐξερευνῶν πάσης αἱρέσεως καὶ φυγῆς καὶ τὰς δόξας ἐξελαύνων ἐξ ὧν πλεῖστος τὰς ψυχὰς καταλαμβάνει θόρυβος. τούτων δὲ πάντων ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν φρόνησις· διὸ καὶ φιλοσοφίας τιμιώτερον ὑπάρχει φρόνησις, ἐξ ἧς αἱ λοιπαὶ πᾶσαι πεφύκασιν ἀρεταί, διδάσκουσα ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἡδέως ζῆν ἄνευ τοῦ φρονίμως καὶ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως, οὐδὲ φρονίμως καὶ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ἄνευ τοῦ ἡδέως· συμπεφύκασι γὰρ αἱ ἀρεταὶ τῷ ζῆν ἡδέως, καὶ τὸ ζῆν ἡδέως τούτων ἐστὶν ἀχώριστον.

133 "Ἐπεὶ τίνα νομίζεις εἶναι κρείττονα τοῦ καὶ περὶ

gives as much pleasure as a costly diet, when once the pain of want has been removed, while bread and water confer the highest possible pleasure when they are brought to hungry lips. To habituate one's self, therefore, to simple and inexpensive diet supplies all that is needful for health, and enables a man to meet the necessary requirements of life without shrinking, and it places us in a better condition when we approach at intervals a costly fare and renders us fearless of fortune.

"When we say, then, that pleasure is the end and aim, we do not mean the pleasures of the prodigal or the pleasures of sensuality, as we are understood to do by some through ignorance, prejudice, or wilful misrepresentation. By pleasure we mean the absence of pain in the body and of trouble in the soul. It is not an unbroken succession of drinking-bouts and of revelry, not sexual love, not the enjoyment of the fish and other delicacies of a luxurious table, which produce a pleasant life; it is sober reasoning, searching out the grounds of every choice and avoidance, and banishing those beliefs through which the greatest tumults take possession of the soul. Of all this the beginning and the greatest good is prudence. Wherefore prudence is a more precious thing even than philosophy; from it spring all the other virtues, for it teaches that we cannot lead a life of pleasure which is not also a life of prudence, honour, and justice; nor lead a life of prudence, honour, and justice, which is not also a life of pleasure. For the virtues have grown into one with a pleasant life, and a pleasant life is inseparable from them.

"Who, then, is superior in thy judgement to such a man? He holds a holy belief concerning the gods,

θεῶν ὅσια δοξάζοντος καὶ περὶ θανάτου διὰ παντὸς ἀφόβως ἔχοντος καὶ τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐπιλελογισμένου τέλος, καὶ τὸ μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν πέρας ὡς ἔστιν εὐσυμπλήρωτόν τε καὶ εὐπόριστον διαλαμβάνοντος, τὸ δὲ τῶν κακῶν ὡς ἢ χρόνους ἢ πόνους ἔχει βραχεῖς, τὴν δὲ ὑπό τινων δεσπότιν εἰσαγομένην πάντων διαγελῶντος[1] <εἱμαρμένην καὶ μᾶλλον ἃ μὲν κατ᾽ ἀνάγκην γίγνεσθαι λέγοντος>, ἃ δὲ ἀπὸ τύχης, ἃ δὲ παρ᾽ ἡμᾶς διὰ τὸ τὴν μὲν ἀνάγκην ἀνυπεύθυνον εἶναι, τὴν δὲ τύχην ἄστατον ὁρᾶν, τὸ δὲ παρ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἀδέσποτον, ᾧ καὶ τὸ μεμπτὸν
134 *καὶ τὸ ἐναντίον παρακολουθεῖν πέφυκεν (ἐπεὶ κρεῖττον ἦν τῷ περὶ θεῶν μύθῳ κατακολουθεῖν ἢ τῇ τῶν φυσικῶν εἱμαρμένῃ δουλεύειν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐλπίδα παραιτήσεως ὑπογράφει θεῶν διὰ τιμῆς, ἡ δὲ ἀπαραίτητον ἔχει τὴν ἀνάγκην), τὴν δὲ τύχην οὔτε θεόν, ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν, ὑπολαμβάνοντος (οὐθὲν γὰρ ἀτάκτως θεῷ πράττεται) οὔτε ἀβέβαιον αἰτίαν (<οὐκ> οἴεται μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν ἐκ ταύτης πρὸς τὸ μακαρίως ζῆν ἀνθρώποις δίδοσθαι, ἀρχὰς μέντοι μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν ἢ κακῶν ὑπὸ ταύτης*
135 *χορηγεῖσθαι), κρεῖττον εἶναι νομίζοντος εὐλογίστως ἀτυχεῖν ἢ ἀλογίστως εὐτυχεῖν· βέλτιον γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι τὸ καλῶς κριθὲν μὴ ὀρθωθῆναι διὰ ταύτην.*

“Ταῦτα οὖν καὶ τὰ τούτοις συγγενῆ μελέτα πρὸς σεαυτὸν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς πρός τε τὸν ὅμοιον σεαυτῷ, καὶ οὐδέποτε οὔθ᾽ ὕπαρ οὔτ᾽ ὄναρ διαταραχθήσῃ, ζήσεις δὲ ὡς θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποις. οὐθὲν γὰρ ἔοικε θνητῷ ζῴῳ ζῶν ἄνθρωπος ἐν ἀθανάτοις ἀγαθοῖς.”

[1] ἀγγέλλοντος (-λῶντος PQ) codd.: διαγελῶντος corr. Us. addito <εἱμαρμένην . . . λέγοντος>.

and is altogether free from the fear of death. He has diligently considered the end fixed by nature, and understands how easily the limit of good things can be reached and attained, and how either the duration or the intensity of evils is but slight. Destiny, which some introduce as sovereign over all things, he laughs to scorn, affirming rather that some things happen of necessity, others by chance, others through our own agency. For he sees that necessity destroys responsibility and that chance or fortune is inconstant; whereas our own actions are free, and it is to them that praise and blame naturally attach. It were better, indeed, to accept the legends of the gods than to bow beneath that yoke of destiny which the natural philosophers have imposed. The one holds out some faint hope that we may escape if we honour the gods, while the necessity of the naturalists is deaf to all entreaties. Nor does he hold chance to be a god, as the world in general does, for in the acts of a god there is no disorder; nor to be a cause, though an uncertain one, for he believes that no good or evil is dispensed by chance to men so as to make life blessed, though it supplies the starting-point of great good and great evil. He believes that the misfortune of the wise is better than the prosperity of the fool. It is better, in short, that what is well judged in action should not owe its successful issue to the aid of chance.

"Exercise thyself in these and kindred precepts day and night, both by thyself and with him who is like unto thee; then never, either in waking or in dream, wilt thou be disturbed, but wilt live as a god among men. For man loses all semblance of mortality by living in the midst of immortal blessings."

Μαντικὴν δ' ἅπασαν ἐν ἄλλοις ἀναιρεῖ, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ μικρᾷ ἐπιτομῇ. καί φησι· "μαντικὴ οὖσα ἀνύπαρκτος, εἰ δὲ καὶ ὑπαρκτή, οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἡγητέα γινόμενα."

Τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ τῶν βιωτικῶν· καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω διείλεκται ἀλλαχόθι.

136 *Διαφέρεται δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Κυρηναϊκοὺς περὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὴν καταστηματικὴν οὐκ ἐγκρίνουσι, μόνην δὲ τὴν ἐν κινήσει· ὁ δὲ ἀμφοτέραν * * ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, ὥς φησιν ἐν τῷ Περὶ αἱρέσεως καὶ φυγῆς καὶ ἐν τῷ Περὶ τέλους καὶ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ βίων καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Μυτιλήνῃ φιλοσόφους ἐπιστολῇ. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Διογένης ἐν τῇ ἑπτακαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἐπιλέκτων καὶ Μητρόδωρος ἐν τῷ Τιμοκράτει λέγουσιν οὕτω· νοουμένης δὲ ἡδονῆς τῆς τε κατὰ κίνησιν καὶ τῆς καταστηματικῆς. ὁ δ' Ἐπίκουρος ἐν τῷ Περὶ αἱρέσεων οὕτω λέγει· "ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀταραξία καὶ ἀπονία καταστηματικαί εἰσιν ἡδοναί· ἡ δὲ χαρὰ καὶ ἡ εὐφροσύνη κατὰ κίνησιν ἐνεργείᾳ βλέπονται."*

137 *Ἔτι πρὸς τοὺς Κυρηναϊκούς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ χείρους τὰς σωματικὰς ἀλγηδόνας τῶν ψυχικῶν, κολάζεσθαι γοῦν τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας σώματι· ὁ δὲ τὰς ψυχικάς. τὴν γοῦν σάρκα τὸ παρὸν μόνον χειμάζειν, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ παρελθὸν καὶ τὸ παρὸν καὶ τὸ μέλλον. οὕτως οὖν καὶ μείζονας ἡδονὰς*

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[a] This short note on divination is clumsily inserted between the last words of the epistle and the expositor's natural reference to other works of Epicurus treating of ethics; Usener conjectures that it may have come from a Scholium attached to the epistle.

Elsewhere he rejects the whole of divination,[a] as in the short epitome, and says, "No means of predicting the future really exists, and if it did, we must regard what happens according to it as nothing to us."

Such are his views on life and conduct; and he has discoursed upon them at greater length elsewhere.

He differs from the Cyrenaics[b] with regard to pleasure. They do not include under the term the pleasure which is a state of rest, but only that which consists in motion. Epicurus admits both; also pleasure of mind as well as of body, as he states in his work *On Choice and Avoidance* and in that *On the Ethical End*, and in the first book of his work *On Human Life* and in the epistle to his philosopher friends in Mytilene. So also Diogenes in the seventeenth book of his *Epilecta*, and Metrodorus in his *Timocrates*, whose actual words are: "Thus pleasure being conceived both as that species which consists in motion and that which is a state of rest." The words of Epicurus in his work *On Choice* are: "Peace of mind and freedom from pain are pleasures which imply a state of rest; joy and delight are seen to consist in motion and activity."

He further disagrees with the Cyrenaics in that they hold that pains of body are worse than mental pains; at all events evil-doers are made to suffer bodily punishment; whereas Epicurus holds the pains of the mind to be the worse; at any rate the flesh endures the storms of the present alone, the mind those of the past and future as well as the present. In this way also he holds mental pleasures to be

[b] Next come excerpts dealing with the difference between Epicurean and Cyrenaic ethics.

εἶναι τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς. ἀποδείξει δὲ χρῆται τοῦ τέλος εἶναι τὴν ἡδονὴν τῷ τὰ ζῷα ἅμα τῷ γεννηθῆναι τῇ μὲν εὐαρεστεῖσθαι, τῷ δὲ πόνῳ προσκρούειν φυσικῶς καὶ χωρὶς λόγου. αὐτοπαθῶς οὖν φεύγομεν τὴν ἀλγηδόνα· ἵνα καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς καταβιβρωσκόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ χιτῶνος βοᾷ

δάκνων ἰύζων· ἀμφὶ δ᾽ ἔστενον πέτραι
Λοκρῶν τ᾽ ὄρειοι πρῶνες Εὐβοίας τ᾽ ἄκραι.

138 *Διὰ δὲ τὴν ἡδονὴν καὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς αἱρεῖσθαι, οὐ δι᾽ αὐτάς, ὥσπερ τὴν ἰατρικὴν διὰ τὴν ὑγίειαν, καθά φησι καὶ Διογένης ἐν τῇ εἰκοστῇ τῶν Ἐπιλέκτων, ὃς καὶ διαγωγὴν λέγει τὴν ἀγωγήν. ὁ δ᾽ Ἐπίκουρος καὶ ἀχώριστόν φησι τῆς ἡδονῆς τὴν ἀρετὴν μόνην· τὰ δ᾽ ἄλλα χωρίζεσθαι, οἷον βρωτά.*

Καὶ *φέρε οὖν δὴ νῦν τὸν κολοφῶνα, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, ἐπιθῶμεν τοῦ παντὸς συγγράμματος καὶ τοῦ βίου τοῦ φιλοσόφου, τὰς* Κυρίας *αὐτοῦ δόξας παραθέμενοι καὶ ταύταις τὸ πᾶν σύγγραμμα κατακλείσαντες, τέλει χρησάμενοι τῇ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἀρχῇ.*

139 [I.] Τὸ *μακάριον καὶ ἄφθαρτον οὔτε αὐτὸ πράγματα ἔχει οὔτε ἄλλῳ παρέχει, ὥστε οὔτε ὀργαῖς οὔτε χάρισι συνέχεται· ἐν ἀσθενεῖ γὰρ πᾶν τὸ τοιοῦτον.* [*ἐν ἄλλοις δέ φησι τοὺς θεοὺς λόγῳ θεωρητούς, οὓς μὲν κατ᾽ ἀριθμὸν ὑφεστῶτας, οὓς*

[a] Soph. *Trach.* 787 f.; but our MSS. read *βοῶν* for *δάκνων*.
[b] This collection of forty of the most important articles of faith in the Epicurean creed was famous in antiquity. It consists of extracts from the voluminous writings of Epicurus, and may have been put together by a faithful disciple. On the other hand, Epicurus laid great stress (§§ 35, 36) on epitomes of his doctrine being committed to memory; so

greater than those of the body. And as proof that pleasure is the end he adduces the fact that living things, so soon as they are born, are well content with pleasure and are at enmity with pain, by the prompting of nature and apart from reason. Left to our own feelings, then, we shun pain; as when even Heracles, devoured by the poisoned robe, cries aloud,

> And bites and yells, and rock to rock resounds,
> Headlands of Locris and Euboean cliffs.[a]

And we choose the virtues too on account of pleasure and not for their own sake, as we take medicine for the sake of health. So too in the twentieth book of his *Epilecta* says Diogenes, who also calls education (ἀγωγή) recreation (διαγωγή). Epicurus describes virtue as the *sine qua non* of pleasure, *i.e.* the one thing without which pleasure cannot be, everything else, food, for instance, being separable, *i.e.* not indispensable to pleasure.

Come, then, let me set the seal, so to say, on my entire work as well as on this philosopher's life by citing his Sovran Maxims,[b] therewith bringing the whole work to a close and making the end of it to coincide with the beginning of happiness.

1. A blessed and eternal being has no trouble himself and brings no trouble upon any other being; hence he is exempt from movements of anger and partiality, for every such movement implies weakness. [*Elsewhere he says that the gods are discernible by reason alone, some being numerically distinct, while others*

that his passion for personal direction and supervision of the studies of his pupils may have induced him to furnish them with such an indispensable catechism.

δὲ καθ' ὁμοείδειαν ἐκ τῆς συνεχοῦς ἐπιρρύσεως τῶν ὁμοίων εἰδώλων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀποτετελεσμένων ἀνθρωποειδῶς.]

[II.] Ὁ θάνατος οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς· τὸ γὰρ διαλυθὲν ἀναισθητεῖ· τὸ δ' ἀναισθητοῦν οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

[III.] Ὅρος τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν ἡδονῶν ἡ παντὸς τοῦ ἀλγοῦντος ὑπεξαίρεσις. ὅπου δ' ἂν τὸ ἡδόμενον ἐνῇ, καθ' ὃν ἂν χρόνον ᾖ, οὐκ ἔστι τὸ ἀλγοῦν ἢ τὸ λυπούμενον ἢ τὸ συναμφότερον.

140 [IV.] Οὐ χρονίζει τὸ ἀλγοῦν συνεχῶς ἐν τῇ σαρκί, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἄκρον τὸν ἐλάχιστον χρόνον πάρεστι, τὸ δὲ μόνον ὑπερτεῖνον τὸ ἡδόμενον κατὰ σάρκα οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας συμμένει.[1] αἱ δὲ πολυχρόνιοι τῶν ἀρρωστιῶν πλεονάζον ἔχουσι τὸ ἡδόμενον ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ἤ περ τὸ ἀλγοῦν.

[V.] Οὐκ ἔστιν ἡδέως ζῆν ἄνευ τοῦ φρονίμως καὶ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως, <οὐδὲ φρονίμως καὶ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως> ἄνευ τοῦ ἡδέως. ὅτῳ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ ὑπάρχει ἐξ οὗ ζῆν φρονίμως, καὶ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ὑπάρχει, οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτον ἡδέως ζῆν.

141 [VI.] Ἕνεκα τοῦ θαρρεῖν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, ἦν κατὰ φύσιν [ἀρχῆς καὶ βασιλείας] ἀγαθόν, ἐξ ὧν ἄν ποτε τοῦθ' οἷός τ' ᾖ παρασκευάζεσθαι.

[VII.] Ἔνδοξοι καὶ περίβλεπτοί τινες ἐβουλήθησαν γενέσθαι, τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀσφάλειαν οὕτω νομίζοντες περιποιήσεσθαι. ὥστ' εἰ μὲν ἀσφαλὴς ὁ τῶν τοιούτων βίος, ἀπέλαβον τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀγαθόν· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀσφαλής, οὐκ ἔχουσιν οὗ ἕνεκα ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατὰ τὸ τῆς φύσεως οἰκεῖον ὠρέχθησαν.

[1] *συμβαίνει* codd.: corr. Bywater.

result uniformly from the continuous influx of similar images directed to the same spot and in human form.]

2. Death is nothing to us; for the body, when it has been resolved into its elements, has no feeling, and that which has no feeling is nothing to us.

3. The magnitude of pleasure reaches its limit in the removal of all pain. When pleasure is present, so long as it is uninterrupted, there is no pain either of body or of mind or of both together.

4. Continuous pain does not last long in the flesh; on the contrary, pain, if extreme, is present a very short time, and even that degree of pain which barely outweighs pleasure in the flesh does not last for many days together. Illnesses of long duration even permit of an excess of pleasure over pain in the flesh.

5. It is impossible to live a pleasant life without living wisely and well and justly, and it is impossible to live wisely and well and justly without living pleasantly. Whenever any one of these is lacking, when, for instance, the man is not able to live wisely, though he lives well and justly, it is impossible for him to live a pleasant life.

6. In order to obtain security from other men any means whatsoever of procuring this was a natural good.[a]

7. Some men have sought to become famous and renowned, thinking that thus they would make themselves secure against their fellow-men. If, then, the life of such persons really was secure, they attained natural good; if, however, it was insecure, they have not attained the end which by nature's own prompting they originally sought.

[a] Usener, followed by Bignone, regards ἀρχῆς καὶ βασιλείας of the vulgate text as a marginal gloss on ἐξ ὧν.

[VIII.] Οὐδεμία ἡδονὴ καθ' ἑαυτὸ κακόν· ἀλλὰ τὰ τινῶν ἡδονῶν ποιητικὰ πολλαπλασίους ἐπιφέρει τὰς ὀχλήσεις τῶν ἡδονῶν.

142 [IX.] Εἰ κατεπυκνοῦτο πᾶσα ἡδονή, καὶ χρόνῳ καὶ περὶ ὅλον τὸ ἄθροισμα ὑπῆρχεν ἢ τὰ κυριώτατα μέρη τῆς φύσεως, οὐκ ἄν ποτε διέφερον ἀλλήλων αἱ ἡδοναί.

[X.] Εἰ τὰ ποιητικὰ τῶν περὶ τοὺς ἀσώτους ἡδονῶν ἔλυε τοὺς φόβους τῆς διανοίας τούς τε περὶ μετεώρων καὶ θανάτου καὶ ἀλγηδόνων, ἔτι τε τὸ πέρας τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐδίδασκεν, οὐκ ἄν ποτε εἴχομεν ὅ τι ἐμεμψάμεθα αὐτοῖς, πανταχόθεν εἰσπληρουμένοις τῶν ἡδονῶν καὶ οὐδαμόθεν οὔτε τὸ ἀλγοῦν οὔτε τὸ λυπούμενον ἔχουσιν, ὅ περ ἐστὶ τὸ κακόν.

[XI.] Εἰ μηθὲν ἡμᾶς αἱ τῶν μετεώρων ὑποψίαι ἠνώχλουν καὶ αἱ περὶ θανάτου, μή ποτε πρὸς ἡμᾶς ᾖ τι, ἔτι τε τὸ μὴ κατανοεῖν τοὺς ὅρους τῶν ἀλγηδόνων καὶ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, οὐκ ἂν προσεδεόμεθα φυσιολογίας.

143 [XII.] Οὐκ ἦν τὸ φοβούμενον λύειν ὑπὲρ τῶν κυριωτάτων μὴ κατειδότα τίς ἡ τοῦ σύμπαντος φύσις, ἀλλ' ὑποπτευόμενόν τι τῶν κατὰ τοὺς μύθους· ὥστε οὐκ ἦν ἄνευ φυσιολογίας ἀκεραίους τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀπολαμβάνειν.

[XIII.] Οὐθὲν ὄφελος ἦν τὴν κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἀσφάλειαν κατασκευάζεσθαι τῶν ἄνωθεν ὑπόπτων καθεστώτων καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ γῆς καὶ ἁπλῶς τῶν ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ.

8. No pleasure is in itself evil, but the things which produce certain pleasures entail annoyances many times greater than the pleasures themselves.

9. If all pleasure had been capable of accumulation,—if this had gone on not only by recurrence in time, but all over the frame or, at any rate, over the principal parts of man's nature, there would never have been any difference between one pleasure and another, as in fact there is.

10. If the objects which are productive of pleasures to profligate persons really freed them from fears of the mind,—the fears, I mean, inspired by celestial and atmospheric phenomena, the fear of death, the fear of pain; if, further, they taught them to limit their desires, we should never have any fault to find with such persons, for they would then be filled with pleasures to overflowing on all sides and would be exempt from all pain, whether of body or mind, that is, from all evil.

11. If we had never been molested by alarms at celestial and atmospheric phenomena, nor by the misgiving that death somehow affects us, nor by neglect of the proper limits of pains and desires, we should have had no need to study natural science.

12. It would be impossible to banish fear on matters of the highest importance, if a man did not know the nature of the whole universe, but lived in dread of what the legends tell us. Hence without the study of nature there was no enjoyment of unmixed pleasures.

13. There would be no advantage in providing security against our fellow-men, so long as we were alarmed by occurrences over our heads or beneath the earth or in general by whatever happens in the boundless universe.

[XIV.] Τῆς ἀσφαλείας τῆς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γενομένης μέχρι τινὸς δυνάμει τε ἐξερειστικῇ[1] καὶ εὐπορίᾳ εἰλικρινεστάτη γίνεται ἡ ἐκ τῆς ἡσυχίας καὶ ἐκχωρήσεως τῶν πολλῶν ἀσφάλεια.

144 [XV.] Ὁ τῆς φύσεως πλοῦτος καὶ ὥρισται καὶ εὐπόριστός ἐστιν· ὁ δὲ τῶν κενῶν δοξῶν εἰς ἄπειρον ἐκπίπτει.

[XVI.] Βραχέα σοφῷ τύχη παρεμπίπτει, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα καὶ κυριώτατα ὁ λογισμὸς διῴκηκε καὶ κατὰ τὸν συνεχῆ χρόνον τοῦ βίου διοικεῖ καὶ διοικήσει.

[XVII.] Ὁ δίκαιος ἀταρακτότατος, ὁ δ᾽ ἄδικος πλείστης ταραχῆς γέμων.

[XVIII.] Οὐκ ἐπαύξεται ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ἡ ἡδονή, ἐπειδὰν ἅπαξ τὸ κατ᾽ ἔνδειαν ἀλγοῦν ἐξαιρεθῇ, ἀλλὰ μόνον ποικίλλεται. τῆς δὲ διανοίας τὸ πέρας τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀπεγέννησεν ἥ τε τούτων αὐτῶν ἐκλόγησις καὶ τῶν ὁμογενῶν τούτοις, ὅσα τοὺς μεγίστους φόβους παρεσκεύαζε τῇ διανοίᾳ.

145 [XIX.] Ὁ ἄπειρος χρόνος ἴσην ἔχει τὴν ἡδονὴν καὶ ὁ πεπερασμένος, ἐάν τις αὐτῆς τὰ πέρατα καταμετρήσῃ τῷ λογισμῷ.

[XX.] Ἡ μὲν σὰρξ ἀπέλαβε τὰ πέρατα τῆς ἡδονῆς ἄπειρα, καὶ ἄπειρος αὐτὴν χρόνος παρεσκεύασεν. ἡ δὲ διάνοια τοῦ τῆς σαρκὸς τέλους καὶ πέρατος λαβοῦσα τὸν ἐπιλογισμὸν καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ αἰῶνος φόβους ἐκλύσασα τὸν παντελῆ βίον παρεσκεύασεν, καὶ οὐθὲν ἔτι τοῦ ἀπείρου χρόνου προσεδεήθη· <οὐ> μὴν ἀλλ᾽ οὔτε ἔφυγε τὴν ἡδονήν,

[1] ἐξαιρ[ι]στικῇ B: ἐξαιριστικῇ P^1: ἐξεριστικῇ (-κὴ F)FP^3: ἐξοριστικῇ Meib.

14. When tolerable security against our fellow-men is attained, then on a basis of power sufficient to afford support[a] and of material prosperity arises in most genuine form the security of a quiet private life withdrawn from the multitude.

15. Nature's wealth at once has its bounds and is easy to procure; but the wealth of vain fancies recedes to an infinite distance.

16. Fortune but seldom interferes with the wise man; his greatest and highest interests have been, are, and will be, directed by reason throughout the course of his life.

17. The just man enjoys the greatest peace of mind, while the unjust is full of the utmost disquietude.

18. Pleasure in the flesh admits no increase when once the pain of want has been removed; after that it only admits of variation. The limit of pleasure in the mind, however, is reached when we reflect on the things themselves and their congeners which cause the mind the greatest alarms.

19. Unlimited time and limited time afford an equal amount of pleasure, if we measure the limits of that pleasure by reason.

20. The flesh receives as unlimited the limits of pleasure; and to provide it requires unlimited time. But the mind, grasping in thought what the end and limit of the flesh is, and banishing the terrors of futurity, procures a complete and perfect life, and has no longer any need of unlimited time. Nevertheless it does not shun pleasure, and even in the

[a] Or, if ἐξοριστικῇ be read (with Meib., Kochalsky, and Apelt, *cf.* § 154), "power to expel."

οὐθ' ἡνίκα τὴν ἐξαγωγὴν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν τὰ πράγματα παρεσκεύαζεν, ὡς ἐλλείπουσά τι τοῦ ἀρίστου βίου κατέστρεφεν.

146 [XXI.] Ὁ τὰ πέρατα τοῦ βίου κατειδὼς οἶδεν, ὡς εὐπόριστόν ἐστι τὸ ‹τὸ› ἀλγοῦν κατ' ἔνδειαν ἐξαιροῦν καὶ τὸ τὸν ὅλον βίον παντελῆ καθιστάν· ὥστ' οὐδὲν προσδεῖται πραγμάτων ἀγῶνας κεκτημένων.

[XXII.] Τὸ ὑφεστηκὸς δεῖ τέλος ἐπιλογίζεσθαι καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐνάργειαν, ἐφ' ἣν τὰ δοξαζόμενα ἀνάγομεν· εἰ δὲ μή, πάντα ἀκρισίας καὶ ταραχῆς ἔσται μεστά.

[XXIII.] Εἰ μάχῃ πάσαις ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν, οὐχ ἕξεις οὐδ' ἃς ἂν φῇς αὐτῶν διεψεῦσθαι πρὸς τί ποιούμενος τὴν ἀναγωγὴν κρίνῃς.

147 [XXIV.] Εἴ τιν' ἐκβαλεῖς ἁπλῶς αἴσθησιν καὶ μὴ διαιρήσεις τὸ δοξαζόμενον κατὰ τὸ προσμένον καὶ τὸ παρὸν ἤδη κατὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν καὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ πᾶσαν φανταστικὴν ἐπιβολὴν τῆς διανοίας, συνταράξεις καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς αἰσθήσεις τῇ ματαίῳ δόξῃ, ὥστε τὸ κριτήριον ἅπαν ἐκβαλεῖς. εἰ δὲ βεβαιώσεις καὶ τὸ προσμένον ἅπαν ἐν ταῖς δοξαστικαῖς ἐννοίαις καὶ τὸ μὴ τὴν ἐπιμαρτύρησιν, οὐκ ἐκλείψεις τὸ διεψευσμένον· ὡς τετηρηκὼς ἔσῃ πᾶσαν ἀμφισβήτησιν κατὰ πᾶσαν κρίσιν τοῦ ὀρθῶς ἢ μὴ ὀρθῶς.

148 [XXV.] Εἰ μὴ παρὰ πάντα καιρὸν ἐπανοίσεις ἕκαστον τῶν πραττομένων ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς φύσεως, ἀλλὰ προκαταστρέψεις εἴ τε φυγὴν εἴ τε δίωξιν

hour of death, when ushered out of existence by circumstances, the mind does not lack enjoyment of the best life.

21. He who understands the limits of life knows how easy it is to procure enough to remove the pain of want and make the whole of life complete and perfect. Hence he has no longer any need of things which are not to be won save by labour and conflict.

22. We must take into account as the end all that really exists and all clear evidence of sense to which we refer our opinions; for otherwise everything will be full of uncertainty and confusion.

23. If you fight against all your sensations, you will have no standard to which to refer, and thus no means of judging even those judgements which you pronounce false.

24. If you reject absolutely any single sensation without stopping to discriminate with respect to that which awaits confirmation between matter of opinion and that which is already present, whether in sensation or in feelings or in any presentative perception of the mind, you will throw into confusion even the rest of your sensations by your groundless belief and so you will be rejecting the standard of truth altogether. If in your ideas based upon opinion you hastily affirm as true all that awaits confirmation as well as that which does not, you will not escape error, as you will be maintaining complete ambiguity whenever it is a case of judging between right and wrong opinion.

25. If you do not on every separate occasion refer each of your actions to the end prescribed by nature, but instead of this in the act of choice or avoidance

ποιούμενος εἰς ἄλλο τι, οὐκ ἔσονταί σοι τοῖς λόγοις αἱ πράξεις ἀκόλουθοι.

[XXVI.] *Τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ὅσαι μὴ ἐπ' ἀλγοῦν ἐπανάγουσιν ἐὰν μὴ συμπληρωθῶσιν, οὐκ εἰσὶν ἀναγκαῖαι ἀλλ' εὐδιάχυτον τὴν ὄρεξιν ἔχουσιν, ὅταν δυσπόριστοι ἢ βλάβης ἀπεργαστικαὶ δόξωσιν εἶναι.*

[XXVII.] *Ὧν ἡ σοφία παρασκευάζεται εἰς τὴν τοῦ ὅλου βίου μακαριότητα, πολὺ μέγιστόν ἐστιν ἡ τῆς φιλίας κτῆσις.*

[XXVIII.] *Ἡ αὐτὴ γνώμη θαρρεῖν τε ἐποίησεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηθὲν αἰώνιον εἶναι δεινὸν μηδὲ πολυχρόνιον, καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὡρισμένοις ἀσφάλειαν φιλίαις*[1] *μάλιστα κατεῖδε συντελουμένην.*

149 [XXIX.] *Τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν αἱ μέν εἰσι φυσικαὶ ‹καὶ ἀναγκαῖαι· αἱ δὲ φυσικαὶ› καὶ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖαι· αἱ δὲ οὔτε φυσικαὶ οὔτ' ἀναγκαῖαι ἀλλὰ παρὰ κενὴν δόξαν γινόμεναι. [φυσικὰς καὶ ἀναγκαίας ἡγεῖται ὁ Ἐπίκουρος τὰς ἀλγηδόνος ἀπολυούσας, ὡς ποτὸν ἐπὶ δίψους· φυσικὰς δὲ οὐκ ἀναγκαίας δὲ τὰς ποικιλλούσας μόνον τὴν ἡδονήν, μὴ ὑπεξαιρουμένας δὲ τὸ ἄλγημα, ὡς πολυτελῆ σιτία· οὔτε δὲ φυσικὰς οὔτ' ἀναγκαίας, ὡς στεφάνους καὶ ἀνδριάντων ἀναθέσεις.]*

[XXX.] *Ἐν αἷς τῶν φυσικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, μὴ ἐπ' ἀλγοῦν δὲ ἐπαναγουσῶν ἐὰν μὴ συντελεσθῶσιν, ὑπάρχει ἡ σπουδὴ σύντονος, παρὰ κενὴν δόξαν αὗται γίνονται καὶ οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν φύσιν οὐ διαχέονται ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κενοδοξίαν.*

150 [XXXI.] *Τὸ τῆς φύσεως δίκαιόν ἐστι σύμ-*

[1] φιλίας codd.: corr. Usener.

swerve aside to some other end, your acts will not be consistent with your theories.

26. All such desires as lead to no pain when they remain ungratified are unnecessary, and the longing is easily got rid of, when the thing desired is difficult to procure or when the desires seem likely to produce harm.

27. Of all the means which are procured by wisdom to ensure happiness throughout the whole of life, by far the most important is the acquisition of friends.

28. The same conviction which inspires confidence that nothing we have to fear is eternal or even of long duration, also enables us to see that even in our limited conditions of life nothing enhances our security so much as friendship.

29. Of our desires some are natural and necessary; others are natural, but not necessary; others, again, are neither natural nor necessary, but are due to illusory opinion. [Epicurus regards as natural and necessary desires which bring relief from pain, as *e.g.* drink when we are thirsty; while by natural and not necessary he means those which merely diversify the pleasure without removing the pain, as *e.g.* costly viands; by the neither natural nor necessary he means desires for crowns and the erection of statues in one's honour.—Schol.]

30. Those natural desires which entail no pain when not gratified, though their objects are vehemently pursued, are also due to illusory opinion; and when they are not got rid of, it is not because of their own nature, but because of the man's illusory opinion.

31. Natural justice is a symbol or expression of

βολον τοῦ συμφέροντος εἰς τὸ μὴ βλάπτειν ἀλλήλους μηδὲ βλάπτεσθαι.

[XXXII.] Ὅσα τῶν ζῴων μὴ ἠδύνατο συνθήκας ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ βλάπτειν ἄλλα μηδὲ βλάπτεσθαι, πρὸς ταῦτα οὐθὲν ἦν δίκαιον οὐδὲ ἄδικον. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν ὅσα μὴ ἠδύνατο ἢ μὴ ἐβούλετο τὰς συνθήκας ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ βλάπτειν μηδὲ βλάπτεσθαι.

[XXXIII.] Οὐκ ἦν τι καθ' ἑαυτὸ δικαιοσύνη, ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς μετ' ἀλλήλων συστροφαῖς καθ' ὁπηλίκους δή ποτε ἀεὶ τόπους συνθήκη τις ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ βλάπτειν μηδὲ βλάπτεσθαι.

151 [XXXIV.] Ἡ ἀδικία οὐ καθ' ἑαυτὴν κακόν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὴν ὑποψίαν φόβῳ, εἰ μὴ λήσει τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων ἐφεστηκότας κολαστάς.

[XXXV.] Οὐκ ἔστι τὸν λάθρᾳ τι κινοῦντα ὧν συνέθεντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰς τὸ μὴ βλάπτειν μηδὲ βλάπτεσθαι, πιστεύειν ὅτι λήσει, κἂν μυριάκις ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος λανθάνῃ. μέχρι γὰρ καταστροφῆς ἄδηλον εἰ καὶ λήσει.

[XXXVI.] Κατὰ μὲν ‹τὸ› κοινὸν πᾶσι τὸ δίκαιον τὸ αὐτό, συμφέρον γάρ τι ἦν ἐν τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους κοινωνίᾳ· κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἴδιον χώρας καὶ ὅσων δή ποτε αἰτιῶν οὐ πᾶσι συνέπεται τὸ αὐτὸ δίκαιον εἶναι.

152 [XXXVII.] Τὸ μὲν ἐπιμαρτυρούμενον ὅτι συμφέρει ἐν ταῖς χρείαις τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους κοινωνίας τῶν νομισθέντων εἶναι δικαίων, ἔχει τὸν τοῦ δικαίου χαρακτῆρα, ἐάν τε τὸ αὐτὸ πᾶσι γένηται ἐάν τε μὴ τὸ αὐτό. ἐὰν δὲ νόμον θῆταί τις, μὴ ἀποβαίνῃ δὲ κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους κοινωνίας, οὐκέτι τοῦτο τὴν τοῦ δικαίου φύσιν

expediency, to prevent one man from harming or being harmed by another.

32. Those animals which are incapable of making covenants with one another, to the end that they may neither inflict nor suffer harm, are without either justice or injustice. And those tribes which either could not or would not form mutual covenants to the same end are in like case.

33. There never was an absolute justice, but only an agreement made in reciprocal intercourse in whatever localities now and again from time to time, providing against the infliction or suffering of harm.

34. Injustice is not in itself an evil, but only in its consequence, viz. the terror which is excited by apprehension that those appointed to punish such offences will discover the injustice.

35. It is impossible for the man who secretly violates any article of the social compact to feel confident that he will remain undiscovered, even if he has already escaped ten thousand times; for right on to the end of his life he is never sure he will not be detected.

36. Taken generally, justice is the same for all, to wit, something found expedient in mutual intercourse; but in its application to particular cases of locality or conditions of whatever kind, it varies under different circumstances.

37. Among the things accounted just by conventional law, whatever in the needs of mutual intercourse is attested to be expedient, is thereby stamped as just, whether or not it be the same for all; and in case any law is made and does not prove suitable to the expediencies of mutual intercourse, then this is

ἔχει. κἂν μεταπίπτῃ τὸ κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον συμφέρον, χρόνον δέ τινα εἰς τὴν πρόληψιν ἐναρμόττῃ, οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἦν δίκαιον τοῖς μὴ φωναῖς κεναῖς ἑαυτοὺς συνταράττουσιν, ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς εἰς τὰ πράγματα βλέπουσιν.

153 [XXXVIII.] Ἔνθα μὴ καινῶν γενομένων τῶν περιεστώτων πραγμάτων ἀνεφάνη μὴ ἁρμόττοντα εἰς τὴν πρόληψιν τὰ νομισθέντα δίκαια ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων, οὐκ ἦν ταῦτα δίκαια. ἔνθα δὲ καινῶν γενομένων τῶν πραγμάτων οὐκ ἔτι συνέφερε τὰ αὐτὰ δίκαια κείμενα, ἐνταῦθα δὲ τότε μὲν ἦν δίκαια, ὅτε συνέφερεν εἰς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους κοινωνίαν τῶν συμπολιτευομένων· ὕστερον δ' οὐκ ἦν ἔτι δίκαια, ὅτε μὴ συνέφερεν.

154 [XXXIX.] Ὁ τὸ μὴ θαρροῦν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἄριστα συστησάμενος οὗτος τὰ μὲν δυνατὰ ὁμόφυλα κατεσκευάσατο· τὰ δὲ μὴ δυνατὰ οὐκ ἀλλόφυλά γε· ὅσα δὲ μηδὲ τοῦτο δυνατὸς ἦν, ἀνεπίμεικτος ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐξωρίσαθ'[1] ὅσα τούτων λυσιτελῆ πράττειν.

[XL.] Ὅσοι τὴν δύναμιν ἔσχον τοῦ τὸ θαρρεῖν μάλιστα ἐκ τῶν ὁμορούντων παρασκευάσασθαι, οὕτω καὶ ἐβίωσαν μετ' ἀλλήλων ἥδιστα τὸ βεβαιότατον πίστωμα ἔχοντες, καὶ πληρεστάτην οἰκειότητα ἀπολαβόντες οὐκ ὠδύραντο ὡς πρὸς ἔλεον τὴν τοῦ τελευτήσαντος προκαταστροφήν.

[1] ἐξωρίσατο Steph.: ἐξηρίσατο BFPQ: ἐξορίσατο H: ἐξηρέσατο Us.

no longer just. And should the expediency which is expressed by the law vary and only for a time correspond with the prior conception, nevertheless for the time being it was just, so long as we do not trouble ourselves about empty words, but look simply at the facts.

38. Where without any change in circumstances the conventional laws, when judged by their consequences, were seen not to correspond with the notion of justice, such laws were not really just; but wherever the laws have ceased to be expedient in consequence of a change in circumstances, in that case the laws were for the time being just when they were expedient for the mutual intercourse of the citizens, and subsequently ceased to be just when they ceased to be expedient.

39. He who best knew how to meet fear of external foes made into one family all the creatures he could; and those he could not, he at any rate did not treat as aliens; and where he found even this impossible, he avoided all intercourse, and, so far as was expedient, kept them at a distance.

40. Those who were best able to provide themselves with the means of security against their neighbours, being thus in possession of the surest guarantee, passed the most agreeable life in each other's society; and their enjoyment of the fullest intimacy was such that, if one of them died before his time, the survivors did not lament his death as if it called for commiseration.

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Printed in Great Britain by R. & R. CLARK, LIMITED, *Edinburgh.*

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