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ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΛΑΕΡΤΙΟΥ

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

Κεφ. α'. ΑΝΤΙΣΘΕΝΗΣ

1 Ἀντισθένης Ἀντισθένους Ἀθηναίος. ἔλεγετο δ' οὐκ εἶναι ἑθαγενής· οὖν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ὅνειδίζοντα εἶπεν, "καὶ ἡ μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν Φρυγία ἐστίν." ἐδόκει γὰρ εἶναι Ὀράττης μητρός· οὖν καὶ ἐν Τανάγρᾳ κατὰ τὴν μάχην εὔδοκιμῆσας ἔδωκε λέγειν Σωκράτει όσ' οὐκ ἂν ἕκ δυοῖν Ἀθηναίων οὕτω γεγονός γενναῖος. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ τῷ γηγενεῖ εἶναι σεμνοποιούς ἐκφαν- λίζων ἔλεγε μηδὲν εἶναι κοχλίων καὶ ἀπτελέσων εὐγενεστέρως.

Οὕτως κατ' ἄρχας μὲν ἥκουσε Γοργίου τοῦ ρήτορος· οὖν τὸ ρήτορικὸν εἴδες ἐν τοῖς διαλόγοις ἐπιφέρει καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῇ Ἀλκηθείᾳ καὶ τοῖς

2 Προτρεπτικοῖς. φησὶ δ' Ἐρμιππος ὅτι προείλετο ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἰσθμίων πανηγύρει ψέξαι τε καὶ ἑπαίνεσαι Ἀθηναίους, Ἤθβαιοὺς, 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.
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." 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 παραίτησασθαι ἱδόντα πλείονς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἀφιγμένους.

"Ὑστερον δὲ παρέβαλε Σωκράτει, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὄνατο αὐτοῦ, ὥστε παρήγει τοῖς μαθηταῖς γενέσθαι αὐτῷ πρὸς Σωκράτην συμμαθητάς. οἰκὼν τ᾽ ἐν Πειραιεῖ καθ’ ἐκάστην ἥμεραν τοὺς τετταράκοντα σταδίους ἀνίον ἤκου ἴδε Σωκράτους, παρ’ οὐ καὶ τὸ καρτερικόν λαβὼν καὶ τὸ ἀπαθὲς ἥγησας κατήρξε πρῶτος τοῦ κυνισμοῦ. καὶ ὅτι ὁ πόνος ἀγαθὸν συνεστησε διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου Ἦρακλεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Κύρου, τὸ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐλκύσας.

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).\textsuperscript{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."\textsuperscript{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?"
DIOGENES LAERTIUS

όνειδιζόμενός ποτε ως οὐκ εἶν έκ δύο ἐλευθέρων,
"οὔδε γὰρ έκ δύο," ἐφη, "παλαιστικῶν, ἀλλὰ
παλαιστικὸς εἶμι." ἐρωτῶμενος διὰ τὶ ὅλγους
ἦχει μαθητάς, ἐφη, "ὅτι ἀργυρέα αὐτοῦς ἑκβάλλω
ῥάβδω." ἐρωτήθηκε διὰ τὶ πικρῶς τοῖς μαθηταῖς
ἐπιπλήττει, "καὶ οἱ ἰατροί," φησί, "τοῖς κάμ-
νοσιν." ίδιών ποτε μοιχὸν φεύγουσα, "ὁ δυσ-
tυχής," εἶπε, "πηλίκον κίνδυνον ὀβολοῦ διαφυγεῖν
'ίσχυες." κρείττον ἐλεγε, καθα ρήσι τ' Ἐκάτων ἐν
ταῖς Χρείαις, εἰς κόρακας ἢ εἰς κόλακας ἐμπεσεῖν·
οἱ μὲν γὰρ νεκροῦς, οἱ δὲ ζωντας ἐσθίοσιν.

5 Ἐρωτήθηκε τί μακαριώτατον ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ἐφη,
"τὸ εὐτυχοῦντα ἀποθανεῖν." γνωρίμου ποτὲ πρὸς
αὐτοῦ ἀποδυρμένου ως εἶη τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἀπολώ-
λεκώς, "ἐδει γὰρ," ἐφη, "ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτά καὶ μὴ
ἐν τοῖς χαρτίοις καταγράφειν." ὁσπερ ὑπὸ τοῦ
ιοῦ τὸν σίδηρον, οὕτως ἐλεγε τοὺς φθονεροὺς ὑπὸ
tοῦ ἱδίου ἡθοὺς κατεσθίεσθαι. τοὺς βουλομένους
ἀθανάτους εἶναι ἐφη δεῖν εὐσεβῶς καὶ δικαίως ζῆν.
tὸτ' ἐφη τὰς πόλεις ἀπόλλυσθαι, ὅταν μὴ δύνω-
tαι τοὺς φαύλους ἀπὸ τῶν σπουδαίων διακρίνειν.
ἐπαινούμενός ποτε ὑπὸ πονηρῶν, ἐφη, "ἀγωνιῶ
μὴ τι κακὸν εἴργασμαι."

6 Ὄμονοούντων ἀδελφῶν συμβίωσιν παντὸς ἐφη
tείχους ἱσχυροτέραν εἶναι. τοιαύτ' ἐφη δεῖν ποιεῖ-
σθαι ἐφόδια ἓ καὶ ναυαγήσαντι συγκολυμβήσει.
ὄνειδιζόμενος ποτ' ἐπὶ τῷ πονηρῶς συγγενέσθαι,
"καὶ οἱ ἰατροί," φησί, "μετὰ τῶν νοσοῦντων εἰσίν.
VI. 4–6. ANTISTHENES

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
DIOGENES LAERETIUS

άλλ' οὖ πυρέττουσιν." ἀποτομ ἐφὴ τοῦ μὲν σίτου
τὰς αὕρας ἐκλέγειν καὶ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τοὺς ἄχρείους,
ἐν δὲ πολυτείᾳ τοὺς πονηροὺς μὴ παραιτεῖσθαι.
ἔρωτηθεὶς τί αὐτῷ περιγέγονεν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας, ἐφη,
"τὸ δύνασθαι έαυτῷ ὄμιλεῖν." εἰπόντος αὐτῷ
τινος παρὰ πότον, "ἄσον," "σὺ δὲ μοι," φησίν,
"αὔλησον." Διογένει χιτῶνα αἰτοῦντι πτύξαι προσ-
7 ἐταξε θομάτιν. ἔρωτηθεὶς τί τῶν μαθημάτων
ἀναγκαῖοτατον, "τὸ περιαρεῖν," ἐφη, "τὸ ἀπομαν-
θάνειν." παρεκκλειετό τε κακῶς ἀκοῦόντας καρ-
tereῖν μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ λίθοις τις βάλλοιτο.

"Εσκωπτέ τε Πλάτωνα ὃς τετυφωμένου. πομ-
πῆς γούν γενομένης Ἰππον θεασάμενος φρυκτήν
φησι πρὸς τὸν Πλάτωνα, "ἐδόκεισ μοι καὶ σὺ
Ἰππος ἃν εἰναι λαμπρυντής," τούτο δὲ ἐπεὶ καὶ
συνεχὲς ὁ Πλάτων Ἰππον ἐπῆνε. καὶ ποτ' ἐλθὼν
πρὸς αὐτὸν νοσοῦντα καὶ θεασάμενος λεκάνην ἐνθά
ὁ Πλάτων ἐμμέκει ἐφη, "χολὴν μὲν ὅρῳ ἐνταῦθα,
8 τύφοι δὲ οὐχ ὅρῳ." συνεβουλευεν Ἀθηναίοις τοὺς
ὄνους Ἰππον ψηφίσασθαι ἄλογον δὲ ἡγομένων,
"ἀλλὰ μην καὶ στρατηγοί," φησί, "φαίνονται παρ'
ῦμίν μηδὲν μαθόντες, μόνον δὲ χειροτονηθέντες."]
πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, "πολλοὶ σε ἐπαινοῦσι," "τί
γὰρ," ἐφῆ, "κακῶν πεποίηκα;" στρέψαντος αὐτοῦ
τὸ διερρωγὸς τοῦ τρίβωνος εἰς τὸ προφανὲς,
Σωκράτης ἱδὼν φησίν, "ὅρῳ σοι διὰ τοῦ τρίβωνος
τῆς φιλοδοξίαν." ἔρωτηθεὶς ύπὸ τοῦ, καθὰ φησι
Φανίας ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Σωκρατικῶν, τί ποιῶν

a Cf. Plato, Phaedrus 260 c.
b Cf. Aelian, Var. Hist. ix. 35
VI. 6-8. ANTISTHENES

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. 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 praises 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." Phanias in his work on the Socratics tells us how some one asked him
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 with him were the following. He would prove that virtue can be taught; that
DIOGENES LAERTEIUS

τὴν ἀρετὴν. τοὺς αὐτούς εὐγενεῖς [τ]οὺς1 καὶ
11 ἑναρέτους: αὐτάρκη δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν πρὸς εὐδαιμο-

νίαν, μηδενὸς προσδεομένην ὅτι μὴ Σωκρατικὴς

ἰσχὺος. τὴν τ’ ἀρετὴν τῶν ἔργων εἶναι, μήτε

λόγων πλείστων δεομένη μήτε μαθημάτων. αὐτάρκη 

τ’ εἶναι τὸν σοφὸν πάντα γὰρ αὐτοῦ 

εἶναι τὰ τῶν ἄλλων. τὴν τ’ ἀδοξίαν ἀγαθὸν καὶ

ἐσον τῷ πόνῳ. καὶ τὸν σοφὸν οὐ κατὰ τοὺς 

κειμένους νόμους πολιτεύσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν 

τῆς ἀρετῆς. γαμήσεων τε τεκνοποιίας χάριν, ταῖς 

εὐφυεστάταις συνιόντα γυναιξὶ. καὶ ἔρασθησθαι 

δὲ: μόνον γὰρ εἰδέναι τὸν σοφὸν τῶν χρῆ ἔραν.

12 Ἀναγράφει δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ Διοκλῆς ταυτί. τῶ 

σοφῶν ξένων οὐδὲν οὐδ’ ἄπορον.2 ἀξιέραστος ὁ

ἀγαθός: οἱ σπουδαῖοι φίλοι συμμάχους ποιεῖσθαι 

τοὺς εὐφύχους ἀμα καὶ δικαίους: ἀναφαίρετον 

όπλον ἡ ἀρετή: κρειττόν ἐστὶ μετ’ ὀλγών ἀγαθῶν 

πρὸς ἀπαντασ τοὺς κακούς ἡ μετὰ πολλῶν κακῶν 

πρὸς ὀλγῶν ἀγαθοὺς μάχεσθαι. προσέχειν τοῖς 

ἐχθροῖς: πρῶτοι γὰρ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων αἰσθάνονται. 

τὸν δίκαιον περὶ πλείονος ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ συγγενοῦς: 

ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ἡ αὐτή ἀρετή: τἀγαθὰ καλὰ, 

τὰ κακὰ αἰσχρὰ: τὰ πονηρὰ νόμιζε πάντα ξενικά.

13 Τείχος ἀσφαλέστατον φρόνησιν: μήτε γὰρ κατα-

ρεῖν μήτε προδίδοσθαι. τείχη κατασκευαστέον ἐν 

τοῖς αὐτῶν ἀναλώτοις λογισμοῖς. διελέγετο δ’ 

ἐν τῷ Κυνοσάργειο γυμνασίῳ μικρὸν ἀποθείν τῶν 

πυλῶν: οἶθεν τινὲς καὶ τὴν κυνικὴν ἐντεῦθεν ὄνο-

1 τοὺς vulg.: oüs Richards.

2 ἄπορον coni. Henr. Steph. for ἀπο codd.
VI. 10–13. ANTISTHENES

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
ДИОГЕНИС ЛАЕРИТІУС

μασθήναι. αὐτός τ’ ἐπεκαλεῖτο Ἀπλοκύων.1 καὶ πρῶτος ἐδιπλώσε τὸν τρίβωνα, καθά φησι Διοκλῆς, καὶ μόνω αὐτῷ ἐχρήτο· βάκτρον τ’ ἄνέλαβε καὶ πήραν. πρῶτον δὲ καὶ Νεάνθης φησὶ διπλώσαι θομάτιον. Ἔσσειράτης δ’ ἐν τρίτῃ Διαδόχῳν Διόδωρον τὸν Ἀσπένδιον, καὶ πώγωνα καθεῖναι καὶ πήρα καὶ βάκτρῳ χρήσαται.

14 Τούτων μόνων ἐκ πάντων2 Σωκρατικῶν Θεό-πομπος ἐπαινεῖ καὶ φησὶ δεινῶν τ’ εἶναι καὶ δι’ ὅμιλιας ἐμμελεῖς ὑπαγαγέσθαι πάνθ’ ὀντινοῦν. δῆλον δ’ ἐκ τῶν συνγραμμάτων κάκ τοῦ Ξενοφώντος Συμποσίου. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀνδρωδεστάτης Στυψικῆς κατάρξει· θεν καὶ Ἀθήναιος ὁ ἐπιγραμματοποιὸς περὶ αὐτῶν φησὶν οὕτως·

ὁ στωικῶν μύθων εἰδήμονες, ὁ πανάριστα δόγματα ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐνθέμενοι σελίσιν, τὰν ἀρετᾶν ψυχὰς ἀγαθὸν μόνων· ἀδε γὰρ ἀνδρῶν μοῦνα καὶ βιοτὰν ρύσατο καὶ πόλιας. σαρκὸς δ’ ἡδυπάθημα, φίλον τέλος ἀνδράσιν ἄλλοις, ἡ μία τῶν Μνήμης ἦνσε θυγατέρων.

15 Οὗτος ἠγήσατο καὶ τῆς Διογένους ἀπαθείας καὶ τῆς Κράτητου ἐγκρατείας καὶ τῆς Ζήνωνος καρ-περίας, αὐτὸς υποθέμενος τῇ πολιτείᾳ τὰ θεμέλια. δ’ ἐξ Ξενοφών ἠδίστοιν μὲν εἶναι περὶ ταῖς ὁμιλίαις φησιν αὐτῶν, ἐγκρατέστατον δὲ περὶ τάλλα. Φέρονται δ’ αὐτοῦ συγγράμματα τόμου δέκα-πρῶτος ἐν ὦ

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

a Anth. Pal. ix. 496.
14
VI. 13-15. ANTISTHENES

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. Sosicles, 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:

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 that is one of the daughters of Memory approves the pampering of the flesh, which other men have chosen for their aim.

Antisthenes 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:

* It seems clear that the passage which begins here is not from the same source as that (in § 14) which precedes the epigram.
DIOGENES LAERTIUS

Περὶ λέξεως ὑπὲρ χαρακτηρῶν.
Αἰας ὑπὲρ Ἀιαντός λόγος.
"Οδυσσεύς ὑπὲρ "Οδυσσέως.
"Ορέστου ἀπολογία ὑπὲρ τῶν δικογράφων.
"Ισογραφὴ ὑπὲρ Δυσίας καὶ "Ισοκράτης.
Πρὸς τὸν "Ισοκράτους Ἀμάρτυρον.

Τόμος δεύτερος ἐν ὧ
Περὶ γραμμής φύσεως.
Περὶ παιδοποιίας ὑπὲρ γάμου ἐρωτικῶς.
Περὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν φυσιογνωμονικῶς.
Περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀνδρείας προτετευκτὸς πρῶτος,
δεύτερος, τρίτος.
Περὶ Θεόγνιδος ὅ ἐ.

Τόμος τρίτος ἐν ὧ
Περὶ ἀγαθοῦ.
Περὶ ἀνδρείας.
Περὶ νόμου ὑπὲρ πολιτείας.
Περὶ νόμου ὑπὲρ καλοῦ καὶ δικαίου.
Περὶ ἔλευθερίας καὶ δουλείας.
Περὶ πίστεως.
Περὶ ἐπιτρόπου ὑπὲρ τοῦ πείθεσθαι.
Περὶ νίκης οἰκονομικὸς.

Τόμος τέταρτος ἐν ὧ
Κύρος.
"Ηρακλῆς ὁ μείζων ὑπὲρ ἰσχύος.

Τόμος πέμπτος ἐν ὧ
Κύρος ὑπὲρ βασιλείας.
"Ασπασία.
16
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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.
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.

vol. ii c
Τόμος ἕκτος ἐν ὧν

'Αλήθεια

Περὶ τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι ἀντιλογικὸς.
Σάθων ἦ περὶ τοῦ ἀντιλέγειν α'/ β'/ γ'.
Περὶ διαλέκτων.

17 Τόμος ἑβδομος ἐν ὧν

Περὶ παιδείας ἦ ὅνομάτων α'/ β'/ γ'/ δ'/ ε'.
Περὶ ὅνομάτων χρήσεως ἐρυθτικός.
Περὶ ἐρωτήσεως καὶ ἀποκρώσεως.
Περὶ δόξης καὶ ἐπιστήμης α'/ β'/ γ'/ δ'/ ε'.
Περὶ τοῦ ἀποθανέσθαι.
Περὶ ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου.
Περὶ τῶν ἐν ἄδων.
Περὶ φύσεως α'/ β'.
Ερωτημα περὶ φύσεως β'.
Δόξαι ἔ ἐρυθτικός.
Περὶ τοῦ μανθάνειν προβλήματα.

Τόμος ὑγιος ἐν ὧν

Περὶ μουσικῆς.
Περὶ ἕχηγητῶν.
Περὶ Ὄμηρου.
Περὶ ἀδικίας καὶ ἀσεβείας.
Περὶ Κάλχαντος.
Περὶ κατασκόπου.
Περὶ ἰδονήσις.

Τόμος ἑνατος ἐν ὧν

Περὶ Ὀδυσσέας.
Περὶ τῆς ράβδου.
Ἀθηνᾶ ἦ περὶ Πηλεμάχου.
Περὶ Ἐλένης καὶ Ηηνελόπης.
Περὶ Πρωτέως.
Κύκλωψ ἦ περὶ Ὀδυσσέως.

18
VI. 16-17. ANTISTHENES

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.
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.
DIOGENES LAERTIUS

18 Περὶ οὖν χρήσεως ἤ περὶ μέθης ἤ περὶ τοῦ Κύκλωπος.
Περὶ Κήρκης.
Περὶ Ἀμφιαράου.
Περὶ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως καὶ Πηνελόπης καὶ περὶ τοῦ κυνός.

Τόμος δέκατος εἰς ὁ

Ἡρακλῆς ἢ Μίδας.
Ἡρακλῆς ἢ περὶ φρονίσεως ἢ ἰσχύος.
Κύρος ἢ ἔρώμενος.
Κύρος ἢ κατάσκοποι.
Μεινέχενος ἢ περὶ τοῦ ἄρχεων.
Ἀλκιβιάδης.
Ἀρχέλαος ἢ περὶ βασιλείας.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐστιν ἢ συνεγραφεῖν.

"Ὅι Τίμων διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπιτιμῶν "παντοφυὴ
φλέδονά" φησιν αὐτόν. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ ἄρρω-
στία: ὅτε καὶ Διογένης εἰσίων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη,
"μήτι χρεία φίλου;" καὶ ποτὲ παρ’ αὐτῶν
ξιφίδιον ἔχων εἰσῆλθε. τοῦ δ’ εἰπόντος, "τίς ἂν
ἀπολύσει με τῶν πόνων;"," δείξας τὸ ξιφίδιον,
ἔφη, "τοῦτο" καὶ ὅς, "τῶν πόνων," εἶπον, "οὐ
tοῦ ζήν." ἐδόκει γάρ πως μαλακώτερον φέρειν
tὴν νόσον ὑπὸ φιλοξείας. καὶ ἐστιν ἥμων εἰς
αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχων;

τοῦ βιόν ἦσαν κύων, Ἀντισθένεσ, ὡδε πεφυκός
ὡςτε δακεῖν κραδίνην ῥήμασιν, οὐ στόμασιν·
ἀλλ’ ἐθανεῖς φθισίκος, τάχ’ ἔρει τις ὕσος· τί δὲ
tοῦτο;
πάντως εἰς Ἄλθην δεῖ τιν’ ὄδηγον ἔχεων.

Γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Ἀντισθένεις τρεῖς: Ἡρα-
VI. 18–19. ANTISTHENES

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.
Aleibiades.
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:

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 εἰς, καὶ ἄτερος Ἴφέσιος, καὶ Ὑρδίός τις ἰστορικός.

'Επειδὴ δὲ τοὺς ἀπ' Ἀριστίππον διεληλύθαμεν καὶ Φαίδωνος, νῦν ἐλκύσωμεν τοὺς ἀπ' Ἀντι-
σθένους κυνικοὺς τε καὶ στωικοὺς. καὶ ἑχέτω ὅδε.

Κεφ. β'. ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ

20 Διογένης Ἰκεσίου τραπεζίτου Σινωπεύς. φησὶ δὲ Διοκλῆς, δημοσίαιν αὐτοῦ τὴν τράπεζαν ἔχοντος τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ παραχαρὰξαντος τὸ νόμισμα, φυγεῖν. Ἐνβολίδης δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Διογένους αὐτοῦ φησι Διογένην τοῦτο πράξαι καὶ συναλάσθαι τῷ πατρί. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν ἐν τῷ Πορδάλῳ ὃς παραχαράξαι τὸ νόμισμα. ἐνοὶ δ' ἐπιμελητὴν γενόμενον ἀναπεισθῇν ὑπὸ τῶν τεχ-
νιτῶν καὶ ἐλθόντα εἰς Δελφοὺς ἢ εἰς τὸ Δήλιον ἐν τῇ πατρίδι Απόλλωνος πυνθάνεσθαι εἰ ταῦτα πράξει ἀπερ ἀναπειθεῖαι· τοῦ δὲ συγχωρήσαντος τὸ πολιτικὸν νόμισμα, οὐ συνεῖς, τὸ κέρμα ἐκβδή-
λευσε καὶ φωραθεῖς, ὡς μὲν τινες, ἐφυγαδεύθη,
21 ὡς δὲ τινες, ἐκών ὑπεξήλθε φοβηθεῖς. ἐνοὶ δὲ φασὶ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ λαβόντα τὸ νόμισμα διαφθείραν· καὶ τὸν μὲν δεθέντα ἀποθανεῖν, τὸν δὲ φυγεῖν ἐλθεῖν ὑ' εἰς Δελφοὺς καὶ πυνθανόμενον οὐκ εἰ παραχαράξει, ἄλλα τὶ ποιήσας ἐνδοξότατος ἔσται, οὕτω λαβεῖν τὸν χρησμὸν τοῦτον.

22
VI. 19-21. ANTISTHENES—DIOGENES

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 διωθομένου διὰ τὸ μηδένα προσέθεσθαι, ἐξεβιάζετο τῇ προσεδρίᾳ. καὶ ποτε τὴν βακτηρίαν ἐπανατευμαίνειν αὐτῷ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑποσχῶν, “παῖε,” εἶπεν: “οὐ γὰρ εὐρήσεις οὔτω σκληρῶν ἔντον ὃ με ἀπείρεσεν ἑως ἀν τι φαύνη λέγων.” τούτου οὖν διήκουσε αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄτε φυγάς ὡν ὤρισθεν ἐπὶ τὸν εὐτελῆ βίον.

22 Μόν θεασάμενος διατρέχοντα, καθὰ φησί Θεόφραστος ἐν τῷ Μεγαρικῷ, καὶ μήτε κοίτην ἐπιζητοῦντα μήτε σκότος εὐλαβούμενον ἡ ποθοῦντα τι τῶν δοκούντων ἀπολαυστῶν, πόρον ἐξεύρε τῆς περιστάσεως. τρίβωνα διπλώσας πρῶτος κατὰ τινας διὰ τὸ ἀνάγκην ἔχειν καὶ ἐνεύδειν αὐτῷ, πήραν τ’ ἐκομίσατο, ἐνθα αὐτῷ τὰ σείτα ᾗν, καὶ παντὶ τόπῳ ἐχρῆτο εἰς πάντα, ἀριστῶν τε καὶ καθεύδων καὶ διαλεγόμενοι. οτε καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐφασκε, δεικνύς τὴν τοῦ Διὸς στοάν καὶ τὸ Πομπεῖον, αὐτῷ κατεσκευακέναι ἐνδιατάσθαι. βακτηρία δ’ ἐπεστηρίζετο ἀσθενήσας: ἐπείτα μέντοι καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐφόρει, οὐ μὴν ἐν ἄστει, ἀλλὰ καθ’ ὅδον αὐτῇ τε καὶ τῇ πήρᾳ, καθὰ φησὶν Ἀθηνόδωρος ὁ Ἀθηναῖων προστατήσας καὶ Πολύευκτος ὁ Ῥήτωρ καὶ Λυσάνιας ὁ Ἀισχρῖων. ἐπιστείλας δὲ τινὶ οἰκίδιοιν αὐτῷ προνοήσασθαι, βραδύνοντος, τὸν ἐν τῷ Μητρώῳ 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, 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 Metroon, as he himself explains in his letters. And in summer he used to roll in it over hot sand, the variant 'Αθηνόδωρος, nothing is known of any Athenian politician of that name.
ψάμμου ζεστῆς ἐκυλινδεῖτο, χειμῶνος δὲ ἀνδριάντας κεχιονισμένους περιελάμβανε, πανταχόθεν ἕαυτὸν συνασκῶν.

24 Δεινὸς τ’ ἦν κατασοβαρεύσασθαι τῶν ἄλλων. καὶ τὴν μὲν Εὐκλείδου σχολὴν ἐλεγε ὁ φοίνικα, τὴν δὲ Πλάτωνος διατριβὴν κατατριβὴν, τοὺς δὲ Διονυσιακοὺς ἄγωνας μεγάλα θαύματα μωροί ἐλεγε καὶ τοὺς δημαγωγοὺς όχλου διακόνους. ἐλέγε δὲ καὶ ὦς ὅτε μὲν Ἰδοι κυβερνήτας ἐν τῷ βίῳ καὶ ἱατροὺς καὶ φιλοσόφους, συνετότατον εἴναι τῶν ζῶν νομίζειν τὸν ἀνθρώπον. ὅτε δὲ πάλιν ὅνειροκρῖτας καὶ μάντεις καὶ τοὺς προσέχοντας τούτους ἢ τοὺς ἐπὶ δόξη καὶ πλούτως πεφυσημένους, οὐδὲν ματαιοτερον νομίζειν ἀνθρώπον. συνεχές τε ἐλεγεν εἰς τὸν βίον παρεσκευάσθαι δεῖν λόγον ἢ βρόχον.


26 Πατῶν αὐτοῦ ποτὲ τὰ στρώματα κεκληκτόσ

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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.
The point of Sotion's version is best seen if for the indirect τὸν Πλάτωνα τὸν κύνα (sc. πατέων) we substitute the direct speech τὸν Πλάτωνα ὁ κύων (sc. πατὼ).

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

27 - 28
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, 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 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.
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ηλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην, τὰ δὲ ἐν ποσὶ πράγματα παροράν· τοὺς ρήτορας λέγειν μὲν ἐσπονδακέναι τὰ δίκαια, πράττειν δὲ μηδαμῶς· ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοὺς φιλαργύρους ψέγειν μὲν τὸ ἀργύριον, ὑπερ- 
αγαπάν δὲ. κατεγίνωσκε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπαινοῦτων 
μὲν τοὺς δικαίους, ὅτι χρημάτων ἐπάνω εἶχεν, ξη- 
λούντων δὲ τοὺς πολυχρημάτους. ἐκινεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν 
καὶ τὸ θύειν μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς ὑπὲρ ύγιείας, ἐν αὐτῇ 
δὲ τῇ θυσίᾳ κατὰ τῆς ύγιείας δειπνεῖν. ἀγασθα 
δὲ καὶ τῶν δούλων οἱ λαβροφαγοῦντας ὀρῶντες 
tous δεσπότας μηδὲν ἀρτάζοιεν τῶν ἐσθιομένων.

29 ἐπήνει τοὺς μέλλοντας γαμεῖν καὶ μὴ γαμεῖν, καὶ 
tους μέλλοντας καταπλεῖν καὶ μὴ καταπλεῖν, καὶ 
tους μέλλοντας πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ μὴ πολιτεύεσθαι, καὶ 
tους παιδοτροφεῖν καὶ μὴ παιδοτροφεῖν, καὶ 
tους παρασκευαζόμενους συμβιοῦν τοῖς δυνάσταις 
καὶ μὴ προσιόντας. ἐλεγε δὲ καὶ δεῖν τὰς χεῖρας. 
ἐπὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐκτείνειν μὴ συγκεκαμμένοις τοῖς 
δακτύλοις. φησὶ δὲ Μενίππος ἐν τῇ Διογένους 
Πράσει ὡς ἄλοις καὶ πωλούμενος ἠρωτῆθη τῇ οἴδε 
ποιεῖν. ἀπεκρύνετο, "Ἀνδρῶν ἄρχειν"· καὶ πρὸς τὸν 
κήρυκα, "κήρυσσε," ἐφη, "εἰ τις ἔθελε δεσπότην 
αὐτῷ πρίασθαι." κωλυθεὶς καθιέσθαι, "οὐδὲν," 
ἐφη, "διαφέρει· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἱχθύς ὅπως ἂν κέωντο 
πιπράσκεσθαι." θαυμάζειν τ' ἐφη εἰ χύτραν μὲν 
καὶ λοπάδα ωνούμενοι κομπούμεν· ἀνθρωπον δὲ

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*a Cf. Ecclus. iv. 31 (36) μὴ ἔστω ἡ χείρ σου ἐκτεταμένη εἰς τὸ λαβεῖν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀποδίδοναι 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”\(^c\); for among the works of Menippus enumerated by Laertius below (§ 101) there is no mention of a “Sale of Diogenes.”

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\(^a\) Menippus

\(^b\) in his *Sale of Diogenes*

\(^c\) Ambrosius
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μόνη τῇ ὁψει ἀρκούμεθα. ἔλεγε τῷ Ξενιάδῃ τῷ πριμακείῳ αὐτὸν, δεῖν πείθεσθαι αὐτῷ, εἰ καὶ δούλος εἶη· καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἵατρὸς ἢ κυβερνήτης ἢν δούλος, πεισθῆναι ἂν αὐτῷ. Ἐξῆθολος δὲ φησιν ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Διογένους Πρᾶσις οὕτως ἄγειν τοὺς παιδας τοῦ Ξενιάδου, μετὰ τὰ λοιπὰ μαθήματα ἦπειεν, τοξεύειν, σφενδονάν, ἀκοντίζειν· ἐπειτ' ἐν τῇ παλαιότατῃ οὐκ ἐπέτρεπε τῷ παιδο- τρίβῃ ἀθλητικῶς ἄγειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ μόνον ἐρυθήματος χάριν καὶ εὐεξίας.

31 Κατείχον δὲ οἱ παιδεῖς πολλὰ ποιητῶν καὶ συγγρα- φέων καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ Διογένους, πάσαν τ' ἔφοδον σύντομον πρὸς τὸ εὐμνημόνευτον ἐπήσκει. ἐν οἷκω τ' ἐδίδασκε διακονεῖσθαι λιτῆ τροφῆ χρωμέ- νους καὶ ὦδωρ πίνοντας, ἐν χρῷ κουρίας τε καὶ ἀκαλλωπίστους εἰργάζετο καὶ ἁχίτωνας καὶ ἀνυπο- δήτους καὶ σωπηλοὺς καὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς βλέποντας ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς. ἐξῆγε δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ κυνηγεία. οὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ Διογένους ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποιοῦντο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γονέας αἰτητικῶς εἰθόν. ὁ δ' αὐτός φησι παρὰ τῷ Ξενιάδῃ καὶ γηρᾶσαι αὐτὸν καὶ θανόντα ταφῆναι πρὸς τῶν νυόν αὐτοῦ. ἔνθα καὶ πυνθανομένου τοῦ Ξενιάδου πῶς αὐτὸν θάψειεν,

32 ἔφη, "ἐπὶ πρόσωπον"· τοῦ δ' ἐρωμένου "διὰ τί;" "ὅτι μετ' ὀλίγον," εἶπε, "μέλλει τὰ κάτω ἀνω στρέφεσθαι." τοῦτο δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐπικρατεῖν ἦδη τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἣ ἐκ ταπεινῶν ὕψηλους γίνεσθαι. εἰσαγαγόντος τινὸς αὐτὸν εἰς οἴκου πολυτελῆ καὶ κωλύοντος πτύσσαι, ἐπειδὴ ἐχρέψατο, εἰς τὴν ὁψιν 32
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.
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33 Ἀναπήρους ἔλεγεν οὐ τοὺς κωφοὺς καὶ τυφλοὺς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὴ ἔχοντας πήραν. εἰσελθὼν ποτὲ ἡμιξύρητος εἰς νέων συμπόσιον, καθά φησίν Μη-τροκλῆς ἐν ταῖς Χρείαις, πληγᾶς ἐλαβε· μετὰ δὲ ἐγγράφας τὰ ὀνόματα εἰς λεύκωμα τῶν πληξάντων περιήγει ἔξημενος, ἐως αὐτοὺς ὑβρεὶ περεύθηκε καταγινωσκόμενος καὶ ἐπιπληηττομένους. ἔλεγεν ἐαυτὸν κύνα εἶναι τῶν ἐπαινομένων, ἀλλὰ μηδένα τολμᾶν τῶν ἐπανούντων συνεξίεναι ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν. πρὸς τὸν εἴποντα, "Πῦθια νικῶ ἄνδρας," "ἐγὼ μὲν ὄνω," εἶπεν, "ἄνδρας, σὺ δ' ἄνδράποδα." 

34 Πρὸς τοὺς εἴποντας, "γέρων εἰ καὶ λοιπὸν ἓνες," "τί δέ," ἐφη, "εἰ δόλιχον ἔτρεχον, πρὸς τῷ τέλει ἐδει με ἀνείναι καὶ μὴ μᾶλλον ἐπιτείναι;" κληθεὶς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον οὐκ ἐφὴ παρέσεσθαι. μηδὲ γὰρ πρώτην αὐτῷ χάριν ἐγνωκέναι. γυμνοῖς ποσὶ χιόνα ἐπάτει καὶ τάλλα ὡσα ἂνω προείρηται· καὶ 34
VI. 32–34. DIOGENES

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” (όναπηροῦν), Diogenes held, ought to be applied not to the deaf or blind, but to those who have no wallet (πηρα). 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
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Μιμεῖσθαι ἔλεγε τοὺς χοροδιδασκάλους· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὑπὲρ τόνον ἐυδίδοναι ἕνεκα τοῦ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἁίμασθαι τοῦ προσήκοντος τόνου. τοὺς πλείστους ἔλεγε παρὰ δάκτυλον μαίνεσθαι· εάν οὖν τοῖς τὸν μέσον προτείνας πορεύῃταί, δόξει τῷ μαίνεσθαι, εάν δὲ τὸν λιχυμόν, οὐκέτι. τὰ πολλοῦ ἀξία τοῦ μηδενὸς ἔλεγε πιπράσκεσθαι καὶ ἐμπαλιν· ἀνδριάντα γοῦν τρισχιλίων πιπράσκεσθαι, χοῦνικα δ᾽ ἀλφίτων δύο χαλκῶν.

36 Τῷ προσέγαν ἄρτον Ξενιάδη φησὶ, "ἀγε ὅπως τὸ προστατόμενον ποιήσεις." τοῦ δ᾽ εἴπόντος,

ἀνω ποταμῶν χωροῦσι παγαί,

"εἰ δὲ ἵατρον ἐπρώ νοσῶν, οὐκ ἂν," ἔφη, "ἀυτῷ ἐπείθου, ἄλλ᾽ εἴπες ἂν ὡς ἂνω ποταμῶν χωροῦσι παγαί;" ἢθελέ τις παρ᾽ αὐτῷ φιλοσοφεῖν· ὁ δὲ οἱ σαπέρδῃς δοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἀκολουθεῖν. ὡς δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ αἰδοὺς ρύψας ἀπῆλθε, μετὰ χρόνου ὑπαντήσας

VI. 34–36. DIOGENES

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,' 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,
DIogenes Laertius


37 Θεασάμενός ποτε παιδίον ταῖς χερσὶ πίνων ἐξέρρυσε τῆς πήρας τὴν κοτύλην, εἰπὼν, “παιδίον με νενίκηκεν εὐτελείᾳ.” ἔξεβαλε δὲ καὶ τὸ τρυ-βλίον, ὅμοιός παιδίον θεασάμενος, ἐπειδὴ κατέαξε τὸ σκεῦος, τῷ κοίλῳ τοῦ ψωμίου τὴν φακὴν ὑποδεχόμενον. συνελογίζετο δὲ καὶ οὕτως· τῶν θεῶν ἐστὶ πάντα· φίλοι δὲ οἱ σοφοὶ τοῖς θεοῖς κοινὰ δὲ τὰ τῶν φίλων. πάντ' ἄρα ἐστὶ τῶν σοφῶν. θεασάμενός ποτε γυναῖκα ἀσχημονέστε-ρον τοῖς θεοῖς προσπίπτουσαν, βουλόμενος αὐτῆς περιελεῖν τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν, καθά φησι Ζωίλος ὁ Περγαῖος, προσελθὼν ἐπένευ, “οὐκ εὐλαβῆ, ὅ γυναί, μή ποτε θεοὶ ὁπισθὲν ἐστῶτος—πάντα γάρ ἐστιν αὐτοῦ πλήρη—ἀσχημονήσης;” τῷ Ἀσ-κληπιῶν ἀνέθηκε πλήκτην, ὡς τούς ἐπὶ στόμα πίπτουσαν ἐπιτρέχων συνέτριβεν.

Εἰώθει δὲ λέγειν τὰς τραγικὰς ἀρὰς αὐτῷ συνηνητηκέναι· εἶναι γοῦν

ἀπολις, ἀοικος, πατρίδος ἐστερημένος,
πτωχός, πλανήτης, βίον ἐχὼν τοὐφ’ ἡμέραν.

ἔφασε δ’ ἀντιτιθέναι τύχη μὲν θάρσος, νόμω δὲ¹

¹ ὁ <δεῖ> Richards.

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α Nauck, T.G.F.², Adesp. 284.
VI. 36–38. DIOGENES

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 Zoilus 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.⁴

But he claimed that to fortune he could oppose
DIOGENES LAERTIUS

φύσιν, πάθει δὲ λόγον. ἐν τῷ Κρανείῳ ἠλιουμένῳ αὐτῷ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπιστάσας φησιν, "αἰτησόν με ὁ θέλεις."


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a Cf Plut. Alex. c. 14.
VI. 38-40. DIOGENES

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
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." 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."

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."
DIOGENES LAERTIUS

Λυσίον τοῦ φαρμακοπώλου πυθομένου εἰ θεοὺς νομίζει, "πῶς δέ," εἶπεν, "οὐ νομίζω, ὅπου καὶ σὲ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸν ὑπολαμβάνω;" οἱ δὲ Θεόδωρον εἶπειν τοῦτο. ἰδὼν τινα περιπραγνόμενον ἐπείπεν, "ὡς κακόδαιμον, οὐκ ἐπίστασαι ὅτι ὄσπερ τῶν ἐν γραμματικὴ ἀμαρτημάτων περιπραγνόμενος οὐκ ἂν ἀπαλλαγεῖς, οὔτως οὔδε τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ;" ἐνεκάλει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις περὶ τῆς εὐχῆς, αὐτείσθαι λέγων αὐτοὺς ἀγαθὰ τὰ αὐτοῖς δοκοῦντα καὶ οὐ τὰ κατ' ἀλήθειαν. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὰ ὀνείρατα ἐπτομένους ἔλεγεν ὡς ὑπὲρ ὃν μὲν πράττουσιν ὑπαρ, οὐκ ἐπιστρέφονται, ὑπὲρ ὃν δὲ καθεύδοντες φαντασοῦνται, πολυπραγμονοῦσιν. Ὁλυμπίασι τοῦ κήρυκος ἀνευπόντος, "νικά Διώξιππος ἄνδρας," "οὔτος μὲν δή ἄνδράποδα, ἄνδρας δ' ἐγώ."

Ἡγαπάτο δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίων μειρακίῳ γοῦν τὸν πίθον αὐτοῦ συντρίφαντος, τῷ μὲν πληγᾶς ἐδοσαν, ἐκεῖνῳ δὲ ἄλλον παρέσχων. ἐγὼ δὲ Διονύσιος ὁ στωικὸς ός μετὰ Χαιρόνειαν συλληφθεὶς ἀπήχθη πρὸς Φιλίππου καὶ ἔρωτηθεῖς ὡστις εἶη, ἀπεκρίνατο, "κατάσκοπος τῆς σῆς ἀπληστίας" ὑθεν βαυμασθεὶς ἀφείθη.

Ἀλέξάνδρου ποτὲ πέμψαντος ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον εἰς Ἀθῆνας διὰ τινος Ἀθλίου, παρὼν ἐφη:

ἀθλίος παρ' ἀθλίου δι' ἀθλίου πρὸς ἀθλίου.

Περδίκκου ἀπειλήσαντος, εἰ μὴ ἔλθου πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἀποκτενεῖν, ἐφη, "οὔδὲν μέγα: καὶ γὰρ κάνθαρος καὶ φαλάγγιον τοῦτ' ἀν πράξειν..."
VI. 42-44. DIOGENES

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.

Perdiceas 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
DIOGENES LAERTIUS

έκείνο δὲ μᾶλλον ἀπειλεῖν ἥξιον ὡς "εἰ καὶ χωρὶς ἐμοῦ ζήσαι, εὐδαιμόνως ζήσοιτο." ἐβόα πολλάκις λέγων τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον ρᾴδιον ὑπὸ τῶν θεών δεδόθαι, ἀποκεκρύθη δ' αὐτῶν ζητοῦντων μελετηκτα καὶ μύρα καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια. θεον πρὸς τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰκέτου ύποδούμενον, "οὔπω," εἰτε, "μακάριος εἰ, ἂν μὴ σε καὶ ἀπομύξῃ τοῦτο δ' ἔσται πηρωθέντι σοι τὰς χεῖρας."


46 Χρημάτων δεόμενος ἀπαιτεῖν ἐλεγε τοὺς φίλους, οὐκ αἰτεῖν. ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς ποτε χειρουργῶν, "εἰθε," ἔφη, "καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν ἴνα παρατρίψαντα μὴ πεινῇν." μειράκιον θεασάμενος μετὰ σατραπῶν ἐπὶ δείπνον ἀπιόν, ἀποσπάσας πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἀπήγαγε

"i.e. "some day you'll come to the gallows."
VI. 44-46. DIOGENES

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.” 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 πυθόμενον τι ἔφη οὐ πρότερον λέξειν αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ ἀνασυράμενος δείξει τὸ πότερον γυνὴ ἔστιν ἡ ἀνήρ. πρὸς τὸ κοπταβίζον εὖ τῷ βαλανεῖῳ μειράκιον φησιν, "όσω βέλτιον, τουσοῦτω χεῖρον." ἐν δείπνῳ προσερρήτου ἀυτῷ τινὲς ὀστάρια ὡς κυνικαὶ ὁς ἀπαλλαττόμενος προσεούρησεν αὐτοῖς ὡς κύων.


48 Τὸν κιθαρῳδὸν ἀεὶ καταλείπομενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκροατῶν ἡσύχασατο, "χαίρε ἄλεκτορ ." τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, "διὰ τί;" "ὅτι," ἔφη, "ἀδυν πάντας ἐγέιρεις." μειράκιον ἐπιδεικνυμένον πληρώσας τὸ προκόλπιον θέρμων ἀντικρύ ἐκαπτε· τοῦ δὲ πλήθους εἰς αὐτῶν ἀφορώντος θαυμάζειν ἔφη πῶς

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. 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.

50 Ἐρωτηθείς ποτὲ ὑπὸ τυράννου ποιῶς εἰπ' ἀμείνων χαλκὸς εἰς ἄνδριάντα ἐφη, "ἀφ' οὔ Ἀρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων ἐχαλκεύθησαν." ἐρωτηθείς πῶς χρήται Διονύσιος τοῖς φίλοις, ἔφη, "ὡς θυλάκοις, τοὺς μὲν πλήρεις κρημνῶν, τοὺς δὲ κενοὺς ρήττων." νεογάμου ἐπιγράψαντος ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν,
VI. 48–50. DIOGENES

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." 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.
Diogenes Laertius

ο τοῦ Διός παῖς καλλίκος Ἂρακλῆς ἐνθάδε κατοικεῖ. μηδὲν εἰσίτω κακὸν.

ἐπέγραψε: "μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἡ συμμαχία." τὴν φιλαργυρίαν εἶπε μητρόπολιν πάντων τῶν κακῶν. ἄσωτον θεσάμενος ἐν πανθοκείῳ ἔλας ἐσθίοντ’ ἐφη, "εἰ οὕτως ἥριστας, οὐκ ἂν οὕτως ἐδείπνεις."


52 ἰδὼν ποτε δραπέτην ἐπὶ φρέατι καθήμενον ἐφη, "μειράκιον, βλέπε μὴ ἐμπέσῃς." ἰδὼν [μειρακύλλιον] ἰματιοκλέπτην ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ ἐφη, "ἐπ’ ἀλειμματίον ἡ ἐπ’ ἄλλ’ ἰμάτιον;" ἰδὼν ποτε γυναῖκας ἀπ’ ἐλαίας ἀπηγχονισμένας, "εἰθὲ γάρ," ἐφη, "πάντα τὰ δένδρα τοιοῦτον καρπὸν ἤνεγκεν." ἰδὼν λωποδύτην ἐφη,

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a Cf. inf. vii. § 111; 1 Tim. vii. 10, "The love of money is the root of all evil."
VI. 50-52. DIOGENES

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. 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. 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 (ἀλεημμάτιον) or is it for a new cloak (ἀλλ’ 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 σύ ὀδε, φέριστε; ἢ τινα συλήσων νεκύων κατατεθνηώτων;

ἐρωτηθεῖς εἰ παϊδισκάριον ἢ παϊδάριον ἔχοι, ἐφη, "οὐν" τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, "ἐὰν οὐν ἀποθάνης, τίς σε ἐξοίσει;" ἐφη, "ὁ χρῆζων τῆς οἰκίας."

Μειράκιον εὐμορφον ἀψυλάκτως ἵδων κοιμώμενον, νύξας, "ἐπέγειραι," ἐφη,

μή τις τοι εὐδοντι μεταφρένω ἐν δόρῳ πῆξη.

πρὸς τὸν πολυτελῶς ὠψωνοῦντα,

ὦκύμορος δὴ μοι, τέκος, ἐσσεαί, οἴ ἀγοράζεις;


1 ἐρωτηθεῖς . . . μανὶομένος cancellis inclusit Cobet.
VI. 52–54. DIOGENES

What mak'st thou here, my gallant?  
Com'st thou perchance for plunder of the dead?¹

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.²

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.³ 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

¹ Hom. II. x. 343, 387.  
² Cf. Hom. II. v. 40, xviii. 95.  
³ i.e. Plato. This anecdote is found in Aelian, Var. Hist. xiv. 33 εἰ σδεὶ δὲ, φασίν, ὅ Πλάτων περὶ Διογένους λέγειν ὅτι μανθανοντος οὗτος Σωκράτης ἐστίν.
DIOGENES LAERTIUS


ὅ ἤενε, τυράννοις ἐκποδῶν μεθίστασο καὶ ἄλλοτε,

μάστιξεν δ' ἑλάασ.

ἐρωτηθεὶς ποταπὸς εἶ ἐκὼν; ἔφη "πεινὼν μὲν Ἔλεταίος, χορτασθεὶς δὲ Μολοττικός, τούτων οὐς ἐπαινοῦντες οἱ πολλοὶ οὐ τολμῶσι διὰ τὸν πόνον συνεξίευσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν. οὕτως οὐδ' ἐμοὶ δύνασθε συμβιοῦν διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν ἀληθοῦνν." Ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ οἱ σοφοὶ πλακοῦντα ἔσθλουσιν, "πάντα," εἶπεν, "ὦ καὶ οἱ λοιποί ἄνθρωποι." ἐρωτηθεὶς διὰ τὶ προσαίταις μὲν ἐπιδιδόσαι, φιλο- σόφοις δὲ οὐ, ἔφη, "ὅτι χωλοὶ μὲν καὶ τυφλοὶ γενέσθαι ἔλπιζουσι, φιλοσοφήσαι δ' οὐδέποτε," φιλάργυρον ἔτει τοῦ δὲ βραδύνοντος, "ἀνθρωπε,

— Eur. Phoen. 49.

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

56
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.

And on another occasion thus:

He lashed an olive.

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
DIOGENES LAERTIUS

ἐἶπεν, "εἰς τροφῆν σε αὖτω, οὐκ εἰς ταφήν." ὁνειδιζόμενός ποτὲ ἐπὶ τῷ παραχαράξαι τὸ νόμισμα ἐφη, "ὅν ποτὲ χρόνος ἐκεῖνος ὤτ' ἡμὴν ἐγὼ τοιοῦτος ὀποῖος σὺ νῦν· ὁποῖος δ' ἐγὼ νῦν, σὺ οὐδέποτε." καὶ πρὸς ἄλλον ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ὁνειδίσαντα, "καὶ γὰρ ἐνεοῦρον θάττον, ἀλλὰ νῦν οὐ." 57 Εἴς Μύνδον ἐλθὼν καὶ θεασάμενος μεγάλας τὰς πύλας, μικρὰν δὲ τὴν πόλιν, "ἄνδρες Μύνδιοι," ἐφη, "κλείσατε τὰς πύλας, μη ἡ πόλις ὑμῶν ἐξέλθῃ." θεασάμενός ποτὲ πορφυροκλέπτην πεφωραμένον ἐφη,

έλλαβε πορφύρεος θάνατος καὶ Μοῖρα κραταίη.

Κρατέρου ἀξιοῦντος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπιέναι, "ἄλλα βουλομαι," ἐφη, "ἐν Ἀθηναῖς ἀλα λείχειν ἡ παρὰ Κρατέρῳ τῆς πολυτελοῦς τραπέζης ἀπολαύειν." Ἀναξιμένει τῷ χήττωρι παχεῖ ὄντι προσελθών, "ἐπὶδος καὶ ἡμῖν," ἐφη, "τοῖς πτωχοῖς τῆς γαστρὸς· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς κουφισθῆσαι καὶ ἡμᾶς ὦφελήσεις." διαλεγόμενον ποτὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τάριχος προτείνας περιέστασα τοὺς ἀκροατάς· ἀγανακτοῦντος δὲ, "τὴν Ἀναξιμένους," ἐφη, "διάλεξεν ὀβολοῦ τάριχος διαλέλυκεν." 58 Ὅνειδιζόμενός ποτὲ ὅτι ἐν ἀγορὰ ἐφαγεν, "ἐν ἀγορᾷ γὰρ," ἐφη, "καὶ ἐπεινήσας." ἔνιοι δὲ τούτου φασὶν εἶναι κάκεινο, ὅτι Πλάτων θεασάμενος αὐτὸν λάχανα πλύνοντα, προσελθὼν ἦσυχη ἐπὶ τούτῳ· "εἰ Διονύσιον θεράπευες, οὐκ ἄν λάχανα ἐπλυνας:" τὸν δ' ἀποκρίνασθαι ὁμοίως ἦσυχη, "καὶ σὺ εἰ

a II. 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.

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 ἐπλύνεσ, οὐκ ἂν Διονύσιον ἑθεράπευες." ἔφη, "πολλῷ ἀν ἢν πλεῖον εἰ καὶ οἱ μὴ σωθέντες ἀνετίθεσαν"
οἱ δὲ τοῦτο Διαγόρου φασὶ τοῦ Μηλίου.

εὐμορφῷ μειρακίῳ ἀπιόντες εἰς συμπόσιον ἐφη, "χείρων ἐπανήξεις;" τοῦ δ' ἐπανελθόντος καὶ τῆς ἐπόντος, "καὶ ἀπήλθον καὶ χείρων οὐκ ἐγενόμην," ἐφη, "Χείρων μὲν οὐ, Εὐρυτίων δὲ.

dύσκολον ἦτεν τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος, "ἐάν με πείσης." ἐφη, "εἰ σε ἑδυνάμην πείσαι, ἐπείσα ἂν σε ἀπάγ- ἔσθαί σαι." ἐπανήρχετο ἐκ Λακεδαιμονός εἰς 'Αθηνας· πρὸς οὖν τὸν πυθόμενον, "ποὺ καὶ πόθεν;" "ἐκ τῆς ἀνδρωνίτιδος," ἐπεν, "εἰς τὴν γυναικώνιτιν.

60 Ἐπανήξει ἀπ' ' Ολυμπίων· πρὸς οὖν τὸν πυθόμενον εἰ ὄχλος ἐγή πολύς, "πολὺς μὲν," ἐπεν, "ὁ ὄχλος, ὅλιγοι δ' οἱ ἀνθρώποι." τοὺς ἄσωτος εἰπε παραπλησίους εἶναι συκαίς ἐπὶ κρημνῷ πεφυκώς, ὄν τοῦ καρποῦ ἀνθρωπός μὲν οὐκ ἀπογεύεται, κόρακες δὲ καὶ γύπες ἐσθίουσιν.

Φρύνης 'Αφροδίτην χρυσὴν ἀναθείης 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).
VI. 58–60. DIOGENES

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).” 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 Lace-daemon 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 some-body 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.”
DIOGENES LAERTIUS


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

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. 82a. 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 64
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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." 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.

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." 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.

"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."
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οὕτω ἀπόβλητι ἐστὶ θεῶν ἑρίκυδεα δόρα.

Πρὸς τὸν ἐνσείσαντα αὐτῷ δοκόν, ἐίτα εἰπόντα, "φύλαξαι," πλήξας αὐτὸν τῇ βακτηρίᾳ εἶπε,
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.4

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


68 Ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ κακὸν ὁ θάνατος, "πῶς," εἶπε, "κακός, οὐ παρόντος οὐκ αἰσθανόμεθα;" πρὸς Ἀλέξιανδρον ἐπιστάντα καὶ εἰπόντα, "οὐ φοβῆ με;;" "τὴ γάρ," εἶπεν, "εἰ; ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν;" τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, "ἀγαθὸν," "τίς οὖν," εἶπε, "τὸ ἀγαθόν φοβεῖται;" τὴν παιδείαν εἰπὲ τοῖς μὲν νέοις σωφροσύνην, τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέροις παραμυθιάν,

1 τῇ ἔταιρᾳ vulg.: corr. Richards.
2 κακὸς vulg.: corr. Richards.

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68 a Od. i. 157, iv. 70.
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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
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τοῖς δὲ πένησι πλοῦτον, τοῖς δὲ πλουσίοις κόσμον εἶναι. πρὸς Διδύμωνα τὸν μοιχὸν ἰατρεύοντά ποτε κόρης ὀφθαλμόν, "ὁρα," φησί, "μὴ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τῆς παρθένου θεραπεύων τὴν κόρην φθείρῃς." εἰπόντος τινὸς ὅτι ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἐπιβουλεύεται, "καὶ τί δεὶ πράττειν," ἐφη, "εἰ δεῖσει τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς δρομὸις χρῆσθαι;"


70 Διττὴν δ' ἔλεγεν εἰναι τὴν ἁσκησιν, τὴν μὲν ψυχικὴν, τὴν δὲ σωματικὴν· ταύτην καθ' ἦν ἐν γυμνασίᾳ συνεχεῖς γυνώμεναι φαντασία εὐλυσίαν πρὸς τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐργα παρέχονται. εἰναι δ' ἀτελῆ τὴν ἐτέραν χωρὶς τῆς ἐτέρας, οὐδὲν ἦττον εὔεξίας καὶ ἰσχύος ἐν τοῖς προσήκουσι γενομένης, ὥσ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ περὶ τὸ σώμα. παρετίθετο δὲ τεκμήρια τοῦ ῥάδιως ἀπὸ τῆς γυμνασίας ἐν

1 συνεχεῖς vulg.: corr. Reiske.

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

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.
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tῆ ἄρετῆ καταγίνεσθαι· ὅραν τε γὰρ ἐν τε ταῖς τέχναις ταῖς βαναύσοις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἄξυχερίαν τοὺς τεχνίτας ἀπὸ τῆς μελέτης περιπεποιημένους τοὺς τ’ αὐλητᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἀθλητᾶς ὅσον ὑπερφέρουσιν ἐκάτεροι τῆ ἴδιᾳ πονῆσει τῇ συνεχεί, καὶ ὡς οὖτοι εἰ μετήνεγκαν τὴν ἁσκήσιν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχήν, οὐκ ἂν ἀνωφελῶς καὶ ἀτελῶς ἐμόχθουν.

71 Οὐδέν γε μὴν ἔλεγε τὸ παράπαν ἐν τῷ βίῳ χωρὶς ἁσκήσεως κατορθοῦσθαι, δυνατὴν δὲ ταύτην πᾶν ἐκνικήσαι. δέον οὖν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀχρήστων πόνων τοὺς κατὰ φύσιν ἔλομένους ζῆν εὐδαμόνως, παρὰ τὴν ἄνοιαν κακοδαμιονοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ αὐτῇ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἡ καταφρόνησις ἡδυτάτη προμελετήθεισα, καὶ ὡσπερ οἱ συνεδρέσεις ἢδεως ζῆν, ἀγδώς ἐπὶ τοῦνατιον μετίασιν, οὕτως οἱ τοῦνατιόν ἁσκηθέντες ἢδιον αὐτῶν τῶν ἡδονῶν καταφρονοῦσι. τοιαύτα διελέγετο καὶ ποιῶν ἐφαίνετο, ὅντως νόμισμα παραχαράττων, μηδὲν οὕτω τοῖς κατὰ νόμον ὡς τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν διδοῦς. τὸν αὐτὸν χαρακτῆρα τοῦ βίου λέγων διεξάγειν ὀνπερ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς, μηδὲν ἐλευθερίας προκρίνων.

72 Πάντα τῶν σοφῶν εἶναι λέγων καὶ τοιούτους λόγους ἐρωτῶν οὖν οὐκ ἀνω προειρήκαμεν· πάντα τῶν θεῶν ἐστὶν φίλοι δὲ τοῖς σοφοῖς οἱ θεοὶ· κοινὰ δὲ τὰ τῶν φίλων. πάντα ἄρα τῶν σοφῶν. περὶ
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
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te toú nómuν óti χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ὅχι ὦν τε πολιτεύ-
esthai. ὃ γάρ φησιν ἀνευ πόλεως ὦφελος τι εἶναι
ἀστείουν ἀστείον δὲ ἡ πόλις νόμου δὲ ἀνευ πόλεως
οὐδὲν ὦφελος ἀστείον ἀρα ὁ νόμος. εὐγενείας δὲ
καὶ δόξας καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα διέπαιζε, προ-
κοσμήματα κακίας εἶναι λέγων: μόνην τε ὅρθην
πολιτείαν εἶναι τὴν ἐν κόσμῳ. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ
κοινὰς εἶναι δεῖν τὰς γυναίκας, γάμον μηδένα
νομίζων, ἀλλὰ τὸν πείσαντα τῇ πεισθείσῃ συνείναι: κοινοὺς δὲ διὰ τούτο καὶ τοὺς νῦν.

73 Μηδὲν τε ἄτοπον εἶναι εξ ἱεροῦ τι λαβεῖν ἥ τῶν
ζώων τινὸς γεύσασθαι: μηδ' ἀνόσιον εἶναι τὸ καὶ
tῶν ἀνθρωπείων κρεών ἀψασθαί, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ
tῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐθών καὶ τῷ ὅρθῳ λόγῳ πάντ' ἐν
πᾶσι καὶ διὰ πάντων εἶναι λέγων. καὶ γὰρ ἐν
tῶ ἅρτῳ κρέας εἶναι καὶ ἐν τῷ λαχάνῳ ἅρτον,
καὶ τῶν σωμάτων τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν πᾶσι διὰ τινῶν
ἀθήλων πόρων [καὶ]1 όγκων εἰςκρυμμένων καὶ
συνατμιζομένων, ὡς δῆλον ἐν τῷ Θεόνῃ ποιεῖ, εἰ γ' ἀυτοῦ αἰ τραγῳδίαι καὶ μὴ Φιλίσκου τοῦ Ἀσινήτου
ἐκείνου γνωρίμου Ἡ Πασιφῶντος τοῦ Λουκιανοῦ,
ὅν φησι Φαββωρίνος εν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ μετὰ
tὴν τελευτήν αὐτοῦ συγγράψαι. μουσικῆς τε καὶ
γεωμετρικῆς καὶ ἀστρολογίας καὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων
ἀμελεῶν, ὃς ἄρχηστων καὶ οὐκ ἀναγκαίων.

1 καὶ seclusit Merc. Casaubon.

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1 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 Πιλαξ attributed to Cebes by D. L., ii. 125 (v. Susemihl, Griechische Literature in der Alexandrinerzeit, i. p. 20, Welcker, Kl. Schr. i. p. 422, n. 18). Wilamowitz conjectures 74
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, 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 Αυκιαροῦ has displaced the local adjective of his birthplace.
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74 Εὐστοχώτατος δ’ ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἀπαντήσεις τῶν λόγων, ός δὴ λογος ἐξ ὧν προειρήκαμεν.

Καὶ πρᾶσον ἦνεγκε γενναίοτάτα: πλέων γὰρ εἰς Αἰγυπτον καὶ πειραταῖς ἀλοῦς ὧν ἦρχε Σκύρπαλος, εἰς Κρήτην ἀπαχθεῖς ἐπιπράσκετο καὶ τοῖς κήρυκοις ἐρωτῶντος τί οἶδε ποιεῖν, ἡφη, "ἀνθρώπων ἄρχειν." ὅτε καὶ δείξας των Κορίνθων εὐπαρυφον, τοὺς προειρημένον Ξενιάδην, ἡφη, "τούτῳ μὲ πώλειν οὕτως δεσπότου χρήζει." ὡνεῖται δὴ αὐτὸν ὧν Ξενιάδης καὶ ἀπαγαγών εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον ἐπέστησε τοῖς έαυτοῦ παιδίοις καὶ πᾶσαν ἐνεχείρισε τὴν οἰκίαν. ὧ δὲ οὕτως αὐτὴν ἐν πᾶσι διετίθει, ὡστε ἐκείνους περιμων ἐλεγεν: "ἀγαθὸς δαίμων εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν μου εἰσελήλυθε.”

75 Φησὶ δὲ Κλεομένης ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Παῶιν ἀγωγικῷ τοὺς γνωρίμους λυτρώσασθαι αὐτοῦ θελήσαι, τὸν δ’ εὐθείας αὐτοὺς εἰπεῖν: οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς λέοντας δοῦλους εἶναι τῶν τρεφόντων, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τρέφοντας τῶν λέοντων. δοῦλον γὰρ τὸ φοβείσθαι, τὰ δὲ θηρία φοβερὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἶναι. θαυμαστῇ δὲ τις ἡν περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα πειθώ, ὥστε πάνθ’ ὄντου ὁ ἄρδώς αἱρεῖν τοῖς λόγοις. λέγεται γοῦν Ὀυνσίκριτον των Αἰγυνήτην πέμψαι εἰς τὰς 'Αθήνας δυοὶ ὄντων νιόθῳ τὸν ἐτερον Ἀνδροσθένην, ὅτι ἀκούσαντα τοῦ Διογένους αὐτόθι προσμεῖναι τὸν δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ἐτερον ἀποστείλαι τὸν πρεσβύτερον Φιλίσκον τὸν προειρημένον, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν Φιλίσκον κατα- 76 σχεθῆναι: τὸ τρίτον αὐτὸν ἀφιγμένον μηδὲν ἤττον

a ""Harpalus” according to Cie. N.D. iii. 34. 83.

76
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, 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
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συνείναι τοῖς παισὶ συμφιλοσοφοῦντα. τοιαύτη
tis prosoi SUMERAX tois Διογένους λόγους. ἤκουσε
δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Φωκίων ὁ ἐπίκλην χρηστὸς καὶ
Στίλπων ὁ Μεγαρεύς καὶ ἅλλοι πλείους ἄνδρες
πολιτικοί.

Λέγεται δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη βιοὺς
teleuτήσαι. περὶ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου διάφοροι λέ-
gontai λόγου: οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολύποδα φαγόντα
ομόν χολερικῆ ληφθῆναι καὶ ὤδε τελευτήσαι: οἱ
de τὸ πνεῦμα συγκράτησαντα, ὅν ἔστι καὶ Κερ-
κιδᾶς ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης [ἡ Κρής], λέγων ἐν τοῖς
μελιάμβοις οὖτως:

οὗ μᾶν ὁ πάρος γε Σωσπεῦς
tῆνος ὁ βακτροφόρας, διπλοείματος, αἰθεριβόσκας,
ἀλλ' ἀνέβα χείλος ποτ' ὀδόντας ἐρείσας
[kai to pnevima syndakwv]. ἦς γὰρ ἀλαθέως
Διογένης Ζανὸς γόνος οὐρανίος τε κύων.

"Αλλοι φασὶ πολύποιν κυσὶ συμμερίσασθαι βουλό-
μενον οὖτω δηχθῆναι τοῦ ποδὸς τὸν τένοντα καὶ
catastρέψαι. οἱ μὲντοι γνώριμοι αὐτοῦ, καθα
φήσων Ἀντισθένης ἐν Διαδοχαῖς, εἰκαζον τὴν τοῦ
πνεύματος συγκράτησιν. ἐτύγχανε μὲν γὰρ δι-
άγων ἐν τῷ Κρανεῖῳ τῷ πρὸ τῆς Κορίνθου γυμ-
nασίῳ: κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἔθος ἦκων οἱ γνώριμοι καὶ αὐτῶν
καταλαμβάνουσιν ἐγκεκαλυμμένον καὶ εἰκαζαν
αὐτῶν κοιμᾶσθαι: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἤν τις νυσταλέος καὶ
ἐπινήλος. οὖθεν, ἀποπετάσαντες τὸν τρίβωνα ἐκ-
78
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 gymnasion 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
Πνοῦν αὐτοῦ καταλαμβάνοντι καὶ ὑπέλαβον τοῦτο πράξαι βουλόμενον λοιπὸν ὑπεξελθεῖν τοῦ βίου.

78 "Ενθα καὶ στάσις, ὡς φασιν, ἐγένετο τῶν γνωρίμων, τίνες αὐτοῦ θάφουσιν· ἄλλα καὶ μέχρι χειρῶν ἔθεον. ἀφικομένων δὲ τῶν πατέρων καὶ τῶν ὑπερεχόντων, ὑπὸ τούτοις ταφῆσαι τὸν ἄνδρα παρὰ τῇ πύλῃ τῇ φερουσῃ εἰς τὸν Ἰσθμόν. ἐπι-έστησαν τῷ αὐτῶι κίονα καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶι λίθου Παρίου κύνα. ὤστερον δὲ καὶ οἱ πολίται αὐτοῦ χαλκαῖς εἰκόσιν ἐτήμησαν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπέγραφαν οὕτως.

γηράσκει καὶ χαλκὸς ὑπὸ χρόνου, ἄλλα σὸν οὕτι κόδος ὁ πᾶς αἰῶν, Διόγενες, καθελεί·

μοῦνος ἐπεὶ βιστᾶς αὐτάρκεα δόξαν ἐδείξας

θνατοῖς καὶ ζωᾶς οἴμον ἐλαφροτάταν.

79 "Εστι καὶ ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ προκελευσματικῷ μέτρῳ:

A. Διόγενες, ἀγε λέγε τίς ἐλαβέ σε μόρος

ἐς "Αῖδος. Ἀ. ἐλαβέ με κυνὸς ἄγριον ὀδάξ.

"Ενιοί δὲ φασί τελευτώντα αὐτῶν [καὶ] ἐντει-lassen αταφον ρύφαι ὡς πάν θηρίον αὐτοῦ μετα-

σχοι, ἢ εἰς γε βόθρον συνώσαι καὶ ὀλίγην κόνων ἐπαμήσασιν οἴ δέ, εἰς τὸν Ἰλισσὸν ἐμβαλεῖν, ἰνα

toῖς ἀδελφοῖς χρήσιμος γένηται.

Δημήτριος δ' ἐν τοῖς Ὀμωνύμοις φησὶ τῆς

αὐτῆς ἡμέρας Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι,

Διογένην δ' ἐν Κορίνθῳ τελευτήσας. ἤν δὲ γέρων κατὰ τὴν πρίτην καὶ δεκάτην καὶ ἐκατοστῆν

80 Ὀλυμπιάδα.

Φέρεται δ' αὐτοῦ βιβλία τάδε· διάλογοι·

a Anth. Pal. xvi. 334.  
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.α

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.β

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.ε

The following writings are attributed to him.

Vol. ii
DIOGENES LAERTIUS

Κεφαλίων.
'Ιχθύας.
Κολούσ.
Πόρδαλος.
Δήμος Αθηναίων.
Πολιτεία.
Τέχνη ήθική.
'Ερωτικός.
Θεόδωρος.
'Υψίας.
'Αρίσταρχος.
Περί θανάτου.
'Επιστολαι.

Τραγωδίαι ἑπτά.
'Ελένη.
Θεσπήν.
'Αχιλλής.
'Αχίλλειος.
Μήδεια.
Χριστίππος.
Οἰδίπους.

Σωσικράτης δ' ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς Διαδοχῆς καὶ Σάτυρος ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ τῶν Βίων οὐδέν εἶναι Διογένους φασί· τά τε τραγῳδάρια φησιν ὁ Σάτυρος Φιλίσκου εἶναι τοῦ Λιγνήτου, γνωρίμου τοῦ Διογένους. Σωτίων δ' ἐν τῷ ἑβδόμῳ ταῦτα μόνα φησί Διογένους εἶναι, Περὶ ἀρετῆς, Περὶ ἀγαθοῦ, Ἐρωτικόν, Πτωχόν, Τολμαίον, Πόρδαλον, Κάσανδρον, Κεφαλίωνα, Φιλίσκου, Ἀρίσταρχου, Σίσυφου, Γαυμήδην, Χρείας, Ἐπιστολᾶς.

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. ἂρχη ὁ αὐτῷ τοῦ συγγράμματος ἦδε: “Δόγου παντὸς ἄρχομενον δοκεῖ μοι χρεῶν εἶναι τὴν ἄρχην ἀναμφισβήτητον παρέχεσθαι.” δεύτερος Σικυώνιος, ὁ γράφας τὰ περὶ Πελοπόννησον τρίτος αὐτὸς οὗτος. τέταρτος στωικός, γένος Σελευκεύς, ὁ καὶ Βαβυλώνιος καλούμενος διὰ τὴν γειτονίαν. πέμπτος Ταρσεύς, γεγραφῶς περὶ ποιητικῶν ζητημάτων ὁ λύειν ἐπιχειρεῖ.

Τὸν δὴ φιλόσοφον Ἀθηνόδωρος φησιν ἐν ὑγδόῃ Περιπάτων ἀεὶ στιλπνὸν φαίνεσθαι διὰ τὸ ἀλεῖφεσθαι.

Κεφ. γ’. ΜΟΝΙΜΟΣ

82 Μόνιμος Συρακόσιος μαθητής μὲν Διογένους, οἰκέτης δὲ τινος τραπεζίτου Κορυθίου, καθὰ φησὶ Σωσικράτης. πρὸς τοῦτον συνεχές ἄφικνούμενος ὁ Ξενιάδης ὃ τὸν Διογένην ἐωνημένου τὴν ἁρετὴν αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν ἐργῶν καὶ τῶν λόγων διηγούμενος εἰς ἔρωτα τάνδρος ἐνέβαλε τὸν Μόνιμον. αὐτίκα γὰρ ἐκείνοι μανίαν προσποιθεῖσα τὸ τε κέρμα διερρίπτει καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης ἀργύριον, ἐως αὐτὸν ὁ δεσπότης παρητήσατο· καὶ ὃς εὐθέως Διογένους ἦν. παρηκολούθησε δὲ καὶ Κράτητι τῷ κυνικῷ συχνὰ καὶ τῶν ὀμοίων εἰχετο, ὅτε καὶ μάλλον ὀρῶν αὐτὸν ὁ δεσπότης ἔδοκει μαίνεσθαι.

83 Ἐγένετο δ’ ἀνὴρ ἐλλόγιμος, ὡς καὶ Μένανδρον αὐτοῦ τὸν κωμικὸν μεμυησθαι. ἐν τινὶ γοῦν τῶν δραμάτων ἐν τῷ Ἰπποκόμῳ εἶπεν οὗτος:

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a Cf. Epictet. iii. 22. 88 ὡς Διογένης ἐποίει· στιλβων γὰρ περιήχετο καὶ κατ’ αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα ἐπέστρεφε τοὺς πολλοὺς. 84
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.

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:
DIOGENES LAERTIUS

Μόνιμός τις ἦν ἀνθρωπος, ὁ Φίλων, σοφός, ἀδοξότερος μικρῷ δ'. Α. ὁ τὴν πήραν ἔχων; 
Β. πήρας μὲν οὖν τρεῖς· ἀλλ' ἑκεῖνος ρήμα τι ἐφθέγξατ' οὐδὲν ἐμφερέσ, μὰ τὸν Δία, 
τῷ γνώθι σαυτόν, οὐδὲ τοῖς βωμένοις 
toûtois, ὑπὲρ δὲ ταῦθ' ὃ προσαυτῶν καὶ ρυπῶν· 
to γὰρ ὑποληφθῆν τύφον εἶναι πάν ἐφη.

οὗτος μὲν ἐμβριθέστατος ἐγένετο, ὦστε δόξης μὲν 
καταφρονεῖν, πρὸς δ' ἀλῆθειαν παρομῆν. 

Γέγραφε δὲ παίγνια σπουδή λεληθυία μεμυγμένα 
καὶ Περὶ ὁρμῶν δύο καὶ Προτρεπτικῶν.

Κεφ. δ'. ΟΝΗΣΙΚΡΙΤΟΣ

84 Ὄνησίκριτος· τούτοις οἱ μὲν Αἰγινητῆς, Δημή-
τριος δ' ὁ Μάγνης· Ἀστυπαλαιᾶ φῆσιν εἶναι. καὶ 
οὗτος τῶν ἐλλογίμων Διογένους μαθητῶν. ἔοικε 
δὲ τι ὁμοίον πεποιθέναι πρὸς Ἐνοπόντα. ἑκεῖνος 
μὲν γὰρ Κύρῳ συνεστράτευσεν, οὗτος δὲ Ἀλέξ-
άνδρῳ· κάκεινος μὲν Παιδείαν Κύρου, δ' δὲ πῶς 
Ἀλέξανδρος ἡχθῇ γέγραφε· καὶ ὃ μὲν ἐγκώμιον 
Κύρου, δ' δὲ Ἀλέξανδρου πεποίηκε. καὶ σῇ 
ἐρμηνεύα δὲ παραπλήσιον, πλὴν ὅτι ὃς ἀπόγραφος 
ἐξ ἀρχετύπου δευτερεύει.

Γέγονε καὶ Μένανδρος Διογένους μαθητής, ὃς 
ἐπικαλούμενος Δρυμός, θαυμαστὴς Ὀμῆρου, καὶ
VI. 83–84. MONIMUS—ONESICRITUS

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
e 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 dis-
tinguished 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 Σωτεύς ὁ Κλοῖος ἐπίκλην, καὶ Φιλίσκος ὁ Αιγυνήτης, ὥς προειρήκαμεν.

Κεφ. ε’. ΚΡΑΤΗΣ

85 Κράτης Ἀσκώνδου Θηβαίος. καὶ οὕτως τῶν ἑλλογίμων τοῦ κυνὸς μαθητῶν. Ἰππόβοτος δὲ φησίν οὐ Διογένους αὐτὸν μαθητὴν γεγονέναι, ἀλλὰ Βρύσωνος τοῦ Ἀχαιοῦ. τούτον Παύγνια φέρεται τάδε:

Πήρῃ τις πόλις ἐστὶ μέσῳ ἐνὶ οὖνοπι τύφῳ, καλῇ καὶ πίειρᾳ, περίφρυτῳ, οὐδὲν ἔχονσα, εἰς ἢν οὔτε τις εἰσπλεῖ ἀνήρ μωρὸς παράσιτος, οὔτε λίχνος πόρνης ἐπαγαλλόμενος πυγήσιν· ἀλλὰ θύμων καὶ σκόρδα φέρει καὶ σύκα καὶ ἄρτους, εξ ὧν οὐ πολεμοῦσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ τούτων, οὐχ οἷς κέκτησαι περὶ κέρματος, οὐ περὶ δόξης.

86 Ἐστι καὶ ἐφημερίς ἡ θρυλουμένη οὕτως ἔχονσα·

τίθει μαγείρῳ μνᾶς δέκ', ἰατρῷ δραχμῆν, κόλακι τάλαντα πέντε, συμβούλω καπνὸν, πόρη τάλαντον, φιλοσόφῳ τριώβολον.

Ἔκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Θυρεπανοίκτης διὰ τὸ εἰς πάσαν εἰσινεῖν οἰκίαν καὶ νουθετεῖν· ἐστιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τόδε·

τάυτ' ἔχω ὅσο' ἐμαθὼν καὶ ἐφρόντισα καὶ μετὰ Μουσῶν σέμν' ἔδαψι· τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ὠλβία τύφος ἐμαρφεῖν.

*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; Hagesias 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 the Achaeans. The following playful lines are attributed to him:

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:

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).
και ὃτι ἐκ φιλοσοφίας αὐτῷ περιγένειτο
θέρμων τε χοίνιξ καὶ τὸ μηδενὸς μέλεν.
φέρεται δ' αὐτοῦ κάκείνοι:
ἐρωτά παῦει λιμός, εἰ δὲ μή, χρόνος:
ἐὰν δὲ τούτοις μὴ δύνῃ χρῆσθαι, βρόχος.

87 Ἦκμαζε δὲ κατὰ τὴν τρίτην καὶ δεκάτην καὶ ἐκατοστήν Ὀλυμπιάδα.
Τούτῳ φησιν 'Αντισθένης ἐν ταῖς Διαδοχαῖς θεα-
σάμενον ἐν τινι τραγῳδίᾳ Τήλεφον σπυρίδιον ἔχοντα
καὶ τάλλα λυπρών ἄξιοι ἐπὶ τὴν κυνικὴν φιλοσοφίαν:
ἐξαργυρισάμενον τε τὴν οὐσίαν—καὶ γὰρ ἧν τῶν
ἐπιφανῶν—ἀθροίσαντα πρὸς τὰ [ἐκατὸν] διακόσια
tάλαντα, τοῖς πολίταις διανείμαι ταῦτα. αὐτὸν δὲ
καρτερὸς οὕτω φιλοσοφεῖν ὡς καὶ Φιλήμονα τὸν
κωμικὸν αὐτοῦ μεμνῆσθαι. φησὶ γοῦν:

καὶ τοῦ θέρους μὲν εἶχεν ὑμάτιον δασῦ,
ὦν ὡς Κράτης ἦ, τού δὲ χειμῶνος βάκος.

φησι δὲ Διοκλῆς πεῖσαι αὐτῶν Διογένην τὴν
οὐσίαν μηλόβοτον ἀνείναι καὶ εἴ τι ἀργύριον εἴη,
εἰς θάλασσαν βαλεῖν.

88 Καὶ Κράτητος μὲν, φησὶν, ὃ οἶκος ὑπ' Ἀλεξ-
άνδρου * * Ἰππαρχίας δὲ ὑπὸ Φιλίππου. πολ-
λάκις τὲ τῇ βακτηρίᾳ τὼν συγγενῶν τῶν προσιῶ-
τας καὶ ἀποτρέποντας ἐδίωκε καὶ ἦν γενναῖος.
φησι δὲ Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης τραπεζίτη τῶν
παρακαταθέσθαι τάργυριον, συνθέμενον, εἰ μὲν οἱ
παιδες ἰδίωται γένοιτο, αὐτοῖς ἀποδοῦναι· εἰ δὲ

\[\text{a Anth. Pal. ix. 497.} \quad \text{b 328–324 b.c.}\]
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:

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

He flourished in the 113th Olympiad.

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
DIOGENES LAERTIUS

φιλόσοφοι, τῷ δήμῳ διανείμαι· μηδενὸς γὰρ ἐκείνους δεῖσσεσθαι φιλοσοφοῦντας. Ἠρατοσθένης δὲ φησιν, εὖ Ἰππαρχίας, περὶ ἦς λέξομεν, γενομένου παιδὸς αὐτῷ ὄνομα Πασικλέους, ὅτ' ἐξ ἐφήβων ἐγένετο, ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπ' οἰκήμα παιδίσκης καὶ φάναι τούτων αὐτῷ πατρῷν εἶναι τὸν γάμον· τοὺς δὲ τῶν μουχεύοντων τραγικοὺς, φυγᾶς γὰρ καὶ φόνους ἔχειν ἔπαθλον· τοὺς δὲ τῶν ἐταίρας προσοντων κωμικοὺς· ἐξ ἁσωτίας γὰρ καὶ μεθης μιαίαν ἀπεργάξεσθαι.

Τούτων γέγονε Πασικλῆς ἀδελφός, μαθητὴς Εὐκλείδου.

Χάριν δ' αυτοῦ Φαβωρίνος ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν Ἀπομνημονεύματων φέρει. φησὶ γὰρ· παρακαλῶν περὶ τοῦ τῶν γυμνασίαρχον, τῶν ἱσχύων αὐτοῦ ἕπτετο· ἀγανακτούντος δὲ, ἔφη, "τὶ γὰρ; οὐχὶ καὶ ταῦτα σὰ ἐστὶ καθάπερ καὶ τὰ γόνατα;" ἐλεγέ τ' ἄδυνατον εἶναι ἀδιάπτωτων εὑρεῖν, ἄλλωσπερ ἐν ῥοιᾷ καὶ σαπρῶν τινα κόκκον εἶναι. Νικόδρομον ἐξερεθίσας τὸν κιθαρῳδὸν ὑπωπιάσθη προσθεὶς οὐν πιττάκιον τῷ μετώπῳ ἐπέγραψε, "'Νικόδρομος ἐποίει.' τὰς πόρνας ἐπίτηδες ἐλοιδόρει, συγγυμνάζων ἑαυτὸν πρὸς τὰς βλασφημίας.

Δημήτριου τὸν Φαληρέα πέμψαντα αὐτῷ ἄρτους καὶ οἶνον ὕλεσθον εἰπὼν, "ἐἴθε γὰρ αἱ κρῆναι καὶ ἄρτους ἐφερον." δὴλον οὖν ὡς ὕδωρ ἐπινεῖν.
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
ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΛΑΕΡΤΙΟΣ

υπὸ τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἀστυνόμων ἐπιτιμηθεῖς ὅτι σινδόνα ἡμφέστο, ἔφη, "καὶ Θεόφραστον ὑμῖν δείξω σινδόνα περιβεβλημένον." ἀπιστοῦντων δὲ, ἀπήγαγεν ἔπι κοιρεῖον καὶ ἐδειξε κειρόμενον. ἐν Θήβαις ὑπὸ τοῦ γυμνασιάρχου μαστιγωθεῖς—οἱ δὲ, ἐν Κορίνθῳ ὑπ' Ἐυθυκράτους—καὶ ἐλκόμενος τοῦ ποδὸς ἐπέλεγεν ἀφροντιστῶν,

ἔλκε ποδὸς τεταγών διὰ βηλοῦ θεσπεσίοιο.

91 Διοκλῆς δὲ φησιν ἐλεχθήμαι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Μενεδήμου τοῦ Ἐρετρικοῦ. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εὐπρεπῆς ἦν καὶ ἔδοκεν χρησιμεύειν Ἀσκληπιιάδη τῷ Φλισιῶ, ἀφάμενος αὐτὸν τῶν μηρῶν ὁ Κράτης ἐφη, "ἐνδον Ἀσκληπιιάδης." ἐφ' ὦ δυσχεράντα τὸν Μενέδημον ἐλκειν αὐτὸν, τὸν δὲ τοῦτο ἐπιλέγειν.

Ζήνων δ' αὐτὸς Κιτεύς ἐν ταῖς Χρείαις καὶ κόριον αὐτὸν φησί ποτε προσφάγει τῷ τρίβωνι ἀνεπιστρεπτοῦντα. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν αἰσχρὸς καὶ γυμναζόμενος ἐγελάτο. εἰὼθεί δὲ λέγειν ἐπαίρων τὰς χεῖρας, "θάρρει, Κράτης, ὑπὲρ ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ 92 τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος; τούτους δ' ὄψει τοὺς καταγελώντας, ἦδη καὶ συνεπασμένους ὑπὸ νόσου καὶ σε μακαρίζοντας, αὐτοὺς δὲ καταμεμφομένους ἐπὶ τῇ ἀργίᾳ." ἔλεγε δὲ μέχρι τούτου δεῖν φιλοσοφεῖν, μέχρι ἂν δόξωσιν οἱ στρατηγοὶ εἶναι ὁνηλάται. ἐρήμους ἔλεγε τοὺς μετὰ κολάκων ὄντας ὡσπερ τοὺς μόσχους ἐπειδὰν μετὰ λύκων ὡσιν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς προσήκοντας οὔτε τούτοις συνείναι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπιβούλευοντας. συν-

a Hom. II. 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:

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 Philiasian, 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
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αισθανόμενος ὅτι ἀποθνῄσκει, ἐπὶ δὲ πρὸς ἐαυτὸν λέγων,

στείχεις δὴ, φίλε κυρτών,

βαίνεις τ’ εἰς ὧν Ἀἰδαο δόμους κυφὸς διὰ γῆρας.

ἡν γὰρ κυφὸς ὑπὸ χρόνου.

93 Πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον πυθόμενον εἶ βούλεται αὐτὸν τὴν πατρίδα ἀνορθωθῆναι, ἔφη, "καὶ τι δεῖ; πάλιν γὰρ ἢς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἄλλος αὐτὴν κατασκάψει." ἔχειν δὲ πατρίδα ἀδοξίαν καὶ πενίαν ἀνάλωτα τῇ τύχῃ καὶ Διογένους εἶναι πολίτης ἀνεπιβουλεύτου φθόνω. μέμνηται δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Μένανδρος ἐν Διδύμαις οὕτως:

συμπεριπατήσεις γὰρ τρίβων' ἔχουσι' ἐμοί,

ὡσπερ Κράτητι τῷ κυνικῷ ποθ' ἡ γυνή,

καὶ θυγατέρ' ἐξέδωκ' ἐκείνος, ὡς ἔφη αὐτός, ἐπὶ πείρα δοῦσ τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας.

Μαθητὰλ δ’ αὐτὸν.

Κεφ. 5’. ΜΗΤΡΟΚΛΗΣ

94 Μητροκλῆς ὁ Μαρωνεῖτης, ἀδελφὸς Ἰππαρχίας, ὃς πρότερον ἁκούων Θεοφράστου τοῦ περιπατητικοῦ τοσοῦτον διέφθαρτο, ὡστε ποτὲ μελετῶν καὶ μεταξύ πως ἀποπαρδών ὑπ’ ἀθυμίας οὐκ οἷοι κατάκλειστος ἦν, ἀποκαρτερεῖν βουλόμενος. μαθῶν δὴ ὁ Κράτης εἰσῆλθε πρὸς αὐτὸν παρακληθεῖς καὶ θέρμων ἐπίτηδες βεβρωκὼς ἐπείθε μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ διὰ τῶν λόγων μηδὲν φαύλον πεποιηκέναι τέρας γὰρ ἄν γεγονέναι εἰ μὴ καὶ τὰ πνεύματα κατὰ φύσιν 96
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
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ἀπεκρίνετο· τέλος δὲ καὶ ἀποπαρθῶν αὐτὸν ἄν-
ἐρρωσεν, ἀφδὲ ὀμοιότητος τῶν ἔργων παραμυθη-
σάμενος. τούτων ήκουν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐγένετο
ἀνήρ ἰκανὸς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ.

Οὗτος τὰ ἐαυτοῦ συγγράμματα κατακαίνων, ὡς
φησιν ’Εκάτων ἐν πρῶτῳ Χρειῶν, ἐπέλεγε·

τάδ’ ἐστι οὐείρων νερτέρων φαντάσματα,

[οἰον λήρος]. οἱ δ’, ὅτι τὰς Θεοφράστου ἀκροάσεις
καταφλέγων ἐπέλεγε,

‘Ἡφαιστε, πρόμολ’ ὦδε, Θέτις νῦ τι σεῖο χατίζει.

οὗτος ἐλεγε τῶν πραγμάτων τὰ μὲν ἀργυρίουν
ὡντά εἶναι, οἰον οἰκίαν τὰ δὲ χρόνου καὶ ἐπι-
μελείας, ὡς παιδειαν. τὸν πλοῦτον βλαβερόν, εἰ
μή τις ἀξίως αὐτῷ χρῶτο.

’Επελεύτα δὲ υπὸ γῆρως ἐαυτὸν πνίξας.

Μαθηταὶ δ’ αὐτοῦ Θεόμβροτος καὶ Κλεομένης,
Θεομβρότου Δημήτριος ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρεύς, Κλεο-
μένους Τιμαρχος Ἁλεξάνδρευς καὶ Ἐχεκλής Ἐφέ-
σιος· οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ Ἐχεκλής Θεομβρότου δι-
ήκουσεν, οὐ Μενέδημος, περὶ οὐ λέξομεν. ἐγένετο
καὶ Μένιππος Σινωπεύς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐπιφανῆς.

Κεφ. 5’. ΠΠΙΑΡΧΙΑ

95 'Εθηράθη δὲ τοῖς λόγοις καὶ ἡ ἄδελφη τοῦ
Μητροκλέους Ἰππαρχία. Μαρωνεῖται δ’ ἴσαν ἄμ-
φότεροι.

Καὶ ἦρα τοῦ Κράτητος καὶ τῶν λόγων καὶ τοῦ
βίου, οὐδενός 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 Echeecles of Ephesus. Not but what Echeecles 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.
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οὐ πλούτου, οὐκ εὐγενείας, οὐ κάλλους: ἀλλὰ πάντ᾽ ἂν Κράτης αὐτῆ. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἥπειλε τοῖς γονέων ἀναφέρσειν αὐτήν, εἰ μὴ τούτῳ δοθεῖ. Κράτης μὲν οὖν παρακαλούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων αὐτῆς ἀποτρέψαι τὴν παιδὰ, πάντ᾽ ἔποιει, καὶ τέλος μὴ πείθων, ἀναστὰς καὶ ἀποθέμενος τῇ ἐαυτοῦ σκευῇ ἄντικρυ αὐτῆς ἐφῆ, "ο μὲν νυμφίος οὖτος, ἡ δὲ κτῆσις αὐτῆ, πρὸς ταῦτα βουλεύον"· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐσεσθαι κοινωνόν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων γενηθεῖ.

97 Εἶλετο ἡ παῖς καὶ ταύτων ἀναλαβοῦσα σχῆμα συμπερίχει ταῦτα καὶ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ συνεγίνετο καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ δειπνα ἀπῆλε. οτὲ καὶ πρὸς Δυσίμαχον εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ἦλθεν, ἐνθα Θεόδωρον τὸν ἐπίκλην "Ἀθεον ἐπηλεγξὲ, σόφισμα προτείνασα τοιοῦτον· ὁ ποιῶν Θεόδωρος οὐκ ἂν ἄδικεῖν λέγοιτο, οὐδὲ Ἡπαρχία ποιοῦσα τοῦτο ἄδικεῖν λέγοιτ' ἂν· Θεόδωρος δὲ τύπτων εαυτῶν οὐκ ἄδικεῖ, οὐδ' ἂρα Ἡπαρχία Θεόδωρον τύπτουσα ἄδικεί. ο δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὸ λεχθὲν οὐδὲν ἀπήρτησεν, ἀνέσυρε δ' αὐτῆς θομάτιον· ἀλλ' οὔτε κατεπλάγη Ἡπαρχία οὔτε διεταράχθη ὡς γυνῆ. ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰπόντος αὐτῆ,

98 αὐτὴ ἢ στὶν ἡ τᾶς παρ' ἰστοῖς ἐκλιποῦσα κερκίδας; "ἐγώ," φησίν, "εἰμί, Θεόδωρε· ἀλλὰ μὴ κακῶς σοι δοκῶ βεβουλεύσθαι περὶ αὐτῆς, εἰ, τὸν χρόνον ὄν ἐμελλὼν ἰστοῖς προσαναλώσειν, τοῦτον εἰς παίδειαν κατεχρησάμην;" καὶ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἀλλὰ μυρία τῆς φιλοσοφοῦ.

Φέρεται δὲ τοῦ Κράτητος βιβλίον Ἐπιστολάι,

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 where-with 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?”

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,
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ἐν αἰς ἀριστα ἕλοσφοι, τὴν λέξιν ἔστιν ὁτε παραπλῆσις Πλάτων. γέγραπε καὶ τραγῳδίας υψηλότατον ἔχοντας φιλοσοφίας χαρακτῆρα, οὗν ἐστι κάκεινον:

οὐχ εἰς πάτρας μοι πύργος, οὐ μία στέγη, πάσης δὲ χέρσου καὶ πόλισμα καὶ δόμος ἔτοιμος ἠμῖν ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι πάρα.

Ἐτελεύτησε δὲ γηραιὸς καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν Βωιωτία.

Κεφ. η’. ΜΕΝΙΠΠΟΣ

99 Μένιππος, καὶ οὗτος κυνικός, τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἤν Φοίνιξ, δοῦλος, ὃς φησιν Ἀχαϊκὸς ἐν Ηθικοῖς. Διοκλῆς δὲ καὶ τὸν δεσπότην αὐτοῦ Ποντικῶν εἶναι καὶ Βάτωνα καλεῖσθαι. ἀπηρότερον δ’ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ φιλαργυρίας ἱσχύσε Θεβαῖος γενέσθαι.

Φέρει μὲν οὖν σπουδαῖον οὐδέν. τὰ δὲ βιβλία αὐτοῦ πολλοῦ καταγέλωτος γέμει καὶ τι ἱσθον τοῖς Μελεάγρου τοῦ κατ’ αὐτὸν γενομένου.

Φησὶ δ’ Ἔρμιππος ἠμεροδανειστὶν αὐτὸν γεγονέναι καὶ καλεῖσθαι καὶ γὰρ ναυτικῶ τόκῳ δανείζειν καὶ ἐξενεχυμάζειν, ὥστε πάμπλειστα χρῆ-100 ματὰ ἄθροίζειν τέλος δ’ ἐπιβουλευθέντα πάντων στερῆθηναι καὶ ὑπ’ ἄθυμιας βρόχῳ τὸν βίον μεταλλάξαι. καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπαιξάμεν 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 Saturaes Menippae, a mixture of prose and verse, 102
VI. 98–100. HIPPARCHIA—MENIPPUSS

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:

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. MENIPPUSS

Menippus, 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 in him; but his books overflow with laughter, much the same as those of his contemporary Meleager.

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:

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

Strabo, however (xvi. p. 759), speaks of him as σπουδο-γέλοιος.

For a fragment from his Banquet see Athenaeus 502 c.

Anth. Plan. v. 41.
DIOGENES LAERTIUS

Φοίνικα τὸ γένος, ἀλλὰ Κρητικὸν κύνα, ἡμεροδανειστὴν—τούτο γὰρ ἐπεκλήξετο—οίσθα Μένιππον ἵσως. Θήβηςιν οὕτως ὡς διωρύγη ποτὲ καὶ πάντ' ἀπέβαλεν οὐδ' ἐνεὶ φύσιν κυνός, αὐτὸν ἀνεκρέμασεν.

"Ενιοὶ δὲ τὰ βιβλία αὐτοῦ οὐκ αὐτοῦ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ Διονυσίου καὶ Ζωπύρου τῶν Κολοσσίων, οἱ τοῦ παίζεων ἐνεκα συγγράφοντες ἐδίδοσαν αὐτῷ ὡς εἰ δυναμένῳ διαθέσθαι.

Γεγόνασι δὲ Μένιπποι ἔξ: πρῶτος ὁ γράφας τὰ περὶ Λυδῶν καὶ Ξάνθου ἐπιτεμόμενος, δεύτερος αὐτὸς οὕτως, τρίτος Στρατωνίκευς σοφιστής, Κάρ τὸ ἀνέκαθεν· τέταρτος ἀνδριαντοποιός, πέμπτος καὶ έκτος ξωγράφοι· μέμνηται δ' ἀμφιτέρων Ἀπολλόδωρος.

Τὰ δ' οὗν τοῦ κυνικοῦ βιβλία ἐστὶ δεκατρία,

Νέκυνα.

Σιαθήκαι.

'Επιστολαί κεκομιζομέναι ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν Θεῶν προσώπων. Πρὸς τοὺς φυσικοὺς καὶ μαθηματικοὺς καὶ γραμματικοὺς καὶ

Γονᾶς 'Επίκουρον καὶ

Τὰς θρησκευόμενα ἕπ' αὐτῶν εἰκάδας.

καὶ ἄλλα.

Κεφ. θ'. ΜΕΝΕΔΗΜΟΣ

Μενέδημος Κωλώτου τοῦ Λαμψακηνοῦ μαθητής. οὕτως, καθά φησιν Ἰππόβοστος, εἰς τοσοῦτον

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a Cf. Cic. Brut. 91, § 315 "post a me tota Asia peragrata est, fuique cum summis quidem oratoribus, quibus-
VI. 100-102. MENIPPUSS—MENEDEMUS

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; 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.
DIOGENES LAERTIUS

περιτείχας ἐλασεν ὡστε Ἐρημίους ἀναλαβοὺς σχῆμα
περιήγη οὖν ἐπίσκοπος ἀφίχθαι εἰς ἅδου τῶν
ἀμαρτανομένων, ὅπως πάλιν κατιὼν ταῦτα ἀπ-
ἀγγέλλοι τοῖς ἐκεῖ δαῖμονς. ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ ἔσθης
αὐτῆς χιτῶν φαιός ποδήρης, περὶ αὐτῶν ζωνή
φοινικῆ, πῖλος Ἀρκαδίκος ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχων
ἐνυφασμένα τὰ δώδεκα στοιχεῖα, ἐμβάται τραγικοὶ,
πώγων ὑπερμεγέθης, ράβδος ἐν τῇ χειρὶ μειλίνη.

103 Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οἱ βίοι τῶν κυνικῶν ἐκάστουν.
προσυπογράφομεν δὲ καὶ τὰ κοινῆ ἀρέσκοντα
αὐτοῖς, αἱρεσιν καὶ ταύτην εἶναι ἐγκρίνοντες τῆν
φιλοσοφίαν, οὐ, καθά φασὶ τινες, ἐνσταζιν βίον.
ἀρέσκει οὖν αὐτοῖς τὸν λογικὸν καὶ τὸν φυσικὸν
τόπον περιαρεῖν, ἐμφερῶς Ἀρίστον τῷ Χίῳ,
μῶν δὲ προσέχων τῷ ἡθικῷ. καὶ ὅπερ τινὲς ἐπὶ
Σωκράτους, τοῦτο Διοκλῆς ἐπὶ Διογένους ἀνα-
γράφει, τοῦτον φάσκων λέγειν, Δεῖ ζητεῖν

ὅτι τοι ἐν μεγάρους κακῶν τ' ἄγαθὸν τε τέτυκται.
παραπονοῦνται δὲ καὶ τὰ ἑγκύκλια μαθήματα.
γράμματα γοῦν μὴ μανθάνειν ἐφάσκειν ὁ Ἀντι-
σθένης τοὺς σώφρονας γενομένους, ἢν μὴ δια-

104 στρέφοντο τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις. περιαροῦσι δὲ καὶ
γεωμετρίαν καὶ μουσικήν καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα.
ὁ γοῦν Διογένης πρὸς τὸν ἐπίδεικνυόντα αὐτῷ ἁρο-
σκοπεῖον, "χρήσιμον," ἐφι, "τὸ ἔργον πρὸς τὸ μὴ
ὑστερηθῇ δεί τενοῦ." πρὸς τὸν ἐπίδεικνύμενον αὐτῷ
μουσικόν ἐφι:

γνώμαις γὰρ ἄνδρῶν εὖ μὲν οἰκούνται πόλεις,
εὖ δ' οἶκος, οὗ ψαλμοῖς καὶ τερετίσμασιν.

a Hom. Od. iv. 392.
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.
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'Αρέσκει δ' αυτοῖς καὶ τέλος εἶναι τὸ κατ' ἀρετὴν ξῆν, ὡς Ἀντισθένης φησίν ἐν τῷ 'Ηρακλεῖ, ὁμοίως τοῖς στωικοῖς· ἐπεὶ καὶ κοινωνίᾳ τις ταῖς δύο ταύταις αἱρέσεσιν ἐστιν. οἶθεν καὶ τὸν κυνισμὸν εἰρήκασι σύντομον ἐπ' ἀρετὴν ὁδόν. καὶ οὕτως ἐβίω καὶ Ζήνων ὁ Κιτιεύς.

'Αρέσκει δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ λιτῶς βιοῦν, αὐτάρκεσιν χρωμένοις σιτίοις καὶ τρίβωσι μόνοι, πλούτου καὶ δόξης καὶ εὐγενείας καταφρονοῦσιν. ἐνοικοὶ γοῦν καὶ βοτάναις καὶ παντάπασιν ὑδατι χρώματι ψυχρῷ σκέπαις τε ταῖς τυχοῦσαις καὶ πίθοις, καθάπερ Διογένης, ὃς ἐφασκεθεὶς θεῶν μὲν ἴδιον εἶναι μηδενὸς δεῖσθαι, τῶν δὲ θεῶς ὁμοίων τὸ ὀλίγων χρήζειν.

105 'Αρέσκει δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν διδακτὴν εῖναι, καθά φησιν Ἀντισθένης εἰν τῷ 'Ηρακλεῖ, καὶ ἀναπόβλητον ὑπάρχειν· ἀξιεραστὸν τε τὸν σοφὸν καὶ ἀναμάρτητον καὶ φίλον τῷ ὁμοίῳ, τύχῃ τε μηδὲν ἐπιτρέπειν. τὰ δὲ μεταξὺ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας ἀδιάφορα λέγουσιν ὁμοίως Ἀρίστων τῷ Χάεω.

Καὶ οὕτωι μὲν οἱ κυνικοὶ· μετιτέον δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς στωικοὺς, ὅν Ἰρίξε Ζήνων, μαθητής γενόμενος Κράτητος.
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 Z

Κεφ. α’. ΖΗΝΩΝ

1 Ζήνων Μνασέου ἡ Δημέου Κυτιεὺς ἀπὸ Κύπρου, πολίσματος Ἔλληνικοῦ, Φοινικάς ἐποίκους ἔσχηκότος.
Τὸν τράχηλον ἐπὶ θάτερα νευνικῶς ἦν, ὡς φησὶ Τιμόθεος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ βίων· καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ φησιν ὁ Τύριος ὁτι ἰσχύος ἦν, ὑπομήκης, μελάγχρους—οἴθεν τις αὐτὸν εἶπεν Ἀιγυπτίαν κληματίδα, καθά φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν πρώτῳ Παρομιωμὼν—παχύκνημός τε καὶ ἀπαγής καὶ ἀσθενής· διὸ καὶ φησι Περσαῖος ἐν Ὑπομνήμασι συμποτικοῖς τὰ πλείοντα αὐτὸν δείπνα παρατείσθαι. ἔχαρε δὲ, φασὶ, σύκοις χλωροῖς καὶ ἧλιοκάθισι.

2 Διήκουσε δὲ, καθὰ προείρηται, Κράτητος· εἶτα καὶ Στίλπωνος ἀκούσαί φασὶν αὐτὸν καὶ Ξενοκράτους ἐτη δέκα, ὡς Τιμοκράτης ἐν τῷ Δίωνι· ἄλλα καὶ Πολέμωνος. Ἐκάτων δὲ φησι καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Τύριος ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ Ζήνωνος, χρηστηριασμένον1 αὐτοῦ τὶ πράττων ἀριστα βιώσεται, ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸν θεόν, εἰ συγχρωτίζωτο τοῖς νεκροῖς· ὦθεν ἠυνέντα τὰ τῶν ἀρχαιῶν ἀναγινώσκειν. τῷ οὖν Κράτητι παρέβαλε τοῦτον

1 χρηστηριασμένον 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

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τὸν τρόπον. πορφύραν ἐμπεπορευμένος ἀπὸ τῆς Φοινίκης πρὸς τῷ Πειραιῶν ἐνανάγησεν. ἀνελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὰς Ἀθῆνας ἦδη τριακοντούτης ἐκάθισε παρὰ τινα βιβλιοπώλην. ἀναγινώσκοντος δὲ ἐκείνου τὸ δεύτερον τῶν Ξενοφῶντος Ἀπομνημονευμάτων, ἴσθεὶς ἐπύθετο ποῦ διατρίβοιεν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἄνδρες.

3 εὐκαίρως δὲ παριόντος Κράτητος, ὁ βιβλιοπώλης δείξας αὐτὸν φησὶ, "τούτῳ παρακολούθησον." ἐντεῦθεν ἤκουσε τοῦ Κράτητος, ἀλλως μὲν εὐτονος ὑπὸ πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν, αἰδήμων δὲ ὡς πρὸς τὴν Κυνικὴν ἀναισχυντικήν. ὅθεν ὁ Κράτης θουλόμενος αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦτο θεραπεύσαι δίδωσι χῦτραν φακῆς διὰ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ φέρειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰδὼν αὐτὸν αἰδούμενον καὶ παρακαλύπτοντα, παίσαι τῇ βακτηρίᾳ κατάγνυσι τῇ χῦτραν· φεύγοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς φακῆς κατὰ τῶν σκελῶν ῥεοῦσης, φησὶν ὁ Κράτης, "τῇ φεύγεισι, Φοινικίδιοι; οὐδὲν δεινὸν πέπουθας."

4 "Ὡς μὲν οὖν τινὸς ἤκουσε τοῦ Κράτητος· ὅτε καὶ τῇ Πολιτείᾳ αὐτοῦ γράφαντος, τινὲς ἐλεγον παίζοντες ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ κυνὸς οὐρᾶς αὐτὴν γεγραφέναι. γέγραφε δὲ πρὸς τῇ Πολιτείᾳ καὶ τάδε·

Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν βίον.
Περὶ ὄρμης ἢ περὶ ἄνθρωπον φύσεως.
Περὶ παθῶν.
Περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος.

1 ὑπ add. Richards. 2 αὐτοῦ F Cobet.

a Cynosura, Dog's Tail, like Dog's Head, Cynoscephalus, 112
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.

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Περὶ νόμου.
Περὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας.
Περὶ ὅψεως.
Περὶ τοῦ ὦλου.
Περὶ σημείων.
Πυθαγορικά.
Καθολικά.
Περὶ λέξεων.
Προβλημάτων Ὄμηρικῶν πέντε.
Περὶ ποιητικῆς ἀκροάσεως.

"Εστι δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ
Τέχνη καὶ
Λόγοι καὶ
"Ελεγχοι δόχο.
"Απομημονεύματα Κράτητος.
'Ηθικά.


'Ανακάμπτων δὴ ἐν τῇ ποικίλῃ στοὰ τῇ καὶ Πεισιανακτῖω 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

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VII. 4-5. ZENO

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 ποικίλη, διετίθετο τοὺς λόγους, βουλόμενος καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἀπερίστατον ποιῆσαι. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν τριάκοντα τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς τοῖς χιλίοις πετρακόσιοι ἁνήρημτ' ἐν αὐτῷ. προσήθεσαν δὴ λοιπῶν ἀκούοντες αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Στωικοὶ ἐκλήθησαν καὶ οἱ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ὄμωσ, πρότερον Ζηνώνειοι καλούμενοι, καθὰ φήσι καὶ Ἑπίκουρος ἐν ἐπιστολαῖς. καὶ πρότερον γε Στωικοὶ ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ διατριβοῦντες ἐν αὐτῇ ποιηταί, καθὰ φησιν Ἑρατοσθένης ἐν ὑγόδῃ Περὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας, οἱ καὶ τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ πλείον ὑπῆρξαν.

6 Ἐτέμων δὴ οὖν Ἄθηναίοι σφόδρα τὸν Ζήνωνα, οὔτως ως καὶ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτῶ τὰς κλεῖς παρακαταθέσθαι καὶ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ τιμῆσαι καὶ χαλκῇ εἰκόνι. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τοὺς πολίτας αὐτοῦ ποιῆσαι, κόσμον ἡγουμένους τὴν τάνδρος εἰκόνα. ἀντεποιούντο δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἐν Σιδώνι Κυτιείς. ἀπεδέχετο δ’ αὐτὸν καὶ Ἀντίγονος καὶ εἰ’ ποτ’ Ἀθηναίες ἡκοι, ἡκουν ἀυτοῦ πολλά τε παρεκάλει ἀφικέσθαι ως αὐτῶν. ο δὲ τοῦτο μὲν παρητήσατο, Περσαῖον δ’ ἐνα τῶν γυνώριμων ἀπέστειλεν, ὃς ἦν Δημητρίου μὲν υἱός, Κυτιεὺς δὲ τὸ γένος, καὶ ἡκμαξεν κατὰ τὴν τριακοστὴν καὶ ἐκατοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα, ἥδη γέροντος ὄντος Ζήνωνος. η δ’ ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου τοῦτον εἰχὲ τὸν τρόπον, καθὰ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Τύριος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Ζήνωνος φησι.

1 So Cobet: mss. read πρὸς τοῖς χιλίοις πετρακόσιοι, which may be right though the expression is unusual. Cf. “civium ad mille quattuorcentos 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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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,\textsuperscript{b} and the men of Citium living in Sidon were also proud to claim him for their own. Anti-gonus (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:

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{b} Pliny, \textit{N.H.} xxxiv. 92.
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7 "Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος Ζήνων φιλοσόφω χαίρειν.

"Εγὼ τύχη μέν καὶ δόξῃ νομίζω προτερεῖν τοῦ σοῦ βίου, λόγου δὲ καὶ παιδείας καθυστερεῖν καὶ τῆς τελείας εὐδαιμονίας ἢν σὺ κέκτησαι. διόπερ κέκρικα προσφωνήσαι σοι παραγενέσθαι πρὸς ἐμὲ, πεπεισμένος σε μὴ ἀντερεῖν πρὸς τὸ ἄξιούμενον. σὺ οὖν πειράθητι ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου συμμίξαι μοι, διειληφώς τοῦτο διότι οὐχ ἔνος ἐμοῦ παιδευτῆς ἐσῃ, πάντων δὲ Μακεδόνων μυλλῆδθην. ὁ γὰρ τὸν τῆς Μακεδονίας ἀρχοντα καὶ παιδεύων καὶ ἄγων ἐπὶ τὰ κατ' ἀρετὴν φανερὸς ἐσται καὶ τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους παρασκευάζων πρὸς εὐανδρίαν. οἷς γὰρ ἄν ο ἤγουμενος ἢ, τοιούτους εἰκὸς ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ γίγνεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους."

Καὶ ο Ζήνων ἀντιγράφει ὁδε:

8 "Βασιλεῖ Ἀντιγόνῳ Ζήνῳ χαίρειν.

"Ἀποδέχομαι σοὺ τὴν φιλομάθειαν καθόσον τῆς ἀληθινῆς καὶ εἰς οἷς οὐχίντι πεινούσης, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τῆς δημώδους καὶ εἰς διαστροφήν ἥθων ἀντέχῃ παιδείας. ὁ δὲ φιλοσοφίας ὑφεγμένος, ἐκκλίνων δὲ τὴν πολυθρυλητον ἡδονήν, ἢ τυπῶν θηλύνει νέων ψυχάς, φανερός ἐστιν οὐ μόνον φύσει πρὸς εὐγενεῖαν κλύων, ἀλλὰ καὶ προαιρέσει. φύσις δὲ εὐγενῆς μετρίαν ἀσκήσην προσλαβοῦσα, ἔτι δὲ τὸν ἀφθόνως διδάχοντα, ῥαδίως ἔρχεται πρὸς τὴν τελείαν ἀνά- ληψιν τῆς ἀρετῆς. ἐγὼ δὲ συνέχομαι σώματι ἀσθενεὶ διὰ γῆρας: ἐτῶν γὰρ εἰμὶ οὐδοήκοντα: διόπερ οὐ δύναμαι σοι συμμίξαι. ἀποστέλλω δὲ σοὶ τινας τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ συσχολαστῶν, οἱ τοῖς μὲν κατὰ ψυχὴν οὐκ ἀπολεῖπονται ἐμοῖ, τοῖς δὲ

1 ἔστι vulg.: corr. Richards.

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VII. 7–9. ZENO

"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
κατάσωμα προτερούσων· οἷς συνών οὐδενὸς καθ-νυστερήσεις τῶν πρὸς τὴν τελείαν εὐδαιμονίαν ἀν-ηκόντων."

'Απέστειλε δὲ Περσαίον καὶ Φιλωνίδην τὸν
Θηβαίον, ὃν ἀμφοτέρων Ἐπίκουρος μνημονεύει
ὡς συνόντων Ἀντιγόνην ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀριστόβουλον
τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπιστολῆς. ἔδοξε δὲ μοι καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα
τὸ περὶ αὐτοῦ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπογράφαι, καὶ
ἐξεί δώδε:

"'Επ' Ἀρρενίδου ἀρχοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀκαμαν-
tίδος πέμπτης πρυτανείας, Μαμακτηρίδων δε-
kάτη ύστερα, τρίτη καὶ ἐκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας,
ἐκκλησία κυρία, τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν Ἰππων
Κρατιστοτέλους Ξυπταίων καὶ οἱ συμπρόεδροι,
Θράσων Θράσων Ἀνακαιεὺς εἶπεν:

"'Επειδὴ Ζήνων Μνασέου Κιτιέως ἐτή πολλά
κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν ἐν τῇ πόλει γενόμενος ἐν τε τοῖς
λοιποῖς ἀνήρ ἀγαθὸς ὃν διετέλεσε καὶ τοὺς εἰς
σύστασιν αὐτῶ τῶν νέων πορευομένους παρακαλῶν
ἐπ' ἀρετὴν καὶ σωφροσύνην παρώμα πρὸς τὰ
βέλτιστα, παράδειγμα τὸν ἄδικον μὲν ἐκθεῖς ἀπασχ
ἀκόλουθον ὅντα τοῖς λόγοις οἷς διελέγετο, τύχῃ
ἀγαθῆ δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ, ἐπαινεῖσαι μὲν Ζήνων
Μνασέου Κιτιέα καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ
κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀρετῆς ἐνεκεν καὶ σωφροσύνης,
οἰκοδομῆσαι δὲ αὐτῶ καὶ τάφον ἐπὶ τοῦ Κερα-
μεικοῦ δημοσία. τῆς δὲ ποιήσεως τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ
τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τοῦ τάφου χειροτονῆσαι τὸν δήμου
γῆς τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους πέντε ἄνδρας εἰς 'Α-

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

"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 Anaceae, 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) decreing a public funeral after his death.

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θηναίων. ἐγγράφαι δὲ <τόδε> τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ δήμου ἐν στήλαις <λιβίναις> δύο καὶ ἔξειναι αὐτῶν θείαι τὴν μὲν ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ, τὴν δὲ ἐν Λυκείῳ. τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα τὸ εἰς τὰς στήλας γυνόμενον μερίσαι τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ διουκήσει, ὡς ἂν ἀπαντεῖ εἰδῶσιν ὅτι ὁ δήμος ὁ [τῶν] Ἀθηναίων τοὺς ἀγάθους καὶ ζωντας τιμᾶ καὶ τελευτήσαντας. ἐπὶ [δὲ] τὴν <ποιήσων τοῦ στε-φάνου καὶ τὴν> οἰκοδομήν κεχειροτονήνται Θράσων Ἀνακαιέως, Φιλοκλῆς Πειραιεύς, Φαίδρος Ἀνα-φλύστιος, Μέδων Ἀχαρνεύς, Μίκυθος Συμπαληττεύς, Δίων Παιανεύς.

Καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα μὲν ὄδε ἔχει. Φησὶ δ’ Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος οὐκ ἀρνεῖσθαι αὐτὸν εἶναι Κιτίεα. τῶν γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν τοῦ λυτρῶνος συμβαλλομένων εἰς ὅν καὶ ἀναγραφόμενος ἐν τῇ στήλῃ. "Ζήνωνος τοῦ φιλοσοφοῦ;" ἢξίωσε καὶ τὸ Κιτίεύς προστεθήναι. ποιήσας δὲ ποτὲ κοίλον ἐπιθῆμα τῇ ηηκύθῳ περιέφερε νόμισμα, λύσιν ἐτοιμον1 τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἢν ἔχοι Κράτης ὁ διδάσκαλος. φασὶ δ’ αὐτὸν ύπέρ χίλια τάλαντα ἔχοντα ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ταῦτα δανείζειν ναυτικῆς. ἢσθιε δ’ ἀρτίδια καὶ μέλι καὶ ὀλίγον εὐώδους ὀναρίου ἐπινε. παιδαρίους τε ἐχρήτο σπανίως, ἀπαξ ἡ δῖς ποὺ παιδισκαρίω τιν, ὡμὴ δοκοὴ μισογύνης εἶναι, σὺν τὰ Περσαίῳ τὴν αὐτὴν οἰκίαν ἂνε’ καὶ αὐτοῦ αὐλητρίδιον εἰσαγαγόντος πρὸς αὐτὸν, σπάσας πρὸς τὸν Περσαίον αὐτὸ ἀπήγαγεν. ἢν τε, φασίν, εὐσυμπερίφορος, ὡς πολλάκις Ἀντί-

1 ἐτοιμον BR: ἐτοίμην 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 Anaphystus, 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.
...
VII. 13-15. ZENO

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.


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καὶ μεγάλων αὐτῶι διδομένων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ οὐδὲποτ᾿ ἔχανυνθῆ ὦνδὲ ταπεινὸς ὀφθη."  
"Ἡν δὲ καὶ ζητητικὸς καὶ περὶ πάντων ἀκριβολογούμενος· οἶθεν καὶ ὁ Τίμων ἐν τοῖς Σίλλωις φησίν οὖτω·

καὶ Φοίνισσαν ἵδον λιχνόγραυν σκιερῷ ἐνι τύφῳ πάντων ἴμειρουσαν· ὃ δ' ἔρρει γυργαθὸς αὐτῆς σμικρὸς ἐώς· νοῦν δ' εἰχεν ἑλάσσονα κινδαψοῖ.

16 Ἐπιμελῶς δὲ καὶ πρὸς Φίλωνα τὸν διαλεκτικὸν διεκρίνετο καὶ συνέσχολαζεν αὐτῶι· οἶθεν καὶ θαυμασθήναι ὑπὸ Ζήνωνος τοῦ νεωτέρου οὐχ ἤττων Διοδόρου τοῦ διδασκάλου αὐτῶι. ἦσαν δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ γυμνορρύπαροι τινες, ὡς φησι καὶ ὁ Τίμων·

ὁφρα πενεστάων" σύναγεν νέφος, οἱ περὶ πάντων πτωχότατοι τ' ἦσαν καὶ κουφότατοι βροτοὶ ἀστῶν.

Αὐτῶι δὲ στυγνῶν τ' εἶναι καὶ πικρῶν, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον συνεστασμένον. ἦν εὐτελῆς τε σφόδρα καὶ βαρβαρικὴς ἐχόμενος σμικρολογίας, προσχήματε ὁικονομία. εἰ δὲ τινὰ ἐπικόπτοι, περισταλμένως καὶ οὐ χάδην, ἀλλὰ πόρρωθεν· λέγω δὲ οἶνον ἐπὶ τοῦ καλλωπιζομένου ποτὲ ἔφη. ὀχέτων γὰρ τι ὁκνηρῶς αὐτῶι ὑπερβαινόντος, "δικαῖος," εἶπεν, "ὑφορὰ τὸν πηλὸν· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῶι κατοπτρίσασθαι." ὡς δὲ Κυνικός τις οὐ φῆςσα ἠλαυν ἔχειν ἐν τῇ ληχύθῳ, προσήτησεν αὐτῶι, οὐκ ἔφη δώσεων· ἀπελθόντα² μέντοι ἐκέλευσε σκεφασθαί

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1 metanastwν coll. II. ix. 648 Diels.
2 ἀπελθόντα vulg.: ἀπελθόντος Richards.
VII. 15–17. ZENO

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 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.

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 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.

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. II. ii. 831, xxiii. 133.  
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ὀπότερος εἰς ἀναϊδέστερος. 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 ἰσυχίαν." δυοί δ' ὑπανακειμένους ἐν πότῳ καὶ τοῦ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ψ' ἐαυτὸν σκιμαλίζοντος τῷ ποδί, αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνον τῷ γόνατι. ἐπιστραφέντος δὲ, "τί οὖν," ἐφη ὁ οὖν τον ποκάτω σου πάσχειν ὑπό σου;" πρὸς δὲ τὸν φιλόπαιδα οὐτέ τοὺς διδασκάλους ἐφη φρένας ἔχειν, ἀεὶ διατρίβοντας ἐν παιδαρίοις, οὔτ' ἐκείνους. ἐφασκε δὲ τοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀσολοίκων λόγους καὶ ἀπηρτισμένους ὅμοιος εἶναι τῷ ἀργυρῷ τῷ Ἀλέξανδρίνῳ: εὐοφθάλμως μὲν καὶ περιγεγραμμένους καθὰ καὶ τὸ νόμισμα, οὐδὲν δὲ δίὰ ταῦτα βελτίωνας. τοὺς δὲ τούναιριν ἀφώμοιον τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς τετραδράχμοις εἰκὴ μὲν κεκομμένοις καὶ σολοίκως, καθέλκεων μὲντοι πολλάκις τὰς κεκάλιγραφημένας [λέξεις]. Ἀρίστωνος δὲ τοῦ μαθητοῦ πολλὰ διαλεγομένου οὐκ εὐφυῶς, ἐνια δὲ καὶ προπετῶς καὶ θρασεῶς, "ἀδύνατον," εἶπεν, "εἰ μὴ σε ὁ πατὴρ μεθύων ἐγέννησεν" ὁθεν αὐτὸν καὶ λάλου ἀπεκάλει, βραχυλόγοις οὖν.

19 Πρὸς δὲ τὸν ωψοφάγον μηδὲν τοῖς συμβιωτάσις καταλιπόντα, παρατεθέντος ποτὲ μεγάλου ἱχθύος, ἀρας οἶος ἢν κατεσθίειν· ἐμβλέψαντος δὲ, "τί οὖν," ἐφη, "τοὺς συμβιωτὰς οἰεὶ πάσχειν καὶ ἧμεραν, εἰ σὺ μίαν μὴ δύνασαι ἐνεγκείν τὴν ἐμὴν ωφο-

1 ὑπερανακειμένων codd. corr. Menagius: ὑπερανακειμένου Casaubon.

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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?"
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φαγίαν;" μειρακίου δὲ περιεργότερον παρὰ τὴν ἥλικίαν ἐρωτώντος ζήτημα τι, προσήγαγε πρὸς κάτοπτρον καὶ ἐκελεύσειν ἐμβλέψαι· ἐπειτὶ ᾨρώτησεν εἰ δοκεῖ αὐτῷ ἀρμόστοντα εἶναι <τῇ> ὄψει τοιαύτῃ¹ ζητήματα. πρὸς δὲ τὸν φάσκοντα ὡς τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῷ Ἀντισθένης οὐκ ἀρέσκοι, χρείαν Σοφοκλέους προενεγκάμενος ἠρώτησεν εἰ τινὰ καὶ καλὰ ἔχειν αὐτῷ δοκεῖ· τοῦ δ' οὐκ εἶδέναι φήσαντος, "εἰ τ' οὐκ αἰσχῦνη," ἐφή, "εἰ μὲν τι κακὸν ἢν εἰρημένον [ὕπ' Ἀντισθένους], τοῦτ' ἐκλεγόμενος καὶ μυθομοευὼν, εἰ δὲ τι καλῶν, οὐδ' ἐπιβαλλόμενος κατέχειν;"

20 Ἐπιόντος δὲ τινὸς ὅτι μικρὰ αὐτῷ δοκεῖ τὰ λογάρια τῶν φιλοσόφων, "λέγεις," εἶπε, "τάληθη: δεῖ μέντοι καὶ τὰς συλλαβὰς αὐτῶν βραχείας εἶναι, εἰ δυνατὸν." λέγοντος δὲ τινὸς αὐτῷ περὶ Πολέμωνος ὡς ἄλλα προθέμενος ἄλλα λέγει, σκυθρωπάσας ἐφη "πόσον γὰρ ἄν > ἡγάπας² τὰ διδόμενα;" δεῖν δ' ἐφη τόνω διαλεγόμενον ὠσπέρ τοὺς ὑποκρίταις τὴν μὲν φωνὴν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν μεγάλην ἔχειν, τὸ μέντοι τὸ στόμα μὴ διέλκειν: δ' ποιεῖν τοὺς πολλὰ μὲν λαλοῦντας, ἀδύνατα δὲ. τοῖς εὖ λεγομένοις οὐκ ἐφη δεῖν καταλείπεσθαι τόπον ὠσπέρ τοῖς ἁγαθοῖς τεχνίταις εἰς τὸ θεάσασθαι, τοῦναντίον δὲ τὸν ἁκοῦντα οὕτω πρὸς τοῖς λεγομένοις γίνεσθαι ὡστε μὴ λαμβάνειν χρόνον εἰς τὴν ἐπιστημείωσιν.

21 Νεανίσκου πολλὰ λαλοῦντος ἐφη "τὰ ὧτὰ σου εἰς τὴν γλώτταν συνερρήθηκεν." πρὸς τὸν καλὸν εἰπόντα οἳ ν δοκεῖ αὐτῷ ἐρασθήσεσθαι ὁ σοφὸς

¹ τοιαύτῃ vulg.: τοιαύτα Richards: τὰ τοιαύτα Cobet.
² πόσον γὰρ ἡγάπας vulg.: fort. πόσ γὰρ οὐκ ἡγ. Richards.

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VII. 19–21. ZENO

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 chatter-box 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," ἐφη, "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 Καφίσιου, ὃς ἐπιβαλομένου τινὸς τῶν μαθητῶν μεγάλα φυσάν, πατάξας εἶπεν ὡς οὐκ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ τὸ εὗ κείμενον εἰη, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ εὗ τὸ μέγα. νεανίσκου δὲ τινὸς θρασύτερον διαλεγομένου, "οὐκ ἀν εἴπομι," ἐφη, "μειράκιον, ἀ ἐπέρχεται μοι."

22 'Ροδίου δὲ τινὸς καλοῦ καὶ πλουσίου, ἄλλως δὲ μηδέν, προσκεμένου αὐτῶ, μὴ βουλόμενος ἀν-έχεσθαι, πρὸτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ κεκοιμενά τῶν βάθρων ἐκάθιζεν αὐτῶν, ἵνα μολύνῃ τὴν χλανίδα· ἐπείτα εἰς τὸν τῶν πτωχῶν τόπον, ὥστε συναντρίβεσθαι τοῖς ράκεσιν αὐτῶν· καὶ τέλος ἀπῆλθεν ὁ νεανίσκος. πάντων ἔλεγεν ἀπρεπέστερον¹ εἶναι τὸν τύφον, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῶν νέων. μὴ τὰς φωνὰς καὶ τὰς λέξεις ἀπομημονεύειν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν διάθεσιν τῆς χρείας τῶν νοῦν ἀσχολεῖσθαι, μὴ ὡσπερ ἐψησίν τινα ἡ σκευασίαν ἀναλαμβάνοντας. δεῖν τ' ἔλεγε τοὺς νέους πάσης κοσμιότητι χρήσαι ἐν πορείᾳ καὶ σχήματι καὶ περιβολῇ· συνεχές τε προεφέρετο τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ Καπανέως Εὐρυπίδου στίχους, ὃτι βίος μὲν ἦν αὐτῶ

ήκιστα δ' ὀλβω γαύρος ἦν, φρόνημα δὲ οὐδέν τι μείζον εἴχεν ἡ πένης ἀνήρ.

23 Ἐλεγε δὲ μηδέν εἶναι τῆς οἰησεως ἀλλοτριώτερον πρὸς κατάληψιν τῶν ἐπιστημῶν, μηδενὸς θ' ἡμᾶς

¹ ἀπρεπέστετον Richards.

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¹ Cf. Athen. xiv. p. 629 b.  
² Supplices, 861-863.  
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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. 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.

Again he would say that if we want to master the sciences there is nothing so fatal as conceit, and
The change of φωνὴς ... φωνὴν to σωφροσύνης ... σωφροσύνην is due to Cobet. Cf. § 130 ὥρα ἄνθος ἄρετῆς, 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. 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 φωνής by ῥήμα and retain φωνή, 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 ἐλκε τούτων· εἰ δὲ μὲ βιαζῇ, τὸ μὲν σῶμα παρὰ σοί ἔσται, ὡς δὲ ψυχὴ παρὰ Στὶλπνων.

Συνδιέτριψε δὲ καὶ Διοδώρῳ, καθά φησιν 'Ἰππό-

βοτος· παρ’ ὦ καὶ τὰ διαλεκτικὰ ἐξεπόνησεν.

ἡδη δὲ προκόπτων εἰσήκει καὶ πρὸς Πολέμωνα ὑπ’

ἀτυφίας, ἄστε φασὶ λέγειν ἐκείνω, "οὐ λανθάνεις,

ὡς Ζήνων, ταῖς κηπαίαις παρεισρέων θύραις καὶ
tὰ δόγματα κλέπτων Φοινικικῶς μεταμφιενώς."

καὶ πρὸς τὸν δεῖξαντα δ’ αὐτῷ διαλεκτικὸν ἐν τῷ

θερίζοντι λόγῳ ἐπτὰ διαλεκτικὰ ιδέας πυθέσθαι,

πόσας εἰσπράττεται μισθοῦ· ἀκούσαντα δὲ ἐκατόν,

diakosías αὐτῷ δοῦναι. τοσοῦτον ἦςκει φιλο-

μάθειαν. φασὶ δὲ καὶ πρῶτον καθήκον ὠνομα-

κέναι καὶ λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ πεποιηκέναι. τοὺς θ’

'Ησιόδου στίχους μεταγράφειν ὕτω·

κεῖνος μὲν πανάριστος ὃς εὗ εἰπόντι πίθηται,

ἐσθλὸς δ’ αὐτά κακείνος ὃς αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσῃ.

κρείττονα γὰρ εἶναι τὸν ἀκούσαι καλῶς δυνάμενον

τὸ λεγόμενον καὶ χρῆσθαι αὐτῷ τοῦ δ’ αὐτοῦ τὸ

πᾶν συννοήσαντος· τῷ μὲν γὰρ εἶναι μόνον τὸ

συνείναι, τῷ δ’ εὗ πεισθέντι προσείναι καὶ τὴν

πράξειν.

Ερωτηθεῖς δὲ, φησὶ, διὰ τί αὐτηρὸς ἦν ὑπ’ ὑπ’

πότῳ διαχείται ἐφῃ, "καὶ οἱ θέρμοι πικροὶ ὀντες

βρεχόμενοι γλυκαίνονται." φησὶ δὲ καὶ Ἐκάτων

ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Χρείων ἀνίσθαι αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς

tοιαύταις κοινωνίαις. ἔλεγε τε κρείττον 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
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ποσὶν ὀλισθεῖν ἢ τῇ γλώττῃ. τὸ εὗ γίνεσθαι μὲν παρὰ μικρόν, οὐ μὴν μικρὸν εἶναι. [οἱ δὲ Σω-
κράτους.]

Ἡν δὲ καρτερικῶτατος καὶ λιτότατος, ἀπύρῳ
27 τροφῆ χρώμενος καὶ τρίβωνι λεπτῷ, ὥστε λέγεσθαι ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ:

τὸν δ’ οὔτ’ ἂρ χειμῶν κρυόεις, οὐκ ὀμβρός ἀπείρων,
οὐ φλοξ ἦλειοι δαμάζεται, οὐ νόσος αἰνή,
οὐκ ἐροτις δήμου ἐναρεῖ μένος,1 ἀλλ’ ο’ γ’ ἀτειρής
ἀμφὶ διδασκαλίᾳ τέταται νῦκτας τε καὶ ἡμαρ.

οἱ γε μὴν κωμικὸν ἐλάνθανον ἐπαινοῦντες αὐτὸν
dιὰ τῶν σκωμμάτων. ἵνα καὶ Φιλήμων φησὶν
οὕτως ἐν δράματι Φιλοσόφους:

εἰς ἄρτος, ὠψον ἱσχάς, ἐπιπείν,’ ὦδωρ.
φιλοσοφίαν καὶνὴν γὰρ οὔτος φιλοσοφεῖ,
πεινὴν διδάσκει καὶ μαθητὰς λαμβάνει:

οἱ δὲ Ποσειδίππου.

"Ἡδὴ δὲ καὶ εἰς παρομίαν σχεδὸν ἐχώρησεν.
ἐλέγετο γοῦν ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ:

τοῦ φιλοσόφου Ζήνωνος ἐγκρατέστερος.

ἀλλὰ καὶ Ποσειδίππος Μεταφερομένοις:

ὡστ’ ἐν ἡμέραις δέκα
eῖναι δοκεῖν Ζήνωνος ἐγκρατέστερον.

28 Τῷ γὰρ ὄντι πάντας ὑπερεβάλλετο τῷ τ’ εἰδει
τοῦτω καὶ τῇ σεμνότητι καὶ δὴ νῇ Δίᾳ τῇ μα-
καριότητι. ὅκτῳ γὰρ πρὸς τοῖς ἐνενήκοντα βιοὺς
ἐτῆ κατέστρεψεν, ἄνοσος καὶ ἵγης διατελέσσας.

1 ἐναριθμὸς libri.
the tongue.” “Well-being is attained by little and little, and nevertheless it is no little thing itself.” [Others attribute this\textsuperscript{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:

\begin{quote}
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.
\end{quote}

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

\begin{quote}
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.
\end{quote}

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 \textit{Men Transported}:

\begin{quote}
So that for ten whole days
More temperate than Zeno’s self he seemed.
\end{quote}

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

\textsuperscript{a} Cf. ii. 32.
Περσαῖος δὲ φησιν ἐν ταῖς Ἡθικαῖς σχολαῖς δύο καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα ἐτῶν τελευτήσαι αὐτῶν, ἐλθεῖν δ᾽ Ἁθήναις δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν. ὁ δ᾽ Ἀπολλώνιος φησιν ἀφηγήσαιν τῆς σχολῆς αὐτῶν ἐτη δυοῖν ἀπιῶν προσέπτασαί καὶ τὸν δάκτυλον περιέρρησε. παίσας δὲ τὴν γῆν τῇ χειρί, φησὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς Νιόβης,

ἐρχομαι τί μ᾽ αὖεις;

καὶ παραχρῆμα ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀποπνίξας ἐαυτῶν.

29 Ἁθηναῖοι δ᾽ ἐθαμαν αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ καὶ ψηφίσμασι τοῖς προειρημένοις ἐτύμησαν, τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶ προσμαρτυροῦντες. καὶ Ἀντίπατρος ὁ Σίδώνιος ἐποίησεν οὕτως εἰς αὐτῶν.

τῆνος οὖδ᾽ Ζήνων Κιτίων φίλος, ὃς ποτ᾽ "Ολυμπὸν ἐδραμεν, οὐκ Ὀσοθ Πήλιων ἀνθέμενος, οὐδὲ τὰ γ᾽ Ἡρακλῆς ἀέθλεε. τὰν δὲ ποτ᾽ ἀστρα ἀτραπιτῶν μούνας εὑρε σαοφροσύνας.

30 καὶ ἄλλο Ζηνόδοτος ὁ στωικός, Διογένους μαθητῆς· ἐκτισσας αὐτάρκειαν, ἀφεὶς κεναυχέα πλοῦτον, Ζήνων, σὺν πολιῷ σεμνὸς ἐπισκυνίως. ἄρσενα γὰρ λόγον εὑρες, ἐνηθλήσω δὲ προνοία αἴρεσιν, ἀτρέστοι ματέρ᾽ ἐλευθερίας· εἰ δὲ πάτρα Φοίνισσα, τίς ὁ φθόνος; οὐ καὶ ὁ Κάδμος κεῖνος, ἀφ᾽ οὗ γράπταν Ἦλλας ἔχει σελίδα;

καὶ κοινῇ δὲ καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν στωικῶν Ἅθ.Session灵动

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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_:

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:

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:

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:

*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.
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ω δικιών μῦθον εἰδήμονες, ω πανάριστα
δόγματα ταῖς ήραις ἐνθέμενοι σελίσιν,
tὰν ἀρετὰν ψυχαὶς ἀγαθὸν μόνον· ἀδε γὰρ ἀνδρῶν
μοῦνα καὶ βιοτὰν ῥύσατο καὶ πόλιας.
σαρκὸς δ' ἡμιπάθημα, φίλον τέλος ἀνδράσιν ἄλλοις,
ἡ μία τῶν Μνήμης ἦνυσε θυγατέρων.

31 Εἶπομεν ὡς ἐτελεύτα στ Ἡμῶν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ
Παμμέτρῳ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον·

τὸν Κυττᾶ Ἡμῶν θανεῖν λόγος ὡς ὑπὸ γῆρως
πολλὰ καμάων ἐλύθη μένων ἁσιτος·
οἱ δ', ὅτι προσκόψας ποτ' ἔφη χερὶ γαῖαν ἁλοίσας
ἐρχομαι αὐτόματος· τὶ δὴ καλεῖς με;

ἔνιοι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον τελευτῆσαι φασιν
ἀυτόν.

Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς τελευτῆς ταῦτα.

Φησί δὲ Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγης ἐν τοῖς Ὀμωνύμῳς
τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Μνασέαν πολλάκις ἄτ' ἐμπορον
Ἀθηναῖος παραγίνεσθαι καὶ πολλὰ τῶν Ἑπκρατι-
κῶν βιβλίων ἀποφέρειν ἑτὶ παιδὶ ὄντι τῷ Ἡμῶν·

32 οἶνα καὶ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι συγκεκροτησθαι. καὶ
οὕτως ἑλθόντα εἰς Ἀθηνᾶς Κράτητι παραβαλεῖν.

dοκεῖ δὲ, φησί, καὶ τὸ τέλος αὐτὸς ὄρισαι τῶν
<ἀλλων> πλανωμένων περὶ τὰς ἀποφάσεις. ὡμως

de, φασὶ, καὶ κατ' κατηγορίαν, καθάπερ Ἑπκράτης τὸν
κύνα. ἔνιοι μέντοι, ἔξ ὅν εἰσον οἱ περὶ Κάσιου
tῶν σκεπτικον, ἐν πολλοὶς κατηγοροῦντες τοῦ
Ζήνωνος, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν
ἀρχηστὸν ἀποφαίνειν λέγουσιν1 ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς Πολυ-

1 λέγοντα codd.: corr. Reiske.

2 Anth. Pal. vii. 118.
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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?" 6

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
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teias, deuterou exthrous kai polemious kai doulovs kai allotrious legein auton allhlon einai pantas tovs mhen spoudaious, kai goneyis tekwn kai adelphous adelfoin, <kai> oikeious oikeiwn.

33 Palin en tis Politia paristanta politas kai filous kai oikeious kai eluvtherous tovs spoudaious monon, woste tois stvikois oi goneyis kai ta tekna exthroi ou yar eisai sofoi. kouvases te tas xunakas dogmatizeen omoiws en tis Politia kai kata tois diakosious <stichous> mepi iera mhtes dikasthria mhtes xunmnasia en tais polesen oikodoimeisthai. peri te nomismatos ouths grafew, "nomyisma d' ou't allaghs enekven oi'eshai deixi katasexeizein ou't apodhimias enekven." kai esthiti d' eis tis authe kelleuei xhrismai kai anousas kai xunakas kai mhten monon apokekrifthai. dte d' autou estin he Politia kai Xristippos en tw Peri politias fhsi. peri tw erwtikwn dieilektai kata tin arxh tin ethigrafomeneis 'Erwtikhs tekhns: alla kai en tais Diatribaias ta paraphtisa grafei. toioontropia twa esti parata tw Kasio, alla kai 'Isiodorrw tw Peragamwn rhitouri: ois kai ektemnetai fhsin ek twv biblwv ta kakhws legomene parata tois stvikois upi 'Athnodoiron tou stvikoipistheventos tin en Peragamw bibliothekh. ei't anitpethnai auta, fowraventos tou 'Athnodoiron kai kivdunesevntos. kai tosaata men peri twv athetaumewn autou.

34 Pegonasi de Zhpwnes oktw prwtos o 'Eleatikes, peri ou lexeomev: deuterou autou oytos tritos

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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
'Ρόδιος, τήν ἐντόπιον γεγραφῶς ἱστοριάν ἐνιαίαν·
tέταρτος ἱστορικός, τήν Πύρρου γεγραφῶς στρα-
tείαν εἰς Ἰταλίαν καὶ Σικελίαν, ἄλλα καὶ ἐπι-
tομὴν τῶν πεπραγμένων 'Ρωμαίοις τε καὶ Καρ-
χηδονίοις· πέμπτος Χρυσίππου μαθητής, βιβλία
μὲν ὀλίγα γεγραφῶς, μαθητὰς δὲ πλείστους κατα-
λειπτῶς· ἐκτος ἰατρὸς Ἡροφίλειος, νοησά τε καὶ ἢκανός,
γράφαι δ' ἄτονοι· ἐβδομος γραμματικός, τοῦ
πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἐπιγράμματα φέρεται· ὁγὸς
Σιδώνιος τὸ γένος, φιλόσοφος Ἐπικούρειος καὶ
νοησά καὶ ἐρμηνεύεσαι σαφῆς.

36 Μαθηταὶ δὲ Ζήνωνος πολλοὶ μὲν, ἐνδοξοὶ δὲ
Περσαῖος Δημητρίου Κτιεύς, διὸ τοῦ γνώριμον
αὐτοῦ, οἱ δὲ οἰκέτην ἑνά τῶν εἰς βιβλιογραφίαν
πεμπομένων αὐτῷ παρ᾽ Ἀντιγόνου, διὸ καὶ τροφεύς
ἐν τοῖς παιδίω Ἀλκυνόνως. διάπειραν δὲ ποτὲ
βουληθεῖς λαβεῖν αὐτοῦ δ᾽ Ἀντίγονος ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ
πλαστῶς ἀγγελθήναι ὅτι τὰ χωρία αὐτοῦ πρὸς
τῶν πολεμίων ἀφηρημένα καὶ σκυθρωπάσαντος,
"ὁρᾶ." ἐφε, "ὅτι οὐκ ἔστω τὸ πλούτος ἀδιάφορον;"

Βιβλία δὲ αὐτοῦ φέρεται τάδε·

Περὶ Βασιλείας.
Πολιτεία Λακωνική.
Περὶ γάμου.
Περὶ ἀστεβείας.
Θεόστης.
Περὶ ἐρώτων.
Πρωτοτεταίρων.
Πρωτεπτικοῖ.
Διατριβῶν.
Χρειῶν δ᾽
"Ἀπομνημονεύματα.
Πρὸς τοὺς Πλάτωνος νόμους θ.

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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 'Αρίστων Μιλτιάδου Χίος, ο την ἀδιαφορίαν εἰσηγησάμενος. "Ἡρίλλος Καρχηδόνιος, ο τήν ἐπιστήμην τέλος εἴπών. Διονύσιος ο μεταθέμενος εἰς τήν ἡδονήν· διὰ γὰρ σφοδρὰν ὀφθαλμίαν ὀκνήσεν ἐτί λέγειν τὸν πόνον ἀδιάφορον· οὕτως ἦν Ἡρακλεώτης. Σφαίρος Βοσποριανός· Κλεάνθης Φανίου Ἀσσιος, ο διαδεξάμενος τὴν σχολήν· ὅν καὶ ἀφωμοίου ταῖς σκληροκήροις δέλτοις, αἱ μόλις μὲν γράφονται, διατηροῦσι δὲ τὰ γραφέντα. διήκουσε δ’ ο Σφαίρος καὶ Κλεάνθους μετὰ τὴν Ζήνωνος τελευτήν· καὶ λέξομεν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Περὶ 38 Κλεάνθους. ἦσαν δὲ Ζήνωνος μαθηταὶ καὶ οἴδε, καθὰ φησιν 'Ἱππόβοτος· Φιλωνίδης Θηβαῖος, Κάλλιππος Κορίνθιος, Ποσειδώνιος 'Αλεξανδρεὺς, Ἦθινοδωρος Σολεύς, Ζήνων Σωφίνως.

Κοινῆ δὲ περὶ πάντων τῶν στωικῶν δογμάτων ἐδοξεῖ μοι ἐν τῷ Ζήνωνος εἰπεῖν βίω, διὰ τὸ τοῦτον κτίστην γενέσθαι τῆς αἰρέσεως. ἐστι μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ προγεγραμμένα βιβλία πολλά, ἐν οἷς ἐλάλησεν ὡς οὖνδε τῶν στωικῶν. τὰ δὲ δόγματα κοινῶς ἐστὶ τάδε· λελέχθω δ’ ἐπὶ κεφαλαίων, ὦσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ποιεῖν εἰσδαμένην.

39 Τριμερής φασίν εἶναι τὸν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν λόγον· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν τὶ φυσικόν, τὸ δὲ θυκόν, τὸ δὲ λογικόν. οὕτω δὲ πρῶτος διείλε Ζήνων ὁ Κιτιεύς ἐν τῷ Περὶ λόγου καὶ Χρύσιτππος 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 κεφαλαίωδῶς . . κατὰ μέρος. Here follows a valuable and full doxography, extending to 148
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.*

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.

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λόδωρος καὶ Σύλλος ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ τῶν Εἰς τὰ δόγματα εἰσαγωγῶν καὶ Εὐδρόμος ἐν τῇ Ἡθικῇ στοιχειώσει καὶ Διογένης ὁ Βαβυλώνιος καὶ Ποσειδώνιος.

Ταῦτα δὲ τὰ μέρη ὁ μὲν Ἀπολλόδωρος τόπους καλεῖ, ὁ δὲ Χρύσιππος καὶ Εὐδρόμος εἶδη, ἄλλοι γεν. εἰκάζουσι δὲ ζώῳ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, οὕτως μὲν καὶ νεύροις τὸ λογικὸν προσομοιούντες, τοῖς δὲ σαρκωδεστέροις τὸ ἡθικόν, τῇ δὲ ψυχῇ τὸ φυσικόν. ἦ πάλιν ψω̣: τα μὲν γάρ ἐκτὸς εἶναι τὸ λογικὸν, τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ ἡθικόν, τὰ δ' ἐσωτάτω τὸ φυσικόν. ἦ ἀγράφω παμφύρω· οὐ̣: τὸν μὲν περιβεβλημένον φραγμὸν τὸ λογικὸν, τὸν δὲ καρπὸν τὸ ἡθικόν, τὴν δὲ γην ἦ τὰ δένδρα τὸ φυσικὸν. ἦ πόλει καλῶς τετειχισμένη καὶ κατὰ λόγον διοικομένη.

Καὶ οὖθεν μέρος τοῦ ἑτέρου ἀποκεκριθαι, καθά τινες αὐτῶν φασὶ, ἀλλὰ μεμίχθαι αὐτά. καὶ τὴν παράδοσιν μικτὴν ἐποίουν. ἄλλοι δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τὸ λογικὸν τάττουσι, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ φυσικὸν, καὶ τρίτον τὸ ἡθικὸν· δὲν ἔστι Ζήνων ἐν τῷ Περὶ λόγου καὶ Χρύσιππος καὶ Ἀρχέδημος καὶ Εὐδρόμος.

41 'Ο μὲν γάρ Πτολεμαῖος Διογένης ἀπὸ τῶν ἡθικῶν ἄρχεται, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλόδωρος δεύτερα τὰ ἡθικά, Παναίτιος δὲ καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἀπὸ τῶν φυσικῶν ἄρχονται, καθά φησι Φανίας ὁ Ποσειδωνίου γνώριμος ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ τῶν Ποσειδωνείων σχολῶν. ὁ δὲ Κλεάνθης ἐξ μέρη φησί, διαλεκτικῶν, ρητορικῶν, ἡθικῶν, πολιτικῶν, φυσικῶν, θεολογικῶν. ἄλλοι δ' οὐ τοῦ λόγου ταῦτα μέρη φασί, ἄλλ' αὐτῆς τῆς φιλοσοφίας, ὡς Ζήνων ὁ Ταρσεύς. τὸ δὲ λογικὸν μέρος φασὶν ἐνιοῦ εἰς δύο διαιρεῖσθαι ἐπιστήμασι, εἰς ρητορικήν καὶ εἰς διαλεκτικήν. 150
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 Ptolemais, it is true, begins with Ethics; but Apollodorus puts Ethics second, while Panaetius and Posidonius begin with Physics, as stated by Phaniás, 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
The word \textit{phantasia} (=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 panegyrical.

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 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 ψαντασίαι are "given" as it were from without, and then with them as materials the mind itself constructs general notions and concepts.

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τῶν ὀμοίων ὁρθῶν καὶ ὑπτίων καὶ γενῶν καὶ εἰδῶν, ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ λόγων καὶ τρόπων καὶ συλ-
λογισμῶν καὶ τῶν παρὰ τὴν φωνῆν καὶ τὰ πράγ-
ματα σοφισμάτων: δὲν εἶναι ψευδομένους λόγους
καὶ ἀληθεύοντας καὶ ἀποφάσκοντας σωφρίτας τε
καὶ τοὺς ὀμοίους τούτοις, ἐλλιπεῖς καὶ ἀπόρους
καὶ περαινοῦντας καὶ ἐγκεκαλυμμένους κερατίνας
τε καὶ οὐτίδας καὶ θερίζοντας.

Εἶναι δὲ τῆς διαλεκτικῆς ὅδιον τόπον καὶ τὸν
προειρημένον περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς φωνῆς, ἐν δὲ ἐδεί-
nυναι ἡ ἐγγράμματος φωνῇ καὶ τίνα τὰ τοῦ λόγου
μέρη, καὶ περὶ συλοικισμοῦ καὶ βαρβαρισμοῦ καὶ
ποιημάτων καὶ ἀμφιβολῶν καὶ περὶ ἐμμελοῦς
φωνῆς καὶ περὶ μονομηῆς καὶ περὶ ὁρῶν κατὰ
τίνας καὶ διαιρέσεως καὶ λέξεως.

Εὐχρηστοτάτην δὲ φασιν εἶναι τὴν περὶ τῶν
συλλογισμῶν θεωρίαν· τὸ γὰρ ἀποδεικτικὸν ἐμφαι-

νειν, ὑπὲρ συμβάλλεσθαι πολὺ πρὸς διόρθωσιν τῶν
dογμάτων, καὶ τάξιν καὶ μνήμην τὸ ἐπιστατικὸν
cατάλημμα ἐμφαινειν.

Εἶναι δὲ τὸν λόγον αὐτὸν σύστημα ἐκ λημμάτων
καὶ ἐπιφορᾶς· τὸν δὲ συλλογισμὸν λόγου συλ-
lογιστικοῦ ἐκ τούτων· τὴν δὲ ἀπόδειξιν λόγου διὰ
tῶν μάλλον καταλαμβανομένων τὸ ἔττον κατα-
λαμβανόμενον περαινοῦντα.

Τὴν δὲ φαντασίαν εἶναι τύπωσιν ἐν ψυχῇ, τοῦ
ὄνοματος οἰκείως μετεννηγμένου ἀπὸ τῶν τύπων
<τῶν> ἐν τῷ κηρῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ δακτυλίου γινομένων.

τῆς δὲ φαντασίας τῆς μὲν καταληπτικήν, τὴν
dὲ ἀκατάληπτον· καταληπτικήν μὲν, ἣν κριτήριον
eῖναι τῶν πραγμάτων φασί, τὴν γινομένην ἀπὸ
ὑπάρχοντος κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ ὑπάρχον ἐναπεσφραγι-
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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 ἑναπομεμαγμένην· ἀκατάληπτον δὲ τὴν μὴ ἀπὸ ύπάρχοντος, ἢ ἀπὸ ύπάρχοντος μὲν, μὴ κατ' αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ύπάρχον· τὴν μὴ τρανὴ μηδὲ ἐκτυποῦν.

Αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν διαλεκτικὴν ἀναγκαίαν εἶναι καὶ ἀρετὴν εἶναί εἰδει περιέχουσαν ἀρετᾶς· τὴν τ' ἀπρο-πτωσίαν ἐπιστήμην τοῦ πότε δεῖ συγκαταθέσθαι καὶ μὴ τὴν δ' ἀνεικαίωτητα ἴσχυρόν λόγον πρὸς τὸ εἰκός, ὡστε μὴ ἐνδιδόναι αὐτῷ· τὴν δ' ἀνελεγξίαν ἴσχυν ἐν λόγῳ, ὡστε μὴ ἀπάγεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ἀντικείμενον· τὴν δ' ἀματαιότητα ἔξων ἀναφέρουσαν τὰς φαντασίας ἐπὶ τὸν ὅρθον λόγον. αὐτὴν τε τὴν ἐπιστήμην φασὶν ἢ καταλήψιν ἀσφαλῆ ἢ ἔξων ἐν φαντασίων προσδέξει ἀμετάπτωτον ὑπὸ λόγου. οὐκ ἂνευ δὲ τῆς διαλεκτικῆς θεωρίας τὸν σοφὸν ἀπτωτὸν ἔσεσθαι εἰν λόγῳ· τὸ τε γὰρ ἄληθὲς καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος διαγνώσκεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ πιθανὸν τὸ τ' ἀμφιβόλως λεγόμενον διευκρινεῖσθαι· χωρὶς τ' αὐτῆς οὐκ εἶναι ὁδὸ ἐρωτάν καὶ ἀποκρίνεσθαι.

47 Διατείνευν δὲ τὴν ἐν ταῖς ἀποφάσεσι προπέτειαιν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ γινόμενα, ὡστ' εἰς ἄκοσμιαν καὶ εἰκαίο-τητα τρέπεσθαι τοὺς ἄγυμνότους ἔχουται τὰς φαντασίας. οὐκ ἀλλος τ' ἄρχων καὶ ἀγχίνων καὶ τὸ ὄλον δεινὸν ἐν λόγοις φανήσεσθαι τῶν σοφῶν· τοῦ γὰρ αὐτοῦ εἶναι ὀρθῶς διαλέγεσθαι καὶ δια-λογίζεσθαι καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τε τὰ προκείμενα διαλεχθῆναι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐρωτώμενον ἀποκρίνασθαι, ἀπερ ἐμπείρου διαλεκτικῆς ἀνδρὸς εἶναι.


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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. 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.
DIOGENES LAERTIUS

'Εν οὖν τοῖς λογικοῖς ταῦτ' αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ κεφαλαίωδος. καὶ ἵνα καὶ κατὰ μέρος εὑπομεν καὶ τὰ ἀπέρ αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν εἰσαγωγικὴν τείνει τέχνην, καὶ αὐτὰ ἐπὶ λέξεως τίθησι Διοκλῆς ὁ Μάγνης ἐν τῇ 'Επιδρομῇ τῶν φιλοσόφων, λέγων οὕτως:

49 "Ἀρέσκει τοῖς Στωικοῖς τὸν περὶ φαντασίας καὶ αὐθήσεως προτάττειν λόγον, καθότι τὸ κριτήριον, ὃ ἡ ἀλήθεια τῶν πραγμάτων γινώσκεται, κατὰ γένος φαντασία ἐστὶ, καὶ καθότι ὃ περὶ συγκαταθέσεως καὶ ὃ περὶ καταλήψεως καὶ νοήσεως λόγος, προάγων τῶν ἄλλων, οὐκ ἀνενεφαντασία συνίσταται. προηγεῖται γὰρ ἡ φαντασία, εἴθε ἡ διάνοια ἐκλαλητικὴ ὑπάρχουσα, ὃ πάσχει ὑπὸ τῆς φαντασίας, τούτο ἐκφέρει λόγω.

50 Διαφέρει δὲ φαντασία καὶ φάντασμα: φάντασμα μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ δόκησις διανοίας οὐ γίνεται κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς, φαντασία δὲ ἐστὶ τύπωσις ἐν ψυχῇ, τούτῳ ἄλλῳ καὶ ως ὁ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ Περὶ ψυχῆς ὑφίσταται. οὐ γὰρ δεκτέον τὴν τύπωσιν οἰονεὶ τύπον σφραγιστήρος, ἐπεὶ ἀνέδεκτὸν ἐστὶ πολλοὺς τύπους κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γίνεσθαι. νοεῖται δὲ [ἡ] φαντασία ἢ ἀπὸ ὑπάρχοντος κατὰ τὸ ὑπάρχον ἐναπομεμαγμένη καὶ ἐναποτευτυπωμένη καὶ ἐναπεσφραγισμένη, οἷα οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο ἀπὸ μὴ ὑπάρχοντος.

51 Τῶν δὲ φαντασιῶν κατ’ αὐτοὺς αἱ μὲν 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.

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Such is, summarily stated, the substance of their logical teaching. And in order to give it also in detail, 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
"Ετι τῶν φαντασιῶν αἱ μὲν εἰσὶ λογικαῖ, αἱ δὲ ἀλογικαὶ. λογικαὶ μὲν αἱ τῶν λογικῶν ζῷων, ἀλογικαὶ δὲ αἱ τῶν ἀλόγων. αἱ μὲν οὖν λογικαὶ νοήσεις εἰσίν, αἱ δὲ ἀλογικαὶ οὐ τετυχήκασιν ὁνόματος. καὶ αἱ μὲν εἰσὶ τεχνικαὶ, αἱ δὲ ἀτεχνοὶ ἄλλοις γοῦν θεωρεῖται ὑπὸ τεχνίτου εἰκῶν καὶ ἄλλως ὑπὸ ἀτέχνου.

Αἰσθησις δὲ λέγεται κατὰ τοὺς Στοιχειοὺς τὸ τ’ ἀφ’ ἡγεμονικοῦ πνεύμα ἐπὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις διήκον καὶ ή δὲ αὐτῶν κατάληψις καὶ ή περὶ τὰ αἰσθητήρια κατασκευὴ, καθ’ ήν τινες πηροὶ γίνονται καὶ η ἐνέργεια δὲ αἰσθησις καλεῖται. ή δὲ κατάληψις γίνεται κατ’ αὐτοὺς αἰσθήσει μὲν λευκῶν καὶ μελάνων καὶ τραχέων καὶ λειῶν, λόγῳ δὲ τῶν δὲ ἀποδείξεως συναγομένων, ὥσπερ τοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι καὶ προνοεῖν τουτοῦς τῶν γὰρ νοουμένων τὰ μὲν κατὰ περὶπτωσιν ἐνοῆθη, 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 ease 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.
Κατὰ περίπτωσιν μὲν οὖν ἐνοήθη τὰ αἰσθητά·
καθ᾿ ὁμοιότητα δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ τίνος παρακειμένου,
ὡς Σωκράτης ἀπὸ τῆς εἰκόνος· κατ᾿ ἀναλογίαν
δὲ αὐξητικῶς μὲν, ὡς ὁ Τιτνὸς καὶ Κύκλωψ·
μειωτικῶς δὲ, ὡς ὁ Πυγμαίος. καὶ τὸ κέντρον
δὲ τῆς γῆς κατ᾿ ἀναλογίαν ἐνοήθη ἀπὸ τῶν μικρο-
τέρων σφαιρῶν. κατὰ μετάθεσιν δὲ, οἷον ὁφθαλμοὶ
ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους· κατὰ σύνθεσιν δὲ ἐνοήθη Ἰππο-
κένταυρος· καὶ κατ᾿ ἐναντίωσιν θάνατος. νοεῖται
dὲ καὶ κατὰ μετάβασιν τυν, ὡς τὰ λεκτὰ καὶ ὁ
tόπος. φυσικῶς δὲ νοεῖται δίκαιον τι καὶ ἀγαθὸν·
καὶ κατὰ στέρησιν, οἷον ἀχειρ. τοιάδε τυν καὶ
περὶ φαντασίας καὶ αἰσθήσεως καὶ νοήσεως δογ-
ματίζουσι.

Κριτήριον δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας φασὶ τυγχάνει τὴν
καταληπτικὴν φαντασίαν, τουτέστι τὴν ἀπὸ ὑπ-
ἀρχοντος, καθὰ φησὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῇ δυσδεκάτῃ
tῶν Φύσικῶν καὶ Ἀντίπατρος καὶ Ἀπολλό-
dωρος. ὃ μὲν γὰρ Βόθθος κριτήρια πλείονα
ἀπολείπει, νοῦν καὶ αἰσθησιν καὶ ὑφέξει καὶ ἐπι-
στήμην· ὃ δὲ Χρύσιππος διαφερόμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν
eν τῇ πρώτῃ Περὶ λόγου κριτήρια φησιν εἶναι
αἰσθησιν καὶ πρόληψιν· ἔστι δὲ ἡ πρόληψις ἐννοεῖ
φυσική τῶν καθόλου. ἄλλοι δὲ τινὲς τῶν ἀρχαιο-
tέρων Στωικῶν τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον κριτήριον ἀπὸ-
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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, \textit{i.e.} that which comes from a real object—according to Chrysippus in the twelfth book of his \textit{Physics} and to Antipater and Apollodorus. Boëthius, on the other hand, admits a plurality of standards, namely intelligence, sense-perception, appetency, and knowledge; while Chrysippus in the first book of his \textit{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
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λείπουσιν, ὡς ὁ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ κριτηρίου φησί.

55 Ἡς δὲ διαλεκτικὴς θεωρίας συμφώνως δοκεῖ τοῖς πλείστοις ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ φωνῆς ἐνάρχεσθαι τόπου. ἔστι δὲ φωνὴ ἀπὸ πεπληγμένου ή τὸ ἰδιον αἰσθητον ἀκοῆς, ὃς φησι Διογένης ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἐν τῇ Περὶ φωνῆς τέχνη. ξύον μὲν ἐστὶν φωνὴ ἀπὸ ὑπὸ ὀρμῆς πεπληγμένος, ἀνθρώπου δ' ἐστιν ἐναρθρός καὶ ἀπὸ διανοίας ἐκπεμπομένη, ὡς ὁ Διογένης φησίν, ἦτις ἀπὸ δεκατεσσάρων ἔτων τελειοῦται. καὶ σώμα δ' ἐστὶν ἡ φωνή κατὰ τοὺς Στωικοὺς, ὃς φησιν Ἀρχέδημός τ' ἐν τῇ Περὶ φωνῆς καὶ Διογένης καὶ Ἀντιπατρός καὶ Χρύσ-

56 ἰππος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Φυσικῶν. πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ποιοῦν σῶμα ἐστὶν ποιεῖ δὲ ἡ φωνὴ προσιούσα τοὺς ἀκούουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν φωνοῦσιν. λέξεις δὲ ἐστὶν, ὃς φησι Διογένης, φωνὴ ἐγγράμματος, οἴον ᾿Ημέρα. λόγος δὲ ἐστὶ φωνὴ σημαντικὴ ἀπὸ διανοίας ἐκπεμπομένη, οἴον ᾿Ημέρα ἐστὶ. διά-

λεκτὸς δὲ ἐστὶ λέξεις κεχαραγμένη ἑθικῶς τε καὶ ᾿Ελληνικῶς, ἡ λέξεις ποταπή, τούτεστι ποιὰ κατὰ διάλεκτον, οἷον κατὰ μὲν τὴν ᾿Ατθίδα Θάλαττα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ᾿Ιάδα ᾿Ημέρη.

 طبيعي ἔστι λέξεως στοιχεῖα ἐστὶ τὰ εἰκοσιτέσσαρα γράμματα. τριχῶς δὲ λέγεται τὸ γράμμα, τὸ τε στοιχεῖον ὁ 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 ἤμέρα but ἤμερη.

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 οὖν μα, οἷον "Αλφα: φωνήεντα δὲ ἐστὶ τῶν στοιχείων ἐπτά, ἃ, ε, η, ι, ο, υ, ω. ἂφωνα δὲ ἐξ, β, γ, δ, κ, π, τ. διαφέρει δὲ φωνῇ καὶ λέξις, ὅτι φωνῇ μὲν καὶ ὁ ἤχος ἐστὶ, λέξις δὲ τὸ ἐναρθρον μόνον. λέξις δὲ λόγου διαφέρει, ὅτι λόγος ἂεὶ σημαντικὸς ἐστι, λέξις δὲ καὶ ἀσημος, 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, ὡς φησὶ Διογένης τ’ ἐν τῷ Περὶ φωνῆς καὶ Χρύσιππος, όνομα, προσηγορία, όμη, σύνδεσμος, ἀρθρον. ὅ δ’ Ἀντίπατρος καὶ τὴν μεσότητα τίθησιν ἐν τοῖς Περὶ λέξεως καὶ τῶν λεγομένων.

58 "Εστὶ δὲ προσηγορία μὲν κατὰ τὸν Διογένην μέρος λόγου σημαίνον κοινὴν ποιότητα, οἷον Ἀνθρώπος, Ἰππος· όνομα δὲ ἐστὶ μέρος λόγου δηλοῦν ἰδίαν ποιότητα, οἷον Διογένης, Σωκράτης· όμη δὲ ἐστὶ μέρος λόγου σημαίνον ἀσύνθετον κατηγόρημα, ὡς ὁ Διογένης, ἦ, ὡς τινες, στοιχείον λόγου ἀπτωτον, σημαίνον τι συντακτὸν περὶ των ἦ τινων, οἷον Γράφω, Λέγω· σύνδεσμος δὲ ἐστὶ μέρος λόγου ἀπτωτον, συνδιούν τὰ μέρη τοῦ λόγου· ἀρθρον δὲ ἐστὶ στοιχείον λόγου πτωτικον, διορίζον τὰ γένη τῶν ὄνοματος καὶ τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς, οἷον Ὡ, Ἡ, Τό, Οἴ, Λ, Τά.

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

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a i.e. the Babylonian.  
b Probably " adverb."  
c Sr. 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, e, i, o, u, o, 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 βλιτνν, 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 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."  

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 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, τὸ, ὁ, ἄ, τά.  

There are five excellences of speech—pure Greek, lucidity, conciseness, appropriateness, distinction. By good Greek is meant language faultless in point
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tecṉḵh and ẖ ἐκαῖ ἰ่วὴν ἱνθεῖα. ἵλαννεῖαι δὲ ἐστὶ λέξις γνωρύμως παριστάζει τὸ νοοῦμενον. συν-
τομῶς δὲ ἐστὶ λέξις αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα περιέχουσα πρὸς δήλωσιν τοῦ πράγματος. πρέπον δὲ ἐστὶ
λέξις οἰκεία τῷ πράγματι. κατασκευὴ δὲ ἐστὶ λέξις ἐκπεφευγία τοῖς ἰδιωτισμῶν. ὁ δὲ ἐβαρ-
βαρισμὸς ἐκ τῶν κακῶν λέξις ἐστὶ παρὰ τὸ ἔθος
tῶν εὐδοκιμοῦντων Ἑλλήνων, σολοκισμὸς δὲ ἐστὶ
λόγος ἀκαταλλήλως συντεταγμένος.

Ποίημα δὲ ἐστὶν, ὥσ ὁ Ποσειδώνιος φήσει ἐν
tῇ Περὶ λέξεως εἰσαγωγῇ, λέξις ἐμμετρὸς ἡ ἐν-
ρυθμὸς μετά σκεψῆς τὸ λογιεῖται ἐκβεβηκυνία-
tὸ ἐνρυθμὸν ὁ ἐνείπε τὸ

gαϊα μεγίστῃ καὶ Δίος αἴθήρ.

ποίησις δὲ ἐστὶ σημαντικὸν ποίημα, μίμησιν
περιέχουν θείων καὶ ἀνθρωπείων.

"Ορος δὲ ἐστὶν, ὡς φήσει Ἀντίπατρος ἐν τῷ
πρώτῳ Περὶ ὄρων, λόγος κατ᾽ ἀνάλυσιν ἀπαρ-
τιζόντως ἐκφερόμενος, ἢ ὡς Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ
Περὶ ὄρων, ἱδίου ἀπόδοσις. ὑπογραφὴ δὲ ἐστὶ
λόγος τυπωδῶς εἰσάγων εἰς τὰ πράγματα, ἢ ὁρος
ἀπλοῦστερον τὴν τοῦ ὄρου δύναμιν προσενηγ-
μένος. γένος δὲ ἐστὶ πλειόνων καὶ ἀναφαρέτων
ἔννοημάτων σύλληψις, ὁδὸν Ζώον· τοῦτο γὰρ περι-
eἰληφε τὰ κατὰ μέρος ξώο.

'Εννόημα δὲ ἐστὶ φάντασμα διανοιάς, οὔτε τὶ

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a Nauck, T.11.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. 168
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 \(\text{idion} \ \dot{\alpha} \pi\dot{\omega}\dot{\delta}\sigma\dot{\iota} \ \text{for} \ kai \ \eta \ \dot{\alpha} \pi\dot{\omega}\dot{\delta}\sigma\dot{\iota} \ \text{comes from a scholion on Dionysius Thrax.}
οὐν οὐτε ποιόν, ὡςανεὶ δὲ τι οὐ καὶ ὡςανεὶ ποιόν, οἰον γίνεται ἀνατύπωμα ἢππου καὶ μὴ παρόντος.

Εἰδος δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ γένους περιεχόμενον, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ ζῷου οἱ ἀνθρώποι περιέχεται. γενεικώτατον δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ γένος οὐν γένος οὐκ ἔχει, οἰον τὸ οὐν· εἰδικώτατον δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ εἰδος οὐν εἰδος οὐκ ἔχει, ὁσπερ ὁ Σωκράτης.

Διαίρεσις δὲ ἐστὶ γένους ἢ εἰς τὰ προσεχῆ εἰδῆ τομῆς, οἰον Τῶν ζῴων τὰ μὲν ἐστὶ λογικά, τὰ δὲ ἀλογα. ἀντιδιαίρεσις δὲ ἐστὶ γένους εἰς εἰδος τομὴ κατὰ τούναντίον, ὡς ἀν κατ᾽ ἀπόφασιν, οἰον Τῶν ὄντων τὰ μὲν ἐστὶν ἄγαθα, τὰ δ᾽ οὐκ ἄγαθα. ὑποδιαίρεσις δὲ ἐστὶ διαίρεσις ἐπὶ διαίρεσει, οἰον Τῶν ὄντων τὰ μὲν ἐστὶν ἄγαθα, τὰ δ᾽ οὐκ ἄγαθα, καὶ Τῶν οὐκ ἄγαθῶν τὰ μὲν ἐστὶ κακά, τὰ δὲ ἀδιάφορα.

62 Μερισμός δὲ ἐστὶ γένους εἰς τόπους κατάταξις, ὡς οἱ Κρίνις· οἰον Τῶν ἄγαθῶν τὰ μὲν ἐστὶ περὶ ψυχῆν, τὰ δὲ περὶ σῶμα.

Ἀμφιβολία δὲ ἐστὶ λέξις δῦο ἢ καὶ πλείονα πράγματα σημαίνουσα λεκτικῶς καὶ κυρίως καὶ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἔθος, ὡσθ᾽ ἀμα τὰ πλείονα ἐκδεξασθαι κατὰ ταύτην τὴν λέξιν· οἰον Αὐλητρίς πέπτωκε· δηλοῦνται γὰρ δι᾽ αὐτῆς τὸ μὲν τοιοῦτον, Οἰκία τρὶς πέπτωκε, τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον, Αὐλητρία πέπτωκε.

Διαλεκτικὴ δὲ ἐστὶν, ὡς φησὶ Ποσειδώνος, ἐπιστήμη ἄληθῶν καὶ φευγδῶν καὶ οὐδετέρων.

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a Cf. Stob. Eel. i. 136. 21 W.
attribute is quasi-substance or quasi-attribute. 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' αὐτῇ, ὡς ὁ Χρύσιππος φησι, περὶ σημαίνοντα καὶ σημαίνόμενα. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ περὶ φωνῆς θεωρίᾳ τοιαῦτα λέγεται τοῖς Στωκιοῖς.

ἐν δὲ τῷ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῶν σημαίνομενών 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 [τῷ] λεκτὸν εἶναι τὸ κατὰ φαντασίαν λογικὴν ύφιστάμενον. τῶν δὲ λεκτῶν τὰ μὲν λέγοντα εἶναι αὐτοτελῆ οἱ Στωκιοὶ, τὰ δ' ἐλλιπή. ἐλλιπὴ μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ τὰ ἀναπάρτιστον ἔχοντα τὴν ἐκφοράν, ὁίον Γράφει: ἐπικητοῦμεν γάρ, Τίς; αὐτοτελὴ δ' ἐστὶ τὰ ἀπαραπτισμένην ἔχοντα τὴν ἐκφοράν, ὁίον 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 πύρματα.

ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ κατηγόρημα τὸ κατὰ τινὸς ἁγορευόμενον ἣ πράγμα συντακτον περὶ τινος ἥ τινων, ὡς οἱ περὶ Ἀπολλόδωρον φασίν, ἡ λεκτὸν ἐλλιπῆς συντακτόν ὀρθή πτώσει πρὸς ἀξιώματος γένεσιν. τῶν δὲ κατηγορημάτων τὰ μὲν ἐστὶ συμβάματα, οἰον τὸ "διὰ πέτρας πλεῖν." καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐστὶ τῶν κατηγορημάτων ὀρθά, ᾧ ὑπτία, ᾧ δ' οὐδέτερα. ὀρθὰ μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ τὰ συντασσόμενα μᾶ τῶν πλαγίων πτώσεων πρὸς κατηγορήματος γένεσιν, οἴον Ἀκούει, Ὅρα, Διαλέγεται ὑπτία 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). Παρασυμβάμα is meant an im-

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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-

\(^a\) For other conjectures see Zeller, *Phil. der Gr.* iii. 13, 89 note 2, 90.
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'Αξίωμα δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ ἑστὶν ἀληθὲς ἡ ψεύδος· ἡ πράγμα αὐτοτελὲς ἀποφαντὸν ὅσον ἔφ' ἑαυτῷ, ὡς ὁ Χρόσυππος φήσιν ἐν τοῖς Διαλεκτικοῖς ὅροις "ἀξίωμά ἐστι τὸ ἀποφαντὸν ἡ καταφαντὸν ὅσον ἔφ' ἑαυτῷ, ὁ Ἡμέρα ἐστὶ, Δίων περιπατεῖ." ὠνόμασται δὲ τὸ ἄξιωμα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄξιοῦσαι ἡ ἀθετείσθαι ὁ γὰρ λέγων Ἡμέρα ἐστιν, ἄξιοῦν δοκεῖ τὸ ἡμέραν εἶναι. οὐσίας μὲν οὐν ἡμέρας, ἀληθὲς γίνεται τὸ προκείμενον ἄξιωμα· μὴ οὐσίας δὲ, ψεύδος. διαφέρει δ' ἄξιωμα καὶ ἐρώτημα καὶ πύσμα <καὶ> προστατικοῦ καὶ ὀρκικοῦ καὶ ἀρατικοῦ καὶ υποθετικοῦ καὶ προσαγορευτικοῦ καὶ πράγμα ὁμοίου ἄξιώματι. ἄξιωμα μὲν γὰρ ἐστιν ὁ λέγοντες ἀποφανώμεθα, ὥσπερ ἡ ἀληθὲς ἐστὶν ἡ ψεύδος. ἐρώτημα δὲ ἐστὶ πράγμα αὐτοτελές μὲν, ὡς καὶ τὸ ἄξιωμα, αἰτητικὸν δὲ ἀποκρίσεως, οἷον "ἀρά γ' ἡμέρα ἐστι;" τοῦτο δ' οὕτε ἀληθὲς ἐστὶν οὕτε ψεύδος, ὥστε τὸ μὲν "ἡμέρα ἐστίν" ἄξιωμα ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ "ἀρά γ' ἡμέρα ἐστίν;" ἐρώτημα. πύσμα δὲ ἐστὶ πράγμα πρὸς δ' συμβολικῶς οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀποκρίνεσθαι, ὥς

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

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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, 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 (αχυωμα) is derived from the verb αχυνυ, 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 (ὀρθἀ) than passive (ὑπτια).
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ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑρωτήματος, Ναί, ἄλλα δεὶ εἰπεῖν "οἰκεῖ ἐν τῷ τῶν τῶν πῶς."

67 Προστακτικοὺς δὲ ἔστι πράγμα ὁ λέγοντες προστάσσομεν, οἶον,

σὺ μὲν βάδιζε τὰς ἐπ' Ἰνάχου ῥοᾶς.

ὁρκικόν δὲ ἔστι πράγμα * * <προσαγορευτικῶν> δὲ ἔστι πράγμα ὁ εἰ λέγου τις, προσαγορεύοι ἁν, οἶον,

Ἀτρείδη κύδιστε, ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγάμεμνον.

όμοιον δ' ἔστιν ἀξιώματι ὁ τὴν ἐκφορὰν ἔχον ἀξιωματικῆν παρά τινος μορίον πλεονασμὸν ἢ πάθος ἔξω πίπτει τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀξιωμάτων, οἶον,

καλὸς γ' ὁ παρθενῶν.

ὡς Πριαμίδησιν ἐμφερῆς ὁ βουκόλος.

68 Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕπαπορητικῶν τι πράγμα διεννυχῶς ἀξιώματος, ὁ εἰ λέγου τις, ἀποροίη ἁν·

ἄρ' ἔστι συγγενές τι λύπη καὶ βίος;

οὔτε δ' ἀληθῆ ἔστιν οὔτε ψευδή τά ἐρωτήματα καὶ τα πύσματα καὶ τα τούτοις παραπλήσια, τῶν ἀξιωμάτων ἢ ἀληθῶν ἢ ψευδῶν ὄντων.

Τῶν ἀξιωμάτων τὰ μὲν ἔστιν ἀπλὰ, τὰ δ' οὐχ ἀπλὰ, ὡς φασιν οἱ περὶ Χρύσιττον καὶ Ἀρχέδημον καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρον καὶ Ἀντίπατρον καὶ Κρῖνων. ἀπλὰ μὲν οὖν ἔστι τὰ συνεστῶτα εἰς ἀξιώματος μὴ διαφορομενένου [ἡ εἰς ἀξιώματων], οἶον τὸ "ἡμέρα ἐστιν"· οὐχ ἀπλὰ δ' ἔστι τὰ συνεστῶτ' εἰς ἀξιώματος διαφορομενένου ἢ εἰς ἀξιωμάτων.

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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


\(^b\) *Iliad* ix. 96.

δὲ ἀξιώματος μὲν διαφορούμενοι, οἶον "εἰ ἡμέρα ἑστὶν, <ἡμέρα ἑστίν>". ἐξ ἀξιώμάτων δέ, οἶον "εἰ ἡμέρα ἑστὶ, φῶς ἑστὶν." 

Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀπλοῖς ἀξιώμασιν ἑστὶ τὸ ἀποφατικὸν καὶ τὸ ἀρνητικὸν καὶ τὸ στερητικὸν καὶ τὸ κατηγορικὸν καὶ τὸ καταγορευτικὸν καὶ τὸ ἀόριστον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς οὐχ ἀπλοῖς ἀξιώμασι τὸ συνημμένον καὶ τὸ παρασυνημμένον καὶ τὸ συμπεπληγμένον καὶ τὸ διεξευγμένον καὶ τὸ αἰτιώδες καὶ τὸ διασαφῶν τὸ μάλλον καὶ τὸ ἤττον. * * καὶ ἀποφατικὸν μὲν οἶον "οὐχὶ ἡμέρα ἑστίν." εἶδος δὲ τούτου τὸ ὑπεραποφατικόν δὲ ἑστὶν ἀποφατικὸν ἀποφατικοῦ, οἶον "οὐχὶ ἡμέρα οὐκ ἑστὶ"· τίθησι δὲ τὸ "ἡμέρα ἑστίν." 

Ἀρνητικὸν δὲ ἑστὶ τὸ συνεστὸς ἐξ ἀρνητικοῦ μορίου καὶ κατηγορήματος, οἶον "οὐδεὶς περιπατεῖ"· στερητικὸν δὲ ἑστὶ τὸ συνεστὸς ἐκ στερητικοῦ μορίου καὶ ἀξιώματος κατὰ δύναμιν, οἶον "ἀφιλάνθρωπος ἑστὶν οὕτως"· κατηγορικὸν δὲ ἑστὶ τὸ συνεστὸς ἐκ πτώσεως ὀρθῆς καὶ κατηγορήματος, οἴον "Διὸν περιπατεῖ"· καταγορευτικὸν δὲ ἑστὶ τὸ συνεστὸς ἐκ πτώσεως ὀρθῆς δεικτικῆς καὶ κατηγορήματος, οἶον "οὕτως περιπατεῖ"· ἀόριστον δὲ ἑστὶ τὸ συνεστὸς ἐξ ἀορίστου μορίου ἢ ἀορίστων μορίων καὶ κατηγορήματος, οἶον "τὸς περιπατεῖ," "ἐκεῖνος κινεῖται." 

Τῶν δὲ οὐχ ἀπλῶν ἀξιώματων συνημμένοι μὲν ἑστιν, ὡς ὁ Χρύσιππος ἐν ταῖς Διαλεκτικάς φησί καὶ Διογένης ἐν τῇ Διαλεκτικῇ τέχνῃ, τὸ συνεστὸς διὰ τοῦ "εἰ" συναπτικοῦ συνδέσμου. ἐπιγγέλλεται δὲ ὁ σύνδεσμος οὕτως ἀκολουθεῖν τὸ δεύτερον τῷ πρώτῳ, οἶον "εἰ ἡμέρα ἑστί, 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 indefinite; 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 indefinite 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,
“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-
74 Παρασυνημένον δ' ἀληθὲς μὲν ἐστὶν ὁ ἀρχόμενον ἀπ' ἀληθοὺς εἰς ἀκόλουθον λήγειι, οἷον "ἐπεὶ ἡμέρα ἐστίν, ἦλιος ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ γῆς." ψεῦδος δ' ἦ ἀπὸ ψεῦδους ἀρχεῖται ἡ μὴ εἰς ἀκόλουθον λήγει, οἷον "ἐπεὶ νῦς ἐστί, Δίων περιπατεῖ," ἀν ἡμέρας οὐσίας λέγηται. αἰτιώδες δ' ἀληθεῖς μὲν ἐστὶν ὁ ἀρχόμενον ἀπ' ἀληθοὺς εἰς ἀκόλουθον λήγει, οἷον μὴν ἔχει τῷ λήγοντι τὸ ἀρχόμενον ἀκόλουθον, οἷον "διότι ἡμέρα ἐστὶ, φῶς ἐστὶν μὲν γὰρ "ἡμέρα ἐστίν" ἀκολουθεῖ τὸ "φῶς ἐστὶ;" τῷ μὲν γὰρ "ἡμέρα ἐστίν" ἀκολουθεῖ τὸ "ἡμέρα ἐστίν," τῷ δὲ "φῶς ἐστὶν" οὐχ ἔπεται τὸ "ἡμέρα ἐστίν." αἰτιώδες δὲ ψεῦδος ἐστὶν ὁ ἦτοι ἀπὸ ψεῦδους ἀρχεῖται ἡ μὴ εἰς ἀκόλουθον λήγει ἡ ἔχει τῷ λήγοντι τὸ ἀρχόμενον ἀνακόλουθον, οἷον "διότι
75 νῦς ἐστί, Δίων περιπατεῖ." πιθανὸν δὲ ἐστὶν ἀξίωμα τὸ ἀγον εἰς συγκατάθεσιν, οἷον "εἰ τίς τι ἔτεκεν, ἐκεῖνη ἐκείνου μήτηρ ἐστίν." ψεῦδος δὲ τούτοις οὐ γὰρ ἡ ὀρνις χωᾶ ἐστὶ μήτηρ.

'Εστι τε τὰ μὲν ἐστὶ δυνατά, τὰ δ' ἀδύνατα: καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαία, τὰ δ' οὐκ ἀναγκαία. δυνατὸν μὲν τὸ ἐπιδεκτικὸν τοῦ ἀληθεῖς εἶναι, τῶν ἐκτὸς μὴ ἐναντιομένων πρὸς τὸ ἀληθεῖς εἶναι, οἷον "ζῆ Διοκλής." ἀδύνατον δὲ ὁ μὴ ἐστὶν ἐπιδεκτικὸν τοῦ ἀληθεῖς εἶναι, οἷον "ἡ γῆ ἴπταται." ἀναγκαίον δὲ ἐστὶν ὁπερ ἀληθεῖς ὁν οὐκ ἐστὶν
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Theoretical 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
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ἐπιδεκτικὸν τοῦ ψεῦδος εἶναι, η ἐπιδεκτικὸν μὲν ἔστι, τὰ δ' ἐκτὸς αὐτῷ ἐναντιοῦται πρὸς τὸ ψεῦδος εἶναι, οἷον "ή ἀρετὴ ὕφελεί." οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ἔστιν ὁ καὶ ἀληθὲς ἔστιν καὶ ψεῦδος οἰόν τε εἶναι, τῶν ἐκτὸς μηδὲν ἐναντιοῦμενων, οἷον τὸ "περιπατεῖ Δίων." εὐλογον δὲ ἔστιν ἄξιωμα τὸ πλεύονας ἀφορμὰς ἔχον εἰς τὸ ἀληθὲς εἶναι, οἷον "βιώσομαι αὐρτον."

Καὶ ἄλλα δὲ εἰςι διαφοραι ἄξιωματων καὶ μετα-πτώσεις αὐτῶν ἐξ ἀληθῶν εἰς ψεῦδη καὶ ἀντι-στροφαί, περὶ ὃν ἐν τῷ πλάτει λέγομεν.

Λόγος δὲ ἔστιν, ὡς οἱ περὶ τοῦ Κρίνιν φασι, τὸ συνεστηκὸς ἐκ λήμματος καὶ προσλήψεως καὶ ἐπιφορᾶς, οἷον ὁ τοιοῦτος, "εἰ ἠμέρα ἔστι, φῶς ἔστιν ἡμέρα δέ ἔστιν φῶς ἀρα ἔστιν." λήμμα μὲν γὰρ ἔστι τὸ "εἰ ἠμέρα ἔστι, φῶς ἔστιν" ἀρα ἔστιν, τρόπος δὲ ἔστιν οἰονεὶ σχῆμα λόγου, οἷον ὁ τοιοῦτος, "εἰ τὸ πρῶτον, τὸ δευτέρον άλλα μὴν τὸ πρῶτον τὸ ἀρα δευτέρον."

77 Λογότροπος δὲ ἔστι τὸ ἐξ ἀμφότερων σύνθετον, οἷον "εἰ ζῇ Πλάτων, ἀναπνεῖ Πλάτων άλλα μὴν τὸ πρῶτον τὸ ἀρα δευτέρον." παρεισήχθη δὲ ὁ λογότροπος ύπέρ τοῦ ἐν ταῖς μακροτέραις συν-τάξεις τῶν λόγων μηκέτι τὴν πρόσληψιν μακράν οὖσαν καὶ τὴν ἐπιφορὰν λέγειν, άλλα συντόμως ἐπενεγκεῖν, "τὸ δὲ πρῶτον τὸ ἀρα δευτέρον."

Τῶν δὲ λόγων οἱ μὲν εἰςιν ἄπεραντοι, οἱ δὲ περαντικόι. ἄπεραντοι μὲν ὃν τὸ ἀντικεῖμενον τῆς ἐπιφορᾶς οὐ μάχεται τῇ διὰ τῶν λημμάτων

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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, οἶον οἱ τοιοῦτοι, "ἐι ἡμέρα ἐστὶ, φῶς ἐστὶ. ἡμέρα δὲ ἐστὶ· περιπατεῖ ἄρα Δίων·"

78 Τῶν δὲ περατικῶν λόγων οἱ μὲν ὄμων ὑμώμως τῷ γένει λέγονται περατικοὶ· οἱ δὲ συλλογιστικοὶ. συλλογιστικοὶ μὲν οὖν εἰσιν οἱ ἦτοι ἀναπόδεικτοι ὄντες ἡ ἀναγόμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀναποδείκτοις κατὰ τι τῶν θεμάτων ἡ τινα, οἶον οἱ τοιοῦτοι "ἐι περιπατεῖ Δίων, <κινεῖται Δίων· ἄλλα μὴν περιπατεῖ Δίων>· κινεῖται ἄρα Δίων·" περατικοὶ δὲ εἰσὶν εἰδικῶς οἱ συνάγοντες μὴ συλλογιστικῶς, οἶον οἱ τοιοῦτοι, "ψεῦδος ἐστὶ τὸ ἡμέρα ἐστὶ καὶ νῦς ἐστὶ· ἡμέρα δὲ ἐστὶ· οὐκ ἄρα νῦς ἐστὶν·" ἀσυλλογιστοὶ δ' εἰσὶν οἱ παρακείμενοι μὲν πιθανῶς τοῖς συλλογιστικοῖς, οὐ συνάγοντες δὲ, οἶον "ἐι ἵππος ἐστὶ Δίων, ζῷόν ἐστι Δίων· <ἄλλα μὴν ἤππος οὐκ ἐστὶ Δίων>· οὐκ ἄρα ζῷόν ἐστι Δίων·".

79 "Ετι τῶν λόγων οἱ μὲν ἄληθεῖς εἰσιν, οἱ δὲ ψευδεῖς. ἄληθεῖς μὲν οὖν εἰσι λόγοι οἱ δ' ἄληθῶν συνάγοντες, οἶον "ἐι ἡ ἀρετὴ ὑφελεί, ἡ κακία βλάπτει· <ἄλλα μὴν ὑφελεῖ ἡ ἀρετή· ἡ κακία ἄρα βλάπτει>·" ψευδεῖς δὲ εἰσιν οἱ τῶν λημμάτων ἔχοντες τι ψεῦδος ἡ ἀπέραντος ὄντες, οἶον "ἐι ἡμέρα ἐστὶ, φῶς ἐστὶ· ἡμέρα δὲ ἐστὶ· ζῆ ἄρα Δίων·" καὶ δυνατοὶ δ' εἰσί λόγοι καὶ ἄδυνατοι καὶ ἀναγκαῖοι καὶ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖοι· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἀναπόδεικτοι τινες, τῷ μὴ χρήζειν ἀποδείξεις, ἄλλοι μὲν παρ' ἄλλοις, παρὰ δὲ τῷ Χρυσίππῳ πέντε, δι' ὃν πᾶς λόγος πλέκεται· οἷτινες λαμ-
tion of the premisses, as in the following: "If it is day, it is light; but it is day, therefore Dion walks."  

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." 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-

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b The example is badly chosen, confusing contrary with contradictory.
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βάνονται ἐπὶ τῶν περαντικῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν συλ-
80 λογισμῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τροπικῶν. πρῶτος δὲ ἔστιν ἀναπόδεικτος ἐν ὧν πᾶς λόγος συντάσσεται ἐκ συνημμένου καὶ τοῦ ἦγουμένου, ἀφ’ οὗ ἄρχεται τὸ συνημμένον καὶ τὸ λῆγον ἐπιφέρει, οἷον "εἰ τὸ πρῶτον, τὸ δεύτερον: ἄλλα μὴν τὸ πρῶτον· τὸ ἀρα δεύτερον." δεύτερος δ’ ἔστιν ἀναπόδεικτος ὁ διὰ συνημμένου καὶ τοῦ ἀντικειμένου τοῦ λήγον-
tος τὸ ἀντικείμενον τοῦ ἦγουμένου ἡχῶν συμ-
pέρασμα, οἷον "εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστὶ, φῶς ἔστιν· ἄλλα μὴν νῦξ ἔστιν· οὐκ ἄρα ἡμέρα ἔστιν." ἡ γὰρ πρόσληψις γίνεται ἐκ τοῦ ἀντικειμένου τῷ λήγοντι καὶ ἡ ἐπιφορὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀντικειμένου τῷ ἦγουμένῳ.
πρῶτος δὲ ἔστιν ἀναπόδεικτος ὁ δι’ ἀποφατικῆς συμπλοκῆς καὶ ἐνὸς τῶν ἐν τῇ συμπλοκῇ ἐπιφέρων τὸ ἀντικείμενον τοῦ λοιποῦ, οἷον "οὐχὶ τέθνηκε Πλάτων καὶ ζη Πλάτων· ἄλλα μὴν τέθνηκε Πλάτων· οὐκ ἄρα ζῆ Πλάτων." τέταρτος δὲ ἔστιν ἀναπόδεικτος ὁ διὰ διεξευγμένου καὶ ἐνὸς τῶν ἐν τῷ διεξευγμένῳ τὸ ἀντικείμενον τοῦ λοιποῦ ἡχῶν συμπέρασμα, οἷον "ἡτοι τὸ πρῶτον ἡ τὸ δεύτερον: ἄλλα μὴν τὸ πρῶτον· οὐκ ἄρα τὸ δεύ-
tερον." πέμπτος δὲ ἔστιν ἀναπόδεικτος ἐν ὧν πᾶς λόγος συντάσσεται ἐκ διεξευγμένου καὶ ἐνὸς τῶν ἐν τῷ διεξευγμένῳ ἀντικειμένων καὶ ἐπιφέρει τὸ λοιπόν, οἷον "ἡτοι ἡμέρα ἔστιν ἡ νῦξ ἔστιν· οὐχὶ δὲ νῦξ ἔστιν· ἡμέρα ἄρα ἔστιν." Ἐπ’ ἄληθεὶς δ’ ἄληθες ἔπεται κατὰ τοὺς Στυκίκους, ὡς τῷ "ἡμέρα ἐστὶ" τῷ "φῶς ἐστι"· καὶ ψεύδει

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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." 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 demonstrable employs a conjunction of negative propositions for major premiss and one of the conjuncted propositions for minor premiss, concluding by 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
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ψεῦδος, ὡς τῷ "νῦξ ἐστὶ" ψεῦδει τὸ "σκότο ἐστὶ". καὶ ψεῦδει ἀληθὲς, ὡς τῷ "ἵππασθαι τῇ γῆν" τὸ "εἶναι τὴν γῆν." ἀληθεὶ μὲντοι ψεῦδος οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ· τῷ γὰρ "εἶναι τὴν γῆν" τὸ "πέτεσθαι τὴν γῆν" οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ.

82 Καὶ ἀποροι δὲ των εἰςι λόγοι ἐγκεκαλυμμένοι καὶ διαλεληθότες καὶ σωρίται καὶ κερατίναι καὶ οὕτιδες. ἐστὶ δὲ ἐγκεκαλυμμένος, οἷον ὁ τοιοῦτος * * "οὐχὶ τὰ μὲν δύο ὅλιγα ἐστῖν, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ τρία, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα μὲν, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα καὶ οὕτω μέχρι τῶν δέκα· τὰ δὲ δύο ὅλιγα ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ δέκα ἀρα." * * οὕτως δὲ ἔ ῶ λόγος συνακτικὸς ἐξ ἀριστοῦ καὶ ὀρισμὲ συνεστῶς, πρόσληψιν δὲ καὶ ἑπιφορὰν ἔχων, ο "εἰ τίς ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα, οὐκ ἐστιν ἑκεῖνος ἐν Ὄρο ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐστι τις ἐνταῦθα· οὐκ ἀρα τίς ἐστιν Ὅρῳ." * *

83 Καὶ τοιοῦτοι μὲν ἐν τοῖς λογικοῖς οἱ Στωκ ἰνα μᾶλλον κρατύνωσι διαλεκτικὸν μόνον εἰ τὸν σοφὸν πάντα γὰρ τὰ πράγματα διὰ τῇ ἐν λόγοις θεωρίας ὅρασθαι, ὡσ τὸν φυσικὸν τόπου τυγχάνει καὶ αὐτὶ πάλιν ὡσ τὁν ἡθικὸν. εἰς μὲν γὰρ τὸ λογικὸν τί δὲι λέγειν περὶ τ' ὅν... μάτων ὅρθότητος, ὅπως διέταξαν οἱ νόμοι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις, οὐκ ἂν ἔχειν ἐπεὶν. δυοῖν δ' οὐσίων συνηθεῖαιν ταῖν ὑποπιπτοῦσαν τῇ ἀρετῇ, ἦ μὲν

a Cf. supra, § 44.
b Here supra, 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
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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: the Veiled Men, the Concealed, Sorites, Horned Folk, the Nobodies. The Veiled is as follows: "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. 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?"
Τὸ δ᾿ ἡθικὸν μέρος τῆς φιλοσοφίας διαιροῦσιν εἰς τὸν περὶ ὀρμῆς καὶ εἰς τὸν περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν τόπων καὶ εἰς τὸν περὶ παθῶν καὶ περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ περὶ τέλους περὶ τῇ πρώτῃ ἄξιας καὶ τῶν πράξεων καὶ περὶ τῶν καθηκόντων προτροπῶν τε καὶ ἀποτροπῶν. [καὶ] οὕτω δ᾿ ὑποδιαραθεὶς οἱ περὶ Χρύσιππον καὶ Ἀρχέδημον καὶ Ζήνωνα τὸν Ταρσέα καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρον καὶ Διογένην καὶ Ἀντίπατρον καὶ Ποσειδώνιον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Κιτιεύς Ζήνων καὶ ὁ Κλεάνθης, ὡς ἂν ἀρχαιότερος, ἀφελέστερον περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων διέλαβον. οὕτω δὲ διείλοι καὶ τὸν λογικὸν καὶ τὸν φυσικὸν.

Τὴν δὲ πρώτην ὀρμῆν φασὶ τὸ ζῶον ἵσχειν ἐπὶ τὸ τηρεῖν ἑαυτό, οἰκειούσῃ αὐτῷ τῆς φύσεως ἀπ᾿ ἀρχῆς, καθά φησιν ὁ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ. Περὶ τελῶν, πρῶτον οἰκεῖον λέγων εἶναι παντὶ ζῶῳ τὴν αὐτοῦ σύστασιν καὶ τὴν ταῦτης συνείδησιν. οὔτε γὰρ ἀλλοτριώσαι εἰκὸς ἦν αὐτῷ ἀλλὰ τὸ ζῶον, οὔτε ποιήσασαν αὐτό, μήτε ἀλλοτριώσαι μήτε οἰκεώσαι. ἀπολείπεται τοῖς λέγειν συστησαμένην αὐτὸ οἰκεύσαι πρὸς ἑαυτό. οὕτω γὰρ τὰ τε βλάπτοντα διωθεῖται καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα προσίεται.

Ὁ δὲ λέγουσι τινες, πρὸς ἡδονὴν γίγνεσθαι τὴν πρώτην ὀρμήν τοῖς ζῴοις, ψευδὸς ἀποφαίνουσιν. ἐπιγέννημα γὰρ φασιν, εἰ ἄρα ἑστιν, 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...
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όταν αὐτή καθ’ αὐτὴν ἡ φύσις ἐπιζητήσασα τὰ ἐναρμόζοντα τῇ συστάσει ἀπολάβη. ὅν τρόπον ἄφιλαρύνεται τὰ ζώα καὶ θάλλει τὰ φυτά. οὐδὲν τε, φασίν, διῆλλαξεν ἡ φύσις ἐπὶ τῶν φυτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ζώων, ὅτι χωρίς ὀρμῆς καὶ αἰσθήσεως κάκεινα οἰκονομεῖ καὶ ἐφ’ ἡμῶν τινα φυτοειδῶς γίνεται. ἐκ περιττοῦ δὲ τῆς ὀρμῆς τοῖς ζώοις ἐπιγενομένης, ἢ συγχρώμενα πορεύεται πρὸς τὰ οἰκεῖα, τούτους μὲν τὸ κατὰ φύσιν τῷ κατὰ τὴν ὀρμὴν διοικεῖσθαι· τοῦ δὲ λόγου τοῖς λογικοῖς κατὰ τελειοτέραν προστασίαν δεδομένου, τὸ κατὰ λόγου ζῆν ὀρθῶς γίνεσθαι <του>τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν· τεχνίτης γὰρ οὗτος ἐπιγίνεται τῆς ὀρμῆς.

87 Διόπερ πρῶτος ὁ Ζήνων ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἀνθρώπου φύσεως τέλος εἶπε τὸ ὁμολογουμένως τῇ φύσει ζῆν, ὅπερ ἔστι κατ’ ἀρετὴν ζῆν· ἄγει γὰρ πρὸς ταύτην ἡμᾶς ἡ φύσις. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Κλεάνθης ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἡδονῆς καὶ Ποσειδώνιος καὶ Ἔκατων ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τελῶν. πάλιν δ’ ἵσον ἔστι τὸ κατ’ ἀρετὴν ζῆν τῷ κατ’ ἐμπειρίαν τῶν φύσει συμβανόντων ζῆν, ὡς φησὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ τελῶν· μέρη γὰρ εἰσιν αἰ ἡμέτεραι φύσεις τῆς.

88 τοῦ ὅλου. Διόπερ τέλος γίνεται τὸ ἀκολούθως τῇ φύσει ζῆν, ὅπερ ἔστι κατὰ τῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ τῇ τῶν ὅλων, οὐδὲν ἐνεργοῦντας ὃν 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
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εἰώθεν ὁ νόμος ὁ κοινὸς, ὁσπερ ἐστὶν ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος, διὰ πάντων ἐρχόμενος, ὁ αὐτὸς ὤν τῷ Διῷ, καθηγεμόνι τούτῳ τῆς τῶν ὄντων διοικήσεως ὄντι· εἶναι δὴ αὐτὸ τὸῦ τῆν τοῦ εὐδαιμονός ἀρετὴν καὶ εὔροιαν βίου, ὅταν πάντα πράττηται κατὰ τὴν συμφωνίαν τοῦ παρ' ἐκάστῳ δαιμόνος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ τῶν ὅλων διοικητοῦ βούλησιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Διογένης τέλος φησὶ ῶῆτως τὸ εὐλογιστεῖν ἐν τῇ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἐκλογή. Ἀρχέδημος δὲ τὸ πάντα τὰ καθήκοντα ἐπιτελεῖται ζῆν.

89 Φύσιν δὲ Χρυσιππος μὲν ἐξακούει, ἦ ἀκολούθως δεὶ ζῆν, τὴν τε κοινὴν καὶ ἱδίως τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην· ὁ δὲ Κλεάνθης τὴν κοινὴν μονὴν ἐκδέχεται φύσιν, ἦ ἀκολουθεῖν δεί, οὐκέτι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ μέρους.

Τὴν τ' ἀρετὴν διάθεσιν εἶναι ὀμολογουμένην· καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ αὐτήν εἰναι αἱρετὴν, οὐ διὰ τὴν φόβον ἦ ἐλπίδα ἦ τι τῶν ἐξωθεῖν· ἐν αὐτῇ τ' εἶναι τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, ἢ τ' οὕτω ψυχῇ πεποιημένη πρὸς τὴν ὀμολογίαν παντὸς τοῦ βίου. διαστρέφεται δὲ τὸ λογικὸν ζῷον, ποτὲ μὲν διὰ τὰς τῶν ἐξωθεῖν πραγματείων πιθανότητας, ποτὲ δὲ διὰ τὴν κατήχησιν τῶν συνόντων· ἔπει η φύσις ἀφορμὰς δίδωσιν ἀδιαστρόφους.

90 Ἀρετὴ δὲ ἦ μὲν τὶς κοινῶς παντὶ τελείωσις, ὁσπερ ἀνδριάντος· καὶ ἦθελώρητος, ὁσπερ ὑγίεια· καὶ ἦθελθεματική, ὡς φρόνησις. φησὶ γὰρ ὁ Ἐκάτων ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ ἀρετῶν ἔπιστημονικὰς μὲν εἶναι καὶ ἦθελθεματικὰς τὰς ἐχούσας τὴν σύστασιν ἐκ ἦθελθεμάτων, ὡς φρόνησιν καὶ

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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.
ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΛΑΕΡΤΙΟΣ

δικαιοσύνην· ἀθεωρήτους δὲ τὰς κατὰ παρέκτασιν θεωρομένας ταῖς ἐκ τῶν θεωρημάτων συν-εστηκυῖαις, καθάπερ ὑγίειαν καὶ ἱσχύν. τῇ γὰρ σωφροσύνῃ τεθεωρημένη ὑπαρχοῦσῃ συμβαίνει ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ παρεκτείνεσθαι τὴν ὑγίειαν, καθ-άπερ τῇ ψαλίδος οὐκοδομία τὴν ἱσχῦν ἐπιγίνεσθαι.

καλοῦνταί δ’ ἀθεώρητοι ὅτι μὴ ἔχουσι συγκαταθέσεις, ἄλλ’ ἐπιγίνονται καὶ περὶ φαύλους [γίγνονται], ὡς ὑγίεια, ἀνδρεία. τεκμηριων δὲ τοῦ ὑπαρκτῆν εἶναι τὴν ἄρετήν φησιν ὁ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τοῦ Ἡθικοῦ λόγου τὸ γενέσθαι ἐν προκοπῇ τοὺς περὶ Σωκράτην καὶ Διογένην καὶ Ἀντισθένην. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὴν κακίαν ὑπαρκτῆν διὰ τὸ ἀντικείσθαι τῇ ἄρετῇ. διδακτὴν τ’ εἶναι αὐτῆν, λέγω δὲ τὴν ἄρετήν, καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ τέλους φησὶ καὶ Κλεάνθης καὶ Ποσει-δώνιος ἐν τοῖς Προτρεπτικοῖς καὶ Ἐκάτων· ὅτι δὲ διδακτὴ ἔστι, δὴλον ἐκ τοῦ γίνεσθαι ἄγαθος ἐκ φαύλων.

Παναίτιος μὲν οὖν δύο φησὶν ἄρετάς, θεωρητικὴν καὶ πρακτικὴν· ἄλλοι δὲ λογικὴν καὶ φυσικὴν καὶ ἡθικὴν· τέτταρας δὲ οἱ περὶ Ποσειδώνιον καὶ πλείονας οἱ περὶ Κλεάνθην καὶ Χρύσιππον καὶ Ἀντίπατρον. ο μὲν γὰρ Ἀπολλοφάνης μίαν λέγει, τὴν φρόνησιν. 

Τῶν δ’ ἄρετῶν τὰς μὲν πρώτας, τὰς δὲ ταῦτας ὑποτεταγμένας. πρῶτας μὲν τάσδε, φρόνησιν, ἀνδρείαν, δικαιοσύνην, σωφροσύνην· ἐν εἰδεὶ δὲ τούτων μεγαλοψυχίαν, ἐγκράτειαν, καρτεριάν, ἀγχηνοιαν, εὐθυμίαν· καὶ τὴν μὲν φρόνησιν εἶναι ἐπιστήμην κακῶν καὶ ἄγαθῶν καὶ οὐδετέρων, τὴν

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*One of the older Stoics; cf. Frag. Vet. Stoic. i. 90.*

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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 Heeato; 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. Apollonphanes 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
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δ' ἀνδρείαν ἑπιστήμην ὅν αἱρετέον καὶ ὃν εὐλαβη-
tέον καὶ ὀυδετέρων. τὴν δὲ δικαιοσύνην * * τὴν
dὲ μεγαλοπυρχίᾳν ἑπιστήμην ἡ ἑξίν ὑπεράνω
ποιοῦσαν τῶν συμβαινόντων κοινῆ φαύλων τε καὶ
σπουδαίων. τὴν δ' ἐγκράτειαν διάθεσιν ἀνυπέρβατον
τῶν κατ' ὀρθόν λόγον ἡ ἑξίν ἀήτητον ἡδονῶν.
tὴν δὲ καρτερίαν ἑπιστήμην ἡ ἑξίν ὃν ἐμμενετέον
καὶ μὴ καὶ ὀυδετέρων. τὴν δ' ἀγχίνοιαν ἑξίν
εὐρετικὴν τοῦ καθήκοντος ἕκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα. τὴν
d' εὐβουλίαν ἑπιστήμην τοῦ σκοπεῖσθαι ποῖα καὶ
πῶς πράττοντες πράξομεν συμφερόντως.

'Ανά λόγον δὲ καὶ τῶν κακίων τὰς μὲν εἶναι
πρώτας, τὰς δ' ὑπὸ ταύτας. οἶνον ἀφροσύνην μὲν
καὶ δειλίαν καὶ ἀδικίαν καὶ ἀκολασίαν ἐν ταῖς
πρώταις, ἀκρασίαν δὲ καὶ βραδύνοιαν καὶ κακο-
βουλίαν ἐν ταῖς ὑπὸ ταύτας. εἶναι δ' ἀγνοίας τὰς
κακίας, ὃν αἱ ἀρεταὶ ἑπιστήμαι.

94 'Ἀγαθὸν δὲ κοινῶς μὲν τὸ <οὐ> τι ὀφελοῦσι, ἰδίως
d' ἦτοι ταύτον ἡ οὐχ ἐτερον ὀφελείας. οἴθεν αὐτὴν
τε τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸ μετέχον αὐτῆς ἄγαθὸν τριχώς
οὔτω λέγεσθαι: οἶνον τὸ <μὲν> ἄγαθὸν ἀφ' οὖ
συμβαίνει <ὅφελεσθαι>, τὸ δὲ καθ' ὃ συμβαίνει>,
ὡς τὴν1 πράξιν τὴν κατ' ἀρετὴν. ὑφ' οὖ δὲ, ὡς τὸν
σπουδαίον τὸν μετέχοντα τῆς ἀρετῆς.

"Ἀλλως δ' οὔτως ἰδίως ὀρίζονται τὸ ἄγαθόν,
"τὸ τέλειον κατὰ φύσιν λογικοῦ ὡς λογικοῦ." 
τοιοῦτον δ' εἶναι τὴν ἀρετὴν, ὡς τε μετέχοντα τὰς

1 ὡστε Arn.: ἢς τα coni. Reiske.

a It is obviously not courage which is here defined, but
apparently wisdom over again. Hence I have marked a
lacuna.

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of what is neither good nor evil; courage 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
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τε πράξεις τὰς κατ’ ἀρετὴν καὶ τοὺς σπουδαίους εἶναι: ἐπιγεννῆματα δὲ τὴν τε χαρὰν καὶ τὴν εὐφροσύνην καὶ τὰ παραπλῆσια. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τῶν κακιῶν τὸ μὲν εἶναι ἀφροσύνην, δειλίαν, ἀδικίαν καὶ τὰ παραπλῆσια: μετέχουσα δὲ κακίας τὰς τε πράξεις τὰς κακίαν καὶ τοὺς φαύλους· ἐπιγεννῆματα δὲ τὴν τε δυσθυμίαν καὶ τὴν δυσφροσύνην καὶ τὰ ὀμοια.

"Ετι τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὰ μὲν εἶναι περὶ ψυχῆν, τὰ δ’ ἐκτὸς, τὰ δ’ οὕτε περὶ ψυχῆν οὕτ’ ἐκτός. τὰ μὲν περὶ ψυχῆν ἀρετὰς καὶ τὰς κατὰ ταύτας πράξεις· τὰ δ’ ἐκτὸς τὸ τε σπουδαῖον ἔχειν πατρίδα καὶ σπουδαῖον φίλον καὶ τὴν τούτων εὐδαιμονίαν· τὰ δ’ οὕτ’ ἐκτός οὐτε περὶ ψυχὴν τὸ αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ εἶναι σπουδαῖον καὶ εὐδαιμόνα. ἀνάπαλιν δὲ καὶ τῶν κακῶν τὰ μὲν περὶ ψυχὴν εἶναι, τὰς κακίας καὶ τὰς κατ’ αὐτὰς πράξεις· τὰ δ’ ἐκτὸς τὸ ᾠρόνα πατρίδα ἐχειν καὶ ᾠρόνα φίλον καὶ τὴν τούτων κακοδαιμονίαν· τὰ δ’ οὕτ’ ἐκτός οὐτε περὶ ψυχὴν τὸ αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ εἶναι φαύλον καὶ κακοδαιμόνα.

"Ετι τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὰ μὲν εἶναι τελικά, τὰ δ’ ποιητικά, τὰ δ’ τελικά καὶ ποιητικά. τὸν μὲν οὖν φίλον καὶ τὰς ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ γνωμένας ωφελείας ποιητικά εἶναι ἀγαθά· θάρσος δὲ καὶ φρόνημα καὶ ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τέρψιν καὶ εὐφροσύνην καὶ ἀλυπίαν καὶ πάσαν τὴν κατ’ ἀρετὴν πρᾶξιν τελικά.

97 Ποιητικά δὲ καὶ τελικά εἶναι ἀγαθὰ <τὰς ἀρετὰς>. καθὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀποτελοῦσι τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, ποιητικά ἐστιν ἀγαθά· καθὸ δὲ συμπληροῦσιν αὐτὴν, ὦστε μέρισ αὐτῆς γίνεσθαι, τελικά. ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν κακῶν τὰ μὲν εἶναι τελικά, τὰ δ’ ἀμφότερως 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 πάσαν τὴν κατὰ κακίαν πράξιν τελικὰ· ἀμφοτέρως δ' ἔχοντα τὰς κακίας, ἔπει καθὸ μὲν ἀποτελοῦσι τὴν κακοδαμονίαν, ποιητικὰ ἐστὶ· καθὸ δὲ συμπληροῦσιν αὐτῆς, ὡστε μέρη αὐτῆς γίνεσθαι, τελικά.

98 Ἑτὶ τῶν περὶ ψυχῆν ἀγαθῶν τὰ μὲν εἰσιν ἔξεις, τὰ δὲ διαθέσεις, τὰ δ' οὖθ' ἔξεις οὔτε διαθέσεις. διαθέσεις μὲν αἱ ἀρεταί, ἔξεις δὲ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα, οὔτε δ' ἔξεις οὔτε διαθέσεις αἱ ἐνέργειαι. κοινῶς δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν μικτὰ μὲν ἐστίν εὐτεκνία καὶ εὐγνοία, ἀπλοῦν δ' ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸν ἐπιστήμη. καὶ ἂει μὲν παρόντα αἱ ἀρεταί, οὐκ ἂεὶ δὲ, οἶνον χαρά, περιπάτησις.

Πάν δ' ἀγαθὸν συμφέρον εἶναι καὶ δέον καὶ λυσιτελὲς καὶ χρήσιμον καὶ εὐχρηστὸν καὶ καλὸν καὶ ωφέλιμον καὶ ἀἱρετὸν καὶ δίκαιον. συμφέρον μὲν ὅτι φέρει τοιαύτα διὶ συμβαινόντων ωφελούμεθα· δέον δ' ὅτι συνέχει ἐν οἷς χρή· λυσιτελὲς δ' ὅτι λύει τὰ τελούμενα εἰς αὐτό, ὡστε τὴν ἀντικατάλλαξιν τὴν ἐκ τῆς πραγματείας ὑπεράρειν τῇ ωφελείᾳ· χρήσιμον δ' ὅτι χρείαν ωφελείας παρέχεται· εὐχρηστὸν δ' ὅτι τὴν χρείαν ἐπαινετὴν ἀπεργάζεται· καλὸν δ' ὅτι συμμέτρως ἔχει πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χρείαν· ωφέλιμον δ' ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἐστὶν ὡστε ωφελεῖν· ἀἱρετὸν δ' ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἐστὶν ὡστε εὐλόγως αὐτὸ αἱρεῖσθαι· δίκαιον δ' ὅτι νόμῳ ἐστὶ σύμφωνον καὶ κοινωνίας ποιητικὸν.
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 ἐπιζητομένους ἀριθμούς ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἢ τὸ τελέως σύμμετρον. εἰδὴ δὲ εἶναι τοῦ καλοῦ τέτταρα, δίκαιον, ἀνδρεῖον, κόσμιον, ἐπιστημονικὸν· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς τὰς καλὰς πράξεις συντελεῖσθαι. ἀνὰ λόγον δὲ καὶ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ εἶναι εἰδὴ τέτταρα, τὸ τ´ ἁδικὸν καὶ τὸ δειλὸν καὶ ἄκοσμον καὶ ἀφρον. λέγεσθαι δὲ τὸ καλὸν μονα-χῶς μὲν τὸ ἐπαινετοὺς παρεχόμενον τοὺς ἔχοντας <ἡ> ἀγαθὸν ἐπαίνου ἄξιον· ἐτέρως δὲ τὸ εἰς πεφυ-κέναι πρὸς τὸ ἱδιον ἔργον· ἀλλως δὲ τὸ ἐπικοσμοῦν, ὅταν λέγωμεν μόνον τὸν σοφὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ καλὸν εἶναι.

101 Λέγουσι δὲ μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, καθά φησιν Ἐκάτων ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ Περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ· εἶναι δὲ τοῦτο ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸ μετέχον ἀρετῆς, ὥστεν ἵσον τὸ πᾶν ἀγαθὸν καλὸν εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἵσον αὐτὸν τῷ καλῷ τὸ ἀγαθὸν, ὅπερ ἵσον ἐστὶ τούτῳ. ἐπεῖ γὰρ ἵστην ἀγαθὸν, καλὸν ἵστην· ἵστη δὲ καλὸν· ἀγαθὸν ἀρα ἵστη. δοκεῖ δὲ πάντα τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἵσα εἶναι καὶ πᾶν ἀγαθὸν ἐπὶ ἀκρον εἶναι αἱρετῶν καὶ μήτε ἀνεσιν μήτε ἐπιτάσιν ἐπιδέχεσθαι. τῶν δ᾽ ὅντων φασὶ τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ εἶναι, τὰ δὲ κακά, τὰ δ᾽ οὐδέτερα.

102 Ἀγαθὰ μὲν οὖν τὰς τ´ ἀρετάς, φρόνησιν, δικαιο- σύνην, ἀνδρείαν, σωφροσύνην καὶ τὰ λοιπά· κακὰ δὲ τὰ ἑναντία, ἀφροσύνην, ἀδικίαν καὶ τὰ λοιπά. 206
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
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οὐδέτερα δὲ ὅσα μὴτ' ωφελεῖ μήτε βλάπτει, οἶον ζωή, ύγίεια, ἡδονή, κάλλος, ἵσχυς, πλοῦτος, εὐδοξία, εὐγένεια· καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἑναντία, θάνατος, νόσος, πόνος, αἰσχος, ἀσθένεια, πενία, ἀδοξία, δυσγένεια καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια, καθὰ φησιν Ἑκάτων ἐν ἐβδόμῳ Περὶ τέλους καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῇ Ὁθικῇ καὶ Χρύσιππος. μὴ γὰρ εἶναι ταῦτ' ἀγαθὰ, ἀλλ' ἀδιάφορα κατ' εἶδος προηγμένα.

103 ὃς γὰρ ίδιον θερμοῦ τὸ θερμαίνει, οὐ τὸ ψύχει, οὔτω καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τὸ ωφελεῖν, οὐ τὸ βλάπτειν· οὐ μᾶλλον δ' ωφελεὶ ἡ βλάπτει ὁ πλοῦτος καὶ ἡ ύγίεια· οὐκ ἂρ' ἀγαθὸν οὔτε πλοῦτος οὔθ' ύγίεια. ἐτὶ τέ φασιν, ὃ ἐστὶν εὖ καὶ κακῶς χρῆσθαι, τούτ' οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸν· πλοῦτω δὲ καὶ ύγιείᾳ ἐστὶν εὖ καὶ κακῶς χρῆσθαι· οὐκ ἂρ' ἀγαθὸν πλοῦτος καὶ ύγίεια. Ποσειδώνιος μέντοι καὶ ταῦτά φησι τῶν ἀγαθῶν εἶναι. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀγαθὸν φασιν Ἑκάτων τ' ἐν τῷ ἑνάτῳ Περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ ἡδονῆς· εἶναι γὰρ καὶ αἰσχρὰς ἡδονᾶς, μηδὲν δ' αἰσχρὸν εἶναι ἀγαθὸν.

104 ωφελεῖν δὲ ἐστὶ κινεῖν ἢ ἵσχεν κατ' ἀρετὴν, βλάπτειν δὲ κινεῖν ἢ ἵσχεν κατὰ κακίαν.

Διχως δὲ λέγεσθαι ἀδιάφορα: ἀπαξ μὲν τὰ μὴτε πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν μὴτε πρὸς κακοδαιμονίαν συνεργοῦντα, ὡς ἔχει πλοῦτος, δόξα, ύγίεια, ἵσχυς καὶ τὰ ὁμοία· εὐδέχεται γὰρ καὶ χωρὶς τούτων εὐδαιμονεῖν, τῆς ποιᾶς αὐτῶν χρῆσεως εὐδαιμονικής
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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
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οὐσῆς ἡ κακοδαιμονικῆς. ἀλλὰς δὲ λέγεται ἀδιάφορα τὰ μῆθ᾽ ὀρμῆς μῆτ᾽ ἀφορμῆς κινητικά, ὥσ ἔχει τὸ ἄρτιάς ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἡ περιττάς, ἡ ἐκτείναι τῶν δάκτυλον ἡ συστείλατι, τῶν προτέρων ἀδιαφόρων οὐκέθ᾽ οὕτω λεγομένων ὀρμῆς γάρ ἐστιν ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἀφορμῆς κινητικά.

dio τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐκλέγεται, <τὰ δὲ ἀπεκλέγεται> τῶν ἐτέρων ἐπίσης ἐχόντων πρὸς ἀἱρέσων καὶ φυγῆν.

Τῶν ἀδιαφόρων τὰ μὲν λέγουσι προηγμένα, τὰ δὲ ἀποπροηγμένα· προηγμένα μὲν τὰ ἑχοντα ἄξιαν, ἀποπροηγμένα δὲ τὰ ἀπαξίαν ἑχοντα. ἄξιαν δὲ τὴν μὲν τινα λέγουσι σύμβλησιν πρὸς τῶν ὀμολογούμενον βίων, ἦτις ἐστὶ περὶ πάν ἀγαθόν· τὴν δὲ εἶναι μέσην τινὰ δύναμιν ἡ χρέιαν συμβαλλομένην πρὸς τὸν κατὰ φύσιν βίων, ὀμοιον εἰπεὶ ἦντινα προσφέρεται πρὸς τὸν κατὰ φύσιν βίων πλοῦτος ἡ ύγίεια· την δὲ εἶναι ἄξιαν ἀμοιβὴν δοκιμαστοῦ, ἦν ἂν ὁ ἐμπειρὸς τῶν πραγμάτων τάξη, ὀμοιον εἰπεὶ ἀμείβεσθαι πυροῦς πρὸς τὰς σὺν ἡμιόνως1 κριθάς.

Προηγμένα μὲν οὖν εἶναι ἡ καὶ ἄξιαν ἔχει, οἷον ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ζυγικῶν εὐφυίαν, τέχνην, προκοπὴν καὶ τὰ ὀμοια· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν σωματικῶν ζωῆν, ύγίειαν, ρώμην, εὐεξίαν, ἀρτιότητα, κάλλος καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκτὸς πλοῦτον, δόξαν, εὐ-

1 τὰς ἡμιόλιοι 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 ἄξια

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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 δόκιμαιστοῦ.
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γενειαν καὶ τὰ ὦμοια. ἀποπροηγμένα δ’ ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ψυχικῶν ἀφύταν, ἀτεχνίαν καὶ τὰ ὦμοια: ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν σωματικῶν θάνατον, νόσου, ἀσθενειαν, καχεξίαν, πήρωσιν, αἰσχος καὶ τὰ ὦμοια. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκτὸς πενίαι, ἀδοξιαν, δυσγενειαν καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια: οὐτὲ δὲ προῆθη οὖτ’ ἀποπροῆθη τὰ οὐδετέρως ἔχοντα.

"Επὶ τῶν προηγμένων τὰ μὲν δι’ αὑτὰ προῄκται, τὰ δὲ δι’ ἐτερα, τὰ δὲ καὶ δι’ αὑτὰ καὶ δι’ ἐτερα. δι’ αὑτὰ μὲν εὐφυία, προκοπῆ καὶ τὰ ὦμοια: δι’ ἐτερα δὲ πλοῦτος, εὐγένεια καὶ τὰ ὦμοια: δι’ αὑτὰ δὲ καὶ δι’ ἐτερα ἰσχύς, εὐαισθησία, ἀρτιότης. δι’ αὑτὰ μὲν, ὅτι κατὰ φύσιν ἐστὶν: δι’ ἐτερα δὲ, ὅτι περιποιεῖ χρείας οὐκ ὀλίγας. ὦμοιως δ’ ἔχει καὶ τὸ ἀποπροηγμένον κατὰ τὸν ἐναντίον λόγον.

"Επὶ δὲ καθηκὸν φασιν εἶναι δ’ πραχθὲν εὐλογὸν [τε] ἵσχει ἀπολογουσμόν, ὅλον τὸ ἄκολουθον ἐν τῇ ἦμῃ, ὅπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ φυτὰ καὶ ἦμα διατείνει· ὁρᾶσθαι γὰρ κατὶ τούτων καθήκοντα.

Κατωνομάσθαι δ’ οὕτως ὑπὸ πρώτου Ζήνωνος τὸ καθήκον, ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τις ἦκειν τῆς προσονομασίας εἰλημμένης. ἑνέργημα δ’ αὑτὸ εἶναι

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*The reading πραχθὲν is now accepted in place of προαχθὲν. "Duty," it should be noted, is a very inadequate rendering of καθηκὸν, 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 δ πραχθὲν εὐλογὸν ἀπολογιὰν ἔχει; Sext. Emp. vii. 158.

The ordinary meaning of the verb καθηκεῖν is well seen in Hdt. vii. 22 ὁ γὰρ Ἀθως ἔστι βρος μέγα τε καὶ ὄνομαστὸν ἐσθάλασσαν καθηκὸν ("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 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 καθήκον of conduct. Etymologically it is derived from κατά τινας ἡκείν, i.e. reaching as far as, being up to, or incumbent on so and so. 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.
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ταῖς κατὰ φύσιν κατασκευαίς οίκειον. τῶν γὰρ καθ᾽ ὀρμήν ἑνεργουμένων τὰ μὲν καθήκοντα εἶναι, τὰ δὲ παρὰ τὸ καθήκον, τὰ δ᾽ οὕτε καθήκοντα οὕτε παρὰ τὸ καθήκον.

Καθήκοντα μὲν οὖν εἶναι ὁσα λόγος αἴρει ποιεῖν, ὥσ ἔχει τὸ γονεῖς τιμᾶν, ἀδελφοὺς, πατρίδα, συμπεριφέρεσθαι φίλοις· παρὰ τὸ καθήκον δὲ, ὁσα μὴ αἴρει λόγος, ὡσ ἔχει τὰ τοιαῦτα, γονεῶν ἁμελεῖν, ἀδελφῶν ἀφροντιστεῖν, φίλοις μὴ συνδιατίθεσθαι, πατρίδα ὑπερορᾶν καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια· οὔτε δὲ καθήκοντα οὔτε παρὰ τὸ καθήκον, ὁσα οὔθ' αἴρει λόγος πράττειν οὔτ' ἀπαγορεύει, ὁσον κάρφος ἀνελέσθαι, γραφεῖον κρατεῖν ἡ στλεγγίδα καὶ τὰ ὦμοια τούτοις.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν εἶναι καθήκοντα ἀνευ περιστάσεως, τὰ δὲ περιστατικά. καὶ ἀνευ μὲν περιστάσεως τάδε, ὑγιείας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ αἰοθητηρίων καὶ τὰ ὦμοια· κατὰ περίστασιν δὲ τὸ πηροῦν ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὴν κτῆσιν διαρριπτεῖν. ἀνὰ λόγον δὲ καὶ τῶν παρὰ τὸ καθήκον. ἔτι τῶν καθήκοντων τὰ μὲν ἰει καθήκει, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἰει. καὶ ἰει μὲν καθήκει τὸ κατ᾽ ἄρετὴν ἐνν, οὐκ ἰει δὲ τὸ ἐρωτάν καὶ ἀποκρίνεσθαι καὶ περιπτατεῖν καὶ τὰ ὦμοια. δ ὁ δ' αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ ἔτι τῶν παρὰ τὸ καθήκον. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς μέσοις τι καθήκον, ὡς τὸ πείθεσθαι τοὺς παῖδας τοῖς παιδαγωγοῖς.

 Phiαὶ δὲ τὴν ψυχήν εἶναι ὀκταμερή· μέρη γὰρ 214
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 διανοητικὸν, ὅπερ ἔστιν αὐτὴ ἢ διάνοια, καὶ τὸ γεννητικὸν. ἐκ δὲ τῶν ψευδῶν ἐπιγίνεσθαι τὴν διαστροφὴν ἐπὶ τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀφ᾿ ἦς πολλὰ πάθη βλαστάνειν καὶ ἀκαταστασίας αὐτία. ἔστι δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ πάθος κατὰ Ζήνωνα ἢ ἁλογος καὶ παρὰ φύσιν ψυχῆς κίνησις ἢ ὀρμὴ πλεονάζουσα.

Τῶν δὲ παθῶν τὰ ἀνωτάτω, καθαρκυψὸν 'Εκά
tων ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ παθῶν καὶ Ζήνων ἐν τῷ Περὶ παθῶν, εἶναι γένη τέτταρα, λύπην, φόβον, ἐπιθυμίαν, ἡδονήν. δοκεῖ δ’ αὐτοῖς τὰ πάθη κρίσεις εἶναι, καθαρκυψὸν Χρύσωπος ἐν τῷ Περὶ παθῶν· ἡ τε γὰρ φιλαργυρία ὑπόληψις ἐστὶ τοῦ τὸ ἀργύριον καλὸν εἶναι, καὶ ἡ μέθη δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀκολασία ὀμοίως καὶ τάλλα.

Καὶ τὴν μὲν λύπην εἶναι ουστολήν ἁλογον· εἶδη δ’ αὐτῆς ἐλεον, φθόνον, ξῆλον, κισαλτυπίαν, ἀχθος, ἐνόχλησιν, ἀνίαι, ὀδύνην, σύγχυσιν. ἔλεον μὲν οὖν εἶναι λύπην ὡς ἐπὶ ἀναξίως κακοπαθοῦντι, φθόνον· δὲ λύπην ἐπὶ ἀλλοτρίους ἀγαθοῖς, ξηλοῦν δὲ λύπην ἐπὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ παρεῖναι ὃν αὐτὸς ἐπιθυμεῖ, κισαλτυπίαν δὲ λύπην ἐπὶ τῷ καὶ ἄλλου παρεῖναι ἀ
καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχει, ἀχθος δὲ λύπην βαρύνουσαν, ἐνόχλησιν λύπην στενοχωροῦσαν καὶ δυσχωρίαν παρασκευάζουσαν, ἀνίαι λύπην ἐκ διαλογισμῶν μένουσαν ἢ ἐπιτευμομένην, ὀδύνην λύπην ἐπίπονον, σύγχυσιν λύπην ἁλογον, ἀποκναίουσαν καὶ κω
λύουσαν τὰ παρόντα συνοράν.
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.
'Ο δὲ φόβος ἐστὶ προσδοκία κακοῦ. εἰς δὲ τὸν
φόβον ἀνάγεται καὶ ταῦτα, δεῖμα, ὄκνος, αἰσχύνη,
ἐκπλήξεις, θόρυβος, ἀγωνία. δείμα μὲν ὦν ἔστι
φόβος δέος ἐμποιῶν, αἰσχύνη δὲ φόβος ἄδοξίας,
ὄκνος δὲ φόβος μελλούσης ἐνεργείας, ἐκπλήξεις δὲ
113 φόβος ἐκ φαντασίας ἀσυνήθους πράγματος, θόρυβος
dὲ φόβος μετὰ κατεπείξεως φωνῆς, ἀγωνία δὲ
φόβος ἀδήλου πράγματος.

Ἡ δ' ἐπιθυμία ἐστὶν ἄλογος ὀρέξις, ὥστ' ἢν
τάπτεται καὶ ταὐτά, σπάνις, μίσος, φιλονεικία,
ὄργη, ἔρως, μήν, θυμός. ἐστὶ δ' ἡ μὲν σπάνις
ἐπιθυμία τις ἐν ἀποτέυξει καὶ οἴδον κεχωρισμένη
ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος, τεταμένη δὲ διακειμένη ἐπ' αὐτὸ
καὶ σπώμενή: μίσος δ' ἐστὶν ἐπιθυμία τις τοῦ
κακῶς εἶναι τινι μετά προκοπῆς τινος καὶ παρα-
tάσεως: φιλονεικία δ' ἐπιθυμία τις περὶ αἰρέσεως·
ὄργη δ' ἐπιθυμία τιμωρίας τοῦ δοκοῦντος ἡδικη-
κέναι οὐ προσηκόντως: ἔρως δὲ ἐστὶν ἐπιθυμία τις
οὐχὶ περὶ σπουδαίους: ἐστὶ γὰρ ἐπιβολὴ φιλοποιίας
dιὰ κάλλος ἐμφαινόμενον. μήν δὲ ἐστὶν ὀργή τις
πεπαλαιωμένη καὶ ἐπίκοτος, ἐπιτηρητικὴ δὲ, ὅπερ
ἐμφαίνεται διὰ τῶνδε·

εἰ περ γάρ τε χόλον γε καὶ αὐτήμαρ καταπέψη,
ἀλλὰ τε καὶ μετόπισθεν ἔχει κότον, ὀφρα τελέση.

ὁ δὲ θυμός ἐστὶν ὀργή ἀρχομένη.

Ἡδονή δὲ ἐστὶν ἄλογος ἐπαρσίς ἐφ' αἰρετῷ
δοκοῦντι ὑπάρχειν, ὥστ' ἢν ταπτείς κήλησις,
ἐπιχαιρεκακία, τέρψις, διάχυσις. κήλησις μὲν οὖν
ἐστιν ἡδονή δ' ὦτων κατακηλοῦσα· ἐπιχαιρεκακία
dὲ ἡδονή ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίοις κακοῖς· τέρψις δὲ, οἷον

a II. 1. 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:

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
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τρέψεις, προτροπή τις ψυχῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνειμένον· διά‐
χυσις δ’ ἀνάλυσις ἀρετῆς.

115 Ὅς δὲ λέγεται τινα ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀρρωστή‐
ματα, οἶνον ποδάγρα καὶ ἀρθρίτιδες, οὕτω κατὶ τῆς
ψυχῆς φιλοδοξία καὶ φιληδονία καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια.
τὸ γὰρ ἀρρώστημα ἐστὶ νόσημα μετ’ ἀσθενείας,
τὸ δὲ νόσημα οἶηςις σφόδρα δοκοῦντος αἰρετοῦ.
καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος εὐεμπτωσία τινὲς λέγονται,
οἶνον κατάρρους καὶ διάρροια, οὕτω κατὶ τῆς ψυχῆς
eἰσων εὐκαταφορία, οἶνον φθονερία, ἐλεημοσύνη,
ἐρίδες καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια.

116 Εἶναι δὲ καὶ εὐπαθείας φασὶ τρεῖς, χαράν,
eυλάβειαν, βούλησιν. καὶ τὴν μὲν χαρὰν ἐναντίαν
[φασὶν] εἶναι τῇ ἡδονῇ, οὕτων εὐλογον ἑπαρσων·
tὴν δ’ ευλάβειαν τῷ φόβῳ, οὕτων εὐλογον ἑκκλισιν.
φοβηθήσεσθαι μὲν γὰρ τὸν σοφὸν οὐδαμῶς, εὐλαβη‐
θήσεσθαι δὲ. τῇ δ’ ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐναντίαν φασὶν εἰ‐
nαι τὴν βούλησιν, οὕτων εὐλογον ὀρέξιν. καθάπερ
οὖν ὑπὸ τὰ πρῶτα πάθη πίπτει τινὰ, τὸν αὐτὸν
τρόπον καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς πρῶτας εὐπαθείας· καὶ ὑπὸ
μὲν τὴν βούλησιν εὔνοιαν, εὐμένειαν, ἀσπασμον,
ἀγάπησιν· ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν εὐλάβειαν αἰδῶ, ἀγνεῖαν·
ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν χαρὰν τέρψιν, εὐφροσύνην, εὐθυμίαν.

117 Φασὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπαθῆ εἶναι τὸν σοφὸν, διὰ τὸ
ἀνέμπτωτον εἶναι· εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἀπαθῆ τὸν
φαύλον, ἐν ὦσι λεγόμενον τῷ σκληρῷ καὶ ἀτέγκτω.
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VII. 114-117. ZENO

is the mind's propulsion to weakness, its name in Greek (τερψίς) 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
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ἀτυφὸν τ’ εἶναι τὸν σοφὸν· ἵσως γὰρ ἔχειν πρὸς τε τὸ ἐνδοξὸν καὶ τὸ ἀδοξὸν. εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἀτυφὸν, κατὰ τὸν εἰκαίον πεταγμένον, ὃς ἐστὶ φαύλος. καὶ αὐστηροὺς δὲ φασι εἶναι πάντας τοὺς σπουδαίους, τῷ μὴ τ’ αὐτοὺς πρὸς ἡδονὴν ὁμιλεῖν μὴτε παρ’ ἄλλων τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν προσ-δέχεσθαι. καὶ ἄλλον δὲ εἶναι αὐστηρόν, παρα-πλησίως λεγόμενον τῷ αὐστηρῷ οὖν, ὃ πρὸς μὲν φαρμακοποιόννας χρώνται, πρὸς δὲ πρόποσιν οὐ πάνυ.

118 Ἀκιβδήλους τοὺς σπουδαίους φυλακτικοὺς τ’ εἶναι τοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον αὐτοὺς παριστάναι, διὰ παρασκευής τῆς τὰ φαύλα μὲν ἀποκρυπτούσης, τὰ δ’ ὑπάρχοντα ἀγαθὰ φαίνεσθαι ποιοῦσης. ἀπλάστους τε’ περιγρηκέναι γὰρ ἐν τῇ φωνῇ τὸ πλάσμα καὶ τῷ εἰδεῖ. ἀπράγμονάς τ’ εἶναι· ἐκκλίνειν γὰρ τὸ πράττειν τι παρὰ τὸ καθήκον. καὶ οἰνωθήσεσθαι μὲν, οὐ μεθυσθήσεσθαι δὲ. ἕτε δ’ οὖδὲ μανήσεσθαι· προσπεσείσθαι μέντοι ποτὲ αὐτῷ φαντασίας ἄλλοκότους διὰ μελαγχολίαν ἢ λήρησιν, οὐ κατὰ τὸν τῶν αἱρετῶν λόγον, ἀλλὰ παρὰ φύσιν. οὖδὲ μὴν λυπηθήσεσθαι τὸν σοφὸν, διὰ τὸ τὴν λύπην ἄλογον εἶναι συστολὴν τῆς ψυχῆς, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρός φησιν ἐν τῇ Ἡθικῇ.

119 Θείους τ’ εἶναι· ἔχειν γὰρ ἐν οἰονεῖ θεόν. τὸν δ’ φαύλον ἄθεον. διιττὸν δὲ εἶναι τὸν ἄθεον, τὸν τ’ ἐναντίως τῷ θείῳ λεγόμενον καὶ τὸν ἔξοι-θενητικὸν 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
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φαύλον. θεοσεβείς τε τούς σπουδαίους· ἐμπείρους γὰρ εἶναι τῶν περὶ θεοὺς νομίμων· εἶναι τε τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἐπιστήμην θεῶν θεραπείας. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ θύσειν αὐτοὺς θεοῖς ἀγνοῦσθαν θ’ υπάρχειν· ἐκ- νεύειν γὰρ τὰ περὶ θεοὺς ἀμαρτήματα. καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀγαθαίρεσθαν αὐτοὺς· ὅσιονς τε γὰρ εἶναι καὶ δικαίους πρὸς τὸ θεῖον. μόνους θ’ ἔρεας τοὺς σοφοὺς· ἐπεσκέφθαι γὰρ περὶ θυσίων, ἱδρύσεων, καθ- ἀρμῶν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρὸς θεοὺς οἰκείων.

120 Δοκεῖ δ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ γονέας σέβεσθαι καὶ ἀδελ- φοὺς ἐν δευτέρα μοῖρα μετὰ θεοὺς. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὰ τέκνα φιλοστοργίαν φυσικὴν εἶναι αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐν φαύλοις μὴ εἶναι· ἀρέσκει τ’ αὐτοῖς ἵσα ἥγεισθαι τὰ ἀμαρτήματα, καθά φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ τῶν Ἡθικῶν ξητημάτων καὶ Περ- σαῖος καὶ Ζήνων. εἰ γὰρ ἀληθὲς ἀληθοῦς μᾶλλον οὐκ ἔστων, οὐδὲ ψεῦδος ψεῦδους· οὔτως οὐδ’ ἀπάτη ἀπάτης, οὐδ’ ἀμάρτημα ἀμαρτήματος. καὶ γάρ ὁ ἐκατόν στάδιον ἀπέχων Κανώβου καὶ ὁ ἐνα ἐπίσης οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐν Κανώβῳ· οὔτω καὶ ὁ πλέον καὶ ὁ ἐλαττων ἀμαρτάνων ἐπίσης οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ κατορθοῦν. Ἡρακλείδης μέντοι ὁ Ταρσεύς, Ἀντι- πάτρου τοῦ Ταρσέως γυνώριμος, καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρος ἀνισά φασὶ τὰ ἀμαρτήματα.

121 Πολιτεύσεσθαι φάσι τὸν σοφὸν ἀν μὴ τι κωλύῃ, ὡς φησί Χρύσιππος ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ βίων· καὶ γὰρ κακίαν ἐφέξειν καὶ ἐπ’ ἀρετῆν παρομησεῖν.
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 polities, 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 φησίν ἐν Πολυτείᾳ, καὶ παιδοποιήσεσθαι. ἐτί τε μὴ δοξάσειν τὸν σοφὸν, τούτεστι ψεύδει μὴ συγκαταθήσεσθαι μήδεν. κυνεῖν τ' αὐτῶν· εἶναι γὰρ τὸν κυνισμὸν σύντομον ἐπ' ἀρετὴν ὄδόν, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῇ Ἡθικῇ. γεύσεσθαι τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων σαρκῶν κατὰ περίστασιν. μόνον τ' ἐλευθέρον, τοὺς δὲ φαύλους δοῦλους· εἶναι γὰρ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοπραγίας, τὴν δὲ δουλείαν στέρησιν αὐτοπραγίας· εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἄλλην δουλείαν τὴν ἐν ὑποτάξει καὶ τρίτην τὴν ἐν κτήσει τε καὶ ὑποτάξει, ἢ ἀντιτίθεται ἢ δεσποτεία, φαύλη οὐσα καὶ αὐτή· οὐ μόνον δ' ἐλευθέρους εἶναι τοὺς σοφούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλέας, τῆς βασιλείας οὐσίς ἀρχῆς ἀνυπευθύνου, ήτις περὶ μόνους ἄν τοὺς σοφοὺς συσταίνῃ, καθά φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ κυρίως κεχρήσθαι Ζήνωνα τοῖς ὀνόμασιν· ἐγνωκέναι γὰρ φησὶ δεῖν τὸν ἀρχοντα περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν, μηδένα δὲ τῶν φαύλων ἐπίστασθαι ταῦτα. ὅμως δὲ καὶ ἀρχικοὺς δικαστικοὺς τε καὶ ῥήτορικοὺς μόνους εἶναι, τῶν δὲ φαύλων οὐδένα. ἔτι καὶ ἀναμαρτήτους, τῷ ἄπερπτῶτοις εἶναι ἀμαρτήματι. ἀβλαβεῖς τ' εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλους βλάπτειν οὐθ' αὐτοὺς. ἐλεημονᾶς τε μὴ εἶναι συγγνώμην τ' ἔχειν μηδενί· μὴ γὰρ παρίεναι τὰς ἐκ τοῦ νόμου ἑπιβαλλούσας κολάσεις, ἔπει τὸ γ' εἰκεν καὶ ὁ ἔλεος αὐτὴ θ' ἢ ἐπιείκεια οὐδένεια· ἐστι ψυχῆς πρὸς κολάσεις προσποιομενής χρηστότητα· μηδ' οἴεσθαι σκληροτέρας αὐτάς εἶναι. ἔτι τε τῶν σοφῶν οὐδέν 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 υδάτων καὶ πυρὸς ἀναφυσῆματα. ἄλλα μὴν οὖν ἐν ἐρημίᾳ, φασί, βιώσεται ὁ σπουδαῖος κοινωνικὸς γὰρ φύσει καὶ πρακτικὸς. τὴν μέντοι ἁσκησιν ἀποδέξεται υπὲρ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ὑπομονῆς.

124 Εὐδεταὶ τε, φασίν, ὁ σοφός, αὐτούμενος τὰ ἀγαθὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν, καθὰ φησὶν Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ Περὶ καθηκόντων καὶ Ἐκάτων ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ παραδόξων. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τὴν φιλίαν ἐν μόνοις τοῖς σπουδαίοις εἶναι, διὰ τὴν ὀμοιότητα· φασὶ δ' αὐτὴν κοινωνίαν τινὰ εἶναι τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον, χρωμένων ἡμῶν τοῖς φίλοις ως ἐαυτοῖς. δι' αὐτῶν θ' αἴρετον τὸν φίλον ἀποφαίνοντα καὶ τὴν πολυφιλίαν ἀγαθὸν. ἐν τε τοῖς φαύλοις μὴ εἶναι φιλίαν μηδενὶ τε τῶν φαύλων φίλον εἶναι. πάντας δ' τοὺς ἀφρονας μαίνεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ φρονίμους εἶναι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν ἴσην τῇ ἀφροσύνῃ μαίναν πάντα πράττειν.

125 Πάντα τ' εὖ ποιεῖν τὸν σοφόν, ώς καὶ πάντα φαμέν τὰ αὐλημάτα εὖ αὐλεῖν τὸν Ἰσμηνίαν. καὶ τῶν σοφῶν δὲ πάντα εἶναι· δεδωκέναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς παντελῆ ἐξουσίαν τῶν νόμων. τῶν δὲ φαύλων εἶναι τινὰ λέγεται, δὲν τρόπον καὶ τῶν ἀδίκων, ἀλλως μὲν τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλως δὲ τῶν χρωμένων φαμέν.

Τὰς δ' ἁρετὰς λέγουσιν ἀντακολουθεῖν ἅλληλας καὶ τὸν μίν ἕχοντα πάσας ἕχειν· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτῶν

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a Regarded as passages down to the underworld; cf. Virg. Aen. vi. 240 seq., 299.
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things which appear extraordinary, such as Charon's mephitic caverns, 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 Posidónius 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,
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τὰ θεωρήματα κοινά, καθάπερ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ ἀρετῶν φησιν, Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ ἐν τῇ Φυσικῇ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν, Ἐκάτων δὲ ἐν τῷ 126 τρίτῳ Περὶ ἀρετῶν. τὸν γὰρ ἐνάρετον θεωρητικόν τ’ εἶναι καὶ πρακτικὸν τῶν ποιητῶν. τὰ δὲ ποιητέα καὶ αἱρετέα ἐστὶ καὶ ύπομενητέα καὶ ἐμμενητέα καὶ ἀπονεμητέα, ὡστ’ εἰ τὰ μὲν αἱρετικῶς ποιεῖ, τὰ δ’ ύπομενητικῶς, τὰ δ’ ἀπονεμητικῶς, τὰ δ’ ἐμμενητικῶς, φρόνιμος τ’ ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνδρείος καὶ δίκαιος καὶ σωφρών. κεφαλαιοῦσθαι θ’ ἐκάστην τῶν ἀρετῶν περὶ τι ἕδιον κεφάλαιον, οἷον τὴν ἀνδρείαν περὶ τὰ ύπομενητέα, τὴν φρόνησιν περὶ τὰ ποιητέα καὶ μὴ καὶ οὐδέτερα ὁμοίως τε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας περὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα τρέπεσθαι. ἔπονται δὲ τῇ μὲν φρονήσει εὐβουλία καὶ σύνεσις, τῇ δὲ σωφροσύνη εὔταξία καὶ κοσμότης, τῇ δὲ δικαιοσύνη ἰσότης καὶ εὐγνωμοσύνη, τῇ δὲ ἀνδρεία ἀπαραλλαξία καὶ εὐτονία.

127 Αρέσκει δ’ αὐτοῖς μηδὲν μεταξὺ εἰναι ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας, τῶν Περιπατητικῶν μεταξὺ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας εἶναι λεγόντων τὴν προκοπῆν. ὡς γὰρ δεῖν φασιν ἡ ὀρθῶν εἰναι ξύλον ἡ στρεβλών, οὔτως ἡ δίκαιων ἡ ἀδικον, οὔτε δὲ δικαιότερον οὔτ’ ἀδικώτερον, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίως. καὶ μὴν τὴν ἀρετὴν Χρύσιππος μὲν ἀποβλητὴν, Κλεάνθης δὲ ἀναποβλητὸν· δ’ μὲν ἀποβλητὴν διὰ μέθῃν 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;
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μελαγχολιαν, ὁ δ’ ἀναπόβλητον διὰ βεβαιών καταλήψεις· καὶ αὐτὴν δι’ ἄναρτην αἱρετὴν εἶναι. ἀισχυνόμεθα γοῦν ἐφ’ οἷς κακῶς πράττομεν, ὡς ἄν μόνον τὸ καλὸν εἰδότες ἀγαθὸν. αὐτάρκης τ’ εἶναι αὐτῆς πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν, καθά φησι Ζήνων καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ Περὶ ἀρετῶν καὶ Ἐκάτων ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ ἁγαθῶν. “εἰ γάρ,” φησίν, “αὐτάρκης ἔστιν ἡ μεγαλοψυχία πρὸς τὸ πάντων ὑπεράνω ποιεῖν, ἐστὶ δὲ μέρος τῆς ἀρετῆς, αὐτάρκης ἔσται καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν καταφρονοῦσα καὶ τῶν δοκοῦντων χιληρών.” ὁ μέντοι Παναίτιος καὶ Ποσειδώνιος οὐκ αὐτάρκη λέγουσι τὴν ἀρετήν, ἀλλὰ χρείαν εἶναι φασὶ καὶ ὑγιείας καὶ χορηγίας καὶ ἰσχύος.

„Ἀρέσκει δ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ διὰ πάντος χρῆσθαι τῇ ἀρετῇ, ὅσοι ἡ περὶ Κλεάνθην φασίν· ἀναπόβλητος γὰρ ἔστι καὶ πάντοτε τῇ ψυχῇ χρῆται οὕσε ὑπερέως 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.

δοκεῖ δ’ αὐτοῖς μηδὲ διὰ τὴν διαφωνίαν ἀφίστασθαι φιλοσοφίας, ἐπεὶ τῷ λόγῳ τοῦτῳ προλεῖθειν ὁλον τὸν βίον, ὡς καὶ Ποσειδώνιος φησιν ἐν τοῖς Προτρεπτικοῖς. εὐχρηστεῖν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐγκύκλια μαθήματα φησιν ὁ Χρύσιππος.

„Ἐτι ἄρεσκει αὐτοῖς μηδὲν εἶναι ἦμῖν δίκαιον πρὸς τὰ ἀλλα ζώα, διὰ τὴν ἀνομοιότητα, καθά φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ Περὶ δικαίωσύνης.
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 πρῶτῳ Περὶ καθήκοντος. καὶ ἐρασθήσεσθαι δὲ τὸν σοφὸν τῶν νέων τῶν ἐμφανόντων διὰ τοῦ εἴδους τῆς πρὸς ἀρετὴν εὐφύιαν, ὡς φησὶ Ζήνων ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ Περὶ βίων καὶ 'Απολλόδωρος ἐν τῇ Ἡθικῇ.

130 Εἶναι δὲ τὸν ἐρωτα ἐπιβολὴν φιλοσοφίας διὰ κάλλος ἐμφανόμενον· καὶ μὴ εἶναι συνουσίας, ἀλλὰ φιλίας. τὸν γοὺν Θρασυνίδην καίπερ ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ ἔχοντα τὴν ἐρωμένην, διὰ τὸ μυσεῖσθαι ἀπέχεσθαι αὐτῆς. εἶναι οὖν τὸν ἐρωτα φιλίας, ὡς καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἐρωτοῦ φησι· καὶ μὴ εἶναι θεόσεμπτον αὐτόν. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὴν ὅραν ἄνθος ἀρετῆς.

Βίων δὲ τριῶν ὄντων, θεωρητικοῦ καὶ πρακτικοῦ καὶ λογικοῦ, τὸν τρίτον φασὶν αἱρετέον· γεγονέναι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐπίτηδες τὸ λογικὸν ᾿ζῶν πρὸς θεωρίαν καὶ πράξιν. εὐλόγως τε φασίν ἐξάξειν ἐαυτὸν τοῦ βίου τὸν σοφὸν, καὶ ύπὲρ πατρίδος καὶ ύπὲρ φιλῶν, κἂν ἐν σκληροτέρᾳ γένηται ἀλγηδονῇ ἡ πηρώσεως ἡ νόσοις ἀνιάτοις.

131 ΄Αρέσκει δ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ κοινὰς εἶναι τὰς γνωμαίας δεῖν παρὰ τοῖς σοφοῖς, ὡστε τὸν ἐντυχόντα τῇ ἐντυχούσῃ χρῆσθαι, καθά φησι Ζήνων ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ πολιτείας, [ἀλλ’ ἐτὶ Διογένης δ’ κυνικὸς καὶ Πλάτων]. πάντας τε παιδᾶς ἐπίσης στέρξομεν πατέρων τρόπον καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ μοιχεία ζηλοτυπία περι- αἱρεθήσεται. 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].

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
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ἐκ τε δημοκρατίας καὶ βασιλείας καὶ ἀριστοκρατίας.

Καὶ ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἡθικοῖς δόγμασι τουαῦτα λέγουσι καὶ τούτων πλείω μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἀποδείξεων· ταῦτα δ’ ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίοις ἦμῖν λελέχθω καὶ στοιχειωδῶς.

132 Τὸν δὲ φυσικὸν λόγον διαιροῦσιν εἰς τοῦ περὶ σωμάτων τόπον καὶ περὶ ἄρχων καὶ στοιχείων καὶ θεῶν καὶ περάτων καὶ τόπου καὶ κενοῦ. καὶ οὕτω μὲν εἰδικῶς, γενικῶς δ’ εἰς τρεῖς τόπους, τὸν τε περὶ κόσμου καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν στοιχείων καὶ τρίτον τὸν αἰτιολογικόν.

Τὸν δὲ περὶ τοῦ κόσμου διαιρεῖσθαι φασιν εἰς δύο μέρη. μιᾷ γὰρ σκέψις ἐπικοινωνεῖν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων, καθ’ ἢν ζητοῦσι περὶ τε τῶν ἀπλανῶν καὶ τῶν πλανωμένων, οἶδον εἰ ὁ ἡλιός ἐστι τῆλικοῦτος ἡλίκος φαίνεται, καὶ ὄμοιώς εἰ ἡ σελήνη, καὶ περὶ δινήσεως καὶ τῶν ὀμοίων τούτων ζητημάτων. ἔτεραν δ’ αὐτοῦ σκέψιν εἶναι ἦτις μόνοις τοῖς φυσικοῖς ἐπιβάλλει, καθ’ ἢν ζητεῖται ἡ τ’ οὐσία αὐτοῦ [καὶ εἰ ὁ ἡλιός καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες ἐξ ὑλῆς καὶ εἴδους] καὶ εἰ γεννητός ἡ ἄγεννης καὶ εἰ ἐμφύσχος ἡ ἄψυχος καὶ εἰ φθαρτός ἡ ἄφθαρτος καὶ εἰ προνοία διοικεῖται καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν. τὸν τ’ αἰτιολογικὸν εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸν διμερῆ. μιᾷ δ’ αὐτοῦ ἐπισκέψει ἐπικοινωνεῖ τὴν τῶν ἰατρῶν ζήτησιν, καθ’ ἢν ζητοῦσι περὶ τε τοῦ ἣγεμονικοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν ψυχῇ γινομένων.

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α αὐτοῦ = τοῦ κόσμου.
VII. 131-133. ZENO

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 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 τούτων ὁμοίων· τοῦ δ' ἐπέρου καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, οἶνον πῶς ὅρωμεν, τίς ἡ αἰτία τῆς κατοπτρικῆς φαντασίας, ὡπως νέφη συνίσταται, βρονταί καὶ ἵριδες καὶ ἄλως καὶ κομῆται καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια.

134 Δοκεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς ἄρχας εἶναι τῶν ὄλων δύο, τὸ ποιοῦν καὶ τὸ πάσχον. τὸ μὲν οὖν πάσχον εἶναι τήν ἀποιοῦσαν τῆν ὑλήν, τὸ δὲ ποιοῦν τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ λόγον τὸν θεόν· τούτον γὰρ άίδιον ὄντα διὰ πάσης αὐτῆς δημιουργείν ἐκαστα. τίθησι δὲ τὸ δόγμα τούτο Ζήνων μὲν ὁ Κυτιεὺς ἐν τῷ Περὶ οὐσίας, Κλεάνθης δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν ἀτόμων, Χρώσιππος δ' ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Φυσικῶν πρὸς τῷ τέλει, Ἀρχέδήμος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ στοιχείων καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τοῦ Φυσικοῦ λόγου. διαφέρειν δὲ φασιν ἄρχας καὶ στοιχεία· τὰς μὲν γὰρ εἶναι ἀγενήτους <καὶ> ἀφθάρτους, τὰ δὲ στοιχεία κατὰ τὴν ἐκκύρωσιν φθείρεσθαι. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀσωμάτους¹ εἶναι τὰς ἄρχας καὶ ἀμόρφους, τὰ δὲ μεμορφώσθαι.

135 Σῶμα δ' ἐστίν, ὡς φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῇ Φυσικῇ, τὸ τρίχῃ διαστάτων, εἰς μῆκος, εἰς πλάτος, εἰς βάθος· τούτῳ δὲ καὶ στερεὸν σῶμα καλεῖται. ἐπιφάνεια δ' ἐστὶ σώματος πέρας ἡ τὸ μῆκος καὶ πλάτος μόνον ἔχου, βάθος δ' οὖ· ταύτῃν δὲ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ μετεώρων καὶ κατ' ἐπίνοιαν καὶ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἀπολείπει. γραμμὴ δ' ἐστὶν ἐπιφανείας πέρας ἡ μῆκος ἀπλατεῖς ἡ τὸ μῆκος μόνον ἔχου. στιγμὴ δ' ἐστὶ γραμμῆς πέρας, ἤτις ἐστὶ σημείον ἑλάχιστον.

¹ ἀσωμάτους Suid. (s.r. ἄρχη): 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.
"Ἐν τῷ ἔ ζναι θεον καὶ νοῦν καὶ εἰμαρμένην καὶ Δίᾳ: πολλάς τ᾽ ἐτέρας ὀνομασίας προσονομάζεσθαι. 1 καὶ ἀρχαῖα μὲν ὁν καθ᾽ αὐτὸν ὄντα τρέπειν τὴν πάσαν οὐσίαν δι᾽ ἀέρος εἰς ὕδωρ· καὶ ὕστερ ἐν τῇ γονῇ τὸ σπέρμα περιέχεται, οὕτω καὶ τούτου σπερματικὸν λόγον ὄντα τοῦ κόσμου, τοιῶν ὑπολείπεσθαι ἐν τῷ ὕγρῳ, εὐφρονὸν αὐτῶ ποιοῦντα τὴν ὕλην πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἔξης γένεσιν· εἰτ᾽ ἀπογεννών πρῶτον τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα, πῦρ, ὕδωρ, ἀέρα, γῆν. λέγει δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν Ζήνων τ᾽ ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ ὠλοῦ καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Φυσικῶν καὶ Ἀρχέδωμος ἐν τῷ Περὶ στοιχείων. ἐστὶ δὲ στοιχείων ἐς οὗ πρῶτον γίνεται τὰ γνώμενα καὶ εἰς ὃ ἐςχατον ἀναλύεται. τὰ δὴ τέταρτα στοιχεῖα εἶναι ὁμοῦ τὴν ἀποιον οὐσίαν τὴν ὕλην· εἶναι δὲ τὸ μὲν πῦρ τοῦ θερμοῦ, τὸ δ᾽ ὕδωρ τὸ ὕγρον, τὸν τ᾽ ἀέρα τὸ ψυχρὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν τὸ ἕρημ. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐτὶ ἐν τῷ ἀέρι εἶναι τὸ αὐτὸ μέρος. ἀνωτέρως μὲν οὖν εἶναι τὸ πῦρ, δὴ αὐθέρα καλεῖσθαι, ἐν τῷ πρῶτῃ τῆς τῶν ἀπλανῶν σφαίραν γεννᾶσθαι, εἰτα τῇ ἐλαιᾷ πλανωμένῳ· μεθ᾽ ὧν τὸν ἀέρα, εἰτα τὸ ὕδωρ, ὑποστάθμην δὲ πάντων τὴν γῆν, μέσην ἀπάντων ὀδον. Λέγουσι δὲ κόσμου τριχῶς· αὐτὸν τε τὸν θεοῦ τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀπάσης οὐσίας ἰδίως ποιοῦν, ὅσ δὴ ἀφθαρτὸς ἐστι καὶ ἀγένητος, δημούργως ὃν τῆς διακοσμήσεως, κατὰ χρόνων ποιῶς περιόδους ἀναλίσκων εἰς ἐαυτοῦ τὴν ἀπασαν οὐσίαν καὶ πάλιν ἐς ἐαυτοῦ γεννῶν. καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ τῆς διακοσμήσεως

1 Text B: πολλαῖς τε ἐτέραις ὀνομασίαις vulg.

a "The same part" (τὸ αὐτὸ μέρος) may refer to the quality of dryness last mentioned.

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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. 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...
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tων ἀστέρων κόσμον εἶναι λέγουσιν καὶ τρίτον τὸ συνεστηκός ἐξ ἄμφοτερ. καὶ ἔστι κόσμος ὁ ἰδίως ποιὸς τῆς τῶν ὅλων οὐσίας ἦ, ὥς φησι Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῇ Μετεωρολογικῇ στοιχειώσει, σύστημα ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις φύσεων ἡ σύστημα ἐκ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἔνεκα τούτων γεγονότων. οὐρανὸς δὲ ἔστιν ἡ ἔσχάτη περιφέρεια ἐν ἥ πάν ἰδρυται 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 ἀπαν αὐτοῦ μέρος δηκοντος τοῦ νοοῦ, καθάπερ ἐφ’ ἡμῶν τῆς ψυχῆς· ἀλλ’ ἡδὴ δι’ ὅν μὲν μᾶλλον, δι’ ὅν δὲ ἔστο. δι’ ὅν μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἐξις κεχωρηκεν, ως διὰ τῶν ὀστῶν καὶ τῶν νεῦρων· δι’ ὅν δὲ ὡς νοῦς, ως διὰ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ. οὔτω δὴ καὶ τὸν ὅλον κόσμον ξώον ὄντα καὶ ἐμψυχον καὶ λογικόν, ἐχειν ἡγεμονικὸν μὲν τὸν αἰθέρα, καθά φησιν Ἀντίπατρος ὁ Τύριος ἐν τῷ ὄγδῳ Περὶ κόσμου.

Χρύσιππος δ’ ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ Περὶ προνοίας καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ θεῶν τὸν οὐρανὸν φασι τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν τοῦ κόσμου, Κλεάνθης δὲ τὸν ἦλιον. ὁ μὲντοι Χρύσιππος διαφορώτερον πάλιν τὸ καθαρώτερον τοῦ αἰθέρος ἐν ταύτι, δ’ καὶ πρῶτον θεῶν λέγουσιν αἰσθητικῶς ὡσπερ κεχωρηκέναι

a " World " is normally the best rendering of κόσμος. " Universe," which some prefer, better suits τὸ ὅλον.

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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 pre-eminently 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 ξῶν ἀπάντων καὶ φυτῶν· διὰ δὲ τῆς γῆς αὐτῆς καθ’ ἐξω.

"Ενα τῶν κόσμων εἶναι καὶ τοῦτον πεπερασμένον, σχῆμα ἔχοντα σφαιροειδές· πρὸς γὰρ τὴν κίνησιν ἀρμοδιώτατον τὸ τοιοῦτον, καθά φησι Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τοῦ Φυσικοῦ λόγου καὶ οἱ περὶ Ἀντίπατρον ἐν τοῖς περὶ κόσμῳ. ἐξωθεὶ δ’ αὐτοῦ περικεχυμένον εἶναι τὸ κενὸν ἀπειρον, ὅπερ ἀσώματον εἶναι· ἀσώματον δὲ τὸ οἶον τε κατέχεσθαι ὑπὸ σωμάτων οὐ κατεχόμενον· ἐν δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ μηδὲν εἶναι κενόν, ἀλλ’ ἧμωθαι αὐτῶν· τοῦτο γὰρ ἀναγκάζει τὴν τῶν οὐρανίων πρὸς τὰ ἐπίγεια σύμπνοιαν καὶ συντονίαν. φησι 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 ἄσωματα ὁμοίως.

"Ετι δὲ καὶ τὸν χρόνον ἀσώματον, διάστημα δοντα τῆς τοῦ κόσμου κινήσεως. τούτῳ δὲ τὸν μὲν παρωχηκότα καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα ἀπείρους, τῶν δ’ ἐνεστώτα πεπερασμένον. ἀρέσκει δ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ φθαρτόν εἶναι τὸν κόσμον, ἀπε γενητὸν τὸ λόγῳ τῶν δι’ αἰωθήσεως νοομένων, οὐ τε τὰ μέρη φθαρτά ἐστι, καὶ τὸ ὅλον· τὰ δὲ μέρη τοῦ κόσμου φθαρτά· εἰς ἀλληλα γὰρ μεταβάλλει· φθαρτός ἂρα ὁ κόσμος. καὶ εἰ τι ἐπιδεικτικοῦν ἐστὶ τῆς ἔπι τὸ χεῖρον μεταβολῆς, φθαρτόν ἐστι· καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἂρα· ἐξανυμοῦται γὰρ καὶ ἐξουδατοῦται.

a The reading ἄσώματα 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 ὅμοιος, introducing § 141.
142 Τίνεσθαι δὲ τὸν κόσμον ὅταν ἐκ πυρὸς ἢ οὐσία τραπῇ δὴ ἄρεσ εἰς υγρότητα, εἶτα τὸ παχύμερῆς αὐτοῦ συνταν ἀποτελεσθῇ γῆ, τὸ δὲ λεπτομερῆς ἐξαερωθῇ, καὶ τοὺτ' ἐπὶ πλέον λεπτυνθὲν πῦρ ἀπογεννήσῃ. εἶτα κατὰ μίξιν ἐκ τούτων φυτά τε καὶ ζώα 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' ἀφθαρτον ἀπεφήματο τὸν κόσμον.

"Οτι δὲ καὶ ζῷον ὁ κόσμος καὶ λογικόν καὶ ἐμψυχον καὶ νοερὸν καὶ Χρύσιππός φησιν ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ προνοίας καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος [φησίν]

143 ἐν τῇ Φυσικῇ καὶ Ποσειδώνιος: ζῷον μὲν οὔτως ὄντα, οὐσίαν ἐμψυχον αἰσθητικήν. τὸ γὰρ ζῷον τοῦ μὴ ζῷου κρείττον: οὐδὲν δὲ τοῦ κόσμου κρείττον: ζῷον ἄρ' ὁ κόσμος. ἐμψυχὸν δὲ, ὡς δὴ λοιπὸν ἐκ τῆς ἁμετέρας ψυχῆς ἐκείθεν οὐσία ἀποσπάσματος. Βόθθος δὲ φησίν οὐκ εἶναι ζῷον τὸν κόσμον. ὅτι θ' εἷς ἔστι Ζήνων φησίν ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ ὅλου καὶ Χρύσιππος καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῇ Φυσικῇ καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν πρώτῳ τοῦ Φυσικοῦ λόγου. τὸ δὲ πᾶν λέγεται, ὡς φησίν Ἀπολλόδωρος, ὃ τε κόσμος καὶ καθ' ἐτερον τρόπον τὸ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ ἐξωθεὶν κενοῦ σύστημα. ὃ μὲν οὖν κόσμος πεπερασμένος ἔστι, τὸ δὲ κενὸν ἀπειρον.
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.
Τῶν δ' ἄστρων τὰ μὲν ἀπλανὴ συμπεριφέρεσθαι τῷ ὅλῳ οὐρανῷ, τὰ δὲ πλανώμενα κατ' ἱδίας κινεῖσθαι κινήσεις. τὸν δ' ἦλιον λοξὴν τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι διὰ τοῦ ἐκδιακοῦ κύκλου· ὥμοιος καὶ τὴν σελήνην ἐλικοείδη. εἶναι δὲ τὸν μὲν ἦλιον εἰλικρινές πῦρ, καθά φησὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ ἐβδόμῳ Περὶ μετεώρων· καὶ μεῖζόνα τῆς γῆς, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ ἐκτῷ τοῦ Φυσικοῦ λόγου· ἀλλὰ καὶ σφαίροειδή, ὡς οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν τούτον φασιν, ἀναλόγως τῷ κόσμῳ. πῦρ μὲν οὖν εἶναι, ὅτι τὰ πυρὸς πάντα ποιεῖ· μεῖζῳ δὲ τῆς γῆς τῷ πᾶσαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φωτίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν οὐρανόν. καὶ τὸ τὴν γῆν δὲ κωνοειδή σκιὰν ἀποτελεῖν τὸ μεῖζόνα εἶναι σημαίνει· πάντοθεν δὲ βλέπεσθαι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος.

Γεωδεστέραν δὲ τὴν σελήνην, ἀτε καὶ προσγειοτέραν οὐσαν. τρέφεσθαι δὲ τὰ ἐμπυρα ταῦτα καὶ τὰ ἀλλὰ ἁστρα, τὸν μὲν ἦλιον ἐκ τῆς μεγάλης θαλάττης νεφρόν ὄντα ἀναμμα· τὴν δὲ σελήνην ἐκ ποτίμων ὢδάτων, ἀερομυγῇ τυγχάνουσαν καὶ πρόσγειον οὐσαν, ὡς ὁ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ ἐκτῷ τοῦ Φυσικοῦ λόγου· τὰ δ' ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς. δοκεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς σφαίροειδῆ εἶναι καὶ τὰ ἁστρα καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀκινήτου οὐσαν. τὴν δὲ σελήνην οὐκ ἤδιον ἐχειν φῶς, ἀλλὰ παρ' ἦλιον λαμβάνει ἐπιλαμπτομένην.

'Εκλείπειν δὲ τῶν μὲν ἦλιον ἐπιπροσθούσης αὐτῷ σελήνης κατὰ τὸ πρὸς ἦμᾶς μέρος, ὡς Ζήνων ἀναγράφει ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ ὦλου. 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 earthly 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
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αὐτὸν καὶ πάλιν παραλλάττουσα· γνωρίζεται δὲ τούτο διὰ λεκάνης ὤδωρ ἔχουσης. τὴν δὲ σελήνην ἐμπίπτουσαν εἰς τὸ τῆς γῆς σκίασμα· ὅθεν καὶ ταῖς πανσελήνους ἐκλείπειν μόναις, καίπερ κατὰ διάμετρον ἰσταμένην κατὰ μήνα τῷ ἡλίῳ, ὦτι κατὰ λοξοῦ ὦς πρὸς τὸν ἡλίον κινομένη παρ- αλλάττει τῷ πλάτει, ἢ βορειότέρα ἢ νοτιωτέρα γυνομένη. ὅταν μέντοι τὸ πλάτος αὐτῆς κατὰ τὸν ἡλιακὸν καὶ τὸν διὰ μέσων γένηται, εἶτα δια- μετρήσῃ τὸν ἡλίον, τότε ἐκλείπει· γίνεται δὲ τὸ πλάτος αὐτῆς κατὰ τὸν διὰ μέσων ἐν χθλαίς καὶ σκορπίως καὶ κριῶ καὶ ταύρῳ, ὡς οἱ περὶ τὸν Πο- σειδώνιον.

147 Θεοῦ δὲ εἶναι ζῷον ἀθάνατον, λογικόν, τέλειον ἢ νοερὸν ἐν εὐδαμονίᾳ, κακοῦ παντὸς ἀνεπίδεκτον, προνοητικόν κόσμον τε καὶ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ μὴ εἶναι μέντοι ἀνθρωπόμορφον. εἶναι δὲ τὸν μὲν δημοφιλῆν τῶν ὀλίγων καὶ ὅσπερ πατέρα πάντων κοινῶς τε καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ τὸ διηκονὶ διὰ πάντων, ὃ πολλὰς προσηγορίας προσονομάζεσθαι κατὰ τὰς δυνάμεις. Διὰ μὲν γὰρ φασὶ διὸ ὅτα πάντα, Ζῆνα δὲ καλοῦσι παρὶ ὅσον τὸν θανάτος ἐστὶν ἢ διὰ τοῦ θανάτου κεχώρησθεν, Ἄθηνὰν δὲ κατὰ τὴν εἰς αἰθέρα διάτασιν τοῦ ἥγεμονικοῦ αὐτοῦ, Ἡρακλῆς δὲ κατὰ τὴν εἰς ἀέρα, καὶ Ἡπαποτοὺς κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ τεχνικὸν πῦρ, καὶ Ποσειδώνα κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ υγρόν, καὶ Δήμητραν κατὰ τὴν εἰς γῆν· οὕτως 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, 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 Diá (Δία) because all things are due to (δία) him; Zeus (Ζέας) in so far as he is the cause of life (ζεύς) 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

\[ i.e. \] the moon's latitude relatively to the zodiac is nil.
καὶ τὰς ἄλλας προσηγορίας ἔχομενοι τῶν οἴκειο- 
τητος ἀπέδοσαν.

148 Οὐσίαν δὲ θεοῦ Ζήνων μὲν φησι τὸν ὄλον κόσμον 
καὶ τὸν οὐρανόν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ 
πρῶτῳ Περὶ θεῶν καὶ Ποσειδώνος ἐν πρῶτῳ Περὶ 
θεῶν. καὶ Ἀντίπατρος ἐν ἐβδόμῳ Περὶ κόσμον ἀεροειδῆ 
φησιν αὐτοῦ τὴν οὐσίαν. Βόθθος δὲ ἐν τῇ Περὶ 
φύσεως οὐσίαν θεοῦ τῆς τῶν ἀπλανῶν 
σφαίραν. φύσιν δὲ ποτὲ μὲν ἀποφαίνονται τῇ 
συνέχουσαν τὸν κόσμον, ποτὲ δὲ τὴν φύσιν τὰ 
ἐπὶ γῆς. ἔστι δὲ φύσις ἐξ ἐξ ἐξ αὐτῆς κινουμένη 
κατὰ σπερματικοὺς λόγους ἀποτελοῦσα τε καὶ 
συνέχουσα τὰ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐν ὀρισμένοις χρόνοις καὶ 
τοιαύτα δρώσα ἀφ’ οἷων ἀπεκρίθη. ταύτην δὲ καὶ 
τοῦ συμφέροντος στοχάζονται καὶ ἡδονής, ὡς 
δήλων ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δημιουργίας. καὶ ἐιμαρμένην δὲ φασί τὰ πάντα γίγνεσθαι Χρύσιππος 
ἐν τοῖς Περὶ εἰμαρμένης καὶ Ποσειδώνος ἐν δευτέρω 
Περὶ εἰμαρμένης καὶ Ζήνων, Βόθθος δ’ ἐν τῷ 
πρῶτῳ Περὶ εἰμαρμένης. ἔστι δ’ εἰμαρμένη αὐτί 
τῶν ὄντων εἰρομένη ἢ λόγος καθ’ ὅν ὁ κόσμος 
διεξάγεται. καὶ μὴν καὶ μαντικὴν υφεστάναι πᾶσάν 
φασιν, εἴ καὶ πρόνοιαν εἶναι καὶ αὐτῆς καὶ τέχνην 
ἀποφαίνουσι διὰ τινας ἐκβάσεις, ὡς φησὶ Ζήνων τῇ 
καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ μαντικῆς καὶ 
Ἀθηνόδωρος καὶ Ποσειδώνος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τοῦ 
Φυσικοῦ λόγου καὶ ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ Περὶ μαντικῆς. 
ὁ μὲν γὰρ Παναίτιος ἀνυπόστατον αὐτῆς φησιν.

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a Or perhaps “seem intended to assimilate all development and evolution to the growth, whether of plants or animals, from seed.”

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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.
Ovιςιαν δὲ φασὶ τῶν ὄντων ἀπάντων τῇ πρῶτῃ ὕλῃ, ὡς καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῇ πρῶτῃ τῶν Φυσικῶν καὶ Ζήνων. ὕλη δὲ ἐστὶν ἐξ ἃς ὀστίδηπτοτοῦ γίνεται. καλεῖται δὲ διχώς, οὐσία τε καὶ ὑλή, ἢ τε τῶν πάντων καὶ ἢ τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους. ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν ὦλων οὔτε πλείων οὔτε ἐλάττων γίνεται, ἡ δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους καὶ πλείων καὶ ἐλάττων. σῶμα δὲ ἐστὶ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἡ οὐσία καὶ πεπερασμένη, καθά φησιν Ἀντίπατρος ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ οὐσίας καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῇ Φυσικῇ. καὶ παθητὴ δὲ ἐστὶν, ὡς ὁ αὐτός φησιν· εἰ γὰρ ἤν ἄτρεπτος, οὐκ ἄν τὰ γινόμενα ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐγίνετο· ἐνθεν κάκειν ὡς ἢ τε τομὴ εἰς ἀπειρὸν ἐστὶν. (ἡν ἄπειρον ἡ οὐκ ἔντειρον) φησιν ὁ Χρύσιππος· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ τι ἄπειρον, εἰς ὃ γίνεται ἡ τομὴ. ἀλλ' ἀκατάληκτος ἐστὶ.

Καὶ τὰς κράσεις δὲ διόλου γίνεσθαι, καθά φησιν ὁ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Φυσικῶν, καὶ μὴ κατὰ περιγραφῆν καὶ παράθεσιν· καὶ γὰρ εἰς πέλαγος ὄλγος οἶνος βληθεὶς ἐπὶ ποσὸν ἀντιπαρεκταθήσεται, εἰτὰ συμφθαρήσεται.

Φασὶ δ' εἶναι καὶ τινὰς δαίμονας ἀνθρώπων συμπάθειαν ἔχοντας, ἐπόπτας τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων· καὶ ἡρως τὰς υπολειμμένας τῶν σπουδαίων ψυχάς.

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a For the meaning of this verb (συμφθείρεσθαι) see Wilamowitz on Eur. II. I. 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 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 αέρι γινομένως χειμώνα μὲν εἶναι 

φασὶ τοὺν ὑπέρ γῆς αέρα κατεψυχημένον διὰ τὴν τοῦ 

ηλίου πρόσω ἁφοδὸν, ἔαρ δὲ τὴν ἐνυκρασίαν τοῦ 

ἀέρος κατὰ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς πορείαν, θέρος δὲ τοῦ 

ὑπέρ γῆς αέρα καταβαλτόμενον τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου πρὸς 

ἀρκτον πορεία, μετόπωρον δὲ τῇ παλινδρομίᾳ 

τοῦ ἡλίου ἀφ’ ἡμῶν γίνεσθαι. <τοὺς δ’ ανέμους 

ἀέρος εἶναι ρύσεις· παραλλαττούσας δὲ τὰς ἐπωνυ- 

μίας γίνεσθαι> παρὰ τοὺς τόπους ἀφ’ ὅν ῥέουσιν. 

τῆς δὲ γενέσεως αὐτῶν αὔτων γίνεσθαι τὸν ἡλίον 

ἐξατμίζοντα τὰ νέφη. ἤριν δ’ εἶναι αὐγάς ἀφ’ 

ὑγρῶν νεφῶν ἀνακεκλασμένας ἢ, ὡς Ποσειδώνιος 

φήσῃ ἐν τῇ Μετεωρολογίκῃ, ἐμφασιν ἡλίου τμή- 

ματος ἦ σελήνης ἐν νέφει δέδροσισμένως, κοίλῳ καὶ 

συνεχεὶ πρὸς φαντασίαν, ὡς ἐν κατάπτρων φαν- 

ταζομένην κατὰ κύκλου περιφέρειαν. κομῆτας τε 

καὶ πυγιϊνας καὶ λαμπαδίας πυρά εἶναι ύφεστώτα 

πάχους αέρος εἰς τὸν αἰθέρωδη τόπον ἀνενεχθέντως. 

σέλας δὲ πυρὸς ἄθροον ἐξαψιν ἐν αέρι φερομένων 

tαχέως καὶ φαντασίαν μήκους ἐμφαίνοντος. ὡς 

τὸν δ’ ἐκ νέφους μεταβολήν εἰς ὕδωρ, ἑπείδαν ἦ ἐκ 

γῆς ἦ ἐκ θαλάττης ἀνενεχθέεσα ὑγρασία ὑπ’ ἡλίου 

μὴ τυγχάνη κατεργασίας· καταψυχθέν ὑδὰ τοῦτο 

πάχυν καλεῖσθαι. χάλαζαν δὲ νέφος πεπηγὸς, 

ὑπὸ πνεύματος διαθρυφθέν· χιανα δ’ ὕγρον ἐκ 

νέφους πεπηγότος, ὡς Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ 

tοῦ Φυσικοῦ λόγου· ἀστρατὴν δ’ ἐξαψιν νεφῶν 

παρατριβομένων ἢ ρηγυμένων υπὸ πνεύματος, 

ὡς Ζηνών ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ ὅλου· βροντὴν δὲ τὸν 

τοῦτον ψόφον ἐκ παρατρίψεως ἢ ρήξεως· κεραυνὸν

a The lacuna of the mss. can be filled from the parallel 

passage of Aetius, Diels, Doxographi Graeci, p. 374 a 23. 

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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 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
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δ' ἐξαψων σφοδρῶν μετὰ πολλῆς βίας πίπτουσαν ἐπὶ γῆς, νεφῶν παρατριβομένων ὡς ῥηγυμένων ὑπὸ πνεύματος. οἱ δὲ συστροφὴν πυρῶδος ἀέρος βιαίως καταφερομένην. τυφώνα δὲ κεραυνὸν πολῖν, βίαιον καὶ πνευματώδη ἡ πνεύμα καπνῶδες ἔρρωγοτος νέφους. πρηστήρα <δὲ> νέφος περισχυσθεὶς πυρὶ μετὰ πνεύματος. ἂσισμοὺς δὲ γίνεσθαι ὑνέντος πνεύματος εἰς τὰ κοιλώματα τῆς γῆς ἡ καθειρξθέντος [πνεύματος] ἐν τῇ γῆ, καθὰ φησὶ Ποσειδώνου εἰς τῇ ὤγδοῃ. εἶναι δ' αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν σεισματιὰς, τοὺς δὲ χασματίας, τοὺς δὲ κλιματίας, τοὺς δὲ βρασματίας.

Ἀρέσκει δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν διακόσμησιν ὡς ἐξειν. μέσην τὴν γην κέντρον λόγων ἐπέχουσαν, μεθ' ἑν τὸ ὕδωρ σφαιροειδές, ἔχον τὸ αὐτὸ κέντρον τῇ γη, ὡστε τὴν γην εἰς ὑδατι εἶναι. μετὰ τὸ ὕδωρ δ' ἀέρα ἐσφαιρωμένων. κύκλους δ' εἶναι εἰς τῷ οὐρανῷ πέντε, ὧν πρῶτον ἀρκτικὸν ἄει φαινόμενον, δεύτερον τροπικὸν θερινὸν, τρίτον ἵσημερινόν, τέταρτον χειμερινὸν τροπικόν, πέμπτον ἀνταρκτικὸν ἀφανῆ. λέγονται δὲ παράλληλοι καθότι οὐ συννεύουσιν εἰς ἀλλήλους. γράφονται μέντοι περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κέντρον. δ' δὲ ζωδιακός λοξός ἐστιν, ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς παραλλήλους. ξώναι τ' ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἰςι πέντε. πρῶτη βόρειος [καὶ] ὕπερ τῶν ἀρκτικῶν κύκλων, ἀοίκητος διὰ ψῦχος. δευτέρα εὐκρατος. τρίτη ἀοίκητος ὑπὸ καυμάτων, ἡ διαικεαυμένη καλομεκένη. τετάρτη ἡ ἀντεὐκρατος. πέμπτη νότιος, ἀοίκητος διὰ ψῦχος.

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.

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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, 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. 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 τεχνικὸν, ὃδ' ἐβαδίζον εἰς γένεσιν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ πνεῦμα πυροεἰδὲς καὶ τεχνοεἰδὲς: τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν αἰσθητικὴν <φύσιν>. ταύτην δ' εἶναι τὸ συμφέρει ἡμῖν πνεῦμα· διὸ καὶ σῶμα εἶναι καὶ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον ἐπιμένειν· φθαρτὴν δ' ὑπάρχειν, τὴν δὲ τῶν ὀλων ἀφθαρτον, ἦς μέρη εἶναι τὰς ἐν τοῖς ζώοις. Ζηνών δ' ὁ Κιτίες καὶ Ἀντίπατρος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ Ποσειδώνιος πνεῦμα ἐνθερμον εἶναι τὴν ψυχήν· τούτῳ γὰρ ἡμᾶς εἶναι ἐμπνεούς καὶ ὕπο τούτου κυνείζαται. Κλεάνθης μὲν οὖν πᾶσας ἐπιδιαμένεις μέχρι τῆς ἐκπυρώσεως, Χρύσιππος δὲ τὰς τῶν σοφῶν μόνον.

Μέρη δὲ ψυχῆς λέγουσιν ὅκτῳ, τὰς πέντ' αἰσθήσεις καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἡμῖν σπερματικοὺς λόγους καὶ τὸ φωνητικὸν καὶ τὸ λογιστικὸν. ὁρᾶν δὲ τοῦ μεταξὺ τῆς ὀράσεως καὶ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου φωτὸς ἐντεινομένου κωνοειδῶς, καθά φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν Φυσικῶν καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος. γίνεσθαι μέντοι τὸ κωνοειδὲς τοῦ ἁέρος πρὸς τῇ ὀψιν, τὴν δὲ βάσιν πρὸς τῷ ὄρωμένῳ· ώς διὰ βακτηρίας οὖν τοῦ ταθέντος ἁέρος τὸ βλεπόμενον ἀναγγέλλεσθαι.

'Ακούειν δὲ τοῦ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε φωνοῦντος καὶ τοῦ ἀκούοντος ἁέρος πλησιομένου σφαιροειδῶς, εἶτα κυματουμένου καὶ ταῖς ἀκοαῖς προσπίπτοντος, ὃς κυματοῦται τὸ ἐν τῇ δεξαμενῇ ὕδωρ κατὰ κύκλους ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμβληθέντος λίθου. τὸν δὲ ὑπὸν 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

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peri to ἤγεμονικόν. αἰτίας δὲ τῶν παθῶν ἀπολείπουσι τὰς peri to πνεῦμα τροπάς.

Σπέρμα δὲ λέγουσιν εἶναι τὸ οἶον τε γεννῶν τοιαῦτ' ἀφ' οἴου καὶ αὐτὸ ἀπεκρίθη ἀνθρώπου δὲ σπέρμα, ὁ μεθίσιν ὁ ἀνθρώπος μεθ' ύγροῦ, συγκρυύσαθα τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς μέρεσι κατὰ μυγμὸν τοῦ τῶν προγόνων λόγου. εἶναι δ' αὐτὸ Χρύσιππός φησιν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Φυσικῶν πνεῦμα κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν, ώς δῆλον ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὴν γῆν καταβαλλομένων σπερμάτων, ἀ παλαιωθέντα οὐκέτι φύεται, ώς δήλον διαπεπυνκυίας αὐτοῖς τῆς δυνάμεως. καὶ ἀφ' οἶλων δὲ τῶν σωμάτων αὐτὸ φασὶ καταφέρεσθαι οἱ peri τὸν Σφαῖρον πάντων γοῦν γεννητικὸν εἶναι τῶν τοῦ σώματος μερῶν. τὸ δὲ τῆς θηλείας ἁγούν ἀποφαίνονται ἁτονόν τε γὰρ εἶναι καὶ ὁλίγον καὶ υδατῶδες, ὡς ὁ Σφαῖρος φησιν. ἤγεμονικὸν δ' εἶναι τὸ κυριώτατον τῆς ψυχῆς, ἐν ὃι αἱ φαντασίαι καὶ αἱ ὁρμαὶ γίνονται καὶ ὅθεν ὁ λόγος ἀναπέμπεται. ὁπερ εἶναι ἐν καρδίᾳ.

160 Ταῦτα μὲν καὶ τὰ φυσικὰ τὸ ὄσον ἡμῖν ἀποχρώντως ἑχειν δοκεῖ, στοχαζομένους τῆς συμμετρίας τοῦ συγγράμματος. ὃ δὲ τινὲς εἰς αὐτῶν διηνέχθησαν, ἔστι τάδε.

Κεφ. β'. ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝ

'Ἀρίστων ὁ Χίος ὁ Φάλανθος, ἐπικαλούμενος Σειρῆν, τέλος ἐφήσεν εἶναι τὸ ἀδιαφόρως ἔχοντα ζῆν πρὸς τὰ μεταξὺ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας μηδ' ἡμενιοῦν εἴν αὐτοῖς παραλλαγὴν ἀπολείποντα, ἀλλ' 262
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
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ἐπίσης ἐπὶ πάντων ἔχοντα· εἶναι γὰρ ὁμοίων τὸν σοφὸν τῷ ἄγαθῳ ύποκριτῇ, ὅσ ἂν τε Θερσίτου ἄν τε Ἀγαμέμνονος πρόσωπον ἀναλάβῃ, ἐκάτερον ύποκρινεῖται προσηκόντως. τὸν τε φυσικὸν τόπον καὶ τὸν λογικὸν ἀνήρει, λέγων τὸν μὲν εἶναι ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς, τὸν δ' οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, μόνον δὲ τὸν θηκικὸν εἶναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

161 'Εσικέναι δὲ τούς διαλεκτικούς λόγους τοῖς ἀραχνίοις, ἃ καίτοι δοκοῦντα τεχνικὸν τι ἐμφαίνειν, ἀχρηστὰ ἐστιν. ἀρετάς τ' ὦτε πολλὰς εἰσήγειν, ὥσ ὁ Ζήνων, ὦτε μίαν πολλοὺς ὀνόμασι καλουμένην, ὡς οἱ Μεγαρικοὶ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ πρὸς τί πως ἔχειν. οὔτω δὲ φιλοσοφῶν καὶ ἐν Κυνοσάργει διαλεγόμενος ὕσχυσεν αἱρετιστὴς ἀκόουσαι. Μιλτιάδης οὖν καὶ Δέφιλος Ἀριστώνεοι προσηγορεύοντο. ἥν δὲ τις πειστικός καὶ ὄχλῳ πεποιημένος· ὅθεν ὁ Τίμων φησὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τις Ἀριστονὸς γενεῆν ἀπὸ¹ αἰμύλου² ἔλκων.

162 Παραβαλῶν δὲ Πολέμων, φησὶ Διοκλῆς ὁ Μάγνης, μετέθετο, Ζήνων ἀρρωστία μακρὰ περιπεσόντος. μάλιστα δὲ προσεῖχε Στωικῷ δόγματι τῷ τὸν σοφὸν ἀδόξαστον εἶναι. πρὸς δὲ Περσαίως ἐναντιούμενος διδύμων ἀδέλφῶν τὸν ἐτερον ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ παρακαταθῆκην δοῦναι, ἐπειτα τὸν ἐτερον ἀπολαβεῖν· καὶ οὕτως ἀπορούμενος διήλεγξεν. ἀπετένευτο δὲ πρὸς Ἀρκείλαον· ὅτε θεασάμενος ταύρον τερατώδη μήτραν ἔχοντα,

1 γέννης ἀπὸ vulg.: corr. Meineke.
2 τι . . . αἰμύλον Diels.

a Fr. 40 D.
b So Wachsmuth. Diels would prefer: “deriving winning manners from the wiles of Ariston.”

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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:

One who from wily Ariston's line boasts his descent.

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 Arcesilaeus; and one day when he saw an abortion in the shape of a bull with
"οἶμοι," ἐφη, "δὲδοται Ἀρκεσιλάω ἐπιχείρημα κατὰ τῆς ἑναργείας."

163 Πρὸς δὲ τῶν φάμενον Ἀκαδημαϊκὸν οὐδὲν καταλαμβάνειν, "ἀρ' οὐδὲ τὸν πλησίον σου καθήμενον ὃρας;" εἶπεν· ἀρνησαμένου δὲ,

τίς δὲ σ' ἐτύφλωσεν (ἐφη), τίς ἀφείλετο λαμπάδος αὐγάς;

Βιβλία δ' αὐτοῦ φέρεται τάδε:

Προτρεπτικῶν β'.
Περὶ τῶν Ζήμωνος δογμάτων.
Διάλογοι.
Σχολῶν ε'.
Περὶ σοφίας διατριβῶν ζ'.
Ἐρωτικαὶ διατριβαί.
Ὑπομνήματα ὑπὲρ κενοδοξίας.
Ὑπομνήματων κε'.
Ἀπορμνημονευμάτων γ'.
Χρειῶν ια'.
Πρὸς τοὺς μήτορας.
Πρὸς τὰς Ἀλεξίων ἀντιγραφᾶς.
Πρὸς τοὺς διαλεκτικοὺς γ'.
Πρὸς Κλεάνθην, Ἐπιστολῶν δ'.

Παναίτιος δὲ καὶ Σωσικράτης μόνας αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς φασὶ, τὰ δὲ ἀλλα τοῦ περιπατητικοῦ Ἀρίστωνος.

164 Τοῦτον λόγον φαλακρὸν ὁντα ἐγκαυθήναι ὑπὸ ἴλιου καὶ ὅδε τελευτῆσαι. προσεπαιξάμεν δ' αὐτῷ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον τῷ ιάμβῳ 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:

\[ a \text{ Anth. Plan. v. 38.} \]
DI O G E N E S  L A E R T I U S

tί δή γέρων ὄν καὶ φάλανθος, ὡς 'ρίστων, τὸ βρέγμ' ἐδωκας ἥλιω κατοπτήσαι; τουγάρ τὸ θερμὸν πλεῖον ἢ δέου ζητῶν τὸν ψυχρὸν ὄντως εὑρές οὐ θέλων 'Ἄδην.

Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Ἀρίστων Ἰουλιῆτης περιπατητικός, ὁ δὲ τις μουσικὸς Ἀθηναῖος, τέταρτος ποιήτης τραγωδίας, πέμπτος Ἀλαιεὺς τέχνας γεγραφὸς ῥητορικάς, ἐκτός Ἀλεξάνδρεὺς περιπατητικός.

Κεφ. γ'. ΠΡΙΛΛΟΣ

165 "Ἡριλλὸς δ' ὁ Καρχηδόνιος τέλος εἶπε τὴν ἐπιστήμην, ὅπερ ἐστὶ ζῆν ἂεὶ πάντ' ἀναφέροντα πρὸς τὸ μετ' ἐπιστήμης ζῆν καὶ μὴ τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ διαβεβλημένον. εἶναι δὲ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐξὶν ἐν φαντασίων προσδέξει ἀνυπόπτωτον ὑπὸ λόγου. ποτὲ δ' ἐλεγε μηδὲν εἶναι τέλος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς περιστάσεις καὶ τὰ πράγματ' ἀλλήληθεναί αὐτῷ, ὡς καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χαλκὸν ἢ Αλεξάνδρου γινόμενον ἀνδρίαντα ἢ Σωκράτους. διαφέρειν δὲ τέλος καὶ ὑποτελίδα: τῆς μὲν γὰρ καὶ τους μὴ σοφοὺς στοχαζοῦσα, τοῦ δὲ μόνον τὸν σοφὸν. τὰ δὲ μεταξὺ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας ἀδιάφορα εἶναι. ἐστὶ δ' αὐτοῦ τὰ βιβλία ὁλιγόστιχα μὲν, δυνάμεως δὲ μεστὰ καὶ περιέχοντα ἀντιρρήσεις πρὸς Ζήνωνα.

166 Δέγεται δ' ὁτι παιδὸς ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἡράσθησαν ἰκανοί, οὐς ἀποτρέψαι βουλόμενος ὁ Ζήνων ἦνάγκασε ἐμφασικαὶ "Ἡριλλὸν, οὗ 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 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.
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Περὶ ἀσκήσεως.
Περὶ παθῶν.
Περὶ ὑπολήψεως.
Νομοθέτης.
Μαλευτικός.
'Αντιφέρων.
Διδάσκαλος.
Διασκεδάζων.
Εὐθύτων.
Ἐρρῆς.
Μῆθεια.
Διάλογοι.
Θέσεων ἵθικῶν.*

Κεφ. δ’. ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ

Διονύσιος δ’ ὁ Μεταθέμενος τέλος εἶπε τὴν ἡδονήν διὰ περίστασιν ὁδηγοῦσά· ἀλγήσας γὰρ ἐπιπόνωσ ὁκνήσεν εἶπεν τὸν πόνον ἀδιάφορον.

Ἡν δὲ παῖς μὲν Θεοφάντου, πόλεως δ’ Ἡρακλείας. ἦκουσε δὲ, καθὰ φησί Διοκλῆς, πρῶτον μὲν Ἠρακλείδου τοῦ πολιτοῦ, ἔπειτ’ Ἀλεξίνου καὶ Μενεδήμου, τελευταῖον δὲ Ζήνωνος.

167 Καὶ κατ’ ἀρχὰς μὲν φιλογράφοις ὡν παντοδαποῖς ἑπεχείρη ποιήσασιν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ Ἀρατοῦ ἀπέδεχετο, ξηλῶν αὐτόν. ἀποστὰς δὲ τοῦ Ζήνωνος πρὸς τοὺς Κυρηναῖκους ἀπετράπη καὶ εἰς τὰ τὰ χαμαιτυπεία εἰσῆγε καὶ τὰλ’ ἀπαρακαλύπτως ἠδυπάθει. βιοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὰ ὁγδοήκοντ’ ἀστιᾶ κατέστρεψε.

a Cf. § 37.

b i.e. the author of the astronomical poem Φανᾶμενα, not the statesman of that name, the protagonist of the Achaean League, whose Life we have in Plutarch.

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Chapter 4. DIONYSIUS (c. 330–250 B.C.)

Dionysius, the Renegade, 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-townsmen, 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 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' αυτοῦ φέρεται τάδε·

Περὶ ἀπαθείας β'.
Περὶ ἀσκήσεως β'.
Περὶ ἥδουνής δ'.
Περὶ πλούτου καὶ χάριτος καὶ τιμωρίας.
Περὶ ἀνθρώπων χρήσεως.
Περὶ εὐτυχίας.
Περὶ ἀρχαιῶν βασιλεῶν.
Περὶ τῶν ἐπαινομένων.
Περὶ βαρβαρικῶν ἐθῶν.

Καὶ οὕτωι μὲν οἱ διενεχθέντες. διεδέξατο δὲ τὸν Ζήνωνα Κλεάνθης, περὶ οὗ λεκτέον.
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
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Ζήνωνα δὲ κωλύσαι λαβεῖν. φασὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀντίγονον αὐτῷ τρισχλίας δοῦναι. ἡγούμενον τε τῶν ἐφήβων ἐπὶ τινα θέαν ὑπ’ ἀνέμου παραγυμνωθῆναι καὶ ὀφθαλμαί ἀχίτωνα. ἐφ’ ὦ κρότω τυμηθῆναι ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίων, καθά φησὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης ἐν τοῖς Ὀμωνύμοις. ἑθαυμάσθη δὴ οὖν καὶ διὰ τὸδε. φασὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀντίγονον αὐτοῦ πυθέσθαι ὁντα ἀκροατήν, διὰ τι ἀντλεῖ· τόν δ’ εἰπεῖν, “ἀντλῶ γὰρ μόνον; τ’ ἵδ’; οὐχὶ σκάπτω; τί δ’; οὐκ ἀρδῶ καὶ πάντα ποιῶ φιλοσοφίας ἑνεκα;” καὶ γὰρ ὁ Ζήνων αὐτῶν συνεγύμναζεν εἰς τούτο καὶ ἐκέλευεν ὄβολον φέρειν ἀποφορᾶ1 καὶ ποτ’ ἄθροισθεν τὸ κέρμα ἐκόμισεν εἰς μέσον τῶν γνωρίμων καὶ φησὶ, “Κλεάνθης μὲν καὶ ἄλλον Κλεάνθην δύναι ἄν τρέφειν, εἰ βούλοιτο· οἱ δ’ ἔχοντες ὁδὲν τραφήσονται παρ’ ἐτέρων ἐπιζητοῦσι τάπιτηδεια, καίπερ ἀνεμένως φιλοσοφοῦντες.” ὁδὲν δὴ καὶ δεύτερος Ἡρακλῆς ὁ Κλεάνθης ἐκαλεῖτο. ἦν δὲ ποικίος μὲν, ἀφύσικος δὲ καὶ βραδὺς ὑπερβαλλόντως· διὸ καὶ Τίμων περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν οὕτως.

τίς δ’ οὕτως κτίλος ὡς ἐπιπωλεῖται στίχας ἄνδρῶν,2 μωλύνης ἐπέων φίλος3 Ἀσσιῶς, ὅλμος ἀτολμος;

Καὶ σκωπτόμενος δ’ ὑπὸ τῶν συμμαθητῶν ἥμειχετο καὶ οἶνος ἄκουὼν προσεδέχετο, λέγων

1 ἀποφοράν Richards coll. § 25.
2 ἄνδρῶν; 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.

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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. 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:

Who is this that like a bell-wether ranges over the ranks of men, a dullard, lover of verse, hailing from Assos, 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

\[\text{Frag. 41 D.}\]

\[\text{Diels' reading}\ \lambda\iota\theta\omicron\sigma\ gives\ the\ line\ a\ far\ better\ rhythm.}\]
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αὐτὸς μόνος δύνασθαι βαστάζειν τὸ Ζήνωνος
φορτίον. καὶ ποτ’ ὄνειδιζόμενος ὃς δελός, “διὰ τούτο,” εἶπεν, “οἷγα ἀμαρτάνω.” προκρίνων
de τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον τοῦ τῶν πλουσίων ἐλεγεν, ἐν
ὁ σφαιρίζονσιν ἐκείνου γῆν σκληρὰν καὶ ἀκαρπὸν
αὐτὸς ἐργάζεσθαι σκάπτων. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἑαυτῷ
ἐπέπληττεν ὅπως ἀκούσας Ἀρίστων, “τίνι,” ἔφη,
“ἐπιπλήττεις;” καὶ ὁς γελάσας, “πρεσβύτη,”
φησὶ, “πολιάς μὲν ἔχοντι, νοῦν δὲ μὴ.” εἰπόντος
de τινος Ἀρκεσίλαον μὴ ποιεῖν τὰ δέοντα, “παῦ-
σαι,” ἔφη, “καὶ μὴ ψέγε. εἰ γὰρ καὶ λόγῳ τὸ
καθήκον ἀναρεῖ, τοῖς γούν ἠργος αὐτὸ τιθεῖ.”
καὶ ὁ Ἀρκεσίλαος, “οὐ κολακεύομαι,” φησὶ.
πρὸς ὄν ὁ Κλέανθης, “ναι,” ἔφη, “άπο κολακεύων
φάμενος ἄλλα μὲν λέγειν, ἔτερα δὲ ποιεῖν.”

172 Ἕρωμενον τινὸς τί ὑποτίθεσθαι δεῖ τῷ νῷ, “τὸ
tῆς Ἡλέκτρας,” ἔφη,

σίγα, σίγα, λεπτὸν ἵχνος.

Λάκωνὸς τινὸς εἰπόντος ὅτι ὁ πόνος ἀγαθὸν,
diaxuthēis φησὶν,

αἰματός εἰς ἀγαθοῦ, φίλον τέκοσ.

φησὶ δ’ ὁ Ἔκάτων ἐν ταῖς Χρείαις, εὔμορφου
μειρακίου εἰπόντος, “εἰ ὁ εἰς τὴν γαστέρα τύπτων
γαστρίζει, καὶ ὁ εἰς τοὺς μηροὺς τύπτων μηρίζει,”
ἔφη, “σὺ μέντοι τοὺς διαμιρίσμους ἐχε, μειράκιον
αι δ’ ἀνάλογοι φωναὶ τὰ ἀνάλογα ὦν πάντως
σημαίνονσι πράγματα.” μειρακῖοι ποτὲ διαλεγό-
μενος ἐπύθετο εἰ αἰσθάνεται τοῦ δ’ ἐπινεύσαντος,
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 significacione conveniunt. Once in conversation with a youth he put the question, "Do you see?" and when the
"διὰ τί οὖν," εἶπεν, "ἐγὼ οὐκ αὐσθάνομαι ὅτι αἰσθάνης;"

173 Σωσίθεου τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἐν θεάτρῳ εἰπόντος πρὸς αὐτὸν παρόντα,

οὐς ἡ Κλέανθους μωρία βοηλατεῖ,


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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,²

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 279
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άλλων οὖτων ἀξιολόγων Ζήνωνος μαθητῶν, αὐτὸς διαδέξασθαι τὴν σχολὴν.

Βιβλία δὲ κάλλιστα καταλέλοιπεν, α ἐστὶ τάδε:

Περὶ χρόνον.
Περὶ τῆς [τοῦ] Ζήνωνος φυσιολογίας δύο.
Τῶν Ἡρακλείτου ἐξηγήσεις, τέσσερα.
Περὶ αἰσθήσεως.
Περὶ τέχνης.
Πρὸς Δημοκρίτον.
Πρὸς Ἀρίσταρχον.
Πρὸς Ἡριλλον.
Περὶ ὀρμῆς δύο.

175 Ἀρχαιολογία.
Περὶ θεῶν.
Περὶ γυγάντων.
Περὶ ἰμεναίων.
Περὶ τοῦ ποιητοῦ.
Περὶ τοῦ καθηκόντος τρια.
Περὶ εὐβούλιας.
Περὶ χάριτος.
Προτρεπτικὸς.
Περὶ ἀρετῶν.
Περὶ εὐφυίας.
Περὶ Γοργίππον.
Περὶ φθονερίας
Περὶ ἔρωτος.
Περὶ ἐλευθερίας.
Ἐρωτικὴ τέχνη.
Περὶ τιμῆς.
Περὶ δόξης.
Πολιτικός.
Περὶ βουλῆς.
Περὶ νόμων.

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VII. 174–175. CLEANTHES

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 τῶν δικάζειν.
Περὶ ἀγωγῆς.
Περὶ τῶν λόγου τρία.
Περὶ τελονιᾶς.
Περὶ καλῶν.
Περὶ πράξεων.
Περὶ ἐπιστήμης.
Περὶ βασιλείας.
Περὶ φιλίας.
Περὶ συμποσίων.
Περὶ τοῦ οὗτος ἀρετῆς [καὶ] ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικός.
Περὶ τῶν τῶν σοφῶν σοφιστῶν.
Περὶ χρειῶν.
Diatriβῶν δύο.
Περὶ ἤδονῆς.
Περὶ ἴδιῶν.
Περὶ τῶν ἀπόρων.
Περὶ διαλεκτικῆς.
Περὶ τρόπων.
Περὶ κατηγορημάτων.

Ταῦτα αὐτῷ τὰ βιβλία.

Καὶ τελευτᾶ τόνδε τῶν τρόπων· διώδησεν αὐτῷ τὸ οὐλὸν ἀπαγορευσάντων δὲ τῶν ἰατρῶν, δύο ἡμέρας ἀπέσχητο τροφῆς. καὶ πῶς ἔσχε καλῶς ὡστε τοὺς ἱατροὺς αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ συνήθη συγχωρεῖν τὸν δὲ μὴ ἀνασχέσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰπόντα ἦδη αὐτῷ πρωῳδοπορῆσθαι καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἀποσχόμενον τελευτῆσαι ταῦτα Ζήμωνι, καθά φασὶ τινες, [όγδοηκοντα] ἔτη βιῶσαντα καὶ ἀκούσαντα Ζήμωνος ἔτη ἐννεακαΐδεκα.

Ἐπαίξαμεν δὴ καὶ ἤμεις πρὸς αὐτὸν οὕτως·

1 ὀγδοήκοντα om. BR.
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 on him runs thus:

\[ a \text{ Anth. Plan. v. 36.} \]
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Αἴνω Κλεάνθην, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ’Αίδην·
ιδὼν γὰρ αὐτὸν πρέσβυν οὐκ ἴνεσχετο
τὸ μῆ ὦ τὸ λοιπὸν ἄνεσιν ἐν φθιοτῖς ἕχειν
tosou'ton antlîsanta toû bìou χρόνον.

Κεφ. 5’. ΣΦΑΙΡΟΣ

177 Τούτου, καθάπερ προειρήκαμεν, ἢκουσε μετὰ
Ζήνωνα καὶ Σφαίρος ὁ Βοσποριανός, ὃς προκοπὴν
ικανὴν περιποιησάμενος λόγων εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν
ἀπῆξε πρὸς Πτολεμαίον τὸν Φιλοπάτορα. λόγου
δὲ ποτε γενομένου περὶ τοῦ δοξάσειν τὸν σοφὸν
καὶ τοῦ Σφαίρου εἰπόντος ὡς οὐ δοξάσει, βου-
λόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐλέγξαι αὐτὸν, κηρίνας ρόας
ἐκέλευσε παρατεθῆναι· τοῦ δὲ Σφαίρου ἀπατη-
θέντος ἀνεβόησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἰευδεῖ συγκατα-
τεθείσας αὐτὸν φαντασία. πρὸς δὲν ὁ Σφαίρος
εὐστόχως ἀπεκρίνατο, εἰπὼν οὕτως συγκατα-
tεθείσας, οὐχ οτι ρόας εἰσίν, ἀλλ’ οτι εὐλογῶν ἐστὶ
ρόας αὐτὰς εἶναι· διαφέρειν δὲ τὴν καταληπτικὴν
φαντασίαν τοῦ εὐλόγου. πρὸς δὲν Μνησίστρατον
κατηγοροῦντα αὐτοῦ ὅτι Πτολεμαίον οὐ φησι
βασιλέα εἶναι, "τοιοῦτον δ’ ὄντα τὸν Πτολεμαίον
καὶ βασιλέα εἶναι."

178 Βιβλία δὲ γέγραφε τάδε·
Περὶ κόσμου διό.
Περὶ στοιχείων.
Περὶ σπέρματος.
Περὶ τύχης.

a § 37.  b 222–205 B.C.  c Cf. sup. § 162.
VII. 176-178. CLEANTHES—SPHAERUS

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. After making considerable progress in his studies, he went to Alexandria to the court of King Ptolemy Philopator. One day when a discussion had arisen on the question whether the wise man could stoop to hold opinion, 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.
DIOGENES LAERTIUS

Περὶ ἐλαχίστων.
Πρὸς τὰς ἀτόμους καὶ τὰ εἴδωλα.
Περὶ αἰσθητηρίων.
Περὶ Ἡρακλείτων πέντε διατριβῶν.
Περὶ τῆς ἕθικῆς διατάξεως.
Περὶ καθηκοντος.
Περὶ ὀρμῆς.
Περὶ παθῶν δύο.
Περὶ βασιλείας.
Περὶ Ἀκωνικῆς πολιτείας.
Περὶ Λυκούργου καὶ Σωκράτους τρία.
Περὶ νόμου.
Περὶ μαντικῆς.
Διαλόγους ἐρωτικοὺς.
Περὶ τῶν Ἐρετριακῶν φιλοσόφων.
Περὶ ὁμοίων.
Περὶ ὀρων.
Περὶ ἔξεως.
Περὶ τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων τρία.
Περὶ λόγου.
Περὶ πλοίτου.
Περὶ δόξης.
Περὶ θανάτου.
Τέχνης διαλεκτικῆς δύο.
Περὶ κατηγορημάτων.
Περὶ ἀμφιβολιῶν.
Ἐπιστολάς.

Κεφ. ζ'. ΧΡΥΣΙΠΠΟΣ

179 Χρύσιππος 'Απολλωνίου Σολεύς ἢ Ταρσεύς, ὃς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Διαδοχαῖς, μαθητής Κλεάνθους. οὕτως πρῶτον μὲν δόλιχον ἡσκει, ἐπειτ' ἀκούσας 286
Chapter 7. CHRYSPUS (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;
ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΛΑΕΡΤΙΟΣ

Ζήνωνος ἦ Κλεάνθους, ὃς Διοκλής καὶ οἱ πλείους, ἔτι τε ζῴωτος ἀπέστη αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐχ ὦ τυχῶν ἐγένετο κατὰ φιλοσοφιὰν ἀνὴρ εὐφυὴς καὶ ὀξύτατος ἐν παντὶ μέρει οὗτος ὦστε καὶ ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις διηνέχθη πρὸς Ζήνωνα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς Κλεάνθην, ὦ καὶ πολλάκις ἐλεγε μόνης τῆς τῶν δογμάτων διδασκάλας χρήσει, ταῦτα δὲ ἀποδείξεις αὐτὸς εὐρήσεω. μετενδεῖ μέντοι ὅποτε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποτείνοντο, ὦστε συνεχὲς προφέρεσθαι ταῦτα·

ἐγὼ δὲ τὰλλα μακάριος πέφυκ’ ἀνὴρ
πλὴν εἰς Κλεάνθην· τοῦτο δ’ οὐκ εὐδαιμονῶ.

180 Οὗτοι δ’ ἐπίδοξοι ἐν τοῖς διαλεκτικοῖς ἐγένετο, ὦστε δοκεῖν τοὺς πλείους ὅτι εἰ παρὰ θεοῖς ἢν ἐκλεκτική, οὐκ ἄλλη ἢν ἢ ἡ Χρυσίππειος. πλεονάσας δὲ τοῖς πράγμασι τὴν λέξιν οὐ κατώρθωσε. ποικιλῶτατος τε παρ’ οὐδυνοῦ γέγονεν, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων αὐτοῦ· τὸν ἀριθμὸν γὰρ ὑπὲρ πέντε καὶ ἐπτακόσια ἐστὶ. ἐπιλήθθην δ’ αὐτὰ πολλάκις ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ δόγματος ἐπιχειρῶν καὶ πᾶν τὸ ὑποπεσὸν γράφων καὶ διορθούμενος πλεονάκις πλείστη τε τῶν μαρτυρῶν παραθέσει χρώμενος· ὦστε καὶ ἐπειδὴ ποτ’ ἐν τινὶ τῶν συγγραμμάτων παρ’ ὅλγον τὴν Εὐριπίδου Μήδειαν ὅλην παρετίθετο καὶ τις μετὰ χεῖρας εἶχε τὸ βιβλίον, πρὸς τὸν πυθόμενον τῷ ἀρὰ ἔχου, ἔφη, “Ἀργοῦ Μήδειαν.”

181 Καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος δ’ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῇ Συν-
αγωγῇ τῶν δογμάτων, βουλόμενος παριστάνειν ὅτι τὰ Ἐπικούρου οἰκεῖα δυνάμει γεγραμμένα καὶ ἀπαράθετα ὅντα μυρίῳ πλείω ἐστὶ τῶν Χρυσίππου

a Eur. Or. 540-1.
VII. 179–181. CHRYSSIPPUS

but afterwards he came to hear Zeno, or, as Dioeles 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, φησίν ούτως αυτή τῇ λέξην. "Ει γάρ τις ἀφέλοι τῶν Χρυσίττου βιβλίων ὥσι' ἀλλότρια παρατέθεται, κενὸς αὐτῷ ὁ χάρτης καταλείψεται." καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἀπολλόδωρος. ἦ δὲ παρεδρεύουσα πρεσβύτης αὐτῷ, ὡς φησὶ Διοκλῆς, ἐλεγεν ὡς πεντακοσίους γράφοι στίχους ἡμερησίους. 'Εκάτων δὲ φησιν ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν, τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ τῆς πατρώας εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀναληφθεῖσας.

182 Ἡν δὲ καὶ τὸ σωμάτιον εὐτελῆς, ὡς δήλον ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδράντος τοῦ ἐν Κεραμεικῷ, ὡς σχεδὸν τι ύποκεκρυπτά τῷ πλησίον ἔπει. οθὲν αὐτὸν ὁ Καρνεάδης Κρύσιττον ἐλεγεν. οὕτως οἰκειοθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ὄντι οὔχι παρ' Ἀρίστων μετὰ πολλῶν σχολάζοι, "εἰ τοῖς πολλοῖς," εἶπε "προσείχον, οὐκ ἂν ἐφιλοσόφησα." πρὸς δὲ τὸν κατεξανιστάμενον Κλεάνθους διαλεκτικὸν καὶ προτείνοντα αὐτῷ σοφίσματα, "πέπαινο," εἶπε, "περιέλλον τὸν πρεσβύτην ἀπὸ τῶν πραγματικωτέρων, ἡμῖν δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρᾶτευε τοῖς νέοις." πάλιν δ' ἔπει τις ξητῶν καταμόνας αὐτῷ διελέγετο εὐστάθως, ἐπείτα δὲ θεωρῶν προσιόντα οἴχλον ἡρχετο φιλονεικεῖν, ἐφ',

οὕμοι, κασίγνητ', ὁμμα σὸν ταράσσεται·
taχὺς δὲ μετέθου λύσσαν ἄρτιῶς φρονῶν.

183 Ἐν μέντοι ταῖς οἰνώσεσιν ἰσύχαζε παραφερόμενοι τοῖς σκέλεσιν, ὡστ' εἶπεῖν τὴν δούλην, "Χρυσίττου μόνα τὰ σκέλη μεθύει." οὔτω δ' ἦν φρονηματίας ὡστ' ἔρομένου τινὸς "τῖνι συντίθειν τὸν νῦν;" εἶπεῖν, "ἐμοί· καὶ γάρ εἰ υπελάμβανον

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

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εἴναι των ἐμοῦ βελτίων, παρ' αὐτῷ ἄν ἐγώ ἐφιλο-
σόφουν." οἶδεν φασὶν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ λεχθῆναι,
οἶος πέπνυται, τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ ἀίσσουσι:
καὶ,
εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἤν Χρύσιππος, οὐκ ἂν ἦν στοά.

Τέλος δ' Ἀρκεσιλάω καὶ Λακύδη, καθὰ φησι Σωτίων ἐν τῷ ὄγδῳ, παραγενόμενος ἐν Ἀκα-
δημείᾳ συνεφιλοσόφησε· δι' ἦν αὐτίαν καὶ κατὰ τῆς συνθηκείας καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐπεχείρησε, καὶ περὶ μεγεθῶν καὶ πληθῶν τῇ τῶν Ἀκαδημαϊκῶν συστάσει χρησάμενος.

Τοῦτον ἐν τῷ Ὁδεῖῳ σχολάζοντά φησιν Ἕρμ-
ιππος ἐπὶ θυσίαν ὑπὸ τῶν μαθητῶν κληθῆναι· ἐνθα προσενηγκάμενον γλυκῶν ἄκρατον καὶ ἱλιγγιάσαντα πεμπταῖον ἀπελθεῖν ἐξ ἄνθρωπων, τρία καὶ ἐβδο-
μήκοντα βιώσαντ' ἐτη, κατὰ τὴν τρίτην καὶ τεταρακοστὴν καὶ ἐκατοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα, καθὰ φήσιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς. καὶ ἔστων ἡμῶν παίγνιον εἰς αὐτόν·

ιλιγγίασε Βάκχον ἐκπιὼν χανδὸν
Χρύσιππος, οὐδ' ἐφείσατο
οὐ τῆς στοὰς οὐδ' ἦς πάτρης, οὐ τῆς ψυχῆς,
ἀλλ' ἤλθε δῶμι· ἐς Ἀίδεω.

'Ἐνιοὶ δὲ φασὶ γέλωτι συσχεθέντα αὐτῶν τελευτή-
σαί· ὅνου γὰρ τὰ σύκα αὐτῷ φαγόντος, εἰπόντα τῇ γραῖ διδόναι ἄκρατον ἐπιρροφήσαι τῷ ὄνῳ, ὑπερ-
καγχάσαντα τελευτήσαι.
myself, I should myself be studying with him.” Hence, it is said, the application to him of the line:

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 Laeydes 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. This is the date given by Apollodorus in his Chronology. I have toyed with the subject in the following verses:

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.

\[Od. x. 495.\] \[\text{208–204 B.C.}\] \[\text{Anth. Pal. vii. 706.}\]
Diogenes Laertius

Δοκεῖ δ’ ὑπερόπτης τις γεγονόναι. τοσαύτα γοῦν συγγράφωσ οὐδενὶ τῶν βασιλέων προσπε-φώνηκεν. ἢρκεῖτο τε γραίδιώ μόνω, καθὰ καὶ Δημήτριος ἐν Ὀμωνύμοις φησί. Πτολεμαῖον τε πρὸς Κλεάνθην ἐπιστείλαντος ἢ αὐτὸν ἔλθειν ἢ πέμψαι τινά, Σφαῖρος μὲν ἀπῆλθε, Χρύσιππος δὲ περείδει. μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ τοὺς τῆς ἀδελφῆς υἱές, Ἀριστοκρέόντα καὶ Φιλοκράτην, συνεκρό-τησε. καὶ πρῶτος ἐθάρρησε σχολήν ἔχειν ὑπαι-θρὸν ἐν Λυκείῳ, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ προειρημένος Δημήτριος ἰστορεῖ.

186 Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Χρύσιππος Κνίδιος ἱατρός, παρ’ οὗ φήσειν Ἐρασίστρατος εἰς τὰ μάλιστα ἀφελήσθαι. καὶ ἐτέρων νῦν1 τούτου, ἱατρός Πτο-λεμαῖον, ὃς διαβλήθης περιήκηθα καὶ μαστιγό-μενος ἐκολάσθη ἄλλος μαθητής Ἐρασίστρατον, καὶ τις Γεωργικὰ γεγραφῶς.

Ὁ δὴ φιλόσοφος καὶ τοιούτους τινὰς ἠρώτα λόγοις: "ὁ λέγων τοὺς ἀμυντοὺς τὰ μυστηρία ἀσβεῖ. ὁ δὲ γ’ ἑροφάντης τοὺς ἀμυντοὺς λέγει <τὰ μυστηρία> ἀσβεῖ ἅρα ὁ ἑροφάντης." ἄλλο· "ὁ οὖν ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, τοῦτ’ οὖν’ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ: οὖν ἐστὶ δὲ φρέαρ ἐν τῇ πόλει, οὖν’ ἅρ’ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ.

187 ἄλλο· "ἐστι τις κεφαλῆ· ἐκεῖνην δ’ οὖν ἔχεις· ἐστι δὲ γέ τις κεφαλῆ <ἡν όν κεφαλῆ>· οὖκ ἅρα ἔχεις κεφαλῆν." ἄλλο· "εἰ τίς ἐστιν ἐν Μεγά-ροις, οὖν ἐστιν ἐν Ὀλυμπίας· ἀνθρώπως δ’ ἐστιν ἐν

1 νῦν] νιώνως coni. Wilam.

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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.
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VII. 185–187. CHRYSIPPUS

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· ουκ ἀρ’ ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος ἐν Ἀθήναις.’’ καὶ πάλιν· ‘‘εἰ τι λαλεῖς, τούτο διὰ τοῦ στόματός σου διέρχεται· ἀμαξαν δὲ λαλεῖς· ἀμαξά ἁρα διὰ τοῦ στόματός σου διέρχεται.’’ καὶ· ‘‘εἰ τι οὐκ ἀπέβαλες, τοῦτ’ ἔχεις· κέρατα δ’ οὐκ ἀπέβαλες· κέρατ’ ἄρ’ ἔχεις.’’ οἱ δ’ Εὐβουλίδου τοῦτό φάσιν.

Εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καταστρέφουσι τοῦ Χρυσίππου ὡς πολλὰ αἰσχρῶς καὶ ἀρρήτως ἀναγεγραφότος. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ Περὶ τῶν ἄρχαιων φυσιολόγων συγγράμματι αἰσχρῶς τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἡραν καὶ τὸν Δία ἀναπλάττει, λέγων κατὰ τοὺς ἔξακοσίων στίχους ὁ μηδεὶς ἡτυχῆς μολύνει τὸ στόμα εἶποι ἂν.

αἰσχροτάτην γὰρ, φασί, ταῦτῃν ἀναπλάττει ἱστορίαν, εἰ καὶ ἔπαινε ὡς φυσικήν, χαμαιτύπαις μᾶλλον πρέπουσαν ἡ θεοῖς, ἐτὶ τ’ οὐδὲ παρὰ τοῖς περὶ πινάκων γράφασι κατακεχωρισμένην· μῆτε γὰρ παρὰ Πολέμιων μῆτε παρ’ Ἐγκράτει, ἄλλα μηδὲ παρ’ Ἀντιγόνω εἶναι, ὡς αὐτοῦ δὲ πεπλάσθαι. ἐν δὲ τῷ Περὶ πολιτείας καὶ μητράσει λέγει συνέρχεσθαι καὶ θυγατράσει καὶ υἱοῖς· τὰ δ’ αὐτά φησι καὶ ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν μή δι’ ἐαυτὰ αἱρέτων εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῃ. ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ Περὶ δίκαιον κατὰ τοὺς χιλίους στίχους καὶ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας κατεσθίεν κελεύων. ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ βίου καὶ πορισμοῦ προνοεῖν λέγων ὅπως ποριστέοιν τῷ σοφῷ· ‘‘καίτοι τίνος χάριν ποριστέοιν αὐτῷ; εἰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ ζῆν ἔνεκεν, ἀδιάφορον τὸ ζῆν· εἰ δὲ ἥδονῆς, καὶ αὐτὴ 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 Hypsierates, 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
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αὐτάρκης αὕτη πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν. καταγέλαστοι δὲ καὶ οἱ τρόποι τοῦ πορισμοῦ, οἷον οἱ ἀπὸ βασιλέως· εἶκεν γὰρ αὐτῷ δεήσει. καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ φιλίας· λήμματος γὰρ ὄνιος ἡ φιλία ἐσται. καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ σοφίας· πιστολήσει γὰρ ἡ σοφία.' καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐγκαλεῖται.

'Επεὶ δ' ἐνδοξότατα τὰ βιβλί' ἐστιν αὐτῶ, ἔδοξε μοι καὶ τὴν πρὸς εἴδος ἀναγραφὴν αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα καταχωρίσαι. καὶ ἐστι τάδε:

Λογικοὶ τόποι.

Θέσεις λογικαί.

Τῶν τοῦ φιλοσοφοῦ σκεμμάτων.

"Ὀρων διαλεκτικῶν πρὸς Μητρόδωρον ε''.

Περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν διαλεκτικὴν ὑμοράτων πρὸς Ζήνωνα α'.

190 Τέχνη διαλεκτικὴ πρὸς 'Ἀρισταγόραν α'.

Συνημμένων πιθανῶν πρὸς Διοσκουριδῆν δ'.

Λογικοὶ τόποι τοῦ περὶ τὰ πράγματα.

Σύνταξις πρώτη.

Περὶ ἀξιωμάτων α'.

Περὶ τῶν οὐχ ἀπλῶν ἀξιωμάτων α'.

Περὶ τοῦ συμπεπλεγμένου πρὸς 'Αθηνάδην α' β'.

Περὶ ἀποφασικῶν πρὸς 'Ἀρισταγόραν γ'.

Περὶ τῶν καταγορευτικῶν πρὸς 'Αθημόδωρον α'.

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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.
ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΛΑΕΡΤΙΟΣ

Περὶ τῶν κατὰ στέρρησιν λεγομένων πρὸς Θέαρον α’.  
Περὶ τῶν ἀφορίστων ἀξιωμάτων πρὸς Δίωνα α’ β’ γ’.  
Περὶ τῆς διαφοράς τῶν ἀφορίστων α’ β’ γ’ δ’.  
Περὶ τῶν κατὰ χρόνους λεγομένων α’ β’.  
Περὶ συντελικῶν ἀξιωμάτων β’.

Σύνταξις δευτέρα.

Περὶ ἁληθοῦς διεξειγμένου πρὸς Γοργιππίδην α’.  
Περὶ ἁληθοῦς συγκειμένου πρὸς Γοργιππίδην α’ β’ γ’ δ’.

191 Αἴρεσες πρὸς Γοργιππίδην α’.
Πρὸς τὸ περὶ ἀκολούθων α’.
Περὶ τοῦ διὰ τριῶν πάλιν πρὸς Γοργιππίδην α’.
Περὶ δυνατῶν πρὸς Κλείτον δ’.
Πρὸς τὸ περὶ σημασιών Φίλωνος α’.
Περὶ τοῦ τίνα ἐστὶ τὰ ψευδή α’.

Σύνταξις τρίτη.

Περὶ προσταγμάτων β’.
Περὶ ἐρωτήσεως β’.
Περὶ πεύσεως δ’.

’Επιτομὴ περὶ ἐρωτήσεως καὶ πεύσεως α’.
’Επιτομὴ περὶ ἀποκρίσεως α’.
Περὶ ζητήσεως β’.
Περὶ ἀποκρίσεως δ’.

192 Σύνταξις τετάρτη.

Περὶ τῶν κατηγορημάτων πρὸς Μητρόδωρον ε’.
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VII. 190–192. CHRYSIPPUS

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 Πασίλιον περὶ κατηγορημάτων δ’.

Σύνταξις πέμπτη:
Περὶ τῶν πέντε πτώσεων α’.
Περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ ὕποκείμενον ὄρισμένων ἐκφορῶν α’.
Περὶ παρεμφάσεως πρὸς Στησαγόραν β’.
Περὶ τῶν προσηγορικῶν β’.

Λογικοῦ τόπου περὶ τὰς λέξεις καὶ τῶν κατ’ αὐτὰς λόγον.

Σύνταξις πρώτη:
Περὶ τῶν ἑνικῶν καὶ πληθυντικῶν ἐκφορῶν ε’.
Περὶ λέξεων πρὸς Σωστιγένη καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ε’.
Περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὰς λέξεις ἀνωμαλίας πρὸς Δίωνα δ’.
Περὶ τῶν πρὸς τὰς φωνὰς σωρίτων λόγων γ’.
Περὶ σολοικισμῶν.
Περὶ σολοικιζόντων λόγων πρὸς Διονύσιον α’.
Λόγωι παρὰ τὰς συνήθειας α’.
Λέξεις πρὸς Διονύσιον α’.

Σύνταξις δευτέρα:
Περὶ τῶν στοιχεῖων τοῦ λόγου καὶ τῶν λεγομένων ε’.
Περὶ τῆς συντάξεως τῶν λεγομένων δ’.

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VII. 192. CHRYSIPPUS

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.
Περὶ τῆς συντάξεως καὶ στοιχείων τῶν λεγομένων πρὸς Φίλιππον γ’.
Περὶ τῶν στοιχείων τοῦ λόγου πρὸς Νικίαν α’.
Περὶ τοῦ πρὸς ἐπερα λεγομένου α’.

Σύνταξις τρίτη.
Πρὸς τοὺς μὴ διαφορομένους β’.
Περὶ ἄμφιβολων πρὸς ’Απολλάν δ’.
Περὶ τῶν τροπικῶν ἄμφιβολων α’.
Περὶ συνημμένης τροπικῆς ἄμφιβολίας β’.
Πρὸς τὸ περὶ ἄμφιβολων Πανθοίδου β’.
Περὶ τῆς εἰς τὰς ἄμφιβολίας εἰσαγωγῆς ε’.
’Επιστομῇ τῶν πρὸς ’Επικράτην ἄμφιβολων α’.
Συνημμένα πρὸς τὴν εἰσαγωγήν τῶν εἰς τὰς ἄμφιβολίας β’.

Λογικοῦ τόπου πρὸς τοὺς λόγους καὶ τοὺς τρόπους.

Σύνταξις πρώτη.
Τέχνη λόγων καὶ τρόπων πρὸς Διοσκουρίδην ε’.

Περὶ τῶν λόγων γ’.
Περὶ τρόπων συντάσσεως πρὸς Στηρσαγόραν β’.
Σύγκρισις τῶν τροπικῶν ἀξιωμάτων α’.
Περὶ ἀντιστρεφόντων λόγων καὶ συνημμένων α’.
Πρὸς ’Αγάθωνα ὁ περὶ τῶν ἐξῆς προβλημάτων α’.
Περὶ τοῦ τύπα συλλογιστικά τινος μετ’ ἄλλον τε καὶ μετ’ ἄλλων α’.
VII. 193–194. CHRYSSIPPUS

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 Ἀρισταγάμαν α'.
Περὶ τοῦ τάπτεσθαι τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων ἐν πλείοσι πρόποις α'.
Πρὸς τὰ αὐτειρημένα τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων ἐν συνλογισμικῷ καὶ ἀσυνλογιστής τετάχθαι πρόπῳ β'.
Πρὸς τὰ αὐτειρημένα ταῖς τῶν συνλογισμῶν ἀναλύσεως γ'.
Πρὸς τὸ περὶ πρόπων Φίλωνος πρὸς Τιμόστρατον α'.
Δογικὰ συνημμένα πρὸς Τιμοκράτην καὶ Φιλομαθῆ eis τὰ περὶ λόγων καὶ πρόπων α'.

Σύνταξις δευτέρα:
Περὶ τῶν περαινόντων λόγων πρὸς Ζήνωνα α'.
Περὶ τῶν πρῶτων καὶ ἀναποδείκτων συνλογισμῶν πρὸς Ζήνωνα α'.
Περὶ τῆς ἀναλύσεως τῶν συνλογισμῶν α'.
Περὶ τῶν παρελκόντων λόγων πρὸς Πασίλιον β'.
Περὶ τῶν εἰς τοὺς συνλογισμοὺς θεωρημάτων α'.
Περὶ συνλογισμῶν εἴσαγωγικῶν πρὸς Ζήνωνα α'.
Τῶν πρὸς εἴσαγωγὴν τρόπων πρὸς Ζήνωνα γ'.
Περὶ τῶν κατὰ ψευδὴ σχήματα συνλογισμῶν ε'.
Δόγματος συνλογιστικῷ κατ' ἀνάλυσιν εἰς τοῖς ἀναποδείκτοις α'.
Τροπικὰ γεγονότα πρὸς Ζήνωνα καὶ Φιλομαθῆ α'
(τούτῳ δοκεῖ Ψευδέπιγραφοι).

306
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 Ἀθηνᾶδὴν α’ (ψευδεπίγραφοι).

196 Δόγμαι μεταπιπτόντες πρὸς τὴν μεσότητα γ’ (ψευδ-επίγραφα).

Πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρεινίου διαξευκτικοὺς α’.

Σύνταξις τετάρτη.

Περὶ ὑποθέσεων πρὸς Μελέαγρον γ’.

Δόγμαι ὑποθετικοὶ εἰς τοὺς νόμους πρὸς Μελέαγρον πάλιν α’.

Δόγμαι ὑποθετικοὶ πρὸς εἰσαγωγὴν β’.

Δόγμαι ὑποθετικοὶ θεωρημάτων β’.

Δύσεις τῶν Ἥδονον ὑποθετικῶν β’.

Δύσεις τῶν Ἀλεξίανδρον ὑποθετικῶν γ’ (ψευδεπίγραφα).

Περὶ ἐκθέσεων πρὸς Λαοδάμαντα α’.

Σύνταξις πέμπτη.

Περὶ τῆς εἰς τῶν ψευδόμενων εἰσαγωγῆς πρὸς Ἀριστο-κρέοντα α’.

Δόγμαι ψευδόμενων πρὸς εἰσαγωγὴν α’.

Περὶ τῶν ψευδόμενων πρὸς Ἀριστοκρέοντα 5’.

Σύνταξις ἑκτη.

Πρὸς τοὺς νομίζοντας καὶ ψευδή καὶ ἀληθῆ εἶναι α’.

197 Πρὸς τοὺς διὰ τῆς τορῆς διαλύοντας τῶν ψευδόμενων λόγων πρὸς Ἀριστοκρέοντα β’.

a A well-known fallacy; see Book II. § 108.

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VII. 195–197. CHRYSIPPUS

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 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.
'Αποδείξεις πρὸς τὸ μὴ δεῖν τέμνειν τὰ ἀόριστα α'.
Πρὸς τὰ αὐτερημένα τοὺς κατὰ τῆς τομῆς τῶν ἀορίστων πρὸς Πασίλιον γ'.
Λέεις κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαῖους πρὸς Διοσκουρίδην α'.
Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ψευδομένου λύσεως πρὸς 'Αριστοκρέοντα γ'.
Λέεις τῶν 'Ἡδίλου ὑποθετικῶν πρὸς 'Αριστοκρέοντα καὶ 'Απολλάν α'.

Σύνταξις ἐβδόμην.
Πρὸς τοὺς φάσκοντας τὰ λήμματα ἔχειν ψευδὴ τὸν ψευδόμενον λόγον α'.
Περὶ ἀποφασκοντος πρὸς τὸν 'Αριστοκρέοντα β'.
Λόγοι ἀποφάσκοντες πρὸς γυμνασίαιν α'.
Περὶ τοῦ παρὰ μικρὸν λόγου πρὸς Στησαγόραν α' β'.
Περὶ τῶν εἰς τὰς ὑπολήψεις λόγων καὶ ὑστυχαζόντων πρὸς 'Ονήτορα β'.

Περὶ τοῦ ἐγκεκαλυμμένου πρὸς 'Αριστόβουλον β'.
Περὶ τοῦ διαλειτοθέτος πρὸς 'Ἀθηνάδην α'.

Σύνταξις ὅγδοη.
Περὶ τοῦ οὔτιδος πρὸς Μενεκράτην η'.
Περὶ τῶν ἕξ ἀορίστου καὶ ὁμορμένου λόγων πρὸς Πασίλιον 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.
DILOGESES LAERTIUS

Περὶ οὕτως λόγου πρὸς Ἐπικράτην α’.

Σύνταξις ἐνάτη:

Περὶ τῶν σοφισμάτων πρὸς Ἡρακλείδην καὶ Πόλλιν β’.
Περὶ τῶν ἀπόρων διαλεκτικῶν πρὸς Διοσκορίδην ε’.
Πρὸς τὸ Ἀρκεσιλάου μεθόδιον πρὸς Σφαῖρον α’.

Σύνταξις δεκάτη:

Κατὰ τὴν συνηθείας πρὸς Μητρόδωρον ε’.
'Ὄπερ τῆς συνηθείας πρὸς Γοργιππίδην ζ’.

Λογικοῦ τόπου τὰ τῶν προειρημένων τεττάρων
dιαφορῶν ἐκτὸς ὄντα καὶ περιέχοντα <τὰ> σποράδην
καὶ οὐ σωματικὰς ζητήσεις λογικὰς, περὶ τῶν
cataleγομένων ζητημάτων ἐννέα καὶ τριάκοντα.
όμοια τὰ πάντα τοῦ λογικοῦ ἐνδεκα καὶ τριακόσια.

199 Ἦθικον λόγου τοῦ περὶ τὴν διάρθρωσιν τῶν
ηθικῶν ἐννοιῶν.

Σύνταξις πρώτη:

'Ὑπογραφὴ τοῦ <ήθικοῦ> λόγου πρὸς Θεόπορον α’.
Θέσεις ἧθικαὶ α’.
Ἡθικὰ λόγια εἰς τὰ δόγματα πρὸς Φιλομαθῆ γ’.
"Ορῶν τῶν τῶν ἀντιεῖν πρὸς Μητρόδωρον β’.
"Ορῶν τῶν τῶν φαινόν πρὸς Μητρόδωρον β’.

312
Of the “Nobody” Argument, addressed to Epierates, 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.
"Ορων τῶν ἀναμέσων πρὸς Μητρόδωρον β'.
"Ορων τῶν κατὰ γένος πρὸς Μητρόδωρον γ'.
"Ορων τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας πρὸς Μητρόδωρον α' β'.

Σύνταξις δευτέρα:
Περὶ τῶν ὄρμων πρὸς 'Αριστοκλέα γ'.
Περὶ τῶν ὄρων πρὸς Μητρόδωρον γ'.

Σύνταξις τρίτη:
Περὶ τῶν οὐκ ὄρθως τοὺς ὄρους ἀντιλεγομένων πρὸς Λαοδάμαντα γ'.

200 Πιθανά εἰς τοὺς ὄρους πρὸς Διοσκουρίδην β'.
Περὶ εἰδῶν καὶ γενών πρὸς Γοργιπιδῆν β'.
Περὶ διαφέρεσεων α'.
Περὶ ἐναντίων πρὸς Διονύσιον β'.
Πιθανὰ πρὸς τὰς διαφέρεσις καὶ τὰ γένη καὶ τὰ εἴδη καὶ
<τὰ> περὶ τῶν ἐναντίων α'.

Σύνταξις τετάρτη:
Περὶ τῶν ἑτυμολογικῶν πρὸς Διοκλέα γ'.
'Ετυμολογικῶν πρὸς Διοκλέα δ'.

Σύνταξις πέμπτη:
Περὶ παραοιμῶν πρὸς Ζηνόδοτον β'.
Περὶ ποιημάτων πρὸς Φιλομαθῆ α'.
Περὶ τῶν πῶς δεῖ τῶν ποιημάτων ἀκούειν β'.
Πρὸς τοὺς κριτικοὺς πρὸς Διόδωρον α'.
314
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.
'Ἡθικοῦ τόπου περὶ τὸν κοινὸν λόγον καὶ τὰς ἐκ τούτου συνισταμένας τέχνας καὶ ἀρετάς.

Σύνταξις πρώτη

Πρὸς τὰς ἀναξωραφήσεις πρὸς Τυμώνακτα α'.
Περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἐκκατα λέγομεν καὶ διανοούμεθα α'.
Περὶ τῶν ἐνυνοῦν πρὸς Λαοδάμαντα β'.
Περὶ ὑπολήψεως πρὸς Πυθώνακτα γ'.
'Αποδείξεις πρὸς τὸ μή δοξάσεω τὸν σοφὸν α'.
Περὶ καταλήψεως καὶ ἐπιστήμης καὶ ἀγνοίας δ'.
Περὶ λόγου β'.
Περὶ τῆς χρήσεως τοῦ λόγου πρὸς Δεπτίνην.

Σύνταξις δευτέρα

Περὶ τοῦ ἐγκρίνειν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τὴν διαλεκτικὴν σύν ταῖς ἀποδείξεις πρὸς Ζήμωνα β'.

Περὶ τῆς διαλεκτικῆς πρὸς Ἀριστοκρέοντα δ'.
Περὶ τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων τοῖς διαλεκτικοῖς γ'.
Περὶ τῆς ῥητορικῆς πρὸς Διοσκορίδην δ'.

Σύνταξις τρίτη

Περὶ ἔγεως πρὸς Κλέωνα γ'
Περὶ τέχνης καὶ ἀτεχνίας πρὸς Ἀριστοκρέοντα δ'
Περὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς τῶν ἀρετῶν πρὸς Διόδωρον δ'.
2. Ethics dealing with the common view and the sciences and virtues thence arising.

First series:
Against the Touching up of Paintings, addressed to Timonax, one book.
How it is we name each Thing and form a Conception of it, one book.
Of Conceptions, addressed to Laodamas, two books.
Of Opinion or Assumption, addressed to Pythonax, three books.
Proofs that the Wise Man will not hold Opinions, one book.
Of Apprehension, of Knowledge and of Ignorance, four books.
Of Reason, two books.
Of the Use of Reason, addressed to Leptines.

Second series:
That the Ancients rightly admitted Dialectic as well as Demonstration, addressed to Zeno, two books.
Of Dialectic, addressed to Aristocreon, four books.
Of the Objections urged against the Dialecticians, three books.
Of Rhetoric, addressed to Dioscurides, four books.

Third series:
Of formed State, or Habit, of Mind, addressed to Cleon, three books.
Of Art and the Inartistic, addressed to Aristocreon, four books.
Of the Difference between the Virtues, addressed to Diodorus, four books.
DIOGENES LAERTEIUS

Περὶ τοῦ ποιῶς εἶναι τὰς ἀρετὰς α'.
Περὶ ἀρετῶν πρὸς Πόλλιν β'.

'Ἡθικοῦ τόπου περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν.

Σύνταξις πρώτη.

Περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τῆς ἥδονῆς πρὸς Ἀριστοκρέοντα γ'.
'Αποδείξεις πρὸς τὸ μὴ εἶναι τὴν ἥδονὴν τέλος δ'.
'Αποδείξεις πρὸς τὸ μὴ εἶναι τὴν ἥδονὴν 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].
Κεφ. α'. ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΑΣ

1 Ἐπειδῆ δὲ τὴν Ἰωνικὴν φιλοσοφίαν τὴν ἀπὸ Ὁσαλοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταύτῃ διαγενομένους ἀνδρας ἀξιολόγους διεληλύθαμεν, φέρε καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἰταλικῆς διαλάβωμεν, ἢ ἤρξεν Πυθαγόρας Μνησάρχου δακτυλιογλύφου, ὡς φησιν Ἅρμιππος, Σάμιος ἢ, ὡς Ἀριστόξενος, Τυρρηνὸς ἀπὸ μιᾶς τῶν νήσων ἢς ἐσχον Ἀθηναίοι Τυρρηνοὺς ἐκ-βαλόντες. ἔνιοι δ' νῦν μὲν εἶναι Μαρμάκου τοῦ Ἰππάσου τοῦ Εὐθύφρους τοῦ Κλεωνύμου φιγάδος ἐκ Φιλιούντος, οίκείων δ' ἐν Σάμῳ τῶν Μάρ-μακον, ὅθεν Σάμιον τὸν Πυθαγόραν λέγεσθαι.

2 συστήναι δ' εἰς Λέσβον ἐλθόντα Φερεκύθῃ ὑπὸ Ζωῖλου τοῦ θείου. καὶ τρία ποτήρια κατασκευα-σάμενοι ἀργυρὰ δῶρον ἀπήγεικεν ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἱερέων εἰς Ἀγινππον. ἐσχε δ' ἄδελφούς, πρεσβύ-τερον μὲν Ἐυνυμον, μέσον δὲ Τυρρηνόν· καὶ δοῦλον Ζάμολξιν, ὃ Γέται θύσαι, Κρόνον νομίζοντες, ὃς φησιν Ἡρόδοτος. οὕτος ἤκουσε μὲν, καθά

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a Compare Clement Alex. Strom. i. 62 Πυθαγόρας μὲν ὀιν Μνησάρχου Σάμιος, ὡς φησιν Ἰππύδας, ὡς δὲ Ἀριστόξενος ἐν τῷ Πυθαγόρου βίω, καὶ Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ Θεόπομπος, Τυρρηνὸς ἢ, ὡς δὲ Νεάνθης, Σύριος ἢ Τύριος, ὥστε εἶναι κατὰ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν Πυθαγόραν βάρβαρον τὸ γένος. Porphyry also 320
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, son of the gem-engraver Mnæsarchus, and according to Hermippus, a Samian, or, according to Aristoxenus, a Tyrrenian from one of those islands which the Athenians held after clearing them of their Tyrrenian 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 Tyrrenenus the second; he also had a slave, Zamolxis, who is worshipped, so says Herodotus, by the Getans, (V. Pyth. i.) favours the connexion with Phœnicia, 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.
προείρηται, Φερεκύδου τοῦ Συρίου· μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτήν ἦκεν εἰς Σάμον καὶ ἤκουσεν Ἐρμοδάμαντος τοῦ ἀπογόνου Κρεσωφίλου, ἥδη πρεσβυτέρου. νέος δ’ ὄν καὶ φιλομαθὴς ἀπεδήμησε τῆς πατρίδος καὶ πάσας ἐμύνθη τάς θ’ Ἑλληνικὰς καὶ βαρβαρικὰς τελετάς. ἐγένετ’ οὖν ἐν Αἰγύπτων, ὑπηρίκα καὶ Πολυκράτης αὐτὸν Ἀμάσιδι συνείστηκε δι’ ἐπιστολῆς καὶ ἐξέμαθε τὴν φωνὴν αὐτῶν, καθά φησιν Ἀντιφῶν ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν ἐν ἀρετῇ πρωτευσάντων, καὶ παρὰ Χαλδαίους ἐγένετο καὶ Μάγοις. εἰτ’ ἐν Κρήτῃ σὺν Ἐπιμενίδῃ κατῆλθεν εἰς τὸ Ἰδαίων ἀντρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτων εἰς τὰ ἀδυτα· καὶ τὰ περὶ θεῶν ἐν ἀπορρήτοις ἐμαθεν. εἰτ’ ἐπανήλθεν εἰς Σάμον, καὶ εὐρών τὴν πατρίδα τυραννομένην ὑπὸ Πολυκράτους, ἀπῆρεν εἰς Κρότωνα τῆς Ἰταλίας· κάκει νόμους θεῖς τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις ἐδοξάσθη σὺν τοῖς μαθηταῖς, οἱ πρὸς τοὺς τριακοσίους ὄντες ψυκόνουμι ἀριστα τὰ πολιτικά, ὡστε σχεδὸν ἀριστοκρατίαν εἶναι τὴν πολιτείαν.

4 Τούτων φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ο Ποντικὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ τάδε λέγειν, ὡς εἰς ποτὲ γεγονός Αἰθαλίδης καὶ Ἐρμοῦ νῦν νομισθείν· τὸν δὲ Ἐρμῆν εἰς τῶν αὐτῶ ἐλέσθαι ὅ τι ἂν βουλήται πλὴν ἀθανασίας· αἰτήσασθαι οὖν ζωντα καὶ τελευτῶν μνήμην ἐχειν τῶν συμβαινόντων. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ ζωῇ πάντων διαμνημονεύσαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποθάνοι, τηρήσαι

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a Compare Clement Alex. Strom. i. 66 Θαλής . . . τοῖς Αἰγυπτίων προφήταις συμβεβληκέναι εἰρήται, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ Πυθαγόρας αὐτοῖς γε τούτοις ἐν δὲ οὗ καὶ περιετέμνετο, ἦν δὴ καὶ εἰς 322
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, 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

\[ \text{ta} \ \alpha\delta\iota\alpha \ \kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\theta\omicron\nu \ \tau\eta\nu \ \mu\nu\sigma\tau\iota\kappa\iota\nu \ \pi\alpha\rho\alpha \ \Lambda\i\zeta\nu\pi\tau\iota\omega\nu \ \varepsilon\kappa\mu\alpha\theta\omicron \ \phi\i\l\o\sigma\phi\i\i\nu\nu. \hf C\f also Iamblichus, Vit. Pyth. 18 sq.\]
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τὴν αὐτὴν μνήμην. χρόνων δ' ὦστερον εἰς Ἑὔφορβον ἐλθεῖν καὶ ὑπὸ Μενέλεω τρωθῆναι. οὖ δ' Ἑὔφορβος ἐλεγεν ὡς Αἰθαλίδης ποτὲ γεγονόι καὶ οὗτοι παρ' Ἐρμοῦ τὸ δώρον λάβοι καὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς περιπόλησιν, ὡς περιπολῆθη καὶ εἰς ὅσα φυτὰ καὶ ζώα παρεγένετο καὶ ὅσα ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν Ἀίδη ἔπαθε καὶ αὐτὸ πάντα ὑπομένουσαν.

5 ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ἑὔφορβος ἀποθάνοι, μεταβῆναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ εἰς Ἐρμότιμον, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς πίστιν θέλων δοῦναι εἶτ' ἀνήλθεν εἰς Βραγχίδας καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐπεδείξεν ἡν Μενέλαος ἀνεθηκεν ἁστίδα, (ἔφη γὰρ αὐτὸν, ὅτ' ἀπέπλευ ἐκ Τροίας, ἀναθείαι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῆς ἁστίδα,) διασεσηπτιαν ἦδη, μόνον δὲ διαμένοι τὸ ἑλεφάντινον πρόσωπον. ἐπειδὴ δ' Ἐρμότιμος ἀπέθανε, γενέσθαι Πῦρρον τὸν Δήλου ἀλικα καὶ πάντα πάλιν μυμνοεῖν, πῶς πρόσθεν Αἰθαλίδης, εἶτ' Ἑὔφορβος, εἶτα Ἐρμότιμος, εἶτα Πῦρρος γένοιτο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Πῦρρος ἀπέθανε, γενέσθαι Πυθαγόραν καὶ πάντων τῶν εἰρημένων μεμνησθαι.

6 Ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν Πυθαγόραν μηδὲ ἐν καταλυτεῖν σύγγραμμά φασιν παίζοντες. Ἡράκλειτος γοῦν ὁ φυσικὸς μονονοχή κέκραγε καὶ φησὶ. "Πυθαγόρας Μνησάρχου ἰστορίην ἤσκησεν ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα πάντων καὶ ἐκλεξάμενοι ταῦτας τὰς συγγραφὰς ἐπονήσατο ἑαυτοῦ σοφίαν, πολυμαθείαν, κακοτεχνίην." οὖτω δ' εἶπεν, ἐπειδήπερ ἐναρχό-

1 εἰτ' ἀνήλθεν] ἐπανήλθεν vulg.
2 κατ' οἷσιν Diels: κατοῖσιν mss.
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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.
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λόγου τοῦδε.' γέγραπται δὲ τῷ Πυθαγόρᾳ συγγράμματα τρία, Παιδευτικῶν, Πολιτικῶν, Φυσικῶν. 7 τὸ δὲ φερόμενον ὡς Πυθαγόρου Δύσιδος ἐστὶ τοῦ Ταραντίνου Πυθαγορικοῦ, φυγόντος εἰς Θήβας καὶ Ἑπαμεινώνδα καθηγησαμένου. φησὶ δ' Ἡρακλείδης δ' τοῦ Σαραπίωνος ἐν τῇ Σωτέωνος ἑπίτομῇ γεγραφέναι αὐτὸν καὶ Περὶ τοῦ ὀλοῦ ἐν ἐπεσιν, δεύτερον τὸν Ἰερόν λόγου, οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ.

ὁ νέοι, ἀλλὰ σέβεσθε μεθ' ἱστοχῆς τάδε πάντα: τρίτον Περὶ ψυχῆς, τέταρτον Περὶ εὐσεβείας, πέμπτον Ἡλοθαλῆ τοῦ Ἐπιχάρμου τοῦ Κάμου πατέρα, ἐκτὸν Κρότωνα καὶ ἄλλους. τὸν δὲ Μυστικὸν λόγον Ἰππάσου φησιν εἴναι, γεγραμμένον ἐπὶ διαβολῆ Πυθαγόρου, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀστωνος τοῦ Κροτωνιάτου γραφέντας ἀνα- 8 τεθῆναι Πυθαγόρα. φησὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀριστόδεκαν τὰ πλείστα τῶν ἡθικῶν δογμάτων λαβεῖν τὸν Πυθαγόραν παρὰ Θεμιστοκλείας τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖς.

"Ἰων δὲ ὁ Χῖος ἐν τοῖς Τριαγμοῖς φησιν αὐτὸν ἐνα ποιήσαντα ἀνανεγκεῖν εἰς Ὄρφεα. αὐτοῦ λέγουσι καὶ τοὺς Σκοπιάδας, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή, "Μὴ * * ἀναίδευ μηδενί." Σωσικράτης δ' ἐν Διαδοχαῖς φησιν αὐτὸν ἐρωτηθέντα ὑπὸ Λέοντος τοῦ Φλιασίων τυράννου τίς εἶπ, φιλόσοφος, εἰπεῖν. καὶ τὸν βίον ἑοικέναι πανηγύρει· ὃς οὖν εἰς ταύτην οἱ μὲν

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*a §§ 6-7 ἐνιοῦ 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 ἱστορίαν, an allusion to the study of mensuration in Egypt. The pretended explanation, "he spoke thus because . . ." introduces an extract from a work 326.*
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 *Heli-thales 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. Aristoxyenus 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.

\(^a\) *F.H.G.* Fr. 12, ii. p. 49. The same fragment is found in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 131 "Ἰων δὲ ὁ Χίως ἐν τοῖς Τριαγ-μοῖς καὶ Πυθαγόρας εἰς Ὀρφέα ἀνειγκεῖν τινα ἰστορεῖ. The verbal agreement, except for τινα ἰστορεῖ, is exact.

\(^b\) Cf. i. 12, whence it would seem that Sosicrates used Heraclides of Pontus as his authority for this anecdote.
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ἀγωνιοῦμενοι, οἱ δὲ κατ’ ἐμπορίαν, οἱ δὲ γε βελτιστοὶ ἔρχονται θεαταί, οὕτως ἐν τῷ βίῳ οἱ μὲν ἀνδρα-ποδώδεις, ἔφη, φύονται δόξης καὶ πλεονεξίας θηραταί, οἱ δὲ φιλόσοφοι τῆς ἀληθείας. καὶ τάδε μὲν ὄδε.

9 Ἐν δὲ τοῖς τρισὶ συγγράμμαι τοῖς προ-ειρημένοις φέρεται Πυθαγόρου τάδε καθολικῶς. οὐκ ἐὰν εὐχεσθαι ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι τὸ συμφέρον. τὴν μέθην ἐν ἀνθέν βλάβην καλεῖ καὶ πλησιμονὴν πάσαν ἀποδοκιμάζει, λέγων μὴ παραβαίνειν μήτε τῶν ποτῶν μήτε τῶν σιτίων μηδένα τὴν συμμετρίαν. καὶ περὶ ἄφροδισίων δὲ φησιν οὕτως. "Ἀφροδίσια χειμῶνος ποιέσθαι, μὴ θέρεος. φθινοπώρου δὲ καὶ ἥρος κουφότερα, βαρέα δὲ πάσαν ὠρὴν καὶ ἐς υγιείνην οὐκ ἀγαθά." ἀλλὰ καὶ ποτ' ἐρωτηθέντα πότε δεί πλησιάζειν εἰπεῖν· όταν βουλή γενέσθαι σωςτὸν ἀσθενεστέρου.

10 Διαρεῖται δὲ καὶ τὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου βίον οὕτως. "Παῖς εἰκοσι ἔτεα, νεηνίσκος εἶκοσι, νεηνίσκος εἶκοσι, γέρων εἶκοσι. αἱ δὲ ἡλικίαι πρὸς τὰς ὠρας ὡδὲ σύμμετροι. παῖς ἕαρ, νεηνίσκος θέρος, νεηνίσκος φθινόπωρον, γέρων χειμών." ἔστι δ’ αὐτῷ ὁ μὲν νεηνίσκος μειράκιον, ὁ δὲ νεηνίσκος ἀνήρ. εἴπε τοὺς πρῶτος, ὃς φησί Τίμαιος, κοινὰ τὰ φίλων εἶναι καὶ φιλίαι ἰσότητα. καὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ μαθηταὶ κατετίθεντο τὰς οὔσιας εἰς ἐν [ποιοῦ-μενοι]. πενταετίαν θ’ ἱσύχαζον, μόνον τῶν λόγων κατακοῦντες καὶ οὐδέπω Πυθαγόραν ὀρώντες εἰς ὁ δοκιμασθέεν· τούτωσι δ’ ἐγίνοντο τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ὀίβως μετείχον. ἀπείχοντο

a Because he lectured at night; cf. § 15 νυκτερινή ἀκρόασις. 328
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, 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 Δίως
σκήπτρον ἐντεύθεν πεποίηθαι, ὡς φησιν Ἠρμηνεύττος ἐν δεύτερῳ Περὶ Πυθαγόρου.

Καὶ γὰρ καὶ σεμνοπρεπέστατος λέγεται γενέσθαι καὶ οἱ μαθηται δόξαν εἶχον περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς εἶη Ὄπολλων ἐξ Ὡπερβορέων ἄφγμένοις. λόγοις δὲ ποτ’ αὐτοῦ παραγμονωθέντος τὸν μηρὸν ὄφθηναι χρυσοῦν καὶ ὁτι Νέσσος ὁ ποταμὸς διαβαίνοντα αὐτὸν προσαγορεύσαι πολὺς ἢν ὁ φάσκων. Τίμαιος τέ φησιν ἐν δεκάτῃ Ἰστοριῶν λέγειν αὐτὸν τὰς συνοικοῦσας ἀνδράσι θεῶν ἔχειν ὅνοματα, Κόρας, Νύμφας, εἶτα Μητέρας καλομένας. τούτων καὶ γεωμετριάν ἐπὶ πέρας ἀγαγεῖν, Μοίριδος πρῶτον εὐρόντος τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν στοιχείων αὐτῆς, ὡς φησιν Ἀντικλείδης ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου.

μάλιστα δὲ σχολάσαι τὸν Πυθαγόραν περὶ τὸ ἀριθμητικὸν εἴδος αὐτῆς τὸν τε κανόνα τὸν ἐκ μᾶς χορδῆς εὑρεῖν. οὐκ ἡμέλησε δ’ οὐδ’ ἱατρικῆς. φησὶ δ’ Ὅπολλόδωρος ὁ λογιστικὸς ἐκατόμβην θύσαι αὐτῶν, εὐρόντα ὅτι τοῦ ὃρθογωνίου τριγώνου ἡ ὑποτείνουσα πλευρὰ ἵσον δύναται ταῖς περιεχούσαις. καὶ ἐστιν ἐπίγραμμα οὕτως ἔχον.

ἡνίκα Πυθαγόρης τὸ περικλεῖς εὐρετὸ γράμμα, κεῖν’ ἐφ’ ὅτι κλεινὴν ἡ γαγε βουθυσίν.

Λέγεται δὲ καὶ πρῶτος κρέασιν ἀσκήσαι ἀθλητάς, καὶ πρῶτον γ’ Ἐυρυμένην, καθαὶ φησι Φαβωρίνος ἐν τρίτῳ τῶν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων, τῶν πρῶτον

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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. 330
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. He it was who brought geometry to perfection, while it was Moeris who first discovered the beginnings of the elements of geometry: Anticleides in his second book *On Alexander* 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:

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—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.
ισχάσι ξηραίς καὶ πυροίς ύγροῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πυροὶς σωμασκόντων αὐτούς, καθάπερ ὁ αὐτὸς Φαβωρῖνος
ἐν ὁγδόῃ Παντοδαπής ἱστορίας φησίν. οἱ δὲ Πυθαγόραν ἀλείπτην τινὰ τοῦτον σιτίσαι τὸν
τρόπον, μὴ τοῦτον. τοῦτον γὰρ καὶ τὸ φονεύειν ἀπαγορεύει, μὴ ὅτι γενέσθαι τῶν ἐξων κοινὸν
dίκαιον ἡμῖν ἐχοντων ψυχῆς. καὶ τόδε μὲν ἢν τὸ
πρόσχημα: τὸ δ’ ἀληθὲς τῶν ἐμψυχῶν ἀπηγόρευεν
ἀπεσθαί συνασκῶν καὶ συνεθῆς χὸν, εἰς εὐκολίαν
βίον τοὺς ἄνθρώπους, ὡστε εὐπορίστους αὐτοῖς
eῖναι τὰς τροφὰς, ἀπορὰ προσφερομένους καὶ λυτὸν
υόρῳ πίνουσιν. ἐντεύθεν γὰρ καὶ σωματὸς ύγίειαν
καὶ ψυχῆς δὲντητα περιγίνεσθαι. ἀμέλει καὶ
βωμὸν προσκυνῆσαι μόνον ἐν Δήλῳ τὸν Ἀπόλ-
λωνος τοῦ γενέτορος, ὥς ἐστιν ὁπίσθεν τοῦ Κερα-
τίνου, διὰ τὸ πυρὸς καὶ κριθὰς καὶ τόπανα μόνα
τίθεσθαι ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ ἀνευ πυρός, ἱερεῖον δὲ μηδέν,
ὡς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν Δηλίων πολιτείᾳ.

14 Πρῶτον τε φασι τοῦτον ἀποφήναι τὴν ψυχὴν
κύκλων ἀνάγκης ἀμείβουσαν ἄλλοτ’ ἄλλοσ ἐνδείσθαι
ζῷοις· καὶ πρῶτον εἰς τοὺς "Ελλῆνας μέτρα καὶ
σταθμὰ εἰσηγήσασθαί, καθά φησιν Ἀριστόδεξιος ὁ
μονακός· πρῶτον τε "Εστερον καὶ Φωσφόρον τὸν
αὐτὸν ἐπεῖν, ὡς φησι Παρμενίδης.1 οὕτω δ’ ἐθαυ-
μάσθη ὡστ’ ἐλεγεν τοὺς γνωρίμους αὐτὸν μάντιας
θεῶ φωνᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ γραφῇ φησι δι’
ἔπτα καὶ διηκοσίων ἐτῶν ἐξ ἀῖδεω παραγεγενήσθαι
ἐς ἄνθρώπους. τοιγὰρ καὶ προσεκαρτέρουν αὐτῶ

1 οἱ δὲ φασι Παρμενίδην Casaubon.

a Or rather “soft cheese”; cf. supra, i. § 7, note.
b Cf. Iamblichus, Vit. Pyth. 25, and Porphyry, De ab-
stinentia, i. 26.
trained on dried figs, on butter, 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, 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 Aristoxenius 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. 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,

\[\text{Cf. inf. ix. 23.}\]
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καὶ τῶν λόγων ἐνεκα προσηγεσαν καὶ Λευκανοὶ καὶ Πευκέτιοι Μεσσαπιοί τε καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι.

15 Μέχρι δὲ Φιλολάου οὐκ ἦν τι γνώναι Πυθαγόρειον δόγμα: οὔτος δὲ μόνος ἐξήνεγκε τὰ διαβόητα τρία βιβλία, ἀ Πλάτων ἐπέστειλεν ἐκατόν μνὼν ὄνηθῆναι. τῶν θ᾽ ἐξακοσίων οὐκ ἐλάττουσ ἐπὶ τὴν νυκτερινὴν ἀκρόασιν ἀπήντων αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰ τινὲς ἀξίωθείναν αὐτὸν θεάσασθαι, ἔγγαφον πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ὡς μεγάλου τινὸς τετυχηκότες. Μεταποντίνοι γε μὴν τὴν μὲν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ Δήμητρος ἑρόν ἐκάλουν, τὸν στενωπὸν δὲ μουσεῖον, ὅσ φησι Φαβωρίνος ἐν Παντοδαπαῖς ἱστορίαις· ἐλέγον τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Πυθαγόρειοι μὴ εἶναι πρὸς πάντας πάντα ῥητά, ὡς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλεος ἐν
dekάτη Παιδευτικῶν νόμων· ἐνθα καὶ Ξενόφιλον τὸν Πυθαγορικόν, ἑρωτηθέντα πῶς ἂν μάλιστα τὸν υἱὸν παιδεύσειεν, εἰπείν, εἰ πόλεως εὐνομομενής γεννηθεί. ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπεργάσασθαι καλοὺς τε κάγαθους ἄνδρας, ἀτὰρ καὶ Ζάλευκον καὶ Χαρώνδαν τοὺς νομοθέτας· ἵκανός τε γὰρ ἦν φίλιας ἐργάτης τά τ᾽ ἄλλα καὶ εἰ τινὰ πῦθοι τῶν συμβόλων αὐτοῦ κεκοινωνηκότα, εὐθὺς τε προσημαρίζετο καὶ φίλον κατεσκεύαζεν.

16 ᾿Ἡν δ᾽ αὐτῷ τὰ σύμβολα τάδε· πῦρ μαχαίρα μη σκαλευέων, ἦγον μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν, ἕπι χοῦνικος μη καθίζειν, καρδίνη μή ἔσθειν, φορτίον μη συγκαθαρεῖν, ουνεπιτιθέναι δε, τὰ στρώματα ἓνει συνδεδεμένα ἐχειν, ἐν δακτυλίω ἐικόνα θεοῦ μη περιφέρειν, χύτρας ἵχνος 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.

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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*. 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, 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

\[ \chiοῖνξ \] was about a quart, in dry measure.
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δάδιω θάκον μη ὁμόργυνον, πρὸς ἦλιον τετραμένον μη ὁμίχειν, τάς λεωφόρους μη βαδίζειν, μη βαδίως δεξιάν ἐμβάλλειν, ὁμοροφίους χελιδόνας μη ἔχειν, γαμψῶνυχα μη τρέφειν, ἀπονυχίσμασι καὶ κουραῖς μη ἐπουρεῖν μηδὲ ἐφίστασθαι, ὀξεῖαν μᾶχαιραν ἀποστρέφειν, ἀποδημοῦντα ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁροῖς ἀνεπιστρεπτεῖν.

18 Ὡθελε δ' αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν πῦρ μαχαίρα μη σκαλεύειν δυναστῶν ὁργὴν καὶ οἰδοῦντα θυμὸν μη κινεῖν. τὸ δὲ ξυγὸν μη υπερβαίνειν, τούτεστι τὸ ἱσον καὶ δίκαιον μη υπερβαίνειν. ἐπὶ τε χοίνικος μη καθίζειν ἐν ῥω τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος φροντίδα ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος; ἢ γὰρ χοίνιξς ἥμερησίᾳ τροφῆ. διὰ δὲ τοῦ καρδίαν μη ἐσθιέν ἐδήλου μη τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνίας καὶ λύπαις κατατῆκεν. διὰ δὲ τοῦ εἰς ἀποδημίαν βαδίζοντα μη ἐπιστρέφεσθαι παρῆνει τοῖς ἀπαλλαττομένοις τοῦ βίου μη ἐπιθυμητικὸς ἔχειν τοῦ ζην μηδ’ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἡδονῶν ἐπάγεσθαι. καὶ τὰ ἀλλὰ πρὸς τάτα λοιπὸν ἐστὶν ἐκλαμβάνειν, ἵνα μη παρέλκωμεν.

19 Παντὸς δὲ μᾶλλον ἀπηγόρευε μητ’ ἔρυθινον ἐσθιέν μητε μελάνουρον, καρδίας τ’ ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ κυάμων· Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ φησι καὶ μήτρας καὶ τρίγλης ἐνίστε. αὐτὸν δ’ ἀρκεῖσθαι μέλιτι μόνῳ φασί τυνες ἡ κηρίῳ ἡ ἄρτῳ, οἰνὸν δὲ μεθ’ ἡμέραν μη γεύεσθαι· ὄψω τε τὰ πολλὰ λαχάνιος ἐφθοῖς τε καὶ ωμοῖς, τοῖς δὲ χαλαττίοις σπανίως. στολὴ δ’ αὐτῷ λευκή, καθαρά, καὶ στρώματα λευκὰ ἐξ ἑριῶν· τὰ γὰρ λινὰ οὕτω εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἀφίκτο τοὺς τόπους. οὐδέποτ’ ἐγνώσθη οὔτε διαχωρῶν οὔτε ἀφροδισιαξῶν οὔτε μεθυσθεῖς. 20 ἀπείχετο καὶ γέλωτος καὶ πάσης ἀρεσκείας ὅτον
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. ὁργιζόμενος τ' οὔτε οἰκέτην ἐκόλαξεν οὔτε ἑλεύθεροι, ὡς οὐδένα. ἐκάλει δὲ τὸ νουθετεῖν πεδαρτὰν. μαντικής τ' ἐχρῆτο τῇ διὰ τῶν κληρόνων τε καὶ οἰώνων, ἦκιστα δὲ τῇ διὰ τῶν ἐμπύρων, ἐξω τῇ διὰ λιβάνου. θυσίας τε ἐχρῆτο ἀψύχοις, οἱ δὲ εἰς φασιν, ὅτι ἀλέκτοροι μόνον καὶ ἐρίφοις γαλαθηνοὶ καὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις ἀπαλίας, ἦκιστα δὲ ἄρνασιν. οἱ γε μὴν Ἀριστοτέλειος πάντα μὲν τὰλλα συγ-χωρεῖν αὐτὸν ἐσθίειν ἐμψυχα, μόνον δὲ ἀπέχεσθαν τὸ βοὸς ἀρότηρος καὶ κριοῦ.

21 'Ο δ' αὐτὸς φησιν, ὡς προειρηται, καὶ τὰ δόγματα λαβεῖν αὐτὸν παρὰ τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖς Θεομαστοκλείας φησι δ'. Ἱερόνυμος κατελθόντα αὐτὸν εἰς ἀδώνι τὴν μὲν Ἡσιόδου ψυχῆν ἰδεῖν πρὸς κίον χαλκῶς δεδεμένην καὶ τρίζουσαν, τὴν δ' Ὁμήρου κρέμα τῆς μένην ἀπὸ δένδρου καὶ ὤφεις περὶ αὐτὴν ἀνθ' ὦν εἰπὼν περὶ θεῶν, κολαζομένους δὲ καὶ τοὺς μήθα θέλοντας συνεϊν ταῖς ἐαυτῶν γυναιξί. καὶ ὃ γε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τιμηθήναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Κρότων. φησὶ δ' Ἀριστοτέλειος ὁ Κυρηναῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ φυσιο-λόγων Πυθαγόρας αὐτὸν ὄνομασθήναι ὅτι τῆς ἀλήθειαν ἦγορευν οὐχ ἦττον τοῦ Πυθίου.

22 Λέγεται παρεγγυναν αὐτὸν ἐκάστοτε τοὺς μαθηταῖς τάδε λέγειν εἰς τὸν οἶκον εἰσίνθυσι, τῆς παρέβην; τὶ δ' ἐρεξα; τί μοι δέον οὐκ ἐτελέσθη, μειον σφάγα τε θεοῖς προσφέρειν κωλύειν, μόνον δέ ἐς τὸν ἀναίμακτον βωμὸν προσκυνεῖν. μηδ' ὄμνυναι ταθεοὺς· αἰσχεῖν γάρ αὐτὸν δεῖν ἀξιόπιστον παρέχειν.
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

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τοὺς τε πρεσβυτέρους τιμάν, τὸ προηγούμενον τῷ χρόνῳ τιμιώτερον ἠγουμένους· ὃς ἐν κόσμῳ μὲν ἀνατολὴν δύσεως, ἐν βίῳ δ' ἀρχὴν τελευτῆς, ἐν ξωῇ δὲ γένεσιν φθορᾶς. καὶ θεοὺς μὲν δαμόνοιν προτιμάν, ἤρωας δ' ἄνθρώπων, ἄνθρώπων δὲ μάλιστα τοὺς γονέας. ἀλλήλοις θ' ὀμιλεῖν, ὡς τοὺς μὲν φίλους ἐχθροὺς μὴ ποιῆσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐχθροὺς φίλους ἐργάσασθαι. ιδιὸν τε μηδὲν ἣγεισθαι. νόμω βοηθεῖν, ἀνομία πολεμεῖν· φυτὸν ἴμερον μήτε φθίνειν μήτε σίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ξὺφον δ' μὴ βλάπτει ἄνθρώπους. αἰδῶ καὶ εὐλαβεῖν εἶναι μήτε γέλωτι κατέχεσθαι μήτε σκυθρωπάζειν. φεύγειν σαρκῶν πλεονασμὸν, δοσιπορίης ἄνεσιν καὶ ἐπίτασιν ποιεῖσθαι, μνήμην ἄσκειν, ἐν ὀργῇ μήτε τι λέγειν μήτε πράσσειν, μαντικὴν πάσαν τιμὰν, ὡδαίς χρήσαται πρὸς λύραν ὑμνῷ τε θεῶν καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἀγαθῶν εὐλογον χάριν ἐχειν. 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 ἀποράχους ἀποτελεῖν.

Φησὶ δ' ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Ταῖς τῶν ϕιλοσόφων διαδοχαῖς καὶ ταῦτα εὐρηκέναι ἐν Πυθαγορικῶι

υπομνήμασιν. ἀρχῇ μὲν ἀπάντων μονάδα· ἐκ δὲ τῆς μονάδος ἀόριστον δυάδα ὡς ἄν υλὴν τῇ

1 <οὐ> πᾶσαν coll. § 20 Casaubon.

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.* The principle of all things is the monad or unit; arising from this monad the

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* Alexander in his *Successions of Philosophers* says that he found in the Pythagorean memoirs the following tenets as well. The principle of all things is the monad or unit; arising from this monad the

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All this D. L. ignores, going back to a Hellenistic document long forgotten.
μονάδι αιτίω ὑποστήναι· ἐκ δὲ τῆς μονάδος καὶ τῆς ἀορίστου δυνάδος τοὺς ἀριθμούς· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἀριθμῶν τὰ σημεῖα· ἐκ δὲ τούτων τὰς γραμμάς, ἐξ ὧν τὰ ἐπίπεδα σχῆματα· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐπιπέδων τὰ στερεὰ σχῆματα· ἐκ δὲ τούτων τὰ αἰσθητὰ σώματα, ὃν καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα εἶναι τέτταρα, πῦρ, ὑδωρ, γῆν, αέρα· μεταβάλλειν δὲ καὶ τρέπεσθαι δι᾽ ὅλων, καὶ γίνεσθαι ἐξ αὐτῶν κόσμον ἐμψυχον, νοερόν, σφαιροειδῆ, μέσην περιέχοντα τὴν γῆν καὶ αὐτὴν σφαιροειδῆ καὶ περιουκουμένην. εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἀντίποδας καὶ τὰ ἡμῖν κάτω ἐκείνους ἄνω· ἰσόμορφα τ’ εἶναι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ φῶς καὶ σκότος, καὶ θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρόν, καὶ ἔρημον καὶ ύγρόν· ἄν κατ’ ἐπικράτειαν θερμοῦ μὲν θέρος γίνεσθαι, ψυχροῦ δὲ χειμῶνα, ἔρημοῦ δ’ ἔαρ, καὶ ύγροῦ φθινόπωρον. ἆν δὲ ἰσομορῆ, τὰ κάλλιστα εἶναι τοῦ ἔτους, οὗ τὸ μὲν θάλλον ἔαρ ύγεινόν, τὸ δὲ φθινόν φθινόπωρον νοσερόν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας θάλλειν μὲν τὴν ἔως, φθίνειν δὲ τὴν ἐσπέραν· ὅθεν καὶ νοσερώτεραν εἶναι. τὸν τε περὶ τῆς γῆς ἀέρα ἀσειστον καὶ νοσερόν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῶ πάντα θυγητὰ· τὸν δὲ ἀνωτάτω ἀεικίνητον τ’ εἶναι καὶ καθαρόν καὶ ύγιά καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀθάνατα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θεία. ἦλιον τε καὶ σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἂστέρας εἶναι θεούς· ἐπικρατεῖν γὰρ τὸ θερμὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὅπερ ἐστὶ ζωῆς αἰτίων. τὴν τε σελήνην λάμπεσθαι ύψ’ ἦλιον. καὶ ἀνθρώποι εἰναι πρὸς θεούς συγγένειαν, κατὰ τὸ μετέχειν ἀνθρωπον θερμοῦ· διὸ καὶ προνοεῖσθαι τὸν θεόν ἡμῶν. εἰμαρμένην τε τῶν ὅλων καὶ κατὰ μέρος αἰτίαν εἶναι τῆς διουκήσεως. διήκειν τ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἦλιον ἀκτίνα διὰ τοῦ αἰθέρος τοῦ τε ψυχροῦ καὶ παχέος. 342
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 ψῦχον παχὺν αἰθέρα. ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἀκτίνα καὶ εἰς τὰ βεῦθη δύσθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἱωποιεῦν πάντα. καὶ ξῆν μὲν πάνθ᾽ ὅσα μετέχει τοῦ θερμοῦ· διὸ καὶ τὰ φυτὰ ἢ διὰ ἡπειροῦ ἴχνην μέντοι μὴ ἔχειν πάντα. εἶναι δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπόσπασμα αἰθέρος καὶ τοῦ θερμοῦ καὶ τοῦ ψυχροῦ, τῷ συμμετέχειν ψυχροῦ αἰθέρος. διαφέρειν τε ψυχὴν ζωῆς· ἀθάνατον τ᾽ εἶναι αὐτὴν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ ἀφ᾽ οὐ ἀπέσπασται ἀθάνατον ἔστι. τὰ δὲ ζώα γεννᾶσθαι εἰς ἀλλήλων ἀπὸ σπερμάτων, τὴν δ᾽ ἐκ γῆς γένεσιν ἀδύνατον ὕφιστασθαι. τὸ δὲ σπέρμα εἶναι σταγώνα ἐγκεφάλου περιέχουσαν ἐν ἑαυτῇ θερμῷ ἀτμοῖ· ταῦταν δὲ προσφερομένην τῇ μήτρᾳ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ ἐγκεφαλοῦ ἴχωρα καὶ ψῦχον καὶ αἷμα προέσθαι, ἐξ ὑπὸ σάρκας τε καὶ νεῦρα καὶ ὅστα καὶ πρίξας καὶ τὸ ὄλον συνιστάσθαι σῶμα· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀτμοῦ ψυχὴν καὶ αὐσθησιν. μορφοῦσθαι δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον παγὼν ἐν ἡμέραις τεσσαράκοντα, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς τῆς ἀρμονίας λόγους ἐν ἐπτὰ ἢ ἐννέα ἡ δέκα τὸ πλείστον μὴ τελεωθὲν ἀποκινῆσθαι τὸ βρέφος· ἔχειν δ᾽ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντας τοὺς λόγους τῆς ζωῆς, ὡς εἰρομένων συνέχεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς τῆς ἀρμονίας λόγους, ἐκάστων ἐν τεταγμένοις καιροῖς ἐπιγνωμένων· τὴν τ᾽ αὐσθησιν κοινῶς καὶ κατ᾽ εἴδος τὴν ὄρασιν ἀτμοῖ τῶν εἶναι ἄγαν θερμῶν. καὶ διὰ τούτο λέγεται δι᾽ ἀέρος ὅραν καὶ δι᾽ ὑδατος· ἀντερείδεσθαι γὰρ τὸ θερμὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ· ἐπεί τοι εἰ ψυχρὸς ἢ ὅ ἐν τοῖς ὀμμασιν ἀτμός, διειστήκει ἄν πρὸς τὸν ὀμοιον ἀέρα· νῦν δὲ * * ἐστιν ὃς ἠλίου πύλας καλεὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς. 344
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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

1 ἔστιν ἐναντίος Apelt.
τὰ δ’ αὐτὰ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀκοῆς καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν αἰσθήσεων δογματίζει.

30 Τὴν δ’ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴν διαίρεσθαι τριχῇ, εἰς τε νοῦν καὶ φρένας καὶ θυμόν. νοῦν μὲν οὖν καὶ θυμὸν εἶναι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ζύμοις, 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. τρέφεσθαι τε τὴν ψυχήν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος. τοὺς δὲ λόγους ψυχῆς ἀνέμους εἶναι. ἀφρατόν τ’ εἶναι αὐτὴν καὶ τοὺς λόγους, ἔπει καὶ ὁ αἴθηρ ἀφρατός. δεσμά τ’ εἶναι τῆς ψυχῆς τὰς φλέβας καὶ τὰς ἀρτηρίας καὶ τὰ νεῦρα. ὅταν δ’ ἴσχυς καὶ καθ’ αὐτὴν γενομένη ὑρεμὴ, δεσμὰ γίνεσθαι αὐτῆς τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰ ἔργα. ἐκρυφθεῖσαν δ’ αὐτὴν ἐπὶ γῆς πλάζεσθαι ἐν τῷ ἀέρι ὁμοίαν τῷ σωμάτι. τὸν δ’ Ἐρμῆν ταμιάν εἴναι τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ διὰ τούτῳ πομπαίων λέγεσθαι καὶ πυλαίον καὶ χθόνιον, ἑπειδὴ περὶ σῶστος εἰσπέμπει ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπὸ τῇ γῆς καὶ ἐκ βαλάντης καὶ ἀγεσθῇ τὰς μὲν καθαρὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ὑμίστον, τὰς δ’ ἀκαθάρτους μὴ τ’ ἐκεῖνας πελάζειν μὴ τ’ ἀλλήλαις, δεῖσθαι δ’ ἐν ἀρρήκτοις δεσμοῖς ὑπ’ Ἐρμύνων. εἴναι τε πάντα τὸν ἀέρα ψυχῶν ἐμπλεων καὶ ταύτας δαιμονᾶς τε καὶ ἡρωᾶς ὀνομάζεσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων πέμπεσθαι ἀνθρώπων τοὺς τ’ ὀνείρους καὶ τὰ σημεῖα νόσου τε καὶ ύγιείας, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ καὶ προ-
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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 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 or heroes; these are they who send men dreams and signs of future disease and health, and not to men alone, but to

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\[ a \] The word \( \lambda \gamma\alpha\nuς \) is translated above by "ratios," i.e. proportionalities. With \( \alpha\nu\epsilon\mu\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\sigma\varsigma \) compare the Stoic air-currents.

\[ b \] The Greek daemons (\( \delta\alpha\iota\iota\nu\omicron\omicron\nu\epsilon\varsigma \)) are, according to Hesiod, \( \alpha \upsilon \iota \alpha \nu \) 121-126, superhuman beings, guardians and benefactors of mankind, watching over the earth whereon once they lived.
βάτοις καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις κτήνεσιν· εἰς τε τούτους γίνεσθαι τούς τε καθαροὺς καὶ ἀποτροπιασμοὺς μαντικήν τε πάσαν καὶ κληρονομαν καὶ τὰ ὁμοια. μέγιστον δὲ φησιν εἶναι τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις τὸ τὴν ψυχὴν πείσαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἁγαθὸν ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ κακὸν. εὐδαιμονεῖν τ’ ἀνθρώπους ὅταν ἁγαθὴ ψυχὴ προσγένηται, μηδέποτε δ’ ἢρεμεῖν μηδὲ τὸν αὐτὸν * * βόσν κρατεῖν.

33 "Ὀρκιόν τ’ εἶναι τὸ δίκαιον καὶ διὰ τούτο Δία ὁρκιόν λέγεσθαι. τὴν τ’ ἀρετὴν ἀρμονίαν εἶναι καὶ τὴν ύγίειναν καὶ τὸ ἁγαθόν ἀπαν καὶ τὸν θεόν. διὸ καὶ καθ’ ἀρμονίαν συνεστάναι τὰ ὀλα. φιλίαν τ’ εἶναι ἐναρμόνιον ἱσότητα. τιμᾶς θεὸς δεῖν νομίζειν καὶ ἢρωσι μὴ τὰς ἵσας, ἄλλα θεός οἷος μετ’ εὐφημίας λευχεμονοῦντας καὶ ἄγνεύοντας, ἢρωσι δ’ ἀπὸ μέσου ἡμέρας. τὴν δ’ ἄγνείαν εἶναι διὰ καθαρμῶν καὶ λουτρῶν καὶ περιρραντηρίων καὶ διὰ τοῦ καθαρεῖν ἀπὸ τε κήδους καὶ λεχοῦς καὶ μιᾶσματος παντὸς καὶ ἀπέχεσθαι βρωτῶν θυσειδίων τε κρεῶν καὶ τριγλῶν καὶ μελανοῦρων καὶ φῶν καὶ τῶν φυτῶν καὶ κυάμων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅπως παρακελεύονται καὶ οἱ τὰς τελετὰς ἐν

34 τοῖς ἑροίς ἐπιτελοῦντες. φησὶ δ’ Ἄριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων1 παραγγέλλειν αὐτὸν ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν κνάμων ἢ τοὺς αἰδοίους εἰσὶν ὁμοίοις ἢ ὅτι Ἀδοὺ πυλαῖς. * * ἀγόνατον γὰρ μόνον ἢ ἢ ἢ ἢ ἢ ἢ ἢ τί τοῦ ὀλον φύσει ὁμοίοις ἢ ὅτι ὄλιγαρχικον κληροῦσαι γοῦν αὐτοῖς. τὰ δὲ πεσόντα μὴ ἅναρείσθαι, υπὲρ τοῦ ἐθίζεσθαι μὴ ἀκολάστως ἐσθίειν ἢ ὅτι ἐπὶ τελευτή τυνὸς· καὶ

1 The marginal lemma Περὶ τῶν κνάμων has supplanted the proper title of Aristotle’s work, which probably was Περὶ τῶν Π. 348
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-
Αριστοφάνης δέ τῶν ἡρώων φησίν εἶναι τὰ πίπτοντα, λέγων ἐν τοῖς Ἡρωσι, μηδε γευσθ' ἄττ' ἀν ἐντὸς τῆς τραπέζης καταπέσῃ.

'Αλεκτρονόνος μὴ ἀπτεσθαι λευκοῦ, ὅτι ἱερὸς τοῦ Μηνὸς καὶ ἱκέτης τοῦ δ' ἢ τῶν ἀγαθῶν. τῷ τε Μηνὶ ἱερός: σημαίνει γὰρ τὰς ωρας. καὶ τὸ μὲν λευκὸν τῆς τάγαθοῦ φύσεως, τὸ δὲ μελαν τοῦ κακοῦ. τῶν ἰχθύων μὴ ἀπτεσθαί, ὅσοι ἱεροί: μὴ γὰρ δεῖν τὰ αὐτὰ τετάχθαι θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἐλευθέρους καὶ δούλους. ἂρτον μὴ καταγνύειν, ὅτι ἐπὶ ἑνα οἱ πάλαι τῶν φίλων ἐφοίτων, καθάπερ ἔτι καὶ νῦν οἱ βάρβαροι: μηδὲ διαίρεσιν, ὅς συνάγει αὐτοὺς. οἱ δὲ, πρὸς τὴν ἐν ἄδου κρίσιν: οἱ δ' εἰς πόλεμον δειλιὰν ποιεῖν. οἱ δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτον ἄρχεται τὸ ὅλον.

Καὶ τῶν σχημάτων τὸ κάλλιστον σφαίραν εἶναι τῶν στερεῶν, τῶν δ' ἔπιπέδων κύκλων. γῆρας καὶ πάν τὸ μειούμενον ὀμοιοῦ καὶ αὐξήν καὶ νεότητα ταῦτον. ὑγίειαν τὴν τοῦ ἐνδούς διαμομῆν, νόσον τὴν τουτοῦ φθοράν. περὶ τῶν ἄλων, ὅτι δὲι παρατίθεσθαι πρὸς ὑπόμνησιν τοῦ δικαίου. οἴ γὰρ ἄλες πάν σοζουσιν ὁ τι ἂν παραλάβωσι καὶ γεγονόναι ἐκ τῶν καθαρωτάτων ἠλίου καὶ θαλάσσης.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν φησιν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τοῖς Πυθαγορικοῖς υπομνήμασιν εὐρηκεῖναι, καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων ἔχομεν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης. Τὴν δέ σεμνοπρέπειαν τοῦ Πυθαγόρου καὶ

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a Meineke, Ο.Γ.Π. ii. 1070.
b This may have some hidden sense: but it is tempting to adopt τότον for τοῦτον with the Borbonicus.
c Alexander is cited above (§ 24). εὐρηκέναι comes in
VIII. 34–36. PYTHAGORAS

phanes, crumbs belong to the heroes, for in his Heroes he says:

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 supplicant 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.

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. 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.

351
Τίμων ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις δάκνων αὐτὸν ὁμως οὐ παρέλιπεν, εἰπὼν οὕτως.

Πυθαγόρην τε γόητας ἀποκλίναντ’ ἐπὶ δόξας θήρην ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπων, σεμνηγορίης ὀαριστήν.

περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἄλλοτ’ ἄλλου αὐτὸν γεγενήσθαι Ξενοφάνης ἐν ἐλεγείᾳ προσμαρτυρεῖ, ὡς ἄρχῃ,

νῦν αὖτ’ ἄλλου ἐπειμι λόγου, δεῖξω δὲ κέλευθον.

δὲ δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν, οὕτως ἔχει:

καὶ ποτὲ μιν στυφελιζομένων σκύλακος παριόντα φασίν ἐποικίραι καὶ τόδε φάσθαι ἐποσ·

"παύσαι μηδὲ ῥάπις", ἐπεὶ ἡ φίλου ἀνέρος ἐστὶν ψυχή, τὴν ἔγνων φθεγξαμένης αἰών.”

37 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ξενοφάνης. ἔσκωψε δ’ αὐτὸν Κρατίνος μὲν ἐν Πυθαγοριζούσῃ ἁλλὰ καὶ ἐν Ταραντίνοις φησίν οὕτως:

ἔθος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς, ἂν τω’ ἰδιώτην ποθέν λάβωσιν εἰσελθόντα, διαπειρόμενον
tῆς τῶν λόγων ῥώμης παράττειν καὶ κυκᾶν
tοῖς ἀντιθέτοις, τοῖς πέρασι, τοῖς παρισώμασιν,

τοῖς ἀποπλάνοις, τοῖς μεγέθεσιν νουβυστικῶς.

Μνησίμαχος δ’ Ἀλκμαίων:

ὡς Πυθαγοριστὶ θύμομεν τῷ Δοξίᾳ,

ἐμψυχον οὐδὲν ἐσπείρετος παντελῶς.

38 Ἀριστοφῶν Πυθαγοριστὴ:

ἐφ’ ἱερᾷ καταβὰς ἐς τὴν διαίταν τῶν κάτω

ἰδεῖν ἐκάστους, διαφέρειν δὲ πάμπολυ
tούς Πυθαγοριστὰς τῶν νεκρῶν· μόνοις 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,

\(^a\) Cratin. minor, Meineke, C.G.F. iii. 376.  
\(^b\) Meineke, C.G.F. iii. 567.  
\(^c\) Meineke, C.G.F. iii. 362.
DIOGENES LAERTIUS

tou'toi tou' Plou'tonun suvostein 'eph 
di' euvsebeian. B. dusekeri' theon leges, 
ei tou's rupon mesaioi'in 'hdei'tai xynon. 

ti en tw aytw:

didionoi te 

laxaná te kai pinouson epí tou'tois 'udwr: 
phetheiras dé kai triβwna tín t' aloussían 
oúdeis án upomeíneie twon éteron <vekrón>.

39 Ἐστελεῦτα δ' ὁ Πυθαγόρας τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. 

συνεδρεύοντος μετὰ τῶν συνήθων ἐν τῇ Μίλωνος 
oikía [toýtou], ὑπὸ τινος τῶν μὴ παραδοχῆς 
ἀξιωθέντων διὰ φθόνον ὑποπροσθήκην τὴν οἰκίαν 
συνέβη: τινὲς δ' αὐτοῦς τοὺς Κρατωνιάτας τοῦτο 
πράξα, τυραννίδος ἐπίθεσιν εὐλαβομένους. τὸν 

δὴ Πυθαγόραν καταληφθῆναι διεξόντα: καὶ πρὸς 
tini xworíw genómemos plíreis kúmwn, iva [aútóthi] 
ésth, eipton álwnai án mállon ἡ pathísa [ánairè-


̓thnai de kreíttov ἡ lalhísa]: kai odé proś twon 
dioksontaν ἀποσφαγήναι. ou'tw dè kai tou's

a In the account which follows two passages should be 
distinguished: (1) συνεδρεύοντος . . . συνέβη, and (2) ou'to 
dè kai . . . (§ 40) ἀστήσαντα. 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 (genómemos, ἐστη, eipton) 
and partly in reported speech (καταληφθηναι, ἀποσφαγήναι), 
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. 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. 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 Πυθ., 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 δὲ which follow come in awkwardly, as they are separated from the sentence about the fire.
πλείους τῶν ἑταίρων αὐτοῦ διαφθαρῆναι, ὅταν πρὸς τοὺς τετταράκοντα· διαφυγεῖν δ᾽ ὄλγοις, ὥν ἦν καὶ Ἄρχιππος ὁ Τάραντίνος καὶ Δύσις ὁ προειρημένος.

40 Φησὶ δὲ Δικαίαρχος τὸν Πυθαγόραν ἀποθανεῖν καταφυγόντα εἰς τὸ ἐν Μεταπόντίῳ ἵερον τῶν Μουσῶν, τετταράκοντα ἡμέρας ἀσιτήσαντα. Ἡ Ηρακλείδης δὲ φησιν ἐν τῇ τῶν Σατύρου βίων ἑπιτομῇ μετὰ τὸ θάψαι Φερεκύδην ἐν Δῆλῳ ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς Ἰταλίαν καὶ * * πανδαισίαν εὐρόντα Κύλωνος τοῦ Κροτωνιάτου εἰς Μεταπόντιον ὑπεξελθεῖν κάκει τὸν βίον καταστρέψαι ἁσιτία, μὴ βουλόμενον περατέρω ζῆν. Ὁ Ἐρμιππὸς δὲ φησι, πολεμοῦντων Ἄκραγαντίνων καὶ Συρακοσίων, ἔξελθειν τὸν Πυθαγόραν μετὰ τῶν συνήθων καὶ προστήναι τῶν Ἄκραγαντίνων· τροπῆς δὲ γενομένης περικάμπτοντα αὐτὸν τῇ τῶν κυάμων χώραν ὑπὸ τῶν Συρακοσίων ἀναιρεθῆναι· τούς τε λοιποὺς, ὅταν πρὸς τοὺς πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα, ἐν Τάραντι κατακαυθῆναι, θέλοντας ἀντιπολιτευέσθαι τοῖς προεστώσι.

41 Καὶ ἄλλο τι περὶ Πυθαγόρου φησὶν ὁ Ἐρμιππὸς. [λέγει γὰρ] ὡς γενόμενος ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ κατὰ γῆς οἰκίσκον ποιήσαι καὶ τῇ μυθρὶ ἐντείλατο τὰ γνώμενα εἰς δέλτων γράφειν σημειομένην καὶ τὸν χρόνον, ἑπειτα καθίευαν αὐτῷ ἐστ᾽ ἄν ἀνέλθη· τούτῳ ποιήσαι τὴν μητέρα. τὸν δὲ Πυθαγόραν μετὰ χρόνον ἀνέλθειν ἱσχύον καὶ κατεσκελετευμένον· εἰσελθόντα τ᾽ ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν φάσκειν ὡς ἀφίκεται ἐξ ἄδου· καὶ ἡ καὶ ἀνεγίνωσκεν αὐτοῖς τὰ συμβεβηκότα. οἱ δὲ σανώμενοι τοῖς λεγομένοις ἐδάκρυν τε καὶ ἰμωζοῦν καὶ ἐπίστευν 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 θείόν τινα, οὕστε καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῷ παραδόναι, ὡς καὶ μαθησομένας τι τῶν αὐτοῦ· ὦς καὶ Πυθαγορικὰς κληθῆναι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἑρμιππος.

42 Ἡν δὲ τῷ Πυθαγόρᾳ καὶ γυνῇ, Θεανῷ ὄνομα, Βροντίνου τοῦ Κροτωνιάτου θυγάτηρ· οἱ δὲ, γυναῖκα μὲν εἶναι Βροντίνου, μαθήτριαν δὲ Πυθαγόρου. ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ θυγάτηρ Δαμὼ, ὦς φησι Λύσις ἐν ἐπιστολῇ τῇ πρὸς Ἰππασον, περὶ Πυθαγόρου λέγων οὗτως· "λέγοντε δὲ πολλοὶ τῦ καὶ δαμοσία φιλοσοφέν, ὁπερ ἀπαξίσθης Πυθαγόρας, ὦς γέ τοι Δαμῷ τὰ ἐαυτοῦ θυγατρὶ παρακαταθέμενος τὰ ὑπομνάματα ἐπέσκαψε μηδενὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς τὰς οἰκίας παραδιδόμεν. ἀ δὲ δυνάμενα πολλῶν χραμάτων ἀποδίδοσθαι τῶς λόγως οὐκ ἐβουλάθη· πενίαν δὲ καὶ τὰς τῷ πατρὸς ἐπισκάψας ἐνόμιζε χρυσῷ τιμωτέρας ἦμεν, καὶ ταῦτα γυνά.

43 Ἡν καὶ Τηλαύγης υἱὸς αὐτοῖς, ὦς καὶ διεδέξατο τὸν πατέρα καὶ κατά τινας Ἐμπεδοκλέους καθηγήσατο. Ἰππόβοστος γέ τοι φησι λέγεων Ἐμπεδοκλέα,

Τήλαυγες, κλυτῇ κοὐρε Θεανοῦ Πυθαγόρεω τε.

σύγγραμμα δὲ [φέρεται] τοῦ Τηλαύγους οὐδέν, τῆς δὲ μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Θεανοῦ τινα. ἄλλα καὶ φασὶν αὐτὴν ἐρωτηθεῖσαν ποσταία γυνὴ ἀπ’ ἄνδρος καθαρεύει, φάναι, "ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ ἰδίου παραχρῆμα, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἄλλοτρίου οὐδέποτε." τῇ δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἱδίου ἄνδρα μελλοῦσῃ πορεύεσθαι παρῆνει ἀμα τοῖς ἐνδύμασι καὶ τὴν αἰσχύνην ἀποτίθεσθαι, ἀνισταμένην τε πάλιν ἀμ’ αὐτοῖσιν

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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:

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

\[ Fr. 155 D. \]
'Ο δ' οὖν Πυθαγόρας, ώς μὲν Ἡρακλείδης φησίν ὁ τοῦ Σαραπίωνος, ὄγδοηκοντούτης ἐτελεύτα, κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπογραφὴν τῶν ἥλικιῶν· ὦς δ' οἱ πλείοις, ἔτη βιοὺς ἑνενήκοντα. καὶ ἥμων ἐστιν εἰς αὐτὸν πεπαιγμένα οὕτως ἑχοντα·

οὐ μόνος ἐμψύχων ἀπέχες χέρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἴμεῖς· τίς γὰρ ὦ ἐμψύχων ἤπατο, Πυθαγόρα; ἀλλ' οὕτων ἐνέκει τι καὶ οπτηθῇ καὶ ἀλισθῇ, ὥς τότε καὶ ψυχὴν οὐκ ἔχον ἐσθίομεν.

ἀλλο·

ἡν ἄρα Πυθαγόρης τοῖς σοφῶς, ὥστε μὲν αὐτὸς μὴ φαύειν κρειών καὶ λέγεν ὡς ἀδικοῦν, σιτίζειν δ' ἄλλους. ἀγαμαι σοφῶν· αὐτὸς ἐφα μὲν οὐκ ἀδικεῖν, ἄλλους δ' αὐτὸς ἐτευχ' ἀδικεῖν.

καὶ ἄλλο·

τὰς φρένας ἢν ἐθέλης τὰς Πυθαγόραο νοήσαι, ἀστίδος Εὐφόρβου βλέψον εἰς ὀμφάλιον. φησί γὰρ οὖτος, Ἑγὼν ἢν πρόβροτος· ὃς δ' ὦτε οὖκ ἢν, φάσκων ὡς τις ἔην, οὕτως ἔην ὦτ' ἔην.

καὶ ἄλλο, ὡς ἐτελεύτα·

αἰ, αἴ, Πυθαγόρης τί τόσον κυάμους ἐσεβάσθη; καὶ θάνε φοιτηταῖς ἄμμυγα τοῖς ἰδίοις. χωρίον ἢν κυάμων· ἵνα μὴ τούτους δὲ πατήση, ἐξ 'Ἀκραγαντίνων κάθαν' ἐνὶ τριόδῳ.

"Ἱκμαῖε δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐξηκοστὴν 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:

Not thou alone from all things animate
Didst keep, Pythagoras. All food is dead
When boil'd and bak'd and salt-besprinkle'd;
For then it surely is inanimate.

Again:

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:

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:

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 Aeragas.

He flourished in the 60th Olympiad 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
'ἡ καὶ δέκα· τελευταῖοι γὰρ ἐγένοντο τῶν Πυθαγορείων, οὐς καὶ Ἀριστόξενος εἰδε, Ξενόφιλος
tε ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς ἀπὸ Ὄρακης καὶ Φάντων ὁ Φιλάσιος καὶ Ἐχεκράτης καὶ Διοκλῆς καὶ Πολύμναστος,
Φιλάσιοι καὶ αὐτοὶ· ἦσαν δ’ ἀκροαταὶ Φιλολάου καὶ Ἐυρύτου τῶν Ταραττίων.

Γεγονασὶ δὲ Πυθαγόρας τέτταρες περὶ τοὺς
αὐτοὺς χρόνους, οὖ πολὺ ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων ἀπέχουσσι·
eἰς μὲν Κροτωνιάτης, τυραννικὸς ἀνδρωπὸς· ἔτερος
Φιλάσιος, σωμασκηπῆς, [Ἀλείπης, ὡς φασὶ τινες].
τρίτος Ζακύνθιος· τέταρτος αὐτὸς οὖτος, οὗ φασιν
eἶναι ταπόρρητα τῆς φιλοσοφίας· [αὐτῶν διδά-
σκαλος.] ἐφ’ οὖ καὶ τὸ Αὐτὸς ἔφα παρομικῶν
eἰς τὸν βίον ἦλθεν. οἶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἀνδριαντοποιῶν
Ῥηγίνων γεγονέναι φασὶ Πυθαγόρας, πρῶτον
dοκοῦντα ρύθμον καὶ συμμετρίας ἐστοχάσθαι·
cαὶ ἄλλον ἀνδριαντοποιῶν Σάμιον· καὶ ἔτερον
ῥήτορα μοχθηρῶν· καὶ ἱστρὸν ἄλλον, τὰ περὶ
κύλης γεγραφότα καὶ τινὰ περὶ Ὀμήρου συν-
tεταγμένον· καὶ ἔτερον Δωρικὰ πεπραγματευμένον,
ὡς Διονύσιος ἱστορεῖ. Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ φησι,
καθὸ καὶ Φαβωρίνος ἐν τῇ ὁγδόῃ Παντοδαπῆς
ἰστορίας παρατίθεται, τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν πρῶτον
ἐντέχνως πυκτεύσαντα ἐπὶ τῆς ὁγδόης καὶ τετ-
tαρακοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, κομήτην καὶ ἀλουργίδα
φοροῦντα· ἐκκριθέντα τ’ ἐκ τῶν παίδων καὶ χλευα-
σθέντα αὐτίκα προσβῆναι τοὺς ἀνδρας καὶ νικῆσαι.

δηλοῦν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦτο γραμμα ὅπερ ἐποίησε
Θεαίτητος.
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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 Chaleidice, Phanton of Phlius, and Echeocrates, 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, 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:

a 588-584 B.C.  
b Anth. Plan. iii. 35.  
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DIOGENES LAERTIUS

Πυθαγόρης τινά, Πυθαγόρην, ὃ ξεῖνε, κομήτην, ἀδόμενον πῦκτην εἰ κατέχεις Σάμιον,
Πυθαγόρης ἔγω εἰμι· τὰ δ' ἐργα μον εἶ τιν' ἔρωι Ἡλεῖων, φήσεις αὐτὸν ἀπιστα λέγειν.

Τούτων ο Φαβωρίνος φησι τοὺς χρῆσασθαί διὰ τῆς μαθηματικῆς ὥλης, ἐπὶ πλέον δέ Σωκράτην
καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνων πλησιάσαντας, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ τοὺς στωικοὺς.

'Αλλά μὴν καὶ τοῦν οὐρανὸν πρῶτον ὄνομάσαι κόσμον καὶ τὴν γῆν στρογγυλὴν· ως δέ Θεόφραστος,
Παρμενίδην· ως δὲ Ζήνων, 'Ησίοδον. τοῦτω φασὶν ἀντιπαρατάσσεσθαι Κύλωνα καθάπερ Ἀντί-
λοχον Σωκράτει.

'Επὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀθλητοῦ Πυθαγόρου καὶ τοῦτ' εἶλεγετό τὸ ἐπίγραμμα·

όντος πυκτεύσων ἐσ 'Ολυμπια πασίων ἄνηφος ἠλυθε Πυθαγόρης ὁ Κράτεω Σάμιος.

ὁ δ' ὕφεσσος καὶ ὁδ' ἐπέστειλε·

Πυθαγόρης Ἀναξιμένει.

"Καὶ σὺ, ὃ λέγετε, εἰ μηδὲν ἀμείνων ἂς Πυθαγό-

ρεω γενείν τε καὶ κλέος, μεταναστάς ἂν οἴχεο ἐκ Ἔλληνον. νῦν δὲ κατερύκει σὴ πατρόθεαν εὐκλεια,
καὶ ἐμὲ δὲ ἃν κατείρυκεν Ἀναξιμένει ἔοικότα.

εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς οἱ νήματοι τὰς πόλις ἐκλείψετε, ἀπὸ ἰ

μὲν αὐτῶν ὁ κόσμος αἱρεθήσεται, ἐπικυκλωνυτέρα

50 δ' αὐτήσι τὰ ἐκ Μηδών. οὔτε δὲ αἰεὶ καλὸν αἰθερο-

λογίσσων μελέδων τε εἰναι τῇ πατρίδι κάλλιον.

α As Favorinus seems to have paid special attention to discoveries and the invention of names (cf. ii. 1, 20, viii. 364
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, though Theophrastus says it was Parmenides, and Zeno that it was Hesiod. It is said that Cylon was a rival of Pythagoras, as Antilochoi was of Socrates.

Pythagoras the athlete was also the subject of another epigram as follows:

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.

Apelt suggests Antiphon, comparing Xen. Mem. i. 6.

Anth. Plan. iii. 16.
καὶ ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ πάντα περὶ τοὺς ἐμεωντοῦ μῦθους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν πολέμοις οὐσ διαφέρουσιν ἐς ἀλλήλους Ἰταλιώται.

'Ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ Πυθαγόρου διεληλύθαμεν, βητέον περὶ τῶν ἐλλογίμων Πυθαγορικῶν· μεθ" οὐς περὶ τῶν σποράδην κατὰ τινας φερομένων. ἔπειθ' οὕτως ἔξαψομεν τὴν διαδοχὴν τῶν ἄξιων λόγου ἐως Ἐπικούρου καθὰ καὶ προειρήκαμεν. περὶ μὲν οὖν Θεανοῦ καὶ Τηλαύγους διειλέγεμεθα' λεκτέον δὲ νῦν περὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέους πρώτον κατὰ γάρ τινας Πυθαγόρου διήκουσεν.

Κεφ. β’. ΕΜΠΕΔΟΚΛΗΣ

51 Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, ὡς φησιν Ἰπποβοτος, Μέτωνος ἦν υἱὸς τοῦ Ἐμπεδοκλέους, Ἀκραγαντῖνος. τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ καὶ Τίμαιος ἐν τῇ πεντεκαϊδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἰστοριῶν <λέγει προσιτερῶν> ἐπίσημον ἄνδρα γεγονέναι τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα τὸν πάππον τοῦ ποιητοῦ. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἐρμυππος τὰ αὐτὰ τούτω φησίν. ὅμως καὶ Ἡρακλείδης ἐν τῷ Περὶ νόσων, ὅτι λαμπράς ἦν οἰκίας ἐπικυρίον τοῦ πάρπου. λέγει δὲ καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν τοῖς Ὀλυμπιονίκαις τὴν πρώτην καὶ ἐβδομηκοστῆν Ὀλυμπιάδα νευκηκέναι τὸν τοῦ Μέτωνος πατέρα, μάρτυρι χρώμενος

52 Ἀριστοτέλει. Ἀπολλόδωρος δ’ ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐν τοῖς Χροικοῖς φησιν ὡς ἦν μὲν Μέτωνος υἱὸς, εἰς δὲ Θουρίους αὐτὸν νεωτέρον παντελῶς ἐκτισμένους <ὁ> Γλαύκος 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.
DIOGENES LAERTIUS

εἰθ' ὑποβάς.
oἱ δ' ἱστοροῦντες, ὡς πεφευγὼς οὐκοθεν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας μετ' ἐκείνων ἔπολεμεν πρὸς Ἁθηναίους ἐμοὶ ἓν ἓν τελέως ἀγνοεῖν δοκούσιν: ἡ γὰρ οὐκέτι ἤ ἡ παντελῶς ὑπεργεγηρακὼς, ὅπερ οὐχὶ φαίνεται.

Ἀριστοτέλης γὰρ αὐτὸν, ἔτι τε Ἡρακλείδης, ἐξήκοντα ἐτῶν φησὶ τετελευτηκέναι. ὁ δὲ <τὴν> μίαν καὶ ἐβδομηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα νενικηκὼς κέλητι τούτου πάππος ἢν ὀμώνυμος,

ὡς' ἀμα καὶ τὸν χρόνον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπολλοδώρου σημαινεσθαι.

53 Σάτυρος δ' ἐν τοῖσ Βίοισ φησιν ὅτι Ἐμπεδοκλῆς υἱὸς μὲν ἢν Ἡσαίωτον, κατέλιπε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς υἱὸν Ἡσαίωτον. ἐπὶ τε τῆς αὐτῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος τὸν μὲν ἵππως κέλητι νενικηκέναι, τὸν δ' υἱὸν αὐτοῦ πάλη ἢ, ὡς Ἡρακλείδης ἐν τῇ Ἐπιτομῇ, δρόμω. ἐγὼ δ' εὔρον ἐν τοῖσ Ὑπομνήμασι Φαβωρίνου ὅτι καὶ βοῦν ἐθυσε τοῖσ θεωροῖς ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἐκ μέλιτός καὶ ἀλφίτων, καὶ ἀδελφὸν ἔσχε Καλλικρατίδην. Τηλαύγης δ' ὁ Πυθαγόρου παῖς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Φιλόλαον ἑπιστολῇ φησι τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα Ἀρχινόμου εἰναι υἱὸν.

54 "Ὅτι δ' ἢν Ἀκραγαντῖνος ἐκ Σικελίας, αὐτὸς ἐναρχόμενος τῶν Καθαρμῶν φησιν:

ὅς φίλοι οἱ μέγα ἄστυ κατὰ ξαινθοῦ Ἀκράγαντος ναίετ' ἄν' ἄκρα πόλεος.

καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ τάδε.
"Ακούσαι 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 in his Epitome has it, in the foot-race. I found 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 Callieratides. 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:

My friends, who dwell in the great city sloping down to yellow Aegragas, 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.
DIOGENES LAERTIUS

ἐνάτης ἵστορεῖ, λέγων ὅτι καταγνώσθεις ἐπὶ λογοκλοπία τότε, καθὰ καὶ Πλάτων, τῶν λόγων ἐκωλύθη μετέχειν. μεμνήσθαι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν Πυθαγόρου λέγοντα:

ἡν δὲ τις ἐν κείνουσιν ἀνὴρ περιώσια εἴδως,
ὅς δὴ μὴκιστὸν πραπίδων ἐκτῆσατο πλοῦτον.

οὐ δὲ τούτω εἰς Παρμενίδην αὐτὸν λέγειν ἀναφέροντα.

Φησὶ δὲ Νεάνθης ὅτι μέχρι Φιλολάον καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέους ἐκοινώνουν οἱ Πυθαγόρικοι τῶν λόγων. ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτὸς διὰ τῆς ποιήσεως ἐδημοσίωσεν αὐτά, νόμον ἔθεντο μηδενὶ μεταδώσειν ἐποποιω. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Πλάτωνα παθεῖν φησιν καὶ γὰρ τοῦτον κωλυθῆναι. τίνος μὲντοι γε αὐτῶν ἤκουσεν ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, οὐκ εἴπε· τὴν γὰρ περιφερομένην ὡς Τηλαύγους ἐπιστολῆν ὧτι τε μετέσχεν Ἰππάσου καὶ Βροντίνου, μὴ εἶναι ἀξιώπιστον.

Ὁ δὲ Θεόφραστος Παρμενίδου φησὶ ἡλιωτήν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι καὶ μυμητὴν ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνον ἐν ἐπεσι τὸν Περὶ φύσεως ἐξενεγκεῖν λόγον. Ἔρμιππος δὲ οὐ Παρμενίδου, Ξενοφάνους δὲ γεγονέναι ἡλιωτήν, ὁ καὶ συνδιατρίβαι καὶ μυμήσασθαι τὴν ἐποποιών· ύστερον δὲ τοῖς Πυθαγόρικοῖς ἐντυχεῖν. Ἀλκιδάμας δ' ἐν τῷ Φυσικῷ φησὶ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους Ζήνωνα καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέα ἀκούσαι Παρμενίδου, εἶθ' ύστερον ἀποχωρήσαι, καὶ τὸν μὲν Ζήνωνα κατ' ἰδίαιν φιλοσοφήσαι, τὸν δὲ Ἀναξαγόρου διακοῦσαι καὶ

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a Fr. 129 D.

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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:

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 Telaeus 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 ξηλώσαι τοῦ τε βίου καὶ τοῦ σχήματος, τοῦ δὲ τὴν φυσιολογίαν.

57 Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν τῷ Σοφιστῇ φησι πρῶτον Ἔμπεδοκλέα ῥητορικήν εὐρεῖν, Ζήνωνα δὲ διαλεκτικήν. ἐν δὲ τῷ Περὶ ποιητῶν φησιν ὅτι καὶ Ὀμηρικὸς ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ δεινὸς περὶ τὴν φράσιν γέγονεν, μεταφορητικός τε ὦν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς περὶ ποιητικὴν ἐπιτεύγμασι χρώμενος· καὶ διότι γράφαντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλα ποιήματα τὴν τε τοῦ Ξέρξου διάβασιν καὶ προοίμιον εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα, ταῦθ' ύστερον κατέκαυσεν ἀδελφὴ τις αὐτοῦ (ἡ θυγάτηρ, ὡς φησιν Ἡερώνυμος), τὸ μὲν προοίμιον ἀκούσα, τὰ δὲ Περσικὰ βουλήθεισα διὰ τὸ ἀτελεῖωτα εἶναι. καθόλου δὲ φησι καὶ τραγῳδίας αὐτοῦ γράψαι καὶ πολιτικοὺς. Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὁ τοῦ Σαραπίωνος ἑτέρου φησιν εἶναι τὰς τραγῳδίας. Ἡερώνυμος δὲ τρισὶ καὶ τετταράκοντα φησιν ἐντευχηκέναι, Νεάνθης δὲ νέον ὄντα γεγραφέναι τὰς τραγῳδίας καὶ αὐτῶν ἐπτὰ ἐντευχηκέναι.

58 Φησὶ δὲ Σάτυρος ἐν τοῖς Βίοις ὅτι καὶ ἱατρὸς ἦν καὶ ρήτωρ ἀριστος. Γοργίαν γοῦν τὸν Δεοντίνου αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι μαθητήν, ἄνδρα ὑπερέχοντα ἐν ρήτορικῇ καὶ Τέχνῃ ἀπολειώτότα· ὅν φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς ἐννέα πρὸς τοῖς ἐκατόν ἐτη βιώναι. τοῦτον φησιν ὁ Σάτυρος λέγειν ὡς αὐτὸς παρείς τῷ Ἐμπεδοκλεῖ γοητεύοντι. ἄλλα καὶ αὐτὸν διὰ τῶν ποιημάτων ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι τοῦτο τε καὶ ἄλλα πλείω, δι' ὅν φησι·

59 στὸν τοίχῳ. τοῦτον φησιν ὁ Σάτυρος λέγειν ὡς αὐτὸς παρείς τῷ Ἐμπεδοκλεῖ γοητεύοντι. ἄλλα καὶ αὐτὸν διὰ τῶν ποιημάτων ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι τοῦτο τε καὶ ἄλλα πλείω, δι' ὅν φησι.

1 αὐτῶν ἐπείτα codd.: corr. Diels.
VIII. 56-59. EMPEDOCLES

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

\[ a \] Fr. 111 D.
DIOGENES LAERTIUS

φάρμακα δ' οὔσα γεγασί κακῶν καὶ γήρας ἀλκαρ πεύσῃ, ἐπεὶ μούνῳ σοι ἐγὼ κρανέω τάδε πάντα. παύσεις δ' ἀκαμάτων ἀνέμων μένος, οὗ τ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν ὀρνύμενοι πνοιαίσι καταφθινύθουσιν ἀρουραν.1 καὶ πάλιν, ἥν θελήσθα, παλιντια πνεύματ' ἐπάξεις. θήσεις δ' ἐξ ὀμβροῦ κελαυνοῦ καίριον αὐχήμων ἀνθρώποις, θήσεις δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐχήμοι θερείον ἑώματα δεινδρεόθρεπτα, τὰ τ' αἴθερι ναυήσωνται, ἄξεις δ' ἐξ 'Αἰδαο καταφθιμένου μένος ἀνδρός.

60 Ψηκι δὲ καὶ Τίμαιος ἐν τῇ ὁκτωκαιδεκάτῃ κατὰ πολλοὺς τρόπους τεθαυμάσθαι τὸν ἀνδρα. καὶ γὰρ ἐτησίων ποτὲ σφοδρῶς πνευσάντων ὡς τοὺς καρποὺς λυμῆναι, κελεύσας ὅνους ἐκδαρήναι καὶ ἀσκοὺς ποιήσαι2 περὶ τοὺς λόφους καὶ τὰς ἀκρωρείας διέτεινε πρὸς τὸ συλλαβέων τὸ πνεῦμα. λήξαντος δὲ κωλυσανέμαν κληθήναι. Ἡρακλείδης τε ἐν τῷ Περὶ νόσων φησὶ καὶ Παυσανία ὑφηγήσασθαι αὐτὸν τὰ περὶ τὴν ἄπνουν. ἦν δὲ ὁ Παυσανίας, ὃς φησιν Ἀρίστιππος καὶ Σάτυρος, ἐρώμενος αὐτοῦ, ὥ δὴ καὶ τὰ Περὶ φύσεως προσπεφώνηκεν οὕτως.

61 Παυσανίας, σὺ δὲ κλῦθι, δαῤφρονος Ἄγχιτον νεό. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα εἰς αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν.

Παυσανίνῃ ἐπτρὸν ἐπώνυμον Ἄγχιτον νεόν φῶτ' Ἀσκληπιάδην πατρίς ἔθρεψε Γέλα, ὅς πολλοὺς μογεροῦσι μαρανομένους καμάτοισι φῶτας ἀπέστρεψεν Φερσεφόνης ἀδύτων.

τὴν γοῦν ἄπνουν δ' Ἡρακλείδης φησὶ τοιοῦτον τι

1 ἀροίρας Clem. Tzetz. Ὀιλ. 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.
62 ὃ φίλοι, οἱ μέγα ἄστυ κατὰ ξανθοῦ 'Ακράγαντος
ναλεπ' ἀν᾽ ἄκρα πόλεος, ἄγαθῶν μελεδήμονες ἔργων,
χαίρετ' ἐγὼ δ᾽ ὑμῖν θεὸς ἀμβροτος, οὐκέτι θνητὸς
πωλεῖμαι μετὰ πάσι τετμένως, ὥσπερ έοικα,
ταύτας τε περίστεπτος στέφεσίν τε θαλέιοις·
τούσιν ἂμ' <εὐτ' > ἀν ἰκωμαι ἐς ἄστεα τηλθάντονα,
ἀνδράσιν ἥδε γυναιξί, σεβίζομαι· οἱ δ᾽ ἂμ' ἔπονται
μυρίοι, ἐξερέντες ὅπη πρὸς κέρδος ἀταρπός·
οἱ μὲν μαντοσυνέων κεχρημένοι, οἱ δ᾽ ἐπὶ νοῦσων
παντοίων ἐπύθοντο κλύευν εὐηκέα βάξιν.

63 Μέγαν δὲ τὸν 'Ακράγαντα εἰπέων φησιν
ἐπεὶ μυριάδες αὐτὸν κατώκουν οὐδοήκοντα· ὅθεν τὸν
'Ἐμπεδοκλέα εἰπέων, τρυφώντων αὐτῶν, "'Ακρα-
γαντίνοι τρυφώσι μὲν ὡς αὐριον ἀποθανοῦμενοι,
οἰκίας δὲ κατασκευάζονται ὡς πάντα τὸν χρόνον
βιωσόμενοι."

Αὐτοὺς δὲ τούτους τοὺς Καθαρμοὺς [ἐν] 'Ολυμ-
πίας βασικῶδησαι λέγεται Κλεομένη τὸν βασικῶν,
ὡς καὶ Φαβωρίνοις ἐν 'Απομνημονεύμασι. φησὶ δὲ
αὐτὸν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐλεύθερον γεγονέναι καὶ
πᾶσι ἀρχης ἄλλοτριον, εἶ γε τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῷ
διδομένην παρηγῆσατο, 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 ποταμίλλα. The reading ποταμίλλα is
actually found in two mss.

a Fr. 112 D.
b According to the vulgate, an unknown writer Potamilla
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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:

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. Hence Empedocles, he continues, speaking of their luxury, said, "The Agrigentines live delicately as if tomorrow 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; 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. 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.

Cf. Athenaeus xiv. 620 d, whence it appears that the ultimate authority is Dicaearchus; εὖ τῷ Ὄλυμπικῷ, F.II.G. ii. p. 249, fr. 47. Here again a citation from Favorinus seems to disturb the context.
Περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγει, τὴν λιτότητα δηλονότι πλέον ἀγαπήσας. τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ Τίμαιος εὐρηκε, τὴν αἰτίαν ἀμα παραπεθέμενος τοῦ δημοτικὸν εἶναι τὸν ἀνδρα. φησὶ γὰρ ὅτι κληθείς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων <ὅσ> προβαίνοντος τοῦ δείπνου τὸ ποτὸν οὐκ εἰσεφέρετο, τῶν ἄλλων ἡσυχαζόντων, μυσο-πονήρως διατεθεῖς ἐκέλευσεν εἰσφέρειν· ὁ δὲ κεκληκὼς ἀναμένειν ἐφή τὸν τῆς βουλῆς ὑπηρέτην. ὡς δὲ παρεγένετο, ἐγενήθη συμποσίαρχος, τοῦ κεκληκότος δηλονότι καταστήσαντος, ὁς ὑπεγράφητο τυραννίδος ἀρχήν· ἐκέλευσε γὰρ ἡ πίνειν ἡ καταχείσθαι τῆς κεφαλῆς. τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἐμ-πεδοκλῆς ἡσύχασε. τῇ δὲ ύστεραῖς εἰσαγαγὼν εἰς δικαστήριον ἀπέκτεινε καταδικάσας ἀμφότερος, τὸν τε κλήτορα καὶ τὸν συμποσίαρχον. ἀρχὴ μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ τῆς πολιτείας ἦδε.

Πάλιν δ’ Ἀκρώνος τοῦ ἱατροῦ τόπον αὐτοῦντος παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς εἰς κατασκευὴν πατρών μνήματος διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἱατροῖς ἀκρότητα παρελθὼν ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἐκώλυσε, τὰ τ’ ἄλλα περὶ ὡστῆτος διαλέχθεις καὶ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον ἑρωτήσας· "τί δ’ ἐπιγράψομεν ἐλεγεῖον; ἡ τούτο;

ἀκρὸν ἱατρὸν Ἀκρών Ἀκραγαντίνων πατρὸς Ἀκρὼν κρύπτει κρημνὸς ἀκρὸς πατρίδος ἀκροτάτης."

τινὲς δὲ τὸν δεύτερον στίχον οὔτω προφέρονταί, ἀκροτάτης κορυφῆς τύμβος ἀκρός κατέχει. τοῦτό τινες Σιμωνίδου φασὶν εἶναι.

1 δ’ ἄλλων codd.: διαταλέων 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.”

Others give as the second line:

Is laid in an exalted tomb on a most exalted peak.

Some attribute this couplet to Simonides.
"Ὑστερον δ' ο Ἔμπεδοκλῆς καὶ τὸ τῶν χιλίων ἀθροισμα κατέλυσε συνεστὸς ἐπὶ ἐτη τρία, ὡστε οὐ μόνον ἵν τῶν πλούσιων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν τὰ δημοτικὰ φρονοῦντων. ο γε τοι Τίμαιος ἐν τῇ ια' καὶ ύβ', πολλάκις γὰρ αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει, φησὶν ἐναντίαν ἑσχηκέναι γνώμην αὐτοῦ τῇ πολιτείᾳ φαίνεσθαι. 'ἔστιν' ὡς οὖν δ' ἀλαζόνα καὶ φίλαυτον ἐν τῇ ποιήσει [τίδοι τις ἄν]· φησὶ γούν, ἤρετ'. ἔγω δ' ὑμῖν θεὸς ἀμβροτος, οὐκέτι θυντός πωλείμαι, καὶ τὰ ἔξης. καθ' δν δὲ χρόνων ἐπεδήμει Όλυμπίασιν, ἐπιστροφῆς ἥξιοῦτο πλείονος, ὡστε μηδενὸς ἐτέρου μνείαν γίνεσθαι ἐν ταῖς ὁμιλίαις τοσαύτην ὅσην Ἐμπεδοκλέους.

67 "Ὑστερον μέντοι τοῦ Ἀκράγαντος οἰκ<τ>ιζομένου, άντέστησαν αὐτοῦ τῇ καθόδω οἱ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπόγονοι· διόπερ εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἀποχωρήσασ εὐπληγήσαν. οὐ παρῆκε δ' οὔδε τούτον ὁ Τίμων, ἀλλ' ἄδω αὐτοῦ καθάπτεται λέγων· καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἀγοραίων ληκτῆς ἐπέσων· ὅσα δ' ἐσθενε, τόσα διείλεν, ἄρχων ὅσ' διέθηκ' ἄρχας ἐπιδευέας ἄλλων. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου διάφορος ἔστιν αὐτοῦ λόγος.

1 After αὐτοῦ Diels proceeds: [ἐν] τῇ ποιήσει· ὡς οὖν μὲν γὰρ μέτριων καὶ ἐπιεικῆ φαίνεσθαι, ὡς οὖν δὲ ἀλαζόνα καὶ φίλαυτον [ἐν τῇ ποιήσει]· φησὶ γούν κτλ.
2 ἔστιν add. Richards. 3 οἰκ' ὁμένου vulg.: corr. Apelt.
4 τοσσάδε ἐβάλεν vulg.: τοσσάδ' ἐβαλεν Diels: τόσα διείλεν Apelt.
5 ἄρχειν, ἀσ 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 (\(\upsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu\)). 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.
In the list of the writings of Heraclides of Pontus (see v. 86 sqq.) occurs Περὶ τῶν ἐν ἄδου, 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, 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
Δίοδωρος δ’ ὁ Ἐφέσιος περὶ Ἀναξιμάνδρου γράφων φησίν ὅτι τοῦτον ἐξηλώκει, τραγικῷ ἄσκων τύφον καὶ σεμνὴν ἀναλαβὼν ἐσθήτα. τοῖς Σελινοντίοις ἐμπεσόντος λοιμοῦ διὰ τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ παρακείμενον ποταμοῦ δυσωδίας, ὥστε καὶ αὐτοὺς φθείρεσθαι καὶ τὰς γυναίκας δυστοκεῖν, ἐπινοήσαι τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα καὶ δύο τινὰς ποταμοὺς τῶν σύνεγγυς ἐπαγαγεῖν ἱδίαις δαπάναις· καὶ καταμίζαντα γλυκὴν τὰ βεῦματα. οὗτοι δὴ λήξαντος τοῦ λοιμοῦ καὶ τῶν Σελινοντίων εὐωχουμένων ποτὲ παρὰ τῶ ποταμῷ, ἐπιφανήναι τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα· τοὺς δὲ ἐξαναστάντας προσκυνεῖν καὶ προσεύχεσθαι καθαπερεῖ θεῷ. ταύτῃ οὖν θέλουτα βεβαιώσαι τὴν διάληψιν εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐναλέσθαι.

τούτοις δ’ ἐναντιοῦται Τίμαιος, ῥητῶς λέγων ὡς ἐξεχώρησεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον καὶ τὸ σύνολον οὐκ ἐπανήλθεν· ὁδειν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τελευτὴν ἀδηλον εἶναι. πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἡρακλείδην καὶ ἐξ ὀνόματος ποιεῖται τὴν ἀντίρρησιν ἐν τῇ ἱδ’. Συρακόσιον τε γὰρ εἶναι τὸν Πεισιάνκατα καὶ ἀγρὸν οὐκ ἔχειν ἐν Ἀκράγαντι. Παυσανίαν τε μνημεῖον ἄνε πεποιηκέναι τοῦ φιλοῦ, τουοῦτον διαδοθέντος λόγου, ἦν ἀγαλμάτιον τι ἦν σηκὼν οἰα θεοῦ καὶ γὰρ πλούσιουν εἶναι. "πῶς οὖν," φησίν, "εἰς τοὺς κρατήρας

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 Ἰερὶ 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

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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

\(^a\) How came he," adds Timaeus, "to leap into the craters, which he had
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ήλατο ὁν <ὡς> σύνεγγυς ὄντων οὐδὲ μνείαν ποτὲ ἐπεποίητο; τετελεύτηκεν οὖν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ.

72 οὐδὲν δὲ παράδοξοι τάφον αὐτοῦ μὴ φαίνεσθαι: μηδὲ γὰρ ἄλλων πολλῶν." τοιαύτα τινα εἰπὼν ὁ Τίμαιος ἐπιφέρει: "'ἀλλὰ διὰ παντὸς ἐστὶν Ἦρα- κλείδις τοιοῦτος παράδοξολόγος, καὶ ἐκ τῆς σελήνης πεπτωκέναι ἄνθρωπον λέγων.'

Ἰππόβοτος δὲ φήσιν ὅτι ἄνδριας ἐγκεκαλυμμένος Ἐμπεδοκλέους ἔκειτο πρότερον μὲν ἐν Ἀκράγαντι, ὕστερον δὲ πρὸ τοῦ Ἐρωμαίων δουλεύ- τηριόν ἀκάλυφος δηλονότι μεταθέντων αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ Ἐρωμαίων γραπταὶ μὲν γὰρ εἰκόνες καὶ νῦν περιφέρονταί. Νεάνθης δὲ ὁ Κυζίκηνος ὁ καὶ περὶ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν εἰπὼν φησί Μέτωνος τελευτή- σαντος τυραννίδος ἀρχὴν ὑποφύεσθαι εἶτα τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα πείσα τοὺς Ἀκραγαντίνους παύ- σασθαι μὲν τῶν στάσεων, ἵσοτητα δὲ πολιτικὴν ἁσκεῖν.

73 Ἐτεὶ τε πολλὰς τῶν πολιτίδων ἀπροῖκους ὑπαρ- χοῦσας αὐτοῦ προκύσαι διὰ τῶν παρόντων πλοῦτων· διὸ δὴ πορφύραν τε ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτόν καὶ στρόφιον ἐπιθέσθαι χρυσοῦν, ὡς Φαβωρίνος ἐν Ἀπομνη- μονεύμασιν· ἔτι τ ἐμβάδας χαλκᾶς καὶ στέμμα Δελφικῶν. κόμη τε ἦν αὐτῷ βαθεία καὶ παῖδες ἀκόλουθοι· καὶ αὐτὸς αἱ σκυθρωπὸς ἐφ' ἐνὸς σχῆματος ἦν. τοιοῦτος δὴ προῆ: τῶν πολιτῶν ἐντυχόντων καὶ τοῦτ' ἀξιωσάντων οἶονεὶ βασιλείας τῶν παράσημων. ὅστερον δὲ διά τινα πανήγυριν πορευόμενον ἐπ' ἀμάξις ὡς εἰς Μεσσήνην πεσεῖν καὶ τὸν μηρὸν κλάσαι· νοσήσαντα δ' ἐκ τούτου

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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
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teleutήσαι ἐτῶν ἐπτὰ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα. εἶναι δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ τάφον ἐν Μεγάροις.

74 Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐτῶν Ἀριστοτέλης διαφέρεται·
φησὶ γὰρ ἐκείνος ἐξήκοντ’ ἐτῶν αὐτὸν τελευτήσαι·
οἱ δὲ ἐννέα καὶ ἐκατόν. ἥκμαζε δὲ κατὰ τὴν
τετάρτην καὶ ὅγδοκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα. Δημήτριος δ’ ὁ Τροιζήνιος ἐν τῷ Κατὰ σοφιστῶν
βιβλίῳ φησὶν αὐτὸν καθ’ Ὀμηρον
ἀφάμενον βρόχον αἰτῶν ἄφ’ ύψηλοῦ κρανείης
αὐχέν’ ἀποκρεμάσαι, ψυχῆν δ’ Ἀἰδόσδε κατελθεῖν.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ προειρημένῳ Τηλαύγους ἐπιστολῶι
λέγεται αὐτὸν εἰς θάλατταν ὑπὸ γῆρως ὀλυθόντα
τελευτήσαι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τοῦ θανάτου καὶ
τοσαῦτα.

Φέρεται δὲ καὶ ἥµῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Παμµέτρῳ
σκωπτικόν µὲν, τούτον δ’ ἔχουν τὸν τρόπον.

75 καὶ σὺ ποτ’, Ἐμπεδόκλεις, διερῆ φλογὶ σῶμα
καθήρας
πῦρ ἀπὸ κρητήρων ἐκπηνε ἄθανάτων:
οὐκ ἔρεω δ’ ὅτι σαυτὸν ἐκὼν βάλες ἐς ρόου Αἴτνης,
ἀλλὰ λαθεῖν ἐθέλων ἐμπεσες οὐκ ἑθέλων.
καὶ ἄλλο·

ναὶ µὴν Ἐμπεδοκλήθα θανεῖν λόγος ὡς ποτ’ ἄµάξης
ἐκπηνε καὶ µηρὸν κλάσσατο δεξιερόν·
εἰ δὲ πυρὸς κρητήρας ἐσήλατο καὶ πίε το ζην,
πῶς ἀν ἐτ’ ἐν Μεγάροις δείκνυτο τοῦδε τάφος;

76 Ἐδόκει δ’ αὐτῶ τάδε· στοιχεῖα µὲν εἶναι τέτταρα,
πῦρ, οὐδωρ, γῆν, ἀέρα. Φιλίαν θ’ ἦ συγκρίνεται καὶ
Νεῖκος ὦ διακρίνεται. φησὶ δ’ οὐτως·
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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. Demetrius of Troezen in his pamphlet Against the Sophists said of him, adapting the words of Homer:

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 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:

Thou, Empedocles, didst cleanse thy body with nimble flame, fire didst thou drink from everlasting bowls. 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:

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:

\[ \text{VIII. 73–76. EMPEDOCLES} \]

\[ ^a 444–441 \text{ B.C.} \]  
\[ ^b \text{Od. xi. 278.} \]  
\[ ^c \text{viii. 35.} \]  
\[ ^d \text{Anth. Pal. vii. 123.} \]  
\[ ^e \text{i.e. the craters of Etna.} \]  
\[ ^f \text{Anth. Pal. vii. 124.} \]  
\[ ^g \text{Fr. 6 D.} \]
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Zeús ἄργης Ὄηθη τε φερέσβιος ἢδ’ Ἀϊδωνεὺς
Νῆστίς θ’. ἦ δακρύοις τέγγει κρούνωμα βρότειον.
Δία μὲν τὸ πῦρ λέγων, Ὄηθην δὲ τὴν γῆν, Ἀϊδωνέα
dὲ τὸν ἀέρα, Νῆστιν δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ.
“Καὶ ταῦτα,” φησίν, “ἀλλὰττοντα διαμπερὲς
οὐδὰμα λήγει,” ὡς ἂν ἀιῆδου τῆς τοιαύτης δια-
kοσμήσεως οὐσῆς· ἐπιφέρει γοῦν:
ἀλλοτε μὲν Φιλότητι συνερχόμεν’ εἰς ἐν ἀπαντά,
ἀλλοτε δὲ αὖ δῑ’ ἐκαστα φορεύμενα Νείκεως ἐχθεῖ.

77 Καὶ τὸν μὲν ἥλιον φησὶ πυρὸς ἀθρούσα μέγα καὶ
tῆς σελήνης μεῖζων τῆν δὲ σελήνην διακοειδή,
aὐτὸν δὲ τὸν ὀὐρανὸν κρυσταλλοειδῆ. καὶ τῆν
ψυχὴν παντοία εἰδὴ χῶν καὶ φυτῶν ἐνδύεσθαι·
φησὶ γοῦν:

ηδὴ γάρ ποτ’ ἐγὼ γενόμην κούρος τε κόρη τε
θάμνος τ’ οἶωνός τε καὶ ἐξαλὸς ἐμπυρος1 ἐκθύσ.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν Περὶ φύσεως αὐτῶ καὶ οἱ Καθαρμοὶ εἰς
ἐπὶ τείνουσι πεντακισχίλια, ὁ δὲ Ἰατρικὸς λόγος
eἰς ἐπὶ ἐξακόσια. περὶ δὲ τῶν τραγῳδιῶν προ-
eιρήκαμεν.

Κεφ. γ’. ΕΠΙΧΑΡΜΟΣ

78 Ἔπιχαρμος Ἡλθαλοῦς Κῶς. καὶ οὕτος ἤκουσε
Πυθαγόρου. τριμηνιαῖος δ’ ὑπάρχων ἀπηνέχθη
τῆς Σικελίας εἰς Μέγαρα, ἐντεῦθεν δ’ εἰς Συρα-
κούσας, ὡς φησὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς συγγραμμάσιν.
καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνδριάντος ἐπιγέγραπται τόδε·

1 ἐμπυ ρος is found Athenaeus viii. 365. The true reading
ἐλαττος in Clem. Στρωμ. vi. 24.
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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," as if this ordering of things were eternal. At all events he goes on:

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:

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:

\[ a \] Fr. 17. 6 D.
\[ b \] Fr. 17. 7 D.
\[ c \] Fr. 117 D.
\[ d \] *Anth. Pal.* vii. 78.
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εἰ τι παραλλάσσει φαέθων μέγας ἀλιος ἀστρων
καὶ πόντος ποταμῶν μείζον' ἔχει δύναμιν,
φαμὶ τοσοῦτον ἐγὼ σοφία προέχειν Ἑπίχαρμον,
δὲν πατρὶς ἐστεφάνως ἀδε Συρακοσίων.

οὗτος ὑπομνήματα καταλέλοιπεν ἐν οἷς φυσιολογεῖ,
γνωμολογεῖ, ἱατρολογεῖ· καὶ παραστιχίδα γε ἐν
τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν ὑπομνημάτων πεποίηκεν, οἷς
dιασαφεί ὅτι ἐαυτοῦ ἔστι τὰ συγγράμματα. βιοὺς
d' ἐτη ἐνενήκοντα κατέστρεψεν.

Κεφ. δ'. ΑΡΧΥΤΑΣ

79 Άρχυτας Μνησαγόρου Ταραντίνος, ὡς δὲ Ἀριστό-
ξενος, Ἑστιαίου, Πυθαγορικός καὶ αὐτὸς. οὗτος
ἔστων ὁ Πλάτωνα ῥυσάμενος δὴ ἐπιστολῆς παρὰ
Διονυσίου μέλλοντ' ἀναιρείσθαι. ἔθαυμαζέτο δὲ
καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐπὶ πάση ἀρετῆ· καὶ δὴ
ἐπτάκις τῶν πολυτῶν ἐστρατήγησε, τῶν ἄλλων μὴ
πλέον ἕναυτοῦ στρατηγοῦντων διὰ τὸ κωλύειν τὸν
νόμον. πρὸς τούτον καὶ Πλάτων γέγραφεν ἐπι-
στολὰς δύο, ἐπειδῆπερ αὐτῷ πρότερος ἐγεγράφει
tούτον τὸν τρόπον.

"Άρχυτας Πλάτωνι ὑγιαίνειν.

80 Καλῶς ποιέεις ὅτι ἀποστεφευγας ἐκ τὰς ἄρρω-
στίας· ταῦτα γὰρ αὐτὸς τιν ἐπέσταλκας καὶ τοῖς περὶ
Λαμίσκων ἀπάγγελον. περὶ δὲ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων
ἐπεμελήθησες καὶ ἀνήλθομεν ὡς Λευκανῶς καὶ
ἐνετύχομεν τοῖς Ὁκκέλῳ ἐκγόνοις. τὰ μὲν ὅπων
Περὶ νόμω καὶ Βασιλείας καὶ Ὁσιότατος καὶ τὰς
τῶν παντὸς γενέσιος αὐτοί τ' ἔχομεν καὶ τῶν ἀπ-
ἐστάλκαμεν· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ οὗτοι νῦν γα δύναται
eὐρεθήμεν, αἱ δὲ καὶ εὐρεθῆ, ἥξει τοι."
VIII. 78–80. EPICHARMUS—ARCHYTAS

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."

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"Ωδε μὲν ὁ 'Αρχύτας· ὁ δὲ Πλάτων ἀντεπιστέλλει τούτον τὸν τρόπον·"

"Πλάτων ὁ Αρχύτας εὖ πράττειν.

Τὰ μὲν παρὰ σοῦ ἐλθόντα ὑπομνήματα θαυμαστῶς ἀσμενοὶ τε ἐλάβομεν καὶ τοῦ γράψαντος αὐτὰ ἡγάσθημεν ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα, καὶ ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν ἀνὴρ ἄξιος ἑκείνων τῶν παλαιῶν προγόνων. λέγονται γὰρ δὴ οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι Μυραῖοι εἶναι· οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν τῶν ἐπὶ Λαομέδοντος ἐξαναστάντων Τρώων ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ, ὡς ὁ παραδεδομένος μῦθος δηλοῖ. τὰ δὲ παρ’ ἐμοῦ ὑπομνήματα, περὶ ὧν ἐπέστειλας, ἰκανῶς μὲν οὕτω ἔχει· ὡς δὲ ποτὲ τυχάναι ἔχοντα ἀπέσταλκά σοι. περὶ δὲ τῆς φυλακῆς ἀμφότεροι συμφωνοῦμεν, ὡστε οὐδὲν δεὶ παρακελεύεσθαι. ἔρρωσο."

Καὶ ὦδε μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτοῖς ἔχονσιν αἰ ἐπιστολαὶ.

Γεγόνασι δὲ Ἀρχύται τέτταρες· πρῶτος αὐτὸς οὗτος, δεύτερος Μυτιληναῖος μουσικός, τρίτος Περὶ γεωργίας συγγεγραφῶς, τέταρτος ἐπιγραμματοποιός. ἔνιοι καὶ πέμπτον ἀρχιτέκτονά φασιν, οὗ φέρεται βιβλίων Περὶ μηχανῆς, ἀρχὴν ἔχον ταύτην, "τάδε παρὰ Τεῦκρου Καρχηδονίου διήκουσα." περὶ δὲ τοῦ μουσικοῦ φέρεται καὶ τόδε, ὡς ὀνειδιζόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ἔξακούσθαι εἰποὶ, "τὸ γὰρ ὄργανον υπὲρ ἐμοῦ διαγωνιζόμενον λαλεῖ." Τὸν δὲ Πυθαγορικὸν Ἀριστόζενός φησι μηδέποτε στρατηγούντα ἤττηθηναι· φθονούμενον δὲ ἀπαξ ἐκχωρήσαι τῆς στρατηγίας καὶ τοὺς αὐτίκα ληφθήναι.

Οὕτως πρῶτος τὰ μηχανικὰ ταῖς μαθηματικαῖς προσχρησάμενος ἀρχαῖς μεθώδευσε καὶ πρῶτος 394.
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
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κύνησιν ὀργανικὴν διαγράμματι γεωμετρικῷ προσήγαγε, διά τῆς τομῆς τοῦ ἡμικυλίνδρου δύο μέσας ἃνά λόγου λαβεῖν ξητῶν εἰς τὸν τοῦ κύβου διπλασιασμὸν. καὶ γεωμετρία πρῶτος κύβον εὑρεν, ὡς φησι Πλάτων ἐν Πολιτείᾳ.

Κεφ. ε’. ΑΛΚΜΑΙΩΝ

'Αλκμαίων Κροτωνιάτης. καὶ οὗτος Πυθαγόρον διήκουσε· καὶ τὰ πλειστὰ γε ἱατρικὰ λέγει, ὁμως δὲ καὶ φυσιολογεῖ ἐνίστε λέγων ‘δύο τὰ πολλά ἐστι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων.’ δοκεῖ δὲ πρῶτος φυσικὸν λόγον συγγεγραφέναι, καθαὶ φησι Φαβωρίνου εἰς Παντοδαπὴ ἑστορία, καὶ τὴν σελήνην καθόλου< τε τὰ ύπερ> ταύτην ἔχειν ἀίδιον φύσιν.

Ἡν δὲ Πειρίθου νῦν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐναρχόμενος τοῦ συγγράμματος φησιν. "Ἔλκμαίων Κροτωνιάτης τᾶδε ἐλεξε Πειρίθου νῦν Βροτίνῳ καὶ Λέοντι καὶ Βαθύλλῳ· 'περὶ τῶν ἀφανῶν, περὶ τῶν θυτῶν σαφήνειαν μὲν θεοὶ ἔχοντι, ὡς δ’ ἀνθρώποις τεκμαίρεσθαι' καὶ τὰ ἔξης· ἔφη δὲ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀθάνατον, καὶ κινεῖσθαι αὐτὴν συνέχεις ὡς τὸν ἥλιον.

Κεφ. 5’. ΗΠΠΑΣΟΣ

"Ηππασός Μεταποιτήνος καὶ αὐτὸς Πυθαγορικὸς. ἔφη δὲ χρόνου ὑφισμένον εἶναι τῆς τοῦ κόσμου


a Cf. T. L. Heath. History of Greek Mathematics, i. 246-249. 396
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. In geometry, too, he was the first to discover the cube, as Plato says in the Republic.

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: "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
μεταβολής καὶ πεπερασμένον εἶναι τὸ πᾶν καὶ ἀεικύνητον.

Φησὶ δὲ αὐτὸν Δημήτριος ἐν Ὄμωνύμους μηδὲν καταλυτεῖν σύγγραμμα. γεγόνασι δὲ Ἰππασοὶ δύο, οὕτος τε καὶ ἐτέρος γεγραφῶς ἐν πέντε βιβλίοις Δακώνων πολιτείαν ἢν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Δάκων.

Κεφ. ζ’. ΦΙΛΟΛΑΟΣ

Φιλόλαος Κροτωνιάτης Πυθαγορικός. παρὰ τοῦτον Πλάτων ὄνησασθαι τὰ βιβλία τὰ Πυθαγορικὰ Δίων γράφει. ἐτελεύτα δὲ νομισθεὶς ἐπιτίθεσθαι τυραννίδι. καὶ ἡμῶν ἐστὶν εἰς αὐτὸν·

τὴν ὑπόνοιαν πάσι μάλιστα λέγω θεραπεύειν·
εἰ γὰρ καὶ μὴ δρᾶσ, ἀλλὰ δοκεῖς, ἀτυχεῖς.
οὕτω καὶ Φιλόλαον ἄνειλε Κρότων ποτὲ πάτη, ὡς μν ἔδοξε θέλειν δῶμα τύραννον ἔχειν.

85 Δοκεῖ δὲ αὐτῷ πάντα ἀνάγκη καὶ ἀρμονία γίνεσθαι. καὶ τὴν γῆν κινεῖσθαι κατὰ κύκλον πρῶτον εἰπεῖν· οἱ δὲ Ἰκέταν <τὸν> Συρακόσιον φασιν.

Γέγραφε δὲ βιβλίον ἐν, ὁ φησὶν Ἕρμηνιππος λέγειν τινὰ τῶν συγγραφέων Πλάτωνα τὸν φιλοσοφὸν παραγενόμενον εἰς Σικελίαν πρὸς Διονύσιον ὄνησασθαι 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. He (Dion) was put to death because he was thought to be aiming at a tyranny. This is what we have written upon him:

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.

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, 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.*
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ἀργυρίου Ἀλεξανδρινῶν μνῶν τετταράκοντα καὶ ἑντεύθεν μεταγεγραφέναι τοῖς Τίμαιοι. ἔτεροι δὲ λέγουσι τῶν Πλάτωνα λαβεῖν αὐτά, παρὰ Διονυσίου παραιτησάμενον ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς νεανίσκον ἀπηγμένον τῶν τοῦ Φιλολάου μαθητῶν.

Τοῦτὸν φησὶ Δημήτριος ἐν ‘Ὅμωνύμοις πρῶτον ἐκδοὐναι τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν <βιβλία καὶ εἰπιγράψαι> Περὶ φύσεως, ὥν ἀρχῇ ἦδε: “ἀ φύσις δ’ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἀμοιβῇ ἐξ ἀπειρῶν τε καὶ περαινόντων καὶ ὀλὸς δ’ κόσμος καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα.’

Κεφ. η’. ΕΥΔΟΞΟΣ

86 Εὐδοξὸς Αἰσχύνου Κνίδιος, ἀστρολόγος, γεωμετρητὸς, ἰατρός, νομοθέτης. οὗτος τὰ μὲν γεωμετρικὰ Ἀρχύτα διήκουσε, τὰ δ’ ἰατρικὰ Φιλοστίωνος τοῦ Σικελιώτου, καθ’ Καλλίμαχος ἐν τοῖς Πίναξι φησι. Σωτῖων δ’ ἐν ταῖς Διαδοχαῖς λέγει καὶ Πλάτωνος αὐτῶν ἀκούσαι. γενόμενον γὰρ ἑτῶν τριῶν ποὺ καὶ ἐίκοσι καὶ στενῶς διακείμενον κατὰ κλέος τῶν Σωκρατικῶν εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀπάραι σὺν Θεομέδοντι τῷ ἰατρῷ, τρεφόμενον ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ· οἱ δὲ, καὶ παϊδικὰ ὄντα· καταχθέντα δ’ εἰς τὸν Πειραιά ὁσιμέραι ἀνιέναι Ἀθῆναῖς καὶ ἀκούσατα τῶν σοφιστῶν αὐτῶθι ὑποστρέφειν. δύο δ’ ἐπειδὴ μὴν διατριβῶντα δικαίως ἐπανελθεῖν καὶ πρὸς τῶν φίλων ἐρανισθέντα εἰς Αἰγυπτοῦ ἀπάραι μετὰ Χρυσίππου τοῦ ἰατροῦ, συστατικὰς φέροντα

87 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. 400
VIII. 85–87. PHILOLAUS—EUDOXUS

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 Socrates 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.

\( ^a \)
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.

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. 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.

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’ ιατρικὰ παρὰ Φιλιστίωνος τοῦ Σικελιώτου.

Κατέλυπε δὲ καὶ ύπομνήματα κάλλιστα. τούτου γέγονε παῖς Ἀρισταγόρας, οὗ Χρύσιππος Ἀεθλίου µαθητής, οὕ τὰ θεραπεύματα φέρεται ὀρατικά, τῶν φυσικῶν θεωρημάτων [τῶν] ὑπὸ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ πεσόντων.

90 Γεγόνασι δ’ Εὐδοξοὶ τρεῖς: αὐτὸς οὗτος, ἄλλος ἄλλος, ἄλλος ἄλλος Ἀγαθοκλέους, ποιητὴς κωμῳδίας, νῖκας ἐλῶν ἀστικὰς μὲν τρεῖς, Ληναίκας δὲ πέντε, καθά φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς. εὐρίσκομεν δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ιατρὸν Κνίδιον, περὶ οὗ φησιν Εὐδοξοῖς ἐν Γῆς περιόδῳ ὡς εἰς παραγγέλλων ἀεὶ συνεχὲς κυνεῖν τὰ ἀρθρα πάση γυμνασία, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ὁμίως.

‘Ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς φησι τῶν Κνίδιον Εὐδοξοὶ ἀκμάζαι κατὰ τὴν τρίτην καὶ ἐκατοστῆν Ὀλυμπιάδα, εὐρείων τε τὰ περὶ τὰς καμπύλας γραμμᾶς. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ τρίτον ἄγων καὶ πεντηκοστὸν ἔτος. ὅτε δὲ συνεγένετο ἐν Ἁγύπτῳ Χονοὺφιδι τῷ Ἡλιούπολίτῃ, ὁ Ἀπις αὐτοῦ θοιμάτων περιελιχμήσατο. εὐδοξοῖς οὗν αὐτῶν ἄλλ’ ὀλυγχρόνων ἐφασαν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐςεσθαί, καθά φησι Φαβωρίνος ἐν Ἀπομνημονεύμασιν.

91 Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἣμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχων:
ἐν Μέμφει λόγος ἐστὶν προμαθεῖν τὴν ἱδίην
Εὐδοξοὶ ποτὲ μοῖραι παρὰ τοῦ καλλικέρῳ
tαύρον. κοινὴν ἐλέξεν βοῦ γὰρ πόθεν λόγος;

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. Wilamow-
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 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, 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:

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. 

368-364 B.C. 

φύσις οὐκ ἔδωκε μόσχῳ λάλον "Ἀπίδη στόμα.
παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν λέχριος στὰς ἐλιχμήσατο στολήν,
προφανῶς τούτο διδάσκων, Ὁποδύσῃ βιοτήν
ὅσον οὕτω. διὸ καὶ οἱ ταχέως ἤλθε μόρος,
δεκάκις πέντε ἐπὶ τρισσαίς ἐσιδόντι Πλειάδας.

Τούτον ἀντὶ Ἐνδόξου Ἐνδόξου ἐκάλουν διὰ τὴν
λαμπρότητα τῆς φήμης.
Ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐλλογίμων Πυθαγορικῶν
dιελθήθαμεν, νῦν ἤδη περὶ τῶν σποράδην, ὃς
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.
Κεφ. α’. ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ

1 Ἡράκλειτος Βλόσωνος ἦ, ὡς τινες, Ἡράκωντος Ἐφέσιος. οὗτος ἦκμαξε μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἐνάτην καὶ ἐξηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα. μεγαλόφρων δὲ γέγονε παρ’ ὄντων καὶ ὑπερόπτης, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ συγγράμματος αὐτοῦ δήλοι, ἐν ὧν φησι, "πολυμαθὴν νόον" οὐ διδάσκει. Ἡσίοδον γὰρ ἂν ἐδίδαξε καὶ Πυθαγόρην, αὐτὴς τε Ξενοφόνεα τε καὶ Ἐκκαταῖον." εἶναι γὰρ ἂν τὸ σοφὸν, ἐπίστασθαι γνώμην, ὃτε έκυβέρνησε πάντα διὰ πάντων." τὸν τε "Ομηρόν ἐφάσκεν ἄξιον ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων ἐκβάλλεσθαι καὶ ῥαπίζεσθαι, καὶ Ἀρχίλοχον ὀμοίως.

2 Ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ "ὑβριν χρή σβεννύναι μάλλον ἡ πυρκαίη" καὶ "μάχεσθαι χρή τὸν δήλον ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου ὄκωςπερ τείχεος." καθάπτεται δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἐφεσίων ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν ἑταῖρον ἐκβαλεῖν Ἐρμό-

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1 ἱπαλίωντος F, but ἱρακίωντος BP, whence Bechtel restores ἱράκωντος.
2 νέον ἐχεῖν Athen. xiii. p. 610 b; Clem. Strom. i. 19, p. 373.
3 ὅκωςπερ τείχεος Diels.

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a 504–500 B.C.
b The biographers used by our author laid evident stress.
Chapter 1. HERACLITUS

Heraclitus, son of Bleson or, according to some, of Heracon, was a native of Ephesus. He flourished in the 69th Olympiad. He was lofty-minded beyond all other men, and overweening, 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." For "this one thing is wisdom, to understand thought, as that which guides all the world everywhere." And he used to say that "Homer deserved to be chased out of the lists and beaten with rods, and Archilochus likewise." 

Again he would say: "There is more need to extinguish insolence than an outbreak of fire," and "The people must fight for the law as for city-walls." 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.

\[d \text{ Fr. 41 D., 19 B.}\]
\[e \text{ Fr. 40 D., 16 B.}\]
\[f \text{ Fr. 43 D., 103 B.}\]
\[g \text{ Fr. 44 D., 100 B.}\]
DIOGENES LAERTIUS

δῶρον, ἐν οἷς φησιν, "ἀξιόν Ἑφεσίως ἦβηδόν ἀποθανεῖν1 πάσι καὶ τοῖς ἀνήβους τῆν πόλιν καταλιπεῖν, οὕτως Ἐρμόδωρον ἄνδρα ἐωυτῶν ὅνημιστον ἐξέβαλον λέγοντες, Ἡμέων μηδὲ εἰς ὅνημιστος ἔστω; εἰ δὲ τις τοιοῦτος, ἀλλὰ τε καὶ μετ᾽ ἄλλων." ἀξιοῦμενος δὲ καὶ νόμους θείαν πρὸς αὐτῶν ὑπερείđε διὰ τὸ Ἦδη κεκρατῇσθαι τῇ ποιηρᾷ πολιτείᾳ τῆν πόλιν. ἀναχωρήσας δὲ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος μετὰ τῶν παίδων ἡστραγάλιζε· περιστάντων δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν Ἑφεσίων, "τί, ὡς κάκιστοι, θαυμάζετε;" εἶπεν: "ἡ οὐ κρέιττον τούτο ποιεῖν ἡ μεθ' ὕμων πολιτεύεσθαι;"

Καὶ τέλος μισανθρωπίσας καὶ ἐκπατήσας ἐν τοῖς ὤρεσι διητάτο, πόσα σιτοῦμενος καὶ βοτάνας. καὶ μέντοι καὶ διὰ τούτο περιτραπεῖς εἰς ὑδερον κατήλθεν εἰς ἀστυ καὶ τῶν ἱατρῶν αἰνιγματώδες ἐπύνθανε τοῖς αὐτῶν τῶν Ἑφεσίων, "τί, ὡς κάκιστοι, θαυμάζετε;" εἶπεν: "ἡ οὐ κρέιττον τούτο ποιεῖν ἡ μεθ' ὕμων πολιτεύεσθαι;"

4 Καὶ ἔστιν εἰς αὐτῶν ἡμῶν οὕτως ἔχον·

πολλάκις Ἡράκλειτον ἐθαύμασα, πῶς ποτε τὸ ζῆν ὦδε διαντλήσας δύσμορος εἰτ᾽ ἔθανεν· σῶμα γὰρ ἀρδεύσασα κακὴ νόσος ὡδητὶ φέγγος ἐσβέσεν ἐν βλεφάροις καὶ σκότον ἡγάγετο.

"Ἐρμύππος δὲ φησι λέγεων αὐτῶν τοῖς ἱατροῖς εἰ τις δύναται 〈τὰ〉 ἐντερα κενώσας τὸ ὕγρον ἐξερᾶσαι· ἀπειπῶντων δὲ, θείναι αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν


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IX. 2-4. HERACLITUS

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.
DIOGENES LAERTIUS

Ήλιον καὶ κελεύειν τοὺς παιδὰς βολίτους καταπλάττειν: οὗτω δὴ κατατεινόμενον δευτεράδιν τελευτήσαι καὶ θαφθήναι ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ. Νεάνθης δ' ὁ Κυζικηνός φησι μὴ δυνηθέντ' αὐτὸν ἀποσπάσαι τὰ βόλιτα μεῖναι καὶ διὰ τὴν μεταβολὴν ἀγνοηθέντα κυνόβρωτον γενέσθαι.

5 Γέγονε δὲ θαυμάσιος ἐκ παιδῶν, ὅτε καὶ νέος ὁ ἀρχαγόρας μηδὲν εἰδέναι, τέλειος μέντοι γενόμενος πάντ' ἐγνωκέναι. Ἦκουσέ τ' οὐδενός, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἐφή διεξήσασθαι καὶ μαθεῖν πάντα παρ' ἑαυτῷ. Σωτίων δὲ φησὶν εἰρηκέναι τινὰς Ξενοφάνους αὐτὸν ἀκηκοέναι λέγειν τε Ἀρίστωνα ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἡρακλείτου καὶ τὸν υδέρον αὐτὸν θεραπευθῆναι, ἀποθανεῖν δ' ἄλλη νόσῳ. τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Ἰππόβοτός φησι.

Τὸ δὲ φερόμενον αὐτῶν βιβλίον ἔστι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ συνεχοντος Περὶ φύσεως, διηρηταὶ δ' εἰς τρεῖς λόγους, εἰς τὸν περὶ τοῦ παντὸς καὶ πολιτικὸν καὶ θεολογικὸν. ἀνέθηκε δ' αὐτῷ εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν, ὡς μὲν τινὲς, ἐπιτηθεύσας ἀσαφέστερον γράψαι, ὅπως οἱ δύναμεν <μόνοι> προσώπειν αὐτῶ καὶ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ δημώδους εὐκαταφρόνητον ἑ. τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ὁ Τίμων ὑπογράφει λέγων,

τοῖς δ' ἐνι κοκκυστῆς, ὀχλολοίδορος Ἡράκλειτος, αἰνικτῆς ἀνόρουσε.

Θεόφραστος δὲ φησιν ὑπὸ μελαγχολίας τὰ μὲν ἡμιτελῆ, τὰ δ' ἄλλατ' ἄλλως ἔχοντα γράψαι. σημεῖον δ' αὐτοῦ τῆς μεγαλοφροσύνης 'Αντισθένης

a Fr. 101 D., 80 B. b Fr. 43 D. c Cf. II. 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,” 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 gives a sketch in these words:

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
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φησίν ἐν Διαδοχαῖς· ἐκχωρήσας γὰρ τάδελφῳ τῆς βασιλείας. τοσαύτην δὲ δόξαν ἐσχε τὸ σύγγραμμα ὡς καὶ αἱρετιστάς ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι τοὺς κληθέντας Ἄρακλετείους.

7 Ἐδόκει δ’ αὐτῷ καθολικῶς μὲν τάδε· ἐκ πυρὸς τὰ πάντα συνεστάναι καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ἀναλύσθαι· πάντα δὲ γίνεσθαι καθ’ εἴμαρμένην καὶ διὰ τῆς ἑναντιοδομίας ήρμόσθαι τὰ ὄντα· καὶ πάντα ψυχῶν εἶναι καὶ δαμόνων πλήρη. εἴρηκε δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ συνισταμένων πάντων παθῶν, ὅτι τε ὁ ἡλίος ἐστὶ τὸ μέγεθος οἷος φαίνεται. λέγεται δὲ καὶ “ψυχής πείρατα ἰῶν ὅπτε ἐν ἐγ-εύροιο, πᾶσαν ἐπιπορευόμενος ὁδὸν· οὕτω βαθὺν λόγον ἔχει.” τὴν τ’ οὐχὶν ἰερὰν νόσον ἔλεγε καὶ τὴν ὀρασίν ψεῦδοσθαι. λαμπρῶς τ’ ἐνίοτε ἐν τῷ συγγράμματι καὶ σαφῶς ἐκβάλλει, ὡστε καὶ τὸν νωθέστατον ῥάδιος γνώναι καὶ δίαρμα ψυχῆς λαβεῖν· ἡ τε βραχύτης καὶ τὸ βάρος τῆς ἐρμηνείας ἀσύγκριτον.

8 Καὶ τὰ ἔπὶ μέρους δὲ αὐτῷ ὥδ’ ἔχει τῶν δογ-μάτων· πῦρ εἶναι στοιχεῖον καὶ πυρὸς ἁμοιβήν τὰ πάντα, ἀραίωσε καὶ πυκνώσει γνώμενα. σαφῶς δ’ οὐδὲν ἐκτίθεται. γίνεσθαί τε πάντα κατ’ ἐναντιότητα καὶ βεῖν τὰ ὅλα ποταμοῦ δίκην, πεπεραύνθαι τε τὸ πᾶν καὶ ἔνα εἶναι κόσμον· γεν- νάσθαι τε αὐτὸν ἐκ πυρὸς καὶ πάλιν ἐκπυροῦσθαι κατὰ τινὰς περιόδους ἐναλλὰς τὸν σύμπαντα αἰώνα· τοῦτο δὲ γίνεσθαι καθ’ εἴμαρμένην. τῶν δὲ ἑναντίων τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν γένεσιν ἄγον καλεῖσθαι πόλεμον καὶ ἔριν, τὸ δ’ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν ὁμο-
IX. 6-8. HERACLITUS

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." Self-conceit he used to call a falling sickness (epilepsy) and eyesight a lying sense. 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; 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. Change he called
λογίαν καὶ εἰρήνην, καὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν ὄδὸν ἁνω
cάτω, τὸν τε κόσμον γίνεσθαι κατ' αὐτὴν.
9 Πυκνούμενον γὰρ τὸ πῦρ ἐξυγραίνεσθαι συνιστά-
μενόν τε γίνεσθαι ὕδωρ, πηγνύμενον δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς
gῆν τρέπεσθαι καὶ ταύτην ὄδὸν ἐπὶ τὸ κάτω εἰναι.
πάλιν τε αὖ τὴν γῆν χείσθαι, ἐξ ἦς τὸ ὕδωρ
gίνεσθαι, ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰ λοιπά, σχεδὸν πάντα ἐπὶ
tὴν ἀναθυμίαν ἀνάγων τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης:
αὐτὴ δὲ ἐστὶν ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ ἁνω ὀδὸς. γίνεσθαι δὲ
ἀναθυμίασεις ἀπὸ τε γῆς καὶ θαλάττης, ἃς μὲν
λαμπρᾶς καὶ καθαρὰς, ἃς δὲ σκοτεινὰς. αὐξεοῦμεν
δὲ τὸ μὲν πῦρ ὑπὸ τῶν λαμπρῶν, τὸ δὲ ὕγρον ὑπὸ
tῶν ἐτέρων. τὸ δὲ περιέχον ὁποῖον ἐστὶν οὐ δηλοῖ:
eἶναι μὲντοι εἰν αὐτῷ σκάφας ἐπεστραμμένας κατὰ
κοίλου πρὸς ἡμᾶς, εἰς αἷς ἀθροιζομένας τὰς λαμπρὰς
ἀναθυμίασεις ἀποτελεῖν φλόγας, ἃς εἶναι τὰ ἀστρα.
10 λαμπροτάτην δὲ εἶναι τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου φλόγα καὶ
θερμοτάτην. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀλλὰ ἀστρα πλεῖον
ἀπέχειν ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἤττον λάμπειν καὶ
θάλπειν, τὴν δὲ σελήνην προσγειοτέραν οὖσαν μὴ
diὰ τοῦ καθαροῦ φέρεσθαι τόπου. τὸν μὲντοι ἡλίου
ἐν διανεῖπτε καὶ ἀμγελεὶ κινεῖσθαι καὶ συμμετροῦ
ἀφ’ ἡμῶν ἐχεῖν διάστημα. τούχαρτοι μάλλον θερ-
μαίνειν τε καὶ φωτίζειν. ἐκλείπειν τε ἡλίου καὶ
σελήνην, ἀνω στρεφομένων τῶν σκαφῶν. τοὺς τε
catὰ μῆνα τῆς σελήνης σχηματισμὸς γίνεσθαι
στρεφομένης ἐν αὐτῇ κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς σκάφης.
ἡμέραν τε καὶ νύκτα γίνεσθαι καὶ μῆνας καὶ ὥρας
καὶ ἐπειδῶς καὶ ἑναντίον τῆς διαφόρους ἀναθυμίασεις.
11 τὴν μὲν γὰρ λαμπρὰν ἀναθυμίασιν φλογωθείσαν ἐν
tῶ κύκλω ἡλίου ἡμέραν ποιεῖν, τὴν δὲ ἑναντίαν
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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

1 κεῖσθαι vulg.; corr. Reiske.  
2 κοίλῳ Reiske.
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ἐπικρατήσασαν νῦκτ' ἀποτελεῖν· καὶ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ λαμπροῦ τὸ θερμὸν αὐξόμενον θέρος ποιεῖν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ σκοτεινοῦ τὸ ύγρὸν πλεονάζον χειμῶνα ἀπεργάζεσθαι. ἀκολούθως δὲ τούτως καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀλλων αἰτιολογεῖ. περὶ δὲ τῆς γῆς οὐδὲν ἀποφαίνεται ποία τις ἔστιν, ἄλλ' οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν σκαφῶν, καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἢν αὐτῷ τὰ δοκοῦντα.

Τὰ δὲ περὶ Σωκράτους καὶ ὅσα ἐντυχὼν τῷ συγγράμματι εἶποι, κομίσαντος Εὐριπίδου, καθά φησιν Ἀρίστων, ἐν τῷ περὶ Σωκράτους εἰρήκαμεν. 

12 Σέλευκος μέντοι φησίν ὁ γραμματικὸς Κρότωνα τινὰ ἱστορεῖν ἐν τῷ Κατακολυμβητῆ Κράτητα τινὰ πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἐλλάδα κομίσαι τὸ βιβλίον. ὃν καὶ εἰπεῖν Δηλίου τινὸς δείσθαι κολυμβητοῦ, ὃς οὐκ ἀποπνιγήσεται ἐν αὐτῷ. ἐπιγράφουσι δ' αὐτῷ οί μὲν Μοῦσας, οἱ δὲ Περὶ φύσεως, Διόδοτος δὲ ἀκριβές οἰάκισμα πρὸς σταθμὴν βίου,

ἄλλου γνώμον' ἠθὼν, <τοῦ θε' ὅλου> κόσμου τρόπων ἐνὸς τε ἐμπαντῶν τε.¹ φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν ἐρωτηθέντα διὰ τὶ σωπᾶ, φάναι "ἰν' ύμεῖς λαλήτε." ἐπόθησε δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Δαρείος μετασχεῖν καὶ ἐγραψέν ὡδε πρὸς αὐτὸν.

13 "Βασιλεύς Δαρείος πατρὸς Ὑστάσπεω �ятράκλει-

τον Ἐφέσιον σοφὸν ἀνδρὰ προσαγορεύει χαῖρειν.

"Καταβέβλησαι λόγον Περὶ φύσεως δυσνόητὸν

¹ καὶ γνώμον' ἠθὼν, <καὶ καλὸν> κόσμου τρόπων ἐνὸς 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 διαρρήθησιν λέγουσι), 418
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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. 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, by others Concerning Nature; but Diodotus calls it

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:

"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.

Nauck, T.G.F. Adesp. 287.

The request of Darius is mentioned by Clem. Alex. Strom. i. 65 oυτος βασιλέα Δαρείων παρακαλοῦντα ἤκειν εἰς Πέργας ὑπὲρείδεν. The story is not made more plausible by the two forged letters to which it must have given rise.
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te καὶ δυσεξήγητον. ἐν τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἐρμηνευόμενος κατὰ λέξιν σήν δοκεῖ δύναμιν τινα περιέχειν θεωρίας κόσμον τε τοῦ σύμπαντος καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτῳ γινομένων, ἀπερ ἐστὶν ἐν θειοτάτῃ κείμενα κινήσει τῶν ἐπὶ πλείστων ἐποχὴν ἔχοντα, ὡστε καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ πλείστον μετεσχηκότας συγγραμμάτων διαποτείσθαι τῆς ὁρθῆς δοκούσης γεγράφθαι παρὰ σοι ἐξήγησεως. βασιλεὺς οὖν Δαρείος Ῥητάσσου βουλεται τῆς σῆς ἀκροάσεως μετασχεῖν καὶ παι- δείας Ἑλληνικῆς. ἔρχον δὴ συντόμως πρὸς ἐμὴν ὤφιν καὶ βασιλείου οἶκον. "Ελληνες γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἀνεπισήμαντο σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὄντες παρ- ὀρώσι τὰ καλῶς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐνδεικνύμενα πρὸς σπου- δαίαν ἀκοὴν καὶ μάθησιν. παρ’ ἐμοί δ’ ὑπάρχει σοι πᾶσα μὲν προεδρία, καθ’ ἡμέραν δὲ καλὴ καὶ σπουδαία προσαγόρευσι καὶ βίος εὐδόκιμος σαίς παρανέσεσιν."  

"Ἡράκλειτος Ἑφέσιος βασιλεῖ Δαρείῳ πατρὸς Ῥητάσσεω χαίρειν.

"Οκόσοι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες ἐπιχθώνιοι τῆς μὲν ἀληθείας καὶ δικαιοπραγμοσύνης ἀπέχονται, ἀ- πληστή δὲ καὶ δοξοκοπή προσέχουσι κακῆς ἔνεκα ἀνοίης. ἐγὼ δ’ ἀμνηστὶν ἐξων πάσης πονηρίας καὶ κόρον φεῦγων παντὸς οἰκειούμενον φθόνω καὶ διὰ τὸ περιστασθαί ὑπερηφανίην οὐκ ἃν ἀφικοίμην εἰς Περσῶν χώρην, ὄλιγος ἀρκεόμενος κατ’ ἐμὴν γνώμην."

Τοιοῦτος μὲν ἀνὴρ καὶ πρὸς βασιλέα.

Δημήτριος δὲ φησιν ἐν τοῖς Ὀμωνύμοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις αὐτὸν ὑπερφρονήσαι, δόξαν ἔχοντα

1 ὀρθῶς Richards.
IX. 13-15. HERACLITUS

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,
DIOMGENES LAERTIUS

παμπλείστην, καταφρονούμενόν τε ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐφεσίων ἔλεοςθαί μᾶλλον τὰ οἰκεία. μέμνηται αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος ἐν τῇ Σωκράτους ἀπολογία. πλείστοι τέ εἰσον ὅσοι ἐξήγηνται αὐτοῦ τὸ σύγγραμμα· καὶ γὰρ Ἀντιοθένης καὶ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποιτικὸς Κλεάνθης τε καὶ Σφαῖρος ὁ Στωικός, πρὸς δὲ Παυσανίας ὁ κληθεὶς Ἡρακλειστής, Νικομήδης τε καὶ Διονύσιος· τών δὲ γραμματικῶν Διόδοτος, ὃς οὐ φησὶ περὶ φύσεως εἶναι τὸ σύγγραμμα, ἄλλα περὶ πολιτείας, τὸ δὲ περὶ φύσεως ἐν παραδείγματος εἶδει κείσθαι.

16 Ἰερώνυμος δὲ φησὶ καὶ Σκυθίνον τὸν τῶν ἑαμβων ποιητὴν ἐπιβαλέσθαι τὸν ἐκείνου λόγον διὰ μέτρου ἐκβάλλειν. πολλά τ' εἰς αὐτὸν ἑπιγράμματα φέρεται, ἀτὰρ δὴ καὶ τόδε·

'Ἡράκλειτος ἐγὼ· τί μ' ἄνω κάτω ἐλκετ' ἁμουσοί; οὐχ ὑμῖν ἔπονον, τοῖς δ' ἐμ' ἐπισταμένοις. εἰς ἐμοὶ ἀνθρωπὸς τρισμύριοι, οἱ δ' ἀνάρθμοι οὐδεῖς. ταῦτ' αὐðῶ καὶ παρὰ Φερσεφόνῃ.

καὶ ἀλλο τοιόνδε·

μὴ ταχὺς Ἡρακλείτον ἐπ' ὀμφαλὸν εἶλεε βιβλον τουφεσίου· μάλα τοι δύσβατος ἀτραπῖτος. ὀρφνὴ καὶ σκότος ἐστίν ἀλάμπετον· ἢν δὲ σε μῦστις εἰσαγάγῃ, φανερὸν λαμπρότερ' ἥλιον.

17 Γεγονασι δ' Ἡράκλειτοι πέντε· πρῶτος αὐτὸς ὅπερ· δεύτερος ποιητῆς λυρικός, οὗ ἔστι τῶν δόδεκα θεῶν ἐγκύμιον· τρίτος ἐλεγείας ποιητῆς

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*; 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.

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:

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:

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 elegiae
'Αλικαρνασσεύς, εἰς δὲν Καλλίμαχος πεποίηκεν οὖτως.

εἰπὲ τις, Ἦρακλεῖτε, τεῦν μόρον, ἐς δ' ἐμὲ δάκρυ ἡγαγεν, ἐμνήσθην δ' ὀσσάκις ἀμφότεροι ἡλιον ἐν λέσχῃ κατεδύσαμεν. ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν ποι, ξεῖν Ἦρακλαςασσεύ, τετράπαλαι σποδιή, 

τέταρτος Λέσβιος, ἱστοριάν γεγραφώς Μακεδονικήν. πέμπτος σπουδογέλους, ἀπὸ κιθαρῳδίας μεταβεβηκὼς εἰς τόδε τὸ εἶδος.

Κεφ. β'. ΧΕΝΟΦΑΝΗΣ

18 Ξενοφάνης Δεξίου ἦ, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος, Ὀρθομένος Κολοφώνιος ἐπανεῖται πρὸς τοῦ Τίμωνος. φησὶ γοῦν,

Ξενοφάνην θ' ὑπάτυφον, Ὀμηραπάτην ἐπικόπτην.

οὗτος ἐκπεσὼν τῆς πατρίδος ἐν Ζάγκλῃ τῆς Σικελίας * * * ¹ διέτριβε δε καὶ ἐν Κατάνῃ. διήκουσε δὲ κατ’ ἐνίους μὲν οὐδενός, κατ’ ἐνίους δὲ Βότω-

¹ Diels after Σικελίας inserts διέτριβε καὶ τῆς εἰς Ἑλεαν ἀποκιάς κοινωνίας 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 Hali-carnassian friend, art dust long, long ago, yet do thy
IX. 17–18. HERACLITUS—XENOPHANES

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 (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.
DIOGENES LAERTIUS

νοσ Ἀθηναίοι ή, ὡς τινες, Ἄρχελάου. καὶ, ὡς Σωτίων φησί, κατ' Ἀναζίμανδρον ἦν. γέγραφε δὲ καὶ ἐν ἑπεσι καὶ ἐλεγείας καὶ ἱάμβους καθ’ Ἡσιόδου καὶ Ὀμήρου, ἑπικόπτων αὐτῶν τὰ περὶ θεῶν εἰρημένα. ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐρραψώδει τὰ ἑαυτοῦ. ἀντιδοξάσαι τε λέγεται Θαλῆ καὶ Πυθαγόρα, καθάφασθαι δὲ καὶ Ἕπιμενίδου. μακροβιώτατος τε γέγονεν, ὡς που καὶ αὐτὸς φησιν.

 sockfd: 19
ηδὴ δ’ ἐπτά τ’ ἔσαι καὶ ἐξήκοντ’ ἐνιαυτοὶ
βληστρίζοντες ἐμὴν φροντίδ’ ἀν’ Ἑλλάδα γῆν;
ἐκ γενετῆς δὲ τὸτ’ ἦσαν ἐείκοσι πέντε τε πρὸς
τοῖς,
ἐπερ ἐγὼ περὶ τῶν’ οἶδα λέγειν ἐτύμως.

 sockfd: 20
Φησὶ δὲ τέτταρα εἶναι τῶν ὄντων στοιχεία,
κόσμους δ’ ἀπείρους, οὐ παραλλακτοὺς δὲ. τὰ
νέφη συνίστασθαι τῆς ἂφ’ ἥλιον ἀτμίδος ἀναφερο-
μένης καὶ αἰρούσης αὐτὰ εἰς τὸ περιέχον. οὐσίαν
θεοῦ σφαιροειδῆ, μηδὲν ὀμοιον ἔχουσαν ἀνθρώπω.
ὁλον δὲ ὅραν καὶ ὅλον ἄκουειν, μὴ μέντοι ἀναπνεύν,
σύμπαντα τε εἶναι νόην καὶ φρόνησιν καὶ ἁίδιον.
πρώτος τε ἀπεφήνατο ὅτι πάν τὸ γυνόμενον φθαρτὸν
ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ πνεύμα.

 sockfd: 426
"Εφη δὲ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἦσαν νοῦ εἶναι. καὶ τοῖς
tυράννοις ἐντυγχάνειν ἦ ὡς ἦκιστα ἢ ὡς ἦδιστα.
’Εμπεδοκλέειος δὲ εἰπόντος αὐτῶ ὅτι ἀνεύρετος
ἐστιν ὁ σοφὸς, “εἰκότως,” ἐφη. “σοφὸν γὰρ εἶναι
dεὶ τὸν ἐπιγνωσόμενον τὸν σοφὸν.” 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.
IX. 18–20. XENOPHANES

according to others he was a pupil of Boton of Athens, or, as some say, of Archelaus. Sotion makes him a contemporary of Anaximimander. 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:6

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.7

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."

Presumably followed by Epicharmus when he wrote

ἐν οὐκ ῥιπτεῖν μὸν ἐπίθεν ὃς τινα οὐδὲν κακὸν
καταθάνων ἀνω τὸ πνεῦμα διαμενεὶ κατ' οὐρανόν.

(Fr. 22, ap. Clem. Strom. iv. 170, p. 640 P.)

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πρῶτον αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν ἀκατάληπτ' εἶναι τὰ πάντα, πλανώμενος.

'Εποίησε δὲ καὶ Κολοφώνος κτίσων καὶ τὸν εἰς Ἑλέαν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀποκισμὸν ἔπη δισχίλια. καὶ ἥκμαζε κατὰ τὴν ἐξηκοστὴν Ὄλυμπιάδα. φησὶ δὲ Δημήτριος οὗ Φαληρέους ἐν τῷ Περὶ γήρως καὶ Παναίτιος οὗ Στωικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ εὐθυμίας ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶ θάψατο τοὺς νεῖσι αὐτὸν, καθάπερ καὶ Ἀναξαγόραν. δοκεῖ δὲ πεπράσθαι ὑπὸ ** <καὶ λειύσθαι ὑπὸ> τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν Παρμενίδου καὶ Ὀρεστάδου, καθὰ φησὶ Φαβωρίνος ἐν Ἀπο- 
μημονευμάτων πρώτῳ. γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Ξενοφάνης Λέσβιος ποιητής ἰάμβων.

Καὶ οὕτωι μὲν οἱ σποράδην.

Κεφ. γ'. ΠΑΡΜΕΝΙΔΗΣ

21 Ξενοφάνους δὲ διήκουσε Παρμενίδης Πύρητος Ἑλεάτης (τοῦτον Θεόφραστος ἐν τῇ Ἐπιτομῇ Ἀναξιμάνδρου φησὶν ἀκούσαι). οὕτως δ' οὖν ἀκούσας καὶ Ξενοφάνους οὐκ ἢκολουθήσεις αὐτῷ. ἐκοινώνησε δὲ καὶ Ἀμενία Διοχαίτα τῶ Πυθ-
αγορικῷ, ὡς ἔφη Σωτίων, ἀνδρὶ πένητν μὲν, καλῷ δὲ καὶ ἀγαθῷ. ὡς καὶ μᾶλλον ἢκολουθήσει καὶ

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\[a\] 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 (\textit{op. cit.}, p. 141) compares Hippolytus, \textit{Ref. Haer.} i. 11. 1, 2; Plutarch, \textit{Strom.} 5; Aetius, i. 3. 14, iv. 9. 1, iv. 5. 12; iii. 13. 7; ultimately from Theophrastus, \textit{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{b} That he buried his sons with his own hands like Anaxagoras\textsuperscript{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 \ldots and to have been set free by\textsuperscript{d} the Pythagoreans Parmeniseus 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\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{e} Parmenides, however, though he was instructed by Xenophanes, was no follower of his. According to Sotion\textsuperscript{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,

\textsuperscript{e} Diels considers this sentence to be a marginal note of an editor referring to Xenophanes, not Parmenides.

\textsuperscript{f} Sotion would thus appear to separate Parmenides from Xenophanes. Compare note \textsuperscript{a} on p. 426. Diels conjectures that an epitaph on the Pythagoreans mentioned is the ultimate authority here.
DIODO NOS LAERTIUS

ἀποθανόντος ἦρών ἰδρύσατο γένους τε ὑπάρχων λαμπροῦ καὶ πλούτου, καὶ ὑπ’ Ἀμεινίου ἄλλ’ οὐχ ὑπὸ Ξενοφάνους εἰς ἴσουχίαν προετράπη.

Πρώτος δ’ οὗτος τὴν γῆν ἀπέφαυνε σφαιροειδῆ καὶ ἐν μέσω κείσθαι. δύο τε εἶναι στοιχεία, πῦρ καὶ γῆν, καὶ τὸ μὲν δημιουργοῦ τάξιν ἔχειν, τὴν 22 δ’ ἦλης. γένεσιν τ’ ἀνθρώπων ἐξ ἥλιον πρώτον ἔγενεσθαι αὐτὸν δὲ ὑπερέχειν1 τὸ θερμὸν καὶ τὸ ψυχρόν, ἐξ ὧν τὰ πάντα συνεστάναι. καὶ τὴν ψυχήν καὶ τὸν νόον ταύτον εἶναι, καθὰ μέμνηται καὶ Θεόφραστος ἐν τοῖς Φυσικοῖς, πάντων σχεδόν ἐκπνεύμενος τὰ δόγματα. δισσῆν τε ἐφή τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, τὴν μὲν κατ’ ἀλήθειαν, τὴν δὲ κατὰ δόξαν. διὸ καὶ φησὶν ποι.

χρεώ δὲ σε πάντα πυθέσθαι ἡμὲν Ἀληθείας εὐκυκλεος2 ἀτρεμες ήτορ, ἢδε βροτῶν δόξας, ταῖς οὖκ ἐνι πίστις ἀληθῆς.

Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ ποιημάτων φιλοσοφεῖ, καθάπερ Ἠσίοδὸς τε καὶ Ξενοφάνης καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς. κριτήριον δὲ τὸν λόγον εἶπε: τὰς τε αἰσθήσεις μὴ ἀκριβεῖς ὑπάρχειν. φησὶ γοῦν.

μηδὲ σ’ ἐθος πολύπειροι ὀδὸν κατὰ τὴν δια θεός ἰπτὸς ὧν μαίναι ἄσκοπον ὃμμα καὶ ἥχησαν ἁκούνη καὶ γλώσσαν, κρίναι δὲ λόγῳ πολύτηρων ἐλεγχον.

23 διὸ καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν ὁ Τίμων.

2 εὐπειθέοις vulgar.

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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 εὐπειθέοις ἄτρεκες; Proclus, two centuries later, εὐφεγγέοις; 
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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

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.

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

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 says of him:

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.
Παρμενίδου τε βίην μεγαλόφρονος ου πολυδοξον, ὡς ῥ’ ἀπὸ φαντασίας ἀπάτης ἀνενείκατο νύσεις.

εἰς τούτον καὶ Πλάτων τὸν διάλογον γέγραφε, ὡς "Παρμενίδην" ἐπιγράφας ὡς Ἡ Περὶ ἰδεῶν.

"Ἡκμαξε δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐνάτην καὶ ἐξηκοστὴν Ὄλυμπιάδα. καὶ δοκεῖ πρῶτος πεφωρακέναι τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι ὡς ἑσπερον καὶ Φωσφόρον, ὡς φησὶ Φαβωρίνος ἐν πέμπτῳ Ἀπομνημονευμάτων; οἱ δὲ Πυθαγόραν. Καλλίμαχος δὲ φησὶ μὴ εἶναι αὐτὸν τὸ ποίημα. λέγεται δὲ καὶ νόμους θεῖαι τοῖς πολίταις, ὡς φησὶ Σπεύσιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ φιλοσόφων. καὶ πρῶτος ἑρωτήσαι τὸν Ἀχιλλέα λόγον, ὡς Φαβωρίνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἤστορίᾳ.

Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἔτερος Παρμενίδης, ῥήτωρ τεχνογράφος.

Κεφ. δ’. ΜΕΛΙΣΣΟΣ

Μέλισσος Ἰθαγένους Σάμιος. οὗτος ἤκουσε Παρμενίδου; ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς λόγους ἠλθεν Ἦρακλείτως ὡς καὶ συνέστησαν αὐτὸν τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις ἀγνοοῦσι, καθάπερ Ἰπποκράτης Δημόκριτον Ἀβδηρίταις. γέγονε δὲ καὶ πολιτικὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ ἀποδοχῆς παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ἡξιωμένος. οἶδεν ναῦαρχος αἴρεθεὶς ἐτὶ καὶ μᾶλλον ἑθαυμάσθη διὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀρετὴν. Ἐδόκει δ’ αὐτῷ τὸ πάν ἀπειρον εἶναι καὶ ἀναλοίωτον καὶ ἀκίνητον καὶ ἐν ὀμοιον ἐαντῷ καὶ

a 504–500 B.C.  
b Cf. supra, § 15.
IX. 23-24. PARMENIDES—MELISSUS

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. 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, 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
πλήρες· κίνησιν τε μή είναι, δοκείν δ’ είναι. ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ θεών ἐλεγε μή δείν ἀποφαίνεσθαι· μή γάρ είναι γνώσιν αὐτῶν.

Φησὶ δ’ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἥκμακέναι αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν τετάρτην καὶ όγδοοκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα.

Κεφ. ε’. ΖΗΝΩΝ ΕΛΕΑΤΗΣ

Ζήνων Ἑλεάτης. τούτον Ἀπολλόδωρός φησιν εἶναι ἐν Χρονικόις [Πύρητος τὸν δὲ Παρμενίδην] φύσει μὲν Τελευταγόρου, θέσει δὲ Παρμενίδου <τὸν δὲ Παρμενίδην Πύρητος1>. περὶ τούτου καὶ Μελίσσου Τίμων φησὶ ταῦτα·

ἀμφοτερογλώσσου τε μέγα σθένος οὐκ ἀλαπαδνὸν Ζήνωνος πάντων ἐπιλήπτορος, ἥδε Μελίσσον, πολλῶν φαντασμῶν ἑπάνω, παύρων γε μὲν ἔσω.

Ὁ δὴ Ζήνων διακήκοε Παρμενίδου καὶ γέγονεν αὐτὸν παιδικὰ. καὶ εὐμήκης ἦν, καθὰ φησὶ Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Παρμενίδῃ, ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ Σοφιστῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ Παίδρῳ ἡδὲ μέμνηται καὶ Ἑλεατικὸν Παλαμήδην αὐτὸν καλεῖ. φησὶ δ’ Ἀριστοτέλης εὐρετὴν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι διαλεκτικῆς, ὥσπερ Ἐμμεδοκλέα ῥητορικῆς.

Γέγονε δὲ ἀνήρ γενναίοτατος καὶ ἐν φιλοσοφία καὶ ἐν πολιτείᾳ· φέρεται γοῦν αὐτοῦ βιβλία πολλῆς συνέσεως γέμοντα. καθὲλεῖν δὲ θελῆσας Νέαρχον τὸν πῦραν—οἱ δ’ Διομέδουτα—συνελήφθη, καθὰ φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ἐν τῇ Σατύρου ἐπιτομῇ. ὅτε καὶ ἐξεταζόμενος τοὺς συνειδότας καὶ περὶ τῶν

1 τὸν δὲ . . . Πύρητος transposed by Karsten.

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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.

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 speaks thus:

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. The same philosopher <mentions him> in his Sophist, <and Phaedrus> 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

\[ a \quad 444-440 \text{ B.C.} \]
\[ b \quad \text{Fr. 45 D.} \]
\[ c \quad \text{Cf. II. xxiii. 827; v. 783.} \]
\[ d \quad 127 \text{ b.} \]
\[ e \quad \text{p. 216 a.} \]
\[ f \quad 261 \text{ d.} \]
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οπλων ὃν ἦγεν εἰς Διπάραν, πάντας ἐμήνυσεν αὐτὸν τοὺς φίλους, βουλόμενος αὐτὸν ἔρημον κατα-
στῆσαι· εἶτα περὶ τινων εἰπεῖν ἔχειν τίνα ἔφη αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ οὐς καὶ δακὼν οὖκ ἀνήκεν ἔως ἀπεκεντήθη, ταυτὸν Ἄριστογείτον τῷ τυραννο-
κτῶν παθῶν.

27 Δημήτριος δὲ φησιν ἐν τοῖς Ὁμωνύμοις τὸν μυκτῆρα αὐτὸν ἀποτραγεῖν. Ἀντισθένης δὲ ἐν ταῖς Διαδοχαῖς φησί μετὰ τὸ μηνύσαι τοὺς φίλους ἐρωτηθήναι πρὸς τοῦ τυράννου εἶ τις ἄλλος εἰς τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν, “σὺ οὗ τῆς πόλεως ἀλτήριος.” πρὸς τε τοὺς παρεστῶτας φάναι: “θαυμάζω ύμῶν τὴν δειλίαν, εἰ τούτων ἔνεκεν ὃν νῦν ἐγὼ ὑπομένω, δουλεύετε τῷ τυράννῳ” καὶ τέλος ἀπο-
τραγόντα τὴν γλώτταν προσπτύσαι αὐτῷ· τοὺς δὲ πολίτας παρομηθέντας αὐτίκα τὸν τύραννον κατα-
λεύσαν. ταύτα δὲ σχεδὸν οἱ πλείους λαλοῦσιν. Ἔρμιππος δὲ φησιν εἰς ὀλμον αὐτὸν βληθῆναι καὶ κατακοπῆναι.

28 Καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἡμεῖς εἴπομεν οὕτως:

ἡθελες, ὥς Ζήνων, καλὸν ἡθελες ἀνδρα τύραννον κτείνας ἐκλύσαι δουλοσύνης Ἐλέαν.
ἀλλ' ἐδάμης· δὴ γὰρ σε λαβὼν ὁ τύραννος ἐν ὄλμῳ κόψε. τι τοῦτο λέγω; σῶμα γάρ, οὐχὶ δὲ σέ.

Γέγονε δὲ τὰ τέ ἀλλα ἀγαθὸς ὁ Ζήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπεροπτικὸς τῶν μειζόνων κατ' ἵσον Ἡρακλείτω·

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 436
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. 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:

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...

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repugn. p. 1051 c, where he is ranked with Socrates, Pythagoras and Antiphon. Cf. also Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 57, citing Eratosthenes.

*Anth. Pal.* vii. 129.
καὶ γὰρ οὗτος τὴν πρότερον μὲν Ἱέλην, ὕστερον δὲ Ἐλεάν, Φωκαέων οὖσαν ἀποκιάν, αὐτοῦ δὲ πατρίδα, πόλιν εὐτελῆ καὶ μόνον ἀνδρᾶς ἁγαθοῦς τρέφειν ἐπισταμένην ἡγάπησε μᾶλλον τῆς Ἀθηναίων μεγαλαυχίας, οὐκ ἐπιδημήσας πώμαλα πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀλλ' αὐτόθι καταβιοῦσ.

29 Οὗτος καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα πρῶτος λόγον ἠρώτησε [Φαβωρίνος δὲ φησὶ Παρμενίδην] καὶ ἄλλους συχνοὺς. ἀρέσκει δ' αὐτῷ τάδε: κόσμους εἶναι κενόν τε μὴ εἶναι: γεγενήθησα δὲ τὴν τῶν πάντων φύσιν ἐκ θερμοῦ καὶ ψυχροῦ καὶ ξηροῦ καὶ υγροῦ, λαμβανόντων αὐτῶν εἰς ἁλληλα τὴν μεταβολήν· γένεσιν τε ἀνθρώπων ἐκ γῆς εἶναι καὶ ψυχῆς κράμα ὑπάρχειν ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων κατὰ μηδενὸς τούτων ἐπικράτησιν.

Τούτων φασὶ λοιδορούμενον ἀγανακτῆσαί· αὐτισμαμένον δὲ τινός, φάναι "ἐὰν μὴ λοιδορούμενος προσποιώμαι, οὐδ' ἐπαινούμενος αἰσθήσομαι."

"Οτι δὲ γεγόνασι Ζήνωνες ὅκτω ἐν τῷ Κιτεί διειλέγμεθα. ἢκμαξε δ' οὗτος κατὰ τὴν ἐνάτην καὶ ἐβδομηκοστῆν Ὠλυμπιάδα.

Κεφ. 5'. ΛΕΥΚΙΣΠΟΣ

30 Λεύκισπος Ἐλεάτης, ὡς δὲ τινες, Ἀβδηρίτης, κατ' ἐνίοις δὲ Μιλήσιος. οὗτος ἢκουσε Ζήνωνος. ἠρέσκε δ' αὐτῷ ἀπειρα εἶναι τὰ πάντα καὶ εἰς

1 Μήλιος codd.

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A similar answer is ascribed to Empedocles in Gnomologion Parisinum, n. 153.

vii. 35.

464–460 B.C.

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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

a With the account of Leucippus and Democritus Diels (op. cit. p. 143) compares Hippolytus, Ref. Hueres. 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.
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άλληλα μεταβάλλειν, τό τε πάν εἶναι κενῶν καὶ πλῆρες [σωμάτων]. τοὺς τε κόσμους γίνεσθαι σωμάτων εἰς τὸ κενὸν ἐμπιπτόντων καὶ ἀλλήλοις περιπλεκομένων· ἐκ τε τῆς κινήσεως κατὰ τὴν αὐξῆσιν αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι τὴν τῶν ἀστέρων φύσιν. φέρεσθαι δὲ τὸν ἦλιον ἐν μείζον κύκλῳ περὶ τὴν σελήνην· τὴν γῆν ὀχεῖσθαι περὶ τὸ μέσον δυνομένην· σχῆμα τ' αὐτῆς τυμπανώδες εἶναι. πρῶτός τε ἀτόμους ἀρχὰς ὑπεστήσατο. <καί> κεφαλαιώδως μὲν ταῦτα· ἐπὶ μέρους δ' ὄδε ἔχει.

31 Τὸ μὲν πάν ἀπειρόν φησιν, ὡς προείρηται· τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν πλῆρες εἶναι, τὸ δὲ κενῶν, <ἀ> καὶ στοιχεία 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 κενῶν, ἄπερ ἄθροισθέντα δίνην ἀπεργάζεσθαι μίαν, καὶ' ἦν προσκρούοντα <ἀλλήλοις> καὶ παντοδαπῶς κυκλούμενα διακρίνεσθαι χωρὶς τὰ ὁμοία πρὸς τὰ ὁμοία. ἵσορρόπων δὲ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος μηκέτι δυναμένων περιφέρεσθαι, τὰ μὲν λεπτὰ χωρεῖν εἰς τὸ ἔξω κενὸν, ὡσπερ διαττόμενα· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ συμμένει καὶ περιπλεκόμενα συγκατατρέχειν ἀλλήλοις καὶ ποιεῖν πρῶτὸν τι σύστημα σφαιροειδές.

32 τούτῳ δ' οἶον υμένα ἀφίστασθαι, περιέχοντ' ἐν ἐαυτῷ παντοῖα σώματα· ὃν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ μέσου ἀντέρεισιν περιδυνομένων λεπτὸν γενέσθαι τὸν πέριξ υμένα, συρρεόντων αἰε τῶν συνεχῶν κατ' ἐπίψαυσιν τῆς δίνης. καὶ οὕτω γενέσθαι τὴν γῆν,
IX. 30–32. LEUCIPPUS

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, 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. αὐτὸν τε πάλιν τὸν περίεχοντα ὅσον ὑμένα αὐξεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐπέκκρισιν τῶν ἐξωθεν σωμάτων δίνῃ τε φερόμενον αὐτὸν ὥν ἄν ἐπιψαύσῃ, ταῦτα ἐπικτάσθαι. τούτων δὲ τινα συμπλεκόμενα ποιεῖν σύστημα, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κάθυρον καὶ πηλώδες, ἑξαπεθέντα καὶ περιφερόμενα σὺν τῇ τοῦ ὅλου δίνῃ, εἶτ’ ἐκπυρω-θέντα τὴν τῶν ἀστέρων ἀποτελέσαι φύσιν.

33 Εἶναι δὲ τὸν τοῦ ἥλιου κύκλον ἐξωτατον, τὸν δὲ τῆς σελήνης προσγειότατον, τῶν ἀλλων μεταξὺ τούτων. καὶ πάντα μὲν τὰ ἀστρα πυροῦσθαι διὰ τὸ τάχος τῆς φορᾶς, τὸν δ’ ἥλιον <καὶ> ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστέρων ἐκπυρώσθαι τὴν δὲ σελήνην τοῦ πυρὸς ὀλύγων μεταλαμβάνειν. ἐκλείπειν δ’ ἥλιον καὶ σελή-νην <* * τὴν δὲ λόξωσιν τοῦ Ζωδιακοῦ γενέσθαι> τῷ κεκλίσθαι τῇ γῇ πρὸς μέσημβρίαν τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἀρκτῶν ἀεὶ τε νίφεσθαι καὶ κατάψυξα ἐίναι καὶ πήγυνθαι. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἥλιον εὐκλείπειν σπα-νίως, τὴν δὲ σελήνην συνεχές, διὰ τὸ ἀνίσως ἐίναι τοὺς κύκλους αὐτῶν. εἴναι τε ὄσπερ γενέσεις κόσμου, οὕτω καὶ αὐξῆσεις καὶ φθίσεις καὶ φθορᾶς, κατὰ τινα ἀνάγκην, ἣν ὅποια ἐστὶν <οὐ> διασαφεὶ.

Κεφ. ζ’. ΔΗΜΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ

34 Δημόκριτος Ἡγησιστράτου, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηνοκρίτου, τυνὲς Δαμασίππου Ἀμβηρίτης ἦν, ὡς ἐνιοι, Μιλήσιος. οὗτος μάγων των διήκουσε καὶ Χαλδαίων, Ξέρξου

1 For ἐπέκρισιν of codd. Rohde conjectured ἐπεισρυσιν, 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).
IX. 32–34. LEUCIPPUS—DEMOCRITUS

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
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tού βασιλέως τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστάτας κατα-
λυόντος, ἴνικα ἐξευισθῇ παρ’ αὐτῷ, καθά φησι
καὶ Ἦρωδοτος: παρ’ ὅν τὰ τε περὶ θεολογίας καὶ
ἀστρολογίας ἐμαθεν ἔτι παῖς ὄν. ύστερον δὲ
Δευκάππω ναρέβαλε καὶ Ἀναξαγόρα κατὰ τινάς,
ἔτεσιν ὃν αὐτοῦ νεώτερος τεταράκοντα. Φαβωρί-
νος δὲ φησιν ἐν Παντοδαπῆ ἱστορίᾳ λέγειν Δημό-
κριτον περὶ Ἀναξαγόρου ὃς οὐκ εἴησαν αὐτοῦ αἱ
dόξαι αἱ τε περὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης, ἀλλὰ ἀρχαῖαι,
tὸν δ’ ὑφηρήσθαι. διασύρει τε αὐτοῦ τὰ περὶ τῆς
dιακοσμήσεως καὶ τοῦ νοῦ, ἔχθρῶς ἔχοντα πρὸς
αὐτὸν ὅτι δὴ μὴ προσήκατο αὐτὸν. πῶς οὖν κατὰ
tινὰς ἀκήκοε ἄνθρωποι;

Φησι δὲ Δημήτριος εν Ὄμωνύμοις καὶ Ἀντι-
θένης εν Διαδοχαῖς ἀποδημηθήσαι αὐτῶν καὶ εἰς
Αἴγυπτον πρὸς τοὺς Τερέας γεωμετρίαν μαθησό-
μενον καὶ πρὸς Χαλδαίους εἰς τὴν Περσίδα καὶ εἰς
tὴν Ἐρυθρᾶν θάλασσαν γενέσθαι. τοῖς τε Γυμνο-
σοφισταῖς φασὶ τινὲς συμμίξαι αὐτὸν ἐν Ἰνδία
καὶ εἰς Ἀἰθιοπίαν ἐλθεῖν. τρίτον τε ὄντα ἀδελφὸν
νείμασθαι τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ οἱ μὲν πλείους φασὶ τὴν
ἐλάττων μοίραν ἐλέσθαι τὴν ἐν ἀργυρίῳ, χρείαν
ἔχοντα <διὰ τὸ> ἀποδήμησαι τοῦτον κάκεινων
35 30 δολίως υποπτευσάντων. ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος ὑπὲρ
ἐκατὸν τάλαντα φησιν εἶναι αὐτῶ τὸ μέρος, ἢ πάντα
καταναλώσαι. λέγει δ’ ὅτι τοσοῦτον ἦν φιλόπονος
ὡστε τοῦ περικήπου δωμάτιον τι ἀποτεμόμενον
κατάκλειστος ἦν· καὶ ποτὲ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ πρὸς
θυσίαν βοῦν ἀγαγόντος καὶ αὐτῶθι προσδήσαντος,
ἰκανὸν χρόνον μὴ γνώναι, ἐως αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνος

a Diels remarks that this is a free interpretation of Hdt.
vii. 109, viii. 120.
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Xerxes was entertained by the father of Democritus he left men in charge, as, in fact, is stated by Herodotus; 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,
Diogenes Laërtius

διαναστήσας προφάσει τῆς θυσίας καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν βοῶν διηγήσατο. "δοκεῖ δὲ," φησὶ, "καὶ Ἀθήναζε ἐλθεῖν καὶ μὴ σπουδᾶσαι γνωσθῆναι, δόξης καταφρονών. καὶ εἰδέναι μὲν Σωκράτη, ἀγνοεῖσθαι δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ. 'ἥλθον γὰρ,' φησίν, 'εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ οὕτως μὲ ἔγνωκεν.'"

37 "Εἴπερ οἱ Ἀντερασται Πλάτωνος εἰσι," φησὶ Θρασύλος, "οὗτος ἂν εἶ ὁ παραγενόμενος ἀνώνυμος, τῶν περὶ Οἶνοπίδην καὶ Ἀναζαγόραν ἔτερος, ἐν τῇ πρὸς Σωκράτην ὄμιλα διαλεγόμενος περὶ φιλοσοφίας, ὦ, φησίν, ὡς πεντάθλῳ ἑοικεν ὁ φιλοσοφὸς. καὶ ἂν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ πένταθλος· τὰ γὰρ φυσικὰ καὶ τὰ ἡθικὰ ἀνακήκησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μαθηματικὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐγκυκλίους λόγους καὶ περὶ τεχνῶν πάσαν εἶχεν ἐμπειρίαν." τούτου ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ "λόγος ἔργου σκιή." Δημήτριος δὲ ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τῇ Σωκράτους ἀπολογία μηδὲ ἐλθεῖν φησίν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀθήνας. τούτῳ δὲ καὶ μεῖζων, εἴγε τοσαύτης πόλεως ὑπερεφρόνησεν, οὐκ ἐκ τόπου δόξαν λαβεῖν βουλόμενος, ἀλλὰ τόπῳ δόξαν περιθεῖναι προελόμενος.

38 Δήλον δὲ κακτῶν συγγραμμάτων οἷος ἦν. "δοκεῖ δὲ," φησίν ὁ Θρασύλος, "ζηλωτῆς γεγονεῖν τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν Πυθαγόρου μέμνηται, θαυμάζων αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ὁμοιώμῳ συγγράμματι. πάντα δὲ δοκεῖν παρὰ τούτου λαβεῖν καὶ αὐτοῦ δ’ ἂν ἄκηκοέναι, εἴ μὴ τὰ τῶν χρόνων ἐμάχετο." πάντως μέντοι τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν τινος

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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 Thrasybulus, "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. 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 Thrasybulus, "to have been an admirer of the Pythagoreans. Moreover, he mentions Pythagoras himself, praising him in a work of his own entitled Pythagoras. 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
ἀκοῦσαι φησιν αὐτὸν Γλαύκος ὁ Ῥηγίνος, κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους αὐτῶ γεγονός. φησὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Κυζικηνὸς Φιλολάω αὐτὸν συγγεγονέναι.

"Ἡσκεὶ δὲ, φησιν ὁ Ἀντισθένης, καὶ ποικίλως δοκιμάζειν τὰς φαντασίας, ἐρημάζων ἐνίοτε καὶ τοῖς τάφοις ἐνδιατρίβων. ἔθοντα δὴ φησιν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀποδημίας ταπεινῶτα διάγειν, ἀτε πᾶσαν τὴν ουσίαν καταναλωκότα τρέφεσθαι τε διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν ἀπὸ τάδελφον Δαμάσου. ὡς δὲ προειπὼν τινα τῶν μελλόντων εὐδοκίμησε, λοιπὸν ἐνθέου δόξης παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις ἥξιώθη. νόμου δὲ ὄντος τὸν ἀναλώσαντα τὴν πατρῴαν οὐσίαν μὴ ἀξιοῦσαν ταφῆς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, φησιν ὁ Ἀντισθένης συνέντα, μὴ ὑπεύθυνος γενηθεὶς πρὸς τῶν φθονούντων καὶ συκοφαντοῦντων, ἀναγνώσαι αὐτοῖς τὸν Μέγαν διάκοσμον, δὲ ἀπάντων αὐτοῦ τῶν συγγραμμάτων προέχει καὶ πεντακοσίους ταλάντους τιμηθῆναι· μὴ μόνον δὲ, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαλκᾶς εἰκόσι καὶ τελευτήσαντ' αὐτὸν δημοσία ταφῆναι, βιώσαντα ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐκατὸν ἔτη. ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος τοὺς συγγενέας αὐτοῦ φησιν ἀναγνώσαι τὸν Μέγαν διάκοσμον, δὲν μόνον ἐκατὸν ταλάντων τιμηθῆναι. ταὐτὰ δὲ καὶ Ἰππόβοτος φησιν.

'Αριστόξενος δ' ἐν τοῖς Ἰστορικοῖς ὑπομνήμασι φησι: Πλάτωνα θελῆσαι συμφλέξαι τὰ Δημοκρίτου συγγράμματα, ὅποσα ἐδυνήθη συναγαγεῖν, Ἀμύκλαν

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a ὃς δὲ προειπών ... ἥξιωθη. 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
IX. 38-40. DEMOCRITUS

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. 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

δὲ καὶ Κλεινίαν τούς Πυθαγορικοὺς κωλύσα τούτων, ὡς οὖν ὡφέλοι παρὰ πολλοῖς γὰρ εἶναι ἦδη τὰ βιβλιά. καὶ δῆλον δὲ πάντων γὰρ σχεδὸν τῶν ἀρχαίων μεμνημένοις ὁ Πλάτων οὐδαμοῦ Δημοκρίτου διαμνημονεύει, ἀλλ' οὖν 'ένθ' ἀντιεἶποι τι αὐτῷ δέοι, δῆλον <ὅτι> εἰδὼς ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἀριστον αὐτῷ τῶν φιλοσόφων ὁ ἀγών> ἐσοίτο· οὖ γε καὶ Τίμων τούτου ἐπαινέσας τὸν τρόπον ἔχει·

οἶνον Δημοκρίτον τε περίφρονα, ποιμένα μῦθων, ἀμφίνοις λεσχῆνα μετὰ πρῶτοις ἀνέγνουν.

41 Γέγονε δὲ τοῖς χρόνοις, ως αὐτὸς φησιν ἐν τῷ Μικρῷ διακόσμῳ, νέος κατὰ πρεσβύτην Ἀναξιγόραν, ἔτεσιν αὑτοῦ νεώτερος τετταράκοντα. συν- τετάχθαι δὲ φησι τὸν Μικρὸν διάκοσμον ἔτεσιν ύστερον τῆς Ἰλίου ἀλώσεως τριάκοντα καὶ ἐπτακοσίωσ. γεγόνοι δ' ἂν, ὡς μὲν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς, κατὰ τὴν ὄγδοηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα· ὡς δὲ Θρασύλος ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Τᾶ πρὸ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως τῶν Δημοκρίτου βιβλίων, κατὰ τὸ τρίτον ἐτος τῆς ἐβδομῆς καὶ ἐβδομηκοστῆς Ὀλυμ- πιάδος, ἐναιστῷ, φησι', πρεσβύτερος ὧν Σωκράτους. εἰπ' ἂν οὖν κατ' Ἀρχέλαιν τούν Ἀναξιγόρου μαθητὴν καὶ τοὺς περὶ Οἰνοπίθην καὶ γὰρ τούτου μέμνηται. μέμνηται δὲ καὶ τῆς περὶ τοῦ ἐνὸς δόξης τῶν περὶ Παρμενίδην καὶ Ζήνωνα, ὡς κατ' αὐτὸν μάλιστα διαβεβοημένων, καὶ Πρωταγόρου τοῦ Ἀθηνηρίτου, ὃς ὀμολογεῖται κατὰ Σωκράτην γεγονέναι.

Φησὶ δ' Ἀθηνόδωρος ἐν ὁγδοῇ Περιπάτων, ἐλ- θόντος Ἰπποκράτους πρὸς αὐτὸν, κελεύσαι κομι-

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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. II. i. 263, iv. 341.  
\(^c\) 460–457 B.C.  
\(^d\) 470–469 B.C.
σθήναι γάλα: καὶ θεασάμενον τὸ γάλα εἰπεῖν εἶναι αἰγὸς πρωτοτόκον καὶ μελαῖνης: ὅθεν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν αὐτοῦ θαυμάσαι τὸν Ἰπποκράτην. ἄλλα καὶ κόρης ἀκολουθούσης τῷ Ἰπποκράτει, τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀσπάσασθαι οὕτω "χαῖρε κόρη," τῇ δὲ ἐχομένῃ "χαῖρε γύναι"· καὶ ἢν ἡ κόρη τῆς νυκτὸς διεφθαρμένη.

43 Τελευτήσαι δὲ τὸν Δημόκριτον φησιν Ἕρμιττας τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. ἥδη ὑπέργηρων οὐτα πρός τῷ καταστρέφειν εἶναι. τὴν οὖν ἀδελφὴν1 λυπεῖσθαι ὅτι ἐν τῇ τῶν θεσμοφόρων ἐορτῇ μέλλοι τεθνη-ξεσθαι καὶ τῇ θεοῖ τὸ καθήκον αὐτή οὐ ποιῆσεν· τοῦ δὲ θαρρεῖν εἰπεῖν καὶ κελεύσαι αὐτῷ προσφέρειν ἄρτους θερμοὺς ὁσιμέρα. τοῦτοι δὲ ταῖς μιᾶ προσφέρων διεκράτησεν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐορτήν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρῆλθον αἱ ἡμέραι, τρεῖς δὲ ἤσαν, ἀλυπότατα τὸν βίον προήκατο, ὡς φησιν ὁ Ἰππαρχος, ἐννέα πρὸς τοῖς ἐκατον ἔτη βιοὺς.

44 'Ἡμεῖς τ' εἰς αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Παμμέτρῳ τοῦτον ἐποιήσαμεν τὸν τρόπον:

καὶ τίς ἔφυ σοφὸς ὄδε, τίς ἔργον ἔρεξε τοσοῦτον ὁσσον ὁ παυτοδάσης ἡμύσε Δημόκριτος; ὅς Θάνατον παρεόντα τρὶς ἡμιτά δώμασιν ἐσχεν καὶ θερμοὺς ἄρτων ἀσθμασιν ἐξενίσεν.

tουοῦτος μὲν ὁ βίος τὰνδρός.

44 Δοκεῖ δ' αὐτῷ τάδε· ἀρχάς εἶναι τῶν ὅλων ἀτόμων καὶ κενῶν, τὰ δ' ἀλλα πάντα νεομίσθαι· ἀπείρους τε εἶναι κόσμους καὶ γενητοὺς καὶ φθαρ-τοὺς. μηδὲν τε ἐκ τοῦ μὴ οὖντος γίνεσθαι μηδὲ

1 ἀδελφίδην 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:

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

\footnote{Anth. Pal. vii. 57.}
"Εστι δε ήθικα μέν τάδε:

Πνευμόνης.
Περὶ τῆς τοῦ σοφοῦ διαθέσεως.
Περὶ τῶν εἰν "Αιδών.
Τριτογένεια (τούτο δὲ ἐστὶν, ὅτι τρὶς γίνεται εἴς αὐτῆς, ἃ πάντα ἀνθρώπων συνέχει).

Περὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ὑ περὶ ἀρετῆς.
'Αμαλθεύμης κέρας.

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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).
DIOGENES LAERTIUS

Περὶ εὐθυμίας.
"Υπομνημάτων ἡθικῶν· ἡ γὰρ Ἐνεστὼ σὺν εὐφύσκεται.
καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἡθικά.

Φυσικὰ δὲ τάδε:
Μέγας διάκοσμος (ὅν οἱ περὶ Θεόφραστον Δευκιπποῦ
φασίν εἶναι).
Μικρός διάκοσμος.
Κοσμογραφία.
Περὶ τῶν πλανήτων.
Περὶ φύσεως πρώτον.
Περὶ ἀνθρώπου φύσεως (ἥ Περὶ σαρκός), δεύτερον.
Περὶ νῦν.
Περὶ αἰσθησιῶν (ταῦτα τινες ὤμοι γράφοντες Περὶ ψυχῆς
ἐπιγράφοισι).
Περὶ χυμῶν.
Περὶ χρωμῶν.
Περὶ τῶν διαφερόντων ῥυσμῶν.
Περὶ ἀμελὴς ῥυσμῶν.
Κρατιντήρια (ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐπικριτικὰ τῶν προειρημένων).
Περὶ εἰδώλων ἡ περὶ προνοίας.¹
Περὶ λογικῶν ἡ κανῶν α'/ β'/ γ'.
'Απορριμάτων.

ταῦτα καὶ περὶ φύσεως.

Τὰ δὲ ἀσύντακτα ἐστὶ τάδε·
Αἰτίαι οὐράνιαι.
Αἰτίαι ἄρηνιαι.
Αἰτίαι ἐπιτεδοι.
Αἰτίαι περὶ πυρὸς καὶ τῶν ἐν πυρί.

¹ προνοιας ἀπορροής coni. Krische.
IX. 46-47. DEMOCRITUS

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.

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.
DIOGENES LAERTIUS

Αἰτίαι περὶ φωνῶν.
Αἰτίαι περὶ σπερμάτων καὶ φυτῶν καὶ καρπῶν.
Αἰτίαι περὶ ζώων α'/β' γ'.
Αἰτίαι σύμμικτοι.
Περὶ τῆς λίθου.

ταῦτα καὶ τὰ ἀσύντακτα.

Μαθηματικὰ δὲ τάδε·

Περὶ διαφορῆς γυνῆς1 ἢ Περὶ ψαύσιος κύκλου καὶ σφαίρης.
Περὶ γεωμετρίας.
Γεωμετρικῶν.
'Αριθμοῖ.
Περὶ ἀλόγων γραμμῶν καὶ ναστῶν α'/β'.
'Εκπετάσματα.

48 Μέγας εὐμνατὸς ἢ ‘Ἀστρονομία, παράπηγμα.
"Ἀμιλλα κλεψίδρας <καὶ οὐρανοῦ>.2
Οὐρανογραφίη.
Γεωγραφίη.
Πολυγραφίη.
'Ακτινογραφίη.

τοσαῦτα καὶ τὰ μαθηματικά.

Μουσικὰ δὲ τάδε·

Περὶ ἀριθμῶν καὶ ἀρμονίας.
Περὶ ποιήσιος.
Περὶ καλλοστύνης ἐπέων.
Περὶ εὐφώνων καὶ δισφώνων γραμμάτων.

1 γυνῆς] γυνώμης vulg.

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IX. 47–48. DEMOCRITUS

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 (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 ἄρμοζονσά τε καὶ κεφαλαίων. ἡ τοιαύτη τῆς κρικωτῆς σφαίρας ἐπιπέδω καταγραφὴ κτλ. The title Ἐκπετάσματα may therefore mean "Projection of an armillary sphere on a plane."

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DIOGENES LAERTIUS

Περὶ Ὄμηρον ἡ ὀρθοπεδίας καὶ γλωσσέων.
Περὶ ἀοιδῆς.
Περὶ ρημάτων.
'Ονομαστικῶν.
tosaidta kai ta moussika.

Τεχνικά δὲ τάδε:

Πρόγνωσις.
Περὶ διαίτης ἡ διαιτητικῶν.
["H] Ἰητρικὴ γνώμη.
Ἀίτια περὶ ἀκακρῶν καὶ ἐπικακρῶν.
Περὶ γεωργίας ἡ Γεωμετρικῶν.
Περὶ γραφής.
Τακτικῶν καὶ
'Οπλομαχικῶν.
tosaidta kai tade.

49 Τάπτουσι δὲ τινες κατ' ἰδίαν ἐκ τῶν 'Ὑπομημάτων καὶ ταῦτα:
Περὶ τῶν ἐν Βαβυλώνι ιερῶν γραμμάτων.
Περὶ τῶν ἐν Μερῷ.
'Ωκεανῶν περίπλους.
Περὶ ιστορίας.
Χαλδαϊκὸς λόγος.
Φρύγιος λόγος.
Περὶ πυρετῶν καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ νόσου βηθοσόντων.
Νομικὰί αίτια.
Χειρόκριμα [ἡ] προβλήματα.

Τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὅσα τινὲς ἀναφέρουσιν εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ

1 Λοιμικά coni. Reiske.

a χειρόκριμα is a correction of Salmasius based upon Pliny, V.11. xxiv. 160, and Vitruvius, ix. i. 14. The mss. give either χέρννα, "finger-bowls," or χερνίκα, the sense of which is not clear; they read ἡ before προβλήματα.

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IX. 48–49. DEMOCRITUS

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.\textsuperscript{a}

The other works which some attribute to Demo-
μὲν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ διεσκεύασται, τὰ δ’ ὄμολογου-μένως ἐστὶν ἀλλότρια. ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τῶν βιβλίων αὐτοῦ καὶ τοσαῦτα.

Γεγονασὶ δὲ Δημόκριτοι έξ’ πρῶτος αὐτὸς οὗτος, δεύτερος Χίος μουσικὸς κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, τρίτος άνδριαντοποίος οὐ μέμνηται 'Αντίγονος, τέταρτος περὶ τοῦ ἤερου τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ γεγραφῶς καὶ τῆς πόλεως Σαμοθράκης, πέμπτος ποιητὴς ἐπιγραμμάτων σαφῆς καὶ άνθρώπος, ἐκτὸς Περγαμηνὸς ἀπὸ ρήτορικῶν λόγων <εὐδοκιμήσας>.

Κεφ. η’. ΠΡΩΤΑΓΟΡΑΣ

Πρωταγόρας 'Αρτέμωνος ἦ, ὡς 'Απολλόδωρος καὶ Δείνων ἐν Περσικῷ ε’, Μιανδρίου 'Αβδηρίτης, καθὰ φησιν 'Ηρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τοῖς Περὶ νόμων, ὡς καὶ Θουρίοις νόμοις γράφαι φησίν αὐτὸν. ὡς δ’ Εὐπολίς ἐν Κόλαξιν, Τήσιος. φησὶ γάρ,

"Ευδοθι μὲν ἐστὶ Πρωταγόρας ὁ Τήσιος.

οὗτος καὶ Πρόδικος ὁ Κεῖος λόγους ἀναγνώσκοντες ἡρανίζοντο· καὶ Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Πρωταγόρα φησὶ βαρύφωνον εἶναι τὸν Πρόδικον. διήκουσε δ’ ὁ Πρωταγόρας Δημοκρίτου. ἐκαλεῖτο τε Σοφία, ὡς φησὶ Φαβωρίνος ὁ Παντοδαπὴ ἱστορία.

Καὶ πρῶτος ἐφη δύο λόγους εἶναι περὶ παντὸς πράγματος ἀντικειμένους ἀλλήλους· ὡς καὶ συνηρῶτα, πρῶτος τοῦτο πράξας. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἦρξατο που τοῦτο τὸν τρόπον. "πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον" ἀνθρώπως, τῶν μὲν οὕτων ὡς ἔστιν, τῶν δὲ οὐκ

1 ὡς] fort. ὡς Richards.

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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.
διογένης λαέρτιος καὶ πάντ’ εἶναι ἀληθῆ. καὶ ἄλλαχος δὲ τούτον ἥρατο τοῦν τρόπον. “περὶ μὲν θεῶν οὐκ ἔχω εἰδέναι οὐθ’ ὡς εἰσίν, οὐθ’ ὡς οὐκ εἰσίν.” 1 πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ κωλύοντα εἰδέναι, ἢ τ’ ἀδηλότης καὶ βραχὺς

52 ὁ βίος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.” διὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἀρχήν τοῦν συγγράμματος ἐξεβλήθη πρὸς Ἀθηναίων· καὶ τὰ βιβλία αὐτοῦ κατέκαυσαν ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ, ὑπὸ κήρυκι ἀναλεξάμενοι παρ’ ἐκάστου τῶν κεκτημένων.

Οὗτος πρῶτος μισθὸν εἰσεπράξατο μνᾶς ἐκατόν· καὶ πρῶτος μέρη χρόνου διώρισε καὶ καιροῦ δύναμιν ἐξέβησε καὶ λόγων ἁγώνας ἐπούνσατο καὶ σοφίσματα τοῖς πραγματολογοῦσι προσήγαγε· καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀφεὶς πρὸς τούνομα διελέξθη καὶ τὸν ἐπιπόλαιν γένος τῶν ἐριστικῶν ἐγέννησεν· ἵνα καὶ Τίμων φησὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ,

Πρωταγόρης τ’ ἐπίμεικτος ἐριζέμεναι εὐ εἰδῶς.

53 οὗτος καὶ τὸ Σωκρατικὸν εἴδος τῶν λόγων πρῶτος ἐκύησε. καὶ τὸν ’Αντισθένους λόγον τὸν πειρώμενον ἀποδεικνύων ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντιλέγειν, οὗτος πρῶτος διελεκταί, καθά φῆσι Πλάτων ἐν Εὐθυδήμῳ. καὶ πρῶτος κατέδειξε τὰς πρὸς τὰς θέσεις ἐπι- χειρήσεις, ὡς φῆσιν ’Αρτεμίδωρος ὁ διαλεκτικὸς ἐν τῷ Πρὸς Χρύσιππον. καὶ πρῶτος τὴν καλουμένην τύλην, ἐφ’ ὑς τὰ φορτία βαστάζουσι, εὐρέν, ὡς φῆσιν ’Αριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ Περὶ παιδείας: φορμοφόρος γὰρ ἢν, ὡς καὶ ’Ἐπίκουρος ποῦ φησι. καὶ

1 οὐθ’ ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδεῶν Diels ex Euseb. P.E. xiv. 3. 7.

\[a\] 152 Α sq.
\[b\] Fr. 47 D.
\[c\] Cf. II. xv. 679.
\[d\] 286 c.

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are not." He used to say that soul was nothing apart from the senses, as we learn from Plato in the *Theaetetus*, 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 too speaks of him as

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*, 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,
τούτων τῶν τρόπων ἥρθη πρὸς Δημοκρίτου ξύλα
dedekwos ophtheis. dieile te toon logos prōtos eis
teptara, euχwλhν, ērōtēsın, āpōkrisın, ēntolhν. (oi
de eis ēptā, diγhēsın, ērōtēsın, āpōkrisın, ēntolhν,
āpaganēλian, euχwλhν, κlēsın), oūs kai pυthmēnas
eipe lōgos. 'Alkidiāmas de teptaraś logosu phēsī, fāsın, āpōfasin, ērōtēsın, prossagōreusin.

Prōton de toon logos anēgon toon Peri
θeωn, ou tīn āρχhν anw parēbēmeβa. anēgon d'
'Αθῆνασίν ēn tī Eυριπίδου ουκία ή, ὡς tīnes, ēn
tī Megakleidou. ālloi ēn Lυκείωs, maθhțou tīn
fōwνhν aυtō χρῆsantos 'Aρχαγόροu toū Θeodōtou.
kathgōrhēse d' aυtōu Pυθόδωroς Pολυζήlou, eis
tōn teptarkosίōn. 'Αριστοτέλης d' Eυαθλόν phēsın.

'Eστι de tā sωζόμενa aυtōu bιβλία tādē:

* * Tēxhē ερωτικῶν.
Peri πάληs.
Peri tōn maθhμάτων.
Peri politeiās.
Peri filosofiās.
Peri āρeτῶν.
Peri tīs ēn āρχh kαταστάσεωs.
Peri tōn ēn "Λίδων.
Peri tōn oūk ērθōs tōis āνθρώπois πρασσομένoν.
Προστακτικός.

Dīkh ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ, 'Αντιλογιῶν a' β'

kai τάυτα μὲν aυτῶ τά bιβλία. γέγραφε de kai
Plātōn eis aυtōn δiάλογον.

a Sr. in an epistle, Peri ēpīthēdeumátnων, 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.

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says Epicurus somewhere. 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; 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. Moreover there is a dialogue which Plato wrote upon him.
Φησὶ δὲ Φιλόχορος, πλέοντος αὐτοῦ ἐς Σικελίαν, τὴν ναῦν κατατευχθήναι καὶ τοῦτο αἰνίστεοθαὶ Ἐυριπίδην ἐν τῷ Ἰξίονι. ἔνιοι κατὰ τὴν ὅδον τελευτήσαι αὐτόν, βιώσαντα ἐτή πρὸς τὰ ἐνενήκοντα.

Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ φησιν ἐβδομήκοντα, σοφιστεύσαι δὲ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἀκμάζειν κατὰ τὴν τετάρτην καὶ ὀγδοηκοστὴν Ὁλυμπιάδα.

"Εστι καὶ εἰς τοῦτον ἡμῶν οὕτως ἔχον:\n
καὶ σεθ, Πρωταγόρη, φἀτιν ἐκλυνο, ὡς ἀρ᾽ Ἀθηνέων ἐκ ποτ' ἱὸν καθ᾽ ὅδον πρέσβυς ἑών ἐθανετε. εἶλετο γάρ σε φυγείν Κέκροπος πόλις. ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν ποιν

Παλλάδος ἄστι φύγει, Πλούτεα δ᾽ οὐκ ἐφυγεσ.

Λέγεται δὲ ποτ' αὐτὸν ἀπαιτοῦντα τὸν μισθὸν Ἐυάθλου τὸν μαθητήν, ἐκείνου εἰπόντος, "ἀλλ᾽ αὐδέπω νίκην νενίκηκα," εἶπεῖν, "ἀλλ᾽ ἐγὼ μὲν ἂν νικήσω, ὡς ἐγὼ ἐνίκησα, λαβεῖν με δὲι. ἐὰν δὲ σὺ, ὅτι σὺ." Πρωταγόρης δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Πρωταγόρας ἀστρολόγος, εἰς δὲν καὶ Ἐυφορίων ἐπικήδειον ἑγραψε· καὶ τρίτος Στωικὸς φιλόσοφος.

Κεφ. θ'. ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΗΣ

Διογένης Ἀπολλοθέμιδος Ἀπολλωνιάτης, ἀνὴρ φυσικὸς καὶ ἀγαν ἐλλόγιμος. ἦκουσε δὲ, φησιν

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*a* 444–441 ὁ. ὕ.  
*b* Anth. Pal. vii. 130.  
*c* We naturally feel surprise when this early philosopher is interpolated between Protagoras and Anaxarchus, both 468
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-
'Ἀντισθένης, Ἀνάξαρχος. ἦν δὲ τοῖς χρόνοις κατ' Ἀναξαγόραν. τούτων φησιν ὁ Φαληρεύς Δημήτριος ἐν τῇ Σωκράτους ἀπολογία δια μέγαν φθόνον μικροῦ κυνdtypeisai Ἀθήνησιν.

'Εδόκει δὲ αὐτῷ τάδε· στοιχεῖον εἶναι τοῦ ἀέρα, κόσμους ἀπείρους καὶ κενὸν ἀπειροῦ τὸν τε ἀέρα πυκνοῦμεν καὶ ἁραμοῦμεν γεννητικὸν εἶναι τῶν κόσμων· οὐδὲν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος γίνεσθαι οὐδὲ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὃν φθείρεσθαι· τὴν γῆν στρογγύλην, ἢρεισμένην ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, τὴν σύστασιν εἰληφυίαν κατὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ θερμοῦ περιφορὰν καὶ πῆξιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ.

'Αρχὴ δὲ αὐτῶ τοῦ συγγράμματος ἢδε· "λόγου παντὸς ἀρχόμενον δοκεῖ μοι χρεών εἶναι τὴν ἄρχην ἀναμφισβήτητον παρέχεσθαι, τὴν δ' ἐρμηνεύειν ἀπλὴν καὶ σεμνήν."

Κεφ. 1'. ἈΝΑΞΑΡΧΟΣ

58 Ἀνάξαρχος Ἀβδηρίτης. οὗτος ἦκουσε 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 φιλον ἀκούσαν. ὃς δ' οὖν Ἀνάξαρχος καὶ Ἀλέξ-άνδρῳ συνήν καὶ ἤκμαζε κατὰ τὴν δεκάτην καὶ ἐκατοστήν 'Ολυμπιάδα καὶ εἶχεν ἐξθρόν Νικο-κρέον τὸν Κύπρου τύραννον· καὶ 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-
DIOGENES—ANAXARCHUS

Diogenes calls him a pupil of Anaximenes; but he lived in Anaxagoras's time. This man, 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. 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, 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. 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 τῷ Δημοκρίτῳ δὲ ἀκούσται Πρωταγόρας ὁ Ἀβδαρχος καὶ Μητρόδωρος ὁ Χῖος, οὗ Διογένης ὁ Συμμαιός, οὗ Ἀνάξαρχος, τούτου δὲ Πυρρων, οὗ Ναυσιφάνης; Euseb. xiv. 17. 10; Epiphanius, *De fide*, 9, p. 591. d 340–337 B.C.
τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου ἐρωτήσαντος αὐτὸν τί ἀρα δοκεῖ τὸ δεῖπνον, εἰπεῖν φασίν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, πάντα πολυτελῶς· ἐδει δὲ λοιπὸν κεφαλὴν σατράπου τυνὸς παρατεθείσαν" ἀπορριπτῶν πρὸς τὸν Νικοκρέοντα. ὅ δὲ μνησικακίας μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ὀτε πλέων ἀκούσιος προσηνέχθη τῇ Κύπρῳ ὁ Ἀνάξαρχος, συλλαβῶν αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς ὦλμον βαλῶν ἐκέλευσε τύππεσθαι σιδηροίς ὑπέρους. τὸν δ' οὐ φροντίσαντα τῆς τιμωρίας εἰπεῖν ἐκεῖνο δὴ τὸ περιφερόμενον, "πτίσσε τὸν Ἀνάξαρχον θύλακον, Ἀνάξαρχον δὲ οὐ πτίσσεσιν." κελεύσαντος δὲ τοῦ Νικοκρέοντος καὶ τὴν γλώτταν αὐτοῦ ἐκτμηθῆναι, λόγος ἀποτραγύνα τροποποιεῖ αὐτῷ. καὶ ἐστὶν ἰμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν οὕτως <ἔχον>.

πτίσσετε, Νικοκρέων, έτι καὶ μάλα· θύλακός εστι· πτίσσετ· Ἀνάξαρχος δ' ἐν Διός ἐστι πάλαι. καὶ σε διαστείλασα γνάφοις ὀλίγον τάδε λέειν ῥήματα Φερσεφόνην, "ἐρρε μυλωθρέ κακέ."  

Οὐτος διὰ τὴν ἀπάθειαν καὶ εὐκολίαν τοῦ βίου Εὐδαμωνικός ἐκαλεῖτο· καὶ ἢν ἐκ τοῦ ράστου δυνατὸς σωφρονίζειν. τὸν γοὺς Ἀλέξανδρον οἰόμενον εἶναι θεῶν ἐπέστρεφεν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκ τυνὸς πληγῆς εἰδεν αὐτῷ καταρρέουν αἵμα, δεξιὰς τῇ χειρὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν φησὶ, "τοῦτο μὲν αἵμα καὶ οὐκ ἰχώρ οἶδος πέρ τε δέει μακάρεσσοι θεοῖσι." Πλοῦταρχος δ' αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τοῦτο λέξαι πρὸς τοὺς φίλους φησίν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοτε προπίνοντα αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀνάξαρχον δεῖξαι τὴν κύλικα καὶ εἰπεῖν

βεβλήσεται τις θεῶν βροτησία χερί.

a Anth. Pal. vii. 133.  
b Hl. 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 Nicoereon, 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 Nicoereon 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:

Pound, Nicoereon, 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.” Plutarch reports this as spoken by Alexander to his friends. 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.
DIOGENES LAERTIUS

Κεφ. ια'. ΠΥΡΡΩΝ

61 Πύρρων Ἡλείος Πλευστάρχου μὲν ἦν υἱός, καθά καὶ Διοκλῆς ἔστορεί· ὡς φησί δ' Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς, πρότερον ἦν ζωγράφος, καὶ ἤκουσε Βρύσωνος τοῦ Στίλπωνος, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Διαδοχαῖς, εἰτ' Ἀναξάρχου, ἕυνακολουθῶν πανταχοῦ, ὡς καὶ τοῖς Γυμνοσοφισταῖς ἐν Ἰνδίᾳ συμμίκται καὶ τοῖς Μάγοις. οἴδεν γενναιότατα δοκεῖ φιλοσοφῆσαι, τὸ τῆς ἀκαταληψίας καὶ ἑποχῆς εἶδος εἰσαγαγών, ὡς Ἀσκάνιος ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης φησίν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐφασκεν οὔτε καλὸν οὔτ' αἰσχρὸν οὔτε δίκαιον οὔτ' ἀδικον· καὶ ὅμοιος ἐπὶ πάντων μηδὲν εἶναι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, νόμω δὲ καὶ ἔθει πάντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πράττειν· οὐ γὰρ μᾶλλον τόδε ἦ τόδε εἶναι ἕκαστον.

62 Ἀκόλουθος δ' ἦν καὶ τῷ βίῳ, μηδὲν ἐκτρεπόμενος μηδὲ φυλαττόμενος, ἀπαντα ὑφιστάμενος, ἀμάξας, εἰ τύχοι, καὶ κρημνοὺς καὶ κύνας καὶ ὀλως μηδὲν ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν ἐπιτρέπων. σώζεσθαι μέντοι, καθά φασιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Καρύστιον Ἀντίγονον, ὅποι τῶν γνωρίμων παρακολουθοῦντων. Αἰνειδήμος δὲ φησι̱ φιλοσοφεῖν μὲν αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἐποχῆς λόγον, μὴ μέντοι γ' ἀπροοράτως ἔκαστα πράττειν. δ' δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἐτη κατεβίω.

Ἀντίγονος δὲ φησιν ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Πύρρωνος τάδε περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι τὴν ἄρχην ἄδοξός τ' ἦν καὶ πένης καὶ ζωγράφος. σώζεσθαι τ' αὐτοῦ

a For "Stilpo’s son Bryson" Roeper’s conjecture Ἡ Στίλπωνος (Philolog. xxx. 462) would substitute "under Bryson or Stilpo." In any case chronology seems to forbid 474
IX. 61–62. PYRRHO

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: 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. 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 Ἡλίδι ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ λαμπαδιστᾶς μετρίως ἔχοντας. ἐκπατείν τ' ἀυτὸν καὶ ἔρημάζειν, σπανίως ποτ’ ἐπιφαινόμενον τοῖς οίκοι. τούτο δὲ ποιεῖν ἀκούσαντα Ἰνδοῦ τινος οὐκετιζοντος Ἀναξάρχῳ ὦς οὐκ ἂν ἑτερόν τινα διδάξαι οὕτως ἀγαθόν, αὐτὸς αὐλᾶς βασιλικὰς θεραπεύων. ἀεὶ τ’ εἶναι ἐν τῷ ἀυτῷ καταστήματι, ὡστ’ εἰ καὶ τις ἄυτὸν καταλίποι μεταξὺ λέγοντα, αὐτῷ διαπεράειν τὸν λόγον, καίτοι κεκυμεμένοι τε <***>1 ὄντα ἐν νεότητι. πολλάκις, φησί, καὶ ἀπεδήμει, μηδενὶ προειπὼν, καὶ συνερρέμβετο οἴστισιν ἥθελεν. καὶ ποτ’ Ἀναξαρχὸν ἐστ’ τέλμα ἐμπεσόντος, παρῆλθεν οὐ βοηθήσασ- τινών δὲ αἰτιωμένων, αὐτός Ἀναξάρχος ἐπήγει τὸ ἀδιάφορον καὶ ἀστοργὸν αὐτοῦ.

Καταληφθεῖς δὲ ποτε καὶ αὐτῷ λαλῶν καὶ ἔρωτηθείς τὴν αὐτίαν ἔφη μελετάν χρηστός εἶναι. ἐν τε τοῖς ζητήσεωι υπ’ οὔδενῶς κατεφρονεῖτο διὰ τὸ <καὶ διεξοδικῶς λέγειν καὶ πρὸς ἐρωτησιν: οθὲν καὶ Ναυσιφάνῃ ἡδή νεανίσκον ὄντα θηραθήναι. ἔφασκε γοῦν γίνεσθαι δεῖν τῆς μὲν διαθέσεως τῆς Πυρρωνείου, τῶν δὲ λόγων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ. ἔλεγέ τε πολλάκις καὶ Ἐπίκουρον θαυμάζοντα τὴν Πῦρ- ρωνος ἀναστροφὴν συνεχέσ αὐτοῦ πυνθάνεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ. οὕτω δ’ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος τιμηθῆ- ναι ὡστε καὶ ἄρχερεα καταστήσαι αὐτὸν καὶ δι’ ἐκεῖνον πασὶ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἀτέλειαν ψηφίσασθαι.

Καὶ δὴ καὶ ζηλωτὰς εἶχε πολλοὺς τῆς ἀπραγ-

1 Supplet Diels τῷ τοῦ ὄχλου κρότῳ καὶ φιλόδοξον.

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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.”

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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. 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· οὖθεν καὶ ὁ Τίμων περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν ὀὕτως ἐν τῷ Πύθωνι • • • καὶ ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις.

65 Ὁ γέρον, ὁ Πύρρων, πώς ἡ πόθεν ἔκδυσιν εὑρεῖς λατρείας δοξῶν [τε] κενεοφροσύνης τε σοφιστῶν, καὶ πάσης ἀπάτης πειθοῦς τ' ἀπελύσαο δεημά; οὖδ' ἐμελεῖν σοι ταύτα μεταλήσαι, τίνες αὖραι Ἐλλάδ' ἔχουσί, πόθεν τε καὶ εἰς ὃ, τι κύρει ἐκαστα. καὶ πάλιν ἐν τοῖς Ἰνδαλμοῖς.

τούτο μοι, ὁ Πύρρων, ἰμείρεται ἢτορ ἀκούσαι, πώς ποτ' ἀνήρ ἔτ' ἄγεις ῥάστα μεθ' ἡσυχίας μοῦνος ἐν ἀνθρώποις θεοῦ τρόπον ἡγεμονεύων.

'Αθηναίου δὲ καὶ πολυτεία αὐτοῦ ἐτύμησαν, καθα' φησι Διοκλῆς, ἐπὶ τῷ Κότυν τὸν Ὄρακα δια- 66 χρῆσασθαι. εὐσεβῶς δὲ καὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ συνεβίω μαία οὐσι, καθα' φησιν Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν τῷ Περὶ πλοῦτου καὶ πενίας, ὅτε καὶ αὐτὸς φέρων εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐπιτραπέζην ὀρνίθια, εἰ τύχει, καὶ χοιρίδια, καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἐκάθαιρεν ἀδιαφόρως. λέγεται δὲ καὶ δέλφακα λουζέν αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἀδιαφορίας. καὶ χολήσας τι ύπέρ τῆς ἀδελφῆς, Φιλίστα δ' ἐκαλεῖτο, πρὸς τὸν ἐπιλαβόμενον εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐκ ἐν γνωσὶ ἡ ἐπιδείξεις τῆς ἀδιαφορίας. καὶ κυνὸς ποτ' ἐπενεχθέντος διασοβηθέντα εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν αἰτιασάμενον, ὡς χαλεπὸν εἰς ὀλοσχερῶς ἐκθύνει τὸν ἄνθρωπον, διαγωνίζεσθαι δ' ως οἶον τε πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς ἐργοις πρὸς τὰ πράγματα, εἰ δὲ μή, τῷ γε λόγῳ.

67 Φαισὶ δὲ καὶ σηππικών φαρμάκων καὶ τομῶν καὶ καύσεων ἐπὶ τινος ἐλκους αὐτῷ προσενεχθέντων, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τὰς ὀρφῶς συναγαγεῖν. καὶ ὁ Τίμων δὲ 478
abstention from affairs, so that Timon in his Pytho and in his Silli says:

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:

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

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\[ a \] The citation from the Pytho is lost. \[ b \] Fr. 48 D. \[ c \] \textit{Il. ii.} 796; \textit{Od. xvi.} 465. \[ d \] Fr. 67 D.
διασαφεί τήν διάθεσιν αυτοῦ ἐν οἷς πρὸς Πύθωνα διέξεισιν. ἀλλὰ καὶ Φίλων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, γνώριμος αὐτοῦ γεγονός, ἐλεγεν ὡς ἐμέμνητο μάλιστα μὲν Δημοκρίτου, εἶτα δὲ καὶ Ὄμηρον, θαυμάζων αὐτοῦ καὶ συνεχέσι λέγων,

οἴη περὶ φύλλων γενεῆ, τοίη δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν·
καὶ ὁτι σφηξὶ καὶ μνίαις καὶ ὄρνεοις εἶκαζε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. προφέρεσθαι δὲ καὶ τάδε·

ἀλλὰ, φίλος, θάνε καὶ σύ· τί ὁλοφύρεαι οὕτως;
κάθανε καὶ Πάτροκλος, δέ περὶ σέο πολλῶν ἁμείνων·
καὶ ὁσα συντείνει εἰς το ἀβέβαιον καὶ κενόσπουδον ἁμα καὶ παιδαρίαδες τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

68 Ποσειδώνιος δὲ καὶ τοιοῦτον τι διέξεισι περὶ αὐτοῦ. τῶν γὰρ συμπλεόντων αὐτῶς ἐσκυθρωπακότων ὑπὸ χειμώνος, αὐτὸς γαληνὸς ὄν ἀνέρρωσε τὴν ψυχήν, δείξας ἐν τῷ πλοῖῳ χουρίδιον ἐσθίον καὶ εἶτών ὡς χρή τὸν σοφὸν ἐν τοιαύτῃ καθέσταναι ἀταραξία. μόνος δὲ Νομίμιος καὶ δογματίσαι φησίν αὐτῶν. τοῦτον πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ μαθηταὶ
γεγόνασιν ἐλλόγιμοι, ὃν Εὐρύλοχος· οὗ φέρεται ἐλάσσωμα τάδε. φασὶ γὰρ ὡς οὕτως παρωξύνθη
pote ὡστε τὸν ὄβελισκόν ἄρας μετὰ τῶν κρεών

69 Ἡλιδὶ καταπονοῦμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ζητοῦντων ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ἀπορρίψας θοιμάτων διενήξατο [πέραν]

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a II. vi. 146.  
b II. 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.²

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,⁶

and all the passages which dwell on the unstable
purpose, vain pursuits, and childish folly of man.⁶

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 un-
perturbed 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 Ἀλφείων. ἦν οὖν πολεμιωτάτος τοῖς σοφισταῖς, ὡς καὶ Τίμων φησίν.

"Ὁ δὲ Φίλων τὰ πλείστα διελέγετο ἡντῷ. ὃθεν καὶ περὶ τούτοι φησίν οὕτως·

ἡ τὸν ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων αὐτόσχολον αὐτολαλητὴν
οὐκ ἐμπαξάμενον δόξης ἔριδων τε Φίλωνα.

Πρὸς τούτοις διήκουν τοῦ Πύρρωνος "Εκαταίος τε ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης καὶ Τίμων ὁ Φιλάσιος ὁ τοὺς Σίλλους πεποιηκός, περὶ οὐ λέξομεν, ἔτι τε Ναυσιφάνης ὁ Τήμιος, οὐ δικού τινς ἀκοῦσαι Ἐπίκουρον. οὕτω Πάντες Πυρρώνειοι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ διδασκάλου, ἀπορητικοὶ δὲ καὶ σκεπτικοὶ καὶ ἔτι ἐφεκτικοὶ καὶ ξητητικοὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνον δόγματος προσηγορεύοντο.

70 Ξητητικοὶ μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ πάντοτε ξητεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, σκεπτικοὶ δ᾽ ἀπὸ τοῦ σκέπτεσθαι ἂει καὶ μηδέποτε εὐρίσκειν, ἐφεκτικοὶ δ᾽ ἀπὸ τοῦ μετὰ τὴν ξητησιν πάθους· λέγω δὲ τὴν ἐποχὴν ἀπορητικοὶ δ᾽ ἀπὸ τοῦ τοὺς δογματικοὺς ἀπορεῖν καὶ αὐτοὺς. Πυρρώνειοι δὲ ἀπὸ Πύρρωνος. Θεοδόσιος δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς Σκεπτικοῖς κεφαλαῖοι οὐ φησὶν δειν Πυρρώνειον καλεῖσθαι τὴν σκεπτικὴν· εἶ γὰρ τὸ καθ᾽ ἐτερον κίνημα τῆς διανοιας ἀληθτὸν ἔστων, οὖν εἰσόμεθα τὴν Πύρρωνος διάθεσιν· μὴ εἴδοτες δὲ οὐδὲ Πυρρώνειοι καλοῖμεθ᾽ ἅν. πρὸς τῶν μηδὲ πρῶτον εὐρηκέναι τὴν σκεπτικὴν Πύρρωνα μηδ᾽ ἔχειν τί δόγμα. λέγοιτο δ᾽ ἂν τις Πυρρώνειος ὁμότροπος.

71 Ταῦτα δὲ τῆς αἰρέσεως ἔνιοι φασίν Ἀριστοτέλης κατάρτιζαι, ἐπεὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πραγμάτων παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς.
IX. 69-71. PYRRHO

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:\n
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
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οντινοῦν ἀλλοτ' ἄλλως ἀποφαίνεται καὶ οὐδὲν ὀρικῶς δογματίζει περὶ τὴν ἀπόφασιν. ἔπειτα καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν σοφῶν σκεπτικὰ εἶναι, οἵον τὸ Μηδέν ἄγαν, καὶ 'Εγγύα, πάρα δ' ἄτα· δηλοῦσθαι γὰρ τῷ βεβαιῶς καὶ πεπεισμένως διεγγυωμένῳ ἐπακολουθεῖν ἀτην. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ὁ Ἀρχίλοχον καὶ Εὔριπίδην σκεπτικῶς ἔχειν, εὖ οἷς Ὁ Ἀρχίλοχος μὲν φησι.

tοῖς ἀνθρώποις θυμός, Γλαύκε Λεπτίνεω παϊ, γίγνεται θυντοῖς ὅκοιν Ζεὺς ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἀγεί.

Εὔριπίδης δὲ·

(ὁ Ζεὺς,) τὶ δήτα τοὺς ταλαιπώρους βροτοὺς φρονεῖν λέγουσι; σοῦ γὰρ ἔξηρτήμεθα δρωμέν τε τοιάδ' ἀ' ν σὺ τυχήχανης θέλων.

72 Ὅμων ἀλλὰ καὶ Ξενοφάνης καὶ Ζήνων ὁ Ἐλεάτης καὶ Θημόκριτος καὶ' αὐτοὺς σκεπτικοὶ τυγχάνουσιν; εὖ οἷς Ξενοφάνης μὲν φησι,

καὶ τὸ μὲν οὖν σαφὲς οὕτως ἀνὴρ ἵδειν οὐδὲ τις ἔσται εἰδώς.

Ζήνων δὲ τὴν κίνησιν ἀναίρει λέγων, "τὸ κινοῦμενον οὔτ' ἐν ὃ ἐστι τόπῳ κινεῖται οὔτ' ἐν ὃ μὴ ἐστι". Δημόκριτος δὲ τὰς ποιότητας ἐκβάλλων, ἢν φησίν, "νόμῳ ψυχρόν, νόμῳ θερμόν, ἔτεη δὲ ἀτομα καὶ κενῶν"· καὶ πάλιν, "ἔτεη δὲ οὐδὲν ἓδημεν· ἐν βυθῷ γὰρ ἡ ἄλθεια." καὶ Πλάτωνα τὸ μὲν ἀληθῆς θεοῖς τε καὶ θεῶν παισὶν ἐκχωρεῖν, τὸν δ' εἰκότα λόγου ζητεῖν. καὶ Εὔριπίδην λέγειν.

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a Fr. 70 B.  
b Supplices, 735-737.  
c Fr. 34 D.

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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:

Man's soul, O Glaucus, son of Leptines,
Is but as one short day that Zeus sends down.

And Euripides:

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,

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." Plato, too, leaves the truth to gods and sons of gods, and seeks after the probable explanation. Euripides says:

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\[a\] This proverbial expression is inadequate; a more literal rendering of \(\varepsilon\nu\ \beta\iota\omicron\omicron\omicron\ \) would be "in an abyss."

\[b\] Tim. 40 D.

\[c\] Nauck, T.G.F.2, Eur. 638; Polyid. Fr. 7.
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73 τίς δ' οἴδεν εἰ τὸ ζῆν μὲν ἐστὶ καταθανεῖν, τὸ καταθανεῖν δὲ ζῆν νομίζεται βροτοῖς; ἄλλα καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέα· 

οὗτος οὔτ' ἐπιδερκτὰ τάδ' ἀνδράσιν οὔτ' ἐπακουοῦτα οὔτε νόῳ περιληπτά·

καὶ ἐπάνω,

αὐτὸ μόνον πεισθέντες ὅτι προσέκυρσεν ἑκαστὸς· ἔτι μὴν Ἡράκλειτον, "μὴ εἰκῆ περί τῶν μεγίστων συμβαλλόμεθα". καὶ Ἰπποκράτην [ἐπείτα] ἐνδοιαστῶς καὶ ἀνθρωπίνως ἀποφαίνεσθαι· καὶ πρὶν Ῥήμηρον,

στρεπτὴ δὲ γλῶσσα ἐστὶ βροτῶν, πολέες δ' ἐν μῦθοι·

καὶ ἐπέων δὲ πολὺς νομὸς ἔνθα καὶ ἐνθα·

καὶ ὀπποίον κ' εὐπηρέθα ἔπος, τοῖον κ' ἐπακούσαις· τὴν ἱσοσθένειαν λέγων καὶ ἀντίθεσιν τῶν λόγων.

74 Διετέλουν δή οἱ σκέπτικοι τὰ τῶν αἱρέσεων δόγματα πάντ' ἀνατρέποντες, αὐτοὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἀπεφαίνοντο δογματικῶς, ἐως δὲ τοῦ προφέρεσθαι τὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ διηγεῖσθαι μηδὲν ὀρίζοντες, μηδ' αὐτὸ τούτο. ὅστε καὶ τὸ μὴ ὀρίζειν ἀνήρρουν, λέγοντες οἶνον Οὐδὲν ὀρίζομεν, ἐπεὶ ὀρίζον ἀν· προφέρομεθα δὲ, φασί, τὰς ἀποφάσεις εἰς μῆνισιν

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a Fr. 2, 1. 7.  
b Ih. 1. 5.  
c Fr. 47 D., 48 B.  
d Il. xx. 248-250.  
e διετέλουν, imperfect.  
f Inf. § 104.  
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Who knoweth if to die be but to live,  
And that called life by mortals be but death?

So too Empedocles:  
So to these mortal may not list nor look  
Nor yet conceive them in his mind:

and before that:  
Each believes naught but his experience.

And even Heraclitus: "Let us not conjecture on deepest questions what is likely."  
Then again Hippocrates showed himself two-sided and but human. And before them all Homer:

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 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; but we put forward, say they, all
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τής ἀπροσπτωσίας, ὡς, εἰ καὶ νεύσαντας, τούτο ἐνεδέχετο δηλώσαι· διὰ τῆς οὖν Οὐδέν ὄριζομεν φωνῆς τὸ τῆς ἀρρεψίας πάθος δηλοῦται· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς Οὐδέν μᾶλλον καὶ τῆς Παντὶ λόγω

75 λόγος ἀντίκειται καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων. λέγεται δὲ τὸ Οὐδέν μᾶλλον καὶ θετικῶς, ὥς ὁμοίων τινῶν ὀντων· οἶνον, Οὐδέν μᾶλλον ὁ πειρατὴς κακὸς ἐστιν ἢ ὁ ἰχθύς. ὅπο δὲ τῶν σκεπτικῶν οὐ θετικῶς ἀλλ' ἀναιρετικῶς λέγεται, ὡς ὅπο τοῦ ἀνασκευάζοντος καὶ λέγοντος, Οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ Σκύλλα γέγονεν ἢ ἢ Χήμαρα. αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ Μάλλον ποτὲ μὲν συγκριτικῶς ἑκφέρεται, ὡς ὅταν φῶμεν μᾶλλον τὸ μέλι γλυκὺ ἢ τὴν σταφίδα· ποτὲ δὲ θετικῶς καὶ ἀναιρετικῶς, ὡς ὅταν φῶμεν, Μάλλον ἢ ἀρετῆ ὄφελεῖ· βλάπτει· σημαίνομεν γὰρ ὅτι ἢ ἀρετῆ ὄφελεῖ, βλάπτει δ' οὐ. ἀναίρονσι δ' οἱ σκεπτικοὶ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν "Οὐδέν μᾶλλον" φωνήν· ὡς γὰρ οὐ μᾶλλον ἐστι πρόνοια ἢ οὐκ ἐστιν, οὕτω καὶ τὸ Οὐδέν μᾶλλον οὐ μᾶλλον ἐστιν ἢ οὐκ ἐστι. σημαίνει οὖν ἡ φωνή, καθά φησι καὶ Τίμων ἐν τῷ Πύθωνι, "τὸ μηδὲν ὄριζεν, ἀλλ' ἀπροσθετεῖν." ἢ δὲ Παντὶ λόγῳ φωνὴ καὶ αὐτή συνάγει τὴν ἑποχῆν· τῶν μὲν γὰρ πραγμάτων διαφωνοῦντων, τῶν δὲ λόγων ἰσοθεωνοῦντων ἀγνωσία τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπακολουθεῖ· καὶ αὐτῷ δὲ τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ λόγος ἀντίκειται, ὅσ καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ τὸ ἀνέλειν τοὺς ἄλλους ὑφ' ἕαυτοῦ περιτραπέσι ἀπόλλυται, κατ' ἵσον τοῖς καθαρτικοῖς.

a i.e. "Every saying has its corresponding opposite" (supra, § 74).

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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
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a τὴν ύλην προεκκρίναντα καὶ αὐτὰ ὑπεκκρίνεται καὶ ἔξαπολλυται.

77 Πρὸς ὁ φασίν οἱ δογματικοὶ * * μὴ αἴρεω τὸν λόγον, ἄλλα προσεπισχυρίζειν. μόνον οὖν διακόνοις ἐχρῶντο τοῖς λόγοις: οὐ γὰρ οἶον τε ἦν μὴ λόγῳ λόγον ἀνελείν· καθ’ ὄν τρόπον εἰσώθαμεν λέγειν τόπον μὴ εἶναι καὶ δεὶ πάντως τὸν τόπον εἰπεῖν, ἄλλ’ οὐ δογματικῶς, ἀποδεικτικῶς δέ· καὶ μηδὲν γίνεσθαι κατ’ ἀνάγκην καὶ δεὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην εἰπεῖν. τοιούτῳ τινὶ τρόπῳ τῆς ἐρμηνείας ἐχρῶντο· ὅτα γὰρ φαῖνεται τὰ πράγματα, μὴ τουαῦτα εἶναι τῇ φύσει, ἄλλα μόνον φαίνεσθαι· ζητεῖν τ’ ἔλεγον οὐχ ἀπερ νοοῦσιν, ὁ τι γὰρ νοεῖται δῆλον, ἄλλ’ ὃν ταῖς αἰσθῆσεις μετίσχουσιν.

78 Ἐστὶν οὖν ὁ Πυρρόνειος λόγος μὴνσίς τις τῶν φανομένων ἢ τῶν ὅπως οὐκομένων, καθ’ ἦν πάντα πᾶσι συμβάλλει καὶ συγκρινόμενα πολλὴν ἀνωμαλίαν καὶ ταραχὴν ἔχοντα εὑρίσκεται, καθά φησιν Αἰνεσίδημος ἐν τῇ εἰς τὰ Πυρρόνεια ὑποτυπώσει. πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἐν ταῖς σκέψεσι ἀντιθέσεις προαποδεικνύντες καθ’ οὓς τρόπους πείθει τὰ πράγματα, κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀνήρουν τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν πίστιν· πείθειν γὰρ τὰ τε κατ’ αἰσθήσιν συμφώνως ἔχοντα καὶ τὰ μηδέποτε ἢ σπανίως γοῦν μεταπιπτοντα τὰ τε συνήθη καὶ τὰ νόμοις διεσταλμένα καὶ τὰ τέρποντα καὶ τὰ θαυμαζόμενα. ἐδείκνυσαν οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων τοῖς πείθουσιν ἵσας τὰς πιθανότητας.

a Here (as in § 104) the writer, whether D. L. or his source, seems to pose as a Sceptic himself; cf. Introd. p. xiii.

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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 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 Pyrrhonian 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.
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Αἱ δ’ ἀπορίαι κατὰ τὰς συμφωνίας τῶν φαινομένων ἡ νοσεμένων, ἃς ἀπεδιδοσαν, ἦσαν κατὰ δέκα τρόπους, καθ’ οὓς τὰ ύποκείμενα παραλλάττοντα ἐφαίνετο. τούτους δὲ τοὺς δέκα τρόπους τίθησιν.

[Eis]² πρῶτος οἱ παρὰ τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν ζῶν πρὸς ἡδονῆν καὶ ἀληθῶν καὶ βλάβην καὶ ὑφέλειαν. συνάγεται δὲ δι’ αὐτοῦ τὸ μή τὰς αὐτὰς ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν προσπίπτειν φαντασίας καὶ τὸ διότι τῇ τουαυτῇ μάχῃ ἀκολούθει τὸ ἐπέχειν. τῶν γὰρ ζώων τὰ μὲν χωρίς μίξεως γίνεσθαι, ὡς τὰ πυρίβια καὶ ὁ Ἀράβιος φοίνικες καὶ εὐλαί. τὰ δ’ εὖ ἐπιπλοκῆς,

80 ὃς ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰ ἄλλα. καὶ τὰ μὲν οὔτως, τὰ δ’ οὕτως συγκέκριται διὸ καὶ τῇ αἰσθήσει διαφέρει, ὡς κύριοι μὲν ὃξύτατοι, κύνες δ’ ὀσφυτηκότατοι. εὐλογον οὖν τοῖς διαφόροις τοὺς οὕθαλμους διάφορα καὶ τὰ φαντάσματα προσπίπτειν καὶ τῇ μὲν αἰγί τὼν θαλλὼν εἶναι ἐδώδιμον, ἀνθρώπῳ δὲ πικρόν, καὶ τὸ κόμειον ὄρτυγι μὲν τρόφιμον, ἀνθρώπῳ δὲ θανάσιμον, καὶ ὁ ἀπόπατος ὑ’ μὲν ἐδώδιμος, ὑπ’ δ’ οὐ.

Δεύτερος οἱ παρὰ τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσεις καὶ τὰς ἱδιοσυγκρισίας: Δημοφόν γοῦν ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἑρμηνευτικόμοις εἰς σκιὰ ἐβαλέτο, εἰν ἑλίῳ δ’ ἐρρίγων.

81 Ἀνδρῶν δ’ ὁ Ἀργείος, ὃς φήσει Ἀριστοτέλης, διὰ τῆς ἀνύδρου Λιβύης ὦδεεν ἄποτος. καὶ ὁ μὲν ιατρικής, ὁ δὲ γεωργίας, ἄλλος δ’ ἐμπορίας

¹ τὰς] τῆς Reiske.
² καὶ Θεόδοσιος τίθησιν. ὡν conj. Nietsche; but Tauchn. has καθ’ οὓς τίθησιν, eis prwtos.

a If, however, with Reiske we here read τῆς for τὰς, the meaning is: "The objections urged against the (super-
Perplexities arise from the agreements 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.

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 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."
δρέγεται· καὶ ταύτα οὐς μὲν βλάπτει, οὐς δὲ ωφελεῖ· ὀθεν ἑφεκτεῖν.

Τρίτος ὁ παρὰ τὰς τῶν αἰσθητικῶν πόρων διαφορὰς· τὸ γοῦν μήλον ὀρᾶσει μὲν ὠχρόν, γεύσει δὲ γλυκύν, ὀσφρήσει δὲ εὐώδες ὑποπίπτει. καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ δὲ μορφὴ παρὰ τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν κατόπτρων ἄλλοια θεωρεῖται. ἀκολουθεῖ οὖν μηδὲν ἀλλὰ εἶναι τοῖον τὸ φαινόμενον ἡ ἄλλοιον.

82 Τέταρτος ὁ παρὰ τὰς διαθέσεις καὶ κοινῶς παραλλαγάς, οἶον ὑγίειαν, νόσον, ὑπνον, ἐγρήγορσιν, χαράν, λύπην, νεότητα, γῆρας, θάρσος, φόβον, ἕνδειαν, πλήρωσιν, μύσος, φιλίαν, θερμασίαν, ψυξίαν· παρὰ τὸ πνεῖν, παρὰ τὸ πιεσθῆναι τοὺς πόρους· ἄλλοια οὖν φαίνεται τὰ προσπίπτοντα παρὰ τὰς ποιῶς διαθέσεις. οὔτε γὰρ οἱ μανῶμενοι παρὰ φύσιν ἔχουσιν· τί γὰρ μᾶλλον ἑκεῖνοι ἤ ἡμεῖς; καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς τὸν ἥλιον ὄς ἐστώτα βλέπομεν. Θέων δ’ ὁ Τιθοραίευς ὁ στωικὸς κοιμώμενος περιπάτει ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ καὶ Περικλέους δοῦλος ἐπ’ ἀκρον τοῦ τέγους.

83 Πέμπτος ὁ παρὰ τὰς ἁγωγὰς καὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰς μυθικὰς πίστεις καὶ τὰς ἔθνικὰς συνθήκας καὶ δογματικὰς ὑπολήψεις. ἐν τούτῳ περιέχεται τὰ περὶ καλῶν καὶ αἰσχρῶν, περὶ ἀληθῶν καὶ φευδῶν, περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν, περὶ θεῶν καὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθοράς 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
διὸ τὰς μίξεις καὶ κοινωνίας, καθ’

1 ὁ ἡλίος vulg.: ὑπὸ δείλην Menag.: δείλης Reiske.

2 ἔλαιον Reiske.

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bad by others. Persians think it not unnatural for a man to marry his daughter; to Greeks it is unlawful. The Massagetae, according 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 lamp-light; 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
καὶ λεία, ἐγγύθεν δὲ τραχεά. ἔτι οἱ λύσις ἀνίσχων μὲν ἄλλοις, μεσουρανῶν δ᾽ οὐχ ὦμοιος. καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ σῶμα ἐν μὲν ἀλσεὶ ἄλλοιον, ἐν δὲ ψιλῇ γῇ ἔτερον· καὶ ή ἐικῶν παρὰ τὴν ποιὰν θεσίν, ὦ τε τῆς περιστερᾶς τράχηλος παρὰ τὴν στροφὴν. ἐπεὶ οὖν οὐκ ἐνι ἐξω τούτων καὶ θέσεων ταῦτα κατανοήσαι, ἀγνοεῖται ἡ φύσις αὐτῶν.

"Οὐδεὶς οἱ παρὰ τὰς ποσότητας καὶ ποιότητας αὐτῶν ἡ θερμότητας ἡ ψυχρότητας ἡ ταχύτητας ἡ βραδύτητας ἡ ωχρότητας ἡ ἐτεροχροιότητας. οἱ γοῦν οίνος μέτριος μὲν ληθθεῖς ρώμυσι, πλείων δὲ παρίσην· ὦμοίως καὶ ἡ τροφή καὶ τὰ ὦμοια.

"Ενατος οἱ παρὰ τὸ ἐνδελεχὲς ἡ ξένων ἡ σπάνων. οἱ γοῦν σεισμοὶ παρ᾽ οἷς συνεχῶς ἀποτελοῦνται οὐθανμάζονται, οὐδ᾽ οἱ λύσις, ὅτι καθ᾽ ὡμέραν ὄραται. τὸν ἐνατὸν Φαβωρίνος ὄγδοον, Σέξτος δὲ καὶ Λινεσίδημος δέκατον· ἄλλα καὶ τὸν δέκατον Σέξτος ὄγδοον φῆσι, Φαβωρίνος δὲ ἐνατον.

Δέκατος οἱ κατὰ τὴν πρὸς ἄλλα σύμβλησιν, καθ᾽ ἀπερ τὸ κούφον παρὰ τὸ βαρὺ, τὸ ἱσχυρὸν παρὰ τὸ ἀσθενές, τὸ μείζον παρὰ τὸ ἐλαττον, τὸ ἄνω παρὰ τὸ κάτω. τὸ γοῦν δεξίον φύσι μὲν οὐκ ἔστι δεξιόν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὑπὸ πρὸς τὸ ἐτερον σχέσιν νοεῖται· μετατεθέντος γοῦν ἐκείνω, οὐκέτ᾽ ἐστὶ δεξιόν.

ὀμοίως καὶ πατήρ καὶ άδελφος ὃς πρὸς τι καὶ ἡμέρα ὃς πρὸς τὸν ἡλιον καὶ πάντα ὃς πρὸς τὴν διάνοιαν. ἀγνωστα οὖν τὰ πρὸς τι [ὡς] καθ᾽ ἐαυτά. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οἱ δέκα τρόποι.

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a As contrasted, e.g., with a comet; cf. Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. Hyp. 1. 141.
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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. 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.
Oι δὲ περὶ 'Αγρίππαν τούτους ἄλλους πέντε προσευσάγουσι, τὸν τ᾿ ἀπὸ τῆς διαφωνίας καὶ τὸν ἐις ἀπειρον ἐκβάλλοντα καὶ τὸν πρὸς τι καὶ τὸν ἐξ ὑποθέσεως καὶ τὸν δι᾿ ἄλληλων. ὁ μὲν αὖ ἀπὸ τῆς διαφωνίας ὅ ἄν προτεθῇ ζήτημα παρὰ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἦ τῇ συνθείᾳ, πλείστης μάχης καὶ ταραχῆς πλῆρες ἀποδεικνύει· ὁ δὲ ἀπειρον ἐκβάλλον ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ ἢ βεβαιοῦσθαι τὸ ζητούμενον, διὰ τὸ ἄλλο ἀπ᾿ ἄλλου τὴν πίστιν λαμβάνειν καὶ οὕτως εἰς ἀπειρον. ὁ δὲ πρὸς τι οὕδε εἶδος καθ᾿ έαυτὸ λαμβάνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μεθ᾿ ἐτέρου. ὁθὲν ἄγνωστα εἶναι. ὁ δὲ εἰς ὑποθέσεως τρόπος συνίσταται, οἰομένων τινῶν τὰ πρῶτα τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτόθεν δεῖν λαμβάνειν ὡς πιστὰ καὶ μὴ αἰτεῖσθαι· ὁ ἐστὶ μάταιον· τὸ ἐναντίον γάρ τις ὑποθήσεται. ὁ δὲ δι᾿ ἄλληλων τρόπος συνίσταται ὅταν τὸ οφεῖλον τοῦ ζητούμενον πράγματος εἶναι βεβαιωτικὸν χρείαν ἔχῃ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ ζητούμενον πίστεως, οἶον εἰ τὸ εἶναι πόρος τις βεβαιῶν διὰ τὸ ἀπορροίας γίνεσθαι, αὐτὸ τοῦτο παραλαμβάνου πρὸς βεβαιῶσιν τοῦ ἀπορροίας γίνεσθαι. Ἀνήρουν δ᾿ οὕτω καὶ πάσαν ἀπόδειξιν καὶ κριτήριον καὶ σημείον καὶ αἴτιον καὶ κίνησιν καὶ μάθησιν καὶ γένεσιν καὶ τὸ φύσει τι εἶναι ἄγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν. πάσα γὰρ ἀπόδειξις, φασίν, ἢ ἐξ ἀποδεδειγμένων σύγκειται χρημάτων ἢ ἐξ ἀναποδείκτων. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀποδεδειγμένων, κάκεινα δεῖσεται τινὸς

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α Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. Hyp. i. 37 ὡδόους ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς 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.

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But Agrippa and his school add to them 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.

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,
DIOGENES LAERTIUS

ἀποδείξεως κάντευθεν εἰς ἀπειρον· εἰ δ’ ἐξ ἀναπο-
δείκτων, ἢτοι πάντων ἢ τινῶν ἢ καὶ ἐνὸς μόνου
δισταξομένου, καὶ τὸ ὀλον εἶναι ἀναποδείκτων.
εἰ δὲ δοκεῖ, φασίν, ὑπάρχειν τινα μηδεμίας ἀποδεί-
ξεως δεόμενα, θαυμαστοὶ τῆς γνώμης, εἰ μὴ συνιάσιν
ὁτι εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο πρῶτον, ὡς ἀρ’ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔχει
91 τήν πίστιν, ἀποδείξεως χρή. ουδὲ γὰρ τὸ τέτταρα
εἶναι τὰ στοιχεῖα ἐκ τοῦ τέτταρα εἶναι τὰ στοιχεῖα
βεβαιωτέων. πρὸς τῷ καὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀπο-
δείξεων ἀπιστομένων ἀπιστοῦν εἶναι καὶ τὴν γενι-
κὴν ἀπόδειξιν. ἵνα τε γνῶμεν ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀπόδειξις,
κριτήριον δεῖ· καὶ ὅτι ἐστὶ κριτήριον, ἀποδείξεως
δεῖ· ὅθεν ἐκάτερα ἀκατάληπτα ἀναπεμπόμενα ἐπ’
αλληλα. πῶς ἂν οὖν καταλαμβάνοι τὰ ἄδηλα,
τῆς ἀποδείξεως ἀγνοουμένης; ζητεῖται δ’ οὐκ εἰ
φαίνεται τοιαῦτα, ἀλλ’ εἰ καθ’ ὑπόστασιν οὕτως ἔχει.
Εὐθέως δὲ τοὺς δογματικοὺς ἀπέφασιν. τὸ
γὰρ εἰς ὑποθέσεως περαινόμενον οὐ σκέψεως ἄλλα
θέσεως ἔχει λόγον. τοιούτῳ δὲ λόγῳ καὶ ύπερ
ἀδυνάτων ἐστὶν ἐπιχειρεῖν. τοὺς δ’ οἵμοιον μὴ
92 δεῖν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ περίστασιν κρίνειν τάληθες μηδ’
ἐκ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν νομοθετεῖν, ἔλεγον αὐτοὺς μέτρα
τῶν πάντων ὁρίζειν, οὐχ ὁρώντας ὅτι πᾶν τὸ φαι-
νόμενον κατ’ ἀντιπερίστασιν καὶ διάθεσιν φαίνεται.

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.”
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IX. 90–92. PYRRHO

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
DIOGENES LAERTIUS

ητοι γονί πάντε̣ άληθή ρητέων ἡ πάντα ψευδῆ. εἰ 
δ’ ἐνιά ἐστιν ἀληθή, τίνι διακριτέου; οὔτε γάρ
αισθήσει τὰ κατ’ αἰσθήσιν, πάντων ἵσων αὐτῆς 
φαινομένων, οὔτε νοῆσει διὰ τὴν αὐτήν αἰτίαν. 
ἀλλὰ 
ἐὰν παρὰ ταῦτας εἰς ἐπίκρισιν δύναμις οὐχ ὀρᾶται. 
ὁ οὖν, φασίν, περὶ τινῶν διαβεβαιούμενοι αἰσθητοὺ 
ἡ νοητοῦ πρότερον ὀφείλει τὰς περὶ τούτον δόξας 
καταστῆσαι. οἱ μὲν γάρ ταῦτα, οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνηρῆ-
κασι. δει δ’ ἡ δι’ αἰσθητοῦ ἡ νοητοῦ κριθῆναι. 

93 ἐκάτερα δὲ ἀμφισβητεῖται. οὐδὲ τοῖνυν δυνατὸν 
tὰς περὶ αἰσθητῶν ἡ νοητῶν ἐπικρίναι δόξας. εἰ 
τε 
διὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς νοῆσει μάχην ἀπιστητέον πᾶσιν,
ἀναφεβητεται τὸ μέτρον ὃ δοκεῖ τὰ πάντα δια-κριβούσθαι. πᾶν οὖν ἵσων ἡγησονται. ἐτι, φασίν,
ὁ συζητῶν ἥμων τὸ φαινόμενον πιστὸς ἐστὶν ἡ οὐ.
εἰ μὲν οὖν πιστὸς ἐστὶν, οὐδὲν ἐξεὶ λέγειν πρὸς 
τὸν ὃ φαίνεται τοῦνατιόν. ως γὰρ αὐτὸς πιστὸς 
ἐστι τὸ φαινόμενον λέγων, οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἐναντίος. εἰ 
δ’ ἀπιστος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπιστηθῆσεται τὸ φαινόμενον
λέγων.

94 Τὸ τε πείθον οὐχ ὑποληπτέον ἀληθεῖς ὑπάρχειν.
οῦ γὰρ πάντας τὸ αὐτὸ πείθει οὔδὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς 
συνεχές. γίνεται δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὰ ἐκτὸς ἡ πιθανότης,
παρὰ τὸ ἐνδοξον τοῦ λέγοντος ἡ 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.
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στικὸν ἢ παρὰ τὸ αἰμύλον ἢ παρὰ τὸ σύνηθες ἢ παρὰ τὸ κεχαρισμένον.

'Ανήρουν δὲ καὶ τὸ κριτήριον λόγω τοιῶδε. ἦτοι κέκριται καὶ τὸ κριτήριον ἢ ἀκριτῶν ἦστιν. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἀκριτῶν ἦστιν, ἀπιστον καθέστηκε καὶ διημάρτηκε τάληθος καὶ τοῦ ψεύδους· εἰ δὲ κέκριται, ἐν τῶν κατὰ μέρος γενήσεται κρινομένων, ὅστ' ἂν τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ κρίνειν καὶ κρίνεσθαι καὶ τὸ κεκρικὸς τὸ κριτήριον ύφ' έτέρου κριθήσεται κάκεινο ὑπ' ἄλλου 95 καὶ οὕτως εἰς άπειρον. πρὸς τῷ καὶ διαφωνεῖσθαι τὸ κριτήριον, τῶν μὲν τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν κριτήριον εἶναι λεγόντων, τῶν δὲ τὰς αἰσθήσεις, ἄλλων τὸν λόγον, ἐνίων τὴν καταληπτικὴν φαντασίαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀνθρωπὸς καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν διαφωνεῖ καὶ πρὸς τούς ἄλλους, ώς δήλων ἐκ τῶν διαφόρων νόμων καὶ ἐθῶν. αἰ δ' αἰσθήσεις ψεύδονται, ὁ δὲ λόγος διάφωνος. ἢ δὲ καταληπτικὴ φαντασία ὑπὸ νοῦ κρίνεται καὶ ὁ νοῦς ποικίλως πρέπεται. ἀγνωστὸν ὁ ὡν ἦστι τὸ κριτήριον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἡ ἀλήθεια.

96 Σημεῖον τ' οὖκ εἶναι· εἰ γὰρ ἔστι, φασὶ, σημεῖον, ἦτοι αἰσθητὸν ἦστιν ἢ νοητὸν· αἰσθητὸν μὲν ὡν οὖκ ἦστιν, ἐπεὶ τὸ αἰσθητὸν κοινὸν ἦστι, τὸ δὲ σημεῖον ὕδιον· καὶ τὸ μὲν αἰσθητὸν τῶν κατὰ διαφόραν, τὸ δὲ σημεῖον τῶν πρὸς τί. νοητὸν δ' οὖκ ἦστιν, ἐπεὶ τὸ νοητὸν ἦτοι φαινόμενον ἦστι φαινομένου ἢ ἀφανὲς ἀφανοῦς ἢ ἀφανὲς φαινομένου ἢ φαινόμενον ἀφανοῦς· οὐδὲν δὲ τούτων ἦστιν· 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
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 (άδηλον).

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IX. 96–98. PYRRHO

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
 Diogenes Laërtius

99 ὅσον ἐστὶ σῶμα, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν, σῶμα ὄν, αὐτίον γενήσεται. κοινῶς δὲ ἄμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ὄντων, οὐδὲν ἐσται τὸ πάσχον. ἀσώματον δὲ ἀσώματον οὐκ ἂν εἰη αὐτίον διὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον· ἀσώματον δὲ σώματος οὐκ ἐστιν αὐτίον, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἀσώματον ποιεῖ σῶμα. σῶμα δὲ ἀσώματον οὐκ ἂν εἰη αὐτίον, ὅτι τὸ γενόμενον τῆς πασχοῦσης ὦλης ὁφείλει εἶναι· μηδὲν δὲ πάσχον διὰ τὸ ἀσώματον εἶναι οὐδ' ἂν ὑπὸ τινος γένοιτο· οὐκ ἐστι τοῖνυν αὐτίον. ὃς συνεισήγηται τὸ ἀνυποστάτους εἶναι ταῖς τῶν ὅλων ἀρχῶν· δεῖ γὰρ εἶναι τὶ τὸ ποιοῦν καὶ δρῶν.

'Αλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ κῑνησίς ἐστι· τὸ γὰρ κινοῦμενον ἦτοι ἐν ᾧ ἐστι τόπῳ κινεῖται ἡ ἐν ᾧ μὴ ἐστιν· καὶ ἐν ᾧ μὲν ἐστι τόπῳ οὐ κινεῖται, ἐν ᾧ δ' οὐκ ἐστιν οὐδὲ κινεῖται· οὐκ ἐστιν οὐν κῑνησίς.

100 Ἀνῄρουν δὲ καὶ μάθησιν. εἴπερ, φασί, διδάσκεται τι, ἦτοι τὸ ὄν τῷ εἶναι διδάσκεται ἡ τὸ μὴ ὄν τῷ μὴ εἶναι. οὔτε δὲ τὸ ὄν τῷ εἶναι διδάσκεται—ἡ γὰρ τῶν ὄντων φύσις πᾶσι φαίνεται καὶ γνώσκεται—οὔτε τὸ μὴ ὄν τῷ μὴ ὄντι· τῷ γὰρ μὴ ὄντι οὐδὲν συμβεβηκεν, ὡστ' οὐδὲ τὸ διδάσκεσθαι.

Οὐδὲ μὴν γένεσις ἐστι, φασίν. οὔτε γὰρ τὸ ὄν γίνεται, ἐστὶ γὰρ, οὔτε τὸ μὴ ὄν, οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑφέστηκε· 510
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-
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tὸ δὲ μὴ ύφεστὸς μηδ’ ὄν οὐδὲ τὸ γίνεσθαι εὐτύχηκε.

101 Φύσει τε μὴ εἶναι ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν· εἰ γὰρ τί ἔστι φύσει ἀγαθὸν καὶ κακὸν, πᾶσιν ὀφεῖλει ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν ὑπάρχειν, ὥσπερ ἡ χιών πᾶσι ψυχρόν· κοινὸν δ’ οὐδὲν πάντων ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν ἔστιν· οὐκ ἀρα ἐστὶ φύσει ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν. ἦτοι γὰρ πᾶν τὸ ὑπὸ τινος δοξαζόμενον ρήτεον ἀγαθὸν ἢ οὐ πᾶν· καὶ πᾶν μὲν οὐ βητέου, ἐπεὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ύφ’ οὐ μὲν δοξάζεται ἀγαθὸν, ὡς ἡ ἤδονη ὑπὸ Ἐπικούρου· ύφ’ οὐ δὲ κακὸν, ὑπ’ Ἀντισθένους. συμβῆσεται τοῖνυν τὸ αὐτὸ ἀγαθὸν τ’ εἶναι καὶ κακὸν. εἰ δ’ οὐ πᾶν λέγομεν τὸ ὑπὸ τινος δοξαζόμενον ἀγαθὸν, δεήσει ἡμᾶς διακρίνειν τὰς δόξας· ὅπερ οὐκ ἑνδεχόμενον ἐστὶ διὰ τὴν ἵσοσθένειαν τῶν λόγων. ἀγνωστὸν οὖν τὸ φύσει ἀγαθὸν.

102 Ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν ὅλον τῆς συναγωγῆς αὐτῶν τρόπον συνιδεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀπολειψθεισῶν συντάξεων. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ὁ Πύρρων οὐδὲν ἀπέλιπεν, οἱ μὲντοι συνήθεις αὐτοῦ Τίμων καὶ Αἰνείδημος καὶ Νουμήνιος καὶ Ναυσιφάνης καὶ ἄλλοι τοιοῦτοι.

Οἷς ἀντιλέγοντες οἱ δογματικοὶ φασιν αὐτοὺς καταλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ δογματίζειν· ἐν ὅ γὰρ δοκοῦσι διελέγχειν καταλαμβάνονται· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κρατύνουσι καὶ δογματίζουσι. καὶ γὰρ ὅτε φασί μηδὲν ὀρίζειν καὶ παντὶ λόγῳ λόγον ἀντικείσθαι, αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὀρίζονται καὶ δογ- ματίζουσι. πρὸς οὖς ἀποκρίνονται, Περὶ μὲν ὀν

\[a \ § 77.\]
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. The others reply, “We
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ως ἀνθρωποί πάσχομεν, ὁμολογοῦμεν· καὶ γὰρ ὁτι ἡμέρα ἐστὶ καὶ ὁτι ζώμεν καὶ ἀλλὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ φαινομένων διαγινώσκομεν· περὶ δὲ ὄνων οἱ δογματικοὶ διαβεβαιοῦνται τῷ λόγῳ, φάμενοι κατευθύντα, περὶ τούτων ἐπέχουμεν ὡς ἀδήλων, μόνα δὲ τὰ πάθη γινώσκομεν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὁτι ὁρῶμεν ὁμολογοῦμεν καὶ τὸ ὁτι τόδε νοοῦμεν γινώσκομεν, πῶς δ’ ὁρῶμεν ἢ πῶς νοοῦμεν ἁγιοοῦμεν· καὶ ὁτι τόδε λευκὸν φαίνεται διηγηματικῶς λέγομεν, οὐ διαβεβαιοῦμεν ὡτι καὶ ὄντως ἐστὶ. περὶ δὲ τῆς Οὐδὲν ὁρίζω φωνῆς καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων λέγομεν ὡς οὐ δογμάτων· οὐ γὰρ εἰσὶν ὅμοια τῷ λέγειν ὧτι σφαιροειδῆς ἐστὶν ὁ κόσμος. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἀδήλων, αἱ δ’ ἐξομολογήσεις εἰσὶ. ἐν ὦν ὥστε λέγομεν μηδὲν ὁρίζειν, οὐδὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὁρίζομεν.

Πάλιν οἱ δογματικοὶ φασίν καὶ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦς ἀναίρειν, ἐν δὲ πάντες ἐκβάλλοντες ἐξ αὐτὸς ὁ βίος συνεστήκεν. οἱ δὲ ἰσχυροῦσιν μόνε γὰρ τὸ ὁρᾶν ἀναίρειν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πῶς ὁρᾶν ἁγιοοῦν· καὶ γὰρ τὸ φαινόμενον τιθέμεθα, οὐχ ὡς καὶ τοιοῦτον ὄν. καὶ ὁτι τὸ πῷ ρ καὶ οἰσθανόμεθα· εἰ δὲ φύσιν ἔχει κανστικὴν ἐπέχουμεν. καὶ ὁτι κωνεῖται τῆς βλέπομεν, καὶ ὁτι φθείρεται· πῶς δὲ ταύτα γίνεται οὐκ ἥσμεν. οὕνων οὖν, φασίν, ἀνθυστάμεθα πρὸς τὰ παραφιστάμενα τοῖς φαινομένοις ἰδῆλα. καὶ γὰρ ὅτι τὴν εἰκόνα ἐξοχάς λέγομεν ἔχειν, τὸ φαινόμενον διασαφοῦμεν· όταν δ’ εἶπομεν μὴ ἔχειν αὐτὴν ἐξοχάς, οὐκέτι δ’ φαίνεται, ἔτερον 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.

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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. 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, 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
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οθεν καὶ ὁ Τίμων ἐν τῷ Πύθωνι φησι μὴ ἐκβεβηκέναι τὴν συνήθειαν. καὶ ἐν τοῖς 'Ἰνδαλμοῖς οὕτω λέγει,

ἀλλὰ τὸ φαινόμενον πάντη σθένει οὐπερ ἀν ἔλθη.

καὶ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ αἰσθήσεων φησι, "τὸ μέλι ὅτι ἐστὶ γλυκὸ ὑδίθημι, τὸ δ' ὅτι φαίνεται ὀμιλογῶ." 106

Καὶ Αἰνεσίδημος ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ τῶν Πυρρωνείων λόγων οὐδέν φησιν ὀρίζειν τὸν Πυρρωνα δογματικῶς διὰ τὴν ἀντιλογίαν, τοῖς δὲ φαινόμενοι ἀκολουθεῖν. ταύτα δὲ λέγει κἀν τῷ Κατὰ σοφίας κἀν τῷ Περὶ ἡγήσεως. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ζεὺξις ὁ Αἰνεσίδημος γνωριμος ἐν τῷ Περὶ διπτῶν λόγων καὶ Αὐτίοχος ὁ Λαοδίκεας καὶ Ἀπελλάς ἐν τῷ Ἀγρίππα τιθέασι τὰ φαινόμενα μόνα. ἔστων οὖν κριτήριον κατὰ τοὺς σκεπτικοὺς τὸ φαινόμενον, ὡς καὶ Αἰνεσίδημος φησιν· οὕτω δὲ καὶ Ἐπίκουρος. Δημόκριτος δὲ μηδὲν εἶναι τῶν φαινομένων, τὰ δὲ μὴ εἶναι. 107

πρὸς τούτῳ τὸ κριτήριον τῶν φαινομένων οἱ δογματικοὶ φασίν ὅτι ὅτ' ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν διάφορον προσπίπτουσιν φαντασίαι, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ πῦργου ἡ στρογγύλου ἡ τετραγώνου, ὁ σκεπτικὸς εἰ μὲν οὐδετέραν προκρίνει, ἀπρακτήσει· εἰ δὲ τῇ ἔτέρᾳ κατακολουθήσει, οὐκέτι τὸ ἱσοσθενές, φασὶ, τοῖς φαινομένοις ἀποδώσει. πρὸς οὖς οἱ σκεπτικοὶ φασίν ὅτι ὅτε προσπίπτουσιν ἀλλοίως φαντασίαι, ἔκατερα ἐροῦμεν φαίνεσθαι· καὶ διὰ τούτῳ τὰ φαινόμενα τιθέναι ὅτι φαίνεται. τέλος δὲ οἱ σκεπτικοὶ φασί τὴν ἐποχήν, ἦ σκιᾶς τρόπον ἐπ-

a Fr. 69 D.

b i.e. the one has as much right to be called an appearance as the other.

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what makes Timon say in his *Python* that he has not gone outside what is customary. And again in the *Conceits* he says:

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; 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
akolouthei ἡ ἀταραξία, ὡς φασὶν οἷς τε περὶ τῶν
Τίμωνα καὶ Αἰνεσίδημον. οὕτε ἡ ταύτα φευξόμεθα ὡς
tαπεινεῖται ἡμᾶς ἐστὶ: τὰ δὴ ὅσα περὶ ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ κατ᾿ ἀνάγκην, οὐ
dυνάμεθα φεύγειν, ὡς τὸ πεινὴν καὶ δυσφὴν καὶ ἀλγεῖν·
οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ λόγῳ περιελεῖν ταύτα. λεγόντων
dὲ τῶν δογματικῶν ὡς δυνὴσται βιοῦν ὁ σκέπ-
tικός μὴ φεύγων τὸ, εἰ κελευσθείη, κρεουργεῖν
tὸν πατέρα, φασὶν οἷς σκέπτικοι ὡς δυνὴσται
βιοῦν <ὡστε> * * περὶ τῶν δογματικῶν ἐξήσεων
ἐπέχειν, οὐ περὶ τῶν βιωτικῶν καὶ τηρητικῶν,
ὡστε καὶ αἴρουμεθά τι κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν καὶ
φεύγομεν καὶ νόμοις χρώμεθα. τινὲς δὲ καὶ τὴν
ἀπάθειαν, ἅλλοι δὲ τὴν πραότητα τέλος εἰπεῖν
φασὶ τοὺς σκέπτικους.

Κεφ. ἵβ’. ΤΙΜΩΝ

'Απολλωνίδης ὁ Νικαεύς ὁ παρ’ ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ
πρῶτῳ τῶν Εἰς τοὺς Σίλλους ὑπομνήματι, ἀ
προσφωνεῖ Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι, φησὶ τὸν Τίμωνα
eἶναι πατρὸς μὲν Τιμάρχου, Φλιάσιον δὲ τὸ γένος:
νέων δὲ καταλειφθέντα χορεύειν, ἐπειτα κατα-

1 οὕτε] αὐτοὶ coni. Apelt.

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a Ὁδ’ ὅσα περὶ ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ κατ᾿ ἀνάγκην, οὐ
dυνάμεθα φεύγειν. This is explained by Sext. Emp. Pyrrh.
Hyp. 1. 29 ὀχλεῖσθαι φαμέν (sc. τῶν σκεπτικῶν) ὑπὸ τῶν κατ-
ηναγκασμένων: “For we admit that we feel cold, that we are
thirsty,” etc.

b ἰ.ε. a calm, the opposite of an excitable, temperament:
cf. Plato, Lys. 211 ε πράσως 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
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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 *oi ἤμέτεροι*, 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.

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γνώντα ἀποδημήσαι εἰς Μέγαρα πρὸς Στιλπωνα:: κάκεινω συνδιατρέψαντα αὐθις ἔπανελθεῖν οὐκαδὲ καὶ γήμαι. εἰτα πρὸς Πύρρωνα εἰς Ἡλιν ἀπο- δημήσαι μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς κάκει διατρήσειν ἐως αὐτῷ παῖδες ἐγένοντο, ὥν τὸν μὲν πρεσβύτερον Σάνθον ἐκάλεσε καὶ ἰατρικὴν ἐδίδαξε καὶ διάδοχον τοῦ βίου κατέλυε. ὃ δ' ἐλλόγιμος ἦν, ὡς καὶ Σωτίων ἐν τῷ ἑνδεκάτῳ φησίν. ἀπορῶν μέντοι τροφῶν ἀπῆρεν εἰς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον καὶ τὴν Προποντίδα· ἐν Χαλκηδόνι τε σοφίστειν ἐπὶ πλέον ἀποδοχὴς ἥξιώθη· ἐντεῦθεν τε πορισάμενος ἀπῆρεν εἰς Ἀθήνας, κάκει διετρήμεν μέχρι καὶ τελευτῆς, ὅλγον χρόνον εἰς Θῆβας διαδραμὼν. ἐγνώσθη δὲ καὶ Ἀντιγόνῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ Πτολε- μαίῳ τῷ Φιλαδέλφῳ, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ἱάμβοις αὐτῷ μαρτυρεῖ.

Ἡν δέ, φησίν ὁ Ἀντιγόνος, καὶ φιλοσόφης καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν φιλοσόφων εἰ σχολάζοι ποιήματα συν- ἐγραφε καὶ ἐπὶ καὶ τραγῳδίας καὶ σατύρους καὶ δράματα κωμικὰ τριάκοντα, τὰ δὲ τραγικὰ ἐξήκοντα, σίλλους τε καὶ κυνάίδους. φέρεται δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ καταλογάδην βιβλία εἰς ἔποιω τεινοντα μυριάδας δύο, ὅν καὶ Ἀντιγόνος ὁ Καρύστιος μέμηται, ἀναγεγραφῶς αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν βίον. τῶν δὲ σιλλων τρία ἐστῖν, ἐν οἷς ὡς ἄν σκεπτικὸς ὅν πάντας λοιδορεὶ καὶ συλλαίνει τοὺς δογματικοὺς ἐν παρωδίας ἐίδει. ὅν τὸ μὲν πρώτον αὐτοδυνηγήτον ἔχει τὴν ἐρμηνείαν, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον ἐν διαλόγῳ σχήματι. φαίνεται γοῦν ἀνακρίνων ξενοφάνη τὸν Κολοφόνιον περὶ ἑκά- στων, ὃ δ' αὐτῷ διηγούμενος ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ δεύτερῳ περὶ τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων, ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ 520
IX. 109–111. TIMON

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 Chaleedon 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.
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περὶ τῶν ὑστέρων· ὁδὲν δὴ αὐτῷ τινες καὶ Ἐπί-
λογον ἐπέγραψαν. τὸ δὲ πρῶτον ταῦτα περιέχει
πράγματα, πλὴν ὅτι μονοπρόσωπός ἦστιν ἡ ποίησις
ἀρχὴ δὲ αὐτῷ ἦδε, ἐσπετε νῦν μοι ὅσοι πολυπράγμονές ἐστε σοφισταί.

'Ἐτελεύτησε δ' ἐγγὺς ἐτῶν ἑνενήκοντα, ὡς
φησιν ὁ Ἀντίγονος καὶ Σωτῖνων ἐν τῷ ἐνδεκάτῳ.
τούτων ἐγώ καὶ ἑτερόθαλμον ἡκουσα, ἐπεὶ καὶ
αὐτὸς αὐτὸν Κύκλωπα ἐκάλει. γέγονε καὶ ἔτερος
Τίμων ὁ μισάνθρωπος.

'Ὁ δ' οὖν φιλόσοφος καὶ φιλόκητος ἦν σφόδρα
καὶ ἰδιοπράγμων, ὡς καὶ Ἀντίγονος φησι. λόγος
γοῦν εἰπεῖν Ἰερώνυμον τοῖς περιπατητικοῖς ἄπτ' αὐτοῦ,
"Ὡς παρὰ τοῖς Σκύθαις καὶ οἱ φεύγοντες
τοξεύουσι καὶ οἱ διώκοντες, οὐτω τῶν φιλοσόφων
οἱ μὲν διώκοντες θηρῶσι τοὺς μαθητὰς, οἱ δὲ
φεύγοντες, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ Τίμων."

Ἡν δὲ καὶ ὁδύς νοῆσαι καὶ διαμυκτηρίσαι
φιλογράμματος τε καὶ τοῖς ποιηταῖς μύθους
γράφαι ἰκανὸς καὶ δράματα συνδιατιθέναι. μετ-
εἰδίδον δὲ τῶν τραγωδιῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ.
θορυβουμένως θ' ύπο τῶν θεραπαινῶν καὶ κυνῶν
ἐποίει μηδέν, σπουδάζων περὶ τὸ ἡρεμάζειν.
φασὶ δὲ καὶ "Ἀρατὸν πυθέσθαι αὐτοῦ πώς τὴν
Ὀμήρου ποίησιν ἀσφαλῆ κτήσατο, τὸν δὲ ἐπείν,
"εἰ τοῖς ἀρχαῖοις ἀντιγράφοις ἐντυγχάνοι καὶ μὴ
τοῖς ἢδι διωρθωμένοις." εἰκῇ τε αὐτῷ ἐκείτο τὰ

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a Fr. 1 D.

b Diels regards the passage from καὶ ἐπη, § 110, down to
Τίμων ὁ μισάνθρωπος, § 112, as an insertion, disturbing the
symmetry of the materials derived from Antigonus of
Carystus.

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IX. 111-113. TIMON

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:

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.

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. 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

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\[ \text{i.e., he collaborated with these two tragic poets, Alexander the Aetolian and Homer of Byzantium, partly by furnishing them with plots, partly by handing over scenes from unpublished plays of his own, or other similar material.} \]
114 ποιήματα, ἐνίοτε ἡμῖν ῥωτά: ὡστε καὶ Ζωτύρῳ τῷ ρήτορι ἀναγινώσκοντα τι ἐπιτυλίττειν καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἐπελθὼν διεξείναι: ἐλθόντα τ᾽ εἶ, ἡμίσειας, οὔτως εὑρεῖν τὸ ἀπόπασμα τέως ἀγνοοῦντα. τοσοῦτον ἦν ἀδιάφορος. ἀλλὰ καὶ εὗρος * ὡς μηδ' ἀριστάν συγχωρεῖν. φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν 'Αρκεσίλαον θεασάμενον διὰ τῶν Κερκώπων ἵνα, εἰπεῖν, "τί σύ δεῦρο, ἐνθαπερ ἡμεῖς οἱ ἐλεύθεροι;" συνεχές τε ἐπιλέγειν εἰώθει πρὸς τοὺς τὰς αἰσθήσεις μετ' ἐπιμαρτυροῦντος τοῦ νοῦ ἐγκρίνοντας, 

συνήλθεν 'Ἀτταγᾶς τε καὶ Νουμήνιος.

eἰώθει δὲ καὶ παῖξεν τοιαῦτα. πρός οὖν τὸν θαυμάζοντα πάντα ἐφη, "τί δ' οὐ θαυμάζεις ὅτι τρεῖς ὄντες τέτταρας ἔχομεν όφθαλμοὺς;" ἦν δ' αὐτὸς τε ἐπερόθθαλμος καί ὁ Διοσκουρίδης μαθητής αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ πρὸς οὖν ἐλεγεν υγιῆς. ἔρωτηθεῖς δὲ ποθ' ὑπὸ τοῦ 'Αρκεσίλαον διὰ τί παρεῖ ἐκ Θηβών, ἐφη, "ίν' ύμᾶς ἀναπεπταμένους ὄρων γελῶ." ὀμως δὲ καθαπτόμενος 'Αρκεσίλαον ἐν τοῖς σίλλοις ἐπήνεκεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ 'Αρκεσίλαον περιδείπνω.

Τούτου διάδοχος, ὡς μὲν Μηνόδοτός φησι, γέγονεν οὔδεις, ἀλλὰ διέλυπεν ἡ ἀγωγὴ ἐως αὐτῆς Πτολεμαίοις ὁ Κυρηναῖος ἀνεκτήσατο. ὡς δ' Ἰππόβοτός φησι καὶ Σωτῖων, διέκουσαν αὐτῶν Διοσκουρίδης Κύπριος καὶ Νικόλοχος 'Ρόδιος καὶ Ἐνθράνωρ Σελευκεὺς Πραῦλους τ᾽ ἀπὸ Τρωάδος,
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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. 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 "knives-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.

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 Praylus of the Numenius (supra, § 102). Or merely the birds partridge and woodcock may be meant, not any Mr. Partridge and Mr. Woodcock.
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δι οὔτω καρτερικὸς ἐγένετο, καθά φησι Φύλαρχος ἱστορῶν, ὡστ' ἄδικως ὑπομεῖναι ως ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ κολασθῆναι, μηδὲ λόγου τοῦς πολίτας καταξιώσας.

Εὐφράνορος δὲ διήκουσεν Εὐβοῦλος Ἀλεξανδρεύς, οὐ Πτολεμαῖος, οὐ Σαρπηδών καὶ Ἡρακλείδης, Ἡρακλείδου δ' Αἰνεσίδημος Κνώσιος, δι καὶ Πυρρωνείων λόγων ὀκτὼ συνεγραφεὶ βιβλία· οὐ Ζεύξιππος ὁ πολέτης, οὐ Ζεύξις ὁ Γωνιόπους, οὐ Ἀντίοχος Λαοδίκειος ἀπὸ Λύκου· τούτων δὲ Μηνόδοτος ὁ Νικομηδεύς, ἱατρὸς ἐμπειρικός, καὶ Θειωδᾶς Λαοδίκειος. Μηνοδότου δὲ Ἡρόδοτος Ἀριέως Ταρσεύς. Ἡρόδοτον δὲ διήκουσε Σέξτος ὁ ἐμπειρικός, οὐ καὶ τὰ δέκα τῶν Σκεπτικῶν καὶ ἄλλα κάλλιστα. Σέξτου δὲ διήκουσε Σατορνίνος 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 Παύλος ὁ Λακύδου γυώριμος. His heroic end was also extolled (Clement says) by Timotheus of Pergamum. See Wilamowitz, Phil. Unters. iv. p. 107.
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Troad. 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 Pyrrhonian discourses; the latter was the instructor of Zeuxippus his fellow-citizen, he of Zeuxis of the angular foot (γωνιόπονς, 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, another empiricist.

Possibly Κυδαθηραεύς, 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.
Ι

ΕΠΙΚΟΥΡΟΣ

1 Ἐπίκουρος Νεοκλέους καὶ Χαρεστράτης, Ἀθηναῖος, τῶν δήμων Γαργήττιος, γένους τοῦ τῶν Φιλαϊδῶν, ὃς φησὶ Μητρόδωρος ἐν τῷ Περὶ εὐγενείας, τοῦτον φασιν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἡρακλείδης ἐν τῇ Σωτίωνος ἐπιτομή κληρονομιῶν Ἀθηναίων τὴν Σάμον ἐκεῖθεν τραφήναι: ὡκτωκαίδεκετη δ' ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἀθῆνας, Ἐνοκράτους μὲν ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ, Ἀριστοτέλους δ' ἐν Χαλκίδι διατρίβοντος. τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκπεσόντων ὑπὸ Περδίκκου μετελθεῖν εἰς Κολοβώνα πρὸς τὸν πατέρα: χρόνον δὲ των διατρίψαντα αὐτὸθι καὶ μαθητὰς ἀθροίσαντα πάλιν ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς Ἀθῆνας ἑπὶ Ἀναξικράτους καὶ μέχρι μὲν τινὸς κατ' ἐπιμελείαν τοῖς ἄλλοις φιλοσοφεῖς, ἔπειτα ἱδία ἀπὸ <φαίνεσθαι> τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κληθεῖσαν αὑρεισιν συστήσαντα. ἐφάπαξασθαι δὲ φιλοσοφίας αὐτὸς φησιν ἐτη γεγονὸς τετταρεσκαίδεκα. Ἀπολλοδωρὸς δ' ὁ Ἐπικούρειος ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ 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 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, 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 Anaxicerates. 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.
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Ἐπικούρου βίου φησὶν ἔλθειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν καταγγέλθαν τῶν γραμματιστῶν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἐδυνῆθησαν ἐρμηνεύσαι αὐτῷ τὰ περὶ τοῦ παρ' Ἡσιόδῳ χάους. φησὶ δ' Ὅρμιππος γραμματοδιδάσκαλον αὐτὸν γεγενήθαι, ἔπειτα μέντοι περιτυχόντα τοῖς Δημοκρίτου βιβλίοις ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν ἄξαι· διὸ καὶ τὸν Τίμωνα φάσκειν περὶ αὐτοῦ.

υστατος αὐτοῖς καὶ κύντατος, ἐκ Σάμου ἐλθὼν γραμματισκιδίδης, ἀναγωγότατος ζωόντων.

Συνεφιλοσόφουν δ' αὐτῷ προτρεπαμένῳ καὶ οἱ ἄδελφοί τρεῖς οὗτες, Νεοκλῆς Χαρέδημος Ἀριστοβούλος, καθὰ φησι Φιλόδημος ὁ Ἐπικούρειος ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ τῆς τῶν φιλοσόφων συντάξεως. ἀλλὰ καὶ δοῦλος Μῦς ὅνομα, καθὰ φησι Μυρωνιάνος ἐν Ὀμοίοις ἱστορικοῖς κεφαλαίοις. Διότιμος δ' ὁ Στωικὸς δυσμενώς ἔχων πρὸς αὐτὸν πικρότατα αὐτὸν διαβέβληκεν, ἐπιστολάς φέρων πεντήκοντα ἀσελγεῖσι ὡς Ἐπικούρον· καὶ ὁ τὰ εἰς Χρύσιππον ἀναφερόμενα ἐπιστολία ως Ἐπικούρου συντάξας. ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ περὶ Ποσειδώνιον τὸν στωικὸν καὶ Νικόλαος καὶ Σωτίων ἐν τῷ δωδεκάτῳ τῶν ἐπιγραφομενῶν Διοκλέιων ἐλέγχων, α ἐστὶ δ' πρὸς τοῖς κ', καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀλικαρνασσεύς. καὶ γὰρ σὺν τῇ μητρὶ περιόντα αὐτὸν ἐστὶ τὰ ὀικίδια καθαροὺς ἀναγινώσκειν, καὶ σὺν τῷ πατρὶ γράμματα διδάσκειν λυποῦ τινος μυθαρίου. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν

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\(^a\) 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 ἀμα τῷ πατρὶ πρὸς τῷ διδα- 

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that he turned to philosophy in disgust at the schoolmasters who could not tell him the meaning of "chaos" in Hesiod.\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{b} in the lines:

Again there is the latest and most shameless of the physicists, the schoolmaster's son\textsuperscript{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 \textit{On Philosophers}; furthermore his slave named Mys, as stated by Myronianus in his \textit{Historical Parallels}. Diotimus\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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\textsuperscript{e}; further, that one of his brothers was a pander and \(
skalei\varphi\ prose\theta\rho\epsilon\upsilon\upsilon\nu\). From Aristophanes, \textit{Acharn.} 595-7, it seems that patronyms were used of persons engaged in hereditary occupations.

\textsuperscript{a} 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.

\textsuperscript{b} Compare again Dem. \textit{De cor.} § 258.
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αδελφῶν ἐνα προαγωγεύειν, Λεοντίω καὶ συνεῖναι τῇ ἐταίρᾳ. τὰ δὲ Δημοκρίτου περὶ τῶν ἀτόμων καὶ Ἀριστίππου περὶ τῆς ἱδονῆς ός ὦδια λέγειν. μὴ εἶναι τε γνησίως ἀστόν, ὡς Τιμοκράτης φησὶ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἐπικούρου ἐφηβείας. Μιθρῆν τε αἰσχρῶς κολακεύειν τὸν Λυσιμάχου διωκτητῆν, ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς Παιάνα καὶ ἀνακτά καλούντα: ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰδομενέα καὶ Ἡρόδοτον καὶ Τιμοκράτην τοὺς ἐκπυστά αὐτοῦ τὰ κρύφια ποιήσαντας ἐγκωμιάζειν καὶ κολακεύειν αὐτὸ τοῦτο. ἐν τε ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς πρὸς μὲν Λεοντιον Παιάν ἁναξ, φίλον Λεοντάριον, οἰον κροτοθρούβου ἡμᾶς ἐνέπλησας ἀναγνόντας σου τὸ ἐπιστόλιον· πρὸς δὲ Θεμίσταν τὴν Λεοντέως γυναίκα Οἰός τε φησὶν εἰμί, ἐὰν μὴ ὑμεῖς πρὸς με ἀφίκησθε, αὐτὸς τρικύλιστος, ὅπου αὖ ὑμεῖς καὶ Θεμίστα παρακαλήτε, ὢθεῖσθαι. πρὸς δὲ Πυθοκλέα ὥραίων ὄντα Καθεδούμαι φησὶ προσδοκῶν τὴν ἱμερτήν καὶ ἱσόθεον σου εἰσόδον. καὶ πάλιν πρὸς Θεμίσταν γράφων νομίζειν αὐτῇ παρανεῖν, καθά φησίν Θεόδωρος ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ τῶν Πρὸς Ἐπικούρου. καὶ ἀλλας δὲ πολλαῖς ἑταίραις γράφειν, καὶ μᾶλιστα Λεοντίω, ἦς καὶ Μητρόδωρον ἑρασθῆναι. ἐν τε τῷ Περὶ

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b A perplexing passage. (1) As παρανετική 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, 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. 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
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téloous γράφειν οὔτως. Οὐ γὰρ ἐγγὺς ἔχω τὶ νοῆσω τὰγαθόν, ἀφαιρῶν μὲν τὰς διὰ χυλῶν ἡδονάς, ἀφαιρῶν δὲ τὰς δι’ ἀφροδισίων καὶ τὰς δι’ ἀκροαμάτων καὶ τὰς διὰ μορφῆς. ἐν τῇ πρὸς Πυθοκλέαι ἐπιστολή γράφειν Παιδείαν δὲ πᾶσαν, μακάριε, φεύγε τάκατικον ἀράμενος. Ἐπίκτητος τε κυναιδολόγον αὐτὸν καλεῖ καί τὰ μάλιστα λοιδορεῖ.

Καὶ μὴν καὶ Τιμοκράτης ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγραφομένοις Εὐφραντοῖς ὁ Μητροδώρω τοῖς μὲν ἄδελφος, μαθητῇς δὲ αὐτοῦ τῆς σχολῆς ἐκφοιτήσας φησὶ διὸς αὐτῶν τῆς ἥμερας ἐμείν ἀπὸ τρυφῆς, ἐαυτόν τε διηγεῖται μόνις ἐκφυγεῖν ἵσχύσαι τὰς νυκτερινὰς ἐκεῖνας φιλοσοφίας καὶ τὴν μυστικὴν ἐκείνην συνδιαγωγὴν. 7 τὸν τε Ἐπίκουρον πολλὰ κατὰ τὸν λόγον ἡγοη-κέναι καὶ πολὺ μάλλον κατὰ τὸν βίον, τὸ τε σῶμα ἐλευνᾶς διακείσθαι, ὡς πολλῶν ἐτῶν μή δύνασθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ φορεῖον διαναστῆναι· μύν τε ἀναλίσκειν ἡμερησίαν εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Λεόντιον ἐπιστολὴ γράφει καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Μυτιλήνῃ φιλοσόφους. συνεῦα τε αὐτῷ τε καὶ Μητροδώρῳ ἔταιροι καὶ ἄλλοι, Μαμμάριον καὶ Ἡδείαν καὶ Ἐρώτιον καὶ Νικίδιον. καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα βίβλοις ταῖς Περὶ φύσεως τὰ πλείστα ταῦτα λέγειν καὶ ἀντιγράφειν ἐν αὐταῖς

a Cf: Athen. xii. 546 e, who cites the concluding words more fully thus: καὶ τὰς διὰ μορφῆς κατ’ ὄψιν ἡδεῖας κενήσεις: also vii. 280 c 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: "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, 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 ε θείων γένος ἡδονῶν.

Cf. Aelian, Fr. 39 (De Epicuro eiusque discipulis). According to him the three brothers of Epicurus were all victims of disease. Plutarch (Non posse suavitet, etc., 1097 ε) mentions the dropsy. However much his ailments were exaggerated by his enemies, they do not seem to have hindered him from literary work.

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δέλλοις τε καὶ Ναυσιφάνει τὰ πλείστα καὶ αὐτῇ λέξει φάσκειν ὦτως· ἵνα ἤτωσαν ἐἰχε γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὁδίνων τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος καύχησιν τὴν σοφιστικὴν, καθάπερ καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τῶν ἄνδραπόδων." καὶ αὐτὸν Ἑπίκουρον ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς περὶ Ναυσιφάνους λέγει: "Ταῦτα ἦγαγεν αὐτὸν εἰς ἐκστασιν τοιαύτην, ὡστε μοι λοιδορεῖσθαι καὶ ἀποκαλεῖν διδάσκαλον." πλεύσονα τε αὐτὸν ἐκάλει καὶ ἀγράμματον καὶ ἀπατεώνα καὶ πόρην· τούς τε περὶ Πλάτωνα Διονυσικόλακας καὶ αὐτὸν Πλάτωνα Χρυσοῦν, καὶ Ἀριστοτέλη ἁσωτον, ἃν καταφαγόντα την πατρῴαν οὐσίαν στρατεύεσθαι καὶ φαρμακοπωλεῖν· φορμοφόρον τε Πρωταγόραν καὶ γραφέα Δημοκρίτον καὶ ἐν κώμαις γράμματα διδάσκειν· Ηράκλειτον τε κυκητὴν καὶ Δημοκρίτον Δηρόκριτον καὶ Ἀντίδωρον Σαννίδωρον· τοὺς τε Κυνικοὺς ἔχθρους τῆς Ἑλλάδος· καὶ τοὺς διαλεκτικοὺς πολυφθόρους, Πύρρωνα δὲ ἀμαθῆ καὶ ἀπαίδευτον.

9 Μεμήνασι δ' οὖτοι· τῷ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ μάρτυρες ἰκανοὶ τῆς ἀνυπερβλήτου πρῶς πάντας εὐγνωμοσύνης ἢ τε πατρὶς χαλκαὶς εἰκόσι τιμήσασα οἱ τε φίλοι τοσώτῳ τὸ πλήθος ὡς μηδὲ ἄν πόλεσιν ὅλαις μετρεῖσθαι δύνασθαι· οἱ τε γνώριμοι πάντες ταῖς δογματικαῖς αὐτοῦ σειρῆς προσκατασχεθέντες, πλὴν Μητροδώρου τοῦ Στρατονικέως πρὸς Καρ-

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[a] Cf. Sext. Emp. Adv. math. i. 3 νῦν πλεύσονα καλῶν τῶν Ναυσιφάνου ὡς ἀναίσθητον; Plato, Phil. 21 c ἃν ὦκ ἀνθρωποῦ βίον ἀλλὰ τόσον πλεύσονος; 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. 536
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 illiterate, a fraud, and a trollop; Plato’s school he called "the toadies of Dionysius," their master himself the "golden" Plato, 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; Democritus Lerocritus (the nonsense-monger); and Antidorus Sannidorus (fawning gift-bearer); the Cynics foes of Greece; the Dialecticians despilers; 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 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. εγώ ό χρυσόστωμος, is cited by Bignone.

c In the same ironical sense in which Plato speaks of the Heracliteans who preached flux as τοὺς ρέοντας (Theaet. 181 λ), "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.).
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νεάδην ἀποχωρήσαντος, τάχα βαρυνθέντος ταῖς ἀνυπερβλήτοις αὐτοῦ χρηστότησιν. ή τε διαδοχῆ, πασῶν σχεδὸν ἐκλιποσὺῶν τῶν ἄλλων, ἐσαεὶ διαιμένουσα καὶ νηρίθμους ἀρχὰς ἀπολύουσα ἄλλην
10 εξ ἄλλης τῶν γνωρίμων. ή τε πρὸς τοὺς γονέας εὐχαριστία καὶ ή πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς εὐποιία πρὸς τε τοὺς οἰκέτας ἡμερότης, ὡς δήλων κἀκ τῶν διαθηκῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅτι αὐτοὶ συνεφιλοσόφουν αὐτῷ, 6ν ἢν ἐνδοξότατος ὁ προειρημένος Μῦς· καθόλου τε ή πρὸς πάντας αὐτοῦ φιλάνθρωπία. τῆς μὲν γὰρ πρὸς θεοὺς ὀσίοτητος καὶ πρὸς πατρίδα φιλίας ἀλεκτος ή διάθεσις· ὑπερβολῇ γὰρ ἐπι- εικείας οὐδὲ πολιτείας ἡπατο. καὶ χαλεπωτάτων δὲ καιρῶν κατασχόντων τηνικάδε την Ἔλλαδα, αὐτόθι καταβιώναι, δὴ ή τρίς τοὺς περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν τόπους πρὸς τοὺς φίλους διαδραμώντα. οἱ καὶ πανταχόθεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικνοῦντο καὶ συνεβίουν αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ κῆπῳ, καθὰ φησὶ καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος· δὲν καὶ ὠγδοήκοντα μνὼν πρίασθαι. Διοκλῆς δ’ ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῆς ἐπιδρομῆς φησιν εὐτελέστατα καὶ λιτότατα διαιτῶμενο. “κοτύλη γοῦν,” φησιν, “οἰνοδίου ἵρκοῦντο, τὸ δὲ πῶν ὑδωρ ἤν αὐτοῖς ποτὸν.” τὸν τ’ Ἐπίκουρον μὴ ἄξιον 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 διέμενεν ἢ αὐτοῦ σχόλη ἐως Καίσαρος τοῦ πρῶτου ἐτη σκῆ, ἐν οἷς διάδοχοι 538
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; 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, notwithsstanding the calamities which had befallen her in that age; when he did once or twice take a trip to Ionia, it was to visit his friends there. 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 autēs ἐγένοντο ὑπ'ξ ὡς. As Usener has shown (Epicurea, 373), the interval of 227 years is reckoned from 270 to 44 B.C.

In the siege of Athens he is said to have maintained his disciples, counting out to each his ration of beans (Plut. Demetr. 34).

Cf. Epist. 32 (Fr. 176 Usener). This celebrated letter to a child was written from Lampsacus on such a journey.
Πυθαγόρας κοινά τὰ φίλων λέγοντα· ἀπιστοῦντων γὰρ εἶναι τὸ τουτόν· εἰ δὲ ἀπίστων οὐδὲ φίλων. αὐτὸς τὲ φησιν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς, ὡδατι μόνον ἀρκεῖσθαι καὶ ἄρτως λιτῶ. καὶ, "πέμψοι μοι τυροῦ," φησί, "κυθριδίου, ἵν' ὅταν βουλώμασι πολυτελεύσασθαι δύνωμαι." τοιοῦτος ἢν ὁ τὴν ἴδιον ἐναι τέλος δογματίζων, ἢν καὶ Ἀθήναιος δι' ἐπιγράμματος οὕτως ὑμεῖς.

12 ἀνθρωποί, μοχθεῖτε τὰ χεῖρονα, καὶ διὰ κέρδος ἀπληστοὶ νεικέων ἀρχεῖτε καὶ πολέμων· τὰς φύσις δ' ὁ πλοῦτος ὁρον τινὰ βαιὸν ἔπισχει, αἱ δὲ κεναὶ κρίσεις τὰν ἀπέραντον ὁδόν.

tούτο Νεοκλῆς πινυτὸν τέκος ἡ παρὰ Μουσέων ἐκλυεν ἡ Πυθοῦς ἐξ ἱερῶν τριπόδων.

εἰσόμεθα δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον προϊόντες ἐκ τε τῶν δογμάτων ἐκ τε τῶν ῥητῶν αὐτοῦ.

Μάλιστα δ' ἀπεδέχετο, φησὶ Διοκλῆς, τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἀναξαγόραν, καὶ τοι ἐν τισιν ἀντειρηκῶς αὐτῷ, καὶ Ἀρχέλαιον τὸν Σωκράτους διδάσκαλον. ἐγύμναζέ δὲ, φησί, τοὺς γνωρίμους καὶ διὰ μνήμης ἐχειν τὰ έαυτοῦ συγγράμματα.

13 Τούτων Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικόις Ναυσιφάνους ἀκούσαί φησι καὶ Πραξιφάνους· αὐτὸς δὲ οὐ φησιν, ἀλλ' ἐαυτοῦ, ἐν τῇ πρὸς Εὐρύλοχον ἐπιστολῇ. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Λεύκιππόν τινα γεγενήθαι φῆσι φιλόσοφον, οὔτε αὐτὸς οὔτε Ἐρμαρχος, ὃν ἐνιοῖ φασὶ καὶ Ὅπολλόδωρος ὁ Ἐπικούρειος διδάσκαλον Δημοκρίτου γεγενήθαι. Δημητρίος δὲ φησιν ὁ Μάγνης καὶ Ξενοκράτους αὐτὸν ἀκούσαι.

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.
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Κέρχηται δὲ λέξει κυρία κατὰ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὡς ὅτι ἰδιωτάτη ἔστιν, 'Αριστοφάνης ὁ γραμματικός αἰτιᾶται. σαφῆς δ' ἦν οὕτως, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ Περί βετορικῆς ἀξιοὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἡ σαφήνειαν ἀπαιτεῖν. καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑπιστολαῖς ἀντὶ τοῦ Χαῖρεων Ἐὔ πράττειν καὶ Σπουδαίως ζῆν.

'Αρίστων δὲ φησιν ἐν τῷ 'Επικούρου βίῳ τοῦ Χανόνα γράψαι αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Ναυσιφάνους Τρίποδος, οὔ καὶ ἀκοῦσαί φησιν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ Παμφίλου τοῦ Πλατωνίου ἐν Σάμῳ. ἄρξασθαι τε φιλοσοφεῖν ἐτῶν ὑπάρχοντα δυναίδεκα, ἀφηγήσασθαι δὲ τῆς σχολῆς ἐτῶν οὖντα δύο πρὸς τοὺς τριάκοντα.

Ἐγεννήθη δὲ, φησίν, 'Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς, κατὰ τὸ τρίτον ἔτος τῆς ἐνάτης καὶ ἐκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ Σωσιγένους ἀρχοντος μηνὸς γαμηλιῶνος ἐβδόμης, ἔτεσιν ὡστερον τῆς Πλάτωνος τελευτῆς ἑπτά. ὑπάρχοντα δ' αὐτοῦ ἐτῶν δύο καὶ τριάκοντα πρῶτον ἐν Μυτιληνῇ καὶ Λαμψάκῳ σωστήσασθαι σχολήν ἐπὶ ἑτη πέντε· ἐπειτα οὕτως εἰς Ἀθῆνας μετελθεῖν καὶ τελευτῆσαι κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος τῆς ἐβδόμης καὶ εἰκοστῆς καὶ ἐκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ Πυθαράτου ἑτη βιώσαντα δύο πρὸς τοῖς ἐβδομήκοντα. τὴν τε σχολὴν διαδέξασθαι Ἐρμαρχον Ἀγεμόρτου Μυτιληναίουν, τελευτῆσαι δ' αὐτοῦ λίθῳ ἃν ὦρων ἑπισχεθέντων, ὡς φησι καὶ Ἐρμαρχον ἐν ἑπιστολαῖς, ἡμέρας νοσήσαντα τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα. ὅτε καὶ φησίν Ἐρμυππος ἐμβάντα αὐτοῦ ἔις πύελον χαλκῆν κεκραμένην ὑδατι θερμῷ καὶ αἰτήσαντα ἀκρατον βοήσαίν.

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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.II. ii iii. 168.

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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\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{c} on the seventh day of the month Gamelion,\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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,

\textsuperscript{a} Cf. Suidas, s.v.; Cic. N.D. i. 72.
\textsuperscript{b} 341 B.C.
\textsuperscript{c} 341 B.C.
\textsuperscript{d} The eighth month of the Attic civil year. Thus he would be born about February, 341 B.C. Plato died 347 B.C.
\textsuperscript{e} 271–270 B.C.
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16 τοῖς τε φίλοις παραγγείλαντα τῶν δογμάτων μεμνήσθαι, οὕτω τελευτῆσαι.
Καὶ ἐστὶν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν οὕτω.

χαίρετε, καὶ μέμνησθε τὰ δόγματα· τοῦτο Ἐπίκουρος

ῦστατον εἴπε φίλοις τούτος ἀποφθήμενος·
θερμὴν ἐς πύελον γὰρ ἐληλύθειν καὶ ἀκρατον ἔσπασεν, εἶτ' Ἀδην ἴχθυρόν ἐπεσπάσατο.

οὕτος μὲν ὁ βίος τάνδρος, θείδε <δὲ> ἡ τελευτή.
Καὶ διέθετο ὡδὲ· "Κατὰ τάδε δίδωμι τὰ ἐμαυτοῦ πάντα Ἀμυνομάχῳ Φιλοκράτους Βασίθεν καὶ Τιμοκράτει Δημητρίου Ποταμίῳ κατὰ τὴν ἐν
17 τῷ Μητρώῳ ἀναγεγραμμένην ἐκατέρω δόσιν, ἐφ' ὃ τε τὸν μὲν κῆπον καὶ τὰ προσόντα αὐτῷ παρέξουσιν Ὁρμάρχῳ Ἀχεμόρτου Μυτιληναίῳ καὶ τοῖς συμφιλοσοφοῦσιν αὐτῷ καὶ οίς αὖ Ἐρμαρχὸς καταλίπῃ διαδόχους τῆς φιλοσοφίας, ἐνδιατρίβειν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν· καὶ ἀεὶ δὲ τοῖς φιλοσοφοῦσιν ἀπὸ ἡμῶν, όπως αὖ συνδιασώσωσί τινος φιλοσοφικοί καὶ Τιμοκράτει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, τὴν ἐν τῷ κῆπῳ διατρίβην παρακατατίθεμαι τοῖς τ' αὐτῶν κληρονόμοις, ἐν ὧν ἐν τρόπῳ ἀσφαλέστατον ἢ, ὡσσὶ αὖ κακεῖνοι διατηροῦσιν τὸν κήπον, καθάπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἴς ἀν οἱ ἀπὸ ἡμῶν φιλοσοφοῦτες παραδώσων. τὴν δ' οἰκίαν τὴν ἐν Μελίτῃ παρεχέτωσαν Ἀμυνομάχῳ καὶ Τιμοκράτης ἐνοικεῖν Ἐρμάρχῳ καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ φιλοσοφοῦσιν, ἐως ἀν Ἐρμαρχὸς ζῇ.

18 "Εκ δὲ τῶν γυνομένων προσόδων τῶν δεδομένων ἀφ' ἡμῶν Ἀμυνομάχῳ καὶ Τιμοκράτει κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν μεριζέσθωσιν μεθ' Ἐρμάρχου σκοπούμενοι εἰς τε τὰ ἐναγίσματα τῷ τε πατρὶ καὶ τῇ 544
which he swallowed, and then, having bidden his friends remember his doctrines, breathed his last.

Here is something of my own about him:

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. 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

\[ \text{ Anth. Pal. vii. 106. } \]

\[ \text{ Cf. v. 52 supra. } \]
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, 546
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.\textsuperscript{a} Let them also join in celebrating the day in Poseideon which commemorates my brothers, and likewise the day in Meta-geitnion 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,\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{a} Possibly Danaë: cf. Athen. xiii. 593 c.
\textsuperscript{b} That funds were raised by friends of Epicurus and placed at his disposal is certain from the letter to Idomeneus: Plut. \textit{Adv. Col.} 18, 1117 d (Usener fr. 130) \textit{πέιμπε οὖν ἀπαρχὰς ἡμῖν εἰς τὴν τοῦ ιεροῦ σῶματος θεραπείαν.} Nicanor seems to have been a recipient of this bounty. How like Auguste Comte!
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των ἀφαιρούντες μετὰ τῆς Ἐρμάρχου γνώμης. ἐπιμελείσθωσαν δὲ καὶ Νικάνορος, καθάπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὅν ὅσοι τῶν συμφιλοσοφοῦντων ἡμῶν χρείαν ἐν τοῖς ἱδίοις παρεσχημένοι καὶ τῷ πάσαν οἰκειότητα ἐνδεδειγμένοι συγκαταγράσκειν μεθ’ ἡμῶν προειλοντο ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, μηδένος τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδεείς καθεστήκωσιν παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν δύναμιν.

21 "Δούναι δὲ τὰ βιβλία τὰ ὑπάρχουντα ἡμῖν πάντα Ἐρμάρχων.

"Εάν δὲ τι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων περὶ Ἐρμαρχον γένηται πρὸ τοῦ τὰ Μητροδώρου παιδία εἰς ἡλικίαν ἐλθεῖν, δούναι Ἀμυνόμαχον καὶ Τιμοκράτην, ὅπως ἀν εὐτακτοῦντων αὐτῶν ἐκαστα γίνηται τῶν ἀναγκαίων, κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ἀπὸ τῶν καταλελειμμένων ύφ’ ἡμῶν προσόδων. καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπάντων ὡς συντετάχαμεν ἐπιμελείσθωσαν, ὅπως ἀν κατὰ τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον ἐκαστα γίγνηται. ἀφίημι δὲ τῶν παῖδων ἐλευθερον Μὖν, Νικίαν, Λύκωνα: ἀφίημι δὲ καὶ Φαίδριον ἐλευθερίαν."

22 "Ηδὲ δὲ τελευτῶν γράφει πρὸς Ἰδομενέα τήν δὲ ἐπιστολήν.

"Τὴν μακαρίαν ἀγοντες καὶ ἁμα τελευταίαν ἡμέραν τοῦ βίου ἐγράφομεν ὑμῖν ταυτί. στραγγουρία τε παρηκολουθήκει καὶ δυσεντερικά πάθη ύπερβολήν οὐκ ἀπολείποντα τοῦ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς μεγέθους. ἀντιπαρετάπτετο δὲ πᾶσι τοῦτοι τὸ κατὰ ψυχὴν χαίρον ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν γεγονότων ἡμῶν διαλογισμῶν μνήμη. σὺ δ’ ἀξίως τῆς ἐκ μειρακίου παραστάσεως πρὸς ἐμέ καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ἐπιμελεῖς τῶν παῖδων Μητροδώρουν."

Καὶ διέθετο μὲν ὄδε.

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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.
DIOGENES LAERTIUS

Μαθητάς δὲ ἐσχε πολλοὺς μὲν, σφόδρα δὲ ἐλλογίμους Μητρόδωρον ἂθναιού ἡ Τιμοκράτους καὶ Σάνδης Λαμψακηνόν. ὃς ἂφ’ οὖ τὸν ἄνδρα ἔγνω, οὐκ ἀπέστη ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ πλὴν ἔξι μηνῶν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, ἔπειτ’ ἐπανῆλθε. γέγονε δὲ ἀγαθὸς πάντα, καθὰ καὶ Ἑπίκουρος ἐν προηγουμέναις γραφαῖς μαρτυρεῖ καὶ ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ Τιμοκράτων. τοιοῦτος δ’ ὦν καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν Βατίδα ἐξέδωκε Ἰδομενεῖ, καὶ Λεόντιον τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἔταφαν ἀναλαβὼν εἰχε παλακην. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀκατάπληκτος πρὸς τε τὰς ὀχλήσεις καὶ τὸν θάνατον, ὡς Ἑπίκουρος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Μητροδώρῳ φησί. φασί δὲ καὶ πρὸ ἔπτα ἐτῶν αὐτοῦ τελευτήσαι πεντηκοστὸν τρίτον ἔτος ἀγοντα, καὶ αὐτὸς Ἑπίκουρος ἐν ταῖς προειρημέναις διαθήκαις, ὡς προαπεληλυθότος αὐτοῦ δηλονοτί, ἐπισκηπτεῖ περὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας αὐτοῦ τῶν παιδῶν. ἐσχέ δὲ καὶ τῶν προειρημένον εἰκαίον τινα ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Μητροδώρου Τιμοκράτην. 24 Βιβλία δὲ ἐστι τοῦ Μητροδώρου τάδε:

Πρὸς τοῖς ιατροῖς τρία.
Περὶ αὐσθήσεων.
Πρὸς Τιμοκράτην.
Περὶ μεγαλοψυχίας.
Περὶ τῆς Ἑπίκουρου ἀρρωστίας.

*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 praeecesserit, 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 550
Among his disciples, of whom there were many, the following were eminent: Metrodorus, 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 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 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. Here. Coll. Alt. vi. fr. 45 sqq.

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 διαλεκτικοῖς.
Πρὸς τοὺς σοφιστὰς ἐννέα.
Περὶ τῆς ἐπὶ σοφίαν πορείας.
Περὶ τῆς μεταβολῆς.
Περὶ πλούτου.
Πρὸς Δημόκριτον.
Περὶ εὐγενείας.

'Ἱν καὶ Πολύαινος Ἀθηνοδώρου Λαμψακηνὸς, ἐπιεικὴς καὶ φιλικὸς, ὥς οἱ περὶ Φιλόδημον φασί. καὶ ὁ διαδεξάμενος αὐτὸν Ἔρμαρχος Ὀγεμόρτου Μυτιληναίος, ἀνὴρ πατρὸς μὲν πένητος, τὰς δ' ἀρχὰς προσέχων ῥητορικοῖς.

Φέρεται καὶ τούτου βιβλία κάλλιστα τάδε:

Επιστολικὴ περὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέους εἴκοσι καὶ δύο.
Περὶ τῶν μαθημάτων.
Πρὸς Πλάτωνα.
Πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλην.

'Ετελεύτα δὲ παραλύσει, γενόμενος ἱκανὸς ἀνήρ. Λεοντεύς τε Λαμψακηνὸς ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ τούτου γυνὴ Θερίστα, πρὸς ἦν καὶ γέγραφεν ὁ Ἐπίκουρος· ἔτι τε Κολώτης καὶ Ἰδομενεύς, καὶ αὐτοὶ Λαμψακηνοὶ. καὶ οὕτωι μὲν ἔλλογμοι, ὅν ἦν καὶ Πολύστρατος ὁ διαδεξάμενος Ἔρμαρχον· δὲν διεδέξατο Διονύσιος· δὲν Ὁσιλείδης. καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος δ' ὁ Κηποτύραννος γέγονεν ἔλλογμοι, δὲ

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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 552
X. 24–25. EPICURUS

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 and Idomeneus, who were also natives of Lampsacus. All these were distinguished, and with them Polyastratus, 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 Kολωτης, 1107 e–1127; and also a rejoinder entitled, Οὐδὲ ἦν ἔστιν ἡδέως κατ’ Ἑπίκουρον, to prove that even a pleasurable life is unattainable on the principles of Epicurus.

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DIOGENES LAERTIUS

υπὲρ τετρακόσια συνέγραψε βιβλία· δύο τε Πτο-
λεμαίοι Ἀλέξανδρεῖς, οὗ τε μέλας καὶ ὁ λευκός.
Ζήνων τε ὁ Σιδώνιος, ἀκροατὴς Ἀπολλοδώρου,
πολυγράφος ἀνήρ· καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς
Λάκων· Διογένης τε ὁ Ταρσεῖος ὁ τὰς ἐπιλέκτους
σχολὰς συγγράψας· καὶ Ωρίων καὶ ἄλλοι οὗ καὶ
γνήσιοι Ἕπικούρειοι σοφιστὰς ἀποκαλοῦσιν.
Ἡσαύ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Ἕπικούροι τρεῖς· ὁ τε
Leonτέως υἱὸς καὶ Θεμίστας· ἔτερος Μάγνης·
tέταρτος ὀπλομάχος.
Γέγονε δὲ πολυγραφώτατος ὁ Ἕπικούρος, πάντας
ὑπερβαλλόμενοι πλήθει βιβλίων· κύλινδροι μὲν γὰρ
πρὸς τοὺς τριακόσιους εἰσὶ. γέγραπται δὲ μαρ-
τύριοι ἐξωθεὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ αὐτοῦ εἰσὶ
Ἕπικούρου φωναί· ἐξήλου δὲ αὐτὸν Χρύσιππος ἐν
πολυγραφίᾳ, καθά φησι καὶ Καρνεάδης παράσιτον
αὐτὸν τῶν βιβλίων ἀποκαλόω· εἰ γὰρ τι γράφαι ὁ
ハウス Ἕπικούρος, φιλονεικεὶ τοσοῦτον γράφαι ὁ Χρύσιπ-
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tος. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πολλάκις ταῦτα γέγραφε καὶ
τὸ ἐπελθὼν, καὶ ἀδιόρθωτα εἰάκε τῷ ἐπείγεσθαι· καὶ
τὰ μαρτύρια τοσαῦτὰ ἐστὶν ὡς ἐκεῖνων μόνων γέμεν
τὰ βιβλία, καθάπερ καὶ παρὰ Ζήνωνι ἐστὶν εὔρειν
καὶ παρὰ Ἀριστοτέλει. καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα μὲν
ハウス Ἕπικούρῳ τοσαῦτα καὶ τηλικάκτα, ὅτι τὰ βέλ-
tιστά ἐστι τάδε·

Περὶ φύσεως ἐπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα.
Περὶ ἀτόμων καὶ κενοῦ.
Περὶ ἔρωτος.
ハウス τῶν πρὸς τῶν φυσικοῦς.
Πρὸς τοὺς Μεγαρίκους.

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also famous: and the two Ptolemæi of Alexandria, the one black and the other white; and Zeno of Sidon, the pupil of Apollodorus, a voluminous author; and Demetrius, 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 Atoms and Void.
Of Love.
Epitome of Objections to the Physicists.
Against the Megarians.

\textsuperscript{a} Cf. Cic. \textit{Ac. Post.} 146: N.D. i. 59.
\textsuperscript{b} Cf. Sext. Emp. \textit{Adv. math.} viii. 348 sqq.; Strabo, xiv. 658.
Διαπορίαι.
Κύριαι δόξαι.
Περὶ αἰρέσεων καὶ φυγῶν.
Περὶ τέλους.
Περὶ κριτηρίων ἡ Κανών.
Χαιρεθήμορος.
Περὶ θεῶν.
Περὶ ὁσιότητος.
Ἡγμαίνατε.
Περὶ βίων ὅ.
Περὶ δικαιοπραγίας.
Νεοκλῆς πρὸς Θεμίσταν.
Συμπόσιον.
Εὐρύλοχος πρὸς Μητρόδορον.
Περὶ τοῦ ὅραν.
Περὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ ἀτόμῳ γυνίας.
Περὶ ἀφῆς.
Περὶ εἰμαρμένης.
Περὶ παθῶν δόξαι πρὸς Τιμοκράτην.
Προγνωστικόν.
Προτρήπτικός.
Περὶ εἰδώλων.
Περὶ φαντασίας.
Ἀριστοβουλὸς.
Περὶ μονικῆς.
Περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν.
Περὶ δόρων καὶ χάριτος.
Πολυμήδης.
Τιμοκράτης γ᾽.
Μητρόδορος ε᾽.
Ἀντιδώρος β᾽.
Περὶ νόσων δόξαι πρὸς Μίθρην.

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.
“Α δὲ αὐτῷ δοκεῖ ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἐκθέσθαι πειράσομαι 
τρεῖς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ παραθέμενος, ἐν αἷς πᾶσαν 
29 τὴν έαυτοῦ φιλοσοφίαν ἐπιτέτμηται. θήσομεν δὲ 
καὶ τὰς Κυρίας αὐτοῦ δόξας καὶ εἰ τι ἐδοξέων 
ἐκλογής ἄξιως ἀνεφθέγχθαι, ὡστε σὲ πανταχόθεν 
καταμαθεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκ τῶν κρύινει εἰδέναι.

Τὴν μὲν οὖν πρώτην ἐπιστολὴν γράφει πρὸς 
'Ἡρόδοτον <ἡτις ἐστὶ περὶ τῶν φυσικῶν τὴν 
δὲ δευτέραν πρὸς Πυθοκλέα>, ἡτις ἐστὶ περὶ μετ-
αρσίων τὴν τρίτην πρὸς Μενοικέα, ἐστὶ δ’ ἐν αὐτῇ 
τὰ περὶ βίων. ἀρκτέον δὴ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης, ὅλιγα 
προειπόντα περὶ τῆς διαίρεσεως τῆς κατ’ αὐτοῦ 
φιλοσοφίας.

Διαίρειται τοῖς εἰς τρία, τὸ τε κανονικὸν καὶ 
30 φυσικὸν καὶ ἡθικὸν. τὸ μὲν οὖν κανονικὸν ἐφόδους 
ἐπὶ τὴν πραγματείαν ἔχει, καὶ ἐστὶν ἐν εἷς τῷ ἐπι-
γραφωμένῳ Κανών. τὸ δὲ φυσικὸν τὴν περὶ φύσεως 
θεωρίαν πᾶσαν, καὶ ἐστὶν ἐν ταῖς Περὶ φύσεως 
βιβλίοις ἐπτα καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς 
κατὰ στοιχείων τὸ δὲ ηθικὸν τὰ περὶ αἰρέσεως καὶ 
φυγῆς. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς Περὶ βίων βιβλίοις καὶ 
ἐπιστολαῖς καὶ τῷ Περὶ τέλους. εἰώθασι μέντοι 
τὸ κανονικὸν ὁμοῦ τῷ φυσικῷ τάττειν: καλοῦσι 
δ’ αὐτὸ περὶ κριτηρίου καὶ ἄρχης, καὶ στοιχεω-
τικὸν. 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.

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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 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 ἡθικὸν περὶ αἱρετῶν καὶ
φευκτῶν καὶ περὶ βίων καὶ τέλους.

31 Τὴν διαλεκτικὴν ὡς παρέλκουσαν ἀποδοκιμά-
ζουσιν· ἀρκεῖν γὰρ τοὺς φυσικοὺς χωρεῖν κατὰ
tοὺς τῶν πραγμάτων φθόγγους. ἐν τούτων τῷ
Κανόνι λέγων ἐστὶν ὁ Ἑπίκουρος κριτήρια τῆς
ἀληθείας εἶναι τὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ προλήψεις καὶ τὰ
πάθη, οἱ δ' Ἑπικούρειοι καὶ τὰς φανταστικὰς
ἐπιβολὰς τῆς διανοίας. λέγει δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς
Ἡρόδοτον ἐπιτομῇ καὶ ἐν ταῖς Κυρίαις δόξαις.

“πᾶσα γὰρ,” φησίν, “αἰσθήσεις ἁλογός ἔστι καὶ
μνήμης οὐδεμιᾶς δεκτική· οὔτε γὰρ ὃῦ ἀυτῆς οὔτε
ὕφετέρον κυνθείσα δύναται τι προσθείναι ἡ
ἀφελείν· οὔτε ἐστὶ τὸ δυνάμενον αὐτῶν διελέγξαι.

32 οὔτε γὰρ ἡ ὁμογένεια αἰσθήσεις τὴν ὁμογενὴ διὰ
τὴν ἱσοθάνειαν, οὔθ' ἡ ἁνομογένεια τὴν ἀνομο-
γενειαν, οὐ γὰρ τῶν αὐτῶν εἰςι κριτικά· οὔτε
μὴν λόγος, πᾶς γὰρ λόγος ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθήσεων
ηρτηται. οὔθ' ἡ ἑτέρα τὴν ἑτέραν, πάσας γὰρ
προσέχομεν. καὶ τὸ τὰ ἐπαισθήματα δ' ὑφ-
εστάναι πιστοῦται τὴν τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἀλήθειαν.
ὑφέστηκε δὲ τό τε ὀραν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀκούειν, ὦσπερ
τὸ ἀλγεῖν· οἴθεν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἁδήλων ἀπὸ τῶν
φαινομένων χρῆ σημειοῦσθαι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐπίνοιαι

ᵃ An opinion often emphasized: e.g. §§ 37, 73, 82, 152.
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.
ᶜ Cf. inf. § 146.
ᵈ i.e. the trustworthiness of the senses (αἰσθήσεως) con-
math. viii. 9 (Usener, Fr. 244).

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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

\(^a\) More precisely \(\dot{\alpha}\dot{\eta}\lambda\nu\) = that which does not come within the range of sense. Compare e.g. § 38 τὸ προσμένου καὶ τὸ \(\dot{\alpha}\dot{\eta}\lambda\nu\), and the way in which the conception of void is obtained in § 40. In § 62 it is called τὸ προσδοξαζόμενον περὶ τοῦ ἀσόμενον.
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πάσαι ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθήσεων γεγόνασι κατὰ τε περὶ-πτωσιν καὶ ἀναλογίαν καὶ ὁμοιότητα καὶ σύνθεσιν, συμβαλλομένου τι καὶ τοῦ λογισμοῦ, τά τε τῶν μανομένων φαντάσματα καὶ <τὰ> κατ᾽ ὅναρ ἀληθῆ, καὶ εἰ γάρ· το δὲ μή ὁν όυ κινεῖ."'

33 Τὴν δὲ πρόληψιν λέγουσιν οἴονει κατάληψιν ἢ
dόξαν ὀρθὴν ἢ ἔννοιαν ἢ καθολικὴν νόησιν ἐναπο-
κεμένην, τοιτέστι μνήμην τοῦ πολλάκις ἔξωθεν
φανέντος, οἷον τὸ Τοιούτον ἐστὶν ἀνθρωπος· ἀμα
gάρ τῷ ρηθήναι ἀνθρώπος εὐθὺς κατὰ πρόληψιν
καὶ ὁ τύπος αὐτοῦ νοεῖται προηγουμένων τῶν
αἰσθήσεων. παντὶ οὖν ὀνόματι τὸ πρῶτως ὑπὸ
tεταγμένον ἐναργεῖς ἐστὶ· καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐξητήσαμε,
tὸ ξέτοιμον, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἐγνώκειμεν αὐτὸ
οἷον Τὸ πόρρω ἐστὶν ὕππος ἐστὶν ἡ βοῦς· δει
γάρ κατὰ πρόληψιν ἐγνωκέναι ποτε ὕππον καὶ βοῦ
μορφήν· οὔτε ἂν ἀνωμάσαμεν τι μὴ πρότεροι
αὐτοῦ κατὰ πρόληψιν τὸν τύπον μαθόντες· ἐναρ-
γεῖς οὖν εἰσιν αἱ προλήψεις· καὶ τὸ δοξαστὸν ἀπὸ
προτέρου τινὸς ἐναργοῦς ηὐτηται, ἐφ᾽ ὁ ἀναφέροντες
λέγομεν, οἷον Πόθεν ὑσμεν εἰ τοῦτο ἐστὶν ἀνθρωπος;

34 τὴν δὲ δόξαν καὶ ὑπόληψιν λέγουσιν, ἀληθῆ τέ φασι
καὶ ψευδῆ· ἂν μὲν γὰρ ἐπιμαρτυρῆται ἢ μὴ
ἀντιμαρτυρῆται, ἀληθῆ εἶναι· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐπιμα-
ρτυρῆται ἢ ἀντιμαρτυρῆται, ψευδῆ τυγχάνειν. οὖθεν
<τὸ> προσμένου εἰσῆξῃ· οἷον τὸ προσμείναι καὶ

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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.
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perceptions, either by actual contact or by analogy, or resemblance, or composition, with some slight aid from reasoning. And the objects presented to madmen 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. 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; 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
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εγγύς γενέσθαι τῶν πύργων καὶ μαθεῖν ὁποῖος εγγύς φαίνεται.

Πάθη δὲ λέγουσιν εἶναι δύο, ἢδονή καὶ ἀλγηδόνα, ἱστάμενα περὶ τῶν ζῴων, 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 ψυλῆς τῆς φωνῆς. καὶ ταῦτα δὲ περὶ τῆς διαίρεσεως καὶ τοῦ κριτηρίου στοιχειώδως.

'Ανιτέον δὲ ἐπὶ τῆν ἐπιστολήν.

" Ἑπίκουρος Ἰρωδότῳ χαίρειν.

35 Τοῖς μὴ δυναμένοις, ὡς Ἰρώδους, ἔκαστα τῶν περὶ φύσεως ἀναγεγραμμένων ἡμῖν ἐξακριβών μηδὲ τὰς μείζους τῶν συντεταγμένων βιβλίων διαθρέων ἐπιτομῆς τῆς ὅλης πραγματείας εἰς τὸ κατασχεῖν τῶν ὀλοσχερωτάτων γε δοξῶν τὴν μνήμην ἴκανώς αὐτῶς1 παρεσκεύασα, ὅπως παρ' ἔκάστους τῶν καίρων ἐν τοῖς κυριωτάτοις βοηθεῖν αὐτῶς δύνανται, καθ' ὅσον ἂν ἐφάπτων τῇ περὶ φύσεως θεωρίας. καὶ τοὺς προβεβηκότας δὲ ἴκανῶς ἐν τῇ τῶν ὀλων ἐπιβλέψει τὸν τύπον τῆς ὅλης πραγματείας τὸν κατεστοιχειωμένον δεὶ μὴν-


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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 564
get close to the tower and then learn what it looks like at close quarters.\[^{\downarrow}\]

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, \textit{Studi Lucreziani} (vol. i. of his \textit{Lucretius}); Bignone, \textit{Epicurea}, pp. 71-113; Hicks, \textit{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 \textit{Larger Compendium.}

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μονεύειν· τῆς γὰρ ἀθρόας ἐπιβολής πυκνὸν δεόμεθα, τῆς δὲ κατὰ μέρος οὐχ ὁμοίως.

36 "Βαδιστέον μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνα συνεχῶς, εἰν ἀδελφόν τοι τοσοῦτο ποιητέον, ἄφ’ οὐ ἦν τε κυριωτάτη ἐπιβολή ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα ἔσται καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ κατὰ μέρος ἀκρίβωμα πάν ἐξευρήσεται, τῶν ὀλοσχερωτάτων τύπων εὐ περιειλημέμενων καὶ μνημονευομένων· ἐπεὶ καὶ τῷ τετελεσθοργημένῳ τούτῳ κυριωτάτου τοῦ παντὸς ἀκριβώματος γίνεται, τὸ ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς ὀξέως δύνασθαι χρῆσθαι, ἐκάστων· πρὸς ἀπλὰ στοιχείωματα καὶ φωνᾶς συν-
αγομένων. οὔ γὰρ οἰόν τε τὸ πῦκνωμα τῆς συνεχοῦς τῶν ὅλων περιοδείας εἰδέναι· μὴ δυνάμενον διὰ
βραχεῶν φωνῶν ἀπαν ἐμπεριλαβεῖν ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ καὶ κατὰ μέρος ἂν ἐξακριβωθέν.

37 "Οθὲν δὴ πάσι χρησίμης οὔσης τοῖς ὀκενεμένοις φυσιολογία τῆς τοιαύτης ὠδοῦ, παρεγγυών τὸ συνεχὲς ἐνέργημα εἰν ἐφεστόλῳ καὶ τοιούτῳ μᾶλιστα ἐγγαληνίζων τῷ βίῳ ἐποίησά σοι καὶ τοιαύτῃ τινὰ ἐντομη καὶ στοιχείωσιν τῶν ὅλων δοξῶν.

"Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα τοῖς φθόγγοις, ὦ Ἡρόδοτε, δεῖ εἰληφέναι, ὅπως ἄν τὰ δοξαζόμενα ἢ ζητούμενα ἢ ἀπορούμενα ἢ ἱκώμεν εἰς ταῦτα ἀνάγοντες ἑπικρίνειν, καὶ μὴ ἀκριτα πάντα ἦμων ἢ <η> εἰς ἀπειρον ἀποδεικνύουσιν ἢ κενοὺς φθόγ-
γους ἵκωμεν. ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ἐννόημα καθ’ ἐκαστον φθόγγον βλέπεσθαι καὶ μηθὲν ἀπο-
deizews προσδείσθαι, εἴπερ ἱκώμεν τὸ ζητούμενον ἢ ἀπορούμενον καὶ δοξαζόμενον ἐφ’ ὁ ἀνάξομεν.

1 δὲ suppl. Von der Muehll.
2 ἐκάστων Us. : καὶ codd.
4 η suppl. Us.

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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: 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."
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"Ετι τε τὰς αἰσθήσεις δεὶ πάντως τηρεῖν καὶ ἀπλῶς τὰς παρούσας ἐπιβολὰς εἶτε διανοίας εἴθ᾽ ὅτου δήποτε τῶν κριτηρίων, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ υπάρχοντα πάθη, ὅπως ἂν καὶ τὸ προσμένον καὶ τὸ ἄδηλον ἔχωμεν οἷς σημειωσόμεθα.

"Ταῦτα δεὶ διαλαβόντας συνορᾶν ἂν ἐπὶ τῶν ἁδήλων· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι οὐδὲν γίνεται ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος. πᾶν γὰρ ἐκ παντὸς ἐγίνετ' ἂν σπερμάτων γε οὐθὲν προσδεόμενον· καὶ εἰ ἐφθείρετο δὲ τὸ ἀφανίζομενον εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν, πάντα ἂν ἀπωλόλει τὰ πράγματα, οὐκ οὖν τῶν εἰς ἀ διελύτω. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἂεὶ τοιοῦτον ἢν οἶον νῦν ἐστιν, καὶ ἂεὶ τοιοῦτον ἔσται. οὐθὲν γὰρ ἐστιν εἰς οὐ μεταβαλεί.2 παρὰ γὰρ τὸ πᾶν οὐθέν ἐστιν, ὃ ἂν εἰσελθόν εἰς αὐτὸ τὴν μεταβολὴν ποιήσαιτο.

"Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Μεγάλῃ ἐπιτομῇ φησὶ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀριστοτέλειον ἐπιτομῇ ἡ ἁρχὴ καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Περὶ φύσεως]3 τὸ πᾶν ἐστὶ σῶμα καὶ κενὸν· σῶμα μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἐστιν, αὐτή ἡ αἰσθήσεις ἐπὶ πάντων μαρτυρεῖ, καθ᾽ ἢν ἀναγκαίον τὸ ἁδῆλον τῷ λογισμῷ τεκμαίρεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἢν τὸ κενὸν καὶ χώραν καὶ ἁρμοφίνοις ὀνομάζομεν, οὐκ ἂν εἴχε τὰ σώματα ὅπου ηὲν οὐδὲ

1 eīte 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.

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-
X. 38-40. EPICURUS

"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. For in that case anything would have arisen out of anything, standing as it would in no need of its proper germs. 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. 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), bodies would have nothing in which to be and

- Usener's insertion of "bodies and space" comes from § 86; cf. Diels, Dox. Gr. 581. 28.
- Cf. Lucr. i. 426.
- Cf. §§ 41, 54. Lucr. i. 125 f. is the best commentary.
DIogenes Laertius

δι' οὗ ἐκεῖθεν, καθάπερ φαίνεται κινούμενα. παρὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐθέν οὗδ' ἐπινοηθήναι δύναται οὔτε περιληπτῶς οὔτε ἄναλόγως τοῖς περιληπτοῖς ὡς καθ' ὀλας φύσεις λαμβανόμενα καὶ μη ὡς τὰ τούτων συμπτώματα ἡ συμβεβηκότα λεγόμενα.

"Καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν [τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ Περὶ φύσεως καὶ τῇ ἑδ' καὶ ἑ' καὶ τῇ Μεγάλῃ ἐπιτομῇ] σωμάτων τὰ μὲν ἐστὶ συγκρίσεις, τὰ δ' ἐξ ἀν αἱ συγκρίσεις πεποίηται. ταῦτα δὲ ἐστὶν ἀτόμα καὶ ἀμετάβλητα, εἴπερ μὴ μέλλει πάντα εἰς τὸ μὴ ὅν φθαρῆσθαι, ἀλλ' ἵσχυντα ὑπομένειν ἐν ταῖς διαλύσεις τῶν συγκρίσεων, πλήρη τῇν φύσιν ὅντα, οἷα δὴ οὐκ ἔχοντα ὀπὴ ἢ ὄπως διαλυθήσεται. ὥστε τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀτόμους ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι σωμάτων φύσεις.

"Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἀπειρὸν ἐστὶ. τὸ γὰρ πεπερασμένον ἄκρον ἔχει· τὸ δὲ ἄκρον παρ' ἐτερὸν τι θεωρεῖται· <τὸ δὲ πᾶν οὐ παρ' ἐτερὸν τι θεωρεῖται·> δ' ὥστε οὐκ ἔχον ἄκρον πέρας οὐκ ἔχει· πέρας δὲ οὐκ ἔχον ἀπειρὸν ἀν εἰῃ καὶ οὐ πεπερασμένον.

"Καὶ μὴν καὶ τῷ πλῆθει τῶν σωμάτων ἀπειρὸν ἑστὶ τὸ πᾶν καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ κενοῦ. εἰ τε γὰρ ἢν τὸ κενὸν ἀπειρὸν, τὰ δὲ σώματα ὅρισμένα, οὐθ' ἐν εἷς τὰ σώματα, ἀλλ' ἐφέρετο κατὰ τὸ ἀπειρὸν κενὸν διεσπαρμένα, οὐκ ἔχοντα τὰ ὑπερ-

1 See preceding note.
2 Suppl. Us.

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1 Cf. § 54.
2 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.
X. 40–42. EPICURUS

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. 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: > 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-
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εἶδοντα καὶ στέλλοντα κατὰ τὰς ἀνακοπάς· εἰ
tε τὸ κενὸν ἤν ὤρισμένον, οὐκ ἂν εἶχε τὰ ἀπειρα
σώματα ὑπὸν ἐνέστη.

"Πρὸς τε τούτοις τὰ ἄτομα τῶν σωμάτων καὶ
μεστά, εἴς ὧν καὶ αἱ συγκρίσεις γίνονται καὶ εἰς
διαλύνεται, ἀπερίληπτα ἐστὶ ταῖς διαφοράσ τῶν
σχημάτων· οὐ γὰρ δυνατὸν γενέσθαι τὰς τοσαῦτας
dιαφορὰς ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν σχημάτων περιειλημμένων.
καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην δὲ σχημάτων ἀπλῶς ἀπειροί
eἰσιν αἱ ὀμοίαι, ταῖς δὲ διαφοράσ οὐχ ἀπλῶς
ἀπειροὶ ἅλλα μόνον ἀπερίληπτοι. [οὐδὲ γὰρ φησιν
ἐνδοτέρω εἰς ἀπειρον τὴν τομὴν τυγχάνειν. λέγει
δὲ, ἐπειδῆ αἱ ποιότητες μεταβάλλονται, εἰ μέλλει
τις μὴ καὶ τοῖς μεγέθεσιν ἀπλῶς εἰς ἀπειρον αὐτὰς
ἐκβάλλειν].

"Κατόντα τε συνεχῶς αἱ ἄτομοι [φησὶ δὲ ἐνδο-
tέρω καὶ ἰσοταχῶς αὐτὰς κυνείσθαι τοῦ κενοῦ τὴν
eἰξὸν ὀμοίαν παρεχομένου καὶ τῇ κοινοτάτη καὶ
tῇ βαρυτάτη.] τὸν αἰῶνα, καὶ αἱ μὲν εἰς μακρὰν
ἀπὸ ἀλλήλων διστάμεναι, αἱ δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν παλμὸν
ἰσχυσθεῖν, όταν τύχωσι τῇ περιπλοκῇ ἑκκλειμέναι
ἡ στεγαζόμενοι παρὰ τῶν πλεκτικῶν.

"Ἡ τε γὰρ τοῦ κενοῦ φύσις ἡ διορίζουσα ἐκάστην
αὐτὴν τοῦτο παρασκευάζει, τὴν ὑπέρεισιν οὐχ ὀίᾳ
τε οὕσα ποιεῖσθαι· ἡ τε στερεότης ἡ υπάρχουσα
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.
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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; 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, 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.

"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.
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εφ’ ὁπόσον ἂν ἡ περιπλοκή τῆς ἀποκατάστασιν ἐκ τῆς συγκρούσεως διδὼν. ἀρχή δὲ τούτων οὐκ ἦστιν, οἰδίων τῶν ἀτόμων ὑσών καὶ τοῦ κενοῦ. [φησὶ δ’ ἐνδοτέρω μηδὲ ποιότητά τινα περὶ τὰς ἀτόμους εἶναι πλὴν σχήματος καὶ μεγέθους καὶ βάρους· τὸ δὲ χρώμα παρὰ τὴν θέσιν τῶν ἀτόμων ἀλλάττεσθαι ἐν ταῖς Δώδεκα στοιχείωσει φησι. πάντες μεγέθος μὴ εἶναι περὶ αὐτῶς· οὐδέποτε γοῦν ἀτόμον ὠφθη αἰσθήσει.]

45 "Ἡ τοσαῦτη δὴ φωνῇ τούτων πάντων μνημονευμένων τῶν ἰκανῶν τύπων ὑποβάλλει τὴς τῶν ὄντων φύσεως ἐπινοιαίς.

"Αλλὰ μὴν καὶ κόσμοι ἀπειροί εἰσιν, οἱ θ’ ὅμοιοι τούτω καὶ ἀνόμοιοι. αἱ τε γὰρ ἀτομοὶ ἀπειροὶ οὐδένα, ὡς ἄρτι ἀπεδειχθή, φέρονται καὶ πορρωτάτως. οὐ γὰρ κατανθάλωνται αἱ τοιαῦται ἁτομοὶ, ἐξ ὅν ἂν γένοιτο κόσμος ἢ ύφ’ ὅν ἂν ποιηθεῖ, οὐτ’ εἰς ἕνα οὖτ’ εἰς πεπερασμένους, οὐθ’ ὅσοι τοιοῦτοι οὐθ’ ὅσοι διάφοροι τούτοις. ὥστε οὐδὲν τὸ ἐμποδοστατήσον ἐστὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν κόσμων.

46 "Καὶ μὴν καὶ τύποι ὁμοιοσχήμονες τοῖς στερεμνίοις εἰσὶ, λεπτότητι ἄπεχοντες μακρὰν τῶν φαινομένων. οὔτε γὰρ συστάσεις ἀδυνατοῦσιν ἐν τῷ περιέχοντι γίνεσθαι τοιαύτα οὔτ’ ἐπιτηδεύσητε πρὸς κατεργασίας τῶν κοιλωμάτων καὶ λεπτοτήτων γίνεσθαι, οὔτε ἀπόρροια τῇ ἑξῆς θέσιν καὶ βάσιν διατηροῦσαι, ἣνπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς στερεμνίοις εἴχον· τούτους δὲ τοὺς τύπους εἰδωλα προσαγορεύομεν. ¹

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. 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-

\[\text{This remark is not misplaced. For infinity of worlds follows from the infinity of (a) atoms, (b) space; see inf. §§ 73, 89; Lucr. ii. 1048 foll.}\]
καὶ μὴν καὶ ἡ διὰ τοῦ κενοῦ φορὰ κατὰ μηδεμίαν ἀπάντησιν τῶν ἀντικοιφόντων γινομένη πάν μήκος περιλήπτον ἐν ἀπερινοήτω χρόνῳ συντελεῖ. βράδους γὰρ καὶ τάχους ἀντικοπή καὶ οὐκ ἀντικοπὴ ὁμοίωμα λαμβάνει.

47 "Οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἀμα κατὰ τοὺς διὰ λόγου θεωρητοὺς χρόνους αὐτὸ τὸ φερόμενον σῶμα ἐπὶ τοὺς πλείους τόπους ἀφικνεῖται—ἀδιανόητον γὰρ,—καὶ τοῦτο συναφικνούμενον ἐν αἰσθητῷ χρόνῳ ὅθεν δὴποθεν τοῦ ἀπείρου οὐκ ἔξ ὅ ὁ ἀπειλάβωμεν τὴν φορὰν τόπου ἔσται ἀφιστάμενον. ἀντικοπὴ γὰρ ὁμοίων ἔσται, κἂν μέχρι τοσούτου τὸ τάχος τῆς φορᾶς μὴ ἀντικόπτον καταλίπωμεν. χρήσιμον δὴ καὶ τοῦτο κατασχεῖν τὸ στοιχεῖον. εἶθ᾽ ὅτι τὰ εἰδώλα ταῖς λεπτότησιν ἀνυπερβλήτους κέχρηται, οὐθὲν ἀντιμαρτυρεῖ τῶν φανομένων. οθὲν καὶ τάχη ἀνυπέρβλητα ἔχει, πάντα πόρον σύμμετρον ἔχοντα πρὸς τῷ τῶ<τῶ> ἀπείρῳ αὐτῶν μηθὲν ἀντικόπτειν ἢ ὅλιγα ἀντικόπτειν, πολλαῖς δὲ καὶ ἀπείροις εὐθὺς ἀντικόπτειν τι.

48 "Πρὸς τε τούτοις, ὅτι ἡ γένεσις τῶν εἰδώλων ἀμα νοήματι συμβαίνει. καὶ γὰρ ῥεῦσις ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων τῶν ἐπιπολῆς συνεχῆς, οὐκ ἐπίδηλος τῇ μειώσει διὰ τὴν ἀνταναπληρώσιν, σύμβατα τὴν ἐπὶ

1 ἀντικοφάντων codd.: corr. Us.
2 τῶ suppl. Meibom.: τὸ Tescari.
3 τῇ μειώσει Us.: σημειώσει V.d.M.: ἡ 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,* 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, 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." And those

* Or, inserting τῶν, not τῶν, before τῶν ἄπειρων, "a passage of the proper size to secure that nothing obstructs their endless emanation." But the meaning cannot be called certain.

† 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.
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to τοις στερεμνίων θέσιν καὶ τάξιν τῶν ἄτομων ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον, εἰ καὶ ἐνίστευ συγχεομένη ὑπάρχει, καὶ συντάσεις ἐν τῷ περιέχοντι ὀξεῖα διὰ τῷ μὴ δεύν κατὰ βάθος τὸ συμπλήρωμα γίνεσθαι, καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ τρόποι τινὲς γεννητικοὶ τῶν τοιούτων φύσεων εἰσίν. οὔθεν γὰρ τούτων ἀντιμαρτυρεῖται ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν, ἀν βλέπῃ τίς τινα τρόπον τὰς ἐναργείας ίνα καὶ τὰς συμπαθεῖας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξωθεὶς πρὸς ἡμᾶς Ἀνοίγει.

49 "Δεῖ δὲ καὶ νομίζειν ἐπεισιόντος τινὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξωθεῖς ἡμᾶς καὶ διανοεῖσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐναποσφραγίσατο τὰ ἐξω τὴν ἐαυτῶν φύσιν τοῦ τε χρώματος καὶ τῆς μορφῆς διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος τοῦ μεταξὺ ἡμῶν τε κάκεινων, οὐδὲ διὰ τῶν ἀκτίνων ἡ ὄνυδῆποτε λευμάτων ἄφ’ ἡμῶν πρὸς ἐκεῖνα παραγενομένων, οὕτως ὡς τύπῳ τῶν ἐπεισιόντων ἡμῶν ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων ὁμοχρώμων τε καὶ ὁμοιομόρφων κατὰ τὸ ἐναρμόττον μέγεθος εἰς τὴν ὄψιν ἡ τὴν διάνοιαν, ὡκεῖς ταῖς φοραῖς χρωμένων,

50 εἰτα διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ ἐνὸς καὶ συνεχοῦς τὴν φαντασίαν ἀποδιδόντων καὶ τὴν συμπαθείαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου σωζόντων κατὰ τὸν ἐκείθεν σύμμετρον ἐπεισιόν ἐκ τῆς κατὰ βάθος ἐν τῷ στερεμνίῳ τῶν ἄτομων πάλσεως. καὶ ἂν ἂν λάβωμεν φαντασίαιν ἐπιβλητικῶς τῇ διανοίᾳ ή

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 578
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\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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;\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1} 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: \textit{cf.} Lucr. iv. 87, 104 f., 189, 256 f., 714 f.; Cic. \textit{N. D.} i. 105.
tois aisthetai ois eite morfi eite symbebekontos, morfi estin auti to schosemion, ginomen kata to exeiin kynwma h ygekataleimma toin eidylos to de theudos kai to diymartimenv en toin pros-
doxazoimenv de estin ete toin prosmenvoton.1 etiymarturhisesthai h mi an tymarturhisesthai, eti ouk etiymarturoumenou h an tymarturoumenou.1 [kata tina kynsen en hmin autois symmeventin tis fantastiki epi Bolh, dialhyn de exousan, kath hini to theudos ginetai.]

51 "'H te gar omoiotos tonis fantasmwv ionevi en eikon laimbanoumen h kath' upnous ginomen h kai' allas tis espirolas tis diavolias h tonis loipwv kritirion ouk ou poto uphreke tois oude te kai allhesei prosagorevenoumenos, ei mi hini tina kai toiauta prose a paraballomen. to de diymartimenv ouk ou uphrench, ei mi elaimbanomen kai allh tina kynsen en hmin autois symmeventin men tis fantastiki epi Bolh, dialhyn de exousan kai
da tauntin, ean mei mi etiymarturhthei h an tymarturhthei, to theudos ginetai. ean de etiymarturhthei" h mi an tymarturhthei, to allthes.

52 "Kai tauntin ouv shorda ge dei tine doxan kat-
exein, oua kai te tara kritiria anairstai tata kata tasa enargeias mi te to diymartimenvon omoiws bheiaiym-
menon pantan synparamptt.

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> [\textit{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, \textit{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.\(^d\)"

\(^a\) Epicurus was a severe critic of the Sceptics; \textit{cf.} \S\S 146, 147; Frs. 252, 254 (Us.); Lucr. iv. 507-521.

\(^b\) \textit{Cf.} Fr. 247-254 (Us.); Lucr. iv. 462-468, 723-826.

\(^c\) \textit{ place a note here.}

\(^d\) \textit{ place a note here.}
“'Alla μήν καὶ τὸ ἀκούειν γίνεται ἰεῦματος φερομένου ἀπὸ τοῦ φωνοῦτος ἢ ἠχοῦντος ἢ ψοφοῦντος ἢ ὀπωσδήποτε ἀκουστικὸν πάθος παρασκευάζοντος. τὸ δὲ ρεύμα τοῦτο εἰς ὀμοιομερεῖς ὄγκους διασπείρεται, ἀμα τινὰ διασωζόντας συμπάθειαν πρὸς ἄλλην καὶ ἐνότητα ἰδιότροπον, διατείνουσαν πρὸς τὸ ἀποστείλαν καὶ τὴν ἑπαίσθησιν τὴν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ποιοῦσαν, εἰ δὲ μὴ γε, τὸ ἐξωθεὶν μονὸν ἐνδηλον παρασκευάζουσαν. 53 ἀνευ γὰρ ἀναφερομένης τινὸς ἐκεῖθεν συμπαθείας οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο ἡ τοιαύτη ἑπαίσθησις. οὐκ αὐτὸν οὖν δεὶ νομίζειν τὸν ἀέρα ὑπὸ τῆς προιεμένης φωνῆς ἢ καὶ τῶν ὀμογενῶν σχηματιζέσθαι—πολλὴν γὰρ ἐνδειαν ἐξεὶ τοῦτο πᾶσχων ὑπ' ἐκείνης,—ἀλλ' εὔθεις τὴν γυμνομένην πληγήν ἐν ἡμῖν, ὅταν φωνὴν ἀφίσαμεν, τοιαύτην ἐκθλυψίν ὁγκὼν τινῶν ἰεῦματος πνευματώδους ἀποτελεστικῶν ποιεῖσθαι, ἡ τὸ πάθος τὸ ἀκουστικὸν ἡμῖν παρασκευάζει.

"Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὴν ὁσμῆν νομιστέων, ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν ἀκοὴν οὐκ ἂν ποτε οὖθεν πάθος ἐργάσασθαι, εἰ μὴ ὁγκοὶ τινὲς ἥσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος ἀποφερομένου σύμμετρον πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ αἰσθητήριον κινεῖν, οἱ μὲν τοῖς τεταραγμένως καὶ ἀλλοτρίως, οἱ δὲ τοῖς ἀταράχως καὶ οἰκείως ἔχοντες. 54 "Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰς ἀτόμους νομιστέων μηδεμίαν ποιότητα τῶν φαινομένων προσφέρεσθαι πλὴν σχῆματος καὶ βάρους καὶ μεγέθους καὶ ὅσα ἐξ

1 ἐκλέθην, vel ἐκλήθην codd.: corr. Brieger: ἐγκλίσων Us.

-air is not; as Democritus held (Beare, op. cit. p. 99), the 582
“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; 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, 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 conveyed, 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.

*Cf. Lucr. iv. 673-705, ii. 414-417. Neither taste nor touch is treated separately in this epistle.
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άνάγκης σχήματος συμφυή ἐστι. ποιότης γὰρ πᾶσα μεταβάλλει· αἰ ὑπὸ ποιότητας συν εὐθείας ὑπομένει ἐν ταῖς διαλύσεσι τῶν συγκρίσεων στρεφών καὶ ἀδιάλυτων, ὅ τὰς μεταβολὰς οὐκ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὑπομένει, ἀλλὰ κατά μεταβάλλεις ἐν πολλοῖς, τινῶν δὲ καὶ προσόδους καὶ ἀφόδους. ὅθεν ἀναγκαῖον τὰ μετατιθέμενα ἀφθαρτα εἶναι καὶ τῆς τῶν μεταβάλλοντος φύσιν οὐκ ἔχοντα, ὅγκους δὲ καὶ σχήματισμοὺς ἱδίους· ταὐτά γὰρ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ὑπομένειν.

55 "Καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς παρ' ἢμῖν μετασχηματιζόμενοι κατὰ τὴν περιαίρεσιν τὸ σχῆμα ἐνυπάρχου λαμβάνεται, αἰ ὑπὸ ποιότητας οὐκ ἐνυπάρχουσι ἐν τῷ μεταβάλλοντι, ὡσπερ ἐκεῖνο καταλείπεται, ἀλλ' ἐξ οἶνο τοῦ σωμάτος ἀπολλύμεναι. ἵκαια οὖν τὰ ὑπολειπόμενα ταὐτά τὰς τῶν συγκρίσεων διαφοράς ποιεῖν, ἐπειδὴ ὑπὸ ὑπολειπέσθαι γέ τοι ἀναγκαῖον καὶ μὴ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὑπομένειν.

"Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ δεῖ νομίζειν πᾶν μέγεθος ἐν ταῖς ἀτόμοις ὑπάρχειν, ἵνα μὴ τὰ φαινόμενα ἀντιμαρτυρὴ· παραλαγαὶς δὲ τινὰς μεγεθῶν νομιστέον εἶναι. βέλτιον γὰρ καὶ τοῦτον προσώπος τὰ κατὰ τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις γνώμενα ἀποδοθῆσεται.

1 τὰ Μη 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. 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 arrange-
ment, and sometimes through additions and sub-
tractions of the atoms. Hence these somethings
capable of being diversely arranged must be in-
destructible, exempt from change, but possessed
each of its own distinctive mass 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, lest you be contradicted by
facts; but differences of size must be admitted; for
this addition renders the facts of feeling and sensa-
tion easier of explanation. But to attribute any and
to the motion of the component atoms. With ἐν πολλοῖς
understand ἀπερεμνίοις: the arrangement of the atoms varies
in solid objects.

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.

The opinion of Democritus.
56 πᾶν δὲ μέγεθος ὑπάρχειν οὔτε χρήσιμόν ἐστι πρὸς τὰς τῶν ποιοτήτων διαφοράς, ἀφίχθαι τε ἄμ' ἔδει καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὅρατὰς ἀτόμους. ὅ δ' οὐ θεωρεῖται γνώμενον οὔθ' ὅπως ἂν γένοιτο ὅρατ' ἀτόμος ἐστιν ἐπινοήσαι.

"Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐ δεῖ νομίζειν ἐν τῷ ωρισμένῳ σώματι ἀπείρους ὄγκους εἶπαι οὔθ' ὀπηλίκους οὖν. ὡστε οὐ μόνον τὴν εἰς ἀπειρον τομὴν ἐπὶ τούλαττον ἀναίρεσιν, ἣν μὴ πάντα ἀσθενὴ ποιῶμεν κἂν ταῖς περιλήψις τῶν ἄθρόων εἰς τὸ μὴ ἄναγκαζόμεθα τὰ ὑπάντα θλίβοντες καταναλίσκεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν μετάβασιν μὴ νομιστέοι γίνεσθαι εἰς τοῖς ωρισμένοις εἰς ἀπειρον μὴ' ἐπὶ τούλαττον.

57 "Οὔτε γὰρ ὅπως, ἐπειδὴν ἀπαξ τις εἴπῃ ὅτι ἀπειροῦ ὄγκοι ἐν τινι υπάρχουσιν ἡ ὀπηλίκους οὖν, ἐστὶ νοῆσαι ὅπως ἄν ἐτι τοῦτο πεπερασμένον εἰς τὸ μέγεθος. ὀπηλίκοι γὰρ τινες δῆλον ὡς οἱ ἀπειροὶ εἰσιν ὄγκοι· κἂν οὔτοι ὀπηλίκοι ἂν ποτὲ ὲσιν, ἀπειρο ἄν ἤν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος. ἀκρον τε ἔχοντος τοῦ πεπερασμένου διαληπτον, εἰ μὴ καὶ καθ' ἐαυτὸ θεωρητῶν, οὐκ ἐστὶ μὴ οὐ καὶ τὸ ἔξης τούτου τοιοῦτον νοεῖν καὶ οὔτω κατὰ τὸ ἔξης εἰς

1 ἄμ' ἔδει Ὑσ.: 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. "

"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.
Each visible body is the sum of minima, or least perceptible points, which, because they are of finite size, are also finite in number.

"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.

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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, \textit{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 (\textit{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

\(^a\) \textit{uncompounded.} \quad \text{But v. Arnim's } \dot{\alpha} \nu \varepsilon \rho \dot{\eta}, \text{ "void of parts," is more suitable.}
The parts of the atom are incapable of motion; cf. Lucr. i. 628-634.

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.  

"Further, we must not assert 'up' or 'down' of that which is unlimited, as if there were a zenith or nadir. As to the space overhead, however, if it be possible to draw 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

This verb (ἀγείρω) is technical in Euclid.
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.

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 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, most nearly resembling wind with an admixture of heat, 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

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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 (ἀερωδες τι) is omitted.

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The so-called “nameless” substance (nominis expers Lucr. iii. 242, ἀκατορόμαστων 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." 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 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 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, ὡσον ποτέ ἐστι τὸ συντείνον τῶν ἀτόμων πλήθος εἰς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς φύσιν. καὶ μὴν καὶ λυμένου τοῦ ὅλου ἀθροίσματος ἡ ψυχὴ διασπέραται καὶ οὐκέτι ἔχει τὰς αὐτὰς δυνάμεις οὐδὲ κινεῖται, ὡσπερ οὐδ’ αἰσθησιν κέκτηται.

66 "Ὅν γὰρ οἶδ᾽ εἰς νοεῖν αὐτὸ ἀισθανόμενου μὴ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ συστήματι καὶ ταῖς κινήσεσι ταύταις χρώμενον, ὅταν τὰ στεγάζοντα καὶ περίέχοντα μὴ τοιαύτα ἢ, ἐν οἷς νῦν οὕσα ἔχει ταύτας τὰς κινήσεις. [λέγει ἐν ἄλλοις καὶ ἐξ ἀτόμων αὐτὴν συγκείσθαι λειτάτων καὶ στρογγυλωτάτων, πολλῷ τινὶ διαφεροσύνων τῶν τοῦ πυρὸς· καὶ τὸ μὲν τι ἄλογον αὐτῆς, δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν παρεσπάρθαι σώματι· τὸ δὲ λογικὸν ἐν τῷ θάρακι, ὥς δῆλον ἐκ τε τῶν φόβων καὶ τῆς χαρᾶς. ὅπως τὲ γίνεσθαι τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς μερῶν τῶν παρ’ ὅλην τὴν σύγκρισιν παρεσπαρμένων ἐγκατεχομένων ἡ διαφορομενών, εἶτα συμπιπτόντων τοῖς ἐπερεισμοῖς.1 τὸ τε σπέρμα ἄφ’ ὅλων τῶν σωμάτων φέρεσθαι.

67 "Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τόδε γε δεῖ προσκατανοεῖν, ὧ τῷ ἀσώματον λέγωμεν κατὰ τὴν πλείστην ὁμολογίαν τοῦ ὁνόματος ἐπὶ τοῦ καθ’ ἐαυτὸ νοηθέντος ἀν· καθ’ ἐαυτὸ δὲ οὐκ ἐστὶ νοήσαι τὸ ἀσώματον πλήν τοῦ κενοῦ. τὸ δὲ κενὸν οὐτε ποιῆσαι οὔτε παθεῖν δύναται, ἀλλὰ κίνησιν μόνον δι’ ἐαυτοῦ τοῖς σώμασι παρέχεται. ὡστε οἱ λέγοντες ἀσώματον

1 ἐπερεισμοῖς Us.: ποργμοῖς codd.

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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, 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 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. 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-

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b It—the soul, the logical subject, the neuter replacing the more appropriate feminine pronoun.

c Or, if ὃ τὸ ἀσύματον λέγομεν be read, "that according to current usage we apply the term incorporeal to that which can be conceived as self-existent."
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ἐίναι τὴν ψυχήν ματαίζουσιν. οὐθὲν γὰρ ἂν ἐδύνατο ποιεῖν οὔτε πάσχειν, εἰ ἦν τοιαῦτη νῦν δ' ἐναργῶς ἀμφότερα ταῦτα διαλαμβάνεται περὶ τὴν ψυχήν τὰ συμπτώματα.

68 "Ταῦτα οὖν πάντα τὰ διαλογίσματα τὰ περὶ ψυχῆς ἀνάγων τις ἐπὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις, μνημονεύον τῶν ἐν ἀρχῇ ῥηθέντων, ικανός κατόψει τοῖς τύποις ἐμπεριειλημμένα εἰς τὸ κατὰ μέρος ἀπὸ τούτων ἐξακριβοῦσθαι βεβαίως.

"Αλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰ σχήματα καὶ τὰ χρώματα καὶ τὰ μεγέθη καὶ τὰ βάρη καὶ ὁσα ἄλλα κατηγορεῖται σώματος ὡσανεὶ συμβεβηκότα ἡ πάσιν ἡ τοῖς ὀρατοῖς καὶ κατὰ τὴν αἰσθησιν αὐτὴν γνωστά,1 οὐθ' ἦσαν καθ' ἑαυτάς εἰσι φύσεις δοξαστέον—οὐ γὰρ δυνατὸν ἐπινοήσαι τούτο—οὔτε ὅλως ὣς οὐκ εἰσίν, οὐθ' ὃς ἐτερ' ἀττα προσυπαρχοντα τούτῳ ἀσώματα, οὐθ' ὃς μόρια τούτου, ἀλλ' ὃς τὸ ὅλον σῶμα καθόλου ἐκ τούτων πάντων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ἔχον αἴδιον, οὐχ οἶνον δὲ εἰναί συμπεφορημένον—ώσπερ ὅταν ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ὁγκῶν μείζον ἄθροισμα συνιτῇ ἦτοι τῶν πρῶτων ἡ τῶν τοῦ ὅλου μεγεθῶν τοῦτο τῶν ἐλαστώνων,—ἀλλὰ μονον, ἐς λέγω, ἐκ τούτων ἀπάντων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ἔχον αἴδιον. καὶ ἐπιβολὰς μὲν ἔχοντα ἱδίας πάντα ταῦτα ἑστὶ καὶ διαλήψεις, συμπαρακολούθοιντος δὲ τοῦ ἀθρόου καὶ οὐθαμῆ ἀποσχιζομένου, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀθρόαν ἐννοιαν τοῦ σώματος κατηγορίαν εἰληφότος.

70 "Καὶ μὴν καὶ τοῖς σώμασι συμπίπτει πολλάκις

1 γνωστοῖς codd.: corr. Us.

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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 ade-
quately comprehended in outline: which will enable
us to determine the details with accuracy and con-

"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 inde-
dependently by themselves (for that is inconceivable),
nor yet to be non-existent, nor to be some other and
incorporeal entities cleaving to body, 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 char-
acteristic 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 ἀίδιον παρακολουθεῖν οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς ἀοράτοις· καὶ οὔτε ἀσώματα· ὡστε δὴ κατὰ τὴν πλείστην φορὰν τούτῳ τῷ ὄνόματι χρώμενον φανερὰ ποιοῦμεν τὰ συμπτώματα οὔτε τὴν τοῦ ὀλον φύσιν ἔχειν, ὁ συλλαβώντες κατὰ τὸ ἄθροόν σῶμα προσαγορεύομεν, οὔτε τὴν τῶν ἀίδιον παρακολουθοῦντων, ἂν ἄνευ σῶμα ὑπὸ δυνάτων νοεῖσθαι. κατ' ἐπιβολὰς δ' ἂν τινας παρακολούθοντος τοῦ ἄθροον ἐκαστα προσαγορευθεῖη, ἀλλ' ὡστε δὴποτε ἐκαστα συμβαίνοντα θεωρεῖται, οὐκ ἀίδιον τῶν συμπτωμάτων παρακολουθοῦντων. καὶ οὐκ ἔξελατέων ἐκ τοῦ ὄντος ταυτὴν τὴν ἐνάργειαν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔχει τὴν τοῦ ὀλον φύσιν ὃ συμβαίνει ὁ δὴ καὶ σῶμα προσαγορεύομεν, οὐδὲ τὴν τῶν ἀίδιον παρακολουθοῦντων, οὐδ' αὖ καθ' αὐτὰ νομιστεόν—οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτο διανοητὸν οὔτ' ἐπὶ τούτων οὔτ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀίδιον συμβεβηκότων,—ἀλλ' ὁπερ καὶ φαίνεται, συμπτωματα πάντα <κατὰ> τὰ σώματα νομιστεόν, καὶ οὐκ ἀίδιον παρακολούθοντα οὐδ' αὖ φύσεως καθ' ἐαυτὰ τάγμα ἔχοντα, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τρόπον αὐτὴ η ἀύσθησιν τὴν ἰδιότητα ποιεῖ, θεωρεῖται.

72 "Καὶ μὴν καὶ τόδε γε δεῖ προσκατανοήσαι σφοδρῶς· τὸν γὰρ δὴ χρόνον οὐ ζητητέον ὅσπερ καὶ τὰ λοιπά, ὅσα ἐν ὑποκείμενῳ ζητοῦμεν ἀνάγοντες ἐπὶ τὰς βλεπόμενας παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς προλήψεις, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ τὸ ἐνάργημα, καθ' ὁ τῶν πολὺν ἦ όλιγον χρόνον ἀναφωνοῦμεν, συγγενικὸς τούτο περιφέροντες, ἀναλογιστεόν. καὶ οὔτε διαλέκτους

1 <καὶ ἀναισθήτους 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. 600
being permanent concomitants. They are not to be classed among invisible entities nor are they incorporeal. Hence, using the term 'accidents' 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. We need not
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ὡς βελτίως μεταληπτέον, ἀλλ’ αὐταῖς ταῖς ὑπ’ αρχούσαις κατ’ αὐτοῦ χρηστεύον, οὔτε ἄλλο τι κατ’ αὐτοῦ κατηγορητέον, ὥς τὴν αὐτήν οὐσίαν ἔχοντος τῶν ἰδιώματι τούτῳ—καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ποιούσι τινες,— ἀλλὰ μόνον ὑ συμπλέκομεν τὸ ἵδιον τούτο καὶ παραμετροῦμεν, μάλιστα ἐπιλογιστέον. καὶ γὰρ τούτῳ οὐκ ἀποδεῖξεως προσδεῖται ἀλλ’ ἐπιλογισμοῦ, ὅτι ταῖς ἡμέραις καὶ ταῖς νυξὶ συμπλέκομεν καὶ τοῖς τούτων μέρεσιν, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοῖς πάθεσι καὶ ταῖς ἀπαθείαις, καὶ κινήσει καὶ στάσειν, ἵδιον τι σύμπτωμα περὶ ταύτα πάλιν αὐτὸ τούτο ἐννοοῦντες, καθ’ ὁ χρόνον ὀνομάζομεν. [φησὶ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ. Περὶ φύσεως καὶ ἐν τῇ Μεγάλῃ ἐπιτομῇ.]

"Ετὶ 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 θάττον, τὰ δὲ βραδύτερον, καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν τοιῶν, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν τοιῶν τούτο πάσχοντα. [δὴ] τοῦτο, ὅσο καὶ φθαρτοῦς φησι τοὺς κόσμους, μεταβαλλόντων τῶν μερῶν. καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τῆς γῆς τῷ ἀέρι ἐποχείσθαι.

74 "Ετὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς κόσμους οὔτε ἐξ ἀνάγκης δεῖ νομίζειν ἐνα σχηματισμοῦν ἔχοντας * * [ἀλλὰ καὶ διαφόροις αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἱβ’ Περὶ φύσεως αὐτῶς φησιν· οὖσ μὲν γὰρ σφαιρουειδεῖς, καὶ ὀσειδεῖς ἄλλους, καὶ ἄλλοις σχήμανας ἐτέρους· οὐ

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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. For all these, whether small or great, have been separated off from special conglomerations of atoms; and all things are again dissolved, 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 πάν σχήμα ἔχειν. οὐδὲ ζώα εἶναι ἀπο-
κρυθέντα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπείρου.] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἀποδείξεις
οὐδείς, ὡς <ἐν>¹ μὲν τῷ τοιούτῳ καὶ ὦκ ἄν ἐμπεριελήφθη
tά τοιαύτα σπέρματα, ἐξ ὄν ζώα
tε καὶ φυτὰ καὶ τὰ λοιπά πάντα <τὰ>² θεωρούμενα
συνίσταται, ἐν δὲ τῷ τοιούτῳ ὦκ ἄν ἐδυνάθη.
[ὡςαύτως δὲ καὶ ἐντραφήναι. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ
τρόπον καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς νομιστέον.]

75 ‘’Ἀλλὰ μὴν ὑποληπτέον καὶ τὴν φύσιν πολλὰ
καὶ παντοδὴ ὑπὸ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων διδαχθῆναι
τε καὶ ἀναγκασθῆναι· τὸν δὲ λογισμόν τὰ ὑπὸ
tάυτῆς παρεγγυηθέντα ὑπερον ἑπακριβοῦν καὶ
προσέξευρίσκεις ἐν μὲν τιςι θάττον, ἐν δὲ τισὶ
βραδύτερον καὶ ἐν μὲν τισὶ περίδοις καὶ χρόνοις
<μείζους λαμβάνειν ἐπιδόσεις>,³ ἐν δὲ τισὶ καὶ
ἐλάττους.

‘’’Οθεν καὶ τὰ ὁνόματα ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὴ θέσει γενέσθαι,
ἀλλ’ αὐτὰς τὰς φύσεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων καθ’ ἐκαστα
ἐθνὴ ἰδια πάσχουσας πάθη καὶ ἰδια λαμβανούσας
φαντάσματα ἰδίως τὸν ἀέρα ἐκπέμπεις στελλόμενον
ὡς ἐκάστων των παθῶν καὶ τῶν φαντασμάτων,
ὡς ἄν ποτε καὶ ἥ παρὰ τοὺς τόπους τῶν ἠθῶν
76 διαφορὰ γ’⁴. ὑπερον δὲ κοινῶς καθ’ ἐκαστα ἐθνη
tὰ ἰδια τεθήναι πρὸς τὸ τὰς δηλώσεις ἦττον ἀμφι-
βόλους γενέσθαι ἀλλήλοις καὶ συντομωτέρως δη-
λομένας· τινὰ δὲ καὶ οὐ συνορώμενα πράγματα
eἰσφέροντας τοὺς συνειδότας παρεγγυήσαι τινας

¹ Suppl. Gassendi. ² Suppl. Schneider.
³ Suppl. Us., expulso glossemate ἀποτομην ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπείρου.
⁴ eιν codd. : corr. Us.

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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 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, but in the several tribes under the impulse of special feelings and special presentations of sense primitive man uttered special cries. 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

\[\text{a} \] That is, nature working in primitive man, almost the same thing as instinct.

\[\text{b} \] Cf. Lucr. v. 1041 f. Heraclitus, Democritus, and Aristotle derived language from convention.

\[\text{c} \] Cf. Lucr. v. 1028, 1029, 1056-1058.
φθόγγους ἀναγκασθέντας ἀναφωνήσαι, τούς δὲ τῷ
λογισμῷ ἐλομένους¹ κατὰ τὴν πλείστην αἰτίαν
οὕτως ἐρμηνεύσαι.

"Καὶ μήν ἐν τοῖς μετεώροις φορὰν καὶ τροπήν
καὶ ἐκλεωψιν καὶ ἀνατολὴν καὶ δύσιν καὶ τὰ σύν-
ςτοιχα τούτοις μῆτε λειτουργοῦντός τινος νομίζειν
dei γενέσθαι καὶ διατάγγοντος ἡ διατάξιας
καὶ ἀμα τὴν πάσαν μακαρίωτητα ἔχοντος μετ᾿
ἀφθαρσίας (οὔ γάρ συμφωνοῦσιν πραγματείαν καὶ
φροντίδες καὶ ὄργαν καὶ χάριτες μακαρίωτητα, ἀλλ᾿
ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ καὶ φόβῳ καὶ προσδέσει τῶν πλησίων
tαύτα γίγνεται), μήτε αὖ πυρὸς ἀνάμματα συν-
εστραμμένον τὴν μακαρίωτητα κεκτημένα κατὰ
βούλησιν τὰς κινήσεις ταύτας λαμβάνεις· ἀλλὰ
πάν τὸ σέμνωμα τηρεῖν, κατὰ πάντα ὅνωμα
φερόμενον ἐπὶ τὰς τοιαύτας ἐννοίας, ἵνα² μηδ᾿
ὑπεναντίαι εἷς αὐτῶν 'γένονται τῷ σεμνώματι
dόξαι· εἰ δὲ μή, τὸν μέγιστον τάραχον ἐν ταῖς
ψυχαῖς αὐτῆς ἡ ὑπεναντιώτης παρασκεύασεί· ὅθεν
dὴ κατὰ τὰς ἐς ἄρχης ἐναπολήψεις τῶν συστροφῶν
tούτων ἐν τῇ τοῦ κόσμου γενέσει δεῖ δοξάζειν
καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην ταύτην καὶ περίοδον συντελεῖσθαι.

78 "Καὶ μήν καὶ τὸ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν κυριωτάτων αἰτίαν
ἐξακριβῶσαι φυσιολογίας ἔργον εἶναι δεῖ νομίζειν,
kαὶ τὸ μακάριον ἐνταῦθα πεπτωκέναι καὶ ἐν τῷ
tήνες φύσεις αἱ θεωροῦμενι κατὰ τὰ μετέωρα
tαυτί, καὶ ὃσα συντείνει πρὸς τὴν εἰς τούτο ἀκρί-
βειαν.

¹ ἐπουένοις Schneider.
² ἦν codd.: corr. Us.

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¹ See Bignone, p. 107 note 3.
² 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.\(^b\)
""Ἐτι τε οὐ τὸ πλεοναχῶς ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον καὶ ἄλλως πως ἔχειν, ἀλλ’ ἀπλῶς μὴ εἶναι ἐν ἀφθάρτῳ καὶ μακαρίᾳ φύσει τῶν διάκρισιν ὑποβαλλόντων ἡ τάραχον μηθὲν· καὶ τούτο καταλαβεῖν τῇ διανοίᾳ ἐστιν ἀπλῶς εἶναι.

79 "Τὸ δ’ ἐν τῇ ἔστορίᾳ πεπτωκοῦς, τῆς δύσεως καὶ ἀνατολῆς καὶ τροπῆς καὶ ἐκλείψεως καὶ ὅσα συγγενῆ τούτοις μηθὲν ἐτι πρὸς τὸ μακάριον τάς γνώσεις συντείνειν, ἀλλ’ ὁμοίως τοὺς φόβους ἐσχεν τοὺς τάυτα κατειδότας, τίνες δ’ αἱ φύσεις ἀγνοοῦντας καὶ τίνες αἱ κυριώταται αὐτίαί, καὶ εἰ μὴ προσήδειαν ταύτα· τάχα δέ καὶ πλείος, ὅταν τὸ θάμβος ἐκ τῆς τούτων προσκατανοήσεως μὴ δύνηται τὴν λύσιν λαμβάνειν καὶ τὴν περὶ τῶν κυριωτάτων οὐκονομίαν.

"Διὸ δὴ κἂν1 πλείους αὐτίας εὐρίσκωμεν τροπῶν καὶ δύσεων καὶ ἀνατολῶν καὶ ἐκλείψεως καὶ τῶν τοιουτοτρόπων, ὦσπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ μέρος 80 γνωμένοις τίν, οὐ δεῖ νομίζειν τὴν ὑπὲρ τούτων χρεῖαν ἀκριβειαν μὴ ἀπειληφέναι, ὅση πρὸς τὸ ἀτάραχον καὶ μακάριον ἢμῶν συντείνει. ὥστε παραθεωροῦντας ποσαχῶς παρ’ ἡμῖν τὸ ὁμοίον γίνεται, αἰτιολογητέον ὑπὲρ τε τῶν μετεώρων καὶ παντὸς τοῦ ἀδήλου, καταφρονοῦντας τῶν οὔτε τὸ μοναχῶς ἔχον ἡ γνώμενον γνωριζόντων οὔτε τὸ πλεοναχῶς συμβαίνον, τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἀποστημάτων φαντασίαν παριδόντων,2 ἐτι τε ἀγνοοῦντων καὶ ἐν ποίοις οὐκ ἐστιν ἀταρακτήσαι 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 sub-ordination 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.
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όμοιως ἀταρακτήσαι.1 ἃν οὖν οἰώμεθα καὶ ὁδί πως ἐνδεχόμενον αὐτὸ γίνεσθαι, αὐτὸ τὸ ὦτ πλεοναχῶς γίνεται γνωρίζοντες, ὡσπερ καὶ ὦτ ὁδί πως γίνεται εἰδωμεν, ἀταρακτήσομεν.

81 Ἡπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἀλώς ἀπασίν ἐκεῖνο δεὶ κατανοεῖν, ὅτι τάραχος οὐ κυριώτατος ταῖς ἀνθρωπίναις ψυχαῖς γίνεται ἐν τῷ ταῦτα τε μακάρια δοξάζειν <εἴναι>2 καὶ ἄφθαρτα, καὶ ὑπεναντίας ἔχειν τοῦτω βουλήσεις ἀμα καὶ πράξεις καὶ αἰτίας, καὶ ἐν τῷ αἰώνιόν τι δεινὸν ἄεὶ προσδοκάν ἡ ὑποπτεύουν κατὰ τοὺς μῦθους εἰ τε καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ἀνασθησίαν τὴν ἐν τῷ τεθύναν φιλομένους ὡσπερ οὖσαν κατ’ αὐτούς, καὶ ἐν τῷ μὴ δόξαις ταῦτα πάσχειν ἄλλ’ ἀλόγω γε τινὶ παραστάσει, ὃθεν μὴ ἄριζοντας τὸ δεινὸν τὴν ἵσχυν ἡ καὶ ἐπιτεταμένην ταραχὴν

82 λαμβάνειν τῷ εἰκαίως δοξάζοντι3 ταῦτα. ἡ δὲ ἀταραξία τὸ τούτων πάντων ἀπολελύσθαι καὶ συνεκῆ μνήμην ἔχειν τῶν ὅλων καὶ κυριωτάτων.

"Οθεν τοῖς πάθεσι προσεκτέον τοῖς παροῦσι, κατὰ μὲν τὸ κοινὸν ταῖς κοιναῖς, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἱδίον ταῖς ἱδίαις, καὶ πάση τῇ παροῦσῃ καθ’ ἑκαστὸν τῶν κριτηρίων ἐναργεία. ἂν γὰρ τούτως προσέχωμεν, τὸ ὃθεν ὁ τάραχος καὶ ὁ φόβος ἐγίνετο ἐξαιτιο-

λογήσομεν ὀρθῶς καὶ ἀπολύσομεν, ὑπέρ τε μετέω-

ρων αἰτιολογοῦντες καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν ἄεὶ παρεμπιπτόντων, ὃσα φοβεῖ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐσχάτως.

"Ταὐτά σοι, ὦ Ὅρόδοτε, ἔστι κεφαλαιωδέστατα

1 hue transtulit V.d.M. 2 Suppl. Us, 3 ei kai edōξαζον 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
υπέρ τῆς τῶν ὀλίων φύσεως ἐπιτετμημένα.
83 ὥστε εἰπεν ταῖς δυνάτοις ὁ λόγος οὕτως κατα-
σχέθει μετ' ἀκριβείασ, οἴμαι, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ πρὸς
ἀπαντα βαδίσῃ τις τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀκριβωμάτων,
ἀσύμβλητον αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνθρώπων
ἀδρότητα λύψεθαι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ καθαρὰ ἁφ' ἐαυτοῦ
ποιήσει πολλὰ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἐξακρι-
βουμένων κατὰ τὴν ὀλίην πραγματείαν ἡμῖν,
καὶ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐν μνήμῃ τιθέμενα συνεχῶς θησθήσει.

"Τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἐστιν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς κατὰ μέρος
ηδὴ ἐξακριβοῦντας ἵκανοὶ ἦ καὶ τελείως, εἰς τὰς
τοιαῦτας ἀνάλυοντας ἐπιβολάς, τὰς πλέοντας τῶν
περιοδειῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀλίης φύσεως ποιεῖσθαι. οὕσοι
δὲ μὴ παντελῶς τῶν ἀποτελουμένων εἰσίν, ἕκ
τούτων καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἀνευ φθόγγων πρόπον τῆς
ἀμα νοῆματι περίῳδον τῶν κυριωτάτων πρὸς
γαληνισμὸν ποιοῦνται."

Καὶ ἦδε μὲν ἑστὶν αὐτῷ ἐπιστολῆ περὶ τῶν
φυσικῶν. περὶ δὲ τῶν μετεώρων ἦδε.

"Επίκουρος Πυθοκλεὶ χαίρειν.
84 ""Ἡνεγκέ μοι Κλέων ἐπιστολῆν παρὰ σου, ἐν ἦ
φιλοφρονοῦμενὸς τε περὶ ἡμᾶς διετέλεος ἄξιος τῆς
ἡμετέρας περὶ σεαυτὸν σπουδῆς καὶ οὐκ ἀπιθάνως
ἐπειρῶ μνημονεύει τῶν εἰς μακάριον βίων συν-
τεινόντων διαλογισμῶν, ἐδέου τε σεαυτῷ περὶ
τῶν μετεώρων σύντομον καὶ εὐπερίγραφον δια-
λογισμόν ἀποστείλαι, ἵνα βαδίως μνημονεύῃς· τὰ
γὰρ ἐν ἀλλοις ἡμῖν γεγραμμένα δυσμνημονεύτα
εἶναι, καὶ τοι, ὡς ἔφης, συνεχῶς αὐτὰ βαστάζεις. ἡμεῖς
dὲ ἦδεως τὲ σου τὴν δέησιν ἀπεδεξάμεθα καὶ

1 εἰσὶν post ἐκ τοὐτῶν 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
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85 ἐλπίσαιν ἰδεῖαις συνεσχέθημεν. γράψαντες οὖν τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα συντελοῦμεν ἀπερ ἤξιωσας πολλοὶς καὶ ἄλλοις ἐσόμενα χρήσιμα τὰ διαλογίσματα ταῦτα, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς νεωτῖ φυσιολογίας γνησίου γεγενμένοι καὶ τοῖς εἰς ἁσχολίας βαθυτέρας τῶν ἐγκυκλίων τινὸς ἐμπεπληγμένοις. καλῶς δὴ αὐτὰ διάλαβε, καὶ διὰ μνήμης ἕχων ὑξέως αὐτὰ περιοδεῦε μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ὃν ἐν τῇ μικρᾷ ἐπιτομῇ πρὸς Ἦροδοτον ἀπεστείλαμεν.

"‘Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν μὴ ἄλλο τι τέλος ἐκ¹ τῆς περὶ μετεώρων γνώσεως εἶτε κατὰ συναφῆς λεγομένων εἶτε αὐτοτελῶς νομίζειν εἶναι ἥπερ ἀταραξίαν καὶ πίστιν βεβαιον, 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, οἶον ὅτι τὸ πᾶν σώματα καὶ ἀναφής φύσις ἔστιν, ἢ ὅτι ἄτομα <τὰ>² στοιχεῖα, καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ὅσα μοναχὴν ἔχει τοῖς φαινομένοις συμφωνίαν· ὀπερ ἐπὶ τῶν μετεώρων οὖν ὑπάρχει, ἄλλα ταύτα γε πλεοναχὴν ἔχει καὶ τῆς γενέσεως αἰτίαν καὶ τῆς οὐσίας ταῖς αἰσθήσεις σύμφωνων κατηγορίαν.

87 "‘Ου γὰρ κατὰ ἀξιώματα κενὰ καὶ νομοθεσίας φυσιολογητέον, ἀλλ’ ὡς τὰ φαινόμενα ἐκκαλεῖται· οὐ γὰρ ἡδὴ ἄλογίας καὶ κενῆς δόξης ὁ βίος ἡμῶν ἔχει χρείαν, ἄλλα τοῦ ἀθορύβως ἡμᾶς ἔτην. πάντα μὲν οὖν γίνεται ἁσειώτως καὶ, πάντων κατὰ πλεο-


a This would seem decisive of what the Shorter Catechism of Epicurus really was: see, however, § 135.
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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.  

"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. 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 uninterrupted, 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.).
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ναχὸν τρόπον ἐκκαθαιρομένων, συμφώνως τοῖς φαινομένοις, ὅταν τις τὸ πιθανολογούμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δεόντως καταλίπῃ· ὅταν δὲ τις τὸ μὲν ἀπολίπῃ, τὸ δὲ ἐκβάλῃ ὅμοιως σύμφωνον ὧν τῷ φαινομένῳ, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἐκ παντὸς ἐκπέπτει φυσιολογῆματος ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν μύθων καταρρεῖ. σημεῖα δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς μετεώροις συντελομένων φέρειν1 τῶν παρ' ἦμῖν τινα φαινομένων, ἃ θεωρεῖται ἢ υπάρχει, καὶ οὐ τὰ ἐν τοῖς μετεώροις φαινόμενα· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐνδεχεται πλεοναχῶς γενέσθαι. τὸ μέντοι φάντασμα ἐκάστου τηρητέων καὶ ἔτι τὰ συναπτόμενα τούτω διαρέτεον, ἃ οὐκ ἀντιμαρτυρεῖται τοῖς παρ' ἦμῖν γινομένοις πλεοναχῶς συντελεῖσθαι.

88 "Κόσμος ἐστὶ περιοχῆ ἢτο οὐρανοῦ, ἀστρα τε καὶ γῆν καὶ πάντα τὰ φαινόμενα περιέχουσα, ἀποτομὴν ἔχουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπείρου καὶ λήγουσα [καὶ καταλήγουσα ἐν πέρατι ἡ ἀραίῳ ἡ πυκνῷ καὶ οὐ λυομένου πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ σύγχυσιν λήψεται.2] ἡ ἐν περιαγομένῳ ἢ ἐν στάσιν ἔχοντι καὶ στρογγυλήν ἡ τρίγυνον ἢ οἷαν δῆποτε περιγραφῇ· πανταχῶς γὰρ ἐνδεχεται· τῶν γὰρ φαινομένων οὐδὲν ἀντιμαρτυρεῖ <ἐν>3 τῶδε τῷ κόσμῳ, ἐν ὧ λήγουν οὐκ ἔστι καταλαβεῖν.

89 "Ὅτι δὲ καὶ τοιοῦτοι κόσμοι εἰσίν ἀπειροῦ τὸ πλῆθος ἐστὶ καταλαβεῖν, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ὁ τοιοῦτος δύναται κόσμος γίνεσθαι καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ μετακοσμίω, ὁ λέγομεν μεταξὺ κόσμων διάστημα, ἐν πολυκένω τόπῳ καὶ οὐκ ἐν μεγάλῳ εἰλικρινεὶ 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 evi-
dence 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 alter-
natives 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
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κενῷ, καθάπερ τινές φασιν, ἐπιτηδείων τινῶν ἀπερμάτων ρύεντων ἀφ’ ἐνὸς κόσμου ἡ μετα-
κοσμίων καὶ ἀπὸ πλειόνων κατὰ μικρὸν προσ-
θέσεις τε καὶ διαρθρώσεις καὶ μεταστάσεις ποιοῦν-
των ἐπὶ ἄλλον τόπον, ἐὰν οὕτω τύχῃ, καὶ ἐπαρ-
δεύσεις ἐκ τῶν ἑχόντων ἐπιτηδείως ἐως τελείωσεως καὶ
dιαμονῆς ἐφ’ ὥσον τὰ ὑποβληθέντα θεμέλια τὴν
προσδοχὴν δύναται ποιεῖσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἄθροισμον
dει μόνον γενέσθαι οὐδὲ δῖνον ἐν ὧδε ἐνδέχεται
κόσμον γίνεσθαι κενῷ κατὰ τὸ δοξάζομενον ἐξ
ἀνάγκης αὐξῆσθαι τε, ἐως ἂν ἐτέρῳ προσκρούσῃ,
καθάπερ τῶν φυσικῶν καλομένων φησὶ τις. τούτῳ
γὰρ μαχόμενον ἐστὶ τοῖς φαινόμενοις.

"Ἡλίος τε καὶ σελήνη καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἄστρα οὐ
cαθ’ ἐαυτὰ γενόμενα ὑστερον ἐμπεριελαμβάνετο ὕπο
tοῦ κόσμου [καὶ ὡσα γε δὴ σώζει], ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς
dιεπλάττετο καὶ αὐξήσων ἐλάμβανεν [όμοιως δὲ
cαὶ γῆ καὶ θάλαττα] κατὰ προσκρίσεις καὶ
dινήσεις λεπτομερῶν τινῶν φύσεων, ήτοι πνευμα-
tικῶν ἡ πυροειδῶν ἡ συναμφοτέρων· καὶ γὰρ
ταῦτα οὕτως ἡ αἰσθήσεως ὑποβάλλει.

"Τὸ δὲ μέγεθος ἡλίου τε καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἄστρων
κατὰ μὲν τὸ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τηλικοῦτον ἐστὶν ἡλίκον
φαίνεται. [τούτῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἴα. Περὶ φύσεως· εἰ
γὰρ, φησὶ, τὸ μέγεθος διὰ τὸ διάστημα ἀπεβεβλήκει,
pολλῷ μᾶλλον ἀν τὴν χρόαν. ἄλλο γὰρ τούτῳ
συμμετρότερον διάστημα οὐθέν ἐστὶ.] κατὰ δὲ
τὸ καθ’ αὐτὸ ἦτοι μείζον τοῦ ὀρωμένου ἡ μικρὸ

1 tamquam additamenta secl. Us.

a Cf. Lucr. i. 334 (" locus intactus inane uaeansque "), and
ix. 31 supra for the view of Leucippus here rejected.
space perfectly clear and void. 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 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] 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. [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 ἐ φθείρεσθαι δὲ τοῖς κόσμοις ὑπ᾽ ἄλλῃ ὁμοίων προσπιπτοντας; 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 Ἡρί σημεῖον 10. 35—11. 8; Cic. Acad. Pr. 82, 123; De Fin. i. 20.
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, 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 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.

"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. 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

\[ b \text{ Cf. Lucr. v. 509 f.} \]

\[ c \text{ From Lucr. v. 519 f. it is probable that words are lost from the text which ascribed these motions to the quest of fiery atoms by the heavenly bodies.} \]

\[ d \text{ Cf. Lucr. v. 614 f.} \]
πάντα γὰρ τὰ τοιάτα καὶ τὰ τούτως συγγενῆ οὕθεν τῶν ἐναργημάτων διαφωνεῖ, ἐάν τις ἥκι ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων μερῶν, ἐχόμενος τοῦ δυνατοῦ, εἰς τὸ σύμφωνον τοῖς φανομένοις ἐκαστῶν τούτων δύνηται ἐπάγειν, μὴ φοβούμενος τὰς ἀνδραιποδώδεις ἀστρολόγων τεχνιτείας.

94 "Κένωσις τε σελήνης καὶ πάλιν πλήρωσις καὶ κατὰ στροφὴν τοῦ σώματος τούτου δύναιν' ἃν γίνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ σχηματισμοὺς ἀέρος ὁμοίως, ἐτί τε καὶ κατ' ἐμπροσθετήσεις καὶ κατὰ πάντας τρόπους, καθ' οὐς καὶ τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν φαινόμενα ἐκκαλεῖται εἰς τὰς τοῦ εἴδους τούτου ἀποδόσεις, ἐὰν μὴ τις τὸν μοναχή τρόπων κατηγαπηκὼς τοὺς ἄλλους κενῶς ἀποδοκιμάζῃ, οὐ τεθεωρηκὼς τὴν δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπων θεωρῆσαι καὶ τὸ ἀδύνατον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀδύνατα θεωρεῖν ἐπιθυμῶν. ἐτί τε ἐνυδέχεται τὴν σελήνην ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἐχειν τὸ φῶς,

95 ἐνυδέχεται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἠλίου. καὶ γὰρ παρ' ἡμῖν θεωρεῖται πολλὰ μὲν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντα, πολλὰ δὲ ἀφ' ἑτέρων. καὶ οὐθὲν ἐμποδοστατεὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς μετεώροις φαινομένων, ἐὰν τις τοῦ πλεοναχοῦ τρόπου ἀεὶ μνήμην ἔχῃ καὶ τᾶς ἀκολούθους αὐτοῖς ὑποθέσεις ἀμα καὶ αἰτίας συνθεωρῆ καὶ μὴ ἀναβλέπων εἰς τὰ ἀνακόλουθα ταῦτ' ὧγκοι ματαιῶς καὶ καταρρέσῃ ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἐπὶ τὸν μοναχὸν τρόπον. ἡ δὲ ἐμφασὶς τοῦ προσώπου ἐν αὐτῇ δύναται μὲν γίνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ παραλλαγὴν μερῶν καὶ κατ' ἐμπροσθέτησιν, καὶ ὁσοὶ ποτ' ἄν τρόποι θεωροῦντο τὸ σύμφωνον τοῖς φαινομένοις κεκτη- 96 μένοι. ἐπὶ πάντων γὰρ τῶν μετεώρων τὴν τοιαύτην

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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 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 indiscernible. 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

\[ a \text{ Cf. Lucr. v. 705-750.} \]
ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΛΑΕΡΤΙΟΣ

'Ιχνευσιν' οὐ προετέον. ἦν γάρ τις ἧ μαχόμενος τοῖς ἐναργήμασιν. οὐδέποτε δυνῆσεται ἀταραξίας γνησίου μεταλαβεῖν.

"Εκλειψε ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης δύναται μὲν γίνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ σβέσιν, καθάπερ καὶ παρ' ἦμιν τοῦτο θεωρεῖται γυγνόμενον. καὶ ἦδη καὶ κατ' ἐπιπροσθέτησιν ἄλλων τινῶν, ἡ γῆς ἡ ἀοράτου τινὸς ἐτέρου τοιοῦτον. καὶ ῥώδε τοὺς οἴκειους ἀλλήλους τρόπους συνθεωρητέον, καὶ τὰς ἀμα συγκυρήσεις τινῶν ὅτι οὐκ ἀδύνατον γίνεσθαι. [ἐν δὲ τῇ ἱβ']

Περὶ φύσεως ταῦτα λέγει καὶ πρόσ, ἦλιον εκλείπειν σελήνης ἐπισκοπούσης, σελήνην δὲ τοῦ τῆς γῆς σκιάσματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' ἀναχώρησιν. τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Διογένης ὁ Ἐπικούρειος ἐν τῇ α' τῶν Ἐπιλέκτων.]

"Ετι τε τάξις περιόδου, καθάπερ ἐνια καὶ παρ' ἦμιν τῶν τυχόντων γίνεται, λαμβανέσθω καὶ ἡ θεία φύσις πρὸς ταῦτα μηδαμῇ προσαγέοθω, ἀλλ' ἀλειτουργητὸς διατηρεῖσθω καὶ ἐν τῇ πάσῃ μακαριωτητί φύσις δὲ τοῦ ἑγέρσεως ἀπασα ἡ περὶ τῶν μετεώρων αἰτιολογία ματαία ἔσται, καθάπερ τις ἦδη ἐγένετο οὐ δύνατον ἠπόκητον ἐφαϊμάνειν, εἰς δὲ τὸ μάταιον ἐκπεσοῦσι τῷ καθ' ἑνα τρόπον μόνον οὐδεθεί γίνεσθαι τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἄπαντας τοὺς κατὰ τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον ἐκβάλλειν εἰς τε τὸ ἀδιανόητον φερομένους καὶ τὰ φανόμενα, ἀ δεὶ σημεῖα ἀποδέχεσθαι, μὴ δυναμένους συνθεωρεῖν.

"Μῆκη νυκτῶν καὶ ἡμέρῶν παραλλάττοντα καὶ

1 ἰχνευσιν 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
Diogenes Laertius

παρὰ τὸ ταχεῖας ἡλίου κινήσεις γίνεσθαι καὶ πάλιν βραδείας ὑπὲρ γῆς παρὰ τὰ μῆκη τόπων παραλαττοντα καὶ τόπους τινὰς περαιοῦν τάχιον ἢ βραδύτερον, ὡς καὶ παρ' ἤμιν τινα θεωρεῖται, οἷς συμφώνως δεῖ λέγειν ἐπὶ τῶν μετεώρων. οἱ δὲ τὸ ἐν λαμβάνοντες τοῖς τε φαινομένοις μάχονται καὶ τοῦ ἢ δύνατον ἀνθρώπω θεωρήσαι διαπεπτῶκασιν.

"Επισημασίαι δύνανται γίνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ συνκυρίσεις καιρῶν, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐμφανεῖς παρ' ἤμιν ζωίσι, καὶ παρ' ἐπερισώσεις ἀέρος καὶ μεταβολάς. ἀμφότερα γαρ ταῦτα οὐ μάχεται τοῖς 99 φαινομένοις· ἐπὶ δὲ ποίοις παρὰ τοῦτο ἢ τοῦτο τὸ αὐτίον γίνεται οὐκ ἔστι συνιδεῖν.

"Νέφη δύναται γίνεσθαι καὶ συνιστασθαι καὶ παρὰ πλῆσεις ἀέρος πνευμάτων συνώσει, καὶ παρὰ περιπλοκᾶς ἀλληλούχων ἀτόμων καὶ ἐπιτηδείων εἰς τὸ τοῦτο τελέσαι καὶ κατὰ πνευμάτων συλλογὴν ἀπὸ τε γῆς καὶ υδάτων· καὶ κατ' ἄλλους δὲ τρόπους πλεῖους αἱ τῶν τοιούτων συστάσεις οὐκ ἀδυνατοῦσί συντελεῖσθαι. ἦδη δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἢ μὲν θλιβομένων, ἢ δὲ μεταβαλλόντων ὑδατα δύναται συν-100 τελέσθαι, ἐπὶ τε πνευμάτων1 κατ' ἀποφορὰν ἀπὸ ἐπιτηδείων τόπων δ' ἀερός κινουμένων, βιαιοτέρας ἐπαρδεύσεως γινομένης ἀπὸ τινῶν ἀθροισμάτων ἐπιτηδείων εἰς τὰς τοιαύτας ἐκπεμψεις. βροντάς ἐνδέχεται γίνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ πνεύματος ἐν τοῖς κοιλώμασι τῶν νεφῶν ἀνείλησιν, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀγγείοις, καὶ παρὰ πυρὸς πεπνεμμα-


a Lucr. vi. 519.

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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 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
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tωμένου βόμβων ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ κατὰ ῥήξεις δὲ νεφῶν καὶ διαστάσεις, καὶ κατὰ παρατρύψεις νεφῶν καὶ κατάξεις πῆξιν εἰληφότων κρυσταλλο-
ειδη. καὶ τὸ ὅλον καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος πλεοναχῶς
gίνεσθαι λέγειν ἐκκαλεῖται τὰ φαινόμενα. καὶ
ἀστραπαὶ δ' ὁσαύτως γίνονται κατὰ πλείους
τρόπους· καὶ γὰρ κατὰ παρατρύψιν καὶ σύγ-
kρουσιν νεφῶν ὁ πυρὸς ἀποτελεστικὸς σχηματισμὸς
ἐξολοθραίνων ἀστραπὴν γεννᾷ· καὶ κατ' ἐκ-
ρυπσμὸν ἐκ τῶν νεφῶν ὑπὸ πνευμάτων τῶν τοι-
ούτων σωμάτων ἀ τὴν λαμπτήδονα ταύτην παρα-
sκευάζει, καὶ κατ' ἐκπισμὸν, θλίψεως τῶν νεφῶν
gινομένης, εἴθ' ύπ' ἄλληλων εἴθ' ύπὸ πνευμάτων·
cαὶ κατ' ἐμπεριληψιν δὲ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀστρων
cατεσπαρμένου φωτός, εἶτα συνελαιμομένου ὑπὸ
τῆς κινήσεως νεφῶν τε καὶ πνευμάτων καὶ διεκ-
πιπτόντος διὰ τῶν νεφῶν· ἢ κατὰ διήθησιν <διὰ>¹
tῶν νεφῶν τοῦ λεπτομερεστάτου φωτός, [ἡ] ἀπὸ
tοῦ πυρὸς νέφη συνεφλέχθαι καὶ τὰς βροντὰς
ἀποτελεῖσθαι]² καὶ τὴν τούτου κίνησιν· καὶ κατὰ
tὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ἐκτύρωσιν τὴν γινομένην διὰ
τε συντονίαν φορὰς καὶ διὰ σφοδρῶν κατείλησιν. 102
καὶ κατὰ ῥήξεις δὲ νεφῶν ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἐκ-
πτωσιν τε πυρὸς ἀποτελεστικῶν ἄτομων καὶ τὸ
tῆς ἀστραπῆς φάντασμα ἀποτελούσων. καὶ κατ'
ἀλλος δὲ πλείους τρόπους ῥᾴδιως ἔσται καθοραν
ἐχόμενον ἀεὶ τῶν φαινομένων καὶ τὸ τούτος ὁμοιον
dυνάμενον συνθεωρεῖν. προτετέλεται δ' ἀστραπῆς βρον-
tῆς ἐν τούτῳ τινι περιστάσει νεφῶν καὶ διὰ τὸ
ἀμα τῷ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐμπίπτειν ἐξωθείσθαι τὸν
ἀστραπῆς ἀποτελεστικῶν σχηματισμῶν, ύστερον δὲ

¹ dia suppl. Us. ² tamquam additamentum secl. Us. 628
fire in them when blown by a wind, 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

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*a Cf. Lucri, vi. 271-284.*
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tο πνεύμα ἀνειλούμενον τὸν βόμβον ἀποτελεῖν τοῦτον· καὶ κατ᾽ ἐμπτωσιν δὲ ἀμφοτέρων ἀμα, τῷ τάχει συντονωτέρῳ κεχρήσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὴν ἀστραπῆν, ύστερεῖν δὲ τὴν βροντὴν, καθά περ ἐπ᾽ ἐνίων ἐξ ἀποστήματος θεωρουμένων καὶ πληγάς τινας πουομένων. κεραυνοὺς ἐνδέχεται γίνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ πλείονα πυκνοτέρων καὶ κατείλησιν ἵσχυράν τε ἐκπύρωσιν· καὶ κατάρρηξις μέρους καὶ ἐκπτωσιν ἵσχυρότεραν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς κάτω τόπους, τῆς ρήξεως γινομένης διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐξῆς τόπους πυκνοτέρους εἶναι διὰ πίλησιν νεφῶν· καὶ κατὰ αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς ἐκπτωσιν ἀνειλουμένου, καθά καὶ βροντὴν ἐνδέχεται γίνεσθαι, πλείονος γενομένου πυρὸς καὶ πυκνοτέρων ἵσχυρότερον καὶ ρήξαντος τὸ νέφος διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ὑποχωρεῖν εἰς τὰ ἐξῆς, τῷ πίλησιν γίνεσθαι [τὸ μὲν πολὺ πρὸς όρος τι υψηλόν, ἕν ὁ μάλιστα κεραυνοῖ πίπτοντιν], ἀεὶ πρὸς ἀλληλα. καὶ κατ’ ἀλλους δὲ τρόπους πλείονας ἐνδέχεται κεραυνοὺς ἀποτελείσθαι· μόνον ὁ μῦθος ἀπέστατο ἀπέστατο δὲ, ἐάν τις καλὸς τοῖς φαινομένοις ἀκόλουθων περὶ τῶν ἀφανῶν σημειώτα.

"Προστήρας ἐνδέχεται γίνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ κάθεσιν νέφους εἰς τοὺς κάτω τόπους στυλοειδῶς ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἀθρόου ὡσθέντος καὶ διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος πολλοῦ φερομένου, ἀμα καὶ τὸ νέφος εἰς τὸ πλάγιον ὁθονύτος τοῦ ἐκτὸς πνεύματος· καὶ κατὰ περίστασιν δὲ πυκνοτέρων ἐις κύκλον, ἀέρος τινὸς ἐπισυνωθομένου ἀνωθεν· καὶ ρύσεως πολλῆς πυκνομάτων

1 tamquam additamentum secl. Us.
2 κύκλῳ Us.
3 πνησίον 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 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

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\[e.g.,\] 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.


diógenes laërtius


gενομένης καὶ οὐ δυναμένης εἰς τὰ πλάγια δι-

105 ἠρρύναι διὰ τὴν πέριξ τοῦ ἀέρος πίλησιν. καὶ ἐως

μὲν γῆς τοῦ πρηστήρος καθιεμένου στρóβιλου

γίνονται, ὡς ἂν καὶ ἡ ἀπογέννησις κατὰ τὴν

κύνησιν τοῦ πνεύματος γίνηται· ἔως δὲ θαλάττης

δῖναι ἀποτελοῦνται.

"Σεισμοὺς ἐνδέχεται γίνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ πνεύματος

ἐν τῇ γῇ ἀπόληψιν καὶ παρὰ μικροὺς ὅγκους

αὐτῆς παράθεσιν καὶ συνεχῆ κύνησιν, ὅταν κρά-

δάνου τῇ γῇ παρασκευάζῃ. καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦτο

ἡ ἑξώθειν ἐμπεριλαμβάνει ἡ ἐκ τοῦ πίπτειν έἰσω

ἐδάφη εἰς ἀντροειδές τόπους τῆς γῆς ἐκπνευμα-

tοῦντα ἐπειλημένον ἀέρα. ἔως τῇ διάδοσιν τῆς

κύνησεως ἐκ τῶν πτώσεων ἐδάφων πολλῶν καὶ πάλιν

ἀνταπόδοσιν, ὅταν πυκνώμαι σφοδροτέρος τῆς γῆς

ἀπαντήσῃ, ἐν-

106 δέχεται σεισμοὺς ἀποτελείσθαι. καὶ κατ’ ἄλλους

dὲ πλεῖους τρόπους τὰς κυνήσεις ταύτας τῆς γῆς

γίνεσθαι.

"Τὰ δὲ πνεύματα συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι κατὰ χρόνον

ἀλλοφυλίας τινὸς αἰεὶ καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν παρεισ-

dυομένης, καὶ καθ’ ὑδατος ἀφθόνου συλλογη. τὰ

dὲ λοιπὰ πνεύματα γίνεται καὶ ὀλύγων πεσόντων

eἰς τὰ πολλά κοιλώματα, διαδόσεως τούτων

gυμνηνής.

"Χάλαζα συντελεῖται καὶ κατὰ πῆξιν ἱσχυρότεραν,

πάντοθεν δὲ πνευματωδῶν περίστασιν τινῶν κατὰ

μέρισιν· καὶ δὲ πῆξιν μετριωτέραν ὑδατοειδῶν

tiνων, <πνευματωδῶν δὲ τινῶν> ὑμούρησιν ἀμα

tης τε σύνωσιν αὐτῶν ποιομένην καὶ τὴν διά-

ρήξιν πρὸς τὸ κατὰ μέρη συνιστάσθαι πηγνύμενα

107 καὶ κατ’ ἀθροότητα. ἡ δὲ περιφέρεια οὐκ ἀδυνά-

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X. 104–107. EPICURUS

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
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tως μὲν ἔχει γίνεσθαι πάντοθεν τῶν ἄκρων ἀπο-
tηκομένων καὶ ἐν τῇ συστάσει πάντοθεν, ὡς λέγε-
tαι, κατὰ μέρη ὀμαλῶς περισταμένων εἴτε ὑδατο-
eιδῶν τινῶν εἴτε πνευματωδῶν.

"Χιόνα δ’ ἐνδέχεται συντελεῖσθαι καὶ ὑδατος
λεπτοῦ ἐκχεομένου ἐκ τῶν νεφῶν διὰ πόρων
συμμετρίας καὶ θλίψεις ἐπιτηδείων νεφῶν ἀεὶ ὑπὸ
πνεύματος σφοδράς, εἴτε τοῦτον πῆξιν ἐν τῇ φορῇ
λαμβάνοντος διὰ τινα ἵσχυρὰν ἐν τοῖς κατωτέρω
τόποις τῶν νεφῶν ψυχρασίας περιστασιων. καὶ
κατὰ πῆξιν δ' ἐν τοῖς νέφεσιν ὀμαλῇ ἀραιότητα
ἐξουσί τοιαύτη πρόσεις ἐκ τῶν νεφῶν γίνοιτο ἄν
πρὸς ἄλληλα θλιβομένων <τῶν> ὑδατειδῶν καὶ
συμπαρακειμένων: ἃ οἶονεὶ σύνωσιν ποιούμενα
χάλαζαν ἀποτελεῖ, ὃ μάλιστα γίνεται ἐν τῷ ἔαρι.

καὶ κατὰ τρίμυν ἄν νεφῶν πῆξιν εἰληφότων ἀπό-
παλσω ἄν λαμβάνοι τὸ τῆς χιόνος τοῦτο ἀθροισμα.
καὶ κατ’ ἄλλους ἄν τρόπους ἐνδέχεται χιόνα
συντελεῖσθαι.

"Δρόσος συντελεῖται καὶ κατὰ σύνωδον πρὸς
ἀλληλα ἐκ τοῦ ἄερος τῶν τοιουτῶν, ἄ τῆς τοιαύτης
ψυχρασίας ἀποτελεστικὰ γίνεται: καὶ κατ’ ἀναφορὰν
δὲ ἄπο νοτερῶν τόπων ἢ ὑδατα κεκτημένων, ἐν
οἷς τόποις μάλιστα δρόσος συντελεῖται, εἴτε
σύνωδον τοιουτων εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ λαβόντων καὶ ἀπο-
tέλεσιν ψυχρασίας καὶ πάλιν φοράν ἐπὶ τοὺς κάτω
τόπους, καθα’ περ ὀμοίως καὶ παρ’ ἡμῖν ἐπὶ πλειώνων
τοιαύτα τινα <συνετελούμενα θεωρεῖται. καὶ> πάχυν
δὲ συντελεῖται <οὐ διαφερόντως> τῶν δρόσων,
tοιουτών τινῶν πῆξιν τινα ποιὰν λαβόντων διὰ
περίστασιν τινα ἄερος ψυχροῦ.

1 /παχυτέρας> ψυχρασίας 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 συντελείται καὶ κατ’ ἐκθλυσθημὲν μὲν τοῦ περιφεροῦσι σχηματισμοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος, σύνων δὲ τῶν σκαλημάτων καὶ ὄξυγωνίων τῶν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι ὑπαρχόντων καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἔξωθεν δὲ τῶν τοιούτων πρόσκρισιν, ἀ συνελασθέντα πτηὴν τῷ ὕδατι παρεσκεύασε, ποσὰ τῶν περιφερῶν ἐκθλύσαντα.

"Ἤρις γίνεται κατὰ πρόσλαμψιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἥλιου πρὸς ἀέρα ὑδατοειδῆς· ἢ κατὰ <σύμπροσπον ἴδιαν τοῦ τε φωτός καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος, ἢ τὰ τῶν χρωμάτων τούτων ἰδιώματα πονήσει εἰ τε πάντα εἰ τε μονοειδῶς· ἀφ’ οὗ πάλιν ἀπολάμμποντος τὰ ὑμοροῦντα τοῦ ἁέρος χρώσις ταύτην λήψεται, οὕτω θεωροῦμεν, κατὰ πρόσλαμψιν πρὸς τὰ μέρη. τὸ δὲ τῆς περιφερείας τούτο φάντασμα γίνεται διὰ τὸ τὸ διάστημα πάντοθεν ἵσον ὑπὸ τῆς ὀψεως θεωρεῖσθαι, ἢ σύνων τοιαύτην λαμβανουσῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ ἁέρι ἀτόμων ἢ ἐν τοῖς νέφεσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀποφερομένων περιφερείαν τινα καθίσθαι τῆν σύγκρισιν ταύτην.

"Ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν σελήνην γίνεται καὶ πάντοθεν ἁέρος προσφιλεμένου πρὸς τὴν σελήνην ἢ τὰ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ἰδεῶμα ἀποφερόμενα ὑμαλώσ ἀναστέλλοντος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐφ’ ὅσον κύκλῳ περιστήσῃ τὸ νεφεοειδῆς τοῦτο καὶ μὴ τὸ παράπαν διακρίναι, ἢ καὶ τὸν περίκε ἁέρα αὐτῆς ἀναστέλλοντος συμμέτρως πάντοθεν εἰς τὸ περιφέρες τὸ περὶ αὐτῆς καὶ παχυμέρες περιστήσας. ὁ γίνεται κατὰ μέρη τινὰ ἥτοι ἔξωθεν βιασμένων τινὸς ῥεύματος ἢ τῆς θερμασίας ἐπιτηδείων πόρων ἐπιλαμβανομένης εἰς τὸ τοῦτο ἀπεργώσασθαι.

"Κομήται ἀστέρες γίνονται ἦτοι πυρὸς ἐν τόποις 636.
"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
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τισὶ διὰ χρόνων τινῶν ἐν τοῖς μετεώροις συστρεφο-
μένου περιστάσεως γνωμένης, ἡ ἱδίαι τινὰ κίνησιν
dιὰ χρόνων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Ἡχοντος ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς, ὡστε
tὰ τοιαύτα ἀστρα ἀναφανῆναι, ἡ αὐτὰ ἐν χρόνοις
tισὶν ὄρμησαι διὰ τινὰ περιστάσεις καὶ εἰς τοὺς
cαθ’ ἡμᾶς τόπους ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἐκφανῆ γενέσθαι.

112 κειμένας ταύτας αἰτίας. τινὰ ἀστρα στρέφεσθαι
αὐτοῦ συμβαίνει οὐ μόνον τῷ τὸ μέρος τοῦτο τοῦ
cόσμου ἐστάναι, περὶ δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν στρέφεται, καθὰ
περ τυνὲς φασίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ δίνῃ ἀέρος ἐγκυκλον
αὐτῷ περιστάναι, ἡ κωλυτικὴ γίνεται τοῦ περι-
pολεῖν, ὡς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα. ἡ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐξῆς μὲν
αὐτοῖς ὑλὴν ἐπιτηθεῖαν μὴ εἶναι, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ
tόπῳ ἐν ὧδε κείμενα θεωρεῖται. καὶ κατ’ ἄλλους
δὲ πλείονας τρόπους τοῦτο δυνατὸν συντελεῖσθαι,
ἐὰν τις δύνηται τὸ σύμφωνον τοῖς φαινομένοις
συλλογίζεσθαι. τινὰ τῶν ἄστρων πλανᾶσθαι, εἴ
οὕτω ταῖς κινήσεις χρώμενα συμβαῖνει, τινὰ δὲ

113 ὁμολόγως κινεῖσθαι, ἐνδέχεται μὲν καὶ παρὰ τὸ κύκλῳ
κινούμενα ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὕτω κατηγοράσθαι, ὡστε
τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν δίνῃ φέρεσθαι ὁμαλῇ
οὖσαν, τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὸν ἄλλην τοὺς ἀνωμαλίας
χρωμένην. ἐνδέχεται δὲ καὶ καθ’ οὕς τόπους
φέρεται οὐ μὲν παρεκτάσεις ἀέρος εἶναι ὁμαλῶς
ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνωθοῦσας κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς ὁμαλῶς τὴν
ἐκκαοῦσας, οὗ δὲ ἀνωμαλεῖς οὕτως ὡστε τὰς
θεωρομένας παραλλαγὰς συντελεῖσθαι. τὸ δὲ μίαν
αἰτίαν τούτων ἀποδιδόναι, πλεοναχῶς οὐ τῶν φαινο-
mένων ἐκκαλουμένων, μανικὸν καὶ οὐ καθηκόντως
πραττόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν ματαίαν ἀστρολογίαν

1 πλεοναχάς 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-
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. 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
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116 οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰς τὸ τυχὸν ζῷον, κἂν <εἰ> μικρὸν χαριέστερον εἰη, ἡ τουαύτη μορία ἐμπέσοι, μὴ ὅτι εἰς παντελῆ εὐδαιμονίαν κεκτημένον.

"Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα, Πυθόκλειος, μνημόνευσον. κατὰ πολὺ τε γὰρ τοῦ μύθου ἐκβήσῃ καὶ τὰ ὁμογενῆ τούτοις συνορᾶν δυνῆσῃ· μάλιστα δὲ σεαυτὸν ἀπόδοσ εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀρχῶν καὶ ἀπειρίας καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν τούτοις θεωριῶν, ἐτὶ τε κριτηρίων καὶ παθῶν, καὶ οὗ ἐνεκεν ταῦτα ἐκλογιζόμεθα· ταῦτα γὰρ μάλιστα συνθεωρούμενα βαδίσω τὰς περὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος αὐτίας συνορᾶν ποιήσει. οὐ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ καταγαπήσαντες ἣ μάλιστα οὐτ' ἄν αὐτὰ ταῦτα καλῶς συνθεωρήσαιεν οὔτε οὗ ἐνεκεν δεὶ
117 θεωρεῖν ταῦτα περιεποίησαντο." ταῦτα αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ τῶν μετεώρων δοκεῖ.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν βιωτικῶν καὶ ὅπως χρῆ τὰ μὲν ἡμᾶς αἱρεῖσθαι, τὰ δὲ ἐκφεύγειν, οὕτωσί γράφει. πρὸτερον δὲ διελθομεν ἃ τε αὐτῷ δοκεῖ περὶ τοῦ σοφοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶ.

Βλάβας ἐξ ἄνθρωπων ἡ διὰ μίσος ἡ διὰ φθόνον ἡ διὰ καταφρόνησιν γίνεσθαι, ἢν τὸν σοφὸν λογισμῷ περιγίνεσθαι. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἀπαξ γενόμενον σοφὸν μηκέτι τὴν ἐναντίαν λαμβάνειν διάθεσιν μηδὲ πλάτησιν ἐκόντα· πάθεσι μᾶλλον συνχεθήσεσθαι· οὐκ ἄν ἐμποδίσαι πρὸς τὴν σοφίαν. οὐδὲ μὴν ἐκ πάσης σωματος ἐξέως 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 642
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. 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.

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καὶ στρεβλωθη δ’ ὁ σοφός, εἶναι αὐτῶν ευδαίμονα. μόνον τε χάριν ἔξειν τὸν σοφὸν, καὶ ἐπὶ φίλοις καὶ παροῦσι καὶ ἀπούσιν ὁμοίως διά τε λόγου <καὶ διὰ πράξεως>. ὅτε μέντοι στρεβλοῦται, ἔνθα καὶ μὺζει καὶ οἰμώζει. γυναικὶ τ’ ὦ μυγήσεσθαι τὸν σοφὸν ἢ οἱ νόμοι ἀπαγορεύοντι, ὡς φησὶ Διογένης ἐν τῇ ἐπιτομῇ τῶν 'Ἐπίκουρον ἥθικῶν δογμάτων. οὐδὲ κολάσεων οἰκέτας, ἐλεύθεροι μέντοι καὶ συγγνώμην τῳ ἐξεῖν τῶν σπουδαίων. ἐρασθήσεσθαι τὸν σοφὸν οὐ δοκεῖ αὐτοῖς. οὐδὲ ταφὴς φροντίσει. οὐδὲ θεοπεμπτὸν εἶναι τὸν ἔρωτα, ὡς Διογένης ἐν τῷ δωδεκάτῳ φησίν. οὐδὲ ῥητορεύσεως καλῶς. συνουσίαν δὲ φασὶν ὄνησαι μὲν οὐδέποτε, ἁγαπητὸν δὲ εἰ μὴ καὶ ἐβλαψε.

Καὶ μηδὲ καὶ γαμήσεων καὶ τεκνοποιήσεων τὸν σοφὸν, ὡς ’Ἐπίκουρος ἐν ταῖς Διαπορίαις καὶ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ φύσεως. κατὰ περίστασιν δὲ ποτε βίων γαμήσεων. καὶ διατραπήσεσθαι τυνα. οὐδὲ μὴν ληφθῆ σε ἐν μέθη φησίν ὁ Ὁπίκουρος ἐν τῷ Συμποσίῳ. οὐδὲ πολιτεύσεσθαι, ὡς ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ Περὶ βίων. οὐδὲ τυραγνεύσεως. οὐδὲ κυνιεῖν, ὡς ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ Περὶ βίων. οὐδὲ πτωχεύσεως. ἀλλὰ καὶ παροβέντας τὰς ὀψεις μὴ ἐξαῖσειν αὐτὸν τοῦ βίου, ὡς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ φησί. καὶ λυπηθήσεσθαι δὲ τὸν σοφὸν, ὡς ὁ Διογένης ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ τῶν Ἐπιλέκτων· καὶ δικάσεσθαι καὶ συγγράμματα καταλείψειν. οὐ πανηγυρεῖν δὲ· καὶ κτήσεως προνοήσεσθαι

1 ὁδοῦ codd. : corr. et suppl. Us.
3 μετέξει vel μετάξει codd. : corr. Bywater.

a i.e. by suicide, as recommended by the Stoics (supra, vii. 130).

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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 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 Epilectica. 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. φιλαγρήσεων. τύχη τ’ ἀντιτάξεσθαι, φίλου τε οὔδένα προῆςεσθαι. εὐδοξίας ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον προνόηςεσθαι, ἐφ’ ὅσον μὴ καταφρονήςεσθαι. μᾶλλον τε εὐφρανθήςεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων εν ταῖς θεωρίαις.

Εἰκόνας τε ἀναθήσεων. <εν> εἰ ἔχου, ἀδιαφόρως ἀν σχοίη. μόνον τε τῶν σοφῶν ὅρθως ἀν περί τε μουσικῆς καὶ ποιητικῆς διαλέξεσθαι· ποιήματα τε ἐνεργείᾳ οὐκ ἀν ποιήσαι. οὐ κωνείσθαι τε ἐτέρου σοφώτερον. χρηματιεῖσθαί τε, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ μόνης σοφίας, ἀπορήσαντα. καὶ μόναρχον ἐν καρφῷ θεραπεύσεων. καὶ ἐπιχαρήςεσθαι τῳ ἐπὶ τῷ διορθώματι· καὶ σχολὴν κατασκευάζεσθαι, ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὥστ’ ὀχλαγωγήσαι· καὶ ἀναγνώσεσθαι ἐν πλήθει, ἀλλ’ οὐχ ἐκόντα· δογματεῖν τε καὶ οὐκ ἀπορήσεων· καὶ καθ’ ὑπνοὺς δὲ ὁμοιὸν ἔσεσθαι, καὶ ὑπὲρ φίλου ποτὲ τεθνήξεσθαι.

Δοκεί δ’ αὐτοῖς ἀμαρτήματα ἁνισά εἰναι. καὶ τὴν ύγειαν τισὶ μὲν ἀγαθόν, τισὶ δ’ ἀδιαφόρον. τὴν δὲ ἀνδρείαν φύσει μὴ γίνεσθαι, λογισμῷ δὲ τοῦ συμφέροντος· καὶ τὴν φιλίαν διὰ τὰς χρείας· δεῖν μέντοι προκατάρχεσθαι (καὶ γὰρ τὴν γην σπείρομεν), συνίστασθαι δὲ αὐτὴν κατὰ κοινωνίαν τοῖς ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἐκπεπληρωμένοιν.

121 Τὴν εὐδαμονίαν δικῇ νοεῖσθαι, τὴν τε ἀκροτάτην, οία ἐστὶ περὶ τῶν θεῶν, 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 εἰσεβείας (Us. p. 258).
b The transposition of this paragraph is due to Bignone (p. 214, notes 2, 4).

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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.  

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.
"'Επίκουρος Μενοικεί χαίρειν.

122 "Μήτε νέος τις ὄν μελλέτω φιλοσοφεῖν, μήτε γέρων ύπάρχων κοπιάτω φιλοσοφῶν. οὔτε γάρ ἀνωρος οὐδείς ἔστιν οὔτε πάρωρος πρὸς τὸ κατὰ ψυχήν ύγιαίνον. ὁ δὲ λέγων ἡ μήτπω τοῦ φιλο-
σοφεῖν ύπάρχειν ἡ παρεληλυθέναι τὴν ὄραν ὀμοίως ἔστι τῷ λέγοντι πρὸς εὐδαμονίαν ἡ μήτπω παρεῖναι τὴν ὄραν ἡ μηκέτι εἶναι τὴν ὄραν. οὕστε φιλοσοφη-
tέον καὶ νέω καὶ γέροντι, τῷ μὲν ὑπὸς γηράσκων νεάζῃ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς διὰ τὴν χάριν τῶν γεγονότων, τῷ δ’ ὑπὸς νέος ἀμα καὶ παλαιὸς ἡ διὰ τὴν ἀφοβίαι
τῶν μελλόντων. μελετᾶν οὖν χρὴ τὰ ποιοῦντα τὴν εὐδαμονίαν, εἰ περ παροῦσῃ μὲν αὐτῆς, πάντα ἔχομεν, ἀποψῆς δὲ, πάντα πράττομεν εἰς τὸ ταύτην ἔχειν.

123 "Ἀ δὲ σοι συνεχῶς παρήγγελλον, ταύτα καὶ πράττε καὶ μελέτα, στοιχεία τοῦ καλῶς ζῆν ταύτ’ εἶναι διαλαμβάνων. πρῶτον μὲν τὸν θεοῦ ζῶον ἀφθαρτον καὶ μακάριον νομίζων, ὡς ἡ κοινὴ τοῦ θεοῦ νόησις ὑπεγράφη, μηθὲν μήτε τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἀλλότριον μήτε τῆς μακαριότητος ἀνοίκειον αὐτῶ
πρόσαπτε’ πάν δὲ τὸ φυλάττειν αὐτοῦ δυνάμενον τὴν μετ’ ἀφθαρσίας μακαριότητα περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξαζε. θεοὶ μὲν γὰρ εἰσίν. ἐναργής δέ ἐστιν αὐτῶν ἡ γνώσις. οἶον δ’ αὐτοῦς <οἱ> πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν, οὐκ εἰσίν. οὐ γὰρ φυλάττουσιν αὐτοὺς οἶον νοοῦσιν. ἀσεβής δὲ οὐχ ὁ τοὺς τῶν πολλῶν θεοὺς ἀναίρων, ἀλλ’ ὁ τὰς τῶν πολλῶν δόξας θεοῖς

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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-
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124 προσάπτων. οὐ γὰρ προλήψεις εἰσίν, ἀλλ' ὑπολήψεις ψευδείς αἰ τῶν πολλῶν ὑπὲρ θεῶν ἀποφάσεις· ἐνθὲν αἱ μέγισται βλάβαι τε τοῖς κακοῖς ἐκ θεῶν ἐπάγονται καὶ ωφέλεια τοῖς ἄγαθοῖς. ταῖς γὰρ ἱδίαις οἰκειούμενοι διὰ παντὸς ἀρεταίς τοὺς ὁμοίους ἀποδέχονται, πάν τὸ μῆ τοιοῦτον ὡς ἀλλότριον νομίζοντες.

"Συνέθυε δὲ ἐν τῷ νοµίζεων μηδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἶναι τὸν θάνατον· ἐπεὶ πάν ἄγαθον καὶ κακὸν ἐν αἰσθήσει· στέρησις δὲ ἐστιν αἰσθήσεως ὁ θάνατος. ὁθὲν γνώσις ὀρθὴ τοῦ μηδὲν εἶναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸν θάνατον ἀπολαυστὸν ποιεῖ τὸ τῆς ζωῆς θυητόν, οὐκ ἄπειρον 1 προστιθείσα χρόνον ἄλλα τὸν τῆς ἀθανασίας ἀφελομένη πόθον. οὐθὲν γὰρ ἐστιν ἐν τῷ ζήν δεινῷ τῷ κατειληφότι κοινοίως τὸ μηθὲν ὑπάρχειν ἐν τῷ μῆ ζήν δεινόν. ὡστε μάταιος ὁ λέγων δεδείναι τὸν θάνατον οὐχ ὅτι λυπήσει παρὼν, ἀλλ' ὅτι λυπεῖ μέλλων. ὁ γὰρ παρὼν οὐκ ἐνοχλεῖ, προσδοκούμενον κενῶς λυπεῖ. τὸ φρικωδέστατον οὐν τῶν κακῶν ὁ θάνατος οὐθέν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἐπειδὴ περ ὅταν μὲν ἡμεῖς ώμεν, ὁ θάνατος οὐ πάρεστιν· ὅταν δ' ὁ θάνατος παρῇ, τόθ' ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἔσμεν. οὐτε οὐν πρὸς τοὺς ζωντάς ἐστιν οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς τετελευηκότας, ἐπειδὴ περὶ οὕς μὲν οὐκ ἔστι, οἵ δ' οὐκέτι εἰσίν. ἀλλ' οἱ πολλοὶ τὸν θάνατον ὅτε μὲν ὡς μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν φεύγουσιν, ὅτε δὲ ὃς ἀνάπαυσιν τῶν ἐν τῷ ζήν <κακῶν αἱροῦνται. ὁ 125 ὁ θάνατος οὐτε παρατεῖται τὸ ζήν> οὔτε φοβεῖται

1 οὐκ ἀπορον codd.: corr. Menag.: sed post ἀλλὰ τὸν inf.
11 ἀπορον: excidisse putat Bignone.

The striking resemblance to this passage of ps.-Plat. Axiocbus, 369 b, has often been pointed out, most recently by 650
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. Whatever 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. 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).
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τὸ μὴ ἡξῆν· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτῷ προσίσταται τὸ θῆν ὀὔτε δοξάζεται κακὸν εἶναι τὸ μὴ ἡξῆν. ὥσπερ δὲ τὸ σιτίον οὐ τὸ πλεῖον πάντως ἄλλα τὸ ἡδίστον αἴρεῖται, οὔτω καὶ χρόνον οὐ τὸν μήκιστον ἄλλα τὸν ἡδίστον καρπίζεται. ὃ δὲ παραγγέλλων τὸν μὲν νέον καλῶς θῆν, τὸν δὲ γέροντα καλῶς κατα- στρέφειν εὐήθες ἐστὶν οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ τῆς ζωῆς ἀσπαστόν, ἄλλα καὶ διὰ τὸ τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι μελέτην τοῦ καλῶς θῆν καὶ τοῦ καλῶς ἀποδηνήσκειν. πολὺ δὲ χείρον καὶ ὁ λέγων, καλὸν μὲν μὴ φύναι,

φύντα δ' ὡπως ὦκιστα πύλας 'Αἰδαο περῆσαι.

127 εἰ μὲν γὰρ πεποιθῶς τούτῳ φησί, πῶς οὐκ ἀπ- έρχεται τοῦ θῆν; ἐν ἐτοίμῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἔστιν, εὖπερ ἦν βεβουλευμένον αὐτῷ βεβαιὸς· εἰ δὲ μωκώμενος, μάταιος ἐν τοῖς οὐκ ἐπιδεχόμενοις.

''Μημονευτέον δὲ ώς τὸ μέλλον οὔτε ἡμέτερον οὔτε πάντως οὐχ ἡμέτερον, ἦν μήτη πάντως προσμένωμεν ώς ἐσόμενοι μήτη ἀπελπίζωμεν ὡς πάντως οὐκ ἐσόμενοι.

''Ἀναλογιστέον δὲ ώς τῶν ἐπιθυμίων αἱ μὲν εἰςι φυσικαί, αἱ δὲ κεναὶ. καὶ τῶν φυσικῶν αἱ μὲν ἀναγκαίαι, αἱ δὲ φυσικαὶ μόνον· τῶν δ' ἀναγκαίων αἱ μὲν πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν εἰςιν ἀναγκαίαι, αἱ δὲ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀοχλησίαν, αἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ θῆν. τοῦτων γὰρ ἄπλανης θεωρία πᾶσαν αἰρέσων καὶ φυγῆν ἐπανάγειν οἴδεν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὑγίειαν καὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀταραξίαν, ἐπεὶ τοῦτο τοῦ μακαρίους θῆν ἐστὶ τέλος. τοῦτον γὰρ χάριν πάντα πράττομεν, ὅπως μήτη ἀλγώμεν μήτη ταρ- βώμεν· οὕτως δ' ἀπαξ τούτῳ 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. 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

\[ Theognis 425, 427. \]
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λύεται πάς ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς χειμών, οὐκ ἡχοντος τοῦ ζώου βαδίζειν ὡς πρὸς ἐνδειν τι καὶ ζητεῖν ἔτερον ὡς τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀγαθὸν συμπληρωθῆσαι. τότε γὰρ ἡδονής χρείαν ἔχομεν, ὅταν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ παρεῖναι τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀλγώμεν· ὅταν δὲ μὴ ἀλγώμεν, οὐκέτι τῆς ἡδονῆς δεόμεθα. καὶ διὰ τούτῳ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος λέγομεν εἶναι τοῦ μακαρίως ἥν· ταῦτην γὰρ ἀγαθὸν πρῶτον καὶ συγγενικὸν ἔγνωμεν, καὶ ἀπὸ ταῦτης καταρχόμεθα πάσης αἰρέσεως καὶ φυγῆς καὶ ἐπὶ ταῦτην καταντώμεν ὡς κανόνι τὸ πάθει πᾶν ἀγαθὸν κρίνοντες. καὶ ἐπεὶ πρῶτον ἀγαθὸν τοῦτο καὶ σύμφυτον, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οὐ πᾶσαν ἡδονὴν αἰροῦμεθα, ἀλλ’ ἐστιν ὅτε πολλαὶ ἡδονὰς ὑπερβαίνομεν, ὅταν πλεῖον ἡμῖν τὸ δυσχέρες ἐκ τούτων ἐπηται· καὶ πολλαὶ ἁλγηδόνας ἡδονῶν κρείττους νομίζομεν, ἐπειδὰν μείζων ἡμῖν ἡδονὴ παρακολουθή πολὺν χρόνον ὑπομείνασι τὰς ἁλγηδόνας. πάσα οὖν ἡδονὴ διὰ τὸ φύσιν ἔχειν οἰκεῖαν ἀγαθὸν, οὐ πᾶσα μέντοι <γ’> αἰρετή· καθά περ καὶ ἁλγηδόνα πᾶσα 129 κακὸν, οὐ πᾶσα δὲ ἀεὶ φευκτῇ πεφυκών. τῇ μέντοι συμμετρῆσι καὶ συμφερόντων καὶ ἀσυμφόρων βλέψει ταῦτα πάντα κρίνειν καθήκει· χρωμεθα γὰρ τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν κατὰ τινας χρόνους ὡς κακὸν, τῶν δὲ κακῶν τὰμπαλων ὡς ἀγαθῶ. καὶ τὴν αὐτάρκειαν δὲ ἀγαθὸν μέγα νομίζομεν, οὐχ ἤν πάντως τοῖς ὀλίγοις χρωμεθα, ἀλλ’ ὅτις ἐάν μὴ ἔχωμεν τὰ πολλαί, τοῖς ὀλίγοις ἀρκώμεθα, πεπεισμένοι γνησίως ὅτι ἢδιστα πολυτελείας ἀπολαύσωμι οἱ ἢκιστα ταῦτης δεόμενοι, καὶ ὅτι τὸ μὲν φυσικὸν πᾶν εὐπόριστον ἐστι, τὸ δὲ κενὸν δυσπόριστον. οἱ γὰρ λιτοὶ χυλοὶ ἴσην πολυτελεῖ 130 κακὸν.
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 oftentimes pass over many
pleasures when a greater annoyance ensues from
them. And oftentimes 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
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diaità tìn ἡδονήν ἐπιφέρουσιν, ὅταν ἀπαξ τὸ ἄλγον κατ’ ἐνδειαν ἐξαιρεθῆς καὶ μάζα καὶ ὕδωρ τὴν ἀκροτάτην ἀποδίδωσιν ἡδονήν, ἐπειδὰν ἐνδέων τις αὐτὰ προσενέχειται. τὸ συνεθῆς γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἀπλαῖς καὶ οὐ πολυτελείς διαίταις καὶ ὑγιείας ἐστὶ συμπληρωτικὸν καὶ πρὸς τᾶς ἀναγκαίας τοῦ βίου χρήσεως ἄοκνον ποιεῖ τὸν ἀνθρώπον καὶ τοὺς πολυτελείς ἐκ διαλειμμάτων προσερχόμενοι κρείττον ἢμᾶς διατίθησι καὶ πρὸς τὴν τύχην ἄφοβους παρασκευάζει.

"Οταν οὖν λέγωμεν ἡδονήν τέλος ὑπάρχειν, οὐ τὰς τῶν ἁσώτων ἡδονὰς καὶ τὰς ἐν ἀπολαύσει κειμένας λέγομεν, ὡς τινὲς ἀγνοοῦντες καὶ οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντες ἢ κακῶς ἐκδεχόμενοι νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μήτε ἀλγεὶν κατὰ σῶμα μήτε ταράττεσθαι κατὰ ψυχήν.

οὗ γὰρ πότοι καὶ κώμοι συνεϊροντες οὐδὲ ἀπολαύσεις παιδῶν καὶ γυναικῶν οὐδ’ ἰχθὺων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσα φέρει πολυτελῆς τράπεζα, τὸν ἡδύν γεννῦ βίον, ἀλλὰ νήφων λογισμὸς καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἐξερευνών πάσης αἱρέσεως καὶ φυγῆς καὶ τὰς δόξας ἐξελαύνων εἰ ὦν πλείστος τὰς ψυχὰς καταλαμβάνει θόρυβος. τούτων δὲ πάντων ἀρχῆ καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν φρόνησις: διό καὶ φιλοσοφίας τιμώτερον ὑπάρχει φρόνησις, ἐξ ἦς αἱ λοιπαὶ πᾶσαι πεφύκασιν ἄρεται, διδάσκουσα ως οὐκ ἐστὶν ἤδεως ζῆν ἄνευ τοῦ φρονίμους καὶ καλῶς καὶ δικαιῶς, οὐδὲ φρονίμους καὶ καλῶς καὶ δικαιῶς ἄνευ τοῦ ἤδεως: συμπεφύκασι γὰρ αἱ ἄρεται τῷ ζῆν ἤδεως, καὶ τὸ ζῆν ἤδεως τούτων ἐστὶν ἀ-χώριστον.

"Ἐπεὶ τίνα νομίζεις εἶναι κρείττονα τοῦ καὶ περὶ

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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 pro-
duce 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. Where-
fore 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,
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τεων ὀσία δοξάζοντος καὶ περὶ θανάτου διὰ παντὸς ἀφόβως ἐχοντος καὶ τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐπιλεξογισμένου τέλος, καὶ τὸ μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν πέρας ὡς ἐστιν εὐσυμπλήρωτον τε καὶ εὐπόριστον διαλαμβάνοντος, τὸ δὲ τῶν κακῶν ὡς ἡ χρόνους ἡ πόνους ἔχει βραχείς, τὴν δὲ ὑπὸ τινῶν δεσπότων εἰςαγομένην πάντων διαγελώντος ἦν ἐμαρμένην καὶ μάλλον ἃ μὲν κατ' ἀνάγκην γίγνεσθαι λέγοντος, ἢ δὲ ἀπὸ τύχης, ἢ δὲ παρ᾽ ἡμᾶς διὰ τὸ τὴν μὲν ἀνάγκην ἀνυπεύθυνον εἶναι, τὴν δὲ τύχην ἀστατον ὴραν, τὸ δὲ παρ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἀδέσποτον, ὥ καὶ τὸ μεμπτον καὶ τὸ ἑναντίον παρακολουθεῖν πέφυκεν (ἔπει κρείττον ἣν τῷ περὶ θεῶν μύθω κατακολουθεῖν ἡ τῆ τῶν φυσικῶν εἰμαρμένη δουλεύειν· ὃ μὲν γὰρ ἐλπίδα παρατήσεως ὑπογράφει θεῶν διὰ τιμῆς, ἢ δὲ ἀπαραίτητον ἔχει τὴν ἀνάγκην), τὴν δὲ τύχην οὔτε θεὸν, ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν, ὑπολαμβάνοντος (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀτάκτως θεῶ πρᾶπτεται) οὔτε ἀβέβαιον αἰτίαν (Οὐκ οἴεται μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν έκ ταύτης πρὸς τὸ μακαρίως ζην ἀνθρώπους δίδοσθαι, ἀρχὰς μὲντοι μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν ἢ κακῶν ὑπὸ ταύτης χορηγεῖσθαι), κρείττον εἶναι νομίζοντος εὐλογίστως ἀντιχείν ἢ ἀλογίστως εὐτυχείν· βέλτιον γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πράξεις τὸ καλῶς κριθὲν μὴ ὀρθωθῆναι διὰ ταύτης.

"Ταῦτα οὖν καὶ τὰ τούτους συγγενῆ μελέτα πρὸς σεαυτὸν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς πρὸς τὲ τὸν ὀμοιον σεαυτῷ, καὶ οὐδέποτε οὖθ᾽ ὑπαρ οὔτ᾽ ὄναρ διαταραχθής, ζήσεις δὲ ὡς θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποις. οὐθὲν γὰρ ἐοικε θυητῶ ζῷων ζῶν ἀνθρώπως ἐν ἀθανάτοις ἀγαθοῖς."

1 ἀγγέλλωντος (-λωντος PQ) codd.: διαγελώντος corr. Us. addito ἐμαρμένην . . . λέγοντος.

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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."
Mαντικήν δ’ ἀπασαν ἐν ἄλλοις ἀναίρει, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ μικρᾷ ἐπιτομῇ. καὶ φησι· "μαντική οὖσα ἀνύπαρκτος, εἰ δὲ καὶ ὑπαρκτῇ, οвладὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἡγητέα γινόμενα."

Τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ τῶν βιωτικῶν· καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον διείλεκται ἀλλαχόθι.

136 Διαφέρεται δ’ πρὸς τοὺς Κυρηναίκους περὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὴν καταστηματικὴν οὐκ ἐγκρίνουσι, μόνην δὲ τὴν ἐν κινήσει. ο’ δὲ ἀμφοτέραν ** ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, ὡς φησιν ἐν τῷ Περὶ αἱρέσεως καὶ φυγῆς καὶ ἐν τῷ Περὶ τέλους καὶ ἐν τῷ πρῶτω Περὶ βίων καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Μυτιλήνη φιλοσόφους ἐπιστολῆ. ὤμοιώς δὲ καὶ Διογένης ἐν τῇ ἐπτακαίδεκάτῳ τῶν †Επιλέκτων καὶ Μητρώδωρος ἐν τῷ Τιμοκράτει λέγουσιν οὕτω νουμένης δὲ ἡδονῆς τῆς τε κατὰ κίνησιν καὶ τῆς καταστηματικῆς. ο’ δ’ †Επίκουρος ἐν τῷ Περὶ αἱρέσεως οὕτω λέγει· "ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀταραξία καὶ ἀπονία καταστηματικαὶ εἰσὶν ἡδοναί. ἡ δὲ χαρὰ καὶ ἡ ἐυφροσύνη κατὰ κίνησιν ἐνεργεία βλέπονται.

137 "Επὶ πρὸς τοὺς Κυρηναίκους· οἱ μὲν γὰρ χείρον τὰς σωματικὰς ἀλγηδόνας τῶν ψυχικῶν, κολάζεσθαι γοῦν τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας σώματι· ο’ δ’ τὰς ψυχικὰς. τὴν γοῦν σάρκα τὸ παρόν μονὸν χειμάζεων, τὴν δὲ ψυχῆν καὶ τὸ παρελθόν καὶ τὸ παρόν καὶ τὸ μέλλον. οὕτως οὖν καὶ μείζονας ἡδονὰς

* 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.

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Elsewhere he rejects the whole of divination, 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 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

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b Next come excerpts dealing with the difference between Epicurean and Cyrenaic ethics.
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 *Epilectā* says Diogenes, who also calls education (\(\delta \gamma \omega \gamma \iota \gamma i\)) recreation (\(\delta \omega \gamma \omega \gamma \iota \iota\)). 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.\(^c\)

\(^1\) 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' ὀμοείδειαν ἐκ τῆς συνεχούσ ἐπιρρύσεως τῶν ὀμοίων εἰδώλων ἔπι τὸ αὐτὸ ἀποτελεσμένων ἀνθρωποειδῶς.

[II.] Ὁ θάνατος οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς· τὸ γὰρ διαλυθὲν ἀναισθητεῖ· τὸ δ' ἀναισθητοῦν οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

[III.] Ὁ ὅρος τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν ἡδονῶν ἢ παντὸς τοῦ ἀλγούντος ὑπεξάρεσις· ὁποὺ δ' ἄν τὸ ἡδόμενον ἐνῆ, καθ' ὅν ἄν χρόνον ἦ, οὐκ ἔστι τὸ ἀλγοῦν ἢ τὸ λυποῦμενον ἢ τὸ συναμφότερον.

[IV.] Οὐ χρονίζει τὸ ἀλγοῦν συνεχῶς ἐν τῇ σαρκί, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἄκρον τῶν ἐλάχιστον χρόνον πάρεστι, τὸ δὲ μόνον ὑπερτείνον τὸ ἡδόμενον κατὰ σάρκα οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας συμμένει· αἱ δὲ πολυχρόνιοι τῶν ἀρρωστίων πλεονάζου ἔχουσι τὸ ἡδόμενον ἐν τῇ σαρκί ἢ περ τὸ ἀλγοῦν.

[V.] Οὐκ ἔστιν ἡδέως ζῆν ἂνευ τοῦ φρονίμου καὶ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως, ὅποιο τοῦ ἡδέως· ὅτω δὲ τούτο μὴ ὑπάρχει ἐξ οὐ ζῆν φρονίμους, καὶ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ὑπάρχει, οὐκ ἔστι τούτον ἡδέως ζῆν.

[VI.] Ἐνεκα τοῦ θαρρέων ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, ἦν κατὰ φύσιν [ἀρχής καὶ βασιλείας] ἀγαθόν, ἐξ ἂν ἂν ποτε τοῦθ' οἶός τ' ἢ παρασκευάζεσθαι.

[VII.] Ἐνδοξοί καὶ περίβλεπτοι τίνες ἐμπολυθησαν γενέσθαι, τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀσφάλειαν οὕτω νομίζουσι περιποίησεσθαι. ὡστ' εἰ μὲν ἀσφαλῆς ὁ τῶν τουούτων βίος, ἀπέλαβον τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀγαθόν· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀσφαλῆς, οὐκ ἔχουσιν οὐ ἔνεκα ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατὰ τὸ τῆς φύσεως οἰκείον ὄρεξθησαν.

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 outweights 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 ἄρχης καὶ βασιλείᾳ of the vulgate text as a marginal gloss on ἐξ ὃν.
[VIII.] Ουδεμία ἡδονή καθ’ ἐαυτὸ κακὸν· ἄλλα τὰ τινῶν ἡδονῶν ποιητικὰ πολλαπλασίοις ἐπιφέρει τὰς ὁχλήσεις τῶν ἡδονῶν.

[IX.] Εἰ κατεπυκνοῦτο πάσα ἡδονή, καὶ χρόνῳ καὶ περὶ ὅλον τὸ ἀθροισμα ὑπήρχεν ἡ τὰ κυριώτατα μέρη τῆς φύσεως, οὐκ ἂν ποτε διέφερον ἄλληλων αἱ ἡδοναί.

[X.] Εἰ τὰ ποιητικὰ τῶν περὶ τοὺς ἁσώτους ἡδονῶν ἐλυε τοὺς φόβους τῆς διανοίας τοὺς τε περὶ μετεώρων καὶ βανάτου καὶ ἀλγηδόνων, ἔτι τε τὸ πέρας τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐδίδασκεν, οὐκ ἂν ποτε εἴχομεν ὁ τι ἐμεμψάμεθα αὐτοῖς, πανταχόθεν εἰσπληρουμένοις τῶν ἡδονῶν καὶ οὐδαμόθεν οὔτε τὸ ἀλγοῦν οὔτε τὸ λυπούμενον ἔχουσιν, ὁ περ ἐστὶ τὸ κακὸν.

[XI.] Εἰ μηθὲν ἡμᾶς αἱ τῶν μετεώρων ὑποψίαι ἡμῶν ἄχλουν καὶ αἱ περὶ βανάτου, μὴ ποτὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑ τι, ἔτι τε τὸ μὴ κατανοεῖν τοὺς ὅρους τῶν ἀλγηδόνων καὶ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, οὐκ ἂν προσεδεόμεθα φυσιολογίας.

[XII.] Οὐκ ἂν τὸ φοβοῦμενον λύειν ὑπὲρ τῶν κυριωτάτων μὴ κατειδότα τίς ἡ τοῦ σύμπαντος φύσις, ἀλλ’ ὑποπενύμενον τι τῶν κατὰ τοὺς μύθους· ὡστε οὐκ ἂν ἄνευ φυσιολογίας ἀκεραίους τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀπολαμβάνειν.

[XIII.] Οὐθέν ὠφελος ἂν τὴν κατ’ ἀνθρώπους ἀσφάλειαν κατασκευάζεσθαι τῶν ἀνωθεν ὑπόπτων καθεστῶτων καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ γῆς καὶ ἀπλῶς 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.] Τής ἀσφαλείας τῆς εἰς ἀνθρώπων γενομένης μέχρι τών δυνάμει τε ἐξερευνητικήν καὶ εὐπορία εἰλικρινεστάτη γίνεται ἢ ἐκ τῆς ἡσυχίας καὶ ἐκχωρήσεως τῶν πολλῶν ἀσφαλεία.

[XV.] 'Ο τῆς φύσεως πλοῦτος καὶ ὁμοιότατος εὐπορίστος ἔστιν· ὁ δὲ τῶν κενῶν δοξῶν εἰς ἀπειρόν ἐκπίπτει.

[XVI.] Βραχέα σοφῶς τύχη παρεμπίπτει, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα καὶ κυριώτατα ὁ λογισμὸς διώκησε καὶ κατὰ τῶν συνεχῆ χρόνου τοῦ βίου διουκεῖ καὶ διοικήσει.

[XVII.] 'Ο δίκαιος ἀταρακτότατος, ὁ δὲ ἄδικος πλείστης παραχῆς γέμων.

[XVIII.] Ὁυκ ἐπαύξεται ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ἡ ἢδονή, ἐπειδὰν ἀπαξ τὸ κατ' ἐνδειαν ἀλγοῦν ἐξαιρεθῇ, ἀλλὰ μόνον ποικίλλεται. τῆς δὲ διανοίας τὸ πέρας τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἢδονὴν ἀπεγέννησεν ἡ τε τούτων αὐτῶν ἐκλόγησις καὶ τῶν ὀμογενῶν τούτων, ὅσα τοὺς μεγίστους φόβους παρεσκεύαζε τῇ διανοίᾳ.

[XIX.] 'Ο ἀπειρός χρόνος ἵστην ἐχει τὴν ἢδονὴν καὶ ὁ πεπερασμένος, ἐὰν τις αὐτῆς τὰ πέρατα καταμετρήσῃ τῷ λογισμῷ.

[XX.] Ἡ μὲν σάρξ ἀπέλαβε τὰ πέρατα τῆς ἢδονῆς ἀπειρά, καὶ ἀπειρός αὐτὴν χρόνον παρεσκεύασε. ἡ δὲ διάνοια τοῦ τῆς σαρκὸς τέλους καὶ πέρατος λαβοῦσα τὸν ἐπιλογισμὸν καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ αἰώνος φόβους ἐκλύσασα τὸν παντελῆ βίον παρεσκεύασε, καὶ οὐθὲν ἔτι τοῦ ἀπειροῦ χρόνου προσεδεήθη. <οὖ> μὴν ἄλλ' οὔτε ἐφυγε τὴν ἢδονήν,

1 ἐξαιρετικὴ B: ἐξαιριστικὴ P1: ἐξεριστικὴ (-κῆς F) FP3: ἐξοριστικῆ Meib.
14. When tolerable security against our fellow-men is attained, then on a basis of power sufficient to afford support 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 ἐξοριστικὴ be read (with Meib., Kochalsky, and Apelt, cf. § 154), "power to expel."
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οὐθ’ ἧνικα τὴν ἔξαγωγὴν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν τὰ πράγματα παρεσκεύαζεν, ὡς ἐλλείπουσα τι τοῦ ἀριστου βίου κατέστρεφεν.

[XXI.] ὂ τὰ πέρατα τοῦ βίου κατειδὼς οἶδεν, ὡς εὐπόριστον έστι το <τὸ> ἄλγον κατ’ ἐνδειαν ἔξαιρον καὶ το τὸν ὅλον βίου παντελῆ καθιστάν· ὥστ’ οὐδὲν προσδεῖται πραγμάτων ἁγώνας κεκτημένων.

[XXII.] Τὸ ύφεστηκὸς δεῖ τέλος ἐπιλογίζεσθαι καὶ πᾶσαι τὴν ἐναργεὶαν, ἐφ’ ἂν τὰ δοξαζόμενα ἀνάγομεν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, πάντα ἀκρισίας καὶ ταραχῆς ἐσται μεστά.

[XXIII.] Εἰ μάχη πάσαις ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν, οὐχ ἐξεῖς οὐδ’ ἂς ἂν φῆς αὐτῶν διεμεῦσθαι πρὸς τί ποιούμενος τὴν ἀναγωγὴν κρίσης.

[XXIV.] Εἰ τιν’ ἐκβαλεῖς ἀπλῶς αἰσθήσεως καὶ μὴ διαιρήσεως τὸ δοξαζόμενον κατὰ τὸ προσμένον καὶ τὸ παρὸν ἦδη κατὰ τὴν αἰσθήσιν καὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ πᾶσαιν φανταστικὴν ἐπιβολὴν τῆς διανοίας, σωνταράξεις καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς αἰσθήσεις τῆς ματαίως δόξη, ὡστε τὸ κριτήριον ἄπαν ἐκβαλεῖς. εἰ δὲ βεβαιώσεως καὶ τὸ προσμένον ἄπαν ἐν ταῖς δοξαστικαίς ἐννοίαις καὶ τὸ μὴ τῆς ἐπιμαρτύρησιν, οὐκ ἐκλείψεις τὸ διεμεύσμενον· ὡς τετηρηκὼς ἐσοῦ πᾶσαιν ἀμφισβήτησιν κατὰ πᾶσαιν κρίσιν τοῦ ὀρθῶς ἢ μὴ ὀρθῶς.

[XXV.] Εἰ μὴ παρὰ πάντα καρόν ἐπανόρθως ἐκαστῶν τῶν πραττομένων ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς φύσεως, ἀλλὰ προκαταστρέψεις εἰ τε φυγὴν εἰ τε δίωξιν 670
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 ὡσαὶ μὴ ἐπ᾽ ἀλγοῦν ἐπανάγουσιν ἐὰν μὴ συμπληρωθῶσιν, οὐκ εἰσὶν ἀναγκαῖα ἀλλ᾽ εὐδιάχυτον τὴν ὀρεξὶν ἔχουσιν, ὡσαν δυσπόριστοι ἡ βλάβης ἀπεργαστικαί δόξωσιν εἶναι.

[XXVII.] Ὡν ἡ σοφία παρασκευάζεται εἰς τὴν τοῦ ὠλον βίου μακαριότητα, πολὺ μέγιστον ἐστιν ἡ τῆς φιλίας κτήσις.

[XXVIII.] Ἡ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ θαρρεῖν τε ἐποίησεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηθὲν αἰώνιον εἶναι δεινὸν μηδὲ πολυχρόνον, καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὀρισμένοις ἀσφάλειαν φιλίας¹ μάλιστα κατεῖδε συντελομένην.

[XXIX.] Τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν αἱ μὲν εἰς φυσικὰν καὶ ἀναγκαῖα· αἱ δὲ φυσικὰ καὶ οὐτ᾽ ἀναγκαῖα ἀλλὰ παρὰ κενῆν δόξαν γινόμεναι. [φυσικὰς καὶ ἀναγκαίας ἤγείται ο Ἕπικουρος τὰς ἀληθείας ἀπολυμύσσας, ως ποτὸν ἐπὶ δύσις· φυσικὰς δὲ οὐκ ἀναγκαίας δὲ τὰς ποικιλομύσσας μόνον τὴν ἠδονήν, μὴ ὑπεξαιρομένας δὲ τὸ ἀληθῆ, ως πολυτελὴ σιτία· οὔτε δὲ φυσικὰς οὐτ᾽ ἀναγκαίας, ως στεφάνους καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀναθέσεις.]

[XXX.] Ἐν αἷς τῶν φυσικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, μὴ ἐπ᾽ ἀλγοῦν δὲ ἐπαναγομένων ἐὰν μὴ συντελεσθῶσιν, ὑπάρχει ἡ ὀποιοῦτε σύντονος, παρὰ κενῆν δόξαν αὐτοὶ γίνονται καὶ οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἐαυτῶν φύσιν οὐ διαχέονται ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κενοδοξίαν.

150 [XXXI.] Τὸ τῆς φύσεως δίκαιον ἐστὶ 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 του συμφέροντος εις το μη βλάπτειν ἄλληλους μηδὲ βλάπτεσθαι.

[XXXII.] "Οσα των ζωων μη ἠδύνατο συνθήκας ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ύπερ τοῦ μη βλάπτειν ἄλλα μηδὲ βλάπτεσθαι, πρὸς ταῦτα οὐθὲν ἦν δίκαιον οὐδὲ ἀδικον. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τῶν εἴθνων ὁσα μη ἠδύ

νατο ἡ μη ἐβούλετο τὰς συνθήκας ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ύπερ τοῦ μη βλάπτειν μηδὲ βλάπτεσθαι.

[XXXIII.] Οὐκ ἦν τι καθ' έαυτὸ δικαίοπολη, ἀλλ' είν ταῖς μετ' ἄλληλων συστροφαῖς καθ' ὁπηλίκους δὴ ποτε αei τόπους συνθήκη τις ύπερ τοῦ μη βλάπτειν μηδὲ βλάπτεσθαι.

[XXXIV.] 'Η ἀδικία οὐ καθ' έαυτὴν κακὸν, ἀλλ' είν τῷ κατὰ τὴν ύποβίαν φόβῳ, εἰ μη λήσει τοὺς ύπερ τῶν τινῶν ἐφεστηκότας κολαστάς.

[XXXV.] Οὐκ ἑστὶ τὸν λάθρα τι κωνύντα δὲν συνέθεντο πρὸς ἄλληλους εἰς το μη βλάπτειν μηδὲ βλάπτεσθαι, πιστεύειν ὅτι λήσει, κἂν μυρίακις ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος λανθάνῃ. μέχρι γὰρ κατα

στροφῆς ἄθηλον εἰ καὶ λήσει.

[XXXVI.] Κατὰ μὲν <τὸ> κωνύν πᾶσι το δίκαιον το αὐτό, συμφέρον γάρ τι ἦν εν τῇ πρὸς ἄλληλους κοινωνία. κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἰδιον χώρας καὶ ὅσων δὴ ποτε αἰτίων οὔ πᾶσι συνέπεται το αὐτὸ δίκαιον ἐιναι.

[XXXVII.] Το μὲν ἐπιμαρτυροῦμεν ὅτι συμ

φέρει εν ταῖς χρείαις τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλους κοινωνίας τῶν νομισθέντων εἶναι δικαίων, ἔχει τὸν τοῦ
dικαίου χαρακτῆρα, εάν τε τὸ αὐτό πᾶσι γένηται ἐάν τε μη τὸ αὐτό. εάν δὲ νόμον θηταί τις, μη

ἀποβαίνῃ δὲ κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλους κοινωνίας, οὐκέτι τοῦτο τήν τοῦ δικαίου φύσιν

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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
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ἔχει. κἂν μεταπίπτῃ τὸ κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον συμφέρον, χρόνον δὲ των εἰς τὴν πρόληψιν ἐναρμότητι, οὔτεν ἦττον ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἢν δίκαιον τοῖς μὴ φωναῖς κεναῖς έαυτούς συνταράττουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς εἰς τὰ πράγματα βλέπουσιν.

153 [XXXVIII.] Ἔνθα μὴ καινῶν γενομένων τῶν περιεστώτων πραγμάτων ἀνεφάνη μὴ ἀρμόττοντα εἰς τὴν πρόληψιν τὰ νομισθέντα δίκαια ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν έργων, οὐκ ἦν ταύτα δίκαια. Ἐνθὰ δὲ καινῶν γενομένων τῶν πραγμάτων οὐκ ἐτί συνέφερε τὰ αὐτὰ δίκαια κείμενα, ἐνταῦθα δὲ τότε μὲν ἢν δίκαια, ὅτε συνέφερεν εἰς τὴν πρὸς ἄλληλους κοινωνίαν τῶν συμπολιτευομένων ἕστερον δ' οὐκ ἦν ἐτὶ δίκαια, ὅτε μὴ συνέφερεν.

154 [XXXIX.] ὁ τὸ μὴ θαρροῦν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξωθεὶν ἄριστα συστησάμενος οὕτος τὰ μὲν δυνατὰ ὁμόφυλα κατεσκευάσατο. τὰ δὲ μὴ δυνατὰ οὐκ ἄλλοφυλά γε' ὅσα δὲ μηδὲ τοῦτο δυνατό ἢν, ἀνεπίμεικτος ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐξωρίσασθ' ὅσα τούτων λυσιτελὴ πράττειν.

[XL.] Ὁσοὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἔσχον τοῦ τὸ θαρρεῖν μάλιστα ἐκ τῶν ὁμορούντων παρασκευάσασθαι, οὕτω καὶ ἐβίωσαν μετ' ἄλληλων ἑδιστα τὸ βεβαιότατον πίστωμα ἐχοῦσεν, καὶ πληρεστάτην οἰκείωτο τητα ἀπολαβόντες οὐκ ὁδύραντο ὦς πρὸς ἔλεον τὴν τοῦ τελευτήσαντος προκαταστροφήν.

1 ἐξωρίσασθο Steph.: ἐξηρίσασθο BFPQ: ἐξορίσασθο H: ἐξηρέσασθο 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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