PLUTARCH'S
MORALIA
XII
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PREFACE

To prevent misunderstanding the editors wish to make it clear that the essays contained in this volume are not works of collaboration. Mr. Cherniss is entirely responsible for the text and translation of the first essay (pp. 1-223), Mr. Helmbold for all the rest of the volume.
THE TRADITIONAL ORDER of the Books of the *Moralia* as they appear since the edition of Stephanus (1572), and their division into volumes in this edition.

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Quaestiones Graecae (Ἀἵτια Ἕλληνικά).
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De fortuna Romanorum (Περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων τύχης).
De Alexandri magni fortuna aut virtute, libri ii (Περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχης ἢ ἀρετῆς, λόγου β).
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V. De Iside et Osiride (Περὶ Ἰσίδος καὶ Ὀσιρίδος).
De E apud Delphos (Περὶ τοῦ Ἐλ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς).
De Pythiae oraculis (Περὶ τοῦ μή χράν ἐμμετράν τὴν Πυθίαν).
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VI. An virtus doceri possit (Εἰ διδακτὸν ἡ ἀρετῆ).
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XI. De Herodoti malignitate (Peri τῆς Ἡροδότου κακοπθέαις).
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XV. Fragments and Index
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(DE FACIE QUAE IN ORBE LUNAE APPARET)
INTRODUCTION

1. The authenticity of this dialogue has sometimes been questioned but without any plausible reason. On the other hand, despite statements to the contrary, it is certainly mutilated at the beginning, although one cannot tell whether much or little has been lost; this follows not merely from the abruptness of the opening as we have it, the lack of any kind of introduction, and the failure to identify the main speaker until two-thirds of the dialogue have been.

\[a\] Cf. S. Günther, quoted by M. Adler, *Diss. Phil. Vind.* x (1910), p. 87, and R. Pixis, *Kepler als Geograph,* p. 105. Wilamowitz (*Commentariolum Grammaticum,* iii, pp. 27-28) suggested that the dialogue was published under the name of Lamprias; and this notion that Lamprias was in some sense either the real or the reputed author was adopted by Christ in the third edition of his *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* (1898), p. 662, and by Hirzel (*Der Dialog,* ii, p. 185).

\[b\] Mutilation was assumed by Xylander, Kepler, and Dübner and has been reasserted by Pohlenz (*B.P.W.* xxxii [1912], pp. 649-650), von Arnim (*Plutarch über Dämonen und Mantik,* p. 38), Raingeard (*Le ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΥ de Plutarque,* pp. 49-50 on 920 v 1), and K. Ziegler (*Plutarchos von Chaeroneia,* 214). It was denied by Wilamowitz (*loc. cit.)*, Hirzel (*Der Dialog,* ii, p. 186, n. 6), and M. Adler (*Diss. Phil. Vind.* x, pp. 88-89). Wytenbach contended that "either nothing or no great part" had perished.
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finished, but even more surely from the nature of the text in the opening sentences.\(^a\)

2. In the dialogue as it stands the first speaker is Sulla. His chief function is to recount the myth which he mentions in the first extant words and which occupies the final fifth of the work; but he interrupts the dialogue proper at 929 ε—930 ά to ask whether a certain difficulty was treated in the discussion which Lucius is reporting. He is a Carthaginian (cf. 942 ε), presumably the Sextius Sulla cited by Plutarch in his Romulus, chap. 15 (26 ε). and the same as the Carthaginian Sulla who gave a dinner for Plutarch in Rome (Quaest. Conviv. 727 Β). He is probably the Sulla who appears as the interlocutor of Fundanus in the De Cohibenda Ira (note b, 453 ά) but probably not the same as the Sulla of Quaest. Conviv. 636 ά (ὁ ἐπαίρος) and 650 ά (one of τῶν συνήθων).

The second speaker, at once the narrator of the whole conversation and the leader of the dialogue

\(^a\) Those who have defended ο μὲν οὖν Σύλλας 'ταῦτ᾽' εἶπε τῷ γ' ἐμῷ μύθῳ προσήκει κτλ. as a possible opening apparently were unaware that the reading of E is ὁ Οὐανοσύλλας ταῦτα εἶπε. τῷ γάρ ἐμῷ μύθῳ προσήκει κτλ. and that B's ο μὲν οὖν Σύλλας is in all probability a conjecture made by the scribe of that ms. This being so, it is unjustifiable to "emend" the γάρ of τῷ γάρ ἐμῷ μύθῳ, the reading of both E and B; and, if this γάρ stands, it is certain that our mss. do not preserve the beginning of the dialogue. The next sentence, ἀλλ᾽ εἰ δεῖ τι . . . προσανακρούσασθαι, πρῶτον ἥδεως ἀν μοι δοκῶ πνεύσασθαι, which Wytenbach needlessly "emended," implies that some introduction of Sulla and his myth preceded the present beginning; and 937 έ (. . . Σύλλαν . . . οἷον ἑπὶ ῥητοῖς ἀκροατὴν γεγενημένον) suggests what the nature of this introduction may have been. Even the tense of τί τῷ οὖν ἐμέλλομεν implies some preceding reference to an earlier conversation or a conversation itself interrupted by the arrival of Sulla.
proper, is Lamprias, who is also the narrator of the *De Defectu Oraculorum* (cf. 413 d), a dialogue in which he plays the leading rôle. In the *De E' apud Delphos*, where Lamprias appears with Plutarch, Plutarch calls him brother (385 d); and he is frequently identified as Plutarch's brother in the *Quaest. Conviv.* (cf. 635 a, 726 d-e, 744 c [with 745 a], and possibly 626 a). He is characterized as a wit and a tease (726 d-e, 740 a), one accustomed to speak out in a loud voice (617 e-f), and capable of inventing a story as evidence to support his argument (*De E* 386 a); he is an expert in culinary matters (643 e, 669 c, 670 e) and in the dance (747 b) and shrinks from appearing as a kill-joy to younger men (704 e). He is made to emphasize his close relations with a Cynic (*De Defectu Oraculorum*, 413 b); but he is no Cynic himself, and he is mortified to think that he might be supposed to have used his skill in argument to discredit any pious belief (435 e). He is said to honour the school of Aristotle above that of Epicurus (*Quaest. Conviv*. 635 a-b); but he does not hesitate to disagree with Aristotle in the *De Defectu Oraculorum* (424 c ff.) and to espouse against him the doctrine of the Academy (430 e ff.). In the *De Facie* he is a vehement critic of Stoic doctrine and a supporter of the Academic position (cf. 922 f). Lamprias bore the name of his grandfather; but this

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*a* His name is not mentioned until 937 d. There at the beginning of a section which serves as the transition from the main or "scientific" part of the dialogue to the myth Theon calls Lamprias by name, as Sulla does also at the beginning of his myth (940 f) and at the end of it (945 d). It is probable that in the lost beginning of the work Lamprias was similarly identified.

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does not prove, as has sometimes been asserted, that he was older than his brothers, Plutarch and Timon. *De Defectu Oraculorum.* 431 c-d, has been thought to show that he was a priest of the oracle in Lebadeia, though this is not a necessary implication of that passage; and a Delphic inscription proves him to have been an archon at Delphi towards the end of Trajan's reign or in the beginning of Hadrian’s.

Apollonides, the third speaker, is at once identified as expert in geometry (920 f), and Lamprias indicates that the scope and limitations of his specialty coincide with those of Hipparchus, the great astronomer (921 d, cf. 925 a). He puts forward objections to Lamprias's explanation of the "face" based upon astronomical terminology and calculations (933 f, 935 d-e). An Apollonides appears at *Quaest. Conviv.* 650 f along with Sulla; but he is called ὁ τακτικὸς Απολλωνίδης, and there is no compelling reason to identify the two. Prickard may well be right in saying that the name Apollonides here was used by Plutarch to mean "one of the clan of Apollonius," i.e. a mathematician who, like Apollonius, is interested in astronomical theory.

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*b* Dittenberger, *S.I.G.* ii. 868 c, n. 6; Stein, *R.E.* xii. 1. 586, s.v. Λαμπρίας 4.

*c* Ziegler (*Plutarchos von Chaironeia,* 34) says that the sentence at 927 b, οὗ γὰρ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ τακτικῶν ὀφελός κτλ., is spoken "obviously with reference to the interlocutor Apollonides"; but this is pretty obviously not true. Lamprias is not here speaking in answer to Apollonides; and his subsequent words, οὐδὲ κηπουρῶν οὐδὲ οἰκοδόμων, certainly have reference to none of the present company. These are in fact stock examples of the argument from design.

*d* Apollonius of Perga; *cf.* Hultsch, *R.E.* ii. 151-160.
Certainly Aristotle, who puts forward the orthodox Peripatetic theory of the heavenly bodies (928 \* ff.), is only a name chosen by Plutarch to signify the school that he represents (cf. 920 \*), even as the representative Epicurean in *De Sera Numine Vindicta* is called Epicurus.\(^a\)

The Stoic position is represented by Pharnaces. This name was borne by the son of Mithridates, of whom Plutarch tells in the Lives of Pompey and Caesar, as well as by several notable Persians mentioned by Herodotus and Thucydides\(^b\); and Plutarch probably chose it for his Stoic because of its Asiatic sound.\(^c\)

After the rôle of Lamprias the largest in the dialogue proper is that of Lucius, who is probably the same as "Lucius, the pupil of Moderatus the Pythagorean, from Etruria," a guest at the dinner which Sulla gave for Plutarch in Rome (*Quaest. Conviv.* viii. 7-8 [727 B ff., 728 D ff.]).\(^d\) Early in the dialogue (921 \*\) Lamprias turns to Lucius for aid; he seems to think it appropriate that Lucius should set forth the strict "demonstration" of the Academic theory concerning

\(^a\) There is no reason to change Ἐπίκουρος of the mss. in 548 A to Ἐπίκουρειος, as Fabricius did. "Aristotle" here supports "Epicurus" there.

\(^b\) There was also a city in Pontus named Pharnaceia (*Lucullus*, 17 [502 \*]).

\(^c\) Hirzel (*Der Dialog*, ii, p. 186, n. 4) says that Pharnaces is certainly a former slave, one who had shared the fate and sentiments of Epictetus. This, of course, is the merest fancy; not all Asiatics, not even all in Rome at this time, had been slaves. For Athenians named Pharnaces cf. *I.G.* ii². 1039. 84 and 202. 55.


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the moon (cf. 928 d-e) ; and in fact the statement and defence of this position are shared by the two of them.  

Theon, whom Lamprias asks to identify a quotation (923 f) and whom he later teases for admiring Aristarchus to the neglect of Crates (938 d), is recognized as the literary authority in the group (cf. 931 e, 940 a). He is probably to be identified with Θέων ὁ γραμματικός, who was a guest at Sulla’s dinner along with Lucius (Quaest. Conviv. 728 f) and who also dined with Plutarch at the house of Mestrius Florus (Quaest. Conviv. 626 e). In the De Facie his chief contribution is a speech (937 d—938 c) which he makes after the main part of the dialogue has been concluded and which Lamprias praises as a kind of relaxation after the seriousness of the scientific discussion.

The last of the persons present is Menelaus the mathematician. Lucius addresses him directly once (930 a), but Menelaus makes no reply and neither speaks nor is spoken to elsewhere in the dialogue as we have it. He is not mentioned anywhere else by Plutarch either; but he is probably meant to be the Menelaus of Alexandria whom Ptolemy once calls

a It is Lucius who demands that the Stoic theory should not be passed over without refutation (921 f). It is he who replies when Pharnaces complains of Lamprias’s violent treatment of the Stoics (922 f). His speeches extend from 922 f to 923 f, where Lamprias takes over to give him time to collect his thoughts, from 928 f to 929 e, from 930 a to 931 c, and from 931 d to 933 e.

b This Theon, whose home was Egypt (cf. 939 c-d), is certainly not the same as Θέων ὁ ἔραυσις (Quaest. Conviv. 620 a, De E., 386 d), who is probably the Theon of De Pythiae Oraculis, Non Posse Suaviter Vivi, and Quaest. Conviv. 667 a and 726 a ff.

c Unless the plural ὅμων used twice by Lamprias at 939 c-d is meant to include Menelaus as well as Theon; cf. note a on p. 170 infra.
3. From 937 c-d it follows that the interlocutors have hitherto been promenading as they talked and that now they sit down upon the steps, seats, or benches (ἐπὶ τῶν βάθρων) and remain seated to the end. No other indication of the scene or location is given in the work as we have it. It had generally been assumed that the dialogue was meant to take place in Chaeronea; but nothing in the text requires this, and F. H. Sandbach has adduced strong arguments for believing that the dramatic location is Rome or the vicinity of Rome. The persons in the dialogue furnish one of these arguments. Apollonides, Aristotle, and Pharnaces occur nowhere else in Plutarch’s writings and are probably all fictitious.

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*b* Cf. Hirzel, *Der Dialog*, ii, p. 184, n. 1, who discusses and rejects the suggestion that the scene is Delphi. Raingeard in his note on 939 c (p. 129 of his commentary) says that ὄσπερ ἄνω περὶ Θῆβας there would allow the inference that the speakers are on the coast of Egypt. No such inference is justified by this phrase, of course; in fact, the preceding ἔλθη δὲ καὶ καρποὺς αὐτοῦ (or αὐτοῦ, as Raingeard conjectures) μὲν ὄμβροι τρέφουαν and the subsequent παρ’ ύμῖν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ (939 d 1) show that the scene of the dialogue is not anywhere in Egypt.

*c* F. H. Sandbach, “The Date of the Eclipse in Plutarch’s *De Facie*,” *Class. Quart.*, xxiii (1929), pp. 15-16; cf. Ziegler, *Plutarchos von Chaeroneia*, 73-74. I am indebted to Mr. Sandbach for sending me, along with copies of his publications, many of his unpublished opinions concerning points in the *De Facie* and copies of his correspondence with J. K. Fotheringham occasioned by the publication of the article cited above.
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characters. Plutarch nowhere else mentions Menelaus the mathematician either, but we know that Menelaus spent some time in Rome (see note a, p. 8). Sulla, Lucius, and Theon all appear together at a dinner given for Plutarch when he had returned to Rome after an interval of absence (Quaest. Conviv. viii. 7-8); and none of these three is ever mentioned as being anywhere but in Rome or its vicinity (see § 2, supra). Lamprias alone belongs to Plutarch’s circle at Chaeronea; but it is by no means certain that he did not visit Rome as Plutarch did, though there seems to be no definite evidence either way. 

The other argument for the dramatic location is connected with the question of the dramatic date of the dialogue. At 931 d-e Lucius refers to a recent total solar eclipse, saying: “if you will call to mind this conjunction recently which, beginning just after noonday, made many stars shine out from many parts of the sky . . .” b Ginzel c identified this eclipse with the one which occurred on 20 March A.D. 71, for he found that all other solar eclipses visible in Chaeronea during Plutarch’s lifetime fell too far short of totality to permit the appearance of

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b . . . δότε μοι, ταύτης ἐναγχος τῆς συνόδου μηνοθέντες ἡ πολλὰ μὲν ἀστρα πολλαχόθεν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ διέφηνεν εὐθὺς ἐκ με- σημβρίας ἀρξαμένη . . .

c F. K. Ginzel, Spezieller Kanon der Sonnen- und Mondfinsternisse für das Ländergebiet der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft (Berlin, 1899), pp. 202-204; cf. also Plates X and XI for the paths of solar eclipses during the first and second centuries A.D. The data for the eclipses of 75 and 83, infra, come from Ginzel’s tables, op. cit. p. 78 and pp. 110-111.
stars. His conclusion was generally accepted until Sandbach pointed out that, since this eclipse reached its maximum phase at about 11 A.M. local solar time in Chaeronea, Plutarch could not have referred to it as having begun after noonday. Ginzel had assumed that the place of observation was Chaeronea; Sandbach, having recognized that this assumption is unwarranted, was able to consider two other eclipses, that of 5 January A.D. 75 and that of 27 December A.D. 83. The latter was total at Alexandria shortly before 15 hours. The former was total in Carthage a little after 15 hours and in the latitude of Rome on the eastern side of the Adriatic at about 15 hours, 20 minutes; at Rome itself the maximum obscurtion was 11.5 digits, so that, since according to Fotheringham stars other than Venus have been visible where the solar obscurion was 10.7 digits, it is perfectly possible that some stars

\[ a \] Struyck (cited by Ginzel, \textit{op. cit.} p. 203) appears to have come to this conclusion before Ginzel; and Ginzel's identification was accepted by M. Adler (\textit{Zwei Beiträge zum plutar-
cischen Dialog, De Facie [Nikolsburg, 1910]}, p. 4) and by Fotheringham as cited by A. O. Prickard (\textit{Plutarch on the Face of the Moon} [1911], p. 75, and \textit{Plutarch, Select Essays}, ii, p. 253). Hirzel (\textit{Der Dialog}, ii, p. 182, n. 1), following Volkmann, does not even mention the eclipses of 59, 71, and 75, which Ginzel held to be the only ones worthy of consideration.

\[ b \] \textit{Op. cit.} in note \( c \), p. 8 \textit{supra}.

\[ c \] 10\text{hr}, 58\text{m}, 4 according to Ginzel (\textit{op. cit.} p. 204); 11\text{hr}, 4\text{m}, 1 according to Fotheringham as quoted by Prickard (\textit{Plutarch, Select Essays}, ii, p. 253).

\[ d \] \textit{Historical Eclipses} (1921), cited by Fotheringham in a letter to Sandbach (22 January 1929); in this letter Fotheringham states that "a certain number of stars were visible at Rome in 75." Cf. Ginzel, \textit{op. cit.} p. 14: "Bei den zentralen Sonnenfinsternissen ..., einzelne Sterne treten mitunter hervor, bevor die Phase 11 zöllig geworden ist."
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would have been seen at Rome about 3.20 p.m. local solar time on 5 January A.D. 75. This eclipse of A.D. 75 as seen in Rome certainly fits the conditions of Lucius' statement better than does the one of A.D. 71 as seen in Chaeronea, even though it was rather late to be described as beginning just after noonday. It must be emphasized that there is no reason to assume that Plutarch himself saw the eclipse to which Lucius refers. He had undoubtedly heard that it had been seen in or near Rome; he almost certainly had seen the eclipse of A.D. 71 in Chaeronea and may have seen that of A.D. 83 in Alexandria; and what he had seen during one or both of these eclipses he may very well have applied to the eclipse of A.D. 75, which he had not seen. We

a Its "beginning," which would have been at approximately 13.50 hours, could not have been observed with the naked eye; but Plutarch was capable of calculating it roughly. In any case, whether the συνόδον ... ἦ ... ἀρξαμένη is to be taken strictly or in the sense of the time when darkness began, μεσημβρία, as Sandbach has said, is an extended period of time and not an astronomical moment; and Lucius means that the conjunction began just after noonday was over.

b We do not know when Plutarch visited Alexandria. In Quaest. Conviv. v. 5 (678 c ff.) his grandfather is present at a banquet given for him after his return from Alexandria. Sandbach (loc. cit.) thinks that this could have been after 83; but, whether this is so or not, we do not know whether there may not have been more visits to Alexandria than this one.

c If 932 B (... περιφαίνεται τις αὐγῇ περὶ τὴν ἵππυ... ) means, as has sometimes been supposed, that Plutarch had seen the corona, he must have had this experience in 71 or 83. No one in or near Rome would have seen it in 75. I doubt that these words apply to the corona at all, however, for the subsequent οὖν ἔσοα βαθέιαν γενέσθαι τὴν σκιὰν καὶ ἀκρατον would be a remarkably tame way of describing that spectacle. If the passage refers to any observed phenomenon, it is more likely to have reference to an annular eclipse.
may then conclude that the dramatic date of the 
dialogue is later than A.D. 75, but how much later it 
is remains uncertain despite Lucius’ reference to the 
eclipse as “recent.” The word which he uses, ἐπιγυγχος, 
like the English “recent,” has a meaning relative 
to its context, and in the case of anything so unusual 
as a total solar eclipse might refer to an event that had 
taken place at any time within a decade or more; it 
seems in this passage not to be used of the immediate 
past, for Lucius expressly reckons with the possibility 
that his audience may not recall “the recent con-
junction” and may have to fall back upon literary 
evidence for the impression made by a total solar 
eclipse.\(^a\) The attempts to find a historical refer-
ence in 945 B which would help to fix the date of the 
dialogue are quite perverse \(^b\); and we are restricted 
by the evidence at present available to the conclu-

\(^a\) 931 E: εἰ δὲ μὴ, Θέων ἡμῶν (τόν) Μήμερον ἐπάξει κτλ. 
Of course, this is primarily a literary device to excuse the 
introduction of the literary references; but it shows that 
Plutarch does not expect his readers to remember what a 
total solar eclipse is like.

\(^b\) Hirzel (Der Dialog, ii, p. 182, n. 1) excised Τυφών in 945 B 
(Τιτυόι δὲ καὶ Τυφώνες ὃ τε Δελφοὺς κατασχῶν καὶ συνταράξας 
τὸ χρηστήριον ὑβρεῖ καὶ βία Τυφών ἐξ ἐκείνων κτλ.), took ὃ . . . 
συνταράξας . . . βία as a reference to Nero, and concluded 
that Plutarch must have written this after the devastation of 
Delphi and before the restoration of the oracle. Adler (Zwei 
Beiträge, etc. [see note a, p. 10], pp. 5-7) defended the text 
of the mss., which he interpreted to mean “demons of the 
nature of Tityus and Typho and among these especially the 
Typhon who, etc.,” and followed Pontow (Rhein. Mus. li 
[1896], pp. 377 ff.), who showed that the extinction of the
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at all for Hirzel’s assertion that this and the date of composition coincide. Certain striking similarities between the *De Facie* and the *De Defectu Oraculorum* have often been observed, but from these can be drawn equally cogent—and equally hypothetical—arguments for the priority of either to the other;b

Delphic oracle during the time from Nero to Hadrian was pure invention and who took *Typho* in *De Facie*, 945 b, as a reference to the conflagration in 83 B.C. Adler then, assuming that after the ceremonious restoration of the temple in A.D. 84 Plutarch would not remind his readers of its devastation, concluded that the dialogue must have been written before A.D. 84. This argument was criticized by K. Mras (*Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien*, lxx [1914], p. 187), who in turn deleted *Typho*es from the text and read *Ttvnoi δέ καί ὁ Τυφῶν ὁ Δελφός . . . βία κτλ.* This violent alteration is even less justifiable than Hirzel’s excision of *Typho*, with which it shares the fault of producing the hiatus *βία*; but the text of the mss. is impossible despite Adler, for (a) one does not say in any language “such creatures as Tityus and Typho and in particular Typho . . .”, (b) nowhere else is Typho himself said to have done the deed here ascribed to him, and (c) a reference to the conflagration is at least as improbable as the supposed reference to Nero. Kaltwasser’s change of *Typho* to *Πύθων*, on the other hand, is practically certain. Confusion of π and τ and of θ and φ is easy and common, and *πύθων* coming after *τυφο*es would very easily be assimilated to it. Moreover, in *De Defectu Oraculorum*, 421 c, τά περὶ Πύθωνα are included among δαιμόνων πάθη along with τά Τυφωνικά and τά Τιτανικά. In 414 a-b the oracle at Delphi is said to have been long deserted in what is represented as “ancient times”; and, if it is denied that the beast (which is not here named but is certainly Python!) was the cause, that is done in order to ascribe the cause to δαιμόνες. Finally, Πύθων and Τιτνός are named together by Plutarch in *Pelopidas*, 16 (286 c) as they are by Strabo (ix. 3. 12 [cc. 422-423]) and Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca*, i. 4. 1. 3-5 [22-23]).

a *Der Dialog*, ii, p. 184, n. 1.

b M. Adler (*Diss. Phil. Vind.*, x, pp. 115-116) contends that in the *De Defectu* Plutarch excerpts the *De Facie*; but see Raingeard, p. xxviii of his edition of *De Facie*.  

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and, since in any case the date of the *De Defectu* is uncertain, the relative chronology of the two if established would not determine the date of the *De Facie*.

4. The structure of the *De Facie* is complicated. The whole of the work is narrated by Lamprias who speaks in the first person and quotes those who took part in the conversation, including himself, some few times in indirect discourse (e.g. 933 f) but for the most part directly. The last part of his narration (chaps. 26-30 [940 f—945 p] consists entirely of Sulla's myth given in Sulla's own words; this myth, Sulla himself says, is a story told to him by an unnamed stranger, whom he quotes first indirectly and then (942 b ff.) directly to the end. The second or eschatological part of the myth the stranger had told Sulla that he had himself heard from "the chamberlains and servitors of Cronus" (cf. 945 p). Hearing it from Lamprias now, the reader has this part at fourth hand and the geographical introduction of the stranger at third hand.\(^b\)

From 937 c it appears that Sulla had promised to tell his myth in return for an account of what had been said in an earlier discussion about the nature of the face which appears in the moon. Such a compact may have been expressly made in the beginning of the dialogue which is lost, where Sulla may have come upon the company already engaged in reviewing that earlier discussion (see note a, p. 3). So much is no more than conjecture. It is certain, however,

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that most of what Lamprias narrates from chapter 2 through chapter 23 is a conversation which is itself represented as containing a résumé or report of what was said at an earlier conversation. This the beginning of chapter 24 (937 c) states explicitly: ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν, ἐφη, δόσα μη διαπεφευγὲ τὴν μνήμην τῶν ἑκεῖ λεγοντων ἀπηγγέλκαμεν, and the ἐδόκειν λεγεσθαι at the end of chapter 2 (920 r) implies that what Lamprias has hitherto said in that chapter had been used as an argument in the earlier discussion. The leader of that discussion, which is referred to as a διατριβή, was not Lamprias or Lucius, who here recapitulate it, but someone to whom Lamprias, Lucius, and Sulla refer as "our comrade" and who probably is meant to be Plutarch himself. Lamprias and Lucius are, of course, presumed to have been present at that discussion with their "comrade" and Sulla to have been absent from it. Of the others, Apollonides certainly was not present, nor was Theon; Phar-

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\(a\) By Lucius at 929 b: ό μὲν οὖν ἐταῖρος ἐν τῇ διατριβῇ τούτῳ . . . ἀποδεικνύσ . . . ηὐδοκίμησεν.

\(b\) Cf. besides 937 c, 920 r, and 929 b, which have already been cited, especially 921 r, 930 λ, 932 δ, 933 c.

\(c\) Cf. 921 r, 929 b, 929 r, and see note \(a\) on p. 48 infra.

\(d\) The logic of the situation demands this; but it is also implied by Sulla's question at 929 r.

\(e\) This is implied by his question in 920 r and confirmed by that in 921 b: ἀλλὰ τῇ τῶν ἑλεγχον αὐτῷ προσήγει; (in this latter passage Pohlenz [B.P.W. xxxii, 1912, p. 649] argued for retention of the mss. reading, προσήγε, understanding as subject ὁ ἑταῖρος, who he assumes was mentioned in the lost beginning of the dialogue; but surely this sentence is too far from even such a hypothetical antecedent, and Adler's προσήγε is an obvious and highly probable correction).

\(f\) This is certainly implied by his interchange with Lucius in 932 δ-ε.
naces probably was not; and concerning Aristotle and Menelaus the text as we have it allows no clear inference to be drawn. What these men other than Lamprias and Lucius say in chapters 2-23 is not, then, part of the report of that earlier discussion; but neither is all that Lucius says, for in several places his remarks or arguments are expressly declared to be his own contribution. That earlier discussion cannot, however, be identified with any that Plutarch

This is the most reasonable inference to be drawn from 921 f, where Lucius requests that Pharnaces be given some consideration, and from Pharnaces' comment in 922 f upon the attack of Lamprias. Nevertheless, Pharnaces' words in the latter passage, ἐμὲ δ' οὖν οὐκ ἐξάρσιβε τῷ μερον κτλ., are open to the interpretation that he had been present at the earlier discussion and had there been drawn out by the Academic gambit.

Lucius's one remark to Menelaus (930 Λ), αἰσχύνομαι . . . σοῦ παρόντος κτλ., seems to imply that the latter had not been present at the earlier discussion; but this is not decisive, especially in view of the fact that Menelaus makes no reply. Aristotle's silence when Lamprias addresses him in 920 f might be taken to mean that he had heard this before; and . . . πρὸς Κλέαρχον, ὃ Ἀριστότελες, . . . ἐδόκει λέγεσθαι τὸν ὑμέτερον could be interpreted as a reminder, although what follows, ὑμέτερος γὰρ ἀνήρ κτλ., sounds as if this were something new. In 929 b Lucius in a speech addressed especially to Aristotle refers to what "our comrade" said ἐν τῇ διατριβῇ and adds that he will not repeat what he learned παρ' ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ διατριβῇ in question, although it might have a more general meaning.

Cf. Lamprias's comment, οὐχ οὕτως δ' ὁ ἐταῖρος ἡμῶν, in 921 f and his καλῶ λόγω καλὴν ἀναλογίαν προσέθηκας οὐ γὰρ ἀπουστερητέον σε τῶν ἱδίων (931 d). The latter marks the last sentence of Lucius's preceding speech (δότε δὴ μοι γεωμετρικὸς ἐπείν κτλ.) as his own, while Lucius's own subsequent statement (οὐκοίν καὶ δεύτερον ἀναλογία προσχρητέον) makes the same claim for what follows. In 933 c (παρήμι ὅ' ὅσα . . . ἑλέχθη) and possibly in 929 b (ἐγὼ δὲ ταύτα μὲν οὐκ ἔρω κτλ. 16
may have had with his friends or with any lecture that he may have given; it is primarily a literary fiction, part of the structure of the dialogue for which it provides a specious motivation.

The recapitulation of this fictitious discussion along with the incidental arguments provoked by it contains all that Plutarch would consider to be "scientific" in the dialogue. At its conclusion Lamprias is ready for Sulla's myth (chap. 24 init. [937 c-d]) but before Sulla can begin to speak Theon raises the question of the habitability of the moon, contending that, if it is not habitable, there can be no reason for it to exist with the nature or composition that according to Lamprias and Lucius it does have. Lamprias calls Theon's speech a kind of relaxation after the seriousness of the preceding discussion. In fact, however, Theon has raised the metaphysical problem of the final cause; and to this Lamprias replies at length (chap. 25). He argues first that the moon, constituted as he contends it is, need not, even if uninhabitable, be without a purpose in the universe (938 c-r), and secondly that, even if uninhabitable by corporeal human beings, it may still be inhabited by living beings of an entirely different kind to whom the moon may justly appear to be the only real earth and our earth the slime and dregs of the universe, uninhabitable by creatures that have warmth and breath and motion. Here Sulla checks Lamprias (chap. 26 init. [940 f]) lest the latter encroach upon his myth; and Lamprias was upon the very threshold [see note b supra]) Lucius indicates that he is not giving a full account of the earlier discussion.

a Cf. 937 D: . . . εἰ δυνατόν ἔκει κατοικεῖν. εἰ γὰρ οὐ δυνατόν, ἄλογον καὶ τὸ γῆν εἶναι τὴν σελήνην δόξει γὰρ πρὸς οὐδέν ἄλλα μάτην γεγονέναι κτλ.
of it, for the myth, as it turns out, teaches that the moon is inhabited by souls that have left their bodies after death on earth or have not yet been incorporated by birth into terrestrial bodies. So the episode consisting of Theon's speech and Lamprias's reply (chaps. 24-25) is not merely a formal literary device. It is, to be sure, a transition from the scientific part of the dialogue, in which it is argued that the lunar phenomena imply the earth-like constitution of the moon, to the concluding myth in which the purpose of such a moon in the universe is imaginatively portrayed; but this "transitional episode" raises the philosophical question, without the answer to which the strictly astronomical conclusion could to a Platonist or Aristotelian be no complete or satisfactory explanation, and itself contains the metaphysical answer, of which the myth is, despite all its intrinsic interest, essentially a poetical embellishment. When this "transition" is properly attended to, there can be no question about the integral unity of the whole dialogue or any doubt that the purpose of the whole is to establish and defend the position that the moon is entirely earthy in its constitution and that on this hypothesis alone can the astronomical phenomena and the existence of the moon itself be accounted for. 

5. The main part of the dialogue is of extraordinary interest for the history of astronomy, cosmology, geography, and catoptrics; and this aspect of the work deserves more attention than it has usually received. It is not a technical scientific treatise and

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\[b\] J. O. Thomson, History of Ancient Geography (Cambridge, 1948), pp. 330 f., gives a brief outline of this part of 18
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is not to be judged as if it were meant to be such; but it is all the more significant that in a literary work intended for an educated but non-technical audience towards the end of the first century A.D. Hipparchus and Aristarchus of Samos are familiarly cited and a technical work of the latter is quoted verbatim, the laws of reflection are debated, the doctrine of natural motion to the universal centre is rejected, and stress is laid upon the cosmological importance of the velocity of heavenly bodies.a

the work and cites Duhem’s and Humboldt’s praise of it. A. O. Prickard has some general remarks on the subject in the introductions to his two translations of the dialogue (Plutarch on the Face which appears on the Orb of the Moon [Winchester and London, 1911], pp. 9-15, and Plutarch: Select Essays, ii [Oxford, 1918], pp. 246-253). So has S. Günther in his outline of the dialogue, Vergleichende Mond- und Erdkunde (Braunschweig, 1911), pp. 24-35, nearly half of which, however, is concerned with the myth. Hirzel in his treatment of the dialogue (Der Dialog [Leipzig, 1895], ii, pp. 182-189) has little or nothing specific to say of its scientific aspect. The most extensive monograph on the dialogue, Maximilian Adler’s Quibus Ex Fontibus Plutarchus Libellum “De Facie in Orbe Lunae” Hauserit (Diss. Phil. Vind. x [1910], pp. 85-180), is concerned with the scientific passages only in so far as the author thinks that from them he can draw support for his thesis that Posidonius was Plutarch’s source for the dialogue. A similar purpose limits the treatment of the work by K. Praechter in his Hierokles der Stoiker (Leipzig, 1901), p. 26 and pp. 109-120. Cf. also the notes of W. Norlind, Eranos, xxv (1927), pp. 265–277.

a It is interesting to compare the treatise of Ibn Al-Haitham (965–1039) which was translated from the Arabic by Carl Schoy under the title Abhandlung des Schaichs Ibn ‘Ali Al-Hasan Ibn Al-Hasan Ibn Al-Haitham: Über die Natur der Spuren (Flecken), die man auf der Oberfläche des Mondes sieht (Hannover, 1925). Ibn Al-Haitham’s explanation of the “face” is that the nature of the moon’s substance must differ from place to place, since the variation in illumination can be the result only of a difference in the power to absorb and
Most of the attention given to the dialogue, however, has been attracted by the concluding myth. This consists of two parts. The second and main part is the eschatological myth, which establishes the purpose of the moon in the cosmos by explaining her rôle in the "life-cycle" of souls and which the stranger told Sulla he had from the chamberlains of Cronus (942 B.C.—915 B.C.); the first is the introduction reflect light, and the spots are places of greater density and less power of absorption (pp. 20 ff. and 29-31). Though Schoy appears to have been unaware of it and Plutarch does not mention it, this explanation is ascribed to of ἀπὸ τῶν μαθηματικῶν in Aetius, ii. 30. 7 (Dox. Graeci, p. 362. 5-13). Ibn Al-Haitham rejects the theory that the spots are shadows cast by prominences on the moon, arguing that such shadows would not always have the same shape and position, as the spots do (pp. 14-17). Like Plutarch, however, he knows and refutes the notion that they are a reflection of the terrestrial ocean or any other terrestrial feature (pp. 1-2, 5-7: De Facie, chaps. 3-4); and he also adduces the colour of the moon in eclipse (pp. 31 f.: De Facie, 934 B-D). He proves impossible as well (pp. 4-5, cf. p. 2) an explanation unmentioned by Plutarch but recorded by Simplicius (De Caelo, p. 457. 25-30) that the spots are the result of vapours rising from below and obscuring the moon's brilliance (cf., however, for something similar, Milton, Paradise Lost, v. 415-420, and De Facie, 922 B-c). Like Cleomedes (ii. 4. 103 [p. 186. 14-27 Ziegler]), Ibn Al-Haitham seems to hold that the moon as a reflecting convex mirror would have to appear as a single point of light (pp. 7 f. with Schoy's note, p. 8, n. 1).

It was probably the myth as much as the more strictly astronomical part of the dialogue that caused Kepler to make his Latin translation and commentary of the De Facie, which he did shortly before his death. This is printed in volume viii of Ioannis Kepleri Opera Omnia, ed. Dr. Ch. Frisch (Francofurti a. M., 1870). Cf. R. Schmertosch, "Kepler zu Plutarchs Schrift 'Vom Gesicht im Monde,'" Phil.-Hist. Beiträge Curt Wachsmuth zum 60. Geburtstag überreicht (Leipzig, 1897), pp. 52-55, and R. Pixis, Kepler als Geograph (Munich, 1899).
to this myth or "frame-story," in which the stranger explained to Sulla how from the continent on the other side of the Atlantic he came to the Isle of Cronus, one of several that lie westwards of Britain, and thence, after having served thirty years, travelled to Carthage where he met Sulla (941 a—942 c).

This geographical introduction has aroused the wildest speculations. Kepler was convinced that the trans-Atlantic continent was America, and he tried to identify the islands mentioned in the myth $^a$; W. Christ in 1898 still could assert that Plutarch's continent is "obviously America" and proves that about A.D. 100 sailors reached the North American coast via Iceland, Greenland, and Baffinland $^b$; and in 1909 G. Mair argued that the source of this knowledge of America was reports of Carthaginian seafarers who had penetrated into the Gulf of Mexico, that the Isle of Cronus is Scandinavia, and that the northern geography of the myth derives from accounts of the voyages of Pytheas of Massilia. $^c$

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$^a$ Cf. notes 97, 98, 103, and 105 to Kepler's translation (see note $a$, p. 20 supra) and note 2 to his Somnium sive Astronomia Lunaris. In Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Abrahami Ortelii (Antwerp, 1593), p. 5, this passage of Plutarch was used, apparently for the first time, to prove that the ancients knew the American continent.

$^b$ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur, Dritte Auflage (1898), p. 662, n. 1. W. Schmid and O. Stählin in the sixth edition of this work (Zweiter Teil, Erste Hälfte [1920], p. 498) suppress this note of Christ's but write "aus dem Festland jenseits des atlantischen Ozeans (Amerika?)."

$^c$ G. Mair, "Pytheas' Tanais und die Insel des Kronos in Plutarch's Schrift 'Das Gesicht im Monde'" (Jahresbericht des K.K. Staats-Gymnasiums in Marburg a/D, 1909). A fair example of Mair's argument is his identification (p. 18) of the χόλπος mentioned in 941 b with the Christiana-Fjord, although according to Plutarch it is in the trans-Atlantic
before Mair had published his fantastic theory Ebner had conclusively demonstrated that Plutarch could not have referred to any real crossing of the Atlantic or any rumours of such a crossing, that by using the name Ogygia at the beginning (941 a-b) he had clearly indicated the purely mythical intention of his geography, and that this geographical setting is simply an imitation of Plato’s Atlantis in the spirit of Hecataeus’ story of the Hyperboreans, Theopompus’ Meropis, and the Sacred Records of Euhemerus. The additional geographical particulars are the usual “corroborative detail intended to give continent. Moreover, all of Plutarch’s islands lie to the West and North-West of Britain!

artistic verisimilitude to an otherwise bald and unconvincing narrative." The theme of the sleeping Cronus may have been suggested to Plutarch by Demetrius of Tarsus, who in the *De Defectu Oraculorum* (419 e—420 a) is made to say that on an island near Britain Cronus is kept prisoner by the bonds of sleep and is guarded by Briareus and attended by Spirits who are his servitors. This Demetrius appears to have been an historical person who did travel to Britain, whence in the dialogue he is said to have recently returned; and he may have told Plutarch some Celtic legend or superstition which the latter hellenized and wove into the fabric of his myth.\(^a\)

The discussion of the second part of the myth, the demonology and eschatology, has also been concerned mainly with the problem of Plutarch's sources. Heinze attempted to prove that this myth had been put together out of material drawn from Xenocrates and from Posidonius and that in the resulting combination the parts that belong to those two authors

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\(^a\) For Demetrius cf. R. Flacelière, *Plutarque : Sur la Disparition des Oracles* (Paris, 1947), pp. 26-28, and K. Ziegler, *Plutarchos von Chaireneia* (Stuttgart, 1949), 36. If Demetrius did hear a Celtic tale of a god or hero asleep on some western island, it would have been easy for him or Plutarch to identify the subject with Cronus (cf. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 169, and Pindar, *Olympian*, ii. 77 [70] ff.; see also note \(a\) on p. 182 and note \(a\) on 942 \(\alpha\) *infra*). Pohlenz's notion (*R.E. xi. 2013*) that Posidonius, who was "familiar with the northern world," was the intermediary of this "Kvffhäusermotiv" has nothing to support it. Posidonius was the source of the Cronus-motif as well as of the whole geographical part of the myth according to M. Adler, *op. cit.* (note \(b\), p. 18), pp. 169-170, who has no trouble in showing that Schmertosch adduced no real reason for designating Xenocrates as Plutarch's source for this section; but Hamilton (*loc. cit.* [note \(a\), p. 22]) has proved that Posidonius could not have been the source either.
are distinguishable. Adler vigorously attacked this thesis and argued that Posidonius was Plutarch’s source for the whole myth and for whatever there is in it that may have come ultimately from Xenocrates; but R. M. Jones proved conclusively that neither Heinze’s conclusions nor Adler’s will bear scrutiny, that Posidonius could not have been the source, and that, while Plutarch combined various eschatological notions which were current and some of which were probably held in common by different philosophers, his myth is in the main an interpretation of Plato’s *Timaeus*. Later, against Karl Reinhardt’s attempt to trace the myth back to a hypothetical “solar eschatology” of Posidonius, Jones re-established the Platonic character of Plutarch’s eschatology, psychology, and demonology here and the impossibility of taking Posidonius for the source.

\[a\] Richard Heinze, *Xenokrates* (Leipzig, 1892), pp. 123 ff.

\[b\] Maximilian Adler, *op. cit.* (note b, p. 18), pp. 166 ff.

Adler’s dissertation was reviewed by Pohlenz in *B.P.W.* xxxii (1912), 648-654, and his thesis concerning the source of the myth criticized, *ibid.* 653.


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Hamilton later contended even more positively that Plutarch took the *Timaeus* as the model for the whole of his myth in the *De Facie* and that, since the *De Animae Procreatione in Timaeo* shows that he regarded the *Timaeus* seriously, he must have intended the corresponding portion of his myth in the *De Facie* to contain an equally serious exposition of his own beliefs concerning the nature and fate of the soul. Soury in his extensive study of the myth, while emphasizing the possible influence of the mysteries, agrees in general with Hamilton that it is preponderantly Platonic.

Anyone who without a preconceived thesis to defend reads the *De Facie* will recognize, I believe, that Plato was Plutarch’s inspiration throughout the dialogue but that Plutarch is himself the true author of the whole work and that, while there is in it a distillation of his wide and varied scientific and philosophical reading, he cannot possibly have composed it by copying out any source or combination of sources. I have tried in the exegetical notes to indicate the “parallels” which will help the reader to understand the dialogue itself by seeing its relation

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*a* W. Hamilton, *Class. Quart.* xxviii (1934), pp. 24-30. Hamilton expressly opposes the theory of von Arnim, who, in his “Plutarch über Dämonen und Mystik” (see note a, p. 22), pp. 24-65, argues that Plutarch took the geographical myth and the eschatological myth from two different sources and the latter from an eclectic Platonist later than Antiochus. As to Hamilton’s notion of the seriousness with which Plutarch intended the myth, Ziegler is surely right in saying (*Plutarchos von Chaironeia*, 217) that Sulla’s final sentence, taken together with Lamprias’s remark in 920 b-c, shows that Plutarch had no intention of insisting upon the literal truth of the myth; in this attitude also he follows Plato: see note a on p. 223 infra.


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to the rest of ancient scientific and philosophical thought. Among these "parallels" some of the most striking are drawn from later writers, especially Neo-Platonists: these I have mentioned not in order to insinuate that they show Plutarch's direct influence upon those later writers, although many of them certainly were acquainted with him, but because they illuminate the meaning of the De Facie and at the same time indicate what may have been contained in some of the philosophical writings known to Plutarch and long since lost to us, and may help to cast some flicker of light upon that obscure and controversial problem, the prehistory of Neo-Platonism.

6. The De Facie, which is No. 73 in the so-called Catalogue of Lamprias and No. 71 in the Planudean order, is apparently preserved in only two mss. of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Grec 1672 (saec. XIV) and 1675 (saec. XV), conventionally called Parisinus E and Parisinus B respectively. These have hitherto been supposed to be independent copies of a single archetype; but recently G. R. Manton has put

\[ a \] On the mss. of Plutarch generally cf. the references cited by M. Pohlenz, Plutarchi Moralia, i (Teubner, 1925), Praefatio, p. vi, n. 1, and pp. xxvi and xxviii f. on B and E respectively.

\[ b \] Wyttenbach (Plutarchi Moralia [Oxford, 1795], p. xlv) says of B "ut videtur, ex E, aut ejusdem exempli codice, ita descriptus ut antiquiores melioresque simul adhiberentur; unde quaedam lacunae uberns etiam expletae, et plura menda sanata." M. Treu, Zur Geschichte der Überlieferung von Plutarch's Moralia, ii (Ohlau, 1881), pp. 5-7, argued that B derives from the same source as E, which B must have used later; and his conclusion was generally accepted by later editors. Raingeard's more complicated stemma (p. xiv of his edition of the De Facie) is, in any case, entirely unjustified.
forward strong arguments for thinking that B is a descendent of E through an intermediate manuscript, "a copy of E, which was worked over by a scholar who filled in lacunae and inserted conjectures of his own." a

I have collated both manuscripts from photostats which were generously put at my disposal by Dr. William C. Helmbold; and I have recorded under the usual symbols the variant readings of each of them, for I soon discovered that not only is Bernardakis' report of the mss. untrustworthy, but that the same must be said of Raingeard's in his recent edition of the dialogue, and that even Treu's collation (see note b, p. 26) is not free of errors. I have not recorded mere omissions or variations of accent or breathing, however, unless the sense is affected by them; and I have regularized crasis and elision without regard to the manuscripts or report of them,

a "The Manuscript Tradition of Plutarch Moralia 70-7," Class. Quart, xliii (1949), pp. 97-104. Among the passages discussed by Manton where B has readings other than those of E are none from the De Facie, for the text of which Manton (op. cit. p. 99, n. 1) depended upon Treu's collation supplemented by Bernardakis' list in vol. i of his edition, pp. I ff.; but I have found no variant reading of B in this essay that would surely gainsay Manton's hypothesis. Those which might suggest that B is not descended from E are the following: 927 r : τὸν -B for E's correct τὰ before ἐμπροθή; 929 b : ἐχων δὲ -B, ἐχων δὲ τότο -E for the correct ἐκών δὲ; 932 d : πέποιημένων -B for E's correct πεπεισμένων; 937 r : ἐπιφερομένη -B, φερομένη -E for the probable original ἀντιφερομένη; 938 d : ἀναγινώσκων -B for E's correct ἀναγινώσκοντος; 943 d : καταγινωσκέα -B for E's correct καταδιοικενα. Manton's conclusion has been rejected by K. Hubert (Rhein. Mus. xciii [1950], pp. 330-336), but Hubert's defence of the independence of B and E has been counterattacked by Einarson and De Lacy (Class. Phil. xlvi [1951], pp. 103 and 106, with notes 36 and 56).
for they show no consistency in this matter. In conformity with the usage of Professor Babbitt and regardless of the manuscripts, I have printed the forms γίνεσθαι, γιγνώσκειν, and οις, though the manuscripts usually have γίνεσθαι, γιγνώσκειν, and οις; but I have adopted the form δείν throughout. I have tried to the best of my ability to assign emendations to those who first proposed them; but for some which appear without ascription in all modern editions, and the author of which I have been unable to discover, I have had to be content with the unsatisfactory note, “editors.” For the suggestions said to be written in three different hands on the margins of the copy of the Aldine edition now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Rés. J. 94), I have had to rely upon the report

\[ a \] For example, in 931 φ they have τὰ αὐτὰ πάσχειν ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ . . . ταυτα (B, ταυτα -E) ποιέων ταυτόν . . . and occasionally οἶδ' ὁποῖς and ἀλλ' ὁποῖς, although they do not ordinarily elide the α of οἶδα and ἀλλά. Almost invariably both E and B have μηδὲ instead of μηδὲ or μηδ'. On these matters cf. T. Doehner, Quaestionum Plutarch. Particula Altera and Tertia (Meissen, 1858 and 1862), especially iii, p. 51, and ii, p. 35, n.**; and on the question of hiatus cf. Helmbold, Class. Phil. xxxii (1938), pp. 244-245, and xlv (1949), pp. 64 f. with his references, and for a much stricter view Ziegler, Plutarchos von Chaironeia, 295-298. To “emend” for the sole purpose of eliminating hiatus is to take unwarranted liberty with the text; but, on the other hand, to introduce hiatus by emendation is certainly inadmissible. It should be observed, however, that in the De Facie, besides the exceptions to avoidance of hiatus listed by Ziegler (op. cit. 296-297), final αι, οι, ει, and ου before an initial vowel may always be possible (cf. for ου e.g. τοῦ ιδίου άερος in 941 λ), ἀνω and κάτω are permissible before any word beginning with a vowel (cf. ἀνω έχεω and κάτω ἀνomega in 924 c which guarantee ἀνω έστίν in 926 λ), and other cases of hiatus which cannot reasonably be eliminated occasionally occur (e.g. χειλη εἰκόνας [921 c], τουτε εἴπω [935 δ]).
of Raingeard in the *apparatus criticus* of his edition (cf. pp. xvi f. of his Introduction)\(^a\); all of these I indicate without differentiation by the formula, "Anon., Aldine, R.J. 94." Upon Raingeard's report and those of Reiske, Wyttenbach, Hutten, and Bernardakis I have had to rely for the variant readings of the Aldine edition and of the edition of Xylander; but the edition of Froben (Basiliensis, 1542), as well as those of Stephanus (1624), Reiske, Wyttenbach, Hutten, Dübner, Bernardakis, and Raingeard, and the translations of Xylander, Amyot, Kepler, Kaltwasser, the two translations of Prickard,\(^b\) and that of portions of the essay by Heath,\(^c\) I have consulted and compared throughout.

Those emendations which, so far as I know, are original with me are indicated by the initials H. C. Besides the editions, translations, and articles already mentioned in this Introduction, the chief aids to my study of the text have been the following:

\(^a\) P. Raingeard, *Le ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΥ de Plutarque, texte critique avec traduction et commentaire* (Paris, 1935). Raingeard's text is fantastically "conservative," reproducing E for the most part even where E gives impossible Greek; and yet his report of the manuscripts is frequently erroneous either explicitly or by implication. The translation is worse even than the text; and the commentary, especially where it touches upon philosophical and scientific questions, is more often wrong than right, almost everywhere inadequate, and frequently absurd.


PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

Wiener Studien, xlii (1920-1921), pp. 163-164.


COBET, C. G.: Novae Lectiones (Leiden, 1858).
Variae Lectiones (Leiden, 1878).
Collectanea Critica (Leiden, 1878).


HERWERDEN, H. VAN: Lectiones Rheno-Traiectinae (Traj. ad Rhen., 1882).


THE FACE ON THE MOON


Harold Cherniss

Addendum

Since this Bibliography was compiled in February 1953 some publications dealing with the De Facie have come to my attention which require a brief notice.

Konrat Ziegler in Plutarch über Gott und Vorsehung, Dämonen und Weissagung (Zürich, Artemis-Verlag, 1952) has written a brief summary of the essay (pp. 42-45) and has translated the myth (940 \( \nu - 945 \) \( \omicron \)) into German (pp. 268-278) with the addition of a few explanatory notes. He makes one noteworthy alteration in the text at 941 a-b: adopting \( \tau \delta \nu \delta \epsilon \ \beta \rho \nu \rho \rho \omega \nu \ \varepsilon \chi o \nu \tau a \ \phi \rho \nu \rho \rho \nu \), after which he puts a full stop, he removes the following words, \( \tau \delta \nu \ \tau \epsilon \ \nu \pi \sigma \omega \nu \ldots \pi \alpha \rho \alpha - \kappa \alpha \tau \omega \ \kappa \epsilon \iota \sigma \theta \alpha \iota \) (?), from their position in the mss. and places them after \( \kappa \iota \kappa \lambda \rho \ \theta \alpha \lambda \alpha \tau \tau a \) in 941 b three lines below.

The question of the mss., which is touched upon in the Introduction § 6 supra, has been discussed, though without specific reference to the De Facie, by R.

Flacelière in his article entitled “Plutarque et les éclipses de la lune” (*Rev. Études Anciennes*, liii [1951], pp. 203-221) is primarily concerned with the interpretation of *De Genio Socratis*, 591 c, but in connection with this he discusses *De Facie*, 933 d–e and 942 d–e and argues that in the former of these two passages Plutarch depends upon the calculations of Hipparchus (cf. my note in *Class. Phil.* xlvi [1951], p. 145 referred to in note e on 933 e infra).

G. Zuntz in *Rhein. Mus.* xcvi (1953), pp. 233-234 has proposed several emendations in the text of the essay:

940 E: He is right in assuming that Bernardakis’ ἵμεῖς is a misprint for ἵμεῖς of the mss., but ὅσα περὶ which he condemns and emends is, of course, correct; he apparently misunderstood the construction, ὅσα περὶ ἵμεῖς (scil. χρώμεθα) δέρι.

942 F: After τίς ὅ’ ὄντος ἐστιν; he would add ᾖ ὅ’ ὅ’, thus producing the same effect as did Reiske’s punctuation. Cf. on this sentence my note in *Class. Phil.* xlvi (1951), pp. 150-151.

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943 b: He would write τὸ ἀλογον καὶ [τὸ] παθητικόν on the strength of De Def. Orac. 417 b (p. 75. 28 [Sievking]). This would be possible but is unnecessary, since καὶ can here be taken as "explicative."

944 c: He suggests Φερσεφόνης οἶδος ἀντιχθόνος or Φερσεφόνης οἶδος ἀντίχθονος, apparently unaware of von Arnim's far more probable emendation (see notes d and e on p. 221 infra). His further supplement, τὰ δὲ (πρὸς τὰ) ἐνταῦθα, is quite unnecessary.

944 e: To ἔρωτι τῆς περὶ τῶν ἡλίουν εἰκόνος he would add (τοῦ ἐνὸς) or (τοῦ νομτοῦ) or (τὰγαθοῦ) on the ground that the phrase as it stands is unintelligible. The following words, δι᾿ ἂς ἐπιλάμπειτι κτλ., themselves explain what Plutarch means (see note g on 944 e infra), and there is no excuse for any supplement at all.

945 b: He rightly defends Kaltwasser's alteration of Τυφων to Πυθων (see Introduction, p. 12, note b supra).

H. C.

November 1954

To my great regret I have been unable to take account of Professor M. Pohlenz's edition of this essay in Plutarchi Moralía, vol. v, Fase. 3 (Leipzig, Teubner, 1955), since it became available only after this volume had already been paged and corrected for printing.

H. C.

February 1956
Β 1. . . . ὁ Σὺλλας ταύτ' εἶπε. "τῷ γὰρ ἐμῷ μύθῳ προσήκει κάκειθέν ἔστι· ἀλλ' εἰ δεῖ τι πρὸς τὰς ἀνὰ χείρα ταύτας καὶ διὰ στόματος πάσι δόξας περὶ τοῦ προσώπου τῆς σελήνης προσανακρούσασθαι πρῶτον ἦδεως ἄν μοι δοκῶ πυθέσθαι." "τί δ' οὖν ἐμέλλομεν" εἶπον "ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν ταύταις ἀπορίας ἐπ' ἐκείνας ἀπωσθέντες; ὡς γὰρ οἱ ἐν νοσήμασι χρονίοις πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ βοηθήματα καὶ τὰς συνήθεις διαίτας ἀπειπόντες ἐπὶ καθαρμοὺς καὶ περίαπτα καὶ ὀνείρους τρέπονται, οὕτως ἀναγκαῖον ἐν δυσθεωρήτοις καὶ ἀπόροις σκέψεις, ὅταν οἱ Κ κοινοὶ καὶ ἐνδοξοὶ καὶ συνήθεις λόγοι μὴ πείθωσι, πειράσθαι τῶν ἀτοπωτέρων καὶ μὴ καταφρονεῖν ἀλλ' ἐπάδεων ἀτεχνῶς ἐαυτοὶς τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ διὰ πάντων τάληθές ἐξελέγχειν.

1 E, B: περὶ τοῦ ἐν τῇ σελήνῃ φαινομένου προσώπου—"Catalogue of Lamprias" (Χν., 73); περὶ τοῦ ἐμφανομένου κύκλου τῆς σελήνης -Folio 1 (verso) of Marc. 250 (Χ).


3 Wytenbach (ἐκείνας -Anon., Aldine, R.I. 94): τούτοις . . . ἐκείνους -Ε, B.

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CONCERNING THE FACE WHICH APPEARS IN THE ORB OF THE MOON

1. . . . These were Sulla's words. "For it concerns my story and that is its source; but I think that I should first like to learn whether there is any need to put back for a fresh start to those opinions concerning the face of the moon which are current and on the lips of everyone." "What else would you expect us to have done," I said, "since it was the difficulty in these opinions that drove us from our course upon those others? As people with chronic diseases when they have despaired of ordinary remedies and customary regimens turn to expiations and amulets and dreams, just so in obscure and perplexing speculations, when the ordinary and reputable and customary accounts are not persuasive, it is necessary to try those that are more out of the way and not scorn them but literally to chant over ourselves the charms of the ancients and use every means to bring the truth to test.

a Concerning the mutilated beginning of the dialogue see Introduction § 1.

b For the metaphor cf. An Seni Respublica Gerenda Sit, 787 e, and Plato, Philebus, 13 d; the meaning is guaranteed by ἄπωθεντες ("driven from our course") infra. Cf. the nautical metaphor with which Sulla interrupts Lamprias at 940 ν infra (τὸν μυθὸν . . . ἐξοκελας).

c The speaker and narrator of the dialogue is Lamprias, the brother of Plutarch; cf. 937 d, 940 e, 945 d, infra.

d Cf. Plato, Phaedo, 77 e and 114 d, Republic, 608 a.
2. 'Ora γὰρ εὖθυς ὡς ἀτοπος ὁ λέγων τὸ φαινόμενον εἶδος ἐν τῇ σελήνῃ πάθος εἶναι τῆς ὄψεως, ύπευκούσης τῇ λαμπρότητι δι᾽ ἀσθένειαν, ὃ (μαραγγίαν)1 καλοῦμεν,2 οὐ συνορών ὤτι πρὸς τὸν ἢλιον ἐδει τούτῳ γίγνεσθαι μᾶλλον ὦξυν ἀπαντώντα καὶ πλῆκτην (ὡς που καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τὴν ἐκατέρων ἀποδίδωσιν οὐκ ἀγδῶς διαφοράν

ηλιος ἀξιμπελής η δ' αὐ ἠλάειρα σελήνη,3
tὸ ἐπαγωγὸν αὐτῆς καὶ ἢλαρὸν καὶ ἀλυπον οὕτως4 προσαγορεύσας) ἔπειτ' (οὐ)5 λόγον ἀποδιδοὺς καθ' θ

ον αἰ ἀμυδραὶ καὶ ἀσθένεις ὀψεις οὐδεμίαν διαφοράν ἐν τῇ σελήνῃ μορφῆς ἐνορῶσιν ἀλλὰ λεῖον αὐταῖς ἀντιλάμπει καὶ περίπλεως αὐτῆς ὁ κύκλος οἱ δ' ὦξυ καὶ σφοδρὸν ὀρῶντες ἐξακριβοῦσι μᾶλλον καὶ διαστέλλουσιν ἐκτυποῦμενα τὰ εἶδη τοῦ προσώπου καὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς ἀπτονται σαφέστερον. ἔδει γὰρ, οἷμαι, τούναντιον, εἴπερ ἦττωμένον πάρος6 ὁμ- ματος ἐποίει τὴν φαντασίαν, ὅπου τὸ πάσχον ἀσθενέστερον, <σαφέστερου>7 εἶναι τὸ φαινόμενον. η δ' ἀνωμαλία καὶ παντάπασιν ἔλεγχει τὸν λόγον· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ8 συνεχόδος σκιάς καὶ συγκεχυμένης

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1 H. C. (cf. Stobaeus, Ecl. iii. 1. 196); vac. 8-E, 9-B; μαραγγεῖν -Wytenbach; μαρμαρυγάς -Raingeard (cf. Plato, Timaeus, 68 a; Chariton, E, 3, 9).
2 So punctuated in Basiliensis; E and B have mark of interrogation.
3 Xylander (Ἑλάειρα σελήνη -Hesychius); ἤλιος ἄξυμπελής η δὲ λάρα σελήνῃ -E, B; . . . ἢδ' ἠλάειρα σελήνη -Dindorf (and Emperius) followed by Diels-Kranz; . . . ἢδ' ἢδ' ἠλάειρα σελήνη -Purser.
4 E; οὕτω -B.
5 Bases (1897): ἔπειτα λόγον -E, B; ἔπειτα λόγον οὐκ -Emperius (1847).
6 Wytenbach; πα vac. 4-E, 5-B.

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2. Well, to begin with, you see that it is absurd to
call the figure seen in the moon an affection of vision
in its feebleness giving way to brilliance, a condition
which we call (bedazzlement). Anyone who asserts
this \(^a\) does not observe that this phenomenon should
rather have occurred in relation to the sun, since the
sun lights upon us keen and violent (as Empedocles \(^b\)
too somewhere not infelicitously renders the differ-
ence of the two:

The sun keen-shafted and the gentle moon,
referring in this way to her allurement and cheerfulness and harmlessness), and moreover does \(<\text{not}>\) explain why dull and weak eyes discern no distinction of shape in the moon but her orb for them has an even and full light, whereas those of keen and robust vision make out more precisely and distinctly the pattern of facial features and more clearly perceive the variations. In fact the contrary, I think, should have been the case if the image resulted from an affection of the eye when it is overpowered: the weaker the subject affected, \(<\text{the clearer}>\) should be the appearance of the image. The unevenness also entirely refutes the hypothesis, for the shadow that one sees is not continuous and confused but is not

\(^a\) If Plutarch has a definite person in mind, I have not been able to identify him. Adler (\textit{Diss. Phil. Vind.} x, p. 127) thinks that \(\alpha\ \lambda \epsilon\gamma\omega\nu\) refers to a physicist whose name Plutarch himself probably did not know, and Raingeard that it refers to “esprits cultivés” in general.

\(^b\) Frag. 40 (i, p. 329. 11 [Diels-Kranz]).

\(^7\) Wyttenbach (who, however, also inserted \(\epsilon\sigma\tau\nu\) before \(\sigma\alpha\phi\epsilon\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\)), implied in the versions of Amyot and Kepler; \(\alpha\theta\epsilon\nu\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\ \epsilon\nu\alpha\iota\ -E, B.\)

\(^8\) Wyttenbach; \(\epsilon\tau\omicron\ -E, B.\)
(920) ὀμοι, ἀλλ' οὐ φαύλως ὑπογράφων ὁ Ἀγησιάναξ ἔιρηκε
Ε πᾶσα μὲν ἤδε περὶ πυρὶ λάμπεται, ἐν δ' ἀρα μέσῃ
γλαυκότερον κυάνου φαεῖνεται ἵπτε κούρης
όμμα καὶ ὕγρα μέτωπα· τὰ δὲ ῥέθει οὖν ἐοικεν· ὁντως γὰρ ὑποδύεται περιὼν τὸ ἱππορίς τὰ σκιερὰ καὶ πιέζει όπεζόμενα πάλιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποκοπτόμενα καὶ ὅλως πέπλεκται δι' ἀλλήλων
F (ουστε) γραφικὴν τὴν δια(τύπωσιν) εἶναι τὸν σχῆματος. (τοῦτο δὲ) καὶ πρὸς Κλέαρχον, ὁ Ἀριστοτέλες, οὐκ ἀπιθάνως ἐδόκει λέγεσθαι τὸν ὑμέτερον· ὑμέτερος γὰρ ἀνήρ, ὁ Ἀριστοτέλεως τοῦ παλαιοῦ γεγονός συνήθης, εἰ καὶ πολλὰ τοῦ Περιπάτου παρέτρεψεν.
3. Ὁ πολαβόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίδου τὸν λόγον καὶ τὶς ἂν ἡ δόξα τοῦ Κλεάρχου διαπυθομένου, "παντὶ μᾶλλον" ἐφην "ἀγνοεῖν ἢ σοι προσήκον ἐστι λόγον ωσπερ ἀφ' ἐστίας τῆς γεωμετρίας

1 E, B: Ἀγησιάναξ -Turnebus; Ἑμησιάναξ -Hartman.
2 E: μέση -B. 3 Salmasius: τὸ δ' ἐρεύθει -E, B.
4 Turnebus: περίωντα -E, B.
5 H. C.; πιέζει πάλιν -E, B: this sentence has been more drastically altered by Wyttenbach, van Herwerden, Bernardakis, and Adler.
6 Kepler, Wyttenbach, and implied by Amyot's version; ἀλλήλων vac. 4-E, 8-B.
7 Kepler, Wyttenbach; δια vac. 5-E, 8-B.
8 Bernardakis: σχῆματος vac. 7-E, B.
9 Bernardakis (ὁ ἀνήρ -Dübner); ἀνήρ -E, B.
10 Turnebus; ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης -E, B. It is just possible that ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης was originally a marginal gloss on τοῦ παλαιοῦ.
THE FACE ON THE MOON, 920

badly depicted by the words of Agesianax:

She gleams with fire encircled, but within
Bluer than lapis show a maiden's eye
And dainty brow, a visage manifest.

In truth, the dark patches submerge beneath the bright ones which they encompass and confine them, being confined and curtailed by them in turn; and they are thoroughly intertwined with each other so as to make the (delineation) of the figure resemble a painting. (This), Aristotle, seemed to be a point not without cogency against your Clearchus also. For the man is yours, since he was an associate of the ancient Aristotle, although he did pervert many doctrines of the School."

3. Apollonides broke in and inquired what the opinion of Clearchus was. "You are the last person," I said, "who has any right not to know a theory of which geometry is, as it were, the very hearth and

\[\text{Reference to sources like Schmid, Wehrli, etc.} \]

\[\text{Schmid (Christ-Schmid-Stählin, Gesch. der griech. Litteratur, ii. 1, p. 164, n. 5) assumes that the verses here quoted are from the astronomical poem of Hegesianax: so also Susemihl (Gesch. der griech. Litteratur in der Alexandrinerzeit, ii, p. 33, n. 19), Schaefer (R.E. i. 795), and Stähelin (R.E. vii. 2603. 39 ff.). Powell (Collectanea Alexandrina, p. 8) prints the verses as fragment 1 of the Phaenomena of Hegesianax but observes that Cod. A Catalogi Interpretum Arati gives 'Αγγελάγα.}

\[\text{b i.e. in the earlier discussion which Lamprias is now relating for Sulla's benefit.} \]


\[\text{d For ὁ Περιπατήτος, "the Promenade," used to designate the school of Aristotle, cf. De Musica, 1131 f, and "the Peripatetics" in Adv. Coloten, 1115 A-B, and Sulla, xxvi (468 B).} \]

\[\text{Editors (cf. 921 b); ἀπολλωνιάδου -Ε, Β.} \]
(920) ὅμωμενον· λέγει γὰρ ἀνὴρ¹ εἰκόνας ἐσοπτρικάς εἶναι καὶ εἰδωλα ἡς μεγάλης θαλάσσης ἐμφαίνο- 921 μενα τῇ σελήνῃ τὸ καλοῦμενον πρόσωπον· ἄ τε γὰρ ὀφεις² ἀνακλωμένη πολλαχόθεν ἀπτεσθαί τῶν οὐ κατ' εὐθυνωρίαν³ ὀρωμένων πέφυκεν, ὡ τε πανσέλη- νος αὐτῇ πάντων ἐσοπτρων ὀμαλότητι καὶ στιλ- πνότητι κάλλιστον ἐστι καὶ καθαρώτατον. ὡσπερ οὖν τὴν ἰρινς⁴ οἴεσθ' ὑμεῖς ἀνακλωμένης ἐπὶ τὸν ἥλιον τῆς ὀφεις ἐνορᾶσθαι τῷ νέφει λαβόντι νοτερὰν ἡνυχῇ λειότητα καὶ <τῇ>ξένι,⁵ οὖτως εἰκείνος ἐν- Β ὀράσθαι τῇ σελήνῃ τὴν ἔξω θαλάσσαν ὅσ' ἦς ἐστι χώρας ἀλλ' ὁθὲν ἡ κλάσις ἑποίησε τῇ ὀφεις⁶ τὴν ἐπαφῆν αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν ἀνταὐγείαν· ὃς ποιν πάλιν ὁ

¹ Dübner ("vir ille" -Kepler); ἀνὴρ -E, B.
² Turnebus, Vulcobilus, Kepler; ἄτος -E, B.
³ E; κατευθυνωρίαν -B.
⁴ Xylander, Turnebus; τῷ ι vac. 1-3-E (at end of line); τῷ vac. 4-B.
⁵ Turnebus, Vulcobilus (cf. Quaest. Conviv. 691 r, Ama- torius, 765 r, and Aristotle's Meteorology, 382 b 31 ff.): καὶ vac. 2 ξέν -E, B.
⁶ Wytenbach; τῷ οὐν -E, B.

⁴ Similar theories are referred to by Aëtius, ii. 30. 1 (Dor. Graeci, p. 361 b 10-13)= Stobaeus, Eclogae, i. 26. 4: Lucian, Icaromenippus, § 20: Simplicius, De Caelo, p. 457. 15-16. Such a theory is recorded and refuted by Ibn Al-Haitham, the Arabic astronomer of the tenth and eleventh centuries (cf. Schoy's translation, pp. 1-2 and 5-6). Emperor Rudolph II believed the spots on the moon to be the reflection of Italy and the large Italian islands (cf. Kepler, Opera Omnia, ii, p. 491 cited by Pixis, Kepler als Geograph, p. 102); and A. von Humboldt (Kosmos, iii, p. 544 [Stuttgart, 1850]) tells of a Persian from Isphahan who assured him that what we see in the moon is the map of our earth (cf. Ebner, Geographische Hinweise und Anklänge in Plutarch's Schrift, de facie, p. 13, n. 3).

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home. The man, you see, asserts that what is called the face consists of mirrored likenesses, that is images of the great ocean reflected in the moon,\(^a\) for the visual ray when reflected naturally reaches from many points objects which are not directly visible and the full moon is itself in uniformity and lustre \(^b\) the finest and clearest of all mirrors. Just as you think, then, that the reflection of the visual ray to the sun accounts for the appearance of the (rainbow) in a cloud where the moisture has become somewhat smooth and (condensed),\(^c\) so Clearchus thought that the outer ocean is seen in the moon, not in the place where it is but in the place whence the visual ray has been deflected to the ocean and the reflection of the ocean to us.

\(^b\) i.e. in the evenness and polish of its surface.

\(^c\) For the rainbow as a reflection of the sun in the cloud cf. De Iside, 358 f, Amatorius, 765 e-f (where there is a strong verbal similarity to the present passage), De Placitis, 894 c-f (=Aëtius, iii. 5, 3-10 and 11 [Dox. Graeci, pp. 372-373]). According to Aëtius, iii. 5. 11 (=De Placitis, 894 r) the theory was held by Anaxagoras (cf. frag. B 19=ii, p. 41. 8-11 [Diels-Kranz]). It is developed by Aristotle in Meteorology, iii. 4, 373 a 32—375 b 15 (cf. Areius Didymus’s Epitome, frag. 14= D ox. Graeci, p. 455. 14 ff., and Seneca, Nat. Quaest. i. 3). Diogenes Laertius, vii. 152 cites Posidonius for the definition ἰπν δ’ εἶναι . . . ὡς Ποσειδώνιος φησιν . . . ἐμφασιν ἡλιον τρήματος η σελήνης ἐν νέφει δεδροσιμένοι, κοίλω καὶ συνεχεὶ πρὸς φαντασίαν, ὡς ἐν κατόπτρῳ φανταξόμενη κατὰ κύκλου περιφερείαν (cf. Seneca, Nat. Quaest. i. 5. 13); and Adler (Diss. Phil. Vind. x, pp. 128-129) contends that Posidonius was Plutarch’s source for the formulation of the theory. Plutarch’s οἰδεθ’ ὑμῖν, however, addressed to Apollonides must be intended to ascribe the theory generally to “you mathematicians”; and this is confirmed by the passage of De Iside cited above, which reads: καὶ καθάπερ οἱ μαθηματικοί τὴν ἰπν . . . λέγουσι. . . . On the difference between the theories of Aristotle and Posidonius cf. O. Gilbert, Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums, pp. 614-616.
(921) 'Αγησιάναξ εἰρηκεν

"πόντον μέγα κύμα καταντία κυμαίνοντος
deίκελον ἱδάλλαυτο πυριφλεγέθοντος ἐσόπτρου.'”

4. Ἡ Ποθέης§ οὖν ἡ Ἀπολλωνίδης “ὡς ἵδιον” εἶπε
"καὶ καίνον ὅλως τὸ σκευόρημα τῆς δόξης, τόλμαν
dὲ τινα καὶ μοῦσαν ἔχοντος ἀνδρός· ἀλλὰ πῇ τὸν
ἐλεγχὸν αὐτῷ προσῆγες;” 3 “πρῶτον μὲν” εἶπον
"ἡ μία φύσις τῆς ἦξω θαλάσσης ἐστὶ, σύρρουν καὶ
συνεχές <ἐαυτῶ>§ πέλαγος, ἡ δ’ ἐμφασίς οὐ μία
tῶν ἐν τῇ σελήνῃ μελαμάτων ἀλλ’ οἴδον ἰσθμοὺς
C ἐχούσα, τοῦ λαμπροῦ διαροῦντος καὶ δυσρίζοντος
tὸ σκιερὸν. ὦθεν ἐκάστου τόπου χρυσάνθετος καὶ
πέρας ἵδιον ἔχοντος αἱ τῶν φωτεινῶν ἐπιβολαί τοῖς
σκοτεινοῖς ύψους εἰκόνα καὶ βάθους§ λαμβάνουσα
τάς περὶ τὰ ὀμματα καὶ τὰ χείλη εἰκόνας φανο-
μένας ὅμοιότατα διετύπωσαν. ὥστ’ ἡ πλείονας ἦξω
θαλάσσας ὑποληπτέον ἰσθμοῖς τοι καὶ ἦπείρους
ἀπολαμβανομένας, ὀπερ ἐστὶν ἄτοπον καὶ ψεῦδος,
ἡ μιᾶς οὐσίας ὕπ Πιθανον εἰκόνα διεστασμένην ὤν-
tως ἐμφαίνεσθαι. ἔκεινο μὲν γὰρ ἐρωτάν ἀσφα-
λέστερον ἐστιν ἡ ἀποφαίνεσθαι σοῦ παρόντος, εἰ,
tῆς οἰκουμένης εὖρος ἐχούσης§ καὶ μῆκος, ἐνδέχεται

D πάσαν ὁσιάτως ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης ὅψιν ἀνακλω-
μένην ἐπιθυγγάνειν τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ
τῇ μεγάλῃ θαλάσσῃ πλέουσι νη Δία καὶ οἰκούσιν,

1 E, B; § -Emperius.
2 Xylander; πεισθεὶς -E, B.
Beiträge, etc., p. 7); προσήγε -E, B.
4 Wyttenbach; εἰ -E, B.
5 Adler; συνεχές vac. 5-E, B.
6 ύψους . . βάθους -Leonicus; ύψους . . , βάθος -E, B.
7 Leonicus; ἵσθς -E, B.
So Agesianax again has somewhere said:

Or swell of ocean surging opposite
Be mirrored in a looking-glass of flame."  

4. Apollonides was delighted. "What an original and absolutely novel contrivance the hypothesis is," he said, "the work of a man of daring and culture; but how did you proceed to bring your counter-argument against it?" "In the first place," I said, "in that, although the outer ocean is a single thing, a confluent and continuous sea, the dark spots in the moon do not appear as one but as having something like isthmuses between them, the brilliance dividing and delimiting the shadow. Hence, since each part is separated and has its own boundary, the layers of light upon shadow, assuming the semblance of height and depth, have produced a very close likeness of eyes and lips. Therefore, one must assume the existence of several outer oceans separated by isthmuses and mainlands, which is absurd and false; or, if the ocean is single, it is not plausible that its reflected image be thus discontinuous. Tell me whether—for in your presence it is safer to put this as a question than as an assertion—whether it is possible, though the inhabited world has length and breadth, that every visual ray when reflected from the moon should in like manner reach the ocean, even the visual rays of those who are sailing in the great ocean itself, yes and who dwell in it as the Britons

a Powell (Collectanea Alexandrina, p. 9) prints these lines as fragment 2 of the Phaenomena of Hegesianax; see note a on p. 39 supra.

b Cf. Strabo, i. 1. 8 (i, p. 6. 4-7 [Meineke]).

c The language is that of painting; cf. Lucian, Zeuxis, 5: τῶν χρωμάτων ἀκριβῆ τὴν κράσιν καὶ εὐκαίριον τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ποιήσασθαι.
(921) ὦστερ Ἐρεττάνοις, καὶ ταῦτα μηδὲ τῆς γῆς, ὡς φατε,¹ πρὸς τὴν σφαῖραν τῆς σελήνης κέντρου λόγον ἐπεχούσης;² τοῦτο μὲν οὖν " ἐπὶ τήν ἐπισκοπέων τὴν δὲ πρὸς τὴν σελήνην ἦ (καθόλου)³ τῆς οὐφεως κλάσιν οὐκέτι σοῦ οὐδ' Ἡππάρχου· καίτοι γ' ἐφιλέργει ἀν<ηρ>⁴ ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς οὐκ ἀρέσκει φυσιολογῶν περὶ τῆς οὐφεως αὐτῆς, ἦν⁵ Ε ὀμοιοπαθῆ⁶ κράσιν ἰσχεὶν καὶ σύμπνηξιν εἰκός ἐστι μᾶλλον ἡ πληγὰς τινας καὶ ἀποπνήσεις οίας ἐπλαττε τῶν ἀτόμων Ἐπίκουρος. οὐκ ἐθελῆσι δὲ, οἴμαι, τὴν σελήνην ἐμπριθὲς ὑποθέσαι σῶμα καὶ στερεῶν ἡμῶν⁷ ὁ Κλέαρχος ἀλλ' ἀστρον αἰθέριον καὶ φωσφόρον, ὡς φατε· τοιαύτη <δε>⁸ τὴν ὀψιν

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¹ Wytenbach (implied in versions of Amyot and Kepler); ἐφατε -Ε, Β.
² After ἐπεχουσῆς. Ε has a lacuna of 2 letter spaces.
³ H. C. (cf. Class. Phil. xlii [1951], pp. 138-139); σελήνην ἦ τῆς -Ε, Β ; σελήνην τῆς -Basiliensis.
⁴ H. C. (cf. Ptolemy, Syntaxis, iii. 1 [i. 1, p. 191. 19-20, Heiberg]: τὸ Ἡππάρχῳ ἀνδρὶ φιλοπόνῳ τε ὀμόν καὶ φιλαλῆθει; καίτοι γε φίλε πρίαμ vac. 2-Ε, 3-Β ; καίτοι γε φιλοπράγμων ἀνήρ -Pohlenz (Phil. Woch. xxxii [1912], pp. 649-650); καίτοι γ' ὀφειλε προτιμᾶσθαι -Apelt (Jena, 1905).
⁵ Wytenbach : αὐτάν -Ε, Β.
⁶ Adler, Zwei Beiträge, p. 8 (cf. De E, 390 Β, De Defectu, 433 d ; Plato, Timæus, 45 c; so in Quaest. Conviv. 626 d read ὀμοιοπαθῆ with Bernardakis instead of Hubert's ὀμοπαθῆ); ὀμοπαθῆ -Ε, Β.
⁷ H. C.; ἡμῖν -Ε, Β, and all editors, though the versions of Xylander, Kepler, and Wytenbach have " nobis " and that of Amyot has " nous."

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⁹ i.e. " you mathematicians " ; see οὐσοῦ ὑμεῖς in 921 a supra. The reference is to the eccentrics of Hipparchus's theory of the motion of the moon. For defence of the text 44
do, and that too even though the earth, as you say,\(^a\) does not have the relation of centre to the orbit of the moon. Well, this,” I said, “it is your business to consider; but the reflection of vision either in respect to the moon or (in general) is beyond your province and that of Hipparchus too.\(^b\) Although Hipparchus was industrious, still many find him unsatisfactory in his explanation of the nature of vision itself, (which) is more likely to involve a sympathetic compound and fusion\(^c\) than any impacts and rebounds such as those of the atoms that Epicurus invented.\(^d\) Moreover, Clearchus, I think, would refuse to assume with us that the moon is a body of weight and solidity instead of an ethereal and luminiferous star as you say\(^e\); (and) such a moon ought

and a detailed interpretation of this sentence cf. Class. Phil. xlvi (1951), pp. 137-138.

\(^b\) Because Hipparchus was a mathematician and not a physicist (φυσιολόγος); on the difference cf. Geminus in Simplicius, Phys. pp. 291. 23–292. 29, and the phrase, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐφωτιάθαι ἀπὸ φυσιολογίας, which Theon of Smyrna (p. 188. 19-20) uses of Hipparchus.

\(^c\) Plato’s theory: cf. Timaeus, 45 c and De Placitis, 901 b-c = Aëtius, iv. 13. 11 (Dox. Graeci, p. 404).

\(^d\) Cf. Adv. Coloten, 1112 c and De Placitis, 901 a-b = Aëtius, iv. 13. 1 (Dox. Graeci, p. 403. 2-4). The present passage seems to imply that Hipparchus’s explanation of vision resembled that of Epicurus. In De Placitis, 901 b = Aëtius, iv. 13. 9 (Dox. Graeci, p. 404) a theory of vision is attributed to Hipparchus, however, which does not at all resemble that of the atomists: but the name Hipparchus there is probably a mistake, cf. Class. Phil. xlvi (1951), p. 154, n. 6.

\(^e\) Lamprias addresses Apollonides and Aristotle, for that the moon is an ethereal and luminiferous star is the Peripatetic theory (cf. the statement of Aristotle at 928 ε ἐν ἱνθρα and the references in the note there) and that is why it is ascribed to Clearchus. Obviously then ἦμων of the mss. must
(921) [โปรσηκει καὶ ἀποστρέφειν, ὡστε οὐ-χεσθαι τὴν ἀνάκλασιν. εἰ δὲ παρατείται ἡμᾶς, ἔρησόμεθα πῶς μόνον πρόσωπόν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ σελήνῃ τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ἑσοπτρον ἀλλὰ δ’ οὐδεὶ τῶν τοσοῦτον ἀστέρων ἐνορᾶται καίτοι τῷ γ’ ἐκός ἀπαίτει πρὸς ἀπανταὶ ἐ πρὸς μηδένα τοῦτο.

F πάσχειν τὴν ὄψιν. ἀλλ’ ἕσωμεν ταῦτα, καὶ σὺ, 5 πρὸς τὸν Λεύκιον ἐφη ἀποβλέψας, "ο πρῶτον ἐλέχθη τῶν ἁμετέρων ὑπόμνησον." 5. Καὶ ὁ Ἀδριανὸς "ἀλλὰ μὴ δοξομεν" ἐφη "κομιδὴ προσηλακιζεν τὸν Φαρνάκῃν οὕτω τῇ Στωικῇν δόξαι ἀπροσαύδητον ὑπερβαίνοντες, εἰπε δὴ τι πρὸ τὸν ἄνδρα πάντως, αἱρομένων καὶ μαλακοῦ πυρὸς ὑποτιθέμενον τὴν σελήνην εἰδ’ οἰον ἐν γαλήνῃ φρίκης ὑποτροχοὺς φάσκοντα τοῦ ἀερός διαμελαίνοντος ἐμφασίν γίγνεσθαι μορφοειδῆ." "μαλὰ" ἡρηστὸς γ’ εἶπον "ο Λεύκιος, τὴν ἀτοπίαν εἰφήμοις περιαμμέχεις ὀνόμασιν ὦς οὕτως ὃ’ δ’ ὁ ἐσταῖρος ἡμῶν, ἀλλ’ ὀπερ

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1 Turnebus, Vulcobius; ἔθνος -Ε, Β.
2 Wytenbach; προσηκεῖ E, Β.
3 Wytenbach after the versions of Amyot and Xylander; χρησίμεθα -Ε, Β.
4 E; τοῦτον -Β.
5 Adler; ἀλλ vac. 16-E, 19-B.
6 Wytenbach; ἐφ’ ὄφει -Ε, Β; εἶπον -Turnebus.
8 Adler; μορφοειδῆς vac. 5-E (at end of line), 4-B.
9 Β: Λεύκιο vac. 3-E.
10 E; οὕτως -Β.
11 Aldine, Basiliensis; ἡμῶν -Ε, Β.

be an error and should be changed to ἡμῶν, for that the moon is a body with weight and solidity is the opinion of the Academy, i.e. of Lamprias, Lucius, and their circle (cf. 926 c, 928 c, 931 b-c infra).
to shatter and divert the visual ray so that reflection would be out of the question. But if anyone dismisses our objections, we shall ask how it is that the reflection of the ocean exists as a face only in the moon and is seen in none of all the many other stars, although reason requires that all or none of them should affect the visual ray in this fashion. But (let us have done with this; and do you)," I said with a glance at Lucius, "recall to me what part of our position was stated first."

5. Whereat Lucius said: "Nay, lest we give the impression of flatly insulting Pharnaces by thus passing over the Stoic opinion unnoticed, do now by all means address some remark to the gentleman who, supposing the moon to be a mixture of air and gentle fire, then says that what appears to be a figure is the result of the blackening of the air as when in a calm water there runs a ripple under the surface." a "You are (very) nice, Lucius," I said, "to dress up the absurdity in respectable language. Not so our

a Von Arnim (S.V.F. ii, p. 198) prints this and some of the subsequent sentences as frag. 673 among the Physical Fragments of Chrysippus. For the Stoic doctrine that the moon is a mixture of air and fire cf. De Placitís, 891 b and 892 b (ÆÆtius, ii. 25. 5 [Dox. Graeci, p. 356] and ii. 30. 5 [Dox. Graeci, p. 361]), and S.V.F. ii, p. 136. 32. The "gentle fire" here mentioned is the πῦρ περιβιόν as distinguished from destructive fire (cf. S.V.F. i, p. 34. 22-27 and ii, p. 200. 14-16). For the Stoic explanation of the face in the moon cf. S.V.F. ii, p. 199. 3-5 (=Philo Judaeus, De Somniís, i, § 145); and for the simile of the ripple cf. Iliad, vii. 63-64.

47
(921) ἀληθεῖς ἢν ἔλεγεν, ὑπωπιάζειν1 αύτοὺς τὴν σελήνην 922 σπίλων καὶ μελασμῶν ἀναπιμπλάντας, ὁμοῦ μὲν Ἄρτεμιν καὶ Ἀθηνᾶν ἀνακαλοῦντας ὁμοῦ δὲ σύμμυμμα2 καὶ φύραμα ποιοῦντας ἀέρος ζοφεροῦ καὶ πυρὸς ἀνθρακώδους, οὐκ ἔχουσαν ἐξαιτίαν οὐδ’ αὐγῆν οἰκεῖαν, ἀλλὰ δυσκρινές τι σώμα τυφόμενον ἀεὶ καὶ πυρίκαιστον ὦσσερ τῶν κεραυνῶν τοὺς ἀλαμπτεῖς καὶ φολοῦντας ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν προσαγορευομένους. ὅτι μέντοι πῦρ ἀνθρακώδες, οὗν οὗτοι τὸ τῆς σελήνης ποιοῦσιν, οὐκ ἔχει διαμονὴν οὐδὲ σύστασιν ὅλως ἐὰν μὴ στερεᾶς ἥλιος καὶ στε- Β γούσης ἀμα καὶ τρεφοῦσης ἐπιλάβηται βέλτιον οἶμαι συνορᾶν ἐνίων φιλοσόφων τοὺς ἐν παιδιᾷ λέγοντας τὸν Ἡφαιστον εἰρήσθαι χωλὸν ὅτι τὸ πῦρ ἐξύλου χωρίς ὦσσερ οἱ χωλοὶ βακτηρίως οὐ πρόεισιν. ἐὰν οὖν ἡ σελήνη πῦρ ἐστι, πόθεν αὕτη τοσοῦτος ἐγγεγόνεν ἀήρ; ὁ γὰρ ἀνω καὶ κύκλῳ φερόμενος οὗτοι τόποι οὐκ ἄερος ἀλλὰ κρεῖττονος οὐσίας καὶ πάντα λεπτῶν καὶ συνεξάπτειν φύσιν ἐχούσης ἐστίν· ἐὰν δ’ ἐγγέγονε,3 πῶς οὐκ οἰχεῖται μεταβάλλων

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1 Basiliensis, Turnebus; ὑπωπιάζειν -E, B.
2 Stephanus (1624): σύμμυμμα -E, B.
3 -Anon., Aldine, R.J. 94: δὲ γέγονε -E, B.

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See 929 b and 929 f infra. This comrade was the leader of the earlier discussion, which is here being recapitulated, and is probably to be identified with Plutarch himself (so Hirzel, Der Dialog, ii, p.184, n.2, and Hartman, De Plutarcho, p. 557); cf. De Tuenda Sanitate, 122 f for a similar situation and Quaest. Conviv. 643 c, where Hagias addresses Plutarch as "comrade."

comrade; but he said what is true, that they blacken the Moon’s eye defiling her with blemishes and bruises, at one and the same time addressing her as Artemis and Athena and making her a mass compounded of murky air and smouldering fire neither kindling nor shining of herself, an indiscriminate kind of body, forever charred and smoking like the thunderbolts that are darkling and by the poets called lurid. Yet a smouldering fire, such as they suppose that of the moon to be, cannot persist or subsist at all unless it get solid fuel that shelters and at the same time nourishes it; this some philosophers, I believe, see less clearly than do those who say in jest that Hephaestus is said to be lame because fire without wood, like the lame without a stick, makes no progress. If the moon really is fire, whence came so much air in it? For the region that we see revolving above us is the place not of air but of a superior substance, the nature of which is to rarefy all things and set them afire; and, if air did come to be there, why has it not been etherealized by the fire

\[\text{Cf. 938 b infra. In De Iside, 354 c Isis, who later is identified with the moon (372 d), is identified with Athena (cf. 376 a). Cf. Roscher, op. cit. pp. 123 f. (on the supposed fragment of Aristotle there cited see V. Rose, Aristoteles Pseudepigraphus, pp. 616 [no. 4] and 617).}\]

\[\text{Cf. Odyssey, xxiii, 330 and xxiv. 539; Hesiod, Theogony, 515; Pindar, Nemean, x. 71; Aristotle, Meteorology, 371 a 17-24.}\]

\[\text{Cf. Cornutus, chap. 18 (p. 33. 18-22 Lang); Heracliti Quaestiones Homericae, § 26 (p. 41. 2-6 Oelmann).}\]

\[\text{See 934 b-c infra.}\]

\[\text{Cf. S. V. F. ii, p. 184. 2-5: \ldots \varepsilon\alpha\theta\varepsilon\rho\o\nu\varsigma\varepsilon\alpha\mu\nu\pi\alpha\varepsilon\dot{\nu} \ldots \varepsilon\iota\varsigma \pi\dot{\upsilon} \alpha \iota\delta\varepsilon\rho\o\omicron\varsigma \dot{\omicron}\nu \alpha\nu\lambda\upsilon\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omega\nu \pi\acute{\alpha} \nu\tau\omicron\nu. The “ether” here is Stoic ether, i.e. a kind of fire (cf. De Primo Frigido, 951 c-d and note d on 928 a infra), not Aristotle’s “fifth essence,” which does not enter into the process of the alteration of simple bodies.}\]
(922) εἰς ἔτερον εἰδῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἔξαιθερωθεὶς ἄλλα σωζέται καὶ συνοικεῖ πυρὶ τοσοῦτον χρόνον ὡσπερ ἦλοις¹ ἀραρὼς ἂεὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ² μέρεσι καὶ συγ-
γεγομομένοις; ἄραιῶ μὲν γὰρ ὄντι καὶ συγ-
C κεχυμένων μὴ μένειν ἄλλα σφάλλεσθαι προσήκει συμπεπηγέναι δ’ οὐ δυνατὸν ἀναμεμγμένον πυρὶ καὶ μὴν ύγροῦ μετέχοντα μὴτε γῆς, οἷς μόνοις ἄγρ συμπήγνυσθαι πέφυκεν. ἦ δὲ ρύμη καὶ τὸν ἐν λίθοις ἀέρα καὶ τὸν ἐν ψυχρῷ μολύβδῳ³ συνεκ-
κάει, μὴ τ’ γε δὴ τὸν ἐν πυρὶ δινομένῳ μετὰ τάχους τοσοῦτον. καὶ γὰρ ’Εμπεδοκλῆς δύσκο-
λαίνοισι πάγον ἀέρος χαλαζώδη ποιοῦντι τὴν σε-
lήνην ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ πυρὸς σφαίρας περιεχόμενον αὐτοῦ δὲ τὴν σελήνην σφαίραν οὕτων πυρὸς ἀέρα φασίν ἄλλον ἄλλη διεσπασμένων περιέχειν καὶ ταύτα D μὴτε ῥήξεις ἔχουσαν ἐν ἐαυτῇ μὴτε βάθη καὶ 
κοιλότητας, ἄπερ οἱ γεώδη ποιοῦντες ἀπολείπουσιν, ἄλλ’ ἐπιπολής δηλοῦντί τῇ κυρτότητι ἐπικειμένων. τοῦτο δ’ ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς διαμονὴν ἄλογον καὶ πρὸς θέαν ἀδύνατον ἐν ταῖς πανσελήνοις: διωρίσθαι⁵ γὰρ ὅπως ἐδει μέλανα καὶ σκιερὸν ἄλλ’ ἀμαυροῦσθαι κρυπτόμενον ἥ συνεκλάμπειν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἠλίου κατα-
lαμβανομένης τῆς σελήνης. καὶ γὰρ παρ’ ἡμῖν

¹ H. C. (cf. Class. Phil. xlvi [1931], p. 139) : ἦλος -Ε, B.
² E : τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἂεὶ -Β.
³ E : μολύβδῳ (i.e. μολύβδῳ) -B.
⁴ E : μὴ τοῖ -Β.
⁵ Empierius : διωρίσασθαι -Ε, B.

⁶ Cf. De Primo Frigido, 951 b, 952 b, 953 d—954 a : but the Stoic opinion given in 949 b (= S. V. F. ii, p. 142. 6-10) was that solidification (πῆξι) is a state produced in water by air, and Galen reports (S. V. F. ii, p. 145. 8-11) that according
and in this transformation disappeared but instead has been preserved as a housemate of fire this long time, as if nails had fixed it forever to the same spots and riveted it together: Air is tenuous and without configuration, and so it naturally slips and does not stay in place; and it cannot have become solidified if it is commingled with fire and partakes neither of moisture nor of earth by which alone air can be solidified. Moreover, velocity ignites the air in stones and in cold lead, not to speak of the air enclosed in fire that is whirling about with such great speed. Why, they are vexed by Empedocles because he represents the moon to be a hail-like congelation of air encompassed by the sphere of fire; but they themselves say that the moon is a sphere of fire containing air dispersed about it here and there, and a sphere moreover that has neither clefts nor depths and hollows, such as are allowed by those who make it an earthy body, but has the air evidently resting upon its convex surface. That it should so remain is both contrary to reason and impossible to square with what is observed when the moon is full. On that assumption there should have been no distinction of dark and shadowy air; but all the air should become dark when occulted, or when the moon is caught by the sun it should all shine out with an even light. For with us too, while
to the Stoics the hardness and resistance of earth are caused by fire and air.


(922) \( \delta \) \( \mu \varepsilon \) \( \epsilon \nu \) \( \beta \alpha \theta \varepsilon \sigma i \) \( \kappa a i \) \( \kappa o i \lambda \omega \mu a s i \) \( \tau \eta s \) \( \gamma \eta s \), \( \circ \mu \eta \) \( \delta \varepsilon i s s i n \) \( \alpha u \gamma \gamma i \),\(^1\) \( \delta i a m \varepsilon n e i \)\(^2\) \( \sigma k i o \dot{\omega} \delta i s s i k a i \) \( \alpha f \omega t i s t o s o \) \( \delta \) \( \delta \) \( \varepsilon z o s e n \) \( \tau \eta s \) \( \gamma \eta \) \( \pi e r i k e x u m e n o s \) \( \phi e \gamma g o s \) \( \iota s c h e k a i \) \( \chi r \delta \alpha n a i \) \( \alpha u \gamma o e i d i \)\(^3\) \( \pi r s s \) \( \pi \alpha s a n \) \( m e n \) \( \gamma \alpha r e \) \( \varepsilon s t i \) \( \pi o i t o t a s s \) \( \varepsilon \) \( k a i \) \( d \varepsilon \tilde{u} a m a i n a i \) \( \varepsilon u k \kappa e r a s t o s u \) \( \nu \tilde{p} o \) \( m a n \tilde{t} \tilde{e} t o s s \) \( m \alpha l i s t a a \) \( d e \) \( \phi w t \eta s \) \( a n \) \( \varepsilon p i \varphi a \alpha u \gamma \sigma i \) \( m \alpha n o n \), \( \omega s \) \( \varphi a t e \), \( k a i \) \( \theta \iota \gamma \gamma i \) \( d i \) \( \circ l o n \) \( t r e p \sigma \circ m e n o s \) \( \iota k f w t i \dot{\varepsilon} t a \). \( t a u t \dot{\circ} t o n \)\(^3\) \( o n n \) \( t o u t o \) \( k a i \) \( t o i s \) \( e i s \) \( \beta \alpha \theta \iota \) \( t u \tilde{n} a \) \( k a i \) \( \varphi a r a g g a s s \) \( s u n \omega \theta o u s i n \) \( e \nu \) \( \tau \eta s \) \( s e l \dot{l} \eta \gamma \) \( t o n \) \( \alpha \tilde{e} r a \) \( p a g k \alpha l \omega s \)\(^4\) \( \dot{e} o i k e \) \( \beta o \theta \theta e i n \) \( \dot{\omega} \mu a s s \) \( t e \) \( d i e \zeta e l e \gamma g \chi e t o u s \) \( e \nu \) \( e \) \( \tilde{a} e r o s \) \( k a i \) \( p u r \rho \sigma s \) \( o u k \) \( o i \tilde{o} \) \( \circ p o w s \) \( m u \gamma \nu \gamma t a s a i n t s \) \( k a i \) \( s u n \varepsilon a m o \xi o n t a s \) \( \tau \eta s \) \( s f a \iota r a n \) \( o u \) \( \gamma \alpha r e \) \( o i \) \( \gamma o n \) \( t e \) \( l e i \pi e \tilde{s} e \tilde{t} a i \) \( s k i a n \) \( e \nu \) \( t \dot{\iota} s \) \( \varepsilon p i \) \( t \eta s \) \( \varepsilon p i \varphi a \alpha u \gamma \sigma i \) \( o t a n \) \( o \) \( \eta \tilde{l} i o s \) \( e \pi l \alpha m \mu \) \( t \tilde{o} w \) \( f o w t i \) \( p \alpha n \) \( F \) \( \d \circ p \sigma s o u n \) \( k a i \) \( \eta m e \iota s \) \( a p o t e m \nu \circ m e \theta a \) \( t \dot{\gamma} s \) \( \iota s \) \( s e \) \( l \dot{n} \eta s \)."

6. \( k a i \) \( o \) \( F a r n \acute{a} k \acute{a} s \) \( \epsilon t i \) \( m o u \) \( l \acute{e} g o n t o s \) \( " t o u t ' \) \( \acute{e} k e \nu i o \) \( \pi \alpha l i n \) " \( \epsilon i \) \( p e n " e \nu \) \( \" e f ' \) \( \eta \mu a s s \) \( \alpha f i k t a i t o \) \( p e r i \) \( \alpha \kappa t o n \) \( e k \) \( t \dot{\iota} s \) \( ' \) \( A k a d \acute{a} m e \iota s s \)\(^5\). \( e \nu \) \( t \tilde{o} w \) \( p r o s \) \( \acute{e} t e r o u s \) \( l \acute{e} g e i n \) \( d i a t r \acute{i} \beta \circ m o n t a s e k \acute{a} s t o t e m i \) \( m \eta \) \( p a r \acute{e} c h e i n \) \( \acute{e} l e g \chi x o n \) \( o n \) \( a u t o i l \) \( l \acute{e} g o u s i n \) \( a l l ' \) \( a p o l o g o \nu \circ m e n o i s \) \( d e i \)\(^6\) \( \chi r \eta \) 

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1 Stephanus (1624), cf. 929 \( \varepsilon i n f r a \); \( \alpha u t \eta \) -E, B.

2 Stephanus (implied by versions of Amyot and Kepler);

3 Benseler; \( t a u t \dot{\circ} t o \) -E, B.

4 Wytenbach; \( k \alpha \nu \) \( k a l \alpha w s \) -E, B.

5 Dübner; \( a k a d \acute{a} m i a s \) -E, B.

6 E, B; \( \eta \dot{\alpha} \) -Wytenbach (implied by Amyot’s version).

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\(^a\) Chrysippus, frag. 570 (S. V. F. ii, p. 178, 20-22), cf. De Primo Frigido, 952 \( r \). With the words \( \omega s \) \( \varphi a t e \) Lamprias addresses Pharmaces as representative of the Stoics, for whose doctrine of the instantaneous alteration of air by light see 930 \( \varepsilon i n f r a \) and the references there; cf. especially \( k a t a \) \( n \acute{u} \xi e n \) \( \eta \) \( \varphi a \dot{\iota} s n \) there with \( a n \) \( \varepsilon p i \varphi a \alpha u \gamma \sigma i \) \( m \alpha n o n \), \( \omega s \) \( \varphi a t e \), here. Aristotle originated the doctrine that the transparent medium is altered instantaneously throughout its whole extent by 52
the air in the depths and hollows of the earth, wherever the sun's rays do not penetrate, remains shadowy and unlit, that which suffuses the earth outside takes on brilliance and a luminous colour. The reason is that air, because of its subtility, is delicately attuned to every quality and influence; and, especially if it touches light or, to use your phrase, merely is tangent to it, it is altered through and through and entirely illuminated. So this same point seems right handsomely to re-enforce those who pack the air on the moon into depths of some kind and chasms, even as it utterly refutes you who make her globe an unintelligible mixture or compound of air and fire—for it is not possible that a shadow remain upon the surface when the sun casts his light upon all of the moon that is within the compass of our vision.

6. Even while I was still speaking Pharnaces spoke: "Here we are faced again with that stock manoeuvre of the Academy: on each occasion that they engage in discourse with others they will not offer any accounting of their own assertions but must keep the mere presence of light at any point (cf. De Sensu, 446 b 27—447 a 10 and De Anima, 418 b 9 ff.).

i.e. on the Stoic theory.

The word τὸ περίακτον occurs in Comp. Lys. Sulla, iii, 476 ε, where it seems to mean "the old saw," though it may refer to a proverbial state of "inside out and wrong side to." In De Gloria Atheniensium, 348 ε Plutarch mentions μηχανἄς ἀπὸ σκηνῆς περίακτους, but that rather tells against taking τὸ περίακτον as the name of this stage-machine. He uses περιαγωγή in De Genio Socratis, 588 ν in the sense of "distraction" and in Præcepta Gerendæ Reipublicæ, 819 ι in the sense of "a trick of diversion," a sense which certainly suits τὸ περίακτον in the present context. The complaint of Pharnaces is frequently made by the interlocutors of Socrates; cf. Xenophon, Memorabilia, iv, 4. 9; Plato, Republic, 336 c; Aristotle, Soph. Elench. 183 b 6-8.
(922) σοι μη κατηγοροῦσιν\(^1\) (οίς)\(^2\) αν ἐντυγχάνωσιν. ἐμὲ δ’ οὖν οὐκ ἐξάζεσθε τῆμερον εἰς τὸ διδόναι λόγον ἃν ἐπικαλεῖτε τοῖς Στωικοῖς, πρὶν εὐθύνας λαβεῖν παρ’ ὑμῶν ἄνω τὰ κάτω τοῦ κόσμου ποιούντων.” καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος γελάσας “μόνον” εἶπεν 923‘‘οὐ τάν, μὴ κρίσιν ἢμῖν ἀσεβείας ἐπαγγείλης, ὥσπερ Ἀρίσταρχον ἔφη δεῖν Κλεάνθης\(^3\) τὸν Σάμιον ἀσεβείας προσκαλεῖσθαι\(^4\) τοὺς “Ἐλλήνας ὡς κινοῦντα τοῦ κόσμου τὴν ἐστίν ὁτι (τὰ)\(^5\) φαυνόμενα σῴζειν ἀνήρ\(^6\) ἐπειράτο μένειν τὸν οὐρανὸν ὑποτιθέμενος ἐξελίπτεσθαι δὲ κατὰ λοξοῦ κύκλου τὴν γῆν ἃμα καὶ περὶ τὸν αὐτῆς ἄξονα διυνομένην. ἥμεις μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν αὐτοὶ παρ’ αὐτῶν λέγομεν, οἱ δὲ γῆν ὑποτιθέμενοι τὴν σελήνην, ὥς βελτιστε, τί μᾶλλον ὑμῶν\(^7\) ἄνω τὰ κάτω ποιοῦσι τὴν γῆν ἢδρυόντων ἐνταῦθα μετέωρον ἐν τῷ ἀέρι, πολλῷ τινι μείζονα τῆς σελήνης οὖσαν ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἐκλειπτικοῖς πάθεσιν Β οἱ μαθηματικοὶ καὶ ταῖς διὰ τὸν σκιάσματος παρόδοις τῇ ἐποχῇ\(^8\) τὸ μέγεθος ἀναμετροῦσιν; ἡ τε

1 H. C.; κατηγοροῦσιν -Ε, B.
2 Bernardakis.
3 Ménage; ἀρίσταρχος . . . κλεάνθη -Ε, B.
4 Emperius (cf. 925 ν ἐν ίνθα); προσκαλεῖσθαι -Ε, B.
5 Dübner.
6 Dübner; ἀνήρ -Ε, B.
7 Xylander (cf. 923 ε ἐν ίνθα; φατέ ὑμεῖς); ἢμῶν -Ε, B.
8 W. L. Bevan; τῆς ἐποχῆς -Ε, B.

\(a\) = S. V. F. i, p. 112, frag. 500; the title, “Against Aristarchus,” appears in the list of Cleanthes’ writings given by Diogenes Laertius, vii. 174. For the theory of Aristarchus cf. Plutarch, Plat. Quaest. 1006 c; De Placitās 891 Α = Aëtius, ii. 24, 8 (Dox. Graeci, p. 355); Archimedes, Arenarius, 54.
their interlocutors on the defensive lest they become the prosecutors. Well, me you will not to-day entice into defending the Stoics against your charges until I have called you people to account for turning the universe upside down.” Thereupon Lucius laughed and said: “Oh, sir, just don’t bring suit against us for impiety as Cleanthes thought that the Greeks ought to lay an action for impiety against Aristarchus the Samian on the ground that he was disturbing the hearth of the universe because he sought to save (the) phenomena by assuming that the heaven is at rest while the earth is revolving along the ecliptic and at the same time is rotating about its own axis.\(^a\) We \(^b\) express no opinion of our own now; but those who suppose that the moon is earth, why do they, my dear sir, turn things upside down any more than you \(^c\) do who station the earth here suspended in the air? Yet the earth is a great deal larger than the moon \(^d\) according to the mathematicians who during the occurrences of eclipses and the transits of the moon through the shadow calculate her magnitude by the length of time that she is obscured.\(^e\) For the

\(^{a}\)i. 1. 4-7 (Opera Omnia, ii, p. 218 Heiberg); Sextus Empiricus, Adv. Math. x. 174; T. L. Heath, Aristarchus of Samos, pp. 301 ff.

\(^{b}\) i.e. we Academics, the party which did in fact maintain that the moon is an earthy body.

\(^{c}\) i.e. you Stoics; cf. Achilles, Isagoge, 4=S. V. F. ii, frag. 555, p. 175. 36 ff.

\(^{d}\) This would not have been admitted by most of the Stoics, who thought that the moon is larger than the earth: but in this Posidonius and possibly others disagreed with the earlier members of the school; cf. Aëtius, ii. 26. 1 (Dox. Graeci, p. 357 and p. 68, n. 1), and M. Adler, Diss. Phil. Vind. x (1910), p. 155.

\(^{e}\) Cf. Cleomedes, ii. 1, § 80 (p. 146. 18 ff. Ziegler); Simplicius, De Caelo, p. 471. 6-11.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(923) γὰρ σκιὰ τῆς γῆς ἐλάττων¹ ύπὸ μείζονος τοῦ φωτιζοντος ἀνατείνει καὶ τῆς σκιᾶς αὐτῆς λεπτὸν ὁν τὸ² ἀνω καὶ στενὸν οὐδ' "Ομηρον, ὡς φασίν,³ ἐλαθεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν νύκτα 'θοην' ὀξύτητι τῆς σκιᾶς προσηγόρευσεν· ύπὸ τούτον δ' ὁμως ἀλισκομένη ταῖς ἐκκλείσεσιν ἡ σελήνη τρισὶ μόλις τοῖς αὐτῆς⁴ μεγέθεσιν ἀπαλλάττεται. σκόπει δὴ πόσων ἡ γῆ σεληνῶν ἔστιν, εἰ σκιαν ἀφήσαις ὡς βραχυτάτη πλάτος τρισέληνον. ἀλλ' ὁμως ὑπὲρ τῆς σελήνης μὴ πέσῃ δεδοίκατε περὶ δὲ τῆς γῆς ὑσως Λισχύλος

¹ B : ἐλάττω -E.  
² Turnebus ; ἀπτα -E. B.  
³ Xylander ; ὡς φησιν -E. B.  
⁴ Stephanus (1624) ; αὐτῆς -E, B.  
⁵ -Anon., Aldine, R.J. 94 ; ἦ -E, B.

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¹ Cf. Cleomedes, ii. 2. §§ 93-94 (p. 170. 11 ff. Ziegler); Theon of Smyrna, p. 197. 1 ff. (Hiller); Pliny, Nat. Hist. ii. 11 (8), 51.

² Cf. De Defectu Oraculorum, 410 v. Homer uses the phrase θοην νῦς frequently (e.g. Iliad, x. 394 [cf. Leaf's note ad loc.], Odyssey, xii. 284). Another θος, supposedly meaning "pointed," "sharp" and cognate with ἑόρωσα in Odyssey, ix. 327, is used of certain islands in Odyssey, xv. 299 (cf. Strabo, viii. 350-351 : Pseudo-Plutarch, De Vita et Poesi Homerii, b. 21 [vii, p. 347. 19 ff. Bernardakis]). The latter passage so understood was used to support the hypothesis that θοην νῦς referred to the "sharpness" of the earth's shadow : cf. Heracliti Quaestiones Homericæ, §§ 45-46 (p. 67. 13 ff. Oelmann). Eustathius (Comment, ad Iliadem, 814. 15 ff.) mentions besides this another astronomical interpretation of the phrase by Crates of Mallos.

³ For this temporal dative without ἐν cf. Theon of Smyrna, p. 194. 1-3 (Hiller).
shadow of the earth grows smaller the further it extends, because the body that casts the light is larger than the earth; and that the upper part of the shadow itself is taper and narrow was recognized, as they say, even by Homer, who called night 'nimble' because of the 'sharpness' of the shadow. Yet captured by this part in eclipses the moon barely escapes from it in a space thrice her own magnitude. Consider then how many times as large as the moon the earth is, if the earth casts a shadow which at its narrowest is thrice as broad as the moon. All the same, you fear for the moon lest it fall; whereas concerning the earth perhaps Aeschylus has

\[ a \quad \text{Cf. De An. Proc. in Timaeo, 1028 d where Plutarch ascribes to geometers the approximate calculation of three to one as the ratio of the earth's diameter to that of the moon and of twelve to one as the ratio of the sun's diameter to that of the earth, figures which agree roughly with those of Hipparchus (t : 1 : s = 1 : 3 : 12 \frac{1}{3}; cf. Heath, Aristarchus of Samos, pp. 342 and 350 after Hultsch). Hipparchus, however, considered the breadth of the shadow at the moon's mean distance from the earth in eclipses to be 2\frac{1}{2} lunar diameters (Ptolemy, Syntaxis, iv. 9 [i, p. 327. 1-4 Heiberg]), while Aristarchus, whose calculations of the moon's diameter Plutarch quotes at 932 b infra, declared the shadow to be 2 lunar diameters in breadth (cf. Aristarchus, Hypothesis 5 [Heath, op. cit. p. 352. 13]; Pappus, Collectionis Quae Supersunt, ii, p. 554. 17-18 and p. 556. 14-17 [Hultsch]), the figure given by Cleomedes as well (pp. 146. 18-19 and 178. 8-13 [Ziegler]; cf. Geminus, Elementa, ed. Manitius, p. 272). Plutarch may here simply have assumed that the ratio of the lunar diameter to the breadth of the shadow would be the same as the Hipparchean ratio of the lunar diameter to the diameter of the earth; but he may also have erroneously supposed that the time taken by the moon to enter the shadow, the time of complete obscuration, and the time taken to leave the shadow equal three diameters instead of two (cf. Cleomedes, p. 146. 21-25 [Ziegler] and M. Adler, Diss. Phil. Vind. x [1910], p. 156, n. 2).
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(923) ἤμας¹ πέπεικεν ὡς ὁ Ἄτλας

C ἤστηκε, κιόν''² οὐράνοι τε καὶ χθονὸς ἄμοις ἔρειδων, ἄχθος οὐκ εὐάγκαλον.

η'' τῇ μὲν σελήνη κούφος ἁὴρ ὑποτρέχει καὶ στερεῶν ὄγκον οὐκ ἐξέγγυον ἐνεγκείν τὴν ἀγ. γῆν κατὰ Πίνδαρον 'ἀδαμαντοπέδιλοι κίονες' περιέχουσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Φαρνάκης αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν ἄδεια τοῦ πεσείν τὴν γῆν ἐστιν οἰκτίρει⁴ δὲ τοὺς ὑποκειμένους τῇ περιφορᾷ⁵ τῆς σελήνης Αἰθήσας ἡ Ταπροβῆνους μὴ βάρος αὐτοῖς ἐμπέσῃ τοσοῦτον. καὶ τῇ μὲν σελήνη βοήθεια πρὸς τὸ μὴ πεσεῖν ἡ κύνης αὐτή D καὶ τὸ ρουξώδες⁶ τῆς περιαγωγῆς, ὕσπερ ὅσα ταῖς σφενδόναις ἐντεθάντα τῆς καταφορᾶς κόλυσαι άσχει τὴν κύκλῳ περιδίνῃσιν. ἄγει γὰρ ἐκαστὸν ἡ κατὰ φύσιν κύνης, ἀν υπ' ἄλλου μηδενὸς ἀποστρέφεται. ὅτι τὴν σελήνην οὐκ ἄγει τὸ βάρος ὑπὸ τῆς περιφορᾶς τῆς ῥοπῆς ἐκκρούσμενον. ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὅσως λόγον εἰχε θαυμάζειν μένουσαν αὐτὴν παντάπασιν ὑσπερ ἡ γῆ καὶ ἀπρεμοῦσαν.⁷ νῦν δ' ἡ⁸ σελήνη μὲν εἰχε μεγάλην αἰτίαν τοῦ δεύρου μὴ φέρεσθαι τῆν ἀγ. γῆν ἔτερας κινήσεως ἀμοιρὸν οὐσάν εἰκὸς ἡν μόνῳ τῷ βαρύνοντι κινεῖ. βαρυτέρα δ' ἐστὶ τῆς σελήνης οὐχ ὅσω μείζων ἀλλ' ἐτί μᾶλλον ἄτε ἤν

1 Stephanus (1624) ; ήμας -E, B.
2 -Anon., Aldine, R.J. 94, mss. of Aeschylus : κιόν -E, B.
3 H. C. ; ei -E, B ; καὶ -Wytenbach after Amyot ; ἦσθι -Adler.
4 Editors : οἰκτίρει -E, B.
5 H. C. (cf. Class. Phil. xlvi [1951], p. 139) ; μεταφορᾶ -E, B.
6 E : ρουξώδες -B.
7 Emperius (cf. 926 α and 939 α infra) : ἀπρεμπτὸς ἀγ. -E, B.
8 Bernardakis ; νῦν δ' -E, B.
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THE FACE ON THE MOON, 923

persuaded you that Atlas

Stands, staying on his back the prop of earth
And sky, no tender burden to embrace.\(^a\)

Or, while under the moon there stretches air unsubstantial and incapable of supporting a solid mass, the earth, as Pindar says, is encompassed by 'steel-shod pillars'\(^b\); and therefore Pharnaces is himself without any fear that the earth may fall but is sorry for the Ethiopians or Taprobanians,\(^c\) who are situated under the circuit of the moon, lest such a great weight fall upon them. Yet the moon is saved from falling by its very motion and the rapidity of its revolution, just as missiles placed in slings are kept from falling by being whirled around in a circle.\(^d\) For each thing is governed by its natural motion unless it be diverted by something else. That is why the moon is not governed by its weight: the weight has its influence frustrated by the rotatory motion. Nay, there would be more reason perhaps to wonder if she were absolutely unmoved and stationary like the earth. As it is, while (the) moon has good cause for not moving in this direction, the influence of weight alone might reasonably move the earth, since it has no part in any other motion; and the earth is heavier than the moon not merely in proportion to its greater size but

\(^{a}\) Aeschylus, *Prometheus Vinct.* 351-352 (Smyth).

\(^{b}\) Pindar, frag. 88 (Bergk) = 79 (Bowra).

\(^{c}\) *i.e.* the Sinhalese; *cf.* Strabo, ii. 1. 14, chap. 72 and xv. 1. 14, chap. 690; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vi. 22 (24).

\(^{d}\) *Cf.* Aristotle, *De Caelo,* 284 a 24-26 and 295 a 16-21 (on Empedocles [Cherniss, *Aristotle's Criticism of Presocratic Philosophy,* p. 204, n. 234]). Plutarch himself in *Lysander,* xii. 3-4 (439 d) ascribes to Anaxagoras the notion that the heavenly bodies are kept from falling by the speed of their circular motion.
7. Πρὸς τοῦτ’ ἐγὼ τῷ Λευκῷ χρόνῳ ἐγγενέσθαι βουλόμενος ἀναμμηνησκομένω τὸν Θέωνα καλέσας

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1 Aldine, Basiliensis; E and B have a question-mark here.
2 Von Arnim (S. V. F. ii, p. 193): ὀσπερ αὐτῇ -Ε, Β.

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a Here Lucius assumes the Stoic theory of the composition of the moon in order to rebut the Stoic objections.

b Cf. Seneca, Nat. Quaest. vii. 1. 7: “... magni fuere viri, qui sidera crediderunt ex duro concreta et ignem alienum pascentia. ‘nam per se,’ inquit, ‘flamma diffugeret, nisi aliquid haberet, quod teneret et a quo teneretur, conglobatamque nec stabili inditam corpori, profecto iam mundus turbine suo dissipasset.’”

c Cf. Aristotle’s remark (Meteorology, 353 a 34-b 5) about the ancient θεόλογοι who assumed ρίζαι γῆς καὶ θαλάττης and see Hesiod, Theogony, 728; Aeschylus, Prometheus Vinct. 1046-1047; and the “Orphic” lines quoted by Proclus, 60
still more, inasmuch as the moon has, of course, become light through the action of heat and fire.\(^a\) In short, your own statements seem to make the moon, if it is fire, stand in greater need of earth, that is of matter to serve it as a foundation, as something to which to adhere, as something to lend it coherence, and as something that can be ignited by it, for it is impossible to imagine fire being maintained without fuel,\(^b\) but you people say that earth does abide without root or foundation.”\(^c\) “Certainly it does,” said Pharnaces, “in occupying the proper and natural place that belongs to it, the middle, for this is the place about which all weights in their natural inclination press against one another and towards which they move and converge from every direction, whereas all the upper space, even if it receive something earthly which has been forcibly hurled up into it, straightway extrudes it into our region or rather lets it go where its proper inclination causes it naturally to descend.”\(^d\)

7. At this—for I wished Lucius to have time to collect his thoughts—I called to Theon. “Which of

\(In \text{ Timaeum, } 211 \text{ c (ii, p. 231. 27-28 [Diehl]) = Kern, } \text{ Orphicorum Fragmenta, } 168. 29-30 \text{ (p. 202). The phrase } \begin{array}{c} \pi \iota \zeta \alpha \nu \iota \alpha \delta \iota \kappa \alpha \beta \alpha \alpha s \\
\beta \alpha \alpha s \end{array} \text{ is applied to the earth itself in a different sense by } \begin{array}{c} “Tinaeus Locrus” (97 \text{ e). For the ascription to Xenophanes of the notion that the earth } \begin{array}{c} \varepsilon \tau \rho \iota \gamma \zeta o \tau a \\
\varepsilon \rho \zeta \omega \tau a \end{array} \text{ cf. Xenophanes, frag. A 47 (i, pp. 123-126 [Diels-Kranz]).}
\end{array}\)

\(= \text{S.V.F. ii, p. 195, frag. 646. This is the doctrine of proper place and natural motion, originally Aristotelian and ascribed to Aristotle in } \text{ De Defectu Oraculorum, } 424 \text{ b but adopted also by the Stoics (cf. S.V.F. ii, p. 162. 14-19: p. 169. 8-11: p. 175. 16-35: p. 178. 12-13): it should not be confused, however, as Raingeard confuses it, with the Stoic doctrine that the universe itself is in the middle of the void (De Defectu Oraculorum, } 425 \text{ d-e, De Stoicorum Repugnantiss, 1054 c-d).}\)
(923) “τίς” ἐφην “ὁ Θέων εὐρηκε τῶν τραγικῶν ὡς ἰατροὶ

πικρὰν πικροῖς κλύζουσι φαρμάκοις χολῆν;

ἀποκριμαμένου δὲ τοῦ Θέωνος ὅτι Σοφοκλῆς, “καὶ
dοτέον” εἶπον “υπ’ ἀνάγκης ἐκεῖνοι. φιλοσοφοῖν
d’ οὐκ ἄκουστέοι ἂν τὰ παράδοξα παράδοξοι ἀμύ-
νεσθαι βουλώνται καὶ μαχόμενοι πρὸς τὰ θαυμάσια
tῶν δογμάτων ἀτοπώτερα καὶ θαυμασιώτερα πλάτ-

924 τωσιν, ὦσπερ οὐδοὶ τῇν ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον φορὰν εἰς-

ἄγουσιν. ἢ τί παράδοξον οὐκ ἐνεστίν; οὐχὶ τῇν
gῆν σφαίραν εἶναι τηλικαῦτα βάθη καὶ ζηύη καὶ
ἀνωμαλίας ἔχουσαι; οὐκ ἀντίποδας οἴκειν ὦσπερ
θρίπας 1 ἢ γαλεώτας τραπέντας 2 ἂνω τὰ κάτω τῆ γῆ

προσιχόμενους; 3 ἡμᾶς δ’ αὐτοὺς μὴ πρὸς ὅρθας

βεβηκότας ἀλλὰ πλαγίους ἐπιμένειν ἀπονεύοντας

1 Dübner : θρίπας -E, B.
2 Basiliensis : τραπέντα -E, B.
3 -Anon., Aldine, R.J. 94 (implied by version of Xylander); προσιχόμενους -E, B.

a Sophoeles, frag. 770 (Nauck²). The verse is quoted with variations at De Cohibenda Ira, 463 r, and De Tranquillitate Animi, 468 v.

b Cf. Aristotle’s remark, De Caelo, 294 a 20-21: τὸ δὲ τὰς

περὶ τούτων λύσεις μὴ μᾶλλον ἀτόπους εἶναι δοκεῖν τῆς ἀπορίας,

θαυμάσειν ἂν τις.

c This objection to the Peripatetic and Stoic theory that

the sphericity of the earth is a necessary consequence of the

natural motion of earth “downwards” to the centre of the

universe (Aristotle, De Caelo, 297 a 8–b 23; Strabo, i. 1. 20, 62
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the tragic poets was it, Theon,” I asked, “who said that physicians

With bitter drugs the bitter bile purge?”

Theon replied that it was Sophocles. "Yes," I said, "and we have of necessity to allow them this procedure; but to philosophers one should not listen if they desire to repulse paradoxes with paradoxes and in struggling against opinions that are amazing fabricate others that are more amazing and outlandish, as these people do in introducing their 'motion to the centre.' What paradox is not involved in this doctrine? Not the one that the earth is a sphere although it contains such great depths and heights and irregularities? Not that people live on the opposite hemisphere clinging to the earth like wood-worms or geckos turned bottomside up? — and that we ourselves in standing remain not at right angles to the earth but at an oblique angle, leaning from the perpendicular

chap. 11; Adrastus in Theon of Smyrna, p. 122. 1-16 [Hiller]) was often answered (cf. Dicaearchus in Pliny, Nat. Hist. ii. 65. 162; Adrastus in Theon of Smyrna, pp. 124. 7-127. 23, using arguments from Archimedes, Eratosthenes, and Dicaearchus: Cleomedes, i. 56 [p. 102. 9-20 Ziegler]: Alexander in Simplicius, De Caelo, p. 546. 15-23; Alexander, De Mixture, p. 237. 5-15 [Bruns]). Plutarch, who defends Plato for constructing the spherical earth of molecules that are cubes on the ground that no material object can be a perfect sphere (Quaest. Plat. 1004 b-c), probably did not intend this or the subsequent paradoxes to be taken too seriously. Lamprias is simply riding Pharnaces as hard as he can, using any argument, good or bad, to make him appear ridiculous.

d Cf. Lucretius, i. 1052-1067 in his argument against the Stoic "motion to the centre." Plutarch mentions the antipodes in connection with the Stoics in De Stoicorum Repugnantibus, 1050 b. In De Herodoti Malignitate, 869 c it is said that "some" say that there are antipodes.
(924) ὀσπερ οἱ μεθύοντες; οὐ μῦδροις χιλιοταλάντους διὰ βάθους τῆς γῆς φερομένους, ὅταν ἐξίκωνται πρὸς τὸ μέσον, ἵστασθαι μηδενὸς ἀπαντῶντος μηδ' ὑπερείδοντος εἰ δὲ ρύμη κάτω φερόμενον τὸ μέσον
Β ὑπερβάλλοιεν αὕθις ὀπίσω στρέφεσθαι καὶ ἀνα-
κάμπτεν ἀφ' αὐτῶν; 2 οὐ τμήματα δοκῶν ἀποπρησ-
θέντα τῇ γῇ ἐκατέρωθεν μή φέρεσθαι κάτω διὰ
παντὸς ἀλλὰ προσπέπτοντα πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἐξωθεὶν
εἰσὼ διωθεῖσθαι καὶ ἀποκρύπτεσθαι περὶ τὸ
μέσον; οὐ ῥέμα λάβρον ὑδατος κάτω φερόμενον,
εἰ πρὸς τὸ μέσον ἔλθοι σημεῖον ὅπερ αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν
ἀσώματον, ἵστασθαι περικρεμανύμενον 6 ἡ κύκλῳ
C περιπολεῖν, ἀπαντοῦν αὐώραν καὶ ἀκατάπαυστον
αἰωρούμενον; οὔτε γὰρ ψευδῶς ἐνια τούτων βιά-
σατο ἃν τις αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν τῇ ἐπινοιᾳ

1 Xylander: φερομένου -E, B.
2 Bernardakis; ἀφ' αὐτῶν -E, B.
3 H. C.; ἀποπρησθέντα -E, B.
4 Bernardakis; διαπαντός -E, B.
5 Bernardakis (ἐσω-Wytenbach, Emperius; cf. Xylander’s
"pertrudi intro "); ἐσω -E, B.
6 Emperius: περικρεμανύμενον -E, B.
7 Emperius: κύκλῳ περὶ πόλιν -E; κύκλῳ περὶ πόλλον -B.
8 Wytenbach: αὐτῶν -E, B.

a Cf. Aristotle, De Caelo, 296 b 18-21 and 297 b 17-21:
the courses of bodies falling to the earth form equal angles
with the horizontal plane at the point of contact and are not
parallel. So, Lamprias argues, men standing upright on
the earth would not be parallel to one another but all in con-
verging on the centre would deviate from the “absolute”
perpendicular.
b Probably not aeroliths, as Raingeard supposes, but
like drunken men? \(^a\) Not that incandescent masses of forty tons \(^b\) falling through the depth of the earth stop when they arrive at the centre, though nothing encounter or support them; and, if in their downward motion the impetus should carry them past the centre, they swing back again and return of themselves? Not that pieces of meteors burnt out on either side of the earth do not move downwards continually but falling upon the surface of the earth force their way into it from the outside and conceal themselves about the centre? \(^c\) Not that a turbulent stream of water, if in flowing downwards it should reach the middle point, which they themselves call incorporeal,\(^d\) stops suspended (or) moves round about it, oscillating in an incessant and perpetual see-saw? Some of these a man could not even mistakenly force incandescent boulders such as are thrown up by volcanoes; for \(\mu\nu\delta\rho\omicron\) in this sense \(\textit{cf.} [\text{Aristotle}, \textit{De Mundo}, 395 b 22-23]; \text{Strabo, vi. 2. 8, chap. 274; vi. 2. 10, chap. 275; xiii. 4. 11, chap. 628. For the falling of great boulders within the earth cf. \text{Lucretius, vi. 536-550, and \text{Seneca, Nat. Quaest. vi. 22. 2;}}\) but Plutarch probably had in mind a subterranean geography such as that of \textit{Phaedo}, 111 d ff., of which the next sentence but one contains an explicit reminiscence.

\(^c\) For the text and interpretation of this sentence \(\textit{cf.} \text{Class. Phil. xlvi (1951), pp. 139-140.}\)

\(^d\) \(\text{Cf. 926 b infra.}\) According to the Stoics the limits of bodies are incorporeal and therefore in the strict sense nonexistent (\textit{De Communibus Notitiis}, 1080 e; \(\textit{cf.} 1081 b\) and \(S.V.F.\) ii, p. 159, frag. 488), since only the corporeal exists (\(S.V.F.\) ii, p. 115, frag. 320 and p. 117, frag. 329). Only corporeal existence, moreover, can produce an effect or be affected (\textit{De Communibus Notitiis}, 1073 e, \(\textit{cf.} S.V.F.\) ii, p. 118, frag. 336 and p. 123, frag. 363). How then can the incorporeal centre have any effect upon corporeal entities?

\(^e\) \(\text{Cf. Plato, \textit{Phaedo}, 111 e—112 e, which is certainly the source of Plutarch’s figure, and Aristotle’s criticism of Plato’s account in \textit{Meteorology}, 355 b 32—356 a 19.}\)
(924) καταστήσαι. τούτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τάνω¹ κάτω καὶ² πάντα τραπέζμπαλιν³ εἶναι, τῶν ἄχρι τοῦ μέσου κάτω τῶν δ’ ὑπὸ τὸ μέσον αὖ πάλιν ἀνὼ γιγνο-μένων. ὡστ’, εἰ τις συμπαθεία τῆς γῆς τὸ μέσον αὐτῆς ἔχων σταῤῥέος περὶ τῶν ὀμφαλῶν, ἀμα καὶ τὴν κεφαλῆν ἀνὼ καὶ τοὺς πόδας ἀνὼ ἔχειν τὸν αὐτόν· κἂν μὲν⁴ διασκάπτη τὸν ἐπέκεινα τότον, ἀνακύπτον αὐτοῦ τὸ <κάτω ἀνω>⁵ εἶναι καὶ κάτω ἀνωθέν ἐλκέσθαι τὸν ἀνασκαπτόμενον· εἰ δὲ δὴ τούτῳ τις ἀντιβεβηκὼς νοοῖτο, τοὺς ἀμφοτέρων ἀμα πόδας ἀνὼ γίγνεσθαι καὶ λέγεσθαι.

8. Τοιούτων μέντοι καὶ τοσούτων παραδοξολο- 

¹ Jackson, who would have reconstituted the words as an hexameter: τάνω (πάντα) κάτω καὶ πάντα τραπέζμπαλιν εἶναι (cf. Prickard’s 1911 translation, p. 54): τὰ ἀνω -Ε, Β.
² Wyttenbach: κἂν -Ε, Β.
³ Bernardakis (cf. Meineke, Philologus, xiv, p. 5 on 936 υ infa): τραπέντα πάλιν -Ε, Β.
⁴ Leonicus: κἂν μὴ -Ε, Β.
⁵ H. C.: τὸ ναε. 8-Ε, 7-Β.
⁶ E.: παραδόξων λογιών -Β.
⁷ Turnebus: πείραν -Ε, Β.
⁸ Turnebus: πελάξειν -Ε, Β.
⁹ Kaltwasser: ἐνιδρύοντες -Ε, Β.

a Cf. Phaedo, 112 e 1-3. By introducing the conventional phrase ὑπὸ τὸ μέσον, which really begs the question, Lamprias makes the notion appear to be a ridiculous self-contradiction.

b That συμπαθεία τῆς γῆς, which has given rise to many
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himself to conceive as possible. For this amounts to 'upside down' and 'all things topsy-turvy,' everything as far as the centre being 'down' and everything under the centre in turn being 'up.' a The result is that, if a man should so coalesce with the earth b that its centre is at his navel, the same person at the same time has his head up and his feet up too. Moreover, if he dig through the further side, his (bottom) in emerging is (up), and the man digging himself 'up' is pulling himself 'down' from 'above' c; and, if someone should then be imagined to have gone in the opposite direction to this man, the feet of both of them at the same time turn out to be 'up' and are so called.

8. Nevertheless, though of tall tales of such a kind and number they have shouldered and lugged in—not a wallet-full, by heaven, but some juggler's pack and hotchpotch, still they say d that others are playing the buffoon by placing the moon, though it is earth, on high and not where the centre is. Yet if all heavy body converges to the same point and is conjectures, need mean no more than this is proved by Dor. Graeci, p. 317 b 14-16: τῆς τε τῶν ὅντων συμπαθείας καὶ τῆς τῶν αὐματων ἀληθείας. For the figure used here cf. Aristotle, De Caelo, 285 a 27-b 5, and Simplicius, De Caelo, p. 389. 8-24 and p. 391. 33 ff. The most famous later parallel is the position of Lucifer in Dante's Inferno, xxxiv. 76-120.

E i.e. his feet emerge first: and they, his bottom part, are "up." In digging himself "up" relatively to the surface through which he emerges, he is with reference to himself pulling himself not "up" to a position above his head but "down" to a position below his feet. The paradox rests upon the assumption that head and feet are respectively "absolute up" and "absolute down" for man (cf. Aristotle, De Incessu Animal. 703 a 26—706 b 16, and Parra Nat. 468 a 1-12).

d = S. V. F. ii, p. 195, frag. 646.
(924) καὶ πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸν¹ μέσον ἀντερείδει πᾶσι τοῖς μορίοις, οὐχ ωσ μέσον οὖσα τοῦ παντὸς ἡ γῆ μάλ-
λον ἡ ὡς ὅλον οἷκευσται μέρη αὐτῆς² ὁντα τὰ βάρη καὶ τεκμήριον <τὸ κατωφερές>³ ἐστι τῶν
Ε ἰεπόντων οὐ τῇ <γῇ>⁴ τῆς μεσότητος πρὸς τὸν κόσμον ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν γῆν κοινωνίας τινὸς καὶ
συμφυώς τοῖς ἀπωσμένοις αὐτῆς εἶτα πάλιν κατα-
φερόμενοι. ὡς γὰρ ὁ ἦλιος εἰς ἐαυτὸν ἐπιστρέφει
τὰ μέρη ἐξ ὧν συνέστηκε, καὶ ἡ γῆ τὸν λίθον
ἡσπερ <αὐτῆς>⁵ προσήκοντα δέχεται κατωφερή⁶
πρὸς οἰκεῖον⁷. οὖθεν ἐνοῦται τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ συμ-

¹ Bernardakis (implied in versions of Xylander and
Kepler): αὐτὸν -Ε, Β.
² H.C. (implied in versions of Xylander and Kepler);
αὐτῆς -Ε, Β.
³ H.C. (cf. S. V. F. ii, p. 175. 34): τεκμήριον vac. 12-E,
14-B.
⁴ Von Arnim: γῇ in place of τῆς of E, B -Madvig.
⁵ H.C.; ἡσπερ vac. 4-E, 8-B (at end of line).
⁶ Wyttenbach: καὶ φέρει -Ε, Β.
⁷ H.C. (πρὸς τὸ οἰκείον -Emperius), cf. οἰκεία ῥοπῇ κατα-
φερόμενον (923 f supra): πρὸς ἐκείνον -Ε, Β.

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¹ Lamprias refers directly to the words of Pharnaces at
923 E-F supra. Cf. De Stoicorum Repugnantiosis, 1055 λ: έι
γὰρ αὐτὸς γε νευέων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸν μέσον ἄει πέφυκε καὶ τὰ μέρη
πρὸς τοῦτο κατατείνειν πανταχόθεν. . . .
² That τῶν ἰεπόντων can stand alone in this sense, pace
Adler (Diss. Phil. Vind. x, p. 96), is proved by Aristotle, De
Caelo, 312 b 24.
³ Aristotles (De Caelo, 296 b 9-25) asserted that heavy,
i.e. earthy, objects move to the centre of the universe and so
only “accidentally” to the centre of the earth. The Stoics
distinguished the cosmos as ὅλον from τὸ πᾶν, which is the
cosmos plus the infinite void encompassing it (S. V. F. ii, p.
167, frags. 522-524), putting the cosmos in the centre of the
πᾶν and explaining this as the result of the motion of all
things to the centre of the latter (S. V. F. ii, pp. 174-175,
frags. 552-554; cf. note d on 923 f supra) but stating that
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compressed in all its parts upon its own centre, it is no more as centre of the sum of things than as a whole that the earth would appropriate to herself the heavy bodies that are parts of herself; and the downward tendency of falling bodies proves not that the (earth) is in the centre of the cosmos but that those bodies which when thrust away from the earth fall back to her again have some affinity and cohesion with her. For as the sun attracts to itself the parts of which it consists so the earth too accepts as (her) the stone that has properly a downward tendency, and consequently every such thing within the cosmos those things that have weight, i.e. water and earth, move naturally down, i.e. to the centre (S. V. F. ii, p. 175, 16-35, frag. 555). Nevertheless, Chrysippus's own words could be used to show that the natural motion to the centre must belong to the parts of the universe qua parts of the whole and not because of their own nature (cf. De Stoicorum Repugnantiis, 1054 ε—1055 c); and with the very word οἰκείωσταΣ Lamprias turns against the Stoics their own doctrine of οἰκείωσις (cf. De Stoicorum Repugnantiis, 1038 β = S. V. F. ii, p. 43, frag. 179).

According to Reinhardt (Kosmos und Sympathie, pp. 173-177) the source of Plutarch's argument must be Posidonius; but none of the passages cited contains any parallel to this statement concerning the sun, for references to the attractive power of the sun over the other planets (Reinhardt, op. cit. p. 58, n. 2; cf. R. M. Jones, Class. Phil. xxvii [1932], pp. 122 ff.) are irrelevant. There may rather have been a connection between this notion and the doctrine of Cleanthes referred to in De Communibus Notitiis, 1075 δ = S. V. F. i, p. 114, frag. 510.

This is not a reference to aeroliths as Raingeard and Kronenberg suppose nor to the imaginary stone in intercosmic space (De Defectu Oraculorum, 425 c) as Adler believes, but to any γεωθές τι υπὸ βίας ἀναρριφέν, in the words of Pharmaces (923 ε supra); cf. Aristotle's use of δ λίθος in the statement of his principle of natural motion (Eth. Nic. 1103 a 19-22).
(924) φύεται πρὸς αὐτὴν τῶν τοιούτων ἑκαστών. εἰ δέ τι τυγχάνει σῶμα τῇ γῇ μὴ προσενεμημένον ἄπροχῆς, ὑπ' ἀπεσπασμένον ἄλλα που καθ' αὐτὸ ἐφαύτες εἰς ἑκατέρους τὴν σελήνην, τί καλοῦσι χωρὶς εἶναι καὶ μένειν περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀυτοῦ πεπιεσμένον μέρεσι καὶ συμ-πεπεδήμενον; οὔτε γὰρ η ᾑ ἡ μέσον οὖσα δείκνυται τοῦ παντὸς ἢ τε πρὸς τὴν γῆν τῶν ἐνταῦθα συν-έρεισι καὶ σύστασις ὑφηγεῖται τὸν τρόπον ὃ μένειν τὰ ἑκεῖ συμπεσόντα πρὸς τὴν σελήνην εἰκὸς ἐστιν. ὃ δὲ πάντα τὰ γεωδή καὶ βαρέα συνελαύνων εἰς μίαν χώραν καὶ μέρη ποιῶν ἐνὸς σῶματος, οὐχ ὃρω διὰ τί τοῖς κούφοις τὴν αὐτὴν ἀνάγκην οὐκ ἀνταποδίδωσιν ἄλλ' ἐὰν χωρὶς εἶναι συστάσεις πυρὸς τοσαύτας καὶ οὐ πάντας εἰς ταὐτὸ συνάγων τοὺς ἀστέρας σαφῶς οὔτε δεῖν καὶ σῶμα κοινὸν εἶναι τῶν ἀνωφερῶν καὶ φλογοειδῶν ἀπάντων.

925 9. Ἀλλ' ἤλιον μὲν ἀπλέτους μυριάδας ἀπέχειν τῆς ἀνω περιφορᾶς φατε'' εἴπον "ἀφίλε Ἀπολλω-

1 Aldine, Basiliensis; ἀπαρχῆς -E, B.
2 Stephanus (1624): τοῦ -E, B.
3 Wytenbach (implied in Kepler's version): αὐτοῦ -E, B.
4 Wytenbach (implied in versions of Xylander, Amyot, and Kepler): αὐτοῦ -E, B.
5 Wytenbach; συναίρεσι -E, B.
6 Wytenbach (implied in versions of Amyot and Kepler); τοῦτο -E, B.
7 E, B; καὶ φῶς -Adler after Wytenbach; πάντας ... σαφῶς deleted as marginal note by Sandbach (Cambridge Philological Society, 1943).
8 Turnebus, Xylander; ἀναφορῶν -E, B.

The men referred to in 924 b, ἔτεροι ... ἀνω τῆν σελήνην, γῆν οὖσαν, ἐνδρύνοντας, whom the Stoics attack and among
ultimately unites and coheres with her. If there is
a body, however, that was not originally allotted to
the earth or detached from it but has somewhere
independently a constitution and nature of its own,
as those men would say of the moon, what is to
hinder it from being permanently separate in its own
place, compressed and bound together by its own
parts? For it has not been proved that the earth
is the centre of the sum of things, and the way in
which things in our region press together and con-
centrate upon the earth suggests how in all prob-
ability things in that region converge upon the moon
and remain there. The man who drives together
into a single region all earthy and heavy things and
makes them part of a single body—I do not see for
what reason he does not apply the same compulsion
to light objects in their turn but allows so many
separate concentrations of fire and, since he does not
collect all the stars together, clearly does not think
that there must also be a body common to all things
that are fiery and have an upward tendency.

mathematicians say that the sun is an immense
distance from the upper circumference and that above

whom are Lamprias and Lucius themselves and “our
comrade” (921 f).

\(^b\) *i.e.* even if it is the centre of our cosmos; cf. *De Defectu
Oraculorum*, 425 a-e, where concerning the possibility of a
multiplicity of universes in τὸ πᾶν Plutarch points out that
even on the hypothesis of natural motion and proper place
up, down, and centre would apply separately within each
cosmos, there could be no centre of τὸ πᾶν, and the laws of
motion in any one universe could not affect objects in any
other or hypothetical objects in intercosmic space.

\(^c\) This is implied by the second person plural addressed
to Apollonides, *cf.* 925 b *infra* and 920 f, 921 c *supra.*
(925) νίδη καὶ Φωσφόρον ἐπ’ αὐτῷ καὶ Στίβοντα 1 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πλάνης ύφιεμένους τε τῶν ἀπλάνῶν καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλους ἐν διαστάσει μεγάλαις φέρεσθαι τοῖς δὲ βαρεσι 2 καὶ γεώδεσιν οὐδεμίαν οἴσεθε τὸν κόσμον εὐρυχωρίαν παρέχειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ διά-
στασιν. ορᾶτε ὅτι γελοίον ἐστίν εἰ γῆν οὐ φήσομεν εἶναι τὴν σελήνην ὅτι τῆς κάτω χώρας ἀφέστηκεν
Β ἄστρων δὲ φήσομεν ὅρωντες ἀπωσμένην τῆς ἀνω
περιφορᾶς μυριάσι σταδίων τοσαύτας ὡσπερ <eis> 3
βυθὸν τινα καταδεδυκυίαν. τῶν μὲν γ’ ἄστρων
κατωτέρω τοσοῦτον ἔστιν ὁσον οὐκ ἂν τις εἶποι
μέτρον 4 ἀλλ’ ἐπιλείπουσιν ὡμᾶς 5 τοὺς μαθηματικῶς
ἐκλογιζομένους οἱ ἀριθμοί, τῆς δε γῆς τρόπον τινὰ
ψάυει καὶ περιφερομένη πλησίον
ἀρματος ὦς πέρι χνοίη ἐλίσσεται 6
φησίν Ἄμπεδοκλῆς
η τε παρ’ ἀκρήν
<nύσσαν ἐλαυνομένη>. 7
οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν σκιὰν αὐτῆς ὑπερβάλλει πολλάκις ἐπὶ
μικρὸν αἱρομένην 8 τῶ παμμέγεθες εἶναι τὸ φωτίζον
ἀλλ’ οὕτως ἐοίκεν ἐν χρῶ καὶ σχεδὸν ἐν ἀγκάλιαις
τῆς γῆς περιπολεῖν ὡστ’ ἀντιφράττεσθαι πρὸς τὸν
C ἡλιον ὑπ’ αὐτῆς μὴ ὑπεραιροῦσα τὸν σκιερὸν καὶ
χθόνιον καὶ νυκτερινὸν 9 τούτων τόπων ὅς γῆς κλήρος

1 E, B; for the form see note on 941 c infra.
2 Basiliensis; βαθέσι -Ε, B.
3 Wytenbach (implied in versions of Xylander and
Amyot), cf. 943 D: eis βυθον . . . καταδυμένας.
4 E, B²; ὄσω . . . μέτρῳ -B. 5 Xylander; ὡμᾶς -Ε, B.
6 Panzerbieter; ἀρματος ὡσπερ ἱχνος ἀνελίσσεται -Ε, B.
7 Diels; ἦτε περί ἀκραν vac. 18-Ε, 26-B.

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the sun Venus and Mercury and the other planets \textsuperscript{a} revolve lower than the fixed stars and at great intervals from one another; but you think that in the cosmos there is provided no scope and extension for heavy and earthy objects. You see that it is ridiculous for us to deny that the moon is earth because she stands apart from the nether region and yet to call her a star although we see her removed so many thousands of miles from the upper circumference as if plunged (into) a pit. So far beneath the stars is she that the distance cannot be expressed, but you mathematicians in trying to calculate it run short of numbers; she practically grazes the earth and revolving close to it

Whirls like a chariot’s axle-box about,

Empedocles says,\textsuperscript{b}

That skims (the post in passing).

Frequently she does not even surmount the earth’s hadow, though it extends but a little way because the illuminating body is very large; but she seems to revolve so close, almost within arm’s reach of the earth, as to be screened by it from the sun unless she rises above this shadowy, terrestrial, and nocturnal place which is earth’s estate. Therefore we must

\textsuperscript{a} For the order of the planets cf. Dreyer, \textit{History of the Planetary Systems}, pp. 168-170, and Boyancé, \textit{Études sur le Songe de Scipion}, pp. 59-65; the order here given is not the one adopted by most of the astronomers of Plutarch’s time, by the later Stoics, or in all probability by Posidonius.

\textsuperscript{b} Empedocles, frag. B 46 (i, p. 331 [Diels-Kranz]).

\textsuperscript{8} -Anon., Aldine, R.J. 94, and implied in versions of Amyot and Kepler; \textit{aiρομένη} -E, B.

\textsuperscript{9} \textit{νυκτέρινον} -B; \textit{νυκτέριον} -E.

73
(925) ἐστι. διὸ λεκτέον οἴμαι θαρροῦντας ἐν τοῖς τῆς γῆς ὁροῖ εἶναι τὴν σελήνην ὑπὸ τῶν ἄκρων αὐτῆς ἐπιπροσθομένην.

10. Σκόπει δὲ τοὺς ἁλλοὺς ἀφεῖς ἀπλανεῖς καὶ πλάνητας ἀ δείκνυσιν Ἀρίσταρχος ἐν τῷ Περὶ μεγεθῶν καὶ ἀποστήματων ὅτι τοῦ ἡλίου ἀποστήματος τῆς σελήνης, ὃ ἀφεστηκεν D ἡμῶν 'πλέον μὲν ἢ ὀκτωκαιδεκαπλάσιον ἔλαττον δ', ἡ εἰκοσαπλάσιον ἐστι. καίτοι τὸ τῆς σελήνης ἐπὶ μῆκος τῶν ἁφων ἀπέχειν φησὶν ἡμῶν ἐξ καὶ πεντεκονταπλάσιον τῆς ἐκ τοῦ κέντρου τῆς γῆς. αὐτῇ δ' ἐστὶ τεσσάρων μυριάδων καὶ κατὰ τοὺς μέσως ἀναμετροῦντας, καὶ ἀπό ταύτης συλλογιζομένου ἀπέχει ὁ ἡλίος τῆς σελήνης πλέον ἢ τετρακυκλιάς τριάκοντα μυριάδας. οὕτως ἀποκίστατο τοῦ ἡλίου διὰ βάρος καὶ τοσοῦτο τῇ γῇ προσκεχώρηκεν ὡστε, εἰ τοῖς τόποις τὰς οὐσίας διαφερεῖν, ἡ γῆς μοῖρα καὶ χώρα προσκαλεῖται σελήνην καὶ τοῖς περὶ γῆν πράγμασι καὶ σώμασιν ἐπίδωκος ἐστι κατ' ἀγχιστείαν καὶ γειτνίασιν. καὶ οὐδὲν, οἴμαι, πλημμυροῦμεν ὅτι τοῖς ἀνω προσαγορευμένοις βάθος τοσοῦτο καὶ διάστημα διδόντες ἀπολείπομεν τινα

1 Aldine, Basiliensis: ἐν τοῖς γῆς -E: ἐν τοῖς γῆς -B.
2 B: ἀπέχει -E.
3 B: αὐτῇ -E.
4 Turnebus (cf. 925 c: τόπον ὅς γῆς κλήρος): ὧρα -E, B.

This is Proposition 7 of Aristarchus's treatise, the full title of which is On the Sizes and Distances of the Sun and Moon. The treatise is edited and translated by Sir Thomas Heath in his Aristarchus of Samos, pp. 352 ff.

This was not the highest estimate hitherto given, nor have I been able to identify its author. Cf. on this matter and the subsequent calculations in this passage Class. Phil. xlvi 74.
THE FACE ON THE MOON, 925

boldly declare, I think, that the moon is within the confines of (the) earth inasmuch as she is occulted by its extremities.

10. Dismiss the fixed stars and the other planets and consider the demonstrations of Aristarchus in his treatise, *On Sizes and Distances*, that 'the distance of the sun is more than 18 times and less than 20 times the distance of the moon,' that is its distance from us.\(^a\) According to the highest estimate, however, the moon's distance from us is said to be 56 times the radius of the earth.\(^b\) Even according to the mean calculations this radius is 40,000 stades; and, if we reckon from this, the sun is more than 40,300,000 stades distant from the moon. She has migrated so far from the sun on account of her weight and has moved so close to the earth that, if properties\(^c\) are to be determined by locations, the lot, I mean the position, of earth lays an action against the moon and she is legally assignable by right of propinquity and kinship to the chattels real and personal of earth. We do not err at all, I think, if granting such altitude and extension to the things called 'upper' we leave what is 'down below' also

(1951), pp. 140-141. No attempt is made to give equivalents for stades in calculations, for it is uncertain what stade is meant in any one place. Schiaparelli assumes everywhere the Olympic stade of 185 metres (*Scritti sulla storia della astronomia antica*, i, p. 333, n. 3 and p. 342, n. 1); Heath argues that Eratosthenes used a stade of 157.5 metres and Ptolemy the royal stade of 210 metres (*Aristarchus of Samos*, pp. 339 and 346); and Raingeard (p. 83 on 925 d 6) assumes without argument that Plutarch used the Attic stade of 177.6 metres.

\(^a\) There is a play on the meaning of τὰς ὀβιάς, "substances," as "property" or "estates" and as "the real nature of things."
(925) καὶ τῷ κάτω περιδρομῆν καὶ πλάτος ὤσον ἐστὶν ἀπὸ γῆς ἐπὶ σελήνην· οὔτε γὰρ ὁ τῆς ἀκραν ἐπι- φάνειαν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ μόνη ἀνω τάλλα δὲ κάτω προσαγορέουν ἀπαντα μέτρος ἐστὶν οὐθ' ὁ τῇ γῇ μᾶλλον δ' ὁ τῷ κέντρῳ τὸ κάτω περιγράφων ἀνεκτός, ἀλλὰ κάκειν τι καὶ ταύτη διάστημα δοτέον εἰπιχωροῦντος τοῦ κόσμου διὰ μέγεθος. πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἄξιοντα πἀν εὐθὺς ἀνω καὶ μετέωρον εἶναι τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἔτερος ἀντὶχεὶ πάλιν εὐθὺς Φ εἶναι κάτω τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπλανοῦ περιφορᾶς.

11. "Ολως δὲ πῶς λέγεται καὶ τίνος ἡ γῆ μέση κείσθαι; 3 τὸ γὰρ πἀν ἀπειρόν ἐστὶ, τῷ δ' ἀπείρῳ μὴ ἄρχῃ ἔχοντι μήτε πέρας οὐ προσήκει μέσον ἐχειν· πέρας γὰρ τι καὶ τὸ μέσον, ἡ δ' ἀπειρία περάτων στέρησις. ὁ δὲ μὴ τοῦ παντὸς ἀλλὰ τοῦ κόσμου μέσην εἶναι τὴν γῆν ἀποφαινόμενος ἢδυς ἐστιν εἰ μὴ καὶ τὸν κόσμον αὐτὸν ἐνέχεσθαι ταῖς αὐταῖς ἀπορίαις νομίζει· τὸ γὰρ πἀν οὐδὲ τοῦτῳ 4 μέσον ἄπελιπεν, ἀλλ' ἀνέστιος καὶ ἀνιδρυτός ἐστιν εἰς ἀπείρῳ κενῶ φερόμενος πρὸς οὐδὲν οἰκεῖον ἔνες, εἰ 6 ἄλλην τινὰ τὸν μὲνειν εὑράμενον αἰτίαν ἐστήκεν οὐ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ τόπου φύσιν, ὀμοια καὶ περὶ γῆς καὶ περὶ σελήνης εἰκάζειν τινὶ πάρεστιν ὑς ἐτέρα

1 Bernardakis after Madvig's καὶ ἐκεῖνη καὶ; καὶ κινητικο νακ. 2-E, B.
2 Madvig; τὸ δέν -E, B.
3 Wyttenbach; κεῖται -E, B.
4 Stephanus (1624); τοῦτο -E, B.
5 Turnebus; μέσην -E, B.
6 Implied by versions of Xylander and Kepler; εἰ ἄλλην -E, B; ἄλλην -Turnebus.
7 F; αἰτίαν εὑράμενος -B.

a Cf. De Defectu Oraculorum, 424 d, where καθ' οὖς δ' 76
some room to move about in and so much latitude as there is from earth to moon. For as he is immoderate who calls only the outermost surface of the heaven 'up' and all else 'down,' so is he intolerable who restricts 'down' to the earth or rather to the centre; but both there and here some extension must be granted since the magnitude of the universe permits it. The claim that everything away from the earth is *ipso facto* 'up' and 'on high' is answered by a counter-claim that what is away from the circuit of the fixed stars is *ipso facto* 'down.'

11. After all, in what sense is earth situated in the middle and in the middle of what? The sum of things is infinite; and the infinite, having neither beginning nor limit, cannot properly have a middle, for the middle is a kind of limit too but infinity is a negation of limits. He who asserts that the earth is in the middle not of the sum of things but of the cosmos is naïve if he supposes that the cosmos itself is not also involved in the very same difficulties. In fact, in the sum of things no middle has been left for the cosmos either, but it is without hearth and habitation, moving in infinite void to nothing of its own; (or), if it has come to rest because it has found some other reason for abiding, not because of the nature of its location, similar inferences are permissible in the cases of both earth and moon, that the former is stationary.

*ςτον (scil. τὸ κενὸν) refers to the Stoics (for whose distinction between the *πᾶν* and the *κόσμος* see note c on 924 * supra*), and *De Stoicorum Repugnantiis*, 1054 b-d, where as here Plutarch uses against the Stoics a weapon taken from their own arsenal.


* Cf. *S.V.F.* ii, pp. 174-175, frags. 552 and 553; *De Stoicorum Repugnantiis*, 1054 f—1055 b.

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(926) τιν ψυχή καὶ φύσει μᾶλλον (ἡ τοπική) διαφορά

τῆς μὲν ἀτρεμοῦσας ἑνταῦθα τῆς δ' ἐκεῖ φερομένης.

ἀνευ δὲ τοῦτων ὅρα μὴ μέγα τι λέληθεν αὐτοὺς·

εἰ γὰρ ὅτι ἂν καὶ ὀπωσοῦν ἕκτος γένηται τοῦ

κέντρου τῆς γῆς ἄνω ἔστιν, οὐδὲν ἔστι τοῦ κόσμου

κάτω μέρος ἀλλ' ἄνω καὶ ἡ γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ

Β πάν ἀπλῶς σώμα τῷ κέντρῳ περιεστηκός ἦ περι

κείμενον ἄνω γίγνεται κάτω δὲ μόνον [ὅν] ἐν, τὸ

ἀσώματον σημείον ἐκεῖνο δ' πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀντικείσθαι

τὴν τοῦ κόσμου φύσιν ἀναγκαίον εἰ γε δὴ τὸ κάτω

πρὸς τὸ ἄνω κατὰ φύσιν ἀντίκειται. καὶ οὐ τοῦτο

μόνον τὸ ἄτοπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἀπόλλυσαι τὰ

βάρη δι' ἣν δεύρο καταρρέει καὶ φέρεται· σώμα

μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔστι κάτω πρὸς δ' κινεῖται, τὸ δ' ἀσώματον

οὔτ' εἰκὸς οὔτε βούλονται τοσοῦτον ἔχειν

ὑναμὲν ὡστε πάντα κατατείνειν ἐφ' ἐαυτὸ καὶ περὶ

αὐτὸ' συνέχειν. ἀλλ' ὅλως ἄλογον εὑρίσκεται καὶ

μαχόμενον τοῖς πράγμασι τὸ ἄνω τὸν κόσμον ὄλον

εἶναι τὸ δὲ κάτω μηδὲν ἀλλ', ἡ πέρας ἀσώματον καὶ

ἀδιάστατον ἐκεῖνο δ' εὑρογον, ως λέγομεν ἧμεῖς,

τῷ τ' ἄνω χώραν καὶ τῷ κάτω πολλὴν καὶ πλάτος

ἐχούσαν διηρήσθαι.

C 12. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ θέντες, εἰ βούλει, παρὰ φύσιν

1 H.C. after Wyttenbach’s μᾶλλον ἡ φυσική καὶ τοπική
diaforá and Bernardakis’s μᾶλλον (ἡ τόπου) diaforá (cf. De
Defectu Oraculorum, 424 E: οὐ τοπικός ἀλλὰ σωματικός and
De Stoicorum Repugnantiae, 1054 E: φύσει . . . οὐ τῆς οὐσίας
. . . ἀλλὰ τῆς . . . χώρας): μᾶλλον vae. 7-E, 9-B diafora
-E, B.

2 Madvig; δὲ καὶ -E, B.

3 Dübner; ὀπωσοῦν καὶ ὅτι ἂν -E, B.

4 Bernardakis (?): τὸ -E, B.

5 Deleted by Madvig.

6 E; περὶ αὐτῷ -B. 7 Emperius: ὀμος -E, B.

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here and the latter is in motion there by reason of a different soul or nature rather (than) a difference (of location). Besides this, consider whether they have not overlooked an important point. If anything in any way at all off the centre of the earth is 'up,' no part of the cosmos is 'down'; but it turns out that the earth and the things on the earth and absolutely all body surrounding or enclosing the centre are 'up' and only one thing is 'down.' that incorporeal point which must be in opposition to the entire nature of the cosmos, if in fact 'down' and 'up' are natural opposites. This, moreover, does not exhaust the absurdity. The cause of the descent of heavy objects and of their motion to this region is also abolished, for there is no body that is 'down' towards which they are in motion and it is neither likely nor in accordance with the intention of these men that the incorporeal should have so much influence as to attract all these objects and keep them together around itself. On the contrary, it proves to be entirely unreasonable and inconsistent with the facts for the whole cosmos to be 'up' and nothing but an incorporeal and unextended limit to be 'down'; but that statement of ours is reasonable, that ample space and broad has been divided between 'up' and 'down.'

12. All the same, let us assume, if you please, that

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\(^{a}\) The Stoics.

\(^{b}\) Cf. S. V.F. ii, p. 169. 9-11, frag. 527: \ldots τῆς γῆς περὶ τὸ μέσον σημείον τοῦ κόσμου κειμένης, δὲ δὴ τοῦ παντός ἐστὶ κάτω, ἀνω δὲ τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ κύκλῳ πάντη.

\(^{c}\) Cf. S. V.F. ii, p. 176, frag. 556: τὸ ἀνω καὶ τὸ κάτω οὐ κατὰ σχέσιν \ldots φύσει γὰρ διάφορα ταῦτα.

\(^{d}\) See note \(d\) on 924 \(b\) supra, and cf. De Defectu Oraculorum, 424 \(e\) against Aristotle.
(926) ἐν οὐρανῷ τοῖς γεώδεσι τὰς κινήσεις ὑπάρχειν ἀτρέμα, μὴ τραγικῶς, ἀλλὰ πρῶς σκοπῶμεν ὅτι τοῦτο τὴν σελήνην οὐ δεικνυῖ γῆν μὴ οὐδαν ἀλλὰ γῆν ὅποι μὴ πέφυκεν οὐδαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ πῦρ τὸ Λευκανίων ὅπο γῆν παρὰ φύσιν ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ πῦρ ἔστι καὶ τὸ πνεύμα τοῖς ἁσκοῖς περιληψθὲν ἐστὶ μὲν ἀνωφερὲς φύσει καὶ κούφον ἥκει δ’ ὅποι μὴ πέ- φυκεν ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης. αὐτὴ δ’ ἡ ψυχή, πρὸς Διὸς ἐπον ὅπο παρὰ φύσιν τῷ σώματι συνεφείται βρα- δεὶ ταχεῖα καὶ ψυχρῶς πυρόδησι, ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς φατε, καὶ ἀόρατος αὐθητῶ; διὰ τούτ’ οὖν σώματι ψυχήν μὴ λέγωμεν 2 ἕνεκα 3 μηδὲ νοῦν, 4 χρήμα θείον, D [ὑπὸ βρίθους ἡ πάχους], 5 οὐρανόν τε πάντα καὶ γῆν καὶ ἀλασσαν ἐν ταῦτῷ περιπολοῦντα καὶ δυσπά- μενον, 6 εἰς σάρκας ἥκειν καὶ νεῦρα καὶ μυελόν <ὑπὸ βρίθους καὶ πάχους> 7 καὶ παθέων μυρίων μετὰ ψυρότητος; ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς υμῶν ὅταν οὐ πάντας μὴ αὐτοῦ φύσει χρόμενος ἐν ἑστὶν 10 μέγα πῦρ καὶ συνεχές, νυνὶ δ’ 11 υφεῖται καὶ κέκαμπται καὶ διεσχημάτισται, πάν χρήμα 12 γεγονός καὶ γγνόμενος ἐν ταῖς μεταβολαῖς;

1 E; εἴπον -B.
2 E; λέγομεν -B.
3 Van Herwerden; εἴναι -E, B.
4 Madvig; μηδὲν οὐ -E, B.
5 [ … ] H. C. (see note 7 infra).
6 Wytenbach; δυστάμενον -E, B.
7 I have transposed this phrase hither; E and B have it between θείον and οὐρανόν above.
8 Xylander; ὑμῶν -E, B.
9 E, B²; αὐτοῦ -B¹.
10 E; ἐνεστὶ -B.
11 νυνὶ δὲ -B; νυνίδε -E.
12 -Anon., Aldine, R.J. 94; χρόμα -E, B.

a Cf. 928 n infra. Plutarch probably has in mind inflated
the motions of earthy objects in the heaven are contrary to nature; and then let us calmly observe without any histrionics and quite dispassionately that this indicates not that the moon is not earth but that she is earth in an ‘unnatural’ location. For the fire of Aetna too is below earth ‘unnaturally,’ but it is fire; and the air confined in skins,\(^a\) though by nature it is light and has an upward tendency, has been constrained to occupy an ‘unnatural’ location. As to the soul herself,” I said, “by Zeus, is her confinement in the body not contrary to nature, swift as she is and fiery, as you say,\(^b\) and invisible in a sluggish, cold, and sensible vehicle? Shall we then on this account deny that there is soul (in) body or that mind, a divine thing, though it traverses instantaneously in its flight all heaven and earth and sea,\(^c\) has passed into flesh and sinew and marrow under the influence of weight and density and countless qualities that attend liquefaction?\(^d\) This Zeus of yours too, is it not true that, while in his own nature he is single, a great and continuous fire, at present he is slackened and subdued and transformed, having become and continuing to become everything in the course of skins used for floats; cf. Aristotle, *Physics*, 217 a 2-3, 255 b 26, *De Caelo*, 311 b 9-13.

\(^a\) Cf. *S. V.F.* ii, p. 217, frag. 773: οἱ μὲν γὰρ Στοϊκὸι πνεῦμα λέγουσιν αὐτὴν ἐνθέρμον καὶ διάπυρον.

\(^b\) Cf. *S. V.F.* ii, p. 217, frag. 773: οἱ μὲν γὰρ Στοϊκὸι πνεῦμα λέγουσιν αὐτὴν ἐνθέρμον καὶ διάπυρον.

\(^c\) For this commonplace of the flight of the mind through the universe cf. R. M. Jones, *Class. Phil.* xxi (1926), pp. 97-113.

\(^d\) This is a reference to the Stoic notion that the embodiment of soul was a process of condensation or liquefaction. Cf. *De Stoicorum Repugnantiiis*, 1053 b-c (= *S. V.F.* ii, frag. 605) and for the qualities that would attend liquefaction *S. V.F.* ii, p. 155. 34: γῆς τε καὶ ὅδατος, παχυμερῶν καὶ βαρέων καὶ ἄτόνων ὄντων.
(926) ὡσθ' ὅρα καὶ σκόπει, δαμόνιε, μὴ μεθιστὰς καὶ Ἐ ἀπάγων ἐκαστὸν ὅπου πέφυκεν εἶναι διάλυσιν τινα κόσμου φιλοσοφῆς καὶ τὸ νεῖκος ἐπάγγης τὸ Ἐμπε-
δοκλέους τοῖς πρόγμασι μᾶλλον δὲ τοὺς παλαιοὺς κυνῆς Τιτάνας ἐπὶ τὴν φύσιν καὶ Γίγαντας καὶ τὴν 
μυθικὴν ἑκείνην καὶ φοβερὰν ἀκοσμίαν καὶ πλημ-
μελειαν ἐπιδείξει ποθῆς χωρίς τὸ βαρὺ πᾶν καὶ χωρὶς 
<θεῖς πᾶν> τὸ κοῦφων.

ἐνθ' οὖτ' ἥλιοιο διεἰδεται ἀγλαὸν εἰδος
οὐδ' μὲν οὐδ' αὖς λάσιον μένος οὐδὲ θάλασσα

ὡς φησιν Ἐμπεδοκλῆς: οὐ γῆ θερμότητος μετείχεν,
F οὐχ ὤμωρ πνεύματος, οὐκ ἄνω πὶ τῶν βαρέων, οὐκ 
κάτω πὶ τῶν κοῦφων, ἀλλὰ ἄκρατοι καὶ ἀστοργοι

1 H. C., combining <πᾶν> of Tumebus with Diels’s insertion 
of θεῖς after ποθῆς above : χωρὶς vac. 7-E, 3-B. 
2 Simplicius (In Arist. Physic. Comment. p. 1183. 30 
[Diels]) : δεδίστεται -E, B. 
3 E, B : ὁκέα γνία -Simplicius, loc. cit. (cf. exegetical note). 
4 Bergk: γάνος -E, B. 
5 Stephanus : πὶ -E, B. 
6 Stephanus : πὶ -E, B.

a = S. V. F. ii, p. 308, frag. 1045. Zeus “in his own 
nature” is the state of the universe in the epyrosis, while 
“at present” he is the universe in the state of diacosmesis ; 
cf. De Placeatis, 881 v–882 α (= Aëtius, i. 7. 33=S. V. F. ii, 
526), De Stoicorum Repugnantibus, 1052 c (= S. V. F. ii, frags. 
1068 and 604), De Communibus Notitiis 1075 α-c (= S. V. F. 
ii, frag. 1049), and S. V. F. ii, frags. 1052, 1053, and 1056.

b The Strife of Empedocles is connected with the mythical 
war of the Giants by Proclus, In Platonis Parmenidem Com-
Stallbaum).

c Empedocles, frag. B 27 (i. pp. 323. 11–324. 4 [Diels-
Kranz]), where the ὁκέα γνία given by Simplicius is adopted 
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his mutations? a So look out and reflect, good sir, lest in rearranging and removing each thing to its 'natural' location you contrive a dissolution of the cosmos and bring upon things the 'Strife' of Empedocles—or rather lest you arouse against nature the ancient Titans and Giants b and long to look upon that legendary and dreadful disorder and discord (when you have separated) all that is heavy and (all) that is light.

The sun's bright aspect is not there descried, No, nor the shaggy might of earth, nor sea as Empedocles says. c Earth had no part in heat, water no part in air; there was not anything heavy above or anything light below; but the principles of all things d were untempered and unamiable e and instead of Plutarch's ἀγλαῶν εἴδος. Bignone, however, who prints the lines given by Plutarch as frag. 26 a and those given by Simplicius as frag. 27, is probably right in taking this to be one of the lines which were repeated with a different ending in two different parts of the poem (Empedocle, studio critico, pp. 220 ff., 421, 599 ff.). Certainly Plutarch represents his quotation as describing the period when Strife has completely separated the four roots, whereas Simplicius says that his comes from the description of the Sphere, when all were thoroughly intermingled.

a i.e. the four "roots," earth, air, fire, and water, for the separation of which by Strife cf. Empedocles, frags. B 17. 8-10 and B 26. 6-9 (i, p. 316. 2-4 and p. 323. 4-7 [Diels-Kranz]).

c From this Mullach manufactured for Empedocles the verse that he numbered 174 (Frag. Phil. Graec. i, p. 3). Stein took only ἄκρατοι καὶ ἀστόργοι to be a quotation. The word ἀστόργος appears nowhere in the fragments of Empedocles (though στοργῆ does in frag. B 109 [i, p. 351. 22, Diels-Kranz]), whereas Plutarch uses it several times in other connections (Amatorius, 750 R, Quaest. Nat. 917 D, De Sollertia Animalium, 970 B).
(926) και μονάδες αἱ τῶν ὀλίων ἀρχαὶ μή προσέμεναι σύγκρισιν ἐτέρων πρὸς ἑτέρων μηδὲ κοινωνίαν ἄλλα φεύγουσαι καὶ ἀποστρεφόμεναι καὶ φερόμεναι φο-
ρᾶς ἰδίας καὶ αὐθάδεις οὕτως εἶχον ὡς ἐχεῖ πάν ὅν θεὸς ἀπεστὶ κατὰ Πλάτωνα, τουτέστιν ὡς ἐχεῖ τὰ σώματα νοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς ἀπολυπούσης, ἡρώ 1 οὐ τὸ ῥειτὸν ἦκεν ἐπὶ τῆν φύσιν ἐκ προνοίας, φιλότητος
927 ἐγγενομένης καὶ Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἐρωτὸς ὡς Ἐμ-
πεδοκλῆς λέγει καὶ Παρμεινίδης καὶ Ἡσίόδος, ὃν καὶ τόπους ἀμείβαντα καὶ δυνάμεις ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων μεταλαβόντα καὶ τὰ μὲν κινήσεως τὰ δὲ μονῆς ἀνάγκαις ἔνδειχντα καὶ καταβιασθέντα πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον ἐξ οὐ πέφυκεν ἐνδούναι καὶ μεταστήναι <τὰ σώματα> ἁρμονίαν καὶ κοινωνίαν ἀπεργάσχτηκατ
τοῦ παντός.

13. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ οὖν ἄλλο τι τῶν τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν παρὰ φύσιν ἔσχεν ἄλλ’ ἐκαστὸν ἦ πέφυκε κεῖται μηδεμίας 2 μεθεδρύσεως μηδὲ μετακοσμήσεως δεόμενον μηδ’ ἐν ἀρχῇ δεηθεν, ἀπορῶ τί τῆς προ-
βοιας ἐργον ἐστίν ἥ τίνος γέγονε ποιητῆς καὶ πατὴρ

1 Bernardakis : ἡρώ -Ε, Β.
2 Η. Τ. : μεταστήναι vac. 7-Ε, 9-Β.
3 Ε : μή δὲ μᾶς -Β.

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1 Cf. Clara Millerd, On the Interpretation of Empedocles, p. 51, and Chermis, Aristotle’s Criticism of Presocratic Philosophy, p. 175, n. 130. Plutarch’s circumstantial account of the motion of the four “roots” during the complete dominance of Strife is coloured by the passage of Plato to which he refers.


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solitary, not accepting combination or association with one another, but avoiding and shunning one another and moving with their own peculiar and arbitrary motions<sup>a</sup> they were in the state in which, according to Plato,<sup>b</sup> everything is from which God is absent, that is to say in which bodies are when mind or soul is wanting. So they were until desire came over nature providentially, for Affection arose or Aphrodite or Eros, as Empedocles says and Parmenides and Hesiod,<sup>c</sup> in order that by changing position and interchanging functions and by being constrained some to motion and some to rest and compelled to give way and shift from the 'natural' to the 'better' (the bodies) might produce a universal concord and community.

13. If not a single one of the parts of the cosmos ever got into an 'unnatural' condition but each one is 'naturally' situated, requiring no transposition or rearrangement and having required none in the beginning either, I cannot make out what use there is of providence<sup>d</sup> or of what Zeus, 'the master-

B 13 (i, p. 243. 16 [Diels-Kranz]) are quoted, and Hesiod, Theogony, 120 is referred to; and cf. Aristotle, Metaphysics, 984 b 23–985 a 10. With Plutarch's ἐκ προνοίας contrast Aristotle's criticism of Empedocles (Metaphysics, 1000 b 12–17) and cf. Empedocles, frags. B 17. 29 and B 30 (i, p. 317. 10 and p. 325. 10-12 [Diels-Kranz]). By ἐκ προνοίας here Plutarch prepares the way for his use in the next paragraph of the Stoic doctrine of providence against the Stoic doctrine of natural place.

(927) δημιουργὸς ὁ Zeus ὁ ἀριστοτέχνας. οὐ γὰρ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ τακτικῶν ὀφελος, εἴπερ εἰδεῖ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκαστὸς ἁφ', ἐαυτοῦ τάξιν τε καὶ χώραν καὶ καρδών οὐ δεῖ λαβεῖν καὶ διαφυλάσσειν οὐδὲ κηπουρῶν οὐδ' οἰκοδόμων, εἰ τῇ μὲν αὐτὸ τὸ ὤδωρ ἁφ' αὐτοῦ² πέφυκεν ἐπιέναι τοῖς δεομένοις καὶ κατ- ἄρδειν ἐπιρρέειν τῇ δὲ πλίνθοι καὶ ξύλα καὶ λίθου ταῖς κατὰ φύσιν χρώμενα ροπαίς⁴ καὶ νεύσεσιν ἐξ ἐαυτῶν καταλαμβάνειν τὴν προσήκουσαν ἀρμονίαν καὶ χώραν. εἰ δ' οὕτως οἱ ἀντικρός ἀναιρεῖ ὁ τῆν πρόνοιαν ὁ λόγος τῷ θεῷ δ' ἡ τάξις τῶν ὄντων προσήκει καὶ <τῷ>⁵ διαιρεῖν, τὸ θαυμαστῶν οὐτως⁶ τετάχθαι καὶ διηρμόσθαι τὴν φύσιν ὡς ἐνταῦθα μὲν πῦρ ἐκεί δ' ἁστρα καὶ πάλιν ἐνταῦθα μὲν γῆν⁷ ἄνω δὲ σελήνην ἐδρύσθαι, βεβαιωτέρω τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν τῷ κατὰ λόγον δεσμῷ περιληψθείσαν,⁸ ὡς, εἰ γε πάντα δεῖ ταῖς κατὰ φύσιν ροπαίς χρησθαι καὶ φέρεσθαι καθ' ὁ⁹ πέφυκε, μηθ'¹⁰ ἦλιος κυκλοφορεῖσθω μῆτε Φωσφόρος μηδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων μηδείς· ἀνώ γὰρ οὐ κύκλῳ τὰ κοῦφα καὶ πυροειδὴ
craftsman' is maker and father-creator. In an army, certainly, tacticians are useless if each one of the soldiers should know of himself his post and position and the moment when he must take and keep them. Gardeners and builders are useless too if here water all of itself 'naturally' moves to the things that require it and irrigates them with its stream, and there bricks and timbers and stones by following their 'natural' inclinations and tendencies assume of themselves their appropriate position and arrangement. If, however, this notion eliminates providence forthwith and if the arrangement of existing things pertains to God and (the) distributing of them too, what wonder is there that nature has been so marshalled and disposed that here in our region there is fire but the stars are yonder and again that earth is here but the moon is established on high, held fast by the bonds of reason which are firmer than the bonds of nature? For, if all things really must follow their 'natural' inclinations and move with their 'natural' motions, you must order the sun not to revolve and Venus too and every other star as well, for light and fiery bodies move 'naturally' upwards

\[a\] Plutarch ascribes to Pindar this epithet of Zeus in Quaest. Conviv. 618 b, De Sera Numinis Vindicta, 550 \(\lambda\), De Communibus Notitiis, 1065 e, and in Praecepta Gerendae Rerum Publicae, 807 c uses it of the statesman; cf. Pindar, frag. 48, Bowra = 57, Bergk and Schroeder = 66, Turyn.


\[d\] Wyttenbach's correction is assured by Timaeus, 41 b 4-6, of which this is meant to be an echo.
The Stoics held that the heavenly bodies consist of fire, which, though they call it aithr, is not a "fifth essence" like Aristotle's (cf. Diogenes Laertius, vii. 137 = S. V.F. ii, frag.
and not in a circle. If, however, nature includes such variation in accordance with location that fire, though it is seen to move upwards here, as soon as it has reached the heavens revolves along with their rotation, what wonder is there that the same thing has happened to heavy and earthy bodies that have got there and that they too have been reduced by the environment to a different kind of motion? For it certainly cannot be that heaven 'naturally' deprives light objects of their upward motion but is unable to master objects that are heavy and have a downward inclination; on the contrary, by (whatever) influence it rearranged the former it rearranged the latter too and employed the nature of both of them for the better.

14. What is more, if we are finally to throw off the habits (and) opinions that have held our minds in thrall and fearlessly to say what really appears to be the case, no part of a whole all by itself seems to have any order, position, or motion of its own which could be called unconditionally 'natural.' On the contrary, each and every such part, whenever its motion is usefully and properly accommodated to that for the sake of which the part has come to be and which is the purpose of its growth or production, and whenever it acts or is affected or disposed so that it contributes to the preservation or beauty or function

580; S.V.F. ii, frag. 682). In De Stoicorum Repugnantiiis, 1053 Plutarch quotes Chrysippus to the effect that τὸ πῦρ ἄβαρες ὑπὸ ἀνωφερέως εἶναι (=S.V.F. ii, frag. 434). In accordance with this, he here argues, the Stoics are not justified in explaining the circular motion of the heavenly bodies as "natural" in the way that Aristotle did.

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(927) ἐπιτήδειον ἔστι, τότε δοκεῖ τήν κατὰ φύσιν χώραν ἔχειν καὶ κύρισιν καὶ διάθεσιν. ὁ γοῦν ἀνθρωπός, ὡς εἰ ἔν τῶν ὄντων ἔτερον κατὰ φύσιν γεγονός,

Γάρ μὲν ἔχει τὰ ἐμβρύθη καὶ γεωδή μάλιστα περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐν δὲ τοῖς μέσοις τὰ θερμά καὶ πυρώδης· τῶν δ' ὦδόντων οἰ μὲν ἀνωθεν οἱ δὲ κάτωθεν ἐκ-φύσινοι καὶ οὐδέτεροι παρὰ φύσιν ἔχονσιν, οὐδὲ τοῦ πυρὸς τὸ μὲν ἀνω περὶ τἀ ὀμματα ἀποστίλβον κατὰ φύσιν ἐστὶ τὸ δ' ἐν κοιλία καὶ καρδία παρὰ φύσιν ἀλλ' ἐκαστὸν οἰκείως καὶ χρησίμως τέτακται.

ναὶ μὴν κηρύκων τε λιθορρίων χελών\(^4\) τε καὶ παντὸς ὀστρέου φύσιν, ὡς φησιν ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, καταμανθάνων

ἐνθ' ὀφεὶ χθόνα χρωτὸς ὑπέρτατα\(^5\) ναιετάουσαν· καὶ οὐ πιέζει τὸ λιθώδες οὖδὲ καταβλίβει τὴν ἔξων επικείμενον οὖδὲ γε πάλιν τὸ θερμὸν ὑπὸ κουφο-τητος εἰς τὴν ἀνω χώραν ἀποστάμενον οἴχεται μείκται δὲ πως πρὸς ἅληλα καὶ συντέκται κατὰ τὴν ἐκάστον φύσιν.

15. "Ὡσπερ εἰκός ἔχειν καὶ τὸν κόσμον, εἴ γε δὴ ζώον ἐστι, πολλαχοῦ γὴν ἔχοντα πολλαχοῦ δὲ πῦρ

1 Wytenbach (implied by versions of Amyot and Kepler); ἐπὶ -Ε., Β. 2 Ε.; τὸν -Β.

3 E.; ἐμφύσιν -Β.

4 Xylander (cf. Quaest. Conviv. 618 Β); χελώνων -Ε., Β.

5 Β.; ὑπέρτατα -Ε.

\(^a\) The two lines here quoted and the line that preceded them are quoted together in support of the same contention in Quaest. Conviv. 618 B = Empedocles, frag. B 76 (i, p. 339. 9-11 [Diels-Kranz]).

\(^b\) For ἔξως = "the bodily constitution" cf. Quaest. Conviv. 625 A-B, 680 D, 681 E; Amatorius, 764 C.

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of that thing, then, I believe, it has its 'natural' position and motion and disposition. In man, at any rate, who is the result of 'natural' process if any being is, the heavy and earthy parts are above, chiefly in the region of the head, and the hot and fiery parts are in the middle regions; some of the teeth grow from above and some from below, and neither set is 'contrary to nature'; and it cannot be said that the fire which flashes in the eyes above is 'natural' whereas that in the bowels and heart is 'contrary to nature,' but each has been assigned its proper and useful station. Observe, as Empedocles says, the nature of

Tritons and tortoises with hides of stone

and of all testaceans,

Thou'lt see earth there established over flesh;

and the stony matter does not oppress or crush the constitution on which it is superimposed, nor on the other hand does the heat by reason of lightness fly off to the upper region and escape, but they have been somehow intermingled and organically combined in accordance with the nature of each.

15. Such is probably the case with the cosmos too, if it really is a living being: in many places it has

6 In Adv. Coloten, 1115 B Strato's denial of this is cited as an example of his opposition to Plato; and in De An. Proc. in Timaeo, 1014 c-d Plutarch, speaking of the creation of the world by the Platonic demiurge, says τὸ κάλλιστον ἀπεργασάμενος καὶ τελεώτατον . . . ζωον, thereby referring to such passages as Timaeus, 30 b-d. 32 c-d, 68 e, 69 b-c. Still, Platonic though it is, this assumption is one which his Stoic adversaries would grant (cf. Diogenes Laertius, vii. 139 and 142-143 [= S. V. F. ii, frags. 634 and 633]); and Plutarch believes that in granting it they are committed to the implication that the moon despite its location can consist of earth.

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(928) καὶ ὑδώρ καὶ πνεῦμα οὐκ ἔξ ἀνάγκης ἀποτεθλημένον ἀλλὰ λόγῳ διακεκοσμημένον. οὖδὲ γὰρ ὀφθαλμὸς ἐνταῦθα τοῦ σώματος ἐστὶν ὕπο κοινό-Β τητος ἐκπιεσθεὶς οὐδ’ ἡ καρδία τοῦ βάρει ὀλισθοῦσα πέπτωκεν εἰς τὸ στῆθος, ἀλλ’ ὅτι βέλτιον ἢν οὕτως ἐκάτερον τετάχθαι. μὴ τούν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν νομίζωμεν μήτε γῆν ἐνταῦθα κεῖσθαι συμπεσοῦσαν διὰ βάρος μήτε τὸν ἥλιον, ὡς ἦτο Μητρόδωρος ὁ Χῖος, εἰς τὴν ἄνω χώραν ἀσκοῦ δίκην ὕπο κοινότητος ἐκτεθλῆθαι μήτε τοὺς ἀλλοὺς ἀστέρας, ὦσπερ ἐν ζυγῷ σταθμοῦ² διαφορὰ ῥέψαντας,³ ἐν οἷς εἰσὶ γεγονέναι τόποις· ἀλλὰ τοῦ κατὰ λόγῳ κρατοῦντοι οἱ μὲν ὦσπερ ὀμματα φωσφόρα τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ παιντὸς ἐνδεδεμένοι περιπολοῦσιν, ἥλιος δὲ καρδίας ἔχων δύναμιν ζῶσπερ αἷμα καὶ πνεῦμα διαπέμπει καὶ διασκεδάν-νυσιν εἷς ἐαυτοῦ θερμότητα καὶ φῶς, γῆ δὲ καὶ θαλάσση χρῆται κατὰ φύσιν δ’ κόσμος ὁσα κοιλία καὶ κύστει ζῶον. σελήνη δ’ ἥλιον μεταξὺ καὶ γῆς ὦσπερ καρδίας καὶ κοιλίας ἦπαρ ἡ τι μαλθακὸν

¹ Emperius: μήτε -E, B.
² E: ἐγγωσταθμοῦ -B.
³ B: ῥέψαντος -E.

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⁵ For this Atomist, who is not to be confused with the Epicurean, Metrodorus of Lampacaeus, or with the Anaxagorean, cf. Diels-Kranz, Frag. der Vorsok.5 ii, pp. 231-234; the present passage should be added to that collection, from which it is missing. According to De Placitis, 889 b (= Aëtius, ii. 15. 6 [Dox. Graeci, p. 345 a 7-12]) Metrodorus con-
earth and in many fire and water and breath as the result not of forcible expulsion but of rational arrangement. After all, the eye has its present position in the body not because it was extruded thither as a result of its lightness, and the heart is in the chest not because its heaviness has caused it to slip and fall thither but because it was better that each of them should be so located. Let us not then believe with regard to the parts of the cosmos either that earth is situated here because its weight has caused it to subside or that the sun, as Metrodorus of Chios once thought, was extruded into the upper region like an inflated skin by reason of its lightness or that the other stars got into their present positions because they tipped the balance, as it were, at different weights. On the contrary, the rational principle is in control; and that is why the stars revolve fixed like 'radiant eyes' in the countenance of the universe, the sun in the heart's capacity transmits and disperses out of himself heat and light as it were blood and breath, and earth and sea 'naturally' serve the cosmos to the ends that bowels and bladder do an animal. The moon, situate between sun and earth as the liver or another of the soft

sidered the sun to be farthest from the earth, the moon below it, and lower than the moon the planets and fixed stars. For the explanation of the sun's position here ascribed to Metrodorus see note a supra and cf. Simplicius, De Caelo, p. 712, 27-29.

c In De Fortuna, 98 b the phrase is quoted as Plato's; it comes from Timaeus, 45 b (τῶν δὲ ὀργάνων πρῶτον μὲν φωσφόρα σωματεκτήματο όμματα, τοιάδε ἐνδήσατες αὐτία), and Plutarch's τῶν προσώπων τοῦ πάντοσ ἐνδεδεμένον was suggested by this in conjunction with the preceding lines (45 λ: . . . ὑποθέντες αὐτόσε τὸ πρόσωπον, ὀργάνα ἐνέδησαν τοῦτο), though Plato is there speaking of the human face and eyes.
(928) ἀλλ' σπλάγχνον ἐγκεμένη τὴν τ' ἀνωθεν ἀλέαν ἐνταῦθα διαπέμπει καὶ τὰς ἐνεῴθεν ἀναθημασίες πέφει τινὶ καὶ καθάρσει λεπτύνουσα περὶ ἐαυτὴν ἀναιδίωσιν· εἰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλα τὸ γεώδες αὐτῆς καὶ στερέμνον ἐχει τιν' πρόσφορον χρείαν, ἀδηλον ἤµιν. ἐν παντὶ δὲ κρατεῖ τὸ βέλτιον τοῦ κατηγακασμένου.¹ τί γὰρ οὕτως² λάβωμεν ἐξ ὧν ἐκεῖνον λέγουσι τὸ εἰκός; λέγουσι γε³ τοῦ αἰθέρος Δ τὸ μὲν αὐγοείδες καὶ λεπτὸν ὑπὸ μανότητος οὐρανὸν γεγονέναι τὸ δὲ πυκνωθὲν καὶ συνευληθὲν ἄστρα, τούτων δὲ τὸ νοσθρότατον εἶναι τὴν σελήνην καὶ θολερώτατον. ἀλλ' ὁμως ὅραν πάρεστιν οὐκ ἀποκεκριμένη⁴ τοῦ αἰθέρος τὴν σελήνην ἀλλ' ἐτι

¹ Wytenbach (though Xylander had already proposed τοῦ κατηγακασμένου); κρατεῖται βέλτιον τοῦτο κατηγακασμένον -Ε, Β.  
² Ε : οὕτω -Β.  
³ Η. Κ.; δὲ -Ε, Β.  
⁴ Basiliensis; ἀποκεκριμένον -Ε; ἀποκεκριμένον -Β.

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¹ i.e. the spleen. For the purpose of liver and spleen cf. Aristotle, De Part. Animal, 670 a 20-29, 670 b 4-17, 673 b 25-28; and for the close connection of liver and spleen 669 b 15—670 a 2.

² Eustathius, Ad Iliadem, 695. 12 ff. says that according to the Stoics the "golden rope" of Iliad, viii. 19 is ὃ ἤλως εἰς ὃν κάτωθεν ὄστερ εἰς καρδίαν ἀποχεῖται ἀναιδιομένη ἡ τῶν υγρῶν ἀναθημάσις. Starting from this K. Reinhardt (Kosmos und Sympathie, pp. 332 ff.) argued that Posidonius was Plutarch's source for the analogy between the parts of the cosmos and the organs of the body; but Reinhardt's contention is refuted by R. M. Jones, Class. Phil. xxvii (1932), pp. 121-128. Passages which equate sun and heart are fairly frequent, e.g. Theon of Smyrna, pp. 187. 13-188. 7 (Hiller); Proclus, In Timaeum, 171 c-d (ii, p. 104. 20-21 and 28-29, Diehl); Macrobius, Somn. Scip. i. 20. 6-7 (pp. 564-565, Eyssenhardt); Chalcidius, In Platonis Timaeum, § 100 (p. 170, Wrobel); "Anon. Christ.", Hermippus, pp. 17, 15-18, 11 (Kroll-Viereck) with astrological ascriptions of different bodily organs to the seven planets. An entirely different
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viscera \(^a\) is between heart and bowels, transmits hither the warmth from above and sends upwards the exhalations from our region, refining them in herself by a kind of concoction and purification.\(^b\) It is not clear to us whether her earthiness and solidity have any use suitable to other ends also. Nevertheless, in everything the better has control of the necessary.\(^c\) Well, what probability can we thus conceive in the statements of the Stoics? They say that the luminous and tenuous part of the ether by reason of its subtility became sky and the part which was condensed or compressed became stars, and that of these the most sluggish and turbid is the moon.\(^d\) Yet all the same anyone can see that the moon has not been separated from the ether but that there is

analogy between the various human faculties and the seven planets is mentioned by Proclus, In Timaeeum, 348 A-B (iii, p. 355. 7-18, Diehl), and Numenius in Macrobius, Somn. Seip. i. 12. 14-15 (p. 533, Eyssenhardt); and I know no parallel to Plutarch’s further analogy of earth and moon with bowels and liver or spleen. In the pseudo-Hippocratic Περὶ ἐβδομάδων the moon because of its central position in the cosmos appears to have been equated with the diaphragm (cf. Roscher, Die hippokratische Schrift von der Siebenzahl, p. 5. 45 ff., pp. 10-11, p. 123). In the section of Porphyry’s “Introduction to Ptolemy’s Apotelesmatica” published by F. Cumont in Melanges Bidez, i, pp. 155-156, the source of which Cumont contends must have been Antiochus of Athens, the moon is said to have the spleen as its special province, while the heart is assigned to the sun; but there the liver is the province of Jupiter.

\(^c\) Cf. Plato, Timaeus, 48 a: νοὸς δὲ ἀνάγκης ἀρχοντὸς τῷ πείθειν αὐτὴν τῶν γυρομένων τὰ πλείστα ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιστον ἄγειν κτλ. For the term τὸ κατηγρακασμένον cf. S. I. F. ii, frag. 916.

\(^d\) = S. V. F. ii, frag. 668: cf. Cleomedes, ii. 3. 99 (pp. 178. 26-180. S. Ziegler) and contrast ii. 4. 100 (p. 182. 8-10). On the Stoic “ether” cf. Diogenes Laertius, vii. 137 (= S. V. F. ii, frag. 580) and note g on 922 b supra.
(928) πολλῷ μὲν¹ τῷ περὶ αὐτὴν² ἐμφερομένην πολὺν³
d’ ὑφ’ ἢαυτὴν ἔχουσαν ἐν ωδ’ <λέγουσιν αὐτοὶ τοὺς
πωγωνίας>⁴ δινεῖσθαι καὶ κομήτας. οὕτως οὐ ταῖς
ροπαῖς σεσήκωται κατὰ βάρος καὶ κοινότητα τῶν
σωμάτων ἐκαστον ἀλλ’ ἐτέρῳ λόγῳ κεκόσμηται.”

16. Λεχθέντων δὲ τούτων κάμιον τῷ Λευκίῳ τὸν
Ε λόγον παραδίδοντος, ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις βαδίζοντος
τοῦ δόγματος, ‘Ἀριστοτέλης μειδίας “μαρτύρο-
μαι” εἶπεν “ὅτι τὴν πᾶσαν ἀντιλογίαν πεποίησαι
πρὸς τοὺς αὐτὴν μὲν ἡμῖν ποιούσιν ἐνναὶ τὴν σελήνην
ὑποτιθέμενον κοινῇ δὲ τῶν σωμάτων τὰ μὲν ἄνω
τὰ δὲ κάτω ῥέπειν ἐξ ἢαυτῶν φάσκοντας. εἰ δ’ ἔστι
της ὧς λέγων κύκλῳ τε κυνεῖσθαι κατὰ φύσιν τὰ
ἄστρα καὶ πολὺ παρηλλαγμένης οὐσίας εἶναι τῶν
F τεττάρων, οὐδ’ ἀπὸ τῦχης ἢλθεν ἐπὶ μνήμην ύμῖν,⁶
ὡστ’ ἐμὲ γε⁷ πραγμάτων ἀπηλλάχθαι.” καὶ <ὑπο-
λαβών ὤ>⁸ Λεύκιος “<. . .> ὡγαθὲ” εἶπεν “ἄλλα
τάλλα μὲν ἰσως ἄστρα καὶ τὸν ὀλον οὐρανὸν εἰς
tina φύσιν καθαρὰν καὶ εἰλικρινῆ καὶ τῆς κατὰ
πάθος ἀπηλλαγμένης μεταβολῆς τιθεμένοις ύμῖν¹⁰

¹ Benseler: ἐν -Ε, Β.
² Bernardakis: αὐτὴν -Ε, Β.
³ Madvig: πολλὴν -Ε, Β.
⁴ Madvig: ἔχουσαν ἀνέμων -Ε, Β.
⁵ H. C. (cf. Class. Phil. xlvi [1951], pp. 141 f.) : vac. 25-Ε, 26-Β.
⁶ Amyot: Ἡμῖν -Ε, Β.
⁷ Turnebus: τε -Ε, Β.
⁸ H. C.: καὶ vac. 8-Ε (at end of line), 9-Β.
⁹ λεύκιος vac. 9-Ε, 11-Β.
¹⁰ Turnebus: Ἡμῖν -Ε, Β.

α The lexica give “weigh” or “balance” as the meaning of σεσήκωται, but the logic of the passage here shows that the word must be connected with σηκος, not with σάκωμα (cf. Hesychius: ἀποσηκώσας and σάκωσε). Amyot’s “sitez et 96
still a large amount of it about her in which she moves and much of it beneath her in which (they themselves assert that the bearded stars) and comets whirl. So it is not the inclinations consequent upon weight and lightness that have circumscribed the precincts \(^{a}\) of each of the bodies, but their arrangement is the result of a different principle.

16. With these remarks I was about to yield the floor to Lucius,\(^{b}\) since the proofs of our position were next in order; but Aristotle smiled and said: "The company is my witness that you have directed your entire refutation against those who suppose that the moon is for her part semi-igneous and yet assert of all bodies in common that of themselves they incline either upwards or downwards. Whether there is anyone, however, who says \(^{c}\) that the stars move naturally in a circle and are of a substance far superior to the four substances here \(^{d}\) did not even accidentally come to your notice, so that I at any rate have been spared trouble." And Lucius \(\text{〈broke in and〉}\) said: "... good friend, probably one would not for the moment quarrel with you and your friends, despite the countless difficulties involved, when you ascribe to the other stars and the whole heaven a nature pure and undefiled and free from qualitative change and colloquez " and Kepler's " quasi obvallata sunt " render the sense correctly.

\(^{b}\) It was ostensibly in order to give Lucius time to collect his thoughts that Lamprias began the " remarks " which he has just concluded after ten paragraphs (see 923 \(\text{v supra}\)).

\(^{c}\) This is Aristotle, of course: \(\text{De Caelo}, 269 \text{a 2-18, 270 a 12-35} ; \) cf. [Aristotle], \(\text{De Mundo}, 392 \text{a 5-9} \) and \(\text{De Placitis}, 887 \text{d = Aëtius, ii. 7. 5} \) (\(\text{Dox. Graeci, p. 336}\)).

\(^{d}\) I have added this word in the translation in order to make it clear that " the four " are the four sublunar substances, earth, water, air, and fire.
(928) καὶ κύκλον ἄγονσαν 1 δι’ οὖν καὶ ἀτελευτήτου περιφορᾶς ἀνεῖν τις ἐν τῷ νῦν διαμάχοιτο κατοίκου μυρίων οὐσῶν ἀπορηών· ὅταν δὲ καταβαίνων ὁ λόγος οὕτως 3 θύγη τῆς σελήνης, οὐκέτι φυλάττει τῇ̄ ἀπάθειαν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τῷ κάλλος ἐκείνου τοῦ σώματος ἀλλ’ ἰνα τὰς ἀλλὰς ἀνωμαλίας καὶ διαφορὰς ἀφῶμεν αὐτὸ τούτῳ τῷ διαφανόμενου πρόσωπων πάθει τινὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἡ ἀναμίξει πως ἐτέρας ἐπιγέγονε. πάσχει δὲ τι καὶ 929 τὸ μυγνύμενον ἀποβάλλει γὰρ τὸ εἰλικρινές βία τοῦ χείρονος ἀναπραμένου. αὐτής δὲ νόθειαν καὶ τάχους ἀμβλύτυτητα καὶ τὸ θερμὸν ἀδρανὲς καὶ ἀμαυρόν, ἡδ 4 κατὰ τὸν Ἰωνα μέλας οὐ πεπαίνεται βότρος,

εἰς τὶ θησόμεθα πλὴν ἄσθένειαν αὐτῆς καὶ πάθος, ἠπᾶθως 5 ἀδίωρ σώματι καὶ οὐκαπίτως μετέστην; οἷος γὰρ, ὃ φίλε Ἀριστοτέλες, γῇ μὲν οὖσα πάγκαλον τι χρήμα καὶ σεμνὸν ἀναφαίνεται καὶ κεκοσμημένον· ως δ’ ἀστρον ἡ φῶς ἡ τι σῶμα θείον καὶ οὐράνιον δέδια μὴ ἁμορφὸς ἡ καὶ ἀπρεπῆς καὶ κατασχύνουσα τὴν καλὴν ἐπωνυμίαν, εἰ γε τῶν ἐν

1 H. C. (cf. Class. Phil. xlii [1951], p. 142); ἄγονσα -E, B.
2 H. C.: vac. 17-E, 15-B.
3 Wytenbach; οὗτο -E, B.
4 Basiliensis: ἀμαυρόν, κατὰ -E: ἀμαυρὸν καὶ κατὰ -B.

α Cf. Aëtius. ii. 30. 6 (Dox. Graeci, p. 362 b 1-4): Ἀριστοτέλης μὴ εἶναι αὐτῆς (scil. σελήνης) ἀκήρατον τὸ ὁμοιόμορφα διὰ τὰ πρόσωπα ἄρωμα τοῦ αἰθέρος, ἡ προσαγορεύει ὁμοία πέμ-98
moving in a circle whereby (it is possible to have the nature) of endless revolution too; but let this doctrine descend and touch the moon, and in her it no longer preserves the impassivity and beauty of that body. Not to mention her other irregularities and divergencies, this very face which she displays is the result of some alteration of her substance or of the admixture somehow of another substance. That which is subjected to mixture, however, is the subject of some affection too, for it loses its purity, since it is perforce infected by what is inferior to it. The moon's sluggishness and slackness of speed and the feebleness and faintness of her heat (which), in the words of Ion,

ripes not the grape to duskiness,

to what shall we ascribe them except to her weakness and alteration, (if) an eternal and celestial body can have any part in (alteration)? The fact is in brief, my dear Aristotle, that regarded as earth the moon has the aspect of a very beautiful, august, and elegant object; but as a star or luminary or a divine and heavenly body she is, I am afraid, misshapen, ugly, and a disgrace to the noble title, if it is true

πτον. In fact in De Gen, Animal, 761 b 22 Aristotle does say that the moon shares in the fourth body, i.e. fire.

At Quaest. Conviv. 658 c Plutarch quotes the whole line, Ion, frag. 57 (Nauck).

For the epithet ὀξυμπιός used of the moon cf. 935 c infra and De Defectu Oraculorum, 416 e: οἷς ὀξυμπιός γῆν (scil. σελήνην) . . . προσεπτον, and for the meaning attached to it cf. the etymology in the pseudo-Plutarchian De Vita et Poesi Homer, b, 95 [vii, p. 380. 17-20, Bernardakis]; Pseudo-Plutarch in Stobaeus, Eclogae, i, 22 (i, p. 198. 10 ff., Wachsmuth); [Aristotle], De Mundo, 400 a 6-9: Eustathius, In Iliadem, 38. 38.
(929) οὐρανῷ τοσούτων τὸ πλῆθος ὄντων μόνη φωτὸς ἀλλοτρίου δειμένη περείσι¹ κατὰ Παρμενίδην

B  αἰεὶ² παπταίνουσα πρὸς αὐγὰς ἥλιοι,

ο μὲν οὖν ἐταῖρος ἐν τῇ διατριβῇ τούτῳ δὴ τὸ Ἀνα-
ξαγόρευον ἀποδεικνύει όσ' ἡλίος ἐντίθησι τῇ σελήνῃ
tὸ λαμπρὸν' ἡδοκόμησεν· ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν οὖκ ἐρῶ 
ἀλλ' ὑμῶν ἥ μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐμαθον ἐκών δὲ³ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ 
βαδιούμαι. ἐφητίζεσθαι τοῖνυν τὴν κινήσειν ὑμᾶς ἢ 
σελήνην οὐχ ὡς ἡλιον⁴ ἢ κρύσταλλον ἐκλάμψει καὶ
dιαφαύσει τοῦ ἡλίου πιθανὸν ἐστὶν οὐδὲν⁵ ἀν κατὰ 
σύλλαμψι ταύτης χάριν καὶ συναναγκασμόν ὡσπέρ αἱ 
δίδευς αὐξομένου τοῦ φωτὸς. οὐτῶς⁶ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἡττον ἐν 
νομηματίᾳ ἡ δισκομηματια ἐστιν πανέκλεισιν ήμῶν, εἰ 
C μὴ στέγει μηδέ ἀντιφράττει τὸν ἡλίον ἀλλὰ δύσιν⁷ 
ὑπὸ μανότητος ἢ κατὰ σύγκρασιν ἐκλάμπει⁸ καὶ 
sυνεξάπτει περὶ αὐτῆς⁹ τὸ φῶς. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν¹⁰

¹ E, B²; περείστει -B³.
² -Anon., Aldine, R.J. 94; αἰεὶ -E, B.
³ Xylander: ἔχων δὲ τοῦτο -E; ἔχων δὲ -B.
⁴ Basiliensis: ἡλιον -E; ἡλιον -B.
⁵ Bernardakis: οὐτω -E, B. ἐδείξιν (implied by versions of Amyot and Kepler);
⁶ E: οὐτω -B.
⁷ Madvig (implied by versions of Amyot and Kepler);
⁸ Sandbach (citing Appian, Syr. 56: τὴν ἐστίαν ... ἐκ-
λάμπαται πῦρ μέγα); ἐδείξει -E, B.
⁹ Sandbach: αὐτῆ -E, B.
¹⁰ Bernardakis; γάρ ἐστὶ -E, B.

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² = Parmenides, frag. B 15 (i, p. 244. 3 [Diels-Kranz]), quoted also at Quaest. Rom. 282 b.
³ See note a on p. 48 supra.
that of all the host in heaven she alone goes about in need of alien light,\(^a\) as Parmenides says

Fixing her glance forever on the sun.\(^b\)

Our comrade in his discourse \(^c\) won approval by his demonstration of this very proposition of Anaxagoras's that 'the sun imparts to the moon her brilliance' \(^d\); for my part, I shall not speak about these matters that I learned from you or in your company but shall gladly proceed to what remains. Well then, it is plausible that the moon is illuminated not by the sun's irradiating and shining through her in the manner of glass \(^e\) or ice \(^f\) nor again as the result of some sort of concentration of brilliance or aggregation of rays, the light increasing as in the case of torches.\(^g\) Were that true, we should see the moon at the full on the first of the month no less than in the middle of the month, if she does not conceal and obstruct the sun but because of her subtlety lets his light through or as a result of combining with it flashes forth and joins in kindling the light in herself.\(^h\) Certainly her deviations or aversions \(^i\) cannot be

\(^a\) = Anaxagoras, frag. B 18 (ii, p. 41. 5-7 [Diels-Kranz]).


\(^c\) See note \(c\) on 922 c supra.

\(^d\) Cf. De Placitis, 891 \(v\) = Aëtius, ii. 29. 4 (Dox. Graeci, p. 360 a 3-8 and b 5-11).

\(^e\) The latter was the theory of Posidonius as Plutarch indicates in 929 d infra : cf. Cleomedes, ii. 4. 101 (pp. 182. 20-184. 3 [Ziegler]) and ii. 4. 104-105 (pp. 188. 5-190. 16).

\(^f\) i.e. the various deflections of the moon in latitude and the varying portion of the lunar hemisphere turned away from the sun as the moon revolves in her orbit. For these two variations in the explanation of the lunar phases cf. Cleomedes, ii. 4. 100 (pp. 180. 26-182. 7 [Ziegler]), and Geminus, ix. 5-12 (p. 126. 5 ff. [Manitius]).
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(929) ἐκκλίσεις οὐδ' ἀποστροφᾶς αὐτῆς, ὡσπερ ὅταν ἦ διχότομος καὶ ἀμφίκυρτος ἡ μηνοείδης, αὐτιάσθαι περὶ τὴν σύνοδον ἄλλα κατὰ στάθμην, φησὶ Δημό-
κριτος, ἵσταμένη τοῦ φωτίζοντος ὑπολαμβάνει καὶ
dέχεται τὸν ἥλιον, ὡστ' αὐτὴν τε φαίνεσθαι καὶ
dιαφαίνειν ἐκεῖνον εἰκός ἦν. ἡ δὲ πολλὸν δεῖ τοῦτο
pοιεῖν: αὐτὴ τε γὰρ ἀδηλός ἐστι την κακείνα 
κακείνων ἀπέκρυψε καὶ ἥφανισε πολλάκις
ἀπεσκέδασεν1 δὲ οἱ αὖγάς

ὡς φησίν2 Ἐμπεδωκλῆς

D ἔστ' αἰαν καθύπερθεν, ἀπεσκνίφωσε δὲ γαῖς
τόσσον ὅσον τ' εὔρος γλαυκώπιδος ἔπλετο μήνης3
καθάπερ εἰς νύκτα καὶ σκότος οὐκ εἰς ἀστρον
ἐπερο〈ν τι〉4 τοῦ φωτὸς ἐμπεσόντος. ὃ δὲ λέγει
Ποσειδώνιος, ὡς ὑπὸ βάθος τῆς σελήνης οὐ 
περαιοῦται δι' αὐτῆς5 τὸ τοῦ ἥλιον φῶς 
πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἐλέγχεται καταφανῶς. ὃ γὰρ ἀγρ 
ἀπλετος ὦν καὶ 
βάθος ἐχων πολλαπλάσιον τῆς σελήνης ὀλος6 ἔξ-

ηλιοῦται καὶ καταλάμπτεται ταῖς αὖγαῖς. ἀπολεί-

Ε πεταὶ τοῖνυν τὸ τοῦ Ἐμπεδοκλέως, ἀνακλάσει τινὶ 
τοῦ ἥλιου πρὸς τὴν σελήνην γλύνεσθαι τὸν ἐνταῦθα

1 Xylander: ἀπεσκέδασε -Ε, B.
2 B: ὡς φησίν -Ε.
3 E: ἔπλετο γλαυκώπιδος μήνης -B.
4 Papabasileios: ἐπερο νας. 2-Ε, 4-B.
5 B: διαυτής -Ε.
6 E: ὀλος -B.

a = Democritus, frag. A 89 a (ii, p. 105. 32-34 [Diels-
Kranz]). For the meaning of κατὰ στάθμην cf. De Placitis, 
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alleged as the cause of her invisibility when she is in conjunction, as they are when she is at the half and gibbous or crescent; then, rather, 'standing in a straight line with her illuminant,' says Democritus, 'she sustains and receives the sun,' so that it would be reasonable for her to be visible and to let him shine through. Far from doing this, however, she is at that time invisible herself and often has concealed and obliterated him.

His beams she put to flight,

as Empedocles says,

From heaven above as far as to the earth,
Whereof such breadth as had the bright-eyed moon
She cast in shade,

just as if the light had fallen into night and darkness and not upon (an)other star. As for the explanation of Posidonius that the profundity of the moon prevents the light of the sun from passing through her to us, this is obviously refuted by the fact that the air, though it is boundless and has many times the profundity of the moon, is in its entirety illuminated and filled with sunshine by the rays. There remains then the theory of Empedocles that the moonlight which we see comes from the moon's reflection of

883 a, 884 c. The words ἐπολαμβάνει καὶ δέχεται have a sexual meaning here: cf. 944 e infra, De Iside, 372 d, Amatorius, 770 a, and Roscher, Über Selene und Verwandtes, pp. 76 ff.

b = Empedocles, frag. B 42 (i, p. 330. 11-13 [Diels-Kranz]).

c See note h on 929 c supra. In Cleomides, ii. 4. 105 (p. 190. 4-16 [Ziegler]) the refutation given by Plutarch here is answered or anticipated by the statement that the air does not have βάθος as the moon does, and from what follows it appears that by the βάθος of the moon Posidonius must have meant not mere spatial depth but a certain density as well.
(929) φωτισμὸν ἀπ’ αὐτῆς. ὁθεν οὐδὲ θερμὸν οὐδὲ λαμ−πρὸν ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὡσπερ ἦν εἰκός ἕξαψεως καὶ μίζεως (τῶν) φῶτων γεγενημένης. ἀλλ’ οἶον αἱ τε φωναὶ κατὰ τὰς ἀνακλάσεις ἀμαυρωτέραν ἀναφαίνουσι τῇν ἡχω τοῦ φθέγματος αἱ τε πληγαὶ τῶν ἀφαλλομένων βελῶν μαλακώτεραι προσπι−πτουσιν

ὡς αὐγῆς τύψασα σεληναῖς κύκλων εὐρόν

ἀσθενῆ καὶ ἀμυδράν ἀνάρροιαν ἱσχει πρὸς ἡμᾶς, διὰ τὴν κλάσιν ἐκλυμομένης τῆς δυνάμεως.”

17. Ὑπολαβῶν δ’ ὁ Σύλλας “ἀμέλει ταῦτ”’” F εἶπεν “ἔχει τινὰς πυθανότητας. ὁ δ’ ἰσχυρότατον ἐστὶ τῶν ἀντιπαπτόντων πότερον ἐπιχεῖ τίνος παρα−μυθίας ἡ παρῆλθεν ἡμῶν τὸν ἑταίρον;” “τ’ τοῦτο” ἔφη “λέγεις;” ὁ Λεύκιος “ἡ τὸ πρὸς τὴν διχότομον ἀπορούμενον;” “πάνυ μὲν ὁν” ὁ Σύλλας εἶπεν. “ἔχει γάρ τινα λόγον τὸ πάσης ἐν ὑσαις γωνιάς γεγνομένης ἀνακλάσεως, ὅταν ἡ σελήνη διχότομος

1 Bernardakis; vac. 4-E, 2-B. 2 E.; ἀμαυρωτέραν -B. 3 Xylander; αὐτὴ -E, B.

a At 937 B infra and De Pythiae Ora culis, 404 d it is said that in being reflected from the moon the sun’s rays lose their heat entirely (cf. Macrobius, Somn. Scip. i. 19. 12-13 [p. 560. 30 ff., Eyssenhardt]). Just above, however, at 929 a Plutarch ascribed to the moonlight a “feeble” heat, and so he does in Quaest. Nat. 918 a (cf. Aristotle, De Part. Animal. 680 a 33−34: [Aristotle], Problemata, 942 a 24−26; Theophrastus, De Causis Plant. iv. 14. 3). Kepler (Somnium sive Astronomia Lunaris, note 200) asserts that he had felt the heat from the rays of the full moon concentrated in a concave parabolic mirror; but the first real evidence of the moon’s heat was obtained by Melloni in 1846 by means of the newly invented thermopile. Cf. R. Pixis, Kepler als Geograph, p. 135; S. Günther, Vergleichende Mond- und Erdkunde, 104
the sun. That is why there is neither warmth nor brilliance in it when it reaches us, as we should expect there to be if there had been a kindling or mixture of (the) lights (of sun and moon). To the contrary, just as voices when they are reflected produce an echo which is fainter than the original sound and the impact of missiles after a ricochet is weaker,

Thus, having struck the moon’s broad disk, the ray comes to us in a refluence weak and faint because the deflection slackens its force.”

17. Sulla then broke in and said: “No doubt this position has its plausible aspects; but what tells most strongly on the other side, did our comrade explain that away or did he fail to notice it? “What’s that?” said Lucius, “or do you mean the difficulty with respect to the half-moon?” “Exactly,” said Sulla, “for there is some reason in the contention that, since all reflection occurs at equal angles, when-

p. 82, n. 3; Nasmyth-Carpenter. The Moon (London, 1885), p. 184.

b I have added the words “sun and moon” in the translation to make explicit the meaning of (τῶν) φῶτων. For the theory referred to see note h on 929 c supra.

c = Empedocles, frag. B 43 (i, p. 330. 20 [Diels-Kranz]).

d See 929 b and note a on p. 48 supra.

e This expression is intended to have the same sense as πρὸς ἰσας γίγνεθαι γωνίας ἀνάκλασιν πᾶσαν (930 λ ἵνα), and both of them mean (pace Raingeard, p. 100, and Kepler in note 28 to his translation) ‘the angle of reflection is always equal to the angle of incidence.” Cf. [Euclid], Catoptrica α (= Euclid, Opera Omnia, vii, p. 286. 21-22 [Heiberg]) with Olympiodorus, In Meteor. p. 212. 7 = Hero Alexandrinus, Opera, ii. 1, p. 368. 5 (Nix-Schmidt) and [Ptolemy], De Speculis, ii = Hero Alexandrinus, Opera, ii. 1, p. 320. 12-13 (Nix-Schmidt); and contrast the more precise formulation of Philoponus, In Meteor. p. 27. 34-35.
(929) οὔσα¹ μεσουρανῇ, μὴ φέρεσθαι τὸ φῶς ἐπὶ γῆς ἀπ’ 930 αὐτῆς ἀλλ’ ὀλισθαίνειν ἐπέκεινα τῆς γῆς. ὁ γὰρ ἧλιος ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀρίζοντος ὄν ἀπτεται τῇ ἀκτίνι τῆς σελήνης. διὸ καὶ κλασθεῖσα πρὸς ἵππας² ἐπὶ θάτερον ἐκπεσεῖται πέρας καὶ οὐκ ἀφῆσει δεῦρο τῆν αὐγήν ἡ διαστροφὴ μεγάλῃ καὶ παράλλαξις ἔσται τῆς γωνίας, ὀπερ ἀδύνατον ἔστιν.” “ἀλλὰ νὴ Δί” εἶπεν ὁ Λευκίων “καὶ τοῦτ ἐρρήθη.” καὶ πρὸς γε Μενέλαον ἀποβλέψας ἐν τῷ διαλέγεσθαι τὸν μαθηματικόν, “αἰσχύνομαι μὲν” ἐφή “σοῦ παρόντος, ὥς φίλε Μενέλαε, θέσιν ἀναιρεῖν μαθηματικὴν ὥσπερ θεμέλιον τῶν κατοπτρικῶν ύποκειμένην πράγμασιν ἀνάγκη δ' εἶπεν³ ὅτι τὸ πρὸς ἱσας γίγνεσθαι⁴ γωνίας ἀνάκλασιν πᾶσαν οὔτε φαινόμενον αὐτόθεν Β οὐθ' ὀμολογούμενον ἕστιν ἀλλὰ διαβάλλεται μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν κυρτῶν κατοπτρων, ὅταν ἐμφάσεις ποὺ ἱερίζονας ἐαυτῶν πρὸς ἐν τὸ τῆς ὄψεως σημείον, διαβάλλεται δὲ τοὺς διπτύχους κατοπτρω, ὑν ἐπι-

¹ Wyttenbach : δίχοτομοῦσα -Ε, B.  
² Benseler (cf. Cleomedes, p. 186. 18 [Ziegler]) : ἴσα -Ε, B.  
³ Wyttenbach : εἴπεν -Ε, B.  
⁴ -Anon., Aldine, R.J. 94 : τείνεσθαι -Ε, B.

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a Kepler in note 19 to his translation points out that this is true only if μεσουρανῇ “is in mid-heaven” refers not to the meridian but to the great circle at right-angles to the ecliptic.

b Cleomedes, ii. 4. 103 (p. 186. 7-14 [Ziegler]) introduces as σχεδὸν γνώριμον his summary of this argument against the theory that moonlight is merely reflected sunlight.

c See note c on 929 v supra.

d It has been suggested that οὐθ’ ὀμολογούμενον is a direct denial of ὀμολογημένον ἔστι παρὰ πᾶσιν at the beginning of Hero’s demonstration (Schmidt in Hero Alexandrinus, Opera [ed. Nix-Schmidt], ii. 1, p. 314. However that may be, the law is assumed in Proposition XIX of Euclid’s Optics, where
ever the moon at the half is in mid-heaven the light cannot move earthwards from her but must glance off beyond the earth. The ray that then touches the moon comes from the sun on the horizon and therefore, being reflected at equal angles, would be produced to the point on the opposite horizon and would not shed its light upon us, or else there would be great distortion and aberration of the angle, which is impossible.”

“Yes, by Heaven,” said Lucius, “there was talk of this too”; and, looking at Menelaus the mathematician as he spoke, he said: “In your presence, my dear Menelaus. I am ashamed to confute a mathematical proposition, the foundation, as it were, on which rests the subject of catoptrics. Yet it must be said that the proposition, ‘all reflection occurs at equal angles,’ is neither self-evident nor an admitted fact. It is refuted in the case of convex mirrors when the point of incidence of the visual ray produces images that are magnified in one respect; and it is refuted by folding mirrors, either

it is said to have been stated in the Catoptrics (Euclid, Opera Omnia, vii, p. 30. 1-3 [Heiberg]); and a demonstration of it is ascribed to Archimedes (Scholia in Catoptrica, 7 = Euclid, Opera Omnia, vii, p. 348. 17-22 [Heiberg]); cf. Lejeune, Isis, xxxviii [1947], pp. 51 ff.). It is assumed by Aristotle in Meteorology, iii. 3-5 and possibly also by Plato (cf. Cornford, Plato’s Cosmology, pp. 154 ff. on Timaeus, 46 b); cf. also Lucretius, iv. 322-323 and [Aristotle], Problemeta, 901 b 21-22 and 915 b 30-35. Proposition XIX of Euclid’s Optics, referred to above, is supposed to be part of the “Dioptrics” of Euclid which Plutarch cites at Non Posse Suaviter Vivi, 1093 e (cf. Schmidt, op. cit. p. 304).

i.e. cylindrical, not spherical, convex mirrors; cf. Class. Phil. xlv (1951), pp. 142-143 for the construction and meaning of this sentence.

For such mirrors cf. [Ptolemy], De Speculis, xii = Hero Alexandrinus, Opera, ii. 1, p. 342. 7 ff.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(930) κλιθέντων 1 πρὸς ἄλληλα καὶ γωνίας ἐντὸς γενομένης ἐκάτερον τῶν ἐπιπέδων διττήρ2 ἐμφασιν ἀποδίδωσι καὶ ποιεῖ τέτταρας εἰκόνας ἀφ’ ἐνὸς προσώπου, δύο μὲν ἀντιστρόφους (ἐν) τοῖς ἐξωθεν [ἀριστεροῖς]3 μέρεσι δύο δὲ δεξιοφανεῖς ἀμασὲς ἐν βάθει τῶν C κατόπτρων. ὅν4 τῆς γενέσεως τὴν αἰτίαν Πλάτων ἀποδίδωσιν. εἰρήκε γὰρ ὅτι τοῦ κατόπτρου ἐκθέν καὶ ἐκθέν ὑφὸς λαβόντος ὑπαλλάττουσιν αἱ ὦφεις τῆς ἀνάκλασιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐτέρων ἐπὶ θάτερα μετα- 
πίπτουσαι.5 εἶπερ οὖν τῶν ὦφεων εὐθὺ6 πρὸς ἡμᾶς 〈αἰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιπέδων〉7 ἀνατρέχουσιν αἱ δ’ ἐπὶ θάτερα μέρη τῶν κατόπτρων ὀλισθαίνουσι πάλιν ἐκεῖθεν ἀναφέρονται πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὡστ’8 〈ἐννοι μὲν τοῖς μαθηματικοῖς〉9 ὅμοιος χρωστοῦτες ἄξιούσιν αὐτῶς τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης ἐπὶ γῆν φερο- 
D μένοις ῥεύμασι10 τῆς ἱσότητα τῶν γωνιῶν ἀναρέϊν, 
πολλῷ τούτῳ ἐκείνου πιθανώτερον εἶναι νομίζοντες. 
οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ εἰ δεῖ τοῦτο χαρίζεσθαι τῇ πολλὰ δὴ

1 Turnebus: ὦς ἐπικριθέντων -Ε, Β.
2 Turnebus: διττήρ -Ε, Β.
3 Emperius: τοῖς ἐξωθὲν ἀριστεροῖς -Ε, Β. For ἀριστεροῖς Schmidt (Heronis Alexandrini Opera, ii. 1, p. 313, n. 2) suggests σαφεστέρας, Raingenard εὐαργστέρας, but it was more probably merely a gloss by someone who misunderstood δεξιοφανείς, as Amyot, Wytenbach, and Prickard misunderstood it.
4 Turnebus: between κατόπτρων and ὅν E and B repeat from above ὅταν ἐμφάσεις ποιή . . . διαβάλλεται δὲ, after which E has a space of 13 letters and B of 10.
5 H. C. (cf. Timaæus, 46 b 7: ὅταν μεταπέσῃ . . . φῶς, i.e. it is the visual ray that shifts): μεταπίπτουσαν -Ε, Β.
6 Papabasileios: εὐθὺς -Ε, Β.

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plane of which, when they have been inclined to each other and have formed an inner angle, exhibits a double image, so that four likenesses of a single object are produced, two reversed on the outer surfaces and two dim ones not reversed in the depth of the mirrors. The reason for the production of these images Plato explains, for he has said that when the mirror is elevated on both sides the visual rays interchange their reflection because they shift from one side to the other. So, if of the visual rays (some) revert straight to us (from the plane surfaces) while others glance off to the opposite sides of the mirrors and thence return to us again, it is not possible that all reflections occur at equal angles. Consequently (some people) take direct issue (with the mathematicians) and maintain that they confute the equality of the angles of incidence and reflection by the very streams of light that flow from the moon upon the earth, for they deem this fact to be much more credible than that theory. Nevertheless, suppose that this must be conceded as a favour to

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*a* Plutarch means *Timaeus*, 46 b-c, where Plato, however, describes a concave, cylindrical mirror, not a folding plane mirror. Plutarch apparently mistook the words ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν ὑψη λαβοῦσα, by which Plato describes the horizontal curvature of the mirror, to mean that the two planes of a folding mirror were raised to form an angle at the hinge which joined them.

*b* See note e on 929 f *supra*.

*c* *i.e.* the "theory" that the angle of reflection is always equal to the angle of incidence.

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8 -Anon., Aldine, R.J. 94 ; ὅσας -E, B.
9 H. C. (cf. *Class. Phil.* xlvi [1951], p. 143) ; no lacuna indicated in E, B.
10 B ; ῥήμασι -E.
With these words Plutarch means to refer to the effects of refraction: cf. De Placitis, 894 c = Aëtius, iii. 5. 5 (Dox. Graeci, p. 372. 21-26); Cleomedes, ii. 6. 124-125 (p. 224. 8-28 [Ziegler]): Alexander, In Meteor. p. 143. 7-10.

b Cf. the argument given by Cleomedes, ii. 4. 103 (pp. 186. 14-188. 7 [Ziegler]) and especially: ὅτι δ’ ἀπὸ παντὸς τοῦ κύκλου αὐτῆς φωτὶζεται ἡ γη, γνώριμον. εὐθέως γὰρ ἀμά τῷ τῆς πρώτης ἐτέν ἀνασχεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ὀρίζοντος φωτὶζει τῆν γην, τούτων τῶν μερῶν.
geometry, the dearly beloved! In the first place, it is likely to occur only in mirrors that have been polished to exact smoothness; but the moon is very uneven and rugged, with the result that the rays from a large body striking against considerable heights which receive reflections and diffusions of light from one another are multifariously reflected and intertwined and the refulgence itself combines with itself, coming to us, as it were, from many mirrors. In the second place, even if we assume that the reflections on the surface of the moon occur at equal angles, it is not impossible that the rays as they travel through such a great interval get fractured and deflected so as to be blurred and to bend their light. Some people even give a geometrical demonstration that the moon sheds many of her beams upon the earth along a line extended from the surface that is bent away from us; but I could not construct a geometrical diagram while talking, and talking to many people too.

18. Speaking generally,” he said, “I marvel that they adduce against us the moon’s shining upon the earth at the half and at the gibbous and the crescent phases too. After all, if the mass of the moon that is illuminated by the sun were ethereal or fiery, the

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\[ \alpha \tau \tau \zeta \varsigma \ \pi \varepsilon \nu \kappa \lambda \iota \nu \omega \ \omega \nu \kappa \iota \rho \varsigma \tau \nu \kappa \varsigma \quad \pi \rho \varsigma \ \tau \eta \nu \ \gamma \nu \ \iota \rho \omicron \nu \tau \theta \nu. \]  

For \( \eta \ \epsilon \kappa \kappa \epsilon \lambda \lambda \mu \iota \epsilon \iota \eta \) cf. Hippocrates, \textit{Art.} 38 (iv, p. 168. 18 [Littre]).

\[ ^c \ \text{i.e. the moon at the half, gibbous, and crescent phases presents such a great difficulty for the Stoics themselves that it is strange for them to adduce these phenomena as refutation of the theory that the moon shines by reflected light. Wyttenbach’s conjecture, \( \epsilon \kappa \pi \iota \pi \tau \omicron \sigma \sigma \) for \( \epsilon \mu \pi \iota \pi \tau \omicron \sigma \sigma \), approved by Purser and apparently adopted by Prickard in his translation of 1918, betrayed a misapprehension of the meaning of the text.\]
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(930) ἡλιος, οὐκ ἂν ἀπέλειπεν αὐτῆς σκιερὸν ἁεὶ καὶ ἀλαμπὲς ἡμισφαῖρον πρὸς αἰσθησιν ἀλλ', εἰ καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐσανε περιῶν, ὅλης ἀναπτυξάθαι καὶ δὲ ὅλης τρέπεσθαι τῷ φωτὶ πανταχόσε χωρούντι δι' εὐπετείας ἢν προσήκον. ὅπου γὰρ οἶνος ὕδατος θιγὼν κατὰ πέρας καὶ σταγών αἴματος εἰς ὕγρον ἐμπεσόντος ἀνέχρωσε πᾶν ἁμα (τῶν ψαύνων) φοινικθὲν αὐτῶν δὲ τὸν ἀέρα λέγουσιν οὐκ ἀπορροαί τισιν οὖν ἀκτίων μεμιγμέναις ἀλλὰ τροπὴ καὶ μεταβολὴ κατὰ νῦξιν ἡ ψαύν ἀπὸ τοῦ φωτὸς ἐξηλοῦσθαι, πῶς ἀστρον ἄστρον καὶ φῶς φωτὸς ἀφάμενον οἴονται μῆ κεράνυσθαι μηδὲ σώγχων ποιεῖν δι' ὀλου καὶ μεταβολὴν ἀλλ' ἐκείνα φωτίζειν 931 μόνον ὃν ἀπετεια κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν; ὅπο γὰρ ὃ ἡλιος περιῶν κύκλων ἁγεὶ καὶ περιστρέφει περὶ τὴν σελήνην, νῦν μὲν ἐπιπτῶντα τῷ διορίζοντι τὸ ὀρατὸν αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ ἀόρατον νῦν δὲ ἀνιστάμενον

1 -Anon., Aldine, R.J. 94; peri ὃν -E, B; periōn -Stephanus (1624) after Leonicus.
2 Stephanus (1624) : πολλήν -E, B.
3 Turnebus : τρέφεσθαι -E, B.
4 B ; ἀτὰ πέρας -E (at beginning of line).
5 Turnebus : αἴμα -E, B.
6 Adler : vac. 8-E, 7-B.
7 Bernardakis : ἀπορροαί -E, B.
8 E; ἐξηλοῦσθαι -B.
9 E; κεράνυσθαι -B.
10 E; δῖόλου -B.
11 E; πρὸς -B.

a For ἀπέλειπεν cf. 931 c infra. The dative with the verb is unobjectionable, cf. e.g. [Reg. et Imp. Apophthegm.] 178 d, 195 y.


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sun would not leave her\(^a\) a hemisphere that to our perception is ever in shadow and unilluminated; on the contrary, if as he revolves he grazed her ever so slightly, she should be saturated in her entirety and altered through and through by the light proceeding easily in all directions. Since wine that just touches water at its surface\(^b\) or a drop of blood fallen into liquid at the moment (of contact) stains all the liquid red,\(^c\) and since they say that the air itself is filled with sunshine not by having any effluences or rays commingled with it but by an alteration and change that results from impact or contact of the light,\(^d\) how do they imagine that a star can come in contact with a star or light with light and instead of blending and producing a thorough mixture and change merely illuminate those portions of the surface which it touches?\(^e\) In fact, the circle which the sun in its revolution describes and causes to turn about the moon now coinciding with the circle that divides her visible and invisible parts and now standing at right

The "emendations" of Emperius and Papabasileios are consequently ill-advised.

\(^a\) Cf. De Communibus Notitiis, 1078 d-e (= S. V. F. ii, frag. 480) and S. V. F. ii, frags. 473, 477, 479.


\(^c\) Cf. Cleomedes, ii. 4. 101 (p. 182. 20 ff. [Ziegler]) for the doctrine of Posidonius, which Plutarch here turns against him and the Stoics generally: τρίτη ἐστὶν αἱρέσις ἡ λέγουσα κυριάρχησαι αὐτῆς (seil. τῆς σελήνης) τὸ φῶς ἐκ τοῦ οἰκείου καὶ τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ φωτὸς καὶ τοιοῦτον γίνεσθαι οὐκ ἀπαθῶς μενούσης αὐτῆς . . . ἀλλ' ἀλλοιούμενης ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ φωτὸς καὶ κατὰ τοιαύτην τὴν κράσιν ἰδιον ἱσχούσης τὸ φῶς. . . . Cf. ibid. 104 (p. 188. 4-7).
(931) prôs ὀρθᾶς ὠςτε τέμνειν ἐκείνον ὑπ’ ἐκείνον τε τέμνεσθαι, ἂλλας κλίσει καὶ σχέσει τοῦ λαμπροῦ πρὸς τὸ σκιερὸν ἀμφικύρτους καὶ μηνοειδεῖς ἄποδιδόντα μορφᾶς ἐν αυτῇ, παντὸς μᾶλλον ἐπιδεικνυσιν ὀυὶ σύγκρασιν ἂλλ’ ἐπαφῆν ὦνδε σύλλαμβνιν ἂλλα περιλαμψῖν αὐτῆς ὄντα τὸν φωτισμὸν. ἔπει δ’ οὐκ ἀυτῇ φωτίζεται μόνον ἂλλα καὶ δεύρῳ τῆς ἀνυγῆς ἀναπέμπει τὸ εἴδωλον, ἐτὶ καὶ μᾶλλον ἑσχυρίσασθαι τῷ λόγῳ περὶ τῆς ὀυσίας δίδωσιν. αἰ γὰρ ἀνακλάσεις γίγνονται πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀραίον οὐδὲ λεπτομερές, οὐδ’ ἐστὶ φῶς ἀπὸ φωτός ἡ πῦρ ἀπὸ πυρὸς ἀφαλλόμενον [gewater] νοησαι ράδιον, ἂλλα δεῖ τὸ ποιήσων ἀντιτυπιάν τινα καὶ κλάσων ἐμβριθές εἰναι καὶ πυκνῶν ἵνα πρὸς αὐτὸ πληγῇ καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ φορὰ γένηται. τὸν γοὺν αὐτὸν ἥλιον ὁ μὲν ἀὴρ δύνησιν οὐ παρέχων ἀνακοπᾶς οὐδ’ ἀντερείδου ἀπὸ δὲ ξύλων καὶ λίθων καὶ ἰματίων εἰς φῶς τιθεμένων

C πολλὰς ἀντιλάμψεις καὶ περιλάμψεις ἀποδίδωσιν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὴν γῆν ὀρῶμεν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ φωτιζομένην οὐ γὰρ εἰς βάθος ὀσπερ ὕδωρ οὐδὲ δι’ ὀλῆς ὀσπερ ἀὴρ δύνης τὴν αὐγῆν, ἂλλ’ οἶος τὴν σελήνην περιστείχει κύκλος αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁσον ὑποτέμνεται μέρος ἐκείνης τοιοῦτος ἐτερος περίεις τὴν γην καὶ τοσοῦτον φωτίζων αἰεὶ καὶ ἀπολειπὸν ἐτερον ἀφω-

1 B : νοειδεῖς -E (at top of page).
2 -Anon., Aldine, R. J. 94 : ἐπιδεικνύοντον -E, B.
3 E ; ἀποφωτός -B.
4 Deleted by Wytenbach.
5 -Anon., Aldine, R. J. 94 : αὐτῶν -E, B ; αὐτὴν -Turnebus, Vulcobius.
6 E ; τοσοῦτο -B.

a (cf. Cleomedes, ii. 5. 109-111 (pp. 196. 28-200. 23 [Ziegler]).

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angles to it so as to intersect it and be intersected by it, by different inclinations and relations of the bright part to the dark producing in her the gibbous and crescent phases,\(^a\) conclusively demonstrates that her illumination is the result not of combination but of contact, not of a concentration of light within her but of light shining upon her from without. In that she is not only illuminated herself, however, but also transmits to us the semblance of her illumination, she gives us all the more confidence in our theory of her substance. There are no reflections from anything rarefied or tenuous in texture, and it is not easy even to imagine light rebounding from light or fire from fire; but whatever is to cause a repercussion or a reflection must be compact and solid,\(^b\) in order that it may stop a blow and repel it.\(^c\) At any rate, the same sunlight that the air lets pass without impediment or resistance is widely reflected and diffused from wood and stone and clothing exposed to its rays. The earth too we see illuminated by the sun in this fashion. It does not let the light penetrate its depths as water does or pervade it through and through as air does; but such as is the circle of the sun that moves around the moon and so great as is the part of her that it intercepts, just such a circle in turn moves around the earth, always illuminating just so much and leaving another part unilluminated,\(^d\) for

\(^a\) Here ἑμπριθὲς is used as the opposite of λεπτομερές (cf. Liddell and Scott, s.v. ἑμπριθεία ii) as πυκνόν is of ἀραιόν.

\(^b\) Cf. Cleomedes, ii. 4. 101-102 (p. 184. 9-18 [Ziegler]). Cleomedes, assuming that the moon is μαυρόν, uses this as an argument against reflection: Plutarch, having established the necessity of reflection, uses the argument to support the contention that the moon is earthly.

\(^c\) Cf. Cleomedes, ii. 5. 108 (p. 194. 20 ff. [Ziegler]).
(931) τιστον. ἡμισφαίριον γὰρ ὀλγώς δοκεῖ μείζον εἶναι τὸ περιλαμπόμενον ἐκατέρας. δότε δὴ μοι γεωμετρικῶς εἰπεῖν πρὸς ἀναλογίαν ὡς εἰ, τριῶν ὄντων οἷς τὸ ἁφ' ἡλίου φῶς πλησιάζει, γῆς σελήνης ἀέρος, ὀρῶμεν οὔχ ὡς ὁ ἄρπ μᾶλλον ἡ χ γῆ φωτιζο-μένη τὴν σελήνην, ἀνάγκη φύσιν ἔχειν ὁμοίαν ἀ ταύτα πάσχειν ὑπὸ ταύτων πέφυκεν.

D 19. Ἐπει δὲ πάντες ἐπῆσαν τὸν Λευκίουν, "εὖ γ'" ἔφην "ὅτι καλῷ λόγῳ καλὴν ἀναλογίαν προσ-έθηκας· οὐ γὰρ ἀποστερητέοι σε τῶν ἱδίων." κα-κεῖνος ἑπιμειδιάσας "οὐκοῦν" ἔφη "καὶ δεύτερον ἀναλογίαν προσχρηστέον, ὅπως μὴ <τῷ>² ταῦτα πάσχειν ὑπὸ ταύτων μόνον ἄλλα καὶ τῷ ταύτα ποιεῖν ταύτον ἀποδείξωμεν τῇ γῇ τὴν σελήνην προσεοικυνών. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὖν ὄντος τῶν περὶ τὸν ἡλίου γιγανομένων ὁμοίου ἐστιν ὡς ἐκλειψις ἡλίου δύσει δότε μοι, ταύτης ἐναγχος τῆς³ συνόδου Ε μνησθέντες ἦ πολλὰ μὲν ἀστρα πολλαχόθεν τοῦ ὀψαροῦ διεφήνεν εὖθὺς ἐκ μεσημβριάς ἀφεαμένη κρᾶσιν δ' οὖν τὸ λυκανυγές τῷ ἁέρι παρέσχεν· εἰ δὲ μή, Θεών⁴ ἡμῖν οὖτος <τὸν>⁵ Μίμνερμον ἐπάξει καὶ

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1 δὲ -Wytttenbach. 2 Basiliensis; lacking in E, B.
3 B; lacking in E. 4 Basiliensis; θεών -E, B.
5 Stephanus (1624); Μίμνερμον -Basiliensis; ἐργομιμωμον -E, B.

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a Cf. Cleomedes, ii. 5. 109 (p. 198. 6-9 [Ziegler]).
b I have tried to preserve the contorted form in which Plutarch expresses the point that the moon, since it is affected by sunlight as the earth is and not as air is, must have the consistency of earth and not of air.
c Concerning this eclipse see the Introduction, § 3 supra on the date of the dialogue.
d For λυκανυγές see 941 v infra and Lucian, Vera Hist. ii. 12. Prickard takes the κρᾶσις to refer to the degree of heat;
the illuminated portion of either body appears to be slightly greater than a hemisphere.\(^a\) Give me leave then to put it in geometrical fashion in terms of a proportion. Given three things approached by the light from the sun: earth, moon, air; if we see that the moon is illuminated not as the air is rather than as the earth, the things upon which the same agent produces the same effects must be of a similar nature.”\(^b\)

19. When all had applauded Lucius, I said: "Congratulations upon having added to an elegant account an elegant proportion, for you must not be defrauded of what belongs to you.” He smiled thereat and said: “Well then proportion must be used a second time, in order that we may prove the moon to be like the earth not only because the effects of the same agent are the same on both but also because the effects of both on the same patient are the same. Now, grant me that nothing that happens to the sun is so like its setting as a solar eclipse. You will if you call to mind this conjunction recently which, beginning just after noonday, made many stars shine out from many parts of the sky\(^c\) and tempered the air in the manner of twilight.\(^d\) If you do not recall it, Theon here will cite us Mimnermus\(^e\) and Cydias\(^f\) and Raingeard, like Amyot and Wyttenbach, takes it to refer to colour or light. Either is possible, but I think a reference to colour the more probable: for \(\kappa\rho\alpha\alpha\varsigma\) used of colour cf. Quaest. Conviv. 647 c.

\(^{a}\) Cf. Anthologia Lyrica Graeca, ed. Diehl\(^2\), i. 1, pp. 50-57, and Edmonds, Elegy and Iambus, i, pp. 82-103; Mimnermus is mentioned in the pseudo-Plutarchean De Musica, chap. 8, 1133 f.

\(^{b}\) Cf. Plato, Charmides, 155 d; Edmonds, Lyra Graeca, iii, p. 68; Wilamowitz, Textgeschichte der griechischen Lyriker, p. 40, n. 1.
(931) τὸν Κυδίαν καὶ τὸν Ἀρχίλοχον πρὸς δὲ τούτους τὸν Στησίχορον καὶ τὸν Πίνδαρον ἐν ταῖς ἐκλείψεσιν ὀλοφυρομένους 'ἀστρον' φανερώτατον κλεπτομενον καὶ μέσῳ ἀματὶ νῦκτα γυνομεγήν καὶ τῇν Τ’ ἀκτίνα τοῦ ἔλεος σκότους ἀγραπὸν ἠσσυμέναν φάσκοντας ἐπὶ πάσι δὲ τὸν "Ομήρου νυκτὶ καὶ ζόφω τὰ πρόσωπα κατέχεσθαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων λέγοντα καὶ τὸν ἔλεον ἐξαπολωλέναι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ περὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ ἠσσυμένον ὡς τοῦτο γίγνεσθαι πέφυκε τοῦ μεν φθύγωντο μηνὸς τοῦ δ' ἀσταμένου. τὰ λοιπὰ δ' οὕμας ταῖς μαθηματικαῖς ἀκριβείας εἰς τὸν 'σαφὴ λόγον' ἐξήνθει καὶ βεβαιοῦν ὡς ἦ γε νῦξ ἔστι σκιά γῆς ἢ δ' ἐκλευψὶς τοῦ ἔλεος σκιὰ σελήνης ὅταν ἢ οἶμις ἐν αὐτῇ γένηται. δυόμενος γὰρ ὡπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀντιφράττεται πρὸς τὴν οἴμην ἐκλιπὼν δ' ὑπὸ τῆς σελήνης ἀμφότεραι δ' 932 εἰσὶν ἐπισκοτήσεις, ἀλλ' ἢ μὲν δυτικὴ τῆς γῆς ἢ δ' ἐκλειπτική τῆς σελήνης τῇ σκιᾷ καταλαμβανούσης

1 Bergk; τὸν -E, B.  
2 Leonicus: ἀμα τὴν -E, B.  
3 B; σκότους -E.  
4 Adler: vac. 16 -E, B.  
5 Xylander: πρῶτα -E, B.  
6 H. C. (cf. De Vita et Poesi Homerī, § 4 [vii, p. 332. 9, Bernardakiś]); vac. 14-E, 12-B.  
7 H. C. (cf. Class. Phil. xlvi [1951], pp. 143 f.); vac. 7-E, 9-B.

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b Cf. Pliny, Nat. Hist. ii. 12, § 54: "quo in metu fuisse Stesichori et Pindari vatum sublimia ora palam est deliquio solis."  
c = Pindar, Paean, ix. 2-3: ἀστρον ὑπέρθατον ἐν ἀμέρα κλεπτόμενον.  
d Possibly Stesichorus, cf. Bergk, Poëtae Lyrici Graeci, iii, p. 229 (frag. 73), and Edmonds, Elegy and Iambus, i, p. 102, n. 1.

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Archilochus and Stesichorus besides and Pindar, who during eclipses bewail 'the brightest star bereft' and 'at midday night falling' and say that the beam of the sun 'is sped' the path of shade; and to crown all he will cite Homer, who says 'the faces of men are covered with night and gloom' and 'the sun has perished out of heaven' speaking with reference to the moon and hinting that this naturally occurs.

When waning month to waxing month gives way.

For the rest, I think that it has been reduced by the precision of mathematics to the (clear) and certain (formula) that night is the shadow of earth and the eclipse of the sun is the shadow of the moon whenever the visual ray encounters it. The fact is that in setting the sun is screened from our vision by the earth and in eclipse by the moon; both are cases of occultation, but the vespertine is occultation by the earth and the ecliptic by the moon with her shadow.


\(^f\) Adapted from \textit{Odyssey}, xx. 351-352.

\(^g\) \textit{Odyssey}, xx. 356-357.

\(^h\) \textit{Odyssey}, xix. 307. For this interpretation of the Homeric lines cf. \textit{De Vita et Poesi Homeri}, chap. 108 (vii, p. 388. 15 ff. [Bernardakis]), and Heraclitus, \textit{Quaestiones Homericæ}, § 75 (pp. 98. 20-99. 18 [Oelmann]).

\(^i\) Cf. \textit{De Primo Frigido}, 953 \(\lambda\) and \textit{Plat. Quaest.} 1006 f. where on \textit{Timaeus}, 40 c Plutarch quotes Empedocles to this effect. Aristotle refers to the definition, \textit{Topîcs}, 146 b 28 and \textit{Meteorology}, 345 b 7-8.

\(^j\) Cf. the lines of Empedocles quoted at 929 c-d \textit{supra}. In \textit{De Placitis}, 890 f = \textit{Λείτις}, ii. 24. 1 this explanation of solar eclipses is ascribed to Thales—quite unhistorically, as the subsequent entries show.
(932) τὴν ὀψιν. ἐκ δὲ τούτων εὐθεῶρητον τὸ γιγνόμενον. εἰ γὰρ ὁμον τὸ πάθος, ὁμοια τὰ ποιοῦντα: τῷ γὰρ αὐτῷ ταὐτὰ συμβαίνειν ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀναγκαῖον ἔστιν. εἰ δὲ οὐχ οὕτως τὸ περὶ τὰς ἐκλείψεις σκότος βυθίων ἐστιν οὖν' ὁμοίως τῇ νυκτὶ πιέζει τὸν ἀέρα, μὴ θαυμάζωμεν. οὐσία μὲν γὰρ ἡ αὐτῇ τοῦ τῆς νυκτά ποιοῦντος καὶ τοῦ τῆς ἐκλείψεως σώματος μέγεθος δ' οὐκ ἔστω, ἀλλ' Ἀιγυπτίους μὲν ἐβδομηκοστόδυνον οἶμαι φάναι μόριον εἶναι τὴν σε- 
βλημνὴν Ἀναξαγόραν δ' ὀσθ Πελοπόννησος. Ἀρίσταρχος δὲ (τὴν διάμετρον τῆς γῆς πρὸς) τὴν διάμετρον τῆς σελήνης λόγον ἔχουσαν ἀποδείκνυσιν οὐς ἐλάττων μὲν ἡ ἐξήκοντα πρὸς δεκαεννέα μεῖζων δ' ἡ ὄσο ἐκατόν ὀκτὼ πρὸς τεσσαράκοντα τρι' ἕστιν. οὔθεν ἡ μὲν γῆ παντάπασι τῆς ὀψεως τῶν ἦλιον ἀφαιρεῖται διὰ μέγεθος (μεγάλη γὰρ ἡ ἐπι- πρόσθεσις καὶ χρόνων ἔχουσα τὸν τῆς νυκτός), ἡ δὲ σελήνη καὶ ὅλον ποτὲ κρύφη τὸν ἦλιον, ὅπως ἔχει χρόνων οὐδὲ πλάτος ἡ ἐκλείψεως ἀλλὰ περιφαίνεται τις αὐτῇ περὶ τῆν ἱδίν οὐκ ἔωσα βαθείαν γενέσθαι τὴν σκιαν καὶ ἀκρατον. Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ὁ παλαιὸς 
C αὐτὰν τοῦ πλεονάκει τὴν σελήνην ἐκλείπουσαν ἡ

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1 E : οὕτω -B.
2 <τῆς γῆς> -Turnebus, Vulcobiou.
3 B : Πελοπόννησος -E.
4 Bernardakis (cf. Aristarchus, p. 408. 21 [Heath]).
5 Turnebus (cf. Stephanus [1624]) ; δὲ, καὶ ἐνεὰ -E, B, Aldine, Basiliensis.
6 Bernardakis : ἐδεῖ ποσ -E, B.

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a Cf. Cleomedes, ii. 3. 94-95 (p. 172. 6-10 [Ziegler]) and ii. 4. 106 (p. 192. 16-24) ; Geminus, x (pp. 130. 11-132. 12 [Manitius]).

b I know of no other reference to such an estimate.

c According to Hippolytus, Refut. i. 8. 6-10 (=Dox. Graeci, p. 562 =Anaxagoras, frag. A 42 [ii, p. 16. 16-31, 120
intercepting the visual ray.\textsuperscript{a} What follows from this is easy to perceive. If the effect is similar, the agents are similar, for it must be the same agents that cause the same things to happen to the same subject. Nor should we marvel if the darkness of eclipses is not so deep or so oppressive of the air as night is. The reason is that the body which produces night and that which produces the eclipse while the same in substance are not equal in size. In fact the Egyptians, I think, say that the moon is one seventy-second part (of the earth),\textsuperscript{b} and Anaxagoras that it is the size of the Peloponnesus\textsuperscript{c}; and Aristarchus demonstrates that the ratio of (the earth's diameter to) the diameter of the moon is smaller than 60 to 19 and greater than 108 to 43.\textsuperscript{d} Consequently the earth because of its size removes the sun from sight entirely, for the obstruction is large and its duration is that of the night. Even if the moon, however, does sometimes cover the sun entirely, the eclipse does not have duration or extension; but a kind of light is visible about the rim which keeps the shadow from being profound and absolute.\textsuperscript{e} The ancient Aristotle gives this as a reason besides some others why the moon

\textsuperscript{a} This is Proposition 17 of Aristarchus's essay, "On the Sizes and Distances of the Sun and Moon" (cf. Heath's edition and translation in his Aristarchus of Samos, pp. 351 ff.). Although Plutarch does not say that this contradicts Stoic doctrine, the older, orthodox Stoics held that the moon as well as the sun is larger than the earth (De Placitis, 891 c = Aëtius, ii. 26. 1 = S.V.F. ii, frag. 666; cf. Pliny, Nat. Hist. ii. 11 [8], 49).

\textsuperscript{b} Cf. Cleomedes, ii. 4. 105 (p. 190. 17-26).
(932) τὸν ἤλιον καθοράσθαι πρὸς ἄλλας τις καὶ ταύτην ἀποδίδουσιν· ἤλιον γὰρ ἐκλείπειν σελήνης ἀντιφράζει σελήνην δὲ (γῆς, πολλῷ μείζονος οὐσίας.)

1 o δὲ Ποσειδώνιος ὄρισάμενος οὕτως· τόδε τὸ πάθος ἐκλειψις ἔστιν ἤλιον· σύνοδος σκιῶν σελήνης οἷς

[τὴν ἐκλειψιν]

3 ἵνα γῆς μέρεσι κατασκιαζῇ. 4 ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ μόνοις ἐκλείψις ἔστιν ὧν ἢ σκιὰ τῆς σελήνης καταλαβόντος τὴν ὄψιν ἀντιφράζῃ ὑπὸ τὸν ἤλιον. ὁμολογῶν δὴ 6 σκιῶν τῆς σελήνης φέρεσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς, οὐκ οἷδ’ ὅτι λέγειν ἐαυτῷ καταλείπετεν. ἀστρον δὲ σκιῶν ἀδύνατον γενέσθαι· τὸ γὰρ ἀφώτιστον σκιὰ λέγεται τὸ δὲ φῶς οὐ ποιεῖ 7 σκιῶν ἀλλ’ ἀναιρεῖν τέφυκεν.

D 20. Ἀλλὰ δὴ τί ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς "μετὰ τοῦτο τῶν τε-κμηρίων ἐλέχθη;" καὶ ὅτι λέγειν ἐκλείπειν ἡ σελήνη ἐκλείπειν. "ὀρθῶς" εἶπεν ὑπέμνησας. ἐπ’ ἀλλὰ δὴ πότερον ὡς πεπεισμένων ὑμῶν καὶ τιθέντων ἐκλείπειν τὴν σελήνην ὑπὸ τοῦ σκιάσματος ἀλισκομένην ἡδὴ τρέπωμαι 11 πρὸς τὸν

1 Adler: σελήνην δὲ vac. 28-E (in two lines), 25-B.
2 E: γῆς -B.
3 Excised by Prickard (1911).
4 H. C.; vac. 22-E, 11-B.
5 Anon., Aldine, R.J. 94: ἀντιφράζει -E, B.
6 H. C.; δὲ -E, B: γε -Wytenbach.
7 E: ποιεῖ -B.
8 E: τί δὴ -B.
9 B: ὑπόμνησας -E.
10 E: πεπεισμένων -B.
11 Wytenbach: τρέπονται -E, B.

= Aristotle, frag. 210 (Rose). The reference is not to De Caelo, 293 b 20-25, for in that passage Aristotle gives not his own opinion but that of some Pythagoreans (cf. Cherniss, 122
is observed in eclipse more frequently than the sun, saying that the sun is eclipsed by interposition of the moon but the moon (by that of the earth, which is much larger).a Posidonius gave this definition: 'The following condition is an eclipse of the sun, conjunction of the moon's shadow with whatever (parts of the earth it may obscure), for there is an eclipse only for those whose visual ray the shadow of the moon intercepts and screens from the sun.'b—since he concedes then that a shadow of the moon falls upon us, he has left himself nothing to say that I can see. Of a star there can be no shadow, for shadow means the unlighted and light does not produce shadow but naturally destroys it.c

20. Well now," he said, "which of the proofs came after this?" And I replied, "That the moon is subject to the same eclipse." "Thank you," he said, "for reminding me; but now shall I assume that you have been persuaded and do hold the moon to be eclipsed by being caught in the shadow and so

Aristotle's Criticism of Presocratic Philosophy, pp. 198-199, and Aëtius, ii. 29. 4 cited there). For the terminology σελήνης or γῆς ἀντίθραξις cf. Aristotle, Ainal. Post. 90 a 15-18, and with the whole passage cf. Pseudo-Alexander, Problem. 2. 46 (quoted by Rose, Aristoteles Pseudepigraphus, § 194, p. 222), and Philoponus, In Meteor. p. 15. 21-23.

b Cf. Cleomedes, ii. 3. 94-95 (p. 172. 6-17 [Ziegler]) and 98 (p. 178. 13-24), ii. 4. 106 (p. 192. 14-20).

c Posidonius ranked the moon as a "star": cf. Aëtius Didymus, Epitome, frag. 32 (Dox. Graeci, p. 466. 18-21), and Edelstein, A.J.P. lvii (1936), p. 297. For the theory that the light of the moon is a product of her own proper light and the solar light which produces an alteration in her cf. Cleomedes, ii. 4. 101 (pp. 182. 20-184. 3 [Ziegler]) and 104 (p. 188. 5-27), the latter of which indicates how the present contention of Plutarch could have been answered from the point of view of Posidonius.
(932) λόγον ἂ βουλευθεὶς μελέτην ποιήσωμαι1 καὶ ἀποδείξω ὑμῖν2 τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων ἐκαστὸν ἀπαριθμήσας; "νὴ Δί" εἶπεν ὁ Θέων "τούτοις ἐμμελέτησον. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ πειθοῦς τινὸς δέομαι ταῦτα μόνον ἀκηκοῶς ὡς ἐπὶ μᾶν [μὲν]3 εὐθείαν Ε ἐν τοῖς τριῶν σωμάτων γυγνομένων, γῆς καὶ ἱλίου καὶ σελήνης, αἱ ἐκλεύσεις συντυχάνουσιν ἡ γὰρ γῆ τῆς σελήνης ἡ πάλιν ἡ σελήνη τῆς γῆς ἀφαιρεται τὸν ἡλιον ἐκλεύπει γὰρ οὕτως μὲν σελήνης σελήνη δὲ γῆς ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τριῶν ἑσσαμένης· ὅν γίγνεται τὸ μὲν ἐν συνόδῳ τὸ δὲ ἐν διχομηνίᾳ." καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος ἔφη "σχεδὸν μέντοι4 τῶν λεγομένων κυριώτατα ταῦτ' ἐστὶ. πρόσλαβε5 δὲ πρῶτον, εἰ βούλει, τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος τῆς σκιᾶς λόγον. ἐστὶ γὰρ κώνος6 ἀτε δὴ7 μεγάλου πυρὸς ἡ φωτὸς σφαιροειδος ἐλάττων σφαιροειδή δὲ περιβαλλόντος ὅγκον. οθὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐκλεύσεις τῆς σελήνης αἱ περιγραφαι τῶν μελαιομένων πρὸς τὰ λαμπρὰ τὰς ἀποτομάς περιφερεῖς ἵπχουσιν· ἃς γὰρ ἄν στρογ- Φ γύλον στρογγύλῳ προσμίζειν ἡ δεξιτησι τομᾶς ἡ παράσχη, παντοχόσε χωροῦσαι δι' ὀμοιότητα, γίγνονται κυκλοτερεῖς. δεύτερον οἶμαι σε γυγνώσκειν

1 E, B1; ποιήσωμεν -B2.
2 Aldine, Basiliensis; ὑμῶν -E, B.
3 Deleted by Wytenbach.
4 B; μὲν τι -E.
5 -Anon., Aldine, R.J. 94, Wytenbach; πρόσλαβε -E, B.
6 Xylander; κωνός -E, B.
7 H. C.; μῆ -E, B; καὶ -Aldine, Basiliensis.

a The argument that the moon is earthy, which at the beginning of chap. 19 (931 d) Lucius stated in the form of a proportion.

b Cf. Cleomedes, ii. 6. 115 (p. 208. 9-12 [Ziegler]) for the 124
turn straightway to my argument,\(^a\) or do you prefer that I give you a lecture and demonstration in which each of the arguments is enumerated?"  "By heaven," said Theon, "do give these gentlemen a lecture. As for me, I want some persuasion as well, since I have only heard it put this way: when the three bodies, earth and sun and moon, get into a straight line, eclipses take place because the earth deprives the moon or the moon, on the other hand, deprives the earth of the sun, the sun being eclipsed when the moon and the moon when the earth takes the middle position of the three, the former of which cases occurs at conjunction and the latter at the middle of the month."\(^b\) Whereupon Lucius said, "Those are roughly the main points, though, of what is said on the subject. Add thereto first, if you will, the argument from the shape of the shadow. It is a cone, as is natural when a large fire or light that is spherical circumfuses a smaller but spherical mass.\(^c\) This is the reason why in eclipses of the moon the darkened parts are outlined against the bright in segments that are curved,\(^d\) for whenever two round bodies come into contact the lines by which either intersects the other turn out to be circular since they have everywhere a uniform tendency.\(^e\) Secondly,
(932) ὅτι σελήνης μὲν ἐκλείπει πρῶτα μέρη τὰ πρὸς ἀπηλωτὴν ἥλιον δὲ τὰ πρὸς δύσην, κινεῖται δ' ἦ μὲν σκιὰ τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσπέραν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνα- 933 τολῶν ἥλιος δὲ καὶ σελήνη τούναντίον ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνα- τολάς. ταῦτα γὰρ ἰδεῖν τε παρέχει τῇ αἰσθήσει τὰ φαινόμενα κακὸ λόγῳ οὐ πάνω τι¹ μακρῶν μαθεῖν ἐστιν. ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἡ αὐτία βεβαιοῦται τῆς ἐκ- λείψεως. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἥλιος μὲν ἐκλείπει καταλαμ- βανόμενος σελήνη δ' ἀπαντῶσα τῷ ποιοῦντι τὴν ἐκλείψιν, εἰκότως μάλλον δ' ἀναγκαῖως ὃ μὲν² ὁπισθεν ἀλύσκεται πρῶτον ἡ δ' ἐμπροσθεν· ἀρχεται γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν ἡ ἐπιπρόσθεσις ὃθεν πρῶτον [μὲν]³ ἐπιβάλλει τὸ ἐπιπροσθοῦν· ἐπιβάλλει δ' ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἀφ' ἐσπέρας ἡ σελήνη πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀμιλλωμένη ταῦτῃ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνατολῶν (ἡ σκιὰ τῆς γῆς)⁴ ως πρὸς τούναντίον ὑποφερομένη, τρίτων τούνων ἐτὶ B τὸ τοῦ χρόνου λάβε⁵ καὶ τὸ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν ἐκλείψεων αὐτής. ὑψηλή μὲν ἐκλείπουσα καὶ ἀπό- γεως ὁλίγων ἀποκρύπτεται⁶ χρόνον πρόσγειος δὲ καὶ ταπεινή αὐτὸ τοῦτο⁷ παθοῦσα σφόδρα πιέζεται καὶ βραδέως ἐκ τῆς σκιάς ἀπεισει, καίτοι ταπεινὴ μὲν οὕσα τοῖς μεγίστοις χρῆται κινήμασιν ὑψηλὴ δὲ τοῖς ἔλαχιστοις. ἀλλὰ τὸ αὐτῖν ἐν τῇ σκιᾷ τῆς διαφορᾶς ἐστιν· εὐρυτάτη γὰρ οὕσα περὶ τὴν βάσιν, ὡσπερ οἱ κώνοι, συστελλομένη τῇ κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς ὁξὺ τῇ κορυφῆ καὶ λεπτῶν ἀπολήγει πέρας. ὃθεν ἡ σελήνη ταπεινῷ μὲν ἐμπεσοῦσα τοῖς μεγίστοις

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¹ E: τοι -B. ² Wytenbach: τὸ μὲν -E, B. ³ Deleted by Wytenbach. ⁴ Adler: no lacuna -E, B. ⁵ E: omitted by B. ⁶ E, B²; ἀπολείπεται -B¹. ⁷ E, B: ταὐτὸ τούτῳ -Benseler (" le mesme ") -Amyot.

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ᵃ Cf. Class. Phil. xlvi (1951), p. 144; Cleomedes, ii. 6. 116
I think that you are aware that of the moon the eastward parts are first eclipsed and of the sun the westward parts and that, while the shadow of the earth moves from east to west, the sun and the moon move contrariwise towards the east. This is made visible to sense-perception by the phenomena and needs no very lengthy explanations to be understood, and these phenomena confirm the cause of the eclipse. Since the sun is eclipsed by being overtaken and the moon by encountering that which produces the eclipse, it is reasonable or rather it is necessary that the sun be caught first from behind and the moon from the front, for the obstruction begins from that point which the intercepting body first assails. The sun is assailed from the west by the moon that is striving after him, and she is assailed from the east (by the earth’s shadow) that is sweeping down as it were in the opposite direction. Thirdly, moreover, consider the matter of the duration and the magnitude of lunar eclipses. If the moon is eclipsed when she is high and far from the earth, she is concealed for a little time; but, if this very thing happens to her when she is low and near the earth, she is strongly curbed and is slow to get out of the shadow, although when she is low her exertions of motion are greatest and when she is high they are least. The reason for the difference lies in the shadow, which being broadest at the base, as cones are, and gradually contracting terminates at the vertex in a sharp and fine tip. Consequently the moon, if she has met the shadow when

(p. 210. 6-19 [Ziegler]), 117 (p. 213. 1-12) on the lunar eclipse; ii. 5. 113-114 (p. 204. 27 ff.) on the solar eclipse; Geminiis, xii. 5-13 (pp. 138-140 [Manitius]) on the eastward motion of sun and moon.

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(933) λαμβάνεται κύκλοις ὑπ' αὐτῆς καὶ διαπερὰ τὸ Ὀβύθιον καὶ σκοτωδέστατον ἀνω δ' οἶνον ἐν τενάγει διὰ λεπτότητα τοῦ σκιεροῦ χρανθέσα ταχέως ἀπαλλάττεται. παρίμης δ' ὥσα χωρίς ἱδία πρὸς τὰς φάσεις καὶ διαφορήσεις ἐλέχθη (καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖναι μέχρι γε τοῦ ἐνδεχομένου προσένεται τὴν αἰτίαν), ἀλλ' ἐπανάγω πρὸς τὸν ὑποκείμενον λόγον ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα τὴν αἰσθήσιν. ὅρῳμεν γὰρ ὅτι πῦρ ἐκ τῶν σκιεροῦ διαφαίνεται καὶ διαλάμπει μᾶλλον εἴτε παχύτητι τοῦ σκοτώδους ἀέρος, οὐ δεχομένου τὰς ἀπορρέοσεις καὶ διαχύσεις ἀλλὰ συνέχοντος ἐν ταῦτῳ τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ φύγγοντος, εἴτε τῆς αἰσθήσεως τοῦτο πάθος ἐστίν, ὡς τὰ θερμὰ παρὰ τὰ

1 W. L. Bevan ; βάσεις -E, B.  
2 Leonicus ; ἔπι -E, B.  
3 Basiliensis ; ταχύτητι -E ; ταχυτήτι -B.  
4 E : ἀπορρέοσεις -B.

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a Cf. De Commnnibus Notitiis, 1080 b : αὐταὶ γὰρ ἐξῆπονθεν αἰ τῶν κοινών τηματῶν ἐπιφάνειαι κύκλοι εἰσάν.

b Cf. Cleomedes, ii. 6. 119 (pp. 214. 13–216. 8 [Ziegler]) ; for the observation that the planets appear to move most swiftly when they are nearest to the earth and most slowly when they are farthest away cf. Cleomedes, ii. 5. 112-114 (pp. 202. 26–206. 27), and Theon of Smyrna, p. 135. 6-11 and p. 157. 2-12 (Hiller). Plutarch's language, however, implies that the moon makes a conscious exertion to accelerate her motion when she is near the earth, and in the myth at 944 A infra it is stated that she increases her speed in order to escape the shadow of the earth. Kepler in note 51 to his translation declares that, contrary to what Lucius here says, perigee eclipses even when central are briefer than apogee eclipses ; and Prickard (Plutarch on the Face of the Moon [1911], p. 11) says that "ceteris paribus an eclipse of a distant moon should be longer by about one fifteenth." Prof. Neugebauer informs me that, using the Ptolemaic figures for the apparent diameter of the moon and of the earth's shadow
she is low, is involved by it in its largest circles and traverses its deep and darkest part; but above as it were in shallow water by reason of the fineness of the shadow she is just grazed and quickly gets clean away. I pass over all that was said besides with particular reference to the phases and variations, for these too, in so far as is possible, admit the cause alleged; and instead I revert to the argument before us which has its basis in the evidence of the senses. We see that from a shadowy place fire glows and shines forth more intensely, whether because the dark air being dense does not admit its effluences and diffusions but confines and concentrates the substance in a single place or because this is an affection of our senses that as hot things appear to be hotter in com-

and the classical figures given by Geminus for the velocity, the maximum totality in apogee should be $4; 3, 23^\text{hr}$ and in perigee $3; 20, 0^\text{hr}$.

Probably a reference to such matters as are discussed by Geminus, ix (pp. 124-130 [Manitius]). With τὰς φάσεις καὶ διαφορὰς cf. "species diversitatesque Lunae," Martianus Capella, viii. 871 (p. 459. 15-16 [Dick]).

It is impossible to give an exhaustive and accurately scientific explanation of physical phenomena, for they are involved in the indeterminateness of matter. Cf. Aristotle, Anal. Post. 87 a 31-37 and Metaphysics, 995 a 14-17, 1078 a 9-13 (cf. Zeller, Die Philosophie der Griechen, ii. 2, p. 166, n. 3); and for Plato's more extreme attitude cf. especially Timaeus, 29 b-c, Philebus, 56 and 59. Plutarch appears to have Philebus, 56 c in mind at Quaest. Conviv. 744 e-f, where he makes astronomy "attendant upon" geometry, as he has Philebus, 66 a-b in mind at 720 c (cf. R. M. Jones, Class. Phil. vii [1912], pp. 76 f.). For the notion of the necessary lack of accuracy of the "physical sciences" cf. further Plat. Quaest. 1001 e ff. and Quaest. Conviv. 699 b.

Cf. note a on 932 d supra.

Cf. Cleomedes, ii. 3. 99 (p. 180. 11-13 [Ziegler]) and ii. 6. 120-121 (p. 218. 2-3).
(933) ψυχρὰ θερμότερα καὶ τὰς ἥδονὰς παρὰ τοὺς πόνους
σφοδροτέρας οὕτω τὰ λαμπρὰ φαίνεσθαι παρὰ τὰ
σκοτεινὰ φανερά, τοῖς διαφόροις πάθεσιν ἀντεπι-

D τείνοντα τῇν φαντασίαν. ἔουσε δὲ πιθανότερον
εἶναι τὸ πρότερον. ἐν γὰρ ἠλίῳ πάσα πυρὸς φύσις
οὐ μόνον τὸ λαμπρὸν ἀπόλλυσιν ἄλλα τῷ εἴκειν
γίγνεται δύσεργοι καὶ ἀμβλυτέρα· σκίδυνη γὰρ ἡ
θερμότης καὶ διαχεὶ 1 τὴν δύναμιν. εἶπερ οὖν ἡ
σελήνη πυρὸς ἐξῆκε βληχροῦ καὶ ἀδρανοὺς ἀστρον
οὔσα θολερώτερον, ἄστερ ποὺ ἔμεινεν, οὔδεν δὲν
πάσχουσα φαίνεται νῦν ἄλλα τάναντα πάντα πά-

σχεῖν αὐτὴν προσήκον ἔστι, φαίνεσθαι μὲν ὅτε κρύ-

E πτεταί κρύπτεσθαι δ' ὀπηνίκα φαίνεται, τούτεστι
κρύπτεσθαι μὲν τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ὑπὸ τοῦ περι-

ἐχοντος αἰθέρος ἀμαυρομενὴν ἐκλάμπειν δὲ καὶ
γίγνεσθαι καταφανῇ δι' ἐξ μηνῶν καὶ πάλιν διὰ
πέντε τῇ σκιᾷ τῆς γῆς ύποδυκεί. αἱ γὰρ πέντε
καὶ ἔξήκοντα καὶ τετρακόσια περίοδοι τῶν ἐκ-

λειπτικῶν πανσελήνων τὰς τέσσαρας καὶ τετρα-

κοσίας ἐξαμήνους ἔχουσι τὰς δ' ἄλλας πενταμήνους.
ἐδει τοῦν διὰ τοσοῦτων χρόνων φαίνεσθαι τῇ

σελήνῃ ἐν τῇ σκιᾷ λαμπρομενῇ, ἡ δ' ἐν <τῇ

σκιᾷ> 2 μὲν ἐκλείπει καὶ ἀπόλλυσι τὸ φῶς ἀναλαμ-

1 Bernardakis (cf. 939 c 2 infra); διαχεῖ -E, B.
2 Wytenbach after Turnebus and Vulcobius; vac. 5-E, 4-B; ⟨αὐτῆς⟩ (?) -H, C.

a Cf. Quomodo Adul. ab Amico Internosc. 57 c, De Herodoti Malignitate, 863 ε.

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parison with cold and pleasures more intense in comparison with pains so bright things appear conspicuous when compared with dark, their appearance being intensified by contrast to the different impressions.\textsuperscript{a} The former explanation seems to be the more plausible, for in sunlight fire of every kind not only loses its brilliance but by giving way becomes ineffective and less keen, the reason being that the heat of the sun disperses and dissipates its potency.\textsuperscript{b} If, then, as the Stoics themselves assert,\textsuperscript{c} the moon, being a rather turbid star, has a faint and feeble fire of her own, she ought to have none of the things happen to her that now obviously do but the very opposite; she ought to be revealed when she is hidden and hidden whenever she is now revealed, that is hidden all the rest of the time when she is bedimmed by the circumambient ether\textsuperscript{d} but shining forth and becoming brilliantly clear at intervals of six months or again at intervals of five when she sinks under the shadow of the earth, since of 465 ecliptic full moons 404 occur in cycles of six months and the rest in cycles of five months.\textsuperscript{e} It ought to have been at such intervals of time then that the moon is revealed resplendent in the shadow, whereas in (the shadow) she is eclipsed and loses her light but regains

\textsuperscript{b} Cf. Aristotle, \textit{De Caelo}, 305 a 9-13; [Alexander], \textit{De Anima Libri Mantissa}, p. 128. 2-7 (Bruns), and the explanation of the moon's phases ascribed to Antiphon in \textit{De Placitis}, 891 D = Aëtius, ii. 28. 4 (Don. Graeci, p. 358).

\textsuperscript{c} See 928 d supra with note d there and 935 b infra. Reference to the present passage is omitted in \textit{S.V.F}.

\textsuperscript{d} \textit{althia} is here used in the Stoic sense as in 922 b and 928 c-d supra.

\textsuperscript{e} For this period of 465 ecliptic full moons cf. \textit{Class. Phil. xlvi} (1951), p. 145.
(933) βάνει δ' αὖθις ὅταν ἐκφύγῃ τὴν σκιὰν καὶ φαίνεται γε πολλάκις ἡμέρας ὡς πάντα μᾶλλον ἡ πύρινον οὖσα σέμα καὶ ἁστεροειδές.''

F 21. Εἰπόντος δὲ τούτῳ τοῦ Λευκίου, συνεξεδραμον ἀμα πῶς τῷ Ἁγείῳ
'Απολλωνίδης. εἶτα τοῦ 'Απολλωνίδου παρέντος
ὁ Φαρνάκης εἶπεν ότι τούτῳ καὶ μάλιστα τῇν σελήνην δείκνυσιν ἀστρον ἡ πύρ ὁδαν' οὐ γὰρ ἐστι παυτελῶς ἀδηλος ἐν ταῖς ἐκλεἰσεσίν ἀλλὰ διαφαίνεται τινὰ χρόαν ἀνθρακώδη καὶ βλοσυράν ἶτις ἰδιὸς ἐστιν αὐτής. ο δὲ 'Απολλωνίδης ἐνέστη περὶ τῆς σκιᾶς οἱ ἀκαταμπτῇ τόπον σκιάν τε μὴ δέχεσθαι τὸν ὀφθαλόν.

934 ἐγὼ δὲ τούτῳ μὲν ἐφην 'πρὸς τούνομα μᾶλλον ἐριστικῶς ἡ πρὸς τὸ πράγμα φυσικῶς καὶ μαθηματικῶς ἐνισταμένου. τὸν γὰρ ἀντιφραττόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς τόπον εἰ μὴ σκιὰν τις ἐδέλου καλεῖν ἀλλ' ἀφεγγες χωρίον, ὀμῶς ἀναγκαῖον ἐν αὐτῷ τῇν σελήνην γενομένην ἐπισκοπεῖσθαι τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ φωτὸς στερομένην καὶ ὀλὼς ἐφην 'εὐθῆς ἐστιν ἐκεῖ μὴ φάναι τῆς γῆς ἐξικνείσθαι τῆν σκιὰν

1 H. C.; vac. 6-E, 5-B.
2 Wytenbach after Xylander's version: παρόντος -E, B.
3 οὐτῶς vac. 2 ὀνομαζέων τοῖς -E; οὐτῶς ὀνομαζέων vac. 5 τούς -B; lacuna suppressed by Kepler and Wytenbach.
4 Aldine, Basiliensis: τόπον vac. 4-E, 6-B σκιάν (the lacuna in E is immediately under that after οὐτῶς in the line above).
5 Wytenbach after Xylander's version: ἐνισταμένους -E, B.
6 H. C. (cf. Cleomedes, p. 192. 21-22 [Ziegler]); vac. 38-E, 39-B.

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\[a\] For this argument cf. Cleomedes, ii. 4. 103 (p. 182. 10-16 [Ziegler]).
\[b\] = S. V. F. ii, frag. 672. Cf. Pliny, Nat. Hist. ii. 9. 42

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it again as soon as she escapes the shadow and is revealed often even by day, which implies that she is anything but a fiery and star-like body."

21. When Lucius said this, almost while (he was speaking) Pharnaces and Apollonides sprang forth together. Then, Apollonides having yielded, Pharnaces said that this very point above all proves the moon to be a star or fire, since she is not entirely invisible in her eclipses but displays a colour smouldering and grim which is peculiar to her. Apollonides raised an objection concerning the "shadow" on the ground that scientists always give this name to the region that is without light and the heaven does not admit shadow. "This," I said, "is the objection of one who speaks captiously to the name rather than like a natural scientist and mathematician to the fact. If one refuses to call the region screened by the earth 'shadow' and insists upon calling it 'lightless space,' nevertheless when the moon gets into it she must (be obscured since she is deprived of the solar light). Speaking generally too, it is silly," I said, "to deny that the shadow of the earth reaches


For a Stoic this follows from the definition of ὀφρανός as ἔσχατον αἴθερος and πύρων (cf. *S.V.F.* i, p. 33, frags. 115 and 116; *S.V.F.* ii, frag. 580 [p. 180. 10-12]).
(934) ἰπόθεν καὶ ἢ σκῶ τῆς σελήνης ἐπιπέπτουσα τῇ ὀψει καὶ ἰδήκουσα· πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἐκλεφθεῖν ἥλιον Β ποιεῖ. τὸ γὰρ ἀνθρακώδες ἐκεῖνο καὶ διακαῖς χρῶμα τῆς σελήνης ὁ φῶς ὑδιον αὐτῆς εἶναι σώματος ἐστὶ πυκνότητα καὶ βάθος ἐχοντος· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔδειξε τοῖς ἀραίοις ὑπόλειμμα φλογὸς οὐδ' ἱχνος ἐμμένειν οὐδ' ἐστιν ἀνθρακογένεσις ὡς μὴ στερέμυνον σῶμα δεξάμενον διὰ βάθους τὴν πύρωσιν καὶ σῶζον, ὥς ποι καὶ Ἄμυρος εἴρηκεν

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πυρὸς ἀνθος ἀπέπτατο παύσατο δὲ φλὸξ ἀνθρακίην στορέσας... ἡσυχαιρετικής... ὁ γὰρ ἀνθραξ ἐοίκειν οὐ πῦρ ἀλλὰ σῶμα πεπυρωμένον εἶναι καὶ πεπονθὸς ὑπὸ πυρὸς, στερεῷ καὶ ρίζαν ἐχοντι προσμένοντος ὥσκω καὶ προσδιατρίβοντος, αἱ δὲ φλόγες ἀραιὰς εἰσὶν ἐξαισίς καὶ πεῦμα τροφῆς καὶ ὕλης, ταχύ δὲ ἀσθένειαν ἀναλυομένης, ὥστε οὐδὲν ἂν ὑπήρχε τοῦ τε ἑωδὴ καὶ πυκνὴ εἶναι τὴν σελήνην ἑτερον οὐτως ἐναργές τεκμήριον εἶπερ

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1 Purser (implied by Amyot’s version); vac. 10-E, 9-B.
2 Turnebus; vac. 6-E, 9-B.
3 -Anon., Aldine, R.J. 94; ποιεῖν -E, B.
4 Xylander; ἀρχαῖοις -E, B.
5 Wytenbach; οὗ μην -E, B (for the same scribal error cf. Aristotle, Politics, 1301 b 27).
6 Xylander; σόλων -E, B.
7 E; στορέσας -B.
8 E; omitted by B.

that point (from which on its part) the shadow of the moon by impinging upon the sight and (extend- 
ing) to the earth produces an eclipse of the sun. 
Now I shall turn to you, Pharnaces. That smoulder- 
ing and glowing colour of the moon which you say is peculiar to her is characteristic of a body that is 
compact and a solid, for no remnant or trace of flame 
will remain in tenuous things nor is incandescence 
possible unless there is a hard body that has been 
ignited through and through and sustains the igni-
tion.\(^a\) So Homer too has somewhere said:

But when fire’s bloom had flown and flame had ceased
He smoothed the embers... \(^b\)

The reason probably is that what is igneous \(^c\) is not 
fire but body that has been ignited and subjected 
to the action of fire, which adheres to a solid and 
stable mass and continues to occupy itself with it, 
whereas flames are the kindling and flux of tenuous 
nourishment or matter which because of its feeble-
ness is swiftly dissolved. Consequently there would 
be no other proof of the moon’s earthy and compact 
nature so manifest as the smouldering colour, if it

\(^{b}\) Iliad, ix. 212-213 in our texts read:

\[\alphaυτάρ \ επεί \ κατὰ \ πῦρ \ έκάη \ καὶ \ φλόξ \ εμαράνθη,\]
\[\ ανθρακίνην \ στορέσας \ ὀβελοῦς \ εφύπερθε \ τάνυσος,\]

but the first line as Plutarch gives it was known to Aristarchus, 
who rejected it (cf. Ludwig, Aristarchs Homerische Text-
kritik, i, p. 302; Eustathius, Ad Iliadem, 748. 41; Scholia 
Graeca in Homeri Iliadem, ed. Dindorf, i, p. 312).

\(^{c}\) Purser has pointed out (Hermathena, xvi [1911], p. 316) 
that \[\alphaνθραξε\] may mean all degrees of burning coal from 
complete incandescence to ashes and that fire’s need of solid 
matter to work upon was often used as an argument against 
the Stoic conflagration of the world: cf. Philo, De Aeter-
nititate Mundi, §§ 86-88 (vi, pp. 99. 14–100. 10 [Cohn-Reiter]).

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(934) αὐτῆς ίδιον ἦν ως χρῶμα τὸ ἀνθρακώδες. ἔλλ' οὖκ ἔστιν, ὡς φιλε Φαρνάκη: πολλὰς γὰρ ἐκλείπουσα ἁρώας ἀμείβει καὶ διαφοροῦσιν αὐτὰς οὕτως οἱ μαθηματικοὶ κατὰ χρόνον καὶ ὡραν ἀφορίζοντες. ἄν ἂφ' ἐσπέρας ἐκλείπη φαίνεται μέλαινα δεινῶς ἄχρι τρίτης ὥρας καὶ ἡμισείας: ἂν δὲ μέση, τούτο δὴ τὸ ἐπιφοινίσσον ἢσιν [καὶ πῦρ] καὶ πυρωπόν· ἀπὸ δ' ἐβδόμης ὥρας καὶ ἡμισείας ἀνίσταται τὸ Δ ἐρύθημα· καὶ τέλος ἡδ' πρὸς ἐω λαμβάνει ἁρώαν κυανοειδή καὶ χαροπην ἂφ' ἢς δὴ καὶ μάλιστα 'γλαυκώπιν' αὐτὴν οἱ ποιηταί καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἀνακαλοῦνται. τοσαύτας οὖν ἁρώας ἐν τῇ σκιᾷ τῆς σελήνης λαμβάνουσαν ὀρέωντες οὖκ ὀρθῶς ἐπὶ μόνον καταφέρονται τὸ ἀνθρακώδες ὁ μάλιστα φήσαι τις ἂν ἀλλότριον αὐτῆς εἶναι καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπόμιγμα καὶ λείμμα τοῦ φωτός διὰ τῆς σκιᾶς.

1 Turnebus: τὰς -E, B.
2 Dübner (implied by Xylander's and Amyot's versions): ἐκλείπουσας -E, B.
3 Wytenbach (implied by Amyot's version): ἀμείβει -E, B.
4 Excised by Emperius.
5 B; ἡδ' -E.
6 Stephanus (1624): λαμβάνει -E, B.

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*Cf.* Aemilius Paulus, 17 (264 b), Nicias, 23 (538 ε) and for a description and explanation of the phenomenon *cf.* Sir John Herschel, *Outlines of Astronomy*, §§ 421-424, and J. F. J. Schmidt, *Der Mond* (Leipzig, 1836), p. 35. Astrology assigned special significance to the various colours of the moon in total eclipse: *cf.* Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum, vii (Brussels, 1908), p. 131. 6 ff.; Ptolemy, *Apotelesmata*, ii. 14. 4-5 (pp. 101-102 [Boll-Boer]) and ii. 10. 1-2 (pp. 91-92); and Boll in *R.E.* vi. 2350 assumes that by μαθηματικοὶ in the present passage Plutarch means "astrologers" (but see 937 f *infra*). Neither there nor in his article, "Antike Beobachtungen farbiger Sterne," does Boll mention...
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really were her own. But it is not so, my dear Pharnaces, for as she is eclipsed she exhibits many changes of colour which scientists have distinguished as follows, delimiting them according to time or hour.\(^a\)

If the eclipse occurs between eventide and half after the third hour, she appears terribly black; if at midnight, then she gives off this reddish and fiery colour; from half after the seventh hour a blush arises \(^b\) on her face: and finally, if she is eclipsed when dawn is already near, she takes on a bluish or azure \(^c\) hue, from which especially it is that the poets and Empedocles give her the epithet 'bright-eyed.' \(^d\) Now, when one sees the moon take on so many hues in the shadow, it is a mistake to settle upon the smouldering colour alone, the very one that might especially be called alien to her and rather an admixture or remnant of the light shining round about through the shadow, while the black or earthy any classification of the colours according to the time of the eclipse, however, nor does Gundel, \(s.v.\) "Mond" in R.E. xvi. 1. 101-102. Geminus’s calendar for the different phases of the moon (ix. 14-15 [pp. 128-130, Manitius]) has no connection with this matter and so is not, as Adler supposes (Diss. Phil. Vind. x, p. 157), an indication that Plutarch’s source in the present passage was Posidonius.

\(^a\) This, \textit{pace} Prickard, must be the meaning of \(\alphaν\iota\sigma\tauα\tauα\) here; \textit{cf.} \(\alphaν\iota\sigma\τα\μενος\) in Pompey, 34 (637 d) and \(\alphaνα\sigma\tau\αι\τος\) in Appian, B.C. i. 56 (ii. p. 61. 7 [Mendelssohn-Viereck]).

\(^b\) In \textit{Marius}, 11 (411 d) \(χαροποτησ\) is used of the eye-colour of the Teutons and Cimbrians, and in \textit{De Iside}, 352 \(d\) the colour of the flax-flower is said to resemble \(τ\j\ περιεχο\ου\η \τον \κό\σ\μον \αι\θε\ρ\ι\ω \χαροπο\τη\τη\).\(^d\)

\(^c\) See 929 \(d\) \textit{supra} and note \(b\) there; but Diels (\textit{Hermes}, xv [1880], p. 176) because of \(\alphaνακαλο\ου\ται\) thought that Plutarch must here have had in mind a verse of Empedocles that ended with the invocation, \(γλαυκ\ω\pi\ Σε\λ\η\π\η\). \textit{Cf.} also Euripides, frag. 1009 (Nauck\(^2\)).
περιλάμποντος ὑδίον δὲ τὸ μέλαν καὶ γεώδες. ὅπου
dὲ πορφυρίων ἐνταῦθα καὶ φοινικίσι λύματι τε καὶ
ποταμοῖς δεχομένους ἦλιον ἐπίσκεπται καὶ περιλάμπεται διὰ τὰς
ἀνακλάσεις ἀποδιδόντα πολλοὺς καὶ διαφόρους
Ε ἀπαγγασμοῦς, τί θαυμαστὸν εἰ ἑρέμα πολὺ σκιάς
ἐμβάλλων ὦσπερ εἰς πελαγος οὐράνιον οὐ σταθεροῦ
φωτὸς οὐδ᾽ ἱρεμοῦντος ἀλλὰ μυρίους ἀστροὺς περι-
elanoméνου1 μίξεις τε παντοδαπᾶς καὶ μεταβολάς
λαμβάνοντος ἀλλὰ ἄλλοτε χρόαν ἐκματτόμενον ἀπὸ
tῆς σελήνης ἐνταῦθ᾽ ἀποδίδοσιν; ἀστροὺ μὲν γὰρ
η ἄρι ὡκ ἂν ἐν σκιᾷ διαφανεῖ πέλαν ἡ γλαυκοῦν
ἡ κυανοειδές, ἀραὶ δὲ καὶ πεδίως καὶ θαλάσσαις
𝐅 πολλαὶ μὲν ἀφ᾽ ἡλίου μορφαὶ χρωμάτων ἐπιτρέ-
χουσι, καὶ σκιαῖς καὶ ὅμιχλαῖς οῖας φαρμάκοις
γραφικοῖς μυγνύμενον ἐπάγει βαφάς τὸ λαμπρόν.
ὅτι τὰ μὲν τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπικεχείρηκεν ἀμωσγέπως
ἐξονομάζειν "Ὀμήρος ἱοείδεα καλῶν καὶ ὁ ὅνοπα
πόντον" αὖθις δὲ 'πορφυρέον κύμα' 'γλαυκῆν'
t' ἀλλως 'θάλασσαν' καὶ 'λευκῆν γαλήνην' τὰς
dὲ περὶ τὴν γῆν διαφορὰς τῶν ἀλλῶν' ἀλλως ἐπι-
φαινομένων χρωμάτων παρῆκεν ὡς ἀπείρους τὸ
πλῆθος οὕσας. τὴν δὲ σελήνην οὐκ εἰκὸς ὦσπερ2
tὴν θάλασσαν μιὰν ἔχειν ἐπιφάνειαν ἀλλ᾽ ἐφικέναι
μᾶλιστα τῇ γῆ τὴν φύσιν ἕνω ἐμυθολογεῖ Σωκράτης

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1 E: ἐλανομένου -B.
2 E: omitted in B.

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a Kepler remarks on this sentence (note 56): "Ecce Plutarchum meae sententiae proxime accedentem, nisi quod non dicit, a quo lucente sit illud lumen, num ab aethere, an a Sole ipso, per refractionem ejus radiorum."

b Cf. the similar but more elaborate description in De
colour should be called her own. Since here on earth places near lakes and rivers open to the sun take on the colour and brilliance of the purple and red awnings that shade them, by reason of the reflections giving off many various effulgences, what wonder if a great flood of shade debouching as it were into a heavenly sea of light, not calm or at rest but undergoing all sorts of combinations and alterations as it is churned about by countless stars, takes from the moon at different times the stain of different hues and presents them to our sight? A star or fire could not in shadow shine out black or glaucous or bluish; but over mountains, plains, and sea flit many kinds of colours from the sun, and blended with the shadows and mists his brilliance induces such tints as brilliance does when blended with a painter’s pigments. Those of the sea Homer has endeavoured somehow or other to designate, using the terms ‘violet’ and ‘wine-dark deep’ and again ‘purple swell’ and elsewhere ‘glaucous sea’ and ‘white calm’; but he passed over as being an endless multitude the variations of the colours that appear differently at different times about the land. It is likely, however, that the moon has not a single plane surface like the sea but closely resembles in constitution the earth that the ancient Socrates made the subject of a myth.

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*Genio Socratis*, 590 c ff., where the stars are islands moving in a celestial sea, and also *De Sera Numinis Vindicta*, 563 e-f. *c* For λαμπρόν, “brilliance,” as a colour cf. Plato, *Timaeus*, 68 a; Theophrastus calls it τὸ πυρὸς ἔλεον (De Sensibus, § 86 [Dox. Graeci, p. 525. 23]). *d* e.g. *Iliad*, xi. 298. *e* e.g. *Iliad*, i. 350. *f* e.g. *Iliad*, i. 481-482. *g* Only in *Iliad*, xvi. 34 (cf. Scholia Graeca in Homeri *Iliadem*, ed. Diíndorf, ii, p. 92). *h* *Odyssey*, x. 94. *i* Plato, *Phaedo*, 110 b ff.
935 ο παλαιός εἶτε δὴ ταύτην αἰνειτόμενος εἶτε δὴ ἀλλήν τινὰ διηγούμενον. οὔ γὰρ ἀπιστῶν οὐδὲ θαυμαστὸν εἰ μὴ δὲν ἔχουσα διεφθορὸς ἐντῇ μηδ' ἀνυώδες ἄλλα φῶς τε καρπομενὴ καθαρὸν εἰ οὐρανοῦ καὶ θερμότητος οὐ διακαύσων οὐδὲ μανικοῦ πυρὸς ἄλλα νοτεροῦ καὶ ἀβλαβοῦς καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχοντος οὕσα πλήρης κάλλη τε θαυμαστά κέκτηται τῶτων ὀργή τε φλογοειδὴ καὶ κόμινα ἄλουργος ἢ ἐχει, χρυσὸν τε καὶ ἄργυρον οὔκ ἐν βάθει διεσπαρμένον ἄλλα πρὸς τοῖς πεδίοις ἐξανθούντα πολύν ἡ πρὸς ύψης λείους περιφαινόμενον. εἰ δὲ τούτων Ἄρης ἀφικνεῖται διὰ τὴς σκιᾶς ἄλλοτ' ἄλλη πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξαλλαγή καὶ διαφορὰ τινι τοῦ περιέχοντος, τό γε μὴν τίμων οὔκ ἀπόλλυσι τῆς δόξης οὐδὲ τὸ θείον ἡ σελήνη, <γ>'<ή> τις ἡ ὀλυμπία καὶ ἤ ἐρὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων νουμζομένη μᾶλλον ἡ πῦρ θολερὸν ὦσσερ οἱ Στωικοί λέγουσι καὶ τρυγώδες. πῦρ μὲν γε παρὰ Μήδος καὶ Ασσυρίως βαρβαρικάς ἐχει τυμᾶς, οἱ φόβῳ τὰ βλάπτοντα θεραπεύουσι πρὸ τῶν σεμιῶν ἀφοσιούμενοι, τό δὲ γῆς ὄνομα παντὶ ποιον φιλον "Ελληνι καὶ τίμων καὶ πατρῶν ἡμῖν ὦσσερ

C ἄλλον τινὰ θεόν8 σέβεσθαι. πολλοῦ δὲ δέομεν9

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1 Emperius; omitted without lacuna -Ε, Β.
2 νοεροῦ -Η. Τ. 3 E : ἀλουργᾶς -Β.
4 Bernardakis (cf. Brutus, 42 [1004 Λ]; Pompey, 19 [628 D]; Fabius Max. 5 [176 ν]); περιφερόμενον -Ε, Β.
5 Emperius; ῦτις -Ε, Β.
6 Bernardakis (cf. 935 c infra and De Defectu Oraculorum, 416 Ε); vac. 9-Ε, 13-Β.
7 Turnebus; ῦ μᾶλλον -Ε, Β.
8 Β : θεόν -Ε.
9 Basiliensis; δει δι μὲν -Ε; δει δι μὲν -Β.

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a "This one," ταύτην, means the earth, not the moon, as most translators since Wyttenbach have thought; "some other," ἄλλην τινά, means "some other earth," which is exactly what Lamprias believes the moon to be. So Lamprias 140.
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whether he really was speaking in riddles about this earth or was giving a description of some other. It is in fact not incredible or wonderful that the moon, if she has nothing corrupted or slimy in her but garners pure light from heaven and is filled with warmth, which is fire not glowing or raging but moist and harmless and in its natural state, has got open regions of marvellous beauty and mountains flaming bright and has zones of royal purple with gold and silver not scattered in her depths but bursting forth in abundance on the plains or openly visible on the smooth heights. If through the shadow there comes to us a glimpse of these, different at different times because of some variation and difference of the atmosphere, the honourable repute of the moon is surely not impaired nor is her divinity because she is held by men to be a celestial and holy earth rather than, as the Stoics say, a fire turbid and dreggish. Fire, to be sure, is given barbaric honours among the Medes and Assyrians, who from fear by way of propitiation worship the maleficent forces rather than the reverend; but to every Greek, of course, the name of earth is dear and honourable, and it is our ancestral tradition to revere her like any other god. As men we are far from thinking that the means that what Socrates said must be considered as a riddle if he was really talking about our earth but can be taken as straightforward description if he was referring to "some other earth," i.e. the moon.

b Or, if νοτεροδ is a scribal error for νοεροδ, "intellectual"; cf. Class. Phil. xlvi (1951), p. 145.

c The details of this description were suggested by Phaedo, 110 c—111 c, to which Plutarch has referred above.

d See 928 d and 933 d supra. The present passage is not listed in S.V.F.

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(935) ἀνθρωποὶ τὴν σελήνην, γῇν οὗσαν ὀλυμπίαν, ἀψυχον ἡγεῖσθαι σῶμα καὶ ἀνοῦν καὶ ἀμοιρὸν διὸν θεοῖς ἀπάρχεσθαι προσήκει νόμῳ τῶν ἁγαθῶν ἀμοιβᾶς τίνοτας καὶ κατὰ φύσιν σεβομένους τὸ κρείττον ἀρετῆ καὶ δυνάμει καὶ τιμιῶτερον. ὥστε μηδὲν οἱψυχικὰ πλημμελεῖν γῆν¹ αὐτὴν θέμενοι τὸ δὲ φαινόμενον τοὺτο πρόσωπον αὐτῆς, ὥσπερ ἡ παρ᾽ ἦμῖν ἔχει γῆ κόλπους τινὰς μεγάλους, οὕτως ἐκείνην ἀνεπτύχθαι βάθει μεγάλους καὶ ῥήξειν ὦδωρ ἡ ξοφερὸν ἀέρα περιέχουσιν διὸ ἐντὸς οὐ καθίσαι οὐδ᾽ ἐπιφανεί τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φῶς ἀλλ᾽ ἐκλείπει καὶ διεσπασμένην ἐνταῦθα τὴν ἀνάκλασιν ἀποδίδωσιν.‘’

D 22. Ἐπολαβῶν δ᾽ ὁ Ἀπολλωνίδης ‘‘εἰτ’, ὦ πρὸς αὐτῆς’’ ἐφῆ ‘‘τῆς σελήνης, δυνατὸν εἶναι δοκεῖ ύμῖν ῥηγμάτων τινῶν ἡ φαράγγων εἶναι σκιάς κάκειθεν ἀφικνεῖσθαι δεδρὸ πρὸς τὴν ὅψιν, ἡ τὸ συμβαίνον εἰς λογίζεσθε κάγῳ τοῦτο εἴπω; ἀκούοιτε δὴ καίπερ οὐκ ἄγνοοιτε. ἡ μὲν διάμετρος τῆς σελήνης δυσοκαίδεκα δακτύλως ἔχει τὸ φαινόμενον ἐν τοῖς μέσοις ἀποστήμασι μέγεθος. τῶν δὲ μελάνων καὶ σκιερῶν ἐκαστὸν ἡμιδακτυλίῳ φαίνεται μείζον ὥστε τῆς διαμέτρου μείζον ἡ

Ε εἰκοσιστότεταρτὸν εἶναι. καὶ μὴν, εἰ μόνων ὑποθοίμεθα τὴν περίμετρον τῆς σελήνης τρισμυρίων σταδίων μυρίων δὲ τὴν διαμέτρον, κατὰ τὸ ὑποκείμενον οὐκ ἐλαττῶν ἀν εἰτ' πεντακοσίων σταδίων

¹ Basiliensis; τὴν -E, B.
² Turnebus; ἀκούοιτε δὲ -E, B (but B has this phrase after καίπερ οὐκ ἄγνοοιτε).
³ Turnebus; εἶναι -E, B.

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moon, because she is a celestial \(^a\) earth, is a body without soul and mind and without share in the first-fruits that it beseems us to offer to the gods, according to custom requiting them for the goods we have received and naturally revering what is better and more honourable in virtue and power. Consequently let us not think it an offence to suppose that she is earth and that for this which appears to be her face, just as our earth has certain great gulfs, so that earth yawns with great depths and clefts which contain water or murky air; the interior of these the light of the sun does not plumb or even touch, but it fails and the reflection which it sends back here is discontinuous." \(^b\)

22. Here Apollonides broke in. "Then by the moon herself," he said, "do you people think it possible that any clefts and chasms cast shadows which from the moon reach our sight here; or do you not reckon the consequence, and shall I tell you what it is? Please listen then, though it is not anything unknown to you. The diameter of the moon measures twelve digits in apparent size at her mean distance \(^c\); and each of the black and shadowy spots appears greater than half a digit and consequently would be greater than one twenty-fourth of her diameter. Well then, if we should suppose that the circumference of the moon is only thirty thousand stades and her diameter ten thousand, each of the shadowy spots on her would in accordance with the

\(^a\) See note c on 929 \textit{a supra}.

\(^b\) For this "discontinuiousness" of the reflection \textit{cf. 921 c supra} and especially \textit{Quaest. Conviv. 696 a-c}.

\(^c\) \textit{Cf. Cleomedes, ii. 3. 95 (p. 172. 25-27 [Ziegler])}; on this measurement of 12 digits \textit{cf. Heath, Aristarchus of Samos, p. 23, n. 1.}
(935) \(\epsilon n\) αυτῇ τῶν σκιερῶν ἐκαστον. ὁρὰ δὴ πρώτον ἀν ἃ δυνατὸν τῇ σελήνῃ τηλικαύτα βάθη καὶ τηλικαύτας εἶναι πραχύηται ὡστε σκιὰν ποιεῖν τοσαύτην, ἔπειτα πῶς οὕς τηλικαύται τὸ μέγεθος ὕφ᾽ ἡμῶν οὐχ ὀρώνται." καὶ ὁ μειδίασας πρὸς αὐτὸν "ἐὖγ᾽ " ἔφην " ὑπὶ τοιαύτην ἐξεύρηκας ἀπόδειξιν, ὡ "Ἀπολλωνίδη, ὃ ἂ καί καὶ σαῦτὸν ἐποδείξεις τῶν Ἀλωάδων ἐκείνων εἶναι μείζονας οὐκ ἐν ἄπαντι μέντοι χρόνῳ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀλλὰ πρῳκάλωστα καὶ δείλης, (εἴ) οὖσι, τὰς σκιὰς ἡμῶν τοῦ ἴλιου ποιοῦντος ἠλιβάτους, τὸν καλὸν τοῦτον αἰσθῆσαι παρέχειν συλλογισμὸν ὡς, εἴ μέγα τὸ σκιαζόμενον, ὑπερμέγεθες τὸ σκιάζον. ἐν Λήμνῳ μὲν οὐδέτερος ἡμῶν εὗ ῥῖϊ ὡτὶ γέγονε, τοῦτο μέντοι τὸ θρυλούμενον ἵαμβείοιν ἀμφότεροι πολλάκις ἀκη-

1 Dübner; ἀλλώάδων -Ε; ἀλώάδων Β.
2 Ε; μείζονας εἶναι -Β.
3 Emperius: δείλης. οἰει -Ε, Β; δείλης, (ἄς) οἰει -Purser.
4 H. C. (cf. Quaest. Conviv. 641 b, De Aud. Poetis, 17 f and 36 b, De Amic. Multitudine, 94 λ, De Communibus Notitiis, 1078 c, De Stoicorum Repugnantiis, 1050 b); τεθρυλημένον -Ε; τρυλούμενον -Β.

Apollonides exaggerates for the sake of his point, for 500 stades is \(\frac{1}{2}\)₀, not \(\frac{1}{2}\)₁ of 10,000; but he has guarded himself by saying that each of the spots is more than half a digit and so more than \(\frac{1}{2}\)₁ of the diameter. On the other hand, he intends his estimate of the moon’s size to err, if at all, on the side of conservatism: cf. "only thirty thousand stades." Such small figures, even as minima, are remarkable, however. Cleomedes (ii. 1. 80-81 [pp. 146. 25-148. 3, Ziegler]) gives 144
assumption measure not less than five hundred stades. Consider now in the first place whether it is possible for the moon to have depths and corrugations so great as to cast such a large shadow; in the second place why, if they are of such great magnitude, we do not see them. Then I said to him with a smile: "Congratulations for having discovered such a demonstration, Apollonides. It would enable you to prove that both you and I are taller than the famous sons of Aloeus, not at every time of day to be sure but early in the morning particularly and in late afternoon, if, when the sun makes our shadows enormous, you intend to supply sensation with this lovely reasoning that, if the shadow cast is large, what casts the shadow is immense. I am well aware that neither of us has been in Lemnos; we have both, however, 40,000 stades as the lunar diameter, basing this upon the assumption that the earth is twice as large as the moon and has a circumference of 250,000 stades according to the measurement of Eratosthenes and a diameter therefore of "more than 80,000 stades." Plutarch adopted the same figure for the terrestrial diameter (see 925 a supra) but supposed this and the terrestrial circumference to be three times those of the moon (see 923 b supra and note d there), figures which should have given him more than 26,000 stades as the lunar diameter. According to Hultsch, however, Posidonius must have calculated the lunar diameter to be 12,000 stades (cf. Abhand. K. Gesell. Wissensch. zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl., N.F. i, No. 5, p. 38), which by the usual approximation would have given 36,000 stades for the lunar circumference; and Apollonides' minimal estimate may have been based upon these figures. For the common "rough approximation" 3:1 as the relation of circumference to diameter cf. Archimedes, Arenarius, ii. 3 (Opera Omnia, ii, p. 234. 28-29 [Heiberg]).

^ Otus and Ephialtes: cf. De Exilio, 602 d: Iliad, v. 385-387; Odyssey, xi. 305-320; Apollodorus, Bibliotheca, i. 7. 4. 2-4.
(935) κόαμεν

"Αθως καλύφει1 πλευρα2 Λημνίας βοός.

ἐπιβάλλει γάρ ἡ σκιὰ τοῦ ὅρους, ὡς έωικε, χαλκώς
936 τιν ὑβωδίων, μήκος ἀποτεύονσα διὰ τὴς θαλάττης
οὐκ ἔλαττον ἐπτακοσίων σταδίων. (ἀλλ[res] ὦ χρή
δῆπουθεν ἐπτακοσίων σταδίων)3 το κατασκιάζουν
ύψος εἰναι διὰ τὴν αὐτίαν ὅτι πολλαπλασίους αἱ τοῦ
φωτὸς ἀποστάσεις τῶν σωμάτων τὰς σκιὰς ποιοῦσι.
δεῦρο δὴ θεό καὶ τῆς σελήνης ὅτε πάμμηνὸς ἐστὶ
cαι μάλιστα τὴν ἱδέαν ἐναρθρον τοῦ προσώπου
βαθύτητι τῆς σκιὰς ἀποδίδωσι τὸ μέγιστον ἀπ-
έχοντα διάστημα τὸν ἴλον. ἡ γὰρ ἀποστασίς τοῦ
φωτὸς αὕτη τὴν σκιὰν μεγάλην οὐ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν
ὑπὲρ τὴν σελήνην ἀνωμαλῶν πεποίηκε. καὶ μὴν
οὐδὲ τῶν ὅρων4 τὰς ὑπεροχὰς ἐῶσι μεθ᾿ ἡμέραν5 αἱ
B περιαναγι τοῦ ἴλου καθορᾶσθαι, τὰ μέντοι βαθέα
καὶ κοίλα φαίνεται καὶ σκιώδη πόρρωθεν. οὐδὲν
οὖν ἄτοπον εἰ καὶ τῆς σελήνης τὴν ἀντίλαμψιν6 καὶ
tῶν ἐπιφωτισμὸν οὐκ ἔστι καθοράν ἀκριβῶς αἱ δὲ

1 E, B: καλύπτει -Van Herwerden.
2 Aldine, Basiliensis; πλευράς -E, B1; πλευρᾶς -B2.
3 H. C. after Purser's (οὐ χρή δὲ ἐπτακοσίων σταδίων); no lacuna in E or B; lacuna indicated in Xylander's version;
   “(At non ideo tantam faciemus illam) altitudinem,” etc.
-Kepler.
4 B: ὅρων -E.
5 Stephanus (1624): μεθημέραν -E, B.
6 Apelt: ἀντίλαμψιν -E, B.

* The verse, which comes from an unidentified tragedy of Sophocles, is elsewhere quoted with καλύπτει or σκιάζει and with πλευρά or νάτα (cf. Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag.2, p. 299, frag. 708). For the shadow of Athos cast upon Lemnos cf. 146
often heard this line that is on everyone's lips:

Athos will veil the Lemnian heifer's flank.\(^a\)

The point of this apparently is that the shadow of the mountain, extending not less than seven hundred stades over the sea,\(^b\) falls upon a little bronze heifer; (but it is not necessary, I presume,) that what casts the shadow be (seven hundred stades) high, for the reason that shadows are made many times the size of the objects that cast them by the remoteness of the light from the objects.\(^c\) Come then, observe that, when the moon is at the full and because of the shadow's depth exhibits most articulately the appearance of the face, the sun is at his maximum distance from her. The reason is that the remoteness of the light alone and not the magnitude of the irregularities on the surface of the moon has made the shadow large. Besides, even in the case of mountains the dazzling beams of the sun prevent their crags from being discerned in broad daylight, although their depths and hollows and shadowy parts are visible from afar. So it is not at all strange that in the case of the moon too it is not possible to discern accurately the reflection and illumination, whereas the juxta-


\(^b\) Proclus (*loc. cit.*) says that this is the distance of Lemnos from Athos, Plutarch rather that it is the length of the shadow cast by the mountain. According to Eustathius (*Ad Iliadem*, 980. 43 ff.), Athos is 300 stades distant from Lemnos, according to Pliny (*loc. cit.*) 87 Roman miles (unless this is a scribal error for XXXXVII). The actual distance is said to be about 50 miles; and Athos, which is 6350 feet high, could cast a shadow for almost 100 miles over open sea.

\(^c\) In this Plutarch is guilty either of an error or of an intentional sophism: *cf.* *Class. Phil.* xlvi (1951), p. 145.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(936) τῶν σκιερῶν παραθέσεις παρὰ τὰ λαμπρὰ τῇ διά-

φορᾷ τὴν ὅψιν οὐ λανθάνουσιν.

23. Ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ μᾶλλον' ἐφην "ἐλέγχειν δοκεῖ

τὴν λεγομένην ἀνάκλασιν ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης, ὅτι τοὺς

ἐν ταῖς ἀνακλωμέναις αὐγαῖς ἐστῶτας οὐ μόνον

συμβαίνει τὸ φωτιζόμενον ὄραν ἄλλα καὶ τὸ φω-

τίζον. ὅταν γὰρ αὐγής ἄφ' ὑδατος πρὸς τοῖχον

C ἀλλομένης ὅψις ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πεφωτισμένῳ κατὰ

τὴν ἀνάκλασιν τόπω γένηται, τὰ τρία καθότι, τὴν

τ' ἀνακλωμένην αὐγήν καὶ τὸ ποιοῦν ὑδωρ τὴν

ἀνάκλασιν καὶ τὸν ἦλιον αὐτὸν ἄφ' οὐ τὸ φῶς τῷ

ὑδατι προσπίπτον ἀνακέκλασται. τούτων δ' ὀμο-

λογουμένων καὶ φαινομένων κελεύουσιν τοὺς ἀνα-

κλάσει φωτιζοσθαι τὴν γῆν ὑπὸ τῆς σελήνης

ἀξιοῦντας ἐπιδεικνύναι νῦκτωρ ἐμφανόμενον τῇ

σελήνῃ τὸν ἦλιον ὡσπερ ἐμφαίνεται τῷ ὕδατι μεθ' ἥμεραν

ὅταν ἀνάκλασις ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γένηται: μὴ

φαινομένου δὲ τούτον κατ' ἄλλου οἴονται τρόπον

οὐκ ἀνακλάσει γίγνεσθαι τὸν φωτισμόν· εἰ δὲ μὴ

D τούτο, μηδὲ γῆν εἶναι τὴν σελήνην." "τί οὖν

ἐφη "πρὸς αὐτοὺς λεκτέον" ὁ Ἀπολλωνίδης.

"κοινὰ γὰρ ἔσοικε καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἶναι τὰ τῆς

1 E; μεθημέραν -B.

2 Wytenbach (implied by version of Kepler); ὦτ'-E, B.

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a i.e. the image of the sun in the water or the reflecting surface.

b i.e. by the Stoics; cf. e.g. the argument of Cleomedes (ii. 4. 101-102 [p. 184. 4 ff., Ziegler]) against the explanation of the moon's light as reflection. The following argument in this passage is printed by von Arnim, S. V. F. ii, p. 199 as frag. 675 of Chrysippus.

c For the idiom, κοινὸν καὶ πρὸς τινὰ εἶναι, cf. Lucullus,
positions of the shadowy and brilliant parts by reason of the contrast do not escape our sight.

23. There is this, however," I said, "which seems to be a stronger objection to the alleged reflection from the moon. It happens that those who have placed themselves in the path of reflected rays see not only the object illuminated but also what illuminates it. For example, if when a ray of light rebounds from water to a wall the eye is situated in the place that is itself illuminated by the reflection, the eye discerns all three things, the reflected ray and the water that causes the reflection and the sun itself, the source of the light which has been reflected by impinging upon the water. On the basis of these admitted and apparent facts those who maintain that the moon illuminates the earth with reflected light are bidden (by their adversaries) to point out in the moon at night an appearance of the sun such as there is in water by day whenever there is a reflection of the sun from it. Since there is no such appearance, (these adversaries) think that the illumination comes about in another way and not by reflection and that, if there is not reflection, neither is the moon an earth."

"What response must be made to them then?" said Apollonides, "for the characteristics of reflection seem to present us with a problem in common."

44 (521 a) and 45 (522 b). Apollonides is a geometer (cf. 920 f and 925 a-b supra) who had expressed admiration for Clearchus's theory of reflection from the moon (cf. 921 b supra); by καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς here he means that the objection just raised to reflection from the moon constitutes a difficulty for the theory which he has espoused as well as for that of Lamprias and Lucius which he has just attacked. Lamprias in his reply, however, contends that the physical characteristics of the moon on his theory, the very characteristics to which Apollonides has just objected (935 d-e), will explain why the
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA (936) ἀνακλάσεως." "ἀμέλει τρόπον τινὰ" ἐφην ἐγὼ "κοινά, τρόπον δ’ ἄλλον οὐδὲ κοινά. πρῶτον δ’ ὤρα τὰ τῆς εἰκόνος ὡς ἂνω ποταμῶν καὶ τραπεζ-παλιν λαμβάνουσιν. ἐπὶ γῆς γάρ ἐστὶ καὶ κάτω τὸ ὑδωρ ὑπὲρ γῆς δὲ σελήνη καὶ μετέωρος. οὖθεν ἀντίστροφον αἱ κεκλασμέναι τὸ σχῆμα τῆς γωνίας ποιοῦσι, τῆς μὲν ἄνω πρὸς τῇ σελήνῃ τῆς δὲ κάτω πρὸς τῇ γῇ τὴν κορυφὴν ἐχούσης. ἀμὴ ἀπασαν οὖν ἰδέαν κατόπτρον μηδ’ ἐκ πάσης ἀποστάσεως Ἐ ὁμοίων ἀνάκλασιν ποιεῖν ἀξιούτωσαν, ἔπει μάχονται πρὸς τὴν ἐνάργειαν. οἱ δὲ σώμα μὴ λεπτὸν μηδὲ λειὸν, ὦσπερ ἐστὶ τὸ ὑδωρ, ἀποφαίνοντες τὴν σελήνην ἀλλ’ ἐμβρυθὲς καὶ γεώδες οὐκ οἰδ’ ὅπως ἀπαιτοῦνται τοῦ ἥλιου τὴν ἐμφασιν ἐν αὐτῇ πρὸς τὴν ὦσιν. οὐδὲ γάρ τὸ γάλα τοὺς τοιούτους ἐσοπ-τρισμοὺς ἀποδίδοσιν οὐδὲ ποιεῖ τῆς ὦσις ἀνα-κλάσεις διὰ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν καὶ τραχύτητα τῶν μορίων πόθεν γε τὴν σελήνην δυνατόν ἐστιν ἀνα-πέμπειν ἀφ’ ἐαυτῆς τὴν ὦσιν ὦσπερ ἀναπέμπει τὰ λειότερα τῶν ἐσοπτρῶν; καίτοι καὶ ταῦτα δὴ-Γ’ πονθεῖν, ἐὰν ἀμυχῆ τις ἡ ρύπος ἡ τραχύτης κατα-

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1 B; οὐ -Ε.
2 Meineke (cf. 924 c supra); τραπέζ πάλιν -Ε, B.
3 Wytenbach (after Xylander's version); πάρεστι -Ε, B.
4 E; πρὸς τὴν κορυφήν τῇ γῇ ἐχούσης -Β.
5 H. C. (cf. e.g. Demetrius, 21 [898 B]; πάσαν ἰδέαν μάχης); κάτοπτρον -Ε, B; κατόπτρον -Emperius.
6 Basilensis; ἐνέργειαν -Ε, B.
7 B; ἐσοπτρον -Ε.

objection does not really make the difficulty for his theory that it would for that of Clearchus.

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"In common in a way certainly," said I, "but in another way not in common either. In the first place consider the matter of the image, a how topsy-turvy and like 'rivers flowing uphill' b they conceive it. The fact is that the water is on earth and below, and the moon above the earth and on high; and hence the angles produced by the reflected rays are the converse of each other, the one having its apex above at the moon, the other below at the earth. c So they must not demand that every kind of mirror or a mirror at every distance produce a similar reflection, since (in doing so) they are at variance with the manifest facts. Those, on the other hand, who declare that the moon is not a tenuous or a smooth body as water is but a heavy and earthy one, d I do not understand why it is required of them that the sun be manifest to vision in her. For milk does not return such mirroring either or produce reflections of the visual ray, and the reason is the irregularity and roughness of its particles e; how in the world then is it possible for the moon to cast the visual ray back from herself in the way that the smoother mirrors do? Yet even these, of course, are occluded if a scratch or speck of dirt or roughness covers the point

a i.e. the reflected image, not "the simile," as Amyot and Prickard interpret it.

b For the proverbial expression cf. Hesychius, s.v. ἀνω ποταμῶν; Euripides, Medea, 410; Lucian, Dialogi Mortuorum, 6. 2.

c As Kepler says in his note 64 ad loc., "ratio nihil ad rem."

d i.e. those who hold the view of the moon's nature that Lamprias himself espouses.

e Cf. Quaest. Conviv. 696 A: and observe that the phrase, ἀνωμαλα καὶ τραχύτης, used here of milk is in 930 D supra and 937 A infra applied to the moon.
(936) λάβη τὸ σημεῖον [ἂν]¹ ἀφ' οὖν πέφυκεν ἢ ὃμοι ἀνακλάσθαι,² τυφλοῦται³ καὶ βλέπεται μὲν αὐτὰ τὴν δ' ἀνταύγειαν οὐκ ἀποδίδωσιν. ὣ δ' ἄξιῶν ἢ καὶ τὴν ὁμοί ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ἤλιον ἢ μυθί τὸν ἤλιον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀνακλᾶν ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς τὴν σελήνην ἢδύς ἐστὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἦλιον ἄξιῶν εἶναι φῶς δὲ τὴν ὁμοί ὦρανὸν δὲ τὸν ἀνθρωπον. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἦλιον δι' εὐτοικίαν καὶ λαμπρότητα πρὸς τῇ σελήνη γυγνομένην μετὰ πληγής τὴν ἀνάκλασιν φέρεσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰκόν ἐστιν, ἢ δ' ὁμοί ἀσθενής οὔσα καὶ λεπτή καὶ ὀλυγοστὴ τῇ θαυμαστὸν εἰ μήτε πληγήν ἀνακροστικὴν ποιεῖ μήτ' ἀφάλλομένη⁴ τηρεῖ τὴν 937 συνέχειαν ἄλλα θρύπτεται καὶ ἀπολείπει πλῆθος οὐκ ἔχουσα φωτός ὠστε μὴ διασπᾶσθαι περὶ τὰς ἀνωμαλίας καὶ τραχύτητας; ἀπὸ μὲν γὰρ ὄδατος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐσώπτρων ἱσχύουσαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐγγὺς οὔσαν ἐπὶ τὸν ἤλιον ἀλλεσθαί τὴν ἀνάκλασιν οὐκ ἀδύνατον ἐστιν. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς σελήνης, καὶ γὰρ ἐνωνται τινες ὀλισθήσεις αὐτῆς, ἀσθενεῖς ἐσονται καὶ ἀμυνδαὶ καὶ προσπολείπουσαι διὰ τὸ μῆκος τῆς ἀποστάσεως. καὶ γὰρ ἄλλως τὰ μὲν κούλα

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¹ Excised by Wytenbach.
² Bernardakis: ἀνακλάσθεν -E, B.
³ Emperius: τυφλοῦται -E, B.
⁴ Madvig (implied by version of Xylander): ἀφάλλομένη -E, B.

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⁴ For the phenomenon referred to cf. [Ptolemy], De Speculis, vi = Hero Alexandrinus, Opera, ii. 1, p. 330. 4-22 (Nix-Schmidt). For τυφλός meaning to deaden, muffle, occlude cf. De Defectu Oraculorum, 434 c, Quaest. Conviv. 721 b, De Esu Carnium, 995 f.

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from which the visual ray is naturally reflected, and while the mirrors themselves are seen they do not return the customary reflection.\textsuperscript{a} One who demands that the moon either reflect our vision from herself to the sun as well or else not reflect the sun from herself to us either is naïve, for he is demanding that the eye be a sun, the vision light, and the human being a heaven. Since the light of the sun because of its intensity and brilliance arrives at the moon with a shock, it is reasonable that its reflection should reach to us; but the visual ray, since it is weak and tenuous and many times slighter, what wonder if it does not have an impact that produces recoil or if in rebounding it does not maintain its continuity but is dispersed and exhausted, not having light enough to keep it from being scattered about the irregularities and corrugations (of the moon)\textsuperscript{b}: From water, to be sure, and from mirrors of other kinds it is not impossible for the reflection (of the visual ray) to rebound to the sun, since it is still strong because it is near to its point of origin\textsuperscript{b}; but from the moon, even if the visual rays do in some cases glance off, they will be weak and dim and prematurely exhausted because of the magnitude of the distance.\textsuperscript{c} What is more too, whereas mirrors that are concave make

\textsuperscript{a} Plutarch has to explain how the image of the sun can be seen in water and mirrors though it is not seen in the moon, and he does so by stressing the proximity of the former to the "point of origin." This "point of origin" can only be our eyes, so that he must be thinking of the visual ray as reflected from water and mirrors to the sun and as failing to be reflected from the moon to the sun. The reading of the mss., \textit{ἐπὶ τὸν ἡλίον}, is necessary to the argument and all suggestions for altering it are wrong.

\textsuperscript{b} \textit{i.e.} the distance from the eye to the reflecting surface of the moon.
(937) των ἐσόπτρων εὐτονωτέραν ποιεῖ τῆς προηγουμένης αὐγής την ἀνακλωμένην ὡστε καὶ φλόγας ἀναπέμπειν πολλάκις, τὰ δὲ κυρτὰ καὶ τὰ σφαιρεῖδη τῷ μὴ πανταχόθεν ἀντερείδειν ἁσθενῇ καὶ ἀμαυράν (αὐτὴν ἀναδίδωσιν.) ὁ ὅρατε3 δὴποιεῖν, ὅταν ἰρίδες δύο φανώσι νέφους νέφος ἐμπεριέχοντος, ἀμαυρὰ1 ποιοῦν καὶ ἁσαφῆ τὰ χρώματα τῆν περιέχουσαν· τὸ γὰρ ἐκτὸς νέφος ἀπωτέρω τῆς ὀψεως κείμενον οὐκ εὐτονον οὐδ’ ἵσχυράν τὴν ἀνάκλασιν ἀποδίδωσι. καὶ τι δεὶ πλείονα λέγειν; ὅπον γὰρ τὸ τοῦ ἥλιον φῶς ἀνακλώμενον ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης τὴν μὲν θερμότητα πάσαν ἀποβάλλει τῆς δὲ λαμπρότητος αὐτοῦ λεπτὸν ἀφικνεῖται μόλις πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ ἄδρανες λείψανον, ἥπον5 τῆς ὀψεως τῶν ἱσον6 φερομένης διάυλον ἐνδέχεται μόριον ὁτιόν C λευφάνων7 ἐξικέσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον ἀπὸ8 τῆς σελήνης, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἴμαι. σκοπεῖτε δ’” εἶπον “καὶ ὑμεῖς. εἰ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὴν σελήνην ἐπασχεν ἡ ὀψις, ἐδει9 καὶ γῆς καὶ φυτῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀστρων ἐμφάσεις ποιεῖν τὴν πανσέληνον, οίας τὰ λουτά ποιεῖται τῶν ἐσόπτρων. εἰ δ’ οὐ γίγνονται πρὸς ταῦτα τῆς ὀψεως ἀνακλάσεις

1 E: καὶ σφαιρεῖδη -B.
2 Adler: ἀμαυράν vac. 14-E, 18-B.
3 Turnebus: ὅραται -E, B.
4 H. C. (implied by versions of Xylander, Amyot, and Kepler): ἀμαυράν -E, B.
7 H. C. (implied by version of Amyot): λείψανον -E, B.
8 Wyttenbach (implied by versions of Amyot and Kepler): ύπο -E, B. 9 Turnebus: ὅ δὴ -E, B.

a For the concave burning-glass cf. [Euclid], Catoptrica, Prop. 30 (Euclid, Opera Omnia, vii, pp. 340-342 [Heiberg]).
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the ray of light more intense after reflection than it was before so as often even to send off flames,¹ convex and spherical mirrors ² by not exerting counter-pressure upon it from all points (give it off) weak and faint. You observe, I presume, whenever two rainbows appear, as one cloud encloses another, that the encompassing rainbow produces colours that are faint and indistinct. The reason for this is that the outer cloud, being situated further off from the eye, returns a reflection that is not intense or strong.³ Nay, what need of further arguments? When the light of the sun by being reflected from the moon loses all its heat ⁴ and of its brilliance there barely reaches us a slight and feeble remnant, is it really possible that of the visual ray travelling the same double-course ⁵ any fraction of a remnant should from the moon arrive at the sun? For my part, I think not; and do you too," I said, "consider this. If the visual ray were affected in the same way by water and by the moon, the full moon ought to show such reflections of the earth and plants and human beings and stars as all other mirrors do; but, if there occur no reflections of the visual ray to these objects either

¹ Not two kinds of mirrors, as Raingeard says ad loc., but one, "convex, i.e. convex spherical," for (1) spherical mirrors that are concave are the burning-glasses in the preceding category, and (2) convex mirrors that are not spherical would not provide the obvious analogy with the moon that is wanted.

² On the double rainbow and the reason why the outer bow is less distinct cf. Aristotle, Meteorology, 375 a 30–b 15. Aristotle’s explanation, which Plutarch here adopts, is attacked by Kepler in a long note on the present passage (note 70).

³ See note a on 929 e supra.

⁴ The moon is thought of as the καμπτήρ or turning-post in the stadium. The sun’s rays travel from sun to moon to eye, and the visual ray would have to travel the same course in reverse.
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(937) δὺ ἁσθένειαν αὐτῆς ἡ τραχύτητα τῆς σελήνης, µηδὲ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον ἀπαίτώµεν.

24. Ἡµεῖς µὲν οὖν ἔφην ὡσα µὴ διαπέφευγε τὴν µνήµην τῶν ἐκεῖ λεχθέντων ἀπηγγέλκαµεν. ὥρα δὲ καὶ Σύλλαν παρακαλεῖν, µᾶλλον δὲ ἀπαίτειν τὴν διῆγµην, οἷον ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς ἀκροατήν γεγενήµένον. ὥστε, εἰ δοκεῖ, καταπαύσαντες τὸν περί-

Πατον καὶ καθίσαντες ἐπὶ τῶν βάθρων ἐδραίον αὐτῷ παράσχωµεν ακροατήριον." ἔδοξε δὴ ταύτα, καὶ καθίσαντων ἡµῶν ὁ Θέων "ἐγὼ τοι, ὁ Λαµ-

πρία," εἶπεν "ἐπιθυµῶ µὲν οὐδενὸς ἢττον ἡµῶν ἀκούσαι τὰ λεχθησόµενα, πρότερον δὲ ἄν ἴδεως ἀκούσαιµι περὶ τῶν οἰκείων λεγοµένων ἐπὶ τῆς σελήνης, οὐκ εἰ κατοικοῦσί τινες ἀλλ' εἰ δυνατόν ἐκεῖ κατοικεῖν. εἰ γὰρ οὐ δυνατόν, ἄλογον καὶ τὸ γῆν εἶναι τῆς σελήνης: δόξει γὰρ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀλλὰ µάτην γεγονέναι µήτε καρποὺς ἐκφέρουσα μὴτ' ἀνθρώποις τινῶν ἐδραί παρέχουσα καὶ γένεσιν καὶ

Ε διὰ ταύταν, δὸν ἔνεκα καὶ ταύτην γεγονέναι φαµὲν κατὰ Πλάτωνα τροφὸν ἡµετέραν, ἡµέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ἀτρεκή φύλακα καὶ δηµιουργόν." ὀρᾶς δὲ ὁτι

1 Stephanus (1624), cf. Timaeus, 40 b : τροφὴν -Ε, Β.

a See 921 f, 929 b, 929 f supra.

b In De Placitis, 892 a = Aëtius, ii. 30. 1 this notion is ascribed to the Pythagoreans (and in the version of Stobaeus specifically to Philolaüs). Diogenes Laërtius, ii. 8 ascribes it to Anaxagoras—if on the basis of frag. B 4 (ii, p. 34. 5 ff. [Diels-Kranz]), wrongly; and Ciceron’s ascription of it to Xenophanes (Acad. Prior, ii. xxxix. 123) is certainly an error (despite Lactantius, Div. Inst. iii. 23. 12) but more probably due to confusion with Xenocrates than, as is usually said, a mistake for Anaxagoras (cf. J. S. Reid ad loc.; Diels-Kranz, Frag. der Vorsok., i, p. 125. 40; Diels, Dox. Graec., p. 121, n. 1). The “moon-dwellers” became characters of “scien-
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because of the weakness of the ray or the ruggedness of the moon, let us not require that there be such reflection to the sun either.

24. So we for our part,” said I, “have now reported as much of that conversation as has not slipped our mind; and it is high time to summon Sulla or rather to demand his narrative as the agreed condition upon which he was admitted as a listener. So, if it is agreeable, let us stop our promenade and sit down upon the benches, that we may provide him with a settled audience.” To this then they agreed; and, when we had sat down, Theon said: “Though, as you know, Lamprias, I am as eager as any of you to hear what is going to be said, I should like before that to hear about the beings that are said to dwell on the moon—not whether any really do inhabit it but whether habitation there is possible. If it is not possible, the assertion that the moon is an earth is itself absurd, for she would then appear to have come into existence vainly and to no purpose, neither bringing forth fruit nor providing for men of some kind an origin, an abode, and a means of life, the purposes for which this earth of ours came into being, as we say with Plato, ‘our nurse, strict guardian and artificer of day and night.’ You see that there is

tific fiction” at least as early as Herodorus of Heraclea (cf. Athenaeus, ii. 57 f).

* Timaeus, 40 b-c. Though ἀπρεκῆ does not appear there, it is introduced into the passage by Plutarch at 938 ε infra and at Plat. Quaest. 1006 ε, which indicates that he meant it as part of the quotation. Since there appears to be no other reference to the words τροφῶν ἡμετέραν in Plutarch’s extant works, one cannot be sure that τροφὴν here is not his own misquotation rather than a scribal error. (The phrase, τροφᾶς ζωᾶν, in De Superstitione, 171 a is probably not part of the adaptation of the Timaeus-passage there.)
(937) πολλὰ λέγεται καὶ σὺν γέλωτι καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς περὶ τούτων. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τὴν σελήνην οἰκοῦν ὁσπερ Ταντάλους ὑπὲρ1 κεφαλῆς ἐπικρεμασθαί2 φασὶ τοὺς δ' οἰκοῦντας αὐτὶ πάλιν ἐπ' αὐτῆς, ὁσπερ
F Ἰξίονας ἐνδεδεμένους ρύμη τοσ(αύτη, τῆς καταφορᾶς κωλύειν τήν κύκλω περιδίνησιν.)3 καίτοι μίαν οὐ κινεῖται κίνησιν ἀλλ', ὡς ποι καὶ λέγεται, Τριοδίτις ἐστιν, ἀμα μῆκος ἔπι τοῦ ζωδιακοῦ καὶ πλάτος ἀντιφερομένη4 καὶ βάθος: ὃν τὴν μὲν περιδρομὴν τὴν δ' ἐλικα τὴν δ' οὐκ οἴδα πώς ἀνωμαλίαν ὄνομάζουσιν οἱ μαθηματικοὶ, καίπερ οὐδεμίαν ὀμαλὴν οὐδὲ τεταγμένην ταῖς ἀποκαταστάσεσιν ὁρῶντες ἔχουσαν.5 οὐκοιν6 εἰ λέων τις ἐπεσεν ὑπὸ ρύμης

1 Stephanus (1624): ἐκ -E, B.
2 H. C. (cf. Class. Phil. xlvi [1951], p. 155, n. 47); ἐκκρεμασθαί -E, B.
3 H. C. (cf. Class. Phil. xlvi [1951], p. 146); τόση γας. 43-E, 30-B.
4 H. C. (cf. Class. Phil. xlvi [1951], p. 146); φερομένη -E; ἐπιφερομένη -B, Aldine, Basiliensis.
5 B: ἔχουσας -E.
6 Stephanus (1624): οὐκ -E, B.

a Cf. the sarcastic remarks of Lucius in 923 c supra. For the "stone of Tantalus" cf. Nostoi, frag. x (=Athenaeus, 281 b-c): Pindar, Olympian, i. 57-58 and Isthmian, viii. 10-11; and Scholia in Olymp. i. 91 a, where reference is made to the "interpretation" that the stone which threatens Tantalus is the sun, this being his punishment for having declared that the sun is an incandescent mass (cf. also scholiast on Euripides, Orestes, 982-986).

b For the myth of Ixion on his wheel cf. Pindar, Pythian, ii. 21-48 and for Ixion used in a cosmological argument cf. Aristotle, De Caelo, 284 a 34-35.

c An epithet of Hecate (cf. Athenaeus, vii. 325 a) applied to the moon only after she had been identified with the moon-goddess, after which her epithets had to be explained by 158
much talk about these things both in jest and seriously. It is said that those who dwell under the moon have her suspended overhead like the stone of Tantalus and on the other hand that those who dwell upon her, fast bound like so many Ixions by such great velocity, are kept from falling by being whirled round in a circle. Yet it is not with a single motion that she moves; but she is, as somewhere she is in fact called, the goddess of three ways, for she moves on the zodiac against the signs in longitude and latitude and in depth at the same time. Of these movements the mathematicians call the first 'revolution,' the second 'spiral,' and the third, I know not why, 'anomaly,' although they see that she has no motion at all that is uniform and fixed by regular recurrences. There is reason to wonder then not that the velocity caused a lion to fall on the Peloponnesus e reference to lunar phenomena. Cf. e.g. Cleomedes, ii. 5. 111 (p. 202. 5-10 [Ziegler]) on τριπρόσωπος, and Cornutus, Theologiae Graecae Compend. 34 (p. 72. 7-15 [Lang]) on τριμορφος and τριμοδίτις. The etymology here put into Theon's mouth had already been given by Varro in his De Lingua Latina, vii. 16. For the moon as Hecate cf. notes b on 942 d and g on 944 c infra.

d For the text, terminology, and intention of these two sentences cf. Class. Phil. xlvi (1951), pp. 146-147.

e Cf. Epimenides, frag. B 2 (i, p. 32. 22 ff. [Diels-Kranz]); Anaxagoras, frag. A 77 (ii, p. 24. 25-26 and 28-30 [Diels-Kranz]). It may be that Anaxagoras referred to this legend in connection with his theory concerning the meteoric stone of Aegospotami, the fall of which he is said to have "predicted" (Lysander, 12 [439 d-f]; Diogenes Laertius, ii. 10; Pliny, Nat. Hist. ii. 58 [59], 149-150). Kepler (note 77) suggests that the story of the lion falling from the sky may have arisen from a confusion of λαώς (gen. pl. of λαας) and λεώς or, as Prickard puts it, between λας and λής. Diogenes Laertius (viii. 72) quotes Timaeus to the effect that Heraclides Ponticus spoke of the fall of a man from the moon, an incident which
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(937) eîs Πελοπόννησου άξιόν ἔστι θαυμάζειν ἀλλ' ὅπως οὐ μυρί' ὀρῶμεν ἀεί

πεσώματ' ἀνδρῶν καπολακτισμοὺς βίων

938 ἐκείθεν οἶον ἐκκυβιστῶτων καὶ περιτραπέντων.  
καὶ ἡμῶν peri monhe' τῶν ἐκεί διαπορεῖν εἰ μὴ γένεσιν μηδὲ σύστασιν ἐχειν δύνανται.  
ὅποιν γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Τρωγλόδυται, οἰς ἡμέρας μᾶς ἀκαρές ίσαται κατὰ κορυφὴν ὁ ἦλιος ἐν τροπαῖς ἐν' ἀπεισω, ὅλιγον ἀπέχουσι τοῦ κατακεκαῦθαι ἕξρότητι τοῦ περίεχοντος, ἦποι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς σελήνης εἰκὸς ἐστὶ δώδεκα θερείας ὑπομένειν ἐτοὺς ἐκάστοι, κατὰ μὴν τοῦ ἦλιου πρὸς κάθετον αὐτοῖς ἐφισταμένου καὶ στηρίζοντος ὅταν ἦ πανσέληνος;  
πνεύματά γε μὴ καὶ νέφη καὶ ὀμβρους, ὦν χωρίς Β οὔτε γένεσις φυτῶν ἐστὶν οὔτε σωτηρία γενομένου, ἀμήχανον ἐκεί διανοηθήναι συνιστάμενα διὰ θερμότητα καὶ λεπτότητα τοῦ περίεχοντος.  
οὔτε γὰρ ἐνταῦθα τῶν ὄρων τὰ ψηλὰ δέχεται τοὺς ἁγρίους καὶ ἐναντίον χειμῶνας, ἀλλ' ἂν λεπτὸς ὄν; ἡ ἐκαὶ σάλον ἑχων ὑπὸ κουφότητος ὁ ἀγρ ἐκφεύγει τὴν σύστασιν παύτην καὶ πύκνωσιν.  
εἰ μὴ νή Δία φήσομεν ὡσπερ ἡ 'Αθηνά τῷ Αχιλλεὶ νέκταρος τι

1 B : πελοπόννησον -E.
2 Turnebus : ὅμως -E, B.
3 B (cf. De Curiositate, 517 r) ; νῦν -E.
4 Wyttenbach (cf. De Vitando Aere Alieno, 831 ν : περιτραπεῖς) ; περιτραπέντων -E, B ; περιπρεπόντων -Apelt (Jena, 1905).
5 Dübner : καὶ vac. 1-E ; καὶ γὰρ -B.
6 Basiliensis : μόνης -E, B.
7 Wyttenbach : δύναται -B ; δυνατα -E.
8 Bernardakis (cf. 939 a-c, 939 Ε infra) ; ἀλλ' vac. 9-E, 10-B.

Voss after Hirzel refers to a dialogue of his that may have 160
but how it is that we are not forever seeing countless

Men falling headlong and lives spurned away,\(^a\)
tumbling off the moon, as it were, and turned head over heels. It is moreover ridiculous to raise the question how the inhabitants of the moon remain there, if they cannot come to be or exist. Now, when Egyptians and Troglodytes,\(^b\) for whom the sun stands in the zenith one moment of one day at the solstice and then departs, are all but burnt to a cinder by the dryness of the atmosphere, is it really likely that the men on the moon endure twelve summers every year, the sun standing fixed vertically above them each month at the full moon? Yet winds and clouds and rains, without which plants can neither arise nor having arisen be preserved, because of the heat and tenuousness of the atmosphere cannot possibly be imagined as forming there, for not even here on earth do the lofty mountains admit fierce and contrary storms \(^c\) but the air, (being tenuous) already and having a rolling swell \(^d\) as a result of its lightness, escapes this compaction and condensation. Otherwise, by Heaven, we shall have to say that, as Athena when Achilles was taking no food instilled into him

influenced Plutarch (Voss, De Heraclidis Pontici Vita et Scriptis, p. 61).

\(^a\) Aeschylus, Supplïcès, 937; cf. De Curiositate, 517 \(r\), where also Plutarch gives βπον instead of Aeschylus's βπον.
\(^b\) i.e. Ethiopians: cf. Herodotus, iv. 183. 4; Strabo, ii. 5. 36 (c. 133).
\(^c\) Cf. Aristotle, Meteorology, 340 b 36—341 a 4, 347 a 29-35, and Alexander, Meteor. p. 16. 6-15, where lines 10-11 guarantee and explain the ἐνδρίσκειν in Plutarch's text.
\(^d\) Cf. 939 \(e\) infra and Plat. Quaest. 1005 \(e\).
(938) καὶ ἀμβροσίας ἐνέσταξε μὴ προσιμένῳ τροφήν
οὗτῳ τῆν σελήνην, Ἀθηνᾶν λεγομένην καὶ οὖσαν,
τρέφειν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀμβροσίαν ἀνέσαν ἀυτοῖς
ἐφημέριον, ὡς Φερεκύδης ὁ παλαιὸς οἴεται συνειδάθαι
C αὐτοῦς <τοὺς>² θεοὺς. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἰνδικὴν ῥίζαν
ην φῆσι Μεγασθένης τοὺς <μήτ' ἐσθιόντας>³ μήτε
πίνοντας ἀλλ' ἀστόμους⁴ ὀντας ὑποτῦφειν καὶ
θυμαί καὶ τρέφεσθαι τῇ ὀσμῇ ποθεν ἄν τις ἔκει
φυμενὴν λάβοι, μὴ βρεχομένης τῆς σελήνης;"'

25. Ταῦτα τοῦ Θέωνος εἰπόντος, <"ὑπέρευν> γ' "⁵
ἐφην " καὶ ἄριστα τῇ παιδία τοῦ λόγου τὰς ἀφρῶς
<ἡμῶν καθήκας, δι>'⁶ ἄ καθαρὸς ἡμῖν ἐγγίγνεται
πρὸς τὴν ἀπόκρυσιν μὴ πάνω πικράν μηδ' αὐστηρὰν
εὐθύνην προσδοκῶσι. καὶ γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς τῶν
σφόδρα πεπεισμένων τὰ τοιαύτα διαφέρουσιν <οὐ-
δέν>⁷ οἱ σφόδρα δυσκολαίνοντες αὐτοῖς καὶ δια-
πιστοῦντες ἀλλὰ μὴ πράσω τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ τὸ
ἐνδεχόμενον ἑθέλοντες ἐπισκοπεῖν. εὐθὺς οὖν τὸ

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¹ Emperius: ἀνέσαν -E, B.
² Wyttenbach: αὐτοὺς θεοὺς -E, B.
³ -Anon., Aldine, R.J. 94 (cf. Pliny, Nat. Hist. vii. 2. 25: "nullum illis cibum nullumque potum"); τοὺς μήτε πίνοντας -E, B.
⁴ Basiliensis, Anon., Aldine, R.J. 94; εὐστόμους -E, B (cf. σύστομοι of both mss. in 940 κ infra).
⁵ H. C.; vac. 6-E, B ἀ.
⁶ H. C. (cf. Amatorius, 753 b, De Communibus Notitiis, 1062 r); vac. 15-E, 12-B ᾧ: <ἡμῶν ἄνθροκας, δι'> ἀ -Wyttenbach.
⁷ B²: μικρὰν -E, B¹.
⁸ Dübner (τοιαύτα <οὐδέν> διαφέρουσιν οἱ -Wyttenbach after Xylander's version): τοιαύτα διαφέρουσιν, οἱ -E, B.

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ᵇ See 922 a supra and note c there.
ᶜ = Pherecydes, frag. B 13 a (i, p. 51. 5-9 [Diels-Kranz]).
some nectar and ambrosia,\(^a\) so the moon, which is Athena in name and fact,\(^b\) nourishes her men by sending up ambrosia for them day by day, the food of 'the gods themselves as the ancient Phercydes believes.\(^c\) For even the Indian root which according to Megasthenes the Mouthless Men, who 'neither eat nor drink, kindle and cause to smoulder and inhale for their nourishment,\(^d\) how could it be supposed to grow there if the moon is not moistened by rain?''

25. When Theon had so spoken, I said "(Bravo), you have most excellently 'smoothed our' brows by the sport of your speech, wherefore we have been inspired with boldness to reply, since we anticipate no very sharp or bitter scrutiny. It is, moreover, a fact that there really is 'no' difference between those who in such matters are firm believers and those who are violently annoyed by them and firmly dis-believe and refuse to examine calmly what can be and what might be.\(^e\) So, for example, in the first

\(^{[\text{Müller}]}\); cf. Strabo, ii. 1. 9 (c. 70) and xv. 1. 57 (c. 711); Pliny, \textit{Nat. Hist.} vii. 2. 25. Aristotle (\textit{Parva Nat.} 445 a 16-17) mentions the belief of certain Pythagoreans that some animals are nourished by odours; cf. the story told of Democritus, frags. A 28 and 29 (ii. p. 89. 23 ff. [Diels-Kranz]), and Lucian on the Selenites (\textit{Vera Hist.} i. 23), a passage which, however, looks like a parody of Herodotus, i. 202. 2.

\(^{e}\) Strictly, the potential and the contingent; but probably Plutarch meant his phrase here to imply only "the possible" in all its senses and intended no technical distinction between \(\delta\nu\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\) and \(\epsilon\nu\delta\epsilon\chi\omicron\omicron\mu\epsilon\omicron\nu\omicron\upsilon\). Certainly one cannot ascribe to him the distinction drawn in the pseudo-Plutarchean \textit{De Fato}, 570 \(\varepsilon\)–571 \(\varepsilon\): \textit{n.b.} that in \textit{De Stoicorum Repugnantibus}, 1055 \(\delta\)-\(\Phi\) he attacks the Chrysippian doctrine of \(\delta\nu\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\). On \(\delta\nu\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\) and \(\epsilon\nu\delta\epsilon\chi\omicron\omicron\mu\epsilon\omicron\nu\omicron\upsilon\) as used by Aristotle cf. Ross, Aristotle's \textit{Metaphysics}, ii, p. 245 \textit{ad} 1046 b 26, and Faust, \textit{Der Möglichkeitsgedanke}, i, pp. 175 ff.; for the attitude of the Hellenistic philosophers, Faust, \textit{op. cit.} i, pp. 209 ff.
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(938) πρῶτον οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἔστιν, εἰ μὴ κατοικοῦσιν
D ἄνθρωποι τῆς σελήνης, μάθην γεγονέναι καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν τἐταρτὴν τῆς γῆς δι' ὀλής ἐνεργοῦν
οὐδὲ προσοικομένην ὄρῳμεν, ἀλλὰ μικρὸν αὐτῆς
μέρος ὥσπερ ἄκρους τις ἢ ἕρημον ἐκ βυθῶν γόνυμον ἐστὶ τεῖχων καὶ φυτῶν τῶν δὲ ἀλλών τὰ μὲν ἔρημα καὶ ἄκαρπα χειμώνισι καὶ
αὐχμοῖς τὰ δὲ πλείστα κατὰ τῆς μεγάλης δέξουσι
θαλάσσης. ἀλλὰ σὺ τὸν Ἀρίσταρχον ἀγαπῶν ἀεὶ
καὶ θαυμάζων οὐκ ἄκοινες Κράτητος ἀναγινώ-
σκοντος

"Ωκεανός, ὡσπερ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται
ἀνδράσιν ἤδὲ θεοῖς, πλείστην ἐπὶ γαῖαν ῥησίν."

ἀλλὰ πολλοῦ δεῖ μάτην ταῦτα γεγονέναι· καὶ γὰρ
Ε ἀναθυμάσεις ἡ θάλασσα μαλακὰς ἀνήσι, καὶ τῶν
πνευμάτων τὰ ἡδίστα θέρους ἀκμάζων ἐκ τῆς
ἀοικῆτος καὶ κατεβυγμένης αἱ χιόνες ἀτρέμα δια-
τηκόμεναι χαλώσι καὶ διασπείρουσιν. 'ἡμέρας τε
καὶ νυκτὸς' ἑστηκεν 'ἀτρεχῆς' ἐν μέσῳ 'φύλαξ'.

1 E; ἕρημον - B.
2 ἀναγινώσκοντο - E; ἀναγινώσκων - B.
3 πλείστην (δ') ἐπὶ - Leaf ed Iliai. xiv. 246.
4 Wytenbach (1831); ῥησίν - E, B.

a For the uninhabitability of the arctic and torrid zones
cf. besides De Iside, 367 p Strabo, ii. 3. 1 (c. 96) and Cleo-
medes, i. 2. 12 (p. 22. 11-14 [Ziegler]); and for the connection
of this theory with the notion that the greatest part of the
outer ocean is in the torrid zone cf. Cleomedes, i. 6. 33 (p. 60.
21-24). This was not the opinion of Posidonius (Cleomedes,
ibid. and i. 6. 31-32 [p. 58. 4-25]); it was the geography
of Cleanthes, which Crates sought to impose upon Homer
cf. Geminus, xvi. 21 ff. [p. 172. 11 ff., Manitius]; Kroll,
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place, if the moon is not inhabited by men, it is not necessary that she have come to be in vain and to no purpose, for we see that this earth of ours is not productive and inhabited throughout its whole extent either but only a small part of it is fruitful of animals and plants on the peaks, as it were, and peninsulas rising out of the deep, while of the rest some parts are desert and fruitless with winter-storms and summer-droughts and the most are sunk in the great sea. You, however, because of your constant fondness and admiration for Aristarchus, give no heed to the text that Crates read:

Ocean, that is the universal source
Of men and gods, spreads over most of earth.  

Yet it is by no means for nothing that these parts have come to be. The sea gives off gentle exhalations, and the most pleasant winds when summer is at its height are released and dispersed from the uninhabited and frozen region by the snows that are gradually melting there.  

*Litteratur in der Alexandrinerzeit, ii, pp. 5 ff.*. Since the first line quoted by Plutarch is *Iliad*, xiv. 246 of our text of Homer (with ωκέανος instead of ωκέανός) but the second line does not occur, the latter was probably an interpolation made by Crates to support his "interpretation" of Homer's geography; for Crates' textual alterations and for the controversy between him and Aristarchus cf. Susemihl, *op. cit.* i, p. 457 and ii, p. 7, n. 33; Kroll, *loc. cit.* 1640; Christ-Schmid-Stählin, ii, 1, p. 270; Mette, *Sphaïropoïia*. pp. 60 ff.


*Cf.* Lamprias retorts upon Theon an adaptation of his own quotation of *Timaeus*, 40 β-c; *cf.* 937 ε *supra* and note c there.

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(938) κατὰ Πλάτωνα 'καὶ δημιουργός.' οὐδὲν οὐν κωλύει καὶ τὴν σελήνην ζωνὶ μὲν ἔρημον εἶναι παρέχειν δ’ ἀνακλάσεις τὲ τῶ φωτὶ περὶ αὐτῆς διαχεομένῳ καὶ πυρροῆν ταῖς τῶν ἀστέρων ἀυγαῖς Φ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ σύγκρασιν, ἥ συνεκπέττετε τε τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς γης ἀναθυμιάσεις ἄμα τε καὶ τοῦ ἡλίου τὸ ἑμμυρόν ἂναν καὶ σκληρὸν ἁνίση.6 καὶ ποὺ7 τι καὶ παλαιὰ φήμη διδόντες "Ἀρτεμίν αὐτῆς6 νομισθήναι φήσομεν ὡς παρθένον καὶ ἄγονον ἄλλος7 δὲ βοηθητικὴν καὶ ωφέλιμον. ἔπειτα10 τῶν γ’ εἰρήμενων οὐδέν, ὃ φίλε11 Θέων, ἀδύνατον δείκνυσι τὴν λεγομένην ἐπ’ αὐτῆς οὐκησων’ ἥ τε γὰρ δίνῃ πολλῆν ἔχουσα πραότητα καὶ γαλήνην ἐπιλείμενε τὸν ἀέρα 939 καὶ διανέμει12 συγκατακοσμούμενον ὅστε μηδὲν εἶναι δέος ἐκπεσεῖν καὶ ἀποσφαλῆναι τοὺς ἐκεί βεβηκότας.13 εὶ δὲ μηδ’ ἀπλη,14 καὶ τὸ ποικίλον τούτο τῆς φορᾶς καὶ πεπλανημένον οὐκ ἀνωμαλίας οὐδὲ ταραχῆς ἔστιν ἀλλὰ θαυμαστὴν ἐπιδείκνυνται15 τάξιν ἐν τούτοις καὶ πορείαν οἱ ἀστρολόγοι, κύκλοις τισὶ περὶ κύκλοις ἐτέρους ἐξελιττομένοις συνάγοντες αὐτὴν οἱ μὲν ἀτρεμοῦσαν οἱ δὲ λείως καὶ ὁμαλῶς

1 E; omitted by B.
2 H. C.; αὐτὴν -E, B.
3 H. C.; αὐτῇ -E, B.
4 B; omitted by E.
5 Wytenbach; τῷ ἡλίῳ -E, B.
6 Wytenbach; ἄφις -E, B.
7 Wytenbach; καὶ πολὺ -E, B.
8 B; αὐτ vac. 4-E.
9 H. C. (ἄλλος -Wyttenbach); ἄλλος -E, B.
10 Hutten; ἐπεί -E, B.
11 Xylander; ὁφελεῖ -E, B.
12 Wytenbach; διαμένει -E, B.

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been stationed in the centre. Nothing then prevents the moon too, while destitute of living beings, from providing reflections for the light that is diffused about her and for the rays of the stars a point of confluence in herself and a blending whereby she digests the exhalations from the earth and at the same time slackens the excessive torridity and harshness of the sun. Moreover, conceding a point perhaps to ancient tradition also, we shall say that she was held to be Artemis on the ground that she is a virgin and sterile but is helpful and beneficial to other females.

In the second place, my dear Theon, nothing that has been said proves impossible the alleged inhabitation of the moon. As to the rotation, since it is very gentle and serene, it smooths the air and distributes it in settled order, so that there is no danger of falling and slipping off for those who stand there. And if it is not simple either, even this complication and variation of the motion is not attributable to irregularity or confusion; but in them astronomers demonstrate a marvellous order and progression, making her revolve with circles that unroll about other circles, some assuming that she is herself motionless and others that she retrogresses smoothly and regularly.

\[\text{Cf. 928 c supra.}\]

\[\text{For moon = Artemis cf. 922 a supra and note b there; for the virgin goddess of childbirth cf. besides the references there Plato, Theaetetus, 149 b, and Cornutus, 34 (p. 73. 18 ff. [Lang]).}\]

\[\text{This refers to 937 f supra. For the use of } \alpha π\lambda \gamma \text{ "simple" in this context cf. Cleomedes, i. 4. 19 (p. 34. 20 [Ziegler]) and Theon of Smyrna, p. 150. 21-23 (Hiller).}\]

13 Turnebus; \(\betaε\betaι\omegaκότας -\text{E, B.}\)

14 H. C.; \(\epsilon\iota \delta\varepsilon \mu\nu \delta\varepsilon \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta -\text{E, B.}\)

15 Basiliensis; \(\epsilonπ\iota\delta\varepsilon\kappa\nu\tau\alpha\iota -\text{E, B.}\)
An example of the former hypothesis is Aristotle's theory that each planet is fixed in a sphere revolving within counteracting spheres that cancel the special motions of the superior planet (cf. *Metaphysics*, 1073 b 38—1074 a 14 and *De Caelo*, 289 b 30—290 a 7); an example of the latter is Plato's theory of freely moving planets (cf. *Timaeus*, 40 c-d, *Laws*, 822 a-c; Cornford, *Plato's Cosmology*, pp. 79-93). Theon of Smyrna
with ever constant velocity,\(^a\) for these superpositions of the circles and their rotations and relations to one another and to us combine most harmoniously to produce the apparent variations of her motion in altitude and the deviations in latitude at the same time as her revolutions in longitude.\(^b\) As to the great heat and continual scorching of the sun, you will cease to fear it, if first of all you set the conjunctions over against the twelve summy full-moons \(^c\) and suppose that the continuousness of the change produces in the extremes, which do not last a long time, a suitable tempering and removes the excess from either. Between these then, as is likely, they have a season most nearly approaching spring. In the second place, upon us the sun sends, through air which is turbid and which exerts a concomitant pressure, heat that is nourished by the exhalations, whereas there the air being tenuous and translucent scatters and diffuses the sun's light, which has no tinder or body to sustain it.\(^d\)

(p. 175. 1-4 [Hiller]) observes that the difference between these two kinds of astronomical model is immaterial in "saving the phenomena." On the whole passage cf. Eudemus in Theon of Smyrna, p. 200. 13 ff. (Hiller).

\(^b\) Norlind (Eranos, xxv [1927], pp. 275-277) argues from the terms used here and in 937 \(\supra\) that Plutarch has in mind the theory of epicycles which Hipparchus proposed for the moon and which is described by Ptolemy, Syntaxis, iv (i, pp. 265 ff. and especially pp. 301. 16–302, 11 [Heiberg]). The evidence of the terminology is not exact enough to make this thesis convincing (cf. Class. Phil. xlvi [1951], pp. 146-147).

\(^c\) Cf. 938 \(\supra\): "twelve summers every year."

\(^d\) For the "pressure" of the air and the \(\upsilon\varepsilon\kappa\kappa\alpha\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\) cf. Aristotle, Meteorology, 341 b 6-25, and Alexander, Meteor. p. 20. 11 ff. Praechter (Hierokles der Stoiker, p. 109) refers to Seneca, Nat. Quaest. iv b 10 in support of his thesis that the material in this chapter of the De Facie is from a Stoic source.
(939) ἡχουσαν. ἔλθην δὲ καὶ καρποὺς αὐτοῦ μὲν ὀμβροὺ τρέφουσιν, ἐτέρωθι δὲ ὁσπερ ἂνω περὶ Θῆβας παρ' ὕμιν καὶ Συήνην οὐκ ὀμβριόν ὑδωρ ἄλλα γηγενές ἢ γῆ πίνουσα καὶ χρωμένη πνεύμασι καὶ δρόσους οὐκ ἃν ἐθελήσειν, οὕμα, τῇ πλείστον ύμμένη πολυκαρπίας συμφέρεσθαι δι’ ἀρετήν τινα καὶ κράσιν. τὰ δ’ αὐτὰ φυτὰ τῷ γένει παρ’ ὕμιν μὲν ἔὰν σφόδρα πιεσθῇ χειμώνων ἐκφερεὶ πολὺν καὶ καλὸν καρπὸν δέν δὲ Λιβύην καὶ παρ’ ὕμιν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δύσριγα κομιδὴ καὶ δειλὰ πρὸς χειμώνας ἐστὶ. τῆς δὲ Γεδρωσίας καὶ Τρωγλοδύτιδος ἥ καλθήκει πρὸς τὸν ὦκεανὸν ἀφόρου διὰ ξηρότητα καὶ ἀδένδρον παντάπασιν οὐσίας, ἐν τῇ παρακειμένῃ καὶ περικεχυμένῃ βαλάττῃ θαυμαστὰ μεγέθη φυτῶν τρέφεται καὶ κατὰ βυθοῦ τέθηλεν ὅν τὰ μὲν ἔλαιας τὰ δὲ δάφνας

1 Wytenbach after Xylander’s version: αὐτοὶ . . . ἐτέρως
2 Stephanus (1624): ἦ γε -E, B.
3 Aldine, Basiliensis: πολυκαρπία -E, B (probably meant for dative, since neither ms. uses iota subscript).
4 Leonicus (implied by version of Xylander); συμφάνεσθαι -E, B: συμφύρεσθαι -Stephanus.
5 Bernardakis: εἰ -E, B.
6 E1, B: χιόσιν -E2.
7 E: λιβύι -B.
8 B: γε δροσίας -E.
9 E: τρωγλοδύτιδος -B.

a Lamprias is addressing Theon primarily: but Menelaús also was from Egypt, though we know only Alexandria as his residence.
b Theophrastus (Hist. Plant. viii. 6, 6) says that in Egypt, Babylon, and Bactria, where rain is absent or scarce, dews
The fruits of tree and field here in our region are nourished by rains; but elsewhere, as up in your home a around Thebes and Syene, the land drinking water that springs from earth instead of rain-water and enjoying breezes and dews b would refuse, I think, to adapt itself c to the fruitfulness that attends the most abundant rainfall, and that because of a certain excellence and temperament that it has. Plants of the same kind, which in our region if sharply nipped by winter bear good fruit in abundance, in Libya and in your home in Egypt are very sensitive to cold and afraid of winter.d And, while Gedrosia and Ethiopia which comes down to the ocean is barren and entirely treeless because of the aridity, in the adjacent and surrounding sea there grow and thrive down in the deep plants of great magnitude, some of which are called olives, some laurels, and some

nourish the crops (cf. also Hist. Plant. iv. 3. 7). Plutarch’s statement here that the water drunk by the land in Egypt is γηγενές may have been inspired by Plato’s remark in Timaeus, 22 e 2-4; for the theory that the flood of Nile was caused by water springing from the earth cf. Oenopides, frag. 11 (i, p. 394. 39 ff. [Diels-Kranz]; cf. Seneca, Nat. Quaest. iv a 2. 26) and the opinion mentioned without an author by Seneca, Nat. Quaest. vi. 8. 3. Praechter (Hierokles, p. 110) holds that Plutarch here reflects Posidonius’s theory as reconstructed by Oder (Philologus, Suppl. vii [1898], pp. 299 ff. and 312 f.). c For this meaning of συμφέρεσθαι των cf. Quomo do Quis Sent. Prof. Virt. 79 A, De Cohibenda Ira, 461 A, De Sollertia Animalium, 960 ε, Timoleon, 15 (242 ε), Wyttenbach’s Animadversiones in Plutarchi Opera Moralia (Leipzig, 1820), i, p. 461; the phrase cannot mean “to be compared with,” as it has been regularly translated here.

d That the same species of plant varies with the nature of the soil, the atmosphere, and the cultivation is frequently stated by Theophrastus (cf. e.g. Hist. Plant. vi. 6. 3-5-8); cf. with ἐὰν σφόδρα πεσθῇ χειμώνων in this passage Theophrastus, De Causis Plant. ii. 1. 2-4.
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(939) τὰ δ' "Ισίδως τρίχας καλούσιν. οἶ δ' ἀνακαμψέρω-
tes οὗτοι προσαγορεύομενοι τῆς γῆς εξαρεθέντες
οὐ μόνον ζωῆι κρεμάμενοι χρόνον ὅσον βούλεται
τις ἀλλὰ βλαστάνουσιν (. . .)."1 σπειρέται δὲ τὰ
μὲν πρὸς χειμῶνος τὰ δὲ θέρους ἀκμάζοντος ὅσπερ
σήσαμον καὶ μελίνη. τὸ² δὲ θύμον ἧ τὸ κενταύριον,
Ε ἂν εἰς ἀγαθὴν καὶ πίονα σπαρῇ χώραν καὶ βρέχηται
καὶ ἄρδηται, τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ξεισταται ποιότητος
καὶ ἀποβάλλει τὴν δύναμιν αὐχμώ ὃ κραίει καὶ
πρὸς τὸ οὐκείον ἐπιδίδωσιν. ἐνα δ'³ ὡς φασιν οὔδὲ
τὰς δρόσους ἀνέχεται, καθάπερ τὰ πλείστα τῶν
'Αραβικῶν, ἀλλ' ἐξαμαυροῦται διαινόμενα⁴ καὶ
φθείρεται, τί δ'⁵ θαυμαστὸν ἐστὶν εἰ γίγνονται περὶ
tὴν σελήνην ρίζαι καὶ στέρματα καὶ ὅλαι μηδὲν
υετῶν δεόμεναι⁶ μηδὲ⁷ χώνων ἀλλὰ πρὸς θερινὸν⁸
αέρα καὶ λεπτὸν εὐφυῶς ἐχουσα; πῶς δ' οὖν
εἰκὸς ἀνιέναι τε πνεύματα θαλπόμενα τῇ σελήνῃ
F καὶ τῷ σάλῳ τῆς περιφορᾶς αὐρας τε παρομαρτεῖν
ἀτρέμα καὶ δρόσους καὶ υγρότητας ἑλαφρὰς περι-
χεύσας καὶ διασπειρομένας ἐπαρκείν τοῖς βλα-
στάνουσιν, αὐτήν⁹ δὲ τῇ κράσει μὴ πυρώδη μηδ'?
αὐχμηρὰν ἀλλὰ μαλακὴν καὶ ύδροποιοῦν εἶναι; Ἐ-
ρότητος μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀφικνεῖται πάθος ἀπ' αὐτῆς

1 Vac. 21-E, 20-B.
2 E; τὸν -B.
3 Paton; οἰ δὲ -E, B, Aldine; τὰ δὲ -Basiliensis; εἰ δὲ
-Stephanus (1624).
4 Wytenbach (after the version of Xylander): λειανόμενα
-E, B.
5 -Anon., Aldine, R.J. 94; τὶ δὲ -E, B.
6 Bernardakis: δεόμενα -E, B.
7 Bernardakis: μῆτε -E, B.
8 Leonicus, Stephanus (1624): πρόσθερον -E, B.
9 Wytenbach: αὐτῇ (i.e. αὐτῇ) -E, B.

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tresses of Isis; and the plants here called 'love-restorers' when lifted out of the earth and hung up not only live as long as you wish but sprout. Some plants are sown towards winter, and some at the height of summer as sesame and millet. Thyme or centaury, if sown in good, rich soil and wetted and watered, departs from its natural quality and loses its strength, whereas drought delights it and causes it to reach its proper stature; and some plants, as they say, cannot stand even dew, as is true of the majority of Arabian plants, but are blighted and destroyed by being moistened. What wonder then if on the moon there grow roots and seeds and trees that have no need of rain nor yet of snow but are naturally adapted to a summery and rarefied air? And why is it unlikely that winds arise warmed by the moon and that breezes steadily accompany the rolling swell of her revolution and by scattering off and diffusing dews and light moisture suffice for the vegetation and that she herself is not fiery or dry in temperament but soft and humidifying? After all, no influence of dryness comes to us from her but much of

On these plants that grew in the sea cf. Theophrastus, Hist. Plant. iv. 7. 1 ff.; Eratosthenes in Strabo, xvi. 3. 6 (c. 766); Pliny, Nat. Hist. xiii. 25. 50-52 (140-142). In Quaest. Nat. 911 f Plutarch refers to the plants that are said to grow in the "Red Sea," but there he states that they are nurtured by the rivers which bring down mud and that these plants consequently grow only near to the shore.

Cf. Theophrastus, Hist. Plant. viii. 1. 1 and 4; 2. 6; and 3. 2.
Cf. Theophrastus, De Causis Plant. iii. 1. 3-6.
For the notion that dew injures some plants cf. possibly Theophrastus, De Causis Plant. vi. 18. 10; but he holds that desert vegetation is nourished by dew in default of rain (Hist. Plant. iv. 3. 7 and viii. 6. 6).
(939) πρὸς ἡμᾶς ύγρότητος δὲ πολλὰ καὶ θηλύτητος, αὐξήσεις φυτῶν, σήμεις κρεών, τροπαί καὶ ἀνέσεις οὕνων, μαλακότητες ξύλων, εὐτοκίαν γυναικῶν. δὲ-940 δοικα δ’ ἱσυχαίζουντα Φαριάκην ἄθθις ἐρεθίζειν καὶ κινεῖν, ὥκεανοι τε πλημμύρας, ὡς λέγουσιν αὐτοί, καὶ πορθμῶν ἐπιδόσεις διαχεομένων καὶ αὐξανομένων ὑπὸ τῆς σελήνης τῶν ἀνυγραίνεσθαι παρατιθέμενος. διὸ πρὸς σὲ τρέψομαι μᾶλλον, ὡς φίλε Θέων· λέγεις γὰρ ἡμῖν, ἐξηγούμενοσ ταυτὶ τὰ Ἀλκμάνος

〈οἴα Διὸς〉 ὑγνάτηρ Ἕρσα τρέφει καὶ Σελάνας 〈δίας〉,

ὁτι νῦν τὸν ἀέρα καλεῖ Δία καὶ φησιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς σελήνης καθυγραίνομεν εἰς δρόσους τρέπεσθαι. καὶ ὑπενεύει γάρ, ὥς ἐταῖρε, πρὸς τὸν ἢλιον ἀντιπαθῆ φύσιν ἔχειν εἴγε μή μόνον ὥσα πυκνοῦν B καὶ ἕρραίνειν ἐκείνοις αὐτῇ μαλάσσειν καὶ διαχεῖν πέφυκεν ἅλλα καὶ τὴν ἀπ’ ἐκείνου θερμότητα καθυγραίνειν καὶ καταψύχειν προσπίπτουσαν αὐτῇ καὶ

1 Basiliensis: ὅστε καὶ ἀνοιγαὶ -E, B.
2 Bernardakis: ταύτη -E, B.
3 Xylander (cf. Quaest. Nat. 918 A, Quaest. Conviv. 659 B); vac. 6-E, 12-B.
4 Xylander: ἔρπα -E, B.
5 Wyttenbach (cf. mss. of 918 A); καὶ Σελάνας without lacuna -E, B.
6 Wyttenbach: καλεῖ καὶ Δία -E, B.

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moistness and femininity: the growth of plants, the decay of meats, the souring and flattening of wine, the softening of timbers, the easy delivery of women.

Now that Pharnaces is quiet I am afraid of provoking and arousing him again if I cite, in the words of his own school, the flood-tides of Ocean and the swelling of the straits when they are increased and poured abroad by the liquefying action of the moon.

Therefore I shall rather turn to you, my dear Theon, for when you expound these words of Aleman's,

(Such as) are nourished by Dew, daughter of Zeus and of (divine) Selene,

you tell us that at this point he calls the air 'Zeus' and says that it is liquefied by the moon and turns to dew-drops. It is in fact probable, my friend, that the moon's nature is contrary to that of the sun, if of herself she not only naturally softens and dissolves all that he condenses and dries but liquefies and cools even the heat that he casts upon her and imbues her

plants cf. also De Iside, 353 f and Athenaeus, iii. 74 c; on softening of timbers Theophrastus, Hist. Plant. v. 1. 3; on easy delivery S. V. F. ii, frag. 748. For further literature cf. Boll, Sternglaube und Sterndeutung (1926), pp. 122-125.

c = S. V. F. ii, frag. 679. Cf. also Cicero, De Divinatione, ii. 34 (with Pease's note ad loc.) and De Nat. Deorum, ii. 7. 19; Seneca, De Provid. i. 4; Cleomedes, ii. 1. 86 (p. 156. 15-16 [Ziegler]) and ii. 3. 98 (p. 178. 4-5); Strabo, iii. 5. 8 (cc. 173 f.) and i. 3. 11 (cc. 54-55). In De Placitis, 897 b-c (=Ætius, iii. 17. 3 and 9) theories that the moon influences the tides are attributed to Pytheas and to Seleucus.

d Aleman, frag. 43 (Diehl)=48 (Bergk). In both Quaest. Convic. 659 b and Quaest. Nat. 918 a Plutarch quotes the line as an explanation of the origin of dew. Cf. Macrobius, Sat. vii. 16. 31-32.

e Cf. Vergil, Georgics, iii. 337; Roscher, Selene und Verwandtes, p. 50, n. 200.
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(940) συμμυγνυμένην. οί τε δὴ τὴν σελήνην ἐμπυρον σῶμα καὶ διακύκες εἶναι νομίζοντες ἀμαρτάνουσιν, οί τε τοῖς ἐκεῖ χῶνοι ὅσα τοῖς ἐνταῦθα πρὸς γένεσιν καὶ τροφήν καὶ διαίταν ἄξιοιντες υπάρχειν ἐδίκασιν ἀθεάτους; τῶν περὶ τὴν φύσιν ἄνωμαλῶν, ἐν αἷς μεῖξονας ἐστὶ καὶ πλεῖόνας πρὸς ἀλλήλα τῶν χῶνων ἡ πρὸς τὰ μὴ χῶνα διαφορὰς καὶ ἀνομοιότητας εὐρεῖν. καὶ ἄστομοι οὐκ ἀνθρωποὶ καὶ σιμαῖς τρεφόμενοι μὴ ἐστωσαν, οἳ Μεγασθένει γ' εἰ'ναι δοκοῦσι. τὴν δ' ἀλιμον ἦς ἡμῖν αὐτὸς ἔξηγεῖτο δύναμιν ἥμιέζετο μὲν 'Ἡσίόδος εἰπὼν

οὐδ' ὅσον ἐν μαλάχη τε καὶ ἀσφοδέλῳ μέγ' ὀνειαρ

ἐργὸς δ' ἐμφανὴς παρέσχεν Ἑσπερενίδης διδάξας ότι μικρῶ παντάπασιν ἡ φύσις υπεκκαύματι ζωπυρεῖ καὶ συνέχει τὸ χῶον, ἕν ὅσον ελαῖας μέγεθος λάβη, μηδεμίας ἐτι τροφῆς ἰδείμενον. τούς δ' ἐπὶ τῆς σελήνης, εἴπερ εἰςίν, εὐσταλεῖς εἴναι τοῖς σώμασι καὶ διαρκεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων τρέφοντων πιθανῶν ἐστί. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν τὴν σελήνην ὡσπερ τὸν ἂλιον,

1 Stephanus (1624); δὲ -E, B.
2 Xylander: ἐδίκασι καὶ θεσταῖς -E, B.
3 E: περὶ φύσιν -B. 4 B: πλεῖόνας -E.
5 -Anon., Aldine, R.J. 94 (cf. 938 c supra); σύστομοι -E, B, Aldine, Basiliensis.
6 Wyttenbach: εἰ'-E, B.
7 H. C. after Adler's (καὶ Μεγασθένει): μῆ vac. 8-E, 9-B μῆ.
8 Adler (1933); τὴν τὲ ἀμμον -E, B.
9 H. C. (for the final os in ἀμμον).

b See 938 c supra and note d there. On the text and im-
with. They err then who believe the moon to be a fiery and glowing body; and those who demand that living beings there be equipped just as those here are for generation, nourishment, and livelihood seem blind to the diversities of nature, among which one can discover more and greater differences and dissimilarities between living beings than between them and inanimate objects.\(^a\) Let there not be mouthless men nourished by odours who (Megasthenes) thinks (do exist)\(^b\); yet the Hungerbane,\(^c\) the virtue of which he was himself trying to explain to us, Hesiod hinted at when he said

Nor what great profit mallow has and squill\(^d\)

and Epimenides made manifest in fact when he showed that with a very little fuel nature kindles and sustains the living creature, which needs no further nourishment if it gets as much as the size of an olive.\(^e\) It is plausible that the men on the moon, if they do exist, are slight of body and capable of being nourished by whatever comes their way.\(^f\) After all, they say that the moon herself, like the sun which is an

\(^{a}\) For \(\alpha\lambda\mu\sigma\os\) cf. Sept. Sap. 157 D-F; [Plutarch], Comment. in Hesiod. § 3 (vii, p. 51. 14 ff. [Bernardakis]); Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxii. 22 (73); Porphyry, Vita Pythag. § 34 and De Abstinentia, iv. 20 (p. 266. 5 ff. [Nauck]); Plato, Laws, 677 \(\varepsilon\) (where the word \(\alpha\lambda\mu\sigma\os\) itself does not occur, however).

\(^{b}\) For \(\alpha\lambda\mu\sigma\os\) cf. Sept. Sap. 157 D-F; [Plutarch], Comment. in Hesiod. § 3 (vii, p. 51. 14 ff. [Bernardakis]); Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxii. 22 (73); Porphyry, Vita Pythag. § 34 and De Abstinentia, iv. 20 (p. 266. 5 ff. [Nauck]); Plato, Laws, 677 \(\varepsilon\) (where the word \(\alpha\lambda\mu\sigma\os\) itself does not occur, however).

\(^{c}\) Cf. Epimenides, frag. A 5 (i, pp. 30-31 [Diels-Kranz]), where reference to this passage should be added.

\(^{d}\) Cf. Aristotle, De Gen. Animal, 761 b 21-23 for the suggestion that animate beings of a kind unknown to us may exist on the moon and [Philoponus], De Gen. Animal, p. 160. 16-20 for a description of these creatures that do not eat or drink.
(940) D ἐξων ὄντα πῦρινον καὶ τῆς γῆς ὄντα πολλαπλάσιον, ἀπὸ τῶν ὕγρων φασί τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τρέφεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἅλλους ἄστερας ἀπείρους ὄντας· οὕτως ἐλαφρὰ καὶ λιτὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων φέρειν ζώα τῶν ἁνῶ τόπων ὑπολαμβάνουσιν. ἀλλ' οὐτε ταῦτα συνορῶμεν οὐθ' ὅτι καὶ χώρα καὶ φύσις καὶ κράσις ἄλλη πρόσφορός ἐστιν αὐτοῖς. ὃσπερ οὖν, εἰ τῇ θαλάττῃ μὴ δυναμένων ἦμων προσελθεῖν μηδ' ἄφασθαι μόνον δὲ τὴν θέαν αὐτῆς πόρρωθεν ἀφορώντων καὶ πυθανομένων ὅτι πυρὸν καὶ ἀπόστολον καὶ ἀλμυρὸν ὑδωρ ἐστὶν ἐλεγέ τις ὅς ζῶα πολλά ἕκακα καὶ μεγάλα καὶ παντοδαπὰ ταῖς μορφαῖς τρέφει κατὰ βάθους καὶ θηρίων ἐστὶ πλήρης ὑδατί χρω-μένων ὁσαπερ ἤμεις ἀέρι, μύθοις ἀν ὤμοι καὶ τέρασιν ἐδόκει περαίνειν οὕτως εὐκαμεν ἐχειν καὶ ταῦτα πάσχειν ἡ πρὸς τὴν σελήνην ἀπιστοῦντες ἐκεῖ τις ἄνθρωπος κατοικεῖν. ἐκεῖνοι δ' ἀν οὐκεῖ εἰ ἄν μᾶλλον ἀποθαυμάσαι τὴν γῆν, ἀφορώντας οἶνον ὑποστάθμην καὶ ὑλῆν τοῦ παντὸς ἐν ὑγρῶτι καὶ ὀμίχλαις καὶ νέφεσι διαφανομένην ἀλαμπέσ καὶ ταπεινὸν καὶ ἀκίνητον χωρίον, εἰ ζῶα φύει καὶ τρέ- φει μετέχοντα κινήσεως ἀναπνοῆς θερμότητος. καὶ τὸ ποθεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐγγένειτο τῶν Ὁμηρικῶν τοῦτων ἀκοῦσαι

σμερδαλε', εὐρωπεντα, τα τε στυγεούσι θεοί περ

1 Wytenbach (after the versions of Xylander and Amyot); τούτως ἄσκειν -Ε.; τούτως ἄσκειν -Β.

a = S. Π. F. ii, frag. 677. Cf. De Stoicorum Repugnantis, 1053 λ (= S. Π. F. ii, frag. 579); Aëtius, ii. 17. 4; Strabo, i. 1. 9 (c. 6); Cleomedes, i. 5. 33 (p. 60. 21-24 [Ziegler]), 178
animate being of fire many times as large as the earth, is nourished by the moisture on the earth, as are the rest of the stars too, though they are countless; so light and frugal of requirements do they conceive the creatures to be that inhabit the upper region. We have no comprehension of these beings, however, nor of the fact that a different place and nature and temperature are suitable to them. Just as, assuming that we were unable to approach the sea or touch it but only had a view of it from afar and the information that it is bitter, unpotable, and salty water, if someone said that it supports in its depths many large animals of multifarious shapes and is full of beasts that use water for all the ends that we use air, his statements would seem to us like a tissue of myths and marvels, such appears to be our relation to the moon and our attitude towards her is apparently the same when we disbelieve that any men dwell there. Those men, I think, would be much more amazed at the earth, when they look out at the sediment and dregs of the universe, as it were, obscurely visible in moisture, mists, and clouds as a lightless, low, and motionless spot, to think that it engenders and nourishes animate beings which partake of motion, breath, and warmth. If they should chance to hear somewhere these Homeric words,

Dreadful and dank, which even gods abhor

Plutarch, of course, uses Stoic doctrine here against the Stoics.

b Zeno called earth ἐδώς and ὑποστάθμη (S. V. F. i, frags. 104 and 105); but, since the end of this chapter appears to have been inspired by Plato's Phaedo, 109 b-d, the phrase here used was probably suggested to Plutarch by Plato's use of ὑποστάθμη there (109 c 2).

c Iliad, xx. 65.
τόσσον ἐνερθ’ Ἀίδεω ʼοσον οὐρανός ἐστ’ ἀπὸ γαίης,

ταῦτα φήσουσιν ἄτεχνως περὶ τοῦ χωρίου τούτου λέγεσθαι καὶ τὸν "Ἄιδην ἐνταῦθα" καὶ τὸν Τάρταρον ἀπωκισθαὶ γην δὲ μίαν εἶναι τῆν σελήνην, ἵσον ἐκεῖνων τῶν ἄνω καὶ τῶν κάτω τούτων ἀπέχουσαν."

26. "Ετι δ’ ἐμοῦ σχεδον λέγοντος ὁ Σύλλας ὑπολαβὼν "ἐπίσχες" εἶπεν "ὁ Λαμπρία, καὶ παραβαλόν τὸ θύριον τοῦ λόγου, μὴ λάθης τὸν μύθον ὡσπερ εἰς γην ἐξοκείλας καὶ συγχέης τὸ δράμα τοῦ·

941 μὸν ἐτέραν ἔχον σκηνήν καὶ διάθεσιν. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ὑποκρίτης εἰμί, πρότερον δ’ αὐτοῦ φράσω τὸν ποιητὴν ἡμῖν εἰ μὴ τι κωλύει καθ’ ὁμηρὸν ἀρξάμενον"

’Ομυγή’ τις νήσοσ ἀπόπροθεν εἰν ἀλλ’ ἑκταὶ

δρόμον ἡμερῶν πέντε Βρεττανίας ἀπέχουσα πλέοντι πρὸς ἐσπέραν, ἐτεραὶ δὲ τρεῖς οὐσον ἐκείνης ἀφετέτωσας καὶ ἀλλήλων πρόκεινται μᾶλιστα κατὰ δυσμᾶς ήλιον θερινός, ὅν ἐν μιᾷ τοῦ Κρόνου οἱ βάρβαροι καθείρχασι κυθολογοῦσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Διός, τὸν δ’ ὠγύγον Ῥίφραεῶν ἐχοντα φρουράν τῶν τε νήσων ἐκεῖνων καὶ τῆς θαλάττης, ἤν Κρόνον

1 Bernardakis; Ἦζδαο -Ε, B.
2 Written twice in B. 3 E.: ἀποκείσθαι -B.
4 Bernardakis; δε μου -E, B.
5 E., B.; ύμν -Stephanus (1624).
6 E., B1; κουλυοι -B2. 7 E., B.; ἀρξάμενον -Hutten.
8 Stephanus (1624); ἀπόπροθεν -Ε, B.
9 " Le Geant Ogygius ou Briareus" -Amyot; τὸν δ’ ὀσ νιῶν -Ε, B.; τὸν δε Βριάρεων -Kaltwasser; τὸν δ’ Ἡμυγυν -Apelt (1905).
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and

Deep under Hell as far as Earth from Heaven," these they would say are simply a description of this place and Hell and Tartarus have been relegated hither while the moon alone is earth, since it is equally distant from those upper regions and these lower ones."

26. Almost before I had finished, Sulla broke in. "Hold on, Lamprias," he said, "and put to the wicket of your discourse b lest you unwittingly run the myth aground, as it were, and confound my drama, which has a different setting and a different disposition. Well, I am but the actor of the piece, but first I shall say that its author began for our sake—if there be no objection—with a quotation from Homer c:

An isle, Ogygia, lies far out at sea, d

a Iliad, viii. 16.
b Cf. De Sollertia Animalium, 965 b.
c On the text of this sentence cf. Class. Phil. xlvi (1951), pp. 148-149.

10 Kaltwasser (implied by Amyot's version); φρουρόν -E, B.
πέλαγος ὁνομάζον, παρακατωκίσθαι. τὴν δὲ μεγάλην ἥπειρον, ὡς ἡ μεγάλη περιέχεται κύκλῳ θάλασσα, τὸν μὲν ἄλλον ἑλαττῶν ἀπέχειν τῆς δ’ Ὁμήρος περὶ πεντακισχιλίων σταδίων κωπήρεσι πλοίως κομιζομένως βραδύπορον γὰρ εἶναι καὶ πηλῶδες ὑπὸ πλήθους ῥεμάτων τὸ πέλαγος, τὰ δὲ ὑπόματα τὴν μεγάλην ἐξείναι γῆν καὶ γίγνεσθαι προσχώσεις ἀπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ βαρεῖαν εἶναι καὶ γεώδη τὴν θάλασσαν, ἡ καὶ πεπηγέναι δόξαν ἐσχε. τῆς δ’ ἥπειρον τὰ πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ κατοικεῖν Ἐλληνας περὶ κόλπων οὐκ ἑλάττωνα τῆς Μαιώτιδος, οὐ τὸ στόμα τῷ στόματι τοῦ Κασσίου ζελάγους μάλιστα κατ’ εὐθείαν κείσθαι, καλεῖν δὲ καὶ νομίζειν ἔκεινος ἥπειρώτας μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐν.
they call the Cronian main, has been settled close beside him.\textsuperscript{a} The great mainland, by which the great ocean is encircled,\textsuperscript{b} while not so far from the other islands, is about five thousand stades from Ogygia, the voyage being made by oar, for the main is slow to traverse and muddy as a result of the multitude of streams.\textsuperscript{c} The streams are discharged by the great land-mass and produce alluvial deposits, thus giving density and earthiness to the sea, which has been thought actually to be congealed.\textsuperscript{d} On the coast of the mainland Greeks dwell about a gulf which is not smaller than the Maeotis \textsuperscript{e} and the mouth of which lies roughly on the same parallel as the mouth of the Caspian sea.\textsuperscript{f} These people consider and call themselves continental (and the) inhabitants of this land.

\textsuperscript{a} Rhodius [iv. 327, 509, 546] the Adriatic is the Cronian sea; \textsuperscript{b} cf. Tacitus, \textit{Agricola}, § 10 and \textit{Germania}, § 45. Plutarch denies that the sea is really congealed as it is reputed to be and explains its nature in imitation of Plato (\textit{Timaeus}, 25 \textit{d} 3-6, \textit{Critias}, 108 \textit{e} 6—109 \textit{a} 2); but, since he cannot adduce as the cause of the muddy shallows the "settling of the island, Atlantis, under the sea," he falls back upon alluvial deposits from the rivers on the great continent, a notion familiar from many sources (\textit{cf. De Exilio}, 602 \textit{d} with Thucydides, ii. 102. 6; Aristotle, \textit{Meteorology}, 351 \textit{b} 28-32; Herodotus, ii. 10; Strabo, i. 2. 29-30 [cc. 36-37]). For the "congealed sea" \textit{cf.} further K. Müllenhoff, \textit{Deutsche Altertumskunde}, i (1890), pp. 410-425; E. Janssens, \textit{Hist. ancienne de la mer du Nord} (1946), pp. 20-22; J. O. Thomson, \textit{Hist. of Ancient Geography}, pp. 148-149, 241, and 54-55 (on Avienus, \textit{Ora Maritima}, 117-129).

\textsuperscript{b} The Sea of Azov, the size of which Herodotus had greatly exaggerated (iv. 86): Strabo reduced its perimeter to 9000 stades (ii. 5. 23 [c. 125]).

\textsuperscript{c} The Caspian was thought to be a gulf of the outer ocean from the time of Alexander until Ptolemy corrected the error (\textit{Alexander}, chap. 44: Strabo, xi. 6. 1 [c. 507]), though Herodotus (i. 202-203) and Aristotle (\textit{Meteorology}, 334 a 3-4) had known that it was connected with no other sea.
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(941) σιώτας δὲ τοὺς ταύτην τὴν γῆν κατοικοῦντας, ὥς καὶ κύκλω περισσυτὸν ὑδαν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης. οἶσθαι δὲ τοὺς Κρόνου λαοὺς ἀναμιχθέντας ύστερον τοὺς μεθ’ Ἡρακλέους παραγενομένους καὶ ὑπολείφθέντας ἕδη ὑβενυμένον τῷ Ἐλληνικὸν ἐκεῖ καὶ κρατοῦμεν γλώττῃ τε βαρβαρικῇ καὶ νόμους καὶ διαίταις οἰνο ἀναξωπυρῆσαι πάλιν ἱσχυρὸν καὶ πολὺ γενόμενον. διὸ τιμᾶς ἐχειν πρῶτας τὸν Ἡρακλέα δευτέρας δὲ τὸν Κρόνου. ὅταν οὖνἐν οὗτῳ Άστήρ, ὃν Φαῖνοντα μὲν ἡμεῖς ἐκείνους δὲ Νυκτόδρομον ἔφη καλεῖν, εἰς Ταύρον παραγένεται δὲ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα, παρασκευασμένους ἐν χρόνῳ
d' πολλῷ τὰ περὶ τὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὸν ἀ'ποστολὸν θεωροῦσ' ἱκανοὺς ἑκτέμπευσιν κλήρῳ λαχόντας ἐν πλοίοις τοσοῦτοις θεραπείαν τε πολλήν καὶ παρασκευήν ἀναγκαίαν μέλλουσι πλεῖν πέλαγος τοσοῦτον εἰρεσία καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ ἐξής βιοτεύειν πολὺν ἐμβαλλομένους. ἀναχθέντας οὖν χρήσθαι τύχαις, ὡς εἰκός, ἄλλους ἄλλαις. τοὺς δὲ διασωθέντας εἰκ τῆς θαλάσσης πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς προκειμένας νήσους οἰκουμένας δ' ύφ' Ἐλλήνων κατίσχειν καὶ

1 νησιώτας δὲ -Basiliensis ; νησιώτας δὲ τοὺς -Wytenbach ; lacking in E and B without sign of lacuna.
2 E ; ὅταν δὲ -B. 3 H. C. ; τὸν ἀ vac. 23-E, 16-B.
1 B ; vac. 5 σκευήν -E.
5 Wytenbach ; ἐμβαλλομέν οὐδ -E, B.
6 Xylander ; οὐ χρῆ -E, B.

a Φαῖνον as the name of the planet Saturn occurs in De An. Proc. in Timaeo, 1029 b (acc. : Φαῖνονα) ; Αετιος, ii. 15. 4 (where mss. vary between Φαῖνονα and Φαῖνοντα, cf. Diels, Dox. Graeci, p. 344 ad loc.) ; [Aristotle], De Mundo, 392 a 23 (Φαῖνοντος) ; cf. Cicero, De Natura Deorum, ii. 20. 52. There is a similar variation in the mss. as between Στῆβοντα and Στῆβονα (cf. Diels, Dox. Graeci, p. 345 on Αετιος, ii. 15. 4), 184
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(islanders) because the sea flows around it on all sides; and they believe that with the peoples of Cronus there mingled at a later time those who arrived in the train of Heracles and were left behind by him and that these latter so to speak rekindled again to a strong, high flame the Hellenic spark there which was already being quenched and overcome by the tongue, the laws, and the manners of the barbarians. Therefore Heracles has the highest honours and Cronus the second. Now when at intervals of thirty years the star of Cronus, which we call 'Splendent' but they, our author said, call 'Night-watchman,' enters the sign of the Bull, they, having spent a long time in preparation for the sacrifice and the (expedition), choose by lot and send forth (a sufficient number of envoy's) in a correspondingly sufficient number of ships, putting aboard a large retinue and the provisions necessary for men who are going to cross so much sea by oar and live such a long time in a foreign land. Now when they have put to sea the several voyagers meet with various fortunes as one might expect; but those who survive the voyage first put in at the outlying islands, which are inhabited by Greeks, and see the sun pass out of

though at 925 a supra the mss. of De Facie agree on Στιλβοτα.

b Taurus is the sign of the moon's exaltation (cf. Ptolemy, Tetrabiblos, i. 20 [p. 44. 2, Boll-Boer]; Porphyry, De Antro Nymph. 18), and it is for this reason that the expedition begins when Saturn enters this sign. For the "thirty years" cf. Aëtius, ii. 32. 1 (Dox. Graeci, p. 363): Cleomedes, i. 3. 16-17 (p. 30. 18-21 [Ziegler]): Cicero, De Natura Deorum, ii. 20. 32.

c These islands lie out westward or north-westward from Ogygia, cf. 941 a supra. It has not previously been said that they are inhabited by Greeks: in fact, 941 b seems to imply that Greeks live only on the mainland.
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(941) τὸν ἕλιον ὡρᾶν κρυπτόμενον ὄρας μιᾶς ἐλαττον ἐφ' ἡμέρας τριάκοντα (καὶ νύκτα τοῦτ' ἐναι, σκότος ἔχουσαν ἐλαφρὸν καὶ λυκανγές ἀπὸ δυσμῶν περι-
λαμπόμενον). ἐκεῖ δὲ διατρίφαστας ἡμέρας ἐνε-
νήκοντα, 1 μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ φιλοφροσύνης ἱεροὺς

Ε νομιζομένους καὶ προσαγορευομένους, ὑπὸ πνευ-
μάτων οἱ δεὶ 2 περαιούσθαι. μηδ' ἄλλους τινὰς ἐνοικεὶν ἢ σφᾶς τ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτῶν ἀποπεμφθέντας. ἐξεῖναι μὲν γὰρ ἀποπλεῖν οὐκαδε
τοὺς τῷ θεῷ τὰ τρῖς δέκ' ἔτη 3 συλλατρεύσταντας, αἱρεῖσθαι δὲ τοὺς πλείστους ἐπιεικῶς αὐτοθί κατ-
οικεῖν τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ συνθείας τοὺς δ' ὅτι πόνον δίχα καὶ πραγμάτων ἀφθονα πάρεστι πάντα πρὸς
θυσίας καὶ χορηγίας ἦ 4 περὶ λόγους τινὰς ἑαὶ καὶ

F φιλοσοφίαν διατρίβουσι. θαυμαστῇ γὰρ εἶναι τῆς
tε νῆσου τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὴν πράσιτα τοῦ περι-
έχοντος ἀέρος. ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἐμποδῶν
gίγνεσθαι διανοηθείσιν ἀποπλεῖν ὠσπέρ συνήθεις καὶ
φίλους ἐπιδεικνύμενον οὐκ ὅναρ μόνον οὐδὲ διὰ
συμβολῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φαινεῖσθαι ἐντυγχάνειν πολλοὺς
ὁφείσι δαμόνων καὶ φωναῖς. αὐτὸν μὲν γὰρ τὸν
Κρόνον ἐν ἄντρῳ βαθεῖ περιέχεσθαι πέτρας χρυ-
σοεἰδῶς καθεύδοντα, τὸν γὰρ ὑπὸν αὐτῶ με-
μηχανήσθαι δεσμὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Δίος, ὀργῆσθαι δὲ τῆς
πέτρας κατὰ κορυφὴν εἰσπετομένους 5 ἀμβροσίαν

1 E: ἐνενήκοντα καὶ μετὰ -B.
2 Bernardakis: ἕδη -Ε, B.
3 Bernardakis: τῷ τρισκαδεκάτῳ -Ε, B.
4 Turnebus: οὗ -Ε, B.
5 Madvig: οὗς πετομένους -Ε, B.

a I have tried to preserve the ambiguity of Plutarch's
language, though he probably meant to say "less than an
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sight for less than an hour over a period of thirty days,"—and this is night, though it has a darkness that is slight and twilight glimmering from the west. There they spend ninety days regarded with honour and friendliness as holy men and so addressed, and then winds carry them across to their appointed goal. Nor do any others inhabit it but themselves and those who have been dispatched before them, for, while those who have served the god together for the stint of thirty years are allowed to sail off home, most of them usually choose to settle in the spot, some out of habit and others because without toil or trouble they have all things in abundance while they constantly employ their time in sacrifices and celebrations or with various discourse and philosophy, for the nature of the island is marvellous as is the softness of the circumambient air. Some when they intend to sail away are even hindered by the divinity which presents itself to them as to intimates and friends not in dreams only or by means of omens, but many also come upon the visions and the voices of spirits manifest. For Cronus himself sleeps confined in a deep cave of rock that shines like gold—the sleep that Zeus has contrived as a bond for him—and birds flying in over the summit of the rock bring hour each day for thirty days" (so Kepler understood, who thought that the reference was to Greenland). For the length of summer-days in Britain and in Thule cf. Cleomedes, i. 7. 37-38 (pp. 68. 6-70. 22 [Ziegler]) and Pytheas and Crates in Geminus, vi. 9-21 (pp. 70-76 [Manitius]). Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iv. 16 (104) says that in Thule at the summer solstice there is no night at all, i.e. while the sun is in Cancer; but he adds here, what he had before (ii. 75 [186-187]) ascribed to Pytheas, that some think that in Thule there is a continuous day of six months' duration.

(941) ἐπιφέρειν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὴν νήσου εὐωδία κατέχεσθαι
942 πάσαν ὄσπερ ἐκ πυγής σκιδναμένη τῆς πέτρας.
τοὺς δὲ δαίμονας ἐκείνους περιέπειν καὶ θεραπεύειν
τὸν Κρόνον, ἔταιροὺς αὐτῷ γενομένου ὀτε ὅθεθεῖν
καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐβασίλευσε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἀφ᾽
ἐαυτῶν μαντικῶς ὄντας προλέγειν τὰ δὲ μέγιστα
καὶ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ὡς ὀνείρατα τοῦ Κρόνου
κατιόντας ἐξαγγέλλειν. ὥσα γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς προδια-
νοεῖται ταῦτ᾽ ὀνειροπολεῖν τὸν Κρόνον, εἶναι δ᾽
ἀνάτασιν τὰ τιτανικὰ πάθη καὶ κινήματα τῆς
ψυχῆς ἡς ἔως ἀναπάσανος ὃς ὑπόνοιο
καταστήσῃ καὶ γεννηται τὸ βασιλικὸν καὶ θεῖον
καθ᾽ ἐαυτῷ καθαρὸν καὶ ἀκήρατον. ἔνταθα
δὴ κομισθεῖς, ὃς ἔλεγεν, ὁ ξένος καὶ θεραπεύων
τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ σχολής ἀστρολογίας μὲν ἐφ᾽ ὁσον
γεωμετρήσαντι πορρωτάτῳ προολέθεων δινατῶν

1 E, B: ἐβασίλευσε -Emperius.
2 E: ἐξαγγέλλειν -B.
3 E: προδιανοεῖται -B.
4 H. C.: ἀνάτασιν -E, B.
5 After Bernardakis's ψυχῆς ἡς ἔως ἀν; B, -E, B.
6 H. C.: παντάσανος -E, B.
7 H. C.: ὃ ὑπόνοιο vac. 10-E, 13-B.
8 H. C.: ὁσον vac. 2-E, 3-B.

a For the sleep of Cronus as his bonds and for the spirits
who are his servitors cf. De Defectu Oraculorum, 420 Α. For
the sleeping Cronus cf. also Kern, Orphicorum Fragmenta,
frags. 149 and 153: in these "Orphic" or Neo-Platonic
passages, however, Cronus prophesies, furnishes Zeus with
plans, or thinks the world order before Zeus is aware of it
(cf. Damsacus, Dub. et Sol. 305 v-306 τ [ii, pp. 136. 19-137. 8,
Ruelle] and Proclus, In Cratybum, p. 53. 29 ff. [Pasquali]),
which is the opposite of what Plutarch's words imply. Be-
cause of Tertullian, De Anima, 46, 10 (f. 156) J. H. Waszink
(Tertullian, De Anima, p. 496) thinks it certain that the
ultimate source of the story was one of Aristotle's lost
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ambrosia to him, and all the island is suffused with
fragrance scattered from the rock as from a fountain;
and those spirits mentioned before tend and serve
Cronus, having been his comrades what time he ruled
as king over gods and men. Many things they do
foretell of themselves, for they are oracular; but
the prophecies that are greatest and of the greatest
matters they come down and report as dreams of
Cronus, for all that Zeus premeditates Cronus sees
in his dreams and the titanic affections and motions
of his soul make him rigidly tense (until) sleep
(restores) his repose once more and the royal and
divine element is all by itself, pure and unalloyed.

Here then the stranger was conveyed, as he said,
and while he served the god became at his leisure
acquainted with astronomy, in which he made as
much progress as one can by practising geometry,
dialogues. Pohlenz (R.E. xi. 2013. s.v. "Kronos") sup-
poses that Plutarch's source was Posidonius and that Posi-
donius was inspired by Nordic legend!

The feature of the birds that bring Cronus ambrosia appears
to have been adapted from the story of Zeus’s nectar; cf.
Sept. Sap. 156 f and Odyssey, xii. 63-65.

Besides J. H. Waszink (Tertullian, De Anima, p. 496) see
the same author’s articles in Vigiliae Christianae, i (1947),
pp. 137-149 (especially pp. 145-149) and in Mélanges Henri
Waszink mistakenly believes that in Plutarch’s story “special
demons convey to Zeus [the thoughts that arise in Cronus’s
dreams] who makes use of them for his government of the uni-
verse,” and consequently he overlooks the important difference
between Plutarch’s version and the “Orphic” passages that
I have pointed out in this note.

A Cf. Class. Phil. xlvi (1951), pp. 149-150.

This is the first mention of “the stranger,” unless he
was referred to in the lost beginning of the dialogue. Hitherto
he has merely been implied by the indirect discourse and τὸν
ποιητὴν in 941 A supra; cf. the reference in note c there.
(942) ἕστιν ἐμπειρίαν ἐσχε φιλοσοφίας δ' τῆς ἄλλης τῷ φυσικῷ χρώμενος. ἐπιθυμίαν δ' τινα καὶ πόθον ἔχων γενέσθαι τῆς μεγάλης νήσου θεατῆς (οὔτως1 γὰρ ὃς ἐοικε τὴν παρ' ἡμῖν οἰκουμένην ὄνομα-ξουσιν), ἐπειδὴ2 τὰ τριάκοντα ἐτη διήλθην ἄφικο-
μένων τῶν διαδόχων οἰκοθεν ἀσπασάμενος3 τοὺς φίλους ἐξέπλευσε, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατεσκευασμένος εὐστάλῶς4 ἐφόδιον δὲ συχνὸν ἐν5 χρυσοῖς ἐκπώμασε κομίζων. ἂ μὲν οὖν ἐπαθεὶ καὶ ὅσους ἀνθρώπους ὄντι διήλθειν, ἱεροὶς τε γράμμασιν ἐντυγχάνων ἐν τελε-
tαῖς τε6 πάσαις τελούμενοι, οὐ μιὰς ἡμέρας ἔργον ἐστὶ διελθεῖν ὃς ἐκείνος ἡμῖν ἀπῆγγγελλεν εὐ μάλα καὶ καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἀπομνημονεύων, ὥσα δ' οἰκεία τῆς ἐνεστώσεως διατριβῆς ἐστιν ἀκούσατε. πλεύστων γὰρ ἐν Καρχηδόνι χρόνον διέτριψεν ἂτε δὴ παρ' ἡμῖν μεγάλας ἔχοντος <τοῦ Κρόνου τιμᾶς>,7 καὶ τινας οὖθ' ἡ προτέρα πόλις ἀπώλυτο διφθέρας ἱερὰς ὑπεκκομισθείσας κρύφα καὶ διαλαθούσας πολύν χρόνον ἐν γῇ κειμένας ἐξεύρειν.8 τῶν τε φαινο-
mένων θεῶν ἐφ' χρῆμα καὶ μοι παρεκελευτο τιμῶν διαφερόντως τὴν σελήνην ὃς τοῦ βίου κυριωτάτην

1 Ε.; οὔτω -Β.  
2 Madvig.; ἐπεὶ δὲ -Ε', Β.  
3 Ε.; ἀσπασάμενοις -Β.  
4 -Anon., Aldine, R.J. 94; εὐστάλως -Ε', Β.  
5 Ε.; omitted in Β.  
6 Ε.; τε omitted in Β.  
7 Emperius; μεγάλας ἐχοντος καὶ τινάς -Ε', Β., Aldine; μεγάλης ἐχοντος καὶ τιμᾶς -Basiliensis; μεγάλας ἐχοντος (τοῦ Κρόνου) τιμᾶς; καὶ -Wyttentbach.  
8 Adler; ἐξευρεῖν -Ε', Β.; ἐξευρών -Basiliensis.

"φιλοσοφίας... χρώμενος is highly condensed: it must
and with the rest of philosophy by dealing with so much of it as is possible for the natural philosopher. Since he had a strange desire and longing to observe the Great Island (for so, it seems, they call our part of the world), when the thirty years had elapsed, the relief-party having arrived from home, he saluted his friends and sailed away, lightly equipped for the rest but carrying a large viaticum in golden beakers. Well, all his experiences and all the men whom he visited, encountering sacred writings and being initiated in all rites—to recount all this as he reported it to us, relating it thoroughly and in detail, is not a task for a single day; but listen to so much as is pertinent to the present discussion. He spent a great deal of time in Carthage inasmuch as Cronus receives great honour in our country, and he discovered certain sacred parchments that had been secretly spirited off to safety when the earlier city was being destroyed and had lain unnoticed in the ground for a long time. Among the visible gods he said that one should especially honour the moon, and so he kept exhorting me to do, inasmuch as she be construed: φιλοσοφίας δέ τῆς ἄλλης (ἐμπειρίαν ἐσχε), χρόμενος (αὐτῇ ἐφ’ ὁσον) τῷ φυσικῷ (δυνατὸν ἐστιν). For the distinction between ἀστρολογία and φυσική here referred to cf. Geminus’s quotation of Posidonius in Simplicius, Physica, pp. 291. 23–292. 9 (Diels).

b For the special position of Cronus at Carthage cf. De Superstitione, 171 c, De Sera Numinis Vindicta, 552 a; Diodorus, v. 66. 5.

c Nothing in the subsequent account supports the frequently expressed notion that the myth is supposed to have been discovered in these parchments, and 945 D infra expresssly invalidates any such assumption.

d Cf. Timaeus, 40 D (τὰ περὶ θεῶν ὤρατῶν), 41 A (ὅσοι περὶ πολοῦν φανερῶς . . . θεοί); Epinomis, 985 D (τούς ὠντως ἡμῖν φανερούς ὠντας θεούς).
(942) οὖσαν ἀνέβαν, τῶν "Αἰδοῦ λειμώνων" ἑκομενήν.

27. Θαυμάζοντες δ’ ἐμοῦ διαίτα καὶ δεόμενους Ἀδάστερον ἀκούσαι ‘πολλα’ εἶπεν3 ὡς Σύλλα περὶ θεών ὑπὸ πάντα δὲ καλῶς λέγεται παρ᾿ Ἑλλησπον. οἶνον εὐθὺς ὀρθῶς Δήμητραν4 καὶ Κόρην ὁνομάζοντες όικὸν ὀρθῶς ὀμοῦ καὶ περὶ τὸν αὑτὸν ἀμφοτέρας εἶναι τόπον νομίζουσιν. ἥ μὲν γὰρ ἐν γῇ καὶ κυρία τῶν περὶ γῆς ἐστιν ἢ δὲ ἐν σελήνῃ καὶ τῶν περὶ σελήνῃ.5 Κόρη τε καὶ Φερσεφόνη6 κέκληται τὸ μὲν ὡς φωσφόρος7 οὖσα Κόρη δ’ ὅτι καὶ τοῦ ὁμομαντός ἐν ὡς τὸ ἐκδόλιον ἀντιλαμπεῖ τοῦ βλέποντος ὥσπερ τὸ ἠλώνοι φέγγος ἐνορᾶται τῇ σελήνῃ κόρην προσαγορεύομεν. τοὺς τε περὶ τὴν Ἑπλάνην καὶ τὴν ζητησιν αὐτῶν λεγομένως ἐνεστὶν

1 II. C. (cf. 942 f, 943 c infra: De Genio Socratis, 591 a-c): οὖσαν vac. 31-E, 24-B.
2 Bernardakis: δὲ μοῦ -E, B.
3 Stephanus (1624): εἰπεῖν -E, B, Aldine, Basiliensis.
5 E: περὶ τὴν σελήνην -B.
6 Dübner (cf. 943 b infra): περσεφόνη -E, B.
7 E: φωσφόρος -B.

a Here Sulla begins to quote the stranger directly and continues his direct quotation to the end of the myth in 945 ν.

b For identification of Persephonē and the moon cf. Epicharmus, frag. B 54 (i, p. 207. 9-11 [Diels-Kranz]=Ennius in Varro, De Lingua Latina, v. 68); Porphyry, De Antro Nymph. 18: Lamblichus in John Laurentius Lydus, De Mensibus, iv. 149; Martianus Capella, ii. 161-162. Plutarch in De Iside, 372 δ notices the identification of Isis and the moon and in 361 τ. that of Isis and Persephassa (cf. note e on 922 a supra for Athena). The Pythagoreans are said to have called the planets “the hounds of Persephonē” (Por-
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is sovereign over life (and death), bordering as she does (upon the meads of Hades).

27. When I expressed surprise at this and asked for a clearer account, he said "Many assertions about the gods, Sulla, are current among the Greeks, but not all of them are right. So, for example, although they give the right names to Demeter and Cora, they are wrong in believing that both are together in the same region. The fact is that the former is in the region of earth and is sovereign over terrestrial things, and the latter is in the moon and mistress of lunar things. She has been called both Cora and Phersephone, the latter as being a bearer of light and Cora because that is what we call the part of the eye in which is reflected the likeness of him who looks into it as the light of the sun is seen in the moon. The tales told of the wandering and the quest of these goddesses contain the truth

\[ \text{Vita Pythag. 41} = \text{Aristotle, frag. 196; Clement, Stromat. v. 50 [676 p, 244 s]}; \text{ and Plutarch in De Defectu Oraculorum, 416 e refers to some who call the moon χθονίας όμοιο καὶ οὐρανίας κληρόν 'Εκάτης (cf. De Iside, 368 e). Cf. further, Roscher, Über Selene und Verwandtles, pp. 119 ff.} \]

\[ \text{Cf. for the ancient etymologies of Φερσοφόνη Bräuninger, R.E. xix. 1. 946-947, and Roscher, Lexicon, ii. 1288; there seems to be no ancient parallel to the one given here, to which Plutarch does not refer in De Iside, 377 D, where he mentions the etymology proposed by Cleanthes. In the Orphic Hymn to Persephonê (xxix. 9 = Orphica, rec. E. Abel, p. 74. 9) the epithet, φαεσφόρος, is used of the goddess but not by way of etymology (cf. line 16); nor is she expressly identified with the moon, although she is called φαεσφόρος, ἄγλαομορφε, \ldots \text{εὔφεγγες, κερόσσα.} \]

\[ \text{Cf. [Plato], Alethiades I, 133 a. The word κόρη means "girl," "maiden," for which reason it was used of such goddesses as Athena and Persephonê, and also "doll," whence like Latin "pupilla" it came to mean the pupil of the eye; cf. English "the baby in the eye."} \]
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(942) ἡμιγμένον] τὸ ἀληθὲς. ἀλλήλων γὰρ ἐφείνται χωρίς οὔσαι καὶ συμπλέκονται περὶ τὴν σκιὰν πολλακίς. τὸ δὲ νῦν μὲν ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ φωτὶ νῦν δ' ἐν σκότῳ καὶ νυκτὶ γενέσθαι περὶ τὴν Κόρην θείδος μὲν οὐκ ἑστιν, τοῦ δὲ χρόνου τῶ ἀριθμῷ πλάνην παρέσχηκεν. οὐ γὰρ ἐξ μὴνας ἀλλὰ παρ’ ἐξ μὴνας ὀρῶμεν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς ὁσπερ ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς τῇ σκιᾷ λαμβανομένην ὁλιγάκις δὲ τούτο διὰ πέντε μηνῶν πάσχονσαν, ἐπεὶ τὸν γ’ "Αἰδὴν ἀπολυτεῖν ἀδύνατον ἑστιν αὐτὴν τοῦ ᾧ Ἀιδοὺ πέρ(ας) οὔσαν, ὁσπερ καὶ ᾧ Ομηρὸς ἐπικρυφάμενος οὐ φαύλως τούτ’ ἐπεν

ἀλλ’ εἰς Ἡλύσιον πεδίον καὶ πείρατα γαῖς.

ὡς τῇ σκιᾷ τῆς γῆς ἐπινεμομένη παύεται τούτο τέρμα τῆς γῆς ἐθετο καὶ πέρας. εἰς δὲ τούτο φαύλος μὲν οὔσεις οὔθ’ ἀκάθαρτος ἀνείσου, οἱ δὲ

1 H. C.; ἐνεστὶ vac. 7-E; ἐνεστὶ vac. 9-B.
2 Basiliensis; ὁ δὲ νῦν -E, B.
3 Raingeard; οὔθ’ χρόνον -E, B; ὁ δὲ χρόνος -Anon., Aldine, R.J. 94.
4 Wytttenbach; παροῦσαν -E, B; παροῦσαν -Kaltwasser.
5 Stephanus (1624); ὁπ’ -E (at end of line with 2 or 3 letters-spaces possibly vacant after it), B (no lacuna).
6 Turnebus: περ ὁσαν -E, B.

a i.e. the wandering of Demeter in search of Persephone after the abduction of the latter by Hades: cf. e.g. the Homeric Hymn II to Demeter and Apollodorus, Bibliotheca, i. 5. In the myth, however, Demeter was the wanderer; but the earth, which she is here supposed to represent, is stationary. In the myth Persephone is in darkness when she is separated from her mother and with Hades, whereas Plutarch’s interpretation requires that Persephone, the moon, be in darkness and night when she is in the embrace of her mother, the earth.

b Cf. 933 ε supra and De Genio Socrat. 591 c: σελήνη . . . φένυει τὴν Στύγα μικρὸν ύπερφέρουσα λαμβάνεται δ’ ἀπαζ ἐν 194
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〈spoken covertly〉,\(^a\) for they long for each other when they are apart and they often embrace in the shadow. The statement concerning Cora that now she is in the light of heaven and now in darkness and night is not false but has given rise to error in the computation of the time, for not throughout six months but every six months we see her being wrapped in shadow by the earth as it were by her mother, and infrequently we see this happen to her at intervals of five months,\(^b\) for she cannot abandon Hades since she is the boundary of Hades, as Homer too has rather well put it in veiled terms:

But to Elysium’s plain, the bourne of earth.\(^c\)

Where the range of the earth’s shadow ends, this he set as the term and boundary of the earth.\(^d\) To this point rises no one who is evil or unclean, but the good μέτροις δευτέροις έκατον ἐξδομηκοντα ἐπτά (177 days = one-half of a lunar year, 6 synodic months).

\(^a\) Odyssey, iv. 563 but with ἀλλά σ’ ἐς instead of ἀλλ’ ἐς.
\(^b\) Cf. Stobaeus, Eclogae, i. 49 (i, p. 448. 5-16 [Wachsmuth]) = frag. 146 β (vii, p. 176 [Bernardakis]), where Odyssey, iv. 563-564 is taken to indicate that the region of the moon is the seat of righteous souls after death (cf. Eustathius, Ad Odyssemam, 1509. 18). There Ἡλύσιον πεδίον is said to mean the surface of the moon lighted by the sun (cf. 944 c infra) and πεῖρατα γαῖς the end of the earth’s shadow which often touches the moon: but there is no mention of Hades, Persephonē, or Demeter. In the present passage Plutarch does not say why his interpretation of Homer’s line justifies him in calling the moon τοῦ "Αιδον πέρας, but the rest of the myth makes it certain that Hades is the region between earth and moon (cf. 943 c infra). This agrees with the myth of De Genio Socratis, where (591 a-c) this region is "the portion of Persephonē" and the earth’s shadow is "Styx" and the road to Hades and where (590 τ) Hades and Earth are clearly identical (cf. Heinze, Xenokrates, p. 135; R. M. Jones, The Platonism of Plutarch, p. 57 and n. 147). Probably then Plutarch here thought that, if Homer could be

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shown to have set the boundary of earth at the moon, it follows that he understood the moon to be the boundary of Hades. In De Genio Socratis, 591 b the moon is expressly made the boundary between "the portion of Persephone," which is Hades, and the region which extends from moon to sun. Nevertheless, in 944 c infra the Elysian plain is said to be the part of the moon that is turned to heaven, i.e. away from the earth: and, though this, does not explicitly contradict the present passage, it might still seem to suggest the notion ascribed to lamblichus by John Laurentius Lydus (De Mensibus, iv. 149 [p. 167. 24 ff.]): . . . τον ὑπὲρ σελήνης ἄχρις ἡλίου χῶρον τῷ Ἀιδη διδοῦσ, παρ’ ὧν φησὶ καὶ τὰς ἑκκεκαθαρ-μένας ἐστάναι ψυχάς, καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν εἶνα τὸν Πλοῦτωνα, Περσε-φόνην δὲ τὴν σελήνην.


b In Quaest. Rom. 282 a Plutarch cites Castor (cf. 266 e)
are conveyed thither after death and there continue to lead a life most easy to be sure a though not blessed or divine until their second death. b

28. And what is this, Sulla? Do not ask about these things, for I am going to give a full explanation myself. Most people rightly hold man to be composite but wrongly hold him to be composed of only two parts. The reason is that they suppose mind to be somehow part of soul, thus erring no less than those who believe soul to be part of body. for in the same degree as soul is superior to body so is mind better and more divine than soul. The result of soul (and body commingled is the irrational or the affective factor, whereas of mind and soul) the conjunction produces reason; and of these the former is source of pleasure and pain, the latter of virtue and vice. c

for the notion that after death souls dwell on the moon, for which cf. in general P. Capelle, De luna stellis lacteо orbe animarum sedibus (Halis Saxonum, 1917), pp. 1-18 and n.b. Iamblichus, Vit. Pyth. 18, 82; Varro in Augustine, De Civ. Dei, vii. 6 (i, p. 282. 14-17 [Dombart]); S. V. F. ii, frag. 814.

Cf. De Virtute Morali, 441 d—442 λ, De Genio Socratis, 591 d—e. The ultimate source of Plutarch’s conception of the relation of mind, soul, and body is such passages of Plato as Timaeus, 30 b, 41-42, 90 λ; Laws, 961 d—e, Phaedrus, 247 c (cf. Thévenaz, L’Ame du monde . . . chez Plutarque, pp. 70-73). Plutarch himself ascribes the twofold division, soul and body, to οἱ πολλοί and so cannot intend a reference to any philosophical school; by those who make soul a μόριον τοῦ σώματος he might mean Stoics (cf. De Stoicorum Repugnantibus, 1052 c ff., De Communibus Notitiis, 1083 c ff.) but might equally well mean Epicureans or materialists generally. Against Adler’s argument (Diss. Phil. Vind. x, pp. 171-172) that the first of the two notions rejected is Platonic and the second Stoic, so that Plutarch’s source must have been Posidonius, cf. Pohlenz, Phil. Woch, xxxii (1912), p. 653, and R. M. Jones, The Platonism of Plutarch, p. 55.
(943) δὲ τούτων συμπαγέντων τὸ μὲν σώμα ἡ γῆ τῆν δὲ ψυχὴν ἡ σελήνη τὸν δὲ νοῦν ὁ ἱλιος παρέσχεν εἰς τὴν γένεσιν (τάνθρωπος) ὡσπερ αὐτῇ τῇ σελήνῃ τὸ φέγγος. δὲ δὲ ἀποθνῄσκομεν θάνατον, ὁ μὲν ἐκ τριῶν δύο ποιεῖ τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ὁ δὲ ἐν ἔκ B δυνέιν, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ γῇ τῆς Δήμητρος. (διὸ τελευτάν λέγεται τὸν βίον αὐτῇ τελεῖν καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς Ἀθηναίοι Δήμητρείους ἀνόμαζου τὸ παλαιὸν) καὶ σύνοικός ἔστι τῆς μὲν χρόνους ὁ Ἑρμῆς τῆς δ' οὐράνιος. λυεί δ' αὐτὴ μὲν ταχύ καὶ μετὰ βίας τήν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἡ δὲ Φερσεφόνη πράως καὶ χρόνῳ πολλῷ τὸν νοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ διὰ τούτο μονογενῆς κέκληται μόνον γὰρ γίγνεται τὸ βέλτιστον τάνθρωπον διακρινόμενον (ὑπ') αὐτῆς. Συνυπογιάσει δ' οὖτως κατὰ φύσιν ἐκάτερον πάσαν

1 Bernardakis: γένεσιν vac. 7-E, 11-B.
2 Raingeard: ὡς περ αὐ -E; ὡς περ ὀν -B.
3 Bernardakis: δυναί -E, B.
4 Madvig: ἐν τῇ τῆς -E, B.
5 H. C.: Δήμητρος vac. 20-E, 26-B ἐν.
6 Kaltwasser: τὸ παλαιὸν δὲ ἐν -E, B.
7 E1, B: περσεφόνης -E2.
8 Bernardakis: αὐτῆ -E, B.
9 Stephanus (1624): μόνη -E, B: possibly μόνη (cf. L and S, s.v. μόνος, B IV).
10 Stephanus (1624): διακρινόμενον αὐτῆς -E, B.

a Cf. De Genio Socratis, 591 ν, where motion and generation are linked by Mind in the sun and generation and destruction by Nature in the moon.

b For a "mortal soul" or "mortal part" of the soul cf. Plato, Timaeus, 42 ν, 61 c, 69 c-d.

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In the composition of these three factors earth furnishes the body, the moon the soul, and the sun furnishes mind (to man) for the purpose of his generation \(^a\) even as it furnishes light to the moon herself. As to the death we die, one death reduces man from three factors to two and another reduces him from two to one \(^b\); and the former takes place in the \(\langle\text{earth}\rangle\) that belongs to Demeter (wherefore “to make an end” is called) “to render \(\langle\text{one’s life}\rangle\) to her” and Athenians used in olden times to call the dead “Demetrians”), \(^c\) \(\langle\text{the latter}\rangle\) in the moon that belongs to Phersephonê, and associated with the former is Hermes the terrestrial, with the latter Hermes the celestial.\(^d\) While the goddess here \(^e\) dissociates the soul from the body swiftly and violently, Phersephonê gently and by slow degrees detaches the mind from the soul and has therefore been called “single-born” because the best part of man is “born single” when separated off \(\langle\text{by}\rangle\) her.\(^f\) Each of the two separations naturally occurs in this

\(^a\) Cf. Class. Phil. xlvi (1951), p. 151.
\(^b\) Cf. De Iside, 367 d-e. Hermes appears in the myth of Persephonê as early as Homeric Hymn II, 377 ff. and is connected with Hecatê in the fragment of Theopompus in Porphyry, De Abstinentia, ii. 16. Cf. also Quaest. Graec. 296 r and Halliday’s note \textit{ad loc}.
\(^c\) i.e. on earth, Demeter, which is why Plutarch refers to her with \(\alpha\upsscript{v}\pi\gamma\nu\), though she is the former of the two mentioned.
\(^d\) \(\mu\nu\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\epsilon\omicron\omicron\nu\), which appears as an epithet of Hecatê and Persephonê (cf. Hesiod, Theogony, 426: \textit{Orphic Hymns}, xxix. 1-2 [Abel]; Apollonius Rhodius, iii. 847), means “unique”: \cf. Timaeus, 31 b and 92 c, to which Plutarch refers in \textit{De Defectu Oraculorum}, 423 A and c, where he interprets the word to mean “only born.” Here, however, he probably takes the final element in an active sense such as it has in \(\varphi\alpha\lambda\lambda\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\alpha\), an epithet of Demeter, the moon, and the earth.
(943) ψυχὴν, ἀνοιν τε καὶ σὺν νῷ, σῶματος ἐκπεσοῦσαν εἰμαρμένοιν ἐστὶν (ἐν)1 τῷ μεταξὺ γῆς καὶ σελήνης χωρίω2 πλανηθῆναι χρόνον οὐκ ἵσον, ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν ἄδικοι καὶ ἀκόλαστοι δίκας τῶν ἀδικημάτων τίνοις τὰς δ' ἐπιεικεῖς ὅσον ἀφαγνεῦσαι καὶ ἀποπνεῦσαι (τοὺς)3 ἀπὸ τοῦ σῶματος ὀσπερ ἄμοιν4 πονηρὸν μιασμοὺς ἐν τῷ πραοτάτῳ τοῦ ἀέρος, ὃν λειμώνας "Αἴδου καλοῦσι, δεῖ γίγνεσθαι χρόνον τινὰ τεταγμένον. (εἴθ')5 οἶον ἐξ ἀποδημίας ἀνακομιζόμεναι φυγαδικῆς εἰς πατρίδα γενόνται χαρᾶς οἴαν6 οἱ τελοῦμενοι μάλιστα θορύβῳ καὶ πτοήσει συγ-

1 Wyttenbach: ἐστὶ τῷ μεταξὺ -E, B.
2 E, B: χώρῳ -Papabasileios.
3 Emperius: ἀποπνεῦσαι ἀπὸ -E, B.
4 Emperius: αἰτίου -E, B.
5 Basiliensis (eίτα); omitted by E, B.
6 Editors after οἴαν (sic) of Basiliensis; οἶον -E, B.

This may mean only "whether the soul has been obedient to reason in life or has not but ὅλη κατέδω εἰς σῶμα," as De Génio Socratis, 591 ν-ε puts it; but at 945 in infra Plutarch speaks of souls which ἀνευ νοῦ assume bodies and live on earth, and by ἄνω here he may intend to refer to the separation of such souls from their bodies. He cannot mean, as Raingeard supposes, souls whose minds have immediately passed to the sun, for he has just said that the separation of mind from soul takes place at the second death on the moon and neither here nor in 944 ν infra does he allow for any exception in the sense of the doctrine of the Hermetic Tractate, x. 16, where νοῦς is separated from ψυχή at the moment when 200
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fashion: All soul, whether without mind or with it,\(^a\)
when it has issued from the body \(^b\) is destined to
wander (in) the region between earth and moon but
not for an equal time. Unjust and licentious souls
pay penalties for their offences; but the good souls
must in the gentlest part of the air, which they call
"the meads of Hades," \(^c\) pass a certain set time
sufficient to purge and blow away (the) pollutions
contracted from the body as from an evil odour.\(^d\)

\(^a\) Cf. De Antro Nymph. §§ 11-12 (p. 64. 24-25 [Nauck]):
Proclus, In Timaeum, iii, p. 331. 6-9 (Diehl); and in general
on the pollution of the soul by association with the body
Plato, Phaedo, 81 b-c. Plutarch in a different context uses the
words: ... δεν ἀτμοῖ πονηροί ... ταῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ... ἀνα-
kραθῶσι περιόδοις (De Tuenda Sanitate, 129 c).

\(^b\) Cf. De Sera Numinis Vindicta, 563 e: επεὶ γὰρ ἐξέπεσε
tὸ φρονοῦν τοῦ σώματος ... .

\(^c\) For the location of Hades cf. De Iside, 382 ε and the
etymology in De Latenter Vivendo, 1130 λ (cf. Plato, Gorgias,
493 b and Phaedo, 80 ν): for the identification of Hades with
the dark air cf. [Plutarch], De Vita et Poesi Homeri, § 97;
Philodemus, De Pietate, c. 13 (Dox. Graeci, p. 547 b): Cor-
nutus, c. 5 and c. 35; Heraclitus, Quaestiones Homericae,
§ 41. Reference to a mead (λεμῶν) or meads in the under-
world is common: cf. Odyssey, xi. 539, 573 and xxiv. 13-14;
Kern, Orphicorum Fragmenta, 32 f 6 and 222: Plato,
Gorgias, 524 λ, Republic, 614 e and 616 b. The Neo-
Platonists argued that the λεμῶν in these Platonic passages
is meant to be located in the atmosphere under the moon:
Proclus, In Rem Publicam, ii, pp. 132. 20-133. 15 (Kroll);
Olympiodorus, In Gorgiam, p. 237. 10-13 (Norvin); Hermias,
In Phaedrum, p. 161. 3-9 (Couvreur).

\(^d\) Cf. De Genio Socratis, 591 d—592 d Plutarch makes νοὴς and
ψυχή not really two different substances as here in the De
Facie but considers ψυχή to be a degeneration of νοῆς.

\(^1\) Cf. De Sera Numinis Vindicta, 563 e: ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐξέπεσε
tὸ φρονοῦν τοῦ σώματος ... .
(943) kekraménnv met' elpídos ήdeias ἔχουσι. πολλὰς
D γὰρ ἐξωθεὶ καὶ ἀποκυματίζει γλυχομένας ἕδη τῆς
σελήνης εἴνας δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκεὶ περικάτω τρεπο-
μένας οἷοι εἰς βυθὸν αὕθεις ὀρῶσι καταδυμένας.
αἰ δ' ἄνω γενόμεναι καὶ βεβαιώς ἱδρυθεῖσαι πρῶ-
tον μὲν ὦσσερ οἱ νικηφόροι περιώσιν ἀναδούμεναι
στεφάνους πτερῶν εὐσταθείᾳ λαμβανόμενοι ὅτι τῆς
ψυχῆς τὸ ἀλογον καὶ τὸ παθητικὸν εὐήμον ἐπιεικῶς
τῷ λόγῳ καὶ κεκοσμημένον ἐν τῷ βίῳ παρέσχοντο.
δεύτερον, ἀκτίνι τῆν ὦμν ἐοικύται περὶ δὲ τὴν
φύσιν ἄνω κοιφιζομένην ὦσσερ ἐνταῦθα τῷ περὶ
τὴν σελήνην αἰθέρι, καὶ τόνον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ δύνα-

1 Madvig : συγκεκραμένη -E, B.
2 Xylander in his version : ίδιας -E, B.
3 Madvig : περὶ κάτω -E, B.
4 E : καταγινομένας -B.
5 Wytenbach : ἱδρύθησαν -E, B.
6 Wytenbach : περιώσασιν -E ; περιστάσιον -B.
7 Hutten ; ἀναδούμενοι -E, B.
8 Wytenbach : ἐοικύται -E, B.
9 Sandbach (who, however, reads πυρί for περὶ after
Wytenbach) : περὶ δὲ τὴν ψυχῆν -E, B.
10 Wytenbach : ἄφ' αὐτοῦ -E, B.

a For life on earth as the soul’s exile from its proper home
cf. De Exilio, 607 c-e ; and for the comparison with initiates
and what follows in this vein a few lines below cf. fragment
VI (vii, p. 23, 4-17 [Bernardakis]).
b Cf. De Genio Socratis, 591 c, and Plato’s Phaedrus, 248
δ-β, especially αἰ δὲ δῆ ἄλαι γλυχόμεναι μὲν ἀπασαὶ τοῦ ἄνω
ἐπονται, ἀδύνατον δὲ, ὑποβρύχια συμμετρηφέρονται κτλ.
c For life as an athletic contest and the soul as athlete cf.
De Sera Numinis Vindicta, 561 Α, De Genio Socratis, 593 δ-ε
and 593 ι—594 Α. The conception is Platonic (cf. Republic,
621 c-d, Phaedrus, 256 b) ; and it is irrelevant to cite oriental
notions of life as a combat and immortality as a triumph as
Soury does (La Démonologie de Plutarque, p. 189, n. 1) after
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fusion and excitement.\textsuperscript{a} For many, even as they are in the act of clinging to the moon, she thrusts off and sweeps away; and some of those souls too that are on the moon they see turning upside down as if sinking again into the deep.\textsuperscript{b} Those that have got up, however, and have found a firm footing first go about like victors crowned with wreaths of feathers called wreaths of steadfastness,\textsuperscript{c} because in life they had made the irrational or affective element of the soul orderly and tolerably tractable to reason\textsuperscript{d}; secondly, in appearance resembling a ray of light but in respect of their nature, which in the upper region is buoyant as it is here in ours, resembling the ether about the moon,\textsuperscript{e} they get from it both tension and strength

Cumont. Soury follows Raingeard in misconstruing οτεφάνοις . . . λεγόμενοι and supposing that πτερόν εὐσταθείας is an "expression mystique" (\textit{op. cit.} pp. 189 and 191-192). Εὐσταθείας does not depend upon πτερόν or vice versa; and Plutarch has simply woven the "feathers of the soul," which appear throughout the myth of the \textit{Phaedrus}, into a wreath that is given to the souls of the good for their steadfastness, just as the victorious souls in \textit{Phaedrus}, 256 \textit{b} become ὑπόπτεροι because in life they were ἐγκρατεῖς αὐτῶν καὶ κόσμου.

\textsuperscript{d} Cf. \textit{De Genio Socratis}, 592 \textit{a}, and Plato's \textit{Phaedrus}, 247 \textit{b} (\textit{n.b.} εὐφημία ὀντα ῥάδισσ πορεύεται).

\textsuperscript{e} αἰθήρ for Plato was simply the uppermost and purest air (\textit{cf. Timaeus}, 58 \textit{d}, \textit{Phaedo}, 109 \textit{b} and 111 \textit{b}); but here the word is probably used under Stoic influence, for which see note \textit{d} on 928 \textit{d} and note \textit{g} on 922 \textit{b} \textit{supra} and \textit{cf.} [Plato], \textit{Axiochus}, 366 \textit{a} (ἡ ψυχὴ συναλγοῦσα τῶν οὐράνιον ποθεί καὶ σύμφυλον αἰθέρα). These last sentences of chapter 28 show several definitely Stoic traits, especially the conception of "tension," nourishment of the soul by the exhalations, and the use of the quotation from Heraclitus. It has long been customary to compare with this passage Cicero, \textit{Tusc. Disp.} i. 19, 43, and Sextus Empiricus, \textit{Adv. Math.} ix. 71-73 (\textit{cf.} Heinze, \textit{Xenokrates}, pp. 126-128; K. Reinhardt, \textit{Kosmos und Sympathie}, pp. 308-313 and p. 323; R. M. Jones, \textit{Class. Phil.} xxvii [1932], pp. 113 ff.).

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For the Stoic doctrine of τὸνος cf. De Stoicorum Repugnantibus, 1054 a-b, De Communibus Notitiis, 1085 c-d, and S. I. F. ii, frags. 447 and 448. The metaphor of "tempering" was also commonly used by the Stoics in connection with the soul: cf. S. I. F. ii, frags. 804-806.

a For the nourishment of disembodied souls cf. the passages of Cicero and 204.
as edged instruments get a temper, for what laxness and diffuseness they still have is strengthened and becomes firm and translucent. In consequence they are nourished by any exhalation that reaches them, and Heraclitus was right in saying: "Souls employ the sense of smell in Hades."  

29. First they behold the moon as she is herself: her magnitude and beauty and nature, which is not simple and unmixed but a blend as it were of star and earth. Just as the earth has become soft by having been mixed with breath and moist and blood gives rise to sense-perception in the flesh with which it is commingled, so the moon, they say, because it has been permeated through and through by ether is at once animated and fertile and at the same time has the proportion of lightness to heaviness in equipoise. In fact it is in this way too, they say, that the universe itself has entirely escaped local motion. because it has been constructed out of the things that naturally move upwards and those that naturally move downwards. This was Sextus cited in note e, p. 203. Here the argument of Lamprias in 940 c-d supra is incorporated into the myth, which thereby appears to substantiate the argument.  

c Plutarch certainly wrote αὐτῆς σελήνης (or perhaps αὐτῆς τῆς σελήνης) under the influence of Plato's "true earth," αὐτῆς γῆς, in Phaedo, 109 b 7, 110 b 6 (cf. 935 a supra and 944 b infra).  

d Cf. Aristotle, De Part. Animal. 656 b 19-21 and 25-26, 666 a 16-17; and Plato, Timaeus, 77 e on the connection of the blood-vessels with τὸ τῶν αἰσθήσεων πᾶθος.  

e Not "the demons" who told the stranger the story, as Raingeard says, but the human authors of the theory mentioned in the next sentence; cf. Class. Phil. xlvi (1951), pp. 151-152.  

(943) δὲ καὶ Ξενοκράτης ἐοικεν ἐννοῆσαι θείω τινὶ λογισμῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβὼν παρὰ Πλάτωνος. Πλάτων γὰρ ἐστιν ὁ καὶ τῶν ἀστέρων ἐκαστὸν ἐκ γῆς καὶ πυρὸς συνημμόσθαι διὰ τῶν ἀυτῶν ἀναλογίας δεθεισσων ἀποφημάμενος. οὐδὲν γὰρ εἰς αἰσθήσιν εξικνεῖσθαι ὃ μὴ τι γῆς ἐμμεμίκται καὶ φωτὸς. ὁ δὲ Ξενοκράτης τὰ μὲν ἄστρα καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἐκ πυρὸς φησὶ καὶ τοῦ πρῶτου πυκνοῦ συγκείσθαι τὴν δὲ σελήνην ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου πυκνοῦ καὶ τοῦ ὅδιον ἀέρος τὴν δὲ γῆν ἐξ ὕδατος [καὶ ἀέρος] καὶ τοῦ τρίτου τῶν πυκνῶν ὅλως δὲ μὴτε τὸ πυκνὸν αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ μὴτε τὸ μανὸν εἶναι ψυχής δεκτικόν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ οὐσίας σελήνης. εὗρος δὲ καὶ μέγεθος οὐχ ὅσον οἱ γεωμέτραι λέγουσιν ἀλλὰ μείζον πολλάκις ἐστὶ. καταμετρεῖ δὲ τὴν σκιὰν τῆς γῆς ὁλιγάκις τοῖς ἕαυτῆς μεγέθεσιν οὐχ ὡς συμκρότητος, ἀλλὰ θερμοὶ ὄστερον ἐπείγει τὴν κίνησιν ὅπως ταχύ διεκπεραὶ τὸν σκοτώθη τὸπον ὑπεκφέρουσα τὰς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ψυχᾶς ὑπευδόουσι καὶ βουσάς οὐκέτι γὰρ ἐξακούουσιν ἐν τῇ σκιᾷ γενόμεναι τῆς περὶ τῶν

1 Purser; διὰ τῶν vac. 4-E, 5-B.
2 Leonicus (cf. Plato, Timaeus, 31 c, 32 b-c; Plutarch, De An. Proc. 1016 f—1017 a); ὀδησσῶν -E, B.
3 -Anon., Aldine, R.J. 94 (cf. Plato, Timaeus, 31 b); οὐδένα -E, B.
4 Excised by H. C.; καὶ ἀέρος -Ε καὶ πυρὸς -B.
5 E.; ἕαυτον -Β.
also the conception of Xenocrates who, taking his start from Plato, seems to have reached it by a kind of superhuman reasoning. Plato is the one who declared that each of the stars as well was constructed of earth and fire bound together in a proportion by means of the two intermediate natures, for nothing, as he said, attains perceptibility that does not contain an admixture of earth and light; but Xenocrates says that the stars and the sun are composed of fire and the first density, the moon of the second density and air that is proper to her, and the earth of water and air that is proper to her, and the earth of water [and air] and the third kind of density and that in general neither density all by itself nor subtility is receptive of soul. So much for the moon’s substance.

As to her breadth or magnitude, it is not what the geometers say but many times greater. She measures off the earth’s shadow with few of her own magnitudes not because it is small but she more ardently hastens her motion in order that she may quickly pass through the gloomy place bearing away (the souls) of the good which cry out and urge her on because when they are in the shadow they no longer catch the sound.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{a}}\] The Greek does not imply, as Adler supposes, that Plutarch had any doubt about what Xenocrates had said (cf. R. M. Jones, The Platonism of Plutarch, p. 55).

\[\text{\textsuperscript{b}}\] Timaeus, 40 \textasciitilde{a} and 31 \textasciitilde{b}—32 c; cf. [Plato], Epinomis, 981 d-e; Plutarch, De Fortuna Romanorum, 316 e-f. Timaeus, 31 \textasciitilde{b} strictly requires γῆς . . . καὶ πυρὸς here; but according to Timaeus, 45 \textasciitilde{b} and 58 c φῶς is the species of fire that produces visibility.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{c}}\] Xenocrates, frag. 56 (Heinze); for text and implications cf. Class. Phil. xlvi (1951), p. 152.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{6}}\] Von Arnim; \textit{θερμ} vac. \textit{τ} ἐπείγει -E; \textit{θερμότητος} ἐπείγει -B; \textit{θερμοτάτην} ἐπείγει -Anon., Aldine, R.J. 94.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{7}}\] Reiske; ὑπεκφέρουσα τῶν ἀγαθῶν σπευδούσας -E, B; ὑπεκφέρουσα ψυχᾶς τῶν ἀγαθῶν σπευδούσας -Basiliensis.
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(944) οὐρανὸν ἀρμονίας. ἀμα δὲ καὶ κάτωθεν αἰ τῶν κολαζομένων ψυχῶν θηνικαῦτα διὰ τῆς σκιᾶς ὀδυρό-μεναι ⟨καὶ⟩¹ ἀλαλάζουσαι προσφέρονται. διὸ καὶ κροτεῖν ἐν ταῖς ἐκλεύμεσιν εἰώθασιν οἱ πλείστοι χαλκώματα καὶ ψόφον ποιεῖν καὶ πάταγον ἐπὶ τὰς ψυχὰς;² ἐκφοβεῖ δ' αὐτὰς καὶ τὸ καλούμενον πρόσ-ωπον ὅταν ἐγγύς γένωνται βλοσυμώντος τι καὶ φρε-κώδες ὀρῶμενον. ἔστι δ' οὐ τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὠσπερ ἡ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐχει γῇ κόλπους βαθεῖς καὶ μεγάλους, ἐνα μὲν εὐταῦθα διὰ στηλῶν 'Ἡρακλεων ἀναχεό- C μενον εἰσώ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξω δ' τῶν Κάσπιων καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν 'Ερυθρὰν θάλατταν, οὔτως⁴ βάθη ταύτα τῆς σελήνης ἐστὶ καὶ κολώματα. καλοῦσι δ' αὐτῶν τὸ μὲν μέγυστον 'Εκάτης μυχῶν, ὅπου καὶ δίκαι διδόσαι αἱ ψυχαι καὶ λαμβάνονσιν ὃν ἄν ἡδη γεγενημέναι δαίμονες ἡ πάθωσιν ἡ ὀρᾶσοι, τὰ δὲ

¹ Basiliensis: ὀδυρόμεναι, ἀλαλάζουσαι -E, B.
² Basiliensis: φυλάσ -E, B.
³ Stephanus (1624): βλοσυμών -E, B.
⁴ E: οὔτω -B.

Plutarch here gives a “mythical correction” of the astronomical calculations in 923 α-β and 932 β supra (on the text and the paralogism of this “correction” cf. Class. Phil. xlvi [1951], pp. 152-153) and also a mythical explanation of the acceleration of which he had spoken in 933 β supra. With this account of the effect of the lunar eclipse upon the disembodied souls cf. De Genio Socratis, 591 c and for the harmony in the heavens cf. 590 c-d there, De Musica, 1147, Plato’s Republic, 617 ν, Aristotle’s De Caelo, 290 b 12—291 a 28.

Cf. Aemilius Paulus, 17 (264 ν); Pliny, Nat. Hist. ii, 12. 9 (54); Tacitus, Annals, i. 28; Juvenal, vi. 442-443. The purpose of the custom is here made to fit the myth; in 208
of the harmony of heaven. At the same time too with wails (and) cries the souls of the chastised then approach through the shadow from below. That is why most people have the custom of beating brasses during eclipses and of raising a din and clatter against the souls, which are frightened off also by the so-called face when they get near it, for it has a grim and horrible aspect. It is no such thing, however; but just as our earth contains gulfs that are deep and extensive, one here pouring in towards us through the Pillars of Heracles and outside the Caspian and the Red Sea with its gulfs, so those features are depths and hollows of the moon. The largest of them is called "Hecaté’s Recess," where the souls suffer and exact penalties for whatever they have endured or committed after having already become

De Genio Socratis, 591 c the moon herself flashes and bellows to frighten away the impure souls.

c Cf. Epigenes in Clement, Stromat. v. 49 (= Kern, Orphicorum Fragmenta, frag. 33): Γοργόνοι τὴν σελήνην διὰ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ πρόσωπον. Cf. the notion that the face in the moon is that of the Sibyl (De Pythiae Oraculis, 398 c-d; De Sera Naminiis Vindicta, 566 d).

d Cf. Plato, Phaedo, 109 b.

e For the Caspian see note f on 941 c supra. By "Red Sea," Plutarch means what we call the Indian Ocean plus the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea: in Quaest. Conviv. 733 b he cites Agatharchidas who wrote an extensive work on the "Red Sea" (cf. Photius, Bibliotheca, cod. 250 [pp. 441 ff., Bekker]).

f Cf. Class. Phil. xlvi (1951), p. 151 on 943 e.

g For Hecaté and the moon see notes c on 937 r and b on 942 d supra; cf. Sophocles, frag. 492 (Nauck) and Kern, Orphicorum Fragmenta, frag. 204. For Hecaté’s association with a cave cf. Homeric Hymn II, 24-25, and Roscher, Über Selene und Verwandte, pp. 46-48. Plutarch himself associates μυχός with the "punishments in Hades" (De Superstitione, 167 a).
(944) δύο μακρά¹ <τάς Πύλας>.² περαιούνται γὰρ αἱ ψυχαὶ δι' αὐτῶν νῦν μὲν εἰς τὰ πρὸς οὐρανὸν τῆς σελήνης νῦν δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὰ πρὸς γῆν. ὄνομάζεται³ δὲ τὰ μὲν πρὸς οὐρανὸν τῆς σελήνης Ὠλύσιον πεδίον⁴ τὰ δ' ἐνταύθα Φερσεφόνης οἰκος⁵ ἀντίχθονος.

30. Οὐκ ἀεὶ δὲ διατρίβουσιν ἔπ' αὐτῆς⁶ οἱ δαίμονες ἀλλὰ χρηστηρίων⁷ δεύρο κατίσων ἐπιμελη-

D σόμενοι καὶ ταῖς ἀνωτάτως⁸ συμπάρεισι καὶ συνορ-

γιάζουσι τῶν τελετῶν κολασταί τε γίγνονται καὶ ψυλάκες ἀδικημάτων καὶ σωτηρίας ἐν τε πολέμοις καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐπιλάμπουσιν. ὅτι δ' ἂν μὴ καλῶς περὶ ταῦτα πράξωσιν ἄλλ' ὑπ' ὀργῆς⁹ ἢ πρὸς ἀδικον χάριν ἡ φθόνῳ δίκην τίνουσιν. ὠθοῦνται γὰρ

¹ Leonicus; τὰς δὲ δύο μακρᾶς -E, B.
² H. C.; no lacuna indicated in E or B.
³ H. C.; οὐνομάζεται -F, B.
⁴ B; παιδίον -E.
⁵ After von Arnim (who read οἰκον because he kept ὄνομα-

ζεθαὶ supra); οὐκ -E, B.
⁶ Bernardakis (cf. De Tuenula Sanitate, 128 B: διατρίβειν ἔπ' ἀκτῆς); αὐτὴν -E, B: αὐτῇ -Wyttenbach.
⁷ Basiliensis; χρηστηρίω -E, B.
⁸ B; ἀνωτάτατος -E.
⁹ -Anon., Aldine, R.J. 94; ὑπὲρ γῆς -E, B.

This has been called inconsistent with the preceding statement in chapter 28 that only pure or purified souls attain the moon. Even the pure souls that reach the moon, however, still have the affective soul as well as mind; and Plutarch has already said in chapter 28 (942 ρ) that the life which they lead on the moon is οὐ μακάριον οὐδὲ θεῖον.

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Spirits\(^a\); and the two long ones are called \("\text{the Gates}\)\(^b\), for through them pass the souls now to the side of the moon that faces heaven and now back to the side that faces earth.\(^c\) The side of the moon towards heaven is named "Elysian plain,"\(^d\) the hither side "House of counter-terrestrial Phersophonë."\(^e\)

30. Yet not forever do the Spirits tarry upon the moon; they descend hither to take charge of oracles, they attend and participate in the highest of the mystic rituals, they act as warders against misdeeds and chastisers of\(^f\) them, and they flash forth as savours manifest in war and on the sea.\(^g\) For any act that they perform in these matters not fairly but inspired by wrath or for an unjust end or out of envy they are penalized, for they are cast out upon


\(^{c}\) They pass to the outer side on their way to the "second death" (944 \(\varepsilon\ \text{ff. infra}) and to the hither side on their way to rebirth in bodies (945 \(\varsigma\ \text{infra}). In Amatorius, 766 \(\beta\) the place to which souls come to be reborn in the body is called \(\odot \Sigma \xi \nu \nu \nu \text{καὶ Αφροδίτης λειμώνες.}

\(^{d}\) See 942 \(\gamma\ \text{supra and note} \ d \text{there.}

\(^{e}\) Plutarch uses \(\alpha ντίχθων\) in the usual Pythagorean sense in \(\text{De An. Proc. in Timaeo, 1028 \(\beta\) (cf. De Placitis, 891 \(\alpha\), 895 \(\varepsilon\) = Aëtius, ii. 29. 4; iii. 9. 2; iii. 11. 3). Identification of the moon with the counter-earth is ascribed to certain "Pythagoreans" (but cf. Cherniss, Aristotle's Criticism of Plato and the Academy, i, p. 562) by Simplicius, De Caelo, p. 512. 17-20 (cf. Asclepius, Metaph. p. 35. 24-27; Scholia in Aristotelem, 505 \(\lambda\ \text{I [Brandis]).}

\(^{f}\) Cf. De Defectu Oraculorum, 417 \(\alpha\-\beta\) and De Genio Socratis, 591 \(\alpha\); R. M. Jones, The Platonism of Plutarch, pp. 29, 39, and 55-56. Iamblichus, Vit. Pyth. vi. 30 (p. 18. 4 [Deubner]) says that some people considered Pythagoras to be such a Spirit from the moon. In the last clause of the sentence above Plutarch refers to the Dioscuri: cf. Lysander, 14 (439 \(\alpha\); De Defectu Oraculorum, 426 \(\alpha\).

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(944) αὕτης ἐπὶ γῆν συνειργήτημενοι1 σώμασιν ἀνθρωπίνους. ἐκ δὲ τῶν βελτιώνων ἐκείνων οἱ τε περὶ τὸν Κρόνον ὄντες ἐφασαν αὐτοὺς2 εἰναι καὶ πρότερον ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ τοὺς Ἰδαίοις3 Δακτύλους ἐν τῇ Ἐ Φυγώι τοὺς Κορύθαι παρέστασαν καὶ τοὺς περὶ Βοωτίαν ἐν Ὀυδώρα Ἐ. Τροφωνιάδας καὶ μυρίους ἄλλους πολλαχόθι τῆς οἰκουμένης ὄν ἱερὰ καὶ τιμαί καὶ προσηγορίας διαμένουσιν αἱ δὲ δυνάμεις ἕνενοι5 εἰς ἐτερον τόπον τῆς ἀρίστης ἐξαλλαγῆς τυγχανόντων. τυγχάνουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν πρότερον οἱ δ’ ὑστερον, ὅταν ὁ νοῦς ἀποκρυθῇ τῆς ψυχῆς. ἀποκρύνεται δ’ ἔρωτι τῆς περὶ τὸν ἡλίου εἰκόνος, δι’ ἦς ἐπιλάμπει τὸ ἑφετὸν καὶ καλὸν καὶ θεῖον καὶ μακάριον οὗ πάσα φύσις, ἄλλη δ’ ἄλλως, ὀρέγεται. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν τὴν σελήνην ἔρωτι τοῦ ἡλίου περιπολεῖν δει6

1 -Anon., Aldine, R.J. 94: συνειργήμενοι -E, B.
2 Bernardakis (implied in the versions of Xylander and Kepler): αὐτοὺς -E, B.
3 Aldine, Basiliensis: ἱδίους -E, B.
4 E, B: οὐδώρα -Aldine: Λεβαδία -Basiliensis.
5 Apelt: ἐνών -E, B.
6 Apelt: περιπεριπολεῖν ἅδε -E: περιπολεῖν ἅδε -B.

a Cf. 926 c supra (ἡ ψυχή . . τὸ σῶματι συνείρκται), De An. Proc. in Timaeo, 1023 c (τὸ σῶματι συνειργήμεναι σειλ. ἡ ψυχή): for the "misbehaviour" of Spirits cf. De Defectu Oraculorum, 417 b, 417 f-f, De Iside, 361 A ff., where the punishment of these Spirits is mentioned in 361 c (cf. De Defectu Oraculorum, 415 c).

b i.e. not those who for misdeeds are cast out upon earth again. The attendants of Cronus are the σάμωτες of 942 A supra. Cf. Porphyry’s account of good and evil spirits in De Abstinencia, ii. 38-39.

c Cf. Numa, 15 (70 c-d): [Plutarch], De Fluviis, xiii. 3 (vii, p. 305. 4-12 [Bernardakis]): Strabo, x. 3. 22 (c. 473); Pausanias, v. 7. 6-10; Diodorus, v. 64. 3-7.

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earth again confined in human bodies. To the former class of better Spirits the attendants of Cronos said that they belong themselves as did afore-time the Idaean Daëtys in Crete and the Corybants in Phrygia as well as the Boeotian Trophoniads in Udora and thousands of others in many parts of the world whose rites, honours, and titles persist but whose powers tended to another place as they achieved the ultimate alteration. They achieve it, some sooner and some later, once the mind has been separated from the soul. It is separated by love for the image in the sun through which shines forth manifest the desirable and fair and divine and blessed towards which all nature in one way or another yearns, for it must be out of love for the sun that the moon herself goes her rounds and gets into con-

d Cf. Schwenn, R.E. xi. 2 (1922), 1441-1446, and Lobeck, Aglaophamos, pp. 1139-1155.

e This place seems to be mentioned nowhere else; but, since Plutarch here refers to inactive oracles from which the Spirits have departed, the change to Λεβαδεία cannot be right, for in De Defectu Oraculorum, 411 e-f Lebadeia is said to be the only remaining active oracle in Boeotia where there are many others now silent or even deserted.

f Cf. 943 b supra.

g Plato’s Republic, 507-509 is Plutarch’s main inspiration. It is a passage which he echoes or cites many times (e.g. De Iside, 372 a, De E, 393 d, De Defectu Oraculorum, 413 c and 433 d-e, Ad Principem Inerud, 780 r and 781 r, Plat. Quaest. 1006 r—1007 a); and his references to it show that “the image in the sun,” τῆς περί τῶν ἃλοιν εἰκόνος, here means the visible likeness of the good which the sun manifests and not, as Kepler suggests, the reflection of the sun seen in the moon as in a mirror. The last part of the sentence with the notion that all nature strives towards the good and the term ἔφετὼν itself are drawn from Aristotle (Physics, 192 a 16-19 and the whole of Physics Α, 9 and Metaphysics Α, 7); cf. De Iside, 372 e-f and Amatorius, 770 b.
(944) καὶ συγγιγνεσθαι ὀρεγομένην ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ γονιμωτάτου ἡ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπὶ τῆς σελήνης. Οἱ οὐν ὑπὲρ τοὺς λευκοὺς και ὀνείρατα διαφυλάττοντο, καὶ περὶ ταύτης ὀρθῶς ἤγου λελέχθαι τὸ

ψυχὴ δ' ἥντ' ὀνείρος ἀποπταμένη πεπόνηται.

οὐδὲ γὰρ εὐθὺς οὐδὲ τοῦ σώματος ἀπαλαγείσα τοῦτο πέπονθεν ἀλλ' ὑστερον ὅταν ἑρήμος καὶ μόνη τοῦ νοῦ ἀπαλαττομένη γένηται. καὶ Ὁμήρος ὅν εἶπε πάντων μάλιστα δὴ κατὰ θεὸν εἰπεῖν ἐσουκε περὶ τῶν καθ' "Αἰδοὺ

τὸν δὲ μετ' εἰσενόησα βίην 'Ἡρακλείνην, εἴδωλον: αὐτὸς δὲ μετ' ἀθανάτους θεοῖς.

αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ἐκαστὸς ἠμῶν οὐ θυμός ἐστιν οὐδὲ φόβος οὐδ' εἰπθυμία καθάπερ οὐδὲ σάρκες οὐδ' ἡ 945 ὑγρότητες ἀλλ' ὃ διανοούμεθα καὶ φρονοῦμεν, ἡ

1 Wyttenbach (cf. 945 c infra: ἡ σελήνη ... δεχομένη ... and 929 c supra: δέχεται τὸν ἠμένον); no lacuna -E, B.
2 H. C. (cf. 944 b-c supra); τὴν σελήνην -E, B; τῇ σελήνῃ -Wyttenbach.
3 Kaltwasser and Wyttenbach after Amyot’s version; καθόλου -E, B.
4 mss. of Homer and editors: ἡρακλείνη -E, B.
5 -Anon., Aldine, R.J. 94; εὐθυμός -E, B, Basiliensis.
6 Leonicus; ὡ -E, B.

"The specific nature of this fertilization is described in 945 c infra: the conception of the sun as an image of god is connected with a reference to its fructifying force in De E, 393 ν. For sexual language used of the moon and sun see the references in note a on 929 c supra.

b Odyssey, xi. 222.

c Odyssey, xi. 601-602. Similar interpretations of this 214
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junction with him in her yearning (to receive) from him what is most fructifying.\(^a\) The substance of the soul is left upon the moon and retains certain vestiges and dreams of life as it were; it is this that you must properly take to be the subject of the statement

Soul like a dream has taken wing and sped,\(^b\) for it is not straightway nor once it has been released from the body that it reaches this state but later when, divorced from the mind, it is deserted and alone. Above all else that Homer said his words concerning those in Hades appear to have been divinely inspired

Thereafter marked I mighty Heracles—

His shade; but he is with the deathless gods. . . .\(^c\)

In fact the self of each of us is not anger or fear or desire just as it is not bits of flesh or fluids either but is that with which we reason and understand\(^d\); and

passage are common among the Neo-Pythagoreans and Neo-Platonists: cf. especially [Plutarch], De Vita et Poesi Homeri, chap. 123; Plotinus, Enn. i. 1. 12; iv. 3, 27 and 32; vi. 4. 16; Proclus, In Rem Publicam, i, p. 120. 22 ff. and p. 172. 9 ff. (Kroll); Cumont, Rev. de Philologie, xlv (1920), pp. 237-240, who contends that the doctrine itself arose in Alexandria where Aristarchus became acquainted with it.

\(^a\) Cf. De Sera Numinis Vindicta, 564 c and Adv. Coloten, 1119 A. For the voïs as the true self cf. Aristotle, Eth. Nic. 1166 a 16-17 and 22-23, 1168 b 35, 1169 a 2, 1178 a 2-7. Plato usually speaks of the \(\psi\)\(\nu\)\(\chi\)\(\eta\) without further qualification as the true self (e.g. Laws, 939 A, Phaedo, 115 c [cf. the Pseudo-Platonic Alcibiades I, 130 A-c and Axiocbus, 365 e]), although such passages as Republic, 430 e—431 A, 588 c—589 b, 611 c-e can be taken to imply that he meant the rational soul only (cf. Plotinus’s use of the last passage in Enn. i. 1. 12). Cf. also Cicero, De Republica, vi. 26 ("mens cuiusque est quisque") and Marcus Aurelius, ii. 2 with Farquharison’s note ad loc.

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(945) τε ψυχή τυπουμένη μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ τυποῦσα δὲ τὸ σώμα καὶ περιπτύσσουσα πανταχόθεν ἐκμάττεται τὸ εἴδος ὡστε καὶ πολὺν χρόνον χωρὶς ἐκατέρου γένηται διατηροῦσα τὴν ὁμοιότητα καὶ τὸν τύπον εἴδωλον ὄρθως ὁνομάζεται. τούτων δ' ἡ σελήνη, καθάπερ εὑρήται, στοιχείων ἐστιν· ἀναλύονται γὰρ εἰς ταῦτην ὅσπερ εἰς τὴν γην τὰ σώματά τῶν νεκρῶν, ταχὺ μὲν αἱ σώφρονες μετὰ σχολῆς ἀπράγμονα καὶ φιλόσοφον στέρξασαι βίων (ἀφεθείσαι γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐτὶ χρώμεναι τοὺς πάθεσιν ἀπομαραίνονται). τῶν δὲ φιλοτήμων Β καὶ πρακτικῶν ἐρωτικῶν τε περὶ σώματα καὶ θυμοειδῶν αἱ μὲν οἰον ἐν ὑπνῷ ταῖς τοῦ βίου μνήμοσύναις διείρασι χρώμεναι διαφέρονται καθάπερ ἡ τοῦ Ἐνδυμίωνος. ἐπεὶ δ' αὕτὰς τὸ ἄστατον καὶ τὸ ἐμπαθὲς ἐξιστησι καὶ ἀφέλκει τῆς σελήνης πρὸς

1 E; περιπτύσσον -Β.
2 B; . . . χωρὶς ἐκατέρου γένηται πολὺν χρόνον -Ε.
3 -Ανον., Aldine, R.J. 94; τόπον -Ε, B.
4 Kepler, Wyttenbach after Amyot's version: ἀπαθὲς -Ε, B.

a Cf. De Sera Numinis Vindicta, 564 Α, where the souls are described as τύπον ἐχούσας ἀνθρωποειδή, and [Plutarch], De Vita et Poesi Homerī, chap. 123 (εἴδωλον ὅπερ ἦν ἀποπεπλασμένον τοῦ σώματος); Porphyry in Stobaeus, 1. xlit. 55 (= i, p. 429. 16-22 [Wachsmuth]). The notion that the soul after death retains the appearance of the body was common (cf. Lucian, Vera Hist. ii. 12), although Alexander Polyhistor in Diogenes Laertius, viii. 31 gave it as Pythagorean doctrine (but cf. Antisthenes, frag. 33 [Mullach]). With the special point of the present passage that the body is given its form by the imprint of the soul, which has itself been moulded by the mind, cf. Proclus, In Rem Publicam, ii. pp. 327, 21-328, 15 (Kroll): Plotinus, iv. 3, 9. 20-23 and 10. 35-42; Macrobius, Somn. Scip. 1. xiv. 8; Sextus, P.H. i. 85. In Laws, 959 a-b Plato calls the body “an attendant semblance of the self” and uses the word εἴδωλα of corpses.
the soul receives the impression of its shape through being moulded by the mind and moulding in turn and enfolding the body on all sides, so that, even if it be separated from either one for a long time, since it preserves the likeness and the imprint it is correctly called an image. Of these, as has been said, the moon is the element, for they are resolved into it as the bodies of the dead are resolved into earth. This happens quickly to the temperate souls who had been fond of a leisurely, unmeddlesome, and philosophical life, for abandoned by the mind and no longer exercising the passions for anything they wither quietly away. Of the ambitious and the active, the irascible and those who are enamoured of the body, however, some pass their time as it were in sleep with the memories of their lives for dreams as did the soul of Endymion; but, when they are excited by restlessness and emotion and drawn away from the moon to another birth, she

The notion that soul encompasses body instead of being contained by it comes ultimately from Plato, *Timaeus*, 34 b. 

For later Neo-Platonic opinions concerning the dissolution of the lower soul see Proclus, *In Timaeum*, iii, p. 234. 9 ff. (Diehl) and cf. Plotinus, *Enn*. iv. 7. 14 (... ἀφεὶμένον δὲ τὸ κείρον οὐδὲ αὐτὸ ἀπολείποι ἐως ἂν ἢ ὅθεν ἔχει τὴν ἀρχήν). 

The expression correlative to αἱ μὲν is ἐπεὶ δ’ αὐτὰς, and the contrast between ἐπεὶ δ’ αὐτὰς ... ἔξιστησι and the present clause requires that διαφόρονται mean “pass their time” rather than “toss about,” “be distraught,” the meaning that it has in *De Genio Socratis*, 591 d. 

There seems to be no other reference to Endymion’s dreams; but Plutarch may here have been influenced by the story that Endymion’s endless sleep was a punishment for his passion for Hera (cf. *Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium Vetera*, iv. 57-58 [p. 265, Wendel] and *Scholia in Theocritum Vetera*, iii. 49-51 b [p. 133, Wendel]).
(945) ἀλλὰ γένεσιν, οὐκ ἑὰν τευευν ἐπὶ γῆν ἡ ἄλλ’ ἀνακαλεῖται καὶ καταθέλγει. 2 μικρὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν οὐδ’ ἕσυχον οὐδ’ ὁμολογούμενον ἐργον ἐστὶν ὅταν ἀνευ νοῦ τῷ παθητικῷ σώματος ἐπιλάβωνται. Τίτυνοι δὲ καὶ Τυφόνες ὧ τε Δελφοῦς κατασχὼν καὶ συν- ταράξας τὸ χρηστήριον ὑβρεί καὶ βία Πύθων 3 ἔξ ἐκεῖνων ἀρὰ τῶν ψυχῶν ἦσαν, ἐρήμων λόγον καὶ τύφω πλανηθέντι τῷ παθητικῷ χρησμαμένων, χρόνω τοῖς καὶ κακείνας κατεδέξατο 5 εἰς αὐτὴν ἡ σελήνη καὶ Κατεκόσμησεν. εἰτα τὸν νοῦν αὕτης ἐπισπειράντος τοῦ ἡλίου τῷ ἐκτικῷ δεχόμενη νέας ποιεὶ ψυχάς, ἢ δὲ γῆ τρίτων σῶμα παρέσχεν. οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτὴ διδώσα μετὰ θάνατον ὅσα λαμβάνει πρὸς γένεσιν ἡμὸς ἐκ λαμβάνει μὲν οὐδὲν ἀπο-

3 Kaltwasser (cf. Introduction, note b, p. 12 supra) : Τυφόν -E, B.
4 Kaltwasser (implied by Kepler’s version) : ἐρήμων λόγω -E, B.
5 Leonicus : κατεδέξατο -F, B.
7 H. C. : no lacuna indicated in E or B : διδώσαν (τοῖς ἄλλοις δύοι, ἄλλ’ ἀποδίδωσι) μετὰ θάνατον κτλ. -Wyttenbach.

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a Cf. De Sera Numinis Vindicta, 565 d-e, 566 a : Plato, Phaedo, 81 b-e, 108 a-b.
b Cf. Odyssey, xi. 576-581; Pindar, Pythian, iv. 90; Eustathius, Comment, ad Odysseam, 1581. 54 ff.
c Cf. especially De Iside, chaps. 27 and 30.
d Ἰθήνης and Τιτός are named together by Plutarch in Pelopidas, 16 (286 c) : cf. Strabo, ix. 3. 12 (cc. 422-423) and Apollodorus, Bibliotheca, i. 4. 1. 3-5 (22-23).
e For the play on Τυφών-τύφος cf. Plato, Phaedrus, 230 a, 218
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forbids them ⟨to sink towards earth⟩⁴ and keeps conjuring them back and binding them with charms, for it is no slight, quiet, or harmonious business when with the affective faculty apart from reason they seize upon a body. Creatures like Tityus ⁵ and Typho ⁶ and the Python ⁷ that with insolence and violence occupied Delphi and confounded the oracle belonged to this class of souls, void of reason and subject to the affective element gone astray through delusion ⁸: but even these in time the moon took back to herself and reduced to order. Then when the sun with his vital force has again sowed mind in her she receives it and produces new souls, and earth in the third place furnishes body.⁹ In fact, the earth gives nothing ⟨in giving back⟩ after death all that she takes for generation, and the sun takes nothing but takes back the

which is quoted by Plutarch in Adv. Coloten, 1119 b; and cf. also Marcus Aurelius, ii. 17 (… τὰ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄνειρος καὶ τοῦ φῶς …).

⁹ Cf. 943 Λ and 944 ε-φ supra. In the latter passage ὀργομένην ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ γονιμώτατον ⟨ἐξεσθαί⟩ (cf. De E, 393 δ [τὸ περὶ αὐτῆς γόνημον] and Aqua an Ignis, 958 ε [τὸν πυρὸς … οἶνον τὸ πυρικὸν ἐνεργαζόμενον]) shows that τὸ πυρικὸ here is to be construed with the preceding words rather than with those that follow (so Reinhardt, Kosmos und Sympathie, pp. 320, 329). On Reinhardt’s treatment of this passage in general and his attempt to derive it from Posidonius (op. cit. pp. 329 ff.) cf. R. M. Jones, Class. Phil. xxvii (1932), pp. 118-120, 129-131, 134-135; n.b. Timaeus, 41-42 where the demiurge is said to have sowed (ἐσπειρευ) in the earth, the moon, and the other planets the souls that he had fashioned himself, i.e. the minds (cf. 41 ε, 42 δ), and the interpretation of Timaeus Locrus, 99 ν-ε, according to which this means that the souls are brought to earth from the various planets (cf. also R. M. Jones, The Platonism of Plutarch, pp. 49-51, and especially Porphyry in Proclus, In Timaeum, i, p. 147. 6-13 [n.b. … εἰς τὸ τῆς σελήνης σῶμα σπείρεσθαι φησιν …] and p. 165, 16-23 [Diehl]).

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(945) λαμβάνει δὲ τὸν νοὺν διδοὺς, σελήνη δὲ καὶ λαμβάνει καὶ δίδωσι καὶ συντίθησι καὶ διαιρεῖ [καὶ]¹ κατ’ ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην δύναμιν, ὅν Εἰλείθυια² μὲν ἡ συντίθησιν Ἀρτεμίς δὲ ἡ διαιρεῖ καλεῖται. καὶ τριῶν Μοιρῶν ἡ μὲν ὁ Ἀτροπός περὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἱδρυμένη τὴν ἄρχην ἔνδιδοσι τῆς γενέσεως, ἡ δὲ Κλωθῶ περὶ τὴν σελήνην φερομένη συνιδεί καὶ μίγνυσιν, ἐσχάτη δὲ συνεφάπτεται περὶ γην ἡ Λάχεσις ἡ πλείστον τύχης μέτεστι. τὸ γὰρ ἄθυμχον ἄκυρον αὐτὸ καὶ παθητον ὑπ’ ἄλλων, ὁ δὲ νοῦς ἀπαθής καὶ αὐτο- D κράτωρ, μικτὸν δὲ καὶ μέσον ἡ ψυχὴ καθάπερ ἡ σελήνη τῶν ἁνω καὶ κάτω σύμμυγμα καὶ μετακέρασμα³ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ γέγονε, τοῦτον ἀρα πρὸς ἥλιον ἐχουσα τὸν λόγον ὁν ἐχει γη πρὸς σελήνην.’

¹ καὶ -E, B; omitted by Basiliensis.
² E: εἰλήθυια -B.
³ Wyttenebach after the versions of Xylander and Amyot: μέγα κέρας -E, B.

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¹ Cf. Quaest. Conviv. 658 f: ἀθεν οἶμαι καὶ τὴν Ἀρτεμίν Λαχέιαν καὶ Εἰλείθυιαν, οὐκ οὖσαν ἔτεραν ἡ τὴν σελήνην, ἀνομά-σθαι. Here, however, Artemis and Hithyia are supposed to be names for two contrary faculties of the moon. In 938 f supra the identification of the moon with Artemis because she is “sterile but is helpful and beneficial to other females” implies that Artemis is Hithyia, as she is in Plato’s Theaetetus, 149 ν (cf. Cornutus, p. 73, 7-18 [Lang]). Artemis was associated with easy, painless death, however (cf. Odyssey, xi. 172-173; xviii. 202); and Plutarch probably connects this notion with the gentleness of the death on the moon (cf. 943 b supra). L. A. Post has suggested that he may also have 220
mind that he gives, whereas the moon both takes and gives and joins together and divides asunder in virtue of her different powers, of which the one that joins together is called Ilithyia and that which divides asunder Artemis. Of the three Fates too Atropos enthroned in the sun initiates generation, Clotho in motion on the moon mingles and binds together, and finally upon the earth Lachesis too puts her hand to the task, she who has the largest share in chance.

For the inanimate is itself powerless and susceptible to alien agents, and the mind is impassible and sover reign; but the soul is a mixed and intermediate thing, even as the moon has been created by god a compound and blend of the things above and below and therefore stands to the sun in the relation of earth to moon.'

intended ἄρταμεῖν as an etymology of Ἄρτεμις. Ilithyia and Artemis are sometimes sisters (cf. Diodorus Siculus, v. 72. 5), but then they have the same function.

b In De Genio Socratis, 591 β Atropos is situated in the invisible, Clotho in the sun, and Lachesis in the moon. The order there is the same as it is here and different from that in the De Fato (568 ε), where in interpretation of Republic, 617 c Clotho is highest, Lachesis lowest, and Atropos intermediate. Both orders differ from that of Xenocrates (frag. 5 [Heinze]), which was Atropos (intelligible and supra-celestial), Lachesis (opinable and celestial), Clotho (sensible and sublunar). The order of De Facie and De Genio Socratis is that of Plato's Laws, 960 c, where Lachesis, Clotho, and Atropos are named in ascending order as the epithet of Atropos, Τρίτη σώτειρα, shows; here in the De Facie it is the passage of the Republic, however, that Plutarch has in mind, for his ὁμοφάτεται is an echo of Plato's ἐφαπτομένην and ἐφάπτεσθαι there. Cf. H. Dörrie, Hermes, lxxii (1954), pp. 331-342 (especially pp. 337-339), who discusses the relation of these passages to the pre-history of the Neoplatonic doctrine of hypostases and argues that in writing them Plutarch was inspired by Xenocrates.
(945) Ταῦτ’” εἶπεν ὁ Σύλλας “ἐγὼ μὲν ἦκουσα τοῦ ἔνου διεξόντος ἐκεῖνῳ δ’ οἱ τοῦ Κρόνου κατευνασταὶ καὶ θεράποντες, ὡς ἔλεγεν αὐτός, ἔξηγε-γείλαν. ὕμιν δ’, ὁ Λαμπρία, χρῆσθαι τῷ λόγῳ πάρεστιν ἢ βουλέσθε.”
This,” said Sulla, “I heard the stranger relate; and he had the account, as he said himself, from the chamberlains and servitors of Cronus. You and your companions, Lamprias, may make what you will of the tale.”

Cf. De Sera Numinis Vindicta, 561 b, De Genio Socratis, 589 f; Plato’s Phaedo, 114 d, Meno, 86 b, Gorgias, 527 a, Phaedrus, 246 a.
ON THE PRINCIPLE OF COLD
(DE PRIMO FRIGIDO)
INTRODUCTION

This little essay, or open letter to Favorinus, is not written in a controversial spirit, though a few sharp comments are made from time to time. Having established (chapters 5-7) that an element of Cold really exists, Plutarch proceeds to consider what that element may be. Since fire is obviously excluded, can it be air, as the Stoics believe (8-12), or water, as Empedocles, and an early Peripatetic, Strato, hold (13-16)? Or, indeed, may it be earth itself (17-22)? This latter opinion is apparently put forward by Plutarch as an original contribution to theoretical physics and there is no reason to believe it is not his. The essay closes, however, with a recommendation to scepticism,⁴ so that our author may not have regarded his attempted proof as cogent, as indeed it is not.

The work was probably written in Delphi (cf. 953 c-d and e) after A.D. 107 (949 e, note) and addressed to the young philosopher Favorinus, the great lover of Aristotle (Mor. 734 ῥ), who is also a speaker in Symposiaca, viii. 10. Though Favorinus was in all

⁴ See J. Schröter, Plutarchs Stellung zur Skepsis (Greifswald, 1911), pp. 23 and 40. He compares other recommendations to the suspension of judgement, such as Mor. 430 ῴ—431 ἀ. Cf. also Hartman, De Plutarcho, pp. 253 f.

⁵ For the details see Ziegler’s article on Plutarch in Pauly-Wissowa, RE, col. 675.

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likelihood some twenty years younger than Plutarch, the two men dedicated several works to each other. In the present essay it is, perhaps, odd that of the three quotations from Aristotle one is a rebuke (950 b), one is apparently a partial miscitation (948 a, note), while the third is of no importance. No doubt it is in virtue of Favorinus' youth that his idol is treated so lightly, and that the sceptical note is sounded so firmly at the end. The young Peripatetic was also quoted by Plutarch (for partial refutation) in Mor. 271 c; but Plutarch (if Tarn and others are right) became much more favourable to Peripatetics later in his life (e.g. in the Life of Alexander).

Bernardakis's text of this work is one of his most unsatisfactory; even for an editio minor it is careless and confused to a deplorable extent. Nor are the means of correcting and supplementing it at hand, the fifth Teubner volume being still, one fears, in the remote future. Then, too, the only photographs available were those of E and B, which are not likely to add much to our knowledge. Consequently the only course that seemed prudent was to return to

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a Lamprias cat. 132: Plutarch's Letter to Favorinus on Friendship (or The Use of Friends); Galen, de Opt. Doctr. (i. 41 K): Favorinus's Plutarch, or On the Academic Disposition. See also Suidas, s.v. Φαβωρίως.

b Alexander the Great, ii. 298 f.

c See the recent brisk controversy as to their relationship: Manton, Class. Quart, xliii (1949), pp. 97-104: Hubert, Rhein. Mus, xciii (1950), pp. 330-336; Einarson and De Lacy, Class. Phil, xlvi (1951), p. 110, n. 56; Flacelière, ed. Plutarch, Amatorius, pp. 35 ff. The evidence in this essay, for what it may be worth, seems to make it unlikely that B was here copied from either E or an immediate descendant; they both appear to go back to a common ancestor, perhaps through several intermediaries: see, e.g., 951 a, b, d, 953 e. See now Cherniss supra, pp. 27, note a: 31, 32.
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Wyttenbach wherever there was a reasonable doubt. Bernardakis has been tacitly corrected (or altered, whichever it may be) in a good many places. This has been done consistently when both E and B agree with Wyttenbach’s and Hutten’s silence; Bernardakis’s silence, unfortunately, appears to have no significance.

The work is no. 90 in the catalogue of Lamprias.
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΩΤΩΣ ΨΥΧΡΟΥ

F 1. "Εστι τις ἁρα τοῦ ψυχροῦ δύναμις, ὃ Φαβω-ρίνε, πρώτη καὶ οὐσία, καθάπερ τοῦ θερμοῦ τὸ πῦρ, ἡς παρουσίᾳ τινὶ καὶ μετοχῇ γίνεται τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον ψυχρόν· ἡ μάλλον ἡ ψυχρότης στέ-ρησις ἐστὶ θερμότητος, ὡσπερ τοῦ φωτὸς τὸ σκότος λέγουσι καὶ τῆς κινήσεως τὴν στάσιν; ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ ψυχρὸν ἐστὶ στάσιμον ἐναί, κινητικὸν δὲ τὸ τε τῶν θερμῶν καταψήφεις οὐδεμιᾶς παρουσία γίνονται δυνάμεως, ἀλλ' ἔκστασει θερμό-τητος· ἀμα γὰρ ἀπιστοῦ ἡλίῳ φαίνεται καὶ ψύχεται τὸ ύπολειπόμενον· ὡ γὰρ ἀτμὸς, ὅν τὰ ξέοντα τῶν ὕδατων μεθίσας, ἀπιόντι τῷ θερμῷ συνεκπίπτει· διὸ καὶ μειοῖ τὸ πλήθος ἡ περίψυξις ἐκκρίνουσα τὸ θερμὸν, ἐτέρου μηδενὸς ἐπεισιόντος.

2. "Ἡ πρώτον μὲν ἂν τις ὑπίδοιτο τοῦ λόγου τοῦ-τον τὸ πολλὰς τῶν ἐμφανῶν ἀναρεῖν δυνάμεων, ὡς οὐ ποιότητας οὐδ' ἔξεισ, ἔξεων δὲ καὶ ποιοτήτων στερήσεως οὐσίας, βαρύτητα μὲν κοιφότητος καὶ σκληρότητας μαλακότητος, τὸ μέλαν δὲ τοῦ λευκοῦ Β καὶ τὸ πικρῶν τοῦ γλυκέος, καὶ ὃν ἕκαστον ἐκάστῳ πέφυκεν ἀντικείσθαι κατὰ δύναμιν, οὐχ ὧς ἔξει στερήσεις· ἐπεὶ δ' ὅτι πᾶσα στερήσεις ἄργον ἐστὶ καὶ

1 πρώτως Meziriacus: πρώτον.
2 ἡ Ἡ Meziriacus: πολλή: Wytttenbach writes ἁμα γὰρ ἀπιστοῦ πολλῆ.
3 οὐσίας added by Hartman.

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1. Is there, then, Favorinus,\textsuperscript{a} an active principle or substance of Cold (as fire is of Heat) through the presence of which and through participation in which everything else becomes cold? Or is coldness rather a negation of warmth, as they say darkness is of light and rest of motion? Cold, indeed, seems to have the quality of being stationary, as heat has that of motion; while the cooling off of hot things is not caused by the presence of any force,\textsuperscript{b} but merely by the displacement of heat, for it can be seen to depart completely at the same time as the remainder cools off. The steam, for example, which boiling water emits, is expelled in company with the departing heat; that is why the amount becomes less by cooling off; for this removes the heat and nothing else takes its place.

2. First of all, must we not be wary of one point in this argument? It eliminates many obvious forces by considering them not to be qualities or properties, but merely the negation of qualities or properties, weight being the negation of lightness and hardness that of softness, black that of white, and bitter that of sweet, and so in any other case where there is a natural opposition of forces rather than a relation of positive and negative. Another point is that all negation is inert and unproductive: blindness, for

\textsuperscript{a} See the introduction to this essay.

\textsuperscript{b} As, for instance, the force of fire.
(946) ἀπρακτον, ὡς τυφλότης καὶ κωφότης καὶ σιωπή καὶ θάνατος; ἐκστάσεις γὰρ εἰσὶν εἴδων καὶ ἀναιρέσεις οὐσιῶν, οὐ φύσεις τινὲς οὐδ᾿ οὐσίαν καθ᾿ ἐαυτὰς. ἢ δὲ ψυχρότης οὐκ ἐλάττων τῆς θερμότητος ἐγγυνομένη τοῖς σώμασι πάθη καὶ μεταβολὰς ἐνεργάζεσθαι πέφυκε, καὶ γὰρ πήγνυται πολλὰ τῷ ψυχρῷ καὶ συγκρίνεται καὶ πυκνώτατ᾿ καὶ τὸ στάγ-

C σμὸν αὐτῷ καὶ δυσκινήτων οὐκ ἀργὸν ἔστων, ἀλλ᾿ ἐμβριθὲς καὶ βέβαιον, ύπὸ ρώμης συνερευστικὸν καὶ συνεκτικὸν ἔχονσι τόνον. ὀθεὶ ἡ μὲν στέρησις ἐκλειψὺς γίνεται καὶ ὑποχώρησις τῆς ἀντικειμένης δυνάμεως, ψυχεῖ της ἀπὸ πολλὰ πολλῆς αὐτοῖσι θερμότητος ἐνυπαρχούσῃ· ἔναι δὲ καὶ μάλλον ἡ ψυχρότης, ἢν λάβῃ θερμότερα, πήγνυσι καὶ συνάγει, καθάπερ τὸν βαπτόμενον σίδηρον· οἱ δὲ Στωκοὶ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα λέγουσιν ἐν τοῖς σώμασι τῶν βρεφῶν τῇ περιψύχει στομοῦσθαι καὶ μεταβάλλον ἐκ φύσεως γίνεσθαι ψυχήν· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἀμφισβητήσιμον, ἐτέρων δὲ πολλῶν τῆς ψυχρότητας φαινομένης δημιουργὸν οὐκ ἄξιον ἤγεισθαι στέρησιν.

3. Ἔτσι στέρησις μὲν οὐδεμιά δέχεται τὸ μάλλον καὶ τὸ ἢπττον, οὐδ᾿ ἂν εἴῃς τις ἐτέρου μᾶλλον πεπηρωσθαί τῶν μὴ βλεπόντων ἡ σιωπάν τῶν μὴ φθεγγομένων ἡ τεθνάναι τῶν μὴ ζώντων. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ψυχροῖς πολὺ τὸ μάλλον καὶ τὸ ἢπττον ἐνεστὶ καὶ τὸ λιαν καὶ τὸ μὴ λιαν καὶ ὅλως ἐπιτάσεις καὶ

1 φύσεως] ψύξεως van Herwerden from Mor. 1052 f.

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a As steam is condensed and oil becomes viscous.
b The verb is ambiguous: “become cold” or “dry” or perhaps “congealed.”

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example, and deafness, silence or death. Here you have the defection of a definite form and the annihilation of a reality, not something that is in itself a part of nature or reality. It is the nature of coldness, however, to produce affects and alterations in bodies that it enters no less than those caused by heat. Many objects can be frozen solid, or become condensed or made viscous, by cold. Moreover, the property whereby coldness promotes rest and resists motion is not inert, but acts by pressure and resistance, being constrictive and preservative because of its strength. This explains how, though negation is a disappearance and departure of the contrary force, many things may yet become cold while all the time containing within themselves considerable warmth. There are even some objects which cold solidifies and consolidates the more readily the hotter they are: steel, for example, plunged in water. The Stoics also affirm that in the bodies of infant children the breath is tempered by cooling and, from being a physical substance, becomes a soul. This, however, is debatable; yet since there are many other effects which may be seen to be produced through the agency of cold, we are not justified in regarding it as a negation.

3. Besides, a negation does not permit degrees of less or more. Surely nobody will affirm that one blind man is blinder than another, or one dumb man more silent than another, or one corpse deader than its fellow; but among cold things there is a wide range of deviation from much to little, from very cold to not very, and, generally speaking, in degrees of intensity.

\footnote{Cf. Mor. 1052 r; von Arnim, S.V.F. ii, pp. 134, 222; and see Hartman's explanation, De Plutarcho, p. 566. Von Arnim thinks that the next five chapters also contain Stoic material.}
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(946) ἀνέσεις, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς θερμοῖς, διὰ τὸ τὴν ὕλην πῇ μὲν σφόδρα πῇ δ' ἡρέμα πάσχονταν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων δυνάμεων ἦτερα μᾶλλον ἐτέρων καὶ θερμότερα καὶ ψυχρότερα παρέχειν ἔξ ἑαυτῆς. καὶ γὰρ ἐξεως μὲν οὐκ ἔστι μίξις πρὸς στέρησιν οὐδ'. Ε ἀναδέχεται δύναμις οὐδεμία τῆς ἀντικειμένην αὐτῇ στέρησιν ἐπιούσαν τ εφηεῖ κοινωνίων ἀλλ' ἀντεξ-ισταται. θερμὰ δ' ἔστιν ἁχρι οὐ κεραιήμενα νυσχροῖς υπομένει, καθάπερ μέλανα λευκοῖς καὶ βαρέσιν δέξα καὶ γλυκέσιν αὐστηρά, παρέχοντα τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ταύτῃ καὶ ἀρμονία χρωμάτων τε καὶ φθόγγων καὶ φαρμάκων καὶ ὤψιν προσφιλεῖσ πολλὰς καὶ φιλο-ανθρώπους γενέσεις.

Ἡ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ στέρησιν καὶ ἔξειν ἀντίθεσις πολεμικὴ καὶ ἀσύμβατος ἐστὶν, ουδιὰν βασέρου τὴν βασέρου φθορὰν ἔχοντος. τῇ δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἑναντίας δυνάμεις καιροῦ τυχούση πολλὰ μὲν αἱ τέχναι χρώνται, πλείστα δ' ἡ φύσις ἐν τε ταῖς ἄλλας γενέσει καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὸν ἁέρα τροπαίας, καὶ ὅσα διακομμὼν καὶ βραβεύων ὁ θεὸς ἀρμονικός καλεῖται καὶ μοισίκος, οὐ βαρύτητας συναρμόττων καὶ ὀξυ-τητας οὐδὲ λευκὰ καὶ μέλανα συμφώνως ὁμιλοῦντα παρέχων ἀλλήλους, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῆς θερμότητος καὶ ψυχρότητος ἐν κόσμῳ κοινωνίαν καὶ διαφόραν, ὁπως συνοἴσονται τε μετρίως καὶ διοίσονται πάλιν, ἐπι-τροπεύων καὶ τὸ ἄγαν ἑκατέρας ἀφαιρῶν εἰς τὸ δεόν ἀμφοτέρας καθίστησι.

947 4. Καὶ μὴν ψυχροῦ μὲν αἰσθησις ἐστὶν, ὥσπερ

1 τὸ added by Meziriacus.
2 ἐπιούσαν Madvig: ἐμποιούσαν.
THE PRINCIPLE OF COLD, 946–947

and remission, just as there is in hot things. This occurs because the matter involved is in different cases acted upon by the opposing forces with more or less intensity; it thus exhibits degrees of one or the other, and so of hot and cold. There is, in fact, no such thing as a blending of positive qualities with negative ones, nor may any positive force accept the assault of the negation that corresponds to it or take it into partnership; instead it gives place to it. Now hot things do admit a blending with cold up to a point, just as do black with white, high notes with low, sweet tastes with sour; and this harmonious association of colours and sounds, drugs and saucers, produces many combinations that are pleasant and grateful to the senses.

For the opposition of a negation to a positive quality is an irreconcilable hostility, since the existence of the one is the annihilation of the other. The other opposition, however, of positive forces, if it occurs in due measure, is often operative in the arts, and very often indeed in various phenomena of nature, especially in connexion with the weather and the seasons and those matters from which the god derives his title of harmonizer and musician, because he organizes and regulates them. He does not receive these names merely for bringing sounds of high and low pitch, or black and white colours, into harmonious fellowship, but because he has authority over the association and disunion of heat and cold in the universe, to see that they observe due measure in their combination and separation, and because, by eliminating the excess of either, he brings both into proper order.

4. Furthermore, we find that cold can be perceived
(947) καὶ θερμὸν· στέρησις δ’ οὖθ’ ὀρατὸν οὐτ’ ἀκουστὸν οὖθ’ ἀπτὸν οὔτε ταῖς ἄλλαις αἰσθήσεσι γνωστὸν. ὁυσίας γὰρ τινος αἰσθήσις ἤν· ὅποιον δ’ οὐσία μὴ φαίνεται, νοεῖται στέρησις, όυσίας ἀπόφασις οὖσα, καθάπερ ὅφεως τυφλότης καὶ φωνῆς σιωπῆ καὶ σώματος ἔρημία καὶ κενόν. οὔτε γὰρ κενὸν δι’ ἀφῆς αἰσθήσις ἐστιν, ἀλλ’ ὅποιον μὴ γίνεται σώματος ἀφῆ, κενοῦ γίνεται νόησις· οὔτε συγῆς ἀκούομεν, ἀλλά, καὶ μηδενὸς ἀκούομεν, συγνό υοῦμεν· ὥς δ’ αὐτῶς καὶ τυφλῶν καὶ γυμνῶν1 οὐκ αἰσθήσις

Β’ ἐστιν ἀλλ’ αἰσθήσεως ἀποφάσει2 νόησις. ἐδει τοῖνυν μὴ γίνεσθαι φυχρῶν αἰσθήσιον, ἀλλ’ ὅποιον τὸ θερμὸν ἐπιλείπει νοεῖθαι τὸ φυχρὸν, εἶπερ ἧν θερμοῦ στέρησις· εἰ δ’, ὅσπερ τὸ θερμὸν ἀλέα καὶ διακρίσει τῆς σαρκός, οὔτω συγκρίσει καὶ πυνκνώσει τὸ φυχρὸν αἰσθητὸν ἐστι, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ φυχρότητος ἴδια τις ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ καὶ πηγὴ καθάπερ θερμότητος.

5. Ἐτι τοῖνυν ἐν τι καὶ ἀπλοῦν ἡ περὶ ἐκαστὸν εἴδος στέρησις, αἱ δ’ οὐσίαι πλείονας διαφοράς καὶ δυνάμεις ἔχουσι· μονοειδὲς γὰρ ἡ σιωπῆ ποικίλου δ’ ἡ φωνῆ, νῦν μὲν ἐνοχλοῦσα νῦν δὲ τέρπουσα οὐ ἡ αἰσθήσιον. ἔχει δὲ τοιαύτας καὶ τὰ χρώματα καὶ τὰ σχῆματα διαφοράς, ἐν αἰς ἄλλοτ’ ἄλλως τὸν προστυγχάνοντα διατίθεσι· τὸ δ’ ἀναφές καὶ ἀχρωστῶν καὶ ὅλως ἀποιοῦν οὐκ ἔχει διαφοράν, ἀλλ’ ὀμοίον ἐστιν.

6. Ἀρ’ οὖν έοικε τοῖς στερητικοῖς τούτοις τὸ

1 After γυμνῶν the mss. add καὶ ἀνόπλων; deleted by W. C. H.
as well as heat; but mere negation cannot be seen or heard or touched or recognized by the other senses. Perception, in fact, must be of something existent; but where nothing existent is observed, privation may be inferred, being the negation of existence, as blindness is of sight, silence of sound, void and emptiness of matter. We cannot perceive a void by touch; but where no matter can be touched, void is inferred. Nor can we hear silence; yet, even though we hear nothing, we infer silence. Nor, in the same way, is sense active when things are unseen or bare; there is, rather, inference from the negation of perception. If, therefore, cold were a privation of warmth, we ought not to be able to feel it, but only to infer it from the deficiency in warmth; but if cold is perceived by the contraction and condensation of our flesh (just as heat is by the warming and loosening of it), clearly there is some special first principle and source of coldness, just as there is of heat.

5. And yet another point: privation of any sort is something simple and uncomplicated, whereas substances have many differences and powers. Silence, for example, is of only one kind, while sound varies, sometimes annoying, at other times delighting, the perception. Both colours and figures show the same variation, for they produce different effects on different occasions when they meet the eye: but that which cannot be touched and is without colour or any quality whatever, admits no difference, but is always the same.

6. Is cold, then, so like this sort of privation that

\[ \text{As, when a hill has been stripped of timber, you cannot see the trees.} \]

2 ἀποφάσει Xylander: ἀπόφασις.
(947) ὑπερχρόν, ὥστε μὴ ποιεῖν ἐν τοῖς πάθεσι διαφοράν; ἡ τούναντίου ἠδοναί τε μεγάλαι καὶ ὑφέλμοι τοῖς σώμασιν ἀπὸ ψυχρῶν ὑπάρχουσι καὶ βλάβαι πάλιν νεανικαί καὶ πόνοι καὶ βαρύτητες, ὡφ ὤν οὐκ ἀεὶ φεύγει καὶ ἀπολεῖπε τὸ θερμὸν ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἑγκαταλαμβανόμενον ἀνθίσταται καὶ μάχεται, τῇ μάχῃ δ’ αὐτῶν ὄνομα φρίκη καὶ τρόμος, ήττωμένῳ δὲ τῷ θερμῷ τὸ πήγνυσθαι καὶ ναρκᾶν ἐπιγίνεται.

D κρατοῦν δὲ τοῦ ψυχροῦ διάχυσιν παρέχει καὶ ἀλέαν τῷ σώματι μεθ’ ἠδονῆς, ὅπερ “Ομηρος “ ἱαίνεσθαι” κέκληκεν; ἀλλὰ ταῦτά γε παντὶ δήλα· καὶ τούτους οὐχ ἠκιστα τοῖς πάθεσιν ἐνδείκνυται τὸ ψυχρόν, ὅτι πρὸς τὸ θερμὸν ὡς οὐσία πρὸς οὐσίαν ἡ πάθος πρὸς πάθος οὐχ ὡς ἀπόφασις ἀντίκειται καὶ στερησις, οὐδὲ φθορά τίς ἔστι τοῦ θερμοῦ καὶ ἀναίρεσι καὶ ἕπαρκτῇ φύσις καὶ δύναμις. ἦ καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα τῶν χρῶν καὶ τὰ βόρεια τῶν πνευμάτων ἐξέλωμεν, ὡς στερήσεις ὃντα τῶν θερμῶν καὶ

Ε νοτίων, ἰδίαν δ’ ἄρχην οὐκ ἔχοντα.

7. Καὶ μὴν τεττάρων γε τῶν πρῶτων ὀντῶν ἐν τῷ παντὶ σωμάτων, ἄ διὰ πληθος καὶ ἀπλότητα καὶ δύναμιν οἱ πλείστοι στοιχεῖα τῶν ἄλλων ὑποτίθενται καὶ ἄρχας, πυρὸς καὶ ὑδάτος καὶ ἀέρος καὶ γῆς, ἀναγκαίοιν ἔστι καὶ ποιότητας εἶναι τὰς πρῶτας καὶ ἀπλᾶς τοσαύτας. τίνες οὖν εἰσὶν αὕται πλην θερμότης καὶ ψυχρότης καὶ ἕτηρότης

1 ὑπαρκτή W. C. H. after Madvig: φθάρτική.

*a See, e.g., Odyssey, vi. 156; Iliad, xxiii. 598, 600; and cf. Mor. 454 d, 735 f.

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it produces no effects that differ? Or is the contrary true: Do not great and useful pleasures accrue to our bodies from the presence of cold, as well as mighty detriments and pains and depressions, before which the heat does not always depart and quit the field? Often, rather, though cut off within, it makes a stand and gives battle. This struggle of hot and cold is called shivering or shaking; and if heat is overcome, freezing and torpor set in; but if cold is defeated, there is diffused through the body a relaxed and pleasantly warm sensation which Homer a calls "to be aglow." Surely these facts are obvious to everyone; and it is chiefly by these effects that cold is shown to be in opposition to heat, not as a negation or privation, but as one substance or one state b to another: it is not a mere destruction or abolition of heat, but a positive substance or force. Otherwise we might just as well exclude winter from the list of seasons or the northerly blasts from that of winds, on the pretext that they are only a deficiency of hot weather or southerly gales and have no proper origin of their own.

7. Furthermore, given four primary bodies in the universe c which, because of their quantity, simplicity, and potentiality, most judges regard as being the elements or first principles of everything else—I mean fire, water, air, and earth—the number of primary, simple qualities must be the same. And what should these be but warmth and cold, dryness

b Heat, for example, may be said to be a "state" or condition of metal.

c See Diels-Kranz, Frag. der Vorsok.5, i, pp. 315 ff., Empedocles, frag. B 17. The doctrine is clearly stated by, for example, Pliny, Nat. Hist. ii. 10. The author of the Epinomis (981 c) adds a fifth element, aether (cf. 951 d infra).
(947) καὶ ὑγρότης, αἷς τὰ στοιχεῖα πάσχειν ἀπαντά καὶ ποιεῖν πέφυκεν; ὡς δὲ τῶν ἐν γραμματικῇ στοι- 
χείων βραχύτητες εἰσὶ καὶ μακρότητες, τῶν δὲ ἐν 
F μουσικῇ βαρύτητες καὶ ὀξύτητες, οὐ θάτερα τῶν 
ἐτέρων στέρμασις, οὕτως ἐν τοῖς φυσικοῖς σώμασιν 
ἀντιστοιχίαν ὑποληπτέον ὑγρών πρὸς ἔκτα ἀρχὴν 
ὑπὸ χυμρῶν πρὸς θερμά, τὸ κατὰ λόγον ἁμα καὶ τὰ 
φαινόμενα διαφυλάττοντας· η΅, καθάπερ Ἀναξι- 
μένης τος παλαιώς ὅτε, μήτε τὸ ψυχρὸν ἐν ὑμία 
μήτε τὸ θερμὸν ἀπολέιτωμεν, ἀλλὰ πάθη κοινὰ τῆς 
ὕλης ἐπιγυνόμενα ταῖς μεταβολαῖς; τὸ γὰρ συστελ-
λόμενον αὐτῆς καὶ πυκνούμενον ψυχρὸν εἰναι φησί, 
τὸ δ' ἀραιόν καὶ τὸ χαλαρόν (οὕτω πως ὄνομάσας τῷ ρήματι), θερμόν. ὡθεν οὐκ ἀπεικότως λέγεσθαι 
τὸ καὶ θερμὰ τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος καὶ 
948 ψυχρὰ μεθίεναι· φυχεῖται γὰρ ἡ πνοὴ πιεσθεῖσα καὶ 
πυκνωθεῖσα τοῖς χεῖλεσιν, ἀνειμένου δὲ τοῦ στό-
ματος ἐκπίπτουσα γίνεται θερμὸν ὑπὸ μανότητος. 
τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἄγνοιαμα ποιεῖται τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὁ 
Ἀριστοτέλης· ἀνειμένου γὰρ τοῦ στόματος ἐκ-
pνεῖσθαι τὸ θερμὸν εἰς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ὅταν δὲ συ-
στρέψαντες τὰ χείλη φυσήσωμεν, οὐ τὸν εἰς ἡμῶν, 
ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀέρα τὸν πρὸ τοῦ στόματος ὦθείσθαι 
ψυχρὸν ὁντα καὶ προσεμπίπτειν.

1 αἷς] ἀς Post, deleting καὶ after ἀπαντά.
2 ἀντιστοιχίαν Meziriacus: ἀντιστοιχεῖαν.
3 καὶ after ὄνομάσας deleted by Hartman.

a Post translates his emendation: “by which all things are qualified through the natural action of the elements,” pointing out that elements have nothing but size, shape, and motion. Fire causes heat, but its atoms are not themselves hot.
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and moisture, which by their very nature cause all
the elements to act and be acted upon? a Just as in
grammar we have elements long and short and in
music elements high and low in pitch—and in neither
case is one element merely a negation of the other—
so also in physical bodies we must assume an ele-
mentary opposition of wet to dry and cold to hot, and
in this way we shall be faithful both to logic and to
experience. Or are we, as old Anaximenes b main-
tained, to leave neither hot nor cold in the realm of
being, but to treat them as states belonging equally
to any matter and occurring as a result of changes
within it? He affirms, in fact, that anything which
undergoes contraction and condensation of matter
is cold, while anything that suffers rarefaction and
distention—this comes close to his own phrasing—is
hot. So there is no contradiction in the remark that
the man blew both hot and cold, c for breath grows
cold when it is compressed and condensed by the lips;
but when it is expelled from the mouth left slack, it
becomes hot through rarefaction. Aristotle, d how-
ever, holds that in this Anaximenes was mistaken:
when the mouth is slack, what is exhaled is warm air
from our own bodies; but when we compress the
lips and blow, it is not air from ourselves, but the cold
air in front of the mouth that is propelled forward and
makes contact.

b Diels-Kranz, Frag. der Vorsok.5, i, p. 95; cf. Diller,
Hermes, lxvii, pp. 35 ff.
c See Aesop’s Fables (no. 60 in Chambry’s Budé edition,
vol. i, pp. 131 ff.), where the satyr renounces friendship with
the man because the latter blows both hot and cold through
the same mouth.
d Probably (cf. the note on 950 b infra) Problemata, xxxiv.
7 (964 a 10 ff.); contrast Plato, Timaeus, 79 A-c.
8. Εἰ δ’ ἀπολειπτέον οὐσίαν ψυχροῦ καὶ θερμοῦ, προάγωμεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἑξῆς τὸν λόγον, ἦτις ἑστὶν οὐσία Ἐ καὶ ἄρχη καὶ φύσις ψυχρότητος, ζητοῦντες· οἱ μὲν οὖν, τῶν σκαληνῶν καὶ τριγωνοειδῶν σχηματισμῶν ἐν τοῖς σώμασι κειμένων, τὸ ρύγων καὶ τρέμεν καὶ φρέττειν καὶ ὁσα συγγενῇ τοῖς πάθει καὶ τούτοις ὑπὸ τραχύτητος ἐγγίνεσθαι λέγοντες, εἰ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ μέρος διαμαρτάνουσι, τὴν γοῦν ἄρχην οὖθεν δεῖ λαμβάνονσι· δεῖ γὰρ ὡσπερ ἄφ’ ἑστίας τῆς τῶν ὅλων οὐσίας ἀρχεσθαι τὴν ζήτησιν. ὥστε καὶ μάλιστα δόξειν ἂν ἰατροῦ καὶ γεωργοῦ καὶ οὐλητοῦ διαφέρειν ὁ φιλόσοφος. ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ ἔξαρκεὶ τὰ ἔσχατα τῶν αἰτίων θεωρῆσαι· τὸ γὰρ ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ πάθους αἰτίων ἂν συνοφθη, πυρετοῦ μὲν ἐντασις;¹

Γῇ παρέμπτωσις, ἐρωσίβης δ’ ἦλιος πυριφλεγεῖς ἐπ’ ὀμβρῷ, βαρύτητος δὲ κλίσις αὐλῶν καὶ συναγωγὴ πρὸς ἄλληλος, ἴκανόν ἐστι τῷ τεχνώτη πρὸς τό οἰκεῖον ἔργον. τῷ δὲ φυσικῷ θεωρίᾳ ἐνεκα μετιόντι τάληθες ἢ τῶν ἐσχάτων γνώσεως οὐ τέλος ἑστὶν ἄλλῃ ἄρχῃ τῆς ἑπὶ τὰ πρῶτα καὶ ἀνωτάτω πορείᾳ. διὸ καὶ Πλάτων ὀρθῶς καὶ Δημόκριτος² αἰτίαν θερμότητος καὶ βαρύτητος ζητοῦντες οὐ κατέπαυσαν ἐν γῇ καὶ πυρὶ τὸν λόγον ἄλλῳ ἑπὶ τὰς

¹ Κειμένων, Σεισμένων Sandbach.
² Ἐντασις, Ἐντασις Turnebus from Galen.
³ Δημόκριτος, Ξενοκράτης Wytenbach.

ᵃ Cf. Plato, Timaeus, 53 c, 54 b-c.
ᵇ Or, perhaps, "with Hestia," as the first principle of the cosmos (see, for example, Ritter, on Plato, Phaedrus, 247 Α, pp. 123-124 of his edition). This passage is somewhat obscurely quoted below in 954 f. There were already three different
8. Perhaps we should now leave the question whether heat and cold are substances; if so, let us advance the argument to the next point and inquire what sort of substance coldness has, and what is its first principle and nature. Now those who affirm that there are certain uneven, triangular formations in our bodies and that shivering and trembling, shuddering and the like manifestations, proceed from this rough irregularity, even if they are wrong in the particulars, at least derive the first principle from the proper place; for the investigation should begin, as it were from the very hearth, from the substance of all things. This is, it would seem, the great difference between a philosopher and a physician or a farmer or a flute-player; for the latter are content to examine the causes most remote from the first cause, since as soon as the most immediate cause of an effect is grasped—that fever is brought about by exertion or an overflow of blood, that rusting of grain is caused by days of blazing sun after a rain, that a low note is produced by the angle and construction of the pipes—that is enough to enable a technician to do his proper job. But when the natural philosopher sets out to find the truth as a matter of speculative knowledge, the discovery of immediate causes is not the end, but the beginning of his journey to the first and highest causes. This is the reason why Plato and Democritus, when they were inquiring into the causes of heat and heaviness, were right not to stop their investigation with earth and fire, but interpretations known to the scholiast on Plato, *Euthyphro*, 3a (p. 2, ed. Greene).

Wytenbach suggested "Xenocrates" for "Democritus" in this passage, which may be right, though his proposal is not considered by either Mullach or Heinze.
(948) νοητάς ἀναφέροντες ἀρχὰς τὰ αἰσθητὰ μέχρι τῶν ἐλαχίστων ὦσπερ σπερμάτων προήλθον.

9. Οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καί τὰ αἰσθητὰ ταύτι προανακινήσαι βέλτιον ἔστιν, ἐν οἷς Ἑμπεδοκλῆς τε καὶ Δ Ὁστάτων καὶ οἱ Ὑτωκῷ τὰς οὐσίας τίθενται τῶν δυνάμεων, οἱ μὲν Ὑτωκῷ τῷ ἀέρι τὸ πρῶτος ψυχρὸν ἀποδιδόντες, Ἑμπεδοκλῆς δὲ καὶ Ὁστάτων τῷ ὦδατι τὴν δὲ γῆν ἵσως ἀν ἔτεροι φανεῖ ὑψηλότητος οὐσίαν ὑποτιθέμενος. πρότερον δὲ τὰ ἐκείνων σκοπώμεν.

Ἐπεὶ τὸ πῦρ θερμὸν ἄμα καὶ λαμπρόν ἔστιν, δεῖ τὴν ἀντικειμένην τῷ πυρὶ φύσιν ψυχρὰν τ' εἶναι καὶ σκοτεινήν· ἀντίκειται γὰρ ὦς τῷ λαμπρῷ τῷ ξοφερόν, οὕτω τῷ θερμῷ τῷ ψυχρῷ ἔστι γὰρ ὦς ὀψεως τὸ σκοτεινόν, οὕτω τῷ ψυχρῷ ἀφῆς συγχυτικῶν· ἡ δὲ θερμότης διαχεῖ τὴν αἴσθησιν τοῦ ἀποτελέον καθάπερ ἡ λαμπρότητος τοῦ ὀρῶντος. τὸ Ἔ ἀρα πρῶτος σκοτεινόν ἐν τῇ φύσει πρῶτος καὶ ψυχρὸν ἔστιν. ὅτι δ' ἄρη τὸ πρῶτος σκοτεινὸν ἔστιν, οὐδὲ τοὺς ποιητὰς λέληθεν· ἀέρα γὰρ τὸ σκότος καλοῦσιν·

"ἄρη γὰρ παρὰ νησὶ βαθὺς ἤν, οὐδὲ σελήνη οὐρανόθεν προύφαυμε."

καὶ πάλιν

"

"ἡρα ἐσσάμενοι πᾶσαι φοιτῶσιν ἐπὶ αἰαν."

1 mss. of Homer have peri and batei?
2 καὶ πάλιν . . . αἰαν are omitted by most mss. and are unknown to Wytenbach.

a Cf. Diels-Kranz, Frag. der Vorsok. 5, i, p. 319, frag. B 21, part of which is quoted below in 949 f.

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to go on carrying back sensible phenomena to rational origins until they reached, as it were, the minimum number of seeds.

9. Nevertheless it is better for us first to attack things perceptible to the senses, in which Empedocles and Strato locate the substances that underlie the qualities, the Stoics ascribing the primordially cold to the air, Empedocles and Strato to water; and someone else may, perhaps, be found to affirm that earth is the original substance of coldness. But let us examine Stoic doctrine before the others.

Since fire is not only warm but bright, the opposite natural entity (they say) must be both cold and dark: as gloomy is the opposite of bright, so is cold of hot. Besides, as darkness confounds the sight, so cold confuses the sense of touch. Heat, on the other hand, transmits the sensation of touching, as brightness does that of seeing. It follows, then, that in nature the primordially dark is also the primordially cold; and that it is air which is primordially dark does not, in fact, escape the notice of the poets since they use the term "air" for "darkness":

Thick air lay all about the ships, nor could
The moon shine forth from heaven.

And another instance:

So clad in air they visit all the earth.

b See Fritz Wehrli, Die Schule des Aristoteles, Part V, frag. 49.

c Cf. Mor. 952 c, 1053 f; von Arnim, S. V., F. ii, pp. 140 f.

d As Plutarch himself; see below, 952 c ff. (chapters 17-22).

e Homer, Odyssey, ix. 144-145. Words for "air" in Homer often mean "mist" or "fog."

f Hesiod, Works and Days, 255.

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(948) καὶ πάλιν

"αὐτίκα δ’ ἥερα μὲν σκέδασεν καὶ ἀπώσεν ὀμίχλην,
ἡέλιος δ’ ἐπέλαμψε, μάχη δ’ ἐπὶ πᾶσα φανάνθη.”
καὶ γὰρ "κνέφας" τὸν ἀφώτιστον ἀέρα καλοῦσιν,
κενὸν, ὥς ἐοικε, φαύνες ὄντα· καὶ “νέφος” ὁ συμ-

πεσών καὶ πυκνωθεὶς ἀγρ ἀποφάσει φωτὸς κέκλη-
tαι· κυνηκὶς¹ δὲ καὶ ἄχλυς καὶ ὀμίχλη καὶ ὅσα τοῦ
φωτὸς οὐ παρέχει τῇ αἰσθήσει δύσιν ἀέρος εἰσὶ
dιαφοράι· καὶ τὸ ἀειδὲς αὐτὸν καὶ ἄχρωστον Ἀἰδης
καὶ Ἀχέρων ἐπίκλησιν ἔσχεν. ὃςπερ οὖν αὐγῆς
ἐπιλιποῦσις σκοτεινὸς ἁγρ, οὕτω θερμοὺ μεταστάν-
tος τὸ ἀπολειπόμενον ἄγρ ψυχρὸς ἄλλο δ’ οὐδέν
ἐστι· διὸ καὶ Τάρταρος οὖτως² ὑπὸ ψυχρότητος
κέκληται· δηλοὶ δὲ καὶ Ἡσιόδος εἰπὼν “Τάρ-
tαρον³ ἠρόεντα”· καὶ τὸ ρίγοντα πάλλεσθαι καὶ
πρέμεν “ταρταρίζειν.” ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τοιοῦτον
ἐχει λόγον.

10. Ἐπεὶ δ’ ἡ φθορὰ μεταβολῆ τίς ἐστι τῶν
949 φθειρομένων εἰς τοῦνατιόν ἐκάστῳ, σκοπῶμεν εἰ
cαλῶς ἐφηται τὸ “πυρὸς θάνατος ἀέρος γένεσις.”
θυνήσει γὰρ καὶ πῦρ ὃςπερ ζώον, ἡ βία σβεννυ-
μενον ἡ δ’ αὐτοῦ μαρανόμενον. ἡ μὲν οὖν σβεσὶς
ἐμφανεστέραν ποιεὶ τὴν εἰς ἀέρα μεταβολήν αὐτοῦ·

¹ κυνηκὶς Meziriacus from 951 b : καλεῖται.
² οὔτωs Emperius : οὕτωs.
³ τάρταρον] miss. of Hesiod have Τάρταρα τ’.

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1 Homer, Iliad, xvi. 649-650.
2 Plutarch’s etymologies here are no more scientific or convincing than those to be found in his Roman Questions, L.C.I., vol. iv, pp. 6-171.
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And another:

The air at once he scattered and dispelled the mist;
The sun shone forth and all the battle came in view.\(^a\)

They also call the lightless air *knephas*, being as it were, *kenon phaous* "void of light"; and collected and condensed air has been termed *nephos* "cloud" because it is a negation of light.\(^b\) Flecks in the sky and mist and fog and anything else that does not provide a transparent medium for light to reach our senses are merely variations of air; and its invisible and colourless part is called Hades and Acheron.\(^c\) In the same way, then, as air is dark when light is gone, so when heat departs the residue is cold air and nothing else. And this is the reason why it has been termed Tartarus because of its coldness. Hesiod\(^d\) makes this obvious when he writes "murky Tartarus"; and to shake and shiver with cold is to "tartarize."\(^e\) Such, then, is the reason for these names.

10. Since corruption, in each case, is a change of the things that are corrupted into their opposites, let us see whether the saying holds good that "the death of fire is the birth of air."\(^f\) Fire, indeed, perishes like a living creature,\(^g\) being either extinguished by main force or dying out of itself. Now if it is extinguished, that makes the change of fire

\(^{a}\) "Invisible": cf. 953 \(\alpha\) below and Plato, *Cratylus*, 403 \(\alpha\) \(\varepsilon\); *Phaedo*, 81 c-d and contrast *Mor.* 942 \(\varepsilon\) *supra*: "colourless," *achroston, Acheron.* Cf. L. Parmentier, "Recherches sur le traité d'Isis et d'Osiris de Plut.,” *Mém. Acad. Belg.* ii. 2 (1912/13), pp. 71 ff.

\(^{b}\) *Theogony*, 119: contrast Plato, *Phaedo*, 112 \(\alpha\) \(\varepsilon\).

\(^{c}\) Cf. Servius on Vergil, *Aen.* vi. 577.


\(^{e}\) *Cf. Mor.* 281 \(\varepsilon\), 702 e-f; 703 \(\beta\).
(949) καὶ γὰρ ὁ καπνὸς ἀέρος ἑστὶν εἴδος καὶ ἡ κατὰ Πύθαργον "ἀέρα1 κινοῦσα λακτίζουσα καπνὸς" λεγίνης καὶ ἀναθυμίασις. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ φθινούσης ἀτροφία φλογὸς ἱδεῖν ἑστὶν, ὡσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν λύχνων, τὸ ἄκρον εἰς ἀέρα γνοφώδη2 καὶ ξοφερὸν ἀποχεόμενον.3 ἰκανὸς δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν μετὰ λουτρὸν ἡ πυρίαν περιχεαμένων4 ψυχρὸν ἀνιών ἀτμὸς ἐνδείκνυται τῇ ἐν ἀέρα τοῦ θερμοῦ φθειρομένου μεταβολῆν, ἐκ τοῦ πύρ ἀντικείμενον· ὃ τὸ πρῶτος τὸν ἀέρα σκοτεινὸν εἶναι καὶ ψυχρὸν ἡκολούθει.

11. Καὶ μὴν ἀπάντων γε τῶν γινομένων ὑπὸ ψυχρότητος ἐν τοῖς σώμασι σφοδρότατον καὶ βιαώτατον ἡ πτήξις υὖσα, πάθος μέν ἑστὶν ὑδατός, ἐργον δ' ἀέρος· αὐτὸ μὲν γὰρ καθ' ἑαυτὸ τὸ ὑδωρ εὐδιάχυτον καὶ ἀπαγές καὶ ἀσύστατον ἑστὶν, ἑντεύνεται δὲ καὶ συνάγεται τῷ ἀέρι σφιγγόμενον ὑπὸ ψυχρότητος· διὸ καὶ λελεκται

"εἰ δὲ νότος βορέην προκαλέσσεται, αὐτίκα νύσει.

τοῦ γὰρ νότου καθάπερ ἡλιὰ τῆς ψυχρότητα παρα-Ο σκευάσαντος, ὁ βόρειος ἀὴρ ὑπολαβὼν ἐπηξε. καὶ δῆλον ἑστὶ μάλιστα περί τὰς χιόνας· ἀέρα γὰρ μεθείσαι καὶ προαναπενεύσασαι λεπτὸν καὶ ψυχρόν οὔτω ῥέουσιν. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ καὶ τὰς ἀκόνας τοῦ μολίβδου τῆςεσθαί φησι καὶ ῥεῖν ὑπὸ κρύους καὶ

1 Plutarch's mss. have ἀέρος κίνσεις' ἀντιλακτίζουσα. mss. of Pindar read αἰθέρα.


4 περιχεαμένων] other mss. have περιεχομένων and περι-χεομένων.

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into air more conspicuous. Smoke, in fact, is a form of air, as is reek and exhalation, which, to quote Pindar, a

Stabs at the air with unctuous smoke.

Nevertheless, even when fire goes out for lack of nourishment, one may see, as for instance in the case of lamps, the apex of the flame passing off into murky, dusky air. Moreover, the vapour ascending from our bodies when, after a bath or sweat, cold water is poured on them, sufficiently illustrates the change of heat, as it perishes, into the air; and this implies that it is the natural opposite of fire. From this the Stoics drew the conclusion that air was primordially dark and cold.

11. Moreover, freezing, which is the most extreme and violent effect of cold in bodies, is a condition of water, but a function of air. For water of itself is fluid, uncongealed and not cohesive; but when it is compressed by air because of its cold state, it becomes taut and compact. This is the reason for the saying b

If Southwind challenges North, instantly snow will appear.

For after the Southwind has collected the moisture as raw material, the Boreal air takes over and congeals it. This is particularly evident in snowfields: when they have discharged a preliminary exhalation of air that is thin and cold, they melt. c Aristotle d also declares that whetstones of lead will melt and become fluid in the wintertime through excess of cold

a Isth. iv. 112.
b Included without authority among Callimachus’s fragments (787 = anon. 384) by Schneider, but rejected by Pfeiffer.
c Cf. Mor. 691 f and Hubert’s references ad loc.
d Frag. 212, ed. Rose and cf. Mor. 695 d.
There is here probably a confusion of lead and tin, for both of which the term stannum is used in Latin. Tin is reduced to powder by severe cold, owing to transformation to its allotrope. In [Aristotle], De Mir. Ause. 50 (p. 257, L.C.L.) the more nearly correct statement appears that tin melts in 250
when no water is anywhere near them; it seems probable that the air with its coldness forces the bodies together until it crushes and breaks them.\(^a\)

12. Furthermore, portions of water will freeze sooner than the spring from which they are drawn, for the air more readily masters the smaller amount. If you will draw from a well cold water in a jar \(^b\) and let it down again into the well in such a way that the jar does not touch the water, but is suspended in the air, and if you wait a short time, you will find that the water has become colder. \(^c\) This is very good evidence that the First Cause of coldness is not water but air. Certainly, none of the great rivers freezes through its entire depth; for the air does not penetrate down into the whole, but merely renders stationary as much as, by contact and proximity, it includes within the range of its coldness. And this is the reason why barbarians \(^d\) do not cross frozen rivers until they have tried them out with foxes: if the ice is not thick, but merely superficial, the foxes perceive this by the sound of the current running underneath and return to the bank. Some even catch fish by weakening and softening the ice with hot water—enough of the ice, at least, to admit their lines; so the cold has no effect at a depth. Yet the water near the surface undergoes so great a change through freezing that ships are crushed by it when it is forced in on itself and squeezed tight, as those relate who recently passed the winter severe cold. This note is due to the suggestion of O. T. Benfey of Haverford College.

\(^a\) Presumably Plutarch is thinking of a jar of porous earthenware, such as are commonly used to cool water in the Near East. \(^c\) Cf. Mor. 690 b-e.

\(^b\) The Thracians, according to 968 f f. infra; cf. also Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 103; Aelian, De Natura Animal, vi. 24; xiv. 26.
(949) μετὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπὶ τοῦ "Ἰστροῦ διαχειμασάντες. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ τὸ περὶ ἡμᾶς συμβαίνων ἰκανὴν μαρτυρίαν δίδωσι· μετὰ γὰρ τὰ λουτρὰ καὶ τὰς ἐξιδρώσεις περιψυχόμεθα μάλλον, τοῖς σώμασιν ἀνεμένους καὶ διακεχυμένους πολλὴν ψυχρότητα μετὰ τοῦ ἀέρος καταδεχόμενοι. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τούτο καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ πάσχει· ψύχεται γὰρ, ἂν προθερμανθῇ, μάλλον, εὐπαθέστερον τῷ ἀέρι γενόμενον· οἷ τε τὰ Φζέοντα τῶν υδάτων ἀναρύτοντες καὶ μετεωρίζοντες οὐδέν ἄλλο δήποτε ποιοῦσιν ἡ πρὸς αέρα πολὺν ἀνακεραυνύουσιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν τῷ αέρι τὴν πρώτην ἀποδύον ὑπὸ ψυχρότητος δύναμιν, ὁ Φαβωρίνη, λόγος ἐν τοιαύταις ἑστὶ πιθανότητις.

13. Ὁ δὲ τῷ ὑδατὶ λαμβάνει μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς ἄρχας ὁμοίως, οὕτω πιστοὺς τοῦ Ἔκπεδοκλέους λέγοντος "ἡέλιον μὲν λαμπρὸν ὡς καὶ θερμὸν ἀπάντητη, ὁμβρὸν δ' ἐν πᾶσι δυνοφέντα τε ῥιγαλέων τε".

tῷ γὰρ θερμῷ τὸ ψυχρὸν ὡς τῷ λαμπρῷ τὸ μέλαν ἀντιτάξας συλλογίσασθαι δέδωκεν, ὅτι τῆς αὐτῆς οὔσιας ἑστὶ τὸ μέλαν καὶ τὸ ψυχρόν, ὡς τῆς αὐτῆς 950 τὸ λαμπρὸν καὶ τὸ θερμὸν. ὅτι δ' οὖν τοῦ ἀέρος τὸ μέλαν ἄλλα τοῦ υδατοῦ ἑστὶν, ἡ αἰσθησίς ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ, τῷ μὲν ἀέρι μηδεῖν ὡς ἀπλῶς εἴπειν μελαινομένον τῷ δ' ὑδατί πάντων. ἂν γὰρ τὸ λευκὸτατὸν ἐμβάλης ἔριον εἰς ὕδωρ ἡ ἰμάτιον, ἀναφαί-

1 οἷ τε Wytenbach : ὀπότε.
2 ἀναρύτοντες Turnebus : ἀναρύτοντες.
3 λαμπρὸν] λευκὸν Aristotle.
4 ὡρα] ὡρᾶν Aristotle and Simplicius.

a Probably the reference is to Trajan and the Second
with Caesar on the Danube. Nevertheless, what happens in our own case is ample testimony: after warm baths and sweats we are cooler, since our bodies are relaxed and porous, so that we take in a good deal of cold along with the air. The same thing happens to water, too: it freezes faster when it has first been heated, thus becoming more susceptible to air; and those who draw off boiling water and suspend it in the air do this, surely, only to secure the admixture of great quantities of air. So now, Favorinus, the argument that attributes the primal force of cold to the air depends on such plausibilities as these.

13. But the argument which attributes it to water finds in the same way facts to support it; Empedocles says something like this:

Behold the sun, everywhere bright and warm;
And then the rain, to all men dark and cold.

By thus setting cold against hot, as he does dark against bright, he has given us to understand that dark and cold belong to the same substance, as do also bright and hot. And our senses bear witness that darkness is an attribute of water, not of air, since nothing, to put it simply, is blackened by air and everything is by water. For if you throw the whitest wool or the whitest garment into water, it will come

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Dacian War (A.D. 105–107). Plutarch's intimate friend, Sosius Senecio, is known to have taken part in it.

\[b\] Cf. Mor. 690 c-d.

\[c\] Diels-Kranz, Frag. der Vorsok.\(^5\), i, p. 319, frag. B 21, lines 3 and 5. Plutarch apparently used a version different from those known to Aristotle and Simplicius. The evidence is complicated and may be consulted in Diels-Kranz. On Empedocles' meaning see Cherniss, Aristotle's Criticism of the Presocratics, p. 110.

\[d\] Cf. Mor. 364 b.
(950) νεται μέλαν καὶ διαμένει, μέχρι ἃν ὑπὸ θερμότητος ἐξικμασθῇ τὸ υγρὸν ἢ τις στρέβλαις καὶ βάρεσιν ἐκπιεσθῇ: τῆς τε γῆς ὑδατὶ ραινομένης, διαμελάινονσιν οἱ καταλαμβανόμενοι ταῖς σταγόσι τόποι, τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίων μενόντων. αὐτοῦ μὲν ὅπω τοῦ ὑδατος σκοτεινότατον ὑπὸ πλῆθους φαίνεται τὸ 
Β βαθύτατον, οἷς δ' ἀγρ πλησιάζει, ταῦτα περιλαμπτεταί καὶ διαγελά. τῶν δ' ἄλλων υγρῶν διαφανές 
μάλιστα τοῦλαιον ἐστὶ, πλεῖστω χρώμενον ἀέρι 
τούτου δὲ τεκμήριον ἡ κοιφότης, δι' ἑν ἐπιπολάζει 
πᾶσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄερος ἀναφερόμενον. ποιεῖ δὲ καὶ γαλήνην ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ τοῖς κύμαισιν ἐπιρραϊνόμ 
μενον, οὐ διὰ τὴν λειώτητα τῶν ἀνέμων ἀπολιθανο 
νότων, ὡς 'Ἀριστοτέλης ἐλέγεν: ἀλλὰ παντὶ μὲν 
ὕγρῳ τὸ κύμα διαχείτα πληττόμενον, ἢδίως δὲ τοῦ 
λαιον αὐγήν καὶ καταφάνειον ἐν βυθῷ παρέχει, 
διαστελλομένων τῶν ἀέρι τῶν υγρῶν, οὐ γὰρ μόνον 
ἐπιπολῆς τοῖς2 διανυκτερεύουσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ κάτω 
C τοῖς σφαγοθήραις διαφυσώμενον ἐκ τοῦ στόματος 
ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ φέγγοις ἐνδίδωσιν. οὐ μάλλον οὖν 
τῷ ἀέρι τοῦ μέλαιος ἢ τῷ ὑδατὶ μέσεσιν, ήττον δὲ 
τοῦ ψυχροῦ. τὸ γοῦν ἐλαιον, ἀέρος πλείστω τῶν 
ὕγρων μετέχον, ἤκιστα ψυχρόν ἐστὶ καὶ πήγνυται 
μαλακώς: ὁ γὰρ ἀγρ ἐγκεκραμένος οὐκ ἐὰ σκληρὰν 
γενέσθαι τῇ πήξει: βελώνας δὲ καὶ πόρτας σιδηρᾶς 
καὶ τὰ λεπτὰ3 τῶν ἐργῶν οὐχ ὑδατὶ βάπτουσιν ἀλλ' ἐλαίω, τῇν ἀγαν ψυχρότητα φοβούμενοι τοῦ

1 τὴν after καὶ deleted by Dübner. 
2 τοῖς] missing in nearly all mss.
out black and it will remain black until the moisture is evaporated by heat or is squeezed out by some sort of wringing or pressure. When a patch of ground is sprinkled, the spots which are covered by the drops turn black, but the rest remains as it was. In fact, of water itself the deepest looks the darkest because there is so much of it, while those parts that lie near the air flash and sparkle; and of the other liquids oil is the most transparent, as containing the most air. A proof of this is its lightness, by reason of which it maintains itself on the surface of all other things, buoyed up by the air. If it is sprinkled upon the waves, it will calm the sea, not because it is so smooth that the winds slip off it, as Aristotle affirmed; but because the waves are dissipated when they are struck by any moist substance. But it is peculiar to oil that it provides light and sight at the bottom since the moist elements are interspersed with air; it is, in fact, not only on the surface that it provides light for those who pass the night at sea; it does so also for sponge-divers below the surface when it is blown out of their mouths. Air, therefore, has no greater proportion of darkness than water has, and it has less cold. Certainly oil, which has more air than any other moist substance, is least cold; and when it freezes, it forms a soft jelly: the air that is intermixed does not permit it to freeze hard. They dip needles, iron clasps, and all delicate artifacts in oil rather than in water, fearing that the water's excessive frigidity

\(^a\) Cf. 952 F infra. \(^b\) Cf. Mor. 696 b, 702 b. \(^c\) Problemata, 961 a 23 ff., though this work is surely not by Aristotle in the form in which it has come down to us. \(^d\) Cf. 981 E infra: Oppian, Hal. v. 638 ff.

\(^3\) λεπτά Madvig: λουπά.
(950) ὑδατος ὡς διαστρέφουσαν. ἀπὸ τοὺτων γὰρ δικαιό-
τερὸν ἦστιν ἐξετάζεσθαι τὸν λόγον οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν
χρωμάτων· ἐπεὶ καὶ χίων καὶ χάλαζα καὶ κρύσταλ-
λος ἀμα λαμπρότατα γίνεται καὶ ψυχρότατα· καὶ
D πάλιν πίπτα θερμότερον ἦστι μέλιτος καὶ σκοτω-
δέστερον.

14. Ὅμως δὲ θαυμάζω τῶν ἀξιούντων τὸν ἀέρα
ψυχρὸν εἶναι διὰ τὸ καὶ σκοτεινὸν, εἰ μὴ συνορῶσιν
ἐτέρους ἀξιούντας θερμὸν εἶναι διὰ τὸ καὶ κούφων.
οὐ γὰρ οὔτω τῷ ψυχρῷ τὸ σκοτεινὸν ὡς τὸ βαρὺ
καὶ στάσιμον οἰκεῖον ἦστι καὶ συγγενές· πολλά γὰρ
ἀμοιρα θερμότητος ἤντα μετέχει λαμπηδόνος, ἔλα-
φρόν δὲ καὶ κούφον καὶ ἀνωφερές οὐδὲν ἦστι τῶν
ψυχρῶν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ νέφη, μέχρι μὲν ἀέρος οὐσία
μᾶλλον προσήκει, μετεωρίζεται· μεταβαλόντα δὲ εἰς
Ε ὑγρὸν εὐθὺς ὀλισθάνει καὶ τὸ κούφον οὐχ ἦττον ἢ
τὸ θερμὸν ἀποβάλλει, ψυχρότητος ἐγγυνομένης· καὶ
τοῦναντίον ὅταν θερμότης ἐπέλθῃ, πάλιν ἀναστρέφει
τὴν κάησιν, ἀμα τῷ μεταβαλεῖν εἰς ἀέρα τῆς
οὐσίας ἀνω φερομένης.

Καὶ μὴν οὔδὲ τὸ τῆς φθορᾶς ἀληθές ἦστιν· οὐ γὰρ
εἰς τοῦναντίον ἄλλ᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐναντίου φθείρεται τῶν
ἀπολλυμένων ἑκατόν, ὡσπερ τὸ πῦρ ὑπὸ τοῦ
ὑδατος εἰς τὸν ἀέρα. τὸ γὰρ ὡδωρ δὲ μὲν Ἀἰσχύλος
εἰ καὶ τραγικῶς ἄλλ᾽ ἀληθῶς εἶπε

"παύσυβριν' δίκην πυρός".

"Ομηρὸς δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ τὸν Ἡφαιστον καὶ τῷ
Ποσειδῶν τῶν Ἀπόλλωνα κατὰ τὴν μάχην φυ-
F σικῶς μᾶλλον ἡ μυθικῶς ἀντέταξεν. ὃ δ᾿ Ἀρχί-
256
may distort them. It is, in fact, fairer to judge the argument by this evidence than by that of colour, since snow and hail and ice are at their brightest when they are coldest. Moreover, pitch is both hotter and darker than honey.

14. I am surprised, nevertheless, when those who maintain that the air is cold because it is dark do not perceive that others think it must be hot because it is light. For darkness is not so closely connected and akin to cold as heaviness and stability are; many things, in fact, which have no heat are bright, but nothing cold is buoyant, light, and soaring. Why, the very clouds, as long as they are akin to the substance of air, float aloft; but as soon as they change to moisture, they fall at once and lose their lightness no less than their warmth as coldness grows within them. Contrariwise, when heat supervenes, they reverse the movement again, for their substance begins to soar as soon as it has changed to air.

Nor is the argument from destruction true either; for when anything is destroyed, it does not perish by becoming its opposite, though it does perish by the action of its opposite, as fire, for instance, is changed by water into air. For of water Aeschylus a speaks in tragic style, but accurately, as

The riot-quelling justicer of fire.

And when Homer b matched Hephaestus against the river and Apollo against Poseidon in the battle, he did it rather as a philosopher than as a poet. And

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b Iliad, xxi. 330-383; 435-469. The river is the Xanthus.

1 παύσυβριν Bernardakis: παῦε ὅδωρ.
PLUTARCH’S MORALIA

(950) λόχος ἐπὶ τῆς τάναντια φρονοῦσης οὐ κακῶς εἶπε

"τῇ μὲν ὤδωρ ἐφόρησι
dολοφρονέουσα χειρὶ, τητέρῃ δὲ πῦρ."

ἐν δὲ Πέρσαις τῶν ἱκετευμάτων μέγιστον ἢν καὶ ἀπαραίτητον, εἰ πῦρ λαβὼν ὁ ἱκετεύων καὶ ἐν πο-
tαμῷ βεβηκὼς ἀπειλοῦσα μὴ τυχῶν τὸ πῦρ εἰς τὸ
ὕδωρ ἀφῆσειν· ἐτύγχανε μὲν γὰρ ὃν ἔδειτο, τυχῶν
δὲ ἐκολάζετο διὰ τὴν ἀπειλήν ὡς παρὰ νόμον καὶ
κατὰ τῆς φύσεως γενομένην. καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ πρό-
χειρὸν ἀπασὶ "πῦρ ὑδαί μιγνύναι" τὸ παροιμια-
ζόμενον ἐνι τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις, μαρτυρεῖν έουκέν ὅτι τῷ
πυρὶ τὸ ὦδωρ πολέμοιν ἐστὶ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦτον φθεί-
951 ρεται καὶ κολάζεται σβενύμενον, οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ
ἀέρος δὲ τοῦναντίον ὑπολαμβάνει τὴν οὐσίαν αὐ-
τοῦ καὶ δέχεται μεταβάλλοντος. εἰ γὰρ ἀπαν³ εἰς
ὁ μεταβάλλει τὸ φθειρόμενον ἐναντίον ἐστὶ, τί μᾶλ-
λον τῷ ἀέρι τὸ πῦρ ἢ τὸ ὦδωρ ἐναντίον φανεῖται;
μεταβάλλει γὰρ εἰς ὦδωρ συνιστάμενοι εἰς δὲ πῦρ
dιακρίνομεν· ὃσπερ αὖ πάλιν τὸ ὦδωρ διακρίσει
μὲν εἰς ἀέρα φθείρεται συγκρίσει δὲ εἰς γῆν, ὡς
μὲν ἐγὼ νομίζω δι’ οἰκειότητα τὴν πρὸς ἀμφότερα
καὶ συγγενεῖαν, οὐχ ὡς ἐναντίον ἐκατέρω καὶ πο-
λέμοιν. ἐκεῖνοι δὲ, ὡσπέρως ἄν εἴπωσι, τὸ ἐπι-
Β χείρημα διαφθείρουσι. πῆγνυσθαί γε μὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ

¹ ἐν] ἐπὶ van Herverden: Hartman would delete τὸ παρο-
μαζόμενον ἐν τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις.
² δὲ τοῦναντίον Post: τίνων ὡς, τείνον ὡς or a lacuna in the mss.
³ ἀπαν Bernardakis: αἰτία.

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¹ Diehl, Anthologia Lyrica Graeca, i. 237, frag. 86; Edmonds, Elegy and Iambus (L.C.L.), ii, p. 146, frag. 93; 258
Archilochus \(a\) expressed himself well on a woman who was of two minds:

With guileful thoughts she bore
In one hand water, in the other fire.

Among the Persians it was the most compelling plea to gain an end, one which would admit no refusal, if the suppliant took fire, stood in a river, and threatened that if he lost his suit, he would drop the fire into the water. Now he got what he asked, but though he did so, he was punished for the threat, on the ground that it was contrary to law and against nature. Again, the familiar proverb that is on everyone's lips, \(b\) "to mix fire with water," as an example of the impossible, seems to bear witness that water is hostile to fire, which is destroyed by it and so is punished by being extinguished \(c\); it is not so affected by air, which, on the contrary, supports fire and welcomes it in its changed form. For if anything into which the thing destroyed changes is its opposite, why will fire, any more than water, seem opposite to air? For air changes into water by condensation, and into fire by rarefaction just as, on the other hand, water vanishes into air by rarefaction, but into earth by condensation. Now these processes take place, in my opinion, not because these elements are contrary or hostile to one another, but because they are in close affinity and relationship. But my opponents, \(d\) whichever way they state their case, ruin their proof. Certainly it is per-

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\(a\) Presumably those who, in 950 \(b\) supra, claim that air is cold because it is dark.

\(b\) But, curiously enough, not to be found in the *Paroemiorgraphi Graeci*, as edited by Leutsch and Schneidewin.

\(c\) Cf. the quotation from Aeschylus *supra*, 950 \(e\).

\(d\) Cf. the quotation from *Mor. 1070 a, Life of Demetrius*, 35 (905 \(e\)).
(951) ἀέρος φάναι τὸ ὑδωρ ἀλογώστατον ἐστιν, αὐτὸν τὸν ἀέρα μηδαμοῦ πηγνύμενον ὄρωντας. νέφη γὰρ καὶ ὀμίχλαι καὶ κυνηκίδες οὐ πῆξεις εἰσὶν ἀλλὰ συν-στάσεις καὶ παχύτητες ἀέρος διεροῦ καὶ ἀτμώδους· ὁ δὲ άνικμος καὶ ἕηρος οὐδ’ ἀχρι ταύτης τὴν κατά-ψυξιν ἐνδέχεται τῆς μεταβολῆς. ἔστι γὰρ ἕ τῶν ὄρων οὐ λαμβάνει νέφος οὐδὲ ὄρος οὐδ’ ἀμίχλην, εἰς καθαρον ἀέρα καὶ ἀμοιρον ὑγρότητος ἐξικνούμενα τοῖς ἄκροις· δ’ μάλιστα δήλον ἐστιν ὡς ἡ κάτω πύκνωσις καὶ σύστασις τῷ ἀέρι συμμεμειγμένον ὑγρὸν καὶ ψυχρὸν ἐνδίδωσι.

15. Τὰ δὲ κάτω τῶν μεγάλων ποταμῶν οὐ πῆγνυται κατὰ λόγον. τὰ γὰρ ἄνω παγέντα τὴν ἀναθυμίασιν οὐ διήσειν,2 ἀλλ’ ἐγκαθειργημένη καὶ ὁ ἀποστρεφομένης θερμότητα παρέχει τοῖς διὰ βάθους υγροῖς· ἀπόδειξις δὲ τούτου τὸ λυμένου τοῦ πάγου πάλιν ἀτμοῦ πολὺν ἐκ τῶν υγρῶν ἀναφέρεσθαι. διὸ καὶ τὰ τῶν ξύων σώματα χειμώνος ἐστὶ θερμότερα τῷ συνέχει τῷ θερμον ἐν ἔαυτος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξωθεὶν ψυχρότητος εἰσὶ συνελαυνόμενον.

Αἱ δ’ ἀναρύσεις καὶ μετεωρίσεις οὐ μόνον τὸ θερμὸν ἐξαιροῦσι τῶν υδάτων ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ψυχρὸν· οὗθεν ἢκιστα τὰς χιόνας καὶ τὸ συνθλίμομενον υγρὸν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν οἱ σφόδρα ψυχρὸν δεόμενοι κινοῦσιν· ἐκστατικὸν γὰρ ἀμφοῖν ἡ κύνησις.

"Ότι δ’ οὐκ ἀέρος ἐστὶν ἀλλ’ υδατος ἡ τοιαύτη δύναμις, οὕτως ἂν τις έξ υπαρχῆς ἐπέλθοι. πρῶτον

1 τὸ added by Benseler.
2 διήςον Wytenbach: διέσον.
fectly absurd for them to say that water is frozen by air when they have never seen air itself freezing. For clouds, mists, and flecks in the sky are not congelations, but condensations and thickenings of air that is moist and vaporous. But waterless, dry air never admits loss of heat to the point where such a change might occur. There are, in fact, mountains which do not know clouds or dew or mist because their peaks reach a region of pure air that has no humidity at all. From this fact it is especially obvious that it is the condensation and density below that contribute to air the cold, moist element that is found in combination with it.

15. It is reasonable that the lower portion of large rivers should not freeze; for the upper portion, being frozen, does not transmit the exhalation which is, accordingly, shut in and turned back, and so provides heat for the deep waters. A demonstration of this is the fact that when the ice melts again a great quantity of vapour rises from the waters. This is also the reason why the bodies of animals are warmer in the winter, because the heat is driven inwards by the cold from without and they keep it within them.

Now drawing off water and suspending it in the air a not only takes away its warmth, but its coldness also; those, therefore, who want a very cold drink take care not to disturb the snowpacks b or the wet matter that is formed from them by compression, for movement expels both heat and cold.

That such a function of cold belongs not to air, but to water, may be demonstrated as follows from a fresh

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a Cf. 949 f supra; Mor. 690 b-e.
b Cf. Mor. 691 c—692 a for snow packed in chaff and the like.
μὲν οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐστὶν ἀέρα, τῶν αἰθέρι γειτνιώντα καὶ ψαίνοντα τῆς περιφορᾶς καὶ ψανόμενον οὐσίας\(^1\) πυρώδους, τὴν ἑναντίαν έχειν δυνάμιν οὔτε γὰρ ἀλλος δυνατόν ἀπόμεινα καὶ συνέχῃ τοῖς πέρασιν οὔτα δύο σώματα μὴ πάσχειν ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων, εἰ δὲ πάσχειν, μὴ ἀναπίπλασθαι τῆς τοῦ κρείττονος δυνάμεως τὸ ῥῆττον\(^2\). οὔτε τὴν φύσιν ἑχει λόγον ἐφεζή τῷ φθειροντι τάξαι τὸ φθειρόμενον, ὦσπερ οὐ κοινωνίας οὐσίαν οὐδ’ ἀρμονίας ἀλλὰ πολέμου καὶ μάχης δημιουργόν. χρήσκεται μὲν γὰρ ἑναντίον εἰς τὰ ὅλα πράγματα\(^3\), χρῆσθαι δ’ οὐκ ἀκράτος οὐδ’ ἀντιτύπους, ἀλλ’ ἐναλλάξ τινα θέσην καὶ τάξης οὐκ ἀναιρετικὴν ἀλλὰ κοινωνικὴν δι’ ἐτέρων καὶ συνεργῶν ἐν μέσῳ παραπλεκομένην\(^4\) ἔχουσι καὶ ταύτην εἴληφεν ὁ ἀήρ, ύποκεχυμένος τῷ πυρὶ πρὸ τοῦ ὀδατος καὶ διαδίδους

Ε ἐπ’ ἀμφότερα καὶ συνάγων, οὔτε θερμὸς οὐν αὐτὸς οὔτε ψυχρός ἀλλὰ ψυχρόν καὶ θερμὸν μετακέρασμα καὶ κοινώνια, μεγισμένον εν αὐτῷ μέξιν ἀβλαβῆ καὶ μαλακῶς ἀνείσαν\(^5\) καὶ δεχομένην τὰς ἑναντίας ἀκρότητας.

16. Ἐπειτα πανταχοῦ μὲν ἐστὶν ἀήρ ἴσος, οὐ πανταχοῦ δὲ χειμῶν ὁμοίος οὐδὲ ψύχος. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ μέρη ψυχρά καὶ κάθυγρα, ταῦτα δὲ ἔχρα καὶ θερμὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης οὐ κατὰ τύχην, ἀλλὰ τῷ μίαν οὐσίαν ψυχρότητος καὶ ὑγρότητος

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1 οὐσίας Xylander: οὐσία.
2 δ’ού... ἤττον are omitted in most mss.
3 χρήσκεται μὲν... πράγματι are omitted in most mss., in B also, but not in E.
4 παραπλεκομένην E and most mss.: παραπεπλεγμένην B.
5 ἀνείσαν Turnebus: ἀνείσαν.
start. In the first place, it is improbable that air, which lies adjacent to the aether and touches and is touched by the revolving fiery substance, should have a force that is contrary to that of aether. For one thing, it is impossible for two substances whose boundaries touch and are contiguous not to be acted upon by each other—and if acted upon, for the weaker not to be contaminated by the force that resides in the stronger. Nor is it reasonable to suppose that Nature has placed side by side destroyer and victim, as though she were the author of strife and dissension, not of union and harmony. She does, indeed, make use of opposites to constitute the universe; yet she does not employ them without a tempering element, or where they will collide. She disposes them rather so that a space is skipped and an inserted strip duly assigned whereby they will not destroy one another, but may enjoy communication and co-operation. And this strip is occupied by air, suffused as it is through a space under the fire between it and water. It makes distribution both ways and receives contributions from both, being itself neither hot nor cold, but a blending and union of the two. When these are so fused, they meet without injury and the fused matter sends forth or takes to itself the opposing extremes without violence.

16. Then, too, air is everywhere equal, though neither winter nor cold is identical everywhere. It is no accident that some parts of the world are cold and damp, while others are hot and dry; it is due to the existence of a single substance that includes

\[a\] On the difference between aer and aether see the lucid discussion of Guthrie, *The Greeks and their Gods*, pp. 207 f.

\[b\] That is, the aether. See also Cherniss, *op. cit.* p. 126.

\[c\] Heat and cold.
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(951) εἶναι. Λιβύης μὲν γὰρ ἐνθέρμος ἡ πολλή καὶ ἀνυδρος, Σκυθίαν δὲ καὶ Θράκην καὶ Πόντον οἱ πεπλανμένοι λίμνας τε μεγάλας ἔχειν καὶ ποταμοῖς διαρρέεσθαι βαθέσι καὶ πολλοῖς ἱστομοῦσιν· αὐτῶν τε τῶν ἐν μέσῳ τόπων τὰ παράλιμνα καὶ ἐλώδη ψύχος ἔχει μάλιστα διὰ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ὑγρῶν ἀνα-θυμίας. Ποσειδώνοις δὲ τῆς ψυχρότητος αἰτίαν εἰπὼν τὸ πρόσφατον εἶναι τῶν ἔλειον ἄερα καὶ νοτηρὸν οὐκ ἔλυσε τὸ πιθανόν, ἀλλὰ πιθανῶτερον ἑποίησεν· οὐ γὰρ ἄν ἐφαίνετο τοῦ ἄερος ὁ πρόσφατος ἂεὶ ψυχρότερος, εἰ μὴ τὸ ψυχρὸν ἐν τοῖς ὑγροῖς τὴν γένεσιν εἶχε. βέλτιον οὖν Ἔμπρος

952 "αὐρή δ' ἐκ ποταμοῦ ψυχρῆ πνεεὶ ἡδῶθι1 πρό,"

τὴν πηγὴν τῆς ψυχρότητος ἐδείξεν.

"Ετι τοίνυν ἡ μὲν αἰσθησις πολλάκις ἡμᾶς ἐξαπατᾷ, όταν ἱματίων ἡ ἔριων ψυχρῶν θυγανώμεν, οἰομένους ψύχρας θυγανώμεν διὰ τὸ κοινὴν ἀμφοτέρος ὑπόσιαν ὑπάρχειν καὶ τὰς φύσεις συγγενείς2 εἶναι καὶ οἰκείαις. ἐν δὲ τοῖς δυσχείμεροις κλίμασι πολλὰ ῥηγνύει τὸ ψύχος ἀγγεία καὶ χαλκᾶ καὶ κεραμεὰ: κενὸν δ' οὐδὲν ἀλλὰ πάντα3 πλῆρη, βιαζομένου τῆς ψυχρότητος τοῦ ὕδατος. καίτοι φησι Θεόφραστος τὸν ἄερα ῥηγνύναι τὰ ἀγγεῖα τῶν ψύχρων καθάπερ Β. ἡλίων4 χρώμενον· ὅρα δὲ μὴ τοῦτο κομψὸς μάλλον

1 πνεεὶ ἡδῶθι] omitted in most mss., which also write πρόσ.
2 συγγενεῖς Kronenberg: σύνεγγυς.
3 πάντα] omitted in most mss.
4 ἡλίω Turnebus: ἡλίω.

a Plutarch may be thinking of the old kingdom of Pontus, which included tracts south, east, and north of the Black Sea.

b The fragment has not yet been numbered in L. Edel-264
coldness and wetness in one. The greater part of Africa is hot and without water; while those who have travelled through Scythia, Thrace, and Pontus report that these regions have great lakes or marshes and are traversed by many deep rivers. As for the regions that lie between, those that are near lakes and marshes are especially cold because of the exhalations from the water. Posidonius, then, in affirming that the freshness and moistness of marsh air is the reason for the cold, has done nothing to disturb the plausibility of the argument; he has, rather, made it more plausible. For fresh air would not always seem colder if cold did not take its origin from moisture. So Homer spoke more truly when he affirmed

The river-air blows chill before the dawn,

thereby indicating the source of coldness.

Our senses, moreover, often deceive us and we imagine, when we touch cold garments or cold wool, that we are touching moist objects: this is because wet and cold have a common substance and their natures have a close affinity and relationship. In very cold climates the low temperature often breaks vessels whether they are of bronze or of clay—not, of course, when they are empty, but only when they are full and the water exerts pressure by means of its coldness. Theophrastus, to be sure, declares that the air breaks these vessels, using the liquid as a spike. But take care that there isn’t more wit than

stein’s forthcoming collection; for the literature see A.J.P. lvii (1936), p. 301 and n. 61. 

Odyssey, v. 469.

* The fragment is apparently omitted by Wimmer.

" This seems to be addressed to Favorinus’s Peripatetic sympathies.
(952) ἡ ἀληθῶς εἰρημένον ἢ· ἔδει γὰρ τὰ πίπττης γέμοντα μᾶλλον ῥήγνυσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ τὰ γάλακτος. Ἀλλ' ἔοικε τὸ ὕδωρ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ ψυχρὸν εἶναι καὶ πρῶτως· ἀντίκειται γὰρ τῇ ψυχρότητι πρὸς τὴν θερμότητα τοῦ πυρὸς, ὡσπερ τῇ ὑγρότητι πρὸς τὴν ἐξηρότητα καὶ τῇ βαρύτητι πρὸς τὴν κουφότητα. καὶ οἷς τὸ μὲν πῦρ διαστατικὸν ἐστὶ καὶ διαυρητικὸν, τὸ δ' ὕδωρ κολλητικὸν καὶ σχετικὸν, τῇ υγρότητι συνέχον καὶ πήττον· ἢ καὶ παρέσχεν Ἐμπεδοκλῆς υπόνοιαν, ὡς τὸ μὲν πῦρ "νείκος οὐ-λόμενον," "σχεδύνην" δὲ "φιλότητα" τὸ ψυρὸν Ἐκάστοτε προσαγορεύων· ἐπεί τροφὴ μὲν πυρὸς τὸ μεταβάλλων εἰς πῦρ, μεταβάλλει δὲ τὸ συγγενὲς καὶ οἰκεῖον, τὸ δ' ἑαυτόν δυσμεταβλητὸν, ὡς τὸ ὕδωρ· καὶ αὐτὸ μὲν ὃς ἐποὺς ἐπείν ἀκαυστὸν ἔστιν, ὦλην ἐς καὶ πόνων νυτερὰν καὶ ξύλα βεβρεγμένα δυσκαθε παρέχει, καὶ φλόγα ᾽ζοφερὰν καὶ ἀμβλεῖαν ὑπὸ χλωρότητος ἀναδίδωσι τῷ ψυχρῷ μαχόμενον πρὸς τὸ θερμὸν ὡς φύσει πολέμιον.

17. Σκόπει δὴ καὶ ταῦτα παραβάλλων ἑκείνους. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Ἰρύσιτππος οἴομενος τὸν ἀέρα πρῶτως ψυχρὸν εἶναι, διότι καὶ σκοτεινόν, ἐμνήσθη μόνον τῶν πλέον ἀφεστάναι τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ αἰθέρος ἢ τὸν ἀέρα λεγόντων, καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τι βουλόμενους εἰπέιν, "οὔτω μὲν ἂν," ἕφη, "καὶ τὴν γὰρ ψυχρὰν εἶναι πρῶτως λέγοιμεν, ὅτι τοῦ αἰθέρος ἀφέστηκε

1 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Wytenbach: ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ.

a That is, than those full of water.
b Diels-Kranz, Frag. der Vorsok.5, i, p. 318, frag. B 19. Plutarch seems to have mistaken Empedocles’ meaning, though some would invoke frag. B 34. In general, while 266
truth in such a remark! For if it were so, vessels full of pitch or of milk would more readily be broken by the air.\(^a\)

Water, however, seems to be cold of itself, and primordially so. It is the antithesis, in its coldness, to the heat of fire, just as in its wetness to the dryness of fire, and in its heaviness to the other's lightness. To sum up: fire is of a disintegrating and separative nature, while water is adhesive and retentive, holding and gluing together by means of its moistness. Empedocles\(^b\) alluded to this, when, as often as he mentioned them, he termed Fire a "Destructive Strife" and Water "Tenacious Love." For the nourishment of fire is that which can be changed into fire and only things that have affinity and a close relationship to it can be so changed; while its opposites, like water, are not easily changed to fire. Water itself is practically incombustible, and it renders matter such as damp grass and moist timber very hard to consume; the greenness in them produces a dusky, dull flame because, by dint of cold, it struggles against heat as against its natural enemy.

17. Now you must pursue the subject by comparing these arguments with those of my opponents. For Chrysippus,\(^c\) thinking that the air is primordially cold because it is also dark, merely mentioned those who affirm that water is at a greater distance from the aether\(^d\) than is air; and, wishing to make them some answer, he said, "If so, we might as well declare that even earth is primordially cold because it is at the

Plutarch is said to have written ten books on Empedocles (Lamprias catalogue no. 43), he does not seek the difficult poet's meaning very carefully.

\(^a\) Von Arnim, S.V.F. ii, p. 140; cf. Mor. 1053 e.

\(^b\) See 951 d supra.
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(952) πλείστον," ὡς ἀδόκιμόν τινα παντελῶς τούτον καὶ ἄτοπον ἀπορρύφας τῶν λόγων, ἐγώ μοι δοκῶ μηδὲ τὴν γῆν ἁμοιρον εἰκότων καὶ πιθανῶν ἀποφαίνειν,1 ποιησάμενος ἀρχὴν ὡ μάλιστα Χρύσιππος ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀέρος κέχρηται. τί δὲ τούτ' ἐστί; τὸ σκοτεινὸν οὖντα πρῶτως εἶναι καὶ ψυχρὸν πρῶτως.2 εἰ γὰρ δύο λαβὼν οὕτω ἀντιθέσεις δυνάμεως ὀφείλει τῇ ἑτέρᾳ καὶ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ εἰς ἀνάγκης ἐπεσθαί, μυρίαι δὴπουθενεν εἰσίν ἀντιτάξεις καὶ ἀντιπάθειαι πρὸς τὸν αἴθερα3 τῆς γῆς, αἷς καὶ ταύτῃ ἀν τις ἀκολουθεῖν ἀξιώσειεν. οὐ γὰρ ὡς βαρεῖα πρὸς κούφον καὶ Ε. καταρρηθῆς πρὸς ἀνωφερὲς ἀντίκειται μόνον, οὐδ' ὡς πυκνὴ πρὸς ἀραιον οὐδ' ὡς βραδεία καὶ στάσιμος πρὸς ἀξύρροπον καὶ κινητικόν, ἀλλ' ὡς βαρυτάτη πρὸς κουφότατον καὶ πυκνοτάτη πρὸς ἀραιότατον, καὶ τέλος ὡς ἀκίνητος εἰς ἐαυτῆς πρὸς αὐτοκίνητον καὶ τὴν μέσην χώραν ἐπέχουσα πρὸς ἀεί κυκλοφορούμενον. οὐκ ἄτοπον οὖν τηλικαύταις καὶ τοσαύταις ἀντιτάξεις καὶ τῆς τῆς ψυχρότητος καὶ θερμότητος ἐπεσθαί. ναὶ, ἀλλὰ τὸ πῦρ λαμπρόν ἐστιν. οὐτὶ μὴν4 σκοτεινὸν ἡ γῆ; σκοτεινότατον Φ μὲν οὖν ἁπάντων καὶ ἀφεγγέστατον. ἀέρι μὲν γε5 μετοχή φωτός ἐστι πρῶτω, καὶ τάχιστα τρέπεται καὶ ἀναπλησθεῖς διανέμει πανταχοῦ τὴν λαμπρότητα, σῶμα παρέχων τῆς αὐγῆς ἑαυτοῦ· ὁ γὰρ ἡλιος ἀνίσχων, ὡς τις ἐἶπε τῶν διθυραμβοποίων,

“ εὐθὺς ἀνέπλησεν ἀεροβατᾶν μέγαν οἶκον ἀνέμων”.

1 ἀποφαίνει Hatzidakis.
2 εἶναι καὶ ψυχρὸν πρῶτως added by Patzig.
3 αἴθερα Leonicus : ἀέρα.
4 οὔτε μὴν] the text is that of E : B and other mss. have several lacunae.

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greatest distance from the aether"—tossing off this argument as if it were utterly inadmissible and absurd. But I have a mind to maintain the thesis that earth too is not destitute of probable and convincing arguments, and I shall start with the one that Chrysippus has found most serviceable for air. And what is this? Why, that it is primordially dark and cold. For if he takes these two pairs of opposing forces and assumes that one must of necessity accompany the other, there are, surely, innumerable oppositions and antipathies between the aether and the earth with which one might suppose this to be consistent. For it is not only opposed as heavy to light and as moving by gravity downwards, not upwards, or as dense to rare or as slow and stable to mobile and active, but as heaviest to lightest and as densest to rarest and, finally, as immovable of itself to self-moving, and as occupying the central position in the universe to revolving forever around a centre. It is not absurd, then, if oppositions so numerous and important carry with them the opposition of cold and heat as well. "Yes," Chrysippus may say, "but fire is bright." Is not the earth, then, dark? Why, it is the darkest and most unilluminated of all things. Certainly air is first of all to participate in light; it is instantly altered and when it is saturated, it distributes illumination everywhere, lending itself to light as a body in which to reside. For when the sun arises, as one of the dithyrambic writers has said,

It straightway fills the mighty home of the air-borne winds.

a Diehl, Anthologia Lyrica Graeca, ii. 302; Edmonds, Lyra Graeca (L.C.L.), iii, p. 460 (adespota no. 95).

5 γε] γὰρ Meziriacus.
(952) ἐκ τούτου δὲ καὶ λίμνη καὶ θαλάττη μοίραν αὐγῆς κατιῶν ἐνίσχυσι καὶ βυθοὶ ποταμῶν διαγελώσων, ὅσον ἀέρος ἑξικνεῖται πρὸς αὐτούς. μόνη δ' ἡ γῆ τῶν σωμάτων αἰεὶ ἀφώτιστός ἐστι καὶ ἄτρωτος υφ' ἡλιού καὶ σελήνης τῷ φωτίζοντι, θάλπηται δ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ παρέχει χλαίνειν ἐπ' ὀλίγον βάθος.  

953 ἐνυμενῶ τῷ θερμῷ τὸ δὲ λαμπρὸν οὐ παρίσχιν ὑπὸ στερεότητος ἀλλ' ἐπιπολῆς περιφωτίζεται, τὰ δ' ἐντὸς ὀρφνη καὶ χάος καὶ 'Αἴδης ὁνομάζεται· καὶ τὸ ἔρεβος τοῦτ' ἢν ἁρα, τὸ χθόνιον καὶ ἐγγαυν οὐκότος. τὴν δὲ νύκτα ποιήται μὲν ἐκ γῆς γεγονέναι μυθολογοῦσι, μαθηματικοὶ δὲ σκιὰν γῆς οὐσαν ἀπο- δεικνύουσιν ἀντιφραττούσης πρὸς τον ἡλιον· ὁ γὰρ ἀὴρ ἀναπίπλαται σκότους ὑπὸ γῆς ως φωτὸς υφ' ἡλιοῦ καὶ τὸ ἀφώτιστον αὐτοῦ μῆκος ἐστιν νυκτός, ὅσον ἡ σκιὰ τῆς γῆς ἐπινέμεται. διὸ τῷ μὲν ἐκτὸς ἀέρι καὶ νυκτὸς οὐσὶς ἀνθρωποὶ τε χρώνται καὶ Β θερία πολλὰ νομᾶς ποιούμενα διὰ σκότους, ἀμωσ- γέπως ἕχυν φωτὸς καὶ ἀπορροάς αὐγῆς ἐνδιεσπαρ- μένας ἐχοντος· ὁ δ' οἰκουρὸς καὶ ὑπωρόφιος, ἀτε- δὴ τῆς γῆς πανταχόθεν περιεχούσης, κομιδή τυφλὸς ἐστι καὶ ἀφώτιστος. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ δέρματα καὶ κέρατα ξώων ὅλα μὲν οὐ διύησιν αὐγὴν ὑπὸ στερεό- τητος, ὅταν δὲ προσῆ καὶ καταξεοθη, γίνεται δια- φανῆ, παραμικθέντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἀέρος. οἶμαι δὲ

1 βάθος Wytenbach: κάρος or φάρος.

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a Cf. Aeschylus, Prometheus, 90, and 950 in supra.
b The Invisible Place, according to the etymology adopted above in 948 f.

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Next the air, moving downward, infuses a part of its brightness into the lakes and the sea, and the depths of the rivers flash brightly, to the extent that air is able to penetrate them. Of all bodies only the earth remains constantly without light, impenetrable to the illumination of sun or moon; yet it is warmed by them and permits the heat to sink in and warm it up to a slight depth. But because it is solid, earth does not give passage to light, but is encircled by light on its surface only, while the inner parts are called Darkness and Chaos and Hades—so that Erebus turns out to be the subterranean and interior darkness. Then, too, the poets tell us that Night was born of Earth and mathematicians demonstrate that night is the shadow of Earth blocking the light of the sun. The air, indeed, is saturated with darkness by the earth, just as it is with light by the sun. The unlighted portion of the air is the area of night, amounting to the space occupied by the earth’s shadow. This is the reason why men make use of the air out of doors even when it is night, as well as many beasts which do their pasturing in the darkness, since it retains some vestiges of light and dispersed glimmerings of radiance; but the house-bound man who is under a roof is utterly blind and without light inasmuch as there the earth envelops him from all directions. Whole skins, furthermore, and horns of animals do not let light pass through them because of their solidity; yet if sections are sawed off and polished, they become translucent when once the air has been mixed with them. It is also my opinion

^ Hesiod, Theogony, 125. The original meaning of Erebus is actually “darkness”.

(953) καὶ μέλαιναν ἐκάστοτε τὴν γῆν ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν καλεῖσθαι διὰ τὸ σκοτώδες καὶ τὸ ἀφώτιστον· ὡστε καὶ τὴν πολυτιμητὸν ἀντίθεσιν τοῦ σκοτεινοῦ πρὸς τὸ λαμπρὸν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ἀέρος ὑπ-ἀρχειν.

C 18. Ἀλλ' αὕτη μὲν ἀπήρτηται τοῦ ζητουμένου· πολλᾶ γὰρ δεδεικτα ψυχρὰ τῶν λαμπρῶν ὄντα καὶ θερμὰ τῶν ἀμαυρῶν καὶ σκοτεινῶν. ἐκεῖνα δὲ συγγενέστεραι δυνάμεις ψυχρότητος εἰσι, τὸ ἐμ- βρίθες τὸ μόνιμον τὸ πυκνὸν τὸ ἀμετάβλητον· ὅν ἀέρι μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς, γῆ δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ ὕδατι πασῶν μέτεστι. καὶ μὴν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τὸ ψυχρὸν αἰσθη- τῶς σκληρὸν ἔστι καὶ σκληροποιοῦν καὶ ἀντίτυπον. ἰχθὺς μὲν γὰρ ἰστορεῖ Θεόφραστος ὑπὸ ρίγους πε- πνημότας, ἂν ἀφεθῶσιν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, κατάγνυσθαι καὶ συντρίβεσθαι δίκην ὑέλων1 ἢ κεραμεῖν σωμά- D των. ἐν δὲ Δελφοῖς αὐτὸς ἢκουες ὅτι τῶν εἰς τὸν Παρνασσὸν ἀναβάντων βοηθῆσαι ταῖς Θυασίων,2 ἀπειλημμέναις ὑπὸ πνεύματος χαλεποῦ καὶ χιόνος, οὕτως ἐγένοντο διὰ τὸν πάγον σκληραὶ καὶ ξυλώδεις αἱ χλαμύδες, ὡς καὶ θραύσθηκα διατεινομέναις καὶ ρήγνυσθαι. ποιεὶ δὲ καὶ νεὺρα δυσκαμπή καὶ γλώτταν ἀναυδὸν ἀκινησία καὶ σκληρότητι τὸ ἄγαν ψύχος, ἐκπηγνύου τὰ3 υγρὰ καὶ μαλακὰ τοῦ σώματος.

1 ύελων van Herwerden: ύελων.
2 Θυάσιν Bernardakis: θυάσιν.
3 τὰ] most mss. have καὶ.

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that the earth is called black by the poets,\textsuperscript{a} whenever they have occasion to do so, because of its murky and lightless characteristics. The result, then, of these considerations is that the much-prized antithesis of light and darkness belongs to earth rather than to air.

18. This, however, has no relevance to the question under discussion; for it has been shown that there are many cold objects which are bright and many hot which are dull and dark. Yet there are qualities more closely connected that belong to coldness: heaviness, stability, solidity, and resistance to change. Air has no part at all in them, while earth has a greater share in all of them than water has. Cold, moreover, is perceptibly one of the hardest of things and it makes things hard and unyielding. Theophrastus,\textsuperscript{b} for instance, tells us that when frozen fish are dropped on the ground, they are broken and smashed to bits just like objects of glass or earthenware. And at Delphi you yourself heard, in the case of those who climbed Parnassus to rescue the Thyiades\textsuperscript{c} when they were trapped by a fierce gale and snowstorm, that their capes were frozen so stiff and wooden that when they were opened out, they broke and split apart. Excessive cold, because of its hardness and immobility, also stiffens the muscles and renders the tongue speechless, for it congeals the moist and tender parts of the body.

\textsuperscript{a} e.g. Homer, \textit{Iliad}, ii. 699; Alcman, 36 (Edmonds, \textit{Lyra Graeca}, i, p. 76; Diehl, \textit{Anthologia Lyrica Graeca}, ii. 27); Sappho, 38 (Edmonds, \textit{op. cit.} i, p. 208).

\textsuperscript{b} Frag. 184 Wimmer.

\textsuperscript{c} The Thyiades were Attic women, devotees of Dionysus, who went every other year to Delphi to join in the midwinter festival. (See Guthrie, \textit{The Greeks and their Gods}, p. 178.) The rites must have involved considerable discomfort and even risk, as Dodds says (edition of Euripides, \textit{Bacchae}, p. xi).
(953) 19. Ὡν βλεπομένων, σκόπει τὸ γινόμενον οὕτως. πάσα δὴ πόλις δύναμις, ἂν περιγενήται, πέφυκε μεταβάλλει καὶ τρέπειν εἰς ἑαυτὴν τὸ νικώμενον: τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ θερμοῦ κρατηθὲν ἐκπυροῦται, τὸ δ᾽ ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἐξαεροῦται, τὸ δ᾽ εἰς ὕδωρ ἐμπεσόν, Ε ἂν μὴ διαφύγῃ, καθυγραίνεται συνδιαχεομένον. ἀνάγκη δὴ καὶ τὰ ψυχόμενα κομιδὴ μεταβάλλειν εἰς τὸ πρώτως ψυχρὸν. ἐστὶ δ᾽ ὑπερβολὴ ψύξεως πῆξις, πῆξις δ᾽ εἰς ἀλλοίωσιν τελευτᾷ καὶ λίθῳσιν, ὅταν, παντάπασι τοῦ ψυχροῦ κρατήσαντος, ἐκπαγῇ μὲν τὸ ύγρὸν ἐκθλίβῃ δὲ τὸ θερμὸν. ὅθεν ἦ μὲν ἐν βάθει γῆς πάγος ἐστὶν ὡς εἰπεῖν καὶ κρύσταλλος ἀπασά: τὸ γὰρ ψυχρὸν ἀκρατὸν οἰκουρεῖ καὶ ἀμάλακτον ἀπεωσμένον ἐκεῖ τοῦ αἰθέρος ἀπωτάτῳ. ταυτὶ δὲ τὰ ἐμφανῆ, κρημνοὺς καὶ σκοπέλους καὶ πέτρας, Ἕμπεδοκλῆς μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς οἴεται τοῦ ἐν βάθει γῆς ἔσταναι καὶ ἀνέχεσθαι διερειδόμενα φλεγ- Φ μαίνοντος. ἐμφαίνεται δὲ μᾶλλον, ὡςών τὸ θερμὸν ἐξεθλίβῃ καὶ διέπτατο, πάντα ταῦτα παντάπασιν ὑπὸ τῆς ψυχρότητος παγηναὶ: διὸ καὶ πάγοι καλοῦνται. καὶ τὰ ἀκρα πολλῶν ἐπιμελανθέντα, τὸ θερμὸν ἐξέπεσε, πυρικαύστοις ἱδεῖν προσέοικε: πήγνυσι γὰρ τὸ ψυχρὸν τὰ μὲν μᾶλλον τὰ δ᾽ ἦττον, 954 μᾶλιστα δ᾽ οἷς πρώτως ἐνυπάρχειν πέφυκεν. ὡσπερ

1 ἐπιμελανθέντα Emperius: ἐπιμελανθέντων.

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a See 951 d above.
b Diels-Kranz, Frag. der Vorsok.5, i, p. 296, frag. A 69; cf. Mor. 691 b and Hubert’s references ad loc.
c Crags and rocks are called pagoi (as the Areo-pagus, 274
19. In view of these considerations, regard the facts in the following light: every force, presumably, whenever it prevails, by a law of nature changes and turns into itself whatever it overcomes. What is mastered by heat is reduced to flames, what is mastered by wind turns to air; and anything that falls into the water, unless it gets out quickly, dissolves and liquefies. It follows, then, that whatever is completely frozen must turn into primordial cold. Now freezing is extreme refrigeration that terminates in a complete alteration and petrifaction when, since the cold has obtained complete mastery, the moist elements are frozen solid and the heat is squeezed out. This is the reason why the earth at its bottom-most point is practically all solid frost and ice. For there undiluted and unmitigated cold abides at bay, thrust back to the point farthest removed from the flaming aether. As for these features that are visible, cliffs and crags and rocks, Empedocles thinks that they have been fixed in place and are upheld by resting on the fire that burns in the depths of the earth; but the indications are rather that all these things from which the heat was squeezed out and evaporated were completely frozen by the cold; and for this reason they are called pagoi. So also the peaks of many of them have a black crust where the heat has been expelled and have the appearance of debris from a conflagration. For the cold freezes substances to a varying degree, but hardest those of which it is naturally a primary constituent. Thus, if

"Mars Hill," at Athens), which Plutarch correctly connects with the verb meaning "freeze" or "solidify" and uses to confute Empedocles.

d Plutarch is speaking of volcanoes like Aetna with a lava bed on top.
(954) γάρ, εἴ θερμοῦ τὸ κουφίζειν, θερμότατόν ἐστὶ τὸ κουφότατον. εἴ δὲ ύγροῦ τὸ μαλάσσειν, ύγρότατον τὸ μαλακότατον. οὔτως, εἴ καὶ ψυχροῦ τὸ πηγ-
νεῦν, ἀνάγκη καὶ ψυχρότατον εἶναι τὸ μάλιστα πεπηγός, οἷον ἡ γῆ. τὸ δὲ ψυχρότατον φύσει δήπου καὶ πρώτως ψυχρόν. ὡστε πρῶτως καὶ φύσει ψυχρόν ἡ γῆ. τούτῳ δ' ἀμέλει καὶ τῇ αἰσθήσει δηλον ἑστὶ καὶ γάρ πηλὸς ὑδάτος ψυχρότερον καὶ τὸ πῦρ γην ἐπιφοροῦντες ἀφανίζουσιν. οἱ δὲ χαλκεῖς τῶν πυρομένων καὶ ἀνατηκομένῳ σιδήρῳ μάρμαρον 
καὶ λατύπην παραπάσσουσιν, τὴν πολλὴν ρύσιν ἐφιστάντες καὶ καταψύχοντες ψύχει δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἡ κόνις σώματα καὶ κατασβέννυσι τοὺς ἱδρώτας.

20. Ἡ δὲ καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἡμᾶς μετα-
γουσα καὶ μετουκιξουσα χρεία τί βούλεται, χει-
μώνοις μὲν ἀπωτάτω φεύγουσα τῆς γῆς εἰς μετέωρα καὶ ἀπόγεια, θέρους δὲ πάλιν ἀντεχομένη τῶν κάτω καὶ υποδυομένη καὶ διώκουσα προσφόρους κατα-
φυγάς, τιθεμένη διάιταν ἐν ἀγκάλαις γῆς ἀγαπητῶς; ἃρ' οὐχὶ ταῦτα ποιοῦμεν ἐπὶ τῆν γῆν ὑπὸ ψυχρό-
τητος ὀδηγοῦμενοι τῇ αἰσθήσει καὶ τὸ πρώτως φύσει ψυχρόν ἐπιγυνώσκοντες; αἱ γοῦν παράλοιποι χειμώνοις διάιται τρόπον τινὰ γῆς φυγαί εἰσιν, ὡς 
C ἀνυστόν ἀπολειπόντων διὰ κρύος αὐτῆς, τὸν δ' ἐναλὸν ἀέρα καὶ πελάγιον θερμὸν ὄντα περιβαλ-
λομένων. εἴτ' αὖθις ἐν θέρει τὸν γηγενῆ καὶ χερ-
σαίον ὑπὸ καύματος ποθοῦμεν, οὐκ αὐτὸν ὄντα 276
it is the nature of heat to lighten, the lightest object will have most heat, and if it is the nature of humidity to soften, the softest will have the most humidity; so, if it is also true that the nature of cold is to harden, then it must also follow that the hardest object will have the most cold—that is to say, just as the earth has. But what is coldest by nature is surely also primarily cold, so that the earth is in fact cold both primordially and naturally; and, of course, this is obvious even to the senses. Mud, in fact, is a colder thing than water; and men extinguish a fire by dumping earth upon it. Blacksmiths, when their iron becomes fiery and begins to melt, sprinkle on it marble chips and gypsum to check and cool it off before it melts too much. It is also true that dust cools the bodies of athletes and dries up their sweat.

20. And what is the meaning of our demand for a yearly change of habitation? In winter we retreat to the loftiest parts of our houses, those farthest from the earth, while in summer we require the lower parts, submerging ourselves and going in quest of comfortable retreats, as we make the best of a life in the embrace of mother earth. Since we do this, are we not guided to the earth by our perception of its coldness? Do we not acknowledge it as the natural seat of primordial cold? And surely our living by the sea in the winter is, in a way, an escape from the earth, since we abandon the land as far as possible because of the frost and wrap ourselves in salt sea air because it is warm. Then again, in the summer by reason of the heat, we long for the earth-born, upland air, not

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1 περιπάσσουσι van Herwerden.
2 προσφόρος] προσγείος Patzig.
3 περιβαλλομένων Wyttenbach: περιβάλλομεν.
(954) ψυχρόν ἄλλα τοῦ φύσει ψυχροῦ καὶ πρώτως ἀποβλαστάνοντα καὶ βεβαιμένον ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν γῇ δυνάμεως ὥσπερ βαφῇ σίδηρον. καὶ γὰρ τῶν ῥυτῶν ὑδάτων τὰ πετραία καὶ ὅρεινα ψυχρότατα καὶ τῶν φρεατιαῖς τὰ κολλότατα. τούτους μὲν γὰρ οὐκέτι μείγνυται διὰ βάθους ἔξωθεν ὁ ἄρη, ἔκεινα δ’ ἐκπίπτει διὰ τῆς γῆς ἀμύκτου καὶ καθαρᾶς, ὡς τὸ

D περὶ Ταίναρον,1 ὁ δὴ Στυνγὸς ὤδωρ καλοῦσιν, ἐκ πέτρας γλύσχρως συνλειβόμενον οὕτω ψυχρόν, ὡστε μηδὲν ἀγγειον ἀλλο μόνην δ’ ὀπλῆν ὄνου στέγειν· τὰ δ’ ἄλλα διακόπτει καὶ ῥήγνυσιν.

21. Ἔτι γε μὴν τῶν ἱατρῶν ἀκούομεν, ὡς πάσα γη τῷ γένει στύφειν καὶ ψύχειν πέφυκε· καὶ πολλὰ τῶν μεταλλευμένων καταριθμοῦσι στυπτικὴν αὐτοῖς παρέχοντα καὶ σχετικὴν εἰς τὰς φαρμακείας ὁδύμαιν· καὶ γὰρ τὸ στοιχεῖον αὐτῆς οὐ τιμητικὸν οὐδὲ κινητικὸν οὐδὲ λεπτὸν2 οὐδ’ ἔχον ὀξύτητας οὐδὲ μαλθακὸν οὐδ’ εὑπερίχυτον γέγονεν, ἀλλ’ Ἐ ὀδράιον ὡς ὁ κύβος καὶ συνερειστικὸς. ὅθεν αὐτῇ τε βρίθος ἔσχε, καὶ τὸ ψυχρὸν, ὅπερ ἦν δύναμις αὐτῆς, τῷ πυκνοῦν καὶ συνωθείν καὶ ἀποθλίβειν τὰ ύγρα φρίκας καὶ τρόμους διὰ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν ἐνεργάζεται τοὺς σώμασιν· ὀν δ’ ἐπικρατήσῃ παντάπασι, τοῦ θερμοῦ φυγόντος ἢ σβεσθέντος, ἐστησε τὴν ἔξω ἐκπαγείσαι καὶ νεκρωθέσαι. ὅθεν οὐδὲ καίει τῇ τὸ παράπαν ἢ καίεται γλύσχρως καὶ

1 τὸ περὶ Ταίναρον Wytenbach: περιττοτέρων οὐ περὶ τὸ Ταίναρον (τὸ περὶ Νάυκαρν Emperius).
2 λεπτὸν Turnebus: λείπων οὐ λίπων.
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because it is itself chilly, but because it has sprung from the naturally and primordially cold and has been imbued with its earthy power, as steel is tempered by being plunged in water.\(^a\) And of flowing waters, also, the coldest are those that fall from rocks or mountains, and of well waters the deepest are the coldest; the air from outside does not, in the case of these wells, affect the water, so deep are they, while any such streams burst forth through pure unmixed earth, like the one at Taenarum,\(^b\) which they call the water of Styx: it flows from the rock in a trickle, but so cold that no vessel except an ass’s hoof can contain it—all others it bursts and breaks apart.

21. We are, further, informed by physicians that generically earth is by nature astringent and cold, and they enumerate many metals that provide a styptic, staying effect for medicinal use. The element of earth is not sharp or mobile or slender or prickly or soft or ductile, but solid and compact like a cube.\(^c\) This is how it came to have weight; and the cold, which is its true power, by thickening, compressing, and squeezing out the humidity of bodies, induces shivering and shaking through its inequality \(^d\); and if it becomes complete master and expels or extinguishes all the heat, it fixes the body in a frozen and corpseslike condition. This is the reason why earth does not burn at all, or burns only grudgingly

\(^{a}\) Cf. Mor. 433\(a\) and 946\(c\) supra.

\(^{b}\) Plutarch knew that the mouth of Hades was at Taenarum (Pindar, Pythian, iv. 44) and transferred the Styx to that place. For its water see Frazer on Pausanias, viii. 18. 4. According to Antigonus, Hist. Mirab. 158 (ed. Keller) no receptacle except one of horn can contain the water; he adds, “All that taste of it die.”

\(^{c}\) Cf. Mor. 288\(e\) and Plato, Timaeus, 55 d-e.

\(^{d}\) Cf. 948\(b\) supra.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(954) μόνισ. ἀγρ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἐαυτοῦ πολλάκις φλόγας ἀναδίδωσι καὶ ρεῖ1 καὶ διαστράπτει πυρούμενος2. τῷ δ’ ύπρῳ τροφῇ χρῆται τὸ θερμὸν· οὐ γὰρ τὸ στερεὸν ἄλλα τὸ νοτερὸν τοῦ ἡνὸν καυστόν ἐστιν· 
εὖκμασθέντος3 δὲ τούτου, τὸ στερεὸν καὶ ἔηρον ἀπολείπεται τέφρα γενόμενον. οὐ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο φιλοτιμούμενοι μεταβάλλον ἀποδείξει καὶ καταναλισκόμενοι ἀναδεύοντες πολλάκις ἐλαίῳ καὶ στέατι φύροντες οὐδὲν περαίνουσιν, ἀλλ’ ὅταν ἐκκαθή τὸ λιπαρόν, περίεστι πάντως καὶ διαμένει τὸ γεώδες· οὕτως οὐ κατὰ χώραν μόνον ἐξ ἔδρας ἀκίνητον οὐδαν αὐτῆν ἄλλα καὶ κατ’ οὐσίαν ἀμετάβλητον, Ἐστίαν, ἀτε δὴ4 “μένουσαν ἐν θεῶν οἰκώ,” κάλλιστα5 προσηγόρευσαν οἱ παλαιοί, διὰ τὴν στάσιν καὶ πῇξιν· ἣς ἡ ψυχρότης δεσμός ἐστιν, ὡς Ὁρχέλαος ὁ φυσικὸς εἶπεν, οὐδενὸς χαλώντος αὐτῆν οὐδὲ μαλάττωντος, ἀτε θερμεμένη καὶ ἀλεαινωμένη οὐσίαν.6

955 Οἱ δὲ πνεύματος μὲν αἰσθάνεσθαι ψυχροῦ καὶ ὑδατοῦ, γῆς δ’ ἤττον οἰόμενοι, τὴν ἐγγυστὰ γὴν ὄρῳσιν ἄερων καὶ ὑδάτων καὶ ἡλίου καὶ θερμότητος ἀνάπλεων σύμμυγμα καὶ συμφόρημα γεγεννημένη· καὶ οὐδὲν διαφέρουσι τῶν μή τὸν αἰθέρα

1 ρεῖ] ζεῖ Emperius.
2 διαστράπτει πυρούμενος Bernardakis: διαστραπτόμενος or ἀστράπτει πυρούμενος.
3 ἐξεκμασθέντος Turnebus: ἐκμασθέντος.
4 Ἐστίαν, ἀτε δὴ Turnebus: ἐστίν ὅτε δὲ.
5 κάλλιστα Post (who also suggests ἴσαίτατα): κλῖτα; δικαίωτα W. C. H.
6 οὐσίαν Post and Sandbach: οὖσαν (deleted by Wyttenbach; ἱρεμοῦσαν Crönert).

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and with difficulty. Air, on the other hand, often shoots forth flames from itself and, turning into fire, makes streams and flashes of lightning. Heat feeds on moisture,\textsuperscript{a} for it is not the solid part of wood, but the damp part, that is combustible; and when this is distilled, the solid, dry part remains behind, reduced to ashes.\textsuperscript{b} Those who emulously strive to prove that this too is changed and consumed, sprinkling it, perhaps, with oil or kneading it with suet and setting it alight, accomplish nothing; for when the oily part is consumed, the earthy remains as a permanent residue, do what they may. Not only, therefore, because the earth is physically immovable from its station, but also because it is unalterable in essence, it was quite appropriately called Hestia\textsuperscript{c} by the ancients—in as much as she "remains in the home of the gods"—because of its stationary and compact nature; and coldness is what binds it together, as Archelaüs\textsuperscript{d} the natural philosopher declared, since nothing can relax or soften it, as a substance that is subject to heating or warming might be loosened.

As for those who suppose that they feel cold air and water, but are less sensible of earth's coldness, what they perceive is that portion of earth which is closest to them and has come to be a medley, a congeries, abounding in air and water, sun and heat. There is no difference between such people and those who

\textsuperscript{a} Cf. Mor. 649 b, 687 \(\lambda\), 696 b; Aristotle, Metaphysics, A 3 (983 b 23 ff.); Pseudo-Aristotle, Problemata, 949 b 29.
\textsuperscript{b} Cf. Mor. 696 b.
\textsuperscript{c} Cf. Plato, Phaedrus, 247 \(\lambda\) and 948 b supra with the note. For earth as Hestia see also Dio Chrys. xxxvi. 46 (L.C.L.) with Crosby's note; Dion. Hal. ii. 66. 3; Ovid, Fasti, vi. 267; Koster, Mnemosyne, Suppl. iii (1951), p. 7, n. 6.
\textsuperscript{d} Diels-Kranz, Frag. der Vorsok.\textsuperscript{5}, ii, p. 48.
(955) φύσει καὶ πρώτως θερμόν ἀλλὰ τὸ ζέον ὤδωρ ἡ τὸν διάπυρον σίδηρον ἀποφαινομένων, οὐ τούτων μὲν ἀπτονται καὶ προσβηγγάνουσι,1 τοῦ δὲ πρώτου καθαροῦ καὶ οὐρανίου πυρὸς άισθησιν δι’ ἀφής οὐ λαμβάνονσιν, ὦσπερ οὐδ’ οὕτω τῆς ἐν βάθει γῆς, ἡν μάλιστα γῆν ἀν τις νοήσειν αὐτὴν καθ’ αὐτήν ἀποκεκριμένην τῶν ἄλλων. δείγμα δ’ αὐτῆς ἔστι Β καίταβθα περὶ τᾶς πέτρας’ πολὺ γὰρ ἐκ βάθους καὶ οὐ ράδιων ἀνασχέσθαι προσβάλλουσι2 κρύοις. οἱ δὲ ψυχροτέρου ποτόν δεόμενοι χάλικας ἐμβάλλουσιν εἰς τὸ ὤδωρ’ γίνεται γὰρ οὐλότερον καὶ στομοῦται παρὰ τήν ἀπὸ τῶν λίθων ψυχρότητα, πρόσφατον καὶ ἀκρατον ἀναφερομένην.

22. Τούς οὖν πάλαι σοφοὺς καὶ λογίους ἄμικτα θέσθαι τὰ ἐπίγεια καὶ τὰ οὐράνια χρή νομίζειν, οὐ τοῖς τόποις ὦσπερ ἐπὶ ξυγοῦ πρὸς τὰ κάτω καὶ ἀνω βλέποντας, ἀλλὰ τῇ διαφορᾷ τῶν δυνάμεων τὰ μὲν θερμά καὶ λαμπρά καὶ ταχέα καὶ κούφα τῇ ἀθανάτῳ καὶ ἁδίῳ φύσει προσνέμοντας, τὰ δὲ σκοτεινά καὶ ψυχρά καὶ βραδέα φθιτῶν καὶ ἐνέρων οὐκ ευδαίμονα κλῆρον ἀποφαίνοντας.3 έπει καὶ τὸ C σώμα τοῦ ζῴου, μέχρι μὲν ἐμπνον ἐστὶ καὶ θαλερόν, ὡς οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσι, θερμότητι χρῆται καὶ ξυγή· γενόμενον δὲ τούτων ἐρημον καὶ ἀπολειφθέν ἐν μονῇ τῇ τῆς γῆς μοιρὰ ψυχρότης εὐθὺς ἱσχει καὶ

1 προσβηγγάνουσι Meziriacus: προστυγχάνουσι.
2 προσβάλλουσι Turnebus: προβάλλουσι.
3 ἀποφαίνοντας B, as Kronenberg had conjectured: ἀποφήναντας.

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declare that the aether \(^a\) is not naturally and primordially hot, but rather that sealding water or red hot iron are—because they can feel and touch these, but are unable to touch and feel the primordially pure and heavenly fire. Nor likewise are these persons able to touch and feel the earth at its bottommost, which is what we particularly mean by earth—earth set off alone by itself, without admixture of any other element. But we can see a sample of such earthiness in that statement about the cliffs \(^b\) that display from deep down so intense a cold that it can scarcely be endured. Then, too, those who want a colder drink throw pebbles into the water,\(^c\) which becomes thicker and denser through the coldness that streams upward, fresh and undiluted, from the stones.

22. We must, therefore, believe that the reason why ancient learned men held that there is no commerce between earthly and celestial things was not that they distinguished up and down by relative position, as we do in the case of scales; but rather it was the difference in powers that led them to assign such things as are hot and bright, swift and buoyant, to the eternal and imperishable part of nature, while darkness and cold and slowness they considered the unhappy heritage of transitory and submerged beings. Then too, the body of a living creature, as long as it breathes and flourishes, does, as the poets say, enjoy both warmth and life \(^d\); but when these forsake it and it is abandoned in the realm of earth alone, immediately frigidity and congelation seize upon it.

\(^a\) Cf. 951 D supra.
\(^b\) Cf. 954 C-D supra.
\(^c\) Cf. Mor. 690 f—691 c.
\(^d\) Perhaps some such passage as Homer, Iliad, xxii. 363 is meant.
κρύος, ὡς ἐν παντὶ μᾶλλον ἡ τῷ γεώδει κατὰ φύσιν 
θερμότητος ἐνυπάρχονσιν.

23. Ταῦτ', ὥς Φαβρώνε, τοῖς εἰρημένοις ύφ᾽ ἐπε-
ρων παράβαλλε· κἂν μὴτε λείπηται τῇ πιθανότητι 
μηθ᾽ ὑπερέχη πολὺ, χαίρειν ἐὰν τὰς δόξας, τὸ ἐπ-
έχειν ἐν τοῖς ἀδήλοις τοῦ συγκατατίθεσθαι φιλο-
σοφῶτερον ἡγούμενος.

a See the introduction to this essay.
since warmth naturally resides in anything else rather than in the earthy.

23. Compare these statements, Favorinus, with the pronouncements of others; and if these notions of mine are neither less probable nor much more plausible than those of others, say farewell to dogma, being convinced as you are that it is more philosophic to suspend judgement when the truth is obscure than to take sides.\(^a\)
WHETHER FIRE OR WATER IS MORE USEFUL
(AQUANE AN IGNIS UTILIOR)
INTRODUCTION

There seems to be no reason to discuss this little work in detail, since F. H. Sandbach has shown conclusively that it cannot be genuine. Still more might be added to his proofs, sound and thorough as they are; but this is not the place to slay the slain. It is the more to be regretted that Ziegler, in the article on Plutarch in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopadie*, has not had access to Sandbach’s work, though he does refer to Xylander’s athetesis, only to reject it, and might have mentioned Meziriacus’ as well.

Sandbach well observes: “To write an exercise on the comparative utility of fire and water may seem so difficult to us moderns who do not have such tasks as part of our education, that we do not recognize how badly the topic is here handled. . . . While it is possible that Plutarch wrote this work as a parody, or when a schoolboy, or under some strange circumstances, yet . . . the most probable view is that a miserable sophistical exercise on the subject *Whether fire or water is more useful* was fathered on the author of a diversion entitled *Whether land- or water-animals are more intelligent*, just as the *Consolatio ad Apollonium*

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*b* This is very puzzling since Ziegler later (936) cites the same article as authoritative on rhythmical matters.
IS FIRE OR WATER MORE USEFUL?

was ascribed to the author of a consolation addressed to his wife, or the Lives of the Ten Orators to the author of some more famous biographies."

The text is extremely bad, as may be seen by examining Wegehaupt's topheavy apparatus in Xάρτινσς für Friedrich Leo (Berlin, Weidmann, 1911), pp. 158-169. It is possible, to be sure, that part at least of the difficulty of the text is due to the author. Less emendation than that admitted here might not seriously damage what is irreparable nonsense in any case. Some attempt has been made to reproduce the childish style of the original.

The work is no. 206 in the catalogue of Lamprias.²

¹ Wegehaupt collated some 34 mss. for his edition, all of which he cites separately.
² The new Teubner edition of this and the following essays appeared while this volume was in proof, so that only the most necessary changes and corrections could be made. In this essay (since Wegehaupt's edition was already available) they have not been so plentiful as in the subsequent ones, for which Hubert has now provided the first truly critical edition that these works have ever had.
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΥΔΩΡ Η ΠΥΡ ΧΡΗΣΙΜΩΤΕΡΟΝ

D 1. "'Αριστον μὲν ὦδωρ, ὅ δὲ χρυσὸς αἰθόμενον πῦρ'

Ε ἡμῶν ὁ Πάνδαρος· ὄσθ' οὗτος μὲν δεύτεραν ἀντικρὺς τῷ πυρὶ χῶραν ἔδωκε· συμφωνεῖ δὲ καὶ Ἡσίοδος εἰπὼν

"'ﻬτοι μὲν πρώτιστα χάὸς γένετο'.

τοῖς πλείστοις γὰρ ὄνομακέναι δοκεῖ τὸ ὦδωρ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον παρὰ τὴν χύσιν. ἄλλα τὸ μὲν τῶν μαρτύρων ἐκατέρως ἵσον· ἔπει καὶ τὸ πῦρ εἰσιν οἱ τοῦ παντὸς ἀρχὴν ἀποφαίνομενοι καὶ οἴον σπέρμα τούτῳ ἐξ ἕαυτον τε πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ εἰς ἕαυτὸ ἐκλαμβάνειν κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν. ἀφέμενοι δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, σκεφώμεθα τοὺς εἰς ἐκάτερον λόγους πῆ μᾶλλον ἀγοῦσιν ημᾶς.

2. Ἀρ' οὖν οὐχ ἁρσιμότερον ἐκεῖνο, οὐ πάντοτε Φ καὶ διηνέκὼς δεόμεθα καὶ πλείστον, καθάπερ ἐργαιλεῖον καὶ ὀργανον καὶ νῆ Δία φίλος ὁ πάσης ὁρασ καὶ παντὸς καιροῦ παρὼν ἔτοιμος; καὶ μὴν τὸ μὲν

1 ἐκατέρως Bernardakis: ἐκάτερος or -ον.

a Olympians, i. 1. b Theogony, 116.
WHETHER FIRE OR WATER IS MORE USEFUL

1. Water is best, but gold is a flaming fire, says Pindar. He, therefore, bluntly assigns the second place to fire; and Hesiod agrees with him in the words

And first of all came Chaos into being; for most people believe that this is his name for water because it flows (chysis). Yet the balance of witnesses on both sides seems to be equal. There are, in fact, some who state that fire is the first principle of the universe and, like a seed, creates everything out of itself and receives all things into itself when the conflagration occurs. Ignoring the authors, let us examine the arguments on both sides and see where they will lead us.

2. Is not that element the more useful of which most of all, everywhere, invariably, we stand in need as a household tool and, I swear, a friend, ready to help us at any time, in any emergency? Yet fire is

Etymologizing (as in Mor. 948 e-f supra) chaos from chysis, "diffusion of liquid."

d The Stoics: cf., e.g., von Arnim, S. V. F. i, p. 27 (Zeno, frag. 98); cf. Mor. 1053 A-B; 1067 A; 1077 B.

e On the Universal Conflagration of the Stoics see von Arnim, op. cit. ii, pp. 183 ff.; on that of Heraclitus, Cherniss, Aristotle's Criticism of the Presocratics, p. 29, n. 108.
(955) ὁ πόρος δὲ τοῦτος χρήσιμον, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ βαρυνόμεθα καὶ ἀποστώμεθα· τοῦ δ' ὑδατος χρεία καὶ χειμῶνος καὶ θέρους καὶ νοσοῦν καὶ ψυχαίνουμι, 956 νυκτὸς καὶ μεθ' ἣμεραν· καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὁτ' ἀνθρωπος οὐ δεῖται. ἀμέλει τούς ἀποθανόντας "ἀλίβαντας" καλοῦσιν ὡς ἐνδεεῖς "λιβάδος," τοστέστων ὕγρο-τητος, καὶ παρὰ τούτῳ στερομεένους τοῦ ἦμ. καὶ ἀνευ μὲν πυρὸς ἢν πολλάκις,1 ὑδατος δ' οὐδέποτ' ἀνθρωπος. ἔτε δὲ τὸ ἐδραῖον καὶ ἅμα τῇ πρώτῃ καταβολῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων χρησιμώτερον τοῦ ὕστερον εὑρέθεντος· δῆλον γὰρ ὡς τὸ μὲν ὅντως2 ἀναγκαῖον ἡ φύσις ἐδωκε· τὸ δὲ περιουσίᾳ τῆς χρήσεως τύχη3 καὶ μηχανὴ τις εὑρεν. ὑδωρ μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ὅτ' οὐκ ἢν ἀνθρώπος οὐδὲ τις εὑρετή ἔλεγε-ται θεῶν ἢ ἡρώων· σχεδὸν γὰρ γενομένων εὐθὺς 
Β ὑπῆρχε καὶ τὸ γεγενησθαι παρεῖχεν. ἦ δὲ πυρὸς χρῆσις ἐχθές, φασί· καὶ πρῶθην ὑπὸ Προμηθέως4 . . . βίος πυρὸς, οὐκ ἀνευ δ' ὑδατος ἢν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πλάσμα τούτῳ μὴ εἶναι ποιητικὸν ἀποδείκνυσιν ὃ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίος· ἔστι γὰρ ἀνθρώπων γένη τινὰ χωρὶς πυρὸς ποιούμενα τὴν δίαιταν, άουκα καὶ ἀνέστα καὶ ὑπαίθρια· καὶ Διογένης δ' ὁ κύων ἢκίστα προσεχρήτῳ πυρί, ὡστε καὶ πολύποδα καταπιῶν ὁμόν, "οὕτως ὑπέρ ὁμῶν," εἶπεν, "ἀνὲ 

1 πολλάκις Post with one ms.: πολλά (πάλαι van Herwerden).  
2 ὅντως Meziriacus ; οὕτως.  
3 τύχη Leonicus : μάχη (τέχνη Wytenbach).  
4 Lacuna after Προμηθέως, indicated by Reiske, variously
not always useful; sometimes, indeed, we find it too much and interrupt our use of it. But water is used both winter and summer, sick and well, night and day: there is no time when a man does not need it. That, of course, is the reason why the dead are called *alibantes,* meaning that they are without *libas,* "moi-
ture," and for lack of that deprived of life. Man has often existed without fire, but without water never. Besides, that which, from the beginning, was coincidental with the inception of man is more useful than that which was discovered later; for it is obvious that Nature bestowed the one as vitally necessary, while the other was brought to light by luck or contrivance for a superfluous use. Now, none may tell of a time when water was unknown to man, nor is any god or hero said to be its discoverer; it was, in fact, at hand instantly when man appeared and was itself the cause of his appearance. But the use of fire, they say, was discovered only a day or two ago by Prometheus; (consequently all our pre-
ceding life was deprived of) fire, though it was not without water. And that this is no poetic fiction is proved by present modes of living; for there are certain races of man who live without fire, with no house or hearth, under the open sky. And Diogenes the Cynic reduced the use of fire to a minimum, so that he even swallowed a squid raw, remarking, "Thus, gentlemen, do I risk my life for you." But

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*a* Cf. *Mor.* 736 A; Galen, *De Temperament.* i. 3 (i, p. 522 K.).

*b* As, *e.g.,* Aeschylus, *Prometheus,* 254. The following words in lozenge brackets are conjecturally supplied.

*c* This anecdote is told with rather more point and relevance in 995 c-d *infra.*

supplied. The required sense is given by Post's supplement <ἐδοθὲ ὦστ' ἐστερημένος ἡμῖν ἤν πᾶς ὁ τέως>.
(956) ἀνδρεὶς, παραβάλλομαι." χωρὶς δ’ ὑδατὸς οὔτε καλὸν τις ἐνόμισε ζῆν οὔτε δυνατὸν.

3. Καὶ τί μικρολογοῦμαι τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπερχόμενος φύσιν; πολλῶν γὰρ ὄντων,¹ μᾶλλον δ’ Ὁ ἀπείρων γενῶν, τὸ τῶν ἄνθρωπων σχεδὸν μόνον οἴς πυρὸς χρήσιν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἀπόρους χρήσαι διαίταις καὶ τροφαῖς, καὶ βίος αὐτοῖς νεμομένοις, ἰπταμένοις, ἔρποισιν, ἀπὸ ρίζων καὶ καρπῶν καὶ σαρκῶν ἄνευ πυρὸς· ὑδατὸς δὲ χωρὶς οὐκ ἑναλον οὐδέν² οὐδὲ χερσαίοις οὐδ’ αἰθέριοι· καὶ γὰρ τὰ σαρκοβόρα τῶν ζώων, ὃν ἐνία φησὶ μὴ πίνειν Ἀριστοτέλης, τῷ γ’ ἐντὸς³ ύγρὸ χρώμενα διαζῇ. τούτ’ οὖν χρησιμώτερον, οὐ μηδεμία ζῶης φύσις ἄνευ ἵσταται καὶ διαμένει.

4. Μετίωμεν ἀπὸ τῶν χρωμένων ἐπὶ ταῦθ’ οἷς χρώμεθα, φυτὰ καὶ καρποὺς. τούτων ἄ μὲν οὖν οὐδ’ ὀλως θερμοῦ μετείληφεν, ἀ δ’ ἦκιστα καὶ ἄδηλως. ἦ δ’ ύγρα φύσις βλαστάνοντα πάντα παρέχεται, ἰ τ’ αὐξανόμενα καὶ καρποφοροῦντα· καὶ τί με δεὶ καταιριθμεῖσθαι μέλι⁴ καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὀσα τρυγῶμεν καὶ ἀμέλγομεν καὶ βλέπομεν⁵ ἐν φανερῷ κείμενα, ὅπου γε καὶ ὁ πυρὸς, δοκῶν εἶναι τῆς ἐξηρᾶς τροφῆς, μεταβολὴ καὶ σήμει καὶ διαχύσει τοῦ ύγροῦ γίνεται;

5. Καὶ μὴν καὶ χρησιμώτερον ὃ μηδέποτε βλα-

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1 γὰρ ὄντων Meziriacus: παρόντων.
2 οὐδὲν added by Bernardakis.
3 γ’ ἐντὸς Amyot: ὄντως οὗ ὄντων.
4 μέλι Wegehaupt: μεν.
5 βλέπομεν Wytenbach, confirmed by one ms.: βλέπομεν.

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without water no one ever thought it good, or even possible, to live.

3. And why do I split hairs by discussing merely human nature? For though there are many, or rather countless, sorts of creatures, man is practically the only one that knows the use of fire, while all the others live and feed without it: they subsist, whether they range abroad or fly or crawl, upon roots or produce or flesh, all without fire; but without water no creature of the sea or land or air ever existed. For even flesh-eating animals, some of which Aristotle says do not drink, nevertheless keep alive by using the fluids in the flesh. That element, therefore, without which no living nature can subsist or endure is the more useful.

4. Let us pass from the people who use fire to the things that we use, namely plants and produce, of which some are completely devoid of heat, while others have an infinitesimal and uncertain amount. Moisture, however, is the element in nature that makes them all burgeon, growing and bearing fruit. And why should I enumerate honey and wine and oil and all the rest that come to us from the vintage, the milking of herds, or taking off of honey—and it is obvious where they belong—when even wheat itself, though it is classed as a dry food, moves into the category of liquids by alteration, fermentation, and deliquescence?

5. Moreover, what is never detrimental is more

a Historia Animal. viii. 3 (601 b).

b "This must be one of the most remarkable transitions in literature" (Sandbach, op. cit. p. 200).

c That is, they must be classed as liquids.

d Cf. 968 A infra: here, however, the author seems to be talking about beer.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΜΟΡΑΛΙΑ (956) πτει. πῦρ μὲν οὖν ρέον1 ὀλεθριώτατον, ἢ δ' ύδατος φύσις οὐδέποτε βλαβερά. καὶ μὴν δυεῖν ὕφελμω- 
τερον τὸ εὐπτελέστερον καὶ χωρίς τινος παρασκευής 
τὴν εἶξ αὐτοῦ παρέχον ὕφελμαιν· ἢ μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ 
Ε τοῦ πῦρος χορηγίας δεῖται καὶ ὤλης· διὰ τούτο 
μετέχουσιν αὐτοῦ πλέον πλούσιοι πενήτων, βασιλεῖς 
ἴδιωτῶν· τὸ δ' ὕδωρ καὶ τοῦτ' ἔχει φιλάνθρωπον, 
τὴν ἴσοτητα, τὸ ὁμοιόν· οὐ δεῖται γὰρ ὀργάνων 
οὐδ' ἐργαλείων, ἀπροσδεές, αὐτοτελές ἀγαθὸν. 
6. "Ετι μὴν, ὁ πολλαπλασιαζόμενον2 τὴν ὕφελμαιν 
ἀπόλλυσιν, ἀχρηστότερον· τοιοῦτον δὲ τὸ πῦρ, οἷον 
θηρίον παμφάγον καὶ δαπανῶν τῶν παρακειμένων, 
καὶ μεθόδου καὶ τέχνη μᾶλλον καὶ μετρότητι η' 
τῇ αὐτοῦ φύσει ὕφελμαιν· τὸ δ' ὕδωρ οὐδέποτε φοβε- 
όν. καὶ μὴν δυεῖν τὸ μετὰ τοῦ ἐτέρου χρησμώ- 
tερον· πῦρ μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται τὸ ψῆρον οὐδὲ 
F τῇ δι' αὐτοῦ κοινωνίᾳ χρήσιμον, ὕδωρ δ' ἔστι 
μετὰ πῦρος ὕφελμαιν· τὰ γοῦν θερμά τῶν ὕδατων 
ἀκέσιμα καὶ πρὸς θεραπείαν εὐδιάθετα.4 καὶ πῦρ 
μὲν ψῆρον οὐκ ἂν τις εὑροί, ὕδωρ δ' ως ψυχρὸν 
οὕτω καὶ θερμὸν ὕφελμαιν ἀνθρώπῳ.
7. Καὶ μὴν, τεττάρων ὄντων τῶν στοιχείων, τὸ 
ὕδωρ εἶ ἐαυτοῦ πέμπτον, ὡς ἂν τις εἴποι, πεποίηκε 
957 στοιχεῖον τὴν θάλασσαν, οὐδὲν ἢπτον ἐκείνων ὕφε- 
λιμον τῶν τ' ἄλλων ἐνεκεν καὶ μάλιστα τῆς ἐπι- 
μεξίας· ἄγριον οὖν ἡμῶν οὐτα καὶ ἀσύμβολον τὸν 
βίον τοῦτο τὸ στοιχεῖον συνήψε καὶ τέλειον ἐποίησε, 
διορθούμενον ταῖς παρ' ἀλλήλων ἐπικουρίαις καὶ

1 ρέον Meziriacus and one ms.; ὑδίον or ὑδόν.
2 πολλαπλασιαζόμενον Leonicus: πολυπλασιαζόμενον.
3 η added by Leonicus.
useful. Now fire, when it forms a stream, is most destructive; but the nature of water is never harmful. Then again, of two elements that is more beneficial which is cheaper and provides its help without any preparation. Now the use of fire requires a supply of fuel, for which reason rich people have more of it than poor, and kings than private persons; but water has another merit in service to man, that of equality, with no discrimination. For it needs no tools or implements, being a self-sufficient, self-fulfilling good.

6. Then too, that which by multiplication destroys its own contribution is the less useful. Such a thing is fire which, like an all-devouring beast, consumes everything near, so that it is useful rather by skilful handling and craft and moderation in use than by its own nature; but water is never dangerous. Further, of two things the one which may be joined with its fellow is more useful. Now fire does not admit moisture and is of no use when in conjunction with it; but water is of service when combined with fire, for hot water is healing and well adapted to medicinal purposes. A watery fire you will never see; but water is as useful to mankind when hot as when cold.

7. Furthermore, though there are but four elements, water provides from itself a fifth, so to say, the sea, one no less beneficial than the others, especially for commerce among other things. This element, therefore, when our life was savage and unsociable, linked it together and made it complete, redressing defects by mutual assistance and exchange and so

a Cf. Mor. 948 d above; in 729 b the sea is called the "naturally hostile element."

4 εὐδιάθετα Wytenbach: εὐαισθητα or ἀναισθητα.
(957) ἀντιδόσει, κοινωνίαν δ’ ἐργαζόμενον καὶ φιλίαν. Ἡράκλειτος μὲν οὖν, “εἰ μὴ ἡλιος,” φησιν, “ἡν, εὐφρονὴ ἄν ἂν ἦν.” ἐστὶ δ’ εἰπεῖν, ὡς, εἰ μὴ θάλαττα ἦν, πάντων ἃν ἁγρώτατων ζῶον καὶ ἐνδεέστατον ὁ ἀνθρώπος ἦν. νυνὶ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν παρ᾿ Ἰνδῶν ἀμπελον τοῖς Ἐλλησιν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἐλλάδος καρπῶν χρήσιν τοῖς ἑπέκεινα τῆς3 θαλάσσης ἔδωκεν, ἐκ Φοι-Β νῖκης δὲ γράμματα μνημόσυνα λήθης ἐκόμισεν, καὶ άουνον καὶ ἀκαρπον καὶ ἀπαίδευτον ἐκώλυσεν εἶναι τὸ πλείστον ἀνθρώπων γένος. πῶς οὖν οὐ χρησιμότερον ὑδωρ στοιχεῖου5 περιττεύειν;

8. Τί6 πρὸς τοῦντιν ἃν τις ἐντεύθεν ἔχων λέγων; διότι τέτταρα μὲν στοιχεῖα θεῶ καθάπερ τεχνίτη πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὀλων ἐργασίαν ὑποκείμενα, τούτων δ’ αὐτάρκειαν ἐν7 ἀλλήλους διαφορὰ ἀπλῆ8· γη μὲν καὶ ὕδωρ ὑποβεβληται δίκην ὕλης ποιούμενα καὶ πλαττόμενα καὶ μετέχοντα κόσμου καὶ τάξεως καὶ τοῦ φυείν γε9 καὶ γεννάν, ὡςον αὖν μεταλάβη παρ᾿ ἑτέρων, πνεύματος καὶ πυρὸς10 Ω ποιούμενοι καὶ δημιουργοῦντας καὶ κείμενα νεκρὰ τέως ἐπὶ τὴν γένεσιν ἀνιστάντων· τῶν δὲ διεύθυντος τούτων αὕθες τὸ πῦρ ἀρχεῖ καὶ ἡγεμονεύει. δῆλον δ’ ἐκ τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς· γῆ τε γὰρ ἀνευθεύτης ὀσὺιας

1 ἃν added by Bernardakis.
2 ἐνδεέστατον Meziriacus: ἀναδεέστατον or -ov.
3 τῆς Xylander: ὧ τῆς. 4 καὶ added by Dübner.
7 ἃν added by van Herwerden.
8 ἀπλῆ Post: πλῆν. 9 γε Reiske: γε φασί.
10 πνεύματος καὶ πυρὸς Reiske: πνεύμα μὲν καὶ πῦρ.

a Diels-Kranz, Frag. der Vorsok. i. 173, frag. B 99. In Mor. 98 c a fuller and more appropriate version is given; but see now H. Fränkel, Wege und Formen, p. 270 and n. 1.

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bringing about co-operation and friendship. Now Heraclitus \(^a\) declares, "If there were no sun, it would be perpetual night"; in the same way we may say that if there were no sea, man would be the most savage and destitute of all creatures. But as it is, the sea brought the Greeks the vine from India, from Greece transmitted the use of grain across the sea, from Phoenicia imported letters as a memorial against forgetfulness,\(^b\) thus preventing the greater part of mankind from being wineless, grainless, and unlettered. How, then, should water not be more useful when it has the advantage over fire of one more element?\(^c\)

8. What could anyone find to say on the other side from this point on? This, that God, the master workman, had as material four elements from which to construct the universe. Among these, again, there is a simple mutual distinction, namely, that earth and water are a foundation at the bottom of the universe, being, like raw material, the substance of which things are constructed and moulded, having just so much form and organization, and indeed of capacity for growth and procreation, as is imparted to them by the other elements, air and fire, which are makers and artisans and rouse them, lying lifeless as they were until then, to the act of creation. Between these two, again, fire and air, there is the distinction that fire assumes the rule and leadership. This is clear by induction\(^d\): earth without warmth

\(^a\) Cf. Euripides, frag. 578 (p. 542 Nauck).
\(^b\) For this delightful absurdity see Sandbach, op. cit. p. 199, n. 4.
\(^c\) Possibly; but the argument hardly demonstrates this. The text is corrupt and a different solution than that adopted here is proposed by M. Adler (Wien. Stud. xxxi. 308).
9. To δ’ ὄλον τοσοῦτον ἀπέχει πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἡ ἑτέρων γένεσιν τὸ ὑδωρ αὐτοτελὲς εἶναι, ὡστε καὶ αὐτῷ φθορὰ πυρὸς ἐνδείκνυσθαι καὶ τὰ κατεσκληκτά τῶν ὄρων πλῆν ὑπὸ πυρὸς οὐδ’ ὅλως ἡ ὀλίγον μετέσχηκε.

D φυλάττει καθάπερ καὶ τάλλα καὶ τὸ ὑδωρ. ἀπέχοντος δὲ καὶ ἑνδεήσαντος σήμερα καὶ θάνατος ὑδατι καὶ ὀλέθρου ἐπίλευψις θερμότητος. ἀμέλει τὰ λιμναία καὶ ὁσα στάσιμα τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ τῶν ἀδιεξόδους ἐγκαθήμενα κωλότητι μοχθήρα καὶ τελευτώντα σήμερα τῷ κινήσεως ἥκιστα μετέχειν, ἢ τὸ θερμὸν ἐν ἑκάστοις ῥητοῖσιν τηρεῖ. διόπερ τὰ μᾶλλον ψεφόμενα καὶ ῥέοντα τῶν ὑδάτων, διὰ τὴν κίνησιν συνεχομενής τῆς θερμότητος, οὕτω καὶ προσαγορεύομεν, ξῆν λέγοντες. πῶς τούτων δυνέων οὐκ ὅφελομοστερον, ὅ τῶν ἑτέρων τῆς αἰτία τοῦ εἶναι παρέσχηκε, καθάπερ τὸ πῦρ τῷ ὑδατι; καὶ Ε. μὴν, οὐ παντάπασιν ἀπάλλαγέντος φθείρεται τὸ ἔως, τούτ’ ὅφελομοστερον. δῆλον γὰρ ὡς ὁ στεροῦμενον οὐκ ἔστιν εἴναι, τούτῳ καὶ τῆς αἰτίας παρέσχηκεν, ὅτ’ ἦν. ὑγρότης μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῖς τεθυρεῶσι πάρεστι καὶ οὐκ ἐξήρηται παντάπασιν· ἐπει οὐκ ἦν ἐστι οὕτως νεκρά τὰ σωμάτων, τῆς

1 κρατήσαν W. C. H. (after κεκρατηκὸς Post) : ἐκραῖος, ἐνκραῖος, ἐκρεφν. 2 διακέαν Post : διαχέαν (or -ων, -οι), διαχεῖθεν. 3 ὀργόσαν Reiske and one ms. : ὀργώντα, ἐργώντα, ἐνεργώντα, and the like (Paton would add πάντα : “swell to bring forth all things”). 4 πλήν Naber : πᾶσιν or ἦ. 5 Some ms. have ταῦτα ἐν.

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is barren and unfruitful, but fire, when it takes possession and inflames, causes it to swell to the point of generation; and it is impossible to find any other reason why rocks and the bare bones of mountains are barren except that they have either no part at all, or very little share, in fire.

9. And, in general, water is so far from being self-sufficient for the preservation or generation of other things that the want of fire is water's destruction. For heat maintains everything in its proper being and keeps it in its proper substance, water itself as well as everything else. When fire withdraws and fails, water putrefies: the dearth of heat is the death and destruction of water. It is, of course, marsh waters and such as are stagnant, some too that have drained into depressions with no outlet, that are bad \(^a\) and finally putrefy \(^b\) because they have very little motion, which preserves everything by stirring up its heat. This is the reason why we commonly say that those waters are "living" which have most motion and the strongest current; the heat is maintained by their motion. How, then, should that not be the more useful of two things which has provided what is necessary for the other's existence, as fire does for water? And surely that is the more useful, the lack of which, if it be entirely taken away, causes the living creature to die. For it is obvious that anything without which a creature cannot live must have been a necessary cause of its existence, while it did exist. Now even corpses have moisture which does not entirely vanish; otherwise dead bodies would not

\(^{a}\) That is, "salt," as, for example, the Dead Sea.
\(^{b}\) Cf. Mor. 1129 ν, 725 ν; Athenaeus, 46 b-c.

\(^{6}\) διόπερ Wytenbach: περι. \(^{7}\) ὡς Wegehaupt: ὡς τὸ.
(957) σήμερον εἰς ύγρόν οὐκ ὄψης ἐκ ἑρῶν μεταβολής, 
μάλλον δ᾽ ύγρών ἐν σαρκί φθοράς. Θάνατος δ᾽ οὐκ 
ἀλλ᾽ τι πλὴν ἐκλεψις θερμοῦ παντελῆς· ψυχρότατοι 
τούτοις οἱ νεκροί· καὶ τὰς ἀκμὰς, εἴ τις ἐπιχειροῖ, 
τῶν ψυρῶν3 ἀπαμβλύνουσι δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν ψυχρότη- 

F τοσ. καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ ζωῷ τὰ ἦκεστα μετέχοντα 
Pυρὸς ἀναιασθήτωτατα,4 καθάπερ ὁστὰ καὶ τρίχες 
καὶ τὰ πόρρωθεν ἀφεστῶτα τῆς καρδίας· σχεδὸν 
γὰρ5 μείζων6 ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πυρὸς γίνεται παρουσίας 
διαφόρα. φυτὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ καρποὺς οὐχ ἡ ψυχρότης 
ἀναδίωσιν ἀλλ᾽ ἡ θερμὴ ψυχρότης· ἀμέλει τὰ 
ψυχρὰ τῶν υδάτων ἦτον ἡ οὐδ᾽ ὀλὼς γόνιμα. 
καίτοι γ᾽ εἰ τῇ αὐτοῦ φύσει τὸ ὑδωρ καρποφόρον, 
958 δεὶ7 πάντως καὶ καθ᾽ αὐτὸ ἀναφέρειν καρποὺς· τὸ 
δὲ τούναντίον καὶ βλαβερὸν ἑστίν.

10. Ἀπ᾽ ἄλλης ἀρχῆς. πρὸς μὲν τὴν πυρὸς ώς 
Pυρὸς χρῆσιν ύδατος οὐ προσδεόμεθα, ἀλλὰ τού- 
nαντίον ἐμποδῶν γίνεται· κατασβέννοι γὰρ καὶ 
διαφθείρει. ύδατος δὲ τοῖς πλείστοις χρῆσις οὐκ 
ἐστίν ἄνευ πυρῶν· θερμανθὲν γὰρ ωφελιμωτέρον, 
οὕτω δὲ βλαβερόν, καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἡ θερμότης 
ωφελιμωτέραν ἑποίησεν, ὡς μάλλον κατάθεμον8 
τῶν υδάτων ἐτεί κατ᾽ ἄλλο9 γε τῶν λουπῶν οὐδὲν 
διέφερε. ὦστε δυνὴν ἀμενον ὁ ἄφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ παρ- 
ἐχεται χρείαν, τοῦ ἑτέρου μὴ προσδεόμενον. ἔτι

1 οὐκ added by Kronenberg.
2 ἐπιχειροῖ | ἐπικείροι Bernardakis.
3 ξυρῶν Stephanus : ξηρῶν.
4 ἀναιασθήτωτα Reiske : -ότερα.
6 μείζων W. C. H. : μείζω τῶν. Post would keep the text here and just above, adding φυτῶν, καρπῶν or the like.
7 δεὶ] ἔδει Leonicus.

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putrefy, since putrefaction is not a change from dry to moist, but rather a corruption of the moisture in flesh. Death, then, is nothing but the total disappearance of heat and so dead men are extremely cold; if you attack them with a razor-blade, you will blunt the edge of it through excess of cold. In the living creature itself, too, the parts that have the least heat are the least sensitive, like bones and hair and the parts that are a long way from the heart. And, in general, the presence of fire makes a greater difference than that of moisture; for it is not mere moisture that produces plants and fruits, but warm moisture; cold water, of course, is either less productive or not productive at all. Yet if by its own nature water were fruitful, it would always bear fruit by itself; but on the contrary it is even harmful.

10. To begin again: for the use of fire as fire we do not need water; on the contrary, it would be in our way since it extinguishes and destroys it. But in most circumstances it is impossible to use water without fire. When water is heated, it is more useful; otherwise it is harmful. And it is heat which has made the sea more beneficial, its waters being warmer, since it differs from other waters in no other respect. So that of two things, that is better which of itself lends us its use without need of the other. Besides,

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*a* Or adopting Schultz’s (*Hermes*, xlvi. 632) emendation: "the difference between living and non-living comes from the presence of fire"; but the text is hopelessly corrupt.

*b* That is, without heat.

*c* This sentence was transferred here from the following chapter by Wegehaupt.

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8 κατάθερμον W. C. H.: καταθέρει and the like.
(958) ύδωρ μὲν μοναχῶς ωφέλιμον κατὰ θίξειν λουσαμένοις ἡ νυσαμένοις, τὸ δὲ πῦρ διὰ πάσης αἰσθήσεως καὶ γὰρ διὰ τῆς ἀφῆς καὶ πόρρωθεν ὃρωμενον, ἄρτε προσείναι τοῖς ἄλλοις τῆς χρείας αὐτοῦ καὶ 
B τὸ πολυποίκιλον.3

11. Τὸ γὰρ λέγειν ὡς ἐστὶ ποθ' ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀνευ πυρὸς ἄτοπον4 οὐδ' ὅλως δύναται γενέσθαι ὁ ἄνθρωπος. διαφοραὶ δ' εἰςν ἐν γένει καθάπερ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις. καὶ οἱ μὴ προσδεόμενοι δὲ τοῦ ἐξωθεν πυρὸς οὐχ ὡς ἄπροσδεεῖσι τοῦτο πάσχουσιν, ἀλλὰ περιουσία καὶ πλεονασμῷ τοῦ ἐν αὐτοῖς θερμοῦ τοῦτο ῥητέον καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξώων, ὅσα μὴ πυρὸς δεῖται.5 ὡστε καὶ κατὰ τοῦθ' ὑπερέχειν τῇ τοῦ πυρὸς χρείαν, ὡς εἰκός. τὸ μὲν ύδωρ οὐδέποτε τοιοῦτον, ὡστε μὴ δεῖσθαι τῶν ἐκτός, τὸ δὲ πῦρ

C ὑπ' ἀρετῆς πολλῆς καὶ αὐτάρκεις. ὡς οὖν στρατηγὸς ἀμείνων ὁ παρασκευάσας τὴν πόλιν μὴ δεῖσθαι τῶν ἐξωθεν συμμάχων, οὐτω καὶ στοιχεῖον τὸ τῆς ἐξωθεν ἑπικουρίας 6 πολλάκις μὴ δεόμενον ὑπερέχον.

Καίτοι γ' εἰς τούναντίον λάβοι τις ἂν, τὸ χρησιμότερον εἶναι τοῦτο, ὁ χρώμεθα μόνω7 καὶ μάλιστα τὸ βέλτιον ἐκ λογισμοῦ λαβεῖν δυνάμενοι· ἐπεὶ τί λόγου χρησιμότερον ἡ μάλλον ἄνθρωπος λυσιτελέστερον; ἀλλ' οὐ πάρεστι τοῖς ἄλογοις. τί οὖν; διὰ τοῦθ' ἦττυν ὑφέλιμον τὸ8 ἐκ τῆς προνοίας τοῦ βελτίονος εὑρεθέν;

1 λουσαμένοις] γευσαμένοις Wytenbach.
2 νυσαμένοις one ms. only: ἀφαμένοις.
3 τὸ πολυποίκιλον W. C. H.: τὴν πολυτέλειαν.
4 ἄτοπον added by Bernardakis.
5 πυρὸς δεῖται Wytenbach: προσδείται.

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water is solely beneficial to the touch, when you wash or bathe in it; but fire is profitable to all the senses. It can, in fact, both be touched and seen from a distance, so that in addition to its other uses, there is also its variegated character.

11. For to say that man ever exists without fire is absurd, nor can he exist at all without it; but there are differences in kind as in other things. As for men who have no need of fire from without, they have this experience not because they do not need it, but because their own heat more than suffices. This must be predicated also of other animals which do not need fire. So that in this respect, too, the use of fire is probably superior. Water is never in such a condition as to need no external support, but fire is self-sufficient because of its great excellence. As, then, a general is better who manages the affairs of his city so that it needs no allies from without, so also an element is superior which does not often need external assistance.

Yet, to take the opposite point of view, that is more useful which we alone make great use of, since by the powers of our reason we are able to choose what is better. For what is more useful and more profitable to man than reason? But brute beasts do not have it. What then? Is what has been discovered by the foresight of our better part for this reason less useful?

\[\text{a The order of the sentences in this chapter, in addition to its many other corruptions, has been badly disturbed.}\]

\[\text{b This clause was transferred here by the editor from 958 \textit{infra} at the end of the paragraph.}\]
12. Ἐπεί δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο τοῦ λόγου γεγόναμεν, τί τέχνης τῷ βίῳ λυσιτελέστερον; τέχνας δὲ πάσας καὶ ἀνέδρε τὸ πῦρ καὶ σώζει· διὸ καὶ τὸν Ἡφαιστον ἄρχηγὸν αὐτῶν ποιοῦσι. καὶ μὴν οὕτων χρόνον καὶ βίον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δεδομένον, ὁ μὲν Ἀρίστων φησὶν ὅτι ὁ ύπνος οὗν τελώνης τὸ ἁμαρτία ἀφαιρεῖ τούτου· ἐγώ δ' ἂν εἴπομι ὅτι σκότος· ἐγρηγορέων·
1 ἂν εἴη διὰ νυκτός, ἀλλ' οὐδέν ἣν ὁ ὀφέλος τῆς ἐγρη-

γόρσεως, εἰ μὴ τὸ πῦρ τὰ τῆς ἡμέρας ἡμῖν παρεῖχεν ἀγαθὰ, καὶ τὴν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἐξῆρε διαφοράν.

εἰ τοίνυν τοῦ ξῆνον οὐδέν ἀνθρώπους λυσιτελέστερον καὶ τοῦτο πολλαπλασιάζει τὸ πῦρ, πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἴη

πάντων ὁφελιμώτατον;

13. Καὶ μὴν, οὐ πλείστον ἕκαστη τῶν αἰσθη-

Ε σεων μετείληφεν, οὐκ ἂν εἴη λυσιτελέστατον; οὐχ ὀραῖ ὁν, ὡς τῇ μὲν ύγρᾷ φύσει οὐδεμιὰ τῶν

ἀισθήσεων κατ' αὐτὴν προσχρήτησι χωρίς πνεῦματος

η πυρὸς ἐγκεκραμένον, τοῦ δὲ πυρὸς ἀπασα μὲν

ἀισθήσις, οἷον τὸ ξωτικὸν ἐνεργαλομένου, μετει-

ληφεί, ἐξαιρέτως δ' ἢ οἰσι, ἢτις ἐξυπνήθη τῶν διὰ

σώματος ἐστὶν αἰσθήσεων, πυρὸς ἡξαμμα ὡσα καὶ

ὅτι θεῶν πίστιν παρέσχεκεν; ἐπὶ τε, ἥ Πλάτων

φησί, δυνάμεθα κατασχηματίζειν πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἐν

οὐρανῶ κυήσεις τῆν ψυχὴν διὰ τῆς ὀψεως.

1 ἐγρηγορέων: anonymous: ἐγρηγορεῖν.
2 ἂν εἴη ἂν ἂν εἴη· ἂν added by Adler.
3  ἢν: ἢν added by Adler.
4 πλείστον: Bernardakis: πλείστον.
5 ἑκάστη: Emperius: κράσις ἢν.

a Von Arnim, S. V. F. i, p. 90, frag. 403; cf. Aristotle,
Nicomachean Ethics, i. 13, 12 (1102 b 7).

b A very corrupt passage. Adler's reconstruction (Wien.
Stud. xxxi. 308), with additions by Post, has been followed.

c Cf. Plato, Phaedrus, 250 d; cf. Mor. 654 d-e, 681 e.

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IS FIRE OR WATER MORE USEFUL? 958

12. And since we have arrived at this point in our argument: What is more profitable to life than Art? And it was fire that discovered and still preserves all the arts. That is why they make Hephaestus the first of artificers. Man has been granted but a little time to live and, as Ariston a says, sleep, like a tax-collector, takes away half of that. But I would rather say that it is a question of darkness; for although a man might stay awake all night, yet no good would come of his wakefulness if fire did not give him the benefits of day and remove the difference between day and night. b If, then, there is nothing more advantageous to man than life and life is many times increased by fire, how should fire not be the most useful of all things?

13. And, to be sure, will not that be the most advantageous of which each of the senses has the greatest proportion? Do you not perceive, then, that there is no one of the senses which uses moisture by itself without an admixture of air or fire; and that every sense partakes of fire inasmuch as it supplies the vital energy: and especially that sight, the keenest of the physical senses, c is an ignited mass of fire d and is that which has made us believe e in the gods? And further, through sight, as Plato f says, we are able to conform our souls to the movements of the celestial bodies.

a Cf. von Arnim, S.V.F. ii, pp. 196, 199; but Post believes the words may mean "a chain of fire" linking the eye with its object.

b It is the visible heavens and their fire that make us believe by "declaring the glory" of the celestial gods. See A. S. Pease, "Caeli Enarrant," Harvard Theological Review, xxxiv (1941), pp. 163-200.

c Timaeus, 47 a-b.
WHETHER LAND OR SEA ANIMALS ARE CLEVERER
(De sollertiæ animalium)
INTRODUCTION

There can be little doubt that Plutarch composed this pleasant work from commentarii (ῥωμυτα) derived not merely from Aristotle (mentioned specifically in 965 ν and quoted often), but also from various other compendia, the remains of which are to be seen in Aelian's and Pliny's natural histories and elsewhere. In fact, if one reads Plutarch and Aelian and Pliny side by side, one may acquire the impression that they had before them substantially the same sources, and that these were numerous. Where-

a On the sources see Ziegler's article "Plutarchos" in Pauly-Wissowa, col. 738, and, of the authorities he cites, particularly Wellmann's papers in Hermes, xxvi, xxvii, and li, and Max Schuster, Untersuchungen zu Plutarchs De Sollertia Animalium (Diss. Munich, 1917). There is also an amusing work of Philo, surviving only in an Armenian version, which is most conveniently accessible in Aucher's Latin translation in vol. 8 of the Bibliotheca Sacra edition (Schwickert, Leipzig, 1830): De Ratione quam habere etiam Bruta Animalia dixebat Alexander. In the first part of this work Alexander presents the arguments for animal intelligence, which Philo himself attempts to refute in a somewhat summary fashion at the end. The occasional parallels with Plutarch will be cited as Philo, with Aucher's section and page numbers. Antigonus of Carystus, Historia Mirabilium, will be cited from O. Keller's edition of the Naturalium Rerum Scriptores Graeci (Teubner, 1877) and Aelian's De Natura Animalium from R. Hercher's Teubner (not Didot) edition.

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as Pliny and Aelian appear to adopt nearly everything their authorities may have offered (for they were writing factual commentaries). Plutarch, as always, selects. It is possible, in some cases, that Plutarch's mss. (which are not good and also contain lacunae) may have been interpolated from Aelian's; and the reverse is likewise possible. This is a very difficult matter, but the hope may be entertained that some main sources of Plutarch and Aelian, if not of Pliny, and the as yet unassessed evidence of Philo, may eventually be disentangled for substantial sections, though this is not the place to attempt such a feat.

The title is not well chosen, since the victory is awarded to neither side. The real point of the dialogue seems to be, in its second as well as its first part, that all animals of whatever provenance are intelligent. The occasionally bantering tone may serve to indicate that we have before us something of a school exercise from Plutarch's own academy, with perhaps the first draft of the second part composed by pupils. Note the carefully established details: the contest will take place at a fixed time (960 b, 963 b) before their fellow-pupils and a specially appointed judge (965 c-e). More or less elaborate preparation has been made by the contestants (960 b, 975 d). Because of the occasion the school has been granted a holiday.

a Schuster thinks, rather, that Plutarch's chief aim is to make clear a moral and juridical relationship between man and beasts.

b See Schuster, pp. 57 ff. Aristotimus and Phaedimus were doubtless actual pupils of Plutarch.

c Plutarch lays special emphasis on preparation: Mor. 80 d, 652 b.
THE CLEVERNESS OF ANIMALS

In the first part (chapters 1-8), the author demonstrates through the authoritarian voice of his own father that the Stoics, in so far as they affirm the irrationality of animals, contradict their own tenets. The second part proves that animals of all kinds are rational (chapters 9-36); the last small section, while refusing to award first honours in the debate, appears to contain Plutarch's exhortation to his pupils to continue the fight against the Stoics. For an excellent summary with sympathetic comments see E. R. Dodds, *Greece and Rome*, ii (1932/3), pp. 104-105.

D'Agostino has shown that there is little originality in Plutarch's animal psychology, while not denying our author considerable vivacity in presentation. While it is true that whole sections, like 976 A-D, are drawn from the identical source that Aelian (*De Natura Animalium*, viii. 4-6) used, yet one has only to compare the use these authors have made of precisely the same material to recognize the great superiority of Plutarch. The principal sources have been disputed: Chrysippus, Theophrastus, Hagnon, Alexander of Myndus, Juba, Xenocrates have all been suggested, but there can be little doubt (as

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[b] Hirzel, *Der Dialog*, ii, p. 179, n. 1. All of Hirzel's discussion is worth reading, though there are occasional slips, as when he affirms (p. 173, n. 2) that the story in 969 e f. goes back to Plutarch's own experience. This is quite unlikely in view of Aelian's version of the same story; nor has Aelian drawn from Plutarch as some, including Wyttenbach, have thought.

[c] For the difficulty and danger involved in identifying the sources exactly see the lists of authorities furnished by Pliny in his first book. Alexander of Myndus, for example, does not appear at all as a source for books 8-11.
with *De Tranquillitate*\(^a\) and many other works) that a considerable variety of sources has been utilized. Now that Schläpfer\(^b\) has demonstrated that Plutarch had himself read and meditated upon great sections of classical poetry, critics may perhaps be more willing to allow our author first-hand familiarity with a wider range of prose, and works of reference as well.

It is by no means impossible that the work is incomplete in our mss.; there are, at least, several demonstrable lacunae and it is possible that it was considerably longer and may even have justified its title when it left Plutarch's hands.

As for the date of the dialogue, the *terminus post quern* is a.d. 70 (not 79, as it cannot be certainly inferred from 974 a that Vespasian was then dead); it is probably a work of Plutarch's youth, preceding in any case the *Lives* and the *Symposiaca*. It may well date from Plutarch's anti-Stoic period which produced the *De Facie*, the *De Communibus Notitiis*, and the other anti-Chrysippean polemics. It has much in common with the *Gryllus* and the fragments of *De Esu Carnium* and some correspondence with the *Amatorius*.\(^c\) It may, in fact, have been written during nearly the same period as that in which the elder Pliny (whose preface is dated a.d. 77) was compiling his own *Natural History*.

\(^a\) See the introduction in the Loeb edition.

\(^b\) *Plutarch und die klassischen Dichter*, Zürich, 1950, especially pp. 59-60.

\(^c\) But allowance must be made for exaggerated and partially false premises in Hartman, *De Plutarcho*, p. 567. A modified chronological scheme of Plutarch's writings has lately been proposed by T. Sinko (*Polish Acad. Cracow*, 1947), but it is too complicated to be examined here.
THE CLEVERNESS OF ANIMALS

The citations in D'Arcy Thompson's Oxford translation of Aristotle's *Historia Animalium* are somewhat inaccurate and inconsistent, being, as he says, "compiled at various times and at long intervals during many years." Nevertheless the work is of great value and it may be hoped that the notes in this edition that rely on it (and these are many) have been adequately sifted. Also to be constantly and gratefully consulted are Thompson's *A Glossary of Greek Fishes* (Oxford, 1947) and *A Glossary of Greek Birds* (2nd edition, Oxford, 1936). There will be many references to Thompson's Aristotle; but if the creature in question is a bird or a fish, it is to be understood that supplementary and often corrective material is to be found in the Glossaries. There is, further, a tribute of admiration due to A. W. Mair's L.C.L. edition of Oppian, with its exhaustive notes. Rackham (L.C.L. Pliny, vol. III, books viii-xi) is very interesting on the text, but has almost completely denied himself the privilege of citing parallel passages.

The debunking of many of Plutarch's stories, if such a task is necessary, has been pleasantly done in the leisurely course of Bergen Evans' *The Natural History of Nonsense* (New York, 1946). It should be added, however, that modern scientific speculation is approaching somewhat closer to one of Plutarch's main tenets, if one may judge from such a work as W. C. Allee's *Coöperation Among Animals* (New York, 1951: a revision of his earlier *The Social Life of*

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*The Loeb edition of A. L. Peck is still awaited at this date of writing. It should be noted that quotations from the ninth book, in particular, are liable to peculiar suspicion and may not proceed from the great naturalist himself.*

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*Even the extremely hostile review in *Phil. Woch.* li (1931), pp. 1569 ff., exempts the notes from censure.*
Animals); and on the thesis of animal intelligence see Evans himself, p. 173, and the authorities cited there, note 1.

Both the translation and the notes of this and the following essays have benefited immeasurably from an exhaustive criticism generously given them by Professor Alfred C. Andrews of the University of Miami, Florida. He has in fact supplied a number of valuable notes and also the Appendix, a classified zoological index. It must be understood, however, that any errors remaining are to be attributed solely to the editor.a

The dialogue is no. 147 in the catalogue of Lamprias. According to this document Plutarch wrote another work (no. 135) on the same subject: Do Beasts Possess Reason? But no. 127, Περὶ ζώων ἀλόγων ποιητικός, is probably the same as our Gryllus, the following dialogue in this edition.

Abbreviations used in citing Modern Authors


a Since our text was formed and our translation and notes composed a year or more before the appearance of the new Teubner edition, almost no new references have been added which are not purely textual. The curious reader is referred to Hubert’s wealth of illustration to supplement our contributions.
THE CLEVERNESS OF ANIMALS


1. ΑΠΤΟΒΟΤΛΟΣ. Τὸν Τυρταῖον ὁ Λεωνίδας ἤρω-β θεὸς ποιὸν τινα νομίζοι, "ἀγαθὸν ποιητήν" ἕφη "νέων ψυχὰς κακκοῦν"1. ὡς τοῖς νέοις διὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ὀρμην ἐμποιοῦντα μετὰ θυμοῦ καὶ φιλοτημίας ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀφειδοῦσαν2 αὐτῶν. δέδη δή, ὁ φίλοι, μὴ καὶ τὸ τῆς κυνηγεσίας ἐγκώμιον ἐχθές ἀνεγνωσμένον ἐπάρη τοῦ μετρίου πέρα τοὺς φιλοθήρους ἡμῖν νεανίσκους, ὥστε τάλλα πάρεργα καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἱγείσθαι, πρὸς τοῦτο παντάπασι ὑμέντας ὁπον δοκῶ μοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ νέας αἴθις ἄρχῃς παρ’

1 κακκοῦν van Herwerden after Meziriacus: κακάκευν or καλλύνειν. 2 ἀφειδοῦσαν van Herwerden: ἀφειδοῦσαν.

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a Plutarch’s father; on controversial points connected with this identification see Ziegler in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. "Plutarchos," 642 ff.
b A friend of the household who appears in several of the Symposiae and in the Amatorius also; he is not improbably the L. Mestrius Soclarus of Inser. Gr. ix. 1. 61.
c A speaker also in De Defectu Oraculorum (cf. Mor. 412 E). Of the other speakers in this dialogue, nothing definite is known except what may be inferred from the present work.
d Cf. Mor. 235 F, where it is an anonymous saying; but the Life of Cleomenes, ii (xxiii=805 d) also attributes it to Leonidas.
e The authorship of this work has been endlessly disputed,
WHETHER LAND OR SEA ANIMALS ARE CLEVERER

(The speakers in the dialogue are Autobulus, a Soclarus, b Optatus, Aristotimus, Phaedimus, and Heracleon. c)

1. AUTOBULUS. When Leonidas was asked what sort of a person he considered Tyrtaeus to be, he replied, "A good poet to whet the souls of young men," d on the ground that by means of verses the poet inspired in young men keenness, accompanied by ardour and ambition whereby they sacrificed themselves freely in battle. And I am very much afraid, my friends, that the Praise of Hunting e which was read aloud to us yesterday may so immoderately inflame our young men who like the sport that they will come to consider all other occupations as of minor, or of no, importance and concentrate on this. f As a matter of fact, I myself caught the old fever all over again but present opinion (pace Sinko, Eos, xv, pp. 113 ff. and Hubert, Woch. f. klass. Phil. xxviii, pp. 371 ff.) holds that it is Plutarch himself who wrote it (Schuster, op. cit. pp. 8 ff.). Bernardakis (vii, pp. 142-143) included this passage (959 b-d) as a fragment of the lost work.

f "There cannot be two passions more nearly resembling each other than hunting and philosophy" (Huxley, Hume, p. 139), and see Shorey's note on Plato, Republic, 432 b (L.C.L.); cf., however, Rep. 535 b, 549 a. See also Isocrates, Areopagiticus, 43 f.; Xenophon, Cynegetrica, i. 18; xii. 1. ff.; Cyr. viii. 1. 34-36; Pollux, preface to book v; the proems of Grattius, Nemesianus, Arrian, etc.
(959) ἡ λυκίαν ἐμπαθέστερος γεγονέναι καὶ ποθεῖν, ὥσπερ ἡ Εὐριπίδου Φαίδρα, "κυσὶ θωύξαι βαλιαῖς ἐλά
c φοις ἐγχρυμπόμενος ". οὕτως ἔδιγε μου πυκνά καὶ
πιθανὰ τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων ἐπάγων ὁ λόγος.

ΣΩΚΛΑΡΟΣ. Ἀληθῆ λέγεις, ὦ Αὐτόβουλε καὶ
γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐδοξὲ μοι τὸ ρητορικὸν ἐγείραι διὰ
χρόνου, χαριζόμενος καὶ συνεργίζων τοῖς μειρα-
κίοις. μάλιστα θῆς ήσθην τοὺς μονομάχους αὐτοῦ
παραθέντος, ὡς οὖν ἡ κιστα τὴν θηρευτικὴν ἄξιον
ἐπαίνεν, ὅτι τοῦ πεφυκότος ἐν ἤμιν ἡ μεμαθηκότος
χαίρειν μάχαις ἀνδρῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διὰ σιδήρου
τὸ πολὺ δεύτρο τρέψασα καθαρὰν παρέχει θέαν, ἀμα
τέχνης καὶ τόλμης νοῦν ἔχουσάς πρὸς ἀνόητον
ἰσχὺν καὶ βίαν ἀντιταττομένης καὶ ἐπαινοῦσας τὸ
Εὐριπίδειον

ἡ βραχὺ τοι σθένος ἀνέρος. ἀλλὰ
τοικεῖα πραπίδων
δεινὰ μὲν ἕρα πόντου
χθονίων τ' ἀερίων τε
δάμναται παιδεύματα.

2. ἈΤΤ. Καὶ μὴν ἐκείθεν, ὦ φίλε Σώκλαρε, φα-
σιν ἡκεῖν ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους τὴν ἀπάθειαν καὶ τὴν
ἀγριωτητὰ γευσαμένην φόνου καὶ προεθυσθέον ἐν
ταῖς ἁγραῖς καὶ τοῖς κυνηγεσίοις αἷμα καὶ τραύ-
ματα ζῴων μὴ δυσχεραίνειν ἀλλὰ χαίρειν σφαττο-
μένοις καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν. εἰθ' ὥσπερ ἐν 'Αθήναις

1 δεινὰ μὲν Mor. 98 r, from which several other corrections
have been introduced: δομᾶ.

a Cf. Hippolytus, 218 f. It follows from the fuller quota-
tion in Mor. 52 c that Plutarch's text of Euripides inver-
ted the order of these lines as given in our mss. of the tragedian.

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in spite of my years and longed, like Euripides' "Phaedra,

To halloo the hounds and chase the dappled deer:
so moved was I by the discourse as it brought its solid and convincing arguments to bear.

Soclarius. Exactly so, Autobulus. That reader yesterday seems to have roused his rhetoric from its long disuse to gratify the young men and share their vernal mood. I was particularly pleased with his introduction of gladiators and his argument that it is as good a reason as any to applaud hunting that after diverting to itself most of our natural or acquired pleasure in armed combats between human beings it affords an innocent spectacle of skill and intelligent courage pitted against witless force and violence. It agrees with that passage of Euripides:

Slight is the strength of men:
But through his mind's resource
He subdues the dread
Tribes of the deep and races
Bred on earth and in the air.

2. Autobulus. Yet that is the very source, my dear Soclarus, from which they say insensibility spread among men and the sort of savagery that learned the taste of slaughter on its hunting trips and has grown accustomed to feel no repugnance for the wounds and gore of beasts, but to take pleasure in their violent death. The next step is like what

b Presumably an autobiographical detail.

c The word is found only here, but may well be right if Plutarch is in a poetical, as well as a playful, humour.


e Cf. Porphyry, De Abstinencia, iii. 20.
(959) πρῶτος τις ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα συκοφάντης ἀποθανὼν ἐπιτύθειος ἐλέχθη, καὶ δεύτερος ὁμοίως καὶ τρίτος· ἐκ τούτου δὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ἡδὴ προϊόντες ἤπτοντο τῶν ἐπιεικῶν καὶ τέλος οὐδὲ τῶν ἀρίστων·

Ε ἀπέσχοντο πολιτῶν· οὕτως δὲ πρῶτος ἀρίκτον ἀνέλων ἡ λύκον εὐδοκίμησεν· ἡ βοῦς ἰσως ἡ σὺς αἰτίαν ἔσχε προκειμένων ἱερῶν γενεσάμενος ἐπιτύθειος ἀποθανεῖν· ἔλαφοι δὲ τουτεῦθεν ἡδὴ καὶ λαγωὶ καὶ δορκάδες ἑσθιόμενοι προβάτων καὶ κυνῶν ἐνιαχοῦ καὶ ἵππων κρέα προεύρησαν· "τιθασον δὲ χήνα καὶ περιστεράν, ἐφέστων οἰκετίν", τὸ 

Σοφοκλέους, οὐχ ὡς γαλαί καὶ αὐλουροι τροφῆς ἕνεκα διὰ λιμόν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἡδονὴ καὶ ὠψι διασπώντες καὶ κατακόπτοντες ὑπὸν ἐστὶ τῇ φύσι φοινικὸν καὶ θηριόδες ἐρωσαν καὶ πρὸς οἰκτον ἀκαμπτε' ἀπειράσαντο, τὸ δ' ἡμέρου τὸ πλείστον ἀπήμο- 

Γ βλυναν· ωσπερ αὐτὶ πάλιν οἱ Πνθαγορικοὶ τὴν εἰς τὰ θηρία πραότητα μελέτην ἐπούσαντο πρὸς τὸ

1 ἡ βοῦς ἰσως W. C. H.: καὶ βοῦς τις.
2 τὸ Σοφοκλέους Emperius: τε Σοφοκλῆς.
3 ἀκαμπτε' ἀπαθεῖς Porphyry.

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*a* See 998 b infra and cf. Müller, *Hist. Graec. Frag.* i, p. 269, Ephorus, frag. 125 : it is not, however, accepted as from Ephorus by Jacoby (cf. Sallust, *Catiline*, li. 28-31). We must remember, during the following discussion, that zoology used to be the handmaid of ethics.

*b* Cf. 993 b infra. The Age of Cronus, when beasts were unharmed, is admirably described in Plato, *Politicus*, 270 c ff.

*c* "That is, they put grain on the altar to make the animal volunteer, as it were, to die " (Post); and the consent of the victim was secured by pouring water on it to make it shake its head. See *Mor.* 729 f and the article "Opfer" in *RE*, xviii. 612.

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happened at Athens: the first man put to death by the Thirty was a certain informer who was said to deserve it, and so was the second and the third; but after that they went on, step by step, until they were laying hands on honest men and eventually did not spare even the best of the citizens. Just so the first man to kill a bear or a wolf won praise; and perhaps some cow or pig was condemned as suitable to slay because it had tasted the sacred meal placed before it. So from that point, as they now went on to eat the flesh of deer and hare and antelope, men were introduced to the consumption of sheep and, in some places, of dogs and horses.

The tame goose and the dove upon the hearth, as Sophocles says, were dismembered and carved for food—not that hunger compelled men as it does weasels and cats, but for pleasure and as an appetizer. Thus the brute and the natural lust to kill in man were fortified and rendered inflexible to pity, while gentleness was, for the most part, deadened. It was in this way, on the contrary, that the Pythagoreans to inculcate humanity and compassion. made a


\[e\] Cf. 991 D, 993 B, 995 C infra. Or "as meat to go with their bread": for fowl is not ordinarily an appetizer.

\[f\] From this point to the end of chapter 5 (963 f) the greater part of the text is excerpted by Porphyry, *De Abstinence*, iii. 20-24 (pp. 211-220, ed. Nauck). This indirect transmission, with its not infrequent changes, omissions, and variations, gives valuable evidence; but obvious errors on either side have not been mentioned here.

\[g\] Cf. 964 F, 993 A infra, and *Mor.* 86 D, 729 E. "The practice is correctly stated: the alleged motive is not. The taboo on meat stemmed from belief in the transmigration of souls" (Andrews).
'Αλλ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐν λόγοις γεγονότες λελήθησαι οὕτω τῶν χθές ἡμῖν γεγονότων οὕτω τῶν τάχα δὴ γενησομένων σήμερον ἀπηρτημένους. ἀποφημάμενοι γὰρ ἐχθές, ὡς οἴσθα, μετέχειν ἀμωσγέπως πάντα τὰ ζώα διανοίας καὶ λογισμὸν παρέσχομεν οὐκ ἁμοῦσον οὐδ' ἀχαρίν τοῖς θηρατικοῖς νεανίσκοις περὶ συνέσεως θηρίων ἐνάλων τε καὶ πεξών ἁμιλλαν ἡν σήμερον, ὥς έουκε, βραβεύσομεν, ἀν γε δὴ ταῖς προκλήσειν οἱ περὶ Ἀριστόβουλος Β τιμον καὶ Φαίδιμον ἐμμεῖνωσιν ἐκείνων γάρ ο μεν τῆς γῆς ως διαφέροντα τῷ φρονεῖν ζώα γεννώσης ἐπεδίδου τοῖς ἑταῖροις συνήγορον ἐαυτῶν, ὃ δὲ τῆς θαλάττησιν.

ΣΩΚΛ. Ἐμμεῖνοσιν, σὺν Αὐτόβουλος, καὶ ὅσον οὕτω πάρεισιν συντασσομένους γάρ αὐτοὺς ἐωθεὶν ἑώρων. ἀλλ' εἰ βούλει, πρὸ τοῦ ἀγώνος ὅσα τοῖς ἑχθές λόγοις προσήκοντα λεξθήναι καιρὸν οὐκ ἔσχεν ἡ σὺν οὖν καὶ παρὰ πότον οὐ μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐλέξθη πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀναλάβωμεν. ἐδόκει γὰρ τι πραγματικῶς οἶνον ἀντηχεῖν ἐκ τῆς Στοάς, ὡς τῷ θυτῷ τὸ ἄθανατον ἀντίκειται καὶ τῷ φθαρτῷ τὸ ἀφθαρτόν καὶ σῶματι γε τὸ ἀσώματον οὕτως ὑποτιμὴν καὶ λογικῷ χρήμα τὸ ἄλογον ἀντικείςθαι

1 ἀπηρτημένους Reiske: ἀπηρτημένοι. ἀποφημάμενοι added by Bernardakis after Wyttenbach.
2 ἐμμεῖνοσιν W. C. H.: ἐμμένουσιν.
3 σὺν] ἐν van Herwerden.
4 τῷ] γε τῷ Porphyry.

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practice of kindness to animals; for habituation has a strange power to lead men onward by a gradual familiarization of the feelings.

Well, we have somehow fallen unawares into a discussion not unconnected with what we said yesterday nor yet with the argument that is presently to take place to-day. Yesterday, as you know, we proposed the thesis that all animals partake in one way or another of reason and understanding, and thereby offered our young hunters a field of competition not lacking in either instruction or pleasure: the question whether land or sea animals have superior intelligence. This argument, it seems, we shall to-day adjudicate if Aristotimus and Phaedimus stand by their challenges; for Aristotimus put himself at his comrades' disposal to advocate the land as producer of animals with superior intelligence, while the other will be pleader for the sea.

Soclatus. They'll stand by their word, Autobulus; they'll be here any minute now. Early this morning I observed them both preparing for the fray. But, if you like, before the contest begins, let us review the discussion of whatever topics are germane to our conversation of yesterday, but were not then discussed, either because no occasion offered, or, since we were in our cups, were treated too lightly. I thought, in fact, that I caught the reverberation of a material objection from the Stoa \(^a\): just as the immortal is opposed to the mortal and the imperishable to the perishable, and, of course, the incorporeal to the corporeal; just so, if there is rationality, the irrational must exist as its opposite and counterpart.

(960) καὶ ἀνθυπάρχειν καὶ μὴ μόνην ἐν τοσαίσδε συζυγίας ἀτελῆ τήνδε λειπεσθαί καὶ πεπηρωμένην.

3. ΑΤΤ. Τίς δέ, ὦ φίλε Σώκλαρε, τοῦτ' ἥξιώσεν, ὅντος ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι τοῦ λογικοῦ, μὴ εἶναι τὸ ἀλογοῦ; πολὺ γάρ ἔστι καὶ ἁφθονον ἐν πάσι τοῖς ψυχῆς ἀμοιρούσι καὶ οὐδέν ἔτερας δεόμεθα πρὸς τὸ λογικὸν ἀντιθέσεως, ἀλλὰ πᾶν εὖθυς τὸ ἐμψυχον ὅς ἀλογον καὶ ἀνόητον ἀντίκειται τῷ μετὰ ψυχῆς λόγον ἔχοντι καὶ διάνοιαν. εἰ δέ τις ἄξιοι μὴ κολοβοῦν εἶναι τὴν φύσιν ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐμψυχον φύσιν ἔχειν τὸ μὲν λογικὸν τὸ δ' ἀλογον, ἔτερος δ' ἀξιώσει τὴν ἐμψυχον φύσιν ἔχειν τὸ μὲν φανταστικὸν τὸ δ' ἀφαντασίωτον, καὶ τὸ μὲν αἰσθητικὸν τὸ δ' ἀναίσθητον ἐνα ὃς τὰς ἀντιξύγους ταύτας καὶ ἀντιθέτους ἔξεις καὶ στερῆσεις περὶ ταύτον ἡ φύσις ἐχθή γένος οἰον ἰσορροπούσας. εἰ δ' ἄτοπος ὁ ζητῶν τοῦ ἐμψυχον τὸ μὲν αἰσθητικὸν τὸ δ' ἀναισθητον εἶναι, καὶ τὸ μὲν φαντασιούμενον τὸ δ' ἀφαντασίωτον, ὅτι πᾶν τὸ ἐμψυχον αἰσθητικὸν εὐθὺς εἶναι καὶ φανταστικὸν πέφυκεν, οὐδ' οὕτω εἰσεκιῶς ἀπαίτησαι τὸ μὲν λογικὸν εἶναι τοῦ ἐμψυχον τὸ δ' ἀλογον, πρὸς ἀνθρώπους διαλέγομενος μηδὲ ἐν οἰομένους αἰσθήσεως μετέχειν ὁ μὴ καὶ συνέσεως, μηδ' εἶναι ζῷον ὧ μὴ δόξα τις καὶ

1 οὕδεν Porphyry: οὖδ' ἔτι.
2 ἰσορροπούσας] ἰσορρόπους Porphyry, who adds ἀλλ' ἄτοπον τοῦτο γε.

There seems to be a great deal more anti-Stoic polemic
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This alone, among all these pairings, must not be left incomplete and mutilated.

3. AUTOBULUS." But whoever, my dear Soclarus, maintained that, while rationality exists in the universe, there is nothing irrational? For there is a plentiful abundance of the irrational in all things that are not endowed with a soul; we need no other sort of counterpart for the rational: everything that is soulless, since it has no reason or intelligence, is by definition in opposition to that which, together with a soul, possesses also reason and understanding. Yet suppose someone were to maintain that nature must not be left maimed, but that that part of nature which is endowed with a soul should have its irrational as well as its rational aspect, someone else is bound to maintain that nature endowed with a soul must have both an imaginative and an unimaginative part, and both a sentient part and an insentient. They want nature, they say, to have these counteractive and contraposed positives and negatives of the same kind counterbalanced, as it were. But if it is ridiculous to require an antithesis of sentient and insentient within the class of living things, or an antithesis of imaginative and unimaginative, seeing that it is the nature of every creature with a soul to be sentient and imaginative from the hour of its birth, so he, also, is unreasonable who demands a division of the living into a rational and an irrational part—and that, too, when he is arguing with men who believe that nothing is endowed with sensation which does not also partake of intelligence and that there is no living thing which does not naturally

in the following speeches than von Arnim has admitted into his compilation. See especially the notes on 961 c ff. infra.
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Ε λογισμὸς οὕσπερ αἰσθησις καὶ ὀρμῆ κατὰ φύσιν πάρεστιν. ἡ γὰρ φύσις, ἢν ἔνεκά του καὶ πρὸς τι πάντα ποιεῖν ὅρθως λέγουσιν, οὐκ ἐπὶ ψυλῷ τῷ πάσχον τι αἰσθάνεσθαι τὸ ξῷον αἰσθητικον ἐποίησεν. ἀλλ' οὖν των μὲν οἰκείων πρὸς αὐτὸ πολλῶν οὖν των δ' ἀλλοτρίων, οὐδ' ἀκαρές ἦν περιείναι μὴ μαθόντι τὰ μὲν φυλάττεσθαι τοῖς δὲ συμφέρεσθαι. τὴν μὲν οὖν γνώσιν ἀμφοῖν ὁμοίως ἡ αἴσθησις ἐκάστῳ παρέχει. τὰς δ' ἐπομένας τῇ αἰσθήσει τῶν μὲν ὕφελίμων λήψεις καὶ διώξεις, διακρούσεις δὲ καὶ φυγὰς τῶν ὀλεθρίων καὶ λυπηρῶν οὐδεμία

Γ μηχανή παρείναι2 τοῖς μὴ λογίζεσθαι τι καὶ κρίνειν καὶ μνημονεύειν καὶ προσέχειν πεφυκόσιν. ἀλλ' ὅν ἄν ἀφέλης παντάπασι προσδοκιαν μνήμην πρόθεσιν παρασκευὴν τὸ ἐλπίζειν τὸ δεδοικέναι τὸ ἐπιθυμεῖν τὸ ἀσχάλλειν, οὔτ' ὅμματων ὀφέλος οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς παρόντων οὔτ' ὅτων· αἰσθήσεως τε πάσης καὶ φαντασίας τὸ χρώμενον οὐκ ἐχούσης ἀπηλλάχθαι 961 βέλτιον ἢ πονεῖν καὶ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ ἀλγεῖν, ὃ διακρούσεται ταύτα μὴ παρόντος.

Καὶ τοῦ Στράτωνος γε τοῦ φυσικοῦ λόγος ἔστιν ἀποδεικνύων ὡς οὐδ' αἰσθάνεσθαι τὸ παράπαν ἀνευ τοῦ νοείν ὑπάρχει. καὶ γὰρ γράμματα πολλάκις ἐπιπορευομένους τῇ ὀφεὶ καὶ λόγοι προσπίπτοντες τῇ ἀκοῇ διαλανθάνουσιν ἡμᾶς καὶ διαφεύγουσι πρὸς έτέρους τὸν νοῦν ἔχοντας; εἰτ' αὖθις ἐπανήλθε καὶ

1 πάσχον τι Reiske: πάσχοντι (πάσχειν καὶ Porphyry).
2 παρείναι added by Porphyry.

α Aristotle and Theophrastus passim; cf. also Mor. 646 c, 698 b.
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possess both opinion and reason, just as it has sensation and appetite. For nature, which, they \(^a\) rightly say, does everything with some purpose and to some end, did not create the sentient creature merely to be sentient when something happens to it. No, for there are in the world many things friendly to it, many also hostile; and it could not survive for a moment if it had not learned to give the one sort a wide berth while freely mixing with the other. It is, to be sure, sensation that enables each creature to recognize both kinds; but the acts of seizing or pursuing that ensue upon the perception of what is beneficial, as well as the eluding or fleeing of what is destructive or painful, could by no means occur in creatures naturally incapable of some sort of reasoning and judging, remembering and attending. Those beings, then, which you deprive of all expectation, memory, design, or preparation, and of all hopes, fears, desires, or griefs—they will have no use for eyes or ears either, even though they have them. Indeed, it would be better to be rid of all sensation and imagination that has nothing to make use of it, rather than to know toil and distress and pain while not possessing any means of averting them.

There is, in fact, a work of Strato,\(^b\) the natural philosopher, which proves that it is impossible to have sensation at all without some action of the intelligence. Often, it is true, while we are busy reading, the letters may fall on our eyes, or words may fall on our ears, which escape our attention since our minds are intent on other things; but later the mind recovers, shifts its course, and follows up every

\(^b\) Frag. 112, ed. Wehrli (Die Schule des Aristoteles, v, p. 34).
(961) μεταθεῖ καὶ διώκει τῶν προειμένων ἕκαστον ἀνα-
λεγόμενος: ἢ καὶ λέλεκται

νοὺς ὀρὴ καὶ νοὺς ἀκούει, τάλλα ² κωφὰ καὶ τυφλά, ὡς τοῦ περὶ τὰ ὀμματα καὶ ὅτα πάθους, ἂν μὴ
παρῇ τὸ φρονοῦν, αἰσθησιν οὐ ποιοῦντος. διὸ καὶ
Β Κλεομένης ὁ βασιλεὺς, παρὰ πότων εὐδοκιμοῦντος
ἀκροάματος, ἐρωτηθεῖς εἰ μὴ φαίνεται σπουδαῖον,
ἐκέλευσεν ἑκείνους σκοπεῖν, αὐτὸς ³ γὰρ ἐν Πελο-
ποννῆσῳ τὸν νοῦν ἔχειν. ὁθεν ἀνάγκη πᾶσιν, οἷς
τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ νοεῖν ύπάρχειν, εἰ 
τῷ νοεῖν αἰσθάνεσθαι πεφύκαμεν.

"Εστω δὲ μὴ δείσθαι τοῦ νοῦ τὴν αἰσθήσιν πρὸς
τὸ αὐτῆς ἔργον. ἀλλ' ὅταν γε τῷ ζῷῳ πρὸς τὸ
οἴκειον καὶ τάλλοτριον ἡ αἰσθήσις ἐνεργοδομεῖν
diαφορὰν ἀπέλθη, τί τὸ μημονεύον ἔστιν ἡδῆ καί
dεδιὸς τὰ λυποῦντα καὶ ποθοῦν τὰ ὡφέλιμα καὶ, μὴ
C παρόντων, ὅπως παρέσται μηχανώμενον εἰν αὐτοῖς
καὶ παρασκευαζόμενον ὀμνητήματι καὶ καταφυγας
καὶ θήρατρα πάλιν αὐτοῖς ἀλωσομένοις ⁴ καὶ ἀπο-
δράσεις τῶν ἐπιτιθεμένων: καὶ ταυτί γε ⁵ κάκεινοι
λέγοντες ἀποκαίνουσιν, ἐν ταῖς ἐισαγωγαῖς ἐκά-
stote τὴν "πρόθεσιν" ὄριζόμενοι "σημείωσιν

¹ προειμένων Kronenberg: προειμένων (προειρημένων Por-
phyry: παρειμένων Nauck).
² τάλλα Meziriacus: τά δ' ἄλλα.
³ αὐτὸς Porphyry: αὐτὸν.
⁴ τοῖς ἀλωσίων Porphyry.
⁵ καὶ ταυτί γε ἱ.καίτοι γε Porphyry.

α A frequently occurring quotation, attributed to Epi-
charmus in Mor. 336 b (Kaibel, Com. Graec. Frag. i, p. 137, 330
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detail that had been neglected; and this is the meaning of the saying:

Mind has sight and Mind has hearing;
Everything else is deaf and blind,

indicating that the impact on eyes and ears brings no perception if the understanding is not present. For this reason also King Cleomenes, when a recital made at a banquet was applauded and he was asked if it did not seem excellent, replied that the others must judge, for his mind was in the Peloponnesus. So that, if we are so constituted that to have sensation we must have understanding, then it must follow that all creatures which have sensation can also understand.

But let us grant that sensation needs no help of intelligence to perform its own function; nevertheless, when the perception that has caused an animal to distinguish between what is friendly and what is hostile is gone, what is it that from this time on remembers the distinction, fears the painful, and wants the beneficial? And, if what it wants is not there, what is there in animals that devises means of acquiring it and providing lairs and hiding-places—both traps for prey and places of refuge from attackers? And yet those very authors rasp our ears by repeatedly defining in their Introductions "purpose" as "an indication of intent to complete," frag. 249; Diels, Frag. der Vorsok. i, p. 200, frag. 12); see also Mor. 98 c and 975 b infra. The fullest interpretation is that of Schottlaender, Hermes, lxii, pp. 437 f.; and see also Wehrli's note, pp. 72 f.


c Or "elementary treatises": titles used by Chrysippus (von Arnim, op. cit. ii, pp. 6 f.; iii, p. 196).

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(961) ἐπιτελειώσεως," τὴν δ' "ἐπιβολήν" "ὁρμήν πρὸ ὀρμής," "παρασκευήν" δὲ "πράξειν πρὸ πράξεως," "μνήμην" δὲ "κατάληψιν ἀξιώματος παρελημθότος, οὐ τὸ παρόν ἐξ αἰσθήσεως κατελήφθη." τούτων γὰρ οὐδὲν ὁ τι μὴ λογικὸν ἔστι, καὶ πάντα τοῖς ζῷοις ὑπάρχει πάσιν ὀσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς νοήσεις, ἂς ἐναποκεμένας μὲν D "ἐννοιας" καλοῦσι, κινομένας δὲ "διανοήσεις." τὰ δὲ πάθη σύμπαντα κοινῶς "κρίσεις φαύλας καὶ δόξας" ὀμολογούντες εἶναι, θαυμαστῶν ὅτι δὴ παραρῶσιν ἐν τοῖς θηρίοις ἔργα καὶ κινήματα πολλὰ μὲν θυμῶν πολλὰ δὲ φόβων καὶ ναὶ μὰ. Δία φθόνων καὶ ξηλοτυπιῶν ἀυτοὶ δὲ καὶ κύνας ἀμαρτάνοντας καὶ ἔποιοι κολάζουσιν, οὐ διὰ κενῆς ἄλλ' ἐπὶ σωφρονισμῷ, λύπην δ' ἀληθῶν ἐμποιοῦντες αὐτοῖς, ἣν μετάνοιαν ὁνομάζομεν.

'Ηδονής δὲ τῇ μὲν2 δ' ὠτῶν ὄνομα κήλησις ἐστὶ τῇ δὲ δ' ὀμμάτων γοητεία: χρωνται δ' ἐκατέρας3 ἐπὶ τὰ θηρία. κηλοῦνται μὲν γὰρ ἔλαφοι καὶ Ε ἔποιοι σύριγξι καὶ αὐλοῖς καὶ τοὺς παγούρους ἐκ τῶν χηραμῶν ἀνακαλοῦνται βιαζόμενοι ταῖς φῶτιγξι,5 καὶ τὴν θρίσσαν ἀδόντων καὶ κροτοῦντων

1 μὰ] ὦν Porphyry.
2 τῇ μὲν... τῇ δὲ Bernardakis: τῷ μὲν... τῷ δὲ (τῆσ μὲν... τῆς δὲ Porphyry).
3 ἐκατέρας Porphyry: ἐκατέρας.
4 μὲν γὰρ Hirschig: μὲν.
5 βιαζόμενοι ταῖς φῶτιγξι] μελιζόμενοι ταῖς σύριγξι Porphyry.

"That is, by sensation we apprehend the proposition "Socrates is snub-nosed," by memory the proposition "Socrates was snub-nosed." The literature on this complicated subject has been collected and analysed in Class. Rev. lxvi (1952), pp. 146 f.
"design" as "an impulse before an impulse," "preparation" as "an act before an act," and "memory" as "an apprehension of a proposition in the past tense of which the present tense has been apprehended by perception." For there is not one of these terms that does not belong to logic; and the acts are all present in all animals as, of course, are cognitions which, while inactive, they call "notions," but when they are once put into action, "concepts." And though they admit that emotions one and all are "false judgements and seeming truths," it is extraordinary that they obviously fail to note many things that animals do and many of their movements that show anger or fear or, so help me, envy or jealousy. They themselves punish dogs and horses that make mistakes, not idly but to discipline them; they are creating in them through pain a feeling of sorrow, which we call repentance.

Now pleasure that is received through the ears is a means of enchantment, while that which comes through the eyes is a kind of magic: they use both kinds against animals. For deer and horses are bewitched by pipes and flutes, and crabs are involuntarily lured from their holes by lotus pipes; it is also reported that shad will rise to the surface

\[\text{Cf. von Arnim, op. cit. i, pp. 50 f.; iii, pp. 92 ff.; see also Mor. 449 c.}\]

\[\text{Cf. Aelian, De Natura Animal, xii. 44, 46; Antigonus, Hist. Mirab. 29.}\]

\[\text{Dolphins also are caught by music: Pliny, Nat. Hist. xi. 137.}\]

\[\text{As described in Athenaeus, 182 e (cf. 175 e); cf. Aelian, De Natura Animal, vi. 31. \"Better would be 'Egyptian flutes,' as the term 'lotus' is somewhat misleading. It is probably the wood of the nettle-tree, Celtis australis, that is indicated\" (Andrews).}\]
(961) ἀναδύεσθαι καὶ προϊέναι λέγοντες, ὁ δὲ ὁτός αὐτῷ πάλιν ἀλίσκεται γοητεύομενος, ὅρχουμένων ἐν ὄψει μεθ᾽ ἥρων ἀμά ρυθμῶ γλυχόμενος τοὺς ὀμοὺς συνδιαστρέφειν.\(^1\)

Οἱ δὲ περὶ τούτων ἀβελτέρως λέγοντες μήθ᾽ ἠδὲ-σθαι μήτε θυμοῦσθαι μήτε φοβεῖσθαι μήτε παρα-σκευάζεσθαι μήτε μνημονεύειν, ἀλλ᾽ "ὡσανεὶ μνημονεύειν" τὴν μέλλον καὶ "ὡσανεὶ παρα-σκευάζεσθαι" τὴν χειλιδόνα καὶ "ὡσανεὶ θυμοῦ-σθαι" τὸν λέοντα καὶ "ὡσανεὶ φοβεῖσθαι" τὴν οὐδὲνον, οὐκ οὐδα τὶ χρήσονται τοῖς λέγοντι μήτε βλέπειν μήτ᾽ ἄκοιν ἀλλ᾽ "ὡσανεὶ βλέπειν" αὐτὰ καὶ "ὡσανεὶ ἄκοιν," μηδὲ φωνεῖν ἀλλ᾽ "ὡσανεὶ φωνεῖν," μηδ᾽ ὅλως ζῆν ἀλλ᾽ "ὡσανεὶ ζῆν"· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐκείνων οὐ μᾶλλον ἐστὶ λεγόμενα παρὰ τὴν ἐνάργειαν, ὅς ἐγὼ πειθομαί.

4. ΣΩΚΛ. Καμὲ τούνν, ὁ Ἀβτόβουλε, ταῦτά γε τίθει πειθόμενον· τὸ δὲ τοῦς ἀνθρωπίνους ἦθεσι

962 καὶ βίοις καὶ πράξεις καὶ διαιτίας τὰ τῶν ζώων παρατιθέναι ἄλλην τε πολλὴν ἐνορῶν\(^3\) φλαυρότητα καὶ τῆς ἀρέτης, πρὸς ἧν ὁ λόγος γέγονε, μηδένι

\(^1\) συνδιαστρέφειν Hubert (Ad Mor. 705 Α): εὗ διαφέρειν (συνδιαφέρειν) Kronenberg).

\(^2\) μήτε. . . μήτ᾽ Hirschig: μηδὲ. . . μηδ᾽.

\(^3\) ἐνορῶν Bernardakis from Porphyry: ἐν ὅλω.

\(^a\) Cf. Aelian, De Natura Animal. vi. 32; Athenaeus, 328 f., on the trichis, which is a kind of thrissa (cf. Athenaeus, 328 c); and see Mair on Oppian, Hal. i. 244 (L.C.L.).

\(^b\) (cf. Mor. 52 b (where the L.C.L., probably wrongly, reads "the ape"); 705 Α: Athenaeus, 390 f; Aelian, De Natura Animal. xv. 28; Pliny, Nat. Hist. x. 68; Aristotle, Historia Animal. viii. 13 (597 b 22 ff.) and the other 334
and approach when there is singing and clapping.\(^a\)
The horned owl,\(^b\) again, can be caught by the magic of movement, as he strives to twist his shoulders in delighted rhythm to the movements of men dancing before him.

As for those who foolishly affirm that animals do not feel pleasure or anger or fear or make preparations or remember, but that the bee "as it were"\(^c\) remembers and the swallow "as it were" prepares her nest and the lion "as it were" grows angry and the deer "as it were" is frightened—I don’t know what they will do about those who say that beasts do not see or hear, but "as it were" hear and see; that they have no cry but "as it were"; nor do they live at all but "as it were." For these last statements (or so I believe) are no more contrary to plain evidence than those that they have made.

4. **socalarus.** Well, Autobulus, you may count me also as one who believes your statements; yet on comparing the ways of beasts with human customs and lives, with human actions and manner of living, I find not only many other defects in animals, but this especially: they do not explicitly aim at virtue,\(^d\) for which purpose reason itself exists; nor do they

references of Hubert at *Mor.* 705 a and Gulick on Athenaeus, 629 f. Contrast Aelian, *De Natura Animal.* i. 39, on doves. Porphyry omits this sentence.

\(^a\) A favourite expression of Aristotle’s; but it is the Stoics who are being reproved here (cf. von Arnim, *S. V. F.* ii, p. 240, Chrysippus, frag. 887). This seems to be the only appearance of the word in Plutarch, unless Pohlenz is right in conjecturing it at *Mor.* 600 r, or Rasmus at 1054 c in other Stoic quotations.

\(^b\) On animals possessing *aretê* see Aelian’s preface to the first book of *De Natura Animal.*; cf. also *Mor.* 986 r *infra; al.*
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(962) ἐμφανῇ1 στοχασμὸν αὐτῶν μηδὲ προκοπὴν μηδ’ ὀρέξιν, ἀπορῶ πῶς ἡ φύσις ἐδώκε τὴν ἀρχὴν αὑτοῖς,2 ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος ἐξικέσθαι μὴ δυναμένοις.

Ἀττ. Ἀλλὰ τούτο μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνοι, ὁ Σῶκλαρε, τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀτοπον εἶναι δοκεῖ· τὴν γοῦν πρὸς τὰ ἐγγόνα φιλοστοργίαν ἀρχὴν μὲν ἢμῖν κουνιώνας καὶ δικαιοσύνης τιθέμενοι, πολλὴν δὲ τοῖς ζῴοις καὶ ἰαχυράν ὀρώντες παροῦσαν, οὐ

Β φασιν αὐτοῖς οὖν ἀξιοῦσι μετεῖναι δικαιοσύνης. ἡμιόνοις δὲ τῶν γενετηκῶν μορίων οὐδὲν ἐνδεί· καὶ γὰρ αἰδοία καὶ μήτρας καὶ τὸ χρῆσθαι μεθ’ ἡδονῆς τούτοις ἔχουσαι πρὸς τὸ τέλος οὐκ ἔξυκνοινται τῆς γενέσεως.3 σκόπει δ’ ἄλλως, μὴ καὶ καταγέλαστον ἔστι τοὺς Σωκράτας καὶ τοὺς Πλάτωνας οὐδέν ἐλαφροτέρα· κακία τοῦ τυχόντος ἀνδραπόδου συνεῖναι φάσκειν,4 ἀλλ’ ὀμοίως ἀφρονας εἶναι καὶ ἀκολάστοςς καὶ ἀδίκους, ἐἰτα τῶν θηρίων αἰτιᾶσθαι τὸ μὴ καθαρὸν5 μηδ’ ἀπηκριβωμένον πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὡς στέρησιν6 οὐχὶ φαυλότητα λόγου καὶ ἀσθένειαν, καὶ ταύτα τὴν7 κακίαν ὀμολογοῦντας εἶναι λογικὴν, οὐ πάν θηρίων ἀναπέπλησται καὶ γὰρ δειλίαν πολλοῖς καὶ ἀκολασίαν ἀδίκιαν τε καὶ κακόνοιαν8 ὀρῶμεν ἐνυπάρχοντας.9 ὃ δ’ ἀξίων τὸ μὴ πεφυκὸς ὀρθότητα λόγου δέχεσθαι μηδὲ λόγον δέχεσθαι10

1 ἐμφανῇ Porphyry: ἐμφήνῃ.
2 αὑτοῖς] τοῖς Porphyry.
3 γενέσεως] γεννήσεως Hartnau.
4 φάσκειν Porphyry: φάσκοντας.
5 καθαρὸν] καθάρειον Kronenberg.
6 ὡς στέρησιν Porphyry: ὡσπερ.
7 καὶ ταύτα τὴν Porphyry: καὶ ταύτην.
8 κακόνοιαν Porphyry: κακοῆσθειαν.
9 ἐνυπάρχοντας Meziriacus: ὑπάρχοντας.
10 μηδὲ λόγον δέχεσθαι added by Porphyry’s mss.
make any progress in virtue or have any bent for it; so that I fail to see how Nature can have given them even elementary reason, seeing that they cannot achieve its end.

AUTOBULUS. But neither does this, Soclarus, seem absurd to those very opponents of ours; for while they postulate that love of one's offspring is the very foundation of our social life and administration of justice, and observe that animals possess such love in a very marked degree, yet they assert and hold that animals have no part in justice. Now mules are not deficient in organs; they have, in fact, genitals and wombs and are able to use them with pleasure, yet cannot attain the end of generation. Consider another approach: is it not ridiculous to keep affirming that men like Socrates and Plato are involved in vice no less vicious than that of any slave you please, that they are just as foolish and intemperate and unjust, and at the same time to stigmatize the alloyed and imprecise virtue of animals as absence of reason rather than as its imperfection or weakness? And this, though they acknowledge that vice is a fault of reason and that all animals are infected with vice: many, in fact, we observe to be guilty of cowardice and intemperance, injustice and malice. He, then, who holds that what is not fitted by nature to receive the perfection of reason does not even

\(^a\) See Mor. 495 c and the whole fragment, De Amore Prolis (493 a—497 e).

\(^b\) Cf. Aristotle, De Generatione Animal. ii. 7 (746 b 15 ff.), ii. 8 (747 a 23 ff.); for Aristotle's criticism of Empedocles' theory see H. Cherniss, Aristotle's Criticism of the Pre-socratics, p. 143, n. 573. Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 173, mentions some cases of the fertility of mules, see also Cicero, De Divinatione, i. 36: ii. 49; Herodotus, iii. 151 ff.

\(^c\) Cf. Cicero, De Finibus, iv. 21.
(962) πρῶτον μὲν οὖν διαφέρει τοῦ μήτε πίθηκον αὐσχορής φύσει μετέχειν μήτε χελώνην βραδυτήτος ἄξιοντος, ὅτι μηδὲ κάλλος ἐπιδεκτικὰ μηδὲ τάχος ἐστὶν· ἐπειτα τὴν διαφορὰν ἐμποδῶν οὖσαν οὐ συνορᾶ· λόγος μὲν γὰρ ἐγγίνεται φύσει, σπουδαῖος δὲ λόγος καὶ τέλειος εἶ ἐπιμελείας καὶ διδασκαλίας· διὸ τοῦ λογικοῦ πάσι τοῖς ἐμψύχοις μέτεστιν. ἦν δὲ ξητοῦσιν ὀρθότητα καὶ σοφίαν οὐδ' ἀνθρωπον εἰπεῖν κεκτημένον ἔχουσιν. 2 ὡς γὰρ 3 ὀφεισ ἐστιν

πρὸς ὁμιλίας ἔρακες βλέποντας καὶ ἔτη τιγες οὖν ἀντὶ πέτονται καὶ πέρικες), οὖνος οὖν παντὶ λογικῷ μέτεστιν ὀσαύτως τῆς εὐρομενῆς 4 το ἀκρον εὐστροφίας καὶ οξύτητος· ἐπεὶ δείγματά γε πολλὰ κοινωνίας καὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ τοῦ πανούργου περὶ τοὺς πορισμοὺς καὶ τὰς οἰκονομίας, ὀσπερ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἄδικιας δειλίας ἀβελτερίας, ἐνεστὶν αὐτοῖς. καὶ μαρτυρεῖ τὸ νυνὶ πεποιηκὸς ἐν τοῖς νεανίσκοις τῆν ἀμίλλαν· ῥός γὰρ οὕσης τοῦ ὀμιλοφορᾶς, οἱ μὲν τὰ χερσαία φασὶν οἱ δὲ τὰ θαλάσσια

Ε μᾶλλον προῆχθαι φύσει πρὸς ἀρετῆν· ὃ δὴ καὶ δῆλον ἐστι, παραβαλλομένων πελαργοῖς ἑπτὼν ποταμῶν (οἱ μὲν γὰρ τρέφουσι τοὺς πατέρας, οἱ δ' ἀποκτεινούσιν ἑνα τὰς μητέρας ὑχεύσι) καὶ περι-

1 δο Porphyry: διά.
2 ἔχουσιν Porphyry adds καν μυρίῳ δε ὄσων.
3 ὡς γὰρ Meziriacus: ὠσπερ.
4 εὐρομενῆς δεχομενῆς Porphyry.

a Cf. Diogenes Laertius, vii. 54.
b Cf. Cicero, De Natura Deorum, ii. 13. 34.
c Cf. 992 ν infra.
receive any reason at all is, in the first place, no better than one who asserts that apes are not naturally ugly or tortoises naturally slow for the reason that they are not capable of possessing beauty or speed. In the second place, he fails to observe the distinction which is right before his eyes: mere reason is implanted by nature, but real and perfect reason $^a$ is the product of care and education. And this is why every living creature has the faculty of reasoning; but if what they seek is true reason and wisdom, not even man may be said to possess it.$^b$

For as one capacity for seeing or flying differs from another (hawks and cicadas do not see alike, nor do eagles and partridges fly alike), so also not every reasoning creature has in the same way a mental dexterity or acumen that has attained perfection. For just as there are many examples in animals of social instincts and bravery and ingenuity in ways and means and in domestic arrangements, so, on the other hand, there are many examples of the opposite: injustice, cowardliness, stupidity.$^c$ And the very factor which brought about our young men’s contest to-day provides confirmation. It is on an assumption of difference that the two sides assert, one that land animals, the other that sea animals, are naturally more advanced toward virtue. This is clear also if you contrast hippopotamuses $^d$ with storks $^e$: the latter support their fathers, while the former kill them $^f$ in order to consort with their mothers. The

$^a$ Cf. Herodotus, ii. 71; Aristotle, *Historia Animal*, ii. 7 (502 a 9-15), though the latter passage may be interpolated. Porphyry reads “contrast river-horses with land-horses.”


$^c$ And eat them: Aelian, *De Natura Animal*. vii. 19.
(962) στεραίς περιδίκων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀφαινίζουσι τὰ ὠά καὶ διαφθείρουσι, τῆς θηλείας, ὅταν ἐπωάζη, μὴ προσ-
δεχομένης τὴν ὀχείαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ διαδέχονται τὴν ἐπι-
μελείαν, ἐν μέρει θάλποντες τὰ ὠά καὶ ψωμίζουσι πρότεροι τὰ νεόττια, καὶ τὴν θηλείαν, εάν πλείονα
χρόνον ἀποπλανηθῆ, κόπτων δ ἄρρην εἰσελαύνει
酐 πρὸς τὰ ὠά καὶ τοὺς νεόττους. ὅνοις δὲ καὶ προ-
βάτοις Αντίπατρος ἐγκαλῶν ὀλυγωρίαν καθαρότη-
τος οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως 2 παρείδη τὰς λύγκας 3 καὶ τὰς
χελιδόνας, ὡς αἱ μὲν ἐκτοπίζουσι παντάπασι κρύπ-
tουσαι καὶ ἀφαινίζουσι τὸ λυγκούριον, 4 αἱ δὲ χελи-
δόνες ἔξω στρεφομένους διδάσκουσι τοὺς νεόττους
ἀφέναι τὸ περίττυμα. 5

Καίτοι δύκα τί δένδρον δένδρον 6 οὐ λέγομεν ἀμα-
θέστερον, ὡς κυνὸς πρόβατον οὐδὲ λαχάνον λάχανον
963 ἀναιδρότερον, ὡς ἔλαφον λέοντος; ἦ καθάπερ ἐν
τοῖς ἀκινήτοις ἐτέροις ἐτέρου βραδύτερον οὐκ ἐστιν
οὐδὲ μικροφωνότερον ἐν τοῖς ἀναύδοις, οὕτως οὐδὲ
δειλότερον 7 οὐδὲ νωθρότερον οὐδ' ἀκρατέστερον,
οἴς 8 μὴ φύσει πᾶσιν 9 ἡ τοῦ φρονεῖν δύναμις; ἄλλοις

1 So Porphyry: τὰς θηλείας, ὅταν ἐπωάζωσιν οὐ προσδεχο-

μέναις.
2 οἴδ' ὅπως Nauck: οἶδα πᾶσιν (οἴδεν ὅπως Porphyry).
3 λύγκας Hercher: λύγκας.
4 λυγκούριον Nauck: λυγκούριον.
5 περίττυμα Porphyry: περίττυμα.
6 δένδρον δένδρον Benseler: δένδρον δένδρον.
7 δειλότερον Porphyry: δειλότερον.
8 οἶς] ὅπως Porphyry. 9 πᾶσιν] πάρεστιν Reiske.

a Cf. Aristotle, Historia Animal, vi. 4 (562 b 17); Aelian,
De Natura Animali. iii. 45.
b Cf. Aristotle, Historia Animal, ix. 8 (613 b 27 ff.); 
Aelian, De Natura Animali. iii. 16, and cf. iv. 1, 16; of pea-

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same is true if you compare doves\textsuperscript{a} with partridges\textsuperscript{b}; for the partridge cock steals the eggs and destroys them since the female will not consort with him while she is sitting, whereas male doves assume a part in the care of the nest, taking turns at keeping the eggs warm and being themselves the first to feed the fledglings; and if the female happens to be away for too long a time, the male strikes her with his beak and drives her back to her eggs or squabs. And while Antipater\textsuperscript{c} was reproaching asses and sheep for their neglect of cleanliness, I don't know how he happened to overlook lynxes and swallows\textsuperscript{d}; for lynxes dispose of their excrement by concealing and doing away with it, while swallows teach their nestlings to turn tail and void themselves outward.

Why, moreover, do we not say that one tree is less intelligent than another, as a sheep is by comparison with a dog; or one vegetable more cowardly than another, as a stag is by comparison with a lion? Is the reason not that, just as it is impossible to call one immovable object slower than another, or one dumb thing more mute than another, so among all the creatures to whom Nature has not given the faculty of understanding, we cannot say that one is more cowardly or more slothful or more intemperate? Whereas it

\textsuperscript{c} Von Arnim, S.V.F. iii, p. 251, Antipater of Tarsus, frag. 47. We know from Plutarch's \textit{Actia Physica}, 38 that Antipater wrote a book on animals. On the other hand, Dyroff (Blätter f. d. Bay. Gymn. xxiii, 1897, p. 403) argued for Antipater of Tyre: he believed, in fact, that the present work was mainly directed against this Antipater. Schuster, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 77, has shown this to be unlikely.

\textsuperscript{d} Cf. Aristotle, \textit{Historia Animal}. ix. 7 (612 b 30 f.); Plutarch, \textit{Mor.} 727 d-e; Pliny, \textit{Nat. Hist.} x. 92; Philo, 22 (p. 111).
(963) δ' ἄλλως κατὰ τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ ἦττον παροῦσα τὰς ὀρωμένας διαφορὰς πεποίηκεν.

5. σκλ. Ἀλλὰ θαυμαστῶν ὁσον ἄνθρωπος εὐμαθείας καὶ ἀγνινοίᾳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ κοινωνίαν διαφέρει τῶν ζῴων.

αὐτ. Καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνων, ὃ ἑταίρε, πολλὰ τούτῳ μὲν μεγέθει καὶ ποδωκεία τούτῳ δ’ ὀψεως ῥώμη καὶ ἀκοῆς ἀκριβείᾳ πάντας ἄνθρωπος ἀπολέλυτεν, ἀλλ’ οὐ διὰ τούτο τυφλός οὐδ’ ἀδύνατος οὐδ’

Β ἄτοτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἑστιν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ θέομεν εἰ καὶ βραδύτερον ἑλάφων, καὶ βλέπομεν εἰ καὶ χείρον ἑράκων. ὡς φύσις ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἀπεστέρησεν, καίτοι τὸ μηθὲν ἐν τούτοις πρὸς ἐλέφαντα καὶ κάμηλον ὄντας. οὐκοῦν ὁμοίως μηδὲ τὰ θηρία λέγωμεν, εἰ νωθρότερον φρονεῖ καὶ κάκιον διανοεῖται, μὴ διανοεῖσθαι μηδὲ φρονεῖν ὅλως μηδὲ κεκτήσθαι λόγον, ἀσθενή δὲ κεκτήσθαι καὶ θολερόν, ὡς περ ὁφθαλμὸν ἀμβλυώττοντα καὶ τεταραγμένον. εἰ δὲ μὴ πολλὰ τοὺς νεανίσκους αὐτίκα δὴ μᾶλα προσεδόκων τὸν μὲν ἐκ γῆς τὸν δ’ ἐκ θαλάττης

C ἑνταῦθα συνερανίσευς, ϕιλολόγους καὶ φιλογραμμάτους ὄντας, οὐκ ἂν ἀπεσχόμην σοι μυρία μὲν εὐμαθείας μυρία δ’ εὐφυίας παραδείγματα θηρίων διηγούμενος, ὃν ἁμαί καὶ σκάφαις ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν

1 εὐμαθεία Porphyry: εὐθεία.
2 κωφὸς οὐδὲ τυφλὸς Porphyry.
3 οὐδ’ ἄωτος omitted by Porphyry.
4 θέομεν . . . βλέπομεν εἰ καὶ χείρον ἑράκων] added from Porphyry; the miss. of Plutarch have only χείρον ἑράκων or χειρόν καὶ ὁμιμάτων.
5 συνερανίσεις?
6 σοι Bernardakis : σου.

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is the presence of understanding, of one kind in one animal, of another kind in another, and in varying degree, that has produced the observable differences.

5. sociarius. Yet it is astonishing how greatly man surpasses the animals in his capacity for learning and in sagacity and in the requirements of justice and social life.

autobulus. There are in fact, my friend, many animals which surpass all men, not only in bulk and swiftness, but also in keen sight and sharp hearing; but for all that man is not blind or crippled or earless. We can run, if less swiftly than deer; and see, if less keenly than hawks; nor has Nature deprived us of strength and bulk even though, by comparison with the elephant and the camel, we amount to nothing in these matters. In the same way, then, let us not say of beasts that they are completely lacking in intellect and understanding and do not possess reason even though their understanding is less acute and their intellect inferior to ours; what we should say is that their intellect is feeble and turbid, like a dim and clouded eye. And if I did not expect that our young men, learned and studious as they are, would very shortly present us here, one with a large collection of examples drawn from the land, the other with his from the sea, I should not have denied myself the pleasure of giving you countless examples of the docility and native capacity of beasts—of which fair Rome has provided us a reservoir from which to draw in pails and buckets,

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\[ b \] Pliny, \textit{Nat. Hist.} ii. 145, reports a singular deduction from this theme; see also Seneca, \textit{De Beneficiis}, ii. 29. 1.

\[ c \] See, for example, 968 c, \textit{infra}.
(963) βασιλικῶν ἀρώσασθαί θεάτρων ἢ καλῆ Ἡρώμη παρε-έσχηκε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖνοι νεαρὰ καὶ ἀθικτὰ πρὸς τὸν λόγον ἐγκαλλωπίσασθαι καταλείπωμεν.

Βοῦλομαι δὲ μικρὸν τι μετὰ σοὶ σκέψασθαι καθ’ ἄσυχίαν. οἴμαι γὰρ ἰδίαι τινὰ μέρους ἐκάστου καὶ δυνάμεως φαυλότητα καὶ πήρωσιν εἶναι καὶ νόσον, ὥσπερ ὀφθαλμοῦ τυφλότητα καὶ σκέλους χωλότητα καὶ ἡσυχία γλώσσης, ἀλλού δὲ μηδενὸς· οὗ γὰρ ἐστὶν τυφλότης μὴ πεφυκότος ὅραν οὐδὲ χωλότης μὴ πεφυκότος βαδίζειν, ψελλὸν τε τῶν ἀγλώσσων

Δ ἢ τῶν ἀναύδων φύσει τραυλὸν οὐδὲν ἂν προσεῖποις· οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ παραπαίνῃ ἢ παραφρονῇ ἢ μαινό-μενον, ὁ μὴ τὸ φρονεῖν καὶ διανοοῦσαι καὶ λογί-ζεσθαι κατὰ φύσιν ὑπῆρχεν· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐν πάθει ἡ γενέσθαι μὴ κεκτημένοιν δύναμιν ἃς τὸ πάθος ἡ στέρησις ἢ πήρωσις ἢ τις ἀλλή κάκωσις ἢ. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐντεύχηκας γε λυτύπωσες κυσίν, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἱπποῖς· ἔνιοι δὲ φασὶ καὶ βοῦς μαίνεσθαι καὶ ἀλώ-πεκας· ἂρκει δὲ τὸ τῶν κυνῶν, ὦ ἀναμφισβήτητον ἐστὶ, καὶ μαρτυρεῖ λόγον ἑχειν καὶ διάνοιαν οὐ φαύλην τὸ ζώων, ἃς παρατομεῖνς καὶ συγχεομένης

Ε ἡ λεγομένη λύττα καὶ μανία πάθος ἐστὶν· οὔτε γὰρ ὀφιν ἀλλοιομένην αὐτῶν ὁ άκοὴν ὀρώμεν· ἀλλ’ ὀσπερ ἀνθρώπου μελαγχολῶν ἡ παρακόπτοντος ὁ μὴ λέγων ἐξεστάναι καὶ διεφθορέναι τὸ φρονὶν καὶ λογιζόμενον καὶ μνημονεύον ἀτοπὸς ἐστὶ (καὶ ἡ συνήθεια ταῦτα γε κατηγορεῖ τῶν παρα-

1 καὶ Porphyry : ἤ.
2 εν πάθει Porphyry : εὑπἀθεὶς.
3 ἢν] εστὶν Porphyry.
4 ἐγὼ δὲ] ἔστι δέ Porphyry.
5 αὐτοῖς Porphyry.

a So too, perhaps, wolves in Theocritus, iv. 11.
as it were, from the imperial spectacles. Let us leave this subject, therefore, fresh and untouched for them to exercise their art upon in discourse.

There is, however, one small matter which I should like to discuss with you quietly. It is my opinion that each part and faculty has its own particular weakness or defect or ailment which appears in nothing else, as blindness in the eye, lameness in the leg, stuttering in the tongue. There can be no blindness in an organ which was not created to see, or lameness in a part which was not designed for walking; nor would you ever describe an animal without a tongue as stuttering, or one voiceless by nature as inarticulate. And in the same way you would not call delirious or witless or mad anything that was not endowed by Nature with reason or intelligence or understanding; for it is impossible to ail where you have no faculty of which the ailment is a deficiency or loss or some other kind of impairment. Yet certainly you have encountered mad dogs, and I have also known of mad horses; and there are some who say that cattle and foxes also go mad. But dogs will do, since no one questions the fact in their case, which provides evidence that the creature possesses reason and a by no means despicable intellectual faculty. What is called rabies and madness is an ailment of that faculty when it becomes disturbed and disordered. For we observe no derangement either of the dogs' sight or of their hearing; yet, just as when a human being suffers from melancholy or insanity, anyone is absurd who does not admit that it is the organ that thinks and reasons and remembers which has been displaced or damaged (we habitually say, in fact, of madmen that they "are
(963) φρονούντων μὴ εἶναι παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἄλλα ἐκπεπτω-κέναι τῶν λογισμῶν), οὐτωσ ὁ τοὺς λυπτώντας κύνας ἄλλο τι πεποιθέναι νομίζων ἄλλο οὐχὶ τῷ φρονεῖν πεφικότι καὶ λογίζεσθαι καὶ μνημονεύειν ἀναπεπλησμένους ταραχῆς καὶ παραπεπακότας. Γἀγγοεῖν τὰ φίλτατα πρόσωπα καὶ φεύγειν τὰς συντρόφους διαίτας, ἡ παροραί τὸ φαινόμενον έοικεν ᾧ συνορών2 τὸ γινόμενον ἐξ αὐτοῦ φιλονε-κείν πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

6. σοκα. Ὡρθῶς μοι δοκεῖς ὑπονοεῖν· οἱ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Στοὰς καὶ τοῦ Περιπάτου μάλιστα πρὸς τοῦνατιόν ἐντείνονται τῷ λόγῳ, τῆς δικαιοσύνης τὸν ἀν3 γένεσιν οὐκ ἔχουσης, ἀλλὰ παντάπασιν 964 ἀσυστάτου καὶ ἀνυπάρκτου γνωμένης, εἰ πάσι τοῖς ζῴους λόγου μέτεστι· γίνεται γὰρ ᾧ τὸ ἀδικεῖν ἀδικαίον ήμῖν ἀφειδούσαν αὐτῶν, ἡ μὴ χρωμένοις4 τὸ ζῆν ἀδύνατον καὶ ἀποροῦν καὶ τρόπον τινὰ θηρίων βίον βιωσόμεθα, τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν θηρίων προ-έμενοι χρείας. ἀφίμη γὰρ Νομάδων καὶ Τρωγλο-δυτῶν ἄνεξευρέτους ἀριθμῶν μυρίας, οἱ τροφὴν σάρκας ἄλλο δ’ οὐδὲν ἵσασιν· ἀλλ’ ήμῖν τοῖς ἡμέ-ρως καὶ φιλανθρώπως ζῆν δοκοῦσι ποιὸν ἔργον ἀπολείπεται γῆς, ποιὸν ἐν θαλάσσῃ, τὶς ἐναέριοι5 τέχνη, τὶς κόσμου διαίτης, ἀν ὁς προσήκει λογι-κοῖς καὶ ὁμοφύλοις πάσι τοῖς ζῷοις οὐδὲν ἀβλαβῶς.

Β καὶ μετ’ εὐλαβείας προσφέρεσθαι μάθωμεν, ἔργον ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν. οὐδὲν οὐν φάρμακον οὐδ’ ίαμα τῆς

1 τοῦ φρονεῖν πεφικότος . . . ἀναπεπλησμένον . . . παραπεπτω-κότος (leg. παραπεπακότος) Porphyry.
2 ᾧ συνορών Porphyry: μὴ συνορῶν.
4 χρωμένοις Porphyry: χρωμένων αὐτοῖς.
5 ἐναέριος Post: ἐν ὀρεσὶ (ἐναργῆς Porphyry).

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not themselves," but have "fallen out of their wits"), just so, whoever believes that rabid dogs have any other ailment than an affliction of their natural organ of judgement and reason and memory so that, when this has become infected with disorder and insanity, they no longer recognize beloved faces and shun their natural haunts—such a man, I say, either must be disregarding the evidence or, if he does take note of the conclusion to which it leads, must be quarreling with the truth.a

6. socLARUS. Your inference seems quite justified. For the Stoics b and Peripatetics strenuously argue on the other side, to the effect that justice could not then come into existence, but would remain completely without form or substance, if all the beasts partake of reason. For c either we are necessarily unjust if we do not spare them; or, if we do not take them for food, life becomes impracticable or impossible; in a sense we shall be living the life of beasts once we give up the use of beasts. d I omit the numberless hosts of Nomads and Troglodytes who know no other food but flesh. As for us who believe our lives to be civilized and humane, it is hard to say what pursuit on land or sea, what aerial art, e what refinement of living, is left to us if we are to learn to deal innocently and considerately with all creatures, as we are bound to if they possess reason and are of one stock with us. So we have no help or


b Von Arnim, S. V. F. iii, p. 90.

c From this point to the end of chapter 6 (964 c) the text is quoted by Porphyry, De Abstinencia, i. 4–6 (pp. 88–89, ed. Nauck): cf. the note on 959 f supra.

d Cf. Mor. 86 d.

e That is beasts, fish, and fowl in earth, sea, and air.
(964) ἡ τὸν βίον ἀναρουσίας ἢ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἀπορίας ἔχομεν, ἐπεὶ οὔτ' ἡμᾶς ὁ πόρος ἐκεῖνα γίνεται τὸ ἀδικεῖν· ὡς οὐ γε τοῦτον προέμενον τὸν λόγον οὔτ' έπειδή α' ἀλλήλους τὴν δικαιοσύνην παρεισέλθειν ὁδὸν ἀπολελοίπασι. 

7. α.ττ. Ταῦτα μεν, ὁ φίλε "τάπο καρδίας" εξειρήματη, οὐ μὴν δοτέον, ὡσπερ δυστοκούσιας γυναικών, περιφάσασθαι τοῖς φιλοσοφοῖς ὑκτόκιοι, ἵνα ραδίως καὶ ἀταλαπάρως τὸ δικαίον ἡμᾶς ἀποτέκωσιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτοὶ τῷ Ἕπικούρῳ διδόσασιν ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων σμίκρον οὕτω πράγμα καὶ φαύλον, ἀπομονοῦν παρεγκλίναι μίαν ἐπὶ τούλαχιστον, ὡς πάσα καὶ ξύσα κατὰ τύχην παρεισέλθῃ καὶ τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν μὴ ἀπολήκται· δεικνύει δὲ τὸ ἀδηλον ἢ λαμβάνειν τι τῶν προδήλων κελεύοντι

1 ἔχομεν Dübner: οὔδεν ἔχομεν. 
2 οὐ] οὗ Zeüs Porphyry: omitted by most mss. 
3 τῷ Porphyry: τι. 
4 οὔτε εὑρείαν Porphyry: οὔτε χρείαν. 
5 λυτῆν] λεπτῆν Porphyry. 
7 κατὰ τύχην Sandbach: καὶ τύχη.

a Works and Days, 277-279; cf. Aelian, De Natura Animal, vi. 50; Mair on Oppian, Hal. ii. 43.

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cure for this dilemma which either deprives us of life itself or of justice, unless we do preserve that ancient limitation and law by which, according to Hesiod, he who distinguished the natural kinds and gave each class its special domain:

To fish and beasts and winged birds allowed Licence to eat each other, for no right Exists among them: right, he gave to men for dealing with each other. Those who know nothing of right action toward us can receive no wrong from us either. For those who have rejected this argument have left no path, either broad or narrow, by which justice may slip in.

7. AutoBulus. This, my friend, has been spoken "from the heart." We certainly must not allow philosophers, as though they were women in difficult labour, to put about their necks a charm for speedy delivery so that they may bring justice to birth for us easily and without hard labour. For they themselves do not concede to Epicurus, for the sake of the highest considerations, a thing so small and trifling as the slightest deviation of a single atom—which would permit the stars and living creatures to slip in by chance and would preserve from destruction the principle of free will. But, seeing that they bid him demonstrate whatever is not obvious or take as his starting-point something that is obvious, how are they

b This seems to have been Plutarch’s own attitude toward the question, at least later on in life: see Life of Cato Maior, v. 2 (339 A).


d Usener, Epicurea, p. 351: see Bailey on Lucretius, ii. 216 ff.; Mor. 1015 b-c.
(964) πώς1 καὶ προσήκει τὸ περὶ τῶν ζώων ὑποτίθεσθαι πρὸς τὴν δικαιοσύνην, εἰ μήθ' ὁμολογεῖται μήτ',

D ἄλλως ἀποδεικνύουσιν; ἔχει γὰρ ἔτεραν ὁδὸν ἔκει τὸ δίκαιον οὐ σφαλεράν καὶ παράκρημνον οὖτω καὶ

dιὰ τῶν ἑναρχῶν ἀνατρεπομένων2 ἀγούσαν, ἀλλ' ἦν, Πλάτωνος ὕφηγουμένου, δείκνυσιν οὐμὸς νῖός, ὃς

Σώκλαρε, σος δ' ἐταῖρος, τοῖς μὴ φιλομαχεῖν ἐπε-

σθαι δὲ καὶ μανθάνειν βουλομένους. ἔτει τὸ γε μὴ

παντάπασι καθαρεύειν ἀδικίας τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὖτω

tὰ ζῶα μεταχειρίζομενον Ἔμπεδοκλῆς καὶ Ἡρά-

κλείτος ὡς ἄληθες προσδέχονται, πολλάκις ὀδυρό-

μενοι καὶ λοιδοροῦντες τὴν φύσιν, ὡς ἀνάγκην καὶ

Επόλεμον οὖσαν, ἀμιγές δὲ μηδὲν μηδὲ ἐλευκρίνες

ἔχουσαν ἀλλὰ διὰ πολλῶν κάδικων3 παθῶν περανο-

μένην. ὅποι καὶ τὴν γένεσιν αὐτὴν εἴξ ἀδικίας

συντυχάνειν λέγουσιν, τῷ θεντῷ συνερχομένου τοῦ

ἀθανάτου, καὶ τρέφεσθαι4 τὸ γεννώμενον5 παρὰ

φύσιν μέλεσι6 τοῦ γεννήσαντος ἀποστρωμένοις.

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τάτα μὲν ἄκρατα καὶ πικρὰ φαί-

νεται κατακόρως. ἐτέρα δ' ἐστὶν ἐμμελῆς παρη-

γορία, μήτε τῶν ζώων τὸν λόγον ἀφαιρομενή καὶ

σύζουσα χρωμένων αὐτοῖς ὡς7 προσήκει τὸ δίκαιον.

ἡν τῶν σοφῶν καὶ παλαιῶν εἰσαγόντων8 συστάσα

λαιμαργία μεθ' ἤδυπαθείας ἐξέβαλε καὶ ἡφάνισεν,

1 κελεύονσι πῶς added by Sandbach after Usener.
2 ἀνατρεπομένων Meziriacus: ἀνατρέπομενοι.
3 κάδικων Leonicus: καὶ δικαίων.
4 τρέφεσθαι Meziriacus: τέρπεσθαι.
5 γεννώμενον Reiske: γενόμενον.
6 μέλεσι] μέρεσι Emperius.
7 ὡς Meziriacus: πῶς.8 εἰσαγαγόντων Emperius.

a That they are irrational.
b For this difficult and corrupt passage the admirable
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in any position to make this statement about animals a
a basis of their own account of justice, when it is
neither generally accepted nor otherwise demonstr-
strated by them? b For justice has another way to
establish itself, a way which is neither so treacherous
nor so precipitous, nor is it a route lined with the
wreckage of obvious truths. It is the road which,
under the guidance of Plato, c my son and your com-
panion, d Soclarus, points out to those who have no
love of wrangling, but are willing to be led and to
learn. For certain it is that Empedocles e and Hera-
clitus f accept as true the charge that man is not
altogether innocent of injustice when he treats ani-
mals as he does; often and often do they lament and ex-
claim against Nature, declaring that she is "Neces-
sity" and "War," that she contains nothing unmixed
and free from tarnish, that her progress is marked
by many unjust inflictions. As an instance, say, even
birth itself springs from injustice, since it is a union
of mortal with immortal, and the offspring is nourished
unnaturally on members torn from the parent.

These strictures, however, seem to be unpalatably
strong and bitter; for there is an alternative, an
inoffensive formula which does not, on the one hand,
derive beasts of reason, yet does, on the other,
preserve the justice of those who make fit use of
them. When the wise men of old had introduced this,
glutony joined luxury to cancel and annul it; Pytha-

exposition and reconstruction of F. H. Sandbach (Class.
Quart. xxxv, p. 114) has been followed.

e Laws, 782 c.
d Plutarch himself; cf. Mor. 734 e.
e Diels-Kranz, Frag. der Vorsok. i, p. 366, frag. B 135:
and see Aristotle, Rhétoric. i. 13. 2 (1373 b 14).
f Diels-Kranz, op. cit. i, p. 169, frag. B 80; Bywater,
frag. 62.

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(964) αὖθις δὲ Πυθαγόρας ἀνελάμβανε, διδάσκων ὡφελεῖ·
ζητοὶς μὴ ἀδικοῦντας. οὐ γὰρ ἀδικοῦσιν οἱ τὰ μὲν
ἀμικτα καὶ βλαβερὰ κομιδῆ κολάζοντες καὶ ἀπο-
κτινύοντες, τὰ δὲ ἣμερα καὶ φιλάνθρωπα ποιούμενοι
τιθασά καὶ συνεργά χρείας, πρὸς ἥν ἔκαστον εὖ
πέφυκεν,

ἵππων ὄνων τ’ ὀχεῖα¹ καὶ ταύρων γονάς,
ὦν ὁ Αἰσχύλος Πρωμηθεὺς "δοῦναι" φησίν ἦμῶν
965 ἀντίδουλα καὶ πόνων ἐκδέκτορα·
κυσὶ δὲ χρώμενοι προφυλάττουσιν, αἰγάς τε καὶ
οἷς ἀμελγομέναις καὶ κειρομέναις² νέμοντες. οὐ γὰρ
ἀναρέεται τὸ ζῆν οὐδε βίος ἀπόλλυται τοῖς ἀνθρώ-
ποις, ἄν μὴ λοπάδας ἵθυων μηδ’ ἡπατα χηνῶν
ἐχωσι μηδ’ βοῦς μηδ’ ἐρίφους κατακόπτωσιν ἐπ’
εὐωχία, μηδ’ ἀλύνστε ἐν θεάτροις μηδ’ παίζοντες
ἐν θηραῖς τὰ μὲν ἀναγκάζωσι τολμᾶν ἄκοντα καὶ
μάχεσθαι, τὰ δὲ μηδ’ ἀμύνεσθαι πεφυκότα δια-
φθείρωσι. τὸν γὰρ παίζοντα καὶ τερπόμενον οἷμαι
συμπαίζουσι δεῖν χρήσαθαι καὶ ἱλαροῖς, οὐχ ὥσπερ

¹ τ’ ὀχεία Mor. 98 c: τε ὀχείαν.
² ἀμελγομέναις καὶ κειρομέναις Reiske: ἀμελγόμενα καὶ κειρό-
μενα.

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a Cf. 959 f supra: Mor. 729 e: frag. xxxiv. 145 (vol. VII,
p. 169 Bernardakis).

b Cf., e.g., Plato, Republic, 352 f.

c From the Prometheus Unbound, frag. 194 (Nauk, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 65): quoted again in Mor. 98 c.

d "There are significant undercurrents here. Of the
animals domesticated by man, Plutarch first mentions only
the horse, the ass, and the ox, noting their employment as
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goras, however, reintroduced it, teaching us how to profit without injustice. There is no injustice, surely, in punishing and slaying animals that are anti-social and merely injurious, while taming those that are gentle and friendly to man and making them our helpers in the tasks for which they are severally fitted by nature:

Offspring of horse and ass and seed of bulls which Aeschylus' Prometheus says that he bestowed on us

To serve us and relieve our labours;

and thus we make use of dogs as sentinels and keep herds of goats and sheep that are milked and shorn.

For living is not abolished nor life terminated when a man has no more platters of fish or pâté de foie gras or mincemeat of beef or kids' flesh for his banquets—or when he no longer, idling in the theatre or hunting for sport, compels some beasts against their will to stand their ground and fight, while he destroys others which have not the instinct to fight back even in their own defence. For I think sport should be joyful and between playmates who are merry on

servants of man, not as sources of food. Next come dogs, then goats and sheep. The key factor is that in the early period the cow, the sheep, and the goat were too valuable as sources of milk and wool to be recklessly slaughtered for the sake of their meat. The pig was the only large domestic animal useful almost solely as a source of meat” (Andrews).

e “Plutarch’s choice of examples of table luxury is apt. The enthusiasm of many Greek epicures for fish scandalized conservative philosophers. Pâté de foie gras ranked high as a delicacy, more especially in the Roman period; the mincemeat mentioned is surely the Roman isicia, dishes with finely minced beef or pork as the usual basis, many recipes for which appear in Apicius” (Andrews).
ο Βίων ἔλεγε τὰ παιδάρια παιζοντα τῶν βατράχων
toῖς λίθοις ἐφίσσθαι, τοὺς δὲ βατράχους μηκέτι
παιζοντας ἀλλ’ ἀλήθως ἀποθνήσκειν, οὕτω κυνη-
γεῖν καὶ ἀλιεύειν, δύναμένοις τερπομένους καὶ
ἀποθνήσκουσι, τοῖς δ’ ἀπὸ σκῦμνων καὶ νεοσῶν
ἐλεεινῶς ἁγομένους. οὐ γὰρ οἱ χρώμενοι ζῴοις
ἀδικοῦσιν, ἀλλ’ οἱ χρώμενοι βλαβερῶς καὶ ὀλυγώρως
καὶ μετ’ ὁμότητος.

8. σκλ. Ἐπίσχες, ὁ Λυτόβουλε, καὶ παρα-
βαλοῦ τὸ θυρίον τῆς κατηγορίας· ἐγγὺς γὰρ οἱ
tοῖς προσίστατες πολλοὶ καὶ θηρατικοὶ πάντες, οὕτω
μεταθείναι βάδιον οὕτε λυπεῖν ἀναγκαῖον.

Ἀττ. Ὀρθῶς παρανείπει· ἀλλ’ Εὐβίστονος μὲν εὖ
C οἶδα καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν ἀνεψιόν Ἀρίστωνα, τοὺς τε
Διονυσίον παίδας ἀπὸ Δελφῶν, Αἰακίδην καὶ
Ἀριστότιμον τοῦτον, εἶτα Νίκανδρον τὸν Εὐθυ-
δάμου, χερσαίας "δαήμονας" ἀγρας ὡς "Ομήρος
ἐφη, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς Ἀριστοτήμον γενήσο-
μένους· ὥσπερ αὖ πάλιν τοῦτο τοὺς νησιώτας καὶ
παραλίους, Ἡρακλέων τὸν Μεγαρόθεν καὶ Φιλό-
στρατον τὸν Εὔβοεα, "τοῖς ἀθλάσσια ἔργα μέ-
μηλε," Φαίδημος ἔχων περὶ αὐτὸν βαδίζει.

Τυδείδην δ’ οὖκ ἂν γνοίης ποτέρουι μετείη,
tοιοῦτοι τοῦ ὃμετέρον ἠλικιώτην Ὀπτᾶτον, ὃς "πολ-

1 τὸ θυρίον added by Salmassius, cf. Mor. 940 f.
2 Εὐβίστον Hatzidakis and Grüner: εὐβίστων.
3 Δελφῶν Leonicus: ἄδελφῶν.
4 δαήμονας Reiske: δαήμονα.
5 πρὸς Ἀριστότιμον Pohlenz: ἀριστότιμον.
6 τοῖς Reiske: τοῖς τε.

* Bion and Xenocrates were almost alone among the
Greeks in expressing pity for animals.

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both sides, not the sort of which Bion a spoke when he remarked that boys throw stones at frogs for fun, but the frogs don’t die for “fun,” but in sober earnest. b Just so, in hunting and fishing, men amuse themselves with the suffering and death of animals, even tearing some of them piteously from their cubs and nestlings. The fact is that it is not those who make use of animals who do them wrong, but those who use them harmfully and heedlessly and in cruel ways.

8. sociarius. Restrain yourself, Autobulus, and turn off the flow of these accusations. c I see a good many gentlemen approaching who are all hunters; you will hardly convert them and you needn’t hurt their feelings.

autobulus. Thanks for the warning. Eubiotus, however, I know quite well and my cousin Ariston, and Aeacides and Aristotimus here, the sons of Dionysius of Delphi, and Nicander, the son of Euthydamus, all of them “expert,” as Homer d expresses it, in the chase by land—and for this reason they will be on Aristotimus’ side. So too yonder comes Phaedimus with the islanders and coast-dwellers about him, Heracleon from Megara and the Euboean Philostratus,

Whose hearts are on deeds of the sea. 

And here is my contemporary Optatus: like Diomedes, it is

Hard to tell the side on which he ranges, f


c Cf. Mor. 940 f supra. Possibly a reference to the water-clock used in the courts.

d Odyssey, viii. 159.

e Cf. Homer, Iliad, ii. 614; Odyssey, v. 67.

f Homer, Iliad, v. 85.
(965) λοίς μὲν ἐνάλοιν ὁρείον δὲ πολλοῖς ἄγρας ἀκροβινόις ἀγλαίσας τὴν Ἀγροτέραν ἀμα θεών καὶ 
Δίκτυναν, ἐνταῦθα δήλος ἐστι πρὸς ἡμᾶς βαδίζων, ὡς μηδετέρως προσθήσον ἐαυτόν· ἢ φαύλως εἰ- 
kάξομεν, ὦ φίλε Ὑππάτε, κοινὸν σε καὶ μέσον ἔσεσθαι τῶν νεανίσκων βραβεύτην;

οπτατος. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν ὅρθως ὑπονοεῖς, ὦ Αὐτόβουλε· πάλαι γὰρ ὁ Σόλωνος ἐκλέλουπε νόμος, 
tοὺς ἐν στάσει μηδετέρω μέρει προσγενομένους 
κολάζων.

αττ. Δεῦρο δὴ καθίζοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὅπως, εἰ 
deήσει μάρτυρος, μὴ τοῖς Ἀριστοτέλους πράγματα 
Ε βιβλίοις παρέχομεν, ἀλλὰ σοὶ δὲ ἐμπειρίαν ἐπό- 
μενοι τοῖς λεγομένοις ἀληθῶς τὴν ψῆφον ἐπιφε- 
rωμεν.

ΣΩΚΛ. Ἐξεν, ὦ ἄνδρες νέοι, γέγονε τις ὕμιν ὀμο- 
λογία περὶ τάξεως ;

ΦΑΙΔΙΜΟΣ. Γέγονεν, ὦ Σώκλαρε, πολλὴν παρα- 
σχοῦσα φιλονεικίαν· εἶτα κατ’ Εὐρυπίδην 
ὁ τῆς τύχης παῖς κλήρος 
ἐπὶ τοῦτω ταγεῖς τὰ χερσαία προεισάγει δίκαια² 
tῶν ἐνάλων.

ΣΩΚΛ. Καίρος οὖν, ὦ Ἀριστότιμε, σοὶ μὲν ἡδη 
λέγειν, ἡμῖν δ’ ἀκούειν.

1 ὁρείον δὲ πολλοῖς Dübner: ὁρείον πολλάκις.
2 προεισάγειν δικαῖοι Hutton and Reiske.

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a Verses of an unknown poet, as recognized by Hubert.
b Artemis: on the combined cults see Farnell, Cults of 
the Greek States, ii, pp. 425 ff.
c Life of Solon, xx. 1 (89 a-b); Mor. 550 c, 823 f.: 
Aristotle, Constitution of Athens, viii. 5. A fairly well 
attested law, but “ the name of Solon is used as the collective 
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for "with many a trophy from the sea, many likewise from the chase on the mountain, he has glorified"\textsuperscript{a} the goddess \textsuperscript{b} who is at once the Huntress and Dictynna. It is evident that he is coming to join us with no intention of attaching himself to either side. Or am I wrong, my dear Optatus, in supposing that you will be an impartial and neutral umpire between the young men?

OPTATUS. It is just as you suppose, Autobulus. Solon's \textsuperscript{c} law, which used to punish those who adhered to neither side in a factious outbreak, has long since fallen into disuse.

AUTOBULUS. Come over here, then, and take your place beside us so that, if we need evidence, we shall not have to disturb the tomes of Aristotle,\textsuperscript{d} but may follow you as expert and return a true verdict on the arguments.

SOCULARUS. Well then, my young friends, have you reached any agreement on procedure?

PHAEDIMUS. We have, Soclarus, though it occasioned considerable controversy; but at length, as Euripides \textsuperscript{e} has it,

\begin{quote}
The lot, the child of chance, made arbiter, admits into court the case of the land animals before that of creatures from the sea.
\end{quote}

SOCULARUS. The time has come, then, Aristotimus, for you to speak and us to hear.

term for the legislative activity of the past " (Linthor, \textit{Solon the Athenian}, p. 283). The penalty was disfranchisement. Lysias, xxxi, shows that this law was unknown in his time.

\textsuperscript{d} The zoological works, such as the Natural History and the \textit{Generation of Animals}, which once extended to fifty volumes (Pliny, \textit{Nat. Hist.} viii. 44).

\textsuperscript{e} Nauck, \textit{Trag. Graec. Frag.} p. 678, frag. 989; \textit{cf. Mor.} 644 D.
9. ARISTOTIMOS. Ἡ μὲν ἀγορὰ τοῖς δικαζομένοις . . . 1 τὰ δὲ τῶν γόνων ἀναλύσκει περὶ τὰς ἀποκυψεῖς ἐπιτρέχοντα τοῖς θήλεσι.

Κεστρέως δὲ γένος, οὗς περαιάς 2 καλοῦσιν, ἀπὸ τῆς μυξῆς τρέφονται τῆς ἕαυτῶν: ὁ δὲ πολὺς αὐτὸν ἑσθίων κάθηται χειμῶνος

ἐν τ’ ἀπύρω οἶκῳ καὶ ἐν ἦθεσι λευγαλέουσιν·

οὕτως ἀργὸς ἡ ἀναισθητος ἡ γαστρίμαργος ἡ πᾶσι τούτοις ἔνοχος ἐστι. διὸ καὶ Πλάτων αὐτοῖς πάλιν Φ ἀπείπε νομοθετῶν, μᾶλλον δ’ ἀπευξατο τοὺς νέους “θαλαττίουν θῆρας ἔρωτα λαβείν”· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀλκής γυμνάσιον οὐδὲ μελέτημα σοφίας οὐδ’ ὀσα πρὸς ἴσχυν ἡ τάχος ἡ κυνήσεις διαπονοῦσιν ἐν 3 τοῖς πρὸς λάβρακας ἡ γόγγρους ἡ σκάρους ἀγώσιν. 966 οὐσπερ ἐνταῦθα τὰ μὲν θυμοειδῆ τὸ φιλοκύνδυνον καὶ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον ἀσκεὶ τῶν μαχομένων, τὰ δὲ πανούργα τὸ φροντιστικὸν καὶ συνετῶν τῶν ἐπιτιθεμένων, τὰ δὲ ποδώκη τὸ ρωμαλέου καὶ φιλόπονον τῶν διωκόντων. καὶ ταῦτα τὸ κυνηγεῖν καλὸν πεποίηκε· τὸ δ’ ἀλλεῦειν ἀπ’ οὖδενός ἐνδοξον· οὖδὲ

1 Lacuna indicated by Leonicus.
2 περαιάς Aristotle (Historia Animal. 591 a 24): παρδίας.
3 ἐν added by Hartman.

a Here follows a long lacuna not indicated in the mss., the contents of which cannot even be conjectured.
b The milt is, of course, for the fertilization of the eggs, as Aristotinimus should have learned from Aristotle (e.g., Historia Animal. vi. 13, 567 b 3 ff.).
c On this type cf. also Aristotle, Historia Animal. viii. 2

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9. ARISTOTIMUS. The court is open for the litigants ... And there are some fish that waste their milk by pursuing the female while she is laying her eggs.

There is also a type of mullet called the grayfish which feeds on its own slime; and the octopus sits through the winter devouring himself,

In fireless home and domicile forlorn,

so lazy or insensible or gluttonous, or guilty of all of these charges, is he. So this also is the reason; again, why Plato in his Laws enjoined, or rather prayed, that his young men might not be seized by a love for sea hunting.” For there is no exercise in bravery or training in skill or anything that contributes to strength or fleetness or agility when men endure toil in contests with bass or conger or parrot-fish; whereas, in the chase on land, brave animals give play to the courageous and danger-loving qualities of those matched against them, crafty animals sharpen the wits and cunning of their attackers, while swift ones train the strength and perseverance of their pursuers. These are the qualities which have made hunting a noble sport, whereas there is nothing

(591 a 23) and in Athenaeus, vii. 307 a, where variants of the name occur. “The same name was applied to a type of shark as well as to a type of mullet, an apt application in both instances” (Andrews).

d See Mair on Oppian, Hal. ii. 643 (cf. iii. 432 ff.). Pliny (Nat. Hist. ix. 128, 131) tells the same story of the purplefish.

e Hesiod, Works and Days, 524; cf. 978 f infra and the note: Mor. 1059 ε: Aelian, De Natura Animal. i. 27, xiv. 26. See also Thompson on Aristotle, Historia Animal. viii. 2 (591 a 5); Mair on Oppian, Hal. ii. 244; Lucilius, frag. 925 Warmington (L.C.L.).

f Laws, 823 d-e.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(966) γε θεών τις ἤξιωσεν, ὡ ἑταίρε, "γογγροκτόνος," ὠσπερ ὁ 'Απόλλων "λυκοκτόνος," οὐδὲ "τριγλοβόλος," ὠσπερ "ἐλαφηβόλος" ἡ "Ἀρτεμις, λέγεσθαι. καὶ τι θαυμαστόν, ὅποι καὶ ἀνθρώπω σὺν μὲν καὶ ἐλαφόν καὶ νῆ Δία δορκάδα καὶ λαγών ἐλείν κάλλιον ἡ πρίασθαι; θύννον δὲ καὶ κολίαν καὶ ἀμίαν σεμιότερόν ἐστιν ὀψωνέων ἡ αὐτὸν

Β ἀλλείπειν. τὸ γὰρ ἀγεννής καὶ ἀμήχανον ὅλως καὶ ἀπάνουργον αὐτῶν αἰσχρὰν καὶ ἁζηλόν καὶ ἀνελεύθερον τὴν ἀγραν πεποίηκε.

10. Καθόλου δὲ, ἐπεὶ δὴ ὅν οἱ φιλόσοφοι δεικνύοντοι τὸ μετέχειν λόγου τὸ ζῶα, προβείσεις εἶς καὶ παρασκευαὶ καὶ μημαί καὶ πάθη καὶ τέκνων ἐπιμέλειαι καὶ χάριτες εἰς παθόντων καὶ μησικακίαι πρὸς τὸ λυπῆσαι, ἐτι δ' εὐρέσεις τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἐμφάσεις ἀρετῆς, οἴον ἀνδρείας κουνιών ἐγκρατείας μεγαλοφροσύνης; σκοπῶμεν τὰ ἐναλα, εἰ τούτων ἐκεῖνα μὲν οὐδεν ἣ ποὺ τι παντελῶς ἀμαυρὸν αἴθυγμα καὶ δυσθέατον ἐνιδεῖν μάλα μόλις τεκμαρμενέων δίδωσιν; έν δὲ τοῖς πεζοῖς καὶ γη- C γενέσι λαμπρὰ καὶ ἐναργή καὶ βέβαια παράδειγμα τῶν εἰρημένων ἑκάστου λαμβάνων ἐστι καὶ θεάσθαι.

1 μὲν Reiske: μόνον.
2 κολίαν Andrews: κάραβον.
3 αὐτὸν follows ἐστι in the mss.: transferred here by van Herwerden.
4 αἰσχρὸν Reiske: αἰσχρῶν.
5 τὸ Reiske: τὸ τε.

a For Apollo's connexion with wolves see Aelian, De Natura Animal. x. 26; al.
b On Artemis, "The Lady of Wild Beasts" (Hliad, xxi. 470), see Mnemosyne, 4th series, iv (1951), pp. 230 ff.
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glorious about fishing. No, and there’s not a god, my friend, who has allowed himself to be called “conger-killer,” as Apollo is “wolf-slayer,” or “sur-mullet-slayer,” as Artemis is “deer-slaying.” And what is surprising in this when it’s a more glorious thing for a man to have caught a boar or a stag or, so help me, a gazelle or a hare than to have bought one? As for your tunny and your mackerel and your bonito! They’re more honourable to buy than to catch oneself. For their lack of spirit or of any kind of resource or cunning has made the sport dishonourable, unfashionable, and illiberal.

10. In general, then, the evidence by which the philosophers demonstrate that beasts have their share of reason is their possession of purpose and preparation and memory and emotions and care for their young and gratitude for benefits and hostility to what has hurt them; to which may be added their ability to find what they need and their manifestations of good qualities, such as courage and sociability and continence and magnanimity. Let us ask ourselves if marine creatures exhibit any of these traits, or perhaps some suggestion of them, that is extremely faint and difficult to discern (the observer only coming at long last to the opinion that it may be descried); whereas in the case of terrestrial and earth-born animals it is easy to find remarkably plain and unanswerable proofs of every one of the points I have mentioned.

c This accusation is answered in 983 e-f infra.
d See 980 a infra.
e Cf. 961 c supra.
f See the essay De Amore Prolis, Mor. 493 a ff. passim.
g Plato, at least, held that, philosophically speaking, no beast is brave: Laches, 196 d; Republic, 430 b.
Πρώτον οὖν ὁρα προθέσεις καὶ παρασκευὰς ταύρων ἐπὶ μάχῃ κοινομένων καὶ κάπρων θηγόντων ὀδόνται: ἐλεφαντεῖς δέ, τῆς ὑλῆς ἢν ὀρύπτοντες ἢ κείροντες ἐσθίουσιν ἀμβλύν τὸν ὀδόντα ποιοῦσις ἀποτριβόμενον, τῷ ἐτέρῳ πρὸς ταύτα χρώντα, τὸν δ' ἔτερον ἐπάκμον ἄεὶ καὶ ὀξὺν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀμύνας φυλάττουσιν. ὁ δὲ λέων ἄεὶ βαδίζει συνεστραμμένοι τοῖς ποσίν, ἕντος ἀποκρύπτων τοὺς ὀνυχας, ἵνα μὴ τριβόμενοι τὴν ἀκμὴν ἀπαμβλύνωσι μηδὲ

D καταλείπωσιν εὐπορεῖαν τοῖς στιβευόμενιν· οὐ γὰρ ῥαδίως ὀνυχος εὐρίσκεται λεοντείου σημείον, ἀλλὰ μικροῖς καὶ τυφλοῖς ἱχνευσα ἐντυγχάνοντες ἀποπλανῶται καὶ διαμαρτάνουσιν. ὁ δ' ἱχνεύμων ἀκηκόατε δήποτεν ὡς οὐθὲν ἀπολείπει θωρακιζομένου πρὸς μάχην ὀπλίτου· τοσοῦτον ἰλύος περιβάλλεται καὶ περιπήγνυσι τῷ σώματι χυτώνα μέλλων ἐπιτίθεσθαι τῷ κροκοδέιλῳ. τάς δὲ χελιδόνων πρὸ τῆς τεκνοποιίας παρασκευὰς ὀρώμεν, ὡς εὖ τὰ στερεὰ κάρφη προὔποβαλλονται δίκην θεμελίων, εἶτα περιπλάττουσι τὰ κουφότερα καὶ πηλοῦ τυνες ἐχεκόλου δεομένην αἰσθώντα τὴν νεοτιάν, λίμνης ἢ θαλάττης ἐν χρῷ παραπτούμεναι Ἔφανοσι τοῖς πτίλοις ἐπιπολής, ὅσον νοτεραὶ, μὴ


a See Mair on Oppian, Cyn. ii. 57.
b Aelian, De Natura Animal, vi. 1; Philo, 51 (p. 125); Homer, Iliad, xiii. 474 f.
c Cf. Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 8; viii. 71 of the rhinoceros; 362
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In the first place, then, behold the purposeful demonstrations and preparations of bulls\(^a\) stirring up dust when intent on battle, and wild boars whetting their tusks.\(^b\) Since elephants' tusks are blunted by wear when, by digging or chopping, they fell the trees that feed them, they use only one tusk for this purpose and keep the other always pointed and sharp for defence.\(^c\) Lions\(^d\) always walk with paws clenched and claws retracted so that these may not be dulled by wear at the point or leave a plain trail for trackers; for it is not easy to find any trace of a lion's claw; on the contrary, any sign of a track that is found is so slight and obscure that hunters lose the trail and go astray. You have heard, I am sure, how the ichneumon\(^e\) girds itself for battle as thoroughly as any soldier putting on his armour, such a quantity of mud does it don and plaster about its body when it plans to attack the crocodile. Moreover, we see house-martins\(^f\) preparing for procreation: how well they lay the solid twigs at the bottom to serve as a foundation, then mould the lighter bits about them; and if they perceive that the nest needs a lump of mud to glue it together, they skim over a pond or lake, touching the water with only the tips of their feathers to make them moist, yet not heavy with


\(^a\) Cf. Mor. 520 r; Aelian, *De Natura Animal.* ix. 30.

\(^b\) See Thompson on Aristotle, *Historia Animal.* ix. 6 (612 a 16 ff.), where, however, the animal's opponent is the asp. (So also Aelian, *De Natura Animal.* iii. 22; v. 48; vi. 38.) But cf. 980 e infra; Aelian, *De Natura Animal.* viii. 25; x. 47; Nicander, *Theriaca,* 201.

\(^c\) Cf. Thompson on Aristotle, *Historia Animal.* ix. 7 (612 b 21 ff.); Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* x. 92; Philo, 22 (p. 110); *Yale Class. Studies,* xii. 139, on *Anth. Pal.* x. 4. 6.
(966) βαρείας γενέσθαι τῇ ὑγρότητι, συλλαβοῦσαι δὲ κονιορτὸν οὕτως ἐξαλείφουσι1 καὶ συνδέουσι τὰ χαλῶντα καὶ δισισθάνοντα: τῷ δὲ σχῆματι τούργον οὐ γωνιώδες οὐδὲ πολύπλευρον, ἀλλ’ ὦμαλὸν ὡς ἐνεστὶ μάλιστα καὶ σφαιροειδὲς ἀποτελοῦσι καὶ γὰρ μόνιμον καὶ χωρητικὸν τὸ τοιοῦτο καὶ τοῖς ἐπίβουλοι-νοοῦσι θηρίοις ἔξωθεν ἀντιλήψεις οὐ πάνω δίδωσι.

Τὰ δ’ ἄραχνης ἔργα, κοινοὶ ἅστοις γυναῖκι καὶ θήρας σαγγνευταῖς ἀρχέτυπον, οὐ καθ’ ἐν ἄν τις θαμάσεις: καὶ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ νήματος ἀκρίβεια καὶ τῆς Φ ύφῆς τὸ μὴ διεχεῖς μηδὲ στημονώδες ἀλλὰ λέονν συνέχειαν ὑμένος καὶ κόλλησιν ὑπὸ τινὸς ἀδήλως παραμεμυγμένης γλυσχρότητος ἀπειργασμένων, ἣ τε βαφῆ τῆς χρώσει ἐναέρον καὶ ἀχλυώδη ποιοῦσα τὴν ἔπιφάνειαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαθείν, αὐτῆ τε μάλιστα τάν-των ἢ τῆς μηχανῆς αυτῆς ἴμασχεία καὶ κυβέρνησις, ὅταν ἐνσχέθη τι τῶν ἀλωσιμων, ὀσπερ δεινοῦ σαγγνευτοῦ, πάντων συναιρεῖν εἰς ταὐτό2 καὶ συνάγειν 967 τὸ θήρατρον αἰσθανομένης καὶ φρονοῦσης, τῇ καθ’ ἡμέραν ὅσει καὶ θέα τοῦ γυνομένου πιστῶν ἔσχε τῶν λόγων. ἀλλ’ος δ’ ἂν ἐδόκει μῦθος, ὀσπερ ἡμῖν ἐδόκει τὸ τῶν ἐν Λιβύης κοράκων, οἱ ποτὸ τεθεμενοὶ λίθους ἐμβάλλουσιν ἀναπληροῦσε καὶ ἀνάγουσε τὸ ύδωρ, μέχρι ἂν ἐν ἐφικτῷ γένηται: εἰς μέντοι

1 ἐπαλείφουσι van Herwerden and some mss.
2 ταύτ’ Ρέισκε: ταύτ’ or ταύτα.

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1 θηρία may be “serpents” here, or any wild beast, perhaps, such as members of the cat family that relish a diet of birds.

b For a collection of the loci communes dealing with swallow, bee, ant, spider, etc., see Dickermann in Trans.

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dampness; then they scoop up dust and so smear over and bind together any parts that begin to sag or loosen. As for the shape of their work, it has no angles nor many sides, but is as smooth and circular as they can make it; such a shape is, in fact, both stable and capacious and provides no hold on the outside for scheming animals.a

There is more than one reason b for admiring spiders’ c webs, the common model for both women’s looms and fowlers’ d nets; for there is the fineness of the thread and the evenness of the weaving, which has no disconnected threads and nothing like a warp, but is wrought with the even continuity of a thin membrane and a tenacity that comes from a viscous substance inconspicuously worked in. Then too, there is the blending of the colours that gives it an airy, misty look, the better to let it go undetected; and most notable of all is the art itself, like a charioteer’s or a helmsman’s, with which the spinner handles her artifice. When a possible victim is entangled, she perceives it, and uses her wits, like a skilled handler of nets, to close the trap suddenly and make it tight. Since this is daily under our eyes and observation, my account is confirmed. Otherwise it would seem a mere fiction, as I formerly regarded the tale of the Libyan crows e which, when they are thirsty, throw stones into a pot to fill it and raise the water until it is within their reach; but later when I saw a dog

a Aristotle, Historia Animal. ix. 39 (623 a 7 ff.); Aelian, De Natura Animal. i. 21; Pliny, Nat. Hist. xi. 79-84; Philo, 17 (p. 107); Philostratus, Imagines, ii. 28.

d Commonly taken as “fishermen,” but this seems unlikely here.

e Cf. Anth. Pal. ix. 272; Aelian, De Natura Animal. ii. 48; Pliny, Nat. Hist. x. 125; Avianus, fable 27.
(967) κύνα θεασάμενος εν πλοίω, τῶν ναυτῶν μὴ παρόντων, εἰς ἐλαίον ἀμφορέως ἀποδεόμεις ἐμβάλλοντα τῶν χαλίκων, ἐθαύμασα πῶς νοεῖ καὶ συνήπη τῇ γινομένῃ ἐκθλυμίν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρυτέρων τοῖς κούφοτέροις ύφισταμένων.

"Ομοία δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν Κρητικῶν μελισσῶν καὶ Β τὰ τῶν ἐν Κυλικία χηνῶν· ἐκεῖναι μὲν γὰρ ἀνεμώδεσ τι μέλλουσαι κάμπτειν ἀκρωτήριον ἐρματίζουσιν εαυτᾶς, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παραφέρεσθαι, μικροῖς λυθίδοις· ὕπ' ὑπερβάλλοι τὸν Ταῦρον, εἰς τὸ στόμα λίθον εὑμεγέθη λαμβάνουσιν, οἷον ἐπιστομίζοντες αὐτῶν καὶ χαλυβόντες τὸ φιλόφων καὶ λάλον, ὅπως λάθωσι σιωπή παρελθόντες. τῶν δὲ γεράνων καὶ τὸ περὶ τὴν πτήσιν εὐδοκιμεῖ· πέτονται γὰρ, ὅταν ἡ πνεῦμα πολὺ καὶ τραχύς ἀήρ, οὐχ, ὡσηπερ εὐδίας οὐσις, μετωπηδὸν ἡ κόλπῳ μηνωειδοῦς περιφερείας, ἀλλ' εὔθως εἰς τρίγωνον συνάγουσαι σχίς οὐσις τῇ κορυφῇ τὸ πνεῦμα περιρρέον, ὅστε μὴ διασπᾶσθαι τὴν τάξιν. ὅταν δὲ κατάρωσιν ἐπὶ γῆν, αἴ προφυλακῆν ἔχουσα νυκτὸς ἐπὶ θατέρων σκέλους ὁχούνται τὸ σώμα, τῷ δ' ἐτέρῳ ποδὶ λίθον περιλαβοῦσαι κρατοῦσι· συνέχει1 γὰρ ὁ τῆς ἀρης τόνος ἐν τῷ μὴ καθεύδειν πολὺν χρόνον· ὅταν δ' ἀνώσι, ἐκπεσῶν ὁ λίθος ταχὺ διήγειρε τὴν προεμένην· ὅστε μὴ πάνυ θαυμαζέων τὸν Ἡρακλέους,

1 συνέχει Leonicus: συνεχής.

a Cf. Mor. 510 λ-η, which adds the detail that the geese's 366
on board ship, since the sailors were away, putting pebbles into a half empty jar of oil, I was amazed at its knowing that lighter substances are forced upward when the heavier settle to the bottom.

Similar tales are told of Cretan bees and of geese in Cilicia. When the bees are going to round some windy promontory, they ballast themselves with little stones so as not to be carried out to sea; while the geese, in fear of eagles, take a large stone in their beaks whenever they cross Mt. Taurus, as it were reining in and bridling their gaggling loquacity that they may pass over in silence unobserved. It is well known, too, how cranes behave when they fly. Whenever there is a high wind and rough weather they do not fly, as on fine days, in line abreast or in a crescent-shaped curve; but they form at once a compact triangle with the point cleaving the gale that streams past, so that there is no break in the formation. When they have descended to the ground, the sentinels that stand watch at night support themselves on one foot and with the other grasp a stone and hold it firmly; the tension of grasping this keeps them awake for a long time; but when they do relax, the stone escapes and quickly rouses the culprit. So that I am not at all surprised that flight is by night. Contrast Aelian, De Natura Animal. ii. 1, Pliny, Nat. Hist. x. 60, of cranes.

Aelian, De Natura Animal. v. 13; Pliny, Nat. Hist. xi. 24, and Ernout, ad loc. ; Dio Chrysostom, xlv. 7. Cf. 979 b infra, of the sea hedgehog; Pliny, Nat. Hist. x. 69.

c Cf. 979 b infra; Aelian, De Natura Animal. iii. 13; Pliny, Nat. Hist. x. 63, of geese; Mair on Oppian, Hal. i. 624; Lucan, v. 713 ff.

d Cf. 979 b infra; Aelian, loc. cit.; Pliny, Nat. Hist. x. 59.

e Cf. the anecdote of Alexander in Ammianus Marcellinus, xvi. 5. 4; of Aristotle in Diogenes Laertius, v. 16.
PLITARCH’S MORALIA

(967) εἰ τὸξα μασχάλη ὑποθεῖς καὶ
κραταίῳ περιβαλῶν βραχίονι,
eῦδει πιέζων χειρὶ δεξίᾳ ξύλον.

μηδ’ αὐτὸ πάλιν τοῦ πρῶτον¹ ὑπονοήσαντος ὀστρέου
μεμυκτός ἀνάπτυξιν ἐντυχόντα τοῖς ἐρωτιῶν σοφισμασίν· ὅταν γὰρ τὴν κόγχην καταπῆ μεμυκτίαν,
τὸ δ’ ἐνοχλούμενος ἐγκαρτερεῖ, μέχρι ἂν αὐθητῇ μαλασσομένην καὶ χαλῶσαν ὑπὸ τῆς θερμότητος· τότε δ’ ἐκβαλῶν κεχυνίαν καὶ ἀνεπασμενήν ἔξειλε τὸ ἐδώδμον.

11. Τὰς δὲ μυρμήκων οἰκονομίας καὶ παρασκευὰς ἐκφράσαι μὲν ἀκριβῶς ἀμήχανον, ὑπερβηναὶ δὲ παντελῶς ὅλγωρον· οὐδέν γὰρ οὔτω μικρὸν ἢ φύσει ἔχει μειζόνων καὶ καλλιόνων κάτοπτρον, ἀλλ’ ὁπερ ἐν σταγόνι καθαρὰ πάσης ἐνεστὶν ἄρετῆς ἐμφασίς, “ἐνθ’ ἐν μὲν φιλότης” τὸ κοινωνικόν, ἐν δ’ ἄνδρεώς εἰκὸν τὸ φιλόπονον· ἐνεστὶ δὲ πολλὰ μὲν ἐγκρατείας σπέρματα, πολλὰ δὲ φρονή-
Ε σεως καὶ δικαιοσύνης. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κλεάνθης ἔλεγε, καίπερ οὐ φάσκων μετέχειν λόγον τὰ ζώα, τουαυτὴ θεωρία παρατυχεῖν· μὐρμηκᾶς ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ μυρμηκιαν ἐτέραν μὐρμῆκα νεκρὸν φέροντας· ἀνιόντας οὖν ἐκ τῆς μυρμηκίας ἐνίους οἶνον ἐντυγχάνειν αὐτοῖς καὶ πάλιν κατέρχεσθαι· καὶ τοῦτο δὴς ἡ τρίς

¹ πρῶτον Benseler: πρῶτον.

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² That is, by dropping it in hot water.
³ Cf. Aelian, De Natura Animal. iii. 20; another procedure is described in v. 35. See also Pliny, Nat. Hist. x. 115, of the shoveller duck: Philo, 31 (p. 116); Antigonus, Hist. Mirab. 41; al. ² Homer, Iliad, xiv. 216.
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Heracles tucked his bow under his arm:

Embracing it with mighty arm he sleeps,
Keeping his right hand gripped about the club.  

Nor, again, am I surprised at the man who first guessed how to open an oyster when I read of the ingenuity of herons. For they swallow a closed mussel and endure the discomfort until they know that it has been softened and relaxed by their internal heat; then they disgorge it wide open and unfolded and extract the meat.

11. It is impossible to relate in full detail all the methods of production and storage practised by ants, but it would be careless to omit them entirely. Nature has, in fact, nowhere else so small a mirror of greater and nobler enterprises. Just as you may see greater things reflected in a drop of clear water, so among ants there exists the delineation of every virtue.

Love and affection are found, namely their social life. You may see, too, the reflection of courage in their persistence in hard labour. There are many seeds of temperance and many of prudence and justice. Now Cleanthes, even though he declared that animals are not endowed with reason, says that he witnessed the following spectacle: some ants came to a strange anthill carrying a dead ant. Other ants then emerged from the hill and seemed, as it were, to hold converse with the first party and then went back again. This happened

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c Cf. Plato, Laches, 192 B ff.: we have here the four Platonic virtues, with Love added.

(967) γενέσθαι: τέλος δὲ τοὺς μὲν κάτωθεν ἀνενεγκεῖν ὑσπερ λύτρα τοῦ νεκροῦ σκώληκα, τοὺς δὲ ἐκείνουν Φ ἀραμένους ἀποδόντας δὲ τὸν νεκρὸν οἴχεσθαι.

Τὸν δὲ πᾶσιν ἐμφαινὼν ἦ τε περὶ τὰς ἀπαντήσεις ἔστιν εὐγνωμοσύνη, τῶν μηδὲν φερόντων τοσὶν φέρουσιν ἐξισταμένων ὁδὸν καὶ παρελθεῖν διδόντων• αἱ τοὺς δυσφόρους καὶ δυσπαρακομίστων διαβρώσεις καὶ διαφέρεις, ὅπως εὐβάστακτα πλείοσι γένηται. τὰς δὲ τῶν σπερμάτων¹ διαθέσεις καὶ διαψύξεις ἐκτὸς υπεύθυνοι ποιεῖται σημείων ὁ "Ἀρατος· ἦ κοίλης μύρμηκες ὅχης ἐξ ὧνα πάντα θάσσον ἀνηλεγκαντο·

καὶ τινες οὐκ "ὡὰ" γράφοντοι, ἀλλ` "ἤια"² ὡς³ τοὺς ἀποκειμένους καρποὺς, ὅταν εὐρώτα συνά-968 γοντας αὐσθωνταί καὶ φοβηθοῦσι φθορὰν καὶ σήμιν, ἀναφερόντων. ὑπερβάλλει δὲ πᾶσαν ἐπίνουαν συνέ-σεως ἦ τοῦ πυροῦ τῆς βλαστήσεως προκατάληψις· οὐ γὰρ δὴ παραμένει ἕτερος οὐδ` ἀσηπτὸς ἀλλ` διαχεῖται καὶ γαλακτοῦτα μεταβάλλων εἰς τὸ φύειν· ἐν` οὖν μὴ γενόμενοι σπέρμα τὴν σιτίον χρείαν διαφθείρῃ, παραμένῃ δ` αὐτοῖς ἐδώδιμος, ἔξεσθώσι τὴν ἄρχην, ἀφ` ἦς τὸν βλαστὸν ὁ πυρὸς ἀφύσην.

¹ σπερμάτων] mss. have also κυμάτων and κερμάτων (κυμάτων Bernardakis).
² ἤια Leopardi: έα.
³ ὡς added by Wyttenbach.

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¹ Cf. Aelian, De Natura Animal, ii. 25.
³ Not οἷα, but ἐια: "What the ants really carry out in
two or three times until at last they brought up a grub to serve as the dead ant's ransom, whereupon the first party picked up the grub, handed over the corpse, and departed.

A matter obvious to everyone is the consideration ants show when they meet: those that bear no load always give way to those who have one and let them pass. Obvious also is the manner in which they gnaw through and dismember things that are difficult to carry or to convey past an obstacle, in order that they may make easy loads for several. And Aratus takes it to be a sign of rainy weather when they spread out their eggs and cool them in the open:

When from their hollow nest the ants in haste
Bring up their eggs;

and some do not write "eggs" here, but "provisions," in the sense of stored grain which, when they notice that it is growing mildewed and fear that it may decay and spoil, they bring up to the surface. But what goes beyond any other conception of their intelligence is their anticipation of the germination of wheat. You know, of course, that wheat does not remain permanently dry and stable, but expands and lactifies in the process of germination. In order, then, to keep it from running to seed and losing its value as food, and to keep it permanently edible, the ants eat out the germ from which springs the new shoot of wheat.

Aratus and Vergil is their pupas, but these are commonly called 'eggs' to this day (Platt, Class. Quart. v. p. 255). The two readings in this passage seem to show that Plutarch had at hand an edition with a commentary: cf. also 976 f infra, on the interpretation of Archilochus, and Mor. 22 b.

d Cf. Pliny, Nat. Hist. xi. 109, and Ernout ad loc.
The intricate galleries of anthills were used for purposes of literary comparisons by the ancients: see the fragment of Pherecrates in Mor. 1142 a and Aristophanes, Thesmophoriazusae, 100 (on Timotheis and Agathon respectively).

Aelian, De Natura Animal. vi. 43 divides into men’s apartments, women’s apartments, and storerooms; see also 372
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I do not approve of those who, to make a complete study of anthills, inspect them, as it were, anatomically. But, be that as it may, they report that the passage leading downward from the opening is not at all straight or easy for any other creature to traverse; it passes through turns and twists with branching tunnels and connecting galleries and terminates in three hollow cavities. One of these is their common dwelling-place, another serves as storeroom for provisions, while in the third they deposit the dying.

12. I don’t suppose that you will think it out of order if I introduce elephants directly on top of ants in order that we may concurrently scrutinize the nature of understanding in both the smallest and the largest of creatures, for it is neither suppressed in the latter nor deficient in the former. Let others, then, be astonished that elephants learn, or are taught, to exhibit in the theatre all the many postures and variations of movement that they do, these being so varied and so complicated to memorize and retain that they are not at all easy even for human artists. For my part, I find the beast’s understanding better manifested in his own spontaneous and uninstructed feelings and movements, in a pure, as it were, and undiluted state.

Well, not very long ago at Rome, where a large

Philo, 42 (p. 120), and Boulenger, Animal Mysteries, pp. 128 ff. for a modern account. On the social life of ants (and animals) as contrasted with that of humans see Dio Chrysostom, xl. 32, 40 f.; xlvi. 16.  

Cf. Mor. 98 E.

Cf. Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 6, which shows that Plutarch is drawing on literature, not personal observation; cf. also Aelian, De Natura Animal. ii. 11, for the elaborateness of the manoeuvres; Philostratus, Vita Apoll. ii. 13; Philo, 54 (p. 126); see also 992 b infra.
(968) σκομένων στάσεις τινάς ἰστασθαί1 παραβόλους καὶ κινήσεις δυσεξελίκτους ἀνακυκλεῖν, εἰς ὁ δυσμαθε- στατος ἄκοινω κακῶς ἐκάστοτε καὶ κολαζόμενος πολλάκις ὠφθη νυκτὸς αὐτὸς ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς τὴν Δ σελήνην ἀνατατόμενος τὰ μαθήματα καὶ μελετῶν.

Ἐν δὲ Συρίᾳ πρότερον Ἀγνων ἴστορεῖ, τρεφο- μένον κατ’ οἰκίαν ἐλέφαντος, τὸν ἐπιστάτην λαμ- βάνοντα κριθῶν μέτρον ὑφαιρέων καὶ χρεωκοπεῖν μέρος ἡμοῦ καθ’ ἡμέραν ἐπεὶ δὲ, τοῦ δεσπότου παρόντος ποτὲ καὶ θεωμένου, πάν τὸ μέτρον κατή- ῥασεν, ἐμβλέψαντα καὶ διαγαγόντα τὴν προβοσκίδα τῶν κριθῶν ἀποδιαστήσαι καὶ διαχωρίσαι τὸ μέρος, ὡς ἐνήν λογιώτατα κατειπόντα τοῦ ἐπιστάτου τὴν ἀδικιάν ἄλλον δὲ, ταῖς κριθαῖς λίθους καὶ γῆν εἰς τὸ μέτρον τοῦ ἐπιστάτου καταμιγνύοντος, ἐφο- μένων κρεών, δραξάμενον τῆς τέφρας ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς ἔτην χύτραν. ὁ δ’ ὑπὸ τῶν παιδαρίων προπηλακι- σθεὶς ἐν Ἀρώμη τοῖς γραφείοις τῆς προβοσκίδα κεντούντων διὸ συνελαβε μετέωρον ἐξάρας ἐπίδοξος ἡν ἀποτυπμανιεῖν2· κραυγῆς δὲ τῶν παρόντων γενο- μένης, ἀτρέμα πρὸς τὴν γῆν πάλιν ἀπηρείσατο καὶ παρῆλθεν, ἀρκοῦσαν ἡγοῦμενος δίκην τῷ τηλικοῦτῳ φοβηθῆμαι.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀγρίων καὶ αὐτονόμων ἄλλα τε θαυμάσια καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς διαβάσεις τῶν ποταμῶν ἰστοροῦσι· προδιαβάσαι γὰρ ἐπίδοιος αὐτὸν ὁ νεὼ-

1 ἰστασθαί Κασαυβον: κτάσθαι.
2 ἀποτυπμανιεῖν Κ. Κ. Η. from Mor. 170 Α: ἀποτυπμανί- σειν.

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a Of Tarsus, pupil of Carneades.
b Cf. Aelian, De Natura Animal. vi. 52.
number of elephants were being trained to assume
dangerous stances and wheel about in complicated
patterns, one of them, who was the slowest to learn
and was always being scolded and often punished,
was seen at night, alone by himself in the moonlight,
voluntarily rehearsing his lessons and practising
them.

Formerly in Syria, Hagnon \(^a\) tells us, an elephant
was brought up in its master's house and every day
the keeper, when he received a measure of barley,
would filch away and appropriate half of it; but
on one occasion, when the master was present and
watching, the keeper poured out the whole measure.
The elephant gave a look, raised its trunk, and made
two piles of the barley, setting aside half of it and
thus revealing as eloquently as could be the dis-
honesty of its keeper. And another elephant, whose
keeper used to mix stones and dirt in its barley
ration, when the keeper's meat was cooking, scooped
up some ashes and threw them into the pot.\(^b\) And
another in Rome, being tormented by little boys
who pricked its proboscis with their writing styluses,
grabbed one of them and raised him into the air as
if to dash him to death; but when the spectators
cried out, it gently set the child down on the ground
again and passed along, thinking it sufficient punis-
ment for one so young to have been frightened.

Concerning wild elephants who are self-governing
they tell many wonderful tales, particularly the one
about the fording of rivers \(^c\): the youngest and
smallest volunteers his services to go first into the

\(^a\) Pliny, \textit{Nat. Hist.} viii. 11, gives a different account; still
different is Aelian, \textit{De Natura Animal.} vii. 15, and \textit{cf.}
Philostratus, \textit{Vita Apoll.} ii. 15.
The authorities on Deucalion’s Flood are assembled by Frazer on Apollodorus, i. 7. 2 (L.C.L.), and more completely in his *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, i, pp. 146 ff. Plutarch is the only Greek author to add the Semitic dove story, though Lucian (*De Dea Syria*, 12 ff.) was to add to the other major contaminations.

Cf. 949 ν supra and the note.
stream. The others wait on the bank and observe the result, for if his back remains above water, those that are larger than he will have a wide margin of safety to give them confidence.

13. At this point in my discourse, I imagine that I shall do well not to omit the case of the fox, since it is so similar. Now the story-books tell us that when Deucalion released a dove from the ark, as long as she returned, it was a certain sign that the storm was still raging; but as soon as she flew away, it was a harbinger of fair weather. So even to this day the Thracians, whenever they propose crossing a frozen river, make use of a fox as an indicator of the solidity of the ice. The fox moves ahead slowly and lays her ear to the ice; if she perceives by the sound that the stream is running close underneath, judging that the frozen part has no great depth, but is only thin and insecure, she stands stock still and, if she is permitted, returns to the shore; but if she is reassured by the absence of noise, she crosses over. And let us not declare that this is a nicety of perception unaided by reason: it is, rather, a syllogistic conclusion developed from the evidence of perception: "What makes noise must be in motion; what is in motion is not frozen; what is not frozen is liquid; what is liquid gives way." So logicians assert that a dog, at a point where many paths split off, makes use of a multiple disjunctive argument and reasons with himself: "Either the wild beast has taken this

Specifically Chrysippus (cf. von Arnim, S. V. F. ii, pp. 726 ff.). Cf. Sextus Empiricus, Outlines of Pyrrhonism, i. 69 (the whole passage i. 62-72 is worth reading); Aelian, De Natura Animal, vi. 59; Philo, 45 (p. 122).

For the form of the syllogism see Diogenes Laertius, vii. 81.
(969) τήνδε: ἀλλὰ μὴν οὗτε τήνδε οὕτε τήνδε τὴν λοιπὴν ἀρα" ἦ τῆς μὲν αἰσθήσεως οὐδὲν ἢ τῆν πρόσληψιν διδοῦσιν, τοῦ δὲ λόγου τὰ λῆμματα καὶ τὸ συμπέρασμα τοῖς λῆμμασιν ἐπιφέροντος. οὐ μὴν δεῖται γε τοιαύτης μαρτυρίας οὐ κύων. ἴσως γάρ ἔστι καὶ κίβδηλος ἢ γὰρ ἀίσθησις αὐτὴ τοῖς ἵχνεσι καὶ τοῖς ῥεύμασι τοῦ θηρίου τὴν φυγὴν ἐπίδεικνυσθεῖσα, χαίρειν λέγουσα διεξευγμένοις ἀξιώμασι καὶ συμπεπλεγμένοις. δι᾽ ἄλλων δὲ πολλῶν ἐργῶν καὶ παθῶν καὶ καθηκόντων οὐτ᾽ ὀσφραντῶν οὐθ᾽ ὀρα- 

C τῶν ἄλλα διανοία καὶ λόγῳ μόνον πρακτῶν καὶ θεατῶν ὅντων κατίδεῡ ἐστι τὴν κυνὸς φύσιν οὐ τὰς μὲν ἐν ἀγραίς ἐγκατείς καὶ πειθαρχίας καὶ ἀγχυνοίας γελοίοις ἐσομαι λέγων πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοὺς ὀρῶντας αὐτὰ καθ᾽ ἱμέραν καὶ μεταχειριζομένους.

Κάλβου δὲ τοῦ Ὀμμαίου σφαγέντος ἐν τοῖς ἐμφύλιοις πολέμοις οὐδεὶς ἐδυναθη τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτελεὐ̄ν πρὸς τὸν κυνὸ φυλάττοντα καὶ προμαχόμενον αὐτοῦ κατακεντῆσαι περιστάντας. Πόρρος δ’ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅδε τὸν ἐνέτυχε κυνὶ φρουροῦσιν σῶμα πεθονεμένου, καὶ πυθόμενος τρίτην ἴμέραν ἐκείην ἄστων παραμένει καὶ μὴ ἐπολεῖπεν ὅτι τὸν μὲν νεκρὸν ἐκέλευσε θάψαι, τὸν δὲ κυνὰ μεθ’ ἐαυτοῦ κομίζειν ἐπιμελομένους. οὐλίγαισ

1 ἦ τήνδε added by early editors.
2 ῥεύμασι πινεύμασι Εἰμπερίου.
3 Κάλβου δὲ Dübner: οὐδὲ.
4 ἐπολεῖπεν Bernardakis: ἐπολεῖπεν.

b For the philosophic dog see Plato, op. cit. 376 b; the scholia of Olympiodorus add that Socrates' famous oath "by
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path, or this, or this. But surely it has not taken this, or this. Then it must have gone by the remaining road.” Perception here affords nothing but the minor premiss, while the force of reason gives the major premisses and adds the conclusion to the premisses. A dog, however, does not need such a testimonial, which is both false and fraudulent; for it is perception itself, by means of track and spoor,\(^a\) which indicates the way the creature fled; it does not bother with disjunctive and copulative propositions. The dog’s true capacity may be discerned from many other acts and reactions and the performance of duties, which are neither to be smelled out nor seen by the eye, but can be carried out or perceived only by the use of intelligence and reason.\(^b\) I should only make myself ridiculous if I described the dog’s self-control and obedience and sagacity on hunting parties to you who see and handle these matters every day.

There was a Roman named Calvus\(^c\) slain in the Civil Wars, but no one was able to cut off his head until they encircled and stabbed to death the dog who guarded his master and defended him. And King Pyrrhus\(^d\) on a journey chanced upon a dog guarding the body of a murdered man; in answer to his questions he was told that the dog had remained there without eating for three days and refused to leave. Pyrrhus gave orders for the corpse to be buried and the dog cared for and brought along the dog\(’\)s self-control and sagacity on hunting parties to you who see and handle these matters every day.

See also Sinclair, *Class. Rev.* xlii (1948), p. 61; the parallel passages are collected by J. E. B. Mayor, *Class. Rev.* xii (1898), pp. 93 ff.

\(^a\) See Aelian, *De Natura Animal.* vii. 10.


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(969) δ' ὑστερον ἡμέρας ἐξέτασις ἢν τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ πάροδος καθημένου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ παρὴν ὁ κύων ἡσυχίαν ἔχων· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς φονέας τοῦ δε- σπότου παρώντας εἶδεν ἐξεδραμὲ μετὰ φωνῆς καὶ θυμοῦ ἐπ' αὐτούς καὶ καθιλάκτει πολλάκις μετα- στρεφόμενος εἰς τὸν Ἡρρόν, ὡστε μὴ μόνον ἐκεί- νῳ δὲ ὑποφίας ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς παροῦσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους γενέσθαι· διὸ συλληφθέντες εὕθες καὶ ἀνακρινόμενοι, μικρῶν τινῶν τεκμηρίων ἐξωθεὶς προσγενομένων, ὁμολογήσαντες τὸν φόνον ἐκο- λάσθησαν.

Ε. Ταύτα1 δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἡσιόδου κύνα τοῦ σοφοῦ δράσαι λέγουσι, τοὺς Γανύκτωρος ἐξελέγξαντα τοῦ Ναυπακτίου παίδας, ύφ' ἄν ὁ Ἡσιόδος ἀπέθανεν. ὃ δ' οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐγνωσαν αὐτοὶ σχολάζον- τες Ἀθήνησιν ἐναργέστερον ἐστὶ τῶν εἰρημένων· παραρρυεῖς γὰρ ἀνθρωπός εἰς τὸν νεὼν τοῦ Ἀσ- κληπίου τὰ εὐογκα τῶν ἀργυρῶν καὶ χρυσῶν ἔλαβεν ἀναθημάτων καὶ λεληθέναι νομίζων ὑπεξήλθεν· ὃ δὲ φρουρὸς κύων, ὄνομα Κάππαρος, ἐπεὶ μηδεὶς υλακτοῦντι τῶν ξακόρων ὑπήκουσεν αὐτῷ, φεύγοντα τὸν ἱερόσυλον ἐπεδώκε· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν βαλλόμε- 

F νος λίθοις οὐκ ἀπέστη γενεόμενης δ' ἡμέρας, ἐγγὺς οὐ προσιόν ἀλλ' ἀπ' ὀφθαλμοῦ παραφιλάττων εἰ- πετο καὶ τροφὴν προβαλλούσης οὐκ ἐλάμβανεν· ἀνα- παυομένῳ δὲ παρευκτέρευε καὶ βαδίζοντος πάλιν ἀναστὰς ἐπηκολούθει, τοὺς δ' ἀπαντῶντας ὀδοιπό-

1 ταύτα Reiske: ταύτα.

1 Cf. 984 ν infra. A different account, omitting the dog, will be found in Mor. W2 c-f (where see Wytenbach's note).
in his train. A few days later there was an inspection of the soldiers, who marched in front of the king seated on his throne, while the dog lay quietly by his side. But when it saw its master's murderers filing past, it rushed at them with furious barking and, as it voiced its accusation, turned to look at the king so that not only he, but everyone present, became suspicious of the men. They were at once arrested and when put to the question, with the help of some bits of external evidence as well, they confessed the murder and were punished.

The same thing is said to have been done by the poet Hesiod's dog, which convicted the sons of Ganyctor the Naupactian, by whom Hesiod had been murdered. But a matter which came to the attention of our fathers when they were studying at Athens is even plainer than anything so far mentioned. A certain fellow slipped into the temple of Asclepius, took such gold and silver offerings as were not bulky, and made his escape, thinking that he had not been detected. But the watchdog, whose name was Capparus, when none of the sacristans responded to its barking, pursued the escaping temple-thief. First the man threw stones at it, but could not drive it away. When day dawned, the dog did not approach close, but followed the man, always keeping him in sight, and refused the food he offered. When he stopped to rest, the dog passed the night on guard; when he struck out again, the dog got up and kept following, fawning on the other people it met.

cf. also Pollux, Onomasticon, v. 42 and Gabathüler on Anth. Pal. vii. 55 (Hellenistische Epigramme auf Dichter, p. 31).

(969) 

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(970) Better known as the Parthenon; cf. Mor. 349 ν, Life of Pericles, xiii. 7 (159 ἐ).

b Cf. Life of Cato Maior, v. 3 (339 a-b). Aelian, De Natura Animal, vi. 49, agrees in the main with Plutarch's account; Aristotle, Historia Animal, vi. 24 (577 b 34), says merely that a public decree was passed forbidding bakers to drive the creature away from their trays. He adds that the
on the road and barking at the man and sticking to his heels. When those who were investigating the robbery learned this from men who had encountered the pair and were told the colour and size of the dog, they pursued all the more vigorously and overtook the man and brought him back from Crommyon. On the return the dog led the procession, capering and exultant, as though it claimed for itself the credit for pursuing and capturing the temple-thief. The people actually voted it a public ration of food and entrusted the charge of this to the priests in perpetuity, thereby imitating the ancient Athenian kindness to the mule. For when Pericles was building the Hecatompedon on the Acropolis, stones were naturally brought by numerous teams of draught-animals every day. Now one of the mules who had assisted gallantly in the work, but had now been discharged because of old age, used to go down every day to the Ceramicus and meet the beasts which brought the stones, turning back with them and trotting along by their side, as though to encourage and cheer them on. So the people of Athens, admiring its enterprise, gave orders for it to be maintained at the public expense, voting it free meals, as though to an athlete who had succumbed to old age. 

14. Therefore those who deny that there is any kind of justice owed to animals by us must be conceded to be right so far as marine and deep-sea creatures are concerned; for these are completely

mule was 80 years old and is followed by Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 175.

c There is probably a lacuna before this chapter.

d Cf. 999 supra; 964 infra.

e Cf. additional sources cited by Mair on Oppian, Hal. ii. 43.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(970) καὶ ἀστοργα καὶ πάσης ἀμοιρα γλυκυθυμίας καὶ καλῶς "Ομηρος εἶπε

γλαυκή δὲ σ' ἐτικτε θάλασσα

πρὸς τὸν ἀνήμερον εἶναι δοκοῦντα καὶ ἀμικτον, ὦς μηδέν τῆς θαλάσσης εὐνοίκον μηδὲ πράον φεροῦ-σης. ὦ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰ χερσαΐα τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ χρώμενοι ἀπηνης καὶ θηριώδης: ἡ μηδὲ1 Λυσιμάχω τι γεγονέναι φήσῃ2 πρὸς τὸν κύνα τὸν Ἰρκανὸν δίκαιον, διε λεκρῷ τε μόνος παρέμεινεν αὐτῷ καὶ, καιμένου τοῦ σώματος, ἐνδραμὼν αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸν ἐπέρρυψε. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ τὸν ἄετον3 δράσαι λέ-γουσιν, ὃν Πύρρος οὐχ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀλλ' ἐτερός τις ἰδιώτης ἐθρεφεν: ἀποθανόντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸ σῶμα διατρίβων καὶ περὶ τὸ κλυνίδιον αἰωρούμενος ἐκφερομένον, τέλος εἰς τὴν πυρὰν στειλάμενος ἀφήκεν ἐαυτὸν καὶ συγκατέκαυσε.

Πώρου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ὁ ἐλέφας, ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἰλένα άνδρον μάχη κατατερμένου, πολλὰ τῶν Π ἄκοντισμάτων ἀτρέμα καὶ φειδόμενος ἐξῆρε τῇ προβοσκίδι, καὶ κακῶς ἡδη διακείμενος αὐτὸς οὐ πρότερον ἐνέδωκεν ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐξάιμου γενο-

1 ἡ μηδὲ E. only: εἰ δὲ μηδὲ.
2 φήσῃ Madvig: φήσει.
3 ἄετον Emperius: ἄετον and αὐτὸν.

a Ἰλιάδ., xvi. 34.
b Mor. 821 α: the companion and successor of Alexander (c. 360–281 B.C.). Cf. Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 143; Aelian, De Natura Animal, vi. 25; and ii. 40 (cf. vi. 29), of eagles. 384
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lacking in amiability, apathetic, and devoid of all sweetness of disposition. And well did Homer say

The gray-green sea bore you,

with reference to a man regarded as uncivilized and unsociable, implying that the sea produces nothing friendly or gentle. But a man who would use such speech in regard to land animals is himself cruel and brutal. Or perhaps you will not admit that there was a bond of justice between Lysimachus and the Hyrcanian dog which alone stood guard by his corpse and, when his body was cremated, rushed into the flames and hurled itself upon him. The same is reported to have been done by the eagle which was kept by Pyrrhus, not the king, but a certain private citizen; when he died, it kept vigil by his body; at the funeral it hovered about the bier and finally folded its wings, settled on the pyre and was consumed with its master's body.

The elephant of King Porus, when he was wounded in the battle against Alexander, gently and solicitously pulled out with its trunk many of the javelins sticking in its master. Though it was in a sad state itself, it did not give up until it perceived that the

It may be conjectured that ii. 40 was derived from an original in which ἄρων was confused with κυνῶν, as infra.

c Similar stories in Aelian, De Natura Animal, vii. 40.

d "Dog" and "eagle" are again confused; but the "hovering" is here decisive. (Cf. also Wilamowitz, Hermes, lxiii, p. 380.) The dog reappears in Pollux, v. 42 (where it is King Pyrrhus), an eagle in a similar tale in Pliny, Nat. Hist. x. 18, while Pyrrhus is the name of a dog in Pliny, viii. 144.

e Life of Alexander, lx. 13 (699 b-c), with Ziegler's references ad loc.

f "Each one of the spears" in the Life of Alexander.
(970) μένου καὶ περιπρέποντος αἰσθόμενος1 καὶ φοβηθεῖς μὴ πέσῃ πρᾶσι ύφηκε, παρέχων ἐκείνῳ τὴν ἀπόκλισιν ἀλυπον.

Ὁ δὲ Βουκεφάλας γυμνὸς μὲν ὄν παρεῖχεν ἀναβηναὶ τῷ ἱπποκόμῳ, κοσμηθεὶς δὲ τοῖς βασιλικοῖς προκοσμίοις καὶ περιδεραίοις οὐδὲνα προσέτο πλὴν αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τοῖς δ’ ἄλλοις, εἰ πειρώμενοι προσίειν, ἐναντίος ἐπιτρέχων ἐχρεμέτιζε μέγα καὶ Ε ἐνῆλλετο2 καὶ κατεπάτει τοὺς μὴ πρόσω ἱεσθαί μηδ’ ἀποθεύειν φθάσαντας.

15. Οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δ’ ὅτι τὸ τῶν παραδειγμάτων ὑμῖν φανεταὶ τι ποικίλον οὐκ ἔστι δὲ μᾶς ῥαδίως τῶν εὐφυών ἐρωτόμενοι εὑρεῖν μᾶς ἐμφασιν ἀρετῆς ἔχουσαν· ἀλλ’ ἐμφαίνεται καὶ τῷ φιλοστόργῳ τὸ φιλότιμον αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ γενναίῳ τὸ θυμόσοφῳ, ἢ τε πανουργία καὶ τὸ συνετὸν οὐκ ἀπῆλλακται τοῦ θυμοειδοῦς καὶ ἀνδρώδους. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ βουλομένους διαμείναι καὶ διορίζειν καθ’ ἐκαστον, ἡμέρου μὲν ἐμφασιν ὁμοῦ καὶ ψηλοῦ φρονήματος ποιοῦσιν οἱ κόνιν, ἀποτρεπόμενοι τῶν συγκαθεξομένων· ὥσ ποι καὶ ταῦτ’ εἰρηται

F οἱ μὲν κεκλήγοντες ἐπέδραμον· αὐτὰρ Ἄδυσσεύς ἔζετο κερδοσύνη, σκήπτρον δὲ οἱ ἐκπεσε χειρὸς· οὐκέτι γὰρ προσμάχονται τοῖς ὑποπεσοῦσι καὶ γεγονὼς ταπεινοῖς τὰς ἐξεις ὁμοίως.

1 aἰσθόμενος Dübner: αἰσθανόμενος.
2 ἐνῆλλετο Dübner: συνῆλλετο.
3 τὸ added by Wyttenbach.

—a Other stories of humane elephants in Aelian, De Natura Animal, iii. 46; al.
b (Cf. Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 154: Gellius, Noctes Atticae, v. 2; and see the parallels collected by Sternbach, Wiener 386
king had lost much blood and was slipping off; then, fearing that he would fall, it gently kneeled and afforded its master a painless glide.a

Bucephalas b unsaddled would permit his groom to mount him; but when he was all decked out in his royal accoutrements and collars, he would let no one approach except Alexander himself. If any others tried to come near, he would charge at them loudly neighing and rear and trample any of them who were not quick enough to rush far away and escape.

15. I am not unaware that you will think that my examples are rather a hodge-podge: but it is not easy to find naturally clever animals doing anything which illustrates merely one of their virtues. Their probity, rather, is revealed in their love of offspring and their cleverness in their nobility; then, too, their craftiness and intelligence is inseparable from their ardour and courage. Those, nevertheless, who are intent on classifying and defining each separate occasion will find that dogs give the impression of a mind that is at once civil and superior when they turn away from those who sit on the ground—which is presumably referred to in the lines c

The dogs barked and rushed up, but wise Odysseus
Cunningly crouched: the staff slipped from his hand:

for dogs cease attacking those who have thrown themselves down and taken on an attitude that resembles humility.d

Studien, xvi, pp. 17 f. The story is omitted by Plutarch in the Life of Alexander.

c Homer, Odyssey, xiv. 30 f.; cf. Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 146; Antigonus, Hist. Mirab. 24; Aristotle, Rhetoric, ii. 3. 6 (1380 a 24).

d Cf. Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 48, of the lion.
There are nearly as many emendations of this phrase as there have been scholars interested in Plutarch's text. Van Herwerden's version, as having the liveliest sense, has been preferred. It is by no means certain, however, though supported by Aelian, De Natura Animal. viii. 1; Pliny, Nat. 388
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They relate further that the champion of the Indian dogs, one greatly admired by Alexander, when a stag was let loose and a boar and a bear, lay quiet and still and disregarded them; but when a lion appeared, it sprang up at once to prepare for the fray, showing clearly that it chose to match itself with the lion and scorned all the others.

Hounds that hunt hares, if they themselves kill them, enjoy pulling them to pieces and eagerly lap up the blood; but if, as frequently happens, a hare in desperation exhausts all its breath in a final sprint and expires, the hounds, when they come upon it dead, will not touch it at all, but stand there wagging their tails, as much as to say that they do not strive for food, but for victory and the honour of winning.

16. There are many examples of cunning, but I shall dismiss foxes and wolves and the tricks of crane and daw (for they are obvious), and shall take for my witness Thales, the most ancient of the Wise Men, not the least of whose claims to admiration, they say, was his getting the better of a mule by a trick. For one of the mules that were used to carry salt, on entering a river, accidentally stumbled and, since the salt melted away, it was free of its burden when it got up. It recognized the cause of this and

Hist. viii. 149; cf. also Pollux, v. 43–44 and the parallels cited by Bethe ad loc. See also Aelian, iv. 19 and Diodorus, xvii. 94.

Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 149 f., adds the elephant as a worthy match.

So "break up": Xenophon, Cynegética, vii. 9.

Cf. Pindar, Pythians, ii. 84; Oppian, Cynegética, iii. 266.


See the Septem Sapientium Convivium (Mor. 146 b ff.).

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κατεμνημόνευσεν ώστε διαβαινών ἂεὶ τὸν ποταμόν, ἑπίτηδες υφίεναι καὶ βαπτίζειν τὰ ἀγγεία, συγκαθίζων καὶ ἀπονεύων εἰς ἐκάτερον μέρος· ἀκούσας οὖν ὁ Θαλῆς ἐκέλευσεν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀλῶν ἔριων τὰ ἀγγεία καὶ σπόγγων ἐμπλήσαντας καὶ ἀναθέντας, οὐκ ἔλαυνεν τὸν ἡμίονον. ποιήσας οὖν τὸ εἰσθός καὶ ἀναπλήσας ὑδατος τὰ φορτία συνήκεν ἀλυσιτελῆ σοφιζόμενος ἑαυτῷ, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὕτω προσέχων καὶ φυλαττόμενος διέβαινε τὸν ποταμόν, ὡστε μηδὲ ἀκοντος αὐτοῦ τῶν φορτίων παραβαύσαι τὸ ύγρόν.

"Αλλην δὲ πανοργίαν ὁμοῦ μετὰ τοῦ φιλοστόργου πέρδικες ἐπιδεικνύντες τοὺς μὲν νεοττοὺς ἐθίζουσι μηδέπω φεύγειν δυναμένους, ὅταν διώκωνται, καταβαλόντας ὑπτίους ἑαυτοὺς βῶλον τινα ἡ συρφετὸν ἄνω προώσχεσθαι τοῦ σώματος οἰον ἐπηλυγαζομένους· αὕται1 δὲ τοὺς διώκοντας ὑπάγουσιν ἄλλη καὶ περισσῶσιν εἰς2 ἑαυτάς, ἐμποδών διαπετόμεναι

καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἔξανιστάμεναι, μέχρις ἄν ὁςον οὕτω γ'3 ἀλισκομένων δόξαν ἐνδιδούσαι, μακρὰν ἀποσπάσωσι τῶν νεοττῶν.

Οἱ δὲ δασύποδες πρὸς εὐνὴν ἐπανώντες ἄλλον ἄλλαχῇ κομίζουσι4 τῶν λαγιδέων, καὶ πλέθρον διαστήμα πολλάκις ἄλληλων ἀπέχοντας, ὡπως, ἂν ἀνθρώπος ἢ κύων ἐπίη, μὴ πάντες ἀμα συγκινδυ-

1 αὐταί Keiske: αὐταί.
2 εἰς added by early editors.
3 ὁςον οὕτω γ' Naber and W. C. H.: οὕτως.

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bore it in mind. The result was that every time it crossed the river, it would deliberately lower itself and wet the bags, crouching and bending first to one side, then to the other. When Thales heard of this, he gave orders to fill the bags with wool and sponges instead of salt and to drive the mule laden in this manner. So when it played its customary trick and soaked its burden with water, it came to know that its cunning was unprofitable and thereafter was so attentive and cautious in crossing the river that the water never touched the slightest portion of its burden even by accident.

Partridges a exhibit another piece of cunning, combined with affection for their young. They teach their fledglings, who are not yet able to fly, to lie on their backs when they are pursued and to keep above them as a screen some piece of turf or rubbish. The mothers meanwhile lure the hunters in another direction and divert attention to themselves, fluttering along at their feet and rising only briefly until, by making it seem that they are on the point of being captured, they draw them far away from their young.

When hares b return for repose, they put to sleep their leverets in quite different places, often as much as a hundred feet apart, so that, if man or dog comes near, they shall not all be simultaneously in danger.

a Cf. 992 b infra; Mor. 494 e and the references there; add Pliny, Nat. Hist. x. 103; Philo, 35 (p. 117) (probably referring to partridges, though the Latin version reads palumbae); Antigonus, Hist. Mirab. 39; Aelian, De Natura Animal. iii. 16; xi. 38; Aristotle, Historia Animal. 613 b 31.

b Cf. Aelian, De Natura Animal. xiii. 11; vi. 47.

κομίζοναι some mss. : κομίζουσιν.
(971) νεύσσιν: αύτοι δὲ πολλαχόθε ταῖς μεταδρομαῖς ἰχνηθέντες, τὸ δ' ἐσχατὸν ἄλμα μέγα καὶ μακρὰν τῶν ἰχνῶν ἀποσπάσαντες οὕτω καθεύδουσιν.

'Η δ' ἄρκτος ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους, ὁ καλοῦσι φωλείαν,¹ καταλαμβανομένη, πρὶν ἡ παντάπασι ναρ-Ε κῆσαι καὶ γενέσθαι βαρεία καὶ δυσκίνητος, τὸν τε τόπον ἀνακαθαίρει καὶ μέλλουσα καταδύσθαι τῆν μὲν ἄλλην πορείαν ὡς εὐδέχεται μάλιστα ποιεῖται μετέωρον καὶ ἐλαφράν ἄκρους ἐπιθυγγάνουσα τοῖς ἰχνεσι, τῷ νώτῳ δὲ τὸ σῶμα προσάγει καὶ παρακομίζει πρὸς τὸν φωλεόν.

Τῶν ἐλάφων² δ' αἱ θήλειαι μάλιστα τίκτουσι παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν, ὅπου τὰ σαρκοβόρα θηρία μὴ πρόσ-εισιν· οἳ τ' ἀρρενεσ, ὅταν αὔξωνται βαρεῖσ ὑπὸ πιμελῆς καὶ πολυσαρκίας ὄντες, ἐκτοπίζουσι σώ-ζοντες αὐτοὺς τῷ λανθάνειν, ὅτε τῷ φεῦγειν οὐ³ πεποίθασιν.

Τῶν δὲ χερσαίων ἐχίνων ἡ μὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἁμώνα Φ καὶ φυλακὴ παροιμίαν πεποίηκε

πόλλ' οἶδ' ἀλώπηξ, ἀλλ' ἐχίνος ἐν μέγα.

¹ φωλείαν Reiske: φωλιάν or φωλία.
² τῶν ἐλάφων Jannotius: τῶν ἐλεφαντῶν.
³ οὐ] οὐκέτι W. C. H.

⁴ Cf. Aelian, De Natura Animal. vi. 3; Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 126 f.; Mair on Oppian, Cyn. iii. 173 (L.C.L.).
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The hares themselves run to and fro and leave tracks in many places, but last of all with a great leap they leave their traces far behind, and so to bed.

The she-bear, just prior to the state called hibernation, before she becomes quite torpid and heavy and finds it difficult to move, cleans out her lair and, when about to enter, approaches it as lightly and inconspicuously as possible, treading on tiptoe, then turns around and backs into the den.

Hinds are inclined to bear their young beside a public road where carnivorous animals do not come; and stags, when they observe that they have grown heavy by reason of their fat and surplus flesh, vanish and preserve themselves by hiding when they do not trust to their heels.

The way in which hedgehogs defend and guard themselves has occasioned the proverb

The fox knows many tricks, but the hedgehog one big one:

These precautions seem to have been successful (though cf. the implications of Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 128), since Aristotle (Historia Animal, viii. 17, 600 b 6 f.) says that "either no one (or very few)" has ever caught a pregnant bear. Cf. Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 95 and Amm. Marc. xxii. 15. 22, of the hippopotamus entering a field backwards.

Aristotle (Historia Animal, ix. 5, 611 a 17) notes that highways were shunned by wild animals because they feared men. Cf. also Antigonus, Hist. Mirab. 35 and Mair on Oppian, Cyn. ii. 207 (L.C.L.).

Cf. Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 113; [Aristotle], De Mir. Ausc. 5; Historia Animal, 611 a 23.

See Shorey on Plato, Republic, 423 e (L.C.L.); Leutsch and Schneidewin, Paroemiographi Graeci, i, p. 147; Zenobius, v. 68: attributed by Zenobius to Archilochus (Diehl, Anthologia Lyrica, i, p. 241, frag. 103; Edmonds, Elegy and Iambus, ii, p. 174, frag. 118) and to Homer. Zenobius also quotes five lines from Ion, of which the last two are Plutarch's next quotation.
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(971) προσιούσης γὰρ αὐτῆς, ὡς φησιν ὁ Ἰων,1

στρόβιλος ἀμφάκανθου2 εἰλίξας δέμας, κεῖται θυγεῖν τε καὶ δακεῖν ἁμήχανος.

gλαφυρωτέρα δ' ἐστὶν ἡ περὶ τῶν σκυμνίων πρόνοια: μετοπώρου γὰρ ὑπὸ τὰς ἀμπέλους ὑποδύμενος, καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ τὰς ῥάγας ἀποσείσας τοῦ βότρυνος χαμάζει καὶ περικυλινδηθεῖς, ἀναλαμβάνει 972 τὰς ἀκάνθας: καὶ παρέσχε ποτὲ παιάν3 ἡμῖν ὅρωσιν ὄμων ἔρποντις ἡ βαδιζούσης σταφυλῆς4. εἶτα καταδύς εἰς τὸν φωλεόν τοῖς σκύμνοις χρήσθαι καὶ λαμβάνειν ἀφ' αὐτοῦ ταμιευμένου5 παραδίδωσι. τὸ δὲ κοιταῖον αὐτῶν ὅπας ἔχει δύο, τὴν μὲν πρὸς νότον τὴν δὲ πρὸς βορέαν βλέπουσαν ὅταν δὲ προσιῇσκοίται τὴν διαφορὰν τοῦ ἀέρος, ὡσπερ ἵστιν κυβερνήται μεταλαμβάνοντες ἐμφράττουσι τὴν κατ' ἀνεμον τὴν δ', ἐτέραν ἀνοίγουσι. καὶ τούτῳ τις ἐν Κυζίκῳ καταμαθὼν δόξαν ἐσχέν ὡς ἀφ', αὐτοῦ τὸν μέλλοντα πνεῖν ἀνεμον προαγορεύων.

Β 17. Τὸ γε μὴν κοινωνικὸν μετὰ τοῦ συνετοῦ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἀποδείκνυσθαι φησιν ὁ Ἰόβας. ὅρυγματα γὰρ αὐτοῖς οἱ θηρεύοντες ὑπεργασάμενοι λεπτοῖς φρυγάνοις καὶ φορτῶ6 κούφω κατερέφου-

1 ὁ Ἰων Meziriaceus: οἶαον.
2 ἀμφάκανθου Salmasius: ἀμφ' ἀκανθαν.
3 παισίν Kronenberg: πάσων.
4 σταφυλῆς[ the mss. add οὕτως ἀνάπλεως ἐχώρει τῆς ὀπώρας, deleted by W. C. H.
5 ταμιευμένου Andrews: -ομένου W. C. H.
6 φορτῶ Meziriaceus: φορτίω.

* Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 739; frag. 38, verses 4 f. (see the preceding note).
* The mss. add an unnecessary explanation: "so covered.
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for when the fox approaches, as Ion a says, it,

Curling its spiny body in a coil,
Lies still, impregnable to touch or bite.

But the provision that the hedgehog makes for its young is even more ingenious. When autumn comes, it creeps under the vines and with its paws shakes down to the ground grapes from the bunches and, having rolled about in them, gets up with them attached to its quills. Once when I was a child I saw one, like a creeping or walking bunch of grapes! b

Then it goes down into its hole and delivers the load to its young for them to enjoy and draw rations from. Their lair has two openings, one facing the south, the other the north; when they perceive that the wind will change, like good skippers who shift sail, they block up the entrance which lies to the wind and open the other. c

And a man in Cyzicus d observing this acquired a reputation for being able to predict unaided which way the wind would blow.

17. Elephants, as Juba e declares, exhibit a social capacity joined with intelligence. Hunters dig pits for them, covering them with slender twigs and with fruit was it as it walked.” Cf. Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 133; Aelian, De Natura Animal. iii. 10; Anth. Pal. vi. 169.

c Cf. 979 a infra; Aristotle, Historia Animal. ix. 6 (612 b 4 ff.); Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 133; cf. viii. 138, of squirrels. On animals who predict the weather see Pliny, Nat. Hist. xviii. 361-364.

d Aristotle (loc. cit.) says Byzantium (and see infra, 979 b).

e Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec. iii, p. 474; Jacoby, Frag. der griech. Hist. iii, pp. 146 f., frag. 51a, 53; cf. Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 24; Aelian, De Natura Animal. viii. 15; vii. 61; and see the criticism in 977 d-e infra. On the mutual assistance of elephants see Philostratus, Vita Apoll. ii. 16.

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(972) σωνʻ ὅταν οὖν τις εἰσολίσθη, πολλῶν ὁμοῦ πορευο-μένων, οἱ λοιποὶ φοροῦντες ὑλὴν καὶ λίθους ἐμβάλλουσιν, ἀναπληροῦντες τὴν κοιλότητα τοῦ ὄρυγματος, ὥστε ῥαδίαν ἐκεῖνος γίνεσθαι τὴν ἐκ-βασιν. ἦστοι δὲ καὶ εὐχῆ χρῆσθαι θεῶν τοὺς ἑλε-φαντασ ἀδιδάκτως, ἀγνιζομένους τε τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἐκφανέντα προσκυνοῦντας ὡσπερ χειρὸς ἀνασχέσει τῆς προβοσκίδος. οἴθεν καὶ θεοφιλέστα-τόν ἔστι τὸ θηρίον, ὡς Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλοπάτωρ ἐμαρτύρησε. κρατήσας γὰρ Ἀντιόχου καὶ Βουλό-μενος ἐκπρεπῶς τιμῆσαι τὸ θεῖον ἄλλα τε πάμπολλα κατέδυσαι ἐπινίκια τῆς μάχης καὶ τέσσαρας ἑλε-φαντασ· εἶτα νῦκτωρ ὄνειρασιν ἐντυχῶν, ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ μετʼ ὀργῆς ἀπειλοῦντος αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἀλλό-κοτον ἐκεῖνην θυσίαν, ἰδανόμοις τε πολλοῖς ἐχρήσατο καὶ χαλκοῦς ἑλέφαντας ἀντὶ τῶν σφαγέντων ἀνέ-στησε τέσσαρας.

Ὅυχ ἦττον δὲ κοινωνικὰ τὰ τῶν λεόντων. οἱ γὰρ νέοι τοὺς βραδεῖς καὶ γέροντας ἕδη συνεξάγουσιν ἐπὶ θηραν. ὅπου δ᾽ ἃν ἀπαγορεύσωσιν, οἱ μὲν κάθηται περιμένοντες οἱ δὲ θηρεύουσι καὶ λάβω-δισιν ὅτιον, ἀνακαλοῦνται, μόσχοι μυκήματι τὸ βρύχημα ποιοῦντες ὅμοιον· οἱ δ᾽ εὐθὺς αἰσθάνονται καὶ παραγενόμενοι κοινῇ τὴν ἄγραν ἀναλίσκοντοι.

18. Ἔρωτες δὲ θηρίων¹ οἱ μὲν ἄγριοι καὶ περι-μανεῖς γεγόνασιν, οἱ δ᾽ ἐχοντες οὐκ ἀπάνθρωπον

¹ θηρίων W. C. H. : πολλῶν.

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¹ Cf. Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 1 f. : Dio Cassius, xxxix. 38. 5. 396
light rubbish; when, accordingly, any elephant of a number travelling together falls in, the others bring wood and stones and throw them in to fill up the excavation so that their comrade can easily get out. He also relates that, without any instruction, elephants pray to the gods, purifying themselves in the sea and, when the sun rises, worshipping it by raising their trunks, as if they were hands of supplication. For this reason they are the animal most loved of the gods, as Ptolemy Philopator has testified; for when he had vanquished Antiochus and wished to honour the gods in a really striking way, among many other offerings to commemorate his victory in battle, he sacrificed four elephants. Thereafter, since he had dreams by night in which the deity angrily threatened him because of that strange sacrifice, he employed many rites of appeasement and set up as a votive offering four bronze elephants to match those he had slaughtered.

Social usages are to be found no less among lions. For young lions take along with them to the hunt the old and slow; when the latter are tired out, they rest and wait, while the young lions hunt on. When they have taken anything, they summon the others by a roaring like the bleat of a calf; the old ones hear it at once and come to partake in common of the prey.

18. The loves of some animals are wild and furious, while others have a refinement which is not far from

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b The moon in Aelian, De Natura Animal, iv. 10, but the sun in vii. 44; of tigers in Philostratus, Vita Apoll. ii. 28.

c Aelian, De Natura Animal, vii. 44: Ptolemy IV (c. 244-205 B.C.), who reigned 221-205. The decisive defeat of Antiochus III was at Raphia in 217. For the gods loving elephants see Aelian, De Natura Animal, vii. 2: al.

(972) ὁ ὁμαδημόν οὐδ’ ἀναφρόδιτον ὀμιλιάν. οἷος ἦν ὁ τοῦ ἑλέφαντος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τοῦ ἀντερῶντος Ἀριστοφάνει τῷ γραμματικῷ τῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς ἠρων στεφανοπώλιδος, καὶ οὐχ ἤττον ἦν ὁ ἑλέφας διάδηλος. ἐφέρε γὰρ αὐτῇ τῆς ὁπώρας ἀει τὰ1 πρατήρια παραπομεόμενος, καὶ χρόνον πολύν υψίστατο καὶ τὴν προβοσκίδα τῶν χιτωνίων ἐντὸς ὄσπερ χείρα Ἐ παραβαλῶν ἀτρέμα τῆς περὶ τὸ στῆθος ὡρας ἐξαυτεῖν.

Ο δὲ δράκων ὁ τῆς Αἰτωλίδος ἔρασθεὶς ἐφοίτα νύκτωρ παρ’ αὐτὴν καὶ τοῦ σώματος ύποδύομενος ἐν χρῶ καὶ περιπλεκόμενος οὐδὲν οὐθ’ ἐκὼν οὔτ’ ἄκων ἐβλαψεν, ἀλλὰ κοσμίως ἀεὶ περὶ τὸν ορθὸν ἀπηλλάττετο. συνεχῶς δὲ τοῦτο ποιοῦντος αὐτοῦ, μετακίνησαν οἱ προσήκοντες ἀπωτέρῳ τῇ ἀνθρωπον. δὲ τρεῖς μὲν ἡ τέτταρα ψυκτα2 οὐκ ἠλθεν ἀλλ’ ὡς έοικε περιήζει ζητῶν καὶ πλανώμενος; μόλις δὲ πῶς ἔξανευρὼν καὶ περιπεσὼν οὐ πρᾶος3 ὁσπερ εἰώθει ἀλλὰ τραχύτερος, τῶ μὲν ἀλλυ σπειράματι τὰς χείρας αὕτης ἔδησε πρὸς τὸ σῶμα, τῷ δ’ ἀπολήγοντι τῆς οὖρᾶς ἐμαστίγοις τὰς κνήμασ, ἐλαφράν τινα καὶ ἐφόδιστοργον καὶ πλέον ἔχουσαν τοῦ κολάζοντος τὸ φειδόμενον ὀργῆν ἀποδεικνύμενος.

Τὸν δ’ ἐν Αἰγύπτω4 παιδεραστοῦντα χήνα καὶ τὸν ἐπιθυμήσαντα Γλαύκης τῆς κιθαρώδου κριόν, περι-

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1 τὰ added by Bernardakis, after Reiske.
2 ψυκτα added by Wytenbach.
3 πρᾶος Bernardakis: πρᾶως.
4 Αἰγύπτω Αelian: ἀτπω or αἰγύπτω.

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8 (cf. vii. 43) ; Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 13.

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human and an intercourse conducted with much grace. Such was the elephant which at Alexandria played the rival to Aristophanes the grammarian. They were, in fact, in love with the same flower-girl; nor was the elephant's love the less manifest: as he passed by the market, he always brought her fruit and stood beside her for a long time and would insert his trunk, like a hand, within her garments and gently caress her fair breasts.

The serpent that fell in love with an Aetolian woman used to visit her at night and slip under some part of her body next the skin and coil about her without doing her any harm at all, either intentional or accidental; but always at daybreak it was decent enough to glide away. And this it did constantly until the kinsmen of the woman removed her to a house at some distance. The serpent did not come to her for three or four nights; but all the time, we may suppose, it was going about in search of her and missing its goal. At last, when it had somehow found her with difficulty, it embraced her, not with that former gentleness it had used, but rather more roughly, its coils binding her hands to her body, and with the end of its tail it lashed the calves of her legs, displaying a light and tender anger that had in it more indulgence than punishment.

As for the goose in Aegium that loved a boy and the ram that set his heart on Glauce the harp-

— Cf. Mair on Oppian, Cyn. ii. 524 for additional authorities.
— Told somewhat differently, and of a Jewish woman, in Aelian, De Natura Animal. vi. 17.
— Also a goose in Pliny, Nat. Hist. x. 51. Both stories are in Aelian, De Natura Animal. v. 29 (cf. i. 6; viii. 11); for Glauce see also Gow's note on Theocritus, iv. 31.
(972) βόητοι γάρ εἰσι καὶ πολλῶν οίμαι διηγημάτων δια-
koreís ήμᾶς εἶναι· διὸ ταύτα μὲν ἀφίμη.
19. Ψάρες δὲ καὶ κόρακες καὶ ψυττακοί μανθά-
vontes διαλέγεσθαι καὶ τὸ τῆς φωνῆς πνεῦμα τοῖς
didásκοντιν εὐπλαστον οὐτω καὶ μιμηλῶν` ἐξαρ-
973 τύειν2 καὶ ρυθμίζειν παρέχοντες εμοὶ δοκοῦσι προ-
dikeῖν καὶ συνηγορεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῆσαι ἐν τῷ
μανθάνειν, τρόπον τινα διδάσκοντες ἡμᾶς ὅτι καὶ
προφορικοῦ λόγου καὶ φωνῆς ἐνάρθρου μέτεστιν
αὐτοῖς· ἐκαὶ πολὺς κατάγελως τὸ πρὸς ταύτα
καταλπεῖν ἐκεῖνοι σύγκρισιν, οἷς οὐδ' ὅσον ὑρύ-
σασθαι μέτεστιν οὐδ' ὅσον στενάξαι φωνῆς. τοῦ-
tων δὲ καὶ τοῖς αὐτοφύεσι καὶ τοῖς ἄδιδάκτοις
γηρύμαιν ὅση μοῦσα καὶ χάρις ἐπεστιν, οἱ λογιῶ-
tαι καὶ καλλιφωνότατοι μαρτυροῦσι, τὰ ἦδιστα
ποιήματα καὶ μέλη κύκνων καὶ ἄγδοιν ὁδαῖς
ἀπεικάζοντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ μαθεῖν τὸ διδάξαι λογι-
kῶστεν, ἦδη πειστέον Ἀριστοτέλει λέγοντι καὶ
Β τοῦτο τὰ ζώα ποιεῖν· ὀφθήναι γὰρ ἄγδονα νεοσσὸν
ἀδειν προδιδάσκονσαι. μαρτυρεὶ δ' αὐτῷ τὸ φαι-
lόστερον ἄδειν ὅσαις συμβέβηκε μικραὶς ἄλοῦσαις
ἀποτρόφοις τῶν μήτερων γενέσθαι· διδάσκονται γάρ
αἱ συντρεφόμεναι καὶ μανθάνουσιν οὐ διὰ μισθὸν
οὐδὲ πρὸς δόξαν ἀλλὰ τῷ χαίρειν διαμελεζόμεναι
καὶ τὸ καλὸν ἀγαπᾶν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ χρειῶδες τῆς
φωνῆς.

1 μιμηλῶν ὁν Reiske.
2 ἐξαρπεῖν Reiske (cf. 973 v) : ἐξαρπιθεῖν.
3 ἡ Wyttenbach : ἡ.
4 ἄλοῦσαι Xylander : ἄδοῦσαι.

a More in Aelian, De Natura Animal. xii. 37; αλ.
b Cf. Gellius, Noctes Atticae. xiii. 21. 25; Alciphron,
Epp. iii. 30. 1; Philostratus, Vita Apoll. i. 7; vi. 36; αλ.
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player, since these are famous tales and I rather imagine you have had enough of such to spoil your appetite for more.¹ I omit them.

19. As for starlings ² and crows and parrots which learn to talk and afford their teachers so malleable and imitative a vocal current to train and discipline, they seem to me to be champions and advocates of the other animals in their ability to learn, instructing us in some measure that they too are endowed both with rational utterance ³ and with articulate voice; for which reason it is quite ridiculous to admit a comparison of them with creatures who have not enough voice even to howl or groan. ⁴ And what music, what grace do we not find in the natural, untaught warbling of birds! To this the most eloquent and musical of our poets bear witness ⁵ when they compare their sweetest songs and poems to the singing of swans and nightingales. Now since there is more reason in teaching than in learning, we must yield assent to Aristotle ⁶ when he says that animals do teach: a nightingale, in fact, has been observed instructing her young how to sing. A further proof that supports him is the fact that birds which have been taken young from the nest and bred apart from their mothers sing the worse for it ⁷; for the birds that are bred with their mothers are taught and learn, not for pay or glory, but for the joy of rivalling each other in song and because they cherish the beautiful in their utterance rather than the useful.

¹ For the λόγος προφορικός see, e.g., Mor. 777 b-c.
² Cf. Aristotle, Historia Animal. iv. 9 (535 b 14 ff.).
³ e.g., Bacchylides, iii. 97: Anth. Pal. vii. 414.
⁴ Cf. Historia Animal. iv. 19 (535 b 17); cf. ix. 1 (608 a 18); cf. Aelian, De Natura Animal. iii. 40.
⁵ Cf. 992 b-c infra.
"Εχω δὲ περὶ τούτον καὶ λόγον εἶπεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀκούσας Ἑλλήνων τε πολλῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων παρα-
γενομένων. κουρεύς γὰρ τις ἐργαστήριον ἐχων ἐν Ῥώμη πρὸ τοῦ τεμένους, ὁ καλοῦσαν ᾿Ελλήνων
Ο ἄγορᾶν, θαυμαστόν τι χρήμα πολυφώνου καὶ πολυ-
φθόγγου κίττης ἐτρεφεν, ἡ καὶ ἀνθρώπου ρήματα
καὶ θηρίων φθόγγους καὶ ψόφους ὅργανων ἀντ-
απεδίδου, μηδενὸς ἀναγκάζοντος ἀλλ’ αὐτὴν ἔθι-
ζουσα καὶ φιλοτιμομένη μηδὲν ἄρρητον ἀπολυπεῖν
μηδ’ ἀμίμητον. ἔτυχε δὲ τις ἐκεῖθεν τῶν πλουσίων
ἐκκομιζόμενος ύπὸ σάλπιγξι πολλαῖς, καὶ γενο-
μένης ὦσπερ εἰώθε κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἐπιστάσεως,
εὐδοκιμοῦντες οἱ σαλπιγκταί καὶ κελευόμενοι πολὺν
χρόνον ἐνδιέτριψαν. ἥ δὲ κίττα μετὰ τὴν ἡμέραν
ἐκεῖνην ἀφθογγος ἦν καὶ ἄνδυος, οὔδε τὴν αὐτῆς
D ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαῖοις πάθεσιν ἀφιεῖσα φωνῆν. τοῖς
οὖν πρῶτονν αὐτῆς θαυμάζοντι τὴν φωνῆν τότε
θαύμα μεῖξον ἡ σιωπῆ παρεῖχε, κωφὸν ἀκρόσαμα
toῖς συνήθως 2 parodoéνουι τον τόπουν ὑποσύμα δὲ
φαρμάκων ἐπὶ τοὺς ὡμοτέχνους ἤσαν οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι
tὰς σάλπιγγας εἰκάζων ἐκπλήξει τὴν ἀκοήν, τῇ δ’
ἀκοῇ συγκατεσβέσθαι τὴν φωνῆν. ἢν δ’ οὐδέτερα
τούτων, ἀλλ’ ἄσκησις ὡς ἐοικε καὶ ἀναχώρησις εἰς
ἐαυτὸ τὸν μυμητικοῦ, καθάπερ ὀργανὸν ἐξαιρτυ-
μένου τὴν φωνῆν καὶ παρασκευάζοντος ἄφνω γὰρ

1 ἡ added by Bernardakis.
2 ἀκροάματος συνήθους Reiske.
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On this subject I have a story to tell you which I heard myself from many Greeks and Romans who were eye-witnesses. A certain barber at Rome had his shop directly opposite the precinct which they call the Market of the Greeks.\(^a\) He bred up a wonderful prodigy of a jay \(^b\) with a huge range of tones and expressions, which could reproduce the phrases of human speech and the cries of beasts and the sound of instruments—under no compulsion, but making it a rule and a point of honour to let nothing go unrepeated or unimitated. Now it happened that a certain rich man was buried from that quarter to the blast of many trumpets and, as is customary, there was a halt in front of the barber-shop while the trumpeters, who were applauded and encored, played for a long time. From that day on the jay was speechless and mute, not letting out even a peep to request the necessities of life; so those who habitually passed the place and had formerly wondered at her voice, were now even more astonished at her silence. Some suspected that she had been poisoned by rival bird-trainers, but most conjectured that the trumpets had blasted her hearing and that her voice had been simultaneously extinguished. Now neither of these guesses was correct: it was self-discipline, it would seem, and her talent for mimicry that had sought an inner retreat as she refitted and prepared her voice like a musical instrument. For suddenly her mimicry returned

\(^a\) *Graecostadium* (see Platner and Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Rome*, s.v.) or *Forum Graecorum*.

\(^b\) Cf. Porphyry, *De Abstinencia*, iii. 2 (p. 191. 8, ed. Nauck); Gow on Theocritus, v. 136; Aristotle, *Historia Animal*, ix. 13 (615 b 19 f.). See also the talking birds in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* x. 118-134.
This is also the accomplishment of a homonymous bird in Aelian, De Natura Animal, vi. 19.
and there blazed forth none of those old familiar imitations, but only the music of the trumpets, reproduced with its exact sequences and every change of pitch and rhythm and tone. I conclude, as I said before, that self-instruction implies more reason in animals than does readiness to learn from others.

Still, I believe that I should not pass over one example at least of a dog's learning, of which I myself was a spectator at Rome. The dog appeared in a pantomime with a dramatic plot and many characters and conformed in its acting at all points with the acts and reactions required by the text. In particular, they experimented on it with a drug that was really soporific, but supposed in the story to be deadly. The dog took the bread that was supposedly drugged, swallowed it, and a little later appeared to shiver and stagger and nod until it finally sprawled out and lay there like a corpse, letting itself be dragged and hauled about, as the plot of the play prescribed. But when it recognized from the words and action that the time had come, at first it began to stir slightly, as though recovering from a profound sleep, and lifted its head and looked about. Then to the amazement of the spectators it got up and proceeded to the right person and fawned on him with joy and pleasure so that everyone, and even Caesar himself (for the aged Vespasian was present in the Theatre of Marcellus), was much moved.

\[c\] Cf. the bears that acted a farce in Script. Hist. Aug., Vita Ċar. xix. 2.

\[d\] Vespasian became emperor in A.D. 69 when he was 60 years old and died ten years later, so that this incident can be dated only within the decade.
20. Гелой д’ ίσως ἐσμέν ἐπὶ τῷ μανθάνειν τά ζώα σεμνύνοισθε, ὅν ὁ Δημόκριτος ἀποφαίνει μαθητὰς ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις γεγονότας ἡμᾶς· ἀρά-χινης ἐν ὑφαντικῇ καὶ ἀκεστικῇ, χελῳδόνος ἐν οἶκο-δομίᾳ, καὶ τῶν λιγυρῶν, κύκνου καὶ ἄγδονος, ἐν ὠδῇ κατὰ μύμησιν. Ιατρικῆς δὲ πολὺ τῶν τριῶν Β εἴδων ἐκάστου καὶ γενναίον ἐν αὐτοῖς μόριον ὅρω-μεν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον τῷ φαρμακευτικῷ χρῶνται, χελῳναὶ μὲν ὄργανον γαλαί δὲ πήγανον, οταν ὄφεως φάγωσιν, ἐπεσθίουσι· κύνες δὲ πός τινι καθαίροντες ἐαυτοὺς χολερώντας· ὁ δὲ δράκων τῷ μαράθρῳ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀμβλυωττοῦτα λεπτύνων καὶ διαχαράττων· ἡ δ’ ἄρκτος, οταν ἐκ τοῦ φωλεοῦ προέλθῃ, τὸ ἄρον ἐσθίουσα πρῶτον τὸ ἄγριον· ἡ γὰρ δρμαύτης ἀνοίγει συμπερφυκός· αὐτής τὸ ἐντε-ρον· ἄλλως δ’ ἀσώδης γενομένη πρὸς τὰς μυρμη-κιας τρέπεται καὶ κάθηται προβάλλουσα λυπαρὰν καὶ μαλακὴν ἱκμάδι γλυκεία τὴν γλώσσαν, ἄχρις οὗ C μυρμηκῶν ἀνάπλεωσ γεννηται· καταπίνουσα γάρ

1 ἐν added by Xylander.

2 συμμεμφυκός Bernardakis.

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On this chapter see T. Weidlich, Die Sympathie in Altertnum, p. 42.


c Cf. 973 a supra.

d As given here, cure by (1) drugs, (2) diet, (3) surgery. There are five divisions in Diogenes Laertius, iii. 85; al.

e Cf. Mor. 918 c, 991 ε; Aelian, De Natura Animal. vi. 12 and Thompson on Aristotle, Historia Animal. ix. 6 (612 a 24); of wounded partridges and storks and doves in Aelian, op. cit. v. 46 (Aristotle, op. cit. 612 a 32).

f Aristotle, Historia Animal. ix. 6 (612 a 28).
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20. Yet perhaps it is ridiculous for us to make a parade of animals distinguished for learning when Democritus declares that we have been their pupils in matters of fundamental importance: of the spider in weaving and mending, of the swallow in home-building, of the sweet-voiced swan and nightingale in our imitation of their song. Further, of the three divisions of medicine, we can discern in animals a generous portion of each: for it is not cure by drugs alone of which they make use. After devouring a serpent tortoises take a dessert of marjoram, and weasels of rue. Dogs purge themselves when bilious by a certain kind of grass. The snake sharpens and restores its fading sight with fennel. When the she-bear comes forth from her lair, the first thing she eats is wild arum; for its acridity opens her gut which has become constricted. At other times, when she suffers from nausea, she resorts to anthills and sits, holding out her tongue all running and juicy with sweet liquor until it is covered with ants; these she swallows and is

9 See Thompson on Aristotle, Historia Animal, ix. 6 (612 a 6); add Sextus Empiricus, Outlines of Pyrrhonism, i. 71.


i As in 971 d-e supra.

j Probably the Adam-and-Eve (Arum maculatum L.), since the Italian arum (Arum italicum Mill.) was cultivated. See Aristotle, Historia Animal, viii. 17 (600 b 11); ix. 6 (611 b 34); Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 129; Aelian, De Natura Animal, vi. 3. Oribasius (Coll. Med. iii. 24. 5) characterizes wild arum as an aperient.

k When she has swallowed the fruit of the mandrake, according to Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 101.

l Aristotle, Historia Animal, viii. 4 (594 b 9); Aelian, De Natura Animal, vi. 3; Sextus Empiricus, op. cit. i. 57.
Φελείται. τής τ’ ἰβεώς τὸν ὑποκλυσμὸν ἄλμη καθαιρομένης Ἀγνύπτου συνιδεῖν καὶ μιμήσασθαι λέγουσιν· οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς ὑδατι χρόνται, περιμνῖζοντες ἑαυτοὺς, ἐξ οὐ πέπωκεν ίβις· ἂν γὰρ ἦ γαρμακώδες η νοσηρὸν ἄλλος τὸ ύδωρ, οὐ πρόσεισιν.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ τροφῆς ἀποσχέει ἐνιαθεραπεύεται,1 καθάπερ λύκοι καὶ λέοντες, οὐτὶ κρεῶν γένωνται διακορίς, ἱσυχίαν ἁγούσι κατακείμενοι καὶ συνθάλποντες ἑαυτοὺς. τίγριν δὲ φασὶν, ἔριφον παραδοθέντος αὐτῇ.2 χρωμένην διάτη μὴ φαγεῖν ἐφ’ ἡμέρας δύο, τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ πεινῶσαν αἰτεῖν ἄλλο καὶ D τὴν γαλέαγραν σπαρᾶσσειν· ἐκείνου δὲ φεισάσθαι οἰομένην σύντροφον ἔχειν ἢδή καὶ σύνοικον.

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ χειρουργία χρῆσθαι τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἱστοροῦσιν· καὶ γὰρ ἕυστα καὶ λόγχας καὶ τοξεύματα, παριστάμενοι τοῖς τετρωμένοις, ἀνεν σπαράγμον ράδιως καὶ ἀβλάβως ἐξέλκοσιν. αἱ δὲ Κρήτικαί αἰγεῖς, ὅταν τὸ δίκταμνον φάγωσιν, ἐκβάλλουσαι τὰ τοξεύματα ράδιως καταμαθέαται ταῖς ἐγκύους τὴν βοτάνην παρέσγον ἐκτρωτικὴν δύναμιν ἔχουσαν· ἐπ’ οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο τρωθεῖσαι φέρονται καὶ ξητοῦσι καὶ διώκουσιν η_trigger_3 τὸ δίκταμνον.

1 Θεραπεύεται Bernardakis: θεραπεύονται.
2 A short lacuna is probable here.
3 διώκουσιν ἦ Reiske: διώκουσι.

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a Cf. Aelian, De Natura Animal. ii. 35; vii. 45; Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 97; Cicero, De Natura Deorum, ii. 50.
b Cf. Aelian, De Natura Animal. iv. 15; see the hippopotamus in Amm. Marc. xx. 15. 23. 
c Of a leopard in Aelian, De Natura Animal, vi. 2. This account seems to indicate a lacuna in our text explaining why
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alleviated. The Egyptians declare that they have observed and imitated the ibis' clyster-like purging of herself with brine; and the priests make use of water from which an ibis has drunk to purify themselves; for if the water is tainted or unhealthy in any way, the ibis will not approach it.

Then, too, some beasts cure themselves by a short fast, like wolves and lions who, when they are surfeited with flesh, lie still for a while, basking in the sun. And they say a tigress, if a kid is given her, will keep fasting for two days without eating; on the third, she grows hungry and asks for some other food. She will even pull her cage to pieces, but will not touch the kid which she has now come to regard as a fellow-boarder and room mate.

Yet again, they relate that elephants employ surgery: they do, in fact, bring aid to the wounded by easily and harmlessly drawing out spears and javelins and arrows without any laceration of the flesh. And Cretan goats, when they eat dittany, easily expel arrows from their bodies and so have presented an easy lesson for women with child to take to heart, that the herb has an abortive property; for there is nothing except dittany that the goats, when they are wounded, rush to search for.

the tigress did not eat the kid in the first place: "because she had already had enough to eat."

\textsuperscript{d} For an example see the anecdote of Porus in 970 \textit{d supra}, 977 \textit{b infra}; Juba, frag. 52 (Jacoby); Aelian, \textit{De Natura Animal}, vii. 43.

\textsuperscript{e} Cf. 991 \textit{f infra}; Philo, 38 (p. 119); Vergil, \textit{Aen.} xii. 415; Thompson on Aristotle, \textit{Historia Animal}. ix. 6 (612 a 3); Pease, \textit{Mélanges Marouzeau}, 1948, p. 472.

\textsuperscript{f} Cretan dittany (\textit{Origanum dictamnus} L.): Pliny, \textit{Nat. Hist.} xx. 156.

\textsuperscript{g} Cf. Pease, \textit{op. cit.} p. 471.
21. "Htton de tauta thauisma, kai per ontata thauisma, poioioin ai norhiai ariminoi kai dynamin E tou ariminein exousai phuseis, oispeper exousai ai peri Sousa boes' eisai gar autodhi tou basilikou paradeison arhousai periaktois antlhmasin, tin orhsta to plhthos: ekaton gar ekasth bois ana-ferei kath hemeraan ekasthn antlhmatas. pleiona de ouk estin ouste labein ouste biastasai boulomemon. alla kai peiras eneka pollakias proostivneton, uposhtatai kai ou prophsou, apodorousa to tetagme- nvoi outwos akribwos sunitheio kai katanymnomenei to kefalaion, ws Kteias de Knidos istorhke.

Liznes de 'Aignptwv katagelesi muðologountovn F peri tou orugos, ws fownhn aphienvos hemeras ekhnhs kai orhas h estetelle to astroon, o Sothwn autoi Kva de kai Seirion hemes kalummen. tas gow2 omoi ti3 patas atyas, othan anaschh meb hliou to astroon atrekeis, ekei4 strefomeneas apobleseis pros thn anastolhn kai tekmiroin touto ths perioidou bewaytaton einai kai malista tois mathematikois kanosin omologoumenov.

975 22. "Iva de koruflh n logos epitheis eautov paushtai, feri kinhantas thn af' ierh baxeia peri theiotitos auton kai mauntikhs eipwmen. ou

1 labein] lathen Meziriacus.
3 ti added by Bernardakis.
4 ekei early editors: exei.

a Cf. Aelian, De Natura Animal. iv. 53.

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21. These matters, though wonderful, are less surprising than are those creatures which have cognition of number and can count, as do the cattle near Susa. At that place they irrigate the royal park with water raised in buckets by wheels, and the number of bucketfuls is prescribed. For each cow raises one hundred bucketfuls each day, and more you could not get from her, even if you wanted to use force. In fact, they often try to add to the number to see; but the cow balks and will not continue when once she has delivered her quota, so accurately does she compute and remember the sum, as Ctesias of Cnidus has related.

The Libyans laugh at the Egyptians for telling a fabulous tale about the oryx, that it lets out a cry at that very day and hour when the star rises that they call Šothis, which we call the Dog Star or Sirius. At any rate, when this star rises flush with the sun, practically all the goats turn about and look toward the east; and this is the most certain sign of its return and agrees most exactly with the tables of mathematical calculation.

22. But that my discourse may add its finishing touch and terminate, let me “make the move from the sacred line” and say a few words about the divine inspiration and the mantic power of animals.

See Mair on Oppian, Cyn. ii. 446.

A sneeze, according to Pliny, Nat. Hist. ii. 107; Aelian, De Natura Animal. vii. 8.

Cf. Mor. 359 D, 376 A.

They watched for the first sight of Sirius before daybreak about June 20; the date shifted in the Egyptian calendar.

See Mor. 783 B with Fowler’s note; also 1116 E; Plato, Laws, 739 A; and Gow on Theocritus, vi. 18. The meaning is probably something like “let me play my last trump,” or “commit my last reserve.”
(975) γάρ τι μικρόν οὐδ’ ἀδοξον, ἀλλὰ πολὺ καὶ παμπάλαιον μαντικῆς μόριον οἰωνιστικῆ κέκληται· τὸ γάρ ὀξὺ καὶ νοερὸν αὐτῶν καὶ δ’ εὐστροφεῖν ὑπῆκοον ἀπάσης φαντασίας ὦσπερ ὀργάνῳ ¹ τῷ θεῷ παρέχει χρῆσθαι καὶ τρέπειν ἐπὶ τε κύνησιν ἐπὶ τε φωνὰς καὶ γηρύματα καὶ σχῆματα νῦν μὲν ἐνστατικὰ νῦν δὲ φορὰ καθάπερ πνεύματα τὰς ² μὲν ἐπικόπτοντα τὰς δὲ ἐπευθύνοντα πράξεις καὶ ὄρμας εἰς τὸ τέλος.

Β διὸ κοινῆ μὲν ὁ Εὐριπίδης "θεῶν κήρυκας" ὀνομάζει τοὺς ὀρνιθας· ὕδα δὲ φησιν ὁ Σωκράτης "ὁμόδουλον" ἕαυτὸν ποιεῖσθαι "τῶν κύκνων". ὦσπερ αὖ καὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἄετός μὲν ὁ Πύρρος ἤδετο καλούμενος, ἱέραξ δ’ ὁ Ἀντίοχος· ἱχθὺς δὲ τοὺς ἀμαθείς καὶ ἀνοητοὺς λοιδορούντες ἃ ³ σκῶττοντες ὀνομάζομεν. ἀλλὰ δὴ μυρίων μυρίάκις εἰπεῖν παρόντων, ᾃ προδεικνύσιν ἥμιν καὶ προσημαίνει τὰ πεζὰ καὶ πτηνὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν, ἐν οὐκ ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον ἀποφήναι τῷ προδικοῦντι τῶν ἐνυδρων, ἀλλὰ κωφὰ πάντα καὶ τυφλά τῆς προνοίας εἰς τὸν ἄθεον καὶ τιτανικὸν ἀπέρριπται τόπον ⁴ ὦσπερ ἁσεβῶν χώρων, οὗ τὸ λογικὸν καὶ νοερὸν οὐκ ἐγκατέσβεσται τῆς ψυχῆς, ἑσχάτῳ δὲ τινι συμπε-

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¹ ὀργανον Reiske.
² τὰς μὲν... τὰς δὲ Wyttenbach: ταῖς μὲν... ταῖς δὲ.
³ ἃ Reiske.
⁴ τόπον| τῶν W. C. H.

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ᵃ Ornithoscopy or ornithomancy (cf. Leviticus xix. 26); Latin augurium, auspiciun. See also Plato, Phaedrus, 244 n, Phaedo, 85 b.
ᵇ Perhaps Ion, 159; cf. also Mor. 405 d for the phrase.
It is, in fact, no small or ignoble division of divination, but a great and very ancient one, which takes its name from birds; for their quickness of apprehension and their habit of responding to any manifestation, so easily are they diverted, serves as an instrument for the god, who directs their movements, their calls or cries, and their formations which are sometimes contrary, sometimes favouring, as winds are; so that he uses some birds to cut short, others to speed enterprises and inceptions to the destined end. It is for this reason that Euripides calls birds in general "heralds of the gods"; and, in particular, Socrates says that he considers himself a "fellow-slave of the swans." So again, among monarchs Pyrrhus liked to be called an Eagle and Antiochus a Hawk. But when we deride, or rail at, stupid and ignorant people we call them "fish." Really, we can produce cases by the thousand of signs and portents manifested to us by the gods through creatures of land and air, but not one such can the advocate for aquatic creatures name. No, they are all "deaf and blind" so far as foreseeing anything goes, and so have been cast aside into the godless and titanic region, as into a Limbo of the Unblessed, where the rational and intelligent part of the soul has been extinguished. Having, however, only a last remnant

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\[\text{References:}\]
- Cf. *Mor. 184 d*, *Life of Pyrrhus*, x. 1 (388 a-b); *Life of Aristides*, vi. 2 (322 a); Aelian, *De Natura Animal*, vii. 45.
- Cf. *Mor. 184 a*. This Antiochus was not, strictly speaking, a king, but the younger son of Antiochus II.
- This charge is answered in 976 c *infra.*
- Cf. the fragment of Epicharmus cited above in 961 a.
- Cf. Plato, *Laws*, 701 b-c (and Shorey, *What Plato Said*, p. 629); 942 a *supra* and Cherniss' note (*Class. Phil. xlvi*, 1951, p. 157, n. 95); see also 996 c *infra* with the note.
23. Ἡρακλέων. Ὁ Ἀναγε τάς ὀφρύς, ὦ φίλε Παίδυμε, καὶ διέγειρε σεαυτὸν ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐναλοίς καὶ νησιώταις: οὐ παίδια τὸ χρῆμα τοῦ λόγου γέγονεν, ἀλλ' ἐφρωμένοι ἁγῶν καὶ ρητορεία κιγκλίδων ἐπιδέουσα καὶ βῆματος.

Φαίδιμος. Ὡς ἔνεδρα μὲν οὐν, ὦ Ἡρακλέων, σὺν δόλῳ καταφανῆς: κραυγαλώσι γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ χθιζόν καὶ βεβαπτισμένοι νήφων, ὃς ὁρᾶς, ὁ γενναῖος ἐκ παρασκευῆς ἐπιτέθειται. παρατείσθαι δ' οὐκ ἔστω: οὐ γὰρ βουλόμαι Πινδάρου ζηλωτῆς ὃν ἀκούσαί το

τιθεμένων ἁγώνων πρόφασις ἀρετάν ἐς αἰτῶν ἐβαλε σκότον.

σχολῇ μὲν γὰρ πολλῇ πάρεστιν ἡμῖν, ἀργούντων οὐ λόγων ἀλλὰ κυνῶν καὶ ἱππων καὶ δικτύων καὶ πάσης σαγήνης, διὰ τοὺς λόγους ἐκεχειρίας κουνῆ πάσι τοῖς ζώοις κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν δεδομένης τὸ σήμερον. ἀλλὰ μὴ φοβηθῆτε· χρήσομαι γὰρ αὐτῆς μετρίως, οὐτε δόξας φιλοσόφων οὔτε Ἀιγυπτίων μύθους οὔτε ἀμαρτύρους Ἰνδών ἐπαγόμενος ἡ Λιβύων διηγήσεις· ὅ δὲ πανταχοῦ

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1 σχολῇ μὲν γὰρ πολλῇ πάρεστιν Bernardakis: σχολῇ μὲν οὐν πολλῇ γὰρ ἔστιν.
3 λόγων Wytttenbach: χορὼν.

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That is, it is so realistic that one might imagine oneself in the lawcourts or the public assembly.
of sensation that is clogged with mud and deluged with water, they seem to be at their last gasp rather than alive.

23. HERACLEON. Raise your brows, dear Phaedimus, and rouse yourself to defend us the sea folk, the island-dwellers! This bout of argument has become no child's play, but a hard-fought contest, a debate which lacks only the actual bar and platform.a

PHAEDEIMUS. Not so, Heracleon, but an ambush laid with malice aforethought has been disclosed. While we are still tipsy and soused from yesterday's bout, this gentleman, as you see, has attacked us with premeditation, cold sober. Yet there can be no begging off. Devotee of Pindar b though I am, I do not want to be addressed with the quotation

To excuse oneself when combat is offered
Has consigned valour to deep obscurity;

for we have much leisure c; and it is not our discourse that will be idle, but our dogs and horses, our nets and seines of all kinds, for a truce is granted for to-day because of our argument to every creature both on land and sea. Yet do not fear: I shall use it d with moderation, introducing no opinions of philosophers or Egyptian fables or unattested tales of Indians or Libyans. But those facts that may be observed

[a] Frag. 272, ed. Turyn (228 Schroeder, 215 Bowra); cf. Mor. 783 b; Leutsch and Schneidewin, Paroemiographi Graeci, i, p. 44; Plato, Cratylus, 421 d.
[b] Perhaps merely a passing allusion to some such passage as Plato, Phaedrus, 258 e rather than, as Bernardakis thought, a quotation from an unknown tragic poet (Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 869, Adesp. 138).
[c] Either "our leisure" or "the truce," i.e. the holiday Plutarch has given his pupils (see the Introduction to this essay).
(975) μάρτυρας ἔχει τοὺς ἐργαζομένους τὴν θάλασσαν ὅρωμενα καὶ δίδωσι τῇ ὄψει πίστιν, τούτων ὅλιγα Ἐ. παραθήσομαι. καίτοι τῶν μὲν ἐν γῇ παραδειγμά-
των ἐπιπροσθών οὐδὲν ἔστιν, ἀλλ’ ἀνεφεύρη
καὶ αὐτὴ ἤστραπα τὴν ἱστορίαν· ἢ ἔθαλασσα μικρὰ κατιδεῖν καὶ γλύσχρα δίδωσι, τῶν ἀν δὲ πλεί-
στων κατακαλύπτει γενέσεις καὶ τροφὰς ἐπιθέσεις
τε καὶ φυλακᾶς ἄλληλων, ἐν αἷς οὐκ ὅλιγα καὶ
συνέσεως ἔργα καὶ μνήμης καὶ κοινωνίας ἀγνοοῦ-
μενα βλάπτει τῶν λόγων. ἐπειτὰ τὰ μὲν ἐν γῇ διὰ
τὴν ὁμοφυλίαν καὶ τὴν συνδιάτησιν ἄμωσηγέτως
συναναχρωνύμενα τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις ἦθεσιν ἀπο-
Φ’ λαῦει καὶ τροφῆς καὶ διδασκαλίας καὶ μμήσεως
ἡ τὸ μὲν πικρὸν ἄπαν καὶ σκυθρωπὸν ὠσπερ ἐπι-
μεξία ποτίμου θάλασσαν ἐφηδύνει, τὸ δὲ δυσέξυνε-
tον ἀπαν καὶ νωθρὸν ἐπεγεῖρε ταῖς μετ’ ἀνθρώπων
κοινωνήσεσιν ἀναρρητικόμενον. ὃ δὲ τῶν ἐνάλων
βίοις ὅροις μεγάλοις τῆς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀπωκισ-
μένος ὀμιλίας ἐπείσακτον οὐδὲν οὐδὲ συνεισφησμένον
976 ἔχων ὑδίος ἑστὶ καὶ αὐθιγενῆς καὶ ἀκρατος ἄλλο-
τρῶς ἦθεσι διὰ τὸν τόπον, οὐ διὰ τὴν φύσιν. ἡ γὰρ
φύσις ὅσον ἐξικνεῖται μαθήσεως ἔφ’ αὐτὴν ἰδεο-
mένη καὶ στέγουσα παρέχει πολλὰς μὲν ἐγχέλεις
ἀνθρώπους χειροπήθεις, ὠσπερ τὰς ἱερὰς λέγομένας
ἐν τῇ Ἀρεθούσῃ, πολλαχοῦ δ’ ἰχθύς υπακούοντας

1 μὲν added by W. C. H.
2 δυσέξυνετον Reiske: δυσέξυνετον.
3 κοινωνήσεσιν Emperius: κυνήσεσιν.
THE CLEVERNESS OF ANIMALS. 975–976

everywhere and have as witnesses the men who exploit the sea and acquire their credit from direct observation, of these I shall present a few. Yet there is nothing to impede illustrations drawn from land animals: the land is wide open for investigation by the senses. The sea, on the other hand, grants us but a few dubious glimpses. She draws a veil over the birth and growth, the attacks and reciprocal defences, of most of her denizens. Among these there are no few feats of intelligence and memory and community spirit that remain unknown to us and so obstruct our argument. Then too, land animals by reason of their close relationship and their cohabitation have to some extent been imbued with human manners; they have the advantage of their breeding and teaching and imitation, which sweetens all their bitterness and sullenness, like fresh water mixed with brine, while their lack of understanding and dullness are roused to life by human contacts. Whereas the life of sea creatures, being set apart by mighty bounds from intercourse with men and having nothing adventitious or acquired from human usage, is peculiar to itself, indigenous, and uncontaminated by foreign ways, not by distinction of Nature, but of location. For their Nature is such as to welcome and retain such instruction as reaches them. This it is that renders many eels tractable, like those that are called sacred in Arethusa: and in many places there are fish which

\[ a \text{ Cf. Pliny, } \textit{Nat. Hist.} \textit{ix. 1.} \]
\[ b \text{ Cf. Aelian, } \textit{De Natura Animal.} \textit{viii. 4.} \]

4 ἵερᾶς θεομενᾶς follows ἐγχέλεις in the mss.: transferred here by Kaltwasser.
(976) αὐτῶν ὄνόμασιν· ὡσπερ τῇν Κράσσου μύραιναν ἱστοροῦσιν, ἦς ἀποθανοῦσης ἐκλαυσεν ὁ Κράσσος· καὶ ποτε Δομετίον πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος, "οὐ σὺ μυραίνης ἀποθανοῦσης ἐκλαυσας;" ἀπήντησεν, "οὐ σὺ τρεῖς θάψας γυναῖκας οὐκ ἐδάκρυσας;"

Οἴ δὲ κροκόδειλοι τῶν ιερέων οὐ μόνον γνωρί-Β ζουσι τήν φωνήν καλούντων καὶ τήν ψαύσιν ύπο-μένουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαχανόντες παρέχουσι τοὺς ὁδόντας ἐκκαθαίρειν ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ περιμάττειν θονίοις. ἔναγχος δὲ Φιλίνος ὁ βέλτιστος ἦκων πεπλανημένος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ παρ' ἡμᾶς διηγεῖτο γραῦν ἱδεῖν ἐν 'Ανταίου πόλει κροκόδειλιοι συγκαθ- εύδωσαν ἐπὶ σκίμποδος εὐ μάλα κοσμίως παρεκ-τεταμένω.

Πάλαι δ' ἱστοροῦσι, Πτολεμαίοι τοῦ βασιλέως παρακαλουμένου, τὸν ιερὸν κροκόδειλον μὴ ἑπακού-σαντα μηδὲ πεισθέντα λιπαροῦντι καὶ δεσμένῳ τοῖς ιερεύσι δόξαί προσημαίνειν τὴν μετ' οὗ πολὺς συμβάσαντα αὐτῷ τοῦ βίου τελευτῆν· ὡστε μηδὲ τῆς πολυτιμήτου μαντικῆς ἀμοίρον εἰναί τὸ τῶν ἐν-ῦδρων γένος μηδ' ἀγέραστον· ἐπεὶ καὶ περὶ Σοῦραν πυθάνομαι, κάμην ἐν τῇ Λυκίᾳ Φέλλου μεταξύ καὶ Μύρων, καθεξομένους ἐπ' ἱχθύσιν ὀσπερ οἰω-

1 λιπαροῦντι καὶ δεσμένῳ Reiske: λιπαροῦσι καὶ δεσμένοις.


b Not in the Life of Crassus, but derived from the same source as Aelian, De Natura Animal. viii. 4.; cf. the remarks in the Life of Solon, vii. 4 (82 a). The story is also recounted in Mor. 89 Α. 811 Α.; Macrobius, Sat. iii. 15. 4; Porphyry, 418.
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will respond to their own names, as the story goes of Crassus' moray, upon the death of which he wept. And once when Domitius said to him, "Isn't it true that you wept when a moray died?" he answered, "Isn't it true that you buried three wives and didn't weep?"

The priests' crocodiles not only recognize the voice of those who summon them and allow themselves to be handled, but open their mouths to let their teeth be cleaned by hand and wiped with towels. Recently our excellent Philimus came back from a trip to Egypt and told us that he had seen in Antaeopolis an old woman sleeping on a low bed beside a crocodile, which was stretched out beside her in a perfectly decorous way.

They have long been telling the tale that when King Ptolemy summoned the sacred crocodile and it would not heed him or obey in spite of his entreaties and requests, it seemed to the priests an omen of his death, which came about not long after; whence it appears that the race of water creatures is not wholly unendowed with your precious gift of divination. Indeed, I have heard that near Sura, a village in Lycia between Phellus and Myra, men sit and watch the gyrations and flights and pursuits of fish and

De Abstinentia, iii. 5. Hortensius, too, wept bitterly at the death of his pet moray (Pliny, Nat. Hist. ix. 172).

c L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul in 54 B.C., a bitter political opponent of Crassus and the Triumvirate.

d Cf. Aelian, loc. cit.

e Aelian, loc. cit., does not know which Ptolemy is meant; cf. the story of Apis and Germanicus in Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 185; Amm. Marc. xxii. 14. 8.

f Cf. 975 b supra; Pliny, Nat. Hist. ix. 55.

g Aelian, De Natura Animal. viii. 5; Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxxii. 17.
(976) νοῖς διαμαντεύεσθαι τέχνη τυχὶ καὶ λόγῳ ἐλέξεις¹ καὶ φυγὰς καὶ διώξεις αὐτῶν ἐπισκοποῦντας.

24. Ἄλλα ταύτα μὲν ἔστω τοῦ μὴ παντάπασιν ἐκφύλου μηδ' ἀσυμπαθοῦς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἰκανὰ δεῖγμα· τῆς δ' ἀκράτου καὶ φυσικῆς συνέσεως μέγα ἀνήλωμα τὸ ὀνειρὸν² ἐστιν· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως εὐχείρωτον ἀνθρώπῳ νηκτὸν, δ' μὴ πέτραις προσέχεται

καὶ προσπέφυκεν, οὐδ' ἀλώσιμον ἄνευ πραγματείας, ὅσ λύκοις μὲν ὄνοι καὶ μέροψι μέλισσαι, χελιδόσι δὲ τέττιγες, ἐλάφους δ' ὀφεῖς ἀγομένοι βαδίως ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὑ καὶ τοῦνομα πεποίηται παρώνυμον οὐ τῆς ἐλαφρότητος ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐλέξεως τοῦ ὀφείως. καὶ τὸ πρόβατον προσκαλεῖται τῷ πολί τὸν λύκον, τῇ δὲ παράλει τὰ πλείοτα προσχωρεῖν χαῖρον τῇ ὀσμῇ, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν πίθηκον λέγουσι. τῶν δὲ βαλαττῶν ὄμοι τι πάντων ἡ προαίσθησις ὑποπτος οὕσα καὶ πεφυλαγμένη πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθέσεις ὑπὸ συνέσεως, οὐχ ἀπλοῦν τὸ τῆς ἄγρας ἔργον οὐδὲ φαίλον ἀλλ' ἐφώνων τε παντοδαπῶν καὶ σοφισμάτων ἐπ' αὐτὰ δεινῶν καὶ ἀπατηλῶν δεόμενον ἀπείρασται.

Καὶ τούτῳ δὴλον ἔστω ἀπὸ τῶν πάντων προχείρων· τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἀσπαλειτικόν κάλαμον οὐ βουλοῦται πάχος ἔχειν, καίπερ εὐτόνοι δεόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς σπαραγμοὺς τῶν ἀλυσκομένων, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐκλέγονται τὸν λεπτὸν, ὅπως μὴ πλατείαν ἐπιβάλλων σκιὰν ἑκταράττῃ τὸ ὑποπτον αὐτῶν. ἐπείτα τὴν

¹ λόγῳ ἐλέξεις: Bryan: λόγον λέξεις.
² ὀνειρὸν: Post: κοινόν.
³ δ': Reiske: à.

ᵇ Aelian, De Natura Animal, viii. 6; v. 48.
ᶜ Elaphrotes.
divine from them by a professional and rational system, as others do with birds.

24. But let these examples suffice to show that sea animals are not entirely unrelated to us or cut off from human fellowship. Of their uncontaminated and native intelligence their caution is strong evidence. For nothing that swims and does not merely stick or cling to rocks is easily taken or captured without trouble by man as are asses by wolves, bees by bee-eaters, cicadas by swallows, and snakes by deer, which easily attract them. This, in fact, is why deer are called elaphoi, not from their swiftness, but from their power of attracting snakes. So too the ram draws the wolf by stamping and they say that very many creatures, and particularly apes, are attracted to the panther by their pleasure in its scent. But in practically all sea-creatures any sensation is suspect and evokes an intelligently inspired defensive reaction against attack, so that fishing has been rendered no simple or trivial task, but needs all manner of implements and clever and deceitful tricks to use against the fish.

This is perfectly clear from ready examples: no one wants to have an angler’s rod too thick, though it needs elasticity to withstand the thrashing of such fish as are caught; men select, rather, a slender rod so that it may not cast a broad shadow and arouse suspicion. In the next place, they do not thicken

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\[a\] Helxis opheos, a fantastic etymology. Neither derivation is correct, elaphos being related to the Lithuanian elnis, “deer.” For the references see Mair on Oppian, Cyn. ii. 234.

\[e\] See Thompson on Aristotle, Historia Animal. ix. 6 (612 a 13); add Aelian, De Natura Animal. viii. 6; v. 40.

\[f\] Cf. Gow on Theocritus, xxi. 10.
(976) ὁρμιὰν οὐ ποιοῦσι πολύπλοκον τοῖς ἀμμασὶ τῶν βρόχων ούδὲ τραχεῖαν· ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ δόλου γίνεται τεκμήριον αὐτοῖς. καὶ τῶν τριχῶν τὰ καθήκοντα πρὸς τὸ ἀγκιστρον ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα λευκὰ φαίνεσθαι μηχανῶνται· μᾶλλον γὰρ οὕτως ἐν 

 Gamma: τῇ θαλάσσῃ δι' ὁμοιότητα τῆς χρόας λανθάνουσι. τὸ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ λεγόμενον

 ἡ δὲ μολυβδαινὴ ἱκέλη ἐς βυσσὸν ὄροουσεν, ἢτε κατ' ἀγραύλου θοὸς κέρας ἐμβεβαιὰ ἔρχεται ὑμηστῆσιν ἐπ' ἰχθὺς κήρα φέρουσα·

 παρακοῦντες ἐνιοὶ βοεῖαις θριξίν οἴονται πρὸς τὰς ὀρμιὰς χρῆσθαι τοὺς παλαιοὺς· "κέρας" γὰρ τὴν τρίχα λέγεσθαι καὶ τὸ κείρασθαι διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν κουράν· καὶ τὸν παρ' Ἀρχιλόχῳ "κεροπλάστην" ¹

 977 φιλόκοσμον ἐναὶ περὶ κόμην καὶ καλλωπιστήν. ἔστι δ' οὐκ ἄληθές· ἰππείας γὰρ θριξὶ χρῶνται, τὰς τῶν ἄρρενων λαμβάνοντες· αἱ γὰρ θῆλεια τῷ οὐρῷ τὴν τρίχα βεβρεγμένην ἀδρανῆ ποιοῦσι. ᾿Αρίστ- ἀρχος² δὲ φησὶ μηδὲν ἐν τούτοις λέγεσθαι σοφὸν ἢ περιττὸν ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι κεράτων περιτύλεσθαι πρὸ τοῦ ἀγκίστρου περὶ τὴν ὀρμιάν, ἐπεὶ³ πρὸς ἄλλο

 ¹ κεροπλάστην: Τυρνένιος: κεροπλάστην.
 ² Ἀρίσταρχος: Πλάττ: Ἀριστοστέλης.
 ³ ἐπεὶ: Ιαμνοτίους: ἐπειτα.
the line with many plies when they attach the loop and do not make it rough; for this, too, betrays the lure to the fish. They also contrive that the hairs which form the leader shall be as white as possible; for in this way they are less conspicuous in the sea because of the similarity of colour. The remark of the Poet a:

Like lead she b sank into the great sea depths,  
Like lead infixed in horn of rustic ox  
Which brings destruction to the ravenous fish—

some misunderstand this and imagine that the ancients used ox-hair for their lines, alleging that *keras* c means “hair” and for this reason *keirasthai* means “to have one’s hair cut” and *koura* is a “hair-cut” d and the *keroplastes* e in Archilochus f is one who is fond of trimming and beautifying the hair. But this is not so: they use horse-hair which they take from males, for mares by wetting the hair with their urine make it weak. g Aristarchus h declares that there is nothing erudite or subtle in these lines; the fact is that a small piece of horn was attached to the line in front of the hook, since the fish, when they are confronted by anything else, chew the line

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a Homer, *Iliad*, xxiv. 80-82.  
b Iris going to visit Thetis.  
c It means, of course, “horn” as above in Homer, *Iliad*, xxiv. 81.  
d Or “lock of hair.”  
e “Horn-fashioner,” so called from the horn-like bunching together of the hair; see the scholia on *Iliad*, xxiv. 81.  
g Cf. Mor. 915 f—916 A.  
h Not Aristotle, as the mss. read. See Platt, *Class. Quart.* v. 255.
The section of horn was put around the line. It was therefore a tube. It was in front of the hook as one held it in his hand and attached it to the line. It was therefore at the hook end of the leader. Its hardness prevented the line from being severed. Its neutral coloration prevented the fish from being frightened off. Note that Oppian (Hal. iii. 147) comments on the use of a hook with an abnormally long shank for the same purpose (Andrews).
in two. They use rounded hooks to catch mullets and bonitos, whose mouths are small; for they are wary of a broader hook. Often, indeed, the mullet suspects even a rounded hook and swims around it, flipping the bait with its tail and snatching up bits it has dislodged; or if it cannot do this, it closes its mouth and purses it up and with the tips of its lips nibbles away at the bait.

The sea-bass is braver than your elephant: it is not from another, but from himself without assistance, that he extracts the barb when he is caught by the hook; he swings his head from side to side to widen the wound, enduring the pain of tearing his flesh until he can throw off the hook. The fox-shark does not often approach the hook and shuns the lure; but if he is caught, he immediately turns himself inside out, for by reason of the elasticity and flexibility of his body he can naturally shift and twist it about, so that when he is inside out, the hook falls away.

25. Now the examples I have given indicate intelligence and an ingenious, subtle use of it for opportune

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b A prototype of the Sobey hook.

c See Thompson on Aristotle, Historia Animal. ix. 37 (621 a 19); Mair on Oppian, Hal. iii. 144.

d Cf. Pliny, Nat. Hist. ix. 145; Oppian, Hal. iii. 524 ff.

e Cf. 974 d supra.

f Cf. Aelian, De Natura Animal. i. 40, of the tunny; Ovid, Hal. 39 f. and Oppian, Hal. iii. 128 ff., of the bass.

g Plutarch seems here to have confused this fish with the so-called scolopendra (of which he writes correctly in Mor. 567 b; see also Mair on Oppian, Hal. ii. 424). Cf. Aristotle, Historia Animal. ix. 37 (621 a 11); Aelian, De Natura Animal. ix. 12; Varia Hist. i. 5; Mair on Oppian, Hal. iii. 144; Pliny, Nat. Hist. ix. 145. "There are fish (but not sharks) which can disgorge their stomachs and swallow them again. Note that hasty reading of Aristotle i.e. could easily cause this misstatement" (Andrews).
(977) ἄλλα δ' ἐπιδείκνυται μετὰ τοῦ συνετοῦ τὸ κοινωνικὸν καὶ τὸ φιλάλληλον, ὥσπερ ἄνθιαι καὶ σκάρου. σκάρου μὲν γάρ ἀγκιστρὸν καταπιόντος, οἱ παρόντες σκάρου προσαλλόμενοι τὴν ὥρμιάν ἀποτρώγουσιν· οἱ αὐτοὶ1 δὲ καὶ τοῖς εἰς κύρτον ἔμπεσοσθε τὰς οὐρὰς παραδόντες ἐξώθεν ἔλκουσι δάκνοντας προθύμως καὶ συνεξάγουσιν. οἱ δ' ἄνθιαι τῷ συμφύλῳ βοηθοῦσιν ἠταμώτερον· τὴν γὰρ ὥρμιάν ἀναθέμενοι κατὰ τὴν ράχιν καὶ στήσαντες ὥρθην τὴν D ἀκανθάν ἐπιχειροῦσι διαπρείνει τῇ τραχύτητι καὶ διακόπτειν.

Καῖτοι χερσαῖοι οὐδὲν ἑσμεν ἐτέρῳ κινδυνεύοντι τολμῶν ἀμύνειν, οὐκ ἄρκτον οὐ σὺν οὐδὲ λέαιναν οὐδὲ πάρδαλιν· ἄλλα συγχωρεῖ μὲν εἰς ταῦταν ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις τὰ ὀμόφυλα καὶ κύκλω μετ' ἀλλήλων περείσιν· ἐτέρῳ δ' ἐτέρον οὐκ οἰδεν οὐδὲ φρονεὶ2 βοηθεῖν, ἄλλα φεύγει καὶ ἀποπηδᾷ πορρωτάτω γυνόμενα τοῦ τετρωμένου καὶ θυγκόντως. ἡ δὲ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἱστορία φορυτὸν3 εἰς τὰ ὥργυματα φορούντων4 καὶ τὸν ὀλισθόντα διὰ χώματος ἀναβι-

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1 αἱ αὐτοὶ Wytenbach: οὐτοὶ.
2 φρονεὶ] φροντίζει Bernardakis.
3 φορυτὸν Meziriacus: φίλε τῶν.
4 φορούντων] φορυτὸν συμφορούντων Reiske.

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* The *anthias* of the above passage is probably the Mediterranean barbier, *Serranus anthias* C.V., although elsewhere it is sometimes obviously a much larger fish of uncertain identity. On the identification cf. Thompson on Aristotle, *Historia Animal.* vi. 17 (570 b 19); *Glossary of Greek Fishes,* s.v.; Mair, introd. to his ed. of Oppian, pp. llii-lxi; Marx, *RE,* i. 2375-2377; ii. 2415; Schmid, *Philologus,* Suppb. xi, 1907-1910, p. 273; Brands, *Griechische 426*
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profit; but there are others that display, in combination with understanding, a social sense and mutual affection, as is the case with the barbier \(^a\) and the parrot-fish. For if one parrot-fish swallows the hook, the others present swarm upon the line and nibble it away; and the same fish, when any of their kind have fallen into the net, give them their tails from outside; when they eagerly fix their teeth in these, the others pull on them and bring them through in tow.\(^b\) And barbiers are even more strenuous in rescuing their fellows: getting under the line with their backs, they erect their sharp spines and try to saw the line through and cut if off with the rough edge.\(^c\)

Yet we know of no land animal that has the courage to assist another in danger—not bear or boar or lioness or panther. True it is that in the arena those of the same kind draw close together and huddle in a circle; yet they have neither knowledge nor desire to help each other. Instead, each one flees to get as far as possible from a wounded or dying fellow. That tale of the elephants \(^d\) carrying brushwood to the pits and giving their fallen comrade a ramp to

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\(^a\) On this story cf. also Aelian, De Natura Animal. i. 4; Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxxii. 11; Ovid, Hal. 9 ff.; Oppian, Hal. iv. 40 ff. Note also Aelian, De Natura Animal. v. 22, on mice.

\(^b\) Cf. Pliny, Nat. Hist. ix. 182; xxxii. 13; Ovid, Hal. 45 ff.; Oppian, Hal. iii. 321 ff.

\(^c\) Cf. 972 B supra; Jacoby, Frag. der griech. Hist. iii, p. 146, frag. 51 b. On the community spirit of elephants see also Aelian, De Natura Animal. v. 49; vi. 61; vii. 15; al.

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Diernamen, pp. 147 f.; Cotte, Poissons et animaux aquatiques au temps de Pline, pp. 69-73; Saint-Denis, Le Vocabulaire des animaux marins en latin classique, pp. 5-7. Cf. also 981 e infra.
(977) βαζόντων ἐκτοπός ἦστι δεινός καὶ ἄλλοδαπή, καὶ καθάπερ ἐκ βασιλικοῦ διαγράμματος ἐπιτάττουσα Ε πιστεύειν αὐτῇ τῶν Ἰόβα βιβλίων. ἀληθῆς δ' οὖσα πολλὰ δείκνυσι τῶν ἐνάλων μηδὲν ἀπολειπόμενα τῷ κοινωνικῷ καὶ συνετῶ τοῦ σοφωτάτου τῶν χερσαίων. ἀλλὰ περὶ κοινωνίας αὐτῶν ἴδιος ἔσται τάχα λόγος.

26. Οἱ δ' ἄλιεῖς συνορώντες ὀσπερ ἀλεξῆμασιν παλαισμάτων τὰ πλείστα διακρούόμενα τὰς ἀπ' ἀγκίστρου βολὰς ἐπί βίας ἐτράπησαν, καθάπερ οἱ Πέρσαι, σαγγενέοντες ὡς τοῖς ἐνσχέθησιν οὐδεμίαν ἐκ λογισμοῦ καὶ σοφίας διάφθειν ὀυσαν. ἀμφιβλήστρους μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὑποχαίς κεστρεῖς καὶ ίων-λίδες ἀλίσκονται, μόρμυροί τε καὶ σαργοὶ καὶ Φ κωβιοὶ καὶ λάβρακες· τὰ δὲ βολιστικά καλούμενα,

1 ἐκτοπός] ψευδής μὲν οὖσα ἐκτοπός Reiske.
2 ἀλεξῆμασι Coeneis: ἀδοξῆμασι.

a Juba was king of Mauretania (25 B.C.—C. A.D. 23).
b Cf. Herodotus, vi. 31; iii. 149; Plato, Laws 698 d; Fraenkel on Aesch. Agam. 358. On kinds of nets see Mair, L.C.L. Oppian, pp. xl ff.
c Coris iulis Gth. Cf. Thompson on Aristotle, Historia Animal, ix. 3 (610 b 7); A Glossary of Greek Fishes, p. 91; Schmid, op. cit. p. 292; Brands, op. cit. p. 157; Cotte, op. cit. pp. 59-60; Saint-Denis, op. cit. p. 52.
d In particular, probably Pagellus morumurus C.V. On the identification cf. Thompson on Aristotle, Historia 428.
mount is monstrous and far-fetched and dictates, as it were, that we are to believe it on a king's prescription—that is, on the writs of Juba. Suppose it to be true: it merely proves that many sea creatures are in no way inferior in community spirit and intelligence to the wisest of the land animals. As for their sociability, I shall soon make a special plea on that topic.

26. Now fishermen, observing that most fish evade the striking of the hook by such countermoves as wrestlers use, resorted, like the Persians, to force and used the dragnet, since for those caught in it there could be no escape with the help of reason or cleverness. For mullet and rainbow-wrasse are caught by casting-nets and round nets, as are also the bream and the sargue and the goby and the sea-bass. The so-called net fish, that is surmullet

*Animal, vi. 7 (570 b 20); Glossary, p. 161; Cotte, op. cit. pp. 105-107; Saint-Denis, op. cit. pp. 65-66.*


(977) τρίγλαν καὶ χρυσώπον καὶ σκορπίον, γρίποις τε καὶ σαγήναις σύρουσι περιλαμβάνοντες· τῶν δικτύων οὖν τὸ γένος όρθως "Ομήρος πανάγραινος προσείπεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα μηχαναὶ ταῖς γαλαίσ εἴσιν ὥσπερ τῷ λάβρακι· συρομένην γάρ αἰσθανόμενος βία διάτησι καὶ τύπτει κοιλαίνων τοῦ δικτύοι χώραν, ἐνέωσεν ἐαυτὸν καὶ προσέχεται, μέχρις ἂν παρέλθῃ.

Δελφῖς δὲ περιληφθεῖσα, ὃταν συναίσθηται γεγονός ἐν ἄγκαλαῖς σαγήνης, ὑπομένει μὴ ταραττόμενος ἀλλὰ χαίρων· εὐσχετεῖται γάρ ἂνευ πραγματείας ἀφθόνων ἰχθύων παρόντων· ὅταν δὲ πλησίον τῇ γῇ 978 προσίγη, διαφαγῶν τὸ δίκτυον ἀπεισών. εἰ δὲ μὴ φθαίγ ψυγῶν, τὸ πρῶτον οὐδὲν ἔπαθε δεινὸν ἀλλὰ διαρράφσαις αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸν λόφον ὀλοσχοινόν ἀφήκαν· αὕθις δὲ ληφθέντα πληγαίς κολάζουσι, γνωρίσαντες ἐκ τοῦ διαρράμματος. σπανίως δὲ τούτῳ συμβαίνει· συγγνώμης γάρ τυγχάνοντες τὸ πρῶτον εὐγνωμονοῦσιν οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ φυλάττονται τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ ἄδικεῖν.

"Ετὶ δὲ πολλῶν τῶν πρὸς εὐλάβειαν καὶ προφυ-

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1 οὖν Bernardakis: ὅν.  
3 γαλαίσ εἰσιν Bernardakis: γαλαίσιν.  
4 τύπτων κοιλαίνει Reiske.  
5 ἐνέωσεν Hubert: ἐσοευ.  
6 διαφαγῶν Reiske: φαγῶν.  
7 φυγῶν Pohlenz: διαφυγῶν.

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b Scorpaena scrofa L., and S. porcus L. On this fish cf.
and gilthead\(^a\) and sculpin,\(^b\) are caught in seines by trawling: accordingly it was quite correct for Homer\(^c\) to call this kind of net a "catch-all." Codfish,\(^d\) like bass,\(^e\) have devices even against these. For when the bass perceives that the trawl is approaching, it forces the mud apart and hammers a hollow in the bottom. When it has made room enough to allow the net to overrun it, it thrusts itself in and waits until the danger is past.

Now when the dolphin is caught and perceives itself to be trapped in the net, it bides its time, not at all disturbed but well pleased, for it feasts without stint on the fish that have been gathered with no trouble to itself. But as soon as it comes near the shore, it bites its way through the net and makes its escape. Yet if it should not get away in time, on the first occasion it suffers no harm: the fishermen merely sew rushes to its crest and let it go. But if it is taken a second time, they recognize it from the seam and punish it with a beating. This, however, rarely occurs: most dolphins are grateful for their pardon in the first instance and take care to do no harm in the future.\(^f\)

Further, among the many examples of wariness,

Cotte, \textit{op. cit.} pp. 111-113; Saint-Denis, \textit{op. cit.} pp. 103-104; Thompson on Aristotle, \textit{Historia Animal.} v. 9 (543 a 7); Glossary, pp. 245 f.\(^e\)


\textit{Cf.} Oppian, \textit{Hal.} iii. 121 ff.\(^f\)

On the alliance of dolphins and fisherman see Aelian, \textit{De Natura Animal.} ii. 8 : xi. 12; Pliny, \textit{Nat. Hist.} ix. 29 ff.
27. Τῆς δ’ ἐπιχειρητικῆς καὶ θηρευτικῆς δεινότητος αὐτῶν ἐν πολλοῖς σοφίσματα κατιδεῖν ἔστων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀστήρ, ὃν ἂν ἄφηται, πάντα διαλύομενα καὶ διατηκόμενα γινώσκων, ἐνδίδωσι τὸ σῶμα καὶ περιορά ψαυόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν παρατρεχόντων ἡ προσπελαξόντων. τῆς δὲ νάρκης ἵστε δήποτε τὴν δύναμιν, οὐ μόνον τοὺς θυγόντας αὐτῆς ἐκπηγνύουσαν, οὐ καὶ τὰς σαγήνης βαρύτητα ναρκώδη ταῖς χερσὶ τῶν ἀντιλαμβανομένων ἐμποιοῦσαν. ἔνιοι δ’ ἱστοροῦσι, πείραν αὐτῆς ἐπὶ πλέον λαμβάνοντες, ἀν ἐκπέσῃ ζῶσα, κατασκεδαιμύντες ὑδῶρ ἀνωθεν, αὐθαίνεσθαι τοῦ πάθους ἀνατρέχοντος ἐπὶ τὴν χείρα καὶ τὴν ἄφην ἀμβλύνοντος ὃς ἵστηκε διὰ τοῦ ὑδα-

1 οὓς ἂν early editors: ὅταν.

a Cf. Aristotle, Historia Animal. ix. 37 (621 b 28); Athenaeus, 323 d-e; Pliny, Nat. Hist. ix. 84; Horace, Sat. i. 4, 100; Aelian, De Natura Animal. i. 34; Mairon Oppian, Hal. iii. 156.

b Aristotle, Historia Animal. iv. 1 (524 b 15); De Part. Animal. iv. 5 (679 a 1).

c "Under the mouth," says Aristotle.
precaution, or evasion, we must not pass over that of the cuttlefish: it has the so-called *mytis* beside the neck full of black liquid, which they call "ink." When it is come upon, it discharges the liquid to the purpose that the sea shall be inked out and create darkness around it while it slips through and eludes the fisherman's gaze. In this it imitates Homer's gods who often "in a dark cloud" snatch up and smuggle away those whom they are pleased to save. But enough of this.

27. As for cleverness in attacking and catching prey, we may perceive subtle examples of it in many different species. The starfish, for example, knowing that everything with which it comes in contact dissolves and liquefies, offers its body and is indifferent to the contact of those that overtake or meet it. You know, of course, the property of the torpedo: not only does it paralyse all those who touch it, but even through the net creates a heavy numbness in the hands of the trawlers. And some who have experimented further with it report that if it is washed ashore alive and you pour water on it from above, you may perceive the numbness mounting to the hand and dulling your sense of touch by way of

...
(978) tos τρεπομένου καὶ προπεπονθότος. ταύτης οὖν ἐχουσα σύμφωνον αὐτθησιν μάχεται μὲν ἐξ ἐναντίας πρὸς οὐδὲν οὐδὲ διακινδυνεύει· κύκλῳ δὲ περιωῦσα τὸ θηρευόμενον ύσπερ βέλη διασπείρει τὰς ἀπορ-ραές, φαρμάττουσα τὸ ὤδωρ πρῶτον, εἰτα τὸ ζώον

D διὰ τοῦ ἔδατος, μὴ' ἀμύνασθαι δυνάμενον μήτε φυγεῖν ἀλλ' εὐσχόμενον ύσπερ ὑπὸ δεσμῶν καὶ πηγνύμενον.

'O δὲ καλούμενος ἀλίευς γνώριμος μὲν ἐστι πολλοῖς καὶ διὰ τούργου αὐτῷ γέγονε τούνομα· ὃ σοφίσματι καὶ τὴν σηπίαν χρῆσθαι φησιν ὁ 'Ἀρι-στοτέλης· καθήσας γὰρ ύσπερ ὀρμῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ τρα-χήλου πλεκτάνην, μηκύνεσθαι τε πόρρω χαλώσης καὶ πάλιν συντρέχειν εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἀναλαμβανούσης ράστα πεφυκυίαιν. ὅταν οὖν τι τῶν μικρῶν ἰχθυ-δίων ἱδη πλησίον, ἐνδιδωσι δακεῖν καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀναμηρύσεται λανθάνουσα καὶ προσάγεται, μέχρις ἄν ἐν ἐφικτῷ τοῦ στόματος γένηται τὸ προσισχόμενον.1

Ε Τῶν δὲ πολυτόδων τῆς χρόας τὴν ἀμειψιν ὁ τε Πύνδαρος περιβόητον πεποίηκεν εἰπών

ποντίου θηρὸς χρωτὶ μάλιστα νόον
προσφέρων πάσαις πολίεσσιν ὁμίλει·

1 προσισχόμενον Wyttenbach: προσισχόμενον.

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a Cf. the "upward infection" of the basilisk, Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 78.
b The fishing-frog, Lophius piscatorius L.: Aristotle, His-
the water which, so it seems, suffers a change and is first infected.\textsuperscript{a} Having, therefore, an innate sense of this power, it never makes a frontal attack or endangers itself; rather, it swims in a circle around its prey and discharges its shocks as if they were darts, thus poisoning first the water, then through the water the creature which can neither defend itself nor escape, being held fast as if by chains and frozen stiff.

The so-called fisherman \textsuperscript{b} is known to many; he gets his name from his actions. Aristotle \textsuperscript{c} says that the cuttlefish also makes use of this stratagem: he lets down, like a fishing line, a tentacle from his neck which is naturally designed to extend to a great length when it is released, or to be drawn to him when it is pulled in. So when he espies a little fish, he gives it the feeler to bite and then by degrees imperceptibly draws it back toward himself until the prey attached to the arm is within reach of his mouth.

As for the octopus' change of colour,\textsuperscript{d} Pindar\textsuperscript{e} has made it celebrated in the words

\begin{quote}
To all the cities to which you resort
Bring a mind like the changing skin of the seabeast;
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{c} \textit{Historia Animal}, ix. 37 (622 a 1) ; cf. iv. 1 (524 a 3), iv. 6 (531 b 6) ; Pliny, \textit{Nat. Hist.} ix. 83 ff. ; Mair on Oppian, \textit{Hal.} ii. 122.


\textsuperscript{e} Frag. 43 Schroeder, 208 Turyn, 233 Bowra (p. 516, ed. Sandys L.C.L.) ; cf. \textit{Mor.} 916 c and Turyn's references.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(978) καὶ Θεόγνις ὤμοιως

πουλύποδος νῦν ἦσχε πολυχρόου, δις ποτὶ πέτρῃ τῇ περὶ ὀμίλησι, τοῖς ἰδεῖν ἐφάνη.

μεταβάλλει μὲν γὰρ δ' χαμαιλέων οὐδὲν τι μηχανώ-

μενος οὐδὲ κατακρύπτων ἑαυτὸν ἄλλ' ὑπὸ δέους ἄλλως τρέπεται, φύσει ψυφοδεῖς ὡν καὶ δειλός.

συνέπεται δὲ καὶ πνεύματος πλῆθος, ὡς Θεόφραστος

ὁλίγον γὰρ ἀποδεί πάν τὸ σώμα τοῦ ξώου πληρὲς

F εἶναι πνεύμονοι, ὃ τεκμιρέται τὸ πνευματικὸν

αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς τὰς μεταβολὰς εὐτρέπτων.

τοῦ δὲ πολύποδος ἔργον ἐστὶν οὐ πάθος ἡ μετα-

βολή: μεταβάλλει γὰρ ἐκ προνοίας, μηχανῇ χρώ-

μενος τοὺς λανθάνειν ὅ δέδει καὶ λαμβάνειν οἷς

τρέφεται: παρακρονομενος γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἀἱρεὶ μὴ

φεύγοντα, τὰ δ' ἐκφεύγει παρερχόμενα. τὸ μὲν γὰρ

αὐτοῦ τὰς πλεκτάνας κατεσθεῖν αὐτὸν ψεῦδος ἐστὶν·

τὸ δὲ μύραιναν δεδιέναι καὶ γόγγρον ἀληθεῖς ἐστὶν·

ὑπ' ἐκείνων γὰρ κακῶς πάσχει, δρᾶν μὴ δυνάμενος

979 ἐξολοσοβάντων. ὡσπερ αὖ πάλιν ὁ κάραβος ἐκεὶ-

1 μὲν γὰρ ὁ Reiske: γὰρ ὁ μὲν.
2 τὰ μὲν added by Meziriacus.

a 215-216: cf. Mor. 96 r, 916 c. There are many textual variants, but none alters the sense.

b Or

" Keep a mind as multicoloured as the octopus,

With the rock whereon it sits homologous."

(Andrews).

c See Thompson on Aristotle, Historia Animal. ii. 11 (503 b 2); Ogle on De Part. Animal, iv. 11 (692 a 22 ff.). See also Aelian, De Natura Animal, iv. 33; and cf. Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 122 for the chameleon's exclusive diet of "air": nee alio quam aeris alimento.

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and Theognis "likewise:

Be minded like the octopus' hue:
The colour of its rock will meet the view.

The chameleon, to be sure, is metachromatic, but not from any design or desire to conceal itself; it changes colour uselessly from fear, being naturally timid and cowardly. And this is consistent with the abundance of air in it, as Theophrastus says; for nearly the whole body of the creature is occupied by its lungs, which shows it to be full of air and for this reason easily moved to change colour. But this same action on the part of the octopus is not an emotional response, but a deliberate change, since it uses this device to escape what it fears and to capture what it feeds on: by this deceit it can both seize the latter, which does not try to escape, and avoid the former, which proceeds on its way. Now the story that it eats its own tentacles is a lie, but it is true that it fears the moray and the conger. It is, in fact, maltreated by them; for it cannot do them harm, since they slip from its grasp. On the other hand, when the crawfish has once got them in its grasp,

"The change takes place when it is inflated by air."

Which confirms Karsch's emendation of Aristotle, Historia Animal. ii. 11 (503 b 21); for Theophrastus and Plutarch must have had "lungs" and not "membranes" in their text of Aristotle.

See 965 e supra and the note; Pliny, Nat. Hist. ix. 87; Mor. 1059 e, 1098 e, Comm. in Hes. fr. 53 (Bernardakis, vol. VII, p. 77).

The langouste as distinguished from the homard; see Aelian, De Natura Animal. i. 32; ix. 25; x. 38; Thompson on Aristotle, Historia Animal. viii. 2 (590 b 16); Glossary, pp. 102 ff.; Pliny, Nat. Hist. ix. 185; Antigonus, Hist. Mirab. 92.
28. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἔχινον γε τινα χερσαίον1 διηγήσατο πρόγνωσιν Ἀριστότιμος πνευμάτων, ὅς ἐθαύμαζε καὶ γεράνων τὴν ἐν τριγώνῳ πτήσιν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐχίνοι μὲν οὐδένα Κυζικηνὸν ἤ Βυζάντιον, ἄλλα Ἐπόνασε όμοι παρέχομαι τοὺς θαλαττοὺς, ὅταν αἰσθητοί μελλοντα χειμώνα καὶ σάλον, ἐρματιζομένου λιθιδίουσ, ὅπως μὴ περιτρέπονται διὰ κοινοφότητα μηδ' ἀποσύρονται γενομένου κλύδωνος, ἀλλ' ἐπιμένωσιν ἀραρτῶς τοὺς πτερίδια.

'Η δ' αὖ2 γεράνων μεταβολὴ τῆς πτήσεως πρὸς ἀνεμον οὐχ3 ἐνός γένους έστιν, ἄλλα τοῦτο κοινῆ πάντες ἱερονειαν νοοῦντες ἦν πρὸς κύμα καὶ ροὴν ἀντινήχουνται καὶ παραφυλάττουσιν ὅπως μή, κατ' οὐράν προσφερομένου τοῦ πνεύματος, ἡ λεπίς ἀναπνεομένη λυπῆ τὸ σῶμα γυμνούμενον καὶ διατραχυνόμενον. οἶδεν ἄει συνεξουσίον εάντος ζ άντιπρόφορος: σχιξομένη γαρ οὔτω κατὰ κορυφὴν ἡ

1 χερσαίον] τοῦ χερσαίον Reiske.
3 οὐχ should perhaps be deleted; or write οὐχ ἐνός μόνον.

a The octopus is worsted by the moray and the conger, which in turn are defeated by the crawfish, which (to complete the cycle) becomes the octopus’ prey. The whole engagement is graphically portrayed in Oppian, Hal. ii. 253-418. For Nature’s battle see, e.g., Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 79.
b Cf. 972 a supra. Valentine Rose, curiously enough,
it wins the victory easily, for smoothness is no aid against roughness; yet when the octopus has once thrust its tentacles inside the crawfish, the latter succumbs. And so Nature has created this cycle and succession of mutual pursuit and flight as a field for the exercise and competitive practice of adroitness and intelligence.

28. We have, to be sure, heard Aristotimus telling us about the hedgehog's foreknowledge of the winds; and our friend also admired the V-shaped flight of cranes. I can produce no hedgehog of Cyzicus or Byzantium, but instead the whole body of sea-hedgehogs, which, when they perceive that storm and surf are coming, ballast themselves with little stones in order that they may not be capsized by reason of their lightness or be swept away by the swell, but may remain fixed in position through the weight of their little rocks.

Again, the cranes' change of flight against the wind is not merely the action of one species: all fish generally have the same notion and always swim against wave and current, taking care that a blast from the rear does not fold back their scales and expose and roughen their bodies. For this reason they always present the prow of their bodies to the waves, for in that way head first they cleave the sea, which demended to Aristotle (see Historia Animal, ix. 6, 612 b 4) and included this passage in Frag. 342. See further Mair on Oppian, Hal. ii. 226.

^ Cf. 967 b supra.
_a_ Perhaps he is learnedly confuting Aristotimus (972 a supra) by drawing on Aristotle.
^ i.e. the sea-urchin, regarded by the ancients as a sort of marine counterpart of the hedgehog because of the similar spines.
^ Cf. 967 b supra, of bees.
^ Cf. 967 b supra.
29. Ὅ δὲ θύνους οὔτως ἵσημερίας αὐσθάνεται καὶ τροπῆς, ὡστε καὶ τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν διδάσκειν μηδὲν ἀστρολογικῶν κανόνων δεόμενος. ὅπου γὰρ ἂν αὐτὸν χειμῶνος αἰ τροπαὶ καταλάβωσιν, ἀπρεμέι

Д καὶ διατρίβει περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον ἄχρι τῆς ἱση-

μερίας. ἀλλὰ τῆς γεράνου σοφὸν ἦ τοῦ λίθου περίδρασις, ὅπως προϊμενὴ νυκτὸς ἐξυπνίζηται καὶ πόσω σοφότερον, ὡ φίλε, τὸ τοῦ δελφίνος, ἦ στηναι μὲν οὐ θέμις οὔδε παύσασθαι φορᾶς· ἀεικύνη-

tos γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ φύσις αὐτοῦ καὶ ταύτων ἔχουσα τοῦ

ζην καὶ τοῦ κινεῖσθαι πέρας· όταν δὲ ὑπνον δεῖται, μετέωρίσας ἄνω τὸ σῶμα πρὸς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς

θαλάττης, ὑπτιον ἄφηκε διὰ βάθους, αἰώρας τυίς

σάλῳ κομιζόμενος ἄχρι προσπεσεῖν καὶ ψαύσαι τῆς

γης· οὕτω δὲ ἐξυπνισθεὶς ἀναρροίζει καὶ πάλιν

ἄνω γενόμενος ἐνδίδωσι, καὶ φέρεται κινῆσει τινὰ

Ε μεμιγμένην ἀνάπαυσιν αὐτῷ μηχανῶμενος. τὸ δ'

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1 φασὶ early editors: φύσει.
2 δεόμενος Hubert: δεόμενον.
3 νυκτὸς Kronenberg: πυκνὸν (πρὸς τῶν κτύπων Reiske).
4 κομιζόμενος Reiske: κομιζόμενος.

*Probably usually the common sturgeon, *Acipenser sturio*: see Thompson, *Glossary*, pp. 62 f.; Aelian, *De Natura Animal*. viii. 28, speaks of it as a rare and sacred
presses their gills and, flowing smoothly over the surface, keeps down, instead of ruffling up, the bristling skin. Now this, as I have said, is common to all fish except the sturgeon, which, they say, swims with wind and tide and does not fear the harrowing of its scales since the overlaps are not in the direction of the tail.

29. The tunny is so sensitive to equinox and solstice that it teaches even men themselves without the need of astronomical tables; for wherever it may be when the winter solstice overtakes it, in that same place it stands and stays until the equinox. As for that clever device of the crane, the grasping of the stone by night so that if it falls, she may awake from sleep—how much cleverer, my friend, is the artifice of the dolphin, for whom it is illicit to stand still or to cease from motion. For its nature is to be ever active: the termination of its life and its movement is one and the same. When it needs sleep, it rises to the surface of the sea and allows itself to sink deeper and deeper on its back, lulled to rest by the swinging motion of the ground swell until it touches the bottom. Thus roused, it goes whizzing up, and when it reaches the surface, again goes slack, devising for itself a kind of rest combined

fish; see 981 d infra. Cf. Milton's "Ellops drear" (P.L. x. 525).

b Cf. Aelian, De Natura Animal. ix. 42; Aristotle, Historia Animal. viii. 13 (598 b 25 f.).

c See 967 c supra.

d Reiske may have been right in suspecting a trimeter of unknown origin in these words.

e Cf. Aelian, De Natura Animal. xi. 22. The dolphin even nurses its young while in motion: Pliny, Nat. Hist. xi. 235; and cf. Aristotle, Historia Animal. ii. 13 (504 b 21 ff.).

f As it were, the cradle of the deep.
(979) αὐτὸ δράν καὶ θύννουσ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας λέγουσιν.

'Επεὶ δ' ἄρτι τὴν μαθηματικὴν αὐτῶν1 τῆς τοῦ ἥλιου μεταβολῆς ἐτέλεσα2 πρόγνωσιν, ἢς μάρτυς Ἀριστοτέλης ἔστίν, ἄκουσον ἧδη τὴν ἀριθμητικὴν ἐπιστήμην αὐτῶν πρότερον δὲ, ναὶ μᾶ Δία, τὴν ὁπτικὴν, ἢν ἐοικε μηδ' Λίσχυλος ἀγνοῆσαι λέγει γάρ που τὸ3 σκαῖρον ὁμμα παραβαλὼν θύννου δίκην.

τῷ γάρ ἐτέρω δοκοῦσιν ἀμβλυώττειν: οἶδεν ἐμβάλλοσιν εἰς τὸν Πόντον ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς γῆς ἐχόμενοι, καὶ τούναντίον ὦταν ἐξίσωσι' ἐμφρόνως πάνυ καὶ νουνεκὼς ἀεὶ τὴν τοῦ σῶματος φυλακὴν ἐπὶ τῷ κρείττονι ποιούμενοι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. ἀριθμητικὴς F δὲ διὰ τὴν κοινωνικὴν, ὥς ἐοικε, καὶ φιλάλληλον ἀγάπησιν ἐαυτῶν δεηθέντες οὗτως ἐπ' ἄκρον ἢκουσι τοῦ μαθήματος, ὡστ', ἐπεὶ πάνυ χαίρουσι τῷ συντρέφεσθαι καὶ συναγελάζεσθαι μετ' ἀλλήλων, ἀεὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῷ σχήματι κυβίζουσι καὶ στερεῶν ἐκ πάντων ποιοῦσιν, ἔξ ἵσος ἐπιπέδους περιεχόμενον' εἰτα νήχονται τὴν4 τάξιν οὗτω τὸ πλαίσιον ἀμφίστομον5

1 αὐτῶν Reiske: οὗτως.
2 ἐτέλεσα] ἐπελήλυθα Reiske.
3 ποῦ τὸ Meziriacus: τὸῦτο.
4 τὴν] κατὰ Reiske.
5 ἀμφίστοιχον Wytenbach.
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with motion.\(^a\) And they say that tunnies do the same thing for the same reason.

Having just a moment ago given you an account of the tunny's mathematical foreknowledge of the reversal of the sun, of which Aristotle \(^b\) is a witness, I beg you to hear the tale of their arithmetical learning. But first, I swear, I must mention their knowledge of optics, of which Aeschylus \(^c\) seems not to have been ignorant, for these are his words:

Squinting the left eye like a tunny fish.

They seem, indeed, to have poor sight in one eye. And it is for this reason that when they enter the Black Sea, they hug one bank on the right, and the other \(^d\) when they are going out, it being very prudent and sagacious of them always to entrust the protection of themselves to the better eye. Now since they apparently need arithmetic to preserve their consociation and affection for each other, they have attained such perfection of learning that, since they take great pleasure in feeding and schooling together,\(^e\) they always form the school into a cube, making it an altogether solid figure with a surface of six equal plane sides; then they swim on their way preserving their formation, a square that faces

\(^a\) But see Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* x. 210, where it is reported that dolphins "are actually heard snoring."

\(^b\) *Historia Animal.* viii. 13 (598 b 25).


\(^d\) See Thompson on Aristotle, *Historia Animal.* viii. 13 (598 b 19 ff.); *Glossary,* p. 84; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ix. 50. They follow the opposite shore when returning, thus keeping the same eye towards the land.

30. Ἀμίας δὲ καὶ τούνομα παρέσχηκεν οὖν συναγελασμός, οἷς δὲ καὶ ταῖς πηλαμύσι. τῶν δὲ ἀλλων γενών οἷα φαίνεται καὶ ζῷ κοινωνικῶς μετ’ ἀλλήλων ἀγελθῶν οὐκ ἂν τις εἴποι τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τὰς κατ’ ἱδίαν κοινωνίας αὐτῶν καὶ συμβιώσεις ἴτεόν. ὅν ἐστὶ καὶ ὅ το πλείστον ἐξαναλώσας Χρυσίππου μέλαν πυννοτήρας, ἐν παντὶ Ὁ καὶ φυσικῷ βιβλίῳ καὶ ζῷκῳ προεδρέαν ἔχων τὸν γὰρ σπογγοτήραν οὐκ ἱστόρηκεν, οὐ γὰρ ἂν παρελπεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν πυννοτήρας ζῷων ἔστι καρκινώδες, ὡς φασί, καὶ τῇ πίνη σύνεσι καὶ πυλωρεῖ τὴν

1 πυννοτήρας Wytenbach: πυνοθήρας.
2 ἐν παντὶ] ἐν added by Wytenbach.

a A watcher posted on a tall mast to warn fishermen of the approach of a shoal and to give a count. See Thompson on Aristotle, Historia Animal. iv. 10 (537 a 19); Glossary, p. 87; Gow on Theocritus, iii. 26; Mair on Oppian, Hal. iii. 638. Accounts of the ancient tunny fishery are given by Thompson, Glossary, pp. 84-88; Pace, Atti R. Ac. Archeologia Napoli, N.S. xii (1931/2), pp. 326 ff.; and Rhode, Jahrb. f. class. Phil., Suppb. xviii (1900), pp. 1-78. An account of the ancient and the modern tunny fishery is given by Parona, R. Comitato Talasso-grafico Italiano, Memoria, no. 68, 1919.

b Similarly, Athenaeus (vii. 278 a; cf. 324 d) quotes Aristotle as defining ἀμία as "not solitary," i.e. running in schools. Actually the term is probably foreign, perhaps of Egyptian origin (cf. Thompson, Glossary, p. 13).

c Plutarch takes πελαμύς to be compound of peleiv "to be" and hama "with," with reference to their running in
both ways. Certainly a hooer \(^a\) watching for tunnies who counts the exact number on the surface at once makes known the total number of the shoal, since he knows that the depth is equal one to one with the breadth and the length.

30. Schooling together has also given the bonitos their name of \(amía\) \(^b\) and I think this is true of year-old tunnies as well.\(^c\) As for the other kinds which are observed to live in shoals in mutual society, it is impossible to state their number. Let us rather, therefore, proceed to examine those that have a special partnership, that is, symbiosis. One of these is the pinna-guard,\(^d\) over which Chrysippus \(^e\) spilled a very great deal of ink; indeed it has a reserved seat in every single book of his, whether ethical or physical.\(^f\) Chrysippus has obviously not investigated the sponge-guard \(^g\); otherwise he could hardly have left it out. Now the pinna-guard is a crab-like creature, so they say, who lives with the pinna \(^h\) and schools. It was also anciently presumed to be a compound of \(pělos\) "mud" and \(myéin\) "be shut in or enclosed," because of its habit of hiding in the mud (cf. Aristotle, \(Historia Animal.\) 599 b 18; Pliny, \(Nat. Hist.\) ix. 47). Most scholars now regard it as a loan from the Mediterranean substratum, although Thompson (\(Glossary,\) p. 198) suggests that it may be of Asiatic origin, since it was used especially of the tunny in the Black Sea.


\(^b\) Von Arnim, \(S. V. F.\) ii, p. 208, frag. 729 b (Athenaeus, 89 d). Cf. also fragments 729, 729 a, and 730. On the place of the pinna in Chrysippus' theology see A. S. Pease, \(Harr. Theol. Rec.\) xxxiv (1941), p. 177.

\(^c\) Cf. \(Mor.\) 1035 b, 1038 b.

\(^d\) A little crab that lives in the hollow chambers of a sponge. See Thompson, loc. cit.

\(^e\) On this bivalve shellfish see Thompson, \(Glossary,\) p. 200; Mair on Oppian, \(Hal.\) ii. 186.

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Nevertheless, it is a crab, Typton spongicola.

(Cf. Aelian, De Natura Animal, viii. 16; Aristotle,
sits in front of the shell guarding the entrance. It allows the pinna to remain wide open and agape until one of the little fish that are their prey gets within; then the guard nips the flesh of the pinna and slips inside; the shell is closed and together they feast on the imprisoned prey.

The sponge is governed by a little creature not resembling a crab, but much like a spider. Now the sponge is no lifeless, insensitive, bloodless thing; though it clings to the rocks, as many other animals do, it has a peculiar movement outward and inward which needs, as it were, admonition and supervision. In any case it is loose in texture and its pores are relaxed because of its sloth and dullness; but when anything edible enters, the guard gives the signal, and it closes up and consumes the prey. Even more, if a man approaches or touches it, informed by the scratching of the guard, it shudders, as it were, and so closes itself up by stiffening and contracting that it is not an easy, but a very difficult, matter for the hunters to undercut it.

The purplefish lives in colonies which build up a comb together, like bees. In this the species is said to propagate; they catch at edible bits of oyster-green and seaweed that stick to shells, and furnish each other with a sort of periodic rotating banquet, as they feed one after another in series.

31. And why should anyone be surprised at the

Historia Animal. v. 16 (548 a 28 ff.); Pliny, Nat. Hist. ix. 148: Antigonus, 83; Mair on Oppian, Hal. v. 656; Thompson, Glossary, pp. 249-250.


PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(980) θαυμάσειν, ὅποιο τὸ πάντων ἀμικτότατον καὶ θη- 
ριῳδέστατον ὄν τρέφουσι ποταμοὶ καὶ λύμαν καὶ 
θάλασσαι ξώον, ὁ κροκόδειλος, θαυμαστὸν ἔαντὸν 
ἐπιδείκνυται πρὸς κοινωνίαν καὶ χάριν ἐν τοῖς πρὸς 
τὸν τροχίλον συμβολαίοις; ὁ γὰρ τροχίλος ἐστὶ 
μὲν ὀρίς τῶν ἔλειὼν καὶ παραπταμῶν, φουρεῖ 
δὲ τὸν κροκόδειλόν οὐκ οἰκόσιτος ἄλλα τοῖς ἐκεῖνον 
λευψάνις παρατρεφόμενος· ὅταν γὰρ αἴσθηται, τοῦ 
Εὐκροκόδειλον καθεύδοντος, ἑπιβουλεύοντα τὸν ἱχ- 
νεύμονα πτηλούμενον ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὥσπερ ἄθλητὴν 
κοινόμενον, ἐπεγείρει φθεγγόμενος καὶ κολάπτων· 
ὁ δ' οὐτως ἐξημεροῦται πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὥστε τοῦ στό- 
ματος διαχανόν ἐντὸς παρίσης, καὶ χαίρει τὰ λεπτά 
τῶν ἐνισχυμένων τοῖς ὀδούσι σαρκών ἐκλέγοντος 
ἀτρέμα τῷ ράμφῳ καὶ διασκαλεύοντος· ἄν δὲ με- 
τρίως ἔχων ἑδὴ βουληταὶ συναγαγεῖν τὸ στόμα καὶ 
κλείσαι, προκλίνει τὴν σιαγόνα καὶ διασημαίνει καὶ 
οὐ πρότερον καθίσιν ἡ συναισθανόμενον ἐκπήρα 
tὸν τροχίλον.

F ־Ο δὲ καλοῦμενος ἤγεμὼν μεγέθεί μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ 
σχῆματι κωβιώδες ἱχθύδιον, τὴν δ' ἐπιφάνειαν 
ὄρυκι φρύσσοντι διὰ τὴν τραχύτητα τῆς λεπίδος 
ἐοικέναι λέγεται, καὶ ἄεὶ σύνεστιν ἐνὶ τῶν μεγά-
λων κητῶν καὶ προνήχεται, τὸν δρόμον ἐπευθύνων,

1 καὶ Hubert: καὶ τὸ.

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1 See Herodotus, ii. 68; Thompson on Aristotle, Historia Animal. ix. 6 (612 a 20); Glossary of Greek Birds, p. 287. Some authorities such as Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 90 and Oppian, Cyn. iii. 415 ff., state that the ichneumon attacks the crocodile while its mouth is open for the plover's operations. Cf. Boulenger, Animal Mysteries, p. 104, for a modern factual account (see also his World Natural History, p. 146).
community life of these when the most unsociable and brutal of all creatures bred in river, lake, or sea. the crocodile, shows himself marvellously proficient at partnership and goodwill in his dealings with the Egyptian plover. The plover is a bird of the swamps and river banks and it guards the crocodile, not supplying its own food, but as a boarder making a meal of the crocodile's scraps. Now when it perceives that, during the crocodile's sleep, the ichneumon is planning to attack it, smearing itself with mud like an athlete dusting himself for the fray, the bird awakes the crocodile by crying and pecking at it. And the crocodile becomes so gentle with it that it will open its mouth and let it in and is pleased that the bird quietly pecks out, with its bill, bits of flesh which are caught in the teeth and cleans them up. When it is now satisfied and wants to close its mouth, it tilts its snout upward as an indication of its desire and does not let it down until the plover, at once perceiving the intention, flies out.

The so-called "guide" is a small fish, in size and shape like a goby; but by reason of the roughness of its scales it is said to resemble a ruffled bird. It always accompanies one of the great whales, swimming in front of it and directing its course so that it

\[b\] Cf. Aelian, De Natura Animal. iii. 11; xii. 15; [Aristotle]. Mir. Ausc. 7.
\[c\] Cf. 966 d supra.

\[d\] The name and the activity are appropriate to the pilotfish (cf. Oppian, Hal. v. 62 ff.; Aelian, De Natura Animal. ii. 13), but the description fits rather one of the globe-fishes, such as Diodon hystrix (cf. Thompson, Glossary, p. 75). See also Pliny, Nat. Hist. ix. 186; xi. 165, who calls it the sea mouse. "Actually the ... pilot is just a 'sponger' and accompanies the shoals ... with the sole object of picking up such crumbs as may fall from their table." Boulenger, Animal Mysteries, p. 105.
(980) ὃπως οὖν ἐνσχεθήσεται βράχεσιν οὐδ' εἰς τέναγος 981 ἦ τίνα πορθμὸν ἔμπεσεῖται δυσέξοδον. ἔπεται γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ κῆτος, ὡσπερ οἷακι ναῦς, παραγόμενον εὐπειθῶς. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων, ὃς ἂν παραλάβῃ τῷ χάσματι ζῷον ἢ σκάφος ἢ λίθον, εὕθως διεφθαρται καὶ ἀπόλωλε πᾶν ἐμβεβυθημένον· ἐκεῖνο δὲ γινώσκον ἀναλαμβάνει τῷ στόματι καθάπερ ἁγκυραν ἐντός· ἐγκαθεύδει γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ κῆτος ἐστηκεν ἀναπαυμένον καὶ ὑμεῖς· προελθόντος δ' αὕθες ἐπακολουθεῖ μήθ' ἡμέρας μήτε νυκτὸς ἀπολειπόμενον, ἢ ρέμβεται καὶ πλανᾶται, καὶ πολλὰ διεφθάρη καθάπερ ἀκυβέρνητα2 πρὸς γῆν ἐξενεχθέντα. καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς περὶ Ἀντικύραν ἑωράκαμεν

Β οὐ3 πάλαι· καὶ πρότερον ἱστοροῦσιν οὐ πόρρω Βουλίδος4 ἐξοκείλαντος καὶ κατασαπέντος λοιμὸν γενέσθαι.

'Ἀρ' οὖν ἄξιόν ἐστι5 ταύτας ταῖς κοινωνίαις καὶ συμπεριφοράς παραβάλλειν ἄσπερ6 Ἀριστοτέλης ἱστορεῖ φιλίας ἀλωπέκων καὶ ὡφεων διὰ τὸ κοινὸν αὐτοῖς πολέμιον εἶναι τὸν ἀετόν, ἢ τὰς ὠτίδων πρὸς ἱπποὺς, ὅτι χαίρουσι προσπελάξουσι καὶ διασκάλουσι τὸν ὄνθου· ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδ' ἐν μελίταις ὀρῶ τοσαύτην ἄλληλων ἐπιμέλειαν οὐδ' ἐν μύρμηξι· τὸ γὰρ κοινὸν αὐξοῦσι πᾶσαι καὶ πάν

1 παραγόμενον] περιαγόμενον W. C. H.
2 καὶ πολλάκις (οὗ τὰ πολλά) . . . καθάπερ πλοία ἀκυβέρνητα Reiske.
3 οὐ Meziriacus: οὐ.
5 ἐστὶ τι Reiske.

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may not go aground in shallows or be cut off in some lagoon or strait from which exit may be difficult. The whale follows it, as a ship obeys the helm, changing course with great docility. And whatever else, creature or boat or stone, it embraces in its gaping jaws is at once destroyed and goes to its ruin completely engulfed; but that little fish it knows and receives inside its mouth as in a haven. While the fish sleeps within, the whale remains motionless and lies by; but when it comes out again, the beast accompanies it and does not depart from it day or night; or, if it does, it gets lost and wanders at random. Many, indeed, have been cast up on the land and perished, being, as it were, without a pilot.\(^a\) We, in fact, were witnesses of such a mishap near Anticyra not long ago; and they relate that some time ago, when a whale came aground not far from Boulis\(^b\) and rotted, a plague ensued.

Is it, then, justifiable to compare with these associations and companionships those friendships which Aristotle\(^c\) says exist between foxes and snakes because of their common hostility to the eagle; or those between bustards and horses\(^d\) because the former like to approach and pick over the dung? As for me, I perceive even in ants or bees no such concern for each other. It is true that every one of

\(^a\) Cf. the whole passage in Oppian, Hal. v. 70-349 on the destruction of whales.

\(^b\) For the unknown Bouna or Bounae of the mss. C. O. Müller (Orchomenos\(^2\), p. 482) proposed Boulis, a town to the east of Anticyra on the Phocian Gulf.

\(^c\) Frag. 354, ed. V. Rose.

\(^d\) Cf. Aelian, De Natura Animal. ii. 28 and Mair on Oppian, Cyn. ii. 406.
(981) τες ἔργοι, ἐτέρῳ δὲ καθ᾽ ἐτέρου ἐτέρου στοχασμὸς ούδεις οὐδὲ φροντὶς ἔστιν.

32. "Ετι δὲ μάλλον κατοφόμεθα τὴν διαφοράν, C ἐπὶ τὰ πρεσβύτατα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν κοινωνικῶν ἔργων καὶ καθηκόντων τὰ περὶ τὰς γενέσεις καὶ τεκνώσεις τῶν λόγων τρέφαντες. πρώτον μὲν γὰρ οἱ λύμας παρῆκουσαν ἡ ποταμοὺς ὑποδεχομένην νεμόμενοι θάλασσαν ἰχθύες, όταν μέλλωσι τίκτευν, ἀνατρέχουσι, τῶν ποτίμων υδάτων τῇ πραότητα καὶ τὸ ἁσαλον διώκοντες· ἀγαθῇ γὰρ ἡ γαλήνη λοχεύσαι· καὶ τὸ ἄθηρον ἀμε ταῖς λύμασις ἕνεστι καὶ ποταμοῖς, ὥστε σφέσθαι τὰ τικτόμενα. διὸ καὶ πλείστα καὶ μάλιστα γονεύεται περὶ τὸν Εὐξεινον πόντον· οὐ γὰρ τρέφει κήτη γ᾽ ἀλλ᾽ ἡ φῶκην ἀραιὰν καὶ δελφίνα μικρόν. ἔτι δ᾽ ἡ τῶν ποταμῶν ἐπιμεξία, πλείστων καὶ μεγίστων ἐκδιδόντων εἰς D τὸν Πόντον, ἦπιον παρέχει καὶ πρόσφορον τοῖς λοχευμένοις κρᾶσιν. τὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀνθίους θαυμασιώτατον ἔστιν, διὸ "Ομήρος " ἵερον ἰχθὺν" εἰρήκε· καίτοι μέγαν τινὲς οἴονται τὸν ἵερον καθάπερ ὅστοιν ἵερον τὸ μέγα, καὶ τὴν ἐπιληψίαν, μεγάλην νόσον οὐσαν, ἱερὰν καλοῦσιν· ἐνιοὶ δὲ κοινῶς τὸν ἀφετον

1 γ᾽ added by Bernardakis. 2 ἐτι Xylander: ὅτι.

a See 981 e infra; Pliny, Nat. Hist. ix. 71.
b Cf. Aristotle, Historia Animal. viii. 13 (598 b 2); Pliny, 452
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them promotes the common task, yet none of them has any interest in or regard for his fellow individually.

32. And we shall observe this difference even more clearly when we turn our attention to the oldest and most important of social institutions and duties, those concerned with generation and procreation. Now in the first place those fish that inhabit a sea that borders on lagoons or receives rivers resort to these when they are ready to deposit their eggs, seeking the tranquillity and smoothness of fresh water, since calm is a good midwife. Besides, lagoons and rivers are devoid of sea monsters, so that the eggs and fry may survive. This is the reason why the Black Sea is most favoured for spawning by very many fish. It breeds no large sea beasts at all except an infrequent seal and a small dolphin; besides, the influx of rivers—and those which empty into the Black Sea are numerous and very large—creates a gentle blend conducive to the production of offspring. The most wonderful tale is told about the *anthias,* which Homer calls "Sacred Fish." Yet some think that "sacred" means "important," just as we call the important bone *os sacrum* and epilepsy, an important disease, the sacred disease. Others interpret it in the ordinary sense as meaning "dedicated" or "con-
(981) καὶ ἵερωμένον. Ἐφατοσθένης δὲ τὸν χρύσοφρυν ἔοικεν

η δρομίνης χρύσειον ἐπὶ ὀφρύσιν ἱερὸν ἰχθύν λέγειν. πολλοὶ δὲ τὸν ἔλλοπα, σπάνιος γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ βάδιος ἀλώιαν. φαίνεται δὲ περὶ Παμφυλίαν πολλάκις. ἀν οὖν ποτὲ λάβωσι, στεφάνωνται μὲν αὐτοὶ, στεφανοῦσι δὲ τὰς ἀλιάδας, κρότῳ δὲ καὶ Επατάγῳ καταπλέοντας αὐτοὺς ὑποδέχονται καὶ τιμῶσιν. οἱ δὲ πλείστοι τὸν ἀνθίνι ἱερὸν εἶναι καὶ λέγεσθαι νομίζοντι: ὅποι γὰρ ἀν ἄνθιας ὀβή, θηρίον οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ θαρροῦντες μὲν οἱ σπογγοθήραι κατακολυμβῶσι, θαρροῦντες δὲ τίκτουσι οἱ ἰχθύες ὥσπερ ἐγγυηθὴν ἀσυλίας ἔχοντες. η δ' αἰτία δυσλόγιστος, εἰτε φεύγει τὰ θηρία τὸν ἄνθιαν ὡς σὺν ἐλέφαντες, ἀλκετρυόνα δὲ λέοντες· εἰτ' ἔστι σμεία τόπων ἀθήρων, ἀ γιγνώσκει καὶ παραφυλάττει συνετὸς ὑπὸ καὶ μνημονικὸς ὁ ἰχθύς.

33. Ἀλλ' ἡ γε πρόνοια κοινὴ τοῖς τίκτουσι τῶν γεννομένων: οἱ δ' ἄρρενες οὐ τὸν αὐτῶν κατεσθίοντες οὖν γόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσδιατριβοῦν τοὺς κυήμασιν ὀδυφυλακοῦντες ὡς ἰστόρηκεν Ἀριστοτέλης: οἱ δὲ ἐπόμενοι ταῖς θηλείαις, καταρράνουσι κατά

1 [ἱερωμένον] Wytenbach says all mss. read ἰέμενον (a gloss to ἀφέτων; ἀνεμένον; ἀνέτων? See Athenæus, 284 c-d), but Hubert gives no variant.
2 ἡ δρομίνη Athenæus, 284 d: εὐδρομίνῃ.
3 ἀλλ' ἦ μὲν πρόνοια Reiske.
4 καταρράνουσι Reiske: καταρρέονσι.
5 κατὰ added by Reiske.

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a Powell, Collectanea Alexandrina, p. 60, frag. 12. 3; Hiller, frag. 14 (p. 31).
b See Mair on Oppian, Hal. i. 169.
c See 979 c supra. They are wrong, for while both the

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secreated." Eratosthenes \(^a\) seems to refer to the gilthead \(^b\) when he says

Swift courser golden-browed, the sacred fish.

Many say that this is the sturgeon,\(^c\) which is rare and hard to catch, though it is often seen off the coast of Pamphylia. If any ever do succeed in catching it, they put on wreaths themselves and wreath their boats; and, as they sail past, they are welcomed and honoured with shouts and applause. But most authorities hold that it is the _anthias_ that is and is called "sacred," for wherever this fish appears there are no sea monsters. Sponge-fishers \(^d\) may dive in confidence and fish may spawn without fear, as though they had a guarantor of their immunity. The reason for this is a puzzle: whether the monsters avoid the _anthias_ as elephants do a pig \(^e\) and lions a cock,\(^f\) or whether there are indications of places free from monsters, which the fish comes to know and frequents, being an intelligent creature with a good memory.

33. Then again the care of the young is shared by both parents: the males do not eat their own young, but stand by the spawn to guard the eggs, as Aristotle \(^g\) relates. Some follow the female and sprinkle the eggs gradually with milt, for otherwise

gilthead and the sturgeon were sacred fish, the description points clearly to the gilthead.

\(^a\) Cf. 950 c _supra_; Pliny, _Nat. Hist._ ix. 153; Thompson, _Glossary_, p. 15.

\(^b\) Cf. Aelian, _De Natura Animal._ i. 38; viii. 28; xvi. 36; _al._

\(^c\) Cf. Aelian, _De Natura Animal._ iii. 31; vi. 22; viii. 28; _al._

\(^d\) Cf. Aelian, _De Natura Animal._ ix. 37 (621 a 21 ff.); _cf._ Herodotus, ii. 93.

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the spawn will not grow, but remains imperfect and undeveloped. In particular the wrasse \(^a\) makes a sort of nest of seaweed, envelops the spawn in it, and shelters it from the waves.

The affection of the dogfish \(^b\) for its young is not inferior in warmth and kindliness to that of any of the tamer animals; for they lay the egg, then sustain and carry the newly hatched young, not without, but within themselves, as if from a second birth. When the young grow larger, the parents let them out and teach them to swim close by; then again they collect them through their mouths and allow their bodies to be used as dwelling-places, affording at once room and board and sanctuary until the young become strong enough to shift for themselves.\(^c\)

Wonderful also is the care of the tortoise for the birth and preservation of her young. To bear them she comes out of the sea to the shore near at hand; but since she is unable to incubate the eggs or to remain on dry land for long, she deposits them on the strand and heaps over them the smoothest and softest part of the sand. When she has buried and concealed them securely,\(^d\) some say that she scratches and scribbles the place with her feet, making it easy

\(^a\) Cf. Mor. 494 c; 730 e; Thompson on Aristotle, Historia Animal, vi. 10 (565 a 22 ff., b 2 ff.); Glossary, pp. 39-42; Mair on Oppian, Hal. i. 734.

\(^b\) Cf. 730 e; Thompson on Aristotle, Historia Animal, vi. 10 (565 a 22 ff., b 2 ff.); Glossary, pp. 39-42; Mair on Oppian, Hal. i. 734.

\(^c\) "Aristotle (Historia Animal. 565 b 24) reports that some dogfish brought forth their young by the mouth and took them therein again. Athenaeus (vii. 294 e) says that the dogfish took the young just hatched into its mouth and emitted them again. Plutarch has a somewhat garbled version of this presumed process, blended with data on the parental care of dolphins (\textit{cf.} Plin. N.H. ix. 21)" (Andrews).

\(^d\) Cf. Pliny, \textit{Nat. Hist.} ix. 37; contrast the forgetful lizard (x. 187).
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(982) εὕσημον ἑαυτῷ ποιώσαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν θήλειαν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄρρενος στρεφομένην τύπους ἰδίους καὶ σφραγίδας ἐναπολείπειν· ὁ δὲ τούτου θαυμασιώτερόν ἐστιν, ἥμεραν ἐκφυλάξασα τεσσαρακοστήν (ἐν τοσαύταις C γὰρ ἐκπέττεται καὶ περιρρήγιννται τὰ ψά), πρόσεισι καὶ γνωρίσασα τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἐκάστῃ θησαυρὸν, ός οὐδεὶς χρυσίον θῆκην ἀνθρωπος, ἀσμένως ἀνοίγει καὶ προθύμως.

34. Τῶν δὲ κροκοδείλων τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ παραπλήσια, τῆς δὲ χώρας ὁ στοχασμός ἐπίνοιαν ἀνθρώπῳ τῆς αἰτίας οὐ δίδωσι οὐδὲ συλλογισμόν· οἴην οὐ φασὶ λογικὴν ἀλλὰ μαντικὴν εἶναι τὴν ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ θηρίου πρόγνωσιν· οὔτε γὰρ πλέον οὔτ' ἔλαττον ἐκβασά' ἀλλ' ὅσον εἰς ὧραν ἔτους ὁ Νεῖλος αὐξηθεῖς ἐπικλύσει καὶ ἐπικρύψει τῆς γῆς, ἐκεῖ τὰ ψά τίθησιν· ὥστε τῶν ἐντυχόντα τῶν γεωρ- D γῶν αὐτὸν τε2 γινώσκειν ἑτέρους τε φράζειν, ὅποιον αὐτοῖς ὁ ποταμὸς πρόεισιν· οὔτω συνεμετρήσατο, μὴ βρεχομένων αὐτὸς βρεχόμενος ἐπωάζῃ. ἔκλαπτων3 δὲ τῶν σκύμων, ὅσ ἀν εὐθὺς ἀναδύν μὴ λάβῃ τι τῶν προστυχόντων, ἡ μυϊὰν ἡ σέριφον ἡ γῆς ἑντερον ἡ κάρφος ἡ βοτάνη τῷ στόματι, διασπαράξασα τούτον ἡ μήτηρ ἀπέκτεινε δακοῦσα· τὰ δὲ θυμοειδῆ καὶ δραστήρια στέργει καὶ περιέπει,

1 ἐπὶ Basil., Xylander: περὶ (παρά Bernardakis: Meziriacenus deletes).
2 αὐτὸν τε Bernardakis: αὐτῶν. 458
for her to recognize; others affirm that it is because she has been turned on her back by the male that she leaves peculiar marks and impressions about the place. But what is more remarkable than this, she waits for the fortieth day \(^a\) (for that is the number required to develop and hatch out the eggs) and then approaches. And each tortoise recognizes her own treasure and opens it more joyously and eagerly than a man does a deposit of gold.

34. The accounts given of the crocodile are similar in other respects, but the animal's ability to estimate the right place goes beyond man's power to guess or calculate the cause. Hence they affirm that this creature's foreknowledge is divine and not rational. For neither to a greater or a less distance, but just so far as the Nile will spread that season and cover the land in flood, just so far does she go to deposit her eggs, with such accuracy that any farmer finding the eggs may know himself and predict to others how far the river will advance.\(^b\) And her purpose in being so exact is to prevent either herself or her eggs getting wet when she sits on them. When they are hatched, the one which, upon emerging, does not immediately seize in its mouth anything that comes along, fly or midge or worm or straw or plant, the mother tears to pieces and bites to death \(^c\); but those that are bold and active she loves and tends, thus

\(^a\) Cf. Aelian, *Varia Hist.* i. 6.

\(^b\) See Aelian, *De Natura Animal.* v. 52; and compare B. Evans, *The Natural History of Nonsense*, p. 33.

\(^c\) Cf. Aelian, *De Natura Animal.* ix. 3; contrast Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* x. 10; Antigonus, 46, of the sea eagle; Lucan, ix. 902 ff., of the eagle. See also Julian, *Epistle* 59 (383 c); 78 (418 d) with Wright's note (L.C.L. vol. iii, p. 259, n. 2).

\(^3\) ἐκλαπέντων Bernardakis: ἐκλαπόντων or ἐκλεπισθέντων.
(982) καθάπερ οἱ σοφώτατοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄξιοῦσιτ, κρίσει τὸ φίλειν, οὐ πάθει νέμουσα.

Καὶ μὴν αἱ φῶκαι τίκτουσι μὲν ἐν τῷ ἔτη, κατὰ μικρόν δὲ προάγουσι τὰ σκυμνία γεύουσι τῆς Ε θαλάσσης καὶ ταχὺ πάλιν ἐξάγουσι· καὶ τοῦτο πολλάκις ποιοῦσι ἐν μέρει, μέχρι ἂν οὕτως ἐθυίζομενα θαρρήσῃ καὶ στέρξῃ τὴν ἐναλον δίαιται.

Οὐ δὲ βατράχοι περὶ τὰς ὀχείας ἀνακλῆσευ χρώνται, τὴν λεγομένην ποιοῦσε ὀλολυγόνα, φωνη ἑρωτικήν καὶ γαμήλιον οὕσαν· ὅταν δὲ τὴν θῆλειαν ὁ ἄρρην οὕτω προσαγάγηται, κοινῇ τὴν νύκτα περιμένουσι· ἐν ὑγρῷ μὲν γὰρ οὐ δύναται, μεθ' ἡμέραν δὲ δεδίασιν ἐπὶ γῆς μίγνυσθαι· γενομένον δὲ σκότους, ἀδειός συμπλέκονται προϊόντες. ἄλλοτε δὲ λαμπρύνουσι τὴν φωνήν, ῥετὸν προσδεχόμενοι· καὶ τοῦτο σημεῖον ἐν τοῖς βεβαιοτάτοις ἐστίν.

35. Ἀλλ' οἶνον, ὃ φίλε Πόσειδων, οἶλον πάθος ὡς ἄτοπον πέπονθα καὶ καταγέλαστον, εἴ με διατριβή. Βοντα περὶ φῶκας καὶ βατράχως τὸ σοφώτατον καὶ θεοφιλέστατον ἐξέφυγε καὶ παρῆλθε τῶν ἐνάλων· ποίαις γὰρ ἁγιόνας ἁξίων τῷ φιλομούσῳ τῆς ἀλκυόνος ἦ τῷ φιλοτέκνων χελιδόνας ἦ τῷ φιλανδρῷ πελειάδας ἦ τῷ τεχνικῷ παραβάλλειν μελίττας;

1 κοινῇ early editors: κοινην.
3 τοῦτο τὸ Ἐμπερίου.
4 φιλοτέκνω Μεζίριακος: φιλοτέκνῳ.

a Apparently with reference to Theophrastus, frag. 74 (cf. Mor. 482 b).
b Cf. Aelian, De Natura Animal. ix. 9; Oppian, Hal. i. 686 ff.; Pliny, Nat. Hist. ix. 41.
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bestowing her affection by judgement, as the wisest of men think right, not by emotion.a

Furthermore, seals b too bear their young on dry land and little by little induce their offspring to try the sea, then quickly take them out again. This they do often at intervals until the young are conditioned in this way to feel confidence and enjoy life in the sea.

Frogs in their coupling use a call, the so-called olophony, c a cry of wooing and mating. When the male has thus attracted the female, they wait for the night together, for they cannot consort in the water and during the day they are afraid to do so on land; but when the darkness falls, they come out and embrace with impunity. On other occasions when their cry is shrill, it is because they expect rain.d And this is among the surest of signs.

35. But, dear Poseidon! What an absurd and ridiculous error I have almost fallen into: while I am spending my time on seals and frogs, I have neglected and omitted the wisest of sea creatures, the most beloved of the gods! e For what nightingales are to be compared with the halcyon f for its love of sweet sound, or what swallows for its love of offspring, or what doves for its love of its mate, or what bees for its skill in construction? What creature's procreation

c See Gow on Theocritus, vii. 139; Boulenger, Animal Mysteries, pp. 67 f.
e As it is to Thetis: Virgil, Georgics, i. 399.
f See Thompson, Glossary of Greek Birds, s.v.; Kraak, Mnemosyne (3rd series), vii. 142; Pliny, Nat. Hist. x. 89 ff.; Aelian, De Natura Animal. vii. 17; Gow on Theocritus, vii. 57; and the pleasant work Halcyon found in mss. of Lucian and Plato.
(982) τίνος δὲ γενέσεις καὶ τόκους καὶ ἠώνας ὁ θεὸς ὦτως ἐτήμησε; τὰς μὲν γὰρ ηὗτοις γονᾶς μίαν ἐδρασθείσαιν ὑποδέξασθαι νῦσσον ὑστοροῦσι, τὴ δὲ ἀλκυνόν τικτούση περὶ τροπὰς πᾶσαν ἱστησθαι θά-983 λασσαν ἀκύμονα καὶ ἀσάλευτων.1 οθεν οὐδὲν ἐστὶ ζῷον ἄλλο, ο μάλλον2 φιλοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι, ἦ δι3 ήν ἔπτα μὲν ήμέρας ἐπτὰ δὲ νύκτας ἐν ἀκμῇ χειμῶνος ἀδεώς πλέουσι, τῆς κατὰ γῆν πορείας την κύκλον τήν διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀσφαλεστέραν ἔχοντες. εἰ δὲ δεὶ καὶ περὶ ἐκάστης τῶν ἀρετῶν ας ἔχει βραχέα φάναι, φιλανδρος μὲν ὦτως ἐστὶν, ὡστε μὴ καθ' ἕνα καιρὸν ἄλλα δι' ἐτους συνείναι καὶ προσδέχεσθαι τὴν τοῦ ἄρρενος ὁμιλίαν οὐ διὰ τὸ ἀκόλαστον (ἄλλω γὰρ οὐ μίγνοται τὸ παράπαν), ἄλλα υπ' εὐνοιας ὦσπερ γυνῆ γαμετῆ καὶ φιλοφροσύνης. οταν δὲ διὰ γῆρας ἀσθενῆς ὁ ἀρρην γένηται συνέπεσθαι καὶ Β βαρύς, ὑπολαβούσα γηροφορεῖ καὶ γηροτροφεῖ, μη-δαμοῦ προΪμένη μηδὲ καταλείπουσα4 χωρίς, ἄλλα τοῖς οὕμοις ἐκεῖνον ἀναθεμένη καὶ κομίζει πανταχόσε καὶ θεραπεύει καὶ σύνεστιν ἄχρι τελευτῆς.

Τῷ δὲ φιλοτέκνῳ καὶ πεφροντικῷ σωτηρίας τῶν γεννωμένων συναισθανομένη κύουσαν ἐαυτὴν τάχιστα τρέπεται πρὸς ἐργασίαν τῆς νεοτηᾶς, οὐ φύρουσα πηλὸν οὐδὲ προσερείδουσα τοίχῳ καὶ

1 ἀσάλευτον Leonicus: ἀστάλακτον.
2 μάλλον added by Pohlenz.
3 ἦ δι' Reiske: δ'.
4 καταλείπουσα Bernardakis: καταλειπόσα.

a Poseidon.
b For the birth of Apollo and Artemis.
c Delos, the wandering island.
and birth pangs has the god \(^a\) so honoured? For Leto's parturition,\(^b\) so they say, only one island \(^c\) was made firm to receive her; but when the halcyon lays her eggs, about the time of the winter solstice, the god \(^a\) brings the whole sea to rest, without a wave, without a swell. And this is the reason why there is no other creature that men love more. Thanks to her they sail the sea without a fear in the dead of winter for seven days and seven nights.\(^d\) For the moment, journey by sea is safer for them than by land. If it is proper to speak briefly of her several virtues, she is so devoted to her mate that she keeps him company, not for a single season, but throughout the year. Yet it is not through wantonness that she admits him to her company, for she never consorts at all with any other male; it is through friendship and affection, as with any lawful wife. When by reason of old age the male becomes too weak and sluggish to keep up with her, she takes the burden on herself, carries him and feeds him, never forsaking, never abandoning him; but mounting him on her own shoulders, she conveys him everywhere she goes and looks after him, abiding with him until the end.\(^e\)

As for love of her offspring and care for their preservation, as soon as she perceives herself to be pregnant, she applies herself to building the nest,\(^f\) not making pats of mud or cementing it on walls and

\(^a\) The Halcyon Days (Suidas, s.v.); Aristotle, *Historia Animal*, v. 8 (542 b 6 ff.); Aelian, *De Natura Animal*. i. 36; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 231; al.


\(^c\) Cf. Mor. 494 a-b; Aristotle, *Historia Animal*. ix. 13 (616 a 19 ff.); Aelian, *De Natura Animal*. ix. 17.
(983) ὁρόφοις ὤσπερ αἱ χελιδόνες, οὕτε χρωμένη πολλοῖς τοῦ σώματος ἐνεργοῖς μέρεσιν, ὤσπερ τῆς μελίτης ἐνυδυμένης τῷ σώματι καὶ τῷ κηρίων ἁνοιγοῦσης ὀμοῦ φλαύντες οἱ ἔξ ἀδέσ  ἐς ἐξάγωνα τὸ πάν.

C ἀγγεία διαιροῦσιν· ἢ δ’ ἀλκυών ἐν ῥγανὸν ἀπλοῦν, ἐν ὄπλον, ἐν ἐργαλείων ἔχουσα, τὸ στόμα, καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο τοῦ φιλοπόνου καὶ φιλοτέχνου συνεργόν, οὐ γιναικάται καὶ δημιουργεῖ χαλεπόν ἐστι πεισθήναι μὴ καταμαθῶντας ὅφει τὸ πλαττόμενον ὑπ’ αὐτῆς, μᾶλλον δὲ ναυπηγούμενον, σχημάτων πολλῶν μόνον ἀπερίτρεπτον καὶ ἀβάστιστον συλλεξάσα γὰρ τὰς τῆς βελόνης ἀκίδας συντίθησι καὶ συνεδρῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἐγκαταπλέκουσα τὰς μὲν εὐθείας τὰς δὲ πλαγίας, ὤσπερ ἐπὶ στήμονι κρόκην ἐμβάλλουσα, προσχρωμένη καμπαίς καὶ περιαγωγαῖς δ’ ἀλλήλων, ὥστε διαρμόσαι καὶ γενέσθαι στρογγύλου ἐν, ἡρέμα πρόμηκης τοῦ σχήματος, 

D ἀλευτικῷ κύρτῳ παραπλήσιον. ὅταν δὲ συντελέσῃ, φέρουσα παρέθηκε παρὰ τὸ κλύσμα τοῦ κύματος, ὄπου προσπίπτουσα μαλακῶς ἡ θάλασσα τὸ μὲν οὐ καλῶς ἀραρός ἔδίδαξεν ἀκέσασθαι καὶ κατασκηνώσαι, χαλώμενος ὀρῶσαν ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς· τὰ δ’ ἡμιοσμένα κατασφύγγει καὶ πήγυσιν, ὥστε καὶ λίθω καὶ σιδήρῳ δυσδιάλυτον εἶναι καὶ δύστρωτον. οὐδένος δ’ ἦσσον ἄξιοθαύμαστόν ἐστιν ἡ τε συμ-

1 καὶ added by Meziriacus.
2 οἱ ἔξ ἀδέσ added by Meziriacus.
3 εἰς ἐξάγωνα τὸ πάν Meziriacus: εἰς ἀγώνα τόπον.
4 φιλοτέχνου Reiske: φιλοτέχνου.
5 πολλῶν] πάντων?
65; ἑνήρεμος van Herwerden).
7 πρόμηκης Reiske: προμῆκης.
8 οὐ] οὐκετί?
roofs like the house-martin $^a$; nor does she use the activity of many different members of her body, as when the bee employs its whole frame to enter and open the wax, with all six feet pressing at the same time to fashion the whole mass into hexagonal cells. But the halcyon, having but one simple instrument, one piece of equipment, one tool—her bill and nothing else, co-operating with her industry and ingenuity—what she contrives and constructs would be hard to believe without ocular evidence, seeing the object that she moulds—or rather the ship that she builds. Of many possible forms, this alone cannot be capsized $^b$ or even wet its cargo. She collects the spines of garfish $^c$ and binds and weaves them together, some straight, others transverse, as if she were thrusting woven threads through the warp, adding such bends and knots of one with another that a compact, rounded unit is formed, slightly prolate in shape, like a fisherman's weel. When it is finished, she brings and deposits it beside the surging waves, where the sea beats gently upon it and instructs her how to mend and strengthen whatever is not yet good and tight, as she observes it loosened by the blows. She so tautens and secures the joints that it is difficult even for stones or iron to break or pierce it. The proportions and shape of the hollow interior are as

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$^a$ Cf. 966 d-e supra.

$^b$ Aristotle (loc. cit.), on the contrary, seems to say (though his text is corrupt; see Thompson ad loc.): “The opening is small, just enough for a tiny entrance, so that even if the nest is upset, the sea does not enter.”

$^c$ Belone was usually a term for the garfish and the needlefish, neither of which has spines of any size. Thompson (Glossary, pp. 31-32) rightly regards the meaning of belone here as indeterminable. Cf. also Mor. 494 $^a$, which is almost certainly mistranslated in the L.C.L. edition.
(983) μετρία τὸ τε σχῆμα τῆς τοῦ ἀγγείου κοιλότητος· πεποίηται γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐκείνην μόνην ἐνδυομένην δέχεσθαι, τοῖς δ᾿ ἄλλοις τυφλὸν εἶναι πάντη καὶ Ε ἐκρύφιον, ὡστε παριέναι μηδέν εἰσω μηδὲ τῆς θαλάττης. οἴμαι μὲν ὦν μηδὲν ὕμων ἀθέατον εἶναι τῆς νεοττίας· ἐμοὶ δὲ πολλάκις ἴδοντι καὶ θιγόντι παρίσταται λέγειν καὶ ἀδειν

Δήλω δὴ ποτε τοῖον Ἀπόλλωνος παρὰ ναῷ

tὸν κεράτινον βωμὸν εἶδον ἐν τοῖς ἑπτὰ καλομεῖνοι θεάμασιν ὕμνούμενον, ὅτι μῆτε κόλλης δεόμενος μῆτε τινὸς ἄλλου δεσμοῦ διὰ μόνων τῶν δεξιῶν συμπέπηγη καὶ συνήρμοσται κεράτων. ἔλεως δ’ ὁ θεὸς εἴη καὶ προσήκει2 τὸν3 μουσικόν ὄντα καὶ νησιώτην, ὕμνομένης4 τῆς πελαγίος σειρῆνος, εὐμενῶς καταγελάν5 τῶν ἐρωτημάτων ἐκείνων, ἀσκώπτοντες ἐρωτώσιν οὖτοι, διὰ τί Ἀπόλλων οὐ γογγροκτόνος6 οὐδὲ τριγλοβόλος ἢ "Ἀρτεμις, ἀτε"7 δὴ γυνώσκοντα τὴν ἐκ θαλάττης γενομένην Ἀφρο-

F δίτην ὁμοί τι πάντα τὰ8 κατὰ θάλασσαν ποιομεῖνην αὐτῆς ίερὰ καὶ ἀδελφά καὶ μηδενὶ φονευμένω9

1 ναῷ] βωμῷ the mss. of Homer.
2 προσήκει van Herwerden: πρός.
3 τὸν Post: τί.
4 ὕμνομένης old editors: ὑμένης.
5 καὶ before καταγελάν deleted by W. C. H.
6 οὐ γογγροκτόνος Salmasius: οὐθ'.
7 τριγλοβόλος ἢ "Ἀρτεμις, ἀτε added by Bernardakis after Salmasius.
8 τὴν ἐκ θαλάττης added by Bernardakis; γενομένην by W. C. H.; τὶ by Bernardakis; πάντα τὰ by Wytenbach.
9 μηδενὶ φονευμένῳ Wytenbach: μηδὲν ὄνευμενῳ.
admirable as anything about it; for it is so constructed as to admit herself only, while the entrance remains wholly hidden and invisible to others—with the result that not even a drop of water can get in. Now I presume that all of you have seen this nest; as for me, since I have often seen and touched it, it comes to my mind to chant the words

Once such a thing in Delos near Apollo's shrine

I saw, the Altar of Horn, celebrated as one of the Seven Wonders of the World because it needs no glue or any other binding, but is joined and fastened together, made entirely of horns taken from the right side of the head. Now may the god be propitious to me while I sing of the Sea Siren—and indeed, being both a musician and an islander, he should laugh good-naturedly at my opponents' scoffing questions. Why should he not be called a "conger-slayer" or Artemis be termed a "surmullet-slayer"? Since he well knows that Aphrodite, born of the sea, regards practically all sea creatures as sacred and related to herself and relishes the

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*a* Homer, *Odyssey*, vi. 162. "That there was some religious mystery associated with the so-called nest is indicated by the close of Plutarch's description." (Thompson on Aristotle, *loc. cit.*)

*b* Cf. Strabo, xiv. 2. 5.

*c* Curiously enough, the *Life of Theseus*, xxi. 2 (9 ε) says the "left side."

*d* Apollo. From this point on the text of the rest of this chapter is very bad and full of lacunae. The restorations adopted here are somewhat less than certain.

*e* This is not fulfilled and so is presumably an indication of another lacuna toward the end of Phaedimus' speech, the location of which we cannot even guess.

*f* Cf. 966 *supra.*
(983) χαιρουσαν. ἐν δὲ Λέπτει τοὺς ἱερεῖς τοῦ Ποσειδώνος οὐδὲν ἔναλον τὸ παράπαν ἑσθίοντας, τρίγλαν δὲ τοὺς ἐν Ἑλευσίνι μῦστας σεβομένους ἵστε, καὶ τῆς Ἡρας ἐν Ἀργεῖ τὴν ἱερεῖν ἀπεχομένην ἐπὶ τιμῆ τοῦ ζώου τὸν γὰρ θαλάττιον λαγῳν, ὃς ἐστιν ἀνθρώπως θανάσιμος, κτείνουσιν αἱ τρίγλαι μάλιστα καὶ καταναλίσκουσιν διὸ ταῦτην ὡς φιλάνθρωπα καὶ σωτήρια ζωὰ τὴν ἄδειαν ἔχονσι.

984 36. Καὶ μὴν Ἀρτέμιδος γε Δικτύνης Δελφινίου τʼ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὰ καὶ βωμοὶ παρὰ πολλοῖς εἰσον Ἑλλήνων. ὃν ὑπὸ αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ τόπον ἐξαίρετον ὁ θεὸς πεποίηται φῆσιν ὁ ποιητὴς, 1 Κρητῶν ἀπογόνως οἰκοῦντας ἡγεμόνι δελφίνω χρησμένους· οὐ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς 3 προενήχετο 4 τοῦ στόλου μεταβαλῶν τὸ εἰδος, ὃς οἱ μυθογράφοι λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ δελφίνα πέμψας τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἰδύνοντα τὸν πλοῦν κατήγαγεν εἰς Κίρραν. ἰστοροῦσι δὲ καὶ τοὺς πεμφθέντας 5 εἰς Σινώπην ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Σωτήρος ἐπὶ τὴν Σαράπιδος κομιδήν, Σωτέλη 6 καὶ Διονύσιον, ἀπωσθέντας 7 ἀνέμω βιαῖως κομίζεσθαι παρὰ γνώμην Β ὑπὲρ Μαλέαν, ἐν. δεξιὰ Πελοπόννησον ἔχοντας, εἶτα ὑμπομονώς καὶ δυσθυμοῦντας αὐτοὺς προφανέντα

1 φῆσιν ὁ ποιητὴς added by van Herwerden.
2 ἀπογόνως οἰκοῦντας  ἀποκαίων ἤγονται Meziriacus; ἀποκόντας Bernardakis; ἐπήγαγε τοὺς οἰκοῦντας Post.
3 οὐ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς] οὐ μὴν ὁ θεὸς γε ?
4 προενήχετο Xylander; προενήχοε τὸ.
5 πεμφθέντας Xylander: περιμεθέντας.
6 Σωτέλη added by Kaltwasser from Mor. 361 f.
7 ἀπωσθέντας Xylander: ἀπωσθέντα.

Andrews suspects a confusion here and at Mor. 730 π.
slaughter of none of them. In Leptis,\(^a\) you know, the priests of Poseidon refrain entirely from any sea food, and those initiated into the mysteries at Eleusis hold the surmullet in veneration, while the priestess of Hera at Argos abstains from this fish to pay it honour. For surmullets are particularly good at killing and eating the sea-hare, which is lethal to man.\(^b\) It is for this reason that surmullets possess this immunity, as being friendly and life-saving creatures.

36. Furthermore, many of the Greeks have temples and altars to Artemis Dietyna \(^c\) and Apollo Delphinios; and that place which the god had chosen for himself the poet \(^d\) says was settled by Cretans under the guidance of a dolphin. It was not, however, the god who changed his shape and swam in front of the expedition, as tellers of tales relate; instead, he sent a dolphin to guide the men and bring them to Cirrha.\(^e\) They also relate that Soteles and Dionysius, the men sent by Ptolemy Soter \(^f\) to Sinope to bring back Serapis, were driven against their will by a violent wind out of their course beyond Malea, with the Peloponnesus on their right. When they were lost and discouraged, a dolphin appeared by the

with Lepidotonpolis on the Nile, not far below Thebes, apparently a focal point of a taboo on eating the bynni, allegedly due to its consumption of the private parts of Osiris when they were thrown into the river (cf. Mor. 358 b).

\(^a\) Cf. Aelian, De Natura Animal. ii. 45; ix. 51; xvi. 19; Pliny, Nat. Hist. ix. 155; Philostratus, Vita Apoll. vi. 32.

\(^b\) As though "Artemis of the Net"; see Callimachus, Hymn iii. 198.

\(^c\) Homer, Hymn to Apollo, iii. 393 ff. (as restored by van Herwerden). For Delphinian Apollo see lines 495 f.

\(^d\) The port of Delphi.

\(^e\) Cf. Mor. 361 f; Tacitus, Histories, iv. 83-84.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΜΟΡΑΛΙΑ

(984) δελφίνα πρώτα θεωράθηκε εκκαλείσθαι καθηγούμενον εἰς τὰ ναύλοχα καὶ σάλους¹ μαλακοὺς ἔχοντα τῆς χώρας καὶ ἀσφαλείς, ἄχρις οὐ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀγων καὶ παραπέμπων τὸ πλοῖον εἰς Κίρραν κατέστησεν. ὅθεν ἀναβατήρια³ θύσαντες, ἔγνωσαν ὅτι δεὶ δυνεῖν ἀγαλμάτων τὸ μὲν τοῦ Πλούτωνος ἀνελέσθαι καὶ κομίζειν, τὸ δὲ τῆς Κόρης ἀπομάξασθαι καὶ καταλιπεῖν.

Εἰκὸς μὲν οὖν ἦν καὶ τὸ φιλόμουσον ἀγαπᾶν τοῦ θηρίου τὸν θεόν· ὦ καὶ Πάνδαρος ἀπεικάζων ἐαυτον ἐρεθίζεσθαι φησίν

(4) ἂλιον⁴ δελφίνος υπόκρισιν⁵.

τὸν μὲν ἀκύμονος ἐν⁶ πόντου πελάγει αὐλῶν ἐκάνης· ἐρατὸν μέλος.

ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἔουσα τὸ φιλόθρωπον αὐτοῦ θεοφιλῆς εἶναι· μόνος γὰρ ἄνθρωπον ἀσπάζεται, καθ’ ὁ ἄνθρωπός ἐστι. τῶν δὲ χερσαίων τὰ μὲν οὐδένα τὰ δ’ ἡμερώτατα μόνοις περιέπει τοὺς τρέφοντας ὑπὸ χρείας, καὶ τοὺς συνήθεις ὁ κύων ὁ ὕππος ὁ ἑλέφας· αἱ δὲ χελιδόνες ὃσος μὲν δέονται τυγχάνουσιν εἰςοικισάμεναι, σκιᾶς καὶ ἀναγκαίας ἀσφαλείας,

¹ σάλους Madvig: στόλους.
² καί Reiske: εἶναι or καταμένειν.
³ ἀναβατήρια Reiske: ἀναβατήριον (ἀποβάτηρια van Herderen).
⁴ ἂλιον from Mor. 704 f Reiske: οὐ.
⁵ υπόκρισιν Xylander: ἀπόκρισιν.
⁶ ἐν Wyttenbach: ὅν, εἰς, or ἐκ.
prow and, as it were, invited them to follow and led them into such parts as had safe roadsteads with but a gentle swell until, by conducting and escorting the vessel in this manner, it brought them to Cirrha. Whence it came about that when they had offered thanksgiving for their safe landing, they came to see that of the two statues they should take away the one of Pluto, but should merely take an impress of that of Persephone and leave it behind.

Well might the god be fond of the music-loving character of the dolphin, to which Pindar likens himself, saying that he is roused

Like a dolphin of the sea
Who on the waveless deep of ocean
Is moved by the lovely sound of flutes.

Yet it is even more likely that its affection for men renders it dear to the gods; for it is the only creature who loves man for his own sake. Of the land animals, some avoid man altogether, others, the tamest kind, pay court for utilitarian reasons only to those who feed them, as do dogs and horses and elephants to their familiars. Martins take to houses to get what they need, darkness and a minimum of security, but

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*a* That is, in Sinope.
b Cf. Mor. 162 f.; Pliny, Nat. Hist. xi. 137.
c Page 597, ed. Sandys (L.C.L.); frag. 125, lines 69-71 ed. Bowra (O.C.T.); frag. 222. 14-17, ed. Turyn. The quotation is found also in Mor. 704 f.—705 a. The lines were partially recovered in Oxyrhynchus Papyri, iii. 408 b (1903); for the critical difficulties see Turyn’s edition.
d Pliny, Nat. Hist. x. 24. For Dionysus and the pirate-dolphins see the seventh Homeric Hymn and Frazer on Apollodorus, iii. 5. 3 (L.C.L., vol. i, p. 332).
e “The hunting of dolphins is immoral”: Oppian, Hal. v. 416 (see the whole passage).
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(984) φεύγουσι δὲ καὶ φοβοῦνται τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ὑσπέρ θηρίον. τῷ δὲ δελφῖνι παρὰ πάντα καὶ μόνῳ τὸ ξηπούμενον ύπὸ τῶν ἀρίστων φιλοσώφων ἐκεῖνο, τὸ

Δ φιλεῖν ἄνευ χρείας1 ὑπάρχει: μηδενὸς γὰρ εἰς μηδὲν ἀνθρώπου δεόμενος πᾶσιν εὐμενής τε φίλος ἐστὶ καὶ βεβοήθηκε πολλοῖς· ὥν τὰ μὲν 'Αρίστων οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ· περιβοήτα γάρ ἐστιν· 'Ἡσίόδος δὲ κατὰ καιρὸν αὐτὸς ἦμᾶς, δὲ φίλε, ἄνεμνησας,

ἀτὰρ οὐ τέλος ἱκεο μύθων.

ἐδει δὲ τὸν κύνα διηγησάμενον2 μὴ παραλιπεῖν τοὺς δελφίνας· τυφλὸν γὰρ ἦν τὸ μήνυμα τοῦ κυνός, ὑλακτοῦντος καὶ μετὰ βοῆς ἐπιφερομένου τοῖς φονεύσων, εἰ μὴ τὸν νεκρὸν3 πέρι τὸ Νέμειον θαλάσσῃ διαφερόμενον ἀράμενοι δελφίνες, ἔτεροι παρ’ ἐτέρων ἐκδεχόμενοι προθύμως, εἰς τὸ Ρίον ἐκθέντες ἐδειξαν ἐσφαγμένου.

Ε Ὁ “Ευαλον δὲ τὸν Αιολέα Μυρσίλος4 ὁ Λέσβιος ἱστορεῖ, τῆς Σμινθέως5 ἐρώτα τυγατρὸς ὑφείσης κατὰ χρησμὸν τῆς ‘Αμφιτρίτης ύπὸ τῶν Πενθιλίδων,6 καὶ αὐτὸν ἐξαλόμενον7 εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ύπὸ δελφίνος σώον ἐξενεχθῆναι πρὸς τὴν Λέσβον.

‘Ἡ δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἰασέα παῖδα τοῦ δελφίνος εὕνοια

1 χρείας] the miss. follow with the words φύσει πρὸς ἀνθρώπους; deleted by W. C. H.
2 διηγησάμενον Bernardakis: αἰτήσαμενον.
3 εἰ μὴ τὸν νεκρὸν added by Meziriacus.
4 Μυρσίλος C. Müller: μυρσίλος.
5 Σμινθέως Emperius: φυνέως.
6 Πενθιλίδων Meziriacus: πενθιλίδων.
7 ἐξαλόμενον Reiske: ἐξαλλόμενον.

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avoid and fear man as a dangerous wild beast. To the dolphin alone, beyond all others, nature has granted what the best philosophers seek: friendship for no advantage. Though it has no need at all of any man, yet it is a genial friend to all and has helped many. The story of Arion is familiar to everyone and widely known; and you, my friend, opportunely put us in mind of the tale of Hesiod.

But you failed to reach the end of the tale. When you told of the dog, you should not have left out the dolphins, for the information of the dog that barked and rushed with a snarl on the murderers would have been meaningless if the dolphins had not taken up the corpse as it was floating on the sea near the Nemeon and zealously passed it from group to group until they put it ashore at Rhium and so made it clear that the man had been stabbed.

Myrsilus of Lesbos tells the tale of Enalus the Aeolian who was in love with that daughter of Smintheus who, in accordance with the oracle of Amphitrite, was cast into the sea by the Penthilidae, whereupon Enalus himself leaped into the sea and was brought out safe on Lesbos by a dolphin.

And the goodwill and friendship of the dolphin for

\[ \text{Cf. Mor. 728 A; but see Aelian, De Natura Animal. i. 52;} \]
\[ \text{Arrian, Anabasis, i. 25. 8.} \]
\[ \text{Herodotus, i. 24; Mair on Oppian, Hal. v. 448. In Mor. 161 A ff. the story is told by an eye-witness at the banquet of the Seven Wise Men.} \]
\[ \text{Cf. 969 E supra.} \]
\[ \text{Homer, Iliad, ix. 56.} \]
\[ \text{The shrine of Zeus at Oeneon in Locris.} \]
\[ \text{Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec. iv, p. 459; Jacoby, Frag. d. griech. Hist. ii, frag. 12; cf. Mor. 163 B-D; Athenaeus, 466 c gives as his authority Anticleides.} \]
(984) καὶ φιλία δι’ ὑπερβολὴν ἔρως ἐδοξεῖ· συνεπαιζε γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ συνενήχετο καθ’ ἑμέραν καὶ παρείχεν ἐν χρῷ ψανόμενος· ἐπείτα περιβαίνοντος οὐκ ἐφευγεν, ἀλλ’ ἐφερε χαίρων, πρὸς δ’ ἐκαμπτε κλίνων, ὅμοιον πάντων Ἰασέων ἐκάστοτε συντρεχόντων ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. ὦμβρου δέ ποτε πολλοῦ μετὰ χαλάζης ἔπιπεσόντος, ὦ μὲν παῖς ἀπορρυεῖς ἑξελίπεν, ὦ δὲ δελφῖν ὑπολαβῶν ἀμα τῷ νεκρῷ συνεξέωσεν αὐτὸς ἐαυτόν ἐπὶ τῇ γῆ καὶ οὐκ ἀπέστη τοῦ σώματος ἐως ἀπέθανεν, δικαίωςας μετασχεῖν ἢς συναίτιος ἐδοξε γεγονέναι τελευτῆς. καὶ τοῦ πάθους ἐπίση- μον Ἰασέου τὸ χάραγμα τοῦ νομίσματος ἐστι, παῖς ὑπὲρ δελφίνος ὁχύμενος.

'Εκ δὲ τούτου καὶ τὰ περὶ Κοίρανον ὄντα μυθώδη 985 πίστιν ἔσχε. Πάριος γὰρ ὅν τὸ γένος ἐν Βυζάντιῳ δελφίνων βόλων, ἐνοχθέντων σαγήνῃ καὶ κυδυνεύσιν κατακοπῆιαι, πριάμενος μεθῆκε πάντας· οἷοι δ’ ὑστερον ἐπλει πεντηκόντορον ἔχων, ὡς φασί, ληστῶν1 πεντήκοντα2 ἀγούσαι· ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ Νάξου καὶ Πάρου πορθμῶ τῆς νεῶς ἀνατραπέσης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων διαφθαρέντων, ἐκείνον λέγουσι, δελφίνος ὑποδραμόντος αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνακούν-

1 ληστῶν] ληστάς Meziriacus; Μιλησίων Rohde.
2 πεντήκοντα (= ν’) Naber, after Reiske: ἀνδρας.

a Aelian, De Natura Animal. vi. 15 (cf. viii. 11), tells the story in great detail and with several differences; cf. also the younger Pliny’s famous letter (ix. 33) on the dolphin of Hippo and the vaguer accounts in Aelian, De Natura Animal. ii. 6; Antigonus, 55; Philo, 67 (p. 132). Gulick on Athenaeus, 606 c-d collects the authorities; see also the dolphin stories in Pliny, Nat. Hist. ix. 25 ff. and Mair on Oppian, 474
the lad of Iasus was thought by reason of its greatness to be true love. For it used to swim and play with him during the day, allowing itself to be touched; and when the boy mounted upon its back, it was not reluctant, but used to carry him with pleasure wherever he directed it to go, while all the inhabitants of Iasus flocked to the shore each time this happened. Once a violent storm of rain and hail occurred and the boy slipped off and was drowned. The dolphin took the body and threw both it and itself together on the land and would not leave until it too had died, thinking it right to share a death for which it imagined that it shared the responsibility. And in memory of this calamity the inhabitants of Iasus have minted their coins with the figure of a boy riding a dolphin.

From this the wild tales about Coeranus gained credence. He was a Parian by birth who, at Byzantium, bought a draught of dolphins which had been caught in a net and were in danger of slaughter, and set them all free. A little later he was on a sea voyage in a penteconter, so they say, with fifty pirates aboard; in the strait between Naxos and Paros the ship capsized and all the others were lost, while Coeranus, they relate, because a dolphin sped beneath him and buoyed him up, was put ashore at

Hal. v. 458; Thompson, Glossary, pp. 54 f. Iasus is a city in Ionian Caria on the gulf of the same name.

b The story has a happier ending in one version found in Pliny, Nat. Hist. ix. 27: the dolphin dies, but Alexander the Great makes the boy head of the priesthood of Poseidon in Babylon.

c Aelian, De Natura Animal. viii. 3; Athenaeus, 606 e-f cites from Phylarchus, Book XII (Jacoby, Frag. d. griech. Hist. i, p. 340). There are many other examples of dolphins rescuing people, such as the fragment of Euphorion in Page, Greek Literary Papyri, i, p. 497 (L.C.L.).
(985) φίλοιν, ἐξενεχθήναι τῆς Σικίνου¹ κατὰ σπήλαιον, ὃ δεῖκνυται μέχρι νῦν καὶ καλεῖται Κοιράνειον· ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ λέγεται ποιήσαι τὸν Ἀρχίλοχον
πεντήκοντ' ἀνδρῶν λίπε Κοιρανοῦ ἦπιος Ποσειδῶν.

Β ἐτεὶ δ' ύστερον ἀποθανόντος αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα πλησίον τῆς θαλάττης οἱ προσήκοντες ἔκασον, ἐπεφαίνοντο πολλοὶ δελφίνες παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, ὡσπερ ἐπιδεικνύστω ἐαυτοὺς ἥκοντας ἐπὶ τὰς ταφάς, καὶ παραμείναντες ἀχρι οὐ συνετελέσθησαν.

Ἡ δ' Ὄδυσσεώς ἂσπίς ὧτι μὲν ἑπίσημον εἶχε δελφίνα καὶ Σηνίχορος ἱστόρηκεν· ἐξ ἦς δ' αἰτίας, Ζακύνθιοι διαμιμημονεύοσιν, ὡς Κριθεὺς μαρτυρεῖν ἡπίος γὰρ ὄν ὁ Τηλέμαχος, ὡς φασιν, εἰς ἀγχιβαθές τῆς θαλάττης ὀλισθῶν ἔσωθη, δελφίνων ὑπολαβόντων καὶ ἀναλαμβανόμενων ὀθεν ἑποιήσατο γλυφῆν τῇ σφραγίδι καὶ τῆς ἁσπίδος κόσμον ὁ πατήρ, οἱ ἀμειβόμενοι τὸ ξύλον.

'Αλλ' ἐτεὶ προειπὼν ὡς οὐδὲ μῦθον ύμῖν ἑρῶ καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως πρὸς τοῖς δελφίσιν ἔλαθον πορρωτέρω τοῦ πιθανοῦ συνεξοκείλας εἰς τὸν Ὄδυσσεα καὶ Κοίρανον, ἐπιτίθημι δίκην ἐμαυτῷ πάνομαι γὰρ ἢδη λέγων.
37. ἈΡΙΣΤ. Ἐξεστιν οὖν ύμῖν, ὅ ἀνδρες δικασταί, τὴν ψήφον φέρειν.

¹ Σικίνου Palmerius (cf. Cobet, Coll. Crit. p. 539): Σικύνθου (said to be an ancient name of Paros).

a An island south of Paros.

THE CLEVERNESS OF ANIMALS, 985

Sicinus, near a cave which is pointed out to this day and bears the name of Coeraneum. It is on this man that Archilochus is said to have written the line

Out of fifty, kindly Poseidon left only Coeranus.

When later he died, his relatives were burning the body near the sea when a large shoal of dolphins appeared off shore as though they were making it plain that they had come for the funeral, and they waited until it was completed.

That the shield of Odysseus had a dolphin emblazoned on it, Stesichorus also has related; and the Zacynthians perpetuate the reason for it, as Critheus testifies. For when Telemachus was a small boy, so they say, he fell into the deep inshore water and was saved by dolphins who came to his aid and swam with him to the beach; and that was the reason why his father had a dolphin engraved on his ring and emblazoned on his shield, making this requital to the animal.

Yet since I began by saying that I would not tell you any tall tales and since, without observing what I was up to, I have now, besides the dolphins, run aground on both Odysseus and Coeranus to a point beyond belief, I lay this penalty upon myself: to conclude here and now.

37. ARISTOTIMUS. So, gentlemen of the jury, you may now cast your votes.

c Edmonds, _op. cit._ ii, p. 164; Diehl, _Anth. Lyrica_, i, p. 243, frag. 117.

d On the grief of dolphins see Pliny, _Nat. Hist._ ix. 25, 33.


f Nothing whatever is known about this author, whose name may be given incorrectly in our mss.

9 Perhaps rather Heracleon (975 c) or Optatus (965 d).
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(985) ΣΜΚΑ. Ἄλλος ἡμῖν γε πάλαι τὸ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους δεδομένον ἐστίν

εὖ γὰρ καὶ διχοστατῶν λόγος
σύγκολλά τ’ ἀμφοῖν ἐς μέσον¹ τεκταίνεται.

ταυτὶ γὰρ, ἃ πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰρήκατε, συνθέντες
εἰς ταύτων ἀμφότεροι καλῶς ἀγωνιζόσθε κοινῇ πρὸς
τοὺς τὰ ζῶα λόγου καὶ συνέσεως ἀποστεροῦντας.

¹ σύγκολλά τ’ ἀμφοῖν ἐς μέσον Brunck and Porson: συγκολλάτ’ ἐς μέσον ἀμφοῖν.

---
b The Stoics, as always in this essay.
soclarus. As for us, we have for some time held the view of Sophocles: 

It is a marvel how of rival sides
The strife of tongues welds both so close together.

For by combining what you have said against each other, you will together put up a good fight against those who would deprive animals of reason and understanding.

To some critics the ending is suspicious because of its brevity and vagueness; they regard it as added by an ancient editor who could not find the original termination. But the sudden turn at the end may merely indicate that the whole debate is in reality a single argument to prove the thesis that animals do have some degree of rationality (see also the Introduction to this dialogue).
A word of caution is needed: Plutarch emphatically was no naturalist. The zoological material is a hodge-podge of misinformation dredged up from various zoological sources, seasoned here and there with personal contributions, which are not necessarily correct. In the original sources, terms for specific types of animals were probably used with considerable precision. It is my impression that Plutarch often had only a vague idea of the meaning of such terms. For example, he consistently uses the specific term for a rock dove, but probably had in mind any type of domestic dove. Similarly, *dorcas* was used in Greece commonly as a term for the roedeer, but in Asia Minor for the common gazelle. In the original sources the word probably denoted specifically one or the other, depending on where the man lived; but Plutarch may well have used the term vaguely for any type of small deer, including gazelles and antelopes.

Alfred C. Andrews
CLASSIFIED ZOOLOGICAL INDEX

1. Mammals

Αἰλουρος: wild cat of Egypt (Felis ocreata Gm.) and of Europe (F. silvestris Schreb.) and domestic form (F. domestica Briss.).

Αιξ: domestic goat, Capra hircus L.

Λαώπης: fox, esp. Vulpes vulgaris Flem.

Ἀρκτος: bear, more esp. the European brown bear, Ursus arctos L.

Βοῦς: domestic ox, Bos taurus L.

Γαλήν (γαλή): the weasel (Putorius vulgaris Cuv.), and such similar animals as the marten (Martes sp.) and the polecat or fumart (Mustela putorius L.).

Δασύπους: hare (see Λαγων).

Δελφίς: dolphin, esp. Delphinus delphis L.

Δορκάς: in Greece, usually a term for the roe-deer, Capreolus capreolus L.; in Asia Minor, usually a term for the common gazelle, Gazella dorcas L.

Ἐλαφος: in Greece, usually a term for the red-deer, Cervus elaphus L.; in Ionia, usually a term for the fallow-deer, C. dama L.


Ἐρφος: usually a kid (see Αιξ); sometimes a very young lamb (see Θάλαττης).

Ἐχῖνος (ἐχῖνος): common hedgehog, Erinaceus europaeus L.

Ἅμωνος: mule, usually by mare and he-ass, sometimes by stallion and she-ass; in Syria, a term for the wild ass (Asinus onager Sm.) or the dshigetai (A. hemionus Sm.).

Ὑπός: horse, Caballus caballus L.

Ὑπός ποτάμος: hippopotamus, Hippopotamus amphibius L.

Ὑγεύμων: ichneumon, Herpestes ichneumon L.

Κάμηλος: the Bactrian camel, Camelus bactrianus L., and the Arabian camel or dromedary, C. dromedarius L.

Κάπρος: wild boar, mostly Sus scrofa ferus Rütimeyer.
THE CLEVERNESS OF ANIMALS

Κήτος: in Plutarch usually whale, as in 980 r. See also Κήτος under Fishes.
Κριός: ram (see "Οἰς").
Κώνος: dog, Canis familiaris L.
Λαγώνος: hare, esp. the common European hare (Lepus europaeus Pall.), to a lesser degree the variable hare (L. timidus L.).
Λέων: lion, Felis leo L.
Λύγξ: lynx, Lynx lynx L.; caracal, Lynx caracal Güld.
Λύκος: wolf, Canis lupus L.
Οἰς: domestic sheep, Ovis aries L.
Ονός: domestic ass, Asinus domesticus Sm.
Ορέως: mule (see 'Ημίωνος).
Οργίξ: chiefly the scimitar-horned oryx (Oryx leucoryx Pall.) and the straight-horned oryx (O. beisa Rüppel).
Πάρδαλις: panther or leopard, Felis pardus antiquorum Smith.
Πρόβατος: sheep (see "Οἰς").
Σῦς: pig, Sus scrofa domesticus Rütimeyer.
Τάβρος: bull (see Βοῦς).
Τίγρις: tiger, Felis tigris L.
Φώκη: seal, including the common seal (Phoca vitulina L.) and the monk seal (P. monachus Herm.).

2. Birds

'Αετός: eagle, esp. Aquila sp.
'Αγάθων: nightingale, chiefly Luscinia megarhyncha Brehm.
'Αλεξτρώνιος: domestic cock, Gallus domesticus Briss.
'Αλκυών: kingfisher, Alcedo istoria L.
Γέρανος: common crane, Grus grus L.
'Ερωτίδος: heron, including the common heron (Ardea cinerea L.), the greater European egret (Herodias alba Gray), the lesser European egret (Garzetta garzetta L.), and the bittern (Botaurus stellaris L.).
'Ιβίς: ibis, including the sacred white ibis (Ibis aethiopica Ill.) and the black ibis (Plegades falcinellus Kaup.).
'Ιέραξ: smaller hawks and falcons generically.
'Ικτίνος: kite, including the common kite (Milvus ictinus Sav.) and the black kite (M. ater Gm.).
Κίττα: jay, Garrulus glandarius L.; sometimes the magpie, Pica caudata L.
Κολοιός: jackdaw, Corvus monedula L.
Kόραξ: raven, _Corvus corax_ L.
Κορώνη: crow (_Corvus corone_ L.) and hooded crow (_C. corone_ L.).
Κύνος: swan, _Cygnus olor_ Gm. and _C. musicus_ Bkst.
Μέροψ: bee-eater, _Merops apiaster_ L.
Πελαργός: stork, esp. _Ciconia alba_ L.
Πέρδις: partridge, esp. the Greek partridge, _Alectoris graeca_ Kaup; in Italy also the red-legged partridge, _A. rufa_ Kaup.
Περιστερά: rock-dove, _Columba livia_ L.; domestic rock-dove, _C. livia domestic_ a L.
Τροχλός: Egyptian plover, _Pluvianus aegypti_ us Viell.; elsewhere also the common European wren, _Troglo_ dytes troglodytes_ L.
Χελιδών: swallow, including the chimney swallow (_Chelidon rustica_ L.) and the house-martin (_Chelidon urbica_ Boie).
Χίφων: as a wild type, the gray or graylag goose (_Anser cinereus_ Meyer) and the bean goose (_Anser se_ g_ etum_ Bonn.), often the domestic type of the gray goose.
Ὑάρ: starling, _Sturnus vulgaris_ L.
Γιττακός: parrot, perhaps esp. _Psittacus alexandri_ L. and _P. torquatus_ Gm.
Ότις: bustard, _Otis tarda_ L.
Ότος: a horned or eared owl, not more specifically identifiable.

3. Reptiles and Amphibia

Βάτραχος: frog, _Rana_ sp. and allied genera.
Κροκόδειλος: Nile crocodile, _Crocodylus niloticus_ Laur.
Όφις: serpent generically.
Χαμαλέων: the African chameleon, _Chameleo vulgaris_ Latr.

4. Fishes

Ἀλιεύς: fishing-frog, _Lophius piscatorius_ L.
Ἀλώπηξ: fox-shark, _Alopecias vulpes_ Bp.
Ἀμία: bonito, more esp. the pelamid or belted bonito, _Sarda sarda_ Cuv., to a lesser degree the bonito or striped-bellied tunny, _Katsuwonus pelamis_ Kish.
Ἀνθία: in 977 C probably the Mediterranean barbier, _Serranus an_ thias_ C.V._; sometimes spoken of as a much larger fish, then of uncertain identity.

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THE CLEVERNESS OF ANIMALS

The cleverness of animals is usually attributed to the pipefish (*Syngnathus rubescens* Risso and *S. acus* L.) and the garfish (*Belone imperialis* Vincig. and *Strongylura acus* Lacép.): in 983 c indeterminable.

**Γαλέως**: generic term for sharks and dogfishes, more esp. *Scyllium canicula* Cuv., *S. catulus* Cuv., and *Mustelus vulgaris* Müll.

**Γαλή**: principally the hake and rockling, *Phycis* sp. and *Motella* sp.

**Γόγγρος**: conger-eel, *Conger vulgaris* Cuv.

**Ελλοψ**: probably mostly the common sturgeon, *Acipenser sturio* L.

**Έμεων**: usually the pilot-fish, *Naucrates ductor* Cuv.; in 980 R apparently also one of the globe-fishes, such as *Diodon hystrix* L.

**Θρίσσα**: probably the shad, *Alosa vulgaris* C. V., or the sardinelle, *Sardinella aurita* C. V.

**Θύνως**: tunny, mostly the common tunny, *Thunnus thynnus* L.

**Περός**: “sacred,” an epithet applied to several fish, more especially the *âthias*, the gilthead, the sturgeon, the dolphin, and the pilot-fish.

**Ιονλις**: rainbow-wrasse, *Coris julis* Gth.

**Κεστρεός**: the gray mullet in general, sometimes the common gray mullet, *Mugil capito* Cuv., in particular.

**Κῆτος**: sometimes a large sea monster (as in 981 d), in other authors sometimes a huge fish (such as a large tunny), but more commonly, and usually in Plutarch, a whale.

**Κολιας**: coly-mackerel, *Pneumatophorus colias* Gm.

**Κωβίδος**: goby, chiefly the black goby, *Gobius niger* L.

**Δάβραξ**: sea-bass, *Labrax lupus* Cuv.

**Μορμύρος**: type of sea bream, the mormyrus, *Pagellus mormyrus* C. V.

**Μύρανα**: moray or murry, *Muraena helena* L.

**Νάρκη**: torpedo or electric ray, esp. *Torpedo marmorata* Risso, less commonly *T. narce* Nardo and *T. hebetans* Löwe.

**Περαίας**: a type of gray mullet (*Mugil* sp.).

**Πηλαμύς**: year-old tunny (see Θύνως).

**Σαργός**: sargue, esp. *Sargus vulgaris* Geoff.

**Σκάρος**: parrot-fish, *Scarus cretensis* C. V.

**Σκορπίως**: sculpin, *Scorpaena scrofa* L. and *S. porcus* L.

**Τρίγλα**: the red or plain surmullet, *Mullus barbatulus* L., and the striped or common surmullet, *M. surmuletus* L.

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PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

Фυκίς: a wrasse, probably specifically *Crenilabrus pavo* C.V.
Χρυσωπός: gilthead, *Chrysophrys aurata* C.V.

5. Molluscs

Κόγχη: mussels in general, including oysters.
Λαγώς (θαλάσσιος): sea-hare, *Aplysia depilans* L.
'Οστρέον: sometimes a generic term for mussels; more commonly a specific term for the common European oyster, *Ostrea edulis* L.; occasionally a term for other species of oyster, such as *O. lamellosa* Brocchi and *O. cristata* Lam.
Πάνη: pinna, especially *Pinna nobilis* L.; but also *P. rudis* L., *P. rotundata* L., and *P. pectinata* L.
Πολύντος: octopus, *Octopus vulgaris* Lam.
Σηπία: cuttlefish, *Sepia officinalis* L.

6. Crustacea

Καρκίνος: crab, *Decapoda brachyura* Lam.
Πάγουρος: probably the common edible crab, *Cancer pagurus* L.
Πιννοτήρης: pinna-guard, *Pinnoteres veterum* L.

7. Insects and Spiders

'Αράχνης: spider (class Arachnoida, order Araneida).
Μέλιττα: bee generically, but mostly domestic honeybee, *Apis mellifera* L.
Μύρμηξ: ant generically (family Formicidae).
Τέττιξ: cicada, esp. *Cicada plebeia* Scop. and *C. ornī* L.

8. Echinoderms

'Αστήρ: starfish generically, *Asterias* sp.
'Εχίνος (θαλάσσιος): sea-urchin, especially *Echinus esculentus* Lam. and *Strongylocentrotus lividus* Brdt.

9. Porifera

Σπόγγος: sponge, chiefly *Euspongeia officinalis* Bronn. and *Hippospongia equina* Schmidt.

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BEASTS ARE RATIONAL
(BRUTA ANIMALIA RATIONE UTI)
INTRODUCTION

Many will find this little jeu d'esprit as pleasant reading as anything in Plutarch. In part, this may be due to its (perhaps accidental) brevity; but its originality and freshness are undeniable. These qualities have, to be sure, puzzled a number of scholars who are still disputing whether the sources are principally Epicurean or Peripatetic or Cynic. Nothing quite like it is known elsewhere, which sad lack baffles the Quellenforscher. So, rather than allow a touch of spontaneous imagination to Plutarch, it has been confidently asserted that the dialogue must come from the school of Menippus, or be an attempt to turn the tables on Polystratus, and so on.

Everything must have a source (if only the author's ingenuity) and the source here, so far as it can be predicated with any certainty, is the tenth book of the Odyssey seen through the humorous eyes of a young Boeotian. We have here, then, a Boeotian

\(^a\) But talking animals were not new (Hirzel, Der Dialog, i, p. 338 ff.).

\(^b\) So the sensible Hirzel (op. cit. ii, p. 131); see also Hartman, De Plutarcho, p. 576. Stylometry, however, does not encourage the view that this is an early work (Sandbach, Class. Quart. xxxiii, p. 196).
pig instructing the favourite of Athena.\(^a\) It was once fashionable to assert, or imply, that since Plutarch was once a young Boeotian himself, matters could not be so simple, nor could he be the author. But the climate of scholarship is, perhaps, changing. There are few of Plutarch's admirers who will not claim this lively work for one of his more admirable achievements, written, perhaps, when he was quite young.

Even if the authorship is accepted without hesitation, there is little else that is certain except that the Stoics are constantly under attack, though rather less directly than in the preceding dialogue. There is grave doubt about the title: is it no. 127 or no. 135 in the Lamprias Catalogue? Or, as it has become popular to call it, is it really the *Gryllus*?\(^b\) There are a number of troublesome lacunae; the work, as it stands, ends suddenly with a gay witticism instead of being continued to a more conventional termination.\(^c\) It is only too likely that the more mature Plutarch would have gone on and on; but what would the clever young man who concocted this conceit have done?\(^d\)

For once, there is a good translation, or paraphrase, the German one of Bruno Snell in his *Plutarch*

\(^a\) Plutarch actually quotes the proverb in his *Life of Demosthenes*, xi. 5 (851 a) and *Mor.* 803 b, but does not seem to realize its possible application here. See the note on 995 e *infra.*

\(^b\) Ziegler (*RE, s.v.* "Plutarchos," 743) says that *Gryllus* is impossible in spite of the Platonic examples, but appears to admit *Ammonius* (no. 84 in the Lamprias Catalogue).

\(^c\) See the last note on 992 e *infra.*

\(^d\) Curiously enough, Xenophon is the most famous son of the historical Gryllus and he is said to have been once a prisoner in Boeotia (Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* 12).
BEASTS ARE RATIONAL

(Zürich, 1948), though this version gives almost too exciting an impression of vivacity and wit by omitting the more tiresome sections.

Those interested in Gryllus’ remarks on the indecent ways in which men pervert animals to their taste will find a sympathetic exposition in E. G. Boulenger’s Animal Mysteries (London, 1927).
1. ΟΔΤΣΣΕΤΣ. Ταύτα μέν, ὁ Κίρκης, μεμαθηκέναι
dοκῶ καὶ διαμιμημονεύσεις· ἢδεως δ᾿ ἄν1 σου πυθοὶ-
μην, εἴ τινας ἔχεις Ἔλληνας ἐν τούτοις, οὐς λύκους
καὶ λέοντας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων πεποίηκας.
E κιρκή. Καὶ πολλοὺς, ὁ ποθοῦμεν2 Ὀδυσσεῦ.
πρὸς τί δὲ τούτο ἑρωτάς;
οδ. Ὅτι νῦ Δία καλὴν ἄν μοι δοκῶ γενέσθαι
φιλοτιμίαν πρὸς τοὺς Ἔλληνας, εἰ χάριτι σῇ2 λαβῶν
τούτοις, ἀθίς εἰς3 ἀνθρώπους ἐταίρους ἀνασώσασμι
καὶ μὴ περίδομι καταγγέλσαντας παρὰ φύσιν ἐν
σώμασι θηρίων, οἰκτράν καὶ ἄτμον οὐτω δίαματιν
ἐχοντας.
κιρ. Ὅστος ὁ ἀνὴρ οὐχ αὐτῶ μόνον οὐδὲ τοῖς
ἐταίροις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μηδὲν προσήκουσιν οὔτεται δεῖν
ὑπ᾿ ἄβελτερίας συμφορᾷ γενέσθαι τὴν αὐτοῦ φιλο-
tιμίαν.
οδ. Ἐτερον αὕ τινα τούτοις, ὁ Κίρκης, κυκεώνα
λόγων ταράττεις καὶ ὑποφαρμάττεις, ἔμε γοῦν ἀτε-

1 δ᾿ ἄν] δὲ κἂν ?
2 σῇ] missing in some mss. ; τῇ σῇ ?
3 εἰς added by Dübner.
BEASTS ARE RATIONAL

(The speakers in the dialogue are Odysseus, Circe, and Gryllus.)

1. **Odysseus.** These facts, Circe, I believe I have learned and shall not forget them; yet I should be happy to learn from you further whether there are any Greeks among those whom you have changed from the shape of men into wolves and lions.

   **Circe.** Quite a few, beloved Odysseus. But what is your reason for asking this question?

   **Odysseus.** It is, I swear, because it would bring me noble glory among the Greeks if by your favour I should restore comrades of mine to their original humanity and not allow them to grow old in the unnatural guise of beasts, leading an existence that is so piteous and shameful.

   **Circe.** Here's a lad who finds it appropriate that not only himself and his companions, but even total strangers should, through his stupidity, find his ambition their ruin.

   **Odysseus.** This is a new potion of words that you are stirring and drugging for me, Circe. It will cer-

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*a* For the beginning *cf.* Horace, *Sat.* ii. 5. 1:

"Haec quoque, Teresia, praeter narrata . . . .",

a form which is assumed to go back to Menippus.

*b* By which she transformed men into beasts: *Odyssey*, x. 236.
(985) χείδωσ ποιούσα θηρίον, εἰ πείσομαι σοι ὡς συμφορά  
F ἐστιν' ἄνθρωπον ἐκ θηρίου γενέσθαι.

κιρ. Οὐ γὰρ ἡδη τούτων ἀτοπώτερα πεποίηκας  
σεαυτόν, ὡς τὸν ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀγήρω σὺν ἐμοὶ  
βίον ἀφεις ἐπὶ γυναῖκα θητήν, ὡς δ' ἐγὼ φημι,  
καὶ γραύν ἡδῆ διὰ μυρίων ἐτὶ κακῶν σπεύδεις,  
986 ὡς δὴ 2 περίβλεπτος ἐκ τούτοι καὶ ὅνομαστός ἐτὶ  
μᾶλλον ἡ νῦν γενόμενος; 3 κενῶν ἀγαθὸν καὶ εἰδωλον  
ἀντὶ τῆς ἀληθείας διώκων;

οδ. Ἐχέσω ταῦτα ὡς λέγεις, ὥς Κύρκη· τί γὰρ  
δεῖ πολλάκις ξυγομαχεῖν ἡμᾶς περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν;  
tούτοις δὲ μοι δὸς ἀναλύσασα καὶ χάρισαι τοὺς  
ἀνδρας.

κιρ. Οὐχ οὕτω γ' ἀπλῶς, μα τὴν Ἐκάτην· οὐ  
γὰρ οἱ τυχόντες εἰσίν· ἀλλ' ἐροῦ πρῶτον αὐτοὺς,  
eἰ θέλουσιν· ἄν δὲ μὴ φῶσι, διαλεχθεῖσι, ὥς γενναίε,  
πείσον· ἓαν δὲ μὴ πείσης, ἀλλά καὶ περιγένωνται  
dιαλεγόμενοι, ἰκανὸν ἐστῶ σοι περὶ σεαυτοῦ καὶ  
tῶν φίλων κακῶς βεβουλεύσας.

β οδ. Τὶ μου καταγελᾶς, ὥς μακαρία; πώς γὰρ  
ἄν ἡ δοίεν οὕτοι λόγον ἡ λάβοιεν, ἐως ὅνοι καὶ  
σύες καὶ λεόντες εἰσι;

κιρ. Θάρρει, φιλοτιμῶταῖ ἄνθρωπων· ἐγὼ σοι  
παρέξω καὶ συνιέντας αὐτοὺς καὶ διαλεγομένους·  
μᾶλλον δ' εἰς ἰκανός ἐσται καὶ διδοῦς καὶ λαμβά-  
νων ὑπὲρ πάντων λόγον· ἰδοὺ, τούτω διαλέγουν.

1 ἐστιν'] γ' ἐστιν ?
2 δὴ] ἃν Bernardakis.
3 γενόμενος] γενησόμενος Hartman.

a Hecate, goddess of black magic, who was invoked for
tainly transform me literally into a beast if I am to take your word for it that changing from beast to man spells ruin.

Circe. Haven't you already worked a stranger magic than this on yourself? You who refused an ageless, immortal life at my side and would struggle through a thousand new dangers to a woman who is mortal and, I can assure you, no longer so very young—and this for no object other than to make yourself more gaped at and renowned than you already are, pursuing an empty phantom instead of what is truly good.

Odysseus. All right, let it be as you say, Circe. Why must we quarrel again and again about the same matters? Now please just grant me the favour of letting the men go free.

Circe. By the Black Goddess, it's not so simple as that. These creatures are no run of the mill. You must ask them first if they are willing. If they say no, my hero, you'll have to argue with them and convince them. And if you don't, and they win the argument, then you must be content with having exercised poor judgement about yourself and your friends.

Odysseus. Dear lady, why are you making fun of me? How can they argue with me or I with them so long as they are asses and hogs and lions?

Circe. Courage, courage, my ambitious friend. I'll see to it that you shall find them both receptive and responsive. Or rather, one of the number will be enough to thrust and parry for them all. Presto! You may talk with this one.

such functions at least from the time of Euripides' Medea (394 ff.).
Καὶ τὰν τοῦτον, ὦ Κύρκη, προσαγορεύσομεν; ἢ τὸς ἤν οὗτος ἀνθρώπων;
Τί γὰρ τούτο πρὸς τὸν λόγον; ἀλλὰ κάλει αὐτὸν, εἰ βούλει, Γρύλλοιν. ἐγὼ δ’ ἐκστήσομαι ὑμῖν, μή καὶ παρὰ γνώμην ἐμοὶ δοκῆ χαριζόμενος διαλέγεσθαι.

Χαῖρε, Ὥδυσσεῦ.
Καὶ σὺ νῦ Δία, Γρύλλε.
Τί βούλει ἐρωτάν;
odysseus. And how am I to address him, Circe? Who in the world was he? a

circe. What's that to do with the issue? Call him Gryllus, b if you like. I'll retire now to avoid any suggestion that he is arguing against his own convictions to curry favour with me.

2. gryllus. Hello, Odysseus.

odysseus. And you too, Gryllus, for heaven's sake!

gryllus. What do you want to ask?

odysseus. Since I am aware that you have been men, I feel sorry for all of you in your present plight; yet it is only natural that I should be more concerned for those of you who were Greeks before you fell into this misfortune. So now I have asked Circe to remove the spell from any Greek who chooses and restore him to his original shape and let him go back home with us.

gryllus. Stop, Odysseus! Not a word more! You see, we don't any of us think much of you either, for evidently it was a farce, that talk of your cleverness and your fame as one whose intelligence far surpassed the rest—a man who boggles at the simple matter of changing from worse to better because he hasn't considered the matter. For just as children dread the doctor's doses c and run from lessons, the very things that, by changing them from invalids and fools, will make them healthier and wiser, just so you have shied away from the change from one shape to another. At this very moment you are not only living in fear and trembling as a companion of

a After the Homeric formula, e.g., Odyssey, x. 325.

b "Grunter," "swine."

c Cf. Lucretius, iv. 11 ff.; Plato, Laws 720 a. If one takes Laws, 646 c literally, there was some reason for fear.
(986) μαίνων τῇ Κίρκη σύνει,1 μή σε ποιήσῃ λαθούσα σών ἡ λύκον, ἡμᾶς τε πείθεις, ἐν ἄφθονοις ζωντας ἀγαθοῖς, ἀπολυπόντας ἀμα τούτοις τὴν ταύτα παρα-
E σκευαζουσαν ἐκπλείν μετὰ σοῦ, τὸ πάντων βαρυ-
potmótaton2 ζωὸν αὖθις ἄνθρωπους γενομένους.

οδ. Ἐμοὶ σὺ, Γρύλλε, δοκεῖς οὖ τὴν μορφὴν μόνον ἄλλα καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πόματος ἔκεινον διεφθάρθαι καὶ γεγονέναι μεστὸς ἀτόπων καὶ διαλελβημένων παντάπασι δοξῶν. ἦ σὲ τὸς ἀὖ3 συνηνίας4 ἥδωνῃ πρὸς τὸδε τὸ σῶμα καταγε-
goίτευκεν;

γρ. Οὐδέτερα τούτων, ὦ βασιλεῦ Ἐπεφαλήμων·
ἂν δὲ διαλέγεσθαι μᾶλλον ἐθέλης ἡ λοιδορείσθαι,
tαχὺ σε μεταπείσομεν, ἐκατέρου τῶν βίων ἐμπεί-
ρως ἔχοντες, ὅτι ταύτα πρὸ ἐκείνων εἰκότως ἀγα-
πῶμεν.

οδ. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐγὼ πρόθυμος5 ἀκροᾶσθαι.

F 3. γρ. Καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῖνυν λέγειν. ἀρκτέον δὲ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν ἁρετῶν, ἐφ’ αἷς ὀρῶμεν ύμᾶς μέγα φρονούντας, ὡς τῶν θηρίων πολὺ καὶ δικαιο-
σύνη καὶ φρονήσει καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἁρεταῖς διαφέροντας. ἀπόκριναι δὴ μοι, σοφώτατ’ ἀνδρῶν ἥκουσα γάρ σου ποτὲ διηγουμένου τῇ Κίρκη περὶ τῆς τῶν Κυκλώτων γῆς, ὡς οὔτ’ ἀρου-
μένη τὸ παράπαν, οὔτε τινὸς οἷς αὐτὴν φυτεύοντος οὐδέν, οὔτως ἐστὶν ἀγαθή καὶ γειναία τῇν φύσιν,

1 σύνει Reiske: συνείναι.
2 βαρυσποτμότατον Reiske: φιλοσποτμότατον (φιλοτυφότατον καὶ δυσποτμότατον Post, "the vanity-loving and ill-fated animal beyond all others ").
3 αὖ] ἄρα Post; Hartman deletes.
4 συνηνίας Hartman: συνηθειάς.
5 πρόθυμος Reiske: πρὸς ύμᾶς (ἐχω προθύμως Valckenaer).
Circe, frightened that she may, before you know it, turn you into a pig or a wolf, but you are also trying to persuade us, who live in an abundance of good things, to abandon them, and with them the lady who provides them, and sail away with you, when we have again become men, the most unfortunate of all creatures!

 Odysseus. To me, Gryllus, you seem to have lost not only your shape, but your intelligence also under the influence of that drug. You have become infected with strange and completely perverted notions. Or was it rather an inclination to swinishness that conjured you into this shape? a

 Gryllus. Neither of these, king of the Cephalenians. b But if it is your pleasure to discuss the matter instead of hurling abuse, I shall quickly make you see that we are right to prefer our present life in place of the former one, now that we have tried both.

 Odysseus. Go on. I should like to hear you.

 3. Gryllus. And I, in that case, to instruct you. Let us begin with the virtues, which, we note, inspire you with pride; for you rate yourselves as far superior to animals c in justice and wisdom and courage and all the rest of them. But answer me this, wisest of men! Once I heard you telling Circe about the land of the Cyclopes, d that though it is not ploughed at all nor does anyone sow there, yet it is naturally so fertile and fecund that it produces spontaneously

a That is, you were always a swine. It is only your shape that is altered.

b After Homer, Iliad, ii. 631; Odyssey, xxiv. 378; or, taking the pun, "King of Brains," "Mastermind."

c Cf. 962 a supra; on the virtues of animals see Aristotle, Historia Animal, i. 1 (488 f. 12 ff.); Plato, Laches, 196 e; al.

d Homer, Odyssey, ix. 108 ff.
(986) ὡσθ' ἀπαντας ἐκφέρειν τοὺς καρποὺς ἀφ' αὐτῆς.
987 πότερον οὖν ταύτην ἐπανείς μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν αἰγί-
βοτον Ἰθάκην καὶ τραχεῖαν, ἡ μόλις ἀπ' ἐργῶν τε
πολλῶν καὶ διὰ πόνων μεγάλων μικρὰ καὶ γλύσχρα
καὶ μηδενὸς ἄξια τοῖς γεωργοῦσιν ἀναδίδωσι; καὶ
ὄπως οὐ χαλεπῶς οἴσεις, παρὰ τὸ φαινόμενον εὐνοία
τῆς πατρίδος ἀποκρινόμενος.

οδ. 'Ἄλλ' οὐ δεῖ ψεύδεσθαι: φιλῷ μὲν γὰρ καὶ
ἀσπάζομαι τὴν ἔμαυτον πατρίδα καὶ χώραν μᾶλλον,
ἐπαινῶ δὲ καὶ ταῦμαξῷ τὴν ἐκείνων.

γρ. Οὐκών τότῳ μὲν οὔτως ἐχειν φήσομεν, ὡς
ὁ φρονιμώτατος ἀνθρώπων ἄλλα μὲν οὖσαι δεῖν
Β ἐπαινεῖν καὶ δοκιμάζειν ἄλλα δ' αἰρεῖσθαι καὶ ἀγα-
πᾶν, ἐκεῖνο δ' οἶμαι σε καὶ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπο-
κεκρίσθαι: ταύτων γὰρ ἐστι τῷ περὶ τῆς χώρας, ὡς
ἀμείων ὡς ἄνευ πόνου τὴν ἀρετὴν ἦσσερ αὐτο-
φυή καρπὸν ἀναδίδωσιν.

οδ. "Εστώ σοι καὶ τοθ' οὔτως.

γρ. "Ηδὴ δ' οὖν' ὅμολογείς τὴν τῶν θηρίων
ψυχήν εὐφυεστέραν εἶναι πρὸς γένεσιν ἀρετῆς καὶ
teleiostéran: ἀνεπίτακτος γὰρ καὶ ἀδίδακτος ἦσσερ
ἄσπορος καὶ ἀνήροτος ἐκφέρει καὶ αὐξεὶ κατὰ φύσιν
tῆν ἐκάστως προσήκουσαν ἀρετήν.

οδ. Καὶ τίνος ποτ' ἀρετῆς, ὁ Γρύλλα, μέτεστι
τοῖς θηρίοις;

4. γρ. Τίνος μὲν οὖν οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ σοφω-
(τάτῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων; σκόπει δὲ πρῶτον, εἰ βουλεῖ,
tῆν ἀνδρείαν, ἐφ' ἢ σὺ φρονεῖς μέγα καὶ οὐκ ἐγκα-
λύπτῃ "θρασύς" καὶ "πτολίπορθος" ἀποκαλοῦ-

1 δ' οὖν Benseler: οὖν.

a Odyssey, xiii. 242 ff.: cf. iv. 606.
BEASTS ARE RATIONAL, 986-987

every kind of crops. Do you, then, rate this land higher than rugged, goat-pasturing Ithaca,\(^a\) which barely yields the tiller a meagre, churlish, trifling crop after great efforts and much toil? And see that you don’t lose your temper and give me a patriotic answer that isn’t what you really believe.

ODYSSEUS. I have no need to lie; for though I love and cherish my native soil more, the other wins my approval and admiration.

GRYLLUS. Then this, we shall say, is the situation: the wisest of men thinks fit to commend and approve one thing while he loves and prefers another. Now I assume that your answer applies to the spiritual field also, for the situation is the same as with the land\(^b\): that spiritual soil is better which produces a harvest of virtue as a spontaneous crop without toil.

ODYSSEUS. Yes, this too you may assume.

GRYLLUS. At this moment, then, you are conceding the point that the soul of beasts has a greater natural capacity and perfection for the generation of virtue: for without command or instruction, “unsown and unploughed,” as it were, it naturally brings forth and develops such virtue as is proper in each case.

ODYSSEUS. And what sort of virtue, Gryllus, is ever found in beasts?  

4. GRYLLUS. Ask rather what sort of virtue is not found in them more than in the wisest of men? Take first, if you please, courage, in which you take great pride, not even pretending to blush when you are called “valiant” and “sacker of cities.”\(^c\) Yet you,


\(^b\) Iliad, ii. 278.
Δέησις δ’ ούκ ἔστιν οὕδ’, οὔκτον παραίτησις οὐδ’ ἐξομολόγησις ὑπην, οὐδὲ διουλεύει λέων λέοντι καὶ Ἐ ἵππος ἵππω δ’ ἀνανδρίαν, οὕσπερ ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπω, τὴν τῆς δειλίας ἐπώνυμον εὐκόλως ἐναπαξόμενος. οὐσά δ’ ἄνθρωποι πάγαι ἄδολοι ἐχειρώσαντο, τὰ μὲν ἦδη τέλεια τροφῆ ἀπωσά-μενα καὶ πρὸς δύσαι ἐγκαρτερήσαντα τὸν πρὸ δου-

1 τῆς added by W. C. H. after Hartman.
2 ποι Bernardakis: ποι.
3 ἀγανάκτει] ἀναξεί Kronenberg.
4 ἀνανδρίαν Meziriacus: ἀνδρείαν.
you villain, are the man who by tricks and frauds have led astray men who knew only a straightforward, noble style of war and were unversed in deceit and lies; while on your freedom from scruple you confer the name of the virtue that is least compatible with such nefariousness. Wild beasts, however, you will observe, are guileless and artless in their struggles, whether against one another or against you, and conduct their battles with unmistakably naked courage under the impulse of genuine valour. No edict summons them, nor do they fear a writ of desertion. No, it is their nature to flee subjection; with a stout heart they maintain an indomitable spirit to the very end. Nor are they conquered even when physically overpowered; they never give up in their hearts, even while perishing in the fray. In many cases, when beasts are dying, their valour withdraws together with the fighting spirit to some point where it is concentrated in one member and resists the slayer with convulsive movements and fierce anger \(^a\) until, like a fire, it is completely extinguished and departs.

Beasts never beg or sue for pity or acknowledge defeat: lion is never slave to lion, or horse to horse through cowardice, as man is to man when he unprotestingly accepts the name whose root is cowardice.\(^b\) And when men have subdued beasts by snares and tricks, such of them as are full grown refuse food and endure the pangs of thirst until they

\(^a\) Like eels or snakes whose tails continue to twitch long after they are dead.
\(^b\) "Slavery" (douleia) as though derived from "cowardice" (deilia).

\(^5\) τέλεια Hartman: τέλεια καί.
(987) leias épagnetai kai àgapà thánatos neuosois dé kai skýmnois tou'tov, déi hílikian édagwgonous kai ápa-lois oúsin, pollá kai ápatthlá meilígmata kai úpopeteteýmata prosoféroutes kai katafarmát- toutes, ἰδονῶν παρὰ φύσιν γενόμενα καὶ διαίτης ádrafh χρόνω κατεργάσαντο, ἐως προσεδέξαντο καὶ υπέμειναν τὴν καλουμένην ἐξημέρωσιν ὥσπερ Φ ἀπογυναίκωσιν τοῦ θυμοειδοὺς.

Oîs δή μάλιστα δῆλον ὅτι τὰ θηρία πρὸς τὸ θαρρεῖν εὐ πέφυκε. τοῖς δὲ αὐθρώποις ἡ παρρησία καὶ παρὰ φύσιν ἕστιν· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἄν, ὁ βέλτιστος Ὅδυσσεύ, μάλιστα καταμάθοις· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς θηρίοις ἰσορροπεῖ πρὸς ἁλκήν ἡ φύσις καὶ τὸ θῆλυ τοῦ ἀρρενος οὐδὲν ἀποδεῖ πονεῖν τε τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις πόνους ἀγωνίζεσθαι τε τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν τέκνων ἁγώνας. ἀλλὰ ποὺ Κρομμυώταν τινὰ σὺν ἄκουεις, ἡ πράγματα πολλά, θῆλυ θηρίων οὖσα, 988 τῷ Θησεὶ παρέσχε· καὶ τὴν Σφίγγα ἐκείνην οὐκ ἂν ὄνησεν ἡ σοφία περὶ τὸ Φίκιον ἄνω καθεξομένην, αἰνίγματα καὶ γρύφους πλέκουσαν, εἰ μὴ ρώμη καὶ ἀνδρεία πολὺ τῶν Καθμεῖων ἐπεκράτει. ἐκεῖ δὲ ποὺ καὶ Τευμησίαν ἀλώπεκα "μέριμνον χρήμα" καὶ πλησίον ὁφνὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι περὶ τοῦ

1 ἐπάγνεται] ἀσπάζεται Bernardakis.
2 ὑποπετεύματα] ὑποπετεύματα Meziriacus.
3 ἐως Wytenbach (who put it earlier): kai.
4 ois δή] τοίσοδε δῆ; "Now the following facts . . . ."
5 παρρησία] εὐθάρσεια Emperius.
6 ποὺ W. C. II.: kai.
7 ἄκουεις] ἀκήκοας?
8 Τευμησίαι] most mss. have τελμησίαι.

a They also refuse to breed in captivity: Pliny, Nat. Hist. x. 182: al. 504
induce and embrace death in place of slavery. But nestlings and cubs, which by reason of age are tender and docile, are offered many beguiling allurements and enticements that act as drugs. These give them a taste for unnatural pleasures and modes of life, and in time make them spiritless to the point where they accept and submit to their so-called "taming," which is really an emasculation of their fighting spirit.

These facts make it perfectly obvious that bravery is an innate characteristic of beasts, while in human beings an independent spirit is actually contrary to nature. The point that best proves this, gentle Odysseus, is the fact that in beasts valour is naturally equal in both sexes and the female is in no way inferior to the male. She takes her part both in the struggle for existence and in the defence of her brood. You have heard. I suppose, of the sow of Crommyon which, though a female beast, caused so much trouble to Theseus. That famous Sphinx would have got no good of her wisdom as she sat on the heights of Mt. Phicium, weaving her riddles and puzzles, if she had not continued to surpass the Thebans greatly in power and courage. Somewhere thereabouts lived also the Teumesian vixen, a "thing atrocious"; and not far away, they say, was the Pythoness who

\[ a \] Cf. the Cynic doctrine in Diogenes Laertius, vi. 12: virtue is the same for women as for men.
\[ b \] Cf. Plato, Laws, 814 b.
\[ c \] Cf. Plato, Laws, 814 b.
\[ d \] Cf. Life of Theseus, 9 (4 d-e), which gives a rationalizing version of the story and converts the sow Phaea into a female bandit of the same name. See also Frazer on Apollodorus, Epitome i. 1 (L.C.L., vol. ii, p. 129); Plato, Laches, 196 e.
\[ f \] Cf. Frazer on Pausanias, ix. 19. 1.
\[ g \] Presumably a quotation which has not been identified.
Χρηστιρίου μονομαχοῦσαν ἐν Δελφοῖς γενέσθαι λέγουσι. τὴν δ' Ἀἰθηνὶ ὦ βασιλεὺς ὑμῶν ἔλαβε παρὰ τοῦ Σικυωνίου μισθὸν ἀστρατείας, ἀριστα βουλευσάμενος δὲ δειλὸ προτύμησεν ἀνδρὸς ἵππον ἀγαθὴν καὶ φιλόνικον. αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ παρδάλεις καὶ λεαίνας πολλάκις ἔωρακας, ὡς οὐδὲν τι τὰ θήλεα ὑπὲρ ση γυνῆ, σοῦ πολεμοῦντος, οἶκοι κάθηται πρὸς ἐσχάραν πυρὸς, οὐκ ἄν ὦδ' ὁσον αἱ χειλιδόνες ἀμυνομένη τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν οἰκον βαδίζοντας, καὶ ταῦτα Λάκαμανα οὖσα. τὸ οὖν ἔτι σοι λέγω τὰς Καρίνας ἡ Μαιονίδας; ἀλλ' ἐκ τούτων γε δῆλον ἔστιν, ὅτι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν οὐ φύσει μέτεστι τῆς ἀνδρείας μετή γάρ ἄν ὁμοίως καὶ ταῖς γυναιξίν ἀλκής. ὦσθ' ὡμείς, κατὰ νόμων ἀνάγκην οὐχ ἐκούσιον οὐδὲ βουλομένην ἀλλὰ δουλεύουσαν ἔθεσι καὶ ψόγοις καὶ δόξαις ἐπιήλυσι καὶ λόγοις πλαττο-μένῃ, μελετᾶτε ἀνδρείαν καὶ τοὺς πόνους ὑφίστασθε καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους, οὐ πρὸς ταῦτα ἥραροῦντες ἀλλὰ τῷ ἑτέρα μᾶλλον τούτων δεδέναι. ὦσπερ οὖν τῶν σῶν ἑταῖρων οἱ φθάσας πρῶτος ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλαφρὰν ἀνίσταται κῶπην, οὐ καταφρονών ἐκεῖνης ἀλλὰ δεδίως καὶ φεύγων τὴν βαρυτέραν οὔτως ὁ

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[1] ὦσπερ[ ἀλλ' οὐχ ὦσπερ Post, which may well be right.  
2 pros eischara van Herwerden: pros eischarav.
fought with Apollo for the oracle at Delphi. Your king received Aethe from the Sicyonian as a recompense for excusing him from military service, making a very wise choice when he preferred a fine, spirited mare to a cowardly man. You yourself have often observed in panthers and lionesses that the female in no way yields to the male in spirit and valour. Yet, while you are off at the wars, your wife sits at home by the fire and troubles herself not so much as a swallow to ward off those who come against herself and her home—and this though she is a Spartan born and bred. So why should I go on to mention Carian or Maeonian women? Surely from what has been said it is perfectly obvious that men have no natural claim to courage; if they did, women would have just as great a portion of valour. It follows that your practice of courage is brought about by legal compulsion, which is neither voluntary nor intentional, but in subservience to custom and censure and moulded by extraneous beliefs and arguments. When you face toils and dangers, you do so not because you are courageous, but because you are more afraid of some alternative. For just as that one of your companions who is the first to board ship stands up to the light oar, not because he thinks nothing of it, but because he fears and shuns the heavier one; just so he who accepts the lash to

—a Extreme examples of female lassitude, when even the Spartan Penelope is hopeless by Gryllus' high standards.
— Cf. Epicurus, frag. 517 (Usener).
— Cf. Lucan, vii. 104 f.: "Multos in\textsuperscript{summa pericula misit \textsuperscript{venturi timor ipse mali.}}"
— He chooses the light oar, not because it is a mere nothing to work, but because he dreads the heavier one.
(988) πληγήν ὑπομένων, ἵνα μὴ λάβῃ τραύματα, καὶ πρὸ αἰκίας τινὸς ἢ θανάτου πολέμιον τιν' ἀμνούμενος\(^1\) οὐ πρὸς ταῦτα θαρραλέος ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκείνα δειλὸς ἐστίν. οὔτω δ᾿ ἀναφαίνεται ὡμῖν ἢ μὲν ἀνδρεία δειλία φρόνιμος οὖσα, τὸ δὲ θάρσος φόβος ἐπιστήμη-μην ἔχων τοῦ δὲ ἐτέρων ἐτέρα φεύγειν. οἷς δὲ,

1. εἰ πρὸς ἀνδρείαν οἴεσθε βελτίως εἶναι τῶν θηρίων, τὶ ποθ’ ύμῶν οὐ ποιηταί τοὺς κράτιστα τοῖς πολεμίωσι μαχομένους “ἀνικόφρονας” καὶ “θυμολέοντας” καὶ “συν εἰκέλους ἀλκήν” προσαγορεύ-ουσιν, ἀλλ’ οὐ λέοντας τις αὐτῶν “ἀνθρωπόθυμον,” οὐ σὺν “ἀνδρὶ εἰκελον ἀλκήν” προσαγορεύει; ἀλλ’ ὦσπερ οἴμαι τοὺς ταχεῖς “ποδηνέμους” καὶ τοὺς καλοὺς “θεοεἰδεῖς” ὑπερβαλλόμενοι ταῖς εἰ-κόσιν ὑμομάζουσιν, οὔτω τῶν δεινῶν μάχεσθαι πρὸς τὰ κρείττονα ποιοῦνται τὰς ἀφοιμώσεις. αὐτίων δὲ, ὃτι τῆς μὲν ἀνδρείας οἰον βαφή τις ὁ θυμὸς ἐστὶ καὶ στόμωμα: τούτω δ” ἀκράτω τὰ θηρία χρήται πρὸς τοὺς ἁγώνας, ύμῖν δὲ προσμυνύμε- αυτοῦ πρὸς τὸν λογισμὸν ὦσπερ οἴνος πρὸς ὑδωρ ἔξ-ίσταται παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ ἀπολείπει τὸν καιρόν. ἐνοὶ δ’ ύμῶν οὐδ’ ὠλο’ φασὶν χρῆναι παραλαμ-βάνειν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τοῦ θυμοῦ ἀλλ’ ἐκποδῶν θεμένους νῆφοιν χρῆται τῷ λογισμῷ, πρὸς μὲν σωτηρίας ἀσφάλειαι ὀρθῶς, πρὸς δ’ ἀλκήν καὶ ἀμίναν αὐσχιστα λέγοντες. πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἀτοπον αἰτιάσθαι μὲν ύμᾶς τὴν φύσιν, ὅτι μὴ κέντρα προσ-

\(^1\) τιν’ ἀμνούμενος] ἀνταμνούμενος Post.
\(^2\) ἀναφαίνεται] most mss. have ἀναφαίνει (ἀνεφάνη Reiske).

\(\text{\textsuperscript{a}}\) Cf. Plato, \textit{Phaedo}, 68 ν.
\(\text{\textsuperscript{b}}\) In Homer (Hind, xv. 430) and elsewhere used only as a proper name. Plutarch’s source is probably the lost Epic Cycle.
escape the sword, or meets a foe in battle rather than be tortured or killed, does so not from courage to face the one situation, but from fear of the other. So it is clear that all your courage is merely the cowardice of prudence and all your valour merely fear that has the good sense to escape one course by taking another. And, to sum up, if you think that you are better in courage than beasts, why do your poets call the doughtiest fighters "wolf-minded" and "lion-hearted" and "like a boar in valour," though no poet ever called a lion "man-hearted" or a boar "like a man in valour"? But, I imagine, just as when those who are swift are called "wind-footed" and those who are handsome are called "godlike," there is exaggeration in the imagery; just so the poets bring in a higher ideal when they compare mighty warriors to something else. And the reason is that the spirit of anger is, as it were, the tempering or the cutting edge of courage. Now beasts use this undiluted in their contests, whereas you men have it mixed with calculation, as wine with water, so that it is displaced in the presence of danger and fails you when you need it most. Some of you even declare that anger should not enter at all into fighting, but be dismissed in order to make use of sober calculation: their contention is correct so far as self-preservation goes, but is disgracefully false as regards valorous defence. For surely it is absurd for you to find fault with Nature because she did not equip

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\( \text{Iliad, v. 639; vii. 228: of Odysseus himself in Odyssey, iv. 724.} \)

\( \text{Iliad, iv. 253.} \)

\( \text{Iliad, ii. 786 and often (of Iris).} \)

\( \text{Iliad, iii. 16 and often.} \)

\( \text{For the calculation of fear see Plato, Laws, 644 d.} \)
Comparative anatomy teaches us that man resembles frugivorous animals in everything, and carnivorous in nothing; he has neither claws wherewith to seize his prey, nor distinct and pointed teeth to tear the living fibre." (Shelley, A Vindication of Natural Diet; see the introduction to the

1 καν Reiske: καi.
2 ἐπτοήσθαι Wyttenbach: ἐπτόησται.
3 ἐκάστη Wyttenbach: ἐκάστης.
your bodies with natural stings, or place fighting tusks among your teeth, or give you nails like curved claws,\textsuperscript{a} while you yourselves remove or curb the emotional instrument that Nature has given.

5. ODYSSEUS. Bless me, Gryllus, you must once have been a very clever sophist,\textsuperscript{b} one may judge, since even as things are, and speaking from your swinishness, you can attack the subject with such fervent ardour. But why have you failed to discuss temperance, the next in order?

Gryllus. Because I thought that you would first wish to take exception to what I have said. But you are eager to hear about temperance since you are the husband of a model of chastity and believe that you yourself have given a proof of self-control by rejecting the embraces of Circe. And in this you are no more continent than any of the beasts; for neither do they desire to consort with their betters, but pursue both pleasure and love with mates of like species. So it is no wonder that, like the Mendesian\textsuperscript{c} goat in Egypt which, when shut up with many beautiful women, is said not to be eager to consort with them, but is far more excited about nannies, you likewise are contented with the kind of love that is familiar to you and, being a mortal, are not eager to sleep with a goddess. As for the chastity of Penelope, the cawing of countless crows will pour laughter and contempt upon it; for every crow, if her mate dies, remains a widow, not merely for a following essay). For some modern remarks \textit{cf.} Boulenger, \textit{Animal Mysteries}, p. 196.

\textsuperscript{a} Gryllus acknowledges the truth of this soft impeachment later on, 989 b \textit{infra}.

\textsuperscript{b} Cf. Herodotus, ii. 46; Strabo xvii. 19; and contrast Aelian, \textit{De Natura Animal}, vii. 19.
(989) οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἄλλ' εἶνεά χηρεύει γενεάς ἀνθρώπ- 

6. Ἀλλ' ἔπει σε μὴ λέληθα σοφιστῆς ὡν, φέρε 

χρήσωμαι τάξει τινί τοῦ λόγου, τῆς μὲν σωφρο- 

σύνης ὄρον θέμενος, κατὰ γένος δὲ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας 

διελέμενος. ἢ μὲν οὖν σωφροσύνη βραχύτης τὸς 

ἐστιν ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ τάξεις, ἀναρθοῦσα μὲν τὰς ἐπι- 

εισάκτους καὶ περιττάς, καριῶ δὲ καὶ μετρώτητι 

κοσμοῦσά τας ἀναγκαίας. ταῖς δ' ἐπιθυμίαις ἐν-

ορᾶς ποὺ μυρίαν διαφοράν . . . καὶ τὴν περὶ τὴν τοῦ 

βρώσιν καὶ τὴν5 πόσιν ἀμα τῷ φυσικῷ καὶ τὸ 

ἀναγκαῖον ἔχουσαν: αἱ δὲ τῶν ἀφροδίσιων αἰσ 

C ἀρχὰς ἡ φύσις ἐνδίδωσιν, ἔστι δὲ τοῦ καὶ μὴ χρώ-

μενον ἔχειν ἰκανός ἀπαλλαγέντα, φυσικά καὶ μὲν οὐκ 

ἀναγκαῖοι δ' ἐκλήθησαν. τὸ δὲ τῶν μὴ ἀνα-

καίων μήτε φυσικῶν ἄλλ' ἐξωθεὶν ὑπὸ δόξης κενής 

di' ἀπειροκαλίαν ἐπικεχυμένων γένος ύμων μὲν 

ὀλίγον δεῖν τὰς φυσικὰς ἀπέκρυψεν ὑπὸ πληθοὺς 

ἀπάσας, ἔχει δὲ καθάπερ ξένους ὄχλος ἐπηλύς ἐν 

dήμῳ καταβιαζόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐγγενεῖς πολίτας. 

tὰ δὲ θηρία παντάπασιν ἀβάτους καὶ ἀνεπιμίκτους 

ἔχοντα τοὺς ἐπεισάκτους πάθεσι τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τοῖς 

βίοις πόρρω τῆς κενῆς δόξης ὡσπερ θαλάσσης 

ἀπωκισμένα: τῷ μὲν6 γλαφυρῶς καὶ περιττῶς διά- 

1 τῷ Wytenbach: τοῦ. 2 δὲ] κατ' εἰδή δὲ Reiske. 

3 βραχύτης] βραδύτης Reiske. 

4 ἐνφάς Emperorius: ἐφάρης. 

5 περὶ τῆν βρώσιν καὶ τῆν added by Meziriacus. 


a Cf. Mor. 415 c and the note there. 

b See Epicurus, frag. 456 (Usener): contrast Aristotle, 

Nic. Ethics iii. 10 ff. (1117 b 23 ff.); [Plato], Def. 411 e; al. 

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short time, but for nine generations of men. It follows that your fair Penelope is nine times inferior in chastity to any crow you please.

6. Now since you are not unaware that I am a sophist, let me marshal my arguments in some order by defining temperance and analysing the desires according to their kinds. Temperance, then, is a curtailment and an ordering of the desires that eliminate those that are extraneous or superfluous and discipline in modest and timely fashion those that are essential. You can, of course, observe countless differences in the desires and the desire to eat and drink is at once natural and essential, while the pleasures of love, which, though they find their origin in nature, yet may be forgone and discarded without much inconvenience, have been called natural, but not essential. But there are desires of another kind, neither essential nor natural, that are imported in a deluge from without as a result of your inane illusions and because you lack true culture. So great is their multitude that the natural desires are, every one of them, all but overwhelmed, as though an alien rabble were overpowering the native citizenry. But beasts have souls completely inaccessible and closed to these adventitious passions and live their lives as free from empty illusions as though they dwelt far from the sea. They fall short in the matter of delicate and luxurious living, but solidly

For the temperance of animals see Aristotle, De Gen. Animal. i. 4 (717 a 27).

\[\text{Cf. Mor. 127 A, 584 D f.}\]

\[\text{d There is probably a short lacuna at this point.}\]

(989) γειν ἀπολείπεται, τὸ δὲ σωφρονεῖν καὶ μᾶλλον εὐνο-
μεῖσθαι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, οὔτε πολλαῖς συνοικούσαις
οὔτ' ἄλλοτρίαις, σφόδρα διαφυλάττεται.

'Εμὲ γοῦν ποτὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ὦν ἤττον ἢ σὲ νῦν
ἐξέπληττε μὲν χρυσός ὡς κτῆμα τῶν¹ ἄλλων οὐδενὶ
παραβλητὸν, ἦρει δ' ἀργυρὸς καὶ ἔλεφας: ὁ δὲ
πλείστα τούτων κεκτημένος ἐδόκει μακάριος τις
eἶναι καὶ θεοφιλῆς ἁνήρ, εἴτε Φρύξ ἢ εἴτε Κάρ
τοῦ Δόλωνος ἀγεινέστερος καὶ τοῦ Πριάμου βαρυ-
potmōteros. ἐνταῦθα δὲ² ἀνηρτημένος ἀεὶ ταῖς
ἐπιθυμίαις οὔτε χάριν οὖθ' ἤδονὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων
πραγμάτων ἀφθόνων οὖντων καὶ ἰκανῶν ἐκαρποῦ.

Ε μην, μεμφόμενος³ τὸν ἑμαυτὸν βίων, ὡς τῶν μεγί-
στων ἐνδεχὴς καὶ ἀμοιρὸς ἀγαθῶν ἀπολειμμένοις.
τοναροῦν σ' ὡς⁴ μέμνημαι ἐν Κρήτῃ θεασάμενος
ἀμπεχόνη κεκοσμημένων πανηγυρικῶς, οὗ τὴν φρό-
νησιν ἐξήλουν οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ χιτῶ-
νος εἰργασμένου περιττῶς τὴν λεπτότητα καὶ τῆς
χλαμύδος οὐσῆς ἄλουργοῦ τὴν οὐλότητα καὶ τὸ
κάλλος ἀγαπῶν καὶ τεθηπῶς (ἐἰχε δὲ τι καὶ ἡ
πόρτῃ χρυσὸς οὐδα παίγνιον οἴμαι τορείας⁵ διη-
κριβωμένον) καὶ εἰπόμην γεγοητεμένος, ὦσπερ
αἰ γυναῖκες. ἀλλὰ νῦν ἀπηλλαγμένοις εἰκεῖνων τῶν
κενῶν δοξῶν καὶ κεκαθαρμένους χρυσὸν μὲν καὶ
Γ [ἄργυρον ὦσπερ τοὺς ἄλλους λίθους περιορῶν ὑπερ-
βαίνω, ταῖς δὲ σαΐς χλανίσι καὶ τάπησιν οὖδὲν ἄν
μὰ Δ' ἤδιον ἢ βαθεὶ καὶ μαλθακῷ ἡλιῶ μεστὸς

¹ κτῆμα τῶν Reiske, confirmed by mss.: κτῆμάτων.
² δ' added by Bernardakis.
³ μεμφόμενος added by Wytenbach.
⁴ σ' ὡς Meziriacus: ὡς σε.
⁵ διηκριβωμένον confirmed by mss.
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protect their sobriety and the better regulation of their desires since those that dwell within them are neither numerous nor alien.

Certainly there was a time when I myself, no less than you now, was dazzled by gold and held it to be an incomparable possession; so likewise I was caught by the lure of silver and ivory and the man who had most property of this sort seemed to me to be a blissful favourite of the gods, whether he was a Phrygian or a Carian, one more villainous than Dolon\(^a\) or more unfortunate than Priam.\(^b\) In that situation, constantly activated\(^c\) by these desires, I reaped no joy or pleasure from the other things of life, which I had sufficiently and to spare. I grumbled at my life, finding myself destitute of the most important things and a loser in the lottery of fortune. This is the reason why, as I recall, when I saw you once in Crete tricked out in holiday attire, it was not your intellect or your virtue that I envied, but the softness of the elegantly woven garment and the beautiful wool of your purple cloak that I admired and gaped at (the clasp, I believe, was of gold and had some frivolity worked on it in exquisitely fine intaglio). I followed you about as enchanted as a woman. But now I am rid and purified of all those empty illusions.\(^d\) I have no eyes for gold and silver and can pass them by just like any common stone; and as for your fine robes and tapestries, I swear there's nothing sweeter for me to rest in when I'm full than deep,

\(^a\) See *Iliad*, x, where Dolon betrays Troy.

\(^b\) See especially his speech, *Iliad*, xxii. 38-76.

\(^c\) Like a puppet on strings.

\(^d\) Man alone has luxury: Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii. 5.

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7. Καὶ ταύτας γε πρῶτον διέλθωμεν. ἦ μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὰ εὐώδη καὶ κινοῦτα τὰς ἀποφοραῖς τὴν ὁσφρησίν οἰκεῖως ἡδονῆ πρὸς τῷ τὸ ὀφέλος καὶ προῖκα καὶ ἀπλοῦν ἔχειν ἀμα χρείαν τινὰ συμβάλλεται τῇ διαγνώσει τῆς τροφῆς. ἦ μὲν γὰρ γλώττα τοῦ γλυκέος καὶ δριμέος καὶ αὐστηρὸν γνώμων ἐστὶ τε καὶ λέγεται, ὅταν τῷ γευστικῷ προσμιγέντες οἱ χυμοὶ σύγχυσιν τινα λάβωσιν. ἦ δὲ ὁσφρησις ἡμῶν πρὸ τῶν χυμῶν γνώμων οὐσα τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκάστου πολύ τῶν βασιλικῶν προγευστῶν σκεπτικώτερον διαισθανομένη, τὸ μὲν οἰκεῖον εἶσω παρίσι τὸ δὲ ἄλλοτριον ἀπελαύνει καὶ οὐκ ἐὰν θιγεῖν οὐδὲ Β λυπήσατο τὴν γεῦσιν ἄλλα διαβάλλει καὶ κατηγορεῖ τὴν φαιλότητα πρὶν ἡ βλαβήναι: τάλλα δ’ οὐκ ἐν- χλεί, καθάπερ ὕμιν, τὰ θυμιάματα καὶ κυνάμωμα καὶ νάρδους καὶ φύλλα καὶ καλάμους Ἄραβικοὺς, μετὰ δεινῆς τινος δευσοποιοῦ καὶ δαμακίδος τέχνης, ἡ μυρείς ὁνόμα, συνάγειν εἰς ταῦτο καὶ

1 τῶν δὲ τοιούτων Μεζίριακος: τὰ δὲ τοιαύτα.
2 γευστικῷ Μεζίριακος: γνωστικῷ.
3 δευσοποιοῦ καὶ Post: καὶ δευσοποιοῦ.

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a Cf. Aelian, De Natura Animal. v. 45.
b The servant who pretasted the dishes at a king’s table to make certain that none of them was poisoned; cf. Athenaeus, 171 b ff. On the collegium praegustatorum at Rome see Furneaux on Tacitus, Annals, xii. 66. 5 and Class. Phil. xxvii, p. 160.

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soft mud. None, then, of such adventitious desires has a place in our souls; our life for the most part is controlled by the essential desires and pleasures. As for those that are non-essential, but merely natural, we resort to them without either irregularity or excess.

7. Let us, in fact, first describe these pleasures. Our pleasure in fragrant substances, those that by their nature stimulate our sense of smell, besides the fact that our enjoyment of this is simple and costs nothing, also contributes to utility by providing a way for us to tell good food from bad. For the tongue is said to be, and is, a judge of what is sweet or bitter or sour, when liquid flavours combine and fuse with the organ of taste: but our sense of smell, even before we taste, is a judge that can much more critically distinguish the quality of each article of food than any royal taster in the world. It admits what is proper, rejects what is alien, and will not let it touch or give pain to the taste, but informs on and denounces what is bad before any harm is done. And in other respects smell is no nuisance to us, as it is to you, forcing you to collect and mix together incense of one kind or another and cinnamon and nard and malobathrum and Arabian aromatic reeds, with the aid of a formidable dyer’s or witch’s art, of the sort to which you give the name of unguentation,

\(^{a}\) The aromatic bark of various species of *Cinnamomum*, especially *C. zeylanicum* Breyne, imported from India.

\(^{b}\) As an import from north-eastern India (probably meant here), the rootstock of spikenard, *Nardostachys jatamansi* DC.


\(^{d}\) Probably here sweet flag, *Acorus calamus* L.
(990) συμφυράνταν ἀναγκάζοντα, χρημάτων πολλῶν ἢδυ-
pάθειαν ἀναιδρον καὶ κορασιώδη καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν οὐδαμῶς χρήσιμον ὄνομιένοις. ἀλλὰ καὶ περ οὖσα τοιαύτη διεθμάρκειν οὐ μόνον πάσας γυναίκας ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔδη τοὺς πλείστους, ὡς μιδὲ ταῖς αὐτῶν ἐθέλεν εὐγγίνεσθαι γυναιξίν, εἰ μη μύρων

C ύμίν ὀδωδύναι καὶ διαπασμάτων εἰς ταύτο φοιτῶν. ἀλλὰ κάπροις τε σὺς καὶ τράγους ἄγες καὶ τάλλα θήλεα τοὺς συννόμους αὐτῶν ταῖς ὦνδίαις ὀσμαῖς ἐπάγεται, δρόσου τε καθαρᾶς καὶ λειμώνων ὀδω-
δότα καὶ χλόης συμφέρεται πρὸς τοὺς γάμους ὑπὸ κοινῆς φιλοφροσύνης, οὐχὶ θρυπτόμεναι μὲν αἱ θῆ-
λεαι καὶ προϊσχόμεναι τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἀπάτας καὶ γονητείας καὶ ἀρνήσεις, οἴ δὲ ἄρρενες ὑπὸ οὐστροῦ καὶ μαργάρητος ὄνομιμοι μισθῶν καὶ πόνου καὶ λατρείας τῷ τῆς γενέσεως ἔργου, ἄδολον3 δὲ σύν καυρῷ καὶ ἁμισθόν Ἀφροδίτην μετίντες, ἣ καθ’ ὤραν ἐτοὺς ὀσπερ ψυτῶν βλάστην ἐγείρουσα τῶν

D ξύων τῇν ἐπιθυμίαν εὐθὺς ἐσβεσεν, οὔτε τοῦ θηλεος προσεμένου μετὰ τῆν κύησιν οὔτε πειρώντος ἐτὶ τοῦ ἄρρενος. οὔτω μικρὰν ἔχει καὶ ἁθενή τιμήν ἠδονή παρ’ ἡμῖν, τὸ δ’ ὄλον ἡ φύσις. οἴθεν οὔτ’ ἄρρενος πρὸς ἄρρεν οὔτε θηλεος πρὸς θηλιν μὲξιν αἱ τῶν θηρίων ἐπιθυμίαι μέχρι γε νῦν ἐνηνόχασιν. ύμῶν δὲ πολλὰ τοιαύτα τῶν σεμνῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν.

1 συμφυράν Bernardakis: συμφαγεῖν or συμφοιτεῖν (συμ-
pαγήναι Post).
2 ὄνομιενοι Wytenbach: ὄνομιένους.
3 ἄδολον Reiske.
4 αἱ Meziriacus: εἶναι.

a Cf. Pliny’s frequent and indignant remarks, e.g. Nat. Hist. xii. 29 and 83; also Seneca, Qu. Nat. vii. 30-31.
thus buying at a great price an effeminate, emasculating luxury which has absolutely no real use. Yet, though such is its nature, it has depraved not only every woman, but lately the greater part of men as well, so that they refuse to sleep even with their own wives unless they come to bed reeking with myrrh and scented powders. But sows attract boars and nannies bucks and other female creatures their consorts by means of their own special odours; scented, as they are, with pure dew and grassy meadows, they are attracted to the nuptial union by mutual affection. The females are not coy and do not cloak their desires with deceits or trickeries or denials; nor do the males, driven on by the sting of mad lust, purchase the act of procreation by money or toil or servitude. No! Both parties celebrate at the proper time a love without deceit or hire, a love which in the season of spring awakens, like the burgeoning of plants and trees, the desire of animals, and then immediately extinguishes it. Neither does the female continue to receive the male after she has conceived, nor does the male attempt her. So slight and feeble is the regard we have for pleasure: our whole concern is with Nature. Whence it comes about that to this very day the desires of beasts have encompassed no homosexual mating. But you have a fair amount of such trafficking among your high and mighty nobility, to say nothing of the baser

\[b\] Cf. Mor. 493 r; Plato, Laws, 840 d; Oppian, Cyn. i. 378.
\[c\] Cf. Pliny, Nat. Hist. x. 171; Philo, 48 (p. 123); Aelian, De Natura Animal. ix. 63; Oppian, Hal. i. 473 ff.
\[d\] But see Oppian, Cyn. iii. 146 ff.
\[e\] Cf. Plato, Laws, 836 c; but see Pliny, Nat. Hist. x. 166; Aelian, De Natura Animal. xv. 11; Varia Hist. i. 15: al.
(990) εώ γάρ τοὺς οὐδενὸς ἄξιονς. ὁ δὲ Ἀγαμέμνων τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἐπήλθε κυνηγετῶν τὸν ᾿Αργυννόν ὑπο- φεύγοντα καὶ καταφεύγομενος τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ Ε τῶν πνευμάτων . . . εἶτα καλὸν καλῶς ἐαυτοῦ βαπτιζομεν εἰς τὴν Κωπαίδα λίμνην, ὡς αὐτόθι κατα- σβέσων τὸν ἔρωτα καὶ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἀπαλλαξό- μενος. ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ὁμοίως ἐτάιρον ἁγίειν ἐπιδιώκων ἀπελείφθη τῶν ἀριστέων καὶ προδώκε τὸν στόλον εἰς τῇ θόλῳ τοῦ Πιτώνου Ἀπόλλωνος λαθὼν τὸς ὑμῶν ἐνέγραψεν "᾿Αχιλλεύς καλὸς," δὴ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ὑπὸ ἔχοντος καὶ τὰ γράμματα συνθάνομαι διαμένειν. ἀλεκτρυνὸς δ’ ἀλεκτρυνόν ἐπιβαίνων, θηλείας μὴ παροῦσις, καταπίμπραται ζωὸς, μάντεως τινος η τερατωσκόπων μέγα καὶ δεινῶν ἀποφαίνοντος εἶναι τὸ γινόμενον. οὔτω καὶ παρ’ αὐτῶν ἀνωμολογηταὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὦτε μᾶλλον ἔτι τοῖς θηρίοις σωφρονεῖν προσήκει καὶ μὴ παραβιά- ζεσθαι ταῖς ἡδοναῖς τὴν φύσιν. τὰ δ’ ἐν ὑμῖν ἀκό- λαστα οὐδὲ τὸν νόμον ἔχουσα σύμμαχον ἡ φύσις ἐντὸς ὀρῶν καθείργησις, ἀλλ’ ἄστερ ὑπὸ ρεύματος ἐκφερόμενα πολλαχοὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις δεινὴν υβριν καὶ ταραχὴ καὶ σύγχυσιν ἐν τοῖς ἀφροδισίοις ἀπερ- γάζεται τῆς φύσεως. καὶ γάρ αὐγῶν ἔπειράθησαν ἀνδρες καὶ ὑμιν καὶ ἑπτὼν μιγνύμενοι καὶ γυναῖκες

1 ᾿Αργυννόν Leopardus: ἀργαῖον.
2 πολλαχοὶ] πολλάκες Hartman.

See Barber and Butler on Propertius, iii. 7. 21.
b Probably a brief lacuna should be assumed.
c The story of Hylas is related by Theocritus, xiii, Apollonius Rhodius, i. 1207-1272, Propertius, i. 20; al.
d The Argonauts.

c The famous shrine in Bocotia.

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sort. Agamemnon a came to Boeotia hunting for Argynnus, who tried to elude him, and slandering the sea and winds b . . . then he gave his noble self a noble bath in Lake Copaïs to drown his passion there and get rid of his desire. Just so Heracles, c pursuing a beardless lad, lagged behind the other heroes d and deserted the expedition. On the Rotunda of Ptoian Apollo e one of your men secretly inscribed fair is achilles f—when Achilles already had a son. And I hear that the inscription is still in place. g But a cock that mounts another for the lack of a female is burned alive because some prophet or seer declares that such an event is an important and terrible omen. On this basis even men themselves acknowledge that beasts have a better claim to temperance and the non-violation of nature in their pleasures. Not even Nature, with Law for her ally, can keep within bounds the unchastened vice of your hearts; but as though swept by the current of their lusts beyond the barrier at many points, men do such deeds as wantonly outrage Nature, upset her order, and confuse her distinctions. For men have, in fact, attempted to consort with goats h and sows and mares, and women have gone mad with lust for

f On the formula see Robinson and Fluck, "Greek Love Names" (Johns Hopkins Archaeol. Stud. xxiii, 1937).

g Reiske acutely observes that this is presumably an annotation of Plutarch himself, speaking not from Gryllus' character, but from his own. Since Odysseus, Achilles, and Gryllus were contemporaries, it would hardly be surprising that the inscription should still be there. And if it were, how would Gryllus know?

h See Gow on Theocritus, i. 86; Bergen Evans, op. cit. 101 ff., and on the "vileness" of animals, p. 173. For the general problem see, e.g., J. Rosenbaum, Geschichte der Lustseuche im Altertume (Berlin, 1904), pp. 274 ff.
991 ἄρρεσι θηρίοις ἐπεμάνησαν· ἐκ γὰρ τῶν τοιούτων γάμων ὤμην Μυώταυροι καὶ Αἰγύπταιες, ὡς δ' ἐγὼμαι καὶ Σφίγγας ἀναβλαστάνουσι καὶ Κέν-
ταυροὶ. καὶ τοι διὰ λιμὸν ποτ' ἄνθρωπον καὶ κύων ἠφαγεν καὶ ὑπ' ἄναγκης ὁρνις ἀπεγεύσατο· πρὸς
δὲ συνυστάτων οὐδέποτε θηρίον ἐπεχείρησεν ἄνθρωπω
χρήσαθαι. θηρία δ' ἄνθρωποι καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ πρὸς ἄλλα πολλά καθ' ἡδονᾶς βιάζονται καὶ
παρανοοῦσιν.

8. Οὖν δὲ φαίλοι καὶ ἄκρατεῖς περὶ τὰς εἴρη-
μένας ἐπιθυμίας ὄντες ἐτί μᾶλλον ἐν ταῖς ἄναγκαιας
ἐλέγχονται πολὺ τῷ σωφρονεῖν ἀπολευκόμενοι τῶν
θηρίων. αὕτα δ' εἰσίν αἱ περὶ βρῶσιν καὶ πόσιν·

Β ὡν ἦμεις μὲν τὸ ἡδύ μετὰ χρείας τυνὸς ἀεὶ λαμβάνο-
μεν, ὡμεῖς δὲ τὴν ἡδονὴν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν
tῆς τροφῆς διώκοντες ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ μακρῶν
cολάξεσθε νοσημάτων, ἀπέρ ὅ ἡ μιὰς πηγῆς ἔπαν-
thλούμενα τῆς πλησμονῆς παντοδαπῶν πνευμάτων
καὶ ἄυσκαθάρτων ὑμᾶς ἐμπύλησθι. πρώτον μὲν
γὰρ ἐκάστῳ γένει ζῷου μία τροφὴ σύμφυλος ἐστὶ,
tοῖς μὲν πόᾳ τοῖς δὲ ῥίζᾳ τις ἡ καρπός· ὥσα δὲ
σαρκοφαγεῖ, πρὸς οὐδὲν ἄλλο τρέπεται βορᾶς εἴδος
οὐδ' ἀφαιρεῖται τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων τῆς τροφῆς, ἀλλ'
ἐὰν νέμεσθαι καὶ λέων ἐλαφον καὶ λύκος πρόβατον
C ἡ πέφυκεν. ὡ δ' ἄνθρωπος ἐπὶ πάντα ταῖς ἡδοναῖς

1 καὶ ὑπ' ἄναγκης W. C. H.: ὑπ' ἄναγκης καὶ.
2 καὶ πρὸς ... πολλά] these words should perhaps be
deleted.
3 ἐπαντλούμενα Wytenbach: ἀπαντλούμενα.

305-307); Philo, 66 (p. 131).
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male beasts. From such unions your Minotaurs \(^a\) and Aegipans,\(^b\) and, I suppose, your Sphinxes \(^c\) and Centaurs \(^d\) have arisen. Yet it is through hunger that dogs have occasionally eaten a man; and birds have tasted of human flesh through necessity; but no beast has ever attempted a human body for lustful reasons.\(^e\) But the beasts I have mentioned and many others have been victims of the violent and lawless lusts of man.

8. Though men are so vile and incontinent where the desires I have spoken of are concerned, they can be proved to be even more so in the case of essential desires, being here far inferior to animals in temperance.\(^f\) These are the desires for food and drink, in which we beasts always take our pleasure along with some sort of utility; whereas you, in your pursuit of pleasure rather than natural nourishment, are punished by many serious ailments which, welling up from one single source, the surfeit of your bodies, fill you with all manner of flatulence that is difficult to purge.\(^g\) In the first place each species of animal has one single food proper to it, grass or some root or fruit. Those that are carnivorous resort to no other kind of nourishment, nor do they deprive those weaker than themselves of sustenance; but the lion lets the deer, and the wolf lets the sheep, feed in its natural pasture. But man in his pleasures is led

\(^a\) "Goat Pans"; cf. Hyginus, fable 155; Mela, i. 8. 48.
\(^b\) See Frazer on Apollodorus, iii. 5. 8 (L.C.L., vol. i, p. 347).
\(^d\) But see, e.g., Aelian, De Natura Animal. xv. 14.
\(^e\) Cf. Philo, 47 (p. 122).
\(^f\) Cf. Mor. 131 f.
(991) ὑπὸ λαμαργίας ἐξαγόμενος καὶ πειρώμενος πάντων καὶ ἀπογευόμενος, ὡς οὐδέπω τὸ πρόσφορον καὶ οἰκεῖον ἑγνωκός, μόνος γέγονε τῶν ὄντων παμφάγον.

Καὶ σαρξὶ χρήται πρῶτον ὑπ᾽ οὐδεμιᾶς ἀπορίας οὐδ᾽ ἀμηχανίας, ὦ πάρεστιν ἀεὶ καὶ ὄραν ἀλλ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἄλλως ἀπὸ φυτῶν καὶ σπερμάτων τρυγώντι καὶ λαμβάνοντι καὶ δρεπομένῳ μονονοῦ κάμνειν διὰ πλῆθος· ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ τρυφής καὶ κόρου τῶν ἀναγκαίων βρώσεως ἀνεπιτηδείους καὶ οὐ καθαρᾶς σφαγαίς ζώων μετερχόμενος πολὺ τῶν ἀγριωτάτων θηρίων ὦμότερον. ἀμινά μὲν γὰρ καὶ φόνος καὶ σάρκες

ἐκτίνω καὶ λύκῳ καὶ δράκοντι σιτίον οἰκεῖον, ἀνθρώπῳ δ᾽ ὄφον ἐστίν. ἔπειτα παντὶ γένει χρώμενος οὐχ ὡς τὰ θηρία τῶν πλείστων ἀπέχεται, ολίγοις δὲ πολεμεῖ διὰ τὴν τῆς τροφῆς ἀνάγκην· ἀλλ᾽ οὔτε τι πτηνὸν οὔτε νηκτὸν, ὡς ἔπος εἴπεῖν, οὔτε χερσαίον ἐκπέφευγε τᾶς ἑμέρους δὴ λεγομένας ὑμῶν καὶ φιλοξένους τραπέζας.

9. Εἰδεν. ἀλλ᾽ ὄφοις χρησθεὶς τούτοις ἐφηδύνοντες τὴν τροφῆν. τὶ οὖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὰ ταῦτα . . . φῶντας;¹ ἀλλ᾽ ἡ τῶν θηρίων φρόνησις τῶν μὲν ἀχρήστων καὶ ματαιῶν τεχνῶν οὐδεμιᾶ χώραν δδῶσι, τὰς δ᾽ ἀναγκαίας οὐκ ἐπεισάκτους παρ᾽ ἐτέρων οὐδὲ μι-

¹ μονονοῦ Reiske: μη.
² φῶντας] τρυφωντας Bernardakis.

a Cf. 964 f supra; and with the whole passage cf. the impressive proem to the seventh book of Pliny's Natural History.

b "Man is the only animal liable to the disease of a continuously insatiable appetite." Pliny, Nat. Hist. xi. 293; cf. Philo, 62 (p. 136); Lucan, iv. 373-381; al.

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astray by gluttony to everything edible; he tries and tastes everything as if he had not yet come to recognize what is suitable and proper for him; alone of all creatures he is omnivorous.

In the first place his eating of flesh is caused by no lack of means or methods, for he can always in season harvest and garner and gather in such a succession of plants and grains as will all but tire him out with their abundance; but driven on by luxurious desires and satiety with merely essential nourishment, he pursues illicit food, made unclean by the slaughter of beasts; and he does this in a much more cruel way than the most savage beasts of prey. Blood and gore and raw flesh are the proper diet of kite and wolf and snake; to man they are an appetizer. Then, too, man makes use of every kind of food and does not, like beasts, abstain from most kinds and consequently make war on a few only that he must have for food. In a word, nothing that flies or swims or moves on land has escaped your so-called civilized and hospitable tables.

9. Well, then. It is admitted that you use animals as appetizers to sweeten your fare. Why, therefore . . . Animal intelligence, on the contrary, allows no room for useless and pointless arts; and in the case of essential ones, we do not make one man with con-

*c Cf. 993 d infra.
*d Cf. 993 d, 995 c infra.
*e Or "as supplementary food to make your basic fare more agreeable" (Andrews).
*f There is probably a considerable lacuna at this point; it is indicated in one of the mss. The sense may perhaps be: "Why, in providing yourselves with meat for your luxurious living, have you invented a special art whose practitioners make cookery their sole study? Animal intelligence, on the contrary," etc.

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This curious statement may come from a misreading of Herodotus, ii. 84.
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stant study cling to one department of knowledge and rivet him jealously to that; nor do we receive our arts as alien products or pay to be taught them. Our intelligence produces them on the spot unaided, as its own congenital and legitimate skills. I have heard that in Egypt everyone is a physician; and in the case of beasts each one is not only his own specialist in medicine, but also in the providing of food, in warfare and hunting as well as in self-defence and music, in so far as any kind of animal has a natural gift for it. From whom have we swine learned, when we are sick, to resort to rivers to catch crabs? Who taught tortoises to devour marjoram after eating the snake? And who instructed Cretan goats, when they are pierced by an arrow, to look for dittany, after eating which the arrowhead falls out? For if you speak the truth and say that Nature is their teacher, you are elevating the intelligence of animals to the most sovereign and wisest of first principles. If you do not think that it should be called either reason or intelligence, it is high time for you to cast about for some fairer and even more honourable term to describe it, since certainly the faculty that it brings to bear in action is better and more remarkable. It is no uninstructed or untrained faculty, but rather self-taught and self-sufficient—and not for lack of strength. It is just because of the health and completeness of its native virtue that it is indifferent to the contributions to its intelligence supplied by the lore of others. Such animals, at any rate, as man for amusement or easy living induces to

\[b \text{ Cf. 974 b supra and the note.}\]
\[c \text{ Cf. 974 d supra and the note.}\]
\[d \text{ That is, "better" than human intelligence.}\]
(992) μανθάνειν καὶ μελετᾶν ἄγουσι, τούτων ἡ διάνοια καὶ παρά φύσιν τοῦ σώματος\(^1\) περιουσία συνέσεως ἀναλαμβάνει τὰς μαθήσεις. εἰς γὰρ ἵκνεύειν σκύ-λακας καὶ βαδίζειν ἐν ρυθμῷ πώλους μελετῶντας καὶ\(^2\) κόρακας διαλέγεσθαι καὶ κύνας ἀλλεσθαὶ διὰ τροχῶν περιφερομένων. ἵπποι δὲ καὶ βόες ἐν θεά-\(\text{B}\) τροις κατακλύσεις καὶ χορείας καὶ στάσεις παραβόλους καὶ κινήσεις οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπους πάνιν ῥάδις ἀκριβοῦσιν ἐκδιδασκόμενοι καὶ μημονεύοντες εὐμαθείας ἐπίδειξιν εἰς\(^3\) ἄλλο υἱόν οὐδαμῶς χρῆσιμον ἔχουσαι.\(^4\) εἰ δὲ ἀπίστεις ὅτι τέχνας μανθάνομεν, ἄκουσον ὅτι καὶ διδάσκομεν. αἱ τε γὰρ πέρδικες εἰν τῷ προφεύγειν τοὺς νεοττοὺς ἐθίζουσιν ἀποκρύπτεσθαι καὶ προϊσχεσθαι βόλον ἀνθ' ἑαυτῶν τοὺς ποσίν ὑπτίον ἀναπεσόντας· καὶ τοὺς πελαργι-δέυσιν ὄρας ἐπὶ τῶν τεγῶν ὡς οἱ τέλειοι παρόντες ἀναπειρωμένοις ὑφηγοῦνται τὴν πτήσιν. αἱ δ' Κ ἄρδονες τοὺς νεοσσοὺς προδιδάσκουσιν ἄδειαν· οἱ δὲ ληφθέντες ἐτι νῆπιοι καὶ τραφέντες ἐν χερσίν ἀνθρώπων χεῖρον ἄδουσιν, ὥσπερ πρὸ ὀρας ἀπὸ διδασκάλου γεγονότες. . . . καταδύσι δ' εἰς τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα θαυμάζω τοὺς λόγους ἐκείνους οἰς ἀνεπειθόμεν ὑπὸ τῶν σοφιστῶν ἄλογα καὶ ἀνόητα πάντα πλὴν ἀνθρώπων νομίζειν.

10. οδ. Νῦν μὲν οὖν, ὦ Γρύλλε, μεταβέβλησαι

\(^{1}\) σώματος Reiske: σώματος καὶ.
\(^{2}\) καὶ Hartman: ἄλλα (ἀμα καὶ Post).
\(^{3}\) εἰς Reiske: ὡς.
\(^{4}\) ἔχουσαν Wyttenbach: ἔχουσιν.

\(\text{a}\) Like our trotters or pacers.
\(\text{b}\) A somewhat similar performance of elephants is described in Philo, 27 (pp. 113 f.).

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accept instruction and training have understanding to grasp what they are taught even when it goes contrary to their physical endowment, so superior are their mental powers. I say nothing of puppies that are trained as hunters, or colts schooled to keep time in their gait,\(^a\) or crows that are taught to talk, or dogs, to jump through revolving hoops. In the theatres horses and steers go through an exact routine in which they lie down or dance or hold a precarious pose or perform movements not at all easy even for men\(^b\); and they remember what they have been taught, these exhibitions of docility which are not in the least useful for anything else. If you are doubtful that we can learn arts, then let me tell you that we can even teach them. When partridges\(^c\) are making their escape, they accustom their fledglings to hide by falling on their backs and holding a lump of earth over themselves with their claws. You can observe storks on the roof, the adults showing the art of flying to the young as they make their trial flights.\(^d\) Nightingales\(^e\) set the example for their young to sing; while nestlings that are caught young and brought up by human care are poorer singers, as though they had left the care of their teacher too early.\(^f\) . . . and since I have entered into this new body of mine, I marvel at those arguments by which the sophists\(^g\) brought me to consider all creatures except man irrational and senseless.

10. ODYSSEUS. So now, Gryllus, you are trans-

\(^a\) Cf. 971 c supra; Mor. 494 e and the note.
\(^b\) In Aelian, *De Natura Animal*, viii. 22 will be found the tale of a stork who did not learn in time.
\(^c\) Cf. 973 b supra.
\(^d\) There is probably a long lacuna at this point.
\(^e\) Probably the Stoics are meant (by anachronism).
(992) σὺ καὶ τὸ πρόβατον λογικὸν ἀποφαίνεις καὶ τὸν ὄνον;

γρ. Ἅυτοῖς μὲν οὖν τούτοις, ὃ βέλτιστε Ὄδυσσεῦ, μάλιστα δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι τὴν τῶν θηρίων φύσιν, ὡς λόγου καὶ συνέσεως οὐκ ἔστιν ἀμοιρὸς.

ὅς γὰρ ὅπως ἔστε δένδρον ἐτερον ἐτέρον μᾶλλον οὐδ’ ἤττον ἄψυχον, ἀλλ’ ὁμοίως ἔχει πάντα πρὸς ἀναισθησίαν (οὐδενὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν ψυχῆς μέτεστιν), οὔτως οὐκ ἂν ἐδόκει ζῷων ἐτερον ἐτέρον τῷ φρονεῖν ἀργότερον εἶναι καὶ δυσμαθέστερον, εἰ μή πάντα λόγου καὶ συνέσεως, ἀλλὰ δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ἤττον ἄλλων πως μετείχεν. ἐννόησον δ’ ὅτι τὰς ἐνίων ἀβελτερίας καὶ βλακείας ἐλέγχουσιν ἐτέρων πανοργίαι καὶ δρμύττησε, ὅταν ἀλώπεκι καὶ λύκῳ καὶ μελίττης παραβάλης ὄνον καὶ πρόβατον: ὀσπέρ εἰ σαυτῷ τὸν Πολύφημον ἢ τῷ πάππῳ σου τῷ Αὐτο-Ελύκῳ τὸν Κόροβον ἐκείνον τὸν μωρόν. 3 οὐ γὰρ οἴμαι θηρίον πρὸς θηρίον ἀπόστασιν εἶναι τοσαύτην, ὅσον ἀνθρώπος ἀνθρώποι τῷ φρονεῖν καὶ λογίζεσθαι καὶ μημονεύειν ἀφέστηκεν.

ο. ’Αλλ’ ὃρα, Γρύλλε, μὴ δεινὸν ἢ καὶ βίαιον ἀπολυπεῖν λόγον οἷς οὐκ ἐγγίνεται θεοῦ νόησις.

1 ὅς γὰρ Wytenbach: ὀσπέρ.
formed. Do you attribute reason even to the sheep and the ass?

Gryllus. From even these, dearest Odysseus, it is perfectly possible to gather that animals have a natural endowment of reason and intellect. For just as one tree is not more nor less inanimate than another, but they are all in the same state of insensibility, since none is endowed with soul, in the same way one animal would not be thought to be more sluggish or indocile mentally than another if they did not all possess reason and intellect to some degree—though some have a greater or less proportion than others. Please note that cases of dullness and stupidity in some animals are demonstrated by the cleverness and sharpness of others—as when you compare an ass and a sheep with a fox or a wolf or a bee. It is like comparing Polyphemus to you or that dunce Coroebus to your grandfather Autolycus. I scarcely believe that there is such a spread between one animal and another as there is between man and man in the matter of judgement and reasoning and memory.

Odysseus. But consider, Gryllus: is it not a fearful piece of violence to grant reason to creatures that have no inherent knowledge of God?

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a For Haupt's fine correction (*Hermes*, vi, p. 4 = *Opuscula*, iii, p. 552) cf. Leutsh and Schneidewin, *Paroemiographi Graeci*, i. 101 (Zenobius, iv. 58); Lucian, *Philopseudis*, 3. Coroebus was proverbially so stupid that he tried to count the waves of the sea.

b *Odyssey*, xix. 394 ff.: Autolycus surpassed all men "in thefts and perjury," a gift of Hermes.

2 καὶ μελιττῷ] should perhaps be deleted.

3 τὸν Κόροβον ἐκείνον τὸν μωρὸν Ηaupt: τὸν Κορίθιον ἐκείνον ὄμηρον.
Most critics (and very emphatically Ziegler) believe that the end, perhaps quite a long continuation, is lost; but Reiske ingeniously supposes Gryllus' final answer to mean: "If those who do not know God cannot possess reason, then you, wise Odysseus, can scarcely be descended from such a notorious atheist as Sisyphus." (For Sisyphus' famous assertion that "the gods are only a utilitarian invention" see Critias, Sisyphus, frag. 1: Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. pp. 771 f.).

There would, then, be no further point in prolonging the discussion; and no doubt by this time Odysseus has changed his mind about the desirability of any further metamorphosis.
Beasts are rational.

Gryllus. Then shall we deny, Odysseus, that so wise and remarkable a man as you had Sisyphus for a father? a

of his interlocutor, since the last argument touches him nearly. Sisyphus was said by some to be his real father (Mor. 301 d).

Others, however, believe that some discussion of further virtues, such as natural piety, must have followed; and perhaps the account closed with a consideration of justice. But would Odysseus have been convinced (cf. 986 b)? Or is this as good a place as any to end? Plutarch used no stage directions, so that, as in the classical Platonic dialogues, when the characters stop speaking, the discussion is over and we are left to draw our own conclusions. The undoubted fact, however, that the work is mutilated in several other places allows us to leave the question open.
ON THE EATING OF FLESH
(DE ESU CARNIUM)
I AND II
INTRODUCTION

These two badly mutilated discourses, urging the necessity for vegetarianism, are merely extracts from a series (see 996 a) which Plutarch delivered in his youth, perhaps to a Boeotian audience (995 e). In spite of the exaggerated and calculated rhetoric these fragments probably depict faithfully a foible of Plutarch's early manhood, the Pythagorean or Orphic abstention from animal food. There is little trace of this in his later life as known to us, though a corrupt passage in the Symposiaca (635 e) seems to say that because of a dream our author abstained from eggs for a long time. In the De Sanitate Tuenda also (132 a) Plutarch excuses flesh-eating on the ground that habit "has become a sort of unnatural second nature."

The work appears, on the whole, rather immature beside the Gryllus and the De Sollertia Animalium, but the text is so poor that this may not be the author's fault. In fact the excerptor responsible for our jumbled text, introducing both stupid interpolations (see especially 998 a) and even an extract from an entirely different work (994 b-d), may well have

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\(a\) This was Hirzel's opinion (Der Dialog, ii, p. 126, n. 2), which Ziegler (RE, s.v. "Plutarchos," col. 734) combats.

\(b\) F. Krauss, Die rhetorischen Schriften Plutarchs, pp. 77 ff.

\(c\) Plato, Laws, 782 c. Plutarch, Mor. 159 c, makes Solon say, "To refrain entirely from eating meat, as they record of Orpheus long ago, is rather a quibble than a way of avoiding wrong diet."
altered Plutarch's wording in many other places where we have not the means to detect him.

Porphyry a (De Abstinentia, iii. 24) says that Plutarch attacked the Stoics and Peripatetics in many books; in this one the anti-Stoic polemic has only just begun (999 a) when the work breaks off. For a more complete assault the reader must turn back to the two preceding dialogues.

It is interesting to learn that Shelley found these fragments inspiring. In the eighth book of Queen Mab (verses 211 ff.) we read:

No longer now
He slays the lamb that looks him in the face,
And horribly devours his mangled flesh,
Which, still avenging Nature's broken law,
Kindled all putrid humours in his frame,
All evil passions, and all vain belief, . . .
The germs of misery, death, disease, and crime.

To this passage the poet appended, more suo, a long note which ended with four quotations from our essay in Greek, untranslated (a compliment to the public of his day, one may suppose). This note he subsequently republished as A Vindication of Natural Diet (1813), omitting the Greek; and in the same year he wrote to Thomas Hogg that he had "translated the two Essays of Plutarch, Περὶ σαρκοθαγίας." But this has been lost; it has not, at least, been found among the unpublished Shelley material in the Bodleian. b

a It is, of course, possible that Porphyry used some portion of the missing parts of our work; but this cannot be proved and may even be thought unlikely in view of the fact that he makes no use of any extant portion.

b These facts I owe to the kindness of Professors J. A. Notopoulos of Trinity College and J. E. Jordan of the University of California; see also K. N. Cameron, The Young Shelley, pp. 224 f.
THE EATING OF FLESH

This is one of the eighteen works of the received Corpus of Plutarch that do not appear in the Lamprias Catalogue. Such a fact is not, however, to be adduced against its genuineness, since the Symposiacs themselves are not to be found there.\(^a\)

\(^a\) It is important to observe that H. Fuchs, Der geistige Widerstand gegen Rom, p. 49, n. 60, athetizes this work. A further discussion by this great critic would be warmly welcomed, especially since Wilamowitz recognized here also "den unverkennbaren Stempel der plutarchischen Art."
ΠΕΡΙ ΣΑΡΚΟΦΑΓΙΑΣ

ΛΟΓΟΣ Α

1. Ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν ἔρωτᾶς τίνι λόγῳ Πυθαγόρας ἀπείχετο σαρκοφαγίας; ἐγὼ δὲ θαυμάζω καὶ τίνι Β πάθει καὶ ποία ψυχῆ ἢ λόγῳ ὁ πρώτος ἄνθρωπος ἐφατο φόνου στόματι καὶ τεθνηκότος ζώου χείλεσι προσήφατο σαρκός καὶ νεκρῶν σωμάτων καὶ ἐὼλων¹ προθέμενοι τραπέζας ὁμα καὶ τροφᾶς² προσείπεν³ τὰ μικρὰν ἐμπροσθεν βρυχώμενα μέρη καὶ φθεγγόμενα καὶ κινούμενα καὶ βλέποντα. πῶς ἡ ὄμην ὑπέμεινε τὸν φόνον σφαξομένων δερομένων διαμελιζομένων, πῶς ἡ ὀσφρησις ἤγεικε τὴν ἀποφοράν, πῶς τὴν γεύσιν οὐκ ἀπέτρεψεν ὁ μολυσμὸς ἐλκὼν ψαύουσαν ἀλλοτρίων καὶ τραυμάτων θανασίμων χυμοὺς καὶ ἴχώρας ἀπολαμβάνουσαν;⁴

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¹ εἰώλων van Herwerden: εἰδώλων.
² τροφᾶς] mss. and early editions have also τροφῆν, τρυφᾶς, and τρυφήν (see Sandbach, Class. Quart. xxxv (1941), p. 114).
³ προσείπεν Kronenberg (cf. 995 c): καὶ προσέτι εἰπείν.
⁴ ἀναλαμβάνουσαν Wytenbach.
ON THE EATING OF FLESH

I

1. Can you really ask what reason Pythagoras had for abstaining from flesh? For my part I rather wonder both by what accident and in what state of soul or mind the first man who did so, touched his mouth to gore and brought his lips to the flesh of a dead creature, he who set forth tables of dead, stale bodies and ventured to call food and nourishment the parts that had a little before bellowed and cried, moved and lived. How could his eyes endure the slaughter when throats were slit and hides flayed and limbs torn from limb? How could his nose endure the stench? How was it that the pollution did not turn away his taste, which made contact with the sores of others and sucked juices and serums from mortal wounds?

The skins shivered; and upon the spits the flesh bellowed. Both cooked and raw: the voice of kine was heard.

Though this is an invention and a myth, yet that sort of dinner is really portentous—when a man craves the

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\(^{a} \text{ Cf. 964 f supra.} \) \(^{b} \text{ Cf. 959 e supra.} \) \(^{c} \text{ Cf. 991 d supra, 995 c infra.} \) \(^{d} \text{ Homer, Odyssey, xii. 395-396.} \)

\(^{5} \mu \nu \nu \) added by Reiske.
(993) ἔτι ἐδίδασκοντα ἀφ’ ὧν δεῖ τρέφεσθαι ζῴωντων ἐτι καὶ λαλοῦντων καὶ διαταττόμενον ἀρτύσεις τινάς καὶ ὀπτήσεις καὶ παραθέσεις· τούτων ἔδει ζητεῖν τὸν πρώτον ἀρξάμενον οὗ τὸν ὄψε παυσάμενον.

2. "Η τοῖς μὲν πρώτοις ἐκεῖνοις ἐπιχειρήσασι σαρκοφαγεῖν τὴν αἰτίαν εἴποι πᾶς ἃν ἡν τὴν χρείαν καὶ τὴν ἀπορίαν; οὐ γὰρ ἐπιθυμίας ἀνόμοις συν- ὄντες οὐδ’ ἐν περιουσίᾳ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑβρίσαντες εἰς ἡδονᾶς παρὰ φύσιν ἀσυμφύλους ἐτι ταῦτ’ ἠλθον. ἀλλ’ εἴποιν ἃν αἰσθησιν ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ φωνῇ λαβόντες. "ὁ μακάριοι καὶ θεοκλείεις οἱ νῦν ὄντες ὑμεῖς, οἷον βίου λαχόντες αἰώνα καρποῦσθε καὶ νέμεσθε κλήρον ἄγαθων ἀφθονον· ὡσ φύσι τῷ ὑμῖν, ὡσ τρυγάται, ὡσον πλοῦτον ἐκ πεδίων, ὡσας ἀπὸ φυτῶν ἡδονᾶς δρέπεσθαι πάρεστιν. ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν καὶ τρυφάν μὴ μιανομένοις. ἡμᾶς δὲ σκυθρο¬ πότατον καὶ φοβερότατον ἐδέξατο βίοι καὶ χρόνῳ μέρος, εἰς πολλῆς καὶ ἀμήχανον ἐκπεσόντας ὑπὸ τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως ἀπορίαν· ἔτι μὲν ὄρανον Ἐ ἔκρυπτεν ἄρη καὶ ἄστρα θολερῷ καὶ δυσδιαστα¬ τοῦντι πεφυρμένοις ὑγρῷ καὶ πυρὶ καὶ ζάλαις ἀνέ-

1 ἔτι Stephanus: ἔτι καὶ.
2 καὶ added by Stephanus.
3 τούτων Turnebus: τοῦτον.
4 εἴποι πᾶς ἃν τήν χρείαν Sandbach, after Amyot: ἃν εἴποι πᾶσαν.
5 τῶν Diels: τῶν.
6 ἡδονᾶς Stephanus: ἡδονᾶς ἃς.
7 δυσδιαστατοῦντι Xylander: δυστατοῦντι.
8 πεφυρμένοι Wilamowitz: πεφυρμένα.

α “Hyperbius . . . first killed an animal, Prometheus an ox.” (Pliny, Nat. Hist. vii. 209.) See also the amusing 542
meat that is still bellowing, giving instructions which
tell us on what animals we are to feed while they are
still alive uttering their cries, and organizing various
methods of seasoning and roasting and serving. It
is the man \(^a\) who first began these practices that one
should seek out, not him who all too late desisted.\(^b\)

2. Or would everyone declare that the reason for
those who first instituted flesh-eating was the neces-
sity of their poverty? It was not while they passed
their time in unlawful desires nor when they had
necessaries in abundance that after indulgence in
unnatural and antisocial pleasures they resorted to
such a practice. If, at this moment, they could re-
cover feelings and voice, they might, indeed, re-
mark: "Oh blessed and beloved of the gods, you
who live now, what an age has fallen to your lot
wherein you enjoy and assimilate a heritage abounding in good things! How many plants grow for you!
What vintages you gather! What wealth you may
draw from the plains and what pleasant sustenance
from trees! Why, you may even live luxuriously
without the stain of blood. But as for us, it was a
most dismal and fearful portion of the world's history \(^c\)
that confronted us, falling as we did into great and
unbearable poverty brought on by our first appear-
ance among the living. As yet the heavens and the
stars were concealed by dense air that was con-
taminated with turbid moisture, not easily to be
penetrated, and fire and furious wind. Not yet was

analysis of Prometheus and the vulture (=disease) in
Shelley's *A Vindication of Natural Diet.*

\(^b\) Pythagoras.

\(^c\) Cf. Empedocles, frag. B 2. 3 (Diels-Kranz, *Frag. der
Vorsok.* i, p. 309); the whole passage is received as a
doubtful fragment (B 154: i, pp. 371 f.).
(993) μων· οὕτω δ’ ἦλιος ἑδρυτο ἀπλανή καὶ βέβαιων

ἐχών δρόμον, ἡ̄ω

καὶ δύσιν ἐκρινεν, περὶ δ’ ἦγαγεν αὕθες ὀπίσω καρποφόρουσιν ἐπιστέφας καλυκοστεφάνοισιν¹

όραις· γῆ δ’ ὑβριστό

ποταμών ἑκβολαίς ἀτάκτοις, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ² “λιμναῖσιν ἁμορφα” καὶ πηλοῖς βαθείς καὶ λόχμαις ἀφόρους καὶ ὅλαις ἐξηγρώτο· φορὰ δ’ ἢμέρων καρπῶν καὶ τέχνης ὀργανον οὐδέν ἦν³ οὐδὲ μηχανὴ σοφίας· ὃ δὲ λιμὸς οὐκ ἐδίδου χρόνον οὐδ’ ὤρας ἐτησίους σπόροις πυρῶν⁴ τότ’ ἀνέμενε. τί θαυμαστὸν εἰ ξύων ἑχρησάμεθα σαρξὶ παρὰ φύσιν, ὅτ’ ἰλὺς⁵

ἡσθέτο καὶ φλοίος ἐβρώθη ξύλου, καὶ ἀγρωστῖν εὑρεῖν βλαστάνουσαν ἢ φλεώ̄ τινα βίζαν εὔτυχὲς ἦν; βαλάνου δὲ γευσάμενοι καὶ φαγόντες ἑχορεύσαμεν⁶ ύφ’ ἡδονής περὶ δρῦν τινα καὶ φηγόν, ζείδωρον καὶ μητέρα καὶ προφὸν ἀποκαλοῦσε· ἐκείνην

994 μόνην⁸ ὃ τότε βίος ἐορτήν ἐγνω, τὰ δ’ ἄλλα φλεγμονῆς ἦν ἀπαντα μεστὰ καὶ στυγνότητος. ὑμᾶς δὲ τοὺς⁹ νῦν τις λύσα καὶ τίς οἴστρος ἀγεὶ πρὸς μιαφονίαν, οἷς τοσαῦτα περίεστι τῶν ἀναγκαίων; τί καταψεύδοσθε τῆς γῆς ὡς τρέφειν μὴ δυναμένης; τί τὴν θεσμοφόρον ἀσεβείτε Δήμητρα καὶ τὸν

¹ καλυκοστεφάνοισιν Jacobs: κάλυκος στεφάνοισιν.
² τὰ πολλὰ Bernardakis: πολλὰ.
³ ἦν added by Wilamowitz.
⁴ πυρῶν Diels: ἄν.
⁵ ἰλὺς] δρῦς Bernardakis.
⁶ φλεὼ Stephanus: φλοίος.
⁷ ἑχορεύσαμεν Sieveking: ἑχόρευσαν.
⁸ μόνη Xylander: ἦν.
⁹ τοὺς Stephanus: πῶς.

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the sun established undeviating
In his firm course,
Dividing day and night: he brought them back
Again and crowned them with the fruitful hours
All wreathed with bloom, while violence

had been done to earth by rivers pouring forth their
floods at random and most parts were deformed by
pools. Earth was made a wilderness by deep quag-
mires and the unfruitful growth of thickets and
forests; nor was there as yet any agricultural pro-
duction or professional tool or any resource of skill.
Our hunger gave us no respite nor was there any
seed at that time awaiting the annual season of
sowing. What wonder if, contrary to nature, we
made use of the flesh of beasts when even mud was
eaten and the bark of trees devoured, and to light on
sprouting grass or the root of a rush was a piece of
luck? When we had tasted and eaten acorns we
danced for joy around some oak, calling it "life-
giving" and "mother" and "nurse." This was the
only festival that those times had discovered; all
else was a medley of anguish and gloom. But you
who live now, what madness, what frenzy drives
you to the pollution of shedding blood, you who
have such a superfluity of necessities? Why slander
the earth by implying that she cannot support you?
Why impiously offend law-giving Demeter and

You could not tell land from water, because invading
water made pools that dried up later.

"Drys was a term used especially for Quercus robur L.;
phegas for Q. aegilops L. Actually the early Greeks ate the
acorns mostly of Q. aegilops." (Andrews.)

The epithet properly meant "wheat-giving" (as in
Homer, Iliad, ii. 548), but was early misinterpreted.

Cf. Mor. 1119 e.
(994) ἡμερίδην καὶ μειλίχιον αἰσχύνετε Δίονυσον, ὡς οὕς ἵκανά παρὰ τούτων λαμβάνοντες; οὕς αἰδεῖσθε τοὺς ἡμέρους καρποὺς αἴματι καὶ φόνῳ μιγνύοντες; ἀλλὰ δράκοντας ἀγρίους καλείτε καὶ παρδάλεις καὶ λέοντας, αὐτοὶ δὲ μιαφονεῖτε εἰς ὑμότητα κατα-Διονυσίου μεὶς γὰρ ὁ φόνος τροφῆ, ὃμων δ' ὀφον ἐστίν.

3. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ λέοντας γ' ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ λύκους ἐσθίομεν· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐδοκεῖ, τὰ δ' ἀβλαβῆ καὶ χειροθήθη καὶ ἀκεντρα καὶ νωδὰ πρὸς τὸ δακεῖν συλλαμβάνοντες ἀποκτινώμεν, ἀ νὴ Ἀία καὶ κάλ-λους ἑνεκα καὶ χάριτος ἡ φύσις ἔοικεν ἐξενεγ-κείν . . .

"Ομοιον ὡς εἴ τις τὸν Νείλον ὄρῳ πλημμυροῦντα καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐμπυλάντα1 γονύμω καὶ καρπο-φόρους θεύματος μὴ τοῦτο θαυμάζοι τοῦ φερομένου, τὸ φυτάλμοι καὶ εὐκαρπον τῶν ἡμερωτάτων καὶ βιωφελεστάτων καρπῶν, ἀλλ' ἰδών ποι κροκό-δειλον ἐνηχόμενον καὶ ἀσπίδα κατασυρομένην καὶ 

C μορία2 ἄγρια ζῶα,3 ταῦτα λέγοι τὰς αἰτίας τῆς μέμψεως καὶ τῆς τοῦ πράγματος ἀνάγκης. ἢ νὴ Ἀία τῆς γῆς ταῦτην καὶ τῆν ἀρουραν ἀποβλέψας ἐμ-πελησμένην ἡμέρων καρπῶν καὶ βριθυσαν ἀστα-χύσων, ἐπειθ' ὑποβλέψας4 ποι τοῖς λητίοις τούτοις

1 ἐμπυλάντα van Herwerden: ἐμπυλώντα.
2 μορία Wilamowitz: μῦς or μυάς.
3 ζῶα Wilamowitz: ζώα καὶ μμάρα.
4 ὑποβλέψα van Herwerden.

5 Cf. Mor. 451 c (where the epithet is otherwise interpreted), 663 b, 692 E. 546
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bring shame upon Dionysus, lord of the cultivated vine,\(^a\) the gracious one, as if you did not receive enough from their hands? Are you not ashamed to mingle domestic crops with blood and gore? You call serpents and panthers and lions savage, but you yourselves, by your own foul slaughters, leave them no room to outdo you in cruelty; for their slaughter is their living, yours is a mere appetizer."\(^b\)

3. It is certainly not lions and wolves that we eat out of self-defence; on the contrary, we ignore these and slaughter harmless, tame creatures without stings or teeth to harm us, creatures that, I swear, Nature appears to have produced for the sake of their beauty and grace. . . .\(^c\)

[It is as though one, seeing the Nile overflow its banks, filling the landscape with its fertile and productive stream, should not marvel at this, its nourishing of plants and its fruitfulness in such crops as are most to be cultivated and contribute most to the support of life, but should espy a crocodile swimming there somewhere or an asp being swept along or a thousand other savage creatures and should cite them as the reasons for his censure and his compulsion to do as he does.\(^d\) Or, I swear, it is as though one fixed one's gaze on this land and its soil covered with cultivated crops and heavy with ears of wheat, and then, looking beneath these rich harvests, one were to catch sight somewhere of a

\(^a\) As above in 991 p. See the interesting observations in G. Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*, p. 64 and the note.

\(^b\) The rest of this chapter, though possibly by Plutarch, is probably from another quite different work. Chapter 4 follows quite naturally upon this sentence.

\(^c\) These words, plainly out of context as the passage stands, are too vague to be rendered with any certainty.

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PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(994) καὶ ποῦ τινὸς αὖρας στάχνων ἰδὼν καὶ ὀροβάγχην, ἐὰν ἀφεῖς ἐκείνα καρποῦσθαι καὶ ληψεσθαι μέμφαιτο σε περὶ τούτων. τοιούτων τι, καὶ λόγου ρήτωρ ὁ ὅρων ἐν δίκη τινὶ καὶ συνηγορία πλῆθοντα καὶ φερόμενον ἐπὶ βοθείᾳ κινδύνων, ἡ νή Δί' ἐλέγχων

1 καὶ κατηγορία τολμημάτων καὶ ἀποδείξεων, πέντε ἐκαὶ ἐκαὶ φερόμενον οὐχ ἀπλῶς οὐδὲ λιτῶς, ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ πάθει σολλοίς μᾶλλον δὲ παντόταποΐς, εἰς ψυχὰς ὅμοιος σολλάς καὶ ποικίλας καὶ διαφόρους τῶν ἄκρωμένων ἡ τῶν δικαζόντων, ὃς δὲ τρέψει καὶ μεταβαλεῖν ἡ νή Δία πραίναι καὶ ἱμερώσαι καὶ καταστῆσαι ἐπὶ παρεῖς τούτῳ τοῦ πράγματος ὅραν καὶ μετρεῖν τὸ κεφάλαιον καταγώνισμα, 3 παραρρήσεις ἐκλέγων, ὃς κατιῶν ὁ λόγος συγκατηνεγκεῖ τῇ ῥώμη τῆς φόρας, συνεκπεσούσας καὶ παρολισθούσας τῷ λοιπῷ τοῦ λόγου. καὶ δημηγόροιν τινὸς ὅραν. . . .]

4. 'Ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς δυσωπεῖ, οὐ χρόας ἀνθηρὸν ἑιδὸς, οὐ φωνῆς ἐμμελοῦς πιθανότης, οὐ τὸ καθάριον ἐν διαίτῃ καὶ περιττὸν ἐν συνέσει τῶν ἄθλιων, ἀλλὰ σαρκίδιον μικρὸν χάριν ἀφαιρούμεθα ψυχῆς ἢλιον, φῶς, τῶν τοῦ βίου χρόνων, ἐφ' ὅ 5 γέγονε καὶ πέφυκεν. εἴθ' ὃς φθέγγεται καὶ διατρίβει ἔφωνας ἀνάρθρους εἶναι δοκοῦμεν, οὐ παρατήρεσις καὶ δεήσεις καὶ δικαιολογίας ἐκάστου λέγοντος 'ιναύ́

1 ὀροβάγχην Xylander: ὀριβάχην and the like.
3 κεφάλαιον καταγώνισμα Post after Turnebus: φύλαιον καὶ ἀγώνισμα (φιλότιμον Sandbach).
4 οὐ in the mss. the words οὐ πανοργία ψυχῆς precede; deleted by W. C. H. 5 ἐφ' ἄ Reiske.
6 διατρίβει van Herwerden: διέτρεσε.

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growth of darnel or broom-rape and, without more ado, ceasing to reap the benefit and claim the booty of the good crops, burst into a tirade about the weeds. Another example: if one should see an orator making a speech at some trial where he was advocate, a speech in which his eloquence in full flood was advancing to the succour of someone in jeopardy or (so help me) to the conviction or denunciation of rash acts or defaults—a flood of eloquence not simple or jejune, but charged with many (or rather all kinds of) emotional appeals for the simultaneous influencing of the many different kinds of minds in the audience or jury, which must either be roused and won over or (by heaven!) soothed and made gentle and calm—then if one neglected to observe and take into account this main point and issue of the matter, but merely picked out flaws of style that the flood of oratory, as it moved to its goal, had swept along by the momentum of its current, flaws that came rushing out and slipped by with the rest—and seeing . . . of some popular leader. . . . [a]

4. But nothing abashed us, not the flower-like tinting of the flesh, not the persuasiveness of the harmonious voice, not the cleanliness of their habits or the unusual intelligence that may be found in the poor wretches. No, for the sake of a little flesh we deprive them of sun, of light, of the duration of life to which they are entitled by birth and being. Then we go on to assume that when they utter cries and squeaks their speech is inarticulate, that they do not, begging for mercy, entreating, seeking justice,
(994) παρατοῦμαι σοι τὴν ἀνάγκην ἀλλὰ τὴν ὑβριν· ἵνα φάγης ἀπόκτεινον, ἵνα δ᾽ ἤδιον φάγης μή μ᾽ ἀναίρει." οὐ τῆς ὁμότητος· δεινὸν μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ τιθεμένην ἰδεῖν τράπεζαν ἀνθρώπων πλουσίων ὡς 

F νεκροκόμων

2 χρωμενῶν μαγείρως καὶ ὁμοποιοῖς, δεινότερον δ᾽ ἀποκομιζομένην· πλείονα γὰρ τὰ λειτούμενα τῶν βεβρωμενῶν ἐστίν. οὐκοῦν ταῦτα μάτην ἀπέδανεν. ἔτεροι δὲ φειδόμενοι τῶν παρατεθέντων οὐκ ἔωσι τέμνειν οὐδὲ κατακόπτειν, παραιτούμενοι νεκρά, ζώντων δ᾽ οὐκ ἔφεισαντο.

5. "Αλογον γὰρ εἶναι φαμέν ἐκείνους λέγειν τοὺς ἀνδρας ἀρχὴν ἔχειν τὴν φύσιν· ὅτι γὰρ οὐκ ἐστίν ἀνθρώπω κατὰ φύσιν τὸ σαρκοφαγεῖν, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων δηλούται τῇς κατακενῆς. οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἔουσε τὸ ἀνθρώπου σῶμα τῶν ἐπὶ σαρκοφαγία γεγονότων, οὐ γρυπότης χείλος, οὐκ ἕξυνθες ὄνυχος, οὐ πραχύντης ὀδόντος πρόσεστιν, οὐ κοιλίας εὐτονία καὶ πνεύματος θερμότης, πέψαι καὶ κατεργάσασθαι δυνατή τὸ βαρὺ καὶ κρεδὲς· ἀλλ᾽ αὐτόθεν ἡ φύσις τῇ λειτοτη τῶν ὄδοντων καὶ τῇ σμικρότητι τοῦ στόματος καὶ τῇ μαλακότητι τῆς γλώσσης καὶ τῇ πρὸς πέψιν ἀμβλύτητι τοῦ πνεύματος ἐξόμυνται τῇς σαρκοφαγίαν. εἰ δὲ λέγεις πεφυκέναι σεαυτὸν ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ ἐδωδήν, δὲ βούλει φαγεῖν πρῶτον αὐτὸς ἀπόκτεινον, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸς

1 ὡς added by W. C. H.
2 νεκροκόμως Stuart Jones: νεκροκόσμοις.
3 ἔτεροι ἐτέροις ὑπ. (湔αρα Wilamowitz).
4 νεκρά Wytenbach: κρέα.
5 ἀλογον γὰρ εἶναι φαμέν Bernardakis: ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε παρειλή-φαμεν.
6 πέψαι Cobet: τρέψαι.
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each one of them say, "I do not ask to be spared in case of necessity; only spare me your arrogance! Kill me to eat, but not to please your palate!" Oh, the cruelty of it! What a terrible thing it is to look on when the tables of the rich are spread, men who employ cooks and spicers to groom the dead! And it is even more terrible to look on when they are taken away, for more is left than has been eaten. So the beasts died for nothing! There are others who refuse when the dishes are already set before them and will not have them cut into or sliced. Though they bid spare the dead, they did not spare the living.

5. We declare, then, that it is absurd for them to say that the practice of flesh-eating is based on Nature. For that man is not naturally carnivorous is, in the first place, obvious from the structure of his body. A man's frame is in no way similar to those creatures who were made for flesh-eating: he has no hooked beak or sharp nails or jagged teeth, no strong stomach or warmth of vital fluids able to digest and assimilate a heavy diet of flesh. It is from this very fact, the evenness of our teeth, the smallness of our mouths, the softness of our tongues, our possession of vital fluids too inert to digest meat that Nature disavows our eating of flesh. If you declare that you are naturally designed for such a diet, then first kill for yourself what you want to eat. Do it, however, only through your own resources,

Post believes that there is another lacuna after this chapter: and Stephanus posited another one after the first sentence of chapter 5, rightly, if Bernardakis’ emendation is not accepted.

See 988 e supra and the note.

Cf. Mor. 87 b, 642 c.
Let the advocate of animal food force himself to a decisive experiment on its fitness, and, as Plutarch recommends, tear a living lamb with his teeth, and, plunging his
unaided by cleaver or cudgel of any kind or axe. Rather, just as wolves and bears and lions themselves slay what they eat, so you are to fell an ox with your fangs or a boar with your jaws, or tear a lamb or hare in bits. Fall upon it and eat it still living, as animals do. But if you wait for what you eat to be dead, if you have qualms about enjoying the flesh while life is still present, why do you continue, contrary to nature, to eat what possesses life? Even when it is lifeless and dead, however, no one eats the flesh just as it is; men boil it and roast it, altering it by fire and drugs, recasting and diverting and smothering with countless condiments the taste of gore so that the palate may be deceived and accept what is foreign to it.

It was, indeed, a witty remark of the Spartan who bought a little fish in an inn and gave it to the innkeeper to prepare. When the latter asked for cheese and vinegar and oil, the Spartan said, "If I had those, I should not have bought a fish." But we are so refined in our blood-letting that we term flesh a supplementary food; and then we need "supplements" for the flesh itself, mixing oil, wine, honey, fish paste, vinegar, with Syrian and Arabian spices, as though we were really embalming a corpse for head into its vitals, slake his thirst with the steaming blood" (Shelley, op. cit.).

*Cf. Mor. 234 E-F, where it is meat, not fish, that is bought; see also 128 c.*

*To make a sauce for the fish. The innkeeper's action was natural enough, in view of Hegesander's comment (Athenaeus, 564 a) that apparently everyone liked the seasonings, not the fish, since no one wanted fish plain and unseasoned.*

*See 991 v (and the note), 993 b, 994 b supra.*

*See 990 b supra.*
(995) ταφιάζοντες. καὶ γὰρ οὕτως αὐτῶν διαλυθέντων καὶ μαλαχθέντων καὶ τρόπον τινὰ προσαπέντων ἐργὸν ἔστι τὴν πέψιν κρατήσαι, καὶ διακρατηθείσης δεινᾶς βαρύτητας ἐμποεῖ καὶ νοσώδεις ἀπεψίας.

6. Διογένης δὲ ὤμον φαγεῖν πολύποιν ἐτόλμησεν, ὃ ἦν τὴν διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐκβάλη κατεργασίαν τῶν κρεών καὶ πολλῶν περισσῶν αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐγκαλυφάμενος τῷ τρίβων καὶ τῷ στόματι προσφέρων τὸ κρέας, "ὑπὲρ ύμῶν," φησίν, "ἐγὼ παραβάλλομαι καὶ προκυνδυνεύω." καλὸν, ὦ Ζεῦ, κίνδυνον· ὃ γὰρ, ὡς Πελοπίδας ὑπὲρ τῆς Θηβαίων ἔλευθερίας ἢ ὡς Ἄρμοδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀθηναίων, προεκυνδύνευσεν ὁ φιλόσοφος ὤμῳ πολύποδι διαμαχόμενος, ἵνα τὸν βίον ἀποθηρωσῇ;

Οὐ τοίνυν μόνον αἱ κρεοφαγίαι τοῖς σώμασι ἐγίνονται παρὰ φύσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ὑπὸ πλησμονῆς καὶ κόρου παχύνουσιν· "οἶνος γὰρ καὶ σαρκῶν ἐμφορήσεις σῶμα μὲν ἱσχυρὸν ποιέουσι καὶ ρωμαλέον, ψυχὴν δὲ ἀσθενεά." καὶ ἵνα μὴ τοῖς ἀθληταῖς ἀπεχθάνωμαι, συγγενέσι χρώμα παραδείγμασι τοὺς γὰρ Βωστοὺς ἡμᾶς οἱ Ἀττικοὶ καὶ παχεῖς καὶ ἀνασθήτους καὶ ἡλιθίους, μάλιστα διὰ τὰς ἀδηφαγίας προσηγόρευον· "οὕτω δὲ αὐ
burial. The fact is that meat is so softened and dissolved and, in a way, predigested that it is hard for digestion to cope with it; and if digestion loses the battle, the meats affect us with dreadful pains and malignant forms of indigestion.

6. Diogenes ventured to eat a raw octopus in order to put an end to the inconvenience of preparing cooked food. In the midst of a large throng he veiled his head and, as he brought the flesh to his mouth, said, "It is for you that I am risking my life." Good heavens, a wondrous fine risk! Just like Pelopidas for the liberty of the Thebans or Harmodius and Aristogiton for that of the Athenians, this philosopher risked his life struggling with a raw octopus—in order to brutalize our lives!

Note that the eating of flesh is not only physically against nature, but it also makes us spiritually coarse and gross by reason of satiety and surfeit. "For wine and indulgence in meat make the body strong and vigorous, but the soul weak." And in order that I may not offend athletes, I shall take my own people as examples. It is a fact that the Athenians used to call us Boeotians beef-witted and insensitive and foolish, precisely because we stuffed ourselves. These

a Cf. 956 B supra where the context is quite different. See also Athenaeus, 341 e; Lucian, Vit. Auctio 10; Julian, Oration, vi. 181 a, 191 c ff.; Diogenes Laertius, vi. 76; al.
b Cf. Life of Pelopidas, chapters 7-11.
c Cf. Thucydides, vi. 54-59.
d A quotation from the medical writer Androcydes: see Mor. 472 b and the note.
f The passage that follows is badly mutilated: it probably contained other quotations and fuller ones than the mss. indicate.

6 ὑπὲρ τῆς Bernardakis: ὑπὲρ.
(995) σὺς . . . " καὶ ὁ Μένανδρος " οἱ γνάθους ἔχουσι,," καὶ ὁ Πύθαρος " γνώναι τ' ἔπειτα . . . " " αὕτη δὲ ψυχὴ σοφωτάτη" κατὰ τὸν Ἰράκλειτον· οἰ κενοὶ πίθοι κρουσθέντες ἥχοσι, γενόμενοι δὲ πλή- 
καταλαβαίνει ταῖς πληγαῖς· τῶν χαλκω-
μάτων τὰ λεπτὰ τούς ψόφους ἐν κύκλῳ διαδίδοντι, 
άχρις οὐ ἐμφράζῃ καὶ τυφλώσῃ τις τῇ χειρὶ 
τῆς πληγῆς περιφερομένης ἐπιλαμβανόμενος· ὃθαλμὸς 
ارتفاع πλεονάσαντος ἀναπλησθεὶς μαραγεῖ καὶ 
ἀτονεῖ πρὸς τὸ οίκειον ἔργον· τὸν ἥλιον δὲ ἀέρος 
ήχοι καὶ ἀναθυμιάσεων πλήθους ἀπέπτων ἀθρή-
santeς οὐ καθαρὸν οὐδὲ λαμπρὸν ἄλλα βύθιον καὶ 
ἀχλυώδη καὶ ὀλισθάνοντα ταῖς αὐγαῖς ὀρῶμεν. 
οὕτω δὴ καὶ διὰ σώματος θολεροῦ καὶ διακόρου 
καὶ βαρυνομένου τροφαῖς ἀσυμφύλους πάσιν ἀνάγκη 
τὸ γάμωμα τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὸ φέγγος ἀμβλυτητα 
καὶ σύγχυσιν ἔχειν καὶ πλανάσθαι καὶ φύρεσθαι, 
πρὸς τὰ λεπτὰ καὶ δυσθεώρητα τέλη τῶν πραγ-
μάτων αὐγῆν καὶ τόνον οὐκ ἔχονσι.

7. Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ὁ πρὸς φιλανθρωπίαν ἔθι-
σιμὸς οὐ δοκεῖ θαυμαστὸν εἶναι; τίς γὰρ ἂν ἀδική-
σειν ἀνθρωπὸν, οὐτω πρὸς ἀλλότρια καὶ ἀσυμφυλα

1 οἱ] ὄν όν ορ ὄνων Meineke.
2 αὕτη δὲ W. C. H. after Hatzidakis: αὐγή ζηρῆ.
3 οἱ κενοὶ πίθοι Reiske: οἴκειν. οἱ πίθοι.
4 τίς added by Stephanus.
5 φύρεσθαι Reiske: φέρεσθαι.

a Cf. the proverbial " sow and Athena " (Life of Demos-
thenes, xi. 5, 851 b and Mor. 803 b) and the Introduction to 
the (Cyrillus.

b Kock, Com. Att. Frag. iii, p. 238 (frag. 748 Koerte); the 
words probably mean " Who are greedy fellows."

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men are swine”\(^a\); . . . and Menander\(^b\) says, “Who have jaws”; and Pindar\(^c\) “And then to learn . . .”; “A dry soul is wisest” according to Heraclitus.\(^d\) Empty jars make a noise when struck, but full ones do not resound to blows.\(^e\) Thin bronze objects will pass the sounds from one to another in a circle until you dampen and deaden the noise with your hand as the beat goes round.\(^f\) The eye\(^g\) when it is flooded by an excess of moisture grows dim and weakened for its proper task. When we examine the sun through dank atmosphere and a fog of gross vapours, we do not see it clear and bright, but submerged and misty, with elusive rays. In just the same way, then, when the body is turbulent and surfeited and burdened with improper food, the lustre and light of the soul inevitably come through it blurred and confused, aberrant and inconstant, since the soul lacks the brilliance and intensity to penetrate to the minute and obscure issues of active life.

7. But apart from these considerations, do you not find here a wonderful means of training in social responsibility? Who could wrong a human being when he found himself so gently and humanly dis-

\(^{a}\) Olympians, vi. 89, which continues “whether we are truly arraigned by that ancient gibe, ‘Boeotian swine.’” (For this interpretation see G. Norwood, Pindar, pp. 82 and 237.)

\(^{b}\) Diels-Kranz, Frag. der Vorsok. i, p. 100, frag. B 118; cf. the note on Mor. 432 f.

\(^{c}\) Cf. Mor. 721 b-d.

\(^{d}\) Mor. 721 c-d suggests that Plutarch is talking about a single cauldron with a wave going around it rather than about a circular arrangement of tuning forks. “Sounding brass”: cf. L. Parmentier, Recherches sur l'Isis et Osiris (Mém. Acad. Roy. Belg. ii, vol. II, 1912/13), pp. 31 ff.

\(^{e}\) Cf. Mor. 714 d.

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(996) διακείμενος καὶ πράως καὶ φιλανθρώπως; ἐμνήσθην δὲ τρίτην ἢμέραν διαλεγόμενος τὸ τοῦ Ξενοκράτους ὡς Ποιήμα τῷ ζωντα τὸν κριὸν ἐκδείραντι δίκην ἐπέθηκαν. οὐκ ἔστι δ’, οἷμαι, χείρων ὁ ζώντας

Β βασανίζων τοῦ παραιρουμένου τὸ ζήν καὶ φονεύουσι
tος· ἀλλὰ μάλλον, ὡς ἐοικε, τῶν παρὰ συνήθειαν θ’
tῶν παρὰ φύσιν αἰσθανόμεθα. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκεί
cοινότερον ἔλεγον· τὴν δὲ μεγάλην καὶ μυστηριώδη
καὶ ἀπιστον ἀνδράσι δεινοῖς, ἡ φησιν ὁ Πλάτων,
καὶ θυντὰ φρονοῦσιν ἁρχὴν τοῦ δόγματος οὐκὼν μὲν
ἔτι τῷ λόγῳ κινεῖν, ὥσπερ ναῦν ἐν χειμώνι ναῦ-
κληρος ἡ μηχανὴ αἱρεῖν ποιητικὸς ἀνήρ ἐν θεά-
τρῳ σκηνῆς περιφερομένης. οὐ χεῖρον δ’ ἵσως καὶ
προανακροόσαθαι καὶ προαναφωνῆσαι τὰ τοῦ Ἔμ-
πεδοκλέους . . . ἀλληγορεῖ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα τὰς ψυχὰς,
ὅτι φόνων καὶ βρώσεως σαρκῶν καὶ ἀλληλοφα-
C γίας δίκην τίνους σῶματι θυντοῖς ἐνδέδενται.
καίτοι δοκεῖ παλαιότερος οὗτος ὁ λόγος εἶναι· τὰ
γὰρ δὴ περὶ τῶν Διόνυσον μεμυθεμένα πάθη τοῦ
διαμελισμοῦ καὶ τὰ Τιτάνων ἐπ’ αὐτὸν τολμήματα,
κολάσεις τε τούτων καὶ κεραυνώσεις γενομένων
tοῦ φόνου, ἡνιγμένος ἐστὶ μύθος εἰς τὴν παλιγ-

1 ὡς Pohlenz: καὶ ὡς.
2 δεινοῖς Bernardakis: δειλοῖς.
3 ἐτι Reiske: ἐτὶ.
4 αἱρεῖ Turnebus: ἀἱρεῖ.
5 ἡνιγμένος Reiske: ἀνηγμένος.

a See Heinze, Xenokrates, p. 151, frag. 99.
b Phaedrus, 245 c.
c The Greek is both difficult and ambiguous: perhaps "hesitates to set his ship in motion while a storm is raging."

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posed toward other non-human creatures? Two days ago in a discussion I quoted the remark of Xenocrates, that the Athenians punished the man who had flayed a ram while it was still alive; yet, as I think, he who tortures a living creature is no worse than he who slaughters it outright. But it seems that we are more observant of acts contrary to convention than of those that are contrary to nature. In that place, then, I made my remarks in a popular vein. I still hesitate, however, to attempt a discussion of the principle underlying my opinion, great as it is, and mysterious and incredible, as Plato says, with merely clever men of mortal opinions, just as a steersman hesitates to shift his course in the midst of a storm, or a playwright to raise his god from the machine in the midst of a play. Yet perhaps it is not unsuitable to set the pitch and announce the theme by quoting some verses of Empedocles. By these lines he means, though he does not say so directly, that human souls are imprisoned in mortal bodies as a punishment for murder, the eating of animal flesh, and cannibalism. This doctrine, however, seems to be even older, for the stories told about the sufferings and dismemberment of Dionysus and the outrageous assaults of the Titans upon him, and their punishment and blasting by thunderbolt after they had tasted his blood—all this is a myth which in its inner meaning has to do with rebirth. For to

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*d* The verses have fallen out, but may be, in part, those quoted *infra*, 998 c, or a similar passage.

(996) γενεσίαν τὸ γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν ἄλογον καὶ ἀτακτον καὶ βίαιον οὐ θείον ἄλλα δαμονικὸν ὅν1 οἱ παλαιοὶ Τιτᾶνας ὑνόμασαν, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστι κολαζομένους καὶ δίκην διδόντας.2 . . .

1 ὅν added by Reiske.
2 κολαζομένους καὶ δίκην διδόντας Wytenbach: κολαζομένου καὶ δίκην διδόντος.

a See Hesiod's etymology, Theogony, 209 f. For this
that faculty in us which is unreasonable and disordered and violent, and does not come from the gods, but from evil spirits, the ancients gave the name Titans,\(^a\) that is to say, those that are punished and subjected to correction. . . . \(^b\)


\(^b\) The first discourse breaks off at this point.
ΠΕΡΙ ΣΑΡΚΟΦΑΓΙΑΣ

ΛΟΓΟΣ Β'

1. Ἔπι τὰ ἐωλα τῆς σαρκοφαγίας προσφάτους ἡμᾶς ὁ λόγος παρακαλεῖ ταῖς τε διανοίασι καὶ ταῖς προθυμίαις γενέσθαι. χαλεπῶν μὲν γάρ, ὥσπερ Κάτων ἔφησε, λέγειν πρὸς γαστέρας ὧτα μὴ ἔχοισας· καὶ πέποταὶ ὁ τῆς συνθείας κυκεών, ὥσπερ ὁ τῆς Κιρίκης

Ε ὡδίνας τ' ὡδύνας τε κυκέων¹ ἀπάτας τε γόους τε·

καὶ τὸ ἀγκιστρον ἐκβάλλειν τῆς σαρκοφαγίας ὡς ἐμπεπληγμένον² τῇ φιληδονίᾳ καὶ διαπεπαρμένον οὐ ράδιον ἔστιν. ἐπεὶ καλῶς εἰχεν, ὥσπερ Αἰγύπτιοι τῶν νεκρῶν τὴν κοιλίαν ἔξελόντες καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον ἀνασχίζοντες ἐκβάλλονσιν ὡς αἰτίαν ἀπάντων ὅν ὁ ἀνθρωπος ἦμαρτεν, οὕτως ἡμᾶς ἐαυτῶν³ τὴν γαστριμαργίαν καὶ μιαφονίαν ἑκτεμόντας ἀγνεῦσαι τὸν λοιπὸν βίον· ἐπεὶ ἦ γε γαστήρ οὕ μιαφόνον

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¹ ὡδίνας τ' ὡδύνας τε κυκέων Wilamowitz: ὡδίνας ὡδύνας κυκεών.
² ἐμπεπληγμένον Stephanus: ἐμπεπληγμένον or ἐμπεπηγμένον.
³ ἐαυτῶν Turnebus: ἐαυτοῦς.

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ᵃ Cf. Plutarch's introduction to the second essay on the Fortune of Alexander (Mor. 333 d).
ᵇ Cf. Mor. 131 d, 198 d; Life of Cato Major, 8 (340 a).

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ON THE EATING OF FLESH

II

1. Reason urges us with fresh ideas and fresh zeal to attack again our yesterday's discourse on the eating of flesh. It is indeed difficult, as Cato remarked, to talk to bellies which have no ears. And the potion of familiarity has been drunk, like that of Circe:

Commimgling pains and pangs, tricks and tears:

nor is it easy to extract the hook of flesh-eating, entangled as it is and embedded in the love of pleasure. And, like the Egyptians who extract the viscera of the dead and cut them open in view of the sun, then throw them away as being the cause of every single sin that the man had committed, it would be well for us to excise our own gluttony and lust to kill and become pure for the remainder of our lives, since it is not so much our belly that drives us to the pollution

c Odyssey, x. 236.

d Perhaps a verse of Empedocles: Diels-Kranz, Frag. der Vorsok. i, p. 372, frag. 154 a; cf. Wilamowitz, Hermes, xl, p. 165. (Andrews prefers to adopt the reading κυκέων, "potion," assuming a verbal form, "dulls" or "blunts," in the preceding or following line.)

e Cf. Herodotus, ii. 86; Diodorus, i. 91; Mor. 159 b; Porphyry, De Abstinence, iv. 10 (p. 244, ed. Nauck).
996) ἐστὶν ἄλλα μιανύμενον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκραίας: οὐ μὴν ἄλλ’ εἰ καὶ ἄδυντον νῦν Δία διὰ τὴν συνήθειαν θ’ τὸ ἀναμάρτητον, αἰσχυνύμενοι τῷ ἀμαρτάνοντι χρησόμεθα διὰ τὸν λόγον, ἐδόμεθα σάρκας, ἄλλα πεινάειντες οὐ τρυφῶντες· ἀναρήσομεν ξῶν, ἄλλ’ οἰκτείροντες καὶ ἀλγοῦντες, οὐχ ὑβρίζοντες οὔδε βασανίζοντες. οἷα νῦν πολλὰ δρώσιν οἱ μὲν εἰς 997 σφαγήν υἱὸν ὠθοῦντες ὀβελοῦν διαπύρουσ, ἵνα τῇ βαφῇ τοῦ σιδήρου περισβεβιυμένον τῷ αἴμα καὶ διαχεόμενον τὴν σάρκα θρύπῃ καὶ μαλάξῃ: οἱ δ’ οὐθασί συνὼν ἐπιτόκων ἐναλλόμενοι καὶ λακτίζοντες, ὑ’ αἴμα καὶ γάλα καὶ λύθρον ἐμβρύων ὀμοί συμβαρέντων ἐν ὀδίσει ἀναδεύσαντες, ὡς Ζεύ καθάρσει, φάγωσι τοῦ ξύφου τὸ μάλιστα φλεγμαίνον· ἄλλοι τὲ γεράνων ὀμματα καὶ κύκνων ἀπορράματες καὶ ἀποκλείσαντες ἐν σκότει πιαύονοιν, ἀλλοκότοις μύγμασι καὶ καρυκείαις τισὶν αὐτῶν τὴν σάρκα ὕψοποιοῦντες.

2. Ἔξ ὑν καὶ μάλιστα δήλον ἐστὶν, ὡς οὐ διὰ Β τροφὴν οὐδὲ χρείαν οὐδ’ ἀναγκαῖος ἄλλ’ ὑπὸ κόρον καὶ ύβρεως καὶ πολυτελείας ἡδονήν πεποίηται τὴν ἀνομίαν· εἰθ’ ὠσπέρ ἔρως ἐν γυναιξίν κόρον ἡδονῆς οὐκ ἔχουσαις, ἀποπειρώμενοι πάντα καὶ πλανώμενοι ἀκολασταίνων ἐξέπεσεν εἰς τὰ ἄρρητα· οὔτως αἱ περὶ τὴν ἐδωδὴν ἀκραίας τὸ φυσικὸν παρελθοῦσαι καὶ ἀναγκαίον τέλος ἐν ὑμότητι καὶ

1 νῦν Δία διὰ Bernardakis: ἦ διὰ.
2 πολλὰ] πολλοὶ πολλὰ van Herwerden.
3 τῇ added by Bernardakis.
4 κύκνων] χρυσὸν Wyttbach.
5 ὠσπέρ ἔρως Reiske: ὠσπέρ. 6 εἰς τὰ ἄρρητα Emperius.

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of slaughter; it is itself polluted by our incontinence. Yet if, for heaven's sake, it is really impossible for us to be free from error because we are on such terms of familiarity with it, let us at least be ashamed of our ill doing and resort to it only in reason. We shall eat flesh, but from hunger, not as a luxury. We shall kill an animal, but in pity and sorrow, not degrading or torturing it—which is the current practice in many cases, some thrusting red-hot spits into the throats of swine so that by the plunging in of the iron the blood may be emulsified and, as it circulates through the body, may make the flesh tender and delicate. Others jump upon the udders of sows a about to give birth and kick them so that, when they have blended together blood and milk and gore (Zeus the Purifier!) and the unborn young have at the same time been destroyed at the moment of birth, they may eat the most inflamed part of the creature. Still others sew up the eyes of cranes b and swans, c shut them up in darkness and fatten them, making the flesh appetizing with strange compounds and spicy mixtures.

2. From these practices it is perfectly evident that it is not for nourishment or need or necessity, but out of satiety and insolence and luxury that they have turned this lawless custom into a pleasure. Then, just as with women who are insatiable in seeking pleasure, their lust tries everything, goes astray, and explores the gamut of profligacy until at last it ends in unspeakable practices; so intemperance in eating passes beyond the necessary ends of nature and resorts to cruelty and lawlessness to give

a Pliny, Nat. Hist. xi. 210-211 is not quite so gruesome.

b Pliny, Nat. Hist. x. 60.

c Wytenbach reasonably suggested "geese," but see Athenaeus, 131 f: 393 c-d.
(997) παρανομία ποικίλουσι την ὀρεξιν. συννοσεῖ γὰρ ἀλλήλους τὰ ἀισθητήρια καὶ συναναπείθεται καὶ συνακολαστάνει μὴ κρατοῦντα τῶν φυσικῶν μέτρων. οὕτως ἀκοὴ νοσῆσας μουσικὴν διέφθειρεν, ἢφ’ ἢς τὸ θρυπτόμενον καὶ ἐκλυόμενον αἰσχρὰς ποθεὶ1 ψηλαφήσεις καὶ γυναικώδεις γαργαλισμοὺς.

Ο ταύτα τὴν ὠψιν ἐδίδαξε μὴ πυρρίχαις χαίρειν μηδὲ χειρονομίαις μηδ’ ὀρχήμασι γλαφύροις μηδ’ ἀγάλμασι καὶ γραφαῖς, ἀλὰ φόνον καὶ θάνατον ἀνθρώπων καὶ τραύματα καὶ μάχας θέαμα ποιεῖσθαι πολυτελέστατον. οὕτως ἐπονται παρανόμους τραπέζας συννοσίας ἀκρατειῶς, ἀφροδισίους αἰσχροῖς ἀκροάσεις ἀμονοί, μέλεσι καὶ ἀκούσμασιν ἀναισχύντων θέατρα ἐκφυλα, θεάμασιν ἀνημέρους ἀπαθεία πρὸς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ὠμότης. διὰ τοῦτο διέταττεν2 ὁ θείος Λυκοῦργος ἐν τισὶ3 ῥήτραις τὸ ἀπὸ πρόνοια καὶ πελέκεως γίνεσθαι τὰ θυρώματα D τῶν οἰκίων καὶ τὰς ἐρέθεις,4 άλλο δ’ ὀργανον μηδὲν προσφέρεσθαι, οὐ πολεμιών δήπον τερέτρους καὶ σκεπάρνους καὶ ὡσα λεπτοργεῖν πέφυκεν ἀλλ’ εἰδὼς ὅτι διὰ τοιούτων ἑργών5 οὐκ εἰσοῦσεις κλυνίδων ἐπίχρυσον οὖδε τομήσεις εἰς οἰκίαιν λιτὴν ἀργυραῖς εἰσενεγκεῖν τραπέζας καὶ δάπιδας ἄλουργοις καὶ λίθους πολυτελεῖς6: ἀλλ’ ἐπεται μὲν7 οἰκία

1 ποθεὶ Turnebus: τιθεὶ.
2 διέταττεν added by Wyttenbach.
4 ἐρέθεις Xylander: τέρψεις.
5 ἑργών] θυρῶν Emperius.
6 ἄλουργεῖς καὶ κύλικας διαλίθους πολυτελεῖς van Herverden.
7 μὲν added by Benseler.

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a See Plato, Laws, 816 b.

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variety to appetite. For it is in their own company that organs of sense are infected and won over and become licentious when they do not keep to natural standards. Just so the art of hearing has fallen sick, corrupting musical taste. From this our luxury and debauchery conceives a desire for shameful caresses and effeminate titillations. These taught the sight not to take pleasure in warlike exercises or gesticulations or refined dances or statues and paintings, but to regard the slaughter and death of men, their wounds and combats, as the most precious sort of spectacle. Just so intemperate intercourse follows a lawless meal, inharmonious music follows a shameful debauch, barbarous spectacles follow shameless songs and sounds, insensitivity and cruelty toward human kind follow savage exhibitions in the theatre. It was for this reason that the godlike Lycurgus gave directions in certain rhetrae that the doors and roofs of houses should be fashioned by saw and axe alone and no other tool should be used—not of course because he had a quarrel with gimlets and adzes and other instruments for delicate work. It was because he knew that through such rough-hewn work you will not be introducing a gilded couch, nor will you be so rash as to bring silver tables and purple rugs and precious stones into a simple house. The corol-

b Referring to the gladiatorial combats which came to be substituted for the more refined exhibitions of an earlier age. Plutarch urges the expulsion of such practices from the State in Mor. 822 c; for further examples of this kind of opposition to Roman policy see H. Fuchs, Der geistige Widerstand gegen Rom, p. 49, n. 60.

c Life of Lycurgus, xiii. 5-6 (47 b-c); Mor. 189 e, 227 c, 285 c; Comment. on Hesiod, 42 (Bernardakis, vii, p. 72).

d Or "unwritten laws"; the mss. here say "in the three rhetrae."
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(997) καὶ κλίνη καὶ τραπέζη καὶ κύλικα τοιαύτη δείπνον ἀφελές καὶ ἄριστον δημοτικόν, ἀρχὴ δὲ μοχθηρᾶς διαίτης

ἀθηλὸς ἵππων πᾶλος ὡς ἀμα τρέχει

πᾶσα τρυφή καὶ πολυτέλεια.

3. Ποιον οὖν οὐ πολυτέλες δείπνον, εἰς θανατουταὶ τι ἐμψυχον; μικρὸν ἀνάλωμα ἡγούμεθα Ἕσυχήν; οὔπω λέγω τάχα μητρός ἡ πατρός ἡ φίλου τινὸς ἡ παιδός, ὡς ἔλεγεν Ἐμπεδοκλῆς. ἀλλ' αἰσθήσεσι γε μετέχουσαν, ὁψεως ἀκοῆς, φαντασίας συνέσεως, ἢν ἐπὶ κτήσει τοῦ οἰκείου καὶ φυγῇ τάλλοτρίου παρὰ τῆς φύσεως ἐκαστον εἴληξε. σκόπει δ' ἡμᾶς πότεροι βέλτιον ἐξημεροῦσι τῶν φιλοσόφων, οἱ καὶ τέκνα καὶ φίλους καὶ πατέρας καὶ γυναικας ἑσθεῖν κελεύοντες ἀποθανόντας, ἡ Πυθαγόρας καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἐθίζοντες ἐναι καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα γένη δικαίους. σὺ μὲν καταγελᾶς τοῦ τὸ πρόβατον μὴ ἐσθιόντος. ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς σε, φήσουι, θεασάμενοι τοῦ πατρός τεθνήκότος ἡ τῆς ἡ μητρός ἀποτεμόντα μερίδας καὶ τῶν φίλων ἀποπεμπόμενον τοῖς μὴ παροῦσι, τοὺς δὲ παρόντας παρακαλοῦντα καὶ παρατιθέντα τῶν σαρκῶν ἀφει-

1 ὁ Χυλάντερ : ὁ οὖ.
2 γε Χυλάντερ : τε.
3 πατέρας] καὶ μητέρας old editors add.
4 ἀποθανόντας Wyttenbach : ὡς ἀποθανόντας.
5 γένη Χυλάντερ : μέρη.
6 σε Wyttenbach : γε.
7 παρακαλοῦντα Kronenberg : καλοῦντα.

Semonides, frag. 5: see Mor. 446 e and the note.
That is, “the reincarnated life.”

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lary of such a house and couch and table and cup is a dinner which is unpretentious and a lunch which is truly democratic; but all manner of luxury and extravagance follow the lead of an evil way of life

As new-weaned foal beside his mother runs.  

3. For what sort of dinner is not costly for which a living creature loses its life? Do we hold a life cheap? I do not yet go so far as to say that it may well be the life of your mother or father or some friend or child, as Empedocles declared. Yet it does, at least, possess some perception, hearing, seeing, imagination, intelligence, which last every creature receives from Nature to enable it to acquire what is proper for it and to evade what is not. Do but consider which are the philosophers who serve the better to humanize us: those who bid us eat our children and friends and fathers and wives after their death, or Pythagoras and Empedocles who try to accustom us to act justly toward other creatures also? You ridicule a man who abstains from eating mutton. But are we, they will say, to refrain from laughter when we see you slicing off portions from a dead father or mother and sending them to absent friends and inviting those who are at hand, heaping their

\[ \text{As in frag. B 137 (Diels-Kranz, Frag. der Vorsok. i, p. 275).} \]

\[ \text{\textit{Cf. von Arnim, S. I.F. iii, p. 186.}} \]

\[ \text{\textit{That is, they tell us to eat meat without compunction, because human beings are only mortal, and their souls are not reincarnated in animals.}} \]

\[ \text{\textit{Cf. 993 \textit{\& supra. The argument is somewhat weakened by the fact (certainly well known to Plutarch, \textit{e.g. Mor. 286 d-e}) that Pythagoras placed an even more stringent taboo on beans than he did on meat.}} \]

\[ \text{\textit{Pythagoras and Empedocles.}} \]
(997) δῶς, μὴ τι γελάσωμεν; ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ἱσως ἀμαρτάνομεν, ὅταν ἀφιωμέθα τῶν βιβλίων τούτων, μὴ καθαρόμενον χείρας καὶ ὀφεις καὶ πόδας καὶ ἄκος, εἰ μὴ νη Δι' ἐκείνων καθαρμός ἔστι τὸ περὶ τούτων διαλέγεσθαι, "ποτίμω λόγω," ὡς φη-998 σιν ὁ Πλάτων, "ἀλμυρὰν ἀκοήν ἀποκλυζομένους." εἰ δὲ θείη τις τὰ βιβλία παρ' ἄλληλα καὶ τοὺς λόγους, ἐκεῖνα μὲν Σκύθαις φιλοσοφεῖται 2 καὶ Σογδιανοῖς καὶ Μελαγχλαίοις, περὶ δὲν Ἡρόδοτος ἱστορῶν ἀπιστεῖται3: τὰ δὲ Πυθαγόρου καὶ Ἐμ-πεδοκλέους δόγματα νόμοι τῶν παλαιῶν ἦσαν Ἐλλήνων καὶ αἱ πυρικαὶ4 δίαιται... [ὅτι πρὸς τὰ ἄλογα ζῶα δίκαιον ἦσαν οὔτεν ἐστὶ. 5] 4. Τίνες οὖν ύστερον τοῦτ' ἐγνωσαν; οἱ πρῶτοι κακοεργόν ἐχαλκεύσαντο μάχαιραν εἰνοδίην, πρῶτοι δὲ βοῶν ἐπάσαν οἱ ἀρτήρων.

οὕτω τοι καὶ οἱ τυραννοῦντες ἄρχουσι μαίαφονίας. Β ὡσπερ γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ἀπέκτειναν Ἀθήνης τῶν κάκιστων τῶν συνοφαντῶν καὶ δεύτερον ὀμοίως καὶ τρίτον εἰτ' ἐκ τούτου συνήθεις γενόμενοι

1 γελάσωμεν Bernardakis: γελάσωμεν.
2 φιλοσοφεῖται Reiske: φιλοσοφεῖται.
3 περὶ... ἀπιστεῖται should perhaps be deleted.
4 πυρικαί Post: πυρία or πυρεία καὶ.
5 ὡσπερ deleted by Meziriacus.
6 ὡσπερ γὰρ Bernardakis: ὡσπερ.
7 τὸ πρῶτον van Herwerden: τῶν πρῶτων or ἀπὸ τῶν πρῶτων.
8 καὶ] in the mss. preceded by the words ὅς ἐπιτήδειοι προσ-ηγορεύθη, interpolated from 959 ν; deleted by W. C. H.

a Phaedrus, 243 d; cf. Mor. 627 f, 706 e, 711 d.
b That is, of the two schools of philosophy mentioned above in 997 f.
c Plutarch seems to have confused the Black Cloaks

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plates with flesh? But as it is, perhaps we commit a sin when we touch these books of theirs without cleansing our hands and faces, our feet and ears—unless, by Heaven, it is a purification of those members to speak on such a subject as this, "washing," as Plato \(^a\) says, "the brine from one's ears with the fresh water of discourse." If one should compare these two sets of books and doctrines,\(^b\) the former may serve as philosophy for the Scyths and Sogdians and the Black Cloaks, whose story as told by Herodotus \(^c\) gains no credit \(^d\); but the precepts of Pythagoras \(^e\) and Empedocles were the laws for the ancient Greeks along with their diet of wheat. . . .\(^f\) [Because there is no question of justice between us and the irrational animals.]

4. Who, then, were they who later decreed this?

The first to forge the highway's murderous sword,
And first to eat the flesh of ploughing ox.\(^g\)

This is the way, you may be sure, in which tyrants begin their course of bloody slaughters. Just as, for instance, at Athens \(^h\) they put to death initially the worst of the sycophants, and likewise in the second and third instances; but next, having become accustomed to bloodshed they allowed Niceratus,\(^i\) the

(\text{Herodotus, iv. 20, but cf. iv. 107} with the Issedones (iv. 26); and perhaps the Sogdians (iii. 93) with the Padaei (iii. 99); \text{cf. also i. 216 and iii. 38.})

\(^a\) But this clause looks like a semi-learned addition.

\(^b\) \text{Cf. 964 e-f supra.}

\(^c\) \text{Cf. Phaenomena, 131 f.; cf. Lucilius' parody in the Palatine Anthology, xi. 136.}

\(^d\) \text{Cf. 959 a supra and the note.}

\(^e\) \text{Cf. Xenophon, Hellenica, ii. 3. 39.}

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(998) Νικηρατον περιεώρων¹ ἀπολλύμενον τόν Νικίου καὶ Ῥηραμένη τόν στρατηγόν καὶ Πολέμαρχον τόν φιλόσοφον· οὕτω τὸ πρῶτον ἀγριόν τι ζῶον ἐβρώθη καὶ κακοῦργον, εἰτ' ὅρις τις ἣ ἰχθύς ὅς² εἰλκυστὸ· καὶ γευσάμενον οὕτω καὶ προμελετήσαν ἐν ἐκεῖνοις τὸ φοινικὸν³ ἐπὶ βοῦν ἑργάτην ἤλθε καὶ τὸ κόσμον⁴ πρόβατον καὶ τὸν οἶκουρόν ἀλεκτροῦνα· καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν οὕτω τῇ ἀπληστίαν στομώσαντες ἐπὶ σφα-ᶜ γὰς ἀνθρώπων καὶ πολέμους καὶ φόνους προήλθο-μεν.⁵ ἀλλ' εάν τῇ⁶ προαποδείξῃ⁷ τις, ὅτι χρώνται κοινοίς αἱ ψυχαὶ σώματι ἐν ταῖς παλιγγενεσίαις καὶ τὸ νῦν λογικὸν αἴθις γίνεται ἄλογον καὶ πάλιν ἠμερον τὸ νῦν ἀγριον, ἀλλάσσει δ' ἡ φύσις ἀπαντα καὶ μετοικίζει

σαρκῶν ἄλλογνώτι περιστελλούσα χιτῶν,

ταῦτ' οὐκ ἀποτρέπει τῶν ἀνηρημένων⁸ τὸ ἀκόλα-στον τοῦ⁹ καὶ σώματι νόσους καὶ βαρύτητας ἐμ-ποιεῖ καὶ ψυχὴν ἐπὶ τόλμων ωμοτέραν¹⁰ τρεπομένην διαφθείρειν ὅταν ἀπεθανόμενον¹¹ μὴ αἴματος ἄνευ καὶ φόνου μὴ ἐξένον ἑστίαν, μὴ γάμον ἑορτάζειν, μὴ φίλοις συγγίνεσθαι;

¹ περιεώρων Stephanus: ἐώρων.
² ὅς added by Post.
³ φοινικὸν Turnebus: νικῶν or νικοῦν.
⁴ κόσμον Turnebus: κοσμοῦν.
⁵ προήλθομεν W. C. H.: προῆλθον.
⁶ πη Post: μη.
⁷ προαποδείξῃ Sieveking: προσαποδείξῃ.
⁸ τῶν ἀνηρημένων] τὸ ἀνήμερον Stephanus.
¹⁰ τόλμων ωμοτέραν Haupt (Hermes, vi, p. 259): πόλεμον ἀνομωτέρων.
¹¹ ἀπεθανόμεν Post: ἔθανόμεν.
son of Nicias, to be killed and the general Theramenes and the philosopher Polemarchus. Just so, at the beginning it was some wild and harmful animal that was eaten, then a bird or fish that had its flesh torn. And so when our murderous instincts had tasted blood and grew practised on wild animals, they advanced to the labouring ox and the well-behaved sheep and the house-warding cock; thus, little by little giving a hard edge to our insatiable appetite, we have advanced to wars and the slaughter and murder of human beings. Yet if someone once demonstrates that souls in their rebirths make use of common bodies and that what is now rational reverts to the irrational, and again what is now wild becomes tame, and that Nature changes everything and assigns new dwellings

Clothing souls with unfamiliar coat of flesh;

will not this deter the unruly element in those who have adopted the doctrine from implanting disease and indigestion in our bodies and perverting our souls to an ever more cruel lawlessness, as soon as we are broken of the habit of not entertaining a guest or celebrating a marriage or consorting with our friends without bloodshed and murder?

*a* Cf. Xenophon, Hellenica, ii. 3. 56.

*b* The son of Cephalus and brother of Lysias; a prominent character in Plato, Republic, i. For the circumstances of his death see Lysias’ oration Against Eratosthenes. It is, however, somewhat unlikely that Plutarch should call Polemarchus “the philosopher” even though he appeared in the Republic and his philosophic bent was mentioned in the Phaedrus (257 b): so that, once again, we may be faced with interpolation.

c Diels-Kranz, Frag. der Vorsok. i, p. 362; Empedocles, frag. 126.

d Cf. Mor. 128 b-e.
(998) D

5. Καίτοι τῆς λεγομένης ταῖς ψυχαῖς εἰς σώματα πάλιν μεταβολῆς εἰ μὴ πίστεws ἄξιων τὸ ἀποδεικνύ-
μενον, ἀλλʿ εὐλαβείας γε μεγάλης καὶ δέους τὸ ἀμφίβολον. οἶνον εἰ τις ἐν νυκτομαχίαις στρατο-
πέδων ἀνδρὶ πεπτωκότι καὶ τὸ σῶμα κρυπτομένῳ
toῖς ὀπλοῖς ἐπιφέρων ξίφος ἀκούσειε2 τινος λέγοντος
οὐ πάνυ μὲν εἰδέναι βεβαιῶς, οἶεσθαι δὲ καὶ δοκεῖν
υῶν αὐτοῦ τὸν κείμενον ἢ ἁδελφὸν ἢ πατέρα ἢ
σύσκηνον εἶναι· τί βέλτιον, ὑπονοία προσθέμενον
οὐκ ἀληθεῖ προέσθαι τὸν ἔχθρον ὡς φίλον, ἡ κατα-
φρονήσαντα τοῦ μὴ βεβαιοῦ πρὸς πίστιν ἀνελεῖν
tὸν οἰκεῖον ὡς πολέμιον; ἐκεῖνο δεινὸν φῆσετε
E πάντες. σκόπει δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ Μερό-
πὴν ἐπὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ὡς φονέα τοῦ υἱοῦ πέλεκυν
ἀραμένην καὶ λέγουσαν

ὡνητέραν δὴ τῆς τῆς ἐγὼ δίδωμι σοι
πληγήν,

ὁσον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κίνημα ποιεῖ, συνεξορθάζοσα
φόβω3 μὴ φθάσῃ τὸν ἐπιλαμβανόμενον γέροντα καὶ
τρώσῃ τὸ μειράκιον. εἰ δὲ ἐτερος γέρων παρεστή-
κοι4 λέγων, "παίσον, πολέμιός ἐστιν"· ἐτερος δὲ,
"μὴ παίσης, υἱὸς ἐστι"· πότερον ἀδίκημα μεἰζον,
ἐχθροῦ κόλασιν ἐκλιπεῖν διὰ τὸν υἱὸν ἡ τεκνοκτονία
περιπεσεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἐχθρόν ὀργῆς; ὀπότε

1 γε Reiske : τε.
2 ἀκούσειε an early correction : ἀκούσοι or ἀκούσει.
3 φόβω van Herwerden : φόνο (or φόβω) καὶ δέος.
4 παρεστήκοι van Herwerden : παρειστήκει.
5. Yet even if the argument of the migration of souls from body to body is not demonstrated to the point of complete belief, there is enough doubt to make us quite cautious and fearful. It is as though in a clash of armies by night \(^a\) you had drawn your sword and were rushing at a man whose fallen body was hidden by his armour and should hear someone remarking that he wasn’t quite sure, but that he thought and believed that the prostrate figure was that of your son or brother or father or tent-mate—which would be the better course: to approve a false suspicion and spare your enemy as a friend, or to disregard an uncertain authority and kill your friend as a foe? The latter course you will declare to be shocking. Consider also Merope \(^b\) in the play raising her axe against her son himself because she believes him to be that son’s murderer and saying

This blow I give you is more costly yet—what a stir she rouses in the theatre as she brings them to their feet in terror lest she wound the youth before the old man can stop her! Now suppose one old man stood beside her saying, “Hit him! He’s your enemy,” and another who said, “Don’t strike! He is your son”:\(^c\) which would be the greater misdeed, to omit the punishment of an enemy because of the son, or to slay a child under the impulse of

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\(^a\) Cf. Matthew Arnold, *Dover Beach*:

“And we are here as on a darkling plain
Swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight,
Where ignorant armies clash by night.”

\(^b\) Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 500, frag. 456 from the *Cresphontes*. Aristotle, *Poetics*, xiv. 19 (1454 a 5) tells us that all turns out well: Merope recognizes her son before she can kill him; but it was a close thing, as Plutarch implies.
(998) τούνων οὖ μίσος ἐστὶν οὐδὲ θυμὸς οὗ πρὸς τὸν φόνον ἐξάγων ήμᾶς οὐδ' ἀμυνά τις οὐδὲ φωβος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' εἰς ἡδονής μέρος ἐστηκέν ἱερεῖον ἀνακεκλασμένω τραχηλῷ ἐποκείμενον, εἰτα λέγει τῶν φιλοσόφων ὁ μὲν, "κατάκοψον, ἀλογόν ἐστὶν τὰ ζώαν," ο δὲ, "ἀνάσχον. τί γὰρ εἰ συγγενούσῃ συνήδους, τίνος ἐνταῦθα ψυχὴ κεχώρηκεν;" ἂν ο一百多οι φαγεῖν κρέας ἢ κἂν ἀπιστῶ φονεύσαι τέκνον ἢ ἐτερον οἰκεῖον.

999 6. Οὐκ ἂν ο一百多οι δ' ἐτι καί οὗτος οὗ ἄγων τοῖς Στωικοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς σαρκοφαγίας. τίς γὰρ οὗτος τόνος εἰς τὴν γαστέρα καὶ τὰ ὁππανεία; τί τὴν ἡδονήν θηλυκάλλοκας καὶ διαβάλλοκας ὡς οὔτ' ἄγαθον οὔτε προηγμένον εἰτα οἰκεῖον οὔτω περὶ τοῦτων τῶν ἡδονῶν ἑσπονδάκαι; καὶ μὴν ἄκολοθον ήν αὐτοῖς, εἰ μύρον ἐξελαύνουσι καὶ πέμμα τῶν συμποσίων, μάλλον αἷμα καὶ σάρκα δυσχεραίνειν. οὕν δ' ὀσπερ εἰς τὰς ἐφημερίδας φιλοσοφοῦντες δαπάνην ἀφαιροῦσι τῶν δείπνων ἐν τοῖς ἀχρήστοις καὶ περίπτωσι, τὸ δ' ἀνήμερον τῆς πολυτελείας καὶ φοινικὸν οὐ παρατίθεται. "ναι," φασίν, "οὐδὲν γὰρ ἡμῖν πρὸς τὰ ἄλογα δίκαιον Β' ἐστιν." οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ μῦρον, φαίη τις ἂν, οὐδὲ πρὸς τὰ ξενικὰ τῶν ἡλύσματων ἀλλὰ καὶ

1 τὰ W. C. H.: τῶν.
2 συνήδους Kronenberg: θεοῦ.
3 ἠκεὶ Reiske: ἠκεὶ.
5 δ' ἐτι καὶ Reiske: δὲ τίς.
6 προηγμένον Stephanus: προηγούμενον.
8 φασίν Bernardakis: φησίν.
anger against an enemy? In a case, then, where it is not hate or anger or self-defence or fear for ourselves that induces us to murder, but the motive of pleasure, and the victim stands there under our power with its head bent back and one of our philosophers says, “Kill it! It’s only a brute beast”; but the other says, “Stop! What if the soul of some relative or friend has found its way into this body?”—Good God! Of course the risk is equal or much the same in the two cases—if I refuse to eat flesh, or if I, disbelieving, kill my child or some other relative!

6. There remains yet another contention with the Stoics about flesh-eating, and this is not “equal,” either. For what is this great “tension” on the belly and the kitchen? Why, when they count pleasure effeminate and denounce it as being neither a good nor an “advanced principle” nor “commensurate with Nature,” are they so concerned with these pleasures? It would certainly be consistent for them, since they banish perfume and cakes from their banquets, to be more squeamish about blood and flesh. But as it is, confining as it were their philosophy to their ledgers, they economize on their dinners in trivial and needless details while they do not deprecate this inhuman and murderous item of expense. “Of course,” they say, “we human beings have no compact of justice with irrational animals.” Nor, one might reply, have you with perfume or exotic sweetmeats either. Refrain from animals also, if you

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*a Cf. von Arnim, S. V. F. iii, pp. 91, 374.*

*b A technical term of Stoic philosophy.*

*c Further Stoic technical terms.*

*d Cf. 970 b supra.*
PLITARCH'S MORALIA

(999) τούτων ἀποτρέπεσθε, τὸ μὴ χρήσιμον μηδ' ἀναγκαῖον ἐν ἡδονῇ πανταχόθεν ἐξελαύνοντες.

7. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτ' ἡδὴ σκεψάμεθα, τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι πρὸς τὰ ζώα δίκαιον ἡμῖν, μὴτε τεχνικῶς μὴτε1 σοφιστικῶς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πάθεσιν ἐμβλεψάντες τοῖς ἐαυτῶν καὶ πρὸς ἐαυτοὺς ἀνθρωπικῶς λαλήσαντες καὶ ἀνακρίναντες . . .

1 μὴτε . . . μὴτε Bernardakis: μηδὲ . . . μηδὲ.
are expelling the useless and unnecessary element in pleasure from all its lurking-places.

7. Let us, however, now examine the point whether we really have no compact of justice with animals; and let us do so in no artificial or sophistical manner, but fixing our attention on our own emotions and conversing like human beings with ourselves and weighing . . .

\[a\] The rest is lacking.
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OF PROPER NAMES AND OF SELECTED SUBJECTS

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