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.
PLUTARCH

MORALIA

V

LCL 306
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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 fascicle 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.”

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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.

F. C. B.

Trinity College,
Hartford, Conn.
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
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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, *Sylloge*3, 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

a Moralia, 678 c.
worship of Egyptian gods in Greek lands may be obtained from Roscher, *Auszübrliches 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.\footnote{All the Greek and Roman sources for the religion of the Egyptians will be found conveniently collected in Hopfner, \textit{Fontes Historiae Religionis Aegyptiacae}, Parts I. and II. (Bonn, 1922–1923).}

The work is dedicated to Clea, a cultured and intelligent woman, priestess at Delphi, to whom Plutarch dedicated also his book on the \textit{Bravery of Women} (\textit{Moralia}, 242 e–263 c, contained in vol. iii. of \textit{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.
1. Πάντα μὲν, ὁ Κλέα, δεῖ τάγαθα τοὺς νόουν ἔχοντας αἰτεῖσθαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιστήμης ὅσον ἐφικτών ἐστιν ἄνθρωποις μετιόντες εὐχόμεθα τυγχάνειν παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνων, ὡς οὐδὲν ἄνθρωπω λαβεῖν μεῖζον οὐδὲν χαρίσασθαι θεῷ σεμνότερον ἀληθείας. τάλλα μὲν γὰρ ἄνθρωποις ὁ θεὸς ἄν δέονται διδωσιν, νοῦ δὲ καὶ φρονήσεως μεταδίδωσιν; οἶκεία κεκτήμενος ταύτα καὶ χρώμενος. οὐ γὰρ ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ μακάριον τὸ θεῖον, οὐδὲ βρονταῖς καὶ κεραυνοῖς ἵσχυρόν, ἀλλʼ ἐπιστήμη καὶ φρονίσει. καὶ τούτο κάλλιστα πάντων Ὁμήρος ὥν εἰρήκε περὶ θεῶν ἀναφθεγξόμενος

ἡ μᾶν ἄμφοτέροις ὅμοι γένος ἢδ’ ἵα πάτρη, ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς πρότερος γεγόνει καὶ πλείονα ἢδει,

σεμνότεραν ἀπέφηνε τήν τοῦ Δίὸς ἱγμόνιαν ἔπι-
Ε στήμη καὶ σοφία 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.

---

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

6
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

\[b \text{ Cf. Plutarch, } \textit{Moralia}, 780 f-781 a \text{ and } 355 c, \text{ infra.} \]

\[c \text{ Cf. Themistius, } \textit{Oration} \text{ xxxiii. p. 365 B-D.} \]

\[d \text{ } \textit{Iliad}, \text{ xiii. 354; quoted also in } \textit{Moralia}, 32 a, \text{ and } \textit{Life and Writings of Homer}, \text{ ii. 114.} \]
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

tῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, ἢν ο ὕθεος εἰληχεν, εὐδαιμον ἐναι τὸ τῇ γνώσει μὴ προαπολιπεῖν τὰ γεγομένα·
tοῦ δὲ γεγνώσκειν τὰ ὄντα καὶ φρονεῖν ἀφαιρεθέν-
tος, οὐ βιὸν ἄλλα χρόνον εἰναι τὴν ἀθανασίαν.

2. Διὸ θειότητος ὄρεξις ἐστὶν ἡ τῆς ἀληθείας

μάλιστα δὲ τῆς περὶ θεῶν ἐφεσίς, ὡσπερ ἀνάληψιν

ιερῶν τὴν μάθησιν ἔχουσα καὶ τὴν ζήτησιν, ἀγνείας

tε πάσης καὶ νεωκορίας ἔργων ὅσιωτερον, οὐχ

ηκιστα δὲ τῇ θεῷ ταύτῃ κεχαρισμένου, ἢν σὺ

θεραπεύεις ἐξαιρέτως σοφῆν καὶ φιλόσοφον ὑδάν,

F ὡς τούνομα γε1 φράζειν έοικε, παντὸς καλλον αὐτῇ

tο εἰδέναι καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην προσέκουσαν. Ἐλ-

λημυκὸν γὰρ ἡ Ἡσίς ἐστὶ καὶ ο Τυφῶν, ὡν2 πολέμιος

tῇ θεῷ καὶ δι' ἁγνοιαν καὶ ἀπάτην τετυφωμένον

καὶ διαστῶν καὶ ἀφανίζων τὸν ιερὸν λόγον, ὅν ἡ

θεός συνάγει καὶ συντίθησι καὶ παραδίδωσι τοῖς

tελουμένοις, ὡς ἐρωτεοῖς3 σώφρονι μὲν ἐνδελεχῶς

dιαίτη καὶ βρωμάτων πολλῶν καὶ ἀφροδισίων

352 ἀποχαῖς κολουούσης4 τὸ ἀκόλαστον καὶ φιλήδονον,

ἀθρύπτοις δὲ καὶ στερρᾶς ἐν ἱεροῖς λατρείας

ἐθίζουσης ὑπομένειν, ὅν τέλος ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ πρώτου

καὶ κυρίου καὶ νοητοῦ γνώσις, ὅν ἡ θεὸς παρακαλεῖ

ζητεῖν παρ’ αὐτῇ καὶ μετ’ αὐτῆς ὄντα καὶ συνόντα.

τοῦ δ’ ιεροῦ τούνομα καὶ σαφῶς ἐπαγγέλλονται καὶ

1 γε Reiske: τε.
2 ὡν added by Reiske and placed by Bernardakis.
3 ὡς ἐρωτεοῖς F.C.B. (or perhaps οἴων καὶ σωφρονιζομένοι

... κολουούσαις ... ἐθιζούσαις): θειώσεως.
4 κολουούσης] most mss. have κολουούσαις.

a Cf. Moralia, 781 a.

b Plutarch is attempting to connect “Isis” with οἶδα, know, and “Typhon” with Τυφῶ, 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.\(^a\)

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,\(^b\) and so also is Typhon, her enemy, who is conceited, as his name implies,\(^b\) 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.\(^c\) Him does the goddess urge us to seek, since He is near her and with her and in close communion. The name of her shrine also clearly promises knowledge and
(352) γνῶσιν καὶ εἶδησιν τοῦ ὄντος: ὑνομάζεται γὰρ Ἰσεῖον ὡς εἰσομένων¹ τὸ ὄν, ἀν μετὰ λόγου καὶ ὀσίως εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ παρέλθωμεν τῆς θεοῦ.

3. "Ετι πολλοὶ μὲν Ἐρμοῦ, πολλοὶ δὲ Προμηθέως ἱστορῆκασιν αὐτὴν θυγατέρα, ὡς² τὸν² μὲν ἑτερον σοφίας καὶ προνοίας, Ἐρμῆν δὲ γραμματικῆς καὶ μουσικῆς εὐρετὴν νομίζοντες. διὸ καὶ τῶν ἐν³ Ἐρμοῦ πόλει Μουσῶν τὴν προτέραν Ἰσων αἷμα καὶ Δικαιοσύνην καλοῦσι, σοφὴν οὖσαν,⁴ ὡσπερ οὕρηται, καὶ δεικνύονσαν τὰ θεία τοῖς ἀληθῶς καὶ δικαῖως ἱεραφόροις καὶ ἱεροστόλους προσαγορευμένοις. οὕτω δ᾽ εἰσὶν οἱ τὸν ἱερὸν λόγον περὶ θεῶν πάσης καθαρεύοντα δεισιδαιμονιὰς καὶ περιεργίας ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ φέροντες ὡσπερ ἐν κύστι καὶ περιστελλόντες, τὰ μὲν μέλανα καὶ σκιώδη τὰ δὲ φανερὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ τῆς περὶ θεῶν ὑποδηλοῦντες⁶ οἴσιες, οἷα καὶ περὶ τὴν ἔσθητα τὴν ἱερὰν ἀποφαίνεται. διὸ καὶ τὸ κοσμεῖσθαι τούτοις τοὺς ἀποθανόντας Ἰσιακὸς σύμβολον ἐστὶ τούτον τὸν λόγον εἶναι

C μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τούτον ἔχοντας, ἀλλο δὲ μηδέν, ἐκεῖ βαδίζειν. οὐτε γὰρ φιλοσόφους πῶγνωντροφίαι, ὁ Κλέα, καὶ τριβωνοφορίαι ποιοῦσιν, οὔτ' Ἰσιακὸς αἱ λυσοτολλαὶ καὶ ξυρῆσεις⁷. ἀλλ' Ἰσιακὸς

¹ εἰσομένων Baxter: εἰσόμενον.
² ὡς Reiske: ὅν ἐν.
³ τὸν Basel ed. of 1542: τὸ.
⁴ ἐν added by Baxter.
⁵ σοφὴν οὖσαν Baxter: σοφίαν.
⁶ ὑποδηλοῦντες one ms. and Meziriacus: ὑποδηλοῦντα.
⁷ ξυρῆσεις Reiske: ξύρησις.

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¹ As if derived from οἶδα, know, and ὅν, being.
² Cf. 355 f, infra.
³ Cf. 365 f, infra, and Clement of Alexandria, Stromateis, l. 106. 1, 21 (p. 382, Potter).

10
comprehension of reality; for it is named Iseion,\(^d\) 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,\(^b\) and many others the daughter of Prometheus,\(^c\) 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,\(^d\) 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.\(^e\) 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

\(^d\) Supra, 351 f.

\(^e\) Cf. Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum, No. 754 (not included in the third edition), or Altertümer von Pergamon, viii. 2, p. 248, no. 326; also Moralia, 382 c.
(352) ἐστιν ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ τὰ δεικνύμενα καὶ δρόμενα περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τούτους, ὅταν¹ νόμῳ παραλάβῃ,² λόγῳ ἐξήκων καὶ ϕιλοσοφῶν περὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀλήθειας.

4. Ἐπεὶ τούς γε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸ κοινότατον τούτο καὶ σμικρότατον λέληθεν, ἐφ’ ὅτι τὰς τρίχας οἱ ἱερεῖς ἀποτίθενται καὶ λινὰς ἐσθήτας φοροῦσιν· οἱ μὲν οὐδ’ ὀλως φροντίζουσι εἰδέναι D περὶ τούτων, οἱ δὲ τῶν μὲν ἔριων ὁσπερ τῶν κρεῶν σεβομένους τὸ πρόβατον ἀπέχεσθαι λέγουσιν, ἡφεισθαί² δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς διὰ τὸ πένθος, φορεῖν δὲ τὰ λινὰ διὰ τὴν χρόαν, ἢν τὸ λίνον ἄνθοον ἀνίησι τῇ περιεχούσῃ τὸν κόσμον αἰθέρίῳ χαροπότητι προσεοικύναν. ἢ δ’ ἀλήθης αὕτη μία πάντων ἐστὶ· "καθαροῦ γάρ," ἢ φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, "οὐ θεμιτὸν ἀπτεσθαι μη καθαρῷ." περίττωμα δὲ τροφῆς καὶ σκύβαλον οὐδὲν ἀγνὸν οὐδὲ καθαρὸν ἐστιν· ἐκ δὲ περιττωμάτων ἔρια καὶ λάχναι καὶ τρίχαις καὶ ὀνυχες ἀναφύνονται καὶ βλαστάνουσι. γελοιοῖν οὖν Ε ἦν τὰς μὲν αὐτῶν τρίχας ὑπὶ ταῖς ἀγνείαις ἀποτίθεσθαι ἡφεισθέντας καὶ λειανομένους πᾶν ὄμαλῶς τὸ σῶμα, τὰς δὲ τῶν θερμάτων ἀμπεχεσθαι καὶ φορεῖν· καὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἡσίοδον οἰεσθαί δεῖ λέγοντα

¹ δόται] ἀττ’ αὖ Bentley.
² παραλάβῃ Aldine: παραβάλη.
³ ξυρείσθαι should probably be always read in Plutarch (e.g. 180 b) instead of ξύρειν ότ ξυράν: ξύρεσθαι.
⁴ ξυρομένους] 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. 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, 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: "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. 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, and then should put on and wear the hair of domestic animals. We should believe that when Hesiod 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. Moralía, 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 Moralía, ed. Bernardakis, vol. vii. p. 90.
μηδ’ ἀπὸ πεντὸς θεῶν ἐν δαίτε βαλεῖ̣
ἀδὸν ἀπὸ χλωροῦ τάμνεις αἶθων σιδήρῳ,

didáskhein ὅτι δεὶ καθαροὺς τῶν τοιούτων γενο-
μένους ἐορτάζειν, ὥστε ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς ἱερουργίαις
χρῆσθαι καθάρσει καὶ ἀφαιρέσει τῶν περιττωμά-
των. τὸ δὲ λίγον φῦεται μὲν ἐξ ἀθανάτου τῆς γῆς
F καὶ καρπὸν ἐδώδυμον ἀναδίδωσι, λιτὴν δὲ παρέχει
καὶ καθαρῶς ἑσθήτα καὶ τῷ σκέποντι μὴ βαρύ-
νουσαν, εὐάρμοστον δὲ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἥραν, ἥκιστα
δὲ φθειροπούν, ὡς λέγουσιν ἑπὶ ὄν ἐτέρος λόγος.

5. Οἱ δ’ ἱερεῖς οὐτω δυσχεραίνουσι τὴν τῶν
περιττωμάτων φύσιν, ὅστε μὴ μόνον παρατείνουσι
τῶν ἀσπρίων τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τῶν κρεῶν τὰ μήλεια
καὶ ὧεια, πολλὴν ποιοῦτα περιττωσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τους ἅλας τῶν σιτίων ἐν ταῖς ἀγνείαις ἀφαίρεῖν,
ἀλλὰς τε πλείωνας αἰτίας ἔχοντας καὶ τῷ¹ ποτι-
κωτέρους καὶ βρωτικωτέρους ποιεῖν ἐπιθήγοντας
τὴν ὄρεξιν. τὸ γὰρ, ὡς Ἀρισταγόρας ἔλεγε, διὰ
tὸ πηγυμένοις πολλὰ τῶν μικρῶν ζῴων ἐν-
αποθνήσκειν ἀλισκόμενα μὴ καθαροὺς λογίζεσθαι
τοὺς ἅλας εὐθῆς ἐστὶ.

353 Λέγονται δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀπιν ἐκ φρέατος ἱδίου
ποτίζεως, τοῦ δὲ Νείλου παντάπασι ἀπείριγευν, οὕ
μιαρὸν ἡγούμενοι² τὸ ὕδωρ διὰ τὸν κροκόδειλον,
ὡς ἔνιοι νομίζουσιν· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως τίμιον³
Ἀγυπτίως ὡς ὁ Νεῖλος· ἀλλὰ πιαίνειν δοκεῖ καὶ

¹ τὸ added by Wyttchenbach.
² ἡγούμενοι Markland: ἡγουμένους.
³ τίμιον Reiske: τίμη.

* Plutarch touches briefly on this subject in Moralia, 642 c.
14
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.⁷

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, which leave a large residuum, but they also use no salt 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

⁷ Cf. Herodotus, ii. 37, and *Moralia*, 286 E.
⁸ Cf. infra, 363 E; *Moralia*, 684 F, 729 A; and Arrian, *Anabasis*, iii. 4. 4.
(353) μάλιστα πολυσαρκίαν ποιεῖν τὸ Νειλῶν ὕδωρ πινόμενον. οὐ βούλονται δὲ τὸν Ἄπων οὖτως ἔχειν οὐδ’ ἑαυτούς, ἀλλ’ εὐσταλή καὶ κούφα ταῖς ψυχαῖς περικείσθαι τὰ σώματα καὶ μὴ πιέζειν μηδὲ καταθλίβειν ἵσχύοντι τῷ θητῷ καὶ βαρύνοντι τὸ θεῖον.

6. Οἶνον δ’ οἱ μὲν ἐν Ἕλλοι πόλει θεραπεύοντες τὸν θεόν οὐκ εἰσφέροντι τὸ παράπαν εἰς τὸ ιερόν, Β ὡς οὐ προσήκον ἡμέρας πίνειν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ βασιλέως ἐφορώντος; οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι ξυρόταν μὲν ὀλίγῳ δέ. πολλὰς δ’ ἀοίνους ἄγνειας ἔχουσιν, ἐν αίσ φιλοσοφοῦντες καὶ μανθάνοντες καὶ διδάσκοντες τὰ θεία διατελοῦσιν. οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς καὶ μετρητὸν ἐπινοῦν ἐκ τῶν ιερῶν γραμμάτων, ὡς Ἐκαταῖος ἰστόρηκεν, ἱερεῖς ὄντες. ἡρξαντο δὲ πίνειν ἀπὸ Ψαμμητίχου, πρότερον δ’ οὐκ ἐπινοῦν οἰνον οὐδ’ ἐσπευδον ὡς φίλων θεοῖς, ἀλλ’ ὡς αἰμα τῶν πολεμησάντων ποτε τοῖς θεοῖς, ἐξ ὧν οἴνον πεσόντων καὶ τῇ γῇ συμμιγέντων ἀμπέλους γενέσθαι

C διὸ καὶ τὸ μεθύειν ἐκφρονεῖ ποιεῖν καὶ παραπλήγας, ἀτε δὴ τῶν προγόνων τοῦ αἴματος ἐμπλαμένους. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Εὔδοξος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ Γῆς. Περίδοου λέγεσθαι φησι οὖτως ὑπὸ τῶν ιερέων.

1 ἡμέρας] ἱερεῖς Moser; ὑπηρέτας Michael, but cf. Diogenes Laertius, viii. 19 οἶνον δὲ μεθ’ ἡμέραις μὴ γεύεσθαι.
2 ἄλλοι] ἄλλοτε E. Capps.
3 ποιεῖν Markland: ποιεῖ.
4 Γῆς Pantazides: τῆς.

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
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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. 'Ikhóvov dé thalattíwv pántes mèn ou páltwv
all' énív apéxontai, katháper 'Oξyrynχitai tòw
áp' ágkíostroú: sebómenoi gar tòv óξyrynchov
ikhívn dedíasi mh' pote to ágkíostroú ou katharón
éstn óξyrynchov peripeseóntos autò. Sýnýtai
dè fágrou' dokei gar épiónti tw' Neílvw syv-
D eipífaíneštai, kai tìn aúxësn anáménoi fýræw
autággeleos órůmènov, oi d' iereíz apéxontai
pántwv: prwtoù dè mhnôs énáty tòn állwv
Aýnuptíwv ékástou prò tìs aúleíou thýras óppon
ikhívn katesthíontos, oi iereíz ou geúontai mén
catakaióntai dè prò tòn thurán toús ikhósw dúdo
lógyous éxontes, àvn tòn mèn ierón kai periptón
áuths análí∧mɔiai, synándonta tois peri 'Osíridos
kai Túfówos óstıs w fílæsofoúmènov: ó d' émφanìs
kai próxeiros ouk ánagkaión ou'd' apéríerγon
óphon ápofaìñwn2 toû iχhívn, 'Omèrho márturèi mhète
Fàïaka toûs ábrðbiwus mhète toûs 'Îbakìsiwos
E ànthròpous nýsoìtis iχhúsw chrómènov poiònti
mhète toûs 'Oðunosëws étaiρou Én plw tosoútw
kai én thalàttì prôw eis éσχàtnh ñlthèin àpòriàv.
òlws dè kai tìn thalàttan ëk pûwos3 ñgòùntai kai

1 ou'd' apéríerγon Bentley: ou'de perìerγon.

a Cf. Herodotus, ii. 37.
b Cf. Strabo, xvi. 1. 40 (p. 812); Aelian, De Natura
Animalum, x. 46; Clement of Alexandria, Protrepticus,
ii. 39. 5 (p. 34 Potter); also 358 b and 380 b, infra.
c Cf. Aelian, De Natura Animalum, x. 19.
d Cf. Moralia, 729 a.
e 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 Syenë abstain from the phagrus (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 dwell 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.)
parowrimenon oude meuros oude stoicheion alla allon1 periittwma diephoros kai vosoQides.

8. Oud' ev yap alugon oude muthides oude upo deisiadamovias, asthma evnoi nomozouvin, evkatastou-

cheiouto taies2 ierourgiais, alla ta mev thikas 
exonta kaixreiwdeis aitias, ta d' ouk amora 

kompotitos istorikis h fusiikis estin, oion to 

F peri krommuvon. to yap empsevein eis ton potamov 

kal apoloseibai tov tis "Isidos trophimov Dickton 

pou3 krommuvon episthramomenon eschatovs apitavanov-

oie d' iereis afosioioutai kal duxheraiouni kai 

to krommuvon parafulattontes, oti tis seleiQens 

thinoousis mouon eutrophein touto kai tebhelena 

pefukev. esti de prosoforon ouv' agneiouvou ouv' 

eortazouvi, tois mev oti diophen, tois d' oti dakryen 

poei tous prosphoromaious.

'Omoiws de kai tis ou anieron zoun hgoioutai:

os malista yap oxevesibai dokei tis seleiQens 

thinoousis, kal twv to gala pionton exanthei ta

354 swmata leprwv kai psmikas traxhthtas. ton de 

logon, ou thvontes apax4 ou en pansenlenwv kai 

esbiontes5 epit легouvou, ws o Tufwn ou diwkon 

pros tis pansenlenoun eibhe tis xulwvnten soron, en 

h to swma tov 'Osidous keito, kal dieirrhein,

1 alla allaion] alla oion Bases, but see 729 b where allotroion 

stands in the parallel passage.

2 taies added by Wytenbach.

3 pou F.C.B.: ou.

4 apa] apa touse Squire from Ael. II. A. x. 16.

5 kai esbiontes Bentley: katebiontes.
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

\(^a\) 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, παρακοουσάτων ὥσπερ ἄλλα πολλά νοµίζοντες.

Ἀλλὰ τρυφὴν τε καὶ πολυτέλειαν καὶ ἡδυπάθειαν ὦτῳ προβάλλεσθαι τοὺς παλαιοὺς λέγουσιν, ὡστε καὶ στήλην ἑφασαν ἐν Θῆβαις ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ κείσθαι κατάρας ἐγγεγραμμένας ἐχουσαν κατὰ Μείνιος τοῦ Β βασιλέως, ὅς πρῶτος Αἰγυπτίως τῆς ἀπλοῦτου καὶ ἀχρημάτου καὶ λιτῆς ἀπήλλαξε διαίτης. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Τέχνακτις ὁ Βοκχόρεως πατὴρ ὀστρατεύων ἐπὶ "Ἀραβας, τῆς ἀποσκευῆς βραδυνοῦσης, ἥδεως τῷ προστυχόντι σιτίῳ χρησάμενος, εἶτα κομηθεὶς βαθὺν ὑπὸ πεῖ στιβάδος, ἀσπάσασθαι τὴν εὐτέλειαν ἐκ δὲ τοῦτο καταράσσαθαι τῷ Μείνι, καὶ τῶν ἱερέων ἐπαινεσάντων στηλυτεύεσθαι τὴν κατάραν.

9. Οἰ δὲ βασιλεῖς ἀπεδείκνυτο μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἱερέων ή τῶν μαχίμων, τοῦ μὲν δὲ ἀνδρείαν τοῦ δὲ διὰ σοφίαν γένους ἀξίωμα καὶ τιμὴν ἔχοντος. οὐδὲ ἐκ μαχίμων ἀποδειγμένοις εὐθὺς ἐγήγεντο τῶν ἱερέων καὶ μετείχε τῆς φιλοσοφίας, ἐπικεκρυμένης τὰ πολλὰ μύθους καὶ λόγους ἀμυνόμενος ἐμφάσεις τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ διαφάσεις ἔχουσιν, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ παραδηλοῦσιν αὐτοῖ πρὸ τῶν ἱερών τὰς

1 παρακοουσάτων Xylander: παρακοουσάτων.
2 ἑφασαν] ἐστησαν Sieveking, omitting κείσθαι.
3 Mein Baxter: Μείνιω.

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 Tnephachthos or Tnephachtho 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

—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.

—Cf. Clement of Alexandria, Stromateis, v. 5. 31, chap. 5 (p. 664 Potter).
(354) σφίγγας ἑπιεικῶς ἱστάντες, ὡς αἰνιγματώδη σοφίαν τῆς θεολογίας αὐτῶν ἔχουσις. τὸ δ' ἐν Σάει τῆς Ἁθηνᾶς, ἤν καὶ Ἰον νομιζοῦσων, ἔδως ἐπιγραφὴν εἰς τοιαύτην "ἐγώ εἰμι πάν τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ ὃν καὶ ἑσόμενον καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν πέπλον οὖδεὶς πωθητὸς ἀπεκάλυψεν."

"Εστὶ δὲ τῶν πολλῶν νομιζόντων ἵδιον παρ' Ἀιγυπτίοις οἴνομα τοῦ Δίως εἶναι τὸν Ἀμοῦν (ὁ παράγοντες ἡμεῖς Ἀμμωνα λέγομεν), Μανεθὸς μὲν Δὸ Σεβεννύτης τὸ κεκρυμμένον οἰεται καὶ τὴν κρύμων ὑπὸ ταύτης δηλούονθα τῆς φωνῆς. Ἕκαταιος δ' ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης φησὶ τούτῳ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῷ ρήματι χρῆσθαι τοὺς Ἀιγυπτίους, ὅταν τινὰ προσκαλῶσιν· προσκλητικῆς γὰρ εἶναι τὴν φωνῆν. διό τὸν πρῶτον θεόν, δ' ἃ τῷ παντὶ τὸν αὐτὸν νομιζοῦσιν, ὡς ἀφανῆ καὶ κεκρυμμένον ὡντα προσκαλοῦμενοι καὶ παρακαλοῦντες ἐμφανῆ γενέσθαι καὶ δῆλον αὐτοῖς, Ἀμοῦν λέγομεν· ἢ μὲν οὖν εὐλάβεια τῆς περὶ τὰ θεία σοφίας Ἀιγυπτίων τοσαύτη ἤν.

10. Μαρτυροῦσι δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ σοφῶ-Εταῖοι, Σόλων Θαλῆς Πλάτων Εὐδοξος Πυθαγόρας, ὡς δ' ἐνιοί φασι, καὶ Λυκοῦργος, εἰς Αἰγυπτον ἀφικόμενοι καὶ συγγενόμενοι τοῖς ἱερεῦσι. Εὐδοξὸν μὲν οὖν Χονούφεως φασὶ Μεμφίτου διακυόναι, Σόλωνα δὲ Σόγχιτος Σαίτου, Πυθαγόραν δ' Οινούφεως Ἡλιοπολίτου. μάλιστα δ' οὕτως, Φ' ὃς ἐνικε, θαυμασθεὶς καὶ θαυμάσας τοὺς ἄνδρας

1 ἦν Aldine ed.: δ ἦν.
2 Σεβεννύτης[ often written σεβεννύτης.
3 δ' 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 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; 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 r, and Life of Solon, chap. xxvi. (92 ε).
ἀπεμμήνασα τὸ συμβολικὸν αὐτῶν καὶ μυστηριωδὲς, ἀναμείξας αὐτήμασι τὰ δόγματα· τῶν γὰρ καλουμένων ἵερογλυφικῶν γραμμάτων οὐδὲν ἀπολείπει τὰ πολλά τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν παραγγελμάτων, οἷον ἔστι τὸ "μὴ ἐσθίειν ἐπὶ δίφρον" "μηδ' ἐπὶ χοίνικος καθῆθαι" "μηδὲ φοῖνικα φυτοτομέων" "μηδὲ πῦρ μαχαίρας σκαλεύειν ἐν οἰκίᾳ." 

Δοκῶ δ' ἐγώνη καὶ τὸ τὴν μονάδα τοὺς ἄνδρας ὀνομάζειν 'Απόλλωνα καὶ τὴν δυάδα3 "Αρτεμιν, 'Αθηνᾶν δὲ τὴν ἐβδομάδα, Ποσειδώνα δὲ τὸν πρώτον κύβον, ἐοικείαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἴδρυμένοις καὶ γλυφομένοις4 νη Δία καὶ γραφομένοις. τὸν γὰρ βασιλέα καὶ κύριον "Οσιρυν ὀφθαλμῷ καὶ σκῆπτρῳ
355 γράφουσιν· ἐνιοῖ δὲ καὶ τούνομα διερμηνεύοντοι πολυὁφθαλμον, ὡς τοῦ μὲν ὡς τὸ πολὺ τοῦ δ' ἱρᾷ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν Ἀιγυπτία γλώττη φράζοντος5 τὸν δ' οὐρανὸν ὡς ἀγήρων δι' ἀιδιότητα καρδία θυών6 εἰσχάρας ὑποκειμένη. ἐν δὲ Θηβαις εἰκόνες ἦσαν ἀνακείμεναι δικαστῶν ἁχείρες, ἡ δὲ τὸ ἄρχιδικα-

στὸν καταμύνοντα τοὺς ὁμισων, ὡς ἀδωρον ἀμα τὴν 

dikaiosúνην καὶ ἀνέντευκτον οὕσαν.

Tois δὲ μαχίμων κάνθαρος ἦν γλυφὴ σφαγίδος·

1 φυτοτομεῖν F.C.B.: φυτεύειν.
2 μαχαίρα Bernardakis: μαχαίρη.
3 τὴν δυάδα Squire: δυάδα 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 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”; “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, 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; there are even some who explain the meaning of the name as “many-eyed” 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. 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.

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

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Cf., for example, 381 F and 393 B, infra, and Iamblichus, Comment. in Nichomachi Arithmetica, 14.
Occasionally found on the monuments; cf. 371 E, infra.
Cf. Diodorus, i. 11.
Cf. Horapollo, Hieroglyphics, i. 22.
Cf. Diodorus, i. 48. 6.
(355) οὐ γὰρ ἔστι κάνθαρος θῆλυς, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἀρσενεῖ. 
tίκτουσι δὲ τὸν γόνον εἰς σφαίροποιήσων, οὐ σφαῖρης μᾶλλον ὕλην ἡ γενέσεως χώραν παρα-
σκευάζοντες.

B 11. "Οταν οὖν ἄ μυθολογοῦσιν Αἰγύπτιοι περὶ 
tῶν θεῶν ἀκοῦσας, πλάνας καὶ διαμελισμοὺς καὶ 
pολλὰ τοιαῦτα παθήματα, δεὶ τῶν προειρήμενῶν 
μνημονεύειν καὶ μηδεν οἰεσθαι τούτων λέγεσθαι 
γεγονός οὕτω καὶ πεπραγμένον. οὐ γὰρ τὸν κύκλῳ 
κυρίως Ἐρμήν λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ζώου τὸ φυλα-
kτικόν καὶ τὸ ἄγρυπνον καὶ τὸ φιλόσοφον, γνώσει 
καὶ ἄγνοια τὸ φίλον καὶ τὸ ἐχθρὸν ὑρίζοντος, ἥ 
φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, τῷ λογιστάτῳ τῶν θεῶν συν-
οικεῖον. οὔτε τὸν ἥλιον ἐκ λωτοῦ νομίζοντι

C βρέφος ἄνισχεν νεογυόν, ἀλλ’ οὕτως ἀνατολῆν 
ἡλιον γράφονσι, τὴν ἐξ ὑγρῶν ἥλιου γιγνομένην 
ἀναψιν αἰνοτόμον. καὶ γὰρ τὸν ὦμοτατον Περ-
σῶν βασιλέα καὶ φοβερώτατον Ὅχου ἀποκτείναντα 
πολλοὺς, τέλος δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἁπίν ἀποσφάζαντα καὶ 
καταδειπνήσαντα μετὰ τῶν φιλῶν, ἐκάλεσαν "μά-
χαιραν," καὶ καλοῦσι μέχρι νῦν οὕτως ἐν τῷ κατα-
λόγῳ τῶν βασιλέων, οὐ κυρίως δῆτον τὴν οὐσίαν

1 eis σφαῖροποιήσων F.C.B.: ως σφαῖροποιοῦσιν. (τ. γ. ἀφιέντες 
eis ὄνθον δὲν σφαῖροποιοῦσιν Pohlenz.)
2 παθήματα] μαθήματα most mss.
3 συνοικεῖονου Baxter: κυνικεῖονου.

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.

c Cf. Plato's Republic, 375 e, and the note in Adam's 
edition (Cambridge, 1902).

d Cf. 368 f and 400 a, infra.
female beetle, but all beetles are male.\(^1\) They eject their sperm into a round mass which they construct, since they are no less occupied in arranging for a supply of food \(^2\) 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\(^3\) 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.\(^4\) So also Ochus, the most cruel and terrible of the Persian kings, who put many to death and finally slaughtered the Apis\(^5\) 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.\(^6\) But manifestly they

\(^{1}\) The sacred bull.
\(^{2}\) 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, ἀλλὰ τοῦ τρόπου τὴν σκληρότητα καὶ κακίαν ὅργανο φονικῶ παρεικάζοντες. οὕτω δὴ τὰ περὶ θεῶν ἀκούσασα καὶ δεχομένη παρὰ τῶν ἐξηγούμενων τὸν μύθον ὅσιως καὶ φιλο-

D σόφως, καὶ δρώσα μὲν ἕλε καὶ διαφυλάττουσα τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ νενομισμένα, τοῦ δ' ἀληθῆ δόξαν ἔχειν περὶ θεῶν μηδὲν οἴομένη μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς μήτε θύσεων μήτε ποιήσεων κεχαρισμένων, οὕτε ἂν ἔλαττον ἄποφεύγοιον κακὸν ἀθεότητος δεισιδαι-

μονίαν.

12. Λέξεται δ' ὁ μύθος οὕτως ἐν βραχυτάτοις ὡς ἐνεστὶ μάλιστα, τῶν ἄχρηστων σφόδρα καὶ περιτ-

τῶν ἀφαιρεθέντων.

Τῆς Ῥέας φασὶ κρύφα τῷ Κρόνῳ συγγενομένης αἰσθόμενον ἐπαράσασθαι τὸν Ἡλιὸν αὐτῆς μῆτε μηνι 
μήτ' ἑυαντῷ τεκεῖν. ἔρωντα δὲ τῶν Ἐρμῆν τῆς 
θεὸν συνελθεῖν, εἶτα παῖζαντα πεττίαρ πρὸς τὴν 
σελήνην καὶ ἀφελόντα τῶν φῶτων ἐκάστου τὸ 
ἐβδομηκοστὸν ἐκ πάντων ἡμέρας πέντε συνελεῖν.

Ε καὶ ταῖς ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίαις ἐπαγαγείᾳ, ἀς 
νῦν ἐπαγομένας Αἰγύπτιοι καλοῦσι καὶ τῶν θεῶν 
γενεθλίους ἀγοῦσι. τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ τὸν "Οσιρ

1 ποιήσεων Dübner: ποιήσεων αὐτοίς.
2 ἂν added by F.C.B.
4 λέξεται F.C.B.: λέγεται (λεγέσθω Paton; but the copyist 
evidently exchanged a letter with ἄποφεύγοιο).
5 πεττία Hatzidakis: πέττια.
6 συνελεῖν Xylan: συνελθεῖν.
7 ἐπαγαγείν Reiske: ἐπάγειν.

a Cf. Moralia, 164 F, 165 C, 378 A, 379 E.
b Cf. Moralia, 429 F; Diodorus, i. 13. 4; Eusebius, 
Praeparatio Evang. ii. 1. 1-32.
c Plutarch evidently does not reckon the ἐν ἕνα τέλο (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, 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, 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 intercalated 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 One seventieth of 12 lunar months of 29 days each (348 days) is very nearly five days.

d Cf. Herodotus, ii. 4.
γενέσθαι, καὶ φωνὴν αὐτῷ τεχθὲντι συνεκπεσεῖν ὡς ὁ πάντων1 κύριος εἰς φῶς πρόεισιν. ἔννοι δὲ Παμυλὴν2 τινὰ λέγουσιν ἐν Θήβαις ὑδρευόμενον3 ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Δίως φωνὴν ἀκοῦσαι διακελευμένην ἀνεπεῖν μετὰ βοής ὅτι μέγας βασιλεὺς εὐεργέτης ὁ Οσίρις γέγονε· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θρέφαι τὸν ὁ Οσίριν, ἐγχειρίσαντος4 αὐτῷ τοῦ Κρόνου, καὶ τὴν τῶν Παμυλίων5 εὐρήν αὐτῷ τελείοθαι φαλληφορίοις ἐοικύιαν. τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ τὸν Ἀροῦριν, ὃν Ἀπόλλωνα, ὃν καὶ πρεσβύτερον ὁ Βοῦν ἔννοι καλοῦσιν. τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ Τυφώνα μὴ καιρῷ μηδὲ κατὰ χώραν, ἀλλ' ἀναρρήξαντα πληγή διὰ τῆς πλευρᾶς ἐξαλεύσατο. ὁ τετάρτῃ6 δὲ τὴν Ἰσιὼν ἐν πανύγρους γενέσθαι· τῇ δὲ πέμπτῃ Νέφθυν, ἢν καὶ Τελευτήν καὶ Ἀφροδίτην, ἔννοι δὲ καὶ Νίκην ὀνομαζοῦσιν. εἰναι δὲ τὸν μὲν ὁ Οσίριν ἐξ Ἡλίου καὶ τὸν Ἀροῦριν, ἐκ δ' Ἐρμοῦ τὴν 356 Ἰσιὼν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Κρόνου τὸν Τυφώνα καὶ τὴν Νέφθυν, διὸ καὶ τὴν τρίτην τῶν ἐπαγομένων ἀποφράδα νομίζοντες οἱ βασιλεῖς οὐκ ἐχρημάτιζον οὐδ' ἐθεράπευσον αὐτοῦς μέχρι νυκτός. γῆμασθαι7 δὲ τῷ Τυφώνῃ τῇ Νέφθυν, Ἰσιὼν δὲ καὶ ὁ Οσίριν ἐρώτας ἀλλήλων καὶ πρὶν ἣ γενέσθαι κατὰ γαστρὸς ὑπὸ

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1 ὁ πάντων Reiske: ἀπάντων.
2 Παμυλὴν . . . Παμυλίων] Παμυλὴν . . . Παμυλίων L. Dindorf.
3 ὑδρευόμενον Baxter: ὑδρευόμενη (or else αὐτῷ in the fourth line infra must be changed to αὐτῇ).
4 ἐγχειρίσαντος Salmasius: ἐγχειρήσαντος.
5 εξαλεύσαθαι Reiske: εξάλευσαθαι.
6 τετάρτῃ] τῇ τετάρτῃ to correspond with the other four?
7 γῆμασθαι Xylander: τιμᾶσθαι.

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

b 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.
c Cf. 366 b and 375 b, infra.
d Cf. 352 a, supra.
e Cf. 375 b, infra.
f Cf. 373 b, infra.
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(356) σκότω συνείναι. ἐνιοὶ δὲ φασὶ καὶ τὸν 'Αρουρην οὔτω γεγονέναι καὶ καλεῖσθαι πρεσβύτερον Ὄρου υπ' Αἰγυπτίων, Ἀπολλωνα δ' ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων.

13. Βασιλεύοντα δ' Ὁσίρων Αἰγυπτίοις μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπόρον βίον καὶ θηριώδους ἀπαλλάξας καρποὺς τε δείξαντα καὶ νόμους θέμενον αὐτοῖς καὶ Θεοὺς διδάξαντα1 τιμᾶν. ὥστερον δὲ γην πᾶσαν ἡμερούμενον ἐπελθεῖν ἐλάχιστα μὲν ὀπλῶν δεηθέντα, πείθοι δὲ τοὺς πλείστους καὶ λόγω μετ' ὦδης καὶ πάσης μονοκής θελομένους προσαγόμενον οὖθεν Ἑλλησί δόξαι Διονύσῳ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι.

Τυφώνα δ' ἀπόντος μὲν οὐδὲν νεωτερίζειν, διὰ τὸ τὴν Ἰσσὸν εὖ μᾶλα φυλάττεσθαι καὶ προσέχειν ἐγκρατῶς ἔχουσαν,2 ἐπανελθόντι δὲ δόλων μηχαναζθαι, συνωμότας ἀνδρὰς ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ δύο πεποιημένον καὶ συνεργὸν ἔχοντα βασιλισσαν ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας παροῦσαν, ἦν ὀνομαζούσιν 'Ασώ· τὸν C δ' Ὁσίρωδος ἐκμετρησάμενον λάθρα τὸ σῶμα καὶ κατασκευάσαντα πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος λάρνακα καλὴν καὶ κεκοσμημένην περιττῶς εἰσενεγκεῖν εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον. ἤθελτων δὲ τῇ ὁθει καὶ θαυμασάντων, ὑποσχέσθαι τὸν Τυφώνα μετὰ παιδίας, ὃς ἂν ἐγκατακλιθεῖς3 ἐξισωθεῖν,4 διδόναι δῶρον αὐτῷ τὴν λάρνακα. πειρωμένων δὲ πάντων καθ' ἐκαστὸν, ὡς οὐδεὶς ἐνήρμοττεν, ἐμβάντα τὸν Ὁσίρων κατακλι-

1 διδάξαντα Markland: δείξαντα.
2 ἔχουσαν] ἄρχουσαν Markland from Diodorus, i. 17.
3 ἐγκατακλιθεῖς Markland: ἐγκατακλιθεῖσις.
4 ἐξισωθεῖν] ἐξισωθῇ 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.

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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

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

*b* Cf. 366 c, infra.
(356) θήναι. τοὺς δὲ συνόντας ἐπιδραμόντας ἐπιρράξαι τὸ πῶμα καὶ τὰ μὲν γόμφους καταλαβόντας ἐξωθεὶν τῶν δὲ θερμοῦ μολίβδου καταχειμένους ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξενεγκεῖν καὶ μεθεῖνα διὰ τοῦ Ταυτικοῦ στόματος εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, δὲ διὰ τοῦτο μυστήριον ἐτὶ νῦν καὶ κατάπτυστον ὄνομάζειν Ἀγνυττίους. ταῦτα δὲ πραχθῆναι λέγουσιν ἐβδόμη ἐπὶ δέκα μήνις Ἀθήρ, ἐν ὧ τὸν σκορπίον ὁ Ἥλιος διέξεισιν, D ὀγδοοῦ ἐτος καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἕκειν βασιλεύοντος Ὀσιρίδος. ἐνιοί δὲ βεβιωκέναι φασίν αὐτὸν, οὐ βεβασιλευκέναι χρόνον τοσοῦτον.

14. Πρῶτων δὲ τῶν τὸν περὶ Χέμμων οἰκοῦντων τόπων Πανών καὶ Σατύρων τὸ πάθος αἰσθομένων καὶ λόγον ἐμβαλόντων περὶ τοῦ γεγονότος, τὰς μὲν αἰθμίδους τῶν ὄχλων ταραχὰς καὶ πτοήσεις ἐτὶ νῦν διὰ τοῦτο πανικᾶς προσαγορεύεσθαι. τὴν δὲ Ἰσων αἰσθομένην κείρασθαι μὲν ἐνταῦθα τῶν πλοκάμων ἕνα καὶ πένθιμον στολὴν ἀναλαβεῖν, ὅπου τῇ πόλει μέχρι νῦν ὄνομα Κοπτῶ. ἔτεροι δὲ τούνομα σημαί-Ε νεὼν οἴονται στέρησιν τὸ γὰρ ἀποστερεῖν "κόπτεων" λέγουσι. πλανωμένην δὲ πάντη καὶ ἀποροῦσαν οὐδένα προσελθεῖν ἀπροσάθητον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παι-δαρίοις συντυχοῦσαν ἐρωτῶν περὶ τῆς λάρνακος τὰ

1 συνόντας] συνωμότας Meziriacus.
2 ἐπιρράξαι Wyttchenbach: ἐπιρρήσαι.
3 θερμοῦ μολίβδου] θερμῶν μολίβδων Baxter.
4 καταχειμένους Bentley: καταχειμένων.
5 Ταυτικοῦ Xylander: ταυτικοῦ.
6 ὄνομάζειν] νομίζειν Kontos.
7 ἕκειν Xylander: ἕκεινον.
8 Χέμμων Xylander: ἑμένων.
9 κείρασθαι van Herwerden: κείρεσθαι.
10 τῇ πόλει] πόλεις ἰ 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,\(^a\) 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.\(^b\)

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,\(^c\) and so, even to this day, the sudden confusion and consternation of a crowd is called a panic.\(^d\) 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.\(^e\) Others think that the name means deprivation, for they also express "deprive" by means of "koptein."\(^f\) 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."
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de τυχεύν ¹ ἐωρακότα καὶ φράσαι τὸ στόμα δι’ οὗ τὸ ἄγγελον οἱ φίλοι τοῦ Τυφώνος εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἔωσαν. ἐκ τούτου τὰ παιδάρια μαντικῆς δύναμιν ἔχειν οἶςθαι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς τούτων ὀπτεύεσθαι κληδόσι παιζόντων ἐν ἱέροις καὶ 

φθεγγομένων ὁ τι ἀν τύχωσι.

Αἰσθομένην δὲ τῇ ἀδελφῇ ἐρώτατα συγγεγονέναι ἡ 

ἐκ' ἀγγείων ὡς ἐαυτῇ τὸν Ὁσιρὶν καὶ τεκμήριον ἱδοῦσθαν τὸν μελιλώτινον ² στέφανον ὃν ἐκείνος παρά τῇ Νέφθυ ³ κατέλιπε, τὸ παιδίον ζητεῖν (ἐκθείναι ⁴ γὰρ 

εὐθὺς τεκοῦσαν διὰ φόβον τοῦ Τυφώνος). εὑρεθέν 

δὲ χαλεπῶς καὶ μόνιμος κυνῶν ἐπαγόντων τῇ 

Ἰων ἐκτραφήναι καὶ γενέσθαι φύλακα καὶ ὁπαδὸν 

ἀυτῇς ὁ Ἀνουβίν προσαγορευθέντα καὶ λεγόμενον 

τοὺς θεοὺς φρουρεῖν ὡσπερ οἱ κύνες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

15. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου πυθέουσα περὶ τῆς λάρνακος, 357 ὡς πρὸς τὴν Βύβλον ⁶ χώραν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάττης ἐκ-

cκυμανθεῖσαν αὐτῇς ἐρείκη τυί μαλθακὸς ὁ κλύδων 

προσέμειξεν. ἡ δὲ ἐρείκη κάλλιστον ἐρνος ὀλίγων 

χρόνως καὶ μέγιστον ἀναδραμοῦσα περιέπτυξε καὶ 

περείφυ καὶ ἀπέκρυψεν ἐντὸς ἐαυτῆς· 

θαυμάσας δὲ 

ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ φυτοῦ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ περιτεμών τὸν 

περιέχοντα τὴν σορὸν οὐχ ὀρωμένην κόλπον ⁷ ἐρείσμα 

¹ de τυχεύν Baxter: δ' ἐτυχεύν.

² ἱδοῦσαν τὸν μελιλώτινον Xylander: ἱδοῦσα τῶν μὲν λατινοῦν.

³ τῇ Νέφθυ Reiske: τὴν νέφθυν.

⁴ ἐκθείναι Xylander: ἐκείνο.

⁵ de added by Squire.

⁶ Βύβλον Bentley: Βύβλον.

⁷ κόλπον] κορμὸν Salmasius.

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² Cf. Dio Chrysostom, Oratio xxxii. p. 364 d (660 Reiske), and Aelian, De Natura Animalium, xi. 10, ad fin.

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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. Wherefore 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

\[b\] 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 υπέστησε. ταύτα τε πνεύματι φασι
dαιμονίων φήμης πυθομένην την Ἰσων εἰς Βύβλον
ἀφικέσθαι, καὶ καθίσασαν ἐπὶ κρήνης ταπεινήν καὶ
dedakrymēnēn ἄλλω μὲν μὴδεὶ προσδιαλέγεσθαι,
tῆς δὲ βασιλίδος τὰς θεραπαινίδας ἀστάξεσθαι καὶ
φιλοφρονεῖσθαι τὴν τε κόμην παραπλέκουσαν αὐτῶν
Β καὶ τῷ χρωτὶ θαυμαστὴν εὐωδίαιν ἐπιπνέοσαν ἁφ' ἐαυτῆς.
_iosύς δὲ τῆς βασιλίδος τὰς θεραπανιδας, ἵμερον ἐμπεσεῖν τῆς ξένης τῶν τε τριχῶν τοῦ
tε χρωτὸς ἀμβροσίαν πνεόντος². οὔτω δὲ μεταπεμ-
φθείσαν καὶ γενομένην συνήθη ποιήσασθαι τὸν παι-
dίου τύθην. ὄνομα δὲ τῷ μὲν βασιλεὶ Μάλκανδρον
eιναι φασιν, αὐτῇ³ δ' οἱ μὲν Ἀστάρτην⁴ οἱ δὲ Σάωσον
οί δὲ Νεμανοῦν, ὅπερ ἂν Ἑλλήνες Ἀθηναία
προσεῖποιεῖν.⁵

16. Τρέφειν δὲ τὴν Ἰσων ἀντί μοστοῦ τὸν δάκ-
C τυλον εἰς τὸ στόμα τοῦ παιδίου διδοῦσαν,⁶ νῦκτωρ
dὲ περικαίειν τὰ θυτὰ τοῦ σώματος· αὐτὴν δὲ
genomēnēn χειλόδονα τῆς κίονι περιπέτεσθαι καὶ θρη-
νεῖν, ἀχρὶ οἵ την βασιλίσσαν παραφυλάξασαν καὶ
ἐκκραγοῦσαν,⁷ ὡς εἴδε περικαιόμενον τὸ βρέφος,
ἀφελέσθαι τὴν ἀθανασίαν αὐτοῦ. τὴν δὲ θεῶν
φανερὰν γενομένην αὐτήσασθαι τὴν κίονα τῆς
στέγης· ὕφελοῦσαν δὲ βάστα περικόψα τὴν ἐρείκην,
εἶτα ταῦτην μὲν ὀθόνη περικαλύφασαν καὶ μὺρον

1 τῆς στέγης] τῆ στέγη Madvig.
2 πνεόντος] ἀποπνεόντος Michael.
3 αὐτῇ Markland: αὐτήν.
4 Ἀστάρτην Basel ed. of 1542: Ἀστάρτην.
5 προσεῖποιεῖν Markland: προσεῖπεῖν.
6 τοῦ παιδίου διδοῦσαν] "vel τῷ παιδίῳ vel tēdeῖσαν"
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, plaiting 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

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

7 ἐκκραγοῦσαν Bentley; ἐγκραγοῦσαν Stephanus: κεκραγοῦσαν.
(357) καταχειρίσαι τοὺς βασιλεύσι, καὶ νῦν ἐτικεῖσθαι Βυβλίως τὸ ξύλον ἐν ἑρῴ κείμενον

D Ἰσίδορ. τῇ δὲ σορῷ περιπεσεῖν καὶ κωκύσαι τηλικοῦτον, ὥστε τῶν παίδων τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν νεώτερον ἐνθανεῖν, τὸν δὲ πρεσβύτερον μεθ' ἑαυτῆς ἐχουσαν καὶ τῆν σορὸν εἰς πλοῖον ἐνθεμένην ἀναχθῆναι. τὸν δὲ Φαίδρου ποταμοῦ πνεύμα τραχύτερον ἐκθρέψαντος ὑπὸ τῆν ἑω, θυμωθεῖσαν ἀναξηράναι τὸ ρεῖδρον.

17. "Ὅπου δὲ πρῶτον ἐρμήμας ἐτυχεῖν, αὐτήν καθ' ἑαυτῆς γενομένην ἀνοίξαι τὴν λάρνακα, καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐπιθείσαι ἀστάσασθαι καὶ δακρύειν· τοῦ δὲ παιδίου σιωπῇ προσέλθόντος ἐκ τῶν ὀπισθεν καὶ καταμανθάνοντος αἰσθομένην μετα-

E στραφῆναι καὶ δεινὸν ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἐμβλέψαι. τὸ δὲ παιδίον οὐκ ἀνασχέσθαι τὸ τάρβος, ἀλλ' ἀποθανεῖν. οἱ δὲ φασών οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ' οὗ εἰρηται πλοίον ἐκπεσεῖν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. ἔχει δὲ τιμᾶς διὰ τὴν θεοῦ· ὅπως ἄδουσιν Αἰγύπτιοι παρὰ τὰ συμπόσια Μανέρωτα, τοῦτον εἶναι. τινὲς δὲ τὸν μὲν παιδα καλεῖσθαι Παλαιστινῶν ἡ Πηλοῦσίων, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπίκουμον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι κτισθείσαν ὑπὸ τῆς θεοῦ· τοῦ δ' ἄδομεν Μανέρωτα πρῶτον εὑρεῖν μουσικήν ἱστοροῦν. ἐνιοὶ δὲ φασών ὅνομα μὲν οὔδενὸς εἶναι, διάλεκτον δὲ πίνουσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ θαλάξουσι πρέπουσαν, "αἰσχρα τὰ τοιαῦτα" F παρείη'· τοῦτο γὰρ τῷ Μανέρωτι φραζόμενον ἀνα-

1 οὐ... πλοῖον F.C.B.: ὡς... ἑρώτον.
2 Perhaps Μανέρωτα and Μανέρωτι 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

b Cf. Herodotus, ii. 79; Pausanias, ix. 29. 3; Athenacus, 620 a.
φωνεῖν εκάστοτε τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους· ἃστερ ἀμέλει καὶ τὸ δεικνύμενον αὐτοὺς εἴδωλον ἀνθρώπου
tεθνηκότος ἐν κιβωτίῳ περιφερόμενον οὐκ ἔστιν
ὑπόμνημα τοῦ περὶ Ὅσιρίδος πάθους, ἦ τινς ὑπο-
λαμβάνουσιν, ἀλλ’ θεωμένους1 παρακαλοῦν2 αὐτοὺς
χρήσαντι τοὺς παροῦς καὶ ἀπολαυόν, ὡς πάντας
αὐτικὰ μᾶλα τοιοῦτοις ἐςομένους, οὗ χάριν ἐπὶ
cώμοι3 ἐπείσάγουσι.

18. Τῆς δ’ Ἰσιδος πρὸς τὸν ὀδὸν Ὅρων ἐν Βούτῳ
τρεφόμενον πορευθείσης, τὸ δ’ ἀγγείον ἐκποδῶν
ἀποθεμένης, Τυφώνα κυνηγητοῦντα νῦκτωρ πρὸς
358 τὴν σελήνην ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸ σῶμα γυναι-
kēsanta διελεῖν εἰς τετταρεσκαίδεκα μέρη καὶ δι-
αρπίασα. τὴν δ’ Ἰσιν πυθομένην ἀναζητεῖν ἐν βάριδι
παπυρίνη ὁδὴ διεκπλέουσαν· οθὲν οὐκ ἄδικεῖσθαι
τοὺς ἐν παπυρίνοις σκάφεσι πλέοντας ὑπὸ τῶν
κροκοδείλων ἢ φοβομένων ἢ σεβομένων ἴδια5
tῆς θεοῦ.

Ἑκ τούτου δὲ καὶ πολλοὺς τάφους Ὅσιρίδος ἐν
Αἰγύπτῳ λέγεσθαι διὰ τὸ προστυγχάνουσαν ἐκάστῳ
μέρει ταφὰς ποιεῖν. οἱ δ’ οὐ φασιν, ἀλλ’ εἴδωλα
ποιομένην διδόναι6 καθ’ ἐκάστην πόλιν ὡς τὸ σῶμα
Β διδοῦσαν ὅπως παρὰ πλείσσων ἔχῃ τιμᾶς, καὶ ὁ
Τυφών ἐπικρατήσῃ τοῦ Ὅρου, τὸν ἀληθινὸν τάφον

1 θεωμένους F.C.B., cf. 148 a; οἰνωμένους Markland: οἰο-

3 οὐ χάριν ἑπὶ κώμοιν] ἡχαριν ἐπίκωμον Emperius.
4 τὰ Basel ed. of 1542: τὰ δὲ.
6 διδόναι] διαιδοῦναι Markland.

9 Cf. Moralia, 148 a; Herodotus, ii. 78; Lucian, De
Luctu, 21.
10 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.\(^a\)

18. As they relate, Isis proceeded to her son Horus, who was being reared in Buto,\(^b\) 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\(^c\) 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.\(^d\) 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\(^e\); 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

\(^a\) Cf. 368 A, infra. Diodorus, i. 21, says sixteen parts.
\(^c\) Cf. 359 A, 365 A, infra, and Diodorus, i. 21.
(358) ἦτῶν, πολλῶν λεγομένων καὶ δεικνυμένων ἀπαγορεύση.

Μόνον δὲ τῶν μερῶν τοῦ 'Οσίριδος τὴν 'Ισιν οὐχ εὑρεῖν τὸ αίδοιον· εὔθὺς γὰρ εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ῥηθήναι καὶ γεύσασθαι τὸν τε λεπίδωτον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν φάγρον καὶ τὸν ὄξυρυγχον, οὕσους μάλιστα τῶν ἰχθύων ἀφοσιώθαι. τὴν δ' 'Ισιν ἀντ' ἐκείνου μίμημα ποιησαμένην καθιερώσας τὸν φαλλόν, ὥς καὶ νῦν ἐορτάζειν τοὺς Αιγυπτίους.

19. Ἔσπειτα τῷ Ὀμρ τὸν Ὀσίριν ἐξ 'Αιδον παραγενόμενον διαπονεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην καὶ ἀσκεῖν· εἰτα διερωτήσας τί κάλλιστον ἤγεται· τοῦ δὲ φήμαντος, "τῷ πατρὶ καὶ μητρὶ τιμωρεῖν κακῶς

C παθοῦσιν," δεύτερον ἐρέσθαι τῇ χρησιμότατοι οἷται ἦτων εἰς μάχην ἔξιοσυ· τοῦ δ' "Ὅμου "ἵππον τ' εἴπόντος, ἐπιθαυμάσαι καὶ διαπορήσαι πῶς οὐ λέοντα μᾶλλον ἄλλ' ἵππον. εἰπεῖν οὖν τὸν Ὀμρον ως λέων μὲν ὡφέλιμον ἐπιδεομένως βοηθεῖας, ἵππος δὲ φεύγοντα διασπάσαι καὶ καταναλῶσαι τὸν πολέμιον. ἀκούσαντ' οὖν ἠσθήναι τὸν Ὀσίριν, ως ἑκανός παρασκευασμένου τοῦ Ὀμρου. λέγεται δ' ὅτι πολλῶν μετατιθημένων ἂεί πρὸς τὸν ὘μρον καὶ ἡ παλλακὴ τοῦ Τυφάνους ἀφίκετο Θούρης. οὕς D δὲ τις ἐπιδιώκων αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ὀμρον κατεκότη, καὶ νῦν διὰ τοῦτο σχονίον τι προβάλλοντες εἰς μέσον κατακόπτουσι.

1 οὐσος F.C.B. (or οὐς ως Meziriacus): ως οὐς.
2 ἀφοσιώθαι ἀφοσιώτατι Reiske.
3 χρησιμότατον Emperius: χρησιμότερον.
4 ἵππον] λύκον Benseler.

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<sup>a</sup> Cf. Diodorus, i. 21.
<sup>b</sup> 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.
Τὴν μὲν οὖν μάχην ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας γενέσθαι καὶ κρατῆσαι τὸν Ὡρὸν· τὸν Τυφώνα δὲ τὴν Ἰσων δεδεμένον παραλαβοῦσαν οὐκ ἀνελεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λύσαι καὶ μεθεῖναι· τὸν δ’ Ὡρὸν οὐ μετρίως ἐν- 
εγκεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐπιβαλόντα τῇ μητρὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀποσπάσαι τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ βασίλειον. Ἐμὴν δὲ 
περιθεῖναι βούκρανον αὐτῇ κράνος.

Τοῦ δὲ Τυφώνος δίκην τῷ Ὡρῷ νοθείας λαχῶντος, 
βοηθήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ, καὶ τὸν Ὡρὸν ύπὸ 
τῶν θεῶν γνήσιον κρίθηναι, τὸν δὲ Τυφώνα δυσίν 
Ε ἄλλαις μάχαις καταπολεμηθήναι. τὴν δ’ Ἰσων ἐξ 
Ὀσιρίδος μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν συγγενομένου τεκείν 
ἡλιώμην καὶ ἀσθενῆ τοῖς κάτωθεν γνώσις τὸν 
Ἀρποκράτην.

20. Ταῦτα σχεδὸν ἐστὶ τοῦ μύθου τὰ κεφάλαια 
tῶν δυσφημοτάτων ἐξαιρεθέντων, οἰὸν ἐστὶ τὸ περὶ 
tὸν Ὡρὸν διαμελισμὸν καὶ τὸν Ἰσων ἀποκεφαλι-

σμόν. ὅτι μὲν οὖν, εἰ ταῦτα περὶ τῆς μακαρίας καὶ 
ἀφθάρτου φύσεως, καθ’ ἣν μάλιστα νοεῖται τὸ 
θεῖον, ὡς ἀληθῶς πραξιέναι καὶ συμπεσόντα δοξά-
ζουσι καὶ λέγουσιν,

ἀποπτύσαι δεὶ καὶ καθήρασθαι στόμα
κατ’ Ἀισχύλον, οὐδὲν δεὶ λέγειν πρὸς σε. καὶ γὰρ

F αὐτὴ δυσκολαίεις τοῖς οὖτω παρανόμους καὶ βαρ-

βάρους δόξας περὶ θεῶν ἔχουσιν. ὅτι δ’ οὐκ ἐοικέ 
ταῦτα κομιδῆ μυθεύμασιν ἁραιοῖς καὶ διακένοις 

πλάσμασιν, οῖα ποιηταὶ καὶ λογογράφοι καθάπερ οἱ

1 de and 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 

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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

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ἀράχναι γεννώντες ἄφ’ ἑαυτῶν ἀπαρχάς ἀνυποθέτους ὑφαίνουσι καὶ ἀποτείνουσιν, ἀλλ’ ἔχει τινά ἀποριῶν ¹ καὶ παθῶν δυνάμεις, συνήσεις αὐτῆς.² καὶ καθάπερ οἱ μαθηματικοὶ τῇ ἱρίν ἐμφασιν εἶναι τοῦ ἥλιου λέγουσι ποικιλλομενήν τῇ πρὸς τὸ νέφος ἀνά-359 χωρῆσιν τῇ ὁμεσι, οὐτως ὁ μύθος ἐνταῦθα λόγου τινὸς ἐμφασίς ἐστιν ἀνακλώντος ἐπ’ ἀλλὰ τῇ διά-νοιαν, ὡς ὑποδηλοῦσιν οImageButtonลา τοῦ πένθιμον ἔχουσα καὶ σκυθρώτην ἐμφαινόμενον, οὲ τὸ τῶν ναῶν διαθέσεις τῇ μὲν ἀνειμένων εἰς πτερά καὶ ὁμοῦσς ὑπαιθρίους καὶ καθαροὺς, τῇ δὲ κρυπτᾳ καὶ σκότια κατὰ γῆς ἑχόντων στολιστήρια οἰκίδιοι⁴ εοικότα καὶ σηκοῖς· οὔχ ἦκίστα δ’ ἦτ τῶν ὘σίρείων ὄξα, πολλαχοῦ κεῖσθαι λεγομένου τοῦ σώματος·

Β τῇ τῇ γὰρ Διοχίτην⁶ ὄνομαζεσθαι πολίξην λέγουσιν, ὡς μόνην τὸν ἀληθῶν ἔχουσαν, εὖ τ’ Ἀβύδω τοὺς εὐδαίμονας τῶν Ἀὐγοπτῶν καὶ δυνατοὺς μάλιστα βάπτεσθαι, φιλοτιμουμένους ὄμοτάφους εἶναι τοῦ σώματος Ὀσίριδος. εὖ δὲ Μέμφει πρέ-φεσθαι τὸν Ἀπών, εἰδωλον ὅντα τῆς ἑκείνου ψυχῆς, ὅπου καὶ τὸ σῶμα κεῖσθαι· καὶ τῇ μὲν πόλιν οἱ μὲν ὀρμον ἀγαθῶν ἐμπνευσούσιν, οἱ δ’ ἰδίως ⁷ τάφον

¹ ἀποριῶν Sieveking and F.C.B.: ἀπορίας.
² συνήσεις αὐτῆς (assuming haplography) or εἰσὶς F.C.B.; οἰσθ’ αὐτῆς Bernardakis; γνώσκεις Sieveking: αὐτῆς.
³ ἀναχωρήσει ἀνακλάσει Reiske; ἀναχρώσει Wytenbach.
⁴ οἰκίδιος F.C.B.; θηκαῖος Bouhier: Θηβαῖος.
⁵ ἡ] ἦ περὶ ? E. Capps.
⁶ Διοχίτην Holwerda from Steph. Byzantinus: ἐκείτων.
⁷ ἰδίως Wytenbach: ὧς.

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

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.

c Cf. 362 c and 368 c, infra.
(359) 'Osíridos. τὴν δὲ πρὸς Φίλαις¹ νησίδ' ἀγνὴν² ἄλλως μὲν ἀβατον ἀπασὶ καὶ ἀπροσπέλαστον εἶναι καὶ μηδ' ὀρνιθας ἐπ' αὐτὴν καταίρειν' μηδ' ἰχθὺς προσπελάζειν, εἰν δὲ καίρῳ τοὺς ἑρεῖς διαβαίνοντας ἐναγίζειν καὶ καταστέφειν τὸ σήμα μηδικῆς⁴ φυτῶ περισκοποέμενον, ὑπεραίροντι πάσης ἐλαίας μέγεθος.

C 21. Εὐδόξος δὲ, πολλῶν τάφων ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ λεγομένων, ἐν Βουσίριδι τὸ σῶμα κείσθαι· καὶ γὰρ πατρίδα ταύτην γεγονέναι τοῦ 'Οσίριδος. οὐκέτι μέντοι λόγου δείσθαι τὴν Ταφόσιριν· αὐτὸ γὰρ φράζειν τούνομα ταφή 'Οσίριδος. ἐώς δὲ τομήν ξύλου καὶ σχῖσιν λίνου καὶ χοᾶς χεομένας διὰ τὸ πολλὰ τῶν μυστικῶν ἀναμεμείχθαι τούτοις. οὐ μόνον δὲ τούτων οἱ ἑρεῖς λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, ὃσοι μὴ ἀγέννητοι μηδ' ἀφθαρτοί, τὰ μὲν σώματα παρ' αὐτοῖς κεῖσθαι καμόντα καὶ θερα-

D πεύεσθαι, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἐν οὐρανῷ λάμπειν ἀστρά, καὶ καλείσθαι κύνα μὲν τὴν "Ἰσίδος ὑφ' 'Ελλήνων, ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων δὲ Σώθων, 'Ορίωνα δὲ τὴν "Ωρον,' τὴν δὲ Τυφῶνος ἀρκτον. εἰς δὲ τὰς ταφὰς⁸ τῶν τιμωμένων ζώων τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους συντεταγμένα

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1 Φίλαις Squire: πύλας or πύλαις.
2 νησίδ' ἀγνὴν (dubiously) F.C.B.: νιστιτάνην.
3 καταίρειν Xylander: καρτερεῖν.
4 μηδικῆς F.C.B., assuming it to be a variant for περσεῖς: μηδ' ἰδέσ or μηθίδης.
5 ἐώ Wytttenbach: αἰνώ.
6 τούτων] τούτου Baxter.
7 τὴν "Ωρον Xylander: τὸν ὁρον.
8 ταφὰς Salmasius: γραφᾶς.

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*a Cf. Diodorus, i. 22, and Strabo, xvii. p. 803, which
of Osiris.” They also say that the sacred island by Philae a 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- b 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 c requires no comment, for the name itself means “the tomb of Osiris.” I pass over the cutting of wood, d 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, e 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.

a The persea-tree was sacred to Osiris.

b Cf. 368 A, infra.

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 r.
22. Πολλῶν δὲ τοιούτων λεγομένων καὶ δεικνυμένων, οἱ μὲν οἰόμενοι βασιλέων ταύτα καὶ τυράννων, δι’ ἀρετὴν ὑπερφέρουσαν ἡ δύναμιν ἃξιόμα τῆς δόξης¹ θεότητος ἐπιγραψάμενων εἰσα ἥρωσιμένων Εὐχαίς, ἔργα καὶ πάθη δεινὰ καὶ μεγάλα διαμνημονεύσεις τίθη, ἡ σύνθετι μὲν ἀποδράσει τοῦ λόγου χρώνται καὶ τὸ δύσφημον οὐ φαύλως ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπους μεταφέρουσι, καὶ ταύτας² ἔχουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰστορομείνων βοιθείας. ἵστοροῦσι γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν μὲν Ἐρμῆν τῷ σώματι γενέσθαι γάλεια, τὸν δὲ Τυφῶνα τῇ χρώσ πυρρόν, λευκὸν δὲ τὸν Ὀρον καὶ μελάγχρουν τὸν Ὅσιριν, ὡς τῇ φύσει γεγονότας ἀνθρώπους. ἔτι δὲ καὶ στρατηγῶν οὐκομάζουσιν Ὅσιριν, καὶ κυβερνήτην Κάνωβον, οὐ φασιν ἐπώνυμον γεγονέναι τὸν ἀοτέρα. καὶ τὸ Θείων, δὲ καλοῦσιν Ἑλληνες Ἀργώ, τῆς Ὅστυδος νεως εἰδωλον ἐπὶ τιμῇ κατηστερισμένον, οὐ μακρὰν φέρεσθαι τοῦ Ὅριωνος καὶ τοῦ Κυνός, ὅπερ τὸν μὲν Ὅρον τὸν³ δὲ Ἰσιδός ἱερὸν Αἰγύπτιοι νομίζουσιν.

23. Ὅκνῳ δὲ, μὴ τοὺτ’ ἦ τὰ ἀκώντα κινεῖν καὶ ἴπτομέείν” οὐ “τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ” (κατὰ Σιμω-1 τῆς δόξης F.C.B.: τῇ δόξη.

2 ταύτας] τοιαύτας Michael.

3 τὸν ... τὸν Reiske (confirmed by one ms.): τὸ ... τὸ.

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¹ Cf. Diodorus, i. 84, ad fin., for the great expense often involved.
² That is, to die, and thus to lose their claim to divinity; cf. 360 b, infra. This is common Euhemeristic doctrine.
³ 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 con-
stellations 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,
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νίδην) μόνον, “πολλοίς δ' ἀνθρώπων ἔθνεσι” καὶ
gένεσι κατόχους ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς τούτους
ἰσιότητος, οὐδὲν ἀπολυπόντας1 ἐξ2 οὐρανοῦ μετα-
φέρειν ἐπὶ γῆν ὄνοματα τηλικαῦτα, καὶ τιμὴν καὶ
360 πίστιν ὄλγου δεῖν ἀπασίν ἐκ πρώτης γενέσεως
ἐνδεδυκαίνεν ἐξιστάναι καὶ ἀναλύειν, μεγάλας μὲν
τῷ ἀθέῳ λεώ3 κλησίάδας ἀνοίγοντας καὶ ἐξανθρω-
πίζοντας4 τὰ θεία, λαμπρὰν δὲ τοῖς Εὐημέρου τοῦ
Μεσοποτήνιοι θεοκριμοίς παρρησίαν διδόντας, ὅς
αὐτὸς ἀντίγραφα συνθεὶς ἀπίστου καὶ ἀνυπάρκτου
μυθολογίας θάσαν ἀθεότητα κατασκεδάννυς τῆς
οἰκουμένης, τοὺς νομιζόμενους θεοὺς πάντας ὃμαλῶς
διαγράφων εἰς ὀνόματα5 στρατηγῶν καὶ ναυάρχων
καὶ βασιλέων ὡς δὴ πάλαι γεγονότων, ἐν δὲ
B Πάγχοντι γράμμασι χρυσοῖς ἀναγεγραμμένων,6
οἷς οὔτε βάρβαρος οὔδεὶς οὔθ4 Ἐλλην, ἀλλὰ μόνος
Εὐημερος, ὡς ξοικε, πλεῦσας εἰς τοὺς μηδαμῶθι γῆς
γεγονότας μηδ' ὄντας Παγχώνου καὶ Τριφύλλους
ἐνετετυχῆκεν.7

24. Καίτοι μεγάλαι μὲν ὑμνοῦνται πράξεις ἐν
’Ασσυρίοις Σεμιράμισος, μεγάλαι δὲ8 Σεσώστριος ἐν
Αἰγύπτῳ. Φρύγες δὲ μέχρι νῦν τὰ λαμπρὰ καὶ θαυ-
μαστὰ τῶν ἔργων Μανικά καλοῦσι διὰ τὸ Μάνην9
τινὰ τῶν πάλαι βασιλέων ἁγαθὸν ἄνδρα καὶ δυνατὸν
gενέσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὃν ἔνοι Μάσδην καλοῦσι·
Κύρος δὲ Πέρσας Μακεδόνας δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ὀλίγου

1 ἀπολυπόντας] ἀπολεύοντας Sieveking.
2 ἐξ] τοῦ ἐξ Baxter.
3 λεώ] Δέοντι Pohlenz, omitting καὶ below.
4 ἐξανθρωπίζοντας Markland: ἐξανθρωπίζοντι or ἐξανθρωπί-
ζοντες.
5 ὀνόματα Baxter: ὀνομα.
6 ἀναγεγραμμένων Salmasius: ἀναγεγραμμένοις.
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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-

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a Doubtless ἰερὰ ἀναγραφὴ (sacra scriptio); see Diodorus, v. 41-46, and vi. 1.

b Cf. Herodotus, i. 94, iv. 45, and W. M. Ramsay, Mitteilungen des deutsch. arch. Institutes in Athen, viii. 71.
(360) δεῖν ἐπὶ πέρας τῆς γῆς κρατοῦντας προήγαγον· ἀλλ’
κόσμος καὶ υἱήμην βασιλέων ἀγαθῶν ἔχουσιν. "εἰ
dὲ τίνες ἐξαρθέντες ὑπὸ μεγαλαυχίας," ὡς φησιν ὁ
Πλάτων, "ἄμα νεότητι καὶ ἀνοίᾳ φλεγόμενοι τὴν
ψυχὴν μεθ' ὑβρείς" ἐδέξαντο θεῶν ἐπωνυμίας καὶ
ναῦν ἱδρύσεις, βραχὺν ἦνθησεν ἢ δόξα χρόνον, εἶτα
κενότητα καὶ ἀλαζονεῖαν μετʼ ἀσεβείας καὶ παρα-
νομίας προσοφλέοντες

ὡκύμοροι καπνοῖο δίκην ἀρθέντες ἀπέπταν,
καὶ νῦν ὄσπερ ἀγώγιμοι δραπέται τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ
τῶν βωμῶν ἀποσπασθέντες οὐδὲν ἀλλ’ ἢ τὰ μνή-
ματα καὶ τοὺς τάφους ἔχουσιν. ὅθεν Ἀντίγονος
D ὁ γέρων, Ἐρμοδότου τινὸς ἐν ποιήμασιν αὐτοῦ
“ἡλίου παίδα καὶ θεόν” ἀναγορεύοντος, “οὐ
tοιαύτα μοι,” εἶπεν, “ὁ λασανοφόρος σύνοιδέν.” εὖ
dὲ καὶ Λύσιππος ὁ πλάστης Ἀπελλῆν ἐμέμψατο τὸν
ζωγράφον, ὥστε τὴν Ἀλέξάνδρου γράφων εἰκόνα
κεραυνόν ἐνεχείρισεν, αὐτὸς δὲ λόγχην, ἢς τὴν
dόξαν οὐδὲ εἶς ἀφαιρήσεται χρόνος ἀληθινήν καὶ
ἰδίαν οὐδαν.

25. Βέλτιον οὖν οἴ τὰ περὶ τῶν Τυφώνα καὶ
"Οσιριν καὶ Ἰσιν ἱστορούμενα μήτε θεῶν παρθή-
ματα μήτ’ ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ δαιμόνων μεγαλῶν εἶναι
Ἐνομίζοντες, οὐς καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Πυθαγόρας καὶ

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

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* Adapted from Plato, Laws, 716 a.
* From Empedocles: cf. H. Diels, Poetarum Philoso-
phorum Fragmenta, p. 106, Empedocles, no. 2. 4.
* Plutarch tells the same story with slight variations in
Moralia, 182 c

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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, Praepar. Evang. iv. 21-v. 5. \(^b\) Cf. 361 c, infra.

\(^f\) Cf. Diogenes Laertius, viii. 32.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΜΟΡΑΛΙΑ

Εὐνοκράτης καὶ Χρύσυππος, ἐπόμενοι τοῖς πάλαι θεο-
λόγοις, ἐρρωμενεστέρους μὲν ἀνθρώπων γεγονέναι
λέγοντι καὶ πολὺ τῇ δυνάμει τῆς φύσιν ὑπερ-
φέροντας ἡμῶν, τὸ δὲ θεῖον οὐκ ἀμυγὲς ουδ’ ἀκρατον
ἐχοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψυχῆς φύσει καὶ σώματος αἰ-
σθήσεις3 συνεληχόσ, ἡδονὴν δεχόμενον4 καὶ πόνον, καὶ
όσα ταύταις ἐγγενόμενα ταῖς μεταβολαῖς πάθη τοὺς
μὲν μᾶλλον τοὺς δ’, ἤττων ἐπιταράττει. γίγνονται
 γὰρ, ὡς ἐν ἀνθρώποις, κἂν5 δαίμοσιν ἀρετῆς δια-
φόραλ καὶ κακίας. τὰ γὰρ Γιγαντικὰ καὶ Τιτανικὰ
παρ’ Ἑλλησον ἄδομενα καὶ Κρόνου6 τινὲς ἀθέους
πράξεις καὶ Πύθωνος ἀντιτάξεις πρὸς Ἀπόλλωνα,
φυγαὶ7 τε Διονύσου καὶ πλάναι Δήμητρος οὐδὲν
ἀπολείπουσι τῶν Ὀσιριακῶν καὶ Τυφωνικῶν ἄλλων
θ’ ὧν πᾶσω8 ἵσετιν ἀνέδην μυθολογομενῶν
ἀκούειν. οὐσα τε μυστικοῖς ἱεροῖς περικαλυπτομένα9
καὶ τελεταῖς ἀρρητα διασώζεται καὶ ἄθεατα πρὸς
τοὺς πολλοὺς, ὦμοιον ἔχει λόγον.

26. Ἀκούομεν δὲ καὶ Ὄμηρον τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς
diaφόρως10 “θεοειδέας” ἐκάστοτε καλοῦντος11 καὶ
361 “ἀντιθέους” καὶ “θεῶν ἀπὸ μηδὲ ἐχοντας,” τῷ

1 πολὺ Eusebius: πολλῆ.
2 φύσει . . . αἰσθήσει] φύσεως . . . αἰσθήσεως Baxter.
3 αἰσθήσει Xylander from Eusebius: αἰσθήσει εἰν.
4 δεχόμενον (or δεχομένη) Eusebius: δεχομένην.
5 κἂν Hatzidakis: καὶ.
6 Κρόνου] πολλαὶ Eusebius.
7 φυγαὶ Xylander from Eusebius; φθόροι F.C.B.: φθόγγοι.
8 πᾶσω] παρὰ πᾶσιν Eusebius.
9 περικαλυπτόμενα] παρακαλυπτόμενα Eusebius.
10 diaφόρως] διαφερόντως Hatzidakis.
11 καλοῦντος added by Reiske.
and Xenocrates\(^a\) and Chrysippus,\(^b\) 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,\(^c\) the stubborn resistance of Python against Apollo, the flights of Dionysus,\(^d\) 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"\(^e\) and "peers of the gods"\(^f\) 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 \(\phi\theta\rho\omicron\omicron\omicron\) 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.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(361) δ' ἀπὸ τῶν δαίμονων προσφήματι χρωμένου κοινῶς ἐπὶ τε χρηστῶν καὶ φαύλων,

δαίμονε σχεδόν ἐλθέ· τίς δειδίσσει τοὺς Ἀργείους;

καὶ πάλιν

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὸ τέταρτον ἐπέσσυτο δαίμων ἴσος·

καὶ δαίμονι, τὸ νῦ ὁ Πρίαμος Πριάμου τε παῖδες τόσσα κακὰ ῥέζουσιν, ο ἡ ἀσπερχὲς μενεαίνεις Ἰλίου ἐξαλαπάξαι ἑυκτίμενον πτολίθρον;

ὡς τῶν δαίμονων μικτὴν καὶ ἀνώμαλον φύσιν ἔχοντων καὶ προαίρεσιν. ὁδεν ο μὲν Πλάτων Ὀλυμπίοις θεοῖς τὰ δεξιὰ καὶ περίττὰ τὰ δ' ἀντίφωνα Β τούτων δαίμονι ἀποδίδωσιν. ο δὲ Ξενοκράτης καὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν τὰς ἀποφράδας καὶ τῶν ἔορτῶν ὅσαι πληγάς τινας ἢ κοπετοῦς ἢ νηστείας ἢ δυσφημίας ἢ αἰσχρολογίαν ἔχουσιν οὔτε θεῶν τιμαῖς οὔτε δαίμονων οἰεται προσήκειν χρηστῶν, ἀλλ' εἰναι φύσεις ἐν τῷ περιέχοντι μεγάλας μὲν καὶ ἱσχυρὰς, δυστρόπους δὲ καὶ σκυθρωτάς, αἱ χαίρουσι τοῖς τοιούτοις, καὶ τυγχάνουσι πρὸς οὖδὲν ἄλλο χείρον τρέπονται.

Τοὺς δὲ χρηστοὺς πάλιν καὶ ἀγαθοὺς 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. 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.
'Ησίοδος "ἄγνοις δαίμονας" καὶ "φύλακας ἀνθρώπων" προσαγορεύει,
πλουτοδότας καὶ τοῦτο γέρας βασιλήιον ἔχοντας.

Σὸν τὸν Πλάτων ἐρμηνευτικὸν τὸ τοιούτον ὄνομαζε γένος καὶ διακοινὸν ἐν μέσῳ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων, εὐχάς μὲν ἐκεῖ καὶ δεήσεις ἀνθρώπων ἀναπέμποντας, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ μαντείᾳ δεῦρο καὶ δόσεις ἀγαθῶν φέροντας.

Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ καὶ δίκας φησί διδόναι τοὺς δαίμονας ὅν ἄν ἐξαμάρτωσι καὶ πλημμελήσωσιν,
αἰθέριον μὲν γάρ σφέ μένος πόντον δεῖ διώκειν, πόντος δὲ ἐστὶν χθόνος σφᾶς ἀπέπτυσε, γαίᾳ δὲ ἐστὶν αὐγάς.

ἡλίου ἀκάμαντος, δὲ αἰθέρος ἐμβαλε δύναις. ἄλλος δὲ ἐξ ἄλλου δέχεται, στυγεύονι δὲ πάντες.

ἀχρί οὖν κολασθεῖνες οὕτω καὶ καθαρθεῖνες αὕτη τὴν κατὰ φύσιν χώραν καὶ τάξιν ἀπολάβωσι.

D 27. Τούτων δὲ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἄδελφα λέγεσθαι φασὶ περὶ Τυφώνος, ὃς δενᾶ μὲν ὑπὸ φθόνον καὶ δυσμενείας εἰργάσατο, καὶ πάντα πράγματα ταράξας ἐνέπλησε κακῶν γῆν ὅμοιο τε πᾶσαν καὶ θάλασσαν, εἰτα δίκην ἐδωκεν. η ἔν τε τιμωρὸς

1 ἄγνοις] ἐσθλοὶ Hesiod, O.D. 123.
2 βασιλήιον] probably βασιλήιον (βασιλείου?) should be read as the metre demands.
3 ἄν added by Duebner from Eusebius.
4 αὔγας in Hippolytus, Refutatio: αὕτις.
5 ἀκάμαντος] φαιθόντος 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.
(361) Ὁσίριδος ἀδελφή καὶ γυνὴ τῆς Τυφώνος σβέσασα καὶ καταπαύσασα μανίαν καὶ λύτταν οὐ περιείδε τοὺς ἄθλους καὶ τοὺς ἀγώνας, οὗς ἀνέτλη, καὶ πλάνας αὐτῆς καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔργα σοφίας πολλὰ δ' ἀνδρείας, ἀμφιστάν ὑπολαβοῦσα1 καὶ σωπήν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἀγιωτάταις ἀναμείξασα τελεταίς εἰκόνας καὶ ὑπονοίας καὶ μυμήματα2 τῶν τότε παθημάτων, εὐσβείας ὁμοὶ διδάγμα καὶ παραμύθιον ἀνδράσι
Ε καὶ γυναιξίν ὑπὸ συμφορῶν ἐχομένοις ὁμοίων καθωσίως. αὐτή δὲ καὶ Ὁσίρις ἐκ δαιμόνων ἀγαθῶν δ' ἀρετήν3 εἰς θεοὺς μεταβαλόντες, ὥς ύστερον Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Δίονυσος, ἀμα καὶ θέων καὶ δαμόνων οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου μεμηγμένας τιμᾶς ἔχουσι πανταχοῦ μὲν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς4 ὑπὲρ γῆν καὶ5 ὑπὸ γῆν δυνάμενοι μέγιστον, οὐ γὰρ ἄλλον εἶναι Σάραπιν ἡ τῶν Πλούτωνα φασί, καὶ Ἰσων τὴν Περσέφασαν, ὡς Ἀρχέμαχος εὑρηκεν ὁ Ἑυθούς καὶ ὁ Ποντικὸς Ἡρακλείδης6 τὸ χρηστήριον ἐν Κανώβῳ Πλού-
F τῶν ὁγούμενος εἶναι.

28. Πτολεμαῖος δ' ὁ Σωτήρ ὁναρ εἶδε7 τοῦ ἐν Ἰωάννῃ τοῦ Πλούτωνος κολοσσῶν, οὐκ ἐπιστάμενος οὖν ἐφρακώς πρότερον οὗς τῆς μορφῆς ἦν,8 κελεύοντα κομίσαι τὴν ταχιστὴν αὐτοῦ εἰς Ἀλέξ-ἀνδρειαν. ἀγνοοῦντι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἀποροῦντι ποὺ καθίδρυται καὶ διηγουμένως τοῖς φίλοις τῆν ὄψιν εὐρέθη πολυπλανῆς ἄνθρωπος ὅνομα Σωσίβιος ἐν

1 ὑπολαβοῦσα] ὑπολαβοῦσαν Meziriacus; ὑπολαβόντα Markland; but cf. 473 c. 2 μυμήματα Baxter: μύμημα. 3 ἀρετήν Reiske: ἀρετῆς. 4 τοῖς Xylander: τούτοις. 5 ὑπὲρ γῆν καὶ] Xylander would omit. 6 Ἡρακλείδης Xylander: ἠράκλειτος. 7 ὁναρ εἶδε Baxter: ἀνέιλε. 8 ἦν 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, as were Heracles and Dionysus later, 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 of Euboea has said, and also Heracleides Ponticus 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

—a Cf. 363 e, infra.
—b Cf. Moralia, 857 d.
—d Ibid. ii. 198 or Frag. 103, ed. Voss.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΜΟΡΑΛΙΑ

Συνώτην φάμενος ἐωρακέναι τοιοῦτον κολοσσὸν οἰον ὁ βασιλεὺς ιδεῖν ἐδοξεῖν. ἔπεμψεν γὰρ Σωτέλη καὶ Διονύσιον, οἱ χρόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ μόλις, οὐκ 362 ἄνευ μέντοι λειτουργίας, ἡγαγόν ἐκκλήσαντες. ἔπει δὲ κομισθεὶς ὡφθη, συμβαλόντες οἱ περὶ Τιμόθεου τὸν ἐξηγητήν καὶ Μανέθωνα τὸν Σεβεννύτην Πλούτωνος ὁν ἀγαλμα, τῷ Κερβέρῳ τεκμαίρου καὶ τῷ δράκοντι, πείθουσι τὸν Πτολεμαίον ὡς ἐτέρου θεῶν ὑδενὸς ἀλλὰ Σαράπιδος ἔστων. οὐ γὰρ ἔκκεθεν οὔτως ὄνομαζόμενος ἢκεν, ἀλλ’ εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν κομισθεὶς τὸ παρ’ Αἰγυπτίως ὄνομα τοῦ Πλούτωνος ἐκτήσατο τὸν Σάραπιν. καὶ μέντοι Ἡρακλείτου τοῦ φυσικοῦ λέγοντος, “Τὰ ἀδήσις καὶ Διόνυσος οὕτως οἴκεσθαι καὶ ληφθῆναι,” εἰς ταύτην ὑπάγουσι τῆν δόξαν. οἱ Β γὰρ ἄξιοίστηκεν Λεγέσθαι τὸ σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς οἰον παραφρονούσης καὶ μεθυνούσης ἐν αὐτῷ, γλίσχρωσ ἄλληγοροῦσι. βελτιώσε αὐτὸ τὸν "Οσιριν εἰς ταύτο συνάγειν τῷ Διονύσῳ, τῷ τ’ Ὁσιρίδι τὸν Σάραπιν, ὅτε τὴν φύσιν μετέβαλε, ταύτης τυχόντος τῆς προσηγορίας. διὸ πάσι κοινῷ ὁ Σάραπις ἔστι, ὡς δὴ τὸν "Οσιριν οἱ τῶν ἰερῶν μεταλαβόντες ἴσασαν.

1 Διονύσιον from 984 a: διόνυσον.
2 οὔτως Salmasius: οὔτος.
3 μέντοι] Schellens would add τά.
4 οὕτως Wytenbach from Eusebius: οὗτος.
5 οτὲ οὐν . . . ληφθῆναι from Clement of Alexandra, Protrepticus 34 (p. 30 Potter): οτὲ οὖν . . . ληφθέντων.
6 τυχόντα Squire: τυχόντα.
7 δὴ Bernardakis: δὲ.

[a Cf. Moralia, 984 a; Tacitus, Histories, iv. 83-84, who tells the story more dramatically and with more detail; 68]
he had seen in Sinopé 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.

\[\text{\textit{b}}\] Cf. Diels, Frag. der Vorsokratiker, i. 81, Heracleitus no. 14.

\[\text{\textit{c}}\] Cf. 356 b, supra, and 364 d, infra.

\[\text{\textit{d}}\] Cf. 376 a, infra, and Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Sarapis (vol. i. a, col. 2394).
29. ΟṴ γάρ ἄξιον προσέχειν τοῖς Φρυγίωις γράμμασιν, ἐν οἷς λέγεται Σάραπις υἱός¹ μὲν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους γενέσθαι θυγάτηρ τ"² Ἰσις, Ἀλκαῖον³ δὲ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ὁ Τυφών· οὐδὲ Φυλάρχου⁴ μὴ καταφρονεῖν γράφοντος ὅτι πρῶτος εἰς Αἰγυπτον

C ἔξ Ἰνδῶν Διόνυσος ἦγαγε δύο βοῦς, ὡν ἦν τῷ μὲν Ἀπις ὄνομα τῷ δ' Ὀσιρὶς. Σάραπις δ' ὄνομα τοῦ τὸ πᾶν κοσμοῦντός, ἐστὶ παρὰ τὸ „σαίρειν,” δ' καλλίνει τινὲς καὶ κοσμεῖν λέγουσιν. ἀτοπα γὰρ ταῦτα τοῦ Φυλάρχου, πολλαὶ δ' ἀτοπώτερα τὰ τῶν λεγόντων οὐκ εἶναι θεον τὸν Σάραπιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Ἀπίδος σορὸν οὖτως ὄνομαξεσθαι, καὶ χαλκᾶς τινας ἐν Μέμφει πύλας λήθης καὶ κωκυτοῦ προσ-αγορευμένας, ὡταν θάπτωσι τὸν Ἀπίν, ἀνοίγεσθαι, βαρὺ καὶ σκληρὸν ψυφοῦσας. διὸ παντὸς ἥχουντος ήμᾶς χαλκῶματος ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι. μετριώτερον⁶ δ' οἱ παρὰ τὸ „σεῦσθαι” καὶ τὸ „σοῦσθαι” τὴν τοῦ παντὸς ἁμα κύνησιν εἰρήσθαι

D φάσκοντες. οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἱερέων εἰς ταύτο φασὶ τὸν Ὀσιρὶν συμπεπλέχθαι καὶ τὸν Ἀπίν, ἐξηγούμενοι καὶ διδάσκοντες ἡμᾶς, ὡς ἐμμορφοῦν εἰκόνα χρή νομίζειν τῆς Ὀσιρίδος ψυχῆς τὸν

¹ Σάραπις Reiske, υἱός F.C.B. (the context seems to require Σάραπις here): χαροπως τοὺς.
² τ' added by F.C.B.
⁴ Φυλάρχου Xylander: φιλάρχου.
⁵ τὰ added by Squire.
⁶ μετριώτερον μετριώτεροι Baxter.
⁷ οἱ added by Xylander.
⁸ ἐμμορφοῦν, as in 368 c, Wyttenbach: εὶμμορφοῦν.

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¹ Cf. Cicero, De Natura Deorum, iii. 16 (42).
⁵ 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. But

\[ C f. \ Diodorus, \ i. \ 96, \ a n d \ Pausanias, \ i. \ 18. \ 4, \ w i t h \ F r a z e r ' s \ n o t e. \]
\[ C f. \ M o r a l i a, \ 9 9 5 \ E - F ; \ A r i s t o t l e, \ F r a g. \ 1 9 6 (e d. \ R o s e); \ o r \ P o r p h y r y, \ L i f e \ o f \ P y t h a g o r a s, \ 4 1. \]
\[ T h i s \ d e r i v a t i o n \ (f r o m \ s e u e s t h a i \ o r \ s o u s t h a i) \ i s \ a l s o \ f a n c i f u l. \]
\[ C f. \ 3 5 9 \ b, \ s u p r a, \ a n d \ 3 6 8 \ c, \ i n f r a, \ a n d \ D i o d o r u s, \ i. \ 8 5. \ 4-5. \]
(362) Ἀπιν. ἐγὼ δέ, εἰ μὲν Αἰγύπτιον ἐστὶ τούνομα τοῦ Σαράπιδος, εὐφροσύνην αὐτῷ δηλοῦν οἶομαι καὶ χαρμοσύνην, τεκμαιρόμενος ὅτι τὴν ἐορτὴν Αἰγύπτιοι τὰ χαρμόσυνα "σαίρει" καλοῦσιν. καὶ γὰρ Πλάτων τὸν Ἀιδην ὡς ωφελήσιμον τοῖς παρ’ αὐτῷ2 γενομένοις καὶ προσηνθῆ θεόν ἀνομάσθαι φησί’ καὶ παρ’ Αἰγυπτίοις ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ τῶν ὀνομάτων λόγοι εἰσὶ;3 καὶ τὸν ὑποχθόνιον τόπον, εἰς δὲ οἶονται τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπέρχεσθαι μετὰ τήν τελευτήν, Ἀμένθην καλοῦσι, σημαίνοντος τοῦ Ἐ ὀνόματος τὸν λαμβάνοντα καὶ διδόντα. εἰ δὲ καὶ τούτο τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπελθόντων πάλαι καὶ μετακομισθέντων ὀνομάτων ἐν ἐστίν, ύστερον ἐπισκεφύμεθα· νῦν δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἐν χερσὶ δόξης προσδιέλθωμεν.

30. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ὅσις καὶ Ἡ Ἱσις ἐκ δαμόνων ἀγαθῶν εἰς θεοῦς μετῆλλαξαν· τὴν δὲ τοῦ Τυφῶνος ἡμαυρωμένην καὶ συντετριμμένην δύναμιν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ψυχορραγοῦσαν καὶ σφαδάζουσαν, ἐστίν αἰσ παρηγοροῦσι θυσίαις καὶ πραύνουσι· ἐστὶ δ’ ὅτε Πάλιν ἐκταπευνοῦσι καὶ καθυβρίζουσι ἐν τοῖς ἐορταῖς, τῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς πυρροὺς καὶ προπηλακίζοντες, ὃνον δὲ καὶ κατακρημνίζοντες, ὡς Κοπτῖται, διὰ τὸ πυρρὸν γεγονέναι τὸν Τυφῶνα καὶ ὀνώδη τὴν χρόαν· Βουσιρίται δὲ καὶ Λυκοπολίται σάλπιγξιν οὐ χρώνται τὸ παράπαν ὡς ὄνυ φθεγγομέναις ἐμφερέσ. καὶ ὅλως τὸν ὄνον οὗ

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 Amenhæthes, 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

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

\(^b\) Cf. 375 \(e\)–\(f\), infra.

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

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

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

\(^f\) Cf. Moral.ælia, 150 \(e\)–\(f\).

\(^g\) Cf. Aelian, De Natura Animalium, x. 28.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

καθαρὸν ἄλλα δαιμονικὸν ἤγουνται ξίφον εἶναι διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνων ὁμοιότητα, καὶ πότανα ποιοῦντες ἐν θυσίαις τοῦ τε Παῦνι καὶ τοῦ Φαωφί μηνός 363 ἐπιπλάττουσι παράσημον ὅνον δεδεμένον. ἐν δὲ τῇ τοῦ ἠλίου θυσία τοῖς σεβομένοις¹ τὸν θεὸν παρεγγυῶσι μὴ φορεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ σώματι χρυσία μηδ' ὅνω τροφὴν διδόναι. φαίνονται δὲ καὶ οἱ Πυθαγορικοὶ τὸν Τυφώνα δαιμονικὴν ἤγουμενοι δύναμιν. λέγουσι γὰρ ἐν ἄρτιῳ μέτρῳ ἐκτῷ καὶ πεντηκοστῷ γεγονέναι Τυφώνα· καὶ πάλιν τὴν μὲν τοῦ τριγώνου "Αἰδοὺ καὶ Διονύσου καὶ "Αρεός εἶναι· τὴν δὲ τοῦ τετραγώνου 'Ρέας καὶ 'Αφροδίτης καὶ Δήμητρος καὶ 'Εστίας καὶ "Ηράς²· τὴν δὲ τοῦ δωδεκαγώνου Δίὸς· τὴν δ'³ ἐκκατιπεντηκονταγωνίου⁴ Τυφώνος, ὡς Εὐδοκός ἰστόρηκεν.

Β 31. Ἀιγύπτιοι δὲ πυρρόχρουν γεγονέναι τὸν Τυφώνα νομίζοντες καὶ τῶν βοῶν τοὺς πυρροὺς καθιερεύουσιν, οὕτως ἀκριβῆ ποιούμενοι τὴν παρατήρησιν, ὡστε, καὶ μίαν ἔχῃ τρίχα μέλαιναν ἡ λευκήν, ἀθυτὸν ἤγεισθαι. θύσιμον γὰρ οὐ φίλον εἶναι θεοῖς, ἀλλὰ τούταντίον, ὡσα ψυχὰς ἄνοσίων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀδίκων εἰς ἐτέρα μεταμορφούμενων σώματα συνείληφε. διὸ τῇ μὲν κεφαλῇ τοῦ ἱερείου καταρασάμενοι καὶ ἀποκόψαντες εἰς τὸν

¹ σεβομένοις Xylander: ἐσομένοις.
² καὶ "Ηράς] 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 ἐκκατιπεντηκονταγωνίου Xylander: ὀκτωκατιπεντηκονταγωνίου.
74.
regard the ass as an unclean animal dominated by some higher power because of its resemblance to Typhon,\(^d\) and when they make cakes at their sacrifices in the month of Päyni and of Phaophi they imprint upon them the device of an ass tied by a rope.\(^b\) 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,\(^c\) 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,\(^d\) also dedicate to sacrifice such of their neat cattle as are of a red colour,\(^e\) 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\(^f\); 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

\(^a\) Cf. Moralia, 150 ff.
\(^b\) Cf. 371 d, infra.
\(^c\) As the chief of the twelve gods presumably; cf. Herodotus, ii. 4.
\(^d\) Cf. 359 ff, supra, and 364 a, infra.
\(^e\) Cf. Diodorus, i. 88.
\(^f\) Cf. Herodotus, ii. 38, and Diodorus, i. 83.
(363) potamōn ἐρρίπτουν πάλαι, νῦν δὲ τοῖς ξένοις ἀποδίδονται. τὸν δὲ μέλλοντα θύεσθαι βοῦν οἴ C σφραγισταί λεγόμενοι τῶν ἱερῶν κατεστημαίνοντο, τῆς σφραγίδος, ὡς ἰστορεῖ Κάστωρ, γλυφήν μὲν ἐχούσης ἀνθρωπον εἰς γόνον καθεικότα ταῖς χερσίν ὁπίσω περιγμέναις, ἔχοντα κατὰ τῆς σφαγῆς ξίφος ἐγκείμενον. ἀπολαύειν δὲ καὶ τὸν ὄνον, ὡσπερ εἰρηταί, τῆς ὁμοιότητος διὰ τὴν ἀμαθίαν καὶ τὴν ὑβριν ὦν ήττον ἦ διὰ τὴν χρόαν οἴονται. διὸ καὶ τῶν Περσικῶν βασιλέων ἐχθραίνοντες μάλιστα τὸν Ὑχον ὡς ἐναγῇ καὶ μιαρόν, ὄνον ἐπωνόμασαν. κάκεινος εἰπὼν, "ο ἑκατοντο όνος οὕτος ὑμῶν κατευχίστηται τὸν βοῦν," ἔθυσε τὸν Ἀπιν, ὡς Δείνων ἱστόρηκεν. οἱ δὲ λέγοντες ἐκ D τῆς μάχης ἐπ’ οἴνου τῷ Τυφώνι τὴν φυγὴν ἐπτὰ ἡμέρας1 γενέσθαι, καὶ σωθέντα γεννήσαι παιδᾶς Ἰεροσόλυμον καὶ Ἰουδαίων, αὐτόθεν εἰσὶ κατάδηλοι τὰ Ἰουδαϊκὰ παρέλκοντες εἰς τὸν μίθον.

32. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τοιαύτας υπονοίας δίδωσιν· ἀπ’ ἄλλης δ’ ἀρχῆς τῶν φιλοσοφώτερον τι λέγειν δοκοῦντων2 toûs ἀπλουστάτους σκεψιμέθα πρῶτον. οὗτοι δ’ εἰσίν οἱ λέγοντες, ὡσπερ Ἐλληνες Κρόνον ἀλληγοροῦσι τὸν χρόνον, "Ἡραν δὲ τὸν ἀέρα, γενέσιν δὲ Ἡφαίστου τὴν εἰς πῦρ ἀέρος μεταβολήν, οὕτω παρ’ Ἀἰγυπτίως 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} 362 f, supra.
\textsuperscript{c} Cf. 355 c, supra, and Aelian, Varia Historia, iv. 8.
\textsuperscript{d} Cf. Tacitus, Histories, v. 2.
\textsuperscript{e} Cf. 392 c, infra.
\textsuperscript{f} Cf. Cicero, De Natura Deorum, ii. 25 (64).
(363) "Ἰσιδί συνόντα τῇ γῇ, Τυφώνα δὲ τὴν θάλατταν,
eis ἢν ὁ Νείλος ἐμπίπτων ἀφαιρεῖται καὶ δια-
Εσπάται, πλὴν ὄσον ἢ γῇ μέρος ἀναλαμβάνουσα
καὶ δεχομένη γίγνεται γόνυμος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

Καὶ θρήνος ἐστιν ιερὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ Κρόνου¹ ἀδόμενος²
θρηνεῖ δὲ τὸν ἐν τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς γιγνόμενον μέρεσιν,
ἐν δὲ τοῖς δεξιοῖς φθειρόμενον. Αἰγύπτιοι γὰρ
οἶνται τὰ μὲν ἐφ' ὅ τοῦ κόσμου πρόσωπον εἶναι,
τὰ δὲ πρὸς βορρᾶν δεξιά, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον ἀριστερὰ.
φθειρόμενος οὐν ἐκ τῶν νοτίων ὁ Νείλος, ἐν δὲ
τοῖς βορείοις ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάττης καταναλισκόμενος,
eἰκότως λέγεται τὴν μὲν γένεσιν ἐν τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς
ἐχειν, τὴν δὲ φθορὰν ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς. διὸ τὴν
τε θαλάτταν οἱ ιερεῖς ἀφοσιοῦνται καὶ τὸν ἄλα
Τυφώνος ἄφρον καλοῦσι: καὶ τῶν ἀπαγορευομένων
F ἐν ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τραπέζης ἀλὰ μὴ προτίθεσθαι.
καὶ κυβερνήτας οὐ προσαγορεύουσιν, ὅτι χρώνται
θαλάττῃ καὶ τὸν βίον ἀπὸ τὴς θαλάττης ἔχουσιν.
οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ τὸν ἰχθὺν ἀπὸ ταύτης προβάλ-
λονταὶ τῆς αἰτίας, καὶ τὸ μυσεῖν ἰχθὺи γράφουσιν.
ἐν Σάει³ γοῦν ἐν τῷ προπύλῳ τοῦ ιεροῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς
ἡν γεγυμμένον βρέφος, γέρων, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον⁴
ἱέρας, ἐφεξῆς δ' ἰχθῦς, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δ' ἰππος ποτάμιος.
ἐδήλου δὲ συμβολικῶς, "Ὠ γιγνόμενοι καὶ ἀπο-

¹ Κρόνου] Νείλου Meziriacus.
² ἀδόμενος Γ. Φ. : γενόμενος. ([ἐπὶ] τοῦ Κ. λεγόμενον, 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 portray hatred by drawing the picture of a fish. At Saïs 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 \(\&\), 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 \(\&\) and 729 \(\&\).

\(^e\) Ibid. 729 c.

\(^f\) Cf. 353 c, supra.

\(^g\) There is a lacuna in one ms. (F) at this point (God hateth ... of departing from it). The supplement is from Clement of Alexandria; see the critical note.
γυγνόμενοι, θεός· αναίδειαν μισεῖ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ βρέφος γενέσεως σύμβολον, φθορᾶς δ' ὁ γέρων. ἔρακι δὲ τὸν θεὸν φράζουσιν, ἰχθὺι δὲ μύσος, ὥσπερ εἰρηται, διὰ τὴν θάλατταν, ἢππῳ ποταμῷ 364 δ' ἀναίδειαν· λέγεται γὰρ ἀποκτένας τὸν πατέρα τῇ μητρὶ βία μείγνυσθαι. δόξειε δὲ κἂν τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν λεγόμενον, ὡς ἥθαλαττα Κρόνου δάκρυν ἐστιν, αὐτίτεσθαι τὸ μὴ καθαρὸν μηδὲ σύμφυλον αὐτῆς.

Ταύτα μὲν οὖν ἔξωθεν εἰρήσθω κοινῆν ἔχοντα τὴν ἱστορίαν. (33.) οί δὲ σοφώτεροι τῶν ἱερέων οὐ μόνον τὸν Νείλον ὁ"Οσιρὶς καλοῦσιν οὔδὲ Τυφώνα τὴν θάλατταν, ἀλλ' ὁ"Οσιρὶς μὲν ἀπλῶς ἀπασαν τὴν ύγροποιὸν ἁρχὴν καὶ δύναμιν, αὐτίαν γενέσεως καὶ ὁπέρματος οὐσίαν νομίζοντες. Τυφώνα δὲ πάν τὸ αὐχμηρὸν καὶ πυρὸς καὶ ἔραθυντικὸν ὀλὼς καὶ Ἐπολέμησον τῇ ύγρότητι. διὸ καὶ πυρρόχρων̣ γεγονέναι τῷ σώματι καὶ πάρωχρον νομίζοντες οὐ πάνυ προθύμως ἐντυγχάνουσιν οὐδ' ἥδεως ὀμιλοῦσι τοῖς τοιούτοις τὴν ὀψιν ἀνθρώπους.

Τὸν δ' ὁ"Οσιρὶς αὐτὸ πάλιν μελάγχρων γεγονέναι μυθολογοῦσιν, ὅτι πάν ὑδώρ καὶ γῆ καὶ ἱματια καὶ νέφη μελαίνει μειγνύμενον, καὶ τῶν νέων ύγρότης ἐνοῦσα παρέχει τὰς τρίχας μελαίνας· ἥ δὲ πολίωσις οἶου ὑχρίασις ὑπὸ ἔροτητος ἐπι-

1 theos . . . d' ὁ γέρων is supplied from Clement of Alexandria, Stromateis, v. 41. 4 (p. 670 Potter): deo . . . γέρων or deogérov. If it were not for the lacuna in E, it would be possible to emend ὁ γυγνόμενοι καὶ ἀπογυγνόμενοι ἐοίκαμεν.


3 πυρρόχρων (=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,\textsuperscript{a} by the fish hatred, as has
already been said,\textsuperscript{b} because of the sea, and by the
hippopotamus shamelessness; for it is said that he
kills his sire\textsuperscript{c} and forces his mother to mate with him.
That saying of the adherents of Pythagoras, that the
sea is a tear of Cronus,\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{f}
in general, and antagonistic to moisture. Therefore,
because they believe that he was personally of a
reddish sallow colour,\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{h} because water darkens
everything, earth and clothes and clouds, when it
comes into contact with them.\textsuperscript{i} In young people the
presence of moisture renders their hair black, while
greyness, like a paleness as it were, is induced by

\textsuperscript{c} Cf. Porphyry, \textit{De Abstinencia}, iii. 23.
\textsuperscript{d} Cf. Clement of Alexandria, \textit{Stromateis}, v. 50. 1 (p. 676
Potter), and Aristotle, Frag. 196 (ed. Rose).
\textsuperscript{e} Cf. 365 b, \textit{infra}. \textsuperscript{f} Cf. 369 a and 376 f, \textit{infra}.
\textsuperscript{g} Cf. 359 e and 363 b, \textit{supra}.
\textsuperscript{h} Cf. 359 e, \textit{supra}. \textsuperscript{i} Cf. Moralia, 950 a.
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(364) γίγνεται τοῖς παρακμάζουσι. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐαρ θαλερὸν καὶ γόνυμον καὶ προσηνέω τὸ δὲ φθινόπωρον ύγρότητος ἐνδεικτεί καὶ φυτῶς πολέμιον καὶ C ζώους νυσώδεσ.

'Ὁ δ' ἐν Ἡλίου πόλει τρεφόμενοι βοῦς, ὑν Μνεὺς¹ καλοῦσιν ('Οσίριδος δ' ἱερόν, ἐννοι δὲ καὶ τοῦ "Ἀπίδος πατέρα νομίζουσι), μέλας ἔστι καὶ δευτέρας ἔχει τμῆσι μετὰ τὸν Ἄπιν. ἔτι τὴν Ἀὔγουπτον ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα μελάγγειον οὖσαν, ὦσπερ τὸ μέλαν τοῦ ὄφθαλμοῦ, Χημίαν καλοῦσι καὶ καρδία παρεικάζουσι: θερμὴ γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ύγρὰ καὶ τοῖς νοτίοις μέρεσι τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὦσπερ ἡ καρδία τοῖς εὐωνύμους τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, μάλιστα ἐγκέκλειται καὶ προσκεχώρηκεν.

34. Ἡλιον δὲ καὶ σελήνην οὐχ ἀρμασιν ἀλλὰ πλοίους χρήμασι χρωμένους περιπλεῖσιν φασίν ²

D αἰνιττόμενοι τὴν ἀφ' ὑγροῦ τροφὴν αὐτῶν καὶ γένεσιν. οἶονται δὲ καὶ "Ὀμηρον ὦσπερ Θαλῆν μαθόντα παρ' Αἰγυπτίων ύδωρ ἄρχην ἀπάντων καὶ γένεσιν τίθεσθαι. τὸν γάρ Ὁκεανὸν "Οσιρὶν εἶναι, τὴν δὲ Τηθύν Ἡσυ, ὡς τυθνομένην πάντα καὶ συνεκτρέφουσαν. καὶ γὰρ "Ελλήνες τὴν τοῦ σπέρματος πρόσειν³ ἀποουσίαν καλοῦσι καὶ συνουσίαν τὴν μεξίν, καὶ τὸν ὕδαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ τοῦ ὑσαὶ καὶ τὸν Δίονυσον "ὑν" ὡς κύριον τῆς υγρᾶς φύσεως, οὐχ ἐτερον ὄντα τοῦ 'Οσίριδος· καὶ

¹ Μνεὺς Basel ed. of 1542: μνεύς.
² φασὶν Badham; λέγουσιν Reiske: ἀεὶ.
³ πρόσειν Salmasius: πρόθεσιν.

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² Cf. Diodorus, i. 21; Eusebius, Praepar. Evang. iii. 13. 1-3; Strabo, xvii. 1. 22; Aelian, De Natura Animalium, xi. 11.
³ cf. 82
dryness in those who are passing their prime.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{c} they call by the same name as the black portion
of the eye, “Chemia,” and compare it to a heart\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{e} in which to sail round in their
courses; and by this they intimate that the nourish-
ment and origin of these heavenly bodies is from
moisture. They think also that Homer,\textsuperscript{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 \textit{apousia}\textsuperscript{g}
and coition \textit{synousia}, and the son (\textit{hyios}) from water
(\textit{hydror}) and rain (\textit{hysai}); Dionysus also they call
Hyes\textsuperscript{h} since he is lord of the nature of moisture; and
he is no other than Osiris.\textsuperscript{i} In fact, Hellanicus seems
(364) γὰρ τὸν ὁσιρῆν Ἑλλάνικος ὁσιρῆν ἑοικεν ἀκηκοέναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἵππων λεγόμενον· οὕτω γὰρ ὀνομάζων διατελεῖ τὸν θεόν, εἰκότως ἀπὸ τῆς Ε φύσεως καὶ τῆς εὐρέσεως.

35. Ὁτι μὲν οὖν ὁ αὐτός ἐστι Διονύσως τίνα μάλλον ἢ σὲ γυγώσκευν, ὥς Κλέα, δὴ προσήκον ἐστιν, ἀρχηγίδα μὲν οὖσαν ἐν Δελφοῖς τῶν Θυαίδων, τοῖς δ' ὁσιρακοῖς καθωσιωμένην ἱεροῖς ἀπὸ πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς; εἰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἕνεκα δεὶ μαρτύρια παραθέθαι, τὰ μὲν ἀπόρρητα κατὰ χώραν ἐώμειν, δ' ἐμφανῶς δρῶσι τάπτοντες τὸν Ἁπνυ οἱ ἱερεῖς, ὅταν παρακομίζωσιν ἐπὶ σχεδίας τὸ σῶμα, βακχείας οὐδὲν ἀποδεί. καὶ γὰρ νεβρίδας περικαθάπτονται καὶ θύρους φοροῦν, καὶ βοαῖς χρῶνται καὶ κυνήσεως ὠσπερ οἱ κάτοχοι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ὄργιασμοί. διὸ καὶ ταυρόμορφα. Διονύσος ποιοῦσιν ἀγάλματα πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. αἱ δ' Ἡλείων γυναῖκες καὶ παρακαλοῦσιν εὐχόμεναι πολλὶ βοεῖῳ τὸν θεόν ἔλθειν πρὸς αὐτάς. Ἀργείοις δὲ βουγενής Διόνυσος ἐπίκλην ἐστίν· ἀνακαλοῦνται δ' αὐτόν ὑπὸ σαλπίγγων ἐξ ὑδάτως, ἐμβάλλοντες εἰς τὴν ἀβυσσον ἀρνα τῷ Πυλαόχῳ· τὰς δὲ σάλπιγγας ἐν θύρσους ἀποκρύπτουσιν, ὡς Σωκράτης ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ὀσίων εὑρηκεν.

1 ἑοικεν Valckenaver: ἑθηκεν.
2 φύσεως] ύσεως Salmasius.
3 εὐρέσεως] ύγρευσεως Reiske; αἰρέσεως Strijd.
4 ἀρχηγίδα Keramopoulos, based on inscriptions: ἀρχικλα.
5 ταυρόμορφα Markland: ταυρόμορφον.
6 Διονύσου Xylander: Διόνυσου.
7 βοείῳ] βοέω p. 299 A.

See 366 r, infra.

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.

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. For the same reason many of the Greeks make statues of Dionysus in the form of a bull; and the women of Elis invoke him, praying that the god may come with the hoof of a bull; 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, 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 has stated in his treatise on The Holy Ones. Further-

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\[a\] 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.

διδότα Τιτανικά καὶ Νυκτελίαν τοῖς λεγομένοις ’Οσίριδος διασπασµοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀνα-
βιώσεσι καὶ παλιγγενεσίαις. ὧµοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς τοφάς. Αἰγύπτιοι τε γὰρ ’Οσίριδος πολ-
λαχοῦ θῆκας, ἐφέραται, ἐπειδή καὶ Δείποι τὰ τοῦ Διόνυσου λείψανα παρ’ αὐτοῖς παρὰ
tὸ χρηστήριον ἀποκείσθαι νοµίζουσι. καὶ θύσουσιν
tοῖς Θυιάδες ἐγείρονται τὸν Λυκίνθην. ὅτι δʼ οὐ μῶνον τὸν Οὐλῖον Διόνυσον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
pάσης ὑγρᾶς φύσεως Ἐλληνες ἱγοῦνται κύριον
cαὶ ἀρχηγόν, ἀρκεῖ Πίνδαρος μάρτυς εἶναι λέγων
dενδρέων δὲ νοµὸν Ἀπόλλωνος πολυγαθῆς
αὐξάνοι, ἀγνὸν φέγγος ὀπώρας.

Β διδοὶ καὶ τοῖς τῶν Ὀσιρίν οὐβοµένοις ἀπαγορεύεται
dενδρὸν ἡμερον ἀπολύναι καὶ πηγὴν ὑδατος ἐμ-
φάττειν.

36. Οὐ μῶνον δὲ τὸν Νείλον, ἀλλὰ πάν ὑγρὸν ἀπλῶς Ὀσίριδος ἀπορρήτην θαλύσσει καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν
ἀεὶ προσποµπεῖ τὸ ὑδρείον ἐπὶ τιµή τοῦ θεοῦ.
cαὶ θρύων βασιλεὰ καὶ τὸ νότιον κλίμα τοῦ κόσµου
gράφουσι, καὶ μεθερµηνεύεται τὸ θρύον ποτισµὸς
καὶ κύνησις πάντων, καὶ δοκεῖ γεννητικῆ µορίω

1 Νυκτελία Squire: νὺξ τελεία.
2 νοµὸν Heyne: νόµον (τράπον in 757 F; γόµον Reiske;
γόµον Wyttenbach).
3 θρύω Wyttenbach: θρύων or θρίω.
4 κύνησις Xylander: κύνησις.

a 358 Α and 359 Α, supra.
b That is, the inspired maidens, mentioned at the beginning
doµ of the chapter.
c Callimachus, Ἁymn 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.

\[d\] Frag. 153 (Christ). Plutarch quotes the line also in Moralia, 745 \(a\) and 757 \(f\).
\[e\] Cf. 366 \(a\), 371 \(b\), infra, and 729 \(b\).
\[f\] Cf. Clement of Alexandria, Stromateis, vi. 31. 1 (p. 758 Potter).
\[g\] Such a symbol exists on Egyptian monuments.
(365) τὴν φύσιν ἐοικέναι. τὴν δὲ τῶν Παμύλων ἐορτὴν ἁγοντες, ὦσπερ εἰρήται, φαλλικὴν οὐσαν, ἁγαλμα προτίθενται καὶ περιφέρουσιν, οὔ το αἰδοίον τριπλάσιον ἐστὶν· ἀρχὴ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς, ἀρχὴ δὲ πᾶσα τῶν γονίμων πολλαπλασιάζει τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς. τὸ δὲ πολικής εἰώθαμεν καὶ τρίς λέγεων, ὡς τὸ "τρισμάκαρες" καὶ
dēσμοι μὲν τρις τόσσοι ἀπείρονες,
eἰ μὴ νὴ Δία κυρίως ἐμφαίνεται τὸ τριπλάσιον ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν· ἡ γὰρ υγρὰ φύσις ἀρχὴ καὶ γένεσις οὔσα πάντων ἐξ αὐτῆς1 τὰ πρῶτα τρία σώματα, γῆν ἀέρα καὶ πῦρ, ἐποίησε. καὶ γὰρ ὁ προστιθέμενος τῷ μνήμων λόγος, ὡς τοῦ Ὀσίριδος ὁ Τυφών τὸ αἴδοιον ἔρριψεν εἰς τὸν ποταμόν, ἡ δ' Ἰσις οὐχ εὑρέν, ἀλλ' ἐμφερέσ ἁγαλμα θεμένῃ καὶ κατασκευάσασα τιμᾶν καὶ φαλληφορεῖν ἔταξεν, ἑνταῦθα δὴ περιχωρεῖ2 διδάσκων ὅτι τὸ γόνυμον καὶ τὸ σπερματικὸν τοῦ θεοῦ πρῶτον3 ἔσχεν ὑλῆ τὴν υγρότητα καὶ δὴ υγρότητος ἑνεκράθη τοῖς πεφυκόσι μετέχειν γενέσεως.

D "Αλλὸς δὲ λόγος ἐστιν Αἰγυπτίων, ὡς "Αποτίς Ἡλίου ὁ ἄδελφος ἐπολέμει τῷ Διί, τὸν δ' Ὀσιριν ὁ Ζεὺς συμμαχήσαντα καὶ συγκαταστρεφάμενον αὐτῷ τὸν πολέμιον παίδα θέμενος Διόνυσον προσηγόρευσεν, καὶ τούτου δὲ τοῦ λόγου τὸ μυθώδες ἐστιν ἀποδείξαι τῆς περὶ4 φύσιν ἀληθείας ἀπτό-

1 αὐτῆς Michael: ἀρχῆς.
2 δὴ περιχωρεῖ Madvig: δὲ παραχωρεῖ.
3 πρῶτον] πρώτην Reiske.
4 περὶ Xylander: παρὰ.

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a 355 f., supra.
b Cf. 371 f., infra, Herodotus, ii. 48, and Egyptian monuments.
Moreover, when they celebrate the festival of the Pamyilia 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

\[ a \] Homer, \textit{Od.} v. 306, and vi. 154. It is interesting that G. H. Palmer translates this "most happy."
\[ b \] \textit{Ibid.} viii. 340.
\[ c \] Cf. 358 b, \textit{supra.}
μενον. Δία μὲν γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ πνεῦμα καλοῦσιν, ὃ πολέμιον τὸ αὐχιμηρὸν καὶ πυρώδες· τοῦτο δέ ἦλιος μὲν οὐκ ἐστὶ, πρὸς δὲ ἦλιον ἔχει τινὰ συνγενείαν· ἡ δ' ὑγρότης σβενύουσα τὴν ύπερβολὴν Ε τῆς ἡγορότητος αὐξεῖ καὶ ρώνυσι τὰς ἀναθυμιάσεις, ὡς ἐν τῷ πνεῦμα τρέφεται καὶ τῆθελεν.

37. Ἐτί δὲ τὸν κυττόν Ἑλληνεὶς τε καθιεροῦσι τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις λέγεται ἵνα ἱεροσύρις ὁ νομαζεσθαι, σημαινοντος τοῦ ὀνόματος, ὡς φασί, φυτὸν 'Οσίριδος. Ἄριστων τοῖνυν ὁ γεγραφὸς Ἀθηναίων ἀποκισσων ἐπιστολὴ τῷ Ἀλεξάρχου περιέπεσεν, ἐν ᾧ Διὸς ἤστο ἱστορεῖται καὶ Ἰσίδος υἱὸς ὑνὶ ὁ Διόνυσος ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων οὐκ Ὀσίρις ἄλλον Ἀρσαφῆς (ἐν τῷ ἀλφα γράμματι)

F λέγεσθαι, ὑπλοῦντος τὸ ἀνδρεῖον τοῦ ὀνόματος. ἐμφαίνει δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Ἐρμαιὸς ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ περὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων· οὕρμιον γὰρ φησι μεθερμηνευόμενον εἶναι τὸν Ὀσίριν. ἐώς δὲ Μυσέαν τῷ Ἐπάφῳ προστιθέντα τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τὸν Ὀσιρὶν καὶ τὸν Σάραπιν· ἐώς καὶ Ἀντικλείδην λέγοντα τὴν Ἰςον Προμηθέως οὖσαν θυγατέρα Διόνυσῳ συνοικεῖν· αἰ γὰρ εἰρημέναι περὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς καὶ τὰς θυσίας οἰκείατητες ἐναργεστέραν τῶν μαρτύρων τὴν πίστιν ἔχουσι.

38. Τῶν τ' ἀστρῶν τὸν σείριον Ἰσίδος νομίζετο 366 ζοῦσιν, ὑδραγωγόν ὄντα. καὶ τὸν λέοντα τιμῶσιν.

1 δὲ F.C.B.: τε.
2 κυττόν Squire (κυττόν οί; ο;): κυττόν ὄν.
3 ἀποκισσων F.C.B.: ἀποκισσων.
4 περιέπεσεν, ἐν ᾧ Διὸς Valckenae: περιέπεσετε νηίδος.
5 καὶ Valckenae: δὲ καί.
6 Μυσέαν Xylander: μυσάν.
7 Ἰσίδος Ὀσίριδος Squire, but cf. 359 d as well as 372 d.
Nature is concerned; for the Egyptians apply the name "Zeus" to the wind,\(^a\) 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\(^b\) 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,\(^c\) 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. Hermaeus,\(^d\) 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\(^e\) annexation of Dionysus, Osiris, and Serapis to Epaphus, as well as Anticleides'\(^f\) statement that Isis was the daughter of Prometheus\(^g\) and was wedded to Dionysus.\(^h\) 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,\(^i\) because it is the bringer of water.\(^k\) They also hold the Lion in honour, and they

\(^a\) Cf. Diodorus, i. 12. 2. \(^b\) Diodorus, i. 17. 4. 
\(^d\) Ibid. iv. p. 427. \(^e\) 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

ηελίον τὰ πρῶτα συνερχομένοι λέοντι.

'Ως δὲ Νεῖλον Ὀσίρδος ἀπορροήν, οὕτως Ἰσίδος σώμα γῆν ἔχουσι καὶ νομίζουσιν, οὗ πᾶσαν, ἀλλ' ἦς ὁ Νεῖλος ἐπιβαίνει σπερμαίων καὶ μεγενύμενος· ἐκ δὲ τῆς συνουσίας ταύτης γεννώσε τὸν Ὄρον. ἔστι δ' Ὄρος ἡ πάντα σῶξουσα καὶ τρέφουσα τοῦ περιέχοντος ὄρα καὶ κράσις ἀέρος, ὡν ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι τοῖς περὶ Βοῦτον ὑπὸ Λητοὺς τραφήναι λέγουσιν. ἡ γὰρ ὑδατώδης καὶ διάβροχος γῆ μάλιστα τὰς

Β οβενούσας καὶ χαλώσας τὴν ἔχροτητα καὶ τὸν αὐχμὸν ἀναβημάζεις εἰθηνεῖται.

Νέφθων δὲ καλοῦν τῆς γῆς τὰ ἔσχατα καὶ παρόρεια2 καὶ φαύνοντα τῆς θαλάττης· διὸ καὶ Τελευτήν3 ἐπονομάζουσι τὴν Νέφθων καὶ Τυφώνι δὲ συνοικεῖν λέγουσιν. ὅταν δ' ἔπερβαλὼν καὶ πλεονάσας ὁ Νεῖλος ἐπέκεινα πλησίας τοῖς ἐσχατεύουσιν, τότε μεῖζων Ὀσίρδος πρὸς Νέφθων καλοῦσιν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναβλαστανόντων φυτῶν ἐλεγχομένην· ὡν καὶ τὸ μελίλωτον ἐστιν, οὗ φησὶ μόθος ἀπορρυντός καὶ ἀπολειφθέντος αἰσθήσεων γενέσθαι Τυφώνι τῆς περὶ τῶν γάμων ἄδικιας. ὀδεν ἡ μὲν

C 'Ισις ἐτέκε γνησίως τὸν Ὅρον, ἡ δὲ Νέφθως σκότων τὸν Ἀνουβίων. ἐν μέντοι ταῖς διαδοχαῖς τῶν βασι-

1 ἔχουσι] λέγουσι Wytenbach.
2 παρόρεια Hatzidakis: παρόρεια.
3 Τελευτήν Squire (cf. 355 f): τελευταίην.

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a Cf. Moralia, 670 c; Horapollo, Hieroglyphica, i. 21.
b 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 outermost 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

\(\text{\textsuperscript{a}}\) Cf. the note on 365 \(\text{b}\), supra.
\(\text{\textsuperscript{b}}\) Cf. 363 \(\text{d}\), supra.
\(\text{\textsuperscript{c}}\) Cf. 366 \(\text{b}\), supra.
\(\text{\textsuperscript{d}}\) Cf. 363 \(\text{d}\), supra.
\(\text{\textsuperscript{e}}\) Cf. 357 \(\text{f}\), supra.
\(\text{\textsuperscript{f}}\) Cf. 355 \(\text{f}\), supra, and 375 \(\text{b}\), infra.
\(\text{\textsuperscript{g}}\) Cf. the note on 356 \(\text{e}\), supra.
\(\text{\textsuperscript{h}}\) Cf. 356 \(\text{f}\), supra.
(366) λέων ἀναγράφουσι τὴν Νέφθυν Τυφῶνι γημαμένην πρώτην γενέσθαι στείραν· εἰ δὲ τούτο μὴ περὶ γυναικὸς ἄλλα περὶ τῆς θεοῦ λέγουσιν, αἰνίττονται τὸ παντελῶς¹ τῆς γῆς ἄγονον καὶ ἀκαρπὸν ὑπὸ στερρότητος.

39. Ἡ δὲ Τυφῶνος ἐπιβουλή καὶ τυραννὶς αὐχ-μοῦ δύναμις ἦν ἐπικρατήσαντος καὶ διαφορήσαντός τὴν τε γεννώσαν ὑγρότητα τὸν Νείλον καὶ αὐξόσαν. ἡ δὲ συνεργὸς αὐτῷ βασιλεύς Αἰθιόπων αἰνίττεται πνοὰς νοτίους ἡς Αἰθιοπίας· ὅταν γὰρ ἀσταὶ τῶν ἐτησίων ἐπικρατήσωσι τὰ νέφη πρὸς τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν. 

Δ ἐλαυνόντων, καὶ κωλύσωσι τοὺς τὸν Νείλον αὐξο-τας ὀμβροὺς καταρραγήναι, κατέχων ὁ Τυφῶν ἐπι-φλέγει καὶ τότε κρατήσας παντάπασι τὸν Νείλον εἰς ἐναντίον² ὑπ’ ἀσθενείας συσταλέντα καὶ ῥυέντα κολλὸν καὶ ταπεινὸν ἐξέσωσεν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. ἡ γὰρ λεγομένη κάθειρξις εἰς τὴν σορὸν ὁ Ὀσιρίδος οὐδὲν ἐοικὲν ἄλλα· ἡ κρύψων ὑδάτος καὶ ἀφανισμὸν αἰνίττεσθαι· διὸ μηνὸς Ἀθύρ ἀφανισθήναι τὸν Ὁσιρίν λέγουσιν, ὅτε τῶν ἐτησίων ἀπολειπόντων παντάπασιν ὁ μὲν Νείλος ὑπονοστεῖ, γυμνοῦται δ’ ἡ χώρα, μηκυνομένης δὲ τῆς νυκτός, αὐξεῖται τὸ Ἐ σκότος, ἡ δὲ τοῦ φωτὸς μαραίνεται καὶ κρατεῖται δύναμις, οἱ δ’³ ἔρεις ἄλλα τε ὅρῳ σκυθρώπα καὶ βοῶν διάχρυσον ἰματίῳ μέλαιν βυσσίνῳ περιβάλλον- 
 
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¹ pantelewos] panteles in all mss. but one.
² evantion] eauton Bentley.
³ oI δ’ Wyttenbach: oi.

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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\(^d\)

\(^{a}\) The month of November.  \(Cf.\) 356 c, supra.
\(^{b}\) \(Cf.\) 366 a supra.
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eικόνα καὶ γῆν νομιζουσιν) ἐπὶ τέσσαρας ἡμέρας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐβδομῆς ἐπὶ δέκα ἐξῆς. καὶ γὰρ τὰ πενταώ-
μενα τέσσαρα, πρῶτον μὲν ὁ Νεῖλος ἀπολείπων καὶ ὑπονοοῦν, δεύτερον δὲ τὰ βόρεια πνεύματα κατα-
οβεννύμενα κομιδὴ τῶν νοτίων ἐπικρατοῦντων, τρίτον δὲ τὸ τῆς ἡμέραν ἐλάττονα γίγνεσθαι τῆς
νυκτός, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δ' ἡ τῆς γῆς ἀπογύμνωσιν ἀμα
τῇ τῶν φυτῶν ψιλότητι θηνικαῦτα φυλλορροοῦντων.

40. Τῆς δ' Ἠσιδός πάλιν ἀναλαμβανοῦσας τὸν 367 Ὀσιρίδος καὶ ἀυξανοῦσας τὸν Ὄμον, ἀναθυμιάσει
καὶ ὀμιλχαί καὶ νέφει κρυννύμενον, ἐκρατήθη γάρ,
ὅτι αὐτὴν ὁ Τυφών. οὐ γὰρ εἰσάγει καὶ κυρία
τῆς γῆς θεός ἀναφέρθηκε παντάπασι τῆν ἀντικει-
μένην τῇ υγρότητι φύσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐναλάσκε εἰ καὶ ἀνήκε
βουλομένη διαμένει τῆν κράσων. οὐ γὰρ ἦν κόσμον,
ἐναι τέλειον ἐκλιπόντος καὶ ἀφανισθέντος τοῦ
πυρῶδος. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ἐλέγετο παρ’ αὐτοῖς,

1 καὶ] κατὰ H. Richards; but cf. "the earth" both before
(ἡ χώρα) and after (τῆς γῆς)!
2 πᾶσι δ' Bernardakis: πᾶσιν. 3 κατίασι Baxter: κάτεσι.
3 γῆν Xylander: τὴν.
4 κόσμον] τὸν κόσμον Markland.
5 κράσων Xylander: κράσων.
6 ἐκλιπόντος 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\(^a\) as he was being made strong by the exhalations and mists and clouds, Typhon was vanquished but not annihilated\(^b\); 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

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

\(^8\) \(\delta\)\(\lambda\)\(\epsilon\)\(\gamma\)\(e\)\(t\)\(o\) F.C.B. (for a similar form of condition cf. Soph. \(\textit{Ajax}, 962\) : \(\lambda\)\(\epsilon\)\(\gamma\)\(e\)\(t\)\(a\)\. 

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(367) εἰκότως οὐδ’ ἐκείνον ἂν τις ἀπορρύψει τὸν λόγον,
ὁς Τυφὼν μὲν ἐκράτει πάλαι τῆς Ὀσύριδος μοίρας;
θάλαττα γὰρ ἥν ἦ Αἰγύπτος· διὸ πολλὰ μὲν ἐν τοῖς
Β μετάλλοις καὶ τοῖς ὅρεσιν εὐρίσκεται μέχρι νῦν
κογχύλια ἔχει· πᾶσαι δὲ πηγαί καὶ φρέατα πάντα
πολλῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἄλμυρὸν ὑδωρ καὶ πικρὸν
ἔχουσιν, ὡς ἂν ὑπολείμματος¹ τῆς πάλαι θαλάτης
ἐὼλον² ἐνταυθοὶ συνεργηκότος.

'Ὁ δ' Ὄμρος χρόνων τοῦ Τυφῶνος ἑπεκράτησε,
τουτέστιν εὐκαιρίας ὁμβρίων γενομένης, ὁ Νείλος
ἐξώσας³ τὴν θαλατταν ἀνέφηνε τὸ πεδίον καὶ
ἀνεπλήρωσε ταῖς προσχώσεσι· ὁ δ’ ἡ μαρτυροῦσαν
ἔχει τὴν αὐθησιν· ὅρωμεν γὰρ ἐτὶ νῦν ἐπιφέροντι

C τῷ ποταμῷ νέαν ἠλύν καὶ προάγοντι⁴ τὴν γῆν κατὰ
μικρὸν ὑποχωροῦν ὑπὸς τὸ πέλαγος, καὶ τὴν
θάλατταν ὑφὸς τῶν ἐν βάθει λαμβανόντων διὰ τὰς
προσχώσεις ἀπορρέονταν· τὴν δὲ Φάρον, ἦν Ὄμηρος
ἡδει δρόμον ἡμέρας ἀπέχουσαν Αἰγύπτου, νῦν μέρος
οὐσαν αὐτῆς, οὐκ αὐτὴν ἀναδραμοῦσαν οὐδὲ προσ-
αναβάσαν, ἀλλὰ τῆς μεταξὺ θαλάτης ἀναπλάττοντι
τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ τρέφοντι τὴν ἥπειρον ἀνασταλείσις.

Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὁμοία τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν Στυκικῶν
θεολογουμένων ἐστὶ· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τὸ μὲν γόνιμον
πνεῦμα καὶ τρόφιμον Δίόνυσον εἶναι λέγουσιν, τὸ
πληκτικὸν δὲ καὶ διαμετείκὸν Ἡρακλέα, τὸ δὲ
δεκτικὸν Ἀμμωνα, Δήμητρα⁵ δὲ καὶ Κόρην τὸ διὰ

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¹ ὑπολείμματος F.C.B.: ὑπόλειμμα.
² εὼλον F.C.B.: ἐὼλον.
³ εξώσας Wyettenbach: ἐξέωσας.
⁴ προάγοντι Bernardakis: προσαγαγόντι or προαγαγόντι.
⁵ Δήμητρα Bernardakis: δήμητραν.

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*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,\(^b\) and, for that reason, even to-day it is found to have shells in its mines and mountains.\(^b\) 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\(^c\) 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\(^d\) 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,

\(^b\) Cf. Herodotus, ii. 12.

\(^c\) Od. iv. 356. Cf. also Strabo, xii. 2. 4 (p. 536), and xvii. 1. 6 (p. 791).

\(^d\) Cf. von Arnim, Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta, ii. 1093 (p. 319).
(367) τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν καρπῶν διήκον, Ποσειδώνα δὲ τὸ
diὰ τῆς θαλάττης. (41.) Οἱ δὲ τοῦσσε τοὺς φυσικοὺς
καὶ τῶν ἀπ’ ἀστρολογιῶν μαθηματικῶν ἕνα μει-

D γνώνεις Τυφώνα μὲν οἴοντα τὸν ἠλιακὸν κόσμον,
"Οσιρὶν δὲ τὸν σεληνιακὸν λέγεσθαι. τὴν μὲν γὰρ
σελήνην γόνιμον τὸ φῶς καὶ ύγροποιὸν ἐχουσαν
εὔμενη καὶ γοναὶς ζώων καὶ φυτῶν εἶναι βλα-
στήσει: τὸν δ’ ἦλιον ἀκράτω πυρὶ καὶ σκληρῷ
καταβάλπειν τε καὶ καταναίνεως τὰ φυόμενα καὶ
tεθηλότα, καὶ τὸ πολὺ μέρος τῆς γῆς παντάπασι
ὑπὸ φλογοῦ ποιεῖν ἄοικητον καὶ κατακρατεῖν πολ-
λαχοῦ καὶ τῆς σελήνης. διὸ τὸν Τυφώνα Σῆθ ἄεὶ
Αἰγύπτιοι καλοῦσιν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ καταδυναστεύον ἦ
Ε καταβιαζόμενον. καὶ τῷ μὲν ἦλιῳ τὸν Ἦρακλεὰ
μυθολογοῦσιν ᾠνδρυμένον συμπεριπολεῖν, τῇ δὲ
σελήνῃ τὸν Ἐρμῆν. λόγου γὰρ ἐργοὺς ἐοίκε καὶ
tελειαςα Σε φοίας τὰ τῆς σελήνης, τὰ δ’ ἦλιον πληγαῖς
ὑπὸ βίας καὶ ρώμης περαινομέναις. οἱ δὲ Στινικοὶ
tὸν μὲν ἦλιον ἐκ θαλάττης ἀνάπτεσθαι καὶ τρέφε-
θαι φασὶ, τῇ δὲ σελήνῃ τὰ κρεναῖα καὶ λυμαῖα
νάματα γλυκεῖαν ἀναπέμπεν καὶ μαλακὴν ἀνα-
thυμίασιν.

42. Ἐβδόμῃ ἐπὶ δέκα τὴν Ἄοιριδος γενέσθαι
tελευτὴν Αἰγύπτιοι μυθολογοῦσιν, ἐν ἦ μάλιστα
gίγνεται τελειουμένη εταδήλος ἡ πανσέληνος. διὸ

1 μαθηματικῶν μαθημάτων Markland.
2 καὶ σκλήρῳ καταβάλπειν Madvig: κεκληρωκότα θάλπειν.
3 δεί del. Squire.
5 περαινομέναις Baxter: περαινομένης.

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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.
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

\(^a\) Von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, ii. 663.
\(^b\) Cf. also Diogenes Laertius, vii. 145; and Porphyry, *De Antro Nympharum*, 11.
\(^c\) Fourteen days, or one half of a lunar month, before the \(\epsilon\nu\eta \ kai \ \nu\epsilon\alpha\), if the lunar month could ever be made to square with any system of chronology!
PLUTARCH’S MORALIA

F καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ταῦτην ἀντίφραξι οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι καλοῦσι, καὶ ὅλως τὸν ἀριθμὸν τούτον ἀφοσιώθηται. τοῦ γὰρ ἐκκαίδεκα τετραγώνου καὶ τοῦ ὀκτωκαί-δεκα ἑτερομήκους, οἷς μόνοις ἀριθμῶν ἐπιπέδων συμβέβηκε τὰς περιμέτρους ἵσας ἔχειν τοῖς περι-εχομένοις ὑπ’ αὐτῶν χωρίοις, μέσος δὲ τῶν ἔπτακαί-δεκα παρεμπίπτων ἀντιφράττει καὶ διαζεύγωσιν ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων, καὶ διαίρει τὸν ἑπόγοδον λόγον εἰς ἀνίσα διαστήματα τεμνόμενοι.

Ἐτῶν δ' ἀριθμὸν οἱ μὲν βιῶσαι τὸν Ὀσιρίν οἱ δὲ 368 βασιλεύσαι λέγουσιν ὀκτῶ καὶ εἶκοσι τοσαίτα γὰρ ἐστι φῶτα τῆς σελήνης καὶ τοσαίτας ἡμέρας τὸν αὐτῆς κύκλον ἔξελέττει. τὸ δὲ ξύλον ἐν ταῖς λεγομέναις Ὀσιρίδος ταφαῖς τέμνοντες κατασκευάζουσι λάρνακα μηνοειδῆ διὰ τὸ τῆς σελήνης, όταν τῷ ἡλίῳ πλησίαζῃ, μηνοειδῆ γυνομένην ἀποκρύπτε-σθαι. τὸν δ' εἰς δεκατέτταρα μέρη τοῦ Ὀσιρίδος διασπασμὸν αἰνίττουν πρὸς τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν αἰς φθίνει μετὰ πανσέληνον ἀχρι νομήνια πο ἀστρον.

Β ἡμέραν δὲ ἐν ὧν φαίνεται πρῶτον ἐκφυγοῦσα τᾶς αὐγάς καὶ παρελθοῦσα τὸν ἡλίουν “ἀτελὲς ἀγαθόν” προσαγορεύσουσιν. ὁ γὰρ Ὀσιρὶς ἀγαθοποίος, καὶ τούνομα πολλὰ φράζει, οὐχ ἡκιστα δὲ κράτος ἐνεργοῦν καὶ ἀγαθοποιὸν ὁ λέγουσι. τὸ δ' ἐτερον ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν Ὅμφιν3 εὐεργέτην ὁ Ἐρμαιός φησι δηλοῦν ἐρμηνευόμενον.

43. Οἷονται δὲ πρὸς τὰ φῶτα τῆς σελήνης ἔχειν τινὰ λόγον τοῦ Νεῖλου τὰς ἀναβάσεις. ἡ μὲν γὰρ

1 διαίρει] διατηρεῖ Xylander.
2 τὸν] κατὰ τὸν Wytenbach.
3 Ὅμφιν] Ὅνουφιν (?) Parthey.
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, \(\frac{1}{6}\) of a number added to itself: thus \(16 + \frac{16}{6} = 18\). 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) μεγίστη περὶ τὴν Ἑλεφαντίνην ὀκτὼ γίγνεται καὶ εἰκοσι πῆχεων, ὅσα φώτα καὶ μέτρα τῶν ἐμμηνῶν περιόδων ἐκάστης ἔστιν· ἢ δὲ περὶ Μένδητα καὶ Ξών βραχυτάτη πῆχεων ἐξ πρὸς τὴν διχότομον· ἢ δὲ μέσῃ περὶ Μέμφιν, ὅταν ἦ δικαία, δεκατεσσάρων πῆχεων πρὸς τὴν πανσέληνον.

Τὸν δ’ Ἀπιον εἰκόνα μὲν Ὀσίριδος ἐμψυχοι εἶναι, γενέσθαι δὲ ὡσαφές ἑρείση γόνυ manière ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης καὶ καθάψηται βοὸς ὄργωσης. διὸ καὶ τοῖς τῆς σελήνης σχήμασις έουσιν πολλὰ τοῦ Ἀπιονος, περιμελαυνομένου τὰ λαμπρὰ τοῖς σκιερῶς. ἐτὶ δὲ τῇ νομηνίᾳ τοῦ Φαμενώθ μηνὸς ἑορτὴν ἀγονουν, ἐμβασιν Ὀσίριδος εἰς τὴν σελήνην ὀνομάζοντες, έαρος ἀρχὴν οὖσαν. οὔτω τὴν Ὀσίριδος δύναμιν ἐν τῇ σελήνῃ τιθέντες τὴν Ἰουν κατώ γένεσιν οὖσαν συνείναι λέγονσι. διὸ καὶ μητέρα τὴν σελήνην τοῦ κόσμου καλούσι καὶ φύσιν ἑχειν ἀρανόθηλιν οὖσαν πληρουμένην ὑφ’ Ἡλίου καὶ κυσκομένην, αὐτὴν δὲ

D πάλιν εἰς τὸν ἁέρα προϊμένην γεννητικάς ἀρχὰς καὶ κατασπείρουσαν· οὐ γὰρ ἄει τὴν φθορὰν ἐπικρατεῖν τὴν τυφώνειν, πολλάκις δὲ κρατουμένην ὑπὸ τῆς γενέσεως καὶ συνδεομένην αὐθίς ἀναλύεσθαι καὶ διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς τὸν Ὀμον. ἔστι δ’ οὔτος δ’ περιγειος κόσμου οὔτε φθορᾶν ἀπαλλαττομένος παντάπασιν οὔτε γενέσεως.

1 ἐξ] ἐπτὰ Squire. 2 Ἀπιον] Baxter would add φασιν.
3 ἐτι δὲ Baxter: ὅτι. 4 τιθέντες Petavius: τιθεντι. 5 ἀναλύεσθαι Wytenbach: ἀναδύεσθαι.

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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.

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the greatest rising, in the neighbourhood of Elephantinê, 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, and he comes into being when a fructifying light thrusts forth from the moon and falls upon a cow in her breeding-season. 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, who is the terrestrial universe; and this is never completely exempt either from dissolution or from generation.

\[d\] Cf. 358 v, supra.
(368) 44. "Ενίοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκλειπτικῶν αὕτημα ποιοῦνται τὸν μόθον. ἐκλείπει μὲν γὰρ ἡ σελήνη πανσέληνος ἐναντίαν τοῦ ἡλίου στάσιν ἐχοντος πρὸς αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν σκιὰν ἐμπίπτουσα τῆς γῆς, ὄσπερ φασί τὸν "Οσιριν εἰς τὴν σορών. αὐτῇ δὲ πάλιν Ἕ ἀποκρύπτει καὶ ἀφανίζει ταῖς τριακάσιν, οὐ μὴν ἀναίρεται παντάπασι τὸν ἡλίουν, ὀσπερ οὐδὲ τὸν Τυφώνα ἢ Ἡσις.

Γεννώσης τῆς Νέφθυς τὸν Ἀνουβίων, Ἡσις ὑποβάλλεται. Νέφθυς γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν καὶ ἀφανές, Ἡσις δὲ τὸ ὑπέρ τὴν γῆν καὶ φανερόν. ο δὲ τούτων ὑποφαυών καὶ καλούμενος ὀρίζων κύκλος, ἐπίκοινος ὥν ἀμφοῖν, Ἀνουβίς κέκληται καὶ κυνὶ τὸ εἶδος ἀπεικάζεται· καὶ γὰρ ὁ κύων χρήται τῇ ὀψει νυκτός τε καὶ ἡμέρας ὅμοιως. καὶ ταῦτην ἐχειν δοκεῖ παρ' Ἀιγυπτίωι τῆς δύναμιν ὁ Ἀνουβίς, οίαν ἡ Ἐκάτη παρ' Ἐλληνική, χθόνιος ὑν ὅμοι καὶ ἀλύμπιος.

Φ' ἐνίοις δὲ δοκεῖ Κρόνος ὁ Ἀνουβίς εἶναι· διὸ πάντα τίκτων εξ ἐαυτοῦ καὶ κυών ἐν ἐαυτῷ τὴν τοῦ κυνὸς ἐπίκλησιν ἐσχεν. ἐστὶ δ' οὖν τοῖς σεβομένοις τὸν Ἀνουβίων ἀπόρρητόν τι· καὶ πάλαι μὲν τὰς μεγίστας ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ τιμᾶς ὁ κύων ἐσχεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ Καμβύσου τὸν Ἀπίων ἀνελόντος καὶ ρίψαντος οὐδὲν προσῆλθεν οὐδ' ἐγεύσατο τοῦ σώματος ἀλλ' ἡ μόνος ὁ κύων, ἀπώλεσε τὸ πρῶτος εἶναι καὶ μάλιστα τιμᾶσθαι τῶν ἐτέρων ζώων.

1 τοῦτων Bentley: τούτω.
2 ἐστὶ Reiske: ἐπι.

a Cf. 356 ε, supra.
b Cf. 375 ε, infra.
c Plutarch would connect κύων, "dog," with the participle of κυώ, "be pregnant." If the animal were a bear, we might say, "bears all things . . . the appellation of Bear," which would be a very close parallel.

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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 Hecatē 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.*
Εἰςι δὲ τινες οἱ τὸ σκίασμα τὴς γῆς, εἰς ὅ τὴν σελήνην ὀλισθάνουσαν ἐκλείπειν νομίζουσι, Τυφώνα 369 καλοῦντες. (45.) "Οθεν οὖκ ἀπέοικεν εἰπεῖν ὡς ἰδία μὲν οὖκ ὀρθῶς ἐκαστος, ὁμοὶ δὲ πάντες ὀρθῶς λέγουσιν. οὐ γὰρ αὐχμὸν οὔτ' ἀνεμον οὔτ' θάλατταν οὔτε σκότος, ἀλλὰ πᾶν ὄσον ἡ φύσις βλαβερὸν καὶ φθαρτικὸν ἔχει, μόριον τοῦ Τυφώνος θετέον. 

οὔτε γὰρ ἐν ἀψυχοῖς σῶμασι τά τοῦ παντὸς ἄρχας θετέον, ὡς Δημόκριτος καὶ Ἐπίκουρος, οὔτ' ἀποίου ἰδμούργην ὑλὴς ἕνα λόγον καὶ μίαν πρόνοιαν, ὡς οἱ Στωικοὶ, περιγγυνομένην ἀπάντων καὶ κρατοῦσαν. ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἡ φλαῦρον ὅτι οὖν, ὅπου πάν-Βτὼν, ἡ χρηστόν, ὅπου μιθεόνος ὁ θεὸς αἰτίος, ἐγγενέσθαι. "παλίντονος" γὰρ ἀρμονίη κόσμου, οἰκωσπέρ λύρης καὶ τόξου" καθ' Ἡράκλειτον καὶ κατ' Εὐριπίδην

οὐκ ἄν γένοιτο χωρίς ἐσθλὰ καὶ κακά, ἀλλ' ἐστι τις σύγκρασις ὡστ' ἔχειν καλῶς.

Διὸ καὶ παμπάλαιος αὐτὴ κάτεισιν ἐκ θεολόγων καὶ νομοθέτων εἰς τε ποιητὰς καὶ φιλοσόφους δόξα, τὴν ἄρχην ἀδεσποτον ἔχουσα, τὴν δὲ πίστιν ἱσχυρὰν καὶ δυσεξάλειπτον, οὐκ ἐν λόγοις μόνον οὐδ' ἐν φήμαις, ἀλλ' ἐν τε τελεταῖς ἐν τε θυσίαις καὶ βαρβάρους καὶ Ἡλληνικοῖ πολλαχοὶ περιφερομένη, ὡς

1 αὐχμόν] αὐχμόν μονον Sieveking.
2 θετέον P.C.B. (ἐστιν εἰπεῖν Bernardakis; νομιστέον Strijd).
3 ἀποίου Meziriacus: ἀποίου οὖ.
4 ὅπου Meziriacus: ὁμοὶ.
5 οἰκωσπέρ Wytenbach: ὀἰκωσπέρ.
6 περιφερομένη Holwerda: περιφερομένη.

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1 Cf. 373 ἐ, infra.
2 Cf. 364 τσ, supra, and 376 ἐ, infra.
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. b 51. Plutarch quotes this again in *Moralia*, 473 f and 1026 b.

C οὐτ' ἄνουν καὶ ἄλογον καὶ ἀκυβέρνητον αἰώρειται (369) τῷ αὐτομάτῳ τὸ πᾶν, οὐθ' εἰς ἔστιν ὁ κρατῶν καὶ κατευθύνων ὡσπερ οἰξήν ἢ τοις πειθηνίοις χαλινοῖς λόγοις, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ καὶ μεμειγμένα κακοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ μηδὲν, ὡς ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, ἀκρατὸν ἐνταῦθα τῆς φύσεως φεροῦσης, οὐ δυοῖν πίθων εἰς ταμίας ὡσπερ νάματα τὰ πράγματα κατηλικῶς διανέμων ἀνακεράννυσιν ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ δυοῖν ἑναντίων ἀρχῶν καὶ δυοῖν ἀντιπάλων δυνάμεων τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιά καὶ κατ' εὐθείαν υφηγουμένης, τῆς δ' ἐμπαλιν ἀναστρεφούσης καὶ ἀνακλώσης, ὁ τε βίος.

46. Καὶ δοκεῖ τούτῳ τοῖς πλείστοις καὶ σοφωτάτοις νομίζουσι γὰρ οἱ μὲν θεοὺς εἶναι δύο καθάπερ ἀντιτέχνους, τὸν μὲν ἀγαθῶν, τὸν δὲ φαύλων δημιουργόν. οὐ δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀμείνονα θεόν, τὸν δ' Εἴτερον δαίμονα καλοῦσιν: ὡσπερ Ζωροάστρης

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

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, 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 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" (πολλῶν χαλινῶν ἔργον οἰδίκων θ' ἀμα).

The reference is to Homer, II. 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 πεντακισχιλίους ἔτεσι τῶν Τρωικῶν γε-
gονέαι πρεσβύτερον ἱστοροῦσιν. οὗτος οὖν ἐκάλει
τὸν μὲν Ὡρομάζην, τὸν δ’ Ἀρεμάνιον· καὶ προσ-
απεφαίνετο τὸν μὲν ἐνκέναι φωτὶ μάλιστα τῶν
αἰσθητῶν, τὸν δ’ ἐμπαλν σκότω καὶ ἀγνοια,1 μέσον
δ’ ἁμφοῖν τὸν Μίθρην εἶναι· διὸ καὶ Μίθρην Πέρσαι
τὸν Μεσίτην ὄνομάζουσιν. εἴδοξε δὲ2 τῷ μὲν
ἐνκταῖς θύει καὶ χαριστήρια, τῷ δ’ ἀποτρόπαια
καὶ σκυθρωτα. πόαν γάρ τῶν κόπτοντες ὄμωμ
καλουμένην ἐν ὀλίῳ τὸν “Αἰδην ἀνακαλοῦνται καὶ
τὸν σκότον· εἶτα μείζοντες αἰματί λύκου σφαγέντος
F εἰς τόπον ἀνήλιον ἑκφέρουσι καὶ ρήπτουσι. καὶ γάρ
τῶν φυτῶν νομίζουσι τᾶ μὲν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θεοῦ, τὰ
δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ δαίμονος εἶναι· καὶ τῶν ξώνων ὃποι
κύνας καὶ ὅρνιθας καὶ χερσαίους ἐχίνους τοῦ ἀγα-
θοῦ, τοῦ δὲ φαύλου μῦ3 ἐνύδρους εἶναι· διὸ καὶ
τὸν κτείναντα πλεῖστους εὐδαιμονίζουσιν.

47. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ4 κάκεινοι πολλὰ μυθώδη περὶ
tῶν θεῶν λέγοντιν, οὐδέ ταῦτ’ ἐστὶν. ο μὲν
Ὡρομάζης ἐκ τοῦ καθαρωτάτου φάους,5 ο δ’ Ἀρεμ-
μάνιος ἐκ τοῦ ζώφου γεγονός, πολεμοῦσιν ἄλληλοις.
370 καὶ ο μὲν ἐξ θεῶν ἐποίησε, τὸν μὲν πρῶτον εὐνοίας,
tὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἀληθείας, τὸν δὲ τρίτον εὐνομίας·
tὸν δὲ λοιπῶν τὸν μὲν σοφίας, τὸν δὲ πλούτου,

1 ἀγνοια] ὀρφναία (?). 2 δὲ added by Meziriacus.
3 μῦ Squire from 670 δ: τοὺς.
4 ἀλλὰ added by Reiske.
5 φάους] 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, 

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\[ e \text{ Cf. } \text{Moralia, } 1026 \text{ b, and Diogenes Laertius, Prologue, 2.} \]
\[ d \text{ Cf. Diogenes Laertius, Prologue, 8.} \]
\[ a \text{ Cf. Moralia, } 537 \text{ a and 670 n.} \]
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.
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) 'H mên oûn mágwv ùgtholoujía toûs tôn éxei tró-
pon. (48.) Xaldaîoi de twôn plânhtwv ouês¹ theous
gevethlîous² kaloudî, duo mên ágadourquoûs, duo de
kakopoûs, mésoûs de touse treis ápothânuoi kai
kouûs. tâ d' 'Ellhîwn pâsi pole dêla, tûn mên
ágathîn Dîos 'Olymptîn merîda, tûn d' ápôtrôptaiou³
"Aîdov poioumênoû, ek d' 'Afrodîtês kai 'Ares
D 'Armonián vegonévai ùgtholouîntwv⁴. òn d' mên
apthês kai filônêikos, h' de meilîkios kai gevethlîos.
Skôpeî de toutos filosôphous toutois sumphero-
mênos. 'Hrákleitos mên gar ântikrûs polemuû
ônômákei " patora kai basilea kai krîwv pántwv,"
ak toûn mên "Oûmêroû evxómenon

êk te thewv évîn ek tevánwv époleôsôhai
lanthânein, ùsê, tû pántwv gevêsai katapômenon,
êk máxhês kai ântupathêsia tûn gevêsia évôntwv,
êlîn d' mi ùperebêsêsthâi toutos prôsthîkontas òropos;
ei d' miî, yorgwîntas⁵ mûn Dîkhês épikoûrous éx-
epirêsêv.

E 'Empedoklhîs de tûn mên ágadourgoûn árkhûn
"philôteta" kai "philîâv," pollâkis d' ârmonián

¹ ouês Wyttenbach: touês.
² gevethlîous Wyttenbach: gevêsthâi ouês.
³ ápôtrôptaiou Markland: ápôtrôptaiou.
⁴ muvboloûntw Bernardakis: mûboloûntaî.

² The translation is based on an emendation of Wytten-
bach'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, a 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 Aphroditê and Ares, b 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 c without reservation styles War "the Father and King and Lord of All," and he says that when Homer d 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 f 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.

b That is, from Love and War.

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

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

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

f Ibid. p. 232, Empedocles, no. 18 ; p. 239, no. 17, l. 19; and p. 269, no. 122 (= Moralia, 474 b).
καλεῖ "θεμερώπιν," 1 τὴν δὲ χείρονα "νεῖκος οὐλόμενον" καὶ "δήριν αἴματόεσσαν."

Οἱ μὲν Πυθαγορικοὶ διὰ πλεῖόνων ὀνομάτων κατηγοροῦσι τοῦ μὲν ἁγαθοῦ τὸ ἐν τὸ πεπερα- 
σμένον τὸ μένον τὸ εὐθὺ τὸ περίπτων τὸ τετράγωνον 
τὸ ἵσον 2 τὸ δεξίον τὸ λαμπρὸν, τοῦ δὲ κακοῦ τὴν 
δυᾶδα τὸ ἄπειρον, τὸ φερόμενον τὸ καμπύλον τὸ 
ἀρτιόν τὸ ἐτερόμηκες τὸ ἄνισον τὸ ἀριστερὸν τὸ 
σκοτειών, ὡς ταύτας ἁρχὰς γενέσεως ὑποκειμένας.

'Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ νοῦν καὶ ἄπειρον, 'Αριστοτέλης δὲ 
F τὸ μὲν εἴδος τὸ δὲ στέρησιν, Πλάτων δὲ πολλαχοῦ 
mὲν οἰὸν ἐπηλυγαζόμενος 3 καὶ παρακαλυπτόμενος 
tῶν ἐναντίων ἁρχῶν τὴν μὲν ταύτων ὀνομάζει, τὴν 
δὲ θάτερον· ἐν δὲ τοῖς Νόμοις ήδὴν ρεσβύτερος ὡν 
οὐ δι' αἰνιγμῶν οὐδ' συμβολικῶς, ἀλλ' κυρίου 
ὁνόμασον οὐ μιᾷ ψυχῇ φησὶ κινεῖσθαι τὸν κόσμον, 
ἀλλ' πλείοσιν ἵσως, δυοῦν δὲ πάντως οὐκ ἐλάττωσιν, 
ὡν 4 τὴν μὲν ἁγαθοργίαν εἶναι, τὴν δ' ἐναντίαν 
tαύτῃ καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων δημιουργόν· ἀπολείπει 
dὲ καὶ τρίτην τυα μεταξὺ φύσιν οὐκ ἄψυχον 
οὐδ' ἄλογον οὐδ' ἀκίνητον ἐξ αὐτῆς, ὡσπερ ἐνιοι 

371 νομίζουσιν, ἀλλ' ἅνακειμένην ἀμφότερον ἑκεῖναι, 
ἐφειμένην δὲ τῆς ἀμείνονος αἷ καὶ ποθοῦσαν 
καὶ διώκουσαν, ὡς τὰ ἐπίοντα δηλώσει τοῦ

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

The adherents of Pythagoras 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 Form and Privation, and Plato, 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 Laws, 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, 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

- Cf. Moralia, 881 e, and Aristotle, Metaphysics, i. 5 (986 a 22).
- Cf. Aristotle, Metaphysics, i. 9 (990 b).
- Timaeus, 35 a; cf. Moralia, 441 f.
- Plato, Laws, 896 ν ff.  
- Cf. 374 e, infra.
(371) λόγου τὴν Αἰγυπτίων θεολογίαν μάλιστα ταύτη τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ συνοικειοῦντος.

49. Μεμειγμένη γὰρ ἡ τοῦ κόσμου γένεσις καὶ σύστασις εἰς ἐναντίων οὗ μὴν ἱσοθενὼν δυνάμεων, ἀλλὰ τῆς βελτίωνος τὸ κράτος ἑστίν· ἀπολέσθαι δὲ τὴν φαύλην παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον, πολλὴν μὲν ἐμπεφυκὼν τῷ σώματι, πολλὴν δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ πάντος καὶ πρὸς τὴν βελτίωνα ἤει δυσμαχοῦσαν. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ ψυχῇ νοῦς καὶ λόγος ὁ τῶν ἀρίστων πάντων ἔγεμοι καὶ κύριος ὁ Οσιρίς ἑστιν, ἑν δὲ γῆ καὶ πνεύματι καὶ ὑδατί καὶ ὀλυναῖ καὶ ἀστροι τὸ τεταγμένον καὶ καθεστηκός καὶ ύψιάνων ὃραι καὶ κράσει καὶ περίοδοις ὁ Οσιρίδος ἀπορροή καὶ εἰκῶν ἐμφανομένη. Τυφών δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ παθητικὸν καὶ τιτανικὸν καὶ ἄλογον καὶ ἐμπληκτὸν τοῦ δὲ σωματικοῦ τὸ ἐπίκηρον καὶ νοσώδες καὶ ταρακτικῶν ἁωρίας καὶ δυσκρασίας, καὶ κρύφειν ἥλιον καὶ ἀφανισμὸς σελήνης, ὁδὸν ἔκδρομαι καὶ ἀφημιασμοὶ τυφώνος καὶ τούνομα κατηγορεῖ τὸ Σήθ, ὡς τὸν Τυφώνα καλοῦσι· φράζει μὲν τὸ κατα- δυναστεύον καὶ καταβιαζόμενον, φράζει δὲ τὸ ἁπλάκις ἀναστροφή καὶ πάλιν ὑπερπτήδησιν. Βεβωνα δὲ τินές μὲν ἐνα τῶν τοῦ τυφώνου ἑταίρων γεγονέναι λέγουσιν, Μανεβῶς δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν τυφώνα καὶ Βεβωνα καλείσθαι· σημαίνει δὲ τοῦνομα κάθεξιν

1 καὶ . . . ἄει Wytenbach: ἄει . . . καὶ.
2 ἐπίκηρον Xylander (ἐπιληπτον?): ἐπικήρον.
3 ἁωρίας Baxter: ἀβρίας.
4 ἀφημιασμοῖ Markland: ἀφανισμοὶ.
5 ὁ Xylander: αὐτῷ·
6 τὸ] τὴν Markland.
7 ὑπερπτήδησιν] ὑπεκπτήδησιν Holwerda.
8 Mavedos δὲ Markland: μάνεβος.
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) ἡ κόλυσιν, ὡς τοῖς πράγμασιν ὅδε βαδίζουσι καὶ πρὸς ὁ χρῆ φερομένων ἐνισταμένης τῆς τοῦ Τυ- φῶνος δυνάμεως. (50.) διὸ καὶ τῶν μὲν ἡμέρων ζώων ἀπονέμουσιν αὐτῷ τὸ ἀμαθέστατον, ὅνον· τῶν δ' ἀγρίων τὰ θηριωδέστατα, κροκόδειλον καὶ τὸν ποτάμιον ἵππον.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ ὅνου προδεδηλῶκαμεν. ἐν Ἕρμοῦ πόλει δὲ Τυφῶνος ἀγαλμα δεικνύουσιν ἵππον ποτάμιον· ἐφ' οὐ βεβηκεν ἱεραξ ὅφει μαχόμενος, τῷ 

D μὲν ἱππῷ τῷ Τυφώνῳ δεικνύτες, τῷ δ' οἴρακι δύναμιν καὶ ἄρχην, ἢν βία κτώμενος δ' Τυφών πολ· λάκις ὁμιλεῖ ἀνύεται1 ταραττόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς κακίας καὶ ταράττων. διὸ καὶ θύσιν τῆς ἔβδομη τοῦ Τυβί μνήσις, ἢν καλοῦσιν ἄφιξιν Ίσιδος ἐκ Φουίκης, ἐπιπλάττουσι τοῖς ποτανοῖς ἱππον ποτάμιον δεδε· μένον. ἐν δ' Ἀπόλλωνος πόλει νενομισμένον ἐστὶ κροκόδειλον φαγεῖν πάντως ἕκαστον' ἡμέρα δὲ μιᾶ 

θηρεύσαντες ὅσοις ἃν δύνανται καὶ κτείναντες ἀπαντικρῷ τοῦ ἵεροῦ προβάλλουσι· καὶ λέγουσιν ὡς ὁ Τυφών τὸν Ὀρον ἀπέδρα κροκόδειλος γενόμενος, 

Ε πάντα καὶ ζώα καὶ φυτὰ καὶ πάθη τὰ φαῦλα καὶ 

βλαβερὰ Τυφῶνος ἕργα καὶ μέρη καὶ3 κινήματα 

ποιούμενοι.

51. Τὸν δ' Ὄσιριν αὖ πάλιν ὀφθαλμῷ καὶ σκή· πτρῳ γράφουσι, ἢν τὸ μὲν τὴν πρόνοιαν ἐμ· φαίνει,4 τὸ δὲ τὴν δύναμιν, ὡς Ὀμηρος τὸν ἄρχοντα

1 μὲν οὖν Markland: μὲν.
2 ἀνύεται Strijd; ἀνύεται Markland: ἀνίκτα.
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

c Cf. Herodotus, ii. 69; Aelian, De Natura Animalium, x. 21; Strabo, xvii. 1. 47 (p. 817).
d Cf. 354 r, supra.
e Homer, Iliad, viii. 22.
καὶ βασιλεύοντα πάντων "Ζήν' ύπατον καὶ μή-στωρα" καλῶν, ἔοικε τῷ μὲν ύπάτω τὸ κράτος αὐτοῦ, τῷ δὲ μήστωρι τὴν εὐβουλίαν καὶ τὴν φρόνησιν σημαίνειν. γράφοντι καὶ ἱέρακι τόν θεόν τοῦτον πολλάκις: εὐτονία γὰρ ὁφεις ὑπερβάλλει καὶ πτήσεως ὁξύτητι, καὶ διοικεῖν αὐτὸν ἐλαχίστῃ

Πανταχοῦ δὲ καὶ ἄνθρωπόμορφον Ὄσιρδος ἀγαλμα δεικνύοσιν, ἔξορθιάζον τῷ αἰδοῖῳ διὰ τὸ γόνυμον καὶ τὸ τρόφιμον. ἀμπεχώνη δὲ φλογοειδεὶ 372 στέλλουσιν4 αὐτοῦ τὰς εἰκόνας, ἥλιον σῶμα5 τῆς τάγαθος δυνάμεως ωσ ὀρατὸν οὐσίας νοητῆς ἡγουμενοί. διὸ καὶ καταφροείν άξιόν ἐστὶ τῶν τὴν ἥλιον σφαίραν Τυφών προσεμόντων, ὃ λαμπρὸν οὐδὲν οὐδέ σωτήριον οὐδὲ τάξις οὐδὲ γένεσις οὐδὲ κίνησις μέτρον ἔχουσα καὶ λόγον, ἀλλὰ τάναντια προσήκει καὶ αὐχμόν, ὃ6 φθείρει πολλά τῶν ζώων καὶ βλαστανόντων, οὐχ ἥλιον θετέον ἐργον, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐν γῆ καὶ ἀέρι μη καθ7 ὃπαν κερανυμένων

1 ἐλαχίστῃ Bernardakis: ἐλάχιστα τῇ.
2 ὅμμασι] σῶμα Xylander.
3 πιόμενος Bernardakis: πιόμενος.
4 ἀμπεχώνη . . . στέλλουσι Baxter: ἀμπεχώνῃ δὲ φλογοειδῆς στέλλουσα.
5 σῶμα] ὅμμα Markland.

* Cf. Aelian, De Natura Animalium, ii. 42, and Porphyry, De Abstinentia, iv. 9.  
* Ibid. x. 24.
calling the Lord and King of all "Zeus supreme and counsellor" appears by "supreme" to signify his prowess and by "counsellor" 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 \(^a\); 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,\(^b\) 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 \(^c\); 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.\(^d\) Therefore it is only right and fair to contemn those who assign the orb of the Sun to Typhon,\(^e\) 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,\(^f\) 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

\(^{e} Cf. 365 b, supra.\)
\(^{a} Cf. 393 d\) and \(^{477 c, infra.}\)
\(^{c} Cf. 372 e, infra.\)
\(^{f} Cf. 367 d, supra.\)
(372) πνευμάτων καὶ ὦδάτων, ὅταν ή τῆς ἀτάκτου καὶ ἀορίστου δυνάμεως ἀρχή πλημμελήσασα κατασβέσῃ τὰς ἀναθυμίασις.

B 52. Ἔν δὲ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὄμνοις τοῦ Ὀσίριδος ἀνακαλοῦντα τὸν ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλας κρυπτόμενον τοῦ ἤλιου, καὶ τῇ τριακάδι τοῦ Ἐπιφί μηνός ἐορτάζοντων ὀφθαλμῶν "Ὡρου γενέθλιον, ὡτε σελήνη καὶ ἤλιος ἔπι μιᾶς εὐθείας γεγόνασιν, ὡς οὐ μόνον τὴν σελήνην ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἤλιον ὦμμα τοῦ Ὡρου καὶ φῶς ἤγουμενοι.

Τῇ δὲ ὕστερῃ φθίνοντος τοῦ Φαωφὶ βακτηρίας ἤλιου γενέθλιον ἁγουσι μετὰ φθυσπωρηνήν ἵσημερίαν, ἐμφαίνοντες ὅλον ὑπερείσματος δείσθαι καὶ ῥώσεως, τῷ τε θερμῷ γιγνώμενον καὶ τῷ φωτὶ C ένδεα, κλινόμενον καὶ πλάγιον ἄφ' ἤμων φερόμενον.

"Ετε δὲ τῶν βοῶν ὑπὸ τροπᾶς χειμερινὰς ἐπτάκις περὶ τὸν ναὸν περιφέρουσι τοῦ Ἡλίου." καὶ καλεῖται ζήτησις Ὀσίριδος ἡ περιδρομή, τὸ ὕδωρ χειμῶνος τῆς θεοῦ ποθούσης· τοσαυτάκις δὲ περίμασι, ὡς τὴν ἀπὸ τροπῶν χειμερινῶν ἐπὶ τροπᾶς θερινᾶς πάροδον ἐβδομῶν μηνὶ συμπεραίνει. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ θῦσαι τῷ ἤλιῳ τετράδι μηνὸς ισταμένου πάντων πρῶτος Ὡρος ὅ Ἐσιδος, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγραφομένοις Γενεθλίοις Ὡρου γέγραπται.

Καὶ μὴν ἡμέρας ἐκάστης τριχῶς ἐπιθυμιώσι τῷ Ἡλίῳ, ῥητίνῃν μὲν ὑπὸ τὰς ἀνατολὰς, σμύρναν δὲ μεσουρανοῦντι, τὸ δὲ καλοῦμενον κὐφὶ περὶ δυσμᾶς.

1 γενέθλιον Bentley: γενέσθαι διν.
2 καὶ Petavius: ένδεα καὶ.
3 In the mss. τοῦ Ἡλίου follows περιδρομή and not περιφέρουσι; transposed by Pinder.
4 περίμασι Wytenbach: περίεισι.
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 \(\lambda\), supra.
(372) ὃν ἐκαστὸν δὲν ἔχει λόγον, ὑστερον ἀφηγήσομαι. τὸν δ' ἦλιον πάσι τούτοις προστρέψεσθαι1 καὶ θερα-
πεύειν οἴονται. καὶ τι δὲι πολλὰ τοιαῦτα συνάγειν;
εἰς γὰρ οἱ τὸν "Οσιριν ἀντικρὺς ἦλιον εἶναι καὶ
ὄνομάζοσθαι σεῖριον ύφ' Ἐλλήνων λέγοντες, εἰ καὶ
παρ' Ἀιγυπτίων ἡ πρόσθεσις2 τοῦ ἄρθρου τούνομα
πεποίηκεν ἀμφιγνοεῖσθαι, τὴν δ' Ἰσιων οὐχ ἔτέραν
τῆς σελήνης ἀποφαίνοντες. θέν3 καὶ τῶν ἀγαλ-
mάτων αὐτῆς τὰ μὲν κερασφόρα τοῦ μνημείους
γεγονέναι μμημάτα, τοῖς δὲ μελανοστολοῖς ἐμ-
φαίνοσθαι4 τὰς κρύψεις καὶ τοὺς περισκιασμοὺς ἐν
οἷς διώκει ποθοῦσα τὸν ἦλιον. διὸ καὶ πρὸς τὰ
Ε ἐρωτικὰ τὴν σελήνην ἐπικαλοῦνται, καὶ τὴν Ἰσιων
Εὐδοξός φησὶ βραβεύειν τὰ ἐρωτικά. καὶ τούτοις
μὲν ἀμωσγέπως5 τοῦ πιθανοῦ μέτεστι, τῶν δὲ
Τυφώνα ποιοῦντων τὸν ἦλιον οὐδ' ἀκούειν ἄξιον.
'Αλλ' ἥμεισις αὐθις τὸν οὐκεῖον ἀναλάβωμεν λόγον.
(53.) ἡ γὰρ Ἰσιος ἐστι μὲν τὸ τῆς φύσεως θῆλυ,
καὶ δεκτικῶν ἀπάσης γενέσεως, καθὸ τιθήνη καὶ
πανδεχῆς ύπὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος, ύπὸ δὲ τῶν πολλῶν
μυριώνυμος κέκληται, διὰ τὸ πάσας ύπὸ τοῦ λόγου
τρεπομένη μορφᾶς δέχεσθαι καὶ ἰδέας. ἔχει δὲ
σύμφυτον ἔρωτα τοῦ πρώτου καὶ κυριωτάτου
πάντων, ὃ τάγαθῶ ταὐτὸν ἐστὶ κάκεινο ποθεὶ καὶ
Γ διώκει: τὴν δ' ἕκ τοῦ κακοῦ φεύγει καὶ διωθεῖται

1 προστρέψεσθαι Madvig: προστρέψεσθαι.
4 ἐμφαίνεσθαι Markland: ἐμφαίνοσθι.
5 ἀμωσγέπως Markland: ἀλλως γέ πως.

a Cf. 383 λ-end, infra.
b An attempt to connect ὁ Οσιρὶς and ὁ Σίριος? Cf.
Diodorus, i. 11. 3-4.
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reason which underlies each one of these offerings I will describe later.\textsuperscript{a} 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\textsuperscript{b} 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\textsuperscript{c} 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

\textsuperscript{c} Cf. Plato, Timaeus, 49\textsuperscript{a} and 51\textsuperscript{a}; also Moralia, 1014\textsuperscript{d}, 1015\textsuperscript{d}, and 1023\textsuperscript{a}. 

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μόραν, ἀμφότερα μὲν οὖσα χώρα καὶ ὕλη, ρέπουσα δὲ ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον εξ ἐαυτῆς καὶ παρέχουσα γεννῶν ἐκείνων καὶ κατασπείρειν εἰς ἐαυτὴν ἀπορροάς καὶ ὀμοιότητας, αἰς χαίρει καὶ γέγοιτο νυώσκομένη καὶ ὑποπιμπλαμένη τῶν γενέσεων. εἰκών γὰρ ἐστὶν οὐσίας ἐν ὕλῃ γένεσις καὶ μύημα τοῦ ὄντος τὸ γιγνόμενον.

373 54. "Οθεν οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου μυθολογοῦσι τὴν Ὀσίριδος ψυχὴν ἄιδον εἶναι καὶ ἀφθαρτον, τὸ δὲ σῶμα πολλάκις διαστάν καὶ ἀφανίζειν τὸν Τυφώνα, τὴν δ' Ἰσις πλανωμένην καὶ ζητεῖν καὶ συν-αρμότειν πάλιν. τὸ γὰρ ὁν καὶ νοητὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν φθορᾶς καὶ μεταβολῆς κρείττον ἐστίν. ἂς δ' ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ τὸ αἰσθητὸν καὶ σωματικὸν εἰκόνας ἐκμάττεται, καὶ λόγους καὶ εἰδῆ καὶ ὀμοιότητας ἀναλαμβάνει, καθάπερ ἐν κηρῷ σφραγίδες οὐκ ἂεὶ διαμένουσιν, ἀλλὰ καταλαμβάνει τὸ ἀτακτὸν αὐτὸς.

Β καὶ ταραχῶδες ἐνταῦθα τῆς ἄνω χώρας ἀπεληλαμένου καὶ μαχώμενον πρὸς τὸν Ὄρον, ὅν ἡ Ἰσίς εἰκόνα τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου αἰσθητοῦ ὁντα γεννα. διὸ καὶ δύκην φεύγειν λέγεται νοθείας ὑπὸ Τυφώνον, ὅς οὖν ὃν καθαρὸς οὐδ' εἰλικρινῆς οἶδο δ' πατήρ, λόγος αὐτὸς καθ' ἐαυτὸν ἀμύησι καὶ ἀπαθῆς, ἀλλὰ νεοθεμένος τῇ ὕλῃ διὰ τὸ σωματικὸν. περιγιγνεται δὲ καὶ νικᾶκ, τοῦ 'Ερμοῦ, τούτωστι τοῦ λόγου, μαρτυροῦντοι καὶ δεικνύοντος ὁτι πρὸς τὸ νοητὸν ἡ φύσις μετασχηματιζομένη τὸν κόσμον ἀποδίδω-

1 ἐκείνω Baxter: ἐκεῖνο.
2 ἀπορροάς the more common form: ἀπορροαίς.
3 καὶ ζητεῖν] ἀναζητεῖν Markland.
4 ἂς Wytenbach: τινὰς.
5 περιγιγνεται δὲ καὶ νικᾶ Xylander: περιγιγνονται δὲ καὶ νικαί.
them both as a place and means of growth, but in-
clines 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\(^a\); 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 im-
pressions 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,\(^b\) 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 un-
contaminated 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,\(^b\) 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 a, supra. \(^b\) Cf. 358 d, supra.
(373) συν. ἢ μὲν γὰρ, ἔτι τῶν θεών ἐν γαστρὶ τῆς 'Ρέας ὄντων, ἔξ Ἰσιδος καὶ Ὀσίριδος γενομένη1 γένεσιν Ὕμη ναί τὸν κόσμον καὶ συντελεσθήναι τῷ λόγῳ2 τῆν ὑλήν, φύσει ἐλεγχομένην ἀπ' αὐτῆς3 ἀτελῆ τῆν πρώτην γένεσιν ἐξενεγκεῖν. διό καὶ φασί τὸν θεὸν ἐκείνον ἀνάπηρον ὑπὸ σκότω γενέσθαι, καὶ πρεσβύτερον Ὡρὸν καλοῦσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν κόσμος, ἀλλ' εἴδωλον τι καὶ κόσμου φάντασμα μέλλοντος.

55. Ο δ' Ὡρος οὕτος αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὑρισμένος καὶ τέλειος, οὐκ ἀνηρκικὸς τὸν Τυφώνα παντάπασιν, ἄλλα τὸ δραστήριον καὶ ἵσχυρὰν αὐτοῦ παρηρμένος. οἶθεν ἐν Κοπτῷ τὸ ἁγαλμα τοῦ Ὡρον λέγουσιν ἐν τῇ ἐτέρᾳ χειρὶ Τυφώνος αἰδοίᾳ κατέχειν· καὶ τὸν 'Ἐρμῆν μυθολογοῦσιν ἔξελόντα τοῦ Τυφώνος τὰ νεώρα χορδαῖς χρήσασθαι, διδάσκοντες ὡς τὸ πάν ὁ λόγος διαρμοσάμενος σύμφωνον εἰς ἀσυμφώνων μερῶν ἐποίησε, καὶ τὴν φθαρτικὴν ὅπειρα ἀπώλεσεν ἀλλ' ἀνεπήρωσε4 δύναμιν. οἶθεν ἐκεῖνη μὲν ἀσθενὴς καὶ ἀδρανὴς ἐνταῦθα φυρομένη καὶ προσπλεκομένη τοῖς παθητικοῖς καὶ μεταβολικοῖς μέρεσι,5 σεισμῶν μὲν ἐν γη καὶ τρόμων, αὐχμῶν δ' ἐν6 ἀέρι καὶ πνευμάτων ἀτόπων, αὕθις δὲ πρηστήρων καὶ κεραυνῶν δημιουργός ἐστι. φαρμάττει δὲ καὶ λοιμῶις ύδατα καὶ πνεύματα, καὶ μέχρι σελήνης ἄνατρεξει καὶ ἀναχαίτιζε συνχέουσα7 καὶ μελαιόουσα πολλάκις τὸ λαμπρὸν, ὡς Αἰγύπτιοι

1 γενομένη] λεγομένη Hartman.
2 τῷ λόγῳ Markland: τοῦ λόγου.
3 ἀπ' αὐτῆς F.C.B.; ἐξ' αὐτῆς Markland: ἐπ' 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

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

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\(^{6}\text{ ἐν Xylander: καὶ ἐν.}\)

\(^{7}\text{ ἀνυχέουσα Baxter: ἀνεχέουσα.}\)
Ενομίζουσι καὶ λέγουσιν, ὅτι τοῦ Ὡροῦ νῦν μὲν ἐπάταξε, νῦν δὲ ἐξελὼν κατέπινε ὁ Τυφῶν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, εἰς τῷ ἡλίῳ πάλιν ἀπέδωκε· πληγὴν μὲν αἰνιττόμενοι τὴν κατὰ μήνα μείωσιν τῆς σελήνης, πήρωσιν δὲ τὴν ἐκλειψιν, ἢν δὲ ἕλιος ἱάται διαφυγούσῃ τὴν σκιαν τῆς γῆς εὐθὺς ἀντιλάμπτων. 56. Ἡ δὲ κρείττων καὶ θειότερα φύσις ἐκ τριῶν ἔστι, τοῦ νοητοῦ καὶ τῆς ἔλεγχος καὶ τοῦ ἐκ τούτων, Γ δὲν κόσμον Ἑλληνες ὀνομάζουσιν. ὃ μὲν οὖν Ἡλίας τὸ μὲν νοητὸν καὶ ἰδέαν καὶ παράδειγμα καὶ πατέρα, τὴν δ' ἔλεγχον καὶ μητέρα καὶ τιθήνην ἐδραν τε καὶ χώραν γενέσεως, τὸ δ' ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἔγγονον καὶ γένεσιν ὀνομάζειν εἰώθεν.

Αἰγυπτίων δ' ἂν τις εἰκάσει τῶν τριγώνων τὸ κάλλιστον τιμῶν μάλιστα τοῦτῳ τῇ τοῦ παντὸς φύσιν ὁμοιοῦντας, ὡς καὶ Ἡλίας τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ δοκεῖ τούτῳ προσκεχρήσθαι τὸ γαμήλιον διάγραμμα συντάσσων. ἔχει δ' ἐκείνῳ τὸ τρίγωνον τριῶν τὴν πρὸς ὀρθίαν καὶ τεττάρων τὴν βάσιν καὶ πέντε

374 τὴν ὑποτείνουσαν ἵσον ταῖς περιεχούσαις δυναμένην. εἰκαστέων οὖν τὴν μὲν πρὸς ὀρθὰς ἀρρενι, τὴν δὲ βάσιν θηλεία, τὴν δ' ὑποτείνουσαν ἀμφοῖν ἔγγονω, καὶ τὸν μὲν Ὁσιρων ὡς ἄρχην, τὴν δ' Ὁσιω ὡς ὑποδοχὴν, τὸν δ' Ὡρων ὡς ἀποτέλεσμα. τὰ μὲν γὰρ τριά πρῶτος περίττος ἐστὶ καὶ τέλειος· τὰ δὲ τέταρτα τετράγωνον ἀπὸ πλευρὰς ἀρτίου τῆς δυάδος· τὰ δὲ πέντε πη μὲν τῷ πατρὶ πη δὲ την εἰώθεν

1 διαφυγούσῃ Bentley: διαφυγούσης.
2 ἔγγονον Emperius: ἔγγονον.
3 τιμῶν added by Michael and F.C.B.
4 ὡς Markland: φ.
5 ὀρθὰς] 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 δυάδος. καὶ τὰ πάντα τῶν πέντε γέγονε παρώνυμα, καὶ τὸ ἄριθμός σασθαί περιτάσσασθαι λέγουσιν. πονεὶ δὲ τετράγωνον ἢ πεντάς ἁφ' ἑαυτῆς, ὅσον
Β τῶν γραμμάτων παρ' Ἀιγυπτίωις τὸ πλῆθὸς ἔστι, καὶ ὅσων ἐνιαυτῶν ἔξη χρόνον ὁ ᾿Άπις.

Τὸν¹ μὲν οὖν ᾿Ωρον εἰώθασι καὶ Μιν² προσαγαρέωεν, ὁπερ ἐστὶν ὁρώμενον: αἰσθητὸν γὰρ καὶ ὁρατὸν ὁ κόσμος. ἤ δ' ᾿Ιους ἐστιν ὅτε καὶ Μοῦθ καὶ πάλιν "Ἀθυρ καὶ Μεθύρ προσαγορεύεται" σημαίνουσι δὲ τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ τῶν ὄνομάτων μητέρα: τῷ δὲ δευτέρῳ οἶκον "Ωρον κόσμον, ὡς καὶ Πλάτων χώραν γενέσεως καὶ δεξαμενήν· τὸ δὲ τρίτὸν σύνθετον ἔστιν ἐκ τε τοῦ πλήρους καὶ τοῦ αἰτίου⁴: πλήρης γὰρ ἐστιν ἡ ὑλή τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῷ ἀγαθῷ καὶ καθαρῷ καὶ κεκοσμημένῳ σύνεσιν.

C 57. Δόξειε δ' ἄν ἰωσ καὶ Ἡσίόδος τὰ πρώτα πάντα⁵ χάος καὶ γῆ καὶ τάρταρον καὶ ἔρωτα ποιῶν ὅν έτέρας λαμβάνειν ἀρχάς, ἀλλὰ ταύτας, ἐὰν δὴ τῶν ὄνομάτων τῇ μὲν ᾿Ησιδι τὸ τῆς γῆς, τῷ δ' ῾Οσιρίδι τὸ τοῦ ἐρωτός, τῷ δὲ Τυφώνι τὸ τοῦ ταρτάρου μεταλαμβάνοντες πως⁸ ἀποδίδομεν: τὸ γὰρ χάος δοκεῖ χώραν τινὰ καὶ τόπον τοῦ παντὸς ὑποτίθεσθαι.

Προσκαλεῖται δὲ καὶ τὸν Πλάτωνος ἀμωσγέτως τὰ πράγματα μῦθον, ὃν Σωκράτης ἐν Συμμοσίῳ περὶ τῆς τοῦ ᾿Ερωτός γενέσεως διήλθε, τῆν Πενίαν λέγων τέκνων δεσμεύνη τῷ Πόρῳ καθεύδοντι

¹ ὁ ᾿Άπις: τὸν Χυλαντε, confirmed by one ms.: ὁ ᾿Απιστὸν most mss.
² καὶ Μιν Pinder and one ms.: Καὶμιν.
³ προσαγορεύεται Basel ed. of 1542: προσαγορεύουσι.
⁴ αἰτίου] ἀγαθοῦ Markland; ᾿ἀρτίου Reiske (ἀγίου?).
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 \(B\).

\(^5\) \(\pi\alpha\upsilon\tau\rho\alpha\nu\rho\) [\(\pi\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\nu\omicron\) Baxter. \(^6\) \(\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\sigma\) \(\tau\alpha\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma\) Halm. 
\(^7\) \(\epsilon\iota\ F.C.B.\); \(\epsilon\iota\gamma\epsilon\) Xylander: \(\gamma\epsilon\). \(^8\) \(\pi\omega\varsigma\) Reiske: \(\omega\varsigma\).
(374) παρακληθήναι, καὶ κυήσασαν εὖ αὐτοῦ τεκεῖν τοῦ
D Ἐρωτα, φῦσει μεικτὸν ὁντα καὶ παντοδαπὸν, ἀτε
dὴ πατρὸς μὲν ἀγαθοῦ καὶ σοφοῦ καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτ-
άρκους, μητρὸς δ᾿ ἄμηχάνου καὶ ἀπόρου καὶ δι᾿
ἐνδειαν ἀεὶ γλυχομένης ἐτέρου καὶ περὶ ἑτερον
λιπαροῦσης γεγενημένον. ὁ γὰρ Πόρος οὐχ ἑτερὸς
ἐστὶ τοῦ πρώτου ἔρατον καὶ ἑφετοῦ καὶ τελείου καὶ
αὐτάρκους. Πενίαν δὲ τὴν ὕλην προσεῖπεν, ἐνδει
mὲν οὖσαν αὐτὴν καθ’ ἐαυτὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, πληρο-
mένην δ᾿ ὑπ᾿ αὐτοῦ καὶ ποθοῦσαν ἀεὶ καὶ μεταλλα-
μβάνουσαν. ὁ δὲ γενόμενος ἐκ τοῦτον κόσμον καὶ
Ὤρος οὐκ ἁίδιος οὐδ᾿ ἀπαθὴς οὐδ᾿ ἀφθαρτός, ἀλλ᾽
Ἐ ἀειγενῆς ὁν μηχανάται ταῖς τῶν παθῶν μεταβολαῖς
καὶ περίοδοις ἀεὶ νέος καὶ μηδέποτε φθαρομένοι
διαμένειν.

58. Χρηστέον δὲ τοῖς μύθοις οὐχ ὡς λόγοι
πάμπαν οὖσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρόσφορον ἐκαστοῦ τὸ κατὰ
τὴν ὁμοιότητα λαμβάνοντας. ὅταν οὖν ὑλὴν λέγω-
μεν, οὐ δὲ πρὸς ἑνίων φιλοσόφων δόξας ἀποφερο-
μένους ἄψυχον τι σῶμα καὶ ἄποιοι ἀργὸν τε καὶ
ἀπρακτὸν εὖ ἑαυτοῦ διανοεῖσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἔλαιον
ὑλὴν μύρου καλοῦμεν, χρυσὸν ἀγάλματος, οὐκ οὖντα
πάσης ἔρημα ποιότητος· αὐτὴν τε τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ
Γ τὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὡς ὕλην ἐπιστήμην καὶ
ἀρέτης τῷ λόγῳ κοσμεῖν καὶ ῥυθμίζειν παρέχομεν·
tὸν τε νοῦν ἐνιοὶ τότον εἰδὼν ἀπεφήναντο καὶ τῶν
νοητῶν οἶον ἐκμαγεῖον.

1 μεικτὸν Xylander: μακρόν.
2 ἔρατον Markland: ἔραστον.
3 τὸ κατά] κατὰ Wytenbach.
4 ποιότητος Xylander: ὁμοιότητος.
5 εἰδὼν] ἰδεὼν 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,\(^a\) 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,\(^b\) 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.\(^c\)

\(^a\) Cf. 373\(d\), supra.
\(^b\) Cf. 370\(f\), supra, and Diogenes Laertius, vii. 134.
\(^c\) Cf. Aristotle, De Anima, iii. 4 (429 a 27).

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"Ενιοι δὲ καὶ τὸ σπέρμα τῆς γυναικὸς οὐ δύναμιν οὐδ’ ἀρχὴν, ὑλὴ δὲ καὶ τροφὴν γενέσεως εἶναι δοξάζουσιν. ὅν ἐχομένους χρὴ καὶ τὴν θεοῦ ταύτην οὕτω διανοεῖσθαι τοῦ πρῶτον θεοῦ μεταλαγχάνουσαν· αἰεὶ καὶ συνούσαν ἐρωτὶ τῶν περὶ ἐκεῖνον 375 ἀγαθῶν καὶ καλῶν, οὕτω ὑπεναντίαν ἀλλ’ ὡσπερ ἄνδρα νόμιμον καὶ δικαίον ἔραν ὧν δικαίως συνῇ καὶ γυναῖκα χρηστὴν ἔχουσαν ἄνδρα καὶ συνούσαν ὅμως ποθεῖν λέγομεν, οὕτως αἰεὶ γλυχομένην ἐκείνου καὶ περὶ ἐκείνον λυπαροῦσαν· καὶ ἀναπυμπλαμένην τοὺς κυριωτάτους μέρεσιν καὶ καθαρωτάτους· (59.) ὅπου δ’ ὧν Τυφών παρεμπέπτει τῶν ἐσχάτων ἀπτόμενος, ἐνταῦθα δοκοῦσαν ἐπισκυθρωπάζειν καὶ πενθείν λεγομένην καὶ λείψαν’ ἅττα καὶ σπαράγματα τοῦ Ὀσύριδος ἀναιρεῖτε καὶ στολίζειν, ὑποδεχομένην τὰ φθειρόμενα καὶ ἀποκρύπτοσαν,

Β ὡσπερ3 ἀναφαίνει πάλιν τὰ γιγνόμενα καὶ ἀνίησιν εὐς ἐαυτῆς.

Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἀστροὶς λόγοι καὶ εἰδή καὶ ἀπορροαὶ τοῦ θεοῦ μένουσι, τὰ δὲ τοὺς παθητικοῖς διεισφημένα, γῆ καὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ φυτοῖς καὶ ζώοις, διαλυόμενα4 καὶ φθειρόμενα καὶ θαπτόμενα, πολλάκις5 αὕθις ἐκλάμπει καὶ ἀναφαίνεται ταῖς γενεσει. διὸ τὸν Τυφώνα τῇ Νέφθυι συνοικεῖν φήσιν ὃ μόθος, τὸν δ’ ὧν Ὀσύριν κρύφα συγγενόσθαι. τὰ γὰρ ἐσχατὰ μέρη τῆς Ὕλης, ἠ Νέφθυν καὶ Τελευτήν καλοῦσιν, ἥ φθαρτική μάλιστα κατέχει δύναμις.
Some think the seed of Woman is not a power or origin, but only material and nurture of generation.\(^a\) 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\(^b\) 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\(^c\) and that Osiris has secret relations with her\(^d\); for the destructive power exercises special dominion over the outermost part of matter which they call Nephthys or Finality.\(^e\) But the creating

\(^a\) Cf. Moralia, 651 c, and 905 c.
\(^b\) Cf. 372 e, and 383 a, infra.
\(^c\) Cf. 356 a, supra.
\(^d\) Cf. the note on 356 e, supra.
\(^e\) Cf. 355 f and 366 b, supra.
(375) ἡ δὲ γόνιμος καὶ σωτήριος ἀσθενές σπέρμα καὶ

C ἀμαυρόν εἰς ταῦτα διαδίδωσι, ἀπολλύμενον ὑπὸ
tοῦ Τυφώνος, πλην ὦσον ἡ Ἡσιος ὑπολαμβάνουσα
σώζει καὶ τρέφει καὶ συνίστησι.

60. Καθόλου δ〞 ἀμείνων οὖτός ἐστὶν, ὦσπερ καὶ
Πλάτων ὑπονοεῖ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης. κινεῖται δὲ τῆς
φύσεως τὸ μὲν γόνιμον καὶ σωτήριον ἐπ” αὐτὸν καὶ
πρὸς τὸ εἶναι, τὸ δ〞 ἀναιρετικὸν καὶ φθαρτικὸν ἀπ’
αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὸ μὴ εἶναι. διὸ τὸ μὲν Ἡσιον κα-
λοῦσι παρὰ τὸ ἵσσθαι μετ’ ἐπιστήμης καὶ φέρεσθαι,
κίνησιν οὖσαν ἐμψυχον καὶ φρόνιμον. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ
τούυνομα βαρβαρικόν, ἀλλ” ὦσπερ τοῖς θεοῖς πᾶσιν
ἀπὸ δυνῶν ῥημάτων τοῦ θεατοῦ καὶ τοῦ θεόντος

D ἐστὶν ὠνόμα κοινὸν, οὖtw τὴν θεοῦ ταύτην ἀπὸ τῆς
ἐπιστήμης ἄμα καὶ τῆς κινήσεως Ἡσιον μὲν ἡμεῖς,
Ἡσιον δ〞 Αἰγύπτιοι καλοῦσιν. οὖtw δὲ καὶ Πλάτων
φησί τὴν οὐσίαν δηλοῦν τοὺς παλαιὸς “ἡσίαν”
καλοῦνται: οὖτω καὶ τὴν νόησιν καὶ τὴν φρόνησιν,
ὡς νοῦ φοράν καὶ κίνησιν οὖσαν ἱερόν καὶ φερο-
μένου, καὶ τὸ ἑυσίειαν καὶ τάγαθον ὀλως καὶ ἄρε-
τὴν ἐπι τοῖς ἂεὶ ῥέοντι καὶ θέους θέσθαι: καθάπερ
αὐ πάλιν τοῖς ἀντιφωνοῦσιν ὄνομασι λοιδορεῖσθαι
tο κακόν, τὸ τῆς φύσιν ἐμποδίζου καὶ συνδέον καὶ

1 ἀπολλύμενον Bentley: ἀπολλυμενη or -μένους.

2 ἀπ’ Squire: ὑπ’.

3 ῥημάτων Markland: γραμμάτων.

4 οὐσίαν Baxter from Plato, Cratylus, 401 c: ὀσίαν.

5 ἡσίαν] ἡσίαν or ἡσίαν in Plato, ibid.

6 τὸ Baxter: τοῦ.

7 ἂεὶ ῥέοντι 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.\(^a\)

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" (\(\text{hiemai}\)) with understanding,\(^b\) or being
borne onward (\(\text{pheromai}\)), 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" (\(\text{theaton}\))
and "rushing" (\(\text{theon}\)), 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" (\(\text{ousia}\)) by calling it "sense" (\(\text{isia}\)). 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.
(375) ἵσχον καὶ κωλύον ἰέσθαι καὶ ἱέναι κακίαν ἀπορίαν
dειλίαν ἀνίαν προσαγορεύοντας.¹

61. Ὁ δ' Ὡσιρὶς ἐκ τοῦ ὀσίου καὶ ἱεροῦ τὸ ὄνομα
μεμειγμένον ἔσχηκε· κοινὸς γάρ ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ
Ε καὶ τῶν ἐν "Αἴδου λόγος· ὃν τὰ μὲν ἱερὰ τὰ δ' ὁσία
tois παλαιοῖς ἐθος³ ἢ προσαγορεύειν. ὁ δ' ἀναφαίνων
tα οὐρανία καὶ τῶν ἄνω φερομένων
λόγος Ὁνουβίς,⁴ ἐστὶ δ' ὅτε καὶ Ἔρμανουβίς ὄνομα
μάζεται, τὸ μὲν ὡς τοῖς ἄνω τὸ δ' ὡς τοῖς κάτω
προσήκων. διὸ καὶ θύουσαν αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν λευκὸν
ἀλεκτρυόνα, τὸ δὲ⁵ κροκίαν, τὰ μὲν εἰλικρινῆ καὶ
φανά, τὰ δὲ μεικτὰ καὶ ποικίλα νομίζουντες.

Οὐ δὲ δὲ θαυμάζειν τῶν ὄνομάτων τήν εἰς τὸ
Εὐληνικὸν ἀνάπλασιν καὶ γάρ ἄλλα μυρία τοῖς
μεθυσταμένοις ἐκ τῆς Ἐλλάδος συνεκπεσόντα μέχρι
F νῦν παραμένει καὶ ἕνειτεύει παρ' ἑτέροις, ὅν ἔνια
τήν ποιητικὴν ἀνακαλυμμένην διαβάλλουσιν ὡς
μεθυσταμένοις ἐκ τῆς Ἐλλάδος συνεκπεσόντα μέχρι

1 προσαγορεύοντας Reiske: προσαγορευόντων.
2 καὶ added in the Aldine ed.
3 ἐθος added by Markland.
4 λόγος Ὁνουβίς Reiske: ἀνουβίς λόγος.
5 τὸ μὲν ... τὸ δὲ Reiske: τὸν μὲν ... τὸν δὲ.
6 τὰ τοιαύτα Xylander: τὰς τοιαύτας.

ᵃ Cf. 376 ν, 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 ε. Note that
Plutarch would connect the abstract suffix -ia with the
shorter stem of εἰμι "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).

61. Osiris has a name made up from "holy" (hosion) and "sacred" (hieron); 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 as belonging in part to the things above and in part to the things below. 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. 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.

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376 Σάραπιν. ἡ δὲ Σώθης Ἀιγυπτιστή σημαίνει κύησιν ἦ τὸ κυεῖν. διὸ καὶ παρατροπῆς γενομένης τοῦ ὀνόματος Ἔλληνιστή κύων κέκληται τὸ ἀστρον, ὅπερ ἴδιον τῆς Ἰσιδορος νομίζουσιν. ἦκιστα μὲν οὖν δεὶ φιλοτιμεῖσθαι περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων, ὥπερ μὴν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ύφειμην ᾧ τοῦ Σαράπιδος Αἰγυπτίων ἦ τοῦ Ὀσίριδος, ἔκεινο μὲν ἐκείνον, τοῦτο δ' Ἔλληνικόν, ἀμφῶ δ' ἐνὸς θεοῦ καὶ μᾶς δυνάμεως ἡγούμενος.

62. Ἑσυχε δὲ τούτων καὶ τὰ Αἰγύπτια. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἰσιων πολλάκις τῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὀνόματι καλοῦσι φράζοντι τοιούτον λόγον "ἦλθον ἀπ' ἐμαυτῆς," ὥστε ἐστὶν αὐτοκινήτου φορᾶς δηλωτικῶν. ὅ δὲ Τυφών, ὥσπερ εὑρήτη, Σήθο καὶ Βέβων καὶ Σμύρνονόμαζεται, βιαίον τινα καὶ κωλυτικήν ἐπίσχεσιν ἔυπεναντίωσον ἐναστροφὴν ἐμφαίνειν βουλομένων τῶν ὀνομάτων.

"Επὶ τῇ σιδηρίτῳ λίθῳ ὅστε Οὐρον, Τυφώνοις δὲ τὸν σίδηρον, ὡς ἵστορεῖ Μανεθώς, καλοῦσιν· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ σίδηρος πολλάκις μὲν ἐλκομένῳ καὶ ἐπομένῳ πρὸς τὴν λίθον ομοίος ἔστι, πολλάκις δ' ἀποστρέφεται καὶ ἀποκρούεται πρὸς τοῦναντίον, οὕτως ἡ σωτηρίος καὶ ἀγαθή καὶ λόγον ἔχουσα τοῦ κόσμου κίνησις ἐπιστρέφει ποτὲ καὶ προσάγεται, χαὶ μαλακωτέραν ποιεῖ, πείθουσα τὴν σκληρᾶν

1 ἡ δὲ F.C.B.: οἱ δὲ.
3 ύφειμην Bentley: ύφειμενήν.
4 ᾧ Emperius.
5 μὲν Markland: μὲν οὖν.
6 ἡ added by F.C.B. (ἡ τῶν Pohlenz).
7 Μανεθώς Squire: μάνεθος.
8 ἐπιστρέφει ποτὲ F.C.B.: ἐπιστρέφει τότε in one ms., ἐπιστρέφεται τε 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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* Plutarch attempts to connect κύων, "dog," with κυόν, the present participle of κυώ, "to be pregnant."
* Cf. 359 c-e and 365 v, supra.
* 367 d and 371 b, supra.
* Cf. 371 b, supra.
* Frag. 77.
(376) ἐκείνην καὶ τυφώνειον, εἰτ’ άιθίς ἀνασχέθεισα εἰς ἐαυτὴν ἀνέστρεψε καὶ κατέδυσεν εἰς τὴν ἀπορίαν.

'Ετι φησὶ περὶ τοῦ Δίως ὁ Εὐδοξὸς μυθολογεῖν Ἐγγυπτίοισι, ὡς τῶν σκελῶν συμπεφυκότων αὐτῷ μὴ δυνάμενος βαδίζειν, ὑπ’ αἰσχύνης ἐν ἐρημίᾳ διέτριβεν· ἢ δ’ Ἰσις διατεμοῦσα καὶ διαστήσασα τὰ μέρη ταῦτα τοῦ σώματος ἀρτίποδα τὴν πορείαν παρέσχεν. αἰνίττεται δὲ καὶ διὰ τούτων ὁ μῦθος ὅτι καθ’ ἐαυτὸν ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ νοῦς καὶ λόγος ἐν τῷ ἀοράτῳ καὶ ἀφανεὶ βεβηκὼς εἰς γένεσιν ὑπὸ κινήσεως προῆλθεν.

63. Ἐμφαίνει καὶ τὸ σείστρον, ὅτι σείασθαι δεῖ τὰ ὄντα καὶ μηδέποτε παύεσθαι φορᾶς, ἀλλ’ οἶνον ἔξεγείρεσθαι καὶ κλονεῖσθαι καταδιαρθάνοντα καὶ μαρανόμενα. τὸν γὰρ Τυφώνα φασὶ τοῖς σείστροις ἀποτρέπειν καὶ ἀποκρούέσθαι δηλοῦντες ὅτι τῆς φθορᾶς συνδεούσης καὶ ιστάσης, αὕθις ἀναλύει τὴν φύσιν καὶ ἀνίστησι διὰ τῆς κινήσεως ἡ γένεσις.

Τοῦ δὲ σείστρου περιφεροῦσα ἀνωθέν ὄντος, ἡ ἄφις ἐπείρει χέ ἐσομένα τέτταρα. καὶ γὰρ ἡ γεννώμενη καὶ φθειρομένη μοῦρα τοῦ κόσμου περιέχεται μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς σεληνιακῆς σφαίρας, κυνεῖται δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ πάντα καὶ μεταβαλλέται διὰ τῶν τετάρων στοιχείων, πυρὸς καὶ γῆς καὶ ὦδατος καὶ ἀέρος. τῇ δ’ ἀφίδι τοῦ σείστρου κατὰ κορυφῆν ἐντορεύουν· ἐν αἱλουρον ἀνθρώπου πρόσωπον ἔχοντα, κατώ δ’ ὑπὸ τὰ σειόμενα τῇ μὲν Ἰσιδος τῇ δὲ Νέφθυος πρόσωπον, αἰνιττόμενοι τοῖς μὲν προσώποις γένεσιν καὶ τελευτήν (αὐταὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ τῶν στοιχείων μετα-

1 ἀνέστρεφε] ἀπέστρεφε Holwerda.
2 ἐν added by Wyttenbach.
3 γένεσιν] γένησιν Hartman. 4 ἄφις Aldine ed.: ὁφις.
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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.

63. 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 sistra, 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.
βολαι καὶ κινήσεις), τῷ δ’ αἰλούρῳ τὴν σελήνην διὰ τὸ πουκίλον καὶ νυκτοργον καὶ γόνιμον τοῦ θηρίου. λέγεται γὰρ ἐν τίκτευν, εἶτα δύο καὶ τρία καὶ τέσσαρα καὶ πέντε· καὶ καθ’ ἐν οὐτως ἀχρὶ τῶν ἑπτά προστίθησις, ὡσ’ ὁκτώ καὶ εἰκοσι τὰ πάντα τίκτευν, ὅσα καὶ τῆς σελήνης φῶς ἔστων. τούτο μὲν Φ οὖν ἰδιός μυθώδεστερον· αἱ δ’ ἐν τοῖς ὁμισθοῖς αὐτῶν κόραι πληροῦσθαι μὲν καὶ πλατύσθαι δοκοῦσιν ἐν πανσελήνῳ, λεστύνεσθαι δὲ και μαραγεῖν ἐν ταῖς μειώσεσι τοῦ ἀστρον. τῷ δ’ ἀνθρωπομόρφῳ τοῦ αἰλούρου τὸ νοερὸν καὶ λογικὸν ἐμφαίνεται τῶν περὶ τῆς σελήνης μεταβολῶν.

64. Συνελόντι δ’ εἰπεῖν οὐθ’ ὑδώρ οὐθ’ ἦλιον οὔτε γῆν οὔτ’ οὐρανὸν ὁσιριν ἡ Ἰσιν ὁρθῶς ἐχει νομίζειν, οὔτε πῦρ Τυφώνα πάλιν οὔτ’ αὖχμον οὐδὲ θάλατταν, ἄλλ’ ἀπλῶς ὅσον ἐστίν ἐν τοῖς ἄ-377 μετρον καὶ ἀτακτον ὑπερβολαῖς ἡ ἐνδείας Τυφώνι προσνέμοντες, τὸ δὲ κεκοσμημένον καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ὠφέλιμον ὡς Ἰσιδος μὲν ἔργον εἰκόνα δὲ καὶ μίμη μα καὶ λόγον Ὁσιρίδος σεβόμενοι καὶ τιμώντες, οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοιμεν. ἄλλα καὶ τὸν Εὐδοξὸν ἀπιστοῦντα παύσομεν καὶ διαποροῦντα πῶς οὔτε Δήμητρι τῆς τῶν ἐρωτικῶν ἐπιμελείας μέτεστιν ἄλλ’ Ἰσιδι, τὸ τε1 Διόνυσον οὐ τὸν Νεῖλον αὖξεν οὔτε τῶν τεθυκότων ἀρχεῖν δύνασθαι.2 ἐνι γὰρ λόγῳ κοινῷ τοὺς θεοὺς τοῦτοις περὶ πᾶσαν ἀγα-θοῦ μοιραν ἡγούμεθα τετάχθαι, καὶ πάν ὅσον ἐνεστι

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1 τὸ τε E. Capps: τὸν 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

c Cf. 363 d and 364 d, supra.
d Cf. 364 a and 369 a, supra.
e Frag. 63.
65. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ φορτικοῖς ἐπι-
χειρῆσομεν, εἴτε ταῖς καθ’ οὗραν μεταβολαῖς τοῦ
περιέχοντος εἴτε ταῖς καρπῶν γενέσει καὶ σποράς
καὶ ἀρότοις χαίρουσι τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τούτους' συνοικείοντες, καὶ λέγοντες θάπτεσθαι μὲν τὸν
"Οσίριν, ὅτε κρύπτεται τῇ γῇ σπειρόμενος ὁ καρ-
pός, αὖθις δ’ ἀναβιοῦση καὶ ἀναφαίνεσθαι, ὅτε
βλαστήσεως ἀρχή. διὸ καὶ λέγεται τῇ 'Ἰσον
αἰσθομένην ὅτι κυκλοπάθος φυλακτήριον ἐκτῇ
μηνὸς ισταμένου Φαωφί. τίκτεσθαι δὲ τὸν Ἀρτο-
C κράτην περὶ τροπῶς χειμερινάς ἀτελῆ καὶ νεαρὸν
ἐν τοῖς προανθοῦσι καὶ προβλαστάνουσι. διὸ καὶ
φακῶν αὐτῶ φυμένων ἀταρχῶς ἐπιφέρουσι, τὰς
δὲ λοχείους ἡμέρας ἑορτάζειν μετὰ τὴν ἑαρνὴν
ἰσημερίαν. ταῦτα γὰρ ἂκουόντες ἀγαπῶσι καὶ
πιστεύουσιν, αὐτόθεν ἐκ τῶν προχειρῶν καὶ συν-
ήθων τὸ πιθανὸν ἐλκουντες.
66. Καὶ δεινὸν οὐδέν, ἂν πρώτον μὲν ἡμῖν τοὺς
θεοὺς φυλάττωσι κοινοὺς καὶ μὴ ποιῶσιν Ἁγνω-
pτίων ἱδίους, μηδὲ Νεῖλον ἢν τε Νεῖλος ἁρδεῖ μόνην
χώραν τοῖς ὄνομασι τούτοις καταλαμβάνοντες, μηδ’
ἐλη μηδὲ λωτοὺς μόνην ἄθεοποιαν λέγουσι ἀπο-
στερῶσι μεγάλων θεῶν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους, οῖς
D Νεῖλος μὲν οὐκ ἐστὶν οὐδὲ Βούτος οὐδὲ Μέμψι.
Ἱσων δὲ καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὴν θεοὺς ἔχουσι καὶ

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

a Cf. 318 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 on the sixth day of the month Phaophi; and about the time of the winter solstice she gave birth to Harpocrates, imperfect and premature, 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
(377) γυγνώσκουσιν ἀπαντεῖς, ἐνίος μὲν οὐ πάλαι τοῖς παρ' Αἰγυπτίωι ὄνομασι καλεῖν μεμαθηκότες, ἐκάστου δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἔξ ἄρχη ἐπιστάμενοι καὶ τιμῶντες.

Δεύτερον, δ’ μειζόν ἐστιν, ὅτις σφόδρα προσέξουσι καὶ φοβήσονται, μὴ λάθωσιν εἰς πνεύματα καὶ ἰδύματα καὶ σπόρους καὶ ἄρότους καὶ πάθη γῆς καὶ μεταβολὰς ὧρῶν διαγράφοντες τὰ θεῖα καὶ διαλύοντες: ὥσπερ οἱ Διόνυσος τὸν οἶνον, Ἡφαῖστον δὲ τὴν φλόγα. Φερσεφόνην δὲ φησί ποι Κλεάνθης τὸ διὰ τῶν καρπῶν φερόμενον καὶ φονεύόμενον πνεύμα. Ποιητὴς δὲ τις ἐπὶ τῶν θεριζόντων τῆμος ὑ’ αἰζηνόν Δημήτερα κωλοτομεῦσιν.

Ε ὡσεὶν γὰρ ὅτι διαφέροισι τῶν ιστία καὶ κάλως¹ καὶ ἀγκύραν ὑγομένων κυβερνήτην, καὶ νῆματα καὶ κρόκας ύφαντην, καὶ σπονδεῖον ἡ μελίκρατον ἡ πτισάνθην ιατρόν· ἄλλα² δεινὰς καὶ ἀθέους ἐμποιοῦσι δόξας, ἀνυπόθετοι καὶ ἀψύχους καὶ φθειρομέναις ἀναγκαίως ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπων δεομένων καὶ χρωμένων φύσει καὶ πράγμασιν ὄνομαθεὸν ἐπιθέσοντες.

Ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ αὐτὰ νοῆσαί θεοὺς οὐκ ἐστιν.

F (67.) οὐ γὰρ ἀνοων³ οὐδ’ ἀψύχοιν οὐδ’⁴ ἀνθρώποις οθεὸς ὑποχείριν. ἀπὸ τούτων δὲ τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτοῖς διωρομένους ἡμῖν καὶ παρέχοντας αἶνα καὶ διαρκὴ θεοὺς ἐνομίσαμεν, οὐχ ἐτέρους παρ’ ἐτέρους

¹ κάλως Xylander: κάλους.
² ἄλλα] ἀμα δὲ Bentley.
³ ἀνοων Reiske: οὐν.
⁴ οὐδ’ added by Bentley.

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a Cf. Moralia, 757 b-c.  
b Frag. 547.  
c Cf. The Life and Poetry o Homer, chap. xxiii. in Bernardakis, vol. vii.  
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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 (pheromenon) through the crops and then suffers dissolution (phoneuomenon) is Phersephonê; 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
ουδὲ βαρβάρους καὶ Ἐλληνας οὐδὲ νοτίους καὶ βορείους· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἠλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ οὐρανός καὶ γῆ καὶ θάλαττα κοινὰ πᾶσιν, ὀνομάζεται δ' ἄλλως ὑπ' ἄλλων, οὕτως εἶνος λόγον τοῦ ταῦτα 378 κοσμούντος καὶ μιᾶς προνοίας ἐπιτροπευόντος καὶ δυνάμεων ὑπουργῶν ἐπὶ πάντα¹ τεταγμένων, ἔτεραι παρ' ἐτέρους κατὰ νόμους γεγόνασι τιμαὶ καὶ προσηγορίαι· καὶ συμβόλους χρώνται καθιερωμένοι οἱ μὲν ἄμυδροι οἱ δὲ τρανοτέροι ἐπὶ τὰ θεῖα τὴν νόησιν ὄδηγούντες οὐκ ἀκινδύνως. ἔνιοι γὰρ ἀποσφαλέστεν παντάπασιν εἰς δεισιδαιμονίαν ὦλισθον, οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες ὥσπερ ἔλος² τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν ἐλαθον αὐθίς ὥσπερ εἰς κρημνὸν ἐμπεσόντες τὴν ἀθεότητα.

68. Διὸ δεῖ μάλιστα πρὸς ταῦτα λόγον ἐκ φιλοσοφίας μυσταγωγὸν ἀναλαβόντας ὅσιόν μιᾶς διαβοηθήσα τῶν λεγομένων καὶ δρωμένων ἔκαστον, ἵνα μὴ, καθάπερ Θεόδωρος εἴπε τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ τῇ δεξιᾷ προτεινοντος ἐνίους τῇ ἀριστερᾷ δέχονται τῶν ἀκρωμένων, οὕτως ἡμεῖς ἅ καλῶς οἱ νόμοι περὶ τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ἐορτὰς ἐταξαν ἐτέρως υπολαμβάνοντες ἐξαμάρτωμεν. ὅτι γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον ἀνοιστέων ἄπαντα, καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν ἔκεινων ἐστὶ λαβεῖν. τῇ μὲν γὰρ ἐνάτη ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ πρώτου μηνὸς ἐορτάζοντες τῷ Ἐρμῆ μέλι καὶ σύκον ἐσθίουσιν ἐπιλέγοντες, "γλυκὺ ἡ ἀλήθεια." τὸ δὲ

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

See the note at the end of chapter 11 (355 d, 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

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(378) τῆς "Ισιδως φυλακτηρίουν, δ' περιαπτεσθαι μυθο-
λογούσων αυτήν, ἐξερμηνεύεται "φωνὴ ἀληθῆς."
C τὸν δ' Ἀρτοκράτην οὔτε θεὸν ἀτελῆ καὶ νῆπιον
οὔτε χειδρόπων1 τινὰ νομιστέον, ἀλλὰ τοῦ περὶ
θεῶν ἐν ἄνθρωποις λόγου νεαρῷ καὶ ἀτελοῖς καὶ
ἀδιαρθρώτων προστάτην καὶ σωφρονιστὴν· διὸ τῷ
στόματι τὸν δάκτυλον ἔχει προσκείμενον ἔχεμυθιάς
καὶ σιωπῆς σύμβολον· ἐν δὲ τῷ Μεσορῷ μην τῶν
χειδρόπων ἑπιφέροντες λέγουσιν, "γλῶττα τύχη,
γλῶττα δαίμων." τῶν δ' ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ φυτῶν
μάλιστα τῇ θεῷ καθιερώσατο λέγουσι τὴν περσέαν,
ὅτι καρδία μὲν ὁ καρπὸς αὐτῆς, γλῶττῃ δὲ τὸ
φύλλων ἑοίκεν. οὐδὲν γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἔχειν
πέφυκε θειότερον λόγου καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ περὶ θεῶν,
D οὐδὲ μείζονα ῥοπὴν ἔχει πρὸς εὐδαίμονιαν. διὸ τῷ
μὲν εἰς τὸ χρυστήριον ἐνταῦθα κατιόντι παρεγ-
γυώμεν ὅσια φρονεῖν, εὐφημα2 λέγειν. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ
γελοία δρώσιν ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἑορταῖς
εὐφημίαι προκηρύσσοντες, εἶτα περὶ τῶν θεῶν
αὐτῶν τὰ δυσφημότατα καὶ λέγοντες καὶ δια-
νουόμενοι.
69. Πῶς οὖν χρυστέον ἔστὶ ταῖς σκυθρώπαισιν καὶ
ἀγελάστοις καὶ πενθίμοις θυσίαις, εἰ μήτε παρα-
λείπειν3 τὰ νεομομένα καλῶς ἔχει μήτε φύρειν
tὰς περὶ θεῶν δόξας καὶ συνταράττειν ὑποψίαις
ἀτόποις; καὶ παρ' Ἑλλησὶν ὁμοία πολλὰ γίγνεται
περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ὁμοῦ τῷ χρόνῳ, οἷς Αἰγύπτιοι δρώ-

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1 χειδρόπων Emperius: χειδρόπων.
2 εὐφημα Meziriacus: εὐσχῆμα.
3 παραλείπειν Bernardakis: παραλυπεῖν.

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a Cf. 377 b, supra.
thing is Truth." The amulet\(^a\) 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 Mesorê 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\(^b\), 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 (\(\epsilonι\phi\muε\varepsilon\eta\varepsilon\)) used by the Greeks at the beginning of any ceremony.
Ε σὺν ἐν τοῖς Ἰσείοις. καὶ γὰρ Ἀθήνην νηστεύουσιν 
αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν Θεσμοφορίοις χαμαὶ καθήμεναι, καὶ 
Βοιωτοὶ τὰ τῆς Ἀχαιᾶς μέγαρα κυνόσουν ἔπαχθη 
tὴν ἑορτήν ἐκείνην ὄνομάζοντες, ὡς διὰ τὴν τῆς 
Κόρης κάθοδον ἐν ἄχει τῆς Δήμητρος οὐσίας. ἔστι 
δ’ ὅ μὴν οὗτος περὶ Πλειάδας ἃπορίμοι, δὲν Ἀθήρ Ἀιγύπτιοι, Πυμανειώνα δ’ Ἀθηναῖοι, Βοιωτοὶ 
δὲ Δαμάτριον καλοῦσι. τοὺς δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέραν 
οἰκοῦντας ἱστορεῖ Θεόπομπος ἢγείσθαι καὶ καλεῖν 
tὸν μὲν χειμῶνα Κρόνον, τὸ δὲ θέρος Ἀφροδίτην.

70. Καὶ δίδωσιν ὁ καιρὸς ὑπόνοιαν ἐπὶ τῶν καρ-
πῶν τῇ ἀποκρύψει γενέσθαι τὸν σκυθρωπασμόν, 
οὓς οἱ παλαιοὶ θεοὺς μὲν οὐκ ἐνόμιζον, ἀλλὰ διὰ 
θεῶν ἁγαγκαία καὶ μεγάλα πρὸς τὸ μῆνα ἥν 
ἀγρίως καὶ θηρωδώς. καθ’ ἤν δ’ ὥραν τοὺς μὲν ἄποι 
δένδρων ἐώρων ἀφαιζομένους παντάπασιν καὶ 
ἀπολείποντας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ αυτοὶ κατέσπειρον ὑπὶ 
γλύσχρως καὶ ἄπόρως, διαμώμενοι ταῖς χερσὶ τὴν

1 Ἰσείοις] ὅσιοι in most mss.
2 κυνόσου] various emendations have been proposed, κενοῦ-
σων, κοινόδων, κλειόνων, and one ms. seems to have κονόδου, 
but none makes the meaning clear.
3 Πλειάδας Xylander: πλειάδα.
4 ἄποι] ἄπο τῶν Reiske.
5 τοὺς Wyttenbach: οὐς.
6 κατέσπειρον Holwerda: κατὰ σπεῖραν or 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

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

\(^b\) The month sacred to Demeter.

\(^c\) Frag. 335.
(379) γῆν καὶ περιστέλλοντες αὕτις, ἐπ' ἀδήλῳ τῷ πάλιν ἐκτελείσθαι καὶ συντελείαν ἔξεν ἀποθέμενοι, πολλὰ θάπτουσι νόμοια καὶ πενθοῦσι ἔπραττον. εἰθ' ὦσπερ ἡμεῖς τὸν ἄνωμενον βιβλία Πλάτωνος ὄνεισθαί φαμεν Πλάτωνα, καὶ Μένανδρον ὑποκρίνεσθαι τὸν τὰ Μενάνδρου ποιήματα διατιθέμενον, εἴτε ἐκεῖνοι τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ὄνομασί τὰ τῶν θεῶν δώρα

Β καὶ ποιήματα καλεῖν οὐκ ἐφείδοντο, τιμῶντες ὑπὸ χρείας καὶ σεμνύνοντες. οἱ δ' ὦσπερον 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 αὐτοῦ ἐνεπείπησαν, καὶ τοῦ ταραλόγου τῆς ἀτοπίας ἐν ὑφαλμοῖς ἔχοντες. εὖ μὲν οὖν Ἐνοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἡξίωσε τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, εἰ Ἐθεοὺς νομιζοῦσι, μὴ θρηνεῖν, εἰ δὲ θρηνοῦσι, θεοὺς μὴ νομίζειν. ἀλλ' τι ἡ γελοῖον ἀμα θρηνοῦντας εὐχεσθαι τοὺς καρποὺς πάλιν ἀναφαίνειν καὶ τελειοῦν ἀναθαλασχωταί καὶ θρηνοῦντα; (71.) τὸ δ' οὐκ ἐστι τοιοῦτον, ἄλλα θρηνοῦσι μὲν τοὺς καρποὺς, εὐχοῦσαν δὲ τοῖς αἵτίοις καὶ δοτήρου θεοὺς ἐτέρους πάλιν νέους ποιεῖν καὶ ἀναφύειν ἀντι τῶν ἀπολλυμένων. ὅθεν ἄριστα λέγεται

1 ὑποκρίνεσθαι τὸν in one ms.: τὸν ὑποκρίνεσθαι.
2 διατιθέμενον Wytenbach: ὑποτιθέμενον.
3 εὖ μὲν οὖν Bernardakis: οὐ μόνον.
4 ἡξίωσε Wytenbach: ἡ ἡξίωσι οἰ.
5 ἀλλ' τι ἡ F.C.B.: ἄλλ' ὅτι.

* Cf. Diels, Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, i. 44, Xenophanes, no. 13; also Moralia, 171 b, 228 e, and 763 d; and Heraclitus, 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 1 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 μὴ μανθάνοντας ὀρθῶς ἀκούειν ὀνομάτων κακῶς χρῆσθαι καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν. ὡσπερ Ἐλλήνων οἱ τὰ χαλκὰ καὶ τὰ γραπτὰ καὶ λίθων μὴ μαθόντες μὴ ἔθισθέντες

D ἰγάλματα καὶ τιμᾶς θεῶν, ἀλλὰ θεῶν καλείν, εἰτα τολμώντες λέγειν, ὅτι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν Λαχάρης ἐξέδυσε, τὸν δ' Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσοὺς βοστρύχους ἔχοντα Διονύσιος ἀπέκειρεν, δ' Ἁρτέμιδος ἐξερήμενα καὶ διεθάρη, λανθάνουσῑ1 συνεφελκόμενοι2 καὶ παραδεχόμενοι δόξας ποιημένας τοῖς ὀνόμασιν.

Τούτῳ δ' οὐχ ἦκιστα πεπόνθασιν Ἀιγύπτιοι περὶ τὰ τιμῶμενα τῶν ξώων. Ἐλλήνες μὲν γὰρ ἐν γε τούτοις λέγοντων ὀρθῶς καὶ νομίζοντων ἐρῶν Ἀφρο-δίτης ξώον εἶναι τὴν περιστερὰν καὶ τὸν δράκοντα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τὸν κόρακα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τὸν κύα τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, ὡς Εὐριπίδης

E Ἐκάτης ἄγαλμα φωσφόρου κύων ἐση.3

Αἰγύπτιοι δ' οἱ πολλοὶ θεραπεύοντες αὐτὰ τὰ ξώα καὶ περιέποντες ὡς θεῶν ὡς γέλωτος μόνον οὐδὲ χλευασμοῦ καταπεπλήκασι τὰς ἑρουργίας, ἀλλὰ τούτῳ τῆς ἀβελτερίας ἐλάχιστον ἐστὶ κακῶν. δόξα δ' ἐμφύτευαι δεινή, τοὺς μὲν ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ἀκάκους εἰς ἀκρατοὺ ὑπερείπουσα4 τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν, τοῖς

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1 λανθάνουσι: Baxter: μανθάνουσι.
2 συνεφελκόμενοι Bernardakis: σοῦν εφελκόμενοι.
3 ἐση Xylander: ἐσούν.
4 ὑπερείπουσα Reiske: ὑπερείδουσα.

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a Cf. Moralia, 707 f.
b 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. 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, that Dionysius sheared Apollo of the golden locks, and that Jupiter Capitolinus was burned and destroyed in the Civil War, 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 says,

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. 

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

δὲ δριμυτέροις καὶ θρασυτέροις εἰς ἄθεους ἐμπίπτουσα καὶ θηριώδεις λογισμοῦς. ἡ καὶ περὶ τούτων τὰ εἰκότα διελθεῖν οὐκ ἀνάρμοστόν ἐστι.

72. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ εἰς ταύτα τὰ ξώα τους θεοὺς Φ τὸν Τυφώνα δείσαντας μεταβαλεῖν, οἰον ἀποκρύπτοντας ἐαυτοὺς σώμασιν ἦβεων καὶ κυνὸν καὶ ἱεράκων, πᾶσαν ὑπερπέπαικε τερατείαν καὶ μυθολογίαν: καὶ τὸ ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν θανόντων ὁσαὶ διαμένουσιν εἰς ταύτα μόνα γίγνεσθαι τὴν παλιγγενεσίαν ὁμοίως ἀπιστον. τῶν δὲ βουλομένων πολιτικῆν τινα λέγειν αἰτίαν οἱ μὲν ὁσιρίν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ στρατιᾷ φασίν εἰς μέρη πολλὰ διανείμαντα τὴν δύναμιν ἡ λόγους καὶ τάξεις Ἐλληνικῶς καλοῦσιν, ἐπίσημα δοῦναι ζωόμορφα πᾶσιν, ὑπὸ 380 ἑκαστὸν τῶν γενεῖ τῶν συννεμηθέντων ἱερὸν γενέσθαι καὶ τίμον. οἱ δὲ τους ὑστερον βασιλεῖς ἐκ-πλήξεως ἕνεκα τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιφανεσθαι θηρίων χρυσᾶς προτομᾶς καὶ ἀργυρᾶς περιτιθεμένους· ἀλλοι δὲ τῶνδε τῶν δεινῶν τινα καὶ πανούργων βασιλέων ἱστοροῦσι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους καταμαθόντα τῇ μὲν φύσει κούφους καὶ πρὸς μετ.βολην καὶ νεωτερισμὸν ὑπὸ πλήθους δύναμιν ἐν τῷ συμφορεῖν καὶ κοινοπραγειν ἔχοντας, ἀδίδον αὐτοῖς ἑγκατασπείραι δεῖξαντα δεισδαιμόνιαν, διαφορᾶς Ὁ ἀπαύστου πρόφασιν. τῶν γὰρ θηρίων, ἁ προσ-

1 Ἡ Xylander: ἡ.
2 ὁ added by Wyttenbach.
3 Ἐλληνικῶς Xylander: ἐλληνικᾶς.
4 δοῦναι Markland: δοῦναι καὶ.
5 ἑκαστὸν τῶ Salmasius: ἐκάστῳ.
6 συμφορεῖν Markland: σωφρονεῖν.
7 ἑγκατασπείραι Meziriacus: ἐν κατασπορᾶ.
8 δεῖξαντα] didάξαντα 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 \(d\), supra.

\(^b\) Cf. Diodorus, i. 86. 3.

\(^c\) Ibid. i. 89. 5 and 90.
(380) ἐταξεν ἄλλοις ἄλλα τιμᾶν καὶ σέβεσθαι, δυσμενῶς καὶ πολεμικῶς ἄλληλοις προσφερομένων, καὶ τροφὴν ἑτέραν ἑτέρουν1 προσίσθαι πεφυκότος,2 ἀμύνοντες3 ἀεὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἑκαστοὶ καὶ χαλεπῶς ἓδικουμένων4 φέροντες ἐλάνθανον ταῖς τῶν θηρίων ἐχθραῖς συνεφελκόμενοι5 καὶ συνεκπολεμοῦμενοι πρὸς ἄλληλους. μόνοι γὰρ ἐτὶ νῦν Αἰγυπτίων Λυκοπολίται πρόβατον ἑσθίουσιν, ἔπει καὶ λύκος, ὅπερ θεον νομίζουσιν· οἱ δ᾽ 'Ὀξυρυγχῖται καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς, τῶν Κυνοπολίτῶν τὸν ὀξύρυγχον ἱχθὺν ἑσθίόντων, κύνα6 συλλαβόντες καὶ θύσαντες ὡς ἰερεῖς κατ-6 ἐφαγον· ἐκ δὲ τούτου καταστάντες εἰς πόλεμον ἄλληλους τε διεδήκαν κακῶς καὶ ύστερον ὑπὸ Ἐρωμαίων κολαζόμενοι διετέθησαν.

73. Πολλῶν δὲ λεγόντων εἰς ταῦτα τὰ ἥω τὴν τοῦ Τυφῶνος αὐτοῦ διάρασθαι ψυχῆν, αἰνίττεσθαι δόξειν ἀν ὁ μῦθος ὅτι πᾶσα φύσις ἀλογος καὶ θηριώδης τῆς τοῦ κακοῦ δαιμόνος γέγονε μοίρας, κάκεινόν ἐκμελισσόμενοι καὶ παρηγοροῦντες περιέπουσι ταῦτα καὶ θεραπεύουσιν· ἀν δὲ πολὺς ἐμπίπτῃ καὶ χαλεπὸς αὐχμὸς ἐπάγων ὅπερβαλλόντως ἢ νόσους ὀλεθρίους ἢ συμφορὰς ἀλλὰς παραλόγους καὶ ἀλλοκότους, ἐνια τῶν τιμωμένων οἱ ἱερεῖς ἀπάγοντες ὑπὸ σκότων μετὰ σιωπῆς καὶ D ἡσυχίας ἀπειλοῦσι καὶ δεδίττονται τὸ πρῶτον, ἂν

1 ἑτέρου Reiske: ἑτέρος.
2 πεφυκότος Reiske (Wytenbach prefers ἑτέρων ἑτερα . . . πεφυκότων: πεφυκότας).
3 ἀμύνοντες Xylander: ἀμύνοντας.
4 ἅδικουμένων Markland: ἅδικοιμενοι.
5 συνεφελκόμενοi Wytenbach: συνελκόμενοι.
6 κύνα Reiske: κύνας.

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-

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(380) δ' ἐπιμένῃ, καθιερεύοντι1 καὶ σφάττουσιν, ὡς δὴ τινα κολασμὸν οὕτα τοῦ δαίμονος τοῦτον ἡ καθαρμὸν ἄλλως μέγαν ἐπὶ μεγίστοις· καὶ γὰρ ἐν Εἰλείθυιας2 πόλει ζώντας ἀνθρώπους κατεπίμπρασαν ὡς Μανέθως ἱστόρηκε, Τυφωνείους3 καλοῦντες, καὶ τὴν τέφραν αὐτῶν λικμῶντες ἡφαίστιον καὶ διέσπειρον. ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν ἔδρατο φανερῶς καὶ καθ' ἑνα καυρὸν ἐν ταῖς κυνάσιν ἡμέραις· αἱ δὲ τῶν τιμωμένων ζώνων καθιερεύσεις ἀπόρρητοι καὶ ἔχρονοι ἀτάκτουσι πρὸς τὰ συμπίπτοντα γιγνόμεναι τοὺς πολλοὺς λανθάνουσι, πλὴν ὅταν ταφᾶς4 ἔχωσι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀναδεικνύσεις ἐνα πάντων παρόντων συνεμβάλλωσιν5 οἴομενοι τοῦ Τυφώνος ἀντιλυπτεῖν καὶ κολούειν τὸ ἱδόμενον. ὁ γὰρ Ἄπις δοκεῖ μετ' ὁλίγων ἄλλων ἱερὸς εἶναι τοῦ Ὀσίριδος· ἐκείνῳ δὲ τὰ πλείστα προσείμουσι. καὶ ἀλήθης ὁ λόγος οὗτος ἦ, σημαίνειν ἡγοῦμαι τὸ ζητούμενον ἐπὶ τῶν ὀμολογουμένων καὶ κοινῶς ἑχόντων ταῖς τιμᾶς, οἶον ἐστὶν ἱβις καὶ ἱέρας καὶ κυνοκέφαλος, αὐτὸς τ'6 ὁ Ἄπις καὶ ὁ Μένδης7· οὕτω δὴ γὰρ τὸν ἐν Μένητι τράγον καλοῦσι.

F 74. Λείπεται δὲ δὴ τὸ χρείωδες καὶ τὸ συμβολικὸν, ὅν ἔνια θατέρου, πολλὰ δ' ἁμφοῖν μετέσχηκε. βοῶν μὲν οὖν καὶ πρόβατον καὶ ἰχνεύμονα

1 καθιερεύοντι Reiske: καθιεροῦσι.
2 Εἰλείθυιας Parthey: ἱδιθύας.
3 Τυφωνείους Squire: τυφωνίους.
4 ταφᾶς Ἄπιδος ταφᾶς Xylander.
5 συνεμβάλλωσι Wyttenbach and Bernardakis: συνεμβάλλωσιν.
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,\(^a\) 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 conscrip-
tions 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,\(^b\) 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\(^c\); 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.\(^d\)

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

\(^a\) 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.
δὴλον ὅτι χρείας ἕνεκα καὶ ὥφελειάς ἐτίμησαν (ὡς Λήμνιοι κορύδους, τὰ τῶν ἀτταλάβων εὐρύσκοντας ἀλλὰ καὶ κόπτοντας). Θεταλοὶ δὲ πελαργοὺς, ὅτι πολλοὺς ἀφιεῖς τῆς γῆς ἀναδιούσῃς ἐπιφανεῖτες ἐξώλεσαν ἀπαντας: διὸ καὶ νόμον ἐθεντο φεύγειν ἀπὸ γαλήν καὶ κανθάρον, εἰκόνας τινὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς.

381 ἀμαυρὰς ὡσπερ ἐν σταγόσων ἡλίου τῆς τῶν θεῶν δυνάμεως κατιδόντες· τὴν μὲν γἀρ γαλήν ἐτὶ πολλοὶ νομίζουσί καὶ λέγουσι κατὰ τὸ οὓς ὀχευομένην, τῷ δὲ στόματι τίκτουσαν, εἶκασμα τῆς τοῦ λόγου γενέσεως εἶναι· τὸ δὲ κανθάρων γένος οὐκ ἔχειν θῆλειαν, ἀρρένας δὲ πάντας ἀφιέναι τὸν γόνον εἰς τὴν σφαιροποιομένην ύλην, ἢν κυλινδούσων αὐτιβάδην ωθοῦντες, ὡσπερ δοκεῖ τὸν οὐρανὸν ὁ ἡλιος ἐς τούνατιν περιστρέφειν, αὐτὸς ἀπὸ δυσμῶν ἐπὶ τὸς ἀνατολᾶς φερόμενος. ἀστίδα δ' Βδιὸς ἀγήρων καὶ χρωμενὴν κυνήσεων ἀνοργάνοις μετ' εὐπετείας καὶ ύγρότητος ἀστρατῇ προσέκασαν.

75. Οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ κροκόδειλος αἰτίας πιθανῆς ἀμοιροῦσαν ἐσχηκε τιμήν, ἀλλὰ μίμημα3 θεοῦ λέγεται γεγονέναι, μόνος μὲν ἄγλυσσι φωνῆς γὰρ ὁ θεῖος λόγος ἀπροσδεης ἐστι, καὶ

1 κόπτοντας] κόπτοντες Hatzidakis.
2 ἀστρατῇ Strijd: ἀστρῳ ἦ.
3 μίμημα in one ms.: οὐ μίμημα.

*a Cf. Aristotle, De Mirabilibus Ause. 23 (332 a 14); Pliny, Natural History, x. 31. 62; Stephanus Byzant. s.v. Θεσσαλία.

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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, because, when their land produced many snakes, 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, 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, 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

\[\text{\textsuperscript{b} Cf. Clement of Alexandria, \\ Protrepticus, ii. 39. 6; Plutarch's source may have been Theophrastus, Frag. 174. 6 (Wimmer, vol. iii. p. 220).}\
\[\text{\textsuperscript{c} Cf. the note on 355 a, supra.}\
\[\text{\textsuperscript{d} Cf. Herodotus, ii. 69.}\

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di' ἀψόφου

βαίνων κελεύθου κατὰ δίκην τὰ θυητ' ἄγει.  
μόνου δὲ φασιν ἐν ὑγρῷ διαυτωμένου τὰς ὀψεις
ὑμένα λείων καὶ διαφανῆ παρακαλύπτειν ἐκ τοῦ
μετώπου κατερχόμενον, ὥστε βλέπειν μὴ βλεπό-
μενον, δ' τῷ πρῶτῳ θεῷ συμβεβηκεν. ὅπου δ' Ἰν
ἡ θήλεια τῆς χώρας ἀποτέκη, τούτῳ Νεῖλου πέρας
ἐπίσταται τῆς αὐξήσεως γενόμενον. ἐν ὑγρῷ
γὰρ οὐ δυνάμεναι,  
pόρρω δὲ φοβούμεναι τίκτευν,
C οὕτως άκριβῶς προαισθάνονται τὸ μέλλον, ὥστε
τῷ ποταμῷ προσελθόντι χρήσαται λοχευόμεναι καὶ
θάλπουσαι, τὰ δ' ὡς ἥηρα καὶ ἀβρεκτὰ φυλάττειν.
ἐξήκοντα δὲ τίκτουσιν, καὶ τοσαύταις ἡμέραις
ἐκλέπουσι, καὶ τοσοῦτοις ζῶσι εἰναυτοὺς οἱ
μακρότατοι ζῶντες, δ' τῶν μέτρων πρῶτον ἔστι
τοῖς περὶ τὰ οὐράνια πραγματευομένους.

'Αλλὰ μὴν τῶν δ' ἀμφότερα τιμωμένων περὶ
μὲν τοῦ κυνὸς εἰρήται πρόσθεν· η δ' ἱβις ἀπο-
κτείνουσα μὲν τὰ θανατηφόρα τῶν ἑρπετῶν ἐδι-
δαξε πρῶτῃ κενώματος ἱατρικοῦ χρείαν κατιδόντας
αὐτήν  
κλυζομένην καὶ καθαιρομένην ὑφ' ἐαυτῆς.

D οἱ δὲ νομιμότατοι τῶν ἱερέων καθάρσιον ὑδώρ
ἀγνιζόμενοι λαμβάνουσιν οἶδεν ἱβις πέπωκεν· οὐ

1 κατὰ δίκην τὰ θυητ' ἄγει] καὶ δίκης τὰ θυητὰ ἄγει κατὰ δίκην
all corrected by the mss. of Euripides.
2 ὁ Meziriacus: ὃ.
3 δυνάμεναι ... φοβούμεναι Meziriacus: δυνάμενοι ... φο-
βούμενοι.
4 αὐτὴν Strijd: οὕτω.

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.
through noiseless ways advancing, guides
By Justice all affairs of mortal men.

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; 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 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. The ibis, 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. The most strict of the priests take their lustral water for purification from a place where the ibis has drunk: for she does not drink

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* Supra, 355 b and 368 f.
* Cf. Diodorus, i. 87. 6.
* Cf. Aelian, De Natura Animalium, ii. 35; Pliny, Natural History, x. 40 (75).
* Cf. Moralia, 974 c; Aelian, De Natura Animalium, vii. 45.
(381) πίνει γὰρ εἰ' νοσώδες ἢ πεφαρμαγμένον οὐδὲ
πρόσεις. τῇ δὲ τῶν ποδῶν διαστάσειεν ἢ πρὸς ἄλλη
λος καὶ τὸ ρύγχος ἰσόπλευρον ποιεῖ τρίγωνον: ἔτι
d' ἢ τῶν μελάνων πτερών πρὸς τὰ λευκὰ ποικίλα
καὶ μείζον ώμπαίνει σελήνην ἀμφίκυρτον.

Οὗ δὲ δὲ θαυμάζειν, εἰ γλύσχρας ὁμοιότητας
οὕτως ἠγάπησαν Ἀιγύπτιοι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ Ἑλ-
λῆνες ἐν τε γραπτοῖς ἐν τε πλαστοῖς εἰκάσμαι
Εθεών ἔχρησαντο πολλοῖς τουούτοις: οἶον ἐν Κρήτη
Διὸς ἢν ἁγαλμα μὴ ἔχον ὡτα: τῷ γὰρ ἄρχοντι καὶ
κυρίῳ πάντων οὐδενὸς ἀκούειν προσήκει. τῷ δὲ
tῆς Ἁθηνᾶς τὸν δράκοντα Φείδας παρέθηκε, τῷ
dὲ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἐν Ἡλίδι τὴν χελώνην, ὡς τὰς
μὲν παρθένους φυλακῆς δεομένας, ταῖς δὲ γαμεταῖς
F οἰκουρίαν καὶ σιωπὴν πρέποισαν. ἢ δὲ τοῦ
Ποσειδῶνος τρίανα σύμβολόν ἐστί τῆς τρίτης
χώρας, ἢν θάλαττα κατέχει μετὰ τὸν οὐρανόν καὶ
tὸν ἀέρα τεταγμένη. διὸ καὶ τὴν Ἀμφιτρίτην καὶ
tοὺς Τρίτωνας οὕτως ὄνομασαν.

Οὐ δὲ Πυθαγόρειοι καὶ ἄριθμοι καὶ σχῆμα
θεών ἐκόσμησαν προσηγορίας. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἰσό-
πλευρον τρίγωνον ἐκάλουν Ἁθηνᾶν κορυφαγενῆ
καὶ πτωγένειαν, ὅτι τρισὶ καθέτους ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν
γωνιῶν ἀγομένας διαμέτρεται: τὸ δὲ ἐν Ἁπόλλωνα
πλῆθος ἀποφάσει καὶ δὲ ἀπλότητα τῆς ἤ μονάς:

1 ei Michael (from Moral. 974 c): ἢ.
2 διαστάσει Böttcher: διαβάσει.
3 πρὸς Reiske: peri.
4 καὶ γὰρ καὶ Xylander: καὶ.
5 κορυφαγενῆ an obvious correction of early editors; κορυφα-
γενῆ.
6 πλῆθος ἀποφάσει καὶ δὲ ἀπλότητα τῆς Wytenbach and
Böttcher: πειθοῦσα 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 Aphrodite 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 Amphitrite 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

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*a* Cf. *Moralia*, 670 c.

*b* Cf. *Moralia*, 142 b; Pausanias, vi. 25. 2.

*c* An effort to derive these names from τρίτος, "third."

*d* Cf. the note on 354 f, supra.

*e* Cf. 393 b, infra.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

έριν δε την δυάδα καὶ τόλμαν\(^1\). δίκην δε την τριάδα, 
τοῦ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν καὶ ἀδικεῖσθαι κατ' ἐλλειψιν καὶ 
ὑπερβολήν ὄντος, ἱσότητι τὸ\(^2\) δίκαιον ἐν μέσῳ 
γέγονεν. ἢ δὲ καλουμένη τετρακτύς, τὰ ἔξι καὶ 
382 τριάκοντα, μέγιστος ἢν ὅρκος, ὡς τεθρύληται, καὶ 
κόσμος ὑπόμασται, τετάρτων μὲν ἀρτίων τῶν 
πρῶτων, τετάρτων δὲ τῶν περιττῶν εἰς ταύτῳ 
συντιθεμένων, ἀπότελουμένος.

76. Εἴπερ οὖν οἱ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν φιλοσόφων 
οὐδ' ἐν ἄψυχοις καὶ ἀσωμάτοις πράγμασιν αὐνιγμα\(^3\) 
tοῦ θείου κατιδόντες ήξιον ἀμελεῖν οὐδὲν οὐδ' 
ἀτιμαξεῖν, ἐτὶ μάλλον οἴομαι τὰς ἐν αἰσθανομέναις 
καὶ ψυχῆν ἑχοὺσαι καὶ πάθος καὶ ἱθὸς φύσεως 
ιδιότητας κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς\(^4\) ἀγαπητέον εἶναι\(^5\), οὗ ταῦτα 
tιμῶντας, ἀλλὰ διὰ τούτων τὸ θείον, ὡς ἐναρ- 

Β γεστέρων ἐσοπτρῶν καὶ φύσει γεγονότων, ὡστ'\(^6\) 
ὄργανον ἡ τέχνην δεῖ\(^7\) τοῦ πάντα κοσμοῦντος θεοῦ 
νομίζειν, καὶ ὅλως\(^8\) ἄξιον γε\(^9\) μηδὲν ἄψυχον 
ἐμψυχον μηδ' ἀναίσθητον αἰσθανομένου κρείττον 
eἶναι, μηδ' ἃν τὸν σύμπαντα τις χρυσὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ 
συμάραγδον εἰς ταύτῳ συμφορήσῃ. οὐκ ἐν χρόαις\(^10\) 
γὰρ οὐδ' ἐν σχήμασιν οὐδ' ἐν λειότησιν ἐγγίγνεται 
tὸ θείον, ἀλλ' ἀτιμοτέραν ἔχει νεκρῶν μοῖραν, ὃσα 
μὴ μετέχει, μηδὲ μετέχει τοῦ ζῆν πέφυκεν. ἢ δὲ 
ζώσα καὶ βλέπουσα καὶ κινήσεως ἀρχὴν ἐξ αὐτῆς 
ἐχουσα καὶ γνώσιν οἰκεῖων καὶ ἄλλοτρίων φύσις

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\(^1\) τόλμαν\] πόλεμον Reiske.  
\(^2\) τὸ added by Michael.  
\(^3\) αὐνιγμα\] μίμημα Meziriacus.  
\(^4\) εἰκὸς Markland: ἱθὸς.  
\(^5\) εἶναι Bernardakis: οὖν.  
\(^6\) ὡστ' Michael and F.C.B.: ὡσ.  
\(^7\) δεῖ Wyttenbach: ἑτε.  
\(^8\) καὶ ὅλως Bentley: καλῶς.  
\(^9\) γε Reiske: τε.  
\(^10\) χρόαις the more usual form: χροιάις.
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
(382) κάλλους τ' ἐσπακεν ἀπορροήν καὶ μοῖραν ἐκ τοῦ φρονοῦντος, "ὀτως κυβερνᾶται τὸ σύμπαν" καθ’ C Ἡράκλειτον. οθεν οὐ χεῖρον ἐν τούτοις εἰκάζεται τὸ θείον ἡ χαλκοίς καὶ λιθίνοις δημιουργήμασιν, ἢ φθοράς μὲν ὀμοίως δέχεται καὶ ἐπιχρώσεις, αἰσθήσεως δὲ πάσης φύσει καὶ συνέσεως ἐστέρηται. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν τιμωμένων ζώων ταύτα δοκιμάζω μάλιστα τῶν λεγομένων.

77. Στολαὶ δ’ αἱ μὲν "Ἰσίδος ποικίλα ταῖς βα-φαῖς· περὶ γὰρ ὡλὴν ἡ δύναμις αὐτῆς πάντα γιγνο-μένην καὶ δεχομένην, φῶς σκότος, ἡμέραν νύκτα, πῦρ ὑδωρ, ζωῆν θάνατον, ἀρχὴν τελευτήν· ἡ δ’ Ἐσίριδος οὕκ ἔχει σκιάν οὐδὲ ποικιλμόν, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἀπλοῖς τὸ φωτοειδῆς· ἀκρατον γὰρ ἡ ἀρχή καὶ ἀμυγές τὸ πρῶτον καὶ νοητόν. οθεν ἀπαξ ταύτην

D ἀναλαβόντες ἀποτίθενται καὶ φυλάττονσιν ἀόρατον καὶ ἀμαυστόν. ταῖς δ’ Ἐσίακαίς χρῶνται πολ-λάκις· ἐν χρήσει γὰρ τὰ αἰσθητὰ καὶ πρόκειται όντα πολλὰς ἀναπτύξεις καὶ θέας αὐτῶν ἀλλοι, ἀλλως ἀμειβομένων δίδωσιν. ἢ δ’ οὐκ οὐκ τοῦ νοητοῦ καὶ εἰλκρινοῦς καὶ ἀπλοῦ νόησις ὑστερ ἀστραπῇ διαλάμψασα τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπαξ ποτὲ θιγεῖν καὶ προσδεῖν παρέσχε. διὸ καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Ἀριστο-τέλης ἐποπτικὸν τούτο τὸ μέρος τῆς φιλοσοφίας

1 κάλλους τ’ Papabasileios from Plato, Phaedrus, p. 251 b: ἀλλοὶς τε.
2 ὁτως Markland: ὁπως.
3 τὸ Bentley: τὸ τε.
4 χαλκοίς Salmiasius: χαλκείοις.
5 ταύτην Markland: ταῦτα.
6 ταῖς δ’ Ἐσίακαῖς Markland: τοῖς δ’ Ἐσίακαῖς.
8 τῇ ψυχῇ Markland.
9 παρέσχε Bentley: προσέσχε.
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

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$a$ Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, i, 86, Heracleitus, no. 41.

$b$ Cf. 352 b, supra.


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καλοῦσιν, ὡς οἱ τὰ δοξαστὰ καὶ μεικτὰ καὶ παντο- 
δαπὰ ταῦτα παραμευσάμενοι τῷ λόγῳ, πρὸς τὸ 
πρῶτον ἔκεινο καὶ ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἄνυλον ἐξάλλονται,
Ε καὶ θυγόντες ἁμωσγέτως¹ τῆς περὶ αὐτὸ καθαρᾶς 
ἀληθείας οἰον ἐντελῆ² τέλος ἔχειν φιλοσοφίαιν³ 
νομίζουσι.

78. Καὶ τοῦθ᾽ ὀπερ οἱ νῦν ἑρεῖς ἀφοσιούμενοι 
καὶ παρακαλυπτόμενοι μετ᾽ εὐλαβείας ὑποδηλοῦσιν 
ὡς ὁ θεὸς ὅτας ἄρχει καὶ βασιλεύει τῶν τεθνη-
κότων οὐχ ἔτερος ὡς τὸν καλομένου παρ᾽ Ἐλ-
λησιν "Αἰδοῦ καὶ Πλούτωνος, ἀγνοούμενον ὅπως 
ἀληθεῖς ἔστι, διαταράττει⁴ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑπονοοῦντας 
ἐν γῇ καὶ ὑπὸ γῆν τὸν ἱερὸν καὶ ὁσιον ὃς ἀληθῶς 
F ὤσιμν οικεῖν, ὅπου τὰ σώματα κρύπτεται τῶν 
télos ἔχειν δοκοῦντων. ὁ δὲ ἔστι μὲν αὐτὸς ἀπω-
τάτω τῆς γῆς ἀχραντος καὶ ἀμίαντος καὶ καθαρὸς 
οὐσίαν ἀπάσης φθορὰν δεχομένης καὶ θάνατον. 
ἀνθρώπων δὲ ψυχαῖς ἐνταυθοὶ ὡς ὑπὸ σωμάτων 
καὶ παθῶν περιεχομένων οὐκ ἔστι μετουσία τοῦ 
θεοῦ, πλὴν ὅσον ὁνείρατος ἀμαυροῦ θιγείν νοῆσε 
διὰ φιλοσοφίας· ὅταν δὲ ἀπολυθεῖσαι μεταστῶσιν 
333 εἰς τὸ ἄιδες⁶ καὶ ἀόρατον καὶ ἀπαθὲς καὶ ἀγνόν, 
οὕτως αὐταῖς ἢγεμῶν ἐστι καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ θεὸς, 
ἐξηρτημέναις ὡς ἂν ἂπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ θεωμέναις 
ἀπλήστως καὶ ποθοῦσαις τὸ μὴ φατὸν μηδὲ ῥήτον⁷ 
ἀνθρώποις κάλλος· οὗ τὴν Ἰσων ὁ παλαιὸς ἀποφαίνει

¹ ἁμωσγέτως F.C.B.: ἄλλως.
² ἐντελῆ] ἐν τελετῇ Reiske.
³ φιλοσοφίας Reiske.
⁴ διαταράττει Xylander: διαταράττειν.
⁵ ἐνταυθοὶ] ἐνταυθῇ Holwerda.
⁶ ἄιδες Parmentier: ἄειδες.
⁷ ῥήτον] ὀρατὸν Wyttenbach.

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¹ Cf. 375 d, supra. ² 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 ἐρώσαν ἀεὶ καὶ διώκουσαν καὶ συνούσαν ἀναπιμπλάναι τὰ ἑνταῦθα πάντων¹ καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν, ὥσα γενέσεως μετέσχηκε.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐχεῖ τὸν μάλιστα θεοὺς πρέποντα λόγον. (79.) εἴ δὲ δεῖ καὶ περὶ τῶν θυμιωμένων ἡμέρας ἐκάστης εἰπὲν, ὡσπερ ὅπειρα, ἐκεῖνο διανοηθεὶς τις ἀν¹ πρότερον ὡς ἀεὶ Ἐ μὲν οἱ ἄνδρες ἐν ὁποιοῖ μεγίστῃ τίθενται τὰ πρὸς ὑγίειαν ἐπιτηδεύματα, μάλιστα δὲ ταῖς ἱερουργίαις καὶ ταῖς ἀγνείαις καὶ διαίταις οὐχ ἦττον ἐνεστὶν τοῦ ὅσιον τὸ ὑγιευόν. οὐ γὰρ ἦφοτο καλῶς ἐχειν οὔτε σώμασιν οὔτε ψυχαῖς υπούλους καὶ νοσώδεις θεραπεύειν τὸ καθαρὸν καὶ ἄβλαβες πάντη καὶ ἁμίαντον. ἔπει τούνν ὁ ἅρ, ὁ πλείστα χρώμεθα καὶ σύνεσεμεν, οὐκ ἀεὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐχει διάδεσιν καὶ κράσιν, ἄλλα νῦκτωρ πυκνοῦται καὶ πιέζει τὸ σῶμα καὶ συνάγει τὴν ψυχήν εἰς τὸ δύσθυμον καὶ Πεφροντικὸς οἶον ἄχλυώδη γιγυμένην καὶ βαρεῖαν, ἐναστάντες εὐθὺς ἐπιθυμιώσι ρητίνην, θεραπεύοντες καὶ καθαίροντες τὸν ἀέρα τῇ διακρίσει καὶ τὸ σύμφυτον τῷ σώματι πνεύμα μεμαρασμένον ἀναρριπτόντες, ἔχουσις τι τῆς ὀσμῆς σφοδρὸν καὶ καταπληκτικὸν.

Ἀθίς δὲ μεσημβρίας αἰσθανόμενου σφόδρα πολλῆν καὶ βαρεῖαν ἀναθυμίασιν ἀπὸ γῆς ἐλκοντα βία τὸν ἦλιον καὶ καταμεγνύοντα² τῷ ἀέρι, τὴν σμύρναν ἐπιθυμιώσει. διαλύει γὰρ ἡ θερμότης καὶ σκίδυνῃ τὸ συνιστάμενον ἐν τῷ περέχοντι θολέρον καὶ ἰλυώδες. καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἱατροὶ πρὸς τὰ λοιμικὰ πάθη

¹ πάντων] πάντα Wytenbach. ² ἀν added by Bernardakis. ³ ἐνεστὶ Wytenbach: ἐστι τουτι. ⁴ καταμεγνύοντα Xylander: καταμεγγυνόντες.
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 solici
tude, 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 πολλὴν ποιοῦντες ὡς λεπτύνοντες ἔλθον τὸν ἄερα. λεπτύνει δὲ βέλτιον, ἐὰν εὐώδης ξύλα καἰσιν, οἵα κυπαρίστου καὶ ἀρκεύθου καὶ πετεύσι. Ἀκρωνα γοῦν τὸν ἰατρὸν ἐν Ἀθήναις ὕπο τὸν μέγαν λοιμὸν εὐδοκιμησάι λέγουσι, πῦρ κελεύοντα παρακαίειν τοῖς νοσοῦσιν. ὁμιλεῖ γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγους. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ φησὶ καὶ μύρων καὶ ἀνθέων καὶ λειμώνων εὐώδεις ἀποπνοίας οὐκ ἔλαττον ἔχειν τοῦ πρὸς ἴδονήν το τρὸς υγίειαν, ψυχρὸν οὖτα φύσει καὶ παγετώδη τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ἥρεμα τῇ θερμώτητι καὶ λειτοτηθείας, καὶ τῇ μάλιστα φράξει τῆς πληρώσεως ἐκκορτισμόν, ἐστὶν ἂν καὶ τοῦτο μαρτυρίας τῷ λόγῳ τῆς αἰτίας δίδωσιν.

Ε 80. Τὸ δὲ κύψις μείγμα μὲν ἐκκαίδεκα μερῶν συντιθεμένων ἐστὶ, μέλιτος καὶ οἶνος καὶ σταφίδος καὶ κυπέρους, φητίνης τε καὶ σμύρνης καὶ ἀσπαλάθους καὶ σεσέλεως, ἐτὶ δὲ σχίνων τε καὶ ἀσφάλτου καὶ ἄρκτου καὶ λαπάθου, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτος ἀρκευθήδων ἀμφοῖν, ἄν τὴν μὲν μείζονα τὴν δ' ἔλαττον καλοῦσι, καὶ καρδαμίῳ καὶ καλάμου. συντίθενται δ' οὖχ ὡς ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ γραμμάτων ἱερῶν τοῖς μυρεῖσι, ὡς ταῦτα μειγνύσωσι, ἤναγχευτοκομένων. τὸν δ' ἀριθμὸν, εἰ καὶ πάνυ δοκεῖ τετράγωνον ἀπὸ τετραγώνου καὶ μόνος ἔχων τῶν ἵσων ἴσας ἀριθμῶν τῷ χωρίῳ τῆς περίμετρον

1 βάλ] σαλ Iablonski.
2 πληρώσεως F.C.B.: ληρήσεως.
3 μερῶν Emperius: μενῶν.
4 ἄρκτου] θύου Strijd.
5 τῶν ἴσων ... ἀριθμῶν Wyttenbach: τῶν ἴσων ... ἀριθμῶν.

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bring relief to pestilential affections by making a large blazing fire, for this rarefies the air. But the rarefaction 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

\(^a\) Cf. Rose, Aristoteles Pseudepigraphus, p. 233.


\[ \text{PLUTARCH'S MORALIA} \]

\[ \text{F\'s\'n\' \'g\'\'s\'\'h\'\'\'\'\'b\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'\'"
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,

\[ \text{Cf. 367 f, supra.} \]
\[ \text{Cf. Moralia, 1087 e.} \]
\[ \text{Cf. Plato, Timaeus, 45 d, and Quintilian, ix. 4. 12.} \]

\[ \text{σύρωνa Squire and one ms.: σύρναν.} \]
\[ \text{εὐλην Reiske: σελήνην.} \]
(384) ἐστὶν δὲ νυκτὶ χαίρει μᾶλλον, ὡσπερ ὅσα πνεύμασιν ψυχρώσι καὶ σκιαῖς καὶ δρόσοις καὶ ύγρότητι τρέφεσθαι πέφυκεν. ἐπεὶ τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας φῶς ἐν μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ ἀπλοῦν καὶ τὸν ἡλίον ὁ Πίνδαρος ὀρᾶσθαι φησιν "ἐρήμας" δι' αἰθέρος'. Ὁ δὲ νυκτερινὸς ἁγράμμα καὶ σύμμειγμα πολλῶν γέγονε φῶτων καὶ δυνάμεων, οἷον σπερμάτων εἰς ἐν ἀπὸ παντὸς ἁστρον κατάρρεοντων. εἰκότως οὖν ἐκεῖνα μὲν ὃς ἀπλὰ καὶ ἀφ' ἡλίου τὴν γένεσιν ἐχοντα δι᾽ ἡμέρας, ταῦτα δ' ὃς μεικτὰ καὶ παντοδαπὰ ταῖς ποιότησιν ἀρχομένης νυκτὸς ἐπιθυμίῳ.

1 ἐρήμας Pindar: ἐρήμης.

a 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 εἷθε or εἵ γάρ (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 Götting, 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 εἶπο, "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 (εἶπο) is a true diphthong, and so is not generally spelled with simple E except in the Corinthian alphabet. Although

* 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 "he said." To this, of course, Roscher objects and suggests that Lagercrantz might have thought also of ἐ "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 Ἐ (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.a

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-

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a It might also be recorded that J. E. Harrison, in Comptes Rendus du Congrès International d'Archéologie (Athens, 1905), thinks that the E was "originally three betyl stones or pillars placed on a basis and representing the three Charites"! Moreover, C. Fries, in Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, lxxix. (1930) 343-344, offers as "nodi explicatio" the fact that in Sumerian inscriptions E means house or temple, and so may be connected with Babylonian ritual (note the Chaldean in chap. iv.)!
THE E AT DELPHI

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.
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΔΕΛΦΟΙΣ

ΤΑ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ ΤΟΤ ΔΙΑΛΟΓΟΤ

ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΣ, ΛΑΜΠΡΙΑΣ, ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ, ΘΕΩΝ,
ΕΣΤΡΟΦΟΣ, ΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΟΣ

D 1. Στιχιδίους τισιν οὐ φαύλως ἔχουσιν, ὥ φίλε
Σαραπίων, ἐνέτυχον πρῶην, ἃ Δικαιαρχὸς Εὐρυ-
πίδην ὀφεῖται πρὸς Ἀρχέλαου εἰπεῖν.

οὐ βούλομαι πλουτοῦντι δωρείσθαι πένης,
μη μ’ ἀφρονα κρίνης ἡ διδοὺς αἰτεῖν δοκῶ.

χαρίζεται μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ὁ διδοὺς ἀπ’ ὅλιγων μικρὰ
τοῖς πολλὰ κεκτημένοις, ἀπιστοῦμενος δ’ ἀντὶ μη-
δενὸς διδόναι κακοπθείας καὶ ἀνελευθερίας προσ-

Ε λαμβάνει δόξαν. ὅρα δὴ ὅσον ἐλευθερώτητι καὶ
κάλλει τὰ χρηματικὰ δῶρα λείπεται τῶν ἀπὸ λόγου
καὶ σοφίας, ἀ’ καὶ διδόναι καλὸν ἔστι καὶ διδόντας
ἀνταίτειν ὁμοια παρὰ τῶν λαμβανόντων. ἔγω γοῦν
πρὸς σὲ καὶ διὰ σὲ τοῖς αὐτόθι φίλοις τῶν Πυθικῶν
λόγων ἐνίος ὡσπερ ἀπαρχὰς ἀποστέλλων, ὄμολογῶ
προσδοκάν ἐτέρους καὶ πλείονας καὶ βελτίωνας παρ’
ὑμῶν, ἀτε δὴ καὶ πόλει χρωμένων μεγάλη καὶ

1 ἀ 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 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

σχολὴς μᾶλλον ἐν βιβλίοις πολλοῖς καὶ παντοδαπαῖς διατριβαῖς εὐπορούντων.

'Ο δ' οὖν φίλος1 Ἀπόλλων ἐοικε τὰς μὲν περὶ τὸν Β βίον ἀπορίας ἴασθαι καὶ διαλύειν θεμιστεύσιν τοῖς χρωμένοις, τὰς δὲ περὶ τὸν λόγον αὐτὸς ἐνεναι καὶ προβάλλειν τῷ φύσει φιλοσόφω, τῇ ψυχῇ2 ὀρεξὶν ἐμποιῶν ἀγωγὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὡς ἀλλοίς τε πολλοῖς δὴλον ἐστὶ καὶ τῇ περὶ3 τοῦ εἴ καθιερώσει. τούτῳ γὰρ εἰκὸς οὐ κατὰ τύχην οὐδ' οίον ἀπὸ κλήρου τῶν γραμμάτων μόνον ἐν προεδρίᾳ παρὰ 385 τῷ θεῷ γενέσθαι καὶ λαβεῖν ἀναθήματος τάξιν ἱεροῦ καὶ θεάματος· ἀλλ' ἢ δύναμιν αὐτοῦ κατιδόντας ἱδίαν καὶ περιτήν ἢ συμβόλω χρωμένους πρὸς ἑτερὸν τι τῶν ἄξιων σπουδῆς τοὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ περὶ τὸν θεὸν φιλοσοφήσαντας, οὔτω προθέσθαι.4

Πολλάκις οὖν ἀλλοτε τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ σχολῇ προβαλλόμενου ἐκκλίνας ἀτρέμα καὶ παρελθὼν, ἕναγχος ὑπὸ τῶν νυῶν ἐλήφθην ξένοις τοῖς συμ-φιλοτιμούμενοις, οὕς εὐθὺς ἐκ Δελφῶν ἀπαίρειν μελλόντας οὐκ ἢν εὐπρεπὲς παράγειν οὐδὲ παρατείσθαι, πάντως ἀκούσαι τι προθυμομένους. ὥστε5 Β καθὼς περὶ τὸν νεῶν τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἤρξάμην ἡτεῖν, τὰ δ' ἔκεινοις ἔρωταν, ὑπὸ τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν λόγων αὐτῶν ἀνεμνήσθην6 ἀ πάλαι ποτὲ καθ' ὁν καυρὸν ἐπ-

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 προσέθαι.
5 ὥστε F.C.B.: ὡς δὲ.
6 ἀνεμνήσθην added by Meziriacus.

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

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city, a 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 b that leads onward to the truth, as is clear in many other ways, but particularly in the dedication of the E. c 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

b Cf. Moralia, 673 b. c Cf. 426 e, infra.
(385) ἐδήμει Νέρων ἠκούσαμεν Ἀμμώνιον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων διεξιόντων, ἐνταῦθα τῆς αὐτῆς ἀπορίας ὀμοίως ἐμπεσοῦσης.

2. Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ἦττον ὁ θεὸς φιλόσοφος ἡ μάντις ἐδόκει 1 πᾶσιν ὅρθως πρὸς τοῦτο τῶν ὁνομάτων ἐκαστὸν Ἀμμώνιος τίθεσθαι καὶ διδάσκειν, ὥς Πύθιος μὲν ἔστι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις μανθάνειν καὶ διαπυθάνεσθαι. Δήλος δὲ καὶ Φαναῖος οἰς ἡδή τι C δηλοῦται καὶ ὑποφαίνεται τῆς ἀληθείας. Ισμήνιος δὲ τοῖς ἔχοσι τὴν ἐπιστήμην, καὶ Λεσχηνόριος 2 ὅταν ἐνεργῶσι καὶ ἀπολαύσωσι χρώμενοι τῷ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν πρὸς ἄλληλους. "ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν," ἐφη, "τὸ ζητεῖν ἀρχή, τοῦ δὲ ζητεῖν 3 τὸ βαυμάζειν καὶ ἀπορεῖν, εἰκότως τὰ πολλὰ τῶν περὶ τὸν θεὸν έοικέν αὐτίγμασι κατακεκρύφθαι, καὶ λόγον τοῦ ποθοῦντα διὰ τί καὶ διδασκαλίαν τῆς αἰτίας· οἶνον ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρός τοῦ ἄθανάτου, τὸ καίεσθαι μόνον αὐτόθι τῶν ξύλων ἐλάτην, καὶ δάφνην ἐπιθυμᾶσθαι, καὶ τὸ δύο Μοίρας ἱδρύσθαι πανταχοῦ τριῶν νομίζομένων, καὶ τὸ μηδεμία γυναῖκι πρὸς τὸ D χρηστήριον εἶναι προσελθεῖν, καὶ τὸ τοῦ τρίποδος, καὶ οἷσα τοιαῦτα, τοῖς μὴ παντάπασιν ἄλογοις καὶ ἀφύχουσ ὑφειμένα δελεάζει καὶ παρακαλεῖ πρὸς τὸ σκοπεῖν τι καὶ ἀκούσεων καὶ διαλέγεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν.

1 ἐδόκει Turnebus: δόκει.
2 Λεσχηνόριος Xylander: λέοχην ὄριος.
3 ἀρχή added by Cobet, τοῦ δὲ ζητεῖν by Paton; cf. Plato, Theaetetus, 155 D.

a Cf. 393 v, infra; Cornutus, chap. xxxii.; von Arnim, Stoicorum Veterrum 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' for those who have knowledge; and the "Leschenorian" (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

Plutarch's attempt to connect Ismenian with ἰδα (oida) can hardly be right.

Cf. Plato, Theaetetus, 155 d.
Cf. Pausanias, x. 24. 4.
Cf. Euripides, Ion, 222.
(385) ὅρα δὲ καὶ ταυτὶ τὰ προγράμματα, τὸ 'γνῶθι σαυτόν' καὶ τὸ 'μηδὲν ἀγαπᾷς κεκίνηκε φιλοσόφους καὶ ὅσον λόγων πλήθος ἀφ' ἐκάστου καθάπερ ἀπὸ σπέρματος ἀναπέφυκεν. ἄν οὖν ὑδενὸς ἦττον οἴμαι γόνιμον λόγων εἶναι τὸ νῦν ζητοῦμεν.'

3. Εἰπόντος δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Ἀμιμωνίου, Δαμπρίας ὁ ἄδελφος εἶπε ἢ καὶ μὴν ὅν ἦμεις ἄκηκόαμεν λόγον ἀπλοὺς τίς ἐστὶ καὶ κομιδὴ βραχύς. λέγουσι γὰρ Ε ἐκεῖνος τοὺς σοφοὺς ὑπ' ἐνίων δὲ σοφιστὰς προσ- αγορευθέντας αὐτοὺς μὲν εἶναι πέντε, Χίλωνα καὶ Θαλήν καὶ Σόλωνα καὶ Βίαντα καὶ Πιττακον' ἑπεὶ δὲ Κλεόβουλος ὁ Λυνδῶν τύραννος, εἶτα Περίαν- δρος ὁ Κορίνθιος, οὕδεν αὐτοῖς ἄρετῆς 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 λεγο- μένων ὑμοίους. δυσχεράναντας ἀρὰ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξελέγχειν μὲν οὐκ ἔθελεν τὴν ἀλαξονεῖαν οὐδὲ F φανερῶς ὑπὲρ δόξης ἀπεχθάνεσθαι καὶ διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς ἀνθρώπους μέγα δυναμένους, ἐνταῦθα δὲ συν- ελθόντας αὐτοὺς καθ' αὐτοὺς καὶ διαλεχθέντας ἀλλήλοις, ἀναθεῖν τῶν γραμμάτων ὁ τῇ τε τάξει πέμπτον ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τὰ πέντε δηλοῖ, μαρτυρομένους μὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὅτι πέντε εἰσὶ, τὸν δ' ἐβδομον καὶ τὸν ἐκτον 2 ἀποποιοῦ- μένους καὶ ἀποβάλλοντας ὡς οὐ προσήκοντας αὐ- τοῖς. ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ ταῦτα λέγεται, γνοῖη τις ἂν ἀκούσας τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ μὲν χρυσοῦν εἰ

1 λόγων Madvig: λόγου.
2 τὸν δὲ ἐκτον καὶ τὸν ἐβδομον Reiske.

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talk about them. Note also these inscriptions\(^a\) 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

\(^a\) Cf. *Moralia*, 164 B, 408 E, 511 A.
Λιβίας τῆς Καίσαρος γυναικὸς ὀνομαζόντων, τὸ δὲ 386 χαλκοῦν Ἀθηναίων· τὸ δὲ πρῶτον καὶ παλαιότατον τῇ δ' οὐσίᾳ ξύλινον ἐτὶ νῦν τῶν σοφῶν καλοῦσιν, ὡς οὗχ ἐνὸς ἀλλὰ κοινὸν ἀνάθημα πάντων γενόμενον."

4. 'Ο μὲν οὖν Ἀμμώνιος ἰσυχὴ διεμειδίασεν, ὑπονοήσας ἵδια τὸν Λαμπρίαν δόξη κεχρῆσθαι, πλάττεσθαι δ' ἱστοριάν καὶ ἀκοήν ἐτέρων πρὸς τὸ ἀνυπεύθυνον. ἔτερος δὲ τις ἐφ' ὑμῖν παρόντων ὃς ὁμοία ταύτ' ἐστὶν οἷς πρῴην ὁ Χαλδαῖος ἐφλυάρει ξένος, ἔπτα μὲν εἶναι τὰ φωνήν ἴδιαν ἀφιέντα τῶν γραμμάτων, ἐπτά δὲ τοὺς κίνησις αὐτοτελῆ καὶ ἀσύνετον ἐν οὐρανῷ κινουμένους ἀστέρας· εἶναι B δὲ τῇ τάξει δεύτερον τὸ τ' εἰ τῶν φωνητῶν ἀπ' ἄρχῆς καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἀπὸ σελήνης τῶν πλανήτων· ἥλιω δ' Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν αὐτόν ὡς ἐποίησε εἰπεῖν πάντας Ἑλλήνας νομίζειν. "ἀλλὰ ταυτὶ μὲν," ἐφη, "πανταπασιν ἐκ πίνακος καὶ πυλαιάς."

'Ο δὲ Λαμπρίας ἐλάθεν, ὡς ἐοικε, τοὺς ἀφ' ιεροῦ κινήσας ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον. ἀ μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος εἶπεν, οὔδεις ἐγίγνωσκε Δελφῶν· τὴν δὲ κοινῆν καὶ περιηγητικῆν δόξαν εἰς τὸ μέσον προῆγον, οὔτε τὴν ὀμίν ἀξιοῦντες οὔτε τὸν φθάγγον ἀλλὰ τούνομα μόνον τοῦ γραμμάτος ἔχειν τι σύμβολον. (5.) "ἔστι γὰρ, ὡς ὑπολαμβάνον οἱ Δελφοί," καὶ τότε προ- C ηγορῶν ἔλεγε Νῖκανδρος ὁ ἰερεύς, "σχῆμα καὶ μορφὴ τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐντεύξεως, καὶ τάξιν

1 καὶ del. Stegmann.
2 καὶ τότε Wytttenbach: καὶ τε or γε.
3 σχῆμα Meziriacus: ὀχῆμα.

*Cf. Moralia, 1130 a or 381 f, supra, or 393 c, infra.*
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) ἡγεμονικὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐρωτήμασιν ἔχει τῶν χρωμένων ἐκάστοτε καὶ διαπυθθανομένων εἰ νικήσουσι, εἰ γαμήσουσι, εἰ συμφέρει πλεῖν, εἰ γεωργεῖν, εἰ ἀποδημεῖν. τοῖς δὲ διαλεκτικοῖς χαίρειν ἔλεγε σοφὸς ὃν ὁ θεός, οὐδὲν οἰομένοις ἐκ τοῦ 'εἰ' μορίου καὶ τοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀξιώματος πράγμα γίγνεσθαι, τάσσοντας τὰς ἐρωτήσεις ὑποτεταγμένας τούτω καὶ νοῶν ὡς πράγματα καὶ προσιέμονος. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦδων τὸ ἐρωτᾶν ὡς μάντιν ἐστὶν ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ εὐχεσθαι κοινὸν ὡς πρὸς θεόν, οὐχ ἤττον οἶνοντα τῆς πενιθότης τῆς D εὐκτικῆν τὸ γράμμα περιέχειν δύναμιν 'εἰ γὰρ ὤφελον,' φησὶν ἐκαστὸς τῶν εὐχομένων, καὶ Ἀρχιλόχος

εἰ γὰρ ὃς ἐμοὶ γένοιτο χεῖρα Νεοβουλῆς θυγείων.

καὶ τοῦ 'εἴθε' τὴν δευτέραν συλλαβὴν το παρέλκεσθαι φασιν, οἶον τὸ Σώφρονος

ἀμα τέκνων θην δευομένα.

καὶ τὸ 'Ομηρικὸν

ὡς θην καὶ σὸν ἐγὼ λύσω μένοις.

ἐν δὲ τῷ 'εἰ' τὸ εὐκτικὸν καὶ ἀποχρώντως δηλούσθαι.'

6. Ταῦτα τοῦ Νικάνδρου διελθόντος, οἶσθα γὰρ δὴ Θέωνα τὸν ἑταίρον, ἤρετο τὸν Ἀμμώνιον εἰ

1 οἰομένοις Xylander: οἰομενοι.
2 ὃς Wytenbach: ὃς.
3 Bernardakis would add ὡσπερ καὶ το θην after συλλαβὴν.
4 ἐν] εἰ Michael.

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a 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


Il. xvii. 29.
διαλεκτικὴ παρρησίας μέτεστιν οὕτω περιουθρισμένως ἀκηκούσι: τοῦ δ' Ἀμμωνίου λέγειν παρακελευομένου καὶ βοηθεῖν, "ἀλλ' ὅτι μέν," ἐφι, "διαλεκτικώτατος ὁ θεὸς ἑστιν, οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν χρησμῶν δηλοῦσιν τοῦ γὰρ αὐτοῦ δήποιν ἐστιν καὶ λύειν καὶ ποιεῖν ἄμφιβολιας. ἔτι δ', ὡσπερ Πλάτων ἔλεγε, χρησμοῦ δοθέντος ὅπως τὸν ἐν Δήλῳ βωμὸν διπλασιάσωσιν, ὁ τῆς ἀκρας ἔξεως περί γεωμετριάν ἔργον ἑστιν, οὐ τούτῳ προστάτευε τὸν θεόν ἀλλὰ γεωμετρεῖν διακελεύσθαι τοῖς "Ελλησιουσ" οὕτως ἄρα χρησμοῦς ἄμφιβολους ἐκφέρων οὗ θεοῦ αὐξεῖ καὶ συνίστησι διαλεκτικὴν ὡς ἀναγκαῖαν τοῖς μέλλουσιν ὀρθῶς αὐτοῦ συνήσειν. ἐν δὲ διαλεκτικῇ δήπου μεγίστην ἐχει δύναμιν ὁ συναπτικὸς οὕτως σύνδεσμος, ἀτε δὴ τὸ λογικώτατον σχε-ματιζων ἄξιωμα: πῶς γὰρ οὐ τοιοῦτο τὸ συν-ημένον, εἰ γε τῆς μὲν ὑπάρξεως τῶν πραγμάτων ἐχει καὶ τὰ θηρία γνῶσιν, ἀκολούθου δὲ θεωρίαν καὶ κρίσιν ἀνθρώπων μόνω παραδεδωκεν ἡ φύσις; ὅτι γὰρ 'ἡμέρα' καὶ 'φῶς ἑστιν' αἰσθάνονται 387 δήπου καὶ λύκοι καὶ κύνες καὶ ὀρυθὲς. ὅτι δ᾽ 'εἰ ἡμέρα, φῶς ἑστι', οὐδὲν ἀλλο συνήσι πλὴν ἀνθρώπος, ἤγουμένου καὶ λήγοντος ἐμφάσεως τε καὶ συναρτήσεως τούτων πρὸς ἄλλα καὶ σχέσεως καὶ διαφοράς μόνοις ἔχουν ἐννοιαν, ἐξ ὧν αἱ ἀποδείξεις τῆς κυριωτάτης ἀρχῆς λαμβάνουσιν. ἐπεὶ τούτων φιλοσοφία μὲν ἑστιν περὶ ἀλήθειαν, ἀληθεῖας δὲ

1 περιουθρισμένως F.C.B.: περιουθρισμένη (Blass would add καὶ κακῶς before ἀκηκούσι). 2 καὶ γεωμετρεῖν in most mss.

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-

b Cf. von Arnim, Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta, ii. 216 (p. 70) and 239 (p. 78).
(387) φῶς ἀπόδειξες, ἀποδείξεως δ’ ἀρχὴ τὸ συνημμένον,
eικότως ἡ τοῦτο συνέχουσα καὶ ποιοῦσα δύναμις
ὕπο σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν τῷ μάλιστα τὴν ἀλήθειαν
ἡγαπηκότι θεῷ καθιερώθη.

Β “Καὶ μάντις μὲν ὁ θεὸς μαντική δὲ τέχνη περὶ τὸ
μέλλον ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἡ παρωχημένων. οὔδενὸς
γάρ οὔτ’ ἀναίτιος ἢ γένεσις οὔτ’ ἁλογος ἢ πρό-
γνωσις. ἀλλὰ ἐπει πάντα τοῖς γεγονόσι τὰ γιγνό-
μενα τά τε γενησόμενα τοῖς γιγνομένοις ἐπεται καὶ
συνὴρτηται κατὰ διεξοδον ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς εἰς τέλος
περαίνουσαν, ὁ τάς αἰτίας εἰς ταῦτο συνδεῖν τε πρὸς
ἀλληλα καὶ συμπλέκειν φυσικῶς ἐπιστάμενος οἶδε
καὶ προλέγειν

τά τ’ ἐόντα τά τ’ ἐσοῦμενα πρὸ τ’ ἐόντα.

καὶ καλῶς “Ομήρος πρῶτον ἔταξε τά παρόντα εἶτα
τὸ μέλλον καὶ τὸ παρωχημένον. ἀπὸ γάρ τοῦ ὄντος
τὸ συλλογισμὸς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ συνημμένον δύναμιν,
ὡς εἰ τὸδ’ ἐστί, τὸδε προῆγηται,1 καὶ πάλιν εἰ
C τὸδ’ ἐστί, τὸδε γενῆσεται.2 τὸ γὰρ τεχνικὸν καὶ
λογικὸν ὥσπερ εὑρίσκεται γνώσις ἀκολουθίας, τὴν δὲ
πρόσληψιν ή αἵτισις τῶν λόγων δίδωσι. θεν, εἰ
καὶ γλῖσχρον3 εἰπέν, οὐκ ἀποστρέφομαι τοῦτον εἶναι
τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας τρίποδα τὸν λόγον, ὅσ τὴν τοῦ
λόγουτος πρὸς τὸ προηγούμενον ἀκολουθιᾶν θέμενος
εἶτα προσλαβῶν τὴν ὑπαρξίαν ἐπάγει τὸ συμπέρασμα
τῆς ἀποδείξεως. τὸν οὖν Πόθιον, εἰ δὴ μουσικῆ θ’

1 προῆγηται H. Richards: προηγεῖται.
2 γλῖσχρον Wytenbach: αἰσχρον.
3 μουσικῆ θ’[μουσικῆ] τερπόμενος P. Maas.
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 aforesaid.

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) ἦδεται καὶ κύκνων φωναῖς καὶ κυθάρας ψόφοις, τί βαυμαστὸν ἐστι διαλεκτικῆς φιλίας τοῦ ἀσπάζε-ν ό γάρ μάλιστα καὶ πλεῖστων προσχρωμένων ὡς τοὺς φιλοσόφους; "Ο δ' Ἦρακλῆς, οὕτω τὸν Προμηθέα λευκῶς οὐδὲ τοὺς πέρι τὸν Χείρωνα καὶ "Ἀτλαντα σοφισταῖς διελεγμένοις ἀλλὰ νέος ὡν καὶ κομιδὴ Βοιώτιος, ἀναίρων τὴν διαλεκτικὴν καὶ καταγελῶν τοῦ 'εἰ τὸ πρῶτον τὸ δεύτερον,' υποσπᾶν ἐδοξε βία τὸν τρίποδα καὶ διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς τὸν θεόν ὑπὲρ τῆς τέχνης, ἐπεὶ προϊῶν γε τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ οὕτως ἔοικε μαντικῶτατος ὁμοῦ γενέσθαι καὶ διαλεκτικῶτατος."

7. Παυσαμένου δὲ τοῦ Θέωνος, Εὐστροφον Ἀθηναίον οἶμαι τὸν εἰπόντα εἰναι πρὸς ημᾶς, "ὁρᾶς, Ἐ ὃς ἁμένει τῇ διαλεκτικῇ Θέων προθύμως, μονονό ό τὴν λεοντὴν ἐπενδυσάμενοι; οὕτως οὐδ' ἠμᾶς τοὺς πάντα συλλήβδην πράγματα καὶ φύσεις καὶ ἀρχὰς θείων ὁμοί καὶ ἀνθρωπεῖων ἐν ἀριθμῷ τιθεμένους, καὶ πολὺ μάλιστα τῶν καλῶν καὶ τιμῶν τοῦτον ἡγεμόνα ποιουμένους καὶ κύριον, εἰκὸς ἠσυχίαν ἁγεν ἄλλ' ἀπάρξασθαι τῷ θεῷ τῆς φίλης μαθηματικῆς, αὐτὸ μὲν ἕφ' ἐαυτὸν μὴ τε δυνάμει μὴ τε μορφῆ μήτε τῷ ῥήματι τὸ εἰ τῶν ἄλλων στοιχείων διαφέρειν ἡγομένου, ὃς δὲ μεγάλου πρὸς τὰ ὅλα καὶ κύριον σημεῖον ἀριθμοῦ τετιμησθαι τῆς

1 οὕτως Wyttenbach: οὕτω.
2 εἰκὸς Turnebus: εἰδὼς.

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* The Greek equivalent of "Philistine."
* Cf. Moralia, 413 Α, 557 ε, 560 δ; 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, 214.
THE E AT DELPHI, 387

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, Eustrophus 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.
plutarch's moralia

πεμπάδος, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ ἀριθμὲων οἱ σοφοὶ πεμπάξεων
F ὠνόμαζον.

Ταῦτα δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔλεγεν οὐ παῖζων ὁ Εὐστροφὸς, ἀλλ' ἐπεί τηνυκάυτα προσεκείμην τοῖς μαθήμασιν ἐμπαθῶς, τάχα δὴ μέλλων εἰς πάντα τιμήσειν τὸ "μηδὲν ἁγαν" ἐν 'Ακαδημείᾳ γενόμενο.

8. Εἶπον οὖν κάλλιστα τὸν Εὐστροφὸν τῷ ἀριθμῷ λύειν τὴν ἀπορίαν. "ἐπεί γάρ," ἐφήν, "εἰς τὸ ἀρτιον νενεμημένου παντὸς ἀριθμοῦ καὶ τὸ 388 περιττὸν ἢ μὲν μονὰς ἀμφοτέρων ἐπίκοινος ἐστὶ τῇ δυνάμει, διὸ καὶ προστιθεμένη τὸν μὲν περιττὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀρτιον ποιεῖ τὸν δ' ἀρτιον περιττὸν ἀρχὴν δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἀρτίου τὰ δύο τοῦ δὲ περιττοῦ τὰ τρία ποιοῦνται, τὰ δὲ πέντε γεννᾶται τούτων πρὸς ἀλλήλους μειγνυμένων, εἰκότως ἐσχήκε τιμὴν πρῶτος ἐκ πρώτων ἀποτελούμενος, καὶ 'γάμος' ἐπιφνώμασται τῇ τοῦ ἀρτίου πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ περιττοῦ δ' αὐτὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀρρεν ὀμοιότητι: ταῖς γὰρ εἰς ἵσα τομαῖς τῶν ἀριθμῶν, ὁ μὲν ἄρτιος πάντα διωστάμενος ὑπολείπει τινὰ δεκτικὴν ἀρχὴν οἶνον ἐν έαυτῷ καὶ χώραν, ἐν B δὲ τῷ περιττῷ τὸ αὐτὸ παθόντι μέσον ἀεὶ περιέστι τῆς νεμήσεως γόνιμου. ἦ γονιμότερός ἐστι τοῦ ἐτέρου, καὶ μειγνυμένος ἀεὶ κρατεῖ, κρατεῖται δ' οὐδέποτε γύνεται γὰρ εὖ ἀμφοῖν κατ' οὐδεμίαν

1 δὴ Wytttenbach: δὲ.
2 γόνιμον] μόριον Emperius.

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a 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.
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) μείξων ἄρτιος ἀλλὰ κατὰ πάσας περιττός. ἦτι δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτὸς ἐπιβάλλων αὐτῷ καὶ συντιθέμενος δείκνυσι τὴν διαφορὰν ἑκάτερος· ἄρτιος μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἄρτιως συνελθὼν περιττὸν παρέσχεν οὐδὲ ἐξέβη τοῦ οἰκείου1 ὑπ' ἀσθενείας ἁγόνως2 ὦν ἐτέρου καὶ ἀτελής· περιττὸς δὲ μεγνύμενοι περιττοῖς ἄρτιοις πολλοὺς διὰ τὸ πάντη γόνυμον ἀποτελοῦσι.

C. τὰς δ' ἄλλας οὐκ ἂν τις ἐν καιρῷ νῦν ἐπεξίοι δυνάμεις καὶ διαφοράς τῶν ἄριθμῶν. ὡς οὖν ἂρρενός τε τοῦ πρώτου καὶ θήλεος ὁμιλία3 τὰ πέντε γιγνόμενα γάμον οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι προσείπον.

"Εστι δ' ὁ καὶ φύσις λέλεκται τῷ περὶ αὐτὸν πολλαπλασιασμῷ πάλιν εἰς ἑαυτὸν περαιώνων. ὡς γὰρ ἡ φύσις λαμβοῦσα πυρὸν ἐν σπέρματι καὶ χρησιμένῃ4 πολλά μὲν ἐν μέσῳ φύει σχήματα καὶ εἶδη, δι' ὧν ἐπὶ τέλος ἐξάγει τὸ ἔργον, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ πυρὸν ἀνέδειξεν ἀποδοῦσα τὴν ἁρχήν ἐν τῷ τέλει τοῦ παντός, οὔτω τῶν λοιπῶν ἄριθμῶν, ὅταν αὐτοὺς πολλαπλασιάσωσιν, εἰς ἑτέρους τελευτῶντων τῇ D αὐξήσει, μόνος δ' τῶν πέντε καὶ εξ γενόμενοι τοσαυτάκις αὐτοὺς ἀναφέρουσι καὶ ἀνασώζουσιν. ἐξάκις γὰρ τὰ εξ τριακονταέξ, καὶ πεντάκις τὰ πέντε εἰκοσιπέντε γίγνεται. καὶ πάλιν δ' μὲν τῶν εξ ἀπαξ τούτῳ ποιεῖ καὶ μοναχῶς αὐτός ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τετράγωνος γιγνόμενος. τῇ δὲ πεμπάδι5 καὶ τούτῳ μὲν συμβέβηκε κατὰ πολλαπλασιασμὸν, ἵδιως δὲ τὸ

1 τοῦ οἰκείου F.C.B.: το οἰκείου.
2 ἁγόνως Xylander: ἀπόγονος.
3 ὁμιλία Wyttenbach: δ μὴ διὰ ορ ὁμοίότητι.
4 χρησιμένη F.C.B.: χθαμένη ορ χεαμένη ορ χλαμένη.
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
κατὰ σύνθεσιν ἡ ἑαυτὴν ἡ τήν δεκάδα ποιεῖν παρὰ μέρος ἐπιβάλλουσαν ἑαυτῇ, καὶ τοῦτο γίγνεσθαι μέχρι παντός, ἀπομιμομένου τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῆς τὰ ὁλὰ διακοσμοῦσαν ἀρχήν. ώς γὰρ ἐκείνην ἀλλάττουσαν ἐκ μὲν ἑαυτῆς τὸν κόσμον ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κόσμου

Ε πάλιν αὖ ἑαυτὴν ἀποτελεῖν 'πυρὸς τ' ἀνταμείβεσθαι πάντα,' φησίν ὁ Ἡράκλειτος, 'καὶ πῦρ ἀπάντων, ὄκωσπερ χρυσοῦ χρήματα καὶ χρημάτων χρυσός,' οὕτως ἡ τῆς πεμπάδος πρὸς ἑαυτὴν σύνοδος οὔδὲν οὔτ' ἀτελὲς οὔτ' ἄλλοτριον γεννᾶν πέφυκεν, ἀλλ' ὀρισμένας ἔχει μεταβολάς· ἡ γὰρ ἑαυτὴν ἡ τὴν δεκάδα γεννᾷ, toutέστιν ἡ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἡ τὸ τέλειον.

9. 'Εάν οὖν ἔρηται τις, τι ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, φήσομεν οὐχὶ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον, ὃ τῶν Δελφῶν οὐδὲν ἦττον ἡ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι μέτεστιν. ἀκούομεν οὖν τῶν θεολόγων

F τὰ μὲν ἐν ποιήμασι τὰ δ' ἀνευ μέτρου λεγόντων καὶ ὑμνοῦντων ὡς ἀφθαρτος ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἀίδιος πεφυκὼς, ὑπὸ δὴ τῶν εἰμαρμένης γνώμης καὶ λόγου μεταβολαίς ἑαυτοῦ χρώμενος ἀλλοτε μὲν εἰς πῦρ ἀνήψε τὴν φύσιν πάνθ' ὅμουώσας πᾶσιν, ἀλλοτε δὲ παντοδαπός ἐν τε μορφαῖς καὶ ἐν πάθεσι καὶ δυνάμεις διαφόροις γιγνόμενος, ὡς γίγνεται νῦν

1 ἡ ἑαυτὴν Stegmann: καθ' ἑαυτὴν.
2 τὴν added by Bernardakis.
3 ἐπιβάλλουσαν Emperius (ἐπιβάλλουσα Madvig): ἐπιβάλλουσα.
5 ἀνταμείβεσθαι Wytenbach: ἀνταμείβεται or ἀνταμοίβηται (ἀνταμοιβὴν τὰ Bernardakis and Schwartz, ἀνταμοίβητα Paton).
6 ὅκωσπερ Bernardakis: (ἐκ) ὄσπερ.

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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

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\[ \text{\textsuperscript{a}} \text{That is, a number ending in 5 or 0. Cf. 429 d, infra.} \]

Diels, Fr. der Vorsokratiker, i. p. 95, Heracleitus, no. B 90.

\[ \text{\textsuperscript{b}} \text{Cf. Diels, Fr. der Vorsokratiker, i. p. 95, Heracleitus, no. B 90.} \]

\[ \text{\textsuperscript{c}} \text{Cf. 365 A, supra, and Lucan, v. 73-74; and for the proverb cf. Moral. 280 d and the note.} \]

\[ \text{\textsuperscript{d}} \text{Cf. Clement of Alexandria, Stromateis, v. 14 (p. 711 Potter).} \]

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\[ \text{\textsuperscript{7}} \text{πεμπάδος Bernardakis: πεντάδος.} \]

\[ \text{\textsuperscript{8}} \text{τήν φύσιν Reiske: τῇ φύσει.} \]
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

δ' 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 ἁμιάντῳ 389 καλοῦσι. τῆς δ' εἰς πνεύματα καὶ ὑδώρ καὶ γῆν καὶ ἀστρα καὶ φυτῶν ζώων τε γενέσεις τροπῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ διακοσμήσεως τὸ μὲν πάθημα καὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν διασπασμὸν τινα καὶ διαμελισμὸν αἰνίτοτονται. Διόνυσον δὲ καὶ Ζαγρέα καὶ Νυκτέλιον καὶ Ἰσοδαίτην αὐτὸν ὄνομάζουσι, καὶ φθοράς τινας καὶ ἀφανισμοὺς
dieta δ'⁵ ἀναβιώσεις⁶ καὶ παλιγγενεσίας, οἰκεία ταῖς εἰρημέναις μεταβολαῖς αἰνίγματα καὶ μυθεύματα περαινουσι καὶ ἄδουσι τῷ μὲν διθυραμβικὰ μέλη παθῶν μεστὰ καὶ μεταβολῆς πλάνην τινὰ καὶ διαφόρησιν ἔχουσις.

B 'μιξοβόσαν,' γὰρ Αἰσχύλος φησί, 'πρέπει διθύραμβον ὀμαρτεῖν σύγκωμον' Διονύσῳ.

tῷ δὲ παιῶνα, τεταγμένην καὶ σώφρονα μοῦσαν.

''Ἀγήρων τε τοῦτον ἅμικα καὶ νὲον ἐκείνων δὲ πολυειδή καὶ πολύμορφον ἐν γραφαῖς καὶ πλάσμασι δημιουργοῦσι καὶ ὅλως τῷ μὲν ὀμαλότητα καὶ τάξιν καὶ σπούδην ἀκρατον, τῷ δὲ μεμειγμένην

¹ δ added by F.C.B.
² ἀφανισμούς] ἐμφανισμοῦς van Herwerden, cf. 371 b.
³ dieta δ' Stegmann: οἱ τὰς.
⁴ ἀναβιώσεις Amyot from 364 f: ἀποβιώσεις.
⁵ σύγκωμον Wyttenbach: σύγκωμον, σύγκων, ὀρ σύγγονον.
⁶ ὀμαλότητα Hubert, comp. 52 ε: 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

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

' εὖιον ὀρσιγύναικα¹
μανομέναις Διόνυσον
ἀνθέοντα τιμαῖς'

ἀνακαλούσων, οὐ φαύλως ἐκατέρας μεταβολῆς τὸ οἰκεῖον λαμβάνοντες.

Ο ' 'Επεὶ δ' οὐκ ἦσος ὁ τῶν περιόδων ἐν ταῖς μεταβολαῖς χρόνος, ἀλλὰ μείζων ὁ τῆς ἑτέρας ἣν 'κόρον' καλοῦσιν, ὁ δὲ τῆς 'χρησμοσύνης' ἐλάττων, τὸ κατὰ λόγον τηροῦντες ἐνταῦθα τὸν μὲν ἄλλον ἐνιαυτὸν παίαν χρῶνται περὶ τὰς θυσίας, ἀρχομένου δὲ χειμῶνος ἐπεγείραντες τὸν διήθραμβον τὸν δὲ παίανα καταπαύσαντες, τρεῖς μήνας άντ' ἐκείνου τοῦτον κατακαλοῦντα τὸν θεόν, ὅπερ τρία πρὸς ἐννέα² τοῦτο τὴν διακόσμησιν οἴομενοι χρόνῳ πρὸς τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν εἶναι.

10. ' 'Αλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἰκανοῦ καιροῦ μᾶλλον ἀπομεμρήκουνται. δὴ λοιπὸν δ' ὅτι συνοικεύουσιν αὐτῷ³ τὴν πεμπάδα,⁴ νῦν μὲν αὐτὴν εὐαυτὴν ὡς τὸ πῦρ

D αὕτης δὲ τὴν δεκάδα ποιοῦσαν ἄς ἐαυτῆς ὡς τὸν κόσμον. τῆς δὲ δὴ μάλιστα κεχαρισμένης τῷ θεῷ μονοικῆς οὐκ οἰόμεθα τούτῳ τῷ ἁρμονώ μετεῖναι; τὸ γάρ πλείστον ὡς ἐνι' εἰπεῖν ἐργον ἀρμονικῆς περὶ τὰς συμφωνίας ἐστών. αὕτη δ' ὅτι πέντε καὶ οὐ πλείουσ δ' λόγος ἐξελέγχει τὸν ἐν χορδαῖς καὶ τρυ-

¹ εὖιον ὀρσιγύναικα Reiske: ἐννορεὶ γυναῖκα and other variants in the other quotations.
² ἐννέα Bases and Strijd: ἐν ορ ἐν οὕσα.
³ αὐτῷ Meziriacus: αὐτόν 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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\* αὐτὴν] αὐτῇ in most mss.

\* ἐν] ἐνὸs Camerarius.
(389) πήμασι ταύτα θηρᾶν ἀλόγως τῇ αἰσθήσει βουλό-
μενον. πᾶσαι γὰρ ἐν λόγοις τὴν γένεσιν ἀριθμῶν
λαμβάνουσιν· καὶ λόγος ἐστὶ τῆς μὲν διὰ τεττάρων
ἐπίτρετος, τῆς δὲ διὰ πέντε ἥμιόλιος, διπλάσιος δὲ
tῆς διὰ πασῶν, τῆς δὲ διὰ πασῶν καὶ διὰ πέντε
τριπλάσιος, τῆς δὲ δὶς διὰ πασῶν τετραπλάσιος. ἦν
Ε δὲ τάυτας ἐπεισάγομην οἱ ἀρμονικοὶ διὰ πασῶν
καὶ διὰ τεττάρων ὀνομάζοντες ἐξω μέτρου βαϊνο-
σαν οὐκ ἄξιόν ἐστι δέχεσθαι τῆς ἀκοῆς τῷ ἀλόγῳ
παρὰ τὸν λόγον ὁπέρ νόμον χαρίζομένου. ἦν
τούτων ἀφώ πέντε τετραχόρδων θέσεις, καὶ πέντε
τοὺς πρώτους, εἴτε τόνους ἦ τρόπους εἰθ' ἀρμονίας
χρή καλεῖν, ὅν εἰπτάσει καὶ υφέσει τρεπομένων
κατὰ τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ ἤττον αἰ λοιπαὶ βαρύτητές εἰσι
καὶ ἡξύτητες, ἀρ' οὐχὶ πολλῶν, μᾶλλον δ' ἀπείρων,
διαστημάτων ὄντων τα μελῳδούμενα μόνα πέντε
F ἦστι, δίεσις καὶ ἡμιτόνων καὶ τόνως καὶ τριτμο-
τόνων καὶ δίτονον, ἀλλ' δ' οὐδὲν οὔτε μικρότερον
οὔτε μείζον ἐν φωναῖς χωρίῶν ἡξύτητι καὶ βαρύτητι
περατούμενον μελῳδητὸν ἦστι;
11. "Πολλὰ δ' ἄλλα τοιαῦτα," ἐφην ἐγώ, "παρ-
elθῶν τὸν Πλάτωνα προσάξομαι λέγοντα κόσμον
ἐνα, ὡς εἴπερ εἰσὶ παρὰ τοῦτον ἐτεροί καὶ μὴ μόνος
οὕτως εἰς 2 πέντε τοὺς πάντας ὄντας καὶ μὴ πλείονας.
οὐ μὴν ἄλλα κἀν εἰς οὕτως ἦ μονογενὴς, ὡς οἶεται
καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης, τρόπον τινὰ καὶ τοῦτον ἐκ πέντε

1 ὅν Wyttenbach: ὡς. 2 εἰς Wyttenbach: εἰς.

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a Cf. Plato, Republic, 530 d–531 c.  
b Cf. Moralia, 1018 ε.  
c Cf. 429 ε, infra.  
d Cf. 430 λ, infra, and Moralia, 1021 ε and 1029 λ.  
e Cf. 430 λ, infra.  
' Plato, Timaeus, 31 λ.
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

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_Cf. Moralia, 421 f, 422 f, 430 b, and 887 b._

_De Caelo, i. 8-9 (276 a 18)._
390 synkei'menon kosmwn kai synharmosmenon einai. oin
o mên eoti yhs o d' udatos, tritos de puros kai
tetartos æros. ton de pempton ouranon oin de phos
oin d' aithéra kalouin, oin d' autò touto pempthn
ousian, ë to kuklw periphéresai monh ton sw-
mátwn kata fūsin estin, ouk e² anángkhs ou't
álwos symbeßhkos. ë dio d' kai tà pente kai kal-
lusta kai telewstata schímate twn ev ëfys ei
katanohsas, pumamída kai kúbou kai óktáedron kai
eikosáedron kai ðówdekaedron, ekaston oikeios
ékastw prosevenmen.

B 12. "Eis f' oin kai tás twn aisbhsenw dynàmeis
išaríbmos oussas tois prōtous ekeinouis synoi-
keiños, tìn mèn afhń dòrantes antìtupon oussan kai
gewdha, tìn de geusin úgróttita tòwn geustòn tás
poiôttas prosemēnhen. òhr de plhgeis ev' akoh
gyvnetai phwnh kai phōhos. dvoin de tòn loiptòn
ómh mèn, ën ò oôbhrhoun éllhchen, anaðumiasis oussas
kai geunomenein thermosth pwanôdes estin. aitheri de
kai fwesti dia synhgeinai dialamipoush ës òphoww
gyvnetai krásis ës amfoin òmoeopatheia kai sómpheias.
'allh d' ouste to Íówn aisbhsen oub' o kosmos ëxei
fūsin aîplh kai ameiktou. allà thumasth tis, òs
éoke, diànomh gégone tòwn pente pròs tā pente kai

C sulìnhes.

13. "Ama de pws ëpisthsas kai dialiptwv,
"oîon," eîpon, "o Eúôstrefe, pempôthamev, òlýon
parêldontes tôn Òmhpou, òs oukì prōtou eîs

tritos de kai tetartos puros kai áeros Paton on slight ms.
authority.

2 ouranon oï mèn ouranon Wyttenbach.

3 symbeßhkos Meziriacus: symbeßhkontos.

4 ev] ëf?
THE E AT DELPHI, 390

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 as if he were not the first

*Il. xv. 187.*
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(390) πέντε νεώματα μερίδας τὸν κόσμον, ὃς τὰς μὲν ἐν μέσῳ τρεῖς ἀποδεδωκε τοῖς τρισὶ θεοῖς, δύο δὲ τὰς ἄκρας ὀλυμπον καὶ γῆν, ὅν μὲν ἐστὶ τῶν κατώ πέρας ὁ δὲ τῶν ἀνώ, κοινὰς καὶ ἀνεμήτους ἀφήκεν.

""Ἀλλ' ἀνοιστέως ὁ 'λόγος,' ὡς Ἐὐρυπίδης φησίν. οἱ γὰρ τὴν τετράδα σεμνύναντες ὅποι φαύλως διδάσκοντων, ὅτι τῷ ταύτῃ λόγῳ πᾶν σώμα γένεσιν ἐσχηκεν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐν μήκει καὶ πλάτει βάθος

D λαβόντι πᾶν τὸ στερεὸν ἐστι, καὶ μήκους μὲν προ- ὑφίσταται στιγμή κατὰ μονάδα ταττομένη, μήκος δὲ ἀπλατεῖς ἡ γραμμή καλείται καὶ δυάς ἐστίν, ἡ δ' ἐπὶ πλάτος γραμμῆς κίνησις ἐπιφανείας γένεσιν ἐν τριάδι παρέσχε, βάθος δὲ τούτως προσγενομένου διὰ τεττάρων εἰς στερεόν ἡ αὔξησις προβαίνει, παντὶ δὴλον ὅτι μέχρι δεύρῳ τὴν φύσιν ἡ τετράς προαγαγοῦσα, μέχρι τοῦ σώμα τελείωσαι καὶ παρα- σχεῖν ἀπτοῦ ὄγκου καὶ ἀντίτυπου, εἰτ' ἀπολέλοντεν

Ε ἐνδεῖ τοῦ μεγίστου. τὸ γὰρ ἄψυχον ὡς ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν ὀρφανὸς καὶ ἀτελές καὶ πρὸς οὐδ' ὤτιον, μὴ χρωμένης ψυχῆς, ἐπιτήδειον· ἡ δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐμποιοῦσα κίνησις ἡ διάθεσις, μεταβολῆ διὰ πέντε γιγνομένη, τῇ φύσει τὸ τέλειον ἀποδόθωσι, καὶ τοσοῦτω κυριώτερον ἔχει τῆς τετράδος λόγον, ὅσω τιμὴ διαφέρει τοῦ ἄψυχοι τοῦ ζωίου.

""Ἐτι δ' ἵσχυσασα μάλλον ἢ τῶν πέντε συμμετρία καὶ δύναμις οὐκ εἰάσεν εἰς ἀπειρα γένη προελθέων τὸ ἐμψυχον, ἄλλα πέντε τῶν ζώντων ἀπάντων ἱδεάς

1 σεμνύναντες] σεμνύνοντες Wytenbach.
2 δυάς Reiske: μήκος.
3 ἀπτοῦ Reiske: διττῶν.

a Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag., Euripides, no. 970; repeated in 431 Λ, infra.

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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 a 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 δὴπον καὶ δαίμονες καὶ ἡρωες καὶ μετὰ τούτοις τὸ τέταρτον ἄνθρωποι γένος, ἐσχατον δὲ καὶ πέμπτον τὸ ἄλογον καὶ θηριώδες.

"Ετι δ' εἰ τὴν ψυχήν αὐτὴν κατὰ φύσιν διαιροῖς, πρῶτον αὐτῆς καὶ ἀμαυρότατον ἐστὶ τὸ θρεπτικόν, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ αἰσθητικόν, εἶτα τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν, εἰτ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸ θυμοειδές. εἰς δὲ τὴν τοῦ λογιστικοῦ δύναμιν ἐξικομένη καὶ τελεώσασα τὴν φύσιν ὠσπερ ἐν ἅκρῳ τῷ πέμπτῳ καταπέπαυταί.

14. "Τοσαυτὰς δὲ καὶ τηλικαύτας ἔχοντος τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ δυνάμεις, καλὴ καὶ ἡ γένεσις ἐστιν, οὐχ ἡν ἂδη διηλθομεν, ἐκ δύνας οὕσαν1 καὶ τριάδος, ἀλλ' ἢν ἡ ἀρχὴ2 τῷ πρῶτῳ συνελθοῦσα τετραγώνῳ παρέσχεν. ἀρχῇ μὲν γὰρ ἀριθμοῦ παντὸς ἡ μονᾶς, τετράγωνος δὲ πρῶτος ἡ τετράς. ἐκ δὲ τούτων, ὠσπερ ἰδέας καὶ ύλης πέρας ἐχούσης, ἡ πεμπάς. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ τὴν μονάδα τετράγωνον ὀρθῶς ἐνυχτεντα, δύναμιν οὕσαν ἐαυτῆς καὶ περαιώνουσαν εἰς ἑαυτήν, ἐκ δυοῦν πεφυκίᾳ τῶν πρῶτων τετραγώνων ἡ πεμπάς οὐκ ἀπολέοιτεν ὑπερβολὴν εὐγενείας.

15. "Τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἐφην, "δέδια μὴ ῥηθὲν πιέζῃ τὸν Πλάτωνα ἡμῶν, ὥστε έκείνους ἐλεγε πιέζεσθαι τῷ τῆς σελήνης όνοματϊ τὸν 'Αναξαγόρα', παμπάλαιον οὔσαν τινα τὴν περὶ τῶν φωτισμῶν δόξαν αὐτοῦ ἰδίαι ποιοῦμεν. ἢ γὰρ οὐ ταῦτα Β εἰρήκεν ἐν Κρατύλῳ);

"Πάνω μὲν οὖν," ὁ Εὐστροφὸς ἐφη, "τι δ' ὁμοίον πέφυκεν οὐ συνορῶ."
of all living things. For there are, as we know, gods, demigods, and heroes, and after these the fourth class, man; 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."

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; 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?"

"Certainly," said Eustrophus, "but what similarity there is I do not see."

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\[a\] Cf. 415 v, infra.
\[b\] Cf. 429 f, infra.
\[c\] Cf. 429 f, infra.
\[d\] Plato, Cratylus, 409 a.
(391) "Καὶ μὴν οἶσθα δῆπονθεν, ὅτι πέντε μὲν ἐν Σοφιστῇ τὰς κυριωτάτας ἀποδείκνυσιν ἀρχάς, τὸ ὅν τὸ ταῦτὸν τὸ ἔτερον, τέταρτον δὲ καὶ πέμπτον ἐπὶ τούτοις κύνησιν καὶ στάσιν. ἄλλω δ' αὖ τρόπῳ διαφέρεσιν ἐν Φιλήβῳ χρώμενοι, ἐν μὲν εἶναι φησὶν τὸ ἀπειρον ἔτερον δὲ τὸν πέρας τούτων δὲ μειγνυμένων πᾶσον συνίστασθαι γένεσιν. αἰτίαν δ', ύφ' ἦς μείγνυται, τέταρτον γένος τίθεται· καὶ πέμπτον ζ ἡμῖν ὑπονοεῖν ἀπολέοιμεν, ὥς τὰ μειχθέντα πάλιν ἵσχει διάκρισιν καὶ διάστασιν. τεκμαίρομαι δὲ ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνων ὡσπερ εἰκόνας λέγεσθαι, τοῦ μὲν ὄντος τὸ γιγνόμενον, κινήσεως δὲ τὸ ἀπειρον, τὸ δὲ πέρας τῆς στάσεως, ταῦτοῦ δὲ τῆς μειγνύομεν ἀρχῆς, θατέρου δὲ τῆς διακρίνουσαν. εἰ δ' ἐτέρα ταῦτ' ἐστι, κάκεινως ὁν εἰῆ καὶ οὕτως ἐν πέντε γένεσι καὶ διαφοραῖς τιθέμενος."

"Εφθη' δ' τις ταῦτα πρῶτος συνιδῶν Πλάτωνος, διὸ εἴ καθιέρωσε τῷ θεῷ, δήλωμα καὶ σύμβολον τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν πάντων.

"Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τἀγαθὸν ἐν πέντε γένεσι φαντα-

D ξόμενον κατανοήσας, ὃν πρῶτὸν ἐστι τὸ μέτριον, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ σύμμετρον, καὶ τρίτον δ' νοῦς καὶ τέταρτον αἱ περὶ ψυχῆς ἐπιστήμην καὶ τέχνῃ καὶ δόξαι ἀληθείς, πέμπτον δ' εἴ τις ἡδονὴ καθαρὰ

1 τὸ omitted in all mss. but one.
2 γένεσι] γενέσει in most mss.
3 τιθέμενος Wilamowitz-Möllendorff: πυθόμενος.
4 ἔφθη F.C.B.: φησί or φήσει.
5 διὸ F.C.B.: δυὸ.
6 δ' added added by Bernardakis.

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“Well, you know, of course, that in the *Sophist* a he demonstrates that the supreme first principles are five: Being, Identity, Divergence, and fourth and fifth besides these, Motion and Rest. b But in the *Philebus* c 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, d 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.
εκτῇ δ᾽ εν γενεῇ καταπαύσατε θεσμὸν’ ἀοιδῆς.

16. "Επὶ τούτοις," ἔφην, "εἰρημένοις πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἑν βραχὺ τοὺς περὶ Νίκανδρον ‘ἀείσω εὑνετοίσι.’ τῇ γὰρ ἐκτῇ2 τοῦ νέου μηνὸς ὅταν κατάγγη τις τῇ Πυθίαιν εἰς τὸ4 πρυτανεῖον, ὁ πρῶτος ὑμῖν γίγνεται τῶν τριῶν κλήρων εἰς τὰ πέντε, πρὸς ἁλλήλους ἐκεῖνης τὰ τρία, σοῦ δὲ5 τὰ δύο βάλλοντος. η γὰρ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει;"

Ε ᾌ ο Νίκανδρος, "οὕτως," εἶπεν, "ἡ δ’ αὕτη πρὸς ἐτέρους ἀρρητός ἔστι."

"Οὐκοῦν," ἔφην ἐγὼ μειδιάσας, "ἀχρὶ οὖ τάληθες ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς ἱερός γενομένοις γνώναι παράσχῃ, προσκείσεται καὶ τούτο τούς ὑπὲρ τῆς πεμπάδος λεγομένους."

Τοιοῦτο μὲν καὶ ὁ τῶν ἀριθμητικῶν καὶ ὁ τῶν μαθηματικῶν ἐγκωμίων τοῦ εἰ λόγος, ὡς ἐγὼ μέμνημαι, πέρας ἔσχεν.

17. ‘Ο δ’ Ἀμμώνιος, ἀτε δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς οὐ τὸ φαινότατον ἐν μαθηματικῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ7 τιθέμενος, ἡσθῇ τε τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἄξιον πρὸς ταῦτα λίαν ἀκριβῶς ἀντιλέγειν τοῖς νέοις, πλῆν ὅτι τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἑκατόστος οὐκ ὅλιγα βου-

Φλομένοις ἐπαινεῖν καὶ ὑμεῖν παρέξει. καὶ τί δεὶ περὶ τῶν ἀλλων λέγειν; η γὰρ ἱερὰ τοῦ 'Ἀπόλ-

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 Pryta-neum, 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

\[a\] Orphic Fragments, no. 14.
\[b\] Ibid. no. 334; quoted again by Plutarch in Moralia, 636 D.
\[c\] The Greek text is at this point somewhat uncertain.

\[6\] ἐνδυνατός Bernardakis: ἐνδυνατες.
\[7\] φιλοσοφίας] φιλοσοφία in most mss.
λωνος ἐβδομάς ἀναλώσει τὴν ἡμέραν πρότερον ἢ λόγῳ τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτής ἀπάσας ἐπεξελθεῖν. εἰτα τῷ κοινῷ νόμῳ 'πολεμοῦντας' ἀμα καὶ τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ τοὺς σοφοὺς ἀποφανοῦμεν ἀνδράς, εἰ τὴν ἐβδομάδα τῆς προεδρίας παρώναντες τῷ θεῷ τὴν περιπάτα καθιερώσουσιν ὡς μᾶλλον τι προσήκοσαν. οὔτ' οὖν ἀριθμὸν οὔτε τάξιν οὔτε σύνδεσμον οὔτ' ἄλλο τῶν ἐλληνῶν 392 μορίων οὔδεν οἴμαι τὸ γράμμα σημαινεῖν· ἀλλ' ἐστιν αὐτοτελῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προσαγόρευσι καὶ προσφώνησις, ἀμα τῷ ῥήματι τὸν φθεγγόμενον εἰς ἐννοιαν καθιστάσα τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως. ὁ μὲν γὰρ θεὸς ἐκαστον ἡμῶν ἐνταῦθα προσιόντα οἶδον ἀσπαζόμενος προσαγορεύει τὸ 'γνώθι σαυτόν,' ὁ δὲ τοῦ 'χαίρε' οὔδεν μειὸν ἐστιν· ἡμεῖς δὲ πάλιν ἀμειβόμενοι τὸν θεόν, 'εἰ', φαμέν, ὡς ἀληθῆ καὶ ἀφευδῆ καὶ μόνη μόνῳ προσήκουσαν τὴν του εἶναι προσαγόρευσιν ἀποδιδόντες.

18. "'Ημῖν μὲν γὰρ ὅντως τοῦ εἶναι μέτεστιν οὔδεν, ἀλλὰ πάσα θνητὴ φύσις ἐν μέσῳ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς γενομένη φάσμα παρέχει καὶ δόκησιν Β ἀμυνθὰν καὶ ἀβέβαιον αὐτῆς· ἀν δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπερείπως λαβέσθαι βουλόμενος, ὡσπερ ἡ σφοδρὰ περίδραξις ὕδατος τῷ πιέζειν καὶ εἰς ταυτὸ συν-ἀγεν διαρρέειν ἀπόλλυσι τὸ περιλαμβανόμενον, οὔτω

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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).
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 ἐκάστου τῇ ἁγιν ἐνάργειαν ὁ λόγος διώκων ἀποσφάλλεται τῇ μὲν εἰς τὸ γυγνόμενον αὐτῷ τῇ δ’ εἰς τὸ φθειρόμενον, οὐδενὸς λαβέσθαι μένοντος οὐδ’ ὄντος ὄντως δυνάμενος.

"Ποταμάφ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμβῆναι διὸ τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτι ἡ ἁμαρτία κατὰ ἐξίν. ἀλλ’ ἀπεφάτητι καὶ τάχει μεταβολῆς ὁ σκέψησι καὶ πάλιν συνάγει, μᾶλλον δ’ οὐδὲ πάλιν οὐδ’ ύστερον ἀλλ’ ἀμα συνίσταται καὶ ἀπολείπει καὶ πρόσειει καὶ ἀπευτει.

"Ὅθεν οὐδ’ εἰς τὸ εἶναι περαινεῖ τὸ γυγνόμενον αὐτῆς τῷ μηδεποτε λήγειν μὴ ἱστασθαι τῆς γένεσιν, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ σπέρματος αἰτὶ μεταβαλλουσαν ἐμβρύων ποιεῖν εἶτα βρέφος εἶτα παιδα, μειράκιον ἐφεξῆς, νεανίσκον, εἰτ’ ἀνδρα, πρεσβύτην, γέροντα, τὰς πρώταις φθειροῦσαν γενέσεις καὶ ἡλικίας ταῖς ἐπιγεγυμνέασι. ἀλλ’ ἡμεῖς ἕνα φοβουμέθα γελοῖως θάνατον, ἥδη τοσοῦτος τεθηκότες καὶ θυσίκοντες. οὐ γὰρ μόνον, ὡς Ἡράκλειτος ἐλεγε, ἐπὶ πυρὸς θάνατος ἀἐρι γένεσις, καὶ ἀερὸς θάνατος ὑδατι γένεσις, ἀλλ’ ἐτι σαφέστερον ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ἡμῶν ἰδοις ἀν’ φθειρεῖται μὲν ὁ ἄκμαζων γενομένου γέροντος, ἐφθάρη δ’ ὁ νέος εἰς τὸν ἄκμαζοντα, καὶ

1 παθητῶν καὶ μεταβλητῶν Eusebius, Praep. Ev. xi. 11: παθημάτων καὶ μεταβάντων.
2 μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ . . . ἀπολείπει not in mss.; added here from Eusebius.
3 ἱστασθαί Eusebius: ἵττασθαί.
4 ἡμῶν Eusebius: ἡ δ’ ἂν or ἰδοις ἂν, the latter of which should probably be included in the text.
5 ὁ ἄκμαζων Eusebius: ἄκμαζων.
6 γενομένου] γυνομένου some mss.
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

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*a Cf. Diels, Frag. der Vorsokratiker, i. p. 96, Heracleitus, no. 91. Plutarch refers to this dictum also in Moralia, 559 c. 
b Cf. Diels, Frag. der Vorsokratiker, i. p. 93, Heracleitus, no. 76.*
(392) ὁ παις εἰς τὸν νέον, εἰς δὲ τὸν παῖδα τὸ νήπιον. ὁ τ᾿ ἔχθεσὶν εἰς τὸν σήμερον θετήκηκεν, ὁ δὲ σήμερον εἰς τὸν αὐριον ἀποθνῄσκει. μένει δ᾿ οὔδείς οὐδ᾿ ἐστιν εἰς, ἀλλὰ γιγνόμεθα πολλοί, περὶ ἐν τῇ φάντασμα καὶ κοινὸν ἐκμαγεῖον ὡς περιελαυνομένης καὶ ὀλυσθανοῦσης. ἔπει πῶς οἱ αὐτοὶ μένοντες ἐτέρους χαίρομεν νῦν, ἐτέρους πρότερον; τάναντια φιλοῦμεν η` μισοῦμεν καὶ θαυμάζομεν καὶ ψέγομεν, ἄλλοις 

Ε δ᾿ χρώμεθα λόγοις ἄλλοις πάθεσιν, οὐκ εἰδος οὐ μορφῇν οὐ διάνοιαν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες; οὔτε γὰρ ἄνευ μεταβολῆς ἐτερα πάσχεων εἰκός, οὔτε μεταβάλλων ὁ αὐτὸς ἐστιν· εἰ δ᾿ ὁ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐστιν, οὐδ᾿ ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ τούτ’ αὐτὸ μεταβάλλει γιγνόμενος ἐτέρους ἐς ἐτέρου. ἰευδεται δ᾿ ἧ αἰσθησις ἀγνοια τοῦ ὀντος εἶναι τὸ φαινόμενον.

19. "Τί οὖν ὄντως ὅν ἐστι; τὸ ἀίδιον καὶ ἀγένητον καὶ ἀφθαρτον, ὥς χρόνος μεταβολῆς οὐδὲ εἰς ἐπάγει. κινητὸν γὰρ τι καὶ κινούμενη συμφανταζόμενον ὡς καὶ θεὸν ἁεὶ καὶ μὴ στέγον; ὡσπερ ἄγγειον φθορᾶς καὶ γενέσεως, ὃ χρόνος, οὗ γε δὴ τὸ μὲν ἐπειτα καὶ τὸ πρότερον καὶ τὸ ἐστι περιαίμενον καὶ τὸ γέγονεν, αὐτόθεν

F ἐξομολογησίς ἐστι τοῦ μὴ ὄντος· τὸ γὰρ ἐν τῷ εἶναι τὸ μὴδέπω γεγονός ἡ πεπαυμένον ἥδη τοῦ εἶναι λέγειν ὡς ἐστιν, εὕθες καὶ ἀτοπον. ὥς δὲ μάλιστα

1 τ᾿ ἔχθεσιν added from Eusebius.
2 τ᾿ ἔχθεσι one ms.: δὲ χθες Eusebius.
3 πρότερον added from Eusebius.
4 δὲ omitted by Eusebius and one ms.
5 άλλα Eusebius: ἄμα.
6 στέγον Eusebius: στερρὸν.

a Cf. Plato, Timaeus, 50 c.
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 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 ἐπερεῖδοντες1 τοῦ χρόνου, τὸ ἐν-έστηκε καὶ τὸ πάρεστι καὶ τὸ νῦν φθεγ-γόμεθα, τοὺτο πάλιν ἀπανει ἐις τοὺς δυναμικοὺς2 ὁ λόγος ἄπολλυν. ἐκθέλλεται γὰρ εἰς τὸ μέλλον καὶ τὸ παρώχημενον ὡσπερ ἀκμὴν3 βουλομένου4 ἵδειν, εἰς 393 ἀνάγκης διυπάντευν. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα τῷ μετροῦντι πέπονθεν ἡ μετρομένη φύσις, οὐδὲν αὐτῆς μένον οὐδὲν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ γυγνόμενα πάντα καὶ φθειρόμενα κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν χρόνον συννέμησιν. 5 ὁθεν οὐδὲ οὐσίων8 ἐστιν οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ οὐντὸς λέγειν ὡς ἢν ἢ ἐσταί: ταῦτα γὰρ ἐγκλίσεις τινὲς εἰσὶ καὶ μετα-βάσεις καὶ παραλλάξεις τοῦ μένειν εν τῷ εἶναι μὴ πεφυκότος.

20. "Ἀλλ' ἐστιν ὁ θεός, εἰ10 χρή φανεί, καὶ ἐστι κατ' οὐδένα χρόνον ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα τὸν ἀ-κίνητον καὶ ἄχρονον καὶ ἀνέγκλιτον καὶ οὐ πρότερον οὐδέν ἐστιν οὐδὲ ύστερον οὐδὲ μέλλον οὐδὲ παρ-ωχημένον οὐδὲ προσβύτερον11 οὐδὲ νεώτερον. ἀλλ' εἰς ὅν ἐν τῷ νῦν τὸ ἂεὶ πεπληρωκε, καὶ οὐν οὐν ἐστὶ
Β τὸ κατὰ τούτον12 ὄντως ὅν, οὐ γεγονός οὐδὲ ἐσόμενον οὐδὲ ἀρξάμενον οὐδὲ ψαυόμενον. οὕτως οὐν13 αὐτὸν14 δεὶ σεβομένους ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ προσαγορεύειν,15 'εἰ,16 καὶ νη Δία, ὡς ἐνιοῦ τῶν παλαιῶν, ' εἰ ἐν.'

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1 ἐπερεῖδοντες Eusebius: ὑπερεῖδοντες or ὑπερεἰδοντες.
2 ἀπαν Reiske: ἀγαν (ἀγαν cod. D).
4 ἀκμὴν F.C.B.: ἀκμή mss.; Eusebius has αὐγή.
5 βουλομένους Eusebius: βουλόμενους.
6 ἡ μετρομένη Eusebius: η μετρον μὲν η.
7 συννέμησις Eusebius: συνεμήσι.
8 οὐδὲ δαιν] οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον Eusebius.
9 οὐδὲ Bernardakis, ἐνὶ Eusebius: οὐδὲ or οὐδὲν (ἐνὶ 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 εἰ added from Eusebius and Cyrillus; not in mss.
11 οὐδὲ μέλλων . . . προσβύτερον not in the mss.; added from Eusebius.
12 τοῦτον] τοῦτο, αὐτό, ταῦτα, in different traditions.
13 οὐν added from Eusebius and Cyrillus; not in mss.
14 αὐτόν] αὐτό in most mss.
15 προσαγορεύειν Eusebius: προσεθίζειν. 16 εἰ Cyrillus: ἦ.
"Όν γάρ πολλά τὸ θείον ἐστιν, ὡς ἡμῶν ἐκαστὸς ἐκ μυρίων διαφόρων ἐν πάθει γιγνομένων, ἀθροισμα παντοδαπόν καὶ πανηγυρικῶς μεμειγμένων· ἀλλ' ἐν εἶναι δεῖ τὸ ὅν, ὥσπερ ὅν τὸ ἐν. ἦ δ' ἐτερότης διαφορᾶς τοῦ ὅντος εἰς γένεσιν ἐξιστάται καὶ τοῦ μη ὅντος. ὃθεν εὖ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἔχει τῷ θεῷ τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ, τὸ δεύτερον καὶ τὸ τρίτον. Ἀπόλλων μὲν γὰρ οἶνον ἀρνοῦμενος τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἀποφάσκων ἐστίν, Ἰησοῦς δ' ὃς εἰς καὶ μόνος· Φοῖβον δὲ δῆπον τὸ καθαρὸν καὶ ἄγνον οἱ παλαιοὶ πᾶν ὄνομαζον, ὡς ἔτι Θεταλοὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἐν ταῖς ἀποφράσεις ἠμέραις αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἔξω διατρίβοντας, οἶμαι, 'φοιβονομεῖσθαι' λέγουσιν. "Τὸ δ' ἐν εἰλικρινεῖς καὶ καθαροῖς ἐτέρου γὰρ μείζει πρῶς ἐτερον τῷ μιᾶσμος, ὡς ποὺ καὶ Ὁμήρος 'ἐλέφαντα' τυνα φοινισσόμενον βαφῆ 'μιαίνεσθαι' φησί· καὶ τὰ μεγαλύνενα τῶν χρωμάτων οἱ βαφεῖς ἐθείρεσθαι καὶ 'φθορὰν' τὴν μείζων ὄνομάν. οὐκοῦν ἐν τῇ εἰγαὶ καὶ ἀκρατῶν ἄει τῷ ἀφθάρτῳ καὶ καθαρῷ προσήκει. 21. "Τοὺς δ' Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ ἤλιον ἵγουμένους τὸν αὐτὸν ἀσπάζεσθαι μὲν ἄξιόν ἐστι καὶ φιλεῖν δι' εὐφυίαν, ὃ μάλιστα τιμῶσιν ὄν ἱερὰ καὶ ποθοῦσιν, εἰς τοῦτο τιθέντας τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν· ὡς δὲ

1 διαφορᾶ] διαφορὰ in most miss.
2 Ἰησοῦς Xylander: Ἰησοῦσ.
"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 heterogenous 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 Ieius, 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,

\[ ^a \text{ Cf. } 436 \text{b, infra, and Moralia } 270 \text{f.} \]
\[ ^b \text{ Cf. } \text{Moralia, 725 c.} \]
\[ ^c \text{ Ibid. } 1130 \text{a, and } 386 \text{b, supra.} \]
In τῷ καλλίστῳ τῶν ἐνυπνίων τῶν θεῶν ὄνειροπολοῦντας ἐγείρωμεν καὶ παρακάλωμεν ἄνωτέρω προάγει καὶ θεάσθαι τὸ ὑπάρχοντι αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν, τιμᾶν δὲ καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς καὶ σέβεσθαι τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν γόνιμον, ὡς ἄνυστὸν ἐστιν αἰσθητῷ

Εὐγενίτας οὐ καὶ φερομένος μένοντος, ἐμφάσεις τινὰς καὶ εἴδωλα διαλάμποντας ἀμωσογέπως τῆς περὶ ἐκείνον εὐμενείας καὶ μακαριότητος. ἐκστάσεις δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ μεταβολάς πῦρ ἀφιέντος ἑαυτὸν ἃμα σπάσαν, ὡς λέγουσιν, άνθίσε τε καταβλίβοντος ἐνταῦθα καὶ κατατείνοντος εἰς γῆν καὶ θάλατταν καὶ ἀνέμους καὶ ζώα, καὶ τὰ δεινὰ παθήματα καὶ ζώνων καὶ φυτῶν, οὐδὲ ἄκουεν ὁσιον ἡ τοῦ ποιητικοῦ παιδός ἔσται φαυλότερος, ἡν ἐκεῖνος ἐν των ψαμάθω συντηθεμένη καὶ διαχεομένη πάλιν ὑφ' αὐτοῦ παίζει παιδιάν, ταύτη περὶ τὰ ὀλα χρωμενὸς ἀεί, καὶ τὸν

F κόσμον οὐκ ὄντα πλάττων εἶτ' ἀπολλύων γενόμενον. τοῦναρτόν γὰρ ὅσον ἀμωσογέπως ἐγγέγονε τῷ κόσμῳ, τοῦτω' συνδεῖ τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ κρατεῖ τῆς περὶ τὸ σωματικὸν ἁσθενείας ἐπὶ φθοράν φερομένης. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ μάλιστα πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἀντιταττόμενον τὸ ρῆμα καὶ μαρτυρόμενον 'εἰ' φάναι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν, ὡς οὐδέποτε γιγνομένης 394 περὶ αὐτὸν ἐκστάσεως καὶ μεταβολῆς, ἀλλ' ἐτέρῳ

1 οὐ βροτολοῦσας Reiske: οὐ βροτολοῦντας.
2 θεάσθαι] θεάσασθαι in nearly all mss.
3 ὑπάρ Wytenbach: ὑπέρ.
5 καὶ added by Reiske.
6 εἰς γῆν] εἰς in nearly all mss.
7 τοῦτω] τούτῳ in all mss. but one.

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a Cf. 389 c, supra.

b Cf. Homer, Iliad. 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
(394) των θεών, μάλλον δὲ δαίμονι τεταγμένως περὶ τὴν ἐν φθορᾷ καὶ γενέσει φύσιν, τοῦτο ποιεῖν καὶ πάσης ἐκείνης προσήκου, \textsuperscript{1} ὡς δὴλον ἔστων ἀπὸ τῶν δυναμάτων εὐθὺς οἷον ἐναντίων ὄντων καὶ ἀντιφώνων. Λέγεται γὰρ ὃ μὲν Ἁπόλλων ὁ δὲ Πλούτων, καὶ ὁ μὲν Δῆλος ὁ δ’ Ἀιδωνεὺς, καὶ ὁ μὲν Φοῖβος ὁ δ’ Σκότιος. καὶ παρ’ ὃ μὲν αἱ Μοῦσαι καὶ ἡ Μημοσύνη, παρ’ ὃ δ’ ἡ Λήθη καὶ ἡ Σιωπὴ καὶ ὁ μὲν Θεώριος καὶ Φανάριος, ὁ δὲ

Νυκτὸς αἰδνᾶς\textsuperscript{2} ἀεργηλοῦν θ’ Ἰπνου κοὶραινος;
καὶ ὃ μὲν

βροτοῖσι θεῶν ἔχθιστος ἀπάντων,

Β πρὸς ὅν ὃ Πάνδαρος εὕρηκεν οὐκ ἄνδρὸς
κατεκρίθη δὲ θνατοῖς\textsuperscript{3} ἀγανώτατος ἐμμεν.

εἰκότως οὖν ὁ Εὔριπίδης εἶπε

λοιβαὶ νεκρῶν φθιμένων
ἀοιδαὶ θ’ ἃς\textsuperscript{4} χρυσοκόμας
’Ἀπόλλων οὐκ ἐνδέχεται;

καὶ πρότερος ἐτὶ τούτου ὁ Στησίχορος,

\textsuperscript{1} προσήκον Reiske: προσήκεν.
\textsuperscript{2} αἰδνᾶς from 1130 Α: αἰδνᾶς.
\textsuperscript{3} δὲ θνατοῖς Wytenbach from 413 c, 1102 Ε.: δέον αὐτοῖς or δεονατοῖς.
\textsuperscript{4} θ’ ἃς Markland: ἃς ὃ (τὰς Euripides mss.).

\textsuperscript{a} Cf. the note on 385 β, supra.
\textsuperscript{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 Aīdoneus (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,\(^f\)

Adespota, no. 92; or Edmonds, \textit{Lyra Graeca} (in L.C.L.), iii. p. 452.  
\(^c\) Homer, \textit{Il.} ix. 159.  
\(^d\) Pindar, Frag. 149 (ed. Christ), quoted also in 413 c, \textit{infra}, and in \textit{Moralia}, 1102 e.  
\(^e\) \textit{Suppliants}, 975.  
νάβλαν¹ τοι μάλιστα παιγμοσύνας τε² φιλεῖ μολπάς τ' Ἀπόλλων, κάδεα δὲ³ στοναχάς τ' Ἀίδας ἔλαχε.

Σοφοκλῆς δὲ καὶ τῶν ὄργάνων ἐκατέρω προσνέμων ἐκάτερον δῆλος ἐστὶ διὰ τούτων,

οὐ νάβλα⁴ κωκυτοῖσιν οὐ λύρα φίλα.

"Καὶ γὰρ ὁ αὐλῶς⁵ ὤψε καὶ πρώην ἐτόλμησε φωνὴν Ὁ ἐφ' ἵμερόσεσιν⁶ ἀφίεναι· τὸν δὲ πρῶτον χρόνον εἰλκετὸ πρὸς τὰ πένθη, καὶ τὴν περὶ ταῦτα λειτουργίαν⁷ ὦ μάλις ἔντιμον οὐδὲ φαιδρὰν εἶχεν, εἰτ' ἐμείχθη πάντα πάσι.⁸ μάλιστα δὲ τὰ θεία πρὸς τὰ δαμόνια συγχέοντες εἰς ταραχὴν αὐτοὺς κατέστησαν.

"Ἀλλᾶ γε τῷ εἰ τὸ 'γνώθι σαυτὸν⁹' ἐοικε πῶς ἀντικεῖσθαι καὶ τρόπον τινὰ πάλιν συνάδειν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐκπλήξει καὶ σεβασμῷ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὡς ὄντα διὰ παντὸς ἀναπεφώνηται, τὸ δ' ὑπόμνησις ἐστὶ τῷ θυντῷ τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ φύσεως καὶ ἀσθενείας."

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¹ νάβλαν F.C.B.: μάλα.
² τε added by Bergk.
³ κάδεα δὲ Bergk: κῆδεα τε.
⁴ οὐ νάβλα Brunck: ἐν αὐλά or οὐ ναῦλα or οὖν αβλα.
⁵ αὐλός] αὐτὸς in most mss.
⁷ λειτουργίαν Reiske: αὐτουργίαν.
⁸ πάντα πᾶσι Emperius: παντάπασι.
⁹ σαυτὸν Bernardakis: σεαυτὸν.

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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, Χρησμὸν συναγωγή (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.
(394) ΗΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΜΗ ΧΡΑΝ ΕΜΜΕΤΡΑ ΝΥΝ ΤΗΝ ΠΥΘΙΑΝ

ΣΤΑ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΑΛΟΓΟΥ

Πρώτα, ΒΑΣΙΛΟΚΛΗΣ, ΦΙΛΙΝΟΣ

Δεύτερα, ΦΙΛΙΝΟΣ, ΔΙΟΓΕΝΙΑΝΟΣ, ΘΕΩΝ,

ΖΑΡΑΠΙΩΝ, ΒΟΗΘΟΣ, ΕΞΗΓΗΤΑΙ

Ε 1. ΒΑΣΙΛΟΚΛΗΣ. Έσπέραν ἐπούμασε βαθεῖαν, ὅ

Φιλίνη, διὰ τῶν ἀναθημάτων παραπέμποντες τὸν

ξένον· ἔγω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἀναμένων ἀπηγόρευσα.

ΦΙΛΙΝΟΣ. Βραδέως γὰρ ὄδευσομεν, ὡς Βασιλόκλεις,

οπείροντες λόγους καὶ θερίζοντες εὐθὺς μετὰ μάχης

ὑπούλους καὶ πολεμικοὺς, ὁπερ οἱ Σπαρτοί,

βλαστάνοντας ἠμῖν καὶ ὑποφυμένους κατὰ τὴν

όδὸν.

ΒΑΣ. Ἐτερον δόχας δεῖχει παρακαλεῖν τῶν

παραγεγονότων, ἢ σὺ βούλει χαριζόμενος ἠμῖν δι-

ελθεῖν τῖνες ἦσαν οἱ λόγοι καὶ τίνες οἱ λέγοντες;

F ΦΙΛ. Ἔμοι, ὡς ἐοικεῖ, ὡς Βασιλόκλεις, τὸ

ἔργον. τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων οὐδεὶς ῥαδίως ἀν ἐντύχως

κατὰ πόλιν· τοὺς γὰρ πλείστους ἑώρων αὕθες εἰς τὸ

Κωρύκιον τῷ ξένῳ καὶ τὴν Δυκώρειαν συνανα-

βαίνοντας.

1 ΤΑ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ . . . ΕΞΗΓΗΤΑΙ] not in the mss.

2 ὑπούλους] ἐνόπλους or πολλοὺς E. Harrison.

3 διελθεῖν Leonicus: διελεῖν.
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.

Pausanias, x. 6. 2-3.

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Τις ἰδίαις αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ὁ ἕξενος. Φιλόλογος δὲ καὶ φιλομαθής ἐστὶ μᾶλλον. Οὐ μήν ταῦτα μάλιστα θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, ἀλλὰ πράοτης τε πολλῆς ἐγγονίας, καὶ τὸ μάχιμον καὶ διαπορητικὸν ὑπὸ συνέσεως, οὔτε δύσκολον οὔτε ἀντίτυπον πρὸς τὰς ἀποκρίσεις· ὡστε καὶ βραχὺ συγγενόμενον εὐθὺς εἰπεῖν, "τέκος ἁγαθὸν πατρός." οἴσθα γὰρ Διογένανον ἄνδραν ἀριστον.

Βασίλειος. Αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ εἶδον, ὡς Φιλίδης, πολλοῖς δὲ ἐντεύχηκα καὶ τὸν λόγον καὶ τὸ ἦθος τάνδρος ἰσχυρῶς ἀποδεχόμενος, ὁμοια δὲ τούτοις ἔτηρα περὶ τοῦ νεανίσκου λέγουσιν. ἀλλὰ τίνα, ὡς ἑταῖρε, ἀρχὴν ἐσοχὸν οἱ λόγοι καὶ πρόφασιν;

2. Φιλόλογος περιηγηταὶ τὸ συντέταγμένα, μηδὲν ἰδίαις φροντίσαντες δεηθέντων ἐπιτεμεῖν τὰς ῥήσεις καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων. τὸν δὲ ἕξενον ἡ μὲν ἱδέα καὶ τὸ τεχνικὸν τῶν ἄνθρωπων μετρίως προσηγεῖτο, πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἔργων ὡς ἑοικε θεατὴν γεγενημένον· ἐθαύμαζε δὲ τοῦ φιλόλογον τὸ ἄνθρωπον ὡς οὐ πίνω προσευκός οὐδ' ἵνα, βαφή δὲ κυάνου στίλβοντος, ὡστε καὶ προσθεῖναι τι πρὸς τοὺς ναυάρχους (Ἀπ' ἑκείνων γὰρ ἠρκτὸς τῆς θέας) οίον ἀτεχνῶς θαλαττίους τῇ χρόᾳ καὶ βυθίους ἔστώτας.


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 χαλκόν, ὡσπερ ἡ λεγομένη τῶν ξιφῶν στόμωσις ἡς ἐκλειποῦσις ἐκεχειρίαν ἔσχεν ἐργων πολεμικῶν ὁ χαλκός; τὸν μὲν γὰρ Κορίνθιον οὐ τέχνη φασίν ἀλλὰ συντυχία τῆς χρώας λαβεῖν τὸ κάλλος, ἐπινειμαμένου πυρὸς οἰκίαν ἔχουσάν τι χρυσὸν καὶ ἀργύρου, πλείστον δὲ χαλκὸν ἀποκείμενον, ὅποι συγχυθέντων καὶ συντακτών, ὄνομα τοῦ χαλκοῦ τῷ μείζονι τὸ πλῆθος παρέσχεν."

"Ο δὲ Θέων ὑπολαβὼν, "ἀλλον," ἐφη, "λόγον ἧμεις ἀκηκόαμεν πανουργέστερου, ὡς ἀνὴρ ἐν Κορίνθῳ χαλκοτόπος ἐπιτυχών θηκή χρυσίου ἐχούση πολὺ καὶ δεδοικῶς φανερὸς γενέσθαι κατὰ μικρὸν ἀποκόπτων καὶ ὑπομειγνύς ἀτρέμα τῷ χαλκῷ θαυμαστὴν λαμβάνοντι κρᾶσιν ἐπιπρασκε πολλοῦ διὰ τὴν χρώαν καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἀγαπώμενον. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα κάκεινα μῦθος ἑστων ἢν δὲ τις ὡς ἔοικε μείζοις καὶ ἄρτυσις, ὥσ ποι καὶ νῦν ἀνακεραν-νύντες ἀργυρῷ χρυσὸν ἱδίαν τινὰ καὶ περιττὴν ἐμοὶ δὲ φανομένην νοσώδη χλωρότητα καὶ φθορὰν ἀκαλλὴν παρέχουσι."

3. "Τίν' οὖν αἰτῶν," ἐφη ὁ Διογένιανός, "οἶει τῆς ἐνταῦθα τοῦ χαλκοῦ χρώας γεγονέναι;"

Καὶ ὁ Θέων, "οὖν," ἐφη, "τῶν πρῶτων καὶ

1 τὸν Basel ed. of 1542: τὸ.
2 φασίν added by Bernardakis.
3 τῷ μείζονι] μείγματι Blass, but cf. Moralia, 140 f.
4 χρώας, the more usual form, Duebner: χρωάς.

"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
"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 καλουμένων¹ καὶ ὄντων, πυρὸς καὶ
γῆς καὶ ἀέρος καὶ υδατός, μηδὲν² ἄλλο τῶν χαλκῶν
πλησιάζῃ μηδὲ ὀμιλῆ ἐπὶ μόνος ὁ ἄρη, δῆλος
ἐστιν ὑπὸ τούτου πεποιθῶς καὶ διὰ τούτον ἑσχηκὼς
ἡν ἔχει διαφορὰν ἀεὶ συνόντα καὶ προσκείμενον. ἥ³
touti⁴ μὲν ᾦδη⁵ πρὶν Θέογνιν γεγονέναι
κατὰ τὸν κωμικὸν; ἢν δὲ ἔχων φύσιν ὁ ἄρη ἢ τε
Ε ἱρώμενος δυνάμει κατὰ τὰς ἐπιμαύσεις ἐπικεχρώκε
τὸν χαλκὸν ἐπιθυμεῖς μαθεῖν;’

Φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Διογενιανοῦ, “καὶ γὰρ ἔγω,”
eἶπεν, “ὡς παῖ. ξητώμεν ὅπως κοινή καὶ πρότερον, εἰ
βούλει, δι’ ἂν αὐτίαν μάλιστα τῶν ὑγρῶν ἀναπήμ-
πλησιν ἔργο τοῦ ἱλαίον. οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸ γε δὴ ἰὸν τῶν
χαλκῶν προστρίβεται⁶ τὸν ἰόν, ἀτε δὴ καθαρὸν αὐτῷ
καὶ ἀμάντον πλησιάζον.⁷”

“Οὐδαμῶς,” εἶπεν ὁ νεανίας, “ἀλλὰ δὲ αὐτῶν
μοι δοκεῖ τούτων⁹ τὸ αὐτίων ὑπάρχειν. λεπτῶ γὰρ
ὄντι καὶ καθαρῷ καὶ διανυχεῖ προσπίπτων ὁ ἰὸς
F ἐκφανεστάτος ἐστιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑγροῖς
ἀφανίζεται.”

Καὶ ὁ Θέων, “εὐγε,” εἶπεν, “ὡς παῖ, καὶ καλῶς¹⁰
σκότει δὲ εἰ βούλει καὶ τὴν ὑπ’ Ἀριστοτέλους
αἰτίαν λεγομένην.”

“Ἀλλὰ βούλομαι,” εἶπεν.¹¹

¹ καλουμένων F.C.B. (cf. Life of Cleomenes, chap. xiii.,
810 c): καὶ ἐσομένων.
⁴ touti Cobet (from 777 c): τοῦτο.
⁵ ήδη added by Kock (ηδεῖν 777 c). ⁶ τῶ Leonicus: τὸ.
⁷ προστρίβεται Wytenbach: προστρίβεσθαι.
⁸ πλησιάζον Amyot: πλησιάζοντα.
⁹ τοῦτο Turnebus: τοῦτο.
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. Of a truth

All this I knew before Theognis' day, 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."

"Very well," said he, "I will."

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10 καλῶς added by Reiske.
11 εἶπεν Xylander: εἶπεν.
“Φησι τούν τών µεν ἄλλων ύγρῶν πιόντα διέχειν ἀδήλως καὶ διασπείρεσθαι τόν ἰόν ἀνωµάλων1 καὶ µανῶν ὄντων,2 τοῦ δ’ ἐλαίου τῇ πυκνότητι στέγεσθαι καὶ διαµένειν ἀθροιζόµενον. ἃν οὖν καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ τοιούτου ὑποθέσθαι δυνηθῶµεν, οὐ παντάπασιν ἀπορήσοµεν ἐπιδής καὶ παραµυθίας πρὸς τὴν ἀπορίαν.”

396 4. Ὁς οὖν ἐκελεύοµεν καὶ συνεχωροῦµεν, ἐφ’ τὸν ἄερα τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς, πυκνὸν ὄντα καὶ συνεχῆ καὶ τόνον ἔχοντα διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν ἀνάκλασιν καὶ ἀντέρεισιν, ἐτί καὶ λεπτὸν ἐναι καὶ δηκτικὸν, ὡς ποὺ µαρτυρεῖ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς πέψεις τῆς τροφῆς. ἐνδυόµενον οὖν ὑπὸ λεπτότητος καὶ τέµνοντα τὸν χαλκὸν ἀναχαράττειν πολὺν ἵνα εἴ αὐτοῦ καὶ γεώδη, στέγεν δὲ τοῦτον αὖ πάλιν καὶ πιεῖεν, τῆς πυκνότητος διάχυσιν3 µὴ διδοῦσιν, τὸν δ’ ύψιστάµενον αὐτοῦ4 διὰ πλῆθος ἐξανθείν καὶ λαµβάνειν αὐγήν καὶ γάνωµα περὶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν.

B Ἀποδεξαµένων δ’ ἡµῶν, ὁ ἕξενος ἐφ’ τὴν ἐτέραν ἀρκεῖν ὑπόθεσιν πρὸς τὸν λόγον. “ἡ δὲ λεπτότης,” ἐφη, “δόξει µὲν ὑπεναντιοῦσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὴν λεγοµένην πυκνότητα τοῦ ἀέρος, λαµβάνεται δ’ οὐκ ἀναγκαίως· αὐτὸς γὰρ ὕφ’ ἐαυτοῦ παλαιοῦµενος ὁ χαλκὸς ἀποτείνει καὶ μεθίησι τὸν ἰόν, ὅν ἡ πυκνότης συνέχουσα καὶ παχυσάτα ποιεῖ ἐκφανῆ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος.”

Ὑπολαβὼν δ’ ὁ Θέων, “τὶ γάρ,” εἶπεν, “ὁ ἕξενε, κωλύει ταύτου5 εἶναι καὶ λεπτὸν καὶ πυκνὸν, ὅσπερ

1 ἀνωµάλων early editors (τῶν μορίων Strijd; alii alia):
   ἀνωµάλων τῶν.
2 μανῶν ὄντων Vulcobiouss: µενόντων.
3 διάχυσι added by someone to fill a lacuna.
4 αὐτοῦ Reiske: αὐτοῦ Sieveking: αὑτ’ 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 ταυτον Benseler: ταυτο.
(396) τὰ σημικὰ καὶ τὰ βύσσωνα τῶν υφασμάτων, ἐφ’ ὄν καὶ "Ὀμηρὸς εἶπε

καίροσέων¹ δ’ ὀθονῶν² ἀπολείβεται ὑγρὸν ἕλαιον, ἐνδεικνύμενος τὴν ἀκρίβειαν καὶ λεπτότητα τοῦ Ωφοὺς τῷ μὴ προσέμενεν τὸ ἕλαιον ἀλλ’ ἀπορρεῖν καὶ ἀπολυσθάνειν, τῆς λεπτότητος καὶ πυκνότητος οὐ διείσθης³; καὶ μὴν οὐ μόνον πρὸς τὴν ἀναχάραξιν τοῦ ίοῦ χρήσαιτ’ ἀν τις⁴ τῇ λεπτότητι τοῦ ἁέρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χρόαν αὐτὴν ποιεῖν έοικεν ἡδίονα καὶ γλαυκοτέραν, ἀναμειγνύονσα τῷ κυάνῳ φῶς καὶ αὐγήν.”

5. Ἐκ τούτου γενομένης σωφτῆς, πάλιν οἱ περιηγηταὶ προεκείμενο τὰς ῥήσεις. χρησμοῦ δὲ τινὸς ἐμμέτρου λειχήντος, οἶμαι, περὶ τῆς Ἀθηνάνος τοῦ Ἀργείου βασιλείας, πολλάκις ἐφῆ θαυμάσαι τῶν ἑπῶν ὁ Διογενανός, ἐν οἷς οἱ χρησμοὶ λέγονται, τὴν φαυλότητα καὶ τὴν εὐτέλειαν. "καίτοι μουσικήν χρῆςις ὁ θεός, καὶ τῆς λεγομένης λογιστῆτος οὐχ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τὸ καλὸν ἡ τῆς περὶ μέλη καὶ ώδας εὐφωνίας⁵ μετεῖναι, καὶ πολὺ τῶν Ὡσίδον εὐπεπεῖα καὶ τῶν Ὀμηροῦ ὑπερφθέγγεσθαι. τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν χρησμῶν ὀρῶμεν καὶ τὸς μέτροις καὶ τοῖς ὄνομαις πλημμελείας καὶ φαυλότητος ἀναπεπλησμένους."

Παρὼν οὖν Ἐλήνηθεν ὁ ποιητὴς Σαραπίων,⁶ "εἰτ’," ἐφη, "ταῦτα τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πιστεύοντες

1 καίροσέων from Homer: καὶ ων.
2 ὀθονῶν Homer.
3 διείσθης Reiske: διήσοι.
⁴ τις added by Bernardakis.
⁵ εὐφωνίας Reiske: καὶ εὐφωνίας.
⁶ Σαραπίων Bernardakis, as in 384 e, 628 a: 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 Diogenianus 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

\(^a\) 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 τολμῶμεν⁴ αὖ πάλιν ὡς λείπεται⁵ κάλλει τῶν Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου, λέγειν; οὐ χρησάμεθα τούτοις ὡς ἄριστα καὶ κάλλιστα πεποιημένοι, ἐπι- ανορθοῦμεν τήν αὐτῶν⁶ κρίσιν προκατειλημμένην ὑπὸ φαύλης συνηθείς;

'Ὑπολαβῶν οὖν Βόθθος ὁ γεωμέτρης (οἶσθα γὰρ Ε τὸν ἄλλον μετατατόμονον ἡδὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἐπίκουρον), "ἄρ' οὖν," ἐφη, "τὸ τοῦ ζωγράφου Παῦσω-

νος ἀκήκοας;"

"Οὔκ ἔγωγε," εἶπεν ὁ Σαραπίων.

"Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἄξιον. ἐκλαβῶν γὰρ ὡς ἐοικεν ἰππον ἀλυδοῦμενον γράφαι τρέχοντ' ἐγραφεῖν. ἀγα- νακτούντος δὲ τάνθρωπον γελάσας ὁ Παῦσων κατέστρεψε τὸν πίνακα, καὶ γενομένων ἄνω τῶν κάτω πάλιν ὁ ἰππὸς οὐ τρέχων ἀλλ' ἀλυδοῦμενος ἐφαίνετο. τοῦτο φησιν ὁ Βίων ἐνίους τῶν λόγων πάσχειν, ὅταν ἀναστράφωσι." διὸ καὶ τοὺς χρη-

σμοὺς ἐνιοῖ φήσουσιν οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν, ὅτι τοῦ θεοῦ Ἐ ἔσοιν. ἀλλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ εἶναι, ὅτι φαύλως ἐχοῦσιν.

ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἀδήλῳ. τὸ δὲ παρημελημένως⁵ πεποιηθοῦσα τὰ περὶ τοὺς χρησμοὺς καὶ σοὶ κρυτῇ δύσποθεν, ὡ φίλε Σαραπίων," εἶπεν, "ἐναργές ἐστι. ποιήματα γὰρ⁶ γράφεις τοῖς μὲν πράγμασι φιλο-

σόφως καὶ αὐστηρῶς, δυνάμει δὲ καὶ χάριτι καὶ κατασκευῇ περὶ λέξιν ἐοικότα τοῖς Ὁμήρου καὶ

1 τολμῶμεν Meziriacus: τὸ ἄμωμον.
2 λείπεται Meziriacus: λέγεται.
3 αὐτῶν Bernardakis: αὐτῶν.
4 ἀναστραφῶσι Perizonius: ἀναστρέψωσι.
5 παρημελημένως F.C.B., to fill a lacuna in the mss.: οὖκ εἰ τὰ ἑπτὶ πεποιηθοῦσα 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 judgement, prepossessed as it is as the result of unfortunate habituation?"

At this point Boethus 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

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.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΜΟΡΑΛΙΑ

'Ἡσιόδου μᾶλλον ἦ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθιας ἐκφερομένοις.'

6. Καὶ ὁ Σαραπίων, "νοσοῦμεν γάρ," εἶπεν, "ὁ Βόηθε, καὶ τὰ ὀτα καὶ τὰ ὀμματα, συνειδησιῶν διὰ τρυφῆν καὶ μαλακιὰν τὰ ἱδίω καλὰ νομίζειν 397 καὶ ἀποφαίνεσθαι. τάχα δὴ μεμψώμεθα τὴν Πυθίαν, ὅτι Γλαύκης οὐ φθέγγεται τῆς κιθαρώδους λιγυρώτερον, οὐδὲ χριμένη μῦροι οὔτε ἀλουργίδας ἀμπεχομένη κάτεισσιν εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον, οὔτε ἐπιθυμιὰς κασίαν ή λήδανον ή λιβανωτὸν ἄλλα δάφνην καὶ κρίθιον ἀλευρον. οὐχ ὅρασι, εἶπεν, "ὁ δὲ χάριν ἔχει τὰ Σαπφικὰ μέλη κηλοῦντα καὶ καταθέγοντα τοὺς ἀκρωμένους; 'Σίβυλλα δὲ μανομένων στόματι καθ' Ἡράκλειτον ἀγέλαστα καὶ ἀκαλλώπιστα καὶ ἀμύριστα φθεγγομένη, χιλιών ἐτῶν ἐξικνεῖται τῇ φωνῇ διὰ τὸν θεόν.' ὁ δὲ Β Πύθαρος ἀκούσαι, φησί, 'τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν Κάδμων ἐπιδεικνυμένου μουσικῶν ὀρθάν,' οὐχ ἦδειαν οὔτε τρυφερὰν οὔτε ἐπικεκλασμένην τοὺς μέλειν. Ἡδονὴν γάρ οὐ προσίεται τὸ ἀπαθὲς καὶ ἀγνόν, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα μετὰ τῆς "Ἀτῆς ἐρρίφθη καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτῆς κακοῦ ὃς ἐοίκεν εἰς τὰ ὀτα τῶν ἀνθρώπων συνερρήκειν.'

7. Εἰπόντος δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Σαραπίωνος, ὁ Θέεων

1 εἶπεν, ὁ Basel ed. of 1542: εν τε νῷ.
2 χριμένη Vulcobius: χριμένη
3 ἀμπεχομένη κάτεισσιν Reiske: ἀμπεχομένην καὶ τισιν.
4 μαντεῖον added by F.C.B. from 438 ν: χρηστήριον Paton from 405 c: ἄδυτον Reiske.
5 κασίαν Duebner: κασίαν.
6 ἀκοῦσαι Leonicus: ἀκοῦσας.
7 ἐπιδεικνυμένου μουσικῶν Paton from 1030 α: οὐ μουσικῶν.
8 "Ἀτῆς Vulcobius (cf. Hom. T 126); λύπης H. Richards: αὐτῆς.

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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 Glaucê, 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.

(397) μειδιάσας, "ό Σαραπίων μέν," εἶπε, "τὸ εἰσθὸς ἀποδέδωκε τῷ τρόπῳ, λόγου περὶ "Ἄτης καὶ Ἡδονῆς παραπεσόντος ἀπολαύσας· ἥμεις δ' ὁ Βόηθε, κἀν ἡ φαυλότερα τῶν Ὀμήρου ταῦτα τὰ ἐπὶ, μὴ νομίζωμεν αὐτὰ πεποιηκέναι τὸν θεόν, ἀλλ’ ὁ ἐκείνου τῆς ἄρχην τῆς κυνήσεως ἐνδιδόντος, ὡς ἑκάστη πέφυκε κινεῖσθαι τῶν προφητιδῶν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ γράφειν ἔδει μὴ λέγειν τοὺς χρησμοὺς, οὐκ ἂν οἴμας τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ γράμματα νομίζοντες ἐψέγομεν ὅτι λείπεται καλλιγραφία τῶν βασιλικῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ θεοῦ ἡ γῆρυς οὐδ’ ὁ φθόγγος οὐδ’ ἡ λέξις οὐδὲ τὸ μέτρον ἄλλα τῆς γυναικὸς· ἐκείνος δὲ μόνας τὰς φαντασίας παρίστησι καὶ φῶς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ποιεῖ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον· ὃ γὰρ ἐνθονισμὸς τοιοῦτὸν ἐστὶ. καθόλου δ’ εἶπεῖν, ὃμᾶς τοὺς τοῦ Ἐπικούρου προφήτας (δῆλος γὰρ εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑποφερόμενος) οὐκ ἐστὶ διαφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ κάκεινας2 αἰτιάσθε3 τὰς πάλαι προφητιδὰς ὃς φαύλους ποιήμασι χρωμένας, καὶ τὰς νῦν καταλογάδην καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ὑνομάτων τοὺς χρησμοὺς λεγούσας, ὅπως ὑμῖν ἀκεφάλων καὶ λαγαρῶν μέτρων καὶ μειουρῶν εὐθύνας μὴ ὑπέχωσι." Καὶ ὁ Διογενιανός, "μὴ παιζ’," εἶπεν, "ὡς πρὸς θεῶν, ἀλλὰ διάλυσον ἧμῖν ταῦτα τὴν ἄπορίαν κοινὴν ὑπὸ σαν. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐστὶν ἧμῶν,4 ὡς οὐκ αἰτίαν

1 "Ἄτης καὶ Duebner; λύτης καὶ H. Richards: αὐτῆς τῆς.
2 κάκεινας Wytenbach: κακίας.
3 αἰτιάσθε Leonicus: αἰτιάσθαι.
4 ἧμῶν Harder; Ἐλλήνων Stegmann: ἄλλων or ἄλληλων.

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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) ἐπιλήτει καὶ λόγου, πῶς ἡ πέπταυται τὸ μαυτεῖον ἐπέσει καὶ μέτρους χρόμενον.

Τοπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Θεών, "ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν," εἶπεν, "ὡς παῖ, δοκοῦμεν ἐπηρεία τινὶ τοὺς περιηγητας ἐφαυρείσθαι τὸ οἰκεῖον ἔργου. έασον οὖν γενέσθαι τὸ τοῦτων πρότερον, εἶτα περὶ ὧν βούλει καθ' ἡσυχίαν διαπορίσεις."

8. "Ἡδὴ δὲ προϊόντες ἦμεν κατὰ τὸν Ἰέρωνος ἀνδριάντα τοῦ τυράννου· καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ὁ ἕξιος εἰδὼς ἀπαντὰ παρείχεν ὦμως ὑπευκολίας ἀκροατὴν αὐτόν. ἀκούσας δὲ ὡς τὶ κόινον τὸν ἱστός ἄνω χαλκοὺς Ἰέρωνος ἐπέσεν αὐτομάτως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης, ἦ τὸν Ἰέρωνα συνέβαινεν ἐν Συρακούσαις τελευτάν, ἐθαυμασε. κἀγὼ τῶν ὄμοιων ἄλλα συνανεμήσθη σκον, ὡς δὴ τοῦ Ἰέρωνος μὲν τοῦ Σπαρτιάτου, ὅτι πρὸ τῆς ἐν Λευκτρος αὐτῷ γενομένης τελευτῆς ἐξέπεσον οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τοῦ ἀνδριάντος, οἱ δὲ ἀστέρες Ἕβανίαθησαν οὐς Λυσάνδρος ἀνέβηκεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Ἀἰγόποταμοῖς ναυμαχίας· ὃ δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ Λυ- σάνδρου λίθινοι ἀνδριάς ἐξήνθησαν ἀγρίαν λόχην καὶ πόνας τοσαυτῆν τὸ πλῆθος, ὡς τε κατακρύψαι τὸ πρόσωπον· ἐν δὲ τοῖς Σικελικοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀτυχήσασιν αἱ τε χρυσοὶ τοῦ φοίνικος ἀπέρρεον βάλανου, καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα τοῦ Πάλλαδίου κόρακες

1 πῶς Duebner: ὃς.
2 μέτροις F.C.B.; ἄλλοις μέτροις Reiske from p. 402 b; ἐλέγοις Madvig; ἐλεγεῖοις Wilamowitz-Möllendorff: λόγοις.
4 'Ἰέρωνος] Ἱεραμώνος von der Muhl.
5 τοῦ added by Stephanus.

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a Cf. Pausanias, x. 9. 7, with Xenophon, Hellenica, vi. 4. 9. Presumably the same man is referred to in both
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 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 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; 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.

Cf. Life of Lysander, chap. xviii. (443 A).
Cf. Pausanias, x. 15. 5.
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περιεκόπτον· ὃ δὲ Κνιδίων στέφανος, ὃν Φαρσαλία τῇ ὀρχηστρίδι Φιλόμηλος ὁ Φωκέων τύραννος ἐδωρήσατο, μεταστάσαν αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἀπώλεσεν ἐν Μεταποντίῳ παιζοντας 398 περὶ τὸν νεῶν τοῦ 'Απόλλωνος· ὄρμήσαντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν στέφανον οἱ νεανίσκοι καὶ μαχόμενοι περὶ τοῦ χρυσίου πρὸς ἄλληλους διεστάσαν τὴν ἀνθρωπον.

Ἀριστοτέλης μὲν, ὅπως ὁμηρον ἐλεγε κανούμενα ποιεῖν ὀνόματα διὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν· ἐγὼ δὲ φαίνω ἂν καὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων τὰ ἐνταύθῃ μάλιστα συγκινεῖσθαι καὶ συνεπισημαίνειν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίᾳ, καὶ τούτων μέρος μηδὲν εἶναι κενὸν μηδ' ἀναισθητον, ἀλλὰ πεπλησθαι πάντα θείωττος.

Καὶ ὁ Βόσθος, "ναί," εἶπεν: "οὐ γὰρ ἀρκεῖ τὸν θεὸν εἰς σῶμα καθεργύναι θνητὸν ἀπαξ ἐκάστου Β μηνός, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίθῳ παντὶ καὶ χαλκῷ συμφυράσομεν αὐτόν, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀξιόχρεων τῶν τοιούτων συμπτωμάτων τὴν τύχην δημιουργὸν καὶ ταυτόματον."

"Εἰτ," ἐφην ἐγὼ, "τύχη σοι δοκεῖ καὶ αὐτόματον τῶν τοιούτων ἐκάστον τεθεικέναι, 2 καὶ πιθανὸν ἐστι τὰς ἀτόμους ἐξολοθεῖν καὶ διαλυθῆαι καὶ παρεγκλίναι μήτε πρῶτον μηθ' ὑστερον, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον, ἐν ὧ τῶν ἀναθετων ἐκαστος ἦ χειρὸν ἐμελλε πράξειν ἢ βέλτιον; καὶ σὲ μὲν Ἐπίκουρος ὡφελεὶ νῦν ὡς ἐοικεν ἄφ' ὄν εἶπεν ἢ ἐγραφε πρὸ ἑτῶν τριακοσίων· ο θεὸς δ', εἰ μὴ C συνείρξειε ἑφρων 4 ἐαυτον εἰς ἀπαντα μηδ' ἀνακερα-

1 ἔχοντες Anon.: ἔχοντος. 2 τεθεικέναι F.C.B. : ἐοικέναι. 3 διαλυθῆαι] διαχυθῆαι Usener. 4 φέρων] φυρῶν Pohlenc.

a Cf. Athenaeus, 605 c.

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of the Cnidian s 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 Boethus. "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) οθείη πάσιν, οὐκ ἂν σοι δοκοίη κινήσεως ἀρχήν καὶ πάθους ἀιτίαν\(^1\) παρασχεῖν οὐδενὶ τῶν ὄντων.’’

9. Τοιαύτα μὲν ἐγὼ πρὸς τὸν Βόηθον ἀπεκρίναμην, ὡμοια δὲ περὶ τῶν Σιβυλλείων. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐστημεν κατὰ τὴν πέτραν γενόμενοι τὴν κατὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἐφ’ ἣς λέγεται καθιζέσθαι τὴν πρώτην Σιβυλλαν ἐκ τοῦ Ἐλικώνος παραγενομένην ὑπὸ τῶν Μουσῶν τραφείσαν (ἳνοι δὲ φασιν ἐκ Μαλιέων\(^2\) ἀφικέσθαι Λαμίας οὐσαν θυγατέρα τῆς Ποσειδώνος), ὁ μὲν Σαραπίων ἐμνήσθη τῶν ἑπών, ἐν οἷς ὑμνησθὲν ἑαυτῆς, ὡς οὕτω ἀποθανοῦσα λήξει μαντικῆς, ἀλλ’ αὐτή\(^3\) μὲν ἐν τῇ σελήνῃ περίεισι τὸ καλὸν μούμενον φανόμενον γενομένη πρόσωπον, τῷ δ’ ἀέρι τὸ πνεῦμα συγκραθέν ἐν φήμαις ἀεὶ φορησεται καὶ κληδόσων· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ σῶματος μεταβαλόντος ἐν τῇ γῇ πόλεα καὶ ὕλης ἀναφυμομένης, βοσκήσεται ταύτην ἔρα θρέμματα, χρόας τε παντοδαπᾶς ἱσχύσα ταῦτα καὶ μορφάς καὶ ποιότητας ἐπὶ τῶν σπλάγχνων ἀφ’ ὅν αἱ προδηλώσεις ἀνθρώπως τοῦ μέλλοντος.

Ὁ δὲ Βόηθος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἦν φανερὸς καταγελῶν. Τοῦ δὲ ξένου εἴπόντος ὡς, εἶ καὶ ταύτα μύθοις ἐοικεν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς γε\(^4\) μαντείαις ἐπιμαρτυροῦσι πολλαὶ μὲν ἀναστάσεις καὶ μετοικισμοὶ πόλεων Ἐλληνίδων, πολλαὶ δὲ βαρβαρικῶν στρατιῶν ἐπι- Ε φάνειαι καὶ ἀναιρέσεις ἡγεμονιῶν. “ταυτὶ δὲ τὰ

1 aitian Leonicus: estian.
3 autη Reiske: autη.
4 ge Reiske: te.
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 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, becoming what is called the face that appears in the moon; while her spirit, mingled with the air, shall be forever 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 overthrows 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 v.
πρόσφατα καὶ νέα πάθη περὶ τέ Κύμην καὶ Δικαιάρχειαν ῦ οὐχ ὑμνούμενα πάλαι καὶ ἄδομένα διὰ τῶν Σιβυλλείων ὁ χρόνος ὄσπερ ὀφείλων ἀποδέδωκεν, ἐκρήξεις πυρὸς ὀρείου καὶ ζέσεις θαλαττίας, καὶ πετρῶν καὶ φλεγμονῶν ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἀναρρύθεις, καὶ φθορὰς πόλεων ἀμα τοσοῦτων καὶ τηλικοῦτων, ὡς μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἐπελθοῦσιν ἄγνοιαν εἶναι καὶ ἀσάφειαν ὅπου κατάκεκντο τῆς χώρας συγκεκριμένης; ταύτα γὰρ εἰ γέγονε πιστεύσαι χαλεπόν ἐστι, μὴ τί γε προειπεὶν ἀνεύ θειότητος.”

10. Καὶ ὁ Βόθσος, "ποίον γὰρ," εἶπεν, "ὁ δαίμονε, τῇ φύσει πάθος ὁ χρόνος οὐκ ὀφείλει; τί δ’ ἐστι τῶν ἀτόπων καὶ ἀπροσδοκήτων περὶ γῆν ἡ θάλατταν ἡ πόλεις ἡ ἀνδρας, ὅ τις ἂν προειπόν οὐ τύχοι γενομένου; καίτοι τούτο γε σχεδὸν οὐδὲ προειπεῖν ἐστιν ἄλλ’ εἰπεῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ ρύθμι καὶ διασπείραι λόγους οὐκ ἔχοντας ἀρχὴν εἰς τὸ ἀπειρον. οἷς πλανωμένοις ἀπήντησε πολλάκις ἡ τύχη καὶ συνέπεσεν αὐτομάτως. διαφέρει γὰρ οἷον γενέσθαι τὸ ῥήθην ἡ ῥήθηναι τὸ γενησόμενον. ὃ γὰρ εἰπὼν τὰ μὴ ὑπάρχοντα λόγοι ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸ ἡμαρτημένον ἔχων οὐ δικαίως ἀναμένει τὴν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου πιστὶν οὐδ’ ἀληθεὶ τεκμηρίων χρῆται τοῦ προειπεὶν ἐπιστάμενος τῷ μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν γενομένῳ, πάντα τῆς ἀπειρίας φερούσης. μᾶλλον

1 Δικαιάρχειαν Bernardakis: δικαιαρχίαν.
2 καὶ φλεγμονῶν] καταφλεγμομένων Strijd; καὶ φλογμῶν Wilamowitz-Möllendorff.
3 τῷ added by Wytenbach.
4 γενομένῳ Wytenbach: γενομένου.
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 Boethus 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

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).
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(399) δ' ὁ μὲν 'εἰκάζων καλῶς, ὁ δὲ 'ἄριστον μάντιν' ἀνηγόρευκεν ἡ παροιμία, ἵχνοσκοποῦντι καὶ στιβεύοντι διὰ τῶν εὐλόγων τὸ μέλλον ὁμοίος ἐστι. "Σίβουλλαι δ' αὕται καὶ Βάκιδες ὥσπερ εἰς πόντον ἀπεκμάρτως εἰς τὸν χρόνον κατέβαλον καὶ διέσπειραν ὡς ἐτυχε παντοδαπῶν ὄνοματα καὶ ρήματα παθῶν καὶ συμπτωμάτων, αἰς γιγνομένων ἐνίων ἀπὸ τοὺχι όμοιώς ὑμένδος ἐστὶ τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον, καὶ ὁ στέρον ἀλῆθες, εἰ τύχων, γένηται."

B 11. Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Βοήθου διελθόντος οἱ Σαραπίνων, "δίκαιον," ἐφή, "τὸ ἀξίωμα περὶ τῶν οὐτῶς, ὡς λέγει Βοήθος, ἀορίστως καὶ ἄνυποθέτως λεγομένων. 'εἰ νίκη στρατηγών προείρηται, νενίκηκεν, 'εἰ πόλεως ἀναίρεσις, ἀπόλωλεν.' ὤπον δ' οὐ μόνον λέγεται τὸ γενησόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πῶς καὶ πότε καὶ μετὰ τί καὶ μετὰ τίνος, οὐκ ἔστω εἰκασμὸς τῶν τάχα γενησομένων ἀλλὰ τῶν πάντως ἐσομένων προδήλωσις. καὶ ταύτ' ἐστιν εἰς τὴν Ἀγασιλάου χώλοτητα:

φράζει δή, Σπάρτη, καίπερ μεγάλαυχος ἐοῦσα, μὴ σέθεν ἀρτίποδος βλάστη χωλὴ βασιλεία. δηρὸν γὰρ μόχθοι σε κατασχήσουσιν ἄελπτοι,

C φθισίβροτον τ' ἐπὶ κύμα κυλινδομένου πολέμου.

1 εἰς added by F. E. Webb.
2 αἰς F.C.B.; ἐν ὅις Wyttenbach: ὅις.
3 καὶ Leonicus: καὶ.  
4 ἀληθὲς Emperius: ἀληθῶς.
5 ὡς added by Xylander.  
6 ταύτ'] τοιαυτ' Xylander.
7 βλάστη Pausanias, iii. 8. 9, and one ms. of the Life of Agesilas: βλάψη.

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
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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 νήσου πάλιν, ἢν ἀνήκεν ἢ πρὸ
Θήρας καὶ Θηρασίας θάλαττα, καὶ περὶ τοῦ Φιλ-
ιπποῦ καὶ 'Ῥωμαίων πολέμου'.

ἀλλ' ὅποτε Τρώων γενεὰ καθύπερθε γένηται
Φοινίκων ἐν ἀγῶνι, τότ' ἐσσεται ἐργα ἀπιστα-
pόντος μὲν λάμψει πῦρ ἀσπετον, ἐκ δὲ κεραυνῶν
προστήρες μὲν ἄνω διὰ κύματος αἴξουσι
ἀμμυγα σὺν πέτρας; ὡ δὲ στηρίζεται αὐτῷ
οὔ φατός ἀνθρώπων νῆσος; καὶ χείρονες ἄνδρες
χερσί βιησάμενοι τὸν κρείσσονα νικήσουσι.

τὸ γὰρ ἐν ὅλῳν χρόνῳ 'Ῥωμαίους τε Καρχηδονίων
D περιγενέσθαι καταπολεμήσαντας 'Ἀναβαν, καὶ Φίλ-
ιππον Αἰτωλοῖς συμβαλόντα καὶ 'Ῥωμαίοις μάχῃ
κρατηθῆναι, καὶ τέλος ἐκ βυθοῦ νῆσον ἀναδύναι
μετὰ πυρὸς πολλοῦ καὶ κλύδωνος ἐπιζέαντος, οὐκ
ἀν εἴποι τις ὡς ἀπήντησεν ἀμα πάντα καὶ συνέπεσε
κατὰ τύχην καὶ στράτημα καὶ τοὺς ἀυτοματῶς,
ἀλλ'; ὡς τἀξις ἐμφάνει τὴν πρόγνωσιν· καὶ τὸ 'Ῥωμαίους πρὸ ἑτῶν ὦμοι τὴν
πεντακοσίων προεπείν τὸν χρόνον, ἐν οἷς πρὸς
ἀπαντά τὰ ἐθνη πολεμήσουσιν ἀμα· τοῦτο δ' ἦν τὸ
πολεμήσαι τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀποστάσιοι. ἐν τούτοις γὰρ
οὐδὲν ἀτέκμαρτον οὐδὲ τυφλὸν ὄν ἄλλως τῆν
tύχην Ε ἡτεῖν ἐν ἀπειρία. καὶ ὁ λόγος ἄλλα ἐπίρας τῆς
πείρας ἐνέχυρα διδωσι καὶ δείκνυοι τὴν ὄδον ἢ

1 τοῦ ... πολέμου F.C.B.: τὸν ... πόλεμον. Others would
omit καὶ before περὶ.
2 πέτρᾳ] πέτραις Reiske.
3 τύχην καὶ Stegmann: τύχην.
4 ὄν added by F.C.B.
5 ἄλλως F.C.B.: ἀμφὶ.
6 ζητεῖ in one ms. only: ζητεῖν.
7 καὶ added by F.C.B.

* Cf. Strabo, i. 3. 16; Justin, xxx. 4. 1.
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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

b Cf. 398 f, supra.
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βαδίζει τὸ πεπρωμένον. οὐ γὰρ οἷμα τιν' ἔρειν ὅτι μετὰ τούτων ὡς προερήθη συνέπεσε κατὰ τύχην· ἐπεὶ τί κωλὺει λέγειν ἕτερον, ὡς οὐκ ἐγραψε τὰς Κυρίας ἡμῖν Ἐπίκουρος, ὡ Βόθθει, Δόξας, ἄλλ' ἀπὸ τύχης καὶ αὐτομάτως οὕτω πρὸς ἄλληλα τῶν γραμμάτων συνεμποεύτων, ἀπετελέσθη τὸ βιβλίον;

12. "Αμα δὲ τούτων λεγομένων προῆμεν. ἐν Ἐν δὲ τῷ Κορινθίων2 οἶκῳ τὸν φοίνικα θεωμένοις τὸν χαλκοῦν, ὅσπερ ἔτι λοιπός ἐστι τῶν ἀναθημάτων, οἱ περὶ τὴν ρίζαν ἐντετορευμένοι βάτραξοι καὶ ύδροι θαύμα τῷ Διογενιᾷ παρεῖχον, ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν. οὔτε γὰρ φοίνιξ, ὡς ἐτερα δένδρα, λιμναίον ἐστὶ καὶ φίλυδρον φυτόν, οὔτε Κορινθίως τι βάτραξοι προσήκουσιν, ὅστε σύμβολον ἡ παράσημον εἶναι τῆς πόλεως· ὅσπερ ἀμέλει Σελευκοῦντιοι ποτὲ χρυσοῦν σέλινων ἀναθείναι λέγονται, καὶ Τενέδιοι τὸν πέλεκυν ἀπὸ τῶν καρκίνων τῶν γυνομένων περὶ 400 τὸ καλοῦμενον 'Αστέριον παρ' αὐτοῖς· μόνοι γὰρ ὡς ἔοικεν ἐν τῷ χελωνίω τύπων πελέκεως ἔχουσι. καὶ μὴν αὐτῷ γε τῷ θεῷ κόρακας καὶ κύκνους καὶ λύκους καὶ ἱέρακας καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἡ ταῦτ' εἶναι προσφιλῆ τὰ θηρία νομίζομεν."

Εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Σαραπίωνος, ὅτι τὴν ἔξ ὑγρῶν ῳνίξατο τροφήν τοῦ ἱλίου καὶ γένεσιν καὶ ἀναθυμίσαιν ὁ δημιουργός, εἴθ' Ὁμήρου λέγοντος ἀκήκοις

1 προερήθη Aldine ed.: προερρέθη.
2 Κορινθίων Meziriacus: Κορινθίω.
3 Cf. Usener, Epicurea, p. 342.
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.
(400) ή ήλιος δ' ἀπόροουσει λυπὼν περικαλλέα λύμνην.

εἰτ' Ἀγυπτίους ἐωρακὼς ὡς3 ἀρχήν5 ἀνατολής παϊδίων νεογνόν γράφοντας ἐπὶ λατῷ καθεζόμενον,

Β γελάσας ἐγὼ, "ποῦ οὗ πάλιν," εἶπον, "ὤ χρη- στέ, τὴν Στοάν δευρὶ παρωθεῖς καὶ ύποβάλλεις ἀτρέμα τῶ λόγῳ τὰς ἀνάψεις καὶ ἀναθυμίασεις, σύ ὠσπέρ αἶ Ὁσελλαί κατάγων4 τὴν σελήνην καὶ τὸν ήλιον ὡς ἐντείθεν ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ ὑδάτων βλαστάνον- τας καὶ ἀρχομένους; 6 ὦ μέν γὰρ Πλάτων καὶ τὸν ἀνθρωπον οὐράνιον ὅνομασε φυτὸν, ὠσπέρ ἐκ βίς ἀνω τῆς κεφαλῆς ὅρθομενον. οὐκεῖς δὲ τοῦ μὲν Ἐμπεδοκλέους καταγελάτη φάσκοντος τὸν ήλιον περὶ τὴν γῆν6 ἀνακλάσει φωτὸς οὐρανίου γενόμενον αὐθίς

ἀνταυγεῖν πρὸς ολυμπον ἀταρβήτοιοι7 προσώ- ποις.

C αὐτοὶ δὲ γηγενὲς ξῦνον ἡ φυτὸν ἐλειον ἀποφαίνετε τὸν ήλιον, εἰς βατράχων πατρίδα ἡ ὕδρων ἡγρά- φοντες. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν εἰς τὴν Στωικὴν ἀναθω- μεθα τραγῳδίαν, τὰ δὲ τῶν χειροτεχυκῶν πάρεργα παρέργως ἐξετάσωμεν. ἐν πολλοῖς γὰρ εἰς κομ- ψοί, τὸ δὲ ψυχρὸν οὐ πανταχοῦ καὶ περίεργον ἐκ- ψεφύγασιν. ὠσπερ οὖν ὁ τῶν ἀλεκτρυόνα ποιήσας

1 ἀπόροουσε] ἀνόροουσε Homer.
2 ὡς added by F.C.B.
3 ἀρχήν Leonicus; ἀρχήν <σύμβολον καὶ> Pohlzen: ἀρχής.
4 κατάγων] Reiske would add ἀλλ' ἀνάγων.
5 ἀρχομένους] ἀρδομένουs Wytenbach.
7 ἀταρβήτοιοι Wytenbach: ἀταρβήτοιος.

α 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. 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,' not indeed bringing down the moon and the sun, as the Thessalian women do, but assuming that they spring up here from earth and water and derive their origin from here? For Plato 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 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

\[ b \text{ Von Arnim, } \textit{Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta}, \text{ ii. } 652-656 (p. 196). \]

\[ c \text{ Cf. Aristophanes, } \textit{Clouds}, \textit{749}; \text{ Plato, } \textit{Gorgias}, \textit{513 a}; \text{ Horace, } \textit{Epodes}, \textit{5. 46}; \text{ Propertius, i. 1. 19, and especially Lucan, vi. 438-506; cf. also 416 f infra.} \]

\[ d \text{ Plato, } \textit{Timaeus}, \textit{90 a}; \text{ cf. } \textit{Moralia}, \textit{600 f}. \]

\[ e \text{ Cf. Diels, } \textit{Frag. der Vorsokratiker}, \text{ i. p. 243, Empedocles, no. B 44}; \text{ cf. also } \textit{Moralia}, \textit{890 b}. \]
(400) ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐωθινὴν ὑπεδῆλωσεν ὡραν καὶ καρδὸν ἐπιουσὶς ἀνατολῆς, οὕτως ἐνταύθα τοὺς βατράχους ἑαρυνὴς ὡρας φαίη τις ἂν γεγονέναι σύμβολον ἔν ἦ κρατεῖν ἀρχεῖα τοῦ ἀέρος

D ὁ ἦλιος καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα διαλύειν, εἴ γε δεῖ καθ' ὁμᾶς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ τὸν ἦλιον μὴ δύο θεοὺς ἀλλ' ἕνα νομίζειν.

Καὶ ὁ Σαραπίων, "σοῦ γάρ," εἶπεν, "οὕχ οὔτω νομίζεις, ἀλλ' οἶει τὸν ἦλιον διαφέρειν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος:"

"Ἦγων'," εἶπον, "ὡς τοῦ ἦλιου τὴν σελήνην ἀλλ' αὕτη μὲν οὐ πολλάκις οὐδὲ πάσων ἀποκρύπτει τὸν ἦλιον, ὁ δ' ἦλιος ὁμοῦ τι πάντας ἀγνοεῖ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα πεποίηκεν ἀποστρέφων τῇ αἰσθήσει τὴν διάνοιαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος ἐπὶ τὸ φαινόμενον."

13. Ἐκ τούτου τοὺς περιηγητὰς ὁ Σαραπίων ἠρετο τί δὴ τὸν οἶκον οὐ Κυφέλου τοῦ ἀναθέντος ἀλλὰ Κορινθίων ὄνομάζονυ. ἀπορία δ' αἵτιας, ἐμοὶ ἑγοῦν δοκεῖ, σωπῶντων ἐκεῖνων, ἐπιγελάσας ἐγώ, "τί δὲ," εἶπον, "ἐτι τούτους οἷόμεθα γιγνώσκειν ἡ μνημονεύειν ἐκπεπληγμένους παντάπασιν, ὑμῶν μετεωρολεχοῦντων; ἐπεὶ πρότερον γ' αὐτῶν ἥκουομεν λεγόντων ὅτι τῆς τυραννίδος καταλυθείσης ἐβούλοντο Κορινθίους καὶ τὸν ἔν Πίση χρυσοῦν ἀνδριάντα καὶ τὸν ἐνταύθα τουτοῦ θησαυρὸν ἑπιγράψαι τῆς πόλεως. Δελφοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐδόσαν ὡς δίκαιον, καὶ συνεχώρησαν, Ἡλείους δὲ φθονήσαντας ἐψηφίσαντο μὴ μετέχειν Ἰσθμίων. οἴθεν οὔδεις ἐξ

1 εἶπον Xylander: εἶπεν. 2 αὕτη Reiske: αὕτη.
3 Κυφέλου Xylander: κυφέλλου.
4 ὡς ἐμοὶ γοῦν ἐδόκει Reiske.

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1 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?”

“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, 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

\[b\text{ Cf. Moralia, 932 b.}\]
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ἐκεῖνον γέγονεν Ἰσθμίων ἀγωνιστὴς Ἡλείος. ὁ δὲ Μολιονίδων φόνος ὕφ᾽ Ἡρακλέους περὶ Κλεωνᾶς
οὐδὲν ἐστὶ μετατίθεν, ὡς έννοι νομίζοντο, Ἡλείος
tοῦ εἰργεσθαί τούναντίον γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς προσήκον
eἰργειν, εἰ διὰ τοῦτο Κορυθίοις προσεκκερούκεσαν.
ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ταῦτ’ εἴπον.

14. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Ἀκανθίων καὶ Βρασίδου παρ
elθοῦσιν οἰκον ἠμῖν ἐδείξεν ὁ περιγυγητὴς χωρίον,
ἐν ὧν Ὁδῷπιδος ἐκείνωτο ποτε τῆς ἐταίρας ὀβελι
σκοι συνήρσε, δυσχεράνας ὁ Διογενιανός, "ἡν ἀρα
tῆς αὐτῆς," ἔφη, "πόλεως Ὁδῷπιδι μὲν χώραν
παρασκεύα, ὅπου τὰς δεκάτας φέρουσα καταθήκεσαι
401 τῶν μισθῶν, Λίσωπον δ’ ἀπολέσαι τὸν ὰμόδουλον
αὐτῆς.”

Καὶ ὁ Σαραπίων "τι δὲ ταῦτα," ἔφη, "μακάριε,
dυσχεράνεις; ἐκεὶ βλέψον ἂνω καὶ τὴν χρυσὴν ἐν
tοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ βασιλεύσι θέασαι Μνησαρέτην,
ἡν Κράτης εἰπε τῆς τῶν 'Ελλήνων ἀκρασίας ἀνα-
κείσθαι τρόπαιοιν.

Ἰδὼν οὖν ὁ νεανίας, "εἶτα περὶ Φρύνης," ἔφη,
"τοῦτ ἦν εἰρημένον τῷ Κράτητι;"
"Ναι," εἶπεν ὁ Σαραπίων. "Μνησαρέτη γὰρ
ἐκαλείτο, τὴν δὲ Φρύνην ἐπίκλησεν ἐσχε διὰ τὴν
ὡχρότητα. πολλὰ δ’ ὃς ἐοικε τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀπο-
κρύπτουσιν αἰ παρωνυμίαι. τὴν γοῦν Ἀλεξάνδρου
Β μητέρα Πολυξένην εἶτα Μυρτάλην 'Ολυμπιάδα τε
καὶ Στρατονίκην κληθήναι λέγουσι. τὴν δὲ Ὄρδιαν

1 Ὄρδιαν] 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.\(^b\) 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,\(^c\) 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,\(^d\) her fellow-slave.”

“Why,” said Sarapion, “are you indignant over this, my good sir? Look up there and behold among the generals and kings Mnesaretê wrought in gold, who, as Crates said, stands as a trophy to the licentiousness of the Greeks.”\(^e\)

The young man accordingly looked at it and remarked, “Then it was about Phryne\(^f\) that this statement was made by Crates?”

“Yes,” said Sarapion, “she was called Mnesaretê, but she got the nickname of Phryne\(^g\) 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 Stratonicê.

\(^a\) Cf. *Moralia*, 556 F.


\(^c\) “Toad.”
(401) Εὔμητων ἀχρὶ νῦν Κλεοβουλίνην πατρόθεν οἱ πλείστοι καλοῦσιν. Ἡροφίλην δὲ τὴν Ἐρυθραίαν μαντικὴν γενομένην Σίβυλλαν προσηγόρευσαν. τῶν δὲ γραμματικῶν ἀκούσῃ καὶ τὴν Δήδαν Μνησιών, καὶ τὸν Ὀρέστην Ἀχαίον . . . 1 ώνομάσθαι φασκόντων. ἀλλὰ πῶς, ἐφη, διανοή σὺ (βλέψας πρὸς τὸν Θέωνα) τούτι διαλύσαι τὸ περὶ Φρύνης αὐτίμα; "

15. Κάκεινος ἦσυχῇ διαμειδίασας, "οὕτως," εἶπεν, "ὡστε" καὶ σοι προσεγκαλεῖ τὰ μικρότατα C τῶν Ἕλληνων πλημμελημάτων ἐλέγχοντι. καθάπερ γὰρ ὁ Σωκράτης ἑστιώμενος3 εἶν Καλλίου τῷ μύρῳ πολεμεῖ4 μόνον, ὁρχήσεις δὲ παίδων καὶ κυβιστήσεις καὶ φιλῆματα καὶ γελωτοποιοῦσ ὁρῶν ἄνεχεται, καὶ σὺ μοι δοκεῖς ὦμων γύναιν εἴργεν τῷ ἤρῳ χρησάμενον ἄρα σώματος οὐκ ἐλευθερίως, φόνων δὲ καὶ πολέμων καὶ λεησιάων ἀπαρχαῖς καὶ δεκάταις κύκλῳ περιεχόμενον τὸν θεὸν ὀρῶν καὶ τὸν νεῶν σκύλων 'Ελληνικῶν ἀνάπλεων5 καὶ λαφύρων οὐ δυσχεραίνεις, οὐδ' οἰκτίρεις τοὺς "Ελλήνας ἐπὶ τῶν καλῶν ἀναθημάτων αἰσχύστας D ἀναγγελώσκων ἐπιγραφάς, 'Βρασίδας καὶ 'Ακάνθιοι ἀπ' 'Αθηναίων, καὶ 'Αθηναίοι ἀπὸ Κορυνθίων, καὶ 'Φωκεῖς ἀπὸ Θεσσαλῶν, 'Ορνέαται δ' ἀπὸ Σικυωνίων, 'Αμφικτύνονες δ' ἀπὸ Φωκέων.' ἀλλὰ Πραξιτέλης, ὡς έοικε, μόνος ἦνιασε Κράτητα τῇ ἐρωμένῃ τυχῶν αὐτόθι ἄφρεας,6 δι' ἔπαινειν ὄφειλε

1 A lacuna in the mss. here probably contained another example.
2 ὡστε Reiske: ὡστε γε.
3 ἑστιώμενος Reiske: αἰτιώμενος.
4 πολεμεῖ Reiske: πολεμεῖν.
5 ἀνάπλεων Reiske: ἀνάπλεω.
6 ἄφρεας] χῶρας Emperius (cf. 400 f).
Eumetis of Rhodes most people call, even to this day, Cleobulina from her father; and Herophilète 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

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*a* Cf. *Moralia*, 148 d.

*b* Xenophon, *Symposium*, 2. 3.


*d* *Ibid.* 9. 5.  

*e* *Ibid.* 2. 22.
1. "Εκείνο δ' ού λέγεις," εἶπεν ἀτερος τῶν περιγγητῶν, "ὅτι Κροίσος ἐνταύθα καὶ τῆς ἀρτοποιοῦ 2 χρυσῆν εἰκόνα ποιησάμενος ἄνεθηκε."

Καὶ ὁ Θέων, "ναί," ἐφη, 4 "πλὴν οὐκ ἐντυφῶν τῷ ἑρῷ, καλὴν δὲ λαβὼν αἰτίαν καὶ δικαίαν. λέγεται γὰρ Ἀλνάττην τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Κροίσου δευτέραν ἀγαγέθαι γυναῖκα καὶ παῖδας ἑτέρους τρέφειν· ἐπιβουλεύονσαν οὖν τῷ Κροίσῳ τὴν ἁνθρωπον φάρμακον δοῦναι τῇ ἀρτοποιῶ, 3 καὶ κελεύει διαιπλάσασαν ἄρτον εξ αὐτοῦ τῷ Κροίσῳ παραδοῦναι· τὴν δ' ἀρτοποιῶν 3 κρύφα τῷ Κροίσῳ φράσαι, παραθείναι δὲ τοῖς ἐκείνης παισὶ τὸν ἄρτον. ἀνθ' ὁν βα-

F συλεύσαντα τὸν Κροίσον οἶον ἐπὶ μάρτυρι τῷ θεῷ τῆς χάριν ἀμείβασθαι τῆς γυναικὸς, εὖ γε ποιούντ' ἐκείνον. θευν," εἶπεν, "ἀξιον δὴ καὶ τῶν πόλεων εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἔστιν ἀνάθημα τιμᾶν καὶ ἀγαπᾶν, 5 οἶον τῷ Ὀπουντίων. ἐπει γὰρ οἱ Φωκέων τύραννοι πολλά τῶν χρυσῶν καὶ ἀργυρῶν ἀναθημάτων συγχέαντες ἐκοψαν νόμισμα καὶ διέσπειραν εἰς τὰς πόλεις,

1 ὁν added by F.C.B.
3 ἀρτοποιῶν, etc., corrected by Leonicus and others: ἀρτοποιῶν.
4 Καὶ ὁ Θέων, "ναί," ἐφη, added by Paton and others to fill a lacuna in the mss.
5 ἀγαπᾶν Stegmann: ἀγαπᾶν.
him because beside these golden kings he placed a
golden courtesan, thus rebuking wealth for possess-
ing 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 honour-
able and righteous cause for so doing.\(^a\) 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,\(^b\) and
minted coins and put them into circulation among the

\(^a\) Cf. Herodotus, i. 51.

\(^b\) Cf. Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* i. p. 308, Theopompus,
no. 182.
'Οπούντιοι συναγαγόντες ὅσον ἄργυριον ἕδραν ἀνέπεμψαν ἐνθάδε τῷ θεῷ καὶ καθιέρωσαν. ἔγγει καὶ Μυριναίος ἐπανεῖν καὶ 'Ἀπόλλωνιάτας 402 θέρη χρυσά δεύρο πέμψαντας· ἐτὶ δὲ μᾶλλον Ἑρετρείς καὶ Μάγνητας, ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρχαῖς δωρησμένους τὸν θεόν, ὡς καρπῶν δοτήρα καὶ πατρῶν καὶ γενέσιον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον· αὐτῶμαι δὲ Μεγαρεῖς, ὅτι μόνοι σχεδὸν ἐνταῦθα λόγχην ἔχοντα τὸν θεόν ἔστησαν ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης, ἡν 'Ἀθηναίους μετὰ τὰ Περσικὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐχοντας αὐτῶν νικήσαντες ἔξεβαλον. ὕστερον μέντοι πλήκτρον ἀνέθηκαν τῷ θεῷ χρυσοῦν ἐπιστήσαντες, ὡς ἐοίκε, Σκυθίνω λέγοντι περὶ τῆς λύρας,

�新 δευείδης 'Ἀπόλλων, πᾶσαν ἀρχήν καὶ τέλος

Β συλλαβῶν. ἔχει δὲ λαμπρὸν πλήκτρον ἠλίου φάος.'

17. Ἐπιβάλλοντος δὲ τοῦ Σαραπίωνος εἰπεῖν τι περὶ τούτων, ὃ ξένος, "ἡδὸ μέν," ἔφη, "τὸ τοιοῦτων ἀκροάσθαι λόγων, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀναγκαῖον ἔστι τὴν πρώτην ὑπόσχεσιν ἀπαντήσαι περὶ τῆς αἰτίας, ἡ πέπαυκε τὴν Πυθιάν ἐν ἐπεσι καὶ μέτρου ἄλλοις θεσπίζουσαν· ὦστ', ἐπὶ δοκεῖ, τὰ λειτομένα τῆς θέας ὑπερθέμενοι περὶ τούτων ἀκούσωμεν ἐνταῦθα καθίσαντες. οὕτως γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ μάλιστα πρὸς τὴν

1 ἄργυριον an early correction: ἄργυριον.
2 ἕδραν added by F.C.B.
3 ἕδραν Reiske: ἕδριαν.
4 Μυριναίος Reiske: μυρίνας.

* Cf. von Arnim, Stoicorum Veterrum Fragmenta, i. 502 (p. 112).
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,\textsuperscript{a} calling attention, apparently, to Scythinus,\textsuperscript{b} who says regarding the lyre,

\begin{quote}
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."
\end{quote}

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

ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΜΟΡΑΛΙΑ

(402) τοῦ χρηστηρίου πίστιν ἀντιβαίνων λόγος, ὡς δυνῶν θάτερον, ἣ τῆς Πυθίας τῶν χωρίων μή πελαξούσης εὖ ὦ τὸ θεῖον ἔστιν, ἣ τοῦ πνεύματος παντάπασιν 

C ἀπεσβεσμένου καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκλειούσιας.”

Περιελθόντες οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν μεσημβρινῶν καθὰ εξόμεθα κρητιδῶν τοὺς νεὼς πρὸς τὸ τῆς Γῆς ἱερὸ- 
tὸ θ’ ὕδωρ ἀποβλέποντες· ῥωτ’ εὐθὺς εἰπεῖν τὸν 
Βόθθου, ὅτι καὶ ὁ τόπος τῆς ἀπορίας συνεπλαμβά-

νεται τῷ ἔξων. Ὁ Μουσών γὰρ ἦν ἱερὸν ἐνεάθη

περὶ τὴν ἀναπνοὴν τοῦ νάματος, οὗθεν ἐχρώντῳ πρὸς 

tε τὰς λοιβὰς καὶ τὰς χέρνιβας2 τῷ ὦδατι τούτῳ,

ὡς φησὶ Σιμωνίδης

ἐνθα χερνίβεσσιν ἀρύεται3 τὸ4 Μουσῶν 

καλλικόμων ὑπένερθεν ἁγνὸν ὕδωρ.

μικρῷ δὲ περιεργότερον αὕθις ὁ Σιμωνίδης τὴν 

Κλειῶν προσεπῶν

D ἀγναν ἐπίσκοπον χερνίβων,

φησί,

πολύλιστον ἀρυόντεσσιν5

ἀχρυσόπεπλον6 * * *7 

εὐώδες ἀμβρόσιαν ἐκ μυχῶν

ἐρανον8 ὕδωρ λαβεῖν.9

1 τοῦ added by Emperius.
2 καὶ τὰς χέρνιβας added by Reiske from the verses below.
3 ἀρύεται Turnebus: εἰρύεται.
4 τὸ Bergk: τε.
5 ἀρυόντεσσιν Emperius: ἁραῖον τε ἔστιν.
6 ἀχρυσόπεπλον] ἀ χρυσόπεπλον some editors.
7 A short lacuna in the mss.
8 ἐρανον] ἐρανον Emperius.
9 λαβεῖν F.C.B.; λαβίουs Crusius; λίβα Paton and others:

λαβίον.

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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 Graecia, 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 ὀρθῶς οὖν Εὐδοξὸς ἐπίστευσε τοῖς Στυγὸς ὕδωρ τοῦτο καλεῖσθαι πεφήνασι. τὰς δὲ Μοῦσας ἰδρύσαντο παρέδρους τῆς μαντικῆς καὶ φύλακας αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸ νάμα καὶ τὸ τῆς Γῆς ιερὸν, ὡς λέγεται τὸ μαντεῖον γενέσθαι διὰ τῆς ἐν μέτροι καὶ μέλεις χρησμωδίαν. ἐνοι δὲ καὶ πρῶτον ἐνταῦθα φασίν ἥρων μέτρον ἀκουσθῆναι,

συμφέρετε πτερά τ', οἰνωνι, κηρόν τε, μέλισσαι:

Ε ἔτα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιδεῖ γενομένην ἀποβαλεῖν τὸ σεμνὸν.

18. 'Ὁ Σαραπίων, "ἐπιεικέστερα ταῦτ," εἶπεν, "ὡς Βόηθε, καὶ μουσικῶτερα. δεῖ γὰρ μὴ μάχεσθαι πρὸς τὸν θεοῦ μηδ' ἀναίρειν μετὰ τῆς μαντικῆς ἁμα τὴν πρόνοιαν καὶ τὸ θεῖον, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑπεναντιοῦσθαι δοκοῦντων λύσεις ἐπιζητεῖν τὴν δ' εὐσεβὴ καὶ πάτριον μὴ προέθεσθαι πίστων."

"Ὅρθως," ἐφην ἐγώ, "λέγεις, ἁριστε Σαραπίων. οὐδὲ γὰρ φιλοσοφίαν ἀπεγιγνώσκομεν ὡς ἀνηρρημένη παντάπασι καὶ διεφθορίαν, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἐν ποιήμασιν ἐξέφερον οἱ φιλόσοφοι τὰ δόγματα καὶ τοὺς λόγους, ὥστε Ορφεὺς καὶ Γ.Η.Ε.Ο.Ο. καὶ Παρμενίδης καὶ Ξενοφάνης καὶ 'Εμπεδοκλῆς καὶ Θαλῆς. ὥστε δ' ἐπαύσαντο καὶ πέπανται χρώμενοι μέτροι πλὴν σοῦ. διὰ σοῦ δ' ἀδεὶς εἰς φιλοσοφίαν ποιητικὴ κάτεισιν, ὅρθιον καὶ γενναῖον ἐγκελεσμένη τοῖς νέοις.

"Οὖν" ἀστρολογίαν ἀδοξοτέραν ἐποίησαν οἱ περὶ Ἀρίσταρχον καὶ Τιμόχαρω καὶ Ἀρίστουλλον καὶ

1 διὰ added by Wytenbach.
2 πτερά τ' Emperius from Philostratus, Life of Apollonius, 247: πτερά.
3 είτα τοῦ θεοῦ F.C.B.: ὅτε τῷ θεῷ.
4 θεοῦ Amyot: θέων.

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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
1. Ιππαρχον κατάλογάδην γράφοντες, ἐν μέτροις πρότερον Εὐδόξου καὶ Ἡσιόδου καὶ Θαλοῦ γρα.

2. φόντων, εἰ γε Θαλῆς ἐποίησεν, ὡς ἀληθῶς εἶπεῖν, τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφερομένην Ἀστρολογίαν. Πίν-

3. δαρός δὲ καὶ περὶ τρόπον μελωδίας ἀμελουμένου καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπορεῖν ὁμολογεῖ, καὶ θαυμάζειν ὁτι

4. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ δεινὸν οὐδ᾽ ἀτοπον αἰτίας ζητεῖν τῶν τοιούτων μεταβολῶν. ἀναρεῖν δὲ τὰς

5. τέχνας καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις, ἃν τι κινηθῇ καὶ παραλλάξῃ τῶν κατὰ ταύτας, οὐ δίκαιον.

19. Ἑπολαβῶν δ᾽ ὁ Θέων, ἃ ἄλλα ταῦτα μέν,' εἰπε, 'μεγάλας ἔσχηκε τῷ ὄντι παραλλαγάς καὶ

20. καυσοτομίας. τῶν δ᾽ ἐνταῦθα πολλοὺς χρησμῶν οἴσθα καὶ τὸτε καταλογάδην ἐκφρομένους καὶ

21. Β περὶ πραγμάτων οὗ τῶν τυχόντων. Ἀκεδαι-

22. μονίοις τε γάρ, ὡς Θουκυδίδης ἵστορηκε, περὶ

23. τοῦ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμου χρωμένου ἀνείλε

24. νίκην καὶ κράτος, καὶ βοηθήσεων αὐτὸς καὶ παρα-

25. καλούμενος καὶ ἀπαράκλητος καὶ Πλειστοάνακτα

26. εἰ μὴ καταγάγοιν 'ἄργυρα εὐλάκα εὐλάξειν.'

27. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ περὶ τὴς ἐν Σικελίᾳ μαντευ-

28. μένοις στρατιῶς προσέταξε τὴν ἐξ Ἐρυθρῶν ἱέρειαν

29. ἀνάγειν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. ἐκαλεῖτο δ᾽ Ἡσυχίᾳ τὸ

30. γύναιον.

1 E. Harrison would omit εἰπεῖν.

2 τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν Turnebus and Vulcobius: εἰς αὐτῆν.

3 θαυμάζειν Reiske: θαυμάζει. 4 A long lacuna in the mss.

4 χρησμῶν added by Reiske, οἴσθα by Paton.

5 ἀπαράκλητος] ἀκλήτου Thucydides.

6 Πλειστοάνακτα Wytenbach from Thucydides, v. 16: Παυσανίαν.

7 εὐλάκα added by Wasse from Thucydides, v. 16.

8 εὐλάξειν Wasse: συλλέξειν.

9 Ἐρυθρῶν] Κλαζομενῶν in the Life of Nicias, ch. xiii.
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 . . . 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 ἁουχίαν ἄγεω, “to keep Quiet.”
"Δεινομένους δὲ τοῦ Σικελιώτου μαντευομένου περὶ τῶν υἱῶν, ἀνείλεν ὡς οἱ τρεῖς τυραννησοιεν. Ὅπως ὑποτυχόντος δὲ τοῦ Δεινομένου, 'ο μουξόμενον γ' ὡ δέσποτ' "Απολλων,' καὶ τοὐθ' οἳ ἐφ' διδόναι καὶ προσαναρεῖν. ἔστε τοίνυν ὡς Γέλων μὲν ὕδρωπιῶν 'Ιέρων δὲ λιθίων ἐτυράννησεν· ὁ δὲ τρίτος Θρασύβουλος ἐν στάσει καὶ πολέμους γενόμενος χρόνον οὖ πολὺν ἐξέπεσε τῆς ἀρχῆς.

"Προκλῆς τοίνυν ὁ 'Επιδαύρου τύραννος ἅλλους τε πολλοὺς ωμῶς καὶ παρανόμους ἀνείλε καὶ Τίμαρχον ἀπ' 'Αθηνῶν παραγενόμενον μετὰ χρημάτων πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑποδεξάμενος καὶ φιλοφρονηθέοις ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὸ σῶμα καταπόντυσεν ἐμβαλὼν εἰς φορμὸν ἔπραξε δὲ ταῦτα διὰ Κλεάνδρου τοῦ Δ' Αἰγυνήτου, τῶν ἅλλων ἀγνοουόντων. Ὡστερον δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν παρατηροῦσιν, ἐπεμψαν ἐνταῦθα Κλεότιμον τὸν ἄδελφον ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ μαντευομένον περὶ φυγῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ μεταστάσεως. ἀνείλεν οὖν ὁ θεὸς διδόναι Προκλεῖ φυγήν καὶ μετάστασιν, ὅπου τὸν φορμὸν ἐκέλευσε καταθέσθαι τὸν Αἰγυνήτην ξένον ἢ ὅπου τὸ κέρας ἀποβάλλει ὁ ἔλαφος. οὖν ὁ τύραννος, ὅτι κελεύει καταποντίζειν αὐτὸν ἢ κατορύπτειν ὁ θεὸς (οἱ γὰρ ἔλαφοι κατορύπτουσι καὶ ἀφανίζουσι κατὰ τῆς γῆς ὅταν ἐκπέσῃ τὸ κέρας), ἐπεσχέν ὀλίγον χρόνον, εἰτα τῶν πραγμάτων παντάπασι μοχθηρῶν γενόμενων, ἐξέπεσε. λαβόντες δ' αὐτὸν οἱ τοῦ Τιμάρχου φίλοι καὶ διαφθείραντες ἐξέβαλον τὸν νεκρὸν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν.

1 οἱ Reiske: σοι.

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"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 seditious 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' ἔστι μέγιστον, αἱ ῥήτραι, δι' ὃν ἐκόσμησε τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείαν Λυκοῦργος, ἐδόθησαν αὐτῷ καταλογάδην.

"Μυρίοις τοίνυν καὶ Ἡροδότον καὶ Φιλοχόρον καὶ Ἰστροὺν, τῶν μάλιστα τὰς ἐμμέτρους μαντείας φιλοτιμηθέντων συναγαγεῖν, ἀνευ μέτρου χρησιμοὺς γεγραφότων, Θεόπομπος οὐδενὸς ἤττον ἀνθρώπων ἐσπουδακὼς περὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ἱσχυρῶς ἐπιτετήμηκε τοὺς μὴ νομίζουσι κατὰ τὸν τὸτε χρόνον ἐμμετρα τὴν Πυθίαν θεσπίζειν· εἶτα τοῦτο βου-

F λόμενος ἀποδείξατ, παντάπασι όλίγων χρησιμῶν ἦπορηκεν, ὡς τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τὸτ' ἣδη κατα-

λογάδην ἐκφερομένων.

20. "Ενιοὶ δε καὶ νῦν μετὰ μέτρων ἐκτρέχου-

σων, ὡν ἕνα καὶ πράγμα περιβόητον πεποίηκε. μισογύνου γὰρ Ἡρακλέους ἱερόν ἐστω ἐν τῇ Φω-

κίδι, καὶ νομίζεται τὸν ἱερωμένον ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῶ-

γυναικὶ μὴ ὁμιλεῖν· διὸ καὶ πρεσβύτας ἐπιεικῶς ἱερεῖς ἀποδεικνύοντο. πλὴν ἐμπροσθεν ὀλίγω-

χρόνω νεανίας οὐ πουνήρος ἄλλα φιλότιμος, ἔρων

404 παιδίσκης, ἐλαβε τὴν ἱερωσύνην. καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἡν ἐγκρατῆς ἐαυτοῦ καὶ ἐφυγε τὴν ἀνθρωπο-

ἀναπαυμένον δ' αὐτῷ ποτε μετὰ πότον καὶ χορεῖαν προσπεσοῦσαν διεπράξατο. φοβούμενος

οὗν καὶ ταραττόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον κατέφυγε, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἄμαρτίας ἥρωτα τὸν θεοῦ εἰ τις εἰ-

παραίτησις ἡ λύσις· ἐλαβε δὲ τόνδε τὸν χρησιμῶν.

ἀπαντα τάναγκαία συγχωρεῖ θεὸς.

1 μυρίοις Paton; Ἀλυφίον Reiske: ἀλυφίον.
2 τῶν ἄλλων] τῶν πολλῶν Herwerden.
3 ἕνα Wyttenbach: ἑνεκα. 4 μισογύνου Xylander: μισοῦν.
5 τάναγκαία Reiske: ἀναγκαία.
"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.

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"Оу μὴν ἀλλὰ δοὺς ἄν τις ὡς οὐδὲν ἄνευ μέτρου θεσπιζεται καθ’ ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον διαπορήσει1 περὶ τῶν παλαιῶν ποτὲ μὲν ἐν2 μέτροις ποτὲ δ’ ἄνευ Β μέτρων διδόντων τὰς ἀποκρίσεις. ἔστι δ’ οὐδέτερον, ὡ παῖ, παράλογον, μόνον ἂν ὀρθὰς καὶ καθαρὰς περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξας ἔχωμεν, καὶ μὴ νομίζωμεν αὐτὸν ἑκείνον εἶναι τὸν τὰ ἐπη συντιθέντα πρότερον καὶ νῦν ὑποβάλλοντα τῇ Πυθίᾳ τοὺς χρησμοὺς, ὥσπερ ἐκ προσωπείων φθεγγόμενον.

21. " 'Αλλ’ αὕτης ἀξιον μὲν ἐστὶ3 διὰ μακροτέρων εἰπεῖν τι καὶ πυθέσθαι περὶ τούτων, τὰ δὲ νῦν ἐν βραχεί μαθόντες διαμνημονεύωμεν ὡς σώμα μὲν ὀργάνους χρήται πολλοῖς αὐτῷ δὲ σώματι ψυχῇ καὶ μέρει τοῖς σώματος: ψυχῇ δ’ ὀργανον θεοῦ γέγονεν, ὀργάνου δ’ ἀρετὴ μάλιστα μμείσθαι τὸ χρώ-

C μενον ἢ πέφυκε δυνάμει καὶ παρέχειν τὸ ἐργον αὐτοῦ νοηματος ἐν αὐτῳ4 δεικνύμενον,5 δεικνύναι δ’ οὐχ ὁδὸν ἢν ἐν τῷ δημιουργῷ καθαρὸν καὶ ἀπαθῆς καὶ ἀναμάρτητον, ἀλλὰ μεμειγμένον πολλῷ τῷ ἀλλοτρίῳ6 καθ’ ἐαυτὸ γὰρ ἄδηλον ἡμῖν, ἐτερον7 δὲ καὶ δ’ ἐτέρου φαινόμενον ἀναπίπλαται τῆς ἑκείνου φύσεως. καὶ κηρὸν μὲν ἐῶ καὶ χρυσὸν

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1 διαπορήσει Reiske: διαπορήσει.
2 ἐν added by Duebaer.
3 ἐστι] some would write ἐσται, but Plutarch often uses the present in such expressions; e.g. 410 ν.
4 αὑτῷ Paton: αὐτῷ.
5 δεικνύμενον F.C.B.: δυναμένη.
6 πολλῷ τῷ ἀλλοτρίῳ Wyttchenbach (οἰκεῖω Paton) to fill a lacuna in the mss.
7 ἐτερον] ἐν ἐτέρῳ Emperius.
"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) ἀργυρῶν τε καὶ χαλκῶν, ὡσα τ' ἄλλα πλαττομένης οὐσίας εἴδη δέχεται μὲν ἰδέαν μίαν ἐκτυπουμένης ὁμοιότητος, ἀλλ' ἀλλήν ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ τῷ μιμήματι διαφόραν προστίθησον καὶ τὰς ἐν κατόπτροις ἐπι-
D πέδους τε καὶ κοίλους καὶ περιηγήσεις φασμάτων καὶ εἰδώλων ἅφ' ἐνὸς εἰδοὺς μυρίας παρατυπώσεις. καὶ γὰρ, εἰ συγαλόειν’ ἀστρα βλέπομεν,2 οὔδὲν οὔτε μάλλον τὴν3 ἰδέαν ἐφικεν οὔθ’ ὡς ὄργανον4 χρησθαι φύσει γέγονεν εὑπειθέστερον σελήνης. λαμβάνουσα δὲ παρ’ ἥλιον τὸ λαμπρὸν καὶ πυρωτὸν οὐχ ὀμοιον ἀποπέμπει πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ μεικθὲν αὐτῇ καὶ χρόαν μετέβαλε καὶ δύναμιν ἔσχεν ἐτέραν. ἦ δὲ θερμότης καὶ παντάπασιν ἐξοίχεται καὶ προ-
λέλοιπε τὸ φῶς ὑπ’ ἀσθενείας.

"Οἵμαι δέ σε5 γιγνώσκειν τὸ παρ’ Ἡρακλεῖτω λεγόμενον ὡς ὃ6 ἀναξ, οὗ τὸ μαντεῖον ἐστι τὸ ἐν
Ε Δελφοῖς, οὕτε λέγει οὕτε κρύπτει ἄλλα σημαίνει. πρόσλαμε δὲ τούτους εἰ λεγομένους καὶ νόησον τὸν ἐνταθὰ θεὸν χρώμενον τῇ Πυθίᾳ πρὸς ἅκοιν, καθὼς ἥλιος χρῆται σελήνῃ πρὸς ὄμιν7. δείκνυσι μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀναφαίνει τὰς αὐτοῦ νοήσεις, μεμειγ-
μένας δὲ δείκνυσι διὰ σώματος θυντοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς8 ἥσυχιαν ἀγειν μὴ δυναμένης9 μηδὲ10 τῷ κινοῦτι

1 περιηγήσει Reiske: περιηγήσει.
2 εἰ συγαλόειν’ ἀστρα βλέπομεν F.C.B. to fill the lacuna in the mss.; alii alia: εἰς.
3 τὴν added by Reiske.
4 ὄργανον] ὄργανῳ Reiske.
5 σε added by Duebner (καὶ σε Reiske).
6 ὡς ὁ Turnebus: ὡσθ'.
7 πρὸς ὄμιν stands after Πυθίᾳ in the mss.; transposed by Wyttenbach.
8 A lacuna in the mss. after ψυχῆς. Add παρθενωκῆς (405 c)?
9 δυναμένης Wyttenbach: δυνάμενος.

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leave out of account, as well as other kinds of material, 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 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.

\(^{10}\) \(\mu \nu \delta \varepsilon\) Wyttenbach: \(\delta\).
παρέχειν ἐαυτὴν ἀκίνητον εἰς αὐτής καὶ καθεστῶσαν, ἀλλ’ ὦσπερ ἐν σάλῳ ψυφοῦσαν1 καὶ συμπλεκομένην τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ2 κινήμασι καὶ πάθεσιν ἐπιταραττοῦσαν αὐτὴν.3

“Ὅς γὰρ οἱ δίνοι τῶν ἁμα κύκλῳ καταφερμένων σωμάτων οὐκ ἐπικρατοῦσι βεβαιῶς, ἀλλὰ κύκλῳ μὲν ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης φερομένων κάτω δὲ φύσει F ἐπετεύμων γίγνεται τις εἰς ἀμφότερος ταραχώδης καὶ παράφορος ἐλιγμός, οὕτως δ’ καλοῦμενος ἐνθοσιασμὸς έοικε μειξείς εἶναι κινήσεων δυνών, τὴν μὲν ώς πέπονθε τής ψυχῆς ἁμα τὴν δ’ ώς πέφυκε κινούμενης. ὅπου γὰρ ἄψυχος σώμασι καὶ κατὰ ταῦτὰ μονίμως οὐκ ἔστι χρήσασθαι παρ’ δ’ πέφυκε βιαζόμενον, οὐδὲ κινῆσαι σφαιρικῶς κύλινδρον ἡ κυβικῶς4 ἡ λύραν αὐλητικῶς ἡ σάλπιγγα κιθαριστικῶς. άλλ’ οὖν ἐτερον,6 ὡς έοικε, τὸ τεχνηκῶς εκάστῳ χρῆσθαι καὶ ώς πέφυκεν ἦπον τὸ ἐμψυχον καὶ αὐτοκίνητον ὁρμῆς τε καὶ λόγου μετέχον ἀλλως ἀν τίς ἡ κατὰ τήν ἐν αὐτῷ7 προ邙παρχουσαν 405 ἐξίν ἡ δύναμιν ἡ φύσιν μεταχειρίσατο, μουσικῶς κινών7 νοῦν ἁμοσον ἡ γραμματικῶς τὸν ἀγράμματον ἡ λογίως τὸν ἐν λόγοις ἀδεώρητον καὶ ἀνάσκητον; οὐκ ἐστίν εἴπειν.22. “Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ ὁμηρός, αὐτία μὲν ἃνευ θεοῦ οὐδὲν ὡς ἔποι εἴπειν ὑποτιθέμενος

1 ψυφοῦσαν Wytenbach: ψαύουσαν αὐτῆν.
2 αὐτή Bernardakis: αὐτή.
3 ἐπιταραττοῦσαν αὐτήν F.C.B.: ἐπιταραττοῦσης.
4 ἡ κυβικῶς] ἡ σφαιραν κυβικῶς Wytenbach; κώνον κυβικῶς Wilamowitz-Möllendorff. Stegmann would omit the two words.
5 ἐτερον Wytenbach; ἐτερον ἦν Paton: ἐτερον ἦ.
6 ἐν αὐτῶ Meziriacus: ἐαυτῶν.
7 κώνον Wytenbach: κινῶντοι.
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,
(405) περαινόμενον, οὐ μὴν πᾶσι πρὸς πάντα χρῶμενον ποιῶν τὸν θεόν, ἀλλ' ἐκάστῳ καθ' ἧν ἔχει τέχνην ἡ δύναμις. ἡ γὰρ οὐχ ὀρᾶς," εἶπεν, "ὡ φίλε Διογενίανε, τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, οτὲ πεῖσαι βουλεῖται τοὺς Ἀχαιούς, τὸν Ὀδυσσέα παρακαλοῦσαν, οτὲ συγ-χέας τὰ ὀρκία, τὸν Πάνδαρον ζητοῦσαν, οτὲ τρέ-
B ψαθαί τοὺς Τρώας, ἐπὶ τὸν Διομήδην βαδίζουσαν;
ὸ μὲν γὰρ εὕρωστος, καὶ μάχιμος ὁ δὲ τοξικὸς καὶ ἀνόητος ὁ δὲ δεινὸς εἰπεῖν καὶ φρόνιμος. οὐ γὰρ εἶχεν "Ομηρος τὴν αὐτὴν Πινδάρῳ διάνοιαν, εἰ γε
Πάνδαρος¹ ἢν ὁ ποιήσας

θεοὶ θέλοντος, κἂν ἐπὶ ρητὸς πλέοις².

ἀλλ' ἐγίνωσκεν³ ἄλλας πρὸς ἄλλα δυνάμεις καὶ
φύσεις γεγενημένας, ὅν ἐκάστῃ κινεῖται διαφόρως,
κἂν ἐν ἧ τὸ κινοῦν ἀπάσας. ὥσπερ οὖν τὸ κινοῦν
tὸ πεζὸν οὐ δύναται κινῆσαι⁴ πτητικῶς, οὐδὲ
τορῶς τὸ τραυλὸν οὐδ' εὐφώνως τὸ ἱσχυνόφωνον.
ἄλλα καὶ τὸν Βάττου, οἶμαι, διὰ τοὺτ' ἐπὶ τὴν
φωνὴν παραγενόμενον εἰς Διβύνην ἔπεμψεν οἰκιστὶν,
ὅτι τραυλὸς μὲν ἢν καὶ ἱσχυνόφωνος βασιλικὸς δὲ
καὶ πολιτικὸς καὶ φρόνιμος· οὕτως ἀδύνατον δια-
λέγεσθαι πτητικῶς τὸν ἀγράμματον καὶ ἀνήκουν

¹ Πινδάρῳ . . . Πινδάρος Anonymous (Μενάνδρῳ . . . Μεν-
ανδρός Wilamowitz-Möllendorff): Παινδάρῳ . . . πάνδαρος.
² θεοὶ πλέοντος κἂν ἐπιρρητῶς mss. corrected from other
citations.
³ ἐγίνωσκεν Xylander: γίνωσκε.
⁴ κινῆσαι added by Bernardakis.

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a Il. ii. 169. b Il. iv. 86. c Il. v. 1.
d From the Thyestes of Euripides: Nauck, Trag. Graec.
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 Diomede\(^c\)? The reason is that Diomede 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;\(^d\)

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.
(405) ἑπῶν, ὥσπερ ἢ νῦν τῷ θεῷ λατρεύουσα γέγονε μὲν εἰ τις ἄλλος ἐνταῦθα νομίμως καὶ καλῶς καὶ βεβιωκέν εὐτάκτως. τραφεῖσα 1 δὲ ἐν οἰκίᾳ γεωργῶν πενήτων, οὔτ' ἀπὸ τέχνης οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἀπ' ἀλλής τινὸς ἐμπειρίας καὶ δυνάμεως ἐπιφερομένη κάτεισιν εἰς τὸ χρηστήριον, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὁ Ἑσοφῶν οίεται δεῖν ἐλάχιστα τὴν νύμφην ἱδοῦσαι ἐλάχιστα δ' ἀκούσασαν εἰς ἀνδρὸς βαδίζειν, οὔτως ἀπειροσ καὶ

D ἀδαὶς Ὅλυγον δεῖν ἀπάντων καὶ παρθένος ὡς ἀληθῶς τὴν ψυχὴν τῷ θεῷ τάκτω σύνεστιν. ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἐρωτικοὶ οἶομεθα καὶ προχίλου καὶ κόραξι χρήσθαι φθεγγομένοις σημαίνοντα τὸν θεόν, καὶ οὐκ ἀξιούμεν, ἢ θεῶν ἄγγελοι καὶ κήρυκες εἰσι, λογικῶς ἐκαστα καὶ σαφῶς 2 φράζειν τὴν δὲ τῆς Πυθιᾶς φωνήν καὶ διάλεκτων ὥσπερ χορικὸν 3 ἐκ θυμέλης, οὐκ ἁνήδυντον οὔδὲ λυτὴν ἀλλ' ἐν μέτρῳ καὶ ὅγκῳ καὶ πλάσματι καὶ μεταφοράς ὁνομάτων καὶ μετ' αὐλοῦ φθεγγομένῃ παρέχειν ἀξιούμεν.

23. "Τι οὖν φήσομεν περὶ τῶν παλαιῶν; οὖχ Ἕ ἐν ἀλλὰ πλείονα, οἶμαι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ, ὥσπερ εἰρήται, τὰ πλείστα κάκεινα καταλογάδην ἀπεφθέγγοντο. δεύτερον δὲ καὶ σωμάτων ἤγεικε κράσεις καὶ φύσεις δ' χρόνος ἐκεῖνος εὑροῦν τι καὶ φορὸν ἓχοσας πρὸς ποίησιν, αἰς εὐθὺς ἐπεγίγνοντο προθύμεια καὶ ὀρμαὶ καὶ παρασκευαὶ ψυχῆς ἐτοιμότητα ποιοῦσαι μικρᾶς ἐξωθεν ἀρχῆς καὶ

1 τραφεῖσα Basel ed. of 1542: γραφεῖσα.
2 σαφῶς Reiske: σοφῶς.
3 χορικὸν F.C.B. to fill the lacuna in the mss.; Pohlenz proposes τραγικήν, but διάλεκτων and αὐλοῦ point to the choral song; so χορευτῶν Bernardakis.

a Oeconomicus, 7. 4-5. b 403 ε and 404 α, 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 Xenophon⁴ 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,¹ 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
προτροπής τοῦ φανταστικοῦ δεομένην,2 ὡς εὐθὺς ἐλκεσθαί πρὸς τὸ οἴκειον οὐ μόνον, ὡς λέγει Φιλίνος, ἀστρολόγος καὶ φιλοσόφος, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς τε πολλῷ καὶ πάθει γιγνομένων οἰκτοῦ τινὸς ύπορ-Ρ ρεύντος ἦ χαρᾶς προσπεσούσης ὀλισθάνειν3 εἰς 'ἐνωδὸν * * * γῆρυν' ἐρωτικῶν τε κατετίμπλαντο μέτρων καὶ ἁσμάτων τὰ συμπόσια καὶ τὰ βιβλία γραμμάτων. ὁ δ' Εὐριπίδης εἶπὼν5 ὡς

ποιητὴν δ' ἀρα
"Ερως6 διδάσκει, κἂν ἀμοιμος ἦ το πρῖν,

ἐνενόησεν' ὅτι ποιητικὴν καὶ μουσικὴν "Ερως δύναμιν οὐκ ἐντίθησιν, ἐνυπάρχουσαν δὲ κινεῖ καὶ ἀναθερμαίνει λανθάνουσαν καὶ ἄργουσαν. ἦ μηδένα νῦν ἔραν, ὡ γένε, λέγωμεν, ἀλλὰ φροῦδον οἵκεσθαι τὸν ἔρωτα, ὅτι μέτρως οὔδεὶς οὐδ' ὁδαῖς

ῥίμφα παιδείου (ὡς Πίνδαρος ἔφη) τοξεύει μελιγάρνας8 ὕμνους;

406 ἀλλ' ἄτοπον· ἐρωτες γὰρ ἐτὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων10 ἐπιστρέφονται, ψυχαῖς δ'11 ὀμιλοῦντες οὐκ εὐφυῶς οὐδ' ἐτοίμως πρὸς μουσικὴν ἐχούσας ἀναυλοὶ μὲν

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1 προτροπῆς Reiske: παρατροπῆς.
2 δεομένης Reiske: δεομένης.
4 Λακυλία of eight letters in the mss. before γῆρυν; Paton suggests ὀμιλοῦσος; perhaps ποιητὴν?
5 εἶπὼν Basel ed. of 1542: εἴπων.
6 ποιητὴν ἀρα "Ερως, κτλ. as in 762 B F.C.B. (δ' added by Valckenaer): "Ερως ποιητήν.
7 ἐνενόησεν Wytenbach: ἐνοῆσαν.
8 παιδείου . . . μελιγάρνας Pindar, Isthm. ii. 3: παιδίου . . . μελιγηρέας.
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.
\(^c\) Pindar, Isthmian Odes, ii. 3.
406) καὶ ἄλυροι λάλοι δ’ οὐδὲν ἤττον εἰσὶ καὶ διάπυροι τῶν παλαιῶν. ἔτι δ’ οὐδ’ ὅσιον εἶπεῖν ἡ καλὸν ὡς ἀνέραστος ἢν ἡ Ἀκαδήμεια καὶ ὁ Σωκράτους καὶ Πλάτωνος χορός, ἀν λόγους μὲν ἑρωτικοῖς ἐντυχεῖν ἔστι, ποιήματα δ’ οὐκ ἀπολελοίπασι. τί δ’ ἀπολείπει τοῦ λέγοντος ἑρωτικὴν μόνην γεγο-νέαι Σαπφῶ γυναικῶν ὁ μαντικὴν φάσκων μόνην3 γεγονέαι Σίβυλλαν καὶ Ἀριστοτίκαν καὶ ὃσαί

Β διὰ μέτρων ἐθεμίστευσαν;

ὁ μὲν γὰρ οἶνος (ὡς ἔλεγε Χαίρήμων) τοῖς τρόποις κεράννυται

τῶν πινόντων. ὁ δὲ μαντικὸς ἑνθουσιασμός, ὡσπερ ὁ ἑρωτικός, χρῆται τῇ ὑποκειμένῃ δυνάμει καὶ κινεῖ τῶν δεξαμένων ἐκαστον καθ’ ὁ πέφυκεν.

24. "Οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς προ-νοίας σκοποῦντες, ὀφόμεθα πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον γεγενη-μένην τὴν μεταβολὴν. ἀμοιβὴ γὰρ ἐοικε νομί-σματος ἢ τοῦ λόγου χρεία: καὶ δόκιμον καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ σύνθες ἔστι καὶ γνώριμον, ἀλλὰ ἐν ἄλλοις χρόνοις ἵσχυν λαμβάνοντος. ἢν οὖν ὅτε λόγου νομίσμασιν ἐχρῶντο μέτροις καὶ μέλεσι καὶ ωδαῖς,

C πᾶσαν μὲν ἱστορίαν καὶ φιλοσοφίαν πᾶν δὲ πάθος ὡς ἀπλῶς εἶπεῖν καὶ πράγμα σεμνοτέρας φωνῆς δεόμενον εἰς ποιητικὴν καὶ μουσικὴν ἄγοντες. οὐ

1 ἔτι δ’ Reiske; οἶεν Wytenbach: ὅτι.
2 ἀπολείπει Turneba: ἀπολείπεῖν.
3 ὁ . . . φάσκων μόνη 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.L.); 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 ὅλῳν μόλις ἐπαίδουσι, τότε δὲ πάντες ἢκροῦντο καὶ ἑξαίρουν ἁδομένοις

μηλοβόται τ' άροται τ' ὁρνιχολόχοι2 τε κατὰ Πίνδαρον. ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς ποιητικήν ἐπι-
τηδειότητος οἱ πλεῖστοι διὰ λύρας καὶ ὤδης ἐνου-
θέτουν ἐπαρρησιάζοντο παρεκκελεύοντο, μύθους καὶ
παρομίαις3 ἐπέραινον, ἐτι δ' ὑμνοὺς θεῶν εὐχὰς
παῖναις ἐν μέτροις ἐποιεῦντο καὶ μέλεσιν οἱ μὲν
δι' εὐφύταιν οἱ δὲ διὰ συνήθειαν. οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ
μαντικῆ4 κόσμου καὶ χάριτος ἐφθόνει ὁ θεὸς οὐδ'

D ἀπήλαυνεν ἐνθένδε την5 τιμωμένην μοῦσαν τοῦ
τρίτοδος, ἀλλ' ἐπήγετο μάλλον ἐγείρων6 τὰς ποιη-
tικὰς καὶ ἀσπαζόμενοι φύσεις, αὐτὸς τε φαντασίας
ἐνεδίδου καὶ συνεξώρμα τὸ σοβαρὸν καὶ λόγιον ὡς
ἀρμόττον καὶ θαυμαζόμενον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ βίου
μεταβολὴν ἄμα ταῖς τύχαις καὶ ταῖς φύσεις λαμ-
βάνοντο εξωθοῦσα τὸ περιττὸν ἡ χρεία κρωβύλους
τε χρυσοῦς ἀφήρει καὶ ξυστίδας μαλακὰς ἀπημφίαζε
καὶ ποὺ καὶ κόμης σοβαρωτέραν ἀπέκειρε καὶ
ὑπέλυσε κόδορον, οὐ φαύλως ἑθιζομένων ἀντι-
καλλωπίζεσθαι πρὸς τὴν πολυτέλειαν εὐτελεία καὶ
Ε τὸ ἄφελες καὶ λιτὸν ἐν κόσμῳ τίθεσθαι μᾶλλον ἦ

1 μηλοβόται τ' added by Xylander from Pindar or Moralia
2 ὁρνιχολόχοι Pindar, Isthm. i. 68: ὁρνιδολόγοι.
3 μύθους καὶ παρομίαις] μύθους καὶ παρομίαις Wyettenbach.
4 μαντικὴ Turnebus: μαντικῆ.
5 την added by Stegmann.
6 ἐγείρων] ἐτέρων Apelt.
7 καὶ added by Vulcobius.

a Isthmian Odes, i. 68: repeated more fully in Moralia, 473 a.
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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6 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.

Cf. Thucydides, i. 6.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

to σοβαρῶν καὶ περίεργων· οὕτω τοῦ λόγου τούτου, συμ-
μεταβάλλοντος ἁμα καὶ συναποδυομένου,1 κατέβη μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν μέτρων ὦσπερ ὀχυμάτων ἡ ἱστορία καὶ τῷ πεξῷ μάλιστα τοῦ μυθιστοῦ ἀπεκρίθη τὸ ἀληθὲς· φιλοσοφία δὲ τὸ σαφὲς καὶ διδασκαλικὸν ἀσπασμένη μᾶλλον ἃ τὸ ἐκπλήττον τὴν διὰ λόγων ἐποιεῖτο ἦτης· ἀπέπαυσε δὲ τὴν Πυθίαν ὁ θεός 'πυρικάους' μὲν ὀνομάζουσαν τοὺς αὐτῆς πολίτας, 'οἰκιοβόρους' δὲ τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας, ὤρεάνας' δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὀρεμπότας' δὲ τοὺς ποταμοῦς·

F ἀφελῶν δὲ τῶν χρησμῶν ἔτη καὶ γλώττας καὶ περιφράσεις καὶ ἀσάφειαν οὕτω διαλέγεσθαι παρ-

eskeiasa tois χρωμένους ὡς νόμοι τε πόλει

diαλέγονται καὶ βασιλεῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι δήμους καὶ μαθηταὶ διδασκάλων ἀκροώνται, πρὸς τὸ συνετὸν καὶ πιθανὸν ἄρμοζόμενος.

25. 'Εν γὰρ εἰδέναι χρῆ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς φησὶ Σοφοκλῆς,

σοφοῖς μὲν αἰνικτῆρα θεσφάτων ἂεί,
σκαίοις δὲ φαύλον κἀν βραχεὶ διδάσκαλον.

407 μετὰ δὲ τῆς σαφηνείας καὶ ἡ πίστις οὕτως ἐστρέ-
φετο συμμεταβάλλουσα τοῖς ἄλλοις πράγμασιν,

ὡστε πάλαι μὲν τὸ μὴ σύνθες μηδὲ κοινὸν ἄλλα

λογίων4 ἀτεχνῶς καὶ περιπεφρασμένον εἰς ὑπὸνοιν

θειότητος5 ἀνάγοντας ἐκπλήττεσθαι καὶ σέβεσθαι

touς πολλούς· ύστερον δὲ τὸ σαφῶς καὶ ῥαδίως ἐκαστα καὶ μὴ σὺν ὄγκω μηδὲ πλάσματι μανθάνειν

1 τοῦ λόγου Leonicus: τῶ λόγῳ.

2 συναποδυομένου| συναπολυομένου Bernardal is.

3 μαθηταί Leonicus: καθηγηταί.

4 ἀλλὰ λογίων Reiske: ἀλλ' ἀδοξίων.

5 θειότητος Wyttenbach: ὀσιότητος.

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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 χρήσμοις ποίησιν, ὦ μόνον ὡς ἀντιπράττουσαν τῇ νοῆσει πρὸς τὸ ἄληθὲς ἀσάφειάν τε καὶ σκιὰν τῷ φραζό-Β μένω μεγυνύουσαν, ἀλλ' ἦδη καὶ τὰς μεταφορὰς καὶ τὰ αἰνίγματα καὶ τὰς ἀμφιβολίας, ὥσπερ μυχοὺς καὶ καταφυγὰς ἐνδύεσθαι καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν τῷ πταίοντι πεποιημένας τῆς μαντικῆς, ύφισταντο. πολλῶν δ' ἦν ἀκούειν ὅτι ποιητικοὶ τινες ἀνδρεῖς ἐκδεχόμενοι τᾶς φωνᾶς καὶ υπολαμβάνοντες ἐπικάθηνται περὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ἔτη καὶ μέτρα καὶ ρυθμοὺς οἰδὼν ἄγγεια τοῖς χρήσμοις ἐκ τοῦ προστυχόντος περιπλέκοντες. Ὁνομάκρυτοι δ' ἐκεῖνοι καὶ Πρόδικοι καὶ Κυνάθωνες ὅσην αἰτίαν ἀνηνέγκαντο τῶν χρήσμῶν, ὡς τραγῳδίαν αὐτοῖς C καὶ ὄγκον οὐδὲν δεομένοις προσθέντες ἐὼ λέγειν οὐδὲ προσίμεια τὰς μεταβολὰς.

"Πλείστης μέντοι ποιητικὴν ἐνέπλησεν ἁδοξίας τὸ ἀγυρτίκον καὶ ἀγοραῖον καὶ περὶ τὰ μητρὶα καὶ Σαραπεία βωμολοχοὺς καὶ πλαγώμενον γένος, οἱ μὲν αὐτόθεν οἱ δὲ κατὰ κλῆρον ἐκ τῶν γραμματείων χρήσμοις περαιώντες οἰκέταις καὶ γυναικώς ὑπὸ τῶν μέτρων ἀγομένως μάλιστα καὶ τοῦ ποιητικοῦ τῶν ὀνομάτων. ὃθεν οὐχ ἢκοτα ποιητικὴ δοκοῦσα κουνή ἐμπαρέχειν ἐαυτὴν ἀπατεώσαι καὶ

1 ἀντιπράττουσαν] ἀντιφράττουσαν H. Jackson.
2 πεποιημένας Meziriacus: πεποιημένα.
3 ἐπικαθηνταί Emperius: ἐτί καθηνταί.
4 Πρόδικοι Botzon: προδόται.
5 Κυνάθωνες Botzon and Cobet: κινέσωνες.
6 ἀνηνέγκαντο F.C.B.: ἤνεγκαντο.
7 προσίμεια Wyttenbach: προσέιναι.
8 ποιητικὴς Turnebus: ποιητικῆς.
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) γοήσων ἀνθρώπους καὶ ψευδομάντεσσών ἐξέπεσε τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τοῦ τριπόδος.

26. "Οὐ τοῖνυν θαυμάσαμι ἂν, εἰ διπλῆς τινὸς ἐδει καὶ περιαγωγῆς καὶ ἀσαφείας ἔστω ὁτὲ D τοῖς παλαιοῖς. οὐ γὰρ ὁ δείνα μᾶ Δία κατέβαινε περὶ ἁνὴς ἀνδραπόδου χρησόμενος οὐδ’ ὁ δείνα περὶ ἐργασίας, ἀλλὰ πόλεις μέγα δυνάμεναι καὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ τύραννοι μέτριων οὐδὲν φρονοῦντες ἐνετύγχανον τῷ θεῷ περὶ πραγμάτων. οὐδ’ ἁνῖαν καὶ παροξύνειν ἀπεχθεῖα πολλὰ τῶν ἀβουλήτων ἀκούοντας οὐκ ἑλυσιτέλει τοῖς περὶ τὸ χρηστήριον. οὐ πείθεται γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τῷ Εὐριπίδῃ ὡσπερ νομοθετῶντι καὶ λέγοντι

Φοῖβων ἀνθρώπους μόνον χρήν θεοπωδεῖν.

χρώμενος δὲ θυτοῖς ὑπηρέταις καὶ προφήταις, ὡς E κηδεσθαι προσήκει καὶ φυλάττειν, ὅπως ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἀπολούνται ποιηρῶν θεῷ λατρεύοντες, ἀφινίζει καὶ σε ὁθέλει τὸ ἀληθές, παρατρέπων δὲ τὴν δήλωσιν αὐτοῦ καθάπερ αὐγήν ἐν τῇ ποιητικῇ πολλὰς ἀνακλάσεις λαμβάνουσαν καὶ πολλαχοὶ περισχυζομένην, ἀφήρει τὸ ἀντίτυπον αὐτοῦ καὶ σκηνῆν. ἦν δὲ ἄρ’ ἂς καλὸν τυράννους ἀγνοῆσαι καὶ πολεμίους μὴ προαιροθέσθαι. τούτως οὖν περι-

1 Paton assumed a lacuna after πραγμάτων which he filled elaborately. Schwartz suggested πολιτικῶν, Kronenberg ἄνουσιων, but μεγάλων would perhaps be better. Probably, however, the text is sound as it stands.

2 χρηστήριον Stephanus: δικαστήριον.

3 τῷ Εὐριπίδῃ ὡσπερ Wytttenbach: ὡσπερ τῷ Εὐριπίδῃ.

4 χρήν Euripides: χρή.

5 ἄρ’ ἂ Madvig: ἄρα.
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,

* Phoenissae, 958.

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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.
he put a cloak of intimations and ambiguities \(^a\) 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,\(^b\) 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\(^c\) 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.\(^d\) 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

\(^a\) As in Hesiod's *Works and Days*.
\(^b\) Cf. *Geographi Graeci Minores*, i. p. 236, Scymnus, no. 949; scholium on Apollonius Rhodius, ii. 351.
\(^c\) 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· εἴθ’ ἦκε δεύτερον ποτνιώμενος. ὑπειπών
οὖν ὁ θεός,

αἱ τῷ ἑμεῖς Λιβύαν' μαλατρόφον οἴθασα ἄρειν;²
μὴ ἐλθὼν ἐλθόντος, ἀγαν ἀγαμαὶ σοφίην σεῦ·

οὖτω πάλιν αὐτὸν ἐξέπεμψε.

"Λύσανδρος δὲ καὶ παντάπασιν ἀγνοῆσας τὸν
'Ορχαλίδην' λόφον καὶ 'Αλώπεκον' προσαγορευό-
μενον καὶ τὸν 'Οπλίτην ποταμὸν

γῆς τε ὁδάκονθ'² ϊών δόλιον κατόπισθεν ἱόντα,

Β μάχη κρατηθεῖς ἐπέσεν ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἐκείνους ὑπὸ
Νεοχώρου 'Αλιαρτίου' ἄνδρος ἀστίδα φοροῦντος
ἐπίσημον ὥςν ἔχουσαν. ἄλλα δὲ τοιαύτα πολλὰ
dυσκάθεκτα καὶ δυσμνημόνευτα τῶν παλαιῶν
διεξιέναι πρὸς ύμᾶς εἰδότας οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἔστων.

28. "Τὰ δὲ νῦν πράγματα καθεστώτα, περὶ δὲν
ἐρωτῶσι τὸν θεόν, ἀγαπῶ μὲν ἔγωγε καὶ ἀσπάζο-
μαι. πολλῆ γὰρ εἰρήνη καὶ ἱσυχία, πέπαυται δὲ
πόλεμος, καὶ πλάναι καὶ στάσεις οὐκ εἰσὶν οὐδὲ

C τυραννίδες οὐδ' ἄλλα νοσήματα καὶ κακὰ τῆς
'Ελλάδος ὀσπερ πολυφαρμάκων δυνάμεων χρή-
ζοντα καὶ περιττῶν. ὅπου δὲ ποικίλον οὐδὲν οὐδ'
ἀπόρρητον οὐδὲ δεινόν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πράγμασι μικροῖς
καὶ δημοτικοῖς ἐρωτήσεις οἰον ἐν σχολῇ προτάσεις,
' εἰ γαμητέον, ' εἰ πλευστέον, ' εἰ δανειστέον, τὰ

1 αἳ τῷ ἑμεῖς Λιβύαν Wytttenbach from Herodotus, iv. 157: μελημένοι preceded by a lacuna of eight or nine letters.
2 Λιβύαν μπλατρόφον οἴδας ἄμενον Herodotus.
3 'Ορχαλίδην from the Life of Lysander, chap. xxix.: ἀρχε-
λίδην.
4 'Αλώπεκον ibid.: ἄλωπηκον.
5 ὁδάκοντ' Stephanus: ὁδάκοντα.
in sore distress. And the god made answer to him a:

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 b 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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a The same lines are found in Herodotus, iv. 157.

b Life of Lysander, chap. xxix. (450 b-c).

6 ἰπὸ Νεοχώρου Ἀλαρτίου Reiske, from the Life of Lysander: ἰφ' ὄν ὁ χώρος Ἀλαρτίου.
408) δὲ μέγιστα πόλεων μαντεύματα φορὰς καρπῶν πέρι καὶ βοτῶν ἐπιγονῆς καὶ σωμάτων ύγιείας, ἐνταῦθα περιβάλλει μέτρα καὶ πλάττειν περιφράσεις καὶ γλώττας ἐπάγειν πύσμασιν ἀπλῆς καὶ συντόμου δεομένου ἀποκρίσεως, ἐργον ἐστὶ φιλοτήμου σοφιστοῦ καλλωπίζοντος ἐπὶ δόξῃ χρηστήριον. ἦ δὲ Πυθία καὶ καθ' αὐτὴν μὲν ἐστὶ γενναία τὸ ἦθος, ὅταν δ' ἐκεῖ κατέλθῃ καὶ γένηται παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, πλέον τὸ καθήκον πληροῦν ἡ ἐκείνης μέλει δόξης καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐπαινοῦσιν ἡ ψευγόντων.

29. "Εδει δ' ἵσως καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐχεῖν οὕτως. νῦν δ' ὀστερ ἀγωνιώντες καὶ δεδομένης, μὴ τρισχυλῶν χρηστήριον καθάπερ σοφιστοῦ διατριβῆς ἀποφοιτήσωσιν ἐνιοί καταφρονήσαντες, ἀπολογούμεθα καὶ πλάττομεν αἰτίας καὶ λόγους ύπερ ὅν οὐτ' ἵσωμεν οὐτ' εἰδέναι προσήκον ἡμῶν ἐστιν, παραμυθούμενο τον ἑγκαλοῦντα καὶ πείθοντες, οὐ χαίρειν ἑώντες.

αὐτῷ γὰρ οἱ πρῶτοι ἀνιπρέστερον ἐσται

Ε τοιαύτην ἐχοντι περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξαν, ὡστε ταυτὶ μὲν τὰ προγεγραμμένα τῶν σοφῶν τὸ ' γνώθι σαυτόν' καὶ τὸ ' μηδὲν ἄγαν' ἀποδείκνυσι καὶ θαυμάζων ὅχι ἡκιστα διὰ τὴν βραχυλογίαν ὡς πυκνὸν καὶ σφυρῆλατον νοῦν ἐν ὀλίγῳ περιέχουσαν ὅγκων,

1 τὸ καθήκον πληροῦν F.C.B. (ἀληθείας Turnebeus) to fill a lacuna in the mss. 2 ἐκείνης F.C.B.: ἐκείνη.

3 τρισχυλῶν Leonicus: τρισχισμόν.
4 γὰρ] μὲν Homer.
5 ἀνιπρέστερον Homer, Od. ii. 190: ἀνιπρότερον.

a 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, a

if the opinion which he holds about the god is such that he can accept and admire the maxims b 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-

b Cf. Moralia, 164 b, 385 d, 511 a.
τοὺς δὲ χρησμοὺς ὃτι συντόμως καὶ ἀπλῶς καὶ δι᾽ εὐθείας τὰ πλείστα φράζουσιν αὐτιάσθαι. καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μὲν ἀποφθέγματα τῶν σοφῶν ταῦτό τοῖς εἰς στενὸν συνθλίβεισι πέπονθε δεύμασιν. οὐ γὰρ ἔχει τοῦ νοῦ δίοψιν οὐδὲ διανύγειαν, ἀλλ’ ἐὰν σκοπῆς τί γέγραπται καὶ λέξεται περὶ αὐτῶν τοῖς ὕπως ἕκαστον ἔχει βουλομένους καταμαθεῖν, οὐ μᾶλλον

F τούτων λόγως ἐτέρους εὐρήσεις μακροτέρους. ἢ δὲ τῆς Πυθίας διάλεκτος, ὥσπερ οἱ μαθηματικοὶ γραμμὴν εὐθείαν καλοῦσι τὴν ἐλαχίστην τῶν τὰ αὐτὰ πέρατ’ ἐχοὺσῶν, οὕτως οὐ ποιοῦσα καμπὴν οὐδὲ κύκλων οὐδὲ διπλῆν οὐδ’ ἀμφίβολαν ἀλλ’ εὐθεία πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν οὖσα πρὸς δὲ πιστῶν ἐπισφαλῆς καὶ ὑπεύθυνος οὐδένα καθ’ αὐτὴς ἔλεγχον ἄχρι νῦν παραδέδωκεν, ἀναθρημάτων δὲ καὶ δόρων

409 ἐμπέπληκε βαρβαρικῶς καὶ Ἑλληνικῶς τὸ χρηστήριον, οἰκοδομημάτων δ’ ἐπικεκόσμηκε κάλλεσι καὶ κατασκευαῖς Ἀμφικτυονικαῖς. ὥσπερ δὴ ποιοῦσα αὐτοὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐπεκτισμένα τῶν πρῶτον ὅπερ δινων, πολλὰ δ’ ἀνειλημμένα τῶν συγκεχυμένων καὶ διεφθαρμένων, ὥσπερ δὲ τοῖς εὐθαλέσι τῶν δεόντων ἔτερα παραβλαστάνει, καὶ τοῖς Δελφοῖς ἡ Πυλαία συνηβα καὶ συναναβόσκεται, διὰ τὰς ἐντεθὲν εὐπορίας σχῆμα λαμβάνουσα καὶ μορφὴν καὶ κόσμον ἑρῶν καὶ συνεδρίων καὶ ὑδάτων οἶον ἔν χυλίοις

Β ἔτεσι τοῖς πρῶτον ὅπερ ἔλαβεν.

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1 διανύγειαν 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 κεκαλλώττυκε Paton; δ’ ἐκαλλώττυκε 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.
“Οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸ Γαλάξιον τῆς Βουλιάς κατοικοῦντες ἰδόθοντο τοῦ θεοῦ τῆν ἐπιφάνειαν ἀφθονία καὶ περιουσία γάλακτος:

προβάτων¹ γὰρ ἐκ πάντων κελάρυζεν, ὡς ἀπὸ κρηνὰν² φέρτατον ὕδωρ, θαλέων³ γάλα· τὸι δ’ ἐπίμπλαν⁴ ἐσούμενοι πίθους· ἀσκὸς δ’ οὔτε τις ἀμφορεὺς ἔλινυε⁵ δόμοις, πέλλαι δὲ ξύλων τε⁶ πίθοι τε⁷ πλάσθεν⁸ ἀπαντες. ήμῶν δὲ λαμπρότερα καὶ κρείττονα καὶ σαφέστερα σημεῖα τούτων ἀναδίδωσιν, ὥσπερ εἴς αὐχμοῦ τῆς πρόσθεν ἔρημιάς καὶ πενίας εὐπορίαν καὶ λαμπρότητα καὶ τμήν πεποιηκώς. καίτοι φιλῶ μὲν Ο ἐμαυτὸν ἐφ’ οἶς ἐγενόμην εἰς τὰ πράγματα ταῦτα πρόθυμος καὶ χρήσιμος μετά Πολυκράτους καὶ Πετραίου, φιλῶ δὲ τὸν καθηγεμόνα ταύτης τῆς πολιτείας γενόμενον ήμῶν καὶ τὰ πλείστα τούτων ἐκφροντίζοντα καὶ παρασκευάζοντα • • • ἄλλ’ οὐκ ἐστιν ἄλλως ποτε⁹ τηλικαύτην καὶ τοσαύτην μεταβολὴν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ γενέσθαι δι’ ἀνθρωπίνης ἐπιμελείας, μὴ θεοῦ παρόντος ἐνταῦθα καὶ συνεπιθείαζοντος τὸ χρηστήριον.

30. “Ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς τότε χρόνοις ἦσαν οἱ τῆς λοξότητα τῶν χρησμῶν καὶ ἀσάφειαν αἰτιῶμεν, καὶ νῦν εἰσίν οἱ τὸ λιαν ἀπλοῦν οὐκοφαντοῦν-

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1 προβάτων Leonicus: προπάντων.
2 κρηνὰν Bergk: κρηναν.
4 ἐπίμπλαν F.C.B.: ἐπίμπλων.
5 ἔλινυε Bergk: ἔλινυε.
6 ξύλων Wilamowitz-Möllendorff: ξύλωι.
7 τε added by Bergk before πίθοι.
8 πλάσθεν Bergk: πλήσθεν.
9 ποτε Michael; ἐτι Wyttenbach: ὅτι.
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.
(409) τες. ὧν παιδικὸν¹ ἐστὶ κομιδὴ καὶ ἀβέλτερον τὸ πάθος· καὶ γὰρ οἱ παῖδες ἱρίδας μᾶλλον καὶ ἄλως καὶ κομήτας ἡ σελήνη καὶ ἡλιον ὁρῶντες γεγήθασιν τὰ ἀγαπώσι, καὶ οὕτωι τὰ αὐνίγματα καὶ τὰς ἀλληγορίας καὶ τὰς μεταφορὰς τῆς μαντικῆς, ἀνακλάσεις οὕσας πρὸς τὸ θυητὸν καὶ φανταστικῶν, ἐπιστοθοῦσιν· καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν μὴ ἵκανῶς πῶθωνται τῆς μεταβολῆς, ἀπίσσα τοῦ θεοῦ καταγνώντες, οὐχ ἡμῶν οὖν αὐτῶν τῶν ἁγνῶν ὄντων ἐξικνείσθαι τῷ λογισμῷ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ διάνοιαν."  

¹ παιδικὸν Wytenbach: καὶ ἄδικον.
² καὶ τὰς μεταφορὰς Leonicus: τῆς μεταφορᾶς.
³ αὐτῶν Bernardakis: αὐτῶν.
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)
INTRODUCTION

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
THE OBSOLESCENCE OF ORACLES

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 ΕΚΛΕΛΟΙΠΟΤΩΝ ΧΡΗΣΤΗΡΙΩΝ

ΤΑ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ ΤΟΤ ΔΙАΛΟΓΟΤ

ΛΑΜΠΡΙΑΣ, ΚΛΕΟΜΒΡΟΤΟΣ, ΔΙΑΤΜΟΣ, ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ,
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ, ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΣ, ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΝ

Ε 1. 'Αετοὺς τινας ἢ κύκνους, ὦ Τερέντιε Πρίσκε, μυθολογοῦσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον φερομένους εἰς ταὐτὸ συμπεσεῖν Πυθοῖ
F περὶ τὸν καλοῦμενον ὀμφαλὸν· ύστερον δὲ χρόνῳ τὸν Φαίστιον Ἐπιμενίδην ἔλεγχοντα τὸν μύθον ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ λαβόντα χρησμὸν ἀσαφῆ καὶ ἀμφί-
βολον εἰπεῖν

οὔτε γὰρ ἢν γαῖης¹ μέσος ὀμφαλὸς οὐδὲ θαλάσσης·
eί δὲ τις ἔστι, θεοῖς δῆλος θητοῦσι δ' ἀφαντος.

ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὖν εἰκότως ὁ θεὸς ἡμύνατο μύθον
410 παλαίον καθάπερ ζωγραφήματος ἀφῇ διαπειρῶ-
μενον. (2.) ὁλίγον δὲ πρὸ Πυθλῶν τῶν ἐπὶ
Καλλιστράτου καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων τῆς
οἰκουμένης περάτων ἔτυχον ἁνδρεῖς ἱεροὶ δύο συνδρα-

¹ ΤΑ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ... ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΝ not in the mss.
² γαῖης Xylander: γῆς.
THE OBSOLESCENCE OF ORACLES

(The persons taking part in the conversation are: Lam-prias, Demetrius, Cleombrotus, Ammonius, Philip, Didy-mus, 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 Δελφοῦς, Δημήτριος μὲν ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐκ Βρεττανίας εἰς Ταρσοῦ ἀνακομιδόμενος οἴκαδε, Κλεόμβροτος δ' ὁ Λακεδαίμων, πολλὰ μὲν ἐν Ἀἰγύπτῳ καὶ περὶ τὴν Τρωγλοδυτικὴν γῆν πε- πλανημένος, πόρρω δὲ τῆς 'Ερυθρᾶς θαλάττης ἀναπεπλευκὼς οὐ κατ' ἐμπορίαν, ἀλλ' ἀνήρ φιλο- θεάμων ὄν1 καὶ φιλομαθὴς2 οὐσίαν δ' ἔχων ἰκανὴν καὶ τὸ πλείονα τῶν, ἰκανῶν ἔχειν οὐκ ἄξιον πολλοῦ

Β ποιοῦμενος ἐξρήτῳ τῇ σχολῇ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ συνήγειν ἱστορίαν οἷον ὀλίγην φιλοσοφίας θεολογίαν ὁσπερ αὐτὸς ἐκάλει τέλος ἐχοῦσης. νεωστὶ δὲ γε- γονὼς παρ' Ἀμμωνα, τὰ μὲν ἅλλα τῶν ἐκεὶ δῆλος ἢ μὴ πάνω τεθαυμακόως, περὶ δὲ τοῦ λύχνου τοῦ ἀσβέστου διηγείτο λόγον ἄξιον ὑποδῆς λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερεῶν. ἂεί γὰρ ἑλάττων ἀναλίσκειν ἑλαιον ἔτους ἐκάστου, καὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖσθαι τεκμήριον ἐκεί- νους τῆς τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν ἀνωμαλίας, τὸν ἑτερον3 τοῦ προάγοντος ἂεὶ τῷ χρόνῳ βραχύτερον ποιοῦσης· εἰκὸς γὰρ ἐν ἑλάττων χρόνω τὸ δαπανώμενον ἑλάττων εἶναι.

C 3. Θαυμασάντων δὲ τῶν παρόντων, τοῦ δὲ Δη- μήτριον καὶ γελοίον φήσαντο εἶναι ἀπὸ μικρῶν πραγμάτων οὔτω μεγάλα θηρᾶν, οὐ κατ' Ἀλκαίων "ἐξ ὀνυχος τὸν λέοντα" γράφοντας, ἀλλὰ θρυαλ- λίδι καὶ λύχνῳ τῶν οὐρανῶν ὀμοῦ καὶ τὰ4 σύμπαντα μεθιστάντας καὶ τὴν μαθηματικὴν ἀρδην ἀν- αιροῦντας.

1 ὁν added by H. Richards.
2 φιλομαθής an early correction: φιλοφανής.
3 ἑτερον] ὑστερον Turnebus. 4 καὶ τὰ] τι in most mss.

Cf. Inscript. Graec. xiv. no. 2548 θεοὶ τοίς τοῦ ἄγεμονι- κοῦ Πραιτωρίου Σκριβ〈ώνιος〉 (others σκρίβα) Δημήτριος and 352
Demetrius a 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 b 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.


'O Kleóμβροτος, "οὐδέτερον," ἐφη, "τούτων διαταράξει τοὺς ἄνδρας· ἀλλὰ τοὺς μαθηματικοὺς οὐχ υφήγονται τῆς ἀκριβείας, ὥς μάλλον ἂν ἐκεῖνος διαφυγόντα τὸν χρόνον ἐν κινήσει καὶ περιόδοις οὕτω μακρὰν ἀφεστώσαις ἢ τὸ μέτρον αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἑλαίου προσέχοντας ἂεὶ διὰ τὴν ἀτοπίαν τῷ

D παραλόγῳ καὶ παραφυλάττοντας. τὸ δὲ μικρὰ μὴ διδόναι σημεία γίγνεσθαι μεγάλων, ὥς Δημήτριε, πολλαῖς ἐστὶ τέχναις ἐμποδῶν, ἐπεὶ καὶ πολλῶν μὲν ἀποδείκνυτε πράγμα, λεαινεσθαι ξυρῷ τὰ σωματα τοὺς ἡρωας, ἐντυχόντες παρ' 'Ομήρῳ ξυρὸν ὅνομάσαντι· καὶ δανείζεν ἐπὶ τόκοις, ὅτι τὸν 'χρέος ὁφέλλεσθαι,' φησίν, 'οὕτων νέον οὐδ' ὅλιγον,' ὡς τοῦ ὁφέλλεσθαι τὸ αὑξεσθαι δηλοῦντος. αὖθις δὲ τὴν νυκτὰ 'θοὴν' εἰπόντος, ἀγαπητῶς ἐμφύεσθε τῷ ῥήματι· καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνο φατε, φράζεσθαι τὴν σκιὰν

Ε τῆς γῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κωνικῆν, οὕτων ἀπὸ σφαιροειδοὺς. ἰατρικῇ δὲ λοιμῶδες θέρος ἀραχνῶν πλήθει προδηλοῦν, καὶ θρίους ἐαρυνοῖς ὅταν κορώνης ποσίν εἰκελα γένηται, τίς εάσει τῶν αξιούντων μικρὰ σημεία μὴ γίγνεσθαι τῶν μεγάλων; τίς δ' ἀνέξεται

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1 οὐδέτερον] οὐδὲν in most mss.
2 ἀποδείκνυτε Meziriacus: ἀποδείκνυται.
3 παρ' Madvig: γάρ.
4 ὁφέλλεσθαι Homer, Od. iii. 367: συμβάλλεσθαι.
5 ibid.: ὁφέλεσθαι.
6 ἐμφύεσθε] ἐμφύεσθαι most mss.

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a Π. x. 173. b Od. iii. 367-368.
"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 θόος may mean "conical" may be found in the Life and Poetry of Homer, 21 (Bernardakis's edition, vol. vii. p. 347).
πρὸς χοῦν καὶ κοτύλην ὕδατος τὸ τοῦ ἕλιου μέγεθος μετρούμενον, ἥ τῆς ἐνταῦθα πλωθίδος ἤν ποιεῖ γωνίαι θεῖαι κεκλιμένη πρὸς τὸ ἐπίπεδον μέτρων εἶναι λεγομένη τοῦ ἕξάρματος δὲ ἐξήρτα τῶν πόλων ὁ ἀεὶ φανερὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀρίζοντος; ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν ἀκούει τῶν έκεῖ προφητῶν, ὡστ' ἀλλο τι λεγέ.

Φσῶ 1 πρὸς αὐτούς, εἰ βουλόμεθα τῷ ἕλιῳ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τῆν νεομισμένην τάξιν ἀπαράβατον ποιῆσαι. 2

4. Παρὰν οὖν ἀνεφώνησεν Ἀμμάνιος ὁ φιλό-

σοφὸς "οὐ τῷ ἕλιῳ μόνον," εἰπεν, 3 "ἀλλὰ τῶ νοῦ ὑπαραγωγή παντὶ. συντήλεσθαι γὰρ ἀνάγκη τὴν ἀπὸ τροπω 411 ἐπὶ τροπάς πάροδον αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ διαμένειν τη-

λικοῦτο μέρος οὐσαν τοῦ ὀρίζοντος ἥλικον οἱ μαθη-

ματικοὶ λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐλάττων γίγνεσθαι, ἂεὶ πρὸς τὰ βόρεια τῶν νοτίων συναγωγῆς λαμβανό-

των, καὶ τὸ θέρος ἡμῶν βραχύτερον καὶ ψυχρότερον 5 εἶναι τὴν κράσιν, ἐνδοτέρω κάμπτοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ μειόνων 6 παραλλήλων ἐφαπτομένου τοῖς τροπικοῖς σμηνείοις. εἲ τε τὸς μὲν ἐν Συήνῃ γνώμονας ἄσκιοις μηκέτι φαίνεσθαι περὶ τροπᾶς θερμάς πολ-

λουσ δὲ ὑποδεδραμεκέναι τῶν ἀπλανῶν ἀστέρων, ἐνίοσ ἐν ψαῦειν καὶ συγκεχύσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, 

Β τοῦ διαστήματος ἐκλεονίπτοτος. εἰ δ' αὐ φήσουι 

τῶν ἄλλων ὡμοίως ἑχόντων ἀτακτεῖν ταῖς κινήσεσι

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1 legέσθα F.C.B.: λεγόντων; others keep λεγόντων and read ὁ οἱ βουλόμενοι.
2 ποιῆσαι] τοποῦσι in most mss.
3 εἰπεν Xylander: εἰπείν.
4 ἂεὶ del. Stegmann.
5 ψυχρότερον] ψυχρότεραν in all mss. but one.

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1 Syenē 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 Syéné, 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) τον ήλιον, οὔτε την μόνον τοῦτον ἐκ τοσοῦτων ἐπι-
ταχύνουσαν αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν ἔξουσι καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν
φαινομένων συνταράξουσι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς σελήνην καὶ
παντάπασιν, ὡστε μὴ δείσθαι μέτρων ἐλαιόν τὴν
dιαφορὰν ἐλεγχόντων. αἱ γὰρ ἐκλείψεις ἐλέγξουσιν
αὐτοῦ τε τῇ σελήνῃ πλεονάκις ἐπιβάλλοντος καὶ τῆς
σελήνης γῇ σκιάν². τὰ δ᾿ ἄλλα δῆλα³ καὶ οὐδὲν δεὶ
περαιτέρω τὴν ἀλαζονείαν τοῦ λόγου διελύσσων·

"Αλλὰ μὴν," ὁ Κλεόμβροτος ἔφη, "καὶ τὸ
μέτρον αὐτὸς εἶδον τὸλλὰ γὰρ ἐδείκνυσαν. τὸ δ᾿
ἐπέτειον ἀπέδει τῶν παλαιοτάτων οὐκ ὀλίγον."
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,\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{a}
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 jeopardy men, then to say that the word is not found in Eusebius (Praep. Ev. v. 17) only.

5. Aei dai, "malleon," éfyn égwy, "peri tov manteiouv dieleb thymyn, ò E Kleombròte: megály gár h palaià doxa tis ékei theiotyto, tâ de nyn eoukev upomaraínnebhai.

Toû de Kleombròtou swopwntos kai kata blêpontos, ò Dymétrios, "oudeun," éfyn, "dei peri twn ékei puthánebhai kai diaropéwn twn entaidh twn xerosthriov amauropwv malleon de plhn évos ò dun ov apántwv ekleiwv órwntas, òlall ékeiuv skoptev, òi òn aitíav outrwv éxósthenteke. tâ gár allal ti dei légenw, òptou gev twn Bouwtpian eneka xerosthriovn F polufwvnuv oudan ev tois protéron chrónoun vwn epitlèlitpe koomidé katháper námata, kai polus épésschke mantikiw wuxhmos twn xóran; ouvadmou gar allachóti vyn ò peri³ Lebádeian⁴ ò Bouwtpia parèxei tois xerh¿ouwv árúsaxebhai mantikísws, tów ò allwv 412 tâ mév synh tâ de panteleías érhmia katèçhke. kai ton ge peri tâ Mhdikà polla⁶ mév evdokímhe, tò de Πτήwv ouv Íttov ò tò tòv 'Amphiárwv⁸.

1 eï dei Meziriacus: òdei.
2 gev is found in Eusebius (Praep. Ev. v. 17) only.
3 peri in Eusebius only.
4 Lebádeian] lebâdia in most mss.
5 ò Basel ed. of 1542: ò.
6 polla added by F.C.B. to fill a lacuna.
7 tò de Πτήwv first suggested by Wyttenbach (in the gen. case).
8 'Amphiárw Wyttenbach: ámphiárwes.
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. \(^1\) ὁ μὲν
οὖν τοῦ μαντείου προφήτης φωνῇ Αιωλίδι χρώμενος
τὸ πρὶν, \(^2\) τότε \(^3\) προστάς \(^4\) τῶν βαρβάρων χρήσμον\(^5\)
ἐξήνεγκεν, ὡστε μηδένα ξυνεῖναι ἄλλον \(^6\) τῶν παρ-
όντων ἄλλα μόνον' ἐκεῖνον, ὡς δὴ λοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ
ἐνθουσιασµοῦ τοῦ προφήτου ὁτι \(^7\) τοὺς βαρβάρους
οὐκ ἐστιν οὐδέποτε \(^10\) φωνὴν Ἐλληνίδα λαβέιν τὸ
προστατόµενον ὑπηρετοῦσαν.

"Ο δὲ πεµφθεὶς εἰς Ἀµµιάρεως δούλος \(^11\) ἔδοξε
κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς ὑπηρέτην τοῦ θεοῦ φανέντα
πρῶτον μὲν ἀπὸ φωνῆς ἐκβάλλειν αὐτὸν ὡς τοῦ
θεοῦ μὴ παρόντος, \(^12\) ἐπειτα ταῖς χερσιν ὑθεῖν. ἐπι-
Β μένοντος δὲ λίθων εὑµεγέθη λαβόντα τὴν κεφαλὴν
πατάξαι. ταῦτα δ' ἦν ὡσπερ ἀντίφωνα τῶν γενη-
σοµένων: ἥττηθα γὰρ ὁ Μαρδόνιος, οὐ βασιλέως
ἀλλ' ἐπιτρόπου καὶ διακόνου βασιλέως ἡγουµένου
τῶν Ἐλλήνων, καὶ λίθῳ πληγείς ἐπεσεν, ὡσπερ οanism
Λυδὸς ἐδοξε πληγήναι κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς.

""Ἡκµαῖε δὲ τότε καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς Τεγύρας
χρηστήριον, ὅπου καὶ γενέσθαι τὸν θεὸν ἑστοροῦσι,

\(^1\) 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 τῷ (Madvig puts τότε τῇ later in
the sentence).
\(^4\) προστάς F.C.B.: πρὸς τοὺς.
\(^5\) χρήσμον Basel ed. of 1542: χρήσιµον.
\(^6\) ἄλλον F.C.B.; ἀστῶν Wytenbach: ἀγίων.
\(^7\) ἄλλα μόνον Schwartz: ὑπὸ preceded by a lacuna.
\(^8\) δὴ λοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ F.C.B. to fill a lacuna.
\(^9\) τοῦ προφήτου δὲ F.C.B.: τῇ preceded by a lacuna.
\(^10\) οὐδέποτε Schwartz: οὐ δέσσαι.
\(^11\) δοῦλος] Λυδὸs Wytenbach from the Life of Aristeides,
chap. xix.
\(^12\) παρόντος] παριέντος Reiske.

\(^a\) The mss. show several lacunae and corruptions here;
trial of both. 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.

"The minion who was sent to the oracle of Amphiaräüs had, in his sleep 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; 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 δυόν παραρρεύων τοῦ μὲν Φώικα
θάτερον δ' Ἐλαίαν ἀχρί νῦν οἱ ἐνοικοὶ λέγουσιν.
ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς Μηδικοῖς Ἐχεκράτους προφητεύον-
tos ἀνειλε νύκην καὶ κράτος πολέμου τοῖς Ἐλλήσιν
C οὐθεός· ἐν δὲ τῷ Πελοποννησιακῷ πολέμῳ Δηλίως
ἐκπεσοῦσι τῆς νήσου φασὶ χρησμὸν ἐκ Δελφῶν
κομισθήσατα προστάττοντα τὸν τόπον ἀνευρεῖν ἐν ὁ
γέγονεν ὁ Ἀπόλλων, καὶ θυσίας τινὰς ἐκεῖ τελέσαι.
θαυμαζόντων δὲ καὶ διαποροῦντων εἶ μὴ παρ' αὐτοῖς
ὁ θεὸς ἀλλ' ἐτέρωθι γεγονόι, τὴν Πυθίαν
προσανελείν ὡτὶ κορώνη φράσει τὸ χωρίον αὐτοῖς.
ἀπιόντας οὖν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ γενέσθαι, καὶ τῆς παν-
dοκευτρίας ἀκούσας πρὸς τινὰς ξένους βαδίζοντας
eis Τεγύρας περὶ του χρηστηρίου διαλεγομένης.
tῶν δὲ ξένων, ὡς ἀπήσαν, ἀσπαζομένων καὶ προσ-
αγορεύοντων τὴν ἀνθρωπον, ὅπερ ὕπομάζετο,
D Κορώνην, τοῦ λόγιον, καὶ θύσαντας ἐν ταῖς
Τεγύραῖς τυχεῖν καθόδου μετ' ὅλιγον χρόνον.
γέγονας δὲ καὶ νεώτεραι τούτων ἐπιφάνειας περὶ
tὰ μαντεῖα ταῦτα, νῦν δ' ἐκλέλοιπεν· ὥστε τὴν
αὐτίαν ἄξιον εἶναι παρὰ τῷ Πυθίῳ διαπορήσαι τῆς
μεταβολῆς.’’

6. “Ἡδὴ δὲ πως ἀπὸ τοῦ νεῶ προϊόντες ἐπὶ
tαις θύραις τῆς Κνιδών λέσχης ἐγεγόνειμεν· παρ-
elθόντες οὖν εἰσώ, τοὺς φίλους πρὸς οὗς ἐβαδί-
ζομεν ἐωρῶμεν καθημένους καὶ περιμένοντας ἡμᾶς·

1 οἱ ἐνοικοὶ F.C.B.; Ὄρχομένιοι Paton: ὃς ἐνοὶ preceded
by a short lacuna.
2 ὅπερ . . . Κορώνην] ἦτες . . . 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

*c In the north-east corner of the sacred precinct. The foundations may still be seen.
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ην δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἡσυχία διὰ τὴν ὄραν ἀλειφο-
μένων ἡ θεωμένων τοὺς ἄθλητας. καὶ ὁ Δημήτριος
dιαμειδιάσας, ""ψεύσομαι,"" εἶπεν, ""η ἐτυμον
ἐρέω"; δοκεῖτέ μοι μηδέν ἀξιον σκέμμα διὰ χειρῶν
Ε ἔχειν: ὅρω γάρ ὑμᾶς ἀνειμένων σφόδρα καθημένους
καὶ διακεχυμένους τοῖς προσώποις.

Ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Μεγαρεύς Ἦρακλέων, ""οὐ γὰρ
ζητούμεν,"" ἔφη, ""τὸ βάλλω ῥήμα πότερον τῶν δύο
tὸ ἐν λάμβδα κατὰ τὸν μέλλοντα χρόνον ἀπόλλυσιν,
οὔτ' ἀπὸ τίνων ἀπλῶν ὀνομάτων τὸ χείρον καὶ τὸ
βέλτιον καὶ τὸ χείριστον καὶ τὸ βέλτιστον ἐσχη-
μάτοσαι. ταῦτα γὰρ ἵσως καὶ τὰ τοιοῦτα συν-
teineι καὶ συνίστησι τὸ πρόσωπον. τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ἔξεστι
τάς ὀφρύς κατὰ χώραν ἐχοντας 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 προσπέπτωκεν ἡμῶν
οἰκεῖος ὅν τοῦ τόπου καὶ διὰ τὸν θεόν ἄπασι
προσήκων· καὶ ὅπως οὐ συνάξετε τάς ὀφρύς ἐπι-
χειροῦντες."

7. Ὡς οὖν ἀνεμείκηθημεν διακαθεξόμενοι καὶ
413 προέβαλεν εἰς μέσον ὁ Δημήτριος τὸν λόγον, εὐθὺς
ἀναπηδήσας ὁ κυνικὸς Δίδυμος, ἐπικλήσεις Πλανη-
tιάδης, καὶ τῇ βακτηρίᾳ δίς ἡ τρὶς πατάξας ἀν-
εβόησεν, ""ιοῦ νιοῦ, δύσκριτον πράγμα καὶ ξητήσεως
δεόμενον πολλῆς ἦκετε κομίζοντες ἡμῖν. θαυμα-
στὸν γὰρ ἐστιν, εἰ τοσαύτης κακίας ὑποκεχυμένης μὴ
μόνον, ὃς προείπεν Ἡσίοδος, Ἀἰδώς καὶ Νέμεες
τὸν ἄνθρώπινον βίον ἀπολελοίπασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρό-

a Homer, Od. iv. 140. b Present βάλλω, future βαλω. c Works and Days, 199.
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 lambdas 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 θεών συσκευασμένη τὰ χρηστήρια πανταχόθεν οἷχεται. τοῦναντίον δ' ὡμίν ἐγὼ προβάλλω διαπορήσαι πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ τόδ' ἀπειρήκεν οὐδ' Ἡρακλῆς αὕτης ἥ τις ἀλλὸς θεῶν ὑπέστηκε τὸν τρίποδα.

Β καταπιπλάμενον αἰσχρῶν καὶ ἀθέων ἐρωτημάτων, ἃ τῷ θεῷ προβάλλουσιν οἱ μὲν ὡς σοφιστοῦ διάπειραν λαμβάνοντες οἱ δὲ περὶ θησαυρῶν ἡ κληρονομιῶν ἡ γάμων παρανόμων διερωτώντες· ὥστε κατὰ κράτος ἐξελέγχεσθαι τὸν Πυθαγόραν εἰπόντα βελτίστους εαυτῶν γίγνεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὅταν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς βαδίζοντι οὕτως ἄρ' ἂρ' καλῶς εἴχεν ἀνθρώπου πρεσβυτέρου παρόντος ἀρνεῖσθαι καὶ ἀποκρύπτειν νοσήματα τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ πάθη, ταῦτα γυμνὰ καὶ περιφανῆ κομίζοντων ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν.

'Ετι δ' αὐτοῦ βουλομένου λέγειν, ὁ θ' Ἡρακλέων ἐπελάβετο τοῦ τρίβωνος, καγώ σχεδον ἀπάντων

C αὐτοῦ συνηθέστατος ὁν, "παῦε," ἔφην, "ὥς φίλι Πλανητιάδη, παροξύνων τὸν θεόν· εὐρόγητος γάρ ἐστι καὶ πράος,

κατεκρίθη δὲ θνατοῖς ἀγανώτατος ἔμμεν ὡς φησιν ὁ Πίνδαρος. καὶ εἴθ' ἦλιος ἐστὶν εἰτε κύριος ἦλιον καὶ πατήρ καὶ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ ὄρατον παντός, οὐκ εἰκὸς ἀπαξίων φωνῆς τοὺς νῦν ἀνθρώπω-

1 τόδ' Madvig: τότ'.
2 ἄρ' ἄρ'] ἄρα 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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* Cf. Moralia, 169 e.

* Ibid. 394 a and 1102 e; Pindar, Frag. 149 (ed. Christ).

* Cf. 386 b, supra, and the note.

f The language is reminiscent of ἐπικεφαλής 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 πὴ δὲ πάλιν 
αὐτοπροσιέμενον, ὡστερ ἐὰν βασιλεὺς τις ἡ τύραννος

F ἔτεραις ἀποκλείων θύραις τοὺς πονηροὺς καθ' ἐτέ-

ρας εἰσδέχοντο καὶ χρηματίζοι. τοῦ δὲ μετρίου¹ καὶ

κυκλων καὶ μηδαμὴ περιττοῦ πανταχὺ δ' αὐτ-

άρκους, μάλιστα τοῖς θείοις πρέποντος ἐργοις,

εἰ ταύτην ἁρχὴν² λαβῶν φαίνει τὸι τῆς κοινῆς

ἀλγανδρίας, ἂν τί πρότεραι στάσεις καὶ οἱ πόλε-

μοί περὶ πάσαν ὁμοί τὴν οὐκομενήν ἀπειργά-

414 σαντο, πλεῖστον μέρος ἡ Ἕλλας μετεσχηκε, καὶ

μόλις ἂν νῦν ὅλη παράσχοι τρισχιλίους ὀπλίτας,

ὅσους ἡ Μεγαρέων μία πόλις ἔξεσεμβεν εἰς Πλα-

ταιέας (οὐδέν οὖν ἔτερον ἦν τὸ πολλὰ καταλυπεῖν χρη-

στήρια τὸν θεοῦ η ῥήσει ἡ Ἕλλας ἐλεγχεῖν τὴν

ἐρμίαν), ἀκριβές³ ἂν οὔτως⁴ παράσχει τῷ τῆς εὐρησι-

λογίας. τίνος γὰρ ἦν ἀγαθὸν, ἐν Τεγύραις ὡς πρό-

τερον εἶναι⁵ μαντείον, ἡ περὶ τὸ Πτούλον ὅπου μέρος

ἡμέρας ἐντυχεῖν ἐστών ἀνθρώπων νέμοντι; καὶ γὰρ

τούτῳ δὴ τοῦ ὑπηρετοῦν ἄρχον τε καὶ

B δόξῃ κλεινότατον ὑπὸ θηρίου χαλεποῦ δρακάνυς

πολύν χρόνον ἔρημον γενέσθαι καὶ ἀπροσπέλαστον

ἴστορούσων, οὕκ ὀρθῶς τὴν ἁργίαν⁶ ἄλλῳ ἀνάπαλιν

λαμβάνοντες· ἡ γὰρ ἐρμία τὸ θηρίον ἐπηγάγετο

μᾶλλον η τὸ θηρίον ἐποίησε τὴν ἐρμίαν. ἔπει δὲ

τῷ θεῷ δόξαν οὔτως ἦ ἦ 'Ελλας ἐκρωσθῇ πόλεις

καὶ τὸ χωριὸν ἀνθρώπως ἐπλήθυνε, ὑσών ἔχρωντο

¹ μετρίου Emperius: μεγίστου.
² θείοις Bernardakis: θεοίς.
³ ἁρχήν omitted in some mss.
⁴ ἀκριβές F.C.B.: ἀκριβῶς.
⁵ οὔτω F.C.B.: αὐτῶ.
⁷ εἶναι Bryan: ἦν.
⁸ δὴ τούτῳ Ἡαυρτ: δὴ τοῦ ἐνταῦθα.
⁹ ἁργίαν] ἐρμίαν corr. in two mss.: αἰτίαν Meziriacus.
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 characteristics 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 Ptoûm, 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 unapproachable 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.

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(414) προφήτισιν ἐν μέρει καθιεμέναις, καὶ τρίτη δ’ ἐφεδρὸς ἦν ἀποδεδειγμένη. νῦν δ’ ἐστι μία προφήτις, καὶ οὐκ ἔγκαλοῦμεν ἐξαρκεῖ γὰρ αὐτῇ τοῖς δεομένοις. οὐ τούτων αἰτιατέον οὔδεν τὸν θεόν. ἦ γὰρ οὐσα μαντική καὶ διαμένουσα πᾶσιν ἐστιν.

C ἰκανῇ καὶ πάντας ἀποτίμηται τυγχάνοντας ὡς χρήζουσιν. ὥσπερ οὖν εὐνέα κήρυξεν ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων ἐχρῆτο, καὶ μόλις κατείχε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διὰ πλήθος, ἐνταῦθα δ’ ὤψεσθε μεθ’ ἡμέρας ὅλιγας ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ μίαν φωνὴν ἐξικνουμένην εἰς πάντας. οὕτω τότε πλείστων ἑχρῆτο φωναῖς πρὸς πλείονας ἡ μαντική, νῦν δὲ τούναντίον ἐδει θαυμάζειν τὸν θεόν, εἰ περιεώρα τὴν μαντικὴν ἀχρῆστως δίκην ὕδατος ἀπορρέουσαν ἡ καθάπερ αἱ πέτραι ποιμένων ἐν ἐρήμω καὶ βοσκημάτων φωναῖς ἀντηχοῦσαν.

9. Εἰπόντος δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Ἀρμονίου κάμοι σωπώντος, ὁ Κλεόμβροτος ἐμὲ προσαγορεύσας, "ἡδῆ σὺ τούτο δέδωκας," ἔφη, "τὸ καὶ ποιεῖν ταύτι τὰ D μαντεῖα καὶ ἀναίρεῖν τὸν θεόν."

"Οὐκ ἔγωγε," εἶπον, "ἀναίρεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν αἰτία θεοῦ φημὶ μαντείον οὐδὲ χρηστήριον. ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ ἄλλα πολλὰ ποιοῦντος ἥμιν ἐκεῖνον καὶ παρασκευάζοντος, ἑπάγει φθορὰν ἐνίοις καὶ στέρησιν ἡ φύσις, μᾶλλον δ’ ἡ ὕλη στέρησις οὗσα ἀναφεύγει πολλάκις καὶ ἀναλύει τὸ γυγνόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς κρείττονος αἰτίας, οὕτω μαντικῶν οἶμαι δυνάμεως σκοτώσεις ἐτέρας καὶ ἀναίρεσεις εἶναι, πολλὰ καλὰ

1 καθημέναις Xylander. 2 αὐτή Stegmann: αὐτή.
3 οὐδέν Kronenbergh: οὔδε.
4 ἀναφεύγει] ἀνυφαίει Xylander; διαφθείρει Schwartz; τὸ εἶναι φεύγει Michael; ἀνατρέπει?
5 ἐτέρας] ἰδιατέρας Paton.

* 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
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τοῦ θεοῦ διδόντος ἀνθρώπους ἀθάνατον δὲ μηδέν·

ωστε θυσίας καὶ τὰ θεῶν θεοὺς δ' οὖ, κατὰ τὸν
Σοφοκλέα. τὴν δ' οὖσιν αὐτῶν καὶ δύναμιν οὖσαν

Ε ἐν¹ τῇ φύσει καὶ τῇ ὕλῃ φασὶν² ἀεὶ³ οἱ σοφοὶ δεῖν'

ζητείν, τῷ θεῷ τῆς ἁρχῆς ὡσπερ ἐστὶ δίκαιον

φυλαττομένης. εὐθὺς γάρ ἐστὶ καὶ παιδικὸν κο-

μίδη τὸ οἴσθαι τὸν θεὸν αὐτῶν ὡσπερ τοὺς ἐγ-

γαστριμύθους, Εὐρυκλέας πάλαι νυνὶ δὲ Πύθωνας

προσαγορευομένους, ἐνδυόμενον εἰς τὰ σῶματα τῶν

προφητῶν ὑποθέγγεσαι, τοῖς ἐκείνων στόμασι

καὶ φωναῖς χρώμενον ὀργάνοις. ἐαυτὸν γὰρ ἐγ-

καταμειγνύς³ ἀνθρωπίναις χρείαις οὐ φείδεται τῆς

σεμνότητος οὔδὲ τηρεῖ τὸ ἄξιωμα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος

αὐτῶ τῆς ἁρετῆς."

10. Καὶ ὁ Κλεόμβροτος, "ὁρθῶς λέγεις: ἀλλ'

F ἐπεὶ τὸ λαβεῖν καὶ διορίσαι πῶς χρηστέον καὶ

μέχρι τῶν τῇ προνοίᾳ χαλεπῶν, οἱ μὲν οὐδενὸς

ἀπλῶς τὸν θεὸν οἱ δ' ὅμοι τοὺς πάντων αὖτιν

πουόντες ἀστοχοῦσι τοῦ μετρίου καὶ πρέποντος.

εὖ μὲν οὐν λέγουσι καὶ οἱ λέγοντες ὅτι Πλάτων τὸ

τοῖς γεννωμέναις ποιότησιν ὑποκείμενον ποιηκεῖσιν

ἐξευρῶν, οὐ νῦν ὑλὴν καὶ φύσιν καλοῦσιν, πολλῶν

ἀπηλλαξε καὶ μεγάλων ἀποριῶν τοὺς φιλοσόφους.

415 ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκοῦσι πλείονας λόγους καὶ μείζονας

¹ οὖσαν ἐν F.C.B.: τοὺς ἐν.
² φασὶν φημὶ several editors.
³ αἱ added by F.C.B.
⁴ οἱ σοφοὶ δεῖν Paton: δεινοῦ (-οίς) ὁφείλειν (-ει).
⁵ ἐαυτὸν γὰρ ἐγκαταμειγνύς F.C.B (cf. 148 A): καταμειγνύ

preceded by a lacuna.

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mankind, he gives nothing imperishable, so that, as Sophocles \textsuperscript{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 influence being reserved for the Deity, as is right. Certainly 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,’ \textsuperscript{b} but now ‘Pythones’) enters into the bodies of his prophets and prompts their utterances, employing their mouths and voices as instruments.\textsuperscript{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 preeminence.”

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,\textsuperscript{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-


\textsuperscript{b} Eurycles was a famous ventriloquist. Cf. Plato, \textit{Sophist}, 252 c, and Aristophanes, \textit{Wasps}, 1019, with the scholium.

\textsuperscript{c} Cf. 397 c and 404 b, \textit{supra}.

\textsuperscript{d} In the \textit{Timaeus}, 48 e ff., for example.
(415) ἀπορίας οἱ τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων γένος ἐν μέσῳ θεόν ὁ θεόν καὶ ἄνθρωπον καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν ἡμῶν συνάγον εἰς ταῦτα καὶ συνάπτον ἔξευρόντες, εἰτε μάγων τῶν περὶ Ζωρόαστρην ὁ λόγος οὗτός ἐστιν, εἰτε Θράκιος ἀπ' 'Ορφέως εἰτ' Αἰγύπτιος ἡ Φρύγιος, ὡς τεκμαιρόμεθα ταῖς ἐκατέρωθι τελεταῖς ἀναμεμειγμένα πολλαὶ θυγτὰ καὶ πένθιμα τῶν ὀργιαζομένων καὶ δραμένων ἵερῶν ὅραντες. 'Ελλῆνων δ' Ὁμήρος μὲν ἐτι φαίνεται κοινῷς 

Β ἀμφιτέροις χρώμενοι τοῖς ὁνόμασι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐστὶν ὅτε δαίμονας προσαγορεύων. Ἡθόδος δὲ καθαρῶς καὶ διωρισμένως πρῶτος ἔξεθηκε τῶν λογικῶν τέσσαρα γένη, θεοὺς εἶτα δαίμονας εἴθ' ἡρως τὸ δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄνθρώπους, ἔξω ἐν ὕπνῳ τοῖς μὲν χρυσοῖς γένους εἰς δαίμονας πολλοὺς κάγαθοὺς τῶν δ' ἡμιθέων εἰς ἡρως ἀποκριθέντων. 

"Ετεροὶ δὲ μεταβολὴν τοῖς τε σώμασιν ὄμοιας ποιοῦσι καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς, ὥσπερ ἐκ γῆς ὑδρὼν ἐκ δ' ὑδατὸς ἄμφ' ἐκ δ' ἀέρος πῦρ γενόμενον ὅραται, τῆς οὐσίας ἀνω φερομένης, οὕτως ἐκ μὲν ἄνθρωπον εἰς ἡρως ἐκ δ' ἡρωῦν εἰς δαίμονας αἱ βελτίωνς ψυχαὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν λαμβάνουσιν. ἐκ δὲ δαίμονων

C οĽγαι μὲν ἐτι χρόνῳ πολλῷ δι' ἀρετήν καθαρθείς ταὐτάτῳ θειότητος μετέσχον. ἐνίας δὲ συμβαίνει μὴ κράτειν ἑαυτῶν, ἀλλ' ὑφιεμέναι καὶ

1 θεόν in Eusebius, not in the mss.
2 πολλα Eusebius: πρὸς τὰ.
3 εἴθ' ἡρως . . . γένους εἰς δαίμονας in Eusebius, omitted in the mss.
4 ἀρετήν] ἀρετῆς 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

\textit{a Cf. Plutarch, Comment. on Hesiod, Works and Days, 122 (Bernardakis's edition, vol. vii. p. 52); cf. also 390 e, supra.}
11. "'Ο δ' Ἡσίωδος οἴεται καὶ περιόδους τοιούτων χρόνων γίγνεσθαι τοὺς δαίμοσι τὰς τελευτάς. Λέγει γὰρ ἐν τῷ τῆς Ναίδος προσώπῳ καὶ τὸν χρόνον αἰνιττόμενον

ἐννέα τοι κοράκας. δέκα δ' ἡμεῖς τούς φοίνικας

D νῦμφαὶ ἐνπλόκαμοι, κούραι Δίος αἰγιόχοιο.

τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον εἰς πολὺ πλῆθος ἀριθμοῦ συν-άγουσιν οἱ μὴ καλῶς δεχόμενοι τὴν γενεάν. ἔστι γὰρ ἐνιαυτός. ὅστε γίγνεσθαι τὸ σύμπαν ἐνακισχίλια ἔτη καὶ ἐπτακόσια καὶ εἴκοσι τῆς τῶν δαίμονων ζωῆς, ἐλαττοῦν μὲν οὐ νομίζομεν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν μαθηματικῶν, πλέον δ' οὔκ\n
Πίνδαρος εἰρηκεῖ εἰπὼν τὰς νῦμφας ζῆν

ἰσοδένδρου τέκμαραίων λαχούσας;

διὸ καὶ καλεῖν αὐτὰς ἀμαδρυάδας.''

"Ετι δ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος, Δημήτριος ὑπολαβὼν, "πῶς," ἐφη, "λέγεις, ὦ Κλεόμβροτε, γενεὰν ἀνδρὸς Ἐ εἰρήσθαι τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν; οὐτὲ γὰρ ἡβὼντος οὔτε 'γηρῶντος,' ὥς ἀναγινώσκουσιν ἐνιοί, χρόνος ἀνθρωπίνου βίου τοσοῦτος ἐστιν. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν

1 ἐνδυμέναις Turnebus: ἀναλυμέναις or ἀναδυμέναις.
2 δ' ἡμεῖς τούς φοίνικας] φοίνικας δὲ τοι ἡμεῖς Rzach.
3 οὖ ... οὖ Wilamowitz-Möllendorff: οὖν ... οὐ or οὖν.
4 τέκμαρ Turnebus, as in Moralia, 757 f: τέκμαρ.
5 λαχούσας Heyne: λαχούσας.
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: a

Nine generations long is the life of the crow and his cawing,
Nine generations of vigorous men. b 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 c 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

a 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.

b Cf. Aristophanes, Birds, 609.

c Pindar, Frag. 165 (ed. Christ); quoted also in Moralia, 757 F.
' ῥῆβωντων ἡ οὐκ αναγραφόμενον ἕτη τριάκοντα ποιοῦσι τὴν γενεάν καθ' Ἡράκλειτον, ἐν δὲ χρόνῳ γεννώντα παρέχει τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγεννημένον ὁ γεννήσας. οἱ δὲ 'γηρώντων' πάλιν οὐχ 'ῥῆβωντων' γράφοντες ὀκτὼ καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐτη νέμουσι τῇ γενεᾷ τὰ γὰρ π εντήκοντα καὶ τέταρα μεσοῦν ὁρὸν ἀνθρωπίνης ζωῆς εἶναι, συγκείμενον ἐκ τε τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῶν πρῶτων δυοὶ ἐπιπέδων καὶ δυοῖν τετραγώνων καὶ δυοῖν κύβων, οὐς καὶ Πλάτων ἀριθμοὺς ἤλαβεν ἐν τῇ ψυχογονίᾳ. καὶ δὲ λόγος οἶλος ἠνίχθαι δοκεῖ τῷ Ἡσιόδῳ πρὸς τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν, ὀπηνίκα συνεκλείπειν τοῖς ὑγρῶις εἰκός ἐστι τὰς Νύμφας,

αἱ τ' ἀλοσα καλὰ νέμονται καὶ πηγὰς ποταμῶι καὶ πίσεα ποιήνεται.'

12. Καὶ ὁ Κλεόμβροτος, 'ἀκοῦω ταῦτ', ἐφη, 'πολλῶν καὶ ὧν τὴν Στωικὴν ἐκτύρωσιν ὡσπερ τὰ Ἡρακλείτον καὶ Ὄρφεως ἐπινεμομένην ἐτη 416 οὐτω καὶ τὰ Ἡσιόδου καὶ συνεξάπτουσαν. ἀλλ' οὐτε τοῦ κόσμου τὴν φθορὰν ἀνέχομαι λεγομένην, τὰ τ' ἀμήχαν' ἀναγκαῖον ὑπομνήσει τῶν φωνῶν μᾶλιστα περὶ τὴν κορώνην καὶ τὴν ἔλαφον ἔκδυσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπερβάλλοντας. οὐκ ἐνιαυτὸς ἀρχήν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τελευτὴν ὁμοῦ τι 'πάντων ἦν φέρουσιν ὃραι γῆ δὲ φύει' περιέχον, οὐδέ ἀνθρώπων ἀπὸ

1 ῥῆβωντων] ῥῆβωντος in nearly all mss.
2 ἀρχῆς] monados in some mss.
3 συνεξάπτουσαν Wyttenbach: συνεξαπατοῦσαν (or -ῶσαν).
4 ἀμήχαν' ἀναγκαῖον ὑπομνήσει F.C.B.: ἀμήχανα καὶ ὦ ὑπόμνησις.
5 περιέχων most editors (περιεσχηκὸς Schwartz): περιείχως.

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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, numbers which Plato also took in his *Generation of the Soul.* 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.

12. "Yes," said Cleombrotus, "I hear this from many persons, and I observe that the Stoic 'Conflagration,' just as it feeds on the verses of Heracleitus 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,' and is it not foreign to men's ways to

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*b That is $1 + (1 \times 2) + (1 \times 3) + 4 + 9 + 8 + 27 = 54$.


*e Cf. Diels, *Frag. der Vorsokratiker*, i. p. 97, Heracleitus, no. b 100.
(416) τρόπου γενεά κέκληται; καὶ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ὀμολογεῖτε δῆτον1 τὸν Ἡσίοδον ἀνθρωπίνην ζωῆν τὴν γενεὰν λέγειν. ἦ γὰρ οὐχ οὐτως;”

Συνέφησεν ὁ Δημήτριος.

Β “Ἀλλὰ μην κάκεινο δῆλον,” ὁ Κλεόμβροτος εἶπε, “τὸ πολλάκις τὸ μετροῦν καὶ τὰ μετροῦμενα τοὺς αὐτοῖς ὄνομασι προσαγορεύοντας, κοτύλην καὶ χοῦνα καὶ ἀμφορέα καὶ μέδιμνον. ὃν τρόπον οὖν τοῦ παντὸς ἀριθμοῦ τὴν μονάδα μέτρον οὔσαν ἐλάχιστον καὶ ἀρχὴν ἀριθμοῦ καλοῦμεν, οὔτω τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν, ὃ πρῶτου μετροῦμεν ἀνθρώπου βίον, ὀμωνύμως τῷ μετροῦμενῳ γενεάν ὄνομασεν. καὶ γὰρ οὗς μὲν ἐκεῖνοι ποιοῦσιν ἀριθμοὺς οὐδὲν ἔχουσι τῶν νεομομενῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ λαμπρῶν ὡς ἐν ἀριθμοῖς. ὃ δὲ τῶν ἐνακισχυλίων ἐπτακοσίων εἰκος τὴν γένεσιν ἐσχύκη συνθέσει μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀπὸ μονάδος τεττάρων ἐφεξῆς τετράκις γενομένων ἡ δεκάκις γενομένων2 τεττάρων. τετταράκοντα γὰρ εὐκατέρως γίγνεται. ταῦτα δὲ πεντάκις τριγωνισθέντα τὸν ἐκκείμενον ἀριθμὸν παρέσχεν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἡμᾶς Δημήτριων διαφέρεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ3 πλείων ὁ χρόνος ἦ κἂν ἐλάττων κἂν τεταγμένος κἂν ἄτακτος, ἐν ὃ μεταλάττει δαίμονος ψυχῆς4 καὶ ἢρως βίον, οὐδὲν ἢπτον ἐφ’ ὃ5 βούλεται δεδείξεται μετὰ μαρτύρων σοφῶν καὶ παλαιῶν ὧτι φύσεις εἰσὶ τινὲς ὡσπερ ἐν μεθορίῳ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων δεχόμεναι πάθη

1 δῆτον Turnebus: μήπον.
2 ἡ δεκάκις Meziriacus, γενομένων F.C.B., to fill a lacuna.
3 κἂν Eusebius: ἄν.
4 ψυχῆ Eusebius and one ms. corr.: ψυχήν.
5 ἐφ’ ὃ] ἐφ’ ὃ some mss.: ὃ 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.\(^a\) 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 \(^b\) has been produced by adding together the first four numbers and multiplying them by four,\(^c\) or by multiplying four by ten. Either process gives forty, and when this is multiplied five times by three it gives the specified number.\(^d\) 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 \(^e\) 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

\(^a\) Cf. Censorinus, De die natali ad In. Caerellium, xviii. 11, and Geffcken in Hermes, xlix. 336.

\(^b\) Cf. 415 d, supra.

\(^c\) \((1 + 2 + 3 + 4) \times 4 = 40.\)

\(^d\) \(40 \times 3^5 = 9720.\)

\(^e\) Cf. 415 b, supra.
(416) θνητά καὶ μεταβολάς ἀναγκαίας, οthenReturn δαίμονας
ορθῶς ἔχει κατὰ νόμον πατέρων ἧγουμένους καὶ
ὄνομάζοντας σέβεσθαι.

13. "Παράδειγμα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ Ἐξονκράτης μὲν
Δὸ Πλάτωνος ἐταίρος ἐπούσατο τὸ τῶν τριγώνων,
θεώ, μὲν ἀπεικάσας τὸ ἱσόπλευρον θυτῶ, δὲ τὸ
σκαληνὸν τὸ δ’ ἱσοσκελές δαίμονι, μὲν γὰρ
искρινός τὸ δ’ ἀνυσώμαν πάντη, τὸ δ’ πῆ μὲν ἵσον
πῆ δ’ ἀνυσώμαν, ὁσπερ’ ἡ δαίμονας ὑψής ἔχουσα καὶ
πάθος θυτῶ καὶ θεοὺς δύναμιν, ἡ δ’ φύσις
αἰσθητὰς εἰκόνας ἐξέθηκε καὶ ὁμοιότητας ὀρω-
μένας, θεῶ, μὲν ἑλιόν καὶ ἀστρα θυτῶν δὲ σέλα
καὶ κομῆτας καὶ διάττοντας, ὡς Εὐριπίδης εἰκασεν
ἐν οἷς εἶπεν,

ὁ δ’ ἄρτι θάλλων σάρκα3 διοπτήης ὅπως
ἀστήρ ἀπεσόβη πνεῦμι’ ἀφεῖς ἐς4 αἰθέρα.

Ε µεικτόν5 δὲ σώμα καὶ µύµηµα δαµόνιον ὄντως τὴν
σελήνην, τῷ τῇ τούτου τοῦ γένους Ϝυνάδεως περι-
φορᾷ, φθίσεις φαινοµένας δεχοµένην καὶ αὐξήσεις
καὶ µεταβολάς ὀρώντες, οἱ µὲν ἀστρον γεώδες οἱ
δ’ ὀλυµπίαν γῆν οἱ δὲ χθονίας ὀµοὺ καὶ οὐρανίας
κήρον Ἐκάτης προσείπον. ὁσπερ’ οὖν ἄν6 εἰ τὸν
ἄερα τις ἄνελοι καὶ ὕποσπάσει τὸν µεταξ’ γῆς
καὶ σελήνης, τὴν ἐνότητα διαλύσει7 καὶ τὴν κοιν."
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 waxings 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,

c Cf. Moralia, 361 c, and the lines of Empedocles there quoted.

d Ibid. 935 a.
νίαν τοῦ παντός, ἐν μέσῳ κενῆς καὶ ἀσυνείδουχος γενομένης, οὕτως οἱ δαμόνων γένος μὴ F ἀπολείποντες, ἀνεπίμεικτα τὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώ-
pων ποιοῦσι καὶ ἀσυνάλλακτα, τὴν ἐρμηνευτικὴν, ὡς Πλάτων ἔλεγεν, καὶ διακοινικὴν ἀναρροῦτες φύσιν, ἡ πάντα φύρευ ἀμα καὶ ταράττειν ἀναγ-
καζοῦν ἡμᾶς τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις πάθει καὶ πράγ-
μασι τὸν θεὸν ἐμβιβάζοντας καὶ καταστῶντας ἐπὶ τὰς χρείας, ἀσπερ αἱ Θετολαί λέγονται τὴν σελή-
νην. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνων μὲν ἐν γυναιξὶ τὸ πανοργον ἔσχε πίστιν Ἀγαλονικῆς τῆς Ἡγῆτορος, ἃς φασιν, ἀστρολογικῆς γυναικὸς ἐν ἐκλεῖμει σελήνης ἀεὶ προσποιομένης γοητεῦειν καὶ καθαρεὺς αὐτὴν.

ήμεις δὲ μήτε μαντείας τινὰς ἀθειάστους εἶναι λεγόντων1 ἡ τελετὰς καὶ ὀργισμοὺς ἁμελουμένους ὑπὸ θεῶν ἀκούωμεν· μήτ' αὖ πάλιν τὸν θεὸν ἐν τούτοις ἀναπρέφεσθαι καὶ παρεῖναι καὶ συμ-
πραγματεύεσθαι δοξάζωμεν, ἀλλ' οἶς δικαίον ἔστι ταῦτα λειτουργοῖς θεῶ παραθέντες ὁσπερ ὑπη-
ρέταις καὶ γραμματεύοις,2 δαίμονας νομίζωμεν ἐπι-
σκόπους θεῶν3 ἔρων καὶ μυστηριῶν ὀργιαστάς.

B ἀλλού δὲ τῶν ὑπερηφάνων καὶ μεγάλων τιμωροῦς ἀδικιῶν περιπολείν. τοὺς δὲ πάνυ σεμνῶς ὁ Ὁσίωδος

'ἄγνοις' προσεῖπε
'πλουτοδότας, καὶ τοῦτο γέρας βασιλήιου ἐχοντας,'

ὡς βασιλικοῦ τοῦ εὖ ποιεῖν οὖν. εἰς γὰρ, ὡς

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1 λεγόντων] λέγοντας most mss. (λέγοντος Schwartz).
2 γραμματεύοις] πραγματευταῖς van Groningen.
3 θεῶν] θεῶν Reiske.

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a Cf. Republic, 260 d, and Symposium, 202 e.
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, Aglaonicē, 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

\[ b \] Cf. the note on 400 b \textit{supra}.

\[ c \] Cf. \textit{Moralia}, 145 c.

\[ d \] \textit{Works and Days}, 123, 126; cf. also \textit{Moralia}, 361 b, \textit{supra}.
(417) ἐν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ δαίμοσιν ἄρετης διαφοράι καὶ τού παθητικοῦ καὶ ἀλόγου τοῖς μὲν ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ἀμαυρὸν ἐτὶ λεύψανον ὡσπερ περίττωμα, τοῖς δὲ πολὺ καὶ δυσκατάβεστον ἐνεστίν, ὡν ἵχνη καὶ σύμβολα πολλαχοῦ θυσίαι καὶ τελεταὶ καὶ μυθολογίαι σώζουσι καὶ διαφυλάττουσι ἐνδιεσπαρμένα.

14. "Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν μυστικῶν, ἐν οἷς τὰς Μεγίστας ἐμφάσεις καὶ διαφάσεις λαβεῖν ἐστὶ τῆς περὶ δαίμονων ἀληθείας, 'ἐνοτομά μοι κείσθω,' καθ' Ἡρόδοτος. ἐστάς δὲ καὶ θυσίας, ὡσπερ ἡμέρας ἀποφράδας καὶ σκυθρωπάς, ἐν αἰσ ὑμοφαγίας καὶ διαστισμοῖς νηστείαι τε καὶ κοπετοί, πολλαχοῦ δὲ πάλιν αἰσχρολογίαι πρὸς ἱεροῖς

μανίας τ’ ἀλαλαὶ τ’ ὀρινομένων

ῥυφαϊχεὶν σὺν κλόνῳ,

θεῶν μὲν οὐδενὶ δαίμονων δὲ φαύλων ἀπουτροπῆς ἐνεκα φήσαμι ἃν τελείοθα ἔνεκα μειλίχια καὶ παραμύθια. καὶ τὰς πάλαι ποιομένας ἀνθρωποθυσίας οὔτε θεοὺς ἀπαίτει ἡ προσδέχεσθαι πιθανὸν ἐστῖν,

D οὔτε μάτην ἃν ἀνείχοντο βασιλεῖς καὶ στρατηγοὶ παῖδας αὐτῶν ἐπιδιδόντες καὶ καταρχόμενοι καὶ σφάττουτες, ἀλλὰ χαλεπῶν καὶ δυστρόπων ὀργάς καὶ βαρυθυμίας ἀφοσιούμενοι καὶ ἀποσπασμένοι αλαστόρων, ἐνίων δὲ μανικοὺς καὶ τυραννικοὺς

1 ἀλαλαὶ τε Turnebus: ἀλλα τε or ἀλλα.
2 ὀρινομένων in 623 b and Theodoretus: ὀρινομέναι (or ὀρινόμενον in one ms.).
3 τελείοθα Eusebius: τελεῖν.
4 ἃν ἀνείχοντο Π. C. B.; ἃν ἥνεχοντο Sieveking; ἃν ἥδεχοντο Eusebius: ἀνέχονται.
5 καταρχόμενοι Eusebius: ἀρχόμενοι.
6 σφάττουτες Eusebius: φυλάττουτες.
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 b.

(417) ἐρωτας οὖν δυναμένων οὐδὲ βουλομένων σώμασι καὶ
diὰ σωμάτων ὁμιλεῖν. ἀλλ’ ὥστερ Ἡρακλῆς
Οἰχαλίαν ἐπολιόρκει διὰ παρθένον, οὗτος ἵσχυρόι
καὶ βιαίοι δαίμονες ἐξαιτούμενοι ψυχῆν ἀνθρω-
pίνην περιεχομένην σώματι2 λοιμοὺς τε πόλεσι καὶ
γῆς ἀφορίας ἐπάγουσι καὶ πολέμους καὶ στάσεις
Ε ταράττουσιν, ἀχρὶ οὗ λάβωσι καὶ τύχωσιν οὐ3
ἐρώσιν. ἔνιοι4 δὲ τοιναντίον, ὥσπερ ἐν Κρήτῃ
χρόνον συχνὸν διάγων ἐγγών ἀτοπόν τινα τελου-
mένην ἑορτήν, ἐν ἧ καὶ εἴδωλον ἄνδρος ἀκέφαλον
ἀναδεικνύουσι καὶ λέγουσιν ὡς οὗτος ἦν Μόλος ὁ
Μηριώνου πατήρ, νύμφη δὲ πρὸς βιαν συγγενόμενον
ἀκέφαλος εὑρήθειν.

15. "Καὶ μὴν ὅσα ἔν τε μύθοις καὶ ὕμνοις
λέγουσι καὶ ἄδουσι, τοῦτο μὲν ἅρπαγὰς τοῦτο δὲ
πλάνας θεῶν κρύψεις τε καὶ φυγάς καὶ λατρείας,
οὐ θεῶν ἔσον ἀλλὰ δαίμονών παθήματα καὶ τύχαι
μυθομενομέναι δι’ ἀρετὴν καὶ δύναμιν αὐτῶν, καὶ
οὔτ’ Αἰσχύλως εἶπεν ὅσιον,5

F ἀγνόν τ’ Ἄπόλλων φυγάδ’ ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ θεῶν,
oūθ’ ὁ Σοφοκλέους Ἀδμήτος
οὐμὸς δ’ ἀλέκτωρ αὐτὸν ἤγε πρὸς μυλῆν.
πλεῖστον δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας διαμαρτάνουσιν οἱ
Δελφῶν θεολόγοι νομίζοντες ἐνταῦθα ποτὲ πρὸς

1 οὗτως] οὗτω πολλάκις Eusebius and some mss.
2 σώματι Eusebius: σώματι καὶ διὰ σωμάτων ὁμιλεῖν copied
from above.
3 οὐ] ὅν Sieveking.
4 εἰνοὶ F.C.B.: εἴνοι.
5 ὅσιον added by F.C.B. (ὅρθως 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

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a Iolè; cf. e.g. Sophocles, Trachiniae, 475-478.
b A son of Deucalion.
c Aeschylus, Supplices, 214.
οφιν τῷ θεῷ περὶ τοῦ χρηστηρίου μάχην γενέσθω, καὶ ταῦτα ποιήτας καὶ λογογράφους ἐν θεάτροις
418 ἀγωνιζομένους λέγειν ἔωντες, ὡσπερ ἐπίτηδες ἀντιμαρτυροῦντας ὃν δρῶσιν ἱεροὶς
τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις.

Θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Φιλίππου (παρὰν γὰρ ὁ συγγραφεύς) καὶ πυθομένου, τίςν ἀντιμαρτυρεῖν ὅσιοις οἴεται τους ἀνταγωνιζομένους, "τοῦτοις," ἐφη, "τοῖς περὶ τὸ χρηστηρίον, οῖς ἀρτι τοὺς ἔξω
Πυλῶν πάντας "Ελληνας ἢ πόλες κατοργάζουσα μέχρι Τεμπών ἠλήλακεν. ἤ τε γὰρ ἱσταμένη
καλιάς ἐνταῦθα περὶ τὴν ἄλω δι', ἐνεά ἔτων οὐ
φωλεώθης τοῦ δράκοντος χειά, ἀλλὰ μήμημα τυρα
νικής ἤ βασιλικῆς ἐστιν οἰκῆσεως. ἤ τε μετὰ συγῆς
ἐπ' αὐτὴν διὰ τῆς ὀνομαζομένης Δολωνίας ἐφόδος.

Β ἦ Λαβνάδαις τὸν ἀμφιθαλῆ κόρον ἡμέναις δασὶν ἄγουσι, καὶ προσβαλόντες τὸ πῦρ τῇ καλιάδι καὶ
τὴν τράπεζαν ἀνατρέπαντες ἀνεπιστρεπτεὶ φεύ-
γουσι διὰ τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τελευταίων αἰ
τε πλάναι καὶ ἦ λατρεία τοῦ παιδός οὐ τε γιγνό-
μενοι περὶ τὰ Τέμπη καθαρμοῖ μεγάλου τινὸς ἄγους
καὶ τολμήματος ὑποψίαν ἔχουσι. παγγέλουν γάρ
ἔστιν, ὃ ἐταῖρε, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα κτείναντα θηρίων
φεύγεν ἐπὶ πέρατα τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἀγνισμοῦ δεό-
μενον, εἰτ' ἐκεῖ χοάς τινας χείσθαι καὶ δράν ἡ
δρῶσιν ἀνθρωποὶ μηνίματα δαμόνων ἀφοσιούμενοι

1 ἱεροῖς] ἱερῶν Stegmann. 2 γὰρ added by Turnebus.
3 ὅσιοι F.C.B.; θεοὶς Turnebus; ἱεροῖς Sieveking: θεοῖς.
4 φωλεώθης] φωλεόθ ἢ Schwartz, supported by D.
5 ἦ Λαβναδαι Pomtow (ἡ Αἰολάδαι Xylander, cf. Hesychius,
Ἁλοῦα: παρὰ Δελφοῖς γένος τι): μὴ αἰώλα δὲ.
6 προσβαλόντες] προσβάλλοντες in most mss.
7 διὰ τῶν] διὲκ in some mss.
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

\(^a\) 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 πραῦνοντες, οὖς ἀλάστορας καὶ παλαιμαίους
όνομάζουσιν, ὡς ἁλήστων τινῶν καὶ παλαιῶν μια-
σμάτων μνήμαις ἐπεξιόντας. 1 ὃν δ' ἦκουσα λόγον
.readyState τῆς φυγῆς ταύτης καὶ τῆς μεταστάσεως,
ἀντίστοις μὲν ἐστὶ δεινῶς καὶ παράδοξος: εἰ δ' ἀληθείας τι μετέχει,
μὴ μικρὸν οἰώμεθα μὴ δὲ κοινὸν εἶναι τὸ πραχθὲν ἐν τοῖς τότε χρόνοις περὶ
tὸ χρηστήριον. ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ τὸ Ἐμπεδόκλειον
ποιεῖν 2 δόξω
κορυφᾶς ἐτέρας ἐτέρησιν 3 προσάπτων
μύθων, μὴ τελέειν 4 ἀτραπὸν μίαν,
ἐάσατε μὲ τοῖς πρῶτοι τὸ προσήκον ἐπιθείναι
tέλος. ἦδη γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῶ γεγόναμεν καὶ τετολ-
μῆσθω μετὰ πολλοὺς εἰρήσθαι καὶ ἡμῖν, ὅτι τοῖς
 particulière 1 perì tὰ μαντεῖα καὶ χρηστήρια τεταγμένους δαι-
μονίους ἐκλείπουσιν τε κομιδὴ συνεκλείπει ταῦτα 5 καὶ φυγόντων ἡ μεταστάντων ἀποβάλλει τήν
dύναμιν, εἴτε παρόντων αὐτῶν διὰ χρόνου πολλῶν
καθάπερ ὀργανὰ φθέγγεται τῶν χρωμένων ἐπι-
στάντων καὶ παρόντων.

16. Ταύτα τοῦ Κλεομβρότου διειλθόντος, ὁ
Ἡρακλέων "οὐδεὶς μὲν," ἔφη, "τῶν βεβήλων
καὶ ἀμυντῶν καὶ περὶ θεῶν δόξας ἂσυγκράτους
ἡμῖν ἐχόντων πάρεστιν: αὐτοὶ δὲ παραφυλάττωμεν
αὐτούς, ὁ Φίλιππε, μὴ λάθωμεν ἀτόπους ὑπο-
τέσεις καὶ μεγάλας τῶν λόγων διδόντες."

"Εὖ λέγεις," ὁ Φίλιππος εἶπεν, "ἀλλὰ τί

1 ἐπεξιόντας] ἐπεξιόντες in all mss. but E.
2 poieiv Emperius: eipeiv.
3 etephis Scaliger: etephas.
4 μὴ τελεεῖν Paton and Knatz: μήτε λέγειν.
5 ταῦτ' αὐτὰ F.C.B.; καὶ ταῦτα 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 τιθεμένων;

Καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλέων "τὸ μὲν ἐφεστάναι τοῖς χρηστηρίοις," εἴπε, "μὴ θεοὺς οίς ἀπηλλάχθαι τῶν περὶ γῆν προσηκὸν ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ δαίμονας ὑπηρέτας θεῶν, οὐ δοκεῖ μοι κακῶς ἀξιοῦσθαι. τὸ δὲ τοῖς δαίμοσι τούτοις μονονούχι δράγδην¹ λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τῶν ἑπῶν τῶν Ἐμπεδοκλέους ἀμαρτίας καὶ ἀτας καὶ πλάνας θεηλάτους ἐπιφέρειν, τελευτῶντας δὲ καὶ θανάτους ὅσπερ ἀνθρώπων ὑποτίθεσθαι, θρασύτερον ἤγομαι καὶ βαρβαρικύτερον."

'Ἡρώτησεν οὖν ὁ Κλεομβρότος τὸν Φίλιππον, ὡς εἴη καὶ ὅποθεν ὁ νεανίς: πυθόμενος δὲ τοῦ Φυνομα καὶ τὴν πόλιν, "οὔδ' αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς," ἔφη, "λαυθάνομεν, ὡς Ἡρακλέων, ἐν λόγοις ἄτοποις γεγονότες: ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐστι περὶ πραγμάτων μεγάλων μὴ μεγάλαις προσχρησάμενον ἀρχαῖς ἐπὶ τὸ εἰκός τῇ δόξῃ προελθεῖν. σὺ δὲ σεαυτὸν λέληθας ὁ δίδως ἀφαιρούμενος: ὡμολογεῖς γὰρ εἶναι δαίμονας, τῷ 419 δὲ μὴ φαύλους ἄξιον εἶναι μὴ δὲθυτος οὐκέτι δαίμονας φυλάττεις: τῶν γὰρ τῶν θεῶν διάφερουσιν, εἰ καὶ κατ' οὐσίαν τὸ ἀφθαρτόν καὶ κατ' ἀρετὴν τὸ ἀπαθὲς καὶ ἀναμάρτητον ἐξουσί;"

17. Πρὸς ταῦτα τοῦ Ἡρακλέωνος σιωπὴ διανοούμενον τι πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ Φίλιππος,² "ἀλλὰ φαύλους μὲν," ἔφη, "δαίμονας οὐκ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς μόνον, ὡς Ἡρακλέων, ἀπελευθερεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Ξενοκράτης καὶ Χρύσιππος. ἔτι δὲ Δημόκριτος,

¹ δράγδην Wyttenbach: ῥάγδην (δραχμὴν Eusebius and Theodoretus).
² ὁ Φίλιππος in Eusebius only.

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¹ Cf. Diels, Frag. der Vorsokratiker, i. p. 267, Empedocles, no. 115. 398
"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 Veterum Fragmenta, ii. 1104 (p. 321).
(419) ἐν χόμενος 'ευλόγχων εἰδώλων' τυγχάνειν, δῆλος

ην ἔτερα δυστράπελα καὶ μοχθηρᾶς γιγνώσκων

ἔχοντα προαιρέσεις τινάς καὶ ὄρμας.

"Περὶ δὲ θανάτου τῶν τουούτων ἀκήκοα λόγον

Β' ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἄφρονος οὐδ' ἀλαζόνος. Αἱμιλιανοῦ

γάρ τοῦ ἱττορος, οὐ καὶ ὕμων ἐνοι διακηκόασιν,

Ἐπιθέρσης ἦν πατήρ, ἐμὸς πολίτης καὶ διδάσκαλος

γραμματικῶν. οὕτως ἐφ' ὑπὸ πλέων εἰς Ἰταλίαν

ἐπιβήναι νεώς ἐμπορικὰ χρήματα καὶ συχνοὺς

ἐπιβάτας ἀγούσης: ἐσπέρας δ' ἥδη περὶ τὰς

Ἐχνάδας νήσους ἀποσβῆναι τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὴν

ναῦν διαφερομένην πλησίον γενέσθαι Παξῶν· ἐγρη-

γορέων δὲ τοὺς πλείστους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ πίνεν

ἐτὶ δεδειπνηκότας: ἐξαίφνης δὲ φωνὴν ἀπὸ τῆς

νῆσου τῶν Παξῶν ἀκουσθῆναι, Ἡαμοῦν τὼν βοῦκ

καλοῦντος, ὥστε θαυμάζεων. ὡ δὲ Θαμοῦς Αἰγύ-

πτιος ἦν κυβερνήτης οὐδὲ τῶν ἐμπλεούντων γνώριμως

πολλοῖς ἀπ' ὀνόματος. δις μὲν οὖν κληθέντα

σωμῆσαι, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ὑπακοῦσαι τῷ καλοῦντι:

κάκεινον ἐπιτείναντα2 τὴν φωνὴν εἰπεῖν, ὅποταν3

γένη κατὰ τὸ Παλῶδες, ἀπάγγειλον ὅτι Πᾶν ὁ

μέγας τέθνηκε.' τοῦτ’ ἀκούσαντας ὁ Ἐπιθέρσης

ἐφ' πάντας ἐκπλαγηναι: καὶ διδόντας εαντός λόγον

ἐίτε πούσαι βέλτιον εἴη τὸ προστεταγμένον εἰτε

μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν ἀλλ' ἐάν, οὕτως γνῶναι τὸν

Θαμοῦν, εἰ μὲν εἴη4 πνεῦμα, παραπλεῖν ἤσυχίαν

ἐχοντα, νηνεμίας δὲ καὶ γαλῆνης περὶ τὸν τόπουν

1 δῆλος Eusebius only, followed by Wytenbach: ἦ δῆλος

Paton: ἦ or ἦ δῆλος.

2 ἐπιτείναντα] ἐπιτείνουντα one ms. and one ms. of Eusebius.

3 ὅποταν Eusebius: ὅτι ὅταν.

4 εἰ μὲν εἴη Eusebius: εάν μὲν ἦ or ἦν.

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in addition, Democritus, 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 Epitheres, 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 Epitheres, 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).
D γενομένης ἀνειπεῖν ὃ ἥκουσεν. ὡς οὖν ἐγένετο (419) κατὰ τὸ Παλῶδες, οὕτε πνεύματος ὄντος οὕτε κλύδωνος, ἐκ πρύμνης βλέποντα τὸν Θαμοῦν πρὸς τὴν γῆν εἰπεῖν, ὦσπερ ἥκουσεν, ὅτι Πᾶν ὁ μέγας· τέθηκεν. οὐ φθήναι δὲ παυσάμενον αὐτοῦ καὶ γενέσθαι μέγαν οὐχ ἐνός ἀλλὰ πολλῶν στεναχμὸν ἀμα θαυμασμῷ μεμειγμένον. οὴ δὲ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπῳ παρόντων, ταχὺ τὸν λόγον ἐν Ἄρωμῃ σκεδασθήναι, καὶ τὸν Θαμοῦν γενέσθαι μετά- πεμπτον ὑπὸ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος. οὕτω δὲ πι- στεύσαι τῷ λόγῳ τὸν Τιβέριον, ὦστε διαπυνθάνεσθαι καὶ ζητεῖν περὶ τοῦ Πανός· εἰκάζειν δὲ τοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ φιλολόγους συνήχος ὄντας τὸν ἔξ 'Ερμοῦ Ἐ καὶ Πηνελόπης γεγενημένου.’

Ο μὲν οὖν Φιλίππος εἶχε καὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐνίους μάρτυρας, Αἴμιλιανοῦ τοῦ γέροντος ἄκη- κοστας.

18. Ο δὲ Δημήτριος ἐφη τῶν περὶ τὴν Βρετ- τανίαν νῆσων εἶναι πολλὰς ἐρήμους σποράδας, ὡς ἐνίας δαμόνων καὶ ἥρων ὄνομαζοντι, πλεῦσαι δὲ αὐτοῦ ἱστορίας καὶ θέας ἑνεκα πομπῆς τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὴν ἐγγίστα κειμένη τῶν ἐρήμων, ἑχονον ὑπὸ πολλοὺς ἐποικοῦντας ἱεροὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπόλους πάντας ὑπὸ τῶν Βρεττανῶν ὄντας. ἀφικομένου δ' αὐτοῦ νεωστὶ, σύγχυσιν μεγάλην περὶ τὸν ἀέρα καὶ διοσημίας πολλὰς γενέσθαι καὶ Π ηνεύματα καταρραγήναι καὶ πεσεῖν πρῃστήρας. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐλώφησε, λέγειν τοὺς νησώτας ὅτι τῶν κρειττόνων τινὸς ἐκλεψις γέγονεν. "ὡς γὰρ

1 Πᾶν ὁ μέγας (as above) one ms. of Eusebius: ο μέγας Πᾶν.  
2 πομπῆ Λεονίκειος: 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 Penelopē."

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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a Cf. Herodotus, ii. 145.

b Presumably the Scilly islands; cf. Moralia, 941 A–942 A.
λύχνος ἀναπτόμενος," φάναι, "δεινὸν οὐδὲν ἔχει σβενυμένος δὲ πολλοὶς λυπηρός ἐστιν, οὖτως αἱ μεγάλαι φυχαὶ τὰς μὲν ἀναλάμβας εὑμενεῖς καὶ ἀλύπους ἐχουσιν, αἱ δὲ σβέσεις αὐτῶν καὶ φθοραὶ πολλάκις μὲν, ὡς νυνὶ, πνεύματα καὶ τάρας τρέ-φουσι, 1 πολλάκις δὲ λοιμικοὶ πάθει τὸν ἀέρα
420 φαρμάττουσι." ἔκει μέντοι μίαν εἰναι νήσον, ἐν ᾗ τὸν Κρόνον καθείρχαι φρουρούμενον ὑπὸ τὸν Βριάρεω καθεύδοντα. δεσμὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν ὕπνον μεμηχανήσατε, πολλοὺς δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰναι δαί-μονας ὀπαδοὺς καὶ θεράποντας.


"Ἐπικουρείων δὲ χλευασμοὺς καὶ γέλωτας οὐ τι φοβητέον, οἷς τολμῶσι χρῆσθαι καὶ κατὰ τῆς προνοίας μῦθον αὐτὴν ἀποκαλοῦντες. ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν ἀπειρίαν μῦθον εἶναι φαμέν ἐν κόσμοις τοσοῦ-τοις μηδένα λόγῳ θεῶ κυβερνώμενον ἐχουσαν, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἐκ ταυτομάτων καὶ γεγονότας καὶ συνυσταμένους. εἰ δὲ χρῆ γελᾶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, τὰ εἰδώλα γελαστέον τὰ κωφά καὶ τυφλά καὶ ἄφυξ

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1 τρέφουσι Eusebius: τρέπουσι, or τρέφουσι.
2 τὸν in Eusebius only. 3 κωλυεῖν Xylander: κώλυσων.

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*a Cf. the interesting account which Plutarch gives in 404*
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 Moralía, 941 a ff., and Lucretius’s statement that a smouldering lamp may cause apoplexy.

Cf. von Arnim, Stoicorum Veteranum Fragmenta, ii. 1049 (p. 309).

H. Usener, Epicurea (Leipzig, 1887), 394.
(420) δ' ποιμαίνουσαν² ἀπλέτους ἐτών περιόδους ἐπιφαινόμενα καὶ περινοστοῦντα πάντη, τὰ μὲν ἐτι

C ζώντων τὰ δὲ πάλαι κατακαέντων ἡ κατασαπείτων ἀπορρινέτα, φλεδόνας καὶ σκιᾶς ἐλκοντες εἰς

φυσιολογίαν, ἃν δὲ φή τις εἶναι δαίμονας οὐ φύσει μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγους³ καὶ τὸ σώζεσθαι καὶ

dιαμένειν πολὺν χρόνον ἔχοντας, δυσκολαίνοντες."⁴

20. 'Ῥηθέντων δὲ τούτων ὁ Ἀμμώνιος, "ὁρθῶς," ἐφι, "μοι δοκεῖ Ὁθέόφραστος ἀποφήνασθαι. τί γὰρ

κωλύει φωνῆν δέξασθαι σεμνὴν καὶ φιλοσοφω-

τάτην; καὶ γὰρ ἀθετουμένῃ πολλὰ τῶν ἐνδεχο-

μένων ἀποδείχθηναι δὲ μὴ δυναμένων ἀναιρεῖ, καὶ

tιθεμένῃ πολλὰ⁵ συνεφέλκεται τῶν ἄδυνάτων καὶ

ἀνυπάρκτων. ὁ μέντοι μόνον ἀκήκοα τῶν Ἐπι-

D κουρείων λεγόντων πρὸς τοὺς εἰσαγομένους ὅπ' Ἐμπεδοκλέους δαίμονας, ὡς οὐ δυνατὸν ἐστὶν

φαύλους καὶ ἁμαρτητικοὺς ἄντας μακαρίους καὶ

μακραῖνας εἶναι, πολλὴν τυφλότητα τῆς κακίας

ἐχούσης καὶ τὸ περιπτωτικὸν τοῖς ἀναιρετικοῖς,

εὐθῆς ἐστιν. οὕτω γὰρ Ἐπίκουρος τε χείρων

Γοργίου φανεῖται τοῦ σοφιστοῦ καὶ Μητρόδωρος

'Αλέξιδος τοῦ κωμῳδοποιοῦ.⁷ διπλάσιον γὰρ

ὁστὸς ἐξηστε τοῦ Μητροδώρου, 'Επικούρου δ' ἐκείνος πλέον ἡ ἐπίτριτων. ἄλλως γὰρ ἱσχυρὸν

1 ἄψυχ' ἐ F.C.B. (there is some warrant for such elisions);

ἄψυχα ἐ Wyttenbach: ἄψυχα.

2 ποιμαίνουν Wyttenbach: ποῖ μένουσιν.

3 λόγοι] λόγω Stegmann.

4 δυσκολαίνοντες Emperius: δυσκολαίνοντας.

5 πολλὰ] οὐ πολλὰ Xylander. Pohlenz assumes a lacuna

after ἀνυπάρκτων.

6 ἐστὶν] εἶναι in many mss.

7 κωμῳδοποιοῦ the preferred form: κωμῳδοποιοῦ.
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. The one thing that I have heard the Epicureans say with reference to the demigods introduced by Empedocles 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

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\[a\] Some editors would insert a negative in the last sentence.

\[b\] Diels, *Frag. der Vorsokratiker*, i. 267, Empedocles, no. b 115.
ἀρετὴν καὶ κακίαν ἀσθενὲς λέγομεν, οὐ πρὸς δια-
Ε μονὴν καὶ διάλυσιν σώματος· ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν θηρίων¹
πολλὰ μὲν δυσκίνητα καὶ νωθρὰ ταῖς ψυχαῖς οῦτα
πολλὰ δ’ ἀκόλαστα καὶ ἄτακτα τῶν συνετῶν καὶ
πανούργων χρόνους ξῆ μακροτέρουσ. οὔθεν οὐκ
εἰ τῷ θεῷ τὴν ἀιδιότητα ποιοῦσιν ἐκ φυλακῆς
καὶ διακρούσεως τῶν ἀναιρετικῶν. ἐδει γὰρ ἐν
τῇ φύσει τοῦ μακάριον τὸ ἀπαθὲς καὶ ἀφθαρτὸν
ἐστί, μηδεμιᾶς πραγματείας δεόμενον. ἀλλ’ ἰσως
τὸ λέγειν πρὸς μὴ παρόντας οὐκ εὐγνωμόν φαί-
νεται. πάλιν οὖν ὁ Κλεόμβροτος ἦμιν ὁν ἀρτι
περὶ τῆς μεταστάσεως καὶ φυγῆς τῶν δαιμονίων
F ἀφήκε λόγον ἀναλαβεῖν δίκαιος ἐστὶ.”

21. Καὶ ὁ Κλεόμβροτος, “ἀλλὰ θαυμάσαιμ’ ἂν,”
ἐπεν, “εἰ μὴ πολὺ φαίνεται τῶν εἰρημένων ὑμῖν²
ἀτοπώτερος. καίτοι δοκεῖ φυσιολογίας ἐχεσθαι, καὶ
Πλάτων αὐτῷ παρέσχε τὸ ἐνδόσιμον οὐχ ἀπλῶς
ἀποφηνάμενος ἐκ δόξης δ’ ἀμαυρᾶς καὶ ὑπόνοιαν
ἐμβαλὼν αἰνιγματώδη μετ’ οὐλαβείας. ἀλλ’ ὅμως
πολλὴ γέγονε κάκεινον καταβόθησι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλων
421 φιλοσόφων. ἐπεὶ δὲ μῦθων καὶ λόγων ἀναμεμειγ-
μένων κρατήρ ἐν μέσῳ πρόκειται (καὶ ποῦ τις ἄν³
eὐμενεστέρους ἀκροαταῖς ἐπιτυχῶν ὡστερ νομί-
σματα ἕκακα τούτους δοκιμάσει τοὺς λόγους;),
οὐκ ὅκνῳ⁴ χαρίζεσθαι βαρβάρου διήγησιν ἀνδρός, ὅν

¹ θηρίων Wytenbach: θείων.
² μὲν added by Reiske.
³ ὑμῖν in many mss.
⁴ δ’ added by Leonicus.
⁵ ποῦ τις ἄν Emperius: ποῦ τις ἐν.
⁶ οὐκ ὅκνῳ] οὐχ ὅρω in all mss. but one.
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 a 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 πολλαῖς καὶ μήνυτρα τελέσας μεγάλα, περὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρᾶν θάλατταν ἀνθρώπους ἀνὰ πᾶν ἐτος ἀπαξ ἐντυγχάνοντα τάλλα δὲ συνόντα νύμφαις νομάσι καὶ δαίμων, ὡς ἐφασκε, μόλις ἐξανευρὼν ἐτυχον λόγου καὶ φιλοφροσύνης. κάλλιστος μὲν ἦν

Β ὃν εἰδὼν ἀνθρώπων ὀφθηναί νόσου τε πάσης ἀπαθῆς διετέλει, καρπὸν των τόσας φαρμακώδη καὶ πικρῶν ἐκάστοτε μηνὸς ἀπαξ προσφερόμενος: γλώττας δὲ πολλαῖς ἥσκητο χρήσθαι, πρὸς δ’ ἐμὲ τὸ πλείστον ἐδώριζεν οὐ πόρρω μελῶν. φθεγγομένου δὲ τὸν τόπον εὐωδία κατείχε τοῦ στόματος ἦδιστον ἀποπνέοντος. ἦ μὲν οὖν ἄλλη μάθησις καὶ ἱστορία συνήν αὐτῷ τὸν πάντα χρόνον: εἰς δὲ μαντικὴν ἐνεπνεύτω μίαν ἡμέραν ἔτους ἐκάστοτε καὶ προεθέστιζε κατων ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ἐπεφοίτησαν δὲ καὶ δυνάσται καὶ γραμματεῖς βασιλέων εἶτ’ ἀπήσαν. ἐκεῖνος οὖν τὴν μαντικὴν ἀνήγεν εἰς δαίμονας: πλείστον2 δὲ

C Δελφῶν λόγον εἰχε, καὶ τῶν3 λεγομένων περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἐνταῦθα καὶ δρωμένων ἱερῶν οὐδενὸς ἀνήκουσ ἦν, ἀλλὰ κάκεινα δαιμόνων ἐφασκεν εἶναι πάθη μεγάλα καὶ ταύτα δὴ τὰ4 περὶ Πύθωνα.5 τῷ δ’ ἀποκτείνασί μὴτ’ ἐννέα ἐτῶν μὴτ’ εἰς τὰ Τέμπη γενέσθαι μετὰ τοῦτο6 τὴν φυγήν, ἄλλ’ ἐκπεσόντ’ ἐλθεῖν εἰς ἑτέρον κόσμον7. ὑστερον δ’ ἐκεῖθεν ἐναυτῶν μεγάλων ἐννέα περιόδους ἀγνὸν γενόμενον καὶ

1 συνόντα Reiske: σὺν ταῖς.
2 πλείστον Eusebius: ἦδιστον.
3 καὶ τῶν Eusebius and one ms.: καὶ περὶ τῶν.
4 τὰ Eusebius and E.
5 Πύθωνα] τὴν Πυθλαγ Eusebius.
6 μετὰ τοῦτο Paton: μετὰ τοῦ οὐ μετὰ τὸ.
7 τὴν φυγήν . . . κόσμον Eusebius: φυγεῖν αὐτῶν 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, 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

* Cf. Moralia, 293 B-C.
(421) Φοίβον ὡς ἀληθῶς¹ κατελθόντα² τὸ χρηστήριον παραλαβεῖν, τέως ὑπὸ Θέμιδος φυλαττόμενον. οὕτως δ’ ἔχειν³ καὶ τὰ Τυφώνικὰ καὶ τὰ Τιτανικὰ· δαιμόνων μάχας γεγονέναι πρὸς δαίμονας, εἶτα φυγάς D τῶν κρατηθέντων ἡ δίκας⁴ ὑπὸ θεοῦ τῶν ἐξαμαρτστόντων, οἷα Τυφών λέγεται περὶ Ὀσιρίν ἐξαμαρττεῖν καὶ Κρόνος περὶ Οὐρανὸν, ὡν ἁμαρτότεραι γεγονασιν ἂν τιμᾶι παρ’ ἡμῖν⁵ ἡ καὶ παντάπασιν ἐκλεοπᾶσι, μεταστάτων εἰς ἑτέρον κόσμον. ἐπεὶ καὶ Σολύμους πυθήνομαι τοὺς Λυκίους προσοίκους ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τιμᾶν τὸν Κρόνον. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἀποκτεῖνας τοὺς ἀρχοντας αὐτῶν, Ἄρσαλον καὶ Δρύον⁶ καὶ Τρωσοβιόν,⁷ ἐφυγε καὶ μετεχώρησεν ὀποιήποτε (τούτῳ γὰρ οὐκ ἔχουσιν εἰπεῖν), ἔκεινον⁸ μὲν ἀμεληθήναι, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἄρσαλον σκιρροῦσθεν θεοὺς προσαγορεύσθαι, καὶ τᾶς καταρας ἐπὶ τούτων⁹ ποιεῖσθαι δημοσία καὶ ἱδία Λυκίους. τούτοις Ε μὲν οὖν ὁμοία πολλὰ λαβεῖν ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν θεολογομένων.¹¹ ‘εἰ δὲ τοῖς νενομισμένοις τῶν θεῶν ὀνομασὶ δαίμονας τινας καλούμεν, οὐ θαμαστεόν, εἶπεν ὁ Ξένος· ἵνα ἔκαστος θεῷ συντέλεσται καὶ παρ’ οὐ δυνάμεως καὶ τιμῆς εἰληχεῖν,¹² ἀπὸ τούτου φιλεῖ καλεῖσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἡμῶν ὁ μὲν τίς ἐστὶ Δῖος¹³ ὁ δ’ Ἀθηναῖος ὁ δ’ Ἀπολλώνιος ἡ Διονύσιος

¹ ὡς ἀληθῶς Eusebius: ἀληθῶς.
² κατελθόντα Eusebius: καὶ ἐλθόντα.
³ ἔχειν Eusebius: ἔχει.
⁴ δίκας Eusebius and D: δικαίωσις or δικαιώσεις.
⁵ τιμᾶι παρ’ ἡμῖν Eusebius: τιμᾶι.
⁶ Δρύον] Ἄρνον Theodoretus; ἅρνον or ἅρυτον Eusebius.
⁷ Τρωσοβιόν] Τόσβιν Eusebius: Τόσβιν, Τόσβιν, or Τόσβιν
⁸ ἐκείνον Eusebius and Theodoretus: ἐκείνους.
⁹ σκιρροῦς (σκιρροῦς) Eusebius and Theodoretus: σκιρροῦς.
¹⁰ τούτων Eusebius and Theodoretus: τούτω.

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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

*a Cf. 360 r, supra.*

11 θεολογουμένων] μυθολογουμένων in some mss. and Eusebius.
12 παρ’ οὗ δυνάμεως . . . εἰπεκεν] ὅ τις δυνάμεως . . . μετ-εἰπεκεν Eusebius.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

"'Ερμαιός: ἀλλ' ἐνιού μὲν ὀρθῶς κατὰ τύχην ἐκλήθησαν, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ μηδὲν προσηκούσας ἀλλ' ἐνηλλαγμένας ἐκτήσαντο θεῶν παρωνυμίας."

F 22. Σιωπήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Κλεομβρότου πάσι μὲν ὁ λόγος ἐφάνη θαυμαστός. τοῦ δ' Ἡρακλέωνος πυθομένου πη¹ ταύτα προσήκει² Πλάτωνι καὶ πῶς ἐκεῖνος τὸ ἐνδόσιμον τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ παρέσχε, ὁ Κλεομβρότος, "εὖ μυθινοεὺεις," εἶπεν, "ὅτι τὴν 422 μὲν ἀπειρίαν αὐτὸθεν ἀπέγνω τῶν κόσμων, περὶ δὲ πλῆθος ὦρισε ηώσκισε, καὶ μέχρι τῶν πέντε τοὺς ὑποτιθεμένως κατὰ στοιχείον ἕνα κόσμον ἑπιχωρήσας τὸ εἰκός, αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐφ' ἐνὸς ἐτήρησεν. καὶ δοκεῖ τούτῳ Πλάτωνος ἰδιον εἶναι, τῶν ἄλλων σφόδρα φοβηθέντων³ τὸ πλῆθος, ὥσ τούς ἐνὶ τὴν ὕλην μὴ ὀρίσαντας ἀλλ' ἐκβάντας εὐθὺς ἀορίστου καὶ χαλεπῆς ἀπειρίας ὑπολαμβανούσης."

"'Ο δὲ ξένος," ἐφην ἐγώ, "περὶ πλῆθους κόσμων ὄριζεν ἥ Platoν ἦ, ὦτε συνεγένοι τῷ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ, οὐδὲ διεπειράθης;

"'Αλλ' οὖκ ἔμελλον," εἶπεν ὁ Κλεομβρότος, "εἰ Β μηδὲν ἀλλο, τῶν τοῖς περὶ ταύτα λιπαρῆς εἶναι καὶ πρόθυμος ἀκροατής, ἐνδιδόντος ἑαυτὸν ἑλεῶν καὶ παρέχοντος; ἐλεγε δὲ μὴτ' ἀπείρους μὴθ' ἕνα μὴτο πέντε κόσμους, ἀλλὰ τρεῖς καὶ ὑγιόκοντα καὶ ἕκατον εἶναι συντεταγμένοις κατὰ σχήμα τριγωνο-

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1 πη Turnebus: μη.
2 προσήκει] προσήκει in most mss.
3 φοβηθέντων] φοβηθέντος Paton.
4 εἰν Wytenbach: ἐπὶ.
5 ἦ Xylander: ἦ.
6 ἦ, ὦτε συνεγένοι Xylander followed by Wytenbach: ὥθεν εὖ ἐγένου.
7 τοῦτω] τοῦτων Michael.
8 τῶν Meziriacus: τᾲ.
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\(^a\) 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,\(^b\) 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,\(^c\) arranged in the form of a triangle,


\(^b\) Cf. Aristotle, *De Caelo*, i. 8 (276 a 18).

(422) eidês, ou pleuravn ékaston éxíkononta kós mou exewn triwv de twv loipwv ékaston idrúshai kata' gnovian, aptesthai de touvs efexh's allhlon átréma peri-
 iontas w sper ep xoreía. to de evnós épíshedon tou
 triyónou koujhn éstian einai pántwn, kaleisai de
 pedion allhtheias, en o touvs lógyous kai ta eídhe kai
 C tâ paradeígymata twn yegonótwn kai twn genvso-
mewn akíntta keísha, kai peri autâ tou aiwvnou
 óntos oíon aporropn epí touvs kós mou1 féréschatai
 tòn xrónon. òimn de toutwn kai thean yphax
 an' horwtais ápox en efesv mríous úparxheun, án y'
ev biaéswsí. kai twn éntaâtha tleitwv tás árístas
 ékeínhs óneirvon einai tis èstopetías kai tleitís: kai
tous lógyous anamvňsewos2 éneka twn ékeî filosofoe-
thai kalow n và máthn peraívseba, taât'," efh,3
 "peri toutwn mutholouvnouc ýtikon óntegunhs
 kathaper en tleití kai ynthse, yhdemian apódeixun
 tou lógyou mhdè pístin épiférontos."

 23. Kâov tòn Ïmítíron prosegoreússas, "pîs
 D exei," efh, "tâ touv mhnstîron éph, tîn 'Odus-
séa tauomasaántwn to toxov metaxeirizómenon;" 
 yptomnshíntos de tò Dnmtírou, "taât'," efh, 
 "epórkhetai kâmoi peri tòv zévous êipeîn

 ë tis Ïhthîr4 kai épiklолос êpletò

dogmàtwv te kai lógyon pàntodapwv, kai polupla-
vhs en grámmas kai ou bárbaros állo 'Ellhvn xénos
ívn, polhês 'Ellhnidos mouýsos ánaptlews. élégxhe
 ð' autûn o tòv kósmwv arithmós ouk õvn Aignútios

1 kós mou] xrónos in all mss. but one (E).
2 anamvňsewos Wytenbach: ánemwvn or ánemwvnsas.
3 efh Meziriacus: efh,.
4 Ïhthîr Homer: Ïhthîr.
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 Δωριένος ἀπὸ Σικελίας, ἀνδρὸς Ἰμεραίου τοῦνομα Πέτρωνος· αὐτῶι μὲν ἐκεὶνον βιβλίδιον οὐκ ἀνέγινον οὐδ’ οίδα διασωζόμενον.

Ε Ἰππυς δ’ ὁ Ρηγίνος, οὐ μέμνηται Φανίας ὁ Ἐρέσιος, ἵστορεῖ δόξαν εἶναι ταύτην Πέτρωνος καὶ λόγον, ὡς ἐκατὸν καὶ ὁγδοχυκοῦτα καὶ τρεῖς κόσμους ὀντας ἀπτομένους δ’ ἀλλήλων κατὰ στοιχείον, ὃ τί δὴ τοῦτ ἐστὶ, κατὰ στοιχεῖον ἀππεσθαι, μὴ προσδια-

σαφῶν μηδ’ ἄλλην τινα πιθανότητα προσάπτων.”

Ὑπολαβῶν δ’ ὁ Δημήτριος, “τίς δ’ ἄν,” εἶπεν, “ἐν τοιούτοις πράγμασιν εἰπὶ πιθανότης, ὅπου καὶ Πλάτων οὐδὲν εἰπὼν εὐλογον οὐδ’ εἰκὸς οὔτω κατέβαλε τὸν λόγον;”

Καὶ ὁ �аемυκλεών, “ἄλλα μὴν ὑμῶν,” ἐφη, “τῶν γραμματικῶν ἀκούομεν εἰς ὁμηρον ἀναγόντων τὴν δόξαν, ὡς ἐκείνου τὸ πᾶν εἰς πέντε κόσμους δια-

νέμοντος, οὕνεν ὕδωρ ἀέρα γῆν οἰλυμπὸν. ὡν τὰ μὲν δύο κοινὰ καταλείπει, γῆν μὲν τοῦ κάτω παντὸς οὕσαν, οἰλυμπὸν δὲ τοῦ ἄνω παντὸς· οἱ δ’ ἐν μέσῳ τρεῖς τοῖς τρισὶ θεοῖς ἀπεδόθησαν. οὔτω δὲ καὶ Πλάτων ἐοικε τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ πρώτα σωμάτων εἴδη καὶ σχήματα συννέμων ταῖς τοῦ ὀλον διαφοραῖς πέντε κόσμους καλείν, τὸν γῆς τὸν ὑδάτος τὸν ἀέρος τὸν πυρὸς, ἐσχατὸν δὲ τὸν περιέχοντα τοῦτος, τὸν τοῦ διωδεκαέδρου, πολύχυτον καὶ πολύτρεπτον, ὃς μάλιστα δὴ ταῖς ψυχικαῖς περιόδοις καὶ κινήσει πρέπον σχῆμα καὶ συναρμότον ἀπέδωκε.”

1 Ἐρέσιος Χυλανδέρ: αἰρέσιος. 2 δὲ Βερναρδάκης: δὲ.
3 ἀναγόντων Στέγμαν: ἀγόντων.
4 ὃ 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\textsuperscript{a} of Rhegium, whom Phani\textsuperscript{a} 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\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{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."

\textsuperscript{a} Cf. 390 c, \textit{supra}; Homer, \textit{Il.} xv. 187.
\textsuperscript{b} Cf. Plato, \textit{Timaeus}, 31\textsuperscript{a}, and 55 c; \textit{Moralia}, 390\textsuperscript{a} and 887 b.
(423) Καὶ ὁ Δημήτριος, ""Ομηρον,"" ἐφη, ""τι κινοῦμεν ἐν τῷ παρόντι; μύθων γὰρ ἄλις. Πλάτων δὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ τὰς πέντε τοῦ κόσμου διαφοράς πέντε κόσμους προσαγορεύειν: εὖν οἷς τε μάχεσαι τοῖς ἀπείροις κόσμοις ὑποτιθεμένους αὐ, τῇδε φησὶ δοκεῖν ἐνα τούτον εἶναι μονογενῆ τῷ θεῷ καὶ Β ἀγαπητόν, ἐκ τοῦ σωματοειδοῦς πάντος ὅλου καὶ τέλειου καὶ αὐτάρκης γεγενημένου. οἴδεν ἢν τις καὶ θαυμάσειν ὑπὶ τάληθες εἴπων αὐτὸς ἐτέροις ἀπιθάνου καὶ λόγου οὐκ ἔχουσα ἄρχην παρέσχε διδαξὴς. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἑνα μὴ φυλάξαι κόσμον εἰχεν ἀμωσγέπως ὑπόθεσιν τὴν τοῦ παντὸς ἀπερίαν, τὸ δ' ἀφωρισμένος ποιήσαι τοσοῦτοι καὶ μήτε πλείους τῶν πέντε μὴ' ἐλάττους κομιδῇ παραλογον καὶ πάσης πιθανότητος ἀπηρτημένον, εἰ μή τι σοῦ λέγεις," ἐφη, πρὸς ἐμὲ βλέψας.

Κἀγώ, ""δοκεῖ γὰρ οὕτως," ἐφην, "ἀφέντας ἡδὴ τὸν περὶ χρηστηρίων λόγον ὡς τέλος ἐχοντα, μεταλαμβάνειν ἐτέρων τοσοῦτον.

"Οὐκ ἀφέντας," εἶπεν ὁ Δημήτριος, "ἐκεῖνον, ἀλλὰ μὴ παρελθόντας τοῦτον ἀντιλαμβανόμενον ἡμῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἐνδιατρίβομεν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἑστοργάζοντα τὴν πιθανότητα θυγόντες αὐτοῦ μέτιμεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐς ἀρχῆς ὑπόθεσιν."

24. "Πρῶτον τούνυν," ἐφην ἐγώ, "τὰ κωλύοντα ποιεῖν κόσμους ἀπείρους οὐκ ἀπείρηι πλείονας ἐνὸς ποιεῖν. καὶ γὰρ θεῶν  ἐστιν εἶναι καὶ μαντικὴν καὶ

1 αὐ, τῇδε F.C.B.; αὐτῷ δὴ Vulcubius; αὐτὸς ἤδη Schwartz; ταύτῃ δὴ φησὶ οἱ Paton: αὐτῇ δὴ.  
2 διδαχὴς F.C.B.; δόξης Leonicus; διατριβής Michael; διανομῆς Pohlenz: δὲ' αὐτῆς.  
3 θεῶν 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 πλείστι κόσμοι καὶ τὸ μικροτάτῃ
τύχῃ παρεμπίπτειν, τὰ δὲ πλείστα καὶ μέγιστα
tάξει¹ λαμβάνειν² γένεισι καὶ μεταβολῆν, ὥν οὐδὲν
ἡ ἀπειρία δέχεσθαι πέφυκεν. ἔπειτα τῷ λόγῳ
D μᾶλλον ἔπεται τὸ τῷ θεῷ μὴ μονογενῇ μηδ' ἔρημον
εἶναι τὸν κόσμον. ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὄν τελέως οὐδεμιᾶς
ἀρετῆς ἐνδεής ἑστιν, ἥκιστα δὲ τῶν³ περὶ δικαιο-
σύνης καὶ φιλίαν κάλλιστα γὰρ αὐτὰ⁴ καὶ θεοὶ
πρέπουσι. μάτην δ' οὐδὲν ἔχειν οὐδ' ἀχρηστὸν θεὸς
πέφυκεν. εἰσὶν οὖν ἐκτὸς ἔτεροι θεοὶ καὶ κόσμοι,
πρὸς οὐς⁵ χρῆται ταῖς κοινωνικαῖς ἀρεταῖς· οὐ γὰρ
πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδὲ μέρος αὐτοῦ χρῆσις ἐστὶ δικαιο-
σύνης ἢ χάριτος ἢ χρηστότητος ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἅλλους.
ὡστ' οὖκ εἰκὸς ἄφιλον οὐδ' ἀγείτονα τόνδ' οὐδ'
Ε ἀμείκτον ἐν ἀπειρῷ κενῷ τὸν κόσμον σαλεύει, ἔπει
καὶ τὴν φύσιν ὅρῳμεν τὰ⁶ καθ' ἐκαστὰ γένεσι καὶ
eἴδεσιν οἰον ἀγγείοις ἡ περικαρπίοις σπέρματα⁷ περι-
έχουσαν. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐν ἀριθμῷ τῶν ὀντων ἑστιν,
οὐ γε μὴ⁸ λόγος ὑπάρχει κοινὸς, οὐδὲ τυγχάνει τῆς
tοιάσδε προσηγορίας ὁ μὴ κοινῶς ποιῶν ἢ⁹ ἰδίως
ἑστιν. ὁ δὲ κόσμος οὐ λέγεται κοινῶς εἶναι ποιῶς:
ἰδίως¹⁰ τοῖνυν ποιῶς ἑστιν ἐκ διαφοράς τῆς πρὸς ἅλλα

¹ τάξει] τάξειν in most mss.
² λαμβάνειν Basel ed. of 1542: λαμβάνειν.
³ τῶν] τῶ or τὸ in all mss. but one (G).
⁴ αὐταί Turnebus: αὐτὰ.
⁵ οὐς Turnebus: οἷς.
⁶ τὰ added by some early editor.
⁷ σπέρματα Reiske: σπέρματος.
⁸ οὐ γε μὴ Wyttenbach: οὐδὲ μὴ or μὴν.
⁹ ἢ added by Madvig.
¹⁰ ἰδίως
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 κοινῶς εἶναι ποῖος· ἵνα εἰς corrections of Emperius, Wyttenbach, and Madvig: κοινῶς εἶναι ποῖοι (or -ος) δ' ὦς.
συγγενή καὶ ὁμοειδὴ γεγονός τοιοῦτος. εἰ γὰρ
οὔτ' ἀνθρωπὸς εἰς οὕθ' ἢππος ἐν τῇ φύσει γέγονεν
οὔτ' ἀστρὸν οὔτε θεὸς οὔτε δαῖμον, τί κωλύει μηδὲ
kόσμον ἕνα τὴν φύσιν ἔχειν ἄλλα πλείονας; ὁ γὰρ
F λέγων ὅτι καὶ γην μίαν ἔχει καὶ θάλατταν ἐμφανές
ti παρορὰ τὸ τῶν ὁμοιομερῶν τὴν τε γὰρ γῆν
eis ὁμώνυμα μέρη καὶ τὴν θάλατταν ὁσαύτως δι-
αιροῦμεν. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου μέρος οὐκέτι κόσμος
ἄλλ' ἐκ διαφόρων φύσεων συνέστηκε.

424 25. "Καὶ μὴν ὁ γε μάλιστα φοβηθέντες ἐνοι
καταναλίσκοντο τὴν ύλην εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἐν’ ἀ-
pασαν, ὡς μηδὲν ὑπολειπόμενον ἐκτὸς ἐνστάσεων
ἡ πληγαῖς διαταράσσον τὴν τοῦτο σύστασιν, οὐκ
ὁρθῶς ἔδεισαν. πλειώνων γὰρ οὕτων κόσμων ἱδία
δ’ ἐκάστος συνειληχώτος οὐσία καὶ ύλη μέτρον ὁρι-
σμένον ἔχουσι καὶ πέρας, οὐδὲν ἀτακτὸν οὐδ’ ἀκατα-
kόσμητον οἷον περίττωμα λειφθήσεται προσπίπτον
ἐξωθεν. ὁ γὰρ περὶ ἐκάστος λόγος ἐγκρατῆς ὁ ἐν
τῆς συννενεμημένης ύλης οὐδὲν ἐκφορον ἐάσει καὶ
πλανώμενον ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς ἄλλον οὐδ’ εἰς εαυτὸν εἰς
B ἄλλου διὰ τὸ μήτε πλῆθος ἀόριστον καὶ ἀπειρον
τὴν φύσιν ἔχειν μήτε κίνησιν ἄλογον καὶ ἀτακτον.
ei δὲ καὶ τις ἀπορροή φέρεται πρὸς ἑτέρους ἄφ’
ἐτέρων, ὄμοφιλον εἶναι καὶ προσηνη προσήκει καὶ
πᾶσιν ἡπίως ἐπιμειγνυμένην ὠσπερ αἱ τῶν ἀστέρων

1 ἄλλα συγγενή καὶ ὁμοειδή Wytenbach: ἄλλα (or ἄληλα)
syngeny (or -ου) καὶ ὁμοειδὴ (or ουκοειδὴς).
2 ἄλλα ἄλλ' ἕ in all mss. but one (A).
3 ἐν added by P.C.B. (eis ἐνα τὸν van Herwerden).
4 ὑπολειπόμενον Turnebus: ὑπολειπόμενη.
5 λόγος Meziriacus: λόγον.
6 προσήκει added by P.C.B., assuming haplography; simi-
larly εἰκὸς was added by Wytenbach from οἰκεῖος, which
stands in place of ἡπίως in all mss. but one (D).

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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) αὐγαί καὶ συγκράσεις, αὐτοὺς τε τέρπεσθαί καθ-
ορώντας ἀλλήλους εὐμενῶς, θεοῖς τε πολλοίς καὶ
ἀγαθοῖς καθ' ἐκαστὸν οὐσι παρέχειν ἐπιμειξίας καὶ
φιλοφροσύνας. ἀδύνατον γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστὶ τοῦτων
οὕτε μυθῶδες οὕτε παράλογον: εἰ μὴ νηὔ Δία τὰ τοῦ
'Αριστοτέλους ὑπόψονται τινες ὡς φυσικὰς αἰτίας
ἐχοντα. τῶν γὰρ σωμάτων ἐκάστου τόπον οἰκεῖον

C ἔχοντος, ὡς φησιν, ἀνάγκη τὴν γην πανταχοθεν ἐπὶ
tὸ μέσον φέρεσθαι καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπ' αὐτὴς διὰ βάρος
ὑφιστάμενον τοὺς κοινοτέρους. ἂν οὖν πλείονες ὡσὶ
κόσμοι, συμβῆσσαι τὴν γην πολλαχοῦ μὲν ἐπάνω
τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος κείσθαι πολλαχοῦ δ' ὑποκάτω· καὶ τὸν ἀέρα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ὄμοιως, τῇ μὲν
ἐν ταῖς κατὰ φύσιν πὴ δ' ἐν ταῖς παρὰ φύσιν2
χώραις ὑπάρχειν. ἂν ἀδύνατων ὄντων, ὡς οἴεται,
μήτε δύο μήτε πλείονας εἶναι κόσμους, ἀλλ' ἕνα
τούτον ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας ἀπάσης συγκείμενον, ἰδρυ-
μένον κατὰ φύσιν, ὡς προσήκει ταῖς τῶν σωμάτων
dιαφοραῖς. (26.) ἄλλα καὶ ταῦτα πιθανῶς μάλλον
ἡ ἀληθῶς εἴρηται· σκόπει δ' οὕτως,' ἐφην, "ὡς

D φίλε Δημήτριε. τῶν γὰρ σωμάτων τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ
tὸ μέσον καὶ κάτω κινεῖσθαι λέγων τὰ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ
μέσου καὶ ἀνώ τὰ δὲ περὶ τὸ μέσον καὶ κύκλῳ,
πρὸς τί λαμβάνει τὸ μέσον; οὐ δήποι πρὸς τὸ
κενὸν· οὐ γὰρ ἐστι κατ' αὐτὸν. καθ' οὐσ3 δ' ἐστιν,
οὐκ ἔχει μέσον, ὡσπερ οὐδὲ πρῶτον οὐδ' ἐσχατον·

1 τὰ omitted in most mss.
2 πῆ δ' ἐν...φύσιν in one ms. only (B).
3 οὐσ Xylander: οὐ.

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a Cf. Aristotle, De Caelo, i. 7 (276 a 18).
b Cf. Moralia, 925 b and 1054 b.

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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 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 besfits 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 δὲ ἀπειρον καὶ ἀπεράτωτον. εἰ δὲ καὶ βιάσατο τις αὐτῶν λόγου· βία κινούμενον ἀπειρον τολμήσαι τίς ἢ πρὸς τούτο γιγνομένη τῶν κινήσεων διαφορὰ τοῖς σώμασι; ὡστε γὰρ ἐν τῷ κενῷ δύναμις ἔστι τῶν σωμάτων ὡστε τὰ σώματα προαιρέσθω ἑχει καὶ ὄρμην, ηδὲ τοῦ μέσου γλίστετα
e καὶ πρὸς τούτο συντείνει πανταχόθεν. ἀλλ' ὀμοίως ἀπορῶν ἐστίν ἁμύχων σωμάτων πρὸς ἀσώματον χώραν καὶ ἀδιάφορον ἢ φορὰν ἢ αὐτῶν ἢ ὀλκὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνης γιγνομένη νοῆσαι. λείπεται τοίνυν τὸ μέσον οὐ τοπικῶς ἀλλὰ σωματικῶς λέγεσθαι. τοῦτο γὰρ τοῦ κόσμου μίαν ἐκ πλειώνων σωμάτων καὶ ἀνομοίων ἐνότητα καὶ σύνταξι ἔχοντος, αἱ διαφοράς τὰς κινήσεις ἄλλας πρὸς ἄλλα ποιοῦσιν ἢ ἀνάγκης. δὴ λοῦ δὲ τῷ μετακοσμούμενα ταῖς οὐσίαις ἐκαστα καὶ τὰς χώρας ἁμα συμμεταβάλλων αἱ μὲν γὰρ διακρίσεις ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου τὴν ὑλὴν αἴρομεν ἄνω κύκλω διανέμουσιν αἱ δὲ συγκρίσεις

27. "Περὶ δὲν οὖκ ἀναγκαῖον ἐνταῦθα πλείσσι λόγους χρησθαι. ἢν γὰρ ἐν τις ὑποθήται τῶν παθῶν τούτων καὶ τῶν μεταβολῶν αὐτῶν εἶναι δημουργόν, αὐτὴ συνεξει τῶν κόσμων ἐκαστὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ. καὶ γὰρ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν ἐκαστὸς ἑστὶ κόσμος· ἑστὶ γὰρ καὶ μέσον ἐκαστὸς ἰδιον, καὶ πάθη

1 λόγου Emperius: λόγω.
2 κινούμενον] κενοῦ μέσον Wytenbach.
3 ἀπειρον] ἀπειρον Emperius.
4 τολμήσαι] τι ὀμολογήσαι Xylander; τι νοῆσαι Madvig (but cf. Moralia, 122 c).
5 ἦ or ἢ in all mss. but one.
6 ὀμοίως Madvig: ὀμως.

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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 χώραν Meziriacus: χώρειν.
8 τῶν κόσμων Reiske: τοῦ κόσμου.
(425) σωμάτων καὶ μεταβολάς καὶ φύσιν καὶ δύναμιν, ἦ σῶζει καὶ φυλάττει κατὰ χώραν ἐκαστον. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἐκτός, εἰτ' οὐδέν ἐστιν εἰτε κενὸν ἄπεριφρον, οὐχ ὑπάρχει μέσον, ως εὑρηταί: πλειόνων δὲ κόσμων ὄντων, καθ' ἐκαστον ἐστιν ἑδιον μέσον· ὡστε κύνη- σις ἱδια τοῖς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τοῖς δ' ἀπὸ τοῦτο τοῖς δὲ περὶ τοῦτο, καθάπερ αὐτοὶ διαιροῦσιν. δ' δ' ἀξιών, πολλῶν μέσων ὄντων, ἐφ' ἐν μόνον ὧδεισθαι τὰ βάρη πανταχόθεν, οὐδέν διαφέρει τοῦ, πολλῶν ὄντων ἀνθρώπων, ἀξιόντως εἰς μίαν φλέβα τὸ πανταχόθεν αἶμα συρρεῖ καὶ μιὰ μῆνυγι τοὺς

Β πάντων ἐγκεφάλους περιέχεσθαι, δεινὸν ἣγούμενος, εἰ τῶν φυσικῶν σωμάτων οὐ μίαν ἀπαντα τὰ στερρὰ καὶ μίαν τὰ μανὰ χώραν ἐφέξει. καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἀτοπος ἐστι κάκεινος ἀγανακτῶν εἰ τὰ ἡλικία τοὺς αὐτῶν μέρει χρήται, τὴν κατὰ φύσιν θέσιν ἔχουσιν ἐν ἐκάστῳ καὶ τάξιν. ἐκεῖνο γὰρ ἂν ἀτοπον, κεῖ τις ἐλεγεν κόσμων εἴναι τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ ποὺ σελήνην ἔχοντα καθάπερ ἄνθρωπον ἐν ταῖς πτέρναις τὸν ἐγκεφαλον φοροῦντα καὶ τὴν καρδίαν ἐν τοῖς κροτάφοις. τὸ δὲ πλείονας ποιοῦντας χωρίς ἀλλήλων κόσμους ἅμα τοῖς ἀλλοις τὰ μέρη συναφοῖς καὶ συνδιαρεῖν οὐκ

C ἀτοπον· ἢ γὰρ ἐν ἐκάστῳ γῆ καὶ θάλαττα καὶ ὁμονὸς κείσται κατὰ φύσιν ὃς προσῆκε, τὸ τ' ἀνω καὶ κάτω καὶ κύκλω καὶ μέσον οὐ πρὸς ἄλλον

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1 ἦ added by Meziriacus.
2 οὐχ ὑπάρχει Paton: οὐ παρέχει.
3 κεῖ F.C.B.: εἰ.
4 ποὺ added by F.C.B.

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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, a 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 b; as well call that a man who carries his brains in his heels or his heart in his head! c 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.
(425) οὐδ' ἐκτὸς ἄλλ' ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔχει τῶν κόσμων ἐκαστὸς.

28. "Ον μὲν γὰρ ἐξω τοῦ κόσμου λίθον ύποτίθενταί τινες οὔτε μονὴς εὐπόρως παρέχει νόησιν οὔτε κινήσεως. πῶς γὰρ ἦ μενεὶ βάρος ἐξων ἦ κινήσεται πρὸς τὸν κόσμον, ὡσπερ τὰ λοιπὰ βάρη, μήτε μέρος ὃν αὐτοῦ μήτε συντεταγμένος εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν; γῆν τ' ἐν ἑτέρῳ κόσμῳ περιεξομένῃ καὶ συνδεδεμένῃ οὐκ ἔδει διαπορεῖν ὅπως οὐκ ἑνταῦθα ἒκ μεταχωρεῖ διὰ βάρος ἀπορραγεῖσα τοῦ ὅλου, τὴν φύσιν ὅρωντας καὶ τὸν τόνων ύφ' οὐ συνέχεται τῶν μερῶν ἐκαστὸν. ἐπεὶ μὴ πρὸς τὸν κόσμον ἄλλ' ἐκτὸς αὐτοῦ τὸ κάτω καὶ ἀνω λαμβάνοντες, ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἀπορίαις Ἐπικούρῳ γεννησόμεθα κυνοῦντι τὰς ἀτόμους ἀπάσας εἰς τοὺς ύπὸ πόδας τόπους, ὡσπερ ἦ τοῦ κενοῦ πόδας ἐχοντως ἦ τῆς ἀπειρίας ἐν αὐτῇ κάτω τε καὶ ἀνω νόησαι2 διδούσης. διὸ καὶ Χρύσιππον ἐστὶ θαυμάζειν, μᾶλλον τ' ὅλως διαπορεῖν ὃ τι δὴ παθῶν τὸν κόσμον ἐν μέσῳ φησὶν ἔδρασθαι, καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ τὸν μέσον τὸπον ἀδίως κατειληφύιαν, οὐχ ἦκιστα τοῦτων3 συνεργεῖσθαι4 πρὸς τὴν διαμονὴν καὶ οἰονεὶ ἀφθαρσίαν. ταυτὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ περὶ Δυσατῶν λέγει, μέσον τε τοῦ ἀπείρον τόπον οὐκ ὀρθῶς ὁνειρώττων ἀτοπώτερον τε τῆς διαμονῆς τοῦ κόσμου τῷ ἀνυπάρκτῳ μέσῳ

1 γῆν Xylander: τὴν.
2 νόησαι Bernardakis; διανοεῖσθαι Kronenberg; διανοῆσαι.
3 τοῦτω Turnebus: τοῦτον or τοῦτων.
4 συνεργεῖσθαι Wytttenbach; συνεργεῖν Paton: συνέργεσθαι.

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,\(^a\) we shall become involved in the
same difficulties as Epicurus,\(^b\) 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,\(^c\) 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
τὴν αὐτὴν ὑποτίθεις, καὶ ταῦτα πολλάκις εἰρηκὼς ἐν ἑτέροις ὅτα ταῖς εἰς τὸ αὐτῆς μέσον ἡ οὐσία καὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτῆς μέσου διοικεῖται καὶ συνέχεται κυνήσει.

29. "Καὶ μὴν τὰ γ' ἄλλα τῶν Στωικῶν τίς ἁν φοβηθεὶς, πυνθανομένων πῶς εἰμιαρμένη μία μενεὶ καὶ πρόνοια, καὶ οὐ πολλοὶ Δίης καὶ Ζήνας ἐσονται, πλειόνων ὄντων κόσμων; πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ εἰ τὸ πολλὸς εἶναι Δίας καὶ Ζήνας ἀτοπὸν ἐστι, 

Πολλῶ δὴπουθὲν ἔσται τὰ ἑκεῖνων ἀτοπούτερα καὶ γὰρ ἡλίους καὶ σελήνας καὶ Ἀπόλλωνας καὶ Ἀρτέμιδας καὶ Ποσειδώνας ἐν ἀπείρους κόσμων περιόδοις ἀπείρους ποιοῦσι. ἔπειτα τίς ἀνάγκη πολλοὺς εἶναι Δίας, ἄν πλείονες ἐστὶ κόσμοι, καὶ μὴ καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἄρχοντα πρῶτον καὶ ἡγεμόνα τοῦ ὅλου 426 θεὸν ἔχοντα καὶ νοῦν καὶ λόγον, οἷς ὁ παρ’ ἡμῖν κύριος ἀπάντων καὶ πατήρ ἐπονομαζόμενος; τῷ τι κωλύσει τῆς τοῦ Δίος εἰμιαρμένης καὶ προνοίας ὑπηκόους πάντας εἶναι, καὶ τοῦτον ἔφοράν ἐν μέρει καὶ κατευθύνειν, ἐνδιδόντα πᾶσιν ἀρχὰς καὶ σπέρματα καὶ λόγους τῶν περαινομένων; οὐ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα μὲν ἐν συνίσταται σῶμα πολλάκις ἐκ διεστῶτων σωμάτων, οἷον ἐκκλησία καὶ στράτευμα καὶ χορός, ὅν ἐκάστῳ καὶ ζῆν καὶ φρονεῖν καὶ μανθάνειν συμβεβηκέν, ὥς οἰεταί Χρύσιττος, ἐν δὲ τῷ παντὶ δέκα κόσμους ἡ πεντῆκοντ’ ἡ καὶ ἐκατὸν ὄντας ἐνὶ χρήσθαι λόγῳ καὶ πρὸς ἀρχὴν συντετά-

1 ἦν Wytenbach: καὶ.

a Cf. Moralia, 142 e; Sextus Empiricus, Adversus Mathematicos, vii. 102.
b Cf. von Arnim, Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta, ii. 367 (p. 124).
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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
Β' χθαί μίαν ἁδύνατόν ἔστιν; ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πρέπει (426) θεοὶ ἡ τοιαύτη διάταξις· οὐ γὰρ ὃς σμήνους ἤγε
μόνας δεῖ ποιεῖν ἄνεξόδους οὐδὲ φρουρεῖν συγκλεί-
σαντας τῇ ύλῃ μάλλον δὲ συμφράζαντας, ὦσπερ ὦτου τῶν θεοὺς ἀέρων ἔξεις ποιοῦντες1 καὶ ὑδάτων καὶ πυρὸς δυνάμεις ἐγκεκραμένας ἥγουμενοι συγ-
γεννώσι τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ πάλιν συγκατακώισον, οὐκ ἀπολύτους οὐδ’ ἐλευθέρους οἶνον ἡμίχους ἡ κυβερ-
νήτας ὄντας ἄλλ’, ὦσπερ ἀγάλματα προσηλυτα
καὶ συντήκεται βάσεων, οὕτως ἐγκεκλείμενοι εἰς τὸ σωματικὸν καὶ συγκαταγεγομμένους, κοινω-
νοῦντας αὐτῷ μέχρι φθορᾶς καὶ διαλύσεως ἀπάσης C καὶ μεταβολῆς.

30. "'Εκεῖνος δ’ οἶμαι σεμνότερος ὁ λόγος καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστερος, ἀδεσπότους καὶ αὐτοκρατεῖς τῶν θεοὺς ὄντας, ὦσπερ οἱ Τυνδαρίδαι τοῖς χειμαζομένοις βοηθοῦσιν

ἐπερχόμενον2 τε μαλάσσοντες βιατὰν3 πόντων ὦκείας τ’ ἀνέμων ῥηπᾶς,

οὐκ ἐμπλέοντες αὐτοὶ καὶ συγκινδυνεύοντες ἀλλ’ ἀνωθεν ἔπιφαινόμενοι καὶ σφιγγόντες, οὕτως ἐπιέναι4 τῶν κόσμων5 ἄλλοτ’ ἄλλον, ἡδονή τε τῆς θέας ἁγο-
μένους καὶ τῇ φύσει συναπευθύνοντας ἐκαστον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ὁμήρους Ζεὺς οὐ πάνυ πρόσω μετέθηκε

D τῆν ὄψιν ἀπὸ Τροίας ἐπὶ τὰ Θράκια καὶ τοὺς περὶ

1 ποιοῦντες] ποιοῦντας in all mss. but Α, whence ποιὰs Reiske.
2 ἐπερχόμενον from Moralia, 1103 c: ἐπερχόμενοι.
3 βιατὰν Bergk: βία τῶν (βλαυν 1103 c).
4 ἐπιέναι Turnebus: ὑπείναι (ἐπείναι G corr.).
5 τῶν κόσμων Reiske: τὸν κόσμον.

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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

a Ibid. 1055 (p. 311).
b Castor and Pollux, the protectors of sailors.
d Homer, ll. xiii. 3.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(426) τὸν Ἴστρον νομάδας, ὁ δ' ἀληθινὸς ἔχει καλὰς καὶ πρεπούσας ἐν πλείοσι κόσμωις μεταβολάς, οὐχὶ\(^1\) κενὸν ἀπειρον ἔξω βλέπων οὐδ' ἑαυτὸν ἄλλο δ' οὐδέν, ὡς ὠνόμασαν ἐνιοῦ, νοῶν, ἄλλ' ἔργα τε θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων πολλὰ κινήσεις τε καὶ φοράς ἀστρῶν ἐν περιόδοις καταθέωμεν. οὐ γὰρ ἀπεχθάνεται μεταβολάς ἄλλα καὶ πάνυ χαίρει τὸ θείον, εἰ δὲ τῶν φαινομένων τεκμαίρεσθαι ταῖς καὶ οὕραιν ἐξαμείωσι καὶ περίῳδοις. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀπειρία παντάπασιν ἀγνώμων καὶ ἄλογως καὶ μηδαμίᾳ προσιεμένη θεόν, ἄλλα χρωμένη πρὸς πάντα τῶ κατὰ Ε τύχην καὶ αὐτομάτως\(^2\). ἡ δ' ἐν ὦρισμένω πλήθει καὶ ἀριθμῷ κόσμων ἐπιμέλεια καὶ πρόνοια τῆς εἰς ἐν δεδυκτίας σώμα καὶ προσηρτημένης ἐν καὶ τούτῳ μετασχηματιζούσης καὶ ἀναπλαττούσης ἀπειράκις ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ μηδὲν ἔχειν ἀσεμνότερον μητ' ἐπιπονώτερον."

31. 'Εγὼ μὲν οὖν τοσαῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπέσχον. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος οὐ πολὺν χρόνον διαλιπών, "τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς," ἐφη, "περὶ τούτων οὔτως ἔχειν ἡ ἐτέρως οὐκ ἄν ἔγγορε διοςχυρισάμην. εἰ δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἐκβιβάζομεν ἐνὸς κόσμου, διὰ τί πέντε μόνων ποιοῦμεν οὗ πλεῖστον δημιουργόν, καὶ τίς ἐστι τοῦ \(^F\) ἀριθμοῦ τούτου πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος λόγος, ἢδιον ἄν μοι δοκῶ μαθεῖν ἡ τῆς ἐνταῦθα τοῦ εἰ καθιερώσεως τῆς διάνοιαν. οὔτε γὰρ τρίγωνος ἡ τετράγωνος οὔτε τέλειος ἡ κυβικὸς οὔτ' ἄλλην τινὰ φαίνεται

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1 οὐχὶ] οὐκ 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 remodels 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 E 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 ἀγαπώσι τὰ τοιαύτα καὶ
θαυμάζουσιν. ἡ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν στοιχείων ἐφοδος, ἢν
αὐτὸς ὑπηνύζατο, πάντη δυσληπτός ἦστι καὶ μηδὲν
ὑποφαίνουσα τῆς ἐκείνων ἐπεσπασμένης πιθανότη-
τος εἰπεῖν ὡσ εἰκός ἦστι πέντε σωμάτων ἱσογωνίων
καὶ ἱσοπλεύρων καὶ περιεχομένων ἱσος ἐπιπέδωις
ἐγγενομένων τῇ ὕλῃ, τοσοῦτοι εὑθὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν
ἀποτελεσθῆναι κόσμους."

32. "Καὶ μὴν," ἐφην ἔγω, "δοκεῖ Θεόδωρος ὁ
Σολεύς οὗ φαύλως μετείνα ὁν λόγον, ἐξηγούμενος
tὰ μαθηματικὰ τοῦ Πλάτωνος. μετείσι δὲ οὕτως.
πυραμίς καὶ ὀκτάεδρον καὶ εἴκοσάεδρον καὶ δω-
δεκάεδρον, ἀ πρῶτα τidine Πλάτων, καλὰ μὲν ἦστι
πάντα συμμετρίας λόγων καὶ ἱσότησι, καὶ κρεῖττων
Β οὔδὲν αὐτῶν οὐδ' ὁμοίων ἄλλο συνθεῖναι τῇ φύσει
καὶ συναρμόσαι λέειπται. μᾶσ γε μὴν πάντα
συστάσεως οὐκ εἶληξεν οὐδ' ὁμοίαν ἔχει τὴν γέ-
νεσιν, ἀλλὰ λεπτότατον μὲν ἦστι καὶ μικρότατον ἡ
πυραμίς, μεγίστον δὲ καὶ πολυμερέστατον τὸ δω-
δεκάεδρον· τῶν δὲ λειτομένων δυῶν τοῦ ὀκταέδρου
μείζον η διπλάσιον πλήθει τριγώνων τὸ εἴκοσά-
εδρον. διὸ τὴν γένεσιν ἀμα πάντα λαμβάνει ἐκ μιᾶς
ὕλης ἀδύνατον ἦστι. τὰ γὰρ λεπτὰ καὶ μικρὰ καὶ
ταῖς κατασκευαῖς ἀπλούστερα πρῶτα τῷ κυνοῦτι
καὶ διαπλάττοντι τὴν ὕλην ὑπακούειν ἀνάγκη καὶ
συντελεῖσθαι καὶ προσφίστασθαι τῶν ἀδρομερῶν
καὶ πολυσμάτων ἐξ ὧν καὶ τὴν σύστασιν ἐργα-

1 αὐτὸς] αὐτὸς ὁ Πλάτων Sieveking.
2 ἐκείνων Turnebus: ἐκείνων.

a Presumably Pythagoras, but possibly Plato.
b Cf. Moralia, 1027 d.

c 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
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other subtlety for those who love and admire such speculations. Its derivation from the number of elements, at which the Master 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 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 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 desētēran ἐχων,1 τὸ δωδεκάεδρον. ἐπεται δὲ τούτῳ (427) τὸ μόνον εἶναι σῶμα πρῶτον τὴν πυραμίδα, τῶν δ' ἄλλων μηδὲν, ἀπολειπομένων τῇ φύσει τῆς γενέσεως. ἐστίν2 οὖν ἢμα καὶ ταὐτής τῆς ἀτοπίας ἡ τῆς ὑλῆς εἰς πέντε κόσμους διαίρεσις καὶ διάστασις. ὅπου μὲν γὰρ πυραμίς ὑποστήσεται3 πρῶτον ὅπου δ' ὀκτάεδρον, ὅπου δ' εἴκοσάεδρον. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ προϋποστάντος ἐν ἑκάστῳ4 τὰ λουπὰ τὴν γένεσιν ἔξει κατὰ σύγκρισιν5 μερῶν εἰς πάντα γνωμομένης πᾶσι μεταβολῆς, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ Πλάτων ὑποδείκνυσι διὰ πάντων σχέδων ἐπεξιών. ἦμιν δὲ

D βραχέως ἀρκέσει μαθεῖν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀὴρ6 μὲν σβενυμένου πυρὸς υφίσταται, καὶ λεπτυνόμενος αὕθις ἐξ αὐτοῦ πῦρ ἀναδίδωσιν, ἐν τοῖς ἑκατέροις7 σπέρμασι τὰ πάθη δεῖ θεᾶσθαι καὶ τὰς μεταβολάς. σπέρματα δὲ πυρὸς μὲν ἡ πυραμίς, ἐξ εἰκοσὶ καὶ τεττάρων πρῶτων τριγώνων τὸ δ' ὀκτάεδρον ἄερος ἐκ τετταράκοντα καὶ ὀκτὼ τῶν αὐτῶν γίγνεται. γίγνεται τοῖνυν ἄερος μὲν ἐν στοιχεῖον εἰκ δυοίν πυρὸς σωμάτων8 συγκραθέντων καὶ συστάντων, τὸ δ' ἄερος αὖ κερματιζόμενον εἰς δύο πυρὸς διακρίνεται σώματα, συνθλιβόμενον δ' ἀὕθις αὐτῷ καὶ συμπίπτον τοῖς ὑδάτωσ θεάει ἀπεισίν. ὥστε πυν-

Ε ταχοῦ τὸ προὑφιστάμενον ἀεὶ πάσι τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐπόρως παρέχειν τὴν γένεσιν ἐκ τῆς μεταβολῆς,

1 ἐχων F.C.B.: ἐχόντων.
2 ἐστίν Leonicus: ἐτεῖ.
3 ὑποστήσεται Madvig: ὑπέστησε γὰρ.
4 ἑκάστω an early correction: ἑκάστῃ.
5 σύγκρισιν] Turnebus would add καὶ διάκρισιν after σύγκρισιν.
6 γὰρ ἀὴρ Bernardakis: γὰρ ἤν or ἀὴρ μὲν.
7 ἑκατέροις] ἑκατέρου Bernardakis.
8 σωμάτων to fill a lacuna (cf. σώματα just below) Wilmotowitz-Mollendorff.

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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 out-distanced 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 \(^a\) himself 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, \(^b\) 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

\(^a\) 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 εἶναι πρῶτον, ἐτέρου δ' ἐν ἐτέρῳ
συστήματι κίνησιν ἄρχηγον καὶ προληπτικὴν ἐς
γένεσιν ἔχοντος πᾶσι τηρεῖσθαι τὴν ὁμονομαίαν."
33. Καὶ ὁ Ἀμμόνιος, "ἀνδρικῶς μὲν," ἐφη,
"ταῦτα τῷ Θεοδώρῳ καὶ φιλοτίμως διαπέπονηται
θαυμάσαμι δ' ἂν, εἰ μὴ δόξεις χρησθαι λήμμασιν
ἀναιρετικοῖς ἀλλήλων. ἀξιοὶ γὰρ ἡμαὶ πᾶσι τοῖς
πέντε μὴ γέγνεσθαι τὴν σύστασιν, ἄλλα τὸ λεπτό-
tatov ἀεὶ καὶ δι' ἐλάπτωνος πραγματείας συν-
ιστάμενον προεκπίπτειν εἰς γένεσιν. εἰδ' ὦσπερ
ἀκόλουθον οὐ μαχόμενον τούτω τίθησι τὸ μὴ

F πᾶσαν ὕλην πρῶτον ἔκφερεν¹ τὸ λεπτότατον² καὶ
ἀπλούστατον, ἀλλ' ἐνιαχῇ τὰ ἐμβριθῇ καὶ πολυ-
μερῇ φθάνειν προανίσχουτα ταῖς γενέσεσιν ἐκ τῆς
ὕλης. ἀνει δε τούτου, πέντε σωμάτων πρῶτων ὑπο-
κειμένων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κόσμων λεγομένων εἰναι
tοσοῦτων, πρὸς μόνα τὰ τέταρτα τῇ πιθανότητι
χρῆται, τὸν δὲ κύβον ὦσπερ ἐν παιδιᾷ ψήφων
ὑφήρηται, μὴτ' αὐτὸν εἰς ἐκεῖνα μεταβάλλειν πε-
φυκότα μὴτ' ἐκείνοις παρέχειν μεταβολὴν εἰς
428 ἐαυτόν, ἀτε δ' τῶν τριγώνων οὐχ ὀμογενῶν ὑπῶν.
ἐκείνοις μὲν γὰρ ὑπόκειται κοινὸν ἐν πάσι τὸ
ἡμιτριγώνων, ἐν τούτῳ δ' ὢνον μόνον τὸ ἱσοσκελές,
οὐ ποιοῦν πρὸς ἐκεῖνο σύννεφον οὐτὲ σύγκρασιν
ἐνωτικὴν. εἰπὲρ οὖν πέντε σωμάτων ὑπόν καὶ
πέντε κόσμων ἐν³ ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ ἔχει
tῆς γενέσεως, ὅπου γέγονεν ὁ κύβος πρῶτος,

¹ ἔκφερεν F.C.B.: εἰσφέρευ.  
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 ἐσταυ τῶν ἄλλων: εἰς οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐκείνων μεταβάλλειν πέφυκεν. ἔως 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 ταυτὰ σοι διαλυτέον ἢ ἱδιόν τι λεκτέον περὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἀπορίας.”

34. Κάγω, "πιθανώτερον οὐδὲν ἐχὼ λέγειν ἐν γε τῷ παρόντι: βέλτιον δ’ ἂν ἐστὶν ἑδίας εὐθύνας ὑπέχειν δόξης ἡ ἀλλοτρίας. λέγω τοῖς αὖθις ἔξ ἀρχῆς ὅτι δυοῖν ὑποκειμένων φύσεων, τῆς μὲν αἴσθητης ἐν γενέσει καὶ φθορᾷ μεταβόλου καὶ φορητῆς ἄλλως, ἐτέρας δ’ ἐν οὐσίᾳ νοητῆς ἀεὶ κατὰ ταυτὰ οὕσατως ἐχοῦσης, δεινὸν ἐστὶν, ὥ ἐταίρε, τὴν μὲν νοητὴν διωρίσθαι καὶ διαφορὰν ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτῇ, τὴν δὲ σωματικὴν καὶ παθητικὴν εἰ μὴ μίαν τις ἀπολείπει ἕνεκεν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ συννεύοσαν αὐτῇ καὶ συννεύοσαν ἄλλα χωρίζει καὶ διόιστησιν, ἄγανακτεῖν καὶ δυσχεραίνειν. τὰ γὰρ μόνιμα καὶ θεία δῆπον μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ἔχεσθαι προσήκει καὶ φεύγειν ὡς ἀνυστόν ἐστι τοῦ καταιρίσαν καὶ διάστασιν. ἄλλα καὶ τούτων ἡ τοῦ ἐτέρου δύναμις ἀποτελεῖ μέγιστος ἐνεργείας τῶν κατὰ τόπον διαστάσεων τοῖς νοητοῖς τὰς κατὰ λόγον καὶ ἱδέαν ἀνομοιότητας. ὧθεν ἐνιστάμενος τοῖς ἐν τῷ πάν ἀποφαίνουσιν ὁ Πλάτων τὸ τ’ ὅν εἶναι φησὶ καὶ τὸ ταύτὸν καὶ

1 ἀπολείπει] ἀπολείποι in all mss. except E.
2 συννεύοσαν] συμπνεύοσαν in three mss.

* 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, opposing those who declare for the unity of the whole, says that these five things exist: Being, Identity,
(428) τὸ ἑτέρον, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ κίνησιν καὶ στάσιν. ὅντων

D οὐν πέντε τούτων, οὐ θαυμαστὸν ἢν, εἰ τῶν πέντε
σωματικῶν στοιχείων ἐκεῖνων ἐκαστὸν ἐκάστου
μίμημα τῇ φύσει καὶ εἶδωλόν ἐστὶ γεγενημένων
οὐκ ἄμεικτον οὕδ' εἰλικρινές, ἀλλὰ τῷ μάλιστα
μετέχειν ἐκαστὸν ἐκάστης δυνάμεως. ὃ μὲν γε
κύβος ἐμφανῶς στάσεως οἰκεῖον ἐστὶ σῶμα1 διὰ
τὴν τῶν ἐπιπέδων ἀσφάλειαν καὶ βεβαιωτήτας· τῆς
dὲ πυραμίδος πᾶς ἂν τις τὸ πυροειδῆς καὶ κυνητικόν
ἐν τῇ λεπτότητι τῶν πλευρῶν καὶ τῇ τῶν γωνιῶν
ἀξύτητι κατανοήσειν. ἡ δὲ τοῦ δωδεκάεδρου
φύσις, περιληπτικῇ τῶν ἄλλων σχημάτων ύφες
tοῦ ὄντος εἰκῶν πρὸς πᾶν ἃν2 τὸ σωματικόν γε-
γονέναι δόξειε· τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν δυνὸν τὸ μὲν εἰκοσά-
edρον τῆς τοῦ ἑτέρου τὸ μὲν ὀκτάεδρον μάλιστα

Ε τῆς ταύτου μετείλησχεν ἱδέας. διὸ τούτῳ μὲν ἀέρα
σχετικόν οὐσίας πάσης ἐν μιᾷ μορφῇ, θάτερον
d' ὕδωρ ἐπὶ πλείστα τῷ κεράννυσθαι γένη ποιο-
tήτων τρεπόμενον3 παρεῖχεν. εἰπερ οὖν ἡ φύσις
ἀπαιτεῖ τὴν ἰδιονομίαν ἐν πάσι, καὶ κόσμους εἰκός
ἐστι μῆτε πλείους γεγονέναι μῆτ' ἐλάστους τῶν
παραδείγματων, ὅπως ἐκαστὸν ἐν ἐκάστῳ τἀξιν
ἡγεμονικὴν ἔχῃ καὶ δύναμιν, ὦσπερ ἐν ταῖς συ-
stάσεις τῶν σωμάτων ἐσχῆκεν.

35. "Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν ἐστὶν παραμυθία
tοῦ θαυμάζοντος, εἰ τὴν ἐν γενέσει καὶ μεταβολῇ
φύσιν εἰς γένη τοσαῦτα διαίρομεν. ἐκεῖνο δ' ἦδη

1 σῶμα] σῶμα Χυλάντερ; cf. εἰκῶν, infra.
2 ἃν added here by Bernardakis; in one ms. it stands
after δόξειε, 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 a which I ask you all to con-

a Cf. 387 f ff., supra.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

σκοπεῖτε κοινὴ προσέχοντες ότι τῶν ἀνωτάτων ἀρχών, λέγω δὲ τοῦ ἐνός καὶ τῆς ἀορίστου δυνάδος, ἡ μὲν ἀμορφίας πάσης στοιχείων οὐδα καὶ ἀταξίας ἀπειρία κέκληται: ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἐνός φύσις ὀρίζουσα καὶ καταλαμβάνουσα τῆς ἀπειρίας τὸ κενὸν καὶ ἀλογον καὶ ἀορίστου ἐμιμορφον παρέχεται, καὶ τὴν ἐπομένην περὶ τὰ αἰσθητὰ δεῖξει καταγορέουσιν

429 ἀμωσγεύσως υπομένου καὶ δεχόμενον. αὐταὶ δὲ πρῶτον αἱ ἀρχαὶ περὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπιφαίνονται, μᾶλλον δ’ ὅλως ἀριθμός οὐκ ἔστι τὸ πλῆθος, ἀν μὴ καθάπερ εἶδος ύλης τὸ ἐν γενόμενον ἐκ τῆς ἀπειρίας τοῦ ἀορίστου πῆ μὲν πλεῖον πῆ δ’ ἐλαττῶν ἀποτελεῖται. τότε γὰρ ἀριθμὸς γίγνεται τῶν πληθῶν ἐκαστον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐνὸς ὀριζόμενον: εἰάν δ’ ἀναρέθη τὸ ἐν, πάλιν ἡ ἀόριστος δυνὰς συγχέανα πᾶν ἀρρυθμὸν καὶ ἀπειρον καὶ ἀμετρον ἐποίησεν. ἑπεὶ δὲ τὸ εἶδος οὐκ ἀναίρεσις ἐστὶ τῆς ύλης ἄλλα μορφή καὶ τάξις υποκειμένης, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ

Β ἀριθμῷ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐνυπάρχει ἀμφοτέρας, οδὲν ἡ πρῶτη καὶ μεγίστη διαφορα καὶ ἀνομοιότης γέγονεν. ἐστὶ γὰρ ἡ μὲν ἀόριστος ἀρχή τοῦ ἀρτίου δημιουργός ἢ δὲ βελτίων τοῦ περίττου. πρῶτος δὲ τῶν ἀρτίων τα δύο καὶ τα τρία τῶν περιττῶν, ἡδὲ δὲν τὰ πέντε τῇ μὲν συνθέσει κοινὸς ὦν ἀμφοῖν ἀριθμὸς τῇ δὲ δυνάμει γεγονός περίττος. ἐδει γάρ, εἰς πλείονα μέρη τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ καὶ σωμα-

1 ἀνωτάτων] ἀνωτάτω in all mss. but one (J).
2 κενὸν Turnebus: στενὸν.
3 περὶ . . . δεῖξει] τῇ περὶ . . . δόξῃ Wilamowitz-Möllendorff.
4 ἐν γενόμενον Emperius: ἐγγενόμενον.
5 ἀρρυθμὸν] ἀριθμὸν in several mss., whence Paton ἀνάριθμον.
6 τοῦ περίττου Turnebus: ἀσπερ ἡ τούτου, or ὡς ἡ τοῦ περίττου
In one ms.

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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

\[ a \text{ Cf. 388 a, supra.} \]
(429) τικοῦ μεριζομένου διὰ τὴν σύμφυτον ἀνάγκην¹ τῆς ἐπερότητος, μήτε τὸν πρῶτον ἄρτιον γενέσθαι μήτε τὸν πρῶτον περιττόν, ἀλλὰ τὸν τρίτον ἐκ τούτων ἀποτελούμενον, ὅπως ἀπ’ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἀρχῶν γένηται, καὶ τῆς τὸ ἄρτιον δημιουργοῦση καὶ τῆς C τὸ περιττόν. οὐ γὰρ ἦν οἶον τε τῆς ἑτέρας ἀπαλλαγῆς τὴν ἑτέραν ἑκατέρα γὰρ ἀρχῆς φύσιν ἔχει καὶ δύναμιν. ἀμφοτέρων οὖν συνδυαζομένων, ἡ βελτίων κρατήσασα τῆς ἀοριστίας διαφοροῦση τὸ σωματικὸν ἐνέστη, καὶ τῆς ύλης ἐν ἀμφοτέροις διασταμένης μέσην τὴν μονάδα θεμένη δίχα νεμθήναι τὸ πᾶν οὐκ ἔσασεν, ἀλλὰ πλῆθος μὲν γέγονεν κόσμων ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπερότητος τοῦ ἀορίστου καὶ διαφοράς, περιττόν δὲ πλῆθος ἡ ταυτοῦ καὶ ὑρισμένου δύναμις ἀπείργασται, περιττόν δὲ τουτοῦ ὁ τι πορρωτέρω τὴν φύσιν ἡ βελτίων ἐχει προελθεῖν οὐκ ἔσασεν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἄμιγες καὶ καθαρὸν D ἢν τὸ ἐν, οὐδ’ ἂν ὅλως εἶχεν ἡ ύλη διάστασιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῷ διαμετακώ τῆς δύσας μέμεικται, τομὴν μὲν ἐδέξατο καὶ διαίρεσιν, ἐνταῦθα δ’ ἐστη τῷ περιττῷ τοῦ ἄρτιον κρατηθέντος.

36. "Διὸ καὶ πεισμάσασθαι τὸ ἀριθμῆσαι τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἔθος ἦν καλεῖν. οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὰ πάντα τῶν πέντε παρώνυμα γεγονέναι κατὰ λόγον, ἀτε δὴ τῆς πεντάδος ἐκ τῶν πρῶτων ἀριθμῶν συνεστώσης. καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πολλαπλασιαζόμενοι πρὸς ἄλλους εἰς ἑτέρον αὐτῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐκβαίνουσιν." ἢ

¹ σύμφυτον ἀνάγκην Wyntenbach: σύμφωνον ἀνάγκη.
² οὐδ’ ἂν Bernardakis: οὐδὲν.

⁰ 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 dis-
tributed 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, ἃν μὲν ἀρτιάκις λαμβάνηται, τὸν δὲκα ποιεῖ τέλειον· εὰν δὲ περιττάκις, ἐαυτὴν¹ πάλιν ἀποδίδωσιν. ἐὼ δ’ ὅτι πρώτη² μὲν ἐκ πρῶτων
Ε δυοὶν τετραγώνων συνέστηκε τῆς τε μονάδος καὶ τῆς τετράδος ἡ πεντάς, πρώτη δ’ ἰσον δυναμένη
tois πρὸ αὐτῆς δυσὶ τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν ὀρθογώνων
tριγώνων συνίστησι· πρώτη δὲ ποιεῖ τὸν ἥμιόλουν
λόγον. οὐ γὰρ ἱσοῖς οἰκεία ταῦτα τοῖς ὑποκει-
μένοις πράγμασιν· ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνο μᾶλλον, τὸ φύσει
diakrēτον τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ καὶ τὸ πλείστα τούτων
tῆν φύσιν διανέμειν. ἐνειμὲ³ γὰρ ἧμῖν αὐτοῖς
αἰσθήσεις πέντε καὶ μέρη ψυχῆς, φυτικὸν⁴ αἰσθη-
tικὸν ἐπιθυμητικὸν θυμοειδὲς λογιστικὸν· καὶ
daktyλου ἐκατέρας χειρὸς τοσοῦτος, καὶ τὸ
F γονιμώτατον σπέρμα πενταχῇ σχιζόμενον. οὐ γὰρ
ιστόρηται γυνὴ πλείονα τεκοῦσ· ἕν πέντε τέκνα⁵
taiς αὐταῖς ὁδίσι. καὶ τὴν Ὅρεαν Αἰγύπτιοι μυθο-
λογοῦσι πέντε θεοὺς τεκεῖν, αἰνιγόμενοι τὴν ἐκ
μᾶς ὑλῆς τῶν πέντε κόσμων γένεσιν. ἐν δὲ τῷ
παντὶ πέντε μὲν ζώναις ὁ περὶ γῆν τόπος, πέντε
dὲ κύκλοις ὁ οὐρανὸς διώρισται, δυσὶν ἀρκτικοῖς
καὶ δυσὶ τροπικοῖς καὶ μέσῳ τῷ ισομερινῷ;
430 πέντε δ’ αἱ τῶν πλανωμένων ἀστρῶν περίοδοι:
γεγόνασιν, Ἡλίου καὶ Φωσφόρου καὶ Στίλβωνος
ὁμοδρομούντων. ἐναρμόνιος δὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ κόσμου
σύνταξις, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ τὸ παρὰ ἦμῖν ἡρμο-

¹ εαυτὴν Bernardakis: εαυτὸν.
² πρώτη Turnebus: πρῶτον, or πρῶτον εἰ.
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.

⁸ Cf. 388 d, supra. ⁹ Ibid. 391 a.
if it be taken an even number of times, makes ten exactly; and if an odd number of times, it reproduces itself.\textsuperscript{a} I leave out of account the fact that it is the first composite of the first two squares, unity and the tetrad\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{c}; and it is the first to give the ratio $1\frac{1}{2}:1$.\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{f} The Egyptians have a tradition\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{a} Ibid. 373 f.  
\textsuperscript{b} Ibid. 389 d.  
\textsuperscript{c} Cf. 390 f, supra; Plato, Republic, 410 b, 440 e-441 A; and much diffused in Timaeus, 70 ff.  
\textsuperscript{d} Cf. 355 d-f, supra.  
\textsuperscript{e} 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.
(430) ομένον εν πέντε τετραχόρδων θέσειν ὑραται, τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ μέσων καὶ συνημμένων καὶ διεζευγμένων καὶ ὑπερβολαίων καὶ τὰ μελῳδούμενα διαστήματα πέντε, δίεσις καὶ ἡμιτόνιον καὶ τόνος καὶ τριμιτόνιον καὶ δύτονον. οὕτως ἢ φύσις ἔοικε τῷ πέντε ποιεῖν ἀπαντά χαίρειν μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ σφαιροειδῆ, καθάπερ Ἀριστοτέλης ἔλεγε.

37. "Τί δήτα;" φήσαι τις ἄν, ὁ Πλάτων ἐπὶ τὰ B πέντε σχήματα τῶν πέντε κόσμων ἀριθμοῦ ἀνήγερκεν, εἰσὶν ὦτι τῇ πέμπτῃ συντάσσει ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὸ πάν κατεχησάτο ἐκεῖνο διαξωγράφῳ; εἶτα τὴν περὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν κόσμων ὑποθείς ἀπορίαν, πότερον ἢν πέντε αὐτοῖς ἀληθείᾳ πεφυκότας λέγειν προσήκει, δῆλος ἐστὶν ἐντεῦθεν οἰόμενος ὑμεθήσατη τὴν ὑπόνοιαν. εἴπερ οὖν δεῖ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου διάνοιαν ἐπάγειν τὸ εἰκός, σκοπῆμεν ὦτι ταῖς τῶν σωμάτων καὶ σχημάτων ἐκείνων διαφοραῖς ἀνάγκη καὶ κυνήσεων εὐθὺς ἐπεσθαί διαφοράς, ὡσπερ αὐτὸς διδάσκει, τὸ διακρινόμενον ἡ συγκρινόμενον ἁμα τῆς οὐσίας τῇ C ἐπεροιώσει καὶ τῶν τόπων μεταλλάττειν ἀποφανόμενος. ἂν γὰρ εξ ἀερὸς πῦρ γένηται, λυθέντος τοῦ ὀκτάεδρου καὶ κερματισθέντος εἰς πυραμίδας, ἡ πάλιν ἀπὸ ἐκ πυρῶν, πυρωσθέντος καὶ συνθλιβέντος εἰς ὀκτάεδρον, οὐ δυνατὸν μένειν ὅτιν πρότερον ἦν, ἀλλὰ φεύγει καὶ φέρεται πρὸς ἔτεραν χώραν ἐκβιαζόμενον καὶ μαχόμενον τοῖς ἐνυσταμένοις καὶ

1 σφαιροειδῆ Turnebus: σφαιροειδεί.
2 διαξωγράφῳ Patzig from Plato, Timaeus, 55 c ff., and Plutarch, Moralia, 1003 c: διαγράφων.
3 ἐπάγειν... σκοπῶμεν Wytenbach: ἀπάγειν... σκοπῶν.
4 ἁμα Turnebus: ὅνωμα.
to depend on the five notes of the tetrachord\textsuperscript{a}: 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\textsuperscript{b} has said.

37. ‘Why, then,’ someone will say, ‘did Plato\textsuperscript{c} 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,\textsuperscript{d} 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\textsuperscript{e} 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.

\textsuperscript{a} Cf. 389 e, 1028 f, 1138 f–1139 b.
\textsuperscript{b} Cf. Aristotle, \textit{De Caelo}, ii. 4 (286 b 10).
\textsuperscript{c} Plato, \textit{Timaeus}, 55 c.
\textsuperscript{d} Ibid. 31 a; cf. 389 f and 421 f, supra.
\textsuperscript{e} Plato, \textit{Timaeus}, 57 c.
(430) κατεπείγουσιν. ἐτὶ δὲ μᾶλλον εἰκών τὸ συμβαίνον ἐνδείκνυται, 'τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πλοκάνων' καὶ ὀργάνων τῶν β' περὶ τὴν τοῦ σίτου κάθαρσιν σειομένοις καὶ ἀναλυκυμένοις ὁμοίως λέγων τὰ στοιχεῖα σείοντα τὴν ὑλὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνης τε σειώμενα, προσχώρειν αἰὲ τὰ ὁμοία τοῖς ὁμοίοις, ἀλλὰ τε χώραν ἄλλα ἵσχειν πρὶν ἐξ ἀυτῶν γενέσθαι τὸ πᾶν διακοσμηθέν. οὔτως οὖν τότε τῆς ὑλῆς ἔχουσις ὡς ἔχειν τὸ πᾶν εἰκὸς οὐ θεός ἀπεστὼν εὐθὺς αἰ πρῶται πέντε ποιότητες ἰδίας ἔχουσαι ὑπὸ ἐφέροντο χωρίς, οὐ παντάπασιν οὐδὲ εἰλικρινῶς ἀποκρινόμεναι, διὰ τὸ πάντων ἀναμεμειγμένων αἰὲ τὰ κρατούμενα τοῖς ἐπικρατοῦσι παρὰ φύσιν ἐπέσθαι. διὸ δὴ τοῖς τῶν σωμάτων γένεσιν ἄλλων ἄλλαχι φερομένων ἵσαριθμοις μερίδας καὶ διαστάσεις ἐποίησαν, τὴν μὲν οὐ καθαροῦ πυρὸς ἄλλα πυροεἰδῆ, τὴν δὲ οὖκ ἀμυγοῦς αἴθερος ἄλλο αἴθεροεἰδῆ, τὴν Ε δὲ οὐ γῆς αὐτῆς καθ' ἐαυτὴν ἄλλα γεοεἰδῆ μάλιστα δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀέρος κοίνωσιν τὴν ὕδατος διεθέντο πολλῶν, ὥσπερ εἰρήται, τῶν ἀλλοφύλων ἀναπέπλησμέν' ἀπελθεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς διεστῆσαι οὐδὲ διάκις τὴν οὐσίαν, ἄλλ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς διεστώσαι αὐτὴν καὶ φερομένην χωρίς ἐν ἀκοσμίαις τοσαῦταις

1 ὑπὸ τῶν πλοκάνων Turnebus from Plato, Timaeus, 52 E: ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπειγόντων.
2 τῶν Turnebus ibid.
3 σειομένωις καὶ Turnebus ibid.: ἐγκυμένωις.
4 ἄλλα ἵσχειν Turnebus ibid.: ἄλλας οἱ ορ ἄλλα οἱ.
5 ἐξ Bernardakis: ἐπ' (ἀπ' ?).
6 οὖν τότε] τούτων in one ms. (E).
7 οὐ θεὸς Wyttебach from Plato: εὐθέως or εὐθέος.
8 παρὰ] κατὰ Xylander.
9 κατὰ F.C.B.: καὶ.

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What takes place he describes more clearly by a simile, 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. 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, 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

* Plato, *Timaeus*, 52 e.

b Some would prefer to make Plutarch say 'in keeping with Nature.'

c Cf. 428 d-e, supra.

\[11 \text{άλλοφύλων} \text{άλλων φύλλων (φύλων) in all mss. but J.} \]

\[12 \text{αναπεπληκαμέν} \text{Turnebus: αναπεπληκαμένων.}
\]
παραλαβών, ἔταξε καὶ συνήρμοσε διὰ ἀναλογίας καὶ μεσότητος. εἰθ’ ἐκάστῃ λόγον ἐγκαταστήσας ὥσπερ ἀρμοστὴν καὶ φύλακα, κόσμους ἐποίησε τοσούτους, ὥσα γένη τῶν πρώτων σωμάτων. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇ Πλάτωνος ἀνακείσθω χάριτι διὰ Ἀμμόνιον· ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν ἀριθμοῦ κόσμων οὐκ ἂν ποτε δισχυρισάμην ὅτι τοσούτοι, τὴν δὲ πλείονας μὲν ἐνὸς οὐ μὴν ἄπειροις ἀλλ’ ὁρισμένοις πληθεὶς τιθεμένην δόξαν οὐδετέρας ἐκεῖνων ἀλογωτέραν ἥγούμαι, τὸ φύσει τῆς ἡλίθη σκε- δαστὸν καὶ μεριστὸν ὅρων οὐτ’ ἐφ’ ἐνὸς μένον οὐτ’

431 εἰς ἀπειρον ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου βαδίζειν ἐώμενον. εἰ δ’ ἀλλαχόθι που κανταῦθα τῆς Ἀκαδημείας ὑπο- μιμησικοντες ἐαυτοὺς τὸ ἀγαν τῆς πίστεως ἀφ- αρώμεν, καὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ὥσπερ ἐν χωρίῳ σφαλερῷ, τῷ περὶ τῆς ἀπειρίας λόγῳ, μόνον διασώζωμεν.”


‘πολλαῖς γὰρ οἱ θεοὶ μορφαῖς’

οὐ ἐς σοφισμάτων, ἡς Ἐυριπίδης φησίν, ἀλλ’ πραγμάτων ἐς ἀναλογίας ἐρμᾶς, ὅταν ἄς ἐπι- στάμενοι τολμῶμεν ἀποφαίνεσθαι περὶ τηλικοῦτων. ἄλλ’ ἀνοιστέως ὁ λόγος, ὃς ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνήρ φησιν, ἐπὶ τὴν εἰς ἄρχης ὑπόθεσιν. τὸ γὰρ ἀφ- Β εισαγόμενως καὶ ἀπολειπόντως τὰ χρηστήρια τῶν δαμώνων ὥσπερ ὀργανὰ τεκνώτων ἀργά καὶ ἀναύδα κείσθαι λεγθὲν ἐτερον λόγον ἐγείρει τὸν περὶ τῆς αἰτίας μείζονα καὶ δυνάμεως. ἡ2 χρώμενοι ποιοῦσι

1 κανταῦθα] καὶ in nearly all mss.
2 ἡ Turnebus: ὃ (ὡς, αἰς).
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

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*a Cf. 387 f, supra.*


*c Cf. the note on 390 c, supra.*
(431) κατόχους τοίς ἐνθουσιασμοῖς καὶ φαντασιαστικοῖς τοὺς προφήτας καὶ τὰς προφητιδας. οὐ γὰρ οἶον τε τὴν ἐκλείψεων αιτιᾶσθαι τοῦ ἀπαίßαιν τὰ μαντεῖα, μὴ πειθόντας ὧν τρόπον ἐφεστῶτες αὐτοῖς καὶ παρὸντες ἐνεργὰ καὶ λόγια ποιοῦσιν οἱ δαίμονες."

Ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀμμώνιος, "οἶει γὰρ ἐτερὸν τι τοὺς δαίμονας," εἶπεν, "ἡ ψυχὰς ὄντας περιπολεῖν καὶ Ἡσίοδον ἥρα ἐσσαμένους; ἔμοι μὲν γὰρ, ὃς ἀνθρωπὸς ἐχει διαφορὰν πρὸς ἀνθρωπὸν ὑποκρινόμενον πραγῳδῶν ἡ κωμῳδίαν, ταῦτην ἐχειν δοκεῖ ψυχὴ πρὸς ψυχὴν ἐνεσκευασμένην σώμα τῶν2 παρόντι βίων πρόσφορον.3 οὐδὲν οὖν ἄλογον οὖνθε θαυμαστόν, εἰ ψυχαὶ ψυχαῖς ἐντυγχάνουσαι φαντασίας ἐμποιοῦσι τοῦ μέλλοντος, ὡσπερ ἡμεῖς ἄλληλοις οὐ πάντα διὰ φωνῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ γράμμασί καὶ θυγόντες μόνον καὶ προσβλέψαντες πολλὰ καὶ μηνύόμεν τῶν γεγονότων καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων προσημαίνομεν. εἰ μὴ τι σὺ λέγεις ἑτερον, ὁ Λαμπρία: καὶ γὰρ ἐναγχος ἢκὲ τις φωνὴ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὡς σοῦ πολλὰ περὶ τούτων ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ ξένους διαλεξήντος, οὐν οὖδὲν ὁ διηγούμενος

D ἀκριβῶς διεμνήμονεν."

"Μὴ θαυμάσῃς," ἐφην ἐγώ, "πολλαὶ γὰρ ἀμα πράξεις διὰ μέσου καὶ ἀσχολίαι συντυγχάνουσαι διὰ τὸ μαντεῖαν4 εἰναι καὶ θυσίαν τοὺς λόγους διεσπαρμένους ἡμῖν καὶ σποράδας ἐποίησαν."

"Ἀλλὰ νῦν," ὁ Ἀμμώνιος ἐφη, "καὶ σχολὴν ἀγοντας ἀκροατᾶς ἐχει5 καὶ προβύμους6 τα μὲν

1 ψυχὴ πρός added by Xylander.
2 τῶ added by Emperius.
3 πρόσφορον Reiske: προσφέρειν.

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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 προβύμως Reiske: πρόβυμοι.
39. Ταύτα δὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμπαρακαλοῦντων, μικρὸν ἐγὼ σωμῆς, "καὶ μὴν ἀπὸ τύχης τινός, ὥ Ἀμμόνιε, τοῖς τότε λόγοις αὐτῶς ἀρχὴν ἔτυκα καὶ πάροδον ἐνδέδωκας. εἴ γὰρ αἱ διακριθέοσαι σώματος, ἡ μὴ μετασχοῦσαι τὸ παράπαν ψυχαὶ δαιμονές εἰσὶ κατὰ σὲ καὶ τὸν θείον Ἡσίοδον,

ἀγνοὶ ἐπιχθόνιοι φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,

διὰ τὸ τὰς ἐν τοῖς σώμασι ψυχὰς ἑκεῖνης τῆς δυνάμεως ἀποστεροῦμεν, ἣ τὰ μέλλοντα καὶ προγνώσκειν πεφύκασι καὶ προδηλοῦν οἱ δαίμονες; οὐτέ γὰρ δύναμιν οὐτέ μέρος οὐδὲν ἐπιγίγνεσθαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς, ὅταν ἀπολίπωσι τὸ σῶμα, μὴ κεκτημέναις πρότερον εἰκός ἐστιν, ἀλλ′ ἂεί μὲν ἔχειν, ἔχειν δὲ φαυλότερα τῷ σώματι μεμειγμένας, καὶ τὰ μὲν ὅλως ἁδηλα καὶ κεκρυμμένα τὰ δ′ ἀσθενῆ Καὶ ἀμαυρὰ καὶ τοῖς δ᾽ ὀμίχλης ὀρῶσιν ἡ κυνουμένοις ἐν ύγρῷ παραπλησίως δύσεργα καὶ βραδέα, καὶ πολλήν ποθοῦντα θεραπεῖαν τοῦ οἰκείου καὶ ἀνάληψιν ἀφαίρεσιν δὲ καὶ κάθαρσιν τοῦ καλυπτοντος.

ὡσπερ γὰρ ὁ Ἥλιος οὐχ ὅταν διαφύγῃ τὰ νέφα γίγνεται λαμπρός, ἀλλ᾽ ἔστι μὲν ἂεὶ φαίνεται 432 δ᾽ ἡμῖν ἐν ὀμίχλῃ δυσφαίς καὶ ἀμαυρός, οὔτως ἡ ψυχή τὴν μαντικὴν ὀυκ ἐπικτάται δύναμιν ἐκβάσα

1 ἀγνοὶ ἐσθλοὶ Hesiod.
2 καλύπτοντος Emperius: κλέπτοντος (κωλύοντος in one ms., which also adds a short paraphrase of what has gone before).
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

* Works and Days, 123.*
(432) τοῦ σώματος ὀσπερνέφους, ἀλλ' ἔχουσα καὶ νῦν ὑπαλουταί διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ θυντὸν ἀνάμειξιν αὐτῆς καὶ σύγχυσιν. οὐ δεὶ δὲ θαυμάζειν οὐδ' ἀπιστεῖν ὑράντας, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς ἀντίστροφον τῇ μαντικῇ δύναμιν, ἢν μνήμην καλοῦμεν, ἥλικον ἔργον ἀποδείκνυται τὸ σῶμεν τὰ παρωχημένα καὶ φυλάττειν, μᾶλλον δὲ οὖν· τῶν γὰρ γεγονότων ὑπερὲστηκεν, ἀλλ' ἀμα γίγνεται πάντα καὶ φθείρεται, καὶ πράξεις καὶ λόγοι καὶ

Β παθήματα, τοῦ χρόνου καθάπερ ῥεῖματος ἐκαστα παραφέροντος· αὕτη δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡ δύναμις οὐκ ὀδ' ὑπερὶ τρόπων ἀντιλαμβανομένῃ τοῖς μὴ παροῦσι φαντασίαν καὶ οὐσίαν περιτίθεσιν. ὃ μὲν γὰρ Θετταλοῖς περὶ "Ἀρνης" δοθεῖς χρησμὸς ἐκέλευε φράζειν

κωφοῖ τ' ἀκοῆν τυφλοῖο τε δέρξιν,

η δὲ μνήμη καὶ κωφῶν πραγμάτων ἀκοή καὶ τυφλῶν ὅμις ἡμῶν ἔστιν. οἶθεν, ὡς ἔφη, οὐκ ἔστι θαυμαστόν, εἰ κρατοῦσα τῶν μηκῆ ὄντων προ- λαμβάνει πολλὰ τῶν μηδέπω γεγονότων· ταῦτα γὰρ αὐτῇ μᾶλλον προσήκει καὶ τούτως συμπαθής ἐστι· καὶ γὰρ ἐπιβάλλεται καὶ προστίθεται ἔπος τὰ μέλλοντα καὶ τῶν παρωχημένων καὶ τέλος ἐχόντων ἀπήλλακται πλὴν τοῦ μνημονεύειν.

C 40. "Ταύτην οὖν ἔχουσαι τὴν δύναμιν αἰ ψυχαὶ σύμφυτον μὲν ἀμυδρὰν δὲ καὶ δυσφανταστον, ὅμως ἐξανθοῦσι πολλάκις καὶ ἀναλαμποῦσι ἐν τε τοῖς

1 Ἀρνης Turnebus: ἄρνης.
2 προστίθεται F.C.B.: προστίθεται.
3 τῶν added by Stegmann.
4 ἀναλαμποῦσι 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 substantiality, 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 τελευταῖς ἡνιαὶ, καθαροὶ γιγνομένου τοῦ σώματος ἡ τινα κράσιν οἴκελαν πρὸς τοῦτο λαμβάνοντος, ἡ το λογιστικὸν καὶ φροντιστικὸν ἀνίεται καὶ ἀπολύεται τῶν παρόντων τῶν ἀλόγω καὶ φαντασιαστικῶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐπιστρεφομέναις. 5 οὐ γάρ, ὡς ὁ Εὐριπίδης φησί, μάντις δ' ἀριστος ὡστὶς εἰκάζει καλῶς, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐμφρωνὶ μὲν ἀνήρ καὶ τῷ νοῦν ἔχοντι τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ μετ' εἰκότος ἠγουμένῳ καθ' ὁδὸν ἐπόμενοι· τὸ δὲ μαντικὸν ωσπερ γραμματεῖον ἀ-

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dreams, and some in the hour of death,\(^a\) 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\(^b\) 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


ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΗΣ ΜΟΡΑΛΙΑ

Εὐγροῦ νάματος ἀπεράται.¹ καταμειγνύμενον γὰρ
eis to σῶμα κράσιν ἐμποιεῖ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀθὴν καὶ
ἀτοπον, ἢς τὴν ἱδιότητα χαλεπον εἰπεῖν σαφῶς,
eἰκάσαι δὲ πολλαχῶς ὁ λόγος δίδωσι. Θερμότητι
gὰρ καὶ διαχύσει πόρους τινὰς ἀνοίγεις θανα-
stικοὺς τοῦ μέλλοντος εἰκὸς ἔστων, ὡς οἶνος ἀνα-
θυμιαθεῖς ἐτερὰ² πολλὰ κινήματα καὶ λόγους
ἀποκειμένους καὶ λανθάνοντας ἀποκαλύπτει·

tὸ γὰρ βακχεύσιμον
καὶ τὸ μανιῶδες μαντικὴν³ πολλήν ἐχει

Κατ’ Εὐριπίδην, ὅταν ἐνθαρρύμοις ἡ ψυχὴ γενομένη
cαι πυρώδης ἀπώσθητα τὴν εὐλαβείαν, ἢν ἡ θυντὴ
φρόνησις ἔπαγγον πολλάκις ἀποστρέφει καὶ κατα-
σβέννυι τὸν ἐνθουσιασμόν.

41. "Ἀμα δ᾿ ἄν τις οὐκ ἅλογος καὶ ἕνηρότητα
φαίη μετὰ τῆς θερμοτήτως ἐγχυγομένην λεπτύνει
tὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ποιεῖν αἰθερώδες καὶ καθαρὸν·
αὕτη γὰρ ἕνηρ' ἐξω' ψυχή', καθ' Ἡράκλειτον. ὕγρο-

433 τῆς δ᾿ οὐ μόνον ὄψιν ἀμβλύνει καὶ ἀκόην, ἀλλὰ
cαι κατόπτρων θυγοῦσα καὶ μειχθεῖσα⁵ πρὸς άέρας
ἀφαιρεῖ τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὸ φέγγος. τοῦναν-
tίον πάλιν αὖ περιψύξει τινὲς καὶ πυκνώσει τοῦ
πνεύματος οἶον βαφὴ σίδηρον⁶ τὸ προγνωστικὸν
μόριον ἐντείνεσθαι⁷ καὶ στομοῦσθαι τῆς ψυχῆς
οὐκ ἀδύνατον ἔστι. καὶ μὴν ὡς κασσίτερος μανὸν

¹ ἀπεράται F.C.B. (ἀναφέρθηκα Bernardakis; ἀρτύτηκα S. A. Naber): ἀφαιρήτα.
² ἐτερὰ] ἐγείρει Wyttenbach; κατει Paton.
³ μαντικὴν Euripides (Bacch. 298): μαντευτικὴν in most mss.
⁴ ἕνηρ’ 995ε, Life of Romulus, chap. xxviii., Stobaeus: ἕνρα.
⁵ μειχθεῖσα Emperius: μίχος καί.
⁶ σίδηρον Michael and Kronenberg: σίδηρον.
⁷ ἐντείνεσθαι 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,\(^a\) 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.

41. "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 Heracleitus has it.\(^b\) Moisture not only dulls sight and hearing, but when it touches mirrors and combines with air, it takes away their brightness and sheen.\(^c\) 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

\(^a\) Bacchae, 298.
\(^b\) 'A dry soul is best (and/or wisest)' is the dictum of Heracleitus, which is often quoted; see Diels, Frag. der Vorsokratiker, i. p. 100, Heracleitus, no. b 118; cf. also Moralia, 995 e, and Life of Romulus, chap. xxviii. (36 A).
\(^c\) Cf. Plutarch, Moralia, 736 A-B.
(433) οντα και πολυπορον τον χαλκον εντακεις αμα μεν εσφιγξε και κατεπυκνωσεν αμα δε λαμπροτερον απεδειξε και καθαρωτερον, ουτως ουδεν απεχει την μαντικην αναθυμιασιν οικειον τι ταις ψυχαις και συγγενεις έχουσαν αναπληρουν τα μανα και συν-

Β εχειν εναρμοτουσαν. άλλα γαρ άλλοις οικειαι και προσφορα, καθαπερ της μεν πορφυρας ο κυαμος της δε κοκκου το νιτρον δοκει την βαφην επ-

άγει και μεμειγμενον.

βυσσω δε γλαυκης κοκκου3 καταμισγεται ακτις,4

ως 'Εμπεδοκλης ειρηκε. περι δε του Κυδνου5 και της ιερας του 'Απολλωνος εν Ταρσῳ μαχαιρας, δια υλημητρει, σοι λεγοντος ήκουμεν, ώς ουτ'6

ο Κυδνος άλλον7 εκκαθαιρει σιδηρον η8 εκεινον ουθ' άπωρ άλλο την μαχαιραν η εκεινον καθαπερ εν 'Ολυμπια την τεφραν προσπλαττουσι τω βωμω και περιπηγνυουσιν εκ του 'Αλφειου παραχεοντες

υδωρ, έτερων δε πειρωμενοι ποταμων9 ουδενι δυνανται συναγαγειν ουδε κολλησαι την τεφραν.

42. "Ου θαυμαστεον ουν, ει πολλα της γης ανω βευματα μεθεισης, ταυτα μονα τας ψυχας ενθου-

σιαστικως διατιθησαι και φαντασιαστικως του μελ-

λοντος. άμελει10 δε και τα της φημης συναδει τω

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1 κυαμος] κυανός Paton and Hatzidakis.
2 επάγειν F.C.B. (αυξείν Wyttenbach) : άγειν.
3 κοκκου Xylander (κοκκος Diels) : κρόκου, κρόνου, κρόκον.
4 ακτις not in most mss. (ακτης Wilamowitz-Möllendorff).
5 Κυδνου] κυαμου in all mss. but one (Ε).
6 ουτ' added by Madvig.
7 άλλον Emperius : μαλλον.
8 η added by Emperius.
9 έτερων ... ποταμων Schellens : έτερω ... ποταμφ.
10 άμελει Wyttenbach : άμαχει.
when alloyed with copper, which is loose and porous in texture, binds it together and compacts it, 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 seems to further the dyeing of purple and sodium carbonate that of scarlet, when mixed with the dye;

All in the linen is blended the splendour of glorious scarlet, as Empedocles 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-

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*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.

(433) λόγων· καὶ γὰρ ἑντάθα τὴν περὶ τὸν τόπον δύναμιν ἐμφανὴ γενέσθαι πρῶτον ἱστοροῦσιν, νομέως τῶν ἐμπεσόντως κατὰ τύχην, έίτα φωνᾶς ἀναφέροντος ἐνθουσιώδεις, ὥστε τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ παραγενόμενοι κατεφρόνουν, ὑστερον δὲ γενομένων ὰν προεῖπεν ὁ ἀνθρώπος, ἑθαύμασαν. οἱ δὲ λογιστατοὶ Δελφῶν

D καὶ τούνωμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου διαμνημονεύοντες

Κορήταν λέγουσιν;· ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ μάλιστα τοιαύτην πρὸς τὸ μαντικὸν πνεῦμα λαμβάνειν σύγκρασιν ψυχῆ καὶ σύμπτηξιν, οἱ γὰρ ὃς ἤ ὠψ ὀμοιοπαθεῖς γεγομένου· ὁφθαλμῷ τέ γὰρ ἐχοντος τὴν ὑρακτικήν δύναμιν οὐδὲν ἀνευ φωτὸς ἔργον ἔστιν, ψυχῆς τε τὸ μαντικὸν ὀσπερ ὄμμα δεῖται τοῦ συνεξάπτοντος οἰκείου καὶ συνεπιθήγοντος. ὀθεν οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ τῶν προγενεστέρων ἐνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἥγούντο θεον Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Ἡλίων· οἱ δὲ τὴν καλὴν καὶ σοφὴν ἐπιστάμενοι καὶ τιμῶντες ἀναλογίαν, ὅπερ1 σῶμα πρὸς ψυχῆν ὠψ ὑπὸ πρὸς

Ε νοῦν φῶς δὲ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἔστι, τούτῳ τῇ ἐλλογίᾳ δύναμιν εἰκαζον εἰναι πρὸς τὴν Ἀπόλλωνος φύσιν, ἐκγονον ἐκείνου καὶ τόκων ὄντως2 ἀεὶ γεγομένου ἄει τοῦτον ἀποφαίνοντες.3 ἔξάπτει γὰρ καὶ προ- ἀγεται καὶ συνεξορμᾶ τῆς αἰσθήσεως τὴν ὑρακτικὴν δύναμιν ὄντος ὧς τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν μαντικὴν ἐκείνως.

43. "Οι μέντοι δοξάζουν ἐνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν θεον εἰναι, εἰκότως Ἀπόλλων καὶ Γῆ κοινὸς ἀν- ἔθεζαι τῷ χρηστῷ ὑμνοὶ εἰς ἄνθεσιν τὴν ἀναθέσιν καὶ καράζων ἐμποιεῖν τῇ γῇ τῶν Ἡλίων, ἀφ’ ἃς ἑκφέρε-

1 ὅπερ] ὅτως in most mss.
2 ὄντως] 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-

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* See 436 d, infra, and Plato, Republic, 508a-509b.
σθαί τὰς μαντικὰς ἀναθυμάσεις. αυτὴν μὲν οὖν τὴν γῆν ὁσπέρ Ἦσιόδος ἐνίων φιλοσόφων βέλτιον διανοηθείς

πάντων ἐδος ἀσφαλές

Προσεῖπεν, οὖτω καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ αἴδιον καὶ ἀφθαρτον νομίζομεν τῶν δὲ περὶ αυτὴν δυνάμεων πῆ μὲν ἐκλείψεις πῆ δὲ γενέσεις ἂλλαχοῦ δὲ μεταστάσεις καὶ μεταρροίας ἂλλαχόθεν εἰκός ἐστι συμβαίνειν, καὶ κυκλεύν ἐν αὐτῇ τὰς τοιαύτας ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ παντὶ πολλάκις περιόδους, ὡς ἐστὶ τεκμαίρεσθαι τοῖς φαινομένοις. λυμὸν τε γὰρ γεγόνας καὶ ποταμῶν, ἔτι δὲ πλείονες ναμάτων θερμῶν ὅπου μὲν ἐκλείψεις καὶ φθοράι παντάπασιν, ὅπου δέ οἶον ἀποδράσεις καὶ καταδύσεις. έίτα πάλιν ἡκεὶ διὰ χρόνων ἐπιφανώμενα τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόποις ὅπου ἐπηρέαστα. καὶ μετάλλων ἵσμεν ἐξαμαυρώσεις γεγονέναι καινάς, ὡς τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀργυρείων καὶ τῆς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ χαλκίτιδος ἐξ ἢς ἐδημουργεῖτο τὰ ψυχρήλατα τῶν ξιφῶν, ὡς Αἰσχύλος εἰρήκε

λαβὼν γὰρ αὐτόθηκτον Εὐβοϊκῶν ξίφος·

ἡ δ’ ἐν Καρύστῳ πέτραν χρόνος οὐ πολὺς ἀφ’ οὗ πέπαιναι μηρύματα λίθων μαλακά καὶ νηματώδη

1 ἐκφέρεσθαι Xylander: ἐκφέρεται.
2 ἡκε Emperius: ἡκεί.
3 ἐπιφανώμενα Turnebus: ἐπιφανομένη or ἐπιφερόμενα. (Kronenberg would read ἐπιφανώμεν' ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς).
4 τόποις added by Xylander.
5 ἵσμεν Turnebus: τὸ μὲν.
6 καινάς] κενάς in one ms. (B).
7 ἡ ... πέτρα Turnebus: τῆς ... πείπας.
8 καὶ added by Stegmann, and δευτηματώδη in one ms. suggests that καὶ was once there.

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inspiring vapours are wafted forth. As Hesiod,\(^a\) 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,\(^b\) 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\(^c\); 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\(^d\) 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

\(^a\) Theogony, 117. \(^b\) Cf. 432 e, supra. \(^c\) A not uncommon phenomenon in Greece; cf. Moralia, 557 e. \(^d\) Cf. Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 107, Aeschylus, no. 356. The hardness and temper of cold-forged copper is well attested.
(434) συνεκφέρουσα. καὶ γὰρ ὑμῶν ἑωράκεναι τινὰς
οἶκομαί χειρόμακτρα καὶ δίκτυα καὶ κεκουφάλους
Β ἕκειθεν οὐ τι1 πυρὶ καιομένους2· ἀλλ' ὅσ' ἀν ῥυπανθή
χρωμένων, ἐμβαλόντες εἰς φλόγα λαμπρὰ καὶ δια-
φάνῃ κομίζονται· νῦν δ' ἡφάνισται καὶ μόλις οἶον
ἀνες ἡ τρίχης ἁραια διατρέχουσιν ἐν τοῖς μετάλ-
λους.

44. "Καίτω3 πάντων τούτων οἱ περὶ Ἀριστο-
τέλην δημιουργὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ τὴν ἀναθυμίας ἀπο-
φαίνουσιν, ἢ καὶ συνεκλείπειν καὶ συμμεθίστασθαι
καὶ συνεξανθεῖν πάλιν τὰς τοιαύτας φύσεις ἀναγ-
καίων ἐστὶ. ταύτα4 δὴ περὶ μαντικῶν πνευμάτων
διανοητέον, ὡς οὐκ ἐχόντων άίδιον οὐδ' ἀγήρων τὴν
dύναμιν ἀλλ' ὑποκειμένην μεταβολᾶς. καὶ γὰρ
ὀμβροὺς ὑπερβάλλοντας εἰκός ἐστὶ κατασβεντίναι
C καὶ κεραυνῶν ἐμπεσόντων διαφορεῖσθαι, μάλιστα
δὲ τῆς γῆς ὑποσάλου γεγομένης καὶ λαμβανοῦσας
ξῆματα καὶ σύγχωσιν5 ἐν βάθει, μεθίστασθαι τὰς
ἀναθυμίας ἢ τυφλοῦσθαι τὸ παράπαν, ὥσπερ
ἐνταῦθα φαίνει παραμένει τὰ περὶ τὸν μέγαν σει-
σμὸν, δς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνέτρεψεν. ἐν δ' Ὅρχομενῷ
λέγουσι λοιμὸν γεγομένου πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους
διαφθράνηται τὸ δὲ τοῦ Τειρεσίου χρηστηρίου ἐκ-
λιπεῖν παντάπασι καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἀργῶν δια-
μένεις καὶ ἀναυδον. εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς περὶ Κυλικίαν
ὁμοία συμβεβήκε παθεῖν, ὡς ἀκούομεν, οὐδεὶς ἃν
ἡμῖν, ὡ Δημήτριε, σοὶ φράσει σαφέστερον."

1 οὔ τι Bernardakis: οὔτε.
2 πυρὶ καιομένους] perikaioménoi in nearly all mss.
3 καίτω Xylander: καὶ οί or καὶ.
4 ταύτα Turnebus: ταύτα.
5 σύγχωσιν Reiske: σύγχωσιν.
filaments like yarn.\(^a\) 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 \(^b\) 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).
45. Καὶ οἱ Δημήτριοι, "οὐκ οἶδ' ἐγὼ γέγονε τά γε·

D νῦν· ἀποδημῶ γὰρ, ὡς ἵστη, πάμπολυν ᾧ ἤτη χρόνων·
ἐτι δ' ἥκμαζεν ἐμοῦ παρόντος καὶ τὸ Μόσου καὶ τὸ
Ἀμφιλόχου μαντεῖον. ἐχὼ δὲ εἶπείν τῷ Μόσου
παραγενόμενοι πράγμα θαυμασιώτατον. οὐ γὰρ
ἡγεμόν τῆς Κιλκίας αὐτὸς μὲν ἄμφιδοξος ὅν ἐστι
πρὸς τὰ θεῖα, δι' ἀσθένειαν ἀπιστίας οἷμαι: τάλλα
gὰρ ἧν ὑβριστῆς καὶ φαύλου· ἐχὼν δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν
'Επικουρείους τυνάς δι' αἰτιάν καλὴν δὴ καὶ φυσιο-
λόγον ἐνυπρίζοντας, ὡς αὐτῷ λέγοιομ, τοῖς τοιοῦ-
tοις, εἰσεπέμενεν ἀπελεύθερον οἷον εἰς πολεμίων
κατάσκοπον ἐνοκεφάλας, ἐχοντα κατεσφραγισμένην
dέλτον, ἐν ἕ το ἑρώτημα ἣν ἐγγεγραμμένον, οὔδενος
Ε εἰδότος. ἐνυχεύσας οὖν ὁ ἀνθρωπός ὢσπερ ἔδο
ἐστι τῷ σηκῷ, καὶ κατακομμηθεῖς ἀπῆγγελε μεθ'
ἡμέραν ἐνυπνιον τοιοῦτον. ἀνθρωπόν ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ
καλὸν ἐπιστάντα φθέγξασθαι τοσοῦτο 'μέλανα' καὶ
πλέον οὐδὲν ἄλλα εὐθὺς οἰχεῖα. τούθ' ἡμῖν μὲν
ἀτοπον ἐφάνη καὶ πολλὴν ἀπορίαν παρέσχεν· ὁ δ' ἡ
ἡγεμῶν ἐκεῖνος ἐξελάγη καὶ προσεκύνησεν, καὶ
τὴν δέλτον ἀνοίξας ἐπεδεικνύει ἑρωτήμα τοιοῦτο
γεγραμμένον 'πότερον σοι λευκὸν ἡ μέλανα θύσω
ταῦρον;' ὡστε καὶ τοὺς 'Επικουρείους διατραπῆ-
F ναι, κάκεινον αὐτὸν τὴν τε θυσίαν ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ
σέβεσθαι διὰ τέλους τὸν Μόσου.'

46. 'Ο μὲν οὖν Δημήτριος ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐσιώτη-
σεν· ἐγὼ δὲ βουλόμενος ὢσπερ τι κεφάλαιον ἐπι-

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1 τά γε Wyttenbach: τάδε.
2 δι' αἰτιάν καλὴν δὴ καὶ φυσιολόγον F.C.B.; τῶν καλῶν δὴ κα
φυσιολόγων Bernardakis: τὴν καλὴν δὴ καὶ φυσιολόγον.

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a Frag. 395 Usener; Diogenes Laertius, x. 135.
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, a 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,
theinai tw logw, pros ton Filippou authis aperblefia kai ton 'Ammounion omou kathmenous. edoqan ouv mou boulethai ti dialeqthenai kai palin epeichon. o de 'Ammounios, "echei mev," efhi, "kai Filippou, o Laimpria, peri twv eirhmenon eppein oietai gar wsoper oi polloi kai aivotous ouch etereon einai ton

435 Apollwna theon allla twi hliw ton avton. h de eme meiizw aporiai kai peri meiizonoi arti gar ouk oidi otpws tw logw parexerhsmen ek twv theon twn manтикwn es daimonas atexwos apodiotopmoumenoi. vuni de moi dokoumen autous palin ekeinous ezwthein kai apelaiwinein enthende tou chrysthriou kai tou trimpodos, eis pneumata kai atmoous kai anathumases twn tis manтика arxh mallon de twn ovisan autyn kai twn dynamwn analvontes. aij gar eirhmenai kraseses kai theromastes autai kai stomowseis tosow mallon apagousei twn doxan apo twv B theon kai tina toiohton upoballonou3 tis aitias epilogismon, oiw poiei ton Kuklwta chroumenon Euripidhs,

h gei de anagkhe, kai thele kai mi thele,
tiktousa poian tama piaine botoa.

plhen ekeinou mev ou phsi thwein tois theois all' eautw kai 'tis megisthe gasto pi daimwnon, hmeis de kai thumon kai prosvekhmeda ti pathonites4 eti tois chrysthrious, eij dynamwn mev en eautais manтика ai psyhai komi zousoin, h de kwnousa tautyn aeros tis esti krasies h pneumatos; aij de twv iereion4 kata-

1 tosow F.C.B.: osw.
2 upoballonou in most mss.
3 pathonites in most mss.
4 iereiwn in one ms. only (E); iepidow 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

*Cf. 376 b, supra, and 1130 a, for example.

Euripides, *Cyclops*, 332-333.
(435) ἰσπεύσεις1 τί βούλονται, καὶ τὸ μὴ θεμιστεύειν, ἕαν2 ἡ μὴ τὸ ἱερεῖον ὀλον ἐξ ἀκρων σφυρῶν ὑπότρομον γένηται καὶ κραδανθή κατασπενδόμενον; οὐ γὰρ ἀρκεῖ τὸ διασεῖσαι τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑσπερ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις θυσίαις, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι δεῖ τοῖς μέρεσι τὸν σάλον ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸν παλμὸν ἐγγενέσθαι μετὰ ψόφου τρομῶδους· ἕαν γὰρ μὴ τοῦτο γένηται, τὸ μαντεῖον οὐ φασὶ χρηματίζειν οὐδ' εἰσάγουσι τὴν Πυθίαν. καίτοι θεῶ μὲν ἡ δαιμονὶ3 αἰτίαν τὴν πλείστην ἀνα- τιθέντας εἰκὼς ἐστὶ ταῦτα ποιεῖν καὶ νομίζειν· ὡς δὲ σὺ λέγεις, οὐκ εἰκὼς· ἡ γὰρ ἀναθυμίας, ἢ τε πτοηταῖ4 τὸ ἱερεῖον ἄν τε μὴ, παροῦσα ποιήσει5

D τὸν ἐνθυσιασμὸν καὶ διαθήσει τὴν ψυχὴν ὁμοίως οὐ τῆς Πυθίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ κἀν τοῦ τυχόντος ἀψίται σῶματος. οὐθὲν ευνεθὲς ἐστὶ τὸ μιὰ γυναικὶ πρὸς τὰ μαντεῖα χρὴσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα παρέχειν πράγματα φυλάττοντας ἀγνὴν διὰ βίου καὶ καθαρεύουσαν. ὁ γὰρ Κορήτας ἐκεῖνος, ὃν Δελφοὶ λέγουσι πρῶτον ἐμπεσόντα τῆς περὶ τὸν τόπον δυνάμεως αὐτήσιν παρασχεῖν, οὐδἐν οὐμια διέφερε τῶν ἄλλων αἰτόλων καὶ ποιμένων, εἰ γε δὴ τοῦτο μὴ μυθῶς ἐστὶ μηδὲ πλάσμα κενῶν, ὡς ἐγὼ τῇ ἡγούμαι. καὶ λογιζόμενος πηλίκων ἀγαθῶν τούτῃ τὸ μαντεῖον αἰτίων γέγονε τοῖς Ἐλλησιοῖς ἐν τε πολέμωι καὶ κτίσει πόλεων ἐν

Ε τε λοιμοῖς καὶ καρπῶν ἀφορίσαις, δεινῶν ἡγοῦμαι μὴ θεῶ καὶ προνοία τὴν εὐρεσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀρχὴν ἄλλα τῷ κατὰ τύχην καὶ αὐτομάτως ἀνατιθέσθαι. πρὸς

1 κατασπεύσεις Reiske: κατασπεύσεις.
2 εὰν Stegmann: εἰ.
3 θεῶ μὲν ἡ δαιμονὶ Turnebus: θεῶ μὲν ἡ δαιμονὶ.
4 πτοηταὶ Xylander, also Meziriacus: ποιήσαι.
5 ποιήσει in one ms. only (J); poiēi or poiē in the others.

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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 Λαμπρίαν 1 βούλομαι δια-
λεξθῆναι: περιμενείς 2 δὲ;"

"Πάνυ μὲν οὖν," ὁ Φίλιππος ἔφη, "καὶ πάντες
οὕτως πάντας γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὁ λόγος κεκίνηκε."

47. Ἐγὼ πρὸς αὐτὸν, "ἐμὲ δὲ," εἶπον, "οὐ κεκί-
νηκεν, ὁ Φίλιππε, μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ συγκέχυκεν, εἰ
ἐν τοσούτοις καὶ τηλικούτοις οὕσων ὑμῖν δοκῶ παρ'
ηλικίαν τῷ πιθανῷ τοῦ λόγου καλλωπιζόμενος ἀν-
αιρεῖν τι καὶ κινεῖν τῶν ἁλήθειας καὶ σοίως 3 περὶ τοῦ
θείου νεομομεμένων. ἀπολογήσομαι δὲ μάρτυρα καὶ

F σύνδικον ὁμοί Πλάτωνα παραστησάμενος, 4 εκείνος
γὰρ ὁ 5 ἀνήρ Ἀναξαγόραν μὲν ἐμέμψατο τὸν παλαίον,
ὅτι ταῖς φυσικαῖς ἤγαν ἐνδεδεμένος 6 αἰτίας καὶ τὸ
κατ᾿ ἀνάγκην τοῖς τῶν σωμάτων ἀποτελούμενον
πάθεσι μετιών ἀεὶ καὶ διώκων, τὸ οὐ ἐνεκα καὶ υφ'
οὐ, βελτίωνας αἰτίας οὕσας καὶ ἀρχάς, ἀφήκεν· αὐτὸς
δὲ πρῶτος ἢ μάλιστα τῶν φιλοσόφων ἀμφότερας
ἐπεξῆλθε, τῷ μὲν θεῷ τὴν ἁρχὴν ἀποδίδοις τῶν
κατὰ λόγον ἐχόντων, οὐκ ἀποστερῶν δὲ τὴν ἴλην
436 τῶν ἀναγκαίων πρὸς τὸ γιγνόμενον αἰτίῶν, ἀλλὰ
συνορῶν, ὅτι τῆδε πη καὶ τὸ πᾶν αἰσθητὸν δια-
κεκοσμημένον οὐ καθαρὸν οὐδ’ ἁμιγές ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ
τῆς ἴλης συμπλεκομένης τῷ λόγῳ λαμβάνει τὴν
gένεσιν, ὅρα δὲ πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῶν τεχνιτῶν· οἶον
εὐθὺς ἡ περιβολῆς ἐνταῦθα τοῦ κρατήρος ἐδρα καὶ

1 τὸν Λαμπρίαν Wyttenbach: ὁ Λαμπρία.
2 περιμενείς Madvig; the future seems necessary, and so
Prickard translates: περιμένεις (in one ms.) or περιμένοις; cf.
438 c, infra.
3 οὐίως van Herwerden: θείως.
4 παραστησάμενος] παρεστάμενος in all mss. but one (D).
5 ὁ omitted in all mss. but one (G).
6 ἐνδεδεμένος] ἐνδεδυμένος 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.
(436) βάσις, ἡν ὁ Ἡρόδοτος ὑποκρητηρίδιον ὁμόμασεν, αἰτίας μὲν ἔσχε τὰς ὑλικάς, πῦρ καὶ σόδηρον καὶ μάλαξιν διὰ πυρὸς καὶ δι'; ὑδατος βαφήν, δι' ἄνευ γενέσθαι τὸ ἔργον οὐδεμία μηχανή· τὴν δὲ κυριωτέραν ἀρχὴν καὶ ταῦτα κυνοῦσαν καὶ διὰ τούτων ἑνεργοῦσαν ἡ τέχνη καὶ ὁ λόγος τῷ ἔργῳ παρέσχε. καὶ μὴν τῶν γε μεμημάτων τούτων καὶ εἰδώλων ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ δημιουργὸς ἐπιγέραται,

γράφει Πολύγνωτος, Θάσιος γένος, Ἀγλαοφῶντος υἱὸς περθομέναν Ἰλίου ἀκρόπολιν,

ός ὁρᾶται γράφας· ἀνευ δὲ φαρμάκων συντριβέντων καὶ συμφθαρέντων ἀλλήλωσ οὐδὲν ἦν οἰόν τε τοιαύτην διάθεσιν λαβεῖν καὶ ὤμην. ἂρ' οὖν ὁ βουλόμενος ἀπτεσθαί τῆς ὑλικῆς ἀρχῆς, ζητῶν δὲ καὶ διδάσκον τὰ παθήματα καὶ τὰς μεταβολὰς, ὑστέρα 

C μυθείσα συνωστίς ἔσχει καὶ μέλαιν μηλίας, ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν τοῦ τεχνίτου δόξαν; ὁ δὲ τοῦ σιδήρου τῆς στόμωσιν ἐπεξίων καὶ τὴν μάλαξιν, ὅτι τῷ μὲν πυρὶ χαλασθεῖς ἐνδίδωσι καὶ ὑπείκει τοῖς ἐλαύνουσι καὶ πλάττουσιν, ἐμπεσῶν δὲ πάλιν εἰς ὕδωρ ἀκραίφνες καὶ τῇ ψυχρότητι διὰ τὴν ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἐγγενομένην ἀπαλότητα καὶ μανότητα πιληθεῖς καὶ καταπυκνω-

1 βάσις] βάσις or φύσις in all mss. but one (J).
2 ὑποκρητηρίδιον Herodotus: ἐπικρητηρίδιον.
3 ἔσχε τὰς Madvig: ἔχουντας or ἔχουντος.
4 δι' added by Reiske.
5 τεχνίτου] σιδήρου in all mss. but one (F).
6 ἐνδίδωσι Turnebus: ἐπιδίδωσι.
7 πλάττουσι] πλήττουσι in some mss.

a The stand, dedicated by Alyattes (king of Lydia from 617 to 560 B.C.), was of wrought iron and welded together, 488
Herodotus 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:

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 Sinopē 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. Cf. Herodotus, i. 25; Pausanias, x. 16. 1. Of interest also in this connexion is the dedication recorded in the Sigeum inscription, C.I.G. i. 8, or Roberts, Introduction to Greek Epigraphy, no. 42 (p. 78).

(436) θεῖς, εὐτονίαν ἵσχει καὶ πὴξιν, ἣν "Ομηρος 'σιδήρου κράτος' εἶπεν, ἵττόν τι τῷ τεχνίτῃ τηρεῖ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς τοῦ ἔργου γενέσεως; ἐγὼ μὲν οὖκ οἴομαι καὶ γὰρ τῶν ιατρικῶν δυνάμεων ἔνιοι τὰς ποιότητας ἐλέγχουσι, τὴν δ' ιατρικὴν οὖκ ἀναιροῦσιν. ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ Πλάτων ὅραν μὲν ἡμᾶς τῇ παρὰ τῶν ὄφθαλμῶν αὐγῇ συγκεραννυμένη πρὸς τὸ τοῦ ἠλίου φῶς, ἀκούειν δὲ τῇ πληγῇ τοῦ ἀέρος ἀποφαινό-μενος, οὐκ ἀνήρει τὸ κατὰ λόγον καὶ πρόνοιαν ὀρατικοὺς καὶ ἀκουστικοὺς γεγονέναι.

48. "Καθόλου γάρ, ὡς φημι, δύο πάσης γενέσεως αἰτίας ἔχουσιν, οἱ μὲν σφόδρα παλαιοὶ θεολόγοι καὶ ποιηταὶ τῇ κρείττονι μόνῃ τὸν νοῦν προσέχειν εἰλοντο, τούτο δὲ τὸ κοινὸν ἐπιφθεγγόμενοι πᾶσι πράγμασι

Ζεὺς ἀρχή, Ζεὺς μέσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα πέλονται.

ταῖς δ' ἀναγκαίαις καὶ φυσικαῖς οὐκ ἔτι προσήγεσαν αἰτίαις. οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι τούτων καὶ φυσικοὶ προσ-

Ε ἀγορευόμενοι τοῦναντίον ἐκείνους τῆς καλῆς καὶ θείας ἀποπλανηθέντες ἀρχής, ἐν σώμασι καὶ πάθει σωμάτων πληγαῖς τε καὶ μεταβολαῖς καὶ κράσεις τίθενται τὸ σύμπαν. ὅθεν ἀμφοτέρους ὁ λόγος ἐνδεῖς τοῦ προσήκοντός ἔστι, τοῖς μὲν τὸ δὴ οὗ καὶ

1 καὶ added in the Aldine ed.
2 παρὰ] peri in almost all mss.
3 τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν] τὸν 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:

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.
υφ' οὖ, τοῖς δὲ τὸ ἐξ ὑν καὶ δι' ὑν ἀγνοούσιν ἡ παραλείπουσιν. δὲ δὲ πρῶτος ἐκφανὼς ἀψάμενος ἀμφοῖν καὶ τῷ κατὰ λόγον ποιοῦντι καὶ κινοῦντi προσλαβῶν ἀναγκαίως τὰ1 ὑποκείμενον καὶ πάσχον, ἀπολύεται καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πᾶσαν ὑποψίαν καὶ διαβολήν. οὐ γὰρ ἄθεον ποιοῦμεν οὐδ' ἀλογον τὴν F μαντικήν, ὡν γὲν αὐτῇ τήν ψυχήν τοῦ ἄνθρωπον τὸ δ' ἐνθουσιαστικὸν πνεῦμα καὶ τὴν ἀναθυμίαν οἰον ὄργανον ἡ πλῆκτρον ἀποδιδόντες· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἡ γεννήσασα γῇ τὰς ἀναθυμιάσεις ὁ τε2 πᾶσαν ἐνδιδοὺς κράσεως τῇ γῇ καὶ μεταβολῆς δύναμιν ἑλίος νόμῳ πατέρων θεός ἐστιν ἡμῖν· ἔπειτα δαί- μονας ἑπιστάτας καὶ περιπόλους καὶ φύλακας οἰον ἀρμονιάς τῆς κράσεως ταύτης τὰ μὲν ἀνέντας ἐν καιρῷ τὰ δ' ἐπιτείνυτας καὶ τὸ ἄγαν ἐκστατικὸν αὐτῆς καὶ ταρακτικὸν ἀφαιροῦντας τὸ δὲ κυνητικὸν ἀλύτως καὶ ἀβλαβῶς τοῖς χρωμένοις καταμείγ- νύντας ἀπολέιποντες, οὐδὲν ἄλογον ποιεῖν οὐδ' ἀ- δύνατον δόξομεν. (49.) οὖδὲ γε προθυμομενοι καὶ καταστέφοντες ἱερεία καὶ καταστέφοντες ἑναντία τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ πράττομεν. οἱ γὰρ ἱερεῖς καὶ ὁσιοὶ3 θύειν φασὶ τὸ ἱερεῖον καὶ καταστέφοντες καὶ τὴν κύνησιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν τρόμον4 ἀποθεωρεῖν ἐτέ- ρον τίνος τοῦτο σημεῖον5 ἡ τοῦ θεμιστεύει τὸν θεὸν λαμβάνοντες; δὲι γὰρ τὸ θύσιμον τὸ τε σάματι καὶ B τῇ ψυχῇ καθαρὸν εἶναι καὶ ἁσυνές καὶ ἀδιάφθορον. μῆνυτρα6 μὲν οὖν τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα κατιδεῖν οὐ πάνυ χαλεπόν ἐστι· τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν δοκιμάζουσιν,

1 ἀναγκαῖως τὰ] τὸ ἀναγκαίως Pohl. 2 ο τε Emperius: ο Δέ. 3 οσιο T. Turnebus: οσοι.
4 τρόμον T. Turnebus: τρόποιν. 5 τοῦτο σημεῖον Emperius: τοῦθ' ἡμῖν.
6 μηνυτρα T. 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. 

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
(437) tois men taurois alphita tois de kaprois erebinothous paratithentes: to gar mh geusamenon ymiinein ouk oionta. tin de aiga dielagheun to phyron udwr.
yar einai psuchis kata phuion exousis to pros tin
katasteisen apathes kai akinvton. egw de, kai he
betaian oti smeiion esti tou thmiostheun to seisa-
thai kai tou mh thmiostheun tovanthion, oux orw ti
smiainei dysoheres ap' autou tois eirhmenois. pasa

C gar dynamis ei pehuke sun kairou bletion he xeiron
apodidwsi: tou de kairou diafeugontos hmas,
smeia didonai ton theon eikos estin.

50. "Oimai men ou mh tijn anabhimiasin
wsoytos exein aei dia pantos, anseis te' tinas
ishein kai palin sfoodrotetas. de te tekmbrw
christai, martruras exw3 kai xenous pollous kai
tous thrapeunontas to ierou apantan. gar oikos,
ev w toux crwmeoun taw thew kathizousin, ouste
pollakis ouste tetaghmenous alli' ws etuchte dia xro-
wnw euwddias anapimiplatai kai pnevmatos, oias an
ta idista kai polutelestata twn myron apoforai
wstper ek pnyh toin aduton prosofallontos: exe-
antein gar eikos upo thermosthos h tinos allihs

D engyneomenein dynameis. ei de touto mh dokiei
pithanon, alla ge tijn Pithian authn en pathsei kai
diaforais allot' allais ekeino to meros tis psuchis
ischein, w plhsiacei to pneuma, kai mh min an aei

1 ei] oi in nearly all mss.
2 te F.C.B.: de (Kronenberg would read moude for mh in the
line above).
3 exw] exein or exewn in most mss.
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
κράσιν ὦσπερ ἁρμονίαν ἀμετάβολον ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ
diaφυλάττειν, ὀμολογήσετε. πολλαὶ μὲν γὰρ
αἰσθομένης πλείονες δ' ἀδηλοὶ τὸ τε σῶμα κατα-
λαμβάνουσι καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπορρέουσι δυσχέρειαι
καὶ κινήσεις· ὃν ἀναπνηματικὴν οὐκ ἁμείνον ἐκεῖ
βαδίζειν οὔδε παρέχειν έαυτὴν τῷ θεῷ μὴ παντά-
pασι καθαρῶν οὔσαν ὦσπερ ὄργανον ἐξηρτυμένον
καὶ εὔχεσ, ἀλλ' ἐμπαθή καὶ ἀκατάστατον. οὔτε
Ε γὰρ ὁ οἶνος ὄσαυτος ἀεὶ τὸν μεθυστικὸν οὐθ' ὁ
αὕλος τὸν ἐνθουσιαστικὸν ὄμοιώς διατίθεσιν, ἀλλὰ
νῦν μὲν ἤττον οἱ αὐτοὶ νῦν δὲ μᾶλλον ἐκβακχεύονται
καὶ παρουνοῦσι, τῆς κράσεως ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐτέρας γενο-
μένης. μάλιστα δὲ τὸ φανταστικὸν ἐοικε τῆς ψυχῆς
ὑπὸ τοῦ σῶματος ἀλλοιωμένου κρατεῖσθαι καὶ συμ-
μεταβάλλειν, ὡς δῆλον ἔστων ἀπὸ τῶν ὑνείρων· ποτὲ
μὲν γὰρ ἐν πολλαῖς γιγνόμεθα καὶ παντοδαπαῖς
ἐνυπνίων ὤψει, ποτὲ δ' αὐτὶ πάλιν πᾶσα γίγνεται
gαλήνη καὶ ἱσυχία τῶν τοιούτων. καὶ Κλέωνα

1 Ῥ Ἀ μερίου: εἴ.
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 γὰρ ἄλλοτε τῶν φανταστικῶν τρεπόμενοι, καθάπερ ὁι πολλὰ βάλλοντες, ἐπιτυγχάνουσι πολλάκις.

51. "Ὅταν οὖν ἀρμοστῶς ἔχῃ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ὦσπερ φαρμάκον κράσιν ἡ φανταστικὴ καὶ μαντικὴ δύναμις, ἐν τοῖς προφητεύουσιν ἀνάγκη γίγνεσθαι τοῖς ἐνθουσιασμῶν. ὅταν δὲ μὴ οὕτως, μὴ γίγνεσθαι, ἡ γίγνεσθαι παράφορον καὶ οὐκ ἀκέραιον καὶ ταρακτικὸν, ὦσπερ 'ὑσμεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐναγχας ἀποθανούσης Πυθίας. Θεορώνων γὰρ ἀπὸ ξένης παραγενομένων, λέγεται τὰς πρώτας καταστείσεις ἀκίνητον ὑπομεῖναι καὶ ἀπαθὲς τὸ ἱερεῖν. ὑπερβαλλομένων δὲ φιλοτιμίᾳ τῶν ἱερεῶν καὶ προσ-

Β λιπαροῦτων, μόλις ὑπομβρον γενόμενον καὶ κατακλυσθέν ἔνδοῦσαι. τὸ οὖν συνέβη περὶ τῆς Πυθίαν; κατέβη μὲν εἰς τὸ μαντείον ὡς φασιν ἄκουσα καὶ ἀπρόθυμος, εὐθὺς δὲ περὶ τὰς πρῶτας ἀποκρίσεις ἡν καταφανὴς τῇ τραχύτητι τῆς φωνῆς οὐκ ἀναφέρουσα δίκην νεώς ἐπειγομένης, ἀλάλου καὶ κακοῦ πνεύματος οὐσα πλήρης- τέλος ὅπε παντάπασιν ἐκταραχθεῖσα καὶ μετὰ κραυγῆς ἁσθμον καὶ φοβερὰς φερομένη πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον ἐρρυμεν ἐαυτήν, ὥστε φυγείν μὴ μόνον τοὺς θεορῶνοι άλλα καὶ τον προφήτην Νικανδρὸν καὶ τοὺς παρόντας τῶν ὀσιῶν. ἀνειλοντο μὲν οὐτοι μετὰ μικρὸν αὐτήν εἰσ-

C ελθόντες ἐμφρονα καὶ διεβίωσεν ὄλιγας ἦμερας.

"Τούτων ἔνεκα καὶ συνοπσίας ἁγνὸν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸν βίον ὅλως ἀνεπίμεικτον ἀλλοδαπαίς ὀμιλίαις

1 ταρακτικὸν] πρακτικὸν in most mss.
2 Πυθίας Bernardakis (but cf. 295 n): πυθίας.  
3 εὐδοῦναι Turnebus: εὔδον ἤν.  
4 Πυθίαν] πυθίαδα in almost all mss.
5 δὲ περὶ Turnebus: δ' ἐπὶ.  
6 ἀλάλου] ἀλλ' ἀλαοῦ Reiske.  
7 ἁσθμον καὶ omitted in most mss.

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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 ἀθικτόν φυλάττουσιν οὕς Πυθίας, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ χρηστηρίου τὰ σημεία λαμβάνουσιν, οἴομενοι τῷ θεῷ κατάδηλον εἶναι, πότε τὴν πρόσφορον ἐχουσα κράσιν καὶ διάθεσιν ἀβλαβῶς ὑπομενεῖ τὸν ἑνθουσιασμόν. οὔτε γὰρ πάντας οὔτε τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀεὶ διατίθεσιν ὄσαυτως ἢ τοῦ πνεύματος δύναμις, ἀλλ' ὑπέκκαμα παρέχει καὶ ἀρχὴν ὡσπερ εἰρήται τοῖς Δ πρὸς τὸ παθεῖν καὶ μεταβαλεῖν οἰκείως ἐχουσιν. ἔστι δὲ θεία μὲν ὄντως καὶ δαμόνιος, οὐ μὴν ἀν-έκλειπτος οὐδ' ἄφθαρτος οὐδ' ἀγήρως καὶ διαρκὴς εἰς τὸν ἀπειρὸν χρόνον ύφ' οὐ πάντα κάμνει τὰ μεταξὺ γῆς καὶ σελήνης κατὰ τὸν ἥμετερον λόγον. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ τὰ ἐπάνω φάσκοντες οὐχ ὑπομένειν, ἀλλ' ἀπαυδώντα πρὸς τὸ ἄδιον καὶ ἀπειρὸν συνεχέσι 3 χρῆσθαι μεταβολαῖς καὶ παλγγενεσίαις.

52. "Ταῦτ'․" ἐφην ἐγὼ, "πολλάκις ἀνασκέπτε-σθαι καὶ ύμᾶς παρακαλῶ καὶ ἐμαυτὸν, ὡς ἔχοντα πολλὰς ἀντιλῆψεις καὶ ὑπονοίασ πρὸς τούναντιον, ἀς ὁ καρπὸς οὗ παρέχει πᾶσας ἐπεξελθεῖν· ὡστε καὶ Ε ταῦτ' ὑπερκείσθω καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος διαπορεῖ περὶ ἕλιου καὶ 'Απόλλωνος.'"

1 φυλάττουσιν] φυλαττούσης most mss.
2 Πυθίας] πυθίαδος most mss.
3 συνεχέσι Wytenbach; ὀξείας Reiske: ὀξεία. 

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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."
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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.
Acron, 187: a physician who attended the Athenians during the Great Plague (430-429 B.C.).
Admetus, 393: king of Pherae in Thessaly, protagonist of Euripides' Alcestis and a character in a lost play of Sophocles whose title is unknown.
Aegina, 309: an island off the coast of Attica in the Saronic Gulf.
Aegon, 269: an Argive who became king, when the race of Heraclidae failed.
Aegospotami (battle of), 277.
Aemilianus, 401, 403: an orator of the 1st century A.D.
Aeolic (dialect), 363.
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.
Agesilaus, 285: king of Sparta 393-360 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.
Aglaiocē, 389: learned daughter of Hegetor of Thessaly.
Agaophon, 489: a famous painter of Thasos in the early 5th century, father and teacher of Polygnotus and Aristophon.
Aidoneus, 251: an epithet of Hades.
Alcaeus, 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, 69, 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 Orchalides in Haliartus in Boeotia.
Alpheius, 473: a river of Arcadia.
Alyattes, 299: king of Lydia 617(?) - 560 B.C.
Amenthes, 73: the Egyptian name for the place to which the souls of the dead depart.
Ammon, 25, 90, 355, 361: the local god of the Egyptian city of

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Thebes, but identified by the Greeks with Zeus.
Amoun, 25: the Egyptian name for Zeus.
Amphiarats, 361, 363: oracular shrine at Oropus.
Amphictyonic (Council), 341: the council of the Sacred League which met twice yearly in Thermopylae.
Amphictyons, 297.
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.
Aphrodite, 35, 75, 117, 161, 165, 177.
Apollonia, 301: the name of various Greek cities; which city is indicated here is uncertain.
Apollonius, 413: a common Greek name.
Apollonopolis, 123: a city of Upper Egypt, now Edfu.
Apopis, 89: according to the Egyptians, brother of the Sun.
Aristyllus, 305: of Paros, wrote elegiac poetry as well as iambic, of which he was reputed to be the inventor; circa 650 B.C.
Artemis, 113, 115: the Persian god of darkness, Ahriman.
Argive, 209.
Arigines, 63, 85.
Argo, 55: the ship of the Argonauts.
Aristagoras, 15: a writer on Egypt of the 4th century.
Aristarchus, 305: of Samos, a great astronomer; circa 320-250 B.C.
Aristides, 140, 279.
Aristides, 119, 143, 181, 187, 227, 265, 267, 279, 427, 457, 479: the philosopher; 384-322 B.C.
Aristyllus, 305: an astronomer.
Arnè, 467: a town in south-western Thessaly.
Arselas, 413: a ruler of the Solymi.
Arsaphes, 91: an Egyptian name of Osiris, regarded as Dionysus.
Artemis, 27, 165, 435.
Arthes, 33, 35: son of Isis and Osiris, regarded by the Greeks as Apollo, or the elder Horus.
Aso, 35: a queen of Ethiopia.
Assyrians, 57.
Astarté, 41: a name given by some to the queen of Byblus who sheltered Isis.
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Asterium, 289: a place in Tenedos.
Astronomy, 307: a work in verse attributed by some to Thales (not extant).
Athenaeus, 413: a common Greek name.
Athenais, 41: the Greek equivalent of Nemanus.
Athenian, 215, 277.
Athenian Colonization, 91: a work of the historian Ariston.
Athens, 161, 187, 269, 309.
Athyr, 37, 95, 161: an Egyptian month, the Attic Pyanepson (October to November).
Athyr, 137: an Egyptian name for Isis.
Atlas, 215: son of the Titan Iapetus, bore the heavens on his shoulder.
Attica, 477.

Bacchic, 85, 497.
Bacchus, 225.
Basilocles, 259, 261: a speaker in the dialogue *The Oracles at Delphi*.
Battus, 319, 335: the founder of Cyrene circa 630 B.C.
Bear, the, 53: the constellation.
Bebion, 121, 147: an Egyptian name for Typhon.
Bias, 205: of Priene, one of the Seven Wise Men; circa 550 B.C.
Bocchoris, 23: Rekneranef, king of Egypt circa 718-712 B.C.
Boeotia, 343, 361.
Boeotian, 215.
Boeotians, 161.
Bréthus, 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.
Briareus, 405: a monster with fifty heads and an hundred arms.

Britain, 353, 408.
Britons, 408.
Busiris, 53, 73: a town in Egypt.
Buto, 45, 93, 153: a town in Lower Egypt.

Cadmus, 273: a Phoenician adventurer, reputed founder of Thebes.
Caesar (Augustus), 207.
Caesar, Tiberius, 403.
Callias, 297: a rich Athenian, friend and host of Socrates in Xenophon's *Symposium*.
Callistratus, 351: an official of the Amphictyonic Council, speaker in the *Symposiac Questions*, vii. 5.
Cambyses, 107: son of Cyrus the Great, second king of Persia, the conqueror of Egypt (died 522 B.C.).
Canopus, 55: pilot of Menelaus, who was buried in Egypt, and became identified with Serapis or Pluto.
Capitolinus, Jupiter, 165.
Carthaginians, 287.
Castor, 77: of Rhodes, a Greek historian of the 1st century B.C.
Cerberus, 69: the three-headed Hound of Hell.
Chaeremon quoted, 325: a Greek tragic poet of the early 4th century B.C.
Chaeroneia, 365: a town in Boeotia, birthplace of Plutarch.
Chaldean, 207.
Chaldeans, 117.
Chaos, 137: part of the Hesiodic cosmology.
Cheiron, 215: the Centaur, tutor of Achilles.
Chemia, 83: an Egyptian name for Egypt.
Chemmis, 87: a city of Egypt near Thebes, the Greek Panopolis.
Chilon, 205: of Sparta, one of the Seven Wise Men, circa 590 B.C.
Chonuphis, 25: a priest of Memphis.
Chronos, 77: Father Time.
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Chrysippus, 61, 399, 433, 435: a Stoic philosopher from Soli in Cilicia; 280-206 B.C.

Cilicia, 479, 481.

Cinaethon, 331: of Sparta, a genealogical poet of the 8th or 7th century B.C.

Clea, 7, 11, 29, 85: the priestess at Delphi, contemporary with Plutarch, to whom he dedicated the Isis and Osiris and The Bravery of Women.

Cleander, 309: a man of Aegina, accomplice of Proclus of Epidaurus.

Cleantides, 155: of Assos in the Troad, successor to Zeno in the Stoic school; 331/330-232/231 B.C.

Cleobulina, 297: daughter of Cleobulus of Rhodes, whose real name was Eumetis; famed for her riddles.

Cleobulus, 205, (297): of Lindus in Rhodes, one of the Seven Wise Men, of the early 6th century.


Cleon, 497: a native of Daulia.

Cleonae, 295: a town near Hyampolis in Phocis.

Cleotimus, 309: brother of Proclus of Epidaurus.

Clio, 303: one of the Muses, generally regarded as the Muse of History.

Cnidian (Clubhouse), 365: a building at Delphi.

Cnidian, 279.

Colophon, 163.

Conflagration, the, of the World, 383.

Copto, see Kpto.

Coretias, 475, 485: a Delphian shepherd, the first, according to tradition, to give evidence of the power of prophecy resident in the place.

Corinth, 205, 263, 289.

Corinthian, 268.

Corinthians, 289, 293-297.


Corycian (cave), 259: at Delphi.

Crates, 295, 297: of Thebes, Cynic philosopher, disciple of Diogenes, 3rd century B.C.

Cratylus, 233: a dialogue of Plato, concerned principally with etymology.

Crete, 177, 393.

Cretines (or -us), 335: of Miletus, founder of Sinope.

Croesus, 299: king of Lydia 560-546 B.C.


Cumae, 283: a city of Campania.

Cyclops, 483: the one-eyed giant, Polyphemus, who was blinded by Odysseus in the Odyssey and in Euripides' play.

Cydnus, 473: a river of Cilicia which flows through the city of Tarsus.

Cynic, 367: a school of philosophy founded by Antisthenes.

Cynopolis, 169: a city in the Egyptian Delta, now Samallut.


Cypselus, 293: tyrant of Corinth, son of Aeetion and father of Periander.

Cyprus, 57: the Great, founder of the Persian Empire, killed in 529 B.C.

Damnarius, 161: the Boeotian name for the Attic month Pyanepson.

Danube, 439.

Daulia, 497: a town in Phocis near Delphi.


Deinon, 77: of Colophon, edited and continued Ctesias's Persian History.

Delian, 203, 251, 365.

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315, 341, 351, 365, 373, 375, 393, 411, 475, 485.
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Demeter, 61, 75, 99, 151, 155, 161.
Demetrius, 355, 355, 361, 367, 3-1, 385, 403, 417, 421, 427, 461, 473, 479, 481: of Tarsus, a grammarian, a speaker in the dialogue The Obsolescence of Oracles.
Democritus, 101, 401: a philosopher of Abdera, the great exponent of the Atomic Theory; circa 460-400 B.C.
Didymachus, 283: a city of Campania, the Latin Puteoli (Pozzuoli).
Dioecia, 199: of Messene, a geographer and historian of the late 4th century.
Dictys, 21: nursling of Isis.
Didymus, 367: a Cynic, surnamed Planetiades.
Diodorus, 319: a name given to the town containing the tomb of Osiris.
Diogenianus, 261-265, 269, 275, 289, 319: of Pergamum, an Academic philosopher, a speaker in the dialogue The Oracles at Delphi.
Diomedes, 319: son of Tydemos, a hero of the Trojan War.
Dionysiac, 85.
Dionysius, 69: servant of Ptolemy Soter.
Dionysius, 165: the identity of the person referred to disputed.
Dionysius, 413: a common Greek name.
Dionysius, 413: a common Greek name.
Dog star, the, 58, 55, 91, 115, 129, 147: Sirius.
Dolon's Way, 395.
Dorian, 419.
Dor C (dialect), 411.
Dragon's teeth, 259.
Dryus, 413: ruler of the Solymi.

Earth, the, 65, 89, 137, 303, 305, 355, 475, 477, al.

Echecrates, 365: prophetic priest at Delphi at the time of the Persian wars.
Echinoeid, 401: nine small islands in the Ionian Sea at the mouth of the Acheron.
Egyptian, 25, 27, 73, 137, 147, 159, 379, 401, 419.
Eileithyia, 171: the goddess of the rites of childbirth.
Eleastos, 293, 295.
Elephantine, 165: an island in the Nile opposite Syene; to-day El-Gezire.
Elis, 85, 177, 255.
Epaphus, 91: son of Zeus and Io, a Greek equivalent of Apis.
Epicureanism, 271.
Epicureans, 405, 407, 481.
Epicurus, 109, 275, 279, 289, 407, 483: a Greek philosopher 341-270 B.C.
Epidaurus, 309: a city on the east coast of Argolis.
Epinomides quoted, 351: a prophet of Crete circa 600 B.C.
Ephiphanius, 127: an Egyptian month (about July).
Epitherses 401: father of Aemilius, the orator.
Eresus, 419: a town of Lesbos.
Eretria, 301: a city of Euboea.
Erythraeae, 297, 307: a city on the coast of Asia Minor opposite Chios.
Etesian Winds, 95.
Ethiopia, 35, 95.
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Euboean, 477.
Eudoxus, 17, 25, 53, 75, 129, 149, 151, 365, 307: of Cnidus, a mathematician and astronomer, who also wrote a book on travel; 4th century B.C.
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Euhemerus, 57: of Messenê, author of a celebrated work on the mortal lives of the gods; late 4th century B.C.
Eumetis, 297; see Cleobulina.
Euripides quoted, 109, 165, 175, 199, 231, 251, 319, 323, 333, 387, 461, 469, 471, 483: Athenian tragic poet; circa 485-486 B.C.
Eurycleis, 377: ventriloquists, so called from Eurycles, an Athenian of the 5th century.

Fates, the, 203.

Galaxium, 343: a town of Boeotia.
Gelo, 309: son of Deinomenes, ruler of Gela 491-483 B.C., and of Syracuse 485-478 B.C.
Giants, 61.
Glauce, 273: of Chios, a famous lyre-player.
Gnesiochus, 335: a Megarian adventurer.
Gorgias, 407: of Leontini, a famous rhetorician; circa 483-375 B.C.
Great Mother, 331: Cybebe, the Anatolian goddess.
Grecian, 281.
Greece, 73, 145, 205, 279, 335, 337, 373, 395.
Greek, 9, 57, 145, 147, 157, 363, 409, 417.

Hades, 69, 73, 75, 113-117, 183, 253.
Halieartus, 337: a town in Boeotia.
Hamadryads, 531.
Hannibal, 287: the great Carthaginian general; 247-183 B.C.
Harpocrates, 49, 153, 159: son of Isis and Osiris, the Egyptian god of Silence.
Hecataeus, 17, 25: of Abdera, a philosopher and historian; circa 300 B.C.
Hegetor, 39: a Thessalian, father of Aglaonicê.
Halicarnassus, 281: a mountain of Boeotia, resort of the Muses.
Heliopolis, 17, 25, 83: a city in Lower Egypt on the borders of Arabia.
Hellanicus, 83: of Mitylene, an historian of the 5th century.
Hephaestus, 77, 155.
Hera, 75, 77.
Heracleides Ponticus, 67: of Heraclea, pupil of Plato, a philosopher and historian of the 4th century.
Heracleon, 357, 369, 397, 399, 415, 419: of Magnesia, Peripatetic philosopher and speaker in the dialogue The Obsolescence of Oracles.
Heraea, 497: a town of Arcadia.
Hermaeus, 91, 103: an unidentified writer of (Egyptian?) history. Reiske would read Hermeas and identify him with the writer in Frag. Ht f Graec. ii. 80, but the whole matter is very doubtful.
Hermas, 415: a common Greek name.
Hermanubis, 145: son of Osiris and Nephthys, symbol of the search for truth.
Hermodotus, 59: an obscure poet at the court of Antigonus the One-Eyed.
Hermon: see 276, note a.
Hermopolis, 11, 123: a city of Egypt.
Herodotus, 311, 489: quoted, 391: Greek historian of the 5th century.
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Hestia, 75: the goddess of the hearth-fire.
Hieron, 277: a Spartan.
Hieron, 277, 309: son of Deinomenes, ruler of Gela and Syracuse; 478-467 B.C.
Hierosolymus, 77: son of Typhon.
Hierapolyis, 419: a city of Sicily.
Hipparchus, 305: an astronomer; circa 190-120 B.C.
Hippys, 419: of Rhegium, an historian of the 5th century.
Homoeomoria, 425: the doctrine of Anaxagoras.
Hopites, 337: a river of Boeotia.
Hora, 93: the "seasonable tempering of the surrounding air."
Horus, 33, 35, 45-49, 53, 55, 93, 97, 99, 105, 123, 127, 131-139, 145-149: son of Isis and Osiris, the Egyptian god of Light.
Hyes, 83: a cult name of Dionysus.
Hysiris, 85: Hellanicus' spelling of Osiris.
Ieius, 247: a cult name of Apollo.
India, 71.
Indian, 419.
Iseion, 11: the shrine of Isis.
Ismenian, 203: an epithet of Apollo.
Isodaeus, 223: an epithet of Apollo.
Ister, 311: of Cyrene, a Greek historian, slave of the poet Callimachus, 3rd century B.C.
Isthmian Games, 293.
Italy, 279, 401.
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Judaicus, 77: son of Typhon.
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Keph, 55: an Egyptian god.
Kopto (Copto), 37, 73, 133: a city of Upper Egypt, north of Thebes.
Koré, 99, 161: see Persephone.

Labydæae, 395: a clan at Delphi.
Lachares, 165: tyrant of Athens; 296-295 B.C.
Lamia, 281: daughter of Poseidon.
Laws, Th., 119: a work of Plato.
Lebadeia, 361, 463: a town of Boeotia, renowned for its oracle of Trophonius.
Leda, 297: daughter of Thesius of Aetolia, wife of Tyndareis, mother of the Dioscuri, Helen, and Clytemnestra.
Lemnos, 173.
Leschenorian, 203: an epithet of Apollo.
Leto, 93: mother of Apollo and Artemis.
Letuctra, 277: a town in Boeotia.
Lindians, 205: citizens of Lindus in Rhodes.
Lion (Leo), 91, 93: the constellation.
Livia, 207: wife of Caesar Augustus.
Love, 137, 139: element in the Hesiodic cosmogony.
Lycians, 413.
Lycopolis, 73, 169: a town in Egypt.
Lycouria, 259: a town near Delphi.
Lycurgus, 25, 311: the reputed author of the Spartan constitution. Plutarch wrote his life.
Lydian, 363.
Lysander, 277, 337: Spartan commander, ended the Peloponnesian War at the battle of Aegospotami (404); killed at the battle of Haliartus (395). Plutarch wrote his life.
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Olympus, 107, 419.
Omphis, 103: a name of Osiris.
Onomacritus, 331: an Athenian collector of oracles in the time of Peisistratus.
Opuntians, 299, 301: citizens of Opus in Locris.
Orchalides, 337: a hill near Halartus in Boeotia.
Orchomenos, 479: a town in Boeotia.
Orestes, 297: son of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra.
Orion, 53, 55: the constellation.
Orneatans, 297: citizens of Orneae in Argolis.
Oromazes, 113, 115: Ahura Mazda, the Persian god of Good.
Orpheus, 305, 379, 383.
Orphic, 237: fragment quoted, 491.
Oxyrhynchus, 19, 169: a town in Egypt.

PALAESTINUS, 43: a name of the son of Malcander, king of Byblus.
Pallas (Athena), 277.
Palodes, 401, 403: a place in the neighbourhood of Pafi.
Pamylia, 33: a Priapean god of the Egyptians.
Pamylia, 33, 39: an Athenian festival in honour of Pamylas.
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Panchoans, 57.
Panchon (or Panchaea), 57: a fabulous island in the Persian Gulf, described by Euimerus.
Pandaras, 319: a Lycian leader in the Trojan War.
Paphlagonians, 161.
Parmenides, 305: of Elea, pupil and successor of Xenophanes in the Eleatic school of philosophy; early 5th century.
Pausan, 271: an Attic painter or caricaturist of the first half of the 4th century.
Paxi, 401: two small islands between Corcyra and Leucas, now Paxo.
Payni, 75: an Egyptian name of a month.
Peloponnesian War, 365.
Pellinius, 43: a name of the son of Malcander, king of Byblus.
Penelope, 403: wife of Odysseus.
Periander, 203: tyrant of Corinth; 627-585 B.C.
Persephoné, 67, 161: the Daughter (Kore) of Demeter; see also Kore and Pherephoné.
Persian, 29, 77; Gulf, 353, 411; Wars, 301, 361, 365.
Persians, 57, 113.
Petron, 419: of Himera, a philosopher.
Phaeacians, 19: the inhabitants of Phaeacia (later identified with Corcyra) in the Odyssey.
Phaedrus, 43: a river in Egypt.
Phaestus, 351: a city in Crete.
Phalanthus, 335: son of Agelaüs, founder of Phalanthus in Arcadia.
Phamenoth, 105: an Egyptian month.
Phaean, 203, 251: epithet of Apollo.
Phania, 419: of Eresus in Lesbos, Peripatetic philosopher and historian; 4th century.
Phaophili, 75, 127, 153: an Egyptian month.
Pharos, 99: an island off the coast of Egypt near Alexandria.
Pharsalia, 279: a town in Thessaly.
Phidias, 177: an Athenian sculptor of the 5th century.
Pherephoné, 165: see Persephoné.
Phylae, 53: a sacred island in the Nile at the southern boundary of Upper Egypt.
Philebus, 235: a work of Plato.
Phillinus, 259, 261, 323: of Phocia, a friend of Plutarch's and speaker in the dialogue The Oracles at Delphi.
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