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PLUTARCH
MORALIA
VOLUME V

Translated by
FRANK COLE BABBITT
PLUTARCH (Plutarchus), ca. AD 45–120, was born at Chaeronea in Boeotia in central Greece, studied philosophy at Athens, and, after coming to Rome as a teacher in philosophy, was given consular rank by the emperor Trajan and a procuratorship in Greece by Hadrian. He was married and the father of one daughter and four sons. He appears as a man of kindly character and independent thought, studious and learned.

Plutarch wrote on many subjects. Most popular have always been the 46 Parallel Lives, biographies planned to be ethical examples in pairs (in each pair, one Greek figure and one similar Roman), though the last four lives are single. All are invaluable sources of our knowledge of the lives and characters of Greek and Roman statesmen, soldiers and orators. Plutarch's many other varied extant works, about 60 in number, are known as Moralia or Moral Essays. They are of high literary value, besides being of great use to people interested in philosophy, ethics and religion.

The Loeb Classical Library edition of the Moralia is in fifteen volumes, volume XIII having two parts.
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MORALIA
V
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A proof of Plutarch’s versatility may be found in the fact that the essays contained in this volume of the *Moralia* will probably appeal to a different class of readers from those who found the preceding volumes of interest. The Egyptian religion and the oracle at Delphi stand apart from the sayings of kings and commanders, for example, or the history of Rome, or the exploits of Alexander the Great. Yet they too have their appeal, and many will doubtless find them exceedingly interesting. The task of translation has not been easy, but it is hoped that the English version may be intelligible.

The present volume was written before Vol. IV. in order to take advantage of Vol. III. of the new Teubner edition (Ed. W. R. Paton, M. Pohlenz, W. Sieveking, Leipzig, 1929), and the 3rd fasicule of Vol. II. containing the *Isis and Osiris*.

The third volume of the new Teubner Edition is much superior to the first volume; the readings of the mss. are more accurately recorded, as well as the conjectures, of which a sensible selection is given, and the modesty and moderation of Pohlenz’s suggestions contrast favourably with the certainty and assurance which used to characterize Wilamowitz-Möllendorff’s “corrections.”
PREFACE

The Pythian Dialogues had already been edited by W. R. Paton (Berlin, 1893), and afforded a fairly full collation of the mss. Some few of Paton's conjectures are brilliant, and his contributions to the understanding of these essays will always stand to his credit.

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January 1935.
THE TRADITIONAL ORDER OF THE BOOKS of the *Moralia* as they appear since the edition of Stephanus (1572), and their division into volumes in this edition.

I. De liberis educandis (*Περί παιδων ἀγωγῆς*). Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat (*Πῶς δεῖ τὸν νέον ποιημάτων ἀκούειν*). De recta ratione audiendi (*Περί τοῦ ἀκούειν*). Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur (*Πῶς ἀν τις διακρίνει τὸν κόλακα τοῦ φίλου*). Quomodo quis suos in virtute sentiat profectus (*Πῶς ἀν τις αἰσθοῖτο ἐαυτοῦ προκόπτοντος ἐπ' ἀρετῇ*).

II. De capienda ex inimicis utilitate (*Πῶς ἀν τὶς ὑπ' ἐξηθῶν ὠφελοῖτο*). De amicorum multitudo (*Περί πολυφιλίας*). De fortuna (*Περὶ τύχης*). De virtute et vitio (*Περί ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας*). Consolatio ad Apollonium (*Παραμυθητικὸς πρὸς Ἀπολλώνιον*).

III. De tuenda sanitate praecptata (*Ὑγιεινὰ παραγγέλματα*). Coniugalia praecptata (*Γαμικὰ παραγγέλματα*). Septem sapientium convivium (*Τῶν ἐπτὰ σοφῶν συμπόσιον*). De superstitione (*Περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας*).

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ISIS AND OSIRIS
(DE ISIDE ET OSIRIDE)
INTRODUCTION

Plutarch's knowledge of Egyptology was not profound. It is true that he once visited Egypt, but how long he stayed and how much he learned we have no means of knowing. It is most likely that his treatise represents the knowledge current in his day, derived, no doubt, from two sources: books and priests. The gods of Egypt had early found a welcome in other lands, in Syria and Asia Minor, and later in Greece and Rome. That the worship of Isis had been introduced into Greece before 330 B.C. is certain from an inscription found in the Peiraeus (I.G. II.¹ 168, or II.² 337; Dittenberger, Sylloge³, 280, or 551²), in which the merchants from Citium ask permission to found a shrine of Aphrodite on the same terms as those on which the Egyptians had founded a shrine of Isis. In Delos there was a shrine of the Egyptian gods, and in Plutarch's own town they must have been honoured, for there have been found two dedications to Serapis, Isis, and Anubis, as well as numerous inscriptions recording the manumission of slaves, which in Greece was commonly accomplished by dedicating them to a god, who, in these inscriptions, is Serapis (Sarapis). An idea of the widespread

¹ Moralia, 678 c.
worship of Egyptian gods in Greek lands may be obtained from Roscher, *Auszüblches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, vol. ii. pp. 379-392, where the cults of Isis are listed.

Another source of information available to Plutarch was books. Herodotus in the fifth century B.C. had visited Egypt, and he devoted a large part of the second book of his History to the manners and customs of the Egyptians. Plutarch, however, draws but little from him. Some of the information that Plutarch gives us may be found also in Diodorus Siculus, principally in the first book, but a little also in the second. Aelian and, to a less extent, other writers mentioned in the notes on the text, have isolated fragments of information which usually agree with Plutarch and Diodorus. All this points to the existence of one or more books, now lost, which contained this information, possibly in a systematic form. As a result, Plutarch has many things right and some wrong. Those who are interested in these matters may consult Erman-Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1925-1929), and G. Parthey’s edition of the *Isis and Osiris* (Berlin, 1850).

One matter which will seem very unscientific to the modern reader is Plutarch’s attempts to explain the derivation of various words, especially his attempt to derive Egyptian words from Greek roots; but in this respect he sins no more than Plato, who has given us some most atrocious derivations of Greek words, especially in the *Cratylus*; nor is it more disastrous than Herodotus’s industrious attempts (in Book II) to derive all manner of Greek customs, ritual, and theology from Egypt.

In spite of minor errors contained in the *Isis and
Osiris, no other work by a Greek writer is more frequently referred to by Egyptologists except, possibly, Herodotus. Connected information may, of course, be found in histories of Egypt, such as those of Breasted and Baikie.\(^a\)

The work is dedicated to Clea, a cultured and intelligent woman, priestess at Delphi, to whom Plutarch dedicated also his book on the Bravery of Women (Moralia, 242 e–263 c, contained in vol. iii. of L.C.L. pp. 473-581). It is, no doubt, owing to this that the author, after he has unburdened himself of his information on Egyptology, goes on to make some very sane remarks on the subject of religion and the proper attitude in which to approach it. This part of the essay ranks with the best of Plutarch's writing.

The ms. tradition of the essay is bad, as may be seen from the variations found in the few passages quoted by later writers such as Eusebius and Stobaeus; yet much has been done by acute scholars to make the text more intelligible. It may not be invidious to mention among those who have made special contributions to the study of this work W. Baxter, who translated it (1684), and S. Squire, who edited it (1744). Many other names will be found in the critical notes.

The essay is No. 118 in Lamprias's list of Plutarch's works, where the title is given as an account of Isis and Serapis.

\(^a\) All the Greek and Roman sources for the religion of the Egyptians will be found conveniently collected in Hopfner, Fontes Historiae Religionis Aegyptiacae, Parts I. and II. (Bonn, 1922–1923).
1. Πάντα μὲν, ὁ Κλέα, δεὶ τάγαθα τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας αἰτεῖσθαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιστήμης ὅσον ἐφικτὸν ἐστὶν ἄνθρωποις μετιόντες εὐχόμεθα τυγχάνειν παρ’ αὐτῶν ἑκείνων, ὥς οὐδὲν ἄνθρωπως λαβεῖν μεῖζον οὐδὲ χαρίσασθαι. Δὲθεὶς σεμνότερον ἀληθείας. τάλλα μὲν γὰρ ἄνθρωποις ὁ θεὸς ὅν δέονται δίδωσιν, νοῦ δὲ καὶ φρονεῖσεως μεταδίδωσιν; οἰκεία κεκτημένος ταῦτα καὶ χρώμενος. οὐ γὰρ ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ μακάριον τὸ θεῖον, οὐδὲ βρονταῖς καὶ κεραυνοῖς ἱσχυρόν, ἀλλ’ ἐπιστήμη καὶ φρονήσει. καὶ τούτο κάλλιστα πάντων Ὀμηρος ὅν εἴρηκε περὶ θεῶν ἀναφθεγξάμενοι.

ἡ μὰν ἀμφιτεροισιν ὅμοι γένος ᾗδειν πάτρῃ, ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς πρῶτερος γεγόνει καὶ πλέονα ἤδει, σεμνοτέραν ἀπέφηνε την τοῦ Δίος ἤγεμονίαν ἐπι-Ε στήμη καὶ σοφίας πρεσβυτέραν οὖσαν. οἶμαι δὲ καὶ

1 οὐδὲ Holwerda: οὐ.
2 νοῦ... μεταδίδωσιν added by Wyttenbach from Eustratius, Comment. ad Aristot. Ethic. vi. 8.
3 ἐπιστήμη καὶ σοφία Markland: ἐπιστήμης καὶ σοφίας.

* The priestess for whom Plutarch composed his collection of stories about the Bravery of Women (Moralia, 242 e ff.).
ISIS AND OSIRIS

1. All good things, my dear Clea, sensible men must ask from the gods; and especially do we pray that from those mighty gods we may, in our quest, gain a knowledge of themselves, so far as such a thing is attainable by men. For we believe that there is nothing more important for man to receive, or more ennobling for God of His grace to grant, than the truth. God gives to men the other things for which they express a desire, but of sense and intelligence He grants them only a share, inasmuch as these are His especial possessions and His sphere of activity. For the Deity is not blessed by reason of his possession of gold and silver, nor strong because of thunder and lightning, but through knowledge and intelligence. Of all the things that Homer said about the gods, he has expressed most beautifully this thought:

Both, indeed, were in lineage one, and of the same country, Yet was Zeus the earlier born and his knowledge was greater.

Thereby the poet plainly declares that the primacy of Zeus is nobler since it is elder in knowledge and in

b Cf. Plutarch, Moralia, 780 f-781 a and 355 c, infra.
Cf. Themistius, Oration xxxiii. p. 365 b-d.
Iliad, xiii. 354; quoted also in Moralia, 32 a, and Life and Writings of Homer, ii. 114.
τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, ἢν ὁ θεὸς εἰλήχεν, εὑραμον
εἶναι τὸ τῇ γνώσει μὴ προσπολιτείν ῥα γιγνόμενα
τοῦ δὲ γιγνώσκειν τὰ ὄντα καὶ φρονεῖν ἅφαιρεθέν-
tος, οὐ βίον ἀλλὰ χρόνον εἶναι τὴν ἀθανασίαν.

2. Διὸ θειότητος ὁρεξίς ἔστιν ἡ τῆς ἀληθείας
μάλιστα δὲ τῆς περὶ θεῶν ἐφεσίς, ὡσπερ ἀνάληψιν
ἰερῶν τὴν μάθησιν ἔχουσα καὶ τὴν ζήτησιν, ἄγνείας
τε πάσης καὶ νεωκορίας ἔργον ὀσιώτερον, οὐχ
ηκιστα δὲ τῇ θεῷ ταύτῃ κεχαρισμένον, ἢν σφυ
θεραπεύεις ἔξαιρέτως σοφὴν καὶ φιλόσοφον ὀὖσαν,

F ὡς τοῦνομα γε1 φράζειν ἔοικε, παντὸς μᾶλλον αὐτῇ
τὸ εἰδέναι καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην προσηκοῦσαν. Ἐλ-
ληπικὸν γὰρ ἡ Ἰσίς ἐστι καὶ ὁ Τυφών, ὡς2 πολέμιος
τῇ θεῷ καὶ διὰ ἄγνοιαν καὶ ἀπάτην τετυφωμένος
καὶ διαστῶν καὶ ἀφανίζων τὸν ἰερὸν λόγον, οὐν ἡ
θεός συνάγει καὶ συντίθεσι καὶ παραδίδωσι τοῖς
tελουμένοις, ὡς ἑρώτευς3 σώφρονι μὲν ἕνδεικνυ
διαίτη καὶ βρωμάτων πολλῶν καὶ ἀφροδισίων
352 ἀποχαίς κολουοὺσης4 τὸ ἀκόλαστον καὶ φιλήδονον,
ἀθρύπτους δὲ καὶ στερρᾶς ἐν ἰεροῖς λατρείας
ἐθιζούσης ὑπομένειν, ὡς τέλος ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ πρῶτοι
καὶ κυρίου καὶ νοητοῦ γνώσις, ἢν ἡ θεὸς παρακαλεῖ
ζητεῖν παρ’ αὐτῇ καὶ μετ’ αὐτῆς ὄντα καὶ συνόντα.
tοῦ δ’ ἰεροῖ τοῦνομα καὶ σαφῶς ἐπαγγέλλειται καὶ

1 γε Reiske: τέ.
2 ὡς added by Reiske and placed by Bernardakis.
3 ὡς ἑρώτευς F.C.B. (or perhaps ὀσίως καὶ σωφρονιζομένοι
7... κολουούσαις... ἐθιζούσαις): θεώτευς.
4 κολουούσης] most mss. have κολουούσαις.

a Cf. Moralia, 781 a.
b Plutarch is attempting to connect “Isis” with οἶδα, know, and “Typhon” with Τυφώ, puff up. See, however, 375 c, infra.
c Cf. 355 e, infra.
wisdom. I think also that a source of happiness in the eternal life, which is the lot of God, is that events which come to pass do not escape His prescience. But if His knowledge and meditation on the nature of Existence should be taken away, then, to my mind, His immortality is not living, but a mere lapse of time."

2. Therefore the effort to arrive at the Truth, and especially the truth about the gods, is a longing for the divine. For the search for truth requires for its study and investigation the consideration of sacred subjects, and it is a work more hallowed than any form of holy living or temple service; and, not least of all, it is well-pleasing to that goddess whom you worship, a goddess exceptionally wise and a lover of wisdom, to whom, as her name at least seems to indicate, knowledge and understanding are in the highest degree appropriate. For Isis is a Greek word, and so also is Typhon, her enemy, who is conceited, as his name implies, because of his ignorance and self-deception. He tears to pieces and scatters to the winds the sacred writings, which the goddess collects and puts together and gives into the keeping of those that are initiated into the holy rites, since this consecration, by a strict regimen and by abstinence from many kinds of food and from the lusts of the flesh, curtails licentiousness and the love of pleasure, and induces a habit of patient submission to the stern and rigorous services in shrines, the end and aim of which is the knowledge of Him who is the First, the Lord of All, the Ideal One. The name of her shrine also clearly promises knowledge and
(352) γνῶσιν καὶ εἴδησιν τοῦ ὅντος· ὑνομάζεται γὰρ Ἰσείων ὡς εἰσομένων τὸ ὅν, ἀν μετὰ λόγου καὶ φύσις εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ παρέλθωμεν τῆς θεοῦ.

3. "Ετι πολλοὶ μὲν Ἐρμοῦ, πολλοὶ δὲ Προμηθέως ἱστορήκασιν αὐτὴν θυγατέρα, ὡς τὸν μὲν ἐτερον σοφίας καὶ προνοίας, Ἐρμῆν δὲ γραμματικῆς καὶ μουσικῆς εὑρετὴν νομίζοντες. διὸ καὶ τῶν ἔν 'Ἐρμοῦ πόλει Μουσῶν τὴν προτέραν Ἰσιών ἀμα καὶ Δικαιοσύνην καλοῦσι, σοφὴν οὐσίαν, ὡσπερ εἰρήται, καὶ δεικνύουσαν τὰ θεία τοῖς ἁληθῶς καὶ δικαίως ἱεράφοροι καὶ ἱεροστόλοις προσαγορευομένοι. οὕτω δ' εἰσιν οἱ τὸν ἑρὸν λόγον περὶ θεῶν πάσης καθαρεύοντα δεισιδαιμονίας καὶ περιεργίας ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ φέροντες ὡσπερ ἐν κίστῃ καὶ περιστελλομενες, τὰ μὲν μέλανα καὶ σκιώδη τὰ δὲ φανερὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ τῆς περὶ θεῶν ὑποδηλοῦντες ὡσησεως, οὐ καὶ περὶ τὴν ἐσοθῆτα τὴν ἱερὰν ἀποφαινεται. διὸ καὶ τὸ κοσμεῖσθαι τούτοις τοὺς ἀποθανόντας Ἰσιακοὺς σύμβολον ἔστι τούτον τὸν λόγον εἶναι εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν, καὶ τούτον ἔχοντας, ἀλλο δὲ μηδέν, ἐκεί βαδίζειν. οὕτε γὰρ φιλοσόφους πωγωνοτροφίαι, ὡς Κλέα, καὶ τριβωνοφορίαι ποιοῦσιν, οὔτε Ἰσιακοὺς αἱ λυσοστολίαι καὶ ἐυρήσεις· ἀλλ' Ἰσιακὸς εἰσομένων Baxter: εἰσομένων.

2 ὡς Reiske: ὄν ὅν. 3 τὸν Basel ed. of 1542: τὸ.

4 ἐν added by Baxter.

5 σοφὴν οὐσίαν Baxter: σοφίαν.

6 ὑποδηλοῦντες one ms. and Meziriacus: ὑποδηλοῦντα.

7 ἐυρήσεις Reiske: ἐυρήσεις.

As if derived from οἶδα, know, and ὅν, being.

Cf. 355 F, infra.

Cf. 365 F, infra, and Clement of Alexandria, Stromateis, i. 106. 1, 21 (p. 382, Potter).
comprehension of reality; for it is named Iseion, to indicate that we shall comprehend reality if in a reasonable and devout frame of mind we pass within the portals of her shrines.

3. Moreover, many writers have held her to be the daughter of Hermes, and many others the daughter of Prometheus, because of the belief that Prometheus is the discoverer of wisdom and forethought, and Hermes the inventor of grammar and music. For this reason they call the first of the Muses at Hermopolis Isis as well as Justice: for she is wise, as I have said, and discloses the divine mysteries to those who truly and justly have the name of "bearers of the sacred vessels" and "wearers of the sacred robes." These are they who within their own soul, as though within a casket, bear the sacred writings about the gods clear of all superstition and pedantry; and they cloak them with secrecy, thus giving intimations, some dark and shadowy, some clear and bright, of their concepts about the gods, intimations of the same sort as are clearly evidenced in the wearing of the sacred garb. For this reason, too, the fact that the deceased votaries of Isis are decked with these garments is a sign that these sacred writings accompany them, and that they pass to the other world possessed of these and of naught else. It is a fact, Clea, that having a beard and wearing a coarse cloak does not make philosophers, nor does dressing in linen and shaving the hair make votaries of Isis; but the true votary of Isis

\[<\text{footnotes}>\]

\[\text{Supra, 351 f.}\]

\[\text{Cf. Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptio}nium Graecarum, No. 754 (not included in the third edition), or Al\text{tern}tümer \text{von Pergamon}, \text{viii. 2, p. 248, no. 326; also Moralia, 382 c.}\]
(352) ἐστιν ὡς ἄληθῶς ὁ τὰ δεικνύμενα καὶ δρώμενα περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τούτους, ὅταν[1] νόμῳ παραλάβη,2 λόγῳ ξητών καὶ φιλοσόφων περὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἁληθείας.

4. Ἐπεὶ τοὺς γε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸ κοινότατον τοῦτο καὶ σμικρότατον λέληθεν, ἐφ’ ὅτῳ τὰς τρίχας οἱ ἱερεῖς ἀποτίθενται καὶ λινᾶς ἐσθήτας φοροῦσι· οἱ μὲν οὐδ’ ὀλος φροντίζουσιν εἰδέναι Δ περὶ τούτων, οἱ δὲ τῶν μὲν ἔριν ὄσπερ τῶν κρεών σεβομένους τὸ πρόβατον ἀπέχεσθαι λέγουσιν, ἐφείσοθαῖ3 δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς διὰ τὸ πένθος, φορεῖν δὲ τὰ λινὰ διὰ τὴν χρόαν, ἦν τὸ λίνον ἀνθοῦν ἀνίησεν τῇ περιεχούσῃ τὸν κόσμον αἰθέριῳ χαροπότητι προσεοικύναν. ἦ δ’ ἁληθείς αὐτία μία πάντων ἐστὶ· "καθαροῦ γὰρ," ἢ φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, "οὐ θεμιτὸν ἀπτεσθαι μὴ καθαρῷ." περίττωμα δὲ τροφῆς καὶ σκύβαλον οὐδὲν ἀγνὸν οὐδὲ καθαρὸν ἐστὶν· ἐκ δὲ περιττωμάτων ἔρια καὶ λάχναι καὶ τρίχας καὶ ὄνυχες ἀναφύνονται καὶ βλαστάνουσι. γελοῖον οὖν Ε ἢν τὰς μὲν αὐτῶν τρίχας ἐν ταῖς ἀγνείαις ἀποτίθεσθαι ξυρουμένους4 καὶ λειανομένους πᾶν ὀμαλῶς τὸ σῶμα, τὰς δὲ τῶν θρεμμάτων ἀμπέχεσθαι καὶ φορεῖν· καὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἡσιοδον οἰεσθαι δεῖ λέγοντα

1 ὅταν] ἄττ’ ἐν Bentley.
2 παραλάβη Aldine: παραβάλη.
3 ἐφείσοθαῖ should probably be always read in Plutarch (e.g. 180 b) instead of ἐὑρειν or ἐὑρᾶν: ἐὑρεσθαῖ.
4 ξυρουμένους] also ξυρωμένους.
is he who, when he has legitimately received what is set forth in the ceremonies connected with these gods, uses reason in investigating and in studying the truth contained therein.

4. It is true that most people are unaware of this very ordinary and minor matter: the reason why the priests remove their hair and wear linen garments.\(^a\) Some persons do not care at all to have any knowledge about such things, while others say that the priests, because they revere the sheep,\(^b\) abstain from using its wool, as well as its flesh; and that they shave their heads as a sign of mourning, and that they wear their linen garments because of the colour which the flax displays when in bloom, and which is like to the heavenly azure which enfolds the universe. But for all this there is only one true reason, which is to be found in the words of Plato\(^c\): “for the Impure to touch the Pure is contrary to divine ordinance.” No surplus left over from food and no excrementitious matter is pure and clean; and it is from forms of surplus that wool, fur, hair, and nails originate and grow.\(^d\) So it would be ridiculous that these persons in their holy living should remove their own hair by shaving and making their bodies smooth all over,\(^e\) and then should put on and wear the hair of domestic animals. We should believe that when Hesiod\(^f\) said,

\(^a\) Cf. Herodotus, ii. 37 and 81.
\(^b\) In Saïs and Thebaïs according to Strabo, xvii. 40 (p. 812).
\(^c\) Phaedo, 67 b; cf. Moralia, 108 d.
\(^e\) Cf. Herodotus, ii. 37.
\(^f\) Works and Days, 742-743. The meaning of these somewhat cryptic lines is, of course, that one should not pare one’s nails at table; cf. also Moralia, ed. Bernardakis, vol. vii. p. 90.
μηδ' ἀπὸ πεντόξου θεῶν ἐν δαίτῃ θαλείῃ
ἀδιν ἀπὸ χλωροῦ τάμνειν αἰθωνι σιδήρῳ,

didáskein ἵτι δεῖ καθαροὺς τῶν τοιούτων γενο-
μένους εἰρταζέων, οὐκ ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς ίερουργίαις
χρήσθαι καθάρσει καὶ ἄφαιρέσει τῶν περιττωμά-
tων. ὁ δὲ λύνων φύεται μὲν εἰς ἀβανάτου τῆς γῆς
καὶ καρπὸν ἐδώδιμον ἀναδίδωσι, λιτὴν δὲ παρέχει
καὶ καθαρὰν ἑσθήτα· καὶ τῷ σκέπνοντι μὴ βαρύ-
νουσαν, εὐάρμοστον δὲ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἄραν, ἡκιστα
δὲ φθειροποιών, ὡς λέγουσι· περὶ δὲν ἔτερος λόγος.

5. Οἱ δ' ἱερεῖς οὕτω δυσχεραίνουσι τὴν τῶν
περιττωμάτων φύσιν, ὡστε μὴ μόνον παραπεῖσθαι
τῶν ἀσπρίων τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τῶν κρεών τὰ μήλεια
καὶ νεάν, πολλὴν ποιοῦντα περίττωσιν, ἄλλα καὶ
τοὺς ἄλας τῶν σιτίων ἐν ταῖς ἀγνείας ἄφαιρεῖν,
ἄλλας τε πλείωνας αἰτίας ἔχοντας καὶ τὸν
ποτικωτέρους καὶ βρωτικωτέρους ποιεῖν ἐπιθήγοντας
τὴν ὀρέξιν. τὸ γάρ, ὡς Ἀρισταγόρας ἔλεγε, διὰ
tὸ πηγνυμένοις πολλὰ τῶν μικρῶν ζῷων ἐν-
αποθήσκειν ἄλλοκόμενα μὴ καθαροὺς λογίζεσθαι
τοὺς ἄλας εὐθές ἔστι.

353 Λέγονται δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀπων ἐκ φρέατος ἰδίου
ποτίζειν, τοῦ δὲ Νείλου παντάπασιν ἀπείργευν, οὐ
μιαρὸν ἤγομένου· τὸ ὑδωρ διὰ τὸν κροκόδειλον,
ὡς ἔνιοι νομίζουσιν· οὕτων γὰρ οὕτως τίμιου·
Ἀγγυπτίους ὡς ὁ Νείλος· ἄλλα πιαίνειν δοκεῖ καὶ

1 τὸ added by Wyffenbach.
2 ἤγομένου Markland: ἤγομένους.
3 τίμιον Reiske: τιμή.

* * *

* Plutarch touches briefly on this subject in Moralia, 642 c.
Cut not the sere from the green when you honour the gods with full feasting, 
Paring with glittering steel the member that hath the five branches, 

he was teaching that men should be clean of such things when they keep high festival, and they should not amid the actual ceremonies engage in clearing away and removing any sort of surplus matter. But the flax springs from the earth which is immortal; it yields edible seeds, and supplies a plain and cleanly clothing, which does not oppress by the weight required for warmth. It is suitable for every season and, as they say, is least apt to breed lice; but this topic is treated elsewhere.a

5. The priests feel such repugnance for things that are of a superfluous nature that they not only eschew most legumes, as well as mutton and pork,b which leave a large residuum, but they also use no saltc with their food during their periods of holy living. For this they have various other reasons, but in particular the fact that salt, by sharpening the appetite, makes them more inclined to drinking and eating. To consider salt impure, because, as Aristagoras has said, when it is crystallizing many minute creatures are caught in it and die there, is certainly silly.

It is said also that they water the Apis from a well of his own, and keep him away from the Nile altogether, not that they think the water unclean because of the crocodile, as some believe; for there is nothing which the Egyptians hold in such honour as the Nile. But the drinking of the Nile water is

b Cf. Herodotus, ii. 37, and Moralia, 286 E.
c Cf. infra, 363 E; Moralia, 684 F, 729 A; and Arrian, Anabasis, iii. 4. 4.
6. Οίνον δ' οί μὲν ἐν 'Ηλίου πόλει θεραπεύοντες τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ εἰσφέρουσι τὸ παράπαν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, Β ὥσ οὐ προσήκον ἡμέρας πίνειν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ βασιλέως ἐφορώντος: οἱ δ' ἀλλοι χρῦνται μὲν ὀλίγῳ δέ. πολλὰς δ' άοίνους ἀγνείας ἔχουσιν, ἐν αἷς φιλοσοφοῦντες καὶ μανθάνοντες καὶ διδάσκοντες τά θεία διατελοῦσιν. οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς καὶ μετρητὸν ἐπινοῦν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων, ὡς 'Ἐκαταῖς ἰστόρηκεν, ἱερεῖς οὖντες. ἡράντο δὲ πίνειν ἀπὸ Ψαμμητίχου, πρότερον δ' οὐκ ἐπινοῦν οίνον οὐδ' ἐσπευδον ὡς φίλων θεοῖς, ἀλλ' ὡς αἴμα τῶν πολεμησάντων ποτε τοῖς θεοῖς, ἐξ δὲ οὖνται πεσόντων καὶ τῇ γῇ συμμιγνέντων ἀμπέλους γενέσθαι.

C διὸ καὶ τὸ μεθύειν ἐκφρονας ποιεῖν καὶ παραπλήγας, ἀτε δὴ τῶν πρωγόνων τοῦ αἵματος ἐμπλαμένους. ταύτα μὲν οὖν Εὐδοξος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ Γῆς Περιόδου λέγεσθαι φησιν οὕτως ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων.

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1 ἡμέρας] ιερέας Moser; ὑπηρέτας Michael, but cf. Diogenes Laertius, viii. 19 οίνον δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν μὴ γενέσθαι.
2 ἀλλοι] ἀλλοτε E. Capps.
3 ποιεῖν Markland: ποιεῖ.
4 Γῆς Pantazides: τῆς.

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a Cf. Aelian, De Natura Animalium, xi. 10.
b Cf. Iamblichus, Life of Pythagoras, 97 and 98, who says that the Pythagoreans would have nothing to do with
ISIS AND OSIRIS, 353

reputed to be fattening and to cause obesity. They do not want Apis to be in this condition, nor themselves either; but rather they desire that their bodies, the encasement of their souls, shall be well adjusted and light, and shall not oppress and straiten the divine element by the predominance and preponderance of the mortal.

6. As for wine, those who serve the god in Heliopolis bring none at all into the shrine, since they feel that it is not seemly to drink in the day-time while their Lord and King is looking upon them. The others use wine, but in great moderation. They have many periods of holy living when wine is prohibited, and in these they spend their time exclusively in studying, learning, and teaching religious matters. Their kings also were wont to drink a limited quantity prescribed by the sacred writings, as Hecataeus has recorded; and the kings are priests. The beginning of their drinking dates from the reign of Psammetichus; before that they did not drink wine nor use it in libation as something dear to the gods, thinking it to be the blood of those who had once battled against the gods, and from whom, when they had fallen and had become commingled with the earth, they believed vines to have sprung. This is the reason why drunkenness drives men out of their senses and crazes them, inasmuch as they are then filled with the blood of their forbears. These tales Eudoxus says in the second book of his World Travels are thus related by the priests.

wine in the day-time. See also the critical note on the opposite page.

c Cf. Diodorus, i. 70. 11.

7. 'Ιχθύων δὲ θαλαττίων πάντες μὲν οὐ πάντων ἄλλ’ ἐνίων ἀπέχονται, καθάρει 'Οξυρυγχίται τῶν ἀπ’ ἄγκιστρον’ σεβόμενοι γὰρ τὸν ὄξυρυγχον ἱχθὺν δεδίσι μὴ ποτὲ τὸ ἄγκιστρον οὐ καθαρὸν ἐστιν ὄξυρυγχον περιπεσόντος αὐτῶ. Συνήται δὲ φάγρου’ δοκεὶ γὰρ ἐπιώτι τῷ Νείλῳ συν-

D εὐπαίνεσθαι, καὶ τὴν ἀὐξήσιν ἀσμένους φράζειν αὐτάγγελος ὅρομενοι, οί δ’ ἱερεῖς ἀπέχονται πάντων’ πρώτου δὲ μηνὸς ἐνάτη τῶν ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων ἐκάστου πρὸ τῆς ἀυλείου θύρας ὁππὸν ἱχθὺν κατεσθίοντος, οἱ ἱερεῖς οὐ γεύονται μὲν κατακαίουσι δὲ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν τοὺς ἱχθοὺς δύο λόγους ἔχοντες, ὅν τὸν μὲν ἱερὸν καὶ περιττὸν αὐθὴς ἀναλήψωμαι, συνάδοντα τὸν περὶ 'Οσίριδος καὶ Τυφῶνος ὀσίως φιλοσοφοῦμενοι· οἱ δ’ ἐμφανὴς καὶ πρόχειρος οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον οὐδ’ ἀπερίεργον’ ὁφον ἀποφαίνων τὸν ἱχθύν, 'Ομὴρῳ μαρτυρεῖ μὴτε Φαίακας τοὺς ἀβροβίους μήτε τοὺς Ἰθακησίους Ε ἀνθρώπους νησιώτατα ἱχθοὺς χρωμένους ποιοῦντι μήτε τοὺς Ἀθυρσίοις ἑταῖροις ἐν πλω’ τοσοῦτοι καὶ ἐν θαλάττῃ πρὶν εἰς ἐσχάτην ἐλθεῖν ἀπορίαν. ὅλως δὲ καὶ τὴν θαλατταν ἐκ πῦους ἁγιοῦται καὶ

1 οὐδ’ ἀπερίεργον Bentley: οὐδὲ περίεργον.  
2 ἀποφαίνων Baxter: ἀποφαίνειν.  
3 πῦους F.C.B.: πυρὸς.

a Cf. Herodotus, ii. 37.  
b Cf. Strabo, xvii. 1. 40 (p. 812); Aelian, De Natura Animalium, x. 46; Clement of Alexandria, Protrepticus, ii. 39. 5 (p. 34 Potter); also 358 b and 380 b, infra.  
c Cf. Aelian, De Natura Animalium, x. 19.  
d Cf. Moralia, 729 λ.  

c Cf. Plutarch does not explain this elsewhere (cf. 363 e, infra), but the reason may be that given by Clement of Alexandria, Stromateis, vii. 6. 34. 1 (p. 850 Potter), that fish do not breathe the same air as other living creatures.
7. As for sea-fish, all Egyptians do not abstain from all of them, but from some kinds only; as, for example, the inhabitants of Oxyrhynchus abstain from those that are caught with a hook; for, inasmuch as they revere the fish called oxyrhynchus (the pike), they are afraid that the hook may be unclean, since an oxyrhynchus may have been caught with it. The people of Syenê abstain from the phagus (the sea-bream); for this fish is reputed to appear with the oncoming of the Nile, and to be a self-sent messenger, which, when it is seen, declares to a glad people the rise of the river. The priests, however, abstain from all fish; and on the ninth day of the first month, when every one of the other Egyptians eats a broiled fish in front of the outer door of his house, the priests do not even taste the fish, but burn them up in front of their doors. For this practice they have two reasons, one of which is religious and curious, and I shall discuss it at another time, since it harmonizes with the sacred studies touching Osiris and Typhon; the other is obvious and commonplace, in that it declares that fish is an unnecessary and superfluous food, and confirms the words of Homer, who, in his poetry, represents neither the Phaeacians, who lived amid a refined luxury, nor the Ithacans, who dwelt on an island, as making any use of fish, nor did even the companions of Odysseus, while on such a long voyage and in the midst of the sea, until they had come to the extremity of want. In fine, these people hold the sea to be derived from purulent

Homer, *Od.* iv. 369 and xii. 332. Cf. also *Moralia*, 730 c, d. The facts are as stated, but the deduction that fishing was despised in Homeric times is not warranted.
παρωρισμένην οὐδὲ μέρος οὐδὲ στοιχεῖον ἀλλ' ἀλλοίουν1 περίττωμα διεφθορὸς καὶ νοσώδες.

8. Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀλογον οὐδὲ μυθώδες οὐδ' ὑπὸ δεισιδαιμονίασ, ὥσπερ ἑννοι νομίζουσιν, ἐγκατεστοι-χειοῦτο ταῖς2 ιερουργίαις, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἡθικὰς ἐχοντα καὶ χρειῶδεις αἴτιας, τα δ' οὐκ ἄμοιρα κομψότητος ἱστορικῆς ἢ φυσικῆς ἔστιν, οἷον τὸ Φ περὶ κρομμύου. τὸ γὰρ ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ἀπολέσθαι τὸν τῆς Ἰσιδος τρόφιμον Δίκτων ποὺ3 κρομμύων ἐπιδραττόμενον ἐσχάτως ἀπίθανον· οἶ δ' ιερεῖς ἀφοσιοῦνται καὶ δυσχεραίουσι καὶ τὸ κρόμμυον παραφυλάττοντες, ὄτι τῆς σελήνης φθινούσης μόνον εὐτροφεῖν τοῦτο καὶ τεθηλέναι πέφυκεν. ἕστι δὲ πρόσφορον οὐθ' ἀγνεύουσιν οὐθ' ἐορτάζουσι, τοῖς μὲν ὅτι διψήν, τοῖς δ' ὅτι δακρύειν ποιεῖ τοὺς προσφερομένους.

'Ομοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ ἀνίερον ζῴον ἰγγοῦντα· ὅς μάλιστα γὰρ ὀχεύεσθαι δοκεῖ τῆς σελήνης φθινούσης, καὶ τῶν τὸ γάλα πινόντων ἔξανθεῖ τὰ 354 σώματα λέπραν καὶ ψυρικὰς τραχύτητας. τὸν δὲ λόγον, ὅν θύοντες ἀπαξ4 ὑπὸ εὐ πανσελήνως καὶ ἐσθίοντες5 ἐπιλέγουσιν, ὡς ὁ Τυφών ὑπὸ διώκων πρὸς τὴν πανσελήνων εὑρε τὴν ξυλώνην σοφόν, ἐν ἂ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ 'Οσίριδος ἐκείτο, καὶ διέρρυψεν,

1 ἀλλ' ἀλλοίουν] ἀλλ' οἶον Bases, but see 729 b where ἀλλότριον stands in the parallel passage.
2 ταῖς added by Wytenbach.
3 ποὺ F.C.B.: οὐ.
4 ἀπαξ] ἀπαξ τοῦ έτούς Squire from Ael. II.1. x. 16.
5 καὶ ἐσθίοντεs Bentley: κατεσθίοντεs.
matter, and to lie outside the confines of the world and not to be a part of it or an element, but a corrupt and pestilential residuum of a foreign nature.\(^a\)

8. Nothing that is irrational or fabulous or prompted by superstition, as some believe, has ever been given a place in their rites, but in them are some things that have moral and practical values, and others that are not without their share in the refinements of history or natural science, as, for example, that which has to do with the onion. For the tale that Dictys, the nurseling of Isis, in reaching for a clump of onions, fell into the river and was drowned is extremely incredible. But the priests keep themselves clear of the onion \(^b\) and detest it and are careful to avoid it, because it is the only plant that naturally thrives and flourishes in the waning of the moon. It is suitable for neither fasting nor festival, because in the one case it causes thirst and in the other tears for those who partake of it.

In like manner they hold the pig to be an unclean animal,\(^c\) because it is reputed to be most inclined to mate in the waning of the moon, and because the bodies of those who drink its milk break out with leprosy and scabrous itching.\(^d\) The story which they relate at their only sacrifice and eating of a pig at the time of the full moon, how Typhon, while he was pursuing a boar by the light of the full moon, found the wooden coffin in which lay the body of Osiris, which he rent to pieces and scattered,\(^e\) they do not

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\(^a\) Cf. Moralia, 729 b.

\(^b\) Cf. Aulus Gellius, xx. 8.

\(^c\) Cf. Herodotus, ii. 47.

\(^d\) Cf. Moralia, 670 p; Aelian, De Natura Animalium, x. 16; Tacitus, Histories, v. 4.

\(^e\) Cf. 358 a, infra.
(354) οὐ πάντες ἀποδέχονται, παρακουσμάτων ὁσπερ ἀλλα πολλὰ νομίζοντες.

Ἀλλὰ τρυφὴν τε καὶ πολυτέλειαν καὶ ἡδυπάθειαν οὔτω προβάλλεσθαι τοὺς παλαιοὺς λέγονσιν, ὡστε καὶ στήλην ἐφασαν ἐν Θῆβαις ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ κείσθαι κατάρας ἐγγεγραμμένας ἔχουσαι κατὰ Μενίων τοῦ Β βασιλέως, ὡς πρῶτος Αἰγυπτίως τῆς ἀπλοῦτου καὶ ἀχρημάτου καὶ λυτῆς ἀπῆλλαξε διαίτης. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Τέχνακτις ο Βοκχόρεως πατὴρ στρατεύων ἐπ' Ἀραβας, τῆς ἀποσκευής βραδυνούσης, ἥδεως τῷ προστυχόντι σιτίῳ χρησάμενος, εἰτα κομηθεῖς βαθὺν ὑπόν ἐπὶ στιβάδος, ἀσπάσασθαι τὴν εὐτέλειαν· ἐκ δὲ τούτου καταράσασθαι τῷ Μενί, καὶ τῶν ιερέων ἐπανεσάντων συλλυτεύσαι τὴν κατάραν.

9. Οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς ἀπεδεικνυντό μὲν ἐκ τῶν ιερέων ἢ τῶν μαχίμων, τοῦ μὲν δὲ ἄνδρειάν τοῦ δὲ διὰ σοφίαν γένους ἀξίωμα καὶ τιμὴν ἔχοντος. δ' ἐκ μαχίμων ἀποδεειγμένος εὐθὺς ἐγίγνετο τῶν Ι ειρέων καὶ μετείχε τῆς φιλοσοφίας, ἐπικεκρυμένης τὰ πολλὰ μύθους καὶ λόγους ἀμυνότας ἐμφάσεις τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ διάφασεις ἔχουσιν, ὡσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ παράδηλουσιν αὐτοῖς πρὸ τῶν ιερῶν τὰς

1 παρακουσμάτων Xylander: παρακουσμάτων.
2 ἐφασαν] ἐστησαν Sieveking, omitting κείσθαι.
3 Mein Baxter: Μενίων.

a Usually known as Menes. The name is variously written by Greek authors as Min, Minaeus, Meneus, Menas. According to tradition he was the first king of Egypt. His reign is put circa 3500 or 3400 B.C. Cf. Herodotus, ii. 4. In Diodorus, i. 45, is found this same story.

b Tefnakhte (also spelled Tnehmenos or Tnephaechtho by Greek writers), after much fighting, made himself king of Lower Egypt circa 725 B.C.
all accept, believing it to be a misrepresentation, even as many other things are.

Moreover, they relate that the ancient Egyptians put from them luxury, lavishness, and self-indulgence, to such a degree that they used to say that there was a pillar standing in the temple at Thebes which had inscribed upon it curses against Meinis, their king, who was the first to lead the Egyptians to quit their frugal, thrifty, and simple manner of living. It is said also that Technactis, the father of Bocchoris, when he was leading his army against the Arabians, because his baggage was slow in arriving, found pleasure in eating such common food as was available, and afterwards slept soundly on a bedding of straw, and thus became fond of frugal living; as the result, he invoked a curse on Meinis, and, with the approval of the priests, had a pillar set up with the curse inscribed upon it.

9. The kings were appointed from the priests or from the military class, since the military class had eminence and honour because of valour, and the priests because of wisdom. But he who was appointed from the military class was at once made one of the priests and a participant in their philosophy, which, for the most part, is veiled in myths and in words containing dim reflexions and adumbrations of the truth, as they themselves intimate beyond question by appropriately placing sphinxes before their

*c Bekneranef, king of Egypt circa 718-712 B.C., was, according to Greek tradition, a wise and just ruler. An apocryphal story about him may be found in Aelian, De Natura Animalium, xii. 3.
*d Cf. Clement of Alexandria, Stromateis, v. 5. 31, chap. 5 (p. 664 Potter).
(354) φιγγας ἐπιεικῶς ὡστάντες, ὡς αἰνιγματώδη σοφίαν τῆς θεολογίας αὐτῶν ἐχούσης. τὸ δ᾽ ἐν Σάει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἣν καὶ Ἰσων νομίζουσιν, ἔδος ἐπιγραφὴν εἰχὲ τοιαῦτην "ἐγώ εἰμι πᾶν τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ ὄν καὶ ἐσόμενον καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν πέπλον οὐδεὶς πωθητὸς ἀπεκάλυψεν."

"Επὶ δὲ τῶν πολλῶν νομιζόντων ὸδὸν παρ’ Ἀἰγυπτίων ὅνομα τοῦ Δίως εἶναι τὸν Ἄμοῦν (ὁ παράγοντες ἥμεις Ἀμμωνα λέγομεν), Μανεθώς µὲν Δὸ Σεβεννύτης ἡ αὐτοὺς τοῦ κεκρυμμένον οἴεται καὶ τήν κρύψιν ὑπὸ ταύτης δηλοῦσθαι τῆς φωνῆς. Ἐκαταιὸς δ᾽ ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης φησὶ τούτῳ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλον τῷ ἰήματι χρήσθαι τοὺς Ἀἰγυπτίους, ὅταν τῶς προσκαλοῦντας ἐπισκλητικήν γὰρ εἰναι τὴν φωνήν. διὸ τὸν πρῶτον θεόν, δὲ τῷ παντί τὸν ἐν τούτῳ νομιζοῦσιν, ὡς ἀφανῆ καὶ κεκρυμμένον ὄντα προσκαλοούμενοι καὶ παρακαλοῦνται ἐφανῆ γενέσθαι καὶ δῆλον αὐτοῦς, Ἄμοῦν λέγουσιν· ἥ µὲν οὖν εὐλάβεια τῆς περὶ τὰ θεία σοφίας Ἀἰγυπτίων τοσαύτη ἤν.

10. Μαρτυροῦσι δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἐλλήνων οἱ σοφοὶ· Ἐ στατοὶ, Σόλων Θαλῆς Πλάτων Ἐὐδοκίς Πυθαγόρας, ὡς δ᾽ ἐννιοὶ φασὶ, καὶ Λυκοῦργος, εἰς Ἀἰγυπτοῦ ἀφικόμενοι καὶ συγγενόμενοι τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν. Εὐδοκίος µὲν οὖν Χονούφεως φασὶ Μεμφίτου διακύβας, Σόλων δὲ Ὁγγίτος Σατίου, Πυθαγόρας δ᾽ Οἰνούφεως Ἡλιοπολίτου. μάλιστα δ᾽ οὗτος, Φ ὡς ἔοικε, θαυμασθεὶς καὶ θαυμάσας τοὺς ἀνδρας

1 ἤν Aldine ed.: δ᾽ ἤν.
2 Σεβεννύτης] often written σεβεννύτης.
3 δὲ added by Bentley.
shrines to indicate that their religious teaching has in it an enigmatical sort of wisdom. In Saïs the statue of Athena, whom they believe to be Isis, bore the inscription: “I am all that has been, and is, and shall be, and my robe no mortal has yet uncovered.”

Moreover, most people believe that Amoun is the name given to Zeus in the land of the Egyptians, a name which we, with a slight alteration, pronounce Ammon. But Manetho of Sebennytus thinks that the meaning “concealed” or “concealment” lies in this word. Hecataeus b of Abdera, however, says that the Egyptians use this expression one to another whenever they call to anyone, for the word is a form of address. When they, therefore, address the supreme god, whom they believe to be the same as the Universe, as if he were invisible and concealed, and implore him to make himself visible and manifest to them, they use the word “Amoun”; so great, then, was the circumspection of the Egyptians in their wisdom touching all that had to do with the gods.

10. Witness to this also are the wisest of the Greeks: Solon, Thales, Plato, Eudoxus, Pythagoras, who came to Egypt and consorted with the priests c; and in this number some would include Lycurgus also. Eudoxus, they say, received instruction from Chonuphis of Memphis, Solon from Sonchis of Saïs, and Pythagoras from Oenuphis of Heliopolis. Pythagoras, as it seems, was greatly admired, and he also greatly admired the Egyptian priests, and, copying

a Cf. Herodotus, ii. 42.

b Cf. Diels, Fragmenta der Vorsokratiker, Hecataeus (60), No. B, 8.

c Cf. Diodorus, i. 96 and 98; Clement of Alexandria, Stromateis, i. 69. 1, chap. 15 (p. 356 Potter); Moralia, 578 ε, and Life of Solon, chap. xxvi. (92 ε).
απεμμήσατο τὸ συμβολικὸν αὐτῶν καὶ μυστηριώδες, ἀναμείξας αὐτὶς μασῆ τὰ δόγματα· τῶν γὰρ καλομένων ἱερογλυφικῶν γραμμάτων οὐδὲν ἀπολείπει τὰ πολλὰ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν παραγγελμάτων, οἷον ἐστὶ τὸ "μὴ ἐσθίεις ἐπὶ δίφρου" "μηδ' ἐπὶ χοίνικος καθῆθαι" "μηδὲ φοίνικα φυτοτομεῖν" "μηδὲ πῦρ μαχαῖρα σκαλεύεις ἐν οἴκια."  

Δοκῶ δ' ἐγώνει καὶ τὸ τὴν μονάδα τοὺς ἀνδρας ὄνομάζειν Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ τὴν δύαδα "Ἀρτεμιν, Ἀθηνᾶν δὲ τὴν ἐβδομάδα, Ποσειδώνα δὲ τὸν πρώτον κύβον, ἔοικέναι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἱδρυμένωι καὶ γλυφομένωι νη Δία καὶ γραφομένωι. τὸν γὰρ βασιλέα καὶ κύριον "Οσίριν ὀφθαλμῷ καὶ σκήπτρῳ 355 γράφοντος· ἐννοι δ' καὶ τούνομα διερμηνεύονσι πολυφθαλμον, ὡς τοῦ μὲν ὅσ τὸ πολύ τοῦ δ' ἱπτὸ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν Ἀιγυπτία γλώσσῃ φράζοντος τὸν δ' οὐρανὸν ὡς ἀγήρων δι' ἀιῶνες καρδία θυείων ἐσχάρας ὑποκειμένης. ἐν δὲ Θηβαῖς εἰκόνες ἦσαν ἀνακείμεναι δικαστῶν ἄχειρι, ἢ δὲ τοῦ ἀρχιδικαστοῦ καταμένουσα τοῖς ὀμμασιν, ὡς ἄδωρον ἀμα τὴν δικαίους ὑπὸ καὶ ἀνένευκτον οὖσαν.

Τοῖς δὲ μαχίμως κάνθαρος ἦν γλυφὴ οφραγίδος·

1 φυτοτομεῖν F.C.B.: φυτεύειν.
2 μαχαίρα Bernardakis: μαχαίρη.
3 τὴν δύαδα Squire: δύαδα τὴν.
5 φράζοντος Baxter: φράζοντες.

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a For these precepts cf. Moralia, 12 e-f, and Life of Numa, chap. xiv. (69 c); Athenaeus, x. 77 (452 d); Iamblichus, Protrepticus, chap. xxi. (pp. 131-160); Diogenes Laertius, viii. 17-18.

b Cf. 365 b, infra, and Xenophon, Anabasis, ii. 3. 16.
their symbolism and occult teachings, incorporated his doctrines in enigmas. As a matter of fact most of the Pythagorean precepts \(^a\) do not at all fall short of the writings that are called hieroglyphs; such, for example, as these: "Do not eat upon a stool"; "Do not sit upon a peck measure"; "Do not lop off the shoots of a palm-tree \(^b\)"; "Do not poke a fire with a sword within the house."

For my part, I think also that their naming unity Apollo, duality Artemis, the hebdomad Athena, and the first cube Poseidon, \(^c\) bears a resemblance to the statues and even to the sculptures and paintings with which their shrines are embellished. For their King and Lord Osiris they portray by means of an eye and a sceptre \(^d\); there are even some who explain the meaning of the name as "many-eyed" \(^e\) on the theory that os in the Egyptian language means "many" and iri "eye"; and the heavens, since they are ageless because of their eternity, they portray by a heart with a censer beneath.\(^f\) In Thebes there were set up statues of judges without hands, and the statue of the chief justice had its eyes closed, to indicate that justice is not influenced by gifts or by intercession.\(^g\)

The military class had their seals engraved with the form of a beetle \(^h\); for there is no such thing as a

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\(^a\) Cf., for example, 381 \(f\) and 393 \(b\), infra, and Iamblichus, Comment. in Nichomachi Arithmetica, 14.

\(^b\) Occasionally found on the monuments; cf. 371 \(e\), infra.

\(^c\) Cf. Diodorus, i. 11.

\(^d\) Cf. Horapollo, Hieroglyphics, i. 22.

\(^e\) Cf. Diodorus, i. 48. 6.

\(^f\) The Egyptian scarab, or sacred beetle. Cf. Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxx. 13 (30).
(355) οὐ γὰρ ἔστι κάνθαρος θῆλυς, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἄρσενες. τίκτουσι δὲ τὸν γόνον εἰς σφαιροποιήσων, οὐ τροφῆς μᾶλλον ὕλην ἢ γενέσεως χώραν παρασκευάζοντες.

B 11. "Ὅταν οὖν ἀ μυθολογοῦσιν Αἰγύπτιοι περὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀκούσας, πλάνας καὶ διαμελίσμοις καὶ πολλά τοιαῦτα παθήματα, δεὶ τῶν προειρημένων μνημονεύειν καὶ μηδὲν οἶεσθαι τούτων λέγεσθαι γεγονός οὖτω καὶ πεπραγμένον. οὐ γὰρ τὸν κύνα κυρίως Ἑρμήν λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ζῶου τὸ φυλακτικὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγρυπνον καὶ τὸ φιλόσοφον, γνώσει καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ τὸ φίλον καὶ τὸ ἔχθρον ὀρίζοντος, ἵφησιν ὁ Πλάτων, τῷ λογιστάτῳ τῶν θεῶν συνοικείοις. οὐδὲ τὸν ἥλιον ἐκ λωτοῦ νομίζουσι

C βρέφος ἀνίσχειν νεογιλῶν, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἀνατολὴν ἥλιον γράφουσι, τὴν ἐξ ὑγρῶν ἥλιον γεγομένην ἀναψιν αἰνετόμενοι. καὶ γὰρ τὸν ὦμοτατον Περσῶν βασιλέα καὶ φοβερώτατον ᾽Ωχον ἀποκτείναντα πολλούς, τέλος δὲ καὶ τὸν ᾽Απιν ἀποσφάξαντα καὶ καταδειπνήσαντα μετὰ τῶν φιλῶν, ἐκάλεσαν "μάχαιραν," καὶ καλοῦσι μέχρι νῦν οὕτως ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ τῶν βασιλέων, οὐ κυρίως δῆπον τὴν οὔσιαν

1 εἰς σφαιροποίησιν F.C.B.: ὡς σφαιροποιοῦσιν. (τ. γ. ἀφιέντες εἰς ὄνθον δὲν σφαιροποιοῦσιν Pohlenz.)
2 παθήματα] μαθήματα most mss.
3 συνοικείουσιν Baxter: κυνικείουσιν.

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a Cf. 381 a, infra. The idea that all beetles are male was very common in antiquity; cf., for example, Aelian, De Natura Animalium, x. 15; Porphyry, De Abstinentia, iv. 9.

b They are σκατοφάγοι.


d Cf. 368 f and 400 a, infra.
female beetle, but all beetles are male. They eject their sperm into a round mass which they construct, since they are no less occupied in arranging for a supply of food than in preparing a place to rear their young.

11. Therefore, Clea, whenever you hear the traditional tales which the Egyptians tell about the gods, their wanderings, dismemberments, and many experiences of this sort, you must remember what has been already said, and you must not think that any of these tales actually happened in the manner in which they are related. The facts are that they do not call the dog by the name Hermes as his proper name, but they bring into association with the most astute of their gods that animal’s watchfulness and wakefulness and wisdom, since he distinguishes between what is friendly and what is hostile by his knowledge of the one and his ignorance of the other, as Plato remarks. Nor, again, do they believe that the sun rises as a new-born babe from the lotus, but they portray the rising of the sun in this manner to indicate allegorically the enkindling of the sun from the waters. So also Ochus, the most cruel and terrible of the Persian kings, who put many to death and finally slaughtered the Apis and ate him for dinner in the company of his friends, the Egyptians called the “Sword”; and they call him by that name even to this day in their list of kings. But manifestly they

* The sacred bull.
† Both Cambyses and Ochus are said to have killed the sacred bull Apis; cf. 368 f, infra, and Herodotus, iii. 29, for Cambyses; for Ochus, 363 c, infra, and Aelian, Varia Historia, iv. 8. In De Natura Animalium, x. 28, Aelian says that both Cambyses and Ochus were guilty of this offence.
(355) αὐτοῦ σημαίνοντες, ἄλλα τοῦ τρόπου τὴν σκληροτητα καὶ κακίαν ὁργάνω φοινικῷ παρεικάζοντες. οὕτω δὴ τὰ περὶ θεῶν ἀκούσασα καὶ δεχομένη παρὰ τῶν ἐξηγουμένων τὸν μύθον οἷος καὶ φιλο-
D σόφως, καὶ δρώσα μὲν ἄει καὶ διαφυλάττουσα τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ νεομισμένα, τοῦ δ’ ἀληθῆ δόξαν ἔχειν περὶ θεῶν μὴν δὲν οἰκομένη μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς μήτε θύσεων μήτε ποιήσεων ἱεραρμισμένων, οὐδὲν ἄν ἐλαττον ἀποφεύγοιο κακὸν ἀθεότητος δεισιδαι-
μονίαν.

12. Λέξεται δ’ ὁ μύθος οὕτως ἐν βραχυτάτοις ὡς ἐνεστὶ μάλιστα, τῶν ἀχρήστων σφόδρα καὶ περιτ-
τῶν ἀφαιρεθέντων.

Τῆς 'Ρεάς φασὶ κρύφα τῷ Κρόνῳ συγγενομένης αἰσθόμενον ἐπαράσασθαι τὸν Ἡλιον αὐτῇ μήτε μην μήτ’ ἐναιντῷ τεκεῖν ἑρῶντα δὲ τὸν Ἐρμήν τῆς θεοῦ συνελθεῖν, εἴτα παῖξαντα πεττίαν πρὸς τὴν σελήνην καὶ ἀφελόντα τῶν φῶτων ἐκάστοτο τὸ ἐβδομηκοστὸν ἐκ πάντων ἥμερας πέντε συνελεῖν. 

Ε καὶ ταῖς ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίαις ἐπαγαγεῖν, ὡς νῦν ἐπαγομένας Αὐγίστιοι καλοῦσι καὶ τῶν θεῶν γενεθλίους ἄγουσι. τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ τὸν "Οσιριν

1 ποιήσεων Dübner: ποιήσεων αὐτοῖς.
2 ἄν added by F.C.B.
3 ἀποφεύγοιο F.C.B.: ἀποφεύξοιο.
4 λέξεται F.C.B.: λέγεται (λεγεσθω Paton; but the copyist evidently exchanged a letter with ἀποφεύγοιο).
5 πεττία Hatzidakis: πέττια.
6 συνελεῖν Xylan der: συνελθεῖν.
7 ἐπαγαγεῖν Reiske: ἐπάγειν.

a Cf. Moralia, 164 F, 165 C, 378 A, 379 E.
b Cf. Moralia, 429 F; Diodorus, i. 13. 4; Eusebius, Praeparatio Evangelii. ii. 1. 1-32.
c Plutarch evidently does not reckon the ἐν η καὶ νέα (the
do not mean to apply this name to his actual being; they but liken the stubbornness and wickedness in his character to an instrument of murder. If, then, you listen to the stories about the gods in this way, accepting them from those who interpret the story reverently and philosophically, and if you always perform and observe the established rites of worship, and believe that no sacrifice that you can offer, no deed that you may do will be more likely to find favour with the gods than your belief in their true nature, you may avoid superstition which is no less an evil than atheism.a

12. Here follows the story related in the briefest possible words with the omission of everything that is merely unprofitable or superfluous:

They say that the Sun, when he became aware of Rhea's intercourse with Cronus,b invoked a curse upon her that she should not give birth to a child in any month or any year; but Hermes, being enamoured of the goddess, consorted with her. Later, playing at draughts with the moon, he won from her the seventieth part of each of her periods of illumination,c and from all the winnings he composed five days, and intercalated them as an addition to the three hundred and sixty days. The Egyptians even now call these five days intercalatedd and celebrate them as the birthdays of the gods. They relate that on the first
day when the old moon changed to the new) as a period of illumination, since the light given by the moon at that time is practically negligible. An intimation of this is given in his Life of Solon, chap. xxv. (92 c). Cf. also Plato, Cratylus, 409 b, and the scholium on Aristophanes' Clouds, 1186. One seventieth of 12 lunar months of 29 days each (348 days) is very nearly five days.

d Cf. Herodotus, ii. 4.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

geneòsai, kai foánh autò tekhénti sunekpeseiv òs ó pántov kúrios eis fôs próeisov. éniov de Pamulình2 tônà lêgonov en Óhìbasas údrenómenon3 ek toù éroù toù Diós foánh akóussai diakaleuoménnh àn-eiatein meta boîs òti megas basileís euergeth 'Ociris gégono: kai dia touto thrébai ton 'Ociron, égxeirísanctos4 autò toù Krónou, kai thn thn Pamulíōn2 éortín autò telèisai fálhphoríoues éou-F kúian. th dé deutérà toù 'Aroupíren, di 'Apòllwna, òn kai preobúteron 'Oroon éniov kalodîn. th trítì th Tufwìna mh kairopî mhde kata xóran, álî anár-riónta plhghh dìa ths plevrãs 'xalèštai5. tetàrth6 th tìn 'Ison en panýgrwos gevèshai. th dé pémptth Nébwn, òn kai Teleútîn kai 'Aphródîtîn, éniov de kai Nícun ónoumazousin. einai de toû mé 'Ociron êx 'Hlíon kai toû 'Aroupíren, ek d' 'Èrmou thn 356 'Ison, ek dé toû Krónou toû Tufwìna kai thn Né-ðwhn, òi kai thn trítì thn épagoumenon apofráda nomizontes ói basileís ouk ékhrhmatizouv ou'd' èthéráp-peon autous méxri nuktós. yìmásðai7 dé to Tufwîn th Nébwn, 'Ison dé kai 'Ociron érrwntas allhìwn kai prîn ë gevèshai kata gastos ùpo

1 ó pántov Reiske: ãpántov.
2 Pamulình.... Pamulìôn] Pamulình.... Pamulìôn L. Dindorf.
3 údrenómenon Baxter: údrenómenh (or else autò in the fourth line infra must be changed to autì).
4 égxeirísanctos Salmasius: égxeirísanctos.
5 'xalèštai Reiske: 'xalèsthai.
6 tetàrth] th tetàrth to correspond with the other four?
7 yìmásðai Xylander: tímáðai.

What is known about Pamyles (or Paamyles or Pam-myles), a Priapian god of the Egyptians, may be found in Kock, Com. Alt. Frag. ii. p. 289. Cf. also 365 b, infra.

32
of these days Osiris was born, and at the hour of his birth a voice issued forth saying, "The Lord of All advances to the light." But some relate that a certain Pamyles,\(^a\) while he was drawing water in Thebes, heard a voice issuing from the shrine of Zeus, which bade him proclaim with a loud voice that a mighty and beneficent king, Osiris, had been born; and for this Cronus entrusted to him the child Osiris, which he brought up. It is in his honour that the festival of Pamylia is celebrated, a festival which resembles the phallic processions. On the second of these days Arueris was born whom they call Apollo, and some call him also the elder Horus. On the third day Typhon was born, but not in due season or manner, but with a blow he broke through his mother's side and leapt forth. On the fourth day Isis was born in the regions that are ever moist\(^b\); and on the fifth Nephthys, to whom they give the name of Finality\(^c\) and the name of Aphrodite, and some also the name of Victory. There is also a tradition that Osiris and Arueris were sprung from the Sun, Isis from Hermes,\(^d\) and Typhon and Nephthys from Cronus. For this reason the kings considered the third of the intercalated days as inauspicious, and transacted no business on that day, nor did they give any attention to their bodies until nightfall. They relate, moreover, that Nephthys became the wife of Typhon\(^e\); but Isis and Osiris were enamoured of each other\(^f\) and consorted together in

\(^a\) The meaning is doubtful, but Isis as the goddess of vegetation, of the Nile, and of the sea, might very naturally be associated with moisture.

\(^b\) Cf. 366 \(b\) and 375 \(b\), \textit{infra}.

\(^c\) Cf. 366 \(a\), \textit{supra}.

\(^d\) Cf. 375 \(b\), \textit{infra}.

\(^e\) Cf. 375 \(b\), \textit{infra}.

\(^f\) Cf. 373 \(b\), \textit{infra}.
PLUTARCH’S MORALIA

(356) σκότω συνείναι. ἔνιοι δὲ φασὶ καὶ τὸν Ἅρούηριν οὕτω γεγονέναι καὶ καλεῖσθαι προσβύτερον Ὄρον ὑπ’ Ἀιγυπτίων, Ἀπόλλωνα δ’ ὕφ’ Ἐλλήνων.

13. Βασιλεύοντα δ’ Ὀσίριν Ἀιγυπτίους μὲν εὐθὺς ἄπορον βίον καὶ θηρίωδους ἀπαλλάξαι καρποὺς τε δειξάντα καὶ νόμους θέμενον αὐτοῖς καὶ Β θεοὺς διδάξαντα1 τιμᾶν. ύστερον δὲ γῆν πᾶσαν ήμεροὺςἐπελθεῖν ἑλάχιστα μὲν ὀπλω δεηθέντα, πειθοὶ δὲ τους πλείστους καὶ λόγῳ μετ’ ὑδῆσ καὶ πάσης μούσικῆς θελγομένους προσαγόμενον. θεῖον Ἐλλησι δόξαι Διονύσῳ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι.

Τυφώνα δ’ ἀπόντος μὲν οὐδὲν νεωτερίζειν, διὰ τὸ τὴν Ἰσον εὐ μάλα φυλάττεσθαι καὶ προσέχειν ἐγκρατῶς ἔχουσαν,2 ἐπεινελθόντες δὲ δόλων μηχαναθαί, συνωμότας ἄνδρας ἐβδομήκοιτα καὶ δύο πεποιημένον καὶ συνεργὸν ἔχοντα βασίλισσαν εἰς Αἰθιοπίας παροῦσαν, ἣν ὀνομάζουσιν Ἀσώ. τοῦ C δ’ Ὀσίριδος ἐκμετρησάμενον λάθρα τὸ σῶμα καὶ κατασκευάσαντα πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος λάρνακα καλῆν καὶ κεκοσμημένην περιττῶς εἰσενεγκείν εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον. ἡσθέντως δὲ τῇ ὡθεῖ καὶ θαυμασάντων, ὑποσχέσθαι τὸν Τυφώνα μετὰ παιδίας, ὃς ἂν ἐγκατακλίθεις3 ἔξισῳδεῖ,4 διδόναι δῶρον αὐτῷ τὴν λάρνακα. πειρωμένοι δὲ πάντων καθ’ ἐκαστόν, ὡς οὐδεὶς ἐνήρμοστεν, ἑμβάντα τὸν Ὀσίριν κατακλι-

1 διδάξαντα Markland: δείξαντα.
2 ἔχουσαν] ἄρχουσαν Markland from Diodorus, i. 17.
3 ἐγκατακλίθεις Markland: ἐγκατακλεισθείς.
4 ἔξισῳδεῖ] ἔξισωθῆ Bernardakis, but the potential use of the optative with a relative is well established.

a Cf. Diodorus, i. 13-16.

b Cf. Diodorus, i. 17. 1-3; 18. 5-6; 20. 3-4.
the darkness of the womb before their birth. Some say that Arueris came from this union and was called the elder Horus by the Egyptians, but Apollo by the Greeks.

13. One of the first acts related of Osiris in his reign was to deliver the Egyptians from their destitute and brutish manner of living. This he did by showing them the fruits of cultivation, by giving them laws, and by teaching them to honour the gods. Later he travelled over the whole earth civilizing it without the slightest need of arms, but most of the peoples he won over to his way by the charm of his persuasive discourse combined with song and all manner of music. Hence the Greeks came to identify him with Dionysus.

During his absence the tradition is that Typhon attempted nothing revolutionary because Isis, who was in control, was vigilant and alert; but when he returned home Typhon contrived a treacherous plot against him and formed a group of conspirators seventy-two in number. He had also the co-operation of a queen from Ethiopia who was there at the time and whose name they report as Aso. Typhon, having secretly measured Osiris’s body and having made ready a beautiful chest of corresponding size artistically ornamented, caused it to be brought into the room where the festivity was in progress. The company was much pleased at the sight of it and admired it greatly, whereupon Typhon jestingly promised to present it to the man who should find the chest to be exactly his length when he lay down in it. They all tried it in turn, but no one fitted it; then Osiris got into it and

Cf. 362 b, 364 d-f, infra, and Herodotus, ii. 42 and 144.

Cf. 366 c, infra.
(356) θῆναι. τοὺς δὲ συνόντας¹ ἐπιδραμόντας ἐπιρράξατο² τὸ πῶμα καὶ τὰ μὲν γόμφους καταλαβόντας ἐξώθεν τῶν δὲ θερμοῦ μολύβδου³ καταχαμένους⁴ ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξενεγκεῖν καὶ μεθεῖνα διὰ τοῦ Ταυτικοῦ⁵ στόματος εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, δ' διὰ τοῦτο μουσῆτον ἐτὶ νῦν καὶ κατάπτυστον ὅνομάζειν⁶ Αὐγουτίοις.

ταῦτα δὲ πραγματεύεται λέγουσιν ἐβδόμη ἐπὶ δέκα μηνὸς Ἀθήνη, ἐν ὧν τὸν σκορπίον ὁ ἦλιος διέξεισιν, Ὁγδοον ἔτος καὶ ἐκιστὸν ἤκείνῳ⁷ βασιλεύοντος Ὀσίριδος. ἔννοι δὲ βεβιωκέναι φασίν αὐτὸν, οὐ βεβασιλεύειν χρόνον τουσίτων.

14. Πρῶτων δὲ τῶν τὸν περὶ Χέμμων⁸ οἰκούντων τόπον Πανόν καὶ Σατύρων τὸ πάθος αἰσθομένων καὶ λόγου ἐμβαλοντων περὶ τοῦ γεγονότος, τὰς μὲν αἰφνιδίους τῶν ὀχλῶν ταραχᾶς καὶ πτοχῆσεις ἔτι νῦν διὰ τοῦτο πανικᾶς προσαγορεύεσθαι τὴν δ' Ἡσυχ αἰσθομένην κείρασθαι⁹ μὲν ἐνταῦθα τῶν πλοκάμων ἡν καὶ πένθιμον στολήν ἀναλαβεῖν, ὅπου τῇ πόλει¹⁰ μέχρι νῦν ὅνομα Κοπτών. ἔτεροι δὲ τούνομα σημαῖ-Ε νευν οἴνονται στέρησιν· τὸ γὰρ ἀποστερεῖν "κόπτειν" λέγουσι. πλανωμένην δὲ πάντῃ καὶ ἀποροῦσαν οὐδένα προσελθεῖν¹¹ ἀπροσαύθητον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παι-δαρίως συντυχοῦσαν ἔρωτὰν περὶ τῆς λάρνακος· τὰ

¹ συνόντας] συνωμότας Meziriacus.
² ἐπιρράξατο Wytenbach: ἐπιρρήξαι.
³ θερμοῦ μολύβδου] θερμὸν μολύβδον Baxter.
⁴ καταχαμένους Bentley: καταχαμένων.
⁵ Ταυτικοῦ Xylander: ταυτικοῦ.
⁶ ὅνομάζειν] νομίζειν Kontos.
⁷ ἤκείνῳ Xylander: ἤκείνου.
⁸ Χέμμων Xylander: χέμμων.
⁹ κείρασθαι van Herwerden: κείρεσθαι.
¹⁰ τῇ πόλει] πόλεις Ἡ Reiske.
¹¹ προσελθεῖν] παρελθεῖν Meziriacus.
lay down, and those who were in the plot ran to it and slammed down the lid, which they fastened by nails from the outside and also by using molten lead. Then they carried the chest to the river and sent it on its way to the sea through the Tanitic Mouth. Wherefore the Egyptians even to this day name this mouth the hateful and execrable. Such is the tradition. They say also that the date on which this deed was done was the seventeenth day of Athyr, when the sun passes through Scorpion, and in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Osiris; but some say that these are the years of his life and not of his reign.

14. The first to learn of the deed and to bring to men’s knowledge an account of what had been done were the Pans and Satyrs who lived in the region around Chemmis, and so, even to this day, the sudden confusion and consternation of a crowd is called a panic. Isis, when the tidings reached her, at once cut off one of her tresses and put on a garment of mourning in a place where the city still bears the name of Kopto. Others think that the name means deprivation, for they also express “deprive” by means of “koptein.” But Isis wandered everywhere at her wits’ end; no one whom she approached did she fail to address, and even when she met some little children she asked them about the chest. As it

a November 13. Cf. also 366 d and 367 e, infra.
b Cf. 367 f, infra.
c Cf. Herodotus, ii. 91 and 156, and Diodorus, i. 18. 2.
e Cf. Aelian, De Natura Animalium, x. 23.
f The word kopto, “strike,” “cut,” is used in the middle voice in the derived meaning “mourn” (i.e. to beat oneself as a sign of mourning). Occasionally the active voice also means “cut off,” and from this use Plutarch derives the meaning “deprive.”
δὲ τυχείν ἑωρακότα καὶ φράσαι τὸ στόμα δι᾿ οὗ τὸ ἄγγελον οἱ φίλοι τοῦ Τυφώνος εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἔωσαν. ἐκ τούτου τὰ παιδάρια μαντικῆς δύναμιν ἔχειν οἰεσθαί τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς τούτων ὀπτεύεσθαι κληδόσι παιζόντων ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ 

Αἰσθομένην δὲ τῇ ἀδελφῇ ἔρωτα συγγεγονέναι

15. Ἕκ δὲ τούτου πυθέσθαι περὶ τῆς λάρνακος,

357 ὡς πρὸς τὴν Βύβλου χώραν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάττης ἐκ-

κυμαμθείσαν αὐτὴν ἐρείκη τυί μαλθακῶς ὁ κλύδων ἀναδραμοῦσα περιέπτυξε καὶ 

περίεφυ καὶ ἀπέκρυψεν ἐντὸς εὐαὐτῆς· θαυμάσας δ᾿ 

ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ φυτοῦ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ περιτεμῶν 

τὸν περιέχοντα τὴν σορὸν ὀυχ ὀρωμένην κόλπον ἐρείσμα

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1 ὡς τυχείν Baxter: δ᾿ ἐτυχείν.
2 ἴδον τὸν μελιλάτινον Xylander: ἴδος τὸν μὲν λάτινον.
3 ἴδον τῷ Νέφθυν Reiske: τῷ νέφθουν.
4 ἐκθειν Xylander: ἐκείνο.
5 δὲ added by Squire.
6 Βύβλου Bentley: Βύβλου.
7 κόλπον] κορμὸν Salmasius.

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* Cf. Dio Chrysostom, *Oratio* xxxii. p. 364 d (660 Reiske), and Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, xi. 10, ad fin.
happened, they had seen it, and they told her the mouth of the river through which the friends of Typhon had launched the coffin into the sea. Therefore the Egyptians think that little children possess the power of prophecy, and they try to divine the future from the portents which they find in children's words, especially when children are playing about in holy places and crying out whatever chances to come into their minds.

They relate also that Isis, learning that Osiris in his love had consorted with her sister through ignorance, in the belief that she was Isis, and seeing the proof of this in the garland of melilote which he had left with Nephthys, sought to find the child; for the mother, immediately after its birth, had exposed it because of her fear of Typhon. And when the child had been found, after great toil and trouble, with the help of dogs which led Isis to it, it was brought up and became her guardian and attendant, receiving the name of Anubis, and it is said to protect the gods just as dogs protect men.

15. Thereafter Isis, as they relate, learned that the chest had been cast up by the sea near the land of Byblus and that the waves had gently set it down in the midst of a clump of heather. The heather in a short time ran up into a very beautiful and massive stock, and enfolded and embraced the chest with its growth and concealed it within its trunk. The king of the country admired the great size of the plant, and cut off the portion that enfolded the chest (which was now hidden from sight), and used it as a pillar to

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b Nephthys; cf. 366 b, 368 e, and 375 b, infra.
c Cf. Diodorus, i. 87. 2.
d Cf. Apollodorus, Bibliotheca, ii. 1. 3.
(357) τῆς στέγης¹ ύπέστησε. ταῦτά τε πνεύματι φασι δαμονίως φήμης πυθομένην τὴν Ἰσιών εἰς Βύβλον ἀφικέσθαι, καὶ καθίσασαν ἐπὶ κρήνης ταπεινήν καὶ διδακρυμένην ἄλλω μὲν μηδενὶ προσδιαλέγεσθαι, τῆς δὲ βασιλίδος τὰς θεραπαινίδας ἀστάζεσθαι καὶ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι τὴν τε κόμην παραπλέκουσαν αὐτῶν Β καὶ τῷ χρωτὶ θαυμαστὴν εὐωδίαν ἐπιπνέουσαν ἄφ' ἑαυτῆς. Ἰδοὺς δὲ τῆς βασιλίδος τὰς θεραπαινίδας, ἵμερον ἑμπεσεῖν τῆς ἱένης τῶν τε τριχῶν τοῦ τε χρωτὸς ἀμβροσίαν πνεόντος². οὕτω δὲ μεταπεμφθέεισαν καὶ γενομένην συνήθη ποιήσασθαι τοῦ παιδίου τίτθην. ὅνομα δὲ τῷ μὲν βασιλεῖ Μάλκανδρον εἶναι φασι, αὐτῇ³ δ' οἱ μὲν 'Αστάρτην⁴ οἱ δὲ Σάωσον ὁδὲ Νεμανοῦν, ὅπερ ἂν Ἑλλήνες Ἀθηναίδα προσεῖποιεν.⁵

16. Τρέφειν δὲ τὴν Ἰσιών ἀντὶ μαστοῦ τὸν δάκ-
C τυλον εἰς τὸ στόμα τοῦ παιδίου διδούσαν,⁶ νύκτωρ δὲ περικαίειν τὰ θυντα τοῦ σώματος· αὐτὴν δὲ γενομένην χελιδόνα τῇ κίονι περιπέτεσθαι καὶ ὑπενεῖν, ἄχρι οὗ τὴν βασιλίσσαν παραφιλάξασαν καὶ ἐκκραγοῦσαν,⁷ ὡς εἰδε περικαιόμενον τὸ βρέφος, ἀφελέσθαι τὴν ἀθανασίαν αὐτοῦ. τὴν δὲ θεαν φανερὰν γενομένην αἰτήσασθαι τὴν κίονα τῆς στέγης· υφελούσαν δὲ βάστα περικόψατι τὴν ἑρείκην, εἰτα ταῦτην μὲν ὀθόνῃ περικαλύψασαν καὶ μύρον

¹ τῆς στέγης] τῇ στέγῃ Madvig.
² πνεόντος] ἀποπνεόντος Michael.
³ αὐτῇ Markland: αὐτήν.
⁴ 'Αστάρτην Basel ed. of 1542: ἀστάρτην.
⁵ προσεῖποιεν Markland: προσείπειν.
⁶ τοῦ παιδίου διδούσαν] "vel τῷ παιδίῳ vel ἑδόσαν" Wyttenbach.
support the roof of his house. These facts, they say, Isis ascertained by the divine inspiration of Rumour, and came to Byblus and sat down by a spring, all dejection and tears; she exchanged no word with anybody, save only that she welcomed the queen's maidservants and treated them with great amiability, plaing their hair for them and imparting to their persons a wondrous fragrance from her own body. But when the queen observed her maidservants, a longing came upon her for the unknown woman and for such hairdressing and for a body fragrant with ambrosia. Thus it happened that Isis was sent for and became so intimate with the queen that the queen made her the nurse of her baby. They say that the king's name was Malcander; the queen's name some say was Astartê, others Saosis, and still others Nemanûs, which the Greeks would call Athenais.

16. They relate that Isis nursed the child by giving it her finger to suck instead of her breast, and in the night she would burn away the mortal portions of its body. She herself would turn into a swallow and flit about the pillar with a wailing lament, until the queen who had been watching, when she saw her babe on fire, gave forth a loud cry and thus deprived it of immortality. Then the goddess disclosed herself and asked for the pillar which served to support the roof. She removed it with the greatest ease and cut away the wood of the heather which surrounded the chest; then, when she had wrapped up the wood in a linen cloth and had poured perfume upon it, she

a Cf. the similar account of Demeter in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter (ii.), 98 ff.

7 ἐκκραγόσαν Bentley; ἐγκραγόσαν Stephanus: κεκραγόσαν.
(357) καταχειρίσαι τοὺς βασιλεὺς, καὶ νῦν ἔτι σέβεσθαι Βυβλίους τὸ ξύλον ἐν ἱερῷ κείμενον

D Ἰσίδος. τῇ δὲ σορῷ περιπέσειν καὶ κωκύσα τηλικοῦτον, ὥστε τῶν παιδῶν τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν νεώτερον ἐνθανεῖν, τὸν δὲ πρεσβύτερον μεθ' ἑαυτῆς ἐχοῦσαν καὶ τὴν σορὸν εἰς πλοῖον ἐνθεμένην ἀναχθῆναι. τοῦ δὲ Φαίδρου ποταμῷ πνεῦμα τραχύτερον ἐκθρέψαντος ὑπὸ τὴν ἐω, θυμωθεῖσαν ἀναξηράναι τὸ λείδρον.

17. "Ὅποι δὲ πρῶτον ἐρημίας ἐτυχεῖν, αὐτὴν καὶ ἑαυτῆς γενομένην ἀνοίξαι τὴν λάρνακα, καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐπιθείσαν ἀστάσασθαι καὶ δακρύειν· τοῦ δὲ παιδίου σωπῇ προσελθόντος ἐκ τῶν ὅπισθεν καὶ καταμανθάνοντος αἰσθομένην μετα-

Ε στραφῆναι καὶ δειμὸν ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἐμβλέψαι. τὸ δὲ παιδίου οὐκ ἀνασχέσθαι τὸ τάρβος, ἀλλ' ἀποθανεῖν. οὐ δὲ φασὶν οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ' οὐ εἰρήται πλοῖον ἐκπεσεῖν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. ἔχει δὲ τιμᾶς διὰ τὴν θεόν· ὁ γὰρ ἁδοὺσιν Αἰγύπτιοι παρὰ τὰ συμπόσια Μανέρωτα, τοῦτον εἶναι. τινὲς δὲ τὸν μὲν παιδα καλεῖσθαι Παλαιστινον ἢ Πηλούσιον, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπώνυμον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι κτισθείσαν ὑπὸ τῆς θεοῦ· τὸν δ' ἁδόμενον Μανέρωτα πρῶτον εὑρεῖν μουσικὴν ἑστοροῦσιν. ἐνιοῦ δὲ φασὶν ὅνομα μὲν οὐδενὸς εἶναι, διάλεκτον δὲ πίνουσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ θαλάζουσι πρέπουσαν, "αἴσθημα τὰ τοιαῦτα." 

F παρεῖ' τοῦτο γὰρ τῶ Μανέρωτα φραζόμενον ἀνα-

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1 οὗ ... πλοῖον F.C.B.: ὡς ... τρόπον.
2 Perhaps Μανερώτα and Μανερώτι are to be preferred to the mss. accent, but the matter is very uncertain.
3 τὰ τοιαῦτα] ταῦτα Wyettenbach.

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a At the end of the preceding chapter.
entrusted it to the care of the kings; and even to this day the people of Byblus venerate this wood which is preserved in the shrine of Isis. Then the goddess threw herself down upon the coffin with such a dreadful wailing that the younger of the king’s sons expired on the spot. The elder son she kept with her, and, having placed the coffin on board a boat, she put out from land. Since the Phaedrus river toward the early morning fostered a rather boisterous wind, the goddess grew angry and dried up its stream.

17. In the first place where she found seclusion, when she was quite by herself, they relate that she opened the chest and laid her face upon the face within and caressed it and wept. The child came quietly up behind her and saw what was there, and when the goddess became aware of his presence, she turned about and gave him one awful look of anger. The child could not endure the fright, and died. Others will not have it so, but assert that he fell overboard into the sea from the boat that was mentioned above.° He also is the recipient of honours because of the goddess; for they say that the Maneros of whom the Egyptians sing at their convivial gatherings is this very child. Some say, however, that his name was Palaestinus or Pelusius, and that the city founded by the goddess was named in his honour. They also recount that this Maneros who is the theme of their songs was the first to invent music. But some say that the word is not the name of any person, but an expression belonging to the vocabulary of drinking and feasting: “Good luck be ours in things like this!”, and that this is really the idea expressed

° Cf. Herodotus, ii. 79; Pausanias, ix. 29. 3; Athenaeus, 620 A.
φωνεῖν ἐκάστοτε τοὺς Ἀἰγυπτίους· ὡσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ τὸ δεικνύμενον αὐτοῖς εἶδολον ἀνθρώπου τεθνηκότος ἐν κιβωτίῳ περιφερόμενον οὐκ ἔστων ὑπόμνημα τοῦ περὶ Ὀσίριδος πάθους, ἥ τινες ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, ἀλλ' θεωμένους1 παρακαλοῦν2 αὐτοὺς χρησθαί τοῖς παραύσι καὶ ἀπολαύειν, ὡς πάντας αὐτίκα μάλα τοιούτους ἐσομένους, οὗ χάριν ἐπὶ κῶμον3 ἐπεισάγουσι.

18. Τῆς δ' Ἰσίδους πρὸς τὸν ὦν ὦρον ἐν Βούτῳ τρεφόμενον πορευθείσης, τὸ δ' ἀγγεῖον ἐκποδῶν ἀποθεμένης, Τυφώνα κυνηγητοῦντα νῦκτωρ πρὸς 358 τὴν σελήνην ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸ σῶμα γυνῴσαντα διελεῖν εἰς τεπταρεσκαίδεκα μέρη καὶ διαρρήσασαν. τῇ δ' Ἰσιν πυθομένην ἀναζητεῖν ἐν βάρῳ παπυρίνη τὰ4 ἐλη διεκπλέουσαν· θεν οὐκ ἀδικεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐν παπυρίνοις σκάψει πλέοντας ὑπὸ τῶν κροκοδείλων ἢ φοβομένων ἢ σεβομένων ἑώς5 την θεον.

Ἐκ τούτου δὲ καὶ πολλοὺς τάφους Ὀσίριδος ἐν Ἀἰγυπτῷ λέγεσθαι διὰ τὸ προστυγχάνουσαν ἐκάστῳ μέρει ταφὰς ποιεῖν. οἱ δ' οὐ φασὶν, ἀλλ' εἴδωλα ποιομένην διδόναι6 καθ' ἐκάστην πόλιν ὡς τὸ σῶμα B διδοῦσαν ὅπως παρὰ πλείοσιν ἐχῆ τιμᾶς, καὶ ὁ Τυφῶν ἐπικρατήσῃ τὸν ὦρον, τὸν ἀληθινὸν τάφον

3 οὗ χάριν ἐπὶ κῶμον] ἄχαριν ἐπίκωμον Emperius.
4 τὰ Basel ed. of 1542: τὰ δὲ.
5 ἑώς F.C.B.: διά.
6 διδόναι] διαδοῦναι Markland.

1 Cf. Moralia, 148 a; Herodotus, ii. 78; Lucian, De Luctu, 21.
2 Cf. 366 a, infra.
by the exclamation "maneros" whenever the Egyptians use it. In the same way we may be sure that the likeness of a corpse which, as it is exhibited to them, is carried around in a chest, is not a reminder of what happened to Osiris, as some assume; but it is to urge them, as they contemplate it, to use and to enjoy the present, since all very soon must be what it is now and this is their purpose in introducing it into the midst of merry-making.

18. As they relate, Isis proceeded to her son Horus, who was being reared in Buto, and bestowed the chest in a place well out of the way; but Typhon, who was hunting by night in the light of the moon, happened upon it. Recognizing the body he divided it into fourteen parts and scattered them, each in a different place. Isis learned of this and sought for them again, sailing through the swamps in a boat of papyrus. This is the reason why people sailing in such boats are not harmed by the crocodiles, since these creatures in their own way show either their fear or their reverence for the goddess.

The traditional result of Osiris's dismemberment is that there are many so-called tombs of Osiris in Egypt; for Isis held a funeral for each part when she had found it. Others deny this and assert that she caused effigies of him to be made and these she distributed among the several cities, pretending that she was giving them his body, in order that he might receive divine honours in a greater number of cities, and also that, if Typhon should succeed in overpowering Horus, he might despair of ever finding

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\[a\] Cf. 368 \textit{infra}. Diodorus, i. 21, says sixteen parts.
\[c\] Cf. 359 \textit{infra}, and Diodorus, i. 21.
(358) ζητῶν, πολλῶν λεγομένων καὶ δεικνυμένων ἀπαγορεύσῃ.

Μόνον δὲ τῶν μερῶν τοῦ Ὄσιριδος τὴν Ἰσιν ὑπὲρεῖν τὸ αἰδοῖον· εὐθὺς γὰρ εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ῥίξηναι καὶ γεύσασθαι τὸν τε λεπιδωτὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν φάγρον καὶ τὸν δεσποτυχον, ὅσους μάλιστα τῶν ἰχθύων ἀφοσιώτθαι· τὴν δὲ Ἰσιν ἀντ' ἑκείνου μίμημα ποιησαμένην καθιερώσαι τὸν φαλλόν, ὦ καὶ νῦν ἐορτάζειν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους.

19. "Επειτα τῷ Ὀρω τὸν Ὄσιριν ἐξ "Αἰδοῦ παραγενόμενον διαπονεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην καὶ ἄσκειν. εἶτα διερωτήσας τὸ κάλλιστον ἤγειται τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος, "τῷ πατρὶ καὶ μητρὶ τιμωρεῖν κακῶς C παθοῦν," δεύτερον ἔρεσθαι τὸ χρησιμώτατονκτιζῶν εἰς μάχην ἐξιούσι· τοῦ δὲ Ὀρου ἑπόπτον, ἐπιθαυμάσαι καὶ διαπορήσαι πῶς οὐ λέοντα μᾶλλον ἄλλο ἑπόπτον. εἰπεῖν οὖν τὸν Ὀρον ὡς λέων μὲν ὡφέλιμον ἐπιδεομένω βοηθείας, ἑπόπος δὲ φεύγοντα διασπάσαι καὶ καταναλώσαι τὸν πολέμιον. ἀκούσαντ' οὖν ἠσθήναι τὸν Ὄσιριν, ὡς ικανός παρασκευασάμενον τοῦ Ὀροῦ. λέγεται δὲ ὅτι πολλῶν μετατιθεμένων ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸν Ὀρον καὶ ἡ παλλακὴ τοῦ Τυφῶνος ἀφικέτο Θούρης. οὐσ D δὲ τις ἐπιδιώκων αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ὀρον κατεκόπτη, καὶ νῦν διὰ τοῦτο σχοινίον τι προβάλλοντες εἰς μέσον κατακόπτουσι.

1 ὅσους F.C.B. (or οὖς ὡς Meziriacus): ὡς οὖς.
2 ἀφοσιώσας ἀφοσιώνται Reiske.
3 χρησιμώτατον Empericus: χρησιμώτερον.
4 ἑπόπτον] λύκον Benseler.

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a Cf. Diodorus, i. 21. b Cf. 365 c, infra.
the true tomb when so many were pointed out to him, all of them called the tomb of Osiris.\(^a\)

Of the parts of Osiris’s body the only one which Isis did not find was the male member,\(^b\) for the reason that this had been at once tossed into the river, and the lepidotus, the sea-bream, and the pike had fed upon it;\(^c\) and it is from these very fishes the Egyptians are most scrupulous in abstaining. But Isis made a replica of the member to take its place, and consecrated the phallus,\(^d\) in honour of which the Egyptians even at the present day celebrate a festival.

19. Later, as they relate, Osiris came to Horus from the other world and exercised and trained him for the battle. After a time Osiris asked Horus what he held to be the most noble of all things. When Horus replied, “To avenge one’s father and mother for evil done to them,” Osiris then asked him what animal he considered the most useful for them who go forth to battle; and when Horus said, “A horse,” Osiris was surprised and raised the question why it was that he had not rather said a lion than a horse. Horus answered that a lion was a useful thing for a man in need of assistance, but that a horse served best for cutting off the flight of an enemy and annihilating him. When Osiris heard this he was much pleased, since he felt that Horus had now an adequate preparation. It is said that, as many were continually transferring their allegiance to Horus, Typhon’s concubine, Thueris, also came over to him; and a serpent which pursued her was cut to pieces by Horus’s men, and now, in memory of this, the people throw down a rope in their midst and chop it up.

\(^a\) Cf. Strabo, xvii. 1. 40 (p. 812).
\(^b\) Cf. Diodorus, i. 22. 6.
(358) Τὴν μὲν οὖν μάχην ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας γένεσθαι καὶ κρατῆσαι τὸν Ὄρον· τὸν Τυφώνα δὲ τὴν Ἱσων δεδεμένου παραλαβοῦσαν οὐκ ἀνέλειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λύσαι καὶ μεθεῖν: τὸν δ’ Ὄρον οὐ μετρίως ἐνεγκείν, ἀλλ’ ἐπιβαλόντα τῇ μητρὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀποστάσαι τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ βασίλειον. Ἠρμήν δὲ περιθεῖναι βοῦκρανον αὐτῇ κράνος.

Τοῦ δὲ Τυφώνος δίκην τῷ Ὄρῳ νοθείας λαχῶντος, βοηθόσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἕρμου, καὶ τὸν Ὄρον ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν γνήσιον κριθῆναι, τὸν δὲ Τυφώνα δυσὶν Ε ἄλλαις μάχαις καταπολεμηθηκάναι. τὴν δ’ ἴσων εὗ Ὀσιρίδος μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν συγγενομένου τεκείν ἡλιτόμηναι καὶ ἀσθενῆ τοῖς κάτωθεν γυνίως τὸν Ἄρποκράτην.

20. Ταῦτα σχεδὸν ἐστὶ τοῦ μύθου τὰ κεφάλαια τῶν δυσφημοτάτων ἐξαιρεθέντων, οἷον ἐστὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν Ὄρον διαμελισμὸν καὶ τὸν Ἱσων ἀποκεφαλισμὸν. ὅτι μὲν οὖν, εἰ ταῦτα περὶ τῆς μακαρίας καὶ ἀφθάρτου φύσεως, καθ’ ἣν μάλιστα νοεῖται τὸ θεῖον, ὡς ἀληθῶς πραχθέντα καὶ συμπεσόντα δοξάζουσι καὶ λέγουσιν,

ἀποπτύσαι δεῖ καὶ καθήρασθαι στόμα

κατ’ Αἰσχύλον, οὐδὲν δεῖ λέγειν πρὸς σέ. καὶ γὰρ

F αὐτὴ δυσκολαίνεις τοῖς οὕτω παρανόμους καὶ βαρβάρους δόξας περὶ θεῶν ἔχουσιν. ὅτι δ’ οὖν ἐοικε ταῦτα κομιδῇ μυθεύμασιν ἄραιοι καὶ διακένοις πλάσμασιν, οἶα ποιηταῖ καὶ λογογράφοι καθάπερ οἱ

1 ἐὰν καὶ kal] Reiske would omit.
2 στόμα Reiske: τὸ στόμα.

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[a] Cf. 377 b, infra.
[b] Cf. Moralia, 1026 c, and De Anima, i. 6 (in Bernardakis’s ed. vol. vii. p. 7).

48
Now the battle, as they relate, lasted many days and Horus prevailed. Isis, however, to whom Typhon was delivered in chains, did not cause him to be put to death, but released him and let him go. Horus could not endure this with equanimity, but laid hands upon his mother and wrested the royal diadem from her head; but Hermes put upon her a helmet like unto the head of a cow.

Typhon formally accused Horus of being an illegitimate child, but with the help of Hermes to plead his cause it was decided by the gods that he also was legitimate. Typhon was then overcome in two other battles. Osiris consorted with Isis after his death, and she became the mother of Harpocrates, untimely born and weak in his lower limbs.a

20. These are nearly all the important points of the legend, with the omission of the most infamous of the tales, such as that about the dismemberment of Horus b and the decapitation of Isis. There is one thing that I have no need to mention to you: if they hold such opinions and relate such tales about the nature of the blessed and imperishable (in accordance with which our concept of the divine must be framed) as if such deeds and occurrences actually took place, then

Much need there is to spit and cleanse the mouth, as Aeschylus c has it. But the fact is that you yourself detest those persons who hold such abnormal and outlandish opinions about the gods. That these accounts do not, in the least, resemble the sort of loose fictions and frivolous fabrications which poets and writers of prose evolve from themselves, after

άράχναι γεννώντες ἄφ' ἐαυτῶν ἀπαρχαῖς ἀνυποθέτους ὑφαίνουσι καὶ ἀποτείνουσιν, ἀλλ' ἔχει τινὰς ἀποριῶν καὶ παθῶν δυγγήσεις, συνήσεις αὐτῇ. καὶ καθάπερ οἱ μαθηματικοὶ τὴν ἵριν ἐμφασίν εἶναι τοῦ ἑλίου λέγουσι πουκλλομένην τῇ πρὸς τὸ νέφος ἀνα-

359 χωρήσει τῆς ὁμεως, οὕτως ὁ μόθος ἐνταῦθα λόγου τινος ἐμφασίς ἐστιν ἀνακλώντος ἐπ' ἀλλα τὴν διά

νουαν, ὡς ὑποδηλοῦσιν αὐτὲς τοῦ πένθιμον ἑχουσι καὶ σκυθρώτον ἐμφανόμενον, αὐτὲ τὰ τῶν ναῶν διαθέσεις τῇ μεν ἀνειμένων εἰς πτερὰ καὶ ὄργους ὑπαιρήσου καὶ καθαροὺς, τῇ δὲ κρυπτᾶ καὶ σκότια κατὰ γῆς ἐχόντων στολιστήρια οἰκίδιοι ἐοικότα καὶ σηκοῖς: οὐχ ἥκιστα δ' ἦ τῶν Ὄσιρείων
dόξα, πολλαχοὶ κείσθαι λεγομένου τοῦ σώματος.

Β τὴν τε γὰρ Διοχίτην ὀνομάζεσθαι πολίχνην λέγου-

σιν, ὡς μονὴν τῶν ἀληθῶν ἑχουσαν, ἐν τ' Ἀβύνῳ
tοὺς εὐδαίμονας τῶν Ἀγνωτῶν καὶ δυνατοὺς

μάλιστα βάπτεσθαι, φιλοτιμομενοὺς ὤμοτάφους
eῖναι τοῦ σώματος Ὅσιρίδος. ἐν δὲ Μέμφει τρέ-

φεσθαι τὸν Ἀπιν, εἰδώλων ὄντα τῆς ἐκείνου ψυχῆς,

ὅπου καὶ τὸ σῶμα κείσθαι καὶ τὴν μὲν πόλιν οἱ
mὲν ὄρμον ἀγαθῶν ἐμφανένοις, οἱ δ' ἱδίως τάφον

1 ἀποριῶν Sieveking and F.C.B.: ἀπορίας.
2 συνήσεις αὐτῆ (assuming haplography) or ἐστὶ F.C.B.;
oἰσθ' αὐτὴ Bernardakis; γνωσκεῖς Sieveking: αὐτῇ.
3 ἀναχωρήσει] ἀνακλάσει Reiske; ἀναχρώσει Wytenbach.
4 οἰκίδιοι F.C.B.; θηκαίοι Bouhier: Θῆκαιοι.
6 Διοχίτην Holwerda from Steph. Byzantinus: ἐξεπτών.
7 ἱδίως Wytenbach: ὥς.

a Cf. Strabo, xvii. 1. 28 (p. 804).
b Cf. 358 A, supra, and 365 A, infra.
the manner of spiders, interweaving and extending their unestablished first thoughts, but that these contain narrations of certain puzzling events and experiences, you will of yourself understand. Just as the rainbow, according to the account of the mathematicians, is a reflection of the sun, and owes its many hues to the withdrawal of our gaze from the sun and our fixing it on the cloud, so the somewhat fanciful accounts here set down are but reflections of some true tale which turns back our thoughts to other matters; their sacrifices plainly suggest this, in that they have mourning and melancholy reflected in them; and so also does the structure of their temples, which in one portion are expanded into wings and into uncovered and unobstructed corridors, and in another portion have secret vesting-rooms in the darkness under ground, like cells or chapels; and not the least important suggestion is the opinion held regarding the shrines of Osiris, whose body is said to have been laid in many different places. For they say that Diochites is the name given to a small town, on the ground that it alone contains the true tomb; and that the prosperous and influential men among the Egyptians are mostly buried in Abydos, since it is the object of their ambition to be buried in the same ground with the body of Osiris. In Memphis, however, they say, the Apis is kept, being the image of the soul of Osiris, whose body also lies there. The name of this city some interpret as "the haven of the good" and others as meaning properly the "tomb

c The introduction of Diochites here is based upon an emendation of a reading found in one ms. only. The emendation is drawn from Stephanus Byzantinus, a late writer on geographical topics.

d Cf. 362 c and 368 c, infra.
(359) Ὄσιρίδος. τὴν δὲ πρὸς Φίλαιςιν ἀγνῆν ἀλλως μὲν ἄβατον ἀπασὶ καὶ ἀπροσπέλαστον εἶναι καὶ μηδ’ ὄρνθας ἐπ’ αὐτὴν καταίρει μηδ’ ἵχθος προσπελάξειν, εἰι δὲ καιρῷ τοὺς ιερεῖς διαβαίνοντας ἐναγίζειν καὶ καταστέφειν τὸ σήμα μηδικῆς φυτοῦ περισκιαζόμενον, ὑπεραιρόντι πάσης ἐλαιας μέγεθος.

C 21. Εὐδοξος δὲ, πολλῶν τάφων ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ λεγομένων, ἐν Βουσίριδι τὸ σῶμα κεῖσθαι καὶ γὰρ πατρίδα ταύτην γεγονέναι τοῦ Ὄσιρίδος· οὐκέτι μέντοι λόγου δεῖσθαι τὴν Ταφόσιρν· αὐτὸ γὰρ φράζειν τοῦνομα ταφῆν Ὅσιρίδος. ἔως δὲ τομὴν ἔντολον καὶ σχίσων λίνον καὶ χοᾶς χεομένας διὰ τὸ πολλὰ τῶν μυστικῶν ἀναμεμείχθαι τούτοις. οὐ μόνον δὲ τούτων οἱ ιερεῖς λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, ὅσοι μὴ ἄγεννητοι μηδ’ ἀφθαρτοί, τὰ μὲν σώματα παρ’ αὐτοῖς κεῖσθαι καμόντα καὶ θεραπεύσθαι, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἐν οὐρανῷ λάμπειν ἄστρα, καὶ καλεῖσθαι κύνα μὲν τὴν Ἰσιδον υἱὸν Ἑλλήνων, ὑπ’ Αἰγυπτίων δὲ Σωθῆν, Ὄριωνα δὲ τὴν Ὀρου, τὴν δὲ Τυφῶνος ἄρκτον. εἰς δὲ τὰς ταφὰς τῶν τιμωμένων ζώων τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους συντεταγμένα

1 Φίλαις Σquire: πύλας or πύλαις.
2 νησίδ’ ἀγνῆ (dubiously) F.C.B.: νιστιάνην.
3 καταίρειν Xylander: καρτερείν.
4 μηδικῆς F.C.B., assuming it to be a variant for περσέας: μηδ’ ἰδέος or μηθίδης.
5 ἔως Wytenbach: αἰνῶ.
6 τούτων] τούτου Baxter.
7 τὴν Ὀρου Xylander: τὸν Ὀρον.
8 ταφὰς Salmasius: γραφὰς.

* Cf. Diodorus, i. 22, and Strabo, xvii. p. 803, which
of Osiris." They also say that the sacred island by Philae at all other times is untrodden by man and quite unapproachable, and even birds do not alight on it nor fishes approach it; yet, at one special time, the priests cross over to it, and perform the sacrificial rites for the dead, and lay wreaths upon the tomb, which lies in the encompassing shade of a persea-tree, which surpasses in height any olive.

21. Eudoxus says that, while many tombs of Osiris are spoken of in Egypt, his body lies in Busiris; for this was the place of his birth; moreover, Taphosiris requires no comment, for the name itself means "the tomb of Osiris." I pass over the cutting of wood, the rending of linen, and the libations that are offered, for the reason that many of their secret rites are involved therein. In regard not only to these gods, but in regard to the other gods, save only those whose existence had no beginning and shall have no end, the priests say that their bodies, after they have done with their labours, have been placed in the keeping of the priests and are cherished there, but that their souls shine as the stars in the firmament, and the soul of Isis is called by the Greeks the Dog-star, but by the Egyptians Sothis, and the soul of Horus is called Orion, and the soul of Typhon the Bear. Also they say that all the other Egyptians pay the agreed assessment for the entombment of the

seem to support the emendation "Philae." Others think that the gates (the ms. reading) of Memphis are meant.

b The persea-tree was sacred to Osiris.

c Cf. Strabo, xvii. 1. 14 (pp. 799 and 800). Tradition varies between Taphosiris and Taposiris, and there may be no "tomb" in the word at all.

d Cf. 368 A, infra.

e Cf. Moralia, 974 f.
(359) τελείω, μόνους δὲ μὴ διδόναι τοὺς Θηβαῖα κατοικοῦντας, ὡς θνητοὺς θεῶν οὐδένα νομίζοντας, ἀλλ' ὁν καλοῦσιν αὐτοὶ Κνῆφ, ἀγέννητον ὀντα καὶ ἀθάνατον.

22. Πολλῶν δὲ τοιούτων λεγομένων καὶ δεικνυμένων, οἱ μὲν οἰόμενοι βασιλέων ταύτα καὶ τυράννων, δι' ἀρετὴν ὑπερφέρουσαν ἡ δύναμιν ἀξίωμα τῆς δόξης 1 θεότητος ἐπηραψαμένων εἰτα χρησμαμένων Εὐχαίσ, ἐργα καὶ πάθη δεινὰ καὶ μεγάλα διαμνημονεύσεθαι, βάστη μὲν ἀποδράσει τοῦ λόγου χρῶνται καὶ τὸ δύσφημον οὐ φαύλως ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπους μεταφέρουσι, καὶ ταῦτα 2 ἔχουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰστορογεμένων βοηθείας. Ἰστοροῦσι γὰρ Αἰγυπτίων τὸν μὲν 'Εμμήν τῷ σώματι γενέσθαι γαλεάγκων, τὸν δὲ Τυφώνα τῇ χρόᾳ πυρρόν, λευκὸν δὲ τὸν 'Ὡρον καὶ μελάγχρον τὸν 'Οσίριν, ὡς τῇ φύσει γεγονότας ἀνθρώπους. ἔτι δὲ καὶ στρατηγῶν ὀνομάζουσιν Ἡσίριν, καὶ κυβερνήτην Κάνωβον, οὐ φαυσιν ἐπώνυμον γεγονέναι τὸν ἀστέρα. καὶ τὸ Φῆλοῦν, ὁ καλοῦσιν 'Ἐλληνες Ἀργῷ, τῆς Ὡσίριδος νεῶς εἶδωλον ἐπὶ τιμῆ κατηστερισμένον, οὐ μακράν φέρεσθαι τοῦ 'Ὡριῶνος καὶ τοῦ Κυνός, ὅν τὸν μὲν 'Ὡρον τὸν 3 δ' Ἡσίδος ἔρεον Αἰγύπτιοι νομίζουσιν.

23. Ὁκνὸν δὲ, μὴ τοῦτ' ἢ τὰ ἀκώντα κινεῖν καὶ "πολεμεῖν" οὔ "τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ" (κατὰ Σιμω- 

1 τῆς δόξης F.C.B.: τῇ δόξῃ.
2 ταῦτα] τοιαύτας Michael.
3 τὸν ... τὸν Reiske (confirmed by one ms.): τὸ ... τὸ.

a Cf. Diodorus, i. 84, ad fin., for the great expense often involved.

b That is, to die, and thus to lose their claim to divinity; cf. 360 b, infra. This is common Euhemeristic doctrine.

c Cf. 363 a and 364 b, infra.
animals held in honour, but that the inhabitants of the Theban territory only do not contribute because they believe in no mortal god, but only in the god whom they call Kneph, whose existence had no beginning and shall have no end.

22. Many things like these are narrated and pointed out, and if there be some who think that in these are commemorated the dire and momentous acts and experiences of kings and despots who, by reason of their pre-eminent virtue or might, laid claim to the glory of being styled gods, and later had to submit to the vagaries of fortune, then these persons employ the easiest means of escape from the narrative, and not ineptly do they transfer the disrepute from the gods to men; and in this they have the support of the common traditions. The Egyptians, in fact, have a tradition that Hermes had thin arms and big elbows, that Typhon was red in complexion, Horus white, and Osiris dark, as if they had been in their nature but mortal men. Moreover, they give to Osiris the title of general, and the title of pilot to Canopus, from whom they say that the star derives its name; also that the vessel which the Greeks call Argo, in form like the ship of Osiris, has been set among the constellations in his honour, and its course lies not far from that of Orion and the Dog-star; of these the Egyptians believe that one is sacred to Horus and the other to Isis.

23. I hesitate, lest this be the moving of things immovable and not only “warring against the long years of time,” as Simonides has it, but warring, too,

\textit{Proverbial: cf. e.g. Plato, Laws, 684 d.}

νίδην) μόνον, "πολλοῖς δ᾽ ἀνθρώπων ἔθνεσι" καὶ
gένεσι κατόχους ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς τούτους
ἰσιότητος, οὐδὲν ἀπολυπόντας' ἐξ εὐρανοῦ μετα-
φέρειν ἐπὶ γῆν ὀνόματα τηλικαῦτα, καὶ τιμὴν καὶ
360 πίστιν ὄλγου δεῖν ἀπασιν ἐκ πρώτης γενέσεως
ἐνδεδυκαίναν ἔξιστάναι καὶ ἀναλύειν, μεγάλας μὲν
tῷ ἀθέῳ λεω' κλησίας ἀνοίγοντας καὶ ἐξανθρω-
πίζοντας' τὰ θεία, λαμπρὰν δὲ τοῖς Εὐημέρου τοῦ
Μεσσηνίου φενακισμοῖς παρρησίαν διδόντας, ὃς
ἀυτὸς ἀντίγραφα συνθέει ἀπίστου καὶ ἀνυπάρκτου
μυθολογιάς πᾶσαν ἀθεότητα κατασκεδάνυνυ τῆς
οἰκουμένης, τοὺς νομιζόμενους θεοὺς πάντας ὀμαλῶς
diagrάφων εἰς ὀνόματα' στρατηγῶν καὶ ναυάρχων
καὶ βασιλέων ὡς δὴ πάλαι γεγονότων, ἐν δὲ
Β Πάγχοντι γράμμασι χρυσοῖς ἀναγεγραμμένων, ὃς
οὐτε βάρβαρος οὔδείς οὐθ' Ἐλλήν, ἀλλὰ μόνος
Εὐημερος, ὡς έοικε, πλεύσας εἰς τοὺς μηδαμόθι γῆς
γεγονότας μηδ’ ὄντας Παγχώους καὶ Τριφύλλους
ἐνετευχήκει.'

24. Καῖτοι μεγάλαι μὲν ὑμνοῦνται πράξεις ἐν
'Ασσυρίως Σεμιράμισος, μεγάλαι δὲ' Σεσώστριος ἐν
Αἰγύπτῳ. Φρύγες δὲ μέχρι νῦν τὰ λαμπρὰ καὶ θαυ-
mαστὰ τῶν ἔργων Μανικὰ καλοῦσι διὰ τὸ Μάνηθ'
tinα τῶν πάλαι βασιλέων ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα καὶ δυνατὸν
gενέσθαι παρ’ αὐτοῖς, ὃν ἐνιοὶ Μάσδην καλοῦσι·
Κὺρος δὲ Πέρσας Μακεδόνας δ’ Ἀλέξανδρος ὄλγου

1 ἀπολυπόντας] ἀπολείποντας Sieveking.
2 ἐξ' τοῦ ἐξ Baxter.
3 λευ'] Δέουντi Pohlenz, omitting καὶ below.
4 ἐξανθρωπίζοντας Markland: ἐξανθρωπίζοντι or ἐξανθρωπί-
ζοντες.
5 ὀνόματα Baxter: ὄνομα.
6 ἀναγεγραμμένων Salmasius: ἀναγεγραμμένοισ.
against "many a nation and race of men" who are possessed by a feeling of piety towards these gods, and thus we should not stop short of transplanting such names from the heavens to the earth, and eliminating and dissipating the reverence and faith implanted in nearly all mankind at birth, opening wide the great doors to the godless throng, degrading things divine to the human level, and giving a splendid licence to the deceitful utterances of Euhemerus of Messenê, who of himself drew up copies of an incredible and non-existent mythology, and spread atheism over the whole inhabited earth by obliterating the gods of our belief and converting them all alike into names of generals, admirals, and kings, who, forsooth, lived in very ancient times and are recorded in inscriptions written in golden letters at Panchon, which no foreigner and no Greek had ever happened to meet with, save only Euhemerus. He, it seems, made a voyage to the Panchoans and Triphyllians, who never existed anywhere on earth and do not exist!

24. However, mighty deeds of Semiramis are celebrated among the Assyrians, and mighty deeds of Sesostris in Egypt, and the Phrygians, even to this day, call brilliant and marvellous exploits "manic" because Manes, one of their very early kings, proved himself a good man and exercised a vast influence among them. Some give his name as Masdes. Cyrus led the Persians, and Alexander the Mace-

\[\text{Doubtless ή ἱερὰ ἀναγραφή (sacra scriptio); see Diodorus, v. 41-46, and vi. 1.}\]

\[\text{Cf. Herodotus, i. 94, iv. 45, and W. M. Ramsay, Mitteilungen des deutsch. arch. Institutes in Athen, viii. 71.}\]

\[\text{έντετυχής εν τῇ ἑτερών Reiske.}\]

\[\text{ἄνωθεν Salmasius: μάνω.}\]
(360) δείν ἐπὶ πέρας τῆς γῆς κρατοῦντας προῆγαγον· ἀλλ' ὁ ὄνομα καὶ μνήμην βασιλέων ἀγαθῶν ἔχουσιν. "ἐὰν δὲ τινες ἐξαρθέντες ὑπὸ μεγαλαυχίας," ὡς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, "ἀμα νεότητι καὶ ἀνοίᾳ φλεγόμενοι τὴν ψυχὴν μεθ' ὑβρεις" ἐδέξαντο θεῶν ἐπωνΥμίας καὶ ναῶν ἱδρύσεις, βραχὺν ἤνθησεν ἢ δόξα χρόνον, εἴτε κενότητα καὶ ἀλαζονείαν μετ' ἀσεβείας καὶ παρανομίας προσοφλύντες

ὡκύμοροι καπνοῖο δίκην ἄρθέντες ἀπέταν,
καὶ νῦν ὠσπερ ἀγώνιμοι δραπέται τῶν ἑρῶν καὶ τῶν βωμῶν ἀποστασθέντες οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ τὰ μνήματα καὶ τοὺς τάφους ἔχουσιν. ὅθεν 'Αντίγονος

Δὸ γέρων, 'Ἐρμοδότου τινὸς ἐν πονήμασιν αὐτὸν ἡλίου παῖδα καὶ θεόν' ἀναγορεύοντος, "οὐ τοιαύτα μοι," εἶπεν, "ὁ λασανοφόρος σύνοιδεν." εὐ δὲ καὶ Λύσιππος ὁ πλάστης Ὀπελλήν ἐμέμψατο τὸν ζωγράφου, οτι τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου γράφων εἰκόνα κεραυνὸν ἐνεχείρισεν, αὐτὸς δὲ λόγχην, ἢς τὴν δόξαν οὐδὲ εἰς ἀφαιρήσεται χρόνον ἀληθινὴν καὶ ἠδιαν οὔσαν.

25. Βέλτιον οὖν οἱ τὰ περὶ τὸν Τυφώνα καὶ ὁ Οσιριν καὶ Ἡσυχιεύμενα μήτε θεῶν παθῆματα μήτ' ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ δαιμόνων μεγάλων εἰναι Ἐνομίζοντες, οὐς καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Πυθαγόρας καὶ

1 ἐξαρθέντες Xylander: ἐξαιρεθέντες.
2 ἀνοίᾳ Plato: ἄνοια.
3 οὐς Xylander from Euseb. Praep. Ev. v. 5: ὡς.

* Adapted from Plato, Laws, 716 A.
* Plutarch tells the same story with slight variations in Moralia, 182 c
donians, in victory after victory, almost to the ends of the earth; yet these have only the name and fame of noble kings. "But if some, elated by a great self-conceit," as Plato\(^a\) says, "with souls enkindled with the fire of youth and folly accompanied by arrogance," have assumed to be called gods and to have temples dedicated in their honour, yet has their repute flourished but a brief time, and then, convicted of vain-glory and imposture,

Swift in their fate, like to smoke in the air, rising upward they flitted,\(^b\)

and now, like fugitive slaves without claim to protection, they have been dragged from their shrines and altars, and have nothing left to them save only their monuments and their tombs. Hence the elder Antigonus, when a certain Hermodotus in a poem proclaimed him to be "the Offspring of the Sun and a god," said, "the slave who attends to my chamber-pot is not conscious of any such thing!"\(^c\) Moreover, Lysippus the sculptor was quite right in his disapproval of the painter Apelles, because Apelles in his portrait of Alexander had represented him with a thunderbolt in his hand, whereas he himself had represented Alexander holding a spear, the glory of which no length of years could ever dim, since it was truthful and was his by right.

25.\(^d\) Better, therefore, is the judgement of those who hold that the stories about Typhon, Osiris, and Isis, are records of experiences of neither gods nor men, but of demigods, whom Plato\(^e\) and Pythagoras\(^f\)

\(^a\) In connexion with chapters 25 and 26 one may well compare 418 d–419 a and 421 c–f, infra, and Eusebius, Praepr. Evang. iv. 21–v. 5.  
\(^b\) Cf. 361 c, infra.  
\(^c\) Cf. Diogenes Laertius, viii. 32.
Ευνοκράτης καὶ Χρύσυππος, ἔπομενοι τοῖς πάλαι θεολόγοις, ἐρωμενεστέρους μὲν ἀνθρώπων γεγονέναι λέγουσι καὶ πολὺ τῇ δυνάμει τῆς φύσών ὑπερφέροντας ἡμῶν, τὸ δὲ θείον οὐκ ἁμυγὲς οὐδ’ ἄκρατον ἔχοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψυχῆς φύσει καὶ σώματος αἰσθήσεις συνελήχος, ἡδονὴν δεχόμενον καὶ πόνον, καὶ ὅσα ταύταις ἐγγενόμενα ταῖς μεταβολαῖς πάθη τοὺς μὲν μάλλον τοὺς δ’ ἵττον ἐπιταράττει. γίγνονται γὰρ, ὡς ἐν ἀνθρώποις, καί δαίμονι ἄρετής διά-

Φ φορᾷ καὶ κακίας. τὰ γὰρ Γιγαντικὰ καὶ Τιτανικὰ παρ’ Ἐλλησιον ἄδομενα καὶ Κρόνου τινὲς ἀθεσμοὶ πράξεις καὶ Πύθωνος ἀντιτάξεις πρὸς 'Απώλλωνα, φυγαί τε Διονύσου καὶ πλάναι Δήμητρος οὐδὲν ἀπολείπουσι τῶν Ὀσιριακῶν καὶ Τυφώνικῶν ἄλλων θ’ ὅν πᾶσι ἐξεστὶν ἀνέδην μυθολογομένων ἀκούειν. ὃσα τε μυστικοὶ ἱεροὶ περικαλυπτόμενα9 καὶ τελεταῖς ἀρρητα διασωζέται καὶ ἀθέατα πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς, ὦμοιον ἔχει λόγον.

26. Ἀκούομεν δὲ καὶ Ὁμήρου τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς διαφόρως10 "θεοεἰδέας" ἐκάστοτε καλοῦντος11 καὶ 361 "ἀντιθέους" καὶ "θεῶν ἀπὸ μηδε" ἔχοντας," τῷ

1 πολὺ Eusebius: πολλῇ.  
2 φύσει ... αἰσθήσει] φύσεως ... αἰσθήσεως Baxter.  
3 αἰσθήσει Xylander from Eusebius: αἰσθήσει εὐ.  
4 δεχόμενον (or δεχομένη) Eusebius: δεχομένην.  
5 καὶ Hatzidakis: καὶ.  
6 Κρόνου] πολλαὶ Eusebius.  
7 φυγαί Xylander from Eusebius; φθόροι? F.C.B.: φθόγγοι.  
8 πᾶσι] παρὰ πᾶσιν Eusebius.  
9 περικαλυπτόμενα] παρακαλυπτόμενα Eusebius.  
10 διαφόρως] διαφερόντως Hatzidakis.  
11 καλοῦντος added by Reiske.
and Xenocrates and Chrysippus, following the lead of early writers on sacred subjects, allege to have been stronger than men and, in their might, greatly surpassing our nature, yet not possessing the divine quality unmixed and uncontaminated, but with a share also in the nature of the soul and in the perceptive faculties of the body, and with a susceptibility to pleasure and pain and to whatsoever other experience is incident to these mutations, and is the source of much disquiet in some and of less in others. For in demigods, as in men, there are divers degrees of virtue and of vice. The exploits of the Giants and Titans celebrated among the Greeks, the lawless deeds of a Cronus, the stubborn resistance of Python against Apollo, the flights of Dionysus and the wanderings of Demeter, do not fall at all short of the exploits of Osiris and Typhon and other exploits which anyone may hear freely repeated in traditional story. So, too, all the things which are kept always away from the ears and eyes of the multitude by being concealed behind mystic rites and ceremonies have a similar explanation.

26. As we read Homer, we notice that in many different places he distinctively calls the good "god-like" and "peers of the gods" and "having prudence

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a Cf. Stobaeus, Eclogae, i. 2. 29.
b Cf. Moralia, 277 a, 419 a, and 1051 c-d; and von Arnim, Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta, ii. 1103 (p. 320).
c The vengeance which he wreaked on his father Uranus.
d Homer, II. vi. 135 ff. If ἔθοροι is read ("destructions wrought by Dionysus") there would be also a reference to the death of Pentheus as portrayed in the Bacchae of Euripides. Cf. also Moralia, 996 c.
e The word is found forty-four times in Homer.
f Homer employs this expression sixty-two times.
(361) δ’ ἀπὸ τῶν δαίμονων προσφήματι χρωμένου κοινῶς ἐπὶ τε χρηστῶν καὶ φαύλων,

δαίμονε σχεδὸν ἔλθε· τίν δειδίσσεαι οὕτως Ἀργείους;
καὶ πάλιν

アルバム ὅτε δὴ τὸ τέταρτον ἐπέσουτο δαίμονι ἰσοσ·
καὶ

δαίμονί, τί νῦ σε Πρίαμος Πριάμω το παῖδες τόσα κακὰ ρέζουσιν, ὁ ζ ἀσπερχὲς μνεαίνεις Ἰλίου ἐξαλαπάξαι ἐνκτίμενον πτολίθρον;

ὡς τῶν δαίμονων μικτὴν καὶ ἀνώμαλον φύσιν ἔχον·
των καὶ προαίρεσιν. ὃθεν ὁ μὲν Πλάτων Ὀλυμπίοις θεοῖς τὰ δεξιά καὶ περίττὰ τὰ δ’ ἀντίφωνα

Β τούτων δαίμοσων ἀποδίδωσιν. ὁ δὲ Ξενοκράτης καὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν τὰς ἀποφράδας καὶ τῶν ἑορτῶν ὡσαν πληγάσ τινας ἡ κοπετοὺς ἡ νηστείας ἡ δυσφημίας ἡ αἰσχρολογίαν ἐχοῦσιν οὔτε θεόν τιμᾶς οὔτε δαίμονων οἶται προσήκειν χρηστῶν, ἀλλ’ εἶναι φύσεις ἐν τῷ περιέχοντι μεγάλας μὲν καὶ ἴσχυρὰς, δυστρόπους δὲ καὶ σκυθρωπὰς, αἱ χαίρουσι τοῖς τοιούτοις,
καὶ τυγχάνουσι πρὸς οὐδὲν ἄλλο χεῖρον τρέπονται.

Τοὺς δὲ χρηστοὺς πάλιν καὶ ἁγαθοὺς ὁ θ’
gained from the gods, but that the epithet derived from the demigods (or daemons) he uses of the worthy and worthless alike; for example:

Daemon-possessed, come on! Why seek you to frighten the Argives

Thus?

and again

When for the fourth time onward he came with a rush, like a daemon;

and

Daemon-possessed, in what do Priam and children of Priam work you such ill that your soul is ever relentlessly eager Ilium, fair-built city, to bring to complete desolation?

The assumption, then, is that the demigods (or daemons) have a complex and inconsistent nature and purpose; wherefore Plato assigns to the Olympian gods right-hand qualities and odd numbers, and to the demigods the opposite of these. Xenocrates also is of the opinion that such days as are days of ill omen, and such festivals as have associated with them either beatings or lamentations or fastings or scurrilous language or ribald jests have no relation to the honours paid to the gods or to worthy demigods, but he believes that there exist in the space about us certain great and powerful natures, obdurate, however, and morose, which take pleasure in such things as these, and, if they succeed in obtaining them, resort to nothing worse.

Then again, Hesiod calls the worthy and good

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See Homer, Od. vi. 12.  
Cf. 415 A, infra.  
Iliad, xiii. 810.  
Ibid. v. 438, xiv. 705, xx. 447.  
Ibid. iv. 31.  
Plato, Laws, 717 A, assigns the Even and the Left to the ehthonic deities, and Plutarch quite correctly derives his statement from this.
(361) 'Hsiodos "άγνους δαίμονας" καὶ "φύλακας ἀνθρώπων" προσαγορεύει,

πλουτοδότας καὶ τοῦτο γέρας βασιλήιον2 ἐχοντας.

C ὁ τε Πλάτων ἐρμηνευτικὸν τὸ τοιοῦτον ὅνομάζει γένος καὶ διακονικὸν ἐν μέσῳ θεῶν καὶ ἄνθρωπων, εὐχὰς μὲν ἐκεῖ καὶ δεήσεις ἄνθρωπων ἀναπέμποντας, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ μαντεῖα δεῦρο καὶ δόσεις ἀγαθῶν φέροντας.

'Εμπεδοκλῆς δὲ καὶ δίκας φησὶ διδόναι τοὺς δαίμονας ὃν ἂν3 ἐξαμάρτωσι καὶ πλημμελήσωσιν,

αἰθέριον μὲν γάρ σφε μένος πόντουδε διώκει, πόντος δὲ ἐσ χθονὸς οὐδας ἀπέπτυσε, γαϊα δ' ἐσ αὐγὰς4

ἡλίου ἀκάμαντος,5 δ' ὁ ἀιθέρος ἐμβαλε δίναις· ἄλλος δ' ἐς ἄλλου δέχεται, στυγέουσι δὲ πάντες·

ἄχρι οὗ κολασθέντες οὕτω καὶ καθαρθέντες αὖθις τὴν κατὰ φύσιν χώραν καὶ τὰς ἀπολάβωσιν.

D 27. Τούτων δὲ καὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων ἀδελφὰ λέγεσθαι φασὶ περὶ Τυφώνος, ὥς δεινὰ μὲν ὑπὸ φθόνον καὶ δυσμενεῖας εἰργάσατο, καὶ πάντα πράγματα ταράξας ἐνέπλησε κακῶν γῆς ὁμοῦ τε πᾶσαν καὶ θάλατταν, εἶτα δίκην ἐδωκεν. ἦ δὲ τιμωρὸς

1 ἀγνους] ἐσθλοὶ Hesiod, O.D. 123.
2 βασιλήιον] probably βασιλήιον (βασιλείοι?) should be read as the metre demands.
3 ἂν added by Duebner from Eusebius.
4 αὐγὰς in Hippolytus, Refutatio: αὖθις.
5 ἀκάμαντος] φαεθόντος Hippolytus.

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demigods "holy deities" and "guardians of mortals" and

Givers of wealth, and having therein a reward that is kingly.

Plato calls this class of beings an interpretative and ministering class, midway between gods and men, in that they convey thither the prayers and petitions of men, and thence they bring hither the oracles and the gifts of good things.

Empedocles says also that the demigods must pay the penalty for the sins that they commit and the duties that they neglect:

Might of the Heavens chases them forth to the realm of the Ocean;
Ocean spews them out on the soil of the Earth, and Earth drives them
Straight to the rays of the tireless Sun, who consigns them to Heaven’s Whirlings; thus one from another receives them, but ever with loathing;

until, when they have thus been chastened and purified, they recover the place and position to which they belong in accord with Nature.

27. Stories akin to these and to others like them they say are related about Typhon; how that, prompted by jealousy and hostility, he wrought terrible deeds and, by bringing utter confusion upon all things, filled the whole Earth, and the ocean as well, with ills, and later paid the penalty therefor.

b Works and Days, 126, repeated in 417 b, infra.
c Symposium, 202 e. Cf. also Moralia, 415 a and 416 c-f, infra, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Roman Antiq. i. 77.
(361) Ὀσίριδος ἀδελφή καὶ γυνὴ τῆς Τυφῶνος σβέσασα καὶ καταπαύσασα μανίαν καὶ λύτταν οὐ περείδε
tοὺς ἄθλους καὶ τοὺς ἁγόνας, οὐς ἁνέτλη, καὶ
πλάνας αὐτῆς καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔργα σοφίας πολλὰ δ᾽ ἀνδρείας, ἀμηστίαν ὑπολαβοῦσα¹ καὶ σιωπήν, ἀλλὰ
tαῖς ἀγιωτάταις ἀναμείξασα τελεταῖς εἰκόνας καὶ
ὕπονοιας καὶ μμήματα² τῶν τότε παθημάτων,
eὐσεβείας ὁμοῦ διδαγμα καὶ παραμύθιον ἀνδράς
Ε καὶ γυναῖξι ὑπὸ συμφορῶν ἐχομένοις ὁμοίων καθωσιῶσεν. αὐτὴ δὲ καὶ "Ὀσίρις ἐκ δαμόνων
ἀγαθῶν δι᾽ ἀρετὴν³ εἰς θεοὺς μεταβαλόντες, ὅς
ὕστερον Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Διόνυσος, ἀμα καὶ θεῶν καὶ
dαμόνων οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου μεμιγμένας τιμᾶς ἐχούσι
πανταχοῦ μὲν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς⁴ ὕπερ γήν καὶ⁵ ὑπὸ γήν
dυνάμενοι μέγιστον. οὐ γὰρ ἀλλὸν εἶναι Σάραπι
ἡ τῶν Πλούτων ἡ φασι, καὶ Ἰσιν τὴν Περσέφασσαν,
ὡς Ἀρχέμαχος εὑρηκεν ὁ Εὐβοεὺς καὶ ὁ Πομπῖκος
Ἡρακλείδης⁶ τὸ χρηστήριον ἐν Κανόβῳ Πλοῦ-
F των ἡγούμενοι εἶναι.

28. Πτολεμαῖος δ’ ὁ Σωτήρ ὁνάρ εἶδε⁷ τοῦ ἐν
Σωιώπῃ τοῦ Πλούτωνος κολοσσῶν, οὗκ ἐπιστάμενος
οὐδ’ ἐωρακὼς πρότερον οἶος τὴν μορφὴν ἢν⁸
κελεύοντα κομίσαι τὴν ταχύτητι αὐτῶν εἰς Ἀλεξ-
ἀνδρείαν. ἀγνοοῦντι δ’ αὐτῶ καὶ ἀποροῦντι ποῦ
καθίδρυται καὶ διηγομένως τοὺς φίλους τὴν ὄφιν
εὐρέθη πολυπλανής ἀνθρωπὸς ὀνόμα Σωσίβιος ἐν

¹ ὑπολαβοῦσα] ὑπολαβοῦσαν Meziriacus; ὑπολαβόντα Mark-
land; but cf. 473 c.
² μμήματα Baxter: μύμημα.
³ ἀρετὴν Reiske: ἀρετῆς.
⁴ τοῖς Xylander: τούτοις.
⁵ ὑπὲρ γήν καὶ] Xylander would omit.
⁶ Ἡρακλείδης Xylander: ἡράκλειτος.
⁷ ὁνάρ εἶδε Baxter: ἀνείλε.
⁸ ἢν added by Meziriacus.
But the avenger, the sister and wife of Osiris, after she had quenched and suppressed the madness and fury of Typhon, was not indifferent to the contests and struggles which she had endured, nor to her own wanderings nor to her manifold deeds of wisdom and many feats of bravery, nor would she accept oblivion and silence for them, but she intermingled in the most holy rites portrayals and suggestions and representations of her experiences at that time, and sanctified them, both as a lesson in godliness and an encouragement for men and women who find themselves in the clutch of like calamities. She herself and Osiris, translated for their virtues from good demigods into gods,\textsuperscript{a} as were Heracles and Dionysus later,\textsuperscript{b} not incongruously enjoy double honours, both those of gods and those of demigods, and their powers extend everywhere, but are greatest in the regions above the earth and beneath the earth. In fact, men assert that Pluto is none other than Serapis and that Persephonê is Isis, even as Archemachus\textsuperscript{c} of Euboea has said, and also Heracleides Ponticus\textsuperscript{d} who holds the oracle in Canopus to be an oracle of Pluto.

28. Ptolemy Soter saw in a dream the colossal statue of Pluto in Sinopê, not knowing nor having ever seen how it looked, and in his dream the statue bade him convey it with all speed to Alexandria. He had no information and no means of knowing where the statue was situated, but as he related the vision to his friends there was discovered for him a much travelled man by the name of Sosibius, who said that

\textsuperscript{a} Cf. 363 e, infra.
\textsuperscript{b} Cf. Moralia, 857 d.
\textsuperscript{c} Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec. iv. p. 315, no. 7.
\textsuperscript{d} Ibid. ii. 198 or Frag. 103, ed. Voss.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

Σωτόπης φάμενος ἑωρακέναι τοιοῦτον κολοσσὸν ὄνον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἰδεῖν ἐδοξεῖν. ἔπεμψεν οὖν Σωτέλη καὶ Διονύσιον, οἱ χρόνων πολλοί καὶ μόλις, οὐκ 362 ἀνευ μέντοι θείας προνοίας, ἦγαγον ἐκκλέψαντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ κοιμισθεὶς ὄφθη, συμβαλόντες οἱ περὶ Τιμόθεου τὸν ἕξηγητήν καὶ Μανέθωνα τὸν Σεβεννύτην Πλούτωνος ὃν ἄγαλμα, τῷ Κερβέρῳ τεκμαίρουντες καὶ τῷ δράκοντι, πεῖθουσι τὸν Πτολεμαίον ὃς ἔτερον θεῶν οὐδὲν ἄλλα Σαράπιδος ἔστω. οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν ὀὕτως ὀνομαζόμενος ἢκεν, ἀλλ' εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν κοιμισθεὶς τὸ παρ' Ἀιγυπτίως ὄνομα τοῦ Πλούτωνος ἔκτησατο τὸν Σάραπιν. καὶ μέντοι 'Ἡρακλείτου τοῦ φυσικοῦ λέγοντος, "'Αἴδης καὶ Διόνυσος ὁὕτως ὀτεω μαίνονται καὶ ληναίζουσιν," εἰς ταύτην ὑπάγοντι τὴν δόξαν. οἱ Β γὰρ ἄξιοντες "Αἴδην λέγεσθαι τὸ σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς ὃν παραφρονοῦσης καὶ μεθυοῦσης ἐν αὐτῷ, γλύσχρωσ ἀλληγοροῦσι. βέλτιον δὲ τὸν "Οσιρὶν εἰς ταύτο συνάγειν τῷ Διονύσῳ, τῷ τ' Ὄσιριδι τὸν Σάραπιν, ὅτε τὴν φύσιν μετέβαλε, ταύτης τυχόντι τῆς προσηγορίας. διὸ πᾶσι κοινὸς ὁ Σάραπις ἐστι, ὡς δὴ τὸν "Οσιρὶν οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν μεταλαβόντες ἴσασιν.

1 Διονύσιον from 984 α: διόνυσον.
2 οὕτως Salmasius: οὕτος.
3 μέντοι Schellens would add τά.
4 ὀφθα Wyttenbach from Eusebius: ὀφθα.
5 ὀτεο ... ὅρατον from Clement of Alexandra, Protrepticus 34 (p. 30 Potter): ὀτε οὖν ... ὅρατον.
6 τυχόντι Squire: τυχόντα.
7 δὴ Bernardakis: δὲ.

a Cf. Moralia, 984 α; Tacitus, Histories, iv. 83-84, who tells the story more dramatically and with more detail;
he had seen in Sinopê just such a great statue as
the king thought he saw. Ptolemy, therefore, sent
Soteles and Dionysius, who, after a considerable time
and with great difficulty, and not without the help of
divine providence, succeeded in stealing the statue and
bringing it away. When it had been conveyed to
Egypt and exposed to view, Timotheus, the expositor
of sacred law, and Manetho of Sebennytus, and their
associates, conjectured that it was the statue of
Pluto, basing their conjecture on the Cerberus and
the serpent with it, and they convinced Ptolemy that
it was the statue of none other of the gods but Serapis.
It certainly did not bear this name when it came from
Sinope, but, after it had been conveyed to Alexandria,
it took to itself the name which Pluto bears among
the Egyptians, that of Serapis. Moreover, since
Heracleitus the physical philosopher says, “The
same are Hades and Dionysus, to honour whom they
rage and rave,” people are inclined to come to this
opinion. In fact, those who insist that the body is
called Hades, since the soul is, as it were, deranged
and inebriate when it is in the body, are too frivolous
in their use of allegory. It is better to identify
Osiris with Dionysus and Serapis with Osiris,' who
received this appellation at the time when he changed
his nature. For this reason Serapis is a god of all
peoples in common, even as Osiris is; and this they
who have participated in the holy rites well know.

Clement of Alexandria, Protrepticus, iv. 48 (p. 42 Potter);
Origen, Against Celsus, v. 38.

b Cf. Diels, Frag. der Vorsokrateriker, i. 81, Heracleitus
no. 14.

c Cf. 356 b, supra, and 364 d, infra.

d Cf. 376 a, infra, and Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Sarapis (vol.
i. A, col. 2394).
29. Οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον προσέχειν τοῖς Φρυγίωις γράμμασιν, ἐν οἷς λέγεται Σάραπις νῦν1 μὲν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους γενέσθαι θυγάτηρ τ' Ἰσις, Ἀλκαῖον2 δὲ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ὁ Τυφών· οὐδὲ Φυλάρχου3 μὴ καταφρονεῖν γράφοντος ὅτι πρῶτος εἰς Αἴγυπτον

C εἴ 'Ινδών Διόνυσος ἦγαγε δύο βοῦς, ὥν ἦν τῷ μὲν Ἀπις ὀνόμα τῷ δ' Ὀσίρις. Σάραπις δ' ὀνόμα τοῦ τοῦ πάν κοσμοῦντός, ἐστι παρὰ τὸ "σαίρεων," ὅ καλλυνειν τινές καὶ κοσμεῖν λέγουσιν. ἄτοπα γὰρ ταῦτα τοῦ Φυλάρχου, πολλαὶ δ' ἀτοπώτερα τὰ τῶν λεγόντων οὐκ εἶναι θεὸν τὸν Σάραπιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Ἀπίδος σορὸν οὔτως ὀνομάζεσθαι, καὶ χαλκᾶς τινας ἐν Μέμφει πύλας λήθης καὶ κωκυτοῦ προσ-αγορευμένας, ὅταν θάπτωσι τὸν Ἀπίν, ἄνοιγ-θαι, βαρὺ καὶ σκληρὸν ψυφούσα· διὸ παντὸς ἥχοῦντος ἡμᾶς χαλκῶματος ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι. μετριώτερον4 δ' οἱ παρὰ τὸ "σεῦσθαι" καὶ τὸ "σοῦσθαι" τὴν τοῦ παντὸς ἀμα κύνησιν εἰρήσθαι

D φάπσκοντες. οἱ δὲ πλείστοι τῶν ἱερέων εἰς ταῦτο φασὶ τὸν Ὀσίριν συμπεπλέξθαι καὶ τὸν Ἀπίν, ἐξηγούμενοι καὶ διδάσκοντες ἡμᾶς, ὅς ἐμμορφοῦ5 εἰκόνα χρῆ νομίζειν τῆς Ὀσιρίδος ψυχῆς τὸν

1 Σάραπις Reiske, νῦν F.C.B. (the context seems to require Σάραπις here): χαροπόσ τοὺς.
2 τ' added by F.C.B.
4 Φυλάρχου Xylander: φιλάρχου.
5 тά added by Squire.
6 μετριώτερον] μετριώτεροι Baxter.
7 οἱ added by Xylander.
8 ἐμμορφοῦ, as in 368 c, Wytenbach: εἰμμορφοῦ.

a Cf. Cicero, De Natura Deorum, iii. 16 (42).
b Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, l.c., col.2396-2397, for other etymologies. The derivation from sairein (sweep) is wholly fanciful.
29. It is not worth while to pay any attention to the Phrygian writings, in which it is said that Serapis was the son of Heracles, and Isis was his daughter, and Typhon was the son of Alcaeus, who also was a son of Heracles; nor must we fail to contempt Phylarchus, who writes that Dionysus was the first to bring from India into Egypt two bulls, and that the name of one was Apis and of the other Osiris. But Serapis is the name of him who sets the universe in order, and it is derived from “sweep” (sairein), which some say means “to beautify” and “to put in order.” As a matter of fact, these statements of Phylarchus are absurd, but even more absurd are those put forth by those who say that Serapis is no god at all, but the name of the coffin of Apis; and that there are in Memphis certain bronze gates called the Gates of Oblivion and Lamentation, which are opened when the burial of Apis takes place, and they give out a deep and harsh sound; and it is because of this that we lay hand upon anything of bronze that gives out a sound.

More moderate is the statement of those who say that the derivation is from “shoot” (seuesthai) or “scoot” (sousthai), meaning the general movement of the universe. Most of the priests say that Osiris and Apis are conjoined into one, thus explaining to us and informing us that we must regard Apis as the bodily image of the soul of Osiris.

Cf. Diodorus, i. 96, and Pausanias, i. 18. 4, with Frazer’s note.

Cf. Moralia, 995 E-F; Aristotle, Frag. 196 (ed. Rose); or Porphyry, Life of Pythagoras, 41.

This derivation (from seuesthai or southai) is also fanciful.

Cf. 359 b, supra, and 368 c, infra, and Diodorus, i. 85. 4-5.
(362) Ἀπτ. ἐγὼ δὲ, εἰ μὲν Αἰγύπτιον ἔστι τούνομα τοῦ Σαράπιδος, εὐφροσύνην αὐτὸ δηλοῦν οἶομαι καὶ χαρμοσύνην, τεκμαιρόμενος ὅτι τὴν ἔορτην Αἰγύπτιοι τὰ χαρμόσυνα "σαίρει" καλοῦσιν. καὶ γὰρ Πλάτων τὸν Ἅιδην ὡς ὠφελήσιμον ἔος παρ' αὐτῷ γενομένου καὶ προσηνήθει θεῶν ὄνομάσθαι φησὶ· καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίους ἄλλα τε πολλὰ τῶν ὀνομάτων λόγοι εἰσί; καὶ τὸν ὑποχθόνιον τόπον, εἰς δὲ οἴονται τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπέρχεσθαι μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν, Ἀμένθην καλοῦσι, σημαίνοντος τοῦ Ε ὄνοματος τὸν λαμβάνοντα καὶ διδόντα. εἰ δὲ καὶ τούτο τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἕλλαδος ἀπελθόντων πάλαι καὶ μετακομισθέντων ὀνομάτων ἐν ἔστιν, ύστερον ἐπισκεφόμεθα· νῦν δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἐν χερσὶ δόξης προσδιέλθωμεν.

30. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ὄσιρις καὶ Ἡ Ἰσις ἐκ δαιμόνων ἀγαθῶν εἰς θεοὺς μετῆλλαξαν· τὴν δὲ τοῦ Τυφῶνος ἡμαυρωμένην καὶ συντετριμμένην δύναμιν, ἐτὶ δὲ καὶ ψυχορραγοῦσαν καὶ σφαδάζουσαν, ἐστίν αἰς παρηγοροῦσι θυσίας καὶ πραύνουσι· ἐστὶ δ' ὅτε Πάλιν ἐκτατεινοῦσι καὶ καθυβρίζουσιν ἐν τοῖς ἔορταῖς, τῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς πυρροὺς καὶ προπηλακίζοντες, ὦνον δὲ καὶ κατακρημνίζοντες, ὡς Κοπτῆται, διὰ τὸ πυρρὸν γεγονέναι τὸν Τυφῶνα καὶ ἴδωδὴ τὴν χρόαν· Βουσιρίται δὲ καὶ Λυκοπολίται σάλπιγξιν οὐ χρωντον τὸ παράπαν ὡς ὄνω φθεγγομέναις ἐμφερές· καὶ ὀλὰς τὸν ὄνον οὐ

2 αὐτῷ Wyttenbach: αὐτοῦ.
3 λόγοι εἰσὶ] λόγον ἔχει Pohlenz.

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it is my opinion that, if the name Serapis is Egyptian, it denotes cheerfulness and rejoicing, and I base this opinion on the fact that the Egyptians call their festival of rejoicing sairei. In fact, Plato\(^a\) says that Hades is so named because he is a beneficent and gentle god towards those who have come to abide with him. Moreover, among the Egyptians many others of the proper names are real words; for example, that place beneath the earth, to which they believe that souls depart after the end of this life, they call Amenethes, the name signifying “the one who receives and gives.” Whether this is one of those words which came from Greece in very ancient times and were brought back again\(^b\) we will consider later,\(^c\) but for the present let us go on to discuss the remainder of the views now before us.

30. Now Osiris and Isis changed from good minor deities into gods.\(^d\) But the power of Typhon, weakened and crushed, but still fighting and struggling against extinction, they try to console and mollify by certain sacrifices; but again there are times when, at certain festivals, they humiliate and insult him by assailing red-headed men with jeering, and by throwing an ass over the edge of a precipice, as the people of Kopto do, because Typhon had red hair and in colour resembled an ass.\(^e\) The people of Busiris\(^f\) and Lycopolis do not use trumpets at all, because these make a sound like an ass\(^g\); and altogether they

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\(^a\) Plato, *Cratylus*, 403a–404a, suggests various derivations of the name Hades.

\(^b\) Cf. 375e-f, *infra*.

\(^c\) Cf. 375d, *infra*.

\(^d\) Cf. 361e, *supra*.

\(^e\) Cf. 359e, *supra*, and 364a, *infra*; for Kopto cf. 356d.

\(^f\) Cf. *Moralia*, 150e-f.

\(^g\) Cf. Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, x. 28.
katharōn allà daimonicōn ħγοῦνται zṓon εἶναι διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὁμοίότητα, καὶ πόλανα ποιοῦντες ἐν θυσίαις τοῦ παῦνι καὶ τοῦ Φαωφί μηνός 363 ἐπιπλάττουσι παράσημον ὄνον δεδεμένον. ἐν δὲ τῇ τοῦ ἴλου θυσία τοῖς σεβομένοις τὸν θεὸν παρεγγυῶσι μὴ φορεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ σώματι χρυσία μηδ' ὄνω τροφῆν διδόναι. φαίνονται δὲ καὶ οἱ Πυθαγορικοὶ τὸν Τυφώνα δαιμονικὴν ἠγοῦμενοι δύναμιν. λεγοντι γὰρ ἐν ἀρτίῳ μέτρῳ ἐκτῷ καὶ πεντηκοστῷ γεγονέναι Τυφώνα· καὶ πάλιν τὴν μὲν τοῦ τριγώνου "Αἰδοῦ καὶ Διονύσου καὶ "Αρεος εἶναι· τὴν δὲ τοῦ τετραγώνου 'Ῥέας καὶ 'Αφροδίτης καὶ Δήμητρος καὶ 'Εστίας καὶ "Ηρας· τὴν δὲ τοῦ δωδεκαγώνου Δίος· τὴν δ' ἐκκαιπεντηκονταγωνίου τοῦ Τυφώνος, ως Εὐθοδός ἱστορήκεν.

Β 31. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ πυρρόχρων γεγονέναι τὸν Τυφώνα νομίζουσι καὶ τῶν βοῶν τοὺς πυρρούς καθιερεύουσιν, οὕτως ἀκριβῆ ποιοῦμενοι τὴν παρατήρησιν, ἀμέως, καὶ μᾶν ἐχθρία μέλαιναν ἣ λευκῆν, ἄθυτον ἤγειρθαν. θύσιμον γὰρ οὐ φίλου εἶναι θεοῖς, ἀλλὰ τούναντιον, ὡς ψυχὰς ἀνοσίων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀδίκων εἰς ἐτερα μεταμορφοῦμενον σώματα συνείληφε. διὸ τῇ μὲν κεφαλῇ τοῦ ἱερείου καταρασάμενοι καὶ ἀποκόψαντες εἰς τὸν

1 σεβομένοις Xylander: ἐσσομένους.
2 καὶ "Ηρας] Emperius would omit.
3 τὴν δ') τὴν δὲ τοῦ Reiske; but, if we can trust the mss., Plutarch is very inconstant in keeping to a uniform phraseology.
4 ἐκκαιπεντηκονταγωνίου Xylander: ὀκτωκαιπεντηκονταγωνίου.
regard the ass as an unclean animal dominated by some higher power because of its resemblance to Typhon, and when they make cakes at their sacrifices in the month of Pajni and of Phaophi they imprint upon them the device of an ass tied by a rope. Moreover, in the sacrifice to the Sun they enjoin upon the worshippers not to wear any golden ornaments nor to give fodder to an ass. It is plain that the adherents of Pythagoras hold Typhon to be a daemonic power; for they say that he was born in an even factor of fifty-six; and the dominion of the triangle belongs to Hades, Dionysus, and Ares, that of the quadrilateral to Rhea, Aphrodite, Demeter, Hestia, and Hera, that of the dodecagon to Zeus, and that of a polygon of fifty-six sides to Typhon, as Eudoxus has recorded.

31. The Egyptians, because of their belief that Typhon was of a red complexion, also dedicate to sacrifice such of their neat cattle as are of a red colour, but they conduct the examination of these so scrupulously that, if an animal has but one hair black or white, they think it wrong to sacrifice it; for they regard as suitable for sacrifice not what is dear to the gods but the reverse, namely, such animals as have incarnate in them souls of unholy and unrighteous men who have been transformed into other bodies. For this reason they invoke curses on the head of the victim and cut it off, and in earlier times they used to

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*b* Cf. 371 D, *infra.*

*c* As the chief of the twelve gods presumably; *cf.* Herodotus, ii. 4.


*e* Cf. Diodorus, i. 88.

*f* Cf. Herodotus, ii. 38, and Diodorus, i. 83.
(363) potamôn ἥρπτον πάλαι, νῦν δὲ τοῖς ξένοις ἀποδίδονται. τὸν δὲ μέλλοντα θύεσθαι βοῶν οἱ
C σφραγισταὶ λεγόμενοι τῶν ἱερέων κατεσημαίνοντο, τῆς σφραγίδος, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Κάστωρ, γλυφὴν μὲν ἔχουσιν ἀνθρωπὸν εἰς γόνον καθεικότα ταῖς χερσὶν ὁπίσω περιγυμνέας, ἔχοντα κατὰ τῆς σφαγῆς ἔφος ἔγκειμον· ἀπολαῦειν δὲ καὶ τὸν ὄνον, ὡςπερ εἰρηται, τῆς ὁμοιότητος διὰ τὴν ἀμαθίαν καὶ τὴν ὑβριν ὑπὸ ἢττον ἡ διὰ τὴν χρόνα ὁμοῦνται. διὸ καὶ τῶν Περσικῶν βασιλέων ἐχθραίνοντες μάλιστα τὸν Ὀχον ὡς ἐναγῇ καὶ μιαρὸν, ὄνον ἐπωνόμασαν. κάκεινος εἰπὼν, "ὁ μὲντο ὄνος οὕτος ὑμῶν κατευχήσεται τὸν βοῶν," ἔθυσε τὸν Ἀπιν, ὡς Νείνων ἱστόρηκεν. οἱ δὲ λέγοντες ἐκ
D τῆς μάχης ἐπʼ ὀνοῦ τῷ Τυφώνι τὴν φυγὴν ἐπτὰ ἡμέρας1 γενέσθαι, καὶ σωθέντα γεννῆσαι παῖδας Ἰεροσόλυμον καὶ Ἰουδαῖον, αὐτόθεν εἰσὶ κατάδηλοι τὰ Ἰουδαϊκὰ παρέλκοντες εἰς τὸν μῦθον.

32. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα ὑπονοεῖς δίδωσιν· ἀπʼ ἀλλῆς δʼ ἀρχῆς τῶν φιλοσοφῶτερον τι λέγειν
dοκοῦντων2 τοὺς ἀπλουστάτους σκεψίμεθα πρῶτον. οὕτω δʼ εἰσὼν οἱ λέγοντες, ὡςπερ Ἔλληνες Κρόνων ἀλληγοροῦσι τὸν χρόνον, "Ἡραν ἰ ὅ τὸν ἀέρα, γένεσιν δὲ Ἡφαίστου τὴν εἰς πῦρ ἀέρος μεταβολὴν, οὕτω παρ’ Αἰγυπτίως Νεῖλον εἶναι τὸν "Οσιρω

1 ἡμέρας Markland: ἡμέρας.
2 δοκοῦντων Eusebius, Praep. Ev. iii. 3: δυναμένων.

a "To Greeks," says Herodotus, ii. 39. Cf. Deuteronomy xiv. 21, "Thou shalt give it (sc. anything that dieth of itself) unto the stranger that is in thy gates . . . or thou mayest sell it unto an alien."

b Cf. Herodotus, ii. 38, and Porphyry, De Abstinentia, iv. 7.
throw it into the river, but now they sell it to aliens.\textsuperscript{a}
Upon the neat animal intended for sacrifice those of the priests who were called "Sealers"\textsuperscript{b} used to put a mark; and their seal, as Castor records, bore an engraving of a man with his knee on the ground and his hands tied behind his back, and with a sword at his throat.\textsuperscript{c} They think, as has been said,\textsuperscript{d} that the ass reaps the consequences of his resemblance because of his stupidity and his lascivious behaviour no less than because of his colour. This is also the reason why, since they hated Ochus\textsuperscript{e} most of all the Persian kings because he was a detested and abominable ruler, they nicknamed him "the Ass"; and he remarked, "But this Ass will feast upon your Bull," and slaughtered Apis, as Deinon has recorded. But those who relate that Typhon's flight from the battle was made on the back of an ass and lasted for seven days, and that after he had made his escape, he became the father of sons, Hierosolymus and Judaeus, are manifestly, as the very names show, attempting to drag Jewish traditions\textsuperscript{f} into the legend.

32. Such, then, are the possible interpretations which these facts suggest. But now let us begin over again, and consider first the most perspicuous of those who have a reputation for expounding matters more philosophically. These men are like the Greeks who say that Cronus is but a figurative name for Chronus\textsuperscript{g} (Time), Hera for Air, and that the birth of Hephaestus symbolizes the change of Air into Fire.\textsuperscript{h} And thus among the Egyptians such men say that Osiris is the

\textsuperscript{a} Cf. Diodorus, i. 88. 4-5.
\textsuperscript{b} Cf. 355 c, supra, and Aelian, Varia Historia, iv. 8.
\textsuperscript{c} Cf. Tacitus, Histories, v. 2.
\textsuperscript{d} 362 f, supra.
\textsuperscript{e} Cf. Cicero, De Natura Deorum, ii. 25 (64).
\textsuperscript{f} Cf. 392 c, infra.
(363) "Ἰσιδί συνόντα τῇ γῇ, Τυφώνα δὲ τὴν θάλατταν, εἰς ἥν ὁ Νεῖλος ἐμπίπτων ἀφανίζεται καὶ δια-
Εσπάται, πλὴν ὅσον ἡ γῇ μέρος ἀναλαμβάνουσα καὶ δεχομένη γίγνεται γόνιμος ύπ' αὐτοῦ.

Καὶ θρήνος ἐστιν ἱερὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ Κρόνου1 ἄδομενος2. θρηνεῖ δὲ τὸν ἐν τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς γιγνόμενον μέρεσιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς δεξιοῖς φθειρόμενον. Αἰγύπτιοι γὰρ
οἴονται τὰ μὲν ἐώς τοῦ κόσμου πρόσωπον εἶναι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς βορρᾶν δεξιά, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον ἀριστερά.
φερόμενος όυν ἐκ τῶν νοτίων ὁ Νεῖλος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς βορείοις ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάττης καταναλισκόμενος,
eἰκότως λέγεται τὴν μὲν γένεσιν ἐν τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς ἔχειν, τὴν δὲ φθορὰν ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς. διὸ τὴν
tε θαλάτταν οἱ ιερεῖς ἀφοσιωύνται καὶ τὸν ἄλα
Τυφώνος ἀφρὸν καλοῦσι: καὶ τῶν ἀπαγορευομένων
F ἐν ἑστιν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τραπέζης ἀλα μὴ προτίθεσθαι.
καὶ κυβερνήτας οὐ προσαγορεύουσιν, ὅτι χρώνται
θαλάττῃ καὶ τὸν βίον ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης ἔχουσιν.
οὕχ ἡκίστα δὲ καὶ τὸν ἰχθύν ἀπὸ ταύτης προβάλ-
λοντα τῆς αἰτίας, καὶ τὸ μισεῖν ἰχθύι γράφουσιν.
ἐν Σάει3 γοῦν ἐν τῷ προπύλῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς
ἡν γεγυμμένον βρέφος, γέρων, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον4
ἱεραξ, ἐφεξῆς δ' ἰχθύς, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δ' ἵππος ποτάμιος.
ἐδήλου δὲ συμβολικῶς, "ὡ γιγνόμενοι καὶ ἀπο-

1 Κρόνου] Νείλου Μεζιριακού.
2 ἄδομενος Γ.Κ.Β. : γενόμενοι. ([ἐπὶ] τοῦ Κ. λεγόμενοι, Hart-
man, avoids hiatus, but hiatus is not unknown in Plutarch.)
3 Σάει Hatzidakis (confirmed by papyri): Σάι.
4 τοῦτον Bernardakis: τοῦτο.
Nile consorting with the Earth, which is Isis, and that the sea is Typhon into which the Nile discharges its waters and is lost to view and dissipated, save for that part which the earth takes up and absorbs and thereby becomes fertilized.\(^a\)

There is also a religious lament sung over Cronus.\(^b\) The lament is for him that is born in the regions on the left, and suffers dissolution in the regions on the right; for the Egyptians believe that the eastern regions are the face of the world, the northern the right, and the southern the left.\(^c\) The Nile, therefore, which runs from the south and is swallowed up by the sea in the north, is naturally said to have its birth on the left and its dissolution on the right. For this reason the priests religiously keep themselves aloof from the sea, and call salt the "spume of Typhon"; and one of the things forbidden them is to set salt upon a table \(^d\); also they do not speak to pilots,\(^e\) because these men make use of the sea, and gain their livelihood from the sea. This is also not the least of the reasons why they eschew fish,\(^f\) and they portrays hatred by drawing the picture of a fish. At Sa'is in the vestibule of the temple of Athena was carved a babe and an aged man, and after this a hawk, and next a fish, and finally an hippopotamus. The symbolic meaning of this was\(^g\): "O ye that are coming into the world

\(^a\) Cf. 366 A, infra.
\(^b\) For Cronus as representing rivers and water see Pauly-Wissowa, xi. 1987-1988.
\(^c\) Cf. Moralia, 282 D-E and 729 B.
\(^d\) Ibid. 685 A and 729 A.
\(^e\) Ibid. 729 C.
\(^f\) Cf. 353 C, supra.
\(^g\) There is a lacuna in one ms. (E) at this point (God hateth . . . of departing from it). The supplement is from Clement of Alexandria; see the critical note.
γεγονόμενοι, θεός1 ἀναίδειαν μισεῖ’· τὸ μὲν γὰρ βρέφος γενέσεως σύμβολον, φθορᾶς δ’ ὁ γέρων. ἑρακι δὲ τὸν θεὸν φράζουσιν, ἰχθὺι δὲ μύσος, ὡσπερ εἰρήται, διὰ τὴν θάλατταν, ἅπαξ ποταμίως
364 δ’ ἀναίδειαν. λέγεται γὰρ ἀποκτείνας τὸν πατέρα τῇ μητρὶ βία μείγνυσθαι. δόξει δὲ κἂν2 τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν λεγόμενον, ὡς ἡ θάλαττα Κρόνου δάκρυν ἔστιν, αὐνίττεσθαι τὸ μὴ καθαρὸν μηδὲ σύμφυλον αὐτῆς.
Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐξωθεὶν εἰρήσθω κοινῆν ἔχοντα τὴν ἱστορίαν. (33.) οἱ δὲ σοφότεροι τῶν ἱερέων οὐ μόνον τὸν Νεῖλον "Οσίριν καλοῦσιν οὔδὲ Τυφώνα τὴν θάλατταν, ἀλλ’ "Οσίριν μὲν ἀπλῶς ἀπασάν τὴν ὑγροποιὸν ἀρχήν καὶ δύναμιν, αὐτίαν γενέσεως καὶ ὑπερματὸς οὐσίαν νομίζοντες. Τυφώνα δὲ πᾶν τὸ αὐχμηρὸν καὶ πυρῶδες καὶ ἔηραντικὸν ὁλὸς καὶ Β πολέμιοι τῇ ὑγρότητι. διὸ καὶ πυρρόχρουν3 γεγονέναι τῷ σώματι καὶ πάρωχρον νομίζοντες οὐ πᾶν προθύμως ἐντυγχάνουσιν οὐδ’ ἤδεως ὀμιλοῦσι τοῖς τοιούτοις τὴν ὀψιν ἀνθρώπως.
Τὸν δ’ "Οσίριν αὐτὸ πάλιν μελάγχρον γεγονέναι μυθολογοῦσιν, ὅτι πᾶν ὕδωρ καὶ γῆ καὶ ἱμάτια καὶ νέφη μελαίνει μειγνύμενον, καὶ τῶν νέων ὑγρότητος ἐνοῦσα παρέχει τὰς τρίχας μελαίνας· ἡ δὲ πολίωσις οἷον ὑχρίασις ὑπὸ ἡγρότητος ἐπι-

1 θεός . . . δ’ ὁ γέρων is supplied from Clement of Alexandria, Stromateis, v. 41. 4 (p. 670 Potter): δεό . . . γέρων or δεογέρων. If it were not for the lacuna in E, it would be possible to emend ὁ γεγονόμενοι καὶ ἀπογιγνόμενοι ἐσκαμεν.
3 πυρρόχρουν (= τῇ χρόᾳ πυρρόν, p. 359 ε) Bernardakis: πυρρόχρων.

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a Cf. 371 ε, infra.

b Cf. 353 c, supra.
and departing from it, God hateth shamelessness."
The babe is the symbol of coming into the world and
the aged man the symbol of departing from it, and by
a hawk they indicate God,\(^a\) by the fish hatred, as has
already been said,\(^b\) because of the sea, and by the
hippopotamus shamelessness; for it is said that he
kills his sire\(^c\) and forces his mother to mate with him.
That saying of the adherents of Pythagoras, that the
sea is a tear of Cronus,\(^d\) may seem to hint at its impure
and extraneous nature.

Let this, then, be stated incidentally, as a matter
of record that is common knowledge. (33.) But the
wiser of the priests call not only the Nile Osiris and the
sea Typhon, but they simply give the name of Osiris
to the whole source and faculty creative of moisture,\(^e\)
believing this to be the cause of generation and the
substance of life-producing seed; and the name of
Typhon they give to all that is dry, fiery, and arid,\(^f\)
in general, and antagonistic to moisture. Therefore,
because they believe that he was personally of a
reddish sallow colour,\(^g\) they are not eager to meet
men of such complexion, nor do they like to associate
with them.

Osiris, on the other hand, according to their legend-
ary tradition, was dark,\(^h\) because water darkens
everything, earth and clothes and clouds, when it
comes into contact with them.\(^i\) In young people the
presence of moisture renders their hair black, while
greyness, like a paleness as it were, is induced by

\(^{a}\) Cf. Porphyry, De Abstinencia, iii. 23.
\(^{b}\) Cf. Clement of Alexandria, Stromateis, v. 50. 1 (p. 676
Potter), and Aristotle, Frag. 196 (ed. Rose).
\(^{c}\) Cf. 365 b, infra.
\(^{d}\) Cf. 369 a and 376 f, infra.
\(^{e}\) Cf. 359 e and 363 b, supra.
\(^{f}\) Cf. 359 e, supra.
\(^{g}\) Cf. Moralia, 950 a.
(364) γίγνεται τοίς παρακμάζουσι. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἕαρ
thalereōn kai gōnīmon kai prosōnes. τὸ δὲ φθινό-
πωρον ύγρότητος ἐνδείᾳ καὶ φυτῶς πολέμιον καὶ
C ζώους νοσώσες.

'Ὁ δ' ἐν Ἡλίου πόλει τρεφόμενοι βοῦς, ὃν
Μνεὺν1 καλόουσιν ('Οσίριδος δ' ἵερόν, ἐνοὶ δὲ
καὶ τοῦ Ἀπίδος πατέρα νομίζουσι), μέλας ἐστί
καὶ δευτέρας ἔχει τμήμα μετὰ τὸν Ἄπιν. ἔτι τῇ
Ἄγυπτῳ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα μελάγγειον οὖσαν, ὄσ-
περ τὸ μέλαν τοῦ ὄφθαλμου, Χημίαν καλόουσι καὶ
καρδία παρεικάζουσι: θερμῆ γάρ ἐστὶ καὶ υγρά
καὶ τοῖς νοτίοις μέρεσι τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὄσπερ ἡ
καρδία τοῖς εὐωνύμοις τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, μάλιστα
ἐγκέκλειται καὶ προσκεχώρηκεν.

34. 'Ἡλιον δὲ καὶ σελήνην ὦν ἄρρασιν ἄλλα
πλούσιος ὀχήμασι χρωμένους περιπλείων φασιν2
D αἰνιττόμενοι τὴν ἅρ ὑγροῦ τροφὴν αὐτῶν καὶ
γένεσιν. οἴονται δὲ καὶ Ἡμηρον ὄσπερ Θαλήν
μαθόντα παρ' Ἀγυπτίων ὕδωρ ἀρχην ἀπάντων καὶ
gένεσιν τίθεσθαι. τὸν γὰρ Ὄμηρον Ὠσιρν
eῖναι, τὴν δὲ Τῆθιν Ἰσων, ὡς τυθνουμένην πάντα
cαὶ συνεκτρέφουσαν. καὶ γὰρ Ἑλλήνες τὴν τοῦ
στερμάτως πρόεσιν3 ἀποστόλων καλοῦσι καὶ συνου-
σίαιν τὴν μείζων, καὶ τὸν ὑδάν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ
tοῦ ὑδατ. καὶ τὸν Δίονυσον "ὑν" ὡς κύριον τῆς
ὑγρᾶς φύσεως, ὦν ἐτερον ὑπὰ τοῦ Ὅσιριδος· καὶ

1 Mneūn Basel ed. of 1542: μνεὺν.
2 φασίν Badham; λέγουσιν Reiske: αἰ.
3 πρόεσιν Salmasius: πρόθεσιν.

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b Cf. Diodorus, i. 21; Eusebius, Praepar. Evang. iii. 13. 1-3; Strabo, xvii. 1. 22; Aelian, De Natura Animalium, xi. 11
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dryness in those who are passing their prime.\(^a\) Also the spring-time is vigorous, prolific, and agreeable; but the autumn, since it lacks moisture, is inimical to plants and unhealthful for living creatures.

The bull kept at Heliopolis which they call Mneuis,\(^b\) and which is sacred to Osiris (some hold it to be the sire of Apis), is black and has honours second only to Apis. Egypt, moreover, which has the blackest of soils,\(^c\) they call by the same name as the black portion of the eye, "Chemia," and compare it to a heart\(^d\); for it is warm and moist and is enclosed by the southern portions of the inhabited world and adjoins them, like the heart in a man's left side.

34. They say that the sun and moon do not use chariots, but boats\(^e\) in which to sail round in their courses; and by this they intimate that the nourishment and origin of these heavenly bodies is from moisture. They think also that Homer,\(^f\) like Thales, had gained his knowledge from the Egyptians, when he postulated water as the source and origin of all things; for, according to them, Oceanus is Osiris, and Tethys is Isis, since she is the kindly nurse and provider for all things. In fact, the Greeks call emission *apousia*\(^g\) and coition *synousia*, and the son (*hyios*) from water (*hydor*) and rain (*hysai*); Dionysus also they call Hyes\(^h\) since he is lord of the nature of moisture; and he is no other than Osiris.\(^i\) In fact, Hellanicus seems

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\(^{a}\) Cf. Herodotus, ii. 12.
\(^{b}\) Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica*, i. 22.
\(^{d}\) Il. xiv. 201.
\(^{e}\) Cf. Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica*, i. 78.
\(^{f}\) Cf. the name *Hyades* of the constellation.
\(^{g}\) Cf. 356 b, 362 b, *supra*, and 365 a, *infra.*
(364) γὰρ τῶν "Οσιρίν Ἑλλάνικος Ὁσιρίν ἐοικεν ἀκηκοέναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερεῶν λεγόμενον· οὕτω γὰρ ὁνομάζων διατελεῖ τὸν θεὸν, εἰκότως ἀπὸ τῆς Εφύσεως καὶ τῆς εὐρέσεως.

35. "Οτι μὲν οὖν ὁ αὐτὸς ἐστὶ Διόνυσῳ τίνα μᾶλλον ἢ σὲ γυνώσκειν, ὁ Κλέα, δὴ προσήκον ἐστιν, ἀρχηγὸν μὲν οὕσαν ἐν Δελφοῖς τῶν Θυιάδων, τοῖς δ' Ὁσιριακοῖς καθωσιωμένην ἱεροῖς ἀπὸ πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς; εἰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐνεκα δεὶ μαρτύρια παραθέταθαί, τὰ μὲν ἀπόρρητα κατὰ χώραν ἐῶμεν, ἀ δ' ἐμφανὸς δρῶσι βάπτοντες τὸν Απνὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς, ὅταν παρακόμιζωσι ἐπὶ σχεδίας ὁπείς σώμα, βακχείας οὐδὲν ἀποδεί. καὶ γὰρ νεβρίδας περικαθάπτονται καὶ θύρσους φοροῦσιν, καὶ Βοαῖς χρῶνται καὶ κινήσεων ὠσπερ οἱ κάτοχοι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ὀργιασμοῖς. διὸ καὶ ταυρόμορφα. Διόνυσον ποιοῦσιν ἀγάλματα πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων· αἱ δ' Ὁλείων γυναῖκες καὶ παρακαλοῦσιν εὐχόμεναι ποδὶ βοεῖῳ τὸν θεὸν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτὰς. Ἀργείοις δὲ βουγενῆς Διόνυσος ἐπίκλην ἐστίν. ἀνακαλοῦνται δ' αὐτὸν ὑπὸ σαλπίγγων ἐξ ὑδατος, ἐμβάλλοντες εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον ἁρνα τῷ Πυλαόχῳ. τὰς δὲ σάλπιγγας ἐν θύρσους ἀποκρύπτουσιν, ὡς Σωκράτης ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ὁσίων εἴρηκεν.

1 ἐοικεν Valckenaeer: ἐθηκεν.
2 Εφύσεως] ὑσεως Salmasius.
3 εὐρέσεως] υγρεύσεως Reiske; αἱρέσεως Strijd.
4 ἀρχηγὰ Keramopoulos, based on inscriptions: ἀρχικὰ.
5 ταυρόμορφα Markland: ταυρόμορφον.
6 Διόνυσον Xylander: Διόνυσον.
7 βοεϊω] βοεω p. 299 A.

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a See 366 f, infra.
b Cf. Diodorus, i. 11.
to have heard Osiris pronounced Hysiris by the priests, for he regularly spells the name in this way, deriving it, in all probability, from the nature of Osiris and the ceremony of finding him.\(^a\)

35. That Osiris is identical with Dionysus who could more fittingly know than yourself, Clea? For you are at the head of the inspired maidens of Delphi, and have been consecrated by your father and mother in the holy rites of Osiris. If, however, for the benefit of others it is needful to adduce proofs of this identity, let us leave undisturbed what may not be told, but the public ceremonies which the priests perform in the burial of the Apis, when they convey his body on an improvised bier, do not in any way come short of a Bacchic procession; for they fasten skins of fawns about themselves, and carry Bacchic wands and indulge in shoutings and movements exactly as do those who are under the spell of the Dionysiac ecstasies.\(^b\) For the same reason many of the Greeks make statues of Dionysus in the form of a bull\(^c\); and the women of Elis invoke him, praying that the god may come with the hoof of a bull\(^d\); and the epithet applied to Dionysus among the Argives is “Son of the Bull.” They call him up out of the water by the sound of trumpets,\(^e\) at the same time casting into the depths a lamb as an offering to the Keeper of the Gate. The trumpets they conceal in Bacchic wands, as Socrates\(^f\) has stated in his treatise on The Holy Ones. Further-

\(^a\) A partial list in Roscher, *Lexikon d. gr. u. röm. Mythologie*, i. 1149.

\(^b\) Cf. *Moralia*, 299 a, where the invocation is given at greater length; also Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca*, iii. p. 510 (L.C.I.).

\(^c\) Cf. *Moralia*, 671 e.

όμολογεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ Τιτανικὰ καὶ Νυκτέλια¹ τοῖς λεγομένοις Ὄσιρίδος διασπασμοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀνα-365 βιώσει καὶ παλιγγενεσίαις. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς. Αἰγύπτιοι τε γὰρ Ὄσιρίδος πολ-λαχοῦ θήκας, ὠσπερ εἴρηται, δεικνύονταi, καὶ Δελφοὶ τὰ τοῦ Διονύσου λείψανα παρ’ αὐτοὶς παρὰ τὸ χρηστήριον ἀποκεῖσθαι νομίζουσι· καὶ θύουσιν οἱ Ὄσιοι θυσίαν ἀπόρρητον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλ-λωνος, ὅταν αἱ Θυάδες ἐγείρωσι τὸν Λικνίτην. ὅτι δ’ οὐ μονὸν τοῦ οἴνου Διόνυσου, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης ὑγρᾶς φύσεως Ἑλλῆνες ἥγονται κύριον καὶ ἀρχηγὸν, ἀρκεῖ Πίνδαρος μάρτυς εἶναι λέγων δενδρέων δὲ νομὸν² Διόνυσος πολυγαθὴς αὐξάνοι, ἀγνὸν φέγγος ὀπώρας.

Β διὸ καὶ τοῖς τοῦ Ὄσιριν σεβομένοις ἀπαγορεύεται δενδρὸν ἡμερον ἀπολλύναι καὶ πηγὴν ύδατος ἐμ-φράττειν.

36. Οὐ μονὸν δὲ τοῦ Νείλον, ἀλλὰ πᾶν ὄγρον ἀπλῶς Ὅσιρίδος ἀπορροήν καλοῦσι· καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἄει προσπομπεῖ τὸ ὑδρείον ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ θρύω³ βασιλέα καὶ τὸ νότιον κλίμα τοῦ κόσμου γράφουσιν, καὶ μεθερμηνεύεται τὸ θρύων ποτισμὸς καὶ κύησιν⁴ πάντων, καὶ δοκεῖ γεννητικῶς μορίῳ

¹ Nυκτέλια Squire: νὺς τελεία.
² νομὸν Heyne: νόμον (τράπον in 757 F; γόμον Reiske; γόνον Wyttenbach).
³ θρύω Wyttenbach: θρύων or θρίω.
⁴ κύησις Xylander: κύησις.

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³ 358 A and 359 A, supra.
⁵ That is, the inspired maidens, mentioned at the beginning of the chapter.
⁶ Callimachus, Hymn to Demeter (vi.), 127; Anth. Pal. vi. 165; Virgil, Georg. i. 166.

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more, the tales regarding the Titans and the rites celebrated by night agree with the accounts of the dismemberment of Osiris and his revivification and regenesis. Similar agreement is found too in the tales about their sepulchres. The Egyptians, as has already been stated, point out tombs of Osiris in many places, and the people of Delphi believe that the remains of Dionysus rest with them close beside the oracle; and the Holy Ones offer a secret sacrifice in the shrine of Apollo whenever the devotees of Dionysus wake the God of the Mystic Basket. To show that the Greeks regard Dionysus as the lord and master not only of wine, but of the nature of every sort of moisture, it is enough that Pindar be our witness, when he says

May gladsome Dionysus swell the fruit upon the trees,
The hallowed splendour of harvest-time.

For this reason all who reverence Osiris are prohibited from destroying a cultivated tree or blocking up a spring of water.

36. Not only the Nile, but every form of moisture they call simply the effusion of Osiris; and in their holy rites the water jar in honour of the god heads the procession. And by the picture of a rush they represent a king and the southern region of the world, and the rush is interpreted to mean the watering and fructifying of all things, and in its nature it seems to bear some resemblance to the generative member.

\[a\] *Frag.* 153 (Christ). Plutarch quotes the line also in *Moralia*, 745 A and 757 F.

\[b\] Cf. 366 A, 371 B, *infra*, and 729 B.


\[d\] Such a symbol exists on Egyptian monuments.
(365) τὴν φύσιν ἑοικέναι. τὴν δὲ τῶν Παμυλίων ἐορτὴν ἄγοντες, ὥσπερ εἰρηταί, φαλλικὴν οὖσαν, ἀγαλμα προτίθενται καὶ περιφέρουσιν, οὐ τὸ αἴδοιον τριπλάσιον ἐστὶν. ἄρχη γὰρ ὁ θεὸς, ἄρχη δὲ πάσα τῷ γονίμῳ πολλαπλασίαζε τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς: τὸ δὲ πολλάκις εἰώθαμεν καὶ τρὶς λέγειν, ὡς τὸ "τρισμάκαρες" καὶ δεσμοὶ μὲν τρὶς τόσσοι ἀπείρονες,

ei μὴ νὴ Δία κυρίως ἐμφαίνεται τὸ τριπλάσιον ύπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν: η γὰρ ύγρα φύσις ἄρχη καὶ γένεσις οὖσα πάντων ἐξ αὐτῆς1 τὰ πρῶτα τρία σώματα, γῆν ἀέρα καὶ πῦρ, ἐποίησε. καὶ γὰρ ὁ προστιθέμενος τῷ μύθῳ λόγος, ὡς τοῦ Ὀσίριδος ὁ Τυφῶν τὸ αἴδοιον ἔρριψεν εἰς τὸν ποταμόν, ἢ δ'] Ἰσιὸν ὧν εὗρεν, ἀλλ' ἐμφερὲς ἁγαλμα θεμένη καὶ κατασκεύασα τιμᾶν καὶ φαλληφορεῖν ἔταξεν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ περιχωρεὶ2 διδάσκων ὅτι τὸ γόνιμον καὶ τὸ σπερματικὸν τοῦ θεοῦ πρῶτον3 ἐσχεν ὑλὴν τὴν ύγρότητα καὶ δι᾽ υγρότητος ἐνεκράθη τοῖς πεφυκόσι μετέχειν γενέσεως.

D "Αλλος δὲ λόγος ἐστιν Ἀἰγυπτίων, ὡς "Αποπις Ἡλίου ὧν ἀδελφὸς ἐπολέμει τῷ Διῷ, τὸν δ’ Ὀσιριν ὁ Ζεὺς συμμαχήσαντα καὶ συγκαταστρεφόμενον αὐτῷ τὸν πολέμιον παῖδα θέμενος Διόνυσον προσηγόρευσεν. καὶ τούτῳ δὲ τοῦ λόγου τὸ μυθῶδες ἐστὶν ἀποδείξαι τῆς περὶ4 φύσιν ἀληθείας ἀπτό-

1 αὐτῆς Michael: ἄρχης.
2 δὴ περιχωρεῖ Madvig: δὲ παραχωρεῖ.
3 πρῶτον] πρῶτῃν Reiske.
4 περὶ Xylander: παρά.

a 355 f., supra.
b Cf. 371 f., infra, Herodotus, ii. 48, and Egyptian monuments.
Moreover, when they celebrate the festival of the Pamylia which, as has been said, is of a phallic nature, they expose and carry about a statue of which the male member is triple; for the god is the Source, and every source, by its fecundity, multiplies what proceeds from it; and for "many times" we have a habit of saying "thrice," as, for example, "thrice happy," and Bonds, even thrice as many, unnumbered,

unless, indeed, the word "triple" is used by the early writers in its strict meaning; for the nature of moisture, being the source and origin of all things, created out of itself three primal material substances, Earth, Air, and Fire. In fact, the tale that is annexed to the legend to the effect that Typhon cast the male member of Osiris into the river, and Isis could not find it, but constructed and shaped a replica of it, and ordained that it should be honoured and borne in processions, plainly comes round to this doctrine, that the creative and germinal power of the god, at the very first, acquired moisture as its substance, and through moisture combined with whatever was by nature capable of participating in generation.

There is another tale current among the Egyptians, that Apopis, brother of the Sun, made war upon Zeus, and that because Osiris espoused Zeus's cause and helped him to overthrow his enemy, Zeus adopted Osiris as his son and gave him the name of Dionysus. It may be demonstrated that the legend contained in this tale has some approximation to truth so far as

\[ e \text{ Homer, } Od. \text{ v. } 306, \text{ and vi. } 154. \text{ It is interesting that G. H. Palmer translates this "most happy."}\]

\[ d \text{ Ibid. viii. } 340.\]

\[ e \text{ Cf. 358 } b, \text{ supra.}\]
μενον. Διὰ μὲν γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ πνεῦμα καλοῦσιν, ὧς πολέμιοι τὸ αὐχισμὸν καὶ πυρῶδες· τούτο δ′ ἦλιος μὲν οὐκ ἔστι, πρὸς δ′ ἦλιον ἔχει τινὰ συν-γένειαν. ἡ δ′ ὑγρότης σβεννύουσα τὴν ὑπερβολὴν
Ε τῆς ἡμιρρητοσ οὔξει καὶ ρώννυσι τὰς ἀναθυμιάσεις, υφ᾽ ὧν τὸ πνεῦμα τρέφεται καὶ τέθηλεν.

37. Ἡτι δὲ τὸν κυττῶν Ἕλληνες τε καθιερόθι τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις λέγεται "χενό-σηρις" ὀνομάζεσθαι, σημαίνοντος τοῦ οὖν ὁνόματος, ὡς φασί, φυτὸν Ὁσίριδος. Αρίστων τοῖνυν ὁ γεγραφὼς Ἀθηναίων ἀποικίστων ἐπιστολὴ τινὶ Ἀλεξάρχου περιέπεσεν, ἐν Ἡ Διός ἱστορεῖται καὶ Ἰσιδος ύδος ὥν ὁ Διόνυσος ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων οὔκ Ὁσίρις ἄλλος Ἀρσαφῆς (ἐν τῷ ἀλφα γράμματι)
F λέγεσθαι, δηλοῦντος τὸ ἄνδρεῖον τοῦ ὁνόματος.

εἰμφαίνει δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Ἐρμαῖος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ περὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων· ὀβριμον γὰρ φησὶ μεθερμηνεύο-μενον εἶναι τὸν Ὁσίριν. ἐώς δὲ Μνασέαν τῷ Ἐπάφῳ προστιθέντα τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τὸν Ὁσίριν καὶ τὸν Σάραπιν· ἐὼ καὶ Ἀντικλείδην λέγοντα τὴν Ἰσιδον Προμηθέως οὖσαν θυγατέρα Διονύσου συν-οικεῖν· αἱ γὰρ εἰρημέναι περὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς καὶ τὰς θυσίας οἰκείοιτες ἑναργεστέραν τῶν μαρτύρων τὴν πίστιν ἔχουσι.

38. Τῶν τ᾽ ἀστρῶν τὸν σείριον "Ἰσιδος" νομί-366 ζουσιν, ὑδραγωγὸν ὄντα. καὶ τὸν λέοντα τιμῶσι

1 δὲ F.C.B.: τε.
2 κυττῶν Squire (κυττῶν ol?): κυττῶν ὄν.
4 περιέπεσεν, ἐν Ἡ Διός Valckenaer: περιέπεσε νηίδος.
5 καὶ Valckenaer: δὲ καὶ.
6 Μνασέαν Xylander: μνάσαν.
7 "Ἰσιδος| Ὁσίριδος Squire, but cf. 359 d as well as 372 d.
Nature is concerned; for the Egyptians apply the name "Zeus" to the wind, and whatever is dry or fiery is antagonistic to this. This is not the Sun, but it has some kinship with the Sun; and the moisture, by doing away with the excess of dryness, increases and strengthens the exhalations by which the wind is fostered and made vigorous.

37. Moreover, the Greeks are wont to consecrate the ivy to Dionysus, and it is said that among the Egyptians the name for ivy is chenosiris, the meaning of the name being, as they say, "the plant of Osiris." Now, Ariston, the author of Athenian Colonization, happened upon a letter of Alexarchus, in which it is recorded that Dionysus was the son of Zeus and Isis, and is called not Osiris, but Arsaphes, spelled with an "a," the name denoting virility. Hermæus, too, makes this statement in the first volume of his book The Egyptians; for he says that Osiris, properly interpreted, means "sturdy." I leave out of account Mnaseas’s annexation of Dionysus, Osiris, and Serapis to Epaphus, as well as Anticleides’ statement that Isis was the daughter of Prometheus and was wedded to Dionysus. The fact is that the peculiarities already mentioned regarding the festival and sacrifices carry a conviction more manifest than any testimony of authorities.

38. Of the stars the Egyptians think that the Dog-star is the star of Isis, because it is the bringer of water. They also hold the Lion in honour, and they

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*a* Cf. Diodorus, i. 12. 2.  
*b* Diodorus, i. 17. 4.  
*e* Ibid. iii. p. 155.  
*g* Cf. 352 A, supra.  
*h* Cf. Herodotus, ii. 156.  
*i* Cf. 359 D, supra, and 376 A, infra.  
*k* In the Nile.
(366) καὶ χάσμασι λεοντείοις τὰ τῶν ἱερῶν θυρώματα κοσμοῦσιν, ὅτι πλημμυρεῖ Νεῖλος

ἥελιον τὰ πρῶτα συνερχομένου λέοντι.

'Ως δὲ Νεῖλον Ὄσιρδος ἀπορροήν, οὕτως Ἰσιδος σῶμα γῆν ἔχουσι1 καὶ νομίζουσιν, οὐ πᾶσαν, ἀλλ' ἦς ὁ Νεῖλος ἐπιβαίνει σπερμαίνων καὶ μειγνύμενος· ὥστε τής συνοπψίας ταύτης γεννῶσι τὸν Ὄρον. ἦστι δ' Ὄρος ἡ πάντα σύγχυσα καὶ τρέφουσα τοῦ περίχοντος ἀέρα καὶ κράσις ἀέρος, οὐ εἰς τοῖς ἔλεοι τοῖς περὶ Βοῦτον ὑπὸ Λητοῦ τραφῆναι λέγουσιν· ἡ γὰρ ὑδατώδης καὶ διάβροχος γῆ μάλιστα τὰς

Β οβενούσας καὶ χαλώσας τὴν ἕρηστητα καὶ τὸν αὐχμόν ἀναθυμάσεις πιθηκεῖτα.

Νέφθυν δὲ καλοῦσι τῆς γῆς τὰ ἔσχατα καὶ παρόρεια2 καὶ φαύνοντα τῆς θαλάττης· διὸ καὶ Ῥελευτὴν3 ἐπονομάζουσι τὴν Νέφθυν καὶ Τυφώνι δὲ συνοικεῖν λέγουσιν. ὅταν δ' ὑπερβαλὼν καὶ πλευνάσας ὁ Νεῖλος ἑπέκεινα πλησιάσα τοῖς ἑσχατεύουσι, τοῦτο μεῖξιν Ὄσιρδος πρὸς Νέφθυν καλοῦσιν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναβλαστανῶντων φυτῶν ἐλεγχομένη· ὃν καὶ τὸ μελίλωτον ἔστιν, οὗ φησὶ μύθος ἀπορρυντός καὶ ἀπολειφθέντος αἰσθητον γενέσθαι Τυφώνι τῆς περὶ τῶν γάμον ἀδικίας. οἴθεν ἡ μὲν

C Ἰοῖς ἐπεκε γνησίως τὸν Ὄρον, ἢ δὲ Νέφθυς σκότοιον τὸν Ἀνουβίων. ἐν μεντοι ταῖς διαδοχαῖς τῶν βασι-

1 ἔχουσι] λέγουσι Wytenbach.

2 παρόρεια Hatzidakis: παρόρα.

3 Τελευτὴν Squire (cf. 355 ff): τελευταῖήν.

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* Cf. Moralia, 670 c; Horapollo, Hieroglyphica, i. 21.

* Aratus, Phaenomena, 151. The Dog-star rises at about the same time.

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adorn the doorways of their shrines with gaping lions' heads,\(^a\) because the Nile overflows

When for the first time the Sun comes into conjunction with Leo.\(^b\)

As they regard the Nile as the effusion of Osiris,\(^c\) so they hold and believe the earth to be the body of Isis, not all of it, but so much of it as the Nile covers, fertilizing it and uniting with it.\(^d\) From this union they make Horus to be born. The all-conserving and fostering Hora, that is the seasonable tempering of the surrounding air, is Horus, who they say was brought up by Leto in the marshes round about Buto \(^e\); for the watery and saturated land best nurtures those exhalations which quench and abate aridity and dryness.

The outmost parts of the land beside the mountains and bordering on the sea the Egyptians call Nephthys. This is why they give to Nephthys the name of "Finality," \(^f\) and say that she is the wife of Typhon. Whenever, then, the Nile overflows and with abounding waters spreads far away to those who dwell in the outmost regions, they call this the union of Osiris with Nephthys,\(^g\) which is proved by the upspringing of the plants. Among these is the melilotus,\(^h\) by the wilting and failing of which, as the story goes, Typhon gained knowledge of the wrong done to his bed. So Isis gave birth to Horus in lawful wedlock, but Nephthys bore Anubis clandestinely. However, in the chronological lists of the kings they record that

\(^a\) Cf. the note on 365 \(b\), supra.
\(^b\) Cf. 363 \(d\), supra.
\(^c\) Cf. 357 \(f\), supra.
\(^d\) Cf. 355 \(f\), supra, and 375 \(b\), infra.
\(^e\) Cf. the note on 356 \(e\), supra.
\(^f\) Cf. 356 \(f\), supra.

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(366) λέων ἀναγράφουσι τὴν Νεφθὺν Τυφῶν γημαμένην πρῶτην γενέσθαι στείραν. εἰ δὲ τούτῳ μὴ περί γυναικὸς ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς θεοῦ λέγουσιν, αἰνίττονται τὸ παντελῶς ἡ γῆς ἄγονον καὶ ἀκάρπον ὑπὸ στερρότητος.

39. Ἡ δὲ Τυφῶνος ἑπιβουλὴ καὶ τυραννὸς αὐχ-μοῦ δύναμις ἡν ἐπικρατήσαντος καὶ διαφορήσαντος τὴν τε γεννῶσαν ὑγρότητα τὸν Νεῖλον καὶ αὐξοῦσαν. ἡ δὲ συνεργὸς αὐτοῦ βασιλείς Αἰθιόπων αἰνίττεται πνοὰς νοτίους ἐξ Ἀἰθιοπίας· ὅταν γὰρ αὕτη τῶν ἐτησίων ἐπικρατήσωσι τὰ νέφη πρὸς τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν Δ ἑλαυνόντων, καὶ κωλύσωσι τοὺς τὸν Νεῖλον αὐξο-τας ὄμβρος καταρραγήναι, κατέχον ὁ Τυφῶν ἐπι-φλέγει καὶ τὸτε κρατήσας παντάπασι τὸν Νεῖλον εἰς ἐναντίον ὑπ’ ἀσθενείας συσταλέντα καὶ ῥνέντα κολλὸν καὶ ταπεινὸν ἐξέωσεν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. ἡ γὰρ λεγομένη κάθερξις εἰς τὴν σορὸν ὁ Ὀσίριδος οὐδὲν έοικεν ἄλλ’ ἡ κρύψων ὦδατος καὶ αφανισμὸν αἰνίττεσθαι. διὸ μνῆσις Ἄθυρ ἀφανισθῆναι τὸν Ὁσιριν λέγουσι, ὅτε τῶν ἐτησίων ἀπολειπόντων παντάπασι ὁ μὲν Νεῖλος ὑπονοστεί, γυμνοῦται δ’ ἡ χώρα, μηκυνομένης δε τῆς νυκτός, αὔξεται τὸ Ε σκότος, ἡ δὲ τοῦ φωτὸς μαραίνεται καὶ κρατεῖται δύναμις, οἱ δ’ ἐρείς ἀλλὰ τε ὁρώσει σκυθρώπα καὶ βοῦν διάχρυσον ὕματίω μέλαν βυσσίνων περιβάλλον-τες ἐπὶ πένθει τῆς θεοῦ δεικνύουσι (βοῦν γὰρ Ἰσιδος

1 παντελῶς] παντελεῖς in all mss. but one.
2 ἐναντίον] εαυτὸν Bentley.
3 οἱ δ’ Wyttenbach: οἱ.

a Cf. 356 b, supra.
b Cf. Moralia, 898 a, and Diodorus, i. 39.
Nephthys, after her marriage to Typhon, was at first barren. If they say this, not about a woman, but about the goddess, they must mean by it the utter barrenness and unproductivity of the earth resulting from a hard-baked soil.

39. The insidious scheming and usurpation of Typhon, then, is the power of drought, which gains control and dissipates the moisture which is the source of the Nile and of its rising; and his coadjutor, the Queen of the Ethiopians,\(^a\) signifies allegorically the south winds from Ethiopia; for whenever these gain the upper hand over the northerly or Etesian winds\(^b\) which drive the clouds towards Ethiopia, and when they prevent the falling of the rains which cause the rising of the Nile, then Typhon, being in possession, blazes with scorching heat; and having gained complete mastery, he forces the Nile in retreat to draw back its waters for weakness, and, flowing at the bottom of its almost empty channel, to proceed to the sea. The story told of the shutting up of Osiris in the chest seems to mean nothing else than the vanishing and disappearance of water. Consequently they say that the disappearance of Osiris occurred in the month of Athyr,\(^c\) at the time when, owing to the complete cessation of the Etesian winds, the Nile recedes to its low level and the land becomes denuded. As the nights grow longer, the darkness increases, and the potency of the light is abated and subdued. Then among the gloomy rites which the priests perform, they shroud the gilded image of a cow with a black linen vestment, and display her as a sign of mourning for the goddess, inasmuch as they regard both the cow and the earth\(^d\)

\(^a\) Cf. 356 c, supra.
\(^b\) Cf. 366 a supra.
\(^c\) The month of November.
\(^d\) Cf. 366 a supra.
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εἰκόνα καὶ γῆν νομίζουσιν ἐπὶ τέταρτας ἡμέρας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐβδόμης ἐπὶ δέκα ἕξις. καὶ γὰρ τὰ πεντῆμενα τέταρτα, πρῶτον μὲν ὁ Νεῖλος ἀπολείπων καὶ ὑπονοστῶν, δεύτερον δὲ τὰ βόρεια πνεύματα κατασβενύμενα κομιδῇ τῶν νοτίων ἐπικρατοῦντων, τρίτον δὲ τὸ τῆς ἡμέραν ἑλάττονα γίγνεσθαι τῆς νυκτὸς, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὴ ἡ τῆς γῆς ἀπογύμνωσις ἀμα τῇ τῶν φυτῶν ψιλότητι τηνικαύτα φυλλορροοῦντων.

40. Τῆς δ' ἴσωπος ἐπὶ δέκα νυκτὸς ἐπὶ θάλατταν κατάσας. καὶ τὴν ἐραν κίστην οἱ στολισταί καὶ οἱ ἐρείς ἐκφέρουσι χρυσοῦν ἐντὸς ἐχοῦσιν κιβώτιον, εἰς ὁ ποτίμου λαβόντες ὦδατος ἐγχέονσι, καὶ γίγνεται κραυγή τῶν παρόντων ὑς ἐυρημένου τοῦ Ὀσιρίδος. εἶτα γῆν κάρπιμον φυρώσι τῷ ὦδατι, καὶ συμμείξαντες ἀρώματα καὶ θυμάματα τῶν πολυτελῶν ἀναπλάττουσι μηνοειδές ἀγαλμάτων. καὶ τοῦτο στολίζουσι καὶ κοσμοῦσι, ἐμφαίνοντες ὅτι γῆς οὐσίαν καὶ ὦδατος τοὺς θεοὺς τούτους νομίζουσι.

1 καὶ] κατὰ H. Richards; but cf. "the earth" both before (ἤ χώρα) and after (τῆς γῆς)!
2 πᾶσι δ' Bernardakis: πᾶσιν.
3 κατάσας Baxter: κάτεσας.
4 γῆν Xylander: τῇ.
5 κράσιν Xylander: κράσιν.
6 κόσμον] τῶν κόσμων Markland.
7 ἐκλιπόντως Markland: ἐκλείποντος.
as the image of Isis; and this is kept up for four days consecutively, beginning with the seventeenth of the month. The things mourned for are four in number: first, the departure and recession of the Nile; second, the complete extinction of the north winds, as the south winds gain the upper hand; third, the day's growing shorter than the night; and, to crown all, the denudation of the earth together with the defoliation of the trees and shrubs at this time. On the nineteenth day they go down to the sea at night-time; and the keepers of the robes and the priests bring forth the sacred chest containing a small golden coffer, into which they pour some potable water which they have taken up, and a great shout arises from the company for joy that Osiris is found. Then they knead some fertile soil with the water and mix in spices and incense of a very costly sort, and fashion therefrom a crescent-shaped figure, which they clothe and adorn, thus indicating that they regard these gods as the substance of Earth and Water.

40. When Isis recovered Osiris and was watching Horus grow up as he was being made strong by the exhalations and mists and clouds, Typhon was vanquished but not annihilated; for the goddess who holds sway over the Earth would not permit the complete annihilation of the nature opposed to moisture, but relaxed and moderated it, being desirous that its tempering potency should persist, because it was not possible for a complete world to exist, if the fiery element left it and disappeared. Even if this story were not current among them, one would hardly

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\( a \) Cf. 357 c-f, supra.  
\( b \) Cf. 358 n, supra.

(367) εἰκότως οὖν ἐκείνον ἂν τις ἀπορρύψει τὸν λόγον, ὡς Τυφών μὲν ἐκράτει πάλαι τῆς Ὁσίριδος μοίρας· θάλαττα γὰρ ἢν ἦ Αἰγύπτως· διὸ πολλὰ μὲν ἐν τοῖς β μετάλλοις καὶ τοῖς ὀρεσὶν εὐρίσκεται μέχρι νῦν κογχύλια ἔχειν· πᾶσαι δὲ τηγαί καὶ φρέατα πάντα πολλῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀλμυρῶν ὕδωρ καὶ πικρῶν ἔχουσιν, ὡς ἂν ὑπολείμματος τῆς πάλαι θαλάττης ἐώλου· εὐταυθοὶ συνεργηκότος.

Ο δ’ Ὀμρος χρόνων τοῦ Τυφώνος ἐπεκράτησε, τούτους εὐκαρίας ὀμβρίων γενομένης, ὃ Νείλος ἔξωσας τὴν θάλατταν ἀνέφηνε τὸ πεδίον καὶ ἀνεπλήρωσε ταῖς προσχώσεσιν· ὃ δὴ μαρτυροῦσαν ἔχει τὴν αἰσθησιν· ορώμεν γὰρ ἐτί νῦν ἐπιφέροντι τῷ ποταμῷ νέαν ἑλὼν καὶ προάγοντι· τὴν γῆν κατὰ μικρὸν ὑποχωροῦν ὅπέω τὸ πέλαγος, καὶ τὴν θάλατταν ὑφὸ τῶν ἐν βάθει λαμβανόντων διὰ τὰς προσχώσεις ἀπορρέουσαν· τὴν δὲ Φάρον, ἣν Ὀμρος ἴδει δρόμον ἡμέρας ἀπέχουσαν Αἰγύπτου, νῦν μέρος οὖσαν αὐτῆς, οὐκ αὐτὴν ἀναδραμοῦσαν οὐδὲ προσαναβάσαν, ἀλλὰ τῆς μεταξὺ θαλάττης ἀναπλάττοντι τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ τρέφοντι τὴν ἥπειρον ἀνασταλείσης.

Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὁμοιά τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν Στωικῶν θεολογομένοις ἐστὶ· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνοι τὸ μὲν γόνιμον πνεῦμα καὶ τρόφιμον Διόνυσον εἶναι λέγουσι, τὸ πληκτικὸν δὲ καὶ διαρρηκτικὸν Ἡρακλέα, τὸ δὲ δεκτικὸν Ἀμμωνα, Δήμητρας δὲ καὶ Κόρην τὸ διὰ

1 ὑπολείμματος F.C.B.: ὑπόλειμμα.
2 ἐώλου F.C.B.: ἐώλον.
3 ἔξωσας Wytenbach: ἔξεωσας.
4 προάγοντι Bernardakis: προσαγαγόντι or προσαγαγόντι.
5 Δήμητρα Bernardakis: Δήμητραν.

Cf. Herodotus, ii. 5; Diodorus, iii. 3, and i. 39. 11.
be justified in rejecting that other account, to the effect that Typhon, many ages ago, held sway over Osiris's domain; for Egypt used to be all a sea, and, for that reason, even to-day it is found to have shells in its mines and mountains. Moreover, all the springs and wells, of which there are many, have a saline and brackish water, as if some stale dregs of the ancient sea had collected there.

But, in time, Horus overpowered Typhon; that is to say, there came on a timely abundance of rain, and the Nile forced out the sea and revealed the fertile land, which it filled out with its alluvial deposits. This has support in the testimony of our own observation; for we see, even to-day, as the river brings down new silt and advances the land, that the deep waters gradually recede and, as the bottom gains in height by reason of the alluvial deposits, the water of the sea runs off from these. We also note that Pharos, which Homer knew as distant a day's sail from Egypt, is now a part of it; not that the island has extended its area by rising, or has come nearer to the land, but the sea that separated them was obliged to retire before the river, as the river reshaped the land and made it to increase.

The fact is that all this is somewhat like the doctrines promulgated by the Stoics about the gods; for they say that the creative and fostering spirit is Dionysus, the truculent and destructive is Heracles, the receptive is Ammon, that which pervades the Earth and its products is Demeter and the Daughter,

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\[ a \] Cf. Herodotus, ii. 12.
\[ b \] Od. iv. 356. Cf. also Strabo, xii. 2. 4 (p. 536), and xvii. 1. 6 (p. 791).
\[ c \] Cf. von Arnim, Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta, ii. 1093 (p. 319).
(367) τής γῆς καὶ τῶν καρπῶν διήκον, Ποσειδώνα δὲ τὸ
diὰ τῆς θαλάττης. (41.) Οἱ δὲ τοίοις τοὺς φυσικοὺς
καὶ τῶν ἀπ’ ἀστρολογίας μαθηματικῶν' ἐνια μει-
D γνώντες Τυφώνα μὲν οἴονται τὸν ἥλιον κόσμον,
"Οσιρις δὲ τὸν σεληνιακὸν λέγεσθαι. τὴν μὲν γὰρ
σελήνην γόνιμον τὸ φῶς καὶ ὑγροποιόν ἔχουσαν
ἐμφενὴ καὶ γοναὶς ζώων καὶ φυτῶν εἶναι βλα-
stήσειν: τὸν δ’ ἥλιον ἀκράτω πυρὶ καὶ σκληρῷ
catatábαλπεν2 τε καὶ καταναίνειν τὰ φυόμενα καὶ
tεθηλότα, καὶ τὸ πολὺ μέρος τῆς γῆς παντάπασιν
ὑπὸ φλογοῦ ποιεῖν ἄοικητὸν καὶ κατακρατεῖν πολ-
lαχοῦ καὶ τῆς σελήνης. διὸ τὸν Τυφώνα Σήθ ἀεὶ
Αἰγύπτιοι καλοῦσιν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ καταδυναστεῦν ἦ
E καταβιαζόμενον. καὶ τῷ μὲν ἥλιῳ τὸν Ἦρακλεὰ
μυθολογοῦσιν ἐνυδρυμένον συμπεριπολείν, τῇ δὲ
σελήνῃ τὸν Ἐρμήν. λόγου γὰρ ἐργοὺς ἐοικὲ καὶ
teleiías4 σοφίας τὰ τῆς σελήνης, τὰ δ’ ἥλιου πληγαῖς
ὑπὸ βίας καὶ ρώμης περαινομέναις.5 οἰ δὲ Στωικοὶ
tὸν μὲν ἥλιον ἐκ θαλάττης ἀνάπτεσθαι καὶ τρέφε-
σθαι φασὶ, τῇ δὲ σελήνῃ τὰ κρηναία καὶ λυμαία
νάματα γλυκείαν ἀναπέμπειν καὶ μαλακὴν ἀνα-
thumiasin.

42. Ἐβδόμη ἐπὶ δέκα τὴν Ὀσιρίδος γενέσθαι
teleuτήν Αἰγύπτιοι μυθολογοῦσιν, ἐν ἦ μάλιστα
gίγνεται teleiουménη5 κατάδηλος ἦ πανσελήνος. διὸ

1 μαθηματικῶν] μαθημάτων Markland.
2 καὶ σκληρῷ κατατάλπεν Madvig: κεκληρωκότα θάλπεν.
3 αἰ del. Squire.
5 περαινομέναις Baxter: περαινομένης.

a Cf. Cicero, De Natura Deorum, i. 15 (40), ii. 28 (71); and Diogenes Laertius, vii. 147.
b Cf. 658 b, infra. c Cf. 371 b and 376 a, infra.
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and that which pervades the Sea is Poseidon.\(^a\) (41.) But the Egyptians, by combining with these physical explanations some of the scientific results derived from astronomy, think that by Typhon is meant the solar world, and by Osiris the lunar world; they reason that the moon, because it has a light that is generative and productive of moisture,\(^b\) is kindly towards the young of animals and the burgeoning plants, whereas the sun, by its untempered and pitiless heat, makes all growing and flourishing vegetation hot and parched, and, through its blazing light, renders a large part of the earth uninhabitable, and in many a region overpowers the moon. For this reason the Egyptians regularly call Typhon "Seth,"\(^c\) which, being interpreted, means "overmastering and compelling." They have a legend that Heracles, making his dwelling in the sun, is a companion for it in its revolutions, as is the case also with Hermes and the moon. In fact, the actions of the moon are like actions of reason and perfect wisdom, whereas those of the sun are like beatings administered through violence and brute strength. The Stoics\(^d\) assert that the sun is kindled and fed from the sea, but that for the moon the moving waters from the springs and lakes send up a sweet and mild exhalation.

42. The Egyptians have a legend that the end of Osiris's life came on the seventeenth of the month, on which day it is quite evident to the eye that the period of the full moon is over.\(^e\) Because of this the


\(^b\) Fourteen days, or one half of a lunar month, before the \(\varepsilon\nu\gamma\nu\ kai\ \nu\veta\), if the lunar month could ever be made to square with any system of chronology!
καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ταῦτην ἀντίφραξιν οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι καλοῦσιν, καὶ ὅλως τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον ἀφοσιοῦνται. τοῦ γὰρ ἐκκαίδεκα τετραγώνου καὶ τοῦ ὀκτωκαί-
δεκα ἐτερομήκους, οἷς μόνοις ἀριθμῶν ἐπιπέδων συμβέβηκε τὰς περιμέτρους ὅσα ἔχειν τοῖς περι-
εχομένοις ὑπ’ αὐτῶν χωρίους, μέσος δὲ τῶν ἐπτακαί-
δεκα παρεμπιπτῶν ἀντιφράττει καὶ διαζεύγνυσιν ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων, καὶ διαιρέοντος ἔπόγονον λόγον εἰς ἄνισα διαστήματα τεμνόμενος,

‘Εστών δ’ ἀριθμὸν οὗ μὲν βιώσαι τὸν "Οσίριν οἱ δὲ
368 βασιλεῦσαι λέγοντες ὁκτὼ καὶ εἰκοσι τοσαῦτα γὰρ ἔστι φῶτα τῆς σελήνης καὶ τοσαῦτας ἡμέρας τὸν αὐτοῖς κύκλον ἔξελήντε. τὸ δὲ ξύλον ἐν ταῖς λεγο-
μέναις 'Οσίριδος ταφαῖς τέμνοντες κατασκευάζουσιν λάρνακα μηνοειδή διὰ τὸ τὴν σελήνην, ὅταν τῷ ἡλίῳ πλησιάζῃ, μηνοειδῆ γυγνομένην ἀποκρύπτε-
θαι. τὸν δ’ εἰς δεκατέταρα μέρη τοῦ 'Οσίριδος διασπασμὸν αἰνίττονται πρὸς τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν αἷς φθάνει μετὰ πανσέληνην ἀχρὶ νομηνίας τὸ ἀστρον.

Β ἡμέραν δὲ ἐν ἦν ἂν φαίνεται πρῶτον ἐκφυγοῦσα τὰς αὐγάς καὶ παρελθοῦσα τὸν ἡλίουν "ἀτελές ἀγαθὸν" προσαγορεύουσιν. ὁ γὰρ "Οσίρις ἀγαθοποίος, καὶ τούνομα πολλὰ φράζει, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ κράτος ἐνεργοῦν καὶ ἀγαθοποίον ὁ λέγουσι. τὸ δ’ ἐτερον ονόμα τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν "Ομφίν" εὐεργέτην ὁ Ἐρμαῖος φησι δηλοῦν ἐρμηνευόμενον.

43. Οἶονται δὲ πρὸς τὰ φῶτα τῆς σελήνης ἔχειν 

τινὰ λόγον τοῦ Νείλου τὰς ἀναβάσεις. ἦ μὲν γὰρ

1 διαιρέον] διατηρεῖ Xylander.
2 τὸν] κατὰ τὸν Wytenbach.
3 "Ομφίν] "Ονουφίν (?) Parthey.

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Pythagoreans call this day “the Barrier,” and utterly abominate this number. For the number seventeen, coming in between the square sixteen and the oblong rectangle eighteen, which, as it happens, are the only plane figures that have their perimeters equal to their areas,\(^a\) bars them off from each other and disjoins them, and breaks up the ratio of eight to eight and an eighth \(^b\) by its division into unequal intervals.

Some say that the years of Osiris's life, others that the years of his reign, were twenty-eight \(^c\); for that is the number of the moon's illuminations, and in that number of days does she complete her cycle. The wood which they cut on the occasions called the “burials of Osiris” they fashion into a crescent-shaped coffer because of the fact that the moon, when it comes near the sun, becomes crescent-shaped and disappears from our sight. The dismemberment of Osiris into fourteen parts they refer allegorically to the days of the waning of that satellite from the time of the full moon to the new moon. And the day on which she becomes visible after escaping the solar rays and passing by the sun they style “Incomplete Good”; for Osiris is beneficent, and his name means many things, but, not least of all, an active and beneficent power, as they put it. The other name of the god, Omphis, Hermaeus says means “benefactor” when interpreted.

43. They think that the risings of the Nile have some relation to the illuminations of the moon; for

\(^a\) That is: \(4 \times 4 = 16\) and \(4 + 4 + 4 + 4 = 16\): so also \(3 \times 6 = 18\) and \(3 + 6 + 3 + 6 = 18\).

\(^b\) That is, \(\frac{1}{8}\) of a number added to itself: thus \(16 + \frac{1}{8} = 18\). Eighteen, therefore, bears the epogdoon relation to sixteen, which is broken up by the intervention of seventeen, an odd number.

\(^c\) Cf. 358 \(\alpha\), supra.
(368) meγίστη περι τὴν Ἑλεφαντίνην ὀκτὼ γίγνεται καὶ εἰκοσι πήχεων, ὅσα φῶτα καὶ μέτρα τῶν ἐμμηνῶν περιόδων ἐκάστης ἐστίν. ἢ ὅ ἐν περὶ Μένητα καὶ Ἐὼν βραχυτάτη πήχεων ἐξ πρὸς τὴν διχότομον. ἢ ὅ ὅσον ἡ μεσή περὶ Μέμφιν, ὅταν ἡ δικαία, δεκατεσσάρων πήχεων πρὸς τὴν παυσάλην.

Τὸν δ' *Ἀπινεῖν* εἰκόνα μὲν Ὀσίριδος ἐμψυχούν εἶναι, γενέσθαι δὲ ὅταν φῶς ἑρείσῃ γόνυμον ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης καὶ καθάψηται βοὸς ὀργώνης. διὸ καὶ τοῖς τῆς σελήνης σχήμασιν ἔουσε πολλὰ τοῦ Ἄπιδος, περιμελανομένου τὰ λαμπρὰ τοὺς σκιεροῖς. ἐτὶ δὲ τῇ νομιμνίᾳ τοῦ Φαμενώθ μηνὸς ἐορτὴν ἄγουν, ἐμβασιν Ὀσίριδος εἰς τὴν σελήνην ὀνομάζοντες, ἔαρος ἀρχὴν υὗθαν. όυτω τὴν Ὀσίριδος δύναμιν εἰς τῇ σελήνῃ τιθέντες τὴν Ἰσων αὐτῶ γένεσιν υὗθαν συνείναι λέγουσι. διὸ καὶ μητέρα τῆς σελήνης τοῦ κόσμου καλοῦσι καὶ φύσιν ἐχειν ἀρσενόθηλων οἴονται πληρομένην υφ' Ἡλίου καὶ κυώκομένην, αὐτὴν δὲ

D πάλιν εἰς τὸν ἅρᾳ προϊμένην γεννητικάς ἀρχὰς καὶ κατασπείρουσαν: ὑ ὅ ὅπο ἄἰ τὴν φθορὰν ἑπικράτειν τὴν τυφόνειον, πολλάκις δὲ κρατουμένην ὑπὸ τῆς γενέσεως καὶ συνδεομένην αὐθίς ἀναλύεσθαι καὶ διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς τὸν Ὑμων. ἐστὶ δ' οὕτως δ' ἐπερείγειος κόσμος οὕτε φθορᾶς ἀπαλλαττόμενος πανταπασιν οὕτε γενέσεως.

1 ἐξ [ἐπὶ] Squire. 2 *Ἀπινεῖν* Baxter would add φαιν. 3 ἐτὶ ὅτι Baxter: ὅτι. 4 τιθέντες Petavius: τιθένται. 5 ἀναλύεσθαι Wytenbach: ἀναλύεσθαι.

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* a Besides the famous ancient Nilometer at Elephantine, others have been found at Philae, Edfu, and Esna.

b Cf. 359 b and 362 c, supra.

c Cf. Moralia, 718 b, and Aelian, De Natura Animalium, xi. 10.
the greatest rising,\(^a\) in the neighbourhood of Elephantine, is twenty-eight cubits, which is the number of its illuminations that form the measure of each of its monthly cycles; the rising in the neighbourhood of Mendes and Xoïs, which is the least, is six cubits, corresponding to the first quarter. The mean rising, in the neighbourhood of Memphis, when it is normal, is fourteen cubits, corresponding to the full moon.

The Apis, they say, is the animate image of Osiris,\(^b\) and he comes into being when a fructifying light thrusts forth from the moon and falls upon a cow in her breeding-season.\(^c\) Wherefore there are many things in the Apis that resemble features of the moon, his bright parts being darkened by the shadowy. Moreover, at the time of the new moon in the month of Phamenoth they celebrate a festival to which they give the name of “Osiris’s coming to the Moon,” and this marks the beginning of the spring. Thus they make the power of Osiris to be fixed in the Moon, and say that Isis, since she is generation, is associated with him. For this reason they also call the Moon the mother of the world, and they think that she has a nature both male and female, as she is receptive and made pregnant by the Sun, but she herself in turn emits and disseminates into the air generative principles. For, as they believe, the destructive activity of Typhon does not always prevail, but oftentimes is overpowered by such generation and put in bonds, and then at a later time is again released and contends against Horus,\(^d\) who is the terrestrial universe; and this is never completely exempt either from dissolution or from generation.

\(^a\) Cf. 358 v, supra.
44. Ἐν οἷς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκλειπτικῶν αἴνιγμα ποιοῦνται τὸν μόθον. ἐκλείπει μὲν γὰρ ἡ σελήνη πανσέληνος ἐναντίαν τοῦ ἡλίου στάσιν ἔχοντος πρὸς αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν σκιὰν ἐμπιπτούσα τῆς γῆς, ὡσπερ φασί τὸν Ὀσιρὶν εἰς τὴν σορὸν. αὐτὴ δὲ πάλιν ἐκτὸς ἄναρινται παντάπασι τὸν ἡλίον, ὡσπερ οὐδὲ τὸν Τυφώνα ἢ Ἰσις.

Γεννώσης τῆς Νέφθυς τὸν Ἀνουβίν, Ἰσις ὑποβάλλεται. Νέφθυς γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν καὶ ἄφανές, Ἰσις δὲ τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆν γῆν καὶ φανερόν. ὅ δὲ τούτων ὑποφαύνων καὶ καλούμενος ὀρίζων κύκλος, ἐπίκοινος ὄν ἀμφοῖν, Ἀνουβίς κέκληται καὶ κυνὶ τὸ εἴδος ἀπεικάζεται· καὶ γὰρ ὁ κύων χρητὶ τῆ ὀψει νυκτὸς τε καὶ ἡμέρας ὀμοίως. καὶ ταύτην ἔχειν δοκεῖ παρ' Ἀιγυπτίως τὴν δύναμιν ὁ Ἀνουβίς, οἵαν ἡ 'Εκάτη παρ' Ἐλληνικοῖς, χθόνιος ὃν ὀμοίω καὶ ὀλύμπιος.

Ἐν οἷς δὲ δοκεῖ Κρόνος ὁ Ἀνουβίς εἶναι· διὸ πάντα τίκτων ἐξ ἐαυτοῦ καὶ κυνῶν ἐν ἐαυτῷ τῆν τοῦ κυνός ἐπικάλησιν ἐσχεν. ἐστὶ δ' ὁ ὅν τοῖς σεβομένοις τὸν Ἀνουβίαν ἀπόρρητον τι· καὶ πάλαι μὲν τὰς μεγίστας ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ τιμᾶς ὁ κύων ἐσχεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ Καμβύσου τοῦ Ἀπών ἀνελόντος καὶ ρήγαντος οὐδὲν προσήλθεν οὐδ' ἐγεύσατο τοῦ σώματος ἀλλ' ἡ μόνος ὁ κύων, ἀπώλεσε τὸ πρῶτος εἶναι καὶ μάλιστα τιμᾶσθαι τῶν ἐτέρων ἐξών.

1 τούτων Bentley: τούτω.
2 ἐστὶ Reiske: ἐστι.
44. There are some who would make the legend an allegorical reference to matters touching eclipses; for the Moon suffers eclipse only when she is full, with the Sun directly opposite to her, and she falls into the shadow of the Earth, as they say Osiris fell into his coffin. Then again, the Moon herself obscures the Sun and causes solar eclipses, always on the thirtieth of the month; however, she does not completely annihilate the Sun, and likewise Isis did not annihilate Typhon.

When Nephthys gave birth to Anubis, Isis treated the child as if it were her own; for Nephthys is that which is beneath the Earth and invisible, Isis that which is above the earth and visible; and the circle which touches these, called the horizon, being common to both, has received the name Anubis, and is represented in form like a dog; for the dog can see with his eyes both by night and by day alike. And among the Egyptians Anubis is thought to possess this faculty, which is similar to that which Hecate is thought to possess among the Greeks, for Anubis is a deity of the lower world as well as a god of Olympus. Some are of the opinion that Anubis is Cronus. For this reason, inasmuch as he generates all things out of himself and conceives all things within himself, he has gained the appellation of "Dog." There is, therefore, a certain mystery observed by those who revere Anubis; in ancient times the dog obtained the highest honours in Egypt; but, when Cambyses had slain the Apis and cast him forth, nothing came near the body or ate of it save only the dog; and thereby the dog lost his primacy and his place of honour above that of all the other animals.

Cf. the note on 355 c, supra.
Εἰσὶ δὲ τινὲς οἱ τὸ σκίασμα τῆς γῆς, εἰς ὅ τινες σελήνην ὀλισθάνουσαν ἐκλείπειν νομίζονσι, Τυφώνα 369 καλοῦντες. (45.) Ὁθεν οὐκ ἀπεοικεν εἰπεῖν ὡς ἰδίᾳ μὲν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐκατοστος, ὡς οὖν δὲ πάντες ὀρθῶς λέγουσιν. οὐ γὰρ αὐχμὸν οὐδ' ἄνεμον οὐδὲ θάλατταν οὔδε σκότος, ἀλλὰ πᾶν ὁσον ἡ φύσις βλαβερὸν καὶ φθαρτικὸν ἔχει, μόριον τοῦ Τυφώνος θετέον.  

οὔτε γὰρ ἐν ἀψύχοις σώμασι τάς τοῦ παντὸς ἀρχὰς θετέον, ὡς Δημόκριτος καὶ Ἐπίκουρος, οὔτ' ἀποίου δημοφιλῆς ὡς ἐνά λόγον καὶ μίαν πρόνοιαν, ὡς Ι. Γ. Στωικοῖ, περιγγυμνομένην ἀπάντων καὶ κρατοῦσαν. ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἡ φλαῦρον ὀτιοῦν, ὅπου πάν- 

Βῶν, ἡ χρηστὸν, ὅπου μιθένος ὁ θεὸς αἴτιος, ἐγγενεσθαι. "παλώντος" γάρ ἀρμονίη κόσμου, ὅκωστερ λύρης καὶ τόξου" καθ' Ἡράκλειτον καὶ κατ' Εὐριπίδην 

οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο χωρὶς ἔσθλα καὶ κακά, 

ἂν ἐστὶ τις σύγκρασις ὡστ' ἔχειν καλῶς. 

Διὸ καὶ παμπάλαιος αὐτὴ κάτεισιν ἐκ θεολόγων καὶ νομοθετῶν εἰς τε ποιητὰς καὶ φιλοσόφους δόξα, 

τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀδέσποτον ἔχουσα, τὴν δὲ πίστιν ἰσχυρὰν καὶ δυσεξάλειπτον, οὐκ ἐν λόγοις μόνον οὐδ' ἐν φήμαις, ἂν ἐν τε τελεῖται ἐν τε θυσίαις καὶ βαρ- 

βάροις καὶ Ἐλλησι πολλαχοῦ περιφερομένη,  ὥσ 

1 αὐχμὸν] αὐχμὸν μόνον Sieveking. 
2 θετέον P.C.B. (ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν Bernardakis; νομιστέον Strijd).  
3 ἀποίου Meziriacus: ἀποίου οὐ. 
4 ὅπου Meziriacus: ὁμοῦ. 
5 ὅκωστερ Wytenbach: ὅπωστερ. 
6 περιφερομένῃ Holwerda: περιφερομένην. 

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1 Cf. 373 E, infra. 
2 Cf. 364 A, supra, and 376 F, infra. 

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There are some who give the name of Typhon to the Earth's shadow, into which they believe the moon slips when it suffers eclipse.\(^a\) (45.) Hence it is not unreasonable to say that the statement of each person individually is not right, but that the statement of all collectively is right; for it is not drought nor wind nor sea nor darkness,\(^b\) but everything harmful and destructive that Nature contains, which is to be set down as a part of Typhon. The origins of the universe are not to be placed in inanimate bodies, according to the doctrine of Democritus and Epicurus, nor yet is the Artificer of undifferentiated matter, according to the Stoic doctrine,\(^c\) one Reason, and one Providence which gains the upper hand and prevails over all things. The fact is that it is impossible for anything bad whatsoever to be engendered where God is the Author of all, or anything good where God is the Author of nothing; for the concord of the universe, like that of a lyre or bow, according to Heracleitus,\(^d\) is resilient if disturbed; and according to Euripides,\(^e\)

The good and bad cannot be kept apart,
But there is some commingling, which is well.

Wherefore this very ancient opinion comes down from writers on religion and from lawgivers to poets and philosophers; it can be traced to no source, but it carried a strong and almost indelible conviction, and is in circulation in many places among barbarians and Greeks alike, not only in story and tradition but also

\(^b\) Cf. Diels, Frag. der Vorsokratiker, i. p. 87, no. v 51. Plutarch quotes this again in Moralia, 473 α and 1026 β.
\(^c\) Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag., Euripides, no. 21, from the Aeolus; quoted again in Moralia, 25 c and 474 α.
C οὐτ' ἀνοῦν καὶ ἀλογον καὶ ἀκυβέρνητον αἰωρεῖται (369) τῷ αὐτομάτῳ τὸ πᾶν, οὐθ' εἰς ἔστιν ὁ κρατῶν καὶ κατευθύνων ὅπερ οἰδαξή ἡ τυσι πειθηνίους χαλυβὸς λόγος, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ καὶ μεμειγμένα κακοὶς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ μηδεν, ὡς ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, ἀκρατὸν ἐνταῦθα τῆς φύσεως φερούσης, οὐ δυοῖν πίθων εἰς ταμίας ὅπερ νάματα τὰ πράγματα καπηλικῶς διανέμων ἀνακεράννυσιν ἡμῖν, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ δυοῖν ἐναντίων ἀρχῶν καὶ δυοῖν ἀντιπάλων δυνάμεων τῇς μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ καὶ κατ’ εὐθείαν ὕψηςουμένης, τῆς δ’ ἐμπαλών ἀναστρεφούσης καὶ ἀνακλώσης, ὁ τε βίος

46. Καὶ δοκεῖ τούτῳ τοῖς πλείστοις καὶ σοφωτάτοις νομίζουσι γὰρ οἱ μὲν θεοὺς εἶναι δύο καθ-ἀπερ ἀντιτέχνους, τὸν μὲν ἀγαθὸν, τὸν δὲ φαύλων δημιουργόν. οἱ δὲ τὸν μὲν2 ἀμείνονα θεὸν, τὸν δ’ Ε ἐτερον δαίμονα καλοῦσιν· ὅπερ Ζωροάστρης3 ὁ

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1 σελήνης F.C.B.: σελήνην.
2 μὲν Markland: μὲν γάρ.
3 Ζωροάστρης from Life of Numa, ch. iv.: ζωροαστρης.

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in rites and sacrifices, to the effect that the Universe is not of itself suspended aloft without sense or reason or guidance, nor is there one Reason which rules and guides it by rudders, as it were, or by controlling reins, a but, inasmuch as Nature brings, in this life of ours, many experiences in which both evil and good are commingled, or better, to put it very simply, Nature brings nothing which is not combined with something else, we may assert that it is not one keeper of two great vases b who, after the manner of a barmaid, deals out to us our failures and successes in mixture, but it has come about, as the result of two opposed principles and two antagonistic forces, one of which guides us along a straight course to the right, while the other turns us aside and backward, that our life is complex, and so also is the universe; and if this is not true of the whole of it, yet it is true that this terrestrial universe, including its moon as well, is irregular and variable and subject to all manner of changes. For if it is the law of Nature that nothing comes into being without a cause, and if the good cannot provide a cause for evil, then it follows that Nature must have in herself the source and origin of evil, just as she contains the source and origin of good.

46. The great majority and the wisest of men hold this opinion: they believe that there are two gods, rivals as it were, the one the Artificer of good and the other of evil. There are also those who call the better one a god and the other a daemon, as, for example,

no. 785. "A task for many reins and rudders too" (πολλών Χαλων ἐργον οἰάκων μ' ἀμα).

b The reference is to Homer, Il. xxiv. 527-528, as misquoted in Plato, Republic, 379 d. Cf. also Moralia, 24 a (and the note), 105 c (and the note), and 473 b. Moralia, 600 c, is helpful in understanding the present passage.
μάγος, ὃν πεντακύκλοις ἔτεσι τῶν Τρωικῶν γεγονέναι πρεσβύτερον ἱστοροῦσιν. οὗτος οὖν ἔκάλει τὸν μὲν 'Ὠρομάζην, τὸν δ' 'Αρειμάνιον· καὶ προσ- απεφαίνετο τὸν μὲν ἐοικέναι φωτὸ μάλιστα τῶν αἰσθητῶν, τὸν δ' ἔμπαλν σκότῳ καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ,1 μέσον δ' ἀμφότερον Μίθρην εἶναι· διὸ καὶ Μίθρην Πέρσαι τὸν Μεσίτην ὄνομάζουσιν. εἴδεξε δὲ2 τῷ μὲν εὐκταία θύειν καὶ καριστῆρια, τῷ δ' ἀποτρόπαια καὶ σκυθρώτα. πόνα γὰρ τῶν κόσμων ὑμώμι καλουμένην ἐν ὅλῳ τὸν "Αἰδην ἀνακαλοῦνται καὶ τὸν σκότον· εἰτὰ μείζοντες αἴματι λύκου σφαγέντος F εἰς τὸπον ἀνήλιον ἐκφέροντι καὶ ρίπτουσι· καὶ γὰρ τῶν φυτῶν νομίζοντι τὰ μὲν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θεοῦ, τὰ δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ δαίμονος εἶναι· καὶ τῶν ἐφαύρων ὑσπερ κύνας καὶ ὄρνιθας καὶ χερσαίους ἑχύνου τοῦ ἁγα- θοῦ, τοῦ δὲ φαύλου μῦς3 ἐνύδρους εἶναι· διὸ καὶ τὸν κτεῖναντα πλείστους εὔδαμονιζουσιν.

47. Ὑ μὴν ἄλλα4 κάκεινοι πολλά μυθώδη περὶ τῶν θεῶν λέγουσιν, οἷα καὶ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν. ὁ μὲν Ὠρομάζης ἐκ τοῦ καθαρωτάτου φάος,5 ὁ δ' Ἀρει- μάνιος ἐκ τοῦ ζώφου γεγονός, πολεμοῦσιν ἄλληλοις· 370 καὶ ὁ μὲν ἥν θεοὺς ἐποίησε, τὸν μὲν πρῶτον εὐνοίας, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἀληθείας, τὸν δὲ τρίτον εὐνομίας· τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν τὸν μὲν σοφίας, τὸν δὲ πλούτου,

1 ἀγνοία] ὀρφναία (?) 2 δὲ added by Meziriacus.
3 μῦς Squire from 670 D: τοὺς.
4 ἄλλα added by Reiske.
5 φάος] φωτός Hatzidakis.

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a The casual reader will gain a better understanding of chapters 46 and 47 if he will consult some brief book or article on Zoroaster (Zarathustra) and the Persian religion.

b That is, one of the Persian Magi or Wise Men.
Zoroaster, the sage, who, they record, lived five thousand years before the time of the Trojan War. He called the one Oromazes and the other Areimanius; and he further declared that among all the things perceptible to the senses, Oromazes may best be compared to light, and Areimanius, conversely, to darkness and ignorance, and midway between the two is Mithras; for this reason the Persians give to Mithras the name of "Mediator." Zoroaster has also taught that men should make votive offerings and thank-offerings to Oromazes, and averting and mourning offerings to Areimanius. They pound up in a mortar a certain plant called omomi, at the same time invoking Hades and Darkness; then they mix it with the blood of a wolf that has been sacrificed, and carry it out and cast it into a place where the sun never shines. In fact, they believe that some of the plants belong to the good god and others to the evil daemon; so also of the animals they think that dogs, fowls, and hedgehogs, for example, belong to the good god, but that water-rats belong to the evil one; therefore the man who has killed the most of these they hold to be fortunate.

47. However, they also tell many fabulous stories about their gods, such, for example, as the following: Oromazes, born from the purest light, and Areimanius, born from the darkness, are constantly at war with each other; and Oromazes created six gods, the first of Good Thought, the second of Truth, the third of Order, and, of the rest, one of Wisdom, one of Wealth,

\[e\] Cf. *Moralia*, 537 a and 670 b.
(370) τὸν δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς καλοῖς ἥδεων δημιουργόν· ὁ δὲ τούτους ὦσπερ ἀντιτέχνουσ ἵςοις τὸν ἀριθμόν. εἰθ' ὁ μὲν Ὀρμαξής τρὶς έαυτὸν αὐξήσας ἀπέστησε τοῦ ἡλίου τοσοῦτον ὅσον ὁ ἡλίος τῆς γῆς ἀφέστηκε, καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀστροὺς ἐκόσμησεν· ἕνα δ' ἀστέρα πρὸ πάντων οἶνον φύλακα καὶ προόπτην ἐγκατεστήσε, τὸν σείριον. ἀλλοις δὲ ποιήσας τέτταρας καὶ Β εἶκοσι θεοὺς εἰς ὃν ἐθήκεν. οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρειμανίου γενόμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ τοσοῦτοι, διατρῆσαντες τὸ ωὸν εἰσέδυσαν, ὃθεν αναμέμεικται τὰ κακὰ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς. ἐπευςι δὲ χρόνος εἰμαρμένος, ἐν ὃ τὸν Ἀρειμανίον λουμὸν ἐπάγοντα καὶ λιμὸν ὑπὸ τοὺς ἄναγκη φθαρῆναι παντάπασι καὶ ἀφανισθήναι, τῆς δὲ γῆς ἐπιπέδου καὶ ὀμαλῆς γενομένης, ἑνα βίον καὶ μίαν πολιτείαν ἄνθρωπων μακρῶν καὶ ὁμογλώσσων ἀπάντων γενέσθαι. Θεόπομπος δὲ φησι κατὰ τοὺς μάγους ἀνὰ μέρος τρισχίλια ἐτη τὸν μὲν κρατεῖν τὸν δὲ κρατεῖσθαι τῶν θεῶν, ἀλλα δὲ τρισχίλια μάχεσθαι καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ ἀναλύειν τὰ τοῦ C ἐτέρου τοῦ ἐτερον· τέλος δ' ἀπολείπεσθαι τοῦ Ἀιδήν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄνθρώπους εὐδαίμονας ἐσεθαι μήτε τροφῆς δεομένους μήτε σκιὰν ποιοῦντας· τὸν δὲ ταύτα μηχανησάμενον θεῶν ἥρμειν καὶ ἀναπάυεσθαι χρόνον, κάλλως μὲν οὔ πολὺν τῶθει ὦσπερ ὁσυπερ ἄνθρωπως κοιμημένως μέτρουν.

1 εἰσέδυσαν (suggested partly by Röttcher) F.C.B.: γανωθέν.  
2 ἀπολείπεσθαι] ἀπολείπαθαι Markland.  
3 κάλλως F.C.B.: καλὼς.  

a It is plain that the two sets of gods became intermingled, but whether the bad gods got in or the good gods got out is not clear from the text.

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and one the Artificer of Pleasure in what is Honourable. But Areimanius created rivals, as it were, equal to these in number. Then Oromazes enlarged himself to thrice his former size, and removed himself as far distant from the Sun as the Sun is distant from the Earth, and adorned the heavens with stars. One star he set there before all others as a guardian and watchman, the Dog-star. Twenty-four other gods he created and placed in an egg. But those created by Areimanius, who were equal in number to the others, pierced through the egg and made their way inside; hence evils are now combined with good. But a destined time shall come when it is decreed that Areimanius, engaged in bringing on pestilence and famine, shall by these be utterly annihilated and shall disappear; and then shall the earth become a level plain, and there shall be one manner of life and one form of government for a blessed people who shall all speak one tongue. Theopompus says that, according to the sages, one god is to overpower, and the other to be overpowered, each in turn for the space of three thousand years, and afterward for another three thousand years they shall fight and war, and the one shall undo the works of the other, and finally Hades shall pass away; then shall the people be happy, and neither shall they need to have food nor shall they cast any shadow. And the god, who has contrived to bring about all these things, shall then have quiet and shall repose for a time, no long time indeed, but for the god as much as would be a moderate time for a man to sleep.


The meaning of the text is clear enough, but the wording of it is uncertain.
(370) Ἡ μὲν οὖν μάγων μυθολογία τοιοῦτον ἔχει τρό-πον. (48.) Χαλδαῖοι δὲ τῶν πλανήτων οὕς¹ θεοὺς γενεθλίους² καλοῦσι, δύο μὲν ἀγαθουργούς, δύο δὲ κακοποιούς, μέσους δὲ τοὺς τρεῖς ἀποφαίνουσι καὶ κοινοὺς. τὰ δ’ Ἑλλήνων πάσι που δῆλα, τὴν μὲν ἀγαθὴν Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου μερίδα, τὴν δ’ ἀποτρόπαιον³ "Αιδοῦ ποιουμένων, ἐκ δ’ Ἀφроδίτης καὶ Ἀρεος ἰἈρμονίαν γεγονέναι μυθολογοῦντων⁴· ὣν ὁ μὲν ἀπηνής καὶ φιλόνεικος, ἢ δὲ μειλίχιος καὶ γενέθλιος.

Σκόπει δὲ τοὺς φιλοσόφους τούτους συμφερο-μένους. Ἐνακλείτος μὲν γὰρ ἀντικρὺς πόλεμον ὁνομάζει "πατέρα καὶ βασιλέα καὶ κύριον πάντων," καὶ τὸν μὲν Ὄμηρον εὐχόμενον ἐκ τε θεῶν ἔριν ἐκ τ’ ἀνθρώπων ἀπολέσθαι λανθάνειν, φησί, τῇ πάντων γενέσει καταρώμενον, ἐκ μάχης καὶ ἀντιπαθείας τὴν γένεσιν ἔχοντων, ἡλιοῦ δὲ μὴ ὑπερβησθεῖσα τοὺς προσήκοντας ὁρους· εἰ δὲ μῆ, γοργώπας⁵ μν Ὄλκης ἐπικούρους ἐξ- ευρήσειν.

Ε Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀγαθουργοῦν ἀρχὴν "φιλότητα" καὶ "φιλίαν," πολλάκις δ’ ἀρμονίαν

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¹ οὕς Wytenbach: τοὺς.
² γενεθλίους Wytenbach: γενέσθαι οὕς.
³ ἀποτρόπαιον Markland: ἀποτροπαίου.
⁴ μυθολογοῦντω Bernardakis: μυθολογοῦνταί.
⁵ γοργώπας F.C.B. (= 'Ερυνές 604 a): γλώττας.

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The translation is based on an emendation of Wytenbach’s, which makes the words refer to Chaldean astrology.

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Such, then, is the character of the mythology of the sages. (48.) The Chaldeans declare that of the planets, which they call tutelary gods, two are beneficent, two maleficent, and the other three are median and partake of both qualities. The beliefs of the Greeks are well known to all; they make the good part to belong to Olympian Zeus and the abominated part to Hades, and they rehearse a legend that Concord is sprung from Aphrodite and Ares, the one of whom is harsh and contentious, and the other mild and tutelary.

Observe also that the philosophers are in agreement with these; for Heracleitus without reservation styles War "the Father and King and Lord of All," and he says that when Homer prays that Strife may vanish away from the ranks of the gods and of mortals, he fails to note that he is invoking a curse on the origin of all things, since all things originate from strife and antagonism; also Heracleitus says that the Sun will not transgress his appropriate bounds, otherwise the stern-eyed maidens, ministers of Justice, will find him out.

Empedocles calls the beneficent principle "friendship" or "friendliness," and oftentimes he calls Con- (i.e. the planet under which one is born). Cf. Sextus Empiricus, Adversus Mathematicos, v. 29.

That is, from Love and War.

Diels, Frag. der Vorsokratiker, i. p. 88, no. b 53.

Il. xviii. 107, but Plutarch modifies the line to suit his context.

Cf. Moralia, 604 a; Origen, Against Celsus, vi. 42; Diels, Frag. der Vorsokratiker, i. p. 96, no. b 94.

Ibid. p. 232, Empedocles, no. 18; p. 239, no. 17, l. 19; and p. 269, no. 122 (= Moralia, 474 b).
καλεί "θεμερώπιν," 1 την δὲ χείρονα "νεῖκος ουλόμενον" καὶ "δῆριν αἵματόεσσαν."

Οἱ μὲν Πυθαγορικοὶ διὰ πλείονον ὄνομάτων κατηγοροῦσι τοῦ μὲν ἀγαθοῦ τὸ ἐν τὸ πεπερασμένον τὸ μένον τὸ εὐθὺ τὸ περιττὸν τὸ τετράγωνον τὸ ἵσον2 τὸ δεξίον τὸ λαμπρόν, τοῦ δὲ κακοῦ τὴν δυάδα τὸ ἄπειρον τὸ φερόμενον τὸ καμπύλον τὸ ἀρτιον τὸ ἐτερόμηκε τὸ ἁνισον τὸ ἀριστερὸν τὸ σκοτεινόν, ὡς ταύτας ἀρχὰς γενέσεως ὑποκειμένας. 'Αναξαγόρας δὲ νοῦν καὶ ἄπειρον, 'Αριστοτέλης δὲ Φ τὸ μὲν εἴδος τὸ δὲ στέρησιν, Πλάτων δὲ πολλαχοῦ μὲν οἰνὸν ἐπηλυγαζόμενος3 καὶ παρακαλυπτόμενος τῶν ἐναντίων ἀρχῶν τὴν μὲν ταύτων ὄνομαζει, τὴν δὲ θάτερον· ἐν δὲ τοίς Νόμοις ἦδη πρεσβύτερος ὡν οὐ δὲ αἰνιγμῶν οὐδὲ συμβολικῶς, ἀλλὰ κυρίοις ὀνόμασι δὲ μιὰ ὕψιφι φησι κινεῖσθαι τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλὰ πλείοσιν ἰσως, δυοῖν δὲ πάντως οὐκ ἐλάττοσιν, ὡν4 τὴν μὲν ἀγαθουργὸν εἶναι, τὴν δὲ ἐναντίαν ταύτη καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων δημιουργὸν· ἀπολείπει δὲ καὶ τρίτην τινὰ μεταξὺ φύσιν οὐκ ἄψυχον οὐδ' ἀλογον οὐδ' ἀκίνητον εξ αὐτῆς, ὥσπερ ἐνιοὶ νομίζουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀνακειμένην ἁμφοῖν ἐκείνας, ἐφειμένην δὲ τῆς ἁμείνονοι ἀεὶ καὶ ποθοῦσαν καὶ διώκουσαν, ὡς τὰ ἐπιόντα δηλώσει τοῦ

1 καλεῖ θεμερώπιν Bentley: καλείσθαι μέροπι.
2 τὸ ἵσον added by Xylander.
3 ἐπηλυγαζόμενος Baxter and one ms.: ἐπιλυγιζόμενος.
4 ὡν Squire: ὅθεν.
cord "sedate of countenance"; the worse principle he calls "accursed quarrelling" and "blood-stained strife."

The adherents of Pythagoras\(^a\) include a variety of terms under these categories: under the good they set Unity, the Determinate, the Permanent, the Straight, the Odd, the Square, the Equal, the Right-handed, the Bright; under the bad they set Duality, the Indeterminate, the Moving, the Curved, the Even, the Oblong, the Unequal, the Left-handed, the Dark, on the supposition that these are the underlying principles of creation. For these, however, Anaxagoras postulates Mind and Infinitude, Aristotle\(^b\) Form and Privation, and Plato,\(^c\) in many passages, as though obscuring and veiling his opinion, names the one of the opposing principles "Identity" and the other "Difference"; but in his \(\text{Laws,}^d\) when he had grown considerably older, he asserts, not in circumlocution or symbolically, but in specific words, that the movement of the Universe is actuated not by one soul, but perhaps by several, and certainly by not less than two, and of these the one is beneficent, and the other is opposed to it and the artificer of things opposed. Between these he leaves a certain third nature, not inanimate nor irrational nor without the power to move of itself,\(^e\) as some think, but with dependence on both those others, and desiring the better always and yearning after it and pursuing it, as the succeeding portion of the treatise will make clear, in the

\(^a\) Cf. \textit{Moralia}, 881 \(e\), and Aristotle, \textit{Metaphysics}, i. 5 (986 a 22).

\(^b\) Cf. Aristotle, \textit{Metaphysics}, i. 9 (990 b).

\(^c\) \textit{Timaeus}, 35 \(a\); cf. \textit{Moralia}, 441 \(f\).

\(^d\) Plato, \textit{Laws}, 896 \(d\) ff.

\(^e\) Cf. 374 \(e\), infra.
(371) λόγου τὴν Αἰγυπτίων θεολογίαν μάλιστα ταύτη τῇ ϕιλοσοφίᾳ συνοικειοῦντος.

49. Μεμειγμένη γὰρ η τοῦ κόσμου γένεσις καὶ σύστασις ἐξ ἐναντίων οὐ μὴν ἰσοσθενῶν δυνάμεων, ἀλλὰ τῆς βελτίωνος τὸ κράτος ἐστίν. ἀπολέσθαι δὲ τὴν φαύλην παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον, πολλὴν μὲν ἐμπεφυκὼν τῷ σώματι, πολλὴν δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ πάντος καὶ τρὸς τὴν βελτίωνα ἀεὶ δυσμαχοῦσαν. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ ψυχῆν νοῦς καὶ λόγος ὁ τῶν ἀρίστων πάντων ἠγεμόνων καὶ κύριος ὁ Οσιρίς ἐστιν, Β ἐν δὲ γῆ καὶ πνεύματι καὶ ὡδατι καὶ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἀστροὺς τὸ τεταγμένον καὶ καθεστηκός καὶ ὑγιανὸν ὄρασι καὶ κράσει καὶ περιόδως ὁ Οσιρίδος ἀπορροή καὶ εἰκῶν ἐμφανομένην. Τυφών δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ παθητικὸν καὶ τιτανικὸν καὶ ἄλογον καὶ ἐμπληκτὸν τοῦ δὲ σωματικοῦ τὸ ἐπίκηρον καὶ νοσώδες καὶ ταρακτικὸν ἄωραι καὶ δυσκρασίας, καὶ κρύος ἡλίου καὶ ἀφανισμὸς σελήνης, οἰον ἕκδρομαι καὶ ἀφηναισμοὶ Τυφώνος καὶ τούνομα κατηγορεῖ τὸ Σήθ, ὅ τον Τυφώνα καλοῦσι. φράζει μὲν τὸ καταδυναστεῖον καὶ καταβιαζόμενον, φράζει δὲ τὸ πολλάκις ἀναστροφὴν καὶ πάλιν ὑπερτήδησιν. ὉΒεπβωνα δὲ τινὲς μὲν ἑνὰ τῶν τοῦ Τυφώνος ἑταίρων γεγονέναι λέγουσιν, Μανεθῶς δ' αὖ τὸν Τυφώνα καὶ Βέβωνα καλεῖσθαι. σημαινεὶ δὲ τούνομα κάθεξιν

1 καὶ ... ἀεὶ Wyttenbach: ἀεὶ ... καί.
2 ἐπίκηρον Xylander (ἐπιληπτον?): ἐπίκηλτον.
3 ἄωραις Baxter: ἄθροισ.
4 ἀφηναισμοὶ Markland: ἀφανισμοὶ.
5 ὁ Xylander: αὖ.
6 τὸ] τήν Markland.
7 ὑπερτήδησιν] ὑπεκτήδησιν Holwerda.
8 Μανεθῶς δ' Markland: μάνεθος.
endeavour to reconcile the religious beliefs of the Egyptians with this philosophy.\(^a\)

49. The fact is that the creation and constitution of this world is complex, resulting, as it does, from opposing influences, which, however, are not of equal strength, but the predominance rests with the better. Yet it is impossible for the bad to be completely eradicated, since it is innate, in large amount, in the body and likewise in the soul of the Universe, and is always fighting a hard fight against the better. So in the soul Intelligence and Reason, the Ruler and Lord of all that is good, is Osiris, and in earth and wind and water and the heavens and stars that which is ordered, established, and healthy, as evidenced by seasons, temperatures, and cycles of revolution, is the efflux of Osiris \(^b\) and his reflected image. But Typhon is that part of the soul which is impressionable, impulsive, irrational and truculent, and of the bodily part the destructible, diseased and disorderly as evidenced by abnormal seasons and temperatures, and by obscurations of the sun and disappearances of the moon,\(^c\) outbursts, as it were, and unruly actions on the part of Typhon. And the name "Seth," \(^d\) by which they call Typhon, denotes this; it means "the overmastering" and "overpowering,"\(^e\) and it means in very many instances "turning back,"\(^f\) and again "overpassing." Some say that one of the companions of Typhon was Bebon,\(^g\) but Manetho says that Bebon was still another name by which Typhon was called. The name signifies "restraint" or "hindrance," as much as

\(^a\) Cf. 372 \(e\) and 377 \(a\), infra.
\(^b\) See the note on 365 \(b\), supra. \(^c\) Cf. 368 \(f\), supra.
\(^d\) Cf. 367 \(d\), supra, and 376 \(a\), infra.
\(^e\) So also in the Egyptian papyri.
\(^f\) Cf. 376 \(b\), infra. \(^g\) Cf. 376 \(a\), infra.
(371) η κόλυσιν, ώς τοῖς πράγμασιν ὅδ' βαδίζουσι καὶ πρὸς δ' χρῆ φερομένοις ἐνισταμένης τῆς τοῦ Τυ-
φῶνος δυνάμεως. (50.) διὸ καὶ τῶν μὲν ἡμέρων
ζῶν ἀπονέμουσιν αὐτῶ το ἀμαθέστατον, ὅνον-
tῶν δ' ἀγρίων τὰ θηριωδέστατα, κροκόδειλον καὶ
tὸν ποτάμιον ἵππον.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ οὖν προδεδηλώκαμεν. ἐν
'Ερμοῦ πόλει δὲ Τυφῶνος ἀγαλμα δεικνύουσιν ἵππον
ποτάμιον· ἐφ' οὐ βεβηκέν ἵεραξ ὅφει μαχόμενος, τῷ
D μὲν ἵππῳ τοῦ Τυφῶνα δεικνύτες, τῶ δ' ἱερακί
δύναμιν καὶ ἄρχην, ἡν βία κτώμενος δ' Τυφῶν πολ-
lάκις οὐκ ἄνυσται2 ταραττόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς κακίας καὶ
ταράττων. διὸ καὶ θύωντες ἐβδόμη τοῦ Τυβί
μηνός, ἡν καλούσιν ἀφίξων 'Ἰσιδος ἐκ Φοινίκης,
ἐπιπλάττουσι τοῖς ποτανοῖς ἱππον ποτάμιον δεδε-
mένον. ἐν δ' Ἀπόλλωνος πόλει νενομισμένον ἐστὶ
κροκοδείλον φαγεῖν πάντως ἐκαστον' ἡμέρα δὲ μιὰ
θηρεύσαντες ὅσους ἄν δύνωνται καὶ κτείναντες
ἀπαντικρὺ τοῦ ἱεροῦ προβάλλουσι: καὶ λέγοντιν ὡς
ὁ Τυφῶν τὸν Ὀμηρον ἀπέδρα κροκόδειλος γενόμενος,
Ε πάντα καὶ ζῶα καὶ φυτὰ καὶ πάθη τὰ φαῦλα καὶ
βλαβερὰ Τυφῶνος ἐργα καὶ μέρη καὶ3 κινήματα
ποιούμενοι.

51. Τὸν δ' Ἰοσιρν αὐτί πάλιν ὀφθαλμῷ καὶ σκῆ-
πτρῳ γράφουσιν, ὡς το μὲν τὴν πρόνοιαν ἐμ-
φαίνει,4 τὸ δὲ τὴν δύναμιν, ὡς ὁ Ομηρος τὸν ἄρχοντα

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1 μὲν οὖν Markland: μὲν.
2 ἄνυσται Strijd; ἄνυσται Markland: ἄνισται.
3 Not in the mss. but in the Aldine ed.
4 ἐμφαίνει F.C.B. et al.: ἐμφαίνειν.

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a Supra, 362 f.
b The text and significance of this passage are none too
clear.

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to say that, when things are going along in a proper way and making rapid progress towards the right end, the power of Typhon obstructs them. (50.) For this reason they assign to him the most stupid of the domesticated animals, the ass, and of the wild animals, the most savage, the crocodile and the hippopotamus.

In regard to the ass we have already a offered some explanation. At Hermopolis they point out a statue of Typhon in the form of an hippopotamus, on whose back is poised a hawk fighting with a serpent. By the hippopotamus they mean to indicate Typhon, and by the hawk a power and rule, which Typhon strives to win by force, oftentimes without success, being confused by his wickedness and creating confusion. For this reason, when they offer sacrifice on the seventh day of the month Tybi, which they call the "Coming of Isis from Phoenicia," they imprint on their sacred cakes the image of an hippopotamus tied fast. In the town of Apollonopolis it is an established custom for every person without exception to eat of a crocodile; and on one day they hunt as many as they can and, after killing them, cast them down directly opposite the temple. And they relate that Typhon escaped Horus by turning into a crocodile, and they would make out that all animals and plants and incidents that are bad and harmful are the deeds and parts and movements of Typhon.

51. Then again, they depict Osiris by means of an eye and a sceptre, the one of which indicates forethought and the other power, much as Homer in

\[\text{Cf. Herodotus, ii. 69; Aelian, De Natura Animalium, x. 21; Strabo, xvii. 1. 47 (p. 817).}\]
\[\text{Cf. 354 r, supra.}\]
\[\text{Homer, Iliad, viii. 22.}\]
καὶ βασιλεύοντα πάντων "Ζήν' ὑπατον καὶ μή-
στωρα" καλὼν, ἑσικε τῷ μὲν ὑπάτω τὸ κράτος
αὐτοῦ, τῷ δὲ μήστωρι τὴν εὐβουλίαν καὶ τὴν
φρόνησιν σημαίνειν. γράφομεν καὶ ἱέρακι τὸν θεὸν
τοῦτον πολλάκις. εὐτονία γὰρ ὅφεις ὑπερβάλλει
καὶ πτήσεως ὀξύτητι, καὶ διοικεῖν αὐτὸν ἐλαχίστην

F τροφῆ πέφυκε. λέγεται δὲ καὶ νεκρῶν ἄταφων
ὀμμασι2 γῆν ὑπερπέτομενον ἐπιβάλλειν· ὅταν δὲ
πόμενος3 ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν καταίρῃ, τὸ πτερὸν
ἐστησιν ὀρθὸν· πιὸν δὲ κλίνει τοῦτο πάλιν· ὃ
δὴλὸς ἐστὶ σεσωσμένος καὶ διαπεφευγός τὸν κροκό-
δειλον· ἀν γὰρ ἀρπασθῆ, μένει τὸ πτερὸν ὡσπερ
ἐστὶν πετηγός.

Πανταχοὺ δὲ καὶ ἀνθρωπόμορφον Ὄσιρίδος
ἀγαλμα δεικνύουσιν, ἐξορθιάζον τῷ αἰδοῖο διὰ τὸ
γόνυμον καὶ τὸ πτρόφιμον. ἀμπεχώνη δὲ φλογοειδεῖ
372 στέλλουσι4 αὐτοῦ τὰς εἰκόνας, ἥλιον σῶμα5 τῆς
τάγαθοῦ δυνάμεως ὡς ὅρατον οὐσίας νοητῆς ἡγού-
μενοι. διὸ καὶ καταφρονεῖν ἄξιον ἐστὶ τῶν τὴν
ἥλιον σφαῖραν Τυφώνι προσνεμόντων, ὁ λαμπρὸν
οὐδὲν οὐδὲ σωτήριον οὐδὲ τάξις οὐδὲ γένεσις οὐδὲ
κίνησις μέτρον ἐχουσα καὶ λόγον, ἀλλὰ τάναντι
προσήκει· καὶ αὐχμὸν, ὥ6 φθείρει πολλὰ τῶν ζώων
καὶ βλαστανόντων, οὐχ ἥλιον θετέον ἔργον, ἀλλὰ
τῶν ἐν γῆ καὶ ἀέρι μὴ καθ6 ὄραν κεραυνιμένων

1 ἐλαχίστη Bernardakis: ἐλάχιστα τῇ.
2 ὅμμασι] σῶμα Xylander.
3 πόμενος Bernardakis: ποιόμενος.
4 ἀμπεχώνη . . . στέλλουσι Baxter: ἀμπεχώνη δὲ φλογοειδής
στέλλουσα. 5 σῶμα] ὅμμα Markland.

1 Cf. Aelian, De Natura Animalium, ii. 42, and Por-
phyry, De Abstinentia, iv. 9. 6 Ibid. x. 24.

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calling the Lord and King of all "Zeus supreme and counsellor" appears by "supreme" to signify his prowess and by "cousellor" his careful planning and thoughtfulness. They also often depict this god by means of a hawk; for this bird is surpassing in the keenness of its vision and the swiftness of its flight, and is wont to support itself with the minimum amount of food. It is said also in flying over the earth to cast dust upon the eyes of unburied dead; and whenever it settles down beside the river to drink it raises its feather upright, and after it has drunk it lets this sink down again, by which it is plain that the bird is safe and has escaped the crocodile, for if it be seized, the feather remains fixed upright as it was at the beginning.

Everywhere they point out statues of Osiris in human form of the ithyphallic type, on account of his creative and fostering power; and they clothe his statues in a flame-coloured garment, since they regard the body of the Sun as a visible manifestation of the perceptible substance of the power for good. Therefore it is only right and fair to contemn those who assign the orb of the Sun to Typhon, to whom there attaches nothing bright or of a conserving nature, no order nor generation nor movement possessed of moderation or reason, but everything the reverse; moreover, the drought, by which he destroys many of the living creatures and growing plants, is not to be set down as the work of the Sun, but rather as due to the fact that the winds and waters in the earth and the air are not seasonably tempered when

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*c* Cf. 365 b, *supra.*  
*b* Cf. 393 d and 477 c, *infra.*  
*e* Cf. 372 e, *infra.*  
*f* Cf. 367 d, *supra.*
(372) πνευμάτων καὶ υδάτων, ὡταν ἡ τῆς ἀτάκτου καὶ ἀορίστου δυνάμεως ἁρχὴ πλημμελήσασα κατασβέσῃ τὰς ἀναθυμιάσεις.

Β 52. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὑμνοῖς τοῦ Ὀσίριδος ἀνακαλοῦνται τὸν ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις κρυπτόμενον τοῦ ἥλιου, καὶ τῇ τριακάδι τοῦ Ἐπιφί μηνὸς ἐορτάζουσιν ὀφθαλμῶν ὦ Οροῦ γενέθλιον, ὅτε σελήνη καὶ ἥλιος ἐπὶ μιᾶς εὐθείας γεγόνασιν, ὡς οὐ μόνον τὴν σελήνην ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἵμα τοῦ Ὀροὺ καὶ φῶς ἤγομένου.

Τῇ δὲ ὀγδόη φθίνοντος τοῦ Φαωφί βακτηρίας ἥλιου γενέθλιον ἥγομενος, ἠγούσι μετὰ φθινοπωρίνην ἵσημερίαν, ἐμφαίνοντες ὅποιον ὑπερείσματος δεῖσθαι καὶ ῥώσεως, τό τε θεριμῷ γιγνόμενον καὶ τῷ φωτὶ C ἐνεδα, κλινόμενον καὶ πλάγιον ἀφ’ ἡμῶν φερόμενον.

"Ετι δὲ τὴν βοῦν ὑπὸ τροπᾶς χειμερινᾶς ἐπτάκις περὶ τὸν ναὸν περιφέρουσι τοῦ Ὀλίου. καὶ καλεῖται ζήτησις Ὀσίριδος ἡ περιδρομή, τὸ ὑδρωρ χειμῶνος τῆς θεοῦ ποθούσης· τοσαυτάκις δὲ περίεισθαι, ὅτι τὴν ἀπὸ τροπῶν χειμερινῶν ἐπὶ τροπᾶς θερινῶς παροδοῦν ἐβδόμῳ μηνὶ συμπεραινεῖ. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ θύσαι τῷ ἥλιῳ τετράδι μηνὸς ἰσταμένου πάντων πρῶτος ὦ Ορος ὁ Ὁσίδος, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγραφομένοις Γενεθλίοις ὦ Οροῦ γεγραπται.

Καὶ μὴν ἡμέρας ἐκάστης τριχῶς ἐπιθυμιώσω τῷ ἥλιῳ, ῥητίνῃ μὲν ὑπὸ τὰς ἀνατολὰς, σμύρναν δὲ μεσουρανοῦντι, τὸ δὲ καλοῦμενον κὖφι περὶ δυσμάς.

1 γενέθλιον Bentley: γενέσθαι δ ν.
2 καὶ Petavius: εἴδεα καὶ.
3 In the mss. τοῦ Ἡλίου follows περιδρομή and not περιφέρουσι; transposed by Pinder.
4 περίεισθ Petavius: περίεισθ.
5 πάροδον] περίδον Markland.
the principle of the disorderly and unlimited power gets out of hand and quenches the exhalations.\(^a\)

52. In the sacred hymns of Osiris they call upon him who is hidden in the arms of the Sun; and on the thirtieth of the month Epiphi they celebrate the birthday of the Eyes of Horus, at the time when the Moon and the Sun are in a perfectly straight line, since they regard not only the Moon but also the Sun as the eye and light of Horus.

On the 8th of the waning of the month Phaophi they conduct the birthday of the Staff of the Sun following upon the autumnal equinox, and by this they declare, as it were, that he is in need of support and strength, since he becomes lacking in warmth and light, and undergoes decline, and is carried away from us to one side.

Moreover, at the time of the winter solstice they lead the cow seven times around the temple of the Sun and this circumambulation is called the Seeking for Osiris, since the Goddess in the winter-time yearns for water; so many times do they go around, because in the seventh month the Sun completes the transition from the winter solstice to the summer solstice. It is said also that Horus, the son of Isis, offered sacrifice to the Sun first of all on the fourth day of the month, as is written in the records entitled the Birthdays of Horus.

Every day they make a triple offering of incense to the Sun, an offering of resin at sunrise, of myrrh at midday, and of the so-called cyphi at sunset; the

\(^a\) Cf. 369 \(a\), supra.
(372) ὁν ἔκαστων έν ἔχει λόγον, ὠστερον ἀφηγήσομαι. τὸν δ’ ἥλιον πάσι τούτοις προστρέπεσθαι καὶ θεραπεύειν οἴονται. καὶ τί δει πολλὰ τουαῦτα συνάγειν; εἰς γὰρ οἱ τὸν Ὅσιον ἀντίκρου ἥλιον εἶναι καὶ ὄνομαξεσθαι σείριον υφ᾽ Ἕλληνων λέγοντες, εἰ καὶ παρ᾽ Ἀγνυττίοις ἡ πρόσθεσις τοῦ ἄρθρου τοῦνομα πεποίηκεν ἀμφιγυνοεῖσθαι, τῇν δ’ Ἰσιων οὐχ ἐτέραν τῆς σελήνης ἀποφαίνοντες ὢθεν καὶ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων αὐτῆς τὰ μὲν κερασφόρα τοῦ μυροειδοῦς γεγονέναι μμήματα, τοῖς δὲ μελανόστολοις ἐμφαίνεσθαι τὰς κρύπεις καὶ τοὺς περισκιασμοὺς ἐν οἷς διώκει ποθοῦσα τὸν ἥλιον. διὸ καὶ πρὸς τὰ Ἐ ἐρωτικὰ τῆς σελήνην ἐπικαλοῦνται, καὶ τῆν Ἰσιγ Εὐδοξὸς φησι βραβεύειν τὰ ἐρωτικὰ. καὶ τούτοις μὲν ἀμωσγέπως τοῦ πιθανοῦ μέτεστι, τῶν δὲ Τυφώνα ποιοῦντων τὸν ἥλιον οὐδ’ ἀκούειν ἄξιον. Ἀλλ’ ἡμεῖς αὕθις τὸν οὐκεῖον ἀναλάβωμεν λόγον. (53.) ἡ γὰρ Ἰσίως ἐστὶ μὲν τὸ τῆς φύσεως θήλυ, καὶ δεκτικὸν ἀπάσης γενέσεως, καθὸ τιθήνῃ καὶ πανδεχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν πολλῶν μυρίωνυμος κέκληται, διὰ τὸ πάσας ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου τρεπομένη μορφὰς δέχεσθαι καὶ ἰδέας. ἔχει δὲ σύμφυτον ἔρωτα τοῦ πρώτου καὶ κυριωτάτου πάντων, ὁ τάγαθῶ ταύτων ἐστὶ κάκεινο ποθεὶ καὶ Γ διώκει: τὴν δ’ ἐκ τοῦ κακοῦ φεύγει καὶ διωθεῖται

1 προστρέπεσθαι Madvig: προστρέπεσθαι.
3 ὢθεν Markland: ἐν.
4 ἐμφαίνεσθαι Markland: ἐμφαίνουσι.
5 ἀμωσγέπως Markland: ἀλλως γέ πῶς.

ᵃ Cf. 383 λ-end, infra.
b An attempt to connect Ὅσιος and Ὅ Σἰριος? Cf. Diodorus, i. 11. 3-4.
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reason which underlies each one of these offerings I will describe later. They think that by means of all these they supplicate and serve the Sun. Yet, what need is there to collect many such things? There are some who without reservation assert that Osiris is the Sun and is called the Dog-star (Sirius) by the Greeks even if among the Egyptians the addition of the article has created some ambiguity in regard to the name; and there are those who declare that Isis is none other than the Moon; for this reason it is said that the statues of Isis that bear horns are imitations of the crescent moon, and in her dark garments are shown the concealments and the obscurations in which she in her yearning pursues the Sun. For this reason also they call upon the Moon in love affairs, and Eudoxus asserts that Isis is a deity who presides over love affairs. These people may lay claim to a certain plausibility, but no one should listen for a moment to those who make Typhon to be the Sun.

But let us now take up again the proper subject of our discussion. (53.) Isis is, in fact, the female principle of Nature, and is receptive of every form of generation, in accord with which she is called by Plato the gentle nurse and the all-receptive, and by most people has been called by countless names, since, because of the force of Reason, she turns herself to this thing or that and is receptive of all manner of shapes and forms. She has an innate love for the first and most dominant of all things, which is identical with the good, and this she yearns for and pursues; but the portion which comes from evil she tries to avoid and to reject, for she serves

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*Cf. Plato, *Timaeus*, 49a and 51a; also *Moralia*, 1014d, 1015d, and 1023a.*
μοίραν, ἀμφοῖν μὲν οὕσα χώρα καὶ ὕλη, ρέπουσα δ' ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον ἐξ ἑαυτῆς καὶ παρέχουσα γεννᴀίν ἐκεῖνων καὶ κατασπείρειν εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἀπορροάς καὶ ὀμοιότητας, αἷς χαίρει καὶ γέγηθε κυάσκομεν καὶ ὑποπιμπλαμένη τῶν γενέσεων. εἰκὼν γάρ ἐστιν οὐσίας ἐν ἕλη γένεσις καὶ μίμημα τοῦ ὅντος τὸ γιγνόμενον.

373 54. "Οθέν οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπον μυθολογοῦσι τὴν Ὀσίριδος ψυχὴν ἀίδιον εἶναι καὶ ἀφθαρτον, τὸ δὲ σῶμα πολλάκις διασπάν καὶ ἀφανίζειν τὸν Τυφώνα, τὴν δ' Ἰσιν πλανωμένην καὶ ζητεῖν καὶ συναρμόστειν πάλιν. τὸ γάρ ὅν καὶ νοητὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν φθοράς καὶ μεταβολῆς κρείττον ἔστων. ἀς δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ αἰσθητὸν καὶ σωματικὸν εἰκόνας ἐκματτεία, καὶ λόγους καὶ εἶδη καὶ ὀμοιότητας ἀναλαμβάνει, καθάπερ ἐν κηρῷ σφραγίδες οὐκ ἂει διαμένονσίν, ἀλλὰ καταλαμβάνει τὸ ἀτακτὸν αὐτὸς

Β καὶ ταραχῶδες ἐνταῦθα τῆς ἄνω χώρας ἀπελελαμένου καὶ μαχόμενον πρὸς τὸν Ὀρὸν, ὅν ἡ Ἰσις εἰκόνα τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου αἰσθητὸν ὅντα γεννᾶ. διὸ καὶ δύκην φεύγειν λέγεται νοθείας ὑπὸ Τυφώνος, ὥσ οὐκ ὡν καθαρὸς οὐδ' εἰλικρινής οἴος ὁ πατήρ, λόγος αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀμύγης καὶ ἀπαθής, ἀλλὰ νενόθεμενος τῇ ὕλῃ διὰ τὸ σωματικὸν. περιγύνεται δὲ καὶ νικᾶ, τοῦ Ἐρμοῦ, τουτέστι τοῦ λόγου, μαρτυροῦντος καὶ δεικνύοντος ὅτι πρὸς τὸ νοητὸν ἡ φύσις μετασχηματίζομεν τὸν κόσμον ἀποδίδω-

1 ἐκεῖνω Baxter: ἐκείνο.
2 ἀπορροάς the more common form: ἀπορροάς
3 καὶ ζητεῖν] ἀναζητεῖν Markland.
4 ἀς Wytenbach: τινὰς.
5 περιγύνεται δὲ καὶ νικᾶ Xylander: περιγύνονται δὲ καὶ νικαί.
them both as a place and means of growth, but inclines always towards the better and offers to it opportunity to create from her and to impregnate her with effluxes and likenesses in which she rejoices and is glad that she is made pregnant and teeming with these creations. For creation is the image of being in matter, and the thing created is a picture of reality.

54. It is not, therefore, out of keeping that they have a legend that the soul of Osiris is everlasting and imperishable, but that his body Typhon oftentimes dismembers and causes to disappear, and that Isis wanders hither and yon in her search for it, and fits it together again; for that which really is and is perceptible and good is superior to destruction and change. The images from it with which the sensible and corporeal is impressed, and the relations, forms, and likenesses which this takes upon itself, like impressions of seals in wax, are not permanently lasting, but disorder and disturbance overtakes them, being driven hither from the upper reaches, and fighting against Horus, whom Isis brings forth, beholden of all, as the image of the perceptible world. Therefore it is said that he is brought to trial by Typhon on the charge of illegitimacy, as not being pure nor uncontaminated like his father, reason unalloyed and unaffected of itself, but contaminated in his substance because of the corporeal element. He prevails, however, and wins the case when Hermes, that is to say Reason, testifies and points out that Nature, by undergoing changes of form with reference to the perceptible, duly brings about the creation of the world.

\[a\] Cf. 358 \textit{a}, supra.  
\[b\] Cf. 358 \textit{d}, supra.
(373) συν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ, ἔτι τῶν θεῶν ἐν γαστρὶ τῆς 'Ρέας ὄντων, ἔξ Ἰσιδος καὶ Ὀσίριδος γενομένη γένεσις.

C Ἀπόλλωνος αὐνίττεται τὸ πρὶν ἐκφανῇ γενέσθαι τόνδε τὸν κόσμον καὶ συντελεσθῆσαι τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ὑλῆς, φύσει ἐλεγχομένην ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀτελῆ τῆς πρώτης γένεσις ἔξενεγκείν. διὸ καὶ φασὶ τὸν θεόν ἐκεῖνον ἀνάπηρον ὑπὸ σκότω γενέσθαι, καὶ πρεσβυτέρου Ωρον καλοῦσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν κόσμος, άλλ' εἴδωλον τι καὶ κόσμου φάντασμα μέλλοντος.

55. 'Ο δὲ Ωρος οὗτος αὐτὸς ἐστιν ὁρισμένος καὶ τέλειος, οὐκ ἀνηρηκὼς τὸν Τυφώνα παντάπασιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ δραστήριον καὶ ἱσχυρὸν αὐτοῦ παρηρμένοις. ὦθεν εἰν Κοπτῷ τὸ ἀγαλμα τοῦ "Ωρον λέγουσιν ἐν τῇ ἕτερᾳ χειρὶ Τυφώνος άιδοῖα κατέχειν· καὶ τὸν 'Ερμῆν μυθολογοῦσιν ἔξελοντα τοῦ

D Τυφώνος τὰ νεῦρα χορδαῖς χρήσοντα, διδάσκοντες ως τὸ πάν ὁ λόγος διαμοσάμενος σύμφωνον ἐξ ἀσυμφώνων μερῶν ἐποίησε, καὶ τῆς φθαρτικῆς ὁυκ ἀπώλεσεν ἀλλ' ἀνεπήρωσε δύναμιν. ὦθεν ἐκεῖνη μὲν ἀσθενὴς καὶ ἄδρανθα ἐνταῦθα φυρομένη καὶ προσπλεκομένη τοῖς παθητικοῖς καὶ μεταβολικοῖς μέρεσι, σεισμῶν μὲν ἐν γῇ καὶ τρόμων, αὐχμῶν δὲ ἐν ἀέρι καὶ πνευμάτων ἀτόπων, αὕθις δὲ πρηστήρων καὶ κεραυνῶν δημιουργός ἐστι. φαρμάττει δὲ καὶ λοιμοῖς ύδατα καὶ πνεύματα, καὶ μέχρι σελήνης ἀνατρέχει καὶ ἀναχαίτιζε συγχέουσα καὶ μελαίνουσα πολλάκις τὸ λαμπρόν, ὡς Αὐγούςτιοι

1 γενομένη] λεγομένη Hartman.
2 τῷ λόγῳ Markland: τοῦ λόγου.
3 ἀπ' αὐτῆς F.C.B.; ἐφ' αὐτῆς Markland : ἐτ' αὐτῆν.
4 ἀνεπήρωσε Baxter: ἀνεπήρωσε.
5 μέρεσι Squire: μέλεσι.
The birth of Apollo from Isis and Osiris, while these gods were still in the womb of Rhea, has the allegorical meaning that before this world was made visible and its rough material was completely formed by Reason, it was put to the test by Nature and brought forth of itself the first creation imperfect. This is the reason why they say that this god was born in the darkness a cripple, and they call him the elder Horus; for there was then no world, but only an image and outline of a world to be.

55. But this Horus is himself perfected and complete; but he has not done away completely with Typhon, but has taken away his activity and strength. Hence they say that at Kopto the statue of Horus holds in one hand the privy members of Typhon, and they relate a legend that Hermes cut out the sinews of Typhon, and used them as strings for his lyre, thereby instructing us that Reason adjusts the Universe and creates concord out of discordant elements, and that it does not destroy but only cripples the destructive force. Hence this is weak and inactive here, and combines with the susceptible and changeable elements and attaches itself to them, becoming the artificer of quakes and tremblings in the earth, and of droughts and tempestuous winds in the air, and of lightning-flashes and thunderbolts. Moreover, it taints waters and winds with pestilence, and it runs forth wanton even as far as the moon, oftentimes confounding and darkening the moon's brightness; according to the belief and account of

a Cf. 356 Α, supra.
Ἐνομίζουσι καὶ λέγονσιν, ὅτι τοῦ Ὡμοῦ νῦν μὲν ἐπάταξε, νῦν δὲ ἐξελὼν κατέπνευ τῷ Τυφών τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, εἴτε τῷ ήλιῳ πάλιν ἀπέδωκε· πληγὴν μὲν αἰνιτόμενοι τὴν κατὰ μῆνα μείωσιν τῆς σελήνης, πῇρωσιν δὲ τὴν ἐκλειψιν, ὃν δὲ ἡλιος ιάται διαφυγοῦσι τὴν σκιαν τῆς γῆς εὐθὺς ἀντιλάμπων.

56. Ἡ δὲ κρείττων καὶ θειότερα φύσις ἐκ τριῶν ἔστι, τοῦ νοητοῦ καὶ τῆς ὕλης καὶ τοῦ ἐκ τούτων,

Γ δὲν κόσμον Ἔλληνες ὄνομαζον. οὔ μὲν οὖν Πλάτων τοῦ μὲν νοητοῦ καὶ ἱδεαν καὶ παράδειγμα καὶ πατέρα, τὴν δὲ ὕλην καὶ μητέρα καὶ τιθήνην ἔδραν τε καὶ χώραν γενέσεως, τὸ δ' ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἐγγονον καὶ γένεσιν ὀνομάζειν εἰσεθεν.

Ἀγυπτίους δ' ἂν τις εἰκάσει τῶν τριγώνων τὸ κάλλιστον τιμᾶν μάλιστα τούτω τὴν τοῦ παντῶς φύσιν ὁμοιοῦντας, ὡς καὶ Πλάτων ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ δοκεῖ τούτῳ προσκερήσατο τὸ γαμήλιον διάγραμμα συντάττων. ἐχεί δ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ τρίγωνον τριῶν τὴν πρὸς ὀρθίαν καὶ τεττάρων τὴν βάσιν καὶ πέντε 374 τὴν ὑποτείνουσαν ἵσον ταῖς περιεχούσαις δυναμένην. εἰκαστεύον οὖν τὴν μὲν πρὸς ὀρθᾶς ἀρρενι, τὴν δὲ βάσιν θηλεία, τὴν δ' ὑποτείνουσαν ἀμφοῖν ἐγγόνων, καὶ τὸν μὲν Ὅσιριν ὡς ἀρχήν, τὴν δ' Ἰσιών ὡς ὑποδοχῆν, τὸν δ' Ὡμοῦ ὡς ἀποτέλεσμα. τὰ μὲν γὰρ τρία πρῶτος περίττος ἔστι καὶ τέλεος· τὰ δὲ τέταρτα τετράγωνος ἀπὸ πλευρᾶς ἀρτίου τῆς δυάδος· τὰ δὲ πέντε πῆ μὲν τῷ πατρὶ πῆ δὲ τῇ

1 διαφυγοῦσι Bentley: διαφυγοῦσης.
2 ἐγγονον Emperius: ἐγγόνων.
3 τιμᾶν added by Michael and F.C.B.
4 ὡς Markland: φ.
5 ὀρθᾶς] ὀρθίαν Reiske.
the Egyptians, Typhon at one time smites the eye of Horus, and at another time snatches it out and swallows it, and then later gives it back again to the Sun. By the smiting, they refer allegorically to the monthly waning of the moon, and by the crippling, to its eclipse,\(^a\) which the Sun heals by shining straight upon it as soon as it has escaped the shadow of the earth.

56. The better and more divine nature consists of three parts: the conceptual, the material, and that which is formed from these, which the Greeks call the world. Plato\(^b\) is wont to give to the conceptual the name of idea, example, or father, and to the material the name of mother or nurse, or seat and place of generation, and to that which results from both the name of offspring or generation.

One might conjecture that the Egyptians hold in high honour the most beautiful of the triangles,\(^c\) since they liken the nature of the Universe most closely to it, as Plato in the Republic\(^d\) seems to have made use of it in formulating his figure of marriage. This triangle has its upright of three units, its base of four, and its hypotenuse of five, whose power is equal to that of the other two sides.\(^e\) The upright, therefore, may be likened to the male, the base to the female, and the hypotenuse to the child of both, and so Osiris may be regarded as the origin, Isis as the recipient, and Horus as perfected result. Three is the first perfect odd number: four is a square whose side is the even number two; but five is in some ways like to its father, and in some ways like to its mother, being

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\(a\) Cf. 368 f, supra.  
\(b\) Plato, Timaeus, 50 c-d.  
\(c\) Cf. 393 d, infra.  
\(d\) Plato, Republic, 546 b-c.  
\(e\) Cf. 429 e, infra.
(374) μητρὶ προσέοικεν, ἐκ τριάδος συγκείμενα καὶ δυά-
δος. καὶ τὰ πάντα τῶν πέντε γέγονε παρώνυμα, 
kαὶ τὸ ἀριθμῆσασθαι πεμπάσσασθαι λέγουσιν. 
pοιεὶ δὲ τετράγωνον ἢ πεντάς ἀφ’ ἑαυτῆς, ὁσον 
Β τῶν γραμμάτων παρ’ Ἀιγυπτίοις τὸ πλήθος ἔστι, 
kαὶ ὅσων ἐνιαυτῶν ἑξήχρονον ὁ Ἁπις.
Τὸν¹ μὲν οὖν Ὄρον εἰσώθασι καὶ Μῖν² προσ-
αγορεύειν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὀρῷμενον ἀισθητὸν γὰρ καὶ 
ὁρατὸν ὁ κόσμος. ἡ δὲ Ἰσιὸς ἐστὶν οτε καὶ Μοῦθ 
kαὶ πάλι Ἀθηρὶ καὶ Μεθύερ προσαγορεύεται³. 
σημαίνοντι δὲ τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ τῶν ὀνομάτων 
μητέρα: τῷ δὲ δευτέρῳ οἶκον Ὅρον κόσμου, ὡς 
kαὶ Πλάτων χώραν γενέσεως καὶ δεξαμενήν· τὸ δὲ 
τρίτον σύνθετον ἐστὶν ἐκ τε τοῦ πλήρους καὶ τοῦ 
αἰτίου⁴. πλήρης γὰρ ἐστιν ἡ ὑλή τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῷ 
ἀγαθῷ καὶ καθαρῷ καὶ κεκοσμημένῳ σύνεστιν.
C 57. Δόξειε δ’ ἀν ἵσως καὶ Ὁσίοδος τὰ πρῶτα 
pάντα⁵ χαός καὶ γῆ καὶ τάρταρον καὶ ἑρωτα ποιών 
οὐχ ἐτέρας λαμβάνειν ἀρχάς, ἀλλὰ ταύτας,⁶ εἰ δὴ 
tῶν ὀνομάτων τῇ μὲν Ἰσιδο τῇ γῇς, τῷ δ’ Ὠσιρίδι 
tο τοῦ ἑρωτος, τῷ δὲ Τυφώνι τοῦ τοῦ 
tαρτάρου μεταλαμβάνοντες πῶς⁷ ἀποδίδομεν· τὸ 
γὰρ χάος δοκεῖ χώραν τινα καὶ τόπον τοῦ παντος 
ὕποτίθεσθαι.

Προσκαλεῖται δὲ καὶ τὸν Πλάτωνος ἁμωγεῖτος 
tὰ πράγματα μύθον, ὃν Σωκράτης ἐν Συμποσίῳ 
περὶ τῆς τοῦ Ἑρωτος γενέσεως διήλθε, τὴν Πενιαν 
λέγων τέκνων δειμένην τῷ Πόρῳ καθεύδοντι

¹ ὁ Ἁπις. τὸν Xylander, confirmed by one ms.: ὁ ἀπιστοῦ most mss.
² καὶ Μῖν Pinder and one ms.: Καίμω.
³ προσαγορεύεται Basel ed. of 1542: προσαγορεύουσι.
⁴ αἰτίου ἀγαθοῦ Markland; ἀρτίου Reiske (ἀγίου?).

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made up of three and two.\(^a\) And \textit{panta} (all) is a derivative of \textit{pente} (five), and they speak of counting as "numbering by fives." \(^b\) Five makes a square of itself, as many as the letters of the Egyptian alphabet, and as many as the years of the life of the Apis.

Horus they are wont to call also Min, which means "seen"; for the world is something perceptible and visible, and Isis is sometimes called Muth, and again Athyri or Methyer. By the first of these names they signify "mother," by the second the mundane house of Horus, the place and receptacle of generation, as Plato \(^c\) has it, and the third is compounded of "full" and "cause"; for the material of the world is full, and is associated with the good and pure and orderly.

57. It might appear that Hesiod,\(^d\) in making the very first things of all to be Chaos and Earth and Tartarus and Love, did not accept any other origins but only these, if we transfer the names somewhat and assign to Isis the name of Earth and to Osiris the name of Love and to Typhon the name of Tartarus; for the poet seems to place Chaos at the bottom as a sort of region that serves as a resting-place for the Universe.

This subject seems in some wise to call up the myth of Plato, which Socrates in the \textit{Symposium} \(^e\) gives at some length in regard to the birth of Love, saying that Poverty, wishing for children, insinuated herself

\(^b\) Cf. 387 E and 429 D-F, infra.
\(^c\) Plato, \textit{Timaeus}, 52 D–53 A. Cf. also \textit{Moralia}, 882 C and 1023 A.
\(^d\) \textit{Theogony}, 116-122.
\(^e\) Plato, \textit{Symposium}, 203 B.

5 \text{πάντα} \text{πάντων} Baxter. \hspace{1cm} 6 \text{ταύτας} \text{αὐτάς} Halm.
7 \text{εἴ} F.C.B.; \text{εἴγε} Xylander: \text{γε}. \hspace{1cm} 8 \text{πως} Reiske: \text{ώς}.
(374) παρακλιθήναι, καὶ κυήσασαν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τεκεῖν τὸν
D Ἑρωτα, φύσει μεικτον ὅντα καὶ παντοδαπόν, ἀτε
dὴ πατρὸς μὲν ἁγαθὸν καὶ σοφόν καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτ-
ήγιοι, μὴνρὸς δ' ἀμηχάνου καὶ ἀπόρου καὶ δι' ἐνδειαν ἀεὶ γλυχομένης ἑτέρου καὶ περὶ ἑτερον
λιπαροῦσης γεγενημένων. ὁ γὰρ Πόρος οὐχ ἑτερός
ἐστὶ τοῦ πρώτου ἔρατον τοῦ ἔρετού καὶ ἑφετοῦ καὶ τελείου καὶ
αὐτάρκους. Πενίᾳ δὲ τὴν ὑλὴν προσεῖπεν, ἐνδεῖ
μὲν οὖςαν αὐτὴν καθ' ἑαυτὴν τοῦ ἁγαθοῦ, πληρο-
μένην δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ποθοῦσαν ἀεὶ καὶ μεταλλα-
βάνουσαν. ὁ δὲ γενόμενος ἐκ τούτων κόσμος καὶ
'Ωρος οὐκ ἁίδιος οὐδ' ἀπαθής οὐδ' ἀφθαρτος, ἀλλ' 
Ε ἀειγενῆς ὑπὶ μηχανάται ταῖς τῶν παθῶν μεταβολαῖς
καὶ περιόδοις ἀεὶ νέος καὶ μηδέποτε φθαρησόμενος
diαμένειν.

58. Χρηστεόν δὲ τοὺς μύθους οὐχ ὡς λόγους
πάμπαν οὖσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρόσφορον ἐκάστου τὸ κατὰ
τὴν ὁμοιότητα λαμβάνοντας. ὅταν οὖν ὑλὴν λέγω-
μεν, οὐ δὲ πρὸς ἐνίων ψίλισοφῶν δόξας ἀποφερο-
μένους ἄνυχον τι σῶμα καὶ ἀποιον ἀργόν τε καὶ
ἀπρακτον ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ διανοεῖσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἐλαῖον
ὑλὴν μύρου καλοῦμεν, χρυσὸν ἁγάλματος, οὐκ οὖν
πάσης ἔρημα ποιότητος4: αὐτὴν τε τὴν ψυχήν καὶ
Γ τὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὡς ὑλὴν ἐπιστήμης καὶ
ἀρετῆς τῷ λόγῳ κοσμεῖν καὶ ρυθμίζειν παρέχομεν-
tὸν τε νοῦν ἐνοί τοῦτον εἰδὼν ἀπεφήναντο καὶ τῶν
νοητῶν οἶον ἐκμαγεῖον.

1 μεικτὸν Xylander: μακρὸν.
2 ἔρατον Markland: ἔραστοι.
3 τὸ κατὰ] κατὰ Wytenbach.
4 ποιότητος Xylander: ὁμοιότητος.
5 εἰδὼν] ἰδεών Squire.
beside Plenty while he was asleep, and having become pregnant by him, gave birth to Love, who is of a mixed and utterly variable nature, inasmuch as he is the son of a father who is good and wise and self-sufficient in all things, but of a mother who is helpless and without means and because of want always clinging close to another and always importunate over another. For Plenty is none other than the first beloved and desired, the perfect and self-sufficient; and Plato calls raw material Poverty, utterly lacking of herself in the Good, but being filled from him and always yearning for him and sharing with him. The World, or Horus, which is born of these, is not eternal nor unaffected nor imperishable, but, being ever reborn, contrives to remain always young and never subject to destruction in the changes and cycles of events.

58. We must not treat legend as if it were history at all, but we should adopt that which is appropriate in each legend in accordance with its verisimilitude. Whenever, therefore, we speak of material we must not be swept away to the opinions of some philosophers, and conceive of an inanimate and indifferented body, which is of itself inert and inactive. The fact is that we call oil the material of perfume and gold the material of a statue, and these are not destitute of all differentiation. We provide the very soul and thought of Man as the basic material of understanding and virtue for Reason to adorn and to harmonize, and some have declared the Mind to be a place for the assembling of forms and for the impression of concepts, as it were.

\[a\] Cf. 373 d, supra.
\[b\] Cf. 370 f, supra, and Diogenes Laertius, vii. 134.
\[c\] Cf. Aristotle, De Anima, iii. 4 (429 a 27).
"Ενιοί δὲ καὶ τὸ σπέρμα τῆς γυναικὸς οὐ δύναμιν οὐδ’ ἀρχὴν, ὦλην δὲ καὶ τροφὴν γενέσεως εἶναι δοξάζουσιν. ὃν ἐχομένους χρή καὶ τὴν θεόν ταύτην οὐτω διανοεῖθαι τοῦ πρώτου θεοῦ μεταλαγχάνουσαν ἀεὶ καὶ συνούσαν ἐρωτὶ τῶν περὶ ἐκεῖνον 375 ἀγαθῶν καὶ καλῶν, οὐχ ὑπεναντιῶν ἀλλ’ ὡσπερ ἄνδρα νόμιμον καὶ δίκαιον ἔραν ἀν δικαίως συνή' καὶ γυναίκα χρηστὴν ἐχουσαν ἄνδρα καὶ συνούσαν ὄμως ποθεῖν λέγομεν, οὐτως ἀδι γλυκομενὴν ἐκείνου καὶ περὶ ἐκείνον λιπαροῦσαν καὶ ἀναπλημματενν τοῖς κυριωτάτοις μέρεσι καὶ καθαρωτάτοις. (59.) ὅπου δ’ ὁ Τυφών παρεμπίπτει τῶν ἐσχάτων ἀπτόμενος, ἐνταῦθα δοκοῦσαν ἐπισκυρθρῳσάζειν καὶ πενθεῖν λεγομενη καὶ λείψαν’ ἄττα καὶ σταρά-

ματα τοῦ Ὀσύριδος ἀναζητεῖν καὶ στολίζειν, ὑπο-

δεχομένην τὰ φθειρόμενα καὶ ἀποκρύπτουσαν,

Β ὡσπερ3 ἀναφαίνει πάλιν τὰ γιγνόμενα καὶ ἀνίησιν 

ἐς ἑαυτῆς.

Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἀστροὺς λόγοι καὶ εἴδη 

καὶ ἀπορροάτο τοῦ θεοῦ μένουσι, τὰ δὲ τοῖς παθη-

τικοῖς διεσπαρμένα, γῇ καὶ θαλάττη καὶ φυτοῖς καὶ 

ζώοις, διαλυόμενα4 καὶ φθειρόμενα καὶ θαπτόμενα, 

πολλάκις5 αὕτης ἐκλάμπει καὶ ἀναφαίνεται ταῖς γενέ-

σεις. διὸ τὸν Τυφώνα τῇ Νέφθυι συνοικεῖν φησιν ὁ μύθος, τὸν δ’ Ὅσυριν κρύφα συγγενεῖθαι. τὰ 

γὰρ ἐσχατα μέρη τῆς ὀλης, ἡ Νέφθυν καὶ Τελευτὴ 

καλοῦσιν, ἡ φθαρτικὴ μάλιστα κατέχει δύναμις.

1 ἀν δικαίως συνή Bernardakis, cf. 448 E: ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ.

2 λιπαροῦσαν Markland: παροῦσαν.

3 ὡσπερ F.C.B.; ὡσπερ Schwartz: ὡσπερ.

4 διαλυόμενα Baxter: διαλεγόμενα.

5 πολλάκις Markland: καπολλάκις.
Some think the seed of Woman is not a power or origin, but only material and nurture of generation. To this thought we should cling fast and conceive that this Goddess also who participates always with the first God and is associated with him in the love of the fair and lovely things about him is not opposed to him, but, just as we say that an honourable and just man is in love if his relations are just, and a good woman who has a husband and consorts with him we say yearns for him; thus we may conceive of her as always clinging close to him and being importunate over him and constantly filled with the most dominant and purest principles. (59.) But where Typhon forces his way in and seizes upon the outermost areas, there we may conceive of her as seeming sad, and spoken of as mourning, and that she seeks for the remains and scattered members of Osiris and arrays them, receiving and hiding away the things perishable, from which she brings to light again the things that are created and sends them forth from herself.

The relations and forms and effluxes of the God abide in the heavens and in the stars; but those things that are distributed in susceptible elements, earth and sea and plants and animals, suffer dissolution and destruction and burial, and oftentimes again shine forth and appear again in their generations. For this reason the fable has it that Typhon cohabits with Nephthys and that Osiris has secret relations with her; for the destructive power exercises special dominion over the outermost part of matter which they call Nephthys or Finality. But the creating

\[\text{Cf. Moralia, 651 c, and 905 c.}\]
\[\text{Cf. 372 E, and 383 A, infra.}\]
\[\text{Cf. 356 A, supra.}\]
\[\text{Cf. the note on 356 E, supra.}\]
\[\text{Cf. 355 F and 366 B, supra.}\]
(375) ἡ δὲ γόνιμος καὶ σωτήριος ἀσθενές σπέρμα καὶ
C ἁμανρόν εἰς ταῦτα διαδίδωσιν, ἀπολλύμενον1 ὑπὸ
tοῦ Τυφώνος, πλὴν ὅσον ἦ 'Ἰσις ὑπολαμβάνουσα
σώζει καὶ τρέφει καὶ συνίστησι.

60. Καθόλου δ' ἀμείνων ὅτός ἐστιν, ὠσπερ καὶ
Πλάτων ὑπονοεῖ καὶ 'Αριστοτέλης. κινεῖται δὲ τῆς
φύσεως τὸ μὲν γόνιμον καὶ σωτήριον ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ
πρὸς τὸ εἶναι, τὸ δ' ἀναιρετικὸν καὶ φθαρτικὸν ἀπ'2
αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὸ μὴ εἶναι. διὸ τὸ μὲν 'Ἰσιν κα-
λούσι παρὰ τὸ ἰεσθαι μετ' ἐπιστήμης καὶ φέρεσθαι,
κίνησιν οὕσαν ἐμφύσχων καὶ φρόνιμων. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ
τούνομα βαρβαρικόν, ἀλλ' ὠσπερ τοῖς θεοῖς πᾶσιν
ἀπὸ δυνῶν ῥημάτων3 τοῦ θεατοῦ καὶ τοῦ θέοντος
D ἐστὶν ὅνομα κοινὸν, οὕτω τὴν θεὸν ταύτην ἀπὸ τῆς
ἐπιστήμης ἁμα καὶ τῆς κινήσεως 'Ἰσιν μὲν ἡμεῖς,
'Ἰσιν δ' Αἰγύπτιοι καλοῦσιν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ Πλάτων
φησὶ τὴν οὐσίαν4 δηλοῦν τοὺς παλαιοὺς "ἰσίαν"5
καλοῦντας: οὕτω καὶ τὴν νόησιν καὶ τὴν φρόνησιν,
ὡς νῦν φορᾶν καὶ κίνησιν οὕσαν ἰεμένου καὶ φερο-
μένου, καὶ τὸ6 συνεῖναι καὶ τάγαθον ὅλως καὶ ἀρε-
τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀεὶ ρέουσι7 καὶ θέουσι θέσθαι· καθαπερ
αὖ πάλιν τοῖς ἀντιφωνοῦσιν ὄνομασι λοιδορεῖσθαι
τὸ κακὸν,8 τὸ τὴν φύσιν ἐμποδίζου καὶ συνδέον καὶ

1 ἀπολλύμενον Bentley: ἀπολλυμένη or -μένους.
2 ἀπ' Squire: ὑπ'.
3 ῥημάτων Markland: γραμμάτων.
4 οὐσίαν Baxter from Plato, Cratylus, 401 c: ὁσίαν.
5 ἵσίαν ἐσίαν or ἰσίαν in Plato, ibid.
6 τὸ Baxter: τοῦ.
7 ἀεὶ ρέουσι Goodwin from Plato, Cratylus, 415 d: εὐροῦσι.
and conserving power distributes to this only a weak and feeble seed, which is destroyed by Typhon, except so much as Isis takes up and preserves and fosters and makes firm and strong.\(^*\)

60. In general this god is the better, as both Plato and Aristotle conceive. The creative and conserving element of Nature moves toward him and toward existence while the annihilating and destructive moves away from him towards non-existence. For this reason they call Isis by a name derived from "hastening" (hiemai) with understanding,\(^{b}\) or being borne onward (pheromai), since she is an animate and intelligent movement; for the name is not a foreign name, but, just as all the gods have a name in common \(^{c}\) derived from two words, "visible" (theaton) and "rushing" (theon), in the same way this goddess, from her understanding \(^{b}\) and her movement, we call Isis and the Egyptians call her Isis. So also Plato \(^{d}\) says that the men of ancient times made clear the meaning of "essence" (ousia) by calling it "sense" (isia). So also he speaks of the intelligence and understanding as being a carrying and movement of mind hasting and being carried onward; and also comprehension and good and virtue they attribute to those things which are ever flowing and in rapid motion, just as again, on the other hand, by means of antithetical names they vilified evil: for example, that which hinders and binds fast and holds and checks

\(^{a}\) Cf. 356 f, supra.

\(^{b}\) Cf. 351 f, supra.

\(^{c}\) Cf. Plato, Cratylus, 397 d.

\(^{d}\) Ibid. 401 c.

\(\text{Cf. } \tauο\kappaακον\text{ Wyttenbach from Plato, Cratylus, 415 c: }\tauον\kappaατα.\)
(375) ἰσχον καὶ κωλύον ἰεσθαι καὶ ιέναι κακίαν ἀπορίαν
dειλιάν ἀνίαν προσαγορεύοντας. ¹

61. 'Ο δ' Ὅσιρις ἐκ τοῦ ὀσίου καὶ ἤρον τοῦνομα
μεμειγμένον ἔσχηκε· κοινὸς γὰρ ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ
Ε καὶ τῶν ἐν "Αἰδοῦ λόγοι· ὡν τὰ μὲν ἴερα τὰ δ' ὁσια τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἔθος ³ ἢ προσαγορεύειν. ὦ δ' ἀναφαίνων τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τῶν ἀνω φερομένων
ἔοις Ἀνουβίς, ⁴ ἐστὶ δ' ὅτε καὶ Ἐρμάνουβίς ὁνο-
μάζεται, τὸ μὲν ὡς τοῖς ἀνω τὸ δ' ὡς τοῖς κάτω
προσήκων. διὸ καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν λευκὸν
ἀλεκτρυόνα, τὸ δὲ κροκιάν, τὰ μὲν εἰλικρινῇ καὶ
φανά, τὰ δὲ μεικτὰ καὶ ποικίλα νομίζοντες.

Οὐ δεὶ δὲ θαυμάζειν τῶν ὁνομάτων τῆς εἰς τὸ
'Ελληνικὸν ἀνάπλασιν· καὶ γὰρ ἄλλα μυρία τοῖς
μεθυσταμένοις ἐκ τῆς 'Ελλάδος συνεκπεσόντα μέχρι

F νῦν παραμένει καὶ ξενιτεύει παρ' ἐτέροις, ὡν ἔνια
tῆν ποιητικὴν ἀνακαλυμμένην διαβάλλουσιν ὡς
βαρβαρίζουσαν οἱ γλώττας τὰ τοιαῦτα ⁶ προσ-

αγορεύοντες. ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἐρμοῦ λεγομέναις βίβλοις
ἰστοροῦσι γεγράφαι περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ὁνομάτων, ὅτι

tῆν μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ ἱλίου περιφορὰς τεταγμένην
dύναμιν Ὡρον, "Ελληνες δ' Ὅσιαν καλοῦσι:
tῆν δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ πνεύματος οἱ μὲν Ὅσιριν, οἱ δὲ

¹ προσαγορεύοντας Reiske: προσαγορευόντων.
² καὶ added in the Aldine ed.
³ ἔθος added by Markland.
⁴ λόγος Ἀνουβίς Reiske: ἀνουβίς λόγος.
⁵ τὸ μὲν . . . τὸ δὲ Reiske: τὸν μὲν . . . τὸν δὲ.
⁶ τὰ τοιαῦτα Xylander: τὰς τοιαῦτας.

Cf. 376 d, infra. It is impossible to reproduce these
fanciful derivations in an English translation. Most of them
may be found in Plato, Cratylus, 401 c-415 e. Note that
Plutarch would connect the abstract suffix -ia with the
shorter stem of ἐμι "go."

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Nature from hasting and going they called baseness, or "ill-going" (kak-ia), and helplessness or "difficulty of going" (apor-ia), and cowardice or "fear of going" (deil-ia), and distress or "not going" (an-ia).a

61. Osiris has a name made up from "holy" (hosiori) and "sacred" (hieron) b; for he is the combined relation of the things in the heavens and in the lower world, the former of which it was customary for people of olden time to call sacred and the latter to call holy. But the relation which discloses the things in the heavens and belongs to the things which tend upward is sometimes named Anubis and sometimes Hermanubis c as belonging in part to the things above and in part to the things below. d For this reason they sacrifice to him on the one hand a white cock and on the other hand one of saffron colour, regarding the former things as simple and clear, and the others as combined and variable.

There is no occasion to be surprised at the revamping of these words into Greek. e The fact is that countless other words went forth in company with those who migrated from Greece, and persist even to this day as strangers in strange lands; and, when the poetic art would recall some of these into use, those who speak of such words as strange or unusual falsely accuse it of using barbarisms. Moreover, they record that in the so-called books of Hermes it is written in regard to the sacred names that they call the power which is assigned to direct the revolution of the Sun Horus, but the Greeks call it Apollo; and the power assigned to the wind some call Osiris and others

Cf. 382 e, infra.
Porphyry in Eusebius, Praepar. Evang. iii. 11. 2.
Cf. 368 e, supra.  
Cf. 362 d-e, supra.
376 Σάρατων. ἥ δὲ' Σώθις ² Αἰγυπτιστής σημαίνει κύη- σιν ἥ τὸ κυεῖν. διὸ καὶ παρατροπής γενομένης τού ὄνοματος 'Ελληνιστή κύων κέκληται τὸ ἄστρον, ὅπερ ἴδιον τῆς Ἰσιδος νομίζουσιν. ἦκιστα μὲν οὖν δεῖ φιλοτιμεῖσθαι περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων, οὐ μὴν ἄλλα μάλλον ύφειμην ³ ἃν ⁴ τοῦ Σαράπιδος Αἰγυπτίως ἢ τοῦ Ὅσιρίδος, ἐκείνο μὲν ⁵ ξενικὸν, τούτῳ δ' 'Ελληνικόν, ἄμφω ὑ' ἐνὸς θεοῦ καὶ μᾶς δυνάμεως ἤγούμενος.


"Ετι τὴν σιδηρῆτιν λίθον ὀστέον "Ωρον, Τυφώνος δὲ τοῦν σίδηρον, ὥς ἱστορεῖ Μανεθώς, ⁷ καλοῦσιν ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ σίδηρος πολλάκις μὲν ἐλκομένως καὶ ἐπομένῳ πρὸς τὴν λίθον ὁμοίως ἐστι, πολλάκις δ' ἀποστρέφεται καὶ ἀποκρουέται πρὸς τούναντίον, οὕτως ή σωτήριος καὶ ἀγαθὴ καὶ λόγον ἔχουσα τοῦ κόσμου κίνησις ἐπιστρέφει ποτὲ ⁸ καὶ προσάγεται C καὶ μαλακωτέραν ⁹ ποιεῖ, πείθουσα τὴν σκληρὰν ¹⁰

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1 ἥ δὲ F.C.B.: οἱ δὲ.
2 Σώθις F.C.B.: σωθί.
3 ύφειμην Bentley: ύφειμενην.
4 ἃν Emperius.
5 μὲν Markland: μὲν οὖν.
6 ἡ added by F.C.B. (ἡ τιν' Pohlenz).
7 Μανεθώς Squire: μάνεθος.
8 ἐπιστρέφει ποτὲ F.C.B.: ἐπιστρέφει τότε in one ms., ἐπι- στρέφεται τέ in the rest.

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Serapis, and Sothis in Egyptian signifies "pregnancy" (cyesis) or "to be pregnant" (cyein): therefore in Greek, with a change of accent, the star is called the Dog-star (Cyon), which they regard as the special star of Isis. Least of all is there any need of being very eager in learning about these names. However, I would rather make a concession to the Egyptians in regard to Serapis than in regard to Osiris; for I regard Serapis as foreign, but Osiris as Greek, and both as belonging to one god and one power.

62. Like these also are the Egyptian beliefs; for they oftentimes call Isis by the name of Athena, expressive of some such idea as this, "I came of myself," which is indicative of self-impelled motion. Typhon, as has been said, is named Seth and Bebon and Smu, and these names would indicate some forcible and preventive check or opposition or reversal. Moreover, they call the loadstone the bone of Horus, and iron the bone of Typhon, as Manetho records. For, as the iron oftentimes acts as if it were being attracted and drawn toward the stone, and oftentimes is rejected and repelled in the opposite direction, in the same way the salutary and good and rational movement of the world at one time, by persuasion, attracts and draws toward itself and renders more

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a Plutarch attempts to connect κύων, "dog," with κυών, the present participle of κυων, "to be pregnant."

b Cf. 359 c-e and 365 v, supra.

c 367 d and 371 b, supra.

d Cf. 371 b, supra. e Frag. 77.

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9 μαλακωτέραν Reiske: μαλακώτερον.
10 ακληραν...τυφώνειον Markland: ακληριάν...τυφώνιον.
(376) ἐκεῖνην καὶ τυφώνειν, εἰτ' αὖθις ἀνασχεθείσα εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἀνέστρεψε1 καὶ κατέδυσεν εἰς τὴν ἁπορίαν.

'Ετι φησὶ περὶ τοῦ Διὸς ὁ Εὐδοξὸς μυθολογεῖν Ἀγνυπτίους, ὡς τῶν σκελῶν συμπεφυκότων αὐτῷ μὴ δυνάμενος βαδίζειν, ύπ' αἰσχύνης ἐν2 ἐρημία διέτριβεν. ἢ δ' Ἰωσ διατεμοῦσα καὶ διαστήσασα τὰ μέρη ταῦτα τοῦ σώματος ἀρτίποδα τὴν πορείαν παρέσχεν. αἰνίττεται δὲ καὶ διὰ τούτων ὁ μῦθος ὅτι καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ νοῦς καὶ λόγος ἐν τῷ ἀοράτῳ καὶ ἀφανεὶ βεβηκὼς εἰς γένεσιν3 ὑπὸ κινήσεως προῆλθεν.

63. Ἐμφαίνει καὶ τὸ σείστρον, ὅτι σείεσθαι δεῖ τὰ ὄντα καὶ μηδέποτε παύεσθαι φόρας, ἀλλ' οὖν ἔξεγείρεσθαι καὶ κλονείσθαι καταδαρθάνοντα καὶ Ε μαρανόμενα. τὸν γὰρ Τυφώνα φασὶ τοὺς σείστρους ἀποτρέπειν καὶ ἀποκρούσθαι δηλοῦντες ὅτι τῆς φθορᾶς συνδεόσθην καὶ ἱστάσθη, αὖθις ἀναλύει τὴν φύσιν καὶ ἀνίστησι διὰ τῆς κινήσεως ἡ γένεσις.

Τοῦ δὲ σείστρου περιφεροῦσ ἀνωθὲν ὄντος, ἡ ἀψὶ4 περιέχει τὰ σείσμενα τέτταρα. καὶ γὰρ ἡ γεννωμένη καὶ φθειρωμένη μοῦρα τοῦ κόσμου περι- ἔχεται μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς σεληνιακῆς σφαίρας, κινεῖται δ' ἐν αὐτῇ πάντα καὶ μεταβάλλεται διὰ τῶν τεταρτῶν στοιχείων, πυρὸς καὶ γῆς καὶ ὦδας καὶ αἵρος. τῇ δ' ἀφίδι τοῦ σείστρου κατὰ κορυφὴν ἐντορεύου- Ε σιν αἰλουρον ἀνθρώπῳ πρόσωπον ἔχοντα, κάτω δ' ὑπὸ τὰ σείσμενα πῇ μὲν Ἰσίδος πῇ δὲ Νέφθυος πρόσωπου, αἰνιττόμενοι τοῖς μὲν προσώποις γένεσιν καὶ τελευτὴν (αὐταὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ τῶν στοιχείων μετα-

1 ἀνέστρεψε] ἀπέστρεψε Holwerda.
2 ἐν added by Wyttenbach.
3 γένεσιν] γέννησιν Hartman. 4 ἀψὶ Aldine ed.: ὀψὶς.

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gentle that harsh and Typhonian movement, and then again it gathers itself together and reverses it and plunges it into difficulties.

Moreover, Eudoxus says that the Egyptians have a mythical tradition in regard to Zeus that, because his legs were grown together, he was not able to walk, and so, for shame, tarried in the wilderness; but Isis, by severing and separating those parts of his body, provided him with means of rapid progress. This fable teaches by its legend that the mind and reason of the god, fixed amid the unseen and invisible, advanced to generation by reason of motion.

The sistrum (rattle) also makes it clear that all things in existence need to be shaken, or rattled about, and never to cease from motion but, as it were, to be waked up and agitated when they grow drowsy and torpid. They say that they avert and repel Typhon by means of the sistums, indicating thereby that when destruction constricts and checks Nature, generation releases and arouses it by means of motion.a

The upper part of the sistrum is circular and its circumference contains the four things that are shaken; for that part of the world which undergoes reproduction and destruction is contained underneath the orb of the moon, and all things in it are subjected to motion and to change through the four elements: fire, earth, water, and air. At the top of the circumference of the sistrum they construct the figure of a cat with a human face, and at the bottom, below the things that are shaken, the face of Isis on one side, and on the other the face of Nephthys. By these faces they symbolize birth and death, for these are the changes and movements of the elements; and by

a Cf. 375 v, supra.
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βολαί καὶ κινήσεις), τῷ δ' αἰλούρῳ τὴν σελήνην διὰ τὸ πουκιλον καὶ νυκτουργόν καὶ γόνιμον τοῦ θηρίου. λέγεται γὰρ ἐν τίκτειν, εἴτε δύο καὶ τρία καὶ τέσσαρα καὶ πέντε· καὶ καθ' ἐν οὔτως ἄχρι τῶν ἐπτά προστίθησιν, ὡστ' ὅκτω καὶ εἴκοσι τὰ πάντα τίκτειν, ὁσα καὶ τῆς σελήνης φῶτ' ἔστω. τοῦτο μὲν 

F οὖν ἵσως μυθωδέστερον· αἱ δ' ἐν τοῖς ὁμμασιν αὐτοῦ κόραι πληροῦσαι μὲν καὶ πλατύνεσθαι δοκοῦσιν ἐν πανσελήνης, λεπτύνεσθαι δὲ καὶ μαραγεῖν ἐν ταῖς μειώσει τοῦ ἀστρον. τῷ δ' ἀνθρωπομόρφῳ τοῦ αἰλούρου τὸ νοερὸν καὶ λογικὸν ἔμφαινεται τῶν περὶ τήν σελήνην μεταβολῶν.

64. Συνελόντι δ' εἰπεῖν οὐθ' ὑδωρ οὐθ' ἡλιον οὔτε γῆν οὔτ' οὐρανὸν ὁσιριν ἡ Ὁσιν ὁρθώς ἔχει νομίζειν, οὔτε πῦρ Τυφῶνα πάλιν οὔτ' αὐχμὸν οὕδε θάλασσαν, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς ὄσον ἐστίν ἐν τούτοις ἀ-377 μετρον καὶ ἀτακτον ὑπερβολαῖς ἡ ἐνδείας Τυφῶν προσνέμοντες, τὸ δὲ κεκοσμημένον καὶ ἁγαθὸν καὶ ὑφέλιμον ὡς Ἰσιδος μὲν ἔργον εἰκόνα δὲ καὶ μι-μμα καὶ λόγον ὁσιριδός σεβόμενοι καὶ τιμώντες, οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοιμεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Εὐδοξὸν ἀπιστοῦντα παύσομεν καὶ διαποροῦντα πῶς οὔτε Δήμητρι τῆς τῶν ἑρωτικῶν ἐπιμελείας μέτεστιν ἀλλ' Ἰσιδι, τὸ τε1 Διόνυσον οὐ τὸν Νεῖλον αὐξεῖν οὔτε τῶν τεθηκότων ἀρχεῖν δύνασθαι.2 ένι γὰρ λόγῳ κοινῷ τοὺς θεοὺς τοῦτος περὶ πᾶσαν ἁγα-θοῦ μοῖραν ἣγούμεθα τετάχθαι, καὶ πᾶν ὄσον ένεστι

1 τὸ τε E. Capps: τόν τε.
2 δύνασθαι Helmbold: δυνάμενον.

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b Cf. 367 d, supra.
the cat they symbolize the moon because of the varied, colouring, nocturnal activity, and fecundity of the animal. For the cat is said to bring forth first one, then two and three and four and five, thus increasing the number by one until she reaches seven, so that she brings forth in all twenty-eight, the number also of the moon’s illuminations. Perhaps, however, this may seem somewhat mythical. But the pupils in the eye of the cat appear to grow large and round at the time of full moon, and to become thin and narrow at the time of the wanings of that heavenly body. By the human features of the cat is indicated the intelligence and the reason that guides the changes of the moon.

64. To put the matter briefly, it is not right to believe that water or the sun or the earth or the sky is Osiris or Isis; or again that fire or drought or the sea is Typhon, but simply if we attribute to Typhon whatever there is in these that is immoderate and disordered by reason of excesses or defects; and if we revere and honour what is orderly and good and beneficial as the work of Isis and as the image and reflection and reason of Osiris, we shall not be wrong. Moreover, we shall put a stop to the incredulity of Eudoxus and his questionings how it is that Demeter has no share in the supervision of love affairs, but Isis has; and the fact that Dionysus cannot cause the Nile to rise, nor rule over the dead. For by one general process of reasoning do we come to the conclusion that these gods have been assigned to preside over every portion of what is good; and whatever there is in nature that is fair and

\[ \text{Cf. 363 d and 364 d, supra.} \]
\[ \text{Cf. 364 a and 369 a, supra.} \]
\[ \text{Frag. 63.} \]
(377) τῇ φύσει καλὸν καὶ ἁγαθὸν διὰ τοὺτος ὑπάρχειν, τὸν μὲν διδόντα τὰς ἀρχὰς, τὴν δ' ὑποδεχομένην Β καὶ διανέμουσαν.

65. Οὗτω δὲ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ φορτικοῖς ἐπι- 

χειρῆσομεν, εἰτε ταῖς καθ' ὥραν μεταβολαῖς τοῦ 

περιέχοντος εἰτε ταῖς καρπῶν γενέσει καὶ σπορά 

καὶ ἀρτότοις χαίροντι τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺτοὺς1 

συνοικείοντες, καὶ λέγοντες θάπτεσθαι μὲν τὸν 

"Οσιρὶν, ὅτε κρύπτεται τῇ γῇ2 σπειρόμενος ὁ καρ- 

πός, αὕθης δ' ἀναβιοῦσθαι καὶ ἀναφαίνεσθαι, ὅτε 

βλαστήσως ἀρχή. διὸ καὶ λέγεται3 τὴν Ἰσων 

αισθομένην ὅτι κυνὶ περιάψασθαι φυλακτήριον ἕκτη 

μνῆς ἴσταμένου Φαωφί. τίκτεσθαι δὲ τὸν Ἀρτο- 

C κράτην περὶ τροπᾶς χειμερινὰς ἀτελὴ καὶ νεαρῶν 

ἐν τοῖς προανθοῦσι καὶ προβλαστάνουσι. διὸ καὶ 

φακῶν αὐτῶν φυομένων ἀπαρχῶς ἐπιφέρουσι, τὰς 

δὲ λοχείους ἡμέρας ἐφορτάζειν μετὰ τὴν ἑαρνή 

ἰσημερίαν. ταῦτα γὰρ ἄκουοντες ἄγαπώσθαι καὶ 

πιστεύοντες, αὐτοθέν ἐκ τῶν προχείρων καὶ συν- 

ήθων τὸ πιθανὸν ἔλκοντες.

66. Καὶ δεινὸν οὐδέν, ἀν πρῶτον μὲν ἡμῖν τοὺς 

θεοὺς φυλάττουσι κοινοὺς καὶ μὴ ποιῶσιν Ἀιγυ- 

πτίων ἰδίους, μηδὲ Νείλον ἦν τε Νείλος ἄρδει μόνην 

χῶραν τοῖς ὁνόμασι τοῦτοις καταλαμβάνοντες, μηδ' 

ἔλη μηδὲ λυτοὺς μόνην4 θεοποιάν λέγοντες ἀπο- 

στερώσι μεγάλων θεῶν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους, οἷς 

D Νείλος μὲν οὐκ έστιν οὐδὲ Βούτος οὐδὲ Μέμφις. 

Ἰσων δὲ καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὴν θεοὺς ἔχουσι καὶ

1 τοὺτοὺς] τοῦτοις Madvig. 2 τῇ γῇ Bentley: τῆς γῆς.
4 μόνην F.C.B.: μή.

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a Cf. 378 b, infra. b Cf. 358 d, supra.
good exists entirely because of them, inasmuch as Osiris contributes the origins, and Isis receives them and distributes them.

65. In this way we shall undertake to deal with the numerous and tiresome people, whether they be such as take pleasure in associating theological problems with the seasonal changes in the surrounding atmosphere, or with the growth of the crops and seed-times and ploughing; and also those who say that Osiris is being buried at the time when the grain is sown and covered in the earth and that he comes to life and reappears when plants begin to sprout. For this reason also it is said that Isis, when she perceived that she was pregnant, put upon herself an amulet\(^a\) on the sixth day of the month Phaophi; and about the time of the winter solstice she gave birth to Harpocrates, imperfect and premature,\(^b\) amid the early flowers and shoots. For this reason they bring to him as an offering the first-fruits of growing lentils, and the days of his birth they celebrate after the spring equinox. When the people hear these things, they are satisfied with them and believe them, deducing the plausible explanation directly from what is obvious and familiar.

66. And there is nothing to fear if, in the first place, they preserve for us our gods that are common to both peoples and do not make them to belong to the Egyptians only, and do not include under these names the Nile alone and the land which the Nile waters, and do not assert that the marshes and the lotus are the only work of God’s hand, and if they do not deny the great gods to the rest of mankind that possess no Nile nor Buto nor Memphis. But as for Isis, and the gods associated with her, all peoples own them and are
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(377) γιγνώσκουσιν ἄπαντες, ἐνίους μὲν οὐ πάλαι τοῖς παρ' Ἀιγυπτίωις ὄνομασι καλεῖν μεμαθηκότες, ἐκάστου δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπιστάμενοι καὶ τιμῶντες.

Δεύτερον, οἱ μεῖζον ἐστὶν, ὅτις σφόδρα προσέξουσι καὶ φοβήσονται, μὴ λάθωσιν εἰς πνεύματα καὶ ρεύματα καὶ σπόρους καὶ ἀρότους καὶ πάθη γῆς καὶ μεταβολὰς ὥρῶν διαγράφοντες τὰ θεία καὶ διαλύουσι: ὥσπερ οἱ Διόνυσον τὸν οἶνον, Ἡφαιστον δὲ τὴν φλόγα. Φερσεφόνην δὲ φησίν ποιεῖν Κλεάνθης τὸ διὰ τῶν καρπῶν φερόμενον καὶ φονευόμενον πνεῦμα. ποιητὴς δὲ τις ἐπὶ τῶν θεριζόντων
tῆμος ὅτ' αἰζηοὶ Δημήτερα κωλοτομεῦσιν.

Ε οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω διαφέρουσι τῶν ἱστία καὶ κάλως1 καὶ ἁγκυραν ἡγουμένων κυβερνήτην, καὶ νήματα καὶ κρόκας ψάντην καὶ σπονδεῖον ἡ μελίκρατον ἡ πτισάνην ἑατρόν. ἄλλα2 δεινὰ καὶ θεόν εἴμποιουσι δόξας, ἀναισθήτους καὶ ἁψύχους καὶ φθειρομένας ἀναγκαίως ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων δεομένων καὶ χρωμένων φύσει καὶ πράγμασιν ὄνοματα θεῶν ἐπιφέροντες.

Ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ αὐτὰ νοῆσαι θεοῦς οὐκ ἐστὶν.

F (67.) οὐ γὰρ ἄνουν3 οὐδ' ἁμύχον οὐδ'4 ἀνθρώπους ὅ θεος ὑποχείριν. ἀπὸ τούτων δὲ τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτοῖς ὄρουμένους ἡμῖν καὶ παρέχοντας ἀέναα καὶ διαρκῆ θεοῦς ἐνόμισαμεν, οὐχ ἐτέρους παρ' ἐτέρους

1 κάλως Xylander: κάλους.
2 ἄλλα] ἀμα δὲ Bentley.
3 ἄνουν Reiske: οὖν.
4 οὐδ' added by Bentley.

a Cf. Moralia, 757 b-c.
b Frag. 547.

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familiar with them, although they have learned not so very long ago to call some of them by the names which come from the Egyptians; yet they have from the beginning understood and honoured the power which belongs to each one of them.

In the second place, and this is a matter of greater importance, they should exercise especial heed and caution lest they unwittingly erase and dissipate things divine into winds and streams and sowings and ploughings, developments of the earth and changes of the seasons, as do those who regard wine as Dionysus and flame as Hephaestus. And Cleanthes says somewhere that the breath of air which is carried through the crops and then suffers dissolution is Phersephone; and a certain poet has written with reference to the reapers,

Then when the sturdy youth come to sever the limbs of Demeter.

The fact is that these persons do not differ at all from those who regard sails and ropes and anchor as a pilot, warp and woof as a weaver, a cup or an honey mixture or barley gruel as a physician. But they create in men fearful atheistic opinions by conferring the names of gods upon natural objects which are senseless and inanimate, and are of necessity destroyed by men when they need to use them.

It is impossible to conceive of these things as being gods in themselves; (67.) for God is not senseless nor inanimate nor subject to human control. As a result of this we have come to regard as gods those who make use of these things and present them to us and provide us with things everlasting and constant. Nor do we think of the gods as different gods among
οὐδὲ βαρβάρους καὶ Ἐλληνας οὐδὲ νοτίους καὶ βορείους· ἀλλ’ ὄσπερ ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ οὐρανός καὶ γῆ καὶ θάλασσα κοινὰ πᾶσιν, ὁνομάζεται δ’ ἄλλως ὕπ’ ἄλλων, οὔτως εὖς λόγον τοῦ ταῦτα
378 κοσμοῦντος καὶ μιᾶς προνοίας ἐπιτροπευοῦσης καὶ
dυνάμεων ὑπουργῶν ἐπὶ πάντα1 τεταγμένων, ἔτεραν
παρ’ ἐτέρους κατὰ νόμους γεγονασι τιμαὶ καὶ προσ-
ηγορίαι; καὶ συμβόλως χρώντα καθιερωμένοι οἱ
μὲν2 ἄμυδροις οἱ δὲ τρανοτέρους ἐπὶ τὰ θεία τὴν
νόησιν ὀθηγοῦντες οὐκ ἀκινδύνως. ένιοι γὰρ ἀπο-
σφαλέστες παντάπασιν εἰς δεισιδαιμονίαν ὠλισθον,
oi de fe'ugontes wospere éllos3 tihn deisisdaimonían
élathon aúthís wospere eis kρημνón empseontes tihn
átheóttta.

68. Διό δεὶ μάλιστα πρὸς ταῦτα λόγον ἐκ
φιλοσοφίας μυσταγωγὸν ἀναλαβόντας ὅσιως δια-

βνοεῖσθαι τῶν λεγομένων καὶ δρωμένων ἐκαστον,
ивα μή, καθάπερ Ὅδωρος εἰπε τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ
tῇ δεξιᾷ προτείνοντος ἐνίοις τῇ ἀριστερᾷ δέχεσθαι
tῶν ἀκρωμένων, οὔτως ἤμεις ἃ καλῶς οἱ νόμοι
περὶ τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ἐορτὰς ἔταξαν ἐτέρως υπο-
lamβάνοντες ἐξαμάρτωμεν. ὅτι γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον
ἀνοιστέον ἄπαντα, καὶ παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἔστι
λαβεῖν. τῇ μὲν γὰρ ἐνάτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ πρώτου
μινὸς ἐορτάζοντες τῷ Ἔρμῃ μέλι καὶ σύκον
ἔσθιον εἰπελέγοντες, “γλυκὺ ἡ ἀλήθεια.” τὸ δὲ

1 πάντα Markland: πάντας.
2 καθιερωμένοι οἱ μὲν Salmasius: καθιερωμένοι μὲν.
3 éllos Xylander: ἐδος or ἐδος.

See the note at the end of chapter 11 (355 ν, supra).
Cf. Moralia, 467 b.
different peoples, nor as barbarian gods and Greck
gods, nor as southern and northern gods; but, just as
the sun and the moon and the heavens and the earth
and the sea are common to all, but are called by
different names by different peoples, so for that one
rationality which keeps all these things in order and
the one Providence which watches over them and
the ancillary powers that are set over all, there have
arisen among different peoples, in accordance with
their customs, different honours and appellations.
Thus men make use of consecrated symbols, some
employing symbols that are obscure, but others those
that are clearer, in guiding the intelligence toward
things divine, though not without a certain hazard.
For some go completely astray and become engulfed
in superstition; and others, while they fly from
superstition\(^a\) as from a quagmire, on the other hand
unwittingly fall, as it were, over a precipice into
atheism.

68. Wherefore in the study of these matters it is
especially necessary that we adopt, as our guide in
these mysteries, the reasoning that comes from
philosophy, and consider reverently each one of the
things that are said and done, so that, to quote
Theodorus,\(^b\) who said that while he offered the good
word with his right hand some of his auditors received
it in their left, we may not thus err by accepting in a
different spirit the things that the laws have dictated
admirably concerning the sacrifices and festivals.
The fact that everything is to be referred to reason
we may gather from the Egyptians themselves; for
on the nineteenth day of the first month, when they
are holding festival in honour of Hermes, they eat
honey and a fig; and as they eat they say, "A sweet
(378) τῆς "Ισιδος φυλακτήριον, ὁ περιάπτεσθαι μυθο-
λογούσων αὐτῆς, ἐξερμηνεύεται "φωνὴ ἀληθῆς."
C τὸν δ' Ἀρποκράτην οὔτε θεόν ἀτελῆ καὶ νήπιον
οὔτε χεδρόπων¹ τινὰ νομιστεόν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ περὶ
θεῶν ἐν ἀνθρώπωι λόγου νεαρὸν καὶ ἄτελοὺς καὶ
ἀδιαρθρώτου προστάτην καὶ σωφρονιστὴν. διὸ τῷ
στόματι τὸν δάκτυλον ἔχει προσκείμενον ἐχεμυθίας
καὶ σωπῆς σύμβολον. ἐν δὲ τῷ Μεσορή μην τῶν
χεδρόπων ἐπιφέροντες λέγουσιν, "γλώττα τύχη,
γλώττα δαίμων." τῶν δ' ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ φυτῶν
μάλιστα τῇ θεῷ καθιερώθαι λέγουσι τὴν περσέαν,
ὅτι καρδία μὲν ὁ καρπὸς αὐτῆς, γλώττῃ δὲ τὸ
φύλλον ἔοικεν. οὔδὲν γὰρ ὃν ἀνθρώπος ἔχει
πέφυκε θείατερον λόγου καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ περὶ θεῶν,
D οὔδὲ μείζονα ῥοπῆν ἔχει πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν. διὸ τῷ
μὲν εἰς τὸ χρηστήριον ἐνταῦθα κατιόντι παρεγ-
γυώμεν ὅσια φρονεῖν, εὐφημία² λέγειν. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ
geloia δρῶσιν ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἑορταῖς
εὐφημίαι προκηρύσσοντες, εἰτὰ περὶ τῶν θεῶν
αὐτῶν τὰ δυσφημότατα καὶ λέγοντες καὶ δια-
νοούμενοι.

69. Πῶς οὖν χρηστέον ἐστὶ ταῖς σκυθρωπαῖς καὶ
ἀγελάστοις καὶ πενθίμοις θυσίαις, εἰ μήτε παρα-
λείπειν³ τὰ νεομοιμένα καλῶς ἔχει μήτε φύρειν
τὰς περὶ θεῶν δόξας καὶ συνταραττέων ὑποψίαις
ἀτόποις; καὶ παρ' Ἐλλησὶν ὅμοια πολλὰ γίγνεται
περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ὁμοῦ τῷ χρόνῳ, ὡς Αἰγύπτιοι δρῶ-

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¹ χεδρόπων Emperius: χεδρόπων.
² εὐφημία Meziriacus: εὐσχήμα.
³ παραλείπειν Bernardakis: παραλείπειν.

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a Cf. 377 b, supra.
thing is Truth.” The amulet of Isis, which they traditionally assert that she hung about her neck, is interpreted “a true voice.” And Harpocrates is not to be regarded as an imperfect and an infant god, nor some deity or other that protects legumes, but as the representative and corrector of unseasoned, imperfect, and inarticulate reasoning about the gods among mankind. For this reason he keeps his finger on his lips in token of restrained speech or silence. In the month of Mesorē they bring to him an offering of legumes and say, “The tongue is luck, the tongue is god.” Of the plants in Egypt they say that the persea is especially consecrated to the goddess because its fruit resembles a heart and its leaf a tongue. The fact is that nothing of man’s usual possessions is more divine than reasoning, especially reasoning about the gods; and nothing has a greater influence toward happiness. For this reason we give instructions to anyone who comes down to the oracle here to think holy thoughts and to speak words of good omen. But the mass of mankind act ridiculously in their processions and festivals in that they proclaim at the outset the use of words of good omen, but later they both say and think the most unhallowed thoughts about the very gods.

69. How, then, are we to deal with their gloomy, solemn, and mournful sacrifices, if it be not proper either to omit the customary ceremonials or to confound and confuse our opinions about the gods by unwarranted suspicions? Among the Greeks also many things are done which are similar to the Egyptian ceremonies in the shrines of Isis, and they do them at

\[b\] The regular proclamation (εὐθημεῖτε) used by the Greeks at the beginning of any ceremony.
καὶ γὰρ Ἁθήνησι νηστεύουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν Θεσμοφορίας χαμαὶ καθήμεναι, καὶ Βοιωτοὶ τὰ τῆς Ἀχαιᾶς μέγαρα κινοῦσιν ἐπαχθῆ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐκεῖνην ὅνομάζοντες, ὥς διὰ τὴν τῆς Κόρης κάθοδον ἐν ἄχει τῆς Δήμητρος οὐσίας. έστι δ᾿ ὁ μὴν οὖσος περὶ Πλειάδας ᾧ σπόριμος, ὅν Ἀθήνης, Αἰγύπτιος, Πυπανεμένων δ᾿ Ἀθηναίοι, Βοιώτοι δὲ Δαματρίων καλοῦσιν. τοὺς δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέραν οἰκούντας ἱστορεῖ Θεόπομπος ἦγεΐσθαι καὶ καλεῖν τὸν μὲν χειμῶνα Κρόνον, τὸ δὲ χειρὸς Ἀφροδίτην, F τὸ δ᾿ ἐν πέρεφονην, ἐκ δὲ Κρόνου καὶ Ἀφροδίτης γεννᾶσθαι πάντα. Φρύγες δὲ τὸν θεὸν οἴομενοι χειμῶνος καθεύδειν, θέρους δ᾿ ἐγγηγορέναι, τοτὲ μὲν κατευναμοῦσιν, τοτὲ δ᾿ ἀνεγέρσεις βακχεύοντες αὐτῷ τελοῦσιν. Παφλαγόνες δὲ καταδείκται καὶ καθείργυνονθαι χειμῶνος, ἤπρος δὲ κινεῖσθαι καὶ ἀναλυεῖσθαι φάσκουν.

70. Καὶ δίδωσιν ὁ καίρος ὑπόνοιαν ἐπὶ τῶν καρπῶν τῇ ἀποκρύφις γενέσθαι τὸν σκυθρωπασμὸν, οὔς οἱ παλαιοὶ θεοῦς μὲν οὐκ ἐνόμιζον, ἀλλὰ δῶρα θεῶν ἀναγκαῖα καὶ μεγάλα πρὸς τὸ μὴ ζην ἀγρίως καὶ θηρῳδῶς. καθ᾿ ἦν δ᾿ ὁ ὤραν τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ δένδρων ἑώρων ἀφαιρεσίμονοι παντάπασιν καὶ ἀπολείποντας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν κατέσπειρον ἐτὶ γλύσχρως καὶ ἀπόρως, διαμόμονοι ταῖς χερσὶ τὴν

1 Ἰσείως [όσίως in most mss.
2 κινοῦσιν] various emendations have been proposed, κενοῦσιν, κοινοῦσιν, κλείουσιν, and one ms. seems to have κοινοῦσιν, but none makes the meaning clear.
3 Πλειάδας Xylander: πλείάδα.
4 ἀπὸ] ἀπὸ τῶν Reiske.
5 τοὺς Wytenbach: οὕς.
6 κατέσπειρον Holwerda: κατὰ σπείραν ορ κατασπείραντες.
about the same time. At Athens the women fast at the Thesmophoria sitting upon the ground; and the Boeotians move the halls of the Goddess of Sorrow and name that festival the Festival of Sorrow,\(^a\) since Demeter is in sorrow because of her Daughter’s descent to Pluto’s realm. This month, in the season of the Pleiades, is the month of seeding which the Egyptians call Athyr, the Athenians Pyanepsion, and the Boeotians Damatrius.\(^b\) Theopompus\(^c\) records that the people who live toward the west believe that the winter is Cronus, the summer Aphrodite, and the spring Persephonē, and that they call them by these names and believe that from Cronus and Aphrodite all things have their origin. The Phrygians, believing that the god is asleep in the winter and awake in the summer, sing lullabies for him in the winter and in the summer chants to arouse him, after the manner of bacchic worshippers. The Paphlagonians assert that in the winter he is bound fast and imprisoned, but that in the spring he bestirs himself and sets himself free again.

70. The season of the year also gives us a suspicion that this gloominess is brought about because of the disappearance from our sight of the crops and fruits that people in days of old did not regard as gods, but as necessary and important contributions of the gods toward the avoidance of a savage and a bestial life. At the time of year when they saw some of the fruits vanishing and disappearing completely from the trees, while they themselves were sowing others in a mean and poverty-stricken fashion still, scraping

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\(a\) Cf. Pausanias, ix. 8. 1, and Preller, \textit{Griechische Mythologie}^4, i. 752, note 3; but the matter is very uncertain.

\(b\) The month sacred to Demeter.

\(c\) Frag. 335.
(379) γῆν καὶ περιστέλλοντες αὖθις, ἐπ’ ἀδήλῳ τῷ πάλιν ἐκτελείσθαι καὶ συντελείαν ἔξεν ἀποθέμενοι, πολλὰ θάπτοντο νόμοια καὶ πενθοῦσιν ἔπραττον. εἰθ’ ὁσπερ ἠμεῖς τὸν ὑπομενόν βιβλία Πλάτωνος ὑνείσθαι φαμεν Πλάτωνα, καὶ Μένανδρον ὑποκρίνεσθαι τὸν τὰ Μενάνδρου ποιήματα διατιθέμενον,2 οὕτως ἐκεῖνοι τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ὅνομαι τα τῶν θεῶν δῶρα 
Β καὶ ποιήματα καλεῖν οὐκ ἐφείδοντο, τιμῶντες ὑπὸ χρείας καὶ σεμνύοντες. οἱ δ’ ὦστερον ἀπαιδεύτως δεχόμενοι καὶ ἀμαθῶς ἀναστρέφοντες ἔπι τοὺς θεοὺς τὰ πάθη τῶν καρπῶν, καὶ τὰς παρουσίας τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ ἀποκρύψεις θεῶν γενέσεις καὶ φθορὰς οὐ προσαγορεύοντες μόνον ἄλλα καὶ νομίζοντες, ἀτόπων καὶ παρανόμων καὶ τεταραγμένων δοξῶν αὕτως ἔνεπλησαν, καίτοι τοῦ παραλόγου τὴν ἀτοπίαν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἔχοντες. εὖ μὲν οὖν3 Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἦξισσε4 τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, εἰ 
C θεοὺς νομίζουσι, μὴ θρηνεῖν, εἰ δὲ θρηνοῦσι, θεοὺς μὴ νομίζειν. ἀλλο τι ἦ γελοιοι ἀμα θρηνοῦντας εὐχεσθαι τοὺς καρποὺς πάλιν ἀναφαίνει καὶ τελειών ἑαυτῶς, οὕτως πάλιν ἀνάλισκονται καὶ θρηνώνται; (71.) τὸ δ’ οὐκ ἔστι τοιοῦτον, ἄλλα θρη- 
νοοῦσι μὲν τοὺς καρποὺς, εὐχοῦσα δὲ τοῖς αἵτίοις καὶ 
δοτῆροι θεοὶ ἑτέρους πάλιν νέους ποιεῖν καὶ ἀνα- 
φύειν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων. οἴθεν ἀριστα λέγεται 

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1 ὑποκρίνεσθαι τὸν in one ms.: τὸν ὑποκρίνεσθαι. 
2 διατιθέμενον Wyttenbach: ὑποτιθέμενον. 
3 εὖ μὲν οὖν Bernardakis: οὐ μόνον. 
4 ἦξισσε Wyttenbach: ἦ ἦξις οἰ. 
5 ἀλλο τι η F.C.B.: ἀλλ’ ὅτι. 

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a Cf. Diels, Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, i. 44, Xenophanes, no. a 13; also Moralia, 171 d, 228 e, and 763 d; and Hera- 
cleitus, no. b 127 (Diels, i. 103).

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away the earth with their hands and again replacing it, committing the seeds to the ground with uncertain expectation of their ever appearing again or coming to fruition, they did many things like persons at a funeral in mourning for their dead. Then again, even as we speak of the man who buys the books of Plato as "buying Plato," and of the man who represents the poems of Menander as "acting Menander," even so those men of old did not refrain from calling by the names of the gods the gifts and creations of the gods, honouring and venerating them because of the need which they had for them. The men of later times accepted this blindly, and in their ignorance referred to the gods the behaviour of the crops and the presence and disappearance of necessities, not only calling them the births and deaths of the gods, but even believing that they are so; and thus they filled their minds with absurd, unwarranted, and confused opinions although they had before their eyes the absurdity of such illogical reasoning. Rightly did Xenophanes a of Colophon insist that the Egyptians, if they believed these to be gods, should not lament them; but if they lamented them, they should not believe them to be gods. Is it anything but ridiculous amid their lamentations to pray that the powers may cause their crops to sprout again and bring them to perfection in order that they again be consumed and lamented? (71.) This is not quite the case: but they do lament for their crops and they do pray to the gods, who are the authors and givers, that they produce and cause to grow afresh other new crops to take the place of those that are undergoing destruction. Hence it is an excellent saying current
(379) παρὰ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις τὸ τοὺς μη μανθάνοντας ὀρθῶς ἀκούειν ὄνοματων κακῶς χρησθαι καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν· ἀσπερ 'Ελληνων οἱ τὰ χαλκὰ καὶ τὰ γραπτὰ καὶ λίθων μὴ μαθόντες μηδ' ἐθυσθέντες

D ἵγαλματα καὶ τιμᾶς θεῶν, ἀλλὰ θεοὺς καλεῖν, εἰτα τολμῶντες λέγειν, ὡς τὴν 'Αθηνᾶν Λαχάρης ἔξεδυσε, τὸν δ' Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσοὺς βοστρύχους ἔχοντα Διονύσιος ἀπέκειρεν, ὅ ὂς Ζεῦς ὁ Καπετώλιος περὶ τὸν ἐμφύλον πόλεμον ἐνεπρήθη καὶ διεφθάρη, λανθάνουσι1 συνεφελκόμενοι2 καὶ παραδεχόμενοι δόξας πονηρὰς ἐπομένας τοὺς ὀνόμασιν.

Τούτῳ δ' οὖχ ἦκοστα πεπόνθασιν Αἰγυπτίοι περὶ τὰ τιμῶμενα τῶν ζῶν. 'Ελληνες μὲν γὰρ ἐν γε τούτοις λέγουσιν ὀρθῶς καὶ νομίζουσιν ἵναν 'Αφροδίτης ζῶον εἶναι τὴν περιστερὰν καὶ τὸν δράκοντα τῆς 'Αθηνᾶς καὶ τὸν κόρακα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τὸν κύνα τῆς 'Αρτέμιδος, ὡς Εὐριπίδης

E 'Εκάτης ἀγαλμα φωσφόρου κύων ἔση.3

Αἰγυπτίων δ' οἱ πολλοὶ θεραπεύοντες αὐτὰ τὰ ζῶα καὶ περιέποντες ὡς θεοὺς οὐ γέλωτος μόνον οὐδὲ χλευασμοῦ καταπεπλήκασι τὰς ἑρουργίας, ἀλλὰ τούτῳ τῆς ἀβελτερίας ἐλάχιστον ἐστὶ κακῶν· δόξα δ' ἐμφυτεῖ ἀθειή, τοὺς οὐν ἀθενεῖς καὶ ἀκάκους εἰς ἀκρατόν ὑπερείπουσα4 τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν, τοῖς

1 λανθάνουσι Baxter: μανθάνουσι.
2 συνεφελκόμενοι Bernardakis: σοῦν ἐφελκόμενοι
3 ἔση Xylander: ἔσσων.
4 ὑπερείπουσα Reiske: ὑπερείδουσα.

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* Cf. Moralia, 707 f.
* The gold was removed by him from the chryselephantine
among philosophers that they that have not learned to interpret rightly the sense of words are wont to bungle their actions.\footnote{For example, there are some among the Greeks who have not learned nor habituated themselves to speak of the bronze, the painted, and the stone effigies as statues of the gods and dedications in their honour, but they call them gods; and then they have the effrontery to say that Lachares stripped Athena,\footnote{That Dionysius sheared Apollo of the golden locks, and that Jupiter Capitolinus was burned and destroyed in the Civil War,\footnote{and thus they unwittingly take over and accept the vicious opinions that are the concomitants of these names. This has been to no small degree the experience of the Egyptians in regard to those animals that are held in honour. In these matters the Greeks are correct in saying and believing that the dove is the sacred bird of Aphroditē, that the serpent is sacred to Athena, the raven to Apollo, and the dog to Artemis—as Euripides\footnote{Dog you shall be, pet of bright Hecatē. But the great majority of the Egyptians, in doing service to the animals themselves and in treating them as gods, have not only filled their sacred offices with ridicule and derision, but this is the least of the evils connected with their silly practices. There is engendered a dangerous belief, which plunges the weak and innocent into sheer superstition, and in the case of the statue of Athena in the Parthenon; cf. W. B. Dinsmoor, Amer. Journ. Arch. xxxviii. (1934) p. 97.} says,}{\textit{Dog you shall be, pet of bright Hecatē.}}}{\textit{Dog you shall be, pet of bright Hecatē.}}}

But the great majority of the Egyptians, in doing service to the animals themselves and in treating them as gods, have not only filled their sacred offices with ridicule and derision, but this is the least of the evils connected with their silly practices. There is engendered a dangerous belief, which plunges the weak and innocent into sheer superstition, and in the case of the statue of Athena in the Parthenon; cf. W. B. Dinsmoor, \textit{Amer. Journ. Arch.} xxxviii. (1934) p. 97.

\footnote{July 6, 83 B.C., according to \textit{Life of Sulla}, chap. xxvii. (469 B.). The numerous references may be found in Roscher, \textit{Lexikon der gr. und röm. Mythologie}, ii. 714.}

\footnote{Nauck, \textit{Trag. Frag. Graec.}, Euripides, no. 968.}
δὲ δριμυτέρους καὶ θρασυτέρους εἰς ἀθέους ἐμπίπτουσα καὶ θηριώδεις λογισμοὺς. ἥ1 καὶ περὶ τούτων τὰ εἰκότα διελθεῖν οὐκ ἀνάρμοστόν ἐστι.

72. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ εἰς ταῦτα τὰ ξάφα τοὺς θεοὺς 
F τὸν Τυφώνα δείσαντας μεταβαλεῖν, οἶνον ἀποκρύπτοντας εἀυτοὺς σώμασιν ἱβεων καὶ κυνῶν καὶ ἱεράκων, πᾶσαν υπερπέπαικε τερατείαν καὶ μυθολογίαν· καὶ τὸ ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν θανόντων δοσὶ διαμένουσιν εἰς ταῦτα μόνα γίγνεσθαι τὴν παλιγγενεσίαν ὁμοίως ἀπίστων. τῶν δὲ βουλομένων πολιτικὴν τινα λέγειν αἰτίαν οἱ μὲν ὁσίων ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ στρατηγαφαίᾳ φασιν εἰς μέρη πολλὰ διανέμαντα 

380 ἐκαστὸν τῷ5 γένει τῶν συννεμηθέντων ἱερὸν γενέσθαι καὶ τίμιον· οἱ δὲ τοὺς ύπέρτοιοι βασιλεῖς ἐκ- 
πλῆξεςς ἕνεκα τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιφανεσθαι θηρίων χρυσῶν προτομάς καὶ ἀργυρᾶς περιτεθεμένους· ἀλλοι δὲ τώνδε τῶν δεινῶν τινα καὶ πανούργων 
βασιλέων ἱστοροῦσι τοὺς Ἑλληνικοὺς καταμαθοῦντα 

τῇ μὲν φύσει κούφους καὶ πρὸς μετ. βολὴν καὶ νεωτερισμὸν ἄξυρρότους οὐνας, ἀμαχον δὲ καὶ δυσκαθεκτὸν ὑπὸ πλῆθους δύναμιν ἐν τῷ συμφορεῖν6 καὶ κοινοπραγεῖν ἑχοντας, άιδιον αὐτοῖς ἐγκατασπεῖραι7 δείξαντα8 δεισδαιμονίαν, διαφορᾶς Β ἀπαυστον πρόφασιν. τῶν γὰρ θηρίων, ἀ προσ-

1 ἦ Xylander: ἡ.
2 ἡ added by Wytenbach.
3 Ἑλληνικῶς Xylander: Ἑλληνικάς.
4 δούναι Markland: δούναι καὶ.
5 ἐκαστὸν τῷ Salmasius: ἐκάστῳ.
6 συμφορεῖν Markland: συμφορεῖν.
7 ἐγκατασπεῖραι Meziriacus: ἐν κατασπορᾷ.
8 δείξαντα] διδάξαντα H. Richards.
more cynical and bold, goes off into atheistic and brutish reasoning.\(^a\) Wherefore it is not inappropriate to rehearse in some detail what seem to be the facts in these matters.

72. The notion that the gods, in fear of Typhon, changed themselves into these animals,\(^b\) concealing themselves, as it were, in the bodies of ibises, dogs, and hawks, is a play of fancy surpassing all the wealth of monstrous fable. The further notion that as many of the souls of the dead as continue to exist are reborn into these animals only is likewise incredible. Of those who desire to assign to this some political reason some relate that Osiris, on his great expedition, divided his forces into many parts, which the Greeks call squads and companies, and to them all he gave standards in the form of animals, each of which came to be regarded as sacred and precious by the descendants of them who had shared in the assignment. Others relate that the later kings, to strike their enemies with terror, appeared in battle after putting on gold and silver masks of wild beasts' heads. Others record that one of these crafty and unscrupulous kings,\(^c\) having observed that the Egyptians were by nature light-minded and readily inclined to change and novelty, but that, because of their numbers, they had a strength that was invincible and very difficult to check when they were in their sober senses and acted in concert, communicated to them and planted among them an everlasting superstition, a ground for unceasing quarrelling. For he enjoined

\(^a\) See the note on 355 D, \textit{supra}.
\(^b\) \textit{Cf.} Diodorus, i. 86. 3.
\(^c\) \textit{Ibid.} i. 89. 5 and 90.
(380) ἔταξεν ἄλλους ἄλλα τιμᾶν καὶ σέβεσθαι, δυσμενῶς καὶ πολεμικῶς ἀλλήλους προσφερομένων, καὶ τρόφην ἔτεραν ἔτερου1 προσίεσθαι πεφυκότος;2 ἀμύνοντες3 αἱ τοῖς οἰκείοις έκαστοι καὶ χαλεπῶς ἰδικομένων4 φέροντες ἐλάνθανον ταῖς τῶν θηρίων ἐχθραῖς συνεφελκόμενοι5 καὶ συνεκπολεμούμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. μόνοι γὰρ ἐτὶ νῦν Αἰγυπτίων Λυκοπολίται πρόβατον ἐσθίουσιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ λύκος, ὁν θεὸν νομίζουσιν· οἱ δ' 'Οξυρνγχῖται καθ' ἡμᾶς, τῶν Κυνοπολιτῶν τὸν ὄξυρνγχον ἰχθῦν ἐσθίοντων, κύνα6 συλλαβόντες καὶ θύσαντες ὡς ιερείον κατ-έφαγον· ἐκ δὲ τούτου καταστάντες εἰς πόλεμον ἀλλήλους τε διεθηκαν κακῶς καὶ ύστερον ὑπὸ 'Ῥωμαίων κολαζόμενοι διεσέθησαν.

73. Πολλών δὲ λεγόντων εἰς ταῦτα τὰ τῇ τοῦ Τυφῶνος αὐτοῦ διάρασθαι ψυχήν, αἰνίττεσθαι δόξειν ἃν ὁ μύθος ὅτι πᾶσα φύσις ἄλογος καὶ θηριώδης τῆς τοῦ κακοῦ δαίμονος γέγονε μοῖρας, κάκεινον ἐκμελισσόμενοι καὶ παρηγοροῦντες περι-έπουσι ταῦτα καὶ θεραπεύουσιν· ἃν δὲ πολὺς ἐμπίπτῃ καὶ χαλεπὸς αὐχμὸς ἐπάγων ὅπερβαλ-λόντως ἦ νόσους ὀλεθρίους ἦ συμφόρας ἀλλὰς παράλογους καὶ ἀλλοκότους, ἐνία τῶν τιμωμένων οἱ ιερεῖς ἀπάγοντες ὑπὸ σκότω μετὰ σιωπῆς καὶ D ἡσυχίας ἀπειλοῦσι καὶ δεδίττονται τὸ πρῶτον, ἃν

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1 ἔτερον Reiske: ἔτερον.
2 πεφυκότος Reiske (Wyettenbach prefers ἔτερων ἔτερα ... πεφυκότων: πεφυκότας).
3 ἀμύνοντες Xylander: ἀμύνοντας.
4 ἰδικομένων Markland: ἰδικομένοι.
5 συνεφελκόμενοi Wyettenbach: συνεφελκόμενοι.
6 κύνα Reiske: κύνας.

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a Cf. 353 c and 358 b, supra; Aelian, De Natura Animalium, xi. 27, and Juvenal, xv. 35.

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on different peoples to honour and revere different animals; and inasmuch as these animals conducted themselves with enmity and hostility toward one another, one by its nature desiring one kind of food and another another, the several peoples were ever defending their own animals, and were much offended if these animals suffered injury, and thus they were drawn on unwittingly by the enmities of the animals until they were brought into open hostility with one another. Even to-day the inhabitants of Lycopolis are the only people among the Egyptians that eat a sheep; for the wolf, whom they hold to be a god, also eats it. And in my day the people of Oxyrhynchus caught a dog and sacrificed it and ate it up as if it had been sacrificial meat, because the people of Cynopolis were eating the fish known as the oxyrhynchus or pike. As a result of this they became involved in war and inflicted much harm upon each other; and later they were both brought to order through chastisement by the Romans.

73. Many relate that the soul of Typhon himself was divided among these animals. The legend would seem to intimate that all irrational and brutish nature belongs to the portion of the evil deity, and in trying to soothe and appease him they lavish attention and care upon these animals. If there befall a great and severe drought that brings on in excess either fatal diseases or other unwonted and extraordinary calamities, the priests, under cover of darkness, in silence and stealth, lead away some of the animals that are held in honour; and at first they but threaten and terrify the animals, but if the drought still per-

b Cf. Mitteis und Wilcken, Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde, i. p. 125.
(380) δ’ ἐπιμένη, καθιερεύοντι καὶ σφάττουσιν, ὡς δὴ τινα κολασμὸν ὄντα τοῦ δαίμονος τούτον ἡ καθαρμὸν ἄλλως μέγαν ἐπὶ μεγίστοις· καὶ γὰρ ἐν Εἰλειθυίας πόλει ζωνταν ἀνθρώπους κατεπίμπρασαν ὡς Μανεθὼς ἱστορίκη, Τυφωνείους καλοῦντες, καὶ τὴν τέφραν αὐτῶν λικμῶντες ἡμᾶνίζον καὶ διέσπειρον. ἀλλὰ τούτο μὲν ἔδρατο φανερῶς καὶ καθ’ ἑνα καίρων ἐν ταῖς κυνᾶσιν ἡμέραις· αἱ δὲ τῶν τιμωμένων ζῶν καθιερεύσεις ἀπόρρηται καὶ Ε ἡρώοις ἀτάκτους πρὸς τὰ συμπίπτοντα γιγνόμενα τοὺς πολλοὺς λανθάνουσι, πλὴν ὅταν ταφάς ἔχωσι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀναδεικνύτες ἐνια πάντων παρόντων συνεμβάλλωσιν οἴομενοι τὸν Τυφώνος ἀντιλυτεῖν καὶ κολούειν τὸ ἱδόμενον. ὁ γὰρ Ἄπειρος δοκεῖ μετ’ ὀλύγῳ ἄλλων ἱερὸς εἶναι τὸ Ὀσύριδος· ἐκεῖνῳ δὲ τὰ πλείστα προσνέμουσι. καὶ ἀληθῆς ὁ λόγος οὕτος ἢ, σημαίνειν ἡγοῦμαι τὸ ζητούμενον ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμολογομένων καὶ κοινὰς ἐχύντων τὰς τιμᾶς, οἶδον ἐστὶν ἱερὸς καὶ ἱερὰς καὶ κυνοκέφαλος, αὐτὸς τ’ ὁ Ἅπειρος καὶ ὁ Μένδης· οὕτω δὴ γὰρ τὸν ἐν Μένδητι τράγον καλοῦσι.

F 74. Λειτεται δὲ δὴ τὸ χρειῶδες καὶ τὸ συμβολικόν, ὡς ἐνία θατέρου, πολλὰ δ’ ἁμφοῖν μετέσχηκε. βοῦν μὲν οὖν καὶ πρόβατον καὶ ἱχνεύμονα

1 καθιερεύοντι Reiske: καθιερουσί.
2 Εἰλειθυίας Parthey: ἱδιθύας.
3 Τυφωνείους Squire: τυφωνίους.
4 ταφάς Ἄπειρος ταφάς Xylander.
5 συνεμβάλλωσι Wyttenbach and Bernardakis: συνεμβάλλωσι.
6 τ’ added by F.C.B.
7 καὶ ὁ Μένδης added by Semler (cf. Herodotus, ii. 46). Allii alia.

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sists, they consecrate and sacrifice them, as if, forsooth, this were a means of punishing the deity, or at least a mighty rite of purification in matters of the highest importance! The fact is that in the city of Eileithyia they used to burn men alive, as Manetho has recorded; they called them Typhonians, and by means of winnowing fans they dissipated and scattered their ashes. But this was performed publicly and at a special time in the dog-days. The consecrations of the animals held in honour, however, were secret, and took place at indeterminate times with reference to the circumstances; and thus they are unknown to the multitude, except when they hold the animals' burials, and then they display some of the other sacred animals and, in the presence of all, cast them into the grave together, thinking thus to hurt and to curtail Typhon's satisfaction. The Apis, together with a few other animals, seems to be sacred to Osiris; but to Typhon they assign the largest number of animals. If this account is true, I think it indicates that the object of our inquiry concerns those which are commonly accepted and whose honours are universal: for example, the ibis, the hawk, the cynocephalus, and the Apis himself, as well as the Mendes, for thus they call the goat in Mendes.

74. There remain, then, their usefulness and their symbolism; of these two, some of the animals share in the one, and many share in both. It is clear that the Egyptians have honoured the cow, the sheep, and

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a Cf. Diodorus, i. 88. 5.

b Cf. 359 d, supra; Diodorus, i. 21. 5; 83. 1 and 5; 84. 7.

c Cf. 362 c-d, supra.

d Cf. Herodotus, ii. 46; Diodorus, i. 84. 4; Strabo, xvii. 1. 19.
δῆλον ὃτι χρείας ἕνεκα καὶ ὕφελείας ἐτύμησαν (ὡς Λήμνιοι κορύδους, τὰ τῶν ἀτταλάβων εὐρίσκοντας ὥστα καὶ κόπτοντας). Θεταλοὶ δὲ πελαργοῦσι, ὅτι πολλοὶ ὄφεις τῆς γῆς ἀναδιδόσῃσι ἐπιφανεντες ἐξώλεσαν ἀπαντας: διὸ καὶ νόμον ἔθεντο φεύγειν ὅστις ἂν ἀποκτείνῃ πελαργόν), ἀσπίδα δὲ καὶ γαλήν καὶ κάνθαρον, εἰκόνας τινὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς.

381 ἀμαυρᾶς ὦσπερ ἐν σταγόσων ἥλιον τῆς τῶν θεῶν δυνάμεως κατιδόντες. τὴν μὲν γὰρ γαλήν ἐτὶ πολλοὶ νομίζουσι καὶ λέγουσιν κατὰ τὸ οὐδὲνομένην, τῷ δὲ στόματι τίκτουσαν, εἰκασμα τῆς τοῦ λόγου γενέσεως εἶναι τὸ δὲ κανθάρων γένος οὐκ ἔχειν θῆλειαν, ἄρρηνες δὲ πάντας ἀφίεναι τὸν γόνον εἰς τὴν σφαιροποιουμένην ὕλην, ἣν κυλινδοῦσιν ἀντιβάδην ὠθοῦντες, ὦσπερ δοκεῖ τὸν οὐρανὸν ὁ ἥλιος ἐς τοῦνατίον περιστρέφειν, αὐτὸς ἀπὸ δυσμᾶν ἐπὶ τὸς ἀνατολᾶς φερόμενος. ἀσπίδα δ' Β ὦς ἀγήρων καὶ χρωμένην κυνήσειν ἄνοργάνους μετ' εὐπετείας καὶ ὑγρότητος ἀστρατή² προσεῖκασαν.

75. Οὐ μὴν οὖν ὁ κροκόδειλος αὑτὰς πιθανῆς ἀμοιροῦσαν ἐσχήκε τιμήν, ἀλλὰ μύημα² θεοῦ λέγεται γεγονέναι, μόνος μὲν ἄγλωσος ὃν. φωνῆς γὰρ ὁ θεῖος λόγος ἀπροσδεής ἐστι, καὶ

¹ κόπτοντας] κάπτοντες Hatzidakis.
² ἀστρατή Strijd: ἀστρῳ ἥ.
³ μύημα in one ms.: οὖ μύημα.

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¹ Cf. Aristotle, De Mirabilibus Ause. 23 (332 a 14); Pliny, Natural History, x. 31. 62; Stephanus Byzant. s.v. Θεσσαλία.
the ichneumon because of their need for these animals and their usefulness. Even so the people of Lemnos hold larks in honour because they seek out the eggs of the locust and destroy them; and so the people of Thessaly honour storks,\(^a\) because, when their land produced many snakes,\(^b\) the storks appeared and destroyed them all. For this reason they passed a law that whoever killed a stork should be banished from the country. The Egyptians also honoured the asp, the weasel, and the beetle, since they observed in them certain dim likenesses of the power of the gods, like images of the sun in drops of water. There are still many people who believe and declare that the weasel conceives through its ear and brings forth its young by way of the mouth, and that this is a parallel of the generation of speech. The race of beetles has no female,\(^c\) but all the males eject their sperm into a round pellet of material which they roll up by pushing it from the opposite side, just as the sun seems to turn the heavens in the direction opposite to its own course, which is from west to east. They compare the asp to lightning, since it does not grow old and manages to move with ease and suppleness without the use of limbs.

75. The crocodile,\(^d\) certainly, has acquired honour which is not devoid of a plausible reason, but he is declared to be a living representation of God, since he is the only creature without a tongue; for the Divine Word has no need of a voice, and

\(^a\) Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus*, ii. 39. 6; Plutarch's source may have been Theophrastus, Frag. 174. 6 (Wimmer, vol. iii. p. 220).

\(^b\) Cf. the note on 355 \(\lambda\), *supra*.

\(^c\) Cf. Herodotus, ii. 69.
di' ἄψιφον

βαίνων κελεύθου κατὰ δίκην τὰ θυῃτ' ἄγει.\(^1\)

μόνον δὲ φασιν ἐν υγρῷ διαυτωμένου τὰς ὀψεις
ὑμένα λείων καὶ διαφανῆ παρακαλύπτειν ἐκ τοῦ
μετώπου κατερχόμενον, ὥστε βλέπειν μὴ βλεπό-
μενον, \(\delta^{2}\) τῷ πρῶτῳ θεῷ συμβεβηκέν. ὅπου δ' ἂν
ἡ θήλεια τῆς χώρας ἀποτέκη, τοῦτο Νείλου πέρας
ἐπισταται τῆς αὐξήσεως γενόμενον. ἐν υγρῷ
γάρ οὐ δυνάμεναι,\(^3\) πόρρω δὲ φοβοῦµεναι\(^4\) τίκτευν,

C οὔτως ἄκριβῶς προαισθάνονται τὸ μέλλον, ὡστε
τῷ ποταµῷ προσελθόντι χρῆσατι λοχεύοµεναι καὶ
θάλπουσαι, τὰ δ' ὅτα ἔξηρα καὶ ἄβρεκτα φυλάττειν.
ἐξήκοντα δὲ τίκτουσιν, καὶ τοσαύταις ἡµέραις
ἐκλέπουσιν, καὶ τοσοῦτος ζῶσιν ἐναυτοὺς οἱ
μακρότατον ζῶντες, δ' τῶν μέτρων πρῶτόν ἔστι
τοῖς περὶ τὰ οὐράνια πραγµατευοµένους.

'Αλλὰ μὴν τῶν δι' ἀµφότερα τιµωµένων περὶ
µὲν τοῦ κυνὸς εἰρήται πρόσθεν. η' δ' ἔµι ἀπο-
κτείνουσα µὲν τὰ θανατηφόρα τῶν ἔρπετῶν ἕδι-
δαξε πρῶτη κενώµατος ἰατρικοῦ χρείαν κατιδόντας
ἀυτὴν\(^{4}\) κλυζοµένην καὶ καθαιροµένην ύφ' ἐαυτῆς.

D οἱ δὲ νοµιµότατοι τῶν ἰερεῶν καθάρσιον ύδωρ
ἀγνιζόµενοι λαµβάνοντον θεῖν ἄµις πέπωκεν. οὐ

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\(^{1}\) κατὰ δίκην τὰ θυῃτ' ἄγει] καὶ δίκης τὰ θυῃτὰ ἄγει κατὰ δίκην
all corrected by the mss. of Euripides.

\(^{2}\) Ὁ Meziriacus: οὐ.

\(^{3}\) δυνάµεναι... φοβοῦµεναι Meziriacus: δυνάµενοι... φο-


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\(^{a}\) Euripides, Troades, 887-888; cf. Plutarch, Moralia, 1007 c.

\(^{b}\) Ibid. 982 c; Aristotle, Hist. Animalium, v. 33 (558 a 17).

\(^{c}\) Cf. Aelian, De Natura Animalium, ii. 33, v. 52.

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through noiseless ways advancing, guides
By Justice all affairs of mortal men.\textsuperscript{a}

They say that the crocodile is the only animal living in the water which has a thin and transparent membrane extending down from his forehead to cover up his eyes, so that he can see without being seen; and this prerogative belongs also unto the First God. In whatever part of the land the female crocodile lays her eggs, well she knows that this is destined to mark the limit of the rise of the Nile \textsuperscript{b}; for the females, being unable to lay their eggs in the water and afraid to lay them far from it, have such an accurate perception of the future that they make use of the oncoming river as a guide in laying their eggs and in keeping them warm; and thus they preserve them dry and untouched by the water. They lay sixty eggs \textsuperscript{c} and hatch them in the same number of days, and those crocodiles that live longest live that number of years: the number sixty is the first of measures for such persons as concern themselves with the heavenly bodies.

Of the animals that are held in honour for both reasons, mention has already been made of the dog.\textsuperscript{d} The ibis,\textsuperscript{e} which kills the deadly creeping things, was the first to teach men the use of medicinal purgations when they observed her employing clysters and being purged by herself.\textsuperscript{f} The most strict of the priests take their lustral water for purification from a place where the ibis has drunk \textsuperscript{g}: for she does not drink

\textsuperscript{a} Supra, 355 b and 368 f.

\textsuperscript{b} Cf. Diodorus, i. 87. 6.

\textsuperscript{c} Cf. Aelian, De Natura Animalium, ii. 35; Pliny, Natural History, x. 40 (75).

\textsuperscript{d} Cf. Moralia, 974 c; Aelian, De Natura Animalium, vii. 45.
(381) πίνει γάρ εἰ' νοσώδες ἡ πεφαρμαγμένον οὐδὲ πρόσεισι. τῇ δὲ τῶν ποδῶν διαστάσεις² πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸ ρύγχος ἱσόπλευρον ποιεῖ τρίγωνον· ἐτὶ δ' ἡ τῶν μελάνων πτερών πρὸς³ τὰ λευκὰ ποικίλα καὶ ἰείς ἐμφαίνει σελήνην ἀμφικύρτων.

Οὐ δεῖ δὲ θαυμάζειν, εἰ γλύσχρας ὁμοίωτητας οὕτως ἡγάπησαν Αἰγύπτιοι. καὶ γάρ καὶ⁴ Ἐλληνες ἐν τε γραπτοῖς ἐν τε πλαστοῖς εἰκάσμασι

Ε θεῶν ἐχρήσαντο πολλοῖς τουούτοις· οἶδον ἐν Κρήτῃ Δίος ἢν ἁγαλμα μὴ ἔχον ὡτα· τῷ γὰρ ἀρχοτι καὶ κυρίῳ πάντων οὐδενὸς ἄκουεν προσήκει. τῷ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸν δράκοντα Φειδίας παρέθηκε, τῷ δὲ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἐν Ἡλίδι τὴν χελώνην, ὡς τὰς μὲν παρθένους φυλακῆς δεομένας, ταῖς δὲ γαμεταῖς

F οἰκουρίαν καὶ σωπὴν πρέπουσαν. ἡ δὲ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τρίανα σύμβολον ἐστι τῆς τρίτης χώρας, ἢν θάλαττα κατέχει μετὰ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ τὸν ἀέρα τεταγμένη. διὸ καὶ τὴν Ἀμφιτρίτην καὶ τοὺς Τρίτωνας οὕτως ὠνόμασαν.

Οί δὲ Πυθαγόρειοι καὶ ἀριθμοὺς καὶ σχήματα θεῶν ἐκόσμησαν προσηγορίαις. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἱσόπλευρον τρίγωνον ἐκαλοῦν Ἁθηνᾶν κορυφαγενή⁵ καὶ τριτογένειαν, ὡτὶ τρισὶ καθέτους ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν γωνιῶν ἁγομέναις διαμείτασθαι· τὸ δ' ἐν Ἀπόλλωνα πλῆθους ἀποφάσει καὶ δι' ἀπλότητα τῆς⁶ μονᾶδος.

1 ei Michael (from Moral. 974 c): ἡ.
2 διαστάσει Böttcher: διαβάσει.
3 πρὸς Reiske: peri.
4 καὶ γὰρ καὶ Xylander: καί.
5 κορυφαγενή an obvious correction of early editors; κορυφα-γενή.
6 πλῆθους ἀποφάσει καὶ δι' ἀπλότητα τῆς Wytenbach and Böttcher: πείθουσα προφάσει καὶ διπλοτάτης.

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water if it is unwholesome or tainted, nor will she approach it. By the spreading of her feet, in their relation to each other and to her bill, she makes an equilateral triangle. Moreover the variety and combination of her black feathers with her white picture the moon in its first quarter.

There is no occasion for surprise that the Egyptians were so taken with such slight resemblances; for the Greeks in their painted and sculptured portrayals of the gods made use of many such. For example, in Crete there was a statue of Zeus having no ears; for it is not fitting for the Ruler and Lord of all to listen to anyone. Beside the statue of Athena Pheidias placed the serpent and in Elis beside the statue of Aphroditē the tortoise, to indicate that maidens need watching, and that for married women staying at home and silence is becoming. The trident of Poseidon is a symbol of the Third Region where the sea holds sway, for it has been assigned to a demesne of less importance than the heavens and the air. For this reason they thus named Amphitritē and the Tritons.

The Pythagoreans embellished also numbers and figures with the appellations of the gods. The equilateral triangle they called Athena, born from the head and third-born, because it is divided by three perpendiculars drawn from its three angles. The number one they called Apollo because of its rejection of plurality and because of the singleness of

\[ a \text{ Cf. Moralia, 670 c.} \\
\[ b \text{ Cf. Moralia, 142 n; Pausanias, vi. 25. 2.} \\
\[ c \text{ An effort to derive these names from τρίτος, "third."} \\
\[ d \text{ Cf. the note on 354 r, supra.} \\
\[ e \text{ Cf. 393 b, infra.} \]
69. Ἐπερ οὖν οἱ δοκιμῶταtoi τῶν φιλοσόφων οὐδὲν ἐν ἄψυχοις καὶ ἀσωμάτοις πράγμασιν αἴνιγμα
τοῦ θείου κατιδόντες ἥξιον ἀμελεῖν οὐδὲν οὐδὲν ἀτιμάζειν, ἐτὶ μᾶλλον οἴομαι τὰς ἐν ἀισθανομέναις καὶ ψυχῆν ἔχουσαι καὶ πάθος καὶ ἡθος φύσεως ἰδιότητας κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἀγαπητέον εἶναι, οὐ ταύτα τιμῶντας, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτον τὸ θεῖον, ὡς ἑναρ-

Β γεστέρων ἐσόπτρων καὶ φύσει γεγονότων, ὡστ' ὁργανὸν ἡ τέχνην δεῖ τοὺς πάντα κοσμοῦντος θεοῦ νομίζειν, καὶ ὅλος ἀξιοῦν γε μηδὲν ἄψυχον ἐμψύχου μηδ' ἀναίσθητον αἰσθανομένου κρεῖττον εἶναι, μηδ' ἂν τὸν σύμπαντα τις χρυσὸν ομοῦ καὶ σμάραγδον εἰς ταύτῳ συμφορήσῃ. οὐκ ἐν χρόαις γὰρ οὖν ἐν σχῆμασιν οὖν ἐν λειότησιν ἐγγίγνεται τὸ θεῖον, ἀλλ' ἀτιμοτέραν ἤχει νεκρῶν μοῦρων, ὥσα μὴ μετέσχε, μηδὲ μετέχειν τοῦ ζῆν πέφυκεν. ἡ δὲ ζώσα καὶ βλέπουσα καὶ κινήσεως ἀρχὴν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔχουσα καὶ γνώσων οἰκεῖων καὶ ἄλλοτρίων φύσις

unity. The number two they called "Strife," and "Daring," and three they called "Justice," for, although the doing of injustice and suffering from injustice are caused by deficiency and excess, Justice, by reason of its equality, intervenes between the two. The so-called sacred quaternion, the number thirty-six, was, so it is famed, the mightiest of oaths, and it has been given the name of "World" since it is made up of the first four even numbers and the first four odd numbers added together.

76. If, then, the most noted of the philosophers, observing the riddle of the Divine in inanimate and incorporeal objects, have not thought it proper to treat anything with carelessness or disrespect, even more do I think that, in all likelihood, we should welcome those peculiar properties existent in natures which possess the power of perception and have a soul and feeling and character. It is not that we should honour these, but that through these we should honour the Divine, since they are the clearer mirrors of the Divine by their nature also, so that we should regard them as the instrument or device of the God who orders all things. And in general we must hold it true that nothing inanimate is superior to what is animate, and nothing without the power of perception is superior to that which has that power—no, not even if one should heap together all the gold and emeralds in the world. The Divine is not engendered in colours or in forms or in polished surfaces, but whatsoever things have no share in life, things whose nature does not allow them to share therein, have a portion of less honour than that of the dead. But the nature that lives and sees and has within itself the source of movement and a knowledge of what belongs to it and
77. Stolai δ' αἰ μὲν Ἰσιδος ποικίλαι ταῖς βα-φαῖς: περὶ γὰρ ὑλὴν ἡ δύναμις αὐτῆς πάντα γιγνο-
μένην καὶ δεχομένην, φῶς σκότος, ἥμεραν νύκτα,
pῦρ ὕδωρ, ζωὴν θάνατον, ἀρχὴν τελευτήν. ἡ δ' ὁ-
'Οσίριδος οὐκ ἔχει σκιάν οὐδὲ ποικιλμόν, ἀλλ' ἐν
ἀπλοῦν τὸ φωτειδές· ἀκρατον γὰρ ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ
ἀμύγες τὸ πρῶτον καὶ νοητὸν. οθέν ἀπαξ ταύτην

D ἄναλαβόντες ἀποτίθενται καὶ φυλάττουσιν ἀορατον
καὶ ἀμαντον. ταῖς δ' Ἰσιακάις ἄρωνται πολ-
lάκις· ἐν χρήσει γὰρ τα αἰσθητὰ καὶ πρόχειρα
όντα πολλὰς ἀναπτύξεις καὶ θέας αὐτῶν ἀλλοτ',
ἀλλως ἀμειβομένων δίδωσιν. ἡ δὲ τοῦ νοητοῦ καὶ
eἰκουριοῦς καὶ ἀπλοῦ νόησις ὑσπερ ἀστρατὴ
dιαλαμψα τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπαξ ποτὲ θυγεῖν καὶ
προσιδεῖν παρέσχε. διὸ καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Ἀριστο-
tέλης ἐποπτικῶν τούτο τὸ μέρος τῆς φιλοσοφίας

1 κάλλους τ' Papabasileios from Plato, Phaedrus, p. 251 b:

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what belongs to others, has drawn to itself an efflux and portion of beauty from the Intelligence "by which the Universe is guided," as Heracleitus\(^a\) has it. Wherefore the Divine is no worse represented in these animals than in works of bronze and stone which are alike subject to destruction and disfiguration, and by their nature are void of all perception and comprehension. This, then, is what I most approve in the accounts that are given regarding the animals held in honour.

77. As for the robes, those of Isis\(^b\) are variegated in their colours; for her power is concerned with matter which becomes everything and receives everything, light and darkness, day and night, fire and water, life and death, beginning and end. But the robe of Osiris has no shading or variety in its colour, but only one single colour like to light. For the beginning is combined with nothing else, and that which is primary and conceptual is without admixture; wherefore, when they have once taken off the robe of Osiris, they lay it away and guard it, unseen and untouched. But the robes of Isis they use many times over; for in use those things that are perceptible and ready at hand afford many disclosures of themselves and opportunities to view them as they are changed about in various ways. But the apperception of the conceptual, the pure, and the simple, shining through the soul like a flash of lightning, affords an opportunity to touch and see it but once.\(^c\) For this reason Plato\(^d\) and Aristotle call this part of philosophy the epoptic\(^e\) or

\(^a\) Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, i. 86, Heracleitus, no. b 41.

\(^b\) Cf. 352 b, *supra*.


\(^d\) Plato, *Symposium*, 210 a.

καλούσιν, ὡς οἱ τὰ δοξαστὰ καὶ μεικτὰ καὶ παντο-
θαπτὰ ταῦτα παραμειψάμενοι τῷ λόγῳ, πρὸς τὸ
πρῶτον ἑκεῖνο καὶ ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἀυλον ἐξάλλονται,
Ε καὶ θυγόντες ἀμωσγέτως¹ τῆς περὶ αὐτὸ καθαρᾶς
ἀληθείας ὦν ἑντελῆ² τέλος ἐξειν φιλοσοφίᾳν³
νομίζουσι.

78. Καὶ τοῦθ᾽ ὀπερ οἱ νῦν ἱερεῖς ἀφοσιούμενοι
καὶ παρακαλυπτόμενοι μετ' εὐλαβείας ὑποδηλοῦσιν
ὡς ὁ θεὸς σῶτος ἄρχει καὶ βασιλεύει τῶν τεθνη-
κότων οὐχ ἔτερος ὅν τοῦ καλουμένου παρ' Ἐλ-
λησιν Ἀιδοὺ καὶ Πλοῦτωνος, ἀγνοοῦμεν ὅπως
ἀληθές ἔστι, διαταράττειε⁴ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑπονοοῦντας
ἐν γῇ καὶ ὑπὸ γῆν τὸν ἱερὸν καὶ ὁσιον ὡς ἅληθῶς
F Ὄσιρν οἰκεῖν, ὅπου τὰ σώματα κρύπτεται τῶν
tέλος ἐξειν δοκοῦντων. ὃ δ' ἔστι μὲν αὐτὸς ἀπω-
tάτω τῆς γῆς ἄχραντος καὶ ἁμίαντος καὶ καθαρὸς
οὐσίας ἀπάσχης φθόρας δεχομένης καὶ θάνατον.
ἀνθρώπων δὲ ψυχαῖς ἐνταυθοί ⁵ μὲν ὑπὸ σωμάτων
καὶ παθῶν περιεχομέναις οὐκ ἔστι μετουσία τοῦ
θεοῦ, πλὴν ὅσον ὀνείρατος ἀμαυρὰν τιγεῖν νοῆσει
dia φιλοσοφίασ· ὅταν δ' ἀπολυθείσαι μεταστῶσιν
383 εἰς τὸ ἄϊδες⁶ καὶ ἀόρατον καὶ ἀπαθῆς καὶ ἄγνων,
οὔτος αὐτὰς ἡγεμών ἑστι καὶ βασιλεύς ὁ θεός,
ἐξηρτημέναις ὡς ὁ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ θεωμέναις
ἀπλήστως καὶ ποθούσαις τὸ μὴ φατὸν μηδὲ ῥητὸν⁷
ἀνθρώπως κάλλος· οὗ τὴν Ἰσων ὁ παλαιὸς ἀποφαίνει

¹ ἀμωσγεύσως F.C.B.: ἀλλως.
² ἑντελῆ] ἐν τελετῇ Reiske.
³ φιλοσοφίας Reiske.
⁴ διαταράττει Xylander: διαταράττειν.
⁵ ἐνταυθοὶ] ἐνταυθὶ Holwerda.
⁶ ἄϊδες Parmentier: ἄειδες.
⁷ ῥητὸν] ὥρατον Wyttenbach.

a Cf. 375 d, supra.  b Cf. 372 e and 374 f, supra.
mystic part, inasmuch as those who have passed beyond these conjectural and confused matters of all sorts by means of Reason proceed by leaps and bounds to that primary, simple, and immaterial principle; and when they have somehow attained contact with the pure truth abiding about it, they think that they have the whole of philosophy completely, as it were, within their grasp.

78. This idea at the present time the priests intimate with great circumspection in acquitting themselves of this religious secret and in trying to conceal it: that this god Osiris is the ruler and king of the dead, nor is he any other than the god that among the Greeks is called Hades and Pluto. But since it is not understood in what manner this is true, it greatly disturbs the majority of people who suspect that the holy and sacred Osiris truly dwells in the earth and beneath the earth, where are hidden away the bodies of those that are believed to have reached their end. But he himself is far removed from the earth, uncontaminated and unpolluted and pure from all matter that is subject to destruction and death; but for the souls of men here, which are compassed about by bodies and emotions, there is no association with this god except in so far as they may attain to a dim vision of his presence by means of the apperception which philosophy affords. But when these souls are set free and migrate into the realm of the invisible and the unseen, the dispassionate and the pure, then this god becomes their leader and king, since it is on him that they are bound to be dependent in their insatiate contemplation and yearning for that beauty which is for men unutterable and indescribable. With this beauty Isis, as the ancient story declares,
(383) λόγος ἔρωσαν ἀεὶ καὶ διώκουσαν καὶ συνόψαν ἀναπημπλάναι τὰ ἐνταῦθα πάντων¹ καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν, ὡσα γενέσεως μετέσχηκε.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔχει τὸν μάλιστα θεοῦ πρέποντα λόγον. (79.) εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ περί τῶν θυμιωμένων ἡμέρας ἐκάστης εἰπεῖν, ὡσπερ ὑπεσχόμην, ἵκευν διανοηθείη τις ἀν² πρότερον ὡς ἀεὶ Β μὲν οἱ ἀνδρεῖς ἐν ὀπουδήν μεγίστη τίθενται τὰ πρὸς ὑγίειαν ἐπιτηθεύματα, μάλιστα δὲ ταῖς ιερουργίαις καὶ ταῖς ἀγνείαις καὶ διαίταις οὐχ ἦττον ἑνεστὶ τοῦ ὅσιον τὸ ὑγευνόν. οὐ γὰρ ἱοντο καλῶς ἔχειν οὕτε σώμασιν οὕτε ψυχαῖς ὑπούλουσι καὶ νοσῶδεις θεραπεύεις τὸ καθαρῶν καὶ ἀβλαβές πάντη καὶ ἀμίαντον. ἐπεὶ τούνων ὁ ἀχρώκας πλεῖστα ἁρμακεῖ καὶ σύνεσεν, οὐκ ἀεὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἔχει διάθεσιν καὶ κράσιν, ἀλλὰ νύκτωρ πυκνοῦται καὶ πιέζει τὸ σῶμα καὶ συνάγει τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς τὸ δύσθυμον καὶ Σ πεφροντικὸς οἰον ἀχλυώδη γιγνομένη καὶ βαρεῖαν, ἀναστάντες εὐθὺς ἐπιθυμιώσι βητίνην, θεραπεύοντες καὶ καθαίροντες τὸν ἀέρα τῇ διακρίσει καὶ τὸ σύμφυτον τῷ σῶματι πνεύμα μεμαρασμένον ἀναρητιζοντες, ἐχούσης τῇ τῆς ὁσμῆς σφοδρῶν καὶ καταπληκτικῶν.

Ἀδεὶς δὲ μεσημβρίας αἰσθανόμενοι σφόδρα πολλὴν καὶ βαρεῖαν ἀναθυμίασιν ἀπὸ γῆς ἐλκοντα βίᾳ τὸν ἠλιον καὶ καταμειγνύωντα⁴ τῷ ἀέρι, τῆς σμύρναν ἐπιθυμιώσι. διαλύει γὰρ ἡ θερμότης καὶ σκίδυσι τὸ συνιστάμενον ἐν τῷ περιέχοντι θολερὸν καὶ ἰλυῶδες. καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἵατροι πρὸς τὰ λοιμικὰ πάθη

¹ πάντων] πάντα Wytenbach. ² ἀν added by Bernardakis. ³ ἑνεστὶ Wytenbach: ἐστι τοῦτι. ⁴ καταμειγνύωντα Xylander: καταμειγνύωντες.
is for ever enamoured and pursues it and consorts with it and fills our earth here with all things fair and good that partake of generation.

This which I have thus far set forth comprises that account which is most befitting the gods. (79.) If, as I have promised, a I must now speak of the offerings of incense which are made each day, one should first consider that this people always lays the very greatest stress upon those practices which are conducive to health. Especially in their sacred services and holy living and strict regimen the element of health is no less important than that of piety. For they did not deem it proper to serve that which is pure and in all ways unblemished and unpolluted with either bodies or souls that were unhealthy and diseased. b Since, then, the air, of which we make the greatest use and in which we exist, has not always the same consistency and composition, but in the night-time becomes dense and oppresses the body and brings the soul into depression and solicitude, as if it had become befogged and heavy, therefore, immediately upon arising, they burn resin on their altars, revivifying and purifying the air by its dissemination, and fanning into fresh life the languished spirit innate in the body, inasmuch as the odour of resin contains something forceful and stimulating.

Again at midday, when they perceive that the sun is forcibly attracting a copious and heavy exhalation from the earth and is combining this with the air, they burn myrrh on the altars; for the heat dissolves and scatters the murky and turgid concretions in the surrounding atmosphere. In fact, physicians seem to

a 372 c, supra.

b Cf. the Roman taboo in Moralia, 281 c.
(383) βοηθεῖν δοκοῦσι φλόγα πολλήν πολοῦτες ὡς λεπτο- 
νούσαν τὸν ἀέρα. λεπτύνει δὲ βέλτιον, ἐὰν εὐώδη 
ξύλα καίσων, οἷα κυπαρίττου καὶ ἀρκεύθου καὶ 
πεύκης. Ὅτερον γοῦν τὸν ἰατρὸν ἐν 'Αθήναις 
ὑπὸ τὸν μέγαν λοιμῶν εὐδοκιμῆσαι λέγουσι, πῦρ 
κελέυοντα παρακαίειν τὸς νοσοῦσιν· ἄνησθε γὰρ 
οὗκ ὀλίγους. Ἄριστοτέλης δὲ φησὶ καὶ μῦρων 
καὶ ἀνθέων καὶ λειμῶνων εὐώδεις ἀποπνοιαῖς οὐκ 
ἐλαττῶν ἔχειν τοῦ πρὸς ἣδονὴν τὸ πρὸς ὑγίειαν, 
ψυχρὸν οὖντα φύσει καὶ παγετώδη τὸν ἐγκέφαλον 
ἡρέμα τῇ θερμότητι καὶ λειότητι διαχεύσας. εἰ 
δὲ καὶ τὴν σμύρναν παρ’ Αἰγυπτίων βάλτε 
καλοῦσιν, ἐξερμηνευθὲν δὲ τούτο μάλιστα φράζει τῆς πλη-
ρώσεως ἐκσκορπισμόν, ἔστιν ἄν καὶ τούτο μαρ-
τυρίαν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς αἰτίας δίδωσιν.

Ε 80. Τὸ δὲ κύφι μείγμα μὲν ἐκκαίδεκα μερῶν 
συντιθημένων ἐστὶ, μέλιτος καὶ οἶνον καὶ σταφίδος 
καὶ κυπέρου, ῥητίνης τε καὶ σμύρνης καὶ ἀσπα-
λάθου καὶ σεσέλεως, ἐτὶ δὲ σχίνου τε καὶ ἀσφάλτου 
καὶ θρύου καὶ λαπάθου, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀρκευθίδων 
ἀμφοῖν, ὥν τὴν μὲν μείζονα τὴν δ’ ἐλάττονα Καλοῦσι, καὶ 
καρδαμώμου καὶ καλάμου. συν-
tιθενται δ’ οὖχ ὅπως ἐτυχεί, ἄλλα γραμμάτων 
ἱερῶν τοῖς μυρευοῖς, ὡστε ταῦτα μειγνύσων, ἀνα-
γιγνωσκομένων. τὸν δ’ ἀριθμὸν, εἰ καὶ πάνυ δοκεῖ 
τετράγωνος ἀπὸ τετραγώνου καὶ μόνος ἔχων τῶν 
ἰσον ἰσάκις ἀριθμῶν τῷ χωρίῳ τὴν περίμετρον

1 βάλ] σάλ Iablonski.
2 πληρώσεως F.C.B. : ληρήσεως.
3 μερῶν Emperius : μυῶν.
4 θρύου] θύου Strijd.
5 τῶν ἵσων ... ἀριθμῶν Wyttenbach : τῶν ἵσων ... ἀριθμῶν.
bring relief to pestilential affections by making a large blazing fire, for this rarefies the air. But the rarefication is more effective if they burn fragrant woods, such as that of the cypress, the juniper, and the pine. At any rate, they say that Acron, the physician in Athens at the time of the great plague, won great repute by prescribing the lighting of a fire beside the sick, and thereby he helped not a few. Aristotle a says that fragrant exhalations from perfumes and flowers and meadows are no less conducive to health than to pleasure, inasmuch as by their warmth and lightness they gently relax the brain, which is by nature cold and frigid. If it is true that among the Egyptians they call myrrh "bal," and that this being interpreted has the particular meaning "the dissipation of repletion," then this adds some testimony to our account of the reason for its use.

80. Cyphi b is a compound composed of sixteen ingredients: honey, wine, raisins, cyperus, resin, myrrh, aspalathus, seselis, mastich, bitumen, rush, sorrel, and in addition to these both the junipers, of which they call one the larger and one the smaller, cardamum, and calamus. These are compounded, not at random, but while the sacred writings are being read to the perfumers as they mix the ingredients. As for this number, even if it appears quite clear that it is the square of a square and is the only one of the numbers forming a square that has its perimeter equal

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ΠΛΥΤΩΡΧΗΣ ΜΟΡΑΛΙΑ

Εἰς τοῦτο συνεργεῖν, ἄλλα τὰ πλείστα τῶν συλλαμβανομένων ἀρωματικά ἔχοντα δυνάμεις γλυκύ πνεύμα καὶ χρηστήν μεθύσων ἀναθυμίασιν, ὡς ἦσ ἵνα ἀπερημένοι καὶ τὸ σῶμα διὰ τῆς πνοῆς κινούμενον λείως καὶ προσηνώς ὑπνοῦν τε καὶ κράσιν ἐπιγαγοῦν ἵσχε καὶ τὰ λυπηρὰ καὶ σύντονα τῶν μεθυμερμῶν φροντίδων ἀνευ μέθης οἷον

384 ἀμματα χαλά καὶ διαλύει· καὶ τὸ φανταστικὸν καὶ δεκτικὸν ὑνερῶν μόριον ὄσπερ κάτοπτρον ἀπολείπει καὶ ποιεῖ καθαρότερον οὐδὲν ἦττον ἢ τὰ κρούματα τῆς λύρας, οἷς ἐχρώντο πρὸ τῶν ὑπνῶν οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι, τὸ ἐμπαθὲς καὶ ἄλογον τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξεπάδοντες οὕτω καὶ θεραπεύοντες. τὰ γὰρ ὀσφραντα πολλάκις μὲν τὴν αἴσθησιν ἀπολείπουσαν ἀνακαλεῖται, πολλάκις δὲ πάλιν ἄμβλυνε καὶ κατηρεμίζει διαχεομένων ἐν τῷ σώματι τῶν ἀναλομάτων ὑπὸ λειώτητος· ὠσπερ ἐνοι τῶν ἱατρῶν τὸν ὑπνόν ἐγγίγνεσθαι λέγοντος, ὅταν ἢ τῆς τροφῆς ἀναθυμίασις οἷον ἔρποσα λείως περὶ τὰ

Β σπλάγχνα καὶ ψηλαφώσα σοι τις γαργαλισμὸν.

Τῷ δὲ κύφι χρώνται καὶ πώματι καὶ χρήματι· πινόμενον γὰρ δοκεῖ τα ἐντὸς καθαίρεν ὡς χρή μαλακτικὸν ὄν. ἀνευ δὲ τούτων ῥητήν μὲν ἐστιν ἔργον ἕλιον καὶ σμύρνα τοὺς τὴν εὖλην τὲ ν φυτῶν ἐκδακρυντῶν. τῶν δὲ τὸ κύφι συντιθέντων

1 ἁγασθαὶ F.C.B.; ἁγαπάσθαι Wyttenbach: ἁγαγέσθαι.
2 ἄλλα τὰ Markland: ἀμα.
3 λεῖος Reiske: δεῖ ὡς. 4 προσηνώς Meziriacus: πρὸς ἡμᾶς.
5 ὑπνοῦν τε Meziriacus: ὑπνοῦται.
6 ποιῇ Markland: ποιεὶ. 7 χρήματι Paton: κράματι.
8 ὡς added by F.C.B. 9 ὃν added by Wyttenbach.

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to its area, and deserves to be admired for this reason, yet it must be said that its contribution to the topic under discussion is very slight. Most of the materials that are taken into this compound, inasmuch as they have aromatic properties, give forth a sweet emanation and a beneficent exhalation, by which the air is changed, and the body, being moved gently and softly by the current, acquires a temperament conducive to sleep; and the distress and strain of our daily carking cares, as if they were knots, these exhalations relax and loosen without the aid of wine. The imaginative faculty that is susceptible to dreams it brightens like a mirror, and makes it clearer no less effectively than did the notes of the lyre which the Pythagoreans used to employ before sleeping as a charm and a cure for the emotional and irrational in the soul. It is a fact that stimulating odours often recall the failing powers of sensation, and often again lull and quiet them when their emanations are diffused in the body by virtue of their ethereal qualities; even as some physicians state that sleep supervenes when the volatile portion of our food, gently permeating the digestive tract and coming into close contact with it, produces a species of titillation.

They use cyphi as both a potion and a salve; for taken internally it seems to cleanse properly the internal organs, since it is an emollient. Apart from this, resin and myrrh result from the action of the sun when the trees exude them in response to the heat. Of the ingredients which compose cyphi,
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(384) ἐστιν ὅ νυκτὶ χαίρει μᾶλλον, ὥστερ ὅσα πνεύμασι ψυχροῖς καὶ σκιαῖς καὶ δρόσοις καὶ ὕγρότησι
τρέφεσθαί πέφυκεν. ἐπεὶ τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας φῶς ἐν
μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ ἀπλοῦν καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ὁ Πίνδαρος
ὁρᾶσθαι φησιν "ἐρήμας ἃ' ρ άθερος". ὃ δὲ νυκτε-
οῦν ὁρὸς ἀὴρ κράμα καὶ σύμμειγμα πολλῶν γέγονε
φῶτων καὶ δυνάμεων, οἷον σπερμάτων εἰς ἐν ἀπὸ
παντὸς ἄστρου κατάρρευτων. εἰκότως οὖν ἐκεῖνα
μὲν ὃς ἀπλὰ καὶ ἄφ ήλιον τὴν γένεσιν ἑσοντα δι'
ἡμέρας, ταῦτα δ' ὃς μεικτὰ καὶ παντοδαπὰ ταῖς
ποιότησιν ἀρχομένης νυκτὸς ἐπιθυμιώσι.

1 ἐρήμας Πίνδαρος ἐρήμης.

Pindar, Olympian Odes, i. 6.
b Some think the essay ends too abruptly; others think it
there are some which delight more in the night, that is, those which are wont to thrive in cold winds and shadows and dews and dampness. For the light of day is single and simple, and Pindar says that the sun is seen "through the deserted aether." But the air at night is a composite mixture made up of many lights and forces, even as though seeds from every star were showered down into one place. Very appropriately, therefore, they burn resin and myrrh in the daytime, for these are simple substances and have their origin from the sun; but the cyphi, since it is compounded of ingredients of all sorts of qualities, they offer at nightfall.

is quite complete; each reader may properly have his own opinion.
THE E AT DELPHI
(DE E APUD DELPHOS)
INTRODUCTION

Plutarch, in this essay on the E at Delphi, tells us that beside the well-known inscriptions at Delphi there was also a representation of the letter E, the fifth letter of the Greek alphabet. The Greek name for this letter was EI, and this diphthong, in addition to being used in Plutarch's time as the name of E (which denotes the number five), is the Greek word for "if," and also the word for the second person singular of the verb "to be" (thou art).

In searching for an explanation of the unexplainable it is only natural that the three meanings of EI ("five," "if," "thou art") should be examined to see if any hypothesis based on any one of them might possibly yield a rational explanation; and these hypotheses constitute the skeleton about which is built the body of Plutarch's essay. From it we gain some interesting delineations of character and an engaging portrayal of the way in which a philosopher acts, or reacts, when forced unwillingly to face the unknowable.

Plutarch puts forward seven possible explanations of the letter:

(1) It was dedicated by the Wise Men, as a protest against interlopers, to show that their number was actually five and not seven (EI = E, five).
THE E AT DELPHI

(2) EI is the second vowel, the Sun is the second planet, and Apollo is identified with the sun (EI = E, the vowel).

(3) EI means "if": people ask the oracle IF they shall succeed, or IF they shall do this or that (EI = "if").

(4) EI is used in wishes or prayers to the god, often in the combination εἴθε or εἰ γὰρ (EI = "if" or "if only").

(5) EI, "if," is an indispensable word in logic for the construction of a syllogism (EI = "if").

(6) Five is a most important number in mathematics, physiology, philosophy, and music (EI = E, "five").

(7) EI means "thou art" and is the address of the consultant to Apollo, to indicate that the god has eternal being (EI = "thou art").

Attempts to explain the letter have been also made in modern times by Göttling, Berichte der Sachs. Gesell. der Wiss. I. (1846-47) pp. 311 ff., and by Schultz in Philologus (1866), pp. 214 ff. Roscher, in Philologus (1900), pp. 21 ff.; (1901), pp. 81 ff.; (1902), pp. 513 ff.; Hermes (1901), pp. 470 ff. (comment also by C. Robert in the same volume, p. 490), and the Philologische Wochenschrift (1922), col. 1211, maintains that EI is an imperative from εἴπο, "go," addressed to the person who came to consult the oracle, and that it means "go on," "continue" into the temple. The value of this explanation is somewhat doubtful, since EI in this word (εἴπο) is a true diphthong, and so is not generally spelled with simple E except in the Corinthian alphabet. Although

a This explanation is accepted by Poulsen (Delphi, p. 149), but is open to very serious objections.
Roscher cites a few examples from inscriptions in other dialects where the true diphthongal EI seems to be represented by simple E, his evidence is not convincing.

O. Lagercrantz, in _Hermes_, xxxvi. (1901) pp. 411 ff., interprets the E as meaning ἐ ἄ "he said." To this, of course, Roscher objects and suggests that Lagercrantz might have thought also of ἐ ἅ verily." Thus all the various possibilities of interpretation have in turn been suggested, and rejected by others.

W. N. Bates, in the _American Journal of Archaeology_, xxix. (1925) pp. 239-246, tries to show that the E had its origin in a Minoan character E associated with θ (as is shown by the evidence of a Cretan gem in the Metropolitan Museum of New York) and later transferred to Delphi. Since the character was not understood, it, like other things at Delphi, came to be associated with Apollo. This character has been found on the old omphalos discovered in 1913 at Delphi in the temple of Apollo.

Interesting are the two coins reproduced in Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, _A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias_, plate x. nos. xxii. and xxiii. (text, p. 119), which show the E suspended between the middle columns of the temple. Learned scholars should note that the letter represented is E, not EI: there-
fore such explanations as are based on the true diphthong are presumably wrong.

The title of the essay is included in the catalogue of Lamprias, where it appears as No. 117. It is not infrequently quoted or referred to by later writers. It has been separately edited by Bernardakis in the volume of essays in honour of Ernst Curtius, Leipzig, 1894. Of interest is also *The Delphic Maxims in Literature*, by Eliza Gregory Wilkins, Chicago, 1929.
Δ 1. Στιχιδίοις τυχών ού φαύλως ἐξονοῦν, ὦ φίλε Σαραπίων, ἐνέτυχον πρώην, ἄ Δικαιάρχος Εὐριπίδην οἴεται πρὸς Ἀρχέλαον εἰπεῖν:

οὐ βούλομαι πλουτοῦντι δωρεῖσθαι πένης,
μή μ' ἀφρονα κρίνης ἢ διδοὺς αἰτεῖν δοκῶ.

χαρίζεται μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ὁ διδοὺς ἀπ' ὀλίγων μικρὰ
tois polla kektemeneous, apistoumenos δ' ἀντὶ μη-
denos didonai kakkotheias kai aneleutherias pros-
E lambanei doxaν. ὁρα δὴ ὅσον ἐλευθερώττητι καὶ
callei ta xerimatika doéra lēpetai twn apó λόγου
cai sofías, ᾧ καὶ didonai kalon ésti kai didontas
ántaietin ómous para twn lamβanontωn. ἔγω γοῦν
pros se kai dia se tois aútōthi filious tωn Pυθικων
lōgon evίous ωσπερ ἀπαρχάς ἀποστέλλων, ὀμολογω
prosdoχαν éterous kai plēionas kai beltιonas para'
ύμων, ἀτε δὴ kai poľei χρωμένων μεγάλη kai

1 a added by Madvig.

a A poet living at Athens in Plutarch's day; see Moralia, 396 d ff. and 628 A.

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THE E AT DELPHI

(The persons who take part in the conversation are: Ammonius, Lamprias, Plutarch, Theon, Eustrophus, Nicander, and others whose names are not given.)

1. Not long ago, my dear Sarapion, a I came upon some lines, not badly done, which Dicaearchus thinks Euripides b addressed to Archelaüs:

I will not give poor gifts to one so rich,
Lest you should take me for a fool, or I
Should seem by giving to invite a gift.

For he does no favour who gives small gifts from scanty means to wealthy men; and since it is not credible that his giving is for nothing, he acquires in addition a reputation for disingenuousness and servility. Observe also how, as far as independence and honour are concerned, material gifts fall far below those bestowed by literary discourse and wisdom; and these gifts it is both honourable to give and, at the same time, to ask a return of like gifts from the recipients. I, at any rate, as I send to you, and by means of you for our friends there, some of our Pythian discourses, an offering of our first-fruits, as it were, confess that I am expecting other discourses, both more numerous and of better quality, from you and your friends, inasmuch as you have not only all the advantages of a great

b Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag., Euripides, no. 969.
Plutarch’s Moralia

σχολῆς μᾶλλον ἐν βιβλίοις πολλοῖς καὶ παντοδαπαῖς διατριβῶσι εὐποροῦντων.

‘Ὁ δ’ οὖν φίλος¹ Ἀπόλλων ἐοικε τὰς μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἐ βίον ἀπορίας ἱάσθαι καὶ διαλύειν θεμιστεύων τοῖς χρωμένοις, τὰς δὲ περὶ τὸν λόγον αὐτὸς ἐνεέαι καὶ προβάλλειν τῷ φύσει φιλοσοφῶ, τῇ ψυχῇ² ὀρέξιν ἐμποιῶν ἀγωγὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὡς ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς δήλον ἐστὶ καὶ τῇ περὶ τούτῳ εἰ καθιερώσει. τοῦτο γὰρ εἰκός οὐ κατὰ τύχην οὐδ’ οἶον ἀπὸ κλήρου τῶν γραμμάτων μόνον ἐν προεδρίᾳ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ γενέσθαι καὶ λαβεῖν ἀναθήματος τάξιν ἱεροῦ καὶ θεάματος. ἀλλ’ ἢ δύναμιν αὐτοῦ κατιδόντας ἰδίαν καὶ περιττὴν ἢ συμβόλω χρωμένους πρὸς ἐτερόν τι τῶν ἄξιων σπουδῆς τοὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ περὶ τὸν θεὸν φιλοσοφήσαντας, οὐτω προθέσθαι.³

Πολλάκις οὖν ἄλλοτε τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ σχολῇ προβαλλόμενον ἐκκλίνας ἀτρέμα καὶ παρελθὼν, ἐναγχος ὑπὸ τῶν νιών ἐλήφθην ξένους τινι συμ- φιλοτιμούμενος, οὐς εὐθὺς ἐκ Δελφῶν ἀπαίρεω μελλόντας οὐκ ἦν εὑρεπές παράγειν οὐδὲ παραιτεῖσθαι, πάντως ἀκούσαι τι προθυμουμένους. ώστε⁴

Β καθὼς περὶ τὸν νεῶν τὰ μὲν αὐτός ἵρξαμεν ξητεῖν, τὰ δ’ ἐκεῖνος ἔρωταν, ὑπὸ τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν λόγων αὐτῶν ἀνεμνήσθην⁵ αἱ πάλαι ποτὲ καθ’ ὅν καυρὸν ἐπ-

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1 φίλος] φιλόσοφος E. Harrison.
2 τῇ ψυχῇ seems to be required by ἐμποιῶν, although some construe it differently: τῆς ψυχῆς.
3 Reiske would omit περὶ.
4 προθέσθαι] most mss. have προσέσθαι.
5 ώστε F.C.B.: ὡς δὲ.
6 ἀνεμνήσθην added by Meziriacus.

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* At this time Athens had been for several centuries a university city.

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city, but you have also more abundant leisure amid many books and all manner of discussions.

It seems that our beloved Apollo finds a remedy and a solution for the problems connected with our life by the oracular responses which he gives to those who consult him; but the problems connected with our power to reason it seems that he himself launches and propounds to him who is by nature inclined to the love of knowledge, thus creating in the soul a craving that leads onward to the truth, as is clear in many other ways, but particularly in the dedication of the E. For the likelihood is that it was not by chance nor, as it were, by lot that this was the only letter that came to occupy first place with the god and attained the rank of a sacred offering and something worth seeing; but it is likely that those who, in the beginning, sought after knowledge of the god either discovered some peculiar and unusual potency in it or else used it as a token with reference to some other of the matters of the highest concern, and thus adopted it.

On many other occasions when the subject had been brought up in the school I had quietly turned aside from it and passed it over, but recently I was unexpectedly discovered by my sons in an animated discussion with some strangers, whom, since they purposed to leave Delphi immediately, it was not seemly to try to divert from the subject, nor was it seemly for me to ask to be excused from the discussion, for they were altogether eager to hear something about it. I found them seats, therefore, near the temple, and I began to seek some answer myself and to put questions to them; influenced as I was by the place and the conversation itself, I remembered

\[ \text{ Cf. Moralia, 673 b.} \]

\[ \text{ Cf. 426 e, infra.} \]
(385) ἐδῆμει Νέρων ἥκουσαμεν Ἀμμωνίου καὶ τινῶν ἄλλων διεξιότων, ἐνταῦθα τῆς αὐτῆς ἀπορίας ὁμοίως ἐμπεσοῦσης.

2. Ὅταν μὲν γὰρ οὕς ἤττον ὁ θεὸς φιλόσοφος ἡ μάντις ἐδόκει 1 πᾶσιν ὀρθῶς πρὸς τοῦτο τῶν ὅνομάτων ἑκατον Ἀμμώνιος τίθεσθαι καὶ διδάσκειν, ὥσ Πῦθιος μὲν ἐστὶ τοῖς ἁρχομένοις μανθάνειν καὶ διαπυθάνεσθαι. Δήλως δὲ καὶ Φανάως οίς ἡ ἡ τι C δηλοῦται καὶ ὑποφαίνεται τῆς ἀληθείας. Ἦσυχιος δὲ τοῖς ἔχουσι τὴν ἐπιστήμην, καὶ Λεσχηνόρος ἡ ὑπαρύσκει τῷ σταθείσθαι καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν πρὸς ἄλληλους. “ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ φιλοσοφείν,” ἐφη, “τὸ ἥττειν ἥρη, τοῦ δὲ ἥττειν 2 τὸ θαυμάζεων καὶ ἀπορεῖν, εἰκότως τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πεί τὸν θεὸν ἐσκεφτέαν αὐτόγματι κατακεκρύφθαι, καὶ λόγον τῷ ποθοῦντα διὰ τί καὶ διδασκαλίαν τῆς αἰτίας· οἷον ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ ἀθανάτου, τὸ καἰσθαί μόνον αὐτόθι τῶν ἐξουλών ἔλατην, καὶ δάφνην ἐπιθυμιάσθαι, καὶ τὸ δύο Μοίρας ὑδρύσθαι πανταχοῦ τριῶν νομιζόμενων, καὶ τὸ μηδεμία γυναίκι πρὸς τὸ D χρηστήριον εἶναι προσελθεῖν, καὶ τὸ τοῦ τρίποδος, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, τοῖς μὴ παντάπασιν ἀλόγοις καὶ ἀφύξοις ύφειμένα δελεάζει καὶ παρακαλεῖ πρὸς τὸ σκοπεῖν τι καὶ ἀκούειν καὶ διαλέγεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν.

1 ἐδόκει Tzurnebus: ἄρχη.
2 Ἀσχηνόρος Χιλαντέρ: Ἀσχηνός ὅριος.
3 ἁρχὴ added by Cobet, τοῦ δὲ ἥττειν by Paton; cf. Plato, Theaetetus, 155 d.

*Cf. 393 v, infra; Cornutus, chap. xxxii. ; von Arnim, Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta, i. 543 (p. 123); and “Apollo” in the Index thereto.

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what, when Nero was here some years ago, I had heard Ammonius and others discussing, when the same question obtruded itself in a similar way.

2. That the god is no less a philosopher than a prophet Ammonius seemed to all to postulate and prove correctly, with reference to this or to that one of his several titles; that he is the "Pythian" (Inquirer) for those that are beginning to learn and inquire; the "Delian" (Clear) and the 'Phanaean' (Disclosing) for those to whom some part of the truth is becoming clear and is being disclosed; the 'Ismenian' (Knowing) for those who have knowledge; and the "Leschenoriano" (Conversationalist) when people have active enjoyment of conversation and philosophic intercourse with one another. "Since," he went on to say, "inquiry is the beginning of philosophy, and wonder and uncertainty the beginning of inquiry, it seems only natural that the greater part of what concerns the god should be concealed in riddles, and should call for some account of the wherefore and an explanation of its cause. For example, in the case of the undying fire, that pine is the only wood burned here, while laurel is used for offering incense; that two Fates have statues here, whereas three is everywhere the customary number; that no woman is allowed to approach the prophetic shrine; the matter of the tripod; and the other questions of this nature, when they are suggested to persons who are not altogether without mind and reason, act as a lure and an invitation to investigate, to read, and to

\[a\] Plutarch's attempt to connect Ismenian with iō- (ōida) can hardly be right.
\[b\] Cf. Plato, Theaetetus, 155 d.
\[c\] Cf. Pausanias, x. 24. 4.
\[d\] Cf. Euripides, Ion, 222.
Ορὰ δὲ καὶ ταυτὶ τὰ προγράμματα, τὸ 'γνῶθι σαυτὸν' καὶ τὸ 'μηδὲν ἄγαν,' ὅσας ζητήσεις κεκίνηκε φιλοσόφους καὶ ὅσον λόγων πλήθος ἀφ' ἐκάστου καθάπερ ἀπὸ σπέρματος ἀναπέφυκεν· ἄν οὐδενὸς ἦττον οἴμαι γόνιμον λόγων εἶναι τὸ νῦν ζητούμενον.'

3. Εἰπόντος δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου, Δαμπρίας ὁ ἀδελφὸς εἶπε 'καὶ μὴν ὅν ἦμεις ἀκηκόαμεν λόγον ἀπλοὺς τίς ἐστί καὶ κομιδὴ βραχὺς. λέγουσι γὰρ Ἐ ἐκεῖνοὺς τοὺς σοφοὺς ὑπ' ἐνώπιοι ὁ σοφιστὰς προσ- αγορευθέντας αὐτοὺς μὲν εἶναι πέντε, Χῖλωνα καὶ Θαλῆν καὶ Σόλωνα καὶ Βίαντα καὶ Πιττακόν· ἐπεὶ δὲ Κλεοβουλὸς ὁ Λυδίων τύραννος, εἶτα Περίαν- δρος ὁ Κορίνθιος, οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἀρετῆς μετὸν οὐδὲ σοφίας, ἀλλὰ δυνάμει καὶ φίλοις καὶ χάρισι κατα- βιαζόμενοι τὴν δόξαν, ἐνέβαλον εἰς τούνομα τῶν σοφῶν καὶ τινὰς γνώμας καὶ λόγους ἐξέπεμπον καὶ διέσπειρον εἰς τὴν 'Ελλάδα τοῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνων λεγομένως ὑμοίοις· δυσχεράναντας ἀρα τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξελέγχειν μὲν οὐκ ἔθελεν τὴν ἀλαζονείαν οὐδὲ F φανερῶς ὑπὲρ δόξης ἀπεχθάνεσθαι καὶ διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς ἄνθρωπος μὲγα δυναμένους, ἐνταῦθα δὲ συν- ἐλθόντας αὐτοὺς καὶ ἄυτος καὶ διαλεχθέντας ἀλλήλοις, ἀναθείναι τῶν γραμμάτων ὁ τῇ τε τάξει πέμπτον ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τὰ πέντε δηλοῖ, μαρτυρομένους μὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὅτι πέντε εἶσι, τὸν δ' ἐβδόμον καὶ τὸν ἐκτόν 2 ἀποποιου- μένους καὶ ἀποβάλλοντας ὡς οὐ προσήκοντας αὐ- τοῖς. ότι δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ ταῦτα λέγεται, γνοίη τις ἂν ἀκούσας τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ μὲν χρυσοῦν εἰ

1 λόγων Madvig: λόγου.
2 τὸν δὲ ἐκτόν καὶ τὸν ἐβδόμον Reiske.

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talk about them. Note also these inscriptions here, 'Know thyself' and 'Avoid extremes,' how many philosophic inquiries have they set on foot, and what a horde of discourses has sprung up from each, as from a seed! And no less productive of discourse than any one of them, as I think, is the present subject of inquiry."

3. When Ammonius had said this, Lamprias, my brother, said, "As a matter of fact, the account that we have heard is simple and quite brief. For they say that those wise men who by some are called the 'Sophists' were actually five in number: Chilon, Thales, Solon, Bias, and Pittacus. But when Cleobulus, the despot of the Lindians, and later Periander of Corinth, who had no part or portion in virtue or wisdom, but forcibly acquired their repute through power and friends and favours, invaded this name of the Wise Men, and sent out and circulated throughout Greece certain sentiments and sayings very similar to those famous utterances of the Wise Men, these, naturally, did not like this at all, but were loath to expose the imposture or to arouse open hatred over a question of repute, or to carry through a contest against such powerful men; they met here by themselves and, after conferring together, dedicated that one of the letters which is fifth in alphabetical order and which stands for the number five, thus testifying for themselves before the god that they were five, and renouncing and rejecting the seventh and the sixth as having no connexion with themselves. That this account is not beside the mark anyone may realize who has heard those connected with the shrine

* Cf. Moralia, 164 B, 408 E, 511 A.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

4. 'Ο μὲν οὖν 'Αμμώνιος ἡσυχῇ διεμείδισεν, ὑπονοήσας ἵδια τὸν Λαμπρίαν δόξη κεχρήσθαι, πλάττεσθαι δ' ἱστορίαν καὶ ἀκόην ἐτέρων πρὸς τὸ ἀνυπεύθυνον. ἔτερος δὲ τις ἐφ' ἑκὸν παρόντων ὡς ὀμοια ταύτ' ἐστίν οἷς πρόφητι ὁ Χαλδαῖος ἐφλυάρει ξένοις, ἔπτα μὲν εἶναι τὰ φωνῆν ἰδίαν ἀφίεντα τῶν γραμμάτων, ἕπτα δὲ τοὺς κίνησις αὐτοτελῆ καὶ ἀσύνδετον ἐν οὐρανῷ κινουμένους ἀστέρας· εἶναι Β δὲ τῇ τάξει δεύτερον τὸ τ' εἰ τῶν φωνηέντων ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἀπὸ σελήνης τῶν πλανήτων· ἥλιω δ' Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν αὐτὸν ὡς ἐποὸς εἶπείν πάντας ᾧ Ἐλληνας νομίζειν. "ἀλλὰ ταυτὶ μὲν," ἐφη, "πανταπάσιν ὡς πήνακος καὶ πυλαίας."

'Ο δὲ Λαμπρίας ἐλάθεν, ὡς ἐοίκε, τοὺς ἀφ' ἱεροῦ κινήσας ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ λόγον. ἀ μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνως εἶπεν, οὕδεις ἐγέλεγονκές Δελφῶν· τὴν δὲ κοινὴν καὶ περιηγητικὴν δόξαν εἰς τὸ μέσον προῆγον, οὗτε τὴν ὀμὴν ἀξιοῦντες οὗτε τὸν φθόγγον ἀλλὰ τούνομα μόνον τοῦ γράμματος ἔχειν τι σύμβολον. (5.) "ἐστι γὰρ, ὡς ὑπολαμβάνουσι Δελφοῖ, " καὶ τὸτε καὶ προ- C ηγορῶν ἔλεγε Νίκανδρος ὁ ἱερεὺς, " οὐχὶ καὶ μορφή τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐντεύξεως, καὶ τάξιν

1 καὶ del. Stegmann.
2 καὶ τὸτε Wyttenbach: καὶ τε or γε.
3 σχῆμα Meziriacus: ὀξημα.

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* Cf. Moralia, 1130 a or 381 f, supra, or 393 c, infra.

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naming the golden E the E of Livia, Caesar's wife, and the bronze E the E of the Athenians, while the first and oldest one, made of wood, they still call to this day the E of the Wise Men, as though it were an offering, not of one man, but of all the Wise Men in common.”

4. Ammonius smiled quietly, suspecting privately that Lamprias had been indulging in a mere opinion of his own and was fabricating history and tradition regarding a matter in which he could not be held to account. Someone else among those present said that all this was similar to the nonsense which the Chaldean visitor had uttered a short time before: that there are seven vowels in the alphabet and seven stars that have an independent and unconstrained motion; that E is the second in order of the vowels from the beginning, and the sun the second planet after the moon, and that practically all the Greeks identify Apollo with the Sun. “But all this,” said he, “has its source in slate and prate and in nothing else.”

Apparently Lamprias had unwittingly stirred up the persons connected with the temple against his remarks. For what he had said no one of the Delphians knew anything about; but they were used to bring forward the commonly accepted opinion which the guides give, holding it to be right that neither the appearance nor the sound of the letter has any cryptic meaning, but only its name. (5.) “For it is, as the Delphians assume,”—and on this occasion Nicander, the priest, spoke for them and said, “the figure and form of the consultation of the god, and it holds the

(386) ἡγεμονικήν ἐν τοῖς ἐρωτήμασιν ἔχει τῶν χρωμένων ἐκάστοτε καὶ διαπυρεθαμομένων εἰ νικήσουσιν, εἰ γαμήσουσιν, εἰ συμφέρει πλεῖν, εἰ γεωργεῖν, εἰ ἀποδημεῖν. τοῖς δὲ διαλεκτικοῖς χαίρειν ἔλεγε σοφὸς ὁ θεὸς, οὐδέν οἰομένοις¹ εἰ τοῦ 'εἰ' μορίον καὶ τοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀξιώματος πράγμα γίγνεσθαι, πάσας τὰς ἐρωτήσεις ὑποτεταγμένας τούτω καὶ νοῶν ὡς πράγματα καὶ προσιέμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἵδιον τὸ ἐρωτᾶν ὡς μάντιν ἔστω ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ εὐχεσθαι κοινὸν ὡς πρὸς θεόν, οὐχ ἠττον οἴονται τῆς πευστικῆς τῆς D εὐκτικῆς τὸ γράμμα περιέχειν δύναμιν 'εἰ γὰρ ὦφελον, φησίν ἐκαστὸς τῶν εὐχομένων, καὶ 'Αρχίλοχος
ei γὰρ ὡς² ἐμοὶ γένοιτο χεῖρα Νεοθυλῆς θυγεῖν.
kai τοῦ 'εἴθε' τὴν δευτέραν συλλαβήν³ παρέλκεσθαι φασιν, οἴον τὸ Σώφρωνος
ἀμα τέκνων θην δευομένα·
kai τὸ 'Ομηρικόν
ὡς θην καὶ σὸν ἐγὼ λύσω μένος·
ἐν⁴ δὲ τῶ 'εἰ' τὸ εὐκτικὸν καὶ ἀποχρώντως δηλοῦσθαι.'
6. Ταύτα τοῦ Νικάνδρου διελθόντος, οἴσθα γὰρ δὴ Θέωνα τὸν ἐταύρον, ήρετο τὸν 'Αμμώνιον εἰ

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¹ οἰομένοις Xylander: οἰομένος.
² ὡς Wytttenbach: ὡς.
³ Bernardakis would add ὀσπερ καὶ τὸ θην after συλλαβήν.
⁴ ἐν] ἐν Michael.

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⁵ Cf. the long list of questions thus introduced in Hunt 208
first place in every question of those who consult the oracle and inquire if they shall be victorious, if they shall marry, if it is to their advantage to sail the sea, if to take to farming, if to go abroad." But the god in his wisdom bade a long farewell to the logicians who think that nothing real comes out of the particle 'if' combined with what the consultant thinks proper to undertake, for the god conceives of all the inquiries subjoined to this as real things and welcomes them as such. And since to inquire from him as from a prophet is our individual prerogative, but to pray to him as to a god is common to all, they think that the particle contains an optative force no less than an interrogative. 'If only I could,' is the regular expression of a wish, and Archilochus says,

If to me it might be granted Neobulé's hand to touch.

And in using 'if only' they assert that the second word is added unnecessarily, like Sophron's 'surely':

Surely in want of children as well.

This is found also in Homer

Since I surely shall break your might

but, as they assert, the optative force is adequately indicated by the 'if.'

6. When Nicander had expounded all this, my friend Theon, whom I presume you know, asked


d ll. xvii. 29.
διαλεκτικὴ παρρησίας μέτεστιν οὕτω περιμβρισμένος ἔνως ἀκηκούσια: τοῦ δ’ Ἀρμονίου λέγειν παρακελευνόμενον καὶ βοηθείν, "ἀλλ’ ὅτι μέν," ἐφη, "διαλεκτικῶτατος ὁ θεός ἔστιν, οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν χρησμῶν δηλοῦσιν: τοῦ γὰρ αὐτοῦ δῆποισθὲν ἔστι καὶ λύειν καὶ ποιεῖν ἄμφιβολίας. ἔτι δ’, ὡσπερ Πλάτων ἔλεγε, χρησμοὶ δοθέντος ὅπως τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ βωμὸν διπλασιάσωσιν, ὁ τῆς ἀκρας ἐξεως περὶ γεωμετρίαν ἐργὸν ἔστιν, οὗ τοῦτο προστάτευεν τὸν θεὸν ἀλλὰ γεωμετρεῖν διακελεύεσθαι τοῖς "Ελλησίων. οὕτως ἀρα χρησμοὺς ἄμφιβόλους ἐκφέρων ὁ θεὸς αὐξεῖ καὶ συνίστησι διαλεκτικὴν ὡς ἀναγκαίαν τοῖς μέλλουσιν ὁρθῶς αὐτοῦ συνήσεων. ἐν δὲ διαλεκτικὴν δήπον μεγίστην ἔχει δύναμιν ὁ συναπτικὸς οὕτως σύνδεσμος, ἀτε δὴ τὸ λογικῶτατον σχηματίζων αξίωμα: πῶς γὰρ οὐ τοιοῦτο τὸ συνημένον, εἰ γε τῆς μὲν ὑπάρξεως τῶν πραγμάτων ἔχει καὶ τὰ θηρία γνῶσιν, ἀκολούθου δὲ θεωρίαν καὶ κρίσιν ἀνθρώπων μόνῳ παραδεῖδωκεν ἡ φύσις; ὁτι γὰρ ἡμέρα καὶ 'ψῶς ἔστιν' αἰσθάνονται δὴ τὸ δήπον καὶ λύκοι καὶ κύνες καὶ ὄρυκες. ὡστι δ’ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, 'ψῶς ἔστιν' οὕδεν ἀλλο συνίστησι πλὴν ἀνθρώπος, ἡγουμένου καὶ λῆγοντός ἐμφάσεως τε καὶ συναρτήσεως τούτων πρὸς ἀλληλα καὶ σχέσεως καὶ διαφορᾶς μόνος ἔχων ἐννοιαν, ἐξ ὃν ἀι ἀποδείκτες τῆς κυριωτᾶτης ἀρχῆς λαμβάνουσιν. ἐπει τούτων φιλοσοφία μὲν ἔστι περὶ ἀλήθειαν, ἀληθείας δὲ

1 περιμβρισμένως F.C.B.: περιμβρισμένη (Blass would add καὶ κακῶς before ἀκηκούσια).

2 καὶ γεωμετρεῖν in most mss.

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Ammonius if Logical Reason had any rights in free speech, after being spoken of in such a very insulting manner. And when Ammonius urged him to speak and come to her assistance, he said, "That the god is a most logical reasoner the great majority of his oracles show clearly; for surely it is the function of the same person both to solve and to invent ambiguities. Moreover, as Plato said, when an oracle was given that they should double the size of the altar at Delos a (a task requiring the highest skill in geometry), it was not this that the god was enjoining, but he was urging the Greeks to study geometry. And so, in the same way, when the god gives out ambiguous oracles, he is promoting and organizing logical reasoning as indispensable for those who are to apprehend his meaning aright. Certainly in logic this copulative conjunction has the greatest force, inasmuch as it clearly gives us our most logical form, the syllogism. Must not the character of the hypothetical syllogism be of this sort: granted that even wild animals have apperception of the existence of things, yet to man alone has Nature given the power to observe and judge the consequences? That "it is day" and that "it is light" assuredly wolves and dogs and birds perceive by their senses; but "if it is day, then it is light," no creature other than man apprehends, b for he alone has a concept of antecedent and consequent, of apparent implication and connexion of these things one with another, and their relations and differences, from which our demonstrations derive their most authoritative inception. Since, then, philosophy is concerned with truth, and the illumina-

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a Cf. von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, ii. 216 (p. 70) and 239 (p. 78).
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(387) φῶς ἀπόδειξις, ἀποδείξεως δ' ἀρχῇ τὸ συνημμένον, εἰκότως ἢ τοῦτο συνέχουσα καὶ ποιούσα δύναμις ὑπὸ σοφῶν ἄνδρῶν τῷ μάλιστα τὴν ἁλῆθειαν ἡγαπηκότι θεῷ καθιερώθη.

Β "Καὶ μάντις μὲν ὁ θεὸς μαντικὴ δὲ τέχνη περὶ τὸ μέλλον ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἢ παρωχημένων. οὖδενδές γὰρ οὖτ' ἀναίτιος ἢ γένεσις οὖτ' ἀλογος ἢ πρόγνωσις. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ πάντα τοὺς γεγονόσι τὰ γιγνόμενα τὰ τε γενησόμενα τοῖς γιγνομένοις ἐπεται καὶ συνήρτηται κατὰ διεύθον ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἰς τέλος περαιώσαν, ο ὁ τὰς αἰτίας εἰς ταῦτα συνδεῖν τε πρὸς ἄλληλα καὶ συμπλέκειν φυσικῶς ἐπιστάμενος οἶδε καὶ προλέγειν τὰ τ' ἐόντα τὰ τ' ἐσοσμένα πρὸ τ' ἐόντα.

καὶ καλῶς "Ομηρος πρῶτον ἐτάξε τὰ παρόντα εἶτα τὸ μέλλον καὶ τὸ παρωχημένων. ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ὄντος ὁ συλλογισμὸς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ συνημμένου δύναμιν, ὡς 'ει τὸδ' ἐστὶ, τὸδε προήγηται, καὶ πάλιν 'ει C τὸδ' ἐστὶ, τὸδε γενήσεται. τὸ γὰρ τεχνικοῦ καὶ λογικοῦ ὕστερ εὑρήται γνώσις ἀκολουθίας, τὴν δὲ πρόσληψιν ἢ αἰσθήσις τῶν λόγων δίδωσιν. διέν, εἰ καὶ γλυσχρον εἰπεῖν, οὐκ ἀποστρέφομαι τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν τῆς ἁλῆθειας τρίποδα τὸν λόγον, ός τὴν τοῦ λήγοντος πρὸς τὸ προηγούμενον ἀκολουθίαν θέμενος εἶτα προσλαβῶν τὴν ὑπαρξίν ἐπάγει τὸ συμπέραςμα τῆς ἀποδείξεως. τὸν οὖν Πύθιον, εἰ δὴ μουσικὴ τ' 3

1 προήγηται H. Richards: προηγεῖται.
2 γλύσχρον Wytenbach: αἰσχρόν.
3 μουσική τ' ] μουσικὴ τερπόμενος P. Maas.

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a Homer, II. i. 70.
tion of truth is demonstration, and the inception of demonstration is the hypothetical syllogism, then with good reason the potent element that effects the connexion and produces this was consecrated by wise men to the god who is, above all, a lover of the truth.

"The god, moreover, is a prophet, and the prophetic art concerns the future that is to result from things present and past. For there is nothing of which either the origin is without cause or the foreknowledge thereof without reason; but since all present events follow in close conjunction with past events, and all future events follow in close conjunction with present events, in accordance with a regular procedure which brings them to fulfilment from beginning to end, he who understands, in consonance with Nature, how to fathom the connexions and interrelations of the causes one with another knows and can declare

What now is, and in future shall be, and has been of aforetime.\(^a\)

Very excellently did Homer place first in order the present, then the future and the past, for the syllogism based on hypothesis has its source in what is; for example, 'if this is, then that has preceded,' and again, 'if this is, then that shall be.' The technical and rational element here, as has been stated, is the knowledge of consequences; but the senses provide the argument with its premise. Therefore, even if it be a poor thing to say, I shall not be turned aside from saying it, that this is the tripod of truth, namely, argument, which lays down the consequent relation of the conclusion to the antecedent, and then, premising the existent condition, induces the completion of the demonstration. Therefore, if the Pythian god
(387) ἤδεται καὶ κύκνων φωναῖς καὶ κυθάρας ψόφους, τί βαυμαστὸν ἐστι διαλεκτικὴς φιλία τοῦ ἀσπάζε- 

D σθαὶ τοῦ λόγου τὸ μέρος καὶ ἀγαπᾶν, ὃ μάλιστα καὶ πλείστω προσχωμένους ὅρα τοὺς φιλοσόφους; 

"Ὃ δ' Ἡρακλῆς, οὕτω τὸν Προμηθέα λευκῶς 

οúde τοῖς περὶ τὸν Χείρωνα καὶ "Ατλαντα σοφισταῖς 

dιελεγμένος ἄλλα νέος ὦν καὶ κομιδὴ Βοιῶτιος, 

ἀναιρῶν τὴν διαλεκτικὴν καὶ καταγελῶν τοῦ ἐὰν 

tὸ πρῶτον τὸ δεύτερον, ὑποσπάν ἐδοξε βίᾳ τὸν 

τρίποδα καὶ διαμάχησθαι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς 

téχνης, ἐπεὶ προϊόν γε τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ οὗτος ἐούκε 

μαντικώτατος ὁμοῦ γενέσθαι καὶ διαλεκτικῶτατος." 

7. Παυσαμένου δὲ τοῦ Θέωνος, Εὐστροφοῦν Ἀθη-

ναίον οἴμαι τὸν εἰπόντα εἶναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς, "ὅρας, 

Ε ὦς ἀμύνει τῇ διαλεκτικῇ Θέων προθύμως, μονονοῦ 

tὴν λεοντὴν ἐπενδυσάμενος; οὕτως ἡμᾶς τοὺς 

πάντα συλλήβδην πράγματα καὶ φύσεις καὶ ἀρχαὶ 

θεῖων ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀνθρωπεῖων ἐν ἀρίθμῳ τιθεμένους, 

καὶ πολὺ μάλιστα τῶν καλῶν καὶ τιμῶν τοῦτον 

ἡγεμόνα ποιομένους καὶ κύριον, εἰκὸς ἡ σχεῖ 

ἀγεν ἀλλ' ἀπάρξασθαι τῷ θεῷ τῆς φιλῆς μαθη-

ματικῆς, αὐτὸ μὲν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ μὴ δυνάμει μὴ 

μορφῆ μήτε τῷ ῥήματι τὸ εἰ τῶν ἀλλῶν στοιχείων 

dιαφέρειν ἡγουμένους, ὡς δὲ μεγάλον πρὸς τὰ 

όλα καὶ κυρίου σημείον ἀριθμοῦ τετιμησθαί τῆς 

1 οὕτως Wyttenbach: οὕτω. 

2 εἰκὸς Turnebus: εἰδῶς.

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a The Greek equivalent of "Philistine."

b Cf. Moralia, 413 a, 557 c, 560 d; Pausanias, x. 13. 4; 

Apollodorus, Bibliotheca, ii. 6. 2 (with Frazer's note in L.C.L. 

edition); Roscher, Lexikon der gr. und röm. Mythologie, 

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plainly finds pleasure in music and the songs of swans and the sound of lyres, what wonder is it that, because of his fondness for logical reasoning, he should welcome and love that portion of discourse of which he observes philosophers making the most particular and the most constant use?

"Heracles, before he had released Prometheus or had conversed with the sophists that were associated with Cheiron and Atlas, when he was young and a thorough Boeotian, would do away with logical reasoning; he ridiculed the 'if the first, then the second,' and resolved to carry off the tripod by force and fight it out with the god over his art; since, at any rate, as he advanced in years, he also appears to have become most skilled in prophecy and in logic."

7. When Theon ceased, Eustrohphus the Athenian, I think it was, said to us in answer, "Do you see how zealously Theon defends logic, all but arraying himself in the lion's skin? Under such conditions, we who repose in the Theory of Numbers all affairs together, natures and principles of things divine and human alike, and make this theory far above all else our guide and authority in all that is beautiful and valuable, should not be likely to hold our peace, but to offer to the god the first-fruits of our beloved mathematics, believing, as we do, that, taken by itself, E is not unlike the other letters either in power or in form or as a spoken word, but that it has come to be held in honour as the symbol of a great and sovereign number, the pempad, from which the wise

i. p. 2213; Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums, i. p. 463 ff. The attempt of Heracles to carry off the tripod is represented on the treasury of the Siphnians in the Museum at Delphi.
That is, by counting on the fingers: cf. 374 a, supra, and 429 d, infra.

b Cf. 431 a, infra.

c Cf. 429 a, infra.

d Cf. Moralia, 263 f, 1012 e, 1018 c, and Clement of Alexandria, Stromateis, v. chap. xiv. 93. 4 (p. 702 Potter).
gave the name ‘pempazein’ to counting which is done by fives.”

These words Eustrophus addressed to us not in jest, but for the reason that at this time I was devoting myself to mathematics with the greatest enthusiasm, although I was destined soon to pay all honour to the maxim ‘Avoid extremes,’ when I had once become a member of the Academy.

8. I said, therefore, that Eustrophus solved the difficulty most excellently with his number. “For since,” I continued, “every number may be classified as even or odd, and unity, by virtue of its potentiality, is common to both, for the reason that its addition makes the odd number even and the even number odd, and since two makes the first of the even numbers and three the first of the odd, and five is produced by the union of these numbers, very naturally five has come to be honoured as being the first number created out of the first numbers; and it has received the name of ‘marriage’ because of the resemblance of the even number to the female and of the odd number to the male. For in the division of numbers into two equal factors, the even number separates completely and leaves a certain receptive opening and, as it were, a space within itself; but in the odd, when it undergoes this process, there is always left over from the division a generative middle part. Wherefore it is more generative than the other, and in combination it is always dominant and is never dominated. For in no combination of these two numbers (even and odd) is there produced from the two an even number,

*Cf. Moralia, 288 c–e.
(388) μείζων ἄρτιος ἀλλὰ κατὰ πάσας περιττός. ἐτὶ δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτὸς ἐπιβάλλων αὐτῷ καὶ συντιθέμενος δεικνυοι τὴν διαφορὰν ἐκάτερος· ἄρτιος μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἄρτιο συνελθὼν περιττῶν παρέσχειν οὕτω εξέβη τοῦ οἰκείου ὑπ’ ἀσθενείας ἁγόνος· ὡς ἐτέρου καὶ ἀτελῆς· περιττοὶ δὲ μεγνύμενοι περιττοῖς ἄρτιοις πολλοὺς διὰ τὸ πάντῃ γόνυμον ἀποτελοῦσι.

C. τὰς δ’ ἄλλας οὐκ ἂν τις ἐν καιρῷ νῦν ἐπεξίοι δυνάμεις καὶ διαφορὰς τῶν ἀριθμῶν. ὡς οὖν ἄρρενος τε τοῦ πρῶτου καὶ θήλεος ὀμιλίας τὰ πέντε γιγνόμενα γάμον οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι προσεἰπον.

"Εστὶ δ’ ἢ καὶ φύσις λέεικται τῷ περὶ αὐτὸν πολλαπλασιασμῷ πάλιν εἰς ἑαυτὸν περαίνων. ὡς γὰρ ἡ φύσις λαβοῦσα πυρὸν ἐν σπέρματι καὶ χρησαμένη πολλὰ μὲν ἐν μέσῳ φύει σχῆμα καὶ εἴδη, δι’ ὅν ἐπὶ τέλος ἐξάγει τὸ ἑργον, ἐπὶ πάσι δὲ πυρὸν ἀνέδειξεν ἀποδοῦσα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν τῷ τελεί τοῦ παντὸς, οὕτω τῶν λοιπῶν ἀριθμῶν, ὅταν αὐτοῦ πολλαπλασιάσωσιν, εἰς ἑτέρους τελευτῶντων τῇ Δ αὐξήσει, μόνος δὲ τῶν πέντε καὶ ἕξ γενόμενος τοσαυτάκις αὐτοὺς ἀναφέρουσι καὶ ἀνασώζουσιν. ἔξακις γὰρ τὰ ἔξ τριακονταέξ, καὶ πεντάκις τὰ πέντε εἰκοσιπέντε γίγνεται. καὶ πάλιν δὲ μὲν τῶν ἕξ ἀπαξ τοῦτο ποιεῖ καὶ μοναχῶς αὐτὸς ἀφ’ οὗτοι τετράγωνος γιγνόμενος· τῇ δὲ πεμπάδι καὶ τοῦτο μὲν συμβέβηκε κατὰ πολλαπλασιασμόν, ἀδικεὶ δὲ τὸ 1 τοῦ οἰκείου F.C.B.: το οἰκείον.

2 ἁγόνος Xylander: ἀπόγονος.

3 ὀμιλία Wyttenbach: ὤμη διὰ ὅρμος ὀργοτήτου.

4 χρησαμένη F.C.B.: χθαμένη ορ χθαμένη ορ χθαμένη.

5 πεμπάδι Bernardakis: πεντάδι.
but in all combinations an odd. Moreover, each when applied to itself and made composite with itself shows the difference. For no even number united with even gives an odd number, nor does it ever show any departure from its own distinctive nature, being impotent through its weakness to produce the other number, and having no power of accomplishment; but odd numbers combined with odd produce a numerous progeny of even numbers because of their omnipresent generative function. It would not be timely at this moment to enumerate the other potent properties and divergences of numbers; let it suffice to say that the Pythagoreans called Five a ‘Marriage’ on the ground that it was produced by the association of the first male number and the first female number.

‘There is also a sense in which it has been called ‘Nature,’ since by being multiplied into itself it ends in itself again. For even as Nature receives wheat in the form of seed and puts it to its use, and creates in the interim many shapes and forms through which she carries out the process of growth to its end, but, to crown all, displays wheat again, and thus presents as her result the beginning at the end of the whole, so in like manner, while the other numbers when raised to a power end in different numbers as the result of the increase, only the numbers five and six, when multiplied by themselves, repeat themselves and preserve their identity. Thus six times six is thirty-six, and five times five is twenty-five; and furthermore, the number six does this but once, and the single instance is when it is squared; but with five this result is obtained in raising it to any power, and it has a unique characteristic, when added to
(388) κατὰ σύνθεσιν ἦ ἐαυτὴν¹ ἦ τὴν² δεκάδα ποιεῖν παρὰ μέρος ἐπιβάλλουσαν³ ἐαυτῇ, καὶ τούτῳ γίγνεσθαι μέχρι παντὸς, ἀπομιμομένου τοῦ ἄριθμοῦ τὴν τὰ ὀλὰ διακοσμοῦσαν ἄρχὴν. ὥς γὰρ ἐκεῖνην ἀλλάττουσαν⁴ ἐκ μὲν ἐαυτῆς τὸν κόσμον ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κόσμου ἔπαιλν ἀὐ ἐαυτὴν ἀποτελεῖν ‘πυρὸς τ’ ἀνταμείβεσθαι⁵ πάντα,’ φησὶν ὁ Ἰράκλειτος, ’καὶ πῦρ ἀπάντων, ὅκωσπερ⁶ χρυσοῦ χρήματα καὶ χρημάτων χρυσὸς,’ οὔτως ἦ τῆς πεμπάδος⁷ πρὸς ἐαυτὴν σύνοδος οὐδὲν οὔτ’ ἀτελέος οὔτ’ ἀλλότριον γεννᾶν πέφυκεν, ἀλλ’ ὁρισμένας ἔχει μεταβολάς· ἦ γὰρ αὐτὴν ἦ τὴν δεκάδα γεννᾶ, τούτεστιν ἦ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἦ τὸ τέλειον.

9. "Εὰν οὖν ἔρθητι τις, τί ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, φήσομεν οὐχὶ μόνον ἄλλα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δίονυσον, ὥς τὼν Δελφῶν οὐδὲν ἤττον ἦ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι μέτεστιν. ἀκούομεν οὖν τῶν θεολόγων Φ τὰ μὲν ἐν ποιήμασι τὰ δ’ ἀνευ μέτρου λεγόντων καὶ ἀμοινοῦτων ὡς ἀφθαρτὸς ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἀιδίος πεψωκός, ύπὸ δὴ τῶν εἰμαρμένης γνώμης καὶ λόγου μεταβολής ἐαυτοῦ χρώμενος ἀλλοτε μὲν εἰς πῦρ ἀνήψε τὴν φύσιν⁸ πάνθ’ ὅμοιώσας πᾶσιν, ἀλλοτε δὲ παντοδαπὸς ἐν τε μορφαῖς καὶ ἐν πάθεσι καὶ δυνάμει διαφόρους γιγνόμενος, ὡς γίγνεται νῦν

¹ ἦ ἐαυτὴν Stegmann: καθ’ ἐαυτὴν.
² τὴν added by Bernardakis.
³ ἐπιβάλλουσαν Emperius (ἐπιβαλλοῦσα Madvig): ἐπιβαλλοῦσα.
⁵ ἀνταμείβεσθαι Wyettenbach: ἀνταμείβεται or ἀνταμοίβηται (ἀνταμοίβητιν τὰ Bernardakis and Schwartz, ἀνταμοίβητα Paton).
⁶ ὅκωσπερ Bernardakis: (ἐκ) ὅρατον.
itself, of producing either itself or ten alternately as the addition progresses, and of doing this to infinity, since this number takes its pattern from the primal principle which orders the whole. For as that principle by changes creates a complete universe out of itself, and then in turn out of the universe creates itself again, as Heracleitus says, ‘and exchanges fire for all and all for fire, as gold for goods and goods for gold,’ so, in like manner, the conjunction of five with itself is determined by Nature’s law to produce nothing incomplete or foreign, but it has strictly limited changes; it produces either itself or ten, that is to say, either its own characteristic or the perfect whole.

9. “If, then, anyone ask, ‘What has this to do with Apollo?’ we shall say that it concerns not only him, but also Dionysus, whose share in Delphi is no less than that of Apollo. Now we hear the theologians affirming and reciting, sometimes in verse and sometimes in prose, that the god is deathless and eternal in his nature, but, owing forsooth to some predestined design and reason, he undergoes transformations of his person, and at one time enkindles his nature into fire and makes it altogether like all else, and at another time he undergoes all sorts of changes in his form, his emotions and his powers, even as the

a That is, a number ending in 5 or 0. Cf. 429 d, infra.
b Diels, Frag. der Vorsokratiker, i. p. 95, Heracleitus, no. B 90.
c Cf. 365 A, supra, and Lucan, v. 73-74; and for the proverb cf. Moralia, 280 D and the note.

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7 πεμπάδος Bernardakis: πεντάδος.
8 τήν φύσιν Reiske: τῇ φύσει.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

§ 1 κόσμος, ὄνομάζεται δὲ τῷ γνωριμωτάτῳ τῶν ὄνομάτων. κρυπτόμενοι δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς οἱ σοφῶτεροι τὴν μὲν εἰς πῦρ μεταβολὴν Ἀπόλλωνα τε τῇ μονώσει Φοῖβον τε τῷ καθαρῷ καὶ ἀμιάντῳ 389 καλοῦσι. τῆς δ' εἰς πνεύματα καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν καὶ ἄστρα καὶ φυτῶν ζώων τε γενέσεις τροπῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ διακοσμήσεως τὸ μὲν πάθημα καὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν διασπασμὸν τινα καὶ διαμελισμὸν αἰνίτοτονται. Διόνυσον δὲ καὶ Ζαγρεά καὶ Νυκτέλιον καὶ Ἰσοδαίτην αὐτὸν ὄνομάζουσι, καὶ φθοράς τινας καὶ ἀφανισμοὺς εἶτα δὲ ἀναβιώσεις καὶ παλιγγενεσίας, οἰκεία ταῖς εἰρημέναις μεταβολαίς αἰνίγματα καὶ μυθεύματα περαίνουσι· καὶ ἄδουσι τῷ μὲν διθυραμβικὰ μέλη παθῶν μεστὰ καὶ μεταβολῆς πλάνην τινὰ καὶ διαφόρησιν ἐξούσιος.

B 'μιξοβόαν,' γὰρ Αἰσχύλος φησί, 'πρέπει διθύραμβον ὀμαρτεῖν σύγκωμον Διονύσω.'

tῷ δὲ παιάνα, τεταγμένην καὶ σώφρονα μοῦσαν.

"'Αγήρων τε τοῦτον ἄει καὶ νέον ἐκεῖνον δὲ πολυειδῆ καὶ πολύμορφον ἐν γραφαῖς καὶ πλάσμασι δημιουργοῦσι· καὶ ὅλως τῷ μὲν ὀμαλότητα καὶ τάξιν καὶ σπουδὴν ἀκρατον, τῷ δὲ μεμειγμένην

1 d added by F.C.B.
2 ἀφανισμοὺς] ἐμφανισμοὺς van Herwerden, cf. 371 B.
3 εἶτα δ' Stegmann: οἱ τὰς.
4 ἀναβιώσεις Amyot from 364 f: ἀποβιώσεις.
5 σύγκωμον Wyttenbach: σύγκωκον, σύγκονον, or σύγγονον.
6 ὀμαλότητα Hubert, comp. 52 A: ὀμοιότητα.
universe does to-day; but he is called by the best known of his names.\textsuperscript{a} The more enlightened, however, concealing from the masses the transformation into fire, call him Apollo because of his solitary state,\textsuperscript{b} and Phoebus because of his purity and stainlessness.\textsuperscript{c} And as for his turning into winds and water, earth and stars, and into the generations of plants and animals, and his adoption of such guises, they speak in a deceptive way of what he undergoes in his transformation as a tearing apart, as it were, and a dismemberment. They give him the names of Dionysus, Zagreus, Nyctelius, and Isodaetes; they construct destructions and disappearances, followed by returns to life and regenerations—riddles and fabulous tales quite in keeping with the aforesaid transformations. To this god they also sing the dithyrambic strains laden with emotion and with a transformation that includes a certain wandering and dispersion. Aeschylus,\textsuperscript{d} in fact, says

\begin{quote}
Fitting it is that the dithyramb
With its fitful notes should attend
Dionysus in revel rout.
\end{quote}

But to Apollo they sing the paean, music regulated and chaste.

"Apollo the artists represent in paintings and sculpture as ever ageless and young, but Dionysus they depict in many guises and forms; and they attribute to Apollo in general a uniformity, orderliness, and unadulterated seriousness, but to Dionysus a certain

\textsuperscript{a} Cf. Stobaeus, Eclogae Phys. et Ethic. i. 21. 5 (i. p. 184. 11 ed. Wachsmuth).
\textsuperscript{b} Cf. 354 b, 381 f, supra, and 393 b, infra.
\textsuperscript{c} Cf. 393 c, infra.
\textsuperscript{d} Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag., Aeschylus, no. 355.
(389) τινὰ παιδιᾶ καὶ ὑβρεὶ καὶ σπουδῆ καὶ μανία προσφέροντες ἀνωμαλίαν,

' εὖιον ὀρσιγύναικα1 μανομέναις Διόνυσον ἀνθέοντα τιμαῖς'

ἀνακαλοῦσιν, οὐ φαύλως ἐκατέρας μεταβολῆς τὸ οἰκεῖον λαμβάνοντες.

C ' Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἰσος ὁ τῶν περιόδων ἐν ταῖς μεταβολαῖς χρόνος, ἀλλὰ μεῖζων ὁ τῆς ἑτέρας ἦν 'κόρον' καλοῦσιν, ὁ δὲ τῆς 'χρησμοσύνης' ἔλαττων, τὸ κατὰ λόγον τηροῦντες ἐνταῦθα τὸν μὲν ἄλλον ἐνιαυτὸν παῖαν χρώνται περὶ τὰς θυσίας, ἀρχομένου δὲ χειμώνος ἐπεγείραμες τὸν διηὐραμβὸν τὸν δὲ παῖαν καταπαύσαντες, τρεῖς μῆνας ἀντὶ ἐκεῖνου τούτον κατακαλοῦντα τὸν θεόν, ὅπερ τρία πρὸς ἐννέα2 τοῦτο τὴν διακόσμησιν οἰόμενοι χρόνῳ πρὸς τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν εἰναι.

10. ' 'Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἑκανοῦ καιροῦ μᾶλλον ἀπομεμηκυνται. δῆλον δ' ὅτι συνουκειούσων αὐτῇ3 τὴν πεμπάδα,4 νῦν μὲν αὐτὴν ἐαυτὴν ὡς τὸ πῦρ

D αὖθις δὲ τὴν δεκάδα ποιοῦσαν εἴς εαυτῆς ὡς τὸν κόσμον. τῆς δὲ δὴ μάλιστα κεχαρισμένης τῷ θεῷ μουσικῆς οὐκ οἰόμεθα τούτῳ τῷ ἀριθμῷ μετείκαι; τὸ γὰρ πλείστον ὡς ἐνι' εἰπεῖν ἐργον ἀρμονικῆς περὶ τὰς συμφωνίας ἐστίν. αὐτὰ δ' ὅτι πέντε καὶ οὐ πλείους ὁ λόγος ἑξελέγχη τὸν ἐν χορδαῖς καὶ τρυ-

1 εὖιον ὀρσιγύναικα Reiske: ἐννορεὶ γυναῖκα and other variants in the other quotations.
2 ἐννέα Bases and Strijil: ἐν οίρ ἐν οὔσα.
3 αὐτῷ Meziriacus: αὐτὸν οἶ.
4 πεμπάδα Bernardakis: πειτάδα.

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variability combined with playfulness, wantonness, seriousness, and frenzy. They call upon him:

Euoe Bacchus who incites
Womankind, Dionysus who delights
'Mid his honours fraught with frenzy,
not inappositely apprehending the peculiar character of each transformation.

"But since the time of the cycles in these transformations is not equal, but that of the one which they call 'Satiety," is longer, and that of 'Dearth' shorter, they observe the ratio, and use the paean at their sacrifices for a large part of the year; but at the beginning of winter they awake the dithyramb and, laying to rest the paean, they use the dithyramb instead of it in their invocations of the god; for they believe that, as three is to one, so is the relation of the creation to the conflagration.

10. "But these remarks have been extended somewhat beyond what the occasion requires. However, it is clear that men make Five an attribute of the god, which at one time of itself creates itself, like fire, and at another time out of itself creates ten, like the universe. And in music, which is especially pleasing to him, do we imagine that this number plays no part? For the main application of harmony, so far as it can be put into words, is concerned with chords. That these are five, and no more, reason convinces anyone who wishes, by perception alone without

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a Cf. Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. iii. p. 730, Adespota, no. 131; quoted by Plutarch in Moralia, 607 c and 671 c also.

b Cf. von Arnim, Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta, ii. 616 (p. 186); Philo, De Spec. Leg. i. 208.

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5 aυτην] aυτη in most mss.
6 ἐν] ἐπος Camerarius.
(389) πήμασι ταύτα θηράν ἀλόγως τῇ αἰσθήσει βουλόμενον. πάσαι γὰρ ἐν λόγοις τὴν γένεσιν ἀριθμῶν λαμβάνουσιν· καὶ λόγος ἐστὶ τῆς μὲν διὰ τεττάρων ἐπίτριτος, τῆς δὲ διὰ πέντε ἡμιόλιος, διυπλάσιος δὲ τῆς διὰ πασῶν, τῆς δὲ διὰ πασῶν καὶ διὰ πέντε τρυπλάσιος, τῆς δὲ διὰ πασῶν τετραπλάσιος. ἦν

Ε δὲ ταύτας ἐπεισάγονσιν οἱ ἄρμονικοι διὰ πασῶν καὶ διὰ τεττάρων ὠνομάζοντες ἔξω μέτρου βαίνουσαν οὐκ ἀξιόν ἐστι δέχεσθαι τῆς ἀκοῆς τῷ ἀλόγῳ παρὰ τὸν λόγον ὦσπερ νόμον χαριζομένους. ἦν τούνων ἀφὼ πέντε τετραχόρδων θέσεις, καὶ πέντε τοὺς πρώτους, εἴτε τόνου ἡ τρόπους εἰδ' ἄρμονίας χρῆ καλεῖν, ὡς ἐπιτάσσει καὶ υφέσει τρεπομένων κατὰ τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ ἴπτον αἱ λοιπαὶ βαρύτητές εἰσὶ καὶ ὀξύτητες, ἄρ' οὐχὶ πολλῶν, μᾶλλον δ' ἀπείρων, διαστημάτων ὄντων τὰ μελῳδούμενα μόνα πέντε.

F ἦστι, δύσις καὶ ἡμιτόνων καὶ τόνος καὶ τρυππο τόνων καὶ δίτονον, ἀλλ' δ' οὔτεν οὔτε μικρότερον οὔτε μεῖζον ἐν φωναῖς χωρίων ὀξύτητι καὶ βαρύτητι περατούμενον μελῳδητὸν ἦστι.

11. "Πολλὰ δ' ἄλλα τοιαῦτα," ἐφ' ἔγῳ, "παρελθὼν τὸν Πλάτωνα προσάξομαι λέγοντα κόσμον ἕνα, ὡς εἴπερ εἰςι παρὰ τοῦτον ἔτεροι καὶ μὴ μόνος οὕτος εἰς, πέντε τοὺς πάντας ὄντας καὶ μὴ πλείονας. οὔ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ εἰς οὕτος ἢ μονογενῆς, ὡς οἴεσαι καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης, τρόπον τινὰ καὶ τοῦτον ἐκ πέντε

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1 Wyttenbach: ὄς.
2 εἰς Wyttenbach: εἰς.

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α Cf. Plato, Republic, 530 d–531 c.
β Cf. Moralia, 1018 ε.
γ Cf. 429 ε, infra.
δ Cf. 430 Α, infra, and Moralia, 1021 ε and 1029 Α.
ε Cf. 430 Α, infra.
ζ Plato, Timaeus, 31 Α.
employing reason, to pursue these matters on the strings and stops; for they all have their origin in numerical ratios. The ratio of the fourth is four to three, that of the fifth is three to two, and that of the octave two to one; that of the octave plus the fifth is three to one, and that of the double octave four to one. The extra chord which the writers on harmony introduce, naming it the octave and the fourth extra metrum, does not deserve acceptance, since we should be favouring the unreasoning element in our sense of hearing contrary to reason, which is as much as to say, contrary to law. Now if I may omit any discussion of the five stops of the tetrachord, and the first five 'tones' or 'tropes' or 'harmonies,' whatever be their right name, from the changes in which, through a greater or a less tension, the remaining lower and higher notes are derived, I must ask whether, although the intervals are numerous, or rather of infinite number, yet the elements of melody are not five only, quarter tone, half tone, tone, a tone plus a half tone, and double tone; and there is, in the range of notes, no additional space, either smaller or greater within the limits set by the high and the low, which can yield melody.

11. "There are many other examples of this sort of thing," said I, "which I shall pass over. I shall merely adduce Plato, who, in speaking about a single world, says that if there are others besides ours, and ours is not the only one, then there are five altogether and no more. Nevertheless, even if this world of ours is the only one ever created, as Aristotle also thinks, even ours, he says, is in a way put together through

*Cf. Moralia, 421 f, 422 f, 430 b, and 887 b.*

*De Caelo, i. 8-9 (276 a 18).*

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390 συγκείμενον κόσμων καὶ συνημοσμένον εἶναι· ὅν ὁ μὲν ἐστὶ γῆς ὁ δ’ ὕδατος, τρίτος δὲ πυρὸς καὶ τέταρτος ἄρεως1· τὸν δὲ πέμπτον οὐρανοῦ2 οἱ δὲ φῶς οἱ δ’ αἰθέρα καλοῦσιν, οἱ δ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πέμπτην οὐσίαν, ἢ τὸ κύκλῳ περιφέρεσθαι μόνῃ τῶν σωμάτων κατὰ φύσιν ἔστιν, οὐκ ἐξ ἀνάγκης οὔτε ἄλλως συμβεβηκός.3 διὸ δὴ καὶ τὰ πέντε καὶ καλιστα καὶ τελευτάτα σχῆματα τῶν ἐν τῇ φύσει κατανοήσας, πυραμίδα καὶ κύβον καὶ ὀκτάεδρον καὶ εἰκοσάεδρον καὶ δωδεκάεδρον, ἐκαστὸν οἰκείως ἐκάστῳ προσένεμεν.

Β 12. "Εἰς δ’ οἱ καὶ τὰς τῶν αἰσθήσεων δυνάμεις ἰσαρίθμους οὕσας τοῖς πρῶτοι ἐκεῖνοις συνοικείοις, τὴν μὲν ἀφήν ὀρῶντες ἀντίτυπον οὕσαν καὶ γεώθη, τὴν δὲ γεώσιν ὑγρότητι τῶν γενεστῶν τὰς ποιότητας προσεμένην. ἀρὴ δὲ πληγεῖς ἐν4 ἀκοή γίγνεται φωνῇ καὶ ψόφῃ. δυνὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ὀσμῆ εὑρὶ, ἥ ὢσφρησις εἶληκεν, ἀναθυμίασις οὕσα καὶ γεννωμένῃ θερμότητι πυρὸις ἔστιν· αἰθέρε δὲ καὶ φωτὶ διὰ συγγένειαν διαλαμπόουσα τῆς οὐσίας γίγνεται κράσις εξ ἁμοίων ὁμοιοπαθῆς καὶ σύμπηξίς. ἀλλην δ’ οὔτε τὸ ζῷον αἰσθητὸν οὕθ’ ὁ κόσμος ἔχει φύσιν ἀπλῆ καὶ ἅμεικτον· ἄλλα θαυμαστῇ τις, ὡς ἐνεκε, διανομῇ γέγονε τῶν πέντε πρὸς τὰ πέντε καὶ

C σύλληξις.

13. "Αμα δὲ πως ἐπιστῆσας καὶ διαλιπόν, "οἶνον," εἶπον, "ὁ Ἐὐστροφε, πεπόνθαμεν, ὅλιγον παρελθόντες τὸν "Ομηρον, ὡς οὐχὶ πρῶτον εἰς

1 τρίτος δὲ καὶ τέταρτος πυρὸς καὶ ἄρεος Paton on slight ms. authority.
2 οὐρανῶν] οἱ μὲν οὐρανῶν Wytenbach.
3 συμβεβηκός Meziriacus: συμβεβηκότος.
4 ἐν] τῇ?
the union of five worlds, of which one is of earth, another of water, a third of fire, a fourth of air; and the fifth, the heavens, others call light, and others aether, and others call this very thing a fifth substance (Quintessence), which alone of the bodies has by nature a circular motion that is not the result of any compelling power or any other incidental cause. Wherefore also Plato, apparently noting the five most beautiful and complete forms among those found in Nature, pyramid, cube, octahedron, icosahedron, and dodecahedron, appropriately assigned each to each.

12. "There are some who associate the senses also, since they are of the same number, with those primal elements, observing that touch functions against something resistant, and is earthly, and that taste, through moisture in the things tasted, absorbs their qualities. Air, when it is struck, becomes voice or sound in the hearing of it. Of the two remaining senses, odour, which the sense of smell has received as its portion, since it is an exhalation and is engendered by heat, bears a resemblance to fire; and in sight, which flashes to its goal owing to its kinship with aether and light, there occurs a combination and coalescence of the two, which behaves as they do. The living being possesses no other sense, nor has the world any other nature single and uncombined; but a marvellous distribution and apportionment each to each has, as it seems, been made of the five to the five."

13. Therewith I checked myself and, after waiting a moment, said, "What ails us, Eustrophus, that we all but passed over Homer a as if he were not the first

a Il. xv. 187.
(390) πέντε νείμαντα μερίδας τὸν κόσμον, ὅς τὰς μὲν ἐν μέσῳ τρεῖς ἀποδέδωκε τοῖς τρισὶ θεοΐς, δύο δὲ τὰς ἀκρας ὅλυμπον καὶ γῆν, ἃν ἡ μὲν ἐστι τῶν κάτω πέρας ὁ δὲ τῶν ἄνω, κοινὰς καὶ ἀνεμήτους ἀφήκεν.

"'Αλλ' ἀνοιστέος ὁ 'λόγος,' ὡς Εὐρυπίδης φησίν. οἱ γὰρ τὴν τετράδα σεμνύναντες ὁ υἱὸς διδάσκοντι, οτι τῷ ταύτῃ λόγῳ πᾶν σῶμα γένεσιν ἐσχηκεν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐν μήκει καὶ πλάτει βάθος Δ λαβόντι πᾶν τὸ στερεὸν ἐστὶ, καὶ μήκος μὲν προ-

υφίσταται στιγμῇ κατὰ μονάδα ταττομένη, μήκος δὲ ἀπλατές ἡ γραμμὴ καλεῖται καὶ δύνας ἐστὶν, ἡ δ' ἐπὶ πλάτος γραμμῆς κίνησις ἐπιφανείᾳ γένεσιν ἐν τριάδι παρέσχε, βάθος δὲ τούτῳ προσγενομένου διὰ τεττάρων εἰς στερεὸν ἡ αὐξήσις προβαίνει, παντὶ δὴλον ὅτι μέχρι δεύρῳ τὴν φύσιν ἡ τετράς προαγαγοῦσα, μέχρι τοῦ σώμα τελείωσαι καὶ παρα-

σχεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀγκοῦ καὶ ἀντίτυπον, εἰτ' ἀπολέοντεν E ἐνδείᾳ τοῦ μεγίστου. τὸ γὰρ ἄψυχον ὡς ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν ὀρφανὸν καὶ ἀτέλες καὶ πρὸς οὐδ' ὀτιοῦν, μὴ χρωμενῆς ψυχῆς, ἐπιτήδειον· ἡ δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐμποίουσα κίνησις ἡ διάθεσις, μεταβολὴ διὰ πέντε γενομένη, τῇ φύσει τὸ τέλειον ἀποδίδωσι, καὶ τοσοῦτο κυριώτερον ἔχει τῆς τετράδος λόγον, ὅσῳ τιμῇ διαφέρει τοῦ ἄψυχος τῷ ζῷον.

"Ετι δ' ἴσχύσας μάλλον ἡ τῶν πέντε συμμετρία καὶ δύναμις οὐκ εἰσεῖν εἰς ἀπειρα γενή προελθεῖν τὸ ἐμψυχον, ἀλλὰ πέντε τῶν ζώντων ἀπάντων ἕδειας

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1 σεμνύναντες] σεμνύνοντες Wyttenbach.
2 δύνας Reiske: μήκος.
3 ἀπὸν Reiske: διττὸν.

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to divide the world into five parts? For he duly assigned the three in the middle to the three gods, and the two extremes, the heaven and the earth, of which the one is the boundary of things below and the other of things above, he left to all in common, undistributed.

"But the discussion must be carried further back," as Euripides remarks. For those who exalt Four teach us a lesson that is not without value, that by reason of this number all solids have come into being. For since every such solid body exists through the acquisition of depth by length and breadth, and for length must be presupposed a single point assigned to unity, and length without breadth, which is called a line, is also duality, and the movement of the line breadthwise generates a plane in the third instance, and when depth is added, through the four factors the increase progresses to a solid—it is clear to everyone that four, when it has carried Nature forward to the point of completing a solid body and producing a volume that may be felt and that is resistant, has then left Nature lacking in the most important thing of all. For the inanimate thing is, to put it simply, orphaned, incomplete, and good for nothing, unless there be an animating soul to make use of it. The impulse or dispensation that creates the soul therein, a transformation brought about through five factors in all, gives to Nature its due completeness, and is as much more potent than four as the living being differs in worth from the inanimate thing.

Moreover, the symmetry and power of five, rather than that of any other number, has prevailed and has not permitted the animate to progress to unlimited classes of beings, but has produced five forms
παρέσχεν. εἰσὶ γὰρ θεοὶ δήποτε καὶ δαίμονες καὶ ἥρωες καὶ μετὰ τούτως τὸ τέταρτον ἄνθρωποι γένος, ἐσχατον δὲ καὶ πέμπτον τὸ ἀλογον καὶ θηρίωδες.

"Εἰτ δ' εἰ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτὴν κατὰ φύσιν διαιροῖς, πρῶτον αὐτῆς καὶ ἀμαυροτάτων ἐστὶ τὸ θρεπτικόν, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ αὐθητικόν, εἶτα τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν, εἰτ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸ θυμοειδές· εἰς δὲ τὴν τοῦ λογιστικοῦ δύναμιν ἐξικομενή καὶ τελεώσασα τὴν φύσιν ὄσπερ ἐν ἀκρῷ τῷ πέμπτῳ καταπέπαυται.

14. "Τοσαῦτας δὲ καὶ τηλικαύταις ἔχοντος τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ δυνάμεις, καλὴ καὶ ἡ γένεσὶς ἐστὶν, οὐχ ἢν ἢδη διηλθομεν, ἐκ δυάδος οὐσαν¹ καὶ τριάδος, ἀλλ' ἢν ἡ ἁρχὴ² τῷ πρῶτῳ συνελθούσα τετραγώνων παρέσχεν. ἁρχὴ μὲν γὰρ ἀριθμοῦ παντὸς ἡ μονὰς, τετράγωνος δὲ πρῶτος ἡ τετράς· ἐκ δὲ τούτων, ὄσπερ ἱδέας καὶ ύλῆς πέρας ἔχονσις, ἡ πεπμάς. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ τὴν μονάδα τετράγωνον ὀρθῶς ἔνει τιθενται, δύναμιν οὐσαν ἐαυτῆς καὶ περαινουσαν εἰς ἐαυτῆν, ἐκ δυοῖν περικυκλία τῶν πρῶτων τετραγώνων ἡ πεπμάς οὐκ ἀπολέοιτεν ὑπερβολὴν εὐγενείας.

15. "Τὸ δὲ μέγιστον," ἔφη, "δέδια μὴ ῥηθέν πιέζῃ τὸν Πλάτωνα ἡμῶν, ὥσ ἐκείνος ἔλεγε πιέζεσθαι τῷ τῆς σελήνης ὀνόματι τὸν 'Ἀναξαγόρα', παμπάλαιον οὐσάν τινα τὴν περὶ τῶν φωτισμῶν δοξάν αὐτοῦ ἰδίαν ποιοῦμενον. ἡ γὰρ οὐ ταῦτ' εὑρηκεν ἐν Κρατύλῳ;")

"Πάνω μὲν οὖν," ὁ Ἐὐστροφος ἔφη, "τί δ' ὅμοιον πέφυκεν οὐ συνορῶ."
of all living things. For there are, as we know, gods, demigods, and heroes, and after these the fourth class, man\(^a\); and fifth and last the class of unreasoning animals.

"If you should, moreover, make divisions of the soul itself to accord with Nature, the first and least clear part of it is the nutritive, second the perceptive, then the appetitive, and, next after this, the spirited; but when it had reached the power to reason, and had completed its nature, it came to rest there at the fifth element as at the highest point.\(^b\)

14. "Of this number, which has so many and such great powers, the origin also is fair and lovely; not that which we have expounded, that it is composed of two and three, but that which the beginning combined with the first square produces. For the beginning of all number is one, and the first square is four\(^c\); and from these, as though from perfected form and matter, comes five. And if certain authorities are right, who, as we know, posit one as the first square, since it is a power of itself and its product is itself, then five, the offspring of the first two squares, does not lack a surpassing nobility of lineage.

15. "But," said I, "the most important matter I fear may embarrass our Plato when it is stated, just as he said that Anaxagoras was embarrassed by the name of the Moon, since he tried to claim as his own some very ancient opinion in regard to its illumination. Has not Plato said this in the Cratylus?"\(^d\)

"Certainly," said Eustrophus, "but what similarity there is I do not see."

\(^a\) Cf. 415\(v\), infra.  
\(^b\) Cf. 429\(r\), infra.  
\(^c\) Cf. 429\(r\), infra.  
\(^d\) Plato, Cratylus, 409\(a\).
(391) "Καὶ μήν οἶσθα δῆπονθεν, ὅτι πέντε μὲν ἐν Σοφίστῃ τὰς κυριωτάτας ἀποδείκνυσιν ἀρχάς, τὸ ὄν τὸ ταῦτον τὸ ἔτερον, τέταρτον δὲ καὶ πέμπτον ἐπὶ τούτοις κύνησιν καὶ στάσιν. ἀλλὰ δ’ αὖ τρόπῳ διαφέρεις εἰς Φιλήμβων χρώμενος, ἐν μὲν εἰναι φησίν τὸ ἀπειρον ἔτερον δὲ τὸν πέρας τούτων δὲ μεγνυ-
μένων πᾶσαν συνιστάσθαι γένεσιν. οίτιαν δ’, υφ’ ἣς μείγνυται, τέταρτον γένος τίθεται καὶ πέμπτον
C ὑμῖν ὑπονοεῖν ἀπολέλοιπεν, ὃ τὰ μειχθέντα πάλιν ἠσχει διάκρισιν καὶ διάστασιν. τεκμαίρομαι δὲ ταῦτ’ ἐκείνων ὡσπερ εἰκόνας λέγεσθαι, τοῦ μὲν ὄντος τὸ γιγνόμενον, κινήσεως δὲ τὸ ἀπειρον, τὸ δὲ πέρας τῆς στάσεως, ταῦτοῦ δὲ τὴν μεγνύουσαν ἀρχήν, θατέρου δὲ τὴν διακρίνουσαν. εἰ δ’ ἔτερα ταῦτ’ ἐστι, κάκεινως ἃν εἴη καὶ οὕτως ἐν πέντε
gένεσι καὶ διαφοράς τιθέμενος.  
""Εφθη δ’ ἡ τις ταῦτα πρῶτερον συνιδὼν Πλάτωνος,
διὸ εἰ καθιέρωσε τῷ θεῷ, δήλωμα καὶ σύμβολον
tοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν πάντων.
""Ἀλλὰ μήν καὶ τάγαθον ἐν πέντε γένεσι φαντα-
D ἱμενον κατανοήσας, ὃν πρῶτον ἐστὶ τὸ μέτριον,
δεύτερον δὲ τὸ σύμμετρον, καὶ τρίτον ὁ νοῦς καὶ
tέταρτον αἱ περὶ ψυχήν ἐπιστήμαι καὶ τέχναι καὶ
dόξαι ἀληθείς, πέμπτον δ’ εἰ τις ἡδονή καθαρά

1 τὸ omitted in all mss. but one.
2 γένεσι] γενέσει in most mss.
3 τιθέμενος Wilamowitz-Möllendorff: πυθόμενος.
4 ἐφθη F.C.B.: φησι or φησει.
5 διὸ F.C.B.: δῦο.
6 δ’ added added by Bernardakis.
"Well, you know, of course, that in the *Sophist* he demonstrates that the supreme first principles are five: Being, Identity, Divergence, and fourth and fifth besides these, Motion and Rest. But in the *Philebus* he employs another method of division and affirms that the Infinite is one and the Definite a second, and from the combination of these all generation arises. The cause which makes them combine he posits as a fourth class; the fifth he has left for us to surmise, by which the things combined attain once more dissociation and disengagement. I infer that these are intended to be figurative expressions corresponding to those just mentioned, generation corresponding to being, the infinite to motion, the definite to rest, the combining principle to identity, and the dissociating principle to divergence. But if these last are not the same as the others, even so, considered either in that way or in this, his division into five different classes would still hold good.

"Evidently someone anticipated Plato in comprehending this before he did, and for that reason dedicated to the god an E as a demonstration and symbol of the number of all the elements.

"Furthermore, observing that the Good displays itself under five categories, of which the first is moderation, the second due proportion, the third the mind, the fourth the sciences and arts and the true opinions that have to do with the soul, and the fifth any pleasure that is pure and unalloyed with pain, at

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*a* Plato, *Sophist*, 256 c.

*b* Cf. 428 c, *infra*.

*c* Plato, *Philebus*, 23 c.

*d* Cf. *ibid*. 66 a-c.
16. "'Επί τούτοις," ἔφην, "εἰρημένοις πρὸς ὑμᾶς 'ἐν βραχύ' τοῖς περὶ Νίκανδρον 'ἀείσω ἔμνετοις.' τῇ γὰρ ἐκτῇ2 τοῦ νέου μηνὸς ὅταν κατάγη τις3 τὴν Πυθίαν εἰς τὸ4 πρυτανεῖον, ὁ πρωτός ὑμῖν γίγνεται τῶν τριῶν κλήρων εἰς τὰ πέντε, πρὸς ἄλληλους ἐκείνης τὰ τρία, σοῦ δὲ5 τὰ δύο βάλλοντος.6 ἡ γὰρ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει;"

Ε Καὶ ὁ Νίκανδρος, "οὕτως," εἶπεν, "ἡ δ' αἰτία πρὸς ἐτέρους ἀρρητός ἔστι."

"Οὐκοῦν," ἔφην ἐγὼ μειδιάσας, "ἀρχὴ οὖ τάληθες ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς ἰεροὶς γενομένοις γνῶναι παράσχῃ, προσκείσεται καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς υπὲρ τῆς πεμπάδος λεγομένοις."

Τοιούτῳ μὲν καὶ ὁ τῶν ἀριθμητικῶν καὶ ὁ τῶν μαθηματικῶν ἐγκωμίων τοῦ εἶ λόγος, ὡς ἐγὼ μὲν ἐνεμνημαί, πέρας ἔσχεν.

17. 'Ὁ δ' Ἀμμώνιος, ἄτε δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς οὐ τὸ φαυλότατον ἐν μαθηματικῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ7 τιθέμενος, ἱσθῇ τε τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἄξιον πρὸς ταῦτα λίαν ἀκριβῶς ἀντιλέγειν τοῖς νέοις, πλὴν ὅτι τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἐκατός οὐκ ὀλίγα βου- 

F λομένοις ἐπανεῖν καὶ ὑμεῖν παρέξει. καὶ τί δεὶ 

περὶ τῶν ἄλλων λέγειν; ἡ γὰρ ιερὰ τοῦ Ἀπὸλ-

1 θεσμὸν Badham; οἶμον Kroll: θυμὸν (κόσμον Plato).
2 τῇ γὰρ ἐκτῇ Bernardakis: τῆς γὰρ ἐκτῆς.
3 τις F.C.B.; εἰς.
4 τὸ Wytenbach: τι.
5 σοῦ δὲ Paton: οὐδὲ.
this point he leaves off, thus suggesting the Orphic verse:

Bring to an end the current of song in the sixth generation.

16. "Following upon all this that has been said to you," I continued, "‘I shall sing one short verse' for Nicander and his friends, ‘men of sagacity.' On the sixth day of the new month, namely, when the prophetic priestess is conducted down to the Prytaneum, the first of your three sortitions is for five, she casting three and you casting two, each with reference to the other. Is not this actually so?"

"Yes," said Nicander, "but the reason must not be told to others."

"Then," said I, smiling, "until such time as we become holy men, and God grants us to know the truth, this also shall be added to what may be said on behalf of the Five."

Thus, as I remember, the tale of arithmetical and of mathematical laudations of E came to an end.

17. Ammonius, inasmuch as he plainly held that in mathematics was contained not the least important part of philosophy, was pleased with these remarks, and said, "It is not worth while to argue too precisely over these matters with the young, except to say that every one of the numbers will provide not a little for them that wish to sing its praises. What need to speak of the others? Why, the sacred Seven of

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*a Orphic Fragments, no. 14.
*b Ibid. no. 334; quoted again by Plutarch in Moralia, 636 p.
*c The Greek text is at this point somewhat uncertain.

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*bάλλοντος Bernardakis: βάλλοντες.
*φιλοσοφίας] φιλοσοφία in most mss.
λωνος ἐβδομᾶς ἀναλώσει τὴν ἡμέραν πρότερον ἢ λόγῳ τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτῆς ἀπάσας ἐπέξελθείν. εἰτα τῷ κοινῷ νόμῳ 'πολεμοῦντας' ἀμα καὶ 'τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ' τοὺς σοφοὺς ἀποφανοῦμεν ἄνδρας, εἰ τὴν ἐβδομάδα τῆς προεδρίας παρώσαντες τῷ θεῷ τὴν πεμπάδα καθιερώσουσιν ὡς μάλλον τι προσήκοισαν. οὔτ' οὖν ἄριθμὸν οὔτε τάξιν οὔτε σύνδεσμον οὔτ' ἄλλο τῶν ἐλλειπῶν μορίων οὐδὲν οἶμαι τὸ γράμμα σημαινεῖν; ἀλλ' ἐστιν αὐτοτελῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προσαγόρευσι καὶ προσφώνησις, ἀμα τῷ βίματι τὸν φθεγγόμενον εἰς ἑννοιαν καθιστάσα τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως. ὁ μὲν γὰρ θεὸς ἐκαστον ἡμῶν ἐνταῦθα προσιόντα οἶλον ἀσταξόμενος προσαγορεύει τὸ 'γνώθι σαυτόν,' ὁ δὲ τοῦ 'χαίρε' οὐδὲν μειόν ἐστιν ἠμείς δὲ πάλιν ἀμειβόμενοι τὸν θεόν, 'εἰ,' φαμέν, ὡς ἀληθῆ καὶ ἀφευδή καὶ μόνη μόνῳ προσήκοισαν τὴν τοῦ εἶναι προσαγόρευσιν ἀποδιδόντες.

18. ὁμίων μὲν γὰρ ὄντως τοῦ εἶναι μέτεστιν οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ πάσα πνεύμα καὶ φύσις ἐν μέσῳ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς γενομένη φόσμα παρέχει καὶ δόκησιν Β ἀμυδρὰν καὶ ἀβέβαιον αὐτῆς. ἀν δὲ τὴν διανοιαν ἐπερείψης λαβέσθαι θεολόμενος, ὡσπερ ἡ σφοδρὰ περίδραξις ὑδάτων τῷ πιέζει καὶ εἰς ταύτο συν-

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a Cf. Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. i. p. 522, Simonides, no. 193, and Edmonds in Lyra Graeca, ii. p. 340, in L.C.L.; Plutarch refers to this also in 359 f, supra, and in his Life of Theseus, chap. x. (p. 4 f).

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Apollo will consume the whole day before the narration of all its powers is finished. Then again, we shall be branding the wise men as 'warring with' common custom, as well as with 'the long years of time,' if they are to oust Seven from its place of honour and make Five sacred to the god, on the ground that it is in some way more closely related to him. I am therefore of the opinion that the significance of the letter is neither a numeral nor a place in a series nor a conjunction nor any of the subordinate parts of speech. No, it is an address and salutation to the god, complete in itself, which, by being spoken, brings him who utters it to thoughts of the god's power. For the god addresses each one of us as we approach him here with the words 'Know Thyself,' as a form of welcome, which certainly is in no wise of less import than 'Hail'; and we in turn reply to him 'Thou art,' as rendering unto him a form of address which is truthful, free from deception, and the only one befitting him only, the assertion of Being.

18. "The fact is that we really have no part nor parcel in Being, but everything of a mortal nature is at some stage between coming into existence and passing away, and presents only a dim and uncertain semblance and appearance of itself; and if you apply the whole force of your mind in your desire to apprehend it, it is like unto the violent grasping of water, which, by squeezing and compression, loses the handful enclosed, as it spurts through the fingers;
(392) τῶν παθητῶν καὶ μεταβλητῶν ἐκάστοι τὴν ἀγαν ἐναργείαν ὁ λόγος διώκων ἀποσφάλλεται τῇ μὲν εἰς τὸ γιγνόμενον αὐτοῦ τῇ δ' ἐἰς τὸ φθειρόμενον, οὐδενὸς λαβέσθαι μένοντος οὐδ' ὄντος ὄντως δυνάμενος.

"Ποταμῷ γὰρ ὅτι ἐστὶν ἐμβῆναι διὸ τῶ αὐτῷ καθ' Ἡράκλειτον οὐδὲ θνητής οὐσίας διὸ ἁμαρθαι κατὰ ἐξιν' ἀλλ' ἀξύτητι καὶ τάχει μεταβολῆς Σ' σκίδνησι καὶ πάλιν συνάγει, μᾶλλον δ' οὐδὲ πάλιν οὐδ' ύστερον ἀλλ' ἀμα συνισταται καὶ ἀπολείπει2 καὶ 'πρόσειαι καὶ ἀπεισ.'

"Ὀθεν οὐδ' εἰς τὸ εἶναι περαίνει τὸ γιγνόμενον αὐτῆς τῷ μηδέποτε λήγειν μηδ' ἱστασθαι3 τὴν γένεσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ σπέρματος αἰεὶ μεταβάλλουσαν ἐμβρυον ποιεῖν ἔτα βρέφος ἔτα παιδα, μειράκιον ἐφεξῆς, νεανίσκον, εἰτ' ἀνδρα, πρεσβύτην, γέροντα, τὰς πρώτας φθείρουσαν γενέσεις καὶ ἡλικίας ταῖς ἐπιγυμνομέναις. ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἕνα φοβούμεθα γελοίως θάνατον, ἧδη τοσούτους τεθνηκότες καὶ τυῆσκοντες. οὐ γὰρ μόνον, ὡς Ἡράκλειτος ἐλεγε, 'πυρὸς θάνατος ἀέρι γένεσις, καὶ ἀέρος θάνατος ὕδατι γένεσις,' ἀλλ' ἔτι σαφέστερον ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἡμῶν4 ἵδους ἀν' φθειρέται μὲν ὁ ἀκμάζων5 γενομένου6 γέροντος, ἐφθάργη δ' ὁ νεός εἰς τὸν ἀκμάζοντα, καὶ

1 παθητῶν καὶ μεταβλητῶν Eusebius, Praep. Ev. xi. 11: παθημάτων καὶ μεταβάτων.
2 μᾶλλον δ' οὐδ' . . . ἀπολείπει not in mss.; added here from Eusebius.
3 ἱστασθαι Eusebius: ἤπτασθαι.
4 ἡμῶν Eusebius: ἡ δ' ἀν or ἰδοις ἀν, the latter of which should probably be included in the text.
5 ὁ ἀκμάζων Eusebius: ἀκμάζων.
6 γενομένου γενομένου some mss.
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even so Reason, pursuing the exceedingly clear appearance of every one of those things that are susceptible to modification and change, is baffled by the one aspect of its coming into being, and by the other of its passing away; and thus it is unable to apprehend a single thing that is abiding or really existent.

"‘It is impossible to step twice in the same river’ are the words of Heracleitus, nor is it possible to lay hold twice of any mortal substance in a permanent state; by the suddenness and swiftness of the change in it there ‘comes dispersion and, at another time, a gathering together’; or, rather, not at another time nor later, but at the same instant it both settles into its place and forsakes its place; ‘it is coming and going.’

"Wherefore that which is born of it never attains unto being because of the unceasing and unstaying process of generation, which, ever bringing change, produces from the seed an embryo, then a babe, then a child, and in due course a boy, a young man, a mature man, an elderly man, an old man, causing the first generations and ages to pass away by those which succeed them. But we have a ridiculous fear of one death, we who have already died so many deaths, and still are dying! For not only is it true, as Heracleitus used to say, that the death of heat is birth for steam, and the death of steam is birth for water, but the case is even more clearly to be seen in our own selves: the man in his prime passes away when the old man comes into existence, the young man passes away into the

\[\text{Cf. Diels, Frag. der Vorsokratiker, i. p. 96, Heracleitus, no. 91. Plutarch refers to this dictum also in Moralia, 559 c.}
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\[\text{Cf. Diels, Frag. der Vorsokratiker, i. p. 93, Heracleitus, no. 76.}\]
(392) ὁ παῖς εἰς τὸν νέον, εἰς δὲ τὸν παῖδα τὸ νήπιον. ὁ τ' ἔχθεις εἰς τὸν σήμερον τέθνηκεν, ὁ δὲ σήμερον εἰς τὸν αὐριον ἀποθανάτο τεκνία. μένει δ' οὐδεὶς οὐδ' ἔστιν εἰς, ἀλλὰ γιγνόμεθα πολλοί, περὶ ἐν τῷ φάντασμα καὶ κοινῷ ἐκμαγεῖον ὑλής περιελαυνομένης καὶ ὀλισθανοῦσης. ἔπει πῶς οἱ αὐτοὶ μένοντες ἐτέρους χαίρομεν νῦν, ἑτέρους πρῶτον; τάναντια φιλοῦμεν ἡ μισοῦμεν καὶ θαυμάζομεν καὶ ψέγομεν, ἄλλοις E δὲ χρώμεθα λόγοις ἄλλοις πάθεσιν, οὐκ εἶδος οὐ μορφὴν οὐ διάνοιαν ἔτι τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες; οὔτε γὰρ ἄνευ μεταβολῆς ἑτέρα πάσχειν εἰκός, οὔτε μεταβάλλων ὁ αὐτὸς ἔστιν: εἰ δ' ὁ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδ' ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ μεταβάλλει γιγνόμενος ἐτέρους ἐς ἑτέρου. ψεύδεται δ' ἡ αἰσθησις ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ ὄντος εἶναι τὸ φαινόμενον.

19. "Τι οὖν ὄντως ὄν ἔστι; τὸ αἶδον καὶ ἀ- γέννητον καὶ ἀφθαρτον, ὃ χρόνος μεταβολῆς οὐδὲ εἰς ἑπάγει. κυνηγὸν γὰρ τι καὶ κινουμένη συμ- φανταξόμενον ὑλή καὶ ὢν ἄει καὶ μὴ στέγον, ὥσπερ ἄγγειον φθορᾶς καὶ γενέσεως, ὁ χρόνος, οὐ γε δὴ τὸ μὲν ἐπειτα καὶ τὸ πρῶτον καὶ τὸ ἐσται λεγόμενον καὶ τὸ 'γέγονεν', αὐτόθεν F ἐξομολογησίας ἔστι τοῦ μὴ ὄντος: τὸ γὰρ ἐν τῷ εἶναι τὸ μηδέπω γεγονός ἡ πεπαυμένον ἢδη τοῦ εἶναι λέγειν ὡς ἔστιν, εὐθεῖας καὶ ἀτοπον. ὃ δὲ μάλιστα

1 ὁ τ' ἔχθεις] ὁ ὑεχθεῖς one ms.: δὲ χθεῖς Eusebius.
2 τι added from Eusebius.
3 πρῶτον added from Eusebius.
4 ἡ] καὶ Eusebius.
5 δὲ omitted by Eusebius and one ms.
6 ἄλλα Eusebius: ἀμα.
7 στέγον Eusebius: στέρρον.

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a Cf. Plato, Timaeus, 50 c.

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man in his prime, the child into the young man, and the
babe into the child. Dead is the man of yesterday, for
he is passed into the man of to-day; and the man of
to-day is dying as he passes into the man of to-morrow.
Nobody remains one person, nor is one person; but
we become many persons, even as matter is drawn
about some one semblance and common mould a with
imperceptible movement. Else how is it that, if we
remain the same persons, we take delight in some
things now, whereas earlier we took delight in different
things; that we love or hate opposite things, and so
too with our admirations and our disapprovals, and
that we use other words and feel other emotions and
have no longer the same personal appearance, the
same external form, or the same purposes in mind?
For without change it is not reasonable that a person
should have different experiences and emotions; and
if he changes, he is not the same person; and if he is
not the same person, he has no permanent being, but
changes his very nature as one personality in him
succeeds to another. Our senses, through ignorance
of reality, falsely tell us that what appears to be is.

19. "What, then, really is Being? It is that which is
eternal, without beginning and without end, to which
no length of time brings change. For time is some-
thing that is in motion, appearing in connexion with
moving matter, ever flowing, retaining nothing, a
receptacle, as it were, of birth and decay, whose
familiar 'afterwards' and 'before,' 'shall be' and
'has been,' when they are uttered, are of themselves
a confession of Not Being. For to speak of that which
has not yet occurred in terms of Being, or to say of
what has already ceased to be, that it is, is silly and
absurd. And as for that on which we most rely to
τὴν νόησιν ἐπερείδοντες τοῦ χρόνου, τὸ 'ἐν- ἐστικε' καὶ τὸ 'πάρεστι' καὶ τὸ 'νῦν' φθευ- γόμεθα, τούτῳ αὐτῷ πάλιν ἀπαν ἐιδοῦμένοις οὗ λόγος ἀπόλλυτος. ἔκθελίβεται γὰρ εἰς τὸ μέλλον καὶ τὸ παραχθημένον ὄσπερ ἄκμην βουλομένων ἰδεῖν, εἰς 393 ἀνάγκης διαστάμενον. εἰ δέ ταῦτα τῷ μετροῦντι πέπονθεν ἡ μετρουμένη φύσις, οὔδεν αὐτῆς μένον οὐδ' ὦν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ γιγνόμενα πάντα καὶ φθειρόμενα κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν χρόνον συνεμένην. οὐθεν οὐδ' ὅσιών ἐστιν οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄντος λέγειν ὡς ἣν ἡ ἔσται· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐγκλίσεις τινές εἰσι καὶ μετα- βάσεις καὶ παραλλάξεις τοῦ μένειν ἐν τῷ εἰναι μὴ πεφυκότος.

20. "'Ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς, εἰ10 χρῆ φάναι, καὶ ἔστιν κἀτ' οὐδένα χρόνον ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν αἰώνα τὸν αἰ- κίνητον καὶ ἄχρονον καὶ ἀνέγκλιτον καὶ οὗ πρότερον οὐδὲν ἐστὶν οὐδ' ὑστερον οὐδὲ μέλλον οὐδὲ παρ- ωχημένον οὐδὲ πρεσβύτερον11 οὐδὲ νεώτερον· ἀλλ' εἰς ὧν ἐνὶ τῷ νῦν τὸ ἄεὶ πεπλήρωκε, καὶ μόνον ἔστιν Β τὸ κατὰ τούτοις12 ὄντως ὦν, οὐ γεγονός οὐδ' ἐσόμενον οὐδ' ἀρξάμενον οὐδ' παυσόμενον. οὔτως οὖν13 αὐτὸν14 δει σεβομένους ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ προσαγορεῦειν,15 'εἰ,16 καὶ νῆ Δία, ὡς ἐνοι τῶν παλαιῶν, 'εἰ ἐν.'

1 ἐπερείδοντες Eusebius: ύπερείδοντες or ἐπερείδοντες.
2 ἀπαν Reiske: ἀγαν (ἀγαν cod. D).
4 ἄκμην F.C.B.: ἄκμη mss.; Eusebius has αὐγή.
5 βουλομένωις Eusebius: βουλομένωις.
6 ἡ μετρουμένη Eusebius: ἡ μετρον μὲν ἡ.
7 συνεμένην Eusebius: συνεμάνη.
8 οὐδ' ὅσιων] οὐδὲν τούτων Eusebius.
9 οὐδ' Bernardakis, εἰτ Eusebius: οὐδὲ or οὐδέν (ἐπὶ only Eusebius).

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support our conception of time, as we utter the words, 'it is here,' 'it is at hand,' and 'now'—all this again reason, entering in, demolishes utterly. For 'now' is crowded out into the future and the past, when we would look upon it as a culmination; for of necessity it suffers division. And if Nature, when it is measured, is subject to the same processes as is the agent that measures it, then there is nothing in Nature that has permanence or even existence, but all things are in the process of creation or destruction according to their relative distribution with respect to time. Wherefore it is irreverent in the case of that which is to say even that it was or shall be; for these are certain deviations, transitions, and alterations, belonging to that which by its nature has no permanence in Being.

20. "But God is (if there be need to say so), and He exists for no fixed time, but for the everlasting ages which are immovable, timeless, and undeviating, in which there is no earlier nor later, no future nor past, no older nor younger; but He, being One, has with only one 'Now' completely filled 'For ever'; and only when Being is after His pattern is it in reality Being, not having been nor about to be, nor has it had a beginning nor is it destined to come to an end. Under these conditions, therefore, we ought, as we pay Him reverence, to greet Him and to address Him with the words, 'Thou art'; or even, I vow, as did some of the men of old, 'Thou art One."

10 eἰ added from Eusebius and Cyril; not in mss.
11 οὔδε μέλλων...προσβύτερον not in the mss.; added from Eusebius.
12 τοῦτον] τοῦτο, αὐτό, ταύτα, in different traditions.
13 ἄνω added from Eusebius and Cyril; not in mss.
14 αὖτόν] αὐτό in most mss.
15 προσαγορεύειν Eusebius: προσεθίζειν. 16 εἰ Cyrilus: ἦ.
(393) "Οὐ γὰρ πολλὰ τὸ θείον ἐστὶν, ὡς ἡμῶν ἐκαστὸς ἐκ μυρίων διαφορῶν ἐν πάθει γιγνομένων, ἀθροισμα παντοδαπὸν καὶ πανηγυρικῶς μεμειγμένον. ἄλλ' ἐν εἶναι δεῖ τὸ ὄν, ὥσπερ ὅν τὸ ἐν. η δ' ἐτερότης διαφορὰ τοῦ ὄντος εἰς γένεσιν ἐξίσταται.

C τοῦ μὴ ὄντος. οἴδεν εὐ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐχει τῷ θεῷ τῶν ὄνομάτων καὶ, τὸ δεύτερον καὶ τὸ τρίτον.

'Απόλλων μὲν γὰρ οἶνον ἁρνούμενος τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἄροφακων ἐστὶν, 'Ιησοῦς δ' ὡς εἰς καὶ μόνος. Φοίβον δὲ δῆπον τὸ καθαρὸν καὶ ἀγνὸν οἱ παλαιοὶ πάν ὄνομαζον, ὡς ἐτί Θετταλοὶ τοὺς ἱερέας ἐν ταῖς ἀποφράσιν ἧμεραις αὐτούς ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐξω διατριβοντας, οἶμαι, 'φοιβονομείσθαι' λέγουσιν.

"Τοῦ δ' ἐν εἰλικρινεῖς καὶ καθαροῦν ἐτέρου γὰρ ἡμεῖς πρὸς ἐτερον ὁ μιασμός, ὡς ποι καὶ "Ομηρὸς 'ἐλε-φαντα' τινά φοινικοσμένον βαφή 'μιαίνεσθαι' φησί καὶ τὰ μεγνύμενα τῶν χρωμάτων οἱ βαφεῖς 'θείρεσθαι' καὶ 'θυράν' τὴν μείζων ὄνομα-

D ᾽Ιουσίων. οὐκοῦν ἐν τ' εἰγῇ καὶ ἀκρατον ἀεὶ τῷ ἀφθάρτῳ καὶ καθαρῷ προσήκει.

21. "Τοὺς δ' 'Απόλλωνα καὶ ἤλιον ἱγνουμένους τὸν αὐτὸν ἀσπάζεσθαι μὲν ἀξιόν ἐστι καὶ φυλεῖν δι' εὐφυίαν, ὁ μάλιστα τιμῶσιν ὧν ἰσαί καὶ ποθοῦσιν, εἰς τοῦτο τιθέντας τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν. ὡς δὲ

1 διαφορὰ] διαφορὰ in most miss.
2 'Ιησοῦς Xylander: ἤτος.

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a Cf. 354 b, 381 f, and 388 f, supra.
b Idios is doubtless derived from ἵ, a cry used in invoking Apollo, but Plutarch would derive it from ἰα, ἰης, an epic word meaning "one."
c Cf. 388 f and 421 c, infra.
d Homer, Ill. iv. 141.
"In fact the Deity is not Many, like each of us who is compounded of hundreds of different factors which arise in the course of our experience, a heterogeneous collection combined in a haphazard way. But Being must have Unity, even as Unity must have Being. Now divergence from Unity, because of its differing from Being, deviates into the creation of that which has no Being. Wherefore the first of the god's names is excellently adapted to him, and so are the second and third as well. He is Apollo, that is to say, denying the Many \(^a\) and abjuring multiplicity; he is Ieuus, as being One and One alone \(^b\); and Phoebus,\(^c\) as is well known, is a name that the men of old used to give to everything pure and undefiled; even as the Thessalians, to this day, I believe, when their priests, on the prohibited days, are spending their time alone by themselves outside the temples, say that the priests 'are keeping Phoebus.'

"Unity is simple and pure. For it is by the admixture of one thing with another that contamination arises, even as Homer \(^d\) somewhere says that some ivory which is being dyed red is being 'contaminated,' and dyers speak of colours that are mixed as being 'spoiled' \(^e\); and they call the mixing 'spoiling.'\(^f\) Therefore it is characteristic of the imperishable and pure to be one and uncombined.

21. "Those who hold that Apollo and the sun are the same,\(^g\) it is right and proper that we welcome and love for their goodness of heart in placing their concept of the god in that thing which they honour most of all the things that they know and yearn for. But,

\(^a\) Cf. 436 b, infra, and Moralia 270 f.
\(^b\) Cf. Moralia, 725 c.
\(^c\) Cf. Moralia, 725 c.
\(^d\) Ibid. 1130 A, and 386 b, supra.
νῦν ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ τῶν ἐνυπνῶν τὸν θεὸν ὀνειροπολοῦντας ἐγείρωμεν καὶ παρακαλῶμεν ἀνωτέρω προάγει καὶ θεάσθαι τὸ ὑπάρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ουσίαν, τιμᾶν δὲ καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τῇν δε καὶ σέβεσθαι τὸ περὶ αὐτῆς γόνιμον, ὡς ἀνυστῶν ἐστὶν αἰσθητῶ.

Ενοιτοῦ καὶ φερομένῳ μένοντος, ἐμφάσεις τινὰς καὶ εἴδωλα διαλάμπουσαν ἀμωσγέπως τῆς περὶ ἐκεῖνων εὐμενείας καὶ μακαριότητος. ἐκστάσεις δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ μεταβολὰς πῦρ ἀφιέντως ἑαυτὸν ἀμα σπάσαν, ὡς λέγουσιν, αὐθίς τε καταθλίβοντος ἐνταῦθα καὶ κατατείνοντος εἰς γῆν καὶ θάλατταν καὶ ἀνέμους καὶ ζῶα, καὶ τὰ δεινὰ παθήματα καὶ ζώων καὶ φυτῶν, οὐδ’ ἀκούειν ὅσιον. ἡ τοῦ ποιητικοῦ παιδός ἔσται φαιλότερος, ἡν ἐκεῖνος ἐν τινὶ ψαμάθῳ συν-τιθεμένη καὶ διαχεομένη πάλιν ἕφ’ αὐτοῦ παῖζε παιδιάν, ταύτη περὶ τὰ ὁλα χρώμενος ἀεί, καὶ τὸν

F κόσμον οὐκ ὄντα πλάττων εἴτ’ ἀπολλύων γενό-μενον. τοῦναντίον γὰρ ὅσον ἀμωσγέπως ἐγγέγονε τῷ κόσμῳ, τούτῳ’ συνδέει τὴν ουσίαν καὶ κρατεῖ τῆς περὶ τὸ σωματικὸν ἀσθενείας ἐπὶ φθορὰν φερομένης. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ μάλιστα πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἀντιτάτομον τὸ ῥῆμα καὶ μαρτυρόμενον ‘εἰ’ φάναι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν, ὡς οὐδέποτε γιγνομένης

394 περὶ αὐτὸν ἐκστάσεως καὶ μεταβολῆς, ἀλλ’ ἐτέρῳ

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1 ὀνειροπολοῦντας Reiske: ὀνειροπολοῦντες.
2 θεάσθαι] θεάσασθαι in nearly all mss.
3 ὑπάρ Wytenbach: ὑπέρ.
5 καὶ added by Reiske.
6 εἰς γῆν] εἰσὶ in nearly all mss.
7 τοῦτω] τούτο in all mss. but one.

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a Cf. 389 c, supra.
b Cf. Homer, II. xv. 362.
as though they were now having a sleepy vision of the god amid the loveliest of dreams, let us wake them and urge them to proceed to loftier heights and to contemplate the waking vision of him, and what he truly is, but to pay honour also to this imagery of him in the sun and to revere the creative power associated with it, in so far as it is possible by what is perceived through the senses to gain an image of what is conceived in the mind, and by that which is ever in motion an image of that which moves not, an image that in some way or other transmits some gleams reflecting and mirroring his kindliness and blessedness. And as for his vagaries and transformations when he sends forth fire that sweeps his own self along with it, as they say, and again when he forces it down here and directs it upon the earth and sea and winds and living creatures, and, besides, the terrible things done both to living creatures and to growing vegetation—to such tales it is irreverent even to listen; else will the god be more futile than the Poet’s fancied child playing a game amid the sand that is heaped together and then scattered again by him, if the god indulges in this game with the universe constantly, fashioning the world that does not exist, and destroying it again when it has been created. For, on the contrary, so far as he is in some way present in the world, by this his presence does he bind together its substance and prevail over its corporeal weakness, which tends toward dissolution. And it seems to me right to address to the god the words ‘Thou art,’ which are most opposed to this account, and testify against it, believing that never does any vagary or transformation take place near him, but that such acts and experiences are related to some
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(394) τινὶ θεῶ, μᾶλλον δὲ δαίμονι τεταγμένῳ περὶ τὴν ἐν φθορᾷ καὶ γενέσει φύσιν, τοῦτο ποιεῖν καὶ πάσιν προσήκον; ὡς δὴ λόγος ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων εὐθὺς οἷον ἐναντίων ὄντων καὶ ἀντιφώνων. λέγεται γὰρ ὁ μὲν Ἀπόλλων ὁ δὲ Πλοῦτων, καὶ ὁ μὲν Δήλιος ὁ δ’ Ἀιδώνειος, καὶ ὁ μὲν Φοῖβος ὁ δὲ Σκότιος· καὶ παρ’ ὑμῖν αἱ Μούσαι καὶ ἡ Μνημοσύνη, παρ’ ὑμῖν ἡ Λήθη καὶ ἡ Σωμή καὶ ὁ μὲν Θεώριος καὶ Φανάιος, ὁ δὲ

Νυκτὸς ἀιδώς ἀεργηλοῖο θ’ Ἡπνοι κοιραίως·
καὶ ὁ μὲν

βροτοῖσι θεῶν ἐξθιστὸς ἀπάντων,

Β πρὸς ὅν δὲ Πάυδαρος εἴρηκεν οὐκ ἄνδρος

κατεκρίθη δὲ θνατοῖς ἁγανότατος ἐμμεν.

εἰκότως οὖν ὁ Εὐριπίδης εἶπε

λοιβάι νεκρῶν φθιμένων

ἀοίδαι θ’ ἀς Χρυσοκόμας

Ἀπόλλων οὐκ ἐνδέχεται·

καὶ πρότερος ἐτὶ τούτου ὁ Στηθαῖχορος,

1 προσήκον Reiske: προσήκεν.
2 αἰδώς from 1130 Α: αἰδοῖας.
3 δὲ θνατοῖς Wytenbach from 413 c, 1102 ε.: δέον αὐτοῖς οί δεονατοῖς.
4 θ’ ἀς Markland: ἀς ὁ (τὰς Euripides mss.).

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a Cf. the note on 385 b, supra.
b Cf. Moralia, 1130 Α; Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. iii. p. 719, 250
other god, or rather to some demigod, whose office is concerned with Nature in dissolution and generation; and this is clear at once from the names which are, as it were, correspondingly antithetic. For the one is spoken of as Apollo (not many), the other as Pluto (abounding); the one Delian (clear), the other Aídoneus (unseen); the one Phoebus (bright), the other Scotios (dark)\(^a\); with the one are associated the Muses and Memory, with the other Oblivion and Silence; the one is Theorian (observing) and Phanaean (disclosing), and the other

Lord of the darkling Night and idling Sleep\(^b\);

and he is also

Of all the gods most hateful to mortals.\(^c\)

Whereas concerning the other Pindar\(^d\) has said not unpleasingly

And towards mortal men he hath been judged the most gentle.

It was fitting therefore for Euripides\(^e\) to say,

Drink-offerings for the dead who are gone
And the strains that the god of the golden hair,
Apollo, will never accept as his own.

And even before him Stesichorus,\(^f\)

\(^c\) Homer, *Il. ix.* 159.
\(^d\) Pindar, Frag. 149 (ed. Christ), quoted also in 413 c, *infra*, and in *Moralia*, 1102 e.
\(^e\) *Suppliants*, 975.
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(394)

νάβλαν¹ τοι μάλιστα
παιγμοσύνας τε² φιλεῖ μολπάς τ’ Ἀπόλλων,
κάδεα δὲ³ στοναχάς τ’ Ἀίδας ἔλαχε.

Σοφοκλῆς δὲ καὶ τῶν ὁργάνων ἐκατέρω προσνέμων
ἐκάτερον δῆλος ἐστὶ διὰ τούτων,

οὐ νάβλα⁴ κωκυτοῖσιν οὐ λύρα φίλα.

"Καὶ γὰρ ὁ αὐλὸς⁵ ὑψὲ καὶ πρώῃ ἐτόλμησε φωνῇς
C’ ἐφ’ ἰμερόσειν⁶, ἀφίεται· τὸν δὲ πρῶτον χρόνον
εἰλκετο πρὸς τὰ πένθη, καὶ τὴν περὶ ταύτα λει-
τουργίαν⁷ οὐ μαλ’ ἐντυμον οὐδὲ φαιδρὰν ἔχεν, εἰτ’
ἐμεῖχθη πάντα πάσι.⁸ μάλιστα δὲ τὰ θεῖα πρὸς
τὰ δαμόνια συγχέοντες εἰς ταραχὴν αὐτοὺς κατ-
ἐστησαν.

"Ἀλλὰ γε τῷ εἰ τὸ ‘γνῶθι σαυτόν’⁹ ἐοικε πῶς
ἀντικεῖσθαι καὶ τρόπον τινὰ πάλιν συνάδειν· τὸ μὲν
γὰρ ἐκπλήξει καὶ σεβασμῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν ὃς ὅντα
διὰ παντὸς ἀναπεφώνηται, τὸ δ’ ὑπόμνησις ἐστὶ τῷ
θυντῷ τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν φύσεως καὶ ἀσθενείας."

¹ νάβλαν F.C.B.: μάλα.
² τε added by Bergk.
³ κάδεα δὲ Bergk: κῇδεα τε.
⁴ οὐ νάβλα Brunck: ἐν αὐλὰ or οὐ νάλα or οὖν ἀβλα.
⁵ αὐλός] αὐτὸς in most mss.
⁷ λειτουργίαν Reiske: αὐτουργίαν.
⁸ πάντα πάσι Emperius: παντάπασι.
⁹ σαυτόν Bernardakis: σεαυτόν.

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The harp and sport and song
Most doth Apollo love;
Sorrows and groans are Hades' share.

And it is evident that Sophocles assigns each of the instruments to each god in these words:

No harp, no lyre is welcome for laments.

"As a matter of fact it was only after a long lapse of time and only recently that the flute ventured to utter a sound ' over things of delight,' but during all the early time it used to be fetched in for times of mourning, and it had the task of rendering service on these occasions, not a very honourable or cheerful one. Later it came to be generally associated with everything. Especially did those who confounded the attributes of the gods with the attributes of demi-gods get themselves into confusion.

"But this much may be said: it appears that as a sort of antithesis to 'Thou art' stands the admonition ' Know thyself,' and then again it seems, in a manner, to be in accord therewith, for the one is an utterance addressed in awe and reverence to the god as existent through all eternity, the other is a reminder to mortal man of his own nature and the weaknesses that beset him."

THE ORACLES AT DELPHI NO LONGER GIVEN IN VERSE
(DE PYTHIAE ORACULIS)
INTRODUCTION

Plutarch's essay on the changed custom at Delphi is quite as interesting for its digressions as for its treatment of the main topic. Portents, coincidences, history, a little philosophy, stories of persons like Croesus, Battus, Lysander, Rhodope, finally lead up to the statement that many oracles used to be delivered in prose, although still more in early times were delivered in verse; but the present age calls for simplicity and directness instead of the ancient obscurity and grandiloquence.

We possess a considerable body of Delphic oracles preserved in Greek literature, as, for example, the famous oracle of the 'wooden wall' (Herodotus, vii. 141). Practically all of these are in hexameter verse. Many more records of oracles merely state that someone consulted the oracle and was told to perform a certain deed, or was told that something would or might happen, often with certain limitations. We have, therefore, no means of determining the truth of Plutarch's statement, but there is little doubt that he is right. If we possessed his lost work, Χρησμῶν σωγωγή (no. 171 in Lamprias's list), we should have more abundant data on which to base our decision.

The essay often exhibits Plutarch at his best. Hartman thinks that Plutarch hoped that the work
THE ORACLES AT DELPHI

would be read at Rome, and therefore inserted the encomium of Roman rule near the end.

The essay stands as no. 116 in Lamprias's catalogue. It is found in only two mss. and in a few places the tradition leaves us in doubt, but, for the most part, the text is fairly clear.

The references to the topography and monuments of Delphi have become more intelligible since the site was excavated by the French. Pomtow, in the Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift, 1912, p. 1170, gives an account of the monuments visited by the company in this essay.
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΜΗ ΧΡΑΝ ΕΜΜΕΤΡΑ
ΝΥΝ ΤΗΝ ΠΥΘΙΑΝ

ΤΑ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ ΤΟΤ ΔΙΑΛΟΓΟΥ

Πρώτα, ΒΑΣΙΛΟΚΛΗΣ, ΦΙΛΙΝΟΣ

Δεύτερα, ΦΙΛΙΝΟΣ, ΔΙΟΓΕΝΙΑΝΟΣ, ΘΕΩΝ,
ΣΑΡΑΠΙΩΝ, ΒΟΗΘΟΣ, ΕΞΗΓΗΤΑΙ

Ε 1. ΒΑΣΙΛΟΚΛΗΣ. 'Εσπέραν ἐποιήσατε βαθείαν, ὁ Φιλίνε, διὰ τῶν ἀναθημάτων παραπέμποντες τὸν ξένον· ἐγὼ γὰρ ᾦμᾶς ἁναμένων ἀπηγόρευσα.

ΦΙΛΙΝΟΣ. Βραδεύως γὰρ ὁδεύομεν, ὁ Βασιλόκλεις, σπείροντες λόγους καὶ θερίζοντες εὔθος μετὰ μάχης ὑπούλους καὶ πολεµικοὺς, ὅσπερ οἱ Σπαρτοί, βλαστάνοντας ἡμῖν καὶ ὑποφυμένους κατὰ τὴν ὀδόν.

ΒΑΣ. 'Εστερον οὖν τινα δείχσει παρακαλεῖν τῶν παραγεγονότων, ἡ σὺ βούλει χαρίζομενος ἡμῖν διελθεῖν τίνες ἦσαν οἱ λόγοι καὶ τίνες οἱ λέγοντες;

Ε ΦΙΛ. 'Εμόν, ὡς ἐοικεν, ὁ Βασιλόκλεις, τὸ ἔργον. τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων οὐδεὶς ῥαδίως ἂν ἐντύχοις κατὰ πόλιν· τοὺς γὰρ πλείστους ἔωρων αὖθις εἰς τὸ Κωρύκιον τῷ ξένῳ καὶ τὴν Λυκώρειαν συνανα-βαίνοντας.

1 ΤΑ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ . . . ΕΞΗΓΗΤΑΙ] not in the mss.
2 ὑπούλους] ἑνόπλους or πολλοὺς E. Harrison.
3 διελθεῖν Leonicus: διελείν.
THE ORACLES AT DELPHI NO LONGER GIVEN IN VERSE

(The persons who take part in the dialogue are Basilocles and Philinus, who serve to introduce the later speakers: Diogenianus, Theon, Sarapion, Boëthus, as well as Philinus himself and some professional guides.)

1. BASILOCLES. You people have kept it up till well into the evening, Philinus, escorting the foreign visitor around among the statues and votive offerings. For my part, I had almost given up waiting for you.

PHILINUS. The fact is, Basilocles, that we went slowly, sowing words, and reaping them straightway with strife, like the men sprung from the Dragon's teeth, words with meanings behind them of the contentious sort, which sprang up and flourished along our way.

BASILOCLES. Will it be necessary to call in someone else of those who were with you; or are you willing, as a favour, to relate in full what your conversation was and who took part in it?

PHILINUS. It looks, Basilocles, as if I shall have that to do. In fact, it would not be easy for you to find anyone of the others in the town, for I saw most of them once more on their way up to the Corycian cave and Lycoreia with the foreign visitor.

a Pausanias, x. 6. 2-3.

4 Λυκόπεια the regular spelling: Λυκούπλα.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

ΒΑΣ. Ἡ φιλοθεάμων τις ἡμῖν καὶ περιττῶς φιλήκοος ἡ ἐστίν ὁ ἕνος.

ΦΙΛ. Φιλόλογος δὲ καὶ φιλομαθὴς ἐστὶ μᾶλλον. οὐ μὴν ταῦτα μάλιστα θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, ἀλλὰ πράότης τε πολλὴν χάριν ἔχουσα, καὶ τὸ μάξιμον καὶ διαπορητικὸν ὑπὸ συνέσεως, οὔτε δύσκολον οὔτ' ἀντίτυπον πρὸς τὰς ἀποκρίσεις· ὥστε καὶ βραχὺ συγγενόμενον εὐθὺς εἰπεῖν, "τέκος ἀγαθὸν πατρός." οἶσθα γὰρ Διογενιανὸν ἄνδρῶν ἀριστον.

ΒΑΣ. Αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ εἶδον, ὡς Φιλίνη, πολλοῖς δ' ἐντετύχηκα καὶ τὸν λόγον καὶ τὸ ἢθος τάνδρος ἱσχυρὸς ἀποδεχομένοις, ὥμοια δὲ τούτως ἑτέρα περὶ τοῦ νεανίσκου λέγουσιν. ἀλλὰ τίνα, ὡς ἐταῖρε, ἀρχὴν ἔσχον οἱ λόγοι καὶ πρόφασιν;

2. ΦΙΛ. Ἐπέραυνοι οἱ περιγγνηταὶ τὰ συντεταγμένα, μηδὲν ἡμῶν φροντίσαντες δεηθέντων ἐπιτεμείν τὰς ρήσεις καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων. τὸν δὲ ἔξον ἡ μὲν ἰδέα καὶ τὸ τεχνικὸν τῶν ἄν-

Β δριάντων μετρίως προσήγατο, πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἔργων ὡς ἐοικέ θεατὴν γεγενημένον· ἐθαύμαζε δὲ τοῦ χαλκοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρηρῶν ὡς οὐ πίνω προσεοικὸς οὐδ' ἢ, βαφῇ δὲ κυάνου στήλβοντος, ὥστε καὶ προσθεῖναι τί πρὸς τοὺς ναυάρχους (ἀπ' ἐκείνων γὰρ ἤρκτο τῆς θέας) οίνον ἀτεχνῶς θαλαττίους τῇ χρόᾳ καὶ βυθίους ἐστώτας.

1 φιλήκοος Meziriacus: φιλικός.
2 ὡς ἐταῖρε Wytenbach: ἑτέραν.
3 ἐθαύμαζε Basel ed. of 1542: ἐθαύμαζον.
4 προσθεῖναι τί F.C.B.; παῖζαι τί Doehner: πέμψαι τί.
5 ναυάρχους Amyot: ναύρχους.
6 ἤρκτο Kurtz: ἤρκται.

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a Cf. Plato, Republic, 368 a.
b Presumably the thirty-seven statues of Lysander and
BASILOCLES. Our visitor is certainly eager to see the sights, and an unusually eager listener.

PHILINUS. But even more is he a scholar and a student. However, it is not this that most deserves our admiration, but a winning gentleness, and his willingness to argue and to raise questions, which comes from his intelligence, and shows no dissatisfaction nor contrariety with the answers. So, after being with him but a short time, one would say, "O child of a goodly father!" You surely know Diogenianus, one of the best of men.

BASILOCLES. I never saw him myself, Philinus, but I have met many persons who expressed a strong approval of the man's words and character, and who had other compliments of the same nature to say of the young man. But, my friend, what was the beginning and occasion of your conversation?

2. PHILINUS. The guides were going through their prearranged programme, paying no heed to us who begged that they would cut short their harangues and their expounding of most of the inscriptions. The appearance and technique of the statues had only a moderate attraction for the foreign visitor, who, apparently, was a connoisseur in works of art. He did, however, admire the patina of the bronze, for it bore no resemblance to verdigris or rust, but the bronze was smooth and shining with a deep blue tinge, so that it gave an added touch to the sea-captains (for he had begun his sight-seeing with them), as they stood there with the true complexion of the sea and its deepest depths.

his officers (erected after the battle of Aegospotami), which stood near the entrance inside the sacred precinct. Cf. Life of Lysander, chap. xviii. (443 a).
(395) "Αρ' οὖν," ἐφη, "κρᾶσις τις ἤν καὶ φάρμαξις τῶν πάλαι τεχνιτῶν περὶ τὸν χαλκὸν, ὡσπερ ἡ λεγομένη τῶν ξιφῶν στόμωσις ἡς ἐκλειπούσης ἐκεχειρίαν ἔσχεν ἐργῶν πολεμικῶν ὁ χαλκός; τὸν μὲν γὰρ Κορίνθιον οὐ τέχνη φασίν ἄλλα συντυχία τῆς χρόας λαβεῖν τὸ κάλλος, ἐπινεμαμένου πυρὸς ζ οἰκίᾳν ἔχουσάν τι χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον, πλεῖστον δὲ χαλκὸν ἀποκείμενον, ὅπως συγχυθέντων καὶ συντακέντων, ὅνομα τοῦ χαλκοῦ τῷ μείζονι τὸ πληθος παρέσχεν.

'Ὁ δὲ Θέων ὑπολαβὼν, "Ἄλλον," ἐφη, "λόγον ἡμεῖς ἀκηκόαμεν πανοργέστερον, ὡς ἀνὴρ ἐν Κορίνθῳ χαλκοτύποις ἐπιτυχών θηκὴ χρυσίον ἐχούσῃ πολῇ καὶ δεδουκὸς φανερὸς γενέσθαι κατὰ μικρὸν ἀποκόπτων καὶ ὑπομειγνύς ἀτρέμα τῷ χαλκῷ θαυμαστὴν λαμβάνοντι κρᾶσιν ἐπιπρασκε πολλοῦ διὰ τὴν χρόαν καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἁγαπώμενον. ἄλλα καὶ ταῦτα κάκεινα μῆθος ἐστὶν. ἂν δὲ τις ὡς έουκε μείζος καὶ ἄρτυσις, ὅπως ποι καὶ ἑών ἀνακεραν-

D νύντες ἄργυρῳ χρυσῶν ἱδίαν τινὰ καὶ περιττὴν ἕμοι δὲ φανομένην νοσώδη χλωρότητα καὶ φθορὰν ἀκαλλῆ παρέχουσι."

3. "Τίν' οὖν αἰτίαν," ἐφη ὁ Διογενιανὸς, "οἶει τῆς ἐνταῦθα τοῦ χαλκοῦ χρόας4 γεγονέναι;"

Καὶ ὁ Θέων, "ὦταν," ἐφη, "τῶν πρώτων καὶ

1 tōn Basel ed. of 1542: τὸ.
2 φασίν added by Bernardakis.
3 τῷ μείζονι] μείγματι Blass, but cf. Moralia, 140 f.
4 χρόας, the more usual form, Duebner: χροῖας.

"Tempering in the water of Peirene was held to be one important factor in the production of Corinthian bronze. Cf. e.g. Pausanias, ii. 3. 3. On the whole subject of 262
"Was there, then," said he, "some process of alloying and treating used by the artizans of early times for bronze, something like what is called the tempering of swords, on the disappearance of which bronze came to have a respite from employment in war? As a matter of fact," he continued, "it was not by art, as they say, but by accident that the Corinthian bronze a acquired its beauty of colour; a fire consumed a house containing some gold and silver and a great store of copper, and when these were melted and fused together, the great mass of copper furnished a name because of its preponderance."

Theon, taking up the conversation, said, "We have heard another more artful account, how a worker in bronze at Corinth, when he had come upon a hoard containing much gold, fearing detection, broke it off a little at a time and stealthily mixed it with his bronze, which thus acquired a wondrous composition. He sold it for a goodly price since it was very highly esteemed for its colour and beauty. However, both this story and that are fiction, but there was apparently some process of combination and preparation; for even now they alloy gold with silver b and produce a peculiar and extraordinary, and, to my eyes, a sickly paleness and an unlovely perversion."

3. "What do you think, then," said Diogenianus, "has been the cause of the colour of the bronze here?"

Theon replied, "When of the primal and simplest 

Corinthian bronze, it is worth while to consult an article by T. Leslie Shear, "A Hoard of Coins found in Corinth in 1930," in the American Journal of Archaeology, xxv. (1931) pp. 139-151, which records the results of chemical analyses of samples of the bronze.

b Making the ancient electrum, which was often used for coinage, plate, and similar purposes.
(395) φυσικωτάτων καλουμένων\(^1\) καὶ ὄντων, πυρὸς καὶ γῆς καὶ ἀέρος καὶ υδάτος, μηδὲν\(^2\) ἄλλο τῷ χαλκῷ πλησιάζῃ μηδὲ ὀμιλῆ ἐπὶ ῥήμα μόνος ὁ ἄργος, δῆλος ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τούτου πεποιθώς καὶ διὰ τούτου ἐσχηκὼς ἥν ἔχει διαφορὰν ἀεὶ συνόντα καὶ προσκείμενον:\(^3\) τούτῳ\(^4\) μὲν ἡδή\(^5\) πρὶν Θεόγνιν γεγονέναι
catatôn kōmikôn; ἥν δ' ἔχων φύσιν ὁ ἄργος τε ἔν 
Ερχώμενος δυνάμει κατὰ τὰς ἐπιμαύθεις ἐπικεχρωκε 
touν χαλκὸν ἐπιθυμεῖς μαθεῖν;" 
Φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Διογενιανοῦ, "καὶ γὰρ ἑγώ," 
eipen, "ὡς παῖς ἑττῶμεν σὺν κοινῇ καὶ πρότερον, εἰ 
βούλει, ἐν ἂν αὐτίαν μάλιστα τῶν ὑγρῶν ἀναπή-
πλην ἵνα τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ὑπὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ γε δήπου τῷ χαλκῷ 
προστιθησάται τόν ιόν, ἀτε δὴ καθαρὸν αὐτῷ καὶ 
ἀμάντων πλησιάζων." 
"Οὐδαμῶς," εἶπεν ὁ νεανίας, "ἀλλὰ δ' αὐτῷ 
μοι δοκεῖ τούτου τὸ αὐτίων ὑπάρχειν: λεπτῷ 
ὄντῳ καὶ καθαρῷ καὶ διανυχεῖ προσπιτῶν ὁ ἴος 
F ἐκφανεστάτος ἔστων, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑγροῖς 
ἀφανίζεται." 
Καὶ δ' Θέων, "ἐυγέ," εἶπεν, "ὡς παῖ, καὶ καλῶς\(^10\) 
σκότει δ' εἰ βούλει καὶ τὴν ὑπ' Ἀριστοτέλους 
ἀυτίαν λεγομένην." 
"Ἀλλὰ βούλομαι," εἶπεν.\(^11\)

1 kaloumēnov F.C.B. (cf. Life of Cleomenes, chap. xiii., 
810 c): καὶ ἐσομένων.
4 touti Cobet (from 777 c): τούτῳ.
5 ἡδή added by Kock (ἡδέω 777 c). 6 τῷ Leonicus: τῷ.
7 προστιθαι Wytenbach: προστιθεσθαι.
8 πλησιάζων Amyot: πλησιάζοντα.
9 toutou Turnebus: τούτῳ.

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elements in Nature, as they are called and actually are—fire, earth, air, and water—there is none other that comes near to the bronze or is in contact with it, save only air, it is clear that the bronze is affected by this, and that because of this it has acquired whatever distinctive quality it has, since the air is always about it and environs it closely. a Of a truth

All this I knew before Theognis’ day, b as the comic poet has it. But is it your desire to learn what property the air possesses and what power it exerts in its constant contact, so that it has imparted a colouring to the bronze?

As Diogenianus assented, Theon said, “And so also is it my desire, my young friend; let us, therefore, investigate together, and before anything else, if you will, the reason why olive-oil most of all the liquids covers bronze with rust. For, obviously, the oil of itself does not deposit the rust, since it is pure and stainless when applied.”

“Certainly not,” said the young man. “My own opinion is that there must be something else that causes this, for the oil is thin, pure, and transparent, and the rust, when it encounters this, is most visible, but in the other liquids it becomes invisible.”

“Well done, my young friend,” said Theon, “and excellently said. But consider, if you will, the reason given by Aristotle.” c

“Very well,” said he, “I will.”

b Kock, Com. Att. Frag. iii. p. 495, Adespota, no. 461. Plutarch quotes this again in Moralia, 777 c.
c Not to be found in Aristotle’s extant works.

10 καλῶς added by Reiske.
11 εἰπεῖν Xylander: εἰπεῖν.
“Φησὶ τούνν τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ὑγρῶν πίόντα διέχειν ἀδήλως καὶ διασπείρεσθαι τὸν ἵδων ἀνωμάλων καὶ μανῶν ὄντων, τοῦ δὲ ἐλαίου τῇ πυκνότητι στέγεσθαι καὶ διαμένειν ἀθροιζόμενον. ἂν οὖν καὶ αὐτοὶ τι τοιούτων ὑποθέσθαι δυνηθῶμεν, οὐ πανταπασιν ἀπορησομεν ἐπιδῆς καὶ παραμυθίας πρὸς τὴν ἀπορίαν.”

396 4. Ἡς οὖν ἐκελεύομεν καὶ συνεχωροῦμεν, ἐφι τὸν ἄερα τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς, πυκνὸν ὄντα καὶ συνεχὴ καὶ τόνον ἔχοντα διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρῶν ἀνάκλασιν καὶ ἀντέρεισιν, ἐτε καὶ λεπτὸν εἶναι καὶ δηκτικὸν, ὡς που μαρτυρεῖ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς πέφεις τῆς τρο-φῆς. ἐνδυόμενον οὖν ὑπὸ λεπτότητος καὶ τέμιντα τὸν χαλκὸν ἀναχαράττειν πολὺν ἰδὸν ἐς αὐτοῦ καὶ γεώδη, στέγειν δὲ τούτον αὐτόν πάλιν καὶ πίεζειν, τῆς πυκνότητος διάχυσιν μη διδούσης, τὸν δ’ ὑφιστά-μενον αὐτοῦ διὰ πλῆθος ἐξανθείν καὶ λαμβάνειν αὐγὴν καὶ γάνωμα περὶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν.

B Ἀποδεξαμένων δ’ ἡμῶν, ὁ ἕλενος ἐφη τὴν ἐτέραν ἀρκεῖν ὑπόθεσιν πρὸς τὸν λόγον. “ἡ δὲ λεπτότης,” ἐφη, “δόξει μὲν ὑπεναντιοῦσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὴν λεγομένην πυκνότητα τοῦ ἁερος, λαμβάνεται δ’ οὐκ ἀναγκαίως· αὐτὸς γὰρ υφ’ ἐαυτοῦ παλαιούμενος δ’ χαλκὸς ἀποτελεῖ καὶ μεθήσει τὸν ἵδων, ὅν ἡ πυκνότης συνέχουσα καὶ παχυνόσα ποιεῖ ἐκφανή διὰ τὸ πλῆθος.”

Τιπολαβῶν δ’ ὁ Θέων, “τί γάρ,” εἶπεν, “ὁ ἕλενε, κωλύει ταύτων εἶναι καὶ λεπτὸν καὶ πυκνὸν, ὡσπερ

1 ἀνωμάλων early editors (τῶν μορίων Strijd; alii alia): ἀνωμάλων τῶν.
2 μανῶν ὄντων Vulcobius: μενόντων.
3 διάχυσιν added by someone to fill a lacuna.
4 αὐτοῦ Reiske: αὐτῷ Sieveking: αὐτ’ or αὐτόν.

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"Now Aristotle says that when the rust absorbs any of the other liquids, it is imperceptibly disunited and dispersed, since these are unevenly and thinly constituted; but by the density of the oil it is prevented from escaping and remains permanently as it is collected. If, then, we are able of ourselves to invent some such hypothesis, we shall not be altogether at a loss for some magic spell and some words of comfort to apply to this puzzling question."

4. Since, therefore, we urged him on and gave him his opportunity, Theon said that the air in Delphi is dense and compact, possessing a certain vigour because of the repulsion and resistance that it encounters from the lofty hills; and it is also tenuous and keen, as the facts about the digestion of food bear witness. So the air, by reason of its tenuity, works its way into the bronze and cuts it, disengaging from it a great quantity of rust like dust, but this it retains and holds fast, inasmuch as its density does not allow a passage for this. The rust gathers and, because of its great abundance, it effloresces and acquires a brilliance and lustre on its surface.

When we had accepted this explanation, the foreign visitor said that the one hypothesis alone was sufficient for the argument. "The tenuity," said he, "will seem to be in contravention to the reputed density of the air, but there is no need to bring it in. As a matter of fact the bronze of itself, as it grows old, exudes and releases the rust which the density of the air confines and solidifies and thus makes it visible because of its great abundance."

Theon, taking this up, said, "My friend, what is there to prevent the same thing from being both

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5 ταυτὸν Benseler: ταυτὸ.
(396) τὰ σημικὰ καὶ τὰ βύσσινα τῶν υφασμάτων, ἔφ᾽ ὦν καὶ "Ομηρος εἶπε

καιροσέων¹ δ᾽ θυνῶν² ἀπολείβεται ὕγρον ἔλαιον,
ἐνδεικνύμενος τὴν ἀκρίβειαν καὶ λεπτότητα τοῦ
C ύφους τῷ μὴ προσμένειν τὸ ἔλαιον ἀλλ᾽ ἀπορρεῖν
καὶ ἀπολυθάνειν, τῆς λεπτότητος καὶ πυκνό-
τητος οὐ διείσθης³; καὶ μὴν οὐ μόνον πρὸς τὴν ἀνα-
χάραξιν τοῦ ιὸν χρῆσαι ἀν τὶς⁴ τῇ λεπτότητι τοῦ
ἀέρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆν χρόαν αὐτὴν ποιεῖν ἐοικεν
ηδίονα καὶ γλαυκότεραν, ἀναμειγνύονσα τῷ κυάνῳ
φῶς καὶ αὐγήν."  

5. Ἐκ τούτου γενομένης σωπτῆς, πάλιν οἱ περι-
ηγηταὶ προεχειρίζοντο τὰς ρήσεις. χρησιμοῦ δὲ
tων ἐμίμητραν λεκβέντως, οἶμαι, περὶ τῆς Λἰγίνως
tοῦ Ἀργείου βασιλείας, πολλάκις ἐφη θαυμάσαι
tῶν ἐπῶν ὁ Διογενανός, ἐν οἷς οἱ χρησιμοὶ λέγονται,
tὴν φαυλότητα καὶ τὴν εὐτέλειαν. "καίτω μουσ-
ηγέτης ὁ θεός, καὶ τῆς λεγομένης λογισμοῦ ὑμᾶς
D ἦττον αὐτῷ τὸ καλὸν ἡ τῆς περὶ μέλη καὶ ὡδᾶς
εὐφωνίας⁵ μετεῖναι, καὶ πολὺ τοῦ Ἡσίόδου εὐσεβεῖα
καὶ τοῦ "Ομηρον ὑπερβέβηγγεσθαι· τοὺς δὲ πόλλοὺς
tῶν χρησιμῶν ὅρωμεν καὶ τοὺς μέτρους καὶ τοὺς
ὄνομασι πλημμελείας καὶ φαυλότητος ἀναπεπλη-
σμένους."

Παρὼν οὖν Ἀθήνηθεν ὁ ποιητής Σαραπίων,⁶
"εἴτε", Ἐφη, "ταῦτα τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πιστεύοντες

¹ καιροσεων from Homer: καὶ ὄν.
² θυνεων Homer.
³ διείσθης Reiske: διησθι.
⁴ τὶς added by Bernardakis.
⁵ εὐφωνίας Reiske: καὶ εὐφωνίας.
⁶ Σαραπίων Bernardakis, as in 384 ε, 628 λ: σεραπίων.
tenuous and dense, like the silken and linen varieties of cloth, touching which Homer a has said

Streams of the liquid oil flow off from the close-woven linen, showing the exactitude and fineness of the weaving by the statement that the oil does not remain on the cloth, but runs off over the surface, since the fineness and closeness of the texture does not let it through? In fact the tenuity of the air can be brought forward, not only as an argument regarding the disengaging of the rust, but, very likely, it also makes the colour itself more agreeable and brilliant by blending light and lustre with the blue."

5. Following this a silence ensued, and again the guides began to deliver their harangues. A certain oracle in verse was recited (I think it concerned the kingdom of Aegon the Argive b), whereupon Dio-genianus said that he had often wondered at the barrenness and cheapness of the hexameter lines in which the oracles are pronounced. "Yet the god is Leader of the Muses, and it is right and fair that he should take no less interest in what is called elegance of diction than in the sweetness of sound that is concerned with tunes and songs, and that his utterances should surpass Hesiod and Homer in the excellence of their versification. Yet we observe that most of the oracles are full of metrical and verbal errors and barren diction."

Sarapion, the poet who was present from Athens, said, "Then do we believe these verses to be the

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a Od. vii. 107. Cf. Life of Alexander, chap. xxxvi. (686 c); Athenaeus, 582 d.
b Plutarch recounts the story of this oracle in Moralia, 340 c.
(396) εἶναι τολμῶμεν1 αὐτ πάλιν ως λείπεται2 κάλλει τῶν Ὀμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου, λέγειν; οὐ χρησόμεθα τούτοις ως ἄριστα καὶ κάλλιστα πεποιημένοις, ἐπι- ανορθούμενοι τὴν αὐτῶν3 κρίσιν προκατειλημμένην ὑπὸ φαύλης συνήθειας;”

Τυπολαβῶν οὖν Βόθθος ὁ γεωμέτρης (οἶσθα γὰρ Ε τὸν ἄλλα μετατατόμουν ἣδη πρὸς τὸν Ἐπίκουρον), “ἀρ’ οὖν,” ἐφη, “τὸ τοῦ ζωγράφου Παῦσωνος ἀκήκοας;”

“Οὐκ ἐγώγε,” εἶπεν ὁ Σαραπίων.

“Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἄξιον. εκλαβῶν γὰρ ως έοικεν ἵππους ἀλινδούμενον γράφαι τρέχοντ’ ἐγραφεν. ἀγανακτούντος δὲ τανθρώπου γελάσας ὁ Παῦσων κατέστρεψε τὸν πίνακα, καὶ γενομένων ἄνω τῶν κάτω πάλιν ὁ ἵππος οὐ τρέχων ἀλλ’ ἀλινδούμενος ἐφαίνετο. τοῦτο φησιν ὁ Βίων ἐνίοις τῶν λόγων πάσχειν, ὅταν ἀναστράφωσι.4 διὸ καὶ τοὺς χρησμοὺς ἐνιοὶ φθεύουσιν οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν, ὅτι τοῦ θεοῦ Ἐ εἰσώ: ἀλλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ εἶναι, ὅτι φαύλως ἔχουσιν. ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἄδηλῳ· τὸ δὲ παρημελημένως5 πεποιηθοῦν τὰ περὶ τοὺς χρησμοὺς καὶ σοῇ κρυτῇ δῆπονθεν, ὦ φίλε Σαραπίων,” εἶπεν, “ἐναργεῖς ἐστι. ποιήματα γὰρ6 γράφεις τοῖς μὲν πράγμασι φιλο- σόφως καὶ αὐστηρῶς, δυνάμει δὲ καὶ χάριτι καὶ κατασκευῇ περὶ λέειν έοικότα τοῖς Ὀμηροῦ καὶ

1 τολμῶμεν Meziriacus: τὸ άμωμον.
2 λείπεται Meziriacus: λέγεται.
3 αὐτῶν Bernardakis: αὐτῶν.
4 ἀναστράφωσι Perizonius: ἀναστρέφωσι.
5 παρημελημένως F.C.B., to fill a lacuna in the mss.: οὐκ εἰ τὰ ἐπὶ πεποιηθοῦν ὁ Wyttenbach.
6 γὰρ Reiske: μὲν γὰρ.
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god's, and yet dare to say that in beauty they fall short of the verses of Homer and Hesiod? Shall we not treat them as if they were the best and fairest of poetic compositions, and correct our own judgment, prepossessed as it is as the result of unfortunate habituation?"

At this point Boëthus a the mathematician entered into the conversation. (You know that the man is already changing his allegiance in the direction of Epicureanism.) Said he, "Do you happen to have heard the story of Pauson the painter?" b

"No," said Sarapion, "I have not."

"Well, it is really worth hearing. It seems that he had received a commission to paint a horse rolling, and painted it galloping. His patron was indignant, whereupon Pauson laughed and turned the canvas upside down, and, when the lower part became the upper, the horse now appeared to be not galloping, but rolling. Bion says that this happens to some arguments when they are inverted. So some people will say of the oracles also, not that they are excellently made because they are the god's, but that they are not the god's because they are poorly made! The first of these is in the realm of the unknown; but that the verses conveying the oracles are carelessly wrought is, of course, perfectly clear to you, my dear Sarapion, for you are competent to judge. You write poems in a philosophic and restrained style, but in force and grace and diction they bear more resemblance to the poems of Homer and

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a Called the Epicurean in Moralia, 673 c.

b Cf. Aelian, Varia Historia, xiv. 15. According to the scholium on Aristophanes, Plutus, 602, the Pauson mentioned there is probably the same man.
'Ἡσιόδου μᾶλλον ἣ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίας ἐκφερομένοι.

6. Καὶ ὁ Σαραπίων, "νοσοῦμεν γὰρ," εἶπεν, "ὅ Βόηθε, καὶ τὰ ὅτα καὶ τὰ ὄμματα, συνειδομένοι διὰ τρυφὴν καὶ μαλακίαν τὰ ἡδίω καλὰ νομίζειν 397 καὶ ἀποφαίνεσθαι. τάχα δὴ μεμφόμεθα τὴν Πυθίαν, ὅτι Γλαύκης ὄν πθέγγεται τῆς κιταρωδοῦ λιγυρώτερον, οὔδὲ χριμομένη2 μῦροι οὔδ' ἀλουργίδας ἀμπεχομένη κάτεισιν3 εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον,4 οὔδ' ἐπιθυμιά κασίαιν5 ἢ λήδανον ἢ λιβανωτὸν ἄλλα δάφνην καὶ κρίθινον ἀλευρόν. οὐχ ὀρᾶς," εἶπεν, "ὁς χάριν ἔχει τὰ Σαπφίκα μέλη κηλούντα καὶ καταβλέγοντα τοὺς ἀκρωμένους; 'Σίβυλλα δὲ μανομένων στόματι καθ' Ἡράκλειτον 'ἀγέλαστα καὶ ἀκαλλώπιστα καὶ ἀμύριστα φθεγγομένη, χιλίων ἐτῶν ἐξικνεῖται τῇ φωνῇ διὰ τῶν θεών.' ὅ δὲ Β Πύνδαρος 'ἀκούσαι,6 φησί, 'τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν Κάδμου ἐπιδεικνυμένου μουσικὰν7 ὀρθὰν, οὐχ ἦδειαν οὔ δε τρυφερὰν οὔδ' ἐπικεκλασμένην τοῖς μέλεσιν. 'Ἡδονὴν γὰρ οὐ προσίεται τὸ ἀπαθὲς καὶ ἀγνόν, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα μετὰ τῆς "Ατης8 ἐρρίφῃ καὶ τὸ πλείστον αὐτῆς κακὸν9 ὡς ἐοικεν εἰς τὰ ὅτα τῶν ἀνθρώπων συνερρύηκεν.'

7. Εἰπόντος δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Σαραπίωνος, ὁ Θέων

1 εἶπεν, ὁ Basel ed. of 1542: ἐν τε νῦ.
2 χριμομένη Vulcobius: χριμομένη.
3 ἀμπεχομένη κάτεισιν Reiske: ἀμπεχομένην καὶ τισῶν.
4 μαντεῖον added by F.C.B. from 438 θ; χρηστήριον Paton from 405 θ; ἀδυτου Reiske.
5 κασίαι Duebner: κασίαιν.
6 ἀκούσαι Leonicus: ἀκούσας.
7 ἐπιδεικνυμένου μουσικὰν Paton from 1030 Α: οὐ μουσικὰν.
8 Ἁτης Vulcobius (cf. Hom. Τ 126); ιυπῆς H. Richards: αὐτῆς.
Hesiod than to the verses put forth by the prophetic priestess."

6. "The fact is, Boëthus," said Sarapion, "that we are ailing both in ears and eyes, accustomed as we are, through luxury and soft living, to believe and to declare that the pleasanter things are fair and lovely. Before long we shall be finding fault with the prophetic priestess because she does not speak in purer tones than Glaucë, who sings to the lyre, and because she is not perfumed and clad in purple when she goes down into the inner shrine, and does not burn upon the altar cassia or ladanum or frankincense, but only laurel and barley meal. Do you not see," he continued, "what grace the songs of Sappho have, charming and bewitching all who listen to them? But the Sibyl 'with frenzied lips,' as Heracleitus has it, 'uttering words mirthless, unembellished, unperfumed, yet reaches to a thousand years with her voice through the god.' And Pindar says that 'Cadmus heard the god revealing music true,' not sweet nor voluptuous nor with suddenly changing melody. For the emotionless and pure does not welcome Pleasure, but she, as well as Mischief, was thrown down here, and the greater part of the evil in her has, apparently, gathered together to flood the ears of men.'"

7. When Sarapion had said this, Theon smiled and

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a Cf. the scholium on Theocritus, iv. 31.
b Diels, Frag. der Vorsokratiker, i. p. 96, Heracleitus, no. 92.
c Pindar, Frag. 32 (ed. Christ).
e Cf. Moralia, 38 a-b.

9 κακὸν F.C.B.: καὶ.
(397) μειδίασας, "ο Σαμαριτών μέν," εἶπε, "το εἰσοθὸς ἀποδέδωκε τῷ τρόπῳ, λόγου περὶ "Ατης καὶ 'Ηδονῆς παραπεσόντος ἀπολαύσας: ἥμεις δ' ὁ Βόηθε, καὶ ἣ φαντότερα τῶν Ὁμήρου ταῦτα τὰ ἔτη, μὴ νομίζωμεν αὐτὰ πεποιηκέναι τον θεόν, ἀλλ' οὸν μείζοντος, ὡς ἕκαστῃ πέφυκε κινεῖσθαι τῶν προφητίδων. καὶ γὰρ εἰ γράφειν ἐδει μὴ λέγειν τοὺς χρησμοὺς, οὐκ ἂν οἴμαι τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ γράμματα νομίζοντες ἐψέγομεν ὅτι λείπεται καλλιγραφία τῶν βασιλικῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ θεοῦ ἡ γῆρας οὖν ὁ φθόγγος οὖν ἡ λέξις οὐδὲ τὸ μέτρον ἀλλὰ τῆς γυναικὸς. εἰκὼν δὲ μόνας τὰς φαντασίας παρίστησι καὶ φῶς εἰ τῇ ψυχῇ ποιεῖ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον. δ' ὁ γὰρ ἐνθουσιασμὸς τοιοῦτον ἐστὶν καθόλου δ' εἰπεῖν, ὑμᾶς τοὺς τοῦ Ἐπικούρου προφήτας (δῆλος γὰρ εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑποφερόμενος) οὐκ ἔστι διαφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ κακεῖνα² αἰτιάσθε³ τὰς πάλαι προφητίδας ὡς φαύλους ποιήμασι χρωμένας, καὶ τὰς νῦν καταλογάδην καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ὀνομάτων τοὺς χρησμοὺς λεγούσας, ὅπως ὑμῖν ἀκεφάλων καὶ λαγαρῶν μέτρων καὶ μειούρων εὐθύνας μὴ ὑπέχωσιν.

Καὶ ὁ Διογενικὸς, "μὴ παιζʹ," εἶπεν, "ὁ πρὸς θεῶν, ἀλλὰ διάλυσον ἦμῖν ταῦτην τὴν ἀπορίαν κοινὴν ὀδηγὸν. οὖν ώρα ἐστὶν ἠμῶν, ὅσον αἰτίαν

1 "Ατης καὶ Dübner; λύπης καὶ H. Richards: αὐτῆς τῆς.
2 κακείνας Wytenbach: κακίας.
3 αἰτιάσθε Leonicus: αἰτιάσθαι.
4 ἠμῶν Harder; Ἕλληνων Stegmann: ἀλλων or ἀλλήλων.

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said, "Sarapion has yielded as usual to his propensity by taking advantage of the incidental mention of Mischief and Pleasure. But as for us, Boëthus, even if these verses be inferior to Homer’s, let us not believe that the god has composed them, but that he supplies the origin of the incitement, and then the prophetic priestesses are moved each in accordance with her natural faculties. Certainly, if it were necessary to write the oracles, instead of delivering them orally, I do not think that we should believe the handwriting to be the god’s, and find fault with it because in beauty it fell short of that of the royal scribes. As a matter of fact, the voice is not that of a god, a nor the utterance of it, nor the diction, nor the metre, but all these are the woman’s; he puts into her mind only the visions, and creates a light in her soul in regard to the future; for inspiration is precisely this. And, speaking in general, it is impossible to escape you who speak for Epicurus b (in fact you yourself, Boëthus, are obviously being borne in that direction); but you charge the prophetic priestesses of old with using bad verse, and those of the present day with delivering their oracles in prose and using commonplace words, so that they may not be liable to render an account to you for their wrong use of a short syllable at the beginning, middle, or end of their lines! c"

"In Heaven’s name,” said Diogenianus, “do not jest, but solve for us this problem, which is of universal interest. For there is not one of us that does not seek

a Cf. 404 b and 414 e, infra.
b Frag. 395.
c Instead of the long syllable demanded by the metre. Cf. Athenaeus, 632 d.
(397) ἐπιζητεῖ καὶ λόγου, πῶς1 πέπαιναι τὸ μαντεῖον ἐπεσι καὶ μέτροις2 χρώμενον.

Τοπολαβῶν οὖν ὁ Θεὼν, "ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν," εἶπεν, "ὡς παί, δοκούμεν ἐπηρείᾳ τινι τοὺς περιηγητὰς ἐάφαιρεῖσαι τὸ οἴκειον ἔργον. ἔσον οὖν γενέσθαι τὸ τούτων πρότερον, εἰτα περὶ ὧν βούλει καθ' ἡσυχίαν διαπορῆσαι."

8. "Ἡδη δὲ προϊόντες ἦμεν κατὰ τὸν 'Ἰέρωνος ἀνδριάντα τοῦ τυράννου καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ὁ ἕξεν εἰδὼς ἀπαντα παρεῖχεν ὦμοι ὑπ᾽ εὐκολίας ἀκροατὴν αὐτὸν ἀκούσας δὴ ὅτι κώπων τις ἐστὼς ἀνῶν χαλκῶις 'Ἰέρωνος ἐπέσεν αὐτομάτως τής ἡμέρας ἑκείνης, ἦ τὸν 'Ἰέρωνα συνεβαίνεν ἐν Συρακούσαις τελευταί, έθαύμασε. κάγῳ τῶν ὄμων ἄλλα3 συνανεμιμη-σκον, οὔ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ 'Ἰέρωνος4 μὲν τοῦ Σπαρτιάτου, ὅτι πρὸ τῆς ἐν Λευκτροῖς αὐτῶ γενομένης τελευτῆς ἐξέπεσον οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τοῦ ἀνδριάντος, οἱ δ' ἀστέρες ἡφανισθησαν οὐσ Λύσανδρος ἀνέθηκεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Αἰγός ποταμοῖς ναυμαχίας. ὁ δ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ5 Λυ-σανδροῦ λίθων ἀνδριὰς ἐξήνθησεν ἀγρίαν λόχμην καὶ πῶν τοσαύτην τὸ πλῆθος, ὡστε κατακρύψαι τὸ πρόσωπον εἰ δ' τοῖς Συκελίκοις τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀτυχήμασιν αἱ τε χρυσαὶ τοῦ φοίνικος ἀπέρρεους βάλανοι, καὶ τὴν ἀστίδα τοῦ Παλλαδίου κόρακες

1 πῶς Duebner: ὲς.
2 μέτροις F.C.B.; ἄλλοις μέτροις Reiske from p. 402 b; ἐλέγοις Madvig; ἐλεγείοις Wilamowitz-Möllendorff: λόγοι.
3 ἄλλα F.C.B.: ἄμα.
4 'Ἰέρωνος] Ἐρμώνος von der Muhl.
5 τοῦ added by Stephanus.

a Cf. Pausanias, x. 9. 7, with Xenophon, Hellenica, vi. 4. 9. Presumably the same man is referred to in both

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to learn the cause and reason why the oracle has ceased to employ verse and metre."

Whereupon Theon, interrupting, said, "But just now, my young friend, we seem rather rudely to be taking away from the guides their proper business. Permit, therefore, their services to be rendered first, and after that you shall, at your leisure, raise questions about any matters you wish."

8. By this time we had proceeded until we were opposite the statue of Hiero the despot. The foreign visitor, by reason of his genial nature, made himself listen to the various tales, although he knew them all perfectly well; but when he was told that a bronze pillar of Hiero's standing above had fallen of itself during that day on which it happened that Hiero was coming to his end at Syracuse, he expressed his astonishment. Whereupon I proceeded to recall to his mind other events of a like nature, such, for example, as the experience of Hiero \(^a\) the Spartan, how before his death, which came to him at Leuctra, the eyes fell out of his statue, and the stars disappeared which Lysander had dedicated from the naval battle at Aegospotami; and the stone statue of Lysander \(^b\) himself put forth a growth of wild shrubs and grass in such abundance as to cover up the face; and at the time of the Athenian misfortunes in Sicily, the golden dates were dropping from the palm-tree and ravens were pecking off the edge of the shield of Pallas Athena \(^c\); and the crown passages, as he may well have lived till the battle of Leuctra in 371 B.C., and he may be mentioned also in Xenophon, Hellenica, i. 6. 32, but whether his name was Hiero or Hermon cannot, apparently, be determined with certainty.

\(^a\) Cf. Life of Lysander, chap. xviii. (443 a).

\(^b\) Cf. Pausanias, x. 15. 5.
περιέκοπτον· ὁ δὲ Κυνίδων στέφανος, ὃν Φαρσαλία τῇ ὀρχηστρίδι Φιλόμηλος ὁ Φωκέων τύραννος ἔδωρήσατο, μεταστάσαν αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἀπώλεσεν ἐν Μεταποντίῳ παιζοσαν 398 περὶ τὸν νεόν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· ὁρμήσαντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν στέφανον οἱ νεανίσκοι καὶ μαχόμενοι περὶ τοῦ χρυσίου πρὸς ἀλλήλους διέσπασαν τὴν ἀνθρωπον.

Ἀριστοτέλης μὲν, οὖν μὸνον ὁμηρόν ἐλεγε κινοῦμεν ποιεῖν ὁνόματα διὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν· ἐγὼ δὲ φαίνην ἂν καὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων τὰ ἐνταυθοὶ μάλιστα συγκινεῖσθαι καὶ συνεπιθημαίνειν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίᾳ, καὶ τούτων μέρος μηδὲν εἶναι κενὸν μηδὲν ἀναισθητον, ἀλλὰ πεπλήθοσαι πάντα θειότητος.

Καὶ ὁ Βόηθος, "ναι," εἶπεν, "οὐ γὰρ ἀρκεῖ τὸν θεὸν εἰς σῶμα καθεργοῦν ἥνητον ἀπαξ ἐκάστον Β ληνός, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίθω παντὶ καὶ χαλκῷ συμφυράσμεν αὐτόν, ὡσπερ οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀξιόχρεων τῶν τοιούτων συμπτωμάτων τὴν τύχην δημιουργὸν καὶ ταυτόματον."

"Εἰτ'," ἐφην ἐγὼ, "τύχη σοι δοκεῖ καὶ αὐτόματον τῶν τοιούτων ἐκαστὸν τεθεικέναι, 2 καὶ πιθανόν ἐστι τὰς ἀτόμους ἐξολοσθεῖν καὶ διαλυθῆναι 3 καὶ παρεγκλίνα μὴτε πρότερον μήθ' ὑστερον, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον, ἐν ὅ τῶν ἀναθέντων ἐκαστὸς ἥ χειρὸν ἐμελλὲ πράξεν ἡ βέλτιον; καὶ σὲ μὲν Ἰπίκουρος ὦφελει νῦν ὃς ἐοικεν ἄφ' ὃν εἶπεν ἡ ἐγραφε πρὸ ἐτῶν τριακοσίων· ὁ θεὸς δ', εἰ μὴ Ο συνείρξειε φέρων 4 ἐαυτὸν εἰς ἀπαντα μηδ' ἀνακερα-  

1 ἔχοντες Anon.: ἔχοντος. 2 τεθεικέναι F.C.B.: ἐοικέναι. 3 διαλυθῆναι[ διαχυθῆναι] Usener. 4 φέρων] φυρῶν Pohlenc.  

a Cf. Athenaeus, 605 c.
of the Cnidians which Philomelus, despot of the Phocians, had presented to the dancing-girl a Pharsalia caused her death, after she had emigrated from Greece to Italy and was disporting herself in the vicinity of the temple of Apollo at Metapontum; for the young men made a rush for the crown, and as they struggled with one another for the gold, they tore the girl to pieces.

Aristotle b used to say that Homer is the only poet who wrote words possessing movement because of their vigour; but I should say that among votive offerings also, those dedicated here have movement and significance in sympathy with the god's foreknowledge, and no part of them is void or insensible, but all are filled with the divine spirit.

"Yes indeed," said Boëthus. "It is not enough to incarnate the god once every month in a mortal body, but we are bent upon incorporating him into every bit of stone and bronze, as if we did not have in Chance or Accident an agent responsible for such coincidences."

"Then," said I, "does it seem to you that chance and accident have ordered every single one of such occurrences; and is it credible that the atoms slipped out of place and were separated one from another and inclined towards one side neither before nor afterwards, but at precisely the time when each of the dedicators was destined to fare either worse or better? And now Epicurus c comes to your aid, apparently, with what he said or wrote three hundred years ago; but it does not seem to you that the god, unless he should transport himself and incorporate

b Rhetoric, iii. 11 (1411 b 31); cf. Frag. 130 (ed. Rose).

c Frag. 383.
(398) σθεὶς πᾶσιν, οὐκ ἂν σοι δοκοῖς κινήσεως ἀρχὴν καὶ πάθους αἰτίαν1 παρασχεῖν οὕδενι τῶν ὀντων."

9. Τοιαῦτα μὲν ἐγὼ πρὸς τὸν Βόηθον ἀπεκρινάμην, ὡμοια δὲ περὶ τῶν Σιβυλλείων. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐστὶν κατὰ τὴν πέτραν γενόμενοι τὴν κατὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἐφ’ ἢς λέγεται καθιέσθαι τὴν πρώτην Σιβυλλαν ἐκ τοῦ 'Ελικῶνος παραγενομένην ὕπο τῶν Μουσῶν τραφείσαν (ἐνιοί δὲ φασίν ἐκ Μαλιέων2 ἀφικέσθαι Λαμίας οὖσαν θυγατέρα τῆς Ποσειδώνος), ὁ μὲν Σαραπίων ἐμνήσθη τῶν ἐπών, ἐν οἷς ὑμνήσεν ἑαυτῷ, ὡς οὐδ’ ἀποθαυνόσα λήξει μαντικῆς, ἀλλ’ αὐτῇ3 μὲν ἐν τῇ σελήνῃ περίεισι τὸ καλόμενον φανόμενον γενομένη πρόσωπον, τῷ δ’ ἀέρι τὸ πνεῦμα συγκραθέν ἐν φήμαις ἄει φορήσεται καὶ κληδόσων· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ σώματος μεταβαλόντος ἐν τῇ γῇ πόσα καὶ ὕλης ἀναφυμένης, βοσκήσεται ταύτην ἱηρὰ θρέμματα, χρόας τε παντοδαπᾶς ἱσχυότα καὶ μορφᾶς καὶ ποιότητας ἐπὶ τῶν σπλάγχνων ἀφ’ ὧν αἱ προδηλώσεις ἀνθρώπους τοῦ μέλλοντος.

'Ο δὲ Βόηθος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἣν φανερὸς καταγελῶν.

Τοῦ δὲ ξένου εἰσόντος ὡς, εἰ καὶ ταύτα μύθοις ἐοικέν, ἀλλὰ τάς γε4 μαντείας ἐπιμαρτυροῦσι πολλαὶ μὲν ἀναστάσεις καὶ μετοικισμοὶ πόλεων 'Ελληνίδων, πολλαὶ δὲ βαρβαρικῶν στρατιῶν ἐπὶ-

Εφανείαι καὶ ἀναιρέσεις ἡγεμονιῶν: "ταῦτα δὲ τὰ

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1 αἰτίαν Leonicus: ἐστίαν.
3 αὐτῇ Reiske: αὐτη.
4 γε Reiske: τε.
himself into everything and be merged with everything, could initiate movement or cause anything to happen to any existent object!"

9. Such was my answer to Boëthus, and in similar vein mention was made of the oracles of the Sibyl. For when we halted as we reached a point opposite the rock which lies over against the council-chamber, upon which it is said that the first Sibyl\(^a\) sat after her arrival from Helicon where she had been reared by the Muses (though others say that she came from the Malians and was the daughter of Lamia whose father was Poseidon), Sarapion recalled the verses in which she sang of herself: that even after death she shall not cease from prophesying, but that she shall go round and round in the moon,\(^b\) becoming what is called the face that appears in the moon; while her spirit, mingled with the air, shall be for ever borne onward in voices of presage and portent; and since from her body, transformed within the earth, grass and herbage shall spring, on this shall pasture the creatures reared for the holy sacrifice, and they shall acquire all manner of colours and forms and qualities upon their inward parts, from which shall come for men prognostications of the future.

Boëthus even more plainly showed his derision.

The foreign visitor remarked that even if these matters appear to be fables, yet the prophecies have witnesses to testify for them in the numerous desolations and migrations of Grecian cities, the numerous descents of barbarian hordes, and the overthrow of empires. "And these recent and unusual occur-

\(^a\) Cf. Pausanias, x. 12. 1 and 5; and the scholium on Plato, Phaedrus, 244 v.

\(^b\) Cf. Plutarch, Moralia, 566 d.
πρόσφατα καὶ νέα πάθη περὶ τε Κύμην καὶ Δικαιάρχειαν 1 οὐχ ύμνούμενα πάλαι καὶ ἁδόμενα διὰ τῶν Σιβυλλείων 2 ὁ χρόνος ὅσπερ ὡφείλων ἀποδέδωκεν, ἐκρήξεις πυρὸς ὄρειον καὶ ζέσεις θαλαττίας, καὶ πετρῶν καὶ φλεγμονῶν ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἀναρρύψεις, καὶ φθορὰς πόλεων ἀμα τοσοῦτων καὶ τηλικοῦτων, ὡς μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἐπελθοῦσιν ἄγνοιαν εἶναι καὶ ἀσάφειαν ὅποιν κατὰκηντο τῆς χώρας συγκεχυμένης; ταῦτα γὰρ εἰ γέγονεν πιστεύσαι χαλεπὸν ἔστι, μὴ τί γε προεπεῖν ἀνευ θειότητος.”

10. Καὶ ὁ Βόηθος, “ποιον γὰρ,” εἶπεν, “ὁ δαί- Φ μόνε, τῇ φύσει πάθος ὁ χρόνος οὐκ ὡφείλει; τί δ’ ἔστι τῶν ἀτόπων καὶ ἀπροσδοκήτων περὶ γῆν ἡ θάλατταν ἢ πόλεις ἢ ἀνδρας, ὁ τις ἂν προεπόν οὕτω τύχου γενομένου; καίτοι τοῦτο γε σχεδὸν οὐδὲ προεπεῖν ἔστιν ἄλλ’ εἶπεν, μᾶλλον δὲ ῥῤῥι καὶ διασπείραι λόγους οὐκ ἔχοντας ἀρχὴν εἰς τὸ ἀπειρον. οἷς πλανωμένοις ἀπήντησε πολλάκις ἡ τύχη καὶ συνέπεσεν αὐτομάτως. διαφέρει γὰρ οἷς οὐκ ἄν καὶ συνέπεσεν αὐτομάτως. διαφέρει γὰρ οἷς οὐκ ἔχονται ἀρχήν εἰς τὸ απειρον. οἷς πλανωμένοις ἀπήντησε πολλάκις ἡ τύχη καὶ συνέπεσεν αὐτομάτως. διαφέρει γὰρ οἷς εἰς τὸ ἐπίτηδεν ἡ ῥηθήναι τὸ γενησόμενον. δὲ γὰρ εἰπών τὰ μὴ ὑπάρχοντα λόγοι εἰς ἑαυτῷ τὸ ἡμαρτημένον ἔχον μὲν δικαίως ἀναμένει τὴν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου πίστιν οὐδ’ ἀληθεὶς τεκμηρίων χρῆται τοῦ προεπείν ἐπιστάμενος τῷ 3 μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν γενομένων, 4 πάντα τῆς ἀπειρίας φερούσης: μᾶλλον 5

1 Δικαιάρχειαν Bernardakis: δικαιάρχιαν.
2 καὶ φλεγμονῶν] καταφλεγομένων Strijd; καὶ φλογμῶν Wilamowitz-Möllendorff.
3 τῷ added by Wytenbach.
4 γενομένωn Wytenbach: γενομένωn.
5 μᾶλλον Reiske: καλ. . .

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rences near Cumae and Dicaearcheia, were they not recited long ago in the songs of the Sibyl? and has not Time, as if in her debt, duly discharged the obligation in the bursting forth of fires from the mountain, boiling seas, blazing rocks tossed aloft by the wind, and the destruction of such great and noble cities that those who came there by daylight felt ignorance and uncertainty as to where these had been situated, since the land was in such confusion? Such things, if they have come to pass, it is hard to believe, to say nothing of foretelling them, without divine inspiration."

10. Thereupon Boëthus said, "My good sir, what kind of an occurrence can there be that is not a debt owed by Time to Nature? What is there strange and unexpected round about land or sea or cities or men which one might foretell and not find it come to pass? Yet this is not precisely foretelling, but telling; or rather it is a throwing and scattering of words without foundation into the infinite; and oftentimes Chance encounters them in their wanderings and accidentally falls into accord with them. As a matter of fact, the coming to pass of something that has been told is a different matter, I think, from the telling of something that will come to pass. For the pronouncement, telling of things non-existent, contains error in itself, and it is not equitable for it to await the confirmation that comes through accidental circumstances; nor can it use as a true proof of having foretold with knowledge the fact that the thing came about after the telling thereof, since Infinity brings all things to pass. Much more is it true that the 'good

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a Cf. *Moralia*, 566 e; this is, of course, the famous eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79, which destroyed Pompeii and Herculaneum. Dicaearcheia is the Latin Puteoli (Pozzuoli).
(399) δ' ο μὲν 'εικάζων καλῶς,' δι' ᾠριστον μάντων ἀνηγόρευκεν ἡ παροιμία, ἵχνοσκοποῦντι καὶ στιβεύοντι διὰ τῶν εὐλόγων τὸ μέλλον όμοιός ἐστι. "Σίβυλλαι δ' αὕται καὶ Βάκιδες ὦσπερ εἰς πόντον ἀτεκμάρτως εἰς τὸν χρόνον κατέβαλον καὶ διέσπειραν ως ἐτυχέ παντοδαπῶν ὅνωματα καὶ ῥήματα παθῶν καὶ συμπτωμάτων, αἰς γιγανομένων ἐνίων ἀπὸ τύχης ὀμοίως ἰδεύδος ἐστὶ τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον, καὶ ύστερον ἀληθές, εἰ τύχοι, γένηται.

Β 11. Τοιαῦτα τοῖς Βοήθου διελθόντος δ' Σαραπίων, "δίκαιον," ἕφη, "τὸ ἀξίωμα περὶ τῶν οὕτως, ὡς λέγει Βόθθος, ἀορίστως καὶ ἀνυποθέτως λεγομένων: εἰ νίκη στρατηγῶν προείρηται, νενίκηκεν, εἰ πόλεως ἀναίρεσις, ἀπόλωλεν. ὁποιοὶ δ' ὦ μόνοι λέγεται τὸ γενησόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πῶς καὶ πότε καὶ μετὰ τι καὶ μετὰ τίνος, οὐκ ἐστὸν εἰκασμός τῶν τάχα γενησομένων ἀλλὰ τῶν πάντως ἐσομένων προδήλωσις. καὶ ταύτ' ἐστὼν εἰς τὴν Ἀγγειολάου χωλότητα·

φράξεις δὴ, Σπάρτη, καίπερ μεγάλαυχος έούσα, μὴ σέθεν ἀρτίποδος βλάστη: χωλή βασιλεία.

δηρὸν γὰρ μόχθου σε κατασχήσουσιν ἄελπτοι,

C φθισίβροτον τ' ἐπὶ κῦμα κυλινδομένου πολέμου.

1 εἰς added by F. E. Webb.
3 καὶ Leonicus: καί. 4 ἀληθές Emperius: ἀληθῶς.
5 ὡς added by Xylander. 6 ταύτ'] τοιαύτ' Xylander.
6 βλάστη Pausanias, iii. 8. 9, and one ms. of the Life of Agesilaus: βλάψη.

a The reference is to a much quoted line of Euripides which will be found in 432 c, infra: "bene qui coniciet, vatem hunc perhibeto optimum," as Cicero translates it, De Div. ii. 5 (12). See Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag., Euripides, no. 973; and Kock, Com. Att. Frag. iii. 65, Menander, no. 225. 284
guesser,' whom the proverb has proclaimed ‘the best prophet,’ is like unto a man who searches the ground over, and tries to track the future by means of reasonable probabilities.

“These prophets of the type of the Sibyl and Bacis toss forth and scatter into the gulf of time, as into the ocean depths with no chart to guide them, words and phrases at haphazard, which deal with events and occurrences of all sorts; and although some come to pass for them as the result of chance, what is said at the present time is equally a lie, even if later it becomes true in the event that such a thing does happen.”

11. When Boëthus had expounded these views, Sarapion said, “That is setting a fair valuation on things which are predicated, as Boëthus affirms, so indefinitely and groundlessly. Granted that victory was foretold for a general: he is victorious; or the destruction of a city: it is now overthrown. But where there is stated not only what shall come to pass, but also how and when and after what and attended by what, that is not a guess about what may perhaps come to pass, but a prognostication of things that shall surely be. These, for example, are the lines referring to the lameness of Agesilaüs:

Sparta, take thought as thou must, although thou art haughty and boastful,
Lest from thee, who art sturdy of foot, shall spring a lame kingship,
Since for a long time to come shall troubles unlooked for engage thee,
Likewise the onrushing billow of war, bringing death to thy people.

Cf. Life of Agesilaüs, chap. iii. (597 c); Life of Lysander, chap. xxii. (446 a); Pausanias, iii. 8. 9, where the four verses are repeated with very slight variation.
(399) καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς νῆσου πάλιν, ἧν ἀνήκεν ἡ πρὸ Θήρας καὶ Θηρασίας θάλαττα, καὶ περὶ τοῦ Φίλιππου καὶ 'Ρωμαίων πολέμου. 

ἀλλ’ ὁπότε Τρώων γενεὰ καθύπερθε γένηται Φοινίκων ἐν ἀγώνι, τότ’ ἐσσεται ἐργα ἀπίσται. πόντος μὲν λάμψει πῦρ ἀσπετον, ἐκ δὲ κεραυνῶν πρηστῆρες μὲν ἄνω διὰ κύματος ἀίξουσιν ἀμμιγα σὺν πέτρας; ἡ δὲ στηρίζεται αὐτοῦ ὦ φατὸς ἀνθρώποις νῆσος: καὶ χείρονες ἄνδρες χερσὶ βιησάμενοι τὸν κρείσσονα νικήσουσι.

tὸ γὰρ ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ Ἀρμαίων τε Καρχηδονίων Ὕπεργενέσθαι καταπολεμήσαντας Ἀννίβαν, καὶ Φίλιππον Αἰτωλοῖς συμβαλόντα καὶ Ἀρμαίων μάχῃ κρατηθῆναι, καὶ τέλος ἐκ βυθοῦ νῆσον ἀναδύναι μετὰ πυρὸς πολλοῦ καὶ κλύδωνος ἑπίζεαντος, οὐκ ἂν ἐν τοῖς ὦν ἀπήντησεν ἀμα πάντα καὶ συνέπεσε κατὰ τύχην καὶ αὐτομάτως, ἀλλ’ ἡ τάξις ἐμφαίνει τὴν πρόγνωσιν· καὶ τὸ Ἀρμαίων πρὸ ἑτῶν ὠμοῦ τι πεντακοσίων προεπείν τὸν χρόνον, ἐν ὣς πρὸς ἀπαντα τὰ ἔθνη πολεμήσοντες ἀμα: τοῦτο δ’ ἢν τὸ πολεμήσαι τοῖς οἰκέταις ἀποστάσις. ἐν τούτοις γὰρ ὦδὲν ἀτέκμαρττον οὐδὲ τυφλὸν ὠν ἄλλως τε τύχην Ε ἦτεί εἰ ἀπειρία: καὶ ὁ λόγος ἄλλα πολλα τῆς πείρας ἐνέχυρα δίδωσι καὶ δείκνυσι τὴν ὀδὸν ἢ

1 τοῦ ... πολέμου F.C.B.: τοῦ ... πολέμου. Others would omit καὶ before περὶ.  
2 πέτρας] πέτρας Reiske. 
3 τύχην καὶ Stegmann: τύχην. 
4 ὠν added by F.C.B. 
5 ἄλλως F.C.B.: ἀμφί. 
6 ζητεῖν in one ms. only: ζητεῖν. 
7 καὶ added by F.C.B. 

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* Cf. Strabo, i. 3. 16; Justin, xxx. 4. 1.
And then again these lines about the island which the sea cast up in front of Thera and Therasia, and also about the war of Philip and the Romans:

But when the offspring of Trojans shall come to be in ascendant
Over Phoenicians in conflict, events shall be then beyond credence;
Ocean shall blaze with an infinite fire, and with rattling of thunder
Scorching blasts through the turbulent waters shall upward be driven;
With them a rock, and the rock shall remain firm fixed in the ocean,
Making an island by mortals unnamed; and men who are weaker
Shall by the might of their arms be able to vanquish the stronger.

The fact is that these events, all occurring within a short space of time—the Romans’ prevailing over the Carthaginians by overcoming Hannibal in war, Philip’s coming into conflict with the Aetolians and being overpowered by the Romans in battle, and finally an island’s rising out of the deep accompanied by much fire and boiling surge—no one could say that they all met together at the same time and coincided by chance in an accidental way; no, their order makes manifest their prognostication, and so also does the foretelling to the Romans, some five hundred years beforehand, of the time when they should be at war with all the nations of the world at once: this was their war with their slaves, who had rebelled. In all this, then, there is nothing unindicated or blind which is helplessly seeking to meet chance in infinity; and reason gives many other trustworthy assurances regarding experience, and indicates the road along which

\[ \text{Cf. 398 f, supra.} \]
βαδίζει τὸ πεπρωμένον. οὐ γὰρ οἷμαι τιν’ ἔρειν ὡς μετὰ τούτων ὅτι μετὰ τούτων ὃς προερρήθη1 συνέπεσε κατὰ τὔχην· ἐπεί τί κωλύει λέγειν ἐτερον, ως οὐκ ἐγραψε τὰς Κυρίας ἡμῖν ’Επίκουρος, ὦ Βόηθε, Δόξας, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τὔχης καὶ αὐτομάτως οὕτω πρὸς ἄλληλα τῶν γραμμάτων συνεμπεσόντων, ἀπετελέσθη τὸ βιβλίον;

12. "Αμα δὲ τούτων λεγομένων προῆλθεν. ἐν εὐ δὲ τῷ Κορινθίων 2 οὐκ ἔσοντο φοινικὰ θεωμένους τῶν χαλκοῦν, ὡσπερ ἑτὶ λοιπὸς ἐστὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων, οἱ περὶ τὴν ρίζαν ἐντετευμένοι βάτραχοι καὶ ὕδροι θαύμα τῷ Διογενιανῷ παρεῖχον, ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ ημῖν. οὔτε γὰρ φοινίξ, ὡς ἑτερα δενδρα, λιμναίον ἐστὶ καὶ φιλοδρον φυτόν, οὔτε Κορινθίοις τι βάτραχοι προσήκοσον, ὡστε σύμβολον ἡ παράσημον εἶναι τῆς πόλεως· ὡσπερ ἀμέλει Σελινοῦντιοι ποτε χρυσοῦν σέλινον ἀναθεῖναι λέγονται, καὶ Τενέδιοι τὸν πέλεκυν ἀπὸ τῶν καρκίνων τῶν γιγνομένων περὶ 400 τὸ καλοῦμενον 'Αστέριον παρ’ αὐτοῖς· μόνοι γὰρ ὡς ἐοίκεν ἐν τῷ χελωνίῳ τύπον πελέκεως ἐξουσί. καὶ μὴν αὐτῷ γε τῷ θεῷ κόρακας καὶ κυκνοὺς καὶ λύκους καὶ ἱεράκας καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἡ ταύτ' εἶναι προσφιλή τὰ θηρία νομίζομεν."

Εἴποντος δὲ τοῦ Σαραπιώνος, ὦτι τῆν ἐξ ὑγρῶν ἦνάζοντο τροφὴν τοῦ ἤλιου καὶ γένεσιν καὶ ἀναθυμίαν ὁ δημιουργός, εἰτ' Ὁμήρου λέγοντος ἀκηκοῶς

1 προερρήθη Aldine ed.: προερρέθη.
2 Κορινθίων Meziriacus: Κορινθίω.

*Cf. Usener, Epicurea, p. 342.*
THE ORACLES AT DELPHI, 399-400

a destined event travels. I for I do not think that anybody will say that by chance it coincides in time with those things with which it was foretold that it should be attended. If that were so, what is to hinder someone else from declaring that Epicurus did not write his Leading Principles for us, Boethus, but that, by chance and accidentally, the letters fell in with one another as they now stand, and the book was completed?"

12. During this conversation we were moving forward. While we were looking at the bronze palm-tree in the treasure-house of the Corinthians, the only one of their votive offerings that is still left, the frogs and water-snakes, wrought in metal about its base, caused much wonder to Diogenianus, and naturally to ourselves as well. For the palm does not, like many other trees, grow in marshes, or love water; nor do frogs bear any relation to the people of Corinth so as to be a symbol or emblem of their city, even as, you know, the people of Selinus are said to have dedicated a golden celery plant, and the people of Tenedos the axe, derived from the crabs which are found on the island in the neighbourhood of Asterium, as the place is called. For these, apparently, are the only crabs that have the figure of an axe on the shell. Yet, in fact, we believe that to the god himself ravens and swans and wolves and hawks, or anything else rather than these creatures, are pleasing.

Sarapion remarked that the artisan had represented allegorically the nurture and birth and exhalation of the sun from moisture, whether he had read what Homer says,

\[b\] Cf. Moralia, 164 a.
\[c\] Selinon (celery), from which the city derives its name.
\[d\] Od. iii. 1.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(400) ἦλιος δ' ἀπόρουσε1 λυπῶν περικαλλέα λύμνην· eἰτ' Ἀργυπτίους ἐωρακὼς ὡς2 ἀρχήν3 ἀνατολής παϊδίον νεογνὸν γράφοντας ἐπὶ λωτῷ καθεξόμενον, ἐγελάσας ἐγώ, "ποῦ οὖ πάλιν," εἶπον, "ὁ χρηστῶ, τὴν Στοὰν δευρὶ παρωθεὶς καὶ ύποβάλλεις ἄτρέμα τῷ λόγῳ τὰς ἀνάψεις καὶ ἀναθυμιάσεις, σὺ ωσπερ αἰ Θεταλαῖ κατάγων4 τὴν σελήνην καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ὡς ἐντεῦθεν ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ ὑδάτων βλαστάνοντας καὶ ἀρχομένους5; ὁ μὲν γὰρ Πλάτων καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὦρανίον ὄνομασε φυτὸν, ὡσπερ ἐκ ρίζης ἀνω τῆς κεφαλῆς ὀρθομένου· ὑμεῖς δὲ τοῦ μὲν Ἐμπεδοκλέους καταγελάτη φάσκοντος τὸν ἥλιον περὶ τὴν γῆν6 ἀνακλάσει φωτὸς ὦρανίου γενόμενον αὕθις

ἀνταγείν πρὸς ὀλυμπον ἀταρβητοῦσα7 προσώ·

C αὐτοὶ δὲ γηγενές ζῷον ἡ φυτὸν ἐλειον ἀποφαίνετε τὸν ἥλιον, εἰς βατράξων πατρίδα ἡ ὦραν ἔγραφοντες. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν εἰς τὴν Στωικὴν ἀναθωμεθα τραγῳδίαν, τὰ δὲ τῶν χειροτεχνῶν πάρεργα παρέργως ἐξετάσωμεν. ἐν πολλοῖς γὰρ εἰσὶν κομψοί, τὸ δὲ ψυχρὸν οὐ πανταχοῦ καὶ περίεργον ἐκπεφεύγασιν. ὡσπερ οὕν ὁ τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα ποιήσας

1 ἀπόρουσαν] ἀνόρουσα Homer.  
2 ὡς added by F.C.B.  
3 ἀρχήν Leonicus; ἀρχῆς <σύμβολον καί> Pohlenz: ἀρχῆς.  
4 κατάγων] Reiske would add ἄλλ' ἀνάγων.  
5 ἀρχομένου] ἀρθομένου Wytenbach.  
7 ἀταρβητοῦσα Wytenbach: ἀταρβητοῖσα.

*a Cf. 355 b, supra.*
Swiftly away moved the Sun, forsaking the beautiful waters, or whether he had observed that the Egyptians, to show the beginning of sunrise, paint a very young baby sitting on a lotus flower.\textsuperscript{a} I laughed and said, "Where now, my good friend? Are you again slyly thrusting in your Stoicism here and unostentatiously slipping into the discussion their 'kindlings' and 'exhalations,'\textsuperscript{b} not indeed bringing down the moon and the sun, as the Thessalian women do,\textsuperscript{c} but assuming that they spring up here from earth and water and derive their origin from here? For Plato\textsuperscript{d} called man also 'a celestial plant,' as though he were held upright from his head above as from a root. But you Stoics ridicule Empedocles\textsuperscript{e} for his assertion that the sun, created by the reflection of celestial light, about the earth,

Back to the heavens again sends his beams with countenance fearless.

And you yourselves declare the sun to be an earth-born creature or a water-plant, assigning him to the kingdom of the frogs or water-snakes. But let us refer all this to the heroics of the Stoic school, and let us make a cursory examination of the cursory work of the artisans. In many instances they indeed show elegance and refinement, but they have not in all cases avoided frigidity and over-elaboration. Just as the man who constructed the cock upon the hand

\textsuperscript{a} Von Arnim, \textit{Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta}, ii. 652-656 (p. 196).
\textsuperscript{b} Cf. Aristophanes, \textit{Clouds}, 749; Plato, \textit{Gorgias}, 513 \textit{A}; Horace, \textit{Epodes}, 5. 46; Propertius, i. 1. 19, and especially Lucan, vi. 438-506; cf. also 416 \textit{f. infra}.
\textsuperscript{c} Plato, \textit{Timæus}, 90 \textit{A}; cf. \textit{Moralia}, 600 \textit{f}.
\textsuperscript{d} Cf. Diels, \textit{Frag. der Vorsokratiker}, i. p. 243, Empedocles, no. b 44; cf. also \textit{Moralia}, 890 \textit{b}. 
(400) ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐωθινὴν ὑπεδη-λωσεν ὡραν καὶ καιρὸν ἐπιούσης ἀνατολῆς, οὕτως ἐνταῦθα τοὺς βατράχους ἐαρυνὴς ὡρας φαίη τις ἂν γεγονέναι σύμβολον ἐν ἥ κρατεῖν ἀρχεται τοῦ ἄερος ὁ ἡλίος καὶ τὸν χειμώνα διαλύειν, εἰ γε δεῖ καθ’ ύμᾶς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ τὸν ἡλιον μὴ δύο θεοὺς ἀλλ’ ἑνα νομίζειν.

Καὶ ὁ Σαραπίων, "οὐ γάρ," εἶπεν, "οὐχ οὗτω νομίζεις, ἀλλ’ οἶει τὸν ἡλιον διαφέρειν τοῦ Ἀπόλ-λωνος;"

"’Εγωγ’," εἶπον, "ὡς τοῦ ἡλίου τὴν σελήνην ἀλλ’ αὐτὴ μὲν οὐ πολλάκις οὐδὲ πάσων ἀποκρύπτει τοῦ ἡλιον, ὁ δ’ ἡλίος ὡμοῦ τι πάντας ἀγνοεῖν τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα πεποίηκεν ἀποστρέφων τῇ αἰσθήσει τὴν διάνοιαν ἀπὸ τοῦ οὖντος ἐπὶ τὸ φαινόμενον."

13. Ἐκ τούτου τοὺς περιγγητᾶς ὁ Σαραπίων ἦρετο τί δὴ τὸν οἶκον οὐ Κυψέλου3 τοῦ ἀναθέντος ἀλλὰ Κορίνθιων ὀνομάζοντο. ἀπορία δ’ αἰτίας, ἐμοὶ Ε γοῦν δοκεῖ,4 σιωπώντων ἐκεῖνων, ἐπιγελάσας ἐγώ, "τί δὲ," εἶπον, "ἐτὶ τούτους οἰόμεθα γιγνώσκειν ἡ μνημονεύειν ἐκπεπληγμένους παντάπασιν, ὡμῶν μετεωρολεχοῦσιν; ἐπεὶ πρότερον γ’ αὐτῶν ἦκουμεν λεγόντων ὅτι τῆς τυραννίδος καταλυ-θείσης ἐβούλοντο Κορίνθιοι καὶ τὸν ἐν Πίση χρυσοῦν ἀνδριάντα καὶ τὸν ἐνταῦθα τοὐτοῖς θησαυρὸν ἐπι-γράψας τῆς πόλεως. Δελφοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐδοσαν ὡς δίκαιον, καὶ συνεχώρησαν, Ἡλείους δὲ φθονήσαντας ἑψηφίσαντο μὴ μετέχειν Ἰσθμίων· οὔτε οὖδεις ἐξ

1 εἶπον Xylander: εἶπεν. 2 αὐτὴ Reiske: αὐτὴ. 3 Κυψέλου Xylander: κυψέλλου. 4 ὡς ἐμοὶ γοῦν ἐδόκει Reiske.

a Cf. the note on 386 b, supra.
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of Apollo's statue showed by suggestion the early morning and the hour of approaching sunrise, so here, one might aver, has been produced in the frogs a token of springtime when the sun begins to dominate the atmosphere and to break up the winter; that is, if, as you say, we must think of Apollo and the Sun, not as two gods, but as one."

"Really," said Sarapion, "do you not think so, and do you imagine that the sun is different from Apollo?" "a

"Yes," said I, "as different as the moon from the sun; but the moon does not often conceal the sun, nor conceal it from the eyes of all, b but the sun has caused all to be quite ignorant of Apollo by diverting the faculty of thought through the faculty of perception from what is to what appears to be."

13. Following this, Sarapion asked the guides why it is that they call the treasure-house, not the house of Cypselus the donor, but the house of the Corinthians. When they were silent, as I think, for lack of any reason to give, I laughed and said, "What knowledge or memory do we imagine these men have still remaining, when they are utterly dumbfounded by your high-flown talk? As a matter of fact, we heard them say earlier that when the despotism was overthrown, the Corinthians wished to inscribe both the golden statue at Olympia and the treasure-house here with the name of their city, and the people of Delphi accordingly granted this as being a fair request, and gave their consent; but the Eleans refused out of ill-will, and the Corinthians voted that the Eleans should not be allowed to take part in the Isthmian Games. Consequently, from that time on

b Cf. Moralia, 932 b.
ἐκείνου γέγονεν Ἰσθμίων ἀγωνιστὴς Ἡλείος. ὁ δὲ Μολιωνίδων φόνος ὑφ 'Ἡρακλέους περὶ Κλεωνᾶς
οὐδέν ἐστι μεταίτιος, ὡς ἕνιον νομίζουσιν, Ἡλείος
tοῦ εἰργεσθαί: τούναντίων γὰρ ἦν αὐτοὶς προσήκον
eἰργεω, εἰ διὰ τούτῳ Κορυθίοις προσεκκερούκεσαν." ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ταῦτ' εἶπον.

14. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀκανθίων καὶ Βρασίδου παρελθοῦσιν ὁικὸν ἡμῖν ἐδείξεν ὁ περιγγηνὴς χωρίον,
ἐν ὧν 'Ροδώπτιδος ἐκεντό ποτε τῆς ἐταιρᾶς ὀβελίσκοι συνθροί, δυσχεράνας ὁ Διογενιανός, "ἡν ἀρα
tῆς αὐτής," ἐφη, "πόλεως 'Ροδώπτιδι μὲν χώραν
παρασχεῖν, ὅπου τὰς δεκάτας φέρουσα καταθήσεται
401 τῶν μισθῶν, Αὐσώπον δὲ ἀπολέσαι τὸν ὀμόδουλον
αὐτής."

Καὶ ὁ Σαραπίων "τί δὲ ταῦτα," ἐφη, "μακάριε,
dυσχεραίνες; ἐκεί βλέψον ἄνω καὶ τὴν χρυσὴν ἐν
tοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ βασιλεύσιι θέασαι Μνησαρέτην,
ἡν Κράτης εἴπε τῆς τῶν 'Ελλήνων ἀκρασίας ἀνα-
κείσθαι τρόπταιον."

'Ἰδὼν οὖν ὁ νεανίας, "ἐλτα περὶ Φρύνης," ἐφη,
"τοῦτ' ἦν εἰρημένον τῷ Κράτητι;"

"Ναὶ," εἶπεν ὁ Σαραπίων. "Μνησαρέτη γὰρ
ἐκαλεῖτο, τὴν δὲ Φρύνην ἐπίκλησιν ἐσχε διὰ τὴν
ὡχρότητα. πολλὰ δ' ὡς ἐοικε τῶν ὁνομάτων ἀπο-
kρύπτουσιν αἱ παρωνυμίαι. τὴν γοῦν Ἀλεξάνδρου
Β μητέρα Πολυζένην εἶτα Μυρτάλην ὔλυμπιάδα τε
καὶ Στρατονίκην κληθήναι λέγουσι· τὴν δὲ Ἀρδίαν

1 'Ροδίαν1 Κορυθίαν in B is preferred by some editors.

—
a Cf. Apollodorus, Bibliotheca, ii. 7. 2.

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there has been no competition from Elis at these games. The slaying of the Molionidae by Heracles near Cleonae\(^a\) is not, as some think, a cause contributing in any way to the exclusion of the Eleans. On the contrary, it would have been appropriate for them to exclude the Corinthians, if they had taken offence against them for this reason.” That was all I said.

14. When we had passed the house of the Acanthians and Brasidas, the guide pointed out to us the site where iron spits of Rhodopis the courtesan were once placed,\(^b\) at which Diogenianus indignantly said, “So, then, it was the province of the same State to provide Rhodopis with a place where she might bring and deposit the tithes of her earnings, and also to put to death Aesop,\(^c\) her fellow-slave.”

“Why,” said Sarapion, “are you indignant over this, my good sir? Look up there and behold among the generals and kings Mnesarete wrought in gold, who, as Crates said, stands as a trophy to the licentiousness of the Greeks.”\(^d\)

The young man accordingly looked at it and remarked, “Then it was about Phrynê that this statement was made by Crates?”

“Yes,” said Sarapion, “she was called Mnesaretê, but she got the nickname of Phrynê\(^e\) because of her sallow complexion. In many instances, apparently, nicknames cause the real names to be obscured. For example, Polyxena, the mother of Alexander, they say was later called Myrtalê and Olympias and Stratonice.

\(^{a}\) Cf. Moralia, 556 f.
\(^{b}\) Ibid. 336 c, Athenaeus, 591 b; cf. also Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyklopaedie, Supplement V. pp. 87-88.
\(^{c}\) “Toad.”
(401) Εὔμητων ἀχρὶ νῦν Κλεοβουλίνην πατρόθεν οἱ πλεί-
στοι καλοῦσιν. Ἡροφίλην δὲ τὴν Ἐρυθραϊαν μαν-
tικὴν γενομένην Σίβυλλαν προσηγόρευσαν. τῶν δὲ 
γραμματικῶν ἀκούσῃ καὶ τὴν Λήδαν Μηνσινόν, καὶ 
tὸν Ὀρέστην Ἀχαίον . . . ἐννοοῦσθαι φασκόντων. ἀλλὰ πῶς, ἐφὶ, διανοῦ ὑ velit (βλέψας πρὸς τὸν Θέωνα) 
tοὺτο διαλύσαι τὸ περὶ Φρύνης αἵτίμα; ’’ 

15. Κάκεινος ἤσυχῇ διαμειδάσας, ’’οὕτως,’’ 
eἰπεν, ’’ὡςτε’’ καὶ σοὶ προσεγκαλέω τὰ μικρότατα: 
C τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πλημμελημάτων ἐλέγχοντι. καθ-
ἀπερ γὰρ ὁ Σωκράτης ἐστιώμενος2 ἐν Καλλίου τῷ 
μύρῳ πολεμεῖ4 μόνον, ὀρχήσεις δὲ παῖδων καὶ κυ-
βιστήσεις καὶ φιλήματα καὶ γελωτοποιούσ όργῶν 
ἀνέχεται, καὶ σὺ μοι δοκεῖς ὁμοίως γύναιοι εἰργε 
tὸν ἔρον χρησάμενον ὧρα σῶματος οὐκ ἐλευ-
θερίως, φόνων δὲ καὶ πολέμων καὶ λειλαξιῶν ἀπ-
αρχαῖς καὶ δεκάταις κύκλω περιεχόμενον τὸν θεὸν 
όργῶν καὶ τὸν νεῶν σκύλων 'Ελληνικῶν ἀνάπλεων5 
καὶ λαφύρων οὐ δυσχεραίνεις, οὐδ' οἰκτίρεις τοὺς 
'Ελλήνας ἐπὶ τῶν καλῶν ἀναθημάτων αἰσχίστας 

D ἀναγγυνώσκου ἐπιγραφᾶς, Βρασίδας καὶ Ἀκάνθιοι 
ἀπ’ 'Ἀθηναίων,' καὶ 'Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Κορινθίων,' 
καὶ 'Φωκεῖς ἀπὸ Θεσσαλῶν,' 'Ὀρνεάται δ’ ἀπὸ 
Σικυωνίων,' 'Ἀμφικτύνοις δ’ ἀπὸ Φωκέων.' ἀλλὰ 
Πραξιτέλης, ὡς ἔοικε, μόνοι ἠνάσει Κράτητα τῇ 
ἑρωμένη τυχῶν αὐτῶθι δωρεᾶς,6 ὑν ἑπανείν ὡφειλε 

1 A lacuna in the mss. here probably contained another 
example. 
2 ὡςτε Reiske: ὡς γε. 
3 ἐστιώμενος Reiske: αἰτιῶμενος. 
4 πολεμεῖ Reiske: πολεμεῖ. 
5 ἀνάπλεων Reiske: ἀνάπλεω. 
6 δωρεᾶς] χώρας Emperius (cf. 400 f).
Eumetis of Rhodes most people call, even to this day, Cleobulina from her father; and Herophilè of Erythrae, who had the gift of prophecy, they addressed as Sibyl. You will hear the grammarians assert that Leda was named Mnesinoë and Orestes Achaeus. But how," said he, with a look at Theon," do you think to demolish this charge of guilt against Phryné?"

15. Theon, with a quiet smile, said, "In such a way as to lodge complaint against you as well for bringing up the most trifling of the peccadilloes of the Greeks. For just as Socrates, while being entertained at Callias's house, shows hostility toward perfume only, but looks on with tolerance at children's dancing, and at tumbling, kissing, and buffoons; so you also seem to me, in a similar way, to be excluding from this shrine a poor weak woman who put the beauty of her person to a base use, but when you see the god completely surrounded by choice offerings and tithes from murders, wars, and plunderings, and his temple crowded with spoils and booty from the Greeks, you show no indignation, nor do you feel any pity for the Greeks when upon the beautiful votive offerings you read the most disgraceful inscriptions: "Brasidas and the Acanthians from the Athenians," and "The Athenians from the Corinthians," and "The Phocians from the Thessalians," and "The Orneatans from the Sicyonians," and "The Amphictyons from the Phocians." But Praxiteles, apparently, was the only one that caused annoyance to Crates by gaining for his beloved the privilege of a dedication here, whereas Crates ought to have commended

\[ \text{a Cf. Moralia, 148 d.} \]
\[ \text{b Xenophon, Symposium, 2. 3.} \]
\[ \text{Ibid. 2. 11.} \]
\[ \text{c Ibid. 9. 5.} \]
\[ \text{d Ibid. 2. 22.} \]
(401) Κράτης, οτι τοις χρυσοίς βασιλεύσι τούτοις παρ-έστησε χρυσὴν ἐταίραν, έξονειδίζων τῶν πλουτῶν ὡς οὐδὲν ἔχοντα θαυμάσιον οὐδὲ σεμνόν. δικαιοσύνης γάρ ἃν1 ἀναθήματα καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ μεγαλο-νοίας καλῶς εἴχε2 τίθεσθαι παρὰ τῷ θεῷ τοὺς βασιλείς καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας, οὐ χρυσῆς καὶ τρυ-φώσης εὐπορίας ἦς μέτεστι καὶ τοῖς αἰσχροτα Ε βεβιωκόσιν."


Καὶ ὁ Θέων, "ναι," ἔφη,4 "πλην οὐκ ἐντυφών τῷ ἑρῷ, καλὴν δὲ λαβὼν αἰτίαν καὶ δικαίαν. λέγεται γάρ Ἀλυάττην τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Κροίσου δευτέραν ἀγαγέσθαι γυναῖκα καὶ παίδας ἑτέρους τρέφειν-ἐπιβουλεύονσαν ὅτι τῷ Κροίσῳ τὴν ἀνθρωπον φάρμακον δοῦναι τῇ ἀρτοποιῶ,3 καὶ κελεῦσαι δια-πλάσασαν ἄρτον εξ αὐτοῦ τῷ Κροίσῳ παραδοῦναι-την δ' ἀρτοποιῶν3 κρύφα τῷ Κροίσῳ φράσαι, παρα-θείναι δὲ τοῖς ἐκείνης παισὶ τὸν ἄρτον. ἄνθ' ὁν βα- 

F συλεύσαντα τὸν Κροίσον οἷον ἐπὶ μάρτυρι τῷ θεῷ τῆς χάριν ἀμείξασθαι τῆς γυναικός, εὖ γε ποιοῦντ' ἐκείνων. ὅθεν," εἶπεν, "ἀξίων ἥ καὶ τῶν πόλεων εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἐστιν ἀνάθημα τιμᾶν καὶ ἀγαπᾶν,5 οἶον τὸ Ὀπούντιών. ἔπει γὰρ οἱ Φωκέων τῦραννοι πολλά τῶν χρυσῶν καὶ ἀργυρῶν ἀναθημάτων συγχέαντες ἐκούσαν νόμισμα καὶ διέσπειραν εἰς τὰς πόλεις,

1 ἃν added by F.C.B. 2 εἴχε F.C.B.: εἴχειν. 3 ἀρτοποιῶ, etc., corrected by Leonicus and others: ἀρτόπου. 4 Καὶ ὁ Θέων, "ναι," ἔφη, added by Paton and others to fill a lacuna in the mss. 5 ἀγαπᾶν Stegmann: ἀγαν.
him because beside these golden kings he placed a golden courtesan, thus rebuking wealth for possessing nothing to be admired or revered. For it would be well for kings and rulers to dedicate votive offerings to commemorate justice, self-control, and magnanimity, not golden and luxurious affluence, which is shared also by men who have led the most disgraceful lives.”

16. “There is one thing that you omit to mention,” said one of the guides, “that Croesus had a golden statue made of the woman who baked his bread, and dedicated it here.”

“Yes,” said Theon, “only he did it not in mockery of the holy shrine, but because he found an honourable and righteous cause for so doing. For it is said that Alyattes, the father of Croesus, married a second wife, and was rearing a second group of children. So the woman, in a plot against Croesus, gave poison to the baker and bade her knead it into the bread and serve it to Croesus. But the baker secretly told Croesus and served the bread to the stepmother’s children; in return for this action Croesus, when he became king, as it were in the sight of the god as a witness, requited the favour done by the woman and also conferred a benefit upon the god. Wherefore,” he continued, “it is right and proper, if there is any similar votive offering from States, to honour and respect it, as, for example, that of the Opuntians. For, when the despots of the Phocians melted up many of the votive offerings made of gold or silver, and minted coins and put them into circulation among the

\[a\] Cf. Herodotus, i. 51.

'Ωπούντιοι συναγαγόντες ὅσον ἄργυριον ἐδρον ὑδριάν ἀνέπεμψαν ἐνθάδε τῷ θεῷ καὶ καθέρωσαν. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ Μυριναῖος ἐπαινῶ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνιάτας 402 θέρη χρυσά δεύρο πέμψαιτας. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον Ἐρε- τρεῖς καὶ Μάγνητας, Ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρχαῖς δωρησα- μένους τὸν θεόν, ὡς καρπῶν δοτήρα καὶ πατρῶν καὶ γενέσιον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον· αἰτιῶμαι δὲ Μεγα- ρεῖς, ὦτι μόνοι σχεδόν ἐνταῦθα λόγχην ἔχοντα τὸν θεόν ἐστησαν ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης, ἢν Ἀθηναίους μετὰ τὰ Περσικὰ τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντα αὐτῶν νικήσαντες εξέβαλον. ὦστερον μέντοι πλήκτρον ἀνέθηκαν τῷ θεῷ χρυσοῦν ἐπιστήσαντες, ὡς ἐοικε, Σκυθίως λέγοντι περὶ τῆς λύρας.

ἡν ἄρμοζεται

Ζηνὸς εὐειδῆς Ἀπόλλων, πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος

B συλλαβῶν ἔχει δὲ λαμπρὸν πλήκτρον ἡλίου φάος.”

17. Ἐπιβάλλοντος δὲ τοῦ Σαραπίωνος εἰπεῖν τι περὶ τοὺτων, ὃ ξένος, "ἡδο μὲν," ἔφη, "τὸ τοιοῦ- των ἀκροάσθαι λόγων, ἐμοὶ δ' ἀναγκαῖον ἐστὶ τὴν πρώτην ὑπόσχεσιν ἀπαιτήσαι περὶ τῆς αἰτίας, ἢ πέπαυκε τὴν Πυθίαν ἐν ἑπεσι καὶ μέτρους ἄλλους ἡσπίζουσαν· ὥστε, εἰ δοκεῖ, τὰ λεπόμενα τῆς θέας ὑπερθέμενοι περὶ τοὺτων ἀκούσομεν ἐνταῦθα καθίσαντες. οὐτός γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ μάλιστα πρὸς τὴν

1 ἄργυριον an early correction: ἄργυριον.
2 ἐδρον added by F.C.B.
3 ὑδριάν Reiske: ὑδρίαν.
4 Μυριναῖος Reiske: μυριναῖος.

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4 Cf. von Arnim, Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta, i. 502 (p. 112).

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various States, the Opuntians, collecting what money they could find, sent back here a water-jar for the god, and consecrated it to him. For my part, I commend also the inhabitants of Myrina and of Apollonia for sending to this place fruits of the harvest fashioned of gold; and still more the inhabitants of Eretria and Magnesia who presented the god with the first-fruits of their people, in the belief that he is the giver of crops, the god of their fathers, the author of their being, and the friend of man. And I blame the Megarians because they are almost the only people who erected here a statue of the god with spear in hand to commemorate the battle in which they defeated and drove out the Athenians, who were in possession of their city in the period following the Persian Wars. Later, however, they dedicated to the god a golden plectrum, calling attention, apparently, to Scythinus, who says regarding the lyre,

Which the son of Zeus,
Fair Apollo, who embraces origin and end in one,
Sets in tune, and for his plectrum has the bright rays of the sun."

17. As Sarapion was beginning to say something about these matters, the foreign visitor said, "It is very pleasant to listen to such conversation as this, but I am constrained to claim the fulfilment of your first promise regarding the cause which has made the prophetic priestess cease to give her oracles in epic verse or in other metres. So, if it be agreeable, let us postpone to another time what remains of our sightseeing, and sit down here and hear about it. For it is the recital of this fact which above all else

(402) τοῦ χρηστηρίου πίστιν ἀντιβαίνων λόγος, ὡς δυνών θάτερον, ἡ τῆς Πυθιάς τῷ χωρίῳ μὴ πελαξοῦσης ἐν ὧ τὸ θεῖον ἐστιν, ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος παντάπασιν C ἀπεσθησμένου καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκκλειστικῶς."  

Περιελθόντες οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν μεσημβρινῶν καθαν εξόμεθα κρητίδων τοῦ1 νεὼ πρὸς τὸ τῆς Γῆς ἱερό- 

tό θ' ὕδωρ ἀποβλέποντες: ἠστ' εὕθυς εἰπεὶν τὸν 

Βόηθον, ὅτι καὶ ὁ τόπος τῆς ἀπορίας συνεπιλαμβά-

νεται τῷ ξένῳ. "Μουσῶν γὰρ ἦν ἱερὸν ἐνταῦθα 

περὶ τὴν ἀναπνοὴν τοῦ νάματος, ὅθεν ἠχρώντο πρὸς 

τε τὰς λοιβὰς καὶ τὰς χερνίβας2 τῷ ὑδάτι τούτῳ, 

ὡς φησί Σιμωνίδης

ἐνθα χερνίβεσσων ἀρύεται3 τὸ4 Μουσῶν 

καλλικόμων ὑπένερθεν ἄγνον ὕδωρ.

μικρῷ δὲ περιεργότερον αὕθις ὁ Σιμωνίδης τὴν 

Κλειὼν προσειπὼν

D ἄγναν ἐπίσκοπον χερνίβων,

φησί,

πολύλυστον ἀρυντεσσων5

ἀχρυσόπεπλον6 * * *7 

εὐώδες ἀμβροσίων ἐκ μυχῶν 

ἐρανον8 ὕδωρ λαβεῖν.9

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1 τοῦ added by Emperius.
2 καὶ τὰς χερνίβας added by Reiske from the verses below.
3 ἀρύεται Turnebus: εἰρύεται.
4 τὸ Bergk: τέ.
5 ἀρυντεσσων Emperius: ἀραίον τέ ἐστιν.
6 ἀχρυσόπεπλον] ἀ χρυσόπεπλον some editors.
7 A short lacuna in the mss.
8 ἐρανον] ἐρανον Emperius.
9 λαβεῖν F.C.B.; λάβους Crusius; λίβα Paton and others: λαβόν.

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militates against confidence in the oracle, since people assume one of two things: either that the prophetic priestess does not come near to the region in which is the godhead, or else that the spirit has been completely quenched and her powers have forsaken her.

Accordingly we went round and seated ourselves upon the southern steps of the temple, looking towards the shrine of Earth and the stream of water, with the result that Boëthus immediately remarked that the place itself proffered assistance to the visitor in the solution of the question. "For," said he, "there used to be a shrine of the Muses near the place where the water of the stream wells up; wherefore they used to use this water for libations and lustrations, as Simonides a says:

Where from depths below, for pure lustration
Is drawn the fair-haired Muses' fount of holy water.

And in another passage a he addresses Clio in a somewhat affected way as the

Holy guardian of lustration,

and goes on to say that

She, invoked in many a prayer,
In robes unwrought with gold,
For those that came to draw
Raised from the ambrosial grot
The fragrant beauteous water.

a Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. iii. pp. 409-410, Simonides, nos. 44 and 45; or Edmonds, Lyra Graeca, ii. p. 314. Cf. also Poulsen, Delphi, 4; but the attempted restorations of the verses by the various editors do not as yet display any felicity.
(402) οὐκ ὅρθως οὖν Ἐὐδοξός ἔπιστευσε τοῖς Στυγὸς ύδωρ 
τούτο καλέσθαι πεφήμασι. τὰς δὲ Μοῦσας ἰδρύ-
σαντο παρέδρους τῆς μαντικῆς καὶ φίλακας αὐτοῦ 
παρὰ τὸ νάμα καὶ τὸ τῆς Γῆς ἱερὸν, ἢς λέγεται τὸ 
μαντεῖον γενέσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐν μέτροι καὶ μέλει 
χρησμωδίαν. ἔνοι δὲ καὶ πρῶτον ἐνταῦθα φασιν 
ήρων μέτρον ἀκουσθῆναι,

συμφέρετε πτερά τ', ² οἰννοι, κηρόν τε, μέλισσαι:
Ε ἔτα τοὺ θεοῦ³ ἐπιδεῖ γενομένην ἀποβαλεῖν τὸ 
σεμνὸν.”

18. Ὄ Σαραπίων, “ἐπιεικέστερα ταῦτ,” εἶπεν,
“ὁ Βόθις, καὶ μουσικῶτερα: δεῖ γὰρ μὴ μάχεσθαι 
πρὸς τὸν θεοῦ⁴ μηδ’ ἀναίρειν μετὰ τῆς μαντικῆς 
ἄμα τὴν πρόνοιαν καὶ τὸ θεῖον, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑπεναν-
τιοῦσθαι δοκοῦντων λύσεις ἐπιζητεῖν τὴν δ’ εὐσεβῆ 
καὶ πάτριον μὴ προίσθαι πίστων.”

“Ὅρθως,” ἔφην ἐγώ, “λέγεις, ἀριστε Σαρα-
πίων: οὐδὲ γὰρ φιλοσοφίαν ἀπεγιγνώσκομεν ὡς 
ἀνηρμενήν παντάπασι καὶ διεφθορίαν, ότι πρό-
τερον μὲν ἐν ποιῆμασιν ἐξέφερον οἱ φιλόσοφοι τὰ 
δόγματα καὶ τοὺς λόγους, ὦστερ Ὀρφεὺς καὶ 
Ε Ὑσίόδος καὶ Παρμενίδης καὶ Ἐνοφάνης καὶ 
Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ Θαλῆς: ύστερον δ’ ἐπαύσαντο 
καὶ πέπαυνται χρώμενοι μέτροις πλήν σοῦ. διὰ 
σοῦ δ’ αἴθις εἰς φιλοσοφίαν ποιητικὴ κάτεισιν, 
ὁρθον καὶ γενναίον ἐγκελευμένη τοῖς νέοις.

“Οὗδ’ ἀστρολογίαν ἄδοξότεραν ἐποίησαν οἱ περὶ 
Ἄρισταρχον καὶ Τιμόχαρων καὶ Ἀριστολλον καὶ 

¹ διὰ added by Wyttenbach.
² πτερά τ’ Emperius from Philostratus, Life of Apollonius, 
247: πτερά.
³ εἴτα τοῦ θεοῦ F.C.B.: ὅτε τῷ θεῷ.
⁴ θεοῦ Amyot: θέωνα.

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Eudoxus, therefore, was wrong in believing those who declared that this is called the water of the Styx. But they established the cult of the Muses as associates and guardians of the prophetic art in this very place beside the stream and the shrine of Earth, to whom it is said that the oracle used to belong because of the responses being given in poetic and musical measures. And some assert that it was here that the heroic verse was heard for the first time:

Birds, contribute your feathers, and bees, bring wax as your portion.

Later Earth became inferior to the god and lost her august position."

18. "That, Boëthus," said Sarapion, "is more reasonable and harmonious. For we must not show hostility towards the god, nor do away with his providence and divine powers together with his prophetic gifts; but we must seek for explanations of such matters as seem to stand in the way, and not relinquish the reverent faith of our fathers."

"What you say, my esteemed Sarapion," said I, "is quite right. We have not been surrendering hope for philosophy either, as if it had been completely done away with and destroyed, just because formerly the philosophers used to publish their doctrines and discourses in the form of poems, as Orpheus, Hesiod, Parmenides, Xenophanes, Empedocles, and Thales. Later they ceased to do this, and now all have ceased using metrical form, all except you. At your hands the poetic art returns to philosophy from its banishment, and sounds a clear and noble challenge to the young.

"Nor did Aristarchus, Timocharis, Aristyllus, and Hipparchus, and their followers make astronomy less
"Ipparchoi kataleugadèn graffontes, ev métron proteron Eudoxou kai 'Hsiodon kai Thalou gra-103 fóntωn, ei ge Thalhês epoīsevn, òis alithèw òtpeïn, την eis autôn 2 anaphoromènê 'Astrologiavn. Pín-
daros dê kai peri trópton meliωdías ameloumènou kai7 autôn aporēn oμologei, kai thauμάξευ 3 òti
* * *4 oude'n yáp esti deinon ou'd' aτopon aitías
ζητείν των tooiùtwn metapabolων' anaireîn dê tâs
têxnas kai tâs duvâmeis, ãn ti kinhē kai par-
alláξη tòv kata tâutâs, ou dikaiôn."

19. 'Ypolabwv d' d 'Théow, "âllâ tâuta mèn,"
eîpe, "megálas ësychke tw ònti paraallagâs kai
kainotomías: tòv d' éntauðha polloûs chrishmôn
ooîtha5 kai tôte kataleugadèn ekphoromévous kai
B peri pragmâtow ou tòv tuchónvov. 'Akedai-
monivos te yár, òis 'Ounkudidhês istórhoke, peri
tôu prós 'Athanaious polému chrishmôvos ãneîle
nîkhn kai krâtôs, kai boiðhèsen aútôs kai para-
kaloûmenos kai áparáklytôs6 kai 'Pleistosanakta7
ei mî katanâgoînev 'árguroë eûlakâ8 eûlâxeiν9.'

"'Athanaios dê peri ths en Sikelía mántevom-
menous stratiaías prospetaže tîn eis 'Evrbrôw10 ierias-
anâgevn11 ths 'Athanâs. ekaleito d' 'Hsòxia to
gûnaiov.

1 E. Harrison would omit òtpeïn.
2 την eis autôn Turnebus and Vulcobius: eis authyn.
3 thauμάξευ Reiske: thauμάξεi. 4 A long lacuna in the mss.
4 chrishmôn added by Reiske, oîsoθa by Paton.
5 áparáklytôs] áklytôs Thucydides.
6 'Pleistosanakta Wyttenbach from Thucydides, v. 16:
Pauvanian.
7 eûlakâ added by Wasse from Thucydides, v. 16.
8 eûlâxeiν Wasse: sullâxeiν.
THE ORACLES AT DELPHI, 402-403

notable by writing in prose, although in earlier days Eudoxus, Hesiod, and Thales wrote in verse, if indeed Thales, in all truth, composed the *Astronomy* which is attributed to him. Pindar also confesses that he is puzzled by the neglect of a mode of music and is astonished that . . . a The fact is that there is nothing dreadful nor abnormal in seeking the causes of such changes; but to do away with these arts and faculties themselves because something about them has been disturbed or changed is not right.”

19. Theon, taking up the subject, said, “But these matters have actually undergone great changes and innovations, whereas you know that many of the oracles here have been given out in prose, and those that concerned no unimportant matters. For, as Thucydides b has recorded, when the Spartans consulted the god about their war against the Athenians, his answer was a promise of victory and power and that he himself would come to their aid, bidden or unbidden; and in another oracle that if they would not allow Pleistoanax to return from exile, they should plough with a silver ploughshare. c

“When the Athenians sought advice about their campaign in Sicily, he directed them to get the priestess of Athena at Erythrae; the name which the woman bore was ‘Quiet.’ d

a Unfortunately the cause of Pindar’s astonishment has been omitted by the copyist, who left a blank here.

b Thucydides, i. 118.
c Ibid. v. 16. The meaning seems to be that they would have to buy their grain.

d Cf. *Life of Nicias*, chap. xiii. (532 a), where it is explained that the god advised them τὴν ἥσουχιαν ἄγεω, “to keep Quiet.”

11 ἄναγεω] ἄγεω ibid. Perhaps ἄγαγεω should be read here.
(403) "Δεινομένους δὲ τοῦ Σικελιώτου μαντευομένου περὶ τῶν υἱῶν, ἀνείλεν ὡς οἱ τρεῖς τυραννησοίεν. Ὅποτεχόντος δὲ τοῦ Δεινομένους, 'οἵμωξόμενοι γ' οἱ δέσποτ' Ἀπολλον', καὶ τοῦθ' οimei ἔφη διδόναι καὶ προσαναρεῖν. ἦστε τοίνυν ὅτι Γέλων μὲν ὑδρωπιῶν Ἰέρων δὲ λυθὼν ἐτυραννήσεν· οὐ δὲ τρίτος Ὁρασύβουλος ἐν στάσεσι καὶ πολέμοις γενόμενος χρόνων οὐ πολύν ἔξέπεσε τῆς ἀρχῆς.

"Προκλῆς τοῖνυν ὁ Ἑπιδαύρου τύραννος ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ ὑμῶς καὶ παρανόμως ἀνείλε καὶ Τύμαρχον ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν παραγενόμενον μετὰ χρημάτων πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑποδεξάμενος καὶ φιλοφρονθείς ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὸ σώμα κατεπόντισεν ἐμβαλὼν εἰς φορμὸν ἔπραξε δὲ ταῦτα διὰ Κλεάνδρου τοῦ Ἀἰγυνήτου, τῶν ἄλλων ἀγνοουόντων. Ὡστερον δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν παρατηρομένων, ἐσπεμβεν ἐνταῦθα Κλεότιμον τὸν ἄδελφον ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ μαντευομένου περὶ φυγῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ μεταστάσεως. ἀνείλεν οὖν ὁ θεὸς διδόναι Προκλεῖ φυγὴν καὶ μετάστασιν, ὅπου τὸν φορμὸν ἐκέλευσε καταθέσθαι τὸν Ἀἰγυνήτην ἐξένοι ὃς τοῦ κέρας ἀποβάλλει ὁ ἑλαφος. συνεις οὖν ὁ τύραννος, ὅτι κελεύει καταποντίζειν αὐτὸν ἢ κατορύπτειν ὁ θεὸς (οἱ γὰρ ἑλαφοί κατορύπτουσι καὶ ἀφανίζουσι κατὰ τῆς γῆς ὅταν ἐκπέση τὸ κέρας), ἐπέσχεν ὁλίγον χρόνῳ, εἰτὰ τῶν πραγμάτων παντάπασι μοχθηρῶν γενόμενων, ἔξέπεσε. λαβόντες δ' αὐτὸν οἱ τοῦ Τυμάρχου φίλοι καὶ διαφθειράντες ἔξέβαλον τὸν νεκρὸν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν.

1 oii Reiske: ooi.
When Deinomenes of Sicily asked advice about his sons, the answer was that all three should rule as despots; and when Deinomenes rejoined, 'To their sorrow, then, O Lord Apollo,' the god said that he granted this also to Deinomenes, and added it to the response. You all know, of course, that Gelo, while he was despot, suffered from dropsy; and likewise Hiero from gall-stones; and the third, Thrasybulus, became involved in seditions and wars, and it was no long time before he was dethroned.

Then there was Procles, the despot of Epidaurus, who did away with many men in a cruel and lawless manner, and finally put to death Timarchus, who had come to him from Athens with money, after receiving him and entertaining him with much show of hospitality. The body he thrust into a basket and sank in the sea. All this he accomplished through Cleander of Aegina, and nobody else knew anything about it. But later, when his affairs were in sad confusion, he sent here his brother Cleotimus to ask advice in secret concerning his flight and withdrawal to another country. The god therefore made answer that he granted Procles flight and withdrawal to the place in which he had bidden his friend from Aegina deposit the basket, or where the stag sheds his horns. The despot at once understood that the god ordered him to sink himself in the sea or to bury himself in the earth (for stags, whenever their horns fall off,bury them out of sight underground); but he waited for a short time, and then, when the state of his affairs became altogether desperate, he had to leave the country. And the friends of Timarchus seized him, slew him, and cast forth his dead body into the sea.

\[a\] Cf. Moralia, 700 d.
""Ο δ’ ἐστὶ μέγιστον, αἱ ῥήτραι, δι’ ὅν ἐκόσμησε τὴν Δακεδαιμονίων πολιτείαν Ἀυκοῦργος, ἔδοθη-σαν αὐτῷ καταλογάδην.

"Μυρίους τοίνυν καὶ 'Ἡροδότου καὶ Φιλοχόρου καὶ Ἰστροῦ, τῶν μάλιστα τὰς ἐμμέτρους μαντείας φιλοτιμηθέντων συναγαγεῖν, ἄνευ μέτρου χρησιμοὺς γεγραφότων, Θεόπομπος οὐδενὸς ἦττον ἀνθρώπων ἐσπουδακὼς περὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ἴσχυρῶς ἐπι-τετήμηκε τοῖς μὴ νομίζουσι κατὰ τὸν τότε χρόνον ἐμμετρα τὴν Πυθίαν θεσπίζειν· εἰτα τοῦτο βου-

ὁ λόγεως ἀποδείξαι, παντάπασιν ὁλίγων χρησμῶν ἡπόρηκεν, ὡς τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τότ’ ἡδή κατα-

λογάδην ἐκφερομένων.

20. "Ενιοὶ δὲ καὶ νῦν μετὰ μέτρων ἐκτρέχου-

σιν, ὅν ἑνακαὶ πρᾶγμα περιβόητον πεποίηκε. μισογύνου γὰρ Ἡρακλέους ἱερὸν ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Φω-

κίδι, καὶ νομίζεται τὸν ἱερωμένον ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ γυναικὶ μὴ ὁμιλεῖν· διὸ καὶ προσβύτας ἐπιεικῶς ἱερεῖς ἀποδεικνύουσι. πλὴν ἐμπροσθεν ὁλίγω

χρόνω νεανίας οὐ πονηρὸς ἄλλα φιλότιμος, ἔρων

παιδίσκης, ἐλαβε τὴν ἱερωσύνην. καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἤν ἐγκρατὴς ἐαυτοῦ καὶ ἐφυγε τὴν ἀνθρωπο-

ἀναπαυμένω δ’ αὐτῷ ποτε μετὰ πότον καὶ

χορειάν προσπεσοῦσαν διεπράξατο. φοβούμενος

οὔν καὶ παρατόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ μαυτεῖον κατέφυγε, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἥρωτα τὸν θεὸν εἰ τις εἰη

παραίτησις ἡ λύσις· ἐλαβε δὲ τόνδε τὸν χρησμὸν.

ἐπαντα τᾶναγκαῖα συγχωρεῖ θεὸν.

1 μυρίουs Paton; 'Αλυσίου Reiske: ἀλυρίου.

2 τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πολλῶν Herwerden.

3 ἑνα Wyttenbach: ἑνεκα. 4 μισογύνου Xylander: μισοῦν.

5 τᾶναγκαῖα Reiske: ἀναγκαῖα.
"Most important of all is the fact that the decrees through which Lycurgus gave form and order to the Spartan constitution were given to him in prose.

"Now Herodotus and Philochorus and Ister, men who were most assiduous in collecting prophecies in verse, have quoted countless oracles not in verse; but Theopompus, who has given more diligent study to the oracle than any one man, has strongly rebuked those who do not believe that in his time the prophetic priestess used verse in her oracular responses. Afterwards, wishing to prove this, he has found to support his contention an altogether meagre number of such oracles, indicating that the others were given out in prose even as early as that time.

20. "Some of the oracles even to-day come out in metre, one of which an affair has made famous. There is in Phocis a shrine of Heracles the Woman-hater, and it is the custom that the man who is appointed to the priesthood shall have no association with a woman within the year. For this reason they usually appoint as priests rather old men. By exception, only a few years ago, a young man, not at all bad, but ambitious, who was in love with a girl, gained the office. At first he was able to control himself, and succeeded in keeping out of her way; but when she suddenly came in upon him as he was resting after drinking and dancing, he did the forbidden thing. Frightened and perturbed in consequence, he resorted at once to the oracle and asked the god about his sin, whether there were any way to obtain forgiveness or to expiate it; and he received this response:

All things that must be doth the god condone.
(404) "Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ δοῦσ ἂν τις ὡς οὐδὲν ἀνευ μέτρου 
θεσπίζεται καθ’ ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον διαπορήσεις της περὶ 
τῶν παλαιῶν ποτὲ μὲν ἐν μέτροις ποτὲ δ’ ἀνευ 
Β μέτρων διδόντων τὰς ἀποκρίσεις. ἔστι δ’ οὐδέ-
τερον, ὥς παί, παράλογον, μόνον ἂν ὀρθάς καὶ 
καθαρὰς περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξας ἐχωμεν, καὶ μὴ νομί-
ζουμεν αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνον εἶναι τὸν τὰ ἔπι συντιθέντα 
πρότερον καὶ νῦν ὑποβάλλοντα τῇ Πυθίᾳ τοὺς 
χρησμοὺς, ὥσπερ ἐκ προσωπείων φθεγγόμενον.

21. "'Αλλ' αὕτης ἄξιον μὲν ἐστὶν διὰ μακροτέρων 
εἰπεῖν τι καὶ πνεύσθαι περὶ τοῦτων, τὰ δὲ νῦν ἐν 
βραχεῖ μαθόντες διαμνημονεύσωμεν ὡς σῶμα μὲν 
ὀργάνως χρήται πολλοὶς αὐτῷ δὲ σώματι ψυχῇ καὶ 
μέρεσι τοῖς σώματος· ψυχῇ δ’ ὀργάνων θεοῦ γέγο-
νεν, ὀργάνου δ’ ἀρετῆ μάλιστα μμείσθαι τὸ χρώ-

C μενον ἡ πέφυκε δυνάμει καὶ παρέχει τὸ ἔργον 
αὐτοῦ νοήματος ἐν αὐτῷ δεικνύμενου, δεικνύναι 
δ’ οὐχ οἶδαν ἢν ἐν τῷ δημιουργῷ καθαρὸν καὶ 
ἀπαθῆς καὶ ἀναμάρτητον, ἀλλὰ μεμειγμένου πολλῶ 
τῶ ἄλλοτρίῳ καθ’ ἐαυτῷ γὰρ ἄδηλον ἡμῖν, ἐτερον 
δὲ καὶ δ’ ἐτέρου φαινόμενον ἀναπλήττει τῆς 
ἐκείνου φύσεως. καὶ κηρὸν μὲν ἐὼ καὶ χρυσοῦν

1 διαπορήσεις Reiske: διαπορήσει.
2 ἐφ added by Duebner.
3 ἐστὶ some would write ἐσται, but Plutarch often uses the 
present in such expressions; e.g. 410 u.
4 αὐτῷ Paton: αὐτῷ.
5 δεικνύμενον F.C.B.: δυναμένη.
6 πολλῷ τῷ ἄλλοτρίῳ Wyttenbach (οἰκείῳ Paton) to fill a 
lacuna in the mss.
7 ἐτέρον] ἐν ἐτέρῳ Emperius.

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"However, even if anybody were to grant that no word of prophecy is uttered in our time without being in verse, such a person would be in much more perplexity regarding the oracles of ancient times which gave their responses at one time in verse and at another time without versification. However, neither of these, my young friend, goes counter to reason if only we hold correct and uncontaminated opinions about the god, and do not believe that it was he himself who used to compose the verses in earlier times, while now he suggests the oracles to the prophetic priestess as if he were prompting an actor in a play to speak his words.

21. "However, it is worth our while to discuss these matters at greater length and to learn about them at another time; but for the present let us recall to our minds what we have learned in brief: that the body makes use of many instruments and that the soul makes use of this very body and its members; moreover, the soul is created to be the instrument of God, and the virtue of an instrument is to conform as exactly as possible to the purpose of the agent that employs it by using all the powers which Nature has bestowed upon it, and to produce, presented in itself, the purpose of the very design; but to present this, not in the form in which it was existent in its creator, uncontaminated, unaffected, and faultless, but combined with much that is alien to this. For pure design cannot be seen by us, and when it is made manifest in another guise and through another medium, it becomes contaminated with the nature of this medium. Wax, for example, and gold and silver I

a Cf. 397 c, supra, and 414 e, infra.

b Cf. Moralia, 163 e.
(404) ἀργυρόν τε καὶ χαλκόν, ὥστε τ' ἄλλα πλαττομένης οὐσίας εἶδη δέχεται μὲν ἵδεαν μίαν ἐκτυπομένης ὁμοιότητος, ἄλλο δ' ἄλλην ἄφ' ἔαυτῳ τῷ μιμήματι διαφορὰν προστίθησι. καὶ τὰς ἐν κατόπτροις ἑπι-D πέδους τε καὶ κοίλους καὶ περιγιγέσι1 φασμάτων καὶ εἴδώλων ἄφ' ἐνός εἴδους μυρίας παρατυπώσεις. καὶ γὰρ, εἰ σηγαλὸεντ' ἀστρα βλέπομεν,2 οὐδὲν οὔτε μᾶλλον τὴν3 ἵδεαν ἐμίκεν οὔθ' ὡς ὀργανον4 χρῆσθαι φύσει γέγονεν εὐπειθέστερον σελήνης· λαμβάνονον δὲ παρ' ἡλίου τὸ λαμπρὸν καὶ πυρωτὸν οὐχ ὁμοιον ἀποπέμπει πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἄλλα μειγθὲν αὐτῇ καὶ χρόαν μετέβαλε καὶ δύναμιν ἐσχεν ἐτέραν· ἢ δὲ θερμότης καὶ παντάπασιν ἐξοίχεται καὶ προ-λέλοιπε τὸ φῶς ὑπ' ἄσθενείας.

"Οἶμαι δὲ σὲ4 γιγνώσκειν τὸ παρ' Ἦρακλείτω λεγόμενον ὡς δ' ἀναξ, οὐ τὸ μαντεῖον ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν Ε Δελφοῖς, οὔτε λέγει οὔτε κρύπτει ἄλλα σημαίνει. πρόσλαβε δὲ τούτοις εὖ λεγομένοις καὶ νόησον τὸν ἐνταῦθα θεὸν χρώμενον τῇ Πυθίᾳ πρὸς ἀκοήν, καθὼς ἡλίος χρῆται σελήνη πρὸς ὄμιν5· δείκνυσι μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀναφαίνει τάς αὐτοῦ νοῆσεις, μεμειγ-μένας δὲ δείκνυσι διά σώματος θυτητοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς6 ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν μὴ δυνάμενης7 μηδὲ8 τῷ κινοῦτι

1 περιγιγέσι Reiske: περιαυγέσι.
2 εἰ σηγαλὸεντ' ἀστρα βλέπομεν F.C.B. to fill the lacuna in the mss.; alii alia: εἰς.
3 τὴν added by Reiske.
4 ὀργανον] ὀργάνῳ Reiske.
5 se added by Duebner (καὶ σὲ Reiske).
6 ὡς ὤ Turnebus: ὦσθ'.
7 πρὸς ὄμιν stands after Πυθίᾳ in the mss.; transposed by Wyttenbach.
8 A lacuna in the mss. after ψυχῆς. Add παρθενικῆς (405 c)?
9 δυναμένης Wyttenbach: δυνάμενος.
leave out of account, as well as other kinds of material,\(^a\) which, when moulded, take on the particular form of the likeness which is being modelled; and yet each one of them adds to the thing portrayed a distinguishing characteristic which comes from its own substance; and so also the numberless distortions in the reflected images of one single form seen in mirrors both plane and concave and convex. Indeed, if we contemplate the shining constellations, there is nothing that shows greater similarity in form, or which, as an instrument, is by nature more obedient in use than the moon. Receiving as it does from the sun its brilliant light and intense heat, it sends them away to us, not in the state in which they arrived, but, after being merged with it, they change their colour and also acquire a different potency. The heat is gone, and the light becomes faint because of weakness.

"I imagine that you are familiar with the saying found in Heracleitus\(^b\) to the effect that the Lord whose prophetic shrine is at Delphi neither tells nor conceals, but indicates. Add to these words, which are so well said, the thought that the god of this place employs the prophetic priestess for men's ears just as the sun employs the moon for men's eyes. For he makes known and reveals his own thoughts, but he makes them known through the associated medium of a mortal body and a soul that is unable to keep quiet, or, as it yields itself to the One that

\(^a\) Obviously what is left is marble, the less plastic material.

\(^b\) Diels, *Frag. der Vorsokratiker*, i. p. 86, Heracleitus, no. b 93.

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\(^{10}\) ἀνδὲ Wytenbach: ἂν.
παρέχεις ἑαυτήν ἀκίνητον ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ καθεστῶσαν, ἀλλ' ὄσπερ ἐν σάλῳ ψυφοῦσαν 1 καὶ συμπλεκομένην τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ 2 κινήσας καὶ πάθειν ἐπιταραττοῦσαν αὐτήν.

" Ὡς γὰρ οἱ δίνοι τῶν ἀμα κύκλω καταφερμένων σωμάτων οὐκ ἐπικρατοῦσι βεβαιῶς, ἀλλὰ κύκλω μὲν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης φερομένων κάτω δὲ φύσει

F ῶπετόντων γίγνεται τις ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ταραχώδης καὶ παράφορος ἐλυγμός, οὕτως δ' οἱ καλούμενοι ἐνθουσιασμὸς ἐοικε μείξεις εἰναι κινήσεων δυνών, τὴν μὲν ὡς πέπονθε τῆς ψυχῆς ἀμα τὴν δ' ὡς πέφυκε κινομένης. ὅπου γὰρ ἀψύχους σώμασι καὶ κατὰ ταυτὰ μονίμοις οὐκ ἔστι χρήσασθαι παρ' δ' πέφυκε βιαζόμενον, οὐδὲ κινήσαι σφαιρικῶς κύλινδρον ἢ κυβικῶς ἢ λύραν ἀνθλητικῶς ἢ σάλπιγγα κιθαριστικῶς. ἀλλ' οὗχ ἔτερον, 6 ὡς ἐοικε, τὸ τεχνικῶς ἐκάστῳ χρήσαθαι καὶ ὡς πέφυκεν. ὃπο τὸ ἐμψύχον καὶ αὐτοκίνητον ὁμήρης τε καὶ λόγου μετέχον ἀλλωσ ἄν τις ἡ κατὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ 6 προοὐπάρχουσαν 405 ἐξιν ἡ δύναμιν ἡ φύσιν μεταχειρίσατο, μονοκωπίσ κινῶν νοῦν ἁμουσον ἡ γραμματικῶς τὸν ἀγράμματον ἡ λογίσις τὸν ἐν λόγοις ἁθεώρητον καὶ ἀνάσκητον; οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν.

22. " Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ "Ομηρός, αὐτία μὲν ' ἀνευ θεοῦ' οὐδὲν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ὑποτιθέμενος

1 ψυφοῦσαν Wyttenbach: ψαύσουσαν αὐτήν.
2 αὐτή Bernardakis: αὐτή.
3 ἐπιταραττοῦσαν αὐτήν F.C.B.: ἐπιταραττοῦσης.
4 ἡ κυβικῶς ἡ σφαιραν κυβικῶς Wyttenbach; κώνων κυβικῶς Wilamowitz-Möllendorff. Stegmann would omit the two words.
5 ἔτερον Wyttenbach; ἔτερον ἦν Paton: ἔτερον ἦ.
6 ἐν αὐτῶ Meziriacus: ἐαυτῶν.
7 κώνων Wyttenbach: κινοῦντι.
moves it, to remain of itself unmoved and tranquil, but, as though tossed amid billows and enmeshed in the stirrings and emotions within itself, it makes itself more and more restless.

"For, as the eddies exercise no sure control over the bodies carried round and round in them, but, since the bodies are carried round and round by a compelling force, while they naturally tend to sink, there results from the two a confused and erratic circular movement, so, in like manner, what is called inspiration seems to be a combination of two impulses, the soul being simultaneously impelled through one of these by some external influence, and through the other by its own nature. Wherefore it is not possible to deal with inanimate and stationary bodies in a way contrary to their nature by bringing force to bear upon them, nor to make a cylinder in motion behave in the manner of a sphere or a cube, nor a lyre like a flute, nor a trumpet like a harp. No, the use of each thing artistically is apparently no other than its natural use. And as for the animate, endowed with power to move of itself and with its share of initiative and reason, could anyone treat it in a manner other than in keeping with the condition, faculty, or nature, already pre-existent in it, as, for example, trying to arouse to music a mind unmusical, or to letters the unlettered, or to eloquence one with no observation or training in speeches? That is something which no one could assert.

22. "Homer also gives testimony on my side by his assumption that practically nothing is brought to pass for any reason 'without a god'; he does not,

\[a\] Il. ii. 169; v. 1.
\[b\] For example, Od. ii. 372; xv. 531.
(405) περαινόμενον, οὐ μὴν πᾶσι πρὸς πάντα χρώμενον
ποιῶν τὸν θεόν, ἀλλ' ἐκάστῳ καθ' ἦν ἔχει τέχνην
ἡ δύναμις. ἡ γὰρ οὖς ὁρᾶς," εἶπεν, "ὁ φίλε
Διογενίνε, τὴν Ἄθηνᾶν, οτὲ πεῖσαι βουλέται τοὺς
Ἀχαιοὺς, τὸν Ὄδυσσεα παρακαλοῦσαν, οτὲ συγ-
χέας τὰ ὀρκία, τὸν Πάνδαρον ζητοῦσαν, ὅτε τρέ-

θεοῦ θέλοντος, κἂν ἐπὶ ρητὸς πλέοις.

ἀλλ' ἐγίνωσκεν ἀλλας πρὸς ἀλλα δυνάμεις καὶ
φύσεις γεγενημένας, ὃν ἐκάστῃ κινεῖται διαφόρως,
κἂν ἵ τὸ κινοῦν ἀπάσας. ὃς ὁρὲ οὖν τὸ κινοῦν
τὸ πεζὸν οὐ δύναται κινῆσαι πτητικῶς, οὐδὲ
tορῶς τὸ τραυλὸν οὐδ' εὐφώνος τὸ ἱσχυρόφωνον;
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Βάττον, οἷμαι, διὰ τὸτ' ἐπὶ τὴν
φωνὴν παραγενόμενον εἰς Διβυήν ἐπεμβαίνειν ὀἴκιστήν,

φὸ το τραυλὸς μὲν ἦν καὶ ἱσχυρόφωνος βασιλικὸς δὲ
καὶ πολιτικὸς καὶ φρόνιμος οὖτως ἀδυνάτων δια-
λέγεσθαι πτητικῶς τὸν ἀγράμματον καὶ ἀνήκουν

1 Πινδάρῳ . . . Πινδάρος Anonymous (Μενάνδρῳ . . . Μέν-
ανδρὸς Wilamowitz-Möllendorff): Πινδάρῳ . . . πάνδαρος.
2 θεοῦ πλέοντος κἂν ἐπιρρεπῶς mss. corrected from other
citations.
3 ἐγίνωσκεν Xylander: γίγνωσκε.
4 κινῆσαι added by Bernardakis.

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\[ a \] II. ii. 169. \[ b \] II. iv. 86. \[ c \] II. v. 1.

\[ d \] From the *Thyestes* of Euripides: Nauck, Trag. Graec.

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however, represent the god as employing everything for every purpose, but as employing each thing in accordance with the aptitude or faculty that each possesses. Do you not see," he continued, "my dear Diogenianus, that Athena, when she wishes to persuade the Achaeans, summons Odysseus a; when she wishes to bring to naught the oaths, seeks out Pandarus b; when she wishes to rout the Trojans, goes to Diomedes c? The reason is that Diomedes is a man of great strength and a warrior, Pandarus a Bowman and a fool, Odysseus adept at speaking and a man of sense. The fact is that Homer did not have the same idea as Pindar, if it really was Pindar who wrote

God willing, you may voyage on a mat; 

but Homer recognized the fact that some faculties and natures are created for some purposes and others for others, and each one of these is moved to action in a different way, even if the power that moves them all be one and the same. Now this power cannot move to flight that which can only walk or run, nor move a lisp to clear speaking, nor a shrill thin voice to melodious utterance. No, in the case of Battus e it was for this reason, when he came to consult the oracle for his voice, that the god sent him as a colonist to Africa, because Battus had a lisp and a shrill thin voice, but also had the qualities of a king and a statesman, and was a man of sense. So in the same way it is impossible for the unlettered man who has never read verse to talk like a poet. Even so the maiden

Frag., Euripides, no. 397; but the line is sometimes ascribed to other poets also.

e Cf. Herodotus, iv. 155; Pindar, Pythian Odes, v., and the scholium to Pythian iv. 10.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA
tj vvv tco deep Xarpevovaa ylyove puev
dXXoS ivTOLvda VOp,ip,OJS Kal KaXtJOS KCil jEfe1
fUcoKev evraKTCOS' rpafcloa S' ev oIkiq yeajpywv
diro rex vris oiiSev ovr air* dXXr]s
irevryrixiVy ovr

(405) irrtov, a>a7T€p
€L TLS

twos

ijjLTreiplas Kal 8vvdp,€u>s hrifye pop,£vr] kolt€lglv
to xP r] aT VP lov , aAA' wairep 6 Eevo^tav oterac
8eu> eAa^tcrra T7)v vvp,<j>7)v ISovoav eAa^tara 8'
aKovaaaav els dvSpqs fiaS l[,€w, ovtojs aireipos Kal
dSarjs oXiyov Sew airdvTOjv Kal irapOevos <l)s
dXrjOcos rr\v i/fvxrjv T<? @ e<? ovveorw.
aAA' rjpLeis
epojSiols olofJLeda Kal Tpox^Xois Kal Kopa^t xPV (J ^ ai
<{>6eyyop,evois crr)p>awovTa top Seov, Kal ovk d£tov\iev y fj Oewv ayyeXoi Kal KrjpvKes eloi, XoyiKcvs
eKaara Kal aacf>6js 2 (frpd^ew ttjv he rrjs Uvdlas
3
<j)U)vr)v Kal SudXeKTOV tooirep ^oot/coj^
eK OvpieXrjs,
ovk dvrjhvvrov ovhe Xirrjv aAA' ev fierpcp Kal oyKco
Kal 7rAaa/xart Kal jj,eTa<f>opals 6vop,dra)V Kal p,eT
avXov <\>Qeyyop,evqv Txapeyew d£iovp,ev.
23. " Tt ovv <f)rjoop,€v irepl tojv 7raAatojy; ovx
irpcjTov p,ev yap, cooirep
ev dXXd irXeiova, of/xat.
etpjjTai, rd TrXelara KaKewai KaraXoydS'qv a7ihevTepov Se Kal crco/xaroj^ rjveyize
e<f)04yyovTO.
Kpdaeis Kal <f>vaecs 6 XP° P °S eKewos evpovv tl
Kal <j>opov ixovoas ttoos ttqitjcfw, als evQvs eirey!.yvovTO TTpodvpiiat Kal 6pp,al Kal rrapaoKeval iftvxrjs
€TOLp,6rr]Ta Troiovaai puKpas e£aj9ev dpxrjs Kal

els

J)

E

1

Basel ed of 1542: ypafcloa,
Reiske oo<j>a>s.
xopi/cov F.C.B. to fill the lacuna in the mss. ; Poh'enz proposes TpayiKT)v 9 but btdXeKTov and avXov point to the choral
song ; so xopGvr&v Bernardakis.
Tpa<j>iioa

2

oa<j>u)s

:

3

a

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Oeconomicu$ 9

7. 4-5.

*

403 e and 404 a, supra,


who now serves the god here was born of as lawful and honourable wedlock as anyone, and her life has been in all respects proper; but, having been brought up in the home of poor peasants, she brings nothing with her as the result of technical skill or of any other expertness or faculty, as she goes down into the shrine. On the contrary, just as Xenophon\(^a\) believes that a bride should have seen as little and heard as little as possible before she proceeds to her husband’s house, so this girl, inexperienced and uninformed about practically everything, a pure, virgin soul, becomes the associate of the god. Now we cherish the belief that the god, in giving indications to us, makes use of the calls of herons, wrens, and ravens; but we do not insist that these, inasmuch as they are messengers and heralds of the gods, shall express everything rationally and clearly, and yet we insist that the voice and language of the prophetic priestess, like a choral song in the theatre, shall be presented, not without sweetness and embellishment, but also in verse of a grandiloquent and formal style with verbal metaphors and with a flute to accompany its delivery!

23. "What statement, then, shall we make about the priestesses of former days? Not one statement, but more than one, I think. For in the first place, as has already been said,\(^b\) they also gave almost all their responses in prose. In the second place, that era produced personal temperaments and natures which had an easy fluency and a bent towards composing poetry, and to them were given also zest and eagerness and readiness of mind abundantly, thus creating an alertness which needed but a slight initial stimulus from without and a prompting of the
προτροπῆς τοῦ φανταστικοῦ δεομένην, ὡς εὐθὺς ἐλκεσθαι πρὸς τὸ οἴκειον οὐ μόνον, ὡς λέγει Φιλίνος, ἀστρολόγος καὶ φιλοσόφος, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς τε πολλῷ καὶ πάθει γιγνομένων οὐκτού τινὸς ὑπορρήτου ἡ χαρᾶς προσπεσούσης ὀλισθάνειν εἰς ἑνωθῶν ἔρωτικῶν τε κατεπίμπλαντο μέτρων καὶ ἁσμάτων τὰ συμπόσια καὶ τὰ βιβλία γραμμάτων. ὁ δ' Εὐριπίδης εἴπὼν ὡς

ποιητὴν δ' ἀρα Ἔρως ἰδιάσκει, κἂν ἁμονοσ ἢ τὸ πρὶν,

ἐνενόησεν ὅτι ποιητικὴν καὶ μουσικὴν Ἔρως δύναμιν οὐκ ἐντύθησυν, ἐνυπάρχουσαν δὲ κινεὶ καὶ ἀναθρεμαίνει λανθάνουσαν καὶ ἀργοῦσαν. ἦ μηδένα νῦν ἑρᾶν, ὦ ξένε, λέγωμεν, ἀλλὰ φρούδον οἴχεσθαι τὸν ἔρωτα, ὅτι μέτροις οὐδεὶς οὐδ' ὕδαίς

ῥίμφα παιδείους (ὡς Πίνδαρος ἔφη) τοξεύει μελιγάρνας ὑμνουσ;

406 ἀλλ' ἄτοπον ἐρωτεῖ γὰρ ἑτὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιστρέφονται, ψυχαῖς δ' ὑμιλοῦντες οὐκ εὐφυῶς οὐδ' ἐτοιμῶς πρὸς μουσικὴν ἐχούσαις ἀναυλοί μὲν

1 προτροπῆς Reiske: παρατροπῆς.
2 ἐνεμένης Reiske: ἐνεμένης.
4 A lacuna of eight letters in the mss. before γῆρων; Paton suggests ἄριστος; perhaps ποιητήν?
5 εἴπὼν Basel ed. of 1542: ἐπιών.
6 ποιητήν ἄρα Ἔρως, κτλ. as in 762 B F.C.B. (δ' added by Valckenaer): Ἔρως ποιητήν.
7 ἐνενόησεν Wyttenbach: ἐνοησαι.
8 παιδείους ... μελιγάρνας Pindar, Isthm. ii. 3: παιδίου ... μελιγηρέας.

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imagination, with the result that not only were astronomers and philosophers, as Philinus says, attracted at once to their special subjects, but when men came under the influence of abundant wine or emotion, as some note of sadness crept in or some joy befell, a poet would slip into 'tuneful utterance' \(^a\); their convivial gatherings were filled with amatory verses and their books with such writings. When Euripides said

> Love doth the poet teach,  
> Even though he know naught of the Muse before,\(^b\)

his thought was that Love does not implant in one the poetical or musical faculty, but when it is already existent in one, Love stirs it to activity and makes it fervent, while before it was unnoticed and idle. Or shall we say, my friend, that nobody is in love nowadays, but that love has vanished from the earth because nobody in verse or song

> Launches swiftly the shafts  
> Of sweet-sounding lays  
> Aimed at the youth beloved,

as Pindar \(^c\) has put it? No, that is absurd. The fact is that loves many in number still go to and fro among men, but, being in association with souls that have no natural talent nor ear for music, they forgo the flute

\(^a\) Cf. Moralia, 623 \(a\).  
\(^b\) The quotation, from the Stheneboea of Euripides, Plutarch repeats in more complete form in Moralia, 622 \(c\) and 762 \(b\). Cf. Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 569, Euripides, no. 663.  
\(^c\) Pindar, Isthmian Odes, ii. 3.

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\(9\) ἔτι Reiske: ἕτη.  
\(10\) τῶν ἀνθρώπων Turnebus: τῶν ἀνθρώπων.  
\(11\) ἄ added by Reiske.
καὶ ἀλυροῖ λάλοι δ’ οὔδέν ἤττον εἰσι καὶ διάπυροι
tῶν παλαιῶν· ἐτι δ’ οὐδ’ ὄσιον ἐπεῖν ἡ καλὸν ὡς
ἀνέραστος ἢν ἢ ’Ακαδήμεια καὶ ὁ Σωκράτους καὶ
Πλάτωνος χορός, ἄν λόγους μὲν ἑρωτικοῖς ἐν-
tυχεῖν ἔστι, ποιήματα δ’ οὐκ ἀπολελοίπασι. τί
δ’ ἀπολείπει τοῦ λέγοντος ἑρωτικὴν μόνην γεγο-
νέαι Σαπφῶ γυναικῶν ὁ μαντικὴν φάσκων μόνην;
γεγονέαι Σίβυλλαν καὶ ’Αριστοτέλεικαν καὶ ὅσια
Β διὰ μέτρων ἐθεμίστευσαν;

ὁ μὲν γὰρ οἶνος (ὡς ἔλεγε Χαιρήμων) τοῖς τρόποις
κεράνυται

tῶν πινόντων· ὁ δὲ μαντικὸς ἑνθουσιασμός, ὡσπερ
ὁ ἑρωτικός, χρήται τῇ ὑποκειμένη δυνάμει καὶ κινεῖ
tῶν δεξαμένων ἔκαστον καθ’ ὁ πέφυκεν.

24. "Οὐ μήν ἄλλα καὶ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς προ-
νοίας σκοποῦντες, ὁφόμεθα πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον γεγενη-
mένην τὴν μεταβολὴν. ἀμοιβὴ γὰρ ἔσκε νομί-
σματος ἢ τοῦ λόγου χρεία: καὶ δόκιμον καὶ αὐτοῦ
tὸ σύνθεσ ἐστὶ καὶ γνώριμον, ἀλλὰ ἐν ἄλλους
χρόνοις ἵσχυν λαμβάνοντος. ἦν οὖν ὅτε λόγου
νομίσμασιν ἐχρῶντο μέτρωι καὶ μέλεσι καὶ ὧδαίς,
C πᾶσαν μὲν ἱστορίαν καὶ φιλοσοφίαν πᾶν δὲ πάθος
ὡς ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν καὶ πράγμα σεμνοτέρας φωνῆς
δεόμενον εἰς ποιητικὴν καὶ μουσικὴν ἁγοντες. οὐ

1 ἐτι δ’ Reiske; οἶεν Wytenbach: ἐτι.
2 ἀπολείπει Turnebus: ἀπολιπείν.
3 ὁ … φάσκων μόνην added by Turnebus to fill a lacuna in
the mss.

a Such, for example, as the Phaedrus of Plato.
b A few epigrams (some amatory) attributed to Plato may
and lyre, but they are no less loquacious and ardent than those of olden time. Besides it is not righteous nor honourable to say that the Academy and Socrates and Plato's congregation were loveless, for we may read their amatory discourses; but they have left us no poems. As compared with him who says that the only poetess of love was Sappho, how much does he fall short who asserts that the only prophetess was the Sibyl and Aristonica and such others as delivered their oracles in verse? As Chaeremon says,

Wine mixes with the manners of each guest,
and as he drinks, prophetic inspiration, like that of love, makes use of the abilities that it finds ready at hand, and moves each of them that receive it according to the nature of each.

24. "If, however, we take into consideration the workings of the god and of divine providence, we shall see that the change has been for the better. For the use of language is like the currency of coinage in trade: the coinage which is familiar and well known is also acceptable, although it takes on a different value at different times. There was, then, a time when men used as the coinage of speech verses and tunes and songs, and reduced to poetic and musical form all history and philosophy and, in a word, every experience and action that required a more impressive utterance. Not only is it a fact

be found in the Anthology; cf. Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. ii. 295-312; Edmonds, Elegy and Iambic, ii. pp. 2-11 (L.C.I.); and for Socrates' poems see Suidas s.v.; Plato, Phaedo, 60 c-d; Diogenes Laertius, ii. 42; Athenaeus, 628 E; Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. ii. 287-288.

(406) γὰρ μόνον νῦν ὀλίγοι μόλις ἐπαίνουσιν, τότε δὲ πάντες ἥκρουντο καὶ ἔχαρον ἄδομένοις 

μηλοβόται τ' ἀρόται τ' ὀρνιχόλοχοι τε κατὰ Πίνδαρον. ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς ποιητικὴν ἐπι-

τηδείοτητας οἱ πλεῖστοι διὰ λύρας καὶ ὅθης ἐνου-

θέτουν ἐπαρρησιάζοντο παρεκελεύντο, μύθοις καὶ 

παρομίαισι ἐπέραινον, ἐτὶ δ' ὕμνοις θεῶν εὐχας 

παῖνας ἐν μέτροις ἐποιοῦντο καὶ μέλεσιν οἴ μὲν 

d' εὐφύταν οἴ δὲ διὰ συνήθειαν. οὐκόν οὐδὲ 

μαντικὴ κόσμου καὶ χάριτος ἐθύνει ὁ θεὸς οὐδ' 

D ἀπῆλαινεν ἐνθένδε τῆν τιμωμένην μόνον 

τοῦ τρίποδος, ἀλλ' ἐπήγετο μᾶλλον ἐγείρων τὰς 

ποιη-

τικὰς καὶ ἀσπαζόμενος φύσεις, αὐτὸς τε φαντασίας 

ἐνεδίδοι καὶ συνεξώρμα τὸ σοβαρὸν καὶ λόγιον ὅς 

ἀρμόττον καὶ θαυμαζόμενον. ἔπει δὲ τοῦ βίου 

μεταβολὴν ἁμα ταῖς τύχαις καὶ ταῖς φύσεις λαμ-

βάνοντο εξωθοῦσα τὸ περιττὸν ἣ. χρεία κρωβύλου 

tε χρυσοῦς ἀφήρει καὶ ξυστίδας μαλακὰς ἀπημφιάζε 

καὶ ποὺ καὶ κόμην σοβαρωτέραν ἀπέκειρε καὶ 

ὑπέλυσε κόθορον, οὐ φαύλως ἐθιζομένων ἀντι-

cαλλωπίζεσθαι πρὸς τὴν πολυτέλειαν εὐτελεία καὶ 

Ε τὸ ἄφελες καὶ λιτὸν ἐν κόσμῳ τίθεσθαι μᾶλλον ἡ 

1 μηλοβόται τ' added by Xylander from Pindar or Moralia 

473 A to fill a lacuna in the mss. 

2 ὀρνιχόλοχοι Pindar, Isthm. i. 68: ὀρνιθόλογοι. 

3 μύθοις καὶ παρομίαισι] μύθοις καὶ παρομίαις Wytenbach. 

4 μαντικὴ Turnebus: μαντικὴ. 

5 τῆν added by Stegmann. 

6 ἐγείρων] ἐτέρων Apelt. 

7 καὶ added by Vulcobius. 

* Isthmian Odes, i. 68: repeated more fully in Moralia, 

473 A. 

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that nowadays but few people have even a limited understanding of this diction, but in those days the audience comprised all the people, who were delighted with Pindar's song,

Shepherds and ploughmen and fowlers as well.

Indeed, owing to this aptitude for poetic composition, most men through lyre and song admonished, spoke out frankly, or exhorted; they attained their ends by the use of myths and proverbs, and besides composed hymns, prayers, and paeans in honour of the gods in verse and music, some through their natural talent, others because it was the prevailing custom. Accordingly, the god did not begrudge to the art of prophecy adornment and pleasing grace, nor did he drive away from here the honoured Muse of the tripod, but introduced her rather by awakening and welcoming poetic natures; and he himself provided visions for them, and helped in prompting impressiveness and eloquence as something fitting and admirable. But, as life took on a change along with the change in men's fortunes and their natures, when usage banished the unusual and did away with the golden topknots and dressing in soft robes, and, on occasion, cut off the stately long hair and caused the buskin to be no longer worn, men accustomed themselves (nor was it a bad thing) to oppose expensive outlay by adorning themselves with economy, and to rate as decorative the plain and

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b Passages from Hesiod, Theognis, and Archilochus might be cited in confirmation of these statements. See also F. B. Stevens, "The Topics of Counsel and Deliberation in Pre-philosophic Greek Literature" in Classical Philology, xxviii. (1933) pp. 104-120.

c Cf. Thucydides, i. 6.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

tο σοβαρόν καὶ περίεργον· οὕτω τοῦ λόγου ¹ συμ-
μεταβάλλοντος ἄμα καὶ συναποδυομένου, ² κατέβη
μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν μέτρων ὥσπερ όχιμάτων ἡ ἱστορία
καὶ τῷ πεζῷ μάλιστα τοῦ μυθώδους ἀπεκρίθη τὸ
ἀληθὲς· φιλοσοφία δὲ τὸ σαφὲς καὶ διδασκαλικὸν
ἀσπασμένη μάλλον ἡ τὸ ἐκπλήττον τὴν διὰ λόγων
ἐποιεῖτο ζῆτησιν· ἀπέπαυσε δὲ τὴν Πυθιάν ὁ θεὸς
'πυρικάους' μὲν ὁγομάζουσαν τοὺς αὐτῆς πολίτας,
'ὁφιοβόρους' δὲ τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας, 'ὀρεάνας' δὲ
τοὺς ἄνδρας, 'ὀρεμπότας' δὲ τοὺς ποταμοὺς.
F ἀφελῶν δὲ τῶν χρησμῶν ἔτη καὶ γλώττας καὶ
περιφράσεις καὶ ἀσάφειαν οὕτω διαλέγεσθαι παρ-
εσκεῦσε τοῖς χρωμένοις ὡς νόμοι τε πόλει
dιαλέγονται καὶ βασιλεῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι δήμους καὶ
μαθηταὶ διδασκάλων ἀκροώνται, πρὸς τὸ συνετὸν
cαὶ πιθανὸν ἀρμοζόμενος.
25. "Εὗ γὰρ εἰδέναι χρή τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς φησὶ
Σοφικλῆς,

σοφοῖς μὲν αὐνικτῆρα θεσφάτων ἂεί,
σκαμοῖς δὲ φαύλον κἂν βραχεὶ διδάσκαλον.

407 μετὰ δὲ τῆς σαφηνείας καὶ ἡ πίστις οὕτως ἐστρέ-
φετο συμμεταβάλλουσα τοῖς ἄλλοις πράγμασιν,
ὡς ταύτα μὲν τὸ μὴ σύνθες μηδὲ κοινὸν ἄλλα
λογίαν ἀτεχνῶς καὶ περιπεφρασμένον εἰς ὑπόνοιαν
θειότητος ἀνάγοντας ἐκπλήττεσθαι καὶ σέβεσθαι
tους πολλοὺς· ὑστερον δὲ τὸ σαφῶς καὶ ραδίως
ἐκαστα καὶ μὴ σὺν ὁγκῳ μηδὲ πλάσματι μανθάνειν

1 τοῦ λόγου Leonicus: τῷ λόγῳ.
2 συναποδυομένου| συναπολυμένου Bernardal is.
3 μαθηταί Leonicus: καθηγητάι.
4 ἄλλα λογίαν Reiske: ἄλλ' ἀδόξον.
5 θειότητος Wyttenbach: ὁσιότητος.
simple rather than the ornate and elaborate. So, as language also underwent a change and put off its finery, history descended from its vehicle of versification, and went on foot in prose, whereby the truth was mostly sifted from the fabulous. Philosophy welcomed clearness and teachability in preference to creating amazement, and pursued its investigations through the medium of everyday language. The god put an end to having his prophetic priestess call her own citizens ‘fire-blazers,’ the Spartans ‘snake-devourers,’ men ‘mountain-roamers,’ and rivers ‘mountain-engorgers.’ When he had taken away from the oracles epic versification, strange words, circumlocutions, and vagueness, he had thus made them ready to talk to his consultants as the laws talk to States, or as kings meet with common people, or as pupils listen to teachers, since he adapted the language to what was intelligible and convincing.

25. “Men ought to understand thoroughly, as Sophocles a says, that the god is

For wise men author of dark edicts aye,
For dull men a poor teacher, if concise.

The introduction of clearness was attended also by a revolution in belief, which underwent a change along with everything else. And this was the result: in days of old what was not familiar or common, but was expressed altogether indirectly and through circumlocution, the mass of people imputed to an assumed manifestation of divine power, and held it in awe and reverence; but in later times, being well satisfied to apprehend all these various things clearly and easily without the attendant grandiloquence and artifici-

(407) ἀγαπώντες ἦτιώντο τὴν περικεμένην τοῖς χρησμοῖς ποίησιν, οὐ μόνον ὡς ἀντιπράττοσαν τῇ νοῆσει πρὸς τὸ ἄληθες ἀσάφειάν τε καὶ σκιᾶν τῷ φραζό-Β μένῳ μεγνύσουσαν, ἀλλ’ ἤδη καὶ τὰς μεταφορὰς καὶ τὰ αἰνίγματα καὶ τὰς ἀμφιβολίας, ὑσπερ μυχοῦς καὶ καταφυγάς ἐνδύεσθαι καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν τῷ πταίοντι πεποιημένας2 τῆς μαντικῆς, ύφεωρᾶντο. πολλῶν ἡν ἀκούειν ὅτι ποιητικοὶ τινες ἄνδρες ἐκδεχόμενοι τὰς φωνὰς καὶ ὕπολαμβάνοντες ἐπικάθηνται3 περὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ἐπὶ καὶ μέτρα καὶ ρυθμοῦ οἷον ἀγγεία τοῖς χρησμοῖς ἐκ τοῦ προστυχόντος περιπλέκοντες. Ὀνομάκρυτοι4 ἔκεινοι καὶ Πρόδικοι5 καὶ Κυναίθωνες6 ὅσην αὐτίαν ἀνηγέγκαντο7 τῶν χρησμῶν, ὡς τραγῳδιὰν αὐτοῖς C καὶ ὅγκον οὐδὲν δεομένοις προσθέντες ἐώς λέγειν οὐδὲ προσίμαι7 τὰς μεταβολὰς.

"Πλείστης μὲντοι ποιητικὴν8 ἐνέπλησεν ἀδοξίας τὸ ἀγυρτικὸν καὶ ἀγοραῖον καὶ περὶ τὰ μητρώα καὶ Σαραπεία9 βωμολοχοῦν καὶ πλανῶμενον γένος, οἱ μὲν αὐτόθεν οἱ δὲ κατὰ κλήρον ἐκ τῶν γραμματείων10 χρησμοὺς περαίνοντες οἰκείας καὶ γυναικῶν ὑπὸ τῶν μέτρων ἀγωμένους μάλιστα καὶ τοῦ ποιητικοῦ τῶν ὄνομάτων· οἶδαν οὖν ἢ καίστα ποιητικὴ δοκοῦσα κοινὴν ἐμπαρέχειν ἑαυτὴν ἀπατεῶσαι καὶ

1 ἀντιπράττοσαν ἀντιφράττοσαν H. Jackson.
2 πεποιημένας Meziriacus: πεποιημένα.
3 ἐπικάθηνται Emperius: ἔτι κάθηνται.
4 Πρόδικοι Botzon: προδόται.
5 Κυναίθωνες Botzon and Cobet: κυνέσωνες.
6 ἀνηγέγκαντο F.C.B.: ἰγέγκαντο.
7 προσέμαι Wyttenbach: προσέμαι.
8 ποιητικὴν Turnebus: ποιητικής.
9 Σαραπεία, as elsewhere, Bernardakis: σεράπεια.
10 γραμματείων Bernardakis: γραμματίων.
ality, they blamed the poetic language with which the oracles were clothed, not only for obstructing the understanding of these in their true meaning and for combining vagueness and obscurity with the communication, but already they were coming to look with suspicion upon metaphors, riddles, and ambiguous statements, feeling that these were secluded nooks of refuge devised for furtive withdrawal and retreat for him that should err in his prophecy. Moreover, there was the oft-repeated tale that certain men with a gift for poetry were wont to sit about close by the shrine waiting to catch the words spoken, and then weaving about them a fabric of extempore hexameters or other verses or rhythms as 'containers,' so to speak, for the oracles. I forbear to mention how much blame men like Onomacritus, Prodicus, and Cinaethon have brought upon themselves from the oracles by foisting upon them a tragic diction and a grandiloquence of which they had no need, nor have I any kindly feeling toward their changes.

"However, the thing that most filled the poetic art with disrepute was the tribe of wandering soothsayers and rogues that practised their charlatanry about the shrines of the Great Mother and of Serapis, making up oracles, some using their own ingenuity, others taking by lot from certain treatises oracles for the benefit of servants and womenfolk, who are most enticed by verse and a poetic vocabulary. This, then, is not the least among the reasons why poetry, by apparently lending herself to the service of tricksters, mounte-

(407) γόησων ἀνθρώπους καὶ ψευδομάντεσων ἐξέπεσε τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τοῦ τρόποδος.

26. “Οὐ τοίνυν θαυμάσαμι’ ἂν, εἰ διπλός τινὸς ἔδει καὶ περιαγωγῆς καὶ ἁσαφείας ἐστιν ὂτε

D τοῖς παλαιοῖς. οὐ γὰρ ὁ δεῖνα μᾶ Δία κατέβαινε

περὶ ἀνής ἀνδραπόδου χρησόμενος οὐδ’ ὁ δεῖνα

περὶ ἐργασίας, ἀλλὰ πόλεις μέγα δυνάμεναι καὶ

βασιλεῖς καὶ τύραννοι μέτριοι οὐδὲν φρονοῦντες

ἐνετύγχανον τῷ θεῷ περὶ πραγμάτων1. οὖς ἄνιαν

καὶ παροξύνειν ἀπεχθεία πολλὰ τῶν ἀβουλήτων

ἀκούοντας οὐκ ἔλυσιτελε τοῖς περὶ τὸ χρηστήριον.2

οὗ πείθεται γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τῷ Εὐριπίδῃ ὡσπερ3 νομο-

θετοῦντι καὶ λέγοντι

Φοῖβον ἀνθρώπους μόνον

χρήν4 θεσπισώδειν.

χρώμενος δὲ θυτοῖς ὑπηρέταις καὶ προφήταις, ὡν

Ε κήδεσθαι προσήκει καὶ φυλάττειν, ὅπως ὑπ’ ἀνθρώ-

πον οὐκ ἀπολούνται πονηρῶν θεῷ λατρεύοντες,

άφανίζειν μὲν οὐ θέλει τὸ ἀληθὲς, παρατρέπων δὲ

τὴν δὴ λαοὺς αὐτοῦ καθάπερ ἀγγέλῃ ἐν τῇ ποιητικῇ

πολλὰς ἀνακλάσεις λαμβάνουσαν καὶ πολλαχοὶ

περισχυζομένην, ἀφήρει τὸ ἀντίτυπον αὐτοῦ καὶ

σιληρόν. ἦν δ’ ἄρ’ ἄ5 καλὸν τυράννους ἄγνωκαί

καὶ πολεμίους μὴ προαιρεθέσθαι. τούτους οὖν περι-

1 Paton assumed a lacuna after πραγμάτων which he filled elaborately. Schwartz suggested πολιτικῶν, Kronenberg ἀνασίων, but μεγάλων would perhaps be better. Probably, however, the text is sound as it stands.

2 χρηστήριον Stephanus: δικαστήριον.

3 τῷ Εὐριπίδῃ ὡσπερ Wytenbach: ὡσπερ τῷ Εὐριπίδῃ.

4 χρήν Euripides: ἁρή.

5 ἄρ’ ἄ Madvig: ἄμα.
banks, and false prophets, lost all standing with truth and the tripod.

26. "I should not, therefore, be surprised if there were times when there was need of *double entendre*, indirect statement, and vagueness for the people of ancient days. As a matter of fact, this or that man assuredly did not go down to consult the oracle about the purchase of a slave or about business. No, powerful States and kings and despots, who cherished no moderate designs, used to appeal to the god regarding their course of action; and it was not to the advantage of those concerned with the oracle to vex and provoke these men by unfriendliness through their hearing many of the things that they did not wish to hear. For the god does not follow Euripides when he asserts as if he were laying down a law:

None but Phoebus ought
For men to prophesy.

But inasmuch as the god employs mortal men to assist him and declare his will, whom it is his duty to care for and protect, so that they shall not lose their lives at the hands of wicked men while ministering to a god, he is not willing to keep the truth unrevealed, but he caused the manifestation of it to be deflected, like a ray of light, in the medium of poetry, where it submits to many reflections and undergoes subdivisions, and thus he did away with its repellent harshness. There were naturally some things which it was well that despots should fail to understand and enemies should not learn beforehand. About these, therefore,

6 *Phoenissae*, 958.

εβαλεν ὑπονοιας καὶ ἀμφιλογίας, αἱ πρὸς ἑτέρους ἀποκρύπτουσαι τὸ φραζόμενον, οὐ διέφευγον αὐτοὺς οὐδὲ παρεκρούντο τοὺς δεομένους καὶ προσέχοντας. οἶδεν εὐηθέστατος ἐστιν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων ἑτέρων γεγονότων, εἰ μηκέτι τὸν αὐτὸν Ἔμιν τρόπον ἀλλ' ἑτερον οἴεται δεῖν βοηθεῖν ὁ θεός, ἐγκαλῶν καὶ συκοφαντῶν.

27. "Ετι τοίωνν οὐδὲν ἀπὸ ποιητικῆς λόγω χρησιμῶτερον ὑπάρχει τοῦ δεθέντα μέτρους τὰ φραζόμενα καὶ συμπλεκέντα μάλλον μνημονευόμενα καὶ κρατεῖσθαι. τοῖς μὲν οὖν τότε πολλὴν ἐδει1 μνήμην παρεῖναι: πολλὰ γὰρ ἐφράζετο καὶ τῶν σημείων καὶ πράξεων καιροὶ καὶ θέων ἱερὰ διαποντίων καὶ ἑρῶν ἀπόρρητῳ θήκαι καὶ2 δυσεξεύρετοι μακρὰν3 ἀπαίρουσι τῆς 'Ελλάδος. ἵστε4 γὰρ Τεύκρον5 καὶ 408 Κρητίνην6 καὶ Γνησίοχον7 καὶ Φάλανθον,8 ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς ἡγεμόνας στόλων ὅσους ἐδει τεκμηρίοις ἀνευρεῖν τὴν διδομένην ἐκάστῳ καὶ προσήκουσαν ἱδρυσιν· ὃν ἔνιοι καὶ δημάρτανον, ὥσπερ Βάττος. ἔδοξε9 γὰρ ἐκπεσεῖν οὐ καταλαβὼν ἐφ' ὁν ἐπέμφθη

1 ἐδει Basel ed. of 1542: ἐτι.
2 καὶ added by Reiske.
3 μακρὰν Bernardakis: μακρὸν.
4 ἵστε Reiske: εἰς.
5 Τεύκρον Sieveking: τὸ χῖον.
6 Κρητίνην, the usual form: Κρητίνον (Κρητίνον Crönert).
7 Γνησίοχον Paton; 'Ονήσιοχον Amyot: .. νήσιοχον.
8 Φάλανθον Basel ed. of 1542: φάλανθον.
9 ἔδοξε Reiske: ἐλεξε.

*a For example, the famous oracle given to Croesus (Herodotus, i. 53; Aristotle, Rhetoric, iii. 5 (1407 a 39)) that if he crossed the river Halys he should overthrow a great kingdom; but the kingdom was his own.

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he put a cloak of intimations and ambiguities* which concealed the communication so far as others were concerned, but did not escape the persons involved nor mislead those that had need to know and who gave their minds to the matter. Therefore anyone is very foolish who, now that conditions have become different, complains and makes unwarranted indictment if the god feels that he must no longer help us in the same way, but in a different way.

27. "Then, besides, there is nothing in poetry more serviceable to language than that the ideas communicated, by being bound up and interwoven with verse, are better remembered and kept firmly in mind. Men in those days had to have a memory for many things. For many things were communicated to them, such as signs for recognizing places, the times for activities, the shrines of gods across the sea, secret burial-places of heroes, hard to find for men setting forth on a distant voyage from Greece. You all, of course, know about Teucer and Cretines and Gnesiochus and Phalanthus and many other leaders of expeditions who had to discover by means of evidential proofs the suitable place of settlement granted to each. Some of these made a mistake, as did Battus." For he thought that he had been forced to land without gaining possession of the place to which he had been sent. Then he came a second time

* As in Hesiod's Works and Days.

† Cf. Geographi Graeci Minores, i. p. 236, Scymnus, no. 949; scholium on Apollonius Rhodius, ii. 351.

‡ Battus was sent by an oracle to found a colony in Africa, but settled in an island (Plataea) off the coast. Since the colony did not prosper, he came again to consult the oracle: cf. Herodotus, iv. 155-157; Pindar, Pythian Odes, v.; Aristotle, Frag. 611. 16 (ed. Rose).
(408) τόπον' εἰθ' ἤκε δεύτερον ποτινώμενος. ὑπειπὼν οὖν ὁ θεὸς,

αἱ τῷ ἑμεῖν Διβύαν' μαλατρόφον οἴσθας ἄρειον, ἡ ἐλθών ἐλθόντος, ἀγαν ἁγαμαί σοφίην σεῦ. οὕτω πάλιν αὐτὸν ἐξέπεμψε.

"Ἄλυσανδρος δὲ καὶ παντάπασιν ἀγνοήσας τὸν 'Ορχαλίδην" λόφον καὶ 'Αλώπεκον προσαγορευόμενον καὶ τὸν 'Οπλίτην ποταμὸν

γῆς τε δράκονθ' οὐδ' ὀδίλουν κατόπισθεν ἱόντα,

Β μάχῃ κρατηθεὶς ἔπεσεν ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἐκείνοις ὑπὸ Νεοχώρου 'Αλικαρτίου ἄνδρος ἀστίδα φοροῦντος ἐπίσημων ὡφυν ἑχουσαν. ἀλλα δὲ τοιαῦτα πολλὰ δυσκάθεκτα καὶ δυσμηνήμονετα τῶν παλαιῶν διεξεναι πρὸς χμᾶς εἰδότας οὐκ ἀναγκαῖων ἐστιν.

28. "Τὰ δὲ νῦν πράγματα καθεστώτα, περὶ ὧν ἐρωτώσω τὸν θεόν, ἀγαπῶ μὲν ἔγνωκε καὶ ἀσπάζομαι. πολλὴ γὰρ εἰρήνη καὶ ἥσυχια, πέπαυται δὲ πόλεμος, καὶ πλάναι καὶ στάσεις οὐκ εἰσὶν οὐδὲ

C τυραννίδες οὐδ' ἄλλα νοσήματα καὶ κακὰ τῆς 'Ελλάδος ὡσπερ πολυφαρμάκων δυνάμεων χρήζοντα καὶ περιπτῶν. ὅπου δὲ ποικίλον οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἀπόρρητον οὐδὲ δεινόν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πράγματι μικροῖς καὶ δημοτικοῖς ἐρωτήσεις οἰον ἐν σχολῇ προτάσεις, 'εἰ γαμητέου,' 'εἰ πλευστέου,' 'εἰ δανειστέου,' τὰ

1 αἱ τῷ ἑμεῖν Διβύαν Wyttenbach from Herodotus, iv. 157: μελιβύαν preceded by a lacuna of eight or nine letters.
2 Διβύαν μηλατρόφον οἴδας ἄμεινον Herodotus.
3 Ἁρχαλίδην from the Life of Lysander, chap. xxix.: ἀρχελίδην.
4 'Αλώπεκον ibid.: ἀλώπηκον.
5 δράκονθ Stephanus: δράκοντα.
in sore distress. And the god made answer to him:

If without going you know far better than I, who have gone there, Africa, mother of flocks, then I greatly admire your wisdom, and with these words sent him forth again.

"Lysander also failed to recognize the hill Orchalides (the other name of which is Alopecus) and the river Hoplites and

Also the serpent, the Earth-born, behind him stealthily creeping,

and was vanquished in battle, and fell in that very place by the hand of Neochorus, a man of Haliartus, who carried a shield which had as its emblem a snake. Numerous other instances of this sort among the people of olden time, difficult to retain and remember, it is not necessary to rehearse to you who know them.

28. "For my part, I am well content with the settled conditions prevailing at present, and I find them very welcome, and the questions which men now put to the god are concerned with these conditions. There is, in fact, profound peace and tranquillity; war has ceased, there are no wanderings of peoples, no civil strifes, no despotisms, nor other maladies and ills in Greece requiring many unusual remedial forces. Where there is nothing complicated or secret or terrible, but the interrogations are on slight and commonplace matters, like the hypothetical questions in school: if one ought to marry, or to start on a voyage, or to make a loan; and the most impor-

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* The same lines are found in Herodotus, iv. 157.
* Life of Lysander, chap. xxix. (450 B.C).

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6 ἔν το Νεοχώρου Ἀλαρτίου Reiske, from the Life of Lysander: ὑπο ἑπν ὥρος Ἀλαρτίου.
408) δὲ μέγιστα πόλεων μαντεύματα φοράς καρπῶν πέρι καὶ βοτῶν ἐπιγονῆς καὶ σωμάτων ύγιείας, ἐνταῦθα περιβάλλει μέτρα καὶ πλάττει περιφράσεις καὶ γλώττας ἐπάγειν πῦρμασιν ἀπλῆς καὶ συντόμου δεο-μένου ἀποκρίσεως, ἐργον ἐστὶ φιλοτίμου σοφιστοῦ καλλωπίζοντος ἐπὶ δόξῃ χρηστήριον. ή δὲ Πυθία καὶ καθ' αὐτὴν μὲν ἔστι γενναία τὸ ἱθός, ὅταν δ' 

D ἐκεί κατέλθη καὶ γένηται παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, πλέον τὸ καθήκον πληροῦν ἡ ἐκεῖνης μέλει δόξης καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐπαινοῦντον ἡ ψεγόντων.

29. "Εδει δ' ἰσως καὶ ἡμᾶς έχεων οὔτως: νῦν δ' ὠστερ ἀγωνιώντες καὶ δεδιότες, μὴ τρισχιλῶν \[3\] ἐτών ἀποβάλη δόξαν ὁ τόπος καὶ τοῦ χρηστηρίου καθάπερ σοφιστοῦ διατριβῆς ἀποφοιτήσωσιν ἐνοι καταφρονήσαντες, ἀπολογούμεθα καὶ πλάττομεν αἰτίας καὶ λόγους ὑπὲρ ὧν οὔτ' ἰσμεν οὔτ' εἰδέναι προσήκοι ἡμῶν ἔστι, παραμυθούμενοι τὸν ἐγκαλοῦντα καὶ πείθοντες, οὐ χαίρειν έώντες.

αὐτῶ γάρ \[4\] οἱ πρώτων ἀνιηρέστερον \[5\] ἔσται

Ε τοιαύτην ἔχοντι περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξαν, ὡστε ταυτὶ μὲν τὰ προγεγραμμένα τῶν σοφῶν τὸ ' γνώθι σαυ-τόν' καὶ τὸ ' μηδὲν ἄγαν' ἀποδέχεσθαι καὶ θαυ-μάζειν οὐχ ήκιστα διὰ τὴν βραχυλογίαν ὡς πυκνῶν καὶ σφυρῆλατον νοῦν ἐν ὁλίγῳ περιέχουσαν ὅγκων,

\[1\] τὸ καθήκον πληροῦν F.C.B. (ἀλθείας Turnebus) to fill a lacuna in the mss. 
\[2\] ἐκεῖνης F.C.B.: ἐκείνη.
\[3\] τρισχιλῶν Leonicus: τρισχισμῶν.
\[4\] γάρ] μὲν Homer.
\[5\] ἀνιηρέστερον Homer, Od. ii. 190: ἀνιηρότερον.

* Adapted from Homer, Od. ii. 190.
tant consultations on the part of States concern the yield from crops, the increase of herds, and public health—to clothe such things in verse, to devise circumlocutions, and to foist strange words upon inquiries that call for a simple short answer is the thing done by an ambitious pedant embellishing an oracle to enhance his repute. But the prophetic priestess has herself also nobility of character, and whenever she descends into that place and finds herself in the presence of the god, she cares more for fulfilling her function than for that kind of repute or for men’s praise or blame.

29. “We also, perhaps, ought to have this frame of mind. But as it is, we act as if we were anxious and fearful lest the place here lose the repute of its three thousand years, and some few persons should cease to come here, contemning the oracle as if it were the lecturing of some popular speaker; and we offer a plea in defence and invent reasons and arguments for matters which we do not understand, and which it is not fitting that we should understand. We try to appease and win over the man who complains, instead of bidding him take his leave for all time,

Since for himself first of all it will prove to be more distressing, if the opinion which he holds about the god is such that he can accept and admire the maxims of the Wise Men inscribed here, ‘Know thyself’ and ‘Avoid extremes,’ because of their conciseness especially, since this very conciseness contains in small compass a compact and firmly-forged senti-

Cf. Moralia, 164 b, 385 d, 511 a.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

toús de χρησμούς ὅτι συντόμως καὶ ἀπλῶς καὶ δὲ εὐθείας τὰ πλείστα φράζουσιν αὐτιᾶσθαι. καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μὲν ἀποφθέγματα τῶν σοφῶν ταῦτῳ τοῖς εἰς στενῶν συνθλιβεῖσι πέπονθε ῥεύμασιν. οὐ γὰρ ἔχει τοῦ νοῦ δίοψιν οὐδὲ διανύειαν, ἀλλ' ἐάν σκοπῆς τί γέγραπται καὶ λέλεκται περὶ αὐτῶν τοῖς ὅπως ἐκαστὸν ἔχει βουλομένους καταμαθεῖν, οὐ ὀδίως.

F τούτων λόγους ἐτέρους εὐρήσεις μακροτέρους. ἦ δὲ τῆς Πυθίας διάλεκτος, ὥσπερ οἱ μαθηματικοὶ γραμμὴν εὐθείαν καλοῦσι τὴν ἐλαχίστην τῶν τὰ αὐτὰ πέρατ' ἐχουσῶν, οὕτως οὐ ποιοῦσα καμπῆν οὐδὲ κύκλων οὐδὲ διπλῆν οὐδ' ἀμφιβολῶν ἀλλ' εὐθεία πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν οὕσα πρὸς δὲ πίστων ἐπισφαλῆς καὶ ὑπεύθυνος οὐδένα καθ' αὐτῆς ἐλεγχον ἀχρὶ νῦν παραδέδωκεν, ἀναθημάτων δὲ καὶ δώρων

409 ἐμπέπληκε βαρβαρικῶν καὶ 'Ελληνικῶν τὸ χρηστήριον, οἰκοδομημάτων δ' ἐπικεκόσμηκε κάλλεσι καὶ κατασκευαίς Ἀμφικτυονικαῖς. ὅρατε δήπολεν αὐτοὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐπεκτισμένα τῶν πρότερον οὔκ ὄντων, πολλὰ δ' ἀνειλημμένα τῶν συγκεχυμένων καὶ διεφθαρμένων. ως δὲ τοῖς εὐθαλέσι τῶν δένδρων ἑτέρα παραβλαστάνει, καὶ τοῖς Δελφοῖς ἡ Πυλαία συνηβὰ καὶ συναναβόσκεται, διά τὰς ἐντεῦθεν εὐπορίας σχῆμα λαμβάνουσα καὶ μορφὴν καὶ κόσμον ἑρῶν καὶ συνεδρίων καὶ ὑδάτων οἶον ἐν χυλίοις

B ἔτεσι τοῖς πρότερον οὐκ ἐλαβεν.

1 διανύειαν added by Turnebus to fill a lacuna in the mss.
2 ἀνεπισφαλῆς καὶ ἀνυπεύθυνος Madvig; but cf. 484 c.
3 δ' ἐπικεκόσμηκε F.C.B. (δὲ κατακεκόσμηκε Schwartz; δὲ κεκαλλώσποτε Paton; δ' ἐκαλλάσσει Bernardakis; all much the same): δὲ.
ment, and yet he can impeach the oracles because they give nearly all their communications in brief, simple, and straightforward language. Now such sayings as these of the Wise Men are in the same case with streams forced into a narrow channel, for they do not keep the transparency or translucence of the sentiment, but if you will investigate what has been written and said about them by men desirous of learning fully the why and wherefore of each, you will not easily find more extensive writings on any other subject. And as for the language of the prophetic priestess, just as the mathematicians call the shortest of lines between two points a straight line, so her language makes no bend nor curve nor doubling nor equivocation, but is straight in relation to the truth; yet, in relation to men's confidence in it, it is insecure and subject to scrutiny, but as yet it has afforded no proof of its being wrong. On the contrary, it has filled the oracular shrine with votive offerings and gifts from barbarians and Greeks, and has adorned it with beautiful buildings and embellishments provided by the Amphictyonic Council. You yourselves, of course, see many additions in the form of buildings not here before and many restored that were dilapidated and in ruins. As beside flourishing trees others spring up, so also does Pylaea \(^a\) grow in vigour along with Delphi and derives its sustenance from the same source; because of the affluence here it is acquiring a pattern and form and an adornment of shrines and meeting-places and supplies of water such as it has not acquired in the last thousand years.

\(^a\) A suburb of Delphi, presumably on the road to the Crisa. meeting-place of the Amphictyonic Council.
(409) "Οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸ Γαλάξιον τῆς Βουωτίας κατοικοῦντες ἥθοντο τοῦ θεοῦ τῆν ἐπιφάνειαν ἀφθονία καὶ περιουσία γάλακτος:

προβάτων¹ γὰρ ἐκ πάντων κελάρυζεν, ὡς ἀπὸ κρηνᾶν² φέρτατον ὕδωρ, θαλέον³ γάλα. τοὺς δ' ἐπίμπλαν⁴ ἐσούμενοι πίθους· ἀσκός δ' οὖτε τις ἀμφοτερὸς ἔλινυς⁵ δόμοις, πέλλαι δὲ ἔνυλων" πίθοι τε⁷ πλᾶσθεν⁸ ἀπαντεῖς.

ἡμῖν δὲ λαμπρότερα καὶ κρείττονα καὶ σαφέστερα σημεῖα τοῦτων ἀναδίδωσι, ὥσπερ ἐξ αὐχμοῦ τῆς πρόσθεν ἐρημίας καὶ πενίας εὐπορίαν καὶ λαμπρότητα καὶ τιμῆς πεποιηκώς. καίτοι φιλῶ μὲν Ἀρμαντὸν ἐφ' ὅσι ἐγενόμην εἰς τὰ πράγματα ταῦτα πρόθυμος καὶ χρήσιμος μετὰ Πολυκράτους καὶ Πετραίου, φιλῶ δὲ τὸν καθηγεμόνα ταύτης τῆς πολιτείας γενόμενον ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ πλείστα τοῦτων ἐκφροντίζοντα καὶ παρασκευάζοντα • • • ἄλλῳ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἄλλως ποτὲ τηλικαύτην καὶ τοσαύτην μεταβολὴν εν ὀλίγω χρόνῳ γενέσθαι δι' ἀνθρωπίνης ἐπιμελείας, μὴ θεοῦ παρόντος ἐνταῦθα καὶ συνεπιθείαζοντος τὸ χρηστήριον.

30. "Ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς τότε χρόνοις ἤσον οἱ τήν λοξότητα τῶν χρησιμῶν καὶ ἀσάφειαν αἰτιῶ-μενοι, καὶ νῦν εἰσίν οἱ τὸ λιαν ἀπλοῦν συκοφαντοῦν-

¹ προβάτων Leonicus: προπαντων.
² κρηνᾶν Bergk: κρηνάων.
³ θαλέον F.C.B.: θήλεον.
⁵ ἔλινυς Bergk: ἔλινυς.
⁶ ἔνυλων Wilamowitz-Möllendorff: ἔνυλων.
⁷ τε added by Bergk before πιθοί.
⁸ πλᾶσθεν Bergk: πλήσθεν.
⁹ ποτὲ Michael; ἕτε Wyttenbach: ὅτε.
"They that lived in the neighbourhood of Galaxium in Boeotia became aware of the manifest presence of the god by reason of the copious and overabundant flow of milk:

From all the flocks and all the kine
Like purest water from the springs
Milk in abundance welling down
Made music in the milking-pails.
And all the folk in eager haste
Filled every household vessel full;
Wineskin and jar were put to use,
Each wooden pail and earthen tun.

But for us the god grants clearer, stronger, and plainer evidence than this by bringing about after a drought, so to speak, of earlier desolation and poverty, affluence, splendour, and honour. It is true that I feel kindly toward myself in so far as my zeal or services may have furthered these matters with the co-operation of Polycrates and Petraeus; and I feel kindly toward the man who has been the leader in our administration and has planned and carried out practically all that has been done. But it is not possible that a change of such sort and of such magnitude could ever have been brought about in a short time through human diligence if a god were not present here to lend divine inspiration to his oracle.

30. "But, just as in those days there were people who complained of the obliquity and vagueness of the oracles, so to-day there are people who make an unwarranted indictment against their extreme

c There is a lacuna in the mss. here, but the sense is clear.
PLUTARCH’S MORALIA

(409) τες. ὃν παιδικόν¹ ἐστὶ κομιδὴ καὶ ἀβέλτερον τὸ πάθος· καὶ γὰρ οἱ παῖδες ὑρίδας μᾶλλον καὶ ἀλως καὶ κομῆτας ἥ σελήνην καὶ ἡλιον ὀρὼντες γεγήθασιν. D καὶ ἀγαπώσι, καὶ οὗτοι τὰ αὐτίγματα καὶ τὰς ἀληγορίας καὶ τὰς μεταφορὰς² τῆς μαντικῆς, ἀνακλάσεις οὕσας πρὸς τὸ θυντὸν καὶ φανταστικὸν, ἐπιστολοῦσι· καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν μὴ ἱκανῶς πύθωνται τῆς μεταβολῆς, ἀπίασι τοῦ θεοῦ καταγεννότες, οὕχ ἡμῶν οὐδ’ αὐτῶν³ ὡς ἀδυνάτων ὁντων ἐξικνεῖσθαι τῷ λογισμῷ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ διάνοιαν."
simplicity. Such an attitude of mind is altogether puerile and silly. It is a fact that children take more delight and satisfaction in seeing rainbows, haloes, and comets than in seeing moon and sun; and so these persons yearn for the riddles, allegories, and metaphors which are but reflections of the prophetic art when it acts upon a human imagination. And if they cannot ascertain to their satisfaction the reason for the change, they go away, after pronouncing judgement against the god, but not against us nor against themselves for being unable by reasoning to attain to a comprehension of the god's purpose."
THE OBSOLESCENCE OF ORACLES
(DE DEFECTU ORACULORUM)
Plutarch’s answer to the question why many oracles in Greece have ceased to function is that the population is now much less than it was, and so there is less need for oracles now than in earlier times. For example, at Delphi there used to be two prophetic priestesses with a third held in reserve; now there is only one, and yet she is sufficient for every need.

The statement of this simple fact hardly requires twenty-nine folio pages, but in this essay, as in the two preceding, there is much of the conversation of cultured persons which is not directly connected with the subject. Thus we find a discussion of whether the year is growing shorter, whether the number of the worlds is one or some number not more than five or is one hundred and eighty-three. We have further discussion of the number five, some astronomy, and a good deal of geometry, some interesting bits of information about Britain and the East and a rather long discussion of the daimones, the beings a little lower than the gods and considerably higher than mortals; perhaps the translation ‘demi-gods’ might best convey the idea in English. These beings are thought by many persons to be in charge of the oracles; certainly the god himself does not appear personally at his oracles; and in the case of the
 oracle at Delphi some account is given of the accidental discovery by a shepherd of the peculiar powers of the exhalation from the cleft in the rocks.

Students of English literature will be interested in the dramatic description of the announcement of the death of Pan; and students of religion will be interested in the essay as a very early effort to reconcile science and religion. That the essay had an appeal to theologians is clear from the generous quotations made from it by Eusebius and Theodoretus. We could wish that they had quoted even more, since their text is usually superior to that contained in the manuscripts, which in some places are quite hopeless. The mss. have also an unusual number of lacunae. Much has been done in the way of correction, sometimes perhaps too much, since Plutarch’s thought is not always necessarily so logical as the editors would make it.

Some parts of the essay make rather difficult reading, but it also contains passages of considerable interest and even beauty.

The essay is No. 88 in Lamprias’s list of Plutarch’s works.

The conversation is professedly narrated by Plutarch’s brother Lamprias to Terentius Priscus, but some have thought that Plutarch has used the person of Lamprias to represent himself, possibly because of the official position held by Plutarch at Delphi.
ΠΕΡΙ
ΤΩΝ ΕΚΛΕΔΟΙΠΩΤΩΝ ΧΡΗΣΤΗΡΙΩΝ

TA ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ ΤΟΤ ΔΙΑΛΟΓΟΤ

ΛΑΜΠΡΙΑΣ, ΚΛΕΟΜΒΡΟΤΟΣ, ΔΙΔΤΜΟΣ, ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ,
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ, ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΣ, ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΝ

Ε 1. 'Αετούσ τινας ἤ κύκνουσ, ὦ Τερέντιε Πρίσκε, μυθολογούσαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον φερομένους εἰς ταύτο συμπεσεῖν Πυθόι Φ περὶ τὸν καλούμενον ὁμφαλόν· ὡστερον δὲ χρόνῳ τὸν Φαίστιον Ἑπιμενίδην ἐλέγχοντα τὸν μύθον ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ λαβόντα χρησμὸν ἀσαφῆ καὶ ἀμφί-

βολον εἶπεῖν

οὔτε γὰρ ἤν γαῖης 2 μέσος ὁμφαλὸς οὐδὲ θαλάσσης·
εἰ δὲ τις ἐστί, θεοίς δῆλος θυντοῦσι δ' ἄφαντος.

ἐκείνον μὲν οὖν εἰκότως ὁ θεὸς ἡμύνατό μύθον
410 παλαιὸν καθάπερ ζωγραφήματος ἁφῇ διαπειρώ-

μενον. (2.) ὀλίγον δὲ πρὸ Πυθίων τῶν ἐπὶ Καλλιστράτου καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων τῆς

οἰκουμένης περάτων ἔτυχον ἄνδρες ἱεροὶ δύο συνδρα-

1 TA ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ ... ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΝ not in the mss.
2 γαῖης Xylander: γῆς.

350
THE OBSOLESCENCE OF ORACLES

(The persons taking part in the conversation are: Lampsias, Demetrius, Cleombrotus, Ammonius, Philip, Didymus, and Heracleon.)

1. The story a is told, my dear Terentius Priscus, that certain eagles or swans, flying from the uttermost parts of the earth towards its centre, met in Delphi at the omphalus, as it is called; and at a later time Epimenides b of Phaestus put the story to test by referring it to the god and upon receiving a vague and ambiguous oracle said,

Now do we know that there is no mid-centre of earth or of ocean;
Yet if there be, it is known to the gods, but is hidden from mortals.

Now very likely the god repulsed him from his attempt to investigate an ancient myth as though it were a painting to be tested by the touch. (2.) Yet a short time before the Pythian games, which were held when Callistratus c was in office in our own day, it happened that two revered men coming from opposite ends of the inhabited earth met together at Delphi,

a The numerous other references to this story may be found most conveniently in Frazer's Pausanias, v. p. 315.
c The year 83–84 A.D.
(410) μόντες εἰς Δελφοὺς, Δημήτριος μὲν ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐκ Βρεττανίας εἰς Ταρσοῦ ἀνακομιζόμενος ὀικάδε, Κλεόμβροτος δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, πολλὰ μὲν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ περὶ τὴν Τρωγλοδυτικὴν γῆν πε-πλανημένος, πόρρω δὲ τῆς 'Ερυθρᾶς θαλάττης ἀναπεπλευκὼς οὐ κατ' ἐμπορίαν, ἀλλ' ἀνήρ φιλο-θεάμων οὖν1 καὶ φιλομαθὴς2 οὕσιν δὲ ἔχων ικανὴν καὶ τὸ πλείονα τῶν, ικανῶν ἔχειν οὐκ ἄξιον πολλοῦ

Β ποιούμενος ἐχρῆτο τῇ σχολῇ πρὸς τά τοιαῦτα, καὶ συνήγειν ἱστορίαν οἷον ὡς ἡμῖν φιλοσοφίας θεολογίαν ἀστερ αὐτός ἐκάλει τέλος ἐχοῦσης. νεωτέρικός δὲ γεγονός παρ' Ἀμμώνα, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τῶν ἐκεί δήλος ἢν μὴ πάνυ τεθαυμακώς, περὶ δὲ τοῦ λύχνου τοῦ ἀσβέστου διηγείτο λόγον ἄξιον ὑποδης λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἑρέων. αἴε γὰρ ἐλαττῶν ἀναλύσκειν ἐλαιον ἐτοὺς ἐκάστου, καὶ τούτῳ ποιεῖσθαι τεκμηρίου ἐκείνου τῆς τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν ἀνωμαλίας, τὸν ἐτερον3 τοῦ προάγοντος αἴε τῷ χρόνῳ βραχύτερον ποιούσης· εἰκὸς γὰρ ἐν ἐλαττων χρόνω τὸ δαπανώμενον ἐλαττων εἶναι.

C 3. Θαυμασάντων δὲ τῶν παρόντων, τοῦ δὲ Δη-μητρίου καὶ γελοίον φήσαντο εἶναι ἀπὸ μικρῶν πραγμάτων οὕτω μεγάλα θηρᾶν, οὐ κατ' Ἀλκαίον "ἐξ ὀνυχος τὸν λέοντα" γράφοντας, ἀλλὰ θραυ-λίδι καὶ λύχνῳ τὸν οὕρανον ὁμοῦ καὶ τὰ4 σύμπαντα μεθιστάντας καὶ τὴν μαθηματικὴν ἁρδην ἀν-αιροῦντας.

1 οὖν added by H. Richards.
2 φιλομαθὴς an early correction: φιλοφανὴς.
3 ἐτερον] ὑστερον Turnebus.
4 καὶ τὰ] τὶ in most mss.

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a Cf. Inscript. Graec. xiv. no. 2548 θεοὶ τοῖς τοῦ ἑγεμονικοῦ Πραιτωρίου Σκρίβ〈ώνιος〉 (others skrība) Δημήτριος and 352
Demetrius the grammarian journeying homeward from Britain to Tarsus, and Cleombrotus of Sparta, who had made many excursions in Egypt and about the land of the Cave-dwellers, and had sailed beyond the Persian Gulf; his journeyings were not for business, but he was fond of seeing things and of acquiring knowledge; he had wealth enough, and felt that it was not of any great moment to have more than enough, and so he employed his leisure for such purposes; he was getting together a history to serve as a basis for a philosophy that had as its end and aim theology, as he himself named it. He had recently been at the shrine of Ammon, and it was plain that he was not particularly impressed by most of the things there, but in regard to the ever-burning lamp he related a story told by the priests which deserves special consideration; it is that the lamp consumes less and less oil each year, and they hold that this is a proof of a disparity in the years, which all the time is making one year shorter in duration than its predecessor; for it is reasonable that in less duration of time the amount consumed should be less.

3. The company was surprised at this, and Demetrius went so far as to say that it was ridiculous to try in this way to draw great conclusions from small data, not, as Alcaeus puts it, "painting the lion from a single claw," but with a wick and lamp postulating a mutation in the heavens and the universe, and doing away completely with mathematical science.


(410) ὁ Κλεόμβροτος, "οὐδέτερον," ἔφη, "τούτων διαταράξει τοὺς ἄνδρας· ἀλλὰ τοὺς μαθηματικοῖς οὐχ ὑφήσονται τῆς ἀκριβείας, ὃς μάλλον ἂν ἐκεῖνος διαφυγόντα τὸν χρόνον ἐν κινήσει καὶ περιόδοις οὕτω μακράν ἀφεστώσαι ἢ τὸ μέτρον αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐλαίου προσέχοντας αἰεί διὰ τὴν ἀτοπίαν τῷ D παραλόγῳ καὶ παραφυλάττοντας. τὸ δὲ μικρὰ μὴ διδόναι σημεία γίγνεσθαι μεγάλων, ὡ δὲ ἰσμήτως, πολλαῖς ἐστὶ τέχναις ἐμποδῶν, ἐπεὶ καὶ πολλῶν μὲν ἀποδείξεις παραρέσθαι συμβήσεται πολλῶν δὲ προαγορεύσεις. καίτοι καὶ ἡμῖν οὐ μικρὸν ἀπο- δείξειν πράγμα, λεινεσθαι ξυρῷ τὰ σώματα τοὺς ἠρωσας, ἐντυχόντες παρ᾽ ὁμήρῳ ξυρὸν ὀνομά- σαντι καὶ δανείζεν ἐπὶ τόκοις, ὅτι ποὺ 'χρέος ὀφέλέσθαι,' φησίν, 'οὔτι νέον οὐδὲ ὁλίγον, ώς τοῦ ὀφέλέσθαι τὸ αὔξεσθαι δηλοῦντος. αὐθές δὲ τὴν νύκτα 'θοὺν' εἰπόντος, ἀγαπητῶς ἐμφύεσθε τῷ ῥήματι· καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνο φατε, φράζεσθαι τὴν σκιαν Ε τῆς γῆς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κωνικῆν, οὕσαν ἀπὸ σφαιρο- ειδώσ. ἰατρικὴν δὲ λοιμῶδες θέρος ἀραχνίων πλήθει προδηλοῦν, καὶ θρίοις ἔμνοις ὅταν κορώνης ποσίν εἰκελα γένηται, τὰς εάσει τῶν αἰξιοῦντων μικρὰ σημεῖα μὴ γίγνεσθαι τῶν μεγάλων; τὰς δ᾽ ἀνέξεται

1 οὐδέτερον] οὐδὲν in most mss.
2 ἀποδείξει Meziriacus: ἀποδείξειν.
3 παρ' Madvig: γάρ.
4 ὀφέλεσθαι Homer, Od. iii. 367: συμβάλλεσθαι.
5 ibid.: ὀφέλεσθαι.
6 ἐμφύεσθε] ἐμφύεσθαι most mss.
"Neither of these things," said Cleombrotus, "will disturb these men; certainly they will not concede any superior accuracy to the mathematicians, since it is more likely that a set period of time, in movements and cycles so far away, should elude mathematical calculation than that the measurement of the oil should elude the very men who were always giving careful attention to the anomaly and watching it closely because of its strangeness. Besides, Demetrius, not to allow that small things are indication of great stands directly in the way of many arts; for it will result in taking away from us the demonstration of many facts and the prognostication of many others. Yet you people try to demonstrate to us also a matter of no small importance: that the heroes of old shaved their bodies with a razor, because you meet with the word 'razor' in Homer; also that they lent money on interest because Homer somewhere says that 'a debt is owing, not recent nor small,' the assumption being that 'owing' signifies 'accumulating.' And again when Homer speaks of the night as 'swift,' you cling to the expression with great satisfaction and say that it means this: that the Earth's shadow is by him called conical, being caused by a spherical body; and as for the idea that medical science can predict a pestilential summer by a multitude of spiders' webs or by the fig-leaves in the spring when they are like crows' feet, who of those that insist that small things are not indications of great will allow this to go unchallenged? Who will endure

* II. x. 394, for example; cf. also Moralia, 923 b. Further explanation of the idea that ἰδώς may mean "conical" may be found in the Life and Poetry of Homer, 21 (Bernardakis's edition, vol. vii. p. 347).
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πρῶς χοῦν καὶ κοτύλην ὑδατὸς τὸ τοῦ ἥλιου μέγεθος μετρούμενον, ἡ τῆς ἐνταῦθα πλυνθίδος ἦν ποιεὶ γωνίαν ὀξεῖαν κεκλιμένην πρῶς τὸ ἐπίπεδον μέτρον εἶναι λεγομένην τοῦ ἐξάρματος ὁ ἐξήρται τῶν πόλων ὁ ἀεὶ φανερὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁρίζοντος; ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν ἀκούει τῶν ἐκεῖ προφητῶν, ὥστ' ἀλλο τι λεγέ-

4. Παρὼν οὖν ἀνεφώνησεν Ἀμμάνιος ὁ φιλό-

σοφὸς ὁμοίως καὶ μὴ διαιμένεις τηλι-

κοῦτο μέρος οὕσαν τοῦ ὁρίζοντος ἥλικον οἱ μαθη-

ματικὸι λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐλάττονα γίγνεσθαι, ἀεὶ πρὸς τὰ βόρεια τῶν νοτίων συναγωγῆς λαμβανό-

των, καὶ τὸ θέρος ήμῖν βραχύτερον καὶ ψυχρότερον εἶναι τὴν κράσιν, ἐνδοτέρω κάμπτοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ μειόνων παραλλήλων ἐφαπτομένου τοῖς τροπικοῖς σημείοις. ἔτι δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐν Συήνῃ γνώμονας ἀσκίους μηκέτι φαίνεσθαι περὶ τροπᾶς θερμᾶς πολ-

λους δὲ ὑποδεδραμένα γενόμενα τῶν ἀπλανῶν ἁστέρων, ἐνίος δὲ ψαῦει καὶ συγκεχύσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους,

Β τοῦ διαστήματος ἐκλειστότος. εἰ δ' αὐτοὶ φήσουσι τῶν ἀλλῶν ὅμοιως ἔχοντων ἀτακτεῖν ταῖς κινήσεις

1 λεγέσθω F.C.B.: λεγόντων; others keep λεγόντων and read οἱ βουλόμενοι.
2 ποιήσα] ποιοῦσι in most mss.
3 εἰπεν Xylander: εἰπεῖν.
4 ἀεὶ del. Stegmann.
5 ψυχρότερον] ψυχρότεραν in all mss. but one.

a Syené was on the Tropic of Cancer, and because of the fact that on the day of the summer solstice the sun was directly overhead it was used by Eratosthenes (third century 356
that the magnitude of the sun be measured by reference to a quart or a gill, or that, in the sun-dial here, the inclination of the acute angle which its shadow makes with the level plane be called the measurement of the elevation of the ever-visible pole above the horizon? This was what one might hear from the priests of the prophetic shrine there; so some other rejoinder must be offered to them, if we would make for the sun the wonted order of its course immutable, in accord with the tradition of the ages.”

4. Thereupon Ammonius the philosopher, who was present, exclaimed, “Not for the sun only, but for the whole heavens. For the sun’s course in passing from solstice to solstice must inevitably become shorter and not continue to be so large a part of the horizon as the mathematicians say it is, since the southern portion is constantly subject to a contracting movement, which brings it closer to the northern portion; and so our summer must become shorter and its temperature lower, as the sun turns about within narrower limits and touches fewer parallels of latitude at the solstitial points; moreover, the phenomenon observed at Syenê,a where the upright rods on the sun-dials cast no shadow at the time of the summer solstice, is bound to be a thing of the past; many of the fixed stars must have gone below the horizon, and some of them must be touching one another, or have become coalescent, as the space separating them has disappeared! But if, on the other hand, they are going to assert that, while all the other bodies are without change, the sun displays

b.c.) as one of the termini in calculating the circumference of the Earth. Cleomedes, On the Circular Movement of Heavenly Bodies, i. 10, describes Eratosthenes’ method.
(411) τὸν Ἠλιον, οὐτὲ τὴν μόνον τοῦτον ἐκ τοσοῦτων ἐπιταχύνουσαν αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν ἐξοσικ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν φαινομένων συνταράξουσι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς σελήνην καὶ παντάπασιν, ὡστε μὴ δεῖσθαι μέτρων ἐλαιον τὴν διαφορὰν ἑλεγχόντων. αἰ γὰρ ἐκλείψεις ἑλέγχουσιν αὐτοῦ τῇ σελήνῃ πλεονάκις ἐπιβάλλοντος καὶ τῆς σελήνης γῆ σκιάν. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα δῆλα καὶ οὐδὲν δεί περαιτέρω τὴν ἀλαζονείαν τοῦ λόγου διελύττεν.

"Αλλὰ μὴν," ὁ Κλεόμβροτος ἔφη, "καὶ τὸ μέτρον αὐτὸς εἶδον. πολλὰ γὰρ ἐδείκνυσαν. τὸ δὲ ἐπέτειον ἀπέδει τῶν παλαιοτάτων ὦν ὀλίγον."

C Ὑπολαβῶν δ' αὖθις ὁ Ἀμμώνιος, "εἰτα τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους," εἶπεν, "ἐλαθε παρ' οἷς ἁσβεστα θεραπεύεται πυρὰ καὶ σώζεται χρόνον ἐτῶν ὡς ἐποσ εἰπεῖν ἁπειρον; εἰ δ' οὖν ὑποθοῦτο τις ἀληθες εἶναι τὸ λεγόμενον, οὐ βέλτιων ἐστὶ ψυχροτητας αἰτιᾶσθαι τινας καὶ υγρότητας ἀέρων, ὑφ' ἄν τὸ πῦρ μαρανόμενον εἰκὸς ἐστὶ μὴ κρατεῖν πολλῆς μηδὲ δεῖσθαι τροφῆς, ἡ τούναντίον ξηρότητας καὶ θερμότητας; ἦδη γὰρ ἀκήκοα λεγόντων τινῶν περὶ τοῦ πυρός, ὡς ἐν χειμώνι καίεται βέλτιον ὑπὸ ρώμης εἰς αὐτὸ συστελλόμενον τῇ ψυχρότητι καὶ πυκνοῦμενον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς αὐχμοῖς ἐξασθενεὶ καὶ D γίγνεται μαννὸν καὶ άτονον, κἂν ἐν ἡλίῳ κάηται, χεῖρον ἐργάζεται, καὶ τῆς ὑλῆς ἀπτεται μαλακῶς καὶ καταναλίσκει βράδιον. μάλιστα δ' ἀν τις εἰς αὐτὸ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπανάγοι τούλαιον: οὐ γὰρ ἀπεικός

1 μόνον Turnebus: μονή.  
3 τὰ δ’ ἄλλα δῆλα Wyttenbach: τὰ δ’ ἄλλα or τὰ δ’ ἄλλα. 

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*a Cf. Plutarch, Comment. on Hesiod, Works and Days, 559 (Bernardakis’s edition, vol. vii. p. 78).*  
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irregularity in its movements, they will not be able to state the cause of the acceleration which affects the sun alone among so many bodies, and they will throw into confusion almost all the celestial mechanics, and into complete confusion those relating to the moon, so that they will have no need of measures of oil to prove the difference. In fact, the eclipses will prove it, as the sun more frequently casts a shadow on the moon and the moon on the earth; the other facts are clear, and there is no need to disclose in further detail the imposture in the argument."

"But," said Cleombrotus, "I myself actually saw the measure; for they had many of them to show, and that of this past year failed to come up to the very oldest by not a little."

"Then," said Ammonius, taking up the argument again, "this fact has escaped the notice of the other peoples among whom ever-burning fires have been cherished and kept alive for a period of years which might be termed infinite? But on the assumption that the report is true, is it not better to assign the cause to some coldness or moisture in the air by which the flame is made to languish, and so very likely does not take up nor need very much to support it? Or, quite the reverse, may we assign the cause to spells of dryness and heat? In fact, I have heard people say before this regarding fire, that it burns better in the winter,\(^a\) being strongly compacted and condensed by the cold; whereas in warm, dry times it is very weak and loses its compactness and intensity, and if it burns in the sunlight, it does even worse, and takes hold of the fuel without energy, and consumes it more slowly. Best of all, the cause might be assigned to the oil itself; for it is not unlikely that in days of old it
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5. Pauσαμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου, "μάλλον," ἔφην ἐγώ, "περὶ τοῦ μαντείου διελθ' ἡμῖν, ὡς ἔκαστος ἄνασφαξεν καὶ πέταξεν ἰσχύων καὶ τρέφειν βέλτιον, εἰ δέ τις Ἀμμωνίος ἀνασφαξεν καὶ πέταξεν ἰσχύων καὶ τρέφειν βέλτιον, τὰ ἔκει θειότητος, τὰ δὲ νῦν ἔουσαν ὑπομαραίνετοι." Τοῦ δὲ Κλεομβρότου σιωπῶντος καὶ κάτω βλέποντος, ὁ Δημήτριος, "οὐδέν," ἔφη, "δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ πυθάνετο καὶ διαπόρειν τὴν ἐνταῦθα τῶν χρηστηρίων ἀμαύρωσιν μάλλον δὲ πλῆν ἔνος ἢ δυοῦ ἀπάντων ἐκλειψιν ὀρῶν τας, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο σκοπεῖν, δὲ ἡν αὐτίαν ὑπὸς ἐξηπόθηκε. τὰ γὰρ ἅλλα τι δὲ λέγειν, ὅπου γε τὴν Βουστιαν ἐνεκα χρηστηρίων Πολύφωνον ὑπάρχον ἐν τοῖς πρότερον χρόνοις νῦν ἐπι- λέοντε κομιδὴ καθάπερ νάματα, καὶ πολὺς ἐπι- εσχήκε μαντικῆς αὐχμῶς τῆν χῶραν; οὔδαμον γὰρ ἀλλαχόθι νῦν ἡ περὶ Λεβάδειαν Λεβάδειαν ὧν Βουστια παρέχει τοῖς χρῆσουσιν ἀρύσασθαι μαντικῆς, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων 412 τὰ μὲν σιγὴ τὰ δὲ παντελῆς ἐρήμια κατεσχῆκε. καὶ τοῦ γε περὶ τὰ Μηδικὰ πολλὰ μὲν εὐδοκίμησε, τὸ δὲ Πτώον ὅπερ ἤττον ἡ τοῦ 'Ἀμφιάρεως.

1 εἰ δὲ Μεζιριάκος: ἐδεῖ.
2 γἐ is found in Eusebius (Praep. Ev. v. 17) only.
3 περὶ in Eusebius only.
4 Λεβάδειαν] λεβαδία in most mss.
5 ἡ Basel ed. of 1542: ἡ.
6 πολλὰ added by F.C.B. to fill a lacuna.
7 τὸ δὲ Πτῶον first suggested by Wytenbach (in the gen.
case).
8 Ἀμφιάρεως Wytenbach: ἀμφιάρεως.
contained incombustible material and water, being produced from young trees; but that later, being ripened on full-grown trees and concentrated, it should, in an equal quantity, show more strength and provide a better fuel, if the people at Ammon's shrine must have their assumption preserved for them in spite of its being so strange and unusual."

5. When Ammonius had ceased speaking, I said, "Won't you rather tell us all about the oracle, Cleombrotus? For great was the ancient repute of the divine influence there, but at the present time it seems to be somewhat evanescent."

As Cleombrotus made no reply and did not look up, Demetrius said, "There is no need to make any inquiries nor to raise any questions about the state of affairs there, when we see the evanescence of the oracles here, or rather the total disappearance of all but one or two; but we should deliberate the reason why they have become so utterly weak. What need to speak of others, when in Boeotia, which in former times spoke with many tongues because of its oracles, the oracles have now failed completely, even as if they were streams of flowing water, and a great drought in prophecy has overspread the land? For nowhere now except in the neighbourhood of Lebadeia has Boeotia aught to offer to those who would draw from the well-spring of prophecy. As for the rest, silence has come upon some and utter desolation upon others. And yet at the time of the Persian Wars many had gained a high repute, that of Ptoan Apollo no less than that of Amphiaraüs; Mys, as it seems, made
(412) ἀπεπειράθη μὲν ὡς ἔοικεν ἀμφοτέρων Μῶς.1 ο μὲν 
οὖν τοῦ μαντείου προφήτης φωνὴ Αἰωλίδι χρώμενος 
tο πρὶν,2 τότε3 προστὰς4 τῶν βαρβάρων χρησμοῦν5 
exήγενεν, ὡστε μηδένα ξυνεῖναι ἄλλον6 τῶν παρ-
όντων ἄλλα μόνον7 ἐκείνον, ὡς δῆλον ὡς ἐκ8 τοῦ 
ἐνθοσυσμοῦ τοῦ προφήτου ὑπ’ τοῖς βαρβάροις 
οὐκ ἔστω οὐδέποτε9 φωνὴ 'Ελληνίδα λαβεῖν τὸ 
προστατομένον ὑπηρετοῦσαν.

"Ο δὲ πεμφθεὶς εἰς 'Αμφιάρεω δοῦλος11 ἔδοξε 
kατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὑπηρέτην τοῦ θεοῦ φανέντα 
πρῶτον μὲν ἀπὸ φωνῆς ἐκβάλλειν αὐτὸν ὡς τοῦ 
θεοῦ μὴ παρόντος,12 ἐπειτα ταῖς χερσίν ὑθεὶν. ἐπι-

B μένοντος δὲ λίθον εὑμεγέθη λαβόντα τὴν κεφαλὴν 
πατάξαι. ταῦτα δ’ ἦν ὅσπερ ἀντίφωνα τῶν γενη-
σομένων: ἠττήθη γὰρ ὁ Μαρδόνιος, οὐ βασιλέως 
ἀλλ’ ἐπιτρόπου καὶ διακόνου βασιλέως ἠγουμένου 
tῶν 'Ελλήνων, καὶ λίθῳ πληγεῖς ἐπεσεν, ὅσπερ ὁ 
Λυδὸς ἔδοξε πληγῆναι κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους.

"Ἡμαῖς δὲ τότε καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς Τεγύρας 
χρηστήριον, ὅπου καὶ γενέσθαι τὸν θεὸν ἱστοροῦσι,

1 Μῶς Madvig and others from Herodotus (earlier in the 
sentence): ὡς.
2 τὸ πρὶν F.C.B. to fill a lacuna.
3 τότε F.C.B.: τὸ or τῇ (Madvig puts τότε τῇ later in 
the sentence).
5 χρησμὸν Basel ed. of 1542: χρῆσιμον.
7 ἄλλα μόνον Schwartz: ὦν preceded by a lacuna.
8 δῆλον ὡς ἐκ F.C.B. to fill a lacuna.
9 τοῦ προφήτου δὲ F.C.B.: τῇ preceded by a lacuna.
10 οὐδέποτε Schwartz: οὐ δὲδοται.
11 δοῦλος] Λυδὸς Wytenbach from the Life of Aristeides, 
chap. xix.
12 παρόντος] παριέντος Reiske.

a The mss. show several lacunae and corruptions here;
trial of both.\(^a\) The prophetic priest of this oracle, accustomed in former times to use the Aeolic dialect, on that occasion took the side of the barbarians and gave forth an oracle such that no one else of those present comprehended it, but only Mys himself, since it is quite clear from the inspired language then used by the prophetic priest that it is not for barbarians ever to receive a word in the Greek tongue subservient to their command.\(^b\)

"The minion who was sent to the oracle of Amphiaräüs had, in his sleep\(^c\) there, a vision of a servant of the god who appeared to him and tried first to eject him by word of mouth, alleging that the god was not there; then next he tried to push him away with his hands, and, when the man persisted in staying, took up a large stone and smote him on the head. All this was in harmony, as it were, with events to come; for Mardonius was vanquished while the Greeks were led, not by a king, but by a guardian and deputy of a king\(^d\); and he fell, struck by a stone just as the Lydian dreamed that he was struck in his sleep.

"That time, too, was the most flourishing period of the oracle at Tegyrae, which place also by tradition is the birthplace of the god; and of the two streams of the general sense must be restored from Herodotus, viii. 133-135. For some unexplained reason Plutarch in his *Life of Aristeides*, chap. xix. (330 c) and Pausanias, ix. 23, lay this scene at the oracle of Trophonius at Lebadeia.

\(^b\) Cf. *Life of Themistocles*, chap. vi. (114 d); *Life of Cato the Elder*, chap. xxiii. (350 c).

\(^c\) The oracle of Amphiaräüs was an incubation oracle: the consultants went to sleep in the shrine and received their answer in dreams.

\(^d\) Mardonius was defeated at Plataea in 479 B.C. by the Greeks under the command of Pausanias, who was regent of Sparta and guardian of Pleistarchus, son of Leonidas.
(412) καὶ ναμάτων δυοὶ παραρρέοντων τὸ μὲν Φοίνικα θάτερον δ’ Ἑλαίαν ἄχρι νῦν οἱ ἕνοικοί λέγουσιν. ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς Μηδικοῖς Ἐξεκράτους προφητεύοντος ἀνείλε νύκην καὶ κράτος πολέμου τοῖς Ἔλλησιν

C ο θεός. ἐν δὲ τῷ Πελοποννησιακῷ πολέμῳ Δηλίους ἐκπεσοῦσι τῆς νήσου φασὶ χρησμὸν ἐκ Δελφῶν κομισθήναι προστάττοντα τὸν τόπον ἀνευρεῖν ἐν ὧν γέγονεν ὁ Ἀπόλλων, καὶ θυσίας τινὰς ἐκεῖ τελέσαι. θαυμαζόντων δὲ καὶ διαπορούντων εἰ μὴ παρ’ αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ἀλλ’ ἐτέρωθι γεγόνοι, τὴν Πυθίαν προσανέλειν ὑπὶ κορώνη φράσει τὸ χωρίον αὐτοῖς. ἀπίόντας οὖν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ γενέσθαι, καὶ τῆς πανδοκευτρίας ἀκούσαν πρὸς τινὰς ξένους βαδίζοντας εἰς Τεγύρας περὶ τοῦ χρηστηρίου διαλεγομένης· τῶν δὲ ξένων, ὡς ἀπῆδαν, ἀσπαζομένων καὶ προσαγορευόντων τὴν ἅγιασταν, ὀπέρ ὄνομάζετο,

D Κορώνην, πεπειναία τὸ λόγιον, καὶ θύσαντας ἐν ταῖς Τεγύραις τυχεῖν καθόδου μετ’ ὀλίγον χρόνον. γεγόναςι δὲ καὶ νεώτερα τούτων ἐπιφάνειαν περὶ τὰ μαντεία ταῦτα, νῦν δ’ ἐκλέξατον. ὡστε τὴν αὐτίαν άξιον εἶναι παρὰ τῷ Πυθίῳ διαπορῆσαι τῆς μεταβολῆς.

6. Ἡδη δὲ πως ἀπὸ τοῦ νεῶ προϊόντες ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις τῆς Κνιδίων λέξης ἐγεγόνειμεν· παρελθόντες οὖν εἰσώ, τοὺς φίλους πρὸς οὓς ἐβαδίζομεν ἐωρώμεν καθημένους καὶ περιμένοντας ἢμᾶς·

1 οἱ ἕνοικοι F.C.B.; Ὅρχομένιοι Paton: ὃς ἐνοι preceded by a short lacuna.
2 ὀπέρ . . . Κορώνην] ἦτε . . . Κορώνη E.

* Plutarch gives more information about Tegyrae in his Life of Pelopidas, chap. xvi. (286 b).

"In the year 421 b.c. (Thucydides, v. 1)."
water that flow past it, the inhabitants even to this day call the one ‘Palm’ and the other ‘Olive.’

Now in the Persian Wars, when Echecrates was the prophetic priest, the god prophesied for the Greeks victory and might in war; and in the Peloponnesian War, when the people of Delos had been driven out of their island, an oracle, it is said, was brought to them from Delphi directing them to find the place where Apollo was born, and to perform certain sacrifices there. While they were wondering and questioning the mere possibility that the god had been born, not in their island, but somewhere else, the prophetic priestess told them in another oracle that a crow would show them the spot. So they went away and, when they reached Chaeroneia, they heard the woman who kept their inn conversing about the oracle with some strangers who were on their way to Tegyrae. The strangers, as they were leaving, bade good-bye to the woman and called her by her name, which actually was ‘Crow.’ Then the Delians understood the meaning of the oracle and, having offered sacrifice in Tegyrae, they found a way to return home a short time thereafter. There have been also more recent manifestations than these at these oracles, but now the oracles are no more; so it is well worth while, here in the precinct of the Pythian god, to examine into the reason for the change.”

6. Proceeding onward from the temple, we had by this time reached the doors of the Cnidian Club-house. Accordingly we passed inside, and there we saw sitting and waiting for us the friends to whom

* In the north-east corner of the sacred precinct. The foundations may still be seen.
'Ην δέ τῶν ἄλλων ἡσυχία διὰ τὴν ὠραν ἀλειφο-μένων ἡ θεωμένων τοὺς ἀθλητάς. καὶ ὁ Δημήτριος διαμειδιάσας, ""ψεύσομαι,"" εἶπεν, ""ἡ ἐτυμον ἐρέω'; δοκεῖτε μοι μηδὲν ἄξιον σκέμμα διὰ χειρῶν

Ε ἐχειν· ὅρω γὰρ ἕμας ἀνειμένως σφόδρα καθημένους καὶ διακεχυμένους τοῖς προσώποις.

Ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Μεγαρεὺς Ἡρακλέων, ""οὐ γὰρ ζητούμεν,"" ἔφη, ""τὸ βάλλω ρήμα πότερον τῶν δυὸ τὸ ἐν λάμβδα κατὰ τὸν μέλλοντα χρόνον ἀπόλλυσιν, οὐδ' ἀπὸ τίνων ἀπλῶν ὄνομάτων τὸ χείρον καὶ τὸ βέλτιον καὶ τὸ χείριστον καὶ τὸ βέλτιστον ἐσχη-μάτωσιν. ταῦτα γὰρ ἵσως καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα συν-τείνει καὶ συνίστησι τὸ πρόσωπον· τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ἐξεστι τὰς ὀφρὺς κατὰ χώραν ἑχοντας φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ

F ζητεῖν ἀτρέμα μὴ δεινὸν βλέποντας μηδὲ χαλεπαί-νοντας τοῖς παροῦσιν.

""Δέξασθ' οὖν" ὁ Δημήτριος, ""ἡμᾶς,"" ἔφη, ""καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν λόγον, ὅσ δὴ προσπέπτωσεν ἡμῖν οἰκείος ὃν τοῦ τόπου καὶ διὰ τὸν θεὸν ἀπαξι προσήκων· καὶ ὅπως οὐ συνάξετε τὰς ὀφρὺς ἐπι-χειροῦντες."

7. Ὄς οὖν ἀνεμείχθημεν διακαθεξόμενοι καὶ

413 προέβαλεν εἰς μέσον ὁ Δημήτριος τὸν λόγον, εὐθὺς ἀναπτήθησας ὁ κυνικὸς Δίδυμος, ἐπικλήσῃς Πλανη-τιάδης, καὶ τῇ βακτρία δίς ἡ τρίς πατάξας ἀν-εβόησεν, ""ἰοῦ ἰοῦ, δύσκριτον πράγμα καὶ ζητήσεως δεόμενων πολλῆς ἢκετε κομίζοντες ἡμῖν. θαυμα-στὸν γὰρ ἐστὶν, εἰ τοσαυτῆς κακίας ὑποκεχυμένης μὴ μόνον, ὡς προείπεν Ἡσίοδος, Αἰδώς καὶ Νέμεσις τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ἀπολεοῦτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρό-

a Homer, Od. iv. 140.  b Present βάλλω, future βαλω.  c Works and Days, 199.
OBSOLESCENCE OF ORACLES, 412-413

we were going. There was quiet among the other people there because of the hour, as they were engaged in taking a rub-down or else watching the athletes. Then Demetrius with a smile said, "'Shall I tell you a falsehood or speak out the truth?' You seem to have on hand nothing worth considering; for I see that you are sitting about quite at your ease and with faces quite relaxed."

"Yes," said Heracleon of Megara in reply, "for we are not investigating which of the two lambda's in the verb 'hurl' is the one that it loses in the future tense; nor from what positives the adjectives 'worse' and 'better' and 'worst' and 'best' are formed; for these and similar problems may set the face in hard lines, but the others it is possible to examine in a philosophic spirit, without knitting the brows, and to investigate quietly without any fierce looks or any hard feelings against the company."

"Then permit us to come in," said Demetrius, "and with us a subject which has naturally occurred to us, one which is related to the place and concerns all of us on account of the god; and beware of knitting your brows when you attack it!"

7. When, accordingly, we had joined their company and seated ourselves among them and Demetrius had laid the subject before them, up sprang at once the Cynic Didymus, by nickname Planetiades, and, striking the ground two or three times with his staff, cried out, "Aha! a difficult matter to decide and one requiring much investigation is that which you have come bringing to us! It is indeed a wonder, when so much wickedness has been disseminated upon earth that not only Modesty and Righteous Indignation, as Hesiod said long ago, have deserted the life
(413) νοια θεῶν συσκευασμένη τὰ χρηστήρια πανταχόθεν οἴχεται. τούναντίον δ’ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ προβάλλω δια-
πορήσαι πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ τὸδ’ ἀπείρηκεν οὐδ’ Ἡρα-
κλῆς αὕτης ἡ τις ἄλλος θεῶν ὑπέστακε τὸν τρίποδα
Β καταπιμπλάμενον αἰσχρῶν καὶ ἄθεων ἐρωτημάτων,
ἀ τῷ θεῷ προβάλλουσιν οἱ μὲν ὡς σοφιστοῦ διά-
πειραν λαμβάνοντες οἱ δὲ περὶ θησαυρῶν ἡ κληρο-
νομιῶν ἡ γάμων παρανόμων διερωτώντες. ὡστε
κατὰ κράτος ἐξελέγχεσθαι τὸν Πυθαγόραν εἰπόντα
βελτίστοις έαυτῶν γίγνεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἡτα
πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς βαδίζουσιν ὦτως ἀρ’ ἀ2 καλῶς
ἐπεχεῖ ἀνθρώπου πρεσβύτερου παρόντος ἄρνεσθαι
καὶ ἀποκρύπτετι νοσήματα τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ πάθη,
ταῦτα γυμνὰ καὶ περιφανῆ κομίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν
θεόν.’’

’Ετι δ’ αὐτῷ βουλομένου λέγειν, ὁ θ’ Ἡρακλέων
ἐπελάβετο τοῦ τρίβωνος, καὶ ὡς σχεδὸν ἀπάντων
πλανητιάδη, παροξύνων τὸν θεόν εὐόργητος γάρ
ἐστι καὶ πράος,

κατεκρίθη δὲ θνατοῖς ἀγανώτατος ἐμμεν
ὡς φησιν ὁ Πίνδαρος. καὶ εἴθ’ ἡλίος ἐστιν εἰτε
κύριος ἡλίον καὶ πατὴρ καὶ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ ὀρατοῦ
παντός, οὐκ εἰκὸς ἀπαξιοῦν φωνής τοὺς νῦν ἀνθρώ-

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1 τὸδ’ Madvig: τὸτ’.
2 ἀρ’ ἀ2 ἀρα in most mss.

a Cf. 387 d, supra, and the note.
b Cf. 408 c, supra.
of mankind, but that Divine Providence also has gathered up its oracles and departed from every place! Quite the contrary, I propose that you discuss how it happens that the oracle here has not also given out, and Heracles for a second time, or some other god, has not wrested away the tripod a which is constantly being occupied with shameful and impious questions which people propound b to the god, some of whom try to make a test of him as though his wisdom were an affectation, while others put questions about treasures or inheritances or unlawful marriages; so Pythagoras c is proved to be utterly wrong in asserting that men are at their best when they approach the gods. Thus those maladies and emotions of the soul which it would be good to disclaim and conceal in the presence of an older man, they bring naked and exposed before the god."

He would have said more, but Heracleon seized hold of his cloak, and I, being about as intimate with him as anybody, said, "Cease provoking the god, my dear Planetiades; for he is of a good and mild disposition,

And towards mortal men he hath been judged the most gentle,

as Pindar d says. And whether he be the sun e or the lord and father of the sun and of all that lies beyond our vision, f it is not likely that he should deny his utterance to people of the present day because of

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a Cf. Moralia, 169 E.
b Ibid. 394 A and 1102 E; Pindar, Frag. 149 (ed. Christ).
c Cf. 386 b, supra, and the note.
d The language is reminiscent of ἐπεκεῖνα τῆς οὐσίας (Plato, Republic 509 b).
The sacred truce, made throughout the Greek world, for the duration of the Pythian games.
their unworthiness, when he is responsible for their birth and nurture and their existence and power to think; nor is it likely withal that Providence, like a benign and helpful mother, who does everything for us and watches over us, should cherish animosity in the matter of prophecy only, and take away that from us after having given it to us at the beginning, as if the number of wicked men included among a larger population were not larger at that earlier time when the oracles were established in many places in the inhabited world! Come, sit down again and make a 'Pythian truce' with evil, which you are wont to chastise with words every day, and join us in seeking some other reason for what is spoken of as the obsolescence of oracles; but keep the god benign and provoke him not to wrath."

What I had said was so far effective that Planetiades went out through the door without another word.

8. There was quiet for a moment, and then Ammonius, addressing himself to me, said, "See what it is that we are doing, Lamprias, and concentrate your thoughts on our subject so that we shall not relieve the god of responsibility. The fact is that the man who holds that the obsolescence of such of the oracles as have ceased to function has been brought about by some other cause and not by the will of a god gives reason for suspecting that he believes that their creation and continued existence was not due to the god, but was brought about in some other way. For prophecy is something created by a god, and certainly no greater or more potent force exists to abolish and obliterate it. Now I do not like what Planetiades said, and one of the reasons is the inconsistency which it creates regarding the god,
στρεφόμενον καὶ ἀπαξιοῦντα τὴν κακίαν τῇ δὲ πάλιν
αὖ προσιέμενον, ὡστερ εἰ βασιλεὺς τις ἡ τύραννος
F ἐτέραις ἀποκλείων θύραις τούς πονηροὺς καθ᾽ ἐτέ-
ρας εἰσδέχοντο καὶ χρηματίζοι. τοὺς δὲ μετρίου¹ καὶ
ิกανοῦ καὶ μηδαμῇ περιττοῦ πανταχῇ δ᾽ αὐτ-
άρκους, μάλιστα τοὺς θείοις² πρέποντος ἐργοὺς,
εἰ ταύτην ἄρχην³ λαβῶν φαίνει τις ὁτι τῆς κοινῆς
ὁλιγανδρίας, ἣν αἱ πρότεραι στάσεις καὶ οἱ πόλε-
μοι περὶ πάσαν ὁμοί τι τῆν οἰκουμένην ἀπειργά-
414 σαντο, πλείστον μέρος ἡ 'Ελλάς μετέσχηκε, καὶ
μόλις ἡν νῦν ὅλη παράσχοι τροσχλίους ὀπλίτας,
όσους ἡ Μεγαρέων μία πόλις ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς Πλα-
ταῖες (οὐδὲν οὖν ἑτερον ἦν τὸ πολλὰ καταλυζεῖν χρη-
στήρια τὸν θεὸν ἡ τῆς 'Ελλάδος ἐλέγχειν τὴν
ἐρημίαν), ἀκριβὲς⁴ αὖ οὔτω⁵ παράσχοι τι τῆς εὑρησ-
λογίας. τίνος γὰρ ἢν ἁγαθὸν, ἐν Τεγύραις ὡς πρό-
τερον εἶναι⁶ μαντεῖον, ἡ περὶ τὸ Πτεροῖον ὅπου μέρος
ἡμέρας ἐνυχεῖν ἐστίν ἄνθρωπῳ νέμοντι; καὶ γὰρ
τοῦτο δὴ τούτωναθα⁷ πρεσβύτατον ὁν χρόνῳ τε καὶ
B δόξη κλεινότατον ὑπὸ θηρίου χαλεποῦ δρακάινης
πολλὰν χρόνου ἐρήμου γενέσθαι καὶ ἀπροσπέλαστον
ἰστοροῦσιν, οὐκ ὁρθῶς τὴν ἄργιαν⁹ ἀλλ᾽ ἀνάπαλιν
λαμβάνοντες. ἡ γὰρ ἐρημία τὸ θηρίον ἐπηγάγετο
μᾶλλον ἡ τὸ θηρίον ἐποίησε τὴν ἐρημίαν. ἔπει δὲ
τῷ θεῷ δόξαν οὔτως ἡ θ’ 'Ελλάς ἐρρώσθη πόλεισι
καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἄνθρωπος ἐπλήθυνε, δυσὶν ἐχρώντο

¹ μετρίου: Emperius: μεγίστου.
² θείοις: Bernardakis: θεοῖς.
³ ἄρχην: omitted in some mss.
⁷ εἶναι: Bryan: ἢν.
⁸ δὴ: Haupt: δὴ ποι ἐνταῦθα.
⁹ ἄργιαν] ἐρημίαν corr. in two mss.: αἰτίαν Meziriacus.

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who in one way turns away from wickedness and
disavows it, and again in another way welcomes its
presence; just as if some king or despot should shut
out bad men at certain doors and let them in at others
and have dealings with them. Now moderation,
adequacy, excess in nothing, and complete self-
sufficiency are above all else the essential character-
istics of everything done by the gods; and if anyone
should take this fact as a starting-point, and assert
that Greece has far more than its share in the general
depopulation which the earlier discords and wars have
wrought throughout practically the whole inhabited
earth, and that to-day the whole of Greece would
hardly muster three thousand men-at-arms, which is
the number that the one city of the Megarians sent
forth to Plataeae a (for the god's abandoning of many
oracles is nothing other than his way of substantiating
the desolation of Greece), in this way such a man
would give some accurate evidence of his keenness in
reasoning. For who would profit if there were an
oracle in Tegyrae, as there used to be, or at Ptoüm,
where during some part of the day one might possibly
meet a human being pasturing his flocks? And
regarding the oracle here at Delphi, the most ancient
in time and the most famous in repute, men record
that for a long time it was made desolate and un-
approachable by a fierce creature, a serpent; they
do not, however, put the correct interpretation upon
its lying idle, but quite the reverse; for it was the
desolation that attracted the creature rather than
that the creature caused the desolation. But when
Greece, since God so willed, had grown strong in
cities and the place was thronged with people, they

a Cf. Herodotus, ix. 21 and 28.
(414) proφήτισιν ἐν μέρει καθιεμέναις,1 καὶ τρίτη δ’ ἔφεδρος ἢν ἀποδεδειγμένη. νῦν δ’ ἐστὶ μία προφήτισι, καὶ οὐκ ἐγκαλοῦμεν ἐξαρκεῖ γὰρ αὕτη2 τοῖς δεομένοις. οὐ τούτων αἰτιατέον οὐδὲν3 τὸν θεὸν· ἡ γὰρ οὕσα μαντικὴ καὶ διαμένουσα πᾶσιν ἐστὶν θεοῦ

C ἰκανὴ καὶ πάντας ἀποστέπμετε τυγχάνοντας ἢν χρήζουσιν. ὥσπερ οὖν ἐννέα κήρυξιν ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων ἐχρήτο, καὶ μόλις κατείχε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διὰ πληθος, ἠνταύθα δ’ ὀφείσθε μεθ’ ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ μίαν φωνὴν εξικνουμένην εἰς πάντας· οὕτω τότε πλείοσιν ἔχρητο φωναῖς πρῶς πλείονας ἡ μαντικὴ, νῦν δὲ τούναντιν ἐδεί θαυμάζειν τὸν θεόν, εἰ περιεώρα τὴν μαντικὴν ἀχρήστως δίκην ὑδατος ἀπορρέουσαν ἡ καθάπερ αἳ πέτραι ποιμένων ἐν ἑρημίᾳ καὶ βοσκημάτων φωναῖς ἀντῆχοῦσαν.”

9. Ἐιπόντος δὲ τὰῦτα τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου κάμοι σωπώντος, ὁ Κλεόμβροτος ἔμε προσαγορεύσας, “ἡδὴ σὺ τοῦτο δέδωκας,” ἔφη, “τὸ καὶ ποιεῖν ταύτη τὰ

D μαντεία καὶ ἀναίρεσιν τὸν θεόν.”

“Οὐκ ἐγωγε,” εἶπον, “ἀναίρεσθαι μὲν γὰρ οὔδὲν αὕτη θεοῦ φημὶ μαντείων οὔδὲ χρηστήριον· ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ ἄλλα πολλὰ ποιοῦντος ἡμῖν ἐκεῖνον καὶ παρασκευάζοντος, ἐπάγει φθορὰν ἐνίοις καὶ στέρησιν ἡ φύσις, μάλλον δ’ ἡ ὑλὴ στέρησισ οὕσα ἀναφεύγει4 πολλάκις καὶ ἀναλύει τὸ γγυνὸμενον ὑπὸ τῆς κρείττονος αἰτίας, οὕτω μαντικῶν οἴμαι δυνάμεων σκοτώσεις ἑτέρας5 καὶ ἀναίρεσεις εἶναι, πολλὰ καλὰ

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1 kathisména Xylander. 2 aúth Stegmann: aúth. 3 oude Kronenberg: oude. 4 anaphygei] anvfainei Xylander; diafheipe Schwartz; to einai feugyei Michael; anatrepsei? 5 etéras] idiaitéras Paton.

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Homer, II. ii. 96.
used to employ two prophetic priestesses who were sent down in turn; and a third was appointed to be held in reserve. But to-day there is one priestess and we do not complain, for she meets every need. There is no reason, therefore, to blame the god; the exercise of the prophetic art which continues at the present day is sufficient for all, and sends away all with their desires fulfilled. Agamemnon, for example, used nine heralds and, even so, had difficulty in keeping the assembly in order because of the vast numbers; but here in Delphi, a few days hence, in the theatre you will see that one voice reaches all. In the same way, in those days, prophecy employed more voices to speak to more people, but to-day, quite the reverse, we should needs be surprised at the god if he allowed his prophecies to run to waste, like water, or to echo like the rocks with the voices of shepherds and flocks in waste places.”

9. When Ammonius had said this and I remained silent, Cleombrotus, addressing himself to me, said, “Already you have conceded this point, that the god both creates and abolishes these prophetic shrines.” “No indeed,” said I, “my contention is that no prophetic shrine or oracle is ever abolished by the instrumentality of the god. He creates and provides many other things for us, and upon some of these Nature brings destruction and disintegration; or rather, the matter composing them, being itself a force for disintegration, often reverts rapidly to its earlier state and causes the dissolution of what was created by the more potent instrumentality; and it is in this way, I think, that in the next period there are dimmings and abolitions of the prophetic agencies; for while the god gives many fair things to
τοῦ θεοῦ διδόντως ἀνθρώποις ἅθανατον δὲ μηδὲν. ὥστε θυγατέρας καὶ τὰ θεῖόν θεοῦ σ’ ο’ ποίεμα κατὰ τὸν Σοφοκλέα. τὴν ἐν δ’ οὐσιάν αὕτων καὶ δύναμιν οὖσαν
Ε ἐν1 τῇ φύσει καὶ τῇ ὑλῇ φασίν2 ἀεὶ3 οἱ σοφοὶ δείν4 ζητεῖν, τῷ θεῷ τῆς ἀρχής ὡσπερ ἐστὶ δίκαιος φυλαττομένης. εὐθῆς γάρ ἐστὶ καὶ παιδικὸν κο-
μιδῆ τὸ οίκεσθαι τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν ὡσπερ τοὺς ἐγ-
γαστριμύθους, Εὐρυκλέας πάλαι νυνί δὲ Πύθωνας
προσαγορευομένους, ἐνδυόμενοι εἰς τὰ σώματα τῶν
προφητῶν ὑποθέγγυσαι, τοῖς ἐκείνων στόμασι
καὶ φωναῖς χρώμενον ὀργάνοις. ἦν τὸν γὰρ ἐγ-
καταμείγνυσ5 ἀνθρωπίνωι χρείαις οὐ φείδεται τῆς
σεμνότητος οὖν ἐρεί τὸ ἄξιωμα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος
αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρετῆς’.

10. Καὶ ο Κλεόμβροτος, “ὁρθῶς λέγεις: ἀλλ’

F ἐπεί τὸ λαβεῖν καὶ διορίσαι πῶς χρηστέον καὶ
μέχρι τίνων τῇ προνοίᾳ χαλεπόν, οἱ μὲν οὔδενὸς
ἀπλῶς τὸν θεὸν οἱ δ’ ὁμοῦ τι πάντων αὐτίων
ποιούντες ἀστοχοῦσι τοῦ μετρίου καὶ πρέποντος.
εὐ μὲν οὖν λέγουσι καὶ οἱ λέγοντες ὅτι Πλάτων τὸ
taῖς γεννωμέναις ποιότητσι ὑποκείμενον στοιχείον
ἔξευρών, δ’ νῦν ὑλὴν καὶ φύσιν καλοῦσιν, πολλῶν
ἀπήλλαξε καὶ μεγάλων ἀποριῶν τοὺς φιλοσόφους.
415 ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκοῦσι πλείονας λῦσαι καὶ μείζονας

1 οὖσαν ἐν F.C.B.: τοὺς ἐν.
2 φασίν] φημὶ several editors.
3 αἰ added by F.C.B.
4 οἱ σοφοὶ δεῖν Paton: δεῖνος (-οῖς) οφείλειν (-εῖ).
5 ἦν τὸν γὰρ ἐγκαταμείγνυς F.C.B (cf. 148 a): καταμείγνυ
preceded by a lacuna.

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mankind, he gives nothing imperishable, so that, as
Sophocles \(^a\) puts it, ‘ the works of gods may die, but
not the gods.’ Their presence and power wise men
are ever telling us we must look for in Nature and in
Matter, where it is manifested, the originating influ-
ence being reserved for the Deity, as is right. Cer-
tainly it is foolish and childish in the extreme to
imagine that the god himself after the manner of
ventriloquists (who used to be called ‘Eurycleis,’ \(^b\) but now ‘Pythones’) enters into the bodies of his
prophets and prompts their utterances, employing
their mouths and voices as instruments.\(^c\) For if he
allows himself to become entangled in men’s needs,
he is prodigal with his majesty and he does not
observe the dignity and greatness of his pre-
eminence.”

10. “You are right,” said Cleombrotus; “but
since it is hard to apprehend and to define in what
way and to what extent Providence should be
brought in as an agent, those who make the god
responsible for nothing at all and those who make
him responsible for all things alike go wide of
moderation and propriety. They put the case well
who say that Plato,\(^d\) by his discovery of the element
underlying all created qualities, which is now called
‘Matter’ and ‘Nature,’ has relieved philosophers of
many great perplexities; but, as it seems to me,
those persons have resolved more and greater per-

766 (no. 850 Pearson). The same thought is in the Oedipus
at Colonus, 607.

\(^b\) Eurycles was a famous ventriloquist. Cf. Plato, Sophist,
252 c, and Aristophanes, Wasps, 1019, with the scholium.

\(^c\) Cf. 397 c and 404 b, supra.

\(^d\) In the Timaeus, 48 e ff., for example.
(415) ἀπορίας οἱ τὸ τῶν δαίμονων γένος ἐν μέσῳ θεότεροι θεῶν καὶ ἄνθρωπων καὶ τρόπων τινὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν ἡμῶν συνάγον εἰς ταυτὸ καὶ συνάπτων ἐξευρόντες, εἴτε μάγων τῶν περὶ Ζωραόστρην ὁ λόγος οὕτως ἐστιν, εἴτε Ὄφρακιος ἀπὶ Ὄρφεώς εἰς Ἀιγύπτιος Ἡ Ἐρυγίως, ὡς τεκμαίρομεθα ταῖς ἐκκατέρωθι τελεταῖς ἀναμεμειγμένα πολλά ἵκητα καὶ πένθιμα τῶν ὄργιαξομένων καὶ δρωμένων ἵρων ὀρῶντες. Ἐλλήνων δ’ Ὅμηρος μὲν ἔτι φαίνεται κοινῶς Β ἀμφοτέροις χρώμενοι τοῖς οὐνόμασι καὶ τοῖς θεοὺς ἐστίν ὅτε δαίμονας προσαγορεύων. Ἡσίοδος δὲ καθαρῶς καὶ διωρισμένως πρώτος ἐξεθηκε τῶν λογικῶν τέσσαρα γένη, θεοὺς εἶτα δαίμονας εἰθ’ ἤρως τὸ δ’ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄνθρωποις, ἐξ ἄν ἐοίκε ποιεῖν τὴν μεταβολήν, τοῦ μὲν χρυσοῦ γένους εἰς δαίμονας τολμοῦσ κάγαθος τῶν δ’ ἡμιθέων εἰς ἤρως ἀποκριθέντων.

"Ἐτεροὶ δὲ μεταβολὴν τοῖς τε σώμασιν ὴμοίως ποιοῦσι καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς, ὥσπερ ἐκ γῆς ὕδωρ ἐκ δ’ ὕδατος ἄρρ ἐκ δ’ ἀέρος πῦρ γεννώμενον ὑψάται, τῆς οὐσίας ἄνω φερομένης, οὕτως ἐκ μὲν ἄνθρωπων εἰς ἤρως ἐκ δ’ ἤρων εἰς δαίμονας αἱ βελτίων ψυχαὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν λαμβάνουσιν. ἐκ δὲ δαίμονων Κ ὁλίγαι μὲν ἔτι χρῶντος πολλῷ δι’ ἄρετῆν καθαρθεῖσαι παντάπασι θειότητος μετέσχον· ἐνίας δὲ συμβαίνει μὴ κρατεῖν ἑαυτῶν, ἀλλ’ ὑφιεμέναι καί

1 θεότεροι in Eusebius, not in the mss.
2 πολλὰ Eusebius: πρός τὰ.
3 εἰθ’ ἤρως . . . γένους εἰς δαίμονας in Eusebius, omitted in the mss.
4 ἄρετῆν] ἄρετῆς in most mss.

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plexities who have set the race of demigods midway between gods and men, and have discovered a force to draw together, in a way, and to unite our common fellowship—whether this doctrine comes from the wise men of the cult of Zoroaster, or whether it is Thracian and harks back to Orpheus, or is Egyptian, or Phrygian, as we may infer from observing that many things connected with death and mourning in the rites of both lands are combined in the ceremonies so fervently celebrated there. Among the Greeks, Homer, moreover, appears to use both names in common and sometimes to speak of the gods as demigods; but Hesiod was the first to set forth clearly and distinctly four classes of rational beings: gods, demigods, heroes, in this order, and, last of all, men; and as a sequence to this, apparently, he postulates his transmutation, the golden race passing selectively into many good divinities, and the demigods into heroes.

"Others postulate a transmutation for bodies and souls alike; in the same manner in which water is seen to be generated from earth, air from water, and fire from air, as their substance is borne upward, even so from men into heroes and from heroes into demigods the better souls obtain their transmutation. But from the demigods a few souls still, in the long reach of time, because of supreme excellence, come, after being purified, to share completely in divine qualities. But with some of these souls it comes to pass that they do not maintain control over themselves, but yield to temptation and are again clothed

\[a\] Cf. Plutarch, Comment. on Hesiod, Works and Days, 122 (Bernardakis's edition, vol. vii. p. 52); cf. also 390 e, supra.
(415) évduoménais páliv sómaviı ñvnto˙s álambh kai ámndrávν ζων ώσπερ ánádhymíaıν úschev.

11. "Ό δ' Ἡσίοδος οἴεται καὶ περίοδοι τοῖς χρόνων γίγνεσθαί τοῖς δαίμοσι τὰς τελευτάς· λέγει γάρ εν τῷ τῆς Ναίδος προσώπῳ καὶ τὸν χρόνον αἰνιττόμενον

ἐννέα τοι ζωεί γενεάς λακέρυζα κορώνη,
άνδρῶν ἡβώντων ἐλαφος δε τε τετρακόρωνος·
τρεῖς δ' ἐλάφους ο κόραξ γηράσκεται· αὐτὰρ ο
φοίνιξ

ἐννέα τοὺς κόρακας· δέκα δ' ἠμεῖς τοὺς φοίνικας

D νύμφαι ἐνπλόκαμοι, κοῦραι Δίως αἰγιόχου.

tούτον τὸν χρόνον εἰς πολὺ πλῆθος ἀριθμοῦ συν-
άγουσιν οἱ μὴ καλῶς δεχόμενοι τὴν γενεάν. ἔστι
γάρ ἐνιαυτός· ὥστε γίγνεσθαι τὸ σύμπαν ἐννακισ-
χίλια ἐτή καὶ ἐππακόσια καὶ εἰκοσι τῆς τῶν δα-
μόνων ζωῆς, ἐλαττον μὲν οὐ νομίζουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ
tῶν μαθηματικῶν, πλέον δ' οὐ3 Πίνδαρος εἰρήκει
εἰπὼν τὰς νύμφας ζήν

ἰσοδένδρον τέκμαρ4 αἰώνος λαχοίσας;5

διὸ καὶ καλεῖν αὐτὰς ἀμαδρνάδας."’

"Ετι δ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος, Δημήτριος ὑπολαβὼν,
"πῶς," ἐφη, "λέγεις, ὃ Κλεόμβροτε, γενεὰν ἄνδρὸς
Ε ἐιρήθαι τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν; οὔτε γὰρ 'ἡβῶντος' οὔτε
'γηρῶντος,' ὥς ἀναγιγνώσκουσιν ἐνιοί, χρόνος
ἀνθρωπίνου βίου τοσοῦτος ἐστιν. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν

1 évduoménais Turnebus: ἀναλυομέναις or ἀναδυομέναις.
2 δ' ἠμεῖς τοὺς φοίνικας] φοίνικας δε τοι ἠμεῖς Ῥαχ.
3 οὐ . . . οὐ Wilamowitz-Möllendorff: οὐν . . . οὐ or οὐν.
4 τέκμαρ Turnebus, as in Moralia, 757 f: τέκμωρ.
5 λαχοίσας Heyne: λαχούσας.

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with mortal bodies and have a dim and darkened life, like mist or vapour.

11. "Hesiod thinks that with the lapse of certain periods of years the end comes even to the demigods; for, speaking in the person of the Naiad, he indirectly suggests the length of time with these words:"

Nine generations long is the life of the crow and his cawing,
Nine generations of vigorous men. Lives of four crows together
Equal the life of a stag, and three stags the old age of a raven;
Nine of the lives of the raven the life of the Phoenix doth equal;
Ten of the Phoenix we Nymphs, fair daughters of Zeus of the aegis.

Those that do not interpret 'generation' well make an immense total of this time; but it really means a year, so that the sum of the life of these divinities is nine thousand, seven hundred and twenty years, less than most mathematicians think, and more than Pindar has stated when he says that the Nymphs live

Allotted a term as long as the years of a tree,
and for this reason he calls them Hamadryads."

While he was still speaking Demetrius, interrupting him, said, "How is it, Cleombrotus, that you can say that the year has been called a generation? For neither of a man 'in his vigour' nor 'in his eld,' as some read the passage, is the span of human life such

* Hesiod, Frag. 183 (ed. Rzach); cf. the Latin version of Ausonius, p. 93, ed. Peiper (1886). See also Moralia, 989 A; Martial, x. 67; Achilles Tatius, iv. 4. 3.

* Pf Aristophanes, Birds, 609.

* Pindar, Frag. 165 (ed. Christ); quoted also in Moralia, 757 f.
'ῃβῶντων' ἀναγιγνώσκοντες ἐτη τριάκοντα ποι-οῦσι τὴν γενεάν καθ' Ἡράκλειτου, ἐν δὲ χρόνῳ
γεννώντα παρέχει τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγεννημένον ὁ
γεννήσας. οἱ δὲ 'γηρὼντων' πάλιν οὐχ 'ἢβών-
tων' γράφοντες ὡκτῶ καὶ ἑκατον ἑτη νέμουσι τῇ
γενεᾷ: τὰ γὰρ πεντήκοντα καὶ τέτταρα μεσούσις
ὁρον ἀνθρωπίνης ζωῆς εἶναι, συγκείμενον ἐκ τε τῆς
ἀρχῆς καὶ τῶν πρώτων δυοῦν ἐπιπέδων καὶ δυοῦν
tετραγώνων καὶ δυοῦν κύβων, οὔς καὶ Πλάτων ἄρι-

F θύμοις ἔλαβεν ἐν τῇ ψυχογονίᾳ. καὶ ὁ λόγος ὅλος
ἤνιχθαί δοκεῖ τῷ Ἡσιόδῳ πρὸς τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν,
ὅπηνικά συνεκλείπειν τοῖς υγροῖς εἰκός ἐστι τὰς
Νῦμφας,

αἱ τ’ ἀλοσα καλά νέμονται
καὶ πηγὰς ποταμῶν καὶ πίσεα ποιήντα.”

12. Καὶ ὁ Κλεόμπροτος, "ἀκούω ταῦτ'," ἐφη,
"πολλῶν καὶ ὅρῳ τὴν Στωικήν ἐκπύρωσιν ὡσπερ
τὰ Ἡρακλείτου καὶ Ὁρφέως ἐπινεμομένην ἐπὶ
1. ἡβώντων] ἡβώντος in nearly all mss.
2. ἀρχῆς] μονάδος in some mss.
3. συνεξάπτουσαν Wyttenbach: συνεξαπατοῦσαν (or -όσαν).
5. περιεχόν most editors (περιεσχηκός Schwartz): περιεχῶς.

416 οὖτω καὶ τὰ Ἡσιόδου καὶ συνεξάπτουσαν. ἄλλ’
οὔτε τοῦ κόσμου τὴν φθορὰν ἀνέχομαι λεγομένην,
tά τ’ ἀμήχαν’ ἀναγκαίον ὑπομνήσει τῶν φωνών
μάλιστα περὶ τὴν κορώνην καὶ τὴν ἔλαφον ἐκδύσθαι
ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπερβάλλοντας. οὐκ ἐνιαυτὸς ἄρχην ἐν
αὐτῷ καὶ τελευτήν ὅμοί τι ‘πάντων ὑν φέρουσιν
ὀραί γῇ δὲ φύει’ περιέχον, ὁὔτ’ ἀνθρώπων ἀπὸ
as this. Those who read ‘in their vigour’ make a
generation thirty years, in accord with Heracleitus, a
time sufficient for a father to have a son who is a
father also; but again those who write ‘in their eld’
and not ‘in their vigour’ assign an hundred and eight
years to a generation; for they say that fifty-four
marks the limit of the middle years of human life, a
number which is made up of the first number, the
first two plane surfaces, two squares and two cubes, b
numbers which Plato also took in his Generation of the
Soul. c The whole matter as stated by Hesiod seems
to contain a veiled reference to the ‘Conflagration,’
when the disappearance of all liquids will most likely
be accompanied by the extinction of the Nymphs,

Who in the midst of fair woodlands,
Sources of rivers, and grass-covered meadows have their
abiding. d

12. “Yes,” said Cleombrotus, “I hear this from
many persons, and I observe that the Stoic ‘Con-
flagration,’ just as it feeds on the verses of Hera-
cleitus and Orpheus, is also seizing upon those of
Hesiod. But I cannot brook this talk of universal
destruction; and such impossibilities, in recalling to
our minds these utterances, especially those about
the crow and the stag, must be allowed to revert
upon those that indulge in such exaggeration. Does
not a year include within itself the beginning and the
end of ‘all things which the Seasons and the Earth
make grow,’ e and is it not foreign to men’s ways to

a Cf. Diels, Frag. der Vorsokratiker, i. p. 76, Heracleitus,
no. A 19.
b That is $1 + (1 \times 2) + (1 \times 3) + 4 + 9 + 8 + 27 = 54$.
d Homer, II. xx. 8-9.
e Cf. Diels, Frag. der Vorsokratiker, i. p. 97, Heracleitus,
no. B 100.

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(416) τρόπου γενέα κέκληται; καὶ γὰρ ύμεῖς ὀμολογεῖτε δήπου1 τὸν Ἡσίοδον ἀνθρωπίνην ζωὴν τὴν γενεὰν λέγειν. ἢ γὰρ οὐχ οὕτως;"

Συνέφησεν ο̣ Δημήτριος.

Β "'Αλλὰ μὴν κάκεινο δῆλον," ο̣ Κλεόμβροτος εἶπε, "τὸ πολλάκις τὸ μετροῦν καὶ τὰ μετροῦμενα τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασι προσαγορεύεσθαι, κοτύλην καὶ χοίνικα καὶ ἀμφορέα καὶ μέδιμνον. οὐ τρόπον οὖν τοῦ παντὸς ἀριθμοῦ τὴν μονάδα μέτρον οὕσαν ἐλάχιστον καὶ ἀρχὴν ἀριθμοῦ καλοῦμεν, οὕτω τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, ὥς πρῶτω μετροῦμεν ἀνθρώπου βίον, ὄμωνύμως τῷ μετροῦμενῷ γενεάν ὀνόμασεν. καὶ γὰρ οὐς μὲν ἐκεῖνοι ποιοῦσιν ἀριθμοὺς οὐδὲν ἔχουσι τῶν νεομοιμεμένων ἐπιφανῶν καὶ λαμπρῶν ὡς ἐν ἀριθμοῖς. ὅ τε τῶν ἐννακισχίλιων ἐπτακοσίων εἶκοσι τὴν γένεσιν ἐσχήκει συνθέσει μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀπὸ μονάδος τεττάρων ἑφεξῆς τετράκις γενομένων ἡ δεκάκις γενομένων2 τεττάρων. τετταράκοντα γὰρ

C έκατέρωσ γίγνεται. ταῦτα δὲ πεντάκις τριγωνοσθέντα τὸν ἐκκείμενον ἀριθμὸν παρέσχεν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἡμᾶς Δημήτριῷ διαφέρεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ κἂν3 πλείων ὁ χρόνος ἡ κἂν ἔλαττων κἂν τεταγμένος κἂν ἄτακτος, ἐν ώς μεταλλάττει δαίμονος ψυχή4 καὶ ἢρως βίον, οὐδὲν ἤπτον ἑφ’ ὥ5 βούλεται διδεῖσθαι μετὰ μαρτύρων σοφῶν καὶ παλαιῶν ὧτι φύσεις εἰσὶ τινες ὤσπερ ἐν μεθορίῳ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων δεχόμεναι πάθη

1 δήπου Turnebus: μήπου.
2 ἡ δεκάκις Meziriacus, γενομένων F.C.B., to fill a lacuna.
3 κἂν Eusebius: ἄν.
4 ψυχή Eusebius and one ms. corr.: ψυχήν.
5 ἑφ’ ὥ] ἑφ’ ὥ some mss.: ὥ Viger.
call it a ‘generation’? As a matter of fact you yourselves surely agree that Hesiod by the word ‘generation’ means a man’s life. Is not that so?”

“‘Yes,’” said Demetrius.

“And this fact also is clear,” said Cleombrotus, “that often the measure and the things measured are called by the same name, as, for example, gill, quart, gallon, and bushel. In the same way, then, in which we call unity a number, being, as it is, the smallest number and the first; so the year, which we use as the first measure of man’s life, Hesiod has called by the same name as the thing measured, a ‘generation.’ The fact is that the numbers which those other persons produce have none of those notable and conspicuous qualities which may be inherent in numbers. The number nine thousand, seven hundred and twenty has been produced by adding together the first four numbers and multiplying them by four, or by multiplying four by ten. Either process gives forty, and when this is multiplied five times by three it gives the specified number. But concerning these matters there is no need for us to disagree with Demetrius. In fact, even if the period of time in which the soul of the demigod or hero changes its life be longer or shorter, determinate or indeterminate, none the less the proof will be there on the basis which he desires, fortified by clear testimony from ancient times, that in the confines, as it were, between gods and men there exist certain natures susceptible to

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*a* Cf. Censorinus, *De die natali ad Iu. Caerellium*, xviii. 11, and Geffcken in *Hermes*, xlix. 336.

*b* Cf. 415 b, supra.

*c* $(1 + 2 + 3 + 4) \times 4 = 40$.

*d* $40 \times 3^5 = 9720$.

*e* Cf. 415 b, supra.
(416) θυητὰ καὶ μεταβολὰς ἀναγκαίας, οὕς δαίμονας ὀρθῶς ἔχει κατὰ νόμον πατέρων ἡγουμένους καὶ ὀνομάζοντας σέβεσθαι.

13. "Παράδειγμα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ Ἐσοκράτης μὲν D ὁ Πλάτωνος ἐταύρος ἐπούσατο τὸ τῶν τριγώνων, θείω μὲν ἀπεικάσας τὸ ἱσόπλευρον θυητῷ δὲ τὸ σκαληνὸν τὸ δ' ἱσοσκελὲς δαίμονίῳ: τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἵσον πάντη τὸ δ' ἄνισον πάντη, τὸ δὲ πῆ μὲν ἴσον πῆ δ' ἄνισον, ὁσπερ' ἡ δαίμονιν φύσις ἔχουσα καὶ πάθος θυητοῦ καὶ θεοῦ δύναμιν. ἡ δὲ φύσις αἰσθητὰς εἰκόνας ἐξέθηκε καὶ ὁμοιότητας ὀρωμένας, θεῶν μὲν ἕλιον καὶ ἀστρα θυητῶν δὲ σέλα καὶ κομήτας καὶ διάτονας, ως Εὐριπίδης εἴκασεν ἐν οἷς εἶπεν,

ο δ' ἄρτι θάλλων σάρκα διοπτῆς ὅπως ἀστήρ ἀπέσβη πνεῦμ' ἀφεῖς ἐς αἰθέρα.

Ε μεικτὸν5 δὲ σώμα καὶ μίμημα δαίμονιον ὄντως τὴν σελήνην, τῷ τῇ τούτου τοῦ γένους συνάδεων περιφορᾶ, φθισεῖς φαινομένας δεχομένην καὶ αὐξήσεις καὶ μεταβολὰς ὀρῶντες, οἱ μὲν ἄστρων γεώδες οἱ δ' ὀλυμπίαν γῆν οἱ δὲ χθονίας ὅμοι καὶ οὐρανίας κλήρον 'Εκάτης προσείτον. ὁσπερ' οὐν ἄν6 εἰ τὸν ἀέρα τις ἀνέλοι καὶ ὑποσπάσει τὸν μεταξ' γῆς καὶ σελήνης, τὴν ἐνότητα διαλύσει7 καὶ τὴν κοινω

1 τῷ λόγῳ] τοῦ λόγου?
2 ὀρωμένας, θεῶν μὲν Turnebus: ὀρωμένων θεῶν ὥς.
3 σάρκι in Moralia, 1090 c. 4 εἰς Nauck: εἰς.
5 μικτῶν Turnebus: μικρῶν. 6 ἄν added by F.C.B.
7 διαλύσεις F.C.B.: διαλύσει.

a "All last night the northern streamers flashed across the western sky."
human emotions and involuntary changes, whom it is right that we, like our fathers before us, should regard as demigods, and, calling them by that name, should reverence them.

13. "As an illustration of this subject, Xenocrates, the companion of Plato, employed the order of the triangles; the equilateral he compared to the nature of the gods, the scalene to that of man, and the isosceles to that of the demigods; for the first is equal in all its lines, the second unequal in all, and the third is partly equal and partly unequal, like the nature of the demigods, which has human emotions and godlike power. Nature has placed within our ken perceptible images and visible likenesses, the sun and the stars for the gods, and for mortal men beams of light, a comets, and meteors, a comparison which Euripides b has made in the verses:

He that but yesterday was vigorous
Of frame, even as a star from heaven falls,
Gave up in death his spirit to the air.

But there is a body with complex characteristics which actually parallels the demigods, namely the moon; and when men see that she, by her being consistently in accord with the cycles through which those beings pass, c is subject to apparent wanings and wakings and transformations, some call her an earth-like star, others a star-like earth, d and others the domain of Hecatē, who belongs both to the earth and to the heavens. Now if the air that is between the earth and the moon were to be removed and withdrawn, the unity and consociation of the universe would be destroyed,

Cf. Moralia, 361 c, and the lines of Empedocles there quoted.

Ibid. 935 c.
νίαν τοῦ παντὸς, ἐν μέσῳ κενῆς καὶ ἀσυνδέτου χώρας γενομένης, οὕτως οἱ δαμόνων γένος μὴ ἂπολείποντες, ἀνεπίμεικτα τὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων ποιοῦσι καὶ ἀσυνάλλακτα, τὴν ἐρμηνευτικὴν, ὥς Πλάτων ἔλεγεν, καὶ διακονικῆν ἀναροῦντες φύσιν, ἡ πάντα φύρευν ἀμα καὶ ταράττειν ἀναγκάζουσι ἡμᾶς τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις πάθεσι καὶ πράγμασι τὸν θεὸν ἐμβιβάζοντας καὶ κατασπώντας ἐπὶ τὰς χρείας, ὡσπέρ αἱ Θετταλαὶ λέγονται τὴν σελήνην. ἀλλ' ἐκείνων μὲν ἐν γυναιξὶ τὸ πανούργον ἔσχε πίστιν Ἀγλαονίκης τῆς Ἡγήτωρος, ὡς φασιν, ἀστρολογικῆς γυναικὸς ἐν ἐκλείψει σελήνης ἀεὶ προσποιομένης γοητεύειν καὶ καθαρεῖν αὐτήν. ἡμεῖς δὲ μήτε μαντείας τινάς ἀθεϊάστους εἶναι λεγόντων ἡ τελετὰς καὶ ὀργισμοὺς ἀμελουμένους ὑπὸ θεῶν ἀκούομεν. μήτ' αὖ πάλιν τὸν θεὸν ἐν τούτοις ἀναστρέφεσθαι καὶ παρεῖναι καὶ συμπραγματεύεσθαι δοξάζωμεν, ἀλλ' οἰς δίκαιον ἐστί ταῦτα λειτουργοῖς θεῶν ἀνατιθέντες ὡσπέρ ὑπηρέταις καὶ γραμματεὺσι, δαίμονας νομίζωμεν ἐπισκόπους θεῶν ἐρῶν καὶ μυστηρίων ὀργιστάς, ἂλλος δὲ τῶν ὑπερηφάνων καὶ μεγάλων τιμωροῦσιν ἀδικίων περιπολείν. τοὺς δὲ πάνυ σεμνῶς ὁ Ὅσιόδος 'ἀγνούς' προσείπε 'πλουτοδότας, καὶ τοῦτο γέρας βασιλήιον ἔχουτας,' ὡς βασιλικοῦ τοῦ εὖ ποιεῖν ὀντος. εἰσὶ γάρ, ὡς

1 λεγόντων] λέγοντας most mss. (λέγοντος Schwartz).
2 γραμματεύσι] πραγματευταῖς van Groningen.
3 θεῶν] θεῶν Reiske.

a Cf. Republic, 260 d, and Symposium, 202 e.

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since there would be an empty and unconnected space in the middle; and in just the same way those who refuse to leave us the race of demigods make the relations of gods and men remote and alien by doing away with the 'interpretative and ministering nature,' as Plato has called it; or else they force us to a disorderly confusion of all things, in which we bring the god into men's emotions and activities, drawing him down to our needs, as the women of Thessaly are said to draw down the moon. This cunning deceit of theirs, however, gained credence among women when the daughter of Hegetor, Aglaonicé, who was skilled in astronomy, always pretended at the time of an eclipse of the moon that she was bewitching it and bringing it down. But as for us, let us not listen to any who say that there are some oracles not divinely inspired, or religious ceremonies and mystic rites which are disregarded by the gods; and on the other hand let us not imagine that the god goes in and out and is present at these ceremonies and helps in conducting them; but let us commit these matters to those ministers of the gods to whom it is right to commit them, as to servants and clerks, and let us believe that demigods are guardians of sacred rites of the gods and prompters in the Mysteries, while others go about as avengers of arrogant and grievous cases of injustice. Still others Hesiod has very impressively addressed as Holy Givers of wealth, and possessing in this a meed that is kingly, implying that doing good to people is kingly. For

\[\text{supra.}\]
(417) ἐν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ δαίμοσιν ἀρετῆς διαφορά ὑπάρχει καὶ τοῦ παθητικοῦ καὶ ἀλόγου τοῖς μὲν ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ἀμαυρῶν ἦτι λεύψαναι ὡσπερ περίττωμα, τοῖς δὲ πολὺ καὶ δυσκατάσβεστον ἐνεστὶν, ὥν ἠχὴν καὶ σύμβολα πολλαχοὶ θυσίαι καὶ τελεταὶ καὶ μυθολογίαι σώζοντο καὶ διαφυλάττουσιν ἐνδεισπαρμένα.

14. "Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν μυστικῶν, ἐν οἷς τὰς Π Μεγίστας ἐμφάσεις καὶ διαφάσεις λαβεῖν ἐστὶ τῆς περὶ δαίμονον ἀληθείας, 'εὐστομὰ μοι κεῖσθω:', καθ" Ἡρόδοτος. ἐορτᾶς δὲ καὶ θυσίας, ὡσπερ ἡμέρας ἀποφράδας καὶ σκυθρωτάς, ἐν ἀῖς ὕμοφαγίαι καὶ διαστασμοὶ νηστεῖαι τε καὶ κοπετοὶ, πολλαχοὶ δὲ πάλιν ἀισχρολογίαι πρὸς ἑρωίς μανίαι τ'{ ἀλαλαὶ τ}{ όρινομένων\(^2\) ῥισαύχειν οὐν κλόνων, \[\]

θεῶν μὲν οὖν δαίμονων δὲ φαύλων ἀποτροπής ἕνεκα φήσαμι' ἀν τελείωσαν\(^3\) μειλίχια καὶ παραμύθια. καὶ τὰς πάλαι ποιομένας ἀνθρωποθυσίας οὔτε θεοὺς ἀπαίτειν ἡ προσδέχεσθαι πιθανὸν ἐστιν, \[\]

D οὔτε μάτην ἂν ἀνείχοντο\(^4\) βασιλείς καὶ στρατηγοὶ παῖδας αὐτῶν ἐπιδιδόντες καὶ καταρχόμενοι\(^5\) καὶ σφάττοντες,\(^6\) ἀλλὰ χαλεπῶν καὶ δυστρόπων ὀργὰς καὶ βαρυθυμίας ἀφοσιούμενοι\(^7\) καὶ ἀποστιμπλάντες ἀλαστόρων, ἐνίων\(^8\) δὲ μανικοὺς καὶ τυραννικοὺς

1 ἀλαλαὶ τε Turnebus: ἀλα τε or ἀλαί.
2 ὀρινομένων in 623 b and Theodoretus: ὀρινόμεναι (or ὀρινόμενον in one ms.).
3 τελείωσαν Eusebius: τελεῖν.
5 καταρχόμενοι Eusebius: ἀρχόμενοι.
6 σφάττοντες Eusebius: φυλάττοντες.
7 ἀφοσιούμενοι Eusebius: ἀποσειόμενοι.
8 ἐνίων] ἐνίοις?
as among men, so also among the demigods, there are different degrees of excellence, and in some there is a weak and dim remainder of the emotional and irrational, a survival, as it were, while in others this is excessive and hard to stifle. Of all these things there are, in many places, sacrifices, ceremonies, and legends which preserve and jealously guard vestiges and tokens embodied here and there in their fabric.

14. "Regarding the rites of the Mysteries, in which it is possible to gain the clearest reflections and adumbrations of the truth about the demigods, 'let my lips be piously sealed,' as Herodotus a says; but as for festivals and sacrifices, which may be compared with ill-omened and gloomy days, in which occur the eating of raw flesh, rending of victims, fasting, and beating of breasts, and again in many places scurrilous language at the shrines, and

Frenzy and shouting of throngs in excitement
With tumultuous tossing of heads in the air, b

I should say that these acts are not performed for any god, but are soothing and appeasing rites for the averting of evil spirits. Nor is it credible that the gods demanded or welcomed the human sacrifices of ancient days, nor would kings and generals have endured giving over their children and submitting them to the preparatory rites and cutting their throats to no purpose save that they felt they were propitiating and offering satisfaction to the wrath and sullen temper of some harsh and implacable avenging deities, or to the insane and imperious passions of

a Herodotus, ii. 171: cf. Moralia, 607 c and 636 d.
(417) ἐρωτας οὗ δυναμένων οὐδὲ βουλομένων σώμασι καὶ
dιὰ σωμάτων ὁμιλεῖν. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ Ἡρακλῆς
Οἰχαλίαν ἐπολιῶρκει διὰ παρθένον, οὗτος ίσχυρὸι
καὶ βίαιοι δαίμονες ἔξαιτούμενοι ψυχὴν ἀνθρω-
πίνην περιεχομένην σώματι2 λοιμοὺς τε πόλει καὶ
γῆς ἀφορίας ἑπάγουσι καὶ πολέμους καὶ στάσεις

Εταράττουσιν, ἀχρὶ οὗ λάβωσι καὶ τύχωσιν οὔ3
ἐρώσιν. ἐνιοὺς4 δὲ τοιναντίον, ὥσπερ ἐν Κρήτῃ
χρόνων συχνῷ διάγων ἑγγῶν ἀτοποῦ τινα τελο-
μένην ἑορτήν, ἐν ἧν καὶ εἰδωλον ἀνδρὸς ἀκέφαλον
ἀναδεικνύσοι καὶ λέγουσιν ὡς οὕτως ἢν Μόλος ὁ
Μηριόνου πατήρ, νῦμφῃ δὲ πρὸς βίαν συγγενόμενος
ἀκέφαλος εὑρεθείη.

15. "Καὶ μὴν ὅσας ἐν τε μῦθοι καὶ ὁμίῳς
λέγουσι καὶ ἂδουσι, τοῦτο μὲν ἄρπαγάς τοῦτο δὲ
πλάνας θεῶν κρύψεις τε καὶ φυγάς καὶ λατρείας,
οὐ θεῶν εἰσιν ἀλλὰ δαίμονων παθήματα καὶ τύχαι
μυημονεύόμεναι διὰ ἀρετὴν καὶ δύναμιν αὐτῶν, καὶ
οὐτ' Ἀἰσχύλος εἶπεν ὅσιον,5

F ἀγνὸν τ' 'Απόλλων φυγάδ' ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ θεῶν,
oὐθ' ὁ Σοφοκλέας "Ἀδμητός
οὐμὸς δ' ἀλέκτωρ αὐτὸν ἤγει πρὸς μύλην.

πλεῖστον δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας διαμαρτάνουσιν οἱ
Δελφῶν θεολόγοι νομίζοντες ἐνταῦθα ποτὲ πρὸς

1 οὗτος] οὗτοι πολλάκις Eusebius and some mss.
2 σώματι Eusebius: σώματι καὶ διὰ σωμάτων ὁμιλεῖν copied
from above.
3 οὗ] ἰν Sieveking.
5 ὅσιον added by F.C.B. (ὀρθῶς added by Xylander).

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some who had not the power or desire to seek satisfaction in a natural and normal way. But as Heracles laid siege to Oechalia for the sake of a maiden, so powerful and impetuous divinities, in demanding a human soul which is incarnate within a mortal body, bring pestilences and failures of crops upon States and stir up wars and civil discords, until they succeed in obtaining what they desire. To some, however, comes the opposite; for example, when I was spending a considerable time in Crete, I noted an extraordinary festival being celebrated there in which they exhibit the image of a man without a head, and relate that this used to be Molus, father of Meriones, and that he violated a young woman; and when he was discovered, he was without a head.

15. "As for the various tales of rapine and wanderings of the gods, their concealments and banishment and servitude, which men rehearse in legend and in song, all these are, in fact, not things that were done to the gods or happened to them, but to the demigods; and they are kept in memory because of the virtues and power of these beings; nor did Aeschylus speak devoutly when he said

Holy Apollo, god from heaven banned;

nor Admetus in Sophocles,

My cock it was that sent him to the mill.

But the greatest error in regard to the truth is that of the theologians of Delphi who think that the god
ofin to\thi\thi per\thi tou\t\txri\thirion\tm\naxh\thi \ngenvo\thi, 
\ka\tkai\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\ta\t
once had a battle here with a serpent for the possession of the oracle, and they permit poets and prose-writers to tell of this in their competitions in the theatres, whereby they bear specific testimony against the most sacred of the rites that they perform."

At this Philip the historian, who was present, expressed surprise, and inquired against what hallowed rites Cleombrotus thought that the competition bore testimony. "These," said Cleombrotus, "which have to do with the oracle here, and in which the city recently initiated all the Greeks west of Thermopylae and extended the rites as far as Tempê. For the structure which is erected here near the threshing-floor a every eight years b is not a nest-like serpent's den, but a copy of the dwelling of a despot or king. c The onset upon it, which is made in silence through the way called 'Dolon's Way,' by which the Labyadae with lighted torches conduct the boy, who must have two parents living, and, after, applying fire to the structure and upsetting the table, flee through the doors of the temple without looking back; and finally the wanderings and servitude of the boy and the purifications that take place at Tempê—all prompt a suspicion of some great and unholy deed of daring. For it is utterly ridiculous, my good friend, that Apollo, after slaying a brute creature, should flee to the ends of Greece in quest of purification and, after arriving there, should offer some libations and perform those ceremonies which men perform in the effort to placate and mollify the wrath of spirits whom

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a At the right of the second section of the sacred way, as one progresses upwards toward the temple of Apollo.

b See Moralia, 293 b-e.

c That is, a copy of the primitive circular house.
(418) καὶ πραύνοντες, οὕς ἀλάστορας καὶ παλαιμαίνους

καὶ παλαίων μιασμάτων μνήμας ἐπεξίοντας. 1 οὐ̂ν δὲ ἥκουσα λόγον ἥδη περὶ τῆς φυγῆς ταύτης καὶ τῆς μεταστάσεως, ἀτοποσ μὲν ἐστὶ δεινῶς καὶ παράδοξος· εἰ δὲ ἐλθθείας τι μετέχει, μὴ μικρὸν οἰώμεθα μηδὲ κοινὸν εἶναι τὸ πραχθὲν ἐν τοῖς τότε χρόνοις περὶ τὸ χρηστήριον. ἅλλ' ἵνα μὴ τὸ 'Εμπεδόκλειον ποιεῖν2 δόξω

κορυφᾶς ἐτέρας ἐτέρησο3 προσάπτων μynthesis, μὴ τελέειν4 ἀτραπὸν μίαν,

ἐάσατε με τοῖς πρώτοις τὸ προσήκον ἐπιθείναι τέλος· ἥδη γὰρ ἐπὶ αὐτῶ γεγόναμεν· καὶ τετολμήσαρμεν μετὰ πολλοὺς εἰρήσθαι καὶ ἡμῖν, ὅτι τοῖς

D περὶ τὰ μαντεία καὶ χρηστήρια τεταγμένοις δαιμονίοις ἐκλείπουσι τε κομιδὴ συνεκλείπει ταῦτα5 καὶ φυγόντων ἡ μεταστάσεως ἀποβάλλει τὴν δύναμιν, εἰτα παρόντων αὐτῶν διὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ καθάπερ οργάνα φθέγγεται τῶν χρωμένων ἐπιστάστων καὶ παρόντων."

16. Ταύτα τοῦ Κλεομβρότου διελθόντος, ὁ 'Ἡρακλέων "οὐδεὶς μὲν," ἔφη, "τῶν βεβηλῶν καὶ ἀμνήτων καὶ περὶ θεῶν δόξας ἁσυγκράτους ἡμῖν ἐχόντων πάρεστιν· αὐτοὶ δὲ παραφυλάττωμεν αὐτούς, ὁ Φίλιππε, μὴ λάθωμεν ἀτόπους ὑποθέσεις καὶ μεγάλας τῷ λόγῳ διδόντες."

"Εὖ λέγεις," ὁ Φίλιππος εἶπεν, "ἀλλὰ τι

1 ἐπεξίοντας] ἐπεξίοντες in all mss. but E.
2 ποιεῖν Emperius: εἶπεν.
3 ἐτέρησο Scaliger: ἐτέραις.
4 μὴ τελέειν L'atten and Knatz: μήτε λέγειν.
5 ταύτ' αὐτὰ F.C.B.; καὶ ταύτα Xylander: τὰ τοιαῦτα.
men call the ‘unforgetting avengers,’ as if they followed up the memories of some unforgotten foul deeds of earlier days. And as for the story which I have heard before about this flight and the removal to another place, it is dreadfully strange and paradoxical, but if it has any vestige of truth in it, let us not imagine that what was done in those days about the oracle was any slight or common affair. But that I may not seem to be doing what is described by Empedocles as

Putting the heads of myths together,
Bringing no single path to perfection,
permit me to add to what was said at the outset the proper conclusion, for we have already come to it. Let this statement be ventured by us, following the lead of many others before us, that coincidently with the total defection of the guardian spirits assigned to the oracles and prophetic shrines, occurs the defection of the oracles themselves; and when the spirits flee or go to another place, the oracles themselves lose their power, but when the spirits return many years later, the oracles, like musical instruments, become articulate, since those who can put them to use are present and in charge of them.”

16. When Cleombrotus had expounded these matters, Heracleon said, “There is no unsanctified or irreligious person present, or anyone who holds opinions about the gods that are out of keeping with ours; but let us ourselves be stringently on our guard lest we unwittingly try to support the argument with extraordinary and presumptuous hypotheses.”

“That is a very good suggestion,” said Philip,

\(^{a}\) Diels, *Frag. der Vorsokratiker*, i. p. 235, Empedocles, no. \(b\) 24.
Ε μάλιστα σε δυσώπει τῶν ὑπὸ Κλεομβρότου τιθέμενων;

Καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλέων "τὸ μὲν ἐφεστάναι τοῖς χρηστηρίοις," εἶπε, "μὴ θεοῦς οἰς ἀπηλλάχθαι τῶν περὶ γὴν προσήκον ἔστιν, ἄλλα δαίμονας ὑπηρέτας θεῶν, οὐ δοκεῖ μοι κακῶς ἀξίούσθαι· τὸ δὲ τοῖς δαίμοσι τούτοις μονονουχὶ δράγδην λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τῶν ἐπῶν τῶν Ἐμπεδοκλέους ἀμαρτίας καὶ ἄτας καὶ πλάνας θεηλάτους ἐπιφέρειν, τελευτῶντας δὲ καὶ θανάτους ὤσπερ ἄνθρωπων ὑποτίθεσθαι, θρασύτερον ἡγοῦμαι καὶ βαρβαρικότερον."

'Ἡρώτησεν οὖν ὁ Κλεομβρότος τὸν Φίλιππον, ὅστις εἶναι καὶ ὅποθεν ὁ νεανίας· πυθόμενος δὲ τοῦ Φυσιομα καὶ τὴν πόλιν, "οὐδ' αὐτοῦς ἡμᾶς," ἔφη, "λαυθάνομεν, ὃ Ἡρακλέων, ἐν λόγοις ἀτόποις γεγονότες· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν περὶ πραγμάτων μεγάλων μὴ μεγάλαις προσχρησάμενον ἀρχαίς ἐπὶ τὸ εἰκὸς τῇ δόξῃ προελθείν. οὐ δὲ σεαυτὸν λέληθας ὁ δίδως ἀφαιρούμενος· ὀμολογεῖς γὰρ εἶναι δαίμονας, τῷ 419 δὲ μὴ φαύλους ἀξιόουν εἶναι μηδὲ θνητοὺς οὐκέτι δαίμονας φυλάττεις· τίνι γὰρ τῶν θεῶν διαφέρουσιν, εἰ καὶ κατ' οὐσίαν τὸ ἀφθαρτὸν καὶ κατ' ἀρετὴν τὸ ἀπαθὲς καὶ ἀναμάρτητον ἔχουσιν;"

17. Πρὸς ταῦτα τοῦ Ἡρακλέωνος σιωπή διανοούμενον τι πρὸς αὐτοῦν ὁ Φίλιππος, ἀλλὰ φαύλους μὲν, ἔφη, "δαίμονας οὐκ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς μόνον, ὃ Ἡρακλέων, ἀπέλυτεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Ἐυνοκράτης καὶ Χρύσιππος· ἔτι δὲ Δημόκριτος,

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1 δράγδην Wyttenbach: ῥάγδην (δραχμὴν Eusebius and Theodoretus).
2 ὁ Φίλιππος in Eusebius only.

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a Cf. Diels, Frag. der Vorsokratiker, i. p. 267, Empedocles, no. b 115.
"but which of the theses of Cleombrotus makes you the most uncomfortable?"

"That it is not the gods," said Heracleon, "who are in charge of the oracles, since the gods ought properly to be freed of earthly concerns; but that it is the demigods, ministers of the gods, who have them in charge, seems to me not a bad postulate; but to take, practically by the handful, from the verses of Empedocles a sins, rash crimes, and heaven-sent wanderings, and to impose them upon the demigods, and to assume that their final fate is death, just as with men, I regard as rather too audacious and uncivilized."

Cleombrotus was moved to ask Philip who the young man was and whence he came; and after learning his name and his city he said, "It is not unwittingly, Heracleon, that we have become involved in strange arguments; but it is impossible, when discussing important matters, to make any progress in our ideas toward the probable truth without employing for this purpose important principles. But you unwittingly take back what you concede; for you agree that these demigods exist, but by your postulating that they are not bad nor mortal you no longer keep them; for in what respect do they differ from gods, if as regards their being they possess immortality and as regards their virtues freedom from all emotion or sin?"

17. As Heracleon was reflecting upon this in silence, Philip said, "Not only has Empedocles bequeathed to us bad demigods, Heracleon, but so also have Plato, Xenocrates, and Chrysippus b; and,

b Cf. von Arnim, Stoicorum Veterrum Fragmenta, ii. 1104 (p. 321).
(419) εὐχόμενος ' εὐλόγχων εἰδώλων' τυγχάνειν, δῆλος

'ν ἐτερα δυστράπελα καὶ μοχθηρὰς γιγνώσκων

ἔχοντα προαιρέσεις τινὰς καὶ ὅρμας.

"Περὶ δὲ θανάτου τῶν τουοῦτων ἄκήκοα λόγον
Β ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἄφρονος οὐδ’ ἀλαζόνος. Αἵμιλιανοῦ

γὰρ τοῦ ῥήτορος, οὐ καὶ ὑμῶν ἔνιοι διακηκόασιν,
'Επιθέρσης ἦν πατήρ, ἐμὸς πολίτης καὶ διδάσκαλος

γραμματικῶν. οὕτως ἐφή ποτὲ πλέων εἰς Ἰταλίαν

ἐπιβηθήναι νεώς ἐμπορικὰ χρήματα καὶ συνκοιν

ἐπιβάτας ἀγούσης. ἐσπέρας δ’ ἦδῃ περὶ τὰς
'Εχενάδας νῆσους ἀποσβήναι τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὴν

ναύν διαφερομένην πλησίον γενέσθαι Παξῶν. ἐγρη-

γορέαν δὲ τοὺς πλείστους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ πάνεν

ἐτὶ δεδειπνηκότας. ἐξαίφνης δὲ φωνὴν ἀπὸ τῆς

νῆσος τῶν Παξῶν ἀκοουθῆναι, Θαμοῦν τινὸς βοη

καλοῦντος, ὥστε θαυμάζειν. δ’ ἰ δὲ Θαμοῦς Αἰγύ-

πτιος ἢν κυβερνήτης οὐδὲ τῶν ἐμπλεόντων γνώριμος

πολλοῖς ἀπ’ ὅνοματος. δις μὲν οὖν κληθέντα

συστήσαι, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ὑπακούσαι τῷ καλοῦντι·

κάκεινον ἐπιτείναντα ἐν την φωνὴν εἰπεῖν, ὁπόταν

γένη κατὰ τὸ Παλῶδες, ἀπάγγειλον ὅτι Παῦ ὁ

μέγας τεθνήκε. τοῦτ’ ἀκούσαντας ὁ Ἐπιθέρσης

ἐφῆ πάντας ἐκπλαγήναι καὶ διδόντας εαυτοῖς λόγον

εἰπε ποὺος βέλτιον εἴη τὸ προστεταγμένον εἰπε

μη πολυπραγμονεῖν ἀλλ’ εἶν, οὕτως γνῶναι τόν

Θαμοῦν, εἰ μὲν εἰ̣η πνεῦμα, παραπλεῖν ἡσυχίαν

ἔχοντα, νυνείμας δὲ καὶ γαλήνης περὶ τὸν τόπον

1 δῆλος Eusebius only, followed by Wytenbach; ἡ δῆλος

Paton: ἦ or ἡ δῆλος.

2 ἐπιτείναντα] ἐπιτείνουσα one ms. and one ms. of Eusebius.

3 ὁπόταν Eusebius: ὅτι ὁπόταν.

4 εἰ μὲν εἰ̣η Eusebius: εὰν μὲν ἦ or ἦν.

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in addition, Democritus,\(^a\) by his prayer that he may meet with 'propitious spirits,' clearly recognized that there is another class of these which is perverse and possessed of vicious predilections and impulses.

"As for death among such beings, I have heard the words of a man who was not a fool nor an impostor. The father of Aemilianus the orator, to whom some of you have listened, was Epitherses, who lived in our town and was my teacher in grammar. He said that once upon a time in making a voyage to Italy he embarked on a ship carrying freight and many passengers. It was already evening when, near the Echinades Islands, the wind dropped, and the ship drifted near Paxi. Almost everybody was awake, and a good many had not finished their after-dinner wine. Suddenly from the island of Paxi was heard the voice of someone loudly calling Thamus, so that all were amazed. Thamus was an Egyptian pilot, not known by name even to many on board. Twice he was called and made no reply, but the third time he answered; and the caller, raising his voice, said, 'When you come opposite to Palodes, announce that Great Pan is dead.' On hearing this, all, said Epitherses, were astounded and reasoned among themselves whether it were better to carry out the order or to refuse to meddle and let the matter go. Under the circumstances Thamus made up his mind that if there should be a breeze, he would sail past and keep quiet, but with no wind and a smooth sea

\(^a\) Cf. Diels, *Frag. der Vorsokratiker*, ii. p. 94, Democritus, no. 166; and *Life of Timoleon*, chap. i. (235 b).
γενομένης ἀνεπείν ὁ ἥκουσεν. ὡς οὖν ἐγένετο (419) κατὰ τὸ Παλῶδες, οὐτε πνεύματος ὄντος οὐτε κλύδωνος, ἐκ πρύμνης βλέποντα τὸν Θαμοῦν πρὸς τὴν γῆν εἰπεῖν, ὡσπερ ἥκουσεν, ὅτι Πᾶν ὁ μέγας 1 τέθυνεν. οὐ φθήναι δὲ παυσάμενον αὐτοῦ καὶ γενέσθαι μέγαν οὐχ ἐνὸς ἀλλὰ πολλῶν στεναχμὸν ἀμα θαυμασμῷ μεμειγμένον. οἰα δὲ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων παρόντων, ταχὺ τὸν λόγον ἐν Ἀρώμῃ σκεδασθῆναι, καὶ τὸν Θαμοῦν γενέσθαι μετά- πεμπτον ὑπὸ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος. οὕτω δὲ πι- στεῦσαι τῷ λόγῳ τὸν Τιβέριον, ὡστε διαπυθάνεσθαι καὶ ξητεῖν περὶ τοῦ Πανός. εἰκάζειν δὲ τοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ φιλολόγους συχνὸς ὄντας τὸν ἐξ ἐρμοῦ Ἐ καὶ Πηνελόπης γεγενημένου.”

'Ὁ μὲν οὖν Φίλιππος εἶχε καὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐνίοις μάρτυρας, Αἰμιλιανοῦ τοῦ γέροντος ἄκη- κοστας.

18. Ὅ δὲ Δημήτριος ἐφη τῶν περὶ τὴν Βρετ- τανίαν νήσων εἶναι πολλὰς ἐρήμους σποράδας, ὡς ἐνὶς δαμόνων καὶ ἡρῶν ὄνομαζονθάνοι πλεύσαμι δὲ αὐτὸς ἱστορίας καὶ θέας ἑνεκα πομπῆς τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὴν ἐγγίστα κειμένην τῶν ἐρήμων, ἔχουσαν οὐ πολλοὺς ἐποικοῦντας ἰεροὺς δὲ καὶ ἀσύλους πάντας ὑπὸ τῶν Βρεττανῶν ὄντας. ἀφικομένου δ' αὐτοῦ νεωστι' σύγχυσιν μεγάλην περὶ τὸν ἄερα καὶ διοσήμιας πολλὰς γενέσθαι καὶ Ἐ πνεύματα καταρραγῆναι καὶ πεσεῖν πρηστήρας. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐλάφησεν, λέγειν τοὺς νησιώτας ὅτι τῶν κρειττόνων τινὸς ἐκλειψαι γέγονεν. "ὡς γὰρ

1 Πᾶν ὁ μέγας (as above) one ms. of Eusebius: ὁ μέγας Πᾶν.
2 πομπῆ Leonicus: πόμπης.
about the place he would announce what he had heard. So, when he came opposite Palodes, and there was neither wind nor wave, Thamus from the stern, looking toward the land, said the words as he had heard them: 'Great Pan is dead.' Even before he had finished there was a great cry of lamentation, not of one person, but of many, mingled with exclamations of amazement. As many persons were on the vessel, the story was soon spread abroad in Rome, and Thamus was sent for by Tiberius Caesar. Tiberius became so convinced of the truth of the story that he caused an inquiry and investigation to be made about Pan; and the scholars, who were numerous at his court, conjectured that he was the son born of Hermes and Penelopê." 

Moreover, Philip had several witnesses among the persons present who had been pupils of the old man Aemilianus.

18. Demetrius said that among the islands lying near Britain were many isolated, having few or no inhabitants, some of which bore the names of divinities or heroes. He himself, by the emperor's order, had made a voyage for inquiry and observation to the nearest of these islands which had only a few inhabitants, holy men who were all held inviolate by the Britons. Shortly after his arrival there occurred a great tumult in the air and many portents; violent winds suddenly swept down and lightning-flashes darted to earth. When these abated, the people of the island said that the passing of someone of the mightier souls had befallen. "For," said they, "as

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\textit{a} Cf. Herodotus, ii. 145.
\textit{b} Presumably the Scilly islands; cf. Moralia, 941 \textit{a}-942 \textit{a}.
λύχνος ἀναπτόμενος," φάναι, "δεινόν οὐδὲν ἔχει
σβενύμενος δὲ πολλοῖς λυπηρὸς ἐστιν, οὕτως αἰ
μεγάλα σε υχαὶ τὰς μὲν ἀναλάμβανεις εὐμενεῖς καὶ
ἀλύπους ἔχουσιν, αἱ δὲ σβέσεις αὐτῶν καὶ φθοραὶ
πολλάκις μὲν, ὡς νυνί, πνεύματα καὶ ἔλασ τρέ-
φουσι,  
420 φαρμάττουσι." ἐκεῖ μέντοι μίαν εἰναι νήσον, ἐν
τὸν Κρόνον καθείρχαι φρουροῦμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ
Βριάρεω καθεὐδοντα: δεσμὸν γὰρ αὐτὸ τὸν υπὸ
μεμηχανήσαν, πολλοὺς δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰναι δαί-
μονας ὀπάσας καὶ θεράποντας.

19. 'Ὑπολαβὼν δ' ὁ Κλεόμπροτος, "ἔχω μὲν,"
ἐφη, "καὶ ἐγώ τοιαῦτα διελθεῖν, ἀρκεῖ δὲ πρὸς τὴν
ὑπόθεσιν τὸ μηδὲν ἑναντίονθαί μηδὲ κωλύειν;
ἐχεῖν οὕτω ταῦτα. καὶ τοὺς Στωικοὺς," ἐφη,
"γυγνώσκομεν οὐ μόνον κατὰ δαμόνων τὴν λέγω
δόξαν ἔχοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεῶν ὅντων τοσοῦτων τὸ
πλῆθος ἐνὶ χρωμένους ἀδίῳ καὶ ἀφθάρτῳ, τοὺς
Βδ' ἀλλοὺς καὶ γεγονέναι καὶ φθαρῆσθαι νομί-
ζοντας.

"Επικουρείων δὲ χλευασμοὺς καὶ γέλωτας οὐ
τι φοβητέου, οἷς τολμῶσι χρησθαί καὶ κατὰ τὴν
προνοίας μῦθον αὐτὴν ἀποκαλοῦντες. ἦμεῖς δὲ
τὴν ἀπειρίαν μῦθον εἶναι φαμεν εἰν κόσμοις τοσοῦ-
τοις μηδένα λόγῳ θείω κυβερνώμενον ἔχουσαν,
ἀλλὰ πάντας ἐκ ταυτομάτω καὶ γεγονότας καὶ
συνισταμένους. εἰ δὲ χρή γελᾶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, τὰ
εἰδωλα γελαστέον τὰ κωφά καὶ τυφλά καὶ ἄμυχ

1 τρέφουσι Eusebius: τρέπουσι, or τρέπουσι.
2 τὸν in Eusebius only.  
3 κωλύειν Xylander: κώλυσιν.

* Cf. the interesting account which Plutarch gives in
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a lamp when it is being lighted has no terrors, but when it goes out is distressing to many, so the great souls have a kindling into life that is gentle and inoffensive, but their passing and dissolution often, as at the present moment, fosters tempests and storms, and often infects the air with pestilential properties." Moreover, they said that in this part of the world there is one island where Cronus is confined, guarded while he sleeps by Briareus; for his sleep has been devised as a bondage for him, and round about him are many demigods as attendants and servants.

19. Cleombrotus here took up the conversation and said, "I too have similar stories to tell, but it is sufficient for our purpose that nothing contravenes or prevents these things from being so. Yet we know," he continued, "that the Stoics entertain the opinion that I mention, not only against the demigods, but they also hold that among the gods, who are so very numerous, there is only one who is eternal and immortal, and the others they believe have come into being, and will suffer dissolution.

"As for the scoffing and sneers of the Epicureans which they dare to employ against Providence also, calling it nothing but a myth, we need have no fear. We, on the other hand, say that their 'Infinity' is a myth, which among so many worlds has not one that is directed by divine reason, but will have them all produced by spontaneous generation and concretion. If there is need for laughter in philosophy, we should laugh at those spirits, dumb, blind, and soulless, which

Moralia, 941 A ff., and Lucretius's statement that a smouldering lamp may cause apoplexy.

 Cf. von Arnim, Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta, ii. 1049 (p. 309).

c H. Usener, Epicurea (Leipzig, 1887), 394.
(420) ἀνεύρετος ἔτων περιόδων ἐπιφανόμενα καὶ περιστοίχυτα πάντη, τὰ μὲν ἔτι
C ζώντων τὰ δὲ πάλας κατακαεντων ἡ κατασαπεῖτων ἀπορρυνεῖ, φλεδόνας καὶ σκιάς ἐλκοντες εἰς
φυσιολογίαιν, ἂν δὲ φη τις εἰναι δαίμονας οὐ φύσει μόνον ἄλλα καὶ λόγοις καὶ τὸ σωρεσθαι καὶ
dιαμένειν πολλὸν χρόνον ἐχοντας, δυσκολαίνοντες." 4
20. Ἡθέντων δε τούτων ὁ Ἀμμιώνος, "ὁρθῶς," ἕφη, "μου δοκεῖ Ἡθόφραστος ἀποφήνασθαι. τὸ γὰρ κωλύει φωνήν δέξασθαι σεμνὴ καὶ φιλοσοφω-
tάτην; καὶ γὰρ ἀθέτουμεν πολλὰ τῶν ἐνδεχο-
μένων ἀποδειχθῆναι δὲ μὴ δυναμένων ἀναρεῖ, καὶ
τιθεμένη πολλὰ 5 συνεφέλκεται τῶν ἀδυνάτων καὶ
ἀνυπάρκτων. ὁ μέντοι μόνον ἀκήκοα τῶν Ἐπί-
D κουρείων λεγόντων πρὸς τοὺς εἰσαγομένους ὑπῆρ
'Εμπεδοκλέους δαίμονας, ὡς οὐ δυνατὸν ἐστὶν
φαύλους καὶ ἀμαρτητικοὺς ὡντας μακαρίους καὶ
μακραῖνας εἶναι, πολλὴν τυφλότητα τῆς κακίας
ἐχούσης καὶ τὸ περιπτωτικὸν τοῖς ἀναιρετικοῖς,
ἐνηθὲς ἐστιν. οὗτω γὰρ Ἐπικούρος τε χειρῶν
Γοργίου φανεῖται τοῦ σοφιστοῦ καὶ Μητρόδωρος
'Αλέξιδος τοῦ κομιῳδοποίου. 7 διπλάσιον γὰρ
οὕτως ἐξῆσε τοῦ Μητρόδωρου, Επικούρου δὲ
ἐκείνοις πλέον ἡ ἐπίτριτον. ἀλλως γὰρ ἱσχυρὸν

1 ἀψιχ' ἂ F.C.B. (there is some warrant for such elisions); ἀψιχα ἂ Wytenbach: ἀψιχα.
2 ποιμαίνουσα Wytenbach: ποί μένουσιν.
3 λόγοι] λόγω Stegmann.
4 δυσκολαίνοντες Emperius: δυσκολαίνοντας.
5 πολλὰ] οὐ πολλὰ Xylander. Pohlenz assumes a lacuna 
after ἀνυπάρκτων.
6 ἐστὶ] εἶναι in many mss.
7 κομιῳδοποίου the preferred form: κομιῳδοποίου.
they shepherd for boundless cycles of years, and which make their returning appearance everywhere, some floating away from the bodies of persons still living, others from bodies long ago burned or decayed, whereby these philosophers drag witlessness and obscurity into the study of natural phenomena; but if anyone asserts that such demigods exist, not only for physical reasons, but also for logical reasons, and that they have the power of self-preservation and continued life for a long time, then these philosophers feel much aggrieved."

20. After these remarks Ammonius said, "It seems to me that Theophrastus was right in his pronouncement. What, in fact, is there to prevent our accepting an utterance that is impressive and most highly philosophical? For if it be rejected, it does away with many things which are possible but cannot be proved; and if it be allowed as a principle, it brings in its train many things that are impossible or non-existent.\(^a\) The one thing that I have heard the Epicureans say with reference to the demigods introduced by Empedocles\(^b\) is that it is not possible, if they are bad and sinful, that they should be happy and of long life, inasmuch as vice has a large measure of blindness and the tendency to encounter destructive agencies, so that argument of theirs is silly. For by this reasoning Epicurus will be shown to be a worse man than Gorgias the sophist, and Metrodorus worse than Alexis the comic poet; for Alexis lived twice as long as Metrodorus and Gorgias more than a third as long again as Epicurus. It is in another

\(^a\) Some editors would insert a negative in the last sentence.

\(^b\) Diels, Frag. der Vorsokratiker, i. 267, Empedocles, no. b 115.
The text is a page from Plutarch's *Moralia*. It contains a philosophical discussion in Ancient Greek, discussing the nature of virtue (μόρφη) and its relationship to knowledge and action. The text includes a list of notes and corrections, such as added words by Reiske and Leonicus, and changes in punctuation and spelling. The page is part of a larger work, with references to other sections (421 φιλοσόφων). The page number is 408.
sense that we speak of virtue as something strong, and vice as something weak, not with reference to permanence or dissolution of the body. For example, many of the animals that are sluggish in movement and slow in their reactions and many that are lascivious and ungovernable live a longer time than the quick and the clever. Therefore they do not well who make God’s eternal existence to be the result of watchfulness and the thrusting aside of destructive agencies. No, immunity from emotion and destruction ought to reside in the blessed Being, and should require no activity on His part. Perhaps, however, to speak thus with reference to people that are not present does not show great consideration. So it is right that Cleombrotus should resume the topic which he discontinued a few moments ago about the migration and flight of the demigods.”

21. Then Cleombrotus continued, “I shall be surprised if it does not appear to you much more strange than what has already been said. Yet it seems to be close to the subject of natural phenomena and Plato has given the key-note for it, not by an unqualified pronouncement, but as the result of a vague concept, cautiously suggesting also the underlying idea in an enigmatic way; but, for all that, there has been loud disparagement of him on the part of other philosophers. But there is set before us for general use a bowl of myths and stories combined, and where could one meet with more kindly listeners for testing these stories, even as one tests coins from foreign lands? So I do not hesitate to favour you with a narrative about a man, not a Greek, whom I had great difficulty in finding, and then only by dint of long wanderings,

*a Cf. 421 f., infra.*
(421) πλάναις πολλαίς καὶ μήνυτρα τελέσας μεγάλα, περὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλατταν ἀνθρώπως ἀνὰ πᾶν έτος ἀπαξ ἐντυγχάνοντα τάλλα δὲ συνόνταν νύμφαις νομάσι καὶ δαίμοσι, ὡς ἐφασκε, μόλις ἔξανευρὼν ἔτυχος λόγου καὶ φιλοφροσύνης. κάλλιστος μὲν ἦν ἩΒ ὥν εἰδον ἀνθρώπων ὄφθηναι νόσου τε πάσης ἀπαθῆς διετέλει, καρπόν των πόας φαρμακώδη καὶ πικρῶν ἐκάστου μηνὸς ἀπαξ προσφερόμενοι· γλώτταις δὲ πολλαῖς ἥσκητο χρῆσθαι, πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸ πλεύστον ἐδωρίζεν οὐ πόρρω μελῶν. φθεγγομένου δὲ τὸν τόπον εὐωδία κατείχε τοῦ στόματος ήδιστον ἀπο- πνέοντος. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἄλλη μάθησις καὶ ἱστορία συνῆν αὐτῷ τὸν πάντα χρόνον· εἰς δὲ μαντικὴν ἐν- επείτου μίαν ἡμέραν ἐτοὺς ἐκάστου καὶ προεθέστιζε κατιών ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ἐπεφοίτων δὲ καὶ δυνάσται καὶ γραμματεῖς βασιλέων εἶτ' ἀπῆσαν. ἔκεινος οὖν τὴν μαντικὴν ἀνήγεν εἰς δαίμονας· πλεύστον2 δὲ C Δελφών λόγον εἶχε, καὶ τῶν3 λεγομένων περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἐνταῦθα καὶ δρωμέων ἱερῶν οὐδενὸς ἀνήκοος ἦν, ἀλλὰ κάκεινα δαίμονων ἐφασκεν εἶναι πάθη μεγάλα καὶ ταῦτα δὴ τα' περὶ Πύθωνα.5 τῷ δ' ἀποκτείναντι μῆτ' ἐννέα ἐτῶν μῆτ' εἰς τὰ Τέμπη γενέσθαι μετὰ τοῦτο6 τὴν φυγήν, ἀλλ' ἐκπεσόντ' ἐλθεῖν εἰς ἑτερον κόσμον7. ύστερον δ' ἐκεῖθεν ἐναι- τῶν μεγάλων ἐννέα περίοδοις ἀγνὸν γενόμενον καὶ

1 συνόντα Reiske: σὺν ταῖς.
2 πλεύστον Eusebius: ἡδιστον.
3 καὶ τῶν Eusebius and one ms.: καὶ περὶ τῶν.
4 τὰ Eusebius and E.
5 Πύθωνα] τὴν Πυθλαν Εusebius.
6 μετὰ τοῦτο Paton: μετὰ τοῦ ορ μετὰ τὸ.
7 τὴν φυγήν . . . κόσμον Eusebius: ψυγείν αὐτὸν ἐκπεσόντα κόσμον.
and after paying large sums for information. It was near the Persian Gulf that I found him, where he holds a meeting with human beings once every year; and there I had an opportunity to talk with him and met with a kindly reception. The other days of his life, according to his statement, he spends in association with roving nymphs and demigods. He was the handsomest man I ever saw in personal appearance and he never suffered from any disease, inasmuch as once each month he partook of the medicinal and bitter fruit of a certain herb. He was practised in the use of many tongues; but with me, for the most part, he spoke a Doric which was almost music. While he was speaking, a fragrance overspread the place, as his mouth breathed forth a most pleasant perfume. Besides his learning and his knowledge of history, always at his command, he was inspired to prophesy one day in each year when he went down to the sea and told of the future. Potentates and kings' secretaries would come each year and depart. His power of prophecy he referred to the demigods. He made most account of Delphi and there was none of the stories told of Dionysus or of the rites performed here of which he had not heard; these too he asserted were the momentous experiences of the demigods and so, plainly, were those which had to do with the Python. And upon the slayer of that monster was not imposed an exile of eight full years,\(^a\) nor, following this, was he exiled to Tempê; but after he was expelled, he fared forth to another world, and later, returning from there, after eight cycles of the Great Years, pure and truly the 'Radiant

\(^a\) Cf. Moralia, 293 B-C.
(421) Φοίβον ὃς ἀληθῶς ¹ κατελθόντα ² παραλαβεῖν, τέως ὑπὸ Θέμιδος φυλαττόμενον. οὕτως ³ δ' ἔχειν ⁴ καὶ τὰ Τυφώνικά καὶ τὰ Τιτανικά δαιμόνων μάχας γεγονέναι πρὸς δαίμονας, εἶτα φυγᾶς

D τῶν κρατηθέντων ἡ δίκας ⁵ ὑπὸ θεοῦ τῶν ἐξαμαρτότοντων, οία Τυφών λέγεται περὶ "Οσιριν ἐξαμαρτείν καὶ Κρόνος περὶ Οὐρανόν, ὥν ἀμαυρότεραι γεγόνασιν αἱ τιμᾶι παρ' ἡμῖν ⁶ καὶ παντάπασιν ἐκλεονται, μεταστάτων εἰς ἐτερον κόσμον. ἔπει καὶ Σολύμων πυνθάνομαι τοὺς Λυκίων προσοικοὺς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τιμᾶν τὸν Κρόνον. ἔπει δ' ἀποκτείνας τοὺς ἀρχοντας αὐτῶν, "Αρσαλον καὶ Δρύον ⁷ καὶ Τρωσοβίον, ἔφυγε καὶ μετεχώρησεν ὁποίδηποτε (τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχουσιν εἴπειν), ἐκεῖνον ⁸ μὲν ἀμεληθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν "Αρσαλον σκιρροῦς θεοὺς προσαγορεύεσθαι, καὶ τὰς κατάρας ἐπὶ τοὺς τούτων ⁹ τουείσθαι δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἱδίᾳ Λυκίων. τούτοις

Ε μὲν οὖν ὁμοία πολλά λαβεῖν ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν θεολογομένων. ¹¹ 'ει δὲ τοῖς νεομυσμένοις τῶν θεῶν ὑπόμασι δαίμονας τινας καλοῖμεν, οὐ ψαυμαστέον,' εἶπεν ὁ ἔξος. 'ὡ γὰρ ἐκαστος θεῶν συντετακται καὶ παρ' οὐ δυνάμεως καὶ τιμῆς εὐληχευν, ¹² ἀπὸ τοῦτον φιλεῖ καλεῖσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ μὲν τὶς ἐστὶ Διὸς ¹³ ὁ δ' Ἀθηναίος ὁ δ' Ἀπολλώνιος ἡ Διονύσιος

¹ ὃς ἀληθῶς Eusebius: ἀληθῶς.
² κατελθόντα Eusebius: καὶ ἐλθόντα.
³ ἔχειν Eusebius: ἔχει.
⁴ δίκας Eusebius and D: δικαιοῦντες ορ δικαίωσεις.
⁵ τιμαὶ παρ' ἡμῖν Eusebius: τιμαί.
⁶ Δρύον] "Αρνον Theodoretus; ἄρνων or ἀρνοῦν Eusebius.
⁷ Τρωσοβίον] Τόσβιν Eusebius: Τόσβιν, Τόσβιν, ορ Τόσβιν
⁸ ἐκεῖνον Eusebius and Theodoretus: ἐκεῖνους.
⁹ σκιρροῦς (σκιρροῦς) Eusebius and Theodoretus: σκληροῦς.
¹⁰ τοῦτων Eusebius and Theodoretus: τοῦτων.
One,’ he took over the oracle which had been guarded during this time by Themis. Such also, he said, were the stories about Typhons and Titans; battles of demigods against demigods had taken place, followed by the exile of the vanquished, or else judgement inflicted by a god upon the sinners, as, for example, for the sin which Typhon is said to have committed in the case of Osiris, or Cronus in the case of Uranus; and the honours once paid to these deities have become quite dim to our eyes or have vanished altogether when the deities were transferred to another world. In fact, I learn that the Solymi, who live next to the Lycians, paid especial honour to Cronus. But when he had slain their rulers, Arsalus, Dryus, and Trosobius, he fled away from that place to some place or other, where they cannot say; and then he ceased to be regarded, but Arsalus and those connected with him are called the ‘stern gods,’ and the Lycians employ their names in invoking curses both in public and in private. Many accounts similar to these are to be had from theological history. But, as that man said, if we call some of the demigods by the current name of gods, that is no cause for wonder; for each of them is wont to be called after that god with whom he is allied and from whom he has derived his portion of power and honour. In fact, among ourselves one of us is Dius, another Athenaeus, another Apollonius or Dionysius or

* Cf. 360 r, supra.

11 θεολογομενων] μυθολογομενων in some mss. and Eusebius.
12 παρ’ ου δυναμεως . . . ειληχεν] ου της δυναμεως . . . μετειληχεν Ιουεσβίου.
Τὸ δὲ τοῦ Κλεομβρότου πᾶσι μὲν ὁ λόγος ἔφανη θαυμαστός. τοῦ δ' Ἡρακλέωνος πυθομένου πὴ ταῦτα προσήκει Πλάτωνι καὶ τῶς ἐκεῖνος τὸ ἐνδόσιμον τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ παρέσχεν, ὁ Κλεομβρότος, "ἔν μυθομονεύεις," εἶπεν, "ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἄπειραν αὐτὸθεν ἀπέγνων τῶν κόσμων, περὶ δὲ πλήθους ὅρισμένου διηπόρησε, καὶ μέχρι τῶν πέντε τοῖς ὑποτεθεμένοις κατὰ στοιχεῖον ἔνα κόσμον ἐπι-χωρήσας τὸ εἰκός, αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐφ' ἔνὸς ἐτήρησεν. καὶ δοκεῖ τοῦτο Πλάτωνος ἵδιοι εἶναι, τῶν ἄλλων σφόδρα φοβηθέντων τὸ πλήθος, ὡς τοὺς ἓν τὴν ἐλημ. μὴ ὁρίσαντας ἄλλ' ἐκβάντας εὐθὺς ἀορίστου καὶ χαλεπῆς ἄπειρας ὑπολαμβανούσης."

"Ὁ δὲ ξένος," ἔφην ἔγω, "περὶ πλῆθους κόσμων ὄριζεν ἕ. Πλάτων ἥ, ὦτε συνεγένοι τῷ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ, οὐδὲ διεπειραθῆς;"

"Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐμελλον," εἶπεν ὁ Κλεομβρότος, "εἰ Β μηθὲν ἄλλο, τῶν περὶ ταῦτα λιπαρῆς εἶναι καὶ πρόθυμος ἄκροατῆς, ἐνδιδόντος ἑαυτὸν ἱλευν καὶ παρέχοντος; ἔλεγε δὲ μῆτ' ἄπειρος μήθ' ἕνα μῆτε πέντε κόσμους, ἄλλα τρεῖς καὶ ὡροὴκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν εἶναι συντεταγμένους κατὰ σχῆμα τριγωνο-

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1 Ἐρμαίως: ἄλλο ἔνιοι μὲν ὀρθῶς κατὰ τύχην ἐκλήθησαν, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ μηθὲν προσηκούσας ἄλλ' ἐνηλαγμένας ἐκτήσαντο θεῶν παρωνυμίας.

2 Κλεομβρότος, "εὐ μυθομονεύεις," εἶπεν, "ὅτι τήν 422 μὲν ἄπειραν αὐτόθεν ἀπέγνων τῶν κόσμων, περὶ δὲ πληθοὺς ὅρισμένου διηπόρησε, καὶ μέχρι τῶν πέντε τοῖς ὑποτεθεμένοις κατὰ στοιχεῖον ἔνα κόσμον ἐπιχωρήσας τὸ εἰκός, αὐτός ἑαυτὸν ἐφ' ἔνος ἐτήρησεν. καὶ δοκεῖ τοῦτο Πλάτωνος ἵδιοι εἶναι, τῶν ἄλλων σφόδρα φοβηθέντων τὸ πλήθος, ὡς τοὺς ἓν τὴν ὕλην μὴ ὁρίσαντας ἄλλ' ἐκβάντας εὐθὺς ἀορίστου καὶ χαλεπῆς ἄπειρας ὑπολαμβανούσης."

3 "Ὅ δὲ ξένος," ἔφην ἔγω, "περὶ πλῆθους κόσμων ὄριζεν ἕ. Πλάτων ἥ, ὦτε συνεγένοι τῷ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ, οὐδὲ διεπειραθῆς;"

4 Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐμελλόν, εἶπεν ὁ Κλεομβρότος, "εἰ Β μηθὲν ἄλλο, τῶν περὶ ταῦτα λιπαρῆς εἶναι καὶ πρόθυμος ἄκροατῆς, ἐνδιδόντος ἑαυτὸν ἱλευν καὶ παρέχοντος; ἔλεγε δὲ μῆτ' ἄπειρος μήθ' ἕνα μῆτε πέντε κόσμους, ἄλλα τρεῖς καὶ ὡροὴκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν εἶναι συντεταγμένους κατὰ σχῆμα τριγωνο-

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5 πὴ Turnebus: μη.
6 προσήκει} προσήκει in most mss.
7 φοβηθέντων] φοβηθέντως Paton.
8 ἔνι Wytttenbach: ἐπὶ.
9 Ἐρμαίως: ἄλλο ἔνιοι μὲν ὀρθῶς κατὰ τύχην ἐκλήθησαν, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ μηθὲν προσηκούσας ἄλλ' ἐνηλαγμένας ἐκτήσαντο θεῶν παρωνυμίας.
10 Κλεομβρότος, "εὐ μυθομονεύεις," εἶπεν, "ὅτι τήν 422 μὲν ἄπειραν αὐτόθεν ἀπέγνων τῶν κόσμων, περὶ δὲ πληθοὺς ὅρισμένου διηπόρησε, καὶ μέχρι τῶν πέντε τοῖς ὑποτεθεμένοις κατὰ στοιχεῖον ἔνα κόσμον ἐπιχωρήσας τὸ εἰκός, αὐτός ἑαυτὸν ἐφ' ἔνος ἐτήρησεν. καὶ δοκεῖ τοῦτο Πλάτωνος ἵδιοι εἶναι, τῶν ἄλλων σφόδρα φοβηθέντων τὸ πλήθος, ὡς τοὺς ἓν τὴν ὕλην μὴ ὁρίσαντας ἄλλ' ἐκβάντας εὐθὺς ἀορίστου καὶ χαλεπῆς ἄπειρας ὑπολαμβανούσης."

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Hermaeus; but only some of us have, by chance, been rightly named; the majority have received names derived from the gods which bear no relation to the persons, but are only a travesty."

22. Cleombrotus said nothing more, and his account appeared marvellous to all. But when Heracleon inquired in what way this was related to Plato and how he had given the key-note for this topic, Cleombrotus said, "You well remember that he summarily decided against an infinite number of worlds, but had doubts about a limited number; and up to five he conceded a reasonable probability to those who postulated one world to correspond to each element, but, for himself, he kept to one. This seems to be peculiar to Plato, for the other philosophers conceived a fear of plurality, feeling that if they did not limit matter to one world, but went beyond one, an unlimited and embarrassing infinity would at once fasten itself upon them."

"But," said I, "did your far-away friend set a limit to the number of worlds, as Plato did, or did you not go so far as to sound him on this point when you had your interview with him?"

"Was it not likely," said Cleombrotus, "that on anything touching these matters, if on nothing else, I should be an inquisitive and eager listener, when he so graciously put himself at my disposal and gave me the opportunity? He said that the worlds are not infinite in number, nor one, nor five, but one hundred and eighty-three," arranged in the form of a triangle,

\[ a \text{ Cf. Plato, Timaeus, 55 c–d; Moralia, 389 f, supra, and 430 b, infra.} \\
\[ b \text{ Cf. Aristotle, De Caelo, i. 8 (276 a 18).} \\
\[ c \text{ Cf. Proclus on Plato, Timaeus, p. 138 b.} \]
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(422) eidēs, ou pleuρāν ekāsthν ekhkonta kōsmous exēn τριων de tων loipων ekaston ἱδρύθθαι kata' gewνιαν, ἀπτεσθαί de tous efeζης ἀλλήλων ἀτρέμα περι- λόντας ὅσπερ εν χορείᾳ. τὸ δ' εντὸς ἐπίσεδον τοῦ τριγώνου κοινὴν ἑστίαν εἶναι πάντων, καλείςθαί de πεδίον ἀληθείας, εν ό τους λόγους καὶ τὰ εἴδη καὶ C τὰ παραδείγματα τῶν γεγονότων καὶ τῶν γενησο- μένων ἀκίνητα κείσθαι, καὶ περὶ αὐτὰ τοῦ αἰῶνος ὄντος οἶνον ἄπορροην ἐπὶ τοὺς κόσμους1 φέρεσθαι τὸν χρόνον. ὃμιν de τούτων καὶ θεῶν θυξαὶς ἀνθρωπίναις ἀπαξ εἰν ἔτεσι μυρίων ύπάρχειν, ἀν γ' εὖ βιώσωσι· καὶ τῶν ἑνταῦθα τελετῶν τὰς ἀρίστας εἰπείν ὅνειρον εἶναι τῆς ἐποπτείας καὶ τελετῆς· καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἀναμνήσεως2 ἕνεκα τῶν ἑκεῖ φιλοσοφεῖ- σθαι καλῶν ἡ μάτην περαινεῖσθαι. ἡλίπτ', ἔφη,3 "περὶ τούτων μυθολογούντος ἡκονον ἀτεχνώς καθάπερ εἰν τελετῇ καὶ μνήσει, μηδεμίαν ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ λόγου μηδὲ πῖστιν ἐπιφέροντος."

23. Καγὼ τὸν Δημήτριον προσαγορεύσας, "πῶς Δ' ἔχει," ἔφην, "τὰ τῶν μνηστήρων ἔπη, τὸν 'Οδυσ- σέα θαυμασάντων τὸ τόξον μεταχειρίζομενον;" ὑπομνησθέντος de τοῦ Δημητρίου, "ταῦτ'," ἔφην, "ἐπέρχεται κάμοι περὶ τοῦ ξένου εἴπεῖν ἡ τις θητήρ4 καὶ ἐπίκλοπος ἐπλετο
dogmátwν te kai lóguwv pantaδapwvn, kai polupla- nής en γράμμασι kai ou bárbbras ἀλλ᾽ Ἐλλην γένος ἤν, πολλῆς Ἐλληνίδος μοῦσης ἀνάπλεως. ἐλέγχει δ' αὐτόν ὁ τῶν κόσμων ἀριθμῶς ὅνκ ὃν Ἀιγύπτιος

1 kōsmous] χρόνος in all mss. but one (E).
2 ἀναμνήσεως Wyclenbach: ἀνέμνησεν or ἀνέμνησας.
3 ἔφη Meziriacus: ἔφην.
4 θητήρ Homer: θηρητήρ.
each side of the triangle having sixty worlds; of the three left over each is placed at an angle, and those that are next to one other are in contact and revolve gently as in a dance. The inner area of the triangle is the common hearth of all, and is called the Plain of Truth, in which the accounts, the forms, and the patterns of all things that have come to pass and of all that shall come to pass rest undisturbed; and round about them lies Eternity, whence Time, like an ever-flowing stream, is conveyed to the worlds. Opportunity to see and to contemplate these things is vouchsafed to human souls once in ten thousand years if they have lived goodly lives; and the best of the initiatory rites here are but a dream of that highest rite and initiation; and the words of our philosophic inquiry are framed to recall these fair sights there—else is our labour vain. This," said he, "is the tale I heard him recite quite as though it were in some rite of mystic initiation, but without offering any demonstration or proof of what he said."

23. Then I, addressing Demetrius, said, "How do the verses about the suitors run, when they are marvelling at Odysseus as he handles the bow?" And when Demetrius had recalled them to my mind, I said, "It occurs to me to say this of your far-away friend:

Surely he liked to see, or else was given to filching beliefs and tales of all sorts. He had ranged widely in literature and was no foreigner, but a Greek by birth, and replete with Greek culture to a high degree. The number of his worlds convicts him, since it is not

* Homer, Od. xxi. 397.
οὐδ' Ἰνδὸς ἄλλα Δωριένς ἀπὸ Σικελίας, ἀνδρὸς Ἰμεραίον τοῦνομα Πέτρωνος· αὐτοῦ μὲν ἐκείνου βιβλίδιον οὐκ ἀνέγυνον οὐδ' οἶδα διασωζόμενον. 
Ε' Ἰππυς δ' ὑ' Ρηγίνος, οὗ μὲνιμβεραικαίο Φανίας ὑ' Ἐρέσιος,1 ἰστορεῖ δόξαν εἶναι ταύτην Πέτρωνος καὶ λόγον, ὡς ἐκατόν καὶ ὤγχοςκοιντα καὶ τρεῖς κόσμους ὄντας ἀποτελόντας δ' ἀλλήλων κατὰ στοιχεῖον, ὡ τι ὅ ἄντ' ὑπτ', κατὰ στοιχεῖον ἀπέπεμπα, μη' προσδια-
σαφῶν μηδ' ἀλλην τινὰ πιθανότητα προςάπτων." 
Ὑπολαβὼν δ' ὑ' Δημήτριος, "τέ' δ' ἂν," εἶπεν, 
"ἐν τοιούτοις πράγμασιν εἰπὶ πιθανότης, ὅπου καὶ 
Πλάτων οὐδὲν εἰπὼν εὐλογον οὐδ' εἰκός οὐτω 
kατέβαλε τὸν λόγον;"
Καὶ ὑ' Ηρακλέων, "ἀλλὰ μην ὑμῶν," ἐφή, "τῶν 
Υ γραμματικῶν ἀκόουμεν εἰς "Ομηρον ἀναγόντων" τὴν 
δόξαν, ὡς ἐκείνου τὸ πάν εἰς πέντε κόσμους δια-
νέμουσα, οὐρανὸν ὑδωρ ἀέρα γῆν ὄλυμπον. ὡν τὰ 
μὲν δύο κοινὰ καταλείπει, γῆν μὲν τοῦ κάτω παντὸς 
ὑπάρχει, ὄλυμπον δὲ τοῦ ἄνω παντὸς· οἱ δ' ἐν μέσῳ 
τρεῖς τοῖς τρισὶ θεοῖς ἀπεδόθησαν. οὐτω δὲ καὶ 
Πλάτων ἔουε τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ πρῶτα σωμάτων 
eἴδη καὶ σχήματα συννέμων ταῖς τοῦ ὄλου διαφοραῖς 
423 πέντε κόσμους καλεῖν, τὸν γῆς τὸν ὑδατος τὸν ἄερο 
tὸν πυρός, ἐσχάτον δὲ τὸν περιέχοντα τούτοις, τὸν 
tοῦ δυδεκαέθρον, πολύχυτον καὶ πολύτρεπτον, ὃς 
μάλιστα δὴ ταῖς ψυχικαῖς περιόδοις καὶ κινήσει 
πρέπουν σχήμα καὶ συναρμότον ἀπέδωκε." 
1 Ἐρέσιος Υλάνδερ: αἰρέσιος. 2 δ' ὑ' Βερναρδάκης: δ. ὑ.
3 ἀναγόντων Στέγμαν: ἀγοντων.
4 ὑ' ὡς in most mss. (a common error).
Egyptian nor Indian, but Dorian and from Sicily, being the idea of a man of Himera named Petron. Petron's own treatise I have never read nor am I sure that a copy is now extant; but Hippys\(^a\) of Rhegium, whom Phanias\(^b\) of Eresus mentions, records that this was the opinion and the account of it given by Petron: that there are one hundred and eighty-three worlds in contact with one another according to element; but what this is, 'to be in contact according to element,' he does not explain further nor subjoin any plausible proof."

Demetrius, joining in, said, "What plausible proof could there be in matters of this sort in which even Plato, without stating anything reasonable or plausible, simply set down his own account?"

"But," said Heracleon, "we hear you grammarians attributing this view to Homer on the ground that he distributed the universe into five worlds\(^c\): the heavens, the water, the air, the earth, and Olympus. Of these he leaves two to be held in common, the earth for all below and Olympus for all above, and the three that lie between were assigned to the three gods. In this wise Plato\(^d\) also, apparently, associated the fairest and foremost forms and figures with the different divisions of the universe, and called them five worlds, one of earth, one of water, one of air, one of fire, and last of all, the one which includes all these, the world of the dodecahedron, of wide expanse and many turnings, to which he assigned a form appropriate to the cycles and movements of the soul."

\(^a\) Cf. 390 c, \textit{supra}; Homer, \textit{Il.} xv. 187.  
\(^b\) Cf. Plato, \textit{Timaeus}, 31 a, and 55 c; \textit{Moralia}, 390 a and 887 b.  

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Καὶ ὁ Δημήτριος, ""Ομηρον,"" ἔφη, ""τι κινοῦμεν ἐν τῷ παρόντι; μῦθων γὰρ ἄλις. Πλάτων δὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ τὰς πέντε τοῦ κόσμου διαφορὰς πέντε κόσμους προσαγορεύειν: ἐν οἷς τε μάχεται τοῖς ἀπείροις κόσμους ὑποτιθεμένοις αὖ, τῇδε φησὶ δοκεῖν ἕνα τούτον εἶναι μονογενῆ τῷ θεῷ καὶ Β ἀγαπητόν, ἐκ τοῦ σωματοειδοῦς πάντος ὅλον καὶ τέλειον καὶ αὐτάρκη γεγενημένον. οὖν ἂν τις καὶ θαυμάσειν ὅτι τάληθες εἰπὼν αὐτὸς ἔτερος ἀπιθάνον καὶ λόγον οὐκ ἔχουσι άρχην παρέσχε διδαχὴς. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἕνα μὴ φυλάξαι κόσμον εἰχεν ἀμωσγέτους ὑπόθεσιν τὴν τοῦ παντὸς ἀ- πειρίαν, τὸ δ' ἀφωρισμένος ποιήσαι τοσοῦτος καὶ μῆτε πλείους τῶν πέντε μῆτ' ἐλάττους κομιδὴ παρά- λογον καὶ πάσης πιθανότητος ἀπηρτημένον, εἰ μὴ τι σὺ λέγεις,"" ἔφη, πρὸς ἑμὲ βλέψας.

Κἀγώ, ""δοκεῖ γὰρ οὔτως,"" ἔφην, ""ἀφέντας ἡδη C τὸν περὶ χρηστηρίων λόγον ὡς τέλος ἔχοντα, μετα- λαμβάνειν ἐτερον τοσοῦτον.""

"Οὐκ ἀφέντας,"" εἶπεν ὁ Δημήτριος, ""ἐκεῖνον, ἀλλὰ μὴ παρελθόντας τοῦτον ἀντιλαμβανόμενον ἡμῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἐνδιατρίφομεν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἑστορήσαι τὴν πιθανότητα δυσόντες αὐτὸν μέτιμεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔξ ἀρχῆς ὑπόθεσιν.""

24. "Πρῶτον τούν," ἔφην ἔγω, ""τὰ κωλύοντα ποιεῖν κόσμους ἀπείροις οὖκ ἀπείρηγε πλείονας ἐνὸς ποιεῖν. καὶ γὰρ θεόν ἑστιν εἶναι καὶ μαντικὴν καὶ

1 αὖ, τῇδε F.C.B.; αὐτῷ δὴ Vulcobius; αὐτὸς ἡδὴ Schwartz; ταύτῃ δή φησιν οἱ Paton: αὐτῇ δὴ.
2 διδαχὴς F.C.B.; δοξῆs Leonicus; διατριβῆs Michael; δια- νομῆs Pohlenz: δι' αὐτῆs.
3 θεόν Schwartz: ὅσον.
“Why,” said Demetrius, “do we call up Homer in the present instance? Enough of legends! Plato, however, is very far from calling the five different divisions of the world five different worlds; and in those passages again, in which he contends against those who postulate an infinite number of worlds, he says that his opinion is that this world is the only-begotten and beloved of God, having been created out of the corporeal whole, entire, complete, and sufficient unto itself. Wherefore one might well be surprised that he, in stating the truth himself, has supplied others with a source for a doctrine that is unconvincing and lacking in reason. For not to defend the idea of a single world implied somehow an assumption of the infinity of the whole universe; but to make the worlds definitely just so many, neither more nor less than five, is altogether contrary to reason and devoid of all plausibility—unless,” he added, with a glance at me, “you have anything to say.”

“It appears,” said I, “that we have already discontinued our discussion about oracles, feeling it to be completed, and are now taking up another topic just as large.”

“Not discontinued that topic,” said Demetrius, “but not passing over this one which claims our attention. We will not spend much time on it, but only touch upon it long enough to inquire into its plausibility; and then we will follow up the original proposition.”

24. “In the first place, then,” said I, “the considerations that prevent our making an infinite number of worlds do not preclude our making more than one. For it is possible for God and prophecy
(423) πρόνοιαν ἐν πλείοσι κόσμοι καὶ τὸ μικροτάτην τύχην παρεμπίπτετεν, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα τάξει¹ λαμβάνειν² γένεσιν καὶ μεταβολήν, ὥν οὐδὲν ἥ ἀπειρία δέχεσθαι πέφυκεν. ἔπειτα τῷ λόγῳ

寮 μᾶλλον ἔπεται τὸ τῷ θεῷ μὴ μονογενῆ μηδ’ ἔρημον εἶναι τὸν κόσμον. ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὃν τελείως οὐδεμιᾶς ἀρετῆς ἐνδείς ἔστιν, ἥκιστα δὲ τῶν³ πεπί δικαιοσύνην καὶ φιλίαν κάλλιστα γὰρ αὐτὰ⁴ καὶ θεοῖς πρέπουσι. μάτην ὄ οὐδὲν ἔχειν οὐδ’ ἀχρηστὸν θεὸς πέφυκεν. εἰσὶν οὖν ὡκτὸς ἐτεροὶ θεοὶ καὶ κόσμοι, πρὸς οὐς⁵ χρῆται ταῖς κοινωνικαῖς ἀρεταῖς. οὐ γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδὲ μέρος αὐτοῦ χρῆσίς ἐστι δικαιοσύνης ἦ χάριτος ἦ χρηστότητος ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀλλοὺς. ὡστ’ οὖκ εἰκὸς ἀφιλον οὐδ’ ἀγείτονα τόν’ οὐδ’

Ε ἀμείκτον ἐν ἀπειρῷ κενῷ τὸν κόσμον σαλεύειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν φύσιν ὀρῶμεν τὰ⁶ καθ’ ἐκαστὰ γένεσι καὶ εἴδεσιν οἰόν ἀγγείοις ἡ περικαρπίοις σπέρματα⁷ περιέχουσιν. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐν ἀριθμῷ τῶν ὀντῶν ἔστιν, οὐ γε μὴ⁸ λόγος ὑπάρχει κοινός, οὐδὲ τυγχάνει τῆς τοιάσοδε προσηγορίας ὁ μὴ κοινῶς ποιών ἦ ἡ ἰδίως ἔστιν. ὁ δὲ κόσμος οὐ λέγεται κοινῶς εἶναι ποιῶς· ἰδίως⁹ τοῖνυν ποιῶς ἐστὶν ἐκ διαφορᾶς τῆς πρὸς ἀλλα

¹ τάξει] τάξιν in most mss.
² λαμβάνειν Basel ed. of 1542: λαμβάνει.
³ τῶν] τῶν or τὸ in all mss. but one (G).
⁴ αὐτὰ Turnebus: αὐτῶ.
⁵ οὐς Turnebus: οἰς.
⁶ τὰ added by some early editor.
⁷ σπέρματα Reiske: σπέρματος.
⁸ οὐ γε μὴ Wytenbach: οὐδὲ μὴ or μὴν.
⁹ ἡ added by Madvig.

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and Providence to exist in more worlds than one, and for the incidence of chance to be reduced to the very smallest limits, while the vast majority of things and those of the highest importance attain to genesis and transmutation in a quite orderly sequence, none of which things does infinity, by its nature, admit. Then again it is more consistent with reason that the world should not be the only-begotten of God and quite alone. For He, being consummately good, is lacking in none of the virtues, and least of all in those which concern justice and friendliness; for these are the fairest and are fitting for gods. Nor is it in the nature of God to possess anything to no purpose or for no use. Therefore there exist other gods and other worlds outside, in relation with which He exercises the social virtues. For not in relation with Himself nor with any part of Himself is there any exercise of justice or benevolence or kindness, but only in relation with others. Thus it is not likely that this world, friendless, neighbourless, and unvisited, swings back and forth in the infinite void, since we see that Nature includes individual things in classes and species, like seeds in pods and envelopes. For there is nothing in the whole list of existing things for which there is not some general designation, nor does anything that does not possess certain qualities, either in common with others or solely by itself, obtain such an appellation. Now the world is not spoken of as having qualities in common with others. It has its qualities, therefore, solely by itself, by virtue of the difference when it is compared with other things which are akin to it and similar in

10 κοινός εἶναι ποῖος· ἰδιῶς corrections of Emperius, Wyttenbach, and Madvig: κοινός εἶναι ποῖοι (or -ος) δ' ὡς.
424 25. "Καὶ μὴν ὁ γε μάλιστα φοβηθέντες ἐννοι καταναλίσκουσιν τὴν ὕλην εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἐν' ἀπασαν, ὡς μηδὲν ὑπολειπόμενον ἐκτὸς ἐνστάσεως ἡ πληγαῖς διαταράττον τὴν τούδε σύστασιν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔδεισαν. πλειόνων γὰρ ὄντων κόσμων ἴδια δ' ἐκάστου συνειληχότος οὐσία καὶ ὕλη μέτρων ὁρισμένον ἑχούσῃ καὶ πέρας, οὐδὲν ἄτακτον οὐδ' ἀκατακόσμητον οἴον περίττωμα λειψθῆσεται προσπίπτον ἐξωθέν. οἱ γὰρ περὶ ἐκάστου λόγος ἐγκρατής ὅν τῆς συνενεμιμένης ὕλης οὐδὲν ἐκφερον ἐάσει καὶ πλανώμενον ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς ἄλλου οὐδ' εἰς ἐαυτὸν ἐξ

Β ἄλλου διὰ τὸ μήτε πλῆθος ἄδριστον καὶ ἀπειρὸν τὴν φύσιν ἐχειν μήτε κίνησιν ἄλογον καὶ ἄτακτον. εἴ δὲ καὶ τις ἀπορροή φέρεται πρὸς ἐτέρους ἀφ' ἐτέρων, ὁμόφυλον εἶναι καὶ προσηνῇ προσήκει καὶ πάσιν ἡπίωσ ἐπιμειγνυμένην ὡσπέρ αἱ τῶν ἀστέρων

1 ἄλλα συγγενῆ καὶ ὁμοειδῆ Wytenbach: ἄλλασ (or ἄληλα) συγγενῆς (or -οῦς) καὶ ὁμοειδῆς (or μονοειδῆς).
2 ἄλλα] ἄλλ' ἢ in all mss. but one (A).
3 ἐν' added by F.C.B. (eis ἐνα τὸν van Herwerden).
4 ὑπολειπόμενον Turnebus: ὑπολειπόμενην.
5 λόγος Meziriacus: λόγον.
6 προσήκει added by F.C.B., assuming haplography; similarly eikos was added by Wytenbach from oikeios, which stands in place of ἡπίως in all mss. but one (D).
appearance, since it has been created with such qualities as it possesses. If in all creation such a thing as one man, one horse, one star, one god, one demigod does not exist, what is there to prevent creation from having, not one world, but more than one? For he who says that creation has but one land and one sea overlooks a matter which is perfectly plain, the doctrine of similar parts; for we divide the earth into parts which bear similar names, and the sea likewise. A part of the world, however, is not a world, but something combined from the differing elements in Nature.

25. "Again, as for the dread which some people especially have felt, and so use up the whole of matter on the one world, so that nothing may be left over outside to disturb the structure of it by resisting or striking it—this fear of theirs is unwarranted. For if there are more worlds than one, and each of them has received, as its meet portion, substance and matter having a restricted measure and limit, then there will be nothing left unplaced or unorganized, an unused remnant, as it were, to crash into them from the outside. For the law of reason over each world, having control over the matter assigned to each, will not allow anything to be carried away from it nor to wander about and crash into another world, nor anything from another world to crash into it, because Nature has neither unlimited and infinite magnitude nor irrational and disorganized movement. Even if any emanation is carried from some worlds to others, it is certain to be congenial, agreeable, and to unite peaceably with all, like the rays of starlight and

a The Homoeomeria of Anaxagoras; cf., for example, Lucretius, i. 830 ff.
(424) άυγαί καὶ συγκράσεις, αὐτούς τε τέρπεσθαι καθ-
θορᾶντας ἀλλήλους εὕμενώς, θεοῖς τε πολλοῖς καὶ
ἀγαθοῖς καθ’ ἐκαστὸν οὕσι παρέχειν ἐπιμελεῖσαν καὶ
φιλοφροσύνας. ἀδύνατον γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστὶ τούτων
οὕτε μυθώδες οὕτε παράλογον· εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία τὰ’ τοῦ
Ἀριστοτέλους ὑπόψωνται τινες ὡς φυσικὰς αἰτίας
ἐχοντα. τῶν γὰρ σωμάτων ἐκάστου τόπον οἰκεῖον

C ἔχοντος, ὡς φησιν, ἀνάγκη τὴν γῆν πανταχόθεν ἐπὶ
tὸ μέσον φέρεσθαι καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπ’ αὐτῆς διὰ βάρος
ὑφιστάμενον τοῖς κοινοτέροις. ἂν οὖν πλείονες ὡςι
κόσμοι, συμβῆσεται τὴν γῆν πολλαχοὶ μὲν ἐπάνω
τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος κείσθαι πολλαχοὶ δ’
ὑποκάτω· καὶ τὸν ἀέρα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ὁμοίως, πῇ μὲν
ἐν ταῖς κατὰ φύσιν πῇ δ’ ἐν ταῖς παρὰ φύσιν2
χώραις ὑπάρχειν. ὃν ᾧδυνάτων ὄντων, ὡς οἴεται,
μήτε δύο μήτε πλείονας εἶναι κόσμους, ἀλλ’ ἐνα
τούτων ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας ἀπάσης συγκείμενον, ἱδρυ-
μένον κατὰ φύσιν, ὡς προσήκει ταῖς τῶν σωμάτων
διαφόραις. (26.) ἄλλα καὶ ταύτα πιθανῶς μᾶλλον
ἡ ἀληθῶς εὑρηται· σκόπει δ’ οὕτως,’’ ἐφην, ,,ὁ
D φίλε Δημήτριε. τῶν γὰρ σωμάτων τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ
tὸ μέσον καὶ κάτω κινεῖσθαι λέγων τὰ δ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ
μέσου καὶ ἄνω τὰ δὲ περὶ τὸ μέσον καὶ κύκλω,
πρὸς τὶ λαμβάνει τὸ μέσον; οὐ δήπου πρὸς τὸ
κενὸν· οὖ γὰρ ἐστὶ κατ’ αὐτὸν· καθ’ οὕς3 δ’ ἐστιν,
οὐκ ἔχει μέσον, οὕσπερ οὐδὲ πρῶτον οὐδ’ ἐσχατον·

1 τὰ omitted in most mss.
2 πῇ δ’ ἐν ... φύσιν in one ms. only (B).
3 οὕς Xylander: οὐ.

a Cf. Aristotle, De Caelo, i. 7 (276 a 18).
b Cf. Moralia, 925 b and 1054 b.
their blending; and the worlds themselves must experience joy in gazing at one another with kindly eyes; and for the many good gods in each, they must provide opportunities for visits and a friendly welcome. Truly in all this there is nothing impossible or fabulous or contrary to reason unless, indeed, because of Aristotle’s a statements some persons shall look upon it with suspicion as being based on physical grounds. For if each of the bodies has its own particular place, as he asserts, the earth must of necessity turn toward the centre from all directions and the water be above it, settling below the lighter elements because of its weight. If, therefore, there be more worlds than one, it will come to pass that in many places the earth will rest above the fire and the air, and in many places below them; and the air and the water likewise, in some places existing in positions in keeping with nature and in other places in positions contrary to nature. As this, in his opinion, is impossible, the inference is that there are neither two worlds nor more, but only this one, composed of the whole of matter and resting firmly in keeping with Nature, as befits the diversity of its bodies. (26.) All this, however, has been put in a way that is more plausible than true. Look at it in this way, my dear Demetrius,” said I; “when he says of the bodies that some have a motion towards the centre and downwards, others away from the centre and upwards, and others around the centre and in a circular path, in what relation does he take the centre? b Certainly not in relation to the void, for according to him it does not exist. And according to those for whom it does exist, it has no centre, just as it has no point where it begins or where it ends;
πέρατα γὰρ ταῦτα, τὸ δ’ ἀπειρον καὶ ἀπεράτωτον. εἰ δὲ καὶ βιάσατο τις αὐτὸν λόγου ὶ βια κινούμενον ἀπειρον3 τολμήσαι4 τίς ἢ πρὸς τοῦτο γιγνομένη τῶν κινήσεων διαφορὰ τοῖς σώμασι; οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τῷ κενῷ δύναμις ἐστὶ τῶν σωμάτων οὔτε τὰ σώματα προαίρεσιν ἔχει καὶ ὀρμήν, ἡ5 τοῦ μέσου γλίκεται Ἐ καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο συντείνει πανταχόθεν. ἀλλ’ ὁμοίως6 ἀπορῶν ἐστὶν ἀφύχων σωμάτων πρὸς ἀσώματον χώραν7 καὶ ἀδιάφορον ἡ φορὰν εἰς αὐτῶν ἡ ὀλκήν ὑπ’ ἐκείνης γιγνομένην νοήσαι. λείπεται τοῖς τὸ μέσον οὔ τοπικῶς ἀλλὰ σωματικῶς λέγεσθαι. τοῦτο γὰρ τοῦ κόσμου μίαν ἐκ πλείων σωμάτων καὶ ἀνομοίων ἐνότητα καὶ σύνταξι ἔχοντος, αἱ δια- φοραὶ τὰς κινήσεις ἄλλας πρὸς ἄλλα ποιοῦσιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης. δὴδον δὲ τῷ μετακοσμούμενα ταῖς σύ- σίαις έκαστα καὶ τὰς χώρας ἀμα συμμεταβάλλειν· αἱ μὲν γὰρ διακρίσεις ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου τὴν ὕλην αἱρομένην ἀνω κύκλω διανέμουσι· αἱ δὲ συγκρίσεις Ψ καὶ πυκνώσεις πιέζουσι κάτω πρὸς τὸ μέσον καὶ συνελαύνουσι.

27. "Περὶ δ’ ὅν οὐκ ἄναγκαίοι ἐνταῦθα πλεῖσι λόγους χρήσθαι. ἢν γὰρ ἂν τις ὑποθῆται τῶν παθῶν τούτων καὶ τῶν μεταβολῶν αἰτίων εἶναι δημιουργόν, αὕτη συνέξει τῶν κόσμων8 ἐκαστὸν ἐν ἑαυτῷ. καὶ γὰρ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν ἐκαστὸς ἔχει 425 κόσμον· ἔχει γὰρ καὶ μέσον ἐκαστὸς ἱδίον, καὶ πάθη

1 λόγου Emperius: λόγῳ.
2 κινούμενον] κενοῦ μέσου Wytenbach.
3 ἀπειρον] ἀπειρον Ἔmperius.
4 τολμήσαι] τι όμολογήσαι Xylander; τι νοήσαι Madvig (but cf. Moralia, 122 c).
5 ἡ or ἦ in all mss. but one.
6 ὁμοίως Madvig: ὁμοῖος.

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for these are limitations, and the infinite has no limitations. And if a man could force himself, by reasoning, to dare the concept of a violent motion of the infinite, what difference, if referred to this, is created for the bodies in their movements? For in the void there is no power in the bodies, nor do the bodies have a predisposition and an impetus, by virtue of which they cling to the centre and have a universal tendency in this one direction. It is equally difficult, in the case of inanimate bodies and an incorporeal and undifferentiated position, to conceive of a movement created from the bodies or an attraction created by the position. Thus one conclusion is left: when the centre is spoken of it is not with reference to any place, but with reference to the bodies. For in this world of ours, which has a single unity in its organization from numerous dissimilar elements, these differences necessarily create various movements towards various objects. Evidence of this is found in the fact that everything, when it undergoes transformation, changes its position coincidently with the change in its substance. For example, dispersion distributes upwards and round about the matter rising from the centre and condensation and consolidation press it down towards the centre and drive it together.

27. "On this topic it is not necessary to use more words at present. The truth is that whatever cause one may postulate as the author of these occurrences and changes, that cause will keep each of the worlds together within itself; for each world has earth and sea, and each has its own centre and occurrences that

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7 κῶραν Meziriacus: χωρεῖν.
8 τῶν κόσμων Reiske: τοῦ κόσμου.
(425) σωμάτων καὶ μεταβολάς καὶ φύσιν καὶ δύναμιν, ἦς σώζει καὶ φυλάττει κατὰ χώραν ἐκαστὸν. τοῦ μὲν γάρ ἐκτὸς, εἰτ' οὓδεν ἐστὶν εἴτε κενὸν ἀπειρον, οὐκ ὑπάρχει μέσον, ὡς εἰρήται: πλείονων δὲ κόσμων ὄντων, καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἐστὶν ὅδιον μέσον· ὡστε κύνησις ὅδια τοῖς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τοῖς δ' ἀπὸ τοῦτο τοῖς δὲ περὶ τοῦτο, καθάπερ αὐτοὶ διαιροῦσιν. ὃ δ' ἄξιων, πολλῶν μέσων ὄντων, ἐφ' ἐν μόνον ὀνειδίσχαι τὰ βάρη πανταχόθεν, οὐδεν διαφέρει τοῦ, πολλῶν ὄντων ἄνθρωπων, ἄξιοντος εἰς μίαν φλέβα τὸ πανταχόθεν αἷμα συρρεῖν καὶ μία μὴννυχι τοὺς Β πάντων ἐγκεφάλους περιέχεσθαι, δεινὸν ἡγούμενος, εἰ τῶν φυσικῶν σωμάτων οὐ μίαν ἀπαντα τὰ στερρὰ καὶ μίαν τὰ μανᾶ χώραν ἐφέξει. καὶ γάρ οὕτως ἀτοπός ἐστιν κάκεινος ἀγανακτῶν εἰ τὰ ὅλα τοὺς αὐτῶν μέρει χρήται, τὴν κατὰ φύσιν θέσιν ἔχουσιν ἐν ἐκάστῳ καὶ τάξιν. ἐκεῖνο γὰρ ἢν ἀτοπον, κεῖ τις ἐλεγε κόσμων εἶναι τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ ποὺ σελήνῃ ἔχονται καθάπερ ἄνθρωπον ἐν ταῖς πτέρναις τὸν ἐγκεφαλόν φοροῦντα καὶ τὴν καρδίαν ἐν τοῖς κροτάφοις. τὸ δὲ πλείονας ποιοῦντας χωρὶς ἀλλήλων κόσμοις ἄμα τοῖς ὅλοις τὰ μέρη συναφορίζειν καὶ συνδιαιρεῖν οὐκ Κ ἀτοπον· γὰρ ἐν ἐκάστῳ γῆ καὶ θάλαττα καὶ οὐρανὸς κεῖται κατὰ φύσιν ὡς προσήκει, τὸ τ' ἄνω καὶ κάτω καὶ κύκλῳ καὶ μέσον οὐ πρὸς ἄλλον

1 ἦ added by Meziriacus.
2 οὐχ ὑπάρχει Paton: οὐ παρέχει.
3 κεῖ F.C.B.: εἰ.
4 ποὺ added by F.C.B.

a Cf. Moralia, 928 a-b.
b Instead of revolving around it.
affect its component bodies; it has its own transmutations and a nature and a power which preserves each one and keeps it in place. In what lies beyond, whether it be nothing or an infinite void, no centre exists, as has been said; and if there are several worlds, in each one is a centre which belongs to it alone, with the result that the movements of its bodies are its own, some towards it, some away from it, and some around it, quite in keeping with the distinctions which these men themselves make. But anyone who insists that, while there are many centres, the heavy substances are impelled from all sides towards one only, does not differ at all from him who insists that, while there are many men, the blood from all shall flow together into a single vein and the brains of all shall be enveloped in a single membrane, deeming it a dreadful thing in the case of natural bodies if all the solids shall not occupy one place only and the fluids also only one place. Such a man as that will be abnormal, and so will he be who is indignant if everything constituting a whole has its own parts, of which it makes use in their natural arrangement and position in every case. For that would be preposterous, and so too if anybody called that a world which had a moon somewhere inside it; as well call that a man who carries his brains in his heels or his heart in his head! But to make more worlds than one, each separate from the other, and to delimit and distinguish the parts belonging to each to go with the whole is not preposterous. For the land and the sea and the heavens in each will be placed to accord with nature, as is fitting; and each of the worlds has its above and below and its round

a Cf. Demosthenes, Oration vii. 45.
28. "'Όν μὲν γὰρ ἔξω τοῦ κόσμου λίθον ὑποτίθενται τινες οὕτε μονής εὐπόρως παρέχει νόησιν οὕτε κινήσεως. πῶς γὰρ ἡ μενεὶ βάρος ἔχων ἢ κινήσεται πρὸς τὸν κόσμον, ὡσπερ τὰ λουπὰ βάρη, μήτε μέρος ὧν αὐτοῦ μήτε συντεταγμένος εἰς τὴν ούσιαν; γῆν¹ δὲ ἐν ἐτέρῳ κόσμῳ περιεχομένην καὶ συνδεδεμένην οὐκ ἐδει διαπορεῖν ὅπως οὐκ ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐμεταχωρεῖ διὰ βάρος ἀπορραγεῖσα τοῦ ὅλου, τὴν φύσιν ὁρῶντας καὶ τὸν τόπον ύφ᾽ οὗ συνέχεται τῶν μερῶν ἔκαστον. ἔπει μὴ πρὸς τὸν κόσμον ἀλλ᾽ ἐκτὸς αὐτοῦ τὸ κάτω καὶ ἄνω λαμβάνοντες, ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἀπορίαις ἐπικούρῳ γενησομέθα κινοῦντι τὰς ἀτόμους ἀπάσας εἰς τοὺς ὑπὸ πόδας τόπους, ὡσπερ ἡ τοῦ κενοῦ πόδας ἔχοντος ἡ τῆς ἀπειρίας ἐν αὐτῇ κάτω τε καὶ ἄνω νοησαὶ² διδοῦσι. διὸ καὶ Χρύσιππον ἐστὶ θαυμάζειν, μᾶλλον δὲ ὅλως διαπορεῖν ὧ τι δὴ παθὼν τὸν κόσμον ἐν μέσῳ φησὶν ἐδρύσθαι, καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ τὸν μέσον τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατειλήφυται, οὐχ ἢκιστα τούτῳ³ συνεργεῖσθαι⁴ πρὸς τὴν διαμονὴν καὶ οἰονεὶ ἀφθαρσίαν. ταυτὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ περὶ Δυσατῶν λέγει, μέσον τοῦ ἀπείρου τόπον οὐκ ὀρθῶς ὑνειρωτῶς ἀτοπώτερον τε τῆς διαμονῆς τοῦ κόσμου τῷ ἀνυπάρκτῳ μέσῳ

1 γῆν Xylander: τὴν.
2 νοῆσαι Bernardakis; διανοείσθαι Kronenberg; διανοήσαι.
3 τούτῳ Turnebus: τοῦτον or τούτων.
4 συνεργεῖσθαι Wytttenbach; συνεργεῖν Paton: συνέργεσθαι.

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a Cf. Moralia, 1054 b.
b Frag. 299.
c Cf. von Arnim, Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta, i. 551 (p. 174), and Moralia, 1054 c.
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about and its centre, not with reference to another
world or the outside, but in itself and with reference
to itself.

28. "As for the stone which some assume to exist
in the regions outside the world, it does not readily
afford a concept regarding either its fixity or its
motion. For how is it either to remain fixed, if it
has weight, or to move towards the world like other
heavy substances when it is no part of the world and
has no place in the order of its being? Land
embraced in another world and bound up with it
ought not to raise any question as to how it comes
about that it does not break away from the whole
and transfer itself to our world, because we see the
nature and the tension under which each of the parts
is held secure. For if we take the expressions
'below' and 'above' as referring, not to the world,
but outside of it, we shall become involved in the
same difficulties as Epicurus, who would have all his
atoms move to places under our feet, as if either the
void had feet, or infinity granted us to conceive of
'below' and 'above' within itself! Wherefore we
may well wonder at Chrysippus, or rather be quite
unable to understand what possessed him to assert
that the world has been firmly set in the centre and
that its substance, having pre-empted the central
place from time eternal, thereby gains the greatest
help towards its permanence, and that is as much
as to say its immunity from destruction. This is
actually what he says in the fourth book of his work
on Things Possible, where he indulges in a day-dream
of a central place in the infinite and still more pre-
posterously ascribes the cause of the permanence of
the world to the non-existent centre; yet in other

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τὴν αὐτὰν ὑποτίθεισ, καὶ ταῦτα πολλάκις εἰρηκὼς ἐν ἑτέροις ὧτι ταῖς εἰς τὸ αὐτὴς μέσον ἥ οὐσία καὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτῆς μέσου διοικεῖται καὶ συνεχεῖται κινήσει.

29. "Καὶ μὴν τὰ γ' ἄλλα τῶν Στοιχείων τίς ἄν φοβηθεῖ, πυθανομένων πῶς εἰμαρμένη μία μενεὶ καὶ πρόνοια, καὶ οὗ πολλοὶ Δίες καὶ Ζῆνας ἐσονταί, πλείονων ὄντων κόσμων; πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ εὰ τὸ πολλοὺς εἶναι Δίας καὶ Ζῆνας ἀτοπὸν ἔστι, Π πολλῷ δὴπουθεν ἔσται τὰ ἑκείνων ἀτοπώτηρα· καὶ γὰρ ἦλιος καὶ σελήνας καὶ Ἀπόλλωνας καὶ Ἀρτέμιδας καὶ Ποσειδώνας ἐν ἀπείροις κόσμων περιόδοις ἀπείρους ποιοῦσι. ἔπειτα τίς ἀνάγκη πολλοὺς εἶναι Δίας, ἀν πλείονες ὦσι κόσμωι, καὶ μὴ καθ' ἕκαστον ἀρχοντα πρῶτον καὶ ἡγεμόνα τοῦ ὅλου.

426 θεὸν ἔχοντα καὶ νοῦν καὶ λόγον, οἴος ὁ παρ' ἡμῖν κύριος ἀπάντων καὶ πατήρ ἐπονομαζόμενος; ἦ τί κωλύσει τῆς τοῦ Δίος εἰμαρμένης καὶ προνοίας ὑπηκόους πάντας εἶναι, καὶ τούτων ἐφορᾶν ἐν μέρει καὶ κατευθύνειν, ἐνδιδόντα πᾶσιν ἀρχᾶς καὶ στέρματα καὶ λόγους τῶν περαινομένων; οὐ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα μὲν ἐν συνιστασι αὐτά πολλάκις ἐκ διεστώτων σωμάτων, οἶνον ἐκκλησία καὶ στράτευμα καὶ χορός, ἢν ἐκάστου καὶ ζῆν καὶ φρονεύν καὶ μανθάνειν συμβέβηκεν, ὃς οἶεται Χρύσιππος, ἐν δὲ τῶν παντὶ δέκα κόσμους ἢ πεντήκοντα ἦ' καὶ ἐκατόν ὄντας ἐνί χρῆσθαι λόγω καὶ πρὸς ἀρχὴν συντετά-

1  ἦ Wytenbach: καί.

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b Cf. von Arnim, Stoicorum Veterrum Fragmenta, ii. 367 (p. 124).
works he has often said that substance is regulated and held together by its movements towards its own centre and away from its own centre.

29. "Then again, who could feel alarm at the other notions of the Stoics, who ask how there shall continue to be one Destiny and one Providence, and how there shall not be many supreme gods bearing the name of Zeus or Zen, if there are more worlds than one? For, in the first place, if it is preposterous that there should be many supreme gods bearing this name, then surely these persons' ideas will be far more preposterous; for they make an infinite number of suns and moons and Apollos and Artemises and Poseidons in the infinite cycle of worlds. But the second point is this: what is the need that there be many gods bearing the name of Zeus, if there be more worlds than one, and that there should not be in each world, as pre-eminent governor and ruler of the whole, a god possessing sense and reason, such as the one who among us bears the name of Lord and Father of all? Or again, what shall prevent all worlds from being subject to the Destiny and Providence of Zeus, and what shall prevent his overseeing and directing them all in turn and supplying them all with first principles, material sources, and schemes of all that is being carried out? Do we not in this world of ours often have a single body composed of separate bodies, as, for example, an assembly of people or an army or a band of dancers, each one of whom has the contingent faculty of living, thinking, and learning, as Chrysippus believes, while in the whole universe, that there should be ten worlds, or fifty, or an hundred even, living under one reasoned plan, and organized under one government, is an
ἐπερχόμενον\(^2\) τε μαλάσσοντες βιατὰν\(^3\)
πόντον ὡκείας τ’ ἀνέμων ῥπᾶς,

οὐκ ἐμπλέοντες αὐτοὶ καὶ συγκινδυνεύοντες ἀλλ’ ἀνωθεν ἐπιφαινόμενοι καὶ σφώντες, οὕτως ἐπιέναι\(^4\)
tῶν κόσμων\(^5\) ἀλλοτ’ ἀλλον, ἠδονή τε τῆς θεᾶς ἀγο-
μένους καὶ τῆ φύσει συναπευθύνοντας ἔκαστον. ὦ
μὲν γὰρ Ὀμηρικὸς Ζεὺς οὐ πάνυ πρόσω μετέθηκε

\(^{436}\)

1 ποιοῦντες] ποιοῦντας in all mss. but A, whence ποιάς Reiske.
2 ἐπερχόμενον from Moralia, 1103 c: ἐπερχόμενοι.
3 βιατάν Bergk: βία τὸν (βλαὐν 1103 c).
4 ἐπιέναι Turnebus: ὑπείναι (ἐπείναι G corr.).
5 τῶν κόσμων Reiske: τὸν κόσμον.
impossibility? Yet such an organization is altogether appropriate for the gods. For we must not make them unable to go out, like the queens in a hive of bees, nor keep them imprisoned by enclosing them with matter, or rather fencing them about with it, as those do who make the gods to be atmospheric conditions, or regard them as powers of waters or of fire blended therewith, and bring them into being at the same time with the world, and burn them up with it, since they are not unconfined and free like drivers of horses or pilots of ships, but, just as statues are riveted and welded to their bases, so they are enclosed and fastened to the corporeal; and are partners with it even unto destruction, dissolution, and transmutation, of whatsoever sort may befall.

30. "That other concept is, I think, more dignified and sublime, that the gods are not subject to outside control, but are their own masters, even as the twin sons of Tyndareüs come to the aid of men who are labouring in the storm,

Soothing the oncoming raging sea,
Taming the swift-driving blasts of the winds,

not, however, sailing on the ships and sharing in the danger, but appearing above and rescuing; so, in the same way, one or another of the gods visits now this world and now that, led thither by pleasure in the sight, and co-operates with Nature in the directing of each. The Zeus of Homer turned his gaze not so very far away from the land of Troy towards the

\( \text{\textit{Ibid.}} \) 1055 (p. 311).

\( \text{\textit{Castor}} \) and \( \text{\textit{Pollux}} \), the protectors of sailors.

\( \text{\textit{Repeated with some variants by Plutarch in \textit{Moralia}, 1103 c-n}: \text{cf. Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. iii. p. 730.}} \)

\( \text{\textit{Homer, II. xiii. 3.}} \)
(426) τὸν "Ιστρον νομάδας, ὅ δὲ ἄληθινός ἔχει καλὰς καὶ πρεποῦσας ἐν πλείσοι κόσμωις μεταβολᾶς, οὐχὶ κενὸν ἀπειρὸν ἔξω βλέπων οὐδ' ἐαυτὸν ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲν, ὥς ὑπήρθαν ἐνιοί, νοών, ἀλλ' ἐργα τε θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων πολλὰ κινήσεις τε καὶ φορᾶς ἄστρων ἐν περίοδοις καταθεώμενοι. οὐ γὰρ ἀπεκθάνεται μεταβολάς ἄλλα καὶ τάνυ χαίρει τὸ θεῖον, εἰ δὲ τῶν φαινομένων τεκμαίρεσθαι ταῖς κατ' οὐρανὸν εξαμείσθη καὶ περίοδοις. ἦ μὲν οὖν ἀπειρία παντάπασιν ἀγνώμων καὶ ἄλογος καὶ μηδαμὴ προσειμένη θεόν, ἄλλα χρωμένη πρὸς πάντα τῷ κατὰ Ε τύχῃ καὶ αὐτομάτῳ. ὃ δ' ἐν ὤρους ὕπεθει καὶ ἀριθμῷ κόσμων ἐπιμέλεια καὶ πρόνοια τῆς εἰς ἐν δεδυκτίας σῶμα καὶ προσηητημένης ἐν καὶ τοῦτο μετασχηματιζούσης καὶ ἀναπλαττούσης ἀπειράκης ἐμοίηα δοκεῖ μηδὲν ἐχει ἄσεμνότερον μητ' ἐπιπονότερον.

31. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν τοσαῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπέσχον. ὃ δὲ Φίλιππος οὐ πολὺν χρόνου διαλεπτὼν, "τὸ μὲν ἄληθες," ἐφη, "περὶ τούτων οὔτως ἔχειν ἡ ἔτερως οὐκ ἂν ἐγγυε διοικησιαίμην· εἰ δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἐκβιβάζομεν ἐνὸς κόσμου, διὰ τὶ πέντε μόνων ποιούμεν οὐ πλειόνων δημιουργόν, καὶ τὶς ἐστὶ τοῦ Φ ἀριθμοῦ τούτου πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος λόγος, ἢδιον ἄν μοι δοκῶ μαθεῖν ἡ τῆς ἐνταύθα τοῦ εἰ καθιερώσεως τὴν διάνοιαν. οὔτε γὰρ τρίγωνος ἡ τετράγωνος οὔτε τέλεος ἡ κυβικὸς οὔτ' ἄλλην τινὰ φαίνεται

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1 οὐχὶ ἐπὶ Wilamowitz-Möllendorff.
2 αὐτομάτως Bernardakis: αὐτομάτῳ.

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Thracian regions and the wandering tribes about the Danube; but the real Zeus has a fair and fitting variety of spectacles in numerous worlds, not viewing the infinite void outside nor concentrating his mind upon himself and nothing else, as some have imagined, but surveying from above the many works of gods and men and the movements and courses of the stars in their cycles. In fact, the Deity is not averse to changes, but has a very great joy therein, to judge, if need be, by the alternations and cycles in the heavens among the bodies that are visible there. Infinity is altogether senseless and unreasoning, and nowhere admits a god, but in all relations it brings into action the concept of chance and accident. But the Oversight and Providence in a limited group and number of worlds, when compared with that which has entered one body and become attached to one and reshapes and remolds it an infinite number of times, seems to me to contain nothing involving less dignity or greater labour."

31. Having spoken at this length, I stopped. Philip, after no long interval, said, "That the truth about these matters is thus or otherwise is not for me to assert. But if we eliminate the god from one world, there is the question why we make him the creator of only five worlds and no more, and what is the relation of this number to the great mass of numbers; and I feel that I would rather gain a knowledge of this than of the meaning of the $\text{E}^b$ dedicated here. For the number five represents neither a triangle nor a square, nor is it a perfect number nor a cube, nor does it seem to present any

$^b$ The meaning is discussed in the second essay of this volume.
komψότητα παρέχων τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι τὰ τοιαύτα καὶ
θαυμάζονσιν. ἡ δ᾽ ἀπὸ τῶν στοιχείων ἑφόδους, ἥν
αὐτὸς ὑπηνύσατο, πάντη δυσληπτός ἐστὶ καὶ μηδὲν
ὑποφαίνουσα τῆς ἐκείνου ἐπεσπασμένης πυθανότη-
τος εἴπειν ὅς εἰκός ἐστι πέντε σωμάτων ἱσογωνίων
καὶ ἱσοπλεύρων καὶ περιεχομένων ἰσος ἐπιπέδοις
ἐγγενομένων τῇ ὕλῃ, τοσούτους εὐθὺς εξ αὐτῶν
ἀποτελεσθήναι κόσμους.”

32. “Καὶ μὴν,” ἐφην ἐγώ, “δοκεῖ Θεόδωρος ὁ
Σολεὺς οὐ φαύλως μετείναι τὸν λόγον, ἐξηγούμενος
τὰ μαθηματικὰ τοῦ Πλάτωνος. μέτεισι δ᾽ οὕτως.
πυραμίδες καὶ ὀκτάεδρον καὶ εἰκοσάεδρον καὶ δω-
δεκάεδρον, ἀ πρῶτα τίθεται Πλάτων, καλὰ μὲν ἐστὶ
πάντα συμμετρίας λόγων καὶ ἱσότητι, καὶ κρείττων
Β οὐδὲν αὐτῶν οὐδ᾽ ὁμοίων ἄλλο συνθείναι τῇ φύσει
καὶ συναρμόσαι λέειπται. μᾶς γε μὴν πάντα
συστάσεως οὐκ εὐληξεὶν οὐδ᾽ ὁμοίων ἔχει τὴν γέ-
νεσιν, ἀλλὰ λεπτότατον μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ μικρότατον ἡ
πυραμίδες, μέγιστον δὲ καὶ πολυμερέστατον τὸ δω-
δεκάεδρον· τῶν δὲ λειπομένων δυόν τοῦ ὀκταειδοῦ
μείζον ἡ διπλάσιον πλήθει τριγώνων τὸ εἰκοσά-
εδρον. διὸ τὴν γένεσιν ἀμα πάντα λαμβάνει ἐκ μιᾶς
ὕλης ἀδύνατον ἐστὶ. τὰ γὰρ λεπτὰ καὶ μικρὰ καὶ
taῖς κατασκευαῖς ἀπλούστερα πρῶτα τῷ κυνῷτι
καὶ διαπλάττοντι τὴν ὕλην ὑπακούειν ἀνάγκη καὶ
συντελεῖσθαι καὶ προοίμιστασθαι τῶν ἀδρομερῶν
καὶ πολυσωμάτων εξ ὧν καὶ τὴν σύστασιν ἐργῳ-

1 αὐτὸς] αὐτὸς ὁ Πλάτων Sieveking.
2 ἐκείνων Turnebus: ἐκείνων.

* Presumably Pythagoras, but possibly Plato.
* Cf. Moralia, 1027 d.
* The five solids of which each has the same number of sides on all its faces, and all its solid angles made up of the
other subtlety for those who love and admire such speculations. Its derivation from the number of elements, at which the Master \(^a\) hinted darkly, is in every way hard to grasp and gives no clear intimation of the plausibility which must have drawn him on to assert that it is likely that when five bodies with equal angles and equal sides and enclosed by equal areas are engendered in matter the same number of worlds should at once be perfected from them.”

32. “Yes,” said I, “Theodorus of Soli \(^b\) seems to follow up the subject not ineptly in his explanations of Plato’s mathematical theories. He follows it up in this way: a pyramid, an octahedron, an icosahedron, and a dodecahedron, the primary figures which Plato predicates, are all beautiful because of the symmetries and equalities in their relations, and nothing superior or even like to these \(^c\) has been left for Nature to compose and fit together. It happens, however, that they do not all have one form of construction, nor have they all a similar origin, but the pyramid is the simplest and smallest, while the dodecahedron is the largest and most complicated. Of the remaining two the icosahedron is more than double the octahedron in the number of its triangles. For this reason it is impossible for them all to derive their origin from one and the same matter. For those that are simple and small and more rudimentary in their structure would necessarily be the first to respond to the instigating and formative power, and to be completed and acquire substantiality earlier than those of large parts and many bodies, from which class comes the dodecahedron, which requires same number of plane angles. Cf. Plato, *Timaeus*, 53 c–56 c, and Grote’s *Plato*, iii. 269.
C δεστέραν ἔχων,1 τὸ δωδεκάεδρον. ἔπεται δὲ τούτῳ (427) τὸ μόνον εἶναι σῶμα πρῶτον τὴν πυραμίδα, τῶν δ' ἄλλων μηδέν, ἀπολειπομένων τῇ φύσει τῆς γενέσεως. ἔστιν2 οὖν ἑαμα καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἀτοπίας ἡ τῆς ὑλῆς εἰς πέντε κόσμους διαίρεσις καὶ διάστασις. ὅπου μὲν γὰρ πυραμίς ὑποστήσεται3 πρῶτον ὅπου δ' ὀκτάεδρον, ὅπου δ' εἰκοσάεδρον. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ προὐποστάντος ἐν ἑκάστῳ4 τὰ λοιπὰ τὴν γένεσιν ἔξει κατὰ σύγκρισιν5 μερῶν εἰς πάντα γιγνομένης πᾶσι μεταβολῆς, ὥσ αὐτὸς ὁ Πλάτων ὑποδείκνυσι διὰ πάντων σχεδὸν ἐπεξήνων. ἦμιν δὲ

D βραχέως ἀρκέσει μαθεῖν. ἔπει γὰρ ἀὴρ6 μὲν σβενυμένου πυρὸς ψφισταί, καὶ λεπτυνόμενος αὖθις εξ αὐτοῦ πῦρ ἀναδίδωσιν, ἐν τοῖς ἑκατέροις7 σπέρματι τὰ πάθη δει θεᾶσθαι καὶ τὰς μεταβολάς. σπέρματα δὲ πυρὸς μὲν ἡ πυραμίς, ἡν εἰκοσι καὶ τετράρων πρῶτων τριγώνων τὸ δ' ὀκτάεδρον ἄερος ἐκ τετταράκοντα καὶ ὀκτὼ τῶν αὐτῶν γίγνεται. γίγνεται τοῖνυν ἄερος μὲν ἐν στοιχεῖον ἐκ δυοῖν πυρὸς σωμάτων8 συγκραθέντων καὶ συστάντων, τὸ δ' ἄερος αὐθεὶς κερματιζόμενον εἰς δύο πυρὸς διακρίνεται σώματα, συνθλίβομενον δ' αὖθις αὐτῷ καὶ συμπίπτον τοῖς ὑδάτοις ἰδέαιν ἀπείσων. ὡστε πυν...

Ε ταχοῦ τὸ προὐφιστάμενον ἄεὶ πάσι τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐπόρως παρέχειν τὴν γένεσιν ἐκ τῆς μεταβολῆς,

1 ἔχων F.C.B.: ἔχοντων.
2 ἔστιν Leonicus: ἔπει.
3 ὑποστήσεται Madvig: ὑπέστησε γάρ.
4 ἑκάστω an early correction: ἑκάστῃ.
5 σύγκρισιν-] Turnebus would add καὶ διακρίσιν after σύγκρισιν.
6 γὰρ ἀὴρ Bernardakis: γὰρ ἢν or ἀὴρ μέν.
7 ἑκατέροισ] ἑκατέρου Bernardakis.
8 σωμάτων to fill a lacuna (cf. σώματα just below) Wilmowitz-Mollendorff.
more labour for its construction. Hence it follows that the only primal body is the pyramid, and not one of the others, since by their nature they are outdistanced by it in coming into being. Accordingly, the remedy which exists for this strange state of affairs consists in the division and separation of matter into five worlds, one where the pyramid shall acquire substantiality first, another for the octahedron, and another for the icosahedron; then from the one that first acquires substantiality in each world the rest will have their origin, since a transmutation for everything into everything takes place according to the adaptability of parts to fit together, as Plato has indicated, going into the details of nearly all cases. But for us it will suffice to acquire the knowledge in brief form. Since air is formed when fire is extinguished, and when rarefied again gives off fire out of itself, we must observe the behaviour of each of the generative elements and their transmutations. The generative elements of fire are the pyramid, composed of twenty-four primary triangles, and likewise for air the octahedron, composed of forty-eight of the same. Therefore one element of air is produced from two corpuscles of fire combined and united; and that of air again, when divided, is separated into two corpuscles of fire, and again, when compressed and condensed, it goes off into the form of water. The result is that in every case the one which first acquires substantiality always affords the others a ready means of coming into being through transmutation; and it

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*a Plato, *Timaeus*, 55 e ff.

*b* Does Plutarch (or Plato before him) see an etymological relation between "pyramid" and "pyr" (fire)? See also 428 d *infra.*
καὶ μὴ μόνον ἐν εἴναι πρῶτον, ἑτέρου δὲ ἐν ἑτέρῳ συστήματι κίνησιν ἀρχήγον καὶ προληπτικὴν ἐς γένεσιν ἔχοντος πάσι τηρεῖσθαι τὴν ὁμονομίαν."

33. Καὶ ὁ Ἀμμίάντιος, "ἀνδρικός μὲν," ἔφη, "ταῦτα τῷ Θεοδώρῳ καὶ φιλοτίμως διαπεπόνηται θαυμάσαμι δὲ ἂν, εἰ μὴ δόξει χρήσθαι λήμμασιν ἀναιρετικοῖς ἀλλήλων. ἀξιοὶ γὰρ ἦμα πᾶσι τοῖς πέντε μὴ γίγνεσθαι τὴν σύστασιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ λεπτότατον ἀεὶ καὶ δι' ἐλάττονος πραγματείας συνιστάμενον προεκπίπτειν εἰς γένεσιν. εἴτε ὦσπερ ἀκόλουθον οὐ μαχομένον τοῦτω τίθησι τὸ μὴ Φ πᾶσαν ὑλὴν πρῶτον ἐκφέρειν1 τὸ λεπτότατον 2 καὶ ἀπλούστατον, ἀλλ' ἐναχῇ τὰ ἐμμερή καὶ πολυμερῆ φθάνειν προανίσχοντα ταῖς γενέσεσιν ἐκ τῆς ὑλῆς. ἀνευ δὲ τοῦτο, πέντε σωμάτων πρῶτων ὑποκειμένων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κόσμων λεγομένων εἰναι τοσούτων, πρὸς μόνα τὰ τέταρτα τῇ πιθανότητι χρῆται, τὸν δὲ κύβον ὦσπερ ἐν παρασχ. ψήφισιν υφήρηται, μὴτ' αὐτὸν εἰς ἐκεῖνα μεταβάλλειν πε- φυκότα μὴτ' ἐκείνοις παρέχειν μεταβολὴν εἰς 428 ἐαυτὸν, ἀτε δὴ τῶν τριγώνων οὐχ ὀμογενῶν ὀντων. ἐκεῖνοις μὲν γὰρ ὑπόκειται κοινὸν ἐν πάσι τῷ ἡμιτριγώνων, ἐν τοῦτῳ δ' Ἰδιον μόνω τῷ ἴσοσκελές, οὐ ποιοῦν πρὸς ἑκεῖνο σύννεφων οὔτε σύγκρασιν ἐνωτικῆν. εἴπερ οὖν πέντε σωμάτων ὀντων καὶ πέντε κόσμων ἐν3 ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῆς ἥγεμονίαν ἔχει τῆς γενέσεως, ὅπου γέγονεν ὁ κύβος πρῶτος,

1 ἐκφέρειν F.C.B.: εἰσφέρειν.
2 λεπτότατον] ἀπλότατον in most MSS.
3 ἐν added by Wyttenbach.
is not one alone that first exists, but another in a different environment is endowed with movement, which takes the lead and forestalls the others in coming into being, and thus the name of being first is kept by all.

33. "Manfully and zealously," said Ammonius, "have these matters been worked out by Theodorus; but I should be surprised if it should not appear that he has made use of assumptions which nullify each other. For he insists that all the five shall not undergo construction at the same time, but the simplest always, which requires the least trouble to construct, shall first issue forth into being. Then, as a corollary to this, and not conflicting with it, he lays down the principle that not all matter brings forth the simplest and most rudimentary form first, but that sometimes the ponderous and complex forms, in the time of their coming into being, are earlier in arising out of matter. But apart from this, five bodies having been postulated as primary, and on the strength of this the number of worlds being put as the same, he adduces probability with reference to four only; the cube he has taken off the board, as if he were playing a game with counters, since, because of its nature, it cannot transmute itself into them nor confer upon them the power of transmutation into itself, inasmuch as the triangles are not homologous triangles. For in the others the common triangle which underlies them all is the half-triangle; but in this, and peculiar to it alone, is the isosceles triangle, which makes no convergence towards the other nor any conjunction that would unify the two. If, therefore, there are five bodies and five worlds, and in each one body only has precedence in coming into being, then where the cube has been the first to come
(428) οὐδὲν ἔσται τῶν ἄλλων· εἰς οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐκείνων μεταβάλλειν πέφυκεν. ἐώ γὰρ ὅτι καὶ τὸ τοῦ καλουμένου δωδεκαέδρου στοιχεῖον ἄλλο ποιοῦσιν, οὐκ ἐκεῖνο τὸ σκαληνὸν, ἢ οὐ τὴν πυραμίδα καὶ τὸ ὀκτάεδρον καὶ τὸ εἰκοσάεδρον ὁ Πλάτων συν-Β ἱστησιν. ὥστε,” ἀμα γελῶν ὁ Ἀμμάνιος εἶπεν, “ἡ ταύτα σοι διαλυτέον ἡ ἰδιὸν τι λεκτέον περὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἀπορίας.”

34. Καγώ, “πιθανότερον οὐδὲν ἔχω λέγειν ἐν γε τῷ παρόντι· βέλτιον δ’ ἰσως ἐστὶν ἰδίας εὐθύνας ὑπέχειν δόξης ἡ ἄλλοτριας. λέγω τοῖνυν αὕτης ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὅτι δυοῖν ὑποκειμένων φύσεων, τῆς μὲν αἰσθητῆς ἐν γενέσει καὶ φθορᾷ μεταβόλου καὶ φορητῆς ἄλλας, ἔτερας δ’ ἐν οὕσιν νοητῆς ἀεὶ κατὰ ταύτα ὁσαύτως ἔχουσας, δεινῶν ἐστιν, ὡς ἐταίρη, τὴν μὲν νοητὴν διώρισθαι καὶ διαφορὰν ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτῇ, τὴν δὲ σωματικὴν καὶ παθητικὴν εἰ μὴ μίαν τίς ἀπολείπει 1 συμπεφυκώναν αὐτῇ καὶ συννεύοουσαν 2 ἄλλα χωρίζει καὶ διόστησιν, ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ δυσχεραῖνειν. τὰ γὰρ μόνιμα καὶ θεία δῆτον μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ἔχεσθαι προσήκει καὶ φεύγειν ὡς ἀνυστόν ἐστὶ τομὴν ἀπασαν καὶ διάστασιν. ἄλλα καὶ τούτων ἡ τοῦ ἔτερου δύναμις ἀποτομενὴ μείζονας ἐνείργασαι τῶν κατὰ τόπον διαστάσεων τοῖς νοητοῖς τὰς κατὰ λόγον καὶ ἰδέαν ἀνομοιότητας. ὅθεν ἐνιστάμενος τοῖς ἐν τῷ πᾶν ἀποφαίνουσιν ὁ Πλάτων τὸ τ’ ὦν εἶναι φησι καὶ τὸ ταύτον καὶ

1 ἀπολείπει] ἀπολείποι in all mss. except E.
2 συννεύοουσαν] συμπνεύοουσαν in three mss.

a Plato, Sophist, 256 c; cf. also Moralia, 391 b, supra.
446
into being, there will be none of the others, since, because of its nature, it cannot transmute itself into any one of them. I leave out of account the fact that they make the element of the dodecahedron, as it is called, something else and not that scalene from which Plato constructs the pyramid and the octahedron and the icosahedron. So," added Ammonius, laughing, "either you must solve these problems or else contribute something of your own concerning this difficulty in which we all find ourselves involved."

34. "For the present, at least," said I, "I have nothing more plausible to offer; but perhaps it is better to submit to examination on views of one's own rather than on another's. I repeat, therefore, what I said at the beginning, that if two natures be postulated, one evident to the senses, subject to change in creation and dissolution, carried now here now there, while the other is essentially conceptual and always remains the same, it is a dreadful thing that, while the conceptual nature has been parcelled out and has variety within itself, we should feel indignant and annoyed if anyone does not leave the corporeal and passive nature as a unity knit together and converging upon itself, but separates and parts it. For it is surely fitting that things permanent and divine should hold more closely together and escape, so far as may be, all segmentation and separation. But even on these the power of Differentiation has laid its hand and has wrought in things conceptual dissimilarities in reasons and ideas, which are vaster than the separations in location. Wherefore Plato,4 opposing those who declare for the unity of the whole, says that these five things exist: Being, Identity,
(428) τὸ ἑτερον, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ κίνησι καὶ στάσιν. ὄντων
D οὖν πέντε τούτων, οὐ θαυμαστὸν ἦν, εἰ τῶν πέντε
σωματικῶν στοιχείων ἐκεῖνων ἐκαστὸν ἐκάστῳ
μέμημα τῇ φύσει καὶ εἰδωλόν ἐστὶ γεγενημένοι
οὐκ ἄμεικτον οὐδ’ εἰλικρινές, ἀλλὰ τῷ μάλιστα
μετέχειν ἐκαστὸν ἐκάστης δυνάμεως. ὁ μὲν γε
κύβος ἐμφανῶς στάσεως οἰκεῖον ἐστὶ σῶμα; διὰ
τὴν τῶν ἐπιπέδων ἀσφάλειαν καὶ βεβαιότητα: τῆς
δὲ πυραμίδος πᾶς ἂν τις τὸ πυροειδῆς καὶ κυνητικὸν
ἐν τῇ λεπτότητι τῶν πλευρῶν καὶ τῇ τῶν γωνιῶν
δεξιώτητες κατανοήσεις. ἤ δὲ τοῦ δωδεκαέδρου
φύσις, περιληπτικὴ τῶν ἀλλών σχημάτων οὕτω
τοῦ ὄντος εἰκῶν πρὸς πᾶν ἄν τὸ σωματικὸν γε-
γονέαν δόξεις: τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν δυοῦν τὸ μὲν εἰκοσά-
εδρον τῆς τοῦ ἑτέρου τὸ δ’ ὀκτάεδρον μάλιστα
Ε τῆς ταύτου μετείληχεν ἱδέας. διὸ τούτῳ μὲν ἀέρα
σχετικὸν οὐσίας πάσης ἐν μιᾷ μορφῇ, θάτερον
δ’ ύδωρ ἐπὶ πλειστά τῷ κεράννυσθαι γένη ποιο-
τήτων τρεπόμενον’ παρεῖχεν. εὕπερ οὖν ἡ φύσις
ἀπαιτεῖ τὴν ἰσονομίαν ἐν πάσῃ, καὶ κόσμοις εἰκός
ἐστὶ μὴτε πλείους γεγονέαν μὴτ’ ἐλάττους τῶν
παραδειγμάτων, ὡπως ἐκαστὸν ἐν ἐκάστῳ τάξιν
ἡγεμονικήν ἔχῃ καὶ δύναμιν, ὡσπερ ἐν ταῖς συ-
στάσεις τῶν σωμάτων ἑσχήκεν.

35. ‘‘ Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν ἐστὼ παραμυθία
tοῦ θαυμάζοντος, εἰ τὴν ἐν γενέσει καὶ μεταβολῆ
φύσιν εἰς γένη τοσοῦτα διαιροῦμεν. ἐκεῖνο δ’ ἡδή

1 σῶμα] σῆμα Xylander; cf. εἰκών, infra.
2 ἄν added here by Bernardakis; in one ms. it stands
after δόξεις, but is omitted in the others.
3 τρεπόμενον Turnebus: τρεπόμενα.
4 ἐν omitted in most mss.
Differentiation, and, to crown all, Movement and Rest. Granted, then, that these five exist, it is not surprising if each of these five corporeal elements has been made into a copy and image of each of them respectively, not unmixed and unalloyed, but it is because of the fact that each of them participates most in its corresponding faculty. The cube is patently a body related to rest because of the security and stability of its plane surfaces. In the pyramid everybody may note its fiery and restless quality in the simplicity of its sides and the acuteness of its angles. The nature of the dodecahedron, which is comprehensive enough to include the other figures, may well seem to be a model with reference to all corporeal being. Of the remaining two, the icosahedron shares in the nature of Differentiation mostly, and the octahedron in that of Identity. For this reason the octahedron contributed air, which in a single form holds all being in its embrace, and the icosahedron water, which by admixture assumes the greatest variety of qualities. If, therefore, Nature demands an equal distribution in all things, there is a reasonable probability that the worlds which have been created are neither more nor less in number than the patterns, so that each pattern in each world may have the leading rank and power just as it has acquired it in the construction of the primary bodies.

35. "However, let this be a comfort for him that wonders because we divide Nature into so many classes in its generation and transmutation. But here is another matter* which I ask you all to con-

* Cf. 387 ff., supra.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

429 Ἀμωσγέπτως ὑπομενόν καὶ δεχόμενον. αὐταί δὲ πρῶτον αἱ ἀρχαὶ περὶ τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἐπιφαίνονται, μᾶλλον δὲ ὅλως ἀριθμὸς οὐκ ἐστὶ τὸ πλῆθος, ἀν μὴ καθάπερ εἶδος ὦλης τὸ ἐν γενόμενον ἐκ τῆς ἀπειρίας τοῦ ἀορίστου πῆ μὲν πλεῖον πῆ δὲ ἔλαττον ἀποτείμηται. τότε γὰρ ἀριθμὸς γίγνεται τῶν πληθῶν ἐκαστὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐνὸς ὀριζόμενον: εὰν δ' ἀναρέθη τὸ ἐν, πάλιν ἡ ἀορίστος δυνάς συγχέασα πᾶν ἄρρυθμον καὶ ἀπειρον καὶ ἀμετρον ἐποίησεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ εἶδος οὐκ ἀναίρεσις ἐστὶ τῆς ὦλης ἀλλὰ μορφῆς καὶ τάξις ὑποκειμένης, ἀνάγκη καὶ τῷ
sider, and to give your undivided attention to it: of those numbers which come at the very first (I mean the number one and the indeterminate duality), the second, being the element underlying all formlessness and disarrangement, has been called infinity; but the nature of the number one limits and arrests what is void and irrational and indeterminate in infinity, gives it shape, and renders it in some way tolerant and receptive of definition, which is the next step after demonstration regarding things perceptible. Now these first principles make their appearance at the beginning in connexion with number; rather, however, larger amounts are not number at all unless the number one, created from the illimitability of infinity, like a form of matter, cuts off more on one side and less on the other. Then, in fact, any of the larger amounts becomes number through being delimited by the number one. But if the number one be done away with, once more the indeterminate duality throws all into confusion, and makes it to be without rhythm, bounds, or measure. Inasmuch as form is not the doing away with matter, but a shaping and ordering of the underlying matter, it needs must be that both these first principles be existent in number, and from this has arisen the first and greatest divergence and dissimilarity. For the indeterminate first principle is the creator of the even, and the better one of the odd. Two is the first of the even numbers and three the first of the odd; from the two combined comes five, a which in its composition is common to both numbers and in its potentiality is odd. For when the perceptible and corporeal was divided into

a Cf. 388 a, supra.
(429) τικοῦ μεριζόμενου διὰ τὴν σύμφυτον ἀνάγκην¹ τῆς ἔτερότητος, μήτε τὸν πρῶτον ἄρτιον γενέσθαι μήτε τὸν πρῶτον περιττόν, ἀλλὰ τὸν τρίτον ἐκ τούτων ἀποτελοῦμενον, ὅπως ἀπ’ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἄρχῶν γένηται, καὶ τῆς τὸ ἄρτιον δημουργούσης καὶ τῆς Σ τὸ περιττόν. οὐ γὰρ ἢν οἶον τε τῆς ἐτέρας ἀπαλλαγῆναι τὴν ἐτέραν. ἐκατέρα γὰρ ἄρχης φύσιν ἔχει καὶ δύναμιν. ἀμφοτέρων οὖν συνδυαζομένων, ἡ βελτίων κρατήσασα τῆς ἀοριστίας διαμορφώσης τὸ σωματικὸν ἐνέστη, καὶ τῆς ὑλῆς ἐν ἀμφοτέροις διασταμένης μέσην τὴν μονάδα θεμένη δίχα νεμθήναι τὸ πᾶν οὐκ εἴσευ, ἄλλα πλῆθος μὲν γέγονεν κόσμων ὑπὸ τῆς ἔτερότητος τοῦ ἀορίστου καὶ διαφορᾶς, περιττόν δὲ πλῆθος ἡ ταυτοῦ καὶ ὑρισμένον δύναμις ἀπείργασται, περιττόν δὲ τουτοῦ ὑπὸ τοπρωτέρω τὴν φύσιν ἡ βελτίων ἔχει προελθεῖν οὐκ εἴσευ. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἄμυγες καὶ καθαρῶν ὃν τὸ ἐν, οὐδ’ ἄν² ὅλως εἴχεν ἡ ὕλη διάστασιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῷ διαμετρικῷ τῆς δυάδος μέμεικται, τομὴ μὲν ἐδεξάτο καὶ διαίρεσιν, ἐνταῦθα δ’ ἐστὶ τῷ περιττῷ τοῦ ἄρτιον κρατηθέντος.

36. ‘‘Διὸ καὶ περιπάσασθαι τὸ ἀριθμῆσαι τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἠθος ἢν καλεῖν. οἴμαι δὲ καὶ τὰ πάντα τῶν πέντε παρώνυμα γεγονέναι κατὰ λόγον, ἀτε δὴ τῆς πεντάδος ἐκ τῶν πρώτων ἀριθμῶν συνεστῶσης. καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πολλαπλασιαζόμενοι πρὸς ἄλλους εἰς ἐτέρων αὐτῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐκβαίνουσιν. ἡ

¹ σύμφυτον ἀνάγκην Wytenbach: σύμφυσιν ἀνάγκη.
² οὐδ’ ἄν Bernardakis: οὐδέν.

* Cf. 374 a and 387 e, supra.
several parts because of the innate necessity of differentiation, that number had to be neither the first even nor the first odd, but the third number, which is formed from these two, so that it might be produced from both the primary principles, that which created the even and that which created the odd, because it was not possible for the one to be divorced from the other; for each possesses the nature and the potentiality of a first principle. So when the two were paired, the better one prevailed over the indeterminate as it was dividing the corporeal and checked it; and when matter was being distributed to the two, it set unity in the middle and did not allow the whole to be divided into two parts, but there has been created a number of worlds by differentiation of the indeterminate and by its being carried in varying directions; yet the power of Identity and Limitation has had the effect of making that number odd, but the kind of odd that did not permit Nature to progress beyond what is best. If the number one were unalloyed and pure, matter would not have any separation at all; but since it has been combined with the dividing power of duality, it has had to submit to being cut up and divided, but there it stopped, the even being overpowered by the odd.

36. "It was for this reason that among the people of olden time it was the custom to call counting 'numbering by fives.' I think also that 'panta' (all) is derived from 'pente' (five) in accord with reason, inasmuch as the pentad is a composite of the first numbers." As a matter of fact, when the others are multiplied by other numbers, the result is a number different from themselves; but the pentad,
δὲ πεντάς, ἀν μὲν ἀρτιάκις λαμβάνηται, τὸν δὲκα
ποιεῖ τέλειον· εὖν δὲ περιττάκις, ἐαυτὴν¹ πάλιν
ἀποδίδωσιν. ἐὼ δ’ ὅτι πρώτη² μὲν ἐκ πρώτων
Ε δυοὶν τετραγώνων συνέστηκε τῆς τε μονάδος καὶ
tῆς τετράδος ἡ πεντάς, πρώτη δ’ ἵσων δυναμένη
tοίς πρὸ ἀυτῆς δυσὶ τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν ὀρθογωνίων
τριγώνων συνίστησι: πρώτη δὲ ποιεῖ τὸν ἡμιόλιον
λόγον. οὐ γὰρ ἵσως οἰκεία ταῦτα τοῖς ὑποκει-
μένοις πράγμασιν· ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνο μᾶλλον, τὸ φύσει
diaireτικὸν τῶν ἀριθμῶν καὶ τὸ πλείστα τούτω³
τῆς φύσιν διανέμειν. ἐνειμὲ⁴ γὰρ ἦμῖν αὐτοῖς
αἰσθήσεις πέντε καὶ μέρη ψυχῆς, φυτικοῦ⁵ αἰσθη-
tικῶν ἐπιθυμητικῶν θυμοειδές λογιστικῶν· καὶ
dακτύλους ἐκατέρας χειρὸς τοσοῦτος, καὶ τὸ

F γονιμώτατον στέρμα πεντάχτῃ σχιζόμενον. οὐ γὰρ
ἰστόρηται γυνὴ πλείστα τεκνὸν; ἥ⁶ πέντε τέκνα⁷
tαις αὐταῖς ὁδίσοι. καὶ τήν Ἡράν Αἰγύπτιων μυθο-
λογοῦσι πέντε θεοὺς τεκεῖν, αἰνιττόμενοι τὴν ἐκ
μᾶς ὕλης τῶν πέντε κόσμων γένεσιν. ἐν δὲ τῷ
παντὶ πέντε μὲν ξώναις ὁ περὶ γῆν τόπος, πέντε
dὲ κύκλοις ὁ οὐρανὸς διώρισται, δυσὶν ἀρκτικοῖς
καὶ δυσὶ τροπικοῖς καὶ μέσῳ τῷ ἱσημερινῷ.

430 πέντε δ’ αἱ τῶν πλανωμένων ἄστρων περίοδοι:
γεγόνασιν, Ἡλίου καὶ Φωσφόρου καὶ Ἐστίβωνος
ὀμοδρομούντων. ἐναρμόνιος δὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ κόσμου
σύνταξις, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ τὸ παρ’ ἦμῖν ἡμιο-

¹ ἐαυτὴν Bernardakis: ἐαυτὸν.
² πρώτη Turnebus: πρῶτον, or πρῶτον ei.
³ τούτω Wytenbach: τούτων.
⁴ ἐνειμὲ (as below bis) Bernardakis: ἐν μὲν.
⁵ φυτικὸν Wytenbach: φυσικὸν.
⁶ ἦ added by Emperius.
⁷ τέκνα Wytenbach: συχνά.

ᵃ Cf. 388 D, supra. ᵇ Ibid. 391 λ.
if it be taken an even number of times, makes ten exactly; and if an odd number of times, it reproduces itself.\(^a\) I leave out of account the fact that it is the first composite of the first two squares, unity and the tetrad \(^b\); and that it is the first whose square is equal to the two immediately preceding it, making with them the most beautiful of the right-angled triangles \(^c\); and it is the first to give the ratio \(1\frac{1}{2} : 1\).\(^d\) However, perhaps these matters have not much relation to the subject before us; but there is another matter more closely related, and that is the dividing power of this number, by reason of its nature, and the fact that Nature does distribute most things by fives. For example, she has allotted to ourselves five senses and five parts to the soul \(^e\): physical growth, perception, appetite, fortitude, and reason; also five fingers on each hand, and the most fertile seed when it is divided five times, for there is no record that a woman ever had more than five children together at one birth.\(^f\) The Egyptians have a tradition \(^g\) that Rhea gave birth to five gods, an intimation of the genesis of the five worlds from one single Matter; and in the universe the surface of the earth is divided among five zones, and the heavens by five circles, two arctic, two tropic, and the equator in the middle. Five, too, are the orbits of the planets, if the Sun and Venus and Mercury follow the same course. The organization of the world also is based on harmony, just as a tune with us is seen

\(^{a}\) Ibid. 373 f.
\(^{b}\) Ibid. 389 d.
\(^{c}\) Cf. 390 f, supra; Plato, Republic, 410 b, 440 e-441 a; and much diffused in Timaeus, 70 ff.
\(^{d}\) Cf. Moralía, 264 b; Aristotle, Historia Animalium, vii. 4 (584 b 33); since Plutarch’s time there have been a few authenticated cases of sextuplets.
\(^{e}\) Cf. 355 d-f, supra.
(430) σμένων ἐν πέντε τετραχόρδων θέσεων ὀρᾶται, τῶν ύπάτων καὶ μέσων καὶ συνημμένων καὶ διεζευγμένων καὶ ύπερβολαίων καὶ τὰ μελῳδούμενα διαστήματα πέντε, δίεις καὶ ἡμιτόνιον καὶ τόνος καὶ τριμιτόνιον καὶ δύτονον. οὕτως ἡ φύσις έοικε τῷ πέντε ποιεῖν ἀπαντὰ χαίρειν μᾶλλον ἡ τῷ σφαιροειδῆ,¹ καθάπερ Ἀριστοτέλης ἔλεγε.

37. "Τί δήτα, φύσις τις ἂν, ἃ Πλάτων ἐπὶ τὰ β πέντε σχήματα τῶν πέντε κόσμων ἀριθμῶν ἀνήνεγκεν, εἰπὼν ὑπὸ τῇ πέμπτη συστάσει δ' θεὸς ἐπὶ τὸ πάν κατεχρήσατο ἓκείνου διαζωγραφῶν²; εἴτε τὴν περὶ τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν κόσμων ὑποθεῖς ἀπορίαν, πότερον ἣν ὑπὲρ αὐτοὺς ἀληθείᾳ πεφυκότας λέγειν προσήκει, δῆλος ἐστὶν ἐντεῦθεν οἰόμενος ὄρμησθαι τὴν ὑπόνοιαν. εἴπερ οὖν δεῖ πρὸς τὴν ἓκείνου διάνοιαν ἐπάγειν τὸ εἰκός, σκοπῶμεν³ ὅτι ταῖς τῶν σωμάτων καὶ σχημάτων ἓκείνων διαφοράις ἀνάγκη καὶ κινήσεων εὐθὺς ἐπεσθαί διαφοράς, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς διδάσκει, τὸ διακρινόμενον ἢ συγκρινόμενον ἂμα⁴ τῆς οὐσίας τῇ C ἐτερομώσει καὶ τοῦ τόπου μεταλλάττειν ἀποφαινόμενος. ἂν γὰρ ἡ ἄρος πῦρ γένηται, λυθέντος τοῦ ὀκτάεδρου καὶ κερματισθέντος εἰς πυραμίδας, ἡ πάλιν ἄρη ἐκ πυρός, συνωσθέντος καὶ συνθλιβέντος εἰς ὀκτάεδρον, οὐ δυνατόν μένειν ὅτιν πρότερον ἢν, ἀλλὰ φεύγει καὶ φέρεται πρὸς ἐτέραν χώραν ἐκβιαζόμενον καὶ μαχόμενον τοῖς ἐνισταμένοις καὶ

1 σφαιροειδῆ Turnebus: σφαιροειδεί.
2 διαζωγραφῶν Patzig from Plato, Timaeus, 55 c ff., and Plutarch, Moralia, 1003 c: διαγράφων.
3 ἐπάγειν ... σκοπῶμεν Wytenbach: ἀπάγειν ... σκοπῶν.
4 ἂμα Turnebus: ὀνόμα.
to depend on the five notes of the tetrachord: lowest, middle, conjunct, disjunct, and highest; and the musical intervals are five: quarter-tone, semitone, tone, tone and a half, and double tone. Thus it appears that Nature takes a greater delight in making all things in fives than in making them round, as Aristotle has said.

37. "'Why, then,' someone will say, 'did Plato refer the number of his five worlds to the five geometric figures, saying that God used up the fifth construction on the universe in completing its embellishment?' Further on, where he suggests the question about there being more worlds than one, whether it is proper to speak of one or of five as in truth naturally existent, it is clear that he thinks that the idea started from this source. If, therefore, we must apply reasonable probability to his conception, let us consider that variations in movement necessarily follow close upon the variations in the bodies and their shapes, as he himself teaches when he makes it plain that whatever is disunited or united changes its place at the same time with the alteration of its substance. For example, if fire is generated from air by the breaking up of the octahedron and its resolution into pyramids, or again if air is generated from fire by its being forced together and compressed into an octahedron, it is not possible for it to stay where it was before, but it escapes and is carried to some other place, forcing its way out and contending against anything that blocks its course or keeps it back.

\[a\] Cf. 389 e, 1028 f, 1138 f–1139 b.
\[b\] Cf. Aristotle, De Caelo, ii. 4 (286 b 10).
\[c\] Plato, Timaeus, 55 c.
\[d\] Ibid. 31 a; cf. 389 f and 421 f, supra.
\[e\] Plato, Timaeus, 57 c.
(430) κατεπείγουσιν. ἐτὶ δὲ μάλλον εἰκόνι τὸ συμβαίνον ἐνδείκνυται, 'τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πλοκάνων¹ καὶ ὄργανων τῶν² περὶ τὴν τοῦ σίτου καθαρσίν σειομένοις καὶ³ ἀναλικμωμένοις ὀμοίως λέγων τὰ

D στοιχεῖα σείοντα τὴν ὑλήν ὑπ’ ἐκείνης τε σειόμενα, προσωρεῖν αἰεὶ τὰ ὁμοία τοῖς ὀμοίοις, ἄλλην τε χώραν ἄλλα ἵσχειν⁴ πρὶν ἔξο ν’ αὐτῶν γενέσθαι τὸ πᾶν διακοσμηθέν· οὔτως οὖν τότε⁵ τῆς ὑλῆς ἐχούσης ὡς ἔχειν τὸ πᾶν εἰκὸς οὐ θεός⁶ ἀπεστών εὐθὺς αἱ πρῶται πέντε ποιότητες ἴδιας ἐχούσαι ῥοτᾶς ἐφεροντο χωρίς, οὐ παντάπασον οὐδ’ εἰλικρινῶς ἀποκρινόμεναι, διὰ τὸ πάντων ἀναμεμειγμένων αἰεὶ τὰ κρατούμενα τοῖς ἐπικρατοῦσι παρὰ⁸ φύσιν ἔπεσθαι. διὸ δὴ τοῖς τῶν σωμάτων γένεσιν ἄλλων ἄλλαχι φερομένων ἵσαρίθμους μερίδας καὶ διαστάσεις ἐποίησαν, τὴν μὲν οὐ καθαροῦ πυρὸς ἄλλα πυροειδή, τὴν δ’ οὐκ ἀμυγοῦς αἰθέρος ἄλλ’ αἰθεροειδῆ, τὴν

Ε δ’ οὗ γῆς αὐτῆς καθ’ ἐαυτὴν ἄλλα γεοειδῆ· μάλιστα δὲ κατὰ⁹ τὴν ἀέρος κοίνωσιν τὴν ὑδατος διέθεντο¹⁰ πολλῶν, ὡσπερ εὑρηται, τῶν ἀλλοφύλων¹¹ ἀναπελπησμέν’¹² ἀπελθεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ὁ θεός διεστήσαν οὐδὲ διώκισε τὴν οὐσίαν, ἄλλ’ ὑπ’ αὐτῆς διεστῶσαν αὐτὴν καὶ φερομένην χωρίς ἐν ἀκοσμίαις τοσαῦταις

¹ ὑπὸ τῶν πλοκάνων Turnebus from Plato, Timaeus, 52 E: ετὶ τῶν ἐπειγόντων.
² τῶν Turnebus ibid.
³ σειομένοις καὶ Turnebus ibid.: ἐγκειμένοις.
⁴ ἄλλα ἵσχειν Turnebus ibid.: ἄλλας οἱ ο ἄλλα οἱ.
⁵ ἔξ Bernardakis: ἐπ’ (ἀπ’ ?).
⁶ οὖν τότε] τοῖς in one ms. (E).
⁷ οὐ θεός Wyttenbach from Plato: εὐθέως ορ εὐθέος.
⁸ παρὰ] κατὰ Xylander.
⁹ κατὰ F.C.B.: καὶ.
What takes place he describes more clearly by a simile,\(^a\) saying that in a manner like to 'grain and chaff being tossed about and winnowed by the fans and other tools used in cleaning the grain' the elements toss matter about and are tossed about by it; and like always draws near to like, some things occupying one place and others another, before the universe becomes completely organized out of the elements. Thus, when matter was in that state in which, in all probability, is the universe from which God is absent, the first five properties, having tendencies of their own, were at once carried in different directions, not being completely or absolutely separated, because, when all things were amalgamated, the inferior always followed the superior in spite of Nature.\(^b\) For this reason they produced in the different kinds of bodies, as these were carried some in one direction and others in another, an equal number of separate divisions with intervals between them, one not of pure fire, but fiery, another not of unmingled ether, but ethereal, another not of earth by itself alone, but earthy; and above all, in keeping with the close association of air with water, they contrived, as has been said,\(^c\) that these should come away filled with many foreign elements. It was not the Deity who parted substance and caused it to rest in different places, but, after it had been parted by its own action and was being carried in diverse ways in such great disarray, he took it over and set it in

\(^a\) Plato, *Timaeus*, 52\(\text{e}\).

\(^b\) Some would prefer to make Plutarch say 'in keeping with Nature.'

\(^c\) Cf. 428 d–e, *supra*.

\(^\text{11}\) \(\alpha\lambdaο\phi\upsilonων\) \(\alpha\ll\omegaν\ \phi\upsilon\lambdaων\ (\phi\upsilonων)\) in all mss. but J.

\(^\text{12}\) \(\alpha\nu\alpha\pi\epsilon\nu\lambda\pi\omicron\nu\eta\omicron\omicron\epsilon\nu\nu\) Turnebus: \(\alpha\nu\alpha\pi\epsilon\nu\lambda\pi\omicron\nu\eta\omicron\epsilon\nu\nu\nu\).
παραλαβών, ἔταξε καὶ συνήρμοσε δι' ἀναλογίας καὶ μεσότητος· εἶθ' ἐκάστη λόγον ἐγκαταστήσας ὥσπερ ἁρμοστήν καὶ φύλακα, κόσμους ἐποίησε τοσούτους, ὅσα γένη τῶν πρώτων σωμάτων

F ύπήρχε. ταῦτα μὲν ὅν τῇ Πλάτωνος ἀνακείσθω χάριτι δι' Ἀμμώνιον· ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν ἄριθμού κόσμων οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ διωσχυρισάμην ὅτι τοσοῦτοι, τὴν δὲ πλείονας μὲν ἐνὸς οὔ μὴν ἀπείρους ἀλλ' ὄρισμένους πλῆθει τιθεμένην δόξαν οὐδετέρας ἐκεῖνων ἀλογωτέραν ἥγοιμαι, τὸ φύσει τῆς ᾨλης σκεδαστὸν καὶ μεριστὸν ὅρων οὔτ' ἕφ' ἐνὸς μένον οὔτ'

431 εἰς ἀπειρον ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου βαδίζειν ἐῳμενν. εἰ δ' ἀλλαχόθι ποὺ κάνταυθα1 τῆς Ἀκαδημείας ὑπομηνήσκοντες ἑαυτοὺς τὸ ἀγαν τῆς πίστεως ἄφαιρόμεν, καὶ τὴν ἄσφαλειαν ὥσπερ ἐν χωρίῳ σφαλερῷ, τῶ περὶ τῆς ἀπειρίας λόγῳ, μόνου διασώζωμεν.'

38. 'Εμοῦ δὲ ταύτ' εἰπόντος ὁ Δημήτριος, 'ὁρθῶς,' ἐφη, 'Λαμπρίας παρανεῖ.

'πολλαῖς γὰρ οἱ θεοὶ μορφαῖς' οὐ 'σοφισμάτων,' ώς Εὐριπίδης φησίν, ἀλλὰ πραγμάτων 'σφάλλουσιν ἡμᾶς,' ὡταν ώς ἐπιστάμενοι τολμῶμεν ἀποφαίνεσθαι περὶ τηλικοῦτων. 'ἀλλ' ἀνοιστέος ὁ λόγος,' ώς ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνήρ φησιν, ἐπὶ τὴν εἴσ ἄρχης ὑπόθεσιν. τὸ γὰρ ἀφ-

Β ισταμένων καὶ ἀπολειπόντων τὰ χρηστήρια τῶν δαμόνων ὥσπερ ὄργανα τεχνιτῶν ἄργα καὶ ἀναυάδα κείσθαι λεχθὲν ἔτερον λόγον ἔγειρε τὸν περὶ τῆς αἰτίας μείζονα καὶ δυνάμεως, ἡ2 χρώμενοι ποιοῦσι

1 κάνταυθα] καὶ in nearly all mss.
2 ἡ Turnebus: ἡ (ὡς, αὐς).
order and fitted it together by the use of proportions and means. Then, after establishing Reason in each as a governor and guardian, he created as many worlds as the existing primal bodies. Let this, then, be an offering for the gratification of Plato on Ammonius's account, but as for myself, I should not venture to assert regarding the number of worlds that they are just so many; but the opinion that sets their number at more than one, and yet not infinite, but limited in amount, I regard as no more irrational than either of the others, when I observe the dispersiveness and divisibility implicit by nature in Matter, and that it neither abides as a unit nor is permitted by Reason to progress to infinity. But if in any other place we have recalled the Academy to our mind, let us do so here as well, and divest ourselves of excessive credulity and, as if we were in a slippery place in our discussion about infinity, let us merely keep a firm footing.

38. When I had said this, Demetrius remarked, "Lamprias gives the right advice; for

The gods make us to slip by many forms
not 'of tricks,' as Euripides says, but of facts, whenever we make bold to pronounce opinions about such matters as if we understood them. 'But the discussion must be carried back,' as the same writer says, to the assumption made at the beginning. For what was said then, that when the demigods withdraw and forsake the oracles, these lie idle and inarticulate like the instruments of musicians, raises another question of greater import regarding the causative means and power which they employ to

a Cf. 387 f, supra.


c Cf. the note on 390 c, supra.
κατόχους τοὺς ἐνθουσιασμοὺς καὶ φαντασιαστικοὺς τοὺς προφήτας καὶ τὰς προφήτιδας. οὐ γὰρ οἴον τε τὴν ἐκλειψιν αἰτιάσθαι τοῦ ἀπανθάμα τὰ μαντεῖα, μὴ πειθόντας ὅν τρόπον ἐφεστῴτες αὐτοῖς καὶ παρόντες ἐνεργὰ καὶ λόγια ποιοῦσιν οἱ δαίμονες.

Ὑπολαβὼν δ’ ὁ Ἀμμώνιος, "οἶει γὰρ ἐτερὸν τι τοὺς δαίμονας," εἶπεν, "ἡ ψυχὰς ὄντας περιπολεῖν καθ’ Ἡσίοδον ἡ ἑρα ἐσσαμένους’; ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ, C ἦν ἀνθρωπὸς ἑξεὶ διαφορὰν πρὸς ἀνθρωπὸν ὑποκρινόμενον πραγματίαν ἡ κωμωδίαν, ταύτην ἑξεὶν δοκεῖ ψυχὴ πρὸςψ ψυχὴν ἐνεσκευασμένην σῶμα τῷ σαρκωτοῦ παρόντι βίῳ πρόσφορον. οὔτε δὲν οὐν ἄλογον οὐδὲ θαυμαστὸν, εἰ ψυχαῖς ἐντυγχάνουσαι φαντασίας ἐμποιοῦσι τοῦ μέλλοντος, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ἀλλήλους οὐ πάντα διὰ φωνῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ γράμματα καὶ θυγώντες μόνον καὶ προσβλέπαντες πολλὰ καὶ μηνύομεν τῶν γεγονότων καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων προσημαινομεν. εἰ μή τι σοῦ λέγεις ἐτερον, ὁ Δαμπρία: καὶ γὰρ ἐναγχος ἡκε τις φωνὴ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὡς σοῦ πολλὰ περὶ τοῦτων ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ ἐξεῖν διαλεξῆντος, ὅν οὔτε δ’ διηγούμενον

D ἀκριβῶς διεμνημόνευε.

"Μὴ θαυμάσης," ἐφην ἐγὼ, "πολλαὶ γὰρ ἅμα πράξεις διὰ μέσου καὶ ἀσχολίας συντυγχάνουσαι διὰ τὸ μαντεῖαν4 εἶναι καὶ θυσίαν τοὺς λόγους διεσπαρμένους ἡμῖν καὶ σποράδος ἐποίησαν.

"Ἀλλὰ νῦν," ὁ Ἀμμώνιος ἐφη, "καὶ σχολὴν ἀγνοτας ἀκροατὰς ἑχεῖς5 καὶ προβύπους6 τὰ μὲν

1 ψυχὴ πρὸς added by Xylander.
2 τῷ added by Emperius.
3 πρόσφορον Reiske: προσφέρειν.
make the prophetic priests and priestesses possessed by inspiration and able to present their visions. For it is not possible to hold that the desertion by the demigods is the reason for the silence of the oracles unless we are convinced as to the manner in which the demigods, by having the oracles in their charge and by their presence there, make them active and articulate."

Here Ammonius joined in and said, "Do you really think that the demigods are aught else than souls that make their rounds, 'in mist apparelled,' as Hesiod says? To my mind the difference between man and man in acting tragedy or comedy is the difference between soul and soul arrayed in a body suitable for its present life. It is, therefore, not at all unreasonable or even marvellous that souls meeting souls should create in them impressions of the future, exactly as we do not convey all our information to one another through the spoken word, but by writing also, or merely by a touch or a glance, we give much information about what has come to pass and intimation of what is to come. Unless it be, Lamprias, that you have another story to tell. For not long ago a rumour reached us about your having had a long talk on these subjects with strangers at Lebadeia, but the man who told of it could recall none of it with exactness."

"You need not be surprised," said I, "since many activities and distractions occurring in the midst of it, because it was a day for oracles and sacrifice, made our conversation desultory and disconnected."

"But now," said Ammonius, "you have listeners with nothing to distract them and eager to seek and

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5 ἔχεις] ἔχει in most mss. 6 προθύμοις Reiske: πρόθυμοι.
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ζητεῖν τα δε μανθάνειν, ἔριδος ἐκποδῶν οὐσίας καὶ φιλονεικίας ἀπάσης συγγνώμης δε παντί λόγῳ καὶ παρρησίας ώς ὅρας δεδομένης."

39. Ταύτα δὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμπαρακαλούντων, μικρὸν ἐγὼ σωτήρας, "καὶ μὴν ἀπὸ τύχης τυνός, ὦ Ἀμμόνιε, τοῖς τότε λόγοις αὐτῶς ἀρχήν Ετινα καὶ πάροδον ἐνδέδωκας. εἰ γὰρ αἱ διακριθέναι σώματος, ἡ μὴ μετασχούσαι τὸ παράπαν ψυχὴν δαίμονές εἰσι κατὰ σὲ καὶ τὸν θεῖον Ἡσίοδον,

ἀγνοὶ ἐπιχθόνιοι φύλακες θνητῶν ἄνθρωπων,

dia τὸ τὰς ἐν τοῖς σώμασι ψυχῶς ἔκεινης τῆς δυνάμεως ἀποστεροῦμεν, ὦ τὰ μέλλοντα καὶ προγιγνώσκειν πεφύκασι καὶ προδηλοῦν οἱ δαίμονες; οὔτε γὰρ δύναμιν οὔτε μέρος οὔδὲν ἐπιγίγνεσθαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς, ὅταν ἀπολίπωσι τὸ σῶμα, μὴ κεκτημέναι πρῶτον εἰκός ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἂεὶ μὲν ἔχειν, ἔχειν δὲ φαυλότερα τῷ σώματι μεμειγμένας, καὶ τὰ μὲν ὀλὸς ἄδηλα καὶ κεκρυμμένα τὰ δ' ἀσθενῆ Γ καὶ ἄμαυρὰ καὶ τοῖς δι' ὁμίχλης ὅρωσιν ἣ κινομένοις ἐν ύγρῷ παραπλησίως δύσεργα καὶ βραδέα, καὶ πολλὴν ποθοῦντα θεραπεῖαν τοῦ οἰκείου καὶ ἀνάληψιν ἀφαίρεσιν δὲ καὶ κάθαρσιν τοῦ καλύπτοντος. 2 ὦσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἕλιος οὐχ ὅταν διαφύγῃ τὰ νέφη γίγνεται λαμπρός, ἀλλ' ἐστι μὲν ἂεὶ φαίνεται 432 δ' ἤμιν ἐν ὁμίχλῃ δυσφάς καὶ ἄμαυρός, οὕτως ἢ ψυχῇ τὴν μαντικῆν οὐκ ἐπικτάται δύναμιν ἐκβάσα

¹ ἀγνοὶ ἐσθλοὶ Ἡσιόδος.
² καλύπτοντος Emperius: κλέπτοντος (κωλύοντος in one ms., which also adds a short paraphrase of what has gone before).

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gain information on this point or that; all strife and contention is banished and a sympathetic hearing and freedom of statement, as you observe, is granted for all that may be said."

39. As the others also joined in the request, I, after a moment of silence, continued, "As a matter of fact, Ammonius, by some chance you happen to be the one who provided the opening and approach for what was said on that occasion. For if the souls which have been severed from a body, or have had no part with one at all, are demigods according to you and the divine Hesiod, a

Holy dwellers on earth and the guardian spirits of mortals, why deprive souls in bodies of that power by virtue of which the demigods possess the natural faculty of knowing and revealing future events before they happen? For it is not likely that any power or portion accrues to souls when they have left the body, if they did not possess them before; but the souls always possess them; only they possess them to a slight degree while conjoined with the body, some of them being completely imperceptible and hidden, others weak and dim, and about as ineffectual and slow in operation as persons that try to see in a fog or to move about in water, and requiring much nursing and restoring of the functions that properly belong to them and the removal and clearing away of the covering which hides them. Just as the sun does not become bright when it bursts through the clouds, but is bright always, and yet in a fog appears to us indistinct and dim, even so the soul does not acquire the prophetic power when it goes forth from the body

a Works and Days, 123.
(432) τοῦ σώματος ὠσπερ νέφους, ἀλλ' ἔχουσα καὶ νῦν τυφλοῦται διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ θυτὴν ἀνάμειξιν αὐτῆς καὶ σύγχυσιν. οὐ δεῖ δὲ θαυμάζειν οὐδ' ἀπιστεῖν ὀρῶντας, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν ἀντιστροφὴν τῇ μαντικῇ δύναμιν, ἢν μνήμην καλοῦμεν, ἦλικον ἔργον ἄποδείκνυται τὸ σώζειν τὰ παρωχημένα καὶ φυλάττειν, μᾶλλον δὲ ὄντα: τῶν γὰρ γεγονότων οὐδὲν ἔστων οὐδ' ὕφεστηκεν, ἀλλ' ἁμα γίγνεται πάντα καὶ πράξεις καὶ λόγοι καὶ Β παθήματα, τοῦ χρόνου καθάπερ ρεύματος ἐκαστα παραφέροντος: αὕτη δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡ δύναμις οὐκ οἴδ' ὄντα πρὸς ἀντιλαμβανομένη τοῖς μὴ παροῦσι φαντασίαι καὶ οὐσίαι περιτίθεσιν. οὔ μὲν γὰρ Θετταλοῖς περὶ Ἀρνης δοθεῖς χρησιμὸς ἐκέλευεν φράξειν

κωφοῦ τ' ἀκοήν τυφλοῦτο τε δέρξιν,

ἡ δὲ μνήμη καὶ κωφῶν πραγμάτων ἀκοή καὶ τυφλῶν ὄψις ἴμων ἐστὶν. οἶδεν, ὡς ἐφην, οὐκ ἔστι θαυμαστόν, εἰ κρατοῦσα τῶν μηκέτ' ὄντων προ-

λαμβάνει πολλά τῶν μηδέπω γεγονότων: τάῦτα γὰρ αὕτη μᾶλλον προσήκει καὶ τούτως συμπαθής ἐστι καὶ γὰρ ἐπιβάλλεται καὶ προστίθεται πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα καὶ τῶν παρωχημένων καὶ τέλος ἐχόντων ἀπήλλακται πλὴν τοῦ μνημευένων.

C 40. "Ταύτην οὖν ἔχουσα τὴν δύναμιν αἴ ψυχαὶ σύμφυτον μὲν ἀμυδρὰν δὲ καὶ δυσφάνταστον, ὄμως ἐξανθοῦσι πολλάκις καὶ ἀναλαμποῦσιν ἐν τε τοῖς

1 Ἀρνης Turnebus: Ἀρνης.
2 προστίθεται F.C.B.: προστίθεται.
3 τῶν added by Stegmann.
4 ἀναλαμποῦσιν one ms. (E) and Emperius: ἀναλαμβάνουσι.
as from a cloud; it possesses that power even now, but is blinded by being combined and commingled with the mortal nature. We ought not to feel surprised or incredulous at this when we see in the soul, though we see naught else, that faculty which is the complement of prophecy, and which we call memory, and how great an achievement is displayed in preserving and guarding the past, or rather what has been the present, since nothing of all that has come to pass has any existence or substantiability, because the very instant when anything comes to pass, that is the end of it—of actions, words, experiences alike; for Time like an everflowing stream bears all things onward. But this faculty of the soul lays hold upon them, I know not how, and invests with semblance and being things not now present here. The oracle given to the Thessalians about Arné\(^a\) bade them note

A deaf man's hearing, a blind man's sight.

But memory is for us the hearing of deeds to which we are deaf and the seeing of things to which we are blind. Hence, as I said, it is no wonder that, if it has command over things that no longer are, it anticipates many of those which have not yet come to pass, since these are more closely related to it, and with these it has much in common; for its attachments and associations are with the future, and it is quit of all that is past and ended, save only to remember it.

40. "Souls therefore, all possessed of this power, which is innate but dim and hardly manifest, nevertheless oftentimes disclose its flower and radiance in

\(^a\) Cf. Thucydides, i. 12.
(432) ἐνυπνίοις καὶ περὶ τὰς τελευτὰς ἐνιαί, καθαροῖς γιγνομένου τοῦ σώματος ἢ τινα κράσιν οἰκείαν πρὸς τοῦτο λαμβάνοντος, ἢ τὸ λογιστικὸν καὶ φροντιστικὸν ἀνίεται καὶ ἀπολύεται τῶν παρόντων τῶν ἀλόγω καὶ φαντασιαστικῶν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐπιστρεφομέναις.  

μάντις δὴ ἀριστος ὅστις εἰκάζει καλῶς,

ἀλλ’ οὖν ἐμφρωνίᾳ μὲν ἄνηρ καὶ τῷ νοῦν ἔχοντι τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ μετ’ εἰκότος ἡγουμένω καθ’ ὁδὸν ἑπόμενον τὸ δὲ μαντικὸν ὦσπερ γραμματεῖον ἀ- 

D γραφον καὶ ἀλογον καὶ ἀὁριστον ἐξ αὐτοῦ, δεκτικὸν δὲ φαντασιῶν πάθει καὶ προαισθήσεων, ἀσυλλο- 

γίσθως ἀπτεται τοῦ μέλλοντος, ὅταν ἐκεῖνη μάλιστα τοῦ παρόντος. ἐξίσταται δὲ κράσει καὶ διαθέσει τοῦ σώματος ἐν μεταβολῇ γιγνομένων, ἢ ἐνθου- 

σιασμὸν καλοῦμεν. αὐτὸ μὲν οὖν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα 

toiavTov ἀσθείας διάθεσιν. ἢ δὲ γῇ πολλῶν 
mὲν ἀλλῶν δυνάμεων πηγὰς ἀνύψων ἀνθρώπων, 
tὰς μὲν ἐκστατικὰς καὶ νοσῶδεις καὶ θανατηφόρους, 
tὰς δὲ χρηστὰς καὶ προσηνεῖς καὶ ὦφελίμους, ὡς 

δῆλαι γίγνονται πείρα προστυχῶν. τὸ δὲ 

μαντικὸν ῥέμα καὶ πνεῦμα θεοτάτων ἑστὶ καὶ 

ὅσιωτατον, ἃν τε καθ’ ἑαυτὸ δι’ ἀέρος ἃν τε μεθ’ 

1 τελευτᾶς] τελετὰς in some mss.  
2 ἢ Wyttenbach: ἦ.  
3 ἀνίεται καὶ ἀπολύεται Wyttenbach: ἀνίεσθαι καὶ ἀπολύεσθαι.  
4 τῶ added by Wyttenbach.  
5 ἐπιστρεφομέναι F.C.B.: ἐπιστρεφομένας.  
6 δ᾽ in Euripides, omitted in the mss. of Plutarch.  
7 ἐμφρων Meziriacus: ὁμόφρων.  
8 ἀὁριστον] ἀὁρατον Blümmer.  
9 φαντασιῶν Meziriacus: φανταστῶν or φανταστῶν.  
11 ἢ Paton: δι’.  
12 δῆλαι Turnebus: δῆλα.
dreams, and some in the hour of death, when the body becomes cleansed of all impurities and attains a temperament adapted to this end, a temperament through which the reasoning and thinking faculty of the souls is relaxed and released from their present state as they range amid the irrational and imaginative realms of the future. It is not true, as Euripides says, that

The best of seers is he that guesses well;

no, the best of seers is the intelligent man, following the guidance of that in his soul which possesses sense and which, with the help of reasonable probability, leads him on his way. But that which foretells the future, like a tablet without writing, is both irrational and indeterminate in itself, but receptive of impressions and presentiments through what may be done to it, and inconsequently grasps at the future when it is farthest withdrawn from the present. Its withdrawal is brought about by a temperament and disposition of the body as it is subjected to a change which we call inspiration. Often the body of itself alone attains this disposition. Moreover the earth sends forth for men streams of many other potencies, some of them producing derangements, diseases, or deaths; others helpful, benignant, and beneficial, as is plain from the experience of persons who have come upon them. But the prophetic current and breath is most divine and holy, whether it issue by itself through the air or come in the company of

\* Cf. Plato, Apology, 39 b.
Εὐγροῦ νάματος ἀπερᾶται.¹ καταμειγνύμενον γὰρ εἰς τὸ σῶμα κράσιν ἐμποιεῖ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀήθη καὶ ἄτοπον, ὡς τὴν ἱδιότητα χαλεπῶν εἰπεῖν σαφῶς, εἰκάσαι δὲ πολλαχῶς ὁ λόγος δίδωσι. θερμότητι γὰρ καὶ διαχύσει πόρους τινὰς ἀνοίγειν φανταστικοὺς τοῦ μέλλοντος εἰκός ἔστιν, ὡς οἶνος ἀναθυμιαθεῖς ἔτερα² πολλὰ κινήματα καὶ λόγους ἀποκειμένους καὶ λανθάνουτας ἀποκαλύπτει.

τὸ γὰρ βακχεύσιμον καὶ τὸ μανιῶδες μαντικὴν³ πολλὴν ἔχει

Κατ' Εὐρипίδην, ὅταν ἐνθέμος ἡ ψυχὴ γενομένη καὶ πυρώδης ἀπώσηται τὴν εὐλάβειαν, ἢν ἡ θυντή φρόνησις ἐπάγουσα πολλάκις ἀποστρέφει καὶ κατασβένουσι τὸν ἐνθουσιασμὸν.

41. "Ἀμα δ' ἂν τις οὐκ ἄλογως καὶ ἔνθροτητα φαίη μετὰ τῆς θερμότητος ἐγγιγνομένην λεπτύνειν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ποιεῖν αὐθερόδες καὶ καθαρόν· αὕτη γὰρ ἔτη 'ἐνρή' ψυχή· καθ' Ἡράκλειτον. ὕγρο-433 της δ' οὐ μόνον ὁξιν ἀμβλύνει καὶ ἀκοήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατόπτρων θυγοῦσα καὶ μειχθείσα⁵ πρὸς ἀέρας ἀφαίρει τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὸ φέγγος. τοῦναντίον πάλιν αὐτὰ περισύζει τῳ καὶ πυκνώσει τοῦ πνεύματος οἰον βαφὴ σίδηρον⁶ τὸ προγνωστικὸν μόριον ἐντεύνεσθαι⁷ καὶ στομοῦσθαι τῆς ψυχῆς οὐκ ἄδυνατον ἔστι. καὶ μὴν ὡς κασσίτερος μανῶν

¹ ἀπερᾶται Φ.Σ.Β. (ἀναφέρηται Bernardakis; ἀρτύηται S. A. Naber): ἀφαίρηται.
² ἔτερα] ἔγειρε Wyttenbach; καὶ] Paton.
³ μαντικὴν Euripides (Bacch. 298) μαντευτικὴν in most mss.
⁴ ξηρὰ 995ε, Life of Romulus, chap. xxviii., Stobaeus: ξηρὰ.
⁵ μειχθεῖσα Emperius: μίχος καὶ.
⁶ σίδηρον Michael and Kronenberg: σίδηρον.
⁷ ἐντεύνεσθαι Wyttenbach: ἐγγίνεσθαι.

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running waters; for when it is instilled into the body, it creates in souls an unaccustomed and unusual temperament, the peculiarity of which it is hard to describe with exactness, but analogy offers many comparisons. It is likely that by warmth and diffusion it opens up certain passages through which impressions of the future are transmitted, just as wine, when its fumes rise to the head, reveals many unusual movements and also words stored away and unperceived.

For Bacchic rout

And frenzied mind contain much prophecy,

according to Euripides, when the soul becomes hot and fiery, and throws aside the caution that human intelligence lays upon it, and thus often diverts and extinguishes the inspiration.

"At the same time one might assert, not without reason, that a dryness engendered with the heat subtilizes the spirit of prophecy and renders it ethereal and pure; for this is 'the dry soul,' as Heraclitus has it. Moisture not only dulls sight and hearing, but when it touches mirrors and combines with air, it takes away their brightness and sheen. But again the very opposite of this may not be impossible: that by a sort of chilling and compacting of the spirit of inspiration the prophetic element in the soul, as when steel is dipped in cold water, is rendered tense and keen. And further, just as tin

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\[ a \] Bacchae, 298.

\[ b \] 'A dry soul is best (and/or wisest)' is the dictum of Heraclitus, which is often quoted; see Diels, *Frag. der Vorsokratiker*, i. p. 100, Heraclitus, no. \( b \) 118; cf. also *Moralia*, 995 e, and *Life of Romulus*, chap. xxviii. (36 \( a \)).

\[ c \] Cf. Plutarch, *Moralia*, 736 \( a-b \).
(433) ὃ ντα καὶ πολύπορον τὸν χαλκὸν ἐντακεὶς ἀμα μὲν ἔσφιγξε καὶ κατεπύκνωσεν ἀμα δὲ λαμπρότερον ἀπέδειξε καὶ καθαρώτερον, οὕτως οὐδὲν ἀπέχει τὴν μαντικὴν ἀναθυμίασιν οἰκεῖον τὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ συγγενέσ ἔχουσαν ἀναπληροῦν τὰ μανὰ καὶ συν-
Β ἔχειν ἐναρμόττουσαν. ἄλλα γὰρ ἄλλοις οἰκείαι καὶ πρόσφορα, καθάπερ τῆς μὲν πορφύρας ὁ κύμιος
τῆς δὲ κόκκου τὸ νίτρον δοκεῖ τὴν βαφὴν ἐπ-
ἀγεὶς2 μεμειγμένον·

βύσσῳ δὲ γλαυκῆς κόκκου3 καταμύσγεται ἀκτίς,4

ὡς Ἐμπεδοκλῆς εἰρήκε. περὶ δὲ τοῦ Κύδνου5 καὶ τῆς ιερᾶς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Ταρσῷ μαχαίρας, ὁ
φίλε Δημήτριε, σοῦ λέγοντος ἢκούμεν, ὡς οὔτ'6 ὁ Κύδνος ἄλλον7 ἐκκαθαρίζει σίδηρον ἡ8 ἐκείνον οὐθ'
ὐδωρ ἄλλο τὴν μάχαιραν ἡ ἐκεῖνη. καθάπερ ἐν Ὁλυμπίᾳ τὴν τέφραν προσπλάττουσι τῷ βωμῷ καὶ περιπηγνύουσιν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ παραχέοντες
C ὑδωρ, ἐτέρων δὲ πειρώμενοι ποταμῶν9 οὐδὲν
δύναται συναγαγεῖν οὐδὲ κολλῆσαι τὴν τέφραν.

42. "Οὐ θαυμαστέον οὖν, εἰ πολλὰ τῆς γῆς ἰδιω

ρεύματα μεθείσης, ταῦτα μόνα τὰς ψυχὰς ἐνθου-

σιαστικῶς διατίθεσι καὶ φαντασιαστικῶς τοῦ μέλ-

λοντος. ἀμέλειο10 δὲ καὶ τὰ τῆς φήμης συνάδει τῷ

1 κύμιος] κυανὸς Paton and Hatzidakis.
3 κόκκου Xylander (κόκκος Diels): κρόκου, κρόνου, κρόκον.
4 ἀκτίς not in most mss. (ἀκτής Wilamowitz-Möllendorff).
5 Κύδνο] κύμιον in all mss. but one (E).
6 οὔτ' added by Madvig. 7 ἄλλον Emperius: μᾶλλον.
8 η added by Emperius.
9 ἐτέρων . . . ποταμῶν Schellens: ἐτέρῳ . . . ποταμῷ.
10 ἀμέλει Wyttenbach: ἀμαχεί.
when alloyed with copper, which is loose and porous in texture, binds it together and compacts it,\(^a\) and at the same time makes it brighter and cleaner, even so there is nothing to prevent the prophetic vapour, which contains some affinity and relationship to souls, from filling up the vacant spaces and cementing all together by fitting itself in. For one thing has affinity and adaptability for one thing, another for another, just as the bean\(^b\) seems to further the dyeing of purple and sodium carbonate\(^c\) that of scarlet, when mixed with the dye;

All in the linen is blended the splendour of glorious scarlet, as Empedocles\(^d\) has said. But regarding the Cydnus and the sacred sword of Apollo in Tarsus we used to hear you say, my dear Demetrius, that the Cydnus will cleanse no steel but that, and no other water will cleanse that sword. There is a similar phenomenon at Olympia, where they pile the ashes against the altar and make them adhere all around by pouring on them water from the Alpheius; but, although they have tried the waters of other rivers, there is none with which they can make the ashes cohere and stay fixed in their place.

42. "It is not, therefore, anything to excite amazement if, although the earth sends up many streams, it is only such as these that dispose souls to inspiration and impressions of the future. Certainly the voice of legend also is in accord with my state-

\(^a\) Cf. Aristotle, De Generatione Animalium, ii. 8 (747 a 34).
\(^b\) Cf. H. Blümner, Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern (Leipzig, 1875), i. 236.
\(^c\) Ibid. 238.
\(^d\) Cf. Diels, Frag. der Vorsokratiker, i. p. 255, Empedocles, no. v 93.
(433) λόγῳ· καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα τὴν περὶ τὸν τόπον δύναμιν ἐμφανῇ γενέσθαι πρῶτον ἱστοροῦν, νομέως τίνος ἐμπεσόντος κατὰ τύχην, εἶτα φωνᾶς ἀναφέροντος ἑνθουσιώδεις, ὃν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ παραγενόμενοι κατεφρόνουν, ὡστερον δὲ γενομένων ὃν προεῖπεν ὁ ἀνθρώπως, ἔθαυμασαν. οἱ δὲ λογιώτατοι Δελφῶν D καὶ τούνομα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου διαμνημονεύοντες Κορήταν λέγουσιν, ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεὶ μάλιστα τοιαύτην πρὸς τὸ μαντικόν πνεῦμα λαμβάνειν σύγκρασιν ψυχῇ καὶ σύμπτησιν, οἷαν πρὸς τὸ φῶς ἢ ὄψις ὁμοιοπάθες γιγνόμενον· ὁφθαλμῷ τε γὰρ ἔχοντος τὴν ὀρατικὴν δύναμιν οὐδὲν ἄνευ φωτὸς ἔργον ἑστιν, ψυχῆς τε τὸ μαντικὸν ὡσπερ ὃμμα δείται τοῦ συνεξάπποντος οἰκείου καὶ συνεπιθήγοντος. οὔθεν οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ τῶν προγενεστέρων ἐνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἠγούντο θεὸν 'Απόλλωνα καὶ Ἡλίουν· οἱ δὲ τὴν καλὴν καὶ σοφὴν ἐπιστάμενοι καὶ τιμῶντες ἀναλογίαν, ὀπερ' ἑώμα πρὸς ψυχὴν ὄψις δὲ πρὸς Ε νοῦν φῶς δὲ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἑστι, τούτῳ τὴν Ἡλίου δύναμιν εἰκάζον εἶναι πρὸς τὴν 'Απόλλωνος φύσιν, ἐκγονὸν ἐκείνου καὶ τόκον ὄντος· ἀεὶ γιγνόμενον ἀεὶ τούτῳ ἀποφαίνοντες. ἔξάπτει γὰρ καὶ προ- ἀγεται καὶ συνεξορμᾶ τῆς ἀισθήσεως τὴν ὀρατικὴν δύναμιν ὄντος ὡς τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν μαντικὴν ἐκείνος.

43. "Οἱ μὲντοι δοξάζοντες ἑνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν θεὸν εἶναι, εἰκότως 'Απόλλωνι καὶ Ζή κοινῶς ἀν- ἔθεσαν τὸ χρηστήριον, οἰόμενοι τὴν διάθεσιν καὶ κράσιν ἐμποιεῖν τῇ γῇ τὸν Ἡλίον, ἀφ' ἡς ἐκφέρε-

1 ὀπερ] ὀπως in most mss.
2 ὄντος] ὄντως in some mss.
3 ἀποφαίνοντες] ἀποφαίνοντος in most mss.
ment; for they record that here the power hovering about this spot was first made manifest when a certain shepherd fell in by accident and later gave forth inspired utterances, which those who came into contact with him at first treated with disdain; but later, when what he had foretold came to pass, they were amazed. The most learned of the people of Delphi still preserve the tradition of his name, which they say was Coretas. But I incline most to the opinion that the soul acquires towards the prophetic spirit a close and intimate connexion of the sort that vision has towards light, which possesses similar properties. For, although the eye has the power of vision, there is no function for it to perform without light; and so the prophetic power of the soul, like an eye, has need of something kindred to help to kindle it and stimulate it further. Hence many among earlier generations regarded Apollo and the Sun as one and the same god; but those who understood and respected fair and wise analogy conjectured that as body is to soul, vision to intellect, and light to truth, so is the power of the sun to the nature of Apollo; and they would make it appear that the sun is his offspring and progeny, being for ever born of him that is for ever. For the sun kindles and promotes and helps to keep in activity the power of vision in our perceptive senses, just as the god does for the power of prophecy in the soul.

43. "Those, however, who had reached the conclusion that the two are one and the same god very naturally dedicated the oracle to Apollo and Earth in common, thinking that the sun creates the disposition and temperament in the earth from which the prophet-

*See 436 d, infra, and Plato, Republic, 508a-509 b.*
σθαί1 τὰς μαντικὰς ἀναθυμιάσεις. αὐτὴν μὲν οὖν τὴν γῆν ὁσπερ Ἑσίόδος ἐνίων φιλοσοφῶν βέλτιον διανοηθεὶς

πάντων ἔδος ἀσφαλὲς

Φ προσεῖτεν, οὕτω καὶ ἦμείς καὶ αἴδιοι καὶ ἄφθαρτον νομίζομεν· τῶν δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν δυνάμεων π吖 μὲν ἐκλεύβεις π吖 δὲ γενέσεις ἀλλαχοῦ δὲ μεταστάσεις καὶ μεταρροίας ἀλλαχόθεν εἶκος ἐστὶ συμβαίνειν, καὶ κυκλεύν ἐν αὐτῇ τὰς τοιαύτας ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ παντὶ πολλάκις περιόδους, ὡς ἐστὶ τεκμαίρεσθαι τοῖς φαινομένοις. λυμνῶν τε γὰρ γεγόνασκι καὶ ποταμῶν, ἔτι δὲ πλεῖονες ναμάτων θερμῶν ὅποι μὲν ἐκλεύβεις καὶ φθοραὶ παντάπασιν, ὅπου δ᾿ οἶνον 434 ἀποδράσεις καὶ καταδύσεις· εἶτα πάλιν ἦκει2 διὰ χρόνων ἑπιφαινόμενα3 τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόποις4 ἡ πλησίον ὑπορρέοντα· καὶ μετάλλων ἵσμεν5 ἐξαμαυρώσεις γεγονέναι καυνᾶς,6 ὡς τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀργυρεῖν καὶ τῆς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ χαλκίτιδος ἐξ ἡς ἐδημουργεῖτο τὰ ψυχρήλατα τῶν ξιφῶν, ὡς Αἰσχύλος εἰρήκε

λαβὼν γὰρ αὐτὸθηκτὸν Εὐβοικὸν ξίφος·

ἡ δ᾿ ἐν Καρύστῳ πέτρα7 χρόνος οὐ πολὺς ἄφ᾿ οὗ πέπαυται μηρύματα λίθων μαλακά καὶ8 νηματώδη

1 ἐκφερέσθαι Xylander: ἐκφέρεται. 2 ἦκει Emperius: ἦκει. 3 ἑπιφαινόμενα Turnebus: ἑπιφαινομένη or ἑπιφερόμενα. (Kronenberg would read ἑπιφανώμεν ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς). 4 τόποις added by Xylander. 5 ἵσμεν Turnebus: τὸ μὲν. 6 καυνᾶς] κενᾶς in one ms. (B). 7 ἡ ... πέτρα Turnebus: τῆς ... πείρας. 8 καὶ added by Stegmann, and δεισιματῶδη in one ms. suggests that καὶ was once there.
inspiring vapours are wafted forth. As Hesiod,\textsuperscript{a} then, with a better understanding than some philosophers, spoke of the Earth itself as

Of All the unshaken foundation,

so we believe it to be everlasting and imperishable. But in the case of the powers associated with the earth it is reasonable that there should come to pass disappearances in one place and generation in another place, and elsewhere shifting of location and, from some other source, changes in current,\textsuperscript{b} and that such cycles should complete many revolutions within it in the whole course of time, as we may judge from what happens before our eyes. For in the case of lakes and rivers, and even more frequently in hot springs, there have occurred disappearances and complete extinction in some places, and in others a stealing away, as it were, and sinking under ground\textsuperscript{c}; later they came back, appearing after a time in the same places or flowing out from below somewhere near. We know also of the exhaustion of mines, some of which have given out recently, as for example the silver mines of Attica and the copper ore in Euboea from which the cold-forged sword-blades used to be wrought, as Aeschylus\textsuperscript{d} has said,

Euboean sword, self-sharpened, in his hand.

And it is no long time since the rock in Euboea ceased to yield, among its other products, soft petrous

\textsuperscript{a} \textit{Theogony}, 117.\textsuperscript{b} Cf. 432 E, \textit{supra}.\textsuperscript{c} A not uncommon phenomenon in Greece; cf. \textit{Moralia}, 557 E.\textsuperscript{d} Cf. Nauck, \textit{Trag. Graec. Frag.} p. 107, Aeschylus, no. 356. The hardness and temper of cold-forged copper is well attested.
(434) συνεκφέρουσα. καὶ γὰρ ύμῶν ἑωρακέναι τυνάς οἴομαι χειρόμακτρα καὶ δίκτυα καὶ κεκουφάλους
Β ἐκεῖθεν σοῦ τῇ πυρὶ καιομένους. ἄλλ' ὅσ', ἃν ῥυτισθῆ
χρωμένων, ἐμβαλόντες εἰς φλόγα λαμπρὰ καὶ δια-
φανῆ κομίζονται: νῦν δ' ἡφάνισται καὶ μόλις οἶδον
ίνες ἡ τρίχες ἀραιαὶ διατρέχουσιν εὐ τοῖς μετάλ-
λοις.

44. Ἦνοις πάντων τούτων οἱ περὶ Ἀριστο-
tέλην δημιουργὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ τὴν ἀναθυμίαν ἀπο-
φαίνουσιν, ἢ καὶ συνεκλίπειν καὶ συμμεθίστασθαι
καὶ συνεξανθεῖν πάλιν τὰς τοιοῦτας φύσεις ἀναγ-
καίον ἐστί. ταῦτα4 δὴ περὶ μαντικῶν πνευμάτων
διανοητέον, ὡς οὐκ ἔχοντων ἀίδιον οὐδ' ἀγήρων τὴν
δύναμιν ἄλλ' ὑποκειμένην μεταβολαὶς. καὶ γὰρ
ὀμβροὺς ὑπερβάλλοντας εἰκός ἐστὶ κατασβενόναι
C καὶ κεραυνῶν ἐμπεσόντων διαφορεῖσθαι, μᾶλιστα
δὲ τῆς γῆς ὑποσάλου γεγυμομένης καὶ λαμβανούσης
ξήματα καὶ σύγχωσιν5 ἐν βάθει, μεθίστασθαι τὰς
ἀναθυμιάσεις ἢ τυφλοῦσθαι τὸ παράπαν, ὡσπερ
ἐνταῦθα φαιν παραμένειν τὰ περὶ τὸν μέγαν σει-
σμὸν, δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνέτρεψεν. ἐν δὲ5 Ὄρχομενὶ
λέγουσι λοιμὸν γεγυμόμενον πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους
dιαφθαρῆναι τὸ δὲ τοῦ Τειρεσίου χρηστῆριον ἐκ-
λιπεῖν παντάπασι καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἄργον δια-
μένειν καὶ ἀναινοῦν. εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς περὶ Κυλίκιαν
ὁμοία συμβέβηκε παθεῖν, ὡς ἀκούομεν, οὐδεὶς ἃν
ἡμῶν, ὡ Δημήτριε, σοῦ φράσει σαφεστερον."

1 οὗ τι Bernardakis: οὔτε.
2 πυρὶ καιομένους] περικαιομένους in nearly all mss.
3 καίτοι Xylander: καὶ οἱ οὐ καὶ.
4 ταῦτα Turnebus: ταῦτα.
5 σύγχωσιν Reiske: σύγχωσιν.

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filaments like yarn. I think some of you have seen towels, nets, and women's head-coverings from there, which cannot be burned by fire; but if any become soiled by use, their owners throw them into a blazing fire and take them out bright and clear. To-day all this has disappeared, and there are scarcely any attenuated fibres or hairs, as it were, running through the mines.

44. "And yet the school of Aristotle would make it appear that exhalation is the author of all these changes that have taken place in the earth, and that things of this nature must of necessity follow with it in disappearing, changing their locality, and bursting forth once more in full vigour. Plainly the same sober opinion is to be held regarding the spirits that inspire prophecy; the power that they possess is not everlasting and ageless, but is subject to changes. For excessive rains most likely extinguish them, and they probably are dispersed by thunderbolts, and especially, when the earth is shaken beneath by an earthquake and suffers subsidence and ruinous confusion in its depths, the exhalations shift their site or find completely blind outlets, as in this place they say that there are still traces of that great earthquake which overthrew the city. And in Orchomenos they relate that a pestilence raged and many persons died of it, and the oracle of Teiresias become altogether obsolescent and even to this day remains idle and mute. And if a like fate has befallen those in Cilicia, as we have been told, there is nobody, Demetrius, who could give us more certain information than you."

a An interesting early notice of the use of asbestos.

b Cf. Aristotle, Meteorologica, i. 3 (340 b 29); Cicero, De Divinatione, i. 19 (38); ii. 57 (117).
(434) 45. Καὶ ὁ Δημήτριος, "οὐκ οἶδ' ἐγώγε τὰ γε' 

46. 'Ὁ μὲν οὖν Δημήτριος ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐσιωπήσεν· ἐγὼ δὲ βουλόμενος ὦσπερ τι κεφάλαιον ἐπι-
45. "I do not know," said Demetrius, "the state of affairs there at present; for as you all know, I have been out of the country for a long time now. But, when I was there, both the oracle of Mopsus and that of Amphilochus were still flourishing. I have a most amazing thing to tell as the result of my visit to the oracle of Mopsus. The ruler of Cilicia was himself still of two minds towards religious matters. This, I think, was because his scepticism lacked conviction, for in all else he was an arrogant and contemptible man. Since he kept about him certain Epicureans, who, because of their admirable nature-studies, forsooth, have an arrogant contempt, as they themselves aver, for all such things as oracles, he sent in a freedman, like a spy into the enemy's territory, arranging that he should have a sealed tablet, on the inside of which was written the inquiry without anyone's knowing what it was. The man accordingly, as is the custom, passed the night in the sacred precinct and went to sleep, and in the morning reported a dream in this fashion: it seemed to him that a handsome man stood beside him who uttered just one word 'Black' and nothing more, and was gone immediately. The thing seemed passing strange to us, and raised much inquiry, but the ruler was astounded and fell down and worshipped; then opening the tablet he showed written there the question: 'Shall I sacrifice to you a white bull or a black?' The result was that the Epicureans were put to confusion, and the ruler himself not only duly performed the sacrifice, but ever after revered Mopsus."

46. When Demetrius had told this tale he lapsed into silence. But I, wishing to crown, as it were,
θείαι τῷ λόγῳ, πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον αὖθις ἀπέβλεψα καὶ τὸν 'Αμμώνιον ὁμοί καθημένους. ἔδοξαν οὖν μοι βουλεὐθαί τι διαλεξῆναι καὶ πάλιν ἐπέσχον. ὁ δ' 'Αμμώνιος, "ἐχει μέν," ἐφη, "καὶ Φίλιππος, ὡς Λαμπρία, περὶ τῶν εἰρημένων εἰπεῖν· οἴεται γὰρ ὅσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ αὐτὸς οὐχ ἔτερον εἶναι τὸν

435 Ἀπόλλωνα θεόν ἀλλὰ τῷ ἥλιῳ τὸν αὐτόν. ἡ δ' ἐμὴ μείζων ἀπορία καὶ περὶ μείζων· ἄρτι γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τῷ λόγῳ παρεχωρήσαμεν ἐκ τῶν θεῶν τὴν μαντικὴν ἐς δαίμονας ἀτεχνῶς ἀποδιοικτούμενοι. νυνὶ δὲ μοι δοκοῦμεν αὐτοὺς πάλιν ἐκεῖνος ἐξωθεῖν καὶ ἀπελαύνειν ἐνθέντες τοῦ χρηστηρίου καὶ τοῦ τρίποδος, εἰς πνεύματα καὶ ἄτμως καὶ ἀναθυμώσεις τῆς τῆς μαντικῆς ἄρχὴν μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἀναλύοντες. αἱ γὰρ εἰρημέναι κράσεις καὶ θερμότητες αὐταί καὶ στομώσεις τόσω' μᾶλλον ἀπάγουσι τὴν δόξαν ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν καὶ τινα τοιούτου ὑποβάλλουσι τῆς αἰτίας ἐπιλογισμῶν, οἷον ποιεῖ τὸν Κύκλωτα χρώμενον Εὐριπίδης,

ἡ γὰρ ἀνάγκη, κἂν θέλῃ κἂν μὴ θέλῃ, τίκτουσα ποιαν τὰμα πιαίνει βοτά.

πλὴν ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὐ φησὶν θύειν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀλλ' ἐαυτῷ καὶ 'τῇ μεγίστῃ γαστρὶ δαμόνων,' ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ θύομεν καὶ προσευχόμεθα τι παθόντες ἐπὶ τοῖς χρηστήριοις, εἰ δύναμιν μὲν ἐν ἑαυταῖς μαντικῆν αἰ ψυχαὶ κομίζουσιν, ἡ δὲ κινοῦσα ταύτην ἀέρος τίς ἐστὶ κράσις ἡ πνεύματος; αἱ δὲ τῶν ἔρεισι' kata-

1 τόσω F.C.B.: ὅσω.
2 ὑποβάλλουσι] ἐπιβάλλουσι in most mss.
3 παθόντες] μαθόντες in most mss.
4 ἔρεισι] in one ms. only (E); ἐρίδων in the others.
the discussion, glanced again towards Philip and Ammonius who were sitting side by side. They seemed to me to be desirous of saying something to us, and again I checked myself. Then Ammonius said, "Philip also has some remarks to make, Lamprias, about what has been said; for he himself thinks, as most people do, that Apollo is not a different god, but is the same as the sun." But my difficulty is greater and concerns greater matters. I do not know how it happened, but a little time ago we yielded to logic in wresting the prophetic art from the gods and transferring it merely to the demigods. But now it seems to me that we are thrusting out these very demigods, in their turn, and driving them away from the oracle and the tripod here, when we resolve the origin of prophecy, or rather its very being and power, into winds and vapours and exhalations. For these temperings and heatings and hardenings that have been spoken of serve only the more to withdraw repute from the gods and suggest in regard to the final cause some such conclusion as Euripides makes his Cyclops employ:

The earth perforce, whether it will or no,
Brings forth the grass to fat my grazing flocks.

But there is one difference: he says that he does not offer them in sacrifice to the gods, but to himself and to his 'belly, greatest of divinities,' whereas we offer both sacrifices and prayers as the price for our oracles. What possesses us to do so, if our souls carry within themselves the prophetic power, and it is some particular state of the air or its currents which stirs this to activity? And what is the significance of the

a Cf. 376 b, supra, and 1130 A, for example.
b Euripides, Cyclops, 332-333.
(435) οπείσεις\(^1\) τι βουλονται, καὶ τὸ μὴ θεμιστεύειν, ἐὰν\(^2\) 
ζ μὴ τὸ ἱερεῖον οἶλον ἐξ ἀκρῶν σφυρῶν ὑπότρομον 
γένηται καὶ κραδανθῆ κατασπενδόμενον; οὐ γὰρ 
ἀρκεῖ τὸ διασεῖσαι τὴν κεφάλην ὦσπερ ἐν ταῖς 
ἀλλαῖς θυσίαις, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι δεῖ τοῖς μέρεσι τὸν 
σάλον ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸν παλμὸν ἐγγενέσθαι μετὰ ψόφον 
τρομώδους· εὰν γὰρ μὴ τοῦτο γένηται, τὸ μαντεῖον 
οὐ φασὶ χρηματίζειν οὐδὲ εἰσάγοντο τὴν Πυθίαν. 
καίτοι θεοὶ μὲν ἡ δαίμονι\(^3\) αὐτίαν τὴν πλείστην ἀνα-
τιθέντας εἰκὸς ἐστὶ ταύτα ποιεῖν καὶ νομίζειν· ὡς 
δὲ σὺ λέγεις, οὐκ εἰκός· ἢ γὰρ ἀναθυμίασις, ἂν 
tε πτοηταί\(^4\) τὸ ἱερεῖον ἄν τε μὴ, παροῦσα ποιήσει\(^5\) 

tὸν ἐνθουσιασμὸν καὶ διαθήσει τὴν ψυχὴν ὁμοίως 
עליς Πυθίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ κἂν τοῦ τυχόντος ἀψίνυ 
σώματος. οἴθεν εὐθὺς ἐστὶ τὸ μᾶ γυναικὶ πρὸς τὰ 
μαντεῖα χρῆσαι, καὶ ταύτῃ παρέχειν πράγματα 
φυλάττοντας ἀγνῆν διὰ βίου καὶ καθαρεύουσαν. ὡς 
γὰρ Κορήτας ἑκεῖνος, ὥν Δελφοὶ λέγουσι πρῶτον 
ἐμπεσοῦσα τῆς περὶ τὸν τόπον δυνάμεως αἴσθησιν 
παρασχεῖν, οὐδὲν οἷμαι διέφερε τῶν ἀλλῶν αἰτόλων 
καὶ ποιμένων, εἰ γε δὴ τοῦτο μὴ μόθος ἐστὶ μηδὲ 
πλάσμα κενόν, ὡς ἐγών ήγοῦμαι. καὶ λογιζόμενος 
πηλίκων ἀγαθῶν τοῦτο τὸ μαντεῖον αὐτίων γένον 
tοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐν τε πολέμοις καὶ κτίσει πόλεων ἐν 
Ε τε λοιμοῖς καὶ καρπῶν ἀφορίας, δεινὸν ήγοῦμαι μὴ 
θεῶ καὶ προνοία τὴν εὖρεσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀρχὴν ἀλλὰ 
tῷ κατὰ τύχην καὶ αὐτομάτως ἀνατίθεσθαι. πρὸς

\(^{1}\) κατασπειέσεις Reiske: καταστάσεις.  
\(^{2}\) ἐὰν Stegmann: εἰ.  
\(^{3}\) θεῶ μὲν ἡ δαίμονι Turnebus: θεοῦ μὲν ἡ δαίμονος.  
\(^{4}\) πτοηταί Xylander, also Meziriacus: ποιηταί.  
\(^{5}\) ποιήσει in one ms. only (J); poiei or poiei in the others.
libations poured over the victims and the refusal to give responses unless the whole victim from the hoof-joints up is seized with a trembling and quivering, as the libation is poured over it? Shaking the head is not enough, as in other sacrifices, but the tossing and quivering must extend to all parts of the animal alike accompanied by a tremulous sound; and unless this takes place they say that the oracle is not functioning, and do not even bring in the prophetic priestess. Yet it is only on the assumption that they ascribe the cause almost entirely to a god or a demigod that it is reasonable for them to act and to believe thus; but on the basis of what you say it is not reasonable. For the presence of the exhalation, whether the victim be excited or not, will produce the inspiration and will dispose the soul auspiciously, not only the soul of the priestess, but that of any ordinary person with whom it may come into contact. Wherefore it is silly to employ one woman alone for the purpose of the oracles and to give her trouble by watching her to keep her pure and chaste all her life. As a matter of fact, this Coretas, who the people of Delphi say was the first, because he fell in, to supply any means of knowing about the power with which the place is endowed, was not, I think, any different from the rest of the goatherds and shepherds, if so be that this is not a fable or a fabrication as I, for one, think it is. When I take into account the number of benefactions to the Greeks for which this oracle has been responsible, both in wars and in the founding of cities, in cases of pestilence and failure of crops, I think it is a dreadful thing to assign its discovery and origin, not to God and Providence, but to chance and accident. But regard-
δὴ ταῦτ'," εἶπε, "τὸν Λαμπρίαν¹ βουλομαι δια-
λεξθῆναι: περιμενεῖς² δὲ;"

"Πάνυ μὲν οὖν," ὁ Φίλιππος ἐφη, "καὶ πάντες
οὕτως πάντας γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὁ λόγος κεκίνηκεν."

47. Κἀγώ πρὸς αὐτὸν, "ἐμὲ δὲ," εἶπον, "οὐ κεκί
νηκεν, ὁ Φίλιππε, μόνον ἄλλα καὶ συγκέχυκεν, εἰ
ἐν τοσούτους καὶ τηλικούτοις οὕσων ὡμῖν δοκῶ παρ'
ηλικίαν τῷ πιθανῷ τοῦ λόγου καλλωπιζόμενος ἀν-
αιρεῖν τι καὶ κινεῖν τῶν ἀλήθειας καὶ σοίως³ περὶ τοῦ
θείου νεομισμένων. ἀπολογήσομαι δὲ μάρτυρα καὶ

F σύνδικον ὅμως Πλάτωνα παραστησάμενος.⁴ ἐκεῖνος
γὰρ ὁ Ἀναξαγόρας μὲν ἑμὲνμασατο τὸν παλαιόν,
ὅτι ταῖς φυσικαῖς ἀγαν ἐνδεδεμένοι⁵ αἰτίας καὶ τὸ
κατ᾽ ἀνάγκην τοῖς τῶν σωμάτων ἀποτελοῦμενο
πάθεσι μετών ἀεὶ καὶ διώκων, τὸ οὐ ἐνεκα καὶ ύψ
οῦ, βελτίωνας αἰτίας οὕσας καὶ ἀρχάς, ἀφήκεν· αὐτὸς
δὲ πρώτος ἦ μάλιστα τῶν φιλοσόφων ἀμφότερας
ἐπεξήλθη, τῷ μὲν θεῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποδίδοις τῶν
κατὰ λόγον ἑχόντων, οὐκ ἀποστερῶν δὲ τὴν ὑπὲρ
436 τῶν ἀναγκαίων πρὸς τὸ γιγνόμενον αἰτιῶν, ἄλλα
συνορῶν, ὧτι τῇδὲ πῇ καὶ τὸ πάν αἰσθητὸν δια-
κεκοσμημένον οὐ καθαρὸν οὐδ᾽ ἀμυγὲς ἐστιν, ἄλλα
τῆς ὑλῆς συμπλεκομένης τῷ λόγῳ λαμβάνει τὴν
γένεσιν. ὁρὰ δὲ πρῶτον ἑπὶ τῶν τεχνιτῶν· οἶον
ἐνθὺς ἡ περιβόητος ἐνταῦθα τοῦ πρατήρος ἔδρα καὶ

¹ τὸν Λαμπρίαν Wyttenbach: ὁ Λαμπρία.
² περιμενεῖς Madvig; the future seems necessary, and so
Prickard translates: περιμένεις (in one ms.) or περιμένοις; cf.
438 c, infra.
³ σοίως van Herwerden: σοίως.
⁴ παραστησάμενο] παριστάμενο in all mss. but one (D).
⁵ ὁ omitted in all mss. but one (G).
⁶ ἐνδεδεμένοι] ἐνδεδουμένοι in all mss. but one.
ing these matters,” he added, “I wish that Lamprias would say something to us. Will you wait?”

“Certainly I will,” said Philip, “and so will all who are here. For what you have said has set us all thinking.”

47. Then I, addressing myself to him, said, “Not only has it set me thinking, Philip, but it has filled me with confusion, if, in the presence of so many men such as you all are, I seem, in contradiction to my years, to give myself airs over the plausibility of my argument and to upset or disturb any of the beliefs regarding the Deity which have been conceived in truth and in piety. I shall defend myself by citing Plato as my witness and advocate in one. That philosopher a found fault with Anaxagoras, the one of early times, because he was too much wrapped up in the physical causes and was always following up and pursuing the law of necessity as it was worked out in the behaviour of bodies, and left out of account the purpose and the agent, which are better causes and origins. Plato himself was the first of the philosophers, or the one most prominently engaged in prosecuting investigations of both sorts, to assign to God, on the one hand, the origin of all things that are in keeping with reason, and on the other hand, not to divest matter of the causes necessary for whatever comes into being, but to realize that the perceptible universe, even when arranged in some such orderly way as this, is not pure and unalloyed, but that it takes its origin from matter when matter comes into conjunction with reason. Observe first how it is with the artists. Take as our first example the far-famed stand and base for the mixing-bowl here which

a Plato, Phaedo, 97 b-c.
The stand, dedicated by Alyattes (king of Lydia from 617 to 560 B.C.), was of wrought iron and welded together,
Herodotus\textsuperscript{a} has styled the 'bowl-holder'; it came to have as its material causes fire and steel and softening by means of fire and tempering by means of water, without which there is no expedient by which this work could be produced; but art and reason supplied for it the more dominant principle which set all these in motion and operated through them. And, indeed, the author and creator of these likenesses and portraits here stands recorded in the inscription\textsuperscript{b}:

Thasian by race and descent, Aglaophon's son Polygnotus
Painted the taking of Troy, showing her citadel's sack;

so that it may be seen that he painted them. But without pigments ground together, losing their own colour in the process, nothing could achieve such a composition and sight. Does he, then, who is desirous of getting hold of the material cause, as he investigates and explains the behaviour of the red earth of Sinopê and the changes to which it is subject when mixed with yellow ochre, or of the light-coloured earth of Melos when mixed with lamp-black, take away the repute of the artist? And he that goes into the details of the hardening and the softening of steel, how it is relaxed by the fire, and becomes pliant and yielding for those who forge and fashion it, and then, plunged anew into clear water, is contracted and compacted by the coldness because of the softness and looseness of texture previously engendered

not riveted. \textit{Cf.} Herodotus, i. 25; Pausanias, x. 16. 1. Of interest also in this connexion is the dedication recorded in the Sigeum inscription, \textit{C.I.G.} i. 8, or Roberts, \textit{Introduction to Greek Epigraphy}, no. 42 (p. 78).


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(436) θείς, εὐτονίαν ἵσχει καὶ πῆξιν, ἃν Ὄμηρος 'σιδήρου κράτος' εἶπεν, ἦττόν τι τῷ τεχνίτῃ τηρεὶ τῇν αἰτίᾳν τῆς τοῦ ἔργου γενέσεως; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἴομαι· καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἱατρικῶν δυνάμεων ἐννοι τὰς ποιότητας ελέγχουσι, τὴν δ' ἱατρικὴν οὐκ ἀναίρουσιν. ὡσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ¹ Πλάτων ὅραν μὲν ἡμᾶς τῇ παρὰ² τῶν ὄφθαλμῶν' αὐγῇ συγκεραννυμένη πρὸς τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φῶς, ἀκούειν δὲ τῇ πληγῇ τοῦ ἁέρος ἀποφαινόμενος, οὐκ ἀνήρει τὸ κατὰ λόγον καὶ πρόνοιαν ὀρατικοὺς καὶ ἀκουστικοὺς γεγονέναι.

48. "Καθόλου γὰρ, ὃς φημι, δύο πάσης γενέσεως αἰτίας ἔχουσι, οἱ μὲν σφόδρα παλαιοὶ θεολόγοι καὶ ποιηταὶ τῇ κρείττονι μόνη τὸν νοῦν προσέχειν εἰλοντο, τούτῳ δὲ τὸ κοινὸν ἐπιφθειγόμενοι πάσι πράγμασι

Ζεὺς ἀρχή, Ζεὺς μέσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα πέλουται·

ταῖς δ' ἀναγκαίαις καὶ φυσικαῖς οὐκ ἐτι προσήσαν αἰτίαις. οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι τούτων καὶ φυσικοὶ προσ-

Ε ἀγορευόμενοι τούναντίον ἐκείνοις τῆς καλῆς καὶ θείας ἀποπλανηθέντες ἀρχῆς, ἐν σώμασί καὶ πάθεσι σωμάτων πληγαῖς τε καὶ μεταβολαῖς καὶ κράσεις τίθενται τὸ σύμπαν. ὅθεν ἀμφοτέρους δ' λόγος ἐνδείης τοῦ προσήκοντός ἐστι, τοῖς μὲν τὸ δὲ οὗ καὶ

¹ καὶ added in the Aldine ed.
² παρὰ] peri in almost all mss.
³ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν] τῶν ὀφθαλμὸν most mss.

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by the fire, and acquires a tenseness and firmness which Homer \(a\) has called ‘the brawn of steel’—does such an investigator any the less preserve intact for the artist the credit for the creation of the work? I think not. In fact there are some who question the properties of medicinal agents, but they do not do away with medical science. And thus when Plato \(b\) declared that we see by the commingling of the irradiation from our eyes with the light of the sun, and that we hear by the vibration of the air, he certainly did not mean by this to abrogate the fundamental fact that it is according to the design of Reason and Providence that we have been endowed with sight and hearing.  

48. “To sum up, then: while every form of creation has, as I say, two causes, the very earliest theological writers and poets chose to heed only the superior one, uttering over all things that come to pass this common generality:

\(\text{Zeus the beginning, Zeus in the midst, and from Zeus comes all being} \)\(^c\); but as yet they made no approach towards the compelling and natural causes. On the other hand the younger generation which followed them, and are called physicists or natural philosophers, reverse the procedure of the older school in their aberration from the beautiful and divine origin, and ascribe everything to bodies and their behaviour, to clashes, transmutations, and combinations. Hence the reasoning of both parties is deficient in what is essential to it,

\(a\) Od. ix. 393.

\(b\) Cf. 433 \(d\), supra, and Plato, Republic, 507 \(c-d\), and 508 \(d\).

\(c\) Orphic Frag. vi. 10 (21a, 2); cf. Mullach, Frag. Phil. Graec. i. p. 169. 11.
δ' οὔ, τοῖς δὲ τὸ ἕξ ὅν καὶ δι' ὅν ἀγνοοῦσιν ἡ
παραλείπουσιν. ὁ δὲ πρῶτος ἐκφανῶς ἂφάμενος
ἀμφοῖν καὶ τῷ κατὰ λόγον ποιοῦντι καὶ κινοῦντι
προσλαβών ἄναγκαίως τὸν ὑποκείμενον καὶ πάσχον,
ἀπολύεται καὶ ὑπὲρ ἥμων πάσαν ὑποψίαν καὶ
diαβολὴν. οὐ γὰρ ἄθεον ποιοῦμεν οὔτ' ἄλογον τὴν

F μαντικὴν, ὑλὴν μὲν αὐτὴ τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
tὸ δὲ ἐνθουσιαστικὸν πνεῦμα καὶ τὴν ἀναθυμίαν
οἰον ὄργανον ἡ πλήκτρον ἀποδιδόντες· πρῶτον μὲν
γὰρ ἡ γεννήσασα γῆ τὰς ἀναθυμίασις ὁ τε πᾶσαν
ἐνιδιδοὺς κράσεως τῇ γῇ καὶ μεταβολὴς δύναμιν
ήλιον νόμων πατέρων θεός ἐστιν ἥμων· ἐπειτα δαί-
μονος ἐπιστάτας καὶ περιπολοὺς καὶ φύλακας οἶον
ἀρμονίας τῆς κράσεως ταύτης τὰ μὲν ἀνέντας ἐν
καιρῷ τὰ δ' ἐπιτείνοντας καὶ τὸ ἀγαν ἐκστατικὸν
αὐτῆς καὶ ταρακτικὸν ἀφαιροῦντας τὸ δὲ κινητικὸν
ἀλφαῖος καὶ ἀβλαβῶς τοῖς χρωμένοις καταμειγ-
νύντας ἀπολείποντες, οὐδὲν ἄλογον ποιεῖν οὔτ' ἀ-
δύνατον δόξομεν. (49.) οὔτε γε προθυμόμενοι καὶ
καταστέφοντες ἑρεία καὶ καταστέφοντες ἐναντία
tῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ πράττομεν. οἱ γὰρ ἑρείας καὶ
όσιοι' θέους χαὶ τὸ ἑρείαν καὶ καταστεφόντες καὶ
τὴν κίνησιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν τρόμον' ἀποδεικνύειν ἐτέ-
ρου τίνος τοῦτο σημεῖον' τυχόν τούτον θεόν
λαμβάνοντες; δεῖ γὰρ τὸ θύσιον τῷ τοῦ σώματι καὶ

Β τῇ ψυχῇ καθαρῶν εἶναι καὶ ἁσύνες καὶ ἀδιάφθορον.
μήνυτρα' μὲν οὖν τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα κατιδεῖν
οὐ πάνυ χαλεπόν ἐστι· τὴν δὲ ψυχήν δοκιμάζουσιν,

1 ἄναγκαίως τό] τὸ ἄναγκαίως Pohlenz.  
2 ὁ τε Emperius: ὁ δὲ.  
3 ὁσιο Turnebus: ὁσι.  
4 τρόμον Turnebus: τρόπον.  
5 τοῦτο σημεῖον Emperius: τοῦθ' ἡμῖν.  
6 μήνυτρα Turnebus: μέτρα.
since the one ignores or omits the intermediary and the agent, the other the source and the means. He who was the first to comprehend clearly both these points and to take, as a necessary adjunct to the agent that creates and actuates, the underlying matter, which is acted upon, clears us also of all suspicion of wilful misstatement. The fact is that we do not make the prophetic art godless or irrational when we assign to it as its material the soul of a human being, and assign the spirit of inspiration and the exhalation as an instrument or plectrum for playing on it. For, in the first place, the earth, which generates the exhalation, and the sun, which endows the earth with all its power of tempering and transmutation, are, by the usage of our fathers, gods for us. Secondly, if we leave demigods as overseers, watchmen, and guardians of this tempered constitution, as if it were a kind of harmony, slackening here and tightening there on occasion, taking from it its too distracting and disturbing elements and incorporating those that are painless and harmless to the users, we shall not appear to be doing anything irrational or impossible. (49.) Nor again, in offering the preliminary sacrifice to learn the god’s will and in putting garlands on victims or pouring libations over them, are we doing anything to contradict this reasoning. For when the priests and holy men say that they are offering sacrifice and pouring the libation over the victim and observing its movements and its trembling, of what else do they take this to be a sign save that the god is in his holy temple? For what is to be offered in sacrifice must, both in body and in soul, be pure, unblemished, and unmarred. Indications regarding the body it is not at all difficult to perceive, but they
(PLUTARCH’S MORALIA

(437) τοῖς μὲν ταύροις ἀλφιτα τοῖς δὲ κάπροις ἐφεβύνθουσιν παρατιθέντες. τὸ γάρ μὴ γευσάμενον ὑμιαίνειν οὐκ οἶονται. τὴν δ’ αἴγα διελέγχειν τὸ ψυχρὸν ὑδωρ. οὐ γὰρ εἶναι ψυχῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἔχουσις τὸ πρὸς τὴν κατάσπεισιν ἀπαθὲς καὶ ἀκίνητον. ἐγώ δέ, κἂν ἦ βέβαιον ὅτι σημεῖον ἔστι τοῦ θεομοσεύειν τὸ σεῖσανθαι καὶ τοῦ μὴ θεομοσεύειν τοῦνατιον, οὐχ ὃρω τί συμβαίνει δυσχέρες ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῖς εἰρημένοις. πᾶσα

C γὰρ δύναμις δ’ ἐπεφυκε σὺν καιρῷ βέλτιον ἡ χείρον ἀποδίδωσιν. τοῦ δὲ καιροῦ διαφεύγοντος ἡμᾶς, σημεῖα διδόναι τὸν θεὸν εἰκὸς ἐστίν.

50. "Οὕομαι μὲν ὁν μὴ τὴν ἀναθυμίασιν ὥσαντος ἔχειν ἂεὶ διὰ παντὸς, ἀνέσεις τὲ τινας ἓσχειν καὶ πάλιν σφοδρότητας. ὃ δὲ τεκμηρίων χρώμαι, μάρτυρας ἓχω καὶ ἐξένους πολλοὺς καὶ τοὺς θεραπεύοντας τὸ ιέρον ἀπαντας. ὃ γὰρ οἶκος, ἐν ὃ τοὺς χρωμένους τῷ θεῷ καθίζουσιν, οὔτε πολλάκις οὔτε τεταγμένως ἄλλοι ὡς ἔτυχε διὰ χρόνων εὐωδίας ἀνασίμπλαται καὶ πνεύματος, οίας ἂν τὰ ἡδίστα καὶ πολυτελέστατα τῶν μύρων ἀποφοράς ὄσπερ ἐκ πηγῆς τοῦ ἀδύτου προσβάλλοντος. ἐξ- ανθείν γὰρ εἰκὸς ὑπὸ θερμότητας ἡ τινος ἄλλης

D ἐγγυγνομένης δυνάμεως. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ δοκεῖ πιθανὸν, ἄλλα γε τὴν Πυθίαν αὐτὴν ἐν πάθει καὶ διαφορᾶς ἄλλοτ’ ἄλλας ἐκείνο τὸ μέρος τῆς ψυχῆς ἵσχειν, ὃ πλησιάζει τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ μὴ μίαν ἂεί

1 δ] ὃ in nearly all mss.
2 τὲ F.C.B.: δὲ (Kronenberg would read μηδὲ for μὴτε in the line above).
3 ἓχω] ἓχει or ἓχεω in most mss.

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test the soul by setting meal before the bulls and peas before the boars; and the animal that does not eat of this they think is not of sound mind. In the case of the goat, they say, cold water gives positive proof; for indifference and immobility against being suddenly wet is not characteristic of a soul in a normal state. But for my part, even if it be firmly established that the trembling is a sign of the god's being in his holy temple and the contrary a sign of his not being there, I cannot see what difficulty in my statements results therefrom. For every faculty duly performs its natural functions better or worse concurrently with some particular time; and if that time escapes our ken, it is only reasonable that the god should give signs of it.

50. "I think, then, that the exhalation is not in the same state all the time, but that it has recurrent periods of weakness and strength. Of the proof on which I depend I have as witnesses many foreigners and all the officials and servants at the shrine. It is a fact that the room in which they seat those who would consult the god is filled, not frequently or with any regularity, but as it may chance from time to time, with a delightful fragrance coming on a current of air which bears it towards the worshippers, as if its source were in the holy of holies; and it is like the odour which the most exquisite and costly perfumes send forth. It is likely that this efflorescence is produced by warmth or some other force engendered there. If this does not seem credible, you will at least all agree that the prophetic priestess herself is subjected to differing influences, varying from time to time, which affect that part of her soul with which the spirit of inspiration comes into association, and that she
κρᾶσιν ὃσπερ ἀρμονίαν ἀμετάβολον ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ διαφυλάττειν, ὀμολογήσετε. πολλαὶ μὲν γὰρ αἰσθομένης πλεῖονες δὲ ἀδήλου τὸ τε σῶμα κατα-
λαμβάνουσι καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπορρέουσι δυσχέρειαι καὶ κινήσεις· ὅ ν ἀναπιμπλαμένην οὐκ ἀμείνων ἢ ἐκεῖ βαδίζειν οὐδὲ παρέχειν ἑαυτὴν τῷ θεῷ μὴ παντά-
pασι καθαρὰν οὗτον ὃσπερ ὀργανὸν ἐξηρτυμένον καὶ εὐηχές, ἀλλὰ ἐμπαθὴ καὶ ἀκατάστατον. οὕτε
Ε γὰρ ὁ οἶνος ὤσαύτως ἂεὶ τὸν μεθυστικὸν οὐθ' ὁ
αὐλὸς τὸν ἐνθουσιαστικὸν ὁμοίως διατίθεναι, ἀλλὰ
νῦν μὲν ἦττον οἱ αὐτοῖ νῦν δὲ μᾶλλον ἐκβακχεύονται καὶ παρουνοῦσι, τῆς κράσεως ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐτέρας γενο-
μένης. μάλιστα δὲ τὸ φανταστικὸν ἔοικε τῆς ψυχῆς
ὑπὸ τοῦ σῶματος ἀλλοιωμένου κρατεῖσθαι καὶ συμ-
μεταβάλλειν, ὃς δὴ λόγον ἐστιν ἀπὸ τῶν ὁνείρων· ποτὲ
μὲν γὰρ ἐν πολλαῖς γιγνόμεθα καὶ παντοδαπαῖς ἐνυπνίων ὄψει, ποτὲ δ' αὐτὸ πάλιν πᾶσα γίγνεται
γαλήνη καὶ ἡσυχία τῶν τουιοῦτων. καὶ Κλέωνα

μὲν ἵσμεν αὐτοὺ τὸν ἐκ Δαυλίας τοῦτον ἐν πολλοῖς
ἐτεσιν οἷς βεβίωκε φάσκοντα μηδὲν ἰδεῖν πώποτ᾿ ἐνύπνιον· τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων ταῦτο τοῦτο λέγεται
περὶ Ἡρασυμῆδους τοῦ Ἡραίεως. αἰτία δ' ἡ
κρᾶσις τοῦ σῶματος, ὃσπερ αὐτὸ πάλιν ἡ τῶν
μελαγχολικῶν πολυνέφερος καὶ πολυφάνταστος, ἦ`
καὶ δοκεῖ τὸ εὖθυνέφερον αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν· ἐπ' ἀλλα

1 Ὅ Emperius: ei.
does not always keep one temperament, like a perfect concord, unchanged on every occasion. For many annoyances and disturbances of which she is conscious, and many more unperceived, lay hold upon her body and filter into her soul; and whenever she is replete with these, it is better that she should not go there and surrender herself to the control of the god, when she is not completely unhampered (as if she were a musical instrument, well strung and well tuned), but is in a state of emotion and instability. Wine, for example, does not always produce the same state of intoxication in the toper, nor the music of the flute the same state of exaltation in the votary; but the same persons are roused now to less, now to more, extravagant conduct by the Bacchic revels or stimulated by the wine, as the temperament within them becomes different. But especially does the imaginative faculty of the soul seem to be swayed by the alterations in the body, and to change as the body changes, a fact which is clearly shown in dreams; for at one time we find ourselves beset in our dreams by a multitude of visions of all sorts, and at another time again there comes a complete calmness and rest free from all such fancies. We ourselves know of Cleon here from Daulia and that he asserts that in all the many years he has lived he has never had a dream; and among the older men the same thing is told of Thrasymedes of Heraea. The cause of this is the temperament of the body, just as that of persons who are prone to melancholy, at the other extreme, is subject to a multitude of dreams and visions; wherefore they have the repute of possessing the faculty of dreaming straight; for since they turn now to this

\[a\] Cf. 406 b, supra.
438 γάρ ἄλλοτε τῶν φανταστικῶν τρεπόμενοι, καθάπερ οἱ πολλά βάλλοντες, ἐπηυγχάνουσι πολλάκις.

51. "Όταν οὖν ἁρμοστῶς ἔχῃ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ὡσπερ φαρμάκον κράσιν ἢ φανταστικὴ καὶ μαντικὴ δύναμις, ἐν τοῖς προφητεύουσιν ἀνάγκη γίγνεσθαι τὸν ἐνθουσιασμὸν. όταν δὲ μὴ οὕτως, μὴ γίγνεσθαι, ἢ γίγνεσθαι παράφορον καὶ οὐκ ἄκεραιον καὶ ταρακτικὸν, ὡσπερ ἑμεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐναγχος ἀποθανούσης Πυθίας. θεοπρόπων γὰρ ἀπὸ ξένης παραγενομένων, λέγεται τὰς πρώτας καταστείπεις ἀκίνητον ὑπομείναι καὶ ἀπαθές τὸ ἱερεῖον. ὑπερ-βαλλομένων δὲ φιλοτιμία τῶν ἱερέων καὶ προσ-Β λιπαρούντων, μόλις ὑπομβρὸν γενόμενον καὶ κατα-κλυσθεὶν ἐνδούναι. τῷ οὖν συνέβη περὶ τὴν Πυθίαν; κατέβη μὲν εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον ὡς φασίν ἄκουσα καὶ ἀπρόθυμο, εὐθὺς δὲ περὶ τὰς πρώτας ἀποκρίσεις ἣν καταφανῆς τῇ τραχύτητι τῆς φωνῆς οὐκ ἀνα-φέρουσα δίκην νεὼς ἐπειγομένης, ἀλαλοῦ καὶ κακοῦ πνεύματος οὕσα πλήρης· τέλος δὲ παντάπασιν ἐκταραχθεῖσα καὶ μετὰ κραυγῆς ἁσήμου καὶ φοβερᾶς φερομένη πρὸς τὴν ἐξοδον ἐρριψεν ἑαυτήν, ὡστε φυγεῖν μὴ μόνον τοὺς θεοπρόπους ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν προφήτην Νίκανδρον καὶ τοὺς παρόντας τῶν ὀσίων. ἀνείλοντο μέντοι μετὰ μικρὸν αὐτῆς εἰσ-Ε λθόντες ἐμφρόνα καὶ διεβίωσον ὀλγας ἡμέρας.

"Τούτων ἕνεκα καὶ συνοουσίας ἀγνὸν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸν βίον ὀλως ἀνεπίμεικτον ἄλλοπαθαὶς ὀμιλίας

1 ταρακτικὸν] πρακτικὸν in most mss.
2 Πυθίας Bernardakis (but cf. 295 n): πυθιάδος.
3 ἐνδούναι Turnebus: ἐνδὸν ἤν.
4 Πυθίαν] πυθίαδα in almost all mss.
5 δὲ περὶ Turnebus: δ' ἐπὶ.
6 ἀλαλοῦ] ἀλλ' ἀλαοῦ Reiske.
7 ἁσήμου καὶ omitted in most mss.
and now to that in their imagery, like persons who shoot many arrows, they often manage to hit the mark.

51. "Whenever, then, the imaginative and prophetic faculty is in a state of proper adjustment for attempering itself to the spirit as to a drug, inspiration in those who foretell the future is bound to come; and whenever the conditions are not thus, it is bound not to come, or when it does come to be misleading, abnormal, and confusing, as we know in the case of the priestess who died not so long ago. As it happened, a deputation from abroad had arrived to consult the oracle. The victim, it is said, remained unmoved and unaffected in any way by the first libations; but the priests, in their eagerness to please, went far beyond their wonted usage, and only after the victim had been subjected to a deluge and nearly drowned did it at last give in. What, then, was the result touching the priestess? She went down into the oracle unwillingly, they say, and half-heartedly; and at her first responses it was at once plain from the harshness of her voice that she was not responding properly; she was like a labouring ship and was filled with a mighty and baleful spirit. Finally she became hysterical and with a frightful shriek rushed towards the exit and threw herself down, with the result that not only the members of the deputation fled, but also the oracle-interpreter Nicander and those holy men that were present. However, after a little, they went in and took her up, still conscious; and she lived on for a few days.

"It is for these reasons that they guard the chastity of the priestess, and keep her life free from all
(438) καὶ ἄθικτον φυλάττουσιν τῆς Πυθίας, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ χρηστηρίου τὰ σημεῖα λαμβάνουσιν, οἵμενοι τῷ θεῷ κατάδηλον εἶναι, πότε τὴν πρόσφορον ἔχουσα κράσιν καὶ διάθεσιν ἀβλαβῶς ὑπομενεῖ τὸν ἐνθουσιασμόν. οὔτε γὰρ πάντας οὔτε τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀεὶ διατίθεσιν ὡσαύτως ἢ τοῦ πνεύματος δύναμις, ἀλλὰ ὑπέκκαυμα παρέχει καὶ ἀρχὴν ὡσπερ ἐιρήται τοῖς ἔτεσι τοῦ παθείν καὶ μεταβαλεῖν οἰκείως ἔχουσιν. ἦστι δὲ θεία μὲν ὄντως καὶ δαιμόνιος, οὐ μὴν ἄνεκλειπτος οὐδ' ἀβθαρτος οὐδ' ἀγρήρως καὶ διαρκὴς εἰς τὸν ἀπειρὸν χρόνον ὡφ' οὐ πάντα κάμνει τὰ μεταξὺ γῆς καὶ σελήνης κατὰ τὸν ἠμέτρητον λόγον. εἰςι δ' οἰ καὶ τὰ ἐπάνω φασκοντες οὐχ ὑπομένειν, ἀλλὰ ἀπαυδῶντα πρὸς τὸ ἀίδιον καὶ ἀπειρὸν συνεχεῖς χρῆσθαι μεταβολαῖς καὶ παλύγγενεσιαι.

52. “Ταῦτ',” ἐφ' οὖν ἐγώ, “πολλὰκις ἀνασκέπτεσθαι καὶ ὑμᾶς παρακαλῶ καὶ ἐμαυτὸν, ὡς ἔχοντα πολλὰς ἀντιλήψεις καὶ ὑπονοίας πρὸς τοῦνατίον, ἄς ο καρδός οὐ παρέχει πάσας ἐπεξελθεῖν· ὡστε καὶ Ἐταῦθ' ὑπερκείσθω καὶ ὁ Φιλίππος διαπορεῖ περὶ ἡλίου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος.”

1 φυλάττουσιν] φυλαττούσης most mss.
2 Πυθία] πυθίαδος most mss.
3 συνεχεῖς Wyttenbach; ὁξείας Reiske: ὁξέια.
association and contact with strangers, and take the omens before the oracle, thinking that it is clear to the god when she has the temperament and disposition suitable to submit to the inspiration without harm to herself. The power of the spirit does not affect all persons nor the same persons always in the same way, but it only supplies an enkindling and an inception, as has been said, for them that are in a proper state to be affected and to undergo the change. The power comes from the gods and demigods, but, for all that, it is not unfailing nor imperishable nor ageless, lasting into that infinite time by which all things between earth and moon become wearied out, according to our reasoning. And there are some who assert that the things above the moon also do not abide, but give out as they confront the everlasting and infinite, and undergo continual transmutations and rebirths.

52. "These matters," I added, "I urge upon you for your frequent consideration, as well as my own, in the belief that they contain much to which objections might be made, and many suggestions looking to a contrary conclusion, all of which the present occasion does not allow us to follow out. So let them be postponed until another time, and likewise the question which Philip raises about the Sun and Apollo."
INDEX

Abdera, 25: a town in Thrace near the mouth of the river Nestus.
Abydos, 51: a city on the Nile in Upper Egypt.
Academy, the, 217, 325, 461: the school of philosophy founded by Plato at Athens, so called from the place of meeting.
Acanthus (Acanthians), 205, 297: a town in eastern Chalcidice on the Strymonic Gulf.
Achaeans, 319: a name applied to all, or to a part of, the Greeks who fought at Troy.
Achaeus, 297: a name, according to grammarians, given to Orestes.
Aegon, 269: an Argive who became king, when the race of Heraclidæ failed.
Aegospotami (battle of), 277.
Aeschylus quoted, 49, 223, 393, 477: Athenian tragic poet; 525-456 B.C.
Aesop, 295: a writer of fables of the 6th century B.C. The fables later current under his name can hardly be in anything like their original form.
Aetolians, 287.
Africa, 319, 337.
Aglaionicæ, 389: learned daughter of Hegetor of Thessaly.
Aglæophon, 489: a famous painter of Thasos in the early 5th century, father and teacher of Polygnotus and Aristophan.
Aidoneus, 251: an epithet of Hades.
Alcæus, 71: according to the Phrygians, son of Heracles and father of Typhon.
Alcaeus quoted, 353: a great poet of Lesbos, contemporary with Sappho.
Alexander, 57, 59, 295: called the Great, king of Macedon; 356-323 B.C.
Alexandria, 67, 69: a city in Egypt founded by Alexander the Great in 332 B.C.
Alexarchus, 91: a Greek historian.
Alexis, 407: Athenian comic poet, uncle of Menander; circa 372-280 B.C.
Alopecus, 337: "Fox-hill," a name of the hill Orchaliides in Haliartus in Boeotia.
Alpheius, 473: a river of Arcadia.
Alyattes, 299: king of Lydia 617(?)-560 B.C.
Amenæthæs, 73: the Egyptian name for the place to which the souls of the dead depart.
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Thebes, but identified by the Greeks with Zeus.
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Amphictyonic (Council), 341: the council of the Sacred League which met twice yearly in Thermopylae.
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Amphilochus, 481: son of Amphiaratus and Eriphyle; after his death he had an oracular shrine in Mallos.
Amphitrite, 177: goddess, wife of Poseidon.
Anaxagoras, 119, 233, 487: philosopher from Clazomenae, friend of Pericles, banished from Athens he retired to Lampsacus; circa 500-428 B.C.
Anticleides, 91: Athenian historian, lived in the Alexandrian period.
Antigonus, 59: called the "One-eyed," general of Alexander the Great; circa 330-301 B.C.
Anubis, 39, 93, 107, 145: an Egyptian god bearing the head of a jackal, which the Greeks thought was a dog; identified by the Greeks with Hermes.
Apelles, 59: a famous Greek painter of the second half of the 4th century B.C.
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Apollonia, 301: the name of various Greek cities; which city is indicated here is uncertain.
Apollonius, 413: a common Greek name.
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Areimanios, 113, 115: the Persian god of darkness, Ahriman.
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Aristarchus, 305: of Samos, a great astronomer; circa 320-250 B.C.
Ariston, 91: historian, author of a work on Athenian colonization.
Aristonica, 325: the prophetic priestess at Delphi who gave the Athenians baleful oracles in 480 B.C. (Herodotus, vii. 140).
Aristyllus, 305: an astronomer.
Arnè, 467: a town in south-western Thessaly.
Arsalus, 413: a ruler of the Solymi.
Arsaphes, 91: an Egyptian name of Osiris, regarded as Dionysus.
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Arseris, 33, 35: son of Isis and Osiris, regarded by the Greeks as Apollo, or the elder Horus.
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Bréthys, 271-275, 279-285, 289, 303, 305 : an Epicurean contemporary of Plutarch’s, a speaker in the dialogue The Oracles at Delphi, and in the Symposiac Questions, v. 1.
Brasidas, 295, 297 : a distinguished Spartan general in the Peloponnesian War. He was killed at Amphipolis in 422 B.C.
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ChaeRon mon quoted, 325 : a Greek tragic poet of the early 4th century B.C.
ChaeRon eia, 365 : a town in Boeotia, birthplace of Plutarch.
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