Lives of the Eminent Philosophers

DIOGENES LAERTIUS

Lives of the Eminent Philosophers

Βίοι καὶ γνῶμαι τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ εὐδοκιμησάντων

Translated from the Greek with AI (Claude) and edited

FORAGE
forage.com

Lives of the Eminent Philosophers · Diogenes Laertius

Translated from the Greek with AI (Claude) and edited. Parallel-text edition, Forage, October 2026. forage.com/diogenes-laertius/lives

Greek text: R. D. Hicks (1850–1929, ed.), *Diogenes Laertius: Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, 2 vols. (Loeb Classical Library; London: Heinemann, and Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1925), Greek text only, via the Perseus Digital Library (github.com/PerseusDL/canonical-greekLit) (canonical-greekLit, tlg0004.tlg001.perseus-grc2), CC BY-SA 4.0. Square brackets mark words the editor regards as interpolated (in Book 10, ancient scholia on Epicurus); angle brackets ⟨ ⟩ mark words the editor supplies; lost text is marked "…". English: translated from the Greek with AI (Claude), then edited for accuracy and consistency. Not reviewed by a human specialist. Free to reuse under CC BY-SA 4.0. Margin numbers are book and section, the standard reference; the small numbers in the text are sections.

The original text is in the public domain. This translation is free to share and adapt under the Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International license (CC BY-SA 4.0): creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0

Set in Source Serif 4, with Gentium Book Plus.

CONTENTS

Introduction ix

Book 1 1

Prologue 1
The name and schools of philosophy 4
Thales 8
The tripod for the wisest 10
The Seven Sages 14
Solon 16
Solon's laws and sayings 19
Chilon 24
Pittacus 26
Bias 30
Cleobulus 32
Periander 34
Anacharsis the Scythian 37
Myson 39
Epimenides 40
Pherecydes 43

Book 2 47

Anaximander 47
Anaximenes 48
Anaxagoras 49
Archelaus 52
Socrates 53
Sayings of Socrates 57
Trial and death of Socrates 60
Xenophon 63
Aeschines 67
Aristippus 69
The Cyrenaics 75
Theodorus the Atheist 79
Phaedo 82
Euclides 83
Stilpo 85
Crito 88
Simon 88
Glaucon 89
Simmias 89
Cebes 89
Menedemus of Eretria 90

Friendship, politics and death 94

Book 3 97
Plato 97
Plato and Epicharmus 100
Three voyages to Sicily 103
Mockery, loves and quarrels 106
Death and will 110
The dialogues 112
The tetralogies 115
Plato's doctrines 118
The divisions 122

Book 4 133
Speusippus 133
Xenocrates 135
Polemo 138
Crates of Athens 140
Crantor 141
Arcesilaus 143
Arcesilaus' character and death 146
Bion 149
Lacydes 154
Carneades 155
Clitomachus 156

Book 5 159
Aristotle 159
Aristotle's will 162
Aristotle's sayings and books 164
Aristotle's doctrines 168
Theophrastus 171
Theophrastus' will 176
Strato 178
Lyco 180
Demetrius of Phalerum 184
Heraclides of Pontus 187

Book 6 191
Antisthenes 191
Diogenes of Sinope 197
Diogenes and Alexander 203
More sayings of Diogenes 208
Diogenes' teaching and death 214
Monimus 218
Onesicritus 219
Crates of Thebes 220
Metrocles 223
Hipparchia 224
Menippus 225
Menedemus the Cynic 226

Cynic doctrines 226

Book 7 229
Zeno of Citium 229
Zeno's character and sayings 233
Zeno's death, critics and pupils 239
Stoic doctrine: logic 242
Voice, sayables and propositions 247
Arguments and syllogisms 254
Stoic ethics: impulse, the end and virtue 257
Good, bad and indifferent 260
The passions and the wise man 265
Stoic physics: principles and the universe 272
God, fate and the heavens 277
Ariston 282
Herillus 283
Dionysius the Renegade 284
Cleanthes 284
Sphaerus 288
Chrysippus 288
Chrysippus' books 292

Book 8 297
Pythagoras 297
The Pythagorean symbols 302
Pythagorean doctrine 304
The death of Pythagoras 309
Empedocles 313
The death of Empedocles 318
Epicharmus 321
Archytas 322
Alcmaeon 323
Hippasus 324
Philolaus 324
Eudoxus 325

Book 9 329
Heraclitus 329
Heraclitus' doctrines 331
Xenophanes 334
Parmenides 336
Melissus 337
Zeno of Elea 337
Leucippus 339
Democritus 341
Democritus' doctrines and books 344
Protagoras 346
Diogenes of Apollonia 349
Anaxarchus 349
Pyrrho 350

The skeptics and their forerunners 354
The ten modes 357
The five modes and the case against proof 360
Skeptic replies to the dogmatists 364
Timon 366

Book 10 371
Epicurus 371
Epicurus defended 373
Death and will 376
Pupils and writings 378
The canon and the criteria 380
Letter to Herodotus 382
Images, perception and the soul 386
Time, worlds and the heavens 394
Letter to Pythocles 398
Weather and the sky 403
The wise man 408
Letter to Menoeceus 410
Pleasure: Epicurus and the Cyrenaics 414
Principal Doctrines 415

INTRODUCTION

Thales fell into a ditch while looking at the stars. Diogenes the Cynic lived in a large clay jar and told Alexander the Great to stop blocking his sunlight. Pythagoras forbade his followers to eat beans. Much of what we know about the lives of the Greek philosophers, and a good deal of what we know about their teachings, comes from one book: the *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*.

Almost nothing is known about its author, Diogenes Laertius, except that he probably wrote in the first half of the third century AD. In ten books he tells the lives of more than eighty thinkers, from the Seven Sages of archaic Greece to Epicurus, arranged by school and by line of teachers and pupils. He collects anecdotes, sayings, letters, wills, lists of books and the reports of earlier biographers, often several conflicting ones, and he adds short epigrams of his own on how many of them died.

The book is uneven and endlessly entertaining, but it is also irreplaceable. It summarizes the doctrines of Plato, the Stoics and the Skeptics, and it preserves complete texts found nowhere else: Epicurus' three letters and his Principal Doctrines, which make up most of the last book.

Book 1

The Seven Sages
A prologue on the origins of philosophy; Thales, Solon and the other wise men of archaic Greece.

PROLOGUE

Diogenes rejects the claim that philosophy began among non-Greeks and surveys the Magi, Chaldaeans and Egyptians.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
1.1	Τὸ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἔργον ἔνιοί φασιν ἀπὸ βαρβάρων ἄρξαι. γεγενῆσθαι γὰρ παρὰ μὲν Πέρσαις Μάγους, παρὰ δὲ Βαβυλωνίοις ἢ Ἀσσυρίοις Χαλδαίους, καὶ Γυμνοσοφιστὰς παρ' Ἰνδοῖς, παρά τε Κελτοῖς καὶ Γαλάταις τοὺς καλουμένους Δρυΐδας καὶ Σεμνοθέους, καθά φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ Μαγικῷ καὶ Σωτίων ἐν τῷ εἰκοστῷ τρίτῳ τῆς Διαδοχῆς. Φοίνικά τε γενέσθαι Μῶχον, καὶ Θρᾷκα Ζάμολξιν, καὶ Λίβυν Ἄτλαντα.	Some say that the pursuit of philosophy began among non-Greeks. Among the Persians, they say, there were the Magi, among the Babylonians or Assyrians the Chaldaeans, among the Indians the Gymnosophists, and among the Celts and Galatians the so-called Druids and Semnotheoi, as Aristotle says in his *Magicus* and Sotion in the twenty-third book of his *Successions*. They also say that Mochus was a Phoenician, Zamolxis a Thracian and Atlas a Libyan.[1]
	Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν γὰρ Νείλου γενέσθαι παῖδα Ἥφαιστον, ὃν ἄρξαι φιλοσοφίας, ἧς τοὺς προεστῶτας ἱερέας εἶναι καὶ προφήτας. [2] ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Μακεδόνα ἐτῶν εἶναι μυριάδας τέσσαρας καὶ ὀκτακισχίλια ὀκτακόσια ἑξήκοντα τρία· ἐν οἷς ἡλίου μὲν ἐκλείψεις γενέσθαι τριακοσίας ἑβδομήκοντα τρεῖς, σελήνης δὲ ὀκτακοσίας τριάκοντα δύο.	The Egyptians say that Hephaestus was the son of the Nile and that he began philosophy, whose leading exponents were priests and prophets. [2] From him to Alexander of Macedon, they say, 48,863 years passed, and in that time there were 373 eclipses of the sun and 832 of the moon.
1.2	Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Μάγων, ὧν ἄρξαι Ζωροάστρην τὸν Πέρσην, Ἑρμόδωρος μὲν ὁ Πλατωνικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ μαθημάτων φησὶν εἰς τὴν Τροίας ἅλωσιν ἔτη γεγονέναι πεντακισχίλια· Ξάνθος δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς εἰς τὴν Ξέρξου διάβασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζωροάστρου ἑξακισχίλιά φησι, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν γεγονέναι πολλούς τινας Μάγους κατὰ διαδοχήν, Ὀστάνας καὶ Ἀστραμψύχους καὶ Γωβρύας καὶ Παζάτας, μέχρι τῆς τῶν Περσῶν ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου καταλύσεως.	From the Magi, the first of whom was Zoroaster the Persian, to the fall of Troy, Hermodorus the Platonist says in his *On Mathematics* that 5,000 years passed. Xanthus the Lydian, however, says that 6,000 years passed from Zoroaster to Xerxes' crossing. After him, he says, there were a great many Magi in succession, men such as Ostanes, Astrampsychus, Gobryas and Pazatas, down to the overthrow of the Persians by Alexander.
1.3	Λανθάνουσι δ' αὐτοὺς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατορθώματα, ἀφ' ὧν μὴ ὅτι γε φιλοσοφία, ἀλλὰ καὶ γένος ἀνθρώπων ἤρξε, βαρβάροις προσάπτοντες. ἰδοὺ γοῦν παρὰ μὲν Ἀθηναίοις γέγονε Μουσαῖος, παρὰ δὲ Θηβαίοις Λίνος. καὶ τὸν μὲν Εὐμόλπου παῖδά φασι, ποιῆσαι δὲ Θεογονίαν καὶ Σφαῖραν πρῶτον· φάναι τε ἐξ ἑνὸς τὰ πάντα γίνεσθαι καὶ εἰς ταὐτὸν ἀναλύεσθαι. τοῦτον τελευτῆσαι Φαληροῖ, καὶ	But these writers fail to notice that they are attributing to non-Greeks the achievements of the Greeks. With the Greeks not only philosophy but the human race itself began. Consider that Musaeus was born among the Athenians and Linus among the Thebans. Musaeus, they say, was the son of Eumolpus. He was the first to compose a

1 "Gymnosophists" means "naked sages," the Greek name for Indian ascetics. Sotion of Alexandria (2nd century BC) wrote a *Successions of Philosophers*, one of Diogenes' main sources.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	αὐτῷ ἐπιγεγράφθαι τόδε τὸ ἐλεγεῖον· Εὐμόλπου φίλον υἱὸν ἔχει τὸ Φαληρικὸν οὖδας, / Μουσαῖον, φθιμένου σῶμ', ὑπὸ τῷδε τάφῳ. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ Μουσαίου καὶ Εὐμολπίδαι καλοῦνται παρ' Ἀθηναίοις.	*Theogony* and a *Sphere*, and he said that all things come into being from one thing and are dissolved back into it. He died at Phalerum, and this elegiac couplet was inscribed on his tomb: The soil of Phalerum holds the dear son of Eumolpus, / Musaeus, his body dead, beneath this tomb. The Eumolpidae at Athens also take their name from Musaeus' father.[2]
1.4	Τὸν δὲ Λίνον παῖδα εἶναι Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Μούσης Οὐρανίας· ποιῆσαι δὲ κοσμογονίαν, ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης πορείαν, καὶ ζῴων καὶ καρπῶν γενέσεις. τούτῳ ἀρχὴ τῶν ποιημάτων ἥδε· ἦν ποτέ τοι χρόνος οὗτος, ἐν ᾧ ἅμα πάντ' ἐπεφύκει. ὅθεν λαβὼν Ἀναξαγόρας πάντα ἔφη χρήματα γεγονέναι ὁμοῦ, νοῦν δὲ ἐλθόντα αὐτὰ διακοσμῆσαι. τὸν δὲ Λίνον τελευτῆσαι ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ τοξευθέντα ὑπ' Ἀπόλλωνος, καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπιγεγράφθαι· ἥδε Λίνον Θηβαῖον ἐδέξατο γαῖα θανόντα, / Μούσης Οὐρανίης υἱὸν ἐϋστεφάνου. καὶ ὧδε μὲν ἀφ' Ἑλλήνων ἦρξε φιλοσοφία, ἧς καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ὄνομα τὴν βάρβαρον ἀπέστραπται προσηγορίαν.	Linus, they say, was the son of Hermes and the Muse Urania. He composed a cosmogony and wrote on the courses of the sun and moon and on the generation of animals and fruits. His poems begin like this: There was once a time when all things had grown together. Anaxagoras took this up when he said that all things were together until mind came and set them in order. Linus died in Euboea, shot by Apollo's arrows, and this was inscribed on his tomb: This earth received Theban Linus when he died, / son of the Muse Urania with her fair crown. So philosophy began with the Greeks, and its very name refuses any non-Greek designation.
1.5	Οἱ δὲ τὴν εὕρεσιν διδόντες ἐκείνοις παράγουσι καὶ Ὀρφέα τὸν Θρᾷκα, λέγοντες φιλόσοφον γεγονέναι καὶ εἶναι ἀρχαιότατον. ἐγὼ δέ, εἰ τὸν περὶ θεῶν ἐξαγορεύσαντα τοιαῦτα χρὴ φιλόσοφον καλεῖν οὐκ οἶδα, ⟨οὐδὲ⟩ τίνα δεῖ προσαγορεύειν τὸν πᾶν τὸ ἀνθρώπειον πάθος ἀφειδοῦντα τοῖς θεοῖς προστρῖψαι, καὶ τὰ σπανίως ὑπό τινων ἀνθρώπων αἰσχρουργούμενα τῷ τῆς φωνῆς ὀργάνῳ. τοῦτον δὲ ὁ μὲν μῦθος ὑπὸ γυναικῶν ἀπολέσθαι φησί· τὸ δ' ἐν Δίῳ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐπίγραμμα, κεραυνωθῆναι αὐτόν, λέγον οὕτως· Θρῄϊκα χρυσολύρην τῇδ' Ὀρφέα Μοῦσαι ἔθαψαν, / ὃν κτάνεν ὑψιμέδων Ζεὺς ψολόεντι βέλει.	Those who credit the non-Greeks with its invention also bring forward Orpheus the Thracian, saying that he was a philosopher and the most ancient one. For my part, I do not know whether we ought to call a man a philosopher who blurted out such things about the gods. Nor do I know what to call someone who unsparingly attributed every human passion to the gods, including the obscene acts that a few people rarely commit with the organ of speech. The myth says that he was killed by women. But the epigram at Dium in Macedonia says that he was struck by lightning. It goes like this: Here the Muses buried Thracian Orpheus of the golden lyre, / whom Zeus who rules on high killed with his smoking bolt.
1.6	Οἱ δὲ φάσκοντες ἀπὸ βαρβάρων ἄρξαι φιλοσοφίαν καὶ τὸν τρόπον παρ' ἑκάστοις αὐτῆς ἐκτίθενται· καί φασι τοὺς μὲν Γυμνοσοφιστὰς καὶ Δρυΐδας αἰνιγματωδῶς ἀποφθεγγομένους φιλοσοφῆσαι, σέβειν θεοὺς καὶ μηδὲν κακὸν δρᾶν καὶ ἀνδρείαν ἀσκεῖν. τοὺς γοῦν Γυμνοσοφιστὰς καὶ θανάτου καταφρονεῖν φησι Κλείταρχος ἐν τῇ δωδεκάτῃ· τοὺς δὲ Χαλδαίους περὶ ἀστρονομίαν καὶ πρόρρησιν ἀσχολεῖσθαι· τοὺς δὲ Μάγους περί τε θεραπείας θεῶν διατρίβειν καὶ θυσίας καὶ εὐχάς,	Those who claim that philosophy began among non-Greeks also set out the form it took among each people. They say that the Gymnosophists and Druids philosophized in riddling sayings, telling people to worship the gods, do no wrong and practice courage. The Gymnosophists, at any rate, also despise death, as Clitarchus says in his twelfth book. The Chaldaeans, they say, occupy themselves with astronomy and prediction. The Magi

2 The Eumolpidae were the Athenian priestly family in charge of the Mysteries at Eleusis.

GREEK

ENGLISH

ὡς αὐτοὺς μόνους ἀκουομένους. ἀποφαίνεσθαί τε περί τε οὐσίας θεῶν καὶ γενέσεως, οὓς καὶ πῦρ εἶναι καὶ γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ· τῶν δὲ ξοάνων καταγινώσκειν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν λεγόντων ἄρρενας εἶναι θεοὺς καὶ θηλείας.

spend their time on the service of the gods, on sacrifices and on prayers, believing that they alone are heard. They also set out views on the being and origin of the gods, whom they hold to be fire, earth and water. They condemn images of the gods, and especially those who say that some gods are male and some female.[3]

1.7 περί τε δικαιοσύνης λόγους ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ ἀνόσιον ἡγεῖσθαι πυρὶ θάπτειν· καὶ ὅσιον νομίζειν μητρὶ ἢ θυγατρὶ μίγνυσθαι, ὡς ἐν τῷ εἰκοστῷ τρίτῳ φησὶν ὁ Σωτίων· ἀσκεῖν τε μαντικὴν καὶ πρόρρησιν, καὶ θεοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐμφανίζεσθαι λέγοντας. ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰδώλων πλήρη εἶναι τὸν ἀέρα, κατ᾽ ἀπόρροιαν ὑπ᾽ ἀναθυμιάσεως εἰσκρινομένων ταῖς ὄψεσι τῶν ὀξυδερκῶν· προκοσμήματά τε καὶ χρυσοφορίας ἀπαγορεύειν. τούτων δὲ ἐσθὴς μὲν λευκή, στιβὰς δὲ εὐνή, καὶ λάχανον τροφή, τυρός τε καὶ ἄρτος εὐτελής, καὶ κάλαμος ἡ βακτηρία, ᾧ κεντοῦντες, φασί, τοῦ τυροῦ ἀνῃροῦντο καὶ ἀπήσθιον.

They hold discussions about justice, they say. They consider it impious to dispose of the dead by fire, but they think it pious to have intercourse with one's mother or daughter, as Sotion says in his twenty-third book. They practice divination and prediction and say that the gods appear to them. Moreover, they say that the air is full of images, which stream off as an exhalation and enter the eyes of the sharp-sighted. They forbid ornaments and the wearing of gold. Their clothing is white, their bed is a pallet of straw, and their food is vegetables, cheese and coarse bread. Their staff is a reed, with which, they say, they would prick the cheese, lift it up and eat it.

1.8 Τὴν δὲ γοητικὴν μαγείαν οὐδ᾽ ἔγνωσαν, φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ Μαγικῷ καὶ Δείνων ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν· ὃς καὶ μεθερμηνευόμενόν φησι τὸν Ζωροάστρην ἀστροθύτην εἶναι· φησὶ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Ἑρμόδωρος. Ἀριστοτέλης δ᾽ ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ φιλοσοφίας καὶ πρεσβυτέρους εἶναι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων· καὶ δύο κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἀρχάς, ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα καὶ κακὸν δαίμονα· καὶ τῷ μὲν ὄνομα εἶναι Ζεὺς καὶ Ὡρομάσδης, τῷ δὲ Ἅιδης καὶ Ἀρειμάνιος. φησὶ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Ἕρμιππος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ Μάγων καὶ Εὔδοξος ἐν τῇ Περιόδῳ καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν·

Magic in the sense of sorcery they did not even know, according to Aristotle in his *Magicus* and Dinon in the fifth book of his *Histories*. Dinon also says that the name Zoroaster, translated, means "star-sacrificer," and Hermodorus says the same. Aristotle, in the first book of *On Philosophy*, says that the Magi are even older than the Egyptians. According to them, he says, there are two first principles, a good spirit and an evil spirit. The one is named Zeus and Oromasdes, the other Hades and Arimanius. This is also stated by Hermippus in the first book of *On the Magi*, by Eudoxus in his *Circuit of the Earth* and by Theopompus in the eighth book of his *Philippica*.

1.9 ὃς καὶ ἀναβιώσεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς Μάγους φησὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἀθανάτους ἔσεσθαι, καὶ τὰ ὄντα ταῖς αὐτῶν ἐπικλήσεσι διαμενεῖν. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Εὔδημος ὁ Ῥόδιος ἱστορεῖ. Ἑκαταῖος δὲ καὶ γενητοὺς τοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι κατ᾽ αὐτούς. Κλέαρχος δὲ ὁ Σολεὺς ἐν τῷ Περὶ παιδείας καὶ τοὺς Γυμνοσοφιστὰς ἀπογόνους εἶναι τῶν Μάγων φησίν· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐκ τούτων εἶναι. πρὸς τούτοις καταγινώσκουσιν Ἡροδότου οἱ τὰ περὶ Μάγων γράψαντες· μὴ γὰρ ἂν εἰς τὸν ἥλιον βέλη Ξέρξην ἀκοντίσαι, μηδ᾽ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν πέδας καθεῖναι, θεοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν Μάγων παραδεδομένους. τὰ μέντοι ἀγάλματα εἰκότως καθαιρεῖν.

Theopompus also says that according to the Magi, people will come back to life and be immortal, and that things will endure through their invocations. Eudemus of Rhodes reports this too. Hecataeus says that according to them the gods were also born. Clearchus of Soli, in his *On Education*, says that the Gymnosophists are descendants of the Magi, and some say that the Jews also derive from them. Besides, those who have written about the Magi criticize Herodotus. Xerxes, they say, would never have hurled spears at the sun or let

3 Clitarchus wrote a history of Alexander the Great in the late 4th century BC.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		fetters down into the sea, since the Magi had taught that these were gods. They grant, however, that it was natural for him to destroy statues of the gods.[4]
1.10	Τὴν δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων φιλοσοφίαν εἶναι τοιαύτην περί τε θεῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης. φάσκειν τε ἀρχὴν μὲν εἶναι τὴν ὕλην, εἶτα τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα ἐξ αὐτῆς διακριθῆναι, καὶ ζῷα παντοῖα ἀποτελεσθῆναι. θεοὺς δ' εἶναι ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην, τὸν μὲν Ὄσιριν, τὴν δ' Ἶσιν καλουμένην· αἰνίττεσθαί τε αὐτοὺς διά τε κανθάρου καὶ δράκοντος καὶ ἱέρακος καὶ ἄλλων, ὥς φησι Μανέθως ἐν τῇ τῶν Φυσικῶν ἐπιτομῇ καὶ Ἑκαταῖος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ Περὶ τῆς Αἰγυπτίων φιλοσοφίας. κατασκευάζειν δὲ ⟨καὶ⟩ ἀγάλματα καὶ τεμένη τῷ μὴ εἰδέναι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ μορφήν.	The philosophy of the Egyptians, about the gods and about justice, is said to be as follows. They say that matter was the first principle, that the four elements were then separated out of it, and that living creatures of every kind were produced. The sun and moon are gods, the one called Osiris and the other Isis. They allude to them in riddles through the beetle, the serpent, the hawk and other creatures, as Manetho says in his *Epitome of Natural Doctrines* and Hecataeus in the first book of *On the Philosophy of the Egyptians*. They also set up statues and sacred precincts because they do not know the form of the god.[5]
1.11	τὸν κόσμον γενητὸν καὶ φθαρτὸν καὶ σφαιροειδῆ· τοὺς ἀστέρας πῦρ εἶναι, καὶ τῇ τούτων κράσει τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς γίνεσθαι· σελήνην ἐκλείπειν εἰς τὸ σκίασμα τῆς γῆς ἐμπίπτουσαν· τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ἐπιδιαμένειν καὶ μετεμβαίνειν· ὑετοὺς κατὰ ἀέρος τροπὴν ἀποτελεῖσθαι· τά τε ἄλλα φυσιολογεῖν, ὡς Ἑκαταῖός τε καὶ Ἀρισταγόρας ἱστοροῦσιν. ἔθεσαν δὲ καὶ νόμους ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης, οὓς εἰς Ἑρμῆν ἀνήνεγκαν· καὶ τὰ εὔχρηστα τῶν ζῴων θεοὺς ἐδόξασαν. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ὡς αὐτοὶ γεωμετρίαν τε καὶ ἀστρολογίαν καὶ ἀριθμητικὴν ἀνεῦρον. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς εὑρέσεως ὧδε ἔχει.	They hold that the world-order came into being, that it is perishable and that it is spherical. They hold that the stars are fire, and that what happens on earth comes about through the blending of their influences. The moon is eclipsed when it passes into the earth's shadow. The soul survives and passes into other bodies. Rain is produced by a change in the air. They also give natural explanations of everything else, as Hecataeus and Aristagoras report. They also laid down laws about justice, which they ascribed to Hermes, and they made gods of the useful animals. They also say that they themselves invented geometry, astronomy and arithmetic. So much for the invention of philosophy.

THE NAME AND SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY

Pythagoras coins "philosopher"; Diogenes lists the Seven Sages, the two successions, the parts and the schools.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
1.12	Φιλοσοφίαν δὲ πρῶτος ὠνόμασε Πυθαγόρας καὶ ἑαυτὸν φιλόσοφον, ἐν Σικυῶνι διαλεγόμενος Λέοντι τῷ Σικυωνίων τυράννῳ ἢ Φλιασίων, καθά φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῇ Περὶ τῆς ἄπνου· μηδένα γὰρ εἶναι σοφὸν [ἄνθρωπον] ἀλλ' ἢ θεόν. θᾶττον δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο σοφία, καὶ σοφὸς ὁ ταύτην ἐπαγγελλόμενος, ὃς εἴη ἂν κατ' ἀκρότητα ψυχῆς ἀπηκριβωμένος, φιλόσοφος δὲ ὁ σοφίαν ἀσπαζόμενος. οἱ δὲ σοφοὶ καὶ σοφισταὶ ἐκαλοῦντο· καὶ οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ σοφισταί,	The first to use the word "philosophy," and to call himself a philosopher, was Pythagoras, when he was talking at Sicyon with Leon, the tyrant of Sicyon or of Phlius, as Heraclides of Pontus says in his *On the Woman Who Stopped Breathing*. No [human being] is wise, Pythagoras said, except a god. Before that the pursuit was called wisdom, and the man who professed it was called wise, meaning

4 Herodotus (7.35) tells how Xerxes had the Hellespont whipped and a pair of fetters thrown into it.
5 Manetho was an Egyptian priest who wrote in Greek in the 3rd century BC.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	καθὰ καὶ Κρατῖνος ἐν Ἀρχιλόχοις τοὺς περὶ Ὅμηρον καὶ Ἡσίοδον ἐπαινῶν οὕτως καλεῖ.	someone brought to perfection at the summit of the soul. A philosopher, by contrast, is someone who embraces wisdom. The wise were also called sophists. Poets were called sophists too, as Cratinus does in his *Archilochuses* when he praises Homer and Hesiod and their followers.[6]
1.13	Σοφοὶ δὲ ἐνομίζοντο οἵδε· Θαλῆς, Σόλων, Περίανδρος, Κλεόβουλος, Χείλων, Βίας, Πιττακός. τούτοις προσαριθμοῦσιν Ἀνάχαρσιν τὸν Σκύθην, Μύσωνα τὸν Χηνέα, Φερεκύδην τὸν Σύριον, Ἐπιμενίδην τὸν Κρῆτα· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ Πεισίστρατον τὸν τύραννον. καὶ οἱ μὲν σοφοί.	The following were considered wise: Thales, Solon, Periander, Cleobulus, Chilon, Bias and Pittacus. To these they add Anacharsis the Scythian, Myson of Chen, Pherecydes of Syros and Epimenides the Cretan, and some also add Pisistratus the tyrant. So much for the sages.
	Φιλοσοφίας δὲ δύο γεγόνασιν ἀρχαί, ἥ τε ἀπὸ Ἀναξιμάνδρου καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου· τοῦ μὲν Θαλοῦ διακηκοότος, Πυθαγόρου δὲ Φερεκύδης καθηγήσατο. καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ μὲν Ἰωνική, ὅτι Θαλῆς Ἴων ὤν, Μιλήσιος γάρ, καθηγήσατο Ἀναξιμάνδρου· ἡ δὲ Ἰταλικὴ ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου, ὅτι τὰ πλεῖστα κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐφιλοσόφησεν.	Philosophy has had two beginnings, one from Anaximander and the other from Pythagoras. Anaximander studied under Thales, and Pythagoras was taught by Pherecydes. The first was called Ionian, because Thales, an Ionian from Miletus, taught Anaximander. The second was called Italian, after Pythagoras, because he did most of his philosophizing in Italy.
1.14	καταλήγει δὲ ἡ μὲν εἰς Κλειτόμαχον καὶ Χρύσιππον καὶ Θεόφραστον [ἡ Ἰωνική]· ἡ δὲ Ἰταλικὴ εἰς Ἐπίκουρον. Θαλοῦ μὲν γὰρ Ἀναξίμανδρος, οὗ Ἀναξιμένης, οὗ Ἀναξαγόρας, οὗ Ἀρχέλαος, οὗ Σωκράτης ὁ τὴν ἠθικὴν εἰσαγαγών· οὗ οἵ τε ἄλλοι Σωκρατικοὶ καὶ Πλάτων ὁ τὴν ἀρχαίαν Ἀκαδημείαν συστησάμενος· οὗ Σπεύσιππος καὶ Ξενοκράτης, οὗ Πολέμων, οὗ Κράντωρ καὶ Κράτης, οὗ Ἀρκεσίλαος ὁ τὴν μέσην Ἀκαδημείαν εἰσηγησάμενος· οὗ Λακύδης ὁ τὴν νέαν Ἀκαδημείαν φιλοσοφήσας· οὗ Καρνεάδης, οὗ Κλειτόμαχος. καὶ ὧδε μὲν εἰς Κλειτόμαχον.	The one [the Ionian] ends with Clitomachus, Chrysippus and Theophrastus, and the Italian ends with Epicurus. Thales was succeeded by Anaximander, Anaximander by Anaximenes, Anaximenes by Anaxagoras, and Anaxagoras by Archelaus. Archelaus was succeeded by Socrates, who introduced ethics. Socrates was succeeded by the other Socratics and by Plato, who founded the Old Academy. Plato was succeeded by Speusippus and Xenocrates, Xenocrates by Polemo, and Polemo by Crantor and Crates. Crates was succeeded by Arcesilaus, who introduced the Middle Academy. Arcesilaus was succeeded by Lacydes, who philosophized in the New Academy. Lacydes was succeeded by Carneades, and Carneades by Clitomachus. That is how it runs to Clitomachus.
1.15	Εἰς δὲ Χρύσιππον οὕτω καταλήγει· Σωκράτους Ἀντισθένης, οὗ Διογένης ὁ κύων, οὗ Κράτης ὁ Θηβαῖος, οὗ Ζήνων ὁ Κιτιεύς, οὗ Κλεάνθης, οὗ Χρύσιππος. εἰς δὲ Θεόφραστον οὕτως· Πλάτωνος Ἀριστοτέλης, οὗ Θεόφραστος. καὶ ἡ μὲν Ἰωνικὴ τοῦτον καταλήγει τὸν τρόπον.	To Chrysippus it runs like this. Socrates was succeeded by Antisthenes, Antisthenes by Diogenes the Dog, Diogenes by Crates of Thebes, Crates by Zeno of Citium, Zeno by Cleanthes, and Cleanthes by Chrysippus. To Theophrastus it runs like this: Plato was succeeded by Aristotle, and Aristotle by Theophrastus. That is how the Ionian line ends.[7]
	Ἡ δὲ Ἰταλικὴ οὕτω· Φερεκύδους Πυθαγόρας, οὗ Τηλαύγης ὁ υἱός, οὗ Ξενοφάνης, οὗ Παρμενίδης, οὗ	The Italian line runs like this. Pherecydes was succeeded by Pythagoras, Pythagoras by his son Tel-

6 Cratinus was an Athenian comic poet of the 5th century BC.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Ζήνων ὁ Ἐλεάτης, οὗ Λεύκιππος, οὗ Δημόκριτος, οὗ πολλοὶ μέν, ἐπ' ὀνόματος δὲ Ναυσιφάνης [καὶ Ναυκύδης], ὧν Ἐπίκουρος.	auges, Telauges by Xenophanes, Xenophanes by Parmenides, Parmenides by Zeno of Elea, Zeno by Leucippus, and Leucippus by Democritus. Democritus had many pupils, among them, by name, Nausiphanes [and Naucydes], and they were succeeded by Epicurus.
1.16	Τῶν δὲ φιλοσόφων οἱ μὲν γεγόνασι δογματικοί, οἱ δ' ἐφεκτικοί· δογματικοὶ μὲν ὅσοι περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀποφαίνονται ὡς καταληπτῶν· ἐφεκτικοὶ δὲ ὅσοι ἐπέχουσι περὶ αὐτῶν ὡς ἀκαταλήπτων. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν κατέλιπον ὑπομνήματα, οἱ δ' ὅλως οὐ συνέγραψαν, ὥσπερ κατά τινας Σωκράτης, Στίλπων, Φίλιππος, Μενέδημος, Πύρρων, Θεόδωρος, Καρνεάδης, Βρύσων· κατά τινας Πυθαγόρας, Ἀρίστων ὁ Χῖος, πλὴν ἐπιστολῶν ὀλίγων· οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ ἓν σύγγραμμα· Μέλισσος, Παρμενίδης, Ἀναξαγόρας· πολλὰ δὲ Ζήνων, πλείω Ξενοφάνης, πλείω Δημόκριτος, πλείω Ἀριστοτέλης, πλείω Ἐπίκουρος, πλείω Χρύσιππος.	Some philosophers have been dogmatists, others suspenders of judgment. The dogmatists are those who make assertions about things on the assumption that they can be apprehended. The suspenders of judgment are those who suspend judgment about them on the grounds that they cannot be apprehended. Some philosophers left writings behind, while others wrote nothing at all. According to some, the second group includes Socrates, Stilpo, Philip, Menedemus, Pyrrho, Theodorus, Carneades and Bryson. According to some, it also includes Pythagoras and Ariston of Chios, apart from a few letters. Others wrote one treatise each: Melissus, Parmenides and Anaxagoras. Zeno wrote many, Xenophanes more, Democritus more, Aristotle more, Epicurus more, and Chrysippus more.
1.17	Τῶν δὲ φιλοσόφων οἱ μὲν ἀπο πόλεων προσνγορεύθησαν, ὡς οἱ Ἠλιακοὶ καὶ Μεγαρικοὶ καὶ Ἐρετρικοὶ καὶ Κυρηναϊκοί· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τόπων, ὡς οἱ Ἀκαδημαϊκοὶ καὶ Στωϊκοί. καὶ ἀπὸ συμπτωμάτων δέ, ὡς οἱ Περιπατητικοί, καὶ ἀπὸ σκωμμάτων, ὡς οἱ Κυνικοί· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ διαθέσεων, ὡς οἱ Εὐδαιμονικοί· τινὲς ἀπὸ οἰήσεως, ὡς οἱ Φιλαλήθεις καὶ Ἐλεγκτικοὶ καὶ Ἀναλογητικοί· ἔνιοι δ' ἀπὸ τῶν διδασκάλων, ὡς οἱ Σωκρατικοὶ καὶ Ἐπικούρειοι, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ φύσιν πραγματείας φυσικοί· οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἤθη σχολῆς ἠθικοί· διαλεκτικοὶ δὲ ὅσοι περὶ τὴν τῶν λόγων τερθρείαν καταγίνονται.	Some philosophers were named after cities, like the Elians, Megarians, Eretrians and Cyrenaics. Others were named after places, like the Academics and Stoics. Some took their names from incidental circumstances, like the Peripatetics, and some from jibes, like the Cynics. Others took their names from their dispositions, like the Eudaemonists, and some from their conceit, like the Truth-lovers, the Refuters and the Analogists. Some were named after their teachers, like the Socratics and Epicureans, and so on. Those named after the study of nature are called natural philosophers. Those named after their school's concern with character are called moral philosophers. Those who occupy themselves with verbal hair-splitting are called dialecticians.[8]
1.18	Μέρη δὲ φιλοσοφίας τρία, φυσικόν, ἠθικόν, διαλεκτικόν· φυσικὸν μὲν τὸ περὶ κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ· ἠθικὸν δὲ τὸ περὶ βίου καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς· διαλεκτικὸν δὲ τὸ ἀμφοτέρων τοὺς λόγους πρεσβεῦον. καὶ μέχρι μὲν Ἀρχελάου τὸ φυσικὸν ἦν εἶδος· ἀπὸ δὲ Σωκράτους, ὡς προείρηται, τὸ ἠθικόν· ἀπὸ δὲ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ἐλεάτου τὸ	Philosophy has three parts: physics, ethics and dialectic. Physics deals with the universe and what is in it. Ethics deals with life and with what concerns us. Dialectic cultivates the arguments used by both. Up to Archelaus the physical branch prevailed. From Socrates, as has been said, the

7 "The Dog" (kyōn) was Diogenes' nickname, the source of the name "Cynic."
8 The Academy was a grove outside Athens and the Stoa was the Painted Stoa, a colonnade in the Athenian agora. The name "Peripatetic" comes from *peripatein*, "to walk about."

GREEK	ENGLISH
διαλεκτικόν. τοῦ δὲ ἠθικοῦ γεγόνασιν αἱρέσεις δέκα, Ἀκαδημαϊκή, Κυρηναϊκή, Ἡλιακή, Μεγαρική, Κυνική, Ἐρετρική, Διαλεκτική, Περιπατητική, Στωϊκή, Ἐπικούρειος.	ethical branch began, and from Zeno of Elea the dialectical. Ethics has had ten schools: the Academic, Cyrenaic, Elian, Megarian, Cynic, Eretrian, Dialectical, Peripatetic, Stoic and Epicurean.
1.19 Ἀκαδημαϊκῆς μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀρχαίας προέστη Πλάτων, τῆς μέσης Ἀρκεσίλαος, τῆς νέας Λακύδης· Κυρηναϊκῆς Ἀρίστιππος ὁ Κυρηναῖος, Ἡλιακῆς Φαίδων ὁ Ἠλεῖος, Μεγαρικῆς Εὐκλείδης Μεγαρεύς, Κυνικῆς Ἀντισθένης Ἀθηναῖος, Ἐρετρικῆς Μενέδημος Ἐρετριεύς, Διαλεκτικῆς Κλειτόμαχος Καρχηδόνιος, Περιπατητικῆς Ἀριστοτέλης Σταγειρίτης, Στωϊκῆς Ζήνων Κιτιεύς· ἡ δὲ Ἐπικούρειος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κέκληται Ἐπικούρου.	The Old Academy was headed by Plato, the Middle by Arcesilaus and the New by Lacydes. The Cyrenaic school was headed by Aristippus of Cyrene, the Elian by Phaedo of Elis, and the Megarian by Euclides of Megara. The Cynic school was headed by Antisthenes of Athens, the Eretrian by Menedemus of Eretria, the Dialectical by Clitomachus of Carthage, the Peripatetic by Aristotle of Stagira and the Stoic by Zeno of Citium. The Epicurean school is named after Epicurus himself.
Ἱππόβοτος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ αἱρέσεων ἐννέα φησὶν αἱρέσεις καὶ ἀγωγὰς εἶναι· πρώτην Μεγαρικήν, δευτέραν Ἐρετρικήν, τρίτην Κυρηναϊκήν, τετάρτην Ἐπικούρειον, πέμπτην Ἀννικέρειον, ἕκτην Θεοδώρειον, ἑβδόμην Ζηνώνειον τὴν καὶ Στωϊκήν, ὀγδόην Ἀκαδημαϊκὴν τὴν ἀρχαίαν, ἐνάτην Περιπατητικήν· [20] οὔτε δὲ Κυνικήν, οὔτε Ἠλιακήν, οὔτε Διαλεκτικήν. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Πυρρώνειον οὐδ' οἱ πλείους προσποιοῦνται διὰ τὴν ἀσάφειαν· ἔνιοι δὲ κατά τι μὲν αἵρεσιν εἶναί φασιν αὐτήν, κατά τι δὲ οὔ. δοκεῖ δὲ αἵρεσις εἶναι.	Hippobotus, in his *On Schools*, says that there are nine schools or ways of life. The first is the Megarian, the second the Eretrian, the third the Cyrenaic, the fourth the Epicurean, the fifth the Annicerean, the sixth the Theodorean, the seventh the Zenonian, also called the Stoic, the eighth the Old Academic and the ninth the Peripatetic. [20] He does not include the Cynic, the Elian or the Dialectical. As for the Pyrrhonist school, most do not even recognize it, because of its lack of clarity. Some say that it is a school in one sense but not in another. It does seem, however, to be a school.[9]
1.20 αἵρεσιν μὲν γὰρ λέγομεν τὴν λόγῳ τινὶ κατὰ τὸ φαινόμενον ἀκολουθοῦσαν ἢ δοκοῦσαν ἀκολουθεῖν· καθ' ὃ εὐλόγως ἂν αἵρεσιν τὴν Σκεπτικὴν καλοῖμεν. εἰ δὲ αἵρεσιν νοοῖμεν πρόσκλισιν δόγμασιν ἀκολουθίαν ἔχουσιν, οὐκέτ' ἂν προσαγορεύοιτο αἵρεσις· οὐ γὰρ ἔχει δόγματα. αἵδε μὲν ἀρχαὶ καὶ διαδοχαὶ καὶ τοσαῦτα μέρη καὶ τόσαι φιλοσοφίας αἱρέσεις.	We call something a school if it follows, or seems to follow, some line of reasoning in accordance with appearances. In that sense we could reasonably call the Skeptic school a school. But if we take a school to mean an attachment to doctrines that hang together consistently, it could no longer be called a school, since it has no doctrines. These, then, are the beginnings and successions of philosophy, and these are its parts and its schools.
1.21 Ἔτι δὲ πρὸ ὀλίγου καὶ ἐκλεκτική τις αἵρεσις εἰσήχθη ὑπὸ Ποτάμωνος τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως, ἐκλεξαμένου τὰ ἀρέσκοντα ἐξ ἑκάστης τῶν αἱρέσεων. ἀρέσκει δ' αὐτῷ, καθά φησιν ἐν τῇ Στοιχειώσει, κριτήρια τῆς ἀληθείας εἶναι· τὸ μὲν ὡς ὑφ' οὗ γίνεται ἡ κρίσις, τουτέστι τὸ ἡγεμονικόν· τὸ δὲ ὡς δι' οὗ, οἷον τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην φαντασίαν. ἀρχάς τε τῶν ὅλων τήν τε ὕλην καὶ τὸ ποιοῦν, ποιότητά τε καὶ τόπον· ἐξ οὗ γὰρ καὶ ὑφ' οὗ καὶ ποίῳ καὶ ἐν ᾧ. τέλος δὲ εἶναι ἐφ' ὃ πάντα ἀναφέρεται, ζωὴν κατὰ	Moreover, a short while ago Potamo of Alexandria introduced an Eclectic school, selecting what he liked from each of the schools. He holds, as he says in his *Elements*, that there are criteria of truth. One is the criterion by which judgment is made, namely the ruling part of the soul. The other is the criterion through which judgment is made, for example the most accurate impression. As principles of the universe he holds matter and the active

9 Hippobotus was a Hellenistic writer on the philosophical schools, probably of the 3rd or 2nd century BC.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν τελείαν, οὐκ ἄνευ τῶν τοῦ σώματος κατὰ φύσιν καὶ τῶν ἐκτός.	cause, quality and place. These answer to what a thing comes from, what produces it, what quality it has and where it is. The end, to which everything is referred, is a life perfect in every excellence, not without the natural goods of the body and external goods.
	Λεκτέον δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ πρῶτόν γε περὶ Θαλοῦ.	But we must now speak about the men themselves, and first of all about Thales.

THALES

The first of the Seven Sages makes water the first principle, predicts eclipses and corners the olive presses.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
1.22	Ἦν τοίνυν ὁ Θαλῆς, ὡς μὲν Ἡρόδοτος καὶ Δοῦρις καὶ Δημόκριτός φασι, πατρὸς μὲν Ἐξαμύου, μητρὸς δὲ Κλεοβουλίνης, ἐκ τῶν Θηλιδῶν, οἵ εἰσι Φοίνικες, εὐγενέστατοι τῶν ἀπὸ Κάδμου καὶ Ἀγήνορος. ⟨ἦν δὲ τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν⟩, καθὰ καὶ Πλάτων φησί· καὶ πρῶτος σοφὸς ὠνομάσθη ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Δαμασίου, καθ' ὃν καὶ οἱ ἑπτὰ σοφοὶ ἐκλήθησαν, ὥς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀρχόντων Ἀναγραφῇ. ἐπολιτογραφήθη δὲ ἐν Μιλήτῳ, ὅτε ἦλθε σὺν Νείλεῳ ἐκπεσόντι Φοινίκης· ὡς δ' οἱ πλείους φασίν, ἰθαγενὴς Μιλήσιος ἦν καὶ γένους λαμπροῦ.	Thales, then, according to Herodotus, Duris and Democritus, was the son of Examyes and Cleobulina. He belonged to the Thelidae, who are Phoenicians and the noblest of the descendants of Cadmus and Agenor. He was one of the Seven Sages, as Plato also says. He was the first to be called wise, in the year when Damasius was archon at Athens, when the Seven Sages also received that name, as Demetrius of Phalerum says in his *List of Archons*. He was enrolled as a citizen at Miletus when he came there with Neleus, who had been driven out of Phoenicia. Most writers, however, say that he was a native Milesian of distinguished family.[10]
1.23	Μετὰ δὲ τὰ πολιτικὰ τῆς φυσικῆς ἐγένετο θεωρίας. καὶ κατά τινας μὲν σύγγραμμα κατέλιπεν οὐδέν· ἡ γὰρ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφερομένη Ναυτικὴ ἀστρολογία Φώκου λέγεται εἶναι τοῦ Σαμίου. Καλλίμαχος δ' αὐτὸν οἶδεν εὑρετὴν τῆς ἄρκτου τῆς μικρᾶς, λέγων ἐν τοῖς Ἰάμβοις οὕτως· καὶ τῆς ἁμάξης ἐλέγετο σταθμήσασθαι / τοὺς ἀστερίσκους, ᾗ πλέουσι Φοίνικες. κατά τινας δὲ μόνα δύο συνέγραψε, Περὶ τροπῆς καὶ Ἰσημερίας, τὰ ἄλλ' ἀκατάληπτα εἶναι δοκιμάσας. δοκεῖ δὲ κατά τινας πρῶτος ἀστρολογῆσαι καὶ ἡλιακὰς ἐκλείψεις καὶ τροπὰς προειπεῖν, ὥς φησιν Εὔδημος ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν Ἀστρολογουμένων ἱστορίᾳ· ὅθεν αὐτὸν καὶ Ξενοφάνης καὶ Ἡρόδοτος θαυμάζει. μαρτυρεῖ δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ Δημόκριτος.	After his political career he turned to the study of nature. According to some, he left no writings, since the *Nautical Astronomy* attributed to him is said to be by Phocus of Samos. Callimachus knows him as the discoverer of the Little Bear, and says in his *Iambi*: He was said to have measured out the little stars / of the Wagon, by which the Phoenicians sail. According to others, he wrote only two works, *On the Solstice* and *On the Equinox*, judging everything else to be beyond apprehension. According to some, he seems to have been the first to study astronomy and to predict eclipses of the sun and the solstices, as Eudemus says in his *History of Astronomy*. That is why Xenophanes and Herodotus admire him. Heraclitus and Democritus also bear witness to him.[11]
1.24	Ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν πρῶτον εἰπεῖν φασιν ἀθανάτους τὰς ψυχάς· ὧν ἐστι Χοιρίλος ὁ ποιητής. πρῶτος δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ	Some say that he was also the first to declare that souls are immortal, and the poet Choerilus is one

10 Athenian years were named after the chief magistrate, the archon; Damasius held office in 582/1 BC.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	τροπῆς ἐπὶ τροπὴν πάροδον εὗρε, καὶ πρῶτος τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου μέγεθος ⟨τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ κύκλου ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ τῆς σελήνης μέγεθος⟩ τοῦ σεληναίου ἑπτακοσιοστὸν καὶ εἰκοστὸν μέρος ἀπεφήνατο κατά τινας. πρῶτος δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑστάτην ἡμέραν τοῦ μηνὸς τριακάδα εἶπε. πρῶτος δὲ καὶ περὶ φύσεως διελέχθη, ὥς τινες.	of them. He was also the first to discover the sun's course from one solstice to the other. According to some, he was also the first to declare that the size of the sun is one seven-hundred-and-twentieth part of the solar circle, just as the size of the moon is of the lunar circle. He was also the first to call the last day of the month the thirtieth. And he was the first, as some say, to discuss nature.
	Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ καὶ Ἱππίας φασὶν αὐτὸν καὶ τοῖς ἀψύχοις μεταδιδόναι ψυχῆς, τεκμαιρόμενον ἐκ τῆς λίθου τῆς μαγνήτιδος καὶ τοῦ ἠλέκτρου. παρά τε Αἰγυπτίων γεωμετρεῖν μαθόντα φησὶ Παμφίλη πρῶτον καταγράψαι κύκλου τὸ τρίγωνον ὀρθογώνιον, καὶ θῦσαι βοῦν. [25] οἱ δὲ Πυθαγόραν φασίν, ὧν ἐστιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ λογιστικός. οὗτος προήγαγεν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ἅ φησι Καλλίμαχος ἐν τοῖς Ἰάμβοις Εὔφορβον εὑρεῖν τὸν Φρύγα, οἷον "σκαληνὰ καὶ τρίγωνα" καὶ ὅσα γραμμικῆς ἔχεται θεωρίας.	Aristotle and Hippias say that he attributed soul even to lifeless things, judging from the magnet and from amber. Pamphila says that he learned geometry from the Egyptians, that he was the first to inscribe a right-angled triangle in a circle, and that he sacrificed an ox for it. [25] Others say it was Pythagoras, among them Apollodorus the arithmetician. Pythagoras carried furthest the discoveries that Callimachus, in his *Iambi*, says Euphorbus the Phrygian made, such as "scalenes and triangles" and whatever else belongs to the study of lines.[12]
1.25	Δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἄριστα βεβουλεῦσθαι. Κροίσου γοῦν πέμψαντος πρὸς Μιλησίους ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ ἐκώλυσεν· ὅπερ Κύρου κρατήσαντος ἔσωσε τὴν πόλιν. καὶ αὐτὸς δέ φησιν, ὡς Ἡρακλείδης ἱστορεῖ, μονήρη αὐτὸν γεγονέναι καὶ ἰδιαστήν. [26] ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ γῆμαι αὐτὸν καὶ Κύβισθον υἱὸν σχεῖν· οἱ δὲ ἄγαμον μεῖναι, τῆς δὲ ἀδελφῆς τὸν υἱὸν θέσθαι. ὅτε καὶ ἐρωτηθέντα διὰ τί οὐ τεκνοποιεῖ, "διὰ φιλοτεκνίαν" εἰπεῖν. καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι τῆς μητρὸς ἀναγκαζούσης αὐτὸν γῆμαι, "[νὴ Δία]," ἔλεγεν, "οὐδέπω καιρός." εἶτα, ἐπειδὴ παρήβησεν ἐγκειμένης, εἰπεῖν, "οὐκέτι καιρός." φησὶ δὲ καὶ Ἱερώνυμος ὁ Ῥόδιος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Τῶν σποράδην ὑπομνημάτων, ὅτι βουλόμενος δεῖξαι ῥᾴδιον εἶναι πλουτεῖν, φορᾶς μελλούσης ἐλαιῶν ἔσεσθαι, προνοήσας ἐμισθώσατο τὰ ἐλαιουργεῖα καὶ πάμπλειστα συνεῖλε χρήματα.	He also seems to have given excellent advice in politics. When Croesus sent to the Milesians proposing an alliance, Thales prevented it, and this saved the city when Cyrus won. Heraclides reports that Thales himself says he lived alone, as a private man. [26] Some say that he married and had a son, Cybisthus. Others say that he stayed unmarried and adopted his sister's son. On that occasion, asked why he had no children, he is said to have answered, "Because I love children." They also say that when his mother tried to force him to marry, he said, "[By Zeus,] it's not yet time." Later, when he was past his prime and she kept pressing him, he said, "It's no longer time." Hieronymus of Rhodes, in the second book of his *Miscellaneous Notes*, also says that Thales wanted to show how easy it is to get rich. He foresaw that there would be a large olive crop, rented all the olive presses in advance and made a great deal of money.
1.27	Ἀρχὴν δὲ τῶν πάντων ὕδωρ ὑπεστήσατο, καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἔμψυχον καὶ δαιμόνων πλήρη. τάς τε ὥρας τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ φασιν αὐτὸν εὑρεῖν καὶ εἰς τριακοσίας ἑξήκοντα πέντε ἡμέρας διελεῖν.	He held that water is the first principle of all things, and that the world-order is alive and full of divinities. They also say that he discovered the seasons of the year and divided the year into 365 days.

11 The "Wagon" is a Greek name for the Bear constellations. Callimachus was a 3rd-century BC poet and scholar at Alexandria.
12 Pythagoras claimed that in an earlier life he had been Euphorbus, a Trojan hero of the *Iliad*.

GREEK	ENGLISH
Οὐδεὶς δὲ αὐτοῦ καθηγήσατο, πλὴν ὅτι εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐλθὼν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι συνδιέτριψεν. ὁ δὲ Ἱερώνυμος καὶ ἐκμετρῆσαί φησιν αὐτὸν τὰς πυραμίδας ἐκ τῆς σκιᾶς, παρατηρήσαντα ὅτε ἡμῖν ἰσομεγέθης ἐστίν. συνεβίω δὲ καὶ Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ Μιλησίων τυράννῳ, καθά φησι Μινύης.	No one taught him, except that he went to Egypt and spent time with the priests there. Hieronymus says that he even measured the pyramids by their shadows, watching for the moment when our own shadow is the same length as our height. He also lived in the company of Thrasybulus, the tyrant of Miletus, as Minyes says.

THE TRIPOD FOR THE WISEST

A tripod or bowl meant for the wisest man passes from sage to sage and ends with Apollo.

GREEK	ENGLISH
Τὰ δὲ περὶ τὸν τρίποδα φανερὰ τὸν εὑρεθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἁλιέων καὶ διαπεμφθέντα τοῖς σοφοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Μιλησίων. [28] φασὶ γὰρ Ἰωνικούς τινας νεανίσκους βόλον ἀγοράσαι παρὰ Μιλησίων ἁλιέων. ἀνασπασθέντος δὲ τοῦ τρίποδος ἀμφισβήτησις ἦν, ἕως οἱ Μιλήσιοι ἔπεμψαν εἰς Δελφούς· καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησεν οὕτως· ἔκγονε Μιλήτου, τρίποδος πέρι Φοῖβον ἐρωτᾷς; / τίς σοφίῃ πάντων πρῶτος, τούτου τρίποδ' αὐδῶ. διδοῦσιν οὖν Θαλῇ· ὁ δὲ ἄλλῳ καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλῳ ἕως Σόλωνος. ὁ δὲ ἔφη σοφίᾳ πρῶτον εἶναι τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Δελφούς.	The story of the tripod is well known: it was found by fishermen and sent around the wise men by the people of Miletus. [28] They say that some young Ionians bought a cast of the net from Milesian fishermen. When the tripod was hauled up, there was a dispute, until the Milesians sent to Delphi, and the god gave this oracle: Offspring of Miletus, do you ask Phoebus about the tripod? / Whoever is first of all in wisdom, to him I award the tripod. So they gave it to Thales. He passed it to another, and that one to another, until it came to Solon. Solon said that the god was first in wisdom, and sent it to Delphi.
1.28 ταῦτα δὴ ὁ Καλλίμαχος ἐν τοῖς Ἰάμβοις ἄλλως ἱστορεῖ, παρὰ Μαιανδρίου λαβὼν τοῦ Μιλησίου. Βαθυκλέα γάρ τινα Ἀρκάδα φιάλην καταλιπεῖν καὶ ἐπισκῆψαι "δοῦναι τῶν σοφῶν ὀνηΐστῳ." ἐδόθη δὴ Θαλῇ καὶ κατὰ περίοδον πάλιν Θαλῆ· [29] ὁ δὲ τῷΔ ιδυμεῖ Ἀπόλλωνι ἀπέστειλεν, εἰπὼν οὕτω κατὰ τὸν Καλλίμαχον· Θαλῆς με τῷ μεδεῦντι Νείλεω δήμου / δίδωσι, τοῦτο δὶς λαβὼν ἀριστεῖον. τὸ δὲ πεζὸν οὕτως ἔχει· "Θαλῆς Ἐξαμύου Μιλήσιος Ἀπόλλωνι Δελφινίῳ Ἑλλήνων ἀριστεῖον δὶς λαβών." ὁ δὲ περιενεγκὼν τὴν φιάλην τοῦ Βαθυκλέους παῖς Θυρίων ἐκαλεῖτο, καθά φησιν Ἔλευσις ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἀχιλλέως καὶ Ἀλέξων ὁ Μύνδιος ἐν ἐνάτῳ Μυθικῶν.	Callimachus tells this story differently in his *Iambi*, having taken it from Maeandrius of Miletus. A certain Bathycles, an Arcadian, left a bowl in his will with instructions to "give it to the most useful of the wise." So it was given to Thales, and after going the rounds it came back to Thales again. [29] He sent it to Apollo of Didyma, saying, in Callimachus' version: Thales gives me to the lord of Neleus' people, / having twice received this prize of valor. The prose version runs: "Thales of Miletus, son of Examyas, to Apollo Delphinius, having twice received the prize of valor among the Greeks." The son of Bathycles who carried the bowl around was called Thyrion, as Eleusis says in his *On Achilles*, and Alexon of Myndus in the ninth book of his *Myths*.[13]
1.29 Εὔδοξος δ' ὁ Κνίδιος καὶ Εὐάνθης ὁ Μιλήσιός φασι τῶν Κροίσου τινὰ φίλων λαβεῖν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ποτήριον χρυσοῦν, ὅπως δῷ τῷ σοφωτάτῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων· τὸν δὲ δοῦναι Θαλῆ.	Eudoxus of Cnidus and Euanthes of Miletus say that one of Croesus' friends received a gold cup from the king to give to the wisest of the Greeks, and that he gave it to Thales.

13 Didyma, near Miletus, had a famous oracle of Apollo; Neleus was the legendary founder of Miletus.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
1.30	Καὶ περιελθεῖν εἰς Χίλωνα, ὃν πυνθάνεσθαι τοῦ Πυθίου τίς αὐτοῦ σοφώτερος· καὶ τὸν ἀνελεῖν Μύσωνα, περὶ οὗ λέξομεν. (τοῦτον οἱ περὶ τὸν Εὔδοξον ἀντὶ Κλεοβούλου τιθέασι, Πλάτων δ' ἀντὶ Περιάνδρου.) περὶ αὐτοῦ δὴ τάδε ἀνεῖλεν ὁ Πύθιος· Οἰταῖόν τινα φημὶ Μύσων' ἐνὶ Χηνὶ γενέσθαι / σοῦ μᾶλλον πραπίδεσσιν ἀρηρότα πευκαλίμῃσιν. ὁ δ' ἐρωτήσας ἦν Ἀνάχαρσις. Δαΐμαχος δ' ὁ Πλατωνικὸς καὶ Κλέαρχος φιάλην ἀποσταλῆναι ὑπὸ Κροίσου Πιττακῷ καὶ οὕτω περιενεχθῆναι.	And that it went round to Chilon, who asked the Pythian god who was wiser than himself, and the god answered: Myson, of whom we shall speak. (Eudoxus and his followers put Myson in place of Cleobulus, and Plato in place of Periander.) About him, then, the Pythian gave this answer: I say that a certain Myson of Oeta, born in Chen, / is better furnished than you with a shrewd mind. The one who had asked was Anacharsis. Daimachus the Platonist and Clearchus say that a bowl was sent by Croesus to Pittacus, and in this way was passed around.[14]
	Ἄνδρων δ' ἐν τῷ Τρίποδι Ἀργείους ἆθλον ἀρετῆς τῷ σοφωτάτῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τρίποδα θεῖναι· κριθῆναι δὲ Ἀριστόδημον Σπαρτιάτην, ὃν παραχωρῆσαι Χίλωνι. [31] μέμνηται τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου καὶ Ἀλκαῖος οὕτως· ὡς γὰρ δή ποτ' Ἀριστόδαμόν φασ' οὐκ ἀπάλαμνον ἐν Σπάρτᾳ λόγον / εἰπεῖν· χρήματ' ἀνήρ, πενιχρὸς δ' οὐδεὶς πέλετ' ἐσλός. ἔνιοι δέ φασιν ὑπὸ Περιάνδρου Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ Μιλησίων τυράννῳ πλοῖον ἔμφορτον ἀποσταλῆναι· τοῦ δὲ περὶ τὴν Κῴαν θάλασσαν ναυαγήσαντος, ὕστερον εὑρεθῆναι πρός τινων ἁλιέων τὸν τρίποδα. Φανόδικος δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων θάλασσαν εὑρεθῆναι καὶ ἀνενεχθέντα εἰς ἄστυ γενομένης ἐκκλησίας Βίαντι πεμφθῆναι· [32] διὰ τί δέ, ἐν τῷ περὶ Βίαντος λέξομεν.	Andron, in his *Tripod*, says that the Argives set up a tripod as a prize for excellence, for the wisest of the Greeks; that Aristodemus of Sparta was judged the winner, and that he gave way to Chilon. [31] Alcaeus too mentions Aristodemus, as follows: For once, they say, Aristodamus spoke in Sparta words not lacking sense: / Money is the man, and no poor man is ever noble. Some say that a ship with a cargo was sent by Periander to Thrasybulus, the tyrant of Miletus; that it was wrecked in the sea off Cos, and the tripod was later found by some fishermen. Phanodicus says that it was found in the sea off Athens, brought up to the city, and, after an assembly had been held, sent to Bias; [32] why, we shall say in the life of Bias.
1.32	Ἄλλοι φασὶν ἡφαιστότευκτον εἶναι αὐτὸν καὶ δοθῆναι πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ Πέλοπι γαμοῦντι· αὖθίς τε εἰς Μενέλαον ἐλθεῖν καὶ σὺν τῇ Ἑλένῃ ἁρπασθέντα ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ῥιφῆναι εἰς τὴν Κῴαν θάλασσαν πρὸς τῆς Λακαίνης, εἰπούσης ὅτι περιμάχητος ἔσται. χρόνῳ δὲ Λεβεδίων τινῶν αὐτόθι γρῖφον ὠνησαμένων καταληφθῆναι καὶ τὸν τρίποδα, μαχομένων δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἁλιέας γενέσθαι τὴν ἄνοδον ἕως τῆς Κῶ· καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν ἤνυτον, τοῖς Μιλησίοις μητροπόλει οὔσῃ μηνύουσιν. οἱ δ' ἐπειδὴ διαπρεσβευόμενοι ἠλογοῦντο, πρὸς τοὺς Κῴους πολεμοῦσι. καὶ πολλῶν ἑκατέρωθεν πιπτόντων ἐκπίπτει χρησμὸς δοῦναι τῷ σοφωτάτῳ· καὶ ἀμφότεροι συνῆνεσαν Θαλῆ. ὁ δὲ μετὰ τὴν περίοδον τῷ Διδυμεῖ τίθησιν Ἀπόλλωνι.	Others say that it was made by Hephaestus and given by the god to Pelops at his wedding; that it then passed to Menelaus, was carried off by Alexander along with Helen, and was thrown into the sea off Cos by the Spartan woman, who said it would be fought over. In time some men of Lebedus bought a net's catch there, and the tripod was caught with it. They fought with the fishermen, and the quarrel went all the way to Cos; and since they got nowhere, they reported it to the Milesians, theirs being the mother city. When the Milesians sent embassies and were ignored, they went to war with the Coans. Many fell on both sides, and then an oracle came out: give it to the wisest. Both sides agreed on Thales. He, after it had gone the rounds, dedicated it to Apollo of Didyma.[15]
1.33	Κῴοις μὲν οὖν τοῦτον ἐχρήσθη τὸν τρόπον· οὐ πρότερον λήξει νεῖκος Μερόπων καὶ Ἰώνων,	The oracle given to the Coans ran this way: The strife of Meropes and Ionians will not cease

GREEK	ENGLISH
πρὶν τρίποδα χρύσειον, ὃν Ἥφαιστος βάλε πόντῳ, ἐκ πόλιος πέμψητε καὶ ἐς δόμον ἀνδρὸς ἵκηται, ὃς σοφὸς ᾖ τὰ ἐόντα τά τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα. Μιλησίοις δέ· ἔκγονε Μιλήτου, τρίποδος πέρι Φοῖβον ἐρωτᾷς; καὶ ὡς προείρηται. καὶ τόδε μὲν οὕτως.	until the golden tripod, which Hephaestus threw into the sea, you send from your city, and it comes to the house of a man who is wise in what is, what will be, and what was before. And to the Milesians: Offspring of Miletus, do you ask Phoebus about the tripod? and so on, as quoted above. So much for that.[16]
Ἕρμιππος δ' ἐν τοῖς Βίοις εἰς τοῦτον ἀναφέρει τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπό τινων περὶ Σωκράτους. ἔφασκε γάρ, φασί, τριῶν τούτων ἕνεκα χάριν ἔχειν τῇ Τύχῃ· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ἐγενόμην καὶ οὐ θηρίον, εἶτα ὅτι ἀνὴρ καὶ οὐ γυνή, τρίτον ὅτι Ἕλλην καὶ οὐ βάρβαρος. [34] λέγεται δ' ἀγόμενος ὑπὸ γραὸς ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας, ἵνα τὰ ἄστρα κατανοήσῃ, εἰς βόθρον ἐμπεσεῖν καὶ αὐτῷ ἀνοιμώξαντι φάναι τὴν γραῦν· "σὺ γάρ, ὦ Θαλῆ, τὰ ἐν ποσὶν οὐ δυνάμενος ἰδεῖν τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ οἴει γνώσεσθαι;" οἷδε δ' αὐτὸν ἀστρονομούμενον καὶ Τίμων, καὶ ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις ἐπαινεῖ αὐτὸν λέγων· οἷόν θ' ἑπτὰ Θάλητα σοφῶν σοφὸν ἀστρονόμημα.	Hermippus, in his *Lives*, attributes to Thales what some say about Socrates. He used to say, they report, that there were three things for which he was grateful to Fortune: "First, that I was born a human being and not a beast; second, a man and not a woman; third, a Greek and not a non-Greek." [34] It is said that once, when an old woman had taken him out of the house to observe the stars, he fell into a ditch, and when he cried out, the old woman said to him: "Thales, you can't see what's at your feet, and you think you'll know what's in the sky?" Timon too knows him as an astronomer, and praises him in his *Silli*, saying: like Thales, of the Seven Sages the wise astronomer.[17]
1.34 Τὰ δὲ γεγραμμένα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φησι Λόβων ὁ Ἀργεῖος εἰς ἔπη τείνειν διακόσια. ἐπιγεγράφθαι δ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰκόνος τόδε· τόνδε Θαλῆν Μίλητος Ἰὰς θρέψασ' / ἀνέδειξεν / ἀστρολόγων πάντων πρεσβύτατον σοφίᾳ.	Lobon of Argos says that his writings run to two hundred lines, and that this was inscribed on his statue: This is Thales, whom Ionian Miletus nursed and displayed, / the eldest in wisdom of all astronomers.
1.35 Τῶν τε ᾀδομένων αὐτοῦ τάδε εἶναι· οὔ τι τὰ πολλὰ ἔπη φρονίμην ἀπεφήνατο δόξαν· ἕν τι μάτευε σοφόν, ἕν τι κεδνὸν αἱροῦ· δήσεις γὰρ ἀνδρῶν κωτίλων γλώσσας ἀπεραντολόγους.	Among the songs sung as his are these: Many words are no proof of a sensible mind. Seek one thing that is wise, choose one thing that is good; for you will tie the endlessly talking tongues of chattering men.
Φέρεται δὲ καὶ ἀποφθέγματα αὐτοῦ τάδε· πρεσβύτατον τῶν ὄντων θεός· ἀγένητον γάρ. κάλλιστον κόσμος· ποίημα γὰρ θεοῦ. μέγιστον τόπος· ἅπαντα γὰρ χωρεῖ. τάχιστον νοῦς· διὰ παντὸς γὰρ τρέχει. ἰσχυρότατον ἀνάγκη· κρατεῖ γὰρ πάντων. σοφώτατον χρόνος· ἀνευρίσκει γὰρ πάντα. οὐδὲν ἔφη τὸν θάνατον διαφέρειν τοῦ ζῆν. "σὺ οὖν," ἔφη τις, "διὰ τί οὐκ ἀποθνήσκεις;" "ὅτι," ἔφη, "οὐδὲν διαφέρει."	These sayings of his are also reported: The oldest of things is god, for he is unbegotten. The most beautiful is the world-order, for it is god's handiwork. The greatest is space, for it holds all things. The swiftest is mind, for it runs through everything. The strongest is necessity, for it masters all. The wisest is time, for it brings everything to light. He said that death is no different from life. "Then

14 "The Pythian" is Apollo of Delphi, whose priestess was called the Pythia.
15 Alexander is Paris, the Trojan prince; "the Spartan woman" is Helen.
16 The Meropes were the legendary early inhabitants of Cos.
17 Timon of Phlius, a pupil of Pyrrho, wrote the *Silli*, satirical verses mocking philosophers.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		why," someone said, "don't you die?" "Because," he said, "it makes no difference."
1.36	πρὸς τὸν πυθόμενον τί πρότερον γεγόνοι, νὺξ ἢ ἡμέρα, "ἡ νύξ," ἔφη, "μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ πρότερον." ἠρώτησέ τις αὐτὸν εἰ λήθοι θεοὺς ἄνθρωπος ἀδικῶν· "ἀλλ' οὐδὲ διανοούμενος," ἔφη. πρὸς τὸν μοιχὸν ἐρόμενον εἰ ὀμόσειε μὴ μεμοιχευκέναι, "οὐ χεῖρον," ἔφη, "μοιχείας ἐπιορκία." ἐρωτηθεὶς τί δύσκολον, ἔφη, "τὸ ἑαυτὸν γνῶναι·" τί δὲ εὔκολον, "τὸ ἄλλῳ ὑποθέσθαι·" τί ἥδιστον, "τὸ ἐπιτυγχάνειν·" τί τὸ θεῖον, "τὸ μήτε ἀρχὴν ἔχον μήτε τελευτήν." τί δὲ καινὸν εἴη τεθεαμένος ἔφη· "γέροντα τύραννον."	To someone who asked which came first, night or day, he said, "Night—by one day." Someone asked him whether a man who does wrong escapes the notice of the gods. "Not even when he's only thinking of it," he said. To the adulterer who asked whether he should swear he hadn't committed adultery, he said, "Perjury is no worse than adultery." Asked what is difficult, he said, "To know oneself"; what is easy, "To give advice to someone else"; what is most pleasant, "Success"; what the divine is, "That which has neither beginning nor end." Asked what was the most unusual thing he had seen, he said, "An old tyrant."
	πῶς ἄν τις ἀτυχίαν ῥᾷστα φέροι, "εἰ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς χεῖρον πράσσοντας βλέποι·" πῶς ἂν ἄριστα καὶ δικαιότατα βιώσαιμεν, "ἐὰν ἃ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτιμῶμεν, αὐτοὶ μὴ δρῶμεν·" [37] τίς εὐδαίμων, "ὁ τὸ μὲν σῶμα ὑγιής, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν εὔπορος, τὴν δὲ φύσιν εὐπαίδευτος." φίλων παρόντων καὶ ἀπόντων μεμνῆσθαί φησι· μὴ τὴν ὄψιν καλλωπίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν εἶναι καλόν. "μὴ πλούτει," φησί, "κακῶς, μηδὲ διαβαλλέτω σε λόγος πρὸς τοὺς πίστεως κεκοινωνηκότας." "οὓς ἂν ἐράνους εἰσενέγκῃς," φησί, "τοῖς γονεῦσιν, τοὺς αὐτοὺς προσδέχου καὶ παρὰ τῶν τέκνων." τὸν Νεῖλον εἶπε πληθύειν ἀνακοπτομένων τῶν ῥευμάτων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐτησίων ἐναντίων ὄντων.	How could someone bear misfortune most easily? "If he saw his enemies faring worse." How might we live best and most justly? "If we don't do ourselves what we blame others for." [37] Who is happy? "Someone healthy in body, resourceful in soul, and of a nature that takes well to education." He says that one should remember one's friends, present and absent alike; that one should not prettify one's looks, but be beautiful in one's pursuits. "Don't get rich by bad means," he says, "and don't let any talk set you at odds with those who have shared your trust." "Whatever support you contribute to your parents," he says, "expect the same from your children." He said that the Nile floods when its currents are held back by the Etesian winds blowing against them.[18]
1.37	Φησὶ δ' Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς γεγενῆσθαι αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος τῆς τριακοστῆς πέμπτης [ἑνάτης ?] Ὀλυμπιάδος. [38] ἐτελεύτησε δ' ἐτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ὀκτώ, ⟨ἤ, ὡς Σωσικράτης φησίν, ἐνενήκοντα⟩· τελευτῆσαι γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ὀγδόης Ὀλυμπιάδος, γεγονότα κατὰ Κροῖσον, ᾧ καὶ τὸν Ἅλυν ὑποσχέσθαι ἄνευ γεφύρας περᾶσαι, τὸ ῥεῖθρον παρατρέψαντα.	Apollodorus, in his *Chronicles*, says that he was born in the first year of the 35th [39th?] Olympiad. [38] He died at the age of seventy-eight, or, as Sosicrates says, ninety; for he died in the 58th Olympiad, having lived in the time of Croesus, to whom he also promised to get him across the Halys without a bridge, by diverting the stream.[19]
1.38	Γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Θαλαῖ, καθά φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης ἐν τοῖς Ὁμωνύμοις, πέντε· ῥήτωρ Καλλατιανός, κακόζηλος· ζωγράφος Σικυώνιος, μεγαλοφυής· τρίτος ἀρχαῖος πάνυ, κατὰ Ἡσίοδον καὶ Ὅμηρον καὶ Λυκοῦργον· τέταρτος οὗ μέμνηται Δοῦρις ἐν τῷ Περὶ ζωγραφίας·	There have also been five other men named Thales, as Demetrius of Magnesia says in his *Men of the Same Name*: an orator from Callatis, with an affected style; a painter from Sicyon, of great talent; a third, very ancient, contemporary with

18 The Etesian winds are the steady north winds that blow across the eastern Mediterranean in summer.
19 Olympiads are four-year periods counted from 776 BC: the first year of the 35th is 640 BC (of the 39th, 624 BC), and the 58th Olympiad is 548–545 BC.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	πέμπτος νεώτερος, ἄδοξος, οὗ μνημονεύει Διονύσιος ἐν Κριτικοῖς.	Hesiod, Homer and Lycurgus; a fourth, mentioned by Duris in his *On Painting*; a fifth, more recent and obscure, whom Dionysius mentions in his *Critical Writings*.[20]
1.39	Ὁ δ' οὖν σοφὸς ἐτελεύτησεν ἀγῶνα θεώμενος γυμνικὸν ὑπό τε καύματος καὶ δίψους καὶ ἀσθενείας, ἤδη γηραιός. καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιγέγραπται τῷ μνήματι· ἦ ὀλίγον τόδε σᾶμα — τὸ δὲ κλέος οὐρανόμακες — τῶ πολυφροντίστω τοῦτο Θάλητος ὄρη. ἔστι καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἐπιγραμμάτων ἢ Παμμέτρῳ τόδε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα· γυμνικὸν αὖ ποτ' ἀγῶνα θεώμενον, ἠέλιε Ζεῦ, τὸν σοφὸν ἄνδρα Θαλῆν ἥρπασας ἐκ σταδίου. αἰνέω ὅττι μιν ἐγγὺς ἀπήγαγες· ἦ γὰρ ὁ πρέσβυς οὐκέθ' ὁρᾶν ἀπὸ γῆς ἀστέρας ἠδύνατο.	The sage, then, died while watching an athletic contest, from heat, thirst and weakness, being already old. And on his tomb is inscribed: Small indeed is this tomb—but its fame reaches the sky—behold, this is the tomb of Thales the deep thinker. I too have an epigram on him, in the first book of my *Epigrams*, or *Pammetros*: Once as he was watching an athletic contest, Zeus, god of the sun, you snatched the wise man Thales from the stadium. I praise you for taking him close to you; for truly the old man could no longer see the stars from the earth.[21]
1.40	Τούτου ἐστὶν τὸ Γνῶθι σαυτόν, ὅπερ Ἀντισθένης ἐν ταῖς Διαδοχαῖς Φημονόης εἶναί φησιν, ἐξιδιοποιήσασθαι δὲ αὐτὸ Χίλωνα.	His is the saying "Know yourself," which Antisthenes, in his *Successions*, says belongs to Phemonoe, and that Chilon made it his own.[22]

THE SEVEN SAGES

Writers disagree about who the Seven Sages were and which sayings belong to whom; two letters of Thales.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Περὶ δὴ τῶν ἑπτά—ἄξιον γὰρ ἐνταῦθα καθολικῶς κἀκείνων ἐπιμνησθῆναι—λόγοι φέρονται τοιοῦτοι. Δάμων ὁ Κυρηναῖος, γεγραφὼς Περὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων, πᾶσιν ἐγκαλεῖ, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς ἑπτά. Ἀναξιμένης δέ φησι πάντας ἐπιθέσθαι ποιητικῇ· ὁ δὲ Δικαίαρχος οὔτε σοφοὺς οὔτε φιλοσόφους φησὶν αὐτοὺς γεγονέναι, συνετοὺς δέ τινας καὶ νομοθετικούς. Ἀρχέτιμος δὲ ὁ Συρακούσιος ὁμιλίαν αὐτῶν ἀναγέγραφε παρὰ Κυψέλῳ, ᾗ καὶ αὐτός φησι παρατυχεῖν· Ἔφορος δὲ παρὰ Κροίσῳ πλὴν Θαλοῦ. φασὶ δέ τινες καὶ ἐν Πανιωνίῳ καὶ ἐν Κορίνθῳ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς συνελθεῖν αὐτούς.	About the Seven—for it is worth mentioning them here as a group—the following accounts are reported. Damon of Cyrene, who wrote *On the Philosophers*, finds fault with them all, but especially with the Seven. Anaximenes says that they all took up poetry; Dicaearchus says that they were neither wise men nor philosophers, but men of good sense with a gift for legislation. Archetimus of Syracuse has written up a meeting of theirs at the court of Cypselus, at which he says he himself was present; Ephorus, a meeting at the court of Croesus, without Thales. Some say that they also met at the Panionium, at Corinth and at Delphi.[23]
1.41	διαφωνοῦνται δὲ καὶ αἱ ἀποφάσεις αὐτῶν καὶ ἄλλου ἄλλο φασίν, ὡς ἐκεῖνο· ἦν Λακεδαιμόνιος Χίλων σοφός, ὃς τάδ' ἔλεξε· / "μηδὲν ἄγαν· καιρῷ πάντα πρόσεστι καλά." στασιάζεται δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ αὐτῶν. Μαιάνδριος μὲν γὰρ ἀντὶ Κλεοβούλου καὶ Μύσωνος	Their pronouncements are also disputed, and different sayings are assigned to different men, as with this one: There was a Spartan sage, Chilon, who said this: / "Nothing too much: in due season all things are fine." There is dispute too about their

20 Demetrius of Magnesia (1st century BC) compiled a reference work on writers and others who shared a name.
21 The *Pammetros* ("In All Meters") was Diogenes' own collection of epigrams, now lost apart from his quotations.
22 This Antisthenes is the historian of Rhodes, not the Socratic; Phemonoe was the legendary first priestess of Apollo at Delphi.
23 The Panionium was the common sanctuary of the Ionian Greek cities on Mount Mycale; Cypselus was tyrant of Corinth.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Λεώφαντον Γοργιάδα, Λεβέδιον ἢ Ἐφέσιον, ἐγκρίνει καὶ Ἐπιμενίδην τὸν Κρῆτα· Πλάτων δὲ ἐν Πρωταγόρᾳ Μύσωνα ἀντὶ Περιάνδρου· Ἔφορος δὲ ἀντὶ Μύσωνος Ἀνάχαρσιν· οἱ δὲ καὶ Πυθαγόραν προσγράφουσιν. Δικαίαρχος δὲ τέσσαρας ὡμολογημένους ἡμῖν παραδίδωσι, Θαλῆν, Βίαντα, Πιττακόν, Σόλωνα. ἄλλους δὲ ὀνομάζει ἕξ, ὧν ἐκλέξασθαι τρεῖς, Ἀριστόδημον, Πάμφυλον, Χίλωνα Λακεδαιμόνιον, Κλεόβουλον, Ἀνάχαρσιν, Περίανδρον. ἔνιοι προστιθέασιν Ἀκουσίλαον Κάβα ἢ Σκάβρα Ἀργεῖον.	number. Maeandrius admits, in place of Cleobulus and Myson, Leophantus son of Gorgiadas, of Lebedus or Ephesus, and Epimenides the Cretan; Plato, in the *Protagoras*, Myson in place of Periander; Ephorus, Anacharsis in place of Myson; others add Pythagoras as well. Dicaearchus hands down to us four who are agreed on: Thales, Bias, Pittacus and Solon. He names six others, from whom three are chosen: Aristodemus, Pamphylus, Chilon of Sparta, Cleobulus, Anacharsis and Periander. Some add Acusilaus of Argos, son of Cabas or Scabras.
1.42	Ἕρμιππος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν σοφῶν ἑπτακαίδεκά φησιν, ὧν τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἄλλους ἄλλως αἱρεῖσθαι· εἶναι δὲ Σόλωνα, Θαλῆν, Πιττακόν, Βίαντα, Χίλωνα, ⟨Μύσωνα⟩, Κλεόβουλον, Περίανδρον, Ἀνάχαρσιν, Ἀκουσίλαον, Ἐπιμενίδην, Λεώφαντον, Φερεκύδην, Ἀριστόδημον, Πυθαγόραν, Λᾶσον Χαρμαντίδου ἢ Σισυμβρίνου, ἢ ὡς Ἀριστόξενος Χαβρίνου, Ἑρμιονέα, Ἀναξαγόραν. Ἱππόβοτος δὲ ἐν τῇ Τῶν φιλοσόφων ἀναγραφῇ· Ὀρφέα, Λίνον, Σόλωνα, Περίανδρον, Ἀνάχαρσιν, Κλεόβουλον, Μύσωνα, Θαλῆν Βίαντα, Πιττακόν, Ἐπίχαρμον, Πυθαγόραν.	Hermippus, in his *On the Sages*, says that there were seventeen, from whom different people choose different sets of seven. They are Solon, Thales, Pittacus, Bias, Chilon, Myson, Cleobulus, Periander, Anacharsis, Acusilaus, Epimenides, Leophantus, Pherecydes, Aristodemus, Pythagoras, Lasus of Hermione, son of Charmantides or of Sisymbrinus, or, as Aristoxenus says, of Chabrinus, and Anaxagoras. Hippobotus, in his *Register of Philosophers*, lists Orpheus, Linus, Solon, Periander, Anacharsis, Cleobulus, Myson, Thales, Bias, Pittacus, Epicharmus and Pythagoras.[24]
	Φέρονται δὲ καὶ τοῦ Θαλοῦ ἐπιστολαὶ αἵδε·	The following letters of Thales are also in circulation:
1.43	Θαλῆς Φερεκύδει	Thales to Pherecydes
	"Πυνθάνομαί σε πρῶτον Ἰώνων μέλλειν λόγους ἀμφὶ τῶν θείων χρημάτων ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας φαίνειν. καὶ τάχα μὲν ἡ γνώμη τοι δικαίη ἐς τὸ ξυνὸν καταθέσθαι γραφὴν ἢ ἐφ' ὁποιοισοῦν ἐπιτρέπειν χρῆμα ἐς οὐδὲν ὄφελος. εἰ δή τοι ἥδιον, ἐθέλω γενέσθαι λεσχηνευτὴς περὶ ὁτέων γράφεις· καὶ ἢν κελεύῃς, παρὰ σὲ ἀφίξομαι ἐς Σῦρον.	"I hear that you intend to be the first of the Ionians to publish accounts of divine matters to the Greeks. And perhaps your decision is right, to put your writing before the public rather than entrust the matter to just anyone, to no good purpose. If you would like it, I am willing to discuss with you the subjects you are writing about; and if you ask me to, I will come to you in Syros.
	ἦ γὰρ ἂν οὐ φρενήρεες εἴημεν ἐγώ τε καὶ Σόλων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, εἰ πλώσαντες μὲν ἐς Κρήτην κατὰ τὴν τῶν κεῖθι ἱστορίην, πλώσαντες δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ὁμιλήσοντες τοῖς ἐκεῖ ὅσοι ἱερέες τε καὶ ἀστρολόγοι, παρὰ σὲ δὲ μὴ [πλώσαιμεν]. ἥξει γὰρ καὶ ὁ Σόλων, ἢν ἐπιτρέπῃς. [44] σὺ μέντοι χωροφιλέων ὀλίγα φοιτέεις ἐς Ἰωνίην, οὐδέ σε ποθὴ ἴσχει ἀνδρῶν ξείνων· ἀλλά, ὡς ἔλπομαι, ἑνὶ μούνῳ χρήματι πρόσκεαι τῇ γραφῇ. ἡμέες δὲ οἱ μηδὲν γράφοντες περιχωρέομεν τήν τε Ἑλλάδα καὶ Ἀσίην."	For surely we would not be in our right minds, Solon of Athens and I, if we sailed to Crete to inquire into things there, and sailed to Egypt to talk with the priests and astronomers there, but did not [sail] to you. Solon will come too, if you allow it. [44] You, however, being fond of your home, seldom visit Ionia, and have no longing for the company of strangers; rather, I expect, you give yourself to one thing alone, your writing. We, who write nothing, travel all over Greece and Asia."

24 Hippobotus (around 200 BC) wrote on the philosophers and their schools.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
1.44	Θαλῆς Σόλωνι "'Ὑποστὰς ἐξ Ἀθηνέων δοκέεις ἄν μοι ἁρμοδιώτατα ἐν Μιλήτῳ οἶκον ποιέεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς ἀποίκοις ὑμέων· καὶ γὰρ ἐνθαῦτά τοι δεινὸν οὐδέν. εἰ δὲ ἀσχαλήσεις ὅτι καὶ Μιλήσιοι τυραννεόμεθα-ἐχθαίρεις γὰρ πάντας αἰσυμνήτας—ἀλλὰ τέρποι' ἂν σὺν τοῖς ἑτάροις ἡμῖν καταβιούς. ἐπέστειλε δέ τοι καὶ Βίης ἥκειν ἐς Πριήνην· σὺ δὲ εἰ προσηνέστερόν τοι τὸ Πριηνέων ἄστυ, κεῖθι οἰκέειν, καὶ αὐτοὶ παρὰ σὲ οἰκήσομεν."	Thales to Solon "If you leave Athens, I think you would do best to make your home in Miletus, among your own colonists; for here you have nothing to fear. If it vexes you that we Milesians too are ruled by a tyrant—for you hate all dictators—you would still enjoy living out your life here with us, your friends. Bias too has written inviting you to come to Priene; if the city of Priene is more to your liking, live there, and we ourselves will come and live near you."[25]

SOLON

The Athenian lawgiver cancels debts, wins back Salamis, resists Pisistratus and leaves Athens.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
1.45	Σόλων Ἐξηκεστίδου Σαλαμίνιος πρῶτον μὲν τὴν σεισάχθειαν εἰσηγήσατο Ἀθηναίοις· τὸ δὲ ἦν λύτρωσις σωμάτων τε καὶ κτημάτων. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ σώμασιν ἐδανείζοντο καὶ πολλοὶ δι' ἀπορίαν ἐθήτευον. ἑπτὰ δὴ ταλάντων ὀφειλομένων αὐτῷ πατρῴων συνεχώρησε πρῶτος καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τὸ ὅμοιον προὔτρεψε πρᾶξαι. καὶ οὗτος ὁ νόμος ἐκλήθη σεισάχθεια· φανερὸν δὲ διὰ τί.	Solon of Salamis, son of Execestides, first introduced the *seisachtheia* at Athens: that is, a release of persons and of property. For people used to borrow on the security of their own persons, and many were working as hired laborers because of poverty. Seven talents were owed to him from his father's estate; he was the first to cancel the debt, and urged the rest to do the same. This law was called the *seisachtheia*; it is obvious why.[26]
	Ἔπειτα τοὺς λοιποὺς νόμους ἔθηκεν, οὓς μακρὸν ἂν εἴη διεξιέναι, καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἄξονας κατέθετο.	Then he enacted the rest of his laws, which it would take too long to go through, and had them set up on the *axones*.[27]
1.46	Τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, τῆς πατρίδος αὐτοῦ [Σαλαμῖνος] ἀμφισβητουμένης ὑπό τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ Μεγαρέων καὶ πολλάκις τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπταικότων ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις καὶ ψηφισαμένων εἴ τις ἔτι συμβουλεύσοι περὶ Σαλαμῖνος μάχεσθαι, θανάτῳ ζημιοῦσθαι, οὗτος μαίνεσθαι προσποιησάμενος καὶ στεφανωσάμενος εἰσέπαισεν εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν· ἔνθα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀνέγνω διὰ κήρυκος τὰ συντείνοντα περὶ Σαλαμῖνος ἐλεγεῖα καὶ παρώρμησεν αὐτούς. καὶ αὖθις πρὸς τοὺς Μεγαρέας ἐπολέμησαν καὶ ἐνίκων διὰ Σόλωνα. [47] ἦν δὲ τὰ ἐλεγεῖα τὰ μάλιστα καθαψάμενα τῶν Ἀθηναίων τάδε· εἴην δὴ τότ' ἐγὼ Φολεγάνδριος ἢ Σικινίτης ἀντί γ' Ἀθηναίου, πατρίδ' ἀμειψάμενος. αἶψα γὰρ ἂν φάτις ἥδε μετ' ἀνθρώποισι γένοιτο· Ἀττικὸς οὗτος ἀνὴρ τῶν Σαλαμιναφετῶν.	His greatest achievement was this. His native land [Salamis] was disputed between the Athenians and the Megarians, and the Athenians, who had often been beaten in the wars, had voted that anyone who still advised fighting for Salamis should be punished with death. He pretended to be mad, put a garland on his head, and burst into the marketplace. There he had a herald read the Athenians his elegiac verses about Salamis, and he roused them. They went to war with the Megarians again, and won, thanks to Solon. [47] The elegiacs that stung the Athenians most were these: Then I would rather be a man of Pholegandros or Sicinos instead of an Athenian, having traded my country; for soon this saying would spread among people:

25 Priene, an Ionian city near Miletus, was the home of Bias.
26 *Seisachtheia* means "shaking-off of burdens." A talent was a large sum of silver, equal to 6,000 drachmas.
27 The *axones* were revolving wooden tablets on which Solon's laws were inscribed.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		This man's an Athenian, one of those who gave up Salamis.[28]
1.47	εἶτα· ἴομεν εἰς Σαλαμῖνα μαχησόμενοι περὶ νήσου / ἱμερτῆς χαλεπόν τ' αἶσχος ἀπωσόμενοι. ἔπεισε δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν ἐν Θρᾴκῃ Χερρόνησον προσκτήσασθαι. [48] ἵνα δὲ μὴ δοκοίη βίᾳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δίκῃ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα κεκτῆσθαι, ἀνασκάψας τινὰς τάφους ἔδειξε τοὺς νεκροὺς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἐστραμμένους, ὡς ἦν ἔθος θάπτειν Ἀθηναίοις· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς τάφους πρὸς ἕω βλέποντας καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δήμων τοὺς χρηματισμοὺς ἐγκεχαραγμένους, ὅπερ ἦν ἴδιον Ἀθηναίων. ἔνιοι δέ φασι καὶ ἐγγράψαι αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν κατάλογον τοῦ Ὁμήρου μετὰ τὸν Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας— στῆσε δ' ἄγων, ἵν' Ἀθηναίων ἵσταντο φάλαγγες.	And then: Let us go to Salamis to fight for the lovely island / and to drive off our bitter shame. He also persuaded them to acquire the Thracian Chersonese. [48] So that it should not seem that they had taken Salamis by force alone, but by right as well, he dug up some graves and showed that the dead were laid facing east, as the Athenians customarily buried them; and further that the tombs themselves faced the dawn, and had the names of the dead men's demes engraved on them, which was a practice peculiar to the Athenians. Some say that he also inserted into the Catalogue of Ships in Homer, after Ajax brought twelve ships from Salamis, the line: and he led them and stationed them where the ranks of the Athenians stood.[29]
1.49	Τοῦ δὴ λοιποῦ προσεῖχον αὐτῷ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡδέως κἂν τυραννεῖσθαι ἤθελον πρὸς αὐτοῦ· ὁ δ' οὐχ εἵλετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πεισίστρατον τὸν συγγενῆ, καθά φησι Σωσικράτης, προαισθόμενος τὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ διεκώλυσεν. ᾄξας γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ δόρατος καὶ ἀσπίδος προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν τοῦ Πεισιστράτου· καὶ οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βοηθεῖν ἕτοιμος εἶναι, λέγων ταῦτα· "ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν μὲν σοφώτερος, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρειότερός εἰμι· σοφώτερος μὲν τῶν τὴν ἀπάτην τοῦ Πεισιστράτου μὴ συνιέντων, ἀνδρειότερος δὲ τῶν ἐπισταμένων μέν, διὰ δέος δὲ σιωπώντων."	From then on the people listened to him, and would gladly have had him even as their tyrant. But he declined, and even, as Sosicrates says, sensing it in advance, did all he could to stop his kinsman Pisistratus. He rushed into the assembly with spear and shield and warned them of Pisistratus' plot; and not only that, but declared himself ready to help, with these words: "Men of Athens, I am wiser than some of you and braver than others: wiser than those who don't see through Pisistratus' deceit, and braver than those who know of it but keep quiet out of fear."[30]
	καὶ ἡ βουλή, Πεισιστρατίδαι ὄντες, μαίνεσθαι ἔλεγον αὐτόν· ὅθεν εἶπε ταυτί· δείξει δὴ μανίην μὲν ἐμὴν βαιὸς χρόνος ἀστοῖς, δείξει, ἀληθείης ἐς μέσον ἐρχομένης. [50] τὰ δὲ περὶ τῆς τοῦ Πεισιστράτου τυραννίδος ἐλεγεῖα προλέγοντος αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ἦν· ἐκ νεφέλης φέρεται χιόνος μένος ἠδὲ χαλάζης· βροντή τ' ἐκ λαμπρῆς γίγνεται ἀστεροπῆς· ἀνδρῶνδ' ἐκ μεγάλων πόλις ὄλλυται· ἐς δὲ μονάρχου δῆμος ἀϊδρίῃ δουλοσύνην ἔπεσεν.	And the council, who were Pisistratus' partisans, said he was mad; at which he said this: A little time will show my madness to the citizens, will show it, when the truth comes out into the open. [50] And the elegiacs in which he foretold Pisistratus' tyranny were these: From the cloud comes the force of snow and hail, and thunder comes from bright lightning; from great men a city perishes, and into a monarch's slavery the people fall through ignorance.
1.50	Ἤδη δὲ αὐτοῦ κρατοῦντος οὐ πείθων ἔθηκε τὰ ὅπλα πρὸ τοῦ στρατηγείου καὶ εἰπών, "ὦ πατρίς, βεβοήθηκά σοι καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ," ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ εἰς Κύπρον, καὶ πρὸς Κροῖσον ἦλθεν. ὅτε καὶ ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ,	When Pisistratus was already in power and Solon could not win them over, he laid down his arms in front of the generals' headquarters and said, "My country, I have helped you by word and by deed."

28 Pholegandros and Sicinos are small and obscure Aegean islands.
29 The Thracian Chersonese is the Gallipoli peninsula.
30 Pisistratus made himself tyrant of Athens around 561 BC.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	"τίς σοι δοκεῖ εὐδαίμων;" "Τέλλος," ἔφη, "Ἀθηναῖος καὶ Κλέοβις καὶ Βίτων" καὶ τὰ θρυλούμενα.	Then he sailed away to Egypt and Cyprus, and went to Croesus. It was then that Croesus asked him, "Who do you think is happy?" and he said, "Tellus of Athens, and Cleobis and Biton," and the rest of the familiar story.[31]
1.51	Φασὶ δέ τινες ὅτι κοσμήσας ἑαυτὸν ὁ Κροῖσος παντοδαπῶς καὶ καθίσας εἰς τὸν θρόνον ἤρετο αὐτὸν εἴ τι θέαμα κάλλιον τεθέαται· ὁ δέ "ἀλεκτρυόνας, εἶπε, καὶ φασιανοὺς καὶ ταώς· φυσικῷ γὰρ ἄνθει κεκόσμηνται καὶ μυρίῳ καλλίονι." ἐκεῖθέν τε ἀπαλλαγεὶς ἐγένετο ἐν Κιλικίᾳ, καὶ πόλιν συνῴκισεν ἣν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Σόλους ἐκάλεσεν· ὀλίγους τέ τινας τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐγκατῴκισεν, οἳ τῷ χρόνῳ τὴν φωνὴν ἀποξενωθέντες σολοικίζειν ἐλέχθησαν. καί εἰσιν οἱ μὲν ἔνθεν Σολεῖς, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ Κύπρου Σόλιοι. ὅτε δὲ τὸν Πεισίστρατον ἔμαθεν ἤδη τυραννεῖν, τάδε ἔγραψε πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους·	Some say that Croesus decked himself out in every kind of finery, sat on his throne, and asked him whether he had ever seen a more beautiful sight. "Cocks," he said, "and pheasants and peacocks; for they are decked in nature's own colors, which are ten thousand times more beautiful." After leaving there he went to Cilicia and founded a city which he named Soli after himself. He settled a few Athenians there, who in time, as their speech grew foreign, were said to *solecize*. The people from this city are called Soleis, and those from the Soli in Cyprus, Solii. When he learned that Pisistratus was now tyrant, he wrote this to the Athenians:[32]
1.52	εἰ δὲ πεπόνθατε δεινὰ δι' ὑμετέρην κακότητα, μή τι θεοῖς τούτων μοῖραν ἐπαμφέρετε. αὐτοὶ γὰρ τούτους ηὐξήσατε, ῥύσια δόντες, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα κακὴν ἴσχετε δουλοσύνην. ὑμέων δ' εἷς μὲν ἕκαστος ἀλώπεκος ἴχνεσι βαίνει, σύμπασιν δ' ὑμῖν κοῦφος ἔνεστι νόος. εἰς γὰρ γλῶσσαν ὁρᾶτε καὶ εἰς ἔπη αἱμύλου ἀνδρός, εἰς ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν γιγνόμενον βλέπετε. καὶ οὗτος μὲν τοῦτα. Πεισίστρατος δ' αὐτῷ φεύγοντι τοῦτον ἐπέστειλε τὸν τρόπον·	If you have suffered terribly through your own wickedness, don't lay any share of the blame for it on the gods. You yourselves raised these men up by granting them security, and because of this you are held in wretched slavery. Each one of you walks in a fox's tracks, but all of you together have empty minds. For you look to the tongue and the words of a wily man, but you never look at the deed that is being done. That is what he wrote. And Pisistratus wrote to him in exile as follows:
1.53	Πεισίστρατος Σόλωνι "Οὔτε μόνος Ἑλλήνων τυραννίδι ἐπεθέμην, οὔτε οὐ προσῆκόν μοι, γένους ὄντι τῶν Κοδριδῶν. ἀνέλαβον γὰρ ἐγὼ ἃ ὁμόσαντες Ἀθηναῖοι παρέξειν Κόδρῳ τε καὶ τῷ ἐκείνου γένει, ἀφείλοντο. τά τε ἄλλα ἁμαρτάνω οὐδὲν ἢ περὶ θεοὺς ἢ περὶ ἀνθρώπους· ἀλλὰ καθότι σὺ διέθηκας τοὺς θεσμοὺς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπιτρέπω πολιτεύειν. καὶ ἄμεινόν γε πολιτεύουσιν ἢ κατὰ δημοκρατίαν· οὐκ ἐῶ γὰρ οὐδένα ὑβρίζειν· καὶ ὁ τύραννος ἐγὼ οὐ πλέον τι φέρομαι τἀξιώματος καὶ τῆς τιμῆς· ὁποῖα δὲ καὶ τοῖς πρόσθεν βασιλεῦσιν ἦν τὰ ῥητὰ γέρα. ἀπάγει δὲ ἕκαστος Ἀθηναίων τοῦ αὐτοῦ κλήρου δεκάτην, οὐκ ἐμοί, ἀλλ' ὁπόθεν ἔσται	Pisistratus to Solon "I am not the only Greek to have made himself tyrant, nor have I done it without a claim, since I belong to the line of Codrus. I have taken back what the Athenians swore to grant Codrus and his descendants, and then took away. In everything else I do no wrong, either toward the gods or toward men. I let the Athenians run their public life under the laws you laid down for them. And they run it better than under democracy, because I allow no one to commit outrages. I, the tyrant, take nothing more for myself than my rank and the honor that goes with it, the same stated privileges the former

31 The story of Solon's answer to Croesus is told by Herodotus (*Histories* 1.30–31).
32 To "solecize" (σολοικίζειν) is to speak incorrect Greek; the story derives the word from Soli.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἀναλοῦν εἵς τε θυσίας δημοτελεῖς καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο τῶν κοινῶν καὶ ἦν [ὁ] πόλεμος ἡμᾶς καταλάβῃ.	kings had. Each Athenian sets aside a tenth of the yield of his land, not for me but as a fund to pay for public sacrifices and any other common needs, and in case [the] war should overtake us.[33]
1.54	"Σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ οὔτι μέμφομαι μηνύσαντι τὴν ἐμὴν διάνοιαν. εὐνοίᾳ γὰρ τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ τὸ ἐμὸν ἔχθος ἐμήνυες· ἔτι τε ἀμαθίᾳ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὁποίαν τινὰ ἐγὼ καταστήσομαι. ἐπεὶ μαθὼν τάχ' ἂν ἠνέσχου καθισταμένου, οὐδ' ἔφυγες. ἐπάνιθι τοίνυν οἴκαδε, πιστεύων μοι καὶ ἀνωμότῳ, ἄχαρι μηδὲν πείσεσθαι Σόλωνα ἐκ Πεισιστράτου. ἴσθι γὰρ μηδ' ἄλλον τινὰ πεπονθέναι τῶν ἐμοὶ ἐχθρῶν. εἰ δὲ ἀξιώσεις τῶν ἐμῶν φίλων εἶς εἶναι, ἔσῃ ἀνὰ πρώτους· οὐ γάρ τι ἐν σοὶ ἑνορῶ δολερὸν ἢ ἄπιστον· εἴτε ἄλλως Ἀθήνησιν οἰκεῖν, ἐπιτετράψεται. ἡμῶν δὲ οὕνεκα μὴ ἐστέρησο τῆς πατρίδος."	"I don't blame you at all for exposing my intentions. You did it more out of goodwill toward the city than out of hostility to me, and also because you didn't know what kind of rule I was going to set up. Had you known, you might well have put up with its being established, and you wouldn't have gone into exile. So come back home, and trust me, even without an oath, that Solon will suffer nothing unpleasant at the hands of Pisistratus. You should know that none of my other enemies has suffered either. If you choose to be one of my friends, you will be among the first of them, for I see nothing treacherous or untrustworthy in you. Or if you'd rather live at Athens on some other footing, you'll be allowed to. But don't deprive yourself of your country on our account."

SOLON'S LAWS AND SAYINGS

His laws on parents, athletes and guardians, his sayings, his death in Cyprus and his letters.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
1.55	Ταῦτα μὲν Πεισίστρατος. Σόλων δὲ ὅρον ἀνθρωπίνου βίου φησὶν ἔτη ἑβδομήκοντα. Δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ κάλλιστα νομοθετῆσαι· ἐάν τις μὴ τρέφῃ τοὺς γονέας, ἄτιμος ἔστω· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ τὰ πατρῷα κατεδηδοκὼς ὁμοίως. καὶ ὁ ἀργὸς ὑπεύθυνος ἔστω παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ γράφεσθαι. Λυσίας δ' ἐν τῷ κατὰ Νικίου Δράκοντά φησι γεγραφέναι τὸν νόμον, Σόλωνα δὲ τὸν ἡταιρηκότα εἴργειν τοῦ βήματος. συνέστειλε δὲ καὶ τὰς τιμὰς τῶν ἐν ἀγῶσιν ἀθλητῶν, Ὀλυμπιονίκῃ μὲν τάξας πεντακοσίας δραχμάς, Ἰσθμιονίκῃ δὲ ἑκατόν, καὶ ἀνὰ λόγον ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων. ἀπειρόκαλον γὰρ τὸ ἐξαίρειν τὰς τούτων τιμάς, ἀλλὰ μόνων ἐκείνων τῶν ἐν πολέμοις τελευτησάντων, ὧν καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς δημοσίᾳ τρέφεσθαι καὶ παιδεύεσθαι.	So much for Pisistratus. Solon says that the limit of human life is seventy years. He is also thought to have made excellent laws. If anyone fails to support his parents, he is to lose his civic rights, and so is anyone who has squandered his inheritance. The idle man is to be liable to prosecution by anyone who wishes to bring a charge. Lysias, however, says in his speech *Against Nicias* that it was Draco who wrote that law, and that Solon barred from the speaker's platform any man who had prostituted himself. Solon also cut back the rewards for athletes in the games, fixing five hundred drachmas for an Olympic victor, a hundred for an Isthmian victor, and proportionate sums for the rest. It was in poor taste to inflate the rewards of athletes; such honors belonged only to those who had died in war, and their sons were to be raised and educated at public expense.[34]
1.56	Ὅθεν καὶ ἐζήλουν πολλοὶ καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ γίνεσθαι κατὰ πόλεμον· ὡς Πολύζηλος, ὡς Κυνέγειρος, ὡς Καλλίμαχος,	That is why many men were eager to prove themselves brave and noble in war: Polyzelus, Cyne-

33 Codrus was the legendary last king of Athens.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ὡς σύμπαντες οἱ Μαραθωνομάχοι· ἔτι τε Ἁρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων καὶ Μιλτιάδης καὶ μυρίοι ὅσοι. ἀθληταὶ δὲ καὶ ἀσκούμενοι πολυδάπανοι, καὶ νικῶντες ἐπιζήμιοι καὶ στεφανοῦνται κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν· γέροντές τε γενόμενοι κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην τρίβωνες ἐκλιπόντες οἴχονται κρόκας. ὅπερ συνιδὼν ὁ Σόλων μετρίως αὐτοὺς ἀπεδέξατο.	girus, Callimachus and all who fought at Marathon, and also Harmodius, Aristogiton, Miltiades and countless others. Athletes, by contrast, are expensive while they train and costly when they win. They are crowned at the expense of their country rather than of their opponents, and when they grow old, as Euripides puts it, they go off like threadbare cloaks that have shed their weft. Seeing this, Solon gave them only a modest welcome.[35]
	κάλλιστον δὲ κἀκεῖνο· τὸν ἐπίτροπον τῇ τῶν ὀρφανῶν μητρὶ μὴ συνοικεῖν, μηδ' ἐπιτροπεύειν, εἰς ὃν ἡ οὐσία ἔρχεται τῶν ὀρφανῶν τελευτησάντων. κἀκεῖνο· [57] δακτυλιογλύφῳ μὴ ἐξεῖναι σφραγῖδα φυλάττειν τοῦ πραθέντος δακτυλίου· καὶ ἐὰν ἕνα ὀφθαλμὸν ἔχοντος ἐκκόψῃ τις, ἀντεκκόπτειν τοὺς δύο. ἃ μὴ ἔθου, μὴ ἀνέλῃ· εἰ δὲ μή, θάνατος ἡ ζημία. τῷ ἄρχοντι, ἐὰν μεθύων ληφθῇ, θάνατον εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν.	This one is excellent too. A guardian is not to live with the orphans' mother, and no one may act as guardian if the orphans' property would pass to him on their death. And this one: [57] a seal-engraver is not allowed to keep an impression of a ring he has sold. If someone knocks out the eye of a man who has only one, he is to have both of his own knocked out. What you did not put down, do not pick up; otherwise the penalty is death. An archon caught drunk is to be punished with death.
1.57	Τά τε Ὁμήρου ἐξ ὑποβολῆς γέγραφε ῥαψῳδεῖσθαι, οἷον ὅπου ὁ πρῶτος ἔληξεν, ἐκεῖθεν ἄρχεσθαι τὸν ἐχόμενον. μᾶλλον οὖν Σόλων Ὅμηρον ἐφώτισεν ἢ Πεισίστρατος, ὥς φησι Διευχίδας ἐν πέμπτῳ Μεγαρικῶν. ἦν δὲ μάλιστα τὰ ἔπη ταυτί· "οἳ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνας εἶχον" καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς.	He also prescribed in writing that Homer's poems should be recited in sequence, each rhapsode beginning where the one before him had stopped. So it was Solon rather than Pisistratus who shed light on Homer, as Dieuchidas says in the fifth book of his *Megarian History*. The lines in question were chiefly these: "And those who held Athens" and what follows.[36]
1.58	Πρῶτος δὲ Σόλων τὴν τριακάδα ἕνην καὶ νέαν ὠνόμασε. καὶ πρῶτος τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων ἐποίησεν εἰς τὸ συνειπεῖν, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρός φησιν ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ νομοθετῶν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς στάσεως γενομένης οὔτε μετὰ τῶν ἐξ ἄστεος, οὔτε μετὰ τῶν πεδιέων, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μετὰ τῶν παράλων ἐτάχθη.	Solon was the first to call the thirtieth day of the month the Old-and-New. He was also the first to have the nine archons meet together to confer, as Apollodorus says in the second book of his *On Lawgivers*. And when civil strife broke out, he took his place neither with the men of the city, nor with the men of the plain, nor even with the men of the coast.[37]
	Ἔλεγε δὲ τὸν μὲν λόγον εἴδωλον εἶναι τῶν ἔργων· βασιλέα δὲ τὸν ἰσχυρότατον τῇ δυνάμει. τοὺς δὲ νόμους τοῖς ἀραχνίοις ὁμοίους· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα, ἐὰν μὲν ἐμπέσῃ τι κοῦφον καὶ ἀσθενές, στέγειν· ἐὰν δὲ μεῖζον, διακόψαν οἴχεσθαι. ἔφασκέ τε σφραγίζεσθαι τὸν μὲν λόγον σιγῇ, τὴν δὲ σιγὴν καιρῷ. [59] ἔλεγε δὲ τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς τυράννοις	He used to say that speech is the image of deeds, and that the king is the man with the greatest power. He said laws are like spider webs: if something light and weak falls into them, they hold it, but if it is something bigger, it breaks through and is gone. He also said that speech is sealed by si-

34 The drachma was a silver coin, roughly a skilled worker's daily wage in classical Athens.
35 Cynegirus and Callimachus fell at Marathon in 490 BC; Harmodius and Aristogiton killed the tyrant Hipparchus in 514 BC.
36 Dieuchidas of Megara was a fourth-century BC local historian; the lines quoted open the Athenian entry in Homer's Catalogue of Ships (*Iliad* 2.546).
37 The last day of the month was so called because it belonged partly to the old moon and partly to the new.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	δυναμένους παραπλησίους εἶναι ταῖς ψήφοις ταῖς ἐπὶ τῶν λογισμῶν. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων ἑκάστην ποτὲ μὲν πλείω σημαίνειν, ποτὲ δὲ ἥττω· καὶ τούτων τοὺς τυράννους ποτὲ μὲν ἕκαστον μέγαν ἄγειν καὶ λαμπρόν, ποτὲ δὲ ἄτιμον.	lence, and silence by the right moment. [59] He used to say that men who have influence with tyrants are like the pebbles used in reckoning: each pebble stands sometimes for more and sometimes for less, and in the same way tyrants treat each of these men at one moment as great and illustrious, at another as worthless.[38]
1.59	ἐρωτηθεὶς διὰ τί κατὰ πατροκτόνου νόμον οὐκ ἔθηκε, “διὰ τὸ ἀπελπίσαι,” ἔφη. πῶς τε ἥκιστ’ ἂν ἀδικοῖεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, “εἰ ὁμοίως,” ἔφη, “ἄχθοιντο τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις οἱ μὴ ἀδικούμενοι.” καὶ “τὸν μὲν κόρον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλούτου γεννᾶσθαι, τὴν δὲ ὕβριν ὑπὸ τοῦ κόρου.” ἠξίωσέ τε Ἀθηναίους τὰς ἡμέρας κατὰ σελήνην ἄγειν. καὶ Θέσπιν ἐκώλυσε τραγῳδίας διδάσκειν, ὡς ἀνωφελῆ τὴν ψευδολογίαν. ὅτ’ οὖν [60] Πεισίστρατος ἑαυτὸν κατέτρωσεν, ἐκεῖθεν ἔφη ταῦτα φῦναι. τοῖς τε ἀνθρώποις συνεβούλευσεν, ὥς φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων αἱρέσεων, τάδε· καλοκἀγαθίαν ὅρκου πιστοτέραν ἔχε.	Asked why he had made no law against parricide, he said, “Because I never expected it to happen.” Asked how people would be least likely to do wrong, he said, “If those who are not wronged were as aggrieved as those who are.” He also said, “Wealth breeds surfeit, and surfeit breeds arrogance.” He urged the Athenians to reckon their days by the moon. He also stopped Thespis from producing tragedies, on the ground that telling falsehoods does no good. So when [60] Pisistratus wounded himself, Solon said that this was where such things came from. According to Apollodorus in his *On the Philosophical Schools*, he gave people the following advice: Trust good character more than an oath.[39]
1.60	μὴ ψεύδου. τὰ σπουδαῖα μελέτα. φίλους μὴ ταχὺ κτῶ· οὓς δ’ ἂν κτήσῃ μὴ ἀποδοκίμαζε. ἄρχε πρῶτον μαθὼν ἄρχεσθαι. συμβούλευε μὴ τὰ ἥδιστα, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἄριστα. νοῦν ἡγεμόνα ποιοῦ. μὴ κακοῖς ὁμίλει. θεοὺς τίμα, γονέας αἰδοῦ. φασὶ δ’ αὐτὸν καὶ Μιμνέρμου γράψαντος, αἳ γὰρ ἄτερ νούσων τε καὶ ἀργαλέω νμελεδωνέων ἑξηκονταέτη μοῖρα κίχοι θανάτου, [61] ἐπιτιμῶντα αὐτῷ εἰπεῖν· ἀλλ’ εἴ μοι κἂν νῦν ἔτι πείσεαι, ἔξελε τοῦτον· μηδὲ μέγαιρ’ ὅτι σεῦ λῷον ἐπεφρασάμην· καὶ μεταποίησον, Λιγυαστάδη, ὧδε δ’ ἄειδε· ὀγδωκονταέτη μοῖρα κίχοι θανάτου.	Do not lie. Practice what is worthwhile. Do not make friends quickly, but do not cast off the ones you have made. Rule only once you have learned to be ruled. Advise not what is most pleasant but what is best. Take reason as your guide. Do not keep company with bad people. Honor the gods, respect your parents. They also say that when Mimnermus wrote, If only, free of illnesses and painful cares, the doom of death would find me at sixty, [61] Solon rebuked him and said: But if you will still listen to me even now, take that out; and don’t resent me for having thought of something better than you. Change it, son of Ligyastes, and sing it like this: may the doom of death find me at eighty.[40]
1.61	Τῶν δὲ ᾀδομένων αὐτοῦ ἐστι τάδε· πεφυλαγμένος ἄνδρα ἕκαστον, ὅρα μὴ κρυπτὸν ἔχθος ἔχων κραδί̣ η̣, φαιδρῷ προσενέπῃ προσώπῳ, γλῶσσα δέ οἱ διχόμυθος ἐκ μελανῆς φρενὸς γεγωνῇ.	Among his songs is this one: Be on guard against every man, and see that he does not, with hatred hidden in his heart, speak to you with a cheerful face, while his tongue, saying two things, sounds out from a dark mind.

38 On a Greek counting board a pebble’s value depended on the column in which it was placed.
39 Thespis was traditionally the first Athenian tragedian, active in the sixth century BC.
40 Mimnermus of Colophon was an elegiac poet of around 600 BC; “son of Ligyastes” addresses him.

GREEK	ENGLISH
Γέγραφε δὲ δῆλον μὲν ὅτι τοὺς νόμους, καὶ δημηγορίας καὶ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ὑποθήκας, ἐλεγεῖα, καὶ τὰ περὶ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πολιτείας ἔπη πεντακισχίλια, καὶ ἰάμβους καὶ ἐπῳδούς.	He wrote, of course, his laws, and also public speeches, exhortations to himself, elegies, poems on Salamis and on the Athenian constitution amounting to 5,000 lines, and iambics and epodes.
1.62 Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς εἰκόνος αὐτοῦ ἐπιγέγραπται τάδε· ἡ Μήδων ἄδικον παύσασ' ὕβριν, ἥδε Σόλωνα τόνδε τεκνοῖ Σαλαμὶς θεσμοθέτην ἱερόν.	The following is inscribed on his statue: Salamis, which put an end to the Medes' unjust insolence, gave birth to this Solon, the holy lawgiver.
Ἤκμαζε μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν ἕκτην Ὀλυμπιάδα, ἧς τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει ἦρξεν Ἀθήνησι, καθά φησι Σωσικράτης· ὅτε καὶ τίθησι τοὺς νόμους. ἐτελεύτησε δ' ἐν Κύπρῳ βιοὺς ἔτη ὀγδοήκοντα, τοῦτον ἐπισκήψας τοῖς ἰδίοις τὸν τρόπον, ἀποκομίσαι αὐτοῦ τὰ ὀστᾶ εἰς Σαλαμῖνα καὶ τεφρώσαντας εἰς τὴν χώραν σπεῖραι. ὅθεν καὶ Κρατῖνος ἐν τοῖς Χείρωσί φησιν, αὐτὸν ποιῶν λέγοντα· οἰκῶ δὲ νῆσον, ὡς μὲν ἀνθρώπων λόγος, ἐσπαρμένος κατὰ πᾶσαν Αἴαντος πόλιν.	He flourished around the 46th Olympiad, and in its third year he was archon at Athens, as Sosicrates says; that was when he enacted his laws. He died in Cyprus at the age of eighty, having instructed his family to carry his bones to Salamis, burn them to ashes, and scatter them over the land. That is why Cratinus too, in his *Chirons*, has him say: I live on an island, as men tell the story, scattered all over the city of Ajax.[41]
1.63 Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡμέτερον ἐπίγραμμα ἐν τῇ προειρημένῃ Παμμέτρῳ, ἔνθα καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν τελευτησάντων ἐλλογίμων διείλεγμαι παντὶ μέτρῳ καὶ ῥυθμῷ, ἐπιγράμμασι καὶ μέλεσιν, ἔχον οὕτως· σῶμα μὲν ἦρε Σόλωνος ἐν ἀλλοδαπῇ Κύπριον πῦρ· ὀστέ' ἔχει Σαλαμίς, ὧν κόνις ἀστάχυες. ψυχὴν δ' ἄξονες εὐθὺς ἐς οὐρανὸν ἤγαγον· εὖ γὰρ θῆκε νόμους ἀστοῖς ἄχθεα κουφότατα.	There is also an epigram of mine in the *Pammetros* I mentioned earlier, the work in which I have written, in every meter and rhythm, in epigrams and lyrics, about all the famous men who have died. It goes like this: Solon's body was consumed by Cyprian fire in a foreign land; Salamis holds his bones, whose dust turns to ears of grain. His soul was carried straight to heaven by his axles, for he laid down good laws, the lightest of burdens for his citizens.[42]
Ἀπεφθέγξατο δέ, φασί, Μηδὲν ἄγαν. καὶ αὐτόν φησι Διοσκουρίδης ἐν τοῖς Ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, ἐπειδὴ δακρύοι τὸν παῖδα τελευτήσαντα, ὃν ἡμεῖς οὐ παρειλήφαμεν, πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, "ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἀνύτεις," εἰπεῖν, "δι' αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο δακρύω, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀνύτω."	His saying, they say, was: Nothing in excess. Dioscurides says in his *Memoirs* that when Solon was weeping over the death of his son (a son of whom I have found no record) and someone said to him, "But it does no good," he replied, "That is exactly why I'm weeping: because it does no good."
Φέρονται δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ αἵδε· 64 Σόλων Περιάνδρῳ "Ἀπαγγέλλεις μοι πολλούς τοι ἐπιβουλεύειν. σὺ δὲ εἰ μὲν μέλλεις ἐκποδὼν ἅπαντας ποιήσεσθαι, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις. ἐπιβουλεύσειε δ' ἄν τις καὶ τῶν ἀνυπόπτων, ὁ μὲν δεδιὼς περὶ αὑτῷ, ὁ δὲ σοῦ καταγνούς, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅ τι οὐκ ὀρρωδοῦντος· κἂν τῇ πόλει χάριν κατάθοιτο ἐξευρών, ἢν μὴ ὕποπτος εἶης. ἄριστον μὲν οὖν ἀπέχεσθαι, ἵνα τῆς αἰτίας ἀπαλλαγῇς. εἰ δὲ πάντως τυραννητέον, φροντίζειν	The following letters are also attributed to him: 64 Solon to Periander "You tell me that many people are plotting against you. If you mean to get rid of them all, you can't do it too soon. But even someone you don't suspect might plot against you, one because he fears for himself, another because he despises you for being afraid of everything. And he would earn the city's gratitude by finding you out, unless you

41 The 46th Olympiad ran from 596 to 593 BC, which puts Solon's archonship in 594/3 BC.
42 *Axones*, the revolving tablets of Solon's laws, also means "axles": the joke is that they carried his soul up like a chariot's.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ὅπως τὴν ἀλλοδαπὴν δύναμιν μείζονα ἕξεις τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι τοι δεινός, μηδὲ σὺ ἐκποδών τινα ποιοῦ.”	were above suspicion. So the best course is to give it up, and be rid of the blame. But if you must be a tyrant at all costs, make sure that your foreign force is stronger than the forces in the city. Then no one will be a danger to you any more, and you need not get rid of anyone either.”
1.64	Σόλων Ἐπιμενίδῃ	Solon to Epimenides
	“Οὔτε οἱ ἐμοὶ θεσμοὶ ἄρα Ἀθηναίους ἐπιπολὺ ὀνήσειν ἔμελλον, οὔτε σὺ καθήρας τὴν πόλιν ὤνησας. τό τε γὰρ θεῖον καὶ οἱ νομοθέται οὐ καθ’ ἑαυτὰ δύνανται ὀνῆσαι τὰς πόλεις, οἱ δὲ ἀεὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἄγοντες ὅπως ἂν γνώμης ἔχωσιν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὸ θεῖον καὶ οἱ νόμοι, εὖ μὲν ἀγόντων, εἰσὶν ὠφέλιμοι· κακῶς δὲ [ἀγόντων], οὐδὲν ὠφελοῦσιν.	“So it seems my laws were not going to help the Athenians for long, and you did not help them by purifying the city either. Neither the divine nor lawgivers can help cities on their own; it is those who at any given time lead the masses in whatever direction their own judgment takes them. So the divine and the laws are useful when the leaders lead well; when they [lead] badly, they are of no use.[43]
1.65	“Οὐδ’ οἱ ἐμοὶ ἀμείνους εἰσὶ καὶ ὅσα ἐγὼ ἐνομοθέτησα. οἱ δ’ ἐπιτρέποντες τὸ ξυνὸν ἔβλαπτον, οἳ οὐκ ἐγένοντο ἐμποδὼν Πεισιστράτῳ ἐπιθέσθαι τυραννίδι. οὐδ’ ἐγὼ προλέγων πιστὸς ἦν. ἐκεῖνος δὲ πιστότερος κολακεύων Ἀθηναίους ἐμοῦ ἀληθεύοντος. ἐγὼ δὴ θέμενος πρὸ τοῦ στρατηγείου τὰ ὅπλα εἶπον τῶν μὲν μὴ αἰσθανομένων Πεισίστρατον τυραννησείοντα εἶναι ξυνετώτερος, τῶν δὲ ὀκνούντων ἀμύνεσθαι ἀλκιμώτερος. οἱ δὲ μανίαν Σόλωνος κατεγίγνωσκον. τελευτῶν δὲ ἐμαρτυράμην, ‘ὦ πατρίς, οὗτος μὲν Σόλων ἕτοιμός τοι καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ ἀμύνειν· τοῖς δ’ αὖ καὶ μαίνεσθαι δοκῶ.	“Nor are my laws, and everything I enacted, any better for it. It was those who surrendered the common good who did the damage, by not standing in the way of Pisistratus when he went after the tyranny. And when I warned them, I was not believed. He, by flattering the Athenians, was believed more than I was when I told the truth. So I laid down my arms in front of the generals’ headquarters and said that I was wiser than those who did not see that Pisistratus was aiming at tyranny, and braver than those who shrank from resisting him. But they condemned Solon as mad. In the end I declared: ‘My country, here stands Solon, ready to defend you in word and deed; but to these people I even seem mad.
	ὥστε ἄπειμί τοι ἐκ μέσου ὁ μόνος ἐχθρὸς Πεισιστράτου· οἱ δὲ καὶ δορυφορούντων αὐτόν εἴ τι βούλονται.’ ἴσθι γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα, ὦ ἑταῖρε, δεινότατα ἁψάμενον τῆς τυραννίδος. [66] ἤρξατο μὲν δημαγωγεῖν· εἶτα δὲ ἑαυτῷ τραύματα ποιήσας, παρελθὼν ἐπ’ Ἡλιαίαν ἐβόα φάμενος πεπονθέναι ταῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν· καὶ φύλακας ἠξίου παρασχεῖν οἱ τετρακοσίους τοὺς νεωτάτους. οἱ δὲ ἀνηκουστήσαντές μου παρέσχον τοὺς ἄνδρας. οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν κορυνηφόροι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸν δῆμον κατέλυσεν. ἦ μάτην ἔσπευδον ἀπαλλάξαι τοὺς πένητας αὐτῶν τῆς θητείας, οἵ γε δὴ νῦν ξύμπαντες ἑνὶ δουλεύουσι Πεισιστράτῳ.”	So I, the only enemy of Pisistratus, am getting out of your way; let these men be his bodyguards, if they like.’ For you should know, my friend, that the man laid hold of the tyranny with great cunning. [66] He began by playing the demagogue. Then he inflicted wounds on himself, came before the Heliaea shouting that his enemies had done this to him, and asked them to give him a guard of four hundred of the youngest men. They paid no attention to me and gave him the men, who were armed with clubs. After that he overthrew the democracy. It was all for nothing, then, that I worked to free their poor from servitude, since now every one of them is a slave to one man, Pisistratus.”[44]

43 Epimenides of Crete was said to have purified Athens of a pollution around 600 BC; his life follows later in this book.
44 The Heliaea was the Athenian people’s court.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
1.66	Σόλων Πεισιστράτῳ “Πιστεύω μηδὲν κακὸν ἐκ σοῦ πείσεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς τυραννίδος φίλος σοὶ ἦν, καὶ νῦν οὐ μᾶλλον διάφορος ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τις Ἀθηναίων ὅτῳ μὴ ἀρέσκει τυραννίς. εἴτε δὲ ὑφ’ ἑνὸς ἄρχεσθαι ἄμεινον αὐτοῖς, εἴτε δημοκρατεῖσθαι, πεπείσθω ᾗ ἑκάτερος γιγνώσκει. [67] καὶ σὲ φημὶ πάντων τυράννων εἶναι βέλτιστον. ἐπανήκειν δέ μοι Ἀθήναζε οὐ καλῶς ἔχον ὁρῶ, μή μέ τις μέμψηται, εἰ διαθεὶς Ἀθηναίοις ἰσοπολιτείαν, καὶ παρὸν τυραννεῖν αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀξιώσας, νῦν ἐπανελθὼν ἀρεσκοίμην οἷς σὺ πράσσεις.”	Solon to Pisistratus “I trust that I will suffer no harm at your hands. I was your friend before the tyranny, and now I am no more at odds with you than any other Athenian who dislikes tyranny. Whether it is better for them to be ruled by one man or to live under democracy, let each of us keep to his own view. [67] And I grant that you are the best of all tyrants. But I don’t see that it would be right for me to return to Athens. Someone might blame me if, after establishing equal civic rights for the Athenians and refusing to be tyrant myself when I had the chance, I were now to come back and approve of what you are doing.”
1.67	Σόλων Κροίσῳ “Ἄγαμαί σε τῆς περὶ ἡμᾶς φιλοφροσύνης· καὶ νὴ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, εἰ μὴ περὶ παντός μοι ἦν οἰκεῖν ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ, ἐδεξάμην ἂν μᾶλλον τὴν δίαιταν ἔχειν ἐν τῇ παρὰ σοὶ βασιλείᾳ ἢ Ἀθήνησι, τυραννοῦντος βιαίως Πεισιστράτου. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡδίων ἡμῖν ἡ βιοτή, ἔνθα πᾶσι τὰ δίκαια καὶ ἴσα. ἀφίξομαι δ’ οὖν παρὰ σέ, σπεύδων τοι ξένος γενέσθαι.”	Solon to Croesus “I admire you for your kindness toward me. And by Athena, if living in a democracy did not matter to me more than anything, I would rather make my home in your kingdom than at Athens, where Pisistratus rules as a tyrant by force. But life is more pleasant for us where everyone has justice and equality. All the same, I will come to visit you, since I’m eager to be your guest.”

CHILON

The terse Spartan ephor gives his precepts and dies of joy at his son’s Olympic victory.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
1.68	Χίλων Δαμαγήτου Λακεδαιμόνιος. οὗτος ἐποίησεν ἐλεγεῖα εἰς ἔπη διακόσια, καὶ ἔφασκε πρόνοιαν περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος λογισμῷ καταληπτὴν εἶναι ἀνδρὸς ἀρετήν. πρός τε τὸν ἀδελφὸν δυσφοροῦντα ὅτι μὴ ἔφορος ἐγένετο, αὐτοῦ ὄντος, “ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἐπίσταμαι,” εἶπεν, “ἀδικεῖσθαι, σὺ δὲ οὔ.” γέγονε δὲ ἔφορος κατὰ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν πέμπτην Ὀλυμπιάδα· Παμφίλη δέ φησι κατὰ τὴν ἕκτην. καὶ πρῶτον ἔφορον γενέσθαι ἐπὶ Εὐθυδήμου, ὥς φησι Σωσικράτης. καὶ πρῶτος εἰσηγήσατο ἐφόρους τοῖς βασιλεῦσι παραζευγνύναι· Σάτυρος δὲ Λυκοῦργον.	Chilon, son of Damagetus, was a Spartan. He composed elegies of some two hundred lines, and used to say that a man’s excellence is foresight about the future, grasped by reasoning. When his brother was upset at not being made ephor while Chilon was one, Chilon said, “That’s because I know how to put up with being wronged, and you don’t.” He became ephor in the 55th Olympiad (Pamphila says the 56th), and, as Sosicrates says, he first became ephor in the archonship of Euthydemus. He was also the first to propose that the ephors be paired with the kings, though Satyrus says it was Lycurgus.[45]
	Οὗτος, ὥς φησιν Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ, Ἱπποκράτει θυομένῳ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, τῶν λεβήτων αὐτομάτων ζεσάντων, συνεβούλευσεν ἢ μὴ γῆμαι, ἤ, εἰ ἔχοι γυναῖκα, ἐκπέμψαι καὶ παῖδας ἀπείπασθαι. [69] φασὶ δ’ αὐτὸν καὶ	According to Herodotus in his first book, when Hippocrates was sacrificing at Olympia and the cauldrons boiled of their own accord, it was Chilon who advised him either not to marry, or, if he

45 The ephors were the five annually elected magistrates of Sparta; the 55th Olympiad ran from 560 to 557 BC.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Αἰσώπου πυθέσθαι, ὁ Ζεὺς τί εἴη ποιῶν· τὸν δὲ φάναι, "τὰ μὲν ὑψηλὰ ταπεινῶν, τὰ δὲ ταπεινὰ ὑψῶν." ἐρωτηθεὶς τίνι διαφέρουσιν οἱ πεπαιδευμένοι τῶν ἀπαιδεύτων, ἔφη, "ἐλπίσιν ἀγαθαῖς." τί δύσκολον, "τὸ τὰ ἀπόρρητα σιωπῆσαι, καὶ σχολὴν εὖ διαθέσθαι, καὶ ἀδικούμενον [δύνασθαι] φέρειν." προσέταττε δὲ καὶ ταῦτα· γλώττης κρατεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν συμποσίῳ. μὴ κακολογεῖν τοὺς πλησίον· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀκούσεσθαι ἐφ' οἷς λυπήσεσθαι.	had a wife, to send her away and disown his children. [69] They also say he asked Aesop what Zeus was doing, and Aesop replied, "Bringing down the high and raising up the low." Asked how the educated differ from the uneducated, he said, "In good hopes." Asked what is difficult, he said, "To keep secrets, to make good use of leisure, and [to be able] to bear being wronged." He also laid down these precepts: control your tongue, especially at a drinking party. Do not speak ill of your neighbors; otherwise you will hear things that will hurt you.[46]
1.70	μὴ ἀπειλεῖν μηδενί· γυναικῶδες γάρ. ταχύτερον ἐπὶ τὰς ἀτυχίας τῶν φίλων ἢ ἐπὶ τὰς εὐτυχίας πορεύεσθαι. γάμον εὐτελῆ ποιεῖσθαι. τὸν τεθνηκότα μὴ κακολογεῖν. γῆρας τιμᾶν. φυλάττειν ἑαυτόν. ζημίαν αἱρεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ κέρδος αἰσχρόν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἅπαξ ἐλύπησε, τὸ δὲ διὰ παντός. ἀτυχοῦντι μὴ ἐπεγγελᾶν. ἰσχυρὸν ὄντα πρᾷον εἶναι, ὅπως οἱ πλησίον αἰδῶνται μᾶλλον ἢ φοβῶνται. μανθάνειν τῆς αὐτοῦ οἰκίας καλῶς προστατεῖν. τὴν γλῶτταν μὴ προτρέχειν τοῦ νοῦ. θυμοῦ κρατεῖν. μαντικὴν μὴ ἐχθαίρειν. μὴ ἐπιθυμεῖν ἀδυνάτων. ἐν ὁδῷ μὴ σπεύδειν. λέγοντα μὴ κινεῖν τὴν χεῖρα· μανικὸν γάρ. νόμοις πείθεσθαι. ἡρεμίᾳ χρῆσθαι.	Threaten no one, for that is womanish. Be quicker to go to your friends in their misfortunes than in their good fortune. Make a modest marriage. Do not speak ill of the dead. Honor old age. Watch over yourself. Choose a loss rather than a shameful gain: the one hurts once, the other for ever. Do not laugh at someone in misfortune. If you are strong, be gentle, so that your neighbors respect you rather than fear you. Learn to manage your own household well. Do not let your tongue run ahead of your mind. Control your anger. Do not hate divination. Do not desire what is impossible. Do not hurry on the road. Do not move your hand when you speak, for that is a mark of madness. Obey the laws. Keep calm.
1.71	Τῶν δὲ ᾀδομένων αὐτοῦ μάλιστα εὐδοκίμησεν ἐκεῖνο· "ἐν λιθίναις ἀκόναις ὁ χρυσὸς ἐξετάζεται, διδοὺς βάσανον φανεράν· ἐν δὲ χρυσῷ ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν τε κακῶν τε νοῦς ἔδωκ' ἔλεγχον." φασὶ δ' αὐτόν ποτε γηραιὸν ἤδη ὄντα εἰπεῖν, ὡς οὐδὲν συνειδείη ἄνομον ἑαυτῷ ἐν τῷ βίῳ· διστάζειν δὲ περὶ ἑνός. κρίνων γάρ ποτε φίλῳ δίκην αὐτὸς μὲν κατὰ τὸν νόμον, τὸν δὲ φίλον πείσειεν ἀποδικάσαι αὐτοῦ, ἵνα ἀμφότερα καὶ τὸν νόμον καὶ τὸν φίλον τηρήσαι.	Of his songs the most celebrated is this one: "On stone whetstones gold is tested, giving clear proof; and gold puts to the test the minds of men, both good and bad." They say that once, when he was already old, he said he was not aware of having done anything unlawful in his life, except that he had doubts about one thing. Once, when he was judging a friend's case, he himself voted according to the law, but persuaded a friend of his to vote for acquittal, so as to keep faith both with the law and with his friend.
	Ἐνδοξότατος δὲ μάλιστα παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐγένετο προειπὼν περὶ Κυθήρων τῆς νήσου τῆς Λακωνικῆς. καταμαθὼν γὰρ τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς, "εἴθε," ἔφη, "μὴ ἐγεγόνει, ἢ γενομένη κατεβυθίσθη." [72] καὶ εὖ προὐνοήσατο. Δημάρατος μὲν γὰρ φυγὰς ὢν Λακεδαιμονίων Ξέρξῃ συνεβούλευσε τὰς ναῦς συνέχειν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ· κἂν ἐαλώκει ἡ Ἑλλάς, εἰ ἐπείσθη Ξέρξης. ὕστερόν τε Νικίας ἐπὶ τῶν Πελοποννησιακῶν	He became most famous among the Greeks for his prediction about Cythera, the island off Laconia. Having learned what sort of place it was, he said, "If only it had never existed, or, once it existed, had sunk to the bottom of the sea." [72] And his foresight was sound. Demaratus, an exile from Sparta, advised Xerxes to keep his fleet at the island, and Greece would have been conquered if

46 Hippocrates was the father of Pisistratus (Herodotus 1.59).

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	καταστρεψάμενος τὴν νῆσον, φρουρὰν ἐγκατέστησεν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ πάμπολλα τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους κακὰ διέθηκε.	Xerxes had listened to him. Later, during the Peloponnesian War, Nicias subdued the island, stationed an Athenian garrison there, and did the Spartans a great deal of harm.[47]
1.72	Βραχυλόγος τε ἦν· ὅθεν καὶ Ἀρισταγόρας ὁ Μιλήσιος τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον Χιλώνειον καλεῖ.... Βράγχου δὲ εἶναι, ὃς τὸ ἱερὸν ἔκτισε τὸ ἐν Βραγχίδαις. ἦν δὲ γέρων περὶ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν δευτέραν Ὀλυμπιάδα, ὅτε Αἴσωπος ὁ λογοποιὸς ἤκμαζεν. ἐτελεύτησε δ', ὥς φησιν Ἕρμιππος, ἐν Πίσῃ, τὸν υἱὸν Ὀλυμπιονίκην ἀσπασάμενος πυγμῆς. ἔπαθε δὲ τοῦτο ὑπερβολῇ τε χαρᾶς καὶ ἀσθενείᾳ πολυετίας. καὶ αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν πανήγυριν ἐντιμότατα παρέπεμψαν.	He was a man of few words, which is why Aristagoras of Miletus calls this manner of speaking the Chilonean. ... that it was Branchus', who founded the temple at Branchidae. He was an old man around the 52nd Olympiad, when Aesop the fable-writer was at his peak. He died, as Hermippus says, at Pisa, after embracing his son, who had won the boxing at Olympia. This happened through excess of joy and the weakness of great age. Everyone at the festival escorted his body with the highest honors.[48]
	Ἔστι δὲ καὶ εἰς τοῦτον ἐπίγραμμα ἡμῶν· [73] Φωσφόρε, σοί, Πολύδευκες, ἔχω χάριν, οὕνεκεν υἱὸς Χίλωνος πυγμῇ χλωρὸν ἔλεν κότινον. εἰ δ' ὁ πατὴρ στεφανοῦχον ἰδὼν τέκνον ἥμυσεν ἡσθείς, οὐ νεμεσητόν· ἐμοὶ τοῖος ἴτω θάνατος. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς εἰκόνος αὐτοῦ ἐπιγέγραπται τόδε· τόνδε δοριστέφανος Σπάρτα Χίλων' ἐφύτευσεν, ὃς τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν πρῶτος ἔφυ σοφίᾳ. ἀπεφθέγξατο, "ἐγγύα, πάρα δ' ἄτα." ἔστιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιστόλιον τόδε·	There is also an epigram of mine on him: [73] Lightbringer Polydeuces, I thank you, because the son of Chilon won the green olive in boxing. And if the father, seeing his son crowned, sank down for joy, no one should blame him: may such a death come to me. On his statue this is inscribed: Spear-crowned Sparta brought forth this Chilon, who was first in wisdom among the Seven Sages. His saying was "Give a pledge, and ruin is at hand." There is also this short letter of his:[49]
1.73	Χίλων Περιάνδρῳ "Ἐπιστέλλεις ἐμὶν ἐκστρατείαν ἐπὶ ἐκδάμως, ὡς αὐτός κα ἐξέρποις· ἐγὼν δὲ δοκέω καὶ τὰ οἰκῆα σφαλερὰ ἦμεν ἀνδρὶ μονάρχῳ, καὶ τῆνον τυράννων εὐδαιμονίζω ὅστις κα οἴκοι ἐξ αὐτὸς αὐτῶ κατθάνῃ."	Chilon to Periander "You write to me about an expedition abroad, as though you yourself might march out. But I think that even affairs at home are precarious for a sole ruler, and I count that tyrant happy who dies a natural death in his own home."[50]

PITTACUS

The ruler of Mytilene kills Phrynon with a net, gives up power after ten years and forgives his son's killer.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
1.74	Πιττακὸς Ὑρραδίου Μυτιληναῖος. φησὶ δὲ Δοῦρις τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Θρᾷκα εἶναι. οὗτος μετὰ τῶν Ἀλκαίου γενόμενος ἀδελφῶν Μέλαγχρον καθεῖλε τὸν τῆς Λέσβου τύραννον· καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἀχιλείτιδος χώρας μαχομένων Ἀθηναίων καὶ Μυτιληναίων ἐστρατήγει μὲν αὐτός, Ἀθηναίων δὲ Φρύνων παγκρατιαστὴς Ὀλυμπιονίκης.	Pittacus, son of Hyrrhadius, was from Mytilene. Duris says that his father was a Thracian. Together with the brothers of Alcaeus he overthrew Melanchrus, the tyrant of Lesbos. When the Athenians and the Mytilenaeans were fighting over the territory of Achilleitis, he himself commanded the

47 Demaratus was a deposed Spartan king who accompanied Xerxes' invasion of Greece in 480 BC.
48 Something has dropped out of the text here; Branchidae was the shrine of Apollo at Didyma near Miletus.
49 Polydeuces (Pollux), one of the Dioscuri, was the patron of boxers; the Olympic crown was a wreath of wild olive.
50 The Greek of this letter is in the Doric dialect of Sparta.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	συνέθετο δὴ μονομαχῆσαι πρὸς αὐτόν· καὶ δίκτυον ἔχων ὑπὸ τὴν ἀσπίδα λαθραίως περιέβαλε τὸν Φρύνωνα, καὶ κτείνας ἀνεσώσατο τὸ χωρίον. ὕστερον μέντοι φησὶν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς διαδικασθῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους περὶ τοῦ χωρίου πρὸς τοὺς Μυτιληναίους, ἀκουοντος τῆς δίκης Περιάνδρου, ὃν καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις προσκρῖναι.	Mytilenaeans, and Phrynon, an Olympic victor in the pancratium, commanded the Athenians. Pittacus agreed to meet him in single combat. With a net hidden under his shield, he threw it over Phrynon before he could notice, killed him, and saved the territory. Later, however, according to Apollodorus in his *Chronicle*, the Athenians took the dispute over the territory to arbitration with the Mytilenaeans; Periander heard the case and awarded it to the Athenians.[51]
1.75	Τότε δ' οὖν τὸν Πιττακὸν ἰσχυρῶς ἐτίμησαν οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνεχείρισαν αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ δέκα ἔτη κατασχὼν καὶ εἰς τάξιν ἀγαγὼν τὸ πολίτευμα, κατέθετο τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ δέκα ἐπεβίω ἄλλα. καὶ χώραν αὐτῷ ἀπένειμαν οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι· ὁ δὲ ἱερὰν ἀνῆκεν, ἥτις νῦν Πιττάκειος καλεῖται. Σωσικράτης δέ φησιν ὅτι ὀλίγον ἀποτεμόμενος ἔφη τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ παντὸς πλεῖον εἶναι. ἀλλὰ καὶ Κροίσου διδόντος χρήματα οὐκ ἐδέξατο, εἰπὼν ἔχειν ὧν ἐβούλετο διπλάσια· ἄπαιδος γὰρ τἀδελφοῦ τελευτήσαντος κεκληρονομηκέναι.	At the time, at any rate, the Mytilenaeans honored Pittacus highly and entrusted him with power. He held it for ten years, put the constitution in order, and then laid down his office, living on for another ten years. The Mytilenaeans granted him land, but he dedicated it as sacred ground, and it is now called the Pittaceum. Sosicrates says that he kept a small piece for himself, saying that the half was more than the whole. He also refused money offered by Croesus, saying that he had twice as much as he wanted, since his brother had died childless and he had inherited his estate.[52]
1.76	Παμφίλη δέ φησιν ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Ὑπομνημάτων, ὡς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Τυρραῖον καθήμενον ἐπὶ κουρείου ἐν Κύμῃ χαλκεύς τις πέλεκυν ἐμβαλὼν ἀνέλοι. τῶν δὲ Κυμαίων πεμψάντων τὸν φονέα τῷ Πιττακῷ, μαθόντα καὶ ἀπολύσαντα εἰπεῖν, "συγγνώμη μετανοίας κρείσσων." Ἡράκλειτος δέ φησιν, Ἀλκαῖον ὑποχείριον λαβόντα καὶ ἀπολύσαντα φάναι, "συγγνώμη τιμωρίας κρείσσων."	Pamphila says in the second book of her *Notes* that his son Tyrraeus was sitting in a barber's shop in Cyme when a smith threw an axe and killed him. When the people of Cyme sent the killer to Pittacus, he heard what had happened, set him free, and said, "Forgiveness is better than repentance." Heraclitus, however, says that it was when he had Alcaeus in his power that he set him free and said, "Forgiveness is better than vengeance."
	Νόμους δὲ ἔθηκε· τῷ μεθύοντι, ἐὰν ἁμάρτῃ, διπλῆν εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν· ἵνα μὴ μεθύωσι, πολλοῦ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον οἴνου γινομένου. εἶπέ τε "χαλεπὸν ἐσθλὸν ἔμμεναι·" οὗ καὶ Σιμωνίδης μέμνηται λέγων· "ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν ἀλαθέως γενέσθαι χαλεπόν, τὸ Πιττάκειον." [77] μέμνηται αὐτοῦ καὶ Πλάτων ἐν Πρωταγόρᾳ· "ἀνάγκᾳ δ' οὐδὲ θεοὶ μάχονται." καὶ "ἀρχὴ ἄνδρα δείκνυσιν." ἐρωτηθεὶς δέ ποτε τί ἄριστον, "τὸ παρὸν εὖ ποιεῖν." καὶ ὑπὸ Κροίσου τίς ἀρχὴ μεγίστη, "ἡ τοῦ ποικίλου," ἔφη, "ξύλου," σημαίνων τὸν νόμον. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ τὰς νίκας ἄνευ αἵματος ποιεῖσθαι.	He also made laws. One laid down that if a drunk man committed an offense, his penalty would be doubled. The aim was to stop people getting drunk, since the island produced a great deal of wine. He said, "It is hard to be good," and Simonides recalls the saying too: "To become a truly good man is hard—Pittacus' saying." [77] Plato also mentions him in the *Protagoras*: "Against necessity not even the gods fight." Another saying of his is "Office shows the man." Once, asked what is best, he said, "To do well what is at hand." When Croesus asked him what the greatest power is, he said, "That of the painted wood," meaning the law. He

51 Alcaeus was the lyric poet of Mytilene; the pancratium was a combat sport combining boxing and wrestling.
52 "The half is more than the whole" echoes Hesiod, *Works and Days* 40.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		also used to say that victories should be won without bloodshed.[53]
1.77	ἔφη δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Φωκαϊκὸν φάσκοντα δεῖν ζητεῖν ἄνθρωπον σπουδαῖον, “ἂν λίαν,” ἔφη, “ζητῇς, οὐχ εὑρήσεις.” καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πυνθανομένους τί εὐχάριστον, “χρόνος,” ἔφη· ἀφανές, “τὸ μέλλον”· πιστόν, “γῆ”· ἄπιστον, “θάλασσα.” ἔλεγέ τε συνετῶν ἀνδρῶν, πρὶν γενέσθαι τὰ δυσχερῆ, προνοῆσαι ὅπως μὴ γένηται·[78] ἀνδρείων δέ, γενόμενα εὖ θέσθαι. ὃ μέλλεις πράττειν, μὴ πρόλεγε· ἀποτυχὼν γὰρ γελασθήσῃ. ἀτυχίαν μὴ ὀνειδίζειν, νέμεσιν αἰδούμενον. παρακαταθήκην λαβόντα ἀποδοῦναι. φίλον μὴ λέγειν κακῶς, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἐχθρόν. εὐσέβειαν ἀσκεῖν. σωφροσύνην φιλεῖν. ἀλήθειαν ἔχειν, πίστιν, ἐμπειρίαν, ἐπιδεξιότητα, ἑταιρίαν, ἐπιμέλειαν.	A man from Phocaea said that one must search for a good man, and Pittacus told him, “If you search too hard, you won’t find one.” People asked him what is agreeable, and he said, “Time.” What is obscure? “The future.” What is trustworthy? “The land.” What is untrustworthy? “The sea.” He used to say that sensible men take care, before difficulties arise, that they do not arise.[78] Brave men deal well with them once they have arisen. Don’t announce what you’re going to do, for if you fail you’ll be laughed at. Do not reproach anyone with his misfortune, out of awe of divine retribution. Give back what has been entrusted to you. Speak no ill of a friend, nor even of an enemy. Practice piety. Love self-restraint. Keep hold of truth, good faith, experience, skill, comradeship and diligence.
1.78	Τῶν δὲ ᾀδομένων αὐτοῦ μάλιστα εὐδοκίμησε τάδε· ἔχοντα χρὴ τόξα καὶ ἰοδόκον φαρέτρην στείχειν ποτὶ φῶτα κακόν. πιστὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν γλῶσσα διὰ στόματος λαλεῖ διχόθυμον ἔχουσα κραδίῃ νόημα.[79] ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ ἐλεγεῖα ἔπη ἑξακόσια, καὶ ὑπὲρ νόμων καταλογάδην τοῖς πολίταις.	Of his songs the most celebrated was this: With bow and arrow-holding quiver one must go against a bad man. For the tongue speaks nothing trustworthy through the mouth, when it holds a double-minded thought in the heart.[79] He also composed six hundred lines of elegiac verse, and a prose work on laws for his fellow citizens.
1.79	Ἤκμαζε μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν δευτέραν Ὀλυμπιάδα· ἐτελεύτησε δ’ ἐπὶ Ἀριστομένους τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει τῆς πεντηκοστῆς δευτέρας Ὀλυμπιάδος, βιοὺς ὑπὲρ ἔτη ἑβδομήκοντα, [ἤδη γηραιός]. καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ μνήματος ἐπιγέγραπται τόδε· οἰκείοις δακρύοις ἁ γειναμένα κατακλαίει / Πιττακὸν ἥδ’ ἱερὰ Λέσβος ἀποφθίμενον. ἀπόφθεγμα αὐτοῦ· καιρὸν γνῶθι.	He flourished around the 42nd Olympiad. He died in the archonship of Aristomenes, in the third year of the 52nd Olympiad, having lived more than seventy years [already an old man]. On his tomb this is inscribed: With her own tears the mother who bore him mourns / Pittacus, now dead: this holy Lesbos. His saying: Know the right moment.[54]
	Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἕτερος Πιττακὸς νομοθέτης, ὥς φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων πρώτῳ καὶ Δημήτριος ἐν Ὁμωνύμοις, ὃς καὶ μικρὸς προσηγορεύθη.	There was also another Pittacus, a lawgiver, who was called “the Little.” Favorinus says so in the first book of his *Memoirs*, and Demetrius in his *Men of the Same Name*.
	Τὸν δ’ οὖν σοφὸν λέγεταί ποτε νεανίσκῳ συμβουλευομένῳ περὶ γάμου ταῦτα εἰπεῖν, ἅ φησι Καλλίμαχος ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγράμμασι·[80] ξεῖνος Ἀταρνείτης τις ἀνήρετο Πιττακὸν οὕτω τὸν Μυτιληναῖον, παῖδα τὸν Ὑρραδίου· ἄττα γέρον, δοιός με καλεῖ γάμος· ἡ μία μὲν δὴ	At any rate, the story goes that a young man once consulted the wise Pittacus about marriage. Pittacus gave him the advice that Callimachus records in his epigrams:[80] A stranger from Atarneus once put this question to Pittacus of Mytilene, son

53 Laws were displayed on painted wooden boards.
54 The 42nd Olympiad began in 612 BC, and the third year of the 52nd is 570/569 BC.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	νύμφη καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ γενεῇ κατ' ἐμέ· ἡ δ' ἑτέρη προβέβηκε. τί λώϊον; εἰ δ' ἄγε σύν μοι βούλευσον, ποτέρην εἰς ὑμέναιον ἄγω. εἶπεν· ὁ δὲ σκίπωνα, γεροντικὸν ὅπλον, ἀείρας, ἤνιδε, κεῖνοί σοι πᾶν ἐρέουσιν ἔπος. οἱ δ' ἄρ' ὑπὸ πληγῆσι θοὰς βέμβικας ἔχοντες ἔστρεφον εὐρείῃ παῖδες ἐνὶ τριόδῳ.	of Hyrrhadius: Old father, two marriages invite me. One bride is my equal in wealth and in birth; the other is above me. Which is better? Come, advise me which of the two I should lead to the wedding. So he spoke. Pittacus raised his staff, an old man's weapon, and said: Look, those boys there will tell you all you need to know. The boys were whipping swift tops, spinning them in a broad crossroads.
1.80	κείνων ἔρχεο, φησί, μετ' ἴχνια. χὠ μὲν ἐπέστη πλησίον· οἱ δ' ἔλεγον· τὴν κατὰ σαυτὸν ἔλα. ταῦτ' ἀΐων ὁ ξεῖνος ἐφείσατο μείζονος οἴκου δράξασθαι, παίδων κληδόνα συνθέμενος. τὴν δ' ὀλίγην ὡς κεῖνος ἐς οἰκίον ἤγετο νύμφην. οὕτω καὶ σύ, Δίων, τὴν κατὰ σαυτὸν ἔλα. [81] δοκεῖ δ' ἐκ διαθέσεως αὐτὰ εἰρηκέναι. εὐγενεστέρα γὰρ αὐτῷ οὖσα ἡ γυνή, ἐπειδήπερ ἦν Δράκοντος ἀδελφὴ τοῦ Πενθίλου, σφόδρα κατεσοβαρεύετο αὐτοῦ.	Follow in their tracks, he said. So the young man went and stood near them, and they were calling out: Drive the one your own size. Hearing this, the stranger held back from grasping at the grander house, and took the boys' cry as an omen. As he led the humble bride into his home, so you too, Dion, drive the one your own size. [81] Pittacus seems to have said this from his own experience. His wife was of nobler birth than he was, being the sister of Draco son of Penthilus, and she treated him with great haughtiness.[55]
1.81	Τοῦτον Ἀλκαῖος σαράποδα μὲν καὶ σάραπον ἀποκαλεῖ διὰ τὸ πλατύπουν εἶναι καὶ ἐπισύρειν τὼ πόδε· χειροπόδην δὲ διὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς ποσὶ ῥαγάδας, ἃς χειράδας ἐκάλουν· γαύρηκα δὲ ὡς εἰκῆ γαυριῶντα· φύσκωνα δὲ καὶ γάστρωνα ὅτι παχὺς ἦν· ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ζοφοδορπίδαν ὡς ἄλυχνον· ἀγάσυρτον δὲ ὡς ἐπισεσυρμένον καὶ ῥυπαρόν. τούτῳ γυμνασία ἦν σῖτον ἀλεῖν, ὥς φησι Κλέαρχος ὁ φιλόσοφος.	Alcaeus calls him "sarapous" and "sarapos" ("splay-foot") because he was flat-footed and dragged his feet. He calls him "chiropodes" ("chap-foot") because of the cracks in his feet, which they called "chirades," and "gaurex" ("swaggerer") because he swaggered for no reason. He calls him "physcon" ("pot-belly") and "gastron" ("paunch") because he was fat. He also calls him "zophodorpidas" ("dark-diner") because he dined without a lamp, and "agasyrtos" ("sloven") because he was slovenly and dirty. His exercise was grinding grain, as Clearchus the philosopher says.[56]
	Καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐστιν ἐπιστόλιον τοιόνδε· Πιττακὸς Κροίσῳ "Κέλεαί με ἱκνέεσθαι ἐς Λυδίην, ὅπως σοι τὸν ὄλβον ἴδοιμι· ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ μὴ ὀρεὶς πέπεισμαι τὸν Ἀλυάττεω παῖδα τῶν βασιλήων πολυχρυσότατον πέλειν. οὐδέν τε πλέον ἄμμιν ἱκομένοις ἐς Σάρδις· χρυσοῦ γὰρ οὐ δεύμεθα, ἀλλὰ πέπαμαι ἄρκια καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἑτάροις, ἔμπας δ' ἴξομαι, ὡς ἀνδρὶ ξείνῳ γενοίμην τοι συνόμιλος."	There is also a short letter of his, which reads as follows: Pittacus to Croesus "You bid me come to Lydia so that I may see your prosperity. Even without seeing it, I am convinced that the son of Alyattes is the richest in gold of all kings. We would gain nothing by coming to Sardis, for we have no need of gold; I have enough for myself and for my friends as well. All the same, I will come, so as to keep company with you as your guest."

55 The boys' cry, "drive the one your own size," also means "marry someone of your own rank."
56 Clearchus of Soli was a pupil of Aristotle.

BIAS

The pleader from Priene refuses the tripod, outwits Alyattes and dies in court after winning a case.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
1.82	Βίας Τευτάμου Πριηνεύς, προκεκριμένος τῶν ἑπτὰ ὑπὸ Σατύρου. τοῦτον οἱ μὲν πλούσιον, Δοῦρις δὲ πάροικόν φησι γεγονέναι. Φανόδικος δὲ κόρας αἰχμαλώτους λυτρωσάμενον Μεσσηνίας θρέψαι τε ὡς θυγατέρας καὶ προῖκας ἐπιδοῦναι καὶ εἰς τὴν Μεσσήνην ἀποστεῖλαι τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν.	Bias, son of Teutames, was from Priene, and Satyrus ranked him first of the Seven. Some say he was rich; Duris says he was a resident alien. Phanodicus says that he ransomed some captive girls from Messenia, brought them up as his own daughters, gave them dowries and sent them back to their fathers in Messene.
	χρόνῳ δὲ ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις, ὡς προείρηται, τοῦ τρίποδος εὑρεθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν ἁλιέων, τοῦ χαλκοῦ, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντος "τῷ σοφῷ," Σάτυρος μέν φησι παρελθεῖν τὰς κόρας—οἱ δὲ τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν, ὡς καὶ Φανόδικος—εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ εἰπεῖν τὸν Βίαντα σοφόν, διηγησαμένας τὰ καθ' ἑαυτάς. καὶ ἀπεστάλη ὁ τρίπους· καὶ ὁ Βίας ἰδὼν ἔφη τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα σοφὸν εἶναι, οὐδὲ προσήκατο. [83] οἱ δὲ λέγουσιν ἐν Θήβαις τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ αὐτὸν ἀναθεῖναι, ἐπεὶ ἀπόγονος ἦν Θηβαίων ἀποικίαν εἰς Πριήνην στειλάντων, ὥσπερ καὶ Φανόδικός φησι.	In time, as was told above, the bronze tripod inscribed "To the wise" was found at Athens by the fishermen. Satyrus says that the girls then came before the assembly, told their own story and declared that Bias was wise. Others, Phanodicus among them, say it was their father who did so. So the tripod was sent off; but when Bias saw it, he said that Apollo was the wise one and would not accept it. [83] Others say he dedicated it to Heracles at Thebes, since he was descended from the Thebans who had sent a colony to Priene; Phanodicus says this too.
1.83	Λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀλυάττου πολιορκοῦντος Πριήνην τὸν Βίαντα πιήναντα δύο ἡμιόνους ἐξελάσαι εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον· τὸν δὲ συνιδόντα καταπλαγῆναι τὸ μέχρι καὶ ἀλόγων διατείνειν αὐτῶν τὴν εὐθενίαν. καὶ ἐβουλήθη σπείσασθαι, καὶ εἰσέπεμψεν ἄγγελον. Βίας δὲ σωροὺς ψάμμου χέας καὶ ἄνωθεν σῖτον περιχέας ἔδειξε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ· καὶ τέλος μαθὼν ὁ Ἀλυάττης εἰρήνην ἐσπείσατο πρὸς τοὺς Πριηνέας. θᾶττον δ' αὐτῷ πέμψαντι πρὸς τὸν Βίαντα ἵνα ἥκοι παρ' αὐτόν, "ἐγὼ δέ," φησίν, "Ἀλυάττῃ κελεύω κρόμμυα ἐσθίειν, [ἴσον τῷ κλαίειν]." [84] λέγεται δὲ καὶ δίκας δεινότατος γεγονέναι εἰπεῖν. ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ μέντοι τῇ τῶν λόγων ἰσχύϊ προσεχρῆτο. ὅθεν καὶ Δημόδικος ὁ Λέριος τοῦτο αἰνίττεται λέγων· ἢν τύχῃς κρίνων δικάζευ τὴν Πριηνίην δίκην· καὶ Ἱππῶναξ· "ἃ καὶ δικάζεσθαι Βίαντος τοῦ Πριηνέως κρεῖσσον."	It is also said that when Alyattes was besieging Priene, Bias fattened two mules and drove them out into the camp. When the king saw them, he was astonished that the people's prosperity extended even to their animals. He wanted to make a truce, and sent an envoy into the city. Bias piled up heaps of sand, poured grain over the top and showed them to the man. When Alyattes learned of this, he finally made peace with the people of Priene. Soon afterwards Alyattes sent to Bias asking him to come to his court, and Bias said, "And I tell Alyattes to eat onions [that is, to weep]." [84] He is also said to have been a most formidable pleader in the courts. But he used the power of his words for good ends. This is what Demodicus of Leros alludes to when he says: If you happen to be judging, give the Prienian verdict. And Hipponax says: "better at pleading cases even than Bias of Priene."
1.84	Τοῦτον οὖν καὶ ἐτελεύτα τὸν τρόπον. δίκην γὰρ ὑπέρ τινος λέξας ἤδη ὑπέργηρως ὑπάρχων, μετὰ τὸ καταπαῦσαι τὸν λόγον ἀπέκλινε τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰς τοὺς τοῦ τῆς θυγατρὸς υἱοῦ κόλπους· εἰπόντος δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἐξ ἐναντίας καὶ τῶν δικαστῶν τὴν ψῆφον ἐνεγκόντων τῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Βίαντος βοηθουμένῳ, λυθέντος τοῦ δικαστηρίου	And this is how he died. He had pleaded a case on someone's behalf when he was already very old. After finishing his speech, he rested his head on the lap of his daughter's son. The opposing side spoke, and the jurors voted for the man Bias was defending. When the court broke up, he was found

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	νεκρὸς ἐν τοῖς κόλποις εὑρέθη. [85] καὶ αὐτὸν μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἔθαψεν ἡ πόλις, καὶ ἐπέγραψαν· κλεινοῖς ἐν δαπέδοισι Πριήνης φύντα καλύπτει ἥδε Βίαντα πέτρη, κόσμον Ἴωσι μέγαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς· τῇδε Βίαντα κέκευθα, τὸν ἀτρέμας ἤγαγεν Ἑρμῆς εἰς Ἀΐδην, πολιῷ γήραϊ νιφόμενον. εἶπε γάρ, εἶπε δίκην ἑτάρου τινός· εἶτ' ἀποκλινθεὶς παιδὸς ἐς ἀγκαλίδας μακρὸν ἔτεινεν ὕπνον.	dead in his grandson's lap. [85] The city gave him a magnificent funeral, and they inscribed: Born on the famous plains of Priene, he lies covered by this stone: Bias, a great glory to the Ionians. And I wrote one too: Here I hide Bias, whom Hermes gently led to Hades, his head snowed white with old age. He spoke, he pleaded a friend's case; then, leaning back into a boy's arms, he stretched out into a long sleep.
1.85	Ἐποίησε δὲ περὶ Ἰωνίας, τίνα μάλιστα ἂν τρόπον εὐδαιμονοίη, εἰς ἔπη δισχίλια. τῶν δὲ ᾀδομένων αὐτοῦ εὐδοκίμησε τάδε· ἀστοῖσιν ἄρεσκε πᾶσιν. ἐν πόλει αἴκε μένῃς· / πλείσταν γὰρ ἔχει χάριν· αὐθάδης δὲ τρόπος πολλάκι βλαβερὰν ἐξέλαμψεν ἄταν.	He composed a poem of two thousand lines on Ionia and how it might best prosper. Of his songs this one was celebrated: Please all the citizens, in whatever city you stay; / for that wins the most favor. But a headstrong manner has often flared up into harmful ruin.
1.86	καὶ τὸ μὲν ἰσχυρὸν γενέσθαι τῆς φύσεως ἔργον· τὸ δὲ λέγειν δύνασθαι τὰ συμφέροντα τῇ πατρίδι ψυχῆς ἴδιον καὶ φρονήσεως. εὐπορίαν δὲ χρημάτων πολλοῖς καὶ διὰ τύχην περιγίνεσθαι. ἔλεγε δὲ ἀτυχῆ εἶναι τὸν ἀτυχίαν μὴ φέροντα· καὶ νόσον ψυχῆς τὸ τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἐρᾶν, ἀλλοτρίων δὲ κακῶν ἀμνημόνευτον εἶναι. ἐρωτηθεὶς τί δυσχερές, τὴν "ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον," ἔφη, "μεταβολὴν εὐγενῶς ἐνεγκεῖν." συμπλέων ποτὲ ἀσεβέσι, χειμαζομένης τῆς νεὼς κἀκείνων τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπικαλουμένων, "σιγᾶτε," ἔφη, "μὴ αἴσθωνταί ὑμᾶς ἐνθάδε πλέοντας." ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ ἀσεβοῦς ἀνθρώπου τί ποτέ ἐστιν εὐσέβεια, ἐσίγα. τοῦ δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς σιγῆς πυθομένου, "σιωπῶ," ἔφη, "ὅτι περὶ τῶν οὐδέν σοι προσηκόντων πυνθάνῃ."	He said that being strong is the work of nature, but being able to say what benefits one's country belongs to the soul and to understanding. Plenty of money, he held, comes to many people even by chance. He used to say that the unfortunate man is the one who cannot bear misfortune. He also said that longing for the impossible is a sickness of the soul, but that the troubles of others should be left unmentioned. Asked what is hard, he said, "To bear a change for the worse nobly." Once he was at sea with some impious men. When a storm struck the ship and they began calling on the gods, he said, "Quiet! Don't let them notice you're sailing here." An impious man asked him what piety is, and he said nothing. When the man asked the reason for his silence, he said, "I'm silent because you're asking about things that are none of your business."
1.87	Ἐρωτηθεὶς τί γλυκὺ ἀνθρώποις, "ἐλπίς," ἔφη. ἥδιον ἔλεγε δικάζειν μεταξὺ ἐχθρῶν ἢ φίλων· τῶν μὲν γὰρ φίλων πάντως ἐχθρὸν ἔσεσθαι τὸν ἕτερον, τῶν δὲ ἐχθρῶν τὸν ἕτερον φίλον. ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ποιῶν ἄνθρωπος τέρπεται, ἔφη, "κερδαίνων." ἔλεγέ τε τὸν βίον οὕτω μετρεῖν ὡς καὶ πολὺν καὶ ὀλίγον χρόνον βιωσομένους, καὶ φιλεῖν ὡς μισήσοντας· τοὺς γὰρ πλείστους εἶναι κακούς. συνεβούλευέ τε ὧδε· βραδέως ἐγχείρει τοῖς πραττομένοις· ὃ δ' ἂν ἕλῃ, βεβαίως τηρῶν διάμενε. μὴ [88] ταχὺ λάλει· μανίαν γὰρ ἐμφαίνει. φρόνησιν ἀγάπα. περὶ θεῶν λέγε, ὡς εἰσίν. ἀνάξιον ἄνδρα μὴ ἐπαίνει διὰ πλοῦτον. πείσας λαβέ, μὴ βιασάμενος. ὅ τι ἂν ἀγαθὸν πράττῃς, εἰς θεοὺς	Asked what is sweet for human beings, he said, "Hope." He used to say it is more pleasant to judge between enemies than between friends. Of two friends, one is certain to become your enemy; of two enemies, one will become your friend. Asked what a man enjoys doing, he said, "Making a profit." He used to say that we should measure out our life as though we had both a long and a short time to live. We should also love as though we would one day hate, since most people are bad. His advice ran like this: Be slow to take things in hand, but whatever you choose, hold to it firmly and persevere. Don't [88] talk fast, for that shows

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἀνάπεμπε. ἐφόδιον ἀπὸ νεότητος εἰς γῆρας ἀναλάμβανε σοφίαν· βεβαιότερον γὰρ τοῦτο τῶν ἄλλων κτημάτων.	madness. Cherish understanding. Of the gods, say that they exist. Don't praise an unworthy man for his wealth. Take by persuasion, not by force. Whatever good you do, credit it to the gods. Take wisdom as your provisions from youth to old age, for it is more secure than any other possession.
1.88	Μέμνηται τοῦ Βίαντος καὶ Ἱππῶναξ, ὡς προείρηται, καὶ ὁ δυσάρεστος Ἡράκλειτος μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἐπῄνεσε γράψας· "ἐν Πριήνῃ Βίας ἐγένετο ὁ Τευτάμεω, οὗ πλέων λόγος ἢ τῶν ἄλλων." καὶ οἱ Πριηνεῖς δὲ αὐτῷ τέμενος καθιέρωσαν τὸ Τευτάμειον λεγόμενον. ἀπεφθέγξατο· οἱ πλεῖστοι κακοί.	Hipponax also mentions Bias, as was said above. The hard-to-please Heraclitus praised him above all, writing: "In Priene lived Bias son of Teutames, who is more spoken of than the others." The people of Priene also consecrated a precinct to him, called the Teutameum. His saying: Most men are bad.

CLEOBULUS

The sage of Lindus writes riddles and songs and advises measure in everything.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
1.89	Κλεόβουλος Εὐαγόρου Λίνδιος, ὡς δὲ Δοῦρις, Κάρ· ἔνιοι δὲ εἰς Ἡρακλέα ἀναφέρειν τὸ γένος αὐτόν· ῥώμῃ δὲ καὶ κάλλει διαφέρειν, μετασχεῖν τε τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ φιλοσοφίας. γενέσθαι τε αὐτῷ θυγατέρα Κλεοβουλίνην, αἰνιγμάτων ἑξαμέτρων ποιήτριαν, ἧς μέμνηται καὶ Κρατῖνος ἐν τῷ ὁμωνύμῳ δράματι, πληθυντικῶς ἐπιγράψας. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀνανεώσασθαι αὐτὸν κτισθὲν ὑπὸ Δαναοῦ. οὗτος ἐποίησεν ᾄσματα καὶ γρίφους εἰς ἔπη τρισχίλια.	Cleobulus, son of Euagoras, was from Lindus, though Duris says he was a Carian. Some say he traced his family back to Heracles, that he was outstanding in strength and beauty, and that he had a share in the philosophy of Egypt. They also say he had a daughter, Cleobulina, who composed riddles in hexameters. Cratinus mentions her too, in the play named after her, though he gave it a plural title. They say as well that Cleobulus restored the temple of Athena founded by Danaus. He composed songs and riddles, some three thousand lines.[57]
	Καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμά τινες τὸ ἐπὶ Μίδᾳ τοῦτόν φασι ποιῆσαι· χαλκῆ παρθένος εἰμί, Μίδα δ' ἐπὶ σήματι κεῖμαι. ἔστ' ἂν ὕδωρ τε νάῃ καὶ δένδρεα μακρὰ τεθήλῃ, [90] ἠέλιός τ' ἀνιὼν λάμπῃ, λαμπρά τε σελήνη, καὶ ποταμοί γε ῥέωσιν, ἀνακλύζῃ δὲ θάλασσα, αὐτοῦ τῇδε μένουσα πολυκλαύτῳ ἐπὶ τύμβῳ, ἀγγελέω παριοῦσι, Μίδας ὅτι τῇδε τέθαπται. φέρουσι δὲ μαρτύριον Σιμωνίδου ᾆσμα, ὅπου φησί τίς κεν αἰνήσειε νόῳ πίσυνος Λίνδου ναέταν Κλεόβουλον ἀενάοις ποταμοῖς ἄνθεσί τ' εἰαρινοῖς ἀελίου τε φλογὶ χρυσέας τε σελάνας καὶ θαλασσαίαισι δίνῃς ἀντιθέντα μένος στάλας; ἅπαντα γάρ ἐστι θεῶν ἥσσω· λίθον δὲ	Some say he composed the epigram on Midas: I am a bronze maiden, and I lie upon the tomb of Midas. As long as water flows and tall trees flourish, [90] and the rising sun shines, and the bright moon, and rivers run and the sea surges, remaining here on this much-lamented tomb I shall tell passers-by that Midas is buried here. As evidence they cite a song of Simonides, where he says: Who, trusting in his wits, would praise Cleobulus, dweller in Lindus, who against ever-flowing rivers and the flowers of spring and the blaze of the sun and of the golden moon and the eddies of the sea set the strength of a statue?

57 Cratinus was an Athenian comic poet of the fifth century BC; the play was called *Cleobulinae*.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	καὶ βρότεοι παλάμαι θραύοντι· μωροῦ φωτὸς ἄδε βουλά. οὐ γὰρ εἶναι Ὁμήρου τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, πολλοῖς ἔτεσι προέχοντος, φασί, τοῦ Μίδα.	For all things are weaker than the gods; but stone even mortal hands can shatter. That was a foolish man's idea. The epigram, they say, is not Homer's, since Homer lived many years before Midas.[58]
1.90	Φέρεται δ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς Παμφίλης Ὑπομνήμασι καὶ αἴνιγμα τοῖον· [91] εἷς ὁ πατήρ, παῖδες δυοκαίδεκα. τῶν δὲ ἑκάστῳ παῖδες δὶς τριάκοντα διάνδιχα εἶδος ἔχουσαι· αἱ μὲν λευκαὶ ἔασιν ἰδεῖν, αἱ δ' αὖτε μέλαιναι· ἀθάνατοι δέ τ' ἐοῦσαι, ἀποφθινύθουσιν ἅπασαι. ἔστι δὲ ὁ ἐνιαυτός.	Pamphila's *Notes* also record a riddle of his, which goes like this: [91] One is the father, twelve the children. Each of these has twice thirty daughters of two different looks: some are white to see, others black; and though they are immortal, they all perish. The answer is the year.
1.91	Τῶν δὲ ᾀδομένων αὐτοῦ εὐδοκίμησε τάδε· Ἀμουσία τὸ πλέον μέρος ἐν βροτοῖσι, λόγων τε πλῆθος· ἀλλ' ὁ καιρὸς ἀρκέσει. φρόνει τι κεδνόν. μὴ μάταιος ἄχαρις γινέσθω. ἔφη δὲ δεῖν συνοικίζειν τὰς θυγατέρας, παρθένους μὲν τὴν ἡλικίαν, τὸ δὲ φρονεῖν γυναῖκας· ὑποδεικνὺς ὅτι δεῖ παιδεύεσθαι καὶ τὰς παρθένους. ἔλεγέ τε τὸν φίλον δεῖν εὐεργετεῖν, ὅπως μᾶλλον ᾖ φίλος· τὸν δὲ ἐχθρὸν φίλον ποιεῖν. φυλάσσεσθαι γὰρ τῶν μὲν φίλων [92] τὸν ψόγον, τῶν δὲ ἐχθρῶν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν. καὶ ὅταν τις ἐξίῃ τῆς οἰκίας, ζητείτω πρότερον τί μέλλει πράσσειν· καὶ ὅταν εἰσέλθῃ πάλιν, ζητείτω τί ἔπραξε.	Of his songs this one was celebrated: Lack of culture and a flood of words make up most of what is found among mortals; but the right moment will suffice. Think of something worthwhile. Do not become empty and graceless. He said that daughters should be married off when they are girls in age but women in understanding. By this he showed that girls too should be educated. He used to say that one should do good to a friend, so that he becomes still more of a friend, and should make an enemy into a friend. For one must guard against blame from friends [92] and plots from enemies. Whenever someone goes out of his house, let him first consider what he is going to do; and when he comes back in, let him consider what he has done.
1.92	συνεβούλευέ τε εὖ τὸ σῶμα ἀσκεῖν· φιλήκοον εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ φιλόλαλον· [φιλομαθῆ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀμαθῆ·] γλῶσσαν εὔφημον ἴσχειν· ἀρετῆς οἰκεῖον εἶναι, κακίας ἀλλότριον· ἀδικίαν φεύγειν· πόλει τὰ βέλτιστα συμβουλεύειν· ἡδονῆς κρατεῖν· βίᾳ μηδὲν πράττειν· τέκνα παιδεύειν· ἐχθρὰν διαλύειν. γυναικὶ μὴ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι, μηδὲ μάχεσθαι, ἀλλοτρίων παρόντων· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄνοιαν, τὸ δὲ μανίαν σημαίνειν. οἰκέτην παρ' οἶνον μὴ κολάζειν, δοκεῖν γὰρ ἂν παροινεῖν. γαμεῖν ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων· ἂν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν κρειττόνων λάβῃς, φησί, [93] δεσπότας κτήσῃ τοὺς συγγενέας. μὴ ἐπεγγελᾶν τοῖς σκωπτομένοις· ἀπεχθήσεσθαι γὰρ τούτοις. εὐτυχῶν μὴ ἴσθι ὑπερήφανος· ἀπορήσας μὴ ταπεινοῦ. τὰς μεταβολὰς τῆς τύχης γενναίως ἐπίστασο φέρειν.	He advised the following. Train the body well. Be fond of listening rather than of talking [fond of learning rather than ignorant]. Keep a tongue that speaks no words of ill omen. Be a friend of excellence and a stranger to vice. Avoid injustice. Give the city the best advice. Master pleasure. Do nothing by force. Educate your children. Put an end to enmity. Neither show affection to your wife nor quarrel with her when others are present: the first is a sign of folly, the second of madness. Do not punish a household slave while drinking, or you will seem to be acting like a drunk. Marry among your equals. For if you take a wife from those above you, he says, [93] you'll acquire your in-laws as masters. Don't laugh along at those who are being mocked, for they will come to hate you. When you're fortunate, don't be arrogant; when you're in

58 The Midas epigram was commonly attributed to Homer.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		difficulty, don't grovel. Learn to bear the changes of fortune nobly.
1.93	Ἐτελεύτησε δὲ γηραιός, ἔτη βιοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα· καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπεγράφη· ἄνδρα σοφὸν Κλεόβουλον ἀποφθίμενον καταπενθεῖ / ἥδε πάτρα Λίνδος πόντῳ ἀγαλλομένη.	He died an old man, having lived seventy years, and this was inscribed for him: The wise man Cleobulus, now dead, is mourned / by this his homeland, Lindus, proud of her sea.
	Ἀπεφθέγξατο· μέτρον ἄριστον. καὶ Σόλωνι ἐπέστειλεν οὕτω·	His saying: Measure is best. He also wrote to Solon as follows:
	Κλεόβουλος Σόλωνι	Cleobulus to Solon
	"Πολλοί μέν τιν ἔασιν ἕταροι καὶ οἶκος πάντη· φαμὶ δὲ ἐγὼν ποτανεστάταν ἐσεῖσθαι Σόλωνι τὰν Λίνδον δαμοκρατεομέναν. καὶ ἁ νᾶσος πελαγία, ἔνθα οἰκέοντι οὐδὲν δεινὸν ἐκ Πεισιστράτω. καὶ τοὶ ἕταροι δὲ ἑκαστόθεν πὰρ τὺ βασοῦνται."	"You have many friends and a home everywhere. But I say that Lindus, governed as a democracy, will be the most suitable place for Solon. It is an island out at sea, and those who live here have nothing to fear from Pisistratus. Your friends, too, will come to you from every quarter."

PERIANDER

The tyrant of Corinth kills his wife, banishes his son and arranges for his own grave to stay hidden.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
1.94	Περίανδρος Κυψέλου Κορίνθιος ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν γένους. οὗτος γήμας Λυσίδην, ἣν αὐτὸς Μέλισσαν ἐκάλει, τὴν Προκλέους τοῦ Ἐπιδαυρίων τυράννου καὶ Ἐρισθενείας τῆς Ἀριστοκράτους παιδός, ἀδελφῆς δὲ τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου θυγατέρα, οἳ σχεδὸν πάσης Ἀρκαδίας ἐπῆρξαν, ὥς φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἀρχῆς, παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐποίησε δύο, Κύψελον καὶ Λυκόφρονα· τὸν μὲν νεώτερον συνετόν, τὸν δὲ πρεσβύτερον ἄφρονα. χρόνῳ δὴ ὑπ' ὀργῆς βαλὼν ὑποβάθρῳ ἢ λακτίσας τὴν γυναῖκα ἔγκυον οὖσαν ἀπέκτεινε, πεισθεὶς διαβολαῖς παλλακίδων, ἃς ὕστερον ἔκαυσε.	Periander, son of Cypselus, was a Corinthian of the family of the Heraclids. He married Lyside, whom he himself called Melissa. She was the daughter of Procles, tyrant of Epidaurus, and of Eristheneia. Eristheneia was the daughter of Aristocrates and the sister of Aristodemus, and these two between them ruled almost all of Arcadia, as Heraclides of Pontus says in his *On Government*. By her Periander had two sons, Cypselus and Lycophron; the younger was intelligent, the elder foolish. In time, in a fit of anger, he threw a footstool at his wife, or kicked her, while she was pregnant, and killed her. He had been persuaded by the slanders of his concubines, whom he later burned.
	Τόν τε παῖδα ἀπεκήρυξεν εἰς Κέρκυραν, λυπούμενον ἐπὶ τῇ μητρί, ᾧ ὄνομα Λυκόφρων. ἤδη δὲ [95] ἐν γήρᾳ καθεστὼς μετεπέμπετο αὐτὸν ὅπως παραλάβοι τὴν τυραννίδα· ὃν φθάσαντες οἱ Κερκυραῖοι διεχρήσαντο. ὅθεν ὀργισθεὶς ἔπεμψε τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν πρὸς Ἀλυάττην ἐπ' ἐκτομῇ· προσχούσης δὲ τῆς νεὼς Σάμῳ, ἱκετεύσαντες τὴν Ἥραν ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμίων διεσώθησαν.	He also disowned his son Lycophron, who was grieving for his mother, and banished him to Corcyra. But when he was already [95] in old age, he sent for him so that he might take over the tyranny. The Corcyraeans got in first and put the young man to death. In his anger at this, Periander sent their sons to Alyattes to be castrated. But when the ship put in at Samos, the boys took refuge as suppliants of Hera and were saved by the Samians.
1.95	Καὶ ὃς ἀθυμήσας ἐτελεύτησεν, ἤδη γεγονὼς ἔτη ὀγδοήκοντα. Σωσικράτης δέ φησι πρότερον Κροίσου	And he, in his despondency, died, by then eighty years old. Sosicrates says that he died forty-one

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	τελευτῆσαι αὐτὸν ἔτεσι τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑνί, πρὸ τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς ἐνάτης Ὀλυμπιάδος. τοῦτον Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ξένον φησὶν εἶναι Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ Μιλησίων τυράννῳ.	years before Croesus, before the 49th Olympiad. Herodotus says in his first book that he was a guest-friend of Thrasybulus, the tyrant of Miletus.[59]
1.96	Φησὶ δὲ Ἀρίστιππος ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ παλαιᾶς τρυφῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ τάδε, ὡς ἄρα ἐρασθεῖσα ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ Κράτεια συνῆν αὐτῷ λάθρα· καὶ ὃς ἥδετο. φανεροῦ δὲ γενομένου βαρὺς πᾶσιν ἐγένετο διὰ τὸ ἀλγεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ φωρᾷ. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἔφορος ἱστορεῖ ὡς εὔξαιτο, εἰ νικήσειεν Ὀλύμπια τεθρίππῳ, χρυσοῦν ἀνδριάντα ἀναθεῖναι. νικήσας δὲ καὶ ἀπορῶν χρυσίου, κατά τινα ἑορτὴν ἐπιχώριον κεκοσμημένας ἰδὼν τὰς γυναῖκας πάντα ἀφείλετο τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἔπεμψε τὸ ἀνάθημα.	Aristippus, in the first book of his *On the Luxury of the Ancients*, says this about him. His mother, Crateia, fell in love with him and slept with him in secret, and he enjoyed it. When it came out, he turned harsh toward everyone, because he was pained at having been found out. Ephorus also records that Periander vowed to dedicate a golden statue if he won the four-horse chariot race at Olympia. He won, but he was short of gold. Then, at a local festival, he saw the women dressed in their finery, stripped them of all their ornaments and sent the offering.[60]
	Λέγουσι δέ τινες ὡς θελήσας αὐτοῦ τὸν τάφον μὴ γνωσθῆναι, τοιοῦτόν τι ἐμηχανήσατο. δυσὶν ἐκέλευσε νεανίσκοις, δείξας τινὰ ὁδόν, ἐξελθεῖν νύκτωρ, καὶ τὸν ἀπαντήσαντα ἀνελεῖν καὶ θάψαι· ἔπειτα βαδίζειν ἄλλους τε κατὰ τούτων τέτταρας, καὶ ἀνελόντας θάψαι· πάλιν τε κατὰ τούτων πλείονας. καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸς τοῖς πρώτοις ἐντυχὼν ἀνῃρέθη. Κορίνθιοι δὲ ἐπί τι κενοτάφιον ἐπέγραψαν αὐτῷ τόδε· [97] πλούτου καὶ σοφίης πρύτανιν πατρὶς ἥδε Κόρινθος κόλποις ἀγχίαλος γῆ Περίανδρον ἔχει. ἔστι καὶ ἡμῶν· μή ποτε λυπήσῃ σε τὸ μή σε τυχεῖν τινος· ἀλλὰ τέρπεο πᾶσιν ὁμῶς οἷσι δίδωσι θεός. καὶ γὰρ ἀθυμήσας ὁ σοφὸς Περίανδρος ἀπέσβη, οὕνεκεν οὐκ ἔτυχεν πρήξιος ἧς ἔθελεν.	Some say that he wanted the site of his tomb to remain unknown, and devised a scheme like this. He showed two young men a certain road and ordered them to go out at night, kill whoever they met and bury him. Then he had four others go after these two, kill them and bury them, and then still more men after those. And so he himself met the first pair and was killed. The Corinthians inscribed this on a cenotaph for him: [97] Lord of wealth and wisdom, Periander—his homeland, Corinth, the land by the sea's bays, holds him. There is also one of mine: Never be grieved at not getting something; but take delight in everything alike that god gives. For the wise Periander too was snuffed out by despondency because he did not get the thing he wanted.
1.97	Τούτου ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Μηδὲν χρημάτων ἕνεκα πράττειν· δεῖν γὰρ τὰ κερδαντὰ κερδαίνειν. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ ὑποθήκας εἰς ἔπη δισχίλια. εἶπέ τε τοὺς μέλλοντας ἀσφαλῶς τυραννήσειν τῇ εὐνοίᾳ δορυφορεῖσθαι, καὶ μὴ τοῖς ὅπλοις. καί ποτε ἐρωτηθεὶς διὰ τί τυραννεῖ, ἔφη, "ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἑκουσίως ἀποστῆναι καὶ τὸ ἀφαιρεθῆναι κίνδυνον φέρει." ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ τάδε· καλὸν ἡσυχία· ἐπισφαλὲς προπέτεια· κέρδος αἰσχρόν· … δημοκρατία κρεῖττον τυραννίδος· αἱ μὲν ἡδοναὶ φθαρταί, αἱ δὲ τιμαὶ ἀθάνατοι· [98] εὐτυχῶν μὲν μέτριος ἴσθι, δυστυχῶν δὲ φρόνιμος·	His too is the saying: Do nothing for the sake of money. For one should make only the gains that ought to be made. He also composed precepts in two thousand lines. He said that those who mean to rule safely as tyrants should be guarded by goodwill and not by arms. Once he was asked why he remained tyrant, and he said, "Because stepping down voluntarily and being deposed are both dangerous." He also used to say the following. Calm is a fine thing; rashness is perilous; gain is

59 Sosicrates of Rhodes wrote *Successions* of the philosophers in the second century BC.
60 This Aristippus was the author of a collection of gossip about the private lives of famous men, which Diogenes cites several times.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	φίλοις εὐτυχοῦσι καὶ ἀτυχοῦσιν ὁ αὐτὸς ἴσθι· ὃ ἂν ὁμολογήσῃς, διατήρει· λόγων ἀπορρήτων ἐκφορὰν μὴ ποιοῦ· μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς μέλλοντας κόλαζε.	shameful; … democracy is better than tyranny; pleasures are perishable, but honors are immortal. [98] When fortunate, be moderate; when unfortunate, be sensible. Be the same to your friends in good fortune and in bad. Whatever you agree to, keep to it. Do not divulge secrets. Punish not only those who do wrong but also those who are about to.
1.98	Οὗτος πρῶτος δορυφόρους ἔσχε, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς τυραννίδα μετέστησε· καὶ οὐκ εἴα ἐν ἄστει ζῆν τοὺς βουλομένους, καθά φησιν Ἔφορος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης, ἤκμαζε δὲ περὶ τὴν τριακοστὴν ὀγδόην Ὀλυμπιάδα, καὶ ἐτυράννησεν ἔτη τετταράκοντα.	He was the first to keep a bodyguard and to turn his rule into a tyranny. He would not let those who wished to live in the city do so, as Ephorus and Aristotle say. He flourished around the 38th Olympiad and was tyrant for forty years.
	Σωτίων δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλείδης καὶ Παμφίλη ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τῶν Ὑπομνημάτων δύο φασὶ Περιάνδρους γεγονέναι, τὸν μὲν τύραννον, τὸν δὲ σοφὸν καὶ Ἀμβρακιώτην. [99] τοῦτο καὶ Νεάνθης φησὶν ὁ Κυζικηνός, ἀνεψιούς τε εἶναι ἀλλήλοις. καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης μὲν τὸν Κορίνθιόν φησιν εἶναι τὸν σοφόν· Πλάτων δὲ οὔ φησι.	Sotion, Heraclides, and Pamphila in the fifth book of her *Notes* say that there were two Perianders: one was the tyrant, and the other was the sage, from Ambracia. [99] Neanthes of Cyzicus says this too, adding that they were cousins. Aristotle says the Corinthian was the sage, but Plato says he was not.
1.99	Τούτου ἐστί· Μελέτη τὸ πᾶν. ἤθελε δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν διορύξαι.	His is the saying: Practice is everything. He also wanted to cut a canal through the Isthmus.
	Φέρεται δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιστολή·	A letter of his is also recorded:
	Περίανδρος τοῖς σοφοῖς	Periander to the Sages
	“Πολλὰ χάρις τῷ Πυθοῖ Ἀπόλλωνι τοῦ εἰς ἓν ἐλθόντας εὑρεῖν. ἀξοῦντί τε καὶ ἐς Κόρινθον ταὶ ἐμαὶ ἐπιστολαί. ἐγὼν δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀποδέχομαι, ὡς ἴστε αὐτοί, ὅτι δαμοτικώτατα. πεύθομαι ὡς πέρυτι ἐγένετο ὑμῶν ἁλία παρὰ τὸν Λυδὸν ἐς Σάρδεις. ἤδη ὦν μὴ ὀκνεῖτε καὶ παρ’ ἐμὲ φοιτῆν τὸν Κορίνθου τύραννον. ὑμᾶς γὰρ καὶ ἄσμενοι ὄψονται Κορίνθιοι φοιτεῦντας ἐς οἶκον τὸν Περιάνδρου.”	“Many thanks to Pythian Apollo that I found you gathered in one place. My letters will bring you to Corinth too. I will receive you, as you yourselves know, in the most democratic manner. I hear that last year you held a gathering at the court of the Lydian in Sardis. So now do not hesitate to come to me as well, the tyrant of Corinth. The Corinthians will be glad to see you coming to the house of Periander.”
1.100	Περίανδρος Προκλεῖ	Periander to Procles
	“Ἐμὶν μὲν ἀκούσιον τᾶς δάμαρτος τὸ ἄγος· τὺ δὲ ἑκὼν τῷ παιδί με ἄπο θυμοῦ ποιήσαις ἀδικεῖς. ἢ ὦν παῦσον τὰν ἀπήνειαν τῶ παιδός, ἢ ἐγὼν τὺ ἀμυνοῦμαι. καὶ γὰρ δὴν καὶ αὐτὸς ποινὰς ἔτισα τὶν τᾷ θυγατρί, συγκατακαύσαις αὐτᾷ τὰ πασᾶν Κορινθιᾶν εἵματα.”	“The pollution of my wife’s death came upon me against my will. But you are doing wrong deliberately in turning my son’s heart against me. So either put an end to the boy’s harshness, or I will take vengeance on you. For I long ago paid you the penalty for your daughter myself, by burning the clothes of all the women of Corinth along with her.”[61]
	Ἔγραψε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Θρασύβουλος οὕτω·	Thrasybulus also wrote to him as follows:

61 Herodotus (5.92) tells how Periander stripped the women of Corinth of their clothes and burned them as an offering to his dead wife.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Θρασύβουλος Περιάνδρῳ “Τῷ μὲν κήρυκι σεῦ οὐδὲν ὑπεκρινάμην· ἀγαγὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς λήϊον, τοὺς ὑπερφυέας τῶν ἀσταχύων ῥάβδῳ παίων ἀπεθέριζον, ὁμαρτέοντος ἐκείνου. καί σοι ἀναγγελέει εἰ ἐπέροιο, ὅ τι μευ ἀκούσειεν ἢ ἴδοι. σὺ δὲ ποίει οὕτως, ἤν γ’ ἐθέλῃς καρτύνασθαι τὴν αἰσυμνητίην· τοὺς ἐξόχους τῶν πολιτέων ἐξαίρειν, ἤν τέ τις ἐχθρός τοι φαίνηται, ἤν τε μή. ὕποπτος γὰρ ἀνδρὶ αἰσυμνήτῃ καὶ τῶν τις ἑτάρων.”	Thrasybulus to Periander “I gave your herald no answer. Instead I took him into a field of grain, and with him following me I struck off the ears that stood too tall with a stick. If you ask him, he will report to you what he heard or saw from me. Do the same, if you want to make your sole rule secure: get rid of the outstanding citizens, whether or not any of them seems to be your enemy. For to a sole ruler even one of his own companions is suspect.”[62]

ANACHARSIS THE SCYTHIAN

A Scythian prince visits Solon, mocks Greek customs and is killed at home for adopting Greek ways.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
1.101	Ἀνάχαρσις ὁ Σκύθης Γνούρου μὲν ἦν υἱός, ἀδελφὸς δὲ Καδουΐδα τοῦ Σκυθῶν βασιλέως, μητρὸς δὲ Ἑλληνίδος· διὸ καὶ δίγλωττος ἦν. οὗτος ἐποίησε τῶν τε παρὰ τοῖς Σκύθαις νομίμων καὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, εἰς εὐτέλειαν βίου καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἔπη ὀκτακόσια. παρέσχε δὲ καὶ ἀφορμὴν παροιμίας διὰ τὸ παρρησιαστὴς εἶναι, τὴν ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν ῥῆσιν.	Anacharsis the Scythian was the son of Gnurus and the brother of Caduidas, king of the Scythians, and his mother was Greek, which is why he was bilingual. He wrote a poem of eight hundred lines on the customs of the Scythians and the Greeks, on frugal living and on warfare. Because he spoke so freely, he also gave rise to a proverb, “talking like a Scythian.”
	Λέγει δὲ αὐτὸν Σωσικράτης ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἀθήνας κατὰ τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν ἑβδόμην Ὀλυμπιάδα ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Εὐκράτους. Ἕρμιππος δὲ πρὸς τὴν Σόλωνος οἰκίαν ἀφικόμενον τῶν θεραπόντων τινὶ κελεῦσαι μηνῦσαι ὅτι παρείη, πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀνάχαρσις, καὶ βούλοιτο αὐτὸν θεάσασθαι, ξένος τε, εἰ οἷόν τε, γενέσθαι. [102] καὶ ὁ θεράπων εἰσαγγείλας ἐκελεύσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ, ὅτιπερ ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις πατρίσι ξένους ποιοῦνται. ἔνθεν ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις ἑλὼν ἔφη νῦν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι εἶναι καὶ προσήκειν αὐτῷ ξένους ποιεῖθαι. ὁ δὲ καταπλαγεὶς τὴν ἑτοιμότητα εἰσέφρησεν αὐτὸν καὶ μέγιστον φίλον ἐποιήσατο.	Sosicrates says that he came to Athens in the 47th Olympiad, when Eucrates was archon. Hermippus says that he went to Solon’s house and told one of the servants to announce that Anacharsis had come to see him, wished to meet him and, if possible, to become his guest-friend. [102] The servant took the message in, and Solon told him to answer that people make guest-friends in their own countries. Anacharsis seized on this and said that he was now in his own country, so it was proper for him to make guest-friends. Solon, struck by his quick wit, let him in and made him his closest friend.[63]
1.102	Μετὰ χρόνον δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Σκυθίαν καὶ δοκῶν τὰ νόμιμα παραλύειν τῆς πατρίδος πολὺς ὢν ἐν τῷ ἑλληνίζειν, τοξευθεὶς ἐν κυνηγεσίῳ πρὸς τἀδελφοῦ τελευτᾷ, εἰπὼν διὰ μὲν τὸν λόγον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος σωθῆναι, διὰ δὲ τὸν φθόνον ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ ἀπολέσθαι. ἔνιοι δὲ τελετὰς Ἑλληνικὰς ἐπιτελοῦντα διαχρησθῆναι. Καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτόν· [103] ἐς Σκυθίην Ἀνάχαρσις ὅτ’ ἤλυθε, πολλὰ πλανηθεὶς πάντας ἔπειθε βιοῦν ἤθεσιν Ἑλλαδικοῖς.	Some time later he went back to Scythia. Because he was thought to be undermining his country’s customs with his great enthusiasm for Greek ways, he was shot with an arrow by his brother while out hunting and died. His last words were that thanks to his words he had come home safe from Greece, but through envy he had perished in his own land. Some say he was killed while performing Greek rites. There is also an epigram of

62 The Greek calls this rule an *aisymnetia*, the office of an elected ruler with absolute powers; here the word stands for tyranny.
63 The 47th Olympiad ran from 592 to 589 BC.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	τὸν δ' ἔτι μῦθον ἄκραντον ἐνὶ στομάτεσσιν ἔχοντα πτηνὸς ἐς ἀθανάτους ἥρπασεν ὦκα δόναξ.	mine on him: [103] When Anacharsis came back to Scythia after long wanderings, he urged everyone to live by Greek customs. But while the word was still unfinished on his lips, a winged reed swiftly snatched him away to the immortals.[64]
1.103	Οὗτος τὴν ἄμπελον εἶπε τρεῖς φέρειν βότρυς· τὸν πρῶτον ἡδονῆς· τὸν δεύτερον μέθης· τὸν τρίτον ἀνδίας. θαυμάζειν δὲ ἔφη πῶς παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀγωνίζονται μὲν οἱ τεχνῖται, κρίνουσι δὲ οἱ μὴ τεχνῖται. ἐρωτηθεὶς πῶς οὐκ ἂν γένοιτό τις φιλοπότης, "εἰ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν," εἶπεν, "ἔχοι τὰς τῶν μεθυόντων ἀσχημοσύνας." θαυμάζειν τε ἔλεγε πῶς οἱ Ἕλληνες νομοθετοῦντες κατὰ τῶν ὑβριζόντων, τοὺς ἀθλητὰς τιμῶσιν ἐπὶ τῷ τύπτειν ἀλλήλους. μαθὼν τέτταρας δακτύλους εἶναι τὸ πάχος τῆς νεώς, τοσοῦτον ἔφη τοῦ θανάτου τοὺς πλέοντας ἀπέχειν.	He said that the vine bears three bunches of grapes: the first of pleasure, the second of drunkenness, the third of disgust. He said he was amazed that among the Greeks experts compete while non-experts judge. Asked how a man might avoid becoming a heavy drinker, he said, "By keeping before his eyes the disgraceful behavior of drunks." He also used to say he was amazed that the Greeks, who make laws against assault, honor athletes for hitting one another. When he learned that a ship's hull was four fingers thick, he said that this was how far the passengers were from death.
1.104	Τὸ ἔλαιον μανίας φάρμακον ἔλεγε διὰ τὸ ἀλειφομένους τοὺς ἀθλητὰς ἐπιμαίνεσθαι ἀλλήλοις. πῶς, ἔλεγεν, ἀπαγορεύοντες τὸ ψεύδεσθαι ἐν ταῖς καπηλείαις φανερῶς ψεύδονται; καὶ θαυμάζειν φησὶ τῶς Ἕλληνες ἀρχόμενοι μὲν ἐν μικροῖς πίνουσι, πλησθέντες δὲ ἐν μεγάλοις. ἐπιγράφεται δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῖς εἰκόσι· "γλώσσης, γαστρός, αἰδοίων κρατεῖν." ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ εἰσὶν ἐν Σκύθαις αὐλοί, εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἄμπελοι." ἐρωτηθεὶς τίνα τῶν πλοίων εἰσὶν ἀσφαλέστερα, ἔφη, "τὰ νενεωλκημένα." καὶ τοῦτο ἔφη θαυμασιώτατον ἑωρακέναι παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὅτι τὸν μὲν καπνὸν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι καταλείπουσι, τὰ δὲ ξύλα εἰς τὴν πόλιν κομίζουσιν.	He called olive oil a drug for madness, because athletes rub themselves with it and then rage against one another. How, he used to ask, can people who forbid lying lie openly in their shops? And he says he is amazed that the Greeks drink from small cups at the start, but from large ones once they are full. On his statues is inscribed: "Master your tongue, your belly and your private parts." Asked whether there were flutes among the Scythians, he said, "No, and no vines either." Asked which ships were safest, he said, "The ones hauled up on dry land." He said the most amazing thing he had seen among the Greeks was that they leave the smoke in the mountains but carry the wood into the city.
	ἐρωτηθεὶς πότεροι πλείους εἰσίν, οἱ ζῶντες ἢ οἱ νεκροί, ἔφη, "τοὺς οὖν πλέοντας ποῦ τίθης;" ὀνειδιζόμενος ὑπὸ Ἀττικοῦ ὅτι Σκύθης ἐστίν, ἔφη, "ἀλλ' ἐμοῦ μὲν ὄνειδος ἡ πατρίς, σὺ δὲ τῆς πατρίδος." [105] ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ἐστιν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθόν τε καὶ φαῦλον, ἔφη, "γλῶσσα." κρεῖττον ἔλεγεν ἕνα φίλον ἔχειν πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἢ πολλοὺς μηδενὸς ἀξίους. τὴν ἀγορὰν ὡρισμένον ἔφη τόπον εἰς τὸ ἀλλήλους ἀπατᾶν καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν. ὑπὸ μειρακίου παρὰ πότον ὑβρισθεὶς ἔφη, "μειράκιον, ἐὰν νέος ὢν τὸν οἶνον οὐ φέρῃς, γέρων γενόμενος ὕδωρ οἴσεις."	Asked which were more numerous, the living or the dead, he said, "Then where do you put those who are at sea?" When an Athenian taunted him for being a Scythian, he said, "Well, my country is a disgrace to me, but you are a disgrace to your country." [105] Asked what among human beings is both good and bad, he said, "The tongue." He used to say that it was better to have one friend worth a great deal than many worth nothing. He defined the marketplace as a place set aside for people to deceive and cheat one another. When a young man insulted him at a drinking party, he said, "Young

64 The "winged reed" is the arrow that killed him.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		man, if you can't bear wine while you're young, you'll be bearing water when you're old."
1.105	Εὗρε δ' εἰς τὸν βίον ἄγκυράν τε καὶ κεραμικὸν τροχόν, ὥς τινες. Καὶ ἐπέστειλεν ὧδε· Ἀνάχαρσις Κροίσῳ "Ἐγώ, βασιλεῦ Λυδῶν, ἀφῖγμαι εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, διδαθησόμενος ἤθη τὰ τούτων καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα. χρυσοῦ δ' οὐδὲ δέομαι, ἀλλ' ἀπόχρη με ἐπανήκειν ἐς Σκύθας ἄνδρα ἀμείνονα. ἥκω γοῦν ἐς Σάρδεις, πρὸ μεγάλου ποιούμενος ἐν γνώμῃ τοι γενέσθαι."	According to some, he invented the anchor and the potter's wheel for everyday use. He also wrote this letter: Anacharsis to Croesus "King of the Lydians, I have come to the land of the Greeks to be taught their customs and their ways of life. I have no need of gold; it is enough for me to return to Scythia a better man. So I am coming to Sardis, since I set great store by becoming known to you."

MYSON

The oracle names an obscure villager, found mending his plow, wiser than Anacharsis.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
1.106	Μύσων Στρύμωνος, ὥς φησι Σωσικράτης Ἕρμιππον παρατιθέμενος, τὸ γένος Χηνεύς, ἀπὸ κώμης τινὸς Οἰταϊκῆς ἢ Λακωνικῆς, σὺν τοῖς ἑπτὰ καταριθμεῖται. φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τυράννου πατρὸς εἶναι. λέγεται δὴ πρός τινος Ἀναχάρσιδος πυνθανομένου εἴ τις αὐτοῦ σοφώτερος εἴη, τὴν Πυθίαν ἀνελεῖν ἅπερ προείρηται ἐν τῷ Θαλοῦ βίῳ ὑπὲρ Χίλωνος· Οἰταῖόν τινά φημι Μύσων' ἐνὶ Χηνὶ γενέσθαι / σοῦ μᾶλλον πραπίδεσσιν ἀρηρότα πευκαλίμῃσι. πολυπραγμονήσαντα δὲ ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν κώμην καὶ εὑρεῖν αὐτὸν θέρους ἐχέτλην ἀρότρῳ προσαρμόττοντα, καὶ εἰπεῖν, "ἀλλ', ὦ Μύσων, οὐχ ὥρα νῦν ἀρότρου." "καὶ μάλα," εἶπεν, "ὥστε ἐπισκευάζειν."	Myson, son of Strymon, a native of Chen, a village in Oeta or Laconia, as Sosicrates says, citing Hermippus, is counted among the Seven Sages. They say that his father was a tyrant. It is said that when Anacharsis asked whether anyone was wiser than he, the Pythia gave the reply already quoted in the life of Thales concerning Chilon: I say that a certain Myson of Oeta, born in Chen, / is better furnished than you with a shrewd mind. Anacharsis, curious, went to the village and found him in summer fitting a handle to a plow, and said, "But, Myson, this is no season for the plow." "Very much so," he said, "for mending it."
1.107	ἄλλοι δὲ τὸν χρησμὸν οὕτως ἔχειν φασί, "Ἠτεῖόν τινά φημι·" καὶ ζητοῦσι τί ἐστιν ὁ Ἠτεῖος. Παρμενίδης μὲν οὖν δῆμον εἶναι Λακωνικῆς, ὅθεν εἶναι τὸν Μύσωνα. Σωσικράτης δ' ἐν Διαδοχαῖς, ἀπὸ μὲν πατρὸς Ἠτεῖον εἶναι, ἀπὸ δὲ μητρὸς Χηνέα. Εὐθύφρων δ' ὁ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ποντικοῦ, Κρῆτά φησιν εἶναι· Ἠτείαν γὰρ πόλιν εἶναι Κρήτης. Ἀναξίλαος δ' Ἀρκάδα.	Others say the oracle reads "I say that a certain Etean," and inquire what "Etean" means. Parmenides says it is a district of Laconia, and that Myson came from there. Sosicrates, in his *Successions*, says he was Etean on his father's side and Chenian on his mother's. Euthyphro, the son of Heraclides of Pontus, says he was a Cretan, since Eteia is a city in Crete. Anaxilaus says he was an Arcadian.
	Μέμνηται δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἱππῶναξ εἰπών· καὶ Μύσων ὃν Ὠπόλλων / ἀνεῖλεν ἀνδρῶν σωφρονέστατον πάντων. Ἀριστόξενος δέ φησιν ἐν τοῖς σποράδην οὐ πόρρω Τίμωνος αὐτὸν καὶ Ἀπημάντου γεγονέναι· μισανθρωπεῖν γάρ. [108] ὀφθῆναι γοῦν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι μόνον ἐπ' ἐρημίας γελῶντα· ἄφνω δέ τινος ἐπιστάντος καὶ πυθομένου διὰ τί μηδενὸς παρόντος γελᾷ, φάναι, "δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο." φησὶ δ' Ἀριστόξενος ὅτι ἔνθεν καὶ ἄδοξος ἦν, ὅτι μηδὲ πόλεως, ἀλλὰ κώμης, καὶ ταῦτα ἀφανοῦς. ὅθεν διὰ τὴν ἀδοξίαν	Hipponax also mentions him, saying: And Myson, whom Apollo / proclaimed the most self-controlled of all men. Aristoxenus, in his *Miscellaneous Notes*, says that he was not far removed from Timon and Apemantus, for he was a misanthrope. [108] At any rate, he was once seen in Sparta laughing by himself in a deserted spot; when someone suddenly came up and asked why he was laughing when no one was there, he said, "That's exactly

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ τινας Πεισιστράτῳ περιθεῖναι τῷ τυράννῳ, χωρὶς Πλάτωνος τοῦ φιλοσόφου. μέμνηται γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ οὗτος ἐν τῷ Πρωταγόρᾳ, ἀντὶ Περιάνδρου θεὶς αὐτόν.	why." Aristoxenus says that this is also why he was obscure: he came not from a city but from a village, and an unknown one at that. Because of his obscurity, some attributed his sayings to Pisistratus the tyrant—though not Plato the philosopher, who mentions him in the *Protagoras*, putting him in place of Periander.[65]
1.108	Ἔφασκε δὲ μὴ ἐκ τῶν λόγων τὰ πράγματα, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων τοὺς λόγους ζητεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ἕνεκα τῶν λόγων τὰ πράγματα συντελεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἕνεκα τῶν πραγμάτων τοὺς λόγους.	He used to say that we should not seek things from words, but words from things; for things are not done for the sake of words, but words for the sake of things.
	Κατέστρεψε δὲ βιοὺς ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ ἐννενήκοντα.	He died at the age of ninety-seven.

EPIMENIDES

The Cretan sleeps fifty-seven years in a cave, then purifies Athens of a plague.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
1.109	Ἐπιμενίδης, καθά φησι Θεόπομπος καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοί, πατρὸς μὲν ἦν Φαιστίου, οἱ δὲ Δωσιάδα οἱ δὲ Ἀγησάρχου· Κρὴς τὸ γένος ἀπὸ Κνωσσοῦ, καθέσει τῆς κόμης τὸ εἶδος παραλλάσσων. οὗτός ποτε πεμφθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰς ἀγρὸν ἐπὶ πρόβατον, τῆς ὁδοῦ κατὰ μεσημβρίαν ἐκκλίνας ὑπ' ἄντρῳ τινὶ κατεκοιμήθη ἑπτὰ καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτη.	Epimenides, according to Theopompus and many others, was the son of Phaestius; others say of Dosiadas, others of Agesarchus. He was a Cretan by birth, from Cnossus, and he looked unusual because he wore his hair long. Once his father sent him out to the country to fetch a sheep; at midday he turned off the road and fell asleep in a cave for fifty-seven years.
	διαναστὰς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐζήτει τὸ πρόβατον, νομίζων ἐπ' ὀλίγον κεκοιμῆσθαι. ὡς δὲ οὐχ εὕρισκε, παρεγένετο εἰς τὸν ἀγρόν, καὶ μετεσκευασμένα πάντα καταλαβὼν καὶ παρ' ἑτέρῳ τὴν κτῆσιν, πάλιν ἦκεν εἰς ἄστυ διαπορούμενος. κἀκεῖ δὲ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ εἰσιὼν οἰκίαν περιέτυχε τοῖς πυνθανομένοις τίς εἴη, ἕως τὸν νεώτερον ἀδελφὸν εὑρὼν τότε ἤδη γέροντα ὄντα, πᾶσαν ἔμαθε παρ' ἐκείνου τὴν ἀλήθειαν. [110] γνωσθεὶς δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι θεοφιλέστατος εἶναι ὑπελήφθη.	When he got up, he went looking for the sheep, thinking he had slept only a short while. When he could not find it, he went on to the farm, and finding everything changed and the property in someone else's hands, he went back to town bewildered. There he went into his own house and met people who asked who he was, until he found his younger brother, by now an old man, and learned the whole truth from him. [110] Once he became known among the Greeks, he was regarded as especially dear to the gods.
1.110	Τότε καὶ Ἀθηναίοις [τότε] λοιμῷ κατεχομένοις ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθία καθῆραι τὴν πόλιν· οἱ δὲ πέμπουσι ναῦν τε καὶ Νικίαν τὸν Νικηράτου εἰς Κρήτην, καλοῦντες τὸν Ἐπιμενίδην. καὶ ὃς ἐλθὼν Ὀλυμπιάδι τεσσαρακοστῇ ἕκτῃ ἐκάθηρεν αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἔπαυσε τὸν λοιμὸν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. λαβὼν πρόβατα μέλανά τε καὶ λευκὰ ἤγαγε πρὸς τὸν Ἄρειον πάγον· κἀκεῖθεν εἴασεν ἰέναι οἷ βούλοιντο, προστάξας τοῖς ἀκολούθοις ἔνθα ἂν	At that time, when the Athenians [then] were in the grip of a plague, the Pythia's oracle told them to purify the city. They sent a ship, and Nicias son of Niceratus, to Crete to summon Epimenides. He came in the 46th Olympiad, purified their city and stopped the plague in the following way. He took black and white sheep and led them to the Areopagus; from there he let them go wherever they liked, instructing his attendants to sacrifice each

65 Timon and Apemantus were proverbial Athenian misanthropes of the fifth century BC.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	κατακλίνοι αὐτῶν ἕκαστον, θύειν τῷ προσήκοντι θεῷ· καὶ οὕτω λῆξαι τὸ κακόν.	one, wherever it lay down, to the god concerned. And so, they say, the evil ceased.
	ὅθεν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔστιν εὑρεῖν κατὰ τοὺς δήμους τῶν Ἀθηναίοι βωμοὺς ἀνωνύμους, ὑπόμνημα τῆς τότε γενομένης ἐξιλάσεως. οἱ δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν τοῦ λοιμοῦ τὸ Κυλώνειον ἄγος σημαίνειν τε τὴν ἀπαλλαγήν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀποθανεῖν δύο νεανίας, Κρατῖνον καὶ Κτησίβιον, καὶ λυθῆναι τὴν συμφοράν.	This is why, even now, one can find altars without names in the demes of Athens, a memorial of the atonement made at that time. Others say he declared the cause of the plague to be the pollution incurred over Cylon and showed how to be rid of it; that for this reason two young men, Cratinus and Ctesibius, were put to death; and that the calamity was lifted.[66]
1.111	Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τάλαντον ἐψηφίσαντο δοῦναι αὐτῷ καὶ ναῦν τὴν ἐς Κρήτην ἀπάξουσαν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀργύριον οὐ προσήκατο· φιλίαν δὲ καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσατο Κνωσίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων.	The Athenians voted to give him a talent and a ship to take him back to Crete. He refused the money, but concluded a treaty of friendship and alliance between Cnossus and Athens.
	Καὶ ἐπανελθὼν ἐπ' οἴκου μετ' οὐ πολὺ μετήλλαξεν, ὥς φησι Φλέγων ἐν τῷ Περὶ μακροβίων, βιοὺς ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν· ὡς δὲ Κρῆτες λέγουσιν, ἐνὸς δέοντα τριακόσια· ὡς δὲ Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἀκηκοέναι φησί, τέτταρα πρὸς τοῖς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν.	He returned home and died not long afterward, as Phlegon says in his *On Long-Lived People*, at the age of 157; according to the Cretans, at 299; according to what Xenophanes of Colophon says he heard, at 154.[67]
	Ἐποίησε δὲ Κουρήτων καὶ Κορυβάντων γένεσιν καὶ Θεογονίαν, ἔπη πεντακισχίλια, Ἀργοῦς ναυπηγίαν τε καὶ Ἰάσονος εἰς Κόλχους ἀπόπλουν ἔπη ἑξακισχίλια πεντακόσια. [112] συνέγραψε δὲ καὶ καταλογάδην Περὶ θυσιῶν καὶ τῆς ἐν Κρήτῃ πολιτείας καὶ Περὶ Μίνω καὶ Ῥαδαμάνθυος εἰς ἔπη τετρακισχίλια. ἱδρύσατο δὲ καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις τὸ ἱερὸν τῶν Σεμνῶν, ὥς φησι Λόβων ὁ Ἀργεῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ ποιητῶν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ πρῶτος οἰκίας καὶ ἀγροὺς καθῆραι καὶ ἱερὰ ἱδρύσασθαι. εἰσὶ δ' οἳ μὴ κοιμηθῆναι αὐτὸν λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ χρόνον τινὰ ἐκπατῆσαι ἀσχολούμενον περὶ ῥιζοτομίαν.	He wrote *The Birth of the Curetes and Corybantes* and a *Theogony*, 5,000 lines, and *The Building of the Argo and Jason's Voyage to the Colchians*, 6,500 lines. [112] He also wrote in prose *On Sacrifices* and *On the Cretan Constitution*, and *On Minos and Rhadamanthys*, about 4,000 lines. He also founded the shrine of the Solemn Ones at Athens, as Lobon of Argos says in his *On Poets*. He is also said to have been the first to purify houses and fields and to found temples. Some say he did not fall asleep at all, but went away for a time, busy gathering roots.[68]
1.112	Φέρεται δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Σόλωνα τὸν νομοθέτην, περιέχουσα πολιτείαν ἣν διέταξε Κρησὶ Μίνως. ἀλλὰ Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης ἐν τοῖς περὶ ὁμωνύμων ποιητῶν τε καὶ συγγραφέων διελέγχειν πειρᾶται τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὡς νεαρὰν καὶ μὴ τῇ Κρητικῇ φωνῇ γεγραμμένην, Ἀτθίδι δὲ καὶ ταύτῃ νέᾳ. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἄλλην εὗρον ἐπιστολὴν ἔχουσαν οὕτως·	There is also a letter attributed to him addressed to Solon the lawgiver, containing a constitution that Minos laid down for the Cretans. But Demetrius of Magnesia, in his work on poets and writers of the same name, tries to show that the letter is recent and not written in the Cretan dialect but in Attic, and modern Attic at that. I myself have found another letter, which runs as follows:
1.113	Ἐπιμενίδης Σόλωνι "Θάρρει, ὦ ἑταῖρε. αἰ γὰρ ἔτι θητευόντεσσιν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ μὴ εὐνομημένοις ἐπεθήκατο Πεισίστρατος, εἶχέ κα	Epimenides to Solon "Take heart, my friend. If Pisistratus had attacked the Athenians while they were still serfs and

66 The "pollution of Cylon" was the guilt incurred when supporters of Cylon, after his failed attempt at tyranny (c. 632 BC), were killed despite having taken sanctuary.
67 Phlegon of Tralles was a freedman of the emperor Hadrian who wrote on marvels and long-lived people (second century AD).

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	τὰν ἀρχὰν ἀεί, ἀνδραποδιξάμενος τὼς πολιήτας· νῦν δὲ οὐ κακὼς ἄνδρας δουλῶται· τοὶ μεμναμένοι τᾶς Σόλωνος μανύσιος ἀλγιόντι πεδ' αἰσχύνας οὐδὲ ἀνεξοῦνται τυραννούμενοι. ἀλλ' αἴ κα Πεισίστρατος ⟨αὐτὸς⟩ κατασχέθῃ τὰν πόλιν, οὐ μὰν ἐς παῖδάς γε τήνω ἔλπομαι τὸ κράτος ἴξεσθαι· δυσμάχανον γὰρ ἀνθρώπως ἐλευθεριάξαντας ἐν τεθμοῖς ἀρίστοις δούλως ἦμεν. τὺ δὲ μὴ ἀλᾶσθαι, ἀλλ' ἔρπε ἐς Κρήτην ποθ' ἁμέ. τουτᾶ γὰρ οὐκ ἐσεῖταί τιν δεινὸς ὁ μόναρχος· αἰ δέ πη ἐπ' ἀλατείᾳ ἐγκύρσωντί τοι τοὶ τήνω φίλοι, δειμαίνω μή τι δεινὸν πάθῃς."	without good laws, he would have held power forever, having enslaved the citizens. As it is, he is enslaving men who are no cowards: men who remember Solon's warning grieve in their shame and will not put up with being ruled by a tyrant. Even if Pisistratus himself holds the city, I do not expect his power to pass to his sons; for it is hard for people who have lived as free men under the best laws to be slaves. But don't wander about; come to us in Crete. Here you will have no monarch to fear; whereas if his friends should come across you somewhere on your wanderings, I fear you may suffer something terrible."
1.114	Καὶ οὗτος μὲν ὧδε. φησὶ δὲ Δημήτριός τινας ἱστορεῖν ὡς λάβοι παρὰ Νυμφῶν ἔδεσμά τι καὶ φυλάττοι ἐν χηλῇ βοός· προσφερόμενός τε κατ' ὀλίγον μηδεμιᾷ κενοῦσθαι ἀποκρίσει μηδὲ ὀφθῆναί ποτε ἐσθίων. μέμνηται αὐτοῦ καὶ Τίμαιος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ. λέγουσι δέ τινες ὅτι Κρῆτες αὐτῷ θύουσιν ὡς θεῷ· φασὶ γὰρ καὶ ⟨προ⟩ γνωστικώτατον γεγονέναι. ἰδόντα γοῦν τὴν Μουνιχίαν παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἀγνοεῖν φάναι αὐτοὺς ὅσων κακῶν αἴτιον ἔσται τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον αὐτοῖς· ἐπεὶ κἂν τοῖς ὀδοῦσιν αὐτὸ διαφορῆσαι· ταῦτα ἔλεγε τοσούτοις πρότερον χρόνοις. λέγεται δὲ ὡς καὶ πρῶτος αὐτὸν Αἰακὸν λέγοι, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις προείποι τὴν ὑπ' Ἀρκάδων ἅλωσιν προσποιηθῆναί τε πολλάκις ἀναβεβιωκέναι.	So much for that letter. Demetrius says that some report that he received a certain food from the Nymphs and kept it in an ox's hoof; that he took it a little at a time, never needed to relieve himself, and was never seen eating. Timaeus also mentions him in his second book. Some say that the Cretans sacrifice to him as a god, for they say he had an exceptional gift of foreknowledge. At any rate, when he saw Munychia at Athens, he said that the Athenians did not know how much trouble this place would bring them; otherwise they would tear it apart even with their teeth. He said this so long before the event. It is also said that he was the first to call himself Aeacus, that he foretold to the Spartans their capture by the Arcadians, and that he claimed to have come back to life many times.[69]
1.115	Θεόπομπος δ' ἐν τοῖς Θαυμασίοις, κατασκευάζοντος αὐτοῦ τὸ τῶν Νυμφῶν ἱερὸν ῥαγῆναι φωνὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, "'Ἐπιμενίδη, μὴ Νυμφῶν, ἀλλὰ Διός·" Κρησί τε προειπεῖν τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἧτταν ὑπ' Ἀρκάδων, καθάπερ προείρηται· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐλήφθησαν πρὸς Ὀρχομενῷ.	Theopompus, in his *Marvels*, says that while he was building the shrine of the Nymphs a voice burst forth from heaven: "Epimenides, not of the Nymphs, but of Zeus"; and that he foretold to the Cretans the defeat of the Spartans by the Arcadians, as was mentioned above; and they were in fact defeated at Orchomenus.
	Γηρᾶσαί τ' ἐν τοσαύταις ἡμέραις αὐτὸν ὅσαπερ ἔτη κατεκοιμήθη· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτό φησι Θεόπομπος. Μυρωνιανὸς δὲ ἐν Ὁμοίοις φησὶν ὅτι Κούρητα αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν Κρῆτες· καὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ φυλάττουσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι παρ' ἑαυτοῖς κατά τι λόγιον, ὥς φησι Σωσίβιος ὁ Λάκων.	Theopompus also says that he grew old in as many days as he had slept years. Myronianus, in his *Parallels*, says that the Cretans called him a Curete; and the Spartans keep his body among themselves in obedience to an oracle, as Sosibius the Laconian says.[70]

68 The "Solemn Ones" (Semnai) were the Furies, worshipped at Athens under this name.
69 Munychia, a hill in the Piraeus, was later the site of a Macedonian garrison that controlled Athens.
70 The Curetes were Cretan demigods said to have guarded the infant Zeus.

GREEK	ENGLISH
Γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ Ἐπιμενίδαι ἄλλοι δύο, ὅ τε γενεαλόγος καὶ τρίτος ὁ Δωρίδι γεγραφὼς περὶ Ῥόδου.	There have also been two other men named Epimenides: the genealogist, and a third who wrote about Rhodes in the Doric dialect.

PHERECYDES

Pythagoras' teacher makes prophecies, gives orders for his own burial and, by some accounts, dies of lice.

GREEK	ENGLISH
1.116 Φερεκύδης Βάβυος Σύριος, καθά φησιν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Διαδοχαῖς, Πιττακοῦ διακήκοεν. τοῦτόν φησι Θεόπομπος πρῶτον περὶ φύσεως καὶ θεῶν γράψαι.	Pherecydes of Syros, son of Babys, studied under Pittacus, as Alexander says in his *Successions*. Theopompus says that he was the first to write about nature and the gods.
Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ θαυμάσια λέγεται περὶ αὐτοῦ. καὶ γὰρ παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τῆς Σάμου περιπατοῦντα καὶ ναῦν οὐριοδρομοῦσαν ἰδόντα εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐ μετὰ πολὺ καταδύσεται· καὶ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ καταδῦναι. καὶ ἀνιμηθέντος ἐκ φρέατος ὕδατος πιόντα προειπεῖν, ὡς εἰς τρίτην ἡμέραν ἔσοιτο σεισμός, καὶ γενέσθαι. ἀνιόντα τε ἐξ Ὀλυμπίας εἰς Μεσσήνην τῷ ξένῳ Περιλάῳ συμβουλεῦσαι ἐξοικῆσαι μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων· καὶ τὸν μὴ πεισθῆναι, Μεσσήνην δὲ ἑαλωκέναι.	Many remarkable things are told about him. For instance, they say that while walking along the beach on Samos he saw a ship running before a fair wind and said that it would soon sink; and it sank before his eyes. After drinking water drawn up from a well, he foretold that there would be an earthquake in three days, and there was. And on his way up from Olympia to Messene he advised his host Perilaus to move out with his household; Perilaus was not persuaded, and Messene was captured.[71]
1.117 Καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις εἰπεῖν μήτε χρυσὸν τιμᾶν μήτε ἄργυρον, ὥς φησι Θεόπομπος ἐν Θαυμασίοις· προστάξαι δὲ αὐτῷ ὄναρ τοῦτο τὸν Ἡρακλέα, ὃν καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς νυκτὸς τοῖς βασιλεῦσι κελεῦσαι Φερεκύδῃ πείθεσθαι. ἔνιοι δὲ Πυθαγόρᾳ περιάπτουσι ταῦτα.	He also told the Spartans to value neither gold nor silver, as Theopompus says in his *Marvels*; Heracles, he says, gave him this command in a dream, and on the same night ordered the kings to obey Pherecydes. Some attach these stories to Pythagoras.
Φησὶ δ' Ἕρμιππος πολέμου συνεστῶτος Ἐφεσίοις καὶ Μάγνησι βουλόμενον τοὺς Ἐφεσίους νικῆσαι πυθέσθαι τινὸς παριόντος πόθεν εἴη, τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος "ἐξ Ἐφέσου," "ἕλκυσόν με τοίνυν, ἔφη, τῶν σκελῶν καὶ θὲς εἰς τὴν τῶν Μαγνήτων χώραν, καὶ ἀπάγγειλόν σου τοῖς πολίταις μετὰ τὸ νικῆσαι αὐτόθι με θάψαι· ἐπεσκηφέναι τε ταῦτα Φερεκύδην."	Hermippus says that when war broke out between Ephesus and Magnesia, he wanted the Ephesians to win, and asked a passer-by where he came from. When the man said, "From Ephesus," "Then drag me by the legs," he said, "and put me in the territory of the Magnesians, and tell your fellow citizens to bury me there after their victory, and that Pherecydes laid this charge on them."
1.118 ὁ μὲν ⟨οὖν⟩ ἀπήγγειλεν· οἱ δὲ μετὰ μίαν ἐπελθόντες κρατοῦσι τῶν Μαγνήτων, καὶ τόν τε Φερεκύδην μεταλλάξαντα θάπτουσιν αὐτόθι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς τιμῶσιν. ἔνιοι δέ φασιν ἐλθόντα εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Κωρυκίου ὄρους αὐτὸν δισκῆσαι. Ἀριστόξενος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Πυθαγόρου καὶ τῶν γνωρίμων αὐτοῦ φησι νοσήσαντα αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Πυθαγόρου ταφῆναι ἐν Δήλῳ. οἱ δὲ φθειριάσαντα τὸν βίον τελευτῆσαι· ὅτε καὶ Πυθαγόρου	The man passed on the message. A day later the Ephesians attacked and defeated the Magnesians; and finding that Pherecydes had died, they buried him there and paid him magnificent honors. Some say that he went to Delphi and hurled himself from the Corycian mountain. Aristoxenus, in his *On Pythagoras and His Pupils*, says that he fell ill and was buried by Pythagoras on Delos. Others

71 Alexander Polyhistor was a prolific compiler of the first century BC.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	παραγενομένου καὶ πυνθανομένου, πῶς διακέοιτο, διαβαλόντα τῆς θύρας τὸν δάκτυλον εἰπεῖν, “χροΐ δῆλα”· καὶ τοὐντεῦθεν παρὰ τοῖς φιλολόγοις ἡ λέξις ἐπὶ τῶν χειρόνων τάττεται, οἱ δ’ ἐπὶ τῶν βελτίστων χρώμενοι διαμαρτάνουσιν. [119] ἔλεγέ τε ὅτι οἱ θεοὶ τὴν τράπεζαν θυωρὸν καλοῦσιν.	say he died of a lice infestation; and that when Pythagoras came and asked how he was, he thrust his finger through the door and said, “It shows on my skin.” From then on, they say, scholars have used the phrase of things going badly, and those who use it of things going very well are mistaken. [119] He also used to say that the gods call a table the “offering-keeper.”
1.119	Ἄνδρων δ’ ὁ Ἐφέσιός φησι δύο γεγονέναι Φερεκύδας Συρίους, τὸν μὲν ἀστρολόγον, τὸν δὲ θεολόγον υἱὸν Βάβυος, ᾧ καὶ Πυθαγόραν σχολάσαι. Ἐρατοσθένης δ’ ἕνα μόνον, καὶ ἕτερον Ἀθηναῖον, γενεαλόγον.	Andron of Ephesus says that there were two men named Pherecydes from Syros: one an astronomer, the other a theologian, the son of Babys, under whom Pythagoras studied. Eratosthenes says there was only one from Syros, and another, an Athenian, a genealogist.
	Σώζεται δὲ τοῦ Συρίου τό τε βιβλίον ὃ συνέγραψεν, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· “Ζὰς μὲν καὶ Χρόνος ἦσαν ἀεὶ καὶ Χθονίη· Χθονίῃ δὲ ὄνομα ἐγένετο Γῆ, ἐπειδὴ αὐτῇ Ζὰς γῆν γέρας διδοῖ.” σώζεται δὲ καὶ ἡλιοτροπεῖον ἐν Σύρῳ τῇ νήσῳ.	The book written by Pherecydes of Syros survives; it begins: “Zas and Chronos always were, and Chthonie; and Chthonie got the name Ge, since Zas gives her earth as a gift.” A sundial of his also survives on the island of Syros.[72]
	Φησὶ δὲ Δοῦρις ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Ὡρῶν ἐπιγεγράφθαι αὐτῷ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τόδε· [120] τῆς σοφίης πάσης ἐν ἐμοὶ τέλος· ἢν δέ τι πλεῖον, Πυθαγόρῃ τὠμῷ λέγε ταῦθ’, ὅτι πρῶτος ἁπάντων ἔστιν ἀν’ Ἑλλάδα γῆν· οὐ ψεύδομαι ὧδ’ ἀγορεύων.	Duris says, in the second book of his *Annals*, that the following epigram was inscribed on his tomb: [120] In me is the end of all wisdom; if there is anything more, tell my Pythagoras this: that he is first of all in the land of Greece. I do not lie in saying so.[73]
1.120	Ἴων δ’ ὁ Χῖός φησιν περὶ αὐτοῦ. ὡς ὁ μὲν ἠνορέῃ τε κεκασμένος ἠδὲ καὶ αἰδοῖ καὶ φθίμενος ψυχῇ τερπνὸν ἔχει βίοτον, εἴπερ Πυθαγόρης ἐτύμως ὁ σοφὸς περὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων γνώμας ἤδεε κἀξέμαθεν.	Ion of Chios says of him: So he, excelling in manliness and in modesty, even in death has a delightful life for his soul, if Pythagoras, wise above all, truly knew and learned the judgments of men.[74]
	Ἔστι καὶ ἡμῶν οὕτως ἔχον τῷ μέτρῳ τῷ Φερεκρατείῳ· τὸν κλεινὸν Φερεκύδην, ὃν τίκτει ποτὲ Σῦρος, [121] ἐς φθεῖρας λόγος ἐστὶν ἀλλάξαι τὸ πρὶν εἶδος, θεῖναί τ’ εὐθὺ κελεύειν Μαγνήτων, ἵνα νίκην δοίη τοῖς Ἐφέσοιο γενναίοις πολιήταις. ἦν γὰρ χρησμός, ὃν ἤδει μοῦνος, τοῦτο κελεύων· καὶ θνήσκει παρ’ ἐκείνοις. ἦν οὖν τοῦτ’ ἄρ’ ἀληθές· ἢν ᾖ τις σοφὸς ὄντως,	There is also an epigram of mine in the Pherecratean meter: The famous Pherecydes, whom Syros once bore, [121] into lice, the story goes, changed his former form, and gave orders to be laid at once in the Magnesians’ land, so that victory might go to Ephesus’ noble citizens. For there was an oracle, which he knew alone, ordering this; and he dies among them. So this, it turns out, was true: if someone is truly wise,

72 Zas is a form of Zeus, Chronos means “Time,” Chthonie “she of the earth,” and Ge “Earth.”
73 Duris of Samos was a historian of around 300 BC.
74 Ion of Chios was a poet and prose writer of the fifth century BC.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	καὶ ζῶν ἐστιν ὄνησις, χὥταν μηδὲν ὑπάρχῃ.	he is a benefit while living and when he is no more.
1.121	Γέγονε δὲ κατὰ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν καὶ ἐνάτην Ὀλυμπιάδα. καὶ ἐπέστειλεν ὧδε·	He flourished in the 59th Olympiad. He wrote the following letter:
1.122	Φερεκύδης Θαλῇ	Pherecydes to Thales
	“Εὖ θνήσκοις ὅταν τοι τὸ χρεὼν ἥκῃ· νοῦσός με καταλελάβηκε δεδεγμένον τὰ παρὰ σέο γράμματα. φθειρῶν ἔβρυον πᾶς καί με εἶχεν ἠπίαλος. ἐπέσκηψα δ’ ὧν τοῖσιν οἰκιήτῃσιν, ἐπήν με κατθάψωσιν, ἐς σὲ τὴν γραφὴν ἐνεῖκαι. σὺ δὲ ἢν δοκιμώσῃς σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις σοφοῖς, οὕτω μιν φῆνον· ἢν δὲ οὐ δοκιμώσητε, μὴ φήνῃς. ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ οὔκω ἥνδανεν. ἔστι δὲ οὐκ ἀτρεκηΐῃ πρηγμάτων οὐδ’ ὑπίσχομαι τἀληθὲς εἰδέναι· ἅσσα δ’ ἂν ἐπιλέγῃ θεολογέων· τὰ ἄλλα χρὴ νοέειν· ἅπαντα γὰρ αἰνίσσομαι.	“May you die well when your time comes. Illness overtook me just as I received your letter. I was swarming all over with lice and had a fever with chills. So I have charged my household to bring my writing to you once they have buried me. If you approve of it, together with the other sages, publish it as it is; if you do not approve of it, do not publish it. For my part, I was not yet satisfied with it. There is no exactness about the facts in it, nor do I claim to know the truth, only such things as one says when speaking about the gods. The rest must be worked out, for I speak in riddles throughout.
	τῇ δὲ νούσῳ πιεζόμενος ἐπὶ μᾶλλον οὔτε τῶν τινα ἰητρῶν οὔτε τοὺς ἑταίρους ἐσιέμην· προεστεῶσι δὲ τῇ θύρῃ καὶ εἰρομένοις ὁκοῖόν τι εἴη, διεὶς δάκτυλον ἐκ τῆς κληΐθρης ἔδειξ’ ἂν ὡς ἔβρυον τοῦ κακοῦ. καὶ προεῖπα αὐτοῖσι ἥκειν ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην ἐπὶ τὰς Φερεκύδεω ταφάς.”	As the illness pressed harder on me, I admitted none of the doctors and none of my friends; but when they stood at the door and asked how things were, I would put my finger through the keyhole and show them how I was swarming with the affliction. And I told them in advance to come the next day to the funeral of Pherecydes.”
	Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οἱ κληθέντες σοφοί, οἷς τινες καὶ Πεισίστρατον τὸν τύραννον προσκαταλέγουσι. λεκτέον δὲ περὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων· καὶ πρῶτόν γε ἀρκτέον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωνικῆς φιλοσοφίας, ἧς καθηγήσατο Θαλῆς, οὗ διήκουσεν Ἀναξίμανδρος.	These, then, are the men who were called sages, to whom some also add Pisistratus the tyrant. Now we must speak about the philosophers; and we must begin first with Ionian philosophy, which was founded by Thales, under whom Anaximander studied.

Book 2

The Ionians and Socrates
Anaximander to Archelaus; Socrates; Xenophon, Aristippus and the Socratic schools.

ANAXIMANDER

Thales' pupil makes the boundless the first principle and draws the first map of land and sea.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
2.1	Ἀναξίμανδρος Πραξιάδου Μιλήσιος. οὗτος ἔφασκεν ἀρχὴν καὶ στοιχεῖον τὸ ἄπειρον, οὐ διορίζων ἀέρα ἢ ὕδωρ ἢ ἄλλο τι. καὶ τὰ μὲν μέρη μεταβάλλειν, τὸ δὲ πᾶν ἀμετάβλητον εἶναι. μέσην τε τὴν γῆν κεῖσθαι, κέντρου τάξιν ἐπέχουσαν οὖσαν σφαιροειδῆ· τήν τε σελήνην ψευδοφαῆ, καὶ ἀπὸ ἡλίου φωτίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον οὐκ ἐλάττονα τῆς γῆς, καὶ καθαρώτατον πῦρ.	Anaximander, son of Praxiades, of Miletus. He held that the first principle and element is the boundless, without defining it as air or water or anything else. He held that the parts change, but the whole is unchangeable; that the earth lies in the middle, occupying the position of a center, and is spherical; that the moon gives a borrowed light and is lit by the sun; and also that the sun is no smaller than the earth and is the purest fire.
	Εὗρεν δὲ καὶ γνώμονα πρῶτος καὶ ἔστησεν ἐπὶ τῶν σκιοθήρων ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, καθά φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ, τροπάς τε καὶ ἰσημερίας σημαίνοντα, καὶ ὡροσκοπεῖα κατεσκεύασε. [2] καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης περίμετρον πρῶτος ἔγραψεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφαῖραν κατεσκεύασε.	He was also the first to invent the gnomon, and he set one up on the sundials in Sparta to mark the solstices and equinoxes, as Favorinus says in his *Miscellaneous History*; he also built clocks. [2] He was the first to draw the outline of land and sea, and he also made a globe.[1]
2.2	Τῶν δὲ ἀρεσκόντων αὐτῷ πεποίηται κεφαλαιώδη τὴν ἔκθεσιν, ᾗ που περιέτυχεν καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος· ὃς καί φησιν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ὀγδόης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐτῶν εἶναι ἑξήκοντα τεττάρων καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον τελευτῆσαι, ἀκμάσαντά πη μάλιστα κατὰ Πολυκράτην τὸν Σάμου τύραννον. τούτου φασὶν ᾄδοντος καταγελάσαι τὰ παιδάρια, τὸν δὲ μαθόντα φάναι, "βέλτιον οὖν ἡμῖν ᾀστέον διὰ τὰ παιδάρια."	He wrote a summary exposition of his views, which Apollodorus of Athens, I suppose, also came across. Apollodorus says in his *Chronicles* that in the second year of the 58th Olympiad Anaximander was sixty-four years old and that he died shortly afterward, having flourished roughly in the time of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos. They say that when he sang, the children laughed at him, and when he heard of it he said, "Then we must sing better, for the children's sake."[2]
	Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Ἀναξίμανδρος ἱστορικός, καὶ αὐτὸς Μιλήσιος τῇ Ἰάδι γεγραφώς.	There was also another Anaximander, a historian, likewise from Miletus, who wrote in Ionic.

1 The gnomon is the upright rod of a sundial whose shadow marks the time. Favorinus of Arles was a 2nd-century AD scholar whose miscellanies Diogenes often cites.
2 The second year of the 58th Olympiad is 547/546 BC.

ANAXIMENES

Anaximander's pupil makes air the first principle and writes two letters to Pythagoras.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
2.3	Ἀναξιμένης Εὐρυστράτου Μιλήσιος ἤκουσεν Ἀναξιμάνδρου. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ Παρμενίδου φασὶν ἀκοῦσαι αὐτόν. οὗτος ἀρχὴν ἀέρα εἶπε καὶ τὸ ἄπειρον. κινεῖσθαι δὲ τὰ ἄστρα οὐχ ὑπὸ γῆν, ἀλλὰ περὶ γῆν. κέχρηταί τε λέξει Ἰάδι ἁπλῇ καὶ ἀπερίττῳ.	Anaximenes, son of Eurystratus, of Miletus, studied under Anaximander. Some say he also studied under Parmenides. He said that the first principle is air and the boundless. He held that the stars move not under the earth but around it. He wrote in a simple, unaffected Ionic style.
	Καὶ γεγένηται μέν, καθά φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος, περὶ τὴν Σάρδεων ἅλωσιν, ἐτελεύτησε δὲ τῇ ἑξηκοστῇ τρίτῃ Ὀλυμπιάδι.	According to Apollodorus, he was born around the time of the capture of Sardis and died in the 63rd Olympiad.
	Γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι δύο Λαμψακηνοί, ῥήτωρ καὶ ἱστορικός, ὃς ἀδελφῆς υἱὸς ἦν τοῦ ῥήτορος τοῦ τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου πράξεις γεγραφότος.	There have also been two other men of the name, both from Lampsacus: a rhetorician, and a historian who was the son of the sister of the rhetorician who wrote the history of Alexander's deeds.
	Οὗτος δὴ ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ ἐπέστειλεν ὧδε	This philosopher also wrote letters, as follows:
	[4] Ἀναξιμένης Πυθαγόρῃ	[4] Anaximenes to Pythagoras
	"Θαλῆς Ἐξαμύου ἐπὶ γήρως οὐκ εὐπότμως οἴχεται· εὐφρόνης, ὥσπερ ἐώθει, ἅμα τῇ ἀμφιπόλῳ προϊὼν ἐκ τοῦ αὐλίου τὰ ἄστρα ἐθηεῖτο· καί—οὐ γὰρ ἐς μνήμην ἔθετο—θηεύμενος ἐς τὸ κρημνῶδες ἐκβὰς καταπίπτει. Μιλησίοισι μέν νυν ὁ αἰθερολόγος ἐν τοιῷδε κεῖται τέλει. ἡμέες δὲ οἱ λεσχηνευταὶ αὐτοί τε μεμνώμεθα τοῦ ἀνδρός, οἵ τε ἡμέων παῖδές τε καὶ λεσχηνευταί, ἐπιδεξιοίμεθα δ' ἔτι τοῖς ἐκείνου λόγοις. ἀρχὴ μέντοι παντὸς τοῦ λόγου Θαλῆ ἀνακείσθω."	"Thales, son of Examyas, has met an unhappy end in his old age. At night, as was his habit, he went out of the courtyard with his maidservant to look at the stars, and—since he had not kept in mind where he was—while gazing he stepped over the edge of a steep drop and fell. So the Milesians' sky-gazer has come to such an end. But let us, his companions in discussion, keep the man in memory, both ourselves and our children and pupils, and let us go on entertaining one another with his words. Let the beginning of every discourse of ours be dedicated to Thales."
2.4	Καὶ πάλιν·	And again:
	[5] Ἀναξιμένης Πυθαγόρῃ	[5] Anaximenes to Pythagoras
	"Εὐβουλότατος ἦς ἡμέων, μεταναστὰς ἐκ Σάμου ἐς Κρότωνα, ἐνθάδε εἰρηνέεις. οἱ δὲ Αἰακέος παῖδες ἄλαστα κακὰ ἔρδουσι καὶ Μιλησίους οὐκ ἐπιλείπουσι αἰσυμνῆται. δεινὸς δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ ὁ Μήδων βασιλεύς, οὐκ ἤν γε ἐθέλωμεν δασμοφορέειν· ἀλλὰ μέλλουσι δὴ ἀμφὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίης ἁπάντων Ἴωνες Μήδοις κατίστασθαι ἐς πόλεμον· καταστᾶσι δὲ οὐκέτι ἐλπὶς ἡμῖν σωτηρίης. κῶς ἂν οὖν Ἀναξιμένης ἐν θυμῷ ἔτι ἔχοι αἰθερολογέειν, ἐν δείματι ἐὼν ὀλέθρου ἢ δουλοσύνης; σὺ δὲ εἶ καταθύμιος μὲν Κροτωνιήτῃσι, καταθύμιος δὲ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἰταλιώτῃσι· φοιτέουσι δέ τοι λεσχηνευταὶ καὶ ἐκ Σικελίης."	"You were the wisest of us when you moved from Samos to Croton, where you live in peace. The sons of Aeaces do unforgivable wrongs, and Miletus is never short of dictators. The king of the Medes is a danger to us too, unless we are willing to pay tribute. But the Ionians are about to go to war with the Medes for the freedom of all, and once they do, we have no further hope of safety. How then could Anaximenes still have the heart to study the heavens, living in fear of destruction or slavery? You, on the other hand, are dear to the people of Croton, and dear to the other Italian

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		Greeks as well; and students come to you even from Sicily."[3]

ANAXAGORAS

The philosopher who set mind over matter is tried at Athens for impiety and dies at Lampsacus.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
2.6	Ἀναξαγόρας Ἡγησιβούλου ἢ Εὐβούλου Κλαζομένιος. οὗτος ἤκουσεν Ἀναξιμένους, καὶ πρῶτος τῇ ὕλῃ νοῦν ἐπέστησεν, ἀρξάμενος οὕτω τοῦ συγγράμματος, ὅ ἐστιν ἡδέως καὶ μεγαλοφρόνως ἡρμηνευμένον· "πάντα χρήματα ἦν ὁμοῦ· εἶτα νοῦς ἐλθὼν αὐτὰ διεκόσμησε." παρὸ καὶ Νοῦς ἐπεκλήθη, καί φησι περὶ αὐτοῦ Τίμων ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις οὕτω· καί που Ἀναξαγόρην φάσ' ἔμμεναι, ἄλκιμον ἥρω Νοῦν, ὅτι δὴ νόος αὐτῷ, ὃς ἐξαπίνης ἐπεγείρας πάντα συνεσφήκωσεν ὁμοῦ τεταραγμένα πρόσθεν.	Anaxagoras, son of Hegesibulus or of Eubulus, of Clazomenae. He studied under Anaximenes, and was the first to set mind over matter. He began his treatise, which is written in a pleasant and lofty style, like this: "All things were together; then mind came and set them in order." That is why he was nicknamed Mind, and Timon says of him in his *Silli*: And there, they say, is Anaxagoras, a valiant hero, Mind, since he had a mind, which suddenly awoke and bound together all that had been jumbled before.
	Οὗτος εὐγενείᾳ καὶ πλούτῳ διαφέρων ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνῃ, ὅς γε τὰ πατρῷα παρεχώρησε τοῖς οἰκείοις. [7] αἰτιαθεὶς γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὡς ἀμελῶν, "τί οὖν," ἔφη, "οὐχ ὑμεῖς ἐπιμελεῖσθε;" καὶ τέλος ἀπέστη καὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν φυσικῶν θεωρίαν ἦν οὐ φροντίζων τῶν πολιτικῶν. ὅτε καὶ πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, "οὐδέν σοι μέλει τῆς πατρίδος;" "εὐφήμει," ἔφη, "ἐμοὶ γὰρ καὶ σφόδρα μέλει τῆς πατρίδος," δείξας τὸν οὐρανόν.	He was distinguished by birth and wealth, and also by greatness of spirit, since he gave up his inheritance to his relatives. [7] When they accused him of neglecting it, he said, "Then why don't you look after it?" In the end he withdrew and devoted himself to the study of nature, paying no attention to public affairs. That was when someone said to him, "Don't you care at all about your country?" and he replied, "Hush! I care very much about my country," and pointed to the sky.
2.7	Λέγεται δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ξέρξου διάβασιν εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν εἶναι, βεβιωκέναι δὲ ἑβδομήκοντα δύο. φησὶ δ' Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς γεγενῆσθαι αὐτὸν τῇ ἑβδομηκοστῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι, τεθνηκέναι δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς ὀγδοηκοστῆς ὀγδόης. ἤρξατο δὲ φιλοσοφεῖν Ἀθήνησιν ἐπὶ Καλλίου, ἐτῶν εἴκοσιν ὤν, ὥς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀρχόντων ἀναγραφῇ, ἔνθα καί φασιν αὐτὸν ἐτῶν διατρῖψαι τριάκοντα.	He is said to have been twenty years old at the time of Xerxes' crossing, and to have lived seventy-two years. Apollodorus says in his *Chronicles* that he was born in the 70th Olympiad and died in the first year of the 88th. He began to practice philosophy at Athens in the archonship of Callias, at the age of twenty, as Demetrius of Phalerum says in his *List of Archons*; and they say he spent thirty years there.[4]
2.8	Οὗτος ἔλεγε τὸν ἥλιον μύδρον εἶναι διάπυρον καὶ μείζω τῆς Πελοποννήσου· οἱ δέ φασι Τάνταλον· τὴν δὲ σελήνην οἰκήσεις ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόφους καὶ φάραγγας. ἀρχὰς δὲ τὰς ὁμοιομερείας· καθάπερ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ψηγμάτων λεγομένων τὸν χρυσὸν συνεστάναι, οὕτως ἐκ τῶν ὁμοιομερῶν μικρῶν σωμάτων τὸ πᾶν συγκεκρίσθαι. καὶ	He said that the sun is a red-hot mass of metal and larger than the Peloponnese—though others say it was Tantalus who said this—and that the moon has dwellings on it, and hills and ravines as well. He held that the first principles are the homoeomeries: just as gold is made up of what are called gold-

3 Aeaces was the father of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos.
4 Xerxes crossed into Europe in 480 BC; the 70th Olympiad is 500–497 BC and the first year of the 88th is 428/427 BC. Athenians named each year after its chief archon.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	νοῦν μὲν ἀρχὴν κινήσεως· τῶν δὲ σωμάτων τὰ μὲν βαρέα τὸν κάτω τόπον, ⟨ὡς τὴν γῆν⟩, τὰ δὲ κοῦφα τὸν ἄνω ἐπισχεῖν, ὡς τὸ πῦρ· ὕδωρ δὲ καὶ ἀέρα τὸν μέσον. οὕτω γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πλατείας οὔσης τὴν θάλασσαν ὑποστῆναι, διατμισθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου τῶν ὑγρῶν.	dust particles, so the universe is compounded of small bodies with like parts. Mind, he held, is the principle of motion; of bodies, the heavy ones occupy the region below, like earth, and the light ones the region above, like fire, while water and air occupy the middle. In this way, he said, the sea settled upon the earth, which is flat, after the moisture had been evaporated by the sun.[5]
2.9	τὰ δ' ἄστρα κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν θολοειδῶς ἐνεχθῆναι, ὥστε κατὰ κορυφὴν τῆς γῆς τὸν ἀεὶ φαινόμενον εἶναι πόλον, ὕστερον δὲ τὴν ἔγκλισιν λαβεῖν. καὶ τὸν γαλαξίαν ἀνάκλασιν εἶναι φωτὸς ⟨τῶν ὑπὸ⟩ ἡλίου μὴ καταλαμπομένων ⟨τῶν⟩ ἄστρων. τοὺς δὲ κομήτας σύνοδον πλανητῶν φλόγας ἀφιέντων· τούς τε διάττοντας οἷον σπινθῆρας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀέρος ἀποπάλλεσθαι. ἀνέμους γίγνεσθαι λεπτυνομένου τοῦ ἀέρος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου. βροντὰς σύγκρουσιν νεφῶν· ἀστραπὰς ἔκτριψιν νεφῶν· σεισμὸν ὑπονόστησιν ἀέρος εἰς γῆν.	He held that the stars at first moved as if around a dome, so that the pole that is always visible was directly above the earth, and that only later did they take on their inclination. The Milky Way is the reflected light of the stars that are not lit up by the sun. Comets are a conjunction of planets giving off flames, and shooting stars are like sparks thrown off by the air. Winds arise when the air is rarefied by the sun; thunder is a collision of clouds, lightning a violent rubbing together of clouds, and an earthquake a sinking of air back into the earth.
	Ζῷα γίγνεσθαι ἐξ ὑγροῦ καὶ θερμοῦ καὶ γεώδους, ὕστερον δὲ ἐξ ἀλλήλων· καὶ ἄρρενα μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν, θήλεα δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν.	He held that living things arise from moisture, heat and an earthy substance, and later from one another; and that males come from the right side, females from the left.
2.10	Φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν προειπεῖν τὴν περὶ Αἰγὸς ποταμοὺς γενομένην τοῦ λίθου πτῶσιν, ὃν εἶπεν ἐκ τοῦ ἡλίου πεσεῖσθαι. ὅθεν καὶ Εὐριπίδην, μαθητὴν ὄντα αὐτοῦ, χρυσέαν βῶλον εἰπεῖν τὸν ἥλιον ἐν τῷ Φαέθοντι. ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν ἐλθόντα ἐν δερματίνῳ καθίσαι, ὡς μέλλοντος ὕσειν· καὶ γενέσθαι. πρός τε τὸν εἰπόντα, εἰ τὰ ἐν Λαμψάκῳ ὄρη ἔσται ποτὲ θάλαττα, φασὶν εἰπεῖν, "ἐάν γε ὁ χρόνος μὴ ἐπιλίπῃ."	They say he predicted the fall of the stone at Aegospotami, which he said would fall from the sun. That is why Euripides, who was his pupil, called the sun a golden clod in his *Phaethon*. They also say that when he went to Olympia he sat down wearing a leather cloak, as though it were going to rain; and it did. And when someone asked him whether the mountains at Lampsacus would ever become sea, they say he replied, "Yes, as long as time doesn't run out."[6]
	ἐρωτηθείς ποτε εἰς τί γεγέννηται, "εἰς θεωρίαν," ἔφη, "ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ οὐρανοῦ." πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, "ἐστερήθης Ἀθηναίων," "οὐ μὲν οὖν," ἔφη, "ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι ἐμοῦ." ἰδὼν τὸν Μαυσώλου τάφον ἔφη, "τάφος πολυτελὴς λελιθωμένης ἐστὶν οὐσίας εἴδωλον." [11] πρὸς τὸν δυσφοροῦντα ὅτι ἐπὶ ξένης τελευτᾷ, "πανταχόθεν," ἔφη, "ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ εἰς ᾅδου κατάβασις."	Asked once what he had been born for, he said, "For the study of the sun and moon and heavens." To someone who said, "You've lost the Athenians," he replied, "Not at all—they've lost me." On seeing the tomb of Mausolus he said, "A costly tomb is an image of wealth turned to stone." [11] To someone distressed that he was dying in a foreign land he said, "The way down to Hades is the same from anywhere."[7]
2.11	Δοκεῖ δὲ πρῶτος, καθά φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ, τὴν Ὁμήρου ποίησιν ἀποφήνασθαι εἶναι περὶ	He seems to have been the first, as Favorinus says in his *Miscellaneous History*, to declare that

5 "Homoeomeries" means "things with like parts": particles of the same kind as the stuff they make up.

GREEK

ENGLISH

ἀρετῆς καὶ δικαιοσύνης· ἐπὶ πλεῖον δὲ προστῆναι τοῦ λόγου Μητρόδωρον τὸν Λαμψακηνόν, γνώριμον ὄντα αὐτοῦ, ὃν καὶ πρῶτον σπουδάσαι τοῦ ποιητοῦ περὶ τὴν φυσικὴν πραγματείαν. πρῶτος δὲ Ἀναξαγόρας καὶ βιβλίον ἐξέδωκε συγγραφῆς. φησὶ δὲ Σιληνὸς ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Δημύλου λίθον ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πεσεῖν· [12] τὸν δὲ Ἀναξαγόραν εἰπεῖν ὡς ὅλος ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐκ λίθων συγκέοιτο· τῇ σφοδρᾷ δὲ περιδινήσει συνεστάναι καὶ ἀνεθέντα κατενεχθήσεσθαι.

Homer's poetry is about excellence and justice. Metrodorus of Lampsacus, his pupil, pressed the argument further and was the first to study the poet's treatment of nature. Anaxagoras was also the first to publish a book in prose. Silenus says in the first book of his *Histories* that a stone fell from the sky in the archonship of Demylus, [12] and that Anaxagoras said the whole heaven was made up of stones, which held together through its rapid rotation and would come crashing down if it slackened.

2.12 Περὶ δὲ τῆς δίκης αὐτοῦ διάφορα λέγεται. Σωτίων μὲν γάρ φησιν ἐν τῇ Διαδοχῇ τῶν φιλοσόφων ὑπὸ Κλέωνος αὐτὸν ἀσεβείας κριθῆναι, διότι τὸν ἥλιον μύδρον ἔλεγε διάπυρον· ἀπολογησαμένου δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Περικλέους τοῦ μαθητοῦ, πέντε ταλάντοις ζημιωθῆναι καὶ φυγαδευθῆναι. Σάτυρος δ' ἐν τοῖς Βίοις ὑπὸ Θουκυδίδου φησὶν εἰσαχθῆναι τὴν δίκην, ἀντιπολιτευομένου τῷ Περικλεῖ· καὶ οὐ μόνον ἀσεβείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ μηδισμοῦ· καὶ ἀπόντα καταδικασθῆναι θανάτῳ. [13] ὅτε καὶ ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῷ προσαγγελέντων, τῆς τε καταδίκης καὶ τῆς τῶν παίδων τελευτῆς, εἰπεῖν περὶ μὲν τῆς καταδίκης, ὅτι ἄρα "κἀκείνων κἀμοῦ πάλαι ἡ φύσις κατεψηφίσατο," περὶ δὲ τῶν παίδων, ὅτι "ᾔδειν αὐτοὺς θνητοὺς γεννήσας." οἱ δ' εἰς Σόλωνα τοῦτ' ἀναφέρουσιν, ἄλλοι εἰς Ξενοφῶντα.

Different accounts are given of his trial. Sotion says in his *Successions of the Philosophers* that he was prosecuted for impiety by Cleon because he said the sun was a red-hot mass of metal, and that after his pupil Pericles had spoken in his defense he was fined five talents and banished. Satyrus, in his *Lives*, says the charge was brought by Thucydides, Pericles' political opponent, and that it was not only for impiety but also for siding with the Persians; and that he was condemned to death in his absence. [13] When the news of both reached him, his condemnation and the death of his sons, he said of the condemnation, "Nature condemned both my judges and me long ago," and of his sons, "I knew I had fathered mortals." Some attribute this to Solon, others to Xenophon.[8]

2.13 τοῦτον δὲ καὶ θάψαι ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶν αὐτοὺς Δημήτριός φησιν ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τῷ Περὶ γήρως. Ἕρμιππος δ' ἐν τοῖς Βίοις φησὶν ὅτι καθείρχθη ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τεθνηξόμενος. Περικλῆς δὲ παρελθὼν εἶπεν εἴ τι ἔχουσιν ἐγκαλεῖν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν βίον· οὐδὲν δὲ εἰπόντων, "καὶ μὴν ἐγώ," ἔφη, "τούτου μαθητής εἰμι· μὴ οὖν διαβολαῖς ἐπαρθέντες ἀποκτείνητε τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πεισθέντες ἄφετε." καὶ ἀφείθη· οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν δὲ τὴν ὕβριν ἑαυτὸν ἐξήγαγεν. [14] Ἱερώνυμος δ' ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Τῶν σποράδην ὑπομνημάτων φησὶν ὅτι ὁ Περικλῆς παρήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ δικαστήριον, διερρυηκότα καὶ λεπτὸν ὑπὸ νόσου, ὥστε ἐλέῳ μᾶλλον ἢ κρίσει ἀφεθῆναι. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς δίκης αὐτοῦ τοσαῦτα.

Demetrius of Phalerum says in his *On Old Age* that he buried them with his own hands. Hermippus, in his *Lives*, says that he was locked up in prison to await execution. Pericles came forward and asked whether they had any charge to bring against his own life; and when they had none, he said, "Well, I am this man's pupil. So don't be carried away by slanders and put him to death; listen to me and let him go." And he was released; but he could not bear the humiliation and took his own life. [14] Hieronymus, in the second book of his *Miscellaneous Notes*, says that Pericles brought him into court so worn out and thin from illness that he was acquitted out of pity rather than on the merits. So much for his trial.

2.14 Ἔδοξε δέ πως καὶ Δημοκρίτῳ ἀπεχθῶς ἐσχηκέναι ἀποτυχὼν τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν κοινολογίας. καὶ τέλος ἀποχωρήσας εἰς Λάμψακον αὐτόθι κατέστρεψεν. ὅτε καὶ

He also seems to have been somewhat hostile to Democritus, having failed to get a conversation

6 Aegospotami ("Goat Rivers") was on the Hellespont; a large meteorite fell there in the 460s BC.
7 Mausolus ruled Caria; his monumental tomb at Halicarnassus gave us the word "mausoleum."
8 This Thucydides is the politician, son of Melesias, not the historian.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	τῶν ἀρχόντων τῆς πόλεως ἀξιούντων τί βούλεται αὐτῷ γενέσθαι, φάναι, "τοὺς παῖδας ἐν ᾧ ἂν ἀποθάνῃ μηνὶ κατ' ἔτος παίζειν συγχωρεῖν." καὶ φυλάττεται τὸ ἔθος καὶ νῦν. [15] τελευτήσαντα δὴ αὐτὸν ἔθαψαν ἐντίμως οἱ Λαμψακηνοὶ καὶ ἐπέγραψαν· ἐνθάδε, πλεῖστον ἀληθείας ἐπὶ τέρμα περήσας / οὐρανίου κόσμου, κεῖται Ἀναξαγόρας.	with him. In the end he withdrew to Lampsacus and died there. When the magistrates of the city asked him what he would like done for him, he said, "Let the children have a holiday every year in the month in which I die." And the custom is kept up even now. [15] When he died, the people of Lampsacus buried him with honor and inscribed on his tomb: Here, having gone furthest toward the goal of truth / about the heavenly world-order, lies Anaxagoras.
2.15	Ἔστι καὶ ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτόν· ἠέλιον πυρόεντα μύδρον ποτὲ φάσκεν ὑπάρχειν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θανεῖν μέλλεν Ἀναξαγόρας· ἀλλ' ὁ φίλος Περικλῆς μὲν ἐρύσατο τοῦτον, ὁ δ' αὐτὸν ἐξάγαγεν βιότου μαλθακίῃ σοφίης.	I have also written one on him: He once declared the sun a fiery mass of metal, and for this Anaxagoras was to die. His friend Pericles rescued him; but he took himself out of life through the softness of his wisdom.
	Γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τρεῖς Ἀναξαγόραι, ὧν [ἐν οὐδενὶ πάντα, ἀλλ'] ὁ μὲν ἦν ῥήτωρ Ἰσοκράτειος· ὁ δ' ἀνδριαντοποιός, οὗ μέμνηται Ἀντίγονος· ἄλλος γραμματικὸς Ζηνοδότειος.	There have been three other men named Anaxagoras, of whom [none had every gift, but] one was a rhetorician of the school of Isocrates; another a sculptor, mentioned by Antigonus; and another a grammarian of the school of Zenodotus.

ARCHELAUS

Socrates' teacher brings natural philosophy from Ionia to Athens and also discusses law and justice.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
2.16	Ἀρχέλαος Ἀθηναῖος ἢ Μιλήσιος, πατρὸς Ἀπολλοδώρου, ὡς δέ τινες, Μίδωνος, μαθητὴς Ἀναξαγόρου, διδάσκαλος Σωκράτους. οὗτος πρῶτος ἐκ τῆς Ἰωνίας τὴν φυσικὴν φιλοσοφίαν μετήγαγεν Ἀθήναζε, καὶ ἐκλήθη φυσικός, παρὸ καὶ ἔληξεν ἐν αὐτῷ ἡ φυσικὴ φιλοσοφία, Σωκράτους τὴν ἠθικὴν εἰσαγαγόντος. ἔοικεν δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἅψασθαι τῆς ἠθικῆς. καὶ γὰρ περὶ νόμων πεφιλοσόφηκε καὶ καλῶν καὶ δικαίων· παρ' οὗ λαβὼν Σωκράτης τῷ αὐξῆσαι εἰς τὸ ⟨ἄκρον⟩ εὑρεῖν ὑπελήφθη. ἔλεγε δὲ δύο αἰτίας εἶναι γενέσεως, θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρόν. καὶ τὰ ζῷα ἀπὸ τῆς ἰλύος γεννηθῆναι· καὶ τὸ δίκαιον εἶναι καὶ τὸ αἰσχρὸν οὐ φύσει, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ.	Archelaus, of Athens or of Miletus, son of Apollodorus or, as some say, of Midon; pupil of Anaxagoras and teacher of Socrates. He was the first to bring natural philosophy from Ionia to Athens, and he was called the natural philosopher; and natural philosophy came to an end with him, since Socrates introduced ethics. But he too seems to have touched on ethics, for he philosophized about laws and about what is fine and just; Socrates took this from him and, by developing it to its height, came to be thought its inventor. He said there were two causes of coming-to-be, hot and cold; that living things were generated from slime; and that what is just and what is shameful exist not by nature but by convention.
2.17	Ὁ δὲ λόγος αὐτῷ οὕτως ἔχει. τηκόμενόν φησι τὸ ὕδωρ ὑπὸ τοῦ θερμοῦ, καθὸ μὲν εἰς τὸ ⟨κάτω διὰ τὸ⟩ πυρῶδες συνίσταται, ποιεῖν γῆν· καθὸ δὲ περιῤῥεῖ, ἀέρα γεννᾶν. ὅθεν ἡ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀέρος, ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ πυρὸς περιφορᾶς κρατεῖται. γεννᾶσθαι δέ φησι τὰ ζῷα ἐκ θερμῆς τῆς γῆς καὶ ἰλὺν παραπλησίαν γάλακτι οἷον	His account runs like this. He says that water, melted by heat, produces earth insofar as it settles downward because of the fiery element, and generates air insofar as it flows around. Hence earth is held fast by the air, and air by the revolution of fire. He says that living things are generated from

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	τροφὴν ἀνιείσης· οὕτω δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ποιῆσαι. πρῶτος δὲ εἶπε φωνῆς γένεσιν τὴν τοῦ ἀέρος πλῆξιν. τὴν δὲ θάλατταν ἐν τοῖς κοίλοις διὰ τῆς γῆς ἠθουμένην συνεστάναι. μέγιστον τῶν ἄστρων τὸν ἥλιον, καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἄπειρον.	the earth when it is warm and gives off a slime like milk, as a kind of nourishment; and that in this way it produced human beings too. He was the first to say that sound arises from the striking of air. He held that the sea formed in hollows, having filtered through the earth; that the sun is the largest of the stars; and that the universe is boundless.
	Γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τρεῖς Ἀρχέλαοι· ὁ χωρογράφος τῆς ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου πατηθείσης γῆς, ὁ τὰ Ἰδιοφυῆ ποιήσας, ἄλλος τεχνογράφος ῥήτωρ.	There have been three other men named Archelaus: the geographer of the lands Alexander marched through; the author of *Natural Oddities*; and a rhetorician who wrote a handbook on the art of speaking.

SOCRATES

The stonemason's son studies under Archelaus, serves bravely in war and lives with few needs.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
2.18	Σωκράτης Σωφρονίσκου μὲν ἦν υἱὸς λιθουργοῦ καὶ Φαιναρέτης μαίας, ὡς καὶ Πλάτων ἐν Θεαιτήτῳ φησίν, Ἀθηναῖος, τῶν δήμων Ἀλωπεκῆθεν. ἐδόκει δὲ συμποιεῖν Εὐριπίδῃ· ὅθεν Μνησίμαχος οὕτω φησί, Φρύγες ἐστὶ καινὸν δρᾶμα τοῦτ' Εὐριπίδου, /...ᾧ καὶ Σωκράτης τὰ φρύγαν' ὑποτίθησι. καὶ πάλιν, "Εὐριπίδας σωκρατογόμφους." καὶ Καλλίας Πεδήταις· Α. Τί δὴ σὺ σεμνὴ καὶ φρονεῖς οὕτω μέγα; Β. Ἔξεστι γάρ μοι· Σωκράτης γὰρ αἴτιος. Ἀριστοφάνης Νεφέλαις· Εὐριπίδῃ δ' ὁ τὰς τραγῳδίας ποιῶν τὰς περιλαλούσας οὗτός ἐστι, τὰς σοφάς.	Socrates was the son of Sophroniscus, a stonemason, and of Phaenarete, a midwife, as Plato too says in the *Theaetetus*; he was an Athenian, of the deme Alopece. He was thought to help Euripides write his plays; hence Mnesimachus says: This is a new play by Euripides, the *Phrygians*, /... to which Socrates as well supplies the kindling. And again: "Euripideses bolted together by Socrates." And Callias in the *Prisoners*: A. Why so solemn, and why so high and mighty? B. I'm entitled to be; Socrates is the reason. Aristophanes in the *Clouds*: And the one who writes Euripides' tragedies for him, the chattering, clever ones—that's this man.[9]
2.19	Ἀκούσας δὲ Ἀναξαγόρου κατά τινας, ἀλλὰ καὶ Δάμωνος, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Διαδοχαῖς, μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου καταδίκην διήκουσεν Ἀρχελάου τοῦ φυσικοῦ· οὗ καὶ παιδικὰ γενέσθαι φησὶν Ἀριστόξενος. Δοῦρις δὲ καὶ δουλεῦσαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἐργάσασθαι λίθους· εἶναί τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐν ἀκροπόλει Χάριτας ἔνιοί φασιν, ἐνδεδυμένας οὔσας. ὅθεν καὶ Τίμωνα ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις εἰπεῖν· ἐκ δ' ἄρα τῶν ἀπέκλινεν ὁ λαξόος, ἐννομολέσχης, Ἑλλήνων ἐπαοιδός, ἀκριβολόγους ἀποφήνας, μυκτὴρ ῥητορόμυκτος, ὑπαττικὸς εἰρωνευτής. ἦν γὰρ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ῥητορικοῖς δεινός, ὥς φησι καὶ Ἰδομενεύς· ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ τριάκοντα αὐτὸν ἐκώλυσαν τέχνας διδάσκειν λόγων, ὥς φησι Ξενοφῶν.	According to some he studied under Anaxagoras, and also under Damon, as Alexander says in his *Successions*; after Anaxagoras' condemnation he studied under Archelaus the natural philosopher, whose beloved, Aristoxenus says, he also was. Duris says that he was a slave and worked stone; and some say that the Graces on the Acropolis, which are clothed, are his work. Hence Timon says in his *Silli*: But from them turned aside the stone-chiseller, prattler about laws, spellbinder of the Greeks, who made them split hairs, the sneerer who sneers at orators, the half-Attic ironist. For he was also skilled in rhetoric, as Ido-

9 The joke turns on *Phryges* ("Phrygians") and *phrygana* ("brushwood, kindling"). A deme was one of the local districts of Attica.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		meneus too says; and in fact the Thirty forbade him to teach the art of speech, as Xenophon says.[10]
2.20	καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης αὐτὸν κωμῳδεῖ ὡς τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιοῦντα. καὶ γὰρ πρῶτος, ὥς φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ, μετὰ τοῦ μαθητοῦ Αἰσχίνου ῥητορεύειν ἐδίδαξε· λέγει δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Ἰδομενεὺς ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν Σωκρατικῶν. καὶ πρῶτος περὶ βίου διελέχθη καὶ πρῶτος φιλοσόφων καταδικασθεὶς ἐτελεύτα. φησὶ δ' αὐτὸν Ἀριστόξενος ὁ Σπινθάρου καὶ χρηματίσασθαι· τιθέντα γοῦν τὸ βαλλόμενον κέρμα ἀθροίζειν· εἶτ' ἀναλώσαντα πάλιν τιθέναι.	Aristophanes, too, mocks him in comedy as making the weaker argument the stronger. For he was the first, as Favorinus says in his *Miscellaneous History*, to teach rhetoric, together with his pupil Aeschines; Idomeneus also says this in his work *On the Socratics*. He was also the first to discuss how one should live, and the first philosopher to be condemned and put to death. Aristoxenus, son of Spintharus, says that he also made money: he would invest the small change that came in, collect the returns, and then, once he had spent them, invest again.
	Κρίτωνα δ' ἀναστῆσαι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐργαστηρίου καὶ παιδεῦσαι τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν χάριτος ἐρασθέντα Δημήτριός φησιν ὁ Βυζάντιος. [21] γνόντα δὲ τὴν φυσικὴν θεωρίαν μηδὲν εἶναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τὰ ἠθικὰ φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπί τε τῶν ἐργαστηρίων καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ· κἀκεῖνα δὲ φάσκειν ζητεῖν, ὅττι τοι ἐν μεγάροισι κακόν τ' ἀγαθόν τε τέτυκται. πολλάκις δὲ βιαιότερον ἐν ταῖς ζητήσεσι διαλεγόμενον κονδυλίζεσθαι καὶ παρατίλλεσθαι, τὸ πλέον τε γελᾶσθαι καταφρονούμενον· καὶ πάντα ταῦτα φέρειν ἀνεξικάκως. ὅθεν καὶ λακτισθέντα, ἐπειδὴ ἠνέσχετο, τινὸς θαυμάσαντος, εἰπεῖν, "εἰ δέ με ὄνος ἐλάκτισε, δίκην ἂν αὐτῷ ἐλάγχανον;" καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Δημήτριος.	Demetrius of Byzantium says that Crito took him out of the workshop and educated him, having fallen in love with the grace of his soul. [21] Realizing that the study of nature is no concern of ours, he discussed ethics in the workshops and in the marketplace, and said that what he was looking into was this: whatever bad and good has been done in your halls. Often, because he argued too forcefully in his inquiries, people punched him and pulled his hair, and more often still he was laughed at and despised; and he bore all this patiently. So once, when he had been kicked and put up with it, and someone expressed surprise, he said, "If a donkey had kicked me, would I be taking it to court?" So much from Demetrius.[11]
2.22	Ἀποδημίας δὲ οὐκ ἐδεήθη, καθάπερ οἱ πλείους, πλὴν εἰ μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἔδει. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν αὐτόθι μένων φιλονεικότερον συνεζήτει τοῖς προσδιαλεγομένοις, οὐχ ὥστε ἀφελέσθαι τὴν δόξαν αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ὥστε τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐκμαθεῖν πειρᾶσθαι. φασὶ δ' Εὐριπίδην αὐτῷ δόντα τὸ Ἡρακλείτου σύγγραμμα ἐρέσθαι, "τί δοκεῖ;" τὸν δὲ φάναι, "ἃ μὲν συνῆκα, γενναῖα· οἶμαι δὲ καὶ ἃ μὴ συνῆκα· πλὴν Δηλίου γέ τινος δεῖται κολυμβητοῦ."	He felt no need to travel abroad, as most did, except when he had to go on campaign. The rest of the time he stayed at home and argued rather contentiously with those who talked with him, not to rob them of their opinions but to try to learn the truth. They say Euripides gave him Heraclitus' treatise and asked, "What do you think?" and he replied, "What I understood is excellent; and so, I think, is what I didn't understand. It does need a Delian diver, though."[12]
	Ἐπεμελεῖτο δὲ καὶ σωμασκίας, καὶ ἦν εὐέκτης. ἐστρατεύσατο γοῦν εἰς Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ Ξενοφῶντα ἀφ' ἵππου πεσόντα ἐν τῇ κατὰ Δήλιον μάχῃ διέσωσεν ὑπολαβών· [23] ὅτε καὶ πάντων φευγόντων Ἀθηναίων αὐτὸς ἠρέμα ἀνεχώρει, παρεπιστρεφόμενος ἡσυχῇ καὶ	He also looked after his physical training and was in good condition. At any rate, he served on the campaign to Amphipolis; and in the battle at Delium, when Xenophon fell from his horse, he picked him up and saved him. [23] On that occasion, when

10 The Thirty were the oligarchy that ruled Athens in 404–403 BC, after its defeat in the Peloponnesian War.
11 The quoted line is from Homer's *Odyssey* (4.392).
12 Divers from Delos were proverbial for reaching great depths.

GREEK

τηρῶν ἀμύνασθαι εἴ τίς οἱ ἐπέλθοι. ἐστρατεύσατο δὲ καὶ εἰς Ποτίδαιαν διὰ θαλάττης· πεζῇ γὰρ οὐκ ἐνῆν τοῦ πολέμου κωλύοντος. ὅτε καὶ μεῖναι διὰ νυκτὸς ὅλης ἐφ' ἑνὸς σχήματος αὐτόν φασι, καὶ ἀριστεύσαντα αὐτόθι παραχωρῆσαι Ἀλκιβιάδῃ τοῦ ἀριστείου· οὗ καὶ ἐρασθῆναί φησιν αὐτὸν Ἀρίστιππος ἐν τετάρτῳ Περὶ παλαιᾶς τρυφῆς. Ἴων δὲ ὁ Χῖος καὶ νέον ὄντα εἰς Σάμον σὺν Ἀρχελάῳ ἀποδημῆσαι· καὶ Πυθώδε ἐλθεῖν Ἀριστοτέλης φησίν· ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς Ἰσθμόν, ὡς Φαβωρῖνος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων.

ENGLISH

all the Athenians were fleeing, he withdrew calmly, quietly turning round every so often and ready to defend himself if anyone attacked him. He also served at Potidaea, going there by sea, since the war prevented travel by land. They say that there he stood a whole night in one position, and that after distinguishing himself in battle he gave up the prize for valor to Alcibiades—with whom, according to Aristippus in the fourth book of *On the Luxury of the Ancients*, he was in love. Ion of Chios says that as a young man he also traveled to Samos with Archelaus; Aristotle says he went to Delphi; and he also went to the Isthmus, as Favorinus says in the first book of his *Memoirs*.

2.24 Ἦν δὲ καὶ ἰσχυρογνώμων καὶ δημοκρατικός, ὡς δῆλον ἔκ τε τοῦ μὴ εἶξαι τοῖς περὶ Κριτίαν, κελεύουσι Λέοντα τὸν Σαλαμίνιον, ἄνδρα πλούσιον, ἀγαγεῖν πρὸς αὐτούς, ὥστε ἀπολέσθαι· ἀλλὰ καὶ μόνος ἀποψηφίσασθαι τῶν δέκα στρατηγῶν. καὶ ἐνὸν αὐτῷ ἀποδρᾶναι τῆς εἱρκτῆς μὴ ἐθελῆσαι· τοῖς τε κλαίουσιν αὐτὸν ἐπιπλῆξαι καὶ τοὺς καλλίστους λόγους ἐκείνους δεδεμένον διαθέσθαι.

He was also firm in his convictions and committed to democracy. This is clear from his refusal to give way to Critias and his associates when they ordered him to bring Leon of Salamis, a rich man, before them to be put to death, and also from the fact that he alone voted to acquit the ten generals. And when he could have escaped from prison he refused; he rebuked those who wept for him, and while in chains delivered those finest of discourses.[13]

Αὐτάρκης τε ἦν καὶ σεμνός. καί ποτε Ἀλκιβιάδου, καθά φησι Παμφίλη ἐν τῷ ἑβδόμῳ τῶν Ὑπομνημάτων, διδόντος αὐτῷ χώραν μεγάλην, ἵνα ἐνοικοδομήσηται οἰκίαν, φάναι, "καὶ εἰ ὑποδημάτων ἔδει, καὶ βύρσαν μοι ἐδίδους, ἵν' ἐμαυτῷ ὑποδήματα ποιησαίμην, καταγέλαστος ἂν ἦν λαβών." [25] πολλάκις δ' ἀφορῶν εἰς τὰ πλήθη τῶν πιπρασκομένων ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτόν, "πόσων ἐγὼ χρείαν οὐκ ἔχω." καὶ συνεχὲς ἐκεῖνα ἀνεφθέγγετο τὰ ἰαμβεῖα· τὰ δ' ἀργυρώματ' ἐστὶν ἥ τε πορφύρα / εἰς τοὺς τραγῳδοὺς χρήσιμ', οὐκ εἰς τὸν βίον. ὑπερεφρόνησε δὲ καὶ Ἀρχελάου τοῦ Μακεδόνος καὶ Σκόπα τοῦ Κρανωνίου καὶ Εὐρυλόχου τοῦ Λαρισσαίου, μήτε χρήματα προσέμενος παρ' αὐτῶν, μήτε παρ' αὐτοὺς ἀπελθών. εὔτακτός τε ἦν τὴν δίαιταν οὕτως, ὥστε πολλάκις Ἀθήνησι λοιμῶν γενομένων μόνος οὐκ ἐνόσησε.

He was self-sufficient and dignified. Once, as Pamphila says in the seventh book of her *Notes*, when Alcibiades offered him a large plot of land to build a house on, he said, "If I needed shoes and you offered me a hide to make shoes for myself, I'd look ridiculous taking it." [25] Often, looking at the mass of goods for sale, he would say to himself, "How many things I have no need of!" And he was forever reciting these iambic lines: Silver plate and purple robes / are useful for tragic actors, not for life. He also looked down on Archelaus of Macedon, Scopas of Crannon and Eurylochus of Larissa, neither accepting money from them nor going to visit them. He was so orderly in his way of life that though plague often broke out at Athens, he alone never fell ill.[14]

2.26 Φησὶ δ' Ἀριστοτέλης δύο γυναῖκας αὐτὸν ἀγαγέσθαι· προτέραν μὲν Ξανθίππην, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ γενέσθαι Λαμπροκλέα· δευτέραν δὲ Μυρτώ, τὴν Ἀριστείδου τοῦ δικαίου θυγατέρα, ἣν καὶ ἄπροικον λαβεῖν, ἐξ ἧς γενέσθαι

Aristotle says he married two wives: first Xanthippe, by whom he had Lamprocles; and second Myrto, daughter of Aristides the Just, whom he took without a dowry and by whom he

13 After the sea battle of Arginusae (406 BC) the Athenian generals were tried together for failing to rescue the shipwrecked; Socrates, presiding that day, opposed the illegal procedure.
14 Pamphila of Epidaurus was a 1st-century AD woman scholar whose historical miscellany Diogenes often cites.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Σωφρονίσκον καὶ Μενέξενον. οἱ δὲ προτέραν γῆμαι τὴν Μυρτώ φασιν· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέρας σχεῖν ὁμοῦ, ὧν ἐστι Σάτυρός τε καὶ Ἱερώνυμος ὁ Ῥόδιος. φασὶ γὰρ βουληθέντας Ἀθηναίους διὰ τὸ λειπανδρεῖν συναυξῆσαι τὸ πλῆθος, ψηφίσασθαι γαμεῖν μὲν ἀστὴν μίαν, παιδοποιεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἑτέρας· ὅθεν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι καὶ Σωκράτην.	had Sophroniscus and Menexenus. Others say he married Myrto first; and some, including Satyrus and Hieronymus of Rhodes, say he had both at the same time. They say that the Athenians, wishing to increase their numbers because of a shortage of men, decreed that a man should marry one citizen woman but might also have children by another; and that Socrates accordingly did so.
2.27	Ἦν δ' ἱκανὸς καὶ τῶν σκωπτόντων [αὐτὸν] ὑπερορᾶν. καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο ἐπὶ τῇ εὐτελείᾳ, μισθόν τε οὐδένα εἰσεπράξατο. καὶ ἔλεγεν ἥδιστα ἐσθίων ἥκιστα ὄψου προσδεῖσθαι· καὶ ἥδιστα πίνων ἥκιστα τὸ μὴ παρὸν ποτὸν ἀναμένειν· καὶ ἐλαχίστων δεόμενος ἔγγιστα εἶναι θεῶν. τοῦτο δ' ἐνέσται καὶ παρὰ τῶν κωμῳδοποιῶν λαβεῖν, οἳ λανθάνουσιν ἑαυτοὺς δι' ὧν σκώπτουσιν ἐπαινοῦντες αὐτόν. Ἀριστοφάνης μὲν οὕτως· ὦ τῆς μεγάλης ἐπιθυμήσας σοφίας ἄνθρωπε δικαίως, ὡς εὐδαίμων παρ' Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι διάξεις. εἶ γὰρ μνήμων καὶ φροντιστής, καὶ τὸ ταλαίπωρον ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ, κοὔτε τι κάμνεις οὔθ' ἑστὼς οὔτε βαδίζων, οὔτε ῥιγῶν ἄχθει λίαν, οὔτ' ἀρίστων ἐπιθυμεῖς, οἴνου τ' ἀπέχει κἀδηφαγίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνοήτων.	He was able to look down on those who mocked [him]. He took pride in his frugality and never charged a fee. He used to say that the one who eats with most pleasure has least need of relish, and the one who drinks with most pleasure is least inclined to wait for a drink that isn't there; and that the one who needs least is nearest to the gods. This can be gathered even from the comic poets, who, without realizing it, praise him by the very things they mock him for. Aristophanes puts it this way: You who rightly longed for great wisdom, how happily you will live among the Athenians and the Greeks! For you have a good memory and are a thinker, and endurance is in your character; you never tire, whether standing or walking; you're not much troubled by cold, you don't crave breakfast, and you keep away from wine and gluttony and all the other follies.
2.28	Ἀμειψίας δ' ἐν τρίβωνι παράγων αὐτὸν φησὶν οὕτως· Σώκρατες ἀνδρῶν βέλτιστ' ὀλίγων, πολλῷ δὲ ματαιόταθ', ἥκεις καὶ σὺ πρὸς ἡμᾶς. καρτερικός γ' εἶ. πόθεν ἄν σοι χλαῖνα γένοιτο; Β. τουτὶ τὸ κακὸν κατ' ἐπήρειαν τῶν σκυτοτόμων γεγένηται. Α. οὗτος μέντοι πεινῶν οὕτως οὐπώποτ' ἔτλη κολακεῦσαι. τοῦτο δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ὑπεροπτικὸν καὶ μεγαλόφρον ἐμφαίνει καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης λέγων οὕτως, ὅτι βρενθύει τ' ἐν ταῖσιν ὁδοῖς, καὶ τὠφθαλμὼ παραβάλλεις, κἀνυπόδητος κακὰ πόλλ' ἀνέχει, κἀν ἡμῖν σεμνοπροσωπεῖς. καίτοι ἐνίοτε πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς ἁρμοττόμενος καὶ λαμπρὰ ἠμπίσχετο· καθάπερ ἐν τῷ Πλάτωνος συμποσίῳ παρ' Ἀγάθωνα βαδίζων.	Amipsias, bringing him on stage in a threadbare cloak, says this: Socrates, best of few men and by far the vainest of many, have you come to us as well? You're a tough one. Where could you ever get a cloak? B. This misfortune has come about to spite the shoemakers. A. And yet, hungry as he is, he has never stooped to flattery. This arrogance and loftiness of his is also brought out by Aristophanes when he says: because you swagger along the streets and cast your eyes sideways, and barefoot you endure many hardships, and put on a solemn face for us. Yet sometimes, adapting to the occasion, he even dressed in fine clothes, as in Plato's *Symposium* when he is on his way to Agathon's.
2.29	Ἱκανὸς δ' ἀμφότερα ἦν, καὶ προτρέψαι καὶ ἀποτρέψαι. ὥσπερ τὸν Θεαίτητον περὶ ἐπιστήμης διαλεχθεὶς ἔνθεον ἀπέπεμψε, καθὰ καὶ Πλάτων φησίν. Εὐθύφρονα δὲ τῷ	He was able to do both: to turn people toward something and to turn them away from it. So, after discussing knowledge with Theaetetus, he sent

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	πατρὶ γραψάμενον ξενοκτονίας δίκην περὶ ὁσίου τινὰ διαλεχθεὶς ἀπήγαγε. καὶ τὸν Λύσιν δὲ ἠθικώτατον ἐποίησε προτρέψας. ἦν γὰρ ἱκανὸς ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων τοὺς λόγους εὑρίσκειν. ἐνέτρεψε δὲ καὶ Λαμπροκλέα τὸν υἱὸν τῇ μητρὶ ἀγριαινόμενον, ὥς που καὶ Ξενοφῶν εἴρηκε. καὶ Γλαύκωνα μὲν τὸν Πλάτωνος ἀδελφὸν θέλοντα πολιτεύεσθαι ἀπέστησε διὰ τὸ ἀπείρως ἔχειν, ὥς φησι Ξενοφῶν· Χαρμίδην δὲ τοὐναντίον ἔχοντα οἰκείως ἐπέστησεν.	him away inspired, as Plato too says; and when Euthyphro had brought a charge of killing a foreigner against his own father, Socrates talked with him about piety and led him away from it. He made Lysis, too, a person of excellent character by his exhortations, for he had a knack for drawing arguments from the facts at hand. He also shamed his son Lamprocles when he was raging at his mother, as Xenophon says somewhere. And he dissuaded Glaucon, Plato's brother, from going into politics because of his inexperience, as Xenophon says; whereas Charmides, who on the contrary was well suited to it, he encouraged to take it up.
2.30	Ἐπῆρε δὲ καὶ εἰς φρόνημα Ἰφικράτην τὸν στρατηγόν, δείξας αὐτῷ τοῦ κουρέως Μειδίου ἀλεκτρυόνας ἀντίον τῶν Καλλίου πτερυξαμένους. καὶ αὐτὸν Γλαυκωνίδης ἠξίου τῇ πόλει περιποιεῖν καθάπερ φασιανὸν ὄρνιν ἢ ταώ.	He also roused the general Iphicrates to a proud spirit by showing him the fighting cocks of Midias the barber flapping their wings against those of Callias. And Glauconides thought the city ought to keep him for itself, like a pheasant or a peacock.

SAYINGS OF SOCRATES

His remarks on friends, marriage and Xanthippe, and the oracle that called him wisest of men.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Ἔλεγε δὲ ὡς θαυμαστὸν πρόβατα μὲν ἕκαστον εἰπεῖν ἂν ῥᾳδίως ὅσα ἔχει, φίλους δ' οὐκ ἂν ὀνομάσαι ὁπόσους κέκτηται· οὕτως ὀλιγώρως ἔχειν περὶ αὐτούς. ὁρῶν δ' Εὐκλείδην ἐσπουδακότα περὶ τοὺς ἐριστικοὺς λόγους, "ὦ Εὐκλείδη," ἔφη, "σοφισταῖς μὲν δυνήσῃ χρῆσθαι, ἀνθρώποις δὲ οὐδαμῶς." ἄχρηστον γὰρ ᾤετο εἶναι τὴν περὶ ταῦτα γλισχρολογίαν, ὡς καὶ Πλάτων ἐν Εὐθυδήμῳ φησί.	He used to say it was remarkable that anyone could easily tell you how many sheep he had, but couldn't name how many friends he had made; that was how little people cared about them. Seeing Euclides absorbed in eristic arguments, he said, "Euclides, you'll be able to deal with sophists, but not with human beings at all." He thought such hair-splitting about these questions was useless, as Plato too says in the *Euthydemus*.
2.31	Χαρμίδου τε οἰκέτας αὐτῷ διδόντος, ἵν' ἀπ' αὐτῶν προσοδεύοιτο, οὐχ εἵλετο· καὶ τὸ κάλλος ὑπερεῖδεν Ἀλκιβιάδου κατά τινας. καὶ ἐπῄνει σχολὴν ὡς κάλλιστον κτημάτων, καθὰ καὶ Ξενοφῶν ἐν Συμποσίῳ φησίν. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ ἓν μόνον ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, τὴν ἐπιστήμην, καὶ ἓν μόνον κακόν, τὴν ἀμαθίαν· πλοῦτον δὲ καὶ εὐγένειαν οὐδὲν σεμνὸν ἔχειν· πᾶν δὲ τοὐναντίον κακόν. εἰπόντος γοῦν τινος αὐτῷ ὡς εἴη Ἀντισθένης μητρὸς Θρᾴττης, "σὺ δ' ὤου," ἔφη, "οὕτως ἂν γενναῖον ἐκ δυοῖν Ἀθηναίων γενέσθαι;" Φαίδωνα δὲ δι' αἰχμαλωσίαν ἐπ' οἰκήματος καθήμενον προσέταξε Κρίτωνι λυτρώσασθαι, καὶ φιλόσοφον ἀπειργάσατο.	When Charmides offered him slaves so that he could live off the income from them, he declined. According to some, he also looked down on the beauty of Alcibiades. He praised leisure as the finest of possessions, as Xenophon too says in his *Symposium*. He also used to say that there is only one good, knowledge, and only one bad thing, ignorance. Wealth and good birth, he said, have nothing worthy of respect about them; on the contrary, they are wholly bad. At any rate, when someone told him that Antisthenes' mother was Thracian, he said, "Did you think so noble a man could have been born of two Athenians?" When Phaedo, after being taken prisoner in war, was kept in a brothel, he had Crito ransom him and made a philosopher of him.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
2.32	Ἀλλὰ καὶ λυρίζειν ἐμάνθανεν ἤδη γηραιός, μηδὲν λέγων ἄτοπον εἶναι ἅ τις μὴ οἶδεν ἐκμανθάνειν. ἔτι τε ὠρχεῖτο συνεχές, τῇ τοῦ σώματος εὐεξίᾳ λυσιτελεῖν ἡγούμενος τὴν τοιαύτην γυμνασίαν, ὡς καὶ Ξενοφῶν ἐν Συμποσίῳ φησίν. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ προσημαίνειν τὸ δαιμόνιον τὰ μέλλοντα αὐτῷ· τό τε εὖ [ἄρχεσθαι] μικρὸν μὲν μὴ εἶναι, παρὰ μικρὸν δέ· καὶ εἰδέναι μὲν μηδὲν πλὴν αὐτὸ τοῦτο [εἰδέναι]. τούς τε τὰ πρώϊμα πολλοῦ ἐωνημένους ἀπογινώσκειν ἔλεγεν εἰς τὰς ὥρας ἐλθεῖν. καί ποτε ἐρωτηθείς, τίς ἀρετὴ νέου, "τὸ μηδὲν ἄγαν," εἶπεν. ἔφασκέ τε δεῖν γεωμετρεῖν μέχρι ἄν τις μέτρῳ δύνηται γῆν παραλαβεῖν καὶ παραδοῦναι.	What is more, he was learning to play the lyre when he was already old, saying there was nothing odd in learning what one doesn't know. He also danced regularly, believing that such exercise was good for the body's fitness, as Xenophon too says in his *Symposium*. He said too that the divine sign gave him advance warning of what was to come; that [to begin] well is no small thing, but hangs on a small thing; and that he knew nothing except [knowing] this very fact. He used to say that people who pay a high price for early produce despair of living until the proper season. Once, asked what excellence in a young man is, he said, "Nothing in excess." He held that one should study geometry only so far as to be able to take over and hand over land by measure.
2.33	Εὐριπίδου δ' ἐν τῇ Αὐγῇ εἰπόντος περὶ ἀρετῆς, κράτιστον εἰκῇ ταῦτ' ἐᾶν ἀφειμένα, ἀναστὰς ἐξῆλθε, φήσας γελοῖον εἶναι ἀνδράποδον μὲν μὴ εὑρισκόμενον ἀξιοῦν ζητεῖν, ἀρετὴν δ' οὕτως ἐᾶν ἀπολωλέναι. ἐρωτηθεὶς πότερον γῆμαι ἢ μή, ἔφη, "ὃ ἂν αὐτῶν ποιήσῃς, μεταγνώσῃ." ἐλεγέ τε θαυμάζειν τῶν τὰς λιθίνας εἰκόνας κατασκευαζομένων τοῦ μὲν λίθου προνοεῖν ὅπως ὁμοιότατος ἔσται, αὑτῶν δ' ἀμελεῖν, ὡς μὴ ὁμοίους τῷ λίθῳ φαίνεσθαι. ἠξίου δὲ καὶ τοὺς νέους συνεχὲς κατοπτρίζεσθαι, ἵν' εἰ μὲν καλοὶ εἶεν, ἄξιοι γίγνοιντο· εἰ δ' αἰσχροί, παιδείᾳ τὴν δυσείδειαν ἐπικαλύπτοιεν.	When Euripides, in his *Auge*, said of excellence: It is best to let these things go loose, at random, he got up and walked out. It was ridiculous, he said, to think a slave who couldn't be found worth searching for, but to let excellence be lost like that. Asked whether one should marry or not, he said, "Whichever you do, you'll regret it." He used to say he was amazed that people who make stone statues take pains to make the stone as lifelike as possible, while neglecting to make sure they themselves don't look like the stone. He thought young men should look at themselves in the mirror regularly, so that if they were handsome they might become worthy of their looks, and if they were ugly they might cover up their ugliness with education.
2.34	Καλέσας ἐπὶ δεῖπνον πλουσίους, καὶ τῆς Ξανθίππης αἰδουμένης ἔφη, "θάρρει· εἰ μὲν γὰρ εἶεν μέτριοι, συμπεριενεχθεῖεν ἄν· εἰ δὲ φαῦλοι, ἡμῖν αὐτῶν οὐδὲν μελήσει." ἔλεγέ τε τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ζῆν ἵν' ἐσθίοιεν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐσθίειν ἵνα ζῴη. πρὸς τὸ οὐκ ἀξιόλογον πλῆθος ἔφασκεν ὅμοιον εἴ τις τετράδραχμον ἓν ἀποδοκιμάζων τὸν ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων σωρὸν ὡς δόκιμον ἀποδέχοιτο. Αἰσχίνου δὲ εἰπόντος, "πένης εἰμὶ καὶ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἔχω, δίδωμι δέ σοι ἐμαυτόν," "ἆρ' οὖν," εἶπεν, "οὐκ αἰσθάνῃ τὰ μέγιστά μοι διδούς;" τὸν ἀποδυσπετοῦντα ἐπὶ τῷ παρορᾶσθαι, ὁπότε ἐπανέστησαν οἱ τριάκοντα, "ἆρα," ἔφη, "μήτι σοι μεταμέλει;"	Once he invited some rich men to dinner, and when Xanthippe was embarrassed he said, "Cheer up. If they're reasonable, they'll put up with us; if they're worthless, we won't give them a thought." He used to say that other people live to eat, while he ate to live. Of the masses, who count for nothing, he said it was as if someone rejected a single four-drachma coin as counterfeit but accepted a heap made of such coins as good. When Aeschines said, "I'm poor and have nothing else, but I give you myself," he replied, "Don't you realize you're giving me the greatest gift of all?" To a man who was resentful at being overlooked when the Thirty came to power, he said, "You don't regret it, do you?"
2.35		

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, “θάνατόν σου κατέγνωσαν Ἀθηναῖοι,” “κἀκείνων,” εἶπεν, “ἡ φύσις.” οἱ δὲ τοῦτ’ Ἀναξαγόρου φασί. τῆς γυναικὸς εἰπούσης, “ἀδίκως ἀποθνήσκεις,” “σὺ δέ,” ἔφη, “δικαίως ἐβούλου;” ὄναρ δόξας τινὰ αὐτῷ λέγειν, ἤματί κεν τριτάτῳ Φθίην ἐρίβωλον ἵκοιο, πρὸς Αἰσχίνην ἔφη, “εἰς τρίτην ἀποθανοῦμαι.” μέλλοντί τε αὐτῷ τὸ κώνειον πίεσθαι Ἀπολλόδωρος ἱμάτιον ἐδίδου καλόν, ἵν’ ἐκείνῳ ἐναποθάνοι· καὶ ὅς, “τί δέ,” ἔφη, “τὸ ἐμὸν ἱμάτιον ἐμβιῶναι μὲν ἐπιτήδειον, ἐναποθανεῖν δὲ οὐχί;” πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, “κακῶς ὁ δεῖνά σε λέγει,” “καλῶς γάρ,” ἔφη, “λέγειν οὐκ ἔμαθε.”	To the man who said, “The Athenians have condemned you to death,” he replied, “And nature has condemned them.” Some say this was Anaxagoras’ saying. When his wife said, “You’re dying unjustly,” he said, “Would you rather I died justly?” Having dreamed that someone said to him, On the third day you would reach fertile Phthia, he told Aeschines, “In three days I shall die.” When he was about to drink the hemlock, Apollodorus offered him a fine cloak to die in. “What?” he said. “My own cloak was good enough to live in, but not to die in?” To the man who said, “So-and-so speaks ill of you,” he replied, “That’s because he never learned to speak well.”[15]
2.36	στρέψαντος δὲ Ἀντισθένους τὸ διερρωγὸς τοῦ τρίβωνος εἰς τοὐμφανές, “ὁρῶ σου,” ἔφη, “διὰ τοῦ τρίβωνος τὴν κενοδοξίαν.” πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, “οὐ σοὶ λοιδορεῖται ὁ δεῖνα;” “οὐχί,” ἔφη· “ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐ πρόσεστι ταῦτα.” ἔλεγε δὲ τοῖς κωμικοῖς δεῖν ἐπίτηδες ἑαυτὸν διδόναι· εἰ μὲν γάρ τι τῶν προσόντων λέξειαν, διορθώσονται· εἰ δ’ οὔ, οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς. πρὸς Ξανθίππην πρότερον μὲν λοιδοροῦσαν, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ περιχέασαν αὐτῷ, “οὐκ ἔλεγον,” εἶπεν, “ὅτι Ξανθίππη βροντῶσα καὶ ὕδωρ ποιήσει;” πρὸς Ἀλκιβιάδην εἰπόντα ὡς οὐκ ἀνεκτὴ ἡ Ξανθίππη λοιδοροῦσα, “ἀλλ’ ἔγωγ’,” ἔφη, “συνείθισμαι, καθαπερεὶ καὶ τροχιλίας ἀκούων συνεχές.	When Antisthenes turned the torn part of his cloak to the front, he said, “I can see your vanity through your cloak.” To the man who said, “Isn’t So-and-so abusing you?” he replied, “No—those things don’t apply to me.” He used to say one should deliberately make oneself available to the comic poets: if they mention any of our real faults, they will correct us; if not, it has nothing to do with us. To Xanthippe, who first scolded him and then poured water over him as well, he said, “Didn’t I tell you that when Xanthippe thunders she’ll bring rain too?” To Alcibiades, who said Xanthippe’s scolding was unbearable, he said, “Well, I’ve got used to it, just as if I were constantly hearing the rattle of a pulley.
2.37	καὶ σὺ μέν,” εἶπε, “χηνῶν βοώντων ἀνέχῃ.” τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, “ἀλλά μοι ᾠὰ καὶ νεοττοὺς τίκτουσι,” “κἀμοί,” φησί, “Ξανθίππη παιδία γεννᾷ.” ποτὲ αὐτῆς ἐν ἀγορᾷ καὶ θοἰμάτιον περιελομένης συνεβούλευον οἱ γνώριμοι χερσὶν ἀμύνασθαι, “νὴ Δί’,” εἶπεν, “ἵν’ ἡμῶν πυκτευόντων ἕκαστος ὑμῶν λέγῃ, εὖ Σώκρατες, εὖ Ξανθίππη.” ἔλεγε συνεῖναι τραχείᾳ γυναικὶ καθάπερ οἱ ἱππικοὶ θυμοειδέσιν ἵπποις. “ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐκεῖνοι,” φησί, “τούτων κρατήσαντες ῥᾳδίως τῶν ἄλλων περιγίνονται, οὕτω κἀγὼ Ξανθίππῃ χρώμενος τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις συμπεριενεχθήσομαι.”	And you,” he said, “put up with honking geese.” When the other replied, “But they give me eggs and goslings,” he said, “And Xanthippe gives me children.” Once, in the marketplace, she even pulled his cloak off him, and his friends advised him to defend himself with his fists. “Yes, by Zeus,” he said, “so that while we’re boxing each of you can shout, ‘Go on, Socrates! Go on, Xanthippe!’” He said that living with a harsh woman was like what horsemen do with spirited horses. “Just as they, once they’ve mastered these, easily get the better of the rest,” he said, “so I, having Xanthippe to deal with, will get along with everyone else.”
	Ταῦτα δὴ καὶ τοιαῦτα λέγων καὶ πράττων πρὸς τῆς Πυθίας ἐμαρτυρήθη, Χαιρεφῶντι ἀνελούσης ἐκεῖνο δὴ τὸ περιφερόμενον, ἀνδρῶν ἁπάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος.	It was for saying and doing these things and the like that he received the testimony of the Pythia,

15 The line is Achilles’ in Homer’s *Iliad* (9.363), about sailing home to Phthia; the place-name was heard as an echo of *phthinein*, “to perish.”

GREEK	ENGLISH
	who gave Chaerephon that famous response: Of all men Socrates is wisest.[16]

TRIAL AND DEATH OF SOCRATES

Anytus, Lycon and Meletus prosecute him; he is condemned and drinks the hemlock.

GREEK	ENGLISH
2.38 ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ ἐφθονήθη μάλιστα· καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅτι διήλεγχε τοὺς μέγα φρονοῦντας ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς ὡς ἀνοήτους, καθάπερ ἀμέλει καὶ τὸν Ἄνυτον, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ Πλάτωνός ἐστι Μένωνι. οὗτος γὰρ οὐ φέρων τὸν ὑπὸ Σωκράτους χλευασμὸν πρῶτον μὲν ἐπήλειψεν αὐτῷ τοὺς περὶ Ἀριστοφάνην, ἔπειτα καὶ Μέλητον συνέπεισεν ἀπενέγκασθαι κατ' αὐτοῦ γραφὴν ἀσεβείας καὶ τῶν νέων διαφθορᾶς.	This, above all, was what made him envied—and also the fact that he would expose as fools those who thought highly of themselves, as he certainly did Anytus, as we find in Plato's *Meno*. Anytus, unable to bear Socrates' mockery, first stirred up Aristophanes and his circle against him, and then helped persuade Meletus to bring an indictment against him for impiety and corrupting the young.
Ἀπηνέγκατο μὲν οὖν τὴν γραφὴν ὁ Μέλητος, εἶπε δὲ τὴν δίκην Πολύευκτος, ὥς φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ· συνέγραψε δὲ τὸν λόγον Πολυκράτης ὁ σοφιστής, ὥς φησιν Ἕρμιππος, ἢ Ἄνυτος, ὥς τινες· προητοίμασε δὲ πάντα Λύκων ὁ δημαγωγός.	So Meletus brought the indictment, and Polyeuctus delivered the speech for the prosecution, as Favorinus says in his *Miscellaneous History*. The speech was written by Polycrates the sophist, as Hermippus says, or by Anytus, as some say; and Lycon the demagogue made all the preparations.
2.39 Ἀντισθένης δ' ἐν ταῖς τῶν φιλοσόφων Διαδοχαῖς καὶ Πλάτων ἐν Ἀπολογίᾳ τρεῖς αὐτοῦ κατηγορῆσαί φασιν, Ἄνυτον καὶ Λύκωνα καὶ Μέλητον· τὸν μὲν Ἄνυτον ὡς ὑπὲρ τῶν δημιουργῶν καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν ὀργιζόμενον· τὸν δὲ Λύκωνα ὑπὲρ τῶν ῥητόρων· καὶ τὸν Μέλητον ὑπὲρ τῶν ποιητῶν, οὓς ἅπαντας ὁ Σωκράτης διέσυρε. Φαβωρῖνος δέ φησιν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων μὴ εἶναι ἀληθῆ τὸν λόγον τὸν Πολυκράτους κατὰ Σωκράτους· ἐν αὐτῷ γάρ, φησί, μνημονεύει τῶν ὑπὸ Κόνωνος τειχῶν ἀνασταθέντων, ἃ γέγονεν ἔτεσιν ἓξ τῆς τοῦ Σωκράτους τελευτῆς ὕστερον. καὶ ἔστιν οὕτως ἔχον.	Antisthenes in his *Successions of the Philosophers* and Plato in the *Apology* say there were three accusers, Anytus, Lycon and Meletus: Anytus was angry on behalf of the craftsmen and the politicians, Lycon on behalf of the orators, and Meletus on behalf of the poets—all of whom Socrates used to pull to pieces. Favorinus, however, says in the first book of his *Memoirs* that Polycrates' speech against Socrates is not genuine; for in it, he says, Polycrates mentions the walls rebuilt by Conon, which happened six years after Socrates' death. And that is indeed the case.
2.40 Ἡ δ' ἀντωμοσία τῆς δίκης τοῦτον εἶχε τὸν τρόπον· ἀνάκειται γὰρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν, φησὶ Φαβωρῖνος, ἐν τῷ Μητρῴῳ· "τάδε ἐγράψατο καὶ ἀντωμόσατο Μέλητος Μελήτου Πιτθεὺς Σωκράτει Σωφρονίσκου Ἀλωπεκῆθεν· ἀδικεῖ Σωκράτης, οὓς μὲν ἡ πόλις νομίζει θεοὺς οὐ νομίζων, ἕτερα δὲ καινὰ δαιμόνια εἰσηγούμενος· ἀδικεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς νέους διαφθείρων. τίμημα θάνατος." ὁ δ' οὖν φιλόσοφος, Λυσίου γράψαντος ἀπολογίαν αὐτῷ, διαναγνοὺς ἔφη, "καλὸς μὲν ὁ λόγος, ὦ Λυσία, οὐ μὴν ἁρμόττων γ' ἐμοί." δηλαδὴ γὰρ ἦν τὸ πλέον δικανικὸς ἢ ἐμφιλόσοφος. [41] εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Λυσίου, "πῶς, εἰ καλός ἐστιν ὁ λόγος, οὐκ ἄν σοι ἁρμόττοι;"	The sworn statement of the charge ran as follows (it is still on display even now, Favorinus says, in the Metroön): "This indictment and affidavit is sworn by Meletus son of Meletus, of the deme Pithus, against Socrates son of Sophroniscus, of the deme Alopece. Socrates does wrong by not recognizing the gods the city recognizes and by introducing other, new divinities. He also does wrong by corrupting the young. Penalty proposed: death." Now the philosopher, when Lysias had written a defense speech for him, read it through and said, "It's a fine speech, Lysias, but it doesn't suit me." It

16 Chaerephon was a devoted friend of Socrates.

GREEK	ENGLISH
	was plainly more forensic than philosophical. [41] When Lysias asked, "If the speech is fine, how could it not suit you?"[17]
2.41 ἔφη, "οὐ γὰρ καὶ ἱμάτια καλὰ καὶ ὑποδήματα εἴη ἂν ἐμοὶ ἀνάρμοστα;" Κρινομένου δ' αὐτοῦ φησιν Ἰοῦστος ὁ Τιβεριεὺς ἐν τῷ Στέμματι Πλάτωνα ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ εἰπεῖν, "νεώτατος ὤν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀναβάντων·" τοὺς δὲ δικαστὰς ἐκβοῆσαι, Κατάβα, κατάβα [τουτέστι κατάβηθι]. ὅτ' οὖν καὶ κατεδικάοθη διακοσίαις ὀγδοήκοντα μιᾷ πλείοσι ψήφοις τῶν ἀπολυουσῶν· καὶ τιμωμένων τῶν δικαστῶν τί χρὴ παθεῖν αὐτὸν ἢ ἀποτῖσαι, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔφη δραχμὰς ἀποτίσειν. Εὐβουλίδης μὲν γάρ φησιν ἑκατὸν ὁμολογῆσαι· [42] θορυβησάντων δὲ τῶν δικαστῶν, "ἕνεκα μέν," εἶπε, "τῶν ἐμοὶ διαπεπραγμένων τιμῶμαι τὴν δίκην τῆς ἐν πρυτανείῳ σιτήσεως."	he replied, "Wouldn't fine clothes and shoes, too, be unsuitable for me?" Justus of Tiberias says in his *Wreath* that during the trial Plato went up onto the speaker's platform and said, "Men of Athens, though I am the youngest of those who have come up to the platform...," but the jurors shouted out, Get down, get down! [that is, step down]. So then he was condemned, by two hundred and eighty-one votes more than those for acquittal. When the jurors were assessing what he should suffer or pay, he said he would pay twenty-five drachmas. Eubulides, for his part, says he agreed to a hundred. [42] When the jurors broke into uproar, he said, "In view of what I have done, I propose as my penalty free meals in the Prytaneum."[18]
2.42 Καὶ οἱ θάνατον αὐτοῦ κατέγνωσαν, προσθέντες ἄλλας ψήφους ὀγδοήκοντα. καὶ δεθεὶς μετ' οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἔπιε τὸ κώνειον, πολλὰ καλὰ κἀγαθὰ διαλεχθείς, ἃ Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Φαίδωνί φησιν. ἀλλὰ καὶ παιᾶνα κατά τινας ἐποίησεν, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· Δήλι' Ἄπολλον χαῖρε, καὶ Ἄρτεμι, παῖδε κλεεινώ. Διονυσόδωρος δέ φησι μὴ εἶναι αὐτοῦ τὸν παιᾶνα. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ μῦθον Αἰσώπειον οὐ πάνυ ἐπιτετευγμένως, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· Αἴσωπός ποτ' ἔλεξε Κορίνθιον ἄστυ νέμουσι, / μὴ κρίνειν ἀρετὴν λαοδίκῳ σοφίῃ.	And they condemned him to death, adding another eighty votes. He was put in chains, and not many days later he drank the hemlock, after much fine and noble conversation, which Plato records in the *Phaedo*. According to some, he also composed a paean, which begins: Delian Apollo, hail, and Artemis, glorious pair of children. But Dionysodorus says the paean is not his. He also composed a fable in the manner of Aesop, not very successfully, which begins: Aesop once told the people who dwell in the city of Corinth / not to judge excellence by the wisdom of a popular jury.
2.43 Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἦν· Ἀθηναῖοι δ' εὐθὺς μετέγνωσαν, ὥστε κλεῖσαι καὶ παλαίστρας καὶ γυμνάσια. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ⟨ἄλλους⟩ ἐφυγάδευσαν, Μελήτου δὲ θάνατον κατέγνωσαν· Σωκράτην δὲ χαλκῇ εἰκόνι ἐτίμησαν, ἣν ἔθεσαν ἐν τῷ πομπείῳ, Λυσίππου ταύτην ἐργασαμένου. Ἄνυτόν τε ἐπιδημήσαντα αὐθημερὸν ἐξεκήρυξαν Ἡρακλεῶται. οὐ μόνον δ' ἐπὶ Σωκράτους Ἀθηναῖοι πεπόνθασι τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστων ὅσων. καὶ γὰρ Ὅμηρον, καθά φησιν Ἡρακλείδης, πεντήκοντα δραχμαῖς ὡς μαινόμενον ἐζημίωσαν, καὶ Τυρταῖον παρακόπτειν ἔλεγον, καὶ Ἀστυδάμαντα πρότερον τῶν περὶ Αἰσχύλον ἐτίμησαν εἰκόνι χαλκῇ. [44] Εὐριπίδης δὲ καὶ ὀνειδίζει αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ Παλαμήδει λέγων· "ἐκάνετ' ἐκάνετε τὰν πάνσοφον τὰν οὐδὲν ἀλγύνουσαν ἀηδόνα μουσᾶν." καὶ τάδε μὲν ὧδε. Φιλόχορος δέ φησι προτελευτῆσαι τὸν Εὐριπίδην τοῦ Σωκράτους.	So he was gone from among men. The Athenians repented at once, so much so that they closed the wrestling schools and gymnasia. They banished the others and condemned Meletus to death; and they honored Socrates with a bronze statue, the work of Lysippus, which they set up in the Pompeion. When Anytus visited Heraclea, the people of Heraclea expelled him by proclamation that same day. It is not only in Socrates' case that the Athenians have behaved like this, but in a great many others. As Heraclides says, they fined Homer fifty drachmas as a madman, said Tyrtaeus was out of his mind, and honored Astydamas with a bronze statue before Aeschylus and his like. [44] Euripides even reproaches them in his *Palamedes*,

17 The Metroön, the shrine of the Mother of the Gods in the Agora, housed the Athenian state archives.
18 The Prytaneum was the town hall where public benefactors were honored with free meals.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		saying: "You have killed, you have killed the all-wise, the harmless nightingale of the Muses." So much for that. Philochorus, though, says that Euripides died before Socrates.[19]
2.44	Ἐγεννήθη δέ, καθά φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς, ἐπὶ Ἀψεφίωνος ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει τῆς ἑβδομηκοστῆς ἑβδόμης Ὀλυμπιάδος, Θαργηλιῶνος ἕκτῃ, ὅτε καθαίρουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν Δήλιοι γενέσθαι φασίν. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς ἐνενηκοστῆς πέμπτης Ὀλυμπιάδος, γεγονὼς ἐτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα. ταὐτά φησι καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεύς. ἔνιοι δὲ ἑξήκοντα ἐτῶν τελευτῆσαι αὐτόν φασιν.	He was born, as Apollodorus says in his *Chronicles*, in the archonship of Apsephion, in the fourth year of the 77th Olympiad, on the sixth of Thargelion, when the Athenians purify the city and when the Delians say Artemis was born. He died in the first year of the 95th Olympiad, at the age of seventy. Demetrius of Phalerum says the same. Some, however, say he was sixty when he died.[20]
2.45	Ἀμφότεροι δ' ἤκουσαν Ἀναξαγόρου, καὶ οὗτος καὶ Εὐριπίδης, ὃς καὶ τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς ἑβδομηκοστῆς πέμπτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐγεννήθη ἐπὶ Καλλιάδου.	Both of them studied under Anaxagoras, he and Euripides; Euripides was born in the first year of the 75th Olympiad, in the archonship of Calliades.
	Δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ περὶ τῶν φυσικῶν ὁ Σωκράτης διειλέχθαι· ὅπου γε καὶ περὶ προνοίας τινὰ διαλέγεται, καθά φησι καὶ Ξενοφῶν, καίτοι περὶ μόνων τῶν ἠθικῶν ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς λόγους αὐτὸν εἰπών. ἀλλὰ καὶ Πλάτων ἐν τῇ Ἀπολογίᾳ μνησθεὶς Ἀναξαγόρου καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν φυσικῶν, ἃ Σωκράτης ἀρνεῖται, περὶ τούτων αὐτὸς λέγει, καίπερ ἀνατιθεὶς πάντα Σωκράτει.	In my view Socrates also discussed natural philosophy. At any rate, he holds certain discussions about providence, as Xenophon too says—although Xenophon declares that he talked only about ethics. And Plato too, in the *Apology*, after mentioning Anaxagoras and certain other natural philosophers—subjects Socrates disowns—speaks about these things himself, even though he attributes everything to Socrates.
	Φησὶ δ' Ἀριστοτέλης μάγον τινὰ ἐλθόντα ἐκ Συρίας εἰς Ἀθήνας τά τε ἄλλα καταγνῶναι τοῦ Σωκράτους, καὶ δὴ καὶ βίαιον ἔσεσθαι τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτῷ.	Aristotle says that a Magus who came from Syria to Athens found fault with Socrates on various counts, and in particular predicted that he would die a violent death.
2.46	Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν οὕτω· πῖνέ νυν ἐν Διὸς ὤν, ὦ Σώκρατες· ἦ σε γὰρ ὄντως καὶ σοφὸν εἶπε θεός, καὶ θεὸς ἡ σοφίη. πρὸς γὰρ Ἀθηναίων κώνειον ἁπλῶς σὺ ἐδέξω· αὐτοὶ δ' ἐξέπιον τοῦτο τεῷ στόματι.	I have also written a poem on him, which goes like this: Drink now, Socrates, in the house of Zeus; for truly the god called you wise, and wisdom is a god. You simply took the hemlock from the Athenians, but they themselves drank it down with your mouth.
	Τούτῳ τις, καθά φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ ποιητικῆς, ἐφιλονείκει Ἀντίλοχος Λήμνιος καὶ Ἀντιφῶν ὁ τερατοσκόπος, ὡς Πυθαγόρᾳ Κύλων Κροτωνιάτης· καὶ Σύαγρος Ὁμήρῳ ζῶντι, ἀποθανόντι δὲ Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος· καὶ Κέρκωψ Ἡσιόδῳ ζῶντι, τελευτήσαντι δὲ ὁ προειρημένος Ξενοφάνης· καὶ Πινδάρῳ Ἀμφιμένης ὁ Κῷος· Θάλητι δὲ Φερεκύδης καὶ Βίαντι Σάλαρος Πριηνεύς·	According to Aristotle in the third book of his *On Poetry*, a certain Antilochus of Lemnos and Antiphon the interpreter of portents were his rivals, as Cylon of Croton was Pythagoras'; Syagrus was Homer's while he lived, and Xenophanes of Colophon after his death; Cercops was Hesiod's while he lived, and the Xenophanes just mentioned after his death; Amphimenes of Cos was Pindar's;

19 The Pompeion was the building near the city gate where Athenian religious processions were assembled.
20 These dates correspond to 469/8 and 400/399 BC.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Πιττακῷ Ἀντιμενίδας καὶ Ἀλκαῖος, Ἀναξαγόρᾳ Σωσίβιος, καὶ Σιμωνίδῃ Τιμοκρέων.	Pherecydes was Thales', and Salarus of Priene Bias'; Antimenidas and Alcaeus were Pittacus', Sosibius Anaxagoras', and Timocreon Simonides'.
2.47	Τῶν δὲ διαδεξαμένων αὐτὸν τῶν λεγομένων Σωκρατικῶν οἱ κορυφαιότατοι μὲν Πλάτων, Ξενοφῶν, Ἀντισθένης· τῶν δὲ φερομένων δέκα οἱ διασημότατοι τέσσαρες, Αἰσχίνης, Φαίδων, Εὐκλείδης, Ἀρίστιππος. λεκτέον δὲ πρῶτον περὶ Ξενοφῶντος, εἶτα περὶ Ἀντισθένους ἐν τοῖς κυνικοῖς, ἔπειτα περὶ τῶν Σωκρατικῶν, εἶθ' οὕτω περὶ Πλάτωνος, ἐπεὶ κατάρχει τῶν δέκα αἱρέσεων καὶ τὴν πρώτην Ἀκαδημείαν αὐτὸς συνεστήσατο. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀκολουθία τοῦτον ἐχέτω τὸν τρόπον.	Of those who succeeded him, the so-called Socratics, the leading figures were Plato, Xenophon and Antisthenes; and of the ten who are traditionally listed, the four most distinguished were Aeschines, Phaedo, Euclides and Aristippus. I must speak first of Xenophon, then of Antisthenes among the Cynics, then of the Socratics, and after that of Plato, since he heads the ten schools and himself founded the first Academy. Let that, then, be the order.
	Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἕτερος Σωκράτης, ἱστορικός, περιήγησιν Ἄργους γεγραφώς· καὶ ἄλλος περιπατητικός, Βιθυνός· καὶ ἕτερος ἐπιγραμμάτων ποιητής· καὶ ὁ Κῷος, ἐπικλήσεις θεῶν γεγραφώς.	There was also another Socrates, a historian, who wrote a guide to Argos; another, a Peripatetic from Bithynia; another, a writer of epigrams; and Socrates of Cos, who wrote on the epithets of the gods.

XENOPHON

Socrates' handsome pupil marches with Cyrus, is exiled from Athens and writes at Scillus and Corinth.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
2.48	Ξενοφῶν Γρύλλου μὲν ἦν υἱός, Ἀθηναῖος, τῶν δήμων Ἐρχιεύς· αἰδήμων δὲ καὶ εὐειδέστατος εἰς ὑπερβολήν. τούτῳ δὲ ἐν στενωπῷ φασιν ἀπαντήσαντα Σωκράτην διατεῖναι τὴν βακτηρίαν καὶ κωλύειν παριέναι, πυνθανόμενον ποῦ πιπράσκοιτο τῶν προσφερομένων ἕκαστον· ἀποκριναμένου δὲ πάλιν πυθέσθαι, ποῦ δὲ καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ γίνονται ἄνθρωποι· ἀπορήσαντος δέ, "ἕπου τοίνυν," φάναι, "καὶ μάνθανε." καὶ τοὐντεῦθεν ἀκροατὴς Σωκράτους ἦν. καὶ πρῶτος ὑποσημειωσάμενος τὰ λεγόμενα εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἤγαγεν, Ἀπομνημονεύματα ἐπιγράψας. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱστορίαν φιλοσόφων πρῶτος ἔγραψε.	Xenophon was the son of Gryllus, an Athenian of the deme Erchia. He was modest and extraordinarily handsome. They say that Socrates met him in a narrow lane, stretched his stick across it to stop him passing, and asked him where each kind of food was sold. When he had answered, Socrates asked him again where people become fine and good. When he was at a loss, Socrates said, "Then follow me and learn." From then on he was Socrates' pupil. He was the first to take notes of what was said and make it public, calling the work *Memorabilia*. He was also the first to write a history of philosophers.
	Καὶ αὐτόν φησιν Ἀρίστιππος ἐν τετάρτῳ Περὶ παλαιᾶς τρυφῆς ἐρασθῆναι Κλεινίου· [49] πρὸς ὃν καὶ ταῦτα εἰπεῖν· "νῦν γὰρ ἐγὼ Κλεινίαν ἥδιον μὲν θεῶμαι ἢ τἄλλα πάντα τὰ ἐν ἀνθρώποις καλά· τυφλὸς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων δεξαίμην ἂν ἢ Κλεινίου ἑνὸς ὄντος γενέσθαι· ἄχθομαι δὲ καὶ νυκτὶ καὶ ὕπνῳ, ὅτι ἐκεῖνον οὐχ ὁρῶ· ἡμέρᾳ δὲ καὶ ἡλίῳ τὴν μεγίστην χάριν οἶδα, ὅτι μοι Κλεινίαν ἀναφαίνουσι."	Aristippus says in the fourth book of *On the Luxury of the Ancients* that he was in love with Clinias, [49] and that he said this about him: "Now I take more pleasure in looking at Clinias than at all the other beautiful things among men. I would rather be blind to everything else than to Clinias alone. I resent night and sleep because I can't see him, and I am deeply grateful to the day and the sun because they show me Clinias."[21]

21 *On the Luxury of the Ancients* was a later work circulating under the name of Aristippus, not by the Socratic Aristippus.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
2.49	Κύρῳ δὲ φίλος ἐγένετο τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. ἦν αὐτῷ συνήθης Πρόξενος ὄνομα, γένος Βοιώτιος, μαθητὴς μὲν Γοργίου τοῦ Λεοντίνου, φίλος δὲ Κύρῳ. οὗτος ἐν Σάρδεσι διατρίβων παρὰ τῷ Κύρῳ ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐπιστολὴν Ξενοφῶντι, καλῶν αὐτὸν ἵνα γένηται Κύρῳ φίλος. ὁ δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν δεικνύει Σωκράτει καὶ σύμβουλον ἠρεῖτο.	He became a friend of Cyrus in the following way. He had an acquaintance named Proxenus, a Boeotian by birth, a pupil of Gorgias of Leontini and a friend of Cyrus. Proxenus, who was staying with Cyrus at Sardis, sent a letter to Xenophon in Athens, inviting him to come and become Cyrus' friend. Xenophon showed the letter to Socrates and asked his advice.[22]
2.50	καὶ ὃς ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν εἰς Δελφοὺς χρησόμενον τῷ θεῷ. πείθεται Ξενοφῶν· ἥκει παρὰ τὸν θεόν· πυνθάνεται οὐχὶ εἰ χρὴ ἀπιέναι πρὸς Κῦρον, ἀλλ' ὅπως· ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ Σωκράτης αὐτὸν ᾐτιάσατο, συνεβούλευσε δὲ ἐξελθεῖν. καὶ ὃς γίνεται παρὰ Κύρῳ, καὶ τοῦ Προξένου φίλος οὐχ ἧττον ἦν αὐτῷ. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀνάβασιν γενόμενα καὶ τὴν κάθοδον ἱκανῶς αὐτὸς ἡμῖν διηγεῖται. ἐχθρῶς δὲ διέκειτο πρὸς Μένωνα τὸν Φαρσάλιον παρὰ τὸν χρόνον τῆς ἀναβάσεως τὸν ξεναγόν· ὅτε καὶ λοιδορῶν αὐτόν φησιν αὐτοῦ μείζοσι κεχρῆσθαι παιδικοῖς. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίδῃ τινὶ ὀνειδίζει τετρῆσθαι τὰ ὦτα.	Socrates sent him to Delphi to consult the god. Xenophon did as he was told: he went to the god and asked, not whether he should go to Cyrus, but how. Socrates blamed him for this, but advised him to set off. So he joined Cyrus, and was no less a friend to him than Proxenus was. Everything else that happened on the march up country and the return he himself recounts for us in full. During the march up he was on bad terms with Meno of Pharsalus, the commander of the mercenaries; and in abusing him he says that Meno had beloveds older than himself. He also reproaches a certain Apollonides with having pierced ears.[23]
2.51	Μετὰ δὲ τήν τ' ἀνάβασιν καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ συμφορὰς καὶ τὰς παρασπονδήσεις τὰς Σεύθου τοῦ τῶν Ὀδρυσῶν βασιλέως ἦκεν εἰς Ἀσίαν πρὸς Ἀγησίλαον τὸν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέα, μισθοῦ τοὺς Κύρου στρατιώτας αὐτῷ παρασχών· φίλος τ' ἦν εἰς ὑπερβολήν. παρ' ὃν καιρὸν ἐπὶ Λακωνισμῷ φυγὴν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων κατεγνώσθη. γενόμενος δ' ἐν Ἐφέσῳ καὶ χρυσίον ἔχων τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ Μεγαβύζῳ δίδωσι τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερεῖ φυλάττειν, ἕως ἂν ἐπανέλθοι· εἰ δὲ μή, ἄγαλμα ποιησάμενον ἀναθεῖναι τῇ θεῷ· τοῦ δὲ ἡμίσεος ἔπεμψεν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀναθήματα. ἐντεῦθεν ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα μετ' Ἀγησιλάου, κεκλημένου εἰς τὸν πρὸς Θηβαίους πόλεμον· καὶ αὐτῷ προξενίαν ἔδοσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι.	After the march up country, the disasters in Pontus and the broken agreements of Seuthes, king of the Odrysians, he went to Asia to join Agesilaus, king of the Spartans, providing him with Cyrus' soldiers as mercenaries; and he became an extraordinarily close friend of his. It was at this time that the Athenians condemned him to exile for siding with Sparta. While he was at Ephesus, having some gold, he gave half of it to Megabyzus, the priest of Artemis, to keep for him until he returned—or, if he did not, to have a statue made and dedicate it to the goddess. With the other half he sent offerings to Delphi. From there he came to Greece with Agesilaus, who had been recalled for the war against Thebes; and the Spartans made him their proxenos.[24]
2.52	Ἐντεῦθεν ἐάσας τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἦκεν εἰς Σκιλλοῦντα, χωρίον τῆς Ἠλείας ὀλίγον τῆς πόλεως ἀπέχον. εἵπετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ γύναιον ὄνομα Φιλησία, καθά φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης, καὶ δύο υἱεῖς, Γρύλλος καὶ Διόδωρος, ὥς φησι Δείναρχος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα ἀποστασίου, οἳ καὶ Διόσκουροι ἐπεκαλοῦντο. ἀφικομένου δὲ τοῦ Μεγαβύζου κατὰ πρόφασιν τῆς πανηγύρεως, κομισάμενος τὰ χρήματα	Then, leaving Agesilaus, he went to Scillus, a place in the territory of Elis not far from the city. He was accompanied by a woman named Philesia, as Demetrius of Magnesia says, and by his two sons, Gryllus and Diodorus, as Dinarchus says in his speech against Xenophon in a case of desertion; they were also called the Dioscuri. When

22 Cyrus the Younger, a Persian prince, raised a Greek mercenary army in 401 BC to march against his brother, King Artaxerxes II.
23 In Xenophon's account (*Anabasis* 3.1.31) Apollonides' pierced ears show that he is a Lydian, not a Greek.
24 A proxenos was a citizen of one state appointed to represent and host the visitors of another, an honored position.

GREEK	ENGLISH
χωρίον ἐπρίατο καὶ καθιέρωσε τῇ θεῷ, δι' οὗ ποταμὸς ἔρρει Σελινοῦς, ὁμώνυμος τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. τοὐντεῦθεν διετέλει κυνηγετῶν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἑστιῶν καὶ τὰς ἱστορίας συγγράφων. φησὶ δ' ὁ Δείναρχος ὅτι καὶ οἰκίαν καὶ ἀγρὸν αὐτῷ ἔδοσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι.	Megabyzus arrived, on the pretext of attending the festival, Xenophon recovered the money, bought an estate and consecrated it to the goddess; a river Selinus ran through it, with the same name as the one at Ephesus. From then on he spent his time hunting, entertaining his friends and writing his histories. Dinarchus says that the Spartans also gave him a house and land.[25]
2.53 Ἀλλὰ καὶ Φυλοπίδαν τὸν Σπαρτιάτην φασὶν αὐτῷ πέμψαι αὐτόθι δωρεὰν ἀνδράποδα αἰχμάλωτα ἐκ Δαρδάνου· καὶ τὸν διαθέσθαι αὐτὰ ὡς ἠβούλετο· Ἠλείους τε στρατευσαμένους εἰς τὸν Σκιλλοῦντα [καὶ] βραδυνόντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐξελεῖν τὸ χωρίον. ὅτε καὶ τοὺς υἱέας αὐτοῦ εἰς Λέπρεον ὑπεξελθεῖν μετ' ὀλίγων οἰκετῶν, καὶ αὐτὸν Ξενοφῶντα εἰς τὴν Ἦλιν πρότερον, εἶτα [καὶ] εἰς Λέπρεον πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας, κἀκεῖθεν σὺν αὐτοῖς εἰς Κόρινθον διασωθῆναι καὶ αὐτόθι κατοικῆσαι. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ψηφισαμένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων βοηθεῖν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔπεμψε τοὺς παῖδας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας στρατευσομένους ὑπὲρ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.	They also say that Phylopidas the Spartan sent him there, as a gift, slaves captured at Dardanus, and that he disposed of them as he wished. They say that the Eleans marched on Scillus [and], since the Spartans were slow to come, took the place. At that point, they say, his sons slipped away to Lepreum with a few servants, while Xenophon himself went first to Elis, then [also] to Lepreum to join his sons, and from there got safely away with them to Corinth and settled there. Meanwhile, when the Athenians voted to help the Spartans, he sent his sons to Athens to serve in the army on the Spartans' behalf.
2.54 καὶ γὰρ ἐπεπαίδευντο αὐτόθι ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, καθά φησι Διοκλῆς ἐν τοῖς Βίοις τῶν φιλοσόφων. ὁ μὲν οὖν Διόδωρος οὐδὲν ἐπιφανὲς πράξας ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀνασώζεται, καὶ αὐτῷ υἱὸς ὁμώνυμος γίνεται τἀδελφῷ. ὁ δὲ Γρύλλος τεταγμένος κατὰ τοὺς ἱππέας—ἦν δὲ ἡ μάχη ἡ περὶ τὴν Μαντίνειαν—ἰσχυρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος ἐτελεύτησεν, ὥς φησιν Ἔφορος ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ· Κηφισοδώρου μὲν ἱππαρχοῦντος, Ἡγησίλεω δὲ στρατηγοῦντος. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἔπεσε. τηνικαῦτα δὴ καὶ τὸν Ξενοφῶντά φασι θύειν ἐστεμμένον· ἀπαγγελθέντος δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ θανάτου ἀποστεφανώσασθαι· ἔπειτα μαθόντα ὅτι γενναίως, πάλιν ἐπιθέσθαι τὸν στέφανον.	For they had been educated there in Sparta, as Diocles says in his *Lives of the Philosophers*. Diodorus came safely out of the battle without doing anything remarkable, and he had a son named after his brother. Gryllus, posted with the cavalry—the battle was the one at Mantinea—fought bravely and was killed, as Ephorus says in his twenty-fifth book; Cephisodorus was commander of the cavalry and Hegesilaus general. Epaminondas also fell in this battle. At that very time, they say, Xenophon was offering a sacrifice with a garland on his head. When his son's death was reported to him, he took the garland off; but then, learning that he had died nobly, he put it back on.[26]
2.55 ἔνιοι δὲ οὐδὲ δακρῦσαί φασιν αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ … γὰρ εἰπεῖν, "ᾔδειν θνητὸν γεγεννηκώς." φησὶ δ' Ἀριστοτέλης ὅτι ἐγκώμια καὶ ἐπιτάφιον Γρύλλου μυρίοι ὅσοι συνέγραψαν, τὸ μέρος καὶ τῷ πατρὶ χαριζόμενοι. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἕρμιππος ἐν τῷ περὶ Θεοφράστου καὶ Ἰσοκράτην φησὶ Γρύλλου ἐγκώμιον γεγραφέναι. Τίμων δ' ἐπισκώπτει αὐτὸν ἐν τούτοις· ἀσθενική τε λόγων δυὰς ἢ τριὰς ἢ ἔτι πρόσσω, οἷος Ξεινοφόων ἦτ' Αἰσχίνου οὐκ ἀπιθὴς ⟨ἴς⟩ γράψαι.… Καὶ ὁ μὲν βίος αὐτῷ τοιόσδε. ἤκμαζε δὲ κατὰ τὸ τέταρτον ἔτος τῆς τετάρτης καὶ ἐνενηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, καὶ	Some say he did not even weep, but … said, "I knew I had fathered a mortal." Aristotle says that countless people wrote encomia and epitaphs for Gryllus, partly also to please his father. Hermippus, in his work on Theophrastus, says that Isocrates too wrote an encomium of Gryllus. Timon mocks Xenophon in these lines: a feeble pair or trio of discourses, or even more, such as Xenophon's, or Aeschines' might, not loath to write.… So much for his life. He flourished in the fourth year of the 94th Olympiad, and he went up coun-

25 A suit for "desertion" (*apostasiou*) was brought against a freedman accused of abandoning his former master.
26 The battle of Mantinea (362 BC) was fought between Thebes and an alliance that included Sparta and Athens.

GREEK	ENGLISH
ἀναβέβηκε σὺν Κύρῳ ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ξεναινέτου ἑνὶ πρότερον ἔτει τῆς Σωκράτους τελευτῆς.	try with Cyrus in the archonship of Xenaenetus, one year before Socrates' death.
2.56 Κατέστρεψε δέ, καθά φησι Κτησικλείδης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ Ὀλυμπιονικῶν ἀναγραφῇ, ἔτει πρώτῳ τῆς πέμπτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Καλλιδημίδου, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου Μακεδόνων ἦρξε. τέθνηκε δ' ἐν Κορίνθῳ, ὥς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης, ἤδη δηλαδὴ γηραιὸς ἱκανῶς· ἀνὴρ τά τ' ἄλλα γεγονὼς ἀγαθὸς καὶ δὴ καὶ φίλιππος καὶ φιλοκύνηγος καὶ τακτικός, ὡς ἐκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων δῆλον· εὐσεβής τε καὶ φιλοθύτης καὶ ἱερεῖα διαγνῶναι ἱκανὸς καὶ Σωκράτην ζηλώσας ἀκριβῶς.	He died, as Ctesiclides of Athens says in his *List of Archons and Olympic Victors*, in the first year of the 105th Olympiad, in the archonship of Callidemides, the year in which Philip son of Amyntas became king of the Macedonians. He died at Corinth, as Demetrius of Magnesia says, evidently at a good old age. He was a good man in every respect, and in particular a lover of horses and of hunting and a skilled tactician, as is clear from his writings; he was pious, fond of sacrificing, competent to judge sacrificial victims, and a faithful follower of Socrates.
Συνέγραψε δὲ βιβλία πρὸς τὰ τετταράκοντα, ἄλλων ἄλλως διαιρούντων· [57] Τήν τ' Ἀνάβασιν, ἧς κατὰ βιβλίον μὲν ἐποίησε προοίμιον, ὅλης δὲ οὔ· καὶ Κύρου Παιδείαν καὶ Ἑλληνικὰ καὶ Ἀπομνημονεύματα· Συμπόσιόν τε καὶ Οἰκονομικὸν καὶ Περὶ ἱππικῆς καὶ Κυνηγετικὸν καὶ Ἱππαρχικόν, Ἀπολογίαν τε Σωκράτους καὶ Περὶ πόρων καὶ Ἱέρωνα ἢ Τυραννικόν, Ἀγησίλαόν τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων Πολιτείαν, ἣν φησιν οὐκ εἶναι Ξενοφῶντος ὁ Μάγνης Δημήτριος. λέγεται δ' ὅτι καὶ τὰ Θουκυδίδου βιβλία λανθάνοντα ὑφελέσθαι δυνάμενος αὐτὸς εἰς δόξαν ἤγαγεν. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Ἀττικὴ Μοῦσα γλυκύτητι τῆς ἑρμηνείας· ὅθεν καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ζηλοτύπως εἶχον αὐτός τε καὶ Πλάτων, ὡς ἐν τῷ περὶ Πλάτωνος λέξομεν.	He wrote some forty books, though different people divide them differently: [57] *The March Up Country*, for which he wrote a preface to each book but not to the whole; *The Education of Cyrus*, *Greek History* and *Memorabilia*; *Symposium*, *Household Management*, *On Horsemanship*, *On Hunting* and *The Cavalry Commander*; *Apology of Socrates*, *On Revenues*, and *Hiero*, or *On Tyranny*; *Agesilaus*, and *Constitution of the Athenians and the Spartans*, which Demetrius of Magnesia says is not by Xenophon. It is said, too, that though he could have appropriated the books of Thucydides, which were then unknown, he brought them to fame himself. He was also called the Attic Muse for the sweetness of his style; that is why he and Plato were jealous of each other, as I shall tell in the life of Plato.
2.58 Ἔστι δὲ καὶ εἰς τοῦτον ἡμῶν ἐπιγράμματα τοῦτον ἔχοντα τὸν τρόπον· οὐ μόνον εἰς Πέρσας ἀνέβη Ξενοφῶν διὰ Κῦρον, ἀλλ' ἄνοδον ζητῶν ἐς Διὸς ἥτις ἄγοι. παιδείης γὰρ ἐῆς Ἑλληνικὰ πράγματα δείξας, ὡς καλὸν ἡ σοφίη μνήσατο Σωκράτεος. ἄλλο, ὡς ἐτελεύτα· εἰ καὶ σέ, Ξενοφῶν, Κραναοῦ Κέκροπός τε πολῖται φεύγειν κατέγνων, τοῦ φίλου χάριν Κύρου· ἀλλὰ Κόρινθος ἔδεκτο φιλόξενος, ᾗ σὺ φιληδῶν οὕτως ἀρέσκῃ· κεῖθι καὶ μένειν ἔγνως.	I have also written epigrams on him, which go like this: Xenophon went up to the Persians not only for Cyrus' sake, but seeking a way up that would lead to the house of Zeus. For having shown Greek affairs as the fruit of his education, he recalled how fine a thing Socrates' wisdom was. Another, on how he died: Xenophon, though the citizens of Cranaus and Cecrops condemned you to exile for the sake of your friend Cyrus, hospitable Corinth welcomed you, and you delighted in it and were well content; there you resolved to stay.[27]

GREEK

ENGLISH

2.59 Εὗρον δ' ἀλλαχόθι ἀκμάσαι αὐτὸν περὶ τὴν ἐνάτην καὶ ὀγδοηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις Σωκρατικοῖς, καὶ Ἴστρος φησὶν αὐτὸν φυγεῖν κατὰ ψήφισμα Εὐβούλου, καὶ κατελθεῖν κατὰ ψήφισμα τοῦ αὐτοῦ.

I have found elsewhere that he flourished around the 89th Olympiad, along with the other Socratics; and Istrus says that he was exiled by a decree of Eubulus and recalled by a decree of the same man.

Γεγόνασι δὲ Ξενοφῶντες ἑπτά· πρῶτος αὐτὸς οὗτος· δεύτερος Ἀθηναῖος, ἀδελφὸς Πυθοστράτου τοῦ τὴν Θησηΐδα πεποιηκότος, γεγραφὼς ἄλλα τε καὶ βίον Ἐπαμεινώνδου καὶ Πελοπίδου· τρίτος ἰατρὸς Κῷος· τέταρτος ἱστορίαν Ἀννιβαϊκὴν γεγραφώς· πέμπτος μυθώδη τερατείαν πεπραγματευμένος· ἕκτος Πάριος, ἀγαλματοποιός· ἕβδομος κωμῳδίας ἀρχαίας ποιητής.

There have been seven Xenophons: first, this one; second, an Athenian, brother of the Pythostratus who wrote the *Theseid*, who wrote, among other things, a life of Epaminondas and Pelopidas; third, a doctor from Cos; fourth, the author of a history of Hannibal; fifth, a writer on mythical marvels; sixth, a sculptor from Paros; seventh, a poet of Old Comedy.

AESCHINES

The sausage-maker's son, accused of passing off Socrates' dialogues as his own, lives by teaching and speechwriting.

GREEK

ENGLISH

2.60 Αἰσχίνης Χαρίνου τοῦ ἀλλαντοποιοῦ, οἱ δὲ Λυσανίου, Ἀθηναῖος, ἐκ νέου φιλόπονος· διὸ καὶ Σωκράτους οὐκ ἀπέστη. ὅθεν ἔλεγε, "μόνος ἡμᾶς οἶδε τιμᾶν ὁ τοῦ ἀλλαντοποιοῦ." τοῦτον ἔφη Ἰδομενεὺς ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ συμβουλεῦσαι περὶ τῆς φυγῆς Σωκράτει, καὶ οὐ Κρίτωνα· Πλάτωνα δέ, ὅτι ἦν Ἀριστίππῳ μᾶλλον φίλος, Κρίτωνι περιθεῖναι τοὺς λόγους. διεβάλλετο δ' ὁ Αἰσχίνης καὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὸ Μενεδήμου τοῦ Ἐρετριέως ὡς τοὺς πλείστους διαλόγους ὄντας Σωκράτους ὑποβάλλοιτο, λαμβάνων παρὰ Ξανθίππης· ὧν οἱ μὲν καλούμενοι ἀκέφαλοι σφόδρ' εἰσὶν ἐκλελυμένοι καὶ οὐκ ἐπιφαίνοντες τὴν Σωκρατικὴν εὐτονίαν· οὓς καὶ Πεισίστρατος ὁ Ἐφέσιος ἔλεγε μὴ εἶναι Αἰσχίνου.

Aeschines was the son of Charinus the sausage-maker (others say of Lysanias). He was an Athenian and hard-working from his youth, which is why he never left Socrates. Hence Socrates used to say, "The sausage-maker's son is the only one who knows how to honor us." Idomeneus said that it was Aeschines, not Crito, who advised Socrates in prison about escaping, and that Plato gave the speeches to Crito because Aeschines was more a friend of Aristippus than of his. Aeschines was attacked, especially by Menedemus of Eretria, for passing off as his own most of the dialogues that were really Socrates', which he had got from Xanthippe. Of these, the so-called "headless" ones are very slack and show nothing of Socratic vigor. Pisistratus of Ephesus also said that these were not by Aeschines.[28]

2.61 καὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ δὲ τοὺς πλείστους Περσαῖός φησι Πασιφῶντος εἶναι τοῦ Ἐρετρικοῦ, εἰς τοὺς Αἰσχίνου δὲ κατατάξαι. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν Ἀντισθένους τόν τε μικρὸν Κῦρον καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τὸν ἐλάσσω καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ἐσκευώρηται. οἱ δ' οὖν τῶν Αἰσχίνου τὸ Σωκρατικὸν ἦθος ἀπομεμαγμένοι εἰσὶν ἑπτά· πρῶτος Μιλτιάδης, διὸ καὶ ἀσθενέστερόν πως ἔχει· Καλλίας, Ἀξίοχος, Ἀσπασία, Ἀλκιβιάδης, Τηλαύγης, Ῥίνων.

Persaeus says that most of the seven are by Pasiphon of Eretria, who put them among the works of Aeschines. He also forged, among the works of Antisthenes, the *Little Cyrus*, the *Lesser Heracles* and the *Alcibiades*, and he did the same with the works of others. In any case, the dialogues of Aeschines that capture the Socratic character are seven. First is the *Miltiades*, which is why it is somewhat weaker; then the *Callias*, *Axiochus*, *Aspasia*, *Alcibiades*, *Telauges* and *Rhinon*.[29]

27 The first epigram plays on Xenophon's titles: *Anabasis* ("going up"), *The Education of Cyrus*, *Hellenica* ("Greek affairs") and *Memorabilia* ("things recalled"). Cranaus and Cecrops were legendary kings of Athens.
28 Idomeneus of Lampsacus was a friend of Epicurus who wrote about the Socratics.

GREEK

Φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν δι' ἀπορίαν ἐλθεῖν εἰς Σικελίαν πρὸς Διονύσιον, καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν Πλάτωνος παροφθῆναι, ὑπὸ δ' Ἀριστίππου συστῆναι· δόντα τέ τινας τῶν διαλόγων δῶρα λαβεῖν. [62] ἔπειτ' ἀφικόμενον Ἀθήναζε μὴ τολμᾶν σοφιστεύειν, εὐδοκιμούντων τότε τῶν περὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ Ἀρίστιππον. ἐμμίσθους δ' ἀκροάσεις ποιεῖσθαι· εἶτα συγγράφειν λόγους δικανικοὺς τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις· διὸ καὶ τὸν Τίμωνα εἰπεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ "ἦτ' Αἰσχίνου οὐκ ἀπιθὴς ⟨ἴς⟩ γράψαι." φασὶ δ' αὐτῷ λέγειν Σωκράτην, ἐπειδήπερ ἐπιέζετο ὑπὸ πενίας, παρ' ἑαυτοῦ δανείζεσθαι τῶν σιτίων ὑφαιροῦντα. τούτου τοὺς διαλόγους καὶ Ἀρίστιππος ὑπώπτευεν. ἐν γοῦν Μεγάροις ἀναγινώσκοντος αὐτοῦ φασι σκῶψαι εἰπόντα, "πόθεν σοι, λῃστά, ταῦτα;"

ENGLISH

They say that poverty drove him to Sicily, to Dionysius, and that Plato ignored him but Aristippus recommended him, and that he gave Dionysius some of his dialogues and received gifts in return. [62] Then, when he got back to Athens, he did not dare to set up as a sophist, since Plato and Aristippus and their circles were in high repute at the time. Instead he gave lectures for a fee, and later wrote courtroom speeches for people who had been wronged. That is why Timon said of him, "the force of Aeschines, not unpersuasive at writing." They say that Socrates, seeing him hard pressed by poverty, told him to borrow from himself by cutting down on his food. Aristippus too was suspicious of his dialogues. At any rate, they say that when Aeschines was reading them aloud in Megara, Aristippus mocked him: "Where did you get these, you thief?"[30]

2.63 Φησὶ δὲ Πολύκριτος ὁ Μενδαῖος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν περὶ Διονύσιον ἄχρι τῆς ἐκπτώσεως συμβιῶναι αὐτὸν τῷ τυράννῳ καὶ ἕως τῆς Δίωνος εἰς Συρακούσας καθόδου, λέγων εἶναι σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ Καρκίνον τὸν τραγῳδιοποιόν. φέρεται δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Διονύσιον Αἰσχίνου. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ῥητορικοῖς ἱκανῶς γεγυμνασμένος· ὡς δῆλον ἔκ τε τῆς ἀπολογίας τοῦ πατρὸς Φαίακος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ Δίωνος. μάλιστα δὲ μιμεῖται Γοργίαν τὸν Λεοντῖνον. καὶ Λυσίας δὲ κατ' αὐτοῦ γέγραφε λόγον, [περὶ] συκοφαντίας ἐπιγράψας· ἐξ ὧν δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ῥητορικός τις ἦν. γνώριμος δ' αὐτοῦ φέρεται εἷς, Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ Μῦθος ἐπικληθείς.

Polycritus of Mende says in the first book of his *On Dionysius* that Aeschines lived with the tyrant until his expulsion and until Dion's return to Syracuse, and he says that Carcinus the tragic poet was with him too. A letter of Aeschines to Dionysius is also in circulation. He was well trained in rhetoric as well, as is clear from his defense of the father of Phaeax the general, and of Dion. He imitates Gorgias of Leontini most of all. Lysias, too, wrote a speech against him, which he titled [*On*] *Malicious Prosecution*. From all this it is clear that he was something of an orator. One pupil of his is recorded, Aristotle, nicknamed "the Tale."[31]

2.64 Πάντων μέντοι τῶν Σωκρατικῶν διαλόγων Παναίτιος ἀληθεῖς εἶναι δοκεῖ τοὺς Πλάτωνος, Ξενοφῶντος, Ἀντισθένους, Αἰσχίνου· διστάζει δὲ περὶ τῶν Φαίδωνος καὶ Εὐκλείδου, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀναιρεῖ πάντας.

Of all the Socratic dialogues, however, Panaetius thinks that those of Plato, Xenophon, Antisthenes and Aeschines are genuine. He is doubtful about those of Phaedo and Euclides, and he rejects all the others.[32]

Γεγόνασι δ' Αἰσχίναι ὀκτώ· πρῶτος αὐτὸς οὗτος· δεύτερος δ' ὁ τὰς τέχνας γεγραφὼς τὰς ῥητορικάς· τρίτος ὁ ῥήτωρ ὁ κατὰ Δημοσθένην· τέταρτος Ἀρκάς, μαθητὴς Ἰσοκράτους· πέμπτος ὁ Μυτιληναῖος, ὃν καὶ ῥητορομάστιγα ἐκάλουν· ἕκτος Νεαπολίτης, φιλόσοφος Ἀκαδημαϊκός, Μελανθίου τοῦ Ῥοδίου μαθητὴς καὶ παιδικά· ἕβδομος Μιλήσιος, πολιτικὸς συγγραφεύς· ὄγδοος ἀνδριαντοποιός.

There have been eight men named Aeschines. The first is this one. The second wrote the handbooks of rhetoric. The third is the orator who opposed Demosthenes. The fourth was an Arcadian, a pupil of Isocrates. The fifth was from Mytilene; they also called him the "scourge of orators." The sixth was from Neapolis, an Academic philosopher, the pu-

29 Persaeus of Citium was a pupil of Zeno the Stoic.
30 Dionysius was the tyrant of Syracuse in Sicily.
31 Dion, brother-in-law of the elder Dionysius, was exiled by the younger and returned to Syracuse in 357 BC to overthrow him.
32 Panaetius of Rhodes was a leading Stoic of the second century BC.

GREEK | ENGLISH

pil and beloved of Melanthius of Rhodes. The seventh was from Miletus, a political writer. The eighth was a sculptor.

ARISTIPPUS

The Cyrenaic takes fees, enjoys luxury at the court of Dionysius and answers every reproach with a quip.

GREEK | ENGLISH

2.65 Ἀρίστιππος τὸ μὲν γένος ἦν Κυρηναῖος, ἀφιγμένος δ' Ἀθήναζε, καθά φησιν Αἰσχίνης, κατὰ κλέος Σωκράτους. οὗτος σοφιστεύσας, ὥς φησι φανίας ὁ περιπατητικὸς ὁ Ἐρέσιος, πρῶτος τῶν Σωκρατικῶν μισθοὺς εἰσεπράξατο καὶ ἀπέστειλε χρήματα τῷ διδασκάλῳ. καί ποτε πέμψας αὐτῷ μνᾶς εἴκοσι παλινδρόμους ἀπέλαβεν, εἰπόντος Σωκράτους τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτῷ μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν· ἐδυσχέραινε γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτῳ. Ξενοφῶν τ' εἶχε πρὸς αὐτὸν δυσμενῶς· διὸ καὶ τὸν κατὰ τῆς ἡδονῆς λόγον Σωκράτει κατ' Ἀριστίππου περιτέθεικεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Θεόδωρος ἐν τῷ Περὶ αἱρέσεων ἐκάκισεν αὐτὸν καὶ Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Περὶ ψυχῆς, ὡς ἐν ἄλλοις εἰρήκαμεν.

Aristippus was a Cyrenaean by birth, and came to Athens, as Aeschines says, drawn by Socrates' fame. Having set up as a sophist, as Phanias of Eresus the Peripatetic says, he was the first of the Socratics to charge fees and to send money to his teacher. Once he sent Socrates twenty minas and got them straight back, Socrates saying that the divine sign would not allow him to accept them; for he disliked the practice. Xenophon was hostile to Aristippus, which is why he put the speech against pleasure into Socrates' mouth, directed against Aristippus. Not only that: Theodorus also disparaged him in his *On Schools*, and Plato did in his *On the Soul*, as we have said elsewhere.[33]

2.66 Ἦν δὲ ἱκανὸς ἁρμόσασθαι καὶ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ καὶ προσώπῳ, καὶ πᾶσαν περίστασιν ἀπροδίως ὑποκρίνασθαι· διὸ καὶ παρὰ Διονυσίῳ τῶν ἄλλων εὐδοκίμει μᾶλλον, ἀεὶ τὸ προσπεσὸν εὖ διατιθέμενος. ἀπέλαυε μὲν γὰρ ἡδονῆς τῶν παρόντων, οὐκ ἐθήρα δὲ πόνῳ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν οὐ παρόντων· ὅθεν καὶ Διογένης βασιλικὸν κύνα ἔλεγεν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Τίμων παρέφαγεν ὡς θρυπτόμενον, οὑτωσί πως εἰπών· οἷά τ' Ἀριστίππου τρυφερὴ φύσις ἀμφαφόωντος ψεύδη. τοῦτόν φασί ποτε κελεῦσαι πέρδικα πεντήκοντα δραχμῶν ὠνηθῆναι· αἰτιασαμένου δέ τινος, "σὺ δ' οὐκ ἄν," εἶπεν, "ὀβολοῦ τοῦτον ἐπρίω;" ἐπινεύσαντος δέ, "τοσοῦτον," ἔφη, "ἐμοὶ δύνανται αἱ πεντήκοντα δραχμαί."

He was able to adapt himself to place, time and person, and to play his part fittingly in any situation. That is why he was in higher favor with Dionysius than the others, since he always made the best of whatever came his way. He enjoyed the pleasure of what was at hand, but did not toil to hunt down the enjoyment of what was not. Hence Diogenes the Cynic called him "the king's dog." Timon took a bite at him for his softness, saying something like this: such was the delicate nature of Aristippus, groping after falsehoods. They say he once ordered a partridge to be bought for fifty drachmas. When someone criticized him, he said, "Wouldn't you have bought it for an obol?" When the man nodded, he said, "Well, fifty drachmas mean no more than that to me."[34]

2.67 Διονυσίου δέ ποτε τριῶν ἑταιρῶν οὐσῶν μίαν ἐκλέξασθαι κελεύσαντος, τὰς τρεῖς ἀπήγαγεν εἰπών, "οὐδὲ τῷ Πάριδι συνήνεγκε μίαν προκρῖναι·" ἀπαγαγὼν μέντοι, φασίν, αὐτὰς ἄχρι τοῦ θυρῶνος ἀπέλυσεν. οὕτως ἦν καὶ ἑλέσθαι καὶ καταφρονῆσαι πολύς. διό ποτε Στράτωνα, οἱ δὲ Πλάτωνα, πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, "σοὶ μόνῳ δέδοται καὶ χλανίδα φορεῖν καὶ ῥάκος." Διονυσίου δὲ προσπτύσαντος αὐτῷ ἠνέσχετο. μεμψαμένου δέ τινος, "εἶτα οἱ μὲν

Once, when Dionysius told him to pick one of three courtesans, he led all three away, saying, "It did Paris no good to prefer one." Having led them off, though, they say, he let them go at the front door. That is how ready he was both to choose and to disdain. That is why Strato, or as others say Plato, once said to him, "You alone have been given

33 A mina was a sum of money worth 100 drachmas.
34 An obol was a sixth of a drachma.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἁλιεῖς," εἶπεν, "ὑπομένουσι ῥαίνεσθαι τῇ θαλάττῃ, ἵνα κωβιὸν θηράσωσιν· ἐγὼ δὲ μὴ ἀνάσχωμαι κράματι ῥανθῆναι, ἵνα βλέννοι λάβω;"	the gift of wearing either a fine cloak or a rag." When Dionysius spat at him, he put up with it. When someone found fault with this, he said, "So fishermen put up with being drenched by the sea to catch a gudgeon, and I'm not to put up with being sprinkled with wine and water to land a blenny?"
2.68	Παριόντα ποτὲ αὐτὸν λάχανα πλύνων Διογένης ἔσκωψε, καί φησιν, "εἰ ταῦτα ἔμαθες προσφέρεσθαι, οὐκ ἂν τυράννων αὐλὰς ἐθεράπευες." ὁ δέ, "καὶ σύ," εἶπεν, "εἴπερ ᾔδεις ἀνθρώποις ὁμιλεῖν, οὐκ ἂν λάχανα ἔπλυνες." ἐρωτηθεὶς τί αὐτῷ περιγέγονεν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας, ἔφη, "τὸ δύνασθαι πᾶσι θαρρούντως ὁμιλεῖν." ὀνειδιζόμενός ποτ' ἐπὶ τῷ πολυτελῶς ζῆν, "εἰ τοῦτ'," ἔφη, "φαῦλον ἦν, οὐκ ἂν ἐν ταῖς τῶν θεῶν ἑορταῖς ἐγίνετο." ἐρωτηθείς ποτε τί πλέον ἔχουσιν οἱ φιλόσοφοι, ἔφη, "ἐὰν πάντες οἱ νόμοι ἀναιρεθῶσιν, ὁμοίως βιωσόμεθα."	Once, as he was passing by, Diogenes, who was washing vegetables, mocked him and said, "If you had learned to live on these, you wouldn't be paying court to tyrants." He replied, "And if you knew how to deal with people, you wouldn't be washing vegetables." Asked what he had gained from philosophy, he said, "The ability to talk with anyone with confidence." Once, when he was reproached for living extravagantly, he said, "If this were a bad thing, it wouldn't happen at the festivals of the gods." Asked once what advantage philosophers have, he said, "If all the laws were abolished, we would live just the same."
2.69	ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ Διονυσίου διὰ τί οἱ μὲν φιλόσοφοι ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν πλουσίων θύρας ἔρχονται, οἱ δὲ πλούσιοι ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν φιλοσόφων οὐκέτι, ἔφη, "ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἴσασιν ὧν δέονται, οἱ δ' οὐκ ἴσασιν." ὀνειδιζόμενός ποτ' ἐπὶ τῷ πολυτελῶς ζῆν ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος, ἔφη, "ἆρα φαίνεταί σοι Διονύσιος ἀγαθός;" τοῦ δ' ὁμολογήσαντος, "καὶ μήν," ἔφη, "ζῇ ἐμοῦ πολυτελέστερον· ὥστ' οὐδὲν κωλύει καὶ πολυτελῶς καὶ καλῶς ζῆν." ἐρωτηθεὶς τίνι διαφέρουσιν οἱ πεπαιδευμένοι τῶν ἀπαιδεύτων, ἔφη, "ᾧπερ οἱ δεδαμασμένοι ἵπποι τῶν ἀδαμάστων." εἰσιών ποτε εἰς ἑταίρας οἰκίαν, καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ μειρακίων τινὸς ἐρυθριάσαντος, "οὐ τὸ εἰσελθεῖν," ἔφη, "χαλεπόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἐξελθεῖν."	Asked by Dionysius why philosophers go to the doors of the rich, while the rich no longer go to the doors of philosophers, he said, "Because philosophers know what they need, and the rich don't." Once, when Plato reproached him for living extravagantly, he said, "Do you think Dionysius is a good man?" When Plato agreed, he said, "And yet he lives more extravagantly than I do. So nothing prevents a person from living both extravagantly and well." Asked how the educated differ from the uneducated, he said, "As broken horses differ from unbroken ones." Once, as he was going into a courtesan's house and one of the young men with him blushed, he said, "It isn't going in that's hard, but not being able to get out."
2.70	Αἴνιγμά τινος αὐτῷ προτείναντος καὶ εἰπόντος, "λῦσον," "τί, ὦ μάταιε," ἔφη, "λῦσαι θέλεις, ὃ καὶ δεδεμένον ἡμῖν πράγματα παρέχει;" ἄμεινον ἔφη ἐπαίτην ἢ ἀπαίδευτον εἶναι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ χρημάτων, οἱ δ' ἀνθρωπισμοῦ δέονται. λοιδορούμενός ποτε ἀνεχώρει· τοῦ δ' ἐπιδιώκοντος εἰπόντος, "τί φεύγεις;" "ὅτι," φησί, "τοῦ μὲν κακῶς λέγειν σὺ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχεις, τοῦ δὲ μὴ ἀκούειν ἐγώ." εἰπόντος τινὸς ὡς ἀεὶ τοὺς φιλοσόφους βλέποι παρὰ ταῖς τῶν πλουσίων θύραις, "καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἰατροί." φησί, "παρὰ ταῖς τῶν νοσούντων· ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτό τις ἂν ἕλοιτο νοσεῖν ἢ ἰατρεύειν."	When someone put a riddle to him and said, "Unravel it," he said, "Why, you fool, would you want to unravel something that gives us trouble even when it's tied up?" He said it was better to be a beggar than uneducated: beggars lack money, the uneducated lack humanity. Once, when he was being abused, he walked away. When the man went after him and said, "Why are you running away?" he said, "Because you have the right to speak ill, and I have the right not to listen." When someone said that he always saw philosophers at the doors of the rich, he said, "So too doctors at the doors of

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		the sick; but that's no reason anyone would choose to be sick rather than to be a doctor."[35]
2.71	Εἰς Κόρινθον αὐτῷ πλέοντί ποτε καὶ χειμαζομένῳ συνέβη ταραχθῆναι. πρὸς οὖν τὸν εἰπόντα, "ἡμεῖς μὲν οἱ ἰδιῶται οὐ δεδοίκαμεν, ὑμεῖς δ' οἱ φιλόσοφοι δειλιᾶτε," "οὐ γὰρ περὶ ὁμοίας," ἔφη, "ψυχῆς ἀγωνιῶμεν ἑκάτεροι." σεμνυνομένου τινὸς ἐπὶ πολυμαθείᾳ ἔφη, "ὥσπερ οὐχ οἱ τὰ πλεῖστα ἐσθίοντες [καὶ γυμναζόμενοι] ὑγιαίνουσι μᾶλλον τῶν τὰ δέοντα προσφερομένων, οὕτως οὐδὲ οἱ πολλὰ ἀλλ' οἱ χρήσιμα ἀναγινώσκοντές εἰσι σπουδαῖοι." πρὸς τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λογογράφον δίκην εἰπόντα καὶ νικήσαντα, ἔπειτα φάσκοντα πρὸς αὐτόν, "τί σε ὤνησε Σωκράτης;" ἔφη, "τοῦτο, τοὺς λόγους, οὓς εἶπας ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, ἀληθεῖς εἶναι."	Once, when he was sailing to Corinth and was caught in a storm, he happened to be frightened. So to the man who said, "We ordinary people aren't afraid, but you philosophers are cowards," he said, "That's because we aren't each worried about the same kind of soul." When someone was priding himself on his wide learning, he said, "Just as it isn't those who eat the most [and exercise] who are healthier than those who take what they need, so it isn't those who read a lot but those who read what is useful who are worth anything." To the speechwriter who had pleaded a case for him and won, and then said to him, "What good did Socrates do you?" he said, "This: that the speeches you made on my behalf were true."
2.72	Τὰ ἄριστα ὑπετίθετο τῇ θυγατρὶ Ἀρήτῃ, συνασκῶν αὐτὴν ὑπεροπτικὴν τοῦ πλέονος εἶναι. ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπό τινος τί αὐτοῦ ὁ υἱὸς ἀμείνων ἔσται παιδευθείς, "καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο," εἶπεν, "ἐν γοῦν τῷ θεάτρῳ οὐ καθεδεῖται λίθος ἐπὶ λίθῳ" συνιστάντος τινὸς αὐτῷ υἱὸν ᾔτησε πεντακοσίας δραχμάς· τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος, "τοσούτου δύναμαι ἀνδράποδον ὠνήσασθαι," "πρίω," ἔφη, "καὶ ἕξεις δύο." ἀργύριον εἶπε παρὰ τῶν γνωρίμων λαμβάνειν, οὐχ ἵν' αὐτὸς χρῷτο, ἀλλ' ἵν' ἐκεῖνοι εἰδεῖεν εἰς τίνα δεῖ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἀργυρίοις. ὀνειδιζόμενός ποτε ὅτι δίκην ἔχων ἐμισθώσατο ῥήτορα, "καὶ γάρ," ἔφη, "ὅταν δεῖπνον ἔχω, μάγειρον μισθοῦμαι."	He gave his daughter Arete the best advice, training her to look down on having more than enough. Asked by someone how his son would be better for being educated, he said, "If nothing else, at least in the theater he won't sit there like one stone on another." When someone was introducing his son to him, he asked for five hundred drachmas. When the man said, "For that much I can buy a slave," he said, "Buy one, and you'll have two." He said he took money from his pupils not so that he himself could use it, but so that they would know what money should be used for. Once, reproached for hiring an orator when he had a lawsuit, he said, "Well, when I give a dinner, I hire a cook."
2.73	Ἀναγκαζόμενός ποτε ὑπὸ Διονυσίου εἰπεῖν τι τῶν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας, "γελοῖον," ἔφη, "εἰ τὸ λέγειν μὲν παρ' ἐμοῦ μανθάνεις, τὸ δὲ πότε δεῖ λέγειν σύ με διδάσκεις." ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὴ ἀγανακτήσαντα τὸν Διονύσιον ἔσχατον αὐτὸν κατακλῖναι· καὶ τόν, "ἐνδοξότερον," φάναι, "τὸν τόπον ἠθέλησας ποιῆσαι." αὐχοῦντός τινος ἐπὶ τῷ κολυμβᾶν, "οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ," εἶπεν, "ἐπὶ δελφῖνος ἔργοις ἀλαζονευόμενος;" ἐρωτηθείς ποτε τίνι διαφέρει ὁ σοφὸς τοῦ μὴ σοφοῦ, ἔφη, "εἰς ἀγνῶτας τοὺς δύο γυμνοὺς ἀπόστειλον, καὶ εἴσῃ." αὐχοῦντός τινος ἐπὶ τῷ πολλὰ πίνειν καὶ μὴ μεθύσκεσθαι, "τοῦτο καὶ ἡμίονος," φησί.	Once, when Dionysius was pressing him to say something philosophical, he said, "It's absurd that you learn from me how to speak, and yet you teach me when to speak." At this Dionysius was annoyed and had him recline in the lowest place at table; and Aristippus said, "You wanted to make the place more distinguished." When someone was boasting of his swimming, he said, "Aren't you ashamed to brag about a dolphin's achievements?" Asked once how the wise man differs from one who isn't wise, he said, "Send them both naked among strangers, and you'll find out." When someone was boasting that he could drink a lot without getting drunk, he said, "So can a mule."

35 The Greek verb means both "solve" and "untie," which is the point of the joke.

GREEK

ENGLISH

2.74 Πρὸς τὸν αἰτιώμενον ὅτι ἑταίρᾳ συνοικεῖ, "ἆρά γε," εἶπε, "μή τι διενέγκαι ⟨ἂν⟩ οἰκίαν λαβεῖν ἐν ᾗ πολλοί ποτε ᾤκησαν ἢ μηδείς," εἰπόντος δὲ οὔ, "τί δὲ πλεῦσαι ἐν νηΐ ᾗ μυρίοι ποτὲ ἐνέπλευσαν ἢ μηδείς;" "οὐδαμῶς." "οὐδ' ἄρα γυναικί," ἔφη, "συνεῖναι ᾗ πολλοὶ κέχρηνται ἢ μηδείς." πρὸς τὸν αἰτιώμενον ὅτι Σωκράτους μαθητὴς ὢν ἀργύριον λαμβάνει, "καὶ μάλα," εἶπε· "καὶ γὰρ Σωκράτης, πεμπόντων αὐτῷ τινων καὶ σῖτον καὶ οἶνον, ὀλίγα λαμβάνων τὰ λοιπὰ ἀπέπεμπεν· εἶχε γὰρ ταμίας τοὺς πρώτους Ἀθηναίων, ἐγὼ δ' Εὐτυχίδην ἀργυρώνητον." ἐχρῆτο καὶ Λαΐδι τῇ ἑταίρᾳ, καθά φησι Σωτίων ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Διαδοχῶν.

To the man who criticized him for living with a courtesan he said, "Tell me, would it make any difference whether you took a house that many people had once lived in or one that no one had?" When the man said no, he went on, "And what about sailing in a ship that countless people have sailed in before, or in one that no one has?" "None at all." "Then neither does it make any difference," he said, "whether you are with a woman whom many have had or one whom no one has." To the man who criticized him for taking money when he was a pupil of Socrates, he said, "I certainly do. For Socrates too, when people sent him grain and wine, would take a little and send the rest back; for he had the leading men of Athens as his stewards, while I have Eutychides, a slave I bought." He also had relations with Lais the courtesan, as Sotion says in the second book of his *Successions*.[36]

2.75 πρὸς οὖν τοὺς μεμφομένους αὐτῷ ἔφη, "ἔχω [Λαΐδα], ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχομαι· ἐπεὶ τὸ κρατεῖν καὶ μὴ ἡττᾶσθαι ἡδονῶν ἄριστον, οὐ τὸ μὴ χρῆσθαι." πρὸς τὸν ὀνειδίσαντα αὐτῷ πολυτελῆ ὀψωνίαν ἔφη, "σὺ δ' οὐκ ἂν τριωβόλου ταῦτ' ἐπρίω;" ὁμολογήσαντος δέ, "οὐκέτι τοίνυν," ἔφη, "φιλήδονος ἐγώ, ἀλλὰ σὺ φιλάργυρος." Σίμου ποτὲ τοῦ Διονυσίου ταμίου πολυτελεῖς οἴκους αὐτῷ καὶ λιθοστρώτους δεικνύντος—ἦν δὲ Φρὺξ καὶ ὄλεθρος—ἀναχρεμψάμενος προσέπτυσε τῇ ὄψει· τοῦ δ' ἀγανακτήσαντος, "οὐκ εἶχον," εἶπε, "τόπον ἐπιτηδειότερον."

So to those who blamed him for it he said, "I have [Lais], but I am not had. For what is best is to master pleasures and not be overcome by them, not to abstain from them." To the man who reproached him for spending lavishly on food, he said, "Wouldn't you have bought this for three obols?" When the man agreed, he said, "Then I'm not the pleasure-lover; you're the money-lover." Once Simus, Dionysius' treasurer—a Phrygian and a scoundrel—was showing him a lavish house with stone mosaic floors, and Aristippus hawked and spat in his face. When Simus was angry, he said, "I couldn't find a more suitable place."

2.76 Πρὸς Χαρώνδαν εἰπόντα, οἱ δὲ πρὸς Φαίδωνα, τίς ὁ μεμυρισμένος; "ἐγώ," φησίν, "ὁ κακοδαίμων, κἀμοῦ κακοδαιμονέστερος ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεύς. ἀλλ' ὅρα μὴ ὡς οὐδὲν τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων παρὰ τοῦτό τι ἐλαττοῦται, οὕτως οὐδ' ἂν ὁ ἄνθρωπος. κακοὶ κακῶς δ' ἀπόλοιντο οἱ κίναιδοι, οἵτινες καλὸν ἡμῖν ἄλειμμα διαβάλλουσιν." ἐρωτώμενος πῶς ἀπέθανε Σωκράτης, ἔφη, "ὡς ἂν ἐγὼ εὐξαίμην." Πολυξένου ποτὲ τοῦ σοφιστοῦ εἰσελθόντος πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ θεασαμένου γυναῖκάς τε καὶ πολυτελῆ ὀψωνίαν, ἔπειτα αἰτιασαμένου, μικρὸν διαλιπών, "δύνασαι," ἔφη, "καὶ σὺ σήμερον μεθ' ἡμῶν γενέσθαι;"

To Charondas (others say to Phaedo), who asked, "Who's the one wearing perfume?" he said, "I am, poor wretch—and the King of Persia is a worse wretch than I. But consider: just as no other animal is any the worse for this, neither would a man be. Damn those debauchees, may they come to a bad end, for giving our fine perfume a bad name." Asked how Socrates died, he said, "As I would pray to die." Once Polyxenus the sophist came to see him, and when he saw women and a lavish spread of food he found fault with it. After a short pause Aristippus said, "Can you join us today too?"

2.77 τοῦ δ' ἐπινεύσαντος, "τί οὖν," ἔφη, "ἐμέμφου; ἔοικας γὰρ οὐ τὴν ὀψωνίαν ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀνάλωμα αἰτιᾶσθαι." τοῦ δὲ θεράποντος ἐν ὁδῷ βαστάζοντος ἀργύριον καὶ

When he nodded, Aristippus said, "Then why were you finding fault? It seems it isn't the food you object to but the expense." When his servant was car-

36 Lais was a celebrated courtesan of Corinth.

GREEK

βαρυνομένου, ὥς φασιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Βίωνα ἐν ταῖς Διατριβαῖς, "ἀπόχεε," ἔφη, "τὸ πλέον καὶ ὅσον δύνασαι βάσταζε." πλέων ποτὲ ἐπεὶ τὸ σκάφος ἔγνω πειρατικόν, λαβὼν τὸ χρυσίον ἠρίθμει· ἔπειτα εἰς θάλατταν ὡς μὴ θέλων παρακατέβαλε καὶ δῆθεν ἀνώμωξεν. οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπειπεῖν φασιν αὐτὸν ὡς ἄμεινον ταῦτα δι' Ἀρίστιππον ἢ διὰ ταῦτα Ἀρίστιππον ἀπολέσθαι. Διονυσίου ποτ' ἐρομένου ἐπὶ τί ἥκοι, ἔφη ἐπὶ τῷ μεταδώσειν ὧν ἔχοι, καὶ μεταλήψεσθαι ὧν μὴ ἔχοι.

2.78 ἔνιοι δ' οὕτως ἀποκρίνασθαι, "ὁπότε μὲν σοφίας ἐδεόμην, ἦκον παρὰ τὸν Σωκράτην· νῦν δὲ χρημάτων δεόμενος παρὰ σὲ ἥκω." κατεγίνωσκε τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὡς τὰ σκεύη μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἀγορασίαις κομπούντων, τοὺς δὲ βίους εἰκῆ δοκιμαζόντων· οἱ δὲ τοῦτο Διογένους φασί. καί ποτε παρὰ πότον κελεύσαντος Διονυσίου ἕκαστον ἐν πορφυρᾷ ἐσθῆτι ὀρχήσασθαι, τὸν μὲν Πλάτωνα μὴ προσέσθαι, εἰπόντα· οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην θῆλυν ἐνδῦναι στολήν· τὸν δ' Ἀρίστιππον λαβόντα καὶ μέλλοντα ὀρχήσασθαι εὐστόχως εἰπεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν βακχεύμασιν / οὖσ' ἥ γε σώφρων οὐ διαφθαρήσεται.

2.79 Δεόμενός ποτε ὑπὲρ φίλου Διονυσίου καὶ μὴ ἐπιτυγχάνων εἰς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἔπεσε· πρὸς οὖν τὸν ἐπισκώψαντα, "οὐκ ἐγώ," φησίν, "αἴτιος, ἀλλὰ Διονύσιος ὁ ἐν τοῖς ποσὶ τὰς ἀκοὰς ἔχων." διατρίβων ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καὶ ληφθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀρταφέρνου τοῦ σατράπου πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, "καὶ ὧδε θαρρεῖς," "πότε γάρ," εἶπεν, "ὦ μάταιε, θαρρήσαιμι ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ νῦν, ὅτε μέλλω Ἀρταφέρνῃ διαλέξεσθαι;"

τοὺς τῶν ἐγκυκλίων παιδευμάτων μετασχόντας, φιλοσοφίας δὲ ἀπολειφθέντας ὁμοίους ἔλεγεν εἶναι τοῖς τῆς Πηνελόπης μνηστῆρσι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνους Μελανθὼ μὲν καὶ Πολυδώραν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας θεραπαίνας ἔχειν, πάντα δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτὴν τὴν δέσποιναν δύνασθαι γῆμαι. 80 τὸ δ' ὅμοιον καὶ Ἀρίστων· τὸν γὰρ Ὀδυσσέα καταβάντα εἰς ᾅδου τοὺς μὲν νεκροὺς πάντας σχεδὸν ἑωρακέναι καὶ συντετυχηκέναι, τὴν δὲ βασίλισσαν αὐτὴν μὴ τεθεᾶσθαι.

ENGLISH

rying money on the road and was weighed down by it, as Bion tells it in his *Lectures*, he said, "Pour out the excess and carry as much as you can." Once, at sea, when he realized the ship was a pirate vessel, he took out his gold and began counting it; then he dropped it into the sea as if by accident and let out a show of groaning. Some say he also added that it was better for the gold to be lost because of Aristippus than for Aristippus to be lost because of the gold. When Dionysius once asked him what he had come for, he said he had come to share what he had and to get a share of what he did not have.

Some say he answered like this: "When I needed wisdom, I went to Socrates; now that I need money, I've come to you." He used to condemn people for tapping household pots to test them when they buy them, while they assess lives at random; some say this one is Diogenes'. Once at a drinking party, when Dionysius told everyone to dance in a purple robe, Plato refused, saying: I could not put on a woman's dress. But Aristippus took the robe and, as he was about to dance, aptly said: for even in the Bacchic revels / the woman who is chaste will not be corrupted.[37]

Once, when he was pleading with Dionysius on behalf of a friend and getting nowhere, he fell at his feet. So to the man who mocked him for it he said, "It's not my fault but Dionysius', who has his ears in his feet." While he was staying in Asia he was taken prisoner by Artaphernes the satrap. To the man who said, "Are you confident even here?" he replied, "You fool, when would I be more confident than now, when I'm about to have a conversation with Artaphernes?"[38]

He used to say that those who had taken part in the general education but had fallen short of philosophy were like Penelope's suitors: they had Melantho and Polydora and the other maidservants, but could do anything rather than marry the mistress herself. 80 Ariston said something similar: that Odysseus, when he went down to Hades, saw and met nearly all the dead, but did not set eyes on the queen herself.[39]

37 Both verse quotations come from Euripides' *Bacchae*.
38 A satrap was a governor of a province of the Persian empire.
39 The queen of the underworld is Persephone.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
2.80	Ὁ δ’ οὖν Ἀρίστιππος ἐρωτηθεὶς τίνα ἐστὶν ἃ δεῖ τοὺς καλοὺς παῖδας μανθάνειν, ἔφη, “οἷς ἄνδρες γενόμενοι χρήσονται.” πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα ἐν αἰτίᾳ ὡς ἀπὸ Σωκράτους πρὸς Διονύσιον ἔλθοι, “ἀλλὰ πρὸς Σωκράτην μέν,” εἶπεν, “ἦλθον παιδείας ἕνεκεν, πρὸς δὲ Διονύσιον παιδιᾶς.” ἐξ ὁμιλίας αὐτῷ χρηματισαμένῳ φησὶ Σωκράτης, “πόθεν σοι τοσαῦτα;” καὶ ὅς, “ὅθεν σοι τὰ ὀλίγα.”	Anyway, when Aristippus was asked what handsome boys ought to learn, he said, “What they will use when they become men.” To the man who blamed him for going from Socrates to Dionysius, he said, “I went to Socrates for education, and to Dionysius for recreation.” When he had made money from his teaching, Socrates said to him, “Where did you get so much?” And he replied, “From where you got so little.”
2.81	Ἑταίρας εἰπούσης πρὸς αὐτόν, “ἐκ σοῦ κυῶ,” “οὐ μᾶλλον,” ἔφη, “γινώσκεις ἢ εἰ δι’ ὁλοσχοίνων ἰοῦσα ἔφασκες ὑπὸ τοῦδε κεκεντῆσθαι.” ἠτιάσατό τις αὐτὸν τὸν υἱὸν ἀπορριπτοῦντα ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ γεγονότα· καὶ ὅς, “καὶ τὸ φλέγμα,” φησί, “καὶ τοὺς φθεῖρας ἐξ ἡμῶν ἴσμεν γεννωμένους, ἀλλ’ ἀχρεῖα ὄντα ὡς πορρωτάτω ῥιπτοῦμεν.” ἐκδεξάμενος τὸ ἀργύριον παρὰ Διονυσίου, Πλάτωνος ἄραντος βιβλίον, πρὸς τὸν αἰτιασάμενον, “ἐγω μὲν γάρ,” εἶπεν, “ἀργυρίων, Πλάτων δὲ βιβλίων ἐστὶν ἐνδεής.” πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα τίνος ἕνεκα ἐλέγχεται παρὰ Διονυσίου, “οὗ ἕνεκα,” φησίν, “οἱ ἄλλοι ἐλέγχουσιν.”	When a courtesan said to him, “I’m pregnant by you,” he said, “You don’t know that any more than if you’d walked through a bed of rushes and claimed that this particular one had pricked you.” Someone blamed him for disowning his son as if the boy were not his own. He replied, “We know that phlegm and lice are produced from us too, but since they’re useless we throw them as far away as we can.” He had accepted money from Dionysius while Plato took a book, and to the man who criticized him for it he said, “Well, I’m short of money, and Plato is short of books.” To the man who asked why Dionysius kept finding fault with him, he said, “For the same reason that everyone else does.”
2.82	Ἤιτει Διονύσιον ἀργύριον, καὶ ὅς, “ἀλλὰ μὴν ἔφης οὐκ ἀπορήσειν τὸν σοφόν·” ὁ δ’ ὑπολαβών, “δός,” εἶπε, “καὶ περὶ τούτου ζητῶμεν.” δόντος δέ, “ὁρᾷς,” ἔφη, “ὅτι οὐκ ἠπόρηκα;” εἰπόντος πρὸς αὐτὸν Διονυσίου· ὅστις γὰρ ὡς τύραννον ἐμπορεύεται, / κείνου ’στὶ δοῦλος, κἂν ἐλεύθερος μόλῃ· ὑπολαβών, οὐκ ἔστι δοῦλος, ἂν ἐλεύθερος μόλῃ. τοῦτο Διοκλῆς φησιν ἐν τῷ Περὶ βίων φιλοσόφων· ἄλλοι γὰρ εἰς Πλάτωνα ἀναφέρουσιν. ὀργισθεὶς πρὸς Αἰσχίνην μετ’ οὐ πολύ, “οὐ διαλλαχθησόμεθα, οὐ παυσόμεθα,” εἶπε, “ληροῦντες, ἀλλ’ ἀναμενεῖς ἕως ἂν ἐπὶ τῆς κύλικος ἡμᾶς διαλλάξῃ τις;”	He was asking Dionysius for money, and Dionysius said, “But you said the wise man would never be at a loss.” He cut in: “Give it to me, and then we’ll look into that.” When Dionysius had given it, he said, “You see? I’m not at a loss.” When Dionysius said to him: whoever goes to a tyrant to do business / is his slave, even if he comes a free man, he cut in: he is no slave, if he comes a free man. Diocles says this in his *On the Lives of Philosophers*; others attribute it to Plato. Not long after, when he was angry with Aeschines, he said, “Aren’t we going to make it up? Aren’t we going to stop this nonsense? Or will you wait for someone to reconcile us over the wine cup?”[40]
	καὶ ὅς, “ἄσμενος,” ἔφη· [83] “μνημόνευε τοίνυν,” εἶπεν ὁ Ἀρίστιππος, “ὅτι σοι πρότερος πρεσβύτερος ὢν προσῆλθον.” καὶ ὁ Αἰσχίνης, “εὖγε, νὴ τὴν Ἥραν, εὐλόγως εἶπας, ἐπεὶ πολλῷ μου βελτίων ὑπάρχεις· ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἔχθρας, σὺ δὲ φιλίας ἄρχεις.” καὶ ταῦτα μὲν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφέρεται.	And Aeschines said, “Gladly.” [83] “Then remember,” said Aristippus, “that though I’m older, I was the first to come to you.” And Aeschines said, “Well done, by Hera, that was well said, since you are far better than I am: I began the quarrel, but you begin the friendship.” These, then, are the sayings attributed to him.

40 The two lines Dionysius quotes are from Sophocles.

GREEK

ENGLISH

2.83 Γεγόνασι δ' Ἀρίστιπποι τέσσαρες· περὶ οὗ τε ὁ λόγος καὶ δεύτερος ὁ τὰ περὶ Ἀρκαδίας γεγραφώς· τρίτος ὁ μητροδίδακτος, θυγατριδοῦς τοῦ πρώτου· τέταρτος ὁ ἐκ τῆς νεωτέρας Ἀκαδημείας.

There have been four men named Aristippus: the one we are discussing; second, the one who wrote about Arcadia; third, the one called "Mother-taught," the first one's grandson through his daughter; fourth, the one from the New Academy.

Τοῦ δὲ Κυρηναϊκοῦ φιλοσόφου φέρεται βιβλία τρία μὲν ἱστορίας τῶν κατὰ Λιβύην, ἀπεσταλμένα Διονυσίῳ· ἓν δὲ ἐν ᾧ διάλογοι πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν, οἱ μὲν Ἀτθίδι, οἱ δὲ Δωρίδι διαλέκτῳ γεγραμμένοι οἵδε· [84] Ἀρτάβαζος. Πρὸς τοὺς ναυαγούς. Πρὸς τοὺς φυγάδας. Πρὸς πτωχόν. Πρὸς Λαΐδα. Πρὸς Πῶρον. Πρὸς Λαΐδα περὶ τοῦ κατόπτρου. Ἑρμείας. Ἐνύπνιον. Πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κύλικος. Φιλόμηλος. Πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους. Πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιτιμῶντας ὅτι κέκτηται οἶνον παλαιὸν καὶ ἑταίρας. Πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιτιμῶντας ὅτι πολυτελῶς ὀψωνεῖ. Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Ἀρήτην τὴν θυγατέρα. Πρὸς τὸν εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν γυμνάζοντα ἑαυτόν. Ἐρώτησις. Ἄλλη Ἐρώτησις. Χρεία πρὸς Διονύσιον. Ἄλλη ἐπὶ τῆς εἰκόνος. Ἄλλη ἐπὶ τῆς Διονυσίου θυγατρός. Πρὸς τὸν οἰόμενον ἀτιμάζεσθαι. Πρὸς τὸν συμβουλεύειν ἐπιχειροῦντα.

Of the Cyrenaic philosopher there are said to be three books of a history of Libya, sent to Dionysius, and one book containing twenty-five dialogues, some written in the Attic dialect, some in the Doric, as follows: [84] *Artabazus*. *To the Shipwrecked*. *To the Exiles*. *To a Beggar*. *To Lais*. *To Porus*. *To Lais, on the Mirror*. *Hermias*. *A Dream*. *To the Man in Charge of the Wine Cup*. *Philomelus*. *To His Household*. *To Those Who Criticize Him for Owning Old Wine and Courtesans*. *To Those Who Criticize Him for Spending Lavishly on Food*. *Letter to His Daughter Arete*. *To the Man Training Himself for Olympia*. *A Question*. *Another Question*. *Anecdote, to Dionysius*. *Another, on the Statue*. *Another, on Dionysius' Daughter*. *To the Man Who Thought He Was Slighted*. *To the Man Who Tried to Give Advice*.[41]

2.84 Ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ διατριβῶν αὐτόν φασιν ἓξ γεγραφέναι, οἱ δ' οὐδ' ὅλως γράψαι· ὧν ἐστι καὶ Σωσικράτης ὁ Ῥόδιος.

[85] Κατὰ δὲ Σωτίωνα ἐν δευτέρῳ καὶ Παναίτιον ἔστιν αὐτῷ συγγράμματα τάδε· Περὶ παιδείας. Περὶ ἀρετῆς. Προτρεπτικός. Ἀρτάβαζος. Ναυαγοί. Φυγάδες. Διατριβῶν ἓξ. Χρειῶν τρία. Πρὸς Λαΐδα. Πρὸς Πῶρον. Πρὸς Σωκράτην. Περὶ τύχης.

Some say he also wrote six books of *Lectures*; others, among them Sosicrates of Rhodes, that he wrote nothing at all.

[85] According to Sotion in his second book, and Panaetius, his writings are these: *On Education*. *On Excellence*. *Exhortation to Philosophy*. *Artabazus*. *The Shipwrecked*. *The Exiles*. *Lectures*, 6 books. *Anecdotes*, 3 books. *To Lais*. *To Porus*. *To Socrates*. *On Fortune*.

THE CYRENAICS

The doctrines of Aristippus' followers and of the Hegesians and Annicerians, who make pleasure the end.

GREEK

ENGLISH

2.85 Τέλος δ' ἀπέφαινε τὴν λείαν κίνησιν εἰς αἴσθησιν ἀναδιδομένην.

Ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπειδὴ τὸν βίον ἀνεγράψαμεν αὐτοῦ, φέρε νῦν διέλθωμεν τοὺς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Κυρηναϊκούς, οἵ τινες ἑαυτοὺς οἱ μὲν Ἡγησιακούς, οἱ δὲ Ἀννικερείους, οἱ δὲ Θεοδωρείους προσωνόμαζον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Φαίδωνος, ὧν τοὺς κορυφαιοτάτους Ἐρετρικούς. [86] ἔχει δὲ οὕτως· Ἀριστίππου διήκουσεν ἡ θυγάτηρ Ἀρήτη καὶ Αἰθίοψ Πτολεμαεὺς καὶ Ἀντίπατρος Κυρηναῖος· Ἀρήτης δὲ Ἀρίστιππος ὁ μητροδίδακτος ἐπικληθείς, οὗ Θεόδωρος ὁ ἄθεος, εἶτα θεός· Ἀντιπάτρου δ' Ἐπιτιμίδης Κυρηναῖος, οὗ

He declared the end to be smooth motion transmitted to perception.

Now that we have written his life, let us go through the Cyrenaics descended from him, some of whom called themselves Hegesians, others Annicerians, and others Theodoreans. We will also cover those descended from Phaedo, the most eminent of whom are the Eretrians. [86] The succession runs like this. Aristippus' pupils were his daughter Arete, Aethiops of Ptolemais and Antipater of Cyrene. Arete's pupil was Aristippus, called the

41 An "anecdote" (*chreia*) was a short story ending in a pointed saying, a form much used in teaching.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Παραιβάτης, οὗ Ἡγησίας ὁ πεισιθάνατος καὶ Ἀννίκερις [ὁ Πλάτωνα λυτρωσάμενος].	Mother-taught, and his pupil was Theodorus the atheist, later called "god." Antipater's pupil was Epitimides of Cyrene; his was Paraebates; and his were Hegesias the Death-Persuader and Anniceris [who ransomed Plato].[42]
2.86	Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγωγῆς τῆς Ἀριστίππου μείναντες καὶ Κυρηναϊκοὶ προσαγορευθέντες δόξαις ἐχρῶντο τοιαύταις· δύο πάθη ὑφίσταντο, πόνον καὶ ἡδονήν, τὴν μὲν λείαν κίνησιν, τὴν ἡδονήν, τὸν δὲ πόνον τραχεῖαν κίνησιν. [87] μὴ διαφέρειν τε ἡδονὴν ἡδονῆς, μηδὲ ἥδιόν τι εἶναι· καὶ τὴν μὲν εὐδοκητὴν πᾶσι ζῴοις, τὸν δ' ἀποκρουστικόν.	Those, then, who kept to Aristippus' way of thinking and were called Cyrenaics held views like these. They posited two feelings, pain and pleasure: pleasure a smooth motion, pain a rough motion. [87] They held that one pleasure does not differ from another, and that nothing is more pleasant than anything else; and that pleasure is welcome to all animals, while pain repels them.
2.87	ἡδονὴν μέντοι τὴν τοῦ σώματος, ἣν καὶ τέλος εἶναι, καθά φησι καὶ Παναίτιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν αἱρέσεων, οὐ τὴν καταστηματικὴν ἡδονὴν τὴν ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει ἀλγηδόνων καὶ οἷον ἀνοχλησίαν, ἣν ὁ Ἐπίκουρος ἀποδέχεται καὶ τέλος εἶναί φησι. δοκεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τέλος εὐδαιμονίας διαφέρειν. τέλος μὲν γὰρ εἶναι τὴν κατὰ μέρος ἡδονήν, εὐδαιμονίαν δὲ τὸ ἐκ τῶν μερικῶν ἡδονῶν σύστημα, αἷς συναριθμοῦνται καὶ αἱ παρῳχηκυῖαι καὶ αἱ μέλλουσαι.	By pleasure, however, they meant bodily pleasure, which they also held to be the end, as Panaetius too says in his *On the Schools*—not the static pleasure that comes with the removal of pains, a sort of freedom from disturbance, which Epicurus accepts and says is the end. They also think that the end differs from happiness. For the end, they say, is particular pleasure, while happiness is the sum of particular pleasures, among which past and future pleasures are counted too.
2.88	Εἶναί τε τὴν μερικὴν ἡδονὴν δι' αὑτὴν αἱρετήν· τὴν δ' εὐδαιμονίαν οὐ δι' αὑτήν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς κατὰ μέρος ἡδονάς. πίστιν δ' εἶναι τοῦ τέλος εἶναι τὴν ἡδονὴν τὸ ἀπροαιρέτως ἡμᾶς ἐκ παίδων ᾠκειῶσθαι πρὸς αὐτήν, καὶ τυχόντας αὐτῆς μηθὲν ἐπιζητεῖν μηθέν τε οὕτω φεύγειν ὡς τὴν ἐναντίαν αὐτῇ ἀλγηδόνα. εἶναι δὲ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀγαθὸν κἂν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀσχημοτάτων γένηται, καθά φησιν Ἱππόβοτος ἐν τῷ Περὶ αἱρέσεων. εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις ἄτοπος εἴη, ἀλλ' οὖν ἡ ἡδονὴ δι' αὑτὴν αἱρετὴ καὶ ἀγαθόν.	They held, too, that a particular pleasure is choiceworthy for its own sake, while happiness is choiceworthy not for its own sake but for the sake of the particular pleasures. As proof that pleasure is the end they cited the fact that from childhood we are drawn to it without choosing to be, and that once we have it we look for nothing more, and avoid nothing so much as its opposite, pain. Pleasure, they held, is good even if it comes from the most shameful things, as Hippobotus says in his *On Schools*. For even if the act is out of place, the pleasure at least is choiceworthy for its own sake and good.
2.89	ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἀλγοῦντος ὑπεξαίρεσις, ὡς εἴρηται παρ' Ἐπικούρῳ, δοκεῖ αὐτοῖς μὴ εἶναι ἡδονή· οὐδὲ ἡ ἀηδονία ἀλγηδών. ἐν κινήσει γὰρ εἶναι ἀμφότερα, μὴ οὔσης τῆς ἀπονίας ἢ τῆς ἀηδονίας κινήσεως, ἐπεὶ ἡ ἀπονία οἱονεὶ καθεύδοντός ἐστι κατάστασις. δύνασθαι δέ φασι καὶ τὴν ἡδονήν τινας μὴ αἱρεῖσθαι κατὰ διαστροφήν· οὐ πάσας μέντοι τὰς ψυχικὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ ἀλγηδόνας ἐπὶ σωματικαῖς ἡδοναῖς καὶ ἀλγηδόσι γίνεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ ψιλῇ τῇ τῆς πατρίδος εὐημερίᾳ ὥσπερ τῇ ἰδίᾳ χαρὰν ἐγγίνεσθαι. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ κατὰ μνήμην τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἢ	The removal of pain, as Epicurus calls it, does not seem to them to be pleasure, nor does the absence of pleasure seem to be pain. For both pleasure and pain lie in motion, whereas freedom from pain and absence of pleasure are not motion, since freedom from pain is something like the condition of a person asleep. They say that some people can fail to choose pleasure because of a perversion. Not all pleasures and pains of the soul, however, arise from bodily pleasures and pains. Joy arises

42 Hegesias' nickname came from his teaching that life was not worth living, which was said to drive listeners to suicide.

GREEK

προσδοκίαν ἡδονήν φασιν ἀποτελεῖσθαι· ὅπερ ἤρεσκεν Ἐπικούρῳ.

2.90 ἐκλύεσθαι γὰρ τῷ χρόνῳ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς κίνημα. λέγουσι δὲ μηδὲ κατὰ ψιλὴν τὴν ὅρασιν ἢ τὴν ἀκοὴν γίνεσθαι ἡδονάς. τῶν γοῦν μιμουμένων θρήνους ἡδέως ἀκούομεν, τῶν δὲ κατ' ἀλήθειαν ἀηδῶς. μέσας τε καταστάσεις ὠνόμαζον ἀηδονίαν καὶ ἀπονίαν. πολὺ μέντοι τῶν ψυχικῶν τὰς σωματικὰς ἀμείνους εἶναι, καὶ τὰς ὀχλήσεις χείρους τὰς σωματικάς. ὅθεν καὶ ταύταις κολάζεσθαι μᾶλλον τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας. χαλεπώτερον γὰρ τὸ πονεῖν, οἰκειότερον δὲ τὸ ἥδεσθαι ὑπελάμβανον. ὅθεν καὶ πλείονα οἰκονομίαν περὶ θάτερον ἐποιοῦντο. διὸ καὶ καθ' αὑτὴν αἱρετῆς οὔσης τῆς ἡδονῆς τὰ ποιητικὰ ἐνίων ἡδονῶν ὀχληρὰ πολλάκις ἐναντιοῦσθαι· ὡς δυσκολώτατον αὐτοῖς φαίνεσθαι τὸν ἀθροισμὸν τῶν ἡδονῶν εὐδαιμονίαν ποιούντων.

2.91 Ἀρέσκει δ' αὐτοῖς μήτε τὸν σοφὸν πάντα ἡδέως ζῆν, μήτε πάντα φαῦλον ἐπιπόνως, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον. ἀρκεῖ δὲ κἂν κατὰ μίαν τις προσπίπτουσαν ἡδέως ἐπανάγῃ. τὴν φρόνησιν ἀγαθὸν μὲν εἶναι λέγουσιν, οὐ δι' ἑαυτὴν δὲ αἱρετήν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῆς περιγινόμενα· τὸν φίλον τῆς χρείας ἕνεκα· καὶ γὰρ μέρος σώματος, μέχρις ἂν παρῇ, ἀσπάζεσθαι. τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐνίας καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἄφρονας συνίστασθαι. τὴν σωματικὴν ἄσκησιν συμβάλλεσθαι πρὸς ἀρετῆς ἀνάληψιν. τὸν σοφὸν μήτε φθονήσειν μήτε ἐρασθήσεσθαι ἢ δεισιδαιμονήσειν· γίνεσθαι γὰρ ταῦτα παρὰ κενὴν δόξαν. λυπήσεσθαι μέντοι καὶ φοβήσεσθαι· φυσικῶς γὰρ γίνεσθαι. [92] καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον δὲ ποιητικὸν ἡδονῆς εἶναι, οὐ δι' αὐτὸν αἱρετὸν ὄντα.

2.92 Τά τε πάθη καταληπτά. ἔλεγον οὖν αὐτά, οὐκ ἀφ' ὧν γίνεται. ἀφίσταντο δὲ καὶ τῶν φυσικῶν διὰ τὴν ἐμφαινομένην ἀκαταληψίαν· τῶν δὲ λογικῶν διὰ τὴν εὐχρηστίαν ἥπτοντο. Μελέαγρος δ' ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ δοξῶν καὶ Κλειτόμαχος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ αἱρέσεων φασὶν αὐτοὺς ἄχρηστα ἡγεῖσθαι τό τε φυσικὸν μέρος καὶ τὸ διαλεκτικόν. δύνασθαι γὰρ καὶ εὖ λέγειν καὶ δεισιδαιμονίας ἐκτὸς εἶναι καὶ τὸν περὶ θανάτου φόβον

ENGLISH

even from the mere prosperity of one's country, just as from one's own. Nor, they say, is pleasure produced by the memory or expectation of good things, which was Epicurus' view.

For the movement of the soul fades with time. They say that pleasures do not arise from mere sight or hearing either. At any rate, we listen with pleasure to people imitating lamentation, but with displeasure to people actually lamenting. They called the absence of pleasure and the absence of pain intermediate states. Bodily pleasures, however, are far better than those of the soul, and bodily pains worse. That is why wrongdoers are punished mostly with these. For they supposed that suffering pain is harder to bear, and feeling pleasure more natural to us. That is why they gave more attention to one of the two. So, although pleasure is choiceworthy for its own sake, the things that produce certain pleasures are often troublesome and work against it. As a result, the accumulation of pleasures that makes up happiness seems to them extremely hard to achieve.

Their view is that the wise man does not live pleasantly in every case, nor the bad man painfully in every case, but only for the most part. It is enough if one enjoys even a single pleasure as it comes along. They say that understanding is a good, but not choiceworthy for its own sake, only for what results from it. A friend, likewise, is valued for his usefulness, since we cherish even a part of the body only as long as we have it. Some of the excellences are found even among fools. Bodily training contributes to the acquisition of excellence. The wise man will not feel envy, or fall in love, or be superstitious, since these things come from empty opinion. He will, however, feel grief and fear, since these arise naturally. [92] Wealth, too, produces pleasure, though it is not choiceworthy for its own sake.

Feelings, they held, can be apprehended; that is, they meant the feelings themselves, not the things they come from. They gave up the study of nature because of the non-apprehension evident in it, but took up logic because of its usefulness. Meleager in the second book of his *On Opinions* and Clitomachus in the first book of his *On Schools* say that they regarded both physics and dialectic as useless. For a person who has thoroughly learned the

GREEK	ENGLISH
ἐκφεύγειν τὸν ⟨τὸν⟩ περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν λόγον ἐκμεμαθηκότα.	account of good and bad things can speak well, stay free of superstition and escape the fear of death.
2.93 μηδέν τε εἶναι φύσει δίκαιον ἢ καλὸν ἢ αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ καὶ ἔθει. ὁ μέντοι σπουδαῖος οὐδὲν ἄτοπον πράξει διὰ τὰς ἐπικειμένας ζημίας καὶ δόξας· εἶναι δὲ τὸν σοφόν. προκοπήν τε ἀπολείπουσι καὶ ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις. φασὶ δὲ καὶ λυπεῖσθαι ἄλλον ἄλλου μᾶλλον, καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις μὴ πάντοτε ἀληθεύειν.	They held that nothing is just or fine or shameful by nature, but only by law and custom. The good man, however, will do nothing out of place, because of the penalties and the opinions attached to such acts; and this good man is the wise man. They allow for progress, both in philosophy and in other things. They also say that one person feels grief more than another, and that the senses do not always tell the truth.
Οἱ δὲ Ἡγησιακοὶ λεγόμενοι σκοποὺς μὲν εἶχον τοὺς αὐτούς, ἡδονὴν καὶ πόνον. μήτε δὲ χάριν τι εἶναι μήτε φιλίαν μήτε εὐεργεσίαν, διὰ τὸ μὴ δι' αὐτὰ ταῦτα αἱρεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς αὐτά, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς χρείας αὐτάς, ὧν ἀπόντων μηδ' ἐκεῖνα ὑμάρχειν. [94] τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ὅλως ἀδύνατον εἶναι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ σῶμα πολλῶν ἀναπεπλῆσθαι παθημάτων, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν συμπαθεῖν τῷ σώματι καὶ ταράττεσθαι, τὴν δὲ τύχην πολλὰ τῶν κατ' ἐλπίδα κωλύειν, ὥστε διὰ ταῦτα ἀνύπαρκτον τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν εἶναι. τήν τε ζωὴν καὶ τὸν θάνατον αἱρετόν.	Those called Hegesians had the same aims, pleasure and pain. They held that there is no such thing as gratitude, friendship or kindness, since we do not choose these for their own sake but for the uses they bring, and without those uses they do not exist either. [94] Happiness is altogether impossible: the body is full of many sufferings, the soul shares in the body's sufferings and is disturbed by them, and fortune thwarts much of what we hope for; so for these reasons happiness has no real existence. Both life and death are choiceworthy.
2.94 φύσει τ' οὐδὲν ἡδὺ ἢ ἀηδὲς ὑπελάμβανον· διὰ δὲ σπάνιν ἢ ξενισμὸν ἢ κόρον τοὺς μὲν ἥδεσθαι, τοὺς δ' ἀηδῶς ἔχειν. πενίαν καὶ πλοῦτον πρὸς ἡδονῆς λόγον εἶναι οὐδέν· μὴ γὰρ διαφερόντως ἥδεσθαι τοὺς πλουσίους ἢ τοὺς πένητας. δουλείαν ἐπίσης ἐλευθερίᾳ ἀδιάφορον πρὸς ἡδονῆς μέτρον, καὶ εὐγένειαν δυσγενείᾳ, καὶ δόξαν ἀδοξίᾳ. [95] καὶ τῷ μὲν ἄφρονι τὸ ζῆν λυσιτελὲς εἶναι· τῷ δὲ φρονίμῳ ἀδιάφορον. τόν τε σοφὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἕνεκα πάντα πράξειν· οὐδένα γὰρ ἡγεῖσθαι τῶν ἄλλων ἐπίσης ἄξιον αὐτῷ.	They supposed that nothing is pleasant or unpleasant by nature: it is through scarcity, novelty or satiety that some people feel pleasure and others displeasure. Poverty and wealth count for nothing in the reckoning of pleasure, since the rich do not feel pleasure any differently from the poor. Slavery and freedom are equally indifferent by the measure of pleasure, and so are noble and low birth, and fame and obscurity. [95] For the fool, living is advantageous; for the person of understanding it is a matter of indifference. The wise man will do everything for his own sake, since he regards no one else as of equal worth to himself.
2.95 κἂν γὰρ τὰ μέγιστα δοκῇ παρά του καρποῦσθαι, μὴ εἶναι ἀντάξια ὧν αὐτὸς παράσχῃ. ἀνῄρουν δὲ καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ⟨ὡς⟩ οὐκ ἀκριβούσας τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν, τῶν τ' εὐλόγως φαινομένων πάντα πράττειν. ἔλεγον τὰ ἁμαρτήματα συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν· οὐ γὰρ ἑκόντα ἁμαρτάνειν, ἀλλά τινι πάθει κατηναγκασμένον. καὶ μὴ μισήσειν, μᾶλλον δὲ μεταδιδάξειν. τόν τε σοφὸν οὐχ οὕτω πλεονάσειν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀγαθῶν αἱρέσει, ὡς ἐν τῇ τῶν κακῶν φυγῇ, τέλος τιθέμενον τὸ μὴ ἐπιπόνως ζῆν μηδὲ λυπηρῶς· [96] ὃ δὴ περιγίνεσθαι τοῖς ἀδιαφορήσασι περὶ τὰ ποιητικὰ τῆς ἡδονῆς.	For even if he seems to reap the greatest benefits from someone, they are not worth as much as what he himself provides. They also did away with the senses, on the ground that they do not give accurate knowledge, and they did everything on the basis of what appears reasonable. They said that wrongdoing deserves pardon, since no one does wrong willingly, but under the compulsion of some feeling. The wise man will not hate, but will rather re-educate. Nor will he go as far in choosing good things as in avoiding bad ones, since he sets

GREEK

ENGLISH

as his end living without hardship or distress; [96] and this is achieved by those who have become indifferent to the things that produce pleasure.

2.96 Οἱ δ' Ἀννικέρειοι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ ταὐτὰ τούτοις· ἀπέλιπον δὲ καὶ φιλίαν ἐν βίῳ καὶ χάριν καὶ πρὸς γονέας τιμὴν καὶ ὑπὲρ πατρίδος τι πράξειν. ὅθεν διὰ ταῦτα, κἂν ὀχλήσεις ἀναδέξηται ὁ σοφός, οὐδὲν ἧττον εὐδαιμονήσειν, κἂν ὀλίγα ἡδέα περιγένηται αὐτῷ. τήν τε τοῦ φίλου εὐδαιμονίαν δι' αὑτὴν μὴ εἶναι αἱρετήν· μηδὲ γὰρ αἰσθητὴν τῷ πέλας ὑπάρχειν· μὴ εἶναί τε αὐτάρκη τὸν λόγον πρὸς τὸ θαρρῆσαι καὶ τῆς τῶν πολλῶν δόξης ὑπεράνω γενέσθαι· δεῖν δ' ἀνεθίζεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐκ πολλοῦ συντραφεῖσαν ἡμῖν φαύλην διάθεσιν.

The Annicerians agreed with these in other respects, but they left room in life for friendship, gratitude, respect for parents and doing something for one's country. For these reasons, they held, even if the wise man takes on troubles, he will be no less happy, even if few pleasures come his way. A friend's happiness is not choiceworthy for its own sake, since it cannot be perceived by the person next to him. Reason is not sufficient by itself to give us confidence and raise us above the opinion of the many; we must form new habits, because of the bad disposition that has grown up in us over a long time.

2.97 τόν τε φίλον μὴ διὰ τὰς χρείας μόνον ἀποδέχεσθαι, ὧν ὑπολειπουσῶν μὴ ἐπιστρέφεσθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τὴν γεγονυῖαν εὔνοιαν, ἧς ἕνεκα καὶ πόνους ὑπομενεῖν. καίτοι τιθέμενον ἡδονὴν τέλος καὶ ἀχθόμενον ἐπὶ τῷ στέρεσθαι αὐτῆς ὅμως ἑκουσίως ὑπομενεῖν διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν φίλον στοργήν.

A friend, too, should be accepted not only for the uses he brings, so as to pay him no more attention once these fail, but also for the goodwill that has grown up, for whose sake one will even endure hardships. And although the wise man sets pleasure as his end and is distressed at being deprived of it, he will nonetheless endure this willingly out of affection for his friend.

THEODORUS THE ATHEIST

The Theodoreans' founder denies the gods, offends kings and is mockingly called "God."

GREEK

ENGLISH

Οἱ δὲ Θεοδώρειοι κληθέντες τὴν μὲν ὀνομασίαν ἔσπασαν ἀπὸ Θεοδώρου τοῦ προγεγραμμένου, καὶ δόγμασιν ἐχρήσαντο τοῖς αὐτοῦ. ἦν δ' ὁ Θεόδωρος παντάπασιν ἀναιρῶν τὰς περὶ θεῶν δόξας· καὶ αὐτοῦ περιετύχομεν βιβλίῳ ἐπιγεγραμμένῳ Περὶ θεῶν, οὐκ εὐκαταφρονήτῳ· ἐξ οὗ φασιν Ἐπίκουρον λαβόντα τὰ πλεῖστα εἰπεῖν.

Those called Theodoreans took their name from the Theodorus mentioned above, and followed his doctrines. Theodorus was a man who did away entirely with beliefs about the gods. I have come across a book of his entitled *On the Gods*, which is not to be despised; they say Epicurus took most of what he said from it.

2.98 Ἤκουσε δὲ καὶ Ἀννικέριδος ὁ Θεόδωρος καὶ Διονυσίου τοῦ διαλεκτικοῦ, καθά φησιν Ἀντισθένης ἐν Φιλοσόφων διαδοχαῖς. τέλος δ' ὑπελάμβανε χαρὰν καὶ λύπην· τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ φρονήσει, τὴν δ' ἐπὶ ἀφροσύνῃ· ἀγαθὰ δὲ φρόνησιν καὶ δικαιοσύνην, κακὰ δὲ τὰς ἐναντίας ἕξεις, μέσα δὲ ἡδονὴν καὶ πόνον. ἀνῄρει δὲ καὶ φιλίαν, διὰ τὸ μήτ' ἐν ἄφροσιν αὐτὴν εἶναι, μήτ' ἐν σοφοῖς. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ τῆς χρείας ἀναιρεθείσης καὶ τὴν φιλίαν ἐκποδὼν εἶναι· τοὺς δὲ σοφοὺς αὐτάρκεις ὑπάρχοντας μὴ δεῖσθαι φίλων. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ εὔλογον εἶναι τὸν σπουδαῖον ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος μὴ ἐξαγαγεῖν αὐτόν· οὐ γὰρ ἀποβαλεῖν τὴν φρόνησιν ἕνεκα τῆς τῶν ἀφρόνων ὠφελείας.

Theodorus also studied under Anniceris and under Dionysius the dialectician, as Antisthenes says in his *Successions of Philosophers*. He held that the end is joy and grief: the one comes from understanding, the other from folly. Goods are understanding and justice, bad things the opposite states, and pleasure and pain are intermediate. He also did away with friendship, on the ground that it exists neither among fools nor among the wise: for fools, once its usefulness is gone, friendship disappears too, while the wise, being self-sufficient, have no need of friends. He also said that it

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		is reasonable for the good man not to give up his life for his country, since he will not throw away his understanding for the benefit of fools.
2.99	Εἶναί τε πατρίδα τὸν κόσμον. κλέψειν τε καὶ μοιχεύσειν καὶ ἱεροσυλήσειν ἐν καιρῷ· μηδὲν γὰρ τούτων φύσει αἰσχρὸν εἶναι, τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς δόξης αἰρομένης, ἣ σύγκειται ἕνεκα τῆς τῶν ἀφρόνων συνοχῆς. φανερῶς δὲ τοῖς ἐρωμένοις ἄνευ πάσης ὑφοράσεως χρήσεσθαι τὸν σοφόν. διὸ καὶ τοιούτους λόγους ἠρώτα· “ἆρά γε γυνὴ γραμματικὴ χρήσιμος ἂν εἴη παρ᾽ ὅσον γραμματική ἐστι;” “ναί.” “καὶ παῖς καὶ νεανίσκος γραμματικὸς χρήσιμος ἂν εἴη παρ᾽ ὅσον γραμματικός ἐστι;” “ναί.”	He held that the world is one’s country, and that the wise man will steal, commit adultery and rob temples when the occasion is right. For none of these acts is shameful by nature, once you remove the opinion about them, which exists to keep fools in check. The wise man, he held, will make use of his beloveds openly, without any misgiving. That is why he also put questions of this kind: “Would a woman skilled in letters be useful insofar as she is skilled in letters?” “Yes.” “And would a boy or a youth skilled in letters be useful insofar as he is skilled in letters?” “Yes.”
	“οὐκοῦν καὶ γυνὴ καλὴ χρησίμη ἂν εἴη παρ᾽ ὅσον καλή ἐστι, καὶ παῖς καὶ νεανίσκος καλὸς χρήσιμος ἂν εἴη παρ᾽ ὅσον καλός ἐστι;” “ναί.” “καὶ παῖς ἄρα καὶ νεανίσκος καλὸς πρὸς τοῦτ᾽ ἂν εἴη χρήσιμος πρὸς ὃ καλός ἐστι;” “ναί.” [100] “ἔστι δὲ χρήσιμος πρὸς τὸ πλησιάζειν.” ὧν δεδομένων ἐπῆγεν· “οὐκοῦν εἴ τις πλησιασμῷ χρώμενος παρ᾽ ὅσον χρήσιμός ἐστιν, οὐ διαμαρτάνει· οὐδ᾽ ἄρα εἰ κάλλει χρήσαιτο παρ᾽ ὅσον χρήσιμόν ἐστι, διαμαρτήσεται.” τοιαῦτα ἄττα διερωτῶν ἴσχυε τῷ λόγῳ.	“Then would a beautiful woman be useful insofar as she is beautiful, and a beautiful boy or youth useful insofar as he is beautiful?” “Yes.” “So a beautiful boy or youth would be useful for that for which he is beautiful?” “Yes.” [100] “And he is useful for intercourse.” Once this was granted, he drew the conclusion: “So if someone makes use of intercourse insofar as it is useful, he does nothing wrong; nor, then, will he do wrong if he makes use of beauty insofar as it is useful.” By putting questions of this sort he prevailed in argument.
2.100	Δοκεῖ δὲ θεὸς κληθῆναι, Στίλπωνος αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσαντος οὕτως, “ἆρά γε, Θεόδωρε, ὃ φῂς εἶναι, τοῦτο καὶ εἶ;” ἐπινεύσαντος δέ, “φῂς δ᾽ εἶναι θεόν;” τοῦ δ᾽ ὁμολογήσαντος, “θεὸς εἶ ἄρα,” ἔφη. δεξαμένου δ᾽ ἀσμένως, γελάσας φησίν, “ἀλλ᾽, ὦ μόχθηρε, τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ καὶ κολοιὸς ἂν ὁμολογήσειας εἶναι καὶ ἄλλα μυρία.”	He seems to have been called “God” after Stilpo questioned him like this: “Tell me, Theodorus: whatever you say is, you also are?” He nodded. “And you say a god is?” He agreed. “Then you are a god,” said Stilpo. Theodorus accepted this with pleasure, and Stilpo laughed and said, “But, you wretch, by this argument you would admit to being a jackdaw as well, and countless other things.”[43]
2.101	Ὁ δ᾽ οὖν Θεόδωρος προσκαθίσας ποτὲ Εὐρυκλείδῃ τῷ ἱεροφάντῃ, “λέγε μοι,” ἔφη, “Εὐρυκλείδη, τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ ἀσεβοῦντες περὶ τὰ μυστήρια.” εἰπόντος δ᾽ ἐκείνου, “οἱ τοῖς ἀμυήτοις αὐτὰ ἐκφέροντες,” “ἀσεβεῖς ἄρα,” ἔφη, “καὶ σύ, τοῖς ἀμυήτοις διηγούμενος.” καὶ μέντοι παρ᾽ ὀλίγον ἐκινδύνευσεν εἰς Ἄρειον ἀναχθῆναι πάγον, εἰ μὴ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς αὐτὸν ἐρρύσατο. Ἀμφικράτης δ᾽ ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν φησι κώνειον αὐτὸν πιεῖν καταδικασθέντα.	At any rate, Theodorus once sat down beside Euryclides the hierophant and said, “Tell me, Euryclides, who are the people guilty of impiety concerning the Mysteries?” When Euryclides answered, “Those who divulge them to the uninitiated,” Theodorus said, “Then you are impious too, since you explain them to the uninitiated.” And in fact he came close to being hauled before the Areopagus, and would have been, had Demetrius of Phalerum not rescued him. Amphicrates, in his

43 The trick turns on the Greek verb εἶναι, which means both “to be (something)” and “to exist.”

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		On Famous Men, says that he was condemned and drank hemlock.[44]
2.102	Διατρίβων δὲ παρὰ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Λάγου ἀπεστάλη ποθ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Λυσίμαχον πρεσβευτής. ὅτε καὶ παρρησιαζομένῳ φησὶν ὁ Λυσίμαχος, "λέγε μοι, Θεόδωρε, οὐ σὺ εἶ ὁ ἐκπεσὼν Ἀθήνηθεν;" καὶ ὅς, "ὀρθῶς ἀκήκοας· ἡ γὰρ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλις οὐ δυναμένη με φέρειν, ὥσπερ ἡ Σεμέλη τὸν Διόνυσον, ἐξέβαλε." πάλιν δ' εἰπόντος τοῦ Λυσιμάχου, "[βλέπε] ὅπως μὴ παρέσῃ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔτι," "οὐκ ἄν," ἔφη, "ἂν μὴ Πτολεμαῖος ἀποστείλῃ."	While he was living at the court of Ptolemy son of Lagus, he was once sent by him as an envoy to Lysimachus. On that occasion, when he was speaking very freely, Lysimachus said to him, "Tell me, Theodorus, aren't you the one who was thrown out of Athens?" He replied, "You heard right. The city of Athens couldn't bear me, just as Semele couldn't bear Dionysus, and cast me out." When Lysimachus said again, "[See to it] that you don't come to us again," he said, "I won't, unless Ptolemy sends me."[45]
	Μίθρου δὲ τοῦ διοικητοῦ τοῦ Λυσιμάχου παρεστῶτος καὶ εἰπόντος, "ἔοικας σὺ μὴ μόνον θεοὺς ἀγνοεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλέας," "πῶς," εἶπεν, "ἀγνοῶ, ὅπου γε καὶ θεοῖς σε ἐχθρὸν εἶναι νομίζω;" φασὶ δέ ποτε ἐν Κορίνθῳ παρέρχεσθαι αὐτὸν συχνοὺς ἐπαγόμενον μαθητάς, Μητροκλέα δὲ τὸν κυνικὸν σκάνδικας πλύνοντα εἰπεῖν, "σὺ ὁ σοφιστὴς οὐκ ἂν τοσούτων ἔχρῃζες μαθητῶν, εἰ λάχανα ἔπλυνες·" τὸν δ' ὑπολαβόντ' εἰπεῖν, "καὶ σὺ εἴπερ ἀνθρώποις ᾔδεις ὁμιλεῖν, οὐκ ἂν τούτοις τοῖς λαχάνοις ἐχρῶ." [103] τὸ ὅμοιον ἀναφέρεται, καθὰ προείρηται, καὶ εἰς Διογένην καὶ Ἀρίστιππον.	Mithras, Lysimachus' steward, who was standing by, said, "You seem to be ignorant not only of gods but of kings too." "How can I be ignorant of gods," he said, "when I consider you hateful to the gods?" They say that once in Corinth he was walking past with a large crowd of pupils in tow, and Metrocles the Cynic, who was washing chervil, said, "You, sophist, wouldn't need so many pupils if you washed vegetables." Theodorus retorted, "And you, if you knew how to get along with people, wouldn't be eating these vegetables." [103] The same exchange is told, as I said earlier, of Diogenes and Aristippus.
2.103	Τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ Θεόδωρος κἀν τούτοις. τελευταῖον δ' εἰς Κυρήνην ἀπελθὼν καὶ Μάγᾳ συμβιοὺς ἐν πάσῃ τιμῇ διετέλει τυγχάνων. ἔνθεν τὸ πρῶτον ἐκβαλλόμενος λέγεται χάριέν τι εἰπεῖν· ἔφη γάρ, "καλῶς ποιεῖτε, ἄνδρες Κυρηναῖοι, ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα με ἐξορίζοντες."	Such was Theodorus, in these matters too. In the end he went to Cyrene, lived with Magas, and continued to be held in every honor there. When he was first banished from Cyrene, he is said to have made a witty remark: "You do well, men of Cyrene, to banish me from Libya to Greece."[46]
	Θεόδωροι δὲ γεγόνασιν εἴκοσι· πρῶτος Σάμιος, υἱὸς Ῥοίκου. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ συμβουλεύσας ἄνθρακας ὑποτιθέναι τοῖς θεμελίοις τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ νεώ· καθύγρου γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ τόπου τοὺς ἄνθρακας ἔφη τὸ ξυλῶδες ἀποβαλόντας αὐτὸ τὸ στερεὸν ἀπαθὲς ἕξειν ὕδατι. δεύτερος Κυρηναῖος, γεωμέτρης οὗ διήκουσε Πλάτων· τρίτος ὁ προγεγραμμένος φιλόσοφος· τέταρτος οὗ τὸ φωνασκικὸν φέρεται βιβλίον πάγκαλον·	There have been twenty men named Theodorus. The first was from Samos, the son of Rhoecus. He is the one who advised putting charcoal under the foundations of the temple at Ephesus: since the site was very damp, he said, the charcoal, having lost its woody part, would keep its solid part unaffected by water. The second was from Cyrene, a geometer under whom Plato studied. The third is the philosopher described above. The fourth is the

44 The hierophant was the chief priest of the Eleusinian Mysteries, who revealed the sacred things to initiates; the Areopagus was the ancient Athenian council that sat as a court.
45 Semele, pregnant with Dionysus, was consumed by Zeus' lightning before she could carry him to term; the Greek verb for "cast out" also means "miscarry."
46 Magas ruled Cyrene in the early third century BC, first as Ptolemy's governor and later as king.

GREEK

ENGLISH

man to whom a very fine book on voice training is attributed.

2.104 πέμπτος ὁ περὶ τῶν νομοποιῶν πεπραγματευμένος, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Τερπάνδρου· ἕκτος στωικός· ἕβδομος ὁ τὰ περὶ Ῥωμαίων πεπραγματευμένος· ὄγδοος Συρακόσιος, περὶ τακτικῶν γεγραφώς· ἔνατος Βυζάντιος, ἀπὸ λόγων πολιτικῶν· δέκατος ὁμοίως, οὗ Ἀριστοτέλης μνημονεύει διὰ τῆς ἐπιτομῆς τῶν ῥητόρων· ἑνδέκατος Θηβαῖος, ἀνδριαντοποιός· δωδέκατος ζωγράφος, οὗ μέμνηται Πολέμων· τρισκαιδέκατος ζωγράφος, Ἀθηναῖος, ὑπὲρ οὗ γράφει Μηνόδοτος· τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατος Ἐφέσιος, ζωγράφος, οὗ μέμνηται Θεοφάνης ἐν τῷ περὶ γραφικῆς· πεντεκαιδέκατος ποιητὴς ἐπιγραμμάτων· ἑκκαιδέκατος γεγραφὼς περὶ ποιητῶν· ἑπτακαιδέκατος ἰατρός, Ἀθηναίου μαθητής· ὀκτωκαιδέκατος Χῖος, φιλόσοφος στωικός· ἐννεακαιδέκατος Μιλήσιος, καὶ αὐτὸς στωικὸς φιλόσοφος· εἰκοστὸς ποιητὴς τραγῳδίας.

The fifth wrote a treatise on the composers of nomes, beginning with Terpander. The sixth was a Stoic. The seventh wrote a treatise on Roman history. The eighth, from Syracuse, wrote on tactics. The ninth, from Byzantium, was known for his political speeches. The tenth was likewise an orator, and Aristotle mentions him in his *Epitome of the Orators*. The eleventh, from Thebes, was a sculptor. The twelfth was a painter, mentioned by Polemo. The thirteenth was an Athenian painter, about whom Menodotus writes. The fourteenth, from Ephesus, was a painter mentioned by Theophanes in his book on painting. The fifteenth was a writer of epigrams. The sixteenth wrote on poets. The seventeenth was a physician, a pupil of Athenaeus. The eighteenth, from Chios, was a Stoic philosopher. The nineteenth, from Miletus, was also a Stoic philosopher. The twentieth was a tragic poet.[47]

PHAEDO

A prisoner of war forced into a brothel is ransomed at Socrates' urging and founds the Elian school.

GREEK

ENGLISH

2.105 Φαίδων Ἠλεῖος, τῶν εὐπατριδῶν, συνεάλω τῇ πατρίδι καὶ ἠναγκάσθη στῆναι ἐπ' οἰκήματος· ἀλλὰ τὸ θύριον προστιθεὶς μετεῖχε Σωκράτους, ἕως αὐτὸν λυτρώσασθαι τοὺς περὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην ἢ Κρίτωνα προὔτρεψε· καὶ τοὐντεῦθεν ἐλευθερίως ἐφιλοσόφει. Ἱερώνυμος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἐποχῆς καθαπτόμενος δοῦλον αὐτὸν εἴρηκε. διαλόγους δὲ συνέγραψε γνησίους μὲν Ζώπυρον, Σίμωνα, καὶ δισταζόμενον Νικίαν, Μήδιον, ὅν φασί τινες Αἰσχίνου, οἱ δὲ Πολυαίνου· Ἀντίμαχον ἢ Πρεσβύτας· καὶ οὗτος διστάζεται· σκυτικοὺς λόγους· καὶ τούτους τινὲς Αἰσχίνου φασί.

Phaedo of Elis, from one of the noble families, was taken prisoner when his country was captured and was forced to work in a brothel. But he would shut the door and join Socrates' company, until Socrates prompted Alcibiades or Crito and their friends to ransom him; and from then on he practiced philosophy as a free man. Hieronymus, attacking him in his *On Suspension of Judgment*, called him a slave. He wrote dialogues: the genuine ones are *Zopyrus* and *Simon*; *Nicias* is doubted; *Medius* some attribute to Aeschines, others to Polyaenus; *Antimachus*, or *The Elders*, is also doubted; and *Cobblers' Talks*, which some also attribute to Aeschines.[48]

Διάδοχος δ' αὐτοῦ Πλείστανος Ἠλεῖος, καὶ τρίτοι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ περὶ Μενέδημον τὸν Ἐρετριέα καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδην τὸν Φλιάσιον, μετάγοντες ἀπὸ Στίλπωνος. καὶ ἕως μὲν τούτων Ἠλιακοὶ προσηγορεύοντο, ἀπὸ δὲ Μενεδήμου

His successor was Plistanus of Elis, and two generations after him came Menedemus of Eretria and Asclepiades of Phlius and their circle, who had come over from Stilpo. Up to their time the school was called the Elian school; from Menedemus on,

47 Nomes (*nomoi*) were traditional forms of solo song with lyre or pipe; Terpander of Lesbos (seventh century BC) was credited with founding them.

48 Hieronymus of Rhodes was a Peripatetic philosopher and literary historian of the third century BC.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Ἐρετρικοί· περὶ οὗ λέξομεν ὕστερον διὰ τὸ καὶ αὐτὸν κατάρχειν αἱρέσεως.	they were called Eretrians. I will speak of him later, since he too founded a school.

EUCLIDES

Euclides founds the Megarian school; his successors Eubulides, Alexinus and Diodorus Cronus devise famous puzzles.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
2.106	Εὐκλείδης ἀπὸ Μεγάρων τῶν πρὸς Ἰσθμῷ, ἢ Γελῶος κατ' ἐνίους, ὥς φησιν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Διαδοχαῖς. οὗτος καὶ τὰ Παρμενίδεια μετεχειρίζετο, καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Μεγαρικοὶ προσηγορεύοντο, εἶτ' ἐριστικοί, ὕστερον δὲ διαλεκτικοί, οὓς οὕτως ὠνόμασε πρῶτος Διονύσιος ὁ Χαλκηδόνιος, διὰ τὸ πρὸς ἐρώτησιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν τοὺς λόγους διατίθεσθαι. πρὸς τοῦτόν φησιν ὁ Ἑρμόδωρος ἀφικέσθαι Πλάτωνα καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς φιλοσόφους μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Σωκράτους τελευτήν, δείσαντας τὴν ὠμότητα τῶν τυράννων. οὗτος ἓν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀπεφαίνετο πολλοῖς ὀνόμασι καλούμενον· ὁτὲ μὲν γὰρ φρόνησιν, ὁτὲ δὲ θεόν, καὶ ἄλλοτε νοῦν καὶ τὰ λοιπά. τὰ δ' ἀντικείμενα τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἀνῄρει, μὴ εἶναι φάσκων.	Euclides was from Megara on the Isthmus, or from Gela according to some, as Alexander says in his *Successions*. He also took up the doctrines of Parmenides, and his followers were called Megarians, then Eristics, and later Dialecticians. They were first given this last name by Dionysius of Chalcedon, because they set out their arguments in the form of question and answer. Hermodorus says that Plato and the other philosophers went to him after Socrates' death, fearing the cruelty of the tyrants. He declared that the good is one thing, called by many names: sometimes understanding, sometimes god, at other times mind, and so on. Whatever is opposed to the good he did away with, saying that it does not exist.
2.107	Ταῖς τε ἀποδείξεσιν ἐνίστατο οὐ κατὰ λήμματα, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐπιφοράν. καὶ τὸν διὰ παραβολῆς λόγον ἀνῄρει, λέγων ἤτοι ἐξ ὁμοίων αὐτὸν ἢ ἐξ ἀνομοίων συνίστασθαι· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐξ ὁμοίων, περὶ αὐτὰ δεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ οἷς ὅμοιά ἐστιν ἀναστρέφεσθαι, εἰ δ' ἐξ ἀνομοίων, παρέλκειν τὴν παράθεσιν. διὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτά φησι Τίμων, προσπαρατρώγων καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς Σωκρατικούς· ἀλλ' οὔ μοι τούτων φλεδόνων μέλει, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλου οὐδενός, οὐ Φαίδωνος, ὅτις γένετ', οὐδ' ἐριδάντεω Εὐκλείδεω, Μεγαρεῦσιν ὃς ἔμβαλε λύσσαν ἐρισμοῦ.	He attacked demonstrations not at their premises but at their conclusion. He also rejected argument by comparison, saying that it is made up either of similar things or of dissimilar ones: if of similar things, one ought to deal with the things themselves rather than with what they resemble; if of dissimilar ones, the comparison is pointless. That is why Timon says this about him, taking a bite out of the other Socratics as well: But I care nothing for these babblers, nor for anyone else, not Phaedo, whoever he was, nor quarrelsome Euclides, who put into the Megarians a mad passion for wrangling.
2.108	Διαλόγους δὲ συνέγραψεν ἕξ, Λαμπρίαν, Αἰσχίνην, Φοίνικα, Κρίτωνα, Ἀλκιβιάδην, Ἐρωτικόν. τῆς δ' Εὐκλείδου διαδοχῆς ἐστι καὶ Εὐβουλίδης ὁ Μιλήσιος, ὃς καὶ πολλοὺς ἐν διαλεκτικῇ λόγους ἠρώτησε, τόν τε ψευδόμενον καὶ τὸν διαλανθάνοντα καὶ Ἠλέκτραν καὶ ἐγκεκαλυμμένον καὶ σωρίτην καὶ κερατίνην καὶ φαλακρόν. περὶ τούτου φησί τις τῶν κωμικῶν· οὐριστικὸς δ' Εὐβουλίδης κερατίνας ἐρωτῶν καὶ ψευδαλαζόσιν λόγοις τοὺς ῥήτορας κυλίων ἀπῆλθ' ἔχων Δημοσθένους τὴν ῥωποπερπερήθραν. ἐῴκει γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ Δημοσθένης ἀκηκοέναι καὶ ῥωβικώτερος ὢν παύσασθαι. [109] ὁ δ' Εὐβουλίδης καὶ πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλην διεφέρετο, καὶ πολλὰ αὐτὸν διαβέβληκε.	He wrote six dialogues: *Lamprias*, *Aeschines*, *Phoenix*, *Crito*, *Alcibiades* and *On Love*. To Euclides' succession also belongs Eubulides of Miletus, who devised many arguments in dialectic: the Liar, the Unnoticed Man, the Electra, the Veiled Man, the Heap, the Horned Man and the Bald Man. One of the comic poets says of him: The eristic Eubulides, who asked his horned questions and tumbled the orators about with lying, boastful arguments, has gone off with Demosthenes' r-r-rattling bombast. For Demosthenes seems to have studied under him too, and to have stopped mispronouncing his

GREEK

ENGLISH

r's. [109] Eubulides also quarreled with Aristotle and slandered him a great deal.[49]

2.109 Μεταξὺ δὲ ἄλλων ὄντων τῆς Εὐβουλίδου διαδοχῆς Ἀλεξῖνος ἐγένετο Ἠλεῖος, ἀνὴρ φιλονεικότατος· διὸ καὶ Ἐλεγξῖνος ἐπεκλήθη. διεφέρετο δὲ μάλιστα πρὸς Ζήνωνα. φησὶ δ' Ἕρμιππος περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἄρα ἀπελθὼν ἐκ τῆς Ἤλιδος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν αὐτόθι φιλοσοφοίη. τῶν δὲ μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ πυνθανομένων διὰ τί τῇδε κατοικεῖ, φάναι βούλεσθαι αἵρεσιν συστήσασθαι ἣν Ὀλυμπικὴν κληθήσεσθαι. τοὺς δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐφοδίοις θλιβομένους καὶ τὸ χωρίον νοσερὸν καταγνόντας ἀπελθεῖν, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ διατρίβειν ἔρημον τὸν Ἀλεξῖνον σὺν οἰκέτῃ μόνῳ· ἔπειτα μέντοι νηχόμενον ἐν τῷ Ἀλφειῷ νυχθῆναι καλάμῳ καὶ οὕτω τελευτῆσαι.

Among others belonging to Eubulides' succession was Alexinus of Elis, an extremely contentious man; that is why he was nicknamed Elenxinus, "the Refuter." His chief quarrel was with Zeno. Hermippus says of him that he left Elis for Olympia and practiced philosophy there. When his pupils asked him why he was living there, he said he wanted to found a school that would be called the Olympian school. But his pupils, short of provisions and judging the place unhealthy, left, and from then on Alexinus lived there alone with a single servant. Later, however, while swimming in the Alpheus, he was pricked by a reed, and that was how he died.

2.110 Καὶ ἔστιν εἰς αὐτὸν ἡμῶν οὕτως ἔχον· οὐκ ἄρα μῦθος ἦν ἐκεῖνος εἰκαῖος,
ὡς ἀτυχής τις ἐὼν
τὸν πόδα κολυμβῶν περιέπειρέ πως ἥλῳ.
καὶ γὰρ ὁ σεμνὸς ἀνήρ,
πρὶν Ἀλφεόν ποτ' ἐκπερᾶν, Ἀλεξῖνος
θνῆσκε νυγεὶς καλάμῳ. γέγραφε δ' οὐ μόνον πρὸς Ζήνωνα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλα βιβλία καὶ πρὸς Ἔφορον τὸν ἱστοριογράφον.

And there is a poem of mine on him, which goes like this: So that story was not idle after all,
about how some unlucky man
while swimming somehow ran a nail through his foot.
For that solemn man,
Alexinus, before he could cross the Alpheus,
died pricked by a reed. He wrote not only against Zeno but other books too, including one against Ephorus the historian.

Εὐβουλίδου δὲ καὶ Εὔφαντος γέγονε ⟨γνώριμος⟩ ὁ Ὀλύνθιος, ἱστορίας γεγραφὼς τὰς κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ τραγῳδίας πλείους, ἐν αἷς εὐδοκίμει κατὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας. γέγονε δὲ καὶ Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ βασιλέως διδάσκαλος, πρὸς ὃν καὶ λόγον γέγραφε Περὶ βασιλείας σφόδρα εὐδοκιμοῦντα. τὸν βίον δὲ γήρᾳ κατέστρεψεν.

Eubulides' pupils also included Euphantus of Olynthus, who wrote a history of his own times. He also composed a number of tragedies, with which he won acclaim in the competitions. He was also the teacher of King Antigonus, to whom he addressed a treatise *On Kingship*, which was very highly regarded. He died of old age.

2.111 Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι διακηκοότες Εὐβουλίδου, ἐν οἷς καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Κρόνος, οὗ Διόδωρος Ἀμεινίου Ἰασεύς, καὶ αὐτὸς Κρόνος ἐπίκλην, περὶ οὗ φησι Καλλίμαχος ἐν ἐπιγράμμασιν· αὐτὸς ὁ Μῶμος / ἔγραφεν ἐν τοίχοις, "ὁ Κρόνος ἐστὶ σοφός." ἦν δὲ καὶ οὗτος διαλεκτικός, πρῶτος δόξας εὑρηκέναι τὸν ἐγκεκαλυμμένον καὶ κερατίνην λόγον κατά τινας. οὗτος παρὰ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Σωτῆρι διατρίβων λόγους τινὰς διαλεκτικοὺς ἠρωτήθη πρὸς Στίλπωνος· καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος παραχρῆμα διαλύσασθαι, ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τά τε ἄλλα ἐπετιμήθη καὶ δὴ καὶ Κρόνος ἤκουσεν ἐν σκώμματος μέρει.

There were also others who studied under Eubulides, among them Apollonius Cronus, whose pupil was Diodorus son of Ameinias, of Iasus, also nicknamed Cronus. Callimachus says of him in his epigrams: Momus himself / wrote on the walls, "Cronus is wise." He too was a dialectician, and according to some he was the first to devise the Veiled Man and the Horned Man arguments. While he was staying at the court of Ptolemy Soter, Stilpo put some dialectical arguments to him; and since he could not solve them on the spot, the king re-

49 The comic coinage ῥωποπερπερήθρα, "trashy bluster," is packed with r's: Demosthenes was said to have had trouble pronouncing the letter.

GREEK

ENGLISH

buked him in various ways and, in particular, called him "Cronus" as a jibe.[50]

2.112 ἐξελθὼν δὴ τοῦ συμποσίου καὶ λόγον γράψας περὶ τοῦ προβλήματος ἀθυμίᾳ τὸν βίον κατέστρεψε. καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτόν· Κρόνε Διόδωρε, τίς σε δαιμόνων κακῇ ἀθυμίῃ ξυνείρυσεν,
ἵν' αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἐμβάλῃς εἰς Τάρταρον
Στίλπωνος οὐ λύσας ἔπη
αἰνιγματώδη; τοιγὰρ εὑρέθης Κρόνος
ἔξωθε τοῦ ῥῶ κάππα τε.

So he left the banquet, wrote a treatise on the problem, and died of despondency. And there is a poem of mine on him: Diodorus Cronus, which of the gods into wretched
despondency dragged you,
so that you hurled yourself into Tartarus,
unable to solve Stilpo's words
of riddle? So you turned out a Cronus
minus the rho and the kappa.[51]

Τῶν δ' ἀπ' Εὐκλείδου ἐστὶ καὶ Ἰχθύας Μετάλλου, ἀνὴρ γενναῖος, πρὸς ὃν καὶ Διογένης ὁ κυνικὸς διάλογον πεποίηται· Κλεινόμαχός θ' ὁ Θούριος, ὃς πρῶτος περὶ ἀξιωμάτων καὶ κατηγορημάτων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων συνέγραψε· καὶ Στίλπων ὁ Μεγαρεύς, διασημότατος φιλόσοφος, περὶ οὗ λεκτέον.

Among the followers of Euclides there was also Ichthyas son of Metallus, a man of noble character, to whom Diogenes the Cynic addressed a dialogue; Clinomachus of Thurii, who was the first to write about propositions, predicates and the like; and Stilpo of Megara, a most distinguished philosopher, of whom I must now speak.

STILPO

The Megarian dialectician wins pupils from every school, is banished over Athena's statue and dies of wine.

GREEK

ENGLISH

2.113 Στίλπων Μεγαρεὺς τῆς Ἑλλάδος διήκουσε μὲν τῶν ἀπ' Εὐκλείδου τινῶν· οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ Εὐκλείδου ἀκοῦσαί φασιν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Θρασυμάχου τοῦ Κορινθίου, ὃς ἦν Ἰχθύα γνώριμος, καθά φησιν Ἡρακλείδης. τοσοῦτον δ' εὑρεσιλογίᾳ καὶ σοφιστείᾳ προῆγε τοὺς ἄλλους, ὥστε μικροῦ δεῆσαι πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφορῶσαν εἰς αὐτὸν μεγαρίσαι. περὶ τούτου φησὶ Φίλιππος ὁ Μεγαρικὸς κατὰ λέξιν οὕτω· "παρὰ μὲν γὰρ Θεοφράστου Μητρόδωρον τὸν θεωρητικὸν καὶ Τιμαγόραν τὸν Γελῶον ἀπέσπασε, παρ' Ἀριστοτέλους δὲ τοῦ Κυρηναϊκοῦ Κλείταρχον καὶ Σιμμίαν· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν διαλεκτικῶν Παιώνειον μὲν ἀπ' Ἀριστείδου, Δίφιλον δὲ τὸν Βοσποριανὸν Εὐφάντου καὶ Μύρμηκα τὸν Ἐξαινέτου παραγενομένους ὡς ἐλέγξοντας ἀμφοτέρους ζηλωτὰς ἔσχε."

Stilpo, of Megara in Greece, studied under some of Euclides' followers; others say that he studied under Euclides himself, and also under Thrasymachus of Corinth, who was a pupil of Ichthyas, as Heraclides says. He so surpassed the others in ingenuity of argument and sophistry that almost the whole of Greece fixed its eyes on him and went Megarian. Philip the Megarian says of him, word for word: "From Theophrastus he drew away Metrodorus the Theorist and Timagoras of Gela, and from Aristotle the Cyrenaic he drew away Clitarchus and Simmias. Among the dialecticians, he won Paeonius away from Aristides; and Diphilus of the Bosporus, son of Euphantus, and Myrmex son of Exaenetus, who had both come to refute him, he turned into his devoted followers."

2.114 χωρὶς τοίνυν τούτων Φρασίδημον μὲν τὸν περιπατητικὸν καὶ φυσικῶν ἔμπειρον ὄντα προσηγάγετο, καὶ τὸν ῥητορικὸν Ἄλκιμον, ἁπάντων πρωτεύοντα τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ῥητόρων, Κράτητά τε καὶ ἄλλους πλείστους ὅσους ἐθήρασε· καὶ δὴ καὶ Ζήνωνα τὸν Φοίνικα μετὰ τούτων ἀφείλετο.

Besides these, he won over Phrasidemus the Peripatetic, an expert in natural science, and Alcimus the rhetorician, the foremost of all the orators in Greece; Crates, too, and a great many others he caught; and on top of all these he carried off Zeno the Phoenician.

50 Cronus, the old god overthrown by Zeus, was a byword for a doddering fool; Momus was the god of fault-finding.
51 Take the letters rho and kappa out of Κρόνος (Cronus) and what is left is ὄνος, "donkey."

GREEK

Ἦν δὲ καὶ πολιτικώτατος.

Καὶ γυναῖκα ἠγάγετο· καὶ ἑταίρᾳ συνῆν Νικαρέτῃ, ὥς φησί που καὶ Ὀνήτωρ. καὶ θυγατέρα ἀκόλαστον ἐγέννησεν, ἣν ἔγημε γνώριμός τις αὐτοῦ Σιμμίας Συρακόσιος. ταύτης οὐ κατὰ τρόπον βιούσης εἶπέ τις πρὸς τὸν Στίλπωνα, ὡς καταισχύνοι αὐτόν· ὁ δέ, "οὐ μᾶλλον," εἶπεν, "ἢ ἐγὼ ταύτην κοσμῶ."

2.115 Ἀπεδέχετο δ' αὐτόν, φασί, καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Σωτήρ. καὶ ἐγκρατὴς Μεγάρων γενόμενος ἐδίδου τε ἀργύριον αὐτῷ καὶ παρεκάλει εἰς Αἴγυπτον συμπλεῖν· ὁ δὲ μέτριον μέν τι τἀργυριδίου προσήκατο, ἀρνησάμενος δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν μετῆλθεν εἰς Αἴγιναν, ἕως ἐκεῖνος ἀπέπλευσεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Ἀντιγόνου καταλαβὼν τὰ Μέγαρα τήν τε οἰκίαν αὐτῷ φυλαχθῆναι καὶ πάντα τὰ ἁρπασθέντα προὐνόησεν ἀποδοθῆναι. ὅτε καὶ βουλομένῳ παρ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἀναγραφὴν λαβεῖν ἔφη μηδὲν τῶν οἰκείων ἀπολωλεκέναι· παιδείαν γὰρ μηδένα ἐξενηνοχέναι, τόν τε λόγον ἔχειν καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην.

2.116 Καὶ αὐτῷ διαλεχθεὶς περὶ ἀνθρώπων εὐεργεσίας οὕτως εἶλεν ὥστε προσέχειν αὐτῷ. τοῦτόν φασιν περὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς τοῦ Φειδίου τοιοῦτόν τινα λόγον ἐρωτῆσαι· "ἆρά γε ἡ τοῦ Διὸς Ἀθηνᾶ θεός ἐστι;" φήσαντος δέ, "ναί," "αὕτη δέ γε," εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἔστι Διός, ἀλλὰ Φειδίου·" συγχωρουμένου δέ, "οὐκ ἄρα," εἶπε, "θεός ἐστιν." ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον προσκληθέντα μὴ ἀρνήσασθαι, φάσκειν δ' ὀρθῶς διειλέχθαι· μὴ γὰρ εἶναι αὐτὴν θεόν, ἀλλὰ θεάν· θεοὺς δὲ εἶναι τοὺς ἄρρενας. καὶ μέντοι τοὺς Ἀρεοπαγίτας εὐθέως αὐτὸν κελεῦσαι τῆς πόλεως ἐξελθεῖν. ὅτε καὶ Θεόδωρον τὸν ἐπίκλην θεὸν ἐπισκώπτοντα εἰπεῖν, "πόθεν δὲ τοῦτ' ᾔδει Στίλπων; ἢ ἀνασύρας αὐτῆς τὸν κῆπον ἐθεάσατο;" ἦν δ' ἀληθῶς οὗτος μὲν θρασύτατος· Στίλπων δὲ κομψότατος.

2.117 Κράτητος τοίνυν αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσαντος εἰ οἱ θεοὶ χαίρουσι ταῖς προσκυνήσεσι καὶ εὐχαῖς, φασὶν εἰπεῖν, "περὶ τούτων μὴ ἐρώτα, ἀνόητε, ἐν ὁδῷ, ἀλλὰ μόνον." τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Βίωνα ἐρωτηθέντα εἰ θεοί εἰσιν εἰπεῖν· οὐκ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ σκεδάσεις ὄχλον, ταλαπείριε πρέσβυ;

ENGLISH

He was also highly skilled in public affairs.

He married, and he also lived with a courtesan, Nicarete, as Onetor says somewhere. He had a dissolute daughter, who was married to a pupil of his, Simmias of Syracuse. Since she did not live as she should, someone told Stilpo that she was disgracing him. He said, "No more than I am a credit to her."

Ptolemy Soter, too, they say, held him in high regard. When Ptolemy had made himself master of Megara, he offered Stilpo money and invited him to sail with him to Egypt. Stilpo accepted a modest portion of the money but declined the journey, and withdrew to Aegina until Ptolemy had sailed away. Demetrius son of Antigonus, too, when he took Megara, made sure that Stilpo's house was protected and that everything plundered from it was returned. And when Demetrius wanted him to draw up a list of what he had lost, Stilpo said that he had lost nothing of his own: no one had carried off his education, and he still had his reason and his knowledge.

By talking with Demetrius about doing good to people, Stilpo won him over so thoroughly that the king paid close attention to him. They say Stilpo put an argument of roughly this kind about Phidias' Athena: "Is Athena, daughter of Zeus, a god?" When the man said, "Yes," he said, "But this one isn't Zeus's, she's Phidias'." When this was granted, he said, "Then she isn't a god." For this he was summoned before the Areopagus. He did not deny it, but maintained that he had argued correctly: she was not a god but a goddess, since gods are the males. Even so, the Areopagites at once ordered him to leave the city. It was then that Theodorus, nicknamed "God," said mockingly, "How did Stilpo know that? Did he lift her dress and inspect her garden?" Theodorus was truly the most audacious of men, and Stilpo the most refined.[52]

When Crates asked him whether the gods take pleasure in acts of homage and in prayers, they say he answered, "Don't ask about such things in the street, you idiot. Ask when we're alone." Bion, too, they say, gave the same answer when asked

52 Theodorus, the Cyrenaic notorious as "the Atheist," was ironically nicknamed "God."

GREEK	ENGLISH
	whether there are gods: Won't you scatter the crowd away from me, long-suffering old man?[53]
Ἦν δ' ὁ Στίλπων καὶ ἀφελὴς καὶ ἀνεπίπλαστος πρός τε τὸν ἰδιώτην εὔθετος. Κράτητος γοῦν ποτε τοῦ κυνικοῦ πρὸς μὲν τὸ ἐρωτηθὲν οὐκ ἀποκριναμένου, ἀποπαρδόντος δέ, "ᾔδειν," ἔφη, "ὡς πάντα μᾶλλον φθέγξῃ ἢ ἃ δεῖ." 118 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰσχάδα προτείναντος αὐτῷ ποτε καὶ ἐρώτημα, δεξάμενον καταφαγεῖν· τοῦ δέ, "ὦ Ἡράκλεις," εἰπόντος, "ἀπολώλεκα τὴν ἰσχάδα·" "οὐ μόνον," ἔφη, "ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐρώτημα, οὗ ἦν ἀρραβὼν ἡ ἰσχάς." πάλιν δὲ ἰδὼν τὸν Κράτητα χειμῶνος συγκεκαυμένον, "ὦ Κράτης," εἶπε, "δοκεῖς μοι χρείαν ἔχειν ἱματίου καινοῦ."	Stilpo was simple, unaffected and easy to get on with for ordinary people. Once, for instance, when Crates the Cynic did not answer the question he had been asked but farted instead, Stilpo said, "I knew you'd utter anything rather than what you ought to." 118 And once, when Crates held out a dried fig to him along with a question, Stilpo took the fig and ate it. Crates said, "Heracles! I've lost the fig." "Not just that," he said, "but the question too, for which the fig was the down payment." Another time, seeing Crates shriveled with cold in winter, he said, "Crates, you look to me as if you need a new cloak."[54]
2.118 [ὅπερ ἦν νοῦ καὶ ἱματίου.] καὶ τὸν ἀχθεσθέντα παρῳδῆσαι εἰς αὐτὸν οὕτω· καὶ μὴν Στίλπων' εἰσεῖδον χαλέπ' ἄλγε' ἔχοντα ἐν Μεγάροις, ὅθι φασὶ Τυφωέος ἔμμεναι εὐνάς. ἔνθα τ' ἐρίζεσκεν, πολλοὶ δ' ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἑταῖροι· τὴν δ' ἀρετὴν παρὰ γράμμα διώκοντες κατέτριβον.	[That is, sense as well as a cloak.] And Crates, annoyed, wrote this parody against him: And then I saw Stilpo suffering cruel pains in Megara, where they say Typhoeus has his bed. There he would wrangle, and many companions around him; and they wasted their time chasing excellence by quibbling over letters.[55]
2.119 Λέγεται δ' οὕτως Ἀθήνησιν ἐπιστρέψαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὥστ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἐργαστηρίων συνθεῖν ἵνα αὐτὸν θεάσαιντο. καί τινος εἰπόντος, "Στίλπων, θαυμάζουσί σε ὡς θηρίον," "οὐ μὲν οὖν," εἰπεῖν, "ἀλλ' ὡς ἄνθρωπον ἀληθινόν." δεινὸς δ' ἄγαν ὢν ἐν τοῖς ἐριστικοῖς ἀνῄρει καὶ τὰ εἴδη· καὶ ἔλεγε τὸν λέγοντα ἄνθρωπον εἶναι μηδένα· οὔτε γὰρ τόνδε εἶναι οὔτε τόνδε· τί γὰρ μᾶλλον τόνδε ἢ τόνδε;	It is said that at Athens he so turned people's heads that they came running out of their workshops to get a look at him. When someone said, "Stilpo, they gape at you as if you were some wild animal," he replied, "Not at all—as if I were a real human being." Being exceedingly clever at eristic argument, he did away even with the forms. He used to say that whoever says "man" means no one: for he means neither this man nor that one; for why this one rather than that one?
οὐδ' ἄρα τόνδε. καὶ πάλιν· τὸ λάχανον οὐκ ἔστι τὸ δεικνύμενον· λάχανον μὲν γὰρ ἦν πρὸ μυρίων ἐτῶν· οὐκ ἄρα ἐστὶ τοῦτο λάχανον. φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν ὁμιλοῦντα Κράτητι μετάξὺ σπεῦσαι ἰχθῦς πρίασθαι· τοῦ δ' ἐπισπωμένου καὶ φάσκοντος, "καταλείπεις τὸν λόγον;" "οὐκ ἔγωγε," ἔφη, "ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν λόγον ἔχω, σὲ δὲ καταλείπω· ὁ μὲν γὰρ λόγος περιμενεῖ, τὸ δ' ὄψον πεπράσεται."	So he does not mean this one either. And again: the vegetable being pointed at is not vegetable; for vegetable existed ten thousand years ago; so this is not vegetable. They say that once, in the middle of a conversation with Crates, he hurried off to buy fish. Crates tried to drag him back, saying, "You're abandoning the argument?" "Not I," he said. "I'm keeping the argument—it's you I'm abandoning. The argument will wait, but the fish will be sold."
2.120 Φέρονται δ' αὐτοῦ διάλογοι ἐννέα ψυχροί· Μόσχος, Ἀρίστιππος ἢ Καλλίας, Πτολεμαῖος, Χαιρεκράτης, Μητροκλῆς, Ἀναξιμένης, Ἐπιγένης, Πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ	Nine dialogues of his are in circulation, rather lifeless ones: *Moschus*; *Aristippus*, or *Callias*; *Ptolemy*; *Chaerecrates*; *Metrocles*; *Anaximenes*; *Epigenes*; *To His*

53 Bion of Borysthenes, a philosopher of the third century BC famous for his biting wit; he answers in a line of epic-style verse.
54 The joke turns on καινοῦ, "new," which sounds like καὶ νοῦ, "and sense": "you need a cloak and some sense."
55 Crates parodies Homer's picture of Tantalus in the underworld (*Odyssey* 11.582) and the "bed of Typhoeus" (*Iliad* 2.783).

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	θυγατέρα, Ἀριστοτέλης. τούτου φησὶν Ἡρακλείδης καὶ τὸν Ζήνωνα ἀκοῦσαι τὸν τῆς στοᾶς κτίστην. γηραιὸν δὲ τελευτῆσαί φησιν Ἕρμιππος, οἶνον προσενεγκάμενον ὅπως θᾶττον ἀποθάνοι.	*Daughter*; *Aristotle*. Heraclides says that Zeno too, the founder of the Stoa, studied under him. Hermippus says that he died old, after taking wine so as to die more quickly.
	Ἔστι δὲ καὶ εἰς τοῦτον ἡμῶν· τὸν Μεγαρέα Στίλπωνα, γιγνώσκεις δ' ἴσως, γῆρας, ἔπειτα νόσος καθεῖλε, δύσμαχον ζυγόν· ἀλλ' οἶνον εὗρε τῆς κακῆς συνωρίδος φέρτερον ἡνίοχν· ⟨χανδὸν⟩ πιὼν γὰρ ἤλασεν. προσεσκώφθη δὲ ὑπὸ Σωφίλου τοῦ κωμικοῦ ἐν δράματι Γάμῳ·	There is also an epigram of mine on him: Stilpo of Megara—you know him, perhaps— old age and then disease brought down, a team hard to fight; but he found wine a better driver than that wicked pair: he gulped it down and drove off. He was also mocked by Sophilus the comic poet in his play *The Wedding*:
	Στίλπωνός ἐστι βύσμαθ' ὁ Χαρίνου λόγος.	Charinus' argument is nothing but Stilpo's stuffing.

CRITO

Socrates' devoted friend and his seventeen dialogues.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
2.121	Κρίτων Ἀθηναῖος· οὗτος μάλιστα φιλοστοργότατα διετέθη πρὸς Σωκράτην, καὶ οὕτως ἐπεμελεῖτο αὐτοῦ, ὥστε μηδέποτ' ἐλλείπειν τι τῶν πρὸς τὴν χρείαν. καὶ οἱ παῖδες δὲ αὐτοῦ διήκουσαν Σωκράτους, Κριτόβουλος, Ἑρμογένης, Ἐπιγένης, Κτήσιππος. ὁ δ' οὖν Κρίτων διαλόγους γέγραφεν ἐν ἑνὶ φερομένους βιβλίῳ ἑπτακαίδεκα, τοὺς ὑπογεγραμμένους, Ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ μαθεῖν οἱ ἀγαθοί. Περὶ τοῦ πλέον ἔχειν. Τί τὸ ἐπιτήδειον ἢ Πολιτικός. Περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ. Περὶ τοῦ κακουργεῖν. Περὶ εὐθημοσύνης. Περὶ τοῦ νόμου. Περὶ τοῦ θείου. Περὶ τεχνῶν. Περὶ συνουσίας. Περὶ σοφίας. Πρωταγόρας ἢ Πολιτικός. Περὶ γραμμάτων. Περὶ ποιητικῆς, [περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ]. Περὶ τοῦ μαθεῖν. Περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι ἢ Περὶ ἐπιστήμης. Τί τὸ ἐπίστασθαι.	Crito of Athens. He was the most devoted of all to Socrates, and looked after him so well that Socrates never lacked anything he needed. His sons, too, studied under Socrates: Critobulus, Hermogenes, Epigenes, Ctesippus. Crito wrote seventeen dialogues, collected in one book, as listed below: *That Men Are Not Made Good by Learning*. *On Having More*. *What Is Fitting*, or *The Statesman*. *On the Beautiful*. *On Doing Wrong*. *On Good Order*. *On Law*. *On the Divine*. *On the Arts*. *On Companionship*. *On Wisdom*. *Protagoras*, or *The Statesman*. *On Letters*. *On Poetry*, [*On the Beautiful*]. *On Learning*. *On Knowing*, or *On Knowledge*. *What Knowing Is*.

SIMON

The shoemaker who wrote down Socrates' conversations in his workshop.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
2.122	Σίμων Ἀθηναῖος, σκυτοτόμος. οὗτος ἐρχομένου Σωκράτους ἐπὶ τὸ ἐργαστήριον καὶ διαλεγομένου τινά, ὧν ἐμνημόνευεν ὑποσημειώσεις ἐποιεῖτο· ὅθεν σκυτικοὺς αὐτοῦ τοὺς διαλόγους καλοῦσιν. εἰσὶ δὲ τρεῖς καὶ τριάκοντα ἐν ἑνὶ φερόμενοι βιβλίῳ· Περὶ θεῶν. Περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ. Περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ. Τί τὸ καλόν. Περὶ δικαίου πρῶτον, δεύτερον. Περὶ ἀρετῆς ὅτι οὐ διδακτόν. Περὶ ἀνδρείας πρῶτον, δεύτερον, τρίτον. Περὶ νόμου. Περὶ δημαγωγίας. Περὶ τιμῆς. Περὶ ποιήσεως. Περὶ εὐπαθείας.	Simon of Athens, a shoemaker. Whenever Socrates came to his workshop and discussed something, Simon would make notes of whatever he remembered; hence his dialogues are called the "Leather Dialogues." There are thirty-three of them, collected in one book: *On the Gods*. *On the Good*. *On the Beautiful*. *What the Beautiful Is*. *On the Just*, 1, 2. *On Excellence, That It Cannot Be Taught*. *On Courage*, 1, 2, 3. *On Law*. *On Leading the People*. *On*

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Περὶ ἔρωτος. Περὶ φιλοσοφίας Περὶ ἐπιστήμης. Περὶ μουσικῆς. Περὶ ποιήσεως. [123] Τί τὸ καλόν. Περὶ διδασκαλίας. Περὶ τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι. Περὶ κρίσεως. Περὶ τοῦ ὄντος. Περὶ ἀριθμοῦ. Περὶ ἐπιμελείας. Περὶ τοῦ ἐργάζεσθαι. Περὶ φιλοκερδοῦς. Περὶ ἀλαζονείας. Περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ. οἱ δέ, Περὶ τοῦ βουλεύεσθαι. Περὶ λόγου ἢ περὶ ἐπιτηδειότητος. Περὶ κακουργίας.	*Honor*. *On Poetry*. *On Well-Being*. *On Love*. *On Philosophy*. *On Knowledge*. *On Music*. *On Poetry*. [123] *What the Beautiful Is*. *On Teaching*. *On Discussion*. *On Judgment*. *On What Is*. *On Number*. *On Care*. *On Working*. *On Love of Gain*. *On Boastfulness*. *On the Beautiful*. Others add: *On Deliberation*. *On Reason*, or *On Fitness*. *On Wrongdoing*.
2.123	Οὗτος, φασί, πρῶτος διελέχθη τοὺς λόγους τοὺς Σωκρατικούς. ἐπαγγειλαμένου δὲ Περικλέους θρέψειν αὐτὸν καὶ κελεύοντος ἀπιέναι πρὸς αὐτόν, οὐκ ἂν ἔφη τὴν παρρησίαν ἀποδόσθαι.	He was the first, they say, to put Socratic conversations into the form of dialogues. When Pericles promised to support him and urged him to come and live with him, he said he would not sell his freedom of speech.
2.124	Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Σίμων ῥητορικὰς τέχνας γεγραφώς· καὶ ἕτερος ἰατρὸς κατὰ Σέλευκον τὸν Νικάνορα· καί τις ἀνδριαντοποιός.	There was also another Simon, who wrote handbooks of rhetoric; another, a physician in the time of Seleucus Nicanor; and a sculptor.

GLAUCON

Plato's brother and his nine dialogues.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Γλαύκων Ἀθηναῖος· καὶ τούτου φέρονται ἐν ἑνὶ βιβλίῳ διάλογοι ἐννέα· Φειδύλος. Εὐριπίδης. Ἀμύντιχος. Εὐθίας. Λυσιθείδης. Ἀριστοφάνης. Κέφαλος. Ἀναξίφημος. Μενέξενος. φέρονται καὶ ἄλλοι δύο καὶ τριάκοντα, οἳ νοθεύονται.	Glaucon of Athens. Nine dialogues of his too are in circulation, in one book: *Phidylus*. *Euripides*. *Amyntichus*. *Euthias*. *Lysithides*. *Aristophanes*. *Cephalus*. *Anaxiphemus*. *Menexenus*. Thirty-two others are also in circulation, but they are judged spurious.

SIMMIAS

The Theban and his twenty-three dialogues.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Σιμμίας Θηβαῖος· καὶ τούτου φέρονται ἐν ἑνὶ βιβλίῳ διάλογοι τρεῖς καὶ εἴκοσι· Περὶ σοφίας. Περὶ λογισμοῦ. Περὶ μουσικῆς. Περὶ ἐπῶν. Περὶ ἀνδρείας. Περὶ φιλοσοφίας. Περὶ ἀληθείας. Περὶ γραμμάτων. Περὶ διδασκαλίας. Περὶ τέχνης. Περὶ τοῦ ἐπιστατεῖν. Περὶ πρέποντος. Περὶ αἱρετου καὶ φευκτοῦ. Περὶ φίλου. Περὶ τοῦ εἰδέναι. Περὶ ψυχῆς. Περὶ τοῦ εὖ ζῆν. Περὶ δυνατοῦ. Περὶ χρημάτων. Περὶ ζωῆς. Τί τὸ καλόν. Περὶ ἐπιμελείας. Περὶ ἔρωτος.	Simmias of Thebes. Twenty-three dialogues of his too are in circulation, in one book: *On Wisdom*. *On Reasoning*. *On Music*. *On Epic Verse*. *On Courage*. *On Philosophy*. *On Truth*. *On Letters*. *On Teaching*. *On Art*. *On Being in Charge*. *On the Fitting*. *On What Is to Be Chosen and Avoided*. *On the Friend*. *On Knowing*. *On the Soul*. *On Living Well*. *On the Possible*. *On Money*. *On Life*. *What the Beautiful Is*. *On Care*. *On Love*.

CEBES

The Theban and his three dialogues.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
2.125	Κέβης ὁ Θηβαῖος· καὶ τούτου φέρονται διάλογοι τρεῖς· Πίναξ. Ἑβδόμη. Φρύνιχος.	Cebes of Thebes. Three dialogues of his are in circulation: *The Tablet*. *The Seventh*. *Phrynichus*.

MENEDEMUS OF ERETRIA

Phaedo's successor founds the Eretrian school, mocks and argues sharply, and runs his city's affairs.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	[Μενέδημος] Οὗτος τῶν ἀπὸ Φαίδωνος, Κλεισθένους τοῦ τῶν Θεοπροπιδῶν καλουμένων υἱός, ἀνδρὸς εὐγενοῦς μέν, ἀρχιτέκτονος δὲ καὶ πένητος· οἱ δὲ καὶ σκηνογράφον αὐτὸν εἶναί φασι καὶ μαθεῖν ἑκάτερα τὸν Μενέδημον· ὅθεν γράψαντος αὐτοῦ ψήφισμά τι καθήψατό τις Ἀλεξίνειος, εἰπὼν ὡς οὔτε σκηνὴν οὔτε ψήφισμα προσήκει τῷ σοφῷ γράφειν. πεμφθεὶς δὲ φρουρὸς ὁ Μενέδημος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐρετριέων εἰς Μέγαρα ἀνῆλθεν εἰς Ἀκαδημείαν πρὸς Πλάτωνα, καὶ θηραθεὶς κατέλιπε τὴν στρατείαν.	[Menedemus] Menedemus, one of the followers of Phaedo, was the son of Cleisthenes, of the family called the Theopropidae, a man of good birth but a builder and poor. Some say he was also a scene-painter, and that Menedemus learned both trades. So when Menedemus proposed a decree, a follower of Alexinus attacked him, saying that it doesn't become a wise man to draw up either a stage set or a decree. Menedemus was sent to Megara by the Eretrians as part of a garrison, but went up to the Academy to Plato, was captivated, and abandoned his military service.[56]
2.126	Ἀσκληπιάδου δὲ τοῦ Φλιασίου περισπάσαντος αὐτὸν ἐγένετο ἐν Μεγάροις παρὰ Στίλπωνι, οὗπερ ἀμφότεροι διήκουσαν· κἀντεῦθεν πλεύσαντες εἰς Ἦλιν Ἀγχιπύλῳ καὶ Μόσχῳ τοῖς ἀπὸ Φαίδωνος παρέβαλον. καὶ μέχρι μὲν τούτων, ὡς προείρηται ἐν τῷ περὶ Φαίδωνος, Ἠλιακοὶ προσηγορεύοντο· Ἐρετρικοὶ δ' ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίδος τοῦ περὶ οὗ ὁ λόγος.	Asclepiades of Phlius drew him away, and he spent time at Megara with Stilpo, under whom they both studied. From there they sailed to Elis and joined Anchipylus and Moschus, of Phaedo's school. Up to their time, as I said earlier in the life of Phaedo, these philosophers were called Elians; afterwards they were called Eretrians, after the native city of the man we are discussing.
	Φαίνεται δὴ ὁ Μενέδημος σεμνὸς ἱκανῶς γενέσθαι· ὅθεν αὐτὸν Κράτης παρῳδῶν φησι· Φλιάσιόν τ' Ἀσκληπιάδην καὶ ταῦρον Ἐρέτρην. ὁ δὲ Τίμων οὕτως· ὄγκον ἀναστήσας ὠφρυωμένος ἀφροσιβόμβαξ.	Menedemus seems to have been rather solemn. Hence Crates, in a parody, calls him: Asclepiades of Phlius and the Eretrian bull. And Timon puts it this way: Puffing up his pomp, eyebrows raised, a booming fool.
2.127	οὕτω δ' ἦν σεμνὸς ὡς Εὐρύλοχον τὸν Κασανδρέα μετὰ Κλεϊππίδου Κυζικηνοῦ μειρακίου κληθέντα ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου ἀντειπεῖν· φοβεῖσθαι γὰρ μὴ Μενέδημος αἴσθοιτο. ἦν γὰρ καὶ ἐπικόπτης καὶ παρρησιαστής. μειρακίου γοῦν καταθρασυνομένου εἶπε μὲν οὐδέν· λαβὼν δὲ κάρφος διέγραφεν εἰς τοὔδαφος περαινομένου σχῆμα· ἕως ὁρώντων πάντων συνὲν τὸ μειράκιον τὴν ὕβριν ἀπηλλάγη. Ἱεροκλέους δὲ τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς συνανακάμπτοντος αὐτῷ ἐν Ἀμφιαράου καὶ πολλὰ λέγοντος περὶ τῆς ἁλώσεως τῆς Ἐρετρίας, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν εἶπεν, ἠρώτησε δὲ εἰς τί αὐτὸν Ἀντίγονος περαίνει.	He was so solemn that when Eurylochus of Cassandreia was invited by Antigonus together with Cleippides, a young man from Cyzicus, he declined: he was afraid that Menedemus would hear of it. For Menedemus was cutting and outspoken. Once, for instance, when a young man was being impudent, he said nothing, but took a twig and traced on the ground the figure of a man being penetrated, until, with everyone watching, the young man understood the insult and took himself off. When Hierocles, the commander of the Piraeus, was walking up and down with him in the sanctuary of Amphiaraus and talking at length about the capture of Eretria, Menedemus said nothing else, but asked him to what end Antigonus was penetrating him.[57]

56 The gibe turns on γράφειν, which means both "paint" and "propose" a decree.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
2.128	Πρὸς δὲ τὸν θρασυνόμενον μοιχόν, “ἀγνοεῖς,” ἔφη, “ὅτι οὐ μόνον κράμβη χυλὸν ἔχει χρηστόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥαφανίς;” πρὸς δὲ τὸν νεώτερον κεκραγότα, “σκέψαι,” ἔφη, “μή τι ὄπισθεν ἔχων λέληθας.” Ἀντιγόνου δὲ συμβουλευομένου εἰ ἐπὶ κῶμον ἀφίκοιτο, σιωπήσας τἄλλα μόνον ἐκέλευσεν ἀπαγγεῖλαι ὅτι βασιλέως υἱός ἐστι. πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀναίσθητον ἀναφέροντά τι αὐτῷ εἰκαίως, ἠρώτησεν εἰ ἀγρὸν ἔχοι· φήσαντος δὲ καὶ πάμπλειστα κτήματα, “πορεύου τοίνυν,” ἔφη, “κἀκείνων ἐπιμελοῦ, μὴ συμβῇ σοι καὶ ταῦτα καταφθεῖραι καὶ κομψὸν ἰδιώτην ἀποβαλεῖν.” πρὸς δὲ τὸν πυθόμενον εἰ γήμαι ὁ σπουδαῖος, ἔφη, “πότερον ἐγώ σοι σπουδαῖος δοκῶ ἢ οὔ;” φήσαντος δ’ εἶναι, “ἐγὼ τοίνυν,” εἶπε, “γεγάμηκα.”	To an adulterer who was boasting, he said, “Don’t you know that it’s not only cabbage that has good juice, but radish too?” To a young man who was bawling, he said, “Check you haven’t got something behind you without noticing.” When Antigonus consulted him about whether he should go to a revel, he said nothing on anything else and only told the messenger to report that Antigonus was a king’s son. A dull fellow kept bringing up things with him at random; Menedemus asked him whether he had a farm. When the man said he did, and a great many possessions besides, he said, “Then go and look after them, in case you end up ruining them as well and losing a polished layman.” To someone who asked whether the good man would marry, he said, “Do I seem to you to be a good man, or not?” When the man said he did, “Well then,” he said, “I am married.”[58]
2.129	πρὸς δὲ τὸν εἰπόντα πολλὰ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐπύθετο πόσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ εἰ νομίζοι πλείω τῶν ἑκατόν. μὴ δυνάμενος δὲ τῶν καλούντων ἐπὶ δεῖπνόν τινος περιελεῖν τὴν πολυτέλειαν, κληθείς ποτε οὐδὲν μὲν εἶπε· σιωπῶν δ’ αὐτὸν ἐνουθέτησε μόνας ἐλαίας προσενεγκάμενος. διὰ δὴ οὖν τὸ παρρησιαστικὸν τοῦτο μικροῦ καὶ ἐκινδύνευσεν ἐν Κύπρῳ παρὰ Νικοκρέοντι σὺν Ἀσκληπιάδῃ τῷ φίλῳ. τοῦ γάρ τοι βασιλέως ἐπιμήνιον ἑορτὴν τελοῦντος καὶ καλέσαντος καὶ τούτους ὥσπερ τοὺς ἄλλους φιλοσόφους, τὸν Μενέδημον εἰπεῖν ὡς εἰ καλὸν ἦν ἡ τῶν τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν συναγωγή, καθ’ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἔδει γίνεσθαι τὴν ἑορτήν· εἰ δ’ οὔ, περιττῶς καὶ νῦν.	To someone who said that goods are many, he asked how many in number, and whether he thought there were more than a hundred. Unable to curb the extravagance of one of his hosts, he said nothing when he was invited on one occasion, but rebuked the man silently by eating only olives. It was this outspokenness that very nearly got him into danger in Cyprus, at the court of Nicocreon, together with his friend Asclepiades. The king was celebrating a monthly festival and had invited them along with the other philosophers, and Menedemus said that if a gathering of such men was a fine thing, the festival ought to be held every day; and if not, it was superfluous even now.[59]
2.130	πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο ἀπαντήσαντος τοῦ τυράννου καὶ εἰπόντος ὡς ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἔχοι σχολάζουσαν πρὸς τὸ διακούειν φιλοσόφων, ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον αὐστηρότερον ἐνέκειτο, δεικνὺς ἐπὶ τῆς θυσίας ὡς χρὴ πάντα καιρὸν φιλοσόφων ἀκούειν· ὥστ’ εἰ μή τις αὐλητὴς αὐτοὺς διεπέμψατο, κἂν ἀπώλοντο. ὅθεν χειμαζομένων ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ τὸν Ἀσκληπιάδην φασὶν εἰπεῖν ὡς ἡ μὲν τοῦ αὐλητοῦ εὐμουσία σέσωκεν αὐτούς, ἡ δὲ τοῦ Μενεδήμου παρρησία ἀπολώλεκεν.	When the tyrant countered this by saying that he kept this day free for listening to philosophers, Menedemus pressed him even more severely, insisting, there at the sacrifice, that one ought to listen to philosophers at every moment; so that if a piper had not helped them get away, they would have been killed. Hence, they say, when they were caught in a storm on board ship, Asclepiades remarked that the piper’s fine playing had saved them, but Menedemus’ outspokenness had ruined them.

57 The sanctuary of the hero Amphiaraus was at Oropus, on the border of Attica and Boeotia; Antigonus is Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedon, whose forces had taken Eretria.
58 Adulterers caught in the act could be punished by having a radish forced into the anus.
59 Nicocreon was king of Salamis in Cyprus in the late fourth century BC.

GREEK

Ἦν δέ, φασί, καὶ ἐκκλίτης καὶ τὰ τῆς σχολῆς ἀδιάφορος, οὔτε τάξιν γοῦν τινὰ ἦν παρ' αὐτῷ βλέπειν οὔτε βάθρα κύκλῳ διέκειτο, ἀλλ' οὗ ἂν ἕκαστος ἔτυχε περιπατῶν ἢ καθήμενος ἤκουε, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον διακειμένου. [131] ἀγωνιάτης μέντοι, φασίν, ἦν ἄλλως καὶ φιλόδοξος ὥστε τὸ πρότερον τέκτονι συνοικοδομοῦντες αὐτός τε καὶ ὁ Ἀσκληπιάδης, ὁ μὲν Ἀσκληπιάδης ἐφαίνετο γυμνὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ τέγους τὸν πηλὸν παραφέρων, ὁ δὲ εἴ τιν' ἴδοι ἐρχόμενον, παρεκρύπτετο.

2.131 ἐπεὶ δ' ἥψατο τῆς πολιτείας, οὕτως ἦν ἀγωνιάτης ὥστε καὶ τὸν λιβανωτὸν τιθεὶς διήμαρτε τοῦ θυμιατηρίου. καί ποτε Κράτητος περιισταμένου αὐτὸν καὶ καθαπτομένου εἰς τὸ ὅτι πολιτεύεται, ἐκέλευσέ τισιν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον αὐτὸν ἐμβαλεῖν· τὸν δὲ μηδὲν ἧττον τηρεῖν παριόντα καὶ ὑπερκύπτοντα Ἀγαμεμνόνειόν τε καὶ Ἡγησίπολιν ἀποκαλεῖν.

2.132 Ἦν δέ πως ἠρέμα καὶ δεισιδαιμονέστερος σὺν γοῦν Ἀσκληπιάδῃ κατ' ἄγνοιαν ἐν πανδοκείῳ ποτὲ κρεάτων ῥιπτουμένων φαγών, ἐπειδὴ μάθοι, ἐναυτία τε καὶ ὠχρία· ἕως Ἀσκληπιάδης ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῷ ὡς οὐδὲν [εἰπὼν] ἠνώχλησεν αὐτὸν τὰ κρέα, ἀλλ' ἡ περὶ τούτων ὑπόνοια. τὰ δ' ἄλλα μεγαλόψυχος ἀνὴρ ἦν καὶ ἐλευθέριος. κατά τε τὴν ἕξιν τὴν σωματικὴν ἤδη καὶ πρεσβύτης ὑπάρχων οὐδὲν ἧττον ἀθλητοῦ στερεός τε καὶ ἐπικεκαυμένος τὸ εἶδος, πίων τε καὶ τετριμμένος τὸ δὲ μέγεθος σύμμετρος, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ εἰκονίου τοῦ ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ ἐν τῷ ἀρχαίῳ σταδίῳ. ἔστι γάρ, ὡς ἐπίτηδες, παράγυμνον, τὰ πλεῖστα μέρη φαῖνον τοῦ σώματος.

2.133 Ἦν δὲ καὶ φιλυπόδοχος καὶ διὰ τὸ νοσῶδες τῆς Ἐρετρίας πλείω συνάγων συμπόσια· ἐν οἷς καὶ ποιητῶν καὶ μουσικῶν. ἠσπάζετο δὲ καὶ Ἄρατον καὶ Λυκόφρονα τὸν τῆς τραγῳδίας ποιητὴν καὶ τὸν Ῥόδιον Ἀνταγόραν· μάλιστα δὲ πάντων Ὁμήρῳ προσεῖχεν· εἶτα καὶ τοῖς μελικοῖς· ἔπειτα Σοφοκλεῖ, καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἀχαιῷ, ᾧπερ καὶ τὸ δευτερεῖον ἐν τοῖς Σατύροις, Αἰσχύλῳ δὲ τὸ πρωτεῖον ἀπεδίδου. ὅθεν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιπολιτευομένους ταῦτα, φασί, προεφέρετο· ἡλίσκετ' ἄρα καὶ πρὸς ἀσθενῶν ταχύς, / καὶ πρὸς χελώνης ἀετὸς βραχεῖ χρόνῳ.

ENGLISH

He was, they say, careless of convention and indifferent to the arrangements of his school. No order could be seen there, and no benches were set out in a circle; each listened wherever he happened to be, walking about or sitting, and Menedemus himself behaved the same way. [131] Otherwise, though, they say, he was nervous and anxious for reputation. Earlier on, for instance, when he and Asclepiades were working as builders' laborers for a carpenter, Asclepiades would show himself naked on the roof carrying up the clay, while Menedemus, if he saw anyone coming, would hide.

When he took part in public life, he was so nervous that in putting incense on the fire he missed the censer. Once, when Crates was hovering around him and attacking him for engaging in politics, he ordered some men to throw Crates into prison. But Crates nonetheless kept watch for him as he passed, and, peering out over the top, called him "Agamemnon" and "Hegesipolis."[60]

He was also somewhat inclined to superstition. Once, for instance, at an inn with Asclepiades, he unknowingly ate some meat that had been thrown out; when he found out, he felt sick and turned pale, until Asclepiades reproached him, [saying] that it was not the meat that had upset him but his suspicion about it. In other respects he was a high-minded and generous man. In bodily condition, even when already an old man, he was as solid as an athlete and sunburnt in appearance, well-fleshed and sleek, and of moderate height, as is clear from the little statue at Eretria in the old stadium. For it is, as if on purpose, half-naked, showing most parts of his body.

He was also hospitable, and because Eretria was an unhealthy place he gave a good many drinking parties, among them parties for poets and musicians. He was fond of Aratus, of Lycophron the tragic poet, and of Antagoras of Rhodes. Above all he devoted himself to Homer, next to the lyric poets, then to Sophocles, and also to Achaeus, to whom he gave second place in satyr plays, awarding first to Aeschylus. Hence, they say, he used to quote these lines against his political opponents: So even

60 Mock-heroic titles: Agamemnon led the Greeks at Troy, and Hegesipolis means "leader of the city."

GREEK

ENGLISH

the swift is caught by the weak, / and the eagle by the tortoise, in a short time.[61]

2.134 ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν Ἀχαιοῦ ἐκ τῆς σατυρικῆς Ὀμφάλης· ὥστε πταίουσιν οἱ λέγοντες μηδὲν αὐτὸν ἀνεγνωκέναι πλὴν τῆς Μηδείας τῆς Εὐριπίδου, ἣν ἔνιοι Νεόφρονος εἶναι τοῦ Σικυωνίου φασί.

These lines come from Achaeus' satyr play *Omphale*. So those who say that he had read nothing but Euripides' *Medea*—which some say is by Neophron of Sicyon—are mistaken.

Τῶν δὲ διδασκάλων τοὺς περὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ Ξενοκράτην, ἔτι τε Παραιβάτην τὸν Κυρηναῖον κατεφρόνει, Στίλπωνα δ' ἐτεθαυμάκει· καί ποτε ἐρωτηθεὶς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν εἶπε πλὴν ὅτι ἐλευθέριος. ἦν δὲ καὶ δυσκατανόητος ὁ Μενέδημος καὶ ἐν τῷ συνθέσθαι δυσανταγώνιστος· ἐστρέφετό τε πρὸς πάντα καὶ εὑρεσιλόγει· ἐριστικώτατός τε, καθά φησιν Ἀντισθένης ἐν Διαδοχαῖς, ἦν. καὶ δὴ καὶ τόδε ἐρωτᾶν εἰώθει· "τὸ ἕτερον τοῦ ἑτέρου ἕτερόν ἐστι;" "ναί." "ἕτερον δέ ἐστι τὸ ὠφελεῖν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ;" "ναί." "οὐκ ἄρα τὸ ὠφελεῖν ἀγαθόν ἐστιν."

Of his teachers he despised Plato and Xenocrates, and also Paraebates of Cyrene, but he had admired Stilpo; once, when asked about him, he said nothing except that he was generous. Menedemus was hard to read and a hard man to beat in argument. He twisted every way and was inventive with words; he was extremely eristic, as Antisthenes says in his *Successions*. He used, for instance, to ask this question: "Is one thing different from another?" "Yes." "And is benefiting different from the good?" "Yes." "Then benefiting is not good."

2.135 Ἀνῄρει δέ, φασί, καὶ τὰ ἀποφατικὰ τῶν ἀξιωμάτων, καταφατικὰ τιθείς· καὶ τούτων τὰ ἁπλᾶ προσδεχόμενος τὰ οὐχ ἁπλᾶ ἀνῄρει, λέγω δὲ συνημμένα καὶ συμπεπλεγμένα. φησὶ δ' Ἡρακλείδης ἐν μὲν τοῖς δόγμασι Πλατωνικὸν εἶναι αὐτόν, διαπαίζειν δὲ τὰ διαλεκτικά· ὥστε Ἀλεξίνου ποτὲ ἐρωτήσαντος εἰ πέπαυται τὸν πατέρα τύπτων, "ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἔτυπτον," φάναι, "οὔτε πέπαυμαι." πάλιν τ' ἐκείνου λέγοντος ὡς ἐχρῆν εἰπόντα ναί ἢ οὔ λῦσαι τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν, "γελοῖον," εἶπε, "τοῖς ὑμετέροις νόμοις ἀκολουθεῖν, ἐξὸν ἐν πύλαις ἀντιβῆναι." Βίωνός τε ἐπιμελῶς κατατρέχοντος τῶν μάντεων, νεκροὺς αὐτὸν ἐπισφάττειν ἔλεγε.

They say he did away with negative propositions, accepting affirmative ones; and of these he admitted the simple ones and did away with the non-simple—I mean conditional and conjunctive ones. Heraclides says that in his doctrines he was a Platonist but made fun of dialectic. So when Alexinus once asked him whether he had stopped beating his father, he said, "I wasn't beating him, and I haven't stopped." And when Alexinus went on to say that he should have cleared up the ambiguity by saying yes or no, he said, "It would be ridiculous to follow your rules when I can stop you at the gates." When Bion kept diligently running down the seers, Menedemus said he was butchering corpses.

2.136 Καί ποτέ τινος ἀκούσας ὡς μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν εἴη τὸ πάντων ἐπιτυγχάνειν ὧν τις ἐπιθυμεῖ, εἶπε, "πολὺ δὲ μεῖζον τὸ ἐπιθυμεῖν ὧν δεῖ." φησὶ δ' Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος γράψαι αὐτὸν μηδὲν μηδὲ συντάξαι, ὥστε μηδ' ἐπὶ δόγματός τινος στηρίζειν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ζητήσεσι, φησίν, ὧδε μάχιμος ἦν ὥστ' ὑπώπια φέρων ὑπῄει. ὅμως δ' οὖν τοιοῦτος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ὑπάρχων ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις πρᾳότατος ἦν. Ἀλεξῖνον γοῦν πολλὰ καταπαίζων καὶ σκληρῶς ἐπισκώπτων, ὅμως αὐτὸν εὖ ἐποίησε τὴν γυναῖκα παραπέμψας ἐκ Δελφῶν ἕως Χαλκίδος, εὐλαβουμένην τὰς κλωπείας τε καὶ τὰς καθ' ὁδὸν λῃστείας.

Once, hearing someone say that the greatest good was to get everything one desires, he said, "A much greater one is to desire what one ought." Antigonus of Carystus says that he wrote nothing and composed nothing, so that he did not commit himself to any doctrine. In debates, Antigonus says, he was so combative that he went away with black eyes. Yet for all that he was like this in argument, in his actions he was most gentle. Alexinus, for instance, though Menedemus mocked him a great deal and jeered at him harshly, he nevertheless did a kindness: he escorted his wife from Delphi

61 Achaeus, a fifth-century BC tragedian, was, like Menedemus, a native of Eretria.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		as far as Chalcis, since she was afraid of thieves and highway robbers along the road.[62]

FRIENDSHIP, POLITICS AND DEATH

His bond with Asclepiades, his frugal dinners, his embassies and his death in despondency.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
2.137	Φίλος τε ἦν μάλιστα, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ἀσκληπιάδην συμπνοίας, οὐδέν τι διαφερούσης τῆς Πυλάδου φιλοστοργίας. ἀλλὰ πρεσβύτερος Ἀσκληπιάδης, ὡς λέγεσθαι ποιητὴν μὲν αὐτὸν εἶναι, ὑποκριτὴν δὲ Μενέδημον. καί ποτέ φασιν Ἀρχιπόλιδος τρισχιλίας αὐτοῖς διαγράψαντος στηριζομένους περὶ τοῦ τίς δεύτερος ἀρεῖ, μηδέτερον λαβεῖν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἀγαγέσθαι αὐτούς· ὧν τὴν μὲν θυγατέρα Ἀσκληπιάδην, τὴν δὲ μητέρα Μενέδημον. κἀπειδὴ τελευτῆσαι τῷ Ἀσκληπιάδῃ τὸ γύναιον, λαβεῖν τὸ τοῦ Μενεδήμου· ἐκεῖνόν τε, ἐπειδὴ προΰστη τῆς πολιτείας, πλουσίαν γῆμαι· οὐδὲν μέντοι ἧττον μιᾶς οὔσης οἰκίας ἐπιτρέψαι τὸν Μενέδημον τὴν διοίκησιν τῇ προτέρᾳ γυναικί.	He was a devoted friend, as is clear from his close bond with Asclepiades, which was in no way inferior to the devotion of Pylades. But Asclepiades was the elder, so that people said he was the playwright and Menedemus the actor. They say that once, when Archipolis made out a draft for three thousand to them, they stood firm over which of them should be second to take it, and neither took it. It is said that they also married: Asclepiades the daughter, Menedemus the mother. When Asclepiades' wife died, he took Menedemus' wife; and Menedemus, when he became the leading man in the state, married a rich woman. Nonetheless, since they shared one household, Menedemus entrusted its management to his former wife.[63]
2.138	ὁ μέντοι Ἀσκληπιάδης προκατέστρεψεν ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ γηραιὸς ἤδη, συζήσας τῷ Μενεδήμῳ σφόδρα εὐτελῶς ἀπὸ μεγάλων· ὅτε καὶ μετὰ χρόνον ἐλθόντος ἐπὶ κῶμον ἐρωμένου τοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου καὶ τῶν νεανίσκων ἀποκλειόντων αὐτόν, ὁ Μενέδημος ἐκέλευσεν εἰσδέξασθαι, εἰπὼν ὅτι Ἀσκληπιάδης αὐτῷ καὶ κατὰ γῆς ὢν τὰς θύρας ἀνοίγει. ἦσαν δ' οἱ σωματοποιήσαντες αὐτοὺς Ἱππόνικός τε ὁ Μακεδὼν καὶ Ἀγήτωρ ὁ Λαμιεύς· ὁ μὲν ἑκατέρῳ δοὺς τριάκοντα μνᾶς, ὁ δ' Ἱππόνικος Μενεδήμῳ εἰς ἔκδοσιν τῶν θυγατέρων δισχιλίας δραχμάς. ἦσαν δὲ τρεῖς, καθά φησιν Ἡρακλείδης, ἐξ Ὠρωπίας αὐτῷ γυναικὸς γεγεννημέναι.	Asclepiades, however, died first, in Eretria, already an old man, having lived with Menedemus very frugally on ample means. Some time later, when a beloved of Asclepiades came to a revel and the young men were shutting him out, Menedemus told them to let him in, saying that Asclepiades opened the doors for him even from beneath the earth. The men who set them on their feet financially were Hipponicus the Macedonian and Agetor of Lamia: Agetor gave each of them thirty minas, and Hipponicus gave Menedemus two thousand drachmas for his daughters' dowries. There were three daughters, as Heraclides says, born to him by a wife from Oropus.
2.139	Τὰ δὲ συμπόσια τοῦτον ἐποιεῖτο τὸν τρόπον· προηρίστα μετὰ δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν ἕως βραδέως ἦν τῆς ἡμέρας· ἔπειτά τις ἐκάλει τοὺς παραγενομένους καὶ αὐτοὺς ἤδη δεδειπνηκότας· ὥστ' εἴ τις ἔλθοι θᾶττον, ἀνακάμπτων ἐπυνθάνετο τῶν ἐξιόντων τί εἴη παρακείμενον καὶ πῶς ἔχοι τὸ τοῦ χρόνου· εἰ μὲν οὖν λαχάνιον ἢ ταρίχιον, ἀνεχώρουν· εἰ δὲ κρεάδιον, εἰσῄεσαν. ἦν δὲ τοῦ μὲν θέρους ψίαθος ἐπὶ τῶν κλινῶν, τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος κώδιον· προσκεφάλαιον αὐτῷ φέρειν ἔδει. τό τε περιαγόμενον ποτήριον οὐ μεῖζον ἦν κοτυλιαίου· τράγημα θέρμος ἢ	His dinner parties went like this. He would take an early meal with two or three companions until late in the day; then someone would call in those who had arrived, and they too had already dined. So if anyone came too early, he would turn back and ask those coming out what was on the table and how far along the time was; if it was greens or salt fish, they went away; if it was a bit of meat, they went in. In summer there was a rush mat on the

62 Antigonus of Carystus, a third-century BC writer whose lives of philosophers drew on personal acquaintance.
63 Pylades was the proverbially loyal friend of Orestes.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	κύαμος, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ τῶν ὡρίων ἄπιος ἢ ῥοιὰ ἢ ὦχροι ἢ νὴ Δί' ἰσχάδες.	couches, in winter a fleece; each had to bring his own pillow. The cup passed round held no more than a cotyle; dessert was lupines or beans, and sometimes fruit in season, a pear or a pomegranate or vetch, or even, by Zeus, dried figs.[64]
2.140	ἃ πάντα φησὶν ὁ Λυκόφρων ἐν τοῖς πεποιημένοις σατύροις αὐτῷ, οὓς Μενέδημος ἐπέγραψεν, ἐγκώμιον τοῦ φιλοσόφου ποιήσας τὸ δρᾶμα· ὧν καί τινά ἐστι τοιαυτί· ὡς ἐκ βραχείας δαιτὸς ἡ βαιὰ κύλιξ αὐτοῖς κυκλεῖται πρὸς μέτρον, τράγημα δὲ ὁ σωφρονιστὴς τοῖς φιληκόοις λόγος.	All this is described by Lycophron in the satyr play he wrote for him, which he titled *Menedemus*, making the drama an encomium of the philosopher. Some lines of it go like this: As after a scanty meal the little cup goes round among them in moderation, and for dessert there is sobering talk for those who love to listen.
	Τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα κατεφρονεῖτο, κύων καὶ λῆρος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐρετριέων ἀκούων· ὕστερον δ' ἐθαυμάσθη, ὥστε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐγχειρίσασθαι. ἐπρέσβευσε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Λυσίμαχον, τιμώμενος πανταχοῦ· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς Δημήτριον. καὶ τῆς πόλεως διακόσια τάλαντα τελούσης πρὸς ἔτος αὐτῷ, τὰ πεντήκοντα ἀφεῖλε· πρὸς ὃν διαβληθεὶς ὡς τὴν πόλιν ἐγχειρίζων Πτολεμαίῳ, ἀπολογεῖται δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἧς ἡ ἀρχή· [141] "Μενέδημος βασιλεῖ Δημητρίῳ χαίρειν. ἀκούω πρὸς σὲ ἀνατεθῆναι περὶ ἡμῶν."	At first he was despised, and the Eretrians called him "dog" and "babbler"; but later he was so much admired that they entrusted the city to him. He went on embassies to Ptolemy and Lysimachus, and was honored everywhere; and to Demetrius as well. When the city was paying Demetrius two hundred talents a year, he got fifty of them remitted. Accused before Demetrius of planning to hand the city over to Ptolemy, he defends himself in a letter which begins: [141] "Menedemus to King Demetrius, greetings. I hear that a report has been made to you about us."
2.141	λόγος δὲ διαβεβληκέναι αὐτὸν τῶν ἀντιπολιτευομένων τινὰ Αἰσχύλον. δοκεῖ δ' ἐμβριθέστατα πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς Δημήτριον ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ὠρωποῦ, ὡς καὶ Εὔφαντος ἐν Ἱστορίαις μνημονεύει. ἠγάπα δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Ἀντίγονος καὶ μαθητὴν ἀνεκήρυττεν αὑτόν. καὶ ἡνίκα ἐνίκα τοὺς βαρβάρους περὶ Λυσιμαχίαν, γράφει ψήφισμα αὐτῷ Μενέδημος ἁπλοῦν τε καὶ ἀκόλακον, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· [142] "οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ πρόβουλοι εἶπον. ἐπειδὴ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος μάχῃ νικήσας τοὺς βαρβάρους παραγίνεται εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα πράσσει κατὰ γνώμην· ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ."	The story is that the man who had slandered him was one of his political opponents, Aeschylus. He seems to have conducted a most impressive embassy to Demetrius on behalf of Oropus, as Euphantus also records in his *Histories*. Antigonus too was fond of him and proclaimed himself his pupil. And when Antigonus defeated the non-Greeks near Lysimachia, Menedemus drafted a decree in his honor, plain and free of flattery, which begins: [142] "Proposal of the generals and the councillors. Whereas King Antigonus, having defeated the non-Greeks in battle, is returning to his own country, and in all other respects is acting according to his purpose, it has been resolved by the council and the people."[65]
2.142	Διὰ ταῦτα δὴ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην φιλίαν ὑποπτευθεὶς προδιδόναι τὴν πόλιν αὐτῷ, διαβάλλοντος Ἀριστοδήμου ὑπεξῆλθε· καὶ διέτριβεν ἐν Ὠρωπῷ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀμφιάρεω ἱερῷ· ἔνθα χρυσῶν ποτηρίων ἀπολομένων, καθά φησιν	Because of this, and because of their friendship generally, he was suspected of betraying the city to Antigonus; and when Aristodemus accused him, he withdrew. He stayed at Oropus, in the

64 A cotyle was a small measure, about a quarter of a liter.
65 The non-Greeks were Gauls, whom Antigonus Gonatas defeated in 277 BC.

GREEK

ENGLISH

Ἕρμιππος, δόγματι κοινῷ τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἐκελεύσθη μετελθεῖν. ἐντεῦθεν ἀθυμήσας λαθραίως παρεισδὺς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τήν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας παραλαβὼν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον ἐλθὼν ἀθυμίᾳ τὸν βίον κατέστρεψε.

sanctuary of Amphiaraus. There, when some golden cups went missing, as Hermippus says, he was ordered by a joint decree of the Boeotians to move elsewhere. Disheartened by this, he slipped secretly back into his native city, took his wife and daughters, went to Antigonus, and ended his life in despondency.

2.143 Φησὶ δ' Ἡρακλείδης αὐτὸν πᾶν τοὐναντίον, πρόβουλον γενόμενον τῶν Ἐρετριέων πολλάκις ἐλευθερῶσαι τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων ἐπαγόμενον Δημήτριον· οὐκ ἂν δὴ οὖν προδοῦναι αὐτὸν Ἀντιγόνῳ τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ διαβολὴν ἀναλαβεῖν ψευδῆ· φοιτᾶν τε πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίγονον καὶ βούλεσθαι ἐλευθερῶσαι τὴν πατρίδα· τοῦ δὲ μὴ εἴκοντος ὑπ' ἀθυμίας ἀσιτήσαντα ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας τὸν βίον μεταλλάξαι. τὰ ὅμοια τούτῳ καὶ Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος ἱστορεῖ. μόνῳ δὲ Περσαίῳ διαπρύσιον εἶχε πόλεμον· ἐδόκει γὰρ Ἀντιγόνου βουλομένου τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἀποκαταστῆσαι τοῖς Ἐρετριεῦσι χάριν Μενεδήμου κωλῦσαι. [144] διὸ καί ποτε παρὰ πότον ὁ Μενέδημος ἐλέγξας αὐτὸν τοῖς λόγοις τά τε ἄλλα ἔφη καὶ δὴ καὶ "φιλόσοφος μὲν [τοι] τοιοῦτος, ἀνὴρ δὲ καὶ τῶν ὄντων καὶ τῶν γενησομένων κάκιστος."

Heraclides, however, says the exact opposite: that as a councillor of the Eretrians he several times freed the city from tyrants by bringing in Demetrius; that he would therefore not have betrayed the city to Antigonus, but had incurred a false accusation; and that he kept visiting Antigonus because he wanted to free his native city, and when Antigonus would not yield, he went without food for seven days out of despondency and departed this life. Antigonus of Carystus gives a similar account. With Persaeus alone he waged open war: for it was thought that when Antigonus wanted to restore democracy to the Eretrians as a favor to Menedemus, Persaeus prevented it. [144] So once at a drinking party, after refuting him in argument, Menedemus said, among other things, "As a philosopher [, I grant you,] he's what he is; but as a man he's the worst of all who are or ever will be."[66]

2.144 Ἐτελεύτα δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἡρακλείδην τέταρτον καὶ ἑβδομηκοστὸν ἔτος βιούς. καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἡμῶν ἐστιν οὕτως ἔχον· ἔκλυον, Μενέδημε, τεὸν μόρον, ὡς ἑκὼν ἀπέσβης ἐν ἡμέρῃσιν ἑπτὰ μηδὲν ἐσθίων. / κᾆτ' ἔργον ἔρεξας Ἐρετρικόν, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἄνανδρον· ἀψυχίη γὰρ ἡγεμὼν ἔπειγέ σε.

He died, according to Heraclides, in his seventy-fourth year. And there is this epigram of mine on him: I heard of your fate, Menedemus: how you willingly went out in seven days, eating nothing. / Then you did a deed worthy of Eretria, but unmanly all the same; for faintheartedness was the leader that drove you on.

Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οἱ Σωκρατικοὶ καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτῶν. μετιτέον δὲ ἐπὶ Πλάτωνα τὸν τῆς Ἀκαδημείας κατάρξαντα, καὶ τοὺς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ὁπόσοι γεγόνασιν ἐλλόγιμοι.

So much for the Socratics and their successors. We must now pass on to Plato, who founded the Academy, and to those of his successors who became notable.

66 Persaeus of Citium, a pupil of Zeno, was a courtier of Antigonus Gonatas.

Book 3

Plato

Plato's life, his dialogues and their order, and a summary of his doctrines.

PLATO

Plato's family and birth, his early wrestling and poetry, and his years with Socrates and other teachers.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
3.1	Πλάτων, Ἀρίστωνος καὶ Περικτιόνης — ἢ Πωτώνης,— Ἀθηναῖος, ἥτις τὸ γένος ἀνέφερεν εἰς Σόλωνα. τούτου γὰρ ἦν ἀδελφὸς Δρωπίδης, οὗ Κριτίας, οὗ Κάλλαισχρος, οὗ Κριτίας ὁ τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ Γλαύκων, οὗ Χαρμίδης καὶ Περικτιόνη, ἧς καὶ Ἀρίστωνος Πλάτων, ἕκτος ἀπὸ Σόλωνος. ὁ δὲ Σόλων εἰς Νηλέα καὶ Ποσειδῶνα ἀνέφερε τὸ γένος. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἀνάγειν εἰς Κόδρον τὸν Μελάνθου, οἵτινες ἀπὸ Ποσειδῶνος ἱστοροῦνται κατὰ Θρασύλον.	Plato was the son of Ariston and Perictione (or Potone), an Athenian; his mother traced her family back to Solon. Solon's brother was Dropides; his son was Critias; his son was Callaeschrus; his sons were Critias, one of the Thirty, and Glaucon; Glaucon's children were Charmides and Perictione; and Perictione and Ariston had Plato, sixth in descent from Solon. Solon traced his family back to Neleus and Poseidon. They say that Plato's father, too, traced his line back to Codrus son of Melanthus, and according to Thrasyllus both of these are recorded as descended from Poseidon.
3.2	Σπεύσιππος δ' ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Πλάτωνος περιδείπνῳ καὶ Κλέαρχος ἐν τῷ Πλάτωνος ἐγκωμίῳ καὶ Ἀναξιλαΐδης ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ φιλοσόφων φασίν, ὡς Ἀθήνησιν ἦν λόγος, ὡραίαν οὖσαν τὴν Περικτιόνην βιάζεσθαι τὸν Ἀρίστωνα καὶ μὴ τυγχάνειν· παυόμενόν τε τῆς βίας ἰδεῖν τὴν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὄψιν· ὅθεν καθαρὰν γάμου φυλάξαι ἕως τῆς ἀποκυήσεως.	Speusippus, in the work entitled *Plato's Funeral Feast*, Clearchus in his *Encomium of Plato*, and Anaxilaides in the second book of *On Philosophers* say that there was a story at Athens that Ariston tried to force himself on Perictione, who was in the bloom of youth, and did not succeed. As he gave up his attempt, he saw a vision of Apollo, and so he kept her untouched by married intercourse until she had given birth.
	Καὶ γίνεται Πλάτων, ὥς φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς, ὀγδόῃ καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι, Θαργηλιῶνος ἑβδόμῃ, καθ' ἣν Δήλιοι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα γενέσθαι φασί. τελευτᾷ δὲ—ὥς φησιν Ἕρμιππος, ἔν γάμοις δειπνῶν—τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, βιοὺς ἔτος ἓν πρὸς τοῖς ὀγδοήκοντα.	Plato was born, as Apollodorus says in his *Chronicles*, in the 88th Olympiad, on the seventh of Thargelion, the day on which the Delians say Apollo was born. He died, as Hermippus says, while dining at a wedding, in the first year of the 108th Olympiad, having lived eighty-one years.[1]
3.3	Νεάνθης δέ φησιν αὐτὸν τεττάρων καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα τελευτῆσαι ἐτῶν. ἔστιν οὖν Ἰσοκράτους νεώτερος ἔτεσιν ἕξ· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ Λυσιμάχου, Πλάτων δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀμεινίου γέγονεν, ἐφ' οὗ Περικλῆς ἐτελεύτησεν. ἦν δὲ τῶν δήμων Κολλυτεύς, ὥς φησιν Ἀντιλέων ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ χρόνων.	Neanthes, though, says he died at eighty-four. He was therefore six years younger than Isocrates: Isocrates was born in the archonship of Lysimachus, Plato in that of Ameinias, the year in which Pericles died. By deme he belonged to

1 The 88th Olympiad ran from 428 to 425 BC, and the first year of the 108th is 348/347 BC. Thargelion is an Athenian month, roughly May–June.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	καὶ ἐγεννήθη κατά τινας ἐν Αἰγίνῃ—ἐν τῇ Φειδιάδου οἰκίᾳ τοῦ Θάλητος, ὥς φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ—τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων πεμφθέντος κληρούχου καὶ ἐπανελθόντος εἰς Ἀθήνας, ὁπόθ' ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐξεβλήθησαν βοηθούντων Αἰγινήταις. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐχορήγησεν Ἀθήνησι Δίωνος ἀναλίσκοντος, ὥς φησιν Ἀθηνόδωρος ἐν η' Περιπάτων. [4] ἔσχε δ' ἀδελφοὺς Ἀδείμαντον καὶ Γλαύκωνα καὶ ἀδελφὴν Πωτώνην, ἐξ ἧς ἦν Σπεύσιππος.	Collytus, as Antileon says in the second book of *On Chronology*. According to some he was born on Aegina, in the house of Phidiades son of Thales, as Favorinus says in his *Miscellaneous History*. His father had been sent there as a settler along with others, and returned to Athens when they were expelled by the Spartans, who had come to the aid of the Aeginetans. Plato also served as chorus-sponsor at Athens, with Dion paying the costs, as Athenodorus says in the eighth book of his *Walks*. [4] He had two brothers, Adeimantus and Glaucon, and a sister, Potone, who was the mother of Speusippus.[2]
3.4	Καὶ ἐπαιδεύθη μὲν γράμματα παρὰ Διονυσίῳ, οὗ καὶ μνημονεύει ἐν τοῖς Ἀντερασταῖς. ἐγυμνάσατο δὲ παρὰ Ἀρίστωνι τῷ Ἀργείῳ παλαιστῇ· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Πλάτων διὰ τὴν εὐεξίαν μετωνομάσθη, πρότερον Ἀριστοκλῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ πάππου καλούμενος [ὄνομα], καθά φησιν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Διαδοχαῖς. ἔνιοι δὲ διὰ τὴν πλατύτητα τῆς ἑρμηνείας οὕτως ὀνομασθῆναι· ἢ ὅτι πλατὺς ἦν τὸ μέτωπον, ὥς φησι Νεάνθης. εἰσὶ δ' οἳ καὶ παλαῖσαί φασιν αὐτὸν Ἰσθμοῖ, καθὰ καὶ Δικαίαρχος ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ βίων, [5] καὶ γραφικῆς ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ ποιήματα γράψαι, πρῶτον μὲν διθυράμβους, ἔπειτα καὶ μέλη καὶ τραγῳδίας.	He learned his letters under Dionysius, whom he mentions in the *Rivals*. He did his physical training under Ariston of Argos, the wrestler, and it was from him that he got the name Plato because of his sturdy build. Before that he had been called [by name] Aristocles, after his grandfather, as Alexander says in his *Successions*. Some say he was named this for the breadth of his style; or, as Neanthes says, because he had a broad forehead. There are some who say he even wrestled at the Isthmian games, as Dicaearchus does in the first book of *On Lives*, [5] and that he took up painting and wrote poems, first dithyrambs and then lyric poems and tragedies.[3]
3.5	ἰσχνόφωνός τε, φασίν, ἦν, ὡς καὶ Τιμόθεός φησιν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ βίων. λέγεται δ' ὅτι Σωκράτης ὄναρ εἶδε κύκνου νεοττὸν ἐν τοῖς γόνασιν ἔχειν, ὃν καὶ παραχρῆμα πτεροφυήσαντα ἀναπτῆναι ἡδὺ κλάγξαντα· καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν Πλάτωνα αὐτῷ συστῆναι, τὸν δὲ τοῦτον εἰπεῖν εἶναι τὸν ὄρνιν.	He had a thin, weak voice, they say, as Timotheus the Athenian also says in his *On Lives*. It is said that Socrates dreamed he was holding a cygnet on his knees, which at once grew its feathers and flew up with a sweet cry. The next day Plato was introduced to him, and Socrates said that this was the bird.
	Ἐφιλοσόφει δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ, εἶτα ἐν τῷ κήπῳ τῷ παρὰ τὸν Κολωνόν, ὥς φησιν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Διαδοχαῖς, καθ' Ἡράκλειτον. ἔπειτα μέντοι μέλλων ἀγωνιεῖσθαι τραγῳδίᾳ πρὸ τοῦ Διονυσιακοῦ θεάτρου Σωκράτους ἀκούσας κατέφλεξε τὰ ποιήματα εἰπών· Ἥφαιστε, πρόμολ' ὧδε· Πλάτων νύ τι σεῖο χατίζει.	At first he did philosophy in the Academy, and then in the garden by Colonus, as Alexander says in his *Successions*, following Heraclitus. Later, though, when he was about to compete with a tragedy at the theater of Dionysus, he heard Socrates and burned his poems, saying: Hephaestus, come forth here: Plato has need of you.[4]
3.6	τοὐντεῦθεν δὴ γεγονώς, φασίν, εἴκοσιν ἔτη διήκουσε Σωκράτους· ἐκείνου δ' ἀπελθόντος προσεῖχε Κρατύλῳ τε	From then on, they say, at the age of twenty, he studied under Socrates. After Socrates' death he at-

2 Sponsoring a chorus (the *choregia*) was a public duty of wealthy Athenians, who paid for training and costuming a chorus for a dramatic festival.
3 The name Plato suggests the Greek *platys*, "broad."
4 A parody of Homer (*Iliad* 18.392), where it is Thetis who needs Hephaestus, god of fire.

GREEK	ENGLISH
τῷ Ἡρακλειτείῳ καὶ Ἑρμογένει τῷ τὰ Παρμενίδου φιλοσοφοῦντι. εἶτα γενόμενος ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη, καθά φησιν Ἑρμόδωρος, εἰς Μέγαρα πρὸς Εὐκλείδην σὺν καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ Σωκρατικοῖς ὑπεχώρησεν. ἔπειτα εἰς Κυρήνην ἀπῆλθε πρὸς Θεόδωρον τὸν μαθηματικόν· κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Ἰταλίαν πρὸς τοὺς Πυθαγορικοὺς Φιλόλαον καὶ Εὔρυτον. ἔνθεν τε εἰς Αἴγυπτον παρὰ τοὺς προφήτας· οὗ φασι καὶ Εὐριπίδην αὐτῷ συνακολουθῆσαι καὶ αὐτόθι νοσήσαντα πρὸς τῶν ἱερέων ἀπολυθῆναι τῇ διὰ θαλάττης θεραπείᾳ· ὅθεν που καὶ εἰπεῖν· θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τἀνθρώπων κακά.	tached himself to Cratylus the Heraclitean and to Hermogenes, who followed the philosophy of Parmenides. Then, at twenty-eight, as Hermodorus says, he withdrew to Megara, to Euclides, along with some other followers of Socrates. Next he went off to Cyrene, to Theodorus the mathematician, and from there to Italy, to the Pythagoreans Philolaus and Eurytus. From there he went to Egypt, to the prophets. They say Euripides went with him there too, and that, falling ill there, he was cured by the priests with a seawater treatment; which is presumably why he says: The sea washes away all the ills of men.[5]
3.7 ἀλλὰ καθ' Ὅμηρον φάναι ⟨περὶ⟩ πάντων ἀνθρώπων Αἰγυπτίους ἰατροὺς εἶναι. διέγνω δὴ ὁ Πλάτων καὶ τοῖς Μάγοις συμμῖξαι· διὰ δὲ τοὺς τῆς Ἀσίας πολέμους ἀπέστη. ἐπανελθὼν δὲ εἰς Ἀθήνας διέτριβεν ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ. τὸ δ' ἐστὶ γυμνάσιον προάστειον ἀλσῶδες ἀπό τινος ἥρωος ὀνομασθὲν Ἑκαδήμου, καθὰ καὶ Εὔπολις ἐν Ἀστρατεύτοις φησίν· ἐν εὐσκίοις δρόμοισιν Ἑκαδήμου θεοῦ. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Τίμων εἰς τὸν Πλάτωνα λέγων φησί· τῶν πάντων δ' ἡγεῖτο πλατίστακος, ἀλλ' ἀγορητὴς ἡδυεπής, τέττιξιν ἰσογράφος, οἵ θ' Ἑκαδήμου δένδρῳ ἐφεζόμενοι ὄπα λειριόεσσαν ἱᾶσιν.	And, following Homer, he said that the Egyptians are physicians beyond all other people. Plato also decided to meet the Magi, but gave up the idea because of the wars in Asia. Returning to Athens, he spent his time in the Academy. This is a wooded gymnasium outside the city, named after a hero, Hecademus, as Eupolis too says in his *Shirkers*: In the shady walks of the god Hecademus. Timon, too, speaking of Plato, says: And leading them all was the broadest of fish, but a speaker sweet of voice, who writes like the cicadas that on Hecademus' tree sit and pour out their lily-soft song.[6]
3.8 πρότερον γὰρ διὰ τοῦ ε Ἑκαδήμεια ἐκαλεῖτο. ὁ δ' οὖν φιλόσοφος καὶ Ἰσοκράτει φίλος ἦν. καὶ αὐτῶν Πραξιφάνης ἀνέγραψε διατριβήν τινα περὶ ποιητῶν γενομένην ἐν ἀγρῷ παρὰ Πλάτωνι ἐπιξενωθέντος τοῦ Ἰσοκράτους. καὶ αὐτόν φησιν Ἀριστόξενος τρὶς ἐστρατεῦσθαι, ἅπαξ μὲν εἰς Τάναγραν, δεύτερον δὲ εἰς Κόρινθον, τρίτον ἐπὶ Δηλίῳ· ἔνθα καὶ ἀριστεῦσαι. μίξιν τε ἐποιήσατο τῶν τε Ἡρακλειτείων λόγων καὶ Πυθαγορικῶν καὶ Σωκρατικῶν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ αἰσθητὰ καθ' Ἡράκλειτον, τὰ δὲ νοητὰ κατὰ Πυθαγόραν, τὰ δὲ πολιτικὰ κατὰ Σωκράτην ἐφιλοσόφει.	For it was formerly spelled with an e, Hecademia. The philosopher, at any rate, was also a friend of Isocrates. Praxiphanes wrote up a conversation of theirs about poets, held at Plato's place in the country when Isocrates was staying with him as a guest. Aristoxenus says that Plato served on campaign three times: once to Tanagra, a second time to Corinth, and a third time at Delium, where he distinguished himself. He made a blend of Heraclitean, Pythagorean and Socratic doctrines: about the sensible world he philosophized after Heraclitus, about the intelligible after Pythagoras, and about politics after Socrates.[7]

5 The line is from Euripides' *Iphigenia among the Taurians* (1193).
6 Timon puns on Plato's name with *platistakos*, a large fish whose name suggests *platys*, "broad."
7 Praxiphanes was a Peripatetic philosopher of the late fourth and third centuries BC.

PLATO AND EPICHARMUS

Alcimus argues at length that Plato took much of his doctrine from the comic poet Epicharmus.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
3.9	Λέγουσι δέ τινες, ὧν ἐστι καὶ Σάτυρος, ὅτι Δίωνι ἐπέστειλεν εἰς Σικελίαν ὠνήσασθαι τρία βιβλία Πυθαγορικὰ παρὰ Φιλολάου μνῶν ἑκατόν. καὶ γὰρ ἐν εὐπορίᾳ, φασίν, ἦν παρὰ Διονυσίου λαβὼν ὑπὲρ τὰ ὀγδοήκοντα τάλαντα, ὡς καὶ Ὀνήτωρ φησὶν ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ "εἰ χρηματιεῖται ὁ σοφός." πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' Ἐπιχάρμου τοῦ κωμῳδιοποιοῦ προσωφέληται τὰ πλεῖστα μεταγράψας, καθά φησιν Ἄλκιμος ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Ἀμύνταν, ἅ ἐστι τέτταρα. ἔνθα καὶ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ φησὶ ταῦτα·	Some say, Satyrus among them, that he wrote to Dion in Sicily asking him to buy three Pythagorean books from Philolaus for a hundred minas. For he was well off, they say, having received more than eighty talents from Dionysius, as Onetor too says in the work entitled "Whether the Wise Man Will Make Money." He also profited a great deal from Epicharmus the comic poet, having transcribed most of his work, as Alcimus says in his books *To Amyntas*, of which there are four. In the first of these he says this:
	"Φαίνεται δὲ καὶ Πλάτων πολλὰ τῶν Ἐπιχάρμου λέγων. σκεπτέον δέ· ὁ Πλάτων φησὶν αἰσθητὸν μὲν εἶναι τὸ μηδέποτε ἐν τῷ ποιῷ μηδὲ ποσῷ διαμένον ἀλλ' ἀεὶ ῥέον καὶ μεταβάλλον, [10] ὡς ἐξ ὧν ἄν τις ἀνέλῃ τὸν ἀριθμόν, τούτων οὔτε ἴσων οὔτε τινῶν οὔτε ποσῶν οὔτε ποιῶν ὄντων. ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν ὧν ἀεὶ γένεσις, οὐσία δὲ μηδέποτε πέφυκε. νοητὸν δὲ ἐξ οὗ μηθὲν ἀπογίνεται μηδὲ προσγίνεται. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν ἀιδίων φύσις, ἣν ὁμοίαν τε καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀεὶ συμβέβηκεν εἶναι.	"Plato too is clearly saying many things that come from Epicharmus. Let us look. Plato says that the sensible is what never stays the same in quality or quantity but is always flowing and changing, [10] so that things from which one takes away number are neither equal, nor anything definite, nor of any quantity or quality. These are the things of which there is always becoming, but which by nature never have being. The intelligible is that from which nothing is taken away and to which nothing is added. This is the nature of eternal things, which is always alike and the same.
3.10	καὶ μὴν ὅ γε Ἐπίχαρμος περὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν καὶ νοητῶν ἐναργῶς εἴρηκεν· — ἀλλ' ἀεί τοι θεοὶ παρῆσαν χὐπέλιπον οὐ πώποκα, τάδε δ' ἀεὶ πάρεσθ' ὁμοῖα διά τε τῶν αὐτῶν ἀεί. — ἀλλὰ λέγεται μὰν χάος πρᾶτον γενέσθαι τῶν θεῶν. — πῶς δέ κα; μὴ ἔχον γ' ἀπὸ τίνος μηδ' ἐς ὅ τι πρᾶτον μόλοι. — οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμολε πρᾶτον οὐθέν; — οὐδὲ μὰ Δία δεύτερον, [11] τῶνδέ γε ὧν ἁμὲς νῦν ὧδε λέγομες ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τάδ' ἦν… αἰ πὸτ ἀριθμόν τις περισσόν, αἰ δὲ λᾇς, πὸτ ἄρτιον, ποτθέμειν λᾇ ψᾶφον ἢ καὶ τᾶν ὑπαρχουσᾶν λαβεῖν, ἦ δοκεῖ κά τοί γ' ἔθ' ὡύτὸς εἶμεν;—οὐκ ἐμίν γα κά.	And Epicharmus, for his part, has spoken plainly about the sensible and the intelligible: — But the gods were always there and never yet left off, and these things are always present, always alike and always by the same means. — Yet it is said that Chaos was the first of the gods to come into being. — How could it? If it came first, it had nothing to come from and nothing to come into. — So nothing came first? — No, by Zeus, nor second either, [11] of the things we're talking about here now; these things always were… If to an odd number, or to an even one if you like, someone chooses to add a pebble, or to take one from those that are there, do you think it would still be the same number? — Not I, no.[8]
3.11	— οὐδὲ μὰν οὐδ' αἰ ποτὶ μέτρον παχυαῖον ποτθέμειν λᾇ τις ἕτερον μᾶκος ἢ τοῦ πρόσθ' ἐόντος ἀποταμεῖν,	— Nor again, if to a measure a cubit long someone chooses to add

8 Epicharmus was a Sicilian comic poet of the early fifth century BC; his verses are in the Doric dialect.

GREEK

ἔτι χ' ὑπάρχοι κῆνο τὸ μέτρον; — οὐ γάρ. — ὧδε νῦν ὅρη καὶ τὸς ἀνθρώπως· ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὔξεθ', ὁ δέ γα μὰν φθίνει, ἐν μεταλλαγᾷ δὲ πάντες ἐντὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον.
ὃ δὲ μεταλλάσσει κατὰ φύσιν κοὔποκ' ἐν ταὐτῷ μένει, ἕτερον εἴη κα τόδ' ⟨ἀ⟩εὶ τῶ παρεξεστακότος.
καὶ τὺ δὴ κἀγὼ χθὲς ἄλλοι καί νυν ἄλλοι τελέθομες καὖθις ἄλλοι κοὔποχ' ὠὐτοὶ κατά ⟨γα τοῦτον⟩ τὸν λόγον."

ENGLISH

another length, or to cut some off from what was there before,
would that measure still be there? — No. — Now look at it this way
with people too: one grows, and another, you see, wastes away,
and all are in change all the time.
But what changes by nature and never stays in the same state
would always be different from what has moved on.
So you and I were other people yesterday, and are others now,
and will be others again, and never the same, by this same argument."

3.12 Ἔτι φησὶν ὁ Ἄλκιμος καὶ ταυτί· "φασὶν οἱ σοφοὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τὰ μὲν διὰ τοῦ σώματος αἰσθάνεσθαι οἷον ἀκούουσαν, βλέπουσαν, τὰ δ' αὐτὴν καθ' αὑτὴν ἐνθυμεῖσθαι μηδὲν τῷ σώματι χρωμένην· διὸ καὶ τῶν ὄντων τὰ μὲν αἰσθητὰ εἶναι, τὰ δὲ νοητά. ὧν ἕνεκα καὶ Πλάτων ἔλεγεν, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς συνιδεῖν τὰς τοῦ παντὸς ἀρχὰς ἐπιθυμοῦντας πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὰς καθ' αὑτὰς διελέσθαι τὰς ἰδέας, οἷον ὁμοιότητα καὶ μονάδα καὶ πλῆθος καὶ μέγεθος καὶ στάσιν καὶ κίνησιν· δεύτερον αὐτὸ καθ' αὑτὸ τὸ [13] καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ δίκαιον καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑποθέσθαι·

Alcimus also says this: "The wise say that the soul perceives some things through the body, as when it hears and sees, while other things it considers itself by itself, without using the body at all. That is why, of the things that exist, some are sensible and others intelligible. For this reason Plato too used to say that those who want to grasp the principles of the universe must first distinguish the forms themselves by themselves, such as likeness, unity, plurality, magnitude, rest and motion; second, posit, itself by itself, the [13] beautiful and good and just and the like;

3.13 τρίτον τῶν ἰδεῶν συνιδεῖν ὅσαι πρὸς ἀλλήλας εἰσίν, οἷον ἐπιστήμην ἢ μέγεθος ἢ δεσποτείαν ⟨ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν διὰ τὸ μετέχειν ἐκείνων ὁμώνυμα ἐκείνοις ὑπάρχει· λέγω δὲ οἷον δίκαια μὲν ὅσα τοῦ δικαίου, καλὰ δὲ ὅσα τοῦ καλοῦ⟩. ἔστι δὲ τῶν εἰδῶν ἓν ἕκαστον ἀίδιόν τε καὶ νόημα καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἀπαθές. [διὸ καί φησιν ἐν τῇ φύσει τὰς ἰδέας ἑστάναι καθάπερ παραδείγματα, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ταύταις ἐοικέναι τούτων ὁμοιώματα καθεστῶτα.] ὁ τοίνυν Ἐπίχαρμος περί τε τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰδεῶν οὕτω λέγει· [14] ἆρ' ἔστιν αὔλησίς τι πρᾶγμα;

third, grasp those forms that are relative to one another, such as knowledge or magnitude or mastery, bearing in mind that the things around us share the names of those forms because they participate in them. I mean, for example, that things are just insofar as they share in the just, and beautiful insofar as they share in the beautiful. Each one of the forms is eternal, a thought, and, besides, unaffected. [That is why he says that the forms stand in nature like patterns, and that other things resemble them and are established as their likenesses.] Now Epicharmus speaks as follows about the good and about the forms: [14] Is flute-playing a thing?

3.14 — πάνυ μὲν οὖν.
— ἄνθρωπος οὖν αὔλησίς ἐστιν; — οὐθαμῶς.
— φέρ' ἴδω, τί δ' αὐλητάς; τίς εἶμέν τοι δοκεῖ;
ἄνθρωπος; ἢ οὐ γάρ; — πάνυ μὲν οὖν. — οὐκ οὖν δοκεῖς οὕτως ἔχειν ⟨κα⟩ καὶ περὶ τἀγαθοῦ; τὸ μὲν ἀγαθόν τι πρᾶγμ' εἶμεν καθ' αὕθ', ὅστις δέ κα εἰδῇ μαθὼν τῆν', ἀγαθὸς ἤδη γίγνεται.
ὥσπερ γάρ ἐστ' αὔλησιν αὐλητὰς μαθὼν

— Certainly.
— Then is a human being flute-playing? — Not at all.
— Come, let me see: what about a flute-player? What do you think he is?
A human being? Isn't he? — Certainly. — Then don't you think

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἢ ὄρχησιν ὀρχηστάς τις ἢ πλοκεὺς πλοκάν, ἢ πᾶν γ᾽ ὁμοίως τῶν τοιούτων ὅ τι τὺ λῇς, οὔ χ᾽ αὐτὸς εἴη χἀ τέχνα, τεχνικός γα μάν.	it's the same with the good too? The good is a thing by itself, and whoever has learned it and knows it becomes good from then on. For just as the flute-player is one who has learned flute-playing, or the dancer dancing, or the weaver weaving, or likewise any of these things you like, he wouldn't himself be the art, but he would be an artist.
3.15	"Πλάτων ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν ἰδεῶν ὑπολήψει φησίν, εἴπερ ἐστὶ μνήμη, τὰς ἰδέας ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ὑπάρχειν διὰ τὸ τὴν μνήμην ἠρεμοῦντός τινος καὶ μένοντος εἶναι· μένειν δὲ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ τὰς ἰδέας. ιτίνα γὰρ ἂν τρόπον,᾽ φησί, ιδιεσῴζετο τὰ ζῷα μὴ τῆς ἰδίας ἐφαπτόμενα καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο τὸν νοῦν φυσικὸν εἰληφότα; νῦν δὲ μνημονεύει τῆς ὁμοιότητός τε καὶ τροφῆς, ὁποία τις ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς, ἐνδεικνύμενα διότι πᾶσι τοῖς ζῴοις ἔμφυτός ἐστιν ἡ τῆς ὁμοιότητος θεωρία· διὸ καὶ τῶν ὁμοφύλων αἰσθάνεται.᾽ πῶς οὖν ὁ Ἐπίχαρμος;	"Plato, in his conception of the forms, says that if there is memory, the forms exist among the things that are, because memory is of something that is still and abiding, and nothing abides except the forms. 'For how,' he says, 'would living creatures survive if they did not lay hold of the form, and had not received a natural intelligence for this purpose? As it is, they remember likeness, and what sort of food suits them, which shows that the recognition of likeness is innate in all living creatures. That is why they perceive those of their own kind.' What, then, does Epicharmus say?
3.16	Εὔμαιε, τὸ σοφόν ἐστιν οὐ καθ᾽ ἓν μόνον, ἀλλ᾽ ὅσσα περ ζῇ, πάντα καὶ γνώμαν ἔχει. καὶ γὰρ τὸ θῆλυ τᾶν ἀλεκτορίδων γένος, αἰ λῇς καταμαθεῖν ἀτενές, οὐ τίκτει τέκνα ζῶντ᾽, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπῴζει καὶ ποιεῖ ψυχὰν ἔχειν. τὸ δὲ σοφὸν ἁ φύσις τόδ᾽ οἶδεν ὡς ἔχει μόνα· πεπαίδευται γὰρ αὐταύτας ὕπο. καὶ πάλιν· θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν ἁμὲ ταῦθ᾽ οὕτω λέγειν καὶ ἀνδάνειν αὐτοῖσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ δοκεῖν καλὼς πεφύκειν· καὶ γὰρ ἁ κύων κυνὶ κάλλιστον εἶμεν φαίνεται καὶ βοῦς βοΐ, ὄνος δ᾽ ὄνῳ κάλλιστον, ὗς δέ θην ὑί."	Eumaeus, wisdom is not in one thing only, but whatever lives has judgment too. Take the hen's kind: the female, if you care to look closely, does not give birth to her young alive, but sits on them and makes them come to have a soul. And how this wisdom works, nature alone knows; for she has been taught by herself. And again: It's no wonder that we talk like this and are pleased with ourselves and think we're beautifully made; for to a dog a dog seems the most beautiful thing there is, and to an ox an ox, and to a donkey a donkey is most beautiful, and to a pig, of course, a pig."
3.17	Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα διὰ τῶν τεττάρων βιβλίων παραπήγνυσιν ὁ Ἄλκιμος παρασημαίνων τὴν ἐξ Ἐπιχάρμου Πλάτωνι περιγινομένην ὠφέλειαν. ὅτι δ᾽ οὐδ᾽ αὐτὸς Ἐπίχαρμος ἠγνόει τὴν αὑτοῦ σοφίαν, μαθεῖν ἐστι κἀκ τούτων ἐν οἷς τὸν ζηλώσοντα προμαντεύεται· ὡς δ᾽ ἐγὼ δοκέω, —δοκέων γὰρ σάφα ἴσαμι τοῦθ᾽ ὅτι τῶν ἐμῶν μνάμα ποκ᾽ ἐσσεῖται λόγων τούτων ἔτι. καὶ λαβών τις αὐτὰ περιδύσας τὸ μέτρον ὃ νῦν ἔχει, εἶμα δοὺς καὶ πορφυροῦν λόγοισι ποικίλας καλοῖς δυσπάλαιστος ὢν τὸς ἄλλως εὐπαλαίστους ἀποφανεῖ.	These and similar passages Alcimus sets side by side throughout his four books, pointing out how much Plato gained from Epicharmus. That Epicharmus himself was not unaware of his own wisdom can also be learned from the lines in which he foretells the man who would emulate him: As I think—and when I think, I know this clearly— there will one day still be a memory of these words of mine.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		Someone will take them, strip off the meter they now have, give them a purple robe and embroider them with fine words, and, hard to throw himself, will show up the others as easy to throw.

THREE VOYAGES TO SICILY

Plato offends Dionysius, is sold as a slave and ransomed, and fails twice more in Syracuse.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
3.18	Δοκεῖ δὲ Πλάτων καὶ τὰ Σώφρονος τοῦ μιμογράφου βιβλία ἡμελημένα πρῶτος εἰς Ἀθήνας διακομίσαι καὶ ἠθοποιῆσαι πρὸς αὐτόν· ἃ καὶ εὑρεθῆναι ὑπὸ τῇ κεφαλῇ αὐτοῦ. τρὶς δὲ πέπλευκεν εἰς Σικελίαν· πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ θέαν τῆς νήσου καὶ τῶν κρατήρων, ὅτε καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ἑρμοκράτους τύραννος ὢν ἠνάγκασεν ὥστε συμμῖξαι αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ διαλεγόμενος περὶ τυραννίδος καὶ φάσκων ὡς οὐκ ἔστι τὸ τοῦ κρείττονος συμφέρον αὐτὸ † μόνον, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἀρετῇ διαφέροι, προσέκρουσεν αὐτῷ. ὀργισθεὶς γὰρ "οἱ λόγοι σου," φησί, "γεροντιῶσι," καὶ ὅς· "σοῦ δέ γε τυραννιῶσιν." [19] ἐντεῦθεν ἀγανακτήσας ὁ τύραννος πρῶτον μὲν ἀνελεῖν ὥρμησεν αὐτόν·	Plato also seems to have been the first to bring to Athens the books of Sophron the mime-writer, which had been neglected, and to have modeled his character-drawing on him; and the books are said to have been found under his head. He sailed to Sicily three times. The first time was to see the island and the craters, when Dionysius son of Hermocrates, who was tyrant, compelled him to meet with him. Plato discussed tyranny and maintained that what is to the advantage of the stronger is not, simply by itself, best, unless he is also superior in excellence, and so he offended him. Dionysius was angry and said, "Your words smack of senility," and Plato replied, "And yours of tyranny." [19] At this the tyrant, furious, at first set out to have him killed;[9]
3.19	εἶτα παρακληθεὶς ὑπὸ Δίωνος καὶ Ἀριστομένους τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐποίησε, παρέδωκε δὲ αὐτὸν Πόλλιδι τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ κατὰ καιρὸν διὰ πρεσβείαν ἀφιγμένῳ ὥστε ἀποδόσθαι. κἀκεῖνος ἀγαγὼν αὐτὸν εἰς Αἴγιναν ἐπίπρασκεν· ὅτε καὶ Χάρμανδρος Χαρμανδρίδου ἐγράψατο αὐτῷ δίκην θανάτου κατὰ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς τεθέντα νόμον, τὸν πρῶτον ἐπιβάντα Ἀθηναίων τῇ νήσῳ ἄκριτον ἀποθνῄσκειν. ἦν δ' αὐτὸς ὁ θεὶς τὸν νόμον, καθά φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ. εἰπόντος δέ τινος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ παιδιάν, φιλόσοφον εἶναι τὸν ἐπιβάντα, ἀπέλυσαν. ἔνιοι δέ φασι παραχθῆναι αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τηρούμενον μηδ' ὁτιοῦν φθέγξασθαι, ἑτοίμως δὲ ἐκδέξασθαι τὸ συμβαῖνον· οἱ δὲ ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν αὐτὸν οὐ διέγνωσαν, πωλεῖν δὲ ἔκριναν τῷ τρόπῳ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων.	then, at the urging of Dion and Aristomenes, he did not do that, but handed him over to be sold to Pollis the Spartan, who happened to have arrived on an embassy. Pollis took him to Aegina and put him up for sale. At that point Charmandrus son of Charmandrides brought a capital charge against him under the law in force there, that the first Athenian to set foot on the island should be put to death without trial. Charmandrus was himself the man who had proposed the law, as Favorinus says in his *Miscellaneous History*. But when someone said, though in jest, that the man who had set foot there was a philosopher, they let him go. Some say he was brought before the assembly and, under guard, said not a word but calmly accepted whatever might happen; and they decided not to kill him but to sell him in the manner of prisoners of war.
3.20	Λυτροῦται δὴ αὐτὸν κατὰ τύχην παρὼν Ἀννίκερις ὁ Κυρηναῖος εἴκοσι μνῶν—οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα —καὶ ἀναπέμπει	Anniceris of Cyrene, who happened to be there, ransomed him for twenty minas (some say thirty)

GREEK

ENGLISH

Ἀθήναζε πρὸς τοὺς ἑταίρους. οἱ δ' εὐθὺς τἀργύριον ἐξέπεμψαν· ὅπερ οὐ προσήκατο εἰπὼν μὴ μόνους ἐκείνους ἀξίους εἶναι Πλάτωνος κήδεσθαι. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ Δίωνα ἀποστεῖλαί φασι τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ τὸν μὴ προσέσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ κηπίδιον αὐτῷ τὸ ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ πρίασθαι. τὸν μέντοι Πόλλιν λόγος ὑπό τε Χαβρίου ἡττηθῆναι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν Ἑλίκῃ καταποντωθῆναι τοῦ δαιμονίου μηνίσαντος διὰ τὸν φιλόσοφον, ὡς καὶ Φαβωρῖνός φησιν ἐν πρώτῳ τῶν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων. [21] οὐ μὴν ἡσύχαζεν ὁ Διονύσιος· μαθὼν δὲ ἐπέστειλε Πλάτωνι μὴ κακῶς ἀγορεύειν αὐτόν. καὶ ὃς ἀντεπέστειλε μὴ τοσαύτην αὐτῷ σχολὴν εἶναι ὥστε Διονυσίου μεμνῆσθαι.

and sent him back to Athens, to his friends. They immediately sent the money, but Anniceris would not accept it, saying that they were not the only ones worthy of looking after Plato. Some say that Dion also sent the money, and that Anniceris would not accept it but even bought Plato the little garden in the Academy. Pollis, however, is said to have been defeated by Chabrias and afterwards drowned at Helice, because the divine power was angry over the philosopher, as Favorinus too says in the first book of his *Memoirs*. [21] Dionysius did not let it rest, though. When he found out, he wrote to Plato telling him not to speak ill of him. And Plato wrote back that he did not have so much leisure as to give Dionysius a thought.[10]

3.21 Δεύτερον πρὸς τὸν νεώτερον ἦκε Διονύσιον αἰτῶι γῆν καὶ ἀνθρώπους τοὺς κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτοῦ ζησομένους· ὁ δὲ καίπερ ὑποσχόμενος οὐκ ἐποίησεν. ἔνιοι δέ φασι καὶ κινδυνεῦσαι αὐτὸν ὡς ἀναπείθοντα Δίωνα καὶ Θεοδόταν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς νήσου ἐλευθερίᾳ· ὅτε καὶ Ἀρχύτας αὐτὸν ὁ Πυθαγορικὸς γράψας ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς Διονύσιον παρῃτήσατο καὶ διέσωσεν εἰς Ἀθήνας. ἔστι δὲ ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἥδε·

The second time, he went to the younger Dionysius, asking for land and people who would live according to his *Republic*; and Dionysius promised but did not do it. Some say he was also in danger, suspected of urging Dion and Theodotas to free the island. On that occasion Archytas the Pythagorean wrote a letter to Dionysius, obtained his release and got him safely back to Athens. The letter is as follows:

"Ἀρχύτας Διονυσίῳ ὑγιαίνειν.

[22] "Ἀπεστάλκαμέν τοι πάντες οἱ Πλάτωνος φίλοι τὼς περὶ Λαμίσκον τε καὶ Φωτίδαν ἀπολαμψούμεθα τὸν ἄνδρα κὰτ τὰν πὰρ τὶν γενομέναν ὁμολογίαν. ὀρθῶς δέ κα ποιοῖς ἀμμιμνᾳσκόμενος τήνας τᾶς σπουδᾶς, ἡνίκα πάντας ἁμὲ παρεκάλεις πὸτ τὰν Πλάτωνος ἄφιξιν ἀξιῶν προτρέπεσθαί τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἀναδέχεσθαι τά τε ἄλλα καὶ περὶ τὰν ἀσφάλειαν μένοντί τε καὶ ἀφορμίοντι. μέμνασο δὲ καὶ τῆνο ὅτι περὶ πολλῶ ἐποιήσω τὰν ἄφιξιν αὐτῶ καὶ ἀγάπης ἐκ τήνω τῶ χρόνω ὡς οὐδένα τῶν πὰρ τίν. αἰ δέ τις γέγονε τραχύτας, ἀνθρωπίζειν χρὴ κἀποδιδόμεν ἁμὶν ἀβλαβῆ τὸν ἄνδρα. ταῦτα γὰρ ποιῶν δίκαια πραξεῖς καὶ ἁμὶν χαριξῇ."

"Archytas to Dionysius: good health.

[22] "All of us who are Plato's friends have sent you Lamiscus, Photidas and their party, to take the man back in accordance with the agreement made with you. You would do well to remember how eager you were when you urged all of us to bring about Plato's visit, asking us to encourage him and to vouch for, among other things, his safety both while he stayed and when he left. Remember this too: that you set great store by his coming, and from that time on cared for him as you did for no one else at your court. If any friction has arisen, you ought to behave humanely and return the man to us unharmed. By doing this you will act justly and do us a favor."[11]

3.23 Τρίτον ἦλθε διαλλαξων Δίωνα Διονυσίῳ· οὐ τυχὼν δὲ ἄπρακτος ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα. ἔνθα πολιτείας μὲν οὐχ ἥψατο, καίτοι πολιτικὸς ὢν ἐξ ὧν γέγραφεν. αἴτιον δὲ τὸ ἤδη τὸν δῆμον ἄλλοις πολιτεύμασιν ἐνειθίσθαι. φησὶ δὲ Παμφίλη ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ καὶ εἰκοστῷ τῶν

The third time, he came to reconcile Dion with Dionysius; but he failed and returned home with nothing accomplished. There he took no part in politics, although, to judge from his writings, he was a political man. The reason was that the

9 Sophron of Syracuse (fifth century BC) wrote mimes, prose sketches of everyday life; the craters are those of Mount Etna.
10 Helice was a city in Achaea that was swallowed by the sea in an earthquake in 373 BC.
11 Archytas of Tarentum was a Pythagorean philosopher and statesman; the letter is written in his Doric dialect.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Ὑπομνημάτων ὡς Ἀρκάδες καὶ Θηβαῖοι Μεγάλην πόλιν οἰκίζοντες παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν νομοθέτην· ὁ δὲ μαθὼν ἴσον ἔχειν οὐ θέλοντας οὐκ ἐπορεύθη. λόγος ὅτι καὶ Χαβρίᾳ συνεῖπε τῷ στρατηγῷ φεύγοντι θανάτου μηδενὸς τῶν πολιτῶν τοῦτο πρᾶξαι βουληθέντος.	people were by then used to other forms of government. Pamphila says in the twenty-fifth book of her *Notes* that the Arcadians and Thebans, when they were founding Megalopolis, invited him to be their lawgiver; but when he learned that they were unwilling to have equality, he did not go. There is a story that he also spoke in defense of Chabrias the general when he was on trial for his life, though none of the citizens was willing to do so.
3.24	ὅτε καὶ ἀνιόντι αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν σὺν τῷ Χαβρίᾳ Κρωβύλος ὁ συκοφάντης ἀπαντήσας φησίν· "ἄλλῳ συναγορεύσων ἥκεις, ἀγνοῶν ὅτι καὶ σὲ τὸ Σωκράτους κώνειον ἀναμένει;" τὸν δὲ φάναι· "καὶ ὅτε ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἐστρατευόμην, ὑπέμενον τοὺς κινδύνους, καὶ νῦν ὑπὲρ τοῦ καθήκοντος διὰ φίλον ὑπομενῶ."	On that occasion, as he was going up to the Acropolis with Chabrias, Crobylus the informer met him and said, "Have you come to plead for someone else, not knowing that Socrates' hemlock is waiting for you too?" He replied, "When I served on campaign for my country I faced danger, and now I'll face it for duty's sake, on behalf of a friend."[12]
	Οὗτος πρῶτος ἐν ἐρωτήσει λόγον παρήνεγκεν, ὥς φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν ὀγδόῃ Παντοδαπῆς ἱστορίας. καὶ πρῶτος τὸν κατὰ τὴν ἀνάλυσιν τῆς ζητήσεως τρόπον εἰσηγήσατο Λεωδάμαντι τῷ Θασίῳ. καὶ πρῶτος ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ ἀντίποδας ὠνόμασε καὶ στοιχεῖον καὶ διαλεκτικὴν καὶ ποιότητα καὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τὸν προμήκη καὶ τῶν περάτων τὴν ἐπίπεδον ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν.	He was the first to conduct an argument by question and answer, as Favorinus says in the eighth book of his *Miscellaneous History*. He was also the first to teach Leodamas of Thasos the method of inquiry by analysis. And he was the first in philosophy to use the terms antipodes, element, dialectic and quality; among numbers, the oblong; among boundaries, the plane surface; and divine providence.[13]
3.25	Καὶ πρῶτος τῶν φιλοσόφων ἀντεῖπε πρὸς τὸν λόγον τὸν Λυσίου τοῦ Κεφάλου ἐκθέμενος αὐτὸν κατὰ λέξιν ἐν τῷ Φαίδρῳ. καὶ πρῶτος ἐθεώρησε τῆς γραμματικῆς τὴν δύναμιν. πρῶτός τε ἀντειρηκὼς σχεδὸν ἅπασι τοῖς πρὸ αὐτοῦ, ζητεῖται διὰ τί μὴ ἐμνημόνευσε Δημοκρίτου. τούτου φησὶ Νεάνθης ὁ Κυζικηνὸς εἰς Ὀλύμπια ἀνιόντος τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας ἐπιστραφῆναι εἰς αὐτόν· ὅτε καὶ Δίωνι συνέμιξε μέλλοντι στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Διονύσιον. ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων Φαβωρίνου φέρεται ὅτι Μιθραδάτης ὁ Πέρσης ἀνδριάντα Πλάτωνος ἀνέθετο εἰς τὴν Ἀκαδήμειαν καὶ ἐπέγραψε· "Μιθραδάτης Ὀροντοβάτου Πέρσης Μούσαις εἰκόνα ἀνέθηκε Πλάτωνος, ἣν Σιλανίων ἐποίησε."	He was also the first of the philosophers to reply to the speech of Lysias son of Cephalus, setting it out word for word in the *Phaedrus*. And he was the first to study the power of grammar. Since he was the first to argue against nearly all his predecessors, the question is raised why he never mentioned Democritus. Neanthes of Cyzicus says that when he went up to Olympia all the Greeks turned to look at him; and that it was then that he met Dion, who was about to go to war against Dionysius. In the first book of Favorinus' *Memoirs* it is recorded that Mithradates the Persian set up a statue of Plato in the Academy with the inscription: "Mithradates son of Orontobates, a Persian, dedicated to the Muses this likeness of Plato, which Silanion made."[14]

12 An "informer" (*sykophantēs*) was a man who brought malicious prosecutions for gain.
13 An "oblong" number is one that can be laid out as a rectangle with unequal sides, such as 6 (2 × 3).
14 Silanion was an Athenian sculptor of the fourth century BC.

MOCKERY, LOVES AND QUARRELS

Comic poets mock him; love epigrams for Aster, Dion and Alexis; rivalries with Xenophon and Antisthenes.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
3.26	Φησὶ δ' Ἡρακλείδης ὅτι νέος ὢν οὕτως ἦν αἰδήμων καὶ κόσμιος ὥστε μηδέποτε ὀφθῆναι γελῶν ὑπεράγαν· τοιοῦτος δ' ὢν ὅμως ἐσκώφθη καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν κωμικῶν. Θεόπομπος γοῦν ἐν Ἡδυχάρει φησὶν οὕτως· ἓν γάρ ἐστιν οὐδὲ ἕν, / τὼ δὲ δύο μόλις ἕν ἐστιν, ὥς φησι Πλάτων. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀναξανδρίδης ἐν Θησεῖ· ὅτε τὰς μορίας ἔτρωγεν ὡσπερ⟨εὶ⟩ Πλάτων. ἀλλὰ καὶ Τίμων οὑτωσὶ παραγραμματίζων αὐτόν· ὡς ἀνέπλασσε Πλάτων ⟨ὁ⟩ πεπλασμένα θαύματα εἰδώς.	Heraclides says that as a young man he was so modest and well-behaved that he was never seen laughing too much. Even so, he too was mocked by the comic poets. Theopompus, for instance, says this in his *Hedychares*: For one is not even one, / and two are hardly one, as Plato says. Anaxandrides too, in his *Theseus*: When he was gobbling olives just like Plato. And Timon, punning on his name like this: As Plato fabricated, a man who knew fabricated wonders.[15]
3.27	Ἄλεξις Μεροπίδι· εἰς καιρὸν ἥκεις· ὡς ἔγωγ' ἀπορουμένη ἄνω κάτω τε περιπατοῦσ' ὥσπερ Πλάτων σοφὸν οὐδὲν εὕρηκ', ἀλλὰ κοπιῶ τὰ σκέλη. καὶ ἐν Ἀγκυλίωνι· λέγεις περὶ ὧν οὐκ οἶσθα· συγγενοῦ τρέχων Πλάτωνι καὶ γνώσῃ λίτρον καὶ κρόμμυον. Ἄμφις Ἀμφικράτει· τὸ δ' ἀγαθὸν ὅ τι ποτ' ἐστίν, οὗ σὺ τυγχάνειν μέλλεις διὰ ταύτην, ἧττον οἶδα τοῦτ' ἐγώ, ὦ δέσποτ', ἢ τὸ Πλάτωνος ἀγαθόν.—πρόσεχε δή.	Alexis, in *Meropis*: You've come just in time. Here I am, at my wits' end, walking up and down like Plato, and I've found nothing wise, I've only tired my legs. And in *Ancylion*: You're talking about things you don't know. Run off and spend time with Plato, and you'll learn about soda and onions. Amphis, in *Amphicrates*: As for the good, whatever it is, that you're going to get through her, I know less about it, master, than about Plato's good. — Pay attention, then.
3.28	ἐν Δεξιδημίδῃ· ὦ Πλάτων, ὡς οὐδὲν οἶσθα πλὴν σκυθρωπάζειν μόνον, ὥσπερ κοχλίας σεμνῶς ἐπηρκὼς τὰς ὀφρῦς. Κρατῖνος Ψευδυποβολιμαίῳ· ἄνθρωπος εἶ δηλονότι καὶ ψυχὴν ἔχεις. —κατὰ τὸν Πλάτων' οὐκ οἶδα ⟨δ'⟩, ὑπονοῶ δ' ἔχειν. Ἄλεξις Ὀλυμπιοδώρῳ· σῶμα μὲν ὁμοῦ τὸ θνητὸν αὖον ἐγένετο, τὸ δ' ἀθάνατον ἐξῇξε πρὸς τὸν ἀέρα. —ταῦτ' οὐ σχολὴ Πλάτωνος; καὶ ἐν Παρασίτῳ· ἢ μετὰ Πλάτωνος ἀδολεσχεῖν κατὰ μόνας. χλευάζει δ' αὐτὸν καὶ Ἀναξίλας Βοτρυλίωνι καὶ Κίρκῃ καὶ Πλουσίαις.	In his *Dexidemides*: Plato, you know nothing except how to scowl, with your eyebrows solemnly raised like a snail. Cratinus, in *The False Changeling*: You're a human being, obviously, and you have a soul. — By Plato's account I don't know, but I suspect I have. Alexis, in *Olympiodorus*: My body, the mortal part, withered up, but the immortal part sprang up into the air. — Isn't this Plato's lecture? And in *The Parasite*: Or to babble in private with Plato. Anaxilas too mocks him in *Botrylion*, *Circe* and *Rich Women*.[16]
3.29	Ἀρίστιππος δ' ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ Περὶ παλαιᾶς τρυφῆς φησιν αὐτὸν Ἀστέρος μειρακίου τινὸς ἀστρολογεῖν συνασκουμένου ἐρασθῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ Δίωνος τοῦ προειρημένου—ἔνιοι καὶ Φαίδρου φασί—· δηλοῦν δὲ τὸν ἔρωτα αὐτοῦ τάδε τὰ ἐπιγράμματα, ἃ καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι εἰς αὐτούς· ἀστέρας εἰσαθρεῖς Ἀστὴρ ἐμός· εἴθε γενοίμην	Aristippus, in the fourth book of *On the Luxury of the Ancients*, says that Plato fell in love with a youth named Aster, who studied astronomy with him, and also with Dion, whom I mentioned earlier. Some say with Phaedrus as well. He says that Plato's love is shown by the following epigrams, which Plato wrote for them: You gaze at the stars,

15 Timon plays on Plato's name and the verb *plassein*, "to mold, to fabricate."
16 This is Cratinus the Younger, a fourth-century BC comic poet, not the famous fifth-century Cratinus.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	οὐρανός, ὡς πολλοῖς ὄμμασιν εἰς σὲ βλέπω. καὶ ἄλλο· ἀστὴρ πρὶν μὲν ἔλαμπες ἐνὶ ζῳοῖσιν Ἑῷος, νῦν δὲ θανὼν λάμπεις Ἔσπερος ἐν φθιμένοις.	my Star; I wish I could become the sky, so that I might look at you with many eyes. And another: Star, once you shone among the living as the Morning Star; now, in death, you shine among the dead as the Evening Star.[17]
3.30	εἰς δὲ τὸν Δίωνα ὧδε· δάκρυα μὲν Ἑκάβῃ τε καὶ Ἰλιάδεσσι γυναιξὶ Μοῖραι ἐπέκλωσαν δὴ τότε γεινομέναις, σοὶ δέ, Δίων, ῥέξαντι καλῶν ἐπινίκιον ἔργων δαίμονες εὐροίας ἐλπίδας ἐξέχεαν. κεῖσαι δ' εὐρυχόρῳ ἐν πατρίδι τίμιος ἀστοῖς, ὦ ἐμὸν ἐκμήνας θυμὸν ἔρωτι Δίων. [31] τοῦτο καὶ ἐπιγεγράφθαι φησὶν ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ.	And on Dion, this one: For Hecuba and the women of Troy the Fates spun tears at the very hour of their birth; but for you, Dion, once you had won the triumph of fine deeds, the gods spilled away your hopes of fair fortune. You lie in your spacious homeland, honored by your fellow citizens, Dion, who drove my heart mad with love. [31] He says this was actually inscribed on Dion's tomb in Syracuse.
3.31	Ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀλέξιδος, φασίν, ἐρασθεὶς καὶ Φαίδρου, καθὰ προείρηται, τοῦτον ἐποίησε τὸν τρόπον· νῦν, ὅτε μηδὲν Ἄλεξις ὅσον μόνον εἶφ' ὅτι καλός, ὤπται καὶ πάντῃ πᾶς τις ἐπιστρέφεται, θυμέ, τί μηνύεις κυσὶν ὀστέον; εἶτ' ἀνιήσῃ ὕστερον; οὐχ οὕτω Φαῖδρον ἀπωλέσαμεν; ἔχειν τε Ἀρχεάνασσαν, εἰς ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν οὕτω ποιῆσαι· Ἀρχεάνασσαν ἔχω τὴν ἐκ Κολοφῶνος ἑταίραν, ἧς καὶ ἐπὶ ῥυτίδων ἕζετο δριμὺς ἔρως. ἆ δειλοὶ νεότητος ἀπαντήσαντες ἐκείνης πρωτοπλόου, δι' ὅσης ἤλθετε πυρκαϊῆς.	They say that he also fell in love with Alexis, and with Phaedrus, as I said earlier, and wrote about it like this: Now, when I have said no more than that Alexis is beautiful, he is stared at, and everyone everywhere turns to look. My heart, why show a bone to dogs? Won't you be sorry for it later? Isn't that how we lost Phaedrus? They also say he had Archeanassa, and wrote this about her too: I have Archeanassa, the courtesan from Colophon; even on her wrinkles fierce love sat. Ah, poor wretches, who met that youth of hers on its first voyage, what a blaze you passed through!
3.32	ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς Ἀγάθωνα· τὴν ψυχὴν Ἀγάθωνα φιλῶν ἐπὶ χείλεσιν εἶχον· ἦλθε γὰρ ἡ τλήμων ὡς διαβησομένη. καὶ ἄλλο· τῷ μήλῳ βάλλω σε· σὺ δ' εἰ μὲν ἐκοῦσα φιλεῖς με, δεξαμένη τῆς σῆς παρθενίης μετάδος, εἰ δ' ἄρ' ὃ μὴ γίγνοιτο νοεῖς, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ λαβοῦσα σκέψαι τὴν ὥρην ὡς ὀλιγοχρόνιος. ⟨καὶ ἄλλο⟩· μῆλον ἐγώ. βάλλει με φιλῶν σέ τις· ἀλλ' ἐπίνευσον Ξανθίππη· κἀγὼ καὶ σὺ μαραινόμεθα.	And on Agathon: Kissing Agathon, I had my soul on my lips; for the poor thing came as if to cross over. And another: I throw the apple at you; if you love me willingly, take it and give me a share of your maidenhood; but if your mind is set on what I hope won't happen, take this very apple and consider how short-lived the bloom of youth is. And another: I am an apple. Someone who loves you throws me. Nod your yes, Xanthippe; you and I are both withering.[18]

17 Aster (Ἀστήρ) means "star" in Greek, and both epigrams pun on the name.
18 Throwing an apple at someone was a traditional Greek declaration of love.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
3.33	Φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ εἰς τοὺς Ἐρετριέας τοὺς σαγηνευθέντας αὐτοῦ εἶναι· Εὐβοίης γένος εἰμὲν Ἐρετρικόν, ἄγχι δὲ Σούσων κείμεθα· φεῦ, γαίης ὅσσον ἀφ' ἡμετέρης. κἀκεῖνο· ἁ Κύπρις Μούσαισι· "κοράσια, τὰν Ἀφροδίταν τιμᾶτ' ἢ τὸν Ἔρωτ' ὔμμιν ἐφοπλίσομαι." αἱ Μοῦσαι ποτὶ Κύπριν· "Ἄρει τὰ στωμύλα ταῦτα· ἡμῖν οὐ πέτεται τοῦτο τὸ παιδάριον." καὶ ἄλλο· χρυσὸν ἀνὴρ εὑρὼν ἔλιπεν βρόχον· αὐτὰρ ὁ χρυσὸν ὃν λίπεν οὐχ εὑρὼν ἧψεν ὃν εὗρε βρόχον.	They also say that the epigram on the Eretrians who were swept up as if in a dragnet is his: We are Eretrians by descent, from Euboea, and near Susa we lie. Alas, how far from our own land! And this one: Cypris to the Muses: "Girls, honor Aphrodite, or I'll arm Eros against you." The Muses to Cypris: "Save that chatter for Ares; that little boy doesn't fly our way." And another: A man who found gold left behind a noose; but the man whose gold it was, not finding what he had left, put on the noose he found.[19]
3.34	Ἀλλά τοι Μόλων ἀπεχθῶς ἔχων πρὸς αὐτόν, "οὐ τοῦτο," φησί, "θαυμαστὸν εἰ Διονύσιος ἐν Κορίνθῳ, ἀλλ' εἰ Πλάτων ἐν Σικελίᾳ." ἔοικε δὲ καὶ Ξενοφῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχειν οὐκ εὐμενῶς. ὥσπερ γοῦν διαφιλονεικοῦντες τὰ ὅμοια γεγράφασι, Συμπόσιον, Σωκράτους ἀπολογίαν, τὰ ἠθικὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα — εἶθ' ὁ μὲν Πολιτείαν, ὁ δὲ Κύρου παιδείαν. καὶ ἐν τοῖς Νόμοις ὁ Πλάτων πλάσμα φησὶν εἶναι τὴν παιδείαν αὐτοῦ· μὴ γὰρ εἶναι Κῦρον τοιοῦτον — ἀμφότεροί τε Σωκράτους μνημονεύοντες, ἀλλήλων οὐδαμοῦ, πλὴν Ξενοφῶν Πλάτωνος ἐν τρίτῳ Ἀπομνημονευμάτων.	Molon, though, who was hostile to him, said: "What's remarkable is not that Dionysius is in Corinth, but that Plato is in Sicily." Xenophon too seems not to have been well disposed toward him. At any rate, as though competing with each other, they wrote works on the same subjects: a *Symposium*, an *Apology of Socrates*, memoirs on ethics. Then the one wrote a *Republic*, the other an *Education of Cyrus*. And in the *Laws* Plato says that Xenophon's account of Cyrus' education is fiction, since Cyrus was not like that. Both of them mention Socrates, but neither mentions the other anywhere, except that Xenophon mentions Plato in the third book of his *Memorabilia*.[20]
3.35	λέγεται δ' ὅτι καὶ Ἀντισθένης μέλλων ἀναγινώσκειν τι τῶν γεγραμμένων αὐτῷ παρεκάλεσεν αὐτὸν παρατυχεῖν. καὶ πυθομένου, τί μέλλει ἀναγινώσκειν, εἶπεν ὅτι περὶ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι ἀντιλέγειν· τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος· "πῶς οὖν σὺ περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου γράφεις;" καὶ διδάσκοντος ὅτι περιτρέπεται, ἔγραψε διάλογον κατὰ Πλάτωνος Σάθωνα ἐπιγράψας· ἐξ οὗ διετέλουν ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους. φασὶ δὲ καὶ Σωκράτην ἀκούσαντα τὸν Λύσιν ἀναγινώσκοντος Πλάτωνος "Ἡράκλεις," εἰπεῖν, "ὡς πολλά μου καταψεύδεθ' ὁ νεανίσκος." οὐκ ὀλίγα γὰρ ὧν οὐκ εἴρηκε Σωκράτης γέγραφεν ἀνήρ.	It is said that Antisthenes, when he was about to read aloud one of his writings, invited Plato to attend. When Plato asked what he was going to read, he said it was on the impossibility of contradiction. Plato said, "Then how can you write on this very subject?" and showed him that the argument refutes itself. Antisthenes then wrote a dialogue against Plato and titled it *Sathon*, and from then on they remained estranged. They also say that Socrates, hearing Plato read the *Lysis*, said: "Heracles! What a lot of lies the young man tells about me!" For the man has written quite a few things that Socrates never said.[21]
3.36	Εἶχε δὲ φιλέχθρως ὁ Πλάτων καὶ πρὸς Ἀρίστιππον. ἐν γοῦν τῷ Περὶ ψυχῆς διαβάλλων αὐτόν φησιν ὅτι οὐ παρεγένετο Σωκράτει τελευτῶντι, ἀλλ' ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ἦν καὶ σύνεγγυς. καὶ πρὸς Αἰσχίνην δέ τινα φιλοτιμίαν εἶχε, φασίν, ὅτι δή περ καὶ αὐτὸς εὐδοκίμει παρὰ Διονυσίῳ. ὃν	Plato was also hostile toward Aristippus. At any rate, in *On the Soul* he disparages him by saying that he was not present when Socrates died, but was in Aegina, close by. And they say he felt a certain rivalry toward Aeschines as well, because

19 In 490 BC the Persians captured Eretria, on Euboea, and resettled its people in Persia near Susa.
20 Dionysius II of Syracuse, after losing power, lived out his life as an exile in Corinth.
21 *Sathon* is an obscene play on Plato's name, formed from a Greek word for penis.

GREEK

ἐλθόντα δι' ἀπορίαν ὑπὸ μὲν Πλάτωνος παροφθῆναι, ὑπὸ δ' Ἀριστίππου συσταθῆναι. τούς τε λόγους οὓς Κρίτωνι περιτέθεικεν ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ περὶ τῆς φυγῆς συμβουλεύοντι, φησὶν Ἰδομενεὺς εἶναι Αἰσχίνου· τὸν δ' ἐκείνῳ περιθεῖναι διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοῦτον δυσμένειαν.

3.37 Ἑαυτοῦ τε Πλάτων οὐδαμόθι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ συγγραμμάτων μνήμην πεποίηται ὅτι μὴ ἐν τῷ Περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ Ἀπολογίᾳ. φησὶ δ' Ἀριστοτέλης τὴν τῶν λόγων ἰδέαν αὐτοῦ μεταξὺ ποιήματος εἶναι καὶ πεζοῦ λόγου. τοῦτον μόνον παραμεῖναι Πλάτωνι Φαβωρῖνός πού φησιν ἀναγινώσκοντι τὸν Περὶ ψυχῆς, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἀναστῆναι πάντας. ἔνιοί τε φασὶν ὅτι Φίλιππος ὁ Ὀπούντιος τοὺς Νόμους αὐτοῦ μετέγραψεν ὄντας ἐν κηρῷ. τούτου δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἐπινομίδα φασὶν εἶναι.

Εὐφορίων δὲ καὶ Παναίτιος εἰρήκασι πολλάκις ἐστραμμένην εὑρῆσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Πολιτείας. ἣν Πολιτείαν Ἀριστόξενός φησι πᾶσαν σχεδὸν ἐν τοῖς Πρωταγόρου γεγράφθαι Ἀντιλογικοῖς. [38] λόγος δὲ πρῶτον γράψαι αὐτὸν τὸν Φαῖδρον· καὶ γὰρ ἔχειν μειρακιῶδές τι τὸ πρόβλημα. Δικαίαρχος δὲ καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς γραφῆς ὅλον ἐπιμέμφεται ὡς φορτικόν.

3.38 Ὅ γοῦν Πλάτων λέγεται θεασάμενός τινα κυβεύοντα αἰτιάσασθαι· τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος ὡς ἐπὶ μικροῖς, "ἀλλὰ τό γ' ἔθος," εἰπεῖν, "οὐ μικρόν." ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ ἀπομνημονεύματα αὐτοῦ ἔσται ὥσπερ τῶν πρότερον ἀπεκρίνατο· "ὀνόματος δεῖ τυχεῖν πρῶτον, εἶτα πολλὰ ἔσται." εἰσελθόντος ποτὲ Ξενοκράτους εἶπε μαστιγῶσαι τὸν παῖδα· αὐτὸν γὰρ μὴ δύνασθαι διὰ τὸ ὠργίσθαι. [39] ἀλλὰ καὶ πρός τινα τῶν παίδων, "μεμαστίγωσο ἄν," εἶπεν, "εἰ μὴ ὠργιζόμην." ἐφ' ἵππου καθίσας εὐθέως κατέβη φήσας εὐλαβεῖσθαι μὴ ἱπποτυφίᾳ ληφθῇ. τοῖς μεθύουσι συνεβούλευε κατοπτρίζεσθαι· ἀποστήσεσθαι γὰρ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀσχημοσύνης.

3.39 πίνειν δ' εἰς μέθην οὐδαμοῦ πρέπον ἔλεγε πλὴν ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς τοῦ καὶ τὸν οἶνον δόντος θεοῦ. καὶ τὸ πολλὰ δὲ καθεύδειν ἀπήρεσκεν αὐτῷ. ἐν γοῦν τοῖς Νόμοις φησί· "κοιμώμενος οὐδεὶς οὐδενὸς ἄξιος·" εἶναί τε ἥδιον τῶν

ENGLISH

Aeschines too was in good standing with Dionysius. When Aeschines arrived there out of poverty, Plato ignored him, but Aristippus introduced him. And Idomeneus says that the arguments Plato gave to Crito, who in the prison advises Socrates to escape, were really Aeschines'; Plato assigned them to Crito because of his ill will toward Aeschines.[22]

Nowhere in his writings does Plato mention himself, except in *On the Soul* and the *Apology*. Aristotle says that the style of his dialogues lies between poetry and prose. Favorinus says somewhere that when Plato was reading *On the Soul*, Aristotle alone stayed to the end; all the others got up and left. Some say that Philip of Opus copied out his *Laws*, which were still on wax tablets. They say the *Epinomis* is also Philip's.

Euphorion and Panaetius have said that the opening of the *Republic* was found revised many times over. Aristoxenus says that almost the whole of this *Republic* had been written in Protagoras' *Contradictory Arguments*. [38] There is a story that the first thing he wrote was the *Phaedrus*, since its subject has something youthful about it. Dicaearchus, for his part, finds fault with the whole manner of its writing as vulgar.

Plato, at any rate, is said to have reproached a man he saw playing dice. When the man said it was only for small stakes, Plato replied, "But the habit is not small." Asked whether there would be memoirs of him, as there were of earlier men, he answered: "First one must make a name; then there will be plenty." Once, when Xenocrates came in, Plato asked him to whip his slave, since he himself could not, because he was angry. [39] And to one of his slaves he said, "You'd have been whipped if I weren't angry." Having mounted a horse, he got straight down again, saying he was wary of being seized by horse-pride. He advised drunkards to look at themselves in a mirror, for then they would give up such disgraceful behavior.

He used to say that drinking to the point of drunkenness was fitting nowhere except at the festivals of the god who gave us wine. He also disapproved of sleeping a great deal. In the *Laws*, at any rate, he

22 *On the Soul* is the alternative title of the *Phaedo*.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἀκουσμάτων τὴν ἀλήθειαν· οἱ δὲ τὸ λέγειν τἀληθῆ. καὶ περὶ ἀληθεία δ' ἐν τοῖς Νόμοις φησὶν οὕτως· [40] "καλὸν μὲν ἡ ἀλήθεια, ὦ ξένε, καὶ μόνιμον· ἔοικε μὴν οὐ ῥᾴδιον ⟨εἶναι⟩ πείθειν." ἀλλὰ καὶ ἠξίου μνημόσυνον αὑτοῦ λείπεσθαι ἢ ἐν φίλοις ἢ ἐν βιβλίοις· ἐξετόπιζε καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ πλεῖστα, καθά τινες φασί.	says: "No one asleep is worth anything." He held that the truth is the sweetest of things to hear; others say, the sweetest of things to speak. And on truth he says this in the *Laws*: [40] "Truth is a fine thing, stranger, and a lasting one; and yet it seems not easy to persuade people of it." He also thought it right to leave a memorial of himself either among friends or in books. He himself lived in seclusion most of the time, as some say.

DEATH AND WILL

Plato dies at eighty-one; his will, his epitaphs and his pupils.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
3.40	Καὶ ἐτελεύτα μὲν ὃν εἴπομεν τρόπον Φιλίππου βασιλεύοντος ἔτος τρισκαιδέκατον, καθὰ καὶ Φαβωρῖνός φησιν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων τρίτῳ. ὑφ' οὗ καὶ ἐπιτιμηθῆναί φησιν αὐτὸν Θεόπομπος. Μυρωνιανὸς δ' ἐν Ὁμοίοις φησὶ Φίλωνα παροιμίας μνημονεύειν περὶ τῶν Πλάτωνος φθειρῶν, ὡς οὕτως αὐτοῦ τελευτήσαντος. [41] καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημείᾳ, ἔνθα τὸν πλεῖστον χρόνον διετέλεσε φιλοσοφῶν. ὅθεν καὶ Ἀκαδημαϊκὴ προσηγορεύθη ἡ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ αἵρεσις. καὶ παρεπέμφθη πανδημεὶ πρὸς τῶν αὐτόθι διαθέμενος τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον·	He died in the way we have described, in the thirteenth year of Philip's reign, as Favorinus too says in the third book of his *Memoirs*. Theopompus says that Philip even rebuked him. Myronianus, in his *Parallels*, says that Philo mentions proverbs about Plato's lice, implying that this was how he died. [41] He was buried in the Academy, where he spent most of his time doing philosophy; that is why the school he founded was called the Academic school. The whole population there escorted his funeral. He made his will as follows:[23]
3.41	"Τάδε κατέλιπε Πλάτων καὶ διέθετο· τὸ ἐν Ἰφιστιαδῶν χωρίον, ᾧ γείτων βορρᾶθεν ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἐκ τοῦ Κηφισιᾶσιν ἱεροῦ, νοτόθεν τὸ Ἡράκλειον τὸ ἐν Ἰφιστιαδῶν, πρὸς ἡλίου δὲ ἀνιόντος Ἀρχέστρατος Φρεάρριος, πρὸς ἡλίου δὲ δυομένου Φίλιππος Χολλείδης· καὶ μὴ ἐξέστω τοῦτο μηδενὶ μήτε ἀποδόσθαι μήτε ἀλλάξασθαι, ἀλλ' ἔστω Ἀδειμάντου τοῦ παιδίου εἰς τὸ δυνατόν· [42] καὶ τὸ ἐν Εἰρεσιδῶν χωρίον, ὃ παρὰ Καλλιμάχου ἐπριάμην, ᾧ γείτων βορρᾶθεν Εὐρυμέδων Μυρρινούσιος, νοτόθεν δὲ Δημόστρατος Ξυπεταιών, πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνιόντος Εὐρυμέδων Μυρρινούσιος, πρὸς ἡλίου δυομένου Κηφισός. ἀργυρίου μνᾶς τρεῖς.	"These are the things Plato has left and bequeathed. The estate at Iphistiadae, bounded on the north by the road from the sanctuary at Cephisia, on the south by the Heracleum at Iphistiadae, on the east by Archestratus of Phrearri, and on the west by Philip of Cholleidae. No one is to be permitted to sell or exchange it; it is to belong to the boy Adeimantus as far as possible. [42] Also the estate at Eiresidae, which I bought from Callimachus, bounded on the north by Eurymedon of Myrrhinus, on the south by Demostratus of Xypete, on the east by Eurymedon of Myrrhinus, and on the west by the Cephisus. Three minas of silver.
3.42	φιάλην ἀργυρᾶν ἕλκουσαν ρξε', κυμβίον ἄγον με', δακτύλιον χρυσοῦν καὶ ἐνώτιον χρυσοῦν ἄγοντα συνάμφω δ' δραχμάς, ὀβολοὺς γ'. Εὐκλείδης ὁ λιθοτόμος ὀφείλει μοι τρεῖς μνᾶς. Ἄρτεμιν ἀφίημι ἐλευθέραν. οἰκέτας καταλείπω Τύχωνα Βίκταν Ἀπολλωνίδην Διονύσιον. [43] σκεύη ⟨.....⟩ τὰ γεγραμμένα, ὧν ἔχει ἀντίγραφα Δημήτριος. ὀφείλω δ' οὐδενὶ οὐθέν. ἐπίτροποι	A silver bowl weighing 165 drachmas; a cup weighing 45; a gold ring and a gold earring, together weighing 4 drachmas and 3 obols. Euclides the stonecutter owes me three minas. I set Artemis free. I leave as household slaves Tychon, Bictas, Apollonides and Dionysius. [43] Furnishings … as listed, of which Demetrius has copies. I owe nothing

23 Philip II of Macedon; the thirteenth year of his reign was 348/7 BC.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Λεωσθένης Σπεύσιππος Δημήτριος Ἡγίας Εὐρυμέδων Καλλίμαχος Θράσιππος.”	to anyone. Executors: Leosthenes, Speusippus, Demetrius, Hegias, Eurymedon, Callimachus, Thrasippus.”[24]
3.43	Καὶ διέθετο μὲν οὕτως. ἐπεγράφη δ’ αὐτοῦ τῷ τάφῳ ἐπιγράμματα τάδε· πρῶτον· σωφροσύνῃ προφέρων θνητῶν ἤθει τε δικαίῳ ἐνθάδε δὴ κεῖται θεῖος Ἀριστοκλέης· εἰ δέ τις ἐκ πάντων σοφίης μέγαν ἔσχεν ἔπαινον τοῦτον ἔχει πλεῖστον καὶ φθόνος οὐχ ἕπεται. [44] ἕτερον δέ· γαῖα μὲν ἐν κόλπῳ κρύπτει τόδε σῶμα Πλάτωνος, ψυχὴ δ’ ἀθάνατον τάξιν ἔχει μακάρων υἱοῦ Ἀρίστωνος, τόν τις καὶ τηλόθι ναίων τιμᾷ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς θεῖον ἰδόντα βίον. καὶ ἄλλο νεώτερον· αἰετέ, τίπτε βέβηκας ὑπὲρ τάφον; ἦ τινος, εἰπέ, ἀστερόεντα θεῶν οἶκον ἀποσκοπέεις; —ψυχῆς εἰμι Πλάτωνος ἀποπταμένης ἐς Ὄλυμπον εἰκών, σῶμα δὲ ⟨γῆ⟩ γηγενὲς Ἀτθὶς ἔχει.	That was how he made his will. The following epigrams were inscribed on his tomb. First: Surpassing all mortals in self-control and just character, here lies the divine Aristocles; if anyone of all men won great praise for wisdom, he has the most, and envy does not follow him. [44] Another: Earth hides in her bosom this body of Plato, but his soul holds its immortal rank among the blessed, the soul of Ariston’s son, whom every good man, even living far away, honors, for he looked upon a divine life. And another, more recent: Eagle, why have you come to stand above this tomb? Tell me, are you gazing at the starry house of one of the gods? —I am the image of Plato’s soul, which has flown off to Olympus; his earth-born body the soil of Attica holds.[25]
3.45	ἔστι καὶ ἡμέτερον οὕτως ἔχον· καὶ πῶς εἰ μὴ Φοῖβος ἀν’ Ἑλλάδα φῦσε Πλάτωνα, ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων γράμμασιν ἠκέσατο; καὶ γὰρ ὁ τοῦδε γεγὼς Ἀσκληπιός ἐστιν ἰητὴρ σώματος, ὡς ψυχῆς ἀθανάτοιο Πλάτων. καὶ ἄλλο, ὡς ἐτελεύτα· Φοῖβος ἔφυσε βροτοῖς Ἀσκληπιὸν ἠδὲ Πλάτωνα, τὸν μὲν ἵνα ψυχήν, τὸν δ’ ἵνα σῶμα σάοι. δαισάμενος δὲ γάμον πόλιν ἦλυθεν, ἣν ποθ’ ἑαυτῷ ἔκτισε καὶ δαπέδῳ Ζηνὸς ἐνιδρύσατο. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπιγράμματα ταῦτα.	There is also one of mine, which goes like this: How, if Phoebus had not brought Plato to life in Greece, could he have healed men’s souls with writings? For just as this god’s son Asclepius is a healer of the body, so Plato is of the immortal soul. And another, on how he died: Phoebus brought forth for mortals Asclepius and Plato, the one to save the soul, the other the body. After feasting at a wedding he went to the city that he once founded for himself and set upon the floor of Zeus. So much for the epigrams.[26]
3.46	Μαθηταὶ δ’ αὐτοῦ Σπεύσιππος Ἀθηναῖος, Ξενοκράτης Καλχηδόνιος, Ἀριστοτέλης Σταγειρίτης, Φίλιππος Ὀπούντιος, Ἑστιαῖος Περίνθιος, Δίων Συρακόσιος, Ἄμυκλος Ἡρακλεώτης, Ἔραστος καὶ Κορίσκος Σκήψιοι, Τιμόλαος Κυζικηνός, Εὐαίων Λαμψακηνός, Πύθων καὶ Ἡρακλείδης Αἴνιοι, Ἱπποθάλης καὶ Κάλλιππος Ἀθηναῖοι, Δημήτριος Ἀμφιπολίτης, Ἡρακλείδης Ποντικὸς καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους, σὺν οἷς καὶ γυναῖκες δύο Λασθένεια Μαντινικὴ καὶ Ἀξιοθέα Φλειασία ἣ καὶ ἀνδρεῖα ἠμπίσχετο, ὥς φησι Δικαίαρχος. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ Θεόφραστον ἀκοῦσαί φασιν	His pupils were Speusippus of Athens, Xenocrates of Chalcedon, Aristotle of Stagira, Philip of Opus, Hestiaeus of Perinthus, Dion of Syracuse, Amyclus of Heraclea, Erastus and Coriscus of Scepsis, Timolaus of Cyzicus, Euaeon of Lampsacus, Python and Heraclides of Aenus, Hippothales and Callippus of Athens, Demetrius of Amphipolis, Heraclides of Pontus and many others. Among them were two women, Lastheneia of Mantinea

24 The drachma (and the obol, a sixth of a drachma) were coins, used here also as units of weight.
25 Aristocles was Plato’s given name, according to Diogenes earlier in this book.
26 Asclepius, god of healing, was the son of Phoebus Apollo; Diogenes reports earlier that Plato died after a wedding feast.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	αὐτοῦ· καὶ Ὑπερίδην τὸν ῥήτορα Χαμαιλέων φησὶ καὶ Λυκοῦργον. [47] ὁμοίως Πολέμων ἱστορεῖ. καὶ Δημοσθένην Σαβῖνος λέγει Μνησίστρατον Θάσιον παρατιθέμενος ἐν δ' Μελετητικῆς ὕλης· καὶ εἰκός ἐστι.	and Axiothea of Phlius, who even wore men's clothes, as Dicaearchus says. Some say that Theophrastus also studied under him, and Chamaeleon says that the orator Hyperides did too, and Lycurgus. [47] Polemo gives the same account. Sabinus says Demosthenes did as well, citing Mnesistratus of Thasos in the fourth book of his *Materials for Exercises*; and it is likely enough.[27]

THE DIALOGUES

Diogenes defines the dialogue and sorts Plato's dialogues into types.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
3.47	Φιλοπλάτωνι δέ σοι δικαίως ὑπαρχούσῃ καὶ παρ' ὀντινοῦν τὰ τοῦ φιλοσόφου δόγματα φιλοτίμως ζητούσῃ ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην ὑπογράψαι καὶ τὴν φύσιν τῶν λόγων καὶ τὴν τάξιν τῶν διαλόγων καὶ τὴν ἔφοδον τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς, ὡς οἷόν τε στοιχειωδῶς καὶ ἐπὶ κεφαλαίων, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀμοιρεῖν αὐτοῦ τῶν δογμάτων τὴν περὶ τοῦ βίου συναγωγήν· γλαῦκα γὰρ εἰς Ἀθήνας, φασίν, εἰ δέῃ σοι τὰ κατ' εἶδος διηγεῖσθαι.	Since you are, rightly, a lover of Plato, and eager to seek out the philosopher's doctrines in preference to anyone else's, I thought it necessary to sketch the nature of his discourses, the order of the dialogues and the method of his induction, as elementarily and summarily as I can, so that my collection of facts about his life should not lack his doctrines. For it would be bringing owls to Athens, as they say, if I had to explain the details to you.[28]
3.48	Διαλόγους τοίνυν φασὶ πρῶτον γράψαι Ζήνωνα τὸν Ἐλεάτην· Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ ποιητῶν Ἀλεξαμενὸν Στυρέα ἢ Τήιον, ὡς καὶ Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Ἀπομνημονεύμασι. δοκεῖ δέ μοι Πλάτων ἀκριβώσας τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὰ πρωτεῖα δικαίως ἂν ὥσπερ τοῦ κάλλους οὕτω καὶ τῆς εὑρέσεως ἀποφέρεσθαι. ἔστι δὲ διάλογος ⟨λόγος⟩ ἐξ ἐρωτήσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως συγκείμενος περί τινος τῶν φιλοσοφουμένων καὶ πολιτικῶν μετὰ τῆς πρεπούσης ἠθοποιίας τῶν παραλαμβανομένων προσώπων καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν λέξιν κατασκευῆς. διαλεκτικὴ δ' ἐστὶ τέχνη λόγων, δι' ἧς ἀνασκευάζομέν τι ἢ κατασκευάζομεν ἐξ ἐρωτήσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως τῶν προσδιαλεγομένων.	They say, then, that the first to write dialogues was Zeno of Elea; but Aristotle, in the first book of *On Poets*, says it was Alexamenus of Styra or of Teos, as Favorinus also says in his *Memoirs*. To my mind Plato, who brought the genre to perfection, would justly carry off the first prize for inventing it, just as he does for its beauty. A dialogue is a discourse made up of question and answer on some philosophical or political subject, with characterization appropriate to the persons introduced and with careful attention to style. Dialectic is the art of discourse by which we refute or establish something through the questions and answers of those taking part in the conversation.
3.49	Τοῦ δὴ ⟨δια⟩λόγου τοῦ Πλατωνικοῦ δύ' εἰσὶν ἀνωτάτω χαρακτῆρες, ὅ τε ὑφηγητικὸς καὶ ὁ ζητητικός. διαιρεῖται δὲ ὁ ὑφηγητικὸς εἰς ἄλλους δύο χαρακτῆρας, θεωρηματικόν τε καὶ πρακτικόν. καὶ τῶν ὁ μὲν θεωρηματικὸς εἰς τὸν φυσικὸν καὶ λογικόν, ὁ δὲ πρακτικὸς εἰς τὸν ἠθικὸν καὶ πολιτικόν. τοῦ δὲ ζητητικοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ δύο εἰσὶν οἱ πρῶτοι χαρακτῆρες, ὅ τε γυμναστικὸς καὶ ἀγωνιστικός. καὶ τοῦ μὲν γυμναστικοῦ	The Platonic dialogue, then, has two most general types: the instructive and the investigative. The instructive is divided into two further types, the theoretical and the practical. Of these, the theoretical divides into the physical and the logical, the practical into the ethical and the political. The investigative also has two primary types, the training type and the combative type. The training type di-

27 This Polemo is probably the antiquarian Polemo of Ilium, not the later head of the Academy.
28 Diogenes here addresses an unnamed woman reader; the Greek participles are feminine.

GREEK	ENGLISH
μαιευτικός τε καὶ πειραστικός, τοῦ δὲ ἀγωνιστικοῦ ἐνδεικτικὸς καὶ ἀνατρεπτικός.	vides into the midwifely and the testing, the combative into the exposing and the refuting.
3.50 Οὐ λανθάνει δ' ἡμᾶς ὅτι τινὲς ἄλλως διαφέρειν τοὺς διαλόγους φασί—λέγουσι γὰρ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν δραματικούς, τοὺς δὲ διηγηματικούς, τοὺς δὲ μεικτούς—ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν τραγικῶς μᾶλλον ἢ φιλοσόφως τὴν διαφορὰν τῶν διαλόγων προσωνόμασαν. εἰσὶ δὲ τοῦ μὲν φυσικοῦ οἷον ὁ Τίμαιος· τοῦ δὲ λογικοῦ ὅ τε Πολιτικὸς καὶ ὁ Κρατύλος καὶ Παρμενίδης καὶ Σοφιστής· τοῦ δ' ἠθικοῦ ἥ τε Ἀπολογία καὶ ὁ Κρίτων καὶ Φαίδων καὶ Φαῖδρος καὶ τὸ Συμπόσιον Μενέξενός τε καὶ Κλειτοφῶν καὶ Ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ Φίληβος Ἵππαρχος Ἀντερασταί· τοῦ δὲ πολιτικοῦ ἥ τε Πολιτεία καὶ οἱ Νόμοι καὶ ὁ Μίνως καὶ Ἐπινομὶς καὶ ὁ Ἀτλαντικός·	We are not unaware that some distinguish the dialogues differently: they call some of them dramatic, some narrative and some mixed. But these people have named the differences between the dialogues in the terms of tragedy rather than of philosophy. Examples of the physical type are the *Timaeus*; of the logical, the *Statesman*, the *Cratylus*, the *Parmenides* and the *Sophist*; of the ethical, the *Apology*, the *Crito*, the *Phaedo*, the *Phaedrus*, the *Symposium*, the *Menexenus*, the *Clitophon*, the *Letters*, the *Philebus*, the *Hipparchus* and the *Rival Lovers*; of the political, the *Republic*, the *Laws*, the *Minos*, the *Epinomis* and the *Atlanticus*;
3.51 τοῦ δὲ μαιευτικοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδαι Θεάγης Λύσις Λάχης· τοῦ δὲ πειραστικοῦ Εὐθύφρων Μένων Ἴων Χαρμίδης Θεαίτητος· τοῦ δὲ ἐνδεικτικοῦ ὡς ὁ Πρωταγόρας· καὶ τοῦ ἀνατρεπτικοῦ Εὐθύδημος Γοργίας Ἱππίαι δύο. καὶ περὶ μὲν διαλόγου τί ποτέ ἐστι καὶ τίνες αὐτοῦ διαφοραί, ⟨τοσαῦτα⟩ ἀπόχρη λέγειν.	of the midwifely, the two *Alcibiades*, the *Theages*, the *Lysis* and the *Laches*; of the testing, the *Euthyphro*, the *Meno*, the *Ion*, the *Charmides* and the *Theaetetus*; of the exposing, for instance, the *Protagoras*; and of the refuting, the *Euthydemus*, the *Gorgias* and the two *Hippias* dialogues. That is enough on what a dialogue is and what its varieties are.
Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὴ στάσις ἐστὶ καὶ οἱ μέν φασιν αὐτὸν δογματίζειν, οἱ δ' οὔ, φέρε καὶ περὶ τούτου διαλάβωμεν. αὐτὸ τοίνυν τὸ δογματίζειν ἐστὶ δόγματα τιθέναι ὡς τὸ νομοθετεῖν νόμους τιθέναι. δόγματα δὲ ἑκατέρως καλεῖται, τό τε δοξαζόμενον καὶ ἡ δόξα αὐτή.	Since there is much dispute, some saying that he lays down doctrines and others that he does not, let us deal with this question too. To lay down doctrines is to establish tenets, just as to legislate is to establish laws. And "doctrine" is used in two senses: for what is opined and for the opinion itself.
3.52 Τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν δοξαζόμενον πρότασίς ἐστιν, ἡ δὲ δόξα ὑπόληψις. ὁ τοίνυν Πλάτων περὶ μὲν ὧν κατείληφεν ἀποφαίνεται, τὰ δὲ ψευδῆ διελέγχει, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀδήλων ἐπέχει. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν αὐτῷ δοκούντων ἀποφαίνεται διὰ τεττάρων προσώπων, Σωκράτους, Τιμαίου, τοῦ Ἀθηναίου ξένου, τοῦ Ἐλεάτου ξένου· εἰσὶ δ' οἱ ξένοι οὐχ, ὥς τινες ὑπέλαβον, Πλάτων καὶ Παρμενίδης, ἀλλὰ πλάσματά ἐστιν ἀνώνυμα· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ Σωκράτους καὶ τὰ Τιμαίου λέγων Πλάτων δογματίζει. περὶ δὲ τῶν ψευδῶν ἐλεγχομένους εἰσάγει οἷον Θρασύμαχον καὶ Καλλικλέα καὶ Πῶλον Γοργίαν τε καὶ Πρωταγόραν, ἔτι Ἱππίαν καὶ Εὐθύδημον καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους.	Of these, what is opined is a proposition, and the opinion is a supposition. Plato, then, declares his views on things he has apprehended, refutes what is false, and suspends judgment on what is unclear. His own views he declares through four characters: Socrates, Timaeus, the Athenian Stranger and the Eleatic Stranger. The strangers are not, as some have supposed, Plato and Parmenides; they are nameless fictional figures. For even when he speaks through Socrates and Timaeus, it is Plato who is laying down doctrine. To deal with false views he brings in people who are refuted, such as Thrasymachus, Callicles, Polus, Gorgias and Protagoras, and also Hippias, Euthydemus and others like them.
3.53 Ποιούμενος δὲ τὰς ἀποδείξεις πλείστῳ χρῆται τῷ τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς τρόπῳ, οὐ μὴν μονοτρόπῳ, ἀλλὰ διχῇ. ἔστι μὲν	In constructing his proofs he mostly uses the method of induction, not in a single form but in

GREEK

γὰρ ἐπαγωγὴ λόγος διά τινων ἀληθῶν τὸ ὅμοιον ἑαυτῷ ἀληθὲς οἰκείως ἐπιφέρων. δύο δὲ τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς εἰσι τρόποι, ὅ τε κατ᾽ ἐναντίωσιν καὶ ὁ ἐκ τῆς ἀκολουθίας. ὁ μὲν οὖν κατ᾽ ἐναντίωσίν ἐστιν ἐξ οὗ τῷ ἐρωτωμένῳ περὶ πᾶσαν ἀπόκρισιν ἀκολουθήσει τὸ ἐναντίον, οἷον· ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ τῷ σῷ πατρὶ ἤτοι ἕτερός ἐστιν ἢ ὁ αὐτός.

εἰ μὲν οὖν ἕτερός ἐστι τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς ὁ σὸς πατήρ, πατρὸς ἕτερος ὢν οὐκ ἂν εἴη πατήρ· εἰ δὲ ὁ αὐτός ἐστι τῷ ἐμῷ πατρί, ὁ αὐτὸς ὢν τῷ ἐμῷ πατρὶ ὁ ἐμὸς ἂν εἴη πατήρ. [54] καὶ πάλιν· εἰ μή ἐστι ζῷον ὁ ἄνθρωπος, λίθος ἂν εἴη ἢ ξύλον. οὐκ ἔστι δὲ λίθος ἢ ξύλον· ἔμψυχον γάρ ἐστι καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ κινεῖται· ζῷον ἄρα ἐστίν. εἰ δὲ ζῷόν ἐστι, ζῷον δὲ καὶ ὁ κύων καὶ ὁ βοῦς, εἴη ἂν καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ζῷον ⟨ὢν⟩ καὶ κύων καὶ βοῦς.

3.54 οὗτος μὲν ὁ τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς κατ᾽ ἐναντίωσιν καὶ μάχην τρόπος, ᾧ ἐχρῆτο οὐ πρὸς τὸ δογματίζειν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ διελέγχειν. ὁ δὲ τῆς ἀκολουθίας ἐστὶ διπλοῦς· ὁ μὲν τὸ ἐπὶ μέρους ζητούμενον διὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ μέρους ἀποδεικνύς, ὁ δὲ ⟨διὰ⟩ τοῦ καθόλου [διὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ μέρους]. καὶ ἔστιν ὁ μὲν πρότερος ῥητορικός, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος διαλεκτικός. οἷον ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ ζητεῖται, εἰ ὅδε ἀπέκτεινεν. ἀπόδειξις τὸ εὑρῆσθαι αὐτὸν κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ᾑμαγμένον. [55] ῥητορικὸς δ᾽ ἐστὶν ὁ τρόπος τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς οὗτος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡ ῥητορικὴ περὶ τὰ ἐπὶ μέρους, οὐ τὰ καθόλου τὴν πραγματείαν ἔχει.

3.55 ζητεῖ γὰρ οὐ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ δικαίου, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους δικαίων. ὁ δὲ ἕτερός ἐστι διαλεκτικός, προαποδειχθέντος τοῦ καθόλου διὰ τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους. οἷον ζητεῖται, εἰ ἡ ψυχὴ ἀθάνατος καὶ εἰ ἐκ τῶν τεθνεώτων οἱ ζῶντες· ὅπερ ἀποδείκνυται ἐν τῷ Περὶ ψυχῆς διά τινος καθολικοῦ, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων τὰ ἐναντία. καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ καθόλου κατασκευάζεται ἔκ τινων ὄντων ἐπὶ μέρους· οἷον ὅτι τὸ καθεύδειν ἐκ τοῦ ἐγρηγορέναι καὶ ἀνάπαλιν καὶ τὸ μεῖζον ἐκ τοῦ μικροτέρου καὶ ἀνάπαλιν. τούτῳ δὲ ἐχρῆτο εἰς τὴν τῶν ἑαυτῷ δοκούντων κατασκευήν.

ENGLISH

two. Induction is an argument that, from certain truths, properly infers a further truth similar to them. There are two kinds of induction: by contradiction and from consequence. Induction by contradiction is the kind in which, whatever answer the person questioned gives, the opposite will follow. For example: my father is either other than your father or the same.

If your father is other than my father, then, being other than a father, he would not be a father. But if he is the same as my father, then, being the same as my father, he would be my father. [54] And again: if a human being is not an animal, he would be a stone or a piece of wood. But he is not a stone or wood, since he is alive and moves of himself; therefore he is an animal. But if he is an animal, and the dog and the ox are also animals, then a human being, being an animal, would also be a dog and an ox.

This is the method of induction by contradiction and conflict, which he used not to establish doctrine but to refute. The method from consequence is twofold: one form proves the particular point in question through a particular, the other through the universal [through the particular]. The first is rhetorical, the second dialectical. In the first, for instance, the question is whether this man committed a murder; the proof is that he was found covered in blood at that time. [55] This method of induction is rhetorical because rhetoric too is concerned with particulars, not universals.

For it inquires not about the just itself, but about particular just acts. The other form is dialectical, the universal having first been proved through particulars. For example, the question is whether the soul is immortal and whether the living come from the dead. This is proved in *On the Soul* through a universal: that opposites come from opposites. And the universal itself is established from certain particulars: for example, that sleeping comes from being awake and vice versa, and the greater from the smaller and vice versa. He used this method to establish his own views.

THE TETRALOGIES

Thrasyllus arranges the genuine dialogues in nine groups of four; other orders and spurious works are listed.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
3.56	Ὥσπερ δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐν τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ πρότερον μὲν μόνος ὁ χορὸς διεδραμάτιζεν, ὕστερον δὲ Θέσπις ἕνα ὑποκριτὴν ἐξεῦρεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ διαναπαύεσθαι τὸν χορὸν καὶ δεύτερον Αἰσχύλος, τὸν δὲ τρίτον Σοφοκλῆς καὶ συνεπλήρωσεν τὴν τραγῳδίαν, οὕτως καὶ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ὁ λόγος πρότερον μὲν ἦν μονοειδὴς ὡς ὁ φυσικός, δεύτερον δὲ Σωκράτης προσέθηκε τὸν ἠθικόν, τρίτον δὲ Πλάτων τὸν διαλεκτικὸν καὶ ἐτελεσιούργησε τὴν φιλοσοφίαν. Θράσυλος δέ φησι καὶ κατὰ τὴν τραγικὴν τετραλογίαν ἐκδοῦναι αὐτὸν τοὺς διαλόγους, οἷον ἐκεῖνοι τέτρασι δράμασιν ἠγωνίζοντο — Διονυσίοις, Ληναίοις, Παναθηναίοις, Χύτροις — ὧν τὸ τέταρτον ἦν Σατυρικόν· τὰ δὲ τέτταρα δράματα ἐκαλεῖτο τετραλογία.	In tragedy in the old days the chorus at first performed the whole drama alone; later Thespis invented a single actor to give the chorus a rest, Aeschylus added a second, and Sophocles a third, completing tragedy. In the same way the discourse of philosophy was at first of one kind only, namely physics; second, Socrates added ethics; and third, Plato added dialectic and brought philosophy to completion. Thrasyllus says that Plato also published his dialogues in tetralogies, on the model of the tragic tetralogy. The tragedians competed with four plays—at the Dionysia, the Lenaea, the Panathenaea and the Chytri—of which the fourth was a satyr play; and the four plays together were called a tetralogy.[29]
3.57	Εἰσὶ τοίνυν, φησίν, οἱ πάντες αὐτῷ γνήσιοι διάλογοι ἓξ καὶ πεντήκοντα, τῆς μὲν Πολιτείας εἰς δέκα διαιρουμένης — ἣν καὶ εὑρίσκεσθαι σχεδὸν ὅλην παρὰ Πρωταγόρᾳ ἐν τοῖς Ἀντιλογικοῖς φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπῆς ἱστορίας δευτέρῳ -τῶν δὲ Νόμων εἰς δυοκαίδεκα. τετραλογίαι δὲ ἐννέα, ἑνὸς βιβλίου χώραν ἐπεχούσης τῆς Πολιτείας καὶ ἑνὸς τῶν Νόμων. πρώτην μὲν οὖν τετραλογίαν τίθησι τὴν κοινὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἔχουσαν· παραδεῖξαι γὰρ βούλεται ὁποῖος ἂν εἴη ὁ τοῦ φιλοσόφου βίος. διπλαῖς τε χρῆται ταῖς ἐπιγραφαῖς καθ' ἑκάστου τῶν βιβλίων, τῇ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος, τῇ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος.	Altogether, he says, there are fifty-six genuine dialogues, the *Republic* being divided into ten—Favorinus says in the second book of his *Miscellaneous History* that it is found almost entire in Protagoras' *Contradictory Arguments*—and the *Laws* into twelve. There are nine tetralogies, with the *Republic* taking the place of one book and the *Laws* of one. As the first tetralogy, then, he puts the one with a common subject, since he wants to show what the life of the philosopher would be like. He uses double titles for each of the books, one taken from the name, the other from the subject.
3.58	ταύτης τῆς τετραλογίας, ἥτις ἐστὶ πρώτη, ἡγεῖται Εὐθύφρων ἢ περὶ ὁσίου· ὁ διάλογος δ' ἐστὶ πειραστικός· δεύτερος Ἀπολογία Σωκράτους, ἠθικός· τρίτος Κρίτων ἢ περὶ πρακτέου, ἠθικός· τέταρτος Φαίδων ἢ περὶ ψυχῆς, ἠθικός. δευτέρα τετραλογία, ἧς ἡγεῖται Κρατύλος ἢ περὶ ὀρθότητος ὀνομάτων, λογικός· Θεαίτητος ἢ περὶ ἐπιστήμης, πειραστικός· Σοφιστὴς ἢ περὶ τοῦ ὄντος, λογικός· Πολιτικὸς ἢ περὶ βασιλείας, λογικός. τῆς τρίτης ἡγεῖται Παρμενίδης ἢ περὶ ἰδεῶν, λογικός· Φίληβος ἢ περὶ ἡδονῆς, ἠθικός· Συμπόσιον ἢ περὶ ἀγαθοῦ, ἠθικός· Φαῖδρος ἢ περὶ ἔρωτος, ἠθικός.	This tetralogy, the first, is headed by the *Euthyphro*, or *On Piety*; the dialogue is testing. Second, the *Apology of Socrates*, ethical; third, the *Crito*, or *On What Should Be Done*, ethical; fourth, the *Phaedo*, or *On the Soul*, ethical. The second tetralogy is headed by the *Cratylus*, or *On the Correctness of Names*, logical; then the *Theaetetus*, or *On Knowledge*, testing; the *Sophist*, or *On Being*, logical; the *Statesman*, or *On Kingship*, logical. The third is headed by the *Parmenides*, or *On Forms*, logical; then the *Philebus*, or *On Pleasure*, ethical; the *Symposium*, or *On the Good*, ethical; the *Phaedrus*, or *On Love*, ethical.
3.59	Τῆς τετάρτης ἡγεῖται Ἀλκιβιάδης ἢ περὶ ἀνθρώπου φύσεως, μαιευτικός· Ἀλκιβιάδης δεύτερος ἢ περὶ εὐχῆς,	The fourth tetralogy is headed by the *Alcibiades*, or *On the Nature of Man*, midwifely. Then come the

29 Thrasyllus, astrologer to the emperor Tiberius (1st century AD), edited Plato's works in the nine tetralogies listed here.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	μαιευτικός· Ἵππαρχος ἢ φιλοκερδής, ἠθικός· Ἀντερασταὶ ἢ περὶ φιλοσοφίας, ἠθικός. τῆς πέμπτης ἡγεῖται Θεάγης ἢ περὶ φιλοσοφίας, μαιευτικός· Χαρμίδης ἢ περὶ σωφροσύνης, πειραστικός· Λάχης ἢ περὶ ἀνδρείας, μαιευτικός· Λύσις ἢ περὶ φιλίας, μαιευτικός. τῆς ἕκτης ἡγεῖται Εὐθύδημος ἢ ἐριστικός, ἀνατρεπτικός· Πρωταγόρας ἢ σοφισταί, ἐνδεικτικός· Γοργίας ἢ περὶ ῥητορικῆς, ἀνατρεπτικός· Μένων ἢ περὶ ἀρετῆς, πειραστικός. [60] τῆς ἑβδόμης ἡγοῦνται Ἱππίαι δύο — α′ ἢ περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ, β′ ἢ περὶ τοῦ ψεύδους -ἀνατρεπτικοί· Ἴων ἢ περὶ Ἰλιάδος, πειραστικός· Μενέξενος ἢ ἐπιτάφιος, ἠθικός.	*Second Alcibiades*, or *On Prayer*, midwifely; the *Hipparchus*, or *The Lover of Gain*, ethical; and the *Rival Lovers*, or *On Philosophy*, ethical. The fifth is headed by the *Theages*, or *On Philosophy*, midwifely. Then come the *Charmides*, or *On Temperance*, testing; the *Laches*, or *On Courage*, midwifely; and the *Lysis*, or *On Friendship*, midwifely. The sixth is headed by the *Euthydemus*, or *The Eristic*, refuting. Then come the *Protagoras*, or *The Sophists*, exposing; the *Gorgias*, or *On Rhetoric*, refuting; and the *Meno*, or *On Excellence*, testing. [60] The seventh is headed by the two *Hippias* dialogues, both refuting: the first *On the Beautiful*, the second *On Falsehood*. Then come the *Ion*, or *On the Iliad*, testing; and the *Menexenus*, or *The Funeral Oration*, ethical.
3.60	τῆς ὀγδόης ἡγεῖται Κλειτοφῶν ἢ προτρεπτικός, ἠθικός· Πολιτεία ἢ περὶ δικαίου, πολιτικός· Τίμαιος ἢ περὶ φύσεως, φυσικός· Κριτίας ἢ Ἀτλαντικός, ἠθικός. τῆς ἐνάτης ἡγεῖται Μίνως ἢ περὶ νόμου, πολιτικός· Νόμοι ἢ περὶ νομοθεσίας, πολιτικός· Ἐπινομὶς ἢ νυκτερινὸς σύλλογος ἢ φιλόσοφος, πολιτικός· Ἐπιστολαὶ τρεισκαίδεκα, ἠθικαί — [61] ἐν αἷς ἔγραφεν εὖ πράττειν, Ἐπίκουρος δὲ εὖ διάγειν, Κλέων χαίρειν — πρὸς Ἀριστόδημον μία, πρὸς Ἀρχύταν δύο, πρὸς Διονύσιον τέτταρες, πρὸς Ἑρμίαν καὶ Ἔραστον καὶ Κορίσκον μία, πρὸς Λεωδάμαντα μία, πρὸς Δίωνα μία, πρὸς Περδίκκαν μία, πρὸς τοὺς Δίωνος οἰκείους δύο. καὶ οὗτος μὲν οὕτω διαιρεῖ καί τινες.	The eighth is headed by the *Clitophon*, or *The Exhortation*, ethical. Then come the *Republic*, or *On Justice*, political; the *Timaeus*, or *On Nature*, physical; and the *Critias*, or *The Story of Atlantis*, ethical. The ninth is headed by the *Minos*, or *On Law*, political. Then come the *Laws*, or *On Legislation*, political; the *Epinomis*, or *The Nocturnal Council*, or *The Philosopher*, political; and the *Letters*, thirteen of them, ethical. [61] In these he wrote "Do well" as his greeting, whereas Epicurus wrote "Live well" and Cleon "Greetings." There is one to Aristodemus, two to Archytas, four to Dionysius, one to Hermias, Erastus and Coriscus, one to Leodamas, one to Dion, one to Perdiccas, and two to Dion's family. This is how he divides the dialogues, and so do some others.[30]
3.61	Ἔνιοι δέ, ὧν ἐστι καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ γραμματικός, εἰς τριλογίας ἕλκουσι τοὺς διαλόγους, [62] καὶ πρώτην μὲν τιθέασιν ἧς ἡγεῖται Πολιτεία Τίμαιος Κριτίας· δευτέραν Σοφιστὴς Πολιτικὸς Κρατύλος· τρίτην Νόμοι Μίνως Ἐπινομίς· τετάρτην Θεαίτητος Εὐθύφρων Ἀπολογία· πέμπτην Κρίτων Φαίδων Ἐπιστολαί. τὰ δ' ἄλλα καθ' ἓν καὶ ἀτάκτως.	Some, among them Aristophanes the grammarian, force the dialogues into trilogies. [62] As the first they put the one headed by the *Republic*, followed by the *Timaeus* and the *Critias*. The second is the *Sophist*, the *Statesman* and the *Cratylus*. The third is the *Laws*, the *Minos* and the *Epinomis*. The fourth is the *Theaetetus*, the *Euthyphro* and the *Apology*. The fifth is the *Crito*, the *Phaedo* and the *Letters*. The rest they list one by one, in no particular order.[31]
3.62	ἄρχονται δὲ οἱ μέν, ὡς προείρηται, ἀπὸ τῆς Πολιτείας· οἱ δ' ἀπὸ Ἀλκιβιάδου τοῦ μείζονος· οἱ δ' ἀπὸ Θεάγους· ἔνιοι δὲ Εὐθύφρονος· ἄλλοι Κλειτοφῶντος· τινὲς Τιμαίου· οἱ δ' ἀπὸ Φαίδρου· ἕτεροι Θεαιτήτου· πολλοὶ δὲ ⟨ἀπ'⟩ Ἀπολογίας τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιοῦνται. νοθεύονται δὲ τῶν	As I said before, some begin with the *Republic*, others with the *Greater Alcibiades*, others with the *Theages*. Some begin with the *Euthyphro*, others with the *Clitophon*, some with the *Timaeus*, others with the *Phaedrus*, others again with the

30 Cleon was the Athenian politician of the Peloponnesian War, said to have been the first to open a letter with "Greetings" (*chairein*), in his dispatch announcing the victory at Pylos.
31 Aristophanes of Byzantium (c. 257–180 BC) was an Alexandrian scholar and head of the Library at Alexandria.

GREEK	ENGLISH
διαλόγων ὁμολογουμένως Μίδων ἢ Ἱπποτρόφος, Ἐρυξίας ἢ Ἐρασίστρατος, Ἀλκύων, Ἀκέφαλοι ἢ Σίσυφος, Ἀξίοχος, Φαίακες, Δημόδοκος, Χελιδών, Ἑβδόμη, Ἐπιμενίδης· ὧν ἡ Ἀλκυὼν Λεόντός τινος εἶναι δοκεῖ, καθά φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τῶν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων.	*Theaetetus*, and many make the *Apology* their starting point. By general agreement the following dialogues are spurious: *Midon*, or *The Horse-Breeder*; *Eryxias*, or *Erasistratus*; *The Halcyon*; *The Headless*, or *Sisyphus*; *Axiochus*; *The Phaeacians*; *Demodocus*; *The Swallow*; *The Seventh Day*; and *Epimenides*. Of these, *The Halcyon* is thought to be the work of a certain Leon, as Favorinus says in the fifth book of his *Memoirs*.
3.63 Ὀνόμασι δὲ κέχρηται ποικίλοις πρὸς τὸ μὴ εὐσύνοπτον εἶναι τοῖς ἀμαθέσι τὴν πραγματείαν· ἰδιαίτατα μὲν σοφίαν ἡγεῖται εἶναι τὴν τῶν νοητῶν καὶ ὄντως ὄντων ἐπιστήμην, ἥν φησι περὶ θεὸν καὶ ψυχὴν σώματος κεχωρισμένην. ἰδίᾳ δὲ σοφίαν καὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν καλεῖ, ὄρεξιν οὖσαν τῆς θείας σοφίας. κοινῶς δὲ λέγεται παρ' αὐτῷ σοφία καὶ ἡ πᾶσα ἐμπειρία, οἷον ὅταν σοφὸν λέγῃ τὸν δημιουργόν. χρῆται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ διαφερόντως σημαινομένων τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασιν. ὁ γοῦν φαῦλος λέγεται παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁπλοῦ, ὡς καὶ παρὰ Εὐριπίδῃ ἐν Λικυμνίῳ φέρεται ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους οὑτωσί· φαῦλον, ἄκομψον, τὰ μέγιστ' ἀγαθόν, πᾶσαν ἐν ἔργῳ περιταμνόμενον σοφίαν, λέσχης ἀτρίβωνα.	He used a variety of terms so that his system would not be easy for the uninstructed to take in at a glance. In the most proper sense he holds that wisdom is the knowledge of the intelligible things, the things that truly are. This knowledge, he says, is concerned with god and with the soul separated from the body. In a special sense he also calls philosophy wisdom, since it is a longing for divine wisdom. In a general sense, he also uses "wisdom" for any kind of expertise, as when he calls a craftsman wise. He also uses the same words for things that mean different things. Thus *phaulos* is used by him also for what is simple, just as in Euripides' *Licymnius* it is said of Heracles in these words: plain, unpolished, in the greatest things good, cutting all his wisdom down to deeds, no hand at idle talk.[32]
3.64 χρῆται δὲ ὁ Πλάτων ἐνίοτε αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κακοῦ· ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μικροῦ. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ διαφέρουσιν ὀνόμασιν ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σημαινομένου χρῆται. τὴν γοῦν ἰδέαν καὶ εἶδος ὀνομάζει καὶ γένος καὶ παράδειγμα καὶ ἀρχὴν καὶ αἴτιον. χρῆται δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἐναντίαις φωναῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ. τὸ γοῦν αἰσθητὸν καὶ ὂν καλεῖ καὶ μὴ ὄν· ὂν μὲν διὰ τὸ γένεσιν αὐτοῦ εἶναι, μὴ ὂν δὲ διὰ τὴν συνεχῆ μεταβολήν. καὶ τὴν ἰδέαν οὔτε κινούμενον οὔτε μένον· καὶ ταὐτὸ καὶ ἓν καὶ πολλά. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ πλειόνων εἴθισται ποιεῖν.	Plato sometimes uses this word for what is bad, and at times for what is small. He also often uses different words for the same thing. Thus he calls the form both *idea* and *eidos*, and also "kind," "model," "principle" and "cause." He also uses opposite expressions for the same thing. Thus he calls the sensible both being and not-being: being because it comes to be, not-being because it is continually changing. He calls the form neither moving nor at rest, and both the same and one and many. He makes a habit of doing the same in many other cases too.
3.65 Ἔστι δὲ ἡ ἐξήγησις αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων τριπλῆ· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐκδιδάξαι χρὴ ὅ τι ἐστὶν ἕκαστον τῶν λεγομένων· ἔπειτα, τίνος εἵνεκα λέλεκται, πότερα κατὰ προηγούμενον ἢ ἐν εἰκόνος μέρει, καὶ ⟨εἰ⟩ εἰς δογμάτων κατασκευὴν ἢ εἰς ἔλεγχον τοῦ προσδιαλεγομένου· τὸ δὲ τρίτον, εἰ ὀρθῶς λέλεκται.	Interpreting his discourses is a threefold task. First, one must explain what each thing that is said actually is. Next, one must explain why it has been said: whether as a main point or by way of illustration, and whether to establish doctrines or to refute the person he is talking with. Third, one must ask whether it has been said correctly.

32 *Phaulos* usually means "poor" or "bad," but can also mean "plain" or "simple."

GREEK

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ σημεῖά τινα τοῖς βιβλίοις αὐτοῦ παρατίθενται, φέρε καὶ περὶ τούτων τι εἴπωμεν. Χῖ λαμβάνεται πρὸς τὰς λέξεις καὶ τὰ σχήματα καὶ ὅλως τὴν Πλατωνικὴν συνήθειαν· διπλῆ πρὸς τὰ δόγματα καὶ τὰ ἀρέσκοντα Πλάτωνι· [66] Χῖ περιεστιγμένον πρὸς τὰς ἐκλογὰς καὶ καλλιγραφίας· διπλῆ περιεστιγμένη πρὸς τὰς ἐνίων διορθώσεις· ὀβελὸς περιεστιγμένος πρὸς τὰς εἰκαίους ἀθετήσεις· ἀντίσιγμα περιεστιγμένον πρὸς τὰς διττὰς χρήσεις καὶ μεταθέσεις τῶν γραφῶν· κεραύνιον πρὸς τὴν ἀγωγὴν τῆς φιλοσοφίας· ἀστερίσκος πρὸς τὴν συμφωνίαν τῶν δογμάτων· ὀβελὸς πρὸς τὴν ἀθέτησιν. τὰ μὲν σημεῖα ταῦτα καὶ τὰ βιβλία τοσαῦτα· ἅπερ Ἀντίγονός φησιν ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ζήνωνος νεωστὶ ἐκδοθέντα εἴ τις ἤθελε διαναγνῶναι, μισθὸν ἐτέλει τοῖς κεκτημένοις.

ENGLISH

Since certain critical signs are also added to his books, let me say something about these too. The chi is used for expressions and figures of speech and, generally, for Platonic usage. The diple marks Plato's doctrines and opinions. [66] The dotted chi marks select passages and fine writing. The dotted diple marks corrections made by certain editors. The dotted obelus marks rash rejections of passages. The dotted antisigma marks double readings and transpositions in the text. The keraunion marks the method of the philosophy. The asterisk marks agreement between doctrines. The obelus marks the rejection of a passage. These are the signs, and this is the number of the books. Antigonus of Carystus says in his *On Zeno* that when they had just been published, anyone who wanted to read them through had to pay a fee to their owners.[33]

PLATO'S DOCTRINES

A summary of his views on the soul, the world-order, god, matter and the good.

GREEK

3.67 Τὰ δὲ ἀρέσκοντα αὐτῷ ταῦτα ἦν. ἀθάνατον ἔλεγε τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ πολλὰ μεταμφιεννυμένην σώματα, ἀρχήν τε ἔχειν ἀριθμητικήν, τὸ δὲ σῶμα γεωμετρικήν· ὡρίζετο δὲ αὐτὴν ἰδέαν τοῦ πάντῃ διεστῶτος πνεύματος. αὐτοκίνητόν τε εἶναι καὶ τριμερῆ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς λογιστικὸν μέρος περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ καθιδρῦσθαι, τὸ δὲ θυμοειδὲς περὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ, τὸ δὲ ἐπιθυμητικὸν περὶ τὸν ὀμφαλὸν καὶ τὸ ἦπαρ συνίστασθαι.

3.68 Περιέχειν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου διὰ παντὸς κύκλῳ τὸ σῶμα καὶ συνεστάναι ἐκ τῶν στοιχείων. διαιρεθεῖσάν τε κατὰ ἁρμονικὰ διαστήματα δύο κύκλους ποιεῖν συνημμένους, ὧν τὸν ἐντὸς κύκλον ἑξαχῇ τμηθέντα τοὺς ἅπαντας ἑπτὰ κύκλους ποιεῖν. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν κατὰ διάμετρον κ〈ιν〉 εἶσθαι ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ ἔσωθεν, τὸν δὲ κατὰ πλευρὰν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιά. διὸ καὶ κρατεῖν αὐτὸν ἕνα ὄντα· τὸν γὰρ ἕτερον ἔσωθεν διῃρῆσθαι. καὶ τὸν μὲν εἶναι ταὐτοῦ, τοὺς δὲ θατέρου, λέγων τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς κίνησιν εἶναι τὴν [δὲ] τοῦ ὅλου καὶ τὰς τῶν πλανωμένων φοράς.

ENGLISH

His views were these. He said that the soul is immortal and puts on many bodies in turn. He said that it has an arithmetical principle, while the body has a geometrical one, and he defined it as the form of breath extended in every direction. He held that it is self-moving and has three parts. Its reasoning part is seated in the head, its spirited part around the heart, and its appetitive part is situated around the navel and the liver.

He held that the soul encloses the body all round in a circle, reaching out from the center, and that it is composed of the elements. Divided at harmonic intervals, it forms two circles joined together. The inner circle, cut six times, makes seven circles in all. The inner one moves along the diagonal to the left, from within, and the other along the side to the right. That is why the outer circle prevails, being single, for the other has been divided within. The single one is the circle of the Same, and the others are circles of the Other. By this he means that the motion of the soul is the

33 These are marginal signs from Alexandrian scholarship: the chi (X), the diple (>), the obelus (a horizontal stroke), the antisigma (a reversed sigma), the keraunion (a "thunderbolt") and the asterisk; "dotted" means the sign was surrounded by dots.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		motion of the universe and the revolutions of the planets.
3.69	Οὕτω δ' ἐχούσης τῆς ἐκ μέσου τομῆς αὐτῇ προσαρμοζομένης πρὸς τὰ ἔσχατα γινώσκειν τε τὰ ὄντα καὶ ἐναρμόζειν διὰ τὸ ἔχειν ἐν αὑτῇ τὰ στοιχεῖα κατὰ ἁρμονίαν. καὶ γίνεσθαι δόξαν μὲν κατὰ τὸν θατέρου κύκλον ὀρθούμενον, ἐπιστήμην δὲ κατὰ τὸν ταὐτοῦ. δύο δὲ τῶν πάντων ἀπέφηνεν ἀρχάς, θεὸν καὶ ὕλην, ὃν καὶ νοῦν προσαγορεύει καὶ αἴτιον. εἶναι δὲ τὴν ὕλην ἀσχημάτιστον καὶ ἄπειρον, ἐξ ἧς γίνεσθαι τὰ συγκρίματα. ἀτάκτως δέ ποτε αὐτὴν κινουμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ φησιν εἰς ἕνα συναχθῆναι τόπον τάξιν ἀταξίας κρείττονα ἡγησαμένου.	Since the division from the center is fitted in this way to the extremities, he held that the soul knows the things that are and brings them into harmony, because it contains the elements within itself in harmonious proportion. Opinion arises in accordance with the circle of the Other when it runs straight, and knowledge in accordance with the circle of the Same. He declared that there are two principles of all things, god and matter. God he also calls mind and cause. Matter, he held, is shapeless and unlimited, and composite things come to be from it. He says that matter was once moving in disorder and was brought together into one place by god, who judged order better than disorder.
3.70	τραπέσθαι δὲ τὴν οὐσίαν ταύτην εἰς τὰ τέτταρα στοιχεῖα, πῦρ, ὕδωρ, ἀέρα, γῆν· ἐξ ὧν αὐτόν τε τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ γεννᾶσθαι. μόνην δὲ τὴν γῆν ἀμετάβολον εἶναί φησι, νομίζων αἰτίαν τὴν τῶν σχημάτων διαφορὰν ἐξ ὧν σύγκειται. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων ὁμογενῆ φησιν εἶναι τὰ σχήματα — ἅπαντα γὰρ ἐξ ἑνὸς συγκεῖσθαι τοῦ προμήκους τριγώνου — τῆς δὲ γῆς ἴδιον εἶναι τὸ σχῆμα· πυρὸς μὲν γὰρ εἶναι στοιχεῖον πυραμίδα, ἀέρος τὸ ὀκτάεδρον, ὕδατος τὸ εἰκοσάεδρον, γῆς δὲ κύβον. ὅθεν μήτε γῆν εἰς ταῦτα μεταβάλλειν, μήτε ταῦτα εἰς γῆν.	He held that this substance was transformed into the four elements, fire, water, air and earth, and that from these the world-order itself and the things in it are generated. He says that earth alone does not change into the others, and he takes the cause to be the difference between the shapes it is made of. The shapes of the others, he says, are of the same kind, for they are all made of a single triangle, the oblong one. But earth has a shape of its own. The element of fire is the pyramid, of air the octahedron, of water the icosahedron, and of earth the cube. Hence earth does not change into these, nor these into earth.
3.71	Οὐ διακεκρίσθαι δ' εἰς τοὺς οἰκείους τόπους ἕκαστον, ὅτι ἡ περιφορὰ σφίγγουσα καὶ πρὸς τὸν μέσον συνάγουσα συγκρίνει τὰ μικρά, τὰ δὲ διακρίνει, τὰ μεγάλα. διόπερ τὰ εἴδη μεταβάλλοντα καὶ τοὺς τόπους μεταβάλλειν.	He held that each element has not been sorted out into its own region because the revolution of the heavens compresses them and drives them together toward the center. This combines the small particles and separates the large ones. That is why, as they change their kind, they also change their place.
	Κόσμον τε εἶναι ἕνα γεννητόν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αἰσθητός ἐστιν ὑπὸ θεοῦ κατεσκευασμένος· ἔμψυχόν τε εἶναι διὰ τὸ κρεῖττον εἶναι τοῦ ἀψύχου τὸ ἔμψυχον, τοῦτο δὲ δημιούργημα ὑποκεῖσθαι τοῦ βελτίστου αἰτίου. ἕνα τε αὐτὸν καὶ οὐκ ἄπειρον κατεσκευάσθαι, ὅτι καὶ τὸ ὑπόδειγμα ἓν ἦν ἀφ' οὗ αὐτὸν ἐδημιούργησε· σφαιροειδῆ δὲ διὰ τὸ καὶ τὸν γεννήσαντα τοιοῦτον ἔχειν σχῆμα.	He held that the world-order is one and has come to be, since it is perceptible and was constructed by god. It is ensouled, because what has soul is better than what has none, and this work is assumed to be the product of the best cause. It was made one and not unlimited because the model from which god crafted it was also one. It is spherical because its begetter has that shape too.
3.72	ἐκεῖνον μὲν γὰρ περιέχειν τὰ ἄλλα ζῷα, τοῦτον δὲ τὰ σχήματα πάντων. λεῖον δὲ καὶ οὐδὲν ὄργανον ἔχοντα	For the begetter contains the other living things, and this shape contains the shapes of all things.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	κύκλῳ διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν εἶναι χρῆσιν αὐτῶν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἄφθαρτον διαμένειν τὸν κόσμον διὰ τὸ μὴ διαλύεσθαι εἰς τὸν θεόν. καὶ τῆς μὲν ὅλης γενέσεως αἴτιον εἶναι τὸν θεόν, ὅτι πέφυκεν ἀγαθοποιὸν εἶναι τὸ ἀγαθόν. τοῦ δὲ οὐρανοῦ τῆς γενέσεως τὸ † αἴτιον· τοῦ γὰρ καλλίστου τῶν γεννητῶν τὸ ἄριστον εἶναι τῶν νοητῶν αἴτιον. ὥστε ἐπεὶ τοιοῦτος ὁ θεός, ὅμοιος δὲ τῷ ἀρίστῳ ὁ οὐρανὸς κάλλιστός γε ὤν, οὐθενὶ ἂν ὅμοιος εἴη τῶν γεννητῶν ἀλλ᾽ ἢ τῷ θεῷ.	The world-order is smooth and has no organs anywhere around it, since it has no use for them. Moreover, it remains imperishable because it is not dissolved into god. God is the cause of all coming-to-be, because it is the nature of the good to do good. The cause of the coming-to-be of the heaven is the best, for the cause of the most beautiful of things that have come to be is the best of intelligible things. So since god is such, and the heaven is like the best because it is the most beautiful, it would be like none of the things that have come to be, but only like god.
3.73	Συνεστάναι δὲ τὸν κόσμον ἐκ πυρός, ὕδατος, ἀέρος, γῆς. ἐκ πυρὸς μέν, ὅπως ὁρατὸς ᾖ· ἐκ γῆς δέ, ὅπως στερεός· ἐξ ὕδατος δὲ καὶ ἀέρος, ὅπως ἀνάλογος — αἱ γὰρ τῶν στερεῶν δυνάμεις δύο μεσότησιν ἀναλογοῦσιν ὡς ἓν γενέσθαι τὸ πᾶν — ἐξ ἁπάντων δέ, ἵνα τέλειος καὶ ἄφθαρτος ᾖ.	He held that the world-order is composed of fire, water, air and earth. It is made of fire so that it may be visible, and of earth so that it may be solid. It is made of water and air so that it may be proportionate, for the powers of solids are brought into proportion by two means, so that the whole becomes one. And it is made of all of them so that it may be complete and imperishable.
	Χρόνον τε γενέσθαι εἰκόνα τοῦ ἀϊδίου. κἀκεῖνον μὲν ἀεὶ μένειν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φορὰν χρόνον εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν καὶ μῆνα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα χρόνου μέρη εἶναι. διόπερ ἄνευ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου φύσεως οὐκ εἶναι χρόνον· ἅμα γὰρ ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ καὶ χρόνον εἶναι.	He held that time came to be as an image of the eternal. The eternal always remains, while the revolution of the heaven is time. For night and day and month and all such things are parts of time. Therefore without the nature of the world-order there is no time, for time exists as soon as the world-order does.
3.74	Πρὸς δὲ χρόνου γένεσιν ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὰ πλανώμενα γενέσθαι. ὅπως δὲ διάδηλος τῶν ὡρῶν ᾖ ἀριθμὸς καὶ μετάσχοι τὰ ζῷα ἀριθμοῦ, τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φῶς ἀνάψαι τὸν θεόν. εἶναι δὲ ἐν μὲν τῷ ὑπὲρ γῆς κύκλῳ σελήνην, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐχομένῳ ἥλιον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐπάνω τοὺς πλανήτας. ἔμψυχον δὲ πάντως διὰ τὸ ἐμψύχῳ φορᾷ δεδέσθαι. ἵνα δὲ ὁ κόσμος τελειωθῇ γενόμενος ὁμοίως τῷ νοητῷ ζῴῳ, τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων γενέσθαι φύσιν. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐκεῖνο εἶχε, καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν δεῖν ἔχειν. θεοὺς μὲν οὖν ἔχειν τὸ πολὺ πυρίνους· εἶναι δὲ τρία γένη τἆλλα, πτηνόν, ἔνυδρον, πεζόν.	He held that the sun, the moon and the planets came to be so that time could come to be. So that the number of the seasons might be plain and living things might share in number, god kindled the light of the sun. The moon is in the circle just above the earth, the sun in the next, and the planets in the circles above. Each is fully ensouled, because each is bound to an ensouled motion. So that the world-order, once it had come to be, might be completed in the likeness of the intelligible living thing, the nature of the other living things came to be. Since the intelligible living thing had them, the heaven had to have them too. So it has gods, mostly made of fire, and the other living things are of three kinds: winged, water-dwelling and land-dwelling.
3.75	γῆν δὲ πρεσβυτάτην μὲν εἶναι τῶν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ θεῶν· γενέσθαι δὲ ὡς δημιούργημα νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν ποιεῖν· οὖσαν δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῦ μέσου κινεῖσθαι περὶ τὸ μέσον. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ αἰτίαι εἰσὶ δύο, τὰ μὲν διὰ νοῦ εἶναι, τὰ δ᾽ ἐξ ἀναγκαίας	He held that earth is the oldest of the gods in the heaven, that it came to be as a work made to produce night and day, and that, being at the center, it moves around the center. Since there are two

GREEK

αἰτίας, φησί, λεκτέον. ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν ἀήρ, πῦρ, γῆ, ὕδωρ — καὶ οὐκ ὄντα μὲν στοιχεῖα κατὰ ἀκρίβειαν, ἀλλὰ δεκτικά. ταῦτα δ' ἐκ τῶν τριγώνων εἶναι συντιθεμένων καὶ διαλύεσθαι εἰς ταῦτα· στοιχεῖα δ' αὐτῶν εἶναι τό τε πρόμηκες τρίγωνον καὶ τὸ ἰσοσκελές.

3.76 Ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν εἶναι καὶ αἴτια τὰ λεχθέντα δύο ὧν μὲν παράδειγμα τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν ὕλην· ὅπερ ἀνάγκη ἄμορφον εἶναι ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων δεκτικῶν. αἴτιον δὲ τούτων ἐξ ἀνάγκης εἶναι· δεχόμενον γάρ πως τὰς ἰδέας γεννᾶν τὰς οὐσίας, καὶ δι' ἀνομοιότητα δυνάμεως κινεῖσθαι καὶ κινούμενον τὰ γινόμενα ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀντικινεῖν. ταῦτα δὲ πρὶν μὲν ἀλόγως κινεῖσθαι καὶ ἀτάκτως, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξαντο συνιστάναι τὸν κόσμον, ἐκ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ συμμέτρως καὶ τεταγμένως γενέσθαι.

3.77 τὰς μὲν γὰρ αἰτίας καὶ πρὸ τῆς οὐρανοποιίας δύο εἶναι καὶ τρίτην γένεσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ σαφεῖς, ἴχνη δὲ μόνον καὶ ἀτάκτους· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ κόσμος ἐγένετο, λαβεῖν καὶ ταύτας τάξιν. ἐξ ἁπάντων δὲ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σωμάτων γενέσθαι τὸν οὐρανόν. δοκεῖ δ' αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν ὡς καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀσώματον εἶναι· οὕτω γὰρ μάλιστα φθορᾶς καὶ πάθους ἀνεπίδεκτον ὑπάρχειν. τὰς δὲ ἰδέας ὑφίσταται, καθὰ καὶ προείρηται, αἰτίας τινὰς καὶ ἀρχὰς τοῦ τοιαῦτ' εἶναι τὰ φύσει συνεστῶτα, οἷάπερ ἐστὶν αὐτά.

3.78 Περὶ δὲ ἀγαθῶν ἢ κακῶν τοιαῦτα ἔλεγε. τέλος μὲν εἶναι τὴν ἐξομοίωσιν τῷ θεῷ. τὴν δ' ἀρετὴν αὐτάρκη μὲν εἶναι πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν. ὀργάνων δὲ προσδεῖσθαι τῶν περὶ σῶμα πλεονεκτημάτων, ἰσχύος, ὑγιείας, εὐαισθησίας, τῶν ὁμοίων· καὶ τῶν ἐκτός, οἷον πλούτου καὶ εὐγενείας καὶ δόξης. οὐδὲν δὲ ἧττον εὐδαίμονα ἔσεσθαι τὸν σοφόν, κἂν ταῦτα μὴ παρῇ.

πολιτεύσεσθαι αὖ καὶ γαμήσειν καὶ τοὺς κειμένους νόμους οὐ παραβήσεσθαι· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων καὶ νομοθετήσειν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδι, ἐὰν μὴ τέλεον εὐπαραίτητα ὁρᾷ τὰ πράγματα ἐν ὑπερβαλλούσῃ διαφθορᾷ δήμου. [79] οἴεται δὲ καὶ θεοὺς ἐφορᾶν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα καὶ δαίμονας εἶναι. ἔννοιάν τε καλοῦ πρῶτος ἀπεφήνατο τὴν ἐχομένην τοῦ ἐπαινετοῦ καὶ λογικοῦ καὶ

ENGLISH

kinds of cause, he says, we must say that some things come about through mind and others from a necessary cause. The latter are air, fire, earth and water, which are not strictly elements but receptacles. These are composed of triangles put together and are dissolved back into them. Their elements are the oblong triangle and the isosceles one.

The principles and causes, then, are the two just mentioned: god as model, and matter. Matter must be formless, as is the case with the other receptacles too. The cause of these things, he held, arises from necessity. For matter somehow receives the forms and so generates the substances. It moves because its powers are unlike one another, and in being moved it moves in turn the things that come to be from it. Before, these things moved irrationally and without order. But once they began to make up the world-order, god made them come to be in due measure and in order, as far as possible.

He held that even before the heaven was made there were two causes, and coming-to-be as a third. But they were not distinct, only traces, and without order. When the world-order came to be, these too took on order. The heaven came to be from all the bodies there were. His view is that god, like the soul, is incorporeal, for in this way above all it is not subject to destruction or to being acted upon. As has already been said, he posits the forms as certain causes and principles of the fact that things constituted by nature are such as they are.

On good and bad he said the following. He held that the end is becoming like god. Excellence is sufficient for happiness. But it also needs as instruments the advantages of the body, such as strength, health, keen senses and the like, and external advantages, such as wealth, good birth and reputation. Yet the wise man will be no less happy even if these are absent.

He held that the wise man will also take part in politics, marry, and not break the established laws. As far as circumstances allow, he will even make laws for his own country, unless he sees that matters are plainly beyond help because the people have become utterly corrupt. [79] He believes too that gods watch over human affairs and that spirits exist. He was the first to set out a concep-

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	χρησίμου καὶ πρέποντος καὶ ἁρμόττοντος· ἅπερ πάντα ἔχεσθαι τοῦ ἀκολούθου τῇ φύσει καὶ ὁμολογουμένου.	tion of the fine that is bound up with the praiseworthy, the rational, the useful, the becoming and the fitting. All of these, he held, are bound up with what follows nature and agrees with it.
3.79	Διελέξατο δὲ καὶ περὶ ὀνομάτων ὀρθότητος· ὥστε καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην τοῦ ὀρθῶς ἀποκρίνεσθαι καὶ ἐρωτᾶν πρῶτον αὐτὸν διασυστῆσαι κατακόρως χρησάμενον. ἐν δὲ τοῖς διαλόγοις καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην θεοῦ νόμον ὑπελάμβανεν ὡς ἰσχυροτέραν προτρέψαι τὰ δίκαια πράττειν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ μετὰ θάνατον δίκας ὑπόσχοιεν ὡς κακοῦργοι. [80] ὅθεν καὶ μυθικώτερος ἐνίοις ὑπελήφθη τοῖς συγγράμμασιν ἐγκαταμίξας τὰς τοιαύτας διηγήσεις, ὅπως διὰ † τοῦ ἀδήλου τρόπου τοῦ ἔχειν τὰ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον οὕτως ἀπέχωνται τῶν ἀδικημάτων. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ ἀρέσκοντα.	He also discussed the correctness of names. In fact, he was the first to establish the science of correct questioning and answering, which he used to excess. In the dialogues he took justice to be the law of god, since this was a stronger incentive to do what is just, so that people might not pay the penalty as wrongdoers even after death. [80] This is why some thought him too fond of myth: he mixed such stories into his writings so that, through uncertainty about what happens after death, people would keep away from wrongdoing. These, then, were his views.

THE DIVISIONS

Aristotle's record of how Plato divided goods, friendship, constitutions, rhetoric and much else.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
3.80	Διῄρει δέ, φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης, καὶ τὰ πράγματα τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐστι τὰ μὲν ἐν ψυχῇ, τὰ δὲ ἐν σώματι, τὰ δὲ ἐκτός· οἷον ἡ μὲν δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἡ φρόνησις καὶ ἡ ἀνδρεία καὶ ἡ σωφροσύνη καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐν ψυχῇ· τὸ δὲ κάλλος καὶ ἡ εὐεξία καὶ ἡ ὑγίεια καὶ ἡ ἰσχὺς ἐν σώματι· οἱ δὲ φίλοι καὶ ἡ τῆς πατρίδος εὐδαιμονία καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος ἐν τοῖς ἐκτός.	Aristotle says that he also divided things in the following way. Of goods, some are in the soul, some in the body, and some external. For example, justice, understanding, courage, temperance and the like are in the soul. Beauty, good condition, health and strength are in the body. Friends, the prosperity of one's country and wealth are among the external goods.[34]
3.81	Τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἄρα τρία εἴδη ἐστί· τὰ μὲν ἐν ψυχῇ, τὰ δὲ ἐν σώματι, τὰ δὲ ἐκτός. τῆς φιλίας τρία εἴδη· ἡ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐστι φυσική, ἡ δὲ ἑταιρική, ἡ δὲ ξενική· φυσικὴν μὲν οὖν ταύτην λέγομεν, ἣν οἱ γονεῖς πρὸς τὰ ἔκγονα ἔχουσι καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους· ταύτης δὲ κεκλήρωται καὶ τἆλλα ζῷα. ἑταιρικὴν δὲ καλοῦμεν τὴν ἀπὸ συνηθείας γινομένην καὶ μηδὲν προσήκουσαν γένει, ἀλλ' οἷον ἡ Πυλάδου πρὸς Ὀρέστην. ἡ δὲ ξενικὴ φιλία ἡ ἀπὸ συστάσεως καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων γινομένη πρὸς τοὺς ξένους. τῆς ἄρα φιλίας ἡ μέν ἐστι φυσική, ἡ δὲ ἑταιρική, ἡ δὲ ξενική· προστιθέασι δέ τινες τετάρτην ἐρωτικήν.	So there are three kinds of goods: those in the soul, those in the body, and external ones. Friendship has three kinds: natural friendship, the friendship of companions, and friendship between hosts and guests. By natural friendship we mean the affection parents have for their children and relatives have for one another; the other animals have been given a share of this kind too. The friendship of companions is the kind that arises from spending time together and has nothing to do with kinship, like that of Pylades for Orestes. Friendship between hosts and guests is the kind formed with foreigners through an introduction or through letters. So one kind of friendship is natural, another is that of companions, another that of hosts and guests. Some add a fourth, erotic friendship.

34 The series of "divisions" that follows was ascribed to Aristotle in antiquity; a version also survives separately.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
3.82	Τῆς πολιτείας ἐστὶν εἴδη πέντε· τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐστι δημοκρατικόν, ἄλλο δὲ ἀριστοκρατικόν, τρίτον δὲ ὀλιγαρχικόν, τέταρτον βασιλικόν, πέμπτον τυραννικόν. δημοκρατικὸν μὲν οὖν ἐστιν, ἐν αἷς πόλεσι κρατεῖ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τοὺς νόμους δι' ἑαυτοῦ αἱρεῖται. ἀριστοκρατία δέ ἐστιν, ἐν ᾗ μήθ' οἱ πλούσιοι μήθ' οἱ πένητες μήθ' οἱ ἔνδοξοι ἄρχουσιν, ἀλλ' οἱ ἄριστοι τῆς πόλεως προστατοῦσιν. ὀλιγαρχία δέ ἐστιν, ὅταν ἀπὸ τιμημάτων αἱ ἀρχαὶ αἱρῶνται· ἐλάττους γάρ εἰσιν οἱ πλούσιοι τῶν πενήτων. τῆς δὲ βασιλείας ἡ μὲν κατὰ νόμον, ἡ δὲ κατὰ γένος ἐστίν. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐν Καρχηδόνι κατὰ νόμον· πωλητὴ γάρ ἐστιν.	There are five kinds of constitution: democratic, aristocratic, oligarchic, kingly and tyrannical. A constitution is democratic in cities where the majority hold power and choose the officials and the laws themselves. Aristocracy is the constitution in which neither the rich nor the poor nor the famous rule, but the best citizens lead the city. Oligarchy is when officials are chosen on the basis of property, for the rich are fewer than the poor. Of kingship, one kind is by law and another by birth. The kingship at Carthage is by law, for it can be bought.
3.83	ἡ δὲ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι καὶ Μακεδονίᾳ κατὰ γένος· ἀπὸ γάρ τινος γένους ποιοῦνται τὴν βασιλείαν. τυραννὶς δέ ἐστιν, ἐν ᾗ παρακρουσθέντες ἢ βιασθέντες ὑπό τινος ἄρχονται. τῆς ἄρα πολιτείας ἡ μέν ἐστι δημοκρατία, ἡ δὲ ἀριστοκρατία, ἡ δὲ ὀλιγαρχία, ἡ δὲ βασιλεία, ἡ δὲ τυραννίς.	The kingship in Sparta and Macedonia is by birth, for they take their kings from a particular family. Tyranny is the constitution in which people are ruled by someone after being deceived or forced. So one constitution is democracy, another aristocracy, another oligarchy, another kingship, another tyranny.
	Τῆς δὲ δικαιοσύνης ἐστὶν εἴδη τρία· ἡ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐστι περὶ θεούς, ἡ δὲ περὶ ἀνθρώπους, ἡ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀποιχομένους. οἱ μὲν γὰρ θύοντες κατὰ νόμους καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπιμελούμενοι δῆλον ὅτι περὶ θεοὺς εὐσεβοῦσιν· οἱ δὲ δάνεια ἀποδιδόντες καὶ παραθήκας δικαιοπραγοῦσι περὶ ἀνθρώπους· οἱ δὲ τῶν μνημείων ἐπιμελούμενοι δῆλον ὅτι περὶ τοὺς ἀποιχομένους. τῆς ἄρα δικαιοσύνης ἡ μὲν πρὸς θεούς ἐστιν, ἡ δὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, ἡ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀποιχομένους.	Justice has three kinds: one concerns gods, another human beings, and another the departed. Those who sacrifice according to the laws and look after the temples are clearly pious toward the gods. Those who repay loans and return deposits act justly toward human beings. And those who look after tombs are clearly just toward the departed. So one kind of justice concerns gods, another human beings, and another the departed.
3.84	Τῆς ἐπιστήμης εἴδη ἐστὶ τρία· τὸ μὲν γάρ ἐστι πρακτικόν, τὸ δὲ ποιητικόν, τὸ δὲ θεωρητικόν. ἡ μὲν οἰκοδομικὴ καὶ ναυπηγικὴ ποιητικαί εἰσιν· ἔστι γὰρ αὐτῶν ἰδεῖν ἔργον πεποιημένον. πολιτικὴ δὲ καὶ αὐλητικὴ καὶ κιθαριστικὴ καὶ αἱ τοιαῦται πρακτικαί· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν οὐδὲν ἰδεῖν †θετον αὐτῶν πεποιημένον, ἀλλὰ πράττουσί τι· ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐλεῖ καὶ κιθαρίζει, ὁ δὲ πολιτεύεται. ἡ δὲ γεωμετρικὴ καὶ ἁρμονικὴ καὶ ἀστρολογικὴ θεωρητικαί· οὔτε γὰρ πράττουσιν οὔτε ποιοῦσιν οὐθέν· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν γεωμέτρης θεωρεῖ πῶς πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἔχουσιν αἱ γραμμαί, ὁ δ' ἁρμονικὸς τοὺς φθόγγους, ὁ δ' ἀστρολογικὸς τὰ ἄστρα καὶ τὸν κόσμον. τῶν ἄρα ἐπιστημῶν αἱ μέν εἰσι θεωρητικαί, αἱ δὲ πρακτικαί, αἱ δὲ ποιητικαί.	Knowledge has three kinds: practical, productive and theoretical. House-building and shipbuilding are productive, for one can see a finished product of their work. Statesmanship, pipe-playing, lyre-playing and the like are practical, for nothing visible is produced by them, but they do something: the one plays the pipe or the lyre, the other engages in politics. Geometry, harmonics and astronomy are theoretical, for they neither do nor make anything. The geometer studies how lines are related to one another, the student of harmonics studies musical sounds, and the astronomer studies the stars and the universe. So some kinds of knowledge are theoretical, others practical, and others productive.
3.85	Τῆς ἰατρικῆς ἐστιν εἴδη πέντε· ἡ μὲν φαρμακευτική, ἡ δὲ χειρουργική, ἡ δὲ διαιτητική, ἡ δὲ νοσογνωμονική, ἡ δὲ βοηθητική. ἡ μὲν φαρμακευτικὴ διὰ φαρμάκων ἰᾶται τὰς ἀρρωστίας, ἡ δὲ χειρουργικὴ διὰ τοῦ τέμνειν καὶ καίειν	Medicine has five kinds: pharmacology, surgery, dietetics, diagnosis and first aid. Pharmacology cures illnesses with drugs. Surgery restores health by cutting and cauterizing. Dietetics frees people

GREEK	ENGLISH
ὑγιάζει, ἡ δὲ διαιτητικὴ διὰ τοῦ διαιτᾶν ἀπαλλάττει τὰς ἀρρωστίας, ἡ δὲ νοσογνωμονικὴ διὰ τοῦ γνῶναι τὸ ἀρρώστημα, ἡ δὲ βοηθητικὴ διὰ τοῦ βοηθῆσαι εἰς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀπαλλάττει τῆς ἀλγηδόνος. τῆς ἄρα ἰατρικῆς ἡ μέν ἐστι φαρμακευτική, ἡ δὲ χειρουργική, ἡ δὲ διαιτητική, ἡ δὲ βονθητική, ἡ δὲ νοσογνωμονική.	from illnesses by means of regimen. Diagnosis works by identifying the illness. First aid relieves pain by giving help on the spot. So one kind of medicine is pharmacology, another surgery, another dietetics, another first aid, and another diagnosis.
3.86 Νόμου διαιρέσεις δύο· ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένος, ὁ δὲ ἄγραφος. ᾧ μὲν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι πολιτευόμεθα, γεγραμμένος ἐστίν. ὁ δὲ κατὰ ἔθη γινόμενος οὗτος ἄγραφος καλεῖται· οἷον τὸ μὴ γυμνὸν πορεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν μηδὲ γυναικεῖον ἱμάτιον περιβάλλεσθαι. ταῦτα γὰρ οὐθεὶς νόμος κωλύει, ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως οὐ πράττομεν διὰ τὸ ἀγράφῳ νόμῳ κωλύεσθαι. τοῦ ἄρα νόμου ἐστὶν ὁ μὲν γεγραμμένος, ὁ δὲ ἄγραφος.	Law has two divisions: one kind is written, the other unwritten. The law by which we govern ourselves as citizens in our cities is written. The law that arises from custom is called unwritten. Examples are not walking naked into the marketplace and not putting on a woman's cloak. No law forbids these things, yet we still do not do them, because an unwritten law forbids them. So one kind of law is written and the other unwritten.
Ὁ λόγος διαιρεῖται εἰς πέντε, ὧν εἷς μέν ἐστιν, ὃν οἱ πολιτευόμενοι λέγουσιν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, ὃς καλεῖται πολιτικός. [87] ἑτέρα δὲ διαίρεσις λόγου, ὃν οἱ ῥήτορες γράφουσιν † εἰς ἐπίδειξιν προφέρουσιν εἰς ἐγκώμια καὶ ψόγους καὶ κατηγορίας· τὸ δὴ τοιοῦτον εἶδός ἐστι ῥητορικόν. τρίτη δὲ διαίρεσις λόγου, ὃν οἱ ἰδιῶται διαλέγονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους· οὗτος δὴ ὁ τρόπος προσαγορεύεται ἰδιωτικός. ἑτέρα δὲ διαίρεσις λόγου, ὃν οἱ κατὰ βραχὺ ἐρωτῶντες καὶ ἀποκρινόμενοι τοῖς ἐρωτῶσιν διαλέγονται· οὗτος δὲ καλεῖται ὁ λόγος διαλεκτικός. πέμπτη δὲ διαίρεσις λόγου, ὃν οἱ τεχνῖται περὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν διαλέγονται τέχνης· ὃς δὴ καλεῖται τεχνικός. τοῦ λόγου ἄρα τὸ μέν ἐστι πολιτικόν, τὸ δὲ ῥητορικόν, τὸ δὲ ἰδιωτικόν, τὸ δὲ διαλεκτικόν, τὸ δὲ τεχνικόν.	Speech is divided into five kinds. One is the speech that politicians deliver in the assemblies, and this is called political. [87] A second division of speech is the kind that orators write and deliver as a display piece, in praise, in censure and in accusation. This sort is rhetorical. A third division is the speech in which private individuals talk with one another, and this mode is called private. Another division is the speech of those who converse by asking short questions and answering the people who question them. This is called dialectical speech. A fifth division is the speech in which craftsmen talk about their own craft, and this is called technical. So one kind of speech is political, another rhetorical, another private, another dialectical and another technical.
3.88 Ἡ μουσικὴ εἰς τρία διαιρεῖται· ἔστι γὰρ ἡ μὲν διὰ τοῦ στόματος μόνον, οἷον ἡ ᾠδή· δεύτερον δὲ διὰ τοῦ στόματος καὶ τῶν χειρῶν, οἷον ἡ κιθαρῳδία· τρίτον ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν μόνον, οἷον κιθαριστική. τῆς ἄρα μουσικῆς ἐστι τὸ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος μόνον, τὸ δ᾽ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος καὶ τῶν χειρῶν, τὸ δ᾽ ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν.	Music is divided into three. One kind is produced by the mouth alone, such as singing. A second is produced by the mouth and the hands, such as singing to the lyre. A third is produced by the hands alone, such as playing the lyre. So one kind of music comes from the mouth alone, another from the mouth and the hands, and another from the hands.
Διαιρεῖται δὲ ἡ εὐγένεια εἰς εἴδη τέτταρα. ἓν μέν, ἐὰν ὦσιν οἱ πρόγονοι καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ καὶ δίκαιοι, τοὺς ἐκ τούτων γεγεννημένους εὐγενεῖς φασιν εἶναι. ἄλλο δέ, ἂν ὦσιν οἱ πρόγονοι δεδυναστευκότες καὶ ἄρχοντες γεγενημένοι, τοὺς ἐκ τούτων εὐγενεῖς φασιν εἶναι. ἄλλο δέ, ἂν ὦσιν οἱ πρόγονοι ὀνομαστοί, οἷον ἀπὸ στρατηγίας, ἀπὸ στεφανιτῶν ἀγώνων· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐκ τούτων γεγεννημένους εὐγενεῖς προσαγορεύομεν. [89] ἄλλο εἶδος,	Good birth is divided into four kinds. In the first, if someone's ancestors were fine, good and just people, those born of them are said to be well born. In another, if the ancestors held power and served as rulers, those born of them are said to be well born. In another, if the ancestors were famous, for example for their generalship or for victories in the games where the prize is a crown, we

GREEK	ENGLISH
ἐὰν αὐτός τις ᾖ γεννάδας τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ μεγαλόψυχος· καὶ τοῦτον εὐγενῆ φασι· καὶ τῆς γε εὐγενείας αὕτη κρατίστη. τῆς ἄρα εὐγενείας τὸ μὲν ἀπὸ προγόνων ἐπιεικῶν, τὸ δὲ δυναστῶν, τὸ δὲ ἐνδόξων, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ καλοκαγαθίας.	also call those born of them well born. [89] In another kind, a person is himself noble in soul and great-souled. People call him well born too, and this is the best kind of good birth. So one kind of good birth comes from worthy ancestors, another from powerful ones, another from famous ones, and another from one's own fineness and goodness.
3.89 Τὸ κάλλος διαιρεῖται εἰς τρία· ἓν μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐστιν ἐπαινετόν, οἷον ἡ διὰ τῆς ὄψεως εὐμορφία· ἄλλο δὲ χρηστικόν, οἷον ὄργανον καὶ οἰκία καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς χρῆσίν ἐστι καλά· τὸ δὲ πρὸς νόμους καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ⟨ἃ⟩ πρὸς ὠφέλειάν ἐστι καλά. τοῦ ἄρα κάλλους τὸ μέν ἐστι πρὸς ἔπαινον, τὸ δὲ πρὸς χρῆσιν, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν.	Beauty is divided into three. One kind is praiseworthy, such as good looks that strike the eye. Another is useful: a tool, a house and things like that are beautiful with a view to use. The third concerns laws, practices and the like, which are beautiful with a view to benefit. So one kind of beauty is for praise, another for use and another for benefit.
3.90 Ἡ ψυχὴ διαιρεῖται εἰς τρία· τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐστι λογιστικόν, τὸ δὲ ἐπιθυμητικόν, τὸ δὲ θυμικόν. τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν λογιστικόν ἐστιν αἴτιον τοῦ βουλεύεσθαί τε καὶ λογίζεσθαι καὶ διανοεῖσθαι καὶ πάντων τῶν τοιούτων· τὸ δ' ἐπιθυμητικὸν μέρος ἐστὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αἴτιον τοῦ ἐπιθυμεῖν φαγεῖν καὶ τοῦ πλησιάσαι καὶ τῶν τοιούτων πάντων. τὸ δὲ θυμικὸν μέρος αἴτιόν ἐστι τοῦ θαρρεῖν καὶ ἥδεσθαι καὶ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ ὀργίζεσθαι. τῆς ἄρα ψυχῆς ἐστι τὸ μὲν λογιστικόν, τὸ δὲ ἐπιθυμητικόν, τὸ δὲ θυμικόν.	The soul is divided into three. One part of it is rational, another appetitive and another spirited. The rational part is responsible for deliberating, reasoning, thinking and all such activities. The appetitive part of the soul is responsible for the desire to eat, for sexual intercourse and for all such things. The spirited part is responsible for confidence, pleasure, pain and anger. So the soul has a rational part, an appetitive part and a spirited part.
Τῆς τελείας ἀρετῆς εἴδη τέτταρα· ἓν μὲν φρόνησις, ἓν δὲ δικαιοσύνη, ἄλλο δ' ἀνδρεία, τέταρτον σωφροσύνη. [91] τούτων ἡ μὲν φρόνησις αἰτία τοῦ πράττειν ὀρθῶς τὰ πράγματα· ἡ δὲ δικαιοσύνη τοῦ ἐν ταῖς κοινωνίαις καὶ τοῖς συναλλάγμασι δικαιοπραγεῖν· ἡ δὲ ἀνδρεία τοῦ ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις καὶ φοβεροῖς μὴ ἐξίστασθαι ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ μένειν· ἡ δὲ σωφροσύνη τοῦ κρατεῖν τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ ὑπὸ μηδεμιᾶς ἡδονῆς δουλοῦσθαι, ἀλλὰ κοσμίως ζῆν. τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄρα τὸ μέν ἐστι φρόνησις, ἄλλο δικαιοσύνη, τρίτον ἀνδρεία, τέταρτον σωφροσύνη.	Complete excellence has four kinds: understanding, justice, courage and temperance. [91] Understanding is responsible for doing things rightly. Justice is responsible for acting justly in partnerships and transactions. Courage makes a person stand firm in dangers and frightening situations instead of giving way. Temperance is responsible for mastering one's desires and for being enslaved to no pleasure but living in an orderly way. So one kind of excellence is understanding, another justice, the third courage and the fourth temperance.
3.91 Ἡ ἀρχὴ διαιρεῖται εἰς μέρη πέντε· ἓν μὲν εἰς τὸ κατὰ νόμον, ἓν δὲ εἰς τὸ κατὰ φύσιν, ἓν δὲ εἰς τὸ κατὰ ἔθος, τέταρτον εἰς τὸ κατὰ γένος, πέμπτον δὲ κατὰ βίαν. [92] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἄρχοντες ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπὰν αἱρεθῶσι, κατὰ νόμον ἄρχουσιν· οἱ δὲ κατὰ φύσιν, οἱ ἄρρενες, οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῴοις· ἐπὶ πολὺ γὰρ πανταχοῦ τὰ ἄρρενα τῶν θηλειῶν ἄρχει. ἡ δὲ τοῦ κατὰ ἔθος ἀρχὴ τοιαύτη ἐστίν,	Rule is divided into five parts: rule by law, rule by nature, rule by custom, fourth, rule by birth, and fifth, rule by force. [92] Those who rule in cities after being elected by the citizens rule by law. Those who rule by nature are the males, and not only among human beings but among the other animals too, since for the most part males everywhere rule females. Rule by custom is the kind that chil-

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	οἵαν οἱ παιδαγωγοὶ τῶν παίδων ἄρχουσι καὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι τῶν φοιτώντων.	dren's attendants exercise over children and teachers over their pupils.
3.92	κατὰ γένος δὲ ἀρχὴ τοιαύτη τις λέγεται, οἵαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι βασιλεῖς ἄρχουσιν· ἀπὸ γὰρ γένους τινὸς ἡ βασιλεία. καὶ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἄρχουσι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ ἀπὸ γένους ἡ βασιλεία καθίσταται. οἱ δὲ βιασάμενοι ἢ παρακρουσάμενοι ἄρχουσιν ἀκόντων τῶν πολιτῶν· ἡ τοιαύτη ἀρχὴ κατὰ βίαν λέγεται εἶναι. τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄρα ἐστὶ τὸ μὲν κατὰ νόμον, τὸ δὲ κατὰ φύσιν, τὸ δὲ κατὰ ἔθος, τὸ δὲ κατὰ γένος, τὸ δὲ κατὰ βίαν.	Rule by birth is said to be the kind that the Spartan kings exercise, since their kingship comes from a particular family. In Macedonia too they rule the same way, because there as well the kingship is passed down by descent. Some rule over unwilling citizens after using force or deceit, and such rule is said to be rule by force. So one kind of rule is by law, another by nature, another by custom, another by birth and another by force.
3.93	Τῆς ῥητορείας εἴδη ἐστὶν ἕξ. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ κελεύωσι πολεμεῖν ἢ συμμαχεῖν πρός τινα, καλεῖται τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶδος προτροπή. ὅταν δ' ἀξιῶσι μὴ πολεμεῖν ⟨ἢ⟩ μὴ συμμαχεῖν, ἀλλ' ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶδός ἐστιν ἀποτροπή. τρίτον εἶδος τῆς ῥητορείας, ὅταν τις φάσκῃ ἀδικεῖσθαι ὑπό τινος καὶ πολλῶν κακῶν αἴτιον ἀποφαίνῃ· τὸ δὴ τοιοῦτον εἶδος κατηγορία ὀνομάζεται. τέταρτον εἶδος τῆς ῥητορείας [ἀπολογία καλεῖται], ὅταν ἀποφαίνῃ αὐτὸν μηθὲν ἀδικοῦντα μήτε ἄλλο ἄτοπον μηθὲν πράττοντα· τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον ἀπολογίαν καλοῦσι.	Rhetoric has six kinds. When speakers urge going to war or making an alliance with someone, this kind is called exhortation. When they call for not going to war or not making an alliance, and for keeping the peace instead, this kind is dissuasion. The third kind of rhetoric is when someone claims to have been wronged by another person and shows that person to be the cause of many evils. This kind is called accusation. The fourth kind of rhetoric [is called defense] is when someone shows that he has done no wrong and nothing else improper. This kind is called defense.
3.94	πέμπτον εἶδος ῥητορείας, ὅταν τις εὖ λέγῃ καὶ ἀποφαίνῃ καλὸν κἀγαθόν· τὸ δὴ τοιοῦτον εἶδος καλεῖται ἐγκώμιον. ἕκτον εἶδος, ὅταν τις ἀποφαίνῃ φαῦλον· τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον εἶδος καλεῖται ψόγος. τῆς ἄρα ῥητορείας ἐστὶ τὸ μὲν ἐγκώμιον, τὸ δὲ ψόγος, τὸ δὲ προτροπή, τὸ δὲ ἀποτροπή, τὸ δὲ κατηγορία, τὸ δὲ ἀπολογία.	The fifth kind of rhetoric is when someone speaks well of a person and shows him to be fine and good. This kind is called encomium. The sixth kind is when someone shows a person to be base, and this kind is called censure. So rhetoric includes encomium, censure, exhortation, dissuasion, accusation and defense.
	Τὸ ὀρθῶς λέγειν διαιρεῖται εἰς τέτταρα· ἓν μὲν ἃ δεῖ λέγειν, ἓν δὲ ὅσα δεῖ λέγειν, τρίτον πρὸς οὓς δεῖ λέγειν, τέταρτον δὲ πηνίκα λέγειν δεῖ. ἃ μὲν οὖν δεῖ λέγειν, ἃ μέλλει συμφέρειν τῷ λέγοντι καὶ τῷ ἀκούοντι· τὸ δὲ ὅσα δεῖ λέγειν, μὴ πλείω μηδὲ ἐλάττω τῶν ἱκανῶν. [95] τὸ δὲ πρὸς οὓς δεῖ λέγειν, ἄν τε πρὸς πρεσβυτέρους [ἁμαρτάνοντας] διαλέγῃ, ἁρμόττοντας δεῖ τοὺς λόγους διαλέγεσθαι ὡς πρεσβυτέροις· ἄν τε πρὸς νεωτέρους, ἁρμόττοντας δεῖ λέγεσθαι ὡς νεωτέροις. πηνίκα δὲ λέγειν ἐστί, μήτε προτέρω μήτε ὑστέρω· εἰ δὲ μή, διαμαρτήσεσθαι καὶ οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐρεῖν.	Speaking rightly is divided into four: what one should say, how much one should say, to whom one should say it, and when one should say it. What one should say is whatever will benefit both the speaker and the listener. How much one should say means neither more nor less than is sufficient. [95] As for whom one should speak to: if you are talking with older people [who are at fault], your words must be suited to older people, and if you are talking with younger people, they must be suited to younger people. As for when to speak, it should be neither too early nor too late. Otherwise you will miss the mark and fail to speak rightly.
3.95	Ἡ εὐεργεσία διαιρεῖται εἰς τέτταρα· ἢ γὰρ χρήμασιν ἢ σώμασιν ἢ ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις ἢ τοῖς λόγοις. τοῖς μὲν οὖν χρήμασιν, ὅταν δεομένῳ παραβοηθήσῃ τις εἰς χρημάτων	Benefaction is divided into four kinds, since it is done with money, with one's body, with knowledge or with words. It is done with money when

GREEK

λόγον εὐπορῆσαι· τοῖς δὲ σώμασιν εὖ ποιοῦσιν ἀλλήλους, ὅταν παραγενόμενοι τυπτομένοις παραβοηθῶσιν· [96] οἱ δὲ παιδεύοντες καὶ ἰατρεύοντες καὶ διδάσκοντες ἀγαθόν τι, οὗτοι δὲ ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις εὐεργετοῦσιν· ὅταν δ' εἰσέλθωσιν εἰς δικαστήριον ἄλλος ὑπὲρ ἄλλου βοηθὸς καὶ λόγον τινὰ ἐπιεικῆ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ εἴπῃ, οὗτος δὴ λόγῳ εὐεργετεῖ. τῆς ἄρα εὐεργεσίας ἡ μέν ἐστι διὰ χρημάτων, ἡ δὲ διὰ σωμάτων, ἡ δὲ διὰ ἐπιστημῶν, τετάρτη διὰ λόγων.

ENGLISH

someone helps a person in need so that he is well off as far as money goes. People do each other good with their bodies when they arrive on the scene and come to the aid of someone being beaten. [96] Those who educate, heal or teach something good confer benefits through knowledge. And when people go into a lawcourt, one as an advocate for another, and the advocate says something fitting on the other's behalf, he confers a benefit through words. So one kind of benefaction is through money, another through the body, another through knowledge, and a fourth through words.

3.96 Διαιρεῖται τὸ τέλος τῶν πραγμάτων εἰς τέτταρα εἴδη· ἓν μὲν κατὰ νόμον τέλος τὰ πράγματα λαμβάνει, ὅταν ψήφισμα γένηται καὶ τοῦθ' ὁ νόμος τελέσῃ· κατὰ φύσιν δὲ τέλος τὰ πράγματα λαμβάνει, ἥ τε ἡμέρα καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς καὶ αἱ ὧραι. κατὰ τέχνην δὲ τέλος τὰ πράγματα λαμβάνει, οἷον ἡ οἰκοδομική· οἰκίαν γάρ τις ἐπιτελεῖ· καὶ ἡ ναυπηγική· πλοῖα γάρ. [97] κατὰ τύχην δὲ γίνεται τοῖς πράγμασι τέλος, ὅταν ἄλλως καὶ μὴ ὡς ὑπολαμβάνει τις ἀποβαίνῃ. τοῦ τέλους ἄρα τῶν πραγμάτων τὸ μὲν κατὰ νόμον, τὸ δὲ κατὰ φύσιν, τὸ δὲ κατὰ τέχνην, τὸ δὲ κατὰ τύχην ἐστίν.

The completion of things is divided into four kinds. In one, things are completed by law, when a decree is passed and the law brings it to completion. Things are completed by nature, as the day, the year and the seasons are. Things are completed by art, as in house-building, where someone completes a house, and in shipbuilding, where someone completes ships. [97] Things are completed by chance when they turn out differently from what one expects. So the completion of things comes by law, by nature, by art or by chance.

3.97 Ἡ δύναμις διαιρεῖται εἰς τέτταρα εἴδη· ἓν μὲν ὃ δυνάμεθα τῇ διανοίᾳ, λογίζεσθαι καὶ ὑπονοεῖν· ἕτερον δὲ τῷ σώματι, οἷον πορεύεσθαι καὶ διδόναι καὶ λαμβάνειν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα· τρίτον ὃ δυνάμεθα πλήθει στρατιωτῶν καὶ χρημάτων, ὅθεν καλεῖται πολλὴν δύναμιν ἔχων βασιλεύς· τετάρτη δὲ διαίρεσις δυνάμεως πάσχειν καὶ εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ κακῶς· οἷον ἀρρωστεῖν καὶ παιδεύεσθαι δυνάμεθα καὶ ὑγιεῖς γίνεσθαι καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα. τῆς ἄρα δυνάμεως ἡ μέν ἐστιν ἐν διανοίᾳ, ἡ δ' ἐν τῷ σώματι, ἡ δ' ἐν στρατοπέδῳ καὶ χρήμασιν, ἡ δ' ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν.

Power is divided into four kinds. One is what we are capable of with the mind, such as reasoning and conjecturing. Another is what we are capable of with the body, such as walking, giving, taking and the like. A third is what we are capable of through large numbers of soldiers and money, which is why a king is said to have great power. The fourth division of power is the capacity to be acted on and to fare well or badly. For example, we are capable of falling ill, being educated, becoming healthy and all such things. So one kind of power lies in the mind, another in the body, another in an army and money, and another in acting and being acted on.

3.98 Τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ἐστὶν εἴδη τρία· ἓν μὲν διὰ τῆς προσηγορίας γινόμενον, οἷον ἐν οἷς τινες τὸν ἐντυχόντα πάντα προσαγορεύουσι καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐμβάλλοντες χαιρετίζουσιν. ἄλλο εἶδος, ὅταν τις βοηθητικὸς ᾖ παντὶ τῷ ἀτυχοῦντι. ἕτερον εἶδός ἐστι τῆς φιλανθρωπίας, ἐν ᾧ τινες φιλοδειπνισταί εἰσι. τῆς ἄρα φιλανθρωπίας τὸ μέν ἐστι διὰ τοῦ προσαγορεύειν, τὸ δὲ διὰ τοῦ εὐεργετεῖν, τὸ δὲ διὰ τοῦ ἑστιᾶν καὶ φιλοσυνουσιάζειν.

Kindness to others has three kinds. One works through greeting, as when some people address everyone they meet and greet them by giving them their right hand. Another kind is when someone is ready to help anyone who is in misfortune. Another kind of kindness to others belongs to people who are fond of giving dinners. So one kind of kindness is shown by greeting, another by

GREEK

ENGLISH

doing good, and another by entertaining and enjoying company.

Ἡ εὐδαιμονία διαιρεῖται εἰς πέντε μέρη· ἡ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐστιν εὐβουλία, ἕτερον δὲ εὐαισθησία καὶ ὑγίεια τοῦ σώματος, τρίτον εὐτυχία ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι, τέταρτον εὐδοξία παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, πέμπτον εὐπορία χρημάτων καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν βίον χρησίμων. [99] ἡ μὲν εὐβουλία γίνεται ἐκ παιδείας καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πολλῶν ἔμπειρον γενέσθαι· ἡ δὲ εὐαισθησία ἐκ τῶν τοῦ σώματος μερῶν, οἷον ἐάν τις ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρᾷ καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν ἀκούῃ καὶ τῇ ῥινὶ καὶ τῷ στόματι αἰσθάνηται ὧν δεῖ αἰσθάνεσθαι· τὸ δὴ τοιοῦτον εὐαισθησία.

Happiness is divided into five parts. One part is good judgment, another is sound senses and bodily health, a third is success in one's undertakings, a fourth is good repute among people, and a fifth is plenty of money and of the things useful for life. [99] Good judgment comes from education and from experience of many things. Sound senses come from the parts of the body, for instance when someone sees with his eyes, hears with his ears, and perceives with his nose and mouth what he ought to perceive. That is what sound senses are.

3.99 ἡ δὲ εὐτυχία, ὅταν ἐφ' ἃ σκοπεῖ πράξῃ κατ' ὀρθὸν ἃ δεῖ πράττειν τὸν σπουδαῖον. εὐδοξία δ' ἐστὶν ὅταν τις εὖ ἀκούῃ· εὐπορία δ' ἐστὶν ὅταν τις πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῷ βίῳ χρήσεις οὕτως ἔχῃ ὥστε καὶ φίλους εὖ ποιῆσαι καὶ φιλοτίμως καὶ εὐπόρως ἀπολειτουργῆσαι. ᾧ δὲ ὑπάρχει ταῦτα πάντα, οὗτός ἐστιν εὐδαίμων τελέως. τῆς ἄρα εὐδαιμονίας ἐστὶ τὸ μὲν εὐβουλία, τὸ δὲ εὐαισθησία καὶ ὑγίεια τοῦ σώματος, τὸ δὲ εὐτυχία, τὸ δὲ εὐδοξία, τὸ δὲ εὐπορία.

Success is when, in whatever one aims at, one rightly accomplishes what a good person ought to do. Good repute is when one is well spoken of. Plenty is when one is so well provided for the needs of life that one can do good to one's friends and perform one's public services generously and amply. Whoever has all these things is completely happy. So happiness consists of good judgment, sound senses and bodily health, success, good repute and plenty.[35]

3.100 Αἱ τέχναι εἰς τρία διαιροῦνται· ἡ μὲν πρώτη, ἡ δὲ δευτέρα, ἡ δὲ τρίτη. πρώτη μὲν οὖν ἡ μεταλλευτικὴ καὶ ὑλοτομική· παρασκευαστικαὶ γάρ εἰσιν. ἡ δὲ χαλκευτικὴ καὶ ἡ τεκτονικὴ μετασχηματιστικαί εἰσιν· ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ σιδήρου ἡ χαλκευτικὴ ὅπλα ποιεῖ, ἡ δὲ τεκτονικὴ ἐκ τῶν ξύλων αὐλοὺς καὶ λύρας. ἡ δὲ χρηστική, οἷον ἱππικὴ τοῖς χαλινοῖς χρῆται, ἡ πολεμικὴ τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἡ μουσικὴ τοῖς αὐλοῖς καὶ τῇ λύρᾳ. τῆς τέχνης ἄρα τρία εἴδη ἐστί· τὸ μέν τι πρῶτον, τὸ δέ τι δεύτερον, τὸ δέ τι τρίτον.

The arts are divided into three: first, second and third. The first are mining and woodcutting, since these supply the materials. Smithing and carpentry are second because they reshape materials: smithing makes weapons out of iron, and carpentry makes pipes and lyres out of wood. The third is the art of use: horsemanship uses bridles, the art of war uses weapons, and music uses pipes and the lyre. So the arts have three kinds: one first, another second and another third.

3.101 Τὸ ἀγαθὸν εἰς τέτταρα γένη διαιρεῖται· ὧν ἓν μὲν λέγομεν εἶναι τὸν τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχοντα ἰδίᾳ ἀγαθόν· ἄλλο δὲ αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην λέγομεν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι· τρίτον δέ, οἷον σιτία καὶ γυμνάσια τὰ πρόσφορα καὶ φάρμακα· τέταρτον δέ φαμεν εἶναι ἀγαθόν, οἷον αὐλητικὴν καὶ ὑποκριτικὴν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἀγαθοῦ ἄρα τέτταρα εἴδη ἐστί· τὸ μὲν τὸ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχειν, ἕτερον δὲ αὐτὴ ἡ ἀρετή, τρίτον δὲ σιτία καὶ γυμνάσια τὰ ὠφέλιμα· τέταρτον δὲ αὐλητικὴν καὶ ὑποκριτικὴν καὶ ποιητικὴν ἀγαθὸν λέγομεν εἶναι.

The good is divided into four kinds. We say that one is the person who has excellence, who is good in his own right. Another we say is excellence itself, and justice. A third kind is things such as suitable food, exercise and medicines. A fourth kind is things like pipe-playing, acting and the like, which we also say are good. So there are four kinds of good: having excellence, excellence itself, beneficial food and exercise, and fourth, pipe-playing, acting and poetry, which we say are good.

3.102 τῶν ὄντων τὰ μέν ἐστι κακά, τὰ δὲ ἀγαθά, τὰ δὲ οὐδέτερα. τούτων κακὰ μὲν ταῦτα λέγομεν, τὰ δυνάμενα βλάπτειν

Of the things that exist, some are bad, some good and some neither. We call bad those that can always do harm, such as poor judgment, folly, in-

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἀεί, οἷον ἀκρισίαν καὶ ἀφροσύνην καὶ ἀδικίαν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα· τὰ δὲ τούτοις ἐναντία ἀγαθά ἐστι. τὰ δὲ ἐνίοτε μὲν ὠφελεῖν, ἐνίοτε δὲ βλάπτειν—οἷον τὸ περιπατεῖν καὶ τὸ καθῆσθαι καὶ ἐσθίειν—〈ἢ〉 ὅλως μήτε ὠφελῆσαι μήτε βλάψαι δυνάμενα, ταῦτα γοῦν οὔτε ἀγαθὰ οὔτε κακά ἐστι. τῶν ἄρα ὄντων τὰ μὲν ἀγαθά, τὰ δὲ κακά, τὰ δ' οὐδέτερα τούτων.	justice and the like. Their opposites are good. Some things can sometimes benefit and sometimes harm, such as walking, sitting and eating, and others cannot benefit or harm at all. These, at any rate, are neither good nor bad. So of the things that exist, some are good, some bad and some neither.
3.103	Εὐνομία διαιρεῖται εἰς τρία· ἓν μέν, ἐὰν ὦσιν οἱ νόμοι σπουδαῖοι, εὐνομίαν φαμὲν εἶναι· ἕτερον δέ, ἐὰν τοῖς κειμένοις νόμοις ἐμμένωσιν οἱ πολῖται, καὶ τοῦτό φαμεν εὐνομίαν εἶναι· τρίτον δέ, ἐὰν μὴ ὄντων τῶν νόμων κατὰ ἔθη καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα χρηστῶς πολιτεύωνται, καὶ τοῦτο εὐνομίαν προσαγορεύομεν· τῆς εὐνομίας ἄρα ἓν μέν ἐστι νόμους σπουδαίους εἶναι· ἄλλο δέ, ἐὰν τοῖς οὖσι νόμοις ἐμμένωσι· τρίτον δέ, ἐὰν ἔθεσι καὶ ἐπιτηδεύμασι χρηστοῖς πολιτεύωνται.	Good order under law is divided into three. In one, the laws are good, and we say there is good order. In another, the citizens abide by the established laws, and we say this too is good order. In the third, there are no laws, but people conduct their civic life well according to customs and practices, and we also call this good order. So one kind of good order is having good laws, another is abiding by the existing laws, and a third is conducting civic life by good customs and practices.
	Διαιρεῖται ἡ ἀνομία εἰς τρία· ὧν ἓν μέν ἐστιν, ἐὰν ὦσιν οἱ νόμοι μοχθηροὶ καὶ πρὸς ξένους καὶ πρὸς πολίτας· [104] ἕτερον δέ, ἐὰν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι μὴ πείθωνται· ἄλλο δέ, ἐὰν ὅλως μηδεὶς ᾖ νόμος. τῆς ἄρα ἀνομίας ἓν μέν ἐστι τὸ μοχθηροὺς εἶναι τοὺς νόμους· ἄλλο δέ, ἐὰν τοῖς οὖσι μὴ πείθωνται· τρίτον δέ, ἐὰν μηδεὶς ᾖ νόμος.	Lawlessness is divided into three. One is when the laws are bad toward both foreigners and citizens. [104] Another is when people do not obey the existing laws. Another is when there is no law at all. So one kind of lawlessness is having bad laws, another is not obeying the laws that exist, and the third is having no law.
3.104	Τὰ ἐναντία διαιρεῖται εἰς τρία· οἷον ἀγαθὰ κακοῖς ἐναντία φαμὲν εἶναι, ὡς τὴν δικαιοσύνην τῇ ἀδικίᾳ καὶ τὴν φρόνησιν τῇ ἀφροσύνῃ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. κακὰ δὲ κακοῖς ἐναντία ἐστίν, οἷον ἡ ἀσωτία τῇ ἀνελευθερίᾳ καὶ τὸ ἀδίκως στρεβλοῦσθαι τῷ δικαίως στρεβλοῦσθαι· καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κακὰ κακοῖς ἐναντία ἐστί. τὸ δὲ βαρὺ τῷ κούφῳ καὶ τὸ ταχὺ τῷ βραδεῖ καὶ τὸ μέλαν τῷ λευκῷ ὡς οὐδέτερα οὐδετέροις ἐναντία ἐστίν. [105] τῶν ἐναντίων ἄρα τὰ μὲν ὡς ἀγαθὰ κακοῖς ἐναντία ἐστί· τὰ δὲ ὡς κακὰ κακοῖς· τὰ δὲ ὡς οὐδετέροις οὐδέτερα.	Opposites are divided into three. We say that goods are opposite to bads, as justice is opposite to injustice, understanding to folly, and so on. Bads are also opposite to bads, as prodigality is opposite to stinginess, and being tortured unjustly to being tortured justly. Bads like these are opposite to bads. Heavy is opposite to light, fast to slow, and black to white, as things that are neither good nor bad opposed to other things that are neither. [105] So some opposites are opposed as goods to bads, some as bads to bads, and some as neutral things to neutral things.
3.105	Τῶν ἀγαθῶν γένη ἐστὶ τρία· τὰ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἑκτά, τὰ δὲ μεθεκτά, τὰ δὲ ὑπαρκτά. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἑκτά ἐστιν, ὅσα ἐνδέχεται ἔχειν, οἷον ἡ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἡ ὑγίεια· μεθεκτὰ δέ, ὅσα ἔχειν μὲν μὴ ἐνδέχεται, μετασχεῖν δὲ αὐτῶν ἐνδέχεται· οἷον αὐτὸ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἔχειν μὲν οὐκ ἐνδέχεται, μετασχεῖν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐνδέχεται. ὑπαρκτὰ δέ, ὅσα μήτε μετασχεῖν μήτε σχεῖν ἐνδέχεται, ὑπάρχειν δὲ δεῖ· οἷον τὸ σπουδαῖον εἶναι 〈καὶ〉 τὸ δίκαιον εἶναι ἀγαθόν ἐστι· καὶ	Goods come in three kinds: some can be had, some can be shared in and some can only be the case. Those that can be had are the ones it is possible to possess, such as justice and health. Those that can be shared in are the ones it is not possible to possess but possible to share in: the good itself, for example, cannot be possessed, but one can share in it. Those that can only be the case are the

35 Public services (liturgies) were civic duties, such as equipping a warship or funding a chorus, that wealthy citizens paid for at their own expense.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ταῦτα οὔτε σχεῖν οὔτε μετασχεῖν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ὑπάρχειν δεῖ [σπουδαῖον εἶναι καὶ δίκαιον εἶναι]. τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἄρα τὰ μέν ἐστιν ἑκτά, τὰ δὲ μεθεκτά, τὰ δὲ ὑπαρκτά.	ones it is possible neither to share in nor to possess, but which must simply be the case. For example, being good and being just is a good, and one can neither possess nor share in these things; they must simply be the case [being good and being just]. So some goods can be had, some can be shared in and some can only be the case.
3.106	Ἡ συμβουλία διαιρεῖται εἰς τρία· ἔστι γὰρ αὐτῆς ἓν μὲν ἐκ τῶν παροιχομένων χρόνων λαμβανόμενον, ἓν δὲ ἐκ τῶν μελλόντων, ἓν δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐνεστώτων. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῶν παροιχομένων παραδείγματα, οἷον τί ἔπαθον Λακεδαιμόνιοι πιστεύσαντες· τὰ δ' ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, οἷον ἀποφαίνειν τείχη ἀσθενῆ, δειλοὺς ἀνθρώπους, σῖτον ὀλίγον· τὰ δ' ἐκ τῶν μελλόντων, οἷον ταῖς ὑπονοίαις μὴ ἀδικεῖν τὰς πρεσβείας, ὅπως μὴ ἄδοξος ἡ Ἑλλὰς γένηται. τῆς ἄρα συμβουλίας τὰ μέν ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν παροιχομένων, τὰ δ' ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, τὰ δ' ἐκ τῶν μελλόντων.	Advice is divided into three. One kind draws on times past, another on the future and another on the present. Advice drawn from the past uses examples, such as what happened to the Spartans because they trusted others. Advice drawn from the present consists, for instance, in pointing out that the walls are weak, the men cowardly and the grain scarce. Advice drawn from the future consists, for instance, in urging people not to wrong embassies out of suspicion, so that Greece may not fall into disrepute. So some advice draws on the past, some on the present and some on the future.
3.107	Ἡ φωνὴ διαιρεῖται εἰς δύο· ἓν μὲν αὐτῆς ἐστιν ἔμψυχον, ἓν δὲ ἄψυχον. ἔμψυχον μὲν ἡ τῶν ζῴων φωνή, ἄψυχον δὲ φθόγγοι καὶ ἦχοι. τῆς τοῦ ἐμψύχου φωνῆς ἡ μέν ἐστιν ἐγγράμματος, ἡ δὲ ἀγράμματος. ἐγγράμματος μὲν ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀγράμματος δὲ ἡ τῶν ζῴων. τῆς ἄρα φωνῆς ἡ μὲν ἔμψυχος, ἡ δὲ ἄψυχος.	Sound is divided into two. One kind is animate and the other inanimate. Animate sound is the voice of living creatures, and inanimate sound is notes and echoes. Animate sound is either articulate or inarticulate. Articulate sound belongs to human beings and inarticulate sound to animals. So one kind of sound is animate and the other inanimate.
	Τῶν ὄντων ἐστὶ τὰ μὲν μεριστά, τὰ δὲ ἀμέριστα. τούτων δὲ τῶν μεριστῶν τὰ μὲν ὁμοιομερῆ, τὰ δὲ ἀνομοιομερῆ. ἀμερῆ μὲν οὖν ἐστιν ὅσα μὴ ἔχει διαίρεσιν μηδὲ ἔκ τινος σύγκειται, οἷον ἥ τε μονὰς καὶ ἡ στιγμὴ καὶ ὁ φθόγγος· μεριστὰ δὲ ὅσα ἔκ τινος σύγκειται, οἷον αἵ τε συλλαβαὶ καὶ συμφωνίαι καὶ ζῷα καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ χρυσός.	Of the things that exist, some are divisible and some indivisible. Of the divisible ones, some are made of like parts and others of unlike parts. Indivisible things are those that admit of no division and are not composed of anything, such as the unit, the point and the musical note. Divisible things are those composed of something, such as syllables, chords, animals, water and gold.
3.108	ὁμοιομερῆ ὅσα ἐξ ὁμοίων σύγκειται καὶ μηδὲν διαφέρει τὸ ὅλον τοῦ μέρους εἰ μὴ τῷ πλήθει, οἷον τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸ χρυσίον καὶ πᾶν τὸ χυτὸν καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον. ἀνομοιομερῆ δὲ ὅσα ἐξ ἀνομοίων μερῶν σύγκειται, οἷον οἰκία καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. τῶν ὄντων ἄρα τὰ μέν ἐστι μεριστά, τὰ δὲ ἀμερῆ· τῶν δὲ μεριστῶν τὰ μὲν ὁμοιομερῆ, τὰ δὲ ἀνομοιομερῆ.	Things made of like parts are those composed of similar parts, where the whole differs from the part only in quantity: water, gold, anything that can be poured or melted, and the like. Things made of unlike parts are those composed of dissimilar parts, such as a house and things of that sort. So of the things that exist, some are divisible and some indivisible, and of the divisible ones, some are made of like parts and others of unlike parts.

GREEK

Τῶν ὄντων τὰ μέν ἐστι καθ’ ἑαυτά, τὰ δὲ πρός τι λέγεται. τὰ μὲν οὖν καθ’ ἑαυτὰ λεγόμενά ἐστιν ὅσα ἐν τῇ ἑρμηνείᾳ μηδενὸς προσδεῖται· ταῦτα δ’ ἂν εἴη οἷον ἄνθρωπος, ἵππος καὶ τἆλλα ζῷα. [109] τούτων γὰρ οὐδὲν δι’ ἑρμηνείας χωρεῖ. τῶν δὲ πρός τι λεγομένων ὅσα προσδεῖταί τινος ἑρμηνείας, οἷον τὸ μεῖζόν τινος καὶ τὸ θᾶττόν τινος καὶ τὸ κάλλιον καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα· τό τε γὰρ μεῖζον ἐλάττονός ἐστι μεῖζον καὶ τὸ θᾶττόν τινός ἐστι ⟨θᾶττον⟩. τῶν ὄντων ἄρα τὰ μὲν αὐτὰ καθ’ αὑτὰ λέγεται, τὰ δὲ πρός τι. ὧδε καὶ τὰ πρῶτα διῄρει κατὰ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην.

ENGLISH

Of the things that exist, some are spoken of by themselves and others in relation to something. Things spoken of by themselves are those that need nothing added when they are expressed, such as a human being, a horse and the other animals. [109] None of these needs any further explanation. Among the things spoken of in relation to something are those that need some explanation added, such as greater than something, faster than something, more beautiful and the like. The greater is greater than a lesser, and the faster is faster than something. So of the things that exist, some are spoken of in and by themselves and others in relation to something. This, according to Aristotle, is how he also divided the primary concepts.

3.109 Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Πλάτων φιλόσοφος Ῥόδιος, μαθητὴς Παναιτίου, καθά φησι Σέλευκος ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ φιλοσοφίας· καὶ ἄλλος, περιπατητικός, μαθητὴς Ἀριστοτέλους· καὶ ἕτερος Πραξιφάνους· καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας ποιητής.

There was also another Plato, a philosopher from Rhodes and a pupil of Panaetius, as Seleucus the grammarian says in the first book of his *On Philosophy*. There was another, a Peripatetic and a pupil of Aristotle, another who was a pupil of Praxiphanes, and the poet of Old Comedy.[36]

36 Plato the comic poet was an Athenian dramatist of the late fifth and early fourth centuries BC, a contemporary of Aristophanes.

Book 4

The Academy
Plato's successors, from Speusippus and Xenocrates to Arcesilaus and Carneades.

SPEUSIPPUS

Plato's nephew heads the Academy, keeps its doctrines but not its character, and dies despondent.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
4.1	τὰ μὲν περὶ Πλάτωνος τοσαῦτα ἦν ἐς τὸ δυνατὸν ἡμῖν συναγαγεῖν, φιλοπόνως διειλήσασι τὰ λεγόμενα περὶ τἀνδρός. διεδέξατο δ' αὐτὸν Σπεύσιππος Εὐρυμέδοντος Ἀθηναῖος, τῶν μὲν δήμων Μυρρινούσιος, υἱὸς δὲ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ Πωτώνης. καὶ ἐσχολάρχησεν ἔτη ὀκτώ, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος· Χαρίτων τ' ἀγάλματ' ἀνέθηκεν ἐν τῷ μουσείῳ τῷ ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ ἱδρυθέντι. καὶ ἔμεινε μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν Πλάτωνι δογμάτων· οὐ μὴν τό γ' ἦθος διέμεινε τοιοῦτος. καὶ γὰρ ὀργίλος καὶ ἡδονῶν ἥττων ἦν. φασὶ γοῦν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ θυμοῦ τὸ κυνίδιον εἰς τὸ φρέαρ ῥῖψαι καὶ ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἐλθεῖν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Κασάνδρου γάμον.	So much for Plato. This is all we have been able to collect, after carefully sifting what is said about the man. He was succeeded by Speusippus, son of Eurymedon, an Athenian of the deme of Myrrhinus and the son of Plato's sister Potone. He was head of the school for eight years, beginning in the 108th Olympiad. He set up statues of the Graces in the shrine of the Muses that Plato had founded in the Academy. He kept to the same doctrines as Plato, but his character did not stay the same, for he was quick-tempered and could not resist pleasure. They say, at any rate, that in a fit of anger he threw his little dog into the well, and that for pleasure's sake he went to Macedonia for Cassander's wedding.[1]
4.2	Ἐλέγοντο δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ Πλάτωνος ἀκούειν μαθήτριαι, Λασθένειά τε ἡ Μαντινικὴ καὶ Ἀξιοθέα ἡ Φλιασία. ὅτε καὶ Διονύσιος πρὸς αὐτὸν γράφων τωθαστικῶς φησι· "καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀρκαδικῆς σου μαθητρίας ἔστι καταμαθεῖν τὴν σοφίαν. καὶ Πλάτων μὲν ἀτελεῖς φόρων τοὺς παρ' αὐτὸν φοιτῶντας ἐποίει· σὺ δὲ δασμολογεῖς καὶ παρ' ἑκόντων καὶ ἀκόντων λαμβάνεις." οὗτος πρῶτος, καθά φησι Διόδωρος ἐν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων πρώτῳ, ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν ἐθεάσατο τὸ κοινὸν καὶ συνῳκείωσε καθόσον ἦν δυνατὸν ἀλλήλοις· καὶ πρῶτος παρὰ Ἰσοκράτους τὰ καλούμενα ἀπόρρητα ἐξήνεγκεν, [3] ὥς φησι Καινεύς. καὶ πρῶτος εὗρεν ᾧ τὰ φορμία τῶν φρυγάνων εὔογκα ποιοῦσιν.	Plato's two women pupils, Lastheneia of Mantinea and Axiothea of Phlius, were also said to have studied under him. That is why Dionysius, writing to him, says mockingly: "One can learn your wisdom from your Arcadian pupil, too. And Plato let those who came to study with him off paying tribute, while you levy it and take it from the willing and the unwilling alike." He was the first, as Diodorus says in the first book of his *Memoirs*, to look for what the branches of learning have in common and to connect them with one another as far as possible. He was also the first to publish what Isocrates called his secrets, [3] as Caeneus says. And he was the first to invent the device by which loads of brushwood are packed into compact bundles.[2]
4.3	Ἤδη δὲ ὑπὸ παραλύσεως καὶ τὸ σῶμα διέφθαρτο, καὶ πρὸς Ξενοκράτην διεπέμπετο παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν καὶ τὴν σχολὴν διαδέξασθαι. φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἀμαξίου φερόμενον εἰς τὴν Ἀκαδημείαν συναντῆσαι Διογένει καὶ	By now his body had been wrecked by paralysis, and he sent word to Xenocrates, urging him to come and take over the school. They say that as he was being carried to the Academy in a little cart,

1 The 108th Olympiad began in 348 BC, the year of Plato's death.
2 Dionysius is Dionysius II, tyrant of Syracuse. Mantinea, Lastheneia's city, was in Arcadia.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Χαῖρε εἰπεῖν· τὸν δὲ φάναι, “ἀλλὰ μὴ σύ γε, ὅστις ὑπομένεις ζῆν τοιοῦτος ὤν.” καὶ τέλος ὑπὸ ἀθυμίας ἑκὼν τὸν βίον μετήλλαξε γηραιὸς ὤν. καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτόν· ἀλλ’ εἰ μὴ Σπεύσιππον ἐμάνθανον ὧδε θανεῖσθαι, οὐκ ἂν ἔπεισέ μέ τις τόδε λέξαι· ὡς ἦν οὐχὶ Πλάτωνι πρὸς αἵματος· οὐ γὰρ ἀθυμῶν κάτθανεν ἂν διά τι σφόδρα μικρόν.	he met Diogenes the Cynic and said, “Be well!” Diogenes replied, “Not you, though, since you can bear to go on living in that state.” In the end, despondent, he took his own life of his own accord, as an old man. And there is an epigram of mine on him: Why, had I not learned that Speusippus would die this way, no one could have persuaded me to say this: that he was not of Plato’s blood. For he would never have died despondent over something so very small.[3]
4.4	Πλούταρχος δέ φησιν ἐν τῷ Λυσάνδρου βίῳ καὶ Σύλλα φθειρσὶν ἐκζέσαι αὐτόν. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα διακεχυμένος, ὥς φησι Τιμόθεος ἐν τῷ Περὶ βίων. οὗτος, φησί, πρὸς τὸν ἐρῶντα πλούσιον ἀμόρφου ἔφη, “τί δέ σοι δεῖ τούτου; ἐγὼ γάρ σοι δέκα ταλάντων εὐμορφοτέραν εὑρήσω.”	Plutarch, in his *Lives* of Lysander and of Sulla, says that his body broke out in lice. His body was also flabby, as Timotheus says in his *On Lives*. According to Timotheus, he said to a rich man who was in love with an ugly woman: “What do you need this one for? I’ll find you a better-looking one for ten talents.”
	Καταλέλοιπε δὲ πάμπλειστα ὑπομνήματα καὶ διαλόγους πλείονας, ἐν οἷς καὶ Ἀρίστιππον τὸν Κυρηναῖον. Περὶ πλούτου α′. Περὶ ἡδονῆς α′. Περὶ δικαιοσύνης α′. Περὶ φιλοσοφίας α′. Περὶ φιλίας α′. Περὶ θεῶν α′. Φιλόσοφος α′. Πρὸς Κέφαλον α′. Κέφαλος α′. Κλεινόμαχος ἢ Λυσίας α′. Πολίτης α′. Περὶ ψυχῆς α′. Πρὸς Γρύλλον α′. [5] Ἀρίστιππος α′. Τεχνῶν ἔλεγχος α′. Ὑπομνηματικοὶ διάλογοι. Τεχνικὸν α′. Διάλογοι τῶν περὶ τὴν πραγματείαν ὁμοίων α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′ ζ′ η θ′ ι′. Διαιρέσεις καὶ πρὸς τὰ ὅμοια ὑποθέσεις. Περὶ γενῶν καὶ εἰδῶν παραδειγμάτων. Πρὸς τὸν Ἀμάρτυρον. Πλάτωνος ἐγκώμιον. Ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς Δίωνα, Διονύσιον, Φίλιππον. Περὶ νομοθεσίας. Μαθηματικός. Μανδρόβολος. Λυσίας. Ὅροι. Τάξεις ὑπομνημάτων.	He left a great many memoirs and a number of dialogues, among them *Aristippus the Cyrenaic*. *On Wealth*, 1 book. *On Pleasure*, 1 book. *On Justice*, 1 book. *On Philosophy*, 1 book. *On Friendship*, 1 book. *On the Gods*, 1 book. *The Philosopher*, 1 book. *Reply to Cephalus*, 1 book. *Cephalus*, 1 book. *Clinomachus, or Lysias*, 1 book. *The Citizen*, 1 book. *On the Soul*, 1 book. *Reply to Gryllus*, 1 book. [5] *Aristippus*, 1 book. *Refutation of the Arts*, 1 book. *Dialogues in Memoir Form*. *Technical Handbook*, 1 book. *Dialogues on Similar Things in the Study of the Subject*, 10 books. *Divisions, and Hypotheses Relating to Similars*. *On Examples of Genera and Species*. *Against the Speech Without Witnesses*. *Encomium of Plato*. *Letters to Dion, Dionysius and Philip*. *On Legislation*. *The Mathematician*. *Mandrobolus*. *Lysias*. *Definitions*. *Arrangements of Commentaries*.
4.5	Στίχοι τρεῖς καὶ τετρακισμύριοι τεσσαρακόσιοι ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε. πρὸς τοῦτον γράφει καὶ Τιμωνίδης τὰς ἱστορίας, ἐν αἷς κατέταξε τὰς πράξεις Δίωνός τε καὶ Βίωνος. φησὶ δὲ καὶ Φαβωρῖνος ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἀπομνημονευμάτων ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης αὐτοῦ τὰ βιβλία τριῶν ταλάντων ὠνήσατο.	In all, 43,475 lines. Timonides also addresses his histories to him; in them he recorded the deeds of Dion and of Bion. And Favorinus says in the second book of his *Memoirs* that Aristotle bought his books for three talents.[4]
	Γέγονε Σπεύσιππος καὶ ἕτερος, ἰατρὸς Ἡροφίλειος Ἀλεξανδρεύς.	There was also another Speusippus, an Alexandrian physician of the school of Herophilus.[5]

3 The joke turns on *chaire*, the ordinary Greek greeting, which literally means “rejoice” or “be well.”
4 Timonides of Leucas took part in Dion’s campaign against Dionysius II of Syracuse and wrote an account of it.
5 Herophilus was a celebrated Alexandrian physician and anatomist of the early third century BC.

XENOCRATES

Plato's slow but incorruptible pupil resists Phryne, refuses bribes and heads the Academy for twenty-five years.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
4.6	Ξενοκράτης Ἀγαθήνορος Χαλκηδόνιος· οὗτος ἐκ νέου Πλάτωνος ἤκουσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς Σικελίαν αὐτῷ συναπεδήμησεν. ἦν δὲ τὴν φύσιν νωθρός, ὥστε λέγειν τὸν Πλάτωνα συγκρίνοντα αὐτὸν Ἀριστοτέλει, "τῷ μὲν μύωπος δεῖ, τῷ δὲ χαλινοῦ." καὶ "ἐφ' οἷον ἵππον οἷον ὄνον ἀλείφω." σεμνὸς δὲ τά τ' ἄλλα Ξενοκράτης καὶ σκυθρωπὸς ἀεί, ὥστε αὐτῷ λέγειν συνεχὲς τὸν Πλάτωνα, "Ξενόκρατες, θῦε ταῖς Χάρισι." διῆγέ τ' ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ τὰ πλεῖστα· καὶ εἴ ποτε μέλλοι εἰς ἄστυ ἀνιέναι, φασὶ τοὺς θορυβώδεις πάντας καὶ προυνίκους ὑποστέλλειν αὐτοῦ τῇ παρόδῳ. [7] καί ποτε καὶ Φρύνην τὴν ἑταίραν ἐθελῆσαι πειρᾶσαι αὐτόν, καὶ δῆθεν διωκομένην ὑπό τινων καταφυγεῖν εἰς τὸ οἰκίδιον.	Xenocrates, son of Agathenor, of Chalcedon. He studied under Plato from his youth and even went with him to Sicily. He was slow by nature, so that Plato, comparing him with Aristotle, said, "One needs a spur, the other a bridle," and, "What a donkey I'm training, and against what a horse!" In other respects, too, Xenocrates was solemn and always grave-faced, so that Plato was constantly telling him, "Xenocrates, sacrifice to the Graces." He spent most of his time in the Academy, and whenever he was about to go up into the city, they say, all the rowdies and hooligans would keep themselves in check as he passed. [7] They also say that Phryne the courtesan once wanted to test him and, pretending to be chased by some men, took refuge in his little house.[6]
4.7	τὸν δὲ ἕνεκα τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου εἰσδέξασθαι, καὶ ἑνὸς ὄντος κλινιδίου δεομένῃ μεταδοῦναι τῆς κατακλίσεως· καὶ τέλος πολλὰ ἐκλιπαροῦσαν ἄπρακτον ἀναστῆναι. λέγειν τε πρὸς τοὺς πυνθανομένους ὡς οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνδρός, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἀνδριάντος ἀνασταίη. ἔνιοι δὲ Λαΐδα φασὶ παρακατακλῖναι αὐτῷ τοὺς μαθητάς· τὸν δὲ οὕτως εἶναι ἐγκρατῆ, ὥστε καὶ τομὰς καὶ καύσεις πολλάκις ὑπομεῖναι περὶ τὸ αἰδοῖον. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀξιόπιστος σφόδρα, ὥστε μὴ ἐξὸν ἀνώμοτον μαρτυρεῖν, τούτῳ μόνῳ συνεχώρουν Ἀθηναῖοι. [8] καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐταρκέστατος ἦν. Ἀλεξάνδρου γοῦν ποτὲ συχνὸν ἀργύριον ἀποστείλαντος αὐτῷ, τρισχιλίας Ἀττικὰς ἀφελὼν τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπέπεμψεν, εἰπὼν ἐκείνῳ πλειόνων δεῖν πλείονας τρέφοντι.	He let her in out of common humanity, and since there was only one small couch, he let her share it when she asked. In the end, after much pleading, she got up without having achieved anything. To those who asked, she said that she had got up not from a man but from a statue. Some say that his pupils put Lais in his bed, and that he was so self-controlled that he often submitted to having his genitals cut and cauterized. He was also so thoroughly trustworthy that, although it was not permitted to give evidence without taking an oath, the Athenians allowed him alone to do so. [8] He was, moreover, entirely self-sufficient. At any rate, when Alexander once sent him a large sum of money, he took three thousand Attic drachmas and sent the rest back, saying that Alexander needed more, since he had more people to feed.[7]
4.8	ἀλλὰ καὶ ⟨τὸ⟩ ὑπ' Ἀντιπάτρου πεμφθὲν μὴ προσέσθαι, ὥς φησι Μυρωνιανὸς ἐν Ὁμοίοις. καὶ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ τιμηθέντα ἐπάθλῳ πολυποσίας τοῖς Χουσὶ παρὰ Διονυσίῳ ἐξιόντα θεῖναι πρὸς τὸν ἱδρυμένον Ἑρμῆν, ἔνθαπερ τιθέναι καὶ τοὺς ἀνθινοὺς εἰώθει. λόγος δὲ αὐτὸν μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων πεμφθῆναι πρεσβευτὴν πρὸς Φίλιππον· καὶ τοὺς μὲν δώροις μαλθασσομένους καὶ εἰς τὰς κλήσεις συνιέναι καὶ τῷ Φιλίππῳ λαλεῖν· τὸν δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων ποιεῖν. οὔτε γὰρ ὁ Φίλιππος αὐτὸν προσίετο διὰ	They also say that he would not accept what Antipater sent him either, as Myronianus says in his *Parallels*. When he was honored with a gold crown at Dionysius' court, as the prize for drinking the most at the Feast of Jugs, he went out and laid it at the statue of Hermes that stood there, where he used to lay his garlands of flowers too. There is a story that he was sent with others as an envoy to Philip. The others, softened by gifts, went to

6 The Graces were goddesses of charm; Plato is telling him to acquire some.
7 The joke plays on *andros* ("man") and *andriantos* ("statue").

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	τοῦτο. [9] ὅθεν ἐλθόντας τοὺς πρέσβεις εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας φάσκειν ὡς μάτην αὐτοῖς Ξενοκράτης συνεληλύθοι· καὶ τοὺς ἑτοίμους εἶναι ζημιοῦν αὐτόν.	Philip's invitations and chatted with him, while Xenocrates did neither of these things. For that reason Philip would not receive him either. [9] So when the envoys returned to Athens, they claimed that Xenocrates had gone along with them for nothing, and the Athenians were ready to fine him.[8]
4.9	μαθόντας δὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ ὡς νῦν καὶ μᾶλλον φροντιστέον εἴη τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῖς ⟨τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ᾔδει δωροδοκήσαντας ὁ Φίλιππος, ἐμὲ δὲ μηδενὶ λόγῳ ὑπαξόμενος⟩ φασὶ διπλασίως αὐτὸν τιμῆσαι. καὶ τὸν Φίλιππον δὲ λέγειν ὕστερον ὡς μόνος εἴη Ξενοκράτης τῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφιγμένων ἀδωροδόκητος. ἀλλὰ καὶ πρεσβεύων πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον περὶ αἰχμαλώτων Ἀθηναίων κατὰ τὸν Λαμιακὸν πόλεμον, καὶ κληθεὶς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον πρὸς αὐτὸν προηνέγκατο ταυτί· ὦ Κίρκη, τίς γάρ κεν ἀνήρ, ὃς ἐναίσιμος εἴη, πρὶν τλαίη πάσσασθαι ἐδητύος ἠδὲ ποτῆτος, πρὶν λύσασθ' ἑτάρους καὶ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδέσθαι; καὶ τὸν ἀποδεξάμενον τὴν εὐστοχίαν εὐθὺς ἀφεῖναι.	But when they learned from him that now more than ever they had to look out for the city ("for Philip knew that the others had taken bribes, but that he would never win me over by any argument"), they say they honored him twice over. And Philip said afterward that Xenocrates was the only one of those who had come to him who could not be bribed. Again, when he was on an embassy to Antipater about Athenian prisoners during the Lamian War and was invited to dinner by him, he quoted these lines: Circe, what man who was right-minded would bring himself to taste food and drink before he had freed his comrades and seen them with his own eyes? Antipater, impressed by how apt this was, released them at once.[9]
4.10	Στρουθίου δέ ποτε διωκομένου ὑπὸ ἱέρακος καὶ εἰσπηδήσαντος εἰς τοὺς κόλπους αὐτοῦ, καταψήσας μεθῆκεν, εἰπὼν τὸν ἱκέτην δεῖν μὴ ἐκδιδόναι. σκωπτόμενος ὑπὸ Βίωνος οὐκ ἔφη αὐτῷ ἀποκρινεῖσθαι· μηδὲ γὰρ τὴν τραγῳδίαν ὑπὸ τῆς κωμῳδίας σκωπτομένην ἀποκρίσεως ἀξιοῦν. πρὸς δὲ τὸν μήτε μουσικὴν μήτε γεωμετρίαν μήτε ἀστρονομίαν μεμαθηκότα, βουλόμενον δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν φοιτᾶν, "πορεύου," ἔφη· "λαβὰς γὰρ οὐκ ἔχεις φιλοσοφίας." οἱ δὲ τοῦτό φασιν εἰπεῖν, "παρ' ἐμοὶ γὰρ πόκος οὐ κνάπτεται."	Once, when a sparrow being chased by a hawk darted into the fold of his robe, he stroked it and let it go, saying that one must not give up a suppliant. When Bion mocked him, he said he would not answer him, since tragedy does not deign to answer comedy when comedy mocks it. To someone who had learned neither music nor geometry nor astronomy but wanted to study with him, he said, "Be on your way. You have no handles for philosophy." Others say his words were, "Raw fleece isn't carded at my place."
4.11	Εἰπόντος δὲ Διονυσίου πρὸς Πλάτωνα ὡς ἀφαιρήσεται αὐτοῦ τὸν τράχηλον, παρὼν οὗτος καὶ δείξας τὸν ἴδιον, "οὐκ ἄν γε," ἔφη, "τὶς πρότερον τούτου." φασὶ καὶ Ἀντιπάτρου ποτὲ ἐλθόντος εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἀσπασαμένου αὐτόν, μὴ πρότερον ἀντιπροσαγορεῦσαι πρὶν ἢ τὸν λόγον ὃν ἔλεγε διαπεράνασθαι. ἀτυφότατος δὲ ὢν πολλάκις τῆς ἡμέρας ἑαυτῷ ἐμελέτα, καὶ ὥραν μίαν, φασὶν, ἀπένεμε σιωπῆ.	When Dionysius told Plato that someone would have his head off, Xenocrates, who was present, pointed to his own neck and said, "Not before this one." They also say that when Antipater once came to Athens and greeted him, he did not return the greeting until he had finished the speech he was giving. Being entirely free of vanity, he would often meditate by himself in the course of the day, and he set aside one hour, they say, for silence.
	Καὶ πλεῖστα ὅσα καταλέλοιπε συγγράμματα καὶ ἔπη καὶ παραινέσεις, ἅ ἐστι ταῦτα· Περὶ φύσεως α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′.	He left a great many treatises, poems and exhortations, which are as follows: *On Nature*, 6 books. *On*

8 The Feast of Jugs (Choes) was the second day of the Anthesteria, a festival of Dionysus that included a drinking contest.

GREEK

Περὶ σοφίας ς′. Περὶ πλούτου α′. Ἀρκὰς α′. Περὶ τοῦ ἀορίστου α′. [12] Περὶ τοῦ παιδίου α′. Περὶ ἐγκρατείας α′. Περὶ τοῦ ὠφελίμου α′. Περὶ τοῦ ἐλευθέρου α′. Περὶ θανάτου α′. Περὶ ἑκουσίου α′. Περὶ φιλίας α′ β′. Περὶ ἐπιεικείας α′. Περὶ τοῦ ἐναντίου α′ β′. Περὶ εὐδαιμονίας α′ β′. Περὶ τοῦ γράφειν α′. Περὶ μνήμης α′. Περὶ τοῦ ψεύδους α′. Καλλικλῆς α′. Περὶ φρονήσεως α′ β′. Οἰκονομικὸς α′. Περὶ σωφροσύνης α′. Περὶ δυνάμεως νόμου α′. Περὶ πολιτείας α′. Περὶ ὁσιότητος α′.

4.12 Ὅτι παραδοτὴ ἡ ἀρετὴ α′. Περὶ τοῦ ὄντος α′. Περὶ εἱμαρμένης α′. Περὶ παθῶν α. Περὶ βίων α′. Περὶ ὁμονοίας α′ Περὶ μαθητῶν α′ β′. Περὶ δικαιοσύνης α′. Περὶ ἀρετῆς α′ β′. Περὶ εἰδῶν α′. Περὶ ἡδονῆς α′ β′. Περὶ βίου α′. Περὶ ἀνδρείας α′. Περὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς α′. Περὶ ἰδεῶν α′. [13] Περὶ τέχνης α′. Περὶ θεῶν α′ β′. Περὶ ψυχῆς α′ β′. Περὶ ἐπιστήμης α′. Πολιτικὸς α′. Περὶ ἐπιστημοσύνης α′. Περὶ φιλοσοφίας α′. Περὶ τῶν Παρμενίδου α′. Ἀρχέδημος ἢ περὶ δικαιοσύνης α′. Περὶ τἀγαθοῦ α′. Τῶν περὶ τὴν διάνοιαν α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′ ζ′ η′. Λύσις τῶν περὶ τοὺς λόγους ι′.

4.13 Φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′. Κεφάλαιον α′. Περὶ γενῶν καὶ εἰδῶν α′. Πυθαγόρεια α′. Λύσεις α′ β′. Διαιρέσεις η′. Θέσεων βιβλία κμγ′. Τῆς περὶ τὸ διαλέγεσθαι πραγματείας βιβλία ιδμαβψμ′. Μετὰ τοῦτο βιβλία ιε′ καὶ ἄλλα βιβλία ις′ περὶ μαθημάτων τῶν περὶ τὴν λέξιν. Λογιστικῶν βιβλία θ′. Τῶν περὶ τὰ μαθήματα βιβλία ς′. Τῶν περὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἄλλα βιβλία δύο. Περὶ γεωμετρῶν βιβλία ε′. Ὑπομνημάτων α′. Ἐναντίων α′. Περὶ ἀριθμῶν α′. Ἀριθμῶν θεωρία α′. Περὶ διαστημάτων α′. Τῶν περὶ ἀστρολογίαν ς′. [14] Στοιχεῖα πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον περὶ βασιλείας δ. Πρὸς Ἀρύβαν. Πρὸς Ἡφαιστίωνα. Περὶ γεωμετρίας α′ β′.

4.14 Στίχοι μκβδσλθ′.

Ἀθηναῖοι δ′ ὅμως αὐτὸν ὄντα τοιοῦτον ἐπίπρασκόν ποτε, τὸ μετοίκιον ἀτονοῦντα θεῖναι. καὶ αὐτὸν ὠνεῖται Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς καὶ ἑκάτερον ἀποκατέστησε· Ξενοκράτει μὲν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ τὸ μετοίκιον. τοῦτό φησι Μυρωνιανὸς ὁ Ἀμαστριανὸς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἱστορικῶν Ὁμοίων κεφαλαίων. διεδέξατο δὲ Σπεύσιππον καὶ ἀφηγήσατο τῆς σχολῆς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη ἐπὶ Λυσιμαχίδου ἀρξάμενος κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος

ENGLISH

Wisdom, 6 books. *On Wealth*, 1 book. *The Arcadian*, 1 book. *On the Indefinite*, 1 book. [12] *On the Child*, 1 book. *On Self-Control*, 1 book. *On the Useful*, 1 book. *On the Free*, 1 book. *On Death*, 1 book. *On the Voluntary*, 1 book. *On Friendship*, 2 books. *On Fairness*, 1 book. *On the Contrary*, 2 books. *On Happiness*, 2 books. *On Writing*, 1 book. *On Memory*, 1 book. *On Falsehood*, 1 book. *Callicles*, 1 book. *On Understanding*, 2 books. *On Household Management*, 1 book. *On Temperance*, 1 book. *On the Power of Law*, 1 book. *On the Constitution*, 1 book. *On Piety*, 1 book.

That Excellence Can Be Taught, 1 book. *On Being*, 1 book. *On Fate*, 1 book. *On the Passions*, 1 book. *On Ways of Life*, 1 book. *On Concord*, 1 book. *On Pupils*, 2 books. *On Justice*, 1 book. *On Excellence*, 2 books. *On Species*, 1 book. *On Pleasure*, 2 books. *On Life*, 1 book. *On Courage*, 1 book. *On the One*, 1 book. *On Forms*, 1 book. [13] *On Art*, 1 book. *On the Gods*, 2 books. *On the Soul*, 2 books. *On Knowledge*, 1 book. *The Statesman*, 1 book. *On Knowing*, 1 book. *On Philosophy*, 1 book. *On the Doctrines of Parmenides*, 1 book. *Archedemus, or On Justice*, 1 book. *On the Good*, 1 book. *On Matters Concerning Thought*, 8 books. *Solution of Problems in Logic*, 10 books.

Lectures on Nature, 6 books. *Summary*, 1 book. *On Genera and Species*, 1 book. *Pythagorean Matters*, 1 book. *Solutions*, 2 books. *Divisions*, 8 books. *Theses*, 20 books, 30,000 lines. *The Study of Dialectic*, 14 books, 12,740 lines. After this, 15 books, and another 16 books on studies relating to style. *On Calculation*, 9 books. *On Mathematics*, 6 books. Two further books *On Matters Concerning Thought*. *On Geometers*, 5 books. *Commentaries*, 1 book. *Contraries*, 1 book. *On Numbers*, 1 book. *Theory of Numbers*, 1 book. *On Intervals*, 1 book. *On Astronomy*, 6 books. [14] *Elements of Kingship, for Alexander*, 4 books. *To Arybas*. *To Hephaestion*. *On Geometry*, 2 books.

In all, 224,239 lines.

Yet for all that he was such a man, the Athenians once put him up for sale, because he could not pay the resident-alien tax. Demetrius of Phalerum bought him and restored both: to Xenocrates his freedom, to the Athenians their tax. Myronianus of Amastris reports this in the first book of his *Chapters of Historical Parallels*. He succeeded Speu-

9 The Lamian War (323–322 BC) was the failed Greek revolt against Macedon after Alexander's death. The lines are Odysseus' words in Homer's *Odyssey*.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	τῆς δεκάτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος. ἐτελεύτα δὲ νυκτὸς λεκάνῃ προσπταίσας, ἔτος ἤδη γεγονὼς δεύτερον καὶ ὀγδοηκοστόν.	sippus and was head of the school for twenty-five years, beginning in the archonship of Lysimachides, in the second year of the 110th Olympiad. He died at night after tripping over a basin, by then in his eighty-second year.[10]
4.15	Φαμὲν δὲ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν οὑτωσί· χαλκῇ προσκόψας λεκάνῃ ποτὲ καὶ τὸ μέτωπον πλήξας ἴαχεν ὦ σύντονον, εἶτ' ἔθανεν, ὁ πάντα πάντη Ξενοκράτης ἀνὴρ γεγώς.	I have written this about him, too: Tripping once over a bronze basin and striking his forehead, he let out a shrill "Oh!" and then he died— Xenocrates, who had been in every way a man through and through.
	Γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Ξενοκράτεις ἕξ· ὅ τε τακτικὸς ἀρχαῖος σφόδρα … καὶ ὁ συγγενὴς ἅμα καὶ πολίτης τῷ προειρημένῳ φιλοσόφῳ· φέρεται δὲ αὐτοῦ λόγος Ἀρσινοητικός, γεγραμμένος περὶ Ἀρσινόης ἀποθανούσης. τέταρτος φιλόσοφος, ἐλεγείαν γεγραφὼς οὐκ ἐπιτυχῶς. ἴδιον δέ· ποιηταὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιβαλλόμενοι πεζογραφεῖν ἐπιτυγχάνουσι· πεζογράφοι δὲ ἐπιτιθέμενοι ποιητικῇ πταίουσι· τῷ δῆλον τὸ μὲν φύσεως εἶναι, τὸ δὲ τέχνης ἔργον. πέμπτος ἀνδριαντοποιός· ἕκτος ᾄσματα γεγραφώς, ὥς φησιν Ἀριστόξενος.	There have been six other men named Xenocrates. The first was the tactician, a very ancient figure … Another was a kinsman and fellow citizen of the philosopher just discussed; a speech of his survives, the *Arsinoetic*, written about the death of Arsinoe. The fourth was a philosopher who wrote elegiac verse without success. That is a curious thing: poets who set out to write prose succeed, but prose writers who try their hand at poetry stumble, which makes it plain that the one is a gift of nature and the other a product of art. The fifth was a sculptor. The sixth wrote songs, as Aristoxenus says.

POLEMO

A dissolute youth bursts drunk into Xenocrates' lecture, is converted, and later heads the Academy.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
4.16	Πολέμων Φιλοστράτου μὲν ἦν υἱός, Ἀθηναῖος τῶν δήμων Οἴηθεν. νέος δ' ὢν ἀκόλαστός τε καὶ διακεχυμένος ἦν οὕτως, ὥστε καὶ περιφέρειν ἀργύριον πρὸς τὰς ἑτοίμους λύσεις τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς διέκρυπτεν. καὶ ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ πρὸς κίονί τινι τριώβολον εὑρέθη προσπεπλασμένον αὐτοῦ διὰ [τὴν] ὁμοίαν τῇ προειρημένῃ πρόφασιν. καί ποτε συνθέμενος τοῖς νέοις μεθύων καὶ ἐστεφανωμένος εἰς τὴν Ξενοκράτους ᾔξε σχολήν· ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν διατραπεὶς εἶρε τὸν λόγον ὁμοίως· ἦν δὲ περὶ σωφροσύνης. ἀκοῦον δὴ τὸ μειράκιον κατ' ὀλίγον ἐθηράθη καὶ οὕτως ἐγένετο φιλόπονος ὡς ὑπερβάλλεσθαι τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ αὐτὸς διαδέξασθαι τὴν σχολήν, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ἕκτης καὶ δεκάτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος.	Polemo was the son of Philostratus, an Athenian of the deme of Oe. As a young man he was so dissolute and abandoned that he even carried money around with him so that his desires could be satisfied on the spot, and he would also keep it hidden in the alleys. In the Academy, too, a three-obol coin was found that he had stuck to a pillar for [the] same kind of reason as the one just mentioned. Once, by arrangement with his young friends, drunk and wearing a garland, he burst into Xenocrates' school. Xenocrates, not in the least put out, carried on with his lecture just as before; it happened to be on temperance. As he listened, the young man was caught little by little. He became so hardworking that he surpassed all the others and himself succeeded to the school, beginning in the 116th Olympiad.

10 As a native of Chalcedon, Xenocrates was a metic, a resident foreigner liable to a special tax at Athens. The year meant is 339/338 BC.

GREEK

ENGLISH

4.17 Φησὶ δὲ Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν τοῖς Βίοις τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ πρῶτόν τε εἶναι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ ἁρματοτροφῆσαι. φυγεῖν δὲ τὸν Πολέμωνα καὶ δίκην κακώσεως ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικός, ὡς μειρακίοις συνόντα. τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐπιτεῖναι τὸ ἦθος ἀρξάμενον φιλοσοφεῖν, ὥστ' ἐπὶ ταὐτοῦ σχήματος τῆς μορφῆς πάντοτε μένειν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἀναλλοίωτος ἦν· διὸ καὶ θηραθῆναι Κράντορα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. κυνὸς γοῦν λυττῶντος [καὶ] τὴν ἰγνύαν διασπάσαντος μόνον μὴ ὠχριᾶσαι· καὶ ταραχῆς γενομένης ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως πυθομένων τὸ γεγονὸς ἄτρεπτον μεῖναι. ἔν τε τοῖς θεάτροις ἀσυμπαθέστατος ἦν.

Antigonus of Carystus says in his *Lives* that Polemo's father was the foremost of the citizens and bred chariot horses. He says that Polemo was prosecuted by his wife for ill-treatment, on the grounds that he had relations with youths. Once he had taken up philosophy, he so strengthened his character that he always kept the same bearing and expression. His voice, too, never changed, and that is why Crantor was won over by him. When a rabid dog tore the back of his knee, at any rate, he did not so much as turn pale; and when an uproar broke out in the city as people heard what had happened, he remained unmoved. In the theater, too, he was utterly unaffected.

4.18 Νικοστράτου γοῦν ποτε τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου Κλυταιμνήστρα ἀναγινώσκοντός τι τοῦ ποιητοῦ αὐτῷ τε καὶ Κράτητι, τὸν μὲν συνδιατίθεσθαι, τὸν δ' ἴσα καὶ μὴ ἀκοῦσαι. καὶ ὅλως ἦν τοιοῦτος οἷόν φησι Μελάνθιος ὁ ζωγράφος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ ζωγραφικῆς· φησὶ γὰρ δεῖν αὐθάδειάν τινα καὶ σκληρότητα τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπιτρέχειν, ὁμοίως δὲ κἀν τοῖς ἤθεσιν. ἔφασκε δὲ ὁ Πολέμων δεῖν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι γυμνάζεσθαι καὶ μὴ ἐν τοῖς διαλεκτικοῖς θεωρήμασι, καθάπερ ἁρμονικόν τι τέχνιον καταπιόντα καὶ μὴ μελετήσαντα, ὡς κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἐρώτησιν θαυμάζεσθαι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν διάθεσιν ἑαυτοῖς μάχεσθαι.

Once, for instance, when Nicostratus, nicknamed Clytemnestra, was reading something from the poet to him and Crates, Crates was moved along with it, while Polemo behaved as though he had not even heard. In short, he was the kind of man Melanthius the painter describes in his *On Painting*. Melanthius says that a certain willfulness and harshness should run through works of art, and likewise through characters. Polemo used to say that one should exercise oneself in real matters and not in dialectical theorems. Otherwise one is like someone who has swallowed some little handbook of harmonics but never practiced it: such people are admired for their questioning but are at war with themselves in their character.[11]

Ἦν οὖν ἀσόλοικός τις καὶ γενναῖος, παρῃτημένος ἅ φησιν Ἀριστοφάνης περὶ Εὐριπίδου, "ὀξωτὰ καὶ σιλφιωτά," [19] ἅπερ, ὡς ὁ αὐτός φησι, καταπυγοσύνη ταῦτ' ἐστὶ πρὸς κρέας μέγα. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ καθίζων ἔλεγε πρὸς τὰς θέσεις, φασί, περιπατῶν δὲ ἐπεχείρει. διὰ δὴ οὖν τὸ φιλογενναῖον ἐτιμᾶτο ἐν τῇ πόλει. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκπεπατηκὼς ἦν διατρίβων ἐν τῷ κήπῳ, παρ' ὃν οἱ μαθηταὶ μικρὰ καλύβια ποιησάμενοι κατῴκουν πλησίον τοῦ μουσείου καὶ τῆς ἐξέδρας.

He was, then, a man of polished speech and noble character, who steered clear of what Aristophanes says of Euripides, "vinegared and silphium-flavored," [19] which, as the same poet says, is mere debauchery next to a good big hunk of meat. Moreover, they say, he did not sit down to argue his theses but argued them while walking about. It was for his noble character, then, that he was honored in the city. Even so, he had withdrawn from public life and spent his time in the garden. Next to it his pupils built little huts and lived near the shrine of the Muses and the covered hall.

4.19 ἐῴκει δὴ ὁ Πολέμων κατὰ πάντα ἐζηλωκέναι τὸν Ξενοκράτην· καὶ ἐρασθῆναι αὐτοῦ φησιν Ἀρίστιππος ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ Περὶ παλαιᾶς τρυφῆς. ἀεὶ γοῦν ἐμέμνητο αὐτοῦ, τήν τ' ἀκακίαν καὶ τὸν αὐχμὸν ἐνεδέδυτο τἀνδρὸς καὶ τὸ βάρος οἱονεὶ τῆς Δωριστὶ ἁρμονίας. [20] ἦν δὲ καὶ

Polemo seems to have imitated Xenocrates in everything, and Aristippus, in the fourth book of his *On the Luxury of the Ancients*, says that he was in love with him. At any rate, he was always talking about him, and he had taken on the man's

11 "The poet" is Homer.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	φιλοσοφοκλῆς, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ἐκείνοις ὅπου κατὰ τὸν κωμικὸν τὰ ποιήματα αὐτῷ κύων τις ἐδόκει συμποιεῖν Μολοττικός, καὶ ἔνθα ἦν κατὰ τὸν Φρύνιχον οὐ γλύξις οὐδ' ὑπόχυτος, ἀλλὰ Πράμνιος. ἔλεγεν οὖν τὸν μὲν Ὅμηρον ἐπικὸν εἶναι Σοφοκλέα, τὸν δὲ Σοφοκλέα Ὅμηρον τραγικόν.	guilelessness and austerity and his gravity, like that of the Dorian mode. [20] He was also a lover of Sophocles, especially in those passages where, as the comic poet says, it seemed that a Molossian hound was helping him write, and where, as Phrynichus puts it, the wine was not sweet, nor watered, but Pramnian. So he used to say that Homer was an epic Sophocles and Sophocles a tragic Homer.[12]
4.20	Ἐτελεύτησε δὲ γηραιὸς ἤδη ὑπὸ φθίσεως, ἱκανὰ συγγράμματα καταλιπών. καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτόν· οὐκ ἀΐεις; Πολέμωνα κεκεύθαμεν, ὃν θέτο τῇδε ἀρρωστίη, τὸ δεινὸν ἀνθρώποις πάθος. οὐ μᾶλλον Πολέμωνα, τὸ σῶμα δέ· τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτὸς βαίνων ἐς ἄστρα διάβορον θῆκεν χαμαί.	He died of consumption when he was already old, leaving a good number of writings. And there is an epigram of mine on him: Don't you hear? We have buried Polemo, whom illness, that dread affliction of mankind, laid here. Not Polemo, rather, but his body. For he himself, going up to the stars, left it on the ground, wasted away.

CRATES OF ATHENS

Polemo's pupil and beloved succeeds him and shares his tomb.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
4.21	Κράτης πατρὸς μὲν ἦν Ἀντιγένους ⟨Ἀθηναῖος⟩, Θριάσιος δὲ τῶν δήμων, ἀκροατὴς ἅμα καὶ ἐρώμενος Πολέμωνος· ἀλλὰ καὶ διεδέξατο τὴν σχολὴν αὐτοῦ. καὶ οὕτως ἀλλήλω ἐφιλείτην ὥστε καὶ ζῶντε οὐ μόνον τῶν αὐτῶν ἤστην ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέχρι σχεδὸν ἀναπνοῆς ἐξωμοιώσθην ἀλλήλοιν καὶ θανόντε τῆς αὐτῆς ταφῆς ἐκοινωνείτην. ὅθεν Ἀνταγόρας εἰς ἄμφω τοῦτον ἐποίησε τὸν τρόπον· μνήματι τῷδε Κράτητα θεουδέα καὶ Πολέμωνα ἔννεπε κρύπτεσθαι, ξεῖνε, παρερχόμενος, ἄνδρας ὁμοφροσύνῃ μεγαλήτορας, ὧν ἄπο μῦθος ἱερὸς ἧϊσσεν δαιμονίου στόματος, καὶ βίοτος καθαρὸς σοφίας ἐπὶ θεῖον ἐκόσμει αἰῶν' ἀστρέπτοις δόγμασι πειθόμενος.	Crates, son of Antigenes, was an Athenian of the deme of Thria. He was both a pupil and the beloved of Polemo, and he went on to succeed him as head of the school. The two loved each other so much that in life they not only shared the same pursuits but grew alike almost down to their breathing, and in death they shared the same tomb. So Antagoras wrote this on both of them: In this tomb god-fearing Crates and Polemo, say, stranger, as you pass, lie hidden, men great-hearted in their oneness of mind, from whom sacred speech darted forth from an inspired mouth, and a pure life of wisdom adorned them for a divine age, obedient to unswerving doctrines.
4.22	ἔνθεν καὶ Ἀρκεσίλαον μετελθόντα παρὰ Θεοφράστου πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγειν ὡς εἶεν θεοί τινες ἢ λείψανα τῶν ἐκ τοῦ χρυσοῦ γένους. καὶ γὰρ ἥστην οὐ φιλοδημώδεε· ἀλλ' οἷον Διονυσόδωρόν ποτέ φασι τὸν αὐλητὴν εἰπεῖν, σεμνυνόμενον ἐπὶ τῷ μηδένα τῶν κρουμάτων αὐτοῦ μήτ' ἐπὶ τριήρους μήτ' ἐπὶ κρήνης ἀκηκοέναι, καθάπερ Ἰσμηνίου. συσσίτιον δέ φησιν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀντίγονος εἶναι παρὰ Κράντορι, ὁμονόως συμβιούντων τούτων τε καὶ	That is why Arcesilaus, when he moved over to them from Theophrastus, said that they were gods of a sort, or survivors of the golden race. They had no interest in popular favor. They were like the piper Dionysodorus, who once, they say, prided himself that no one had ever heard his music on board a trireme or at a fountain, as they had heard Ismenias'. Antigonus says that Crates took his

12 Molossian hounds were a fierce breed, and Pramnian a strong, harsh wine.

GREEK

ENGLISH

Ἀρκεσιλάου. τὴν δὲ οἴκησιν Ἀρκεσίλαον μὲν ἔχειν μετὰ Κράντορος, Πολέμωνα δὲ σὺν Κράτητι μετὰ Λυσικλέους τινὸς τῶν πολιτῶν. ἦν δέ, φησίν, ἐρώμενος, Κράτης μέν, ὡς προείρηται, Πολέμωνος· Ἀρκεσίλαος δὲ Κράντορος.

meals at Crantor's house, and that these two and Arcesilaus lived together in harmony. As for where they lived, Arcesilaus shared a house with Crantor, while Polemo and Crates lived with Lysicles, one of the citizens. Crates, he says, was the beloved of Polemo, as I said before, and Arcesilaus the beloved of Crantor.

4.23 Τελευτῶν δὲ ὁ Κράτης, καθά φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τρίτῳ τῶν Χρονικῶν, ἀπέλιπε βιβλία τὰ μὲν φιλοσοφούμενα, τὰ δὲ περὶ κωμῳδίας, τὰ δὲ λόγους δημηγορικοὺς καὶ πρεσβευτικούς. ἀλλὰ καὶ μαθητὰς ἐλλογίμους· ὧν Ἀρκεσίλαον περὶ οὗ λέξομεν—διήκουσε γὰρ καὶ τούτου—καὶ Βίωνα τὸν Βορυσθενίτην, ὕστερον δὲ Θεοδώρειον ἀπὸ τῆς αἱρέσεως ἐπικαλούμενον, περὶ οὗ καὶ αὐτοῦ λέξομεν ἐχομένως Ἀρκεσιλάου.

When Crates died, as Apollodorus says in the third book of his *Chronicles*, he left books, some philosophical, some on comedy, and others that were speeches to the assembly and speeches made on embassies. He also left distinguished pupils. Among them were Arcesilaus, of whom I shall speak, for he studied under Crates as well, and Bion of Borysthenes, later nicknamed "the Theodorean" after the school he joined. I shall speak of him too, right after Arcesilaus.[13]

Γεγόνασι δὲ Κράτητες δέκα· πρῶτος ὁ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας ποιητής, δεύτερος ῥήτωρ Τραλλιανὸς Ἰσοκράτειος, τρίτος ταφρωρύχος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνών, τέταρτος ὁ κύων περὶ οὗ λέξομεν, πέμπτος φιλόσοφος περιπατητικός, ἕκτος Ἀκαδημαϊκὸς ὁ προειρημένος, ἕβδομος Μαλώτης γραμματικός, ὄγδοος γεωμετρικὰ γεγραφώς, ἔνατος ἐπιγραμμάτων ποιητής, δέκατος Ταρσεὺς φιλόσοφος Ἀκαδημαϊκός.

There have been ten men named Crates. The first was the poet of Old Comedy. The second was a rhetorician from Tralles, a follower of Isocrates. The third was a trench-digger who accompanied Alexander. The fourth was the Cynic, of whom I shall speak. The fifth was a Peripatetic philosopher, and the sixth the Academic discussed above. The seventh was a grammarian from Mallus, the eighth a writer on geometry, and the ninth a writer of epigrams. The tenth was an Academic philosopher from Tarsus.

CRANTOR

The admired poet and philosopher of Soli, author of On Grief, dies before his teachers.

GREEK

ENGLISH

4.24 Κράντωρ Σολεὺς θαυμαζόμενος ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδι ἀπῆρεν εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ Ξενοκράτους διήκουσε Πολέμωνι συσχολάζων. καὶ κατέλιπεν ὑπομνήματα εἰς μυριάδας στίχων τρεῖς, ὧν τινά τινες Ἀρκεσιλάῳ προσάπτουσι. φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐρωτηθέντα τίνι θηραθείη ὑπὸ Πολέμωνος, εἰπεῖν τῷ μήτ' ὀξύτερον μήτε βαρύτερον ἀκοῦσαι φθεγγομένου. οὗτος νοσήσας εἰς τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἀνεχώρησε κἀκεῖ περιεπάτει· οἱ δὲ πανταχόθεν προσῄεσαν αὐτῷ, νομίζοντες οὐ διὰ νόσον, ἀλλὰ βούλεσθαι αὐτόθι σχολὴν συστήσασθαι. ὧν ἦν καὶ Ἀρκεσίλαος θέλων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συστῆναι Πολέμωνι, καίπερ ἐρῶντος, ὡς ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀρκεσιλάου λέξομεν.

Crantor of Soli was admired in his own country, but he left for Athens and studied under Xenocrates, attending the school together with Polemo. He left commentaries running to 30,000 lines, some of which a few people attribute to Arcesilaus. They say that when he was asked what had captivated him in Polemo, he said it was that he had never heard him speak in a voice either higher or lower than usual. When he fell ill he withdrew to the shrine of Asclepius and walked about there. People came to him from everywhere, thinking that he had not gone there because of illness but wanted to set up a school

13 Apollodorus of Athens (second century BC) wrote a verse *Chronicles* that Diogenes uses for dates.

GREEK

ENGLISH

there. One of them was Arcesilaus, who wanted Crantor to introduce him to Polemo, even though Crantor was in love with him, as I shall tell in the life of Arcesilaus.[14]

4.25 ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν ὑγιάναντα διακούειν Πολέμωνος, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ μάλιστα θαυμασθῆναι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν καταλιπεῖν Ἀρκεσιλάῳ, ταλάντων οὖσαν δυοκαίδεκα. καὶ ἐρωτηθέντα πρὸς αὐτοῦ ποῦ βούλεται ταφῆναι, εἰπεῖν· ἐν γῆς φίλης μυχοῖσι κρυφθῆναι καλόν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ποιήματα γράψαι καὶ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερῷ σφραγισάμενος αὐτὰ θεῖναι. καί φησι Θεαίτητος ὁ ποιητὴς περὶ αὐτοῦ οὑτωσί· ἥνδανεν ἀνθρώποις, ὁ δ' ἐπὶ πλέον ἥνδανε Μούσαις
Κράντωρ, καὶ γήρως ἤλυθεν οὔτι πρόσω.
γῆ, σὺ δὲ τεθνηῶτα τὸν ἱερὸν ἄνδρ' ὑπόδεξαι·
ἠρέμα καὶ κεῖθι ζῴη ἐν εὐθενίῃ.

But once he recovered, he himself attended Polemo's lectures, and he was admired for this more than for anything else. He is also said to have left his property, which amounted to twelve talents, to Arcesilaus. When Arcesilaus asked him where he wanted to be buried, he said: It is good to be hidden in the recesses of a dear land. He is also said to have written poems and to have deposited them, under seal, in the temple of Athena in his native city. The poet Theaetetus says this about him: He pleased men, but he pleased the Muses still more,
Crantor, and he did not come far into old age.
Earth, receive this holy man now that he is dead;
may he live there too in quiet and plenty.

4.26 Ἐθαύμαζε δὲ ὁ Κράντωρ πάντων δὴ μᾶλλον Ὅμηρον καὶ Εὐριπίδην, λέγων ἐργῶδες εἶναι ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ τραγικῶς ἅμα καὶ συμπαθῶς γράψαι. καὶ προεφέρετο τὸν στίχον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Βελλεροφόντου· οἴμοι· τί δ' οἴμοι; θνητά τοι πεπόνθαμεν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀνταγόρα τοῦ ποιητοῦ ὡς Κράντορος εἰς Ἔρωτα πεποιημένα φέρεσθαι ταυτί· ἐν δοιῇ μοι θυμός, ἐπεὶ γένος ἀμφίσβητον,
ἦ σε θεῶν τὸν πρῶτον ἀειγενέων, Ἔρος, εἴπω,
τῶν ὅσσους Ἔρεβός τε πάλαι βασίλειά τε παῖδας
γείνατο Νὺξ πελάγεσσιν ὑπ' εὐρέος Ὠκεανοῖο·[27] ἦ σέ γε
Κύπριδος υἷα περίφρονος, ἠέ σε Γαίης,
ἢ Ἀνέμων· τοῖος σὺ κακὰ φρονέων ἀλάλησαι
ἀνθρώποις ἠδ' ἐσθλά· τὸ καὶ σέο σῶμα δίφυιον.

Crantor admired Homer and Euripides above everyone, saying that it was hard to write in plain, ordinary language tragically and with feeling at the same time. He would quote the line from the *Bellerophon*: Alas! But why "alas"? What we have suffered is what mortals suffer. It is said too that these lines of the poet Antagoras on Eros circulate as a poem by Crantor: My heart is in two minds, since your birth is disputed:
should I call you, Eros, the first of the gods who live for ever,
of all the children that Erebus and queenly
Night bore long ago beneath the waters of broad Ocean,[27] or the son of wise Cypris, or of Earth,
or of the Winds? So you wander about, devising evil
for men, and good as well; that is why your body is twofold.[15]

4.27 Ἦν δὲ καὶ δεινὸς ὀνοματοποιῆσαι. τραγῳδὸν γοῦν ἀπελέκητον εἶπεν ἔχειν φωνὴν καὶ φλοιοῦ μεστήν· καί τινος ποιητοῦ σκίφης μεστοὺς εἶναι τοὺς στίχους· καὶ τὰς Θεοφράστου θέσεις ὀστρέῳ γεγράφθαι. θαυμάζεται δὲ αὐτοῦ βιβλίον μάλιστα τὸ Περὶ πένθους. καὶ κατέστρεψε πρὸ Πολέμωνος καὶ Κράτητος, ὑδρωπικῇ διαθέσει νοσήσας. καὶ ἔστιν εἰς αὐτὸν ἡμῶν· ἐπέκλυσε καὶ σέ, Κράντορ, ἡ νόσων κακίστη,
χοὔτω μέλαν κατῆλθες Πλουτέως ἄβυσσον.

He was also clever at coining words. He said, for instance, that a tragic actor had a voice "unhewn and full of bark," that a certain poet's verses were "full of woodworm," and that Theophrastus' theses had been written "in shellfish purple." His most admired book is *On Grief*. He died before Polemo and Crates, of a dropsical condition. And there is my epigram on him: The worst of diseases flooded

14 Sanctuaries of Asclepius, the god of healing, took in the sick, who slept there in hope of a cure.
15 *Bellerophon* is a lost tragedy of Euripides.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	καὶ σὺ μὲν ἐκεῖθι χαίρεις, σῶν λόγων δὲ χήρη ἕστηκεν Ἀκαδήμεια καὶ Σόλοι, πατρίς σευ.	over you too, Crantor, and so you went down into Pluto's black abyss. You are happy there, but bereft of your words stand the Academy and Soli, your native land.[16]

ARCESILAUS

The founder of the Middle Academy suspends judgment and argues both sides of every question.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
4.28	Ἀρκεσίλαος Σεύθου ⟨[ἢ Σκύθου], ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τρίτῳ Χρονικῶν⟩, Πιτάνης τῆς Αἰολίδος. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τῆς μέσης Ἀκαδημείας κατάρξας, πρῶτος ἐπισχὼν τὰς ἀποφάσεις διὰ τὰς ἐναντιότητας τῶν λόγων. πρῶτος δὲ καὶ εἰς ἑκάτερον ἐπεχείρησε, καὶ πρῶτος τὸν λόγον ἐκίνησε τὸν ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος παραδεδομένον καὶ ἐποίησε δι' ἐρωτήσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως ἐριστικώτερον. παρέβαλε δὲ Κράντορι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. τέταρτος ἀδελφὸς ἦν ὧν εἶχε δύο μὲν ὁμοπατρίους, δύο δὲ ὁμομητρίους· καὶ τῶν μὲν ὁμομητρίων πρεσβύτερον Πυλάδην, τῶν δὲ ὁμοπατρίων Μοιρέαν, ὃς ἦν αὐτῷ ἐπίτροπος.	Arcesilaus, son of Seuthes [or Scythes], as Apollodorus says in the third book of his *Chronicles*, came from Pitane in Aeolis. He was the founder of the Middle Academy, and the first to suspend his assertions because of the contrary arguments that could be set against each other. He was also the first to argue on both sides of a question, and the first to unsettle the style of discourse handed down by Plato, making it more combative by means of question and answer. He came to Crantor in the following way. He was the youngest of four brothers, two of whom shared his father and two his mother. The elder of his half-brothers on his mother's side was Pylades, and on his father's side Moereas, who was his guardian.
4.29	ἤκουσε δὲ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν Αὐτολύκου τοῦ μαθηματικοῦ πολίτου τυγχάνοντος, πρὶν ἀπαίρειν εἰς Ἀθήνας, μεθ' οὗ καὶ εἰς Σάρδεις ἀπεδήμησεν· ἔπειτα Ξάνθου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου μουσικοῦ· μεθ' ὃν Θεοφράστου διήκουσεν. ἔπειτα μετῆλθεν εἰς Ἀκαδημείαν πρὸς Κράντορα· Μοιρέας μὲν γὰρ ὁ προειρημένος ἀδελφὸς ἦγεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ῥητορικήν· ὁ δὲ φιλοσοφίας ἤρα, καὶ αὐτοῦ Κράντωρ ἐρωτικῶς διατεθεὶς ἐπύθετο τὰ ἐξ Ἀνδρομέδας Εὐριπίδου προενεγκάμενος· ὦ παρθέν', εἰ σώσαιμί σ', εἴσει μοι χάριν; καὶ ὃς τὰ ἐχόμενα· ἄγου μ', ὦ ξέν', εἴτε δμωΐδ' ἐθέλεις εἴτ' ἄλοχον.	At first, before leaving for Athens, he studied under Autolycus the mathematician, who was a fellow citizen of his, and he traveled with him to Sardis as well. Then he studied under Xanthus, the Athenian musician, and after him under Theophrastus. Then he moved over to the Academy, to Crantor. His brother Moereas, mentioned above, was steering him toward rhetoric, but he was in love with philosophy. Crantor, who had fallen in love with him, quoted the lines from Euripides' *Andromeda* and asked: O maiden, if I save you, will you be grateful to me? And he answered with the lines that follow: Take me, stranger, as your servant or your wife, whichever you wish.[17]
4.30	ἐκ τούτου συνήστην ἀλλήλοιν· ἵνα καὶ τὸν Θεόφραστον κνιζόμενόν φασιν εἰπεῖν ὡς εὐφυὴς καὶ εὐεπιχείρητος ἀπεληλυθὼς τῆς διατριβῆς εἴη νεανίσκος. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἐμβριθέστατος καὶ φιλογράμματος ἱκανῶς γενόμενος ἥπτετο καὶ ποιητικῆς. καὶ αὐτοῦ φέρεται ἐπίγραμμα εἰς Ἄτταλον ἔχον οὕτω· Πέργαμος οὐχ ὅπλοις κλεινὴ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἵπποις	From then on the two were inseparable. That is why, they say, Theophrastus, stung, remarked what a gifted and quick-witted young man had left his school. He was very weighty in argument and quite a lover of literature, and he also tried his hand at poetry. An epigram of his on Attalus circulates, which goes like this: Pergamum is famous

16 Dropsy is a swelling caused by a build-up of fluid in the body; hence the epigram's "flooded."
17 In Euripides' lost *Andromeda*, Perseus speaks these words to Andromeda, who has been chained up as an offering to a sea monster.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	πολλάκις αὐδᾶται Πῖσαν ἀνὰ ζαθέην. εἰ δὲ τὸν ἐκ Διόθεν θεμιτὸν θνατῷ νόον εἰπεῖν, ἔσσεται εἰσαῦτις πολλὸν ἀοιδοτέρη.	not for arms alone; for its horses too it is often proclaimed at holy Pisa. But if a mortal may speak what Zeus has in mind, it will be far more celebrated in song hereafter.[18]
	ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς Μηνόδωρον τὸν Εὐγάμου ἑνὸς τῶν συσχολαστῶν ἐρώμενον· [31] τηλοῦ μὲν Φρυγίη, τηλοῦ δ' ἱερὴ Θυάτειρα· ὦ Μηνόδωρε, σὴ πατρίς, Καδανάδη. ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰς Ἀχέροντα τὸν οὐ φατὸν ἶσα κέλευθα, ὡς αἶνος ἀνδρῶν, πάντοθεν μετρεύμενα. σῆμα δέ τοι τόδ' ἔρεξεν ἀριφραδὲς Εὔγαμος, ᾧ σὺ πολλῶν πενεστέων ἦσθα προσφιλέστατος.	He also wrote one on Menodorus, the beloved of Eugamus, one of his fellow students: [31] Far away is Phrygia, far away holy Thyatira, your homeland, Menodorus, son of Cadanas. But to unspeakable Acheron the roads are equal, as the saying goes, measured from any place. Eugamus made you this conspicuous tomb, he to whom of his many dependents you were the dearest.[19]
4.31	Ἀπεδέχετο δὲ πάντων μᾶλλον Ὅμηρον, οὗ καὶ εἰς ὕπνον ἰὼν πάντως τι ἀνεγίνωσκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄρθρου λέγων ἐπὶ τὸν ἐρώμενον ἀπιέναι ὁπότε βούλοιτο ἀναγνῶναι. τόν τε Πίνδαρον ἔφασκε δεινὸν εἶναι φωνῆς ἐμπλῆσαι καὶ ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων εὐπορίαν παρασχεῖν. Ἴωνα δὲ καὶ ἐχαρακτήριζε νέος ὤν.	He admired Homer above all. He always read a little of him before going to sleep, and at dawn too; whenever he wanted to read him, he would say he was going off to his beloved. He used to say that Pindar was wonderful at filling the mouth with sound and providing a wealth of nouns and verbs. And when he was young he also wrote a study of the style of Ion.[20]
4.32	Διήκουσε δὲ καὶ Ἱππονίκου τοῦ γεωμέτρου· ὃν καὶ ἔσκωψε τὰ μὲν ἄλλα νωθρὸν ὄντα καὶ χασμώδη, ἐν δὲ τῇ τέχνῃ τεθεωρημένον, εἰπὼν τὴν γεωμετρίαν αὐτοῦ χάσκοντος εἰς τὸ στόμα ἐμπτῆναι. τοῦτον καὶ παρακόψαντα ἀναλαβὼν οἴκοι ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐθεράπευσεν, ἐς ὅσον ἀποκαταστῆσαι. Κράτητος δὲ ἐκλιπόντος κατέσχε τὴν σχολήν, ἐκχωρήσαντος αὐτῷ Σωκρατίδου τινός. διὰ δὲ τὸ περὶ πάντων ἐπέχειν οὐδὲ βιβλίον, φασί τινες, συνέγραψεν· οἱ δέ, ὅτι ἐφωράθη ⟨Κράντορος⟩ τινὰ διορθῶν, ἃ φασιν οἱ μὲν ἐκδοῦναι, οἱ δὲ κατακαῦσαι. ἐῴκει δὴ θαυμάζειν καὶ τὸν Πλάτωνα καὶ τὰ βιβλία ἐκέκτητο αὐτοῦ.	He also studied under Hipponicus the geometer, and he mocked him for being sluggish and given to yawning in everything else, yet expert in his science, saying that geometry had flown into his mouth while he was yawning. When Hipponicus went out of his mind, Arcesilaus took him into his own house and looked after him until he was restored to health. When Crates died, Arcesilaus took over the school, after a certain Socratides stood aside for him. Some say that because he suspended judgment about everything he did not write a single book. Others say that he was caught correcting some works of Crantor's, which some say he published and others that he burned. He seems to have admired Plato, and he owned copies of his books.
4.33	ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Πύρρωνα κατά τινας ἐζηλώκει καὶ τῆς διαλεκτικῆς εἴχετο καὶ τῶν Ἐρετρικῶν ἥπτετο λόγων, ὅθεν καὶ ἐλέγετο ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ὑπ' Ἀρίστωνος· πρόσθε Πλάτων, ὄπιθεν Πύρρων, μέσσος Διόδωρος. καὶ ὁ Τίμων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ φησιν οὕτως· τῇ γὰρ ἔχων Μενεδήμου ὑπὸ στέρνοισι μόλιβδον / θεύσεται ἢ Πύρρωνα τὸ πᾶν κρέας ἢ	According to some, he also emulated Pyrrho; he held fast to dialectic and took up the arguments of the Eretrians. That is why Ariston said of him: Plato in front, Pyrrho behind, Diodorus in the middle. And Timon says this of him: For with Menedemus' lead under his breast / he will run either to Pyrrho, that mass of flesh, or to Diodor-

18 Pisa was the district of Olympia; the line refers to victories of Pergamene horses in the chariot races of the Olympic games.
19 Acheron is one of the rivers of the underworld.
20 Ion of Chios was a fifth-century BC poet and prose writer.

GREEK

Διόδωρον. καὶ διαλιπὼν αὐτὸν ποιεῖ λέγοντα· νήξομαι εἰς Πύρρωνα καὶ εἰς σκολιὸν Διόδωρον.

Ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀξιωματικώτατος καὶ συνηγμένος καὶ ἐν τῇ λαλιᾷ διαστατικὸς τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἐπικόπτης θ' ἱκανῶς καὶ παρρησιαστής· [34] διὸ καὶ πάλιν ὁ Τίμων οὑτωσὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ· καὶ ... νόον αἰμυλίοις ἐπιπλήξεσιν ἐγκαταμιγνύς. ὅθεν καὶ πρὸς τὸν θρασύτερον διαλεγόμενον νεανίσκον, "οὐ λήψεταί τις," ἔφη, "τοῦτον ἀστραγάλῳ;" πρὸς δὲ τὸν αἰτίαν ἔχοντα περαίνεσθαι, ὡς ἀνήνεγκεν αὐτῷ ὅτι οὐ δοκεῖ ἕτερον ἑτέρου μεῖζον εἶναι, ἠρώτησεν εἰ οὐδὲ τὸ δεκαδάκτυλον τοῦ ἑξαδακτύλου. Ἥμονός δέ τινος Χίου ἀειδοῦς ὄντος καὶ ὑπολαμβάνοντος εἶναι καλοῦ καὶ ἐν χλανίσιν ἀεὶ ἀναστρεφομένου εἰπόντος ὅτι οὐ δοκεῖ αὐτῷ ⟨ὁ⟩ σοφὸς ἐρασθήσεσθαι, ἔφη, πότερον οὐδ' ἐὰν οὕτω καλὸς ᾖ τις ὥσπερ σὺ οὐδ' ἐὰν οὕτω καλὰ ἱμάτια ἔχῃ;

4.34 ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ παρακίναιδος ὢν ὡς εἰς βαρὺν τὸν Ἀρκεσίλαον ἔφη· [35] ἔξεστ' ἐρωτᾶν πότνιά σ' ἢ σιγὴν ἔχω; ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη· γύναι, τί μοι τραχεῖα κοὐκ εἰθισμένως λαλεῖς; στωμύλου δὲ ἀγεννοῦς πράγματα αὐτῷ παρέχοντος ἔφη· ἀκόλασθ' ὁμιλεῖν γίγνεται δούλων τέκνα. ἄλλου δὲ πολλὰ φλυαροῦντος οὐδὲ τίτθης αὐτὸν χαλεπῆς τετυχηκέναι ἔφη· τισὶ δὲ οὐδὲ ἀπεκρίνετο. πρὸς δὲ τὸν δανειστικὸν καὶ φιλόλογον εἰπόντα τι ἀγνοεῖν, ἔφη· λήθουσι γάρ τοι κἀνέμων διέξοδοι / θήλειαν ὄρνιν, πλὴν ὅταν τόκος παρῇ. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ Οἰνομάου τοῦ Σοφοκλέους.

4.36 Πρὸς Ἀλεξίνειόν τινα διαλεκτικὸν μὴ δυνάμενον κατ' ἀξίαν τῶν Ἀλεξίνου τι διηγήσασθαι τὸ Φιλοξένῳ πρὸς τοὺς πλινθιακοὺς πραχθὲν εἶπεν· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ τὰ αὐτοῦ κακῶς ᾄδοντας τούτους καταλαβὼν αὐτὸς τὰς πλίνθους αὐτῶν συνεπάτησεν, εἰπών, "ὡς ὑμεῖς τὰ ἐμὰ διαφθείρετε, οὕτω κἀγὼ τὰ ὑμέτερα." ἤχθετο οὖν δὴ τοῖς μὴ καθ' ὥραν τὰ μαθήματα ἀνειληφόσι. φυσικῶς δέ πως ἐν τῷ διαλέγεσθαι ἐχρῆτο τῷ Φημ' ἐγώ, καί, Οὐ συγκαταθήσεται τούτοις ὁ δεῖνα, εἰπὼν τοὔνομα· ὃ καὶ

ENGLISH

us. And a little later he makes him say: I will swim to Pyrrho and to crooked Diodorus.[21]

He had great authority of manner and was concise. In conversation he chose his words with precision, and he was quite cutting and outspoken. [34] That is why Timon again says of him: and ... mixing his mind with wheedling rebukes. So, to a young man who was speaking rather impudently, he said, "Won't someone catch this fellow with a knucklebone?" A man accused of taking the passive role with men put it to him that one thing did not seem to him greater than another; Arcesilaus asked whether ten fingers' length wasn't greater than six either. A certain Hemon of Chios, who was ugly but thought himself handsome and always went about in fine cloaks, said that he did not think the wise man would fall in love. Arcesilaus said: What, not even if someone is as handsome as you, or wears such handsome clothes?

When this same man, who was given to taking the passive role with men, addressed Arcesilaus as though speaking to a stern person: [35] May I ask you something, lady, or must I keep silent? he retorted: Woman, why do you speak to me so harshly, not in your usual way? When a low-bred chatterer was giving him trouble, he said: The children of slaves grow unruly in their talk. When another man was talking a lot of nonsense, he said that he couldn't have had even a strict nurse. Some people he did not answer at all. To a moneylender with literary pretensions, who said there was something he did not know, he said: For the passages of the winds escape / the hen bird's notice, except when it is time for offspring. These lines are from Sophocles' *Oenomaus*.[22]

To a dialectician of Alexinus' school who could not give a proper account of one of Alexinus' arguments, he told the story of what Philoxenus did to the brickmakers. Finding them singing his songs badly, he trampled on their bricks himself, saying, "As you ruin my work, so I ruin yours." So he was annoyed with those who had not taken up their studies at the proper time. In discussion he had a

21 Ariston's line parodies Homer's description of the Chimera ("lion in front, serpent behind, goat in the middle," *Iliad* 6.181); Diodorus is the dialectician Diodorus Cronus.
22 The Greek word for "offspring," *tokos*, also means "interest" on a loan; birds were thought to conceive from the wind.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	πολλοὶ τῶν μαθητῶν ἐζήλουν ⟨ὡς⟩ καὶ τὴν ῥητορείαν καὶ πᾶν τὸ σχῆμα.	natural habit of using the expressions "I assert" and "So-and-so will not assent to this," giving the person's name. Many of his pupils imitated this, as they did his way of speaking and his whole manner.[23]

ARCESILAUS' CHARACTER AND DEATH

His generosity, extravagance and loves, his will, and his death after heavy drinking.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
4.37	Ἦν δὲ καὶ εὑρεσιλογώτατος ἀπαντῆσαι εὐστόχως καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον ἀνενεγκεῖν τὴν περίοδον τῶν λόγων καὶ ἅπαντι συναρμόσασθαι καιρῷ. πειστικός τε ὑπὲρ πάνθ' ὁντινοῦν· παρὸ καὶ πλείους πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπήντων εἰς τὴν σχολὴν καίπερ ὑπ' ὀξύτητος αὐτοῦ ἐπιπληττόμενοι. ἀλλ' ἔφερον ἡδέως· καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἀγαθὸς σφόδρα καὶ ἐλπίδων ὑποπιμπλὰς τοὺς ἀκούοντας. ἔν τε τῷ βίῳ κοινωνικώτατος ἐγένετο καὶ εὐεργετῆσαι πρόχειρος ἦν καὶ λαθεῖν τὴν χάριν ἀτυφότατος. εἰσελθὼν γοῦν ποτὲ πρὸς Κτησίβιον νοσοῦντα καὶ ἰδὼν ἀπορίᾳ θλιβόμενον, κρύφα βαλάντιον ὑπέθηκε τῷ προσκεφαλαίῳ· καὶ ὃς εὑρών, "Ἀρκεσιλάου," φησί, "τὸ παίγνιον." ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοτε χιλίας ἀπέστειλεν.	He was extremely inventive at meeting objections aptly, at bringing the course of a discussion back to the question at hand, and at adapting himself to every occasion. He was more persuasive than anyone at all, and that is why more and more people flocked to his school, even though his sharpness meant they were rebuked. But they put up with it gladly, for he was a very good man and filled his hearers with hope. In his life he was extremely generous with what he had, ready to do a kindness, and wholly without vanity in keeping his favors unnoticed. Once, for instance, he visited Ctesibius when he was ill, and seeing that he was hard pressed by poverty, he secretly slipped a purse under his pillow. When Ctesibius found it, he said, "This is one of Arcesilaus' little games." On another occasion, too, he sent him a thousand drachmas.
4.38	Ἀρχίαν τε τὸν Ἀρκάδα Εὐμένει συστήσας πολλῆς ἐποίησε τυχεῖν τῆς ἀξίας. ἐλευθέριός τε ὢν καὶ ἀφιλαργυρώτατος εἰς τὰς ἀργυρικὰς δείξεις ἀπήντα πρῶτος, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρχεκράτους καὶ Καλλικράτους τὰς χρυσιαίας παντὸς ἔσπευδε μᾶλλον. συχνοῖς τε ἐπήρκει καὶ συνηράνιζε· καί ποτέ τινος ἀργυρώματα λαβόντος εἰς ὑποδοχὴν φίλων καὶ ἀποστεροῦντος οὐκ ἀπῄτησεν οὐδὲ προσεποιήθη. οἱ δέ φασιν ἐπίτηδες χρῆσαι καὶ ἀποδιδόντος, ἐπεὶ πένης ἦν, χαρίσασθαι. ἦν μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν Πιτάνῃ περιουσία, ἀφ' ἧς ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῷ Πυλάδης ὁ ἀδελφός. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐχορήγει αὐτῷ πολλὰ Εὐμένης ὁ τοῦ Φιλεταίρου· διὸ καὶ τούτῳ μόνῳ τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων προσεφώνει.	He recommended Archias the Arcadian to Eumenes and got him a position of great honor. Being liberal and utterly indifferent to money, he was the first to turn up at displays of silver plate, and he was more eager than anyone to go to Archecrates' and Callicrates' parties with their displays of gold. He helped many people and contributed to collections for them. Once, when someone had borrowed his silver plate to entertain friends and then kept it, he neither asked for it back nor let on that he noticed. Others say that he lent it on purpose, and that when the man brought it back he made him a present of it, since he was poor. He did have property in Pitane too, from which his brother Pylades sent him money. Besides, Eumenes son of Philetaerus provided him with a great deal, and that is why he addressed himself to him alone among the kings.[24]

23 Philoxenus of Cythera was a celebrated poet of dithyrambs.
24 Eumenes I ruled Pergamum from 263 to 241 BC.

GREEK

ENGLISH

4.39 Πολλῶν δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον θεραπευόντων καὶ ὁπότε ἥκοι ἀπαντώντων αὐτὸς ἡσύχαζε, μὴ βουλόμενος προεμπίπτειν εἰς γνῶσιν. φίλος τε ἦν μάλιστα Ἱεροκλεῖ τῷ τὴν Μουνιχίαν ἔχοντι καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ· ἔν τε ταῖς ἑορταῖς κατῄει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἑκάστοτε. καὶ δὴ καὶ πολλὰ ἐκείνου συμπείθοντος ὥστ' ἀσπάσασθαι τὸν Ἀντίγονον, οὐκ ἐπείσθη, ἀλλ' ἕως πυλῶν ἐλθὼν ἀνέστρεψε. μετά τε τὴν Ἀντιγόνου ναυμαχίαν πολλῶν προσιόντων καὶ ἐπιστόλια παρακλητικὰ γραφόντων αὐτὸς ἐσιώπησεν. ἀλλ' οὖν ὅμως ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπρέσβευσεν εἰς Δημητριάδα πρὸς Ἀντίγονον καὶ οὐκ ἐπέτυχε. τὸ πᾶν δὴ διέτριβεν ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημείᾳ τὸν πολιτισμὸν ἐκτοπίζων.

While many people paid court to Antigonus and went out to meet him whenever he came, Arcesilaus kept quiet, not wanting to push himself forward to make his acquaintance. He was a close friend of Hierocles, who commanded Munychia and the Piraeus, and at every festival he went down to see him. And although Hierocles pressed him hard to pay his respects to Antigonus, he was not persuaded: he went as far as the gates and turned back. After Antigonus' sea battle, when many people approached the king and wrote him letters of encouragement, he kept silent. Nevertheless he did go on an embassy for his country to Antigonus at Demetrias, though without success. He spent all his time in the Academy, keeping clear of public life.

4.40 Καί ποτε δὴ καὶ Ἀθήνησιν ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ πρὸς τὰς θέσεις λέγων ἐχρόνισεν, οἰκείως ἔχων πρὸς Ἱεροκλέα· ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ πρός τινων διεβάλλετο. πολυτελὴς δὲ ἄγαν ὤν—καὶ τί γὰρ ἄλλο ἢ ἕτερος Ἀρίστιππος;—ἐπὶ τὰ δεῖπνα πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοιοτρόπους μέν, πλὴν ἀλλ' ἀπήντα. καὶ Θεοδότῃ τε καὶ Φίλᾳ ταῖς Ἠλείαις ἑταίραις συνῴκει φανερῶς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς διασύροντας προεφέρετο τὰς Ἀριστίππου χρείας. φιλομειράκιός τε ἦν καὶ καταφερής· ὅθεν οἱ περὶ Ἀρίστωνα τὸν Χῖον στωικοὶ ἐπεκάλουν αὐτῷ, φθορέα τῶν νέων καὶ κιναιδολόγον καὶ θρασὺν ἀποκαλοῦντες.

Once, at Athens, he stayed a long time in the Piraeus lecturing on set topics, because he was on friendly terms with Hierocles, and for this some people attacked him. He was very extravagant—what was he, after all, but a second Aristippus?—and he did go to dinners, though only with people of his own sort. He lived openly with Theodote and Phila, courtesans from Elis, and to those who disparaged him he would quote the sayings of Aristippus. He was fond of youths and quick to fall for them. That is why the Stoics around Ariston of Chios reproached him, calling him a corrupter of the young, a purveyor of lewd talk, and brazen.

4.41 καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ Δημητρίου τοῦ πλεύσαντος εἰς Κυρήνην ἐπὶ πλέον ἐρασθῆναι λέγεται, καὶ Κλεοχάρους τοῦ Μυρλεανοῦ· ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κωμάσαντας εἰπεῖν αὐτὸς μὲν θέλειν ἀνοῖξαι, ἐκεῖνον δὲ διακωλύειν. τούτου δὲ ἤρων καὶ Δημοχάρης ὁ Λάχητος καὶ Πυθοκλῆς ὁ τοῦ Βουγέλου· οὓς καταλαβὼν ὑπ' ἀνεξικακίας παραχωρεῖν ἔφη. διὰ ταῦτα δὴ οὖν ἔδακνόν τε αὐτὸν οἱ προειρημένοι καὶ ἐπέσκωπτον ὡς φίλοχλον καὶ φιλόδοξον· μάλιστα δὲ ἐπετίθεντο αὐτῷ οἱ περὶ Ἱερώνυμον τὸν Περιπατητικόν, ὁπότε συνάγοι τοὺς φίλους εἰς τὴν Ἀλκυονέως τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου υἱοῦ ἡμέραν, εἰς ἣν ἱκανὰ χρήματα ἀπέστελλεν Ἀντίγονος πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν.

Indeed, he is said to have been deeply in love with Demetrius, the one who sailed to Cyrene, and with Cleochares of Myrlea. In connection with Cleochares, he told a band of revelers at the door that he himself was willing to open it, but Cleochares wouldn't let him. Cleochares was also loved by Democharis son of Laches and by Pythocles son of Bugelus; when Arcesilaus caught them with him, he said that out of forbearance he was giving way. For these reasons the people mentioned above kept biting at him and mocking him as one who loved crowds and fame. The fiercest attacks came from Hieronymus the Peripatetic and his circle, whenever Arcesilaus gathered his friends for the day held in honor of Halcyoneus, son of Antigonus, for which Antigonus sent a good sum of money to spend on enjoyment.[25]

25 A band of revelers (*kōmos*) would end a party by going to a beloved's house and calling at the door to be let in.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
4.42	ἔνθα καὶ παραιτούμενος ἑκάστοτε τὰς ἐπικυλικείους ἐξηγήσεις πρὸς Ἀριδείκην προτείνοντά τι θεώρημα καὶ ἀξιοῦντα εἰς αὐτὸ λέγειν εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο μάλιστα φιλοσοφίας ἴδιον, τὸ τὸν καιρὸν ἑκάστων ἐπίστασθαι." εἰς δὲ τὸ διαβαλλόμενον αὐτοῦ φίλοχλον καὶ Τίμων τά τ' ἄλλα φησίν, ἀτὰρ δὴ καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον· ὣς εἰπὼν ὄχλοιο περίστασιν εἰσκατέδυνεν. οἱ δέ μιν ἠΰτε γλαῦκα πέρι σπίζαι τερατοῦντο ἠλέματον δεικνύντες, ὀθούνεκεν ὀχλοάρεσκος. οὐ μέγα πρῆγμα, τάλας· τί πλατύνεαι ἠλίθιος ὥς;	On those occasions he always declined to give expositions over the wine. But when Arideices put forward some proposition and asked him to speak on it, he said, "But this is exactly what is most characteristic of philosophy: knowing the right time for each thing." On the charge that he courted the crowd, Timon, among other things, says this: So saying, he plunged into the ring of the crowd. And they gaped at him like finches round an owl, showing him up as a fool, because he pleased the mob. It's no great thing, poor wretch; why do you puff yourself up like a simpleton?
	Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οὕτως ἄτυφος ἦν ὥστε τοῖς μαθηταῖς παρῄνει καὶ ἄλλων ἀκούειν. καί τινος Χίου νεανίσκου μὴ εὐαρεστουμένου τῇ διατριβῇ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' Ἱερωνύμου τοῦ προειρημένου, αὐτὸς ἀπαγαγὼν συνέστησε τῷ φιλοσόφῳ, παραινέσας εὐτακτεῖν.	Yet he was so free of vanity that he urged his pupils to attend other teachers as well. When a young man from Chios was not satisfied with his school but preferred that of Hieronymus, the man mentioned above, Arcesilaus himself took him there and introduced him to that philosopher, urging him to behave himself.
4.43	Χάριεν δ' αὐτοῦ φέρεται κἀκεῖνο· πρὸς τὸν πυθόμενον διὰ τί ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων μεταβαίνουσιν εἰς τὴν Ἐπικούρειον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Ἐπικουρείων οὐδέποτε, ἔφη, "ἐκ μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρῶν γάλλοι γίνονται, ἐκ δὲ γάλλων ἄνδρες οὐ γίνονται."	Another witty remark of his is also reported. Someone asked him why people go over from the other schools to the Epicurean one, but never from the Epicureans to the others. He said, "Because men can become Galli, but Galli can't become men."[26]
	Λοιπὸν δὲ πρὸς τῷ τέλει γενόμενος ἅπαντα καταλέλοιπε Πυλάδῃ τἀδελφῷ τὰ αὐτοῦ, ἀνθ' ὧν ἐς Χῖον αὐτὸν προήγαγε τὸν Μοιρέαν λανθάνων, κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀπήγαγε. περιιὼν δὲ οὔτε γύναιον ἐπηγάγετο οὔτ' ἐπαιδοποιήσατο. τρεῖς τε διαθήκας ποιησάμενος ἔθετο τὴν μὲν ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ πρὸς Ἀμφίκριτον, τὴν δ' Ἀθήνησι παρά τινας τῶν φίλων, τὴν δὲ τρίτην ἀπέστειλεν εἰς οἶκον πρὸς Θαυμασίαν ἕνα τινὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἀξιώσας διατηρῆσαι· πρὸς ὃν καὶ γράφει ταυτί·	At last, when he was nearing his end, he left everything he owned to his brother Pylades, in return for Pylades' having taken him to Chios without Moereas' knowledge and from there to Athens. In his lifetime he never took a wife or had children. He made three wills. One he deposited at Eretria with Amphicritus, another at Athens with some of his friends, and the third he sent home to Thaumasias, one of his relatives, asking him to keep it safe. To him he writes as follows:
	"Ἀρκεσίλαος Θαυμασίᾳ χαίρειν. 44 "Δέδωκα Διογένει διαθήκας ἐμαυτοῦ κομίσαι πρὸς σέ διὰ γὰρ τὸ πολλάκις ἀρρωστεῖν καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀσθενῶς ἔχειν ἔδοξέ μοι διαθέσθαι, ἵν' εἴ τι γένοιτο ἀλλοῖον, μήτι σὲ ἠδικηκὼς ἀπίω τὸν εἰς ἔμ' ἐκτενῶς οὕτω πεφιλοτιμημένον. καὶ ἀξιοπιστότατος δ' εἶ τῶν ἐνθάδε σύ μοι τηρῶν αὐτὰς διά τε τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς οἰκειότητα. πειρῶ οὖν, μεμνημένος διότι σοι πίστιν τὴν ἀναγκαιοτάτην παρακατατίθεμαι, δίκαιος ἡμῖν εἶναι,	"Arcesilaus to Thaumasias, greetings. 44 "I've given Diogenes copies of my will to bring to you. Since I'm often ill and my body is weak, I decided to make a will, so that if anything unexpected should happen, I wouldn't depart having wronged you, who have been so devoted and generous toward me. Of everyone here, you are the person I can most rely on to keep it, both because of your age and because of how close you are to

26 The Galli were the castrated priests of the goddess Cybele.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ὅπως ὅσον ἐπὶ σοὶ τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ εὐσχημόνως ᾖ μοι διῳκημένα. κεῖνται δὲ Ἀθήνησιν αὗται παρά τισι τῶν γνωρίμων καὶ ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ παρ' Ἀμφικρίτῳ."	me. So remember that I'm entrusting you with the most binding of trusts, and try to deal justly with me, so that, as far as it depends on you, my affairs may be settled with propriety. Copies are also deposited at Athens with some of my acquaintances, and at Eretria with Amphicritus."
4.44	Ἐτελεύτησε δέ, ὥς φησιν Ἕρμιππος, ἄκρατον ἐμφορηθεὶς πολὺν καὶ παρακόφας, ἤδη γεγονὼς ἔτος πέμπτον καὶ ἑβδομηκοστόν, ἀποδεχθεὶς πρὸς Ἀθηναίων ὡς οὐδείς.	He died, as Hermippus says, after drinking a great deal of unmixed wine and going out of his mind. He was already seventy-five, and the Athenians held him in higher esteem than anyone.[27]
4.45	Ἔστι καὶ εἰς τοῦτον ἡμῶν· Ἀρκεσίλαε, τί μοι τόσον οἶνον ἄκρητον ἀφειδῶς ἔσπασας, ὥστε φρενῶν ἐκτὸς ὄλισθες ἑῶν; οἰκτείρω σ' οὐ τόσσον ἐπεὶ θάνες, ἀλλ' ὅτι Μούσας ὕβρισας οὐ μετρίῃ χρησάμενος κύλικι.	There is also my epigram on him: Arcesilaus, why did you gulp down so much unmixed wine, so unsparingly, that you slipped out of your own mind? I pity you not so much because you died, but because you outraged the Muses by not using a moderate cup.
	Γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τρεῖς Ἀρκεσίλαοι· ποιητὴς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας, ἄλλος ἐλεγείας, ἕτερος ἀγαλματοποιός· εἰς ὃν καὶ Σιμωνίδης ἐποίησεν ἐπίγραμμα τουτί· Ἀρτέμιδος τόδ' ἄγαλμα, διηκόσιαι δ' ἄρ' ὁ μισθὸς δραχμαὶ ταὶ Πάριαι, τῶν ἐπίσημα τράγος. ἀσκητὸς δ' ἐποίησεν Ἀθηναίης παλάμῃσιν ἄξιος Ἀρκεσίλας υἱὸς Ἀριστοδίκου.	There have also been three other men named Arcesilaus: a poet of Old Comedy, another who wrote elegies, and a sculptor, on whom Simonides wrote this epigram: This is a statue of Artemis; the fee was two hundred Parian drachmas, the ones stamped with a goat. It was made by one skilled in the crafts of Athena, the worthy Arcesilas, son of Aristodicus.
	Ὁ δὲ προειρημένος φιλόσοφος, καθά φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς, ἤκμαζε περὶ τὴν εἰκοστὴν καὶ ἑκατοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα.	The philosopher discussed above flourished, as Apollodorus says in his *Chronicles*, around the 120th Olympiad.[28]

BION

The son of a freedman and a prostitute becomes a witty, showy philosopher and repents of his atheism when dying.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
4.46	Βίων τὸ μὲν γένος ἦν Βορυσθενίτης, ὤντινων δὲ γονέων καὶ ἀφ' οἵων πραγμάτων ἦξεν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν, αὐτὸς Ἀντιγόνῳ διασαφεῖ. ἐρομένου γὰρ αὐτὸν τίς πόθεν εἶς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἠδὲ τοκῆες; αἰσθόμενος ὅτι προδιαβέβληται, φησὶ πρὸς αὐτόν· "ἐμοὶ ὁ πατὴρ μὲν ἦν ἀπελεύθερος, τῷ ἀγκῶνι ἀπομυσσόμενος—διεδήλου δὲ τὸν ταριχέμπορον—γένος Βορυσθενίτης, ἔχων οὐ πρόσωπον, ἀλλὰ συγγραφὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου, τῆς τοῦ δεσπότου πικρίας σύμβολον· μήτηρ δὲ οἵαν ὁ τοιοῦτος ἂν γήμαι, ἀπ' οἰκήματος. ἔπειτα ὁ πατὴρ παρατελωνησάμενός τι πανοίκιος ἐπράθη μεθ' ἡμῶν.	Bion was a Borysthenite by birth. Who his parents were, and what circumstances brought him to philosophy, he explains himself to Antigonus. When Antigonus asked him, Who are you among men, and from where? Where are your city and your parents? Bion saw that he had already been slandered to the king, and said to him: "My father was a freedman who wiped his nose on his elbow" (he meant that he was a dealer in salt fish), "a Borysthenite by birth, with not so much a face as a written record on his face, the mark of his mas-

27 Greeks normally drank their wine mixed with water; drinking it unmixed was a sign of excess.
28 The 120th Olympiad ran from 300 to 297 BC.

GREEK

ENGLISH

ter's harshness. My mother was the kind of woman such a man would marry, from a brothel. Then my father cheated the customs in some way and was sold, with his whole household, us included.[29]

καί με ἀγοράζει τις ῥήτωρ νεώτερον ὄντα καὶ εὔχαριν· ὃς καὶ ἀποθνήσκων κατέλιπέ μοι πάντα. [47] κἀγὼ κατακαύσας αὐτοῦ τὰ συγγράμματα καὶ πάντα συγξύσας Ἀθήναζε ἦλθον καὶ ἐφιλοσόφησα. ταύτης τοι γενεῆς τε καὶ αἵματος εὔχομαι εἶναι. ταῦτά ἐστι τὰ κατ' ἐμέ. ὥστε παυσάσθωσαν Περσαῖός τε καὶ Φιλωνίδης ἱστοροῦντες αὐτά· σκόπει δέ με ἐξ ἐμαυτοῦ."

A certain orator bought me, since I was young and good-looking, and when he died he left me everything. [47] I burned his writings, scraped everything together, came to Athens and took up philosophy. Such is the lineage and the blood I boast of. That is my story. So let Persaeus and Philonides stop recounting it. Judge me by myself."[30]

4.47 Καὶ ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ Βίων τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πολύτροπος καὶ σοφιστὴς ποικίλος καὶ πλείστας ἀφορμὰς δεδωκὼς τοῖς βουλομένοις καθιππάζεσθαι φιλοσοφίας· ἔν τισι δὲ καὶ πομπικὸς καὶ ἀπολαῦσαι τύφου δυνάμενος. πλεῖστά τε καταλέλοιπεν ὑπομνήματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποφθέγματα χρειώδη πραγματείαν περιέχοντα. οἷον ὀνειδιζόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ θηρᾶσαι μειράκιον, "οὐχ οἵόντε," εἶπεν, "ἁπαλὸν τυρὸν ἀγκίστρῳ ἐπισπᾶσθαι."

Bion really was versatile in other respects, a subtle sophist who gave plenty of openings to anyone who wanted to ride roughshod over philosophy. In some ways he was also showy and capable of enjoying his own vanity. He left a great many writings, and also useful sayings with practical substance to them. For instance, when he was reproached for not going after a youth, he said, "You can't hook a soft cheese."

4.48 ἐρωτηθείς ποτε τίς μᾶλλον ἀγωνιᾷ, ἔφη, "ὁ τὰ μέγιστα βουλόμενος εὐημερεῖν." ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ γήμαι—ἀναφέρεται γὰρ καὶ εἰς τοῦτον—ἔφη, "ἐὰν μὲν γήμῃς αἰσχράν, ἔξεις ποινήν· ἂν δὲ καλήν, ἔξεις κοινήν." τὸ γῆρας ἔλεγεν ὅρμον εἶναι τῶν κακῶν· εἰς αὐτὸ γοῦν πάντα καταφεύγειν. τὴν δόξαν ⟨ἀρ⟩ετῶν μητέρα εἶναι· τὸ κάλλος ἀλλότριον ἀγαθόν· τὸν πλοῦτον νεῦρα πραγμάτων. πρὸς τὸν τὰ χωρία κατεδηδοκότα, "τὸν μὲν Ἀμφιάραον," ἔφη, "ἡ γῆ κατέπιε, σὺ δὲ τὴν γῆν." μέγα κακὸν τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι φέρειν κακόν. κατεγίνωσκε δὲ καὶ τῶν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κατακαόντων μὲν ὡς ἀναισθήτους, παρακαόντων δὲ ὡς αἰσθανομένους.

Asked once who is most anxious, he said, "The man who wants the greatest success." Asked whether he should marry (this too is attributed to him), he said, "If you marry an ugly woman, you'll have a punishment; if a beautiful one, you'll have a woman for everyone." He used to say that old age is the harbor of evils: at any rate, they all take refuge in it. That reputation is the mother of excellences; that beauty is someone else's good; that wealth is the sinews of affairs. To a man who had eaten up his estates he said, "The earth swallowed Amphiaraus, but you have swallowed the earth." It is a great ill not to be able to bear ill. He also faulted people who burn the dead as though they felt nothing, yet burn lamps beside them as though they could feel.[31]

4.49 ἔλεγε δὲ συνεχὲς ὅτι αἱρετώτερόν ἐστι τὴν ὥραν ἄλλῳ χαρίζεσθαι ἢ ἀλλοτρίας ἀποδρέπεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ εἰς σῶμα βλάπτεσθαι καὶ εἰς ψυχήν. διέβαλε δὲ καὶ τὸν Σωκράτην, λέγων ὡς εἰ μὲν εἶχεν Ἀλκιβιάδου χρείαν καὶ ἀπείχετο, μάταιος ἦν· εἰ δὲ μὴ εἶχεν, οὐδὲν ἐποίει παράδοξον. εὔκολον ἔφασκε τὴν εἰς ᾅδου ὁδόν· καταμύοντας γοῦν ἀπιέναι. τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην μεμφόμενος ἔλεγεν ὡς νέος μὲν

He often said that it is preferable to grant the favor of one's youthful bloom to another than to pluck someone else's, for that does harm to both body and soul. He also disparaged Socrates, saying that if he desired Alcibiades and abstained, he was a fool; and if he didn't, he was doing nothing remarkable. He said the road to Hades was easy: at

29 Antigonus' question is a line of Homer's *Odyssey*. Borysthenes (also called Olbia) was the Greek city at the mouth of the Dnieper on the Black Sea.
30 Bion answers with a line of Homer (*Iliad* 6.211).
31 The marriage joke rhymes in Greek: *poinē*, "punishment," and *koinē*, "shared."

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ὧν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπαγάγοι τῶν γυναικῶν, νεανίσκος δὲ γενόμενος τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν ἀνδρῶν. ἐν Ῥόδῳ τὰ ῥητορικὰ διασκούντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰ φιλοσοφούμενα ἐδίδασκε· πρὸς οὖν τὸν αἰτιασάμενον ἔφη, "πυροὺς ἐκόμισα καὶ κριθὰς πιπράσκω;"	any rate, people go down it with their eyes shut. Criticizing Alcibiades, he said that as a boy he drew husbands away from their wives, and as a young man wives away from their husbands. In Rhodes, when the Athenians there were studying rhetoric, he taught philosophy. To the man who found fault with this he said, "I've brought a cargo of wheat, and am I to sell barley?"
4.50	Ἔλεγε δὲ τοὺς ἐν ᾅδου μᾶλλον ἂν κολάζεσθαι εἰ ὁλοκλήροις καὶ μὴ τετρημένοις ἀγγείοις ὑδροφόρουν. πρὸς τὸν ἀδολέσχην λιπαροῦντα αὐτῷ συλλαβέσθαι, "τὸ ἱκανόν σοι ποιήσω," φησίν, "ἐὰν παρακλήτους πέμψῃς καὶ αὐτὸς μὴ ἔλθῃς." πλέων μετὰ πονηρῶν λῃσταῖς περιέπεσε· τῶν δέ, "ἀπολώλαμεν," εἰπόντων, "ἐὰν γνωσθῶμεν," "ἐγὼ δέ γε," φησίν, "ἐὰν μὴ γνωσθῶ." τὴν οἴησιν ἔλεγε προκοπῆς ἐγκοπήν. πρὸς τὸν μικρολόγον πλούσιον, "οὐχ οὗτος," ἔφη, "τὴν οὐσίαν κέκτηται, ἀλλ' ἡ οὐσία τοῦτον." ἔλεγε τοὺς μικρολόγους τῶν μὲν ὑπαρχόντων ὡς ἰδίων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὡς δ' ἐξ ἀλλοτρίων μηδὲν ὠφελεῖσθαι. τῇ μὲν ἀνδρείᾳ νέους ὄντας ἔφη χρῆσθαι, τῇ δὲ φρονήσει γηράσκοντας ἀκμάζειν.	He used to say that those in Hades would be punished more if they carried water in whole vessels rather than pierced ones. To a chatterbox who kept begging him to help him, he said, "I'll do what you need if you send people to plead for you and don't come yourself." Sailing with some scoundrels, he fell in with pirates. When the others said, "We're done for if we're recognized," he said, "And I am, if I'm not." He called conceit a setback to progress. Of a stingy rich man he said, "He doesn't own his property; his property owns him." He used to say that misers look after what they have as if it were their own, but get no benefit from it, as if it belonged to someone else. He said that we use courage while young, but reach our prime in understanding as we grow old.[32]
4.51	τοσοῦτον διαφέρειν τὴν φρόνησιν τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν, ὅσον τὴν ὅρασιν τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθήσεων. μὴ δεῖν ἔφασκεν ὀνειδίζειν τὸ γῆρας, εἰς ὅ, ἔφη, πάντες εὐχόμεθα ἐλθεῖν. πρὸς τὸν βάσκανον ἐσκυθρωπακότα, "οὐκ οἶδα," ἔφη, "πότερον σοὶ κακὸν γέγονεν ἢ ἄλλῳ ἀγαθόν." τὴν δυσγένειαν πονηρὸν ἔλεγεν εἶναι σύνοικον τῇ παρρησίᾳ· δουλοῖ γὰρ ἄνδρα, κἂν θρασύσπλαγχνός τις ᾖ. τοὺς φίλους ὁποῖοι ἂν ὦσι συντηρεῖν, ἵνα μὴ δοκοίημεν πονηροῖς κεχρῆσθαι ἢ χρηστοὺς παρῃτῆσθαι.	He said that understanding surpasses the other excellences as much as sight surpasses the other senses. He said that one shouldn't reproach old age, which, he said, we all pray to reach. To an envious man looking gloomy he said, "I don't know whether something bad has happened to you or something good to someone else." He used to say that low birth is a bad housemate for free speech, for "it enslaves a man, however bold of heart he may be." He held that we should keep our friends, whatever they are like, so that we won't seem to have associated with bad ones or to have rejected good ones.[33]
	Οὗτος τὴν ἀρχὴν μὲν παρῃτεῖτο τὰ Ἀκαδημαϊκά, καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἤκουε Κράτητος· εἶτ' ἐπανείλετο τὴν κυνικὴν ἀγωγήν, λαβὼν τρίβωνα καὶ πήραν. [52] καὶ τί γὰρ ἄλλο μετεσκεύασεν αὐτὸν πρὸς ἀπάθειαν; ἔπειτα ἐπὶ τὰ Θεοδώρεια μετῆλθε διακούσας Θεοδώρου τοῦ ἀθέου κατὰ πᾶν εἶδος λόγου σοφιστεύοντος· μεθ' ὃν Θεοφράστου διήκουσε τοῦ περιπατητικοῦ. ἦν δὲ καὶ θεατρικὸς καὶ πολὺς ἐν τῷ γελοίως διαφορῆσαι, φορτικοῖς ὀνόμασι κατὰ τῶν πραγμάτων χρώμενος. διὰ δὴ οὖν τὸ παντὶ εἴδει	At first he rejected the doctrines of the Academy, at the time when he was studying under Crates. Then he took up the Cynic way of life, adopting the rough cloak and the wallet. [52] And what else, after all, would have converted him to freedom from passion? Next he went over to the school of Theodorus, after studying under Theodorus the Atheist, who argued as a sophist in every kind of

32 In Hades the daughters of Danaus were condemned to carry water forever in leaking jars.
33 The quotation is adapted from Euripides' *Hippolytus*.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	λόγου κεκρᾶσθαί φασι λέγειν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἐρατοσθένην, ὡς πρῶτος Βίων τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀνθινὰ ἐνέδυσεν.	discourse; after him he studied under Theophrastus the Peripatetic. He was also theatrical and much given to tearing things apart with ridicule, using vulgar names for things. Because he blended every kind of discourse, they say that Eratosthenes said of him that Bion was the first to dress philosophy in flowery clothes.[34]
4.52	εὐφυὴς γὰρ ἦν καὶ παρῳδῆσαι· οἷά ἐστιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῦτα· ὦ πέπον Ἀρχύτα, ψαλληγενές, ὀλβιότυφε, / τῆς ὑπάτης ἔριδος πάντων ἐμπειρότατ᾽ ἀνδρῶν. [53] καὶ ὅλως καὶ μουσικὴν καὶ γεωμετρίαν διέπαιζεν. ἦν δὲ πολυτελής· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πόλιν ἐκ πόλεως ἤμειβεν, ἐνίοτε καὶ φαντασίαν ἐπιτεχνώμενος. ἐν γοῦν Ῥόδῳ τοὺς ναύτας ἔπεισε σχολαστικὰς ἐσθῆτας ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ ἀκολουθῆσαι αὐτῷ· σὺν οἷς εἰσβάλλων εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον περίβλεπτος ἦν. εἰώθει τε νεανίσκων τινῶν υἱοθεσίας ποιεῖσθαι εἰς τὸ ἀποχρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς ἔς τε τὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ ὥστε φυλάττεσθαι ὑπ᾽ εὐνοίας αὐτῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ φίλαυτος ἦν ἰσχυρῶς καὶ πολὺς ἐγκείμενος τῷ Κοινὰ τὰ φίλων.	He was gifted at parody too, as these lines of his show: O gentle Archytas, harp-born, blessed in vanity, / most expert of all men in the strife of the topmost string. [53] And in general he made fun of both music and geometry. He was extravagant, and for this reason moved from city to city, sometimes even contriving a spectacle. In Rhodes, for instance, he persuaded the sailors to put on students' clothes and follow him; and when he burst into the gymnasium with them, everyone stared at him. He was also in the habit of adopting certain young men, so as to use them for his pleasures and to be protected by their goodwill. But he was intensely selfish, and much given to insisting that friends have all things in common.[35]
4.53	παρ᾽ ὃ καὶ οὐδεὶς μαθητὴς αὐτοῦ ἐπιγράφεται, τοσούτων αὐτῷ σχολασάντων· καίτοι τινὰς εἰς ἀναισχυντίαν προῆγεν. [54] ὁ γοῦν Βητίων εἷς τῶν συνήθων αὐτῷ πρὸς Μενέδημόν ποτε λέγεται εἰπεῖν, "ἐγώ τοι, ὦ Μενέδημε, νύκτωρ συνδέομαι Βίωνι καὶ οὐδὲν ἄτοπον δοκῶ μοι πεπονθέναι." πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀθεώτερον προεφέρετο τοῖς ὁμιλοῦσι, τοῦτο Θεοδώρειον ἀπολαύσας. καὶ ὕστερόν ποτε ἐμπεσὼν εἰς νόσον, ὡς ἔφασκον οἱ ἐν Χαλκίδι— αὐτόθι γὰρ καὶ κατέστρεψε—περίαπτα λαβεῖν ἐπείσθη καὶ μεταγινώσκειν ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐπλημμέλησεν εἰς τὸ θεῖον. ἀπορίᾳ δὲ καὶ τῶν νοσοκομούντων δεινῶς διετίθετο, ἕως Ἀντίγονος αὐτῷ δύο θεράποντας ἀπέστειλε. καὶ ἠκολούθει γε αὐτὸς ἐν φορείῳ, καθά φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ.	This is why no one is recorded as his pupil, though so many attended his lectures; and yet he led some of them into shamelessness. [54] Betion, for instance, one of his intimates, is said to have once told Menedemus, "I go to bed with Bion every night, Menedemus, and I don't think I've had anything untoward done to me." He would also put forward many rather godless views to his associates, having picked this up from Theodorus. Later, when he fell ill, as the people of Chalcis used to say (for he died there), he was persuaded to wear amulets and to repent of his offenses against the divine. Having no one to nurse him, he was in a terrible state, until Antigonus sent him two servants. And he himself followed along in a litter, as Favorinus says in his *Miscellaneous History*.
4.54	Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς κατέστρεψε καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτὸν οὕτως ᾐτιασάμεθα· [55] Βίωνα, τὸν Βορυσθένης ἔφυσε γῆ Σκύθισσα, λέγειν ἀκούομεν θεοὺς ὡς οὐδέν εἰσιν ὄντως. κεἰ μὲν τὸ δόγμα τοῦτ᾽ ἔχων ἔμιμνεν, ἦν ἂν εἰκὸς λέγειν, φρονεῖν ὅπως δοκεῖ· κακῶς μέν, ἀλλ᾽ ἔδοξε. νῦν δ᾽ ἐς νόσον πεσὼν μακρὴν καὶ μὴ θάνῃ δεδοικὼς ὁ μὴ θεοὺς εἶναι λέγων, ὁ νηὸν οὐδὲ βλέψας, [56] ὁ πολλὰ	Yet even so he died, and I have taken him to task as follows: [55] Bion, whom the Scythian land of Borysthenes bore, we hear used to say that the gods really are nothing. And if he had stuck to holding this doctrine, it would be fair to say: he thinks as he sees fit; wrongly, but that

34 Bright flowered garments were what courtesans wore.
35 The lines parody Homer and mock Archytas of Tarentum, the Pythagorean theorist of music.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	χλευάσας βροτούς, ὅσοι θεοῖς ἔθυον, οὐ μοῦνον ἐσχάρης ὕπερ βωμῶν τε καὶ τραπέζης κνίσῃ, λίπει, θυλήμασιν θεῶν ἔδαισε ῥῖνας· οὐδ' εἶπε μοῦνον, Ἥλιτον, σύγγνωτε τοῖς πρίν· ἀλλὰ καὶ γραῒ δῶκεν εὐμαρῶς τράχηλον εἰς ἐπῳδὴν καὶ σκυτίσιν βραχίονας πεπεισμένως ἔδησε·	was his view. But now, having fallen into a long illness and afraid he'd die, the man who said there were no gods, who wouldn't even look at a temple, [56] who often mocked the mortals who sacrificed to gods, not only feasted the gods' nostrils over hearth, altars and table with the savor, fat and offerings of sacrifice; nor did he only say, I have sinned, forgive what's past; but he also readily gave his neck to an old woman for a charm and with full conviction bound leather straps around his arms;
4.57	ῥάμνον τε καὶ κλάδον δάφνης ὑπὲρ θύρην ἔθηκεν, ἅπαντα μᾶλλον ἢ θανεῖν ἕτοιμος ὢν ὑπουργεῖν. μωρὸς δ' ὃς ἤθελέν τινος μισθοῦ τὸ θεῖον εἶναι, ὡς τῶν θεῶν ὄντων ὅταν Βίων θέλῃ νομίζειν. τοιγὰρ μάτην φρονῶν, ὅτ' ἦν ἅπας ὁ λέμφος ἄνθραξ, τὴν χεῖρα τείνας ὧδέ πως, Χαῖρ', εἶπε, χαῖρε, Πλουτεῦ.	and he set buckthorn and a sprig of laurel over his door, ready to do anything at all rather than die. Fool, to want the divine to exist for a fee, as though the gods exist whenever Bion chooses to believe in them! So his good sense came in vain, when the whole sniveling wretch was a dying ember: stretching out his hand like this, he said, Hail, hail, Pluto![36]
4.58	Γεγόνασι δὲ Βίωνες δέκα· πρῶτος ὁ Φερεκύδῃ τῷ Συρίῳ συνακμάσας, οὗ φέρεται βιβλία δύο Ἰάδι· ἔστι δὲ Προκοννήσιος. δεύτερος Συρακόσιος, τέχνας ῥητορικὰς γεγραφώς· τρίτος αὐτὸς οὗτος· τέταρτος Δημοκρίτειος καὶ μαθηματικός, Ἀβδη· ρίτης, Ἀτθίδι γεγραφὼς καὶ Ἰάδι· οὗτος πρῶτος εἶπεν εἶναί τινας οἰκήσεις ἔνθα γίνεσθαι ἓξ μηνῶν τὴν νύκτα καὶ ἓξ τὴν ἡμέραν. πέμπτος Σολεύς, Αἰθιοπικὰ γεγραφώς· ἕκτος ῥητορικός, οὗ φέρεται ἐννέα βιβλία Μουσῶν ἐπιγραφόμενα· ἕβδομος μελικὸς ποιητής· ὄγδοος Μιλήσιος ἀνδριαντοποιός, οὗ μέμνηται καὶ Πολέμων· ἔνατος ποιητὴς τραγῳδίας τῶν Ταρσικῶν λεγομένων· δέκατος ἀγαλματοποιὸς Κλαζομένιος ἢ Χῖος, οὗ μέμνηται καὶ Ἱππῶναξ.	There have been ten men named Bion. The first was a contemporary of Pherecydes of Syros; two books in Ionic are attributed to him, and he was from Proconnesus. The second was a Syracusan who wrote handbooks of rhetoric; the third is this man himself; the fourth, a Democritean and mathematician from Abdera, who wrote in Attic and in Ionic. He was the first to say that there are certain inhabited places where the night lasts six months and the day six. The fifth, from Soli, wrote an *Ethiopian History*; the sixth was a rhetorician, under whose name nine books entitled *Muses* are in circulation; the seventh a lyric poet; the eighth a Milesian sculptor, mentioned by Polemo as well; the ninth a tragic poet, one of the so-called Tarsian poets; the tenth a sculptor from Clazomenae or Chios, mentioned by Hipponax as well.

36 Buckthorn and laurel were hung over doors to ward off evil spirits.

LACYDES

The founder of the New Academy is robbed by his slaves and dies of drink.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
4.59	Λακύδης Ἀλεξάνδρου Κυρηναῖος. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τῆς νέας Ἀκαδημείας κατάρξας καὶ Ἀρκεσίλαον διαδεξάμενος, ἀνὴρ σεμνότατος καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγους ἐσχηκὼς ζηλωτάς· φιλόπονός τε ἐκ νέου καὶ πένης μέν, εὔχαρις δ' ἄλλως καὶ εὐόμιλος. τοῦτόν φασι καὶ περὶ οἰκονομίαν γλυκύτατα ἐσχηκέναι· ἐπειδή γάρ τι προέλοι τοῦ ταμιείου, σφραγισάμενος πάλιν εἴσω τὸν δακτύλιον διὰ τῆς ὀπῆς ἐρρίπτει, ὡς μηδέποτ' αὐτοῦ περιαιρεθείη τι καὶ βασταχθείη τῶν ἀποκειμένων. μαθόντα δὴ τοῦτο τὰ θεραπόντια ἀπεσφράγιζε καὶ ὅσα ἐβούλετο ἐβάσταζεν· ἔπειτα τὸν δακτύλιον τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον διὰ τῆς ὀπῆς ἐνίει εἰς τὴν στοάν· καὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦντα οὐδέ ποτ' ἐφωράθη.	Lacydes, son of Alexander, of Cyrene. He is the one who began the New Academy and succeeded Arcesilaus: a most dignified man, who had a good many admirers. He was industrious from his youth, and poor, but otherwise charming and pleasant company. They say he ran his household in a delightfully quaint way. Whenever he took something out of the storeroom, he would seal it up again and throw his signet ring back inside through the hole, so that nothing stored there could ever be taken out and carried off. His servants found this out, broke the seal and carried off whatever they liked; then they would drop the ring back through the hole into the storeroom in the same way. And they were never caught doing it.
4.60	Ὁ γοῦν Λακύδης ἐσχόλαζεν ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ ἐν τῷ κατασκευασθέντι κήπῳ ὑπὸ Ἀττάλου τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ Λακύδειον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προσηγορεύετο. καὶ μόνος τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος ζῶν παρέδωκε τὴν σχολὴν Τηλεκλεῖ καὶ Εὐάνδρῳ τοῖς Φωκαεῦσι. παρὰ δ' Εὐάνδρου διεδέξατο Ἡγησίνους Περγαμηνός, ἀφ' οὗ Καρνεάδης. χάριεν δ' εἰς τὸν Λακύδην ἀναφέρεται· Ἀττάλου γὰρ αὐτὸν μεταπεμπομένου φασὶν εἰπεῖν τὰς εἰκόνας πόρρωθεν δεῖν θεωρεῖσθαι. ὀψὲ δὲ αὐτῷ γεωμετροῦντι λέγει τις, "εἶτα νῦν καιρός;" ⟨καὶ ὅς·⟩ "εἶτα μηδὲ νῦν;"	Lacydes, then, taught in the Academy, in the garden built by King Attalus, and it was called the Lacydeum after him. He alone of all the heads of the school since its beginning handed it over while still alive, to Telecles and Evander of Phocaea. From Evander the succession passed to Hegesinus of Pergamum, and from him to Carneades. A witty remark is attributed to Lacydes: when Attalus sent for him, they say, he answered that statues should be viewed from a distance. When he was studying geometry late in life, someone said to him, "So now is the time?" And he replied, "So not even now?"[37]
4.61	Ἐτελεύτησε δὲ σχολαρχεῖν ἀρξάμενος τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει τῆς τετάρτης καὶ τριακοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, τῆς σχολῆς ἀφηγησάμενος ἓξ πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσιν ἔτη· ἡ τελευτὴ δὲ αὐτῷ παράλυσις ἐκ πολυποσίας. καὶ αὐτῷ προσεπαίξαμεν ἡμεῖς οὑτωσί· καὶ σέο, Λακύδη, φάτιν ἔκλυον ὡς ἄρα καὶ σὲ Βάκχος ἑλὼν Ἀΐδῃ ποσσὶν ἔσυρεν ἄκροις. ἦ σαφὲς ἦν, Διόνυσος ὅταν πολὺς ἐς δέμας ἔλθῃ, λῦσε μέλη· διὸ δὴ μήτι Λυαῖος ἔφυ;	He died, having begun as head of the school in the fourth year of the 134th Olympiad, after leading the school for twenty-six years. His death was caused by paralysis brought on by heavy drinking. I have made fun of him as follows: Of you too, Lacydes, I heard the tale, that you too Bacchus seized and dragged to Hades by the tips of your toes. Clearly, when Dionysus enters the body in force, he loosens the limbs; isn't that why he was born the Loosener, Lyaeus?[38]

37 Attalus I was king of Pergamum from 241 to 197 BC.
38 The fourth year of the 134th Olympiad is 241/240 BC.

CARNEADES

The tireless critic of the Stoics, with a famously loud voice, fears death in old age.

GREEK

4.62 Καρνεάδης Ἐπικώμου ἢ Φιλοκώμου, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Διαδοχαῖς, Κυρηναῖος. οὗτος τὰ τῶν Στωικῶν βιβλία ἀναγνοὺς ἐπιμελῶς ⟨καὶ μάλιστα⟩ τὰ Χρυσίππου, ἐπιεικῶς αὐτοῖς ἀντέλεγε καὶ εὐημέρει τοσοῦτον, ὥστε ἐκεῖνο ἐπιλέγειν· εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν Χρύσιππος, οὐκ ἂν ἦν ἐγώ. φιλόπονος δ' ἄνθρωπος γέγονεν εἰ καί τις ἄλλος, ἐν μὲν τοῖς φυσικοῖς ἧττον φερόμενος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἠθικοῖς μᾶλλον. ὅθεν καὶ ἐκόμα καὶ ἔτρεφεν ὄνυχας ἀσχολίᾳ τῇ περὶ τοὺς λόγους. τοσοῦτον δ' ἴσχυσεν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ῥήτορας ἀπολύσαντας ἐκ τῶν σχολῶν παρ' αὐτὸν ἰέναι καὶ αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν.

4.63 Ἦν δὲ καὶ μεγαλοφωνότατος, ὥστε τὸν γυμνασίαρχον προσπέμψαι αὐτῷ μὴ οὕτω βοᾶν· τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν, "καὶ δὸς μέτρον φωνῆς." ἔνθεν εὐστόχως ἑλόντα ἀμείψασθαι· φάναι γάρ, "μέτρον ἔχεις τοὺς ἀκούοντας." δεινῶς τ' ἦν ἐπιπληκτικὸς καὶ ἐν ταῖς ζητήσεσι δύσμαχος· τά τε δεῖπνα λοιπὸν παρητεῖτο διὰ τὰς προειρημένας αἰτίας. οὗτός ποτε Μέντορος τοῦ Βιθυνοῦ μαθητοῦ ὄντος καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ἐλθόντος εἰς τὴν διατριβήν, ὡς ἐπείρα αὐτοῦ τὴν παλλακὴν ὁ Μέντωρ, καθά φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ, μεταξὺ λέγων παρῴδησεν εἰς αὐτόν·
64 πωλεῖταί τις δεῦρο γέρων ἅλιος νημερτής,
Μέντορι εἰδόμενος ἠμὲν δέμας ἠδὲ καὶ αὐδήν·
τοῦτον σχολῆς τῆσδ' ἐκκεκηρῦχθαι λέγω· καὶ ὃς ἀναστὰς ἔφη· οἱ μὲν ἐκήρυσσον, τοὶ δ' ἠγείροντο μάλ' ὦκα.

4.64 Δειλότερον δέ πως δοκεῖ περὶ τὴν τελευτὴν ἀνεστράφθαι, ὅτε συνεχὲς ἔλεγεν, "ἡ συστήσασα φύσις καὶ διαλύσει." μαθών τε Ἀντίπατρον φάρμακον πιόντα ἀποθανεῖν, παρωρμήθη πρὸς τὸ εὐθαρσὲς τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς καί φησι, "δότε οὖν κἀμοί·" τῶν δὲ εἰπόντων, "τί;" "οἰνόμελι" εἶπεν. τελευτῶντος δ' αὐτοῦ φασιν ἔκλειψιν γενέσθαι σελήνης, συμπάθειαν, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, αἰνιττομένου τοῦ μεθ' ἥλιον καλλίστου τῶν ἄστρων.

ENGLISH

Carneades, son of Epicomus or of Philocomus, as Alexander says in his *Successions*, was from Cyrene. He read the books of the Stoics carefully, especially those of Chrysippus, argued against them skillfully, and was so successful that he used to add this: If there had been no Chrysippus, there would have been no me. He was as hard-working a man as any who ever lived, less at home in physics, more so in ethics. That is why he even let his hair and nails grow long, so absorbed was he in arguments. So strong was he in philosophy that even the rhetoricians would dismiss their classes and go to him to hear him.[39]

He also had an extremely loud voice, so that the gymnasiarch sent word to him not to shout like that. He said, "Then give me a measure for my voice." The gymnasiarch seized the opening neatly and replied, "You have your measure: your listeners." He was a formidable critic and hard to beat in debate; and from then on he declined dinner invitations for the reasons already mentioned. Once Mentor of Bithynia, who was his pupil, came to his school; Mentor had tried to seduce his concubine, as Favorinus says in his *Miscellaneous History*. So in the middle of his lecture Carneades aimed a parody at him: 64 There goes about here an old man of the sea, unerring,
like Mentor in build and in voice;
I declare him banished from this school. And Mentor stood up and said: They made the proclamation, and the men gathered very quickly.[40]

He seems to have behaved rather timidly in the face of death: he kept saying, "The nature that put me together will also take me apart." And when he learned that Antipater had died by drinking poison, he was stirred by the boldness of that departure and said, "Then give some to me too." When they asked, "What?" he said, "Honeyed wine." They say that when he died there was an eclipse of the moon, as if the most beautiful of the heavenly

39 He is parodying a well-known line: "If there had been no Chrysippus, there would have been no Stoa."
40 The first two lines adapt Homer's *Odyssey*; Mentor replies with a Homeric line about heralds summoning an assembly.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		bodies after the sun were hinting, as one might put it, at its sympathy.[41]
4.65	Φησὶ δὲ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς ἀπελθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἔτει τετάρτῳ τῆς δευτέρας καὶ ἑξηκοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, βιώσαντα ἔτη πέντε πρὸς τοῖς ὀγδοήκοντα. φέρονται δ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς Ἀριαράθην τὸν Καππαδοκίας βασιλέα. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ αὐτοῦ οἱ μαθηταὶ συνέγραψαν· αὐτὸς δὲ κατέλιπεν οὐδέν.	Apollodorus says in his *Chronicles* that he departed from among men in the fourth year of the 162nd Olympiad, at the age of eighty-five. Letters of his to Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, are in circulation. Everything else of his was written up by his pupils; he himself left nothing.
	ἔστι καὶ εἰς τοῦτον ἡμῶν τῷ λογαοιδικῷ μέτρῳ [καὶ Ἀρχεβουλείῳ]· τί με Καρνεάδην, τί με, Μοῦσα, θέλεις ἐλέγχειν; ἀμαθὴς γὰρ ὃς οὔτι κάτοιδεν ὅπως δεδοίκει τὸ θανεῖν· ὅτε καὶ φθισικήν ποτ' ἔχων κακίστην νόσον, οὐκ ἔθελεν λύσιν ἰσχέμεν· ἀλλ' ἀκούσας ὅτι φάρμακον Ἀντίπατρός τι πιὼν ἀπέσβη, [66] "δότε τόινυν," ἔφησε, "τὶ κἀμὲ πιεῖν." "τί μέντοι; τί;" "δότ' οἰνόμελι." σφόδρα τ' εἶχε πρόχειρα ταυτί· "φύσις ἡ συνέχουσά με καὶ διαλύσεται δή." ὁ μὲν οὐδὲν ἔλασσον ἔβη κατὰ γῆς, ἐνῆν δὲ τὰ πλέω κακὰ κέρδε' ἔχοντα μολεῖν ἐς ᾅδου.	There is also a poem of mine on him, in the logaoedic [and Archebulean] meter: Why, Muse, why do you want me to censure Carneades? He's ignorant who doesn't know how much he feared death: once, when he had the worst of wasting diseases, he had no wish to find release; but on hearing that Antipater had drunk some poison and gone out like a flame, [66] "Then give me," he said, "something to drink too." "What, though? What?" "Give me honeyed wine." And he kept this ready on his lips: "Nature, which holds me together, will surely take me apart too." He went beneath the earth none the less, and it was open to him to reach Hades carrying more ills as his gains.[42]
4.66	Λέγεται καὶ τὰς ὄψεις νυκτὸς ὑποχυθῆναι καὶ ἀγνοεῖν· κελεῦσαί τε τὸν παῖδα λύχνον ἅψαι· εἰσκομίσαντος δὲ καὶ εἰπόντος, "κεκόμικα," "οὐκοῦν," εἰπεῖν, "σὺ ἀναγίνωσκε."	It is said too that his eyes clouded over one night without his realizing it, and that he told his slave to light a lamp. When the slave brought it in and said, "I've brought it," he said, "Then you read."
	Τούτου πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι γεγόνασι μαθηταί, ἐλλογιμώτατος δὲ Κλειτόμαχος· περὶ οὗ καὶ λεκτέον. Γέγονε μέντοι καὶ ἄλλος Καρνεάδης, ἐλεγείας ποιητὴς ψυχρός.	He had many other pupils, but the most distinguished was Clitomachus, of whom I must speak as well. There was also another Carneades, a frigid elegiac poet.

CLITOMACHUS

The Carthaginian Hasdrubal studies under Carneades and writes over four hundred books.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
4.67	Κλειτόμαχος Καρχηδόνιος. οὗτος ἐκαλεῖτο μὲν Ἀσδρούβας καὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ φωνῇ κατὰ τὴν πατρίδα ἐφιλοσόφει. ἐλθὼν δ' εἰς Ἀθήνας ἤδη τετταράκοντ' ἔτη γεγονὼς ἤκουσε Καρνεάδου· κἀκεῖνος ἀποδεξάμενος	Clitomachus of Carthage. His name was Hasdrubal, and he practiced philosophy in his homeland in his own language. He came to Athens when he was already forty and studied under

41 Antipater of Tarsus was head of the Stoic school.
42 Logaoedic verse mixes dactylic and trochaic rhythms; the Archebulean, named after the poet Archebulus, is one such meter.

GREEK

αὐτοῦ τὸ φιλόπονον γράμματά τ᾽ ἐποίησε μαθεῖν καὶ συνήσκει τὸν ἄνδρα. ὁ δὲ εἰς τοσοῦτον ἦλασεν ἐπιμελείας, ὥστε ὑπὲρ τὰ τετρακόσια βιβλία συνέγραψε. καὶ διεδέξατο τὸν Καρνεάδην καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ μάλιστα διὰ τῶν συγγραμμάτων ἐφώτισεν. ἀνὴρ ἐν ταῖς τρισὶν αἱρέσεσι διαπρέψας, ἔν τε τῇ Ἀκαδημαϊκῇ καὶ περιπατητικῇ καὶ στωικῇ.

Καθόλου δὲ τοὺς Ἀκαδημαϊκοὺς ὁ Τίμων οὕτω διασύρει· οὐδ᾽ Ἀκαδημιακῶν πλατυρημοσύνης ἀναλίστου.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ τοὺς Ἀκαδημαϊκοὺς τοὺς ἀπὸ Πλάτωνος διεληλυθότες ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Πλάτωνος περιπατητικούς, ὧν ἦρξεν Ἀριστοτέλης.

ENGLISH

Carneades. Carneades, appreciating his industry, had him taught letters and trained him. He went so far in his diligence that he wrote more than four hundred books. He succeeded Carneades, and above all shed light on his views through his writings. He was a man who distinguished himself in three schools: the Academic, the Peripatetic and the Stoic.

Timon disparages the Academics as a whole in this way: Nor the insipid long-windedness of the Academics.

Now that I have gone through the Academics descended from Plato, let me move on to the Peripatetics, who also descend from Plato, and whose founder was Aristotle.

Book 5

Aristotle and the Peripatetics
Aristotle, Theophrastus, Strato, Lyco, Demetrius of Phalerum and Heraclides.

ARISTOTLE

Aristotle's family, his break with Plato, his years with Hermias and Alexander, and his flight to Chalcis.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
5.1	Ἀριστοτέλης Νικομάχου καὶ Φαιστίδος Σταγειρίτης. ὁ δὲ Νικόμαχος ἦν ἀπὸ Νικομάχου τοῦ Μαχάονος τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ, καθά φησιν Ἕρμιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἀριστοτέλους· καὶ συνεβίω Ἀμύντᾳ τῷ Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖ ἰατροῦ καὶ φίλου χρείᾳ. οὗτος γνησιώτατος τῶν Πλάτωνος μαθητῶν, τραυλὸς τὴν φωνήν, ὥς φησι Τιμόθεος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ βίων· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰσχνοσκελής, φασίν, ἦν καὶ μικρόμματος ἐσθῆτί τ' ἐπισήμῳ χρώμενος καὶ δακτυλίοις καὶ κουρᾷ. ἔσχε δὲ καὶ υἱὸν Νικόμαχον ἐξ Ἑρπυλλίδος τῆς παλλακῆς, ὥς φησι Τίμαιος.	Aristotle, son of Nicomachus and Phaestis, was from Stagira. Nicomachus was descended from Nicomachus, son of Machaon, son of Asclepius, as Hermippus says in his *On Aristotle*, and he lived at the court of Amyntas, king of the Macedonians, as his physician and friend. Aristotle was the most genuine of Plato's pupils. He had a lisp, as Timotheus the Athenian says in his *On Lives*. They say he also had thin legs and small eyes, and wore conspicuous clothes, rings and a fashionable haircut. He also had a son, Nicomachus, by his concubine Herpyllis, as Timaeus says.[1]
5.2	Ἀπέστη δὲ Πλάτωνος ἔτι περιόντος· ὥστε φασὶν ἐκεῖνον εἰπεῖν, "Ἀριστοτέλης ἡμᾶς ἀπελάκτισε, καθαπερεὶ τὰ πωλάρια γεννηθέντα τὴν μητέρα." φησὶ δ' Ἕρμιππος ἐν τοῖς Βίοις ὅτι πρεσβεύοντος αὐτοῦ πρὸς Φίλιππον ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων σχολάρχης ἐγένετο τῆς ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ σχολῆς Ξενοκράτης· ἐλθόντα δὴ αὐτὸν καὶ θεασάμενον ὑπ' ἄλλῳ τὴν σχολήν, ἐλέσθαι περίπατον τὸν ἐν Λυκείῳ καὶ μέχρι μὲν ἀλείμματος ἀνακάμπτοντα τοῖς μαθηταῖς συμφιλοσοφεῖν· ὅθεν περιπατητικὸν προσαγορευθῆναι. οἱ δ', ὅτι ἐκ νόσου περιπατοῦντι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συμπαρὼν διελέγετο ἄττα.	He broke away from Plato while Plato was still alive, so that Plato is said to have remarked, "Aristotle has kicked us away, just as newborn colts kick their mother." Hermippus says in his *Lives* that while Aristotle was away as the Athenians' envoy to Philip, Xenocrates became head of the school in the Academy. When Aristotle came back and saw the school under someone else, he chose the covered walk in the Lyceum, and would walk up and down there until it was time to be oiled, doing philosophy with his pupils. That, Hermippus says, is how he came to be called "Peripatetic." Others say it was because he kept Alexander company on his walks while he was recovering from an illness, and talked with him about various things.[2]
5.3	Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πλείους ἐγένοντο ἤδη, καὶ ἐκάθισεν εἰπών· αἰσχρὸν σιωπᾶν, Ξενοκράτην δ' ἐᾶν λέγειν. καὶ πρὸς θέσιν συνεγύμναζε τοὺς μαθητάς, ἅμα καὶ ῥητορικῶς ἐπασκῶν. ἔπειτα μέντοι ἀπῆρε πρὸς Ἑρμίαν τὸν εὐνοῦχον, Ἀταρνέως ὄντα τύραννον· ὃν οἱ μέν φασι	When his pupils grew more numerous, he even sat down to lecture, saying, "It is shameful to keep silent and let Xenocrates speak." He trained his pupils to argue on a set thesis, and gave them practice in rhetoric at the same time. Later, though, he

1 Stagira was a Greek city in Chalcidice, on the northern Aegean. Amyntas III was the father of Philip II of Macedon.
2 Greek *peripatos* means a walk or covered walkway, and *peripatein* means to walk about, hence the name "Peripatetic."

GREEK

παιδικὰ γενέσθαι αὐτοῦ, οἱ δὲ καὶ κηδεῦσαι αὐτῷ δόντα τὴν θυγατέρα ἢ ἀδελφιδῆν, ὥς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης ἐν τοῖς Περὶ ὁμωνύμων ποιητῶν τε καὶ συγγραφέων· ὃς καὶ δοῦλον Εὐβούλου φησὶ γενέσθαι τὸν Ἑρμίαν, γένει Βιθυνὸν ὄντα καὶ τὸν δεσπότην ἀνελόντα. Ἀρίστιππος δ' ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ παλαιᾶς τρυφῆς φησιν ἐρασθῆναι τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην παλλακίδος τοῦ Ἑρμίου.

5.4 τοῦ δὲ συγχωρήσαντος ἔγημέ τ' αὐτὴν καὶ ἔθυεν ὑπερχαίρων τῷ γυναίῳ, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι τῇ Ἐλευσινίᾳ Δήμητρι· τῷ τε Ἑρμίᾳ παιᾶνα ἔγραψεν, ὃς ἔνδον γέγραπται. ἐντεῦθέν τε γενέσθαι ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ παρὰ Φιλίππῳ καὶ λαβεῖν μαθητὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸν υἱὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ αἰτῆσαι ἀναστῆσαι αὐτοῦ τὴν πατρίδα κατασκαφεῖσαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου καὶ τυχεῖν· οἷς καὶ νόμους θεῖναι. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ σχολῇ νομοθετεῖν μιμούμενον Ξενοκράτην, ὥστε κατὰ δέκα ἡμέρας ἄρχοντα ποιεῖν.

ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐδόκει ἐπιεικῶς αὐτῷ συγγεγενῆσθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἀπῆρεν εἰς Ἀθήνας, συστήσας αὐτῷ τὸν συγγενῆ Καλλισθένην τὸν Ὀλύνθιον· [5] ὃν καὶ παρρησιαστικώτερον λαλοῦντα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ μὴ πειθόμενον αὐτῷ φασιν ἐπιπλήξαντα εἰπεῖν· ὠκύμορος δή μοι, τέκος, ἔσσεαι, οἵ' ἀγορεύεις. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο. δόξας γὰρ Ἑρμολάῳ συμμετεσχηκέναι τῆς εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιβουλῆς ἐν σιδηρᾷ περιήγετο γαλεάγρᾳ, φθειριῶν καὶ ἀκόμιστος· καὶ τέλος λέοντι παραβληθείς, οὕτω κατέστρεψεν.

5.5 Ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐλθὼν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ τρία πρὸς τοῖς δέκα τῆς σχολῆς ἀφηγησάμενος ἔτη ὑπεξῆλθεν εἰς Χαλκίδα, Εὐρυμέδοντος αὐτὸν τοῦ ἱεροφάντου δίκην ἀσεβείας γραψαμένου, ἢ Δημοφίλου, ὥς φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ, ἐπειδήπερ τὸν ὕμνον ἐποίησεν εἰς τὸν [6] προειρημένον Ἑρμίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀνδριάντος τοιοῦτον· τόνδε ποτ' οὐχ ὁσίως παραβὰς μακάρων θέμιν ἁγνὴν
ἔκτεινεν Περσῶν τοξοφόρων βασιλεύς,
οὐ φανερῶς λόγχῃ φονίοις ἐν ἀγῶσι κρατήσας,
ἀλλ' ἀνδρὸς πίστει χρησάμενος δολίου.

ENGLISH

went off to Hermias the eunuch, tyrant of Atarneus. Some say Hermias was his beloved. Others say Aristotle became related to him by marriage, Hermias giving him his daughter or his niece, as Demetrius of Magnesia says in his *On Poets and Writers of the Same Name*. Demetrius also says that Hermias had been the slave of Eubulus, that he was a Bithynian by birth and that he killed his master. Aristippus, in the first book of *On the Luxury of the Ancients*, says that Aristotle fell in love with a concubine of Hermias.[3]

With Hermias' consent he married her, and in his overwhelming delight in the woman he offered sacrifices to her, as the Athenians do to Eleusinian Demeter. He also wrote a paean to Hermias, which is given below. From there, the story goes, he went to Philip in Macedonia and received Philip's son Alexander as his pupil. He asked Philip to rebuild his native city, which Philip had razed to the ground, and his request was granted, and he drew up laws for its citizens. He also made laws in his school, in imitation of Xenocrates, so that a president was appointed every ten days.

When he thought he had spent long enough with Alexander, he left for Athens, after introducing his relative Callisthenes of Olynthus to him. [5] When Callisthenes spoke too freely to the king and would not listen to Aristotle, they say Aristotle rebuked him with the line: Short-lived you'll be, my child, for saying such things. And so it turned out. He was thought to have joined Hermolaus in the plot against Alexander, and was carted around in an iron cage, lice-ridden and unkempt. In the end he was thrown to a lion, and that was how he died.[4]

Aristotle, then, came to Athens and led the school for thirteen years. Then he withdrew to Chalcis, when Eurymedon the hierophant indicted him for impiety. Favorinus, in his *Miscellaneous History*, says it was Demophilus. The charge was that he had composed the hymn to the [6] Hermias mentioned above, and also an epigram for his statue at Delphi, which goes like this: This man, in unholy breach of the pure law of the blessed gods,
the king of the bow-bearing Persians killed,
not overcoming him openly with the spear in

3 The line parodies Euripides' *Philoctetes*, where it runs "shameful to keep silent and let foreigners speak."
4 The line is Homer's *Iliad* 18.95, spoken by Thetis to her son Achilles.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		bloody combat, but by exploiting a treacherous man's trust.[5]
5.6	Ἐνταῦθα δὴ πιὼν ἀκόνιτον ἐτελεύτησεν, ὥς φησιν Εὔμηλος ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν, βιοὺς ἔτη ἑβδομήκοντα. ὁ δ' αὐτός φησιν αὐτὸν καὶ Πλάτωνι τριακοντούτην συστῆναι, διαπίπτων· βεβίωκε γὰρ τρία μὲν πρὸς τοῖς ἑξήκοντα, Πλάτωνι δὲ ἑπτακαιδεκέτης συνέστη.	There he died by drinking aconite, as Eumelus says in the fifth book of his *Histories*, at the age of seventy. The same writer says that he joined Plato at thirty, but he is wrong. Aristotle lived sixty-three years, and he joined Plato at seventeen.[6]
	Ὁ δὲ ὕμνος ἔχει τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον·[7] ἀρετά, πολύμοχθε γένει βροτείῳ, θήραμα κάλλιστον βίῳ, σᾶς πέρι, παρθένε, μορφᾶς καὶ θανεῖν ζαλωτὸς ἐν Ἑλλάδι πότμος καὶ πόνους τλῆναι μαλεροὺς ἀκάμαντας· τοῖον ἐπὶ φρένα βάλλεις κάρτος ἀθάνατον χρυσοῦ τε κρεῖσσον καὶ γονέων μαλακαυγήτοιό θ' ὕπνου. σεῦ δ' ἕνεχ' οὐκ Διὸς Ἡρακλέης Λήδας τε κοῦροι πόλλ' ἀνέτλασαν ἔργοις σὰν ἀγρεύοντες δύναμιν.[8] σοῖς δὲ πόθοις Ἀχιλεὺς Αἴας τ' Ἀΐδαο δόμους ἦλθον· σᾶς δ' ἕνεκεν φιλίου μορφᾶς καὶ Ἀταρνέος ἔντροφος ἀελίου χήρωσεν αὐγάς. τοιγὰρ ἀοίδιμος ἔργοις, ἀθάνατόν τε μιν αὐξήσουσι Μοῦσαι Μναμοσύνας θύγατρες, Διὸς ξενίου σέβας αὔξουσαι φιλίας τε γέρας βεβαίου.	The hymn runs like this:[7] Excellence, hard-won by the race of mortals, finest prize for a life to hunt, for your beauty, maiden, even to die is an enviable fate in Greece, and to endure fierce, unwearying toils. Such is what you cast into the mind: an immortal strength, better than gold, than parents, than soft-eyed sleep. For your sake Heracles, son of Zeus, and the sons of Leda endured much in their deeds, hunting your power.[8] Out of longing for you Achilles and Ajax went to the house of Hades. For the sake of your dear beauty the nursling of Atarneus too has widowed the sun's rays. Therefore, famed in song for his deeds, he will be made immortal by the Muses, the daughters of Memory, who exalt the majesty of Zeus, god of guest-friendship, and the honor of steadfast friendship.[7]
5.8	Ἔστι δ' οὖν καὶ εἰς τοῦτον ἡμῶν οὕτως ἔχον· Εὐρυμέδων ποτ' ἔμελλεν Ἀριστοτέλην ἀσεβείας γράψασθαι Δηοῦς μύστιδος ὢν πρόπολος, ἀλλὰ πιὼν ἀκόνιτον ὑπέκφυγε· τοῦτ' ἀκονιτὶ ἦν ἄρα νικῆσαι συκοφάσεις ἀδίκους.	There is also one of mine on him, which goes like this: Eurymedon once meant to charge Aristotle with impiety, being a minister of Deo's mysteries; but Aristotle drank aconite and escaped. So this, it seems, was how, with no dust raised, to beat unjust slanders.[8]
5.9	Τοῦτον πρῶτον Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ λόγον δικανικὸν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ συγγράψαι φησὶν ἐπ' αὐτῇ ταύτῃ τῇ δίκῃ καὶ λέγειν ὡς Ἀθήνησιν ὄγχνη ἐπ' ὄγχνῃ γηράσκει, σῦκον δ' ἐπὶ σύκῳ.	Favorinus says in his *Miscellaneous History* that Aristotle was the first to write a courtroom speech in his own defense, for this very trial, and that he said that at Athens pear grows old upon pear, and fig upon fig.[9]

5 The hierophant was the chief priest of the Eleusinian Mysteries. Chalcis is on the island of Euboea.
6 Aconite (wolfsbane) is a poisonous plant.
7 Leda's sons are Castor and Polydeuces. Memory (Mnemosyne) is the mother of the Muses.
8 The joke turns on *akoniti*, "without dust" (that is, without a struggle, a wrestling term), which sounds like *akoniton*, aconite. Deo is Demeter.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Φησὶ δ' Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς γεννηθῆναι μὲν αὐτὸν τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς ἑνάτης καὶ ἐνενηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, παραβαλεῖν δὲ Πλάτωνι καὶ διατρῖψαι παρ' αὐτῷ εἴκοσιν ἔτη, ἑπτακαιδεκέτην συστάντα· καὶ εἶς τε Μυτιλήνην ἐλθεῖν ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Εὐβούλου τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος. Πλάτωνος δὲ τελευτήσαντος τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει ἐπὶ Θεοφίλου, πρὸς Ἑρμίαν ἀπᾶραι καὶ μεῖναι ἔτη τρία· [10] ἐπὶ Πυθοδότου δ' ἐλθεῖν πρὸς Φίλιππον τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς ἑνάτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, Ἀλεξάνδρου πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτη ἤδη γεγονότος.	Apollodorus says in his *Chronicles* that Aristotle was born in the first year of the 99th Olympiad. He says Aristotle joined Plato at seventeen and spent twenty years with him, and went to Mytilene in the fourth year of the 108th Olympiad, when Eubulus was archon. According to Apollodorus, when Plato died, in the first year, in the archonship of Theophilus, Aristotle left for Hermias' court and stayed three years. [10] In the archonship of Pythodotus, in the second year of the 109th Olympiad, he went to Philip, when Alexander was already fifteen.[10]
5.10	εἰς δ' Ἀθήνας ἀφικέσθαι τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς ἑνδεκάτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ἐν Λυκείῳ σχολάσαι ἔτη τρία πρὸς τοῖς δέκα, εἶτ' ἀπᾶραι εἰς Χαλκίδα τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει τῆς τετάρτης καὶ δεκάτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, καὶ τελευτῆσαι ἐτῶν τριῶν που καὶ ἑξήκοντα νόσῳ, ὅτε καὶ Δημοσθένην καταστρέψαι ἐν Καλαυρείᾳ, ἐπὶ Φιλοκλέους. λέγεται δὲ διὰ τὴν Καλλισθένους πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον σύστασιν προσκροῦσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ· κἀκεῖνον ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦτον λυπῆσαι Ἀναξιμένην μὲν αὐξῆσαι, πέμψαι δὲ καὶ Ξενοκράτει δῶρα.	He came to Athens, Apollodorus says, in the second year of the 111th Olympiad, and taught in the Lyceum for thirteen years. Then he left for Chalcis in the third year of the 114th Olympiad, and he died of an illness at about sixty-three, in the archonship of Philocles, the same year that Demosthenes died at Calauria. It is said that because he had introduced Callisthenes to Alexander he fell foul of the king. To annoy him, Alexander is said to have promoted Anaximenes and also sent gifts to Xenocrates.[11]
5.11	Ἀπέσκωψε δ' εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπίγραμμα καὶ Θεόκριτος ὁ Χῖος, οὑτωσὶ ποιήσας, ὥς φησιν Ἀμβρύων ἐν τῷ Περὶ Θεοκρίτου· Ἑρμίου εὐνούχου ἠδ' Εὐβούλου ἅμα δούλου σῆμα κενὸν κενόφρων τεῦξεν Ἀριστοτέλης, ‹ὃς διὰ τὴν ἀκρατῆ γαστρὸς φύσιν εἵλετο ναίειν, ἀντ' Ἀκαδημείας, Βορβόρου ἐν προχοαῖς›. ἀλλὰ καὶ Τίμων αὐτοῦ καθήψατο εἰπών· οὐδ' ἄρ' Ἀριστοτέλους εἰκαιοσύνης ἀλεγεινῆς.	Theocritus of Chios also mocked him in an epigram, which he composed as follows, according to Ambryon in his *On Theocritus*: For Hermias the eunuch, and Eubulus' slave besides, empty-headed Aristotle built an empty tomb. Because of his belly's lack of restraint he chose to live, instead of in the Academy, at the mouth of the Borborus. Timon also attacked him, saying: Nor the grievous frivolity of Aristotle.[12]

ARISTOTLE'S WILL

Aristotle provides for Herpyllis, his children and his slaves, and orders statues and dedications.

GREEK	ENGLISH
Καὶ οὗτος μὲν ὁ βίος τοῦ φιλοσόφου. ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ διαθήκαις αὐτοῦ περιετύχομεν, οὕτω πως ἐχούσαις·	That is the philosopher's life. I have also come across his will, which runs roughly as follows:
"Ἔσται μὲν εὖ· ἐὰν δέ τι συμβαίνῃ, τάδε διέθετο Ἀριστοτέλης· ἐπίτροπον μὲν εἶναι πάντων καὶ διὰ παντὸς	"All will be well. But if anything should happen, these are Aristotle's dispositions. Antipater is to be

9 A line from Homer's description of Alcinous' orchard (*Odyssey* 7.120). The fig (*sykon*) hints at Athens' malicious prosecutors, the *sykophantai*.
10 Olympiads were four-year periods counted from 776 BC; the first year of the 99th Olympiad is 384 BC. Athenian years were named after the archon in office.
11 This Anaximenes is the rhetorician and historian from Lampsacus, not the Milesian philosopher.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Ἀντίπατρον· [12] ἕως δ' ἂν Νικάνωρ καταλάβῃ, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι Ἀριστομένην, Τίμαρχον, Ἵππαρχον, Διοτέλην, Θεόφραστον, ἐὰν βούληται καὶ ἐνδέχηται αὐτῷ, τῶν τε παιδίων καὶ Ἑρπυλλίδος καὶ τῶν καταλελειμμένων. καὶ ὅταν ὥρα ᾖ τῇ παιδί, ἐκδίδοσθαι αὐτὴν Νικάνορι· ἐὰν δὲ τῇ παιδὶ συμβῇ τι—ὃ μὴ γένοιτο οὐδὲ ἔσται—πρὸ τοῦ γήμασθαι ἢ ἐπειδὰν γήμηται, μήπω παιδίων ὄντων, Νικάνωρ κύριος ἔστω καὶ περὶ τοῦ παιδίου καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων διοικεῖν ἀξίως καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡμῶν. ἐπιμελείσθω δὲ Νικάνωρ καὶ τῆς παιδὸς καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς Νικομάχου, ὅπως ἂν ἀξιοῖ τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν, ὡς καὶ πατὴρ ὢν καὶ ἀδελφός.	executor of everything and in every respect. [12] Until Nicanor arrives, Aristomenes, Timarchus, Hipparchus, Dioteles and Theophrastus, if he is willing and able, are to take care of the children, of Herpyllis and of the estate. When the girl is old enough, she is to be given in marriage to Nicanor. If anything should happen to the girl before she marries, or after she has married but before there are children (which heaven forbid, and it will not happen), Nicanor is to have full authority over the boy and over everything else, and is to manage them in a manner worthy of himself and of us. Nicanor is to take care of the girl and of the boy Nicomachus as he thinks fit in everything that concerns them, as both father and brother to them.[13]
5.12	ἐὰν δέ τι πρότερον συμβῇ Νικάνορι—ὃ μὴ γένοιτο—ἢ πρὸ τοῦ λαβεῖν τὴν παῖδα ἢ ἐπειδὰν λάβῃ, μήπω παιδίων ὄντων, ἐὰν μέν τι ἐκεῖνος τάξῃ, ταῦτα κύρια ἔστω· [13] ἐὰν δὲ βούληται Θεόφραστος εἶναι μετὰ τῆς παιδός, καθάπερ πρὸς Νικάνορα· εἰ δὲ μή, τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους βουλευομένους μετ' Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ περὶ τῆς παιδὸς καὶ περὶ τοῦ παιδίου διοικεῖν ὅπως ἂν αὐτοῖς δοκῇ ἄριστα εἶναι. ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους καὶ Νικάνορα μνησθέντας ἐμοῦ καὶ Ἑρπυλλίδος, ὅτι σπουδαία περὶ ἐμὲ ἐγένετο, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ ἐὰν βούληται ἄνδρα λαμβάνειν, ὅπως μὴ ἀναξίῳ ἡμῶν δοθῇ.	If anything should happen to Nicanor first (which heaven forbid), either before he takes the girl or after he has taken her but before there are children, any arrangements he has made are to be valid. [13] If Theophrastus is willing to have the girl, he is to stand in the same position as Nicanor. If not, the executors, in consultation with Antipater, are to manage matters concerning both the girl and the boy as they think best. The executors and Nicanor, remembering me and Herpyllis, because she was good to me, are to take care of her in every other respect. If she wishes to take a husband, they are to see that she is not given to anyone unworthy of us.
5.13	δοῦναι δ' αὐτῇ πρὸς τοῖς πρότερον δεδομένοις καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντον ἐκ τῶν καταλελειμμένων καὶ θεραπαίνας τρεῖς, ⟨ἃς⟩ ἂν βούληται, καὶ τὴν παιδίσκην ἣν ἔχει καὶ παῖδα τὸν Πυρραῖον· [14] καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἐν Χαλκίδι βούληται οἰκεῖν, τὸν ξενῶνα τὸν πρὸς τῷ κήπῳ· ἐὰν δὲ ἐν Σταγείροις, τὴν πατρῴαν οἰκίαν. ὁποτέραν δ' ἂν τούτων βούληται, κατασκευάσαι τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους σκεύεσιν οἷς ἂν δοκῇ κἀκείνοις καλῶς ἔχειν καὶ Ἑρπυλλίδι ἱκανῶς. ἐπιμελείσθω δὲ Νικάνωρ καὶ Μύρμηκος τοῦ παιδίου, ὅπως ἂν ἀξίως ἡμῶν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐπικομισθῇ σὺν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἃ εἰλήφαμεν αὐτοῦ.	In addition to what has already been given her, she is to be given a talent of silver from the estate and three maidservants of her choice, as well as the slave girl she has and the slave boy Pyrrhaeus. [14] If she wishes to live in Chalcis, she is to have the guest house by the garden. If she wishes to live in Stagira, she is to have my father's house. Whichever of these she chooses, the executors are to furnish it with whatever furniture they think proper and Herpyllis thinks sufficient. Nicanor is also to take care of the boy Myrmex, so that he is sent back to his own people in a manner worthy of us, together with the property of his that we received.[14]
5.14	εἶναι δὲ καὶ Ἀμβρακίδα ἐλευθέραν καὶ δοῦναι αὐτῇ, ὅταν ἡ παῖς ἐκδοθῇ, πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς καὶ τὴν παιδίσκην	Ambracis is to be free, and when the girl is married she is to be given five hundred drachmas and

12 The Borborus ("Mud") was a river near Pella, the Macedonian royal capital.
13 Antipater was Alexander's regent in Macedonia. Nicanor was the son of Proxenus, Aristotle's guardian.

GREEK

ἣν ἔχει. δοῦναι δὲ καὶ Θαλῆ πρὸς τῇ παιδίσκῃ ἣν ἔχει, τῇ ὠνηθείσῃ, χιλίας δραχμὰς καὶ παιδίσκην·[15] καὶ Σίμωνι χωρὶς τοῦ πρότερον ἀργυρίου αὐτῷ ⟨δοθέντος⟩ εἰς παῖδ' ἄλλον, ἢ παῖδα πρίασθαι ἢ ἀργύριον ἐπιδοῦναι. Τύχωνα δ' ἐλεύθερον εἶναι, ὅταν ἡ παῖς ἐκδοθῇ, καὶ Φίλωνα καὶ Ὀλύμπιον καὶ τὸ παιδίον αὐτοῦ. μὴ πωλεῖν δὲ τῶν παίδων μηδένα τῶν ἐμὲ θεραπευόντων, ἀλλὰ χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς· ὅταν δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γένωνται, ἐλευθέρους ἀφεῖναι κατ' ἀξίαν.

ENGLISH

the slave girl she has. Thale is to be given a thousand drachmas and a slave girl, in addition to the slave girl she has, the one who was bought.[15] Simon, apart from the money already given him for another slave, is either to have a slave bought for him or to be given the money. Tycho is to be free when the girl is married, and so are Philo and Olympius and his child. None of the slaves who looked after me is to be sold; they are to be kept in service, and when they reach the proper age they are to be set free as they deserve.[15]

5.15 ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκδεδομένων εἰκόνων παρὰ Γρυλλίωνα, ὅπως ἐπιτελεσθεῖσαι ἀνατεθῶσιν, ἥ τε Νικάνορος καὶ ἡ Προξένου, ἣν διενοούμην ἐκδοῦναι, καὶ ἡ τῆς μητρὸς τῆς Νικάνορος· καὶ τὴν Ἀριμνήστου τὴν πεποιημένην ἀναθεῖναι, ὅπως μνημεῖον αὐτοῦ ᾖ, ἐπειδὴ ἄπαις ἐτελεύτησε·[16] καὶ ⟨τὴν⟩ τῆς μητρὸς τῆς ἡμετέρας τῇ Δήμητρι ἀναθεῖναι εἰς Νεμέαν ἢ ὅπου ἂν δοκῇ. ὅπου δ' ἂν ποιῶνται τὴν ταφήν, ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὰ Πυθιάδος ὀστᾶ ἀνελόντας θεῖναι, ὥσπερ αὐτὴ προσέταξεν· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ καὶ Νικάνορα σωθέντα, ἣν εὐχὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ηὐξάμην, ζῷα λίθινα τετραπήχη Διὶ σωτῆρι καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ σωτείρᾳ ἐν Σταγείροις."

The executors are also to see to the statues commissioned from Gryllion, so that once finished they are set up. These are the statues of Nicanor and of Proxenus, which I meant to commission, and that of Nicanor's mother. They are also to set up the statue of Arimnestus, which is finished, as a memorial to him, since he died childless.[16] And they are to dedicate my mother's statue to Demeter at Nemea, or wherever they think best. Wherever they bury me, they are to take up the bones of Pythias and lay them there too, as she herself instructed. And Nicanor, once he is safe, is to dedicate stone animals four cubits high to Zeus the Savior and Athena the Savior at Stagira, in fulfillment of the vow I made on his behalf."[16]

5.16 Τοῦτον ἴσχουσιν αὐτῷ αἱ διαθῆκαι τὸν τρόπον. λέγεται δὲ καὶ λοπάδας αὐτοῦ πλείστας εὑρῆσθαι· καὶ Λύκωνα λέγειν ὡς ἐν πυέλῳ θερμοῦ ἐλαίου λούοιτο καὶ τοὔλαιον διαπωλοῖτο. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ ἀσκίον θερμοῦ ἐλαίου ἐπιτιθέναι αὐτὸν τῷ στομάχῳ φασί· καὶ ὁπότε κοιμῷτο, σφαῖραν χαλκῆν βάλλεσθαι αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν χεῖρα λεκάνης ὑποκειμένης, ἵν' ἐκπεσούσης τῆς σφαίρας εἰς τὴν λεκάνην ὑπὸ τοῦ ψόφου ἐξέγροιτο.

That is how his will runs. It is said, too, that a great many dishes belonging to him were found. Lyco is said to have claimed that Aristotle bathed in a tub of warm oil and then sold the oil. Some also say that he used to put a little skin of warm oil on his stomach. They say that when he slept, a bronze ball was placed in his hand with a basin underneath, so that when the ball fell into the basin the noise would wake him.[17]

ARISTOTLE'S SAYINGS AND BOOKS

Aristotle's famous sayings on education, friendship and the Athenians, followed by the catalogue of his works.

GREEK

5.17 Ἀναφέρεται δ' εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ ἀποφθέγματα κάλλιστα ταυτί. ἐρωτηθεὶς τί περιγίνεται κέρδος τοῖς ψευδομένοις, "ὅταν," ἔφη, "λέγωσιν ἀληθῆ, μὴ πιστεύεσθαι." ὀνειδιζόμενός ποτε ὅτι πονηρῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐλεημοσύνην

ENGLISH

These very fine sayings are also attributed to him. Asked what liars gain, he said, "That when they tell the truth, they aren't believed." Once, when he was reproached for giving charity to a wicked

14 A talent was 6,000 drachmas, a very large sum.
15 The drachma was the standard silver coin of Athens.
16 Pythias was Aristotle's wife, the relative of Hermias mentioned above.
17 This Lyco is probably the Pythagorean of that name, not the later head of the Peripatetics.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἔδωκεν, “οὐ τὸν τρόπον,” εἶπεν, “ἀλλὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἠλέησα.” συνεχὲς εἰώθει λέγειν πρός τε τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς φοιτῶντας αὐτῷ, ἔνθα ἂν καὶ ὅπου διατρίβων ἔτυχεν, ὡς ἡ μὲν ὅρασις ἀπὸ τοῦ περιέχοντος [ἀέρος] λαμβάνει τὸ φῶς, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἀποτεινόμενος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔφασκεν εὑρηκέναι πυροὺς καὶ νόμους· ἀλλὰ πυροῖς μὲν χρῆσθαι, νόμοις δὲ μή.	man, he said, “It wasn’t his character I pitied, but the man.” He used to say constantly to his friends and to those who attended his lectures, wherever he happened to be teaching, that sight takes in light from the surrounding [air], and the soul takes it from learning. He often inveighed against the Athenians, declaring that they had discovered wheat and laws, but used the wheat and not the laws.[18]
5.18	Τῆς παιδείας ἔφη τὰς μὲν ῥίζας εἶναι πικράς, τὸν δὲ καρπὸν γλυκύν. ἐρωτηθεὶς τί γηράσκει ταχύ, “χάρις,” ἔφη. ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ἐστιν ἐλπίς, “ἐγρηγορότος,” εἶπεν, “ἐνύπνιον.” Διογένους ἰσχάδ’ αὐτῷ διδόντος νοήσας ὅτι, εἰ μὴ λάβοι, χρείαν εἴη μεμελετηκώς, λαβὼν ἔφη Διογένην μετὰ τῆς χρείας καὶ τὴν ἰσχάδα ἀπολωλεκέναι· πάλιν τε διδόντος λαβὼν καὶ μετεωρίσας ὡς τὰ παιδία εἰπών τε “μέγας Διογένης,” ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῷ. τριῶν ἔφη δεῖν παιδείᾳ, φύσεως, μαθήσεως, ἀσκήσεως. ἀκούσας ὑπό τινος λοιδορεῖσθαι, “ἀπόντα με,” ἔφη, “καὶ μαστιγούτω.” τὸ κάλλος παντὸς ἔλεγεν ἐπιστολίου συστατικώτερον.	He said that the roots of education are bitter, but its fruit is sweet. Asked what grows old quickly, he said, “Gratitude.” Asked what hope is, he said, “A waking man’s dream.” When Diogenes the Cynic offered him a dried fig, Aristotle realized that if he didn’t take it, Diogenes would have a quip ready. So he took it, and said that Diogenes had lost his quip along with his fig. When Diogenes offered him one again, he took it, held it up high as children do, said “Great Diogenes!”, and handed it back to him. He said education needs three things: nature, learning and training. Hearing that someone was abusing him, he said, “While I’m away, he can flog me too.” He used to say that beauty is a better recommendation than any letter.
5.19	οἱ δὲ οὕτω μὲν Διογένην φασὶν ὁρίσασθαι, αὐτὸν δὲ θεοῦ δῶρον εἰπεῖν εὐμορφίαν· Σωκράτην δὲ ὀλιγοχρόνιον τυραννίδα· Πλάτωνα προτέρημα φύσεως· Θεόφραστον σιωπῶσαν ἀπάτην· Θεόκριτον ἐλεφαντίνην ζημίαν· Καρνεάδην ἀδορυφόρητον βασιλείαν. ἐρωτηθεὶς τίνι διαφέρουσιν οἱ πεπαιδευμένοι τῶν ἀπαιδεύτων, “ὅσῳ,” εἶπεν, “οἱ ζῶντες τῶν τεθνεώτων.” τὴν παιδείαν ἔλεγεν ἐν μὲν ταῖς εὐτυχίαις εἶναι κόσμον, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀτυχίαις καταφυγήν. τῶν γονέων τοὺς παιδεύσαντας ἐντιμοτέρους εἶναι τῶν μόνον γεννησάντων· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ τὸ ζῆν, τοὺς δὲ τὸ καλῶς ζῆν παρασχέσθαι. πρὸς τὸν καυχώμενον ὡς ἀπὸ μεγάλης πόλεως εἴη, “οὐ τοῦτο,” ἔφη, “δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ’ ὅστις μεγάλης πατρίδος ἄξιός ἐστιν.”	Some say that it was Diogenes who defined beauty this way, and that Aristotle himself called good looks a gift of god. Socrates, they say, called it a short-lived tyranny; Plato, a natural advantage; Theophrastus, a silent deception; Theocritus, an ivory ruin; Carneades, a kingdom without a bodyguard. Asked how the educated differ from the uneducated, Aristotle said, “As much as the living differ from the dead.” He used to say that education is an ornament in good fortune and a refuge in misfortune. He said that parents who educate their children deserve more honor than those who merely beget them, for the latter give only life, while the former give a good life. To a man who boasted that he came from a great city he said, “That’s not what one should consider, but whether one is worthy of a great country.”
5.20	ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ἐστι φίλος, ἔφη, “μία ψυχὴ δύο σώμασιν ἐνοικοῦσα.” τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔλεγε τοὺς μὲν οὕτω φείδεσθαι ὡς ἀεὶ ζησομένους, τοὺς δὲ οὕτως ἀναλίσκειν ὡς αὐτίκα τεθνηξομένους. πρὸς τὸν πυθόμενον διὰ τί τοῖς καλοῖς πολὺν χρόνον ὁμιλοῦμεν, “τυφλοῦ,” ἔφη, “τὸ	Asked what a friend is, he said, “One soul dwelling in two bodies.” He used to say that some people are as thrifty as if they were going to live forever, and others as extravagant as if they were going to

18 Athens claimed to have given the world both grain cultivation and laws.

GREEK

ENGLISH

ἐρώτημα.” ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ποτ’ αὐτῷ περιγέγονεν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας, ἔφη, “τὸ ἀνεπιτάκτως ποιεῖν ἅ τινες διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν νόμων φόβον ποιοῦσιν.” ἐρωτηθεὶς πῶς ἂν προκόπτοιεν οἱ μαθηταί, ἔφη, “ἐὰν τοὺς προέχοντας διώκοντες τοὺς ὑστεροῦντας μὴ ἀναμένωσι.” πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα ἀδολέσχην, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῦ πολλὰ κατήντλησε, “μήτι σου κατεφλυάρησα;” “μὰ Δί’,” εἶπεν· “οὐ γάρ σοι προσεῖχον.”

die at once. To someone who asked why we spend so much time with beautiful people, he said, “That’s a blind man’s question.” Asked what he had ever gained from philosophy, he said, “Doing without being ordered what some people do from fear of the laws.” Asked how pupils could make progress, he said, “By chasing those ahead and not waiting for those behind.” A chatterbox who had poured a flood of words over him asked, “I haven’t bored you with my babble, have I?” Aristotle replied, “No, by Zeus. I wasn’t paying attention to you.”

5.21 πρὸς τὸν αἰτιασάμενον ὡς εἴη μὴ ἀγαθῷ ἔρανον δεδωκώς — φέρεται γὰρ καὶ οὕτως—“οὐ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ,” φησίν, “ἔδωκα, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ.” ἐρωτηθεὶς πῶς ἂν τοῖς φίλοις προσφεροίμεθα, ἔφη, “ὡς ἂν εὐξαίμεθα αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν προσφέρεσθαι.” τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἔφη ἀρετὴν ψυχῆς διανεμητικὴν τοῦ κατ’ ἀξίαν. κάλλιστον ἐφόδιον τῷ γήρᾳ τὴν παιδείαν ἔλεγε. φησὶ δὲ Φαβωρῖνος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων ὡς ἑκάστοτε λέγοι, “ᾧ φίλοι, οὐδεὶς φίλος”· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἑβδόμῳ τῶν Ἠθικῶν ἐστι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφέρεται.

Someone complained that he had made a contribution to a man who was no good (the story is also told this way). Aristotle replied, “It wasn’t the man I gave to, but the humanity in him.” Asked how we should behave toward our friends, he said, “As we would pray they behave toward us.” He said justice is an excellence of the soul that distributes to each what each deserves. He used to say education is the finest provision for old age. Favorinus says in the second book of his *Memoirs* that Aristotle would say on every occasion, “He who has friends has no friend,” and the saying is also in the seventh book of the *Ethics*. These, then, are the sayings attributed to him.[19]

Συνέγραψε δὲ πάμπλειστα βιβλία, ἅπερ ἀκόλουθον ἡγησάμην ὑπογράψαι διὰ τὴν περὶ πάντας λόγους τἀνδρὸς ἀρετήν· [22] Περὶ δικαιοσύνης α′ β′ γ′ δ′. Περὶ ποιητῶν α′ β′ γ′. Περὶ φιλοσοφίας α′ β′ γ′. Περὶ πολιτικοῦ α′ β′. Περὶ ῥητορικῆς ἢ Γρῦλος α′. Νήρινθος α′. Σοφιστὴς α′. Μενέξενος α′. Ἐρωτικὸς α′. Συμπόσιον α′. Περὶ πλούτου α′. Προτρεπτικὸς α′. Περὶ ψυχῆς α′. Περὶ εὐχῆς α′. Περὶ εὐγενείας α′. Περὶ ἡδονῆς α′. Ἀλέξανδρος ἢ ὑπὲρ ἀποίκων α′. Περὶ βασιλείας α′. Περὶ παιδείας α′. Περὶ τἀγαθοῦ α′ β′ γ′. Τὰ ἐκ τῶν νόμων Πλάτωνος α′ β′ γ′. Τὰ ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας α′ β′.

He wrote a great many books. Because of the man’s excellence in every field of discourse, I have thought it fitting to list them: [22] *On Justice*, 4 books. *On Poets*, 3 books. *On Philosophy*, 3 books. *On the Statesman*, 2 books. *On Rhetoric, or Gryllus*, 1 book. *Nerinthus*, 1 book. *Sophist*, 1 book. *Menexenus*, 1 book. *On Love*, 1 book. *Symposium*, 1 book. *On Wealth*, 1 book. *Exhortation*, 1 book. *On the Soul*, 1 book. *On Prayer*, 1 book. *On Noble Birth*, 1 book. *On Pleasure*, 1 book. *Alexander, or On Colonists*, 1 book. *On Kingship*, 1 book. *On Education*, 1 book. *On the Good*, 3 books. *Extracts from Plato’s Laws*, 3 books. *Extracts from the Republic*, 2 books.[20]

5.22 Περὶ οἰκονομίας α′. Περὶ φιλίας α′. Περὶ τοῦ πάσχειν ἢ πεπονθέναι α′. Περὶ ἐπιστημῶν α′. Περὶ ἐριστικῶν α′ β′. Λύσεις ἐριστικαὶ δ′. Διαιρέσεις σοφιστικαὶ δ′. Περὶ ἐναντίων α′. Περὶ εἰδῶν καὶ γενῶν α′. Περὶ ἰδίων α′. [23] Ὑπομνήματα ἐπιχειρηματικὰ γ′. Προτάσεις περὶ ἀρετῆς α′ β′. Ἐνστάσεις α′. Περὶ τῶν ποσαχῶς λεγομένων ἢ κατὰ πρόσθεσιν α′. Περὶ παθῶν ⟨ἢ περὶ⟩ ὀργῆς α′. Ἠθικῶν α′ β′

On Household Management, 1 book. *On Friendship*, 1 book. *On Being Affected, or Having Been Affected*, 1 book. *On Sciences*, 1 book. *On Eristic Arguments*, 2 books. *Eristic Solutions*, 4 books. *Sophistical Divisions*, 4 books. *On Contraries*, 1 book. *On Species and Genera*, 1 book. *On Properties*, 1 book. [23] *Notes on Arguments*, 3 books. *Propositions on Excellence*, 2

19 With a different accent the Greek reads “My friends, there is no friend,” the more famous version of the saying.
20 Gryllus was Xenophon’s son, killed in battle at Mantinea in 362 BC.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	γ′ δ′ ε′. Περὶ στοιχείων α′ β′ γ′. Περὶ ἐπιστήμης α′. Περὶ ἀρχῆς α′. Διαιρέσεις ιζ′. Διαιρετικὸν α′. ⟨Περὶ⟩ ἐρωτήσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως α′ β′. Περὶ κινήσεως α′. Προτάσεις α′.	books. *Objections*, 1 book. *On Things Said in Several Senses, or by Addition*, 1 book. *On Feelings, or On Anger*, 1 book. *Ethics*, 5 books. *On Elements*, 3 books. *On Knowledge*, 1 book. *On First Principle*, 1 book. *Divisions*, 17 books. *On Dividing*, 1 book. *On Question and Answer*, 2 books. *On Motion*, 1 book. *Propositions*, 1 book.
5.23	Προτάσεις ἐριστικαὶ α′. Συλλογισμοὶ α′. Προτέρων ἀναλυτικῶν α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ σ′ ζ′ η′. Ἀναλυτικῶν ὑστέρων μεγάλων α′ β′ Περὶ προβλημάτων α′. Μεθοδικὰ α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ σ′ ζ′ η′. Περὶ τοῦ βελτίονος α′. Περὶ τῆς ἰδέας α′. Ὅροι πρὸ τῶν τοπικῶν α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ σ′ ζ′. Συλλογισμῶν α′ β′. [24] Συλλογιστικὸν καὶ ὅροι α′. Περὶ τοῦ αἱρετοῦ καὶ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος α′. Τὰ πρὸ τῶν τόπων α′. Τοπικῶν πρὸς τοὺς ὅρους α′ β′. Πάθη α′. Διαιρετικὸν α′. Μαθηματικὸν α′. Ὁρισμοὶ ιγ′. Ἐπιχειρημάτων α′ β′. Περὶ ἡδονῆς α′. Προτάσεις α′.	*Eristic Propositions*, 1 book. *Syllogisms*, 1 book. *Prior Analytics*, 8 books. *Great Posterior Analytics*, 2 books. *On Problems*, 1 book. *Methodics*, 8 books. *On the Better*, 1 book. *On the Form*, 1 book. *Definitions Preliminary to the Topics*, 7 books. *Syllogisms*, 2 books. [24] *Syllogistic Matters and Definitions*, 1 book. *On the Choiceworthy and the Accidental*, 1 book. *Preliminaries to the Topics*, 1 book. *Topics Relating to Definitions*, 2 books. *Feelings*, 1 book. *On Dividing*, 1 book. *Mathematics*, 1 book. *Definitions*, 13 books. *Arguments*, 2 books. *On Pleasure*, 1 book. *Propositions*, 1 book.
5.24	Περὶ ἑκουσίου α′. Περὶ καλοῦ α′. Θέσεις ἐπιχειρηματικαὶ κε′. Θέσεις ἐρωτικαὶ δ′. Θέσεις φιλικαὶ β′. Θέσεις περὶ ψυχῆς α′. Πολιτικὰ β′. Πολιτικῆς ἀκροάσεως ὡς ἡ Θεοφράστου α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ σ′ ζ′ η′. Περὶ δικαίων α′ β′. Τεχνῶν συναγωγὴ α′ β′. Τέχνης ῥητορικῆς α′ β′. Τέχνη α′. Ἄλλης τεχνῶν συναγωγῆς α′ β′. Μεθοδικὸν α′. Τέχνης τῆς Θεοδέκτου συναγωγὴ α′. Πραγματεία τέχνης ποιητικῆς α′ β′. Ἐνθυμήματα ῥητορικὰ α′. Περὶ μεγέθους α′. Ἐνθυμημάτων διαιρέσεις α′. Περὶ λέξεως α′ β′. Περὶ συμβουλίας α′. [25] Συναγωγῆς α′ β′. Περὶ φύσεως α′ β′ γ′. Φυσικὸν α′.	*On the Voluntary*, 1 book. *On the Beautiful*, 1 book. *Theses for Argument*, 25 books. *Theses on Love*, 4 books. *Theses on Friendship*, 2 books. *Theses on the Soul*, 1 book. *Politics*, 2 books. *Lectures on Politics, like that of Theophrastus*, 8 books. *On Just Acts*, 2 books. *Collection of Arts*, 2 books. *Art of Rhetoric*, 2 books. *Art*, 1 book. *Another Collection of Arts*, 2 books. *On Method*, 1 book. *Compendium of the Art of Theodectes*, 1 book. *Treatise on the Art of Poetry*, 2 books. *Rhetorical Enthymemes*, 1 book. *On Magnitude*, 1 book. *Divisions of Enthymemes*, 1 book. *On Diction*, 2 books. *On Counsel*, 1 book. [25] *Collection*, 2 books. *On Nature*, 3 books. *Physics*, 1 book.[21]
5.25	Περὶ τῆς Ἀρχυτείου φιλοσοφίας α′ β′ γ′. Περὶ τῆς Σπευσίππου καὶ Ξενοκράτους α′. Τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Τιμαίου καὶ τῶν Ἀρχυτείων α′. Πρὸς τὰ Μελίσσου α′. Πρὸς τὰ Ἀλκμαίωνος α′. Πρὸς τοὺς Πυθαγορείους α′. Πρὸς τὰ Γοργίου α′. Πρὸς τὰ Ξενοφάνους α′. Πρὸς τὰ Ζήνωνος α′. Περὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων α′. Περὶ ζῴων α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ σ′ ζ′ η′ θ′. Ἀνατομῶν α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ σ′ ζ′ η′. Ἐκλογὴ ἀνατομῶν α′. Ὑπὲρ τῶν συνθέτων ζῴων α′. Ὑπὲρ τῶν μυθολογουμένων ζῴων α′. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ γεννᾶν α′. Περὶ φυτῶν α′ β′. Φυσιογνωμονικὸν α′. Ἰατρικὰ β′. Περὶ μονάδος α′.	*On the Philosophy of Archytas*, 3 books. *On the Philosophy of Speusippus and Xenocrates*, 1 book. *Extracts from the Timaeus and from the Works of Archytas*, 1 book. *Reply to Melissus*, 1 book. *Reply to Alcmaeon*, 1 book. *Reply to the Pythagoreans*, 1 book. *Reply to Gorgias*, 1 book. *Reply to Xenophanes*, 1 book. *Reply to Zeno*, 1 book. *On the Pythagoreans*, 1 book. *On Animals*, 9 books. *Dissections*, 8 books. *Selection of Dissections*, 1 book. *On Composite Animals*, 1 book. *On Mythical Animals*, 1 book. *On Sterility*, 1 book. *On Plants*, 2 books. *Physiognomics*, 1 book. *Medicine*, 2 books. *On the Unit*, 1 book.
5.26	Σημεῖα χειμώνων α′. Ἀστρονομικὸν α′. Ὀπτικὸν α′. Περὶ κινήσεως α′. Περὶ μουσικῆς α′. Μνημονικὸν α′. Ἀπορημάτων Ὁμηρικῶν α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ σ′. Ποιητικὰ α′.	*Storm Signs*, 1 book. *Astronomy*, 1 book. *Optics*, 1 book. *On Motion*, 1 book. *On Music*, 1 book. *On Memory*, 1 book. *Homeric Problems*, 6 books. *Poetics*,

21 "Arts" here are handbooks of rhetoric. Theodectes was a fourth-century BC orator and tragic poet.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Φυσικῶν κατὰ στοιχεῖον λη'. Ἐπιτεθεαμένων προβλημάτων α′ β′. Ἐγκυκλίων α′ β′. Μηχανικὸν α′. Προβλήματα ἐκ τῶν Δημοκρίτου β′. Περὶ τῆς λίθου α′. Παραβολαὶ α′. Ἄτακτα ιβ'. Ἐξηγημένα κατὰ γένος ιδ'. Δικαιώματα α′. Ὀλυμπιονῖκαι α′. Πυθιονῖκαι ⟨α'. Περὶ⟩ μουσικῆς α′. Πυθικὸς α′. Πυθιονικῶν ἔλεγχος α′. Νῖκαι Διονυσιακαὶ α′. Περὶ τραγῳδιῶν α′. Διδασκαλίαι α′. Παροιμίαι α′. Νόμοι συσσιτικοὶ α′. Νόμων α′ β′ γ′ δ′. Κατηγοριῶν α′. Περὶ ἑρμηνείας α′.	1 book. *Physics, in Alphabetical Order*, 38 books. *Problems Re-examined*, 2 books. *General Subjects*, 2 books. *Mechanics*, 1 book. *Problems from Democritus*, 2 books. *On the Magnet*, 1 book. *Comparisons*, 1 book. *Miscellanies*, 12 books. *Explanations Arranged by Kind*, 14 books. *Claims of Right*, 1 book. *Olympic Victors*, 1 book. *Pythian Victors*, 1 book. *On Music*, 1 book. *The Pythian Dialogue*, 1 book. *Revision of the List of Pythian Victors*, 1 book. *Dionysian Victories*, 1 book. *On Tragedies*, 1 book. *Records of Dramatic Productions*, 1 book. *Proverbs*, 1 book. *Rules for Common Meals*, 1 book. *Laws*, 4 books. *Categories*, 1 book. *On Interpretation*, 1 book.[22]
5.27	Πολιτεῖαι πόλεων δυοῖν δεούσαιν ρξ' ⟨κοιναὶ⟩ καὶ ἴδιαι, δημοκρατικαί, ὀλιγαρχικαί, ἀριστοκρατικαὶ καὶ τυραννικαί. Ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς Φίλιππον. Σηλυμβρίων ἐπιστολαί. Πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιστολαὶ δ′. Πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον θ′. Πρὸς Μέντορα α′. Πρὸς Ἀρίστωνα α′. Πρὸς Ὀλυμπιάδα α′. Πρὸς Ἡφαιστίωνα α′. Πρὸς Θεμισταγόραν α′. Πρὸς Φιλόξενον α′. Πρὸς Δημόκριτον α′. Ἔπη ὧν ἀρχή, Ἁγνὲ θεῶν πρέσβισθ' ἑκατηβόλε. Ἐλεγεῖα ὧν ἀρχή, Καλλιτέκνου μητρὸς θύγατερ.	*Constitutions of Cities*, 158, both general and particular: democratic, oligarchic, aristocratic and tyrannical. *Letters to Philip*. *Letters of the Selymbrians*. *Letters to Alexander*, 4. *To Antipater*, 9. *To Mentor*, 1. *To Ariston*, 1. *To Olympias*, 1. *To Hephaestion*, 1. *To Themistagoras*, 1. *To Philoxenus*, 1. *To Democritus*, 1. *Verses in hexameters*, beginning: Holy one, eldest of gods, far-shooter. *Elegies*, beginning: Daughter of a mother blessed in her children.
	Γίνονται αἱ πᾶσαι μυριάδες στίχων τέτταρες καὶ τετταράκοντα πρὸς τοῖς πεντακισχιλίοις καὶ διακοσίοις ἑβδομήκοντα.	In all they come to 445,270 lines.

ARISTOTLE'S DOCTRINES

A summary of Aristotle's views on logic, happiness, virtue, god and the soul as entelechy.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
5.28	Καὶ τοσαῦτα μὲν αὐτῷ πεπραγμάτευται βιβλία. βούλεται δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς τάδε· διττὸν εἶναι τὸν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν λόγον, τὸν μὲν πρακτικόν, τὸν δὲ θεωρητικόν· καὶ τοῦ πρακτικοῦ τόν τε ἠθικὸν καὶ πολιτικόν, οὗ τά τε περὶ πόλιν καὶ τὰ περὶ οἶκον ὑπογεγράφθαι· τοῦ δὲ θεωρητικοῦ τόν τε φυσικὸν καὶ λογικόν, οὗ τὸ λογικὸν οὐχ ὁλομερῶς, ἀλλ' ὡς ὄργανον προσηκριβωμένον. καὶ τούτου διττοὺς ὑποθέμενος σκοποὺς τό τε πιθανὸν καὶ τὸ ἀληθὲς διεσάφησε. δύο δὲ πρὸς ἑκάτερον δυνάμεσιν ἐχρήσατο, διαλεκτικῇ μὲν καὶ ῥητορικῇ πρὸς τὸ πιθανόν, ἀναλυτικῇ δὲ καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ πρὸς τὸ ἀληθές· οὐδὲν ὑπολειπόμενος οὔτε τῶν πρὸς εὕρεσιν, οὔτε τῶν πρὸς κρίσιν, οὔτε μὴν τῶν πρὸς χρῆσιν.	Such is the number of books he wrote. In them he holds the following views. Philosophical discourse is twofold, one part practical, the other theoretical. The practical part comprises ethics and politics, and under politics he outlined what concerns both the city and the household. The theoretical part comprises physics and logic, and logic he worked out with precision not as a part in its own right but as an instrument. For logic he set down two aims, the persuasive and the true, and explained both. For each he used two faculties: dialectic and rhetoric for the persuasive, analytics and philosophy for the true. He left out nothing that serves discovery, or judgment, or use.
5.29	πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὴν εὕρεσιν τά τε Τοπικὰ καὶ Μεθοδικὰ παρέδωκε προτάσεων πλῆθος, ἐξ ὧν πρὸς τὰ προβλήματα	For discovery he provided the *Topics* and the *Methodics*, a mass of propositions from which one can draw a good supply of persuasive arguments on

GREEK

πιθανῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων οἷόν τε εὐπορεῖν· πρὸς δὲ τὴν κρίσιν τὰ Ἀναλυτικὰ πρότερα καὶ ὕστερα. διὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν προτέρων τὰ λήμματα κρίνεται, διὰ δὲ τῶν ὑστέρων ἡ συναγωγὴ ἐξετάζεται. πρὸς δὲ τὴν χρῆσιν τά τε ἀγωνιστικὰ καὶ τὰ περὶ ἐρωτήσεως [ἐριστικά τε] καὶ σοφιστικῶν ἐλέγχων τε καὶ συλλογισμῶν καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων τούτοις. κριτήριον δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας τῶν μὲν κατὰ φαντασίαν ἐνεργημάτων τὴν αἴσθησιν ἀπεφήνατο· τῶν δὲ ἠθικῶν, τῶν περὶ πόλιν καὶ περὶ οἶκον καὶ περὶ νόμους τὸν νοῦν.

ENGLISH

any problem. For judgment he provided the *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics*: through the *Prior* the premises are judged, through the *Posterior* the inference is examined. For use there are the works on debate and on questioning [and eristic works], on sophistical refutations, on syllogisms and the like. As the criterion of truth he declared that for activities based on impression it is sense-perception, while for ethical matters, those concerning the city, the household and the laws, it is intellect.

5.30 Τέλος δὲ ἓν ἐξέθετο χρῆσιν ἀρετῆς ἐν βίῳ τελείῳ. ἔφη δὲ καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν συμπλήρωμα ἐκ τριῶν ἀγαθῶν εἶναι· τῶν περὶ ψυχήν, ἃ δὴ καὶ πρῶτα τῇ δυνάμει καλεῖ· ἐκ δευτέρων δὲ τῶν περὶ σῶμα, ὑγιείας καὶ ἰσχύος καὶ κάλλους καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων· ἐκ τρίτων δὲ τῶν ἐκτός, πλούτου καὶ εὐγενείας καὶ δόξης καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων. τήν τε ἀρετὴν μὴ εἶναι αὐτάρκη πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν· προσδεῖσθαι γὰρ τῶν τε περὶ σῶμα καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀγαθῶν, ὡς κακοδαιμονήσοντος τοῦ σοφοῦ, κἂν ἐν πόνοις ᾖ κἂν ἐν πενίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις.

He laid down a single end: the exercise of excellence in a complete life. He said too that happiness is made up of three kinds of goods. First come the goods of the soul, which he in fact calls first in power. Second come those of the body: health, strength, beauty and the like. Third come external goods: wealth, good birth, reputation and the like. He held that excellence is not self-sufficient for happiness, since it also needs the bodily and the external goods: the wise man will be unhappy if he lives in pain or poverty and the like.

τὴν μέντοι κακίαν αὐτάρκη πρὸς κακοδαιμονίαν, κἂν ὅτι μάλιστα παρῇ αὐτῇ τὰ ἐκτὸς ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰ περὶ σῶμα. [31] τάς τ᾽ ἀρετὰς ἔφη μὴ ἀντακολουθεῖν· ἐνδέχεσθαι γὰρ φρόνιμόν τινα καὶ ὁμοίως δίκαιον ὄντα ἀκόλαστον καὶ ἀκρατῆ εἶναι. ἔφη δὲ τὸν σοφὸν ἀπαθῆ μὲν μὴ εἶναι, μετριοπαθῆ δέ.

Vice, on the other hand, he held to be self-sufficient for unhappiness, even if external and bodily goods are present to it in the fullest measure. [31] He said that the excellences do not entail one another, for a man may have understanding and be just as well, and yet be intemperate and lack self-control. He said that the wise man is not free from passion, but moderate in his passions.

5.31 Τήν τε φιλίαν ὡρίζετο ἰσότητα εὐνοίας ἀντιστρόφου· ταύτης δὲ τὴν μὲν εἶναι συγγενικήν, τὴν δὲ ἐρωτικήν, τὴν δὲ ξενικήν. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα μὴ μόνον συνουσίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλοσοφίας. καὶ ἐρασθήσεσθαι δὲ τὸν σοφὸν καὶ πολιτεύσεσθαι, γαμήσειν τε μὴν καὶ βασιλεῖ συμβιώσεσθαι. βίων τε τριῶν ὄντων, θεωρητικοῦ, πρακτικοῦ, ἡδονικοῦ, τὸν θεωρητικὸν προέκρινεν. εὔχρηστα δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐγκύκλια μαθήματα πρὸς ἀρετῆς ἀνάληψιν.

He defined friendship as an equality of reciprocal goodwill. One kind of friendship, he held, is between kin, another is between lovers, another is between host and guest. Love too, he held, is not only for the sake of intercourse but also for the sake of philosophy. The wise man will fall in love and take part in politics, and he will also marry and live at a king's court. Of the three lives, the contemplative, the practical and the life of pleasure, he ranked the contemplative first. He held that the standard subjects of general education are also useful for acquiring excellence.

5.32 Ἔν τε τοῖς φυσικοῖς αἰτιολογικώτατος πάντων ἐγένετο μάλιστα, ὥστε καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐλαχίστων τὰς αἰτίας ἀποδιδόναι· διόπερ καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγα βιβλία συνέγραψε φυσικῶν ὑπομνημάτων. τὸν δὲ θεὸν ἀσώματον ἀπέφαινε,

In natural science he went further than anyone in seeking out causes, so that he gave the causes even of the smallest things; that is why he also wrote a good many books of notes on nature. He declared

22 The records of dramatic productions (*didaskaliai*) listed the plays performed at the Athenian festivals, with their poets and results.

GREEK

καθὰ καὶ ὁ Πλάτων. διατείνειν δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν πρόνοιαν μέχρι τῶν οὐρανίων καὶ εἶναι ἀκίνητον αὐτόν· τὰ δ' ἐπίγεια κατὰ τὴν πρὸς ταῦτα συμπάθειαν οἰκονομεῖσθαι. εἶναι δὲ παρὰ τὰ τέτταρα στοιχεῖα καὶ ἄλλο πέμπτον, ἐξ οὗ τὰ αἰθέρια συνεστάναι. ἀλλοίαν δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν κίνησιν εἶναι· κυκλοφορητικὴν γάρ. καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν δὲ ἀσώματον, ἐντελέχειαν οὖσαν τὴν πρώτην σώματος [γὰρ] φυσικοῦ καὶ ὀργανικοῦ δυνάμει ζωὴν ἔχοντος.

5.33 λέγει δ' ἐντελέχειαν, ἧς ἐστιν εἶδός τι ἀσώματον· διττὴ δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη κατ' αὐτόν. ἡ μὲν κατὰ δύναμιν, ὡς ἐν τῷ κηρῷ ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἐπιτηδειότητα ἔχοντι ἐπιδέξασθαι τοὺς χαρακτῆρας, καὶ ὁ ἐν τῷ χαλκῷ ἀνδριάς· καθ' ἕξιν δὲ λέγεται ἐντελέχεια ἡ τοῦ συντετελεσμένου Ἑρμοῦ ἢ ἀνδριάντος. σώματος δὲ φυσικοῦ, ἐπεὶ τῶν σωμάτων τὰ μέν ἐστι χειρόκμητα, ὡς τὰ ὑπὸ τεχνιτῶν γινόμενα, οἷον πύργος, πλοῖον· τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ φύσεως, ὡς φυτὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν ζῴων. ὀργανικοῦ δὲ εἶπε, τουτέστι πρός τι κατεσκευασμένου, ὡς ἡ ὅρασις πρὸς τὸ ὁρᾶν καὶ ἡ ἀκοὴ πρὸς τὸ ἀκούειν· δυνάμει δὲ ζωὴν ἔχοντος, οἷον ἐν ἑαυτῷ.

5.34 Τὸ δυνάμει δὲ διττόν, ἢ καθ' ἕξιν ἢ κατ' ἐνέργειαν· κατ' ἐνέργειαν μέν, ὡς ὁ ἐγρηγορὼς λέγεται ψυχὴν ἔχειν· καθ' ἕξιν δ', ὡς ὁ καθεύδων. ἵν' οὖν καὶ οὗτος ὑποπίπτῃ, τὸ δυνάμει προσέθηκε.

Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα περὶ πολλῶν ἀπεφήνατο, ἅπερ μακρὸν ἂν εἴη καταριθμεῖσθαι. τοῖς γὰρ ὅλοις φιλοπονώτατος ἐγένετο καὶ εὑρετικώτατος, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τῶν προγεγραμμένων συγγραμμάτων, ἃ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐγγὺς ἥκει τῶν τετρακοσίων, τὰ ὅσα γε ἀναμφίλεκτα· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφέρεται συγγράμματ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποφθέγματα, ἀγράφου φωνῆς εὐστοχήματα.

5.35 Γεγόνασι δὲ Ἀριστοτέλεις ὀκτώ· πρώτος αὐτὸς οὗτος· δεύτερος ὁ πολιτευσάμενος Ἀθήνησιν· οὗ καὶ δικανικοὶ φέρονται λόγοι χαρίεντες· τρίτος περὶ Ἰλιάδος πεπραγματευμένος· τέταρτος Σικελιώτης ῥήτωρ, πρὸς τὸν Ἰσοκράτους Πανηγυρικὸν ἀντιγεγραφώς· πέμπτος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Μῦθος, Αἰσχίνου τοῦ Σωκρατικοῦ γνώριμος· ἕκτος Κυρηναῖος, γεγραφὼς περὶ ποιητικῆς· ἕβδομος παιδοτρίβης, οὗ μέμνηται Ἀριστόξενος ἐν τῷ Πλάτωνος βίῳ· ὄγδοος, γραμματικὸς ἄσημος, οὗ φέρεται τέχνη περὶ πλεονασμοῦ.

ENGLISH

god to be incorporeal, as Plato did too. He held that god's providence extends as far as the heavenly bodies and that god himself is unmoved, while earthly things are governed by their sympathy with the heavenly ones. Besides the four elements there is also a fifth, of which the ethereal bodies are composed. Its motion is of a different kind, namely circular. The soul too he held to be incorporeal, being the first entelechy of a [for] natural and organic body potentially possessing life.

By entelechy he means something whose form is incorporeal. According to him it is of two kinds. One kind is potential, as a Hermes is in the wax, which has the aptitude to take the impressions, or as the statue is in the bronze. Entelechy in the sense of a state is that of the finished Hermes or statue. He specifies a natural body because some bodies are handmade, such as those made by craftsmen, a tower, for example, or a boat, while others are made by nature, such as plants and the bodies of animals. He said organic, meaning constructed for some purpose, as sight is for seeing and hearing for hearing. And potentially possessing life, that is, within itself.

Potentiality is itself of two kinds, either as a state or as activity. As activity, the waking man is said to have a soul; as a state, the sleeping man is. So it was to make the sleeper fall under the definition too that he added "potentially."

He expressed many other views on many subjects, which it would take too long to list. For in everything he was exceptionally industrious and inventive, as is clear from the writings listed above. They come to nearly four hundred, counting only those whose authenticity is undisputed. Many other writings are attributed to him as well, and sayings too, happy hits of unwritten speech.

There have been eight Aristotles. The first is this man himself. The second was active in politics at Athens; some elegant forensic speeches of his are in circulation. The third wrote a treatise on the *Iliad*. The fourth was a Sicilian orator who wrote a reply to Isocrates' *Panegyric*. The fifth, nicknamed Mythus ("Tale"), was a pupil of Aeschines the Socratic. The sixth was a man of Cyrene who wrote on poetics. The seventh was a gymnastics trainer, whom Aristoxenus mentions in his *Life of Plato*.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		The eighth was an obscure grammarian, to whom a handbook on pleonasm is attributed.
	Τοῦ δὴ Σταγειρίτου γεγόνασι μὲν πολλοὶ γνώριμοι, διαφέρων δὲ μάλιστα Θεόφραστος, περὶ οὗ λεκτέον.	The Stagirite had many pupils, but by far the most distinguished was Theophrastus, of whom we must now speak.

THEOPHRASTUS

Aristotle's successor, his two thousand pupils, his sayings, his death at eighty-five and his books.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
5.36	Θεόφραστος Μελάντα Ἐρέσιος κναφέως υἱός, ὥς φησιν Ἀθηνόδωρος ἐν ὀγδόῃ Περιπάτων. οὗτος πρῶτον μὲν ἤκουσεν Ἀλκίππου τοῦ πολίτου ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, εἶτ' ἀκούσας Πλάτωνος μετέστη πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλην· κἀκείνου εἰς Χαλκίδα ὑποχωρήσαντος αὐτὸς διεδέξατο τὴν σχολὴν Ὀλυμπιάδι τετάρτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ καὶ ἑκατοστῇ. φέρεται δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ δοῦλος φιλόσοφος ὄνομα Πομπύλος, καθά φησι Μυρωνιανὸς Ἀμαστριανὸς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ὁμοίων ἱστορικῶν κεφαλαίων. ὁ δὲ Θεόφραστος γέγονεν ἀνὴρ συνετώτατος καὶ φιλοπονώτατος καί, καθά φησι Παμφίλη ἐν τῷ τριακοστῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Ὑπομνημάτων, διδάσκαλος Μενάνδρου τοῦ κωμικοῦ· [37] ἄλλως τε καὶ εὐεργετικὸς καὶ φιλόλογος.	Theophrastus of Eresus was the son of Melantas, a fuller, as Athenodorus says in the eighth book of his *Walks*. He first studied under his fellow citizen Alcippus in his native city; then, after studying under Plato, he went over to Aristotle. When Aristotle withdrew to Chalcis, he himself succeeded to the school, in the 114th Olympiad. A slave of his named Pompylus is also said to have been a philosopher, as Myronianus of Amastris says in the first book of his *Parallel Historical Chapters*. Theophrastus was a man of great intelligence and great industry and, as Pamphila says in the thirty-second book of her *Notes*, the teacher of Menander the comic poet; [37] he was, besides, generous and a lover of learning.[23]
5.37	Κάσανδρος γοῦν αὐτὸν ἀπεδέχετο καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ἔπεμψεν ἐπ' αὐτόν· τοσοῦτον δ' ἀποδοχῆς ἠξιοῦτο παρ' Ἀθηναίοις, ὥστ' Ἀγνωνίδης τολμήσας ἀσεβείας αὐτὸν γράψασθαι, μικροῦ καὶ προσῶφλεν. ἀπήντων τ' εἰς τὴν διατριβὴν αὐτοῦ μαθηταὶ πρὸς δισχιλίους. οὗτος τά τ' ἄλλα καὶ περὶ δικαστηρίου τοιαῦτα διείλεκται ἐν τῇ πρὸς Φανίαν τὸν περιπατητικὸν ἐπιστολῇ· "οὐ γὰρ ὅτι πανήγυριν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ συνέδριον ῥᾴδιον, οἷόν τις βούλεται, λαβεῖν· αἱ δ' ἀναγνώσεις ποιοῦσιν ἐπανορθώσεις· τὸ δ' ἀναβάλλεσθαι πάντα καὶ ἀμελεῖν οὐκέτι φέρουσιν αἱ ἡλικίαι." ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ σχολαστικὸν ὠνόμακε.	Cassander, at any rate, received him favorably, and Ptolemy sent for him. The Athenians held him in such esteem that when Agnonides dared to prosecute him for impiety, Agnonides very nearly had a penalty imposed on himself. Up to two thousand pupils attended his school. Among other things, he speaks about the courtroom as follows in his letter to Phanias the Peripatetic: "Not only a festival crowd but even a small gathering of the kind one would like is hard to come by. Readings bring revisions. And to keep putting everything off and neglecting it is something our years no longer allow." In this letter he has used the word "scholastic."[24]
5.38	Τοιοῦτος δ' ὤν, ὅμως ἀπεδήμησε πρὸς ὀλίγον καὶ οὗτος καὶ πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ φιλόσοφοι, Σοφοκλέους τοῦ Ἀμφικλείδου νόμον εἰσενεγκόντος, μηδένα τῶν φιλοσόφων σχολῆς ἀφηγεῖσθαι, ἂν μὴ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δόξῃ· εἰ δὲ μή, θάνατον εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν. ἀλλ' αὖθις ἐπανῆλθον εἰς νέωτα, Φίλωνος τὸν Σοφοκλέα	Even such a man as this, however, left Athens for a short while, he and all the other philosophers too, when Sophocles son of Amphiclides brought in a law that no philosopher should preside over a school unless the Council and the people approved, the penalty otherwise being death. But

23 The 114th Olympiad ran from 324 to 321 BC.

24 Greek *scholastikos*, from *scholē*, "leisure" and "school": a person devoted to study, a scholar or a pedant.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	γραψαμένου παρανόμων. ὅτε καὶ τὸν νόμον μὲν ἄκυρον ἐποίησαν Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν δὲ Σοφοκλέα πέντε ταλάντοις ἐζημίωσαν κάθοδόν τε τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἐψηφίσαντο, ἵνα καὶ Θεόφραστος κατέλθοι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις εἴη.	they came back the following year, when Philo prosecuted Sophocles for an illegal proposal. The Athenians then annulled the law, fined Sophocles five talents and voted the philosophers' return, so that Theophrastus too might come back and be on the same footing as before.[25]
	τοῦτον Τύρταμον λεγόμενον Θεόφραστον διὰ τὸ τῆς φράσεως θεσπέσιον Ἀριστοτέλης μετωνόμασεν· [39] οὗ καὶ τοῦ υἱέος Νικομάχου φησὶν ἐρωτικῶς διατεθῆναι, καίπερ ὄντα διδάσκαλον, Ἀρίστιππος ἐν τετάρτῳ Περὶ παλαιᾶς τρυφῆς. λέγεται δ' ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Καλλισθένους τὸ ὅμοιον εἰπεῖν Ἀριστοτέλην, ὅπερ Πλάτωνα, καθὰ προείρηται, φασὶν εἰπεῖν ἐπί τε Ξενοκράτους καὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου· φάναι γάρ, τοῦ μὲν Θεοφράστου καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὀξύτητος πᾶν τὸ νοηθὲν ἐξερμηνεύοντος, τοῦ δὲ νωθροῦ τὴν φύσιν ὑπάρχοντος, ὡς τῷ μὲν χαλινοῦ δέοι, τῷ δὲ κέντρου.	His name was Tyrtamus, and Aristotle renamed him Theophrastus because of the divine quality of his speech. [39] Aristippus, in the fourth book of *On the Luxury of the Ancients*, says that he was in love with Aristotle's son Nicomachus, even though he was his teacher. It is said that Aristotle said of him and Callisthenes the same thing that Plato, as mentioned earlier, is said to have said of Xenocrates and of Aristotle himself. Since Theophrastus, with his extraordinary quickness, put into words everything he had grasped, while Callisthenes was sluggish by nature, Aristotle said that the one needed a bridle and the other a spur.[26]
5.39	λέγεται δ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἴδιον κῆπον σχεῖν μετὰ τὴν Ἀριστοτέλους τελευτήν, Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως, ὃς ἦν καὶ γνώριμος αὐτῷ, τοῦτο συμπράξαντος. φέρεται δ' αὐτοῦ ἀποφθέγματα ταυτὶ χρειώδη· θᾶττον ἔφη πιστεύειν δεῖν ἵππῳ ἀχαλίνῳ ἢ λόγῳ ἀσυντάκτῳ. [40] πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ σιωπῶντα τὸ ὅλον ἔφη, "εἰ μὲν ἀμαθὴς εἶ, φρονίμως ποιεῖς, εἰ δὲ πεπαίδευσαι, ἀφρόνως." συνεχές τε ἔλεγε πολυτελὲς ἀνάλωμα εἶναι τὸν χρόνον.	It is also said that after Aristotle's death he acquired a garden of his own, with the help of Demetrius of Phalerum, who was also a pupil of his. The following useful sayings of his are reported. He said one should sooner trust an unbridled horse than an ill-ordered speech. [40] To a man who stayed completely silent at a symposium he said, "If you're uneducated, you're acting wisely; but if you've been educated, foolishly." He used to say constantly that time is a costly expense.
5.40	Ἐτελεύτα δὴ γηραιός, βιοὺς ἔτη πέντε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα, ἐπειδήπερ ὀλίγον ἀνῆκε τῶν πόνων. καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτόν· οὐκ ἄρα τοῦτο μάταιον ἔπος μερόπων τινὶ λέχθη, ῥήγνυσθαι σοφίης τόξον ἀνιέμενον· δὴ γὰρ καὶ Θεόφραστος ἕως ἐπόνει μὲν ἄπηρος ἦν δέμας, εἶτ' ἀνεθεὶς κάτθανε πηρομελής.	He died an old man, having lived eighty-five years, just after he had eased off a little from his labors. And here is my own epigram on him: It was no idle word, then, that some mortal spoke, that the bow of wisdom breaks when it is slackened. For Theophrastus too, so long as he labored, was sound in body; then he slackened, and died with his limbs crippled.[27]
	Φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν ἐρωτηθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν μαθητῶν εἴ τι ἐπισκήπτει, εἰπεῖν, "ἐπισκήπτειν μὲν ἔχειν οὐδέν, πλὴν ὅτι πολλὰ τῶν ἡδέων ὁ βίος διὰ τὴν δόξαν καταλαζονεύεται. [41] ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὁπότ' ἀρχόμεθα ζῆν, τότ' ἀποθνήσκομεν. οὐδὲν οὖν ἀλυσιτελέστερόν ἐστι	They say that when his pupils asked him whether he had any last instructions, he said: "I have no instructions, except that life cheats us of many pleasures with its empty boast of glory. [41] For just when we begin to live, we die. So nothing is more

25 The prosecution for an illegal proposal allowed any citizen to challenge a law or decree and its proposer.
26 *Theophrastos* suggests "divine speaker," from *theos*, "god," and *phrasis*, "speech."
27 The epigram turns around the familiar saying that a bow kept always strung will break.

GREEK

ENGLISH

φιλοδοξίας. ἀλλ᾽ εὐτυχεῖτε καὶ ἤτοι τὸν λόγον ἄφετε—πολὺς γὰρ ὁ πόνος—ἢ καλῶς αὐτοῦ πρόστητε· μεγάλη γὰρ ἡ δόξα. τὸ δὲ κενὸν τοῦ βίου πλέον τοῦ συμφέροντος. ἀλλ᾽ ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκέτ᾽ ἐκποιεῖ βουλεύεσθαι τί πρακτέον, ὑμεῖς δ᾽ ἐπισκέψασθε τί ποιητέον."

unprofitable than the love of glory. Farewell, then; and either give up the study, since the labor is great, or stand by it well, since the glory is great. The emptiness in life outweighs what is useful. But for me there is no longer time to deliberate on what I should do; it's for you to consider what must be done."

5.41 ταῦτα, φασίν, εἰπὼν ἀπέπνευσε· καὶ αὐτόν, ὡς ὁ λόγος, Ἀθηναῖοι πανδημεὶ παρέπεμψαν ποσί, τὸν ἄνδρα τιμήσαντες. Φαβωρῖνος δέ φησι γηράσαντα αὐτὸν ἐν φορείῳ περιφέρεσθαι· καὶ τοῦτο λέγειν Ἕρμιππον, παρατιθέμενον ἱστορεῖν Ἀρκεσίλαον τὸν Πιταναῖον ἐν οἷς ἔφασκε πρὸς Λακύδην τὸν Κυρηναῖον.

With these words, they say, he breathed his last; and, as the story goes, the Athenians escorted him on foot in a body, to honor the man. Favorinus says that in his old age he was carried around in a litter, and that Hermippus says this, citing as his source Arcesilaus of Pitane in what he said to Lacydes of Cyrene.

5.42 Καταλέλοιπε δὲ βιβλία καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτι μάλιστα πάμπλειστα, ἃ καὶ αὐτὰ ἄξιον ἡγησάμην ὑπογράψαι διὰ τὸ πάσης ἀρετῆς πεπληρῶσθαι. ἔστι δὲ τάδε· Ἀναλυτικῶν προτέρων α′ β′ γ′. Ἀναλυτικῶν ὑστέρων α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′ ζ′. Περὶ ἀναλύσεως συλλογισμῶν α′. Ἀναλυτικῶν ἐπιτομὴ α′. Ἀνηγμένων τόπων α′ β′. Ἀγωνιστικὸν τῆς περὶ τοὺς ἐρωτικοὺς λόγους θεωρίας Περὶ αἰσθήσεων α′. Πρὸς Ἀναξαγόραν α′. Περὶ τῶν Ἀναξαγόρου α′. Περὶ τῶν Ἀναξιμένους α′. Περὶ τῶν Ἀρχελάου α′. Περὶ ἁλῶν, νίτρου, στυπτηρίας α′. Περὶ τῶν λιθουμένων α′ β′. Περὶ τῶν ἀτόμων γραμμῶν α′. Ἀκροάσεως α′ β′. Περὶ ἀνέμων α′. Ἀρετῶν διαφοραὶ α′. Περὶ βασιλείας α′.

He too left a great many books, which I have thought it worth listing as well, because they are full of excellence of every kind. They are these: *Prior Analytics*, 3 books. *Posterior Analytics*, 7 books. *On the Analysis of Syllogisms*, 1 book. *Epitome of the Analytics*, 1 book. *Topics Reduced to Principles*, 2 books. *Polemical Treatise on the Theory of Arguments about Love*. *On the Senses*, 1 book. *Reply to Anaxagoras*, 1 book. *On the Views of Anaxagoras*, 1 book. *On the Views of Anaximenes*, 1 book. *On the Views of Archelaus*, 1 book. *On Salt, Soda and Alum*, 1 book. *On Petrifactions*, 2 books. *On Indivisible Lines*, 1 book. *Lectures*, 2 books. *On Winds*, 1 book. *Differences between the Excellences*, 1 book. *On Kingship*, 1 book.

Περὶ παιδείας βασιλέως α′. Περὶ βίων α′ β′ γ′. [43] Περὶ γήρως α′. Περὶ τῆς Δημοκρίτου ἀστρολογίας α′. Τῆς μεταρσιολεσχίας α′. Περὶ τῶν εἰδώλων α′. Περὶ χυμῶν, χροῶν, σαρκῶν α′. Περὶ τοῦ διακόσμου α′. Περὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων α′. Τῶν Διογένους συναγωγὴ α′. Διορισμῶν α′ β′ γ′. Ἐρωτικὸς α′. Ἄλλο περὶ ἔρωτος α′. Περὶ εὐδαιμονίας α′. Περὶ εἰδῶν α′ β′. Περὶ ἐπιλήψεως α′. Περὶ ἐνθουσιασμοῦ α′. Περὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέους α′. Ἐπιχειρημάτων α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′ ζ′ η′ θ′ ι′ ια′ ιβ′ ιγ′ ιδ′ ιε′ ις′ ιζ′ ιη′. Ἐνστάσεων α′ β′ γ′. Περὶ ἑκουσίου α′. Ἐπιτομὴ τῆς Πλάτωνος Πολιτείας α′ β′. Περὶ ἑτεροφωνίας ζῴων τῶν ὁμογενῶν α′.

On the Education of a King, 1 book. *On Lives*, 3 books. [43] *On Old Age*, 1 book. *On the Astronomy of Democritus*, 1 book. *On Talk about Things Aloft*, 1 book. *On Images*, 1 book. *On Flavors, Colors and Flesh*, 1 book. *On the Ordering of the World*, 1 book. *On Human Beings*, 1 book. *Collection of the Sayings of Diogenes*, 1 book. *Distinctions*, 3 books. *Discourse on Love*, 1 book. *Another Work on Love*, 1 book. *On Happiness*, 1 book. *On Forms*, 2 books. *On Epilepsy*, 1 book. *On Divine Possession*, 1 book. *On Empedocles*, 1 book. *Arguments*, 18 books. *Objections*, 3 books. *On the Voluntary*, 1 book. *Epitome of Plato's Republic*, 2 books. *On Differences of Voice among Animals of the Same Kind*, 1 book.

5.43 Περὶ τῶν ἀθρόων φαινομένων α′. Περὶ δακέτων καὶ βλητικῶν α′. Περὶ τῶν ζῴων ὅσα λέγεται φθονεῖν α′. Περὶ τῶν ἐν ξηρῷ διαμενόντων α′. [44] Περὶ τῶν τὰς χρόας μεταβαλλόντων α′. Περὶ τῶν φωλευόντων α′. Περὶ ζῴων α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′ ζ′. Περὶ ἡδονῆς ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης α′. Περὶ

On Creatures That Appear in Swarms, 1 book. *On Animals That Bite and Sting*, 1 book. *On Animals Said to Be Jealous*, 1 book. *On Creatures That Survive on Dry Land*, 1 book. [44] *On Animals That Change Color*, 1 book. *On Animals That Hibernate in Dens*, 1 book. *On*

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἡδονῆς ἄλλο α′. Θέσεις κδ′. Περὶ θερμοῦ καὶ ψυχροῦ α′. Περὶ ἰλίγγων καὶ σκοτωσεων α′. Περὶ ἱδρώτων α′. Περὶ καταφάσεως καὶ ἀποφάσεως α′. Καλλισθένης ἢ περὶ πένθους α′. Περὶ κόπων α. Περὶ κινήσεως α′ β′ γ′. Περὶ λίθων α′. Περὶ λοιμῶν α′. Περὶ λιποψυχίας α′. Μεγαρικὸς α′. Περὶ μελαγχολίας α′. Περὶ μετάλλων α′ β′. Περὶ μέλιτος α′.	*Animals*, 7 books. *On Pleasure according to Aristotle*, 1 book. *Another Work on Pleasure*, 1 book. *Theses*, 24 books. *On Hot and Cold*, 1 book. *On Dizziness and Vertigo*, 1 book. *On Sweat*, 1 book. *On Affirmation and Denial*, 1 book. *Callisthenes, or On Grief*, 1 book. *On Fatigue*, 1 book. *On Motion*, 3 books. *On Stones*, 1 book. *On Plagues*, 1 book. *On Fainting*, 1 book. *The Megarian*, 1 book. *On Melancholy*, 1 book. *On Mines*, 2 books. *On Honey*, 1 book.
5.44	Περὶ τῶν Μητροδώρου συναγωγῆς α′. Μεταρσιολογικῶν α′ β′. Περὶ μέθης α′. Νόμων κατὰ στοιχεῖον κδ′. Νόμων ἐπιτομῆς α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′ ζ′ η′ θ′ ι′. [45] Πρὸς τοὺς ὁρισμοὺς α′. Περὶ ὁδμῶν α′. Περὶ οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου. Πρώτων προτάσεων α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′ ζ′ η′ θ′ ι′ ια′ ιβ′ ιγ′ ιδ′ ιε′ ις′ ιζ′ ιη′. Νομοθετῶν α′ β′ γ′. Πολιτικῶν α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′. Πολιτικὸν πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς α′ β′ γ′ δ′. Πολιτικῶν ἐθῶν α′ β′ γ′ δ′. Περὶ τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας α′. Προβλημάτων συναγωγῆς α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′. Περὶ παροιμιῶν α′. Περὶ πήξεων καὶ τήξεων α′.	*Collection of the Views of Metrodorus*, 1 book. *Meteorology*, 2 books. *On Drunkenness*, 1 book. *Laws, in Alphabetical Order*, 24 books. *Epitome of the Laws*, 10 books. [45] *Reply to the Definitions*, 1 book. *On Smells*, 1 book. *On Wine and Olive Oil*. *Primary Propositions*, 18 books. *Lawgivers*, 3 books. *Politics*, 6 books. *Political Treatise with Regard to Circumstances*, 4 books. *Political Customs*, 4 books. *On the Best Constitution*, 1 book. *Collection of Problems*, 5 books. *On Proverbs*, 1 book. *On Solidification and Melting*, 1 book.
5.45	Περὶ πυρὸς α′ β′. Περὶ πνευμάτων α′. Περὶ παραλύσεως α′. Περὶ πνιγμοῦ α′ Περὶ παραφροσυνης α′. Περὶ παθῶν α′. Περὶ σημείων α′. Σοφισμάτων α′ β′. Περὶ συλλογισμῶν λύσεως α′. Τοπικῶν α′ β′. Περὶ τιμωρίας α′ β′. Περὶ τριχῶν α′. Περὶ τυραννίδος α′. Περὶ ὕδατος α′ β′ γ′. Περὶ ὕπνου καὶ ἐνυπνίων α′. Περὶ φιλίας α′ β′ γ′. Περὶ φιλοτιμίας α′ β′. [46] Περὶ φύσεως α′ β′ γ′. Περὶ φυσικῶν α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′ ζ′ η′ θ′ ι′ ια′ ιβ′ ιγ′ ιδ′ ιε′ ις′ ιζ′ ιη′. Περὶ φυσικῶν ἐπιτομῆς α′ β′. Φυσικῶν α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′ ζ′ η′. Πρὸς τοὺς φυσικοὺς α′.	*On Fire*, 2 books. *On Breaths*, 1 book. *On Paralysis*, 1 book. *On Suffocation*, 1 book. *On Derangement*, 1 book. *On the Passions*, 1 book. *On Signs*, 1 book. *Sophisms*, 2 books. *On the Solution of Syllogisms*, 1 book. *Topics*, 2 books. *On Punishment*, 2 books. *On Hair*, 1 book. *On Tyranny*, 1 book. *On Water*, 3 books. *On Sleep and Dreams*, 1 book. *On Friendship*, 3 books. *On Ambition*, 2 books. [46] *On Nature*, 3 books. *On Natural Philosophy*, 18 books. *Epitome of Natural Philosophy*, 2 books. *Physics*, 8 books. *Reply to the Natural Philosophers*, 1 book.
5.46	Περὶ φυτικῶν ἱστοριῶν α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′ ζ′ η′ θ′ ι′. Φυτικῶν αἰτιῶν α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′ ζ′ η′ Περὶ χυλῶν α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′. Περὶ ψεύδους ἡδονῆς α′. Περὶ ψυχῆς θέσις μία. Περὶ τῶν ἀτέχνων πίστεων α′. Περὶ τῶν ἁπλῶν διαπορημάτων α′. Ἁρμονικῶν α′. Περὶ ἀρετῆς α′. Ἀφορμαὶ ἢ ἐναντιώσεις α′. Περὶ ἀποφάσεως α′. Περι γνώμης α′. Περὶ γελοίου α′. Δειλινῶν α′ β′. Διαιρέσεις α′ β′. Περὶ τῶν διαφορῶν α′. Περὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων α′. Περὶ διαβολῆς α′. Περὶ ἐπαίνου α′. Περὶ ἐμπειρίας α′. Ἐπιστολῶν α′ β′ γ′. Περὶ τῶν αὐτομάτων ζῴων α′. Περὶ ἐκκρίσεως α′.	*History of Plants*, 10 books. *Causes of Plants*, 8 books. *On Juices*, 5 books. *On False Pleasure*, 1 book. *On the Soul*, one thesis. *On Proofs outside the Art*, 1 book. *On Simple Difficulties*, 1 book. *Harmonics*, 1 book. *On Excellence*, 1 book. *Starting Points, or Contrarieties*, 1 book. *On Negation*, 1 book. *On Maxims*, 1 book. *On the Laughable*, 1 book. *Afternoon Discourses*, 2 books. *Divisions*, 2 books. *On Differences*, 1 book. *On Wrongs*, 1 book. *On Slander*, 1 book. *On Praise*, 1 book. *On Experience*, 1 book. *Letters*, 3 books. *On Spontaneously Generated Animals*, 1 book. *On Excretion*, 1 book.
5.47	Ἐγκώμια θεῶν α′. Περὶ ἑορτῶν α′. Περὶ εὐτυχίας α′. Περὶ ἐνθυμημάτων α′. Περὶ εὑρημάτων α′ β′. Ἠθικῶν σχολῶν α′. Ἠθικοὶ χαρακτῆρες α′. Περὶ θορύβου α′. Περὶ ἱστορίας α′. Περὶ κρίσεως συλλογισμῶν α′. Περὶ κολακείας α′. Περὶ θαλάττης α′. Πρὸς Κάσανδρον περὶ βασιλείας α′. Περὶ κωμῳδίας α′. [Περὶ μέτρων α′]. Περὶ λέξεως α′. Λόγων συναγωγὴ α′. Λύσεις α′. Περὶ μουσικῆς α′ β′ γ′. Περὶ	*Encomia of the Gods*, 1 book. *On Festivals*, 1 book. *On Good Fortune*, 1 book. *On Enthymemes*, 1 book. *On Discoveries*, 2 books. *Ethical Lectures*, 1 book. *Ethical Characters*, 1 book. *On Uproar*, 1 book. *On History*, 1 book. *On the Judging of Syllogisms*, 1 book. *On Flattery*, 1 book. *On the Sea*, 1 book. *To Cassander, on Kingship*, 1 book. *On Comedy*, 1 book. [*On Meters*, 1

GREEK	ENGLISH
μέτρων α′. Μεγακλῆς α′. Περὶ νόμων α′. Περὶ παρανόμων α′. Τῶν Ξενοκράτους συναγωγῆς α′. Ὁμιλητικὸς α′. Περὶ ὅρκου α′. Παραγγέλματα ῥητορικῆς α′. Περὶ πλούτου α′. Περὶ ποιητικῆς α′. Προβλήματα πολιτικά, ἠθικά, φυσικά, ἐρωτικὰ α′.	book.] *On Style*, 1 book. *Collection of Arguments*, 1 book. *Solutions*, 1 book. *On Music*, 3 books. *On Meters*, 1 book. *Megacles*, 1 book. *On Laws*, 1 book. *On Illegalities*, 1 book. *Collection of the Views of Xenocrates*, 1 book. *The Art of Conversation*, 1 book. *On the Oath*, 1 book. *Rhetorical Precepts*, 1 book. *On Wealth*, 1 book. *On Poetics*, 1 book. *Problems: Political, Ethical, Natural, Erotic*, 1 book.
5.48 Προοιμίων α′. Προβλημάτων συναγωγῆς α′. Περὶ τῶν προβλημάτων φυσικῶν α′. Περὶ παραδείγματος α′. Περὶ προθέσεως καὶ διηγήματος α′. Περὶ ποιητικῆς ἄλλο α′. Περὶ τῶν σοφῶν α′. Περὶ συμβουλῆς α′. Περὶ σολοικισμῶν α′. Περὶ τέχνης ῥητορικῆς α′. Περὶ τεχνῶν ῥητορικῶν εἴδη ιζ′. Περὶ ὑποκρίσεως α′. Ὑπομνημάτων Ἀριστοτελικῶν ἢ Θεοφραστείων α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′. Φυσικῶν δοξῶν α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′ ζ′ η′ θ′ ι′ ια′ ιβ′ ιγ′ ιδ′ ιε′ ις′. Φυσικῶν [δοξῶν] ἐπιτομῆς α′. Περὶ χάριτος α′. [Χαρακτῆρες ἠθικοί.] Περὶ ψεύδους καὶ ἀληθοῦς α′. Τῶν περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἱστορίας α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′. Περὶ θεῶν α′ β′ γ′.	*Preambles*, 1 book. *Collection of Problems*, 1 book. *On Natural Problems*, 1 book. *On Example*, 1 book. *On the Statement of the Case and the Narrative*, 1 book. *Another Work on Poetics*, 1 book. *On the Sages*, 1 book. *On Counsel*, 1 book. *On Solecisms*, 1 book. *On the Art of Rhetoric*, 1 book. *On Rhetorical Arts*, 17 kinds. *On Delivery*, 1 book. *Aristotelian or Theophrastean Notes*, 6 books. *Opinions of the Natural Philosophers*, 16 books. *Epitome of the Natural [Opinions]*, 1 book. *On Gratitude*, 1 book. [*Ethical Characters*.] *On Falsehood and Truth*, 1 book. *History of Inquiries concerning the Divine*, 6 books. *On the Gods*, 3 books.
Ἱστορικῶν γεωμετρικῶν α′ β′ γ′ δ′. [49] Ἐπιτομῶν Ἀριστοτέλους περὶ ζῴων α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′. Ἐπιχειρημάτων α′ β′. Θέσεις γ′. Περὶ βασιλείας α′ β′. Περὶ αἰτιῶν α′. Περὶ Δημοκρίτου α′. [Περὶ διαβολῆς α′.] Περὶ γενέσεως α′. Περὶ ζῴων φρονήσεως καὶ ἤθους α′. Περὶ κινήσεως α′ β′. Περὶ ὄψεως α′ β′ γ′ δ′. Πρὸς ὅρους α′ β′. Περὶ τοῦ δεδόσθαι α′. Περὶ μείζονος καὶ ἐλάττονος α′. Περὶ τῶν μουσικῶν α′. Περὶ τῆς θείας εὐδαιμονίας α′. Πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ Ἀκαδημείας α′. Προτρεπτικὸς α′. Πῶς ἂν ἄριστα πόλεις οἰκοῖντο α′. Τὰ ὑπομνήματα α′. Περὶ ῥύακος τοῦ ἐν Σικελίᾳ α′. Περὶ τῶν ὁμολογουμένων α′.	*Geometrical Inquiries*, 4 books. [49] *Epitomes of Aristotle's On Animals*, 6 books. *Arguments*, 2 books. *Theses*, 3 books. *On Kingship*, 2 books. *On Causes*, 1 book. *On Democritus*, 1 book. [*On Slander*, 1 book.] *On Generation*, 1 book. *On the Intelligence and Character of Animals*, 1 book. *On Motion*, 2 books. *On Vision*, 4 books. *Reply to Definitions*, 2 books. *On What Is Given*, 1 book. *On Greater and Less*, 1 book. *On the Musicians*, 1 book. *On Divine Happiness*, 1 book. *Reply to Those from the Academy*, 1 book. *Exhortation*, 1 book. *How Cities Might Best Be Governed*, 1 book. *The Notes*, 1 book. *On the Lava Flow in Sicily*, 1 book. *On Things Agreed Upon*, 1 book.
5.49 [Περὶ τῶν προβλημάτων φυσικῶν α′.] Τίνες οἱ τρόποι τοῦ ἐπίστασθαι α′. Περὶ τοῦ ψευδομένου α′ β′ γ′. [50] Τὰ πρὸ τῶν τόπων α′. Πρὸς Αἰσχύλον α′. Ἀστρολογικῆς ἱστορίας α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′. Ἀριθμητικῶν ἱστοριῶν περὶ αὐξήσεως α′. Ἀκίχαρος α′. Περὶ δικανικῶν λόγων α′. [Περὶ διαβολῆς α′.] Ἐπιστολαὶ αἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀστυκρέοντι, Φανίᾳ, Νικάνορι. Περὶ εὐσεβείας α′. Εὐϊάδος α′. Περὶ καιρῶν α′ β′. Περὶ οἰκείων λόγων α′. Περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς α′. Ἄλλο διάφορον α′. Περὶ παιδείας ἢ περὶ ἀρετῶν ἢ περὶ σωφροσύνης α′. [Προτρεπτικὸς α′.] Περὶ ἀριθμῶν α′. Ὁριστικὰ περὶ λέξεως συλλογισμῶν α′. Περὶ οὐρανοῦ α′. Πολιτικοῦ α′ β′. Περὶ φύσεως. Περὶ καρπῶν. Περὶ ζῴων.	[*On Natural Problems*, 1 book.] *What Are the Ways of Knowing*, 1 book. *On the Liar*, 3 books. [50] *Preliminaries to the Topics*, 1 book. *Reply to Aeschylus*, 1 book. *History of Astronomy*, 6 books. *Arithmetical Inquiries on Increase*, 1 book. *Acicharus*, 1 book. *On Forensic Speeches*, 1 book. [*On Slander*, 1 book.] *Letters to Astycreon, Phanias and Nicanor*. *On Piety*, 1 book. *Euias*, 1 book. *On Opportune Moments*, 2 books. *On Fitting Speech*, 1 book. *On the Upbringing of Children*, 1 book. *Another, Different Work*, 1 book. *On Education, or On the Excellences, or On Moderation*, 1 book. [*Exhortation*, 1 book.] *On Numbers*, 1 book. *Definitions concerning the Language of Syllogisms*, 1 book. *On the Heavens*, 1 book. *Political Treatise*, 2 books. *On Nature*. *On Fruits*. *On Animals*.[28]

THEOPHRASTUS' WILL

Theophrastus leaves the garden and the walk to his friends to share as a school.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
5.50	Ἃ γίνονται στίχων Μ′ κ′ γ′ Β ω′ η′· τοσαῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ τῷδε τὰ βιβλία.	These amount to 232,808 lines. So many, then, are his books too.
	[51] Εὗρον δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ διαθήκας τοῦτον ἐχούσας τὸν τρόπον·	[51] I have also come across his will, which runs as follows:
5.51	"Ἔσται μὲν εὖ· ἐὰν δέ τι συμβῇ, τάδε διατίθεμαι· τὰ μὲν οἴκοι ὑπάρχοντα πάντα δίδωμι Μελάντῃ καὶ Παγκρέοντι τοῖς υἱοῖς Λέοντος. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν παρ' Ἱππάρχου συμβεβλημένων τάδε μοι βούλομαι γενέσθαι· πρῶτον μὲν τὰ περὶ τὸ μουσεῖον καὶ τὰς θεὰς συντελεσθῆναι κἄν τι ἄλλο ἰσχύῃ περὶ αὐτὰς ἐπικοσμηθῆναι πρὸς τὸ κάλλιον· ἔπειτα τὴν Ἀριστοτέλους εἰκόνα τεθῆναι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀναθήματα ὅσα πρότερον ὑπῆρχεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ· εἶτα τὸ στωίδιον οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὸ πρὸς τῷ μουσείῳ μὴ χεῖρον ἢ πρότερον· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς πίνακας, ἐν οἷς αἱ τῆς γῆς περίοδοί εἰσιν, εἰς τὴν κάτω στοάν·	"All will be well; but in case anything should happen, I make these dispositions. All my property at home I give to Melantes and Pancreon, the sons of Leon. From the funds I have placed with Hipparchus, I wish the following to be done. First, the work on the Museum and the statues of the goddesses is to be completed, and any further improvement that can be made to them is to be added to make them more beautiful. Next, the statue of Aristotle is to be placed in the shrine, together with the other dedications that were in the shrine before. Then the little colonnade next to the Museum is to be rebuilt no worse than it was. The tablets showing the maps of the earth are also to be set up in the lower colonnade.[29]
5.52	ἐπισκευασθῆναι δὲ καὶ τὸν βωμόν, ὅπως ἔχῃ τὸ τέλειον καὶ τὸ εὔσχημον. βούλομαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Νικομάχου εἰκόνα συντελεσθῆναι ἴσην. τὸ μὲν τῆς πλάσεως ἔχει Πραξιτέλης, τὸ δ' ἄλλο ἀνάλωμα ἀπὸ τούτου γενέσθω. σταθῆναι δὲ ὅπου ἂν δοκῇ τοῖς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμελουμένοις τῶν ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ γεγραμμένων. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα τοῦτον ἐχέτω τὸν τρόπον. τὸ δὲ χωρίον τὸ ἐν Σταγείροις ἡμῖν ὑπάρχον δίδωμι Καλλίνῳ· τὰ δὲ βιβλία πάντα Νηλεῖ.	The altar too is to be repaired, so that it is complete and seemly. I also wish the statue of Nicomachus to be completed, life-size. Praxiteles has the fee for the modeling; the rest of the expense is to come from this fund. It is to be set up wherever seems best to those who are also seeing to the other provisions written in this will. Let that be the arrangement for the shrine and the dedications. The estate I own at Stagira I give to Callinus, and all the books to Neleus.
	τὸν δὲ κῆπον καὶ τὸν περίπατον καὶ τὰς οἰκίας τὰς πρὸς τῷ κήπῳ πάσας δίδωμι τῶν γεγραμμένων φίλων ἀεὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις συσχολάζειν καὶ συμφιλοσοφεῖν ἐν αὐταῖς, [53] ἐπειδήπερ οὐ δυνατὸν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀεὶ ἐπιδημεῖν, μήτ' ἐξαλλοτριοῦσι μήτ' ἐξιδιαζομένου μηδενός, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν ἱερὸν κοινῇ κεκτημένοις, καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἰκείως καὶ φιλικῶς χρωμένοις, ὥσπερ προσῆκον καὶ δίκαιον. ἔστωσαν δὲ οἱ κοινωνοῦντες Ἵππαρχος, Νηλεύς, Στράτων, Καλλῖνος, Δημότιμος, Δημάρατος, Καλλισθένης, Μελάντης, Παγκρέων, Νίκιππος.	The garden, the walk and all the houses next to the garden I give to those of the friends named below who wish, at any time, to study and pursue philosophy together in them, [53] since it is not possible for everyone to be in residence all the time. They are not to alienate the property, and no one is to appropriate it for himself. They are to hold it in common, as if it were a shrine, and to treat one another in a familiar and friendly way, as is fitting and just. The joint holders shall be Hipparchus, Neleus, Strato, Callinus, Demotimus, Demaratus, Callisthenes, Melantes, Pancreon and Nicippus.

28 Acicharus is Ahiqar, the wise royal counselor of a widely told Near Eastern tale.
29 The Museum here is the school's shrine of the Muses (the "goddesses"), not the later Museum of Alexandria.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
5.53	ἐξεῖναι δὲ βουλομένῳ φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλει τῷ Μητροδώρου καὶ Πυθιάδος υἱῷ καὶ μετέχειν τούτων· καὶ αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους, ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα προαχθῇ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν. θάψαι δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς ὅπου ἂν δοκῇ μάλιστα ἁρμόττον εἶναι τοῦ κήπου, μηδὲν περίεργον μήτε περὶ τὴν ταφὴν μήτε περὶ τὸ μνημεῖον ποιοῦντας.	Aristotle, the son of Metrodorus and Pythias, shall also be allowed to share in these things if he wishes to study philosophy; and the eldest are to take every care of him, so that he may make as much progress in philosophy as possible. Bury me wherever in the garden seems most fitting, without doing anything excessive either about the funeral or about the monument.
5.54	ὅπως δὲ συνείρηται, μετὰ τὰ περὶ ἡμᾶς συμβάντα, τὰ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ μνημεῖον καὶ τὸν κῆπον καὶ τὸν περίπατον θεραπευόμενα συνεπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ Πομπύλον τούτων ἐποικοῦντα αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμέλειαν ποιούμενον ἣν καὶ πρότερον· τῆς δὲ λυσιτελείας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἔχοντας ταῦτα.	So that, after what happens to me, the care of the shrine, the monument, the garden and the walk may continue without a break, Pompylus too is to help look after them, living there himself and taking care of the other things as he did before. The holders of the property are themselves to see to its finances.[30]
5.54	Πομπύλῳ δὲ καὶ Θρέπτῃ πάλαι ἐλευθέροις οὖσι καὶ ἡμῖν πολλὴν χρείαν παρεσχημένοις, εἴ τι πρότερον ἔχουσι παρ’ ἡμῶν καὶ εἴ τι αὐτοὶ ἐκτήσαντο καὶ ἃ νῦν παρ’ Ἱππάρχου αὐτοῖς συντέταχα, δισχιλίας δραχμάς, ἀσφαλῶς οἶμαι δεῖν αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν ταῦτα, καθάπερ καὶ αὐτὸς διελέχθην Μελάντῃ καὶ Παγκρέοντι πλεονάκις καὶ πάντα μοι συγκατετίθεντο. δίδωμι δ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ Σωματάλην τὴν παιδίσκην.	As for Pompylus and Threpta, who have long been free and have rendered me much service: whatever they had from me before, whatever they have acquired themselves, and what I have now assigned them from Hipparchus, 2,000 drachmas, I think should be securely theirs. I have discussed this myself with Melantes and Pancreon several times, and they agreed with me on every point. I also give them the slave girl Somatale.
5.55	δίδωμι δὲ καὶ Καρίωνα Δημοτίμῳ, Δόνακα δὲ Νηλεῖ· Εὔβοιον δ’ ἀποδόσθαι. δότω δ’ Ἵππαρχος Καλλίνῳ τρισχιλίας δραχμάς· Μελάντῃ δὲ καὶ Παγκρέοντι εἰ μὲν μὴ ἑωρῶμεν Ἵππαρχον καὶ ἡμῖν πρότερον χρείαν παρεσχημένον καὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις μάλα νεναυαγηκότα, προσετάξαμεν ἂν μετὰ Μελάντου καὶ Παγκρέοντος ἐξάγειν αὐτά. ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὔτ’ ἐκείνοις ἑώρων ῥᾴδιον ὄντα συνοικονομεῖν λυσιτελέστερόν τ’ αὐτοῖς ὑπελάμβανον εἶναι τεταγμένον τι λαβεῖν παρὰ Ἱππάρχου, δότω Ἵππαρχος Μελάντῃ καὶ Παγκρέοντι, ἑκατέρῳ τάλαντον· διδόναι δ’ Ἵππαρχον καὶ τοῖς ἐπιμεληταῖς εἰς τὰ ἀναλώματα τὰ ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ γεγραμμένα κατὰ τοὺς ἑκάστου καιροὺς τῶν δαπανημάτων.	[55] Of my slaves, I set Molon, Timon and Parmeno free at once; Manes and Callias I set free once they have stayed four years in the garden, worked along with the others, and given no cause for complaint. Of the household furniture, after giving Pompylus as much as the executors think right, the rest is to be sold. I also give Carion to Demotimus and Donax to Neleus; Euboeus is to be sold. Hipparchus shall give Callinus 3,000 drachmas. As for Melantes and Pancreon: if I did not see that Hipparchus had both rendered me service in the past and has now been badly shipwrecked in his private affairs, I would have directed him to carry these things out together with Melantes and Pancreon. [56] But since I saw that it would not be easy for him to manage things jointly with them, and I supposed it more advantageous for them to receive a fixed sum from Hipparchus, let Hipparchus give Melantes and Pancreon a talent each. Hipparchus is also to give the executors the money for the expenses set down in the will, as each expense falls due.
5.56	οἰκονομήσαντα δὲ ταῦτα Ἵππαρχον ἀπηλλάχθαι τῶν συμβολαίων τῶν πρὸς ἐμὲ πάντων· καὶ εἴ τι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ	Once Hipparchus has arranged these things, he is to be released from all his contracts with me; and

30 Pythias was Aristotle’s daughter; this Aristotle is his grandson.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ὀνόματος συμβέβληκεν Ἵππαρχος ἐν Χαλκίδι, Ἱππάρχου τοῦτό ἐστιν. ἐπιμεληταὶ δὲ ἔστωσαν τῶν ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ γεγραμμένων Ἵππαρχος, Νηλεύς, Στράτων, Καλλῖνος, Δημότιμος, Καλλισθένης, Κτήσαρχος. [57] αἱ διαθῆκαι κεῖνται ἀντίγραφα τῷ Θεοφράστου δακτυλίῳ σεσημασμέναι, μία μὲν παρὰ Ἡγησίᾳ Ἱππάρχου· μάρτυρες Κάλλιππος Παλληνεύς, Φιλόμηλος Εὐωνυμεύς, Λύσανδρος Ὑβάδης, Φίλων Ἀλωπεκῆθεν. τὴν δ' ἑτέραν ἔχει Ὀλυμπιόδωρος· μάρτυρες δ' οἱ αὐτοί. τὴν δ' ἑτέραν ἔλαβεν Ἀδείμαντος, ἀπήνεγκε δὲ Ἀνδροσθένης ὁ υἱός· μάρτυρες Ἀρίμνηστος Κλεοβούλου, Λυσίστρατος Φείδωνος Θάσιος, Στράτων Ἀρκεσιλάου Λαμψακηνός, Θήσιππος Θησίππου ἐκ Κεραμέων, Διοσκουρίδης Διονυσίου Ἐπικηφίσιος."	if Hipparchus has made any contract in my name at Chalcis, it is Hipparchus' own. The executors of the provisions written in this will shall be Hipparchus, Neleus, Strato, Callinus, Demotimus, Callisthenes and Ctesarchus. [57] Copies of the will, sealed with Theophrastus' ring, are deposited as follows. One is with Hegesias son of Hipparchus; witnesses: Callippus of Pallene, Philomelus of Euonymon, Lysander of Hybadae, Philo of Alopece. Olympiodorus has another; the witnesses are the same. Adeimantus received the third, and his son Androsthenes delivered it; witnesses: Arimnestus son of Cleobulus, Lysistratus son of Pheidon of Thasos, Strato son of Arcesilaus of Lampsacus, Thesippus son of Thesippus of Cerameis, Dioscurides son of Dionysius of Epicephisia."[31]
5.57	Ὧδ' ἔχουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ αἱ διαθῆκαι. Ἀκοῦσαι δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἐρασίστρατον τὸν ἰατρόν εἰσιν οἳ λέγουσι· καὶ εἰκός.	Such, then, is his will. Some say that Erasistratus the physician also studied under him; and it is likely.

STRATO

Strato the Physicist, tutor to Ptolemy, his books, his death from thinness and his will.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
5.58	Διεδέξατο δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν σχολὴν Στράτων Ἀρκεσιλάου Λαμψακηνός, οὗ καὶ ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις ἐμνημόνευσεν· ἀνὴρ ἐλλογιμώτατος καὶ φυσικὸς ἐπικληθεὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ τὴν θεωρίαν ταύτην παρ' ὀντινοῦν ἐπιμελέστατα διατετριφέναι. ἀλλὰ καὶ καθηγήσατο Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου καὶ ἔλαβε, φασί, παρ' αὐτοῦ τάλαντα ὀγδοήκοντα· σχολαρχεῖν δέ, καθά φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς, ἤρξατο τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ καὶ ἑκατοστῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι, τῆς σχολῆς ἀφηγησάμενος ἔτη ὀκτωκαίδεκα.	His school was taken over by Strato son of Arcesilaus, of Lampsacus, whom he also mentioned in his will. Strato was a most distinguished man, nicknamed "the Physicist" because he devoted himself to the study of nature more diligently than anyone else. He was also the tutor of Ptolemy Philadelphus and received from him, they say, eighty talents. As Apollodorus says in his *Chronicles*, he became head of the school in the 123rd Olympiad, and he led the school for eighteen years.[32]
5.59	Φέρεται δ' αὐτοῦ βιβλία Περὶ βασιλείας τρία. Περὶ δικαιοσύνης τρία. Περὶ τἀγαθοῦ γ'. Περὶ θεῶν γ'. Περὶ ἀρχῶν γ'. Περὶ βίων. Περὶ εὐδαιμονίας. Περὶ βασιλέως φιλοσόφου. Περὶ ἀνδρείας. Περὶ τοῦ κενοῦ. Περὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος. Περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρωπίνης. Περὶ ζωογονίας. Περὶ μίξεως. Περὶ ὕπνου. Περὶ ἐνυπνίων. Περὶ ὄψεως. Περὶ αἰσθήσεως. Περὶ ἡδονῆς. Περὶ χρωμάτων. Περὶ νόσων. Περὶ κρίσεων. Περὶ δυνάμεων. Περὶ τῶν μεταλλικῶν μηχανημάτων. Περὶ λιμοῦ καὶ	The books ascribed to him are: *On Kingship*, 3 books. *On Justice*, 3 books. *On the Good*, 3 books. *On Gods*, 3 books. *On First Principles*, 3 books. *On Ways of Life*. *On Happiness*. *On the Philosopher-King*. *On Courage*. *On the Void*. *On the Heaven*. *On Breath*. *On Human Nature*. *On the Generation of Animals*. *On Mixture*. *On Sleep*. *On Dreams*. *On Sight*. *On Sensation*. *On Pleasure*. *On Colors*. *On Diseases*. *On Crises*. *On Powers*. *On Mining Machines*. *On Hunger and*

31 Pallene, Euonymon, Hybadae, Alopece, Cerameis and Epicephisia are Attic demes, the local districts by which Athenian citizens were identified.
32 The 123rd Olympiad ran from 288 to 285 BC.

GREEK

σκοτώσεων. Περὶ κούφου καὶ βαρέος. Περὶ ἐνθουσιασμοῦ. Περὶ χρόνου. Περὶ τροφῆς καὶ αὐξήσεως. Περὶ τῶν ἀπορουμένων ζῳων. Περὶ τῶν μυθολογουμένων ζῴων. Περὶ αἰτιῶν. Λύσεις ἀπορουμένων. Τόπων προοίμια. Περὶ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος.

5.60 Περὶ τοῦ ὅρου. Περὶ τοῦ μᾶλλον καὶ ἧττον. Περὶ ἀδίκου. Περὶ τοῦ προτέρου καὶ ὑστέρον Περὶ τοῦ προτέρου γένους. Περὶ τοῦ ἰδίου. Περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος. Εὑρημάτων ἔλεγχοι δύο. Ὑπομνήματα, ἃ διστάζεται. Ἐπιστολαὶ ὧν ἡ ἀρχή· "Στράτων Ἀρσινόῃ εὖ πράττειν."

Τοῦτόν φασιν οὕτω γενέσθαι λεπτὸν ὡς ἀναισθήτως τελευτῆσαι. καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχον· λεπτὸς ἀνὴρ δέμας ἦν, εἴ μοι προσέχεις, ἀπὸ χρισμῶν·
Στράτωνα τοῦτόν φημί σοι
Λάμψακος ὅν ποτ' ἔφυσεν· ἀεὶ δὲ νόσοισι παλαίων
θνήσκει λαθών, οὐδ' ᾔσθετο.

5.61 Γεγόνασι δὲ Στράτωνες ὀκτώ· πρῶτος Ἰσοκράτους ἀκροατής· δεύτερος αὐτὸς οὗτος· τρίτος ἰατρός, μαθητὴς Ἐρασιστράτου, ὡς δέ τινες, τρόφιμος· τέταρτος ἱστορικός, Φιλίππου καὶ Περσέως τῶν Ῥωμαίοις πολεμησάντων γεγραφὼς πράξεις· … ἕκτος ποιητὴς ἐπιγραμμάτων· ἕβδομος ἰατρὸς ἀρχαῖος, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησίν· ὄγδοος περιπατητικός, βεβιωκὼς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ.

Τοῦ δ' οὖν φυσικοῦ φέρονται καὶ διαθῆκαι τοῦτον ἔχουσαι τὸν τρόπον·

"Τάδε διατίθεμαι, ἐάν τι πάσχω· τὰ μὲν οἴκοι καταλείπω πάντα Λαμπυρίωνι καὶ Ἀρκεσιλάῳ. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀθήνησιν ὑπάρχοντός μοι ἀργυρίου πρῶτον μὲν οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐκφορὰν ἐπιμεληθήτωσαν καὶ ὅσα νομίζεται μετὰ τὴν ἐκφοράν, μηδὲν μήτε περίεργον ποιοῦντες μήτ' ἀνελεύθερον. [62] ἐπιμεληταὶ δὲ ἔστωσαν τῶν κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην οἵδε· Ὀλύμπιχος, Ἀριστείδης, Μνησιγένης, Ἱπποκράτης, Ἐπικράτης, Γοργύλος, Διοκλῆς, Λύκων, Ἀθάνης. καταλείπω δὲ τὴν μὲν διατριβὴν Λύκωνι, ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ μέν εἰσι πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ δὲ ἄσχολοι. καλῶς δ' ἂν ποιοῖεν καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ συγκατασκευάζοντες τούτῳ.

5.62 καταλείπω δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ βιβλία πάντα, πλὴν ὧν αὐτοὶ γεγράφαμεν, καὶ τὰ σκεύη πάντα κατὰ τὸ συσσίτιον καὶ τὰ στρώματα καὶ τὰ ποτήρια. δότωσαν δὲ οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ Ἐπικράτει πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς καὶ τῶν παίδων ἕνα ὃν ἂν δοκῇ Ἀρκεσιλάῳ. [63] καὶ πρῶτον μὲν Λαμπυρίων καὶ Ἀρκεσίλαος ἀράσθωσαν τὰς συνθήκας ἃς ἔθετο Δάϊππος

ENGLISH

Dizziness. *On the Light and the Heavy*. *On Inspiration*. *On Time*. *On Nutrition and Growth*. *On Doubtful Animals*. *On Legendary Animals*. *On Causes*. *Solutions of Difficulties*. *Introductions to Topics*. *On Accident*.

On Definition. *On More and Less*. *On the Unjust*. *On Prior and Posterior*. *On the Prior Genus*. *On the Property*. *On the Future*. *Refutations of Discoveries*, 2 books. *Notes*, whose authenticity is doubted. *Letters*, beginning: "Strato to Arsinoe: do well."

They say he became so thin that he died without feeling it. And there is an epigram of mine on him, which runs thus: Thin in body was the man, if you will heed me, from his ointments:
this Strato, I tell you,
whom Lampsacus once bore. Forever wrestling with diseases,
he dies unnoticed, and never felt it.

There have been eight men named Strato. The first was a pupil of Isocrates; the second is our man; the third a physician, a pupil of Erasistratus or, as some say, his foster-son; the fourth a historian, who wrote the history of Philip and Perseus, who made war on the Romans; … the sixth a writer of epigrams; the seventh an ancient physician, as Aristotle says; the eighth a Peripatetic who lived in Alexandria.

Of the Physicist, at any rate, a will is also preserved, which runs as follows:

"I make these dispositions, in case anything should happen to me. All my property at home I leave to Lampyrion and Arcesilaus. From the money I have at Athens, the executors are first to see to the funeral and to the customary rites after it, doing nothing either excessive or mean. [62] The executors of the provisions of this will shall be: Olympichus, Aristides, Mnesigenes, Hippocrates, Epicrates, Gorgylus, Diocles, Lyco, Athanes. I leave the school to Lyco, since of the others some are too old and others too busy. And the rest would do well to help him build it up.

I also leave him all my books, except those I have written myself, and all the furnishings for the common meals, the coverlets and the cups. The executors are to give Epicrates 500 drachmas and whichever one of the slaves Arcesilaus thinks fit. [63] And first of all, Lampyrion and Arcesilaus are to

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ὑπὲρ Ἰραίου· καὶ μηδὲν ὀφειλέτω μήτε Λαμπυρίωνι μήτε τοῖς Λαμπυρίωνος κληρονόμοις, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπηλλάχθω παντὸς τοῦ συμβολαίου. δότωσαν δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας καὶ τῶν παίδων ἕνα ὃν ἂν δοκιμάζῃ Ἀρκεσίλαος, ὅπως ἂν πολλὰ συμπεπονηκὼς ἡμῖν καὶ παρεσχημένος χρείας ἔχῃ βίον ἱκανὸν καὶ εὐσχήμονα.	cancel the agreement Daippus made on behalf of Iraeus. Iraeus is to owe nothing either to Lampyrion or to Lampyrion's heirs, but is to be released from the whole contract. The executors are also to give him 500 drachmas in silver and whichever one of the slaves Arcesilaus approves, so that, since he has shared many labors with me and rendered me good service, he may have an adequate and decent livelihood.
5.63	ἀφίημι δὲ καὶ Διόφαντον ἐλεύθερον καὶ Διοκλέα καὶ Ἄβουν· Σιμίαν δὲ ἀποδίδωμι Ἀρκεσιλάῳ. ἀφίημι δὲ καὶ Δρόμωνα ἐλεύθερον. ἐπειδὰν δὲ παραγένηται Ἀρκεσίλαος, λογισάσθω Ἴραιος μετ᾽ Ὀλυμπίχου καὶ Ἐπικράτους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμελητῶν τὸ γεγονὸς ἀνάλωμα εἰς τὴν ἐκφορὰν καὶ τἆλλα τὰ νομιζόμενα. [64] τὸ δὲ περιὸν ἀργύριον κομισάσθω Ἀρκεσίλαος παρ᾽ Ὀλυμπίχου, μηδὲν ἐνοχλῶν αὐτὸν κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τοὺς χρόνους· ἀράσθω δὲ καὶ τὰς συνθήκας Ἀρκεσίλαος ἃς ἔθετο Στράτων πρὸς Ὀλύμπιχον καὶ Ἀμεινίαν, τὰς κειμένας παρὰ Φιλοκράτει Τισαμενοῦ. τὰ δὲ περὶ τὸ μνημεῖον ποιείτωσαν ὡς ἂν δοκῇ Ἀρκεσιλάῳ καὶ Ὀλυμπίχῳ καὶ Λύκωνι."	I also set free Diophantus, Diocles and Abus; Simias I hand over to Arcesilaus. I also set Dromo free. When Arcesilaus arrives, let Iraeus, together with Olympichus, Epicrates and the other executors, reckon up the expense incurred for the funeral and the other customary rites. [64] The money left over Arcesilaus is to receive from Olympichus, without pressing him about dates and times of payment. Arcesilaus is also to cancel the agreements Strato made with Olympichus and Ameinias, which are deposited with Philocrates son of Tisamenus. As for the monument, let them do whatever seems best to Arcesilaus, Olympichus and Lyco."
5.64	Καὶ αἵδε μέν εἰσιν αἱ φερόμεναι αὐτοῦ διαθῆκαι, καθά που συνήγαγε καὶ Ἀρίστων ὁ Κεῖος. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Στράτων ἀνὴρ γέγονε, καθὰ καὶ ἄνω δεδήλωται, πολλῆς τῆς ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιος, διαπρέψας ἐν παντὶ λόγων εἴδει καὶ μάλιστά γε ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ φυσικῷ, ὅπερ εἶδος ἀρχαιότερόν τε καὶ σπουδαιότερον.	This is the will ascribed to him, as Ariston of Ceos, I believe, also collected it. Strato himself, as has been shown above, was a man who deserves high regard: he excelled in every kind of discourse, and above all in the so-called physical kind, which is the older and weightier one.[33]

LYCO

Lyco, sweet in speech and an athlete in body, heads the school forty-four years and leaves a will.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
5.65	Τοῦτον διεδέξατο Λύκων Ἀστυάνακτος Τρωαδεύς, φραστικὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ περὶ παίδων ἀγωγὴν ἄκρως συντεταγμένος. ἔφασκε γὰρ δεῖν παρεζεῦχθαι τοῖς παισὶ τὴν αἰδῶ καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ὡς τοῖς ἵπποις μύωπα καὶ χαλινόν. τὸ δ᾽ ἐκφραστικὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ περιγεγωνὸς ἐν τῇ ἑρμηνείᾳ φαίνεται κἀνθένδε· φησὶ γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐπὶ παρθένου πενιχρᾶς· "βαρὺ γὰρ φορτίον πατρὶ κόρη διὰ σπάνιν προικὸς ἐκτρέχουσα τὸν ἀκμαῖον τῆς ἡλικίας καιρόν." διὸ δὴ καί φασιν Ἀντίγονον ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, ὡς οὐκ ἦν ὥσπερ μήλου τὴν εὐωδίαν καὶ χάριν ἄλλοθί που μετενεγκεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ δένδρου τῶν λεγομένων ἕκαστον ἔδει θεωρεῖσθαι.	Strato was succeeded by Lyco son of Astyanax, of the Troad, an eloquent man and supremely well organized in the education of boys. He used to say that modesty and love of honor should be harnessed to boys as spur and bridle are to horses. The expressiveness and resonance of his style can be seen from this too. Of a poor girl he says: "For a heavy burden to her father is a girl who, for want of a dowry, runs past the prime of her youth." That is why, they say, Antigonus remarked of him that, as with an apple, you couldn't carry the fragrance and charm off anywhere else: each of his sayings

33 Ariston of Ceos was a Peripatetic, Lyco's successor as head of the school.

GREEK

ENGLISH

had to be appreciated on the man himself, like fruit on the tree.

5.66 τοῦτο δὲ ὅτι ἐν μὲν τῷ λέγειν γλυκύτατος ἦν· παρὸ καί τινες τὸ γάμμα αὐτοῦ τῷ ὀνόματι προσετίθεσαν. ἐν δὲ τῷ γράφειν ἀνόμοιος αὑτῷ. ἀμέλει γοῦν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μεταγινωσκόντων ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἔμαθον ὅτε καιρὸς καὶ εὐχομένων τοῦτον ἐκαλλιλέκτει τὸν τρόπον· ἔλεγεν "αὐτῶν κατηγορεῖν, ἀδυνάτῳ μηνύοντας εὐχῇ μετάνοιαν ἀργίας ἀδιορθώτου." τούς τε βουλευομένους οὐκ ὀρθῶς διαπίπτειν ἔφασκε τῷ λογισμῷ, οἱονεὶ στρεβλῷ κανόνι βασανίζοντας εὐθεῖαν φύσιν ἢ πρόσωπον ὕδατι κλυδαττομένῳ ἢ κατόπτρῳ διεστραμμένῳ. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ στέφανον πολλοὺς ἀπιέναι, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἢ ὀλίγους ἢ οὐδένα. πολλάκις τε πολλὰ συμβουλεύσας Ἀθηναίοις, τὰ μέγιστα αὐτοὺς ὠφέλησεν.

This was because in speaking Lyco was extremely sweet (which is why some people added a gamma to his name), but in writing he was unlike himself. Take, for instance, those who regretted not having learned when they had the chance and wished they had: of them he spoke in this elegant way. He said that "they accuse themselves, revealing by an impossible wish their repentance for an idleness past mending." He also used to say that those who deliberate badly go astray in their reasoning, as if they were testing a straight nature with a crooked rule, or a face in rippling water or in a distorting mirror. And he said that many go off after the crown in the marketplace, but few or none after the one at Olympia. He often gave the Athenians a great deal of advice and did them the greatest service.[34]

5.67 Ἦν δὲ καὶ καθαρώτατος τὴν στολήν, ὡς ἀνυπερβλήτῳ χρῆσθαι μαλακότητι ἱματίων, καθά φησιν Ἕρμιππος. ἀλλὰ καὶ γυμναστικώτατος ἐγένετο καὶ εὐέκτης τὸ σῶμα τήν τε πᾶσαν σχέσιν ἀθλητικὴν ἐπιφαίνων, ὠτοθλαδίας καὶ ἐμπινὴς ὤν, καθά φησιν Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος· διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ παλαῖσαι λέγεται τά τ' ἐν τῇ πατρίδι Ἰλίεια καὶ σφαιρίσαι. ὡς οὐκ ἄλλος τ' ἦν φίλος τοῖς περὶ Εὐμένην καὶ Ἄτταλον, οἳ καὶ πλεῖστα ἐπεχορήγουν αὐτῷ. ἐπειράθη δ' αὐτὸν σχεῖν καὶ Ἀντίοχος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔτυχεν. [68] οὕτω δ' ἦν ἐχθρὸς Ἱερωνύμῳ τῷ περιπατητικῷ, ὡς μόνος μὴ ἀπαντᾶν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἐτήσιον ἡμέραν, περὶ ἧς ἐν τῷ Ἀρκεσιλάου βίῳ διειλέγμεθα.

He was also extremely fastidious about his dress, so much so that he wore clothes of unsurpassed softness, as Hermippus says. He was also very keen on exercise and in fine physical condition, with the whole look of an athlete, battered ears and grimy skin, as Antigonus of Carystus says. That, it is said, is why he wrestled and played ball at the Ilian games in his homeland. He was a friend of Eumenes and Attalus and their circle as no one else was, and they gave him a great deal of support. Antiochus too tried to get him, but failed. [68] He was so hostile to Hieronymus the Peripatetic that he alone would not go to him on the annual day, which I discussed in the life of Arcesilaus.[35]

5.68 Ἀφηγήσατο δὲ τῆς σχολῆς ἔτη τέτταρα πρὸς τοῖς τετταράκοντα, Στράτωνος αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις καταλιπόντος κατὰ τὴν ἑβδόμην καὶ εἰκοστὴν καὶ ἑκατοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Πανθοίδου διήκουσε τοῦ διαλεκτικοῦ. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ γεγονὼς ἔτος τέταρτον καὶ ἑβδομηκοστόν, νόσῳ ποδαγρικῇ καταπονηθείς. καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτόν· οὐ μὰ τόν, οὐδὲ Λύκωνα παρήσομεν, ὅττι ποδαλγὴς
κάτθανε· θαυμάζω τοῦτο μάλιστα δ' ἐγώ,
τὴν οὕτως ἀΐδαο μακρὴν ὁδὸν εἰ πρὶν ὁ ποσσὶν
ἀλλοτρίοις βαδίσας ἔδραμε νυκτὶ μιῇ.

He headed the school for forty-four years, Strato having left it to him in his will in the 127th Olympiad. He also studied under Panthoides the dialectician. He died at the age of seventy-four, worn down by gout. And there is an epigram of mine on him: No, by —, I won't pass Lyco by either:
crippled with gout,
he died. And what amazes me most is this:
that a man who used to walk on feet
not his own ran the long road to Hades in a single night.

5.69

34 Adding a gamma turns *Lykon* into *Glykon*, from *glykys*, "sweet".
35 Eumenes and Attalus were the rulers of Pergamon; Antiochus was a king of the Seleucid dynasty.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Λύκωνες· πρῶτος Πυθαγορικός, δεύτερος αὐτὸς οὗτος, τρίτος ἐπῶν ποιητής, τέταρτος ἐπιγραμμάτων ποιητής.	There have also been other men named Lyco: the first a Pythagorean, the second our man, the third an epic poet, the fourth a writer of epigrams.
	Τοῦ δὲ φιλοσόφου καὶ διαθήκαις περιετύχομεν ταῖσδε·	I have also come across the philosopher's will, which runs as follows:
	"Τάδε διατίθεμαι περὶ τῶν κατ' ἐμαυτόν, ἐὰν μὴ δυνηθῶ τὴν ἀρρωστίαν ταύτην ὑπενεγκεῖν· τὰ μὲν ἐν οἴκῳ πάντα δίδωμι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς Ἀστυάνακτι καὶ Λύκωνι. καὶ οἶμαι δεῖν ἀποδοθῆναι ἀπὸ τούτων ὅσα κατακέχρημαι Ἀθήνησι παρά τινος ἔχων ἢ ἐκπεπραχώς· καὶ ἃ ἂν εἰς τὴν ἐκφορὰν ἀναλωθῇ καὶ εἰς τἄλλα τὰ νομιζόμενα.	"These are my dispositions concerning my affairs, in case I cannot survive this illness. All my property at home I give to my brothers Astyanax and Lyco. I think that out of it should be repaid whatever I have used up at Athens, whether I held it on loan from someone or ran it up as a debt, together with whatever is spent on my funeral and the other customary rites.[36]
5.70	τὰ δ' ἐν ἄστει καὶ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ δίδωμι Λύκωνι διὰ τὸ καὶ τοὔνομα φέρειν ἡμῶν καὶ συνδιατετριφέναι πλείω χρόνον ἀρεστῶς πάνυ, καθάπερ δίκαιον ἦν τὸν υἱοῦ τάξιν ἐσχηκότα. τὸν δὲ περίπατον καταλείπω τῶν γνωρίμων τοῖς βουλομένοις, Βούλωνι, Καλλίνῳ, Ἀρίστωνι, Ἀμφίωνι, Λύκωνι, Πύθωνι, Ἀριστομάχῳ, Ἡρακλείῳ, Λυκομήδει, Λύκωνι τῷ ἀδελφιδῷ. προστησάσθωσαν δ' αὐτοὶ ὃν ἂν ὑπολαμβάνωσι διαμενεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ πράγματος καὶ συναύξειν μάλιστα δυνήσεσθαι. συγκατασκευαζέτωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ γνώριμοι κἀμοῦ καὶ τοῦ τόπου χάριν. περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐκφορᾶς καὶ καύσεως ἐπιμεληθήτωσαν Βούλων καὶ Καλλῖνος μετὰ τῶν συνήθων, ὅπως μήτ' ἀνελεύθερος γένηται μήτε περίεργος.	My property in the city and on Aegina I give to Lyco, because he bears my name and has spent a long time with me, very much to my satisfaction, as was right for one who held the place of a son. The Peripatos I leave to those of my pupils who want it: Bulo, Callinus, Ariston, Amphion, Lyco, Pytho, Aristomachus, Heracleus, Lycomedes, and my nephew Lyco. Let them themselves appoint as head whoever they think will stay with the work and be best able to advance it. And let the rest of my pupils help build it up, for my sake and for the sake of the place. Let Bulo and Callinus, together with my close friends, take care of the funeral and the cremation, so that it is neither mean nor extravagant.[37]
5.71	τῶν δ' ἐν Αἰγίνῃ μοι γενομένων μοριῶν μετὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀπόλυσιν καταχωρισάτω Λύκων τοῖς νεανίσκοις εἰς ἐλαιοχρηστίαν, ὅπως κἀμοῦ καὶ τοῦ τιμήσαντος ἐμὲ μνήμη γένηται διὰ τῆς χρείας αὕτη ἡ προσήκουσα. καὶ ἀνδριάντα ἡμῶν ἀναθέτω· τὸν δὲ τόπον, ὅπως ἁρμόττων ᾖ τῆς καταστάσεως, ἐπιβλεψάτω καὶ συμπραγματευθήτω Διόφαντος καὶ Ἡρακλείδης Δημητρίου. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐν ἄστει Λύκων ἀποδότω πᾶσι παρ' ὧν τι προείληφα μετὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν τὴν ἐκείνου. παρεχέσθωσαν δὲ Βούλων καὶ Καλλῖνος καὶ ἃ ἂν εἰς τὴν ἐκφορὰν ἀναλωθῇ καὶ τἄλλα τὰ νομιζόμενα. κομισάσθωσαν δὲ ταῦτ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν οἴκῳ κοινῇ καταλειπομένων ἀμφοτέροις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ.	Out of the revenues that come to me from Aegina after my release from life, let Lyco set aside a share for the young men's supply of oil, so that through its use there may be a fitting memory of me and of the man who honored me. And let him set up a statue of me. As for its site, let Diophantus and Heraclides son of Demetrius look into it and help arrange it, so that it is suitable for the setting-up. Out of my property in the city let Lyco repay everyone from whom I have received anything in advance since his departure. Let Bulo and Callinus provide whatever is spent on the funeral and the other customary rites, and let them recover these sums from the property at home that I leave jointly to both brothers.
5.72	τιμησάτωσαν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς Πασίθεμιν καὶ Μηδίαν, ἀξίους ὄντας καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τὴν περὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τὴν	Let them also honor the doctors Pasithemis and Medias, who for their care of me and their skill de-

36 Lyco came from the Troad, so "at home" means his property there, as against his property in Athens ("the city") and on Aegina.
37 The Peripatos was the covered walk at the Lyceum where the school met, and from which the Peripatetics took their name.

GREEK	ENGLISH
τέχνην καὶ μείζονος ἔτι τιμῆς. δίδωμι δὲ τῷ Καλλίνου παιδίῳ Θηρικλείων ζεῦγος, καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Ῥοδιακῶν ζεῦγος, ψιλοτάπιδα, ἀμφίταπιν, περίστρωμα, προσκεφάλαια δύο τὰ βέλτιστα τῶν καταλειπομένων· ὡς ἂν ἐφ' ὅσον ἀνήκει πρὸς τιμήν, καὶ τούτων φανῶμεν μὴ ἀμνήμονες ὄντες. περὶ δὲ τῶν θεραπευόντων ἐμαυτὸν οὕτως ἐξάγω· Δημητρίῳ μὲν ἐλευθέρῳ πάλαι ὄντι ἀφίημι τὰ λύτρα καὶ διδωμι πέντε μνᾶς καὶ ἱμάτιον καὶ χιτῶνα, ἵνα πολλὰ πεπονηκὼς μετ' ἐμοῦ βίον εὐσχήμονα ἔχῃ. Κρίτωνι δὲ Χαλκηδονίῳ, καὶ τούτῳ τὰ λύτρα ἀφίημι καὶ δίδωμι τέτταρας μνᾶς.	serve even greater honor. To Callinus' little child I give a pair of Thericlean cups, and to his wife a pair of Rhodian vessels, a smooth rug, a rug napped on both sides, a coverlet and two pillows, the best of those I leave behind, so that, as far as honor requires, we may be seen not to have forgotten them either. As for those who have served me, I make these arrangements. To Demetrius, who has long been free, I remit the price of his freedom and give five minas, a cloak and a tunic, so that after all his hard work with me he may live a decent life. To Crito of Chalcedon I likewise remit the price of his freedom and give four minas.[38]
καὶ τὸν Μίκρον ἀφίημι ἐλεύθερον· καὶ θρεψάτω Λύκων αὐτὸν καὶ παιδευσάτω ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν χρόνου ἓξ ἔτη. [73] καὶ Χάρητα ἀφίημι ἐλεύθερον· καὶ θρεψάτω Λύκων αὐτόν. καὶ δύο μνᾶς αὐτῷ δίδωμι καὶ τἀμὰ βιβλία τὰ ἀνεγνωσμένα· τὰ δ' ἀνέκδοτα Καλλίνῳ ὅπως ἐπιμελῶς αὐτὰ ἐκδῷ. δίδωμι δὲ καὶ Σύρῳ ἐλευθέρῳ ὄντι τέτταρας μνᾶς καὶ τὴν Μηνοδώραν δίδωμι· καὶ εἴ τί μοι ὀφείλει, ἀφίημι αὐτῷ. καὶ Ἱλαρᾷ πέντε μνᾶς καὶ ἀμφίταπιν καὶ δύο προσκεφάλαια καὶ περίστρωμα καὶ κλίνην ἣν ἂν βούληται. ἀφίημι δ' ἐλευθέραν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Μίκρου μητέρα καὶ Νοήμονα καὶ Δίωνα καὶ Θέωνα καὶ Εὐφράνορα καὶ Ἑρμείαν.	I also set Micrus free; and let Lyco keep him and educate him for six years from now. [73] I set Chares free too; and let Lyco keep him. I give him two minas and those of my books that have already been read in public; the unpublished ones I give to Callinus, so that he may publish them with care. To Syrus, who is free, I give four minas, and I give him Menodora; and if he owes me anything, I release him from it. To Hilara I give five minas, a rug napped on both sides, two pillows, a coverlet and whichever bed she wants. I also set free Micrus' mother, and Noemon, Dion, Theon, Euphranor and Hermeias.
5.73 καὶ Ἀγάθωνα δύο ἔτη παραμείναντα ἀφεῖσθαι ἐλεύθερον· καὶ τοὺς φορεαφόρους Ὠφελίωνα καὶ Ποσειδώνιον τέτταρα ἔτη παραμείναντας. [74] δίδωμι δὲ καὶ Δημητρίῳ καὶ Κρίτωνι καὶ Σύρῳ κλίνην ἑκάστῳ καὶ στρώματα τῶν καταλειπομένων ἃ ἂν φαίνηται Λύκωνι καλῶς ἔχειν. ταῦτ' ἔστω αὐτοῖς ἀποδείξασιν ὀρθῶς ἐφ' ὧν ἕκαστοι τεταγμένοι εἰσί. περὶ δὲ τῆς ταφῆς ἐάν τ' αὐτοῦ βούληται Λύκων θάπτειν, ἐάν τ' ἐν οἴκῳ, οὕτω ποιείτω. πέπεισμαι γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐμοῦ συνορᾶν τὸ εὔσχημον. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα οἰκονομήσαντι κυρία ἔστω ἡ δόσις τῶν ἐνταῦθα. μάρτυρες Καλλῖνος Ἑρμιονεύς, Ἀρίστων Κεῖος, Εὐφρόνιος Παιανιεύς."	Agathon is to be set free after staying on for two years; and the litter-bearers Ophelion and Posidonius after staying on for four years. [74] I also give Demetrius, Crito and Syrus a bed each, with bedding from what I leave, whatever Lyco thinks suitable. Let them have these provided they give a proper account of the duties each was assigned. As for my burial, whether Lyco wishes to bury me here or at home, let him do so; for I am convinced that he sees what is fitting no less than I do. Once he has managed all this, let my gift to him of my property here stand valid. Witnesses: Callinus of Hermione, Ariston of Ceos, Euphronius of Paeania."
5.74 Οὕτω μέντοι αὐτῷ συνετῶς τὰ πάντα πράττοντι τά τε περὶ παιδείαν καὶ πάντας λόγους, οὐδὲν ἧττον καὶ τὰ τῶν διαθηκῶν τρόπον τινὰ καὶ σφόδρα ἐπιμελῶς τε καὶ οἰκονομικῶς ἴσχει· ὥστε κἀνταῦθα ζηλωτέος.	So, just as he handled everything intelligently, both in education and in every kind of discourse, his will too is, in its way, no less extremely careful and well managed; so that here too he deserves to be imitated.

38 A mina was a sum of 100 drachmas.

DEMETRIUS OF PHALERUM

Demetrius rules Athens for ten years, loses his statues, and dies in Egypt from an asp's bite.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
5.75	Δημήτριος Φανοστράτου Φαληρεύς. οὗτος ἤκουσε μὲν Θεοφράστου· δημηγορῶν δὲ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις τῆς πόλεως ἐξηγήσατο ἔτη δέκα, καὶ εἰκόνων ἠξιώθη χαλκῶν ἑξήκοντα πρὸς ταῖς τριακοσίαις, ὧν αἱ πλείους ἐφ' ἵππων ἦσαν καὶ ἁρμάτων καὶ συνωρίδων, συντελεσθεῖσαι ἐν οὐδὲ τριακοσίαις ἡμέραις· τοσοῦτον ἐσπουδάσθη. ἄρξασθαι δ' αὐτὸν τῆς πολιτείας φησὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης ἐν τοῖς Ὁμωνύμοις, ὁπότε φυγὼν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς Ἀθήνας ἦκεν Ἅρπαλος. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ κάλλιστα τῇ πατρίδι ἐπολιτεύσατο. καὶ γὰρ προσόδοις καὶ κατασκευαῖς ηὔξησε τὴν πόλιν, καίπερ οὐκ εὐγενὴς ὤν.	Demetrius, son of Phanostratus, of Phalerum. He studied under Theophrastus. As a speaker in the Athenian assembly he led the city for ten years, and was honored with three hundred and sixty bronze statues, most of them on horseback or in four-horse and two-horse chariots, all completed in under three hundred days, so great was the enthusiasm for him. Demetrius of Magnesia says in his *Men of the Same Name* that he began his political career when Harpalus came to Athens in flight from Alexander. As a statesman he did a great deal for his country, and of the finest kind. For he enriched the city with revenues and buildings, although he was not of noble birth.[39]
5.76	ἦν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Κόνωνος οἰκίας, ὡς Φαβωρῖνος ἐν πρώτῳ τῶν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων φησίν, ἀλλ' ἀστῇ καὶ εὐγενεῖ συνῴκει Λαμίᾳ τῇ ἐρωμένῃ, καθάπερ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ φησίν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ Κλέωνος πεπονθέναι ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ ἱστορεῖ. Δίδυμος δ' ἐν Συμποσιακοῖς καὶ Χαριτοβλέφαρον καὶ Λαμπιτὼ καλεῖσθαι αὐτόν φησιν ἀπό τινος ἑταίρας. λέγεται δ' ἀποβαλόντα αὐτὸν τὰς ὄψεις ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, κομίσασθαι αὖθις παρὰ τοῦ Σαράπιδος· ὅθεν καὶ τοὺς παιᾶνας ποιῆσαι τοὺς μέχρι νῦν ᾀδομένους.	For he came from the household of Conon, as Favorinus says in the first book of his *Memoirs*; yet he lived with Lamia, his mistress, a citizen woman of good family, as the same author says in his first book. In the second book he also records that Demetrius took the passive role with Cleon. Didymus, in his *Table Talk*, says that he was also called Charitoblepharos ("Lovely-Eyes") and Lampito, after a certain courtesan. It is said that he lost his sight in Alexandria and got it back from Sarapis; and that this is why he composed the paeans that are still sung today.[40]
	Σφόδρα δὲ λαμπρὸς ὢν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὅμως ἐπεσκοτήθη καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ τὰ πάντα διεσθίοντος φθόνου. [77] ἐπιβουλευθεὶς γὰρ ὑπό τινων δίκην θανάτου οὐ παρὼν ὤφλεν. οὐ μὴν ἐκυρίευσαν τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἰὸν ἀπήρυγον εἰς τὸν χαλκόν, κατασπάσαντες αὐτοῦ τὰς εἰκόνας καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀποδόμενοι, τὰς δὲ βυθίσαντες, τὰς δὲ κατακόψαντες εἰς ἀμίδας· λέγεται γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο. μία δὲ μόνη σώζεται ἐν ἀκροπόλει. Φαβωρῖνος δέ φησιν ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους Δημητρίου κελεύσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἔτει τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπέγραψαν ἀνομίας, ὡς Φαβωρῖνος.	Brilliant as he was among the Athenians, he too was nonetheless eclipsed by envy, which devours everything. [77] Some people plotted against him, and he was condemned to death in his absence. They did not get hold of his person, but they spewed their venom onto the bronze: they pulled down his statues, selling some, sinking others in the sea, and cutting others up into chamber pots, for this too is said. Only one survives, on the Acropolis. Favorinus says in his *Miscellaneous History* that the Athenians did this at the command of King Demetrius. They even recorded the year of his archonship as a year "of lawlessness", as Favorinus says.[41]

39 Harpalus was Alexander's treasurer, who fled to Athens with stolen funds in 324 BC.
40 Didymus was a prolific Alexandrian scholar of the first century BC; Sarapis was the Graeco-Egyptian healing god worshipped at Alexandria.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
5.78	Φησὶ δ' αὐτὸν Ἕρμιππος μετὰ τὸν Κασάνδρου θάνατον φοβηθέντα Ἀντίγονον παρὰ Πτολεμαῖον ἐλθεῖν τὸν Σωτῆρα· κἀκεῖ χρόνον ἱκανὸν διατρίβοντα συμβουλεύειν τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῖς ἐξ Εὐρυδίκης περιθεῖναι παισί. τοῦ δὲ οὐ πεισθέντος, ἀλλὰ παραδόντος τὸ διάδημα τῷ ἐκ Βερενίκης, μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν ἀξιωθῆναι πρὸς τούτου παραφυλάττεσθαι ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ μέχρι τι δόξει περὶ αὐτοῦ. ἐνταῦθα ἀθυμότερον διῆγε· καί πως ὑπνώττων ὑπ' ἀσπίδος τὴν χεῖρα δηχθεὶς τὸν βίον μεθῆκε. καὶ τέθαπται ἐν τῷ Βουσιρίτῃ νομῷ πλησίον Διοσπόλεως.	Hermippus says that after the death of Cassander, fearing Antigonus, he went to Ptolemy Soter; and that, spending a good long time there, he advised Ptolemy, among other things, to confer the kingdom on his sons by Eurydice. Ptolemy was not persuaded, but handed the diadem to his son by Berenice; and after Ptolemy's death, by this son's decision, Demetrius was kept under guard in the countryside until some decision should be made about him. There he lived in low spirits; and somehow, while he was asleep, he was bitten on the hand by an asp and departed this life. He is buried in the Busirite nome, near Diospolis.[42]
5.79	Καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπεγράψαμεν ἡμεῖς· ἀνεῖλεν ἀσπὶς τὸν σοφὸν Δημήτριον ἰὸν ἔχουσα πολὺν ἄσμηκτον, οὐ στίλβουσα φῶς ἀπ' ὀμμάτων, ἀλλ' ἀΐδην μέλανα. Ἡρακλείδης δ' ἐν τῇ ἐπιτομῇ τῶν Σωτίωνος Διαδοχῶν τῷ Φιλαδέλφῳ τὴν βασιλείαν θέλειν ἐκχωρῆσαι τὸν Πτολεμαῖον· τὸν δ' ἀποτρέπειν φάσκοντα, "ἂν ἄλλῳ δῷς, σὺ οὐχ ἕξεις." ὀπηνίκα δ' ἐσυκοφαντεῖτο ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις—μανθάνω γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο—Μένανδρος ὁ κωμικὸς παρ' ὀλίγον ἦλθε κριθῆναι δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὅτι φίλος ἦν αὐτῷ· ἀλλ' αὐτὸν παρῃτήσατο Τελεσφόρος ὁ ἀνεψιὸς τοῦ Δημητρίου.	And I wrote this epigram on him: An asp did away with Demetrius the wise, an asp that held plenty of venom no polish can remove, flashing no light from its eyes, but black Hades. Heraclides, in his *Epitome* of Sotion's *Successions*, says that Ptolemy wanted to hand over the kingdom to Philadelphus, and that Demetrius tried to dissuade him, saying: "If you give it to someone else, you won't have it yourself." When he was being maliciously prosecuted in Athens (for I learn this too), Menander the comic poet came close to being put on trial for no other reason than that he was his friend; but Telesphorus, Demetrius' cousin, got him off.[43]
5.80	Πλήθει δὲ βιβλίων καὶ ἀριθμῷ στίχων σχεδὸν ἅπαντας παρελήλακε τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν περιπατητικούς, εὐπαίδευτος ὢν καὶ πολύπειρος παρ' ὁντινοῦν· ὧν ἐστι τὰ μὲν ἱστορικά, τὰ δὲ πολιτικά, τὰ δὲ περὶ ποιητῶν, τὰ δὲ ῥητορικά, δημηγοριῶν τε καὶ πρεσβειῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ λόγων Αἰσωπείων συναγωγαὶ καὶ ἄλλα πλείω. ἔστι δὲ τὰ Περὶ τῆς Ἀθήνησι νομοθεσίας α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′. Περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι πολιτειῶν α′ β′. Περὶ δημαγωγίας α′ β′. Περὶ πολιτικῶν α′ β′. Περὶ νόμων α′. Περὶ ῥητορικῆς α′ β′. Στρατηγικῶν α′ β′.	In the number of his books and of their lines he outstripped nearly all the Peripatetics of his day, being as well educated and widely experienced as anyone. Of his works some are historical, some political, some about poets, some rhetorical, both assembly speeches and speeches as envoy; there are also collections of Aesop's fables and much else besides. They are: *On Legislation at Athens*, 5 books. *On the Constitutions of Athens*, 2 books. *On Demagogy*, 2 books. *On Politics*, 2 books. *On Laws*, 1 book. *On Rhetoric*, 2 books. *On Generalship*, 2 books.
5.81	Περὶ Ἰλιάδος α′ β′. Περὶ Ὀδυσσείας α′ β′ γ′ δ′. Πτολεμαῖος α′. Ἐρωτικὸς α′. Φαιδώνδας α′. Μαίδων α′. Κλέων α′. Σωκράτης α′. Ἀρταξέρξης α′. Ὁμηρικὸς α′. Ἀριστείδης α′.	*On the Iliad*, 2 books. *On the Odyssey*, 4 books. *Ptolemy*, 1 book. *On Love*, 1 book. *Phaedondas*, 1 book. *Maedon*, 1 book. *Cleon*, 1 book. *Socrates*, 1

41 The Greek ἰός means both "venom" and "verdigris", the rust of bronze. King Demetrius is Demetrius Poliorcetes, who took Athens in 307 BC.

42 A nome was an administrative district of Egypt.

43 The joke turns on two Greek words: ἀσπίς is both "asp" and "shield", and ἰός both "venom" and "rust"; unlike a polished shield, this asp does not gleam.

GREEK	ENGLISH
Ἀριστόμαχος α′. Προτρεπτικὸς α′. Ὑπὲρ τῆς πολιτείας α′. Περὶ τῆς δεκαετίας α′. Περὶ τῶν Ἰώνων α′. Πρεσβευτικὸς α′. Περὶ πίστεως α′. Περὶ χάριτος α′. Περὶ τύχης α′. Περὶ μεγαλοψυχίας α′. Περὶ γάμου α′. Περὶ τοῦ δοκοῦ α′. Περὶ εἰρήνης α′. Περὶ νόμων α′. Περὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων α′. Περὶ καιροῦ α′. Διονύσιος α′. Χαλκιδικὸς α′. Ἀθηναίων καταδρομὴ α′. Περὶ Ἀντιφάνους α′. Προοίμιον ἱστορικὸν α′. Ἐπιστολαὶ α′. Ἐκκλησία ἔνορκος α′. Περὶ γήρως α′. Δίκαια α′. Αἰσωπείων α′. Χρειῶν α′.	book. *Artaxerxes*, 1 book. *Homeric Essay*, 1 book. *Aristides*, 1 book. *Aristomachus*, 1 book. *Exhortation*, 1 book. *In Defense of the Constitution*, 1 book. *On the Ten Years*, 1 book. *On the Ionians*, 1 book. *Speech as Envoy*, 1 book. *On Trust*, 1 book. *On Gratitude*, 1 book. *On Fortune*, 1 book. *On Greatness of Soul*, 1 book. *On Marriage*, 1 book. *On the Beam*, 1 book. *On Peace*, 1 book. *On Laws*, 1 book. *On Customs*, 1 book. *On the Right Moment*, 1 book. *Dionysius*, 1 book. *Chalcidian Dialogue*, 1 book. *Invective against the Athenians*, 1 book. *On Antiphanes*, 1 book. *Historical Introduction*, 1 book. *Letters*, 1 book. *A Sworn Assembly*, 1 book. *On Old Age*, 1 book. *Rights*, 1 book. *Aesop's Fables*, 1 book. *Anecdotes*, 1 book.
5.82 Χαρακτὴρ δὲ φιλόσοφος, εὐτονίᾳ ῥητορικῇ καὶ δυνάμει κεκραμένος. οὗτος ἀκούσας ὅτι τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ κατέστρεψαν Ἀθηναῖοι, "ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν ἀρετήν," ἔφη, "δι' ἣν ἐκείνας ἀνέστησαν." ἔλεγε μικρὸν μὲν εἶναι μέρος τὰς ὀφρῦς, ὅλῳ δ' ἐπισκοτῆσαι τῷ βίῳ δύνασθαι. οὐ μόνον τὸν πλοῦτον ἔφη τυφλόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὁδηγοῦσαν αὐτὸν τύχην. ὅσον ἐν πολέμῳ δύνασθαι σίδηρον, τοσοῦτον ἐν πολιτείᾳ ἰσχύειν λόγον. ἰδών ποτε νεανίσκον ἄσωτον, "ἰδού," ἔφη, "τετράγωνος Ἑρμῆς ἔχων σύρμα, κοιλίαν, αἰδοῖον, πώγωνα." τῶν τετυφωμένων ἀνδρῶν ἔφη τὸ μὲν ὕψος δεῖν περιαιρεῖν, τὸ δὲ φρόνημα καταλείπειν.	His style is philosophical, blended with rhetorical vigor and force. When he heard that the Athenians had thrown down his statues, he said, "But not the excellence for which they put them up." He used to say that the eyebrows are a small part of us, yet they can cast a shadow over a whole life. He said that not only wealth is blind, but also the fortune that leads it by the hand. He said that as much as iron can do in war, so much does speech prevail in politics. Seeing a dissolute young man once, he said, "Look, a square Hermes, complete with trailing robe, belly, genitals and beard." Of conceited men he said that one should cut away their height but leave them their spirit.[44]
τοὺς νέους ἔφη δεῖν ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς οἰκίας τοὺς γονέας αἰδεῖσθαι, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὁδοῖς τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐρημίαις ἑαυτούς. [83] τοὺς φίλους ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ ἀγαθὰ παρακαλουμένους ἀπιέναι, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς συμφορὰς αὐτομάτους. τοσαῦτα καὶ εἰς τοῦτον ἀναφέρεσθαι δοκεῖ.	He said that the young should respect their parents at home, those they meet in the streets, and themselves when alone. [83] And that friends should come to our good fortune when invited, but to our misfortunes of their own accord. That is about all that seems to be attributed to him.
5.83 Γεγόνασι δὲ Δημήτριοι ἀξιόλογοι εἴκοσι· πρῶτος Χαλκηδόνιος, ῥήτωρ καὶ Θρασυμάχου πρεσβύτερος· δεύτερος αὐτὸς οὗτος· τρίτος Βυζάντιος, περιπατητικός· τέταρτος καλούμενος Γραφικὸς καὶ σαφὴς διηγήσασθαι· ἦν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ ζωγράφος· πέμπτος Ἀσπένδιος, μαθητὴς Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Σολέως· ἕκτος Καλλατιανός, ὁ γεγραφὼς περὶ Ἀσίας καὶ Εὐρώπης εἴκοσι βίβλους· ἕβδομος Βυζάντιος, ἐν τρισκαίδεκα βιβλίοις γεγραφὼς τὴν Γαλατῶν διάβασιν ἐξ Εὐρώπης εἰς Ἀσίαν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ὀκτὼ τὰ περὶ Ἀντίοχον καὶ Πτολεμαῖον καὶ τὴν τῆς Λιβύης ὑπ' αὐτῶν διοίκησιν· [84] ὄγδοος ὁ διατρίψας ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ σοφιστής, τέχνας γεγραφὼς ῥητορικάς·	There have been twenty Demetriuses worth mentioning. The first, of Chalcedon, an orator older than Thrasymachus; the second, this man himself; the third, of Byzantium, a Peripatetic; the fourth, one called the Graphic, a lucid narrator, who was also a painter; the fifth, of Aspendus, a pupil of Apollonius of Soli; the sixth, of Callatis, who wrote twenty books on Asia and Europe; the seventh, of Byzantium, who wrote in thirteen books about the crossing of the Gauls from Europe into Asia, and in eight more about Antiochus and Ptolemy and

44 Raised eyebrows were the proverbial mark of arrogance. A herm was a square stone pillar topped by a bearded head of Hermes, with genitals carved on the front.

GREEK

ἔνατος Ἀδραμυττηνὸς γραμματικός, ἐπικληθεὶς Ἰξίων διὰ τὸ ἀδικῆσαί τι δοκεῖν περὶ τὴν Ἥραν· δέκατος Κυρηναῖος, γραμματικός, ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Στάμνος, ἀνὴρ ἀξιόλογος·

5.84 ἑνδέκατος Σκήψιος, πλούσιος καὶ εὐγενὴς ἄνθρωπος καὶ φιλόλογος ἄκρως· οὗτος καὶ Μητρόδωρον προεβίβασε τὸν πολίτην. δωδέκατος γραμματικὸς Ἐρυθραῖος, πολιτογραφηθεὶς ἐν τῇ Μνῷ· τρισκαιδέκατος Βιθυνὸς Διφίλου τοῦ στωϊκοῦ υἱός, μαθητὴς δὲ Παναιτίου τοῦ Ῥοδίου· [85] τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατος ῥήτωρ Σμυρναῖος. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν λογικοί. ποιηταὶ δὲ πρῶτος ἀρχαίαν κωμῳδίαν πεποιηκώς· δεύτερος ἐπῶν ποιητής, οὗ μόνα σώζεται πρὸς τοὺς φθονεροὺς εἰρημένα τάδε· ζωὸν ἀτιμήσαντες ἀποφθίμενον ποθέουσι·
καί ποθ' ὑπὲρ τύμβοιο καὶ ἀπνόου εἰδώλοιο
ἄστεα νεῖκος ἐπῆλθεν, ἔριν δ' ἐστήσατο λαός. τρίτος Ταρσικὸς σατυρογράφος· τέταρτος ἰάμβους γεγραφώς, πικρὸς ἀνήρ· πέμπτος ἀνδριαντοποιός, οὗ μέμνηται Πολέμων· ἕκτος Ἐρυθραῖος, ποικιλογράφος ἄνθρωπος, ὃς καὶ ἱστορικὰ καὶ ῥητορικὰ πεποίηκε βιβλία.

ENGLISH

their administration of Libya; [84] the eighth, the sophist who lived in Alexandria, author of handbooks of rhetoric; the ninth, a grammarian from Adramyttium, nicknamed Ixion because he was thought to have committed some offense concerning Hera; the tenth, a grammarian of Cyrene, nicknamed Stamnus ("Wine-Jar"), a notable man;[45]

the eleventh, of Scepsis, a rich and well-born man and an ardent scholar, who also advanced the career of his fellow citizen Metrodorus; the twelfth, a grammarian from Erythrae, enrolled as a citizen at Mnos; the thirteenth, a Bithynian, son of Diphilus the Stoic and pupil of Panaetius of Rhodes; [85] the fourteenth, an orator of Smyrna. These were prose writers. Of the poets, the first wrote Old Comedy; the second was an epic poet, of whom only these lines, addressed to the envious, survive: They dishonored him alive, and now he is dead they long for him;
and once, over a tomb and a lifeless image,
strife came upon cities, and the people took up the quarrel. The third, of Tarsus, a writer of satyr plays; the fourth, a writer of iambics, a bitter man; the fifth, a sculptor, mentioned by Polemo; the sixth, of Erythrae, a versatile writer, who also produced historical and rhetorical books.[46]

HERACLIDES OF PONTUS

Heraclides' dialogues, his plan to vanish as a god, and a forged tragedy that fooled him.

GREEK

5.86 Ἡρακλείδης Εὐθύφρονος Ἡρακλεώτης τοῦ Πόντου, ἀνὴρ πλούσιος. Ἀθήνησι δὲ παρέβαλε πρῶτον μὲν Σπευσίππῳ· ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων διήκουσε καὶ τὰ Πλάτωνος ἐζηλώκει· καὶ ὕστερον ἤκουσεν Ἀριστοτέλους, ὥς φησι Σωτίων ἐν Διαδοχαῖς. οὗτος ἐσθῆτί τε μαλακῇ ἐχρῆτο καὶ ὑπέρογκος ἦν τὸ σῶμα, ὥστ' αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν μὴ Ποντικὸν ἀλλὰ Πομπικὸν καλεῖσθαι. πρᾷός τ' ἦν τὸ βλέμμα καὶ σεμνός. φέρεται δ' αὐτοῦ συγγράμματα κάλλιστά τε καὶ ἄριστα· διάλογοι, ὧν ἠθικὰ μὲν Περὶ δικαιοσύνης γ'.

Ἓν δὲ περὶ σωφροσύνης Περί τ' εὐσεβείας ε' καὶ Περὶ ἀνδρείας α'. Κοινῶς τε περὶ ἀρετῆς α' καὶ ἄλλο. Περὶ εὐδαιμονίας α'. [87] Περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς α' καὶ Νόμων α' καὶ τῶν

ENGLISH

Heraclides, son of Euthyphro, of Heraclea on the Pontus, a rich man. At Athens he first attached himself to Speusippus; but he also studied with the Pythagoreans and admired Plato's writings; and later he studied under Aristotle, as Sotion says in his *Successions*. He wore soft clothes and was enormously fat, so that the Athenians called him not Ponticus but Pompicus. His expression was gentle and dignified. Works of his are in circulation, very fine and excellent: dialogues, of which the ethical are: *On Justice*, 3 books.[47]

One *On Temperance*; *On Piety*, 5 books; and *On Courage*, 1 book. *On Excellence* in general, 1 book, and another. *On Happiness*, 1 book. [87] *On Rule*, 1 book;

45 In myth Ixion tried to seduce Hera and was punished by being bound to a turning wheel.
46 "Mnos" is otherwise unknown; editors often correct it to Temnos, a city in Aeolis.
47 Pompikos, from πομπή, "procession", suggests pomp and parade: roughly, "the Pompous".

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	συγγενῶν τούτοις. Περὶ ὀνομάτων α′. Συνθῆκαι α′. Ἀκούσιος α′. Ἐρωτικὸς καὶ Κλεινίας α′.	and *Laws*, 1 book, with related works. *On Names*, 1 book. *Agreements*, 1 book. *The Involuntary*, 1 book. *On Love* and *Clinias*, 1 book.
5.87	Φυσικὰ δὲ Περὶ νοῦ. Περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ κατ᾽ ἰδίαν περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ Περὶ φύσεως καὶ Περὶ εἰδώλων. Πρὸς Δημόκριτον. Περὶ τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ α′. Περὶ τῶν ἐν ᾅδου. Περὶ βίων α′ β′. Αἰτίαι περὶ νόσων α′. Περὶ τἀγαθοῦ α′. Πρὸς τὰ Ζήνωνος α′. Πρὸς τὰ Μήτρωνος α′.	On natural philosophy: *On Mind*. *On the Soul*, and a separate *On the Soul*, and *On Nature*, and *On Images*. *Against Democritus*. *On the Things in the Heavens*, 1 book. *On the Things in Hades*. *On Lives*, 2 books. *Causes of Diseases*, 1 book. *On the Good*, 1 book. *Against the Doctrines of Zeno*, 1 book. *Against the Doctrines of Metron*, 1 book.
	Γραμματικὰ δὲ Περὶ τῆς Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου ἡλικίας α′ β′. Περὶ Ἀρχιλόχου καὶ Ὁμήρου α′ β′.	On grammar: *On the Age of Homer and Hesiod*, 2 books. *On Archilochus and Homer*, 2 books.
	Καὶ μουσικὰ δὲ Περὶ τῶν παρ᾽ Εὐριπίδῃ καὶ Σοφοκλεῖ α′ β′ γ′. Περὶ μουσικῆς α′ β′. [88] Λύσεων Ὁμηρικῶν α′ β′. Θεωρηματικὸν α′. Περὶ τῶν τριῶν τραγῳδοποιῶν α′. Χαρακτῆρες α′. Περὶ ποιητικῆς καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν α′. Περὶ στοχασμοῦ α′. Προοπτικὸν α′. Ἡρακλείτου ἐξηγήσεις δ′. Πρὸς τὸν Δημόκριτον ἐξηγήσεις α′. Λύσεων ἐριστικῶν α′ β′. Ἀξίωμα α′. Περὶ εἰδῶν α′. Λύσεις α′. Ὑποθῆκαι α′. Πρὸς Διονύσιον α′.	And on music: *On Passages in Euripides and Sophocles*, 3 books. *On Music*, 2 books. [88] *Solutions to Homeric Problems*, 2 books. *On Theorems*, 1 book. *On the Three Tragic Poets*, 1 book. *Characters*, 1 book. *On Poetry and the Poets*, 1 book. *On Conjecture*, 1 book. *On Foresight*, 1 book. *Expositions of Heraclitus*, 4 books. *Expositions, against Democritus*, 1 book. *Solutions to Eristic Problems*, 2 books. *Axiom*, 1 book. *On Forms*, 1 book. *Solutions*, 1 book. *Precepts*, 1 book. *Against Dionysius*, 1 book.
5.88	Ῥητορικὰ δὲ Περὶ τοῦ ῥητορεύειν ἢ Πρωταγόρας.	On rhetoric: *On Public Speaking*, or *Protagoras*.
	Ἱστορικά· Περὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων καὶ Περὶ εὑρημάτων.	On history: *On the Pythagoreans* and *On Discoveries*.
	Τούτων τὰ μὲν κωμικῶς πέπλακεν, ὡς τὸ Περὶ ἡδονῆς καὶ Περὶ σωφροσύνης· τὰ δὲ τραγικῶς, ὡς τὸ Περὶ τῶν καθ᾽ ᾅδην καὶ τὸ Περὶ εὐσεβείας καὶ τὸ Περὶ ἐξουσίας.	Of these he composed some in the comic manner, such as *On Pleasure* and *On Temperance*; others in the tragic manner, such as *On the Things in Hades*, *On Piety* and *On Power*.
5.89	Ἔστι δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ μεσότης τις ὁμιλητικὴ φιλοσόφων τε καὶ στρατηγικῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαλεγομένων. ἀλλὰ καὶ γεωμετρικά ἐστιν αὐτοῦ καὶ διαλεκτικά. ἄλλως τ᾽ ἐν ἅπασι ποικίλος τε καὶ διηρμένος τὴν λέξιν ἐστὶ καὶ ψυχαγωγεῖν ἱκανῶς δυνάμενος.	He also has a kind of middle, conversational style, in which philosophers, generals and statesmen talk with one another. There are also geometrical and dialectical works by him. Besides, in all of them he is varied and elevated in his diction, and well able to captivate the mind.
	Δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα τυραννουμένην ἐλευθερῶσαι, τὸν μόναρχον κτείνας, ὥς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης ἐν Ὁμωνύμοις. ὃς καὶ τοιόνδε ἱστορεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ· “θρέψαι αὐτὸν δράκοντα ἐκ νέου καὶ αὐξηθέντα, ἐπειδὴ τελευτᾶν ἔμελλε, κελεῦσαί τινι τῶν πιστῶν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα κατακρύψαι, τὸν δὲ δράκοντα ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης θεῖναι, ἵνα δόξειεν εἰς θεοὺς μεταβεβηκέναι. [90] ἐγένετο δὲ πάντα. καὶ μεταξὺ παραπεμπόντων Ἡρακλείδην τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ εὐφημούντων, ὁ δράκων ἀκούσας τῆς ἐπιβοῆς ἐξέδυ τῶν ἱματίων καὶ διετάραξε τοὺς πλείστους. ὕστερον μέντοι ἐξεκαλύφθη πάντα καὶ ὤφθη Ἡρακλείδης οὐχ οἷος ἐδόκει, ἀλλ᾽ οἷος ἦν.”	He is also thought to have freed his country when it was under a tyranny, by killing the sole ruler, as Demetrius of Magnesia says in his *Men of the Same Name*. Demetrius also tells this story about him: “He raised a snake from when it was young, and when it was full-grown and he was about to die, he told one of his trusted men to hide his body and to put the snake on his bier, so that he would be thought to have passed over to the gods. [90] Everything was done. And while the citizens were escorting Heraclides in procession and singing his praises, the snake heard the shouting, slipped out

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		from among the garments and threw most of them into confusion. Afterwards, though, everything came out, and Heraclides was seen not as he had seemed, but as he was."
5.90	Καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχον· ἤθελες ἀνθρώποισι λιπεῖν φάτιν, Ἡρακλείδη, ὥς ῥα θανὼν ἐγένου ζωὸς ἅπασι δράκων. ἀλλὰ διεψεύσθης, σεσοφισμένε· δὴ γὰρ ὁ μὲν θὴρ ἦε δράκων, σὺ δὲ θήρ, οὐ σοφὸς ὤν, ἐάλως. ταῦτα δέ φησι καὶ Ἱππόβοτος.	And I have an epigram on him that runs like this: You wanted to leave a story among mankind, Heraclides, that when you died you became a living snake for all to see. But you were mistaken, clever fellow: for the beast was indeed a snake, but you were caught out as a beast, not a sage. Hippobotus tells the same story.[48]
5.91	Ἕρμιππος δὲ λιμοῦ κατασχόντος τὴν χώραν φησὶν αἰτεῖν τοὺς Ἡρακλεώτας τὴν Πυθίαν λύσιν. τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλείδην διαφθεῖραι χρήμασι τούς τε θεωροὺς καὶ τὴν προειρημένην, ὥστ' ἀνειπεῖν ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι τοῦ κακοῦ, εἰ ζῶν μὲν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Εὐθύφρονος χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ στεφανωθείη πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἀποθανὼν δὲ ὡς ἥρως τιμῷτο. ἐκομίσθη ὁ δῆθεν χρησμὸς καὶ οὐδὲν ὤναντο οἱ πλάσαντες αὐτόν. αὐτίκα γὰρ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ στεφανούμενος ὁ Ἡρακλείδης ἀπόπληκτος ἐγένετο, οἵ τε θεωροὶ καταλευσθέντες διεφθάρησαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ Πυθία τὴν αὐτὴν ὥραν κατιοῦσα ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον καὶ ἐπιστᾶσα ἑνὶ τῶν δρακόντων δηχθεῖσα παραχρῆμα ἀπέπνευσε. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ τοσαῦτα.	Hermippus says that when a famine gripped their land, the people of Heraclea asked the Pythia for deliverance; and that Heraclides bribed both the sacred envoys and the priestess to proclaim that they would be rid of the evil if Heraclides son of Euthyphro were crowned by them with a golden crown while he lived, and honored as a hero after his death. The supposed oracle was brought back, and those who had made it up got no good from it. For the moment Heraclides was being crowned in the theater, he was struck by apoplexy, and the envoys were stoned to death. What is more, at that same hour the Pythia, going down into the inner sanctuary, stepped on one of the snakes, was bitten and died on the spot. So much for the circumstances of his death.[49]
5.92	Φησὶ δ' Ἀριστόξενος ὁ μουσικὸς καὶ τραγῳδίας αὐτὸν ποιεῖν καὶ Θέσπιδος αὐτὰς ἐπιγράφειν. Χαμαιλέων τε τὰ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ φησι κλέψαντα αὐτὸν τὰ περὶ Ἡσιόδου καὶ Ὁμήρου γράψαι· ἀλλὰ καὶ Αὐτόδωρος ὁ Ἐπικούρειος ἐπιτιμᾷ αὐτῷ, τοῖς περὶ δικαιοσύνης ἀντιλέγων. ἔτι καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Μεταθέμενος ⟨ἢ Σπίνθαρος, ὡς ἔνιοι⟩ γράψας τὸν Παρθενοπαῖον ἐπέγραψε Σοφοκλέους. ὁ δὲ πιστεύσας εἴς τι τῶν ἰδίων συγγραμμάτων ἐχρῆτο μαρτυρίοις ὡς Σοφοκλέους.	Aristoxenus the musician says that he also wrote tragedies and put Thespis' name on them. Chamaeleon says that he stole Chamaeleon's own work when writing about Hesiod and Homer. Autodorus the Epicurean also censures him, writing against his views on justice. Moreover, Dionysius the Renegade (or Spintharus, as some say) wrote the *Parthenopaeus* and put Sophocles' name on it. Heraclides believed it and, in one of his own works, cited passages from it as evidence, as being by Sophocles.[50]
5.93	αἰσθόμενος δ' ὁ Διονύσιος ἐμήνυσεν αὐτῷ τὸ γεγονός· τοῦ δ' ἀρνουμένου καὶ ἀπιστοῦντος ἐπέστειλεν ἰδεῖν τὴν παραστιχίδα· καὶ εἶχε Πάγκαλος. οὗτος δ' ἦν ἐρώμενος Διονυσίου· ὡς δ' ἔτι ἀπιστῶν ἔλεγε κατὰ τὴν τύχην	When Dionysius noticed, he told him what had happened; and when Heraclides denied it and would not believe him, he wrote telling him to look at the acrostic; and it spelled "Pancalus". This

48 Hippobotus was a Hellenistic writer on the philosophical schools.
49 The Pythia was the priestess of Apollo who delivered the oracles at Delphi.
50 Dionysius the Renegade (Metathemenos, "the one who changed sides") was a pupil of Zeno who left the Stoics for the Cyrenaics.

GREEK

ἐνδέχεσθαι οὕτως ἔχειν, πάλιν ἀντεπέστειλεν ὁ Διονύσιος ὅτι “καὶ ταῦτα εὑρήσεις· Α. γέρων πίθηκος οὐχ ἁλίσκεται πάγῃ· / Β. ἁλίσκεται μέν, μετὰ χρόνον δ’ ἁλίσκεται.” καὶ πρὸς τούτοις· “‘Ηρακλείδης γράμματα οὐκ ἐπίσταται οὐδ’ ᾐσχύνθη.”

Γεγόνασι δ’ Ἡρακλεῖδαι τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα· πρῶτος αὐτὸς οὗτος· δεύτερος πολίτης αὐτοῦ, πυρρίχας [94] καὶ φλυαρίας συντεταγμένος· τρίτος Κυμαῖος, γεγραφὼς Περσικὰ ἐν πέντε βιβλίοις· τέταρτος Κυμαῖος, ῥήτωρ τέχνας γεγραφώς· πέμπτος Καλλατιανὸς ἢ Ἀλεξανδρεύς, γεγραφὼς τὴν Διαδοχὴν ἐν ἓξ βιβλίοις καὶ Λεμβευτικὸν λόγον, ὅθεν καὶ Λέμβος ἐκαλεῖτο· ἕκτος Ἀλεξανδρεύς, γεγραφὼς τὰ Περσικὰ ἰδιώματα· ἕβδομος διαλεκτικὸς Βαργυληΐτης, κατ’ Ἐπικούρου γεγραφώς· ὄγδοος ἰατρὸς τῶν ἀπὸ Ἱκεσίου· ἔνατος ἰατρὸς Ταραντῖνος, ἐμπειρικός· δέκατος ποιητικός, παραινέσεις γεγραφώς· ἑνδέκατος ἀνδριαντοποιὸς Φωκαεύς· δωδέκατος ἐπιγραμμάτων ποιητὴς λιγυρός· τρισκαιδέκατος Μάγνης, Μιθραδατικὰ γεγραφώς· τεσσαρεσκαι δέκατος ἀστρολογούμενα συγγεγραφώς.

ENGLISH

was Dionysius’ beloved. When Heraclides, still unconvinced, said it could have come out that way by chance, Dionysius wrote back again: “You will find this too: A. An old ape is not caught in a trap. / B. Oh, he is caught; it just takes time.” And on top of that: “Heraclides doesn’t know his letters, and isn’t ashamed of it.”[51]

There have been fourteen men named Heraclides. The first, this man himself; the second, his fellow citizen, who composed war-dance songs [94] and trifles; the third, of Cyme, who wrote a *History of Persia* in five books; the fourth, of Cyme, an orator who wrote handbooks of rhetoric; the fifth, of Callatis or Alexandria, who wrote the *Succession* in six books and a *Lembeutic Discourse*, which is why he was also called Lembus; the sixth, of Alexandria, who wrote *Persian Peculiarities*; the seventh, a dialectician from Bargylia, who wrote against Epicurus; the eighth, a physician of the school of Hicesius; the ninth, a physician of Tarentum, an Empiricist; the tenth, a poet who wrote exhortations; the eleventh, a sculptor from Phocaea; the twelfth, a sweet-voiced writer of epigrams; the thirteenth, of Magnesia, who wrote a *History of Mithridates*; the fourteenth, who compiled a work on astronomy.

51 An acrostic spells out a word with the first letters of successive lines; Pankalos also means “all-beautiful”.

Book 6

The Cynics
Antisthenes, Diogenes of Sinope, Crates, Hipparchia and their followers.

ANTISTHENES

Socrates' pupil who founded Cynicism: his sayings, his doctrine that virtue suffices, and his books.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
6.1	Ἀντισθένης Ἀντισθένους Ἀθηναῖος. ἐλέγετο δ' οὐκ εἶναι ἰθαγενής· ὅθεν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ὀνειδίζοντα εἰπεῖν, "καὶ ἡ μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν Φρυγία ἐστίν." ἐδόκει γὰρ εἶναι Θρᾴττης μητρός· ὅθεν καὶ ἐν Τανάγρᾳ κατὰ τὴν μάχην εὐδοκιμήσας ἔδωκε λέγειν Σωκράτει ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐκ δυοῖν Ἀθηναίων οὕτω γεγόνοι γενναῖος. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ τῷ γηγενεῖς εἶναι σεμνυνομένους ἐκφαυλίζων ἔλεγε μηδὲν εἶναι κοχλιῶν καὶ ἀττελέβων εὐγενεστέρους.	Antisthenes, son of Antisthenes, was an Athenian. It was said, though, that he was not of pure Athenian descent. So when someone taunted him with this, he replied, "The Mother of the Gods is a Phrygian too." His mother was believed to be Thracian. For this reason, when he distinguished himself in the battle at Tanagra, he gave Socrates occasion to say that he would not have turned out so noble if both his parents had been Athenians. He himself belittled the Athenians who prided themselves on being born from the earth: he used to say they were no better born than snails and locusts.[1]
	Οὗτος κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἤκουσε Γοργίου τοῦ ῥήτορος· ὅθεν τὸ ῥητορικὸν εἶδος ἐν τοῖς διαλόγοις ἐπιφέρει καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῇ Ἀληθείᾳ καὶ τοῖς Προτρεπτικοῖς. [2] φησὶ δ' Ἕρμιππος ὅτι προείλετο ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἰσθμίων πανηγύρει ψέξαι τε καὶ ἐπαινέσαι Ἀθηναίους, Θηβαίους, Λακεδαιμονίους· εἶτα μέντοι παραιτήσασθαι ἰδόντα πλείους ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἀφιγμένους.	At first he studied under Gorgias the rhetorician. This is why he brings the rhetorical style into his dialogues, especially in the *Truth* and the *Exhortations*. [2] Hermippus says that he planned to deliver a speech of censure and praise of the Athenians, the Thebans and the Spartans at the festival of the Isthmian Games. Then, however, he begged off when he saw how many people had come from those cities.
6.2	Ὕστερον δὲ παρέβαλε Σωκράτει, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὤνατο αὐτοῦ, ὥστε παρῄνει τοῖς μαθηταῖς γενέσθαι αὐτῷ πρὸς Σωκράτην συμμαθητάς. οἰκῶν τ' ἐν Πειραιεῖ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν τοὺς τετταράκοντα σταδίους ἀνιὼν ἤκουε Σωκράτους, παρ' οὗ καὶ τὸ καρτερικὸν λαβὼν καὶ τὸ ἀπαθὲς ζηλώσας κατῆρξε πρῶτος τοῦ κυνισμοῦ. καὶ ὅτι ὁ πόνος ἀγαθὸν συνέστησε διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου Ἡρακλέους καὶ τοῦ Κύρου, τὸ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἑλκύσας.	Later he joined Socrates, and he gained so much from him that he urged his own pupils to become his fellow pupils under Socrates. He lived in the Piraeus, and every day he walked the forty stades up to the city to hear Socrates. From him he took his endurance, and in emulating his freedom from passion he became the founder of Cynicism. He demonstrated that toil is a good by the examples of the great Heracles and of Cyrus, drawing the one from the Greeks and the other from the non-Greeks.[2]

1 The Mother of the Gods (Cybele), who had a temple at Athens, was a goddess from Phrygia in Asia Minor.
2 A stade was about 185 meters, so forty stades is roughly seven kilometers.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
6.3	Πρῶτός τε ὡρίσατο λόγον εἰπών, “λόγος ἐστὶν ὁ τὸ τί ἦν ἢ ἔστι δηλῶν.” ἔλεγέ τε συνεχές, “μανείην μᾶλλον ἢ ἡσθείην”· καὶ “χρὴ τοιαύταις πλησιάζειν γυναιξὶν αἳ χάριν εἴσονται.” πρός τε τὸ Ποντικὸν μειράκιον μέλλον φοιτᾶν αὐτῷ καὶ πυθόμενον τίνων αὐτῷ δεῖ, φησί, “βιβλιαρίου καινοῦ καὶ γραφείου καινοῦ καὶ πινακιδίου καινοῦ,” τὸν νοῦν παρεμφαίνων. πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἐρόμενον ποδαπὴν γήμαι, ἔφη, “ἂν μὲν καλήν, ἕξεις κοινήν, ἂν δὲ αἰσχράν, ἕξεις ποινήν.” ἀκούσας ποτὲ ὅτι Πλάτων αὐτὸν κακῶς λέγει, “βασιλικόν,” ἔφη, “καλῶς ποιοῦντα κακῶς ἀκούειν.”	He was the first to define “account,” saying, “An account is what shows what a thing was or is.” He constantly said, “I’d rather go mad than feel pleasure,” and, “One should go to bed only with women who will be grateful for it.” A young man from Pontus was about to attend his lectures and asked what he would need. “A new little book, a new pen and a new little tablet,” he said, hinting at a mind. To someone who asked what sort of woman he should marry, he said, “If she’s beautiful, you’ll share her; if she’s ugly, you’ll suffer her.” Once, hearing that Plato was speaking ill of him, he said, “It’s a king’s lot to do good and be spoken ill of.”[3]
6.4	Μυούμενός ποτε τὰ Ὀρφικά, τοῦ ἱερέως εἰπόντος ὅτι οἱ ταῦτα μυούμενοι πολλῶν ἐν ᾅδου ἀγαθῶν μετίσχουσι, “τί οὖν,” ἔφη, “οὐκ ἀποθνήσκεις;” ὀνειδιζόμενός ποτε ὡς οὐκ εἴη ἐκ δύο ἐλευθέρων, “οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκ δύο,” ἔφη, “παλαιστικῶν, ἀλλὰ παλαιστικός εἰμι.” ἐρωτώμενος διὰ τί ὀλίγους ἔχει μαθητάς, ἔφη, “ὅτι ἀργυρέᾳ αὐτοὺς ἐκβάλλω ῥάβδῳ.” ἐρωτηθεὶς διὰ τί πικρῶς τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐπιπλήττει, “καὶ οἱ ἰατροί,” φησί, “τοῖς κάμνουσιν.” ἰδών ποτε μοιχὸν φεύγοντα, “ὦ δυστυχής,” εἶπε, “πηλίκον κίνδυνον ὀβολοῦ διαφυγεῖν ἴσχυες.” κρεῖττον ἔλεγε, καθά φησιν Ἑκάτων ἐν ταῖς Χρείαις, εἰς κόρακας ἢ εἰς κόλακας ἐμπεσεῖν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ νεκρούς, οἱ δὲ ζῶντας ἐσθίουσιν.	Once, when he was being initiated into the Orphic mysteries and the priest said that those initiated would share in many good things in Hades, he asked, “Then why don’t you die?” Once, taunted that he was not the son of two free parents, he said, “Nor am I the son of two wrestlers, but I am a wrestler.” Asked why he had so few pupils, he said, “Because I drive them out with a silver rod.” Asked why he rebuked his pupils so harshly, he said, “Doctors do the same with their patients.” Seeing an adulterer running away, he said, “Poor wretch, what a great danger you could have escaped for an obol!” He used to say, as Hecato says in his *Anecdotes*, that it is better to fall among crows (*korakes*) than among flatterers (*kolakes*): the former eat the dead, the latter the living.[4]
6.5	Ἐρωτηθεὶς τί μακαριώτατον ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ἔφη, “τὸ εὐτυχοῦντα ἀποθανεῖν.” γνωρίμου ποτὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποδυρομένου ὡς εἴη τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἀπολωλεκώς, “ἔδει γάρ,” ἔφη, “ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτὰ καὶ μὴ ἐν τοῖς χαρτίοις καταγράφειν.” ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰοῦ τὸν σίδηρον, οὕτως ἔλεγε τοὺς φθονεροὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου ἤθους κατεσθίεσθαι. τοὺς βουλομένους ἀθανάτους εἶναι ἔφη δεῖν εὐσεβῶς καὶ δικαίως ζῆν. τότ’ ἔφη τὰς πόλεις ἀπόλλυσθαι, ὅταν μὴ δύνωνται τοὺς φαύλους ἀπὸ τῶν σπουδαίων διακρίνειν. ἐπαινούμενός ποτε ὑπὸ πονηρῶν, ἔφη, “ἀγωνιῶ μή τι κακὸν εἴργασμαι.”	Asked what is most blessed for human beings, he said, “To die while things are going well.” When one of his pupils once lamented to him that he had lost his notes, he said, “You should have written them on your soul, not on paper.” He used to say that the envious are eaten away by their own character, as iron is by rust. He said that those who want to be immortal must live piously and justly. He said that cities are ruined when they can no longer tell the worthless from the worthy. Once, when he was praised by wicked men, he said, “I’m worried I may have done something bad.”
6.6	Ὁμονοούντων ἀδελφῶν συμβίωσιν παντὸς ἔφη τείχους ἰσχυροτέραν εἶναι. τοιαῦτ’ ἔφη δεῖν ποιεῖσθαι ἐφόδια ἃ καὶ ναυαγήσαντι συγκολυμβήσει. ὀνειδιζόμενός ποτ’ ἐπὶ	He said that brothers who live together in harmony are stronger than any wall. He said one

3 In Greek “a new” (kainou) sounds like “and a mind” (kai nou). The marriage reply is also a pun: koinēn, “shared,” and poinēn, “a penalty.”

4 The obol was a small coin, a sixth of a drachma; the point is that a prostitute would have cost him next to nothing.

GREEK

τῷ πονηροῖς συγγενέσθαι, “καὶ οἱ ἰατροί,” φησί, “μετὰ τῶν νοσούντων εἰσίν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ πυρέττουσιν.” ἄτοπον ἔφη τοῦ μὲν σίτου τὰς αἴρας ἐκλέγειν καὶ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τοὺς ἀχρείους, ἐν δὲ πολιτείᾳ τοὺς πονηροὺς μὴ παραιτεῖσθαι. ἐρωτηθεὶς τί αὐτῷ περιγέγονεν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας, ἔφη, “τὸ δύνασθαι ἑαυτῷ ὁμιλεῖν.” εἰπόντος αὐτῷ τινος παρὰ πότον, “ᾄσον,” “σὺ δέ μοι,” φησίν, “αὔλησον.” Διογένει χιτῶνα αἰτοῦντι πτύξαι προσέταξε θοιμάτιον. [7] ἐρωτηθεὶς τί τῶν μαθημάτων ἀναγκαιότατον, “τὸ περιαιρεῖν,” ἔφη, “τὸ ἀπομανθάνειν.” παρεκελεύετό τε κακῶς ἀκούοντας καρτερεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ λίθοις τις βάλλοιτο.

ENGLISH

should lay in such provisions for the journey as will swim ashore with one even after a shipwreck. Once, reproached for associating with wicked men, he said, “Doctors too spend their time with the sick, but they don’t catch the fever.” He said it was absurd to pick the darnel out of the grain and the unfit out of the army, and yet not to exclude the wicked from public life. Asked what he had gained from philosophy, he said, “The ability to converse with myself.” When someone at a drinking party said to him, “Sing!”, he replied, “You play the pipe for me.” When Diogenes asked him for a tunic, he told him to fold his cloak double. [7] Asked what lesson is most necessary, he said, “Getting rid of things: unlearning.” He urged that when people speak ill of us we should endure it more steadfastly than if someone were pelting us with stones.

6.7 Ἔσκωπτέ τε Πλάτωνα ὡς τετυφωμένον. πομπῆς γοῦν γενομένης ἵππον θεασάμενος φρυακτήν φησι πρὸς τὸν Πλάτωνα, “ἐδόκεις μοι καὶ σὺ ἵππος ἂν εἶναι λαμπρυντής·” τοῦτο δὲ ἐπεὶ καὶ συνεχὲς ὁ Πλάτων ἵππον ἐπῄνει. καί ποτ᾽ ἐλθὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν νοσοῦντα καὶ θεασάμενος λεκάνην ἔνθα ὁ Πλάτων ἐμημέκει ἔφη, “χολὴν μὲν ὁρῶ ἐνταῦθα, τῦφον δὲ οὐχ ὁρῶ.”

He used to mock Plato for being full of himself. At a procession, for instance, he saw a snorting horse and said to Plato, “I think you too would have made a fine prancing horse”—this because Plato was constantly praising horses. And once, visiting him when he was ill, he saw the basin Plato had vomited into and said, “I see bile here, but I don’t see the hot air.”

6.8 συνεβούλευεν Ἀθηναίοις τοὺς ὄνους ἵππους ψηφίσασθαι· ἄλογον δὲ ἡγουμένων, “ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ στρατηγοί,” φησί, “φαίνονται παρ᾽ ὑμῖν μηδὲν μαθόντες, μόνον δὲ χειροτονηθέντες.” πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, “πολλοί σε ἐπαινοῦσι,” “τί γάρ,” ἔφη, “κακὸν πεποίηκα;” στρέψαντος αὐτοῦ τὸ διερρωγὸς τοῦ τρίβωνος εἰς τὸ προφανές, Σωκράτης ἰδών φησιν, “ὁρῶ σου διὰ τοῦ τρίβωνος τὴν φιλοδοξίαν.” ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπό του, καθά φησι Φανίας ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Σωκρατικῶν, τί ποιῶν καλὸς κἀγαθὸς ἔσοιτο, ἔφη, “εἰ τὰ κακὰ ἃ ἔχεις ὅτι φευκτά ἐστι μάθοις παρὰ τῶν εἰδότων.” πρὸς τὸν ἐπαινοῦντα τρυφήν, “ἐχθρῶν παῖδες,” ἔφη, “τρυφήσειαν.”

He advised the Athenians to vote that donkeys are horses. When they thought this absurd, he said, “But you do have generals who’ve learned nothing and have simply been elected by a show of hands.” To someone who said, “Many people praise you,” he replied, “Why, what wrong have I done?” When he turned the torn part of his threadbare cloak into view, Socrates saw it and said, “I can see your love of fame through your cloak.” Asked by someone, as Phanias says in his *On the Socratics*, what he should do to become a true gentleman, he said, “Learn from those who know that the bad qualities you have are to be avoided.” To someone who praised luxury he said, “May our enemies’ children live in luxury.”

6.9 Πρὸς τὸ παρασχηματίζον αὐτὸ τῷ πλάστῃ μειράκιον, “εἰπέ μοι,” φησίν, “εἰ φωνὴν λάβοι ὁ χαλκός, ἐπὶ τίνι ἂν οἴει σεμνυνθῆναι;” τοῦ δ᾽ εἰπόντος, “ἐπὶ κάλλει,” “οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ οὖν,” ἔφη, “τὰ ὅμοια γεγηθὼς ἀψύχῳ;” Ποντικοῦ νε ανίσκου πολυωρήσειν αὐτοῦ ἐπαγγελλομένου, εἰ τὸ πλοῖον ἀφίκοιτο τῶν ταρίχων, λαβὼν αὐτὸν καὶ θύλακον κενὸν πρὸς ἀλφιτόπωλιν ἦκε καὶ σαξάμενος ἀπῄει· τῆς δὲ

To a young man who was striking poses for a sculptor he said, “Tell me, if the bronze got a voice, what do you think it would pride itself on?” When the young man said, “Its beauty,” he said, “Then aren’t you ashamed to take delight in the same thing as a lifeless object?” A young man from Pontus promised to look after him well if his ship

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	αἰτούσης τὸ διάφορον, "ὁ νεανίσκος," ἔφη, "δώσει ἐὰν τὸ πλοῖον αὐτοῦ τῶν ταρίχων ἀφίκηται."	of salt fish came in. Antisthenes took him along with an empty sack to a woman who sold barley meal, had the sack filled and walked off. When she asked for payment, he said, "The young man will pay, if his ship of salt fish comes in."
	Αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ Ἀνύτῳ τῆς φυγῆς αἴτιος γενέσθαι δοκεῖ καὶ Μελήτῳ τοῦ θανάτου. [10] Ποντικοῖς γὰρ νεανίσκοις κατὰ κλέος τοῦ Σωκράτους ἀφιγμένοις περιτυχὼν ἀπήγαγεν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν Ἄνυτον, εἰπὼν ἐν ἤθει σοφώτερον εἶναι τοῦ Σωκράτους· ἐφ' ᾧ διαγανακτήσαντας τοὺς περιεστῶτας ἐκδιῶξαι αὐτόν. εἰ δέ ποθι θεάσαιτο γύναιον κεκοσμημένον, ἀπῄει ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῆς καὶ ἐκέλευε τὸν ἄνδρα ἐξαγαγεῖν ἵππον καὶ ὅπλα, ὥστ' εἰ μὲν ἔχοι ταῦτα, ἐᾶν τρυφᾶν· ἀμυνεῖσθαι γὰρ τούτοις· εἰ δὲ μή, περιαιρεῖν τὸν κόσμον.	He is also thought to have been responsible for the exile of Anytus and the death of Meletus. [10] For he came across some young men from Pontus who had come drawn by Socrates' fame, and he took them to Anytus, saying ironically that Anytus was wiser than Socrates. At this the bystanders were so indignant that they drove Anytus out of the city. Whenever he saw a woman dressed up in finery, he would go to her house and tell her husband to bring out his horse and his armor. If he had them, he should let her enjoy her luxury, since he could defend it with them; if not, he should strip off her finery.[5]
6.10	Ἤρεσκεν αὐτῷ καὶ τάδε. διδακτὴν ἀπεδείκνυε τὴν ἀρετήν. τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐγενεῖς [τ]οὺς καὶ ἐναρέτους· [11] αὐτάρκη δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν, μηδενὸς προσδεομένην ὅτι μὴ Σωκρατικῆς ἰσχύος. τήν τ' ἀρετὴν τῶν ἔργων εἶναι, μήτε λόγων πλείστων δεομένην μήτε μαθημάτων. αὐτάρκη τ' εἶναι τὸν σοφόν· πάντα γὰρ αὐτοῦ εἶναι τὰ τῶν ἄλλων. τήν τ' ἀδοξίαν ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἴσον τῷ πόνῳ. καὶ τὸν σοφὸν οὐ κατὰ τοὺς κειμένους νόμους πολιτεύσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς. γαμήσειν τε τεκνοποιίας χάριν, ταῖς εὐφυεστάταις συνιόντα γυναιξί. καὶ ἐρασθήσεσθαι δέ· μόνον γὰρ εἰδέναι τὸν σοφὸν τίνων χρὴ ἐρᾶν.	These too were his views. He showed that excellence can be taught. He held that the nobly born are the same people as the excellent; [11] that excellence is sufficient for happiness, needing nothing in addition except the strength of a Socrates; that excellence is a matter of deeds and needs neither a great many words nor much learning; that the wise man is self-sufficient, since everything that belongs to others is his; that obscurity is a good, on a par with toil; that the wise man will live as a citizen not by the established laws but by the law of excellence; that he will marry for the sake of having children, uniting with the most gifted women; and that he will also love, for only the wise man knows whom one ought to love.
6.12	Ἀναγράφει δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Διοκλῆς ταυτί. τῷ σοφῷ ξένον οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἄπορον. ἀξιέραστος ὁ ἀγαθός· οἱ σπουδαῖοι φίλοι· συμμάχους ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς εὐψύχους ἅμα καὶ δικαίους· ἀναφαίρετον ὅπλον ἡ ἀρετή· κρεῖττόν ἐστι μετ' ὀλίγων ἀγαθῶν πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς κακοὺς ἢ μετὰ πολλῶν κακῶν πρὸς ὀλίγους ἀγαθοὺς μάχεσθαι. προσέχειν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς· πρῶτοι γὰρ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων αἰσθάνονται. τὸν δίκαιον περὶ πλείονος ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ συγγενοῦς· ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ἡ αὐτὴ ἀρετή· τἀγαθὰ καλά, τὰ κακὰ αἰσχρά· τὰ πονηρὰ νόμιζε πάντα ξενικά.	Diocles also records these sayings of his. Nothing is foreign or impossible to the wise man. The good man is worthy of love. The worthy are friends. Make allies of those who are both brave and just. Excellence is a weapon that cannot be taken away. It is better to fight with a few good men against all the bad than with many bad men against a few good ones. Pay attention to your enemies, for they are the first to notice your mistakes. Value a just man more than a kinsman. The excellence of a man and of a woman is the same. Good things are fine, bad things shameful. Regard everything wicked as foreign to you.

5 Anytus and Meletus were among the accusers of Socrates at his trial in 399 BC.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
6.13	Τεῖχος ἀσφαλέστατον φρόνησιν· μήτε γὰρ καταρρεῖν μήτε προδίδοσθαι. τείχη κατασκευαστέον ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶν ἀναλώτοις λογισμοῖς. διελέγετο δ' ἐν τῷ Κυνοσάργει γυμνασίῳ μικρὸν ἄποθεν τῶν πυλῶν· ὅθεν τινὲς καὶ τὴν κυνικὴν ἐντεῦθεν ὀνομασθῆναι. αὐτός τ' ἐπεκαλεῖτο Ἁπλοκύων. καὶ πρῶτος ἐδίπλωσε τὸν τρίβωνα, καθά φησι Διοκλῆς, καὶ μόνῳ αὐτῷ ἐχρῆτο· βάκτρον τ' ἀνέλαβε καὶ πήραν. πρῶτον δὲ καὶ Νεάνθης φησὶ διπλῶσαι θοιμάτιον. Σωσικράτης δ' ἐν τρίτῃ Διαδοχῶν Διόδωρον τὸν Ἀσπένδιον, καὶ πώγωνα καθεῖναι καὶ πήρᾳ καὶ βάκτρῳ χρῆσθαι.	Understanding is the safest wall, for it neither crumbles nor is betrayed. Walls must be built in our own impregnable reasonings. He held his discussions in the gymnasium of Cynosarges, a little way outside the gates, and some say the Cynic school took its name from there. He himself was nicknamed "the Plain Dog." And he was the first, as Diocles says, to double his cloak and wear only that, and he took up a staff and a bag. Neanthes too says he was the first to double his cloak. But Sosicrates, in the third book of his *Successions*, says it was Diodorus of Aspendus, who also let his beard grow and used a bag and a staff.[6]
6.14	Τοῦτον μόνον ἐκ πάντων Σωκρατικῶν Θεόπομπος ἐπαινεῖ καί φησι δεινόν τ' εἶναι καὶ δι' ὁμιλίας ἐμμελοῦς ὑπαγαγέσθαι πάνθ' ὁντινοῦν. δῆλον δ' ἐκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων κἀκ τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος Συμποσίου. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀνδρωδεστάτης Στωικῆς κατάρξαι· ὅθεν καὶ Ἀθήναιος ὁ ἐπιγραμματοποιὸς περὶ αὐτῶν φησὶν οὕτως· ὦ στωικῶν μύθων εἰδήμονες, ὦ πανάριστα δόγματα ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐνθέμενοι σελίσιν, τὰν ἀρετὰν ψυχᾶς ἀγαθὸν μόνον· ἅδε γὰρ ἀνδρῶν μούνα καὶ βιοτὰν ῥύσατο καὶ πόλιας. σαρκὸς δ' ἡδυπάθημα, φίλον τέλος ἀνδράσιν ἄλλοις, ἡ μία τῶν Μνήμης ἤνυσε θυγατέρων.	Of all the followers of Socrates, Theopompus praises him alone. He says he was clever and could win over anyone at all with agreeable conversation. This is clear from his writings and from Xenophon's *Symposium*. He also seems to have been the founder of the manliest school, the Stoic. This is why Athenaeus the writer of epigrams says of them: You who are versed in Stoic lore, you who have set down the finest doctrines in your sacred pages: that excellence alone is the good of the soul, for it alone has saved the lives of men and their cities. But the pampering of the flesh, the cherished goal of other men, was the work of just one of Memory's daughters.[7]
6.15	Οὗτος ἡγήσατο καὶ τῆς Διογένους ἀπαθείας καὶ τῆς Κράτητος ἐγκρατείας καὶ τῆς Ζήνωνος καρτερίας, αὐτὸς ὑποθέμενος τῇ πολιτείᾳ τὰ θεμέλια. ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἥδιστον μὲν εἶναι περὶ τὰς ὁμιλίας φησὶν αὐτόν, ἐγκρατέστατον δὲ περὶ τἆλλα.	He led the way to the freedom from passion of Diogenes, the self-control of Crates and the endurance of Zeno, and he himself laid the foundations of their commonwealth. Xenophon says that he was the most delightful of men in conversation and the most self-controlled in everything else.
	Φέρονται δ' αὐτοῦ συγγράμματα τόμοι δέκα· πρῶτος ἐν ᾧ Περὶ λέξεως ἢ περὶ χαρακτήρων. Αἴας ἢ Αἴαντος λόγος. Ὀδυσσεὺς ἢ περὶ Ὀδυσσέως. Ὀρέστου ἀπολογία ἢ περὶ τῶν δικογράφων. Ἰσογραφὴ ἢ Λυσίας καὶ Ἰσοκράτης. Πρὸς τὸν Ἰσοκράτους Ἀμάρτυρον.	His writings survive in ten volumes. The first contains: *On Style, or On Types of Style*; *Ajax, or The Speech of Ajax*; *Odysseus, or On Odysseus*; *The Defense of Orestes, or On the Writers of Law-Court Speeches*; *Isography, or Lysias and Isocrates*; *Reply to Isocrates' "Without Witnesses."*
	Τόμος δεύτερος ἐν ᾧ [16] Περὶ ζῴων φύσεως. Περὶ παιδοποιίας ἢ περὶ γάμου ἐρωτικός. Περὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν φυσιογνωμονικός. Περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀνδρείας	The second volume contains: [16] *On the Nature of Animals*; *On Begetting Children, or On Marriage*, a discourse on love; *On the Sophists*, a work on

6 The name Cynosarges begins like the Greek *kyōn*, "dog," the word behind "Cynic."
7 The daughters of Memory (Mnemosyne) are the Muses.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	προτρεπτικὸς πρῶτος, δεύτερος, τρίτος. Περὶ Θεόγνιδος δ' ε'.	physiognomy; *On Justice and Courage*, an exhortation, 1, 2, 3; *On Theognis*, 4, 5.
6.16	Τόμος τρίτος ἐν ᾧ Περὶ ἀγαθοῦ. Περὶ ἀνδρείας. Περὶ νόμου ἢ περὶ πολιτείας. Περὶ νόμου ἢ περὶ καλοῦ καὶ δικαίου. Περὶ ἐλευθερίας καὶ δουλείας. Περὶ πίστεως. Περὶ ἐπιτρόπου ἢ περὶ τοῦ πείθεσθαι. Περὶ νίκης οἰκονομικός.	The third volume contains: *On the Good*; *On Courage*; *On Law, or On the Constitution*; *On Law, or On the Fine and the Just*; *On Freedom and Slavery*; *On Trust*; *On the Guardian, or On Obedience*; *On Victory*, a work on household management.
	Τόμος τέταρτος ἐν ᾧ Κῦρος. Ἡρακλῆς ὁ μείζων ἢ περὶ ἰσχύος. Τόμος πέμπτος ἐν ᾧ Κῦρος ἢ περὶ βασιλείας. Ἀσπασία. Τόμος ἕκτος ἐν ᾧ Ἀλήθεια. Περὶ τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι ἀντιλογικός. Σάθων ἢ περὶ τοῦ ἀντιλέγειν α' β' γ'. Περὶ διαλέκτου.	The fourth volume contains: *Cyrus*; *The Greater Heracles, or On Strength*. The fifth volume contains: *Cyrus, or On Kingship*; *Aspasia*. The sixth volume contains: *Truth*; *On Discussion*, a work on contradiction; *Sathon, or On Contradicting*, 1, 2, 3; *On Language*.[8]
6.17	Τόμος ἕβδομος ἐν ᾧ Περὶ παιδείας ἢ ὀνομάτων α' β' γ' δ' ε'. Περὶ ὀνομάτων χρήσεως ἐριστικός. Περὶ ἐρωτήσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως. Περὶ δόξης καὶ ἐπιστήμης α' β' γ' δ'. Περὶ τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν. Περὶ ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου. Περὶ τῶν ἐν ᾅδου. Περὶ φύσεως α' β'. Ἐρώτημα περὶ φύσεως β'. Δόξαι ἢ ἐριστικός. Περὶ τοῦ μανθάνειν προβλήματα.	The seventh volume contains: *On Education, or On Names*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; *On the Use of Names*, an eristic work; *On Question and Answer*; *On Opinion and Knowledge*, 1, 2, 3, 4; *On Dying*; *On Life and Death*; *On Those in Hades*; *On Nature*, 1, 2; *A Question about Nature*, 2; *Opinions, or The Eristic*; *Problems about Learning*.
	Τόμος ὄγδοος ἐν ᾧ Περὶ μουσικῆς. Περὶ ἐξηγητῶν. Περὶ Ὁμήρου. Περὶ ἀδικίας καὶ ἀσεβείας. Περὶ Κάλχαντος. Περὶ κατασκόπου. Περὶ ἡδονῆς.	The eighth volume contains: *On Music*; *On Interpreters*; *On Homer*; *On Injustice and Impiety*; *On Calchas*; *On the Scout*; *On Pleasure*.
	Τόμος ἔνατος ἐν ᾧ Περὶ Ὀδυσσείας. Περὶ τῆς ῥάβδου. Ἀθηνᾶ ἢ περὶ Τηλεμάχου. Περὶ Ἑλένης καὶ Πηνελόπης. Περὶ Πρωτέως. Κύκλωψ ἢ περὶ Ὀδυσσέως. [18] Περὶ οἴνου χρήσεως ἢ περὶ μέθης ἢ περὶ τοῦ Κύκλωπος. Περὶ Κίρκης. Περὶ Ἀμφιαράου. Περὶ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως καὶ Πηνελόπης καὶ περὶ τοῦ κυνός.	The ninth volume contains: *On the Odyssey*; *On the Staff*; *Athena, or On Telemachus*; *On Helen and Penelope*; *On Proteus*; *Cyclops, or On Odysseus*; [18] *On the Use of Wine, or On Drunkenness, or On the Cyclops*; *On Circe*; *On Amphiaraus*; *On Odysseus and Penelope, and On the Dog*.
6.18	Τόμος δέκατος ἐν ᾧ Ἡρακλῆς ἢ Μίδας. Ἡρακλῆς ἢ περὶ φρονήσεως ἢ ἰσχύος. Κῦρος ἢ ἐρώμενος. Κῦρος ἢ κατάσκοποι. Μενέξενος ἢ περὶ τοῦ ἄρχειν. Ἀλκιβιάδης. Ἀρχέλαος ἢ περὶ βασιλείας.	The tenth volume contains: *Heracles, or Midas*; *Heracles, or On Understanding or Strength*; *Cyrus, or The Beloved*; *Cyrus, or The Scouts*; *Menexenus, or On Ruling*; *Alcibiades*; *Archelaus, or On Kingship*.
	Καὶ ταῦτα μέν ἐστιν ἃ συνέγραψεν.	These, then, are his writings.
	Ὧι Τίμων διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπιτιμῶν "παντοφυῆ φλέδονά" φησιν αὐτόν. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ ἀρρωστίᾳ· ὅτε καὶ Διογένης εἰσιὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη, "μήτι χρεία φίλου;" καί ποτε παρ' αὐτὸν ξιφίδιον ἔχων εἰσῆλθε. τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος, "τίς ἂν ἀπολύσειέ με τῶν πόνων;" δείξας τὸ ξιφίδιον, ἔφη, "τοῦτο"· καὶ ὅς, "τῶν πόνων," εἶπον, "οὐ τοῦ ζῆν." [19] ἐδόκει γάρ πως μαλακώτερον φέρειν τὴν νόσον ὑπὸ φιλοζωίας. καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχον· τὸν βίον ἦσθα κύων, Ἀντίσθενες, ὧδε πεφυκὼς	Timon, finding fault with him for their number, calls him "a babbler who turns out every kind of thing." He died of an illness. During it Diogenes came in to see him and asked, "Do you need a friend?" Once he even came in carrying a dagger. When Antisthenes said, "Who will release me from my pains?", he showed him the dagger and said, "This will." And Antisthenes replied, "From my pains, I said, not from life." [19] For it seemed

8 "Sathon" is a mocking distortion of Plato's name, formed from a vulgar Greek word for the penis.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ὥστε δακεῖν κραδίην ῥήμασιν, οὐ στόμασιν· ἀλλ᾽ ἔθανες φθισικός, τάχ᾽ ἐρεῖ τις ἴσως· τί δὲ τοῦτο; πάντως εἰς Ἀΐδην δεῖ τιν᾽ ὁδηγὸν ἔχειν.	that his love of life made him bear his illness rather weakly. And here is my own epigram on him: In life you were a dog, Antisthenes, so made by nature as to bite the heart with words, not with your mouth. But you died of consumption, someone may well say. So what? One needs some guide to Hades anyway.[9]
6.19	Γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Ἀντισθένεις τρεῖς· Ἡρακλείτειος εἷς, καὶ ἕτερος Ἐφέσιος, καὶ Ῥόδιός τις ἱστορικός. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοὺς ἀπ᾽ Ἀριστίππου διεληλύθαμεν καὶ Φαίδωνος, νῦν ἐλκύσωμεν τοὺς ἀπ᾽ Ἀντισθένους κυνικούς τε καὶ στωικούς. καὶ ἐχέτω ὧδε.	There have also been three other men named Antisthenes: one a follower of Heraclitus, another from Ephesus, and a historian from Rhodes. Since we have gone through the followers of Aristippus and of Phaedo, let us now draw out the Cynics and Stoics who derive from Antisthenes. Let it proceed as follows.

DIOGENES OF SINOPE

Diogenes defaces the coinage, follows Antisthenes, lives in a jar, and mocks Plato and everyone else.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
6.20	Διογένης Ἰκεσίου τραπεζίτου Σινωπεύς. φησὶ δὲ Διοκλῆς, δημοσίαν αὐτοῦ τὴν τράπεζαν ἔχοντος τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ παραχαράξαντος τὸ νόμισμα, φυγεῖν. Εὐβουλίδης δ᾽ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Διογένους αὐτόν φησι Διογένην τοῦτο πρᾶξαι καὶ συναλᾶσθαι τῷ πατρί. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ αὑτοῦ φησιν ἐν τῷ Πορδάλῳ ὡς παραχαράξαι τὸ νόμισμα. ἔνιοι δ᾽ ἐπιμελητὴν γενόμενον ἀναπεισθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν τεχνιτῶν καὶ ἐλθόντα εἰς Δελφοὺς ἢ εἰς τὸ Δήλιον ἐν τῇ πατρίδι Ἀπόλλωνος πυνθάνεσθαι εἰ ταῦτα πράξει ἅπερ ἀναπείθεται· τοῦ δὲ συγχωρήσαντος τὸ πολιτικὸν νόμισμα, οὐ συνείς, τὸ κέρμα ἐκιβδήλευσε καὶ φωραθείς, ὡς μέν τινες, ἐφυγαδεύθη, ὡς δέ τινες, ἑκὼν ὑπεξῆλθε φοβηθείς. [21] ἔνιοι δέ φασι παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτὸν λαβόντα τὸ νόμισμα διαφθεῖραι· καὶ τὸν μὲν δεθέντα ἀποθανεῖν, τὸν δὲ φυγεῖν ἐλθεῖν τ᾽ εἰς Δελφοὺς καὶ πυνθανόμενον οὐκ εἰ παραχαράξει, ἀλλὰ τί ποιήσας ἐνδοξότατος ἔσται, οὕτω λαβεῖν τὸν χρησμὸν τοῦτον.	Diogenes, son of Hicesias the banker, was from Sinope. Diocles says that his father ran the public bank and debased the coinage, and that Diogenes went into exile. But Eubulides, in his *On Diogenes*, says that Diogenes himself did this and went into exile with his father. Indeed, Diogenes himself says in his *Pordalus* that he debased the coinage. Some say that he had been put in charge of the mint and was talked into it by the workmen. He went to Delphi, or to the shrine of Delian Apollo in his own city, and asked whether he should do what he was being urged to do. The god gave him leave to alter the political currency. Not understanding this, he adulterated the coinage. When he was caught, according to some he was banished; according to others he took fright and left of his own accord. [21] Some say that he received the coinage from his father and debased it, and that his father was imprisoned and died, while he fled and went to Delphi. There he asked not whether he should deface the coinage but what he should do to become most famous, and in this way he received the oracle.[10]
6.21	Γενόμενος δὲ Ἀθήνησιν Ἀντισθένει παρέβαλε. τοῦ δὲ διωθουμένου διὰ τὸ μηδένα προσίεσθαι, ἐξεβιάζετο τῇ	When he came to Athens, he attached himself to Antisthenes. Antisthenes pushed him away, since

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	προσεδρίᾳ. καί ποτε τὴν βακτηρίαν ἐπανατειναμένου αὐτῷ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑποσχών, "παῖε," εἶπεν· "οὐ γὰρ εὑρήσεις οὕτω σκληρὸν ξύλον ᾧ με ἀπείρξεις ἕως ἄν τι φαίνῃ λέγων." τοὐντεῦθεν διήκουσεν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἅτε φυγὰς ὢν ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν εὐτελῆ βίον.	he admitted no one, but Diogenes forced his way in by sheer persistence. Once, when Antisthenes raised his staff at him, he offered his head and said, "Strike! You won't find any wood hard enough to keep me away, as long as I think you have something to say." From then on he was Antisthenes' pupil, and, being an exile, he took up the simple life.
6.22	Μῦν θεασάμενος διατρέχοντα, καθά φησι Θεόφραστος ἐν τῷ Μεγαρικῷ, καὶ μήτε κοίτην ἐπιζητοῦντα μήτε σκότος εὐλαβούμενον ἢ ποθοῦντά τι τῶν δοκούντων ἀπολαυστῶν, πόρον ἐξεῦρε τῆς περιστάσεως. τρίβωνα διπλώσας πρῶτος κατά τινας διὰ τὸ ἀνάγκην ἔχειν καὶ ἐνεύδειν αὐτῷ, πήραν τ' ἐκομίσατο, ἔνθα αὐτῷ τὰ σιτία ἦν, καὶ παντὶ τόπῳ ἐχρῆτο εἰς πάντα, ἀριστῶν τε καὶ καθεύδων καὶ διαλεγόμενος. ὅτε καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔφασκε, δεικνὺς τὴν τοῦ Διὸς στοὰν καὶ τὸ Πομπεῖον, αὐτῷ κατεσκευακέναι ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι.	As Theophrastus says in his *Megarian*, he watched a mouse scurrying about, not looking for a bed, not afraid of the dark, not longing for any of the things people think enjoyable, and so he found a way out of his circumstances. According to some, he was the first to double his cloak, because he also had to sleep in it. He carried a bag in which he kept his food, and he used any place for any purpose: eating breakfast, sleeping, conversing. He would say, pointing to the Stoa of Zeus and the Pompeion, that the Athenians had built him places to live in.[11]
6.23	βακτηρίᾳ δ' ἐπεστηρίζετο ἀσθενήσας· ἔπειτα μέντοι καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐφόρει, οὐ μὴν ἐν ἄστει, ἀλλὰ καθ' ὁδὸν αὐτῇ τε καὶ τῇ πήρᾳ, καθά φησιν Ἀθηνόδωρος ὁ Ἀθηναίων προστατήσας καὶ Πολύευκτος ὁ ῥήτωρ καὶ Λυσανίας ὁ Αἰσχρίωνος. ἐπιστείλας δέ τινι οἰκίδιον αὐτῷ προνοήσασθαι, βραδύνοντος, τὸν ἐν τῷ Μητρῴῳ πίθον ἔσχεν οἰκίαν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς διασαφεῖ. καὶ θέρους μὲν ἐπὶ ψάμμου ζεστῆς ἐκυλινδεῖτο, χειμῶνος δ' ἀνδριάντας κεχιονισμένους περιελάμβανε, πανταχόθεν ἑαυτὸν συνασκῶν.	He leaned on a staff when he fell ill. Later, though, he carried it all the time—not in the city, but on the road—together with his bag, as Athenodorus, who presided over the Athenians, says, and also Polyeuctus the rhetorician and Lysanias son of Aeschrion. He wrote to someone asking him to find him a little house, and when the man was slow about it, he took the storage jar in the Metroon as his home, as he himself explains in his letters. In summer he would roll in the hot sand, and in winter he would embrace snow-covered statues, training himself in every possible way.[12]
6.24	Δεινός τ' ἦν κατασοβαρεύσασθαι τῶν ἄλλων. καὶ τὴν μὲν Εὐκλείδου σχολὴν ἔλεγε χολήν, τὴν δὲ Πλάτωνος διατριβὴν κατατριβήν, τοὺς δὲ Διονυσιακοὺς ἀγῶνας μεγάλα θαύματα μωροῖς ἔλεγε καὶ τοὺς δημαγωγοὺς ὄχλου διακόνους. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ ὡς ὅτε μὲν ἴδοι κυβερνήτας ἐν τῷ βίῳ καὶ ἰατροὺς καὶ φιλοσόφους, συνετώτατον εἶναι τῶν ζῴων νομίζειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον· ὅτε δὲ πάλιν ὀνειροκρίτας καὶ μάντεις καὶ τοὺς προσέχοντας τούτοις ἢ τοὺς ἐπὶ δόξῃ καὶ πλούτῳ πεφυσημένους, οὐδὲν ματαιότερον νομίζειν ἀνθρώπου. συνεχές τε ἔλεγεν εἰς τὸν βίον παρεσκευάσθαι δεῖν λόγον ἢ βρόχον.	He was good at pouring scorn on others. He called Euclides' school (*scholē*) bile (*cholē*), and Plato's lectures (*diatribē*) a waste of time (*katatribē*). He called the Dionysiac contests great marvels for fools, and the demagogues the mob's lackeys. He also used to say that when he looked at ship-pilots, doctors and philosophers in life, he thought man the most intelligent of animals; but when, on the other hand, he looked at dream-interpreters and seers and those who heed them, or at people puffed up with fame and wealth, he thought noth-

9 Timon of Phlius was a Skeptic poet whose satirical *Silli* lampooned philosophers.
10 The oracle's words could also mean "alter the city's customs": *nomisma*, "currency," is related to *nomos*, "custom, law."
11 The Stoa of Zeus was a colonnade in the Agora; the Pompeion, near the city gates, housed equipment for religious processions.
12 The jar (*pithos*), often called his "tub," was a huge earthenware storage vessel; the Metroon was the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods in the Agora.

GREEK

ENGLISH

ing more foolish than man. He constantly said that for life one should have prepared either reason or a rope.

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

Once at an expensive dinner he noticed Plato helping himself to olives. "Why is it," he said, "that you, the wise man who sailed to Sicily for the sake of tables like these, don't enjoy them now that they're set before you?" Plato said, "By the gods, Diogenes, there too I mostly lived on olives and things like that." Diogenes replied, "Then why did you need to sail to Syracuse? Or didn't Attica grow olives in those days?" Favorinus, however, in his *Miscellaneous History*, says it was Aristippus who said this. Another time, when he was eating dried figs, he met Plato and said, "You may have a share." Plato took them and ate them, and he said, "I said have a share, not eat them all."[13]

6.26 Πατῶν αὐτοῦ ποτε τὰ στρώματα κεκληκότος φίλους παρὰ Διονυσίου, ἔφη, "πατῶ τὴν Πλάτωνος κενοσπουδίαν"· πρὸς ὃν ὁ Πλάτων, "ὅσον, ὦ Διόγενες, τοῦ τύφου διαφαίνεις, δοκῶν μὴ τετυφῶσθαι." οἱ δέ φασι τὸν Διογένην εἰπεῖν, "πατῶ τὸν Πλάτωνος τῦφον"· τὸν δὲ φάναι, "ἑτέρῳ γε τύφῳ, Διόγενες"· Σωτίων δ᾽ ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ φησὶ τοῦτο πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν τὸν Πλάτωνα τὸν κύνα. Διογένης οἶνόν ποτ᾽ ᾔτησεν αὐτόν, τότε δὲ καὶ ἰσχάδας. ὁ δὲ κεράμιον ὅλον ἔπεμψεν αὐτῷ· καὶ ὅς, "σύ," φησίν, "ἐὰν ἐρωτηθῇς δύο καὶ δύο πόσα ἐστίν, Εἴκοσιν ἀποκρινῇ; οὕτως οὔτε πρὸς τὰ αἰτούμενα δίδως οὔτε πρὸς τὰ ἐρωτώμεν᾽ ἀποκρίνῃ." ἔσκωψε δὴ ὡς ἀπεραντολόγον.

Once, when Plato had invited some friends who had come from Dionysius, Diogenes trampled on his carpets and said, "I trample on Plato's empty vanity." Plato replied, "How much pride you show, Diogenes, by seeming not to be proud!" Others say that Diogenes said, "I trample on Plato's pride," and Plato replied, "Yes, Diogenes, with a pride of a different kind." Sotion, in his fourth book, says that the Dog said this to Plato himself. Diogenes once asked him for some wine, and at the same time for some dried figs, and Plato sent him a whole jar. Diogenes said, "If you're asked how much two and two make, will you answer, 'Twenty'? You don't give what you're asked for, and you don't answer what you're asked." So he mocked him as someone who talked without end.[14]

6.27 Ἐρωτηθεὶς ποῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἴδοι ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, "ἄνδρας μέν," εἶπεν, "οὐδαμοῦ, παῖδας δ᾽ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι." σπουδαιολογουμένῳ ποτὲ ὡς οὐδεὶς προσῄει, ἐπέβαλε τερετίζειν· ἀθροισθέντων δέ, ὠνείδισεν ὡς ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς φληνάφους ἀφικνουμένων σπουδαίως, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ σπουδαῖα βραδυνόντων [ὀλιγώρως]. ἔλεγέ τε περὶ μὲν τοῦ παρορύττειν καὶ λακτίζειν ἀγωνίζεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, περὶ δὲ καλοκἀγαθίας μηδένα. τούς τε γραμματικοὺς ἐθαύμαζε τὰ μὲν τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως κακὰ ἀναζητοῦντας, τὰ δ᾽ ἴδια ἀγνοοῦντας.

Asked where in Greece he had seen good men, he said, "Men, nowhere; boys, in Sparta." Once, when he was speaking seriously and nobody came near him, he started to whistle a tune. When people gathered, he rebuked them for coming eagerly to nonsense but being slow [and careless] about serious things. He used to say that people compete at gouging and kicking, but no one competes at being fine and good. And he was amazed at the grammarians, who investigate the troubles of Odysseus but know nothing of their own.

13 Plato made visits to the court of the tyrants Dionysius I and Dionysius II at Syracuse in Sicily.
14 "The Dog" (*kyōn*) was Diogenes' nickname, and the origin of the name "Cynic."

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	καὶ μὴν καὶ τοὺς μουσικοὺς τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ λύρᾳ χορδὰς ἁρμόττεσθαι, ἀνάρμοστα δ' ἔχειν τῆς ψυχῆς τὰ ἤθη· [28] τοὺς μαθηματικοὺς ἀποβλέπειν μὲν πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην, τὰ δ' ἐν ποσὶ πράγματα παροραῖν· τοὺς ῥήτορας λέγειν μὲν ἐσπουδακέναι τὰ δίκαια, πράττειν δὲ μηδαμῶς· ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοὺς φιλαργύρους ψέγειν μὲν τὸ ἀργύριον, ὑπεραγαπᾶν δέ. κατεγίνωσκε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπαινούντων μὲν τοὺς δικαίους, ὅτι χρημάτων ἐπάνω εἶεν, ζηλούντων δὲ τοὺς πολυχρημάτους. ἐκίνει δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ θύειν μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς ὑπὲρ ὑγιείας, ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ θυσίᾳ κατὰ τῆς ὑγιείας δειπνεῖν. ἄγασθαι δὲ καὶ τῶν δούλων οἳ λαβροφαγοῦντας ὁρῶντες τοὺς δεσπότας μηδὲν ἁρπάζοιεν τῶν ἐσθιομένων.	He was amazed, too, that musicians tune the strings of the lyre but leave the dispositions of their soul out of tune; [28] that mathematicians gaze at the sun and the moon but overlook what lies at their feet; that orators are eager to speak about what is just but never practice it; and that the money-lovers denounce money yet love it to excess. He also condemned those who praise the just for being above money while envying the very rich. It moved him, too, that people sacrifice to the gods for their health and then, at the sacrifice itself, feast in a way that ruins it. And he admired slaves who see their masters gorging and snatch none of the food.
6.29	ἐπῄνει τοὺς μέλλοντας γαμεῖν καὶ μὴ γαμεῖν, καὶ τοὺς μέλλοντας καταπλεῖν καὶ μὴ καταπλεῖν, καὶ τοὺς μέλλοντας πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ μὴ πολιτεύεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς παιδοτροφεῖν καὶ μὴ παιδοτροφεῖν, καὶ τοὺς παρασκευαζομένους συμβιοῦν τοῖς δυνάσταις καὶ μὴ προσιόντας. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ δεῖν τὰς χεῖρας ἐπὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐκτείνειν μὴ συγκεκαμμένοις τοῖς δακτύλοις. φησὶ δὲ Μένιππος ἐν τῇ Διογένους Πράσει ὡς ἁλοὺς καὶ πωλούμενος ἠρωτήθη τί οἶδε ποιεῖν. ἀπεκρίνατο, "ἀνδρῶν ἄρχειν"· καὶ πρὸς τὸν κήρυκα, "κήρυσσε," ἔφη, "εἴ τις ἐθέλει δεσπότην αὐτῷ πρίασθαι." κωλυθεὶς καθίζεσθαι, "οὐδέν," ἔφη, "διαφέρει· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἰχθῦς ὅπως ἂν κέοιντο πιπράσκεσθαι."	He praised those who were about to marry and didn't; those who were about to go to sea and didn't; those who were about to enter public life and didn't; those who were about to raise children and didn't; and those who were preparing to live with the powerful and never went near them. He also used to say that one should hold out one's hand to friends without the fingers closed. Menippus says in his *Sale of Diogenes* that when he had been captured and was being sold, he was asked what he knew how to do. He answered, "Rule men." And to the herald he said, "Announce it: does anyone want to buy himself a master?" When he was told not to sit down, he said, "It makes no difference. Fish are sold however they happen to lie."[15]
6.30	θαυμάζειν τ' ἔφη εἰ χύτραν μὲν καὶ λοπάδα ὠνούμενοι κομποῦμεν· ἄνθρωπον δὲ μόνῃ τῇ ὄψει ἀρκούμεθα. ἔλεγε τῷ Ξενιάδῃ τῷ πριαμένῳ αὐτόν, δεῖν πείθεσθαι αὐτῷ, εἰ καὶ δοῦλος εἴη· καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἰατρὸς ἢ κυβερνήτης ἦν δοῦλος, πεισθῆναι ἂν αὐτῷ. Εὔβουλος δέ φησιν ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Διογένους Πρᾶσις οὕτως ἄγειν τοὺς παῖδας τοῦ Ξενιάδου, μετὰ τὰ λοιπὰ μαθήματα ἱππεύειν, τοξεύειν, σφενδονᾶν, ἀκοντίζειν· ἔπειτ' ἐν τῇ παλαίστρᾳ οὐκ ἐπέτρεπε τῷ παιδοτρίβῃ ἀθλητικῶς ἄγειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ μόνον ἐρυθήματος χάριν καὶ εὐεξίας.	He said he was amazed that when we buy a pot or a dish we tap it to test the sound, but with a human being we are satisfied with a look. He told Xeniades, who had bought him, that he must obey him even though he was a slave. After all, if a doctor or a ship's captain were a slave, he would be obeyed. Eubulus, in the work entitled *Sale of Diogenes*, says that he trained Xeniades' sons like this. After their other lessons they learned riding, archery, slinging and the javelin. Then, in the wrestling school, he did not let the trainer train them like athletes, only enough for a healthy color and good condition.[16]
6.31	Κατεῖχον δὲ οἱ παῖδες πολλὰ ποιητῶν καὶ συγγραφέων καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ Διογένους, πᾶσάν τ' ἔφοδον σύντομον	The boys learned by heart many passages of poets and prose writers and of Diogenes' own writings,

15 Menippus of Gadara was a Cynic satirist of the third century BC. According to the story, Diogenes was captured by pirates and sold as a slave.
16 Xeniades was a Corinthian who, in the story, bought Diogenes and put him in charge of his household and his sons.

GREEK

πρὸς τὸ εὐμνημόνευτον ἐπήσκει. ἐν οἴκῳ τ' ἐδίδασκε διακονεῖσθαι λιτῇ τροφῇ χρωμένους καὶ ὕδωρ πίνοντας, ἐν χρῷ κουρίας τε καὶ ἀκαλλωπίστους εἰργάζετο καὶ ἀχίτωνας καὶ ἀνυποδήτους καὶ σιωπηλοὺς καὶ καθ' αὑτοὺς βλέποντας ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς. ἐξῆγε δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ κυνηγέσια. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ Διογένους ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποιοῦντο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γονέας αἰτητικῶς εἶχον. ὁ δ' αὐτός φησι παρὰ τῷ Ξενιάδῃ καὶ γηρᾶσαι αὐτὸν καὶ θανόντα ταφῆναι πρὸς τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ.

ἔνθα καὶ πυνθανομένου τοῦ Ξενιάδου πῶς αὐτὸν θάψειεν, ἔφη, "ἐπὶ πρόσωπον". [32] τοῦ δ' ἐρομένου "διὰ τί;" "ὅτι μετ' ὀλίγον," εἶπε, "μέλλει τὰ κάτω ἄνω στρέφεσθαι." τοῦτο δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐπικρατεῖν ἤδη τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἢ ἐκ ταπεινῶν ὑψηλοὺς γίνεσθαι. εἰσαγαγόντος τινὸς αὐτὸν εἰς οἶκον πολυτελῆ καὶ κωλύοντος πτύσαι, ἐπειδὴ ἐχρέμψατο, εἰς τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ ἔπτυσεν, εἰπὼν χείρονα τόπον μὴ εὑρηκέναι. οἱ δὲ τοῦτο Ἀριστίππου φασί. φωνήσας ποτέ, "ἰὼ ἄνθρωποι," [καὶ] συνελθόντων, καθίκετο τῇ βακτηρίᾳ, εἰπών, "ἀνθρώπους ἐκάλεσα, οὐ καθάρματα," ὥς φησιν Ἑκάτων ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Χρειῶν. φασὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον εἰπεῖν ὡς εἴπερ Ἀλέξανδρος μὴ ἐγεγόνειν, ἠθέλησα ἂν Διογένης γενέσθαι.

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

6.34 Πρὸς τοὺς εἰπόντας, "γέρων εἶ καὶ λοιπὸν ἄνες," "τί δέ," ἔφη, "εἰ δόλιχον ἔτρεχον, πρὸς τῷ τέλει ἔδει με ἀνεῖναι καὶ μὴ μᾶλλον ἐπιτεῖναι;" κληθεὶς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον οὐκ ἔφη παρέσεσθαι· μηδὲ γὰρ πρώην αὐτῷ χάριν ἐγνωκέναι. γυμνοῖς ποσὶ χιόνα ἐπάτει καὶ τἄλλα ὅσα ἄνω προείρηται· καὶ ὠμὰ δὲ κρέα ἐπεχείρησε φαγεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐ διῴκησε.

ENGLISH

and he drilled them in every shortcut to a good memory. At home he taught them to wait on themselves, eating plain food and drinking water. He had their hair cropped close and kept them unadorned, without tunics, barefoot, silent, and keeping their eyes to themselves in the streets. He also took them out hunting. They, for their part, looked after Diogenes himself and asked their parents for favors on his behalf. The same author says that he grew old in Xeniades' house and that when he died he was buried by Xeniades' sons.

While he was there, Xeniades asked him how he should bury him. "Face down," he said. [32] When Xeniades asked, "Why?", he said, "Because before long what is down is going to be turned up." He said this because the Macedonians were already gaining power, rising from low to high. When someone took him into an expensive house and told him not to spit, he cleared his throat and spat in the man's face, saying he had found no worse place. Others attribute this to Aristippus. Once he called out, "Hey, people!", and when they came running he went at them with his stick, saying, "I called for human beings, not scum," as Hecato says in the first book of his *Anecdotes*. They say, too, that Alexander said that if he had not been Alexander, he would have wanted to be Diogenes.

He said the maimed were not the deaf and the blind but those who had no bag. Once he went half-shaved into a young men's drinking party, as Metrocles says in his *Anecdotes*, and was beaten up. Afterwards he wrote the names of the men who had hit him on a whitened board and went around with it hung on him, until he had covered them with disgrace, censured and rebuked by everyone. He said he was one of the dogs that people praise, but none of those who praise them dared to go out hunting with him. To the man who said, "At the Pythian games I defeat men," he said, "No: I defeat men. You defeat slaves."[17]

To those who said, "You're old now; take it easy," he said, "What? If I were running the long race, should I slow down near the finish instead of pushing harder?" Invited to dinner, he said he would not come, because they hadn't thanked him last time either. He would walk barefoot on snow

17 A pun: anapēros, "maimed", sounds like "without a pēra", the beggar's bag that Cynics carried.

GREEK

ENGLISH

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

and do the other things described above. He even tried to eat raw meat, but couldn't digest it. Once he caught Demosthenes the orator having lunch in a tavern. When Demosthenes drew back inside, he said, "That way you'll be all the more in the tavern." Once, when some foreigners wanted to see Demosthenes, he stretched out his middle finger and said, "There's your Athenian demagogue." [35] When someone dropped a loaf of bread and was too embarrassed to pick it up, Diogenes wanted to teach him a lesson, so he tied a string around the neck of a jar and dragged it through the Ceramicus.[18]

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

He said that he imitated the chorus trainers, who also pitch the note too high so that the rest will hit the right one. He said most people are mad by a finger's breadth. If someone walks along holding out his middle finger, he will be thought mad; if it's his index finger, he won't. He said that things worth a great deal are sold for nothing, and the reverse. A statue, at any rate, sells for three thousand drachmas, and a quart of barley meal for two coppers.[19]

6.36 Τῷ πριαμένῳ αὐτὸν Ξενιάδῃ φησί, "ἄγε ὅπως τὸ προσταττόμενον ποιήσεις." τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος, ἄνω ποταμῶν χωροῦσι παγαί, "εἰ δὲ ἰατρὸν ἐπρίω νοσῶν, οὐκ ἄν," ἔφη, "αὐτῷ ἐπείθου, ἀλλ' εἶπες ἂν ὡς ἄνω ποταμῶν χωροῦσι παγαί;" ἤθελέ τις παρ' αὐτῷ φιλοσοφεῖν· ὁ δέ οἱ σαπέρδην δοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἀκολουθεῖν. ὡς δ' ὑπ' αἰδοῦς ῥίψας ἀπῆλθε, μετὰ χρόνον ὑπαντήσας αὐτῷ καὶ γελάσας λέγει, "τὴν σὴν καὶ ἐμὴν φιλίαν σαπέρδης διέλυσε." Διοκλῆς δ' οὕτως ἀναγράφει. εἰπόντος τινὸς αὐτῷ, "ἐπίταττε ἡμῖν, Διόγενες," ἀπαγαγὼν αὐτὸν ἡμιωβολίου τυρὸν ἐδίδου φέρειν· ἀρνησαμένου δέ, "τὴν σήν," ἔφη, "καὶ ἐμὴν φιλίαν ἡμιωβολίου τυρίδιον διαλέλυκε."

To Xeniades, who had bought him, he said, "Come on, see that you do what you're told." When Xeniades replied, Upstream the springs of the rivers flow, he said, "If you were ill and had bought a doctor, wouldn't you obey him instead of saying, 'Upstream the springs of the rivers flow'?" Someone wanted to study philosophy with him. Diogenes gave him a salt fish and told him to follow him. The man was embarrassed, threw it away and left. Some time later Diogenes met him, laughed and said, "A salt fish broke up the friendship between you and me." Diocles, though, records it like this. When someone said to him, "Give us orders, Diogenes," he took him off and gave him half an obol's worth of cheese to carry. When the man refused, he said, "Half an obol's worth of cheese has broken up the friendship between you and me."[20]

6.37 Θεασάμενός ποτε παιδίον ταῖς χερσὶ πῖνον ἐξέρριψε τῆς πήρας τὴν κοτύλην, εἰπών, "παιδίον με νενίκηκεν

Once, seeing a child drinking from his hands, he threw the cup out of his bag, saying, "A child has

18 The Ceramicus, the potters' quarter of Athens, takes its name from keramos, "pottery".
19 The drachma was a silver coin, roughly a skilled worker's daily wage; a "copper" was a small bronze coin worth a fraction of an obol.
20 The line is from Euripides' *Medea*, a proverbial way of saying that the world is turned upside down.

GREEK

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

ENGLISH

beaten me at plain living." He also threw away his bowl when, in the same way, he saw a child who had broken his dish scooping up his lentils in the hollow of a piece of bread. He also used to reason like this. Everything belongs to the gods; the wise are friends of the gods; and friends share what they have. Therefore everything belongs to the wise. Once he saw a woman prostrating herself before the gods in a rather unseemly posture. Wanting to rid her of her superstition, as Zoilus of Perga says, he went up to her and said, "Aren't you afraid, madam, that a god may be standing behind you (for everything is full of him), and you'll be exposing yourself?" [38] He dedicated to Asclepius a bruiser who would run up to people who fell on their faces and beat them.

DIOGENES AND ALEXANDER

Diogenes tells Alexander to stand out of his sun, plucks a chicken, and searches for a human being.

GREEK

6.38 Εἰώθει δὲ λέγειν τὰς τραγικὰς ἀρὰς αὐτῷ συνηντηκέναι· εἶναι γοῦν ἄπολις, ἄοικος, πατρίδος ἐστερημένος, / πτωχός, πλανήτης, βίον ἔχων τοὐφ' ἡμέραν. ἔφασκε δ' ἀντιτιθέναι τύχῃ μὲν θάρσος, νόμῳ δὲ φύσιν, πάθει δὲ λόγον. ἐν τῷ Κρανείῳ ἡλιουμένῳ αὐτῷ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπιστάς φησιν, "αἴτησόν με ὃ θέλεις." καὶ ὅς, "ἀποσκότησόν μου," φησί. μακρά τινος ἀναγινώσκοντος καὶ πρὸς τῷ τέλει τοῦ βιβλίου ἄγραφόν τι παραδείξαντος "θαρρεῖτε," ἔφη, "ἄνδρες· γῆν ὁρῶ." πρὸς τὸν συλλογισάμενον ὅτι κέρατα ἔχει, ἀψάμενος τοῦ μετώπου, "ἐγὼ μέν," ἔφη, "οὐχ ὁρῶ."

6.39 ὁμοίως καὶ πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα ὅτι κίνησις οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀναστὰς περιεπάτει. πρὸς τὸν λέγοντα περὶ τῶν μετεώρων, "ποσταῖος," ἔφη, "πάρει ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ;" εὐνούχου μοχθηροῦ ἐπιγράψαντος ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν, "μηδὲν εἰσίτω κακόν," "ὁ οὖν κύριος," ἔφη, "τῆς οἰκίας ποῦ εἰσέλθῃ;" τῷ μύρῳ τοὺς πόδας ἀλειψάμενος ἔφη ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς εἰς τὸν ἀέρα ἀπιέναι τὸ μύρον, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ποδῶν εἰς τὴν ὄσφρησιν. ἀξιούντων Ἀθηναίων μυηθῆναι αὐτὸν καὶ λεγόντων ὡς ἐν ᾅδου προεδρίας οἱ μεμυημένοι τυγχάνουσι, "γελοῖον," ἔφη, "εἰ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν καὶ

ENGLISH

He used to say that the curses of tragedy had all fallen on him; at any rate he was without a city, without a home, robbed of his fatherland, / a beggar, a wanderer, living from day to day. He claimed that he set courage against fortune, nature against convention, and reason against passion. When he was sunning himself in the Craneum, Alexander came and stood over him and said, "Ask me for whatever you like." He said, "Get out of my sun." Someone was reading aloud at great length, and when, near the end of the book, he pointed to a blank space, Diogenes said, "Cheer up, men: I see land." To a man who had proved by syllogism that he had horns, he touched his forehead and said, "I don't see any."[21]

In the same way, when someone said that there is no such thing as motion, he got up and walked about. To a man holding forth about the heavenly bodies he said, "How many days ago did you arrive from the sky?" When a wicked eunuch wrote over his house, "Let nothing bad come in," he said, "Then how is the master of the house to get in?" He anointed his feet with perfume and said that from the head the perfume goes off into the air, but from the feet it goes up to the nose. When the Athenians urged him to be initiated, telling him

21 The Craneum was a cypress grove with a gymnasium on the edge of Corinth.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐν τῷ βορβόρῳ διάξουσιν, εὐτελεῖς δέ τινες μεμυημένοι ἐν ταῖς μακάρων νήσοις ἔσονται.”	that the initiated get the front seats in Hades, he said, “It would be ridiculous if Agesilaus and Epaminondas are to spend their time in the mud, while some nobodies who have been initiated are to live in the Isles of the Blessed.”[22]
6.40	Πρὸς τοὺς ἑρπύσαντας ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν μῦς, “ἰδού,” φησί, “καὶ Διογένης παρασίτους τρέφει.” Πλάτωνος εἰπόντος αὐτὸν κύνα, “ναί,” ἔφη· “ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐπανῆλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς πεπρακότας.” ἐκ τοῦ βαλανείου ἐξιὼν τῷ μὲν πυθομένῳ εἰ πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι λοῦνται, ἠρνήσατο· τῷ δ’, εἰ πολὺς ὄχλος, ὡμολόγησε. Πλάτωνος ὁρισαμένου, Ἄνθρωπός ἐστι ζῷον δίπουν ἄπτερον, καὶ εὐδοκιμοῦντος, τίλας ἀλεκτρυόνα εἰσήνεγκεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν σχολὴν καί φησιν, “οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Πλάτωνος ἄνθρωπος.” ὅθεν τῷ ὅρῳ προσετέθη τὸ πλατυώνυχον. πρὸς τὸν πυθόμενον ποίᾳ ὥρᾳ δεῖ ἀριστᾶν, “εἰ μὲν πλούσιος,” ἔφη, “ὅταν θέλῃ· εἰ δὲ πένης, ὅταν ἔχῃ.”	To the mice that crept onto his table he said, “Look, even Diogenes keeps parasites.” When Plato called him a dog, he said, “Yes, because I went back to the people who sold me.” Coming out of the baths, when one man asked whether many human beings were bathing, he said no; when another asked whether there was a big crowd, he said yes. Plato had defined man as a two-footed, featherless animal and was much praised for it. Diogenes plucked a rooster, brought it into his school and said, “Here is Plato’s man.” Hence the definition had “with broad nails” added to it. To someone who asked at what hour one should have lunch he said, “If you’re rich, whenever you like; if you’re poor, whenever you can.”[23]
6.41	Ἐν Μεγάροις ἰδὼν τὰ μὲν πρόβατα τοῖς δέρμασιν ἐσκεπασμένα, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας αὐτῶν γυμνούς, ἔφη, “λυσιτελέστερόν ἐστι Μεγαρέως κριὸν εἶναι ἢ υἱόν.” πρὸς τὸν ἐντινάξαντα αὐτῷ δοκόν, εἶτα εἰπόντα, “φύλαξαι,” “πάλιν γάρ με,” ἔφη, “παίειν μέλλεις;” ἔλεγε τοὺς μὲν δημαγωγοὺς ὄχλου διακόνους, τοὺς δὲ στεφάνους δόξης ἐξανθήματα. λύχνον μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἅψας περιήει λέγων “ἄνθρωπον ζητῶ.” εἱστήκει ποτε κατακρουνιζόμενος· τῶν δὲ περιεστώτων ἐλεούντων, παρὼν Πλάτων ἔφη, “εἰ βούλεσθ’ αὐτὸν ἐλεῆσαι, ἀπόστητε,” ἐνδεικνύμενος φιλοδοξίαν αὐτοῦ. ἐντρίψαντος αὐτῷ κόνδυλόν τινος, “‘Ηράκλεις,” ἔφη, “οἷόν με χρῆμ’ ἐλάνθανε τὸ μετὰ περικεφαλαίας περιπατεῖν.”	At Megara he saw the sheep protected by leather jackets while the children went naked, and said, “It’s better to be a Megarian’s ram than his son.” To a man who knocked into him with a beam and then said, “Look out!”, he said, “Why, are you going to hit me again?” He called demagogues the servants of the mob, and garlands the eruptions of fame. He lit a lamp in broad daylight and went around saying, “I’m looking for a human being.” Once he stood drenched under a stream of water. When the bystanders pitied him, Plato, who was there, said, “If you want to pity him, go away,” pointing to his love of fame. When someone punched him, he said, “Heracles! How did I forget something so important: to walk around wearing a helmet?”
6.42	ἀλλὰ καὶ Μειδίου κονδυλίσαντος αὐτὸν καὶ εἰπόντος, “τρισχίλιαί σοι κεῖνται ἐπὶ τῇ τραπέζῃ,” τῇ ἐξῆς πυκτικοὺς λαβὼν ἱμάντας καὶ καταλοήσας αὐτὸν ἔφη, “τρισχίλιαί σοι κεῖνται ἐπὶ τῇ τραπέζῃ.” Λυσίου τοῦ φαρμακοπώλου πυθομένου εἰ θεοὺς νομίζει, “πῶς δέ,” εἶπεν, “οὐ νομίζω, ὅπου καὶ σὲ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸν ὑπολαμβάνω;” οἱ δὲ Θεόδωρον εἰπεῖν τοῦτο. ἰδών τινα περιρραινόμενον ἐπεῖπεν, “ὦ κακόδαιμον, οὐκ ἐπίστασαι ὅτι ὥσπερ τῶν ἐν γραμματικῇ	And when Meidias punched him and said, “There’s three thousand ready for you on the table,” the next day he took a pair of boxing straps, gave him a thrashing and said, “There’s three thousand ready for you on the table.” When Lysias the drug-seller asked him whether he believed in gods, he said, “How could I not, when I believe that you are hateful to the gods?” Others say it was Theodorus

22 Initiation in the Eleusinian Mysteries was believed to secure a better lot after death. Agesilaus and Epaminondas were celebrated Spartan and Theban leaders of the fourth century BC.
23 The jibe is really at Plato, who returned to Sicily after Dionysius of Syracuse had had him sold as a slave.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἁμαρτημάτων περιρραινόμενος οὐκ ἂν ἀπαλλαγείης, οὕτως οὐδὲ τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ;"	who said this. Seeing someone sprinkling himself with holy water, he said, "You poor wretch, don't you know that sprinkling yourself won't rid you of your mistakes in life, any more than it would rid you of your mistakes in grammar?"[24]
	ἐνεκάλει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις περὶ τῆς εὐχῆς, αἰτεῖσθαι λέγων αὐτοὺς ἀγαθὰ τὰ αὐτοῖς δοκοῦντα καὶ οὐ τὰ κατ' ἀλήθειαν. [43] πρὸς δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὰ ὀνείρατα ἐπτοημένους ἔλεγεν ὡς ὑπὲρ ὧν μὲν πράττουσιν ὕπαρ, οὐκ ἐπιστρέφονται, ὑπὲρ ὧν δὲ καθεύδοντες φαντασιοῦνται, πολυπραγμονοῦσιν. Ὀλυμπίασι τοῦ κήρυκος ἀνειπόντος, "νικᾷ Διώξιππος ἄνδρας," "οὗτος μὲν δὴ ἀνδράποδα, ἄνδρας δ' ἐγώ."	He found fault with people over their prayers, saying that they ask for the things that seem good to them, not for what is truly good. [43] To those who got into a flutter over dreams he said that they pay no attention to what they do when awake but make a great fuss over what they imagine in their sleep. At Olympia, when the herald proclaimed, "Dioxippus defeats men," he said, "He defeats slaves; it's men that I defeat."
6.43	Ἠγαπᾶτο δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίων· μειρακίου γοῦν τὸν πίθον αὐτοῦ συντρίψαντος, τῷ μὲν πληγὰς ἔδοσαν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἄλλον παρέσχον. φησὶ δὲ Διονύσιος ὁ στωικὸς ὡς μετὰ Χαιρώνειαν συλληφθεὶς ἀπήχθη πρὸς Φίλιππον· καὶ ἐρωτηθεὶς ὅστις εἴη, ἀπεκρίνατο, "κατάσκοπος τῆς σῆς ἀπληστίας·" ὅθεν θαυμασθεὶς ἀφείθη.	He was also loved by the Athenians. At any rate, when a youth smashed his jar, they gave the youth a beating and gave Diogenes another jar. Dionysius the Stoic says that after Chaeronea he was captured and taken to Philip. Asked who he was, he answered, "A spy on your greed." He was admired for this and set free.[25]
6.44	Ἀλεξάνδρου ποτὲ πέμψαντος ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον εἰς Ἀθήνας διά τινος Ἀθλίου, παρὼν ἔφη· ἄθλιος παρ' ἀθλίου δι' ἀθλίου πρὸς ἄθλιον.	Once, when Alexander sent a letter to Antipater in Athens by a man called Athlios, Diogenes, who was there, said: a wretch from a wretch by a wretch to a wretch.[26]
	Περδίκκου ἀπειλήσαντος, εἰ μὴ ἔλθοι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀποκτενεῖν, ἔφη, "οὐδὲν μέγα· καὶ γὰρ κάνθαρος καὶ φαλάγγιον τοῦτ' ἂν πράξειεν·" ἐκεῖνο δὲ μᾶλλον ἀπειλεῖν ἠξίου ὡς "εἰ καὶ χωρὶς ἐμοῦ ζήσαι, εὐδαιμόνως ζήσοιτο." ἐβόα πολλάκις λέγων τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον ῥᾴδιον ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν δεδόσθαι, ἀποκεκρύφθαι δ' αὐτῶν ζητούντων μελίπηκτα καὶ μύρα καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια. ὅθεν πρὸς τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰκέτου ὑποδούμενον, "οὔπω," εἶπε, "μακάριος εἶ, ἂν μή σε καὶ ἀπομύξῃ· τοῦτο δ' ἔσται πηρωθέντι σοι τὰς χεῖρας."	When Perdiccas threatened to kill him if he did not come to him, he said, "That's nothing much. A beetle or a tarantula could do as much." The threat he thought Perdiccas ought to make was rather this: "that even if he lived without me, he would live happily." He often cried out that the gods had given human beings an easy life, but that it had been hidden from them because they go after honey cakes, perfumes and the like. Hence to a man who was having his shoes put on by his servant he said, "You won't be truly blessed until he wipes your nose for you too. And that will come once you've lost the use of your hands."
6.45	Θεασάμενός ποτε τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας τῶν ταμιῶν τινα φιάλην ὑφῃρημένον ἀπάγοντας ἔφη, "οἱ μεγάλοι κλέπται τὸν μικρὸν ἀπάγουσι." θεασάμενός ποτε μειράκιον λίθους βάλλον ἐπὶ σταυρόν, "εὖγε," εἶπε, "τεύξῃ γὰρ τοῦ σκοποῦ." πρὸς τὰ περιστάντα μειράκια καὶ εἰπόντα,	Once he saw the temple officials leading away one of the treasurers who had stolen a bowl, and said, "The big thieves are leading away the little one." Seeing a youth throwing stones at a stake, he said,

24 Meidias, a rich Athenian, means that he can easily pay the damages for assault, three thousand drachmas.
25 Diogenes famously lived in a pithos, a large earthenware storage jar. At Chaeronea in 338 BC Philip of Macedon defeated Athens and Thebes.
26 The joke turns on the messenger's name: athlios means "wretched".

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	"βλέπωμεν μὴ δάκῃ ἡμᾶς," "θαρρεῖτε," ἔφη, "παιδία· κύων τευτλία οὐκ ἐσθίει." πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ λεοντῇ θρυπτόμενον, "παῦσαι," ἔφη, "τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς στρώματα καταισχύνων." πρὸς τὸν μακαρίζοντα Καλλισθένην καὶ λέγοντα ὡς πολυτελῶν παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μετέχει, "κακοδαίμων μὲν οὖν ἐστιν," εἶπεν, "ὃς καὶ ἀριστᾷ καὶ δειπνεῖ ὅταν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δόξῃ."	"Well done! You'll hit the mark." To the young men who stood around him saying, "Let's watch out he doesn't bite us," he said, "Don't worry, boys: a dog doesn't eat beets." To a man who was preening himself in a lion skin he said, "Stop disgracing the garments of excellence." To the man who called Callisthenes blessed and said he shared in Alexander's luxuries, he said, "On the contrary, he's wretched: he has his lunch and his dinner whenever Alexander decides."[27]
6.46	Χρημάτων δεόμενος ἀπαιτεῖν ἔλεγε τοὺς φίλους, οὐκ αἰτεῖν. ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς ποτε χειρουργῶν, "εἴθε," ἔφη, "καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν ἦν παρατρίψαντα μὴ πεινῆν." μειράκιον θεασάμενος μετὰ σατραπῶν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἀπιόν, ἀποσπάσας πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἀπήγαγε καὶ ἐκέλευσε τηρεῖν. πρὸς τὸ κεκοσμημένον μειράκιον πυθόμενόν τι ἔφη οὐ πρότερον λέξειν αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ ἀνασυράμενος δείξειε πότερον γυνή ἐστιν ἢ ἀνήρ. πρὸς τὸ κοτταβίζον ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ μειράκιόν φησιν, "ὅσῳ βέλτιον, τοσούτῳ χεῖρον." ἐν δείπνῳ προσερρίπτουν αὐτῷ τινες ὀστάρια ὡς κυνί· καὶ ὃς ἀπαλλαττόμενος προσεούρησεν αὐτοῖς ὡς κύων.	When he needed money, he said that he was asking his friends for it back, not asking them for it. Once, while masturbating in the marketplace, he said, "If only I could rub my belly like this and stop being hungry." Seeing a youth going off to dinner with satraps, he dragged him away, took him back to his family and told them to keep an eye on him. When a youth all dressed up asked him something, he said he wouldn't answer until the youth pulled up his clothes and showed whether he was a woman or a man. To a youth playing kottabos in the baths he said, "The better you do, the worse." At a dinner some people threw bones to him as if to a dog; and as he left he urinated on them, like a dog.[28]
6.47	Τοὺς ῥήτορας καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐνδοξολογοῦντας τρισανθρώπους ἀπεκάλει ἀντὶ τοῦ τρισαθλίους. τὸν ἀμαθῆ πλούσιον πρόβατον εἶπε χρυσόμαλλον. θεασάμενος ἐπὶ ἀσώτου οἰκίᾳ ἐπιγεγραμμένον, "πράσιμος," "ᾔδειν," εἶπεν, "ὅτι οὕτω κραιπαλῶσα ῥᾳδίως ἐξεμέσοις τὸν κεκτημένον." πρὸς τὸ καταιτιώμενον μειράκιον τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐνοχλούντων, "παῦσαι γάρ," ἔφη, "καὶ σὺ τὰ δείγματα τοῦ πασχητιῶντος περιφέρων." πρὸς τὸ ῥυπαρὸν βαλανεῖον, "οἱ ἐνθάδε," ἔφη, "λουσάμενοι ποῦ λοῦνται;" παχέος κιθαρῳδοῦ πρὸς πάντων μεμφομένου αὐτὸς μόνος ἐπῄνει· ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ διὰ τί, ἔφη, "ὅτι τηλικοῦτος ὢν κιθαρῳδεῖ καὶ οὐ λῃστεύει."	Orators and all who talk for glory he called "thrice human" instead of "thrice wretched". The ignorant rich man he called a sheep with a golden fleece. Seeing "For sale" written on a spendthrift's house, he said, "I knew that, drunk as you are, you'd easily vomit up your owner." To a youth who complained about how many men were pestering him, he said, "Then stop going around displaying the signs of someone eager to take the passive role." Of a filthy bathhouse he said, "Where do people who bathe here go to get clean?" When a fat lyre-singer was being criticized by everyone, he alone praised him. Asked why, he said, "Because, big as he is, he sings to the lyre instead of becoming a robber."[29]
6.48	Τὸν κιθαρῳδὸν ἀεὶ καταλειπόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκροατῶν ἠσπάσατο, "χαῖρε ἀλέκτορ"· τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, "διὰ τί;" "ὅτι," ἔφη, "ᾄδων πάντας ἐγείρεις." μειρακίου ἐπιδεικνυμένου πληρώσας τὸ προκόλπιον θέρμων ἀντικρὺ ἔκαπτε· τοῦ δὲ πλήθους εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφορῶντος	He greeted the lyre-singer who was always being deserted by his audience with, "Hello, rooster." When the man asked, "Why?", he said, "Because your singing gets everyone up." When a youth was giving a display speech, Diogenes filled the fold of

27 Criminals were executed on such stakes: the boy will "hit the mark" by ending up on one.
28 Kottabos was a party game in which the dregs of wine were flicked at a target.
29 A pun: tris-anthrōpos, "thrice human", in place of tris-athlios, "thrice wretched".

GREEK

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

ENGLISH

his cloak with lupin beans and sat right opposite him munching them. When the crowd turned to look at him, he said he was amazed that they had abandoned the speaker to look at him. A very superstitious man said to him, "I'll smash your head with one blow." "And I," he said, "will make you tremble by sneezing on your left." When Hegesias asked him to lend him one of his writings, he said, "You're a fool, Hegesias. You don't choose painted figs but real ones, yet you pass over real training and rush off to the written kind."

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

To the man who taunted him with his exile he said, "But that's why I took up philosophy, you poor wretch." And again, when someone said, "The people of Sinope condemned you to exile," he said, "And I condemned them to stay where they are." Seeing an Olympic victor herding sheep, he said, "My good man, you've moved quickly from Olympia to Nemea." Asked why athletes are so dull-witted, he said, "Because they're built out of pork and beef." Once he begged from a statue. Asked why he was doing this, he said, "I'm practicing being refused." Begging from someone (he first took to begging because of his poverty), he said, "If you've given to anyone else, give to me too; if you haven't, start with me."[30]

6.50 Ἐρωτηθείς ποτε ὑπὸ τυράννου ποῖος εἴη ἀμείνων χαλκὸς εἰς ἀνδριάντα, ἔφη, "ἀφ' οὗ Ἁρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων ἐχαλκεύθησαν." ἐρωτηθεὶς πῶς χρῆται Διονύσιος τοῖς φίλοις, ἔφη, "ὡς θυλάκοις, τοὺς μὲν πλήρεις κρημνῶν, τοὺς δὲ κενοὺς ῥίπτων." νεογάμου ἐπιγράψαντος ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν, ὁ τοῦ Διὸς παῖς καλλίνικος Ἡρακλῆς / ἐνθάδε κατοικεῖ. μηδὲν εἰσίτω κακόν· ἐπέγραψε· "μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἡ συμμαχία." τὴν φιλαργυρίαν εἶπε μητρόπολιν πάντων τῶν κακῶν. ἄσωτον θεασάμενος ἐν πανδοκείῳ ἐλάας ἐσθίοντ' ἔφη, "εἰ οὕτως ἠρίστας, οὐκ ἂν οὕτως ἐδείπνεις."

Asked once by a tyrant what bronze was best for a statue, he said, "The bronze that Harmodius and Aristogeiton were cast in." Asked how Dionysius treats his friends, he said, "Like bags: the full ones he hangs up, the empty ones he throws away." When a newly married man wrote on his house, The son of Zeus, Heracles, glorious in victory, / lives here; let nothing bad come in, Diogenes wrote underneath, "First the war, then the alliance." He called the love of money the mother city of all evils. Seeing a spendthrift eating olives in a tavern, he said, "If you'd lunched like this, you wouldn't be dining like this."[31]

30 A pun on the Nemean games and nemein, "to pasture".
31 Harmodius and Aristogeiton killed Hipparchus, brother of the tyrant of Athens, in 514 BC and were honored with bronze statues as tyrant-slayers.

MORE SAYINGS OF DIOGENES

A long run of Diogenes' jokes and retorts on wealth, love, death, beggars and philosophers.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
6.51	Τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας θεῶν εἰκόνας εἶναι· τὸν ἔρωτα σχολαζόντων ἀσχολίαν. ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ἄθλιον ἐν βίῳ, ἔφη, "γέρων ἄπορος." ἐρωτηθεὶς τί τῶν θηρίων κάκιστα δάκνει, ἔφη, "τῶν μὲν ἀγρίων συκοφάντης, τῶν δὲ ἡμέρων κόλαξ." ἰδών ποτε δύο κενταύρους κάκιστα ἐζωγραφημένους ἔφη· "πότερος τούτων Χείρων ἐστί;" τὸν πρὸς χάριν λόγον ἔφη μελιτίνην ἀγχόνην εἶναι. τὴν γαστέρα Χάρυβδιν ἔλεγε τοῦ βίου. ἀκούσας ποτὲ ὅτι Διδύμων ὁ αὐλητὴς μοιχὸς ἑάλω, "ἄξιος," ἔφη, "ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος κρέμασθαι." ἐρωτηθεὶς διὰ τί τὸ χρυσίον χλωρόν ἐστιν, ἔφη, "ὅτι πολλοὺς ἔχει τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας." ἰδὼν γυναῖκα ἐν φορείῳ, "οὐ κατὰ τὸ θηρίον," ἔφη, "ἡ γαλεάγρα."	Good men, he said, are images of the gods, and love is the business of those with nothing to do. Asked what is wretched in life, he said, "An old man with no means." Asked which animal has the worst bite, he said, "Among the wild ones, the informer; among the tame ones, the flatterer." Once, seeing two centaurs very badly painted, he said, "Which of these is Chiron?" He said that flattering talk is a noose smeared with honey. He called the belly the Charybdis of life. Hearing once that Didymon the flute-player had been caught in adultery, he said, "His name alone makes him deserve to be hanged." Asked why gold is pale, he said, "Because so many are plotting against it." Seeing a woman in a litter, he said, "The cage doesn't suit the beast."[32]
6.52	Ἰδών ποτε δραπέτην ἐπὶ φρέατι καθήμενον ἔφη, "μειράκιον, βλέπε μὴ ἐμπέσῃς." ἰδὼν [μειρακύλλιον] ἱματιοκλέπτην ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ ἔφη, "ἐπ' ἀλειμμάτιον ἢ ἐπ' ἄλλ' ἱμάτιον;" ἰδών ποτε γυναῖκας ἀπ' ἐλαίας ἀπηγχονισμένας, "εἴθε γάρ," ἔφη, "πάντα τὰ δένδρα τοιοῦτον καρπὸν ἤνεγκεν." ἰδὼν λωποδύτην ἔφη, τἰπτε σὺ ὧδε, φέριστε; / ἦ τινα συλήσων νεκύων κατατεθνηώτων; ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ παιδισκάριον ἢ παιδάριον ἔχοι, ἔφη, "οὔ·" τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, "ἐὰν οὖν ἀποθάνῃς, τίς σε ἐξοίσει;" ἔφη, "ὁ χρῄζων τῆς οἰκίας."	Once, seeing a runaway slave sitting on the edge of a well, he said, "Young man, mind you don't fall in." Seeing a [young] cloak thief in the baths, he said, "Are you here for a little ointment, or for another cloak?" Once, seeing some women who had hanged themselves from an olive tree, he said, "If only all trees bore fruit like that." Seeing a footpad who robbed the dead, he said: Why are you here, my good sir? / Is it to strip one of the corpses of the dead? Asked whether he had a slave girl or a slave boy, he said, "No." When the man said, "Then if you die, who will carry you out for burial?", he said, "Whoever wants the house."[33]
6.53	Μειράκιον εὔμορφον ἀφυλάκτως ἰδὼν κοιμώμενον, νύξας, "ἐπέγειραι," ἔφη, μή τίς τοι εὕδοντι μεταφρένῳ ἐν δόρυ πήξῃ. πρὸς τὸν πολυτελῶς ὀψωνοῦντα, ὠκύμορος δή μοι, τέκος, ἔσσεαι, οἷ' ἀγοράζεις; Πλάτωνος περὶ ἰδεῶν διαλεγομένου καὶ ὀνομάζοντος τραπεζότητα καὶ κυαθότητα, "ἐγώ," εἶπεν, "ὦ Πλάτων, τράπεζαν μὲν καὶ κύαθον ὁρῶ· τραπεζότητα δὲ καὶ κυαθότητα οὐδαμῶς·" καὶ ὅς, "κατὰ λόγον," ἔφη· "οἷς μὲν γὰρ κύαθος καὶ τράπεζα θεωρεῖται, ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχεις· ᾧ δὲ τραπεζότης καὶ κυαθότης βλέπεται, νοῦν οὐκ ἔχεις."	Seeing a good-looking youth sleeping unguarded, he nudged him and said, "Wake up," lest someone plant a spear in your back as you sleep. To a man who was spending lavishly on delicacies: Short-lived you will be, my child, from what you're buying! When Plato was discussing forms and talking of "tableness" and "cuphood", Diogenes said, "I see a table and a cup, Plato; tableness and cuphood I don't see at all." And Plato said, "That stands to reason. You have eyes, with which a cup and a table are seen; but you lack intelligence, with which tableness and cuphood are seen."[34]

32 Chiron sounds like cheirōn, "worse"; Didymon's name recalls didymoi, "twins", slang for testicles.
33 A pun: aleimmation, "a little ointment", and all' himation, "another cloak", sound almost the same.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
6.54	Ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπό τινος, “ποῖός τίς σοι Διογένης δοκεῖ;” “Σωκράτης,” εἶπε, “μαινόμενος.” ἐρωτηθεὶς ποίῳ καιρῷ δεῖ γαμεῖν, ἔφη, “τοὺς μὲν νέους μηδέπω, τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους μηδεπώποτε.” ἐρωτηθεὶς τί θέλοι κονδύλου λαβεῖν, “περικεφαλαίαν,” ἔφη. μειράκιον ἰδὼν καλλωπιζόμενον ἔφη, “εἰ μὲν πρὸς ἄνδρας, ἀτυχεῖς· εἰ δὲ πρὸς γυναῖκας, ἀδικεῖς.” ἰδών ποτε μειράκιον ἐρυθριῶν, “θάρρει,” ἔφη· “τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸ χρῶμα.” δυοῖν ποτε νομικοῖν ἀκούσας τοὺς δύο κατέκρινεν, εἰπὼν τὸν μὲν κεκλοφέναι, τὸν δὲ μὴ ἀπολωλεκέναι. ἐρωτηθεὶς ποῖον οἶνον ἡδέως πίνει, ἔφη, “τὸν ἀλλότριον.” πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, “πολλοί σου καταγελῶσιν,” “ἀλλ’ ἐγώ,” ἔφη, “οὐ καταγελῶμαι.”	Someone asked him, “What sort of man does Diogenes seem to you?” “A Socrates gone mad,” he said. Asked when one ought to marry, he said, “Young men, not yet; older men, never.” Asked what he would take in return for a punch, he said, “A helmet.” Seeing a young man prettying himself up, he said, “If it’s for men, you’re out of luck; if it’s for women, you’re doing wrong.” Seeing a young man blushing once, he said, “Take heart: that is the color of excellence.” Once, after hearing two lawyers argue a case, he condemned them both, saying that one had stolen the thing and the other had not lost it. Asked what wine he liked to drink, he said, “Someone else’s.” To the man who said, “Lots of people laugh at you,” he said, “But I’m not laughed down.”
6.55	Πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα κακὸν εἶναι τὸ ζῆν, “οὐ τὸ ζῆν,” εἶπεν, “ἀλλὰ τὸ κακῶς ζῆν.” πρὸς τοὺς συμβουλεύοντας τὸν ἀποδράντα αὐτοῦ δοῦλον ζητεῖν, “γελοῖον,” ἔφη, “εἰ Μάνης μὲν χωρὶς Διογένους ζῇ, Διογένης δὲ χωρὶς Μάνου οὐ δυνήσεται.” ἀριστῶν ἐλάας, πλακοῦντος ἐπεισενεχθέντος, ῥίψας φησίν, ὦ ξένε, τυράννοις ἐκποδὼν μεθίστασο· καὶ ἄλλοτε, μάστιξεν δ’ ἐλάαν. ἐρωτηθεὶς ποταπὸς εἴη κύων; ἔφη “πεινῶν μὲν Μελιταῖος, χορτασθεὶς δὲ Μολοττικός, τούτων οὓς ἐπαινοῦντες οἱ πολλοὶ οὐ τολμῶσι διὰ τὸν πόνον συνεξιέναι αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν· οὕτως οὐδ’ ἐμοὶ δύνασθε συμβιοῦν διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν ἀλγηδόνων.”	To the man who said that living is a bad thing, he said, “Not living, but living badly.” To those who advised him to go after his runaway slave, he said, “It would be absurd if Manes can live without Diogenes but Diogenes can’t live without Manes.” He was breakfasting on olives when a cake was brought in; he threw it aside and said: Stranger, stand out of the way of tyrants. And on another occasion: He whipped the olive on. Asked what breed of dog he was, he said, “When I’m hungry, a Maltese; when I’m full, a Molossian, the sort that most people praise but don’t dare go hunting with, because of the hard work. In the same way you can’t live with me either, because you’re afraid of hardship.”[35]
6.56	Ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ οἱ σοφοὶ πλακοῦντα ἐσθίουσι, “πάντα,” εἶπεν, “ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἄνθρωποι.” ἐρωτηθεὶς διὰ τί προσαίταις μὲν ἐπιδιδόασι, φιλοσόφοις δὲ οὔ, ἔφη, “ὅτι χωλοὶ μὲν καὶ τυφλοὶ γενέσθαι ἐλπίζουσι, φιλοσοφῆσαι δ’ οὐδέποτε.” φιλάργυρον ᾔτει· τοῦ δὲ βραδύνοντος, “ἄνθρωπε,” εἶπεν, “εἰς τροφήν σε αἰτῶ, οὐκ εἰς ταφήν.” ὀνειδιζόμενός ποτε ἐπὶ τῷ παραχαράξαι τὸ νόμισμα ἔφη, “ἦν ποτε χρόνος ἐκεῖνος ὅτ’ ἤμην ἐγὼ τοιοῦτος ὁποῖος σὺ νῦν· ὁποῖος δ’ ἐγὼ νῦν, σὺ οὐδέποτε.” καὶ πρὸς ἄλλον ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ὀνειδίσαντα, “καὶ γὰρ ἐνεούρουν θᾶττον, ἀλλὰ νῦν οὔ.”	Asked whether the wise eat cake, he said, “They eat everything, just like the rest of mankind.” Asked why people give to beggars but not to philosophers, he said, “Because they expect that they may become lame and blind themselves, but never that they will take up philosophy.” He was begging from a miser who was slow to give. “Man,” he said, “I’m asking you for food, not for a funeral.” Reproached once for having defaced the currency, he said, “There was a time when I was what you are now; but what I am now, you will never be.” And to another who reproached him for the same

34 Both lines adapt Homer; the second turns Thetis’ “from what you are saying” (agoreueis, *Iliad* 18.95) into “from what you are buying” (agorazeis).
35 The second quotation is Homer’s “he whipped them on to drive (ἐλάαν),” where ἐλάαν can also be read as “olive.”

GREEK

ENGLISH

thing he said, "Yes, and in the old days I used to wet the bed too, but I don't now."[36]

6.57 Εἰς Μύνδον ἐλθὼν καὶ θεασάμενος μεγάλας τὰς πύλας, μικρὰν δὲ τὴν πόλιν, "ἄνδρες Μύνδιοι," ἔφη, "κλείσατε τὰς πύλας, μὴ ἡ πόλις ὑμῶν ἐξέλθῃ." θεασάμενός ποτε πορφυροκλέπτην πεφωραμένον ἔφη, ἔλλαβε πορφύρεος θάνατος καὶ Μοῖρα κραταιή. Κρατέρου ἀξιοῦντος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπιέναι, "ἀλλὰ βούλομαι," ἔφη, "ἐν Ἀθήναις ἅλα λείχειν ἢ παρὰ Κρατέρῳ τῆς πολυτελοῦς τραπέζης ἀπολαύειν." Ἀναξιμένει τῷ ῥήτορι παχεῖ ὄντι προσελθών, "ἐπίδος καὶ ἡμῖν," ἔφη, "τοῖς πτωχοῖς τῆς γαστρός· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς κουφισθήσῃ καὶ ἡμᾶς ὠφελήσεις." διαλεγομένου ποτὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τάριχος προτείνας περιέσπασε τοὺς ἀκροατάς· ἀγανακτοῦντος δέ, "τὴν Ἀναξιμένους," ἔφη, "διάλεξιν ὀβολοῦ τάριχος διαλέλυκεν."

When he came to Myndus and saw that the gates were large and the city small, he said, "Men of Myndus, shut your gates, or your city will get out." Once, seeing a man who had been caught stealing purple cloth, he said: Purple death seized him, and mighty fate. When Craterus invited him to come and stay with him, he said, "No, I would rather lick salt in Athens than enjoy Craterus' lavish table." He went up to Anaximenes the orator, who was fat, and said, "Give us beggars a share of your belly too: you'll be lighter yourself and you'll help us." Once when the same man was giving a lecture, Diogenes held up a salted fish and drew the audience away; when Anaximenes grew angry, he said, "An obol's worth of salt fish has broken up Anaximenes' lecture."[37]

6.58 Ὀνειδιζόμενός ποτε ὅτι ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἔφαγεν, "ἐν ἀγορᾷ γάρ," ἔφη, "καὶ ἐπείνησα." ἔνιοι δὲ τούτου φασὶν εἶναι κἀκεῖνο, ὅτι Πλάτων θεασάμενος αὐτὸν λάχανα πλύνοντα, προσελθὼν ἡσυχῇ εἶποι αὐτῷ· "εἰ Διονύσιον ἐθεράπευες, οὐκ ἂν λάχανα ἔπλυνες·" τὸν δ' ἀποκρίνασθαι ὁμοίως ἡσυχῇ, "καὶ σὺ εἰ λάχανα ἔπλυνες, οὐκ ἂν Διονύσιον ἐθεράπευες." πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, "οἱ πλείους σου καταγελῶσι," "κἀκείνων τυχόν," εἶπεν, "οἱ ὄνοι· ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἐκεῖνοι τῶν ὄνων ἐπιστρέφονται, οὔτ' ἐγὼ ἐκείνων." θεασάμενός ποτε μειράκιον φιλοσοφοῦν, "εὖγε," εἶπεν, "ὅτι τοὺς τοῦ σώματος ἐραστὰς ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς κάλλος μετάγεις."

Reproached once for eating in the marketplace, he said, "Well, it was in the marketplace that I got hungry." Some say this too is his: Plato saw him washing vegetables, came up and said to him quietly, "If you paid court to Dionysius, you wouldn't be washing vegetables"; and he answered just as quietly, "And if you washed vegetables, you wouldn't be paying court to Dionysius." To the man who said, "Most people laugh at you," he said, "And perhaps donkeys laugh at them. But they pay no attention to the donkeys, and I pay none to them." Once, seeing a young man studying philosophy, he said, "Well done! You're leading the lovers of your body on to the beauty of your soul."

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

When someone was admiring the votive offerings in Samothrace, he said, "There would be far more of them if those who weren't saved had made offerings too"; but some say this was Diagoras of Melos. To a handsome young man going off to a drinking party he said, "You'll come back worse." When the young man came back and said to him the next day, "I went, and I didn't come back any worse," he said, "Not Chiron, no, but Eurytion." He was begging from a surly man, who said, "If you can persuade me." He said, "If I could persuade you, I'd have persuaded you to hang yourself." He was on his way back from Sparta to Athens; to the

36 Earlier in this book (6.20–21) Diogenes is said to have defaced the coinage at Sinope, which led to his exile.
37 The obol was a small coin, a sixth of a drachma. This Anaximenes is the orator from Lampsacus, not the Milesian philosopher.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		man who asked, "Where to, and where from?" he said, "From the men's quarters to the women's."[38]
6.60	Ἐπανῄει ἀπ' Ὀλυμπίων· πρὸς οὖν τὸν πυθόμενον εἰ ὄχλος εἴη πολύς, "πολὺς μέν," εἶπεν, "ὁ ὄχλος, ὀλίγοι δ' οἱ ἄνθρωποι." τοὺς ἀσώτους εἶπε παραπλησίους εἶναι συκαῖς ἐπὶ κρημνῷ πεφυκυίαις, ὧν τοῦ καρποῦ ἄνθρωπος μὲν οὐκ ἀπογεύεται, κόρακες δὲ καὶ γῦπες ἐσθίουσι. Φρύνης Ἀφροδίτην χρυσῆν ἀναθείσης ἐν Δελφοῖς φασὶ τοῦτον ἐπιγράψαι, "ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀκρασίας." Ἀλεξάνδρου ποτὲ ἐπιστάντος αὐτῷ καὶ εἰπόντος, "ἐγώ εἰμι Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ μέγας βασιλεύς," "κἀγώ," φησί, "Διογένης ὁ κύων." ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ποιῶν κύων καλεῖται, ἔφη, "τοὺς μὲν διδόντας σαίνων, τοὺς δὲ μὴ διδόντας ὑλακτῶν, τοὺς δὲ πονηροὺς δάκνων."	He was on his way back from the Olympic games; to the man who asked whether there had been a big crowd, he said, "A big crowd, yes, but few human beings." He said that spendthrifts are like figs growing on a cliff: no human being tastes their fruit, but crows and vultures eat it. When Phryne dedicated a golden Aphrodite at Delphi, they say he wrote on it, "From the lack of self-control of the Greeks." Once when Alexander stood over him and said, "I am Alexander, the great king," he said, "And I am Diogenes the Dog." Asked what he did to be called a dog, he said, "I fawn on those who give, I bark at those who don't, and I bite the wicked."
6.61	Ἀπὸ συκῆς ὠπώριζε· τοῦ δὲ φυλάττοντος εἰπόντος, "αὐτόθεν πρῴην ἄνθρωπος ἀπήγξατο," "ἐγὼ οὖν," φησίν, "αὐτὴν καθαρῶ." ἰδὼν Ὀλυμπιονίκην εἰς ἑταίραν πυκνότερον ἀτενίζοντα, "ἴδε," ἔφη, "κριὸν Ἀρειμάνιον ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ τυχόντος κορασίου τραχηλίζεται." τὰς εὐπρεπεῖς ἑταίρας ἔλεγε θανασίμῳ μελικράτῳ παραπλησίας εἶναι. ἀριστῶντι αὐτῷ ἐν ἀγορᾷ οἱ περιεστῶτες συνεχὲς ἔλεγον, "κύον·" ὁ δέ, "ὑμεῖς," εἶπεν, "ἐστὲ κύνες, οἵ με ἀριστῶντα περιεστήκατε." δύο μαλακῶν περικρυπτομένων αὐτὸν ἔφη, "μὴ εὐλαβεῖσθε· κύων τευτλία οὐ τρώγει." περὶ παιδὸς πεπορνευκότος ἐρωτηθεὶς πόθεν εἴη, "Τεγεάτης," ἔφη. [62] ἀφυῆ παλαιστὴν θεασάμενος ἰατρεύοντα ἔφη, "τί τοῦτο; ἢ ἵνα τούς ποτέ σε νικήσαντας νῦν καταβάλῃς;" θεασάμενος υἱὸν ἑταίρας λίθον εἰς ὄχλον βάλλοντα, "πρόσεχε," ἔφη, "μὴ τὸν πατέρα πλήξῃς."	He was picking fruit from a fig tree. When the man guarding it said, "A man hanged himself from that very tree the other day," he said, "Then I'll purify it." Seeing an Olympic victor gazing rather often at a courtesan, he said, "Look how a ram mad for war is caught in a neck-hold by the first little girl who comes along." He used to say that good-looking courtesans are like honeyed wine laced with poison. While he was having breakfast in the marketplace the bystanders kept calling him "Dog!" He said, "You're the dogs, standing around me while I eat my breakfast." When two pampered young men were hiding from him, he said, "Don't worry: a dog doesn't eat beets." Asked where a boy who had prostituted himself came from, he said, "From Tegea." [62] Seeing a wrestler with no talent practicing as a doctor, he said, "What's this? Is it so you can now lay out the men who once beat you?" Seeing a courtesan's son throwing a stone into a crowd, he said, "Careful, you might hit your father."[39]
6.62	Δείξαντος αὐτῷ παιδαρίου μάχαιραν ἣν εἰλήφει παρ' ἐραστοῦ, "ἡ μὲν μάχαιρα," ἔφη, "καλή, ἡ δὲ λαβὴ αἰσχρά·" ἐπαινούντων τινῶν τὸν ἐπιδόντα αὐτῷ ἔφη, "ἐμὲ δ' οὐκ ἐπαινεῖτε τὸν ἄξιον λαβεῖν." ἀπαιτούμενος ὑπό τινος τρίβωνα ἔφη, "εἰ μὲν ἐχαρίσω, ἔχω· εἰ δ' ἔχρησας, χρῶμαι." ὑποβολιμαίου τινὸς εἰπόντος αὐτῷ ὅτι χρυσὸν ἔχοι ἐν τῷ ἱματίῳ, "ναί," ἔφη, "διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸ ὑποβεβλημένος κοιμᾷ." [63] ἐρωτηθεὶς τί αὐτῷ περιγέγονεν	When a boy showed him a knife he had got from his lover, he said, "The knife is fine, but the handle is shameful." When some people were praising a man who had given him something, he said, "And you don't praise me, who deserved to get it?" When someone asked him to give back a cloak, he said, "If you gave it to me, I have it; if you lent it to me, I'm using it." When a man who had been

38 At Samothrace people saved from shipwreck dedicated offerings to the gods. Χείρων ("worse") is also Chiron, the wise centaur, as opposed to Eurytion, the centaur who got drunk and ran riot at a wedding.
39 "Tegea" puns on τέγος, a word for a brothel.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἐκ φιλοσοφίας, ἔφη, “εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τὸ γοῦν πρὸς πᾶσαν τύχην παρεσκευάσθαι.” ἐρωτηθεὶς πόθεν εἴη, “κοσμοπολίτης,” ἔφη. θυόντων τινῶν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ υἱὸν γενέσθαι, ἔφη, “περὶ δὲ τοῦ ποδαπὸς ἐκβῇ οὐ θύετε;” ἔρανόν ποτ’ ἀπαιτούμενος πρὸς τὸν ἐρανάρχην ἔφη, τοὺς ἄλλους ἐράνιζ’, ἀπὸ δ’ Ἕκτορος ἴσχεο χεῖρας.	slipped into his family as a baby told him he had gold in his cloak, he said, “Yes, that’s exactly why you sleep with it slipped under you.” [63] Asked what he had gained from philosophy, he said, “If nothing else, at least being prepared for every turn of fortune.” Asked where he came from, he said, “I am a citizen of the world.” When some people were sacrificing to the gods for the birth of a son, he said, “And aren’t you sacrificing about what sort of man he turns out to be?” Once when he was asked to pay his contribution to a dining club, he said to its organizer: Fleece the others, but keep your hands off Hector.[40]
6.63	Τὰς ἑταίρας ἔφη βασιλέων εἶναι βασιλίσσας· πράττειν γὰρ ὅ τι ἂν δόξῃ αὐταῖς. ψηφισαμένων Ἀθηναίων Ἀλέξανδρον Διόνυσον, “κἀμέ,” ἔφη, “Σάραπιν ποιήσατε.” πρὸς τὸν ὀνειδίζοντα ὅτι εἰς τόπους ἀκαθάρτους εἰσίοι, “καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος,” ἔφη, “εἰς τοὺς ἀποπάτους, ἀλλ’ οὐ μιαίνεται.”	He said that courtesans are the queens of kings, since kings do whatever the courtesans see fit. When the Athenians voted that Alexander was Dionysus, he said, “Make me Sarapis while you’re at it.” To the man who reproached him for going into unclean places, he said, “The sun goes into privies too, but it isn’t defiled.”
6.64	Ἐν ἱερῷ δειπνῶν, μεταξὺ ῥυπαρῶν ἄρτων παρατεθέντων, ἄρας αὐτοὺς ἔρριψεν, εἰπὼν εἰς ἱερὸν μηδὲν δεῖν ῥυπαρὸν εἰσιέναι. πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, “οὐδὲν εἰδὼς φιλοσοφεῖς,” ἔφη, “εἰ καὶ προσποιοῦμαι σοφίαν, καὶ τοῦτο φιλοσοφεῖν ἐστι.” πρὸς τὸν συνιστάντα τὸν παῖδα καὶ λέγοντα ὡς εὐφυέστατός ἐστι καὶ τὰ ἤθη κράτιστος, “τί οὖν,” εἶπεν, “ἐμοῦ χρῄζει;” τοὺς λέγοντας μὲν τὰ σπουδαῖα, μὴ ποιοῦντας δέ, ἔλεγε μηδὲν διαφέρειν κιθάρας· καὶ γὰρ ταύτην μήτ’ ἀκούειν μήτ’ αἰσθάνεσθαι. εἰς θέατρον εἰσῄει ἐναντίος τοῖς ἐξιοῦσιν· ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ διὰ τί, “τοῦτο,” ἔφη, “ἐν παντὶ τῷ βίῳ ἐπιτηδεύω ποιεῖν.”	He was dining in a temple, and when some dirty loaves were set out in the course of the meal, he picked them up and threw them away, saying that nothing dirty should enter a temple. To the man who said, “You know nothing, and yet you do philosophy,” he said, “Even if I only pretend to wisdom, that too is doing philosophy.” To the man who was introducing his son, saying that he was very gifted and of excellent character, he said, “Then what does he need me for?” He used to say that those who speak about serious matters but don’t act on them are no different from a lyre, since a lyre neither hears nor perceives. He would go into a theater against the stream of people coming out; asked why, he said, “This is what I make a practice of doing all my life.”
6.65	Ἰδών ποτε νεανίσκον θηλυνόμενον, “οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ,” ἔφη, “χείρονα τῆς φύσεως περὶ σεαυτοῦ βουλευόμενος; ἡ μὲν γάρ σε ἄνδρα ἐποίησε, σὺ δὲ σεαυτὸν βιάζῃ γυναῖκα εἶναι.” ἰδὼν ἄφρονα ψαλτήριον ἁρμοζόμενον “οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ,” ἔφη, “τοὺς μὲν φθόγγους τῷ ξύλῳ προσαρμόττων, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν εἰς τὸν βίον μὴ ἁρμόττων;” πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, “ἀνεπιτήδειός εἰμι πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν,” “τί οὖν,” ἔφη, “ζῇς, εἰ τοῦ καλῶς ζῆν μὴ μέλει σοι;” πρὸς τὸν καταφρονοῦντα τοῦ πατρός, “οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ,” ἔφη, “καταφρονῶν τούτου δι’ ὃν μέγα φρονεῖς;” ἰδὼν εὐπρεπῆ	Once, seeing a young man acting like a woman, he said, “Aren’t you ashamed to plan worse for yourself than nature did? She made you a man, and you are forcing yourself to be a woman.” Seeing a fool tuning a harp, he said, “Aren’t you ashamed to tune the notes to the wood, but not to tune your soul to your life?” To the man who said, “I’m not suited to philosophy,” he said, “Then why live, if you don’t care about living well?” To a man who despised his father he said, “Aren’t you ashamed to

40 λαβή means both “handle” and “the getting” of something.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	νεανίσκον ἀπρεπῶς λαλοῦντα, "οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ," ἔφη, "ἐξ ἐλεφαντίνου κολεοῦ μολυβδίνην ἕλκων μάχαιραν;"	despise the man to whom you owe your proud airs?" Seeing a good-looking young man talking in an ugly way, he said, "Aren't you ashamed to draw a lead sword from an ivory scabbard?"
6.66	Ὀνειδιζόμενος ὅτι ἐν καπηλείῳ πίνει, "καὶ γὰρ ἐν κουρείῳ," φησί, "κείρομαι." ὀνειδιζόμενος ὅτι παρ' Ἀντιπάτρου τριβώνιον ἔλαβεν, ἔφη, οὗτοι ἀπόβλητ' ἐστὶ θεῶν ἐρικυδέα δῶρα.	Reproached for drinking in a tavern, he said, "I get my hair cut in a barber's shop too." Reproached for accepting a cloak from Antipater, he said: The glorious gifts of the gods are not to be thrown away.[41]
	Πρὸς τὸν ἐνσείσαντα αὐτῷ δοκόν, εἶτα εἰπόντα, "φύλαξαι," πλήξας αὐτὸν τῇ βακτηρίᾳ εἶπε, "φύλαξαι." πρὸς τὸν λιπαροῦντα τὴν ἑταίραν, "τί θέλεις," ἔφη, "τυχεῖν, ὦ ταλαίπωρε, οὗ τὸ ἀποτυχεῖν ἄμεινόν ἐστι;" πρὸς τὸν μυριζόμενον, "βλέπε," εἶπε, "μὴ ἡ τῆς κεφαλῆς σου εὐωδία δυσωδίαν σου τῷ βίῳ παράσχῃ." τοὺς μὲν οἰκέτας ἔφη τοῖς δεσπόταις, τοὺς δὲ φαύλους ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις δουλεύειν.	A man knocked into him with a beam and then said, "Watch out!" Diogenes hit him with his stick and said, "Watch out!" To the man who was pestering a courtesan he said, "Why do you want to get what you're better off not getting, you poor wretch?" To a man wearing perfume he said, "Watch out that the sweet smell of your head doesn't give your life a bad smell." He said that servants are slaves to their masters, and worthless men to their desires.
6.67	Ἐρωτηθεὶς διὰ τί ἀνδράποδα ἐκλήθη, "ὅτι," φησί, "τοὺς πόδας ἀνδρῶν εἶχον, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ὁποίαν σὺ νῦν ὁ ἐξετάζων." ἄσωτον ᾔτει μνᾶν· πυθομένου δὲ διὰ τί τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ὀβολὸν αἰτεῖ, αὐτὸν δὲ μνᾶν, "ὅτι," εἶπε, "παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων πάλιν ἐλπίζω λαβεῖν, παρὰ δὲ σοῦ θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται εἰ πάλιν λήψομαι." ὀνειδιζόμενος ὅτι αὐτὸς αἰτεῖ, Πλάτωνος μὴ αἰτοῦντος, "κἀκεῖνος," εἶπεν, "αἰτεῖ, ἀλλ' ἄγχι σχὼν κεφαλήν, ἵνα μὴ πευθοίαθ' οἱ ἄλλοι." ἰδὼν τοξότην ἀφυῆ παρὰ τὸν σκοπὸν ἐκάθισεν, εἰπών, "ἵνα μὴ πληγῶ" τοὺς ἐρῶντας ἔφη πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀτυχεῖν.	Asked why slaves were called "man-footed," he said, "Because they had the feet of men, but a soul like yours, you who are asking the question." He asked a spendthrift for a mina. When the man asked why he begged an obol from everyone else but a mina from him, he said, "Because from the others I hope to get something again, but whether I'll get anything from you again lies on the knees of the gods." Reproached for begging when Plato did not, he said, "He begs too, but 'holding his head close, so the others won't hear.'" Seeing a poor archer, he sat down next to the target, saying, "So I don't get hit." He said that lovers come to grief over pleasure.[42]
6.68	Ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ κακὸν ὁ θάνατος, "πῶς," εἶπε, "κακός, οὗ παρόντος οὐκ αἰσθανόμεθα;" πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιστάντα καὶ εἰπόντα, "οὐ φοβῇ με;" "τί γάρ," εἶπεν, "εἶ; ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν;" τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, "ἀγαθόν," "τίς οὖν," εἶπε, "τὸ ἀγαθὸν φοβεῖται;" τὴν παιδείαν εἶπε τοῖς μὲν νέοις σωφροσύνην, τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέροις παραμυθίαν, τοῖς δὲ πένησι πλοῦτον, τοῖς δὲ πλουσίοις κόσμον εἶναι. πρὸς Διδύμωνα τὸν μοιχὸν ἰατρεύοντά ποτε κόρης ὀφθαλμόν, "ὅρα," φησί, "μὴ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τῆς παρθένου θεραπεύων τὴν κόρην φθείρῃς." εἰπόντος τινὸς ὅτι ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἐπιβουλεύεται, "καὶ τί δεῖ πράττειν," ἔφη, "εἰ δεήσει τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὁμοίως χρῆσθαι;"	Asked whether death is a bad thing, he said, "How can it be bad, when we don't perceive it while it's here?" When Alexander stood over him and said, "Aren't you afraid of me?" he said, "Why, what are you? Good or bad?" When Alexander said, "Good," he said, "Then who is afraid of the good?" He said that education is self-restraint for the young, consolation for the old, wealth for the poor and an ornament for the rich. To Didymon the adulterer, who was once treating a girl's eye, he said, "Watch out that while you're treating the maiden's eye you

41 Antipater governed Macedonia and Greece for Alexander and after his death.
42 ἀνδράποδον, "slave," looks as if it meant "man-footed." A mina was a hundred drachmas.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		don't ruin the pupil." When someone said that his friends were plotting against him, he said, "And what is one to do, if we're going to have to treat friends and enemies alike?"[43]
6.69	Ἐρωτηθεὶς τί κάλλιστον ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ἔφη, "παρρησία." εἰσελθὼν εἰς διδασκάλου καὶ Μούσας μὲν ἰδὼν πολλάς, μαθητὰς δὲ ὀλίγους, "σὺν θεοῖς," ἔφη, "διδάσκαλε, πολλοὺς μαθητὰς ἔχεις." εἰώθει δὲ πάντα ποιεῖν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, καὶ τὰ Δήμητρος καὶ τὰ Ἀφροδίτης. καὶ τοιούτους τινὰς ἠρώτα λόγους· εἰ τὸ ἀριστᾶν μηδέν ἐστιν ἄτοπον, οὐδ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐστιν ἄτοπον· οὐκ ἔστι δ' ἄτοπον τὸ ἀριστᾶν· οὐδ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἄρα ἐστὶν ἄτοπον. χειρουργῶν τ' ἐν τῷ μέσῳ συνεχές, "εἴθε ἦν," ἔλεγε, "καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν παρατριψάμενον τοῦ λιμοῦ παύσασθαι·" ἀναφέρεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα εἰς αὐτόν, ἃ μακρὸν ἂν εἴη καταλέγειν πολλὰ ὄντα.	Asked what is the finest thing among human beings, he said, "Frank speech." Going into a schoolmaster's and seeing many statues of the Muses but few pupils, he said, "Counting the gods, schoolmaster, you have plenty of pupils." He was in the habit of doing everything in public, the works of Demeter and the works of Aphrodite alike. And he used to pose arguments of this kind: if eating breakfast is nothing out of place, it is not out of place in the marketplace either; eating breakfast is not out of place; therefore it is not out of place in the marketplace either. And as he was constantly masturbating in public, he used to say, "If only one could stop being hungry by rubbing one's belly too." Many other things are attributed to him, but it would take too long to list them, since there are so many.

DIOGENES' TEACHING AND DEATH

Diogenes on training and nature; his sale as a slave in Crete; rival accounts of his death; his books.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
6.70	Διττὴν δ' ἔλεγεν εἶναι τὴν ἄσκησιν, τὴν μὲν ψυχικήν, τὴν δὲ σωματικήν· ταύτην καθ' ἣν ἐν γυμνασίᾳ συνεχεῖ γινόμεναι φαντασίαι εὐλυσίαν πρὸς τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔργα παρέχονται. εἶναι δ' ἀτελῆ τὴν ἑτέραν χωρὶς τῆς ἑτέρας, οὐδὲν ἧττον εὐεξίας καὶ ἰσχύος ἐν τοῖς προσήκουσι γενομένης, ὡς περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ περὶ τὸ σῶμα.	He used to say that training is of two kinds, the mental and the bodily: the bodily kind is the one in which the impressions formed through constant exercise give a readiness for the works of excellence. And he held that the one is incomplete without the other, since good condition and strength are no less among the things we need, for the soul as for the body.
	παρετίθετο δὲ τεκμήρια τοῦ ῥᾳδίως ἀπὸ τῆς γυμνασίας ἐν τῇ ἀρετῇ καταγίνεσθαι· ὁρᾶν τε γὰρ ἔν τε ταῖς τέχναις ταῖς βαναύσοις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ὀξυχειρίαν τοὺς τεχνίτας ἀπὸ τῆς μελέτης περιπεποιημένους τούς τ' αὐλητὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀθλητὰς ὅσον ὑπερφέρουσιν ἑκάτεροι τῇ ἰδίᾳ πονήσει τῇ συνεχεῖ, καὶ ὡς οὗτοι εἰ μετήνεγκαν τὴν ἄσκησιν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχήν, οὐκ ἂν ἀνωφελῶς καὶ ἀτελῶς ἐμόχθουν.	He offered evidence that exercise makes it easy to become at home in excellence. In the menial crafts and the others, he said, one sees craftsmen acquiring no ordinary manual skill from practice, and how far flute-players and athletes each excel through their own constant toil; and if they had transferred their training to the soul too, they would not have labored uselessly and to no purpose.
6.71	Οὐδέν γε μὴν ἔλεγε τὸ παράπαν ἐν τῷ βίῳ χωρὶς ἀσκήσεως κατορθοῦσθαι, δυνατὴν δὲ ταύτην πᾶν ἐκνικῆσαι. δέον οὖν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀχρήστων πόνων τοὺς κατὰ	Indeed he said that nothing at all in life succeeds without training, and that training can overcome anything. So, though people ought to choose the

43 κόρη means both "girl" and "pupil of the eye."

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	φύσιν ἑλομένους ζῆν εὐδαιμόνως, παρὰ τὴν ἄνοιαν κακοδαιμονοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἡ καταφρόνησις ἡδυτάτη προμελετηθεῖσα, καὶ ὥσπερ οἱ συνεθισθέντες ἡδέως ζῆν, ἀηδῶς ἐπὶ τοὐναντίον μετίασιν, οὕτως οἱ τοὐναντίον ἀσκηθέντες ἥδιον αὐτῶν τῶν ἡδονῶν καταφρονοῦσι. τοιαῦτα διελέγετο καὶ ποιῶν ἐφαίνετο, ὄντως νόμισμα παραχαράττων, μηδὲν οὕτω τοῖς κατὰ νόμον ὡς τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν διδούς· τὸν αὐτὸν χαρακτῆρα τοῦ βίου λέγων διεξάγειν ὅνπερ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς, μηδὲν ἐλευθερίας προκρίνων.	labors that accord with nature instead of useless ones, and so live happily, they are miserable through folly. For even contempt of pleasure is itself most pleasant once one has practiced it; and just as those who are used to living pleasantly find it unpleasant to switch to the opposite, so those trained in the opposite take more pleasure in despising pleasures than in the pleasures themselves. This is the kind of thing he used to talk about, and he was plainly seen to act on it, truly defacing the currency, granting nothing to convention as he did to nature. He said he led the same style of life as Heracles, preferring nothing to freedom.[44]
6.72	Πάντα τῶν σοφῶν εἶναι λέγων καὶ τοιούτους λόγους ἐρωτῶν οἵους ἄνω προειρήκαμεν· πάντα τῶν θεῶν ἐστι· φίλοι δὲ τοῖς σοφοῖς οἱ θεοί· κοινὰ δὲ τὰ τῶν φίλων. πάντα ἄρα τῶν σοφῶν. περί τε τοῦ νόμου ὅτι χωρὶς αὐτοῦ οὐχ οἷόν τε πολιτεύεσθαι· οὐ γάρ φησιν ἄνευ πόλεως ὄφελός τι εἶναι ἀστείου· ἀστεῖον δὲ ἡ πόλις· νόμου δὲ ἄνευ πόλεως οὐδὲν ὄφελος· ἀστεῖον ἄρα ὁ νόμος. εὐγενείας δὲ καὶ δόξας καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα διέπαιζε, προκοσμήματα κακίας εἶναι λέγων· μόνην τε ὀρθὴν πολιτείαν εἶναι τὴν ἐν κόσμῳ. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ κοινὰς εἶναι δεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας, γάμον μηδένα νομίζων, ἀλλὰ τὸν πείσαντα τῇ πεισθείσῃ συνεῖναι· κοινοὺς δὲ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς υἱέας.	He said that everything belongs to the wise, and posed arguments of the kind we mentioned above: everything belongs to the gods; the gods are friends of the wise; friends hold their things in common; therefore everything belongs to the wise. And about law, he argued that without it there can be no civic life: for, he says, there is no benefit in anything civilized without a city; the city is something civilized; without law there is no benefit in a city; therefore law is something civilized. He made fun of noble birth, reputation and all such things, calling them showy ornaments of vice; and he said that the only right constitution is the one that embraces the world-order. He also said that wives should be held in common, recognizing no marriage except that the man who persuades should live with the woman he has persuaded; and for that reason, he said, sons too should be held in common.
6.73	Μηδέν τε ἄτοπον εἶναι ἐξ ἱεροῦ τι λαβεῖν ἢ τῶν ζῴων τινὸς γεύσασθαι· μηδ' ἀνόσιον εἶναι τὸ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων κρεῶν ἅψασθαι, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐθῶν· καὶ τῷ ὀρθῷ λόγῳ πάντ' ἐν πᾶσι καὶ διὰ πάντων εἶναι λέγων.	He held that there is nothing wrong with taking something from a temple or eating any animal, and that it is not even impious to touch human flesh, as is clear from the customs of other peoples; and he said that by right reason everything is in everything and passes through everything.
	καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἄρτῳ κρέας εἶναι καὶ ἐν τῷ λαχάνῳ ἄρτον, καὶ τῶν σωμάτων τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν πᾶσι διά τινων ἀδήλων πόρων [καὶ] ὄγκων εἰσκρινομένων καὶ συνατμιζομένων, ὡς δῆλον ἐν τῷ Πυέστῃ ποιεῖ, εἴ γ' αὐτοῦ αἱ τραγῳδίαι καὶ μὴ Φιλίσκου τοῦ Αἰγινήτου ἐκείνου γνωρίμου ἢ Πασιφῶντος τοῦ Λουκιανοῦ, ὅν φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτοῦ συγγράψαι.	For there is meat in bread and bread in vegetables, since through certain invisible pores [and] particles of all the other bodies enter into everything and mingle with it as vapor, as he makes clear in his *Thyestes* (if the tragedies are really his, and not by his pupil Philiscus of Aegina, or by Pasiphon son of Lucian, who, Favorinus says

44 νόμισμα, "currency," is close to νόμος, "custom" or "law"; χαρακτήρ, the "stamp" on a coin, is also the word for his "style" of life.

GREEK

μουσικῆς τε καὶ γεωμετρικῆς καὶ ἀστρολογίας καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀμελεῖν, ὡς ἀχρήστων καὶ οὐκ ἀναγκαίων.

ENGLISH

in his *Miscellaneous History*, wrote them after his death). He held that one should neglect music, geometry, astronomy and the like, as useless and unnecessary.[45]

6.74 Εὐστοχώτατος δ' ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἀπαντήσεσι τῶν λόγων, ὡς δῆλον ἐξ ὧν προειρήκαμεν.

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

He was extremely sharp in his ripostes, as is clear from what we have already said.

He also bore being sold as a slave in the noblest way. Sailing to Aegina, he was captured by pirates under the command of Scirpalus, taken off to Crete and put up for sale. When the auctioneer asked what he knew how to do, he said, "Rule men." Then, pointing to a Corinthian with a fine purple border on his robe (the Xeniades mentioned earlier), he said, "Sell me to this man: he needs a master." So Xeniades buys him, takes him away to Corinth, puts him in charge of his own children and entrusts his whole household to him. And Diogenes managed it so well in every respect that Xeniades used to go about saying, "A good spirit has come into my house."

6.75 Φησὶ δὲ Κλεομένης ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Παιδαγωγικῷ τοὺς γνωρίμους λυτρώσασθαι αὐτὸν θελῆσαι, τὸν δ' εὐήθεις αὐτοὺς εἰπεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς λέοντας δούλους εἶναι τῶν τρεφόντων, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τρέφοντας τῶν λεόντων. δούλου γὰρ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι, τὰ δὲ θηρία φοβερὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἶναι. θαυμαστὴ δέ τις ἦν περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα πειθώ, ὥστε πάνθ' ὁντινοῦν ῥᾳδίως αἱρεῖν τοῖς λόγοις.

Cleomenes says in his work entitled *On Education* that his pupils wanted to ransom him, but he called them simpletons: lions, he said, are not the slaves of those who feed them; rather, those who feed them are the slaves of the lions. For fear is the mark of a slave, and wild beasts are what human beings fear. There was a remarkable power of persuasion in the man, so that he could easily win over anyone at all with his words.

λέγεται γοῦν Ὀνησίκριτόν τινα Αἰγινήτην πέμψαι εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας δυοῖν ὄντοιν υἱοῖν τὸν ἕτερον Ἀνδροσθένην, ὃν ἀκούσαντα τοῦ Διογένους αὐτόθι προσμεῖναι· τὸν δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀποστεῖλαι τὸν πρεσβύτερον Φιλίσκον τὸν προειρημένον, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν Φιλίσκον κατασχεθῆναι· [76] τὸ τρίτον αὐτὸν ἀφιγμένον μηδὲν ἧττον συνεῖναι τοῖς παισὶ συμφιλοσοφοῦντα. τοιαύτη τις προσῆν ἴυγξ τοῖς Διογένους λόγοις. ἤκουσε δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Φωκίων ὁ ἐπίκλην χρηστὸς καὶ Στίλπων ὁ Μεγαρεὺς καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους ἄνδρες πολιτικοί.

At any rate, it is said that a certain Onesicritus of Aegina sent one of his two sons, Androsthenes, to Athens, and that after hearing Diogenes he stayed on there. Onesicritus then sent the other, the elder, the Philiscus mentioned above, to fetch him, and Philiscus too was held fast in the same way. [76] The third time Onesicritus came himself, and he stayed with Diogenes no less than his sons did, doing philosophy alongside them. Such was the spell in Diogenes' words. Among those who studied under him were Phocion, nicknamed the Good, Stilpo of Megara and many other statesmen.

6.76 Λέγεται δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη βιοὺς τελευτῆσαι. περὶ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου διάφοροι λέγονται λόγοι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολύποδα φαγόντα ὠμὸν χολερικῇ ληφθῆναι καὶ ὧδε τελευτῆσαι· οἱ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα συγκρατήσαντα, ὧν ἐστι καὶ

He is said to have died at nearly ninety. Different accounts are given of his death. Some say that he ate a raw octopus, was seized with cholera and died of it; others that he held his breath. Among

45 In myth Thyestes was tricked into eating the flesh of his own sons.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Κερκιδᾶς ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης [ἢ Κρής], λέγων ἐν τοῖς μελιάμβοις οὕτως· οὐ μὰν ὁ πάρος γε Σινωπεὺς τῆνος ὁ βακτροφόρας, διπλοείματος, αἰθεριβόσκας, [77] ἀλλ' ἀνέβα χεῖλος ποτ' ὀδόντας ἐρείσας [καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα συνδακών]. ἦς γὰρ ἀληθέως Διογένης Ζανὸς γόνος οὐράνιός τε κύων.	these is Cercidas of Megalopolis [or of Crete], who says in his *Meliambi*: No, not he, that man of Sinope of old, that staff-bearer, double-cloaked, who grazed on the open air: [77] he went up, with his lip pressed hard against his teeth [and biting his breath shut]. For truly you were Diogenes, son of Zeus and a dog of heaven.[46]
6.77	Ἄλλοι φασὶ πολύπουν κυσὶ συμμερίσασθαι βουλόμενον οὕτω δηχθῆναι τοῦ ποδὸς τὸν τένοντα καὶ καταστρέψαι. οἱ μέντοι γνώριμοι αὐτοῦ, καθά φησιν Ἀντισθένης ἐν Διαδοχαῖς, εἴκαζον τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος συγκράτησιν. ἐτύγχανε μὲν γὰρ διάγων ἐν τῷ Κρανείῳ τῷ πρὸ τῆς Κορίνθου γυμνασίῳ· κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἔθος ἦκον οἱ γνώριμοι καὶ αὐτὸν καταλαμβάνουσιν ἐγκεκαλυμμένον καὶ εἴκασαν αὐτὸν κοιμᾶσθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν τις νυσταλέος καὶ ὑπνηλός. ὅθεν, ἀποπετάσαντες τὸν τρίβωνα ἔκπνουν αὐτὸν καταλαμβάνουσι καὶ ὑπέλαβον τοῦτο πρᾶξαι βουλόμενον λοιπὸν ὑπεξελθεῖν τοῦ βίου.	Others say that he was trying to share an octopus with some dogs, was bitten through the tendon of his foot in the process, and died. His pupils, however, as Antisthenes says in his *Successions*, guessed that he had held his breath. He happened to be living in the Craneum, the gymnasium just outside Corinth. His pupils came as usual and found him wrapped up in his cloak, and supposed he was asleep, though he was not one to doze or be drowsy. So they drew back the cloak and found him no longer breathing, and took it that he had done this because he wanted to slip out of what remained of his life.[47]
6.78	Ἔνθα καὶ στάσις, ὥς φασιν, ἐγένετο τῶν γνωρίμων, τίνες αὐτὸν θάψουσιν· ἀλλὰ καὶ μέχρι χειρῶν ἦλθον. ἀφικομένων δὲ τῶν πατέρων καὶ τῶν ὑπερεχόντων, ὑπὸ τούτοις ταφῆναι τὸν ἄνδρα παρὰ τῇ πύλῃ τῇ φερούσῃ εἰς τὸν Ἰσθμόν. ἐπέστησάν τ' αὐτῷ κίονα καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ λίθου Παρίου κύνα. ὕστερον δὲ καὶ οἱ πολῖται αὐτοῦ χαλκαῖς εἰκόσιν ἐτίμησαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπέγραψαν οὕτω· γηράσκει καὶ χαλκὸς ὑπὸ χρόνου, ἀλλὰ σὸν οὔτι κῦδος ὁ πᾶς αἰών, Διόγενες, καθελεῖ· μοῦνος ἐπεὶ βιοτᾶς αὐτάρκεα δόξαν ἔδειξας θνατοῖς καὶ ζωᾶς οἶμον ἐλαφροτάταν.	Then, they say, a quarrel broke out among his pupils over who should bury him; they even came to blows. But when their fathers and the leading citizens arrived, the man was buried under their direction beside the gate that leads to the Isthmus. Over him they set up a pillar, and on it a dog of Parian marble. Later his fellow citizens also honored him with bronze statues and inscribed on them: Even bronze grows old with time, but your glory, Diogenes, all eternity will never destroy, since you alone showed mortals a self-sufficient view of life and the lightest path of living.
6.79	Ἔστι καὶ ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ προκελευσματικῷ μέτρῳ· Α. Διόγενες, ἄγε λέγε τίς ἔλαβέ σε μόρος / ἐς Ἄϊδος. Δ. ἔλαβέ με κυνὸς ἄγριον ὀδάξ.	There is also one of mine in the proceleusmatic meter: A. Diogenes, come, tell me, what fate took you / down to Hades? D. A dog's savage bite took me.[48]
	Ἔνιοι δέ φασι τελευτῶντα αὐτὸν [καὶ] ἐντείλασθαι ἄταφον ῥῖψαι ὡς πᾶν θηρίον αὐτοῦ μετάσχοι, ἢ εἴς γε βόθρον συνῶσαι καὶ ὀλίγην κόνιν ἐπαμῆσαι· οἱ δέ, εἰς τὸν Ἰλισσὸν ἐμβαλεῖν, ἵνα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς χρήσιμος γένηται.	Some say that when he was dying he [also] gave orders to throw him out unburied, so that every wild beast might have a share of him, or at least to shove him into a ditch and sprinkle a little dust over him. Others say he told them to throw him

46 Cercidas was a Cynic poet and statesman of Megalopolis in the third century BC; his *Meliambi* are lyric poems in a mixed meter.
47 This Antisthenes is the historian of Rhodes who wrote *Successions*, not the Cynic philosopher.
48 The proceleusmatic is a metrical foot of four short syllables. The joke is that Diogenes, "the Dog," died of a dog's bite.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		into the Ilissus, so that he might be of use to his brothers.
	Δημήτριος δ' ἐν τοῖς Ὁμωνύμοις φησὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι, Διογένην δ' ἐν Κορίνθῳ τελευτῆσαι. ἦν δὲ γέρων κατὰ τὴν τρίτην καὶ δεκάτην καὶ ἑκατοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα.	Demetrius in his *Men of the Same Name* says that Alexander died in Babylon and Diogenes in Corinth on the same day. He was an old man in the 113th Olympiad.[49]
6.80	Φέρεται δ' αὐτοῦ βιβλία τάδε· διάλογοι· Κεφαλίων. Ἰχθύας. Κολοιός. Πόρδαλος. Δῆμος Ἀθηναίων. Πολιτεία. Τέχνη ἠθική. Περὶ πλούτου. Ἐρωτικός. Θεόδωρος. Ὑψίας. Ἀρίσταρχος. Περὶ θανάτου. Ἐπιστολαί.	The following books are attributed to him. Dialogues: *Cephalion*; *Ichthyas*; *The Jackdaw*; *Pordalus*; *The Athenian People*; *Republic*; *The Art of Ethics*; *On Wealth*; *On Love*; *Theodorus*; *Hypsias*; *Aristarchus*; *On Death*; *Letters*.
	Τραγῳδίαι ἑπτά· Ἑλένη. Θυέστης. Ἡρακλῆς. Ἀχιλλεύς. Μήδεια. Χρύσιππος. Οἰδίπους.	Seven tragedies: *Helen*; *Thyestes*; *Heracles*; *Achilles*; *Medea*; *Chrysippus*; *Oedipus*.
	Σωσικράτης δ' ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς Διαδοχῆς καὶ Σάτυρος ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ τῶν Βίων οὐδὲν εἶναι Διογένους φασί· τά τε τραγῳδάριά φησιν ὁ Σάτυρος Φιλίσκου εἶναι τοῦ Αἰγινήτου, γνωρίμου τοῦ Διογένους. Σωτίων δ' ἐν τῷ ἑβδόμῳ ταῦτα μόνα φησὶ Διογένους εἶναι, Περὶ ἀρετῆς, Περὶ ἀγαθοῦ, Ἐρωτικόν, Πτωχόν, Τολμαῖον, Πόρδαλον, Κάσανδρον, Κεφαλίωνα, Φιλίσκον, Ἀρίσταρχον, Σίσυφον, Γανυμήδην, Χρείας, Ἐπιστολάς.	Sosicrates in the first book of his *Succession* and Satyrus in the fourth book of his *Lives* say that none of these is by Diogenes, and Satyrus says that the little tragedies are by Philiscus of Aegina, a pupil of Diogenes. Sotion in his seventh book says that only the following are by Diogenes: *On Excellence*, *On the Good*, *On Love*, *The Beggar*, *Tolmaeus*, *Pordalus*, *Casandrus*, *Cephalion*, *Philiscus*, *Aristarchus*, *Sisyphus*, *Ganymede*, *Anecdotes*, *Letters*.
6.81	Γεγόνασι δὲ Διογένεις πέντε· πρῶτος Ἀπολλωνιάτης, φυσικός· ἀρχὴ δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ συγγράμματος ἥδε· "Λόγου παντὸς ἀρχόμενον δοκέει μοι χρεὼν εἶναι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναμφισβήτητον παρέχεσθαι." δεύτερος Σικυώνιος, ὁ γράψας τὰ περὶ Πελοπόννησον· τρίτος αὐτὸς οὗτος· τέταρτος στωικός, γένος Σελευκεύς, ὁ καὶ Βαβυλώνιος καλούμενος διὰ τὴν γειτονίαν· πέμπτος Ταρσεύς, γεγραφὼς περὶ ποιητικῶν ζητημάτων ἃ λύειν ἐπιχειρεῖ.	There have been five men named Diogenes. The first was from Apollonia, a natural philosopher. His treatise begins like this: "In beginning any account, it seems to me, one should make one's starting point beyond dispute." The second was from Sicyon, the man who wrote about the Peloponnese. The third is our man himself. The fourth was a Stoic, a native of Seleucia, who was also called the Babylonian because Seleucia is near Babylon. The fifth was from Tarsus; he wrote about problems in poetry, which he tries to solve.
	Τὸν δὴ φιλόσοφον Ἀθηνόδωρός φησιν ἐν ὀγδόῃ Περιπάτων ἀεὶ στιλπνὸν φαίνεσθαι διὰ τὸ ἀλείφεσθαι.	As for our philosopher, Athenodorus says in the eighth book of his *Walks* that he always looked sleek, because he rubbed himself with oil.

MONIMUS

A banker's slave who feigned madness to follow Diogenes.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
6.82	Μόνιμος Συρακόσιος μαθητὴς μὲν Διογένους, οἰκέτης δέ τινος τραπεζίτου Κορινθίου, καθά φησι Σωσικράτης. πρὸς τοῦτον συνεχὲς ἀφικνούμενος ὁ Ξενιάδης ὁ τὸν Διογένην	Monimus of Syracuse was a pupil of Diogenes and the household slave of a Corinthian banker, as Sosicrates says. Xeniades, the man who had

49 The 113th Olympiad ran from 328 to 325 BC.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἐωνημένος τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῶν λόγων διηγούμενος εἰς ἔρωτα τἀνδρὸς ἐνέβαλε τὸν Μόνιμον. αὐτίκα γὰρ ἐκεῖνος μανίαν προσποιηθεὶς τό τε κέρμα διερρίπτει καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης ἀργύριον, ἕως αὐτὸν ὁ δεσπότης παρητήσατο· καὶ ὃς εὐθέως Διογένους ἦν. παρηκολούθησε δὲ καὶ Κράτητι τῷ κυνικῷ συχνὰ καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων εἴχετο, ὅτε καὶ μᾶλλον ὁρῶν αὐτὸν ὁ δεσπότης ἐδόκει μαίνεσθαι.	bought Diogenes, often came to see this banker, and by describing Diogenes' excellence in both deeds and words he made Monimus fall in love with the man. Monimus immediately pretended to be mad and kept flinging away the small change and all the money on the counter, until his master dismissed him; and at once he was Diogenes' man. He also followed Crates the Cynic a great deal and took up the same kind of pursuits, and seeing this his master was all the more convinced that he was mad.
6.83	Ἐγένετο δ' ἀνὴρ ἐλλόγιμος, ὡς καὶ Μένανδρον αὐτοῦ τὸν κωμικὸν μεμνῆσθαι. ἔν τινι γοῦν τῶν δραμάτων ἐν τῷ Ἱπποκόμῳ εἶπεν οὕτως· Μόνιμός τις ἦν ἄνθρωπος, ὦ Φίλων, σοφός, ἀδοξότερος μικρῷ δ'. Α. ὁ τὴν πήραν ἔχων; Β. πήρας μὲν οὖν τρεῖς· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος ῥῆμά τι ἐφθέγξατ' οὐδὲν ἐμφερές, μὰ τὸν Δία, τῷ γνῶθι σαυτόν, οὐδὲ τοῖς βοωμένοις τούτοις, ὑπὲρ δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ προσαιτῶν καὶ ῥυπῶν· τὸ γὰρ ὑποληφθὲν τῦφον εἶναι πᾶν ἔφη. οὗτος μὲν ἐμβριθέστατος ἐγένετο, ὥστε δόξης μὲν καταφρονεῖν, πρὸς δ' ἀλήθειαν παρορμᾶν.	He became a man of note, so much so that even Menander the comic poet mentions him. In one of his plays, at any rate, *The Groom*, he says this: There was a man called Monimus, Philo, a wise man, though not quite so famous. A. The one with the bag? B. Three bags, rather. But that man uttered a saying not in the least like, by Zeus, "Know yourself", or these sayings everyone shouts about; he went beyond them, that filthy beggar: he said that everything we assume is delusion. Monimus was a man of great seriousness, so that he despised reputation and urged people on toward truth.
	Γέγραφε δὲ παίγνια σπουδῇ λελῃθυίᾳ μεμιγμένα καὶ Περὶ ὁρμῶν δύο καὶ Προτρεπτικόν.	He wrote playful pieces blended with hidden seriousness, as well as *On Impulses*, 2 books, and an *Exhortation*.

ONESICRITUS

Diogenes' pupil who wrote about Alexander as Xenophon wrote about Cyrus.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
6.84	Ὀνησίκριτος· τοῦτον οἱ μὲν Αἰγινήτην, Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Μάγνης Ἀστυπαλαιᾶ φησιν εἶναι. καὶ οὗτος τῶν ἐλλογίμων Διογένους μαθητῶν. ἔοικε δέ τι ὅμοιον πεπονθέναι πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα. ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ Κύρῳ συνεστράτευσεν, οὗτος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· κἀκεῖνος μὲν Παιδείαν Κύρου, ὁ δὲ πῶς Ἀλέξανδρος ἤχθη γέγραφε· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐγκώμιον Κύρου, ὁ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου πεποίηκε. καὶ τῇ ἑρμηνείᾳ δὲ παραπλήσιος, πλὴν ὅτι ὡς ἀπόγραφος ἐξ ἀρχετύπου δευτερεύει.	Onesicritus. Some say he was from Aegina, but Demetrius of Magnesia says he was from Astypalaea. He too was one of Diogenes' notable pupils. His career seems to have been rather like Xenophon's. Xenophon campaigned with Cyrus, he with Alexander; Xenophon wrote *The Education of Cyrus*, he wrote how Alexander was brought up; the one composed an encomium of Cyrus, the other of Alexander. In style, too, he is close to Xenophon, except that he comes second, as a copy does to its original.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Γέγονε καὶ Μένανδρος Διογένους μαθητής, ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Δρυμός, θαυμαστὴς Ὁμήρου, καὶ Ἡγησίας Σινωπεὺς ὁ Κλοιὸς ἐπίκλην, καὶ Φιλίσκος ὁ Αἰγινήτης, ὡς προειρήκαμεν.	Diogenes' pupils also included Menander, nicknamed the Oak, an admirer of Homer; Hegesias of Sinope, nicknamed the Collar; and Philiscus of Aegina, as we said earlier.

CRATES OF THEBES

Crates gives away his fortune, becomes the Door-Opener, and jokes his way through poverty.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
6.85	Κράτης Ἀσκώνδου Θηβαῖος. καὶ οὗτος τῶν ἐλλογίμων τοῦ κυνὸς μαθητῶν. Ἱππόβοτος δέ φησιν οὐ Διογένους αὐτὸν μαθητὴν γεγονέναι, ἀλλὰ Βρύσωνος τοῦ Ἀχαιοῦ. τούτου Παίγνια φέρεται τάδε· Πήρη τις πόλις ἐστὶ μέσῳ ἐνὶ οἴνοπι τύφῳ, καλὴ καὶ πίειρα, περίρρυπος, οὐδὲν ἔχουσα, εἰς ἣν οὔτε τις εἰσπλεῖ ἀνὴρ μωρὸς παράσιτος, οὔτε λίχνος πόρνης ἐπαγαλλόμενος πυγῇσιν· ἀλλὰ θύμον καὶ σκόρδα φέρει καὶ σῦκα καὶ ἄρτους, ἐξ ὧν οὐ πολεμοῦσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ τούτων, οὐχ ὅπλα κέκτηνται περὶ κέρματος, οὐ περὶ δόξης.	Crates, son of Ascondas, of Thebes. He too was one of the Dog's notable pupils. Hippobotus, however, says that he was not a pupil of Diogenes but of Bryson the Achaean. The following *Playful Pieces* are attributed to him: There is a city, Pera, in the midst of wine-dark delusion, fair and fertile, filthy all round, owning nothing. Into it sails no fool of a hanger-on, no glutton exulting in a prostitute's buttocks; but it bears thyme and garlic and figs and loaves, and over these its people do not make war on one another, nor take up arms for small change, or for glory.[50]
6.86	Ἔστι καὶ ἐφημερὶς ἡ θρυλουμένη οὕτως ἔχουσα· τίθει μαγείρῳ μνᾶς δέκ', ἰατρῷ δραχμήν, κόλακι τάλαντα πέντε, συμβούλῳ καπνόν, πόρνῃ τάλαντον, φιλοσόφῳ τριώβολον.	There is also his much-quoted account book, which runs like this: Put down for the cook ten minas, for the doctor a drachma, for the flatterer five talents, for the adviser smoke, for the prostitute a talent, for the philosopher three obols.[51]
	Ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Θυρεπανοίκτης διὰ τὸ εἰς πᾶσαν εἰσιέναι οἰκίαν καὶ νουθετεῖν· ἔστιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τόδε· ταῦτ' ἔχω ὅσσ' ἔμαθον καὶ ἐφρόντισα καὶ μετὰ Μουσῶν σέμν' ἐδάην· τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ὄλβια τῦφος ἔμαρψεν. καὶ ὅτι ἐκ φιλοσοφίας αὐτῷ περιγένοιτο θέρμων τε χοῖνιξ καὶ τὸ μηδενὸς μέλειν. φέρεται δ' αὐτοῦ κἀκεῖνο· ἔρωτα παύει λιμός, εἰ δὲ μή, χρόνος· ἐὰν δὲ τούτοις μὴ δύνῃ χρῆσθαι, βρόχος.	He was also called the Door-Opener, because he would walk into every house and give advice. This is also his: What I have is what I learned and thought about, and the solemn things I came to know with the Muses; the many riches delusion has seized. He also said that what he got out of philosophy was a measure of lupins and caring about nothing. This too is attributed to him: Hunger puts an end to love, or if not hunger, time; and if you can't make use of these, a noose.
6.87	Ἤκμαζε δὲ κατὰ τὴν τρίτην καὶ δεκάτην καὶ ἑκατοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα. Τοῦτόν φησιν Ἀντισθένης ἐν ταῖς Διαδοχαῖς θεασάμενον ἔν τινι τραγῳδίᾳ Τήλεφον σπυρίδιον ἔχοντα καὶ τἆλλα λυπρὸν ᾄξαι ἐπὶ τὴν κυνικὴν φιλοσοφίαν·	He flourished in the 113th Olympiad. Antisthenes in his *Successions* says that he first rushed into Cynic philosophy when he saw Telephus in some tragedy, holding a little basket and wretched in every other way too. He says that

50 *Pera* is the Cynic's beggar's bag; the opening parodies Homer's "There is a land, Crete, in the midst of the wine-dark sea."
51 Ancient money: six obols made a drachma, a hundred drachmas a mina, and sixty minas a talent.

GREEK

ἐξαργυρισάμενόν τε τὴν οὐσίαν—καὶ γὰρ ἦν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν—ἀθροίσαντα πρὸς τὰ [ἑκατὸν] διακόσια τάλαντα, τοῖς πολίταις διανεῖμαι ταῦτα. αὐτὸν δὲ καρτερῶς οὕτω φιλοσοφεῖν ὡς καὶ Φιλήμονα τὸν κωμικὸν αὐτοῦ μεμνῆσθαι. φησὶ γοῦν· καὶ τοῦ θέρους μὲν εἶχεν ἱμάτιον δασύ, / ἵν' ὡς Κράτης ᾖ, τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος ῥάκος. φησὶ δὲ Διοκλῆς πεῖσαι αὐτὸν Διογένην τὴν οὐσίαν μηλόβοτον ἀνεῖναι καὶ εἴ τι ἀργύριον εἴη, εἰς θάλατταν βαλεῖν.

6.88 Καὶ Κράτητος μέν, φησίν, ὁ οἶκος ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ... Ἱππαρχίας δὲ ὑπὸ Φιλίππου. πολλάκις τε τῇ βακτηρίᾳ τῶν συγγενῶν τινας προσιόντας καὶ ἀποτρέποντας ἐδίωκε καὶ ἦν γενναῖος. φησὶ δὲ Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης τραπεζίτῃ τινὶ παρακαταθέσθαι τἀργύριον, συνθέμενον, εἰ μὲν οἱ παῖδες ἰδιῶται γένοιντο, αὐτοῖς ἀποδοῦναι· εἰ δὲ φιλόσοφοι, τῷ δήμῳ διανεῖμαι· μηδενὸς γὰρ ἐκείνους δεήσεσθαι φιλοσοφοῦντας. Ἐρατοσθένης δέ φησιν, ἐξ Ἱππαρχίας, περὶ ἧς λέξομεν, γενομένου παιδὸς αὐτῷ ὄνομα Πασικλέους, ὅτ' ἐξ ἐφήβων ἐγένετο, ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπ' οἴκημα παιδίσκης καὶ φάναι τοῦτον αὐτῷ πατρῷον εἶναι τὸν γάμον· [89] τοὺς δὲ τῶν μοιχευόντων τραγικούς, φυγὰς ⟨γὰρ⟩ καὶ φόνους ἔχειν ἔπαθλον· τοὺς δὲ τῶν ἑταίραις προσιόντων κωμικούς· ἐξ ἀσωτίας γὰρ καὶ μέθης μανίαν ἀπεργάζεσθαι.

6.89 Τούτου γέγονε Πασικλῆς ἀδελφός, μαθητὴς Εὐκλείδου.

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

ENGLISH

Crates turned his property into money—for he was from a distinguished family—and, having collected about [a hundred] two hundred talents, distributed it among his fellow citizens; and that he practiced philosophy with such endurance that even Philemon the comic poet mentions him. At any rate Philemon says: In summer he wore a thick cloak, / to be like Crates, and in winter a rag. Diocles says that Diogenes persuaded him to give up his land as pasture for sheep and to throw any money he had into the sea.

And Crates' house, he says, by Alexander ... and Hipparchia's by Philip. Many times, too, he drove off with his staff relatives who came to talk him out of it, and he held firm. Demetrius of Magnesia says that he deposited his money with a banker, on the agreement that if his sons turned out to be ordinary men, the banker should give it to them, but if they became philosophers, he should distribute it to the people; for as philosophers they would need nothing. Eratosthenes says that he had a son by Hipparchia, of whom we shall speak, named Pasicles; and that when the boy had finished his time among the ephebes, Crates took him to the brothel room of a slave girl and told him that this was the marriage his father had handed down to him. [89] Adulterers' marriages, he said, were tragic, for they bring exile and murder as their prizes; and the marriages of men who go to courtesans were comic, for out of extravagance and drunkenness they produce madness.[52]

He had a brother, Pasicles, who was a pupil of Euclides.

Favorinus records a witty story about him in the second book of his *Memoirs*. He says that while pleading with the head of the gymnasium about something, Crates took hold of the man's hips; and when he protested, Crates said, "Why? Aren't these yours too, just like your knees?" He used to say that it was impossible to find anyone who never slips: just as in a pomegranate, there is always some rotten seed. He provoked Nicodromus the lyre-singer and got a black eye for it; so he stuck a label on his forehead and wrote on it, "Nicodromus made this." [90] He insulted prostitutes on purpose, to train himself to put up with abuse.[53]

52 The ephebes were young Athenians of eighteen to twenty doing their civic and military training.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
6.90	Δημήτριον τὸν Φαληρέα πέμψαντα αὐτῷ ἄρτους καὶ οἶνον ὠνείδισεν εἰπών, “εἴθε γὰρ αἱ κρῆναι καὶ ἄρτους ἔφερον.” δῆλον οὖν ὡς ὕδωρ ἔπινεν. ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἀστυνόμων ἐπιτιμηθεὶς ὅτι σινδόνα ἠμφίεστο, ἔφη, “καὶ Θεόφραστον ὑμῖν δείξω σινδόνα περιβεβλημένον·” ἀπιστούντων δέ, ἀπήγαγεν ἐπὶ κουρεῖον καὶ ἔδειξε κειρόμενον. ἐν Θήβαις ὑπὸ τοῦ γυμνασιάρχου μαστιγωθείς—οἱ δέ, ἐν Κορίνθῳ ὑπ’ Εὐθυκράτους—καὶ ἑλκόμενος τοῦ ποδὸς ἐπέλεγεν ἀφροντιστῶν, ἕλκε ποδὸς τεταγὼν διὰ βηλοῦ θεσπεσίοιο.	When Demetrius of Phalerum sent him loaves and wine, he reproached him, saying, “If only the springs produced bread as well!” So it is clear that he drank water. When the Athenian city wardens reprimanded him for wearing fine linen, he said, “I’ll show you Theophrastus wrapped in linen too.” When they didn’t believe him, he took them to a barber’s and showed him to them having his hair cut. At Thebes he was flogged by the head of the gymnasium—others say it was at Corinth, by Euthycrates—and as he was being dragged off by the foot he recited, without a care: Seizing him by the foot he dragged him across the sacred threshold.
6.91	Διοκλῆς δέ φησιν ἑλχθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Μενεδήμου τοῦ Ἐρετρικοῦ. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εὐπρεπὴς ἦν καὶ ἐδόκει χρησιμεύειν Ἀσκληπιάδῃ τῷ Φλιασίῳ, ἁψάμενος αὐτοῦ τῶν μηρῶν ὁ Κράτης ἔφη, “ἔνδον Ἀσκληπιάδης.” ἐφ’ ᾧ δυσχεράναντα τὸν Μενέδημον ἕλκειν αὐτόν, τὸν δὲ τοῦτο ἐπιλέγειν.	Diocles, however, says that it was Menedemus of Eretria who dragged him. Menedemus was good-looking and was thought to be of service to Asclepiades of Phlius; so Crates took hold of his thighs and said, “Asclepiades is in here.” Menedemus, annoyed at this, dragged him off, and Crates recited the line.
	Ζήνων δ’ αὖ ὁ Κιτιεὺς ἐν ταῖς Χρείαις καὶ κώδιον αὐτόν φησί ποτε προσράψαι τῷ τρίβωνι ἀνεπιστρεπτοῦντα. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν αἰσχρὸς καὶ γυμναζόμενος ἐγελᾶτο. εἰώθει δὲ λέγειν ἐπαίρων τὰς χεῖρας, “θάρρει, Κράτης, ὑπὲρ ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος· [92] τούτους δ’ ὄψει τοὺς καταγελῶντας, ἤδη καὶ συνεσπασμένους ὑπὸ νόσου καί σε μακαρίζοντας, αὐτοὺς δὲ καταμεμφομένους ἐπὶ τῇ ἀργίᾳ.” ἔλεγε δὲ μέχρι τούτου δεῖν φιλοσοφεῖν, μέχρι ἂν δόξωσιν οἱ στρατηγοὶ εἶναι ὀνηλάται.	Zeno of Citium, for his part, says in his *Anecdotes* that Crates once even sewed a sheepskin onto his cloak without caring how it looked. He was ugly to look at, and when he exercised people laughed at him. He used to say, raising his hands, “Take heart, Crates, about your eyes and the rest of your body: [92] you’ll see these men who laugh at you soon twisted up with disease, calling you lucky and blaming themselves for their idleness.” He used to say that one should practice philosophy until generals look like donkey-drivers.
6.92	ἐρήμους ἔλεγε τοὺς μετὰ κολάκων ὄντας ὥσπερ τοὺς μόσχους ἐπειδὰν μετὰ λύκων ὦσιν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐκείνοις τοὺς προσήκοντας οὔτε τούτοις συνεῖναι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας. συναισθανόμενος ὅτι ἀποθνήσκει, ἐπῇδε πρὸς ἑαυτὸν λέγων, στείχεις δή, φίλε κυρτών, / βαίνεις τ’ εἰς Ἄΐδαο δόμους κυφὸς διὰ γῆρας. ἦν γὰρ κυφὸς ὑπὸ χρόνου.	He used to say that people who live among flatterers are as alone as calves among wolves: neither have those who belong with them for company, only those who are plotting against them. When he realized he was dying, he chanted over himself: You are going, dear hunchback, / you are on your way to the house of Hades, bent over with age. For he was bent with years.
6.93	Πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον πυθόμενον εἰ βούλεται αὐτοῦ τὴν πατρίδα ἀνορθωθῆναι, ἔφη, “καὶ τί δεῖ; πάλιν γὰρ ἴσως Ἀλέξανδρος ἄλλος αὐτὴν κατασκάψει.” ἔχειν δὲ πατρίδα ἀδοξίαν καὶ πενίαν ἀνάλωτα τῇ τύχῃ καὶ Διογένους εἶναι πολίτης ἀνεπιβουλεύτου φθόνῳ. μέμνηται δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ	When Alexander asked him whether he wanted his native city rebuilt, he said, “Why should it be? Perhaps another Alexander will raze it again.” He said that for a fatherland he had obscurity and poverty, which fortune cannot capture, and that

53 Suppliants clasped the knees of the person they were begging; “So-and-so made this” was the formula artists signed their works with.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Μένανδρος ἐν Διδύμαις οὕτως· συμπεριπατήσεις γὰρ τρίβων' ἔχουσ' ἐμοί, ὥσπερ Κράτητι τῷ κυνικῷ ποθ' ἡ γυνή, καὶ θυγατέρ' ἐξέδωκ' ἐκεῖνος, ὡς ἔφη αὐτός, ἐπὶ πείρᾳ δοὺς τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας.	he was a fellow citizen of Diogenes, whom envy could not plot against. Menander too mentions him in *The Twin Sisters*, like this: You'll walk around with me in a coarse cloak, just as his wife once did with Crates the Cynic; and he gave his daughter in marriage, as he himself said, handing her over for thirty days' trial.
	Μαθηταὶ δ' αὐτοῦ.	His pupils:

METROCLES

Crates cures Metrocles of shame at a fart, and Metrocles becomes a Cynic.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
6.94	Μητροκλῆς ὁ Μαρωνείτης, ἀδελφὸς Ἱππαρχίας, ὃς πρότερον ἀκούων Θεοφράστου τοῦ περιπατητικοῦ τοσοῦτον διέφθαρτο, ὥστε ποτὲ μελετῶν καὶ μεταξύ πως ἀποπαρδὼν ὑπ' ἀθυμίας οἴκοι κατάκλειστος ἦν, ἀποκαρτερεῖν βουλόμενος. μαθὼν δὴ ὁ Κράτης εἰσῆλθε πρὸς αὐτὸν παρακληθεὶς καὶ θέρμους ἐπίτηδες βεβρωκὼς ἔπειθε μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ διὰ τῶν λόγων μηδὲν φαῦλον πεποιηκέναι· τέρας γὰρ ἂν γεγονέναι εἰ μὴ καὶ τὰ πνεύματα κατὰ φύσιν ἀπεκρίνετο· τέλος δὲ καὶ ἀποπαρδὼν αὐτὸν ἀνέρρωσεν, ἀφ' ὁμοιότητος τῶν ἔργων παραμυθησάμενος. τοὐντεῦθεν ἤκουεν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐγένετο ἀνὴρ ἱκανὸς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ.	Metrocles of Maroneia, brother of Hipparchia. He had earlier studied under Theophrastus the Peripatetic and had been so spoiled that once, when he happened to fart in the middle of rehearsing a speech, he shut himself up at home in despair, meaning to starve himself to death. When Crates found out, he was asked to go and see him, and before going in he deliberately ate lupins. He tried to persuade him in words, too, that he had done nothing shameful: it would have been a monstrous thing if wind were not also let out naturally. In the end he farted himself and so put the heart back into him, comforting him by doing the same thing. From then on Metrocles studied under him and became a capable philosopher.
6.95	Οὗτος τὰ ἑαυτοῦ συγγράμματα κατακαίων, ὥς φησιν Ἑκάτων ἐν πρώτῳ Χρειῶν, ἐπέλεγε· τάδ' ἔστ' ὀνείρων νερτέρων φαντάσματα, [οἷον λῆρος]· οἱ δ', ὅτι τὰς Θεοφράστου ἀκροάσεις καταφλέγων ἐπέλεγε, Ἥφαιστε, πρόμολ' ὧδε, Θέτις νύ τι σεῖο χατίζει. οὗτος ἔλεγε τῶν πραγμάτων τὰ μὲν ἀργυρίου ὠνητὰ εἶναι, οἷον οἰκίαν· τὰ δὲ χρόνου καὶ ἐπιμελείας, ὡς παιδείαν. τὸν πλοῦτον βλαβερόν, εἰ μή τις ἀξίως αὐτῷ χρῷτο.	As he was burning his own writings, Hecato says in the first book of his *Anecdotes*, he recited: These are phantoms of dreams from the world below [that is, rubbish]. Others say that it was while burning Theophrastus' lectures that he recited: Hephaestus, come here; Thetis has need of you. He used to say that some things can be bought with money, such as a house, and others with time and care, such as education. Wealth, he said, is harmful unless one uses it worthily.
	Ἐτελεύτα δὲ ὑπὸ γήρως ἑαυτὸν πνίξας.	He died of old age, having suffocated himself.
	Μαθηταὶ δ' αὐτοῦ Θεόμβροτος καὶ Κλεομένης, Θεομβρότου Δημήτριος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεύς, Κλεομένους Τίμαρχος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς καὶ Ἐχεκλῆς Ἐφέσιος· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἐχεκλῆς Θεομβρότου διήκουσεν, οὗ Μενέδημος, περὶ οὗ λέξομεν. ἐγένετο καὶ Μένιππος Σινωπεὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐπιφανής.	His pupils were Theombrotus and Cleomenes. Theombrotus' pupil was Demetrius of Alexandria; Cleomenes' pupils were Timarchus of Alexandria and Echecles of Ephesus. Echecles, however, also studied under Theombrotus, and Menedemus, of whom we shall speak, studied under Echecles.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		Menippus of Sinope also became distinguished among them.

HIPPARCHIA

Hipparchia rejects her suitors to marry Crates and outargues Theodorus the Atheist.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
6.96	Ἐθηράθη δὲ τοῖς λόγοις καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ τοῦ Μητροκλέους Ἱππαρχία. Μαρωνεῖται δ' ἦσαν ἀμφότεροι. Καὶ ἦρα τοῦ Κράτητος καὶ τῶν λόγων καὶ τοῦ βίου, οὐδενὸς τῶν μνηστευομένων ἐπιστρεφομένη, οὐ πλούτου, οὐκ εὐγενείας, οὐ κάλλους· ἀλλὰ πάντ' ἦν Κράτης αὐτῇ. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἠπείλει τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἀναιρήσειν αὑτήν, εἰ μὴ τούτῳ δοθείη. Κράτης μὲν οὖν παρακαλούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων αὐτῆς ἀποτρέψαι τὴν παῖδα, πάντ' ἐποίει, καὶ τέλος μὴ πείθων, ἀναστὰς καὶ ἀποθέμενος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκευὴν ἀντικρὺ αὐτῆς ἔφη, "ὁ μὲν νυμφίος οὗτος, ἡ δὲ κτῆσις αὕτη, πρὸς ταῦτα βουλεύου"· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔσεσθαι κοινωνόν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων γενηθείη.	Metrocles' sister Hipparchia was also caught by these arguments. Both of them were from Maroneia. She fell in love with Crates, with both his words and his way of life, and paid no attention to any of her suitors, not to wealth, not to high birth, not to good looks: Crates was everything to her. She even threatened her parents that she would kill herself unless she were given to him. So Crates, asked by her parents to talk the girl out of it, did everything he could; and finally, when he could not persuade her, he stood up, laid aside his gear right in front of her, and said, "Here is the bridegroom, and here are his possessions. Make up your mind with that in view." For she could not be his partner, he said, unless she also took up the same pursuits.
6.97	Εἵλετο ἡ παῖς καὶ ταὐτὸν ἀναλαβοῦσα σχῆμα συμπεριῄει τἀνδρὶ καὶ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ συνεγίνετο καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ δεῖπνα ἀπῄει. ὅτε καὶ πρὸς Λυσίμαχον εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ἦλθεν, ἔνθα Θεόδωρον τὸν ἐπίκλην Ἄθεον ἐπήλεγξε, σόφισμα προτείνασα τοιοῦτον· ὃ ποιῶν Θεόδωρος οὐκ ἂν ἀδικεῖν λέγοιτο, οὐδ' Ἱππαρχία ποιοῦσα τοῦτο ἀδικεῖν λέγοιτ' ἄν· Θεόδωρος δὲ τύπτων ἑαυτὸν οὐκ ἀδικεῖ, οὐδ' ἄρα Ἱππαρχία Θεόδωρον τύπτουσα ἀδικεῖ. ὁ δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὸ λεχθὲν οὐδὲν ἀπήντησεν, ἀνέσυρε δ' αὐτῆς θοιμάτιον· ἀλλ' οὔτε κατεπλάγη Ἱππαρχία οὔτε διεταράχθη ὡς γυνή.	The girl made her choice. She adopted the same dress, went around with her husband, had sex with him in public, and went off to dinners with him. Once she went with him to a drinking party at Lysimachus' house, and there she refuted Theodorus, nicknamed the Atheist, by putting to him the following sophism: whatever Theodorus could not be said to do wrong in doing, Hipparchia could not be said to do wrong in doing either; Theodorus does no wrong in striking himself; so Hipparchia does no wrong in striking Theodorus either. He made no reply to the argument, but pulled up her cloak. Hipparchia, though, was neither startled nor flustered, as a woman might have been.
6.98	ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰπόντος αὐτῇ, αὕτη 'στὶν ἡ τὰς παρ' ἱστοῖς ἐκλιποῦσα κερκίδας; "ἐγώ," φησίν, "εἰμί, Θεόδωρε· ἀλλὰ μὴ κακῶς σοι δοκῶ βεβουλεῦσθαι περὶ αὑτῆς, εἰ, τὸν χρόνον ὃν ἔμελλον ἱστοῖς προσαναλώσειν, τοῦτον εἰς παιδείαν κατεχρησάμην;" καὶ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἄλλα μυρία τῆς φιλοσόφου.	When he said to her, Is this she who left the shuttles at the loom behind? she said, "It is I, Theodorus. But surely you don't think I've made a bad decision about myself, if the time I would have spent at the loom I've used on education instead?" These, then, and countless other things are told of the woman philosopher.[54]

54 Theodorus quotes Euripides' *Bacchae* (line 1236), where Agave boasts of having left her weaving for the wild.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Φέρεται δὲ τοῦ Κράτητος βιβλίον Ἐπιστολαί, ἐν αἷς ἄριστα φιλοσοφεῖ, τὴν λέξιν ἔστιν ὅτε παραπλήσιος Πλάτωνι. γέγραφε καὶ τραγῳδίας ὑψηλότατον ἐχούσας φιλοσοφίας χαρακτῆρα, οἷόν ἐστι κἀκεῖνο· οὐχ εἷς πάτρας μοι πύργος, οὐ μία στέγη, πάσης δὲ χέρσου καὶ πόλισμα καὶ δόμος ἕτοιμος ἡμῖν ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι πάρα.	A book of Crates', *Letters*, is in circulation, in which he philosophizes superbly, in a style that is sometimes close to Plato's. He also wrote tragedies with a very lofty philosophical character, such as this passage: My fatherland is not one tower, not one roof; every land has a town and a house standing ready for me to live in.
	Ἐτελεύτησε δὲ γηραιὸς καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ.	He died in old age and was buried in Boeotia.

MENIPPUS

Menippus the Cynic satirist, a former slave and moneylender who hanged himself.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
6.99	Μένιππος, καὶ οὗτος κυνικός, τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἦν Φοῖνιξ, δοῦλος, ὥς φησιν Ἀχαϊκὸς ἐν Ἠθικοῖς. Διοκλῆς δὲ καὶ τὸν δεσπότην αὐτοῦ Ποντικὸν εἶναι καὶ Βάτωνα καλεῖσθαι. ἀτηρότερον δ' αἰτῶν ὑπὸ φιλαργυρίας ἴσχυσε Θηβαῖος γενέσθαι.	Menippus, also a Cynic, was a Phoenician by descent and a slave, as Achaicus says in his *Ethics*. Diocles says that his master was from Pontus and was called Baton. By begging rather relentlessly out of love of money, he managed to become a Theban citizen.
	Φέρει μὲν οὖν σπουδαῖον οὐδέν· τὰ δὲ βιβλία αὐτοῦ πολλοῦ καταγέλωτος γέμει καί τι ἴσον τοῖς Μελεάγρου τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν γενομένου.	There is nothing serious in him; his books are full of mockery, rather like those of Meleager, who lived at the same time.
	Φησὶ δ' Ἕρμιππος ἡμεροδανειστὴν αὐτὸν γεγονέναι καὶ καλεῖσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ναυτικῷ τόκῳ δανείζειν καὶ ἐξενεχυριάζειν, ὥστε πάμπλειστα χρήματα ἀθροίζειν· [100] τέλος δ' ἐπιβουλευθέντα πάντων στερηθῆναι καὶ ὑπ' ἀθυμίας βρόχῳ τὸν βίον μεταλλάξαι. καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπαίξαμεν εἰς αὐτόν· Φοίνικα τὸ γένος, ἀλλὰ Κρητικὸν κύνα, ἡμεροδανειστήν—τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπεκλήζετο—οἶσθα Μένιππον ἴσως. Θήβησιν οὗτος ὡς διωρύγη ποτὲ καὶ πάντ' ἀπέβαλεν οὐδ' ἐνόει φύσιν κυνός, αὐτὸν ἀνεκρέμασεν.	Hermippus says that he was a day-lender and was called one; for he lent money at maritime interest and took pledges, so that he amassed a great deal of money. [100] In the end he was the victim of a plot, lost everything, and in despair ended his life with a noose. We too have had some fun with him: Phoenician by birth, but a Cretan dog, a day-lender—that was his nickname—you know Menippus, perhaps. When once at Thebes his house was broken into and he lost everything, he didn't understand a dog's nature: he hanged himself.[55]
6.100	Ἔνιοι δὲ τὰ βιβλί' αὐτοῦ οὐκ αὐτοῦ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ Διονυσίου καὶ Ζωπύρου τῶν Κολοφωνίων, οἳ τοῦ παίζειν ἕνεκα συγγράφοντες ἐδίδοσαν αὐτῷ ὡς εὖ δυναμένῳ διαθέσθαι.	Some say that his books are not by him but by Dionysius and Zopyrus of Colophon, who wrote them for fun and gave them to him, since he was good at selling them.
6.101	Γεγόνασι δὲ Μένιπποι ἕξ· πρῶτος ὁ γράψας τὰ περὶ Λυδῶν καὶ Ξάνθον ἐπιτεμόμενος, δεύτερος αὐτὸς οὗτος, τρίτος Στρατονικεὺς σοφιστής, Κὰρ τὸ ἀνέκαθεν· τέταρτος	There have been six men named Menippus. The first wrote the history of the Lydians and made an abridgment of Xanthus; the second is our man himself; the third was a sophist from Stratonicea,

55 A day-lender charged interest by the day. "Cretan dog" plays on the Cynic "dog": Cretan hounds were a famous breed, and Cretans were proverbially greedy.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἀνδριαντοποιός, πέμπτος καὶ ἕκτος ζωγράφοι· μέμνηται δ' ἀμφοτέρων Ἀπολλόδωρος.	a Carian by descent; the fourth was a sculptor; the fifth and sixth were painters, and Apollodorus mentions both.
	Τὰ δ' οὖν τοῦ κυνικοῦ βιβλία ἐστὶ δεκατρία, Νέκυια. Διαθῆκαι. Ἐπιστολαὶ κεκομψευμέναι ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν θεῶν προσώπου. Πρὸς τοὺς φυσικοὺς καὶ μαθηματικοὺς καὶ γραμματικοὺς καὶ Γονὰς Ἐπικούρου καὶ Τὰς θρησκευομένας ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἰκάδας. καὶ ἄλλα.	The Cynic's books, then, are thirteen: *Descent to the Dead*; *Wills*; *Letters Written in the Person of the Gods*; *Against the Natural Philosophers, Mathematicians and Grammarians*; *The Birth of Epicurus*; *The Twentieth-Day Feasts Revered by the Epicureans*; and others.[56]

MENEDEMUS THE CYNIC

A Cynic who went about dressed as a Fury sent from Hades.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
6.102	Μενέδημος Κωλώτου τοῦ Λαμψακηνοῦ μαθητής. οὗτος, καθά φησιν Ἱππόβοτος, εἰς τοσοῦτον τερατείας ἦλασεν ὥστε Ἐρινύος ἀναλαβὼν σχῆμα περιῄει, λέγων ἐπίσκοπος ἀφῖχθαι ἐξ ᾅδου τῶν ἁμαρτανομένων, ὅπως πάλιν κατιὼν ταῦτα ἀπαγγέλλοι τοῖς ἐκεῖ δαίμοσιν. ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ ἐσθὴς αὖτη· χιτὼν φαιὸς ποδήρης, περὶ αὐτῷ ζώνη φοινικῆ, πῖλος Ἀρκαδικὸς ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχων ἐνυφασμένα τὰ δώδεκα στοιχεῖα, ἐμβάται τραγικοί, πώγων ὑπερμεγέθης, ῥάβδος ἐν τῇ χειρὶ μειλίνη.	Menedemus was a pupil of Colotes of Lampsacus. According to Hippobotus, he went so far in his outlandish behavior that he went around dressed as a Fury, saying that he had come from Hades to keep watch on wrongdoing, so that he could go back down and report it to the powers there. His costume was this: a gray tunic reaching to his feet, a crimson belt around it, an Arcadian hat on his head with the twelve signs of the zodiac woven into it, tragic actors' boots, an enormous beard, and an ash-wood staff in his hand.

CYNIC DOCTRINES

The Cynics reject logic and physics, live simply, and hold that virtue can be taught and suffices.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
6.103	Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οἱ βίοι τῶν κυνικῶν ἑκάστου. προσυπογράψομεν δὲ καὶ τὰ κοινῇ ἀρέσκοντα αὐτοῖς, αἵρεσιν καὶ ταύτην εἶναι ἐγκρίνοντες τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, οὐ, καθά φασί τινες, ἔνστασιν βίου. ἀρέσκει οὖν αὐτοῖς τὸν λογικὸν καὶ τὸν φυσικὸν τόπον περιαιρεῖν, ἐμφερῶς Ἀρίστωνι τῷ Χίῳ, μόνῳ δὲ προσέχειν τῷ ἠθικῷ. καὶ ὅπερ τινὲς ἐπὶ Σωκράτους, τοῦτο Διοκλῆς ἐπὶ Διογένους ἀναγράφει, τοῦτον φάσκων λέγειν, Δεῖ ζητεῖν ὅττι τοι ἐν μεγάροισι κακόν τ' ἀγαθόν τε τέτυκται. παραιτοῦνται δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐγκύκλια μαθήματα. γράμματα γοῦν μὴ μανθάνειν ἔφασκεν ὁ Ἀντισθένης τοὺς σώφρονας γενομένους, ἵνα μὴ διαστρέφοιντο τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις.	These, then, are the lives of the individual Cynics. We shall also append the doctrines they held in common, since we judge that this too is a school of philosophy and not, as some say, just a way of life. They hold, then, that the logical and physical areas of philosophy should be done away with, much as Ariston of Chios held, and that one should attend only to ethics. And what some record of Socrates, Diocles records of Diogenes, claiming that he used to say: One should seek out whatever bad and good has been done in your halls. They also reject the standard subjects of education. Antisthenes, at any rate, used to say that those who had become sensible should not learn literature, so as not to be led astray by what is alien to them.

56 The Epicureans held a feast on the twentieth of every month in honor of Epicurus and Metrodorus.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
6.104	περιαιροῦσι δὲ καὶ γεωμετρίαν καὶ μουσικὴν καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα. ὁ γοῦν Διογένης πρὸς τὸν ἐπιδεικνύντα αὐτῷ ὡροσκοπεῖον, "χρήσιμον," ἔφη, "τὸ ἔργον πρὸς τὸ μὴ ὑστερῆσαι δείπνου." πρὸς τὸν ἐπιδεικνύμενον αὐτῷ μουσικὸν ἔφη· γνώμαις γὰρ ἀνδρῶν εὖ μὲν οἰκοῦνται πόλεις, / εὖ δ' οἶκος, οὐ ψαλμοῖσι καὶ τερετίσμασιν.	They also do away with geometry, music and all such things. Diogenes, at any rate, said to someone who was showing him a sundial, "A useful piece of work: it keeps you from being late for dinner." To a musician who was giving him a display, he said: It is by men's judgment that cities are well run, / and households too, not by twanging and trilling.
	Ἀρέσκει δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τέλος εἶναι τὸ κατ' ἀρετὴν ζῆν, ὡς Ἀντισθένης φησὶν ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, ὁμοίως τοῖς στωικοῖς· ἐπεὶ καὶ κοινωνία τις ταῖς δύο ταύταις αἱρέσεσίν ἐστιν. ὅθεν καὶ τὸν κυνισμὸν εἰρήκασι σύντομον ἐπ' ἀρετὴν ὁδόν. καὶ οὕτως ἐβίω καὶ Ζήνων ὁ Κιτιεύς.	They also hold that the end is to live in accordance with excellence, as Antisthenes says in his *Heracles*, just as the Stoics do; for there is a certain kinship between these two schools. That is why Cynicism has also been called a shortcut to excellence. And this is how Zeno of Citium lived too.
	Ἀρέσκει δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ λιτῶς βιοῦν, αὐτάρκεσι χρωμένοις σιτίοις καὶ τρίβωσι μόνοις, πλούτου καὶ δόξης καὶ εὐγενείας καταφρονοῦσιν. ἔνιοι γοῦν καὶ βοτάναις καὶ παντάπασιν ὕδατι χρῶνται ψυχρῷ σκέπαις τε ταῖς τυχούσαις καὶ πίθοις, καθάπερ Διογένης, ὃς ἔφασκε θεῶν μὲν ἴδιον εἶναι μηδενὸς δεῖσθαι, τῶν δὲ θεοῖς ὁμοίων τὸ ὀλίγων χρῄζειν.	They also hold that one should live simply, eating only food that suffices and wearing only a cloak, and despising wealth, reputation and high birth. Some of them, at any rate, live on herbs and drink nothing but cold water, and use whatever shelter comes to hand, even storage jars, like Diogenes, who used to say that it is the mark of gods to need nothing, and of those who are like the gods to want little.
6.105	Ἀρέσκει δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν διδακτὴν εἶναι, καθά φησιν Ἀντισθένης ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, καὶ ἀναπόβλητον ὑπάρχειν· ἀξιέραστόν τε τὸν σοφὸν καὶ ἀναμάρτητον καὶ φίλον τῷ ὁμοίῳ, τύχῃ τε μηδὲν ἐπιτρέπειν. τὰ δὲ μεταξὺ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας ἀδιάφορα λέγουσιν ὁμοίως Ἀρίστωνι τῷ Χίῳ.	They also hold that excellence can be taught, as Antisthenes says in his *Heracles*, and that once acquired it cannot be lost; that the wise man is worthy of love, never errs, and is a friend to those like him; and that one should leave nothing to fortune. Things in between excellence and vice they call indifferents, just as Ariston of Chios does.
	Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οἱ κυνικοί· μετιτέον δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς στωικούς, ὧν ἦρξε Ζήνων, μαθητὴς γενόμενος Κράτητος.	So much for the Cynics. We must now move on to the Stoics, whose founder was Zeno, a pupil of Crates.

Book 7

The Stoics
Zeno of Citium and a survey of Stoic doctrine; Ariston, Cleanthes, Chrysippus.

ZENO OF CITIUM

Zeno is shipwrecked at Athens, studies with Crates and others, and teaches in the Painted Stoa.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
7.1	Ζήνων Μνασέου ἢ Δημέου Κιτιεὺς ἀπὸ Κύπρου, πολίσματος Ἑλληνικοῦ, Φοίνικας ἐποίκους ἐσχηκότος. Τὸν τράχηλον ἐπὶ θάτερα νενευκὼς ἦν, ὥς φησι Τιμόθεος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ βίων· καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος δέ φησιν ὁ Τύριος ὅτι ἰσχνὸς ἦν, ὑπομήκης, μελάγχρους—ὅθεν τις αὐτὸν εἶπεν Αἰγυπτίαν κληματίδα, καθά φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν πρώτῳ Παροιμιῶν—παχύκνημός τε καὶ ἀπαγὴς καὶ ἀσθενής· διὸ καί φησι Περσαῖος ἐν Ὑπομνήμασι συμποτικοῖς τὰ πλεῖστα αὐτὸν δεῖπνα παραιτεῖσθαι. ἔχαιρε δέ, φασί, σύκοις χλωροῖς καὶ ἡλιοκαΐαις.	Zeno, son of Mnaseas or of Demeas, was from Citium in Cyprus, a small Greek town that had taken in Phoenician settlers. His neck was bent to one side, as Timotheus of Athens says in his *On Lives*. Apollonius of Tyre also says that he was lean, fairly tall and dark-skinned. That is why someone called him an "Egyptian vine-branch," as Chrysippus says in the first book of his *Proverbs*. He was also thick in the calf, flabby and weak, which is why, Persaeus says in his *Convivial Memoirs*, he declined most dinner invitations. He was fond, they say, of green figs and of basking in the sun.
7.2	Διήκουσε δέ, καθὰ προείρηται, Κράτητος· εἶτα καὶ Στίλπωνος ἀκοῦσαί φασιν αὐτὸν καὶ Ξενοκράτους ἔτη δέκα, ὡς Τιμοκράτης ἐν τῷ Δίωνι· ἀλλὰ καὶ Πολέμωνος. Ἑκάτων δέ φησι καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Τύριος ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ Ζήνωνος, χρηστηριασαμένου αὐτοῦ τί πράττων ἄριστα βιώσεται, ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸν θεόν, εἰ συγχρωτίζοιτο τοῖς νεκροῖς· ὅθεν ξυνέντα τὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀναγινώσκειν. τῷ οὖν Κράτητι παρέβαλε τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. πορφύραν ἐμπεπορευμένος ἀπὸ τῆς Φοινίκης πρὸς τῷ Πειραιεῖ ἐναυάγησεν. ἀνελθὼν δ' εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἤδη τριακοντούτης ἐκάθισε παρά τινα βιβλιοπώλην. ἀναγινώσκοντος δ' ἐκείνου τὸ δεύτερον τῶν Ξενοφῶντος Ἀπομνημονευμάτων, ἡσθεὶς ἐπύθετο ποῦ διατρίβοιεν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἄνδρες.	He studied, as I said before, under Crates. Then, they say, he also studied under Stilpo, and under Xenocrates for ten years, as Timocrates says in his *Dion*, and under Polemo as well. Hecato, and Apollonius of Tyre in the first book of his *On Zeno*, say that when he consulted the oracle about what he should do to live the best life, the god answered that he should take on the complexion of the dead. Understanding what this meant, he read the works of the ancients. This, then, is how he came to Crates. He had been shipping a cargo of purple dye from Phoenicia and was shipwrecked off the Piraeus. He went up to Athens, by then thirty years old, and sat down beside a bookseller. The bookseller was reading aloud the second book of Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, and Zeno was so delighted that he asked where men like that were to be found.[1]
7.3	εὐκαίρως δὲ παριόντος Κράτητος, ὁ βιβλιοπώλης δείξας αὐτόν φησι, "τούτῳ παρακολούθησον." ἐντεῦθεν ἤκουσε	Just then Crates happened to be passing, and the bookseller pointed to him and said, "Follow that

1 The Greek verb (*synchrōtizesthai*) means literally to rub skin against skin and so take on another's color. Zeno took it to mean keeping company with dead authors through their books.

GREEK

τοῦ Κράτητος, ἄλλως μὲν εὔτονος ⟨ὢν⟩ πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν, αἰδήμων δὲ ὡς πρὸς τὴν Κυνικὴν ἀναισχυντίαν. ὅθεν ὁ Κράτης βουλόμενος αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦτο θεραπεῦσαι δίδωσι χύτραν φακῆς διὰ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ φέρειν. ἐπεὶ δ' εἶδεν αὐτὸν αἰδούμενον καὶ παρακαλύπτοντα, παίσας τῇ βακτηρίᾳ κατάγνυσι τὴν χύτραν· φεύγοντος δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς φακῆς κατὰ τῶν σκελῶν ῥεούσης, φησὶν ὁ Κράτης, "τί φεύγεις, Φοινικίδιον; οὐδὲν δεινὸν πέπονθας."

7.4 Ἕως μὲν οὖν τινὸς ἤκουσε τοῦ Κράτητος· ὅτε καὶ τὴν Πολιτείαν αὐτοῦ γράψαντος, τινὲς ἔλεγον παίζοντες ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ κυνὸς οὐρᾶς αὐτὴν γεγραφέναι. γέγραφε δὲ πρὸς τῇ Πολιτείᾳ καὶ τάδε· Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν βίου. Περὶ ὁρμῆς ἢ περὶ ἀνθρώπου φύσεως. Περὶ παθῶν. Περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος. Περὶ νόμου. Περὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας. Περὶ ὄψεως. Περὶ τοῦ ὅλου. Περὶ σημείων. Πυθαγορικά. Καθολικά. Περὶ λέξεων. Προβλημάτων Ὁμηρικῶν πέντε. Περὶ ποιητικῆς ἀκροάσεως.

Ἔστι δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Τέχνη καὶ Λύσεις καὶ Ἔλεγχοι δύο. Ἀπομνημονεύματα Κράτητος. Ἠθικά.

Καὶ τάδε μὲν τὰ βιβλία. τελευταῖον δὲ ἀπέστη καὶ τῶν προειρημένων ἤκουσεν ἕως ἐτῶν εἴκοσιν· ἵνα καί φασιν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, "νῦν εὐπλόηκα, ὅτε νεναυάγηκα." οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ Κράτητος τοῦτ' αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν· [5] ἄλλοι δὲ διατρίβοντα ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἀκοῦσαι τὴν ναυαγίαν καὶ εἰπεῖν, "εὖ γε ποιεῖ ἡ τύχη προσελαύνουσα ἡμᾶς φιλοσοφίᾳ." ἔνιοι δέ, διαθέμενον Ἀθήνησι τὰ φορτία, οὕτω τραπῆναι πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν.

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

ENGLISH

man." From then on he studied under Crates. In other respects he was keen and energetic in philosophy, but too modest for Cynic shamelessness. So Crates, wanting to cure him of this too, gave him a pot of lentil soup to carry through the Ceramicus. When he saw that Zeno was embarrassed and trying to keep it out of sight, he struck the pot with his staff and broke it. As Zeno ran off with the soup running down his legs, Crates said, "Why are you running away, my little Phoenician? Nothing terrible has happened to you."

For a time, then, he studied under Crates. It was then that he wrote his *Republic*, and some people joked that he had written it on the Dog's tail. Besides the *Republic* he has written the following: *On the Life in Accordance with Nature*; *On Impulse*, or *On Human Nature*; *On Passions*; *On Appropriate Action*; *On Law*; *On Greek Education*; *On Vision*; *On the Whole*; *On Signs*; *Pythagorean Questions*; *Universals*; *On Diction*; *Homeric Problems*, 5 books; *On Listening to Poetry*.[2]

There are also by him an *Art*, *Solutions*, and *Refutations*, 2 books; *Memoirs of Crates*; *Ethics*.

These, then, are his books. In the end he left Crates and studied under the men I mentioned above for twenty years. That is why, they say, he remarked, "I made a good voyage when I was shipwrecked." Others say he said this while he was with Crates. [5] Others again say that he was living in Athens when he heard of the shipwreck, and said, "Fortune does well to drive me toward philosophy." Some say that he sold off his cargo in Athens and turned to philosophy that way.

He used to walk up and down in the Painted Stoa, which is also called the Stoa of Peisianax but is called "Painted" after Polygnotus' painting. There he gave his lectures, wanting to keep the place clear of crowds as well, for under the Thirty fourteen hundred citizens had been put to death in it. People came there from then on to hear him, and for this reason they were called Stoics. So were his followers, who had earlier been called Zenonians, as Epicurus too says in his letters. And earlier still the poets who spent their time there had been called Stoics, as Eratosthenes says in the eighth

2 "The Dog" is Diogenes the Cynic. "Dog's Tail" (*Kynosoura*) was also a name for the constellation of the Little Bear.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		book of his *On Old Comedy*; and they made the name even more widely known.[3]
7.6	Ἐτίμων δὴ οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι σφόδρα τὸν Ζήνωνα, οὕτως ὡς καὶ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτῷ τὰς κλεῖς παρακαταθέσθαι καὶ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ τιμῆσαι καὶ χαλκῇ εἰκόνι. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τοὺς πολίτας αὐτοῦ ποιῆσαι, κόσμον ἡγουμένους τὴν τἀνδρὸς εἰκόνα. ἀντεποιοῦντο δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἐν Σιδῶνι Κιτιεῖς. ἀπεδέχετο δ' αὐτὸν καὶ Ἀντίγονος καὶ εἴ ποτ' Ἀθήναζε ἥκοι, ἥκουεν αὐτοῦ πολλά τε παρεκάλει ἀφικέσθαι ὡς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν παρῃτήσατο, Περσαῖον δ' ἕνα τῶν γνωρίμων ἀπέστειλεν, ὃς ἦν Δημητρίου μὲν υἱός, Κιτιεὺς δὲ τὸ γένος, καὶ ἤκμαζε κατὰ τὴν τριακοστὴν καὶ ἑκατοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα, ἤδη γέροντος ὄντος Ζήνωνος. ἡ δ' ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου τοῦτον εἶχε τὸν τρόπον, καθὰ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Τύριος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Ζήνωνός φησι·	The Athenians, then, held Zeno in the highest honor, so much so that they entrusted the keys of the city walls to him and honored him with a golden crown and a bronze statue. His fellow citizens, they say, did the same, regarding the man's statue as an ornament to their city. The Citians living in Sidon also claimed him as their own. Antigonus too thought highly of him: whenever he came to Athens he would attend his lectures, and he kept inviting him to come to his court. Zeno declined, but sent one of his pupils, Persaeus. Persaeus was the son of Demetrius and a Citian by birth, and he flourished in the 130th Olympiad, when Zeno was already an old man. Antigonus' letter ran as follows, as Apollonius of Tyre also reports in his *On Zeno*:[4]
7.7	"Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος Ζήνωνι φιλοσόφῳ χαίρειν. "Ἐγὼ τύχῃ μὲν καὶ δόξῃ νομίζω προτερεῖν τοῦ σοῦ βίου, λόγου δὲ καὶ παιδείας καθυστερεῖν καὶ τῆς τελείας εὐδαιμονίας ἣν σὺ κέκτησαι. διόπερ κέκρικα προσφωνῆσαί σοι παραγενέσθαι πρὸς ἐμέ, πεπεισμένος σε μὴ ἀντερεῖν πρὸς τὸ ἀξιούμενον. σὺ οὖν πειράθητι ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου συμμίξαι μοι, διειληφὼς τοῦτο διότι οὐχ ἑνὸς ἐμοῦ παιδευτὴς ἔσῃ, πάντων δὲ Μακεδόνων συλλήβδην. ὁ γὰρ τὸν τῆς Μακεδονίας ἄρχοντα καὶ παιδεύων καὶ ἄγων ἐπὶ τὰ κατ' ἀρετὴν φανερὸς ἔσται καὶ τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους παρασκευάζων πρὸς εὐανδρίαν. οἷος γὰρ ἂν ὁ ἡγούμενος ᾖ, τοιούτους εἰκὸς ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ γίγνεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους."	"King Antigonus to Zeno the philosopher, greetings. "I believe that in fortune and fame I am ahead of you in life, but behind you in reason and education, and in the complete happiness that you possess. I have therefore decided to call on you to come to me, confident that you will not refuse my request. Do your best, then, by every means to join me, bearing in mind that you will be the teacher not of me alone but of all the Macedonians together. For whoever educates the ruler of Macedonia and leads him toward what accords with excellence will clearly be preparing his subjects, too, to be good men. As the leader is, so in all likelihood, for the most part, his subjects will become."
	Καὶ ὁ Ζήνων ἀντιγράφει ὧδε· 8 "Βασιλεῖ Ἀντιγόνῳ Ζήνων χαίρειν.	And Zeno writes back as follows: 8 "Zeno to King Antigonus, greetings.
7.8	"Ἀποδέχομαί σου τὴν φιλομάθειαν καθόσον τῆς ἀληθινῆς καὶ εἰς ὄνησιν τεινούσης, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τῆς δημώδους καὶ εἰς διαστροφὴν ἠθῶν ἀντέχῃ παιδείας. ὁ δὲ φιλοσοφίας ὠρεγμένος, ἐκκλίνων δὲ τὴν πολυθρύλητον ἡδονήν, ἢ τινῶν θηλύνει νέων ψυχάς, φανερός ἐστιν οὐ μόνον φύσει πρὸς εὐγένειαν κλίνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ προαιρέσει. φύσις δὲ εὐγενὴς μετρίαν ἄσκησιν προσλαβοῦσα, ἔτι δὲ τὸν ἀφθόνως διδάξοντα, ῥᾳδίως	"I welcome your love of learning, in so far as you hold fast to the true education that leads to benefit, and not to the popular kind that leads to the corruption of character. Whoever has reached out for philosophy and turns away from the much-vaunted pleasure that makes the souls of some young men soft is plainly inclined toward nobility not only by nature but also by choice. And a noble

3 The Painted Stoa (*Stoa Poikilē*) was a colonnade on the north side of the Athenian Agora. The Thirty were the oligarchs who ruled Athens in 404–403 BC.
4 Antigonus II Gonatas, king of Macedon. The 130th Olympiad ran from 260 to 257 BC.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἔρχεται πρὸς τὴν τελείαν ἀνάληψιν τῆς ἀρετῆς. [9] ἐγὼ δὲ συνέχομαι σώματι ἀσθενεῖ διὰ γῆρας· ἐτῶν γάρ εἰμι ὀγδοήκοντα· διόπερ οὐ δύναμαί σοι συμμίξαι. ἀποστέλλω δέ σοί τινας τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ συσχολαστῶν, οἳ τοῖς μὲν κατὰ ψυχὴν οὐκ ἀπολείπονται ἐμοῦ, τοῖς δὲ κατὰσῶμα προτεροῦσιν· οἷς συνὼν οὐδενὸς καθυστερήσεις τῶν πρὸς τὴν τελείαν εὐδαιμονίαν ἀνηκόντων."	nature that receives moderate training, and someone besides to teach it generously, easily arrives at the complete possession of excellence. [9] I, however, am held back by a body weakened by old age, for I am eighty years old. That is why I cannot join you. But I am sending you some of my fellow students, who are not behind me in the things of the soul and are ahead of me in the things of the body. If you keep company with them, you will lack nothing that leads to complete happiness."
7.9	Ἀπέστειλε δὲ Περσαῖον καὶ Φιλωνίδην τὸν Θηβαῖον, ὧν ἀμφοτέρων Ἐπίκουρος μνημονεύει ὡς συνόντων Ἀντιγόνῳ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀριστόβουλον τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπιστολῇ. ἔδοξε δέ μοι καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ περὶ αὐτοῦ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπογράψαι. [10] καὶ ἔχει ὧδε·	He sent Persaeus and Philonides of Thebes. Epicurus mentions both of them as companions of Antigonus in his letter to his brother Aristobulus. I have also thought it right to append the Athenians' decree about Zeno. [10] It runs as follows:
7.10	"Ἐπ' Ἀρρενίδου ἄρχοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος πέμπτης πρυτανείας, Μαιμακτηριῶνος δεκάτῃ ὑστέρᾳ, τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας, ἐκκλησία κυρία, τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν Ἵππων Κρατιστοτέλους Ξυπεταιὼν καὶ οἱ συμπρόεδροι, Θράσων Θράσωνος Ἀνακαιεὺς εἶπεν·	"In the archonship of Arrhenides, in the fifth prytany, that of the tribe Acamantis, on the tenth day before the end of Maemacterion, the twenty-third day of the prytany, at a principal meeting of the Assembly. Of the presiding officers, Hippo son of Cratistoteles, of Xypete, and his fellow presidents put the question to the vote. Thraso son of Thraso, of Anacaea, made the motion:[5]
	"'Επειδὴ Ζήνων Μνασέου Κιτιεὺς ἔτη πολλὰ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν ἐν τῇ πόλει γενόμενος ἔν τε τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ὢν διετέλεσε καὶ τοὺς εἰς σύστασιν αὐτῷ τῶν νέων πορευομένους παρακαλῶν ἐπ' ἀρετὴν καὶ σωφροσύνην παρώρμα πρὸς τὰ βέλτιστα, παράδειγμα τὸν ἴδιον βίον ἐκθεὶς ἅπασιν ἀκόλουθον ὄντα τοῖς λόγοις οἷς διελέγετο, [11] τύχῃ ἀγαθῇ δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ, ἐπαινέσαι μὲν Ζήνωνα Μνασέου Κιτιέα καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ σωφροσύνης, οἰκοδομῆσαι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τάφον ἐπὶ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ δημοσίᾳ· τῆς δὲ ποιήσεως τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τοῦ τάφου χειροτονῆσαι τὸν δῆμον ἤδη τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους πέντε ἄνδρας ἐξ Ἀθηναίων.	"Whereas Zeno son of Mnaseas, of Citium, has spent many years in the city in the pursuit of philosophy, and has continued to be a good man in every other respect, and has urged the young men who came to him for instruction toward excellence and self-restraint, spurring them on to what is best, and has set out his own life before all as an example, in keeping with the doctrines he taught: [11] be it resolved by the people, with good fortune, to commend Zeno son of Mnaseas, of Citium, and to crown him with a golden crown according to the law, for his excellence and self-restraint, and to build him a tomb in the Ceramicus at public expense; and for the making of the crown and the building of the tomb, that the people now elect five men from among the Athenians to take charge of the work.
7.11	ἐγγράψαι δὲ ⟨τόδε⟩ τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ δήμου ἐν στήλαις ⟨λιθίναις⟩ δύο καὶ ἐξεῖναι αὐτῶν θεῖναι τὴν μὲν ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ, τὴν δὲ ἐν Λυκείῳ. τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα τὸ εἰς τὰς στήλας γινόμενον μερίσαι τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει, ὅπως ⟨ἂν⟩ ἅπαντες εἴδωσιν ὅτι ὁ δῆμος ὁ	And that the secretary of the people inscribe this decree on two stone slabs, and that he be permitted to set up one of them in the Academy and the other in the Lyceum. And that the official in charge of the administration allot the cost of the

5 Athenian decrees were dated by the year's archon and by the prytany, the period in which one tribe's delegation presided over the Council; Maemacterion was a month in late autumn.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	[τῶν] Ἀθηναίων τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ ζῶντας τιμᾷ καὶ τελευτήσαντας. [12] ἐπὶ ⟨δὲ⟩ τὴν ⟨ποίησιν τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ τὴν⟩ οἰκοδομὴν κεχειροτόνηνται Θράσων Ἀνακαιεύς, Φιλοκλῆς Πειραιεύς, Φαῖδρος Ἀναφλύστιος, Μέδων Ἀχαρνεύς, Μίκυθος Συπαληττεύς, Δίων Παιανιεύς.”	slabs, so that all may know that the people of Athens honor good men both in life and after death. [12] For the making of the crown and the building of the tomb the following have been elected: Thraso of Anacaea, Philocles of the Piraeus, Phaedrus of Anaphlystus, Medon of Acharnae, Micythus of Sypalettus, Dion of Paeania.”
7.12	Καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα μὲν ὧδε ἔχει.	That is how the decree runs.

ZENO’S CHARACTER AND SAYINGS

Zeno’s frugality, his dislike of crowds, and his sharp, brief retorts to pupils and visitors.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Φησὶ δ’ Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος οὐκ ἀρνεῖσθαι αὐτὸν εἶναι Κιτιέα. τῶν γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν τοῦ λουτρῶνος συμβαλλομένων εἶς ὢν καὶ ἀναγραφόμενος ἐν τῇ στήλῃ, “Ζήνωνος τοῦ φιλοσόφου,” ἠξίωσε καὶ τὸ Κιτιεύς προστεθῆναι. ποιήσας δέ ποτε κοῖλον ἐπίθημα τῇ ληκύθῳ περιέφερε νόμισμα, λύσιν ἕτοιμον τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἵν’ ἔχοι Κράτης ὁ διδάσκαλος.	Antigonus of Carystus says that he never denied being a Citian. He was one of the contributors to the restoration of the baths, and when his name was being inscribed on the slab as “Zeno the philosopher,” he asked that “of Citium” be added too. Once he made a hollow lid for his oil flask and carried money around in it, so that his teacher Crates would have something ready to meet his needs.[6]
7.13	φασὶ δ’ αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ χίλια τάλαντα ἔχοντα ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ταῦτα δανείζειν ναυτικῶς. ἤσθιε δ’ ἀρτίδια καὶ μέλι καὶ ὀλίγον εὐώδους οἰναρίου ἔπινε. παιδαρίοις τε ἐχρῆτο σπανίως, ἅπαξ ἢ δίς που παιδισκαρίῳ τινί, ἵνα μὴ δοκοίη μισογύνης εἶναι, σύν τε Περσαίῳ τὴν αὐτὴν οἰκίαν ᾤκει· καὶ αὐτοῦ αὐλητρίδιον εἰσαγαγόντος πρὸς αὐτόν, σπάσας πρὸς τὸν Περσαῖον αὐτὸ ἀπήγαγεν. ἦν τε, φασίν, εὐσυμπερίφορος, ὡς πολλάκις Ἀντίγονον τὸν βασιλέα ἐπικωμάσαι αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς Ἀριστοκλέα τὸν κιθαρῳδὸν ἅμ’ αὐτῷ ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ κῶμον, εἶτα μέντοι ὑποδῦναι.	They say he came to Greece with more than a thousand talents and lent the money out on maritime loans. He ate small loaves and honey and drank a little fragrant wine. He rarely had relations with boys, and once or twice perhaps with a young servant girl, so as not to seem a woman-hater. He shared a house with Persaeus, and when Persaeus brought a little flute-girl in to him, he dragged her off to Persaeus. He was, they say, easy to get along with, so that King Antigonus often came to his door in revelry and took him along to a party at the house of Aristocles the lyre-singer; but then Zeno would slip away.
7.14	ἐξέκλινε δέ, φησί, καὶ τὸ πολυδημῶδες, ὡς ἐπ’ ἄκρου καθίζεσθαι τοῦ βάθρου, κερδαίνοντα τὸ γοῦν ἕτερον μέρος τῆς ἐνοχλήσεως. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ μετὰ πλειόνων δύο ἢ τριῶν περιεπάτει. ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ χαλκὸν εἰσέπραττε τοὺς περιισταμένους, ⟨ὥστε δεδιότας⟩ τὸ διδόναι μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν, καθά φησι Κλεάνθης ἐν τῷ Περὶ χαλκοῦ· πλειόνων τε περιστάντων αὐτόν, δείξας ἐν τῇ στοᾷ κατ’ ἄκρου τὸ ξύλινον περιφερὲς τοῦ βωμοῦ ἔφη, “τοῦτό ποτ’ ἐν μέσῳ ἔκειτο, διὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμποδίζειν ἰδίᾳ ἐτέθη· καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου βαστάσαντες αὐτοὺς ἧττον ἡμῖν ἐνοχλήσετε.”	He also avoided crowds, he says, so much that he would sit at the end of the bench, which spared him at least half the annoyance. Nor indeed did he walk about with more than two or three people. Sometimes he would even charge the people who stood around him a copper coin, so that, afraid of having to pay, they would not bother him, as Cleanthes says in his *On Bronze*. Once, when more people than usual were standing around him, he pointed to the wooden railing around the altar at the end of the Stoa and said, “This once stood in the middle, but because it got in the way it was put

6 Antigonus of Carystus was a third-century BC writer whose lives of contemporary philosophers Diogenes often draws on.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		by itself to one side. So if you, too, take yourselves out of the middle, you'll bother us less."
	Δημοχάρους δὲ τοῦ Λάχητος ἀσπαζομένου αὐτὸν καὶ φάσκοντος λέγειν καὶ γράφειν ὧν ἂν χρείαν ἔχῃ πρὸς Ἀντίγονον, ὡς ἐκείνου πάντα παρέξοντος, ἀκούσας οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ συνδιέτριψε. [15] λέγεται δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ Ζήνωνος εἰπεῖν τὸν Ἀντίγονον, οἷον εἴη θέατρον ἀπολωλεκώς· ὅθεν καὶ διὰ Θράσωνος πρεσβευτοῦ παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ᾔτησεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ ταφήν. ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ διὰ τί θαυμάζει αὐτόν, "ὅτι," ἔφη, "πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων αὐτῷ διδομένων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ οὐδέποτ' ἐχαυνώθη οὐδὲ ταπεινὸς ὤφθη."	When Democharesson of Laches greeted him and said that he had only to say or write what he needed to Antigonus, since Antigonus would provide everything, Zeno, on hearing this, would have nothing more to do with him. [15] It is said, too, that after Zeno's death Antigonus remarked what an audience he had lost; and so he sent Thraso as envoy to ask the Athenians to grant Zeno burial in the Ceramicus. Asked why he admired him, Antigonus said, "Because, though I gave him many great gifts, he was never puffed up and never seen to grovel."[7]
7.15	Ἦν δὲ καὶ ζητητικὸς καὶ περὶ πάντων ἀκριβολογούμενος· ὅθεν καὶ ὁ Τίμων ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις φησὶν οὕτω· καὶ Φοίνισσαν ἶδον λιχνόγραυν σκιερῷ ἐνὶ τύφῳ πάντων ἱμείρουσαν· ὁ δ' ἔρρει γυργαθὸς αὐτῆς σμικρὸς ἐών· νοῦν δ' εἶχεν ἐλάσσονα κινδαψοῖο.	He was given to inquiry and precise about everything. That is why Timon in his *Silli* says: And I saw a greedy old Phoenician woman in her shadowy vanity hankering after everything; but her basket was gone to pieces, being small; and she had less sense than a kindapsos.[8]
7.16	Ἐπιμελῶς δὲ καὶ πρὸς Φίλωνα τὸν διαλεκτικὸν διεκρίνετο καὶ συνεσχόλαζεν αὐτῷ· ὅθεν καὶ θαυμασθῆναι ὑπὸ Ζήνωνος τοῦ νεωτέρου οὐχ ἧττον Διοδώρου τοῦ διδασκάλου αὐτοῦ. ἦσαν δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ γυμνορρύπαροί τινες, ὥς φησι καὶ ὁ Τίμων· ὄφρα πενεστάων σύναγεν νέφος, οἳ περὶ πάντων / πτωχότατοί τ' ἦσαν καὶ κουφότατοι βροτοὶ ἀστῶν.	He also argued carefully with Philo the dialectician and studied together with him, which is why Zeno, the younger man, admired Philo as much as Philo's teacher Diodorus. There were also some half-naked, filthy people around him, as Timon too says: So that he gathered a cloud of paupers, who of all / the townsfolk were the poorest and the emptiest of mortals.[9]
	Αὐτὸν δὲ στυγνόν τ' εἶναι καὶ πικρόν, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον συνεσπασμένον. ἦν εὐτελής τε σφόδρα καὶ βαρβαρικῆς ἐχόμενος σμικρολογίας, προσχήματι οἰκονομίας. εἰ δέ τινα ἐπικόπτοι, περιεσταλμένως καὶ οὐ χάδην, ἀλλὰ πόρρωθεν· λέγω δὲ οἷον ἐπὶ τοῦ καλλωπιζομένου ποτὲ ἔφη.	He himself, they say, was gloomy and sour, with a frowning face. He was very frugal and given to a foreigner's pettiness about money, under the pretext of thrift. If he rebuked someone, he did it in guarded terms, not openly but indirectly. I mean, for example, what he once said about a man who prettified himself.
7.17	ὀχέτιον γάρ τι ὀκνηρῶς αὐτοῦ ὑπερβαίνοντος, "δικαίως," εἶπεν, "ὑφορᾷ τὸν πηλόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ κατοπτρίσασθαι." ὡς δὲ Κυνικός τις οὐ φήσας ἔλαιον ἔχειν ἐν τῇ ληκύθῳ, προσῄτησεν αὐτόν, οὐκ ἔφη δώσειν· ἀπελθόντα μέντοι ἐκέλευσε σκέψασθαι ὁπότερος εἴη ἀναιδέστερος. ἐρωτικῶς δὲ διακείμενος Χρεμωνίδου,	When the man was stepping gingerly over a small gutter, Zeno said, "He's right to be wary of the mud: he can't see his reflection in it." When a Cynic said he had no oil in his flask and asked him for some, Zeno said he wouldn't give him any; but as the man went off, he told him to consider which of

7 Democharesses was an Athenian statesman and historian, the nephew of the orator Demosthenes.
8 A *kindapsos* seems to have been a stringed instrument, used here as a byword for mindlessness.
9 Diodorus Cronus and his pupil Philo were dialecticians of the Megarian circle, famous for their work on logic.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	παρακαθιζόντων αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Κλεάνθους, ἀνέστη· θαυμάζοντος δὲ τοῦ Κλεάνθους ἔφη "καὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν ἀκούω τῶν ἀγαθῶν, κράτιστον εἶναι φάρμακον πρὸς τὰ φλεγμαίνοντα ἡσυχίαν." δυοῖν δ' ὑπανακειμένοιν ἐν πότῳ καὶ τοῦ ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν σκιμαλίζοντος τῷ ποδί, αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνον τῷ γόνατι. ἐπιστραφέντος δέ, "τί οὖν" ⟨ἔφη⟩ "οἴει τὸν ὑποκάτω σου πάσχειν ὑπὸ σοῦ;"	the two of them was the more shameless. He was in love with Chremonides, and once, when Chremonides and Cleanthes were sitting beside him, he got up. Cleanthes was surprised, and Zeno said, "I hear from good doctors, too, that the best remedy for inflammation is rest." Once at a drinking party, two men were reclining below him, and the one next to him kept prodding the man below himself with his foot; so Zeno prodded him with his knee. When the man turned around, Zeno said, "Well, what do you think the man below you is suffering from you?"
7.18	πρὸς δὲ τὸν φιλόπαιδα οὔτε τοὺς διδασκάλους ἔφη φρένας ἔχειν, ἀεὶ διατρίβοντας ἐν παιδαρίοις, οὔτ' ἐκείνους. ἔφασκε δὲ τοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀσολοίκων λόγους καὶ ἀπηρτισμένους ὁμοίους εἶναι τῷ ἀργυρίῳ τῷ Ἀλεξανδρίνῳ· εὐοφθάλμους μὲν καὶ περιγεγραμμένους καθὰ καὶ τὸ νόμισμα, οὐδὲν δὲ διὰ ταῦτα βελτίονας. τοὺς δὲ τοὐναντίον ἀφωμοίου τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς τετραδράχμοις εἰκῆ μὲν κεκομμένοις καὶ σολοίκως, καθέλκειν μέντοι πολλάκις τὰς κεκαλλιγραφημένας [λέξεις]. Ἀρίστωνος δὲ τοῦ μαθητοῦ πολλὰ διαλεγομένου οὐκ εὐφυῶς, ἔνια δὲ καὶ προπετῶς καὶ θρασέως, "ἀδύνατον," εἰπεῖν, "εἰ μή σε ὁ πατὴρ μεθύων ἐγέννησεν·" ὅθεν αὐτὸν καὶ λάλον ἀπεκάλει, βραχυλόγος ὤν.	To a lover of boys he said that schoolmasters, who are always spending their time among boys, have no more sense than the boys themselves. He used to say that the speech of people who avoid solecisms and are perfectly polished is like Alexandrian silver: pleasing to the eye and sharply outlined, like the coinage, but none the better for that. Speech of the opposite kind he likened to Attic tetradrachms, which are struck carelessly and crudely but often outweigh the beautifully lettered [phrases]. When his pupil Ariston talked a great deal, not cleverly, and some of it rashly and brashly, Zeno said, "That's impossible—unless your father was drunk when he begot you." This is also why he called him a chatterbox, being himself a man of few words.[10]
7.19	Πρὸς δὲ τὸν ὀψοφάγον μηδὲν τοῖς συμβιωταῖς καταλιπόντα, παρατεθέντος ποτὲ μεγάλου ἰχθύος, ἅρας οἷος ἦν κατεσθίειν· ἐμβλέψαντος δέ, "τί οὖν," ἔφη, "τοὺς συμβιωτὰς οἴει πάσχειν καθ' ἡμέραν, εἰ σὺ μίαν μὴ δύνασαι ἐνεγκεῖν τὴν ἐμὴν ὀψοφαγίαν;" μειρακίου δὲ περιεργότερον παρὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐρωτῶντος ζήτημά τι, προσήγαγε πρὸς κάτοπτρον καὶ ἐκέλευσεν ἐμβλέψαι· ἔπειτ' ἠρώτησεν εἰ δοκεῖ αὐτῷ ἁρμόττοντα εἶναι ⟨τῇ⟩ ὄψει τοιαύτῃ ζητήματα. πρὸς δὲ τὸν φάσκοντα ὡς τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῷ Ἀντισθένης οὐκ ἀρέσκοι, χρείαν Σοφοκλέους προενεγκάμενος ἠρώτησεν εἴ τινα καὶ καλὰ ἔχειν αὐτῷ δοκεῖ· τοῦ δ' οὐκ εἰδέναι φήσαντος, "εἶτ' οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ," ἔφη, "εἰ μέν τι κακὸν ἦν εἰρημένον [ὑπ' Ἀντισθένους], τοῦτ' ἐκλεγόμενος καὶ μνημονεύων, εἰ δέ τι καλόν, οὐδ' ἐπιβαλλόμενος κατέχειν;"	There was a glutton who left nothing for his table companions. Once, when a large fish was served, Zeno picked it up as if to eat the whole thing himself. When the man stared at him, he said, "Well, what do you think your companions suffer every day, if you can't put up with my gluttony for one day?" When a youngster was asking about some problem with more curiosity than suited his age, Zeno brought him to a mirror and told him to look into it. Then he asked whether he thought such problems suited a face like that. To a man who said that most of Antisthenes' views did not please him, Zeno quoted a saying of Sophocles and asked whether he thought Antisthenes had anything fine in him as well. When the man said he didn't know, Zeno said, "Aren't you ashamed, then, to pick out and remember anything bad that was said [by Antisthenes], but not even to try to retain anything fine?"

10 The Attic tetradrachm was a four-drachma silver coin.

GREEK

ENGLISH

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

When someone said that the philosophers’ little arguments seemed to him short, Zeno said, “You’re right. But their syllables, too, ought to be short, if possible.” When someone told him that Polemo announced one topic and talked about another, he scowled and said, “Well, what price would you have put on what you were given?” He said that someone who argues vigorously should, like actors, have a loud voice and great power, but should not open his mouth wide: that is what people do who chatter a lot but to no effect. He said that well-spoken words should not be given room to be gazed at, as the works of good craftsmen are; on the contrary, the listener should be so absorbed in what is said that he has no time to show his approval.

7.21 Νεανίσκου πολλὰ λαλοῦντος ἔφη “τὰ ὦτά σου εἰς τὴν γλῶτταν συνερρύηκεν.” πρὸς τὸν καλὸν εἰπόντα ὅτι οὐ δοκεῖ αὐτῷ ἐρασθήσεσθαι ὁ σοφός “οὐδέν,” ἔφη, “ὑμῶν ἀθλιώτερον ἔσεσθαι τῶν καλῶν.” ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων τοὺς πλείστους τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἀσόφους εἶναι, τὰ δὲ μικρὰ καὶ τυχηρὰ ἀμαθεῖς. καὶ προεφέρετο τὸ τοῦ Καφισίου, ὃς ἐπιβαλομένου τινὸς τῶν μαθητῶν μεγάλα φυσᾶν, πατάξας εἶπεν ὡς οὐκ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ τὸ εὖ κείμενον εἴη, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ εὖ τὸ μέγα. νεανίσκου δέ τινος θρασύτερον διαλεγομένου, “οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμι,” ἔφη, “μειράκιον, ἃ ἐπέρχεταί μοι.”

When a young man was chattering away, Zeno said, “Your ears have run down into your tongue.” To a handsome youth who said that he didn’t think the wise man would fall in love, he said, “Then nothing will be more wretched than you handsome people.” He used to say that most philosophers were unwise in most things and ignorant in small and chance matters. And he would quote the saying of Caphisius, who, when one of his pupils was trying to blow loudly, struck him and said that playing well did not lie in playing big, but playing big in playing well. When a young man was arguing rather too brashly, Zeno said, “I wouldn’t like to say, my lad, what comes into my mind.”[11]

7.22 Ῥοδίου δέ τινος καλοῦ καὶ πλουσίου, ἄλλως δὲ μηδέν, προσκειμένου αὐτῷ, μὴ βουλόμενος ἀνέχεσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ κεκονιμένα τῶν βάθρων ἐκάθιζεν αὐτόν, ἵνα μολύνῃ τὴν χλανίδα· ἔπειτα εἰς τὸν τῶν πτωχῶν τόπον, ὥστε συνανατρίβεσθαι τοῖς ῥάκεσιν αὐτῶν· καὶ τέλος ἀπῆλθεν ὁ νεανίσκος.

A Rhodian, handsome and rich but nothing else, kept pestering him. Not wanting to put up with him, Zeno first made him sit on the dusty benches, so that he would soil his fine cloak, and then in the beggars’ place, so that he would rub against their rags. In the end the young man went away.

πάντων ἔλεγεν ἀπρεπέστερον εἶναι τὸν τῦφον, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῶν νέων. μὴ τὰς φωνὰς καὶ τὰς λέξεις ἀπομνημονεύειν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν διάθεσιν τῆς χρείας τὸν νοῦν ἀσχολεῖσθαι, μὴ ὥσπερ ἔψησίν τινα ἢ σκευασίαν ἀναλαμβάνοντας. δεῖν τ’ ἔλεγε τοὺς νέους πάσῃ κοσμιότητι χρῆσθαι ἐν πορείᾳ καὶ σχήματι καὶ περιβολῇ· συνεχές τε προεφέρετο τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ Καπανέως Εὐριπίδου στίχους, ὅτι βίος μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ ἥκιστα δ’ ὄλβῳ γαῦρος ἦν, φρόνημα δὲ / οὐδέν τι μεῖζον εἶχεν ἢ πένης ἀνήρ.

He used to say that vanity was the most unbecoming thing of all, especially in the young. He said that one should not memorize the words and phrases but concentrate the mind on how what is said is to be put to use, instead of taking it in like a recipe for boiling or cooking. He said that the young should show complete decorum in their walk, their bearing and their dress; and he would constantly quote Euripides’ lines about Capaneus,

11 Caphisius (or Caphisias) was a well-known flute-player.

GREEK

ENGLISH

that he had means, but was least of all puffed up by his wealth, and the spirit he had / was no greater than a poor man's.

7.23 Ἔλεγε δὲ μηδὲν εἶναι τῆς οἰήσεως ἀλλοτριώτερον πρὸς κατάληψιν τῶν ἐπιστημῶν, μηδενός θ' ἡμᾶς οὕτως εἶναι ἐνδεεῖς ὡς χρόνου. ἐρωτηθεὶς τίς ἐστι φίλος, "ἄλλος," ἔφη, "ἐγώ." δοῦλον ἐπὶ κλοπῇ, φασίν, ἐμαστίγου· τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος, "εἱμαρτό μοι κλέψαι," ἔφη, "καὶ δαρῆναι." τὸ κάλλος εἶπε τῆς σωφροσύνης ἄνθος εἶναι· οἱ δὲ τοῦ κάλλους τὴν σωφροσύνην.

He used to say that nothing is more alien to the apprehension of the branches of knowledge than conceit, and that there is nothing we lack so much as time. Asked what a friend is, he said, "Another I." They say he was whipping a slave for stealing, and when the slave said, "I was fated to steal," he said, "And to be flogged." He said that beauty is the flower of self-restraint; others say he said that self-restraint is the flower of beauty.

τῶν γνωρίμων τινὸς παιδάριον μεμωλωπισμένον θεασάμενος πρὸς αὐτόν, "ὁρῶ σου," ἔφη, "τοῦ θυμοῦ τὰ ἴχνη·" πρὸς τὸν κεχρισμένον τῷ μύρῳ, "τίς ἐστιν," ἔφη, "ὁ γυναικὸς ὄζων;" Διονυσίου δὲ τοῦ Μεταθεμένου εἰπόντος αὐτῷ διὰ τί αὐτὸν μόνον οὐ διορθοῖ, ἔφη, "οὐ γάρ σοι πιστεύω." πρὸς τὸ φλυαροῦν μειράκιον, "διὰ τοῦτο," εἶπε, "δύο ὦτα ἔχομεν, στόμα δὲ ἕν, ἵνα πλείονα μὲν ἀκούωμεν, ἧττονα δὲ λέγωμεν."

Seeing a pupil's young slave covered in bruises, he said to the pupil, "I see the marks of your temper." To a man drenched in perfume he said, "Who's this who smells of a woman?" When Dionysius the Renegade asked him why he was the only one Zeno didn't correct, he said, "Because I don't trust you." To a youngster talking nonsense he said, "The reason we have two ears and only one mouth is so that we may listen more and speak less."

7.24 ἐν συμποσίῳ κατακείμενος σιγῇ τὴν αἰτίαν ἠρωτήθη· ἔφη οὖν τῷ ἐγκαλέσαντι ἀπαγγεῖλαι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ὅτι παρῆν τις σιωπᾶν ἐπιστάμενος· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ ἐρωτήσαντες παρὰ Πτολεμαίου πρέσβεις ἀφικόμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι μαθεῖν τί εἴποιεν παρ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. ἐρωτηθεὶς πῶς ἔχει πρὸς λοιδορίαν, "καθάπερ," εἶπεν, "εἰ πρεσβευτὴς ἀναπόκριτος ἀποστέλλοιτο." φησὶ δ' Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Τύριος, ἕλκοντος αὐτὸν Κράτητος τοῦ ἱματίου ἀπὸ Στίλπωνος, εἰπεῖν, "ὦ Κράτης, λαβὴ φιλοσόφων ἐστὶν ἐπιδέξιος ἡ διὰ τῶν ὤτων· πείσας οὖν ἕλκε τούτων· εἰ δέ με βιάζῃ, τὸ μὲν σῶμα παρὰ σοὶ ἔσται, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ παρὰ Στίλπωνι."

He was lying silent at a drinking party and was asked the reason. So he told the man who had found fault with him to report to the king that there was someone present who knew how to keep quiet. The people who had asked him were envoys who had come from Ptolemy and wanted to know what message from him they should take back to the king. Asked how he felt about being abused, he said, "As an envoy does who is sent away without an answer." Apollonius of Tyre says that when Crates was dragging him away from Stilpo by his cloak, Zeno said, "Crates, the clever way to take hold of philosophers is by the ears. So persuade me and drag me off by these. If you use force on me, my body will be with you, but my soul with Stilpo."

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

He also spent time with Diodorus, as Hippobotus says, and under him he worked hard at dialectic. When he was already making progress, he would also go to Polemo, being free of vanity, so that Polemo, they say, said to him, "Zeno, I see you slipping in by the garden door, stealing my doctrines and dressing them up in Phoenician clothes." And when a dialectician showed him seven dialectical patterns in the Reaper argument, Zeno asked how much he charged for them; on hearing a hundred drachmas, he gave him two hundred. So devoted

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	στίχους μεταγράφειν οὕτω· κεῖνος μὲν πανάριστος ὃς εὖ εἰπόντι πίθηται, / ἐσθλὸς δ' αὖ κἀκεῖνος ὃς αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσῃ.	was he to learning. They say, too, that he was the first to use the term "appropriate action" and to write a treatise on it, and that he rewrote Hesiod's lines like this: Best of all is he who listens to good advice, / and good in turn is he who works everything out for himself.[12]
7.26	κρείττονα γὰρ εἶναι τὸν ἀκοῦσαι καλῶς δυνάμενον τὸ λεγόμενον καὶ χρῆσθαι αὐτῷ τοῦ δι' αὑτοῦ τὸ πᾶν συννοήσαντος· τῷ μὲν γὰρ εἶναι μόνον τὸ συνεῖναι, τῷ δ' εὖ πεισθέντι προσεῖναι καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν.	For he held that the man who can listen well to what is said and make use of it is better than the one who works everything out by himself. The latter has only understanding, while the one who is well persuaded has action as well.
	Ἐρωτηθεὶς δέ, φησί, διὰ τί αὐστηρὸς ὢν ἐν τῷ πότῳ διαχεῖται ἔφη, "καὶ οἱ θέρμοι πικροὶ ὄντες βρεχόμενοι γλυκαίνονται." φησὶ δὲ καὶ Ἑκάτων ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Χρειῶν ἀνίεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις κοινωνίαις. ἔλεγέ τε κρεῖττον εἶναι τοῖς ποσὶν ὀλισθεῖν ἢ τῇ γλώττῃ. τὸ εὖ γίνεσθαι μὲν παρὰ μικρόν, οὐ μὴν μικρὸν εἶναι. [οἱ δὲ Σωκράτους.]	Asked, he says, why he, austere as he was, loosened up when drinking, he said, "Lupins are bitter too, but when they're soaked they turn sweet." Hecato also says, in the second book of his *Anecdotes*, that he relaxed at gatherings of this kind. He used to say that it is better to slip with the feet than with the tongue. And he used to say that well-being comes about little by little, yet is no little thing. [Others attribute this to Socrates.][13]
7.27	Ἦν δὲ καρτερικώτατος καὶ λιτότατος, ἀπύρῳ τροφῇ χρώμενος καὶ τρίβωνι λεπτῷ, ὥστε λέγεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτοῦ· τὸν δ' οὔτ' ἂρ χειμὼν κρυόεις, οὐκ ὄμβρος ἀπείρων, οὐ φλὸξ ἠελίοιο δαμάζεται, οὐ νόσος αἰνή, οὐκ ἔρotις δήμου ἐναρεῖ μένος, ἀλλ' ὅ γ' ἀτειρὴς ἀμφὶ διδασκαλίῃ τέτατι νύκτας τε καὶ ἦμαρ. οἵ γε μὴν κωμικοὶ ἐλάνθανον ἐπαινοῦντες αὐτὸν διὰ τῶν σκωμμάτων. ἵνα καὶ Φιλήμων φησὶν οὕτως ἐν δράματι Φιλοσόφοις· εἷς ἄρτος, ὄψον ἰσχάς, ἐπιπιεῖν ὕδωρ. φιλοσοφίαν καινὴν γὰρ οὗτος φιλοσοφεῖ, πεινῆν διδάσκει καὶ μαθητὰς λαμβάνει· οἱ δὲ Ποσειδίππου.	He was extremely hardy and frugal, eating uncooked food and wearing a thin cloak, so that it was said of him: Neither icy winter nor endless rain nor the blaze of the sun subdues him, nor grim disease, nor does the people's festival sap his strength; but he, unwearied, is bent on his teaching night and day. The comic poets, for their part, praised him without realizing it through their very jibes. Philemon, for instance, says this in his play *Philosophers*: One loaf of bread, a dried fig to go with it, water to drink after. This man philosophizes a new philosophy: he teaches hunger, and he gets pupils. Others attribute these lines to Posidippus.[14]
	Ἤδη δὲ καὶ εἰς παροιμίαν σχεδὸν ἐχώρησεν. ἐλέγετο γοῦν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ· τοῦ φιλοσόφου Ζήνωνος ἐγκρατέστερος. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ποσείδιππος Μεταφερομένοις· ὥστ' ἐν ἡμέραις δέκα / εἶναι δοκεῖν Ζήνωνος ἐγκρατέστερον.	By now he had very nearly become a proverb. At any rate, there was a saying about him: more self-controlled than the philosopher Zeno. Posidippus, too, in his *Men Transported*: so that within ten days / he seemed more self-controlled than Zeno.

12 The Reaper was a famous argument for fatalism, built around a man who either will or will not reap his harvest.
13 Hecato of Rhodes was a Stoic philosopher of the 2nd–1st centuries BC. *Chreiai* ("Anecdotes") were collections of pointed sayings and stories.
14 Philemon and Posidippus were poets of Athenian New Comedy and contemporaries of Zeno.

ZENO'S DEATH, CRITICS AND PUPILS

Zeno dies after a fall; critics attack his Republic; Diogenes lists his pupils.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
7.28	Τῷ γὰρ ὄντι πάντας ὑπερεβάλλετο τῷ τ' εἴδει τούτῳ καὶ τῇ σεμνότητι καὶ δὴ νὴ Δία τῇ μακαριότητι· ὀκτὼ γὰρ πρὸς τοῖς ἐνενήκοντα βιοὺς ἔτη κατέστρεψεν, ἄνοσος καὶ ὑγιὴς διατελέσας. Περσαῖος δέ φησιν ἐν ταῖς Ἠθικαῖς σχολαῖς δύο καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἐτῶν τελευτῆσαι αὐτόν, ἐλθεῖν δ' Ἀθήναζε δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν· ὁ δ' Ἀπολλώνιός φησιν ἀφηγήσασθαι τῆς σχολῆς αὐτὸν ἔτη δυοῖν δέοντα ἑξήκοντα. ἐτελεύτα δὴ οὕτως· ἐκ τῆς σχολῆς ἀπιὼν προσέπταισε καὶ τὸν δάκτυλον περιέρρηξε· παίσας δὲ τὴν γῆν τῇ χειρί, φησὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς Νιόβης, ἔρχομαι· τί μ' αὔεις; καὶ παραχρῆμα ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀποπνίξας ἑαυτόν.	And in truth he surpassed everyone in this respect, in dignity, and, by Zeus, in his good fortune too: he lived to ninety-eight and died having remained free of disease and healthy to the end. Persaeus, however, says in his *Ethical Lectures* that he died at seventy-two and came to Athens at twenty-two; and Apollonius says that he presided over the school for fifty-eight years. This is how he died. Leaving the school, he tripped and broke his toe. Striking the ground with his hand, he spoke the line from the *Niobe*: I'm coming; why do you call me? And he died on the spot, by choking off his own breath.[15]
7.29	Ἀθηναῖοι δ' ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ καὶ ψηφίσμασι τοῖς προειρημένοις ἐτίμησαν, τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῷ προσμαρτυροῦντες. καὶ Ἀντίπατρος ὁ Σιδώνιος ἐποίησεν οὕτως εἰς αὐτόν· τῆνος ὅδε Ζήνων Κιτίῳ φίλος, ὅς ποτ' Ὄλυμπον ἔδραμεν, οὐκ Ὄσσῃ Πήλιον ἀνθέμενος, οὐδὲ τά γ' Ἡρακλῆος ἀέθλεε· τὰν δέ ποτ' ἄστρα ἀτραπιτὸν μούνας εὗρε σαοφροσύνας.	The Athenians buried him in the Ceramicus and honored him with the decrees mentioned above, bearing witness to his excellence. Antipater of Sidon wrote this about him: Here lies that Zeno, dear to Citium, who once to Olympus climbed, not by setting Pelion on Ossa, nor by toiling at the labors of Heracles; the path to the stars he found was that of self-restraint alone.[16]
7.30	καὶ ἄλλο Ζηνόδοτος ὁ στωικός, Διογένους μαθητής· ἔκτισας αὐτάρκειαν, ἀφεὶς κενεαυχέα πλοῦτον, Ζήνων, σὺν πολιῷ σεμνὸς ἐπισκυνίῳ· ἄρσενα γὰρ λόγον εὗρες, ἐνηθλήσω δὲ προνοίᾳ αἵρεσιν, ἀτρέστου ματέρ' ἐλευθερίας· εἰ δὲ πάτρα Φοίνισσα, τίς ὁ φθόνος; οὐ καὶ ὁ Κάδμος κεῖνος, ἀφ' οὗ γραπτὰν Ἑλλὰς ἔχει σελίδα; καὶ κοινῇ δὲ καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν στωικῶν Ἀθήναιος ὁ ἐπιγραμματοποιός φησιν οὕτως· ὦ στωικῶν μύθων εἰδήμονες, ὦ πανάριστα δόγματα ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐνθέμενοι σελίσιν, τὰν ἀρετὰν ψυχᾶς ἀγαθὸν μόνον· ἅδε γὰρ ἀνδρῶν μούνα καὶ βιοτὰν ῥύσατο καὶ πόλιας. σαρκὸς δ' ἡδυπάθημα, φίλον τέλος ἀνδράσιν ἄλλοις, ἡ μία τῶν Μνήμης ἤνυσε θυγατέρων.	And another, by Zenodotus the Stoic, a pupil of Diogenes: You founded self-sufficiency, casting aside vainglorious wealth, Zeno, august with your gray brow; for you found a manly doctrine, and with forethought you toiled to bring forth a school, the mother of fearless freedom. And if your homeland was Phoenician, why begrudge it? Was not Cadmus too the man from whom Greece has its written page? And Athenaeus the epigrammatist says this about all the Stoics together: You who are versed in Stoic lore, you who have set down the finest doctrines in your sacred pages: that excellence alone is the good of the soul, for it alone has saved the lives of men and their cities. But the pampering of the flesh, the cherished goal of other men, was the work of just one of Memory's daughters.[17]

15 The line comes from the *Niobe* of the poet Timotheus; Zeno addresses the earth as if it were summoning him.
16 In myth the giants Otus and Ephialtes tried to storm heaven by piling Mount Pelion on Mount Ossa.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
7.31	Εἴπομεν ὡς ἐτελεύτα ὁ Ζήνων καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ Παμμέτρῳ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον· τὸν Κιτιᾶ Ζήνωνα θανεῖν λόγος ὡς ὑπὸ γήρως πολλὰ καμὼν ἐλύθη μένων ἄσιτος· οἱ δ', ὅτι προσκόψας ποτ' ἔφη χερὶ γαῖαν ἀλοίσας ἔρχομαι αὐτόματος· τί δὴ καλεῖς με; ἔνιοι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον τελευτῆσαί φασιν αὐτόν.	We too have told how Zeno died, in our *Pammetros*, in this way: The story goes that Zeno of Citium, worn out by old age after many labors, was released by going without food; others say that once, having tripped, he struck the earth with his hand and said, I'm coming of my own accord; why then do you call me? For some say that this too was how he died.[18]
	Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς τελευτῆς ταῦτα.	So much for his death.
	Φησὶ δὲ Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης ἐν τοῖς Ὁμωνύμοις τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Μνασέαν πολλάκις ἅτ' ἔμπορον Ἀθήναζε παραγίνεσθαι καὶ πολλὰ τῶν Σωκρατικῶν βιβλίων ἀποφέρειν ἔτι παιδὶ ὄντι τῷ Ζήνωνι· [32] ὅθεν καὶ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι συγκεκροτῆσθαι. καὶ οὕτως ἐλθόντα εἰς Ἀθήνας Κράτητι παραβαλεῖν. δοκεῖ δέ, φησί, καὶ τὸ τέλος αὐτὸς ὁρίσαι τῶν ⟨ἄλλων⟩ πλανωμένων περὶ τὰς ἀποφάσεις.	Demetrius of Magnesia says in his *Men of the Same Name* that his father, Mnaseas, being a merchant, often came to Athens and brought back many of the Socratic books for Zeno while he was still a boy; [32] so that he had been well trained even in his native city. And so, when he came to Athens, he attached himself to Crates. And it seems, he says, that he was the one who defined the end, while the others went astray in their pronouncements on it.
7.32	ὤμνυε δέ, φασί, καὶ κάππαριν, καθάπερ Σωκράτης τὸν κύνα. ἔνιοι μέντοι, ἐξ ὧν εἰσιν οἱ περὶ Κάσσιον τὸν σκεπτικόν, ἐν πολλοῖς κατηγοροῦντες τοῦ Ζήνωνος, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν ἄχρηστον ἀποφαίνειν λέγουσιν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς Πολιτείας, δεύτερον ἐχθροὺς καὶ πολεμίους καὶ δούλους καὶ ἀλλοτρίους λέγειν αὐτὸν ἀλλήλων εἶναι πάντας τοὺς μὴ σπουδαίους, καὶ γονεῖς τέκνων καὶ ἀδελφοὺς ἀδελφῶν, ⟨καὶ⟩ οἰκείους οἰκείων.	They say he used to swear "by the caper," just as Socrates swore "by the dog." Some, however, among them Cassius the skeptic and his circle, attack Zeno on many points. First, they say, he declares at the beginning of his *Republic* that the standard round of education is useless. Second, that he says all who are not good are enemies, foes, slaves and strangers to one another: parents to children, brothers to brothers, and relatives to relatives.
7.33	Πάλιν ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ παριστάντα πολίτας καὶ φίλους καὶ οἰκείους καὶ ἐλευθέρους τοὺς σπουδαίους μόνον, ὥστε τοῖς στωικοῖς οἱ γονεῖς καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἐχθροί· οὐ γάρ εἰσι σοφοί. κοινάς τε τὰς γυναῖκας δογματίζειν ὁμοίως ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς διακοσίους ⟨στίχους⟩ μήθ' ἱερὰ μήτε δικαστήρια μήτε γυμνάσια ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οἰκοδομεῖσθαι. περί τε νομίσματος οὕτως γράφειν, "νόμισμα δ' οὔτ' ἀλλαγῆς ἕνεκεν οἴεσθαι δεῖν κατασκευάζειν οὔτ' ἀποδημίας ἕνεκεν." καὶ ἐσθῆτι δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ κελεύει χρῆσθαι καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ μηδὲν μόριον ἀποκεκρύφθαι.	Again, in the *Republic*, he presents only the good as citizens, friends, relatives and free men, so that for the Stoics parents and children are enemies, since they are not wise. In the same *Republic* he lays down that wives are to be held in common, and, at about line 200, that neither temples nor law courts nor gymnasia are to be built in cities. About money he writes as follows: "We should not think it necessary to provide coinage either for exchange or for travel abroad." He also bids men and women wear the same clothing and keep no part of the body entirely covered.
7.34	ὅτι δ' αὐτοῦ ἐστιν ἡ Πολιτεία καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ πολιτείας φησί. περί τ' ἐρωτικῶν διείλεκται κατὰ τὴν	That the *Republic* is his work, Chrysippus too states in his *On the Republic*. He has discussed mat-

17 This Diogenes is Diogenes of Babylon, a later head of the Stoa; Cadmus was the Phoenician said to have brought the alphabet to Greece.

GREEK

ἀρχὴν τῆς ἐπιγραφομένης Ἐρωτικῆς τέχνης· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς Διατριβαῖς τὰ παραπλήσια γράφει. τοιουτότροπά τινά ἐστι παρὰ τῷ Κασσίῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰσιδώρῳ τῷ Περγαμηνῷ ῥήτορι· ὃς καὶ ἐκτμηθῆναί φησιν ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τὰ κακῶς λεγόμενα παρὰ τοῖς στωικοῖς ὑπ' Ἀθηνοδώρου τοῦ στωικοῦ πιστευθέντος τὴν ἐν Περγάμῳ βιβλιοθήκην· εἶτ' ἀντιτεθῆναι αὐτά, φωραθέντος τοῦ Ἀθηνοδώρου καὶ κινδυνεύσαντος. καὶ τοσαῦτα μὲν περὶ τῶν ἀθετουμένων αὐτοῦ.

ENGLISH

ters of love at the beginning of the work titled *Art of Love*, and in his *Lectures* he writes similar things. Material of this kind is found in Cassius, and also in Isidorus of Pergamum, the rhetorician. Isidorus says that the objectionable passages in the Stoics were cut out of the books by Athenodorus the Stoic, who had been entrusted with the library at Pergamum, and that they were afterwards restored when Athenodorus was found out and found himself in danger. So much for the writings of his whose authenticity is rejected.

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

There have been eight Zenos. The first is the Eleatic, of whom we shall speak; the second is this man himself; the third a Rhodian, who wrote a history of his region in a single book; the fourth a historian, who wrote about Pyrrhus' expedition to Italy and Sicily, and also an epitome of the deeds of the Romans and Carthaginians; the fifth a pupil of Chrysippus, who wrote few books but left a great many pupils; the sixth a physician of the school of Herophilus, a capable thinker but a feeble writer; the seventh a grammarian, to whom epigrams, among other works, are attributed; the eighth a Sidonian by birth, an Epicurean philosopher, clear in both thought and expression.[19]

7.36 Μαθηταὶ δὲ Ζήνωνος πολλοὶ μέν, ἔνδοξοι δὲ Περσαῖος Δημητρίου Κιτιεύς, ὃν οἱ μὲν γνώριμον αὐτοῦ, οἱ δὲ οἰκέτην ἕνα τῶν εἰς βιβλιογραφίαν πεμπομένων αὐτῷ παρ' Ἀντιγόνου, οὗ καὶ τροφεὺς ἦν τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀλκυονέως. διάπειραν δέ ποτε βουληθεὶς λαβεῖν αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἀντίγονος ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ πλαστῶς ἀγγελθῆναι ὡς εἴη τὰ χωρία αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἀφῃρημένα· καὶ σκυθρωπάσαντος, "ὁρᾷς," ἔφη, "ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ πλοῦτος ἀδιάφορον;" Βιβλία δὲ αὐτοῦ φέρεται τάδε· Περὶ βασιλείας. Πολιτεία Λακωνική. Περὶ γάμου. Περὶ ἀσεβείας. Θυέστης. Περὶ ἐρώτων. Προτρεπτικοί. Διατριβῶν. Χρειῶν δ′ Ἀπομνημονεύματα. Πρὸς τοὺς Πλάτωνος νόμους ζ′.

Zeno had many pupils, but the distinguished ones were these. Persaeus, son of Demetrius, of Citium: some call him Zeno's pupil, others one of the household slaves sent to him by Antigonus as copyists; he had also been tutor to Antigonus' son Halcyoneus. Antigonus once wanted to test him, and had false news brought to him that his estates had been seized by the enemy. When Persaeus looked downcast, Antigonus said, "You see? Wealth isn't an indifferent after all." The following books of his are in circulation: *On Kingship*. *The Spartan Constitution*. *On Marriage*. *On Impiety*. *Thyestes*. *On Love*. *Exhortations*. *Lectures*. *Anecdotes*, 4 books. *Memoirs*. *Against Plato's Laws*, 7 books.

7.37 Ἀρίστων Μιλτιάδου Χῖος, ὁ τὴν ἀδιαφορίαν εἰσηγησάμενος. Ἥριλλος Καρχηδόνιος, ὁ τὴν ἐπιστήμην τέλος εἰπών. Διονύσιος ὁ μεταθέμενος εἰς τὴν ἡδονήν· διὰ γὰρ σφοδρὰν ὀφθαλμίαν ὤκνησεν ἔτι λέγειν τὸν πόνον ἀδιάφορον· οὗτος ἦν Ἡρακλεώτης. Σφαῖρος Βοσποριανός· Κλεάνθης Φανίου Ἄσσιος, ὁ διαδεξάμενος τὴν σχολήν· ὃν

Ariston of Chios, son of Miltiades, who introduced the doctrine of indifference. Herillus of Carthage, who said that knowledge is the end. Dionysius the Renegade, who went over to pleasure: because of a severe inflammation of the eyes he could no longer bring himself to call pain indifferent; he

18 The *Pammetros* ("In All Meters") was Diogenes Laertius' own collection of epigrams.
19 Herophilus was a celebrated physician at Alexandria in the early third century BC.

GREEK

καὶ ἀφωμοίου ταῖς σκληροκήροις δέλτοις, αἳ μόλις μὲν γράφονται, διατηροῦσι δὲ τὰ γραφέντα. διήκουσε δ' ὁ Σφαῖρος καὶ Κλεάνθους μετὰ τὴν Ζήνωνος τελευτήν· καὶ λέξομεν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Κλεάνθους. [38] ἦσαν δὲ Ζήνωνος μαθηταὶ καὶ οἵδε, καθά φησιν Ἱππόβοτος· Φιλωνίδης Θηβαῖος, Κάλλιππος Κορίνθιος, Ποσειδώνιος Ἀλεξανδρεύς, Ἀθηνόδωρος Σολεύς, Ζήνων Σιδώνιος.

ENGLISH

came from Heraclea. Sphaerus of the Bosporus. Cleanthes of Assos, son of Phanias, who succeeded to the school; Zeno used to compare him to tablets of hard wax, which are difficult to write on but keep what is written. Sphaerus also studied under Cleanthes after Zeno's death; we shall speak of him in the life of Cleanthes. [38] The following too were Zeno's pupils, as Hippobotus says: Philonides of Thebes, Callippus of Corinth, Posidonius of Alexandria, Athenodorus of Soli, Zeno of Sidon.

STOIC DOCTRINE: LOGIC

The three parts of philosophy, rhetoric and dialectic, impressions and the criterion of truth.

GREEK

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

7.39 Τριμερῆ φασὶν εἶναι τὸν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν λόγον· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ μέν τι φυσικόν, τὸ δὲ ἠθικόν, τὸ δὲ λογικόν. οὕτω δὲ πρῶτος διεῖλε Ζήνων ὁ Κιτιεὺς ἐν τῷ Περὶ λόγου καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ α′ Περὶ λόγου καὶ ἐν τῇ α′ τῶν Φυσικῶν καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος καὶ Σύλλος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Εἰς τὰ δόγματα εἰσαγωγῶν καὶ Εὔδρομος ἐν τῇ Ἠθικῇ στοιχειώσει καὶ Διογένης ὁ Βαβυλώνιος καὶ Ποσειδώνιος.

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

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

ENGLISH

I have decided to give a general account of all the Stoic doctrines in the life of Zeno, because he was the founder of the school. There are, then, many books of his, listed above, in which he discoursed as no other Stoic did. The doctrines they hold in common are as follows; let them be given in summary, as we usually do in the other cases as well.

They say that philosophical discourse has three parts: one part of it is physics, another ethics, and another logic. This division was first made by Zeno of Citium in his *On Reason*, and by Chrysippus in the first book of his *On Reason* and in the first book of his *Physics*, by Apollodorus, and by Syllus in the first book of his *Introductions to the Doctrines*, by Eudromus in his *Elements of Ethics*, and by Diogenes of Babylon and Posidonius.

These parts Apollodorus calls "topics," Chrysippus and Eudromus "species," and others "genera." [40] They compare philosophy to an animal, likening logic to the bones and sinews, ethics to the fleshier parts, and physics to the soul. Or again, to an egg: the outer parts are logic, what comes next is ethics, and the innermost parts physics. Or to a fertile field: the fence around it is logic, the crop ethics, and the soil or the trees physics. Or to a city that is well fortified and governed according to reason.

And no part, as some of them say, is separated from another; rather, the parts are blended together. And they taught them in a blended way. Others put logic first, physics second, and ethics third; among them are Zeno in his *On Reason*, Chrysippus, Archedemus and Eudromus.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
7.41	Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Πτολεμαεὺς Διογένης ἀπὸ τῶν ἠθικῶν ἄρχεται, ὁ δ' Ἀπολλόδωρος δεύτερα τὰ ἠθικά, Παναίτιος δὲ καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἀπὸ τῶν φυσικῶν ἄρχονται, καθά φησι Φανίας ὁ Ποσειδωνίου γνώριμος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ποσειδωνείων σχολῶν. ὁ δὲ Κλεάνθης ἓξ μέρη φησί, διαλεκτικόν, ῥητορικόν, ἠθικόν, πολιτικόν, φυσικόν, θεολογικόν. ἄλλοι δ' οὐ τοῦ λόγου ταῦτα μέρη φασίν, ἀλλ' αὐτῆς τῆς φιλοσοφίας, ὡς Ζήνων ὁ Ταρσεύς. τὸ δὲ λογικὸν μέρος φασὶν ἔνιοι εἰς δύο διαιρεῖσθαι ἐπιστήμας, εἰς ῥητορικὴν καὶ εἰς διαλεκτικήν. τινὲς δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ ὁρικὸν εἶδος, τὸ περὶ κανόνων καὶ κριτηρίων· ἔνιοι δὲ τὸ ὁρικὸν περιαιροῦσι.	Diogenes of Ptolemais, for instance, begins with ethics; Apollodorus puts ethics second; Panaetius and Posidonius begin with physics, as Phanias, Posidonius' pupil, says in the first book of his *Lectures of Posidonius*. Cleanthes says there are six parts: dialectic, rhetoric, ethics, politics, physics, theology. Others, like Zeno of Tarsus, say that these are parts not of philosophical discourse but of philosophy itself. Some say that the logical part is divided into two sciences, rhetoric and dialectic. Some add the part dealing with definitions and the one concerned with standards and criteria; but some leave out the part dealing with definitions.
7.42	Τὸ μὲν οὖν περὶ κανόνων καὶ κριτηρίων παραλαμβάνουσι πρὸς τὸ τὴν ἀλήθειαν εὑρεῖν· ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ τὰς τῶν φαντασιῶν διαφορὰς ἀπευθύνουσι. καὶ τὸ ὁρικὸν δὲ ὁμοίως πρὸς ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἀληθείας· διὰ γὰρ τῶν ἐννοιῶν τὰ πράγματα λαμβάνεται. τήν τε ῥητορικὴν ἐπιστήμην οὖσαν τοῦ εὖ λέγειν περὶ τῶν ἐν διεξόδῳ λόγων καὶ τὴν διαλεκτικὴν τοῦ ὀρθῶς διαλέγεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἐν ἐρωτήσει καὶ ἀποκρίσει λόγων· ὅθεν καὶ οὕτως αὐτὴν ὁρίζονται, ἐπιστήμην ἀληθῶν καὶ ψευδῶν καὶ οὐδετέρων.	The part concerned with standards and criteria they take up as a means of discovering the truth, since in it they sort out the differences between impressions. The part dealing with definitions likewise serves for recognizing the truth, since things are grasped by means of concepts. Rhetoric, they say, is the science of speaking well on matters set out in continuous discourse, and dialectic the science of correct discussion in arguments conducted by question and answer; hence they also define it as the science of what is true, what is false, and what is neither.
	Καὶ τὴν μὲν ῥητορικὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι λέγουσι τριμερῆ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς εἶναι συμβουλευτικόν, τὸ δὲ δικανικόν, τὸ δὲ ἐγκωμιαστικόν.	Rhetoric itself, they say, has three parts: deliberative, forensic, and encomiastic.
7.43	Εἶναι δ' αὐτῆς τὴν διαίρεσιν εἵς τε τὴν εὕρεσιν καὶ εἰς τὴν φράσιν καὶ εἰς τὴν τάξιν καὶ εἰς τὴν ὑπόκρισιν. τὸν δὲ ῥητορικὸν λόγον εἵς τε τὸ προοίμιον καὶ εἰς τὴν διήγησιν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιδίκους καὶ τὸν ἐπίλογον.	They divide it into invention, expression, arrangement, and delivery; and a rhetorical speech into the introduction, the narrative, the replies to the opponents, and the conclusion.
	Τὴν διαλεκτικὴν διαιρεῖσθαι εἵς τε τὸν περὶ τῶν σημαινομένων καὶ τῆς φωνῆς τόπον· καὶ τὸν μὲν τῶν σημαινομένων εἵς τε τὸν περὶ τῶν φαντασιῶν τόπον καὶ τῶν ἐκ τούτων ὑφισταμένων λεκτῶν ἀξιωμάτων καὶ αὐτοτελῶν καὶ κατηγορημάτων καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων ὀρθῶν καὶ ὑπτίων καὶ γενῶν καὶ εἰδῶν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ λόγων καὶ τρόπων καὶ συλλογισμῶν καὶ τῶν παρὰ τὴν φωνὴν καὶ τὰ πράγματα σοφισμάτων· [44] ὧν εἶναι ψευδομένους λόγους καὶ ἀληθεύοντας καὶ ἀποφάσκοντας σωρίτας τε καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους τούτοις, ἐλλιπεῖς καὶ ἀπόρους καὶ περαίνοντας καὶ ἐγκεκαλυμμένους κερατίνας τε καὶ οὐτιδας καὶ θερίζοντας.	Dialectic, they hold, is divided into the topic concerned with what is signified and the topic concerned with utterance. The topic of what is signified is divided into the topic concerned with impressions and with the sayables that subsist on the basis of them: propositions, complete sayables, predicates and the like, active and passive, genera and species; and likewise arguments, argument-forms, syllogisms, and sophisms that depend on utterance and on things. [44] Among these are the Liar, the Truth-teller and the Denier arguments, the Sorites and others like them, the deficient, the

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		insoluble and the conclusive arguments, the Veiled, the Horned, the Nobody and the Reaper.[20]
7.44	Εἶναι δὲ τῆς διαλεκτικῆς ἴδιον τόπον καὶ τὸν προειρημένον περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς φωνῆς, ἐν ᾧ δείκνυται ἡ ἐγγράμματος φωνὴ καὶ τίνα τὰ τοῦ λόγου μέρη, καὶ περὶ σολοικισμοῦ καὶ βαρβαρισμοῦ καὶ ποιημάτων καὶ ἀμφιβολιῶν καὶ περὶ ἐμμελοῦς φωνῆς καὶ περὶ μουσικῆς καὶ περὶ ὅρων κατά τινας καὶ διαιρέσεων καὶ λέξεων.	A topic peculiar to dialectic is also the one mentioned above, concerned with utterance itself. In it are set out utterance that can be written in letters and what the parts of speech are; it also deals with solecisms and improper diction, with poems, ambiguities, melodious utterance and music, and, according to some, with definitions, divisions and modes of expression.
7.45	Εὐχρηστοτάτην δέ φασιν εἶναι τὴν περὶ τῶν συλλογισμῶν θεωρίαν· τὸ γὰρ ἀποδεικτικὸν ἐμφαίνειν, ὅπερ συμβάλλεσθαι πολὺ πρὸς διόρθωσιν τῶν δογμάτων, καὶ τάξιν καὶ μνήμην τὸ ἐπιστατικὸν κατάλημμα ἐμφαίνειν.	They say that the study of syllogisms is extremely useful: it reveals what is demonstrative, which contributes greatly to the correction of opinions, and its ordering and memorization reveal an attentive grasp of things.
	Εἶναι δὲ τὸν λόγον αὐτὸν σύστημα ἐκ λημμάτων καὶ ἐπιφορᾶς· τὸν δὲ συλλογισμὸν λόγον συλλογιστικὸν ἐκ τούτων· τὴν δ' ἀπόδειξιν λόγον διὰ τῶν μᾶλλον καταλαμβανομένων τὸ ἧττον καταλαμβανόμενον περαίνοντα.	An argument itself, they hold, is a system made up of premises and a conclusion; a syllogism is a syllogistic argument made up of these; and a demonstration is an argument that concludes what is less firmly apprehended by means of what is more firmly apprehended.
	Τὴν δὲ φαντασίαν εἶναι τύπωσιν ἐν ψυχῇ, τοῦ ὀνόματος οἰκείως μετενηνεγμένου ἀπὸ τῶν τύπων ⟨τῶν⟩ ἐν τῷ κηρῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ δακτυλίου γινομένων. [46] τῆς δὲ φαντασίας τὴν μὲν καταληπτικήν, τὴν δὲ ἀκατάληπτον· καταληπτικὴν μέν, ἣν κριτήριον εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων φασί, τὴν γινομένην ἀπὸ ὑπάρχοντος κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ ὑπάρχον ἐναπεσφραγισμένην καὶ ἐναπομεμαγμένην· ἀκατάληπτον δὲ τὴν μὴ ἀπὸ ὑπάρχοντος, ἢ ἀπὸ ὑπάρχοντος μέν, μὴ κατ' αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ὑπάρχον· τὴν μὴ τρανῆ μηδὲ ἔκτυπον.	An impression, they hold, is an imprint on the soul, the name being aptly borrowed from the imprints made in wax by a signet ring. [46] Of impressions, some are apprehensive, others non-apprehensive. The apprehensive impression, which they say is the criterion of things, is the one that comes from what exists and is stamped and impressed in accordance with that very thing that exists. The non-apprehensive is the one that either does not come from what exists, or comes from what exists but not in accordance with that very thing that exists: the one that is neither clear nor distinct.
7.46	Αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν διαλεκτικὴν ἀναγκαίαν εἶναι καὶ ἀρετὴν ἐν εἴδει περιέχουσαν ἀρετάς· τήν τ' ἀπροπτωσίαν ἐπιστήμην τοῦ πότε δεῖ συγκατατίθεσθαι καὶ μή· τὴν δ' ἀνεικαιότητα ἰσχυρὸν λόγον πρὸς τὸ εἰκός, ὥστε μὴ ἐνδιδόναι αὐτῷ· [47] τὴν δ' ἀνελεγξίαν ἰσχὺν ἐν λόγῳ, ὥστε μὴ ἀπάγεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ἀντικείμενον· τὴν δ' ἀματαιότητα ἕξιν ἀναφέρουσαν τὰς φαντασίας ἐπὶ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον. αὐτήν τε τὴν ἐπιστήμην φασὶν ἢ κατάληψιν ἀσφαλῆ ἢ ἕξιν ἐν φαντασιῶν προσδέξει ἀμετάπτωτον ὑπὸ λόγου. οὐκ ἄνευ δὲ τῆς διαλεκτικῆς θεωρίας τὸν σοφὸν ἅπτωτον ἔσεσθαι	Dialectic itself, they hold, is necessary, and is a virtue that embraces particular virtues as species. Freedom from precipitancy is knowledge of when one should assent and when not. Freedom from heedlessness is a strong reason against the merely plausible, so as not to give in to it. [47] Irrefutability is strength in argument, so as not to be carried off by it to the contrary position. Freedom from frivolity is a disposition that refers impressions to right reason. Knowledge itself, they say, is either

20 These are the names of well-known logical puzzles, such as the Liar ("I am lying") and the Sorites, or Heap (how many grains make a heap?).

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἐν λόγῳ· τό τε γὰρ ἀληθὲς καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος διαγινώσκεσθαι ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ πιθανὸν τό τ᾽ ἀμφιβόλως λεγόμενον διευκρινεῖσθαι· χωρίς τ᾽ αὐτῆς οὐκ εἶναι ὁδῷ ἐρωτᾶν καὶ ἀποκρίνεσθαι.	secure apprehension or a disposition, in the reception of impressions, that cannot be shifted by argument. Without the study of dialectic, they hold, the wise man will not be infallible in argument: it is by dialectic that the true and the false are distinguished, and that the persuasive and what is said ambiguously are sorted out; and without it one cannot ask and answer questions methodically.
7.48	Διατείνειν δὲ τὴν ἐν ταῖς ἀποφάσεσι προπέτειαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ γινόμενα, ὥστ᾽ εἰς ἀκοσμίαν καὶ εἰκαιότητα τρέπεσθαι τοὺς ἀγυμνάστους ἔχοντας τὰς φαντασίας. οὐκ ἄλλως τ᾽ ὀξὺν καὶ ἀγχίνουν καὶ τὸ ὅλον δεινὸν ἐν λόγοις φανήσεσθαι τὸν σοφόν· τοῦ γὰρ αὐτοῦ εἶναι ὀρθῶς διαλέγεσθαι καὶ διαλογίζεσθαι καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρός τε τὰ προκείμενα διαλεχθῆναι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐρωτώμενον ἀποκρίνασθαι, ἅπερ ἐμπείρου διαλεκτικῆς ἀνδρὸς εἶναι.	Precipitancy in assertions, they hold, extends to what actually happens, so that those whose impressions are untrained turn to disorder and heedlessness. And there is no other way for the wise man to show himself sharp, quick-witted and, in general, skilled in arguments. For it belongs to the same person to converse correctly and to reason things out, and to the same person to discuss the questions put before him and to answer what he is asked; and these are the marks of a man experienced in dialectic.
	Ἐν οὖν τοῖς λογικοῖς ταῦτ᾽ αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ κεφαλαιωδῶς. καὶ ἵνα καὶ κατὰ μέρος εἴπωμεν καὶ τὰ ἅπερ αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν εἰσαγωγικὴν τείνει τέχνην, καὶ αὐτὰ ἐπὶ λέξεως τίθησι Διοκλῆς ὁ Μάγνης ἐν τῇ Ἐπιδρομῇ τῶν φιλοσόφων, λέγων οὕτως·	These, then, in summary, are their views in logic. So that we may also give them in detail, including the parts of their teaching that belong to the introductory art, Diocles of Magnesia sets these out word for word in his *Survey of the Philosophers*, as follows:
7.49	"Ἀρέσκει τοῖς Στωικοῖς τὸν περὶ φαντασίας καὶ αἰσθήσεως προτάττειν λόγον, καθότι τὸ κριτήριον, ᾧ ἡ ἀλήθεια τῶν πραγμάτων γινώσκεται, κατὰ γένος φαντασία ἐστί, καὶ καθότι ὁ περὶ συγκαταθέσεως καὶ ὁ περὶ καταλήψεως καὶ νοήσεως λόγος, προάγων τῶν ἄλλων, οὐκ ἄνευ φαντασίας συνίσταται. προηγεῖται γὰρ ἡ φαντασία, εἶθ᾽ ἡ διάνοια ἐκλαλητικὴ ὑπάρχουσα, ὃ πάσχει ὑπὸ τῆς φαντασίας, τοῦτο ἐκφέρει λόγῳ."	"The Stoics like to put the account of impression and sense-perception first, inasmuch as the criterion by which the truth of things is known is, generically, an impression, and inasmuch as the account of assent, and of apprehension and thought, which comes before the rest, cannot be established without impression. For impression comes first; then the intellect, which is capable of expressing itself, puts into words what it experiences from the impression."
7.50	Διαφέρει δὲ φαντασία καὶ φάντασμα· φάντασμα μὲν γάρ ἐστι δόκησις διανοίας οἵα γίνεται κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους, φαντασία δέ ἐστι τύπωσις ἐν ψυχῇ, τουτέστιν ἀλλοίωσις, ὡς ὁ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ Περὶ ψυχῆς ὑφίσταται. οὐ γὰρ δεκτέον τὴν τύπωσιν οἱονεὶ τύπον σφραγιστῆρος, ἐπεὶ ἀνένδεκτόν ἐστι πολλοὺς τύπους κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γίνεσθαι. νοεῖται δὲ [ἡ] φαντασία ἡ ἀπὸ ὑπάρχοντος κατὰ τὸ ὑπάρχον ἐναπομεμαγμένη καὶ ἐναποτετυπωμένη καὶ ἐναπεσφραγισμένη, οἵα οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο ἀπὸ μὴ ὑπάρχοντος.	An impression differs from a figment. A figment is a fancy of the intellect such as occurs in sleep, whereas an impression is an imprint on the soul, that is, an alteration, as Chrysippus maintains in the second book of his *On the Soul*. For the imprint is not to be taken as being like the imprint of a seal, since it is impossible for many imprints to arise on the same thing at the same point. [The] impression meant is the one that comes from what exists, stamped, imprinted and sealed in accordance with what exists, of a kind that could not arise from what does not exist.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
7.51	Τῶν δὲ φαντασιῶν κατ’ αὐτοὺς αἱ μέν εἰσιν αἰσθητικαί, αἱ δ’ οὔ· αἰσθητικαὶ μὲν αἱ δι’ αἰσθητηρίου ἢ αἰσθητηρίων λαμβανόμεναι, οὐκ αἰσθητικαὶ δ’ αἱ διὰ τῆς διανοίας καθάπερ τῶν ἀσωμάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν λόγῳ λαμβανομένων. τῶν δὲ αἰσθητικῶν ⟨αἱ μὲν⟩ ἀπὸ ὑπαρχόντων μετ’ εἴξεως καὶ συγκαταθέσεως γίνονται. εἰσὶ δὲ τῶν φαντασιῶν καὶ ἐμφάσεις αἱ ὡσανεὶ ἀπὸ ὑπαρχόντων γινόμεναι.	Of impressions, according to them, some are sensory and some are not. Sensory impressions are those received through one or more sense organs; non-sensory ones are those received through the intellect, as with incorporeal things and the other things grasped by reason. Of sensory impressions, some come from existing things and are accompanied by yielding and assent. Among impressions there are also appearances, which arise as if from existing things.
	Ἔτι τῶν φαντασιῶν αἱ μέν εἰσι λογικαί, αἱ δὲ ἄλογοι· λογικαὶ μὲν αἱ τῶν λογικῶν ζῴων, ἄλογοι δὲ αἱ τῶν ἀλόγων. αἱ μὲν οὖν λογικαὶ νοήσεις εἰσίν, αἱ δ’ ἄλογοι οὐ τετυχήκασιν ὀνόματος. καὶ αἱ μέν εἰσι τεχνικαί, αἱ δὲ ἄτεχνοι· ἄλλως γοῦν θεωρεῖται ὑπὸ τεχνίτου εἰκὼν καὶ ἄλλως ὑπὸ ἀτέχνου.	Further, some impressions are rational, others non-rational: rational ones are those of rational animals, non-rational ones those of non-rational animals. The rational ones are thoughts, while the non-rational ones have no name. And some are expert, others inexpert: an image, at any rate, is viewed one way by an expert and another way by someone without expertise.
7.52	Αἴσθησις δὲ λέγεται κατὰ τοὺς Στωικοὺς τό τ’ ἀφ’ ἡγεμονικοῦ πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις διῆκον καὶ ἡ δι’ αὐτῶν κατάληψις καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰ αἰσθητήρια κατασκευή, καθ’ ἥν τινες πηροὶ γίνονται. καὶ ἡ ἐνέργεια δὲ αἴσθησις καλεῖται. ἡ δὲ κατάληψις γίνεται κατ’ αὐτοὺς αἰσθήσει μὲν λευκῶν καὶ μελάνων καὶ τραχέων καὶ λείων, λόγῳ δὲ τῶν δι’ ἀποδείξεως συναγομένων, ὥσπερ τοῦ θεοὺς εἶναι, καὶ προνοεῖν τούτους. τῶν γὰρ νοουμένων τὰ μὲν κατὰ περίπτωσιν ἐνοήθη, τὰ δὲ καθ’ ὁμοιότητα, τὰ δὲ κατ’ ἀναλογίαν, τὰ δὲ κατὰ μετάθεσιν, τὰ δὲ κατὰ σύνθεσιν, τὰ δὲ κατ’ ἐναντίωσιν.	“Perception,” according to the Stoics, is the name for the breath that extends from the ruling center to the senses; for the apprehension that comes through the senses; and for the structure of the sense organs, in respect of which some people become impaired. The activity, too, is called perception. Apprehension, according to them, comes about by perception in the case of white and black, rough and smooth, and by reason in the case of conclusions reached through demonstration, such as that gods exist and that they exercise providence. For of the things we conceive, some are conceived by direct encounter, some by similarity, some by analogy, some by transposition, some by combination, and some by opposition.[21]
7.53	Κατὰ περίπτωσιν μὲν οὖν ἐνοήθη τὰ αἰσθητά· καθ’ ὁμοιότητα δὲ τὰ ἀπό τινος παρακειμένου, ὡς Σωκράτης ἀπὸ τῆς εἰκόνος· κατ’ ἀναλογίαν δὲ αὐξητικῶς μέν, ὡς ὁ Τιτυὸς καὶ Κύκλωψ· μειωτικῶς δέ, ὡς ὁ Πυγμαῖος. καὶ τὸ κέντρον δὲ τῆς γῆς κατ’ ἀναλογίαν ἐνοήθη ἀπὸ τῶν μικροτέρων σφαιρῶν. κατὰ μετάθεσιν δέ, οἷον ὀφθαλμοὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους· κατὰ σύνθεσιν δὲ ἐνοήθη Ἱπποκένταυρος· καὶ κατ’ ἐναντίωσιν θάνατος. νοεῖται δὲ καὶ κατὰ μετάβασίν τινα, ὡς τὰ λεκτὰ καὶ ὁ τόπος. φυσικῶς δὲ νοεῖται δίκαιόν τι καὶ ἀγαθόν· καὶ κατὰ στέρησιν, οἷον ἄχειρ. τοιάδε τινὰ καὶ περὶ φαντασίας καὶ αἰσθήσεως καὶ νοήσεως δογματίζουσι.	Sensible things, then, are conceived by direct encounter. By similarity we conceive things on the basis of something at hand, as we conceive Socrates from his portrait. By analogy we conceive things either by enlargement, as Tityus and the Cyclops, or by diminution, as the Pygmy. The center of the earth, too, was conceived by analogy from smaller spheres. By transposition we conceive, for instance, eyes on the chest; by combination the Hippocentaur was conceived; and by opposition, death. Some things are also conceived by

21 The ruling center (*hēgemonikon*) is the Stoic name for the command center of the soul, seated in the heart, where impressions, assent and impulse arise.

GREEK

ENGLISH

a kind of transition, such as sayables and place. What is just and good is conceived naturally; and some things by privation, for instance a man without hands. Such are their doctrines about impression, sensation and thought.[22]

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

They say that the criterion of truth is the apprehensive impression, that is, the one that comes from what exists, as Chrysippus says in the twelfth book of his *Physics*, and Antipater and Apollodorus as well. Boethus, for his part, admits several criteria: intellect, sense perception, desire and knowledge. Chrysippus, disagreeing with himself, says in the first book of *On Reason* that the criteria are sense perception and preconception; and preconception is a natural conception of universals. Some others among the older Stoics admit right reason as a criterion, as Posidonius says in his *On the Criterion*.[23]

VOICE, SAYABLES AND PROPOSITIONS

Stoic accounts of voice, parts of speech, definitions, sayables and kinds of proposition.

GREEK

ENGLISH

7.55 Τῆς δὲ διαλεκτικῆς θεωρίας συμφώνως δοκεῖ τοῖς πλείστοις ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ φωνῆς ἐνάρχεσθαι τόπου. ἔστι δὲ φωνὴ ἀὴρ πεπληγμένος ἢ τὸ ἴδιον αἰσθητὸν ἀκοῆς, ὥς φησι Διογένης ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἐν τῇ Περὶ φωνῆς τέχνῃ. ζῴου μέν ἐστι φωνὴ ἀὴρ ὑπὸ ὁρμῆς πεπληγμένος, ἀνθρώπου δ' ἔστιν ἔναρθρος καὶ ἀπὸ διανοίας ἐκπεμπομένη, ὡς ὁ Διογένης φησίν, ἥτις ἀπὸ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν τελειοῦται. καὶ σῶμα δ' ἐστὶν ἡ φωνὴ κατὰ τοὺς Στωικούς, ὥς φησιν Ἀρχέδημός τ' ἐν τῇ Περὶ φωνῆς καὶ Διογένης καὶ Ἀντίπατρος καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Φυσικῶν.

Most of them agree that the study of dialectic begins with the topic of voice. Voice is air that has been struck, or the proper object of hearing, as Diogenes of Babylon says in his *Handbook on Voice*. An animal's voice is air struck by impulse; a human being's voice is articulate and sent out from thought, as Diogenes says, and it reaches its maturity at fourteen. According to the Stoics voice is also a body, as Archedemus says in his *On Voice*, and Diogenes, Antipater, and Chrysippus in the second book of his *Physics*.[24]

7.56 πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ποιοῦν σῶμά ἐστι· ποιεῖ δὲ ἡ φωνὴ προσιοῦσα τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν φωνούντων. λέξις δέ ἐστιν, ὥς φησι Διογένης, φωνὴ ἐγγράμματος, οἷον Ἡμέρα. λόγος δέ ἐστι φωνὴ σημαντικὴ ἀπὸ διανοίας ἐκπεμπομένη, οἷον Ἡμέρα ἐστί. διάλεκτος δέ ἐστι λέξις κεχαραγμένη ἐθνικῶς τε καὶ Ἑλληνικῶς, ἢ λέξις ποταπή, τουτέστι ποιὰ κατὰ διάλεκτον, οἷον κατὰ μὲν τὴν Ἀτθίδα Θάλαττα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰάδα Ἡμέρη.

For whatever acts is a body; and voice acts as it travels from those who speak to those who hear. An expression, as Diogenes says, is voice that can be written in letters, for instance "Day." Speech is significant voice sent out from thought, for instance "It is day." A dialect is an expression stamped with the character of a people as well as being Greek, or an expression belonging to a certain region, that is, having a certain quality ac-

22 Tityus was a giant punished in the underworld, whose body Homer describes as covering nine acres (*Odyssey* 11).
23 Antipater of Tarsus, Apollodorus of Seleucia and Boethus of Sidon were Stoics of the second century BC; Posidonius of Apamea (c. 135–51 BC) was a later Stoic polymath.
24 Diogenes of Babylon was a Stoic head of the school in the second century BC, not to be confused with the author or with Diogenes the Cynic.

GREEK	ENGLISH
	cording to dialect: for instance *thalatta* (“sea”) in Attic, and *hēmerē* (“day”) in Ionic.
Τῆς δὲ λέξεως στοιχεῖά ἐστι τὰ εἰκοσιτέσσαρα γράμματα. τριχῶς δὲ λέγεται τὸ γράμμα, τό τε στοιχεῖον ὅ τε χαρακτὴρ τοῦ στοιχείου καὶ τὸ ὄνομα, οἷον Ἄλφα·[57] φωνήεντα δέ ἐστι τῶν στοιχείων ἑπτά, α, ε, η, ι, ο, υ, ω· ἄφωνα δὲ ἕξ, β, γ, δ, κ, π, τ. διαφέρει δὲ φωνὴ καὶ λέξις, ὅτι φωνὴ μὲν καὶ ὁ ἦχός ἐστι, λέξις δὲ τὸ ἔναρθρον μόνον. λέξις δὲ λόγου διαφέρει, ὅτι λόγος ἀεὶ σημαντικός ἐστι, λέξις δὲ καὶ ἄσημος, ὡς ἡ βλίτυρι, λόγος δὲ οὐδαμῶς. διαφέρει δὲ καὶ τὸ λέγειν τοῦ προφέρεσθαι· προφέρονται μὲν γὰρ αἱ φωναί, λέγεται δὲ τὰ πράγματα, ἃ δὴ καὶ λεκτὰ τυγχάνει.	The elements of expression are the twenty-four letters. “Letter” is used in three senses: the element, the written character of the element, and its name, for instance *alpha*.[57] Seven of the elements are vowels: α, ε, η, ι, ο, υ, ω; six are mutes: β, γ, δ, κ, π, τ. Voice differs from expression in that a mere noise is also voice, whereas only what is articulate is expression. Expression differs from speech in that speech is always significant, whereas an expression can also be meaningless, like *blituri*, but speech never. Saying also differs from uttering: sounds are uttered, but what is said is things, which are precisely what the sayables are.[25]
7.57 Τοῦ δὲ λόγου ἐστὶ μέρη πέντε, ὥς φησι Διογένης τ’ ἐν τῷ Περὶ φωνῆς καὶ Χρύσιππος, ὄνομα, προσηγορία, ῥῆμα, σύνδεσμος, ἄρθρον· ὁ δ’ Ἀντίπατρος καὶ τὴν μεσότητα τίθησιν ἐν τοῖς Περὶ λέξεως καὶ τῶν λεγομένων.	There are five parts of speech, as Diogenes says in his *On Voice*, and Chrysippus too: name, common noun, verb, conjunction, article. Antipater also adds the “mean” in his books *On Expression and What Is Said*.[26]
7.58 Ἔστι δὲ προσηγορία μὲν κατὰ τὸν Διογένην μέρος λόγου σημαῖνον κοινὴν ποιότητα, οἷον Ἄνθρωπος, Ἵππος· ὄνομα δέ ἐστι μέρος λόγου δηλοῦν ἰδίαν ποιότητα, οἷον Διογένης, Σωκράτης· ῥῆμα δέ ἐστι μέρος λόγου σημαῖνον ἀσύνθετον κατηγόρημα, ὡς ὁ Διογένης, ἤ, ὥς τινες, στοιχεῖον λόγου ἄπτωτον, σημαῖνόν τι συντακτὸν περί τινος ἢ τινῶν, οἷον Γράφω, Λέγω· σύνδεσμος δέ ἐστι μέρος λόγου ἄπτωτον, συνδοῦν τὰ μέρη τοῦ λόγου· ἄρθρον δέ ἐστι στοιχεῖον λόγου πτωτικόν, διορίζον τὰ γένη τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ τοὺς ἀριθμούς, οἷον Ὁ, Ἡ, Τό, Οἱ, Αἱ, Τά.	According to Diogenes, a common noun is a part of speech signifying a common quality, for instance “man,” “horse”; a name is a part of speech indicating a peculiar quality, for instance “Diogenes,” “Socrates”; a verb is a part of speech signifying an uncompounded predicate, as Diogenes puts it, or, as some say, an indeclinable element of speech signifying something that can be construed with one or more subjects, for instance “I write,” “I speak”; a conjunction is an indeclinable part of speech that binds together the parts of speech; an article is a declinable element of speech that distinguishes the genders and numbers of nouns, for instance *ho, hē, to, hoi, hai, ta*.[27]
7.59 Ἀρεταὶ δὲ λόγου εἰσὶ πέντε, Ἑλληνισμός, σαφήνεια, συντομία, πρέπον, κατασκευή. Ἑλληνισμὸς μὲν οὖν ἐστι φράσις ἀδιάπτωτος ἐν τῇ τεχνικῇ καὶ μὴ εἰκαίᾳ συνηθείᾳ· σαφήνεια δέ ἐστι λέξις γνωρίμως παριστῶσα τὸ νοούμενον· συντομία δέ ἐστι λέξις αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα περιέχουσα πρὸς δήλωσιν τοῦ πράγματος· πρέπον δέ ἐστι λέξις οἰκεία τῷ πράγματι· κατασκευὴ δέ ἐστι λέξις ἐκπεφευγυῖα τὸν ἰδιωτισμόν. ὁ δὲ βαρβαρισμὸς ἐκ τῶν κακιῶν λέξις ἐστὶ παρὰ τὸ ἔθος τῶν εὐδοκιμούντων	There are five virtues of speech: correct Greek, clarity, conciseness, appropriateness and elaboration. Correct Greek is faultless diction in the usage that follows the rules of the art rather than casual usage. Clarity is expression that presents what is thought in an easily recognizable way. Conciseness is expression containing only what is necessary for making the matter plain. Appropriateness is expression suited to the matter. Elaboration is

25 *Blituri*, imitating the twang of a lyre string, was the Stoics’ stock example of a meaningless word.
26 The “mean” (*mesotēs*) is the Stoic term for the adverb.
27 These are the masculine, feminine and neuter forms, singular and plural, of the Greek word for “the.”

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Ἑλλήνων, σολοικισμὸς δέ ἐστι λόγος ἀκαταλλήλως συντεταγμένος.	expression that has avoided the commonplace. Among the faults, an un-Greek form is an expression contrary to the usage of reputable Greeks, while a solecism is speech put together incoherently.
7.60	Ποίημα δέ ἐστιν, ὡς ὁ Ποσειδώνιός φησιν ἐν τῇ Περὶ λέξεως εἰσαγωγῇ, λέξις ἔμμετρος ἢ ἔνρυθμος μετὰ σκευῆς τὸ λογοειδὲς ἐκβεβηκυῖα· τὸ ἔνρυθμον δ' εἶναι τό γαῖα μεγίστη καὶ Διὸς αἰθήρ. ποίησις δέ ἐστι σημαντικὸν ποίημα, μίμησιν περιέχον θείων καὶ ἀνθρωπείων.	A poem, as Posidonius says in his *Introduction to Expression*, is metrical or rhythmical expression that departs from the character of prose by its elaboration; the rhythmical is something like "Earth most vast and the aether of Zeus." Poetry is a poem that signifies something, containing an imitation of things divine and human.[28]
	Ὅρος δέ ἐστιν, ὥς φησιν Ἀντίπατρος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ ὅρων, λόγος κατ' ἀνάλυσιν ἀπαρτιζόντως ἐκφερόμενος, ἤ, ὡς Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ ὅρων, ἰδίου ἀπόδοσις. ὑπογραφὴ δέ ἐστι λόγος τυπωδῶς εἰσάγων εἰς τὰ πράγματα, ἢ ὅρος ἁπλούστερον τὴν τοῦ ὅρου δύναμιν προσενηνεγμένος. γένος δέ ἐστὶ πλειόνων καὶ ἀναφαιρέτων ἐννοημάτων σύλληψις, οἷον Ζῷον· τοῦτο γὰρ περιείληφε τὰ κατὰ μέρος ζῷα.	A definition, as Antipater says in the first book of *On Definitions*, is a statement of analysis expressed so as to correspond exactly; or, as Chrysippus says in his *On Definitions*, the rendering of what is peculiar to a thing. An outline is a statement that introduces us to the matters in a sketchy way, or a definition that conveys the force of a definition more simply. A genus is the collecting together of several inseparable concepts, for instance "animal": for this has embraced the particular animals.
7.61	Ἐννόημα δέ ἐστι φάντασμα διανοίας, οὔτε τὶ ὂν οὔτε ποιόν, ὡσανεὶ δέ τι ὂν καὶ ὡσανεὶ ποιόν, οἷον γίνεται ἀνατύπωμα ἵππου καὶ μὴ παρόντος.	A concept is a figment of thought, neither a something nor a quality, but a quasi-something and a quasi-quality, as when an imprint of a horse arises even though no horse is present.
	Εἶδος δέ ἐστι τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ γένους περιεχόμενον, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ ζῴου ὁ ἄνθρωπος περιέχεται. γενικώτατον δέ ἐστιν ὃ γένος ὂν γένος οὐκ ἔχει, οἷον τὸ ὄν· εἰδικώτατον δέ ἐστιν ὃ εἶδος ὂν εἶδος οὐκ ἔχει, ὥσπερ ὁ Σωκράτης.	A species is what is embraced by the genus, as man is embraced by animal. The most generic is what, being a genus, has no genus above it, for instance being; the most specific is what, being a species, has no species below it, like Socrates.
	Διαίρεσις δέ ἐστι γένους ἡ εἰς τὰ προσεχῆ εἴδη τομή, οἷον Τῶν ζῴων τὰ μέν ἐστι λογικά, τὰ δὲ ἄλογα. ἀντιδιαίρεσις δέ ἐστι γένους εἰς εἶδος τομὴ κατὰ τοὐναντίον, ὡς ἂν κατ' ἀπόφασιν, οἷον Τῶν ὄντων τὰ μέν ἐστιν ἀγαθά, τὰ δ' οὐκ ἀγαθά. ὑποδιαίρεσις δέ ἐστι διαίρεσις ἐπὶ διαιρέσει, οἷον Τῶν ὄντων τὰ μέν ἐστιν ἀγαθά, τὰ δ' οὐκ ἀγαθά, καὶ Τῶν οὐκ ἀγαθῶν τὰ μέν ἐστι κακά, τὰ δὲ ἀδιάφορα.	Division is the cutting of a genus into its proximate species, for instance: "Of animals, some are rational, others non-rational." Counter-division is the cutting of a genus into species by contrariety, by negation as it were, for instance: "Of things that are, some are good, others not good." Subdivision is division upon division, for instance: "Of things that are, some are good, others not good," and "Of things not good, some are bad, others indifferent."
7.62	Μερισμὸς δέ ἐστι γένους εἰς τόπους κατάταξις, ὡς ὁ Κρῖνις· οἷον Τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὰ μέν ἐστι περὶ ψυχήν, τὰ δὲ περὶ σῶμα.	Partition is the arrangement of a genus under headings, as Crinis says, for instance: "Of goods, some concern the soul, others the body."[29]

28 The quoted line is from Euripides.
29 Crinis was a Stoic logician, known only from such citations.

GREEK	ENGLISH
Ἀμφιβολία δέ ἐστι λέξις δύο ἢ καὶ πλείονα πράγματα σημαίνουσα λεκτικῶς καὶ κυρίως καὶ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἔθος, ὥσθ' ἅμα τὰ πλείονα ἐκδέξασθαι κατὰ ταύτην τὴν λέξιν· οἷον Αὐλητρὶς πέπτωκε· δηλοῦνται γὰρ δι' αὐτῆς τὸ μὲν τοιοῦτον, Οἰκία τρὶς πέπτωκε, τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον, Αὐλήτρια πέπτωκε.	Ambiguity is an expression that signifies two or even more things, in its wording, in the strict sense and in the same usage, so that several things may be understood at once through this expression; for instance *Aulētris peptōke*. For by it are indicated, on the one hand, "A house fell three times," and on the other, "A flute-girl has fallen."[30]
Διαλεκτικὴ δέ ἐστιν, ὥς φησι Ποσειδώνιος, ἐπιστήμη ἀληθῶν καὶ ψευδῶν καὶ οὐδετέρων· τυγχάνει δ' αὕτη, ὡς ὁ Χρύσιππός φησι, περὶ σημαίνοντα καὶ σημαινόμενα. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ περὶ φωνῆς θεωρίᾳ τοιαῦτα λέγεται τοῖς Στωικοῖς.	Dialectic, as Posidonius says, is the science of what is true, what is false, and what is neither; and, as Chrysippus says, it is concerned with things that signify and things signified. This, then, is the sort of thing the Stoics say in their study of voice.
7.63 Ἐν δὲ τῷ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῶν σημαινομένων τόπῳ τέτακται ὁ περὶ λεκτῶν καὶ αὐτοτελῶν καὶ ἀξιωμάτων καὶ συλλογισμῶν λόγος καὶ ὁ περὶ ἐλλιπῶν τε καὶ κατηγορημάτων καὶ ὀρθῶν καὶ ὑπτίων.	Under the topic of things and of what is signified is placed the account of sayables, of complete sayables, propositions and syllogisms, and the account of incomplete sayables and of predicates, both active and passive.
Φασὶ δὲ [τὸ] λεκτὸν εἶναι τὸ κατὰ φαντασίαν λογικὴν ὑφιστάμενον. τῶν δὲ λεκτῶν τὰ μὲν λέγουσιν εἶναι αὐτοτελῆ οἱ Στωικοί, τὰ δ' ἐλλιπῆ. ἐλλιπῆ μὲν οὖν ἐστι τὰ ἀναπάρτιστον ἔχοντα τὴν ἐκφοράν, οἷον Γράφει· ἐπιζητοῦμεν γάρ, Τίς; αὐτοτελῆ δ' ἐστὶ τὰ ἀπηρτισμένην ἔχοντα τὴν ἐκφοράν, οἷον Γράφει Σωκράτης. ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἐλλιπέσι λεκτοῖς τέτακται τὰ κατηγορήματα, ἐν δὲ τοῖς αὐτοτελέσι τὰ ἀξιώματα καὶ οἱ συλλογισμοὶ καὶ τὰ ἐρωτήματα καὶ τὰ πύσματα.	They say that [the] sayable is what subsists in accordance with a rational impression. The Stoics say that some sayables are complete, others incomplete. Incomplete ones are those whose expression is unfinished, for instance "Writes"; for we go on to ask, "Who?" Complete ones are those whose expression is finished, for instance "Socrates writes." Among the incomplete sayables are placed predicates; among the complete ones, propositions, syllogisms, questions and inquiries.
7.64 Ἔστι δὲ τὸ κατηγόρημα τὸ κατά τινος ἀγορευόμενον ἢ πρᾶγμα συντακτὸν περί τινος ἢ τινῶν, ὡς οἱ περὶ Ἀπολλόδωρόν φασιν, ἢ λεκτὸν ἐλλιπὲς συντακτὸν ὀρθῇ πτώσει πρὸς ἀξιώματος γένεσιν. τῶν δὲ κατηγορημάτων τὰ μέν ἐστι συμβάματα, οἷον τὸ "διὰ πέτρας πλεῖν."· καὶ τὰ μέν ἐστι τῶν κατηγορημάτων ὀρθά, ἃ δ' ὕπτια, ἃ δ' οὐδέτερα.	A predicate is what is said of something, or a thing that can be construed with one or more subjects, as Apollodorus and his school say, or an incomplete sayable that can be construed with a nominative case to produce a proposition. Some predicates are events, for instance "to sail through rocks"; and some predicates are active, some passive, and some neither.
ὀρθὰ μὲν οὖν ἐστι τὰ συντασσόμενα μιᾷ τῶν πλαγίων πτώσεων πρὸς κατηγορήματος γένεσιν, οἷον Ἀκούει, Ὁρᾷ, Διαλέγεται· ὕπτια δ' ἐστὶ τὰ συντασσόμενα τῷ παθητικῷ μορίῳ, οἷον Ἀκούομαι, Ὁρῶμαι· οὐδέτερα δ' ἐστὶ τὰ μηδετέρως ἔχοντα, οἷον Φρονεῖ, Περιπατεῖ. ἀντιπεπονθότα δέ ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς ὑπτίοις, ἃ ὕπτια ὄντα ἐνεργήματα [δέ] ἐστιν, οἷον Κείρεται· [65] ἐμπεριέχει γὰρ	Active ones are those construed with one of the oblique cases to produce a predicate, for instance "hears," "sees," "converses"; passive ones are those construed with the passive element, for instance "I am heard," "I am seen"; neither are those that are in neither condition, for instance "thinks," "walks." Among the passives there are reciprocal

30 Written without word breaks, as Greek was, the phrase can be read as *aulē tris peptōke,* "a house fell three times," or *aulētris peptōke,* "a flute-girl has fallen."

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἑαυτὸν ὁ κειρόμενος. πλάγιαι δὲ πτώσεις εἰσὶ γενικὴ καὶ δοτικὴ καὶ αἰτιατική.	predicates: those that, though passive, [yet] are activities, for instance "gets his hair cut"; [65] for the one having his hair cut involves himself in it. The oblique cases are the genitive, dative and accusative.
7.65	Ἀξίωμα δέ ἐστιν ὅ ἐστιν ἀληθὲς ἢ ψεῦδος· ἢ πρᾶγμα αὐτοτελὲς ἀποφαντὸν ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ, ὡς ὁ Χρύσιππός φησιν ἐν τοῖς Διαλεκτικοῖς ὅροις "ἀξίωμά ἐστι τὸ ἀποφαντὸν ἢ καταφαντὸν ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ, οἷον Ἡμέρα ἐστί, Δίων περιπατεῖ." ὠνόμασται δὲ τὸ ἀξίωμα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀξιοῦσθαι ἢ ἀθετεῖσθαι· ὁ γὰρ λέγων Ἡμέρα ἐστίν, ἀξιοῦν δοκεῖ τὸ ἡμέραν εἶναι. οὔσης μὲν οὖν ἡμέρας, ἀληθὲς γίνεται τὸ προκείμενον ἀξίωμα· μὴ οὔσης δέ, ψεῦδος.	A proposition is what is either true or false; or a complete thing that can be asserted as far as it itself is concerned, as Chrysippus says in his *Dialectical Definitions*: "A proposition is what can be denied or affirmed as far as it itself is concerned, for instance 'It is day,' 'Dion is walking.'" The proposition (*axiōma*) gets its name from being claimed (*axiousthai*) or rejected; for whoever says "It is day" seems to claim that it is day. So if it is day, the proposition put forward is true; if it is not, false.[31]
7.66	διαφέρει δ' ἀξίωμα καὶ ἐρώτημα καὶ πύσμα ⟨καὶ⟩ προστακτικὸν καὶ ὁρκικὸν καὶ ἀρατικὸν καὶ ὑποθετικὸν καὶ προσαγορευτικὸν καὶ πρᾶγμα ὅμοιον ἀξιώματι. ἀξίωμα μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ὃ λέγοντες ἀποφαινόμεθα, ὅπερ ἢ ἀληθές ἐστιν ἢ ψεῦδος. ἐρώτημα δέ ἐστι πρᾶγμα αὐτοτελὲς μέν, ὡς καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα, αἰτητικὸν δὲ ἀποκρίσεως, οἷον "ἆρά γ' ἡμέρα ἐστί;" τοῦτο δ' οὔτε ἀληθές ἐστιν οὔτε ψεῦδος, ὥστε τὸ μὲν "ἡμέρα ἐστίν" ἀξίωμά ἐστι, τὸ δὲ "ἆρά γ' ἡμέρα ἐστίν;" ἐρώτημα. πύσμα δέ ἐστι πρᾶγμα πρὸς ὃ συμβολικῶς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀποκρίνεσθαι, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐρωτήματος, Ναί, ἀλλὰ δεῖ εἰπεῖν "οἰκεῖ ἐν τῷδε τῷ τόπῳ."	A proposition differs from a question, an inquiry, an imperative, an oath, a prayer, a supposition, an address, and a thing similar to a proposition. For a proposition is what we declare when we speak, and it is either true or false. A question is a complete thing, like the proposition, but one that calls for an answer, for instance "Is it day?" This is neither true nor false; so "It is day" is a proposition, while "Is it day?" is a question. An inquiry is a thing to which one cannot answer with a mere token, as one can answer a question with "Yes"; one has to say, "He lives in such-and-such a place."
7.67	Προστακτικὸν δέ ἐστι πρᾶγμα ὃ λέγοντες προστάσσομεν, οἷον, σὺ μὲν βάδιζε τὰς ἐπ' Ἰνάχου ῥοάς. ὁρκικὸν δέ ἐστι πρᾶγμα … ⟨προσαγορευτικὸν⟩ δέ ἐστι πρᾶγμα ὃ εἰ λέγοι τις, προσαγορεύοι ἄν, οἷον, Ἀτρείδη κύδιστε, ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγάμεμνον. ὅμοιον δ' ἐστὶν ἀξιώματι ὃ τὴν ἐκφορὰν ἔχον ἀξιωματικὴν παρά τινος μορίου πλεονασμὸν ἢ πάθος ἔξω πίπτει τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀξιωμάτων, οἷον, καλός γ' ὁ παρθενών. ὡς Πριαμίδῃσιν ἐμφερὴς ὁ βουκόλος.	An imperative is a thing we say when giving an order, for instance: "Go you to the streams of Inachus." An oath is a thing … An address is a thing such that, if someone said it, he would be addressing someone, for instance: "Most glorious son of Atreus, Agamemnon, lord of men." A thing similar to a proposition is one that has the verbal form of a proposition but falls outside the class of propositions through the excess or the emotional coloring of some particle, for instance: "How fine the Parthenon is!" "How like the sons of Priam the herdsman is!"[32]
7.68	Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπαπορητικόν τι πρᾶγμα διενηνοχὸς ἀξιώματος, ὃ εἰ λέγοι τις, ἀποροίη ἄν· ἆρ' ἔστι συγγενές τι λύπη καὶ βίος; οὔτε δ' ἀληθῆ ἐστιν οὔτε ψευδῆ τὰ	There is also a thing expressing perplexity, different from a proposition, such that if someone said it he would be expressing perplexity: "Are pain and life somehow akin?" Questions, inquiries and

31 "Dion" is the Stoics' stock name for an arbitrary person in logical examples.
32 The examples are verse: the first from a lost tragedy (the Inachus is a river of Argos), the second Homer (*Iliad* 9.96), the last from a lost play about Paris, raised as a herdsman.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἐρωτήματα καὶ τὰ πύσματα καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια, τῶν ἀξιωμάτων ἢ ἀληθῶν ἢ ψευδῶν ὄντων.	the like are neither true nor false, whereas propositions are either true or false.
	Τῶν ἀξιωμάτων τὰ μέν ἐστιν ἁπλᾶ, τὰ δ' οὐχ ἁπλᾶ, ὥς φασιν οἱ περὶ Χρύσιππον καὶ Ἀρχέδημον καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρον καὶ Ἀντίπατρον καὶ Κρῖνιν. ἁπλᾶ μὲν οὖν ἐστι τὰ συνεστῶτα ἐξ ἀξιώματος μὴ διαφορουμένου [ἢ ἐξ ἀξιωμάτων], οἷον τὸ "ἡμέρα ἐστίν"· οὐχ ἁπλᾶ δ' ἐστὶ τὰ συνεστῶτ' ἐξ ἀξιώματος διαφορουμένου ἢ ἐξ ἀξιωμάτων [69] ἐξ ἀξιώματος μὲν διαφορουμένου, οἷον "εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστίν, ⟨ἡμέρα ἐστίν⟩"· ἐξ ἀξιωμάτων δέ, οἷον "εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστί, φῶς ἐστι."	Some propositions are simple, others not simple, as Chrysippus, Archedemus, Athenodorus, Antipater and Crinis say. Simple ones are those made up of a proposition that is not repeated [or of propositions], for instance "It is day." Non-simple ones are those made up of a repeated proposition or of several propositions: [69] of a repeated proposition, for instance "If it is day, it is day"; of several propositions, for instance "If it is day, it is light."
7.69	Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἁπλοῖς ἀξιώμασίν ἐστι τὸ ἀποφατικὸν καὶ τὸ ἀρνητικὸν καὶ τὸ στερητικὸν καὶ τὸ κατηγορικὸν καὶ τὸ καταγορευτικὸν καὶ τὸ ἀόριστον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς οὐχ ἁπλοῖς ⟨ἀξιώμασι⟩ τὸ συνημμένον καὶ τὸ παρασυνημμένον καὶ τὸ συμπεπλεγμένον καὶ τὸ διεζευγμένον καὶ τὸ αἰτιῶδες καὶ τὸ διασαφοῦν τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ ἧττον. … καὶ ἀποφατικὸν μὲν οἷον "οὐχὶ ἡμέρα ἐστίν." εἶδος δὲ τούτου τὸ ὑπεραποφατικόν. ὑπεραποφατικὸν δ' ἐστὶν ἀποφατικὸν ἀποφατικοῦ, οἷον "οὐχὶ ἡμέρα οὐκ ἔστι"· τίθησι δὲ τὸ "ἡμέρα ἐστίν."	Among simple propositions are the negation, the denial, the privative, the predicative, the demonstrative and the indefinite; among non-simple propositions, the conditional, the inferential, the conjunction, the disjunction, the causal, and those indicating more and less. … A negation is, for instance, "It is not day." A species of this is the double negation. A double negation is the negation of a negation, for instance "Not: it is not day"; and it posits "It is day."
7.70	Ἀρνητικὸν δέ ἐστι τὸ συνεστὸς ἐξ ἀρνητικοῦ μορίου καὶ κατηγορήματος, οἷον "οὐδεὶς περιπατεῖ"· στερητικὸν δέ ἐστι τὸ συνεστὸς ἐκ στερητικοῦ μορίου καὶ ἀξιώματος κατὰ δύναμιν, οἷον "ἀφιλάνθρωπός ἐστιν οὗτος"· κατηγορικὸν δέ ἐστι τὸ συνεστὸς ἐκ πτώσεως ὀρθῆς καὶ κατηγορήματος, οἷον "Δίων περιπατει"· καταγορευτικὸν δέ ἐστι τὸ συνεστὸς ἐκ πτώσεως ὀρθῆς δεικτικῆς καὶ κατηγορήματος, οἷον "οὗτος περιπατεῖ"· ἀόριστον δέ ἐστι τὸ συνεστὸς ἐξ ἀορίστου μορίου ἢ ἀορίστων μορίων καὶ κατηγορήματος, οἷον "τὶς περιπατεῖ," "ἐκεῖνος κινεῖται."	A denial is composed of a denying particle and a predicate, for instance "No one is walking." A privative is composed of a privative particle and a proposition in potential, for instance "This man is unkind." A predicative is composed of a nominative case and a predicate, for instance "Dion is walking." A demonstrative is composed of a demonstrative nominative case and a predicate, for instance "This man is walking." An indefinite is composed of an indefinite particle or particles and a predicate, for instance "Someone is walking," "That one is moving."
7.71	Τῶν δ' οὐχ ἁπλῶν ἀξιωμάτων συνημμένον μέν ἐστιν, ὡς ὁ Χρύσιππος ἐν ταῖς Διαλεκτικαῖς φησι καὶ Διογένης ἐν τῇ Διαλεκτικῇ τέχνῃ, τὸ συνεστὸς διὰ τοῦ "εἰ" συναπτικοῦ συνδέσμου. ἐπαγγέλλεται δ' ὁ σύνδεσμος οὗτος ἀκολουθεῖν τὸ δεύτερον τῷ πρώτῳ, οἷον "εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστί, φῶς ἐστι." παρασυνημμένον δέ ἐστιν, ὡς ὁ Κρῖνίς φησιν ἐν τῇ Διαλεκτικῇ τέχνῃ, ἀξίωμα ὃ ὑπὸ τοῦ "ἐπεί" συνδέσμου παρασυνῆπται ἀρχόμενον ἀπ' ἀξιώματος καὶ λῆγον εἰς ἀξίωμα, οἷον "ἐπεὶ ἡμέρα ἐστί, φῶς ἐστιν." ἐπαγγέλλεται δ' ὁ σύνδεσμος ἀκολουθεῖν τε τὸ δεύτερον τῷ πρώτῳ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ὑφεστάναι.	Of the non-simple propositions, a conditional, as Chrysippus says in his *Dialectics* and Diogenes in his *Handbook of Dialectic*, is one formed by means of the connective conjunction "if." This conjunction promises that the second follows the first, for instance "If it is day, it is light." An inferential, as Crinis says in his *Handbook of Dialectic*, is a proposition joined by the conjunction "since," beginning from a proposition and ending in a proposition, for instance "Since it is day, it is light." This conjunction promises both that the second follows the first and that the first is the case.
7.72	συμπεπλεγμένον δέ ἐστιν ἀξίωμα ὃ ὑπό τινων συμπλεκτικῶν συνδέσμων συμπέπλεκται, οἷον "καὶ	A conjunction is a proposition conjoined by certain conjunctive conjunctions, for instance "Both

GREEK

ENGLISH

ἡμέρα ἐστὶ καὶ φῶς ἐστι.” διεζευγμένον δέ ἐστιν ὃ ὑπὸ τοῦ “ἤτοι” διαζευκτικοῦ συνδέσμου διέζευκται, οἷον “ἤτοι ἡμέρα ἐστὶν ἢ νύξ ἐστιν.” ἐπαγγέλλεται δ’ ὁ σύνδεσμος οὗτος τὸ ἕτερον τῶν ἀξιωμάτων ψεῦδος εἶναι. αἰτιῶδες δέ ἐστιν ἀξίωμα τὸ συντασσόμενον διὰ τοῦ “διότι,” οἷον “διότι ἡμέρα ἐστί, φῶς ἐστιν”· οἱονεὶ γὰρ αἴτιόν ἐστι τὸ πρῶτον τοῦ δευτέρου. διασαφοῦν δὲ τὸ μᾶλλον ἀξίωμά ἐστι τὸ συνταττόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ διασαφοῦντος τὸ μᾶλλον συνδέσμου καὶ τοῦ 〈“ἤ”〉 μέσου τῶν ἀξιωμάτων τασσομένου, οἷον “μᾶλλον ἡμέρα ἐστὶν ἢ νύξ ἐστι.”

it is day and it is light.” A disjunction is one disjoined by the disjunctive conjunction “either,” for instance “Either it is day or it is night.” This conjunction promises that one of the two propositions is false. A causal proposition is one constructed with “because,” for instance “Because it is day, it is light”; for the first is, as it were, the cause of the second. A proposition indicating more is one constructed with the conjunction that indicates more and the “than” placed between the propositions, for instance “It is more day than it is night.”

7.73 διασαφοῦν δὲ τὸ ἧττον ἀξίωμά ἐστι τὸ ἐναντίον τῷ προκειμένῳ, οἷον “ἧττον νύξ ἐστιν ἢ ἡμέρα ἐστίν.” ἔτι τῶν ἀξιωμάτων κατά τ’ ἀλήθειαν καὶ ψεῦδος ἀντικείμενα ἀλλήλοις ἐστίν, ὧν τὸ ἕτερον τοῦ ἑτέρου ἐστὶν ἀποφατικόν, οἷον τὸ “ἡμέρα ἐστί” καὶ τὸ “οὐχ ἡμέρα ἐστί.” συνημμένον οὖν ἀληθές ἐστιν οὗ τὸ ἀντικείμενον τοῦ λήγοντος μάχεται τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, οἷον “εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστί, φῶς ἐστι.” τοῦτ’ ἀληθές ἐστι· τὸ γὰρ “οὐχὶ φῶς,” ἀντικείμενον τῷ λήγοντι, μάχεται τῷ “ἡμέρα ἐστί.” συνημμένον δὲ ψεῦδός ἐστιν οὗ τὸ ἀντικείμενον τοῦ λήγοντος οὐ μάχεται τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, οἷον “εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστί, Δίων περιπατεῖ”· τὸ γὰρ “οὐχὶ Δίων περιπατεῖ” οὐ μάχεται τῷ “ἡμέρα ἐστί.”

A proposition indicating less is the opposite of the one just described, for instance “It is less night than it is day.” Further, some propositions are opposed to each other with respect to truth and falsehood, when one is the negation of the other, for instance “It is day” and “It is not day.” A conditional, then, is true when the opposite of its consequent conflicts with its antecedent, for instance “If it is day, it is light.” This is true, for “Not light,” the opposite of the consequent, conflicts with “It is day.” A conditional is false when the opposite of its consequent does not conflict with its antecedent, for instance “If it is day, Dion is walking”; for “Dion is not walking” does not conflict with “It is day.”

7.74 Παρασυνημμένον δ’ ἀληθὲς μέν ἐστιν ὃ ἀρχόμενον ἀπ’ ἀληθοῦς εἰς ἀκόλουθον λήγει, οἷον “ἐπεὶ ἡμέρα ἐστίν, ἥλιός ἐστιν ὑπὲρ γῆς.” ψεῦδος δ’ 〈ὃ〉 ἢ ἀπὸ ψεύδους ἄρχεται ἢ μὴ εἰς ἀκόλουθον λήγει, οἷον “ἐπεὶ νύξ ἐστι, Δίων περιπατεῖ,” ἂν ἡμέρας οὔσης λέγηται. αἰτιῶδες δ’ ἀληθὲς μέν ἐστιν ὃ ἀρχόμενον ἀπ’ ἀληθοῦς εἰς ἀκόλουθον λήγει, οὐ μὴν ἔχει τῷ λήγοντι τὸ ἀρχόμενον ἀκόλουθον, οἷον “διότι ἡμέρα ἐστί, φῶς ἐστι”· τῷ μὲν γὰρ “ἡμέρα ἐστίν” ἀκολουθεῖ τὸ “φῶς ἐστι,” τῷ δὲ “φῶς ἐστιν” οὐχ ἕπεται τὸ “ἡμέρα ἐστίν.”

An inferential is true when it begins from something true and ends in something that follows, for instance “Since it is day, the sun is above the earth.” It is false when it either begins from something false or does not end in something that follows, for instance “Since it is night, Dion is walking,” if it is said when it is day. A causal is true when it begins from something true and ends in something that follows, but its beginning does not follow from its ending, for instance “Because it is day, it is light”; for “It is light” follows from “It is day,” but “It is day” does not follow from “It is light.”

αἰτιῶδες δὲ ψεῦδός ἐστιν ὃ ἤτοι ἀπὸ ψεύδους ἄρχεται ἢ μὴ εἰς ἀκόλουθον λήγει ἢ ἔχει τῷ λήγοντι τὸ ἀρχόμενον ἀνακόλουθον, οἷον “διότι νύξ ἐστι, Δίων περιπατεῖ.” [75] πιθανὸν δέ ἐστιν ἀξίωμα τὸ ἄγον εἰς συγκατάθεσιν, οἷον “εἴ τίς τι ἔτεκεν, ἐκείνη ἐκείνου μήτηρ ἐστί.” ψεῦδος δὲ τοῦτο· οὐ γὰρ ἡ ὄρνις ᾠοῦ ἐστι μήτηρ.

A causal is false when it either begins from something false, or does not end in something that follows, or has a beginning that does not follow from its ending, for instance “Because it is night, Dion is walking.” [75] A plausible proposition is one that leads to assent, for instance “If someone gave birth to something, she is its mother.” But this is false, for the hen is not the mother of the egg.

7.75

GREEK

Ἔτι τε τὰ μέν ἐστι δυνατά, τὰ δ' ἀδύνατα· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαῖα, τὰ δ' οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα. δυνατὸν μὲν τὸ ἐπιδεκτικὸν τοῦ ἀληθὲς εἶναι, τῶν ἐκτὸς μὴ ἐναντιουμένων πρὸς τὸ ἀληθὲς εἶναι, οἷον "ζῇ Διοκλῆς"· ἀδύνατον δὲ ὃ μή ἐστιν ἐπιδεκτικὸν τοῦ ἀληθὲς εἶναι, οἷον "ἡ γῆ ἵπταται." ἀναγκαῖον δέ ἐστιν ὅπερ ἀληθὲς ὂν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπιδεκτικὸν τοῦ ψεῦδος εἶναι, ἢ ἐπιδεκτικὸν μέν ἐστι, τὰ δ' ἐκτὸς αὐτῷ ἐναντιοῦται πρὸς τὸ ψεῦδος εἶναι, οἷον "ἡ ἀρετὴ ὠφελεῖ." οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον δέ ἐστιν ὃ καὶ ἀληθές ἐστιν καὶ ψεῦδος οἷόν τε εἶναι, τῶν ἐκτὸς μηδὲν ἐναντιουμένων, οἷον τὸ "περιπατεῖ Δίων." [76] εὔλογον δέ ἐστιν ἀξίωμα τὸ πλείονας ἀφορμὰς ἔχον εἰς τὸ ἀληθὲς εἶναι, οἷον "βιώσομαι αὔριον."

ENGLISH

Further, some propositions are possible, others impossible; and some are necessary, others not necessary. Possible is one that admits of being true, provided external circumstances do not oppose its being true, for instance "Diocles is alive." Impossible is one that does not admit of being true, for instance "The earth flies." Necessary is one that, being true, does not admit of being false, or admits of it but external circumstances oppose its being false, for instance "Virtue is beneficial." Not necessary is one that is true and can also be false, if nothing external opposes, for instance "Dion is walking." [76] A reasonable proposition is one that has more grounds for being true than not, for instance "I shall be alive tomorrow."

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

There are also other differences among propositions, as well as their changes from true to false, and their conversions; we discuss these at length.

ARGUMENTS AND SYLLOGISMS

Valid and invalid arguments, Chrysippus' five indemonstrables, and the famous puzzles.

GREEK

Λόγος δέ ἐστιν, ὡς οἱ περὶ τὸν Κρῖνίν φασι, τὸ συνεστηκὸς ἐκ λήμματος καὶ προσλήψεως καὶ ἐπιφορᾶς, οἷον ὁ τοιοῦτος, "εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστί, φῶς ἐστι· ἡμέρα δέ ἐστι· φῶς ἄρα ἐστί." λῆμμα μὲν γάρ ἐστι τὸ "εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστι, φῶς ἐστι"· πρόσληψις τὸ "ἡμέρα δέ ἐστιν"· ἐπιφορὰ δὲ τὸ "φῶς ἄρα ἐστί." τρόπος δέ ἐστιν οἱονεὶ σχῆμα λόγου, οἷον ὁ τοιοῦτος, "εἰ τὸ πρῶτον, τὸ δεύτερον· ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸ πρῶτον· τὸ ἄρα δεύτερον."

ENGLISH

An argument, as Crinis and his followers say, is what is composed of a premise, an additional premise and a conclusion, for instance this one: "If it is day, it is light; but it is day; therefore it is light." The premise is "If it is day, it is light"; the additional premise, "But it is day"; and the conclusion, "Therefore it is light." A mode is a sort of schema of an argument, for instance this one: "If the first, the second; but the first; therefore the second."

7.77 Λογότροπος δέ ἐστι τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων σύνθετον, οἷον "εἰ ζῇ Πλάτων, ἀναπνεῖ Πλάτων· ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸ πρῶτον· τὸ ἄρα δεύτερον." παρεισήχθη δὲ ὁ λογότροπος ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐν ταῖς μακροτέραις συντάξεσι τῶν λόγων μηκέτι τὴν πρόσληψιν μακρὰν οὖσαν καὶ τὴν ἐπιφορὰν λέγειν, ἀλλὰ συντόμως ἐπενεγκεῖν, "τὸ δὲ πρῶτον· τὸ ἄρα δεύτερον." Τῶν δὲ λόγων οἱ μέν εἰσιν ἀπέραντοι, οἱ δὲ περαντικοί. ἀπέραντοι μὲν ὧν τὸ ἀντικείμενον τῆς ἐπιφορᾶς οὐ μάχεται τῇ διὰ τῶν λημμάτων συμπλοκῇ, οἷον οἱ τοιοῦτοι, "εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστί, φῶς ἐστι· ἡμέρα δέ ἐστι· περιπατεῖ ἄρα Δίων."

A mode-argument is a combination of both, for instance "If Plato is alive, Plato is breathing; but the first; therefore the second." The mode-argument was introduced so that in longer constructions of arguments one would no longer have to state the additional premise, which is long, and the conclusion, but could conclude briefly: "But the first; therefore the second." Some arguments are inconclusive, others conclusive. Inconclusive are those in which the opposite of the conclusion does not conflict with the conjunction of the premises, for instance arguments like this: "If it is day, it is light; but it is day; therefore Dion is walking."

7.78

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Τῶν δὲ περαντικῶν λόγων οἱ μὲν ὁμωνύμως τῷ γένει λέγονται περαντικοί· οἱ δὲ συλλογιστικοί. συλλογιστικοὶ μὲν οὖν εἰσιν οἱ ἤτοι ἀναπόδεικτοι ὄντες ἢ ἀναγόμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀναποδείκτους κατά τι τῶν θεμάτων ἤ τινα, οἷον οἱ τοιοῦτοι "εἰ περιπατεῖ Δίων, ⟨κινεῖται Δίων· ἀλλὰ μὴν περιπατεῖ Δίων⟩· κινεῖται ἄρα Δίων." περαντικοὶ δέ εἰσιν εἰδικῶς οἱ συνάγοντες μὴ συλλογιστικῶς, οἷον οἱ τοιοῦτοι, "ψεῦδός ἐστι τὸ ἡμέρα ἐστὶ καὶ νύξ ἐστι· ἡμέρα δέ ἐστιν· οὐκ ἄρα νύξ ἐστιν." ἀσυλλόγιστοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ παρακείμενοι μὲν πιθανῶς τοῖς συλλογιστικοῖς, οὐ συνάγοντες δέ, οἷον "εἰ ἵππος ἐστὶ Δίων, ζῷόν ἐστι Δίων· ⟨ἀλλὰ μὴν ἵππος οὐκ ἔστι Δίων⟩· οὐκ ἄρα ζῷόν ἐστι Δίων."	Of conclusive arguments, some are called conclusive, sharing the name of their genus, while others are called syllogistic. Syllogistic arguments are those that either are indemonstrable or can be reduced to the indemonstrables by one or more of the rules. For example: "If Dion is walking, Dion is moving; but Dion is walking; therefore Dion is moving." Arguments conclusive in the specific sense are those that reach their conclusion non-syllogistically. For example: "It is false that it is both day and night; but it is day; therefore it is not night." Non-syllogistic arguments are those that look plausibly like syllogistic ones but do not reach a valid conclusion. For example: "If Dion is a horse, Dion is an animal; but Dion is not a horse; therefore Dion is not an animal."
7.79	Ἔτι τῶν λόγων οἱ μὲν ἀληθεῖς εἰσιν, οἱ δὲ ψευδεῖς. ἀληθεῖς μὲν οὖν εἰσι λόγοι οἱ δι' ἀληθῶν συνάγοντες, οἷον "εἰ ἡ ἀρετὴ ὠφελεῖ, ἡ κακία βλάπτει· ⟨ἀλλὰ μὴν ὠφελεῖ ἡ ἀρετή· ἡ κακία ἄρα βλάπτει⟩." ψευδεῖς δέ εἰσιν οἱ τῶν λημμάτων ἔχοντές τι ψεῦδος ἢ ἀπέραντοι ὄντες, οἷον "εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστί, φῶς ἐστιν· ἡμέρα δέ ἐστι· ζῇ ἄρα Δίων." καὶ δυνατοὶ δ' εἰσὶ λόγοι καὶ ἀδύνατοι καὶ ἀναγκαῖοι καὶ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖοι· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἀναπόδεικτοί τινες, τῷ μὴ χρῄζειν ἀποδείξεως, ἄλλοι μὲν παρ' ἄλλοις, παρὰ δὲ τῷ Χρυσίππῳ πέντε, δι' ὧν πᾶς λόγος πλέκεται· οἵτινες λαμβάνονται ἐπὶ τῶν περαντικῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν συλλογισμῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τροπικῶν.	Again, some arguments are true and others false. True arguments are those that reach their conclusion through true premises. For example: "If virtue benefits, vice harms; but virtue benefits; therefore vice harms." False arguments are those that have something false among their premises, or are inconclusive. For example: "If it is day, it is light; but it is day; therefore Dion is alive." There are also possible and impossible arguments, and necessary and non-necessary ones. And there are certain indemonstrable arguments, so called because they need no demonstration. Different philosophers list different ones, but Chrysippus has five, out of which every argument is woven. They are used for conclusive arguments, for syllogisms and for hypothetical arguments.
7.80	πρῶτος δέ ἐστιν ἀναπόδεικτος ἐν ᾧ πᾶς λόγος συντάσσεται ἐκ συνημμένου καὶ τοῦ ἡγουμένου, ἀφ' οὗ ἄρχεται τὸ συνημμένον καὶ τὸ λῆγον ἐπιφέρει, οἷον "εἰ τὸ πρῶτον, τὸ δεύτερον· ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸ πρῶτον· τὸ ἄρα δεύτερον." δεύτερος δ' ἐστὶν ἀναπόδεικτος ὁ διὰ συνημμένου καὶ τοῦ ἀντικειμένου τοῦ λήγοντος τὸ ἀντικείμενον τοῦ ἡγουμένου ἔχων συμπέρασμα, οἷον "εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστί, φῶς ἐστιν· ἀλλὰ μὴν νύξ ἐστιν· οὐκ ἄρα ἡμέρα ἐστίν." ἡ γὰρ πρόσληψις γίνεται ἐκ τοῦ ἀντικειμένου τῷ λήγοντι καὶ ἡ ἐπιφορὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀντικειμένου τῷ ἡγουμένῳ.	The first indemonstrable is the one in which the whole argument is made up of a conditional and its antecedent (the clause with which the conditional begins), and which draws the consequent as its conclusion. For example: "If the first, the second; but the first; therefore the second." The second indemonstrable is the one that, through a conditional and the opposite of its consequent, has the opposite of the antecedent as its conclusion. For example: "If it is day, it is light; but it is night; therefore it is not day." Here the additional premise comes from the opposite of the consequent, and the conclusion from the opposite of the antecedent.
	τρίτος δέ ἐστιν ἀναπόδεικτος ὁ δι' ἀποφατικῆς συμπλοκῆς καὶ ἑνὸς τῶν ἐν τῇ συμπλοκῇ ἐπιφέρων τὸ	The third indemonstrable is the one that, through a negated conjunction and one of its conjuncts,

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἀντικείμενον τοῦ λοιποῦ, οἷον "οὐχὶ τέθνηκε Πλάτων καὶ ζῇ Πλάτων· ἀλλὰ μὴν τέθνηκε Πλάτων· οὐκ ἄρα ζῇ Πλάτων." [81] τέταρτος δέ ἐστιν ἀναπόδεικτος ὁ διὰ διεζευγμένου καὶ ἑνὸς τῶν ἐν τῷ διεζευγμένῳ τὸ ἀντικείμενον τοῦ λοιποῦ ἔχων συμπέρασμα, οἷον "ἤτοι τὸ πρῶτον ἢ τὸ δεύτερον· ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸ πρῶτον· οὐκ ἄρα τὸ δεύτερον."	concludes the opposite of the other. For example: "It is not the case both that Plato is dead and that Plato is alive; but Plato is dead; therefore Plato is not alive." [81] The fourth indemonstrable is the one that, through a disjunction and one of its disjuncts, has the opposite of the other as its conclusion. For example: "Either the first or the second; but the first; therefore not the second."
7.81	πέμπτος δέ ἐστιν ἀναπόδεικτος ἐν ᾧ πᾶς λόγος συντάσσεται ἐκ διεζευγμένου καὶ ἑνὸς τῶν ἐν τῷ διεζευγμένῳ ἀντικειμένων καὶ ἐπιφέρει τὸ λοιπόν, οἷον "ἤτοι ἡμέρα ἐστὶν ἢ νύξ ἐστιν· οὐχὶ δὲ νύξ ἐστιν· ἡμέρα ἄρα ἐστίν." Ἐπ' ἀληθεῖδ' ἀληθὲς ἕπεται κατὰ τοὺς Στωικούς, ὡς τῷ "ἡμέρα ἐστὶ" τὸ "φῶς ἐστι"· καὶ ψεύδει ψεῦδος, ὡς τῷ "νύξ ἐστι" ψεύδει τὸ "σκότος ἐστί"· καὶ ψεύδει ἀληθές, ὡς τῷ "ἴπτασθαι τὴν γῆν" τὸ "εἶναι τὴν γῆν." ἀληθεῖ μέντοι ψεῦδος οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ· τῷ γὰρ "εἶναι τὴν γῆν" τὸ "πέτεσθαι τὴν γῆν" οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ.	The fifth indemonstrable is the one in which the whole argument is made up of a disjunction and the opposite of one of its disjuncts, and which concludes the other. For example: "Either it is day or it is night; but it is not night; therefore it is day." According to the Stoics, a truth follows from a truth, as "it is light" follows from "it is day"; a falsehood follows from a falsehood, as "it is dark" follows from the false "it is night"; and a truth follows from a falsehood, as "the earth exists" follows from "the earth flies." But a falsehood does not follow from a truth: "the earth flies" does not follow from "the earth exists."
7.82	Καὶ ἄποροι δέ τινές εἰσι λόγοι ἐγκεκαλυμμένοι καὶ διαλεληθότες καὶ σωρῖται καὶ κερατίναι καὶ οὐτιδες. ἔστι δὲ ἐγκεκαλυμμένος, οἷον ὁ τοιοῦτος … "οὐχὶ τὰ μὲν δύο ὀλίγα ἐστίν, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ τρία, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα μέν, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα καὶ οὕτω μέχρι τῶν δέκα· τὰ δὲ δύο ὀλίγα ἐστί· καὶ τὰ δέκα ἄρα." … οὗτις δέ ἐστι λόγος συνακτικὸς ἐξ ἀορίστου καὶ ὡρισμένου συνεστώς, πρόσληψιν δὲ καὶ ἐπιφορὰν ἔχων, οἷον "εἴ τίς ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκεῖνος ἐν Ῥόδῳ ⟨ἀλλὰ μήν ἐστί τις ἐνταῦθα· οὐκ ἄρα τίς ἐστιν ἐν Ῥόδῳ⟩." …	There are also certain puzzling arguments: Veiled arguments, Unnoticed ones, Heaps, Horned ones and Nobodies. The Veiled is one like this … "It is not the case that two are few and three are not also; nor that these are and four are not also; and so on up to ten. But two are few; therefore ten are too." … The Nobody is a conclusive argument composed of an indefinite and a definite clause, with an additional premise and a conclusion. For example: "If someone is here, that person is not in Rhodes; but someone is here; therefore it is not the case that someone is in Rhodes." …[33]
7.83	Καὶ τοιοῦτοι μὲν ἐν τοῖς λογικοῖς οἱ Στωικοί, ἵνα μάλιστα κρατύνωσι διαλεκτικὸν μόνον εἶναι τὸν σοφόν· πάντα γὰρ τὰ πράγματα διὰ τῆς ἐν λόγοις θεωρίας ὁρᾶσθαι, ὅσα τε τοῦ φυσικοῦ τόπου τυγχάνει καὶ αὖ πάλιν ὅσα τοῦ ἠθικοῦ. εἰς μὲν γὰρ τὸ λογικὸν τί δεῖ λέγειν περί τ' ὀνομάτων ὀρθότητος, ὅπως διέταξαν οἱ νόμοι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις, οὐκ ἂν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν. δυοῖν δ' οὔσαιν συνηθείαιν ταῖν ὑποπιπτούσαιν τῇ ἀρετῇ, ἡ μὲν τί ἕκαστόν ἐστι τῶν ὄντων σκοπεῖ, ἡ δὲ τί καλεῖται. καὶ ὧδε μὲν αὐτοῖς ἔχει τὸ λογικόν.	Such, then, are the Stoics in matters of logic, their chief aim being to establish that the wise man alone is a dialectician. For all things, they say, are discerned through the study of arguments, both whatever belongs to the domain of physics and, again, whatever belongs to that of ethics. As for logic, he would otherwise be unable to say what must be said about the correctness of names, and how the laws have assigned them to things. And of the two kinds of usage that fall under this virtue, one examines what each existing thing is, the oth-

33 The text is damaged here: the example given is in fact a Heap (sorites) argument, so the accounts of the Veiled and Unnoticed arguments have dropped out.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		er what it is called. This, then, is how their logic stands.

STOIC ETHICS: IMPULSE, THE END AND VIRTUE

The first impulse to self-preservation, the end of living in agreement with nature, and the virtues.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
7.84	Τὸ δ' ἠθικὸν μέρος τῆς φιλοσοφίας διαιροῦσιν εἵς τε τὸν περὶ ὁρμῆς καὶ εἰς τὸν περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν τόπον καὶ εἰς τὸν περὶ παθῶν καὶ περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ περὶ τέλους περί τε τῆς πρώτης ἀξίας καὶ τῶν πράξεων καὶ περὶ τῶν καθηκόντων προτροπῶν τε καὶ ἀποτροπῶν. [καὶ] οὕτω δ' ὑποδιαιροῦσιν οἱ περὶ Χρύσιππον καὶ Ἀρχέδημον καὶ Ζήνωνα τὸν Ταρσέα καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρον καὶ Διογένην καὶ Ἀντίπατρον καὶ Ποσειδώνιον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Κιτιεὺς Ζήνων καὶ ὁ Κλεάνθης, ὡς ἂν ἀρχαιότεροι, ἀφελέστερον περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων διέλαβον. οὗτοι δὲ διεῖλον καὶ τὸν λογικὸν καὶ τὸν φυσικόν.	The ethical part of philosophy they divide into the following topics: impulse; things good and bad; the passions; virtue; the end; primary value and actions; appropriate actions; and exhortations and dissuasions. [And] this is the subdivision adopted by Chrysippus, Archedemus, Zeno of Tarsus, Apollodorus, Diogenes, Antipater and Posidonius. Zeno of Citium and Cleanthes, being older, treated the subject more simply. These did, however, divide both the logical and the physical part.[34]
7.85	Τὴν δὲ πρώτην ὁρμήν φασι τὸ ζῷον ἴσχειν ἐπὶ τὸ τηρεῖν ἑαυτό, οἰκειούσης αὐτῷ τῆς φύσεως ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, καθά φησιν ὁ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ τελῶν, πρῶτον οἰκεῖον λέγων εἶναι παντὶ ζῴῳ τὴν αὑτοῦ σύστασιν καὶ τὴν ταύτης συνείδησιν· οὔτε γὰρ ἀλλοτριῶσαι εἰκὸς ἦν αὐτὸ ⟨αὑτῷ⟩ τὸ ζῷον, οὔτε ποιήσασαν αὐτό, μήτ' ἀλλοτριῶσαι μήτ' οἰκειῶσαι. ἀπολείπεται τοίνυν λέγειν συστησαμένην αὐτὸ οἰκειῶσαι πρὸς ἑαυτό· οὕτω γὰρ τά τε βλάπτοντα διωθεῖται καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα προσίεται.	They say that an animal's first impulse is toward preserving itself, since nature from the outset makes it attached to itself, as Chrysippus says in the first book of his *On Ends*. There he says that the first thing dear to every animal is its own constitution and its awareness of it. For it was not likely that nature would make the animal estranged from itself, nor that, having made it, she would leave it neither estranged from itself nor attached to itself. It remains, then, to say that in constituting it she made it attached to itself. That is how it repels what is harmful and welcomes what is its own.
	Ὃ δὲ λέγουσί τινες, πρὸς ἡδονὴν γίγνεσθαι τὴν πρώτην ὁρμὴν τοῖς ζῴοις, ψεῦδος ἀποφαίνουσιν.[86] ἐπιγέννημα γάρ φασιν, εἰ ἄρα ἔστιν, ἡδονὴν εἶναι ὅταν αὐτὴ καθ' αὑτὴν ἡ φύσις ἐπιζητήσασα τὰ ἐναρμόζοντα τῇ συστάσει ἀπολάβῃ· ὃν τρόπον ἀφιλαρύνεται τὰ ζῷα καὶ θάλλει τὰ φυτά. οὐδέν τε, φασί, διήλλαξεν ἡ φύσις ἐπὶ τῶν φυτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ζῴων, ὅτι χωρὶς ὁρμῆς καὶ αἰσθήσεως κἀκεῖνα οἰκονομεῖ καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν τινα φυτοειδῶς γίνεται.	As for the claim some make, that animals' first impulse is toward pleasure, they declare it false.[86] Pleasure, they say, if it exists at all, is a by-product, arising when nature, having sought out by itself the things suited to the animal's constitution, obtains them, in the way that animals frolic and plants flourish. And nature, they say, made no distinction between plants and animals, since she governs plants too without impulse or sensation, and in us as well certain processes go on in the manner of plants.
7.86	ἐκ περιττοῦ δὲ τῆς ὁρμῆς τοῖς ζῴοις ἐπιγενομένης, ᾗ συγχρώμενα πορεύεται πρὸς τὰ οἰκεῖα, τούτοις μὲν τὸ κατὰ φύσιν τῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁρμὴν διοικεῖσθαι· τοῦ δὲ λόγου	But since animals have impulse in addition, and use it to go after what is their own, for them what is in accordance with nature is to be governed by

34 Archedemus, Zeno of Tarsus, Apollodorus, Diogenes (of Babylon, not the Cynic), Antipater and Posidonius were Stoics of the second and first centuries BC.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	τοῖς λογικοῖς κατὰ τελειοτέραν προστασίαν δεδοαένου, τὸ κατὰ λόγον ζῆν ὀρθῶς γίνεσθαι ⟨τού⟩ τοις κατὰ φύσιν· τεχνίτης γὰρ οὗτος ἐπιγίνεται τῆς ὁρμῆς.	impulse. And since reason has been given to rational beings as a more perfect form of leadership, for them living rightly in accordance with reason becomes what is in accordance with nature; for reason supervenes as the craftsman of impulse.
7.87	Διόπερ πρῶτος ὁ Ζήνων ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἀνθρώπου φύσεως τέλος εἶπε τὸ ὁμολογουμένως τῇ φύσει ζῆν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ κατ᾽ ἀρετὴν ζῆν· ἄγει γὰρ πρὸς ταύτην ἡμᾶς ἡ φύσις. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Κλεάνθης ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἡδονῆς καὶ Ποσειδώνιος καὶ Ἑκάτων ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τελῶν. πάλιν δ᾽ ἴσον ἐστὶ τὸ κατ᾽ ἀρετὴν ζῆν τῷ κατ᾽ ἐμπειρίαν τῶν φύσει συμβαινόντων ζῆν, ὥς φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ τελῶν· μέρη γάρ εἰσιν αἱ ἡμέτεραι φύσεις τῆς τοῦ ὅλου.	That is why Zeno, in his *On the Nature of Man*, was the first to say that the end is to live in agreement with nature, which is to live in accordance with virtue; for nature leads us toward virtue. Cleanthes says the same in his *On Pleasure*, as do Posidonius and Hecato in their works *On Ends*. Again, living in accordance with virtue is the same as living in accordance with experience of what happens by nature, as Chrysippus says in the first book of his *On Ends*; for our natures are parts of the nature of the whole.
7.88	διόπερ τέλος γίνεται τὸ ἀκολούθως τῇ φύσει ζῆν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ κατά τε τὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὅλων, οὐδὲν ἐνεργοῦντας ὧν ἀπαγορεύειν εἴωθεν ὁ νόμος ὁ κοινός, ὅσπερ ἐστὶν ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος, διὰ πάντων ἐρχόμενος, ὁ αὐτὸς ὢν τῷ Διὶ, καθηγεμόνι τούτῳ τῆς τῶν ὄντων διοικήσεως ὄντι· εἶναι δ᾽ αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὴν τοῦ εὐδαίμονος ἀρετὴν καὶ εὔροιαν βίου, ὅταν πάντα πράττηται κατὰ τὴν συμφωνίαν τοῦ παρ᾽ ἑκάστῳ δαίμονος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ τῶν ὅλων διοικητοῦ βούλησιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Διογένης τέλος φησὶ ῥητῶς τὸ εὐλογιστεῖν ἐν τῇ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἐκλογῇ. Ἀρχέδημος δὲ τὸ πάντα τὰ καθήκοντα ἐπιτελοῦντα ζῆν.	That is why the end turns out to be living consistently with nature, that is, in accordance with both one's own nature and the nature of the whole, doing nothing that the common law usually forbids. That law is right reason, which pervades all things and is the same as Zeus, the leader of the governance of all that exists. And this very thing, they hold, is the virtue of the happy man and the smooth flow of life: when everything is done according to the harmony of the guardian spirit in each person with the will of the one who governs the whole. Diogenes says explicitly that the end is reasoning well in the selection of things in accordance with nature; Archedemus, that it is to live carrying out all appropriate actions.
7.89	Φύσιν δὲ Χρύσιππος μὲν ἐξακούει, ᾗ ἀκολούθως δεῖ ζῆν, τήν τε κοινὴν καὶ ἰδίως τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην· ὁ δὲ Κλεάνθης τὴν κοινὴν μόνην ἐκδέχεται φύσιν, ᾗ ἀκολουθεῖν δεῖ, οὐκέτι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ μέρους.	By the nature with which one must live consistently, Chrysippus understands both common nature and, specifically, human nature. Cleanthes takes it to mean common nature alone, which one must follow, and not also the nature of the individual.
	Τήν τ᾽ ἀρετὴν διάθεσιν εἶναι ὁμολογουμένην· καὶ αὐτὴν δι᾽ αὐτὴν εἶναι αἱρετήν, οὐ διά τινα φόβον ἢ ἐλπίδα ἤ τι τῶν ἔξωθεν· ἐν αὐτῇ τ᾽ εἶναι τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, ἅτ᾽ οὔσῃ ψυχῇ πεποιημένῃ πρὸς τὴν ὁμολογίαν παντὸς τοῦ βίου. διαστρέφεσθαι δὲ τὸ λογικὸν ζῷον, ποτὲ μὲν διὰ τὰς τῶν ἔξωθεν πραγματειῶν πιθανότητας, ποτὲ δὲ διὰ τὴν κατήχησιν τῶν συνόντων· ἐπεὶ ἡ φύσις ἀφορμὰς δίδωσιν ἀδιαστρόφους.	They hold that virtue is a consistent disposition, and that it is to be chosen for its own sake, not out of any fear or hope or anything external; and that happiness lies in it, since it is a soul made for consistency throughout the whole of life. The rational animal, they say, is corrupted, sometimes by the persuasive appeal of external pursuits, sometimes by the teaching of those around it; for nature gives starting points that are uncorrupted.
7.90		

GREEK

Ἀρετὴ δ' ἡ μέν τις κοινῶς παντὶ τελείωσις, ὥσπερ ἀνδριάντος· καὶ ἡ ἀθεώρητος, ὥσπερ ὑγίεια· καὶ ἡ θεωρηματική, ὡς φρόνησις. φησὶ γὰρ ὁ Ἑκάτων ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ ἀρετῶν ἐπιστημονικὰς μὲν εἶναι καὶ θεωρηματικὰς τὰς ἐχούσας τὴν σύστασιν ἐκ θεωρημάτων, ὡς φρόνησιν καὶ δικαιοσύνην· ἀθεωρήτους δὲ τὰς κατὰ παρέκτασιν θεωρουμένας ταῖς ἐκ τῶν θεωρημάτων συνεστηκυίαις, καθάπερ ὑγίειαν καὶ ἰσχύν. τῇ γὰρ σωφροσύνῃ τεθεωρημένῃ ὑπαρχούσῃ συμβαίνει ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ παρεκτείνεσθαι τὴν ὑγίειαν, καθάπερ τῇ ψαλίδος οἰκοδομίᾳ τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐπιγίνεσθαι.

7.91 καλοῦνται δ' ἀθεώρητοι ὅτι μὴ ἔχουσι συγκαταθέσεις, ἀλλ' ἐπιγίνονται καὶ περὶ φαύλους [γίγνονται], ὡς ὑγίεια, ἀνδρεία. τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦ ὑπαρκτὴν εἶναι τὴν ἀρετήν φησιν ὁ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τοῦ Ἠθικοῦ λόγου τὸ γενέσθαι ἐν προκοπῇ τοὺς περὶ Σωκράτην καὶ Διογένην καὶ Ἀντισθένην. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὴν κακίαν ὑπαρκτὴν διὰ τὸ ἀντικεῖσθαι τῇ ἀρετῇ. διδακτήν τ' εἶναι αὐτήν, λέγω δὲ τὴν ἀρετήν, καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ τέλους φησὶ καὶ Κλεάνθης καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τοῖς Προτρεπτικοῖς καὶ Ἑκάτων· ὅτι δὲ διδακτή ἐστι, δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ γίνεσθαι ἀγαθοὺς ἐκ φαύλων.

7.92 Παναίτιος μὲν οὖν δύο φησὶν ἀρετάς, θεωρητικὴν καὶ πρακτικήν· ἄλλοι δὲ λογικὴν καὶ φυσικὴν καὶ ἠθικήν· τέτταρας δὲ οἱ περὶ Ποσειδώνιον καὶ πλείονας οἱ περὶ Κλεάνθην καὶ Χρύσιππον καὶ Ἀντίπατρον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἀπολλοφάνης μίαν λέγει, τὴν φρόνησιν.

Τῶν δ' ἀρετῶν τὰς μὲν πρώτας, τὰς δὲ ταύταις ὑποτεταγμένας. πρώτας μὲν τάσδε, φρόνησιν, ἀνδρείαν, δικαιοσύνην, σωφροσύνην· ἐν εἴδει δὲ τούτων μεγαλοψυχίαν, ἐγκράτειαν, καρτερίαν, ἀγχίνοιαν, εὐβουλίαν· καὶ τὴν μὲν φρόνησιν εἶναι ἐπιστήμην κακῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ οὐδετέρων, τὴν δ' ἀνδρείαν ἐπιστήμην ὧν αἱρετέον καὶ ὧν εὐλαβητέον καὶ οὐδετέρων· [93] τὴν δὲ δικαιοσύνην … τὴν δὲ μεγαλοψυχίαν ἐπιστήμην ἢ ἕξιν ὑπεράνω ποιοῦσαν τῶν συμβαινόντων κοινῇ φαύλων τε καὶ σπουδαίων· τὴν δ' ἐγκράτειαν διάθεσιν ἀνυπέρβατον τῶν κατ' ὀρθὸν λόγον ἢ ἕξιν ἀήττητον ἡδονῶν. τὴν δὲ καρτερίαν ἐπιστήμην ἢ ἕξιν ὧν ἐμμενετέον καὶ μὴ καὶ οὐδετέρων. τὴν δ' ἀγχίνοιαν ἕξιν εὑρετικὴν τοῦ

ENGLISH

Virtue in one sense is, in general, the perfection of anything, as of a statue. There is also the non-theoretical kind, like health, and the theoretical kind, like understanding. Hecato says in the first book of his *On Virtues* that the scientific and theoretical virtues are those whose structure is built from principles, like understanding and justice; the non-theoretical ones are those observed as extensions of the ones built from principles, like health and strength. For health happens to follow and extend alongside moderation, which is a theoretical virtue, just as strength results from building an arch.

They are called non-theoretical because they involve no assent, but supervene and [occur] even in bad people, like health and courage. Posidonius, in the first book of his *Ethical Discourse*, says that a proof that virtue really exists is the fact that Socrates, Diogenes, Antisthenes and their followers made progress. Vice too, he says, really exists, because it is the opposite of virtue. That it (I mean virtue) can be taught is said by Chrysippus in the first book of his *On the End*, by Cleanthes, by Posidonius in his *Exhortations*, and by Hecato. And that it can be taught is clear from the fact that bad people become good.

Panaetius says there are two virtues, theoretical and practical; others name logical, physical and ethical virtue; Posidonius and his followers say there are four, and Cleanthes, Chrysippus, Antipater and their followers more than four. Apollophanes, for his part, says there is one: understanding.[35]

Of the virtues, they say, some are primary and others subordinate to these. The primary ones are understanding, courage, justice and moderation. As species of these come greatness of soul, self-control, endurance, quick-wittedness and good counsel. Understanding, they hold, is knowledge of what is bad, what is good and what is neither; courage is knowledge of what to choose, what to beware of and what is neither; [93] justice … Greatness of soul is knowledge, or a state, that raises one above whatever happens alike to bad people and good. Self-control is a disposition that never oversteps what accords with right reason, or a

35 Panaetius of Rhodes headed the Stoa in the later second century BC; Apollophanes was a pupil of Ariston of Chios.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	καθήκοντος ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα· τὴν δ' εὐβουλίαν ἐπιστήμην τοῦ σκοπεῖσθαι ποῖα καὶ πῶς πράττοντες πράξομεν συμφερόντως.	state not overcome by pleasures. Endurance is knowledge, or a state, concerning what to stand firm in, what not, and what is neither. Quick-wittedness is a state that finds the appropriate action on the spot. Good counsel is knowledge of how to consider what we should do and how, so as to act to our advantage.
7.93	Ἀνὰ λόγον δὲ καὶ τῶν κακιῶν τὰς μὲν εἶναι πρώτας, τὰς δ' ὑπὸ ταύτας· οἷον ἀφροσύνην μὲν καὶ δειλίαν καὶ ἀδικίαν καὶ ἀκολασίαν ἐν ταῖς πρώταις, ἀκρασίαν δὲ καὶ βραδύνοιαν καὶ κακοβουλίαν ἐν ταῖς ὑπὸ ταύτας. εἶναι δ' ἀγνοίας τὰς κακίας, ὧν αἱ ἀρεταὶ ἐπιστῆμαι.	In the same way, they say, some vices are primary and others subordinate to these: folly, cowardice, injustice and intemperance are among the primary ones; lack of self-control, slow-wittedness and bad counsel among those under them. The vices, they hold, are forms of ignorance of the things of which the virtues are forms of knowledge.

GOOD, BAD AND INDIFFERENT

Only virtue is good; health and wealth are indifferents, preferred or dispreferred; appropriate action.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
7.94	Ἀγαθὸν δὲ κοινῶς μὲν τὸ ⟨οὗ⟩ τι ὄφελος, ἰδίως δ' ἤτοι ταὐτὸν ἢ οὐχ ἕτερον ὠφελείας. ὅθεν αὐτήν τε τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸ μετέχον αὐτῆς ἀγαθὸν τριχῶς οὕτω λέγεσθαι· οἷον τὸ ⟨μὲν⟩ ἀγαθὸν ἀφ' οὗ συμβαίνει ⟨ὠφελεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ καθ' ὃ συμβαίνει⟩, ὡς τὴν πρᾶξιν τὴν κατ' ἀρετήν· ὑφ' οὗ δέ, ὡς τὸν σπουδαῖον τὸν μετέχοντα τῆς ἀρετῆς.	Good, in the general sense, is that from which some benefit comes; in the specific sense it is either the same as benefit or not other than benefit. Hence, they say, virtue itself and what participates in it are called good in these three ways: as the good from which being benefited results; as that in accordance with which it results, such as action in accordance with virtue; and as that by which it results, such as the good man who participates in virtue.
	Ἄλλως δ' οὕτως ἰδίως ὁρίζονται τὸ ἀγαθόν, "τὸ τέλειον κατὰ φύσιν λογικοῦ ὡς λογικοῦ." τοιοῦτον δ' εἶναι τὴν ἀρετήν, ὥς τε μετέχοντα τάς τε πράξεις τὰς κατ' ἀρετὴν καὶ τοὺς σπουδαίους εἶναι· ἐπιγεννήματα δὲ τήν τε χαρὰν καὶ τὴν εὐφροσύνην καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια. [95] ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τῶν κακιῶν τὸ μὲν εἶναι ἀφροσύνην, δειλίαν, ἀδικίαν καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια· μετέχοντα δὲ κακίας τάς τε πράξεις τὰς κατὰ κακίαν καὶ τοὺς φαύλους· ἐπιγεννήματα δὲ τήν τε δυσθυμίαν καὶ τὴν δυσφροσύνην καὶ τὰ ὅμοια.	In another way they define the good specifically as "what is perfect according to nature for a rational being as rational." Such, they say, is virtue, while actions in accordance with virtue and good men participate in it; and joy, cheerfulness and the like are by-products. [95] Likewise, on the side of the vices, the bad is folly, cowardice, injustice and the like; what participates in vice is actions in accordance with vice and bad men; and despondency, gloom and the like are by-products.
7.95	Ἔτι τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὰ μὲν εἶναι περὶ ψυχήν, τὰ δ' ἐκτός, τὰ δ' οὔτε περὶ ψυχὴν οὔτ' ἐκτός. τὰ μὲν περὶ ψυχὴν ἀρετὰς καὶ τὰς κατὰ ταύτας πράξεις· τὰ δ' ἐκτὸς τό τε σπουδαίαν ἔχειν πατρίδα καὶ σπουδαῖον φίλον καὶ τὴν τούτων εὐδαιμονίαν· τὰ δ' οὔτ' ἐκτὸς οὔτε περὶ ψυχὴν τὸ αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ εἶναι σπουδαῖον καὶ εὐδαίμονα. [96] ἀνάπαλιν δὲ καὶ τῶν κακῶν τὰ μὲν περὶ ψυχὴν εἶναι, τὰς κακίας καὶ τὰς	Again, they say, of goods some concern the soul, some are external, and some neither concern the soul nor are external. Those concerning the soul are the virtues and the actions in accordance with them. External ones are having a good country and a good friend, and their happiness. Those neither external nor concerning the soul are being

GREEK	ENGLISH
κατ' αὐτὰς πράξεις· τὰ δ' ἐκτὸς τὸ ἄφρονα πατρίδα ἔχειν καὶ ἄφρονα φίλον καὶ τὴν τούτων κακοδαιμονίαν· τὰ δ' οὔτ' ἐκτὸς οὔτε περὶ ψυχὴν τὸ αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ εἶναι φαῦλον καὶ κακοδαίμονα.	good and happy oneself, for oneself. [96] Correspondingly, of bad things some concern the soul: the vices and the actions in accordance with them. External ones are having a foolish country and a foolish friend, and their unhappiness. Those neither external nor concerning the soul are being bad and unhappy oneself, for oneself.
7.96 Ἔτι τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὰ μὲν εἶναι τελικά, τὰ δὲ ποιητικά, τὰ δὲ τελικὰ καὶ ποιητικά. τὸν μὲν οὖν φίλον καὶ τὰς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γινομένας ὠφελείας ποιητικὰ εἶναι ἀγαθά· θάρσος δὲ καὶ φρόνημα καὶ ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τέρψιν καὶ εὐφροσύνην καὶ ἀλυπίαν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν κατ' ἀρετὴν πρᾶξιν τελικά.	Again, they say, of goods some are final, some productive, and some both final and productive. A friend and the benefits that come from him are productive goods; confidence, high-mindedness, freedom, delight, cheerfulness, freedom from distress and every action in accordance with virtue are final.
7.97 Ποιητικὰ δὲ καὶ τελικὰ εἶναι ἀγαθὰ ⟨τὰς ἀρετάς⟩. καθὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀποτελοῦσι τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, ποιητικά ἐστιν ἀγαθά· καθὸ δὲ συμπληροῦσιν αὐτήν, ὥστε μέρη αὐτῆς γίνεσθαι, τελικά. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν κακῶν τὰ μὲν εἶναι τελικά, τὰ δὲ ποιητικά, τὰ δ' ἀμφοτέρως ἔχοντα. τὸν μὲν ἐχθρὸν καὶ τὰς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γινομένας βλάβας ποιητικὰ εἶναι· κατάπληξιν δὲ καὶ ταπεινότητα καὶ δουλείαν καὶ ἀτερπίαν καὶ δυσθυμίαν καὶ περιλυπίαν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν κατὰ κακίαν πρᾶξιν τελικά· ἀμφοτέρως δ' ἔχοντα ⟨τὰς κακίας⟩, ἐπεὶ καθὸ μὲν ἀποτελοῦσι τὴν κακοδαιμονίαν, ποιητικά ἐστι· καθὸ δὲ συμπληροῦσιν αὐτήν, ὥστε μέρη αὐτῆς γίνεσθαι, τελικά.	The virtues, they say, are both productive and final goods. Insofar as they bring about happiness, they are productive goods; insofar as they complete it, so as to become parts of it, they are final. Similarly, of bad things some are final, some productive, and some both. An enemy and the harms that come from him are productive; dismay, abjectness, slavery, joylessness, despondency, deep grief and every action in accordance with vice are final. The vices are both: insofar as they bring about unhappiness, they are productive; insofar as they complete it, so as to become parts of it, they are final.
7.98 Ἔτι τῶν περὶ ψυχὴν ἀγαθῶν τὰ μέν εἰσιν ἕξεις, τὰ δὲ διαθέσεις, τὰ δ' οὔθ' ἕξεις οὔτε διαθέσεις. διαθέσεις μὲν αἱ ἀρεταί, ἕξεις δὲ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα, οὔτε δ' ἕξεις οὔτε διαθέσεις αἱ ἐνέργειαι. κοινῶς δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν μικτὰ μέν ἐστιν εὐτεκνία καὶ εὐγηρία, ἁπλοῦν δ' ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸν ἐπιστήμη. καὶ ἀεὶ μὲν παρόντα αἱ ἀρεταί, οὐκ ἀεὶ δέ, οἷον χαρά, περιπάτησις.	Again, of the goods concerning the soul, some are states, some dispositions, and some neither states nor dispositions. The virtues are dispositions; pursuits are states; activities are neither states nor dispositions. In general, some goods are mixed, like being blessed in one's children and a happy old age, while knowledge is a simple good. And the virtues are always present, while some goods are not always present, like joy or walking.
Πᾶν δ' ἀγαθὸν συμφέρον εἶναι καὶ δέον καὶ λυσιτελὲς καὶ χρήσιμον καὶ εὔχρηστον καὶ καλὸν καὶ ὠφέλιμον καὶ αἱρετὸν καὶ δίκαιον. [99] συμφέρον μὲν ὅτι φέρει τοιαῦτα ὧν συμβαινόντων ὠφελούμεθα· δέον δ' ὅτι συνέχει ἐν οἷς χρή· λυσιτελὲς δ' ὅτι λύει τὰ τελούμενα εἰς αὐτό, ὥστε τὴν ἀντικατάλλαξιν τὴν ἐκ τῆς πραγματείας ὑπεραίρειν τῇ ὠφελείᾳ· χρήσιμον δ' ὅτι χρείαν ὠφελείας παρέχεται· εὔχρηστον δ' ὅτι τὴν χρείαν ἐπαινετὴν ἀπεργάζεται· καλὸν δ' ὅτι συμμέτρως ἔχει πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χρείαν· ὠφέλιμον δ' ὅτι τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ὥστε ὠφελεῖν· αἱρετὸν δ'	Every good, they say, is advantageous, binding, profitable, useful, serviceable, fine, beneficial, choiceworthy and just. [99] It is advantageous because it brings such things that, when they happen, we are benefited; binding, because it holds together where it should; profitable, because it pays back what is spent on it, so that the return from the transaction exceeds the outlay in benefit; useful, because it provides the use of benefit; serviceable, because it makes that use praiseworthy; fine, because it is well proportioned to its own use;

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ὅτι τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ὥστε εὐλόγως αὐτὸ αἱρεῖσθαι· δίκαιον δ' ὅτι νόμῳ ἐστὶ σύμφωνον καὶ κοινωνίας ποιητικόν.	beneficial, because it is such as to benefit; choiceworthy, because it is such that it is reasonable to choose it; just, because it accords with law and creates community.[36]
7.100	Καλὸν δὲ λέγουσι τὸ τέλειον ἀγαθὸν παρὰ τὸ πάντας ἀπέχειν τοὺς ἐπιζητουμένους ἀριθμοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἢ τὸ τελέως σύμμετρον. εἴδη δ' εἶναι τοῦ καλοῦ τέτταρα, δίκαιον, ἀνδρεῖον, κόσμιον, ἐπιστημονικόν· ἐν γὰρ τοῖσδε τὰς καλὰς πράξεις συντελεῖσθαι. ἀνὰ λόγον δὲ καὶ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ εἶναι εἴδη τέτταρα, τό τ' ἄδικον καὶ τὸ δειλὸν καὶ ἄκοσμον καὶ ἄφρον. λέγεσθαι δὲ τὸ καλὸν μοναχῶς μὲν τὸ ἐπαινετοὺς παρεχόμενον τοὺς ἔχοντας ⟨ἢ⟩ ἀγαθὸν ἐπαίνου ἄξιον· ἑτέρως δὲ τὸ εὖ πεφυκέναι πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον ἔργον· ἄλλως δὲ τὸ ἐπικοσμοῦν, ὅταν λέγωμεν μόνον τὸν σοφὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ καλὸν εἶναι.	They call the fine the perfect good, because it has in full all the factors required by nature, or because it is perfectly proportioned. There are, they say, four species of the fine: the just, the courageous, the orderly and the knowledgeable; for it is in these that fine actions are accomplished. Correspondingly there are four species of the shameful: the unjust, the cowardly, the disorderly and the foolish. In one sense, they say, "fine" means what makes those who have it praiseworthy, or a good worthy of praise; in another, being well suited by nature to one's proper function; and in yet another, what adorns, as when we say that only the wise man is good and fine.
7.101	Λέγουσι δὲ μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, καθά φησιν Ἑκάτων ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ Περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ· εἶναι δὲ τοῦτο ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸ μετέχον ἀρετῆς, ᾧ ἐστιν ἴσον τὸ πᾶν ἀγαθὸν καλὸν εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἰσοδυναμεῖν τῷ καλῷ τὸ ἀγαθόν, ὅπερ ἴσον ἐστὶ τούτῳ. ἐπεὶ γάρ ἐστιν ἀγαθόν, καλόν ἐστιν· ἔστι δὲ καλόν· ἀγαθὸν ἄρα ἐστί. δοκεῖ δὲ πάντα τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἴσα εἶναι καὶ πᾶν ἀγαθὸν ἐπ' ἄκρον εἶναι αἱρετὸν καὶ μήτ' ἄνεσιν μήτ' ἐπίτασιν ἐπιδέχεσθαι. τῶν δ' ὄντων φασὶ τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ εἶναι, τὰ δὲ κακά, τὰ δ' οὐδέτερα.	They say that only the fine is good, as Hecato says in the third book of his *On Goods* and Chrysippus in his books *On the Fine*; and that this is virtue and what participates in virtue. This is equivalent to saying that every good is fine, and that the good is equal in force to the fine, which amounts to the same thing. For since a thing is good, it is fine; and it is fine; therefore it is good. They hold that all goods are equal, that every good is choiceworthy in the highest degree, and that it admits neither slackening nor intensification. Of existing things, they say, some are good, some bad, and some neither.
7.102	Ἀγαθὰ μὲν οὖν τάς τ' ἀρετάς, φρόνησιν, δικαιοσύνην, ἀνδρείαν, σωφροσύνην καὶ τὰ λοιπά· κακὰ δὲ τὰ ἐναντία, ἀφροσύνην, ἀδικίαν καὶ τὰ λοιπά. οὐδέτερα δὲ ὅσα μήτ' ὠφελεῖ μήτε βλάπτει, οἷον ζωή, ὑγίεια, ἡδονή, κάλλος, ἰσχύς, πλοῦτος, εὐδοξία, εὐγένεια· καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἐναντία, θάνατος, νόσος, πόνος, αἶσχος, ἀσθένεια, πενία, ἀδοξία, δυσγένεια καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια, καθά φησιν Ἑκάτων ἐν ἑβδόμῳ Περὶ τέλους καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῇ Ἠθικῇ καὶ Χρύσιππος. μὴ γὰρ εἶναι ταῦτ' ἀγαθά, ἀλλ' ἀδιάφορα κατ' εἶδος προηγμένα. [103] ὡς γὰρ ἴδιον θερμοῦ τὸ θερμαίνειν, οὐ τὸ ψύχειν, οὕτω καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τὸ ὠφελεῖν, οὐ τὸ βλάπτειν·	Goods, then, are the virtues: understanding, justice, courage, moderation and the rest. Bad things are their opposites: folly, injustice and the rest. Neither good nor bad are all the things that neither benefit nor harm, such as life, health, pleasure, beauty, strength, wealth, good reputation and noble birth, along with their opposites, death, disease, pain, ugliness, weakness, poverty, ill repute, low birth and the like. So Hecato says in the seventh book of his *On the End*, and Apollodorus in his *Ethics*, and Chrysippus. For these things, they say, are not goods but indifferents, of the kind called preferred. [103] Just as the property of what is

36 Several of these explanations rest on Greek etymologies: sympheron ('advantageous') from pherein ('bring'), deon ('binding', 'needful') from dein ('bind'), lysiteles ('profitable') from lyein ('pay') and telein ('spend').

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		hot is to heat, not to cool, so the property of what is good is to benefit, not to harm;[37]
7.103	οὐ μᾶλλον δ' ὠφελεῖ ἢ βλάπτει ὁ πλοῦτος καὶ ἡ ὑγίεια· οὐκ ἄρ' ἀγαθὸν οὔτε πλοῦτος οὔθ' ὑγίεια. ἔτι τέ φασιν, ᾧ ἔστιν εὖ καὶ κακῶς χρῆσθαι, τοῦτ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγαθόν· πλούτῳ δὲ καὶ ὑγιείᾳ ἔστιν εὖ καὶ κακῶς χρῆσθαι· οὐκ ἄρ' ἀγαθὸν πλοῦτος καὶ ὑγίεια. Ποσειδώνιος μέντοι καὶ ταῦτά φησι τῶν ἀγαθῶν εἶναι. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀγαθόν φασιν Ἑκάτων τ' ἐν τῷ ἐνάτῳ Περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ ἡδονῆς· εἶναι γὰρ καὶ αἰσχρὰς ἡδονάς, μηδὲν δ' αἰσχρὸν εἶναι ἀγαθόν.	but wealth and health do no more benefit than harm; therefore neither wealth nor health is a good. They say further that whatever can be used both well and badly is not a good. But wealth and health can be used both well and badly; therefore wealth and health are not goods. Posidonius, however, says that these too are among the goods. Nor do they regard pleasure as a good, as Hecato says in the ninth book of his *On Goods* and Chrysippus in his books *On Pleasure*. For there are shameful pleasures too, and nothing shameful is good.
	ἀγαθόν.	
7.104	Διχῶς δὲ λέγεσθαι ἀδιάφορα· ἅπαξ μὲν τὰ μήτε πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν μήτε πρὸς κακοδαιμονίαν συνεργοῦντα, ὡς ἔχει πλοῦτος, δόξα, ὑγίεια, ἰσχὺς καὶ τὰ ὅμοια· ἐνδέχεται γὰρ καὶ χωρὶς τούτων εὐδαιμονεῖν, τῆς ποιᾶς αὐτῶν χρήσεως εὐδαιμονικῆς οὔσης ἢ κακοδαιμονικῆς. ἄλλως δὲ λέγεται ἀδιάφορα τὰ μήθ' ὁρμῆς μήτ' ἀφορμῆς κινητικά, ὡς ἔχει τὸ ἀρτίας ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἢ περιττάς, ἢ ἐκτεῖναι τὸν δάκτυλον ἢ συστεῖλαι, τῶν προτέρων ἀδιαφόρων οὐκέθ' οὕτω λεγομένων· ὁρμῆς γάρ ἐστιν ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἀφορμῆς κινητικά. διὸ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐκλέγεται, ⟨τὰ δὲ ἀπεκλέγεται⟩ τῶν ἑτέρων ἐπίσης ἐχόντων πρὸς αἵρεσιν καὶ φυγήν.	Things are called indifferent in two senses. In one sense, indifferents are things that contribute neither to happiness nor to unhappiness, as is the case with wealth, reputation, health, strength and the like. It is possible to be happy even without these, since it is the particular way they are used that makes for happiness or unhappiness. In another sense, indifferents are things that stir neither impulse nor repulsion, as is the case with having an even or an odd number of hairs on one's head, or stretching out or bending one's finger. The indifferents of the first kind are not called indifferent in this sense, for they do stir impulse and repulsion. That is why some of them are selected and others rejected, whereas the others stand on an equal footing with respect to choice and avoidance.
7.105	Τῶν ἀδιαφόρων τὰ μὲν λέγουσι προηγμένα, τὰ δὲ ἀποπροηγμένα· προηγμένα μὲν τὰ ἔχοντα ἀξίαν, ἀποπροηγμένα δὲ τὰ ἀπαξίαν ἔχοντα. ἀξίαν δὲ τὴν μέν τινα λέγουσι σύμβλησιν πρὸς τὸν ὁμολογούμενον βίον, ἥτις ἐστὶ περὶ πᾶν ἀγαθόν· τὴν δὲ εἶναι μέσην τινὰ δύναμιν ἢ χρείαν συμβαλλομένην πρὸς τὸν κατὰ φύσιν βίον, ὅμοιον εἰπεῖν ἥντινα προσφέρεται πρὸς τὸν κατὰ φύσιν βίον πλοῦτος ἢ ὑγίεια· τὴν δ' εἶναι ἀξίαν ἀμοιβὴν δοκιμαστοῦ, ἣν ἂν ὁ ἔμπειρος τῶν πραγμάτων τάξῃ, ὅμοιον εἰπεῖν ἀμείβεσθαι πυροὺς πρὸς τὰς σὺν ἡμιόνῳ κριθάς.	Of the indifferents, they call some preferred and others dispreferred. Preferred are those that have value; dispreferred are those that have disvalue. Value, they say, is in one sense a contribution to the life in agreement, and this applies to every good. In another sense, it is a certain intermediate power or use that contributes to the life in accordance with nature, as much as to say whatever wealth or health brings to the life in accordance with nature. In yet another sense, value is an appraiser's valuation in exchange, as fixed by someone experienced in such dealings, as when

37 The Apollodorus cited here is the Stoic Apollodorus of Seleucia, author of an *Ethics*, not the chronographer.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		one says that wheat is exchanged for barley plus a mule.
7.106	Προηγμένα μὲν οὖν εἶναι ἃ καὶ ἀξίαν ἔχει, οἷον ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ψυχικῶν εὐφυΐαν, τέχνην, προκοπὴν καὶ τὰ ὅμοια· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν σωματικῶν ζωήν, ὑγίειαν, ῥώμην, εὐεξίαν, ἀρτιότητα, κάλλος ⟨καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια⟩· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκτὸς πλοῦτον, δόξαν, εὐγένειαν καὶ τὰ ὅμοια. ἀποπροηγμένα δ' ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ψυχικῶν ἀφυΐαν, ἀτεχνίαν καὶ τὰ ὅμοια· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν σωματικῶν θάνατον, νόσον, ἀσθένειαν, καχεξίαν, πήρωσιν, αἶσχος καὶ τὰ ὅμοια· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκτὸς πενίαν, ἀδοξίαν, δυσγένειαν καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια· οὔτε δὲ προήχθη οὔτ' ἀποπροήχθη τὰ οὐδετέρως ἔχοντα.	Preferred, then, are things that also have value. Among things of the soul, these are natural ability, skill, progress and the like. Among bodily things, they are life, health, vigor, good condition, soundness of limb, beauty and the like. Among external things, they are wealth, reputation, noble birth and the like. Dispreferred, among things of the soul, are lack of natural ability, lack of skill and the like. Among bodily things, they are death, disease, weakness, poor condition, maiming, ugliness and the like. Among external things, they are poverty, ill repute, low birth and the like. Things that are in neither condition are neither preferred nor dispreferred.
7.107	Ἔτι τῶν προηγμένων τὰ μὲν δι' αὑτὰ προῆκται, τὰ δὲ δι' ἕτερα, τὰ δὲ καὶ δι' αὑτὰ καὶ δι' ἕτερα. δι' αὑτὰ μὲν εὐφυΐα, προκοπὴ καὶ τὰ ὅμοια· δι' ἕτερα δὲ πλοῦτος, εὐγένεια καὶ τὰ ὅμοια· δι' αὑτὰ δὲ καὶ δι' ἕτερα ἰσχύς, εὐαισθησία, ἀρτιότης. δι' αὑτὰ μέν, ὅτι κατὰ φύσιν ἐστί· δι' ἕτερα δέ, ὅτι περιποιεῖ χρείας οὐκ ὀλίγας. ὁμοίως δ' ἔχει καὶ τὸ ἀποπροηγμένον κατὰ τὸν ἐναντίον λόγον.	Again, of preferred things some are preferred for their own sake, some for the sake of other things, and some both for their own sake and for the sake of other things. For their own sake: natural ability, progress and the like. For the sake of other things: wealth, noble birth and the like. Both for their own sake and for the sake of other things: strength, keen senses, soundness of limb. They are preferred for their own sake because they are in accordance with nature, and for the sake of other things because they secure no small number of advantages. The same holds for the dispreferred, on the opposite reasoning.
	Ἔτι δὲ καθῆκόν φασιν εἶναι ὃ πραχθὲν εὔλογόν [τε] ἴσχει ἀπολογισμόν, οἷον τὸ ἀκόλουθον ἐν τῇ ζωῇ, ὅπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ φυτὰ καὶ ζῷα διατείνει· ὁρᾶσθαι γὰρ κἀπὶ τούτων καθήκοντα.	Further, they say that an appropriate action is one which, once done, admits of a reasonable justification, for instance what is consistent in life. This extends even to plants and animals, for appropriate actions can be observed in them too.
7.108	Κατωνομάσθαι δ' οὕτως ὑπὸ πρώτου Ζήνωνος τὸ καθῆκον, ἀπὸ τοῦ κατά τινας ἥκειν τῆς προσονομασίας εἰλημμένης. ἐνέργημα δ' αὐτὸ εἶναι ταῖς κατὰ φύσιν κατασκευαῖς οἰκεῖον. τῶν γὰρ καθ' ὁρμὴν ἐνεργουμένων τὰ μὲν καθήκοντα εἶναι, τὰ δὲ παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον, τὰ δ' οὔτε καθήκοντα οὔτε παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον.	Zeno was the first, they say, to give appropriate action this name. He took the word *kathēkon* from the phrase *kata tinas hēkein*, "to fall to certain people." It is an activity proper to arrangements that accord with nature. For of the activities done on impulse, some are appropriate, some are contrary to the appropriate, and some are neither appropriate nor contrary to the appropriate.[38]
	Καθήκοντα μὲν οὖν εἶναι ὅσα λόγος αἱρεῖ ποιεῖν, ὡς ἔχει τὸ γονεῖς τιμᾶν, ἀδελφούς, πατρίδα, συμπεριφέρεσθαι	Appropriate, then, are the actions that reason prevails on us to do, as is the case with honoring one's

38 The etymology splits *kathēkon* into *kata* ("down upon, toward") and *hēkein* ("to come"), so that the word means what comes to a person as theirs to do.

GREEK

φίλοις· παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον δέ, ὅσα μὴ αἱρεῖ λόγος, ὡς ἔχει τὰ τοιαῦτα, γονέων ἀμελεῖν, ἀδελφῶν ἀφροντιστεῖν, φίλοις μὴ συνδιατίθεσθαι, πατρίδα ὑπερορᾶν καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια· [109] οὔτε δὲ καθήκοντα οὔτε παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον, ὅσα οὔθ' αἱρεῖ λόγος πράττειν οὔτ' ἀπαγορεύει, οἷον κάρφος ἀνελέσθαι, γραφεῖον κρατεῖν ἢ στλεγγίδα καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις.

ENGLISH

parents, brothers and country, and getting along with friends. Contrary to the appropriate are the actions that reason does not prevail on us to do, such as neglecting one's parents, disregarding one's brothers, failing to share in friends' feelings, slighting one's country and the like. [109] Neither appropriate nor contrary to the appropriate are the actions that reason neither urges us to do nor forbids, such as picking up a twig or holding a stylus or a strigil, and things of that kind.[39]

7.109 Καὶ τὰ μὲν εἶναι καθήκοντα ἄνευ περιστάσεως, τὰ δὲ περιστατικά. καὶ ἄνευ μὲν περιστάσεως τάδε, ὑγιείας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ αἰσθητηρίων καὶ τὰ ὅμοια· κατὰ περίστασιν δὲ τὸ πηροῦν ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὴν κτῆσιν διαρριπτεῖν. ἀνὰ λόγον δὲ καὶ τῶν παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον. ἔτι τῶν καθηκόντων τὰ μὲν ἀεὶ καθήκει, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἀεί. καὶ ἀεὶ μὲν καθήκει τὸ κατ' ἀρετὴν ζῆν, οὐκ ἀεὶ δὲ τὸ ἐρωτᾶν καὶ ἀποκρίνεσθαι καὶ περιπατεῖν καὶ τὰ ὅμοια. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον. [110] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς μέσοις τι καθῆκον, ὡς τὸ πείθεσθαι τοὺς παῖδας τοῖς παιδαγωγοῖς.

Some appropriate actions are appropriate regardless of circumstances, while others depend on circumstances. Taking care of one's health and one's senses and the like are appropriate regardless of circumstances. Maiming oneself and throwing away one's property are appropriate depending on circumstances. The same applies to actions contrary to the appropriate. Again, some appropriate actions are always appropriate, and others are not. Living in accordance with virtue is always appropriate. Asking and answering questions, walking about and the like are not always appropriate. The same account holds for actions contrary to the appropriate. [110] There is also something appropriate among the intermediate things, such as children obeying their tutors.[40]

THE PASSIONS AND THE WISE MAN

The four passions and their species, the good feelings, and the paradoxes about the wise man.

GREEK

7.110 Φασὶ δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν εἶναι ὀκταμερῆ· μέρη γὰρ αὐτῆς τά τε πέντε αἰσθητήρια καὶ τὸ φωνητικὸν μόριον καὶ τὸ διανοητικόν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν αὐτὴ ἡ διάνοια, καὶ τὸ γεννητικόν. ἐκ δὲ τῶν ψευδῶν ἐπιγίνεσθαι τὴν διαστροφὴν ἐπὶ τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀφ' ἧς πολλὰ πάθη βλαστάνειν καὶ ἀκαταστασίας αἴτια. ἔστι δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ πάθος κατὰ Ζήνωνα ἡ ἄλογος καὶ παρὰ φύσιν ψυχῆς κίνησις ἢ ὁρμὴ πλεονάζουσα.

Τῶν δὲ παθῶν τὰ ἀνωτάτω, καθά φησιν Ἑκάτων ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ παθῶν καὶ Ζήνων ἐν τῷ Περὶ παθῶν, εἶναι γένη τέτταρα, λύπην, φόβον, ἐπιθυμίαν, ἡδονήν. [111] δοκεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς τὰ πάθη κρίσεις εἶναι, καθά φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ παθῶν· ἥ τε γὰρ φιλαργυρία ὑπόληψίς ἐστι τοῦ τὸ

ENGLISH

They say the soul has eight parts. Its parts are the five senses, the vocal part, the thinking part (which is the intellect itself) and the reproductive part. From falsehoods a distortion arises and spreads to the intellect, and from it many passions sprout, causes of instability. Passion itself, according to Zeno, is an irrational and unnatural movement of the soul, or an excessive impulse.

Of the passions, the most general fall into four kinds, as Hecato says in the second book of his *On Passions* and Zeno in his *On Passions*: distress, fear, desire and pleasure. [111] They hold that the passions are judgments, as Chrysippus says in his *On Passions*. Love of money, for instance, is a supposi-

39 A strigil was a curved metal scraper used to clean oil and sweat from the skin after exercise.
40 The tutor (*paidagōgos*) was usually a slave who escorted boys to school and supervised their behavior.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἀργύριον καλὸν εἶναι, καὶ ἡ μέθη δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀκολασία ὁμοίως καὶ τἄλλα.	tion that money is a fine thing, and the same goes for drunkenness, licentiousness and the rest.
7.111	Καὶ τὴν μὲν λύπην εἶναι συστολὴν ἄλογον· εἴδη δ' αὐτῆς ἔλεον, φθόνον, ζῆλον, ζηλοτυπίαν, ἄχθος, ἐνόχλησιν, ἀνίαν, ὀδύνην, σύγχυσιν. ἔλεον μὲν οὖν εἶναι λύπην ὡς ἐπ' ἀναξίως κακοπαθοῦντι, φθόνον δὲ λύπην ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίοις ἀγαθοῖς, ζῆλον δὲ λύπην ἐπὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ παρεῖναι ὧν αὐτὸς ἐπιθυμεῖ, ζηλοτυπίαν δὲ λύπην ἐπὶ τῷ καὶ ἄλλῳ παρεῖναι ἃ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχει, [112] ἄχθος δὲ λύπην βαρύνουσαν, ἐνόχλησιν λύπην στενοχωροῦσαν καὶ δυσχωρίαν παρασκευάζουσαν, ἀνίαν λύπην ἐκ διαλογισμῶν μένουσαν ἢ ἐπιτεινομένην, ὀδύνην λύπην ἐπίπονον, σύγχυσιν λύπην ἄλογον, ἀποκναίουσαν καὶ κωλύουσαν τὰ παρόντα συνορᾶν.	Distress is an irrational contraction. Its species are pity, envy, emulation, jealousy, heaviness, annoyance, anguish, agony and confusion. Pity is distress over someone suffering undeservedly. Envy is distress at other people's goods. Emulation is distress that someone else has what one desires oneself. Jealousy is distress that someone else also has what one has oneself. [112] Heaviness is distress that weighs one down. Annoyance is distress that hems one in and leaves one no room. Anguish is distress that persists or grows through brooding. Agony is painful distress. Confusion is irrational distress that wears one down and keeps one from taking in the situation as a whole.
7.112	Ὁ δὲ φόβος ἐστὶ προσδοκία κακοῦ. εἰς δὲ τὸν φόβον ἀνάγεται καὶ ταῦτα, δεῖμα, ὄκνος, αἰσχύνη, ἔκπληξις, θόρυβος, ἀγωνία. δεῖμα μὲν οὖν ἐστι φόβος δέος ἐμποιῶν, αἰσχύνη δὲ φόβος ἀδοξίας, ὄκνος δὲ φόβος μελλούσης ἐνεργείας, ἔκπληξις δὲ φόβος ἐκ φαντασίας ἀσυνήθους πράγματος, [113] θόρυβος δὲ φόβος μετὰ κατεπείξεως φωνῆς, ἀγωνία δὲ φόβος ἀδήλου πράγματος.	Fear is the expectation of something bad. The following are also classed under fear: terror, hesitancy, shame, consternation, panic and anxiety. Terror is fear that produces fright. Shame is fear of disgrace. Hesitancy is fear of an action to come. Consternation is fear arising from an impression of something unfamiliar. [113] Panic is fear accompanied by an urgent, hurried voice. Anxiety is fear of something uncertain.
7.113	Ἡ δ' ἐπιθυμία ἐστὶν ἄλογος ὄρεξις, ὑφ' ἣν τάττεται καὶ ταῦτα, σπάνις, μῖσος, φιλονεικία, ὀργή, ἔρως, μῆνις, θυμός. ἔστι δ' ἡ μὲν σπάνις ἐπιθυμία τις ἐν ἀποτεύξει καὶ οἷον κεχωρισμένη ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος, τεταμένη δὲ διακενῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸ καὶ σπωμένη· μῖσος δ' ἐστὶν ἐπιθυμία τις τοῦ κακῶς εἶναί τινι μετὰ προκοπῆς τινος καὶ παρατάσεως· φιλονεικία δ' ἐπιθυμία τις περὶ αἱρέσεως· ὀργὴ δ' ἐπιθυμία τιμωρίας τοῦ δοκοῦντος ἠδικηκέναι οὐ προσηκόντως· ἔρως δέ ἐστιν ἐπιθυμία τις οὐχὶ περὶ σπουδαίους· ἔστι γὰρ ἐπιβολὴ φιλοποιίας διὰ κάλλος ἐμφαινόμενον.	Desire is irrational appetite. Under it the following are also ranked: want, hatred, contentiousness, anger, love, wrath and temper. Want is a desire that is frustrated and, as it were, cut off from its object, yet still strains toward it in vain and is drawn to it. Hatred is a desire for someone to fare badly, together with a certain growth and persistence. Contentiousness is a desire concerning one's own side. Anger is a desire for revenge on someone thought to have done one wrong undeservedly. Love is a desire not found in the virtuous, for it is an attempt to form a friendship on account of visible beauty.
7.114	μῆνις δέ ἐστιν ὀργή τις πεπαλαιωμένη καὶ ἐπίκοτος, ἐπιτηρητικὴ δέ, ὅπερ ἐμφαίνεται διὰ τῶνδε· εἴ περ γάρ τε χόλον γε καὶ αὐτῆμαρ καταπέψῃ, / ἀλλά τε καὶ μετόπισθεν ἔχει κότον, ὄφρα τελέσσῃ. ὁ δὲ θυμός ἐστιν ὀργὴ ἀρχομένη.	Wrath is anger that has grown old and rankles, and that lies in wait for its moment, as these lines show: For even if he swallows down his anger that same day, / yet afterward he still nurses a grudge until he fulfills it. Temper is anger in its beginning.[41]
	Ἡδονὴ δέ ἐστιν ἄλογος ἔπαρσις ἐφ' αἱρετῷ δοκοῦντι ὑπάρχειν, ὑφ' ἣν τάττεται κήλησις, ἐπιχαιρεκακία, τέρψις,	Pleasure is an irrational elation at what seems to be choiceworthy. Under it are ranked enchant-

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	διάχυσις. κήλησις μὲν οὖν ἐστιν ἡδονὴ δι' ὤτων κατακηλοῦσα· ἐπιχαιρεκακία δὲ ἡδονὴ ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίοις κακοῖς· τέρψις δέ, οἷον τρέψις, προτροπή τις ψυχῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνειμένον· διά· χυσις δ' ἀνάλυσις ἀρετῆς.	ment, malicious joy, delight and abandon. Enchantment is pleasure that charms through the ears. Malicious joy is pleasure at other people's misfortunes. Delight (*terpsis*), as if it were *trepsis*, "turning," is a kind of inclining of the soul toward slackness. Abandon is a dissolving of virtue.[42]
7.115	Ὡς δὲ λέγεταί τινα ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀρρωστήματα, οἷον ποδάγρα καὶ ἀρθρίτιδες, οὕτω κἀπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς φιλοδοξία καὶ φιληδονία καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια. τὸ γὰρ ἀρρώστημά ἐστι νόσημα μετ' ἀσθενείας, τὸ δὲ νόσημα οἴησις σφόδρα δοκοῦντος αἱρετοῦ. καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος εὐεμπτωσίαι τινὲς λέγονται, οἷον κατάρρους καὶ διάρροια, οὕτω κἀπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς εἰσιν εὐκαταφορίαι, οἷον φθονερία, ἐλεημοσύνη, ἔριδες καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια.	Certain infirmities are spoken of in the body, such as gout and arthritis. In the same way, the soul has love of reputation, love of pleasure and the like. An infirmity is a disease accompanied by weakness, and a disease is a strong opinion that something is choiceworthy. And just as certain tendencies to illness are spoken of in the body, such as catarrh and diarrhea, so the soul has proclivities too, such as enviousness, pitifulness, quarrelsomeness and the like.
7.116	Εἶναι δὲ καὶ εὐπαθείας φασὶ τρεῖς, χαράν, εὐλάβειαν, βούλησιν. καὶ τὴν μὲν χαρὰν ἐναντίαν [φασὶν] εἶναι τῇ ἡδονῇ, οὖσαν εὔλογον ἔπαρσιν· τὴν δ' εὐλάβειαν τῷ φόβῳ, οὖσαν εὔλογον ἔκκλισιν. φοβηθήσεσθαι μὲν γὰρ τὸν σοφὸν οὐδαμῶς, εὐλαβηθήσεσθαι δέ. τῇ δ' ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐναντίαν φασὶν εἶναι τὴν βούλησιν, οὖσαν εὔλογον ὄρεξιν. καθάπερ οὖν ὑπὸ τὰ πρῶτα πάθη πίπτει τινά, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς πρώτας εὐπαθείας· καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν βούλησιν εὔνοιαν, εὐμένειαν, ἀσπασμόν, ἀγάπησιν· ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν εὐλάβειαν αἰδῶ, ἀγνείαν· ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν χαρὰν τέρψιν, εὐφροσύνην, εὐθυμίαν.	They say there are also three good feelings: joy, caution and wishing. Joy, [they say,] is the opposite of pleasure, being a reasonable elation. Caution is the opposite of fear, being a reasonable avoidance. The wise man will never be afraid, but he will be cautious. Wishing, they say, is the opposite of desire, being a reasonable appetite. Certain passions fall under the primary ones, and in the same way certain feelings fall under the primary good feelings. Under wishing fall goodwill, kindliness, warm welcome and affection. Under caution fall respect and purity. Under joy fall delight, cheerfulness and good spirits.
7.117	Φασὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπαθῆ εἶναι τὸν σοφόν, διὰ τὸ ἀνέμπτωτον εἶναι· εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἀπαθῆ τὸν φαῦλον, ἐν ἴσῳ λεγόμενον τῷ σκληρῷ καὶ ἀτέγκτῳ. ἄτυφόν τ' εἶναι τὸν σοφόν· ἴσως γὰρ ἔχειν πρός τε τὸ ἔνδοξον καὶ τὸ ἄδοξον. εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἄτυφον, κατὰ τὸν εἰκαῖον τεταγμένον, ὅς ἐστι φαῦλος. καὶ αὐστηροὺς δέ φασιν εἶναι πάντας τοὺς σπουδαίους, τῷ μήτ' αὐτοὺς πρὸς ἡδονὴν ὁμιλεῖν μήτε παρ' ἄλλων τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν προσδέχεσθαι. καὶ ἄλλον δὲ εἶναι αὐστηρόν, παραπλησίως λεγόμενον τῷ αὐστηρῷ οἴνῳ, ᾧ πρὸς μὲν φαρμακοποιίαν χρῶνται, πρὸς δὲ πρόποσιν οὐ πάνυ.	They say the wise man is free from passion, since he is not prone to fall into it. There is also another sort of person free from passion, the base one, in the sense in which the word means "hard" and "unfeeling." The wise man is free from vanity, for he is indifferent alike to good repute and bad. There is also another sort of person free from vanity, who belongs with the heedless, and he is base. All the virtuous, they say, are austere, since they neither deal in pleasure themselves nor accept from others what makes for pleasure. There is also another sense of "austere," used in the way we speak of austere wine, which is used for making medicines but hardly for drinking toasts.
7.118	Ἀκιβδήλους τοὺς σπουδαίους φυλακτικούς τ' εἶναι τοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον αὐτοὺς παριστάναι, διὰ παρασκευῆς τῆς τὰ	The virtuous are genuine. They guard against presenting themselves as better than they are by

41 *Iliad* 1.81–82, where the seer Calchas speaks of Agamemnon's lasting resentment.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	φαῦλα μὲν ἀποκρυπτούσης, τὰ δ' ὑπάρχοντα ἀγαθὰ φαίνεσθαι ποιούσης. ἁπλάστους τε· περιῃρηκέναι γὰρ ἐν τῇ φωνῇ τὸ πλάσμα καὶ τῷ εἴδει. ἀπράγμονάς τ' εἶναι· ἐκκλίνειν γὰρ τὸ πράττειν τι παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον. καὶ οἰνωθήσεσθαι μέν, οὐ μεθυσθήσεσθαι δέ. ἔτι δ' οὐδὲ μανήσεσθαι· προσπεσεῖσθαι μέντοι ποτὲ αὐτῷ φαντασίας ἀλλοκότους διὰ μελαγχολίαν ἢ λήρησιν, οὐ κατὰ τὸν τῶν αἱρετῶν λόγον, ἀλλὰ παρὰ φύσιν. οὐδὲ μὴν λυπηθήσεσθαι τὸν σοφόν, διὰ τὸ τὴν λύπην ἄλογον εἶναι συστολὴν τῆς ψυχῆς, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρός φησιν ἐν τῇ Ἠθικῇ.	means of a get-up that hides their flaws and shows off whatever goods they have. They are without pretense, for they have stripped pretense from both their voice and their appearance. They keep clear of meddling, since they shun doing anything contrary to the appropriate. The wise man will drink wine, but he will not get drunk. Nor will he go mad, though strange impressions may at times come upon him through melancholy or delirium, not in keeping with the account of things choice-worthy but contrary to nature. Nor will the wise man feel distress, since distress is an irrational contraction of the soul, as Apollodorus says in his *Ethics*.
7.119	Θείους τ' εἶναι· ἔχειν γὰρ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς οἱονεὶ θεόν. τὸν δ' φαῦλον ἄθεον. διττὸν δὲ εἶναι τὸν ἄθεον, τόν τ' ἐναντίως τῷ θείῳ λεγόμενον καὶ τὸν ἐξουθενητικὸν τοῦ θείου· ὅπερ οὐκ εἶναι περὶ πάντα φαῦλον. θεοσεβεῖς τε τοὺς σπουδαίους· ἐμπείρους γὰρ εἶναι τῶν περὶ θεοὺς νομίμων· εἶναί τε τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἐπιστήμην θεῶν θεραπείας. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ θύσειν αὐτοὺς θεοῖς ἁγνούς θ' ὑπάρχειν· ἐκνεύειν γὰρ τὰ περὶ θεοὺς ἁμαρτήματα. καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἄγασθαι αὐτούς· ὁσίους τε γὰρ εἶναι καὶ δικαίους πρὸς τὸ θεῖον. μόνους θ' ἱερέας τοὺς σοφούς· ἐπεσκέφθαι γὰρ περὶ θυσιῶν, ἱδρύσεων, καθαρμῶν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρὸς θεοὺς οἰκείων.	The virtuous are godlike, for they have something like a god within themselves, whereas the base man is godless. "Godless" has two senses: one opposed to the divine, and one who holds the divine in contempt, which is not true of every base man. The virtuous are god-fearing, since they are experienced in the customs concerning the gods, and piety is knowledge of how to serve the gods. They will also sacrifice to the gods and be pure, since they avoid offenses concerning the gods. The gods admire them, for they are holy and just toward the divine. Only the wise are priests, for they have studied sacrifices, the founding of shrines, purifications and the other matters that belong to the gods.
7.120	Δοκεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ γονέας σέβεσθαι καὶ ἀδελφοὺς ἐν δευτέρᾳ μοίρᾳ μετὰ θεούς. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὰ τέκνα φιλοστοργίαν φυσικὴν εἶναι αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐν φαύλοις μὴ εἶναι. ἀρέσκει τ' αὐτοῖς ἴσα ἡγεῖσθαι τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, καθά φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ τῶν Ἠθικῶν ζητημάτων καὶ Περσαῖος καὶ Ζήνων. εἰ γὰρ ἀληθὲς ἀληθοῦς μᾶλλον οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδὲ ψεῦδος ψεύδους· οὕτως οὐδ' ἀπάτη ἀπάτης, οὐδ' ἁμάρτημα ἁμαρτήματος. καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἑκατὸν σταδίους ἀπέχων Κανώβου καὶ ὁ ἕνα ἐπίσης οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐν Κανώβῳ· οὕτω καὶ ὁ πλέον καὶ ὁ ἔλαττον ἁμαρτάνων ἐπίσης οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ κατορθοῦν. [121] Ἡρακλείδης μέντοι ὁ Ταρσεύς, Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ Ταρσέως γνώριμος, καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρος ἄνισά φασι τὰ ἁμαρτήματα.	They hold that one should revere parents and brothers second only to the gods. They say too that love for one's children is natural to the virtuous and is not found in the base. They hold that errors are equal, as Chrysippus says in the fourth book of his *Ethical Questions,* and Persaeus and Zeno too. For if one truth is not more true than another, neither is one falsehood more false than another. So neither is one deception more of a deception than another, nor one error more of an error than another. The man a hundred stades from Canopus and the man one stade away are equally not in Canopus. In the same way, the one who errs more and the one who errs less are equally failing to act rightly. [121] Heraclides of Tarsus, however, a pupil of Antipater of Tarsus, and Athenodorus say that errors are unequal.[43]

42 The etymology plays on the near-identical Greek words *terpsis* ("delight") and *trepsis* ("turning").

	GREEK	ENGLISH
7.121	Πολιτεύσεσθαί φασι τὸν σοφὸν ἂν μή τι κωλύῃ, ὥς φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ βίων· καὶ γὰρ κακίαν ἐφέξειν καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἀρετὴν παρορμήσειν. καὶ γαμήσειν, ὡς ὁ Ζήνων φησὶν ἐν Πολιτείᾳ, καὶ παιδοποιήσεσθαι. ἔτι τε μὴ δοξάσειν τὸν σοφόν, τουτέστι ψεύδει μὴ συγκαταθήσεσθαι μηδενί. κυνιεῖν τ᾽ αὐτόν· εἶναι γὰρ τὸν κυνισμὸν σύντομον ἐπ᾽ ἀρετὴν ὁδόν, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῇ Ἠθικῇ. γεύσεσθαί τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων σαρκῶν κατὰ περίστασιν. μόνον τ᾽ ἐλεύθερον, τοὺς δὲ φαύλους δούλους· εἶναι γὰρ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοπραγίας, τὴν δὲ δουλείαν στέρησιν αὐτοπραγίας.	They say the wise man will take part in politics unless something prevents him, as Chrysippus says in the first book of his *On Lives*, for he will restrain vice and encourage virtue. He will also marry, as Zeno says in his *Republic*, and have children. Further, the wise man will not hold opinions; that is, he will not assent to anything false. He will also live as a Cynic, for Cynicism is a shortcut to virtue, as Apollodorus says in his *Ethics*. He will even taste human flesh if circumstances require. He alone is free, and the base are slaves. Freedom is the power to act on one's own, and slavery is the lack of that power.
7.122	εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἄλλην δουλείαν τὴν ἐν ὑποτάξει καὶ τρίτην τὴν ἐν κτήσει τε καὶ ὑποτάξει, ᾗ ἀντιτίθεται ἡ δεσποτεία, φαύλη οὖσα καὶ αὕτη. οὐ μόνον δ᾽ ἐλευθερους εἶναι τοὺς σοφούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλέας, τῆς βασιλείας οὔσης ἀρχῆς ἀνυπευθύνου, ἥτις περὶ μόνους ἂν τοὺς σοφοὺς συσταίη, καθά φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ κυρίως κεχρῆσθαι Ζήνωνα τοῖς ὀνόμασιν· ἐγνωκέναι γάρ φησι δεῖν τὸν ἄρχοντα περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν, μηδένα δὲ τῶν φαύλων ἐπίστασθαι ταῦτα. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἀρχικοὺς δικαστικούς τε καὶ ῥητορικοὺς μόνους εἶναι, τῶν δὲ φαύλων οὐδένα. ἔτι καὶ ἀναμαρτήτους, τῷ ἀπεριπτώτους εἶναι ἁμαρτήματι.	There is also another kind of slavery, consisting in subordination, and a third, consisting in being both owned and subordinate. Opposed to this third kind is mastery, and mastery too is base. The wise are not only free but also kings, since kingship is rule accountable to no one, and such rule can exist only among the wise. So Chrysippus says in his book *On Zeno's Use of Words in Their Proper Sense*. The ruler, he says, must know about good and bad things, and none of the base understands these. Likewise, only the wise are fit to hold office, to sit as judges and to speak in public, and none of the base is. Further, they are without error, since they are not liable to fall into error.
7.123	ἀβλαβεῖς τ᾽ εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλους βλάπτειν οὔθ᾽ αὑτούς. ἐλεήμονάς τε μὴ εἶναι συγγνώμην τ᾽ ἔχειν μηδενί· μὴ γὰρ παριέναι τὰς ἐκ τοῦ νόμου ἐπιβαλλούσας κολάσεις, ἐπεὶ τό γ᾽ εἴκειν καὶ ὁ ἔλεος αὐτή θ᾽ ἡ ἐπιείκεια οὐδένειά ἐστι ψυχῆς πρὸς κολάσεις προσποιουμένης χρηστότητα· μηδ᾽ οἴεσθαι σκληροτέρας αὐτὰς εἶναι. ἔτι τε τὸν σοφὸν οὐδὲν θαυμάζειν τῶν δοκούντων παραδόξων, οἷον Χαρώνεια καὶ ἀμπώτιδας καὶ πηγὰς θερμῶν ὑδάτων καὶ πυρὸς ἀναφυσήματα. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ᾽ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ, φασί, βιώσεται ὁ σπουδαῖος· κοινωνικὸς γὰρ φύσει καὶ πρακτικός. τὴν μέντοι ἄσκησιν ἀποδέξεται ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ὑπομονῆς.	They are harmless, for they harm neither others nor themselves. They do not feel pity and they pardon no one. They do not remit the punishments the law imposes, since yielding, pity and even leniency itself are a worthlessness of soul that puts on a show of kindness in the face of punishment. Nor do they think punishments too harsh. Further, the wise man marvels at none of the things that seem extraordinary, such as Charonian caves, ebb tides, hot springs and eruptions of fire. Nor, they say, will the virtuous man live in solitude, for he is by nature sociable and active. He will, however, accept training for the sake of the body's endurance.[44]
7.124	Εὔξεταί τε, φασίν, ὁ σοφός, αἰτούμενος τὰ ἀγαθὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν, καθά φησι Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ καθηκόντων καὶ Ἑκάτων ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ παραδόξων.	The wise man, they say, will pray, asking the gods for good things, as Posidonius says in the first book of his *On Appropriate Actions* and Hecato in

43 Canopus was a town at the western mouth of the Nile, near Alexandria.
44 Charonian caves (named after Charon, ferryman of the dead) were caverns giving off deadly vapors, believed to be entrances to the underworld.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τὴν φιλίαν ἐν μονοις τοῖς σπουδαίοις εἶναι, διὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα· φασὶ δ' αὐτὴν κοινωνίαν τινὰ εἶναι τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον, χρωμένων ἡμῶν τοῖς φίλοις ὡς ἑαυτοῖς. δι' αὐτόν θ' αἱρετὸν τὸν φίλον ἀποφαίνονται καὶ τὴν πολυφιλίαν ἀγαθόν. ἔν τε τοῖς φαύλοις μὴ εἶναι φιλίαν μηδενί τε τῶν φαύλων φίλον εἶναι. πάντας τε τοὺς ἄφρονας μαίνεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ φρονίμους εἶναι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν ἴσην τῇ ἀφροσύνῃ μανίαν πάντα πράττειν.	the third book of his *On Paradoxes*. They say too that friendship exists only among the virtuous, because they are alike. Friendship, they say, is a kind of sharing in what concerns life, since we treat our friends as ourselves. They declare that a friend is choiceworthy for his own sake, and that having many friends is a good. Among the base there is no friendship, and none of the base has a friend. All fools are mad, for they lack understanding and do everything in a madness equivalent to folly.
7.125	Πάντα τ' εὖ ποιεῖν τὸν σοφόν, ὡς καὶ πάντα φαμὲν τὰ αὐλήματα εὖ αὐλεῖν τὸν Ἰσμηνίαν. καὶ τῶν σοφῶν δὲ πάντα εἶναι· δεδωκέναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς παντελῆ ἐξουσίαν τὸν νόμον. τῶν δὲ φαύλων εἶναί τινα λέγεται, ὃν τρόπον καὶ τῶν ἀδίκων, ἄλλως μὲν τῆς πόλεως, ἄλλως δὲ τῶν χρωμένων φαμέν.	The wise man does everything well, just as we say that Ismenias plays all his pipe tunes well. Everything belongs to the wise, for the law has given them complete authority. Some things are also said to belong to the base, in the way we speak of things belonging to the unjust: in one sense we say they are the city's, in another theirs who use them.[45]
	Τὰς δ' ἀρετὰς λέγουσιν ἀντακολουθεῖν ἀλλήλαις καὶ τὸν μίαν ἔχοντα πάσας ἔχειν· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰ θεωρήματα κοινά, καθάπερ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ ἀρετῶν φησιν, Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ ἐν τῇ Φυσικῇ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν, Ἑκάτων δὲ ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ Περὶ ἀρετῶν.	They say the virtues follow from one another, and whoever has one has them all, for their principles are common to all. So Chrysippus says in the first book of his *On Virtues*, Apollodorus in his *Physics*, following the early school, and Hecato in the third book of his *On Virtues*.
7.126	τὸν γὰρ ἐνάρετον θεωρητικόν τ' εἶναι καὶ πρακτικὸν τῶν ποιητέων. τὰ δὲ ποιητέα καὶ αἱρετέα ἐστὶ καὶ ὑπομενητέα καὶ ἐμμενητέα καὶ ἀπονεμητέα, ὥστ' εἰ τὰ μὲν αἱρετικῶς ποιεῖ, τὰ δ' ὑπομενητικῶς, τὰ δ' ἀπονεμητικῶς, τὰ δ' ἐμμενητικῶς, φρόνιμός τ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνδρεῖος καὶ δίκαιος καὶ σώφρων. κεφαλαιοῦσθαί θ' ἑκάστην τῶν ἀρετῶν περί τι ἴδιον κεφάλαιον, οἷον τὴν ἀνδρείαν περὶ τὰ ὑπομενητέα, τὴν φρόνησιν περὶ τὰ ποιητέα καὶ μὴ καὶ οὐδέτερα· ὁμοίως τε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας περὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα τρέπεσθαι. ἕπονται δὲ τῇ μὲν φρονήσει εὐβουλία καὶ σύνεσις, τῇ δὲ σωφροσύνῃ εὐταξία καὶ κοσμιότης, τῇ δὲ δικαιοσύνῃ ἰσότης καὶ εὐγνωμοσύνη, τῇ δὲ ἀνδρείᾳ ἀπαραλλαξία καὶ εὐτονία.	For the virtuous man both discerns and does what must be done. What must be done is also what must be chosen, endured, persisted in and distributed. So if he does some things by choosing, some by enduring, some by distributing and some by persisting, he is a man of understanding, courageous, just and moderate. Each of the virtues is centered on its own particular sphere. Courage is concerned with what must be endured; understanding with what must be done, what must not be done and what is neither. Similarly, the other virtues turn to their own proper objects. Following on understanding are good counsel and intelligence; on moderation, good discipline and orderliness; on justice, equity and fair-mindedness; on courage, steadfastness and vigor.
7.127	Ἀρέσκει δ' αὐτοῖς μηδὲν μεταξὺ εἶναι ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας, τῶν Περιπατητικῶν μεταξὺ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας εἶναι λεγόντων τὴν προκοπήν· ὡς γὰρ δεῖν φασιν ἢ ὀρθὸν εἶναι ξύλον ἢ στρεβλόν, οὕτως ἢ δίκαιον ἢ ἄδικον, οὔτε δὲ δικαιότερον οὔτ' ἀδικώτερον, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίως. καὶ μὴν τὴν ἀρετὴν Χρύσιππος μὲν ἀποβλητήν, Κλεάνθης	They hold that there is nothing intermediate between virtue and vice, whereas the Peripatetics say that progress lies between virtue and vice. For just as a stick, they say, must be either straight or crooked, so a person must be either just or unjust,

45 Ismenias of Thebes was a celebrated pipe (*aulos*) player of the fourth century BC.

GREEK

δὲ ἀναπόβλητον· ὁ μὲν ἀποβλητὴν διὰ μέθην καὶ μελαγχολίαν, ὁ δ' ἀναπόβλητον διὰ βεβαίους καταλήψεις· καὶ αὐτὴν δι' ⟨αὐτὴν⟩ αἱρετὴν εἶναι. αἰσχυνόμεθα γοῦν ἐφ' οἷς κακῶς πράττομεν, ὡς ἂν μόνον τὸ καλὸν εἰδότες ἀγαθόν.

αὐτάρκη τ' εἶναι αὐτὴν πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν, καθά φησι Ζήνων καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ ἀρετῶν καὶ Ἑκάτων ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ ἀγαθῶν. [128] "εἰ γάρ," φησίν, "αὐτάρκης ἐστὶν ἡ μεγαλοψυχία πρὸς τὸ πάντων ὑπεράνω ποιεῖν, ἔστι δὲ μέρος τῆς ἀρετῆς, αὐτάρκης ἔσται καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν καταφρονοῦσα καὶ τῶν δοκούντων ὀχληρῶν." ὁ μέντοι Παναίτιος καὶ Ποσειδώνιος οὐκ αὐτάρκη λέγουσι τὴν ἀρετήν, ἀλλὰ χρείαν εἶναί φασι καὶ ὑγιείας καὶ χορηγίας καὶ ἰσχύος.

7.128 Ἀρέσκει δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ διὰ παντὸς χρῆσθαι τῇ ἀρετῇ, ὡς οἱ περὶ Κλεάνθην φασίν· ἀναπόβλητος γάρ ἐστι καὶ πάντοτε τῇ ψυχῇ χρῆται οὔσῃ τελείᾳ ὁ σπουδαῖος. φύσει τε τὸ δίκαιον εἶναι καὶ μὴ θέσει, ὡς καὶ τὸν νόμον καὶ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον, καθά φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ. [129] δοκεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς μηδὲ διὰ τὴν διαφωνίαν ἀφίστασθαι φιλοσοφίας, ἐπεὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ προλείψειν ὅλον τὸν βίον, ὡς καὶ Ποσειδώνιός φησιν ἐν τοῖς Προτρεπτικοῖς. εὐχρηστεῖν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐγκύκλια μαθήματά φησιν ὁ Χρύσιππος.

7.129 Ἔτι ἀρέσκει αὐτοῖς μηδὲν εἶναι ἡμῖν δίκαιον πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα ζῷα, διὰ τὴν ἀνομοιότητα, καθά φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ καθήκοντος. καὶ ἐρασθήσεσθαι δὲ τὸν σοφὸν τῶν νέων τῶν ἐμφαινόντων διὰ τοῦ εἴδους τὴν πρὸς ἀρετὴν εὐφυΐαν, ὥς φησι Ζήνων ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ βίων καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῇ Ἠθικῇ.

7.130 Εἶναι δὲ τὸν ἔρωτα ἐπιβολὴν φιλοποιίας διὰ κάλλος ἐμφαινόμενον· καὶ μὴ εἶναι συνουσίας, ἀλλὰ φιλίας. τὸν γοῦν Θρασωνίδην καίπερ ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ ἔχοντα τὴν ἐρωμένην, διὰ τὸ μισεῖσθαι ἀπέχεσθαι αὐτῆς. εἶναι οὖν τὸν ἔρωτα φιλίας, ὡς καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἔρωτός φησι· καὶ μὴ εἶναι θεόπεμπτον αὐτόν. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὴν ὥραν ἄνθος ἀρετῆς.

ENGLISH

and neither more just nor more unjust. The same goes for the other virtues. Moreover, Chrysippus says virtue can be lost, while Cleanthes says it cannot. The one says it can be lost through drunkenness and melancholy; the other says it cannot because it rests on secure apprehensions. Virtue is also choiceworthy for its own sake. At any rate, we are ashamed of our bad conduct, as though we knew that only the fine is good.

Virtue is also self-sufficient for happiness, as Zeno says, and Chrysippus in the first book of his *On Virtues*, and Hecato in the second book of his *On Goods*. [128] "For if," he says, "greatness of soul is sufficient to raise us above everything, and is a part of virtue, then virtue too will be self-sufficient for happiness, since it despises even the things that seem troublesome." Panaetius and Posidonius, however, say that virtue is not self-sufficient. They say there is also need of health, resources and strength.

They also hold that virtue is in continuous use, as Cleanthes and his followers say. Virtue cannot be lost, and the good man is always using his soul, which is perfect. Justice, they say, exists by nature and not by convention, and so do law and right reason, as Chrysippus says in his *On the Fine*. [129] They also think that disagreement among philosophers is no reason to abandon philosophy, since by that argument one would abandon the whole of life, as Posidonius also says in his *Exhortations*. Chrysippus says that the standard round of general education is useful too.

Further, they hold that there is no justice between us and the other animals, because they are unlike us, as Chrysippus says in the first book of *On Justice* and Posidonius in the first book of *On Appropriate Action*. And the wise man will fall in love with young men whose looks show a natural aptitude for virtue, as Zeno says in his *Republic*, Chrysippus in the first book of *On Lives*, and Apollodorus in his *Ethics*.

Love, they say, is an effort to form a friendship, prompted by visible beauty. Its aim is not intercourse but friendship. Thrasonides, at any rate, kept away from the woman he loved, even though he had her in his power, because she hated him. Love, then, is a matter of friendship, as Chrysip-

GREEK	ENGLISH
	pus also says in his *On Love*, and it is not sent by the gods. Youthful bloom, they say, is the flower of virtue.[46]
Βίων δὲ τριῶν ὄντων, θεωρητικοῦ καὶ πρακτικοῦ καὶ λογικοῦ, τὸν τρίτον φασὶν αἱρετέον· γεγονέναι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐπίτηδες τὸ λογικὸν ζῷον πρὸς θεωρίαν καὶ πρᾶξιν. εὐλόγως τέ φασιν ἐξάξειν ἑαυτὸν τοῦ βίου τὸν σοφόν, καὶ ὑπὲρ πατρίδος καὶ ὑπὲρ φίλων, κἂν ἐν σκληροτέρᾳ γένηται ἀλγηδόνι ἢ πηρώσεσιν ἢ νόσοις ἀνιάτοις.	There are three kinds of life: the contemplative, the practical and the rational. They say the third is the one to choose, because nature made the rational animal expressly for both contemplation and action. They also say that the wise man will have good reason to take himself out of life, whether for his country or for his friends, or if he suffers unusually severe pain, mutilation or incurable disease.
7.131 Ἀρέσκει δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ κοινὰς εἶναι τὰς γυναῖκας δεῖν παρὰ τοῖς σοφοῖς, ὥστε τὸν ἐντυχόντα τῇ ἐντυχούσῃ χρῆσθαι, καθά φησι Ζήνων ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ πολιτείας, [ἀλλ' ἔτι Διογένης ὁ κυνικὸς καὶ Πλάτων]. πάντας τε παῖδας ἐπίσης στέρξομεν πατέρων τρόπον καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ ζηλοτυπία περιαιρεθήσεται. πολιτείαν δ' ἀρίστην τὴν μικτὴν ἔκ τε δημοκρατίας καὶ βασιλείας καὶ ἀριστοκρατίας.	They also hold that among the wise, wives should be held in common, so that any man may have any woman he comes across, as Zeno says in his *Republic* and Chrysippus in his *On the Republic* [and so too Diogenes the Cynic and Plato]. Then we will love all children equally, as fathers do, and the jealousy caused by adultery will be done away with. The best constitution, they say, is the mixed one, made up of democracy, kingship and aristocracy.
Καὶ ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἠθικοῖς δόγμασι τοιαῦτα λέγουσι καὶ τούτων πλείω μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἀποδείξεων· ταῦτα δ' ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίοις ἡμῖν λελέχθω καὶ στοιχειωδῶς.	These, then, are their ethical doctrines. They say more besides, each with its proper proofs, but let this stand as my summary of the main points, in outline.

STOIC PHYSICS: PRINCIPLES AND THE UNIVERSE

God and matter as principles, the elements, and the single, living, finite universe.

GREEK	ENGLISH
7.132 Τὸν δὲ φυσικὸν λόγον διαιροῦσιν εἵς τε τὸν περὶ σωμάτων τόπον καὶ περὶ ἀρχῶν καὶ στοιχείων καὶ θεῶν καὶ περάτων καὶ τόπου καὶ κενοῦ. καὶ οὕτω μὲν εἰδικῶς, γενικῶς δ' εἰς τρεῖς τόπους, τόν τε περὶ κόσμου καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν στοιχείων καὶ τρίτον τὸν αἰτιολογικόν.	They divide physics into topics: bodies, principles, elements, gods, limits, place and the void. That is the detailed division. In general terms they divide it into three topics: the universe, the elements, and third, the study of causes.
Τὸν δὲ περὶ τοῦ κόσμου διαιρεῖσθαί φασιν εἰς δύο μέρη. μιᾷ γὰρ σκέψει ἐπικοινωνεῖν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων, καθ' ἣν ζητοῦσι περί τε τῶν ἀπλανῶν καὶ τῶν πλανωμένων, οἷον εἰ ὁ ἥλιός ἐστι τηλικοῦτος ἡλίκος φαίνεται, καὶ ὁμοίως εἰ ἡ σελήνη, καὶ περὶ δινήσεως καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων τούτοις ζητημάτων. [133] ἑτέραν δ' αὐτοῦ σκέψιν εἶναι ἥτις μόνοις τοῖς φυσικοῖς ἐπιβάλλει, καθ' ἣν ζητεῖται ἥ τ' οὐσία αὐτοῦ [καὶ εἰ ὁ ἥλιος καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες ἐξ ὕλης καὶ εἴδους] καὶ εἰ γενητὸς ἢ ἀγένητος καὶ εἰ ἔμψυχος	The topic of the universe, they say, is divided into two parts. One line of inquiry into it is shared with the mathematicians. Here they investigate the fixed stars and the planets, asking for instance whether the sun is as large as it appears, and likewise the moon, and they also examine the stars' revolution and similar questions. [133] The other line of inquiry belongs to the natural philosophers alone. Here one investigates the universe's sub-

46 Thrasonides is the soldier in Menander's comedy *The Man She Hated*, who refuses to force himself on the captive woman he loves.

GREEK	ENGLISH
ἢ ἄψυχος καὶ εἰ φθαρτὸς ἢ ἄφθαρτος καὶ εἰ προνοίᾳ διοικεῖται καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν.	stance [and whether the sun and the stars are made of matter and form], whether it came into being or not, whether it has a soul or not, whether it is perishable or imperishable, whether it is governed by providence, and the remaining questions.
7.133 τόν τ' αἰτιολογικὸν εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸν διμερῆ. μιᾷ δ' αὐτοῦ ἐπισκέψει ἐπικοινωνεῖν τὴν τῶν ἰατρῶν ζήτησιν, καθ' ἣν ζητοῦσι περί τε τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν ψυχῇ γινομένων καὶ περὶ σπερμάτων καὶ τῶν τούτοις ὁμοίων· τοῦ δ' ἑτέρου καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, οἷον πῶς ὁρῶμεν, τίς ἡ αἰτία τῆς κατοπτρικῆς φαντασίας, ὅπως νέφη συνίσταται, βρονταὶ καὶ ἴριδες καὶ ἅλως καὶ κομῆται καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια.	The study of causes, they say, is likewise twofold. One part of it is shared with the inquiries of doctors. Here they investigate the ruling center of the soul, what happens in the soul, seeds and similar things. The mathematicians also lay claim to the other part, for instance how we see, what causes the impression we get in a mirror, how clouds form, and thunder, rainbows, haloes, comets and the like.
7.134 Δοκεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς ἀρχὰς εἶναι τῶν ὅλων δύο, τὸ ποιοῦν καὶ τὸ πάσχον. τὸ μὲν οὖν πάσχον εἶναι τὴν ἄποιον οὐσίαν τὴν ὕλην, τὸ δὲ ποιοῦν τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ λόγον τὸν θεόν· τοῦτον γὰρ ἀΐδιον ὄντα διὰ πάσης αὐτῆς δημιουργεῖν ἕκαστα.	They hold that the universe has two principles, the active and the passive. The passive is substance without qualities, that is, matter. The active is the reason in matter, that is, god. Being eternal, god pervades all of matter and crafts each thing.
τίθησι δὲ τὸ δόγμα τοῦτο Ζήνων μὲν ὁ Κιτιεὺς ἐν τῷ Περὶ οὐσίας, Κλεάνθης δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν ἀτόμων, Χρύσιππος δ' ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Φυσικῶν πρὸς τῷ τέλει, Ἀρχέδημος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ στοιχείων καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τοῦ Φυσικοῦ λόγου. διαφέρειν δέ φασιν ἀρχὰς καὶ στοιχεῖα· τὰς μὲν γὰρ εἶναι ἀγενήτους 〈καὶ〉 ἀφθάρτους, τὰ δὲ στοιχεῖα κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν φθείρεσθαι. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀσωμάτους εἶναι τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ ἀμόρφους, τὰ δὲ μεμορφῶσθαι.	This doctrine is set out by Zeno of Citium in his *On Substance*, by Cleanthes in his *On Atoms*, by Chrysippus toward the end of the first book of his *Physics*, by Archedemus in his *On Elements*, and by Posidonius in the second book of his *Physical Discourse*. They say that principles and elements differ. The principles are ungenerated and imperishable, while the elements perish at the conflagration. Moreover, the principles are incorporeal and without shape, while the elements have shape.[47]
7.135 Σῶμα δ' ἐστίν, ὥς φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῇ Φυσικῇ, τὸ τριχῇ διαστατόν, εἰς μῆκος, εἰς πλάτος, εἰς βάθος· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ στερεὸν σῶμα καλεῖται. ἐπιφάνεια δ' ἐστὶ σώματος πέρας ἢ τὸ μῆκος καὶ πλάτος μόνον ἔχον, βάθος δ' οὔ· ταύτην δὲ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ μετεώρων καὶ κατ' ἐπίνοιαν καὶ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἀπολείπει. γραμμὴ δ' ἐστὶν ἐπιφανείας πέρας ἢ μῆκος ἁπλατὲς ἢ τὸ μῆκος μόνον ἔχον. στιγμὴ δ' ἐστὶ γραμμῆς πέρας, ἥτις ἐστὶ σημεῖον ἐλάχιστον.	Body, as Apollodorus says in his *Physics*, is what extends in three dimensions: length, breadth and depth. This is also called solid body. A surface is the limit of a body, or what has only length and breadth but no depth. Posidonius, in the third book of *On Celestial Phenomena*, grants surfaces existence both in thought and in reality. A line is the limit of a surface, or length without breadth, or what has length only. A point is the limit of a line, and it is the smallest mark there is.
Ἕν τ' εἶναι θεὸν καὶ νοῦν καὶ εἱμαρμένην καὶ Δία· πολλάς τ' ἑτέρας ὀνομασίας προσονομάζεσθαι. [136] κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν καθ' αὑτὸν ὄντα τρέπειν τὴν πᾶσαν οὐσίαν δι' ἀέρος εἰς ὕδωρ· καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ γονῇ τὸ σπέρμα περιέχεται, οὕτω καὶ τοῦτον σπερματικὸν λόγον ὄντα τοῦ κόσμου,	They hold that god, mind, fate and Zeus are one, and that he is called by many other names as well. [136] In the beginning, then, being by himself, he turned all substance through air into water. And just as the seed is contained in the semen, so god,

47 The Stoics held that the universe is periodically consumed in a universal fire, the conflagration, and then reborn.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	τοιόνδ' ὑπολείπεσθαι ἐν τῷ ὑγρῷ, εὐεργὸν αὑτῷ ποιοῦντα τὴν ὕλην πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἑξῆς γένεσιν· εἶτ' ἀπογεννᾶν πρῶτον τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα, πῦρ, ὕδωρ, ἀέρα, γῆν. λέγει δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν Ζήνων τ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ ὅλου καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Φυσικῶν καὶ Ἀρχέδημος ἔν τινι Περὶ στοιχείων.	being the seminal reason of the universe, stays behind in this form in the moisture, making matter workable for himself so that what follows can be generated. Then he first brings forth the four elements: fire, water, air and earth. Zeno writes about them in his *On the Whole*, Chrysippus in the first book of his *Physics*, and Archedemus in a work *On Elements*.
7.136	ἔστι δὲ στοιχεῖον ἐξ οὗ πρώτου γίνεται τὰ γινόμενα καὶ εἰς ὃ ἔσχατον ἀναλύεται. [137] τὰ δὴ τέτταρα στοιχεῖα εἶναι ὁμοῦ τὴν ἄποιον οὐσίαν τὴν ὕλην· εἶναι δὲ τὸ μὲν πῦρ τὸ θερμόν, τὸ δ' ὕδωρ τὸ ὑγρόν, τόν τ' ἀέρα τὸ ψυχρὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν τὸ ξηρόν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔτι ἐν τῷ ἀέρι εἶναι τὸ αὐτὸ μέρος. ἀνωτάτω μὲν οὖν εἶναι τὸ πῦρ, ὃ δὴ αἰθέρα καλεῖσθαι, ἐν ᾧ πρώτην τὴν τῶν ἀπλανῶν σφαῖραν γεννᾶσθαι, εἶτα τὴν τῶν πλανωμένων· μεθ' ἣν τὸν ἀέρα, εἶτα τὸ ὕδωρ, ὑποστάθμην δὲ πάντων τὴν γῆν, μέσην ἁπάντων οὖσαν.	An element is that out of which things that come to be first come to be, and into which they are finally resolved. [137] The four elements together, they say, make up substance without qualities, that is, matter. Fire is the hot, water the wet, air the cold and earth the dry. Even so, the same part is also found in air. Highest of all is fire, which is called aether. In it the sphere of the fixed stars is generated first, and then that of the planets. After that comes air, then water, and at the bottom of everything is earth, which lies at the center of all.
7.137	Λέγουσι δὲ κόσμον τριχῶς· αὐτόν τε τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἁπάσης οὐσίας ἰδίως ποιόν, ὃς δὴ ἄφθαρτός ἐστι καὶ ἀγένητος, δημιουργὸς ὢν τῆς διακοσμήσεως, κατὰ χρόνων ποιὰς περιόδους ἀναλίσκων εἰς ἑαυτὸν τὴν ἅπασαν οὐσίαν καὶ πάλιν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ γεννῶν. [138] καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν διακόσμησιν τῶν ἀστέρων κόσμον εἶναι λέγουσι· καὶ τρίτον τὸ συνεστηκὸς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν. καὶ ἔστι κόσμος ὁ ἰδίως ποιὸς τῆς τῶν ὅλων οὐσίας ἥ, ὥς φησι Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῇ Μετεωρολογικῇ στοιχειώσει, σύστημα ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις φύσεων ἢ σύστημα ἐκ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἕνεκα τούτων γεγονότων. οὐρανὸς δέ ἐστιν ἡ ἐσχάτη περιφέρεια ἐν ᾗ πᾶν ἵδρυται τὸ θεῖον.	They use the word "universe" (*kosmos*) in three senses. First, it means god himself, the individual distinctively qualified out of all substance. He is imperishable and ungenerated, the craftsman of the world's ordering, and at certain periods of time he takes all substance back into himself and then generates it again from himself. [138] Second, they also call the ordering of the stars itself a universe. Third, the term means the compound of the two. The universe is also the distinctive quality of the substance of the whole. Or, as Posidonius says in his *Elements of Meteorology*, it is a system made up of heaven and earth and the natures in them, or a system made up of gods and humans and of what has come into being for their sake. Heaven is the outermost circumference, in which everything divine is set.
7.138	Τὸν δὴ κόσμον διοικεῖσθαι κατὰ νοῦν καὶ πρόνοιαν, καθά φησι Χρύσιππός τ' ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ Περὶ προνοίας καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ Περὶ θεῶν, εἰς ἅπαν αὐτοῦ μέρος διήκοντος τοῦ νοῦ, καθάπερ ἐφ' ἡμῶν τῆς ψυχῆς· ἀλλ' ἤδη δι' ὧν μὲν μᾶλλον, δι' ὧν δὲ ἧττον. [139] δι' ὧν μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἕξις κεχώρηκεν, ὡς διὰ τῶν ὀστῶν καὶ τῶν νεύρων· δι' ὧν δὲ ὡς νοῦς, ὡς διὰ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ.	The universe, they say, is governed by mind and providence, as Chrysippus says in the fifth book of *On Providence* and Posidonius in the third book of *On Gods*. Mind pervades every part of it, as the soul does in us, though more in some parts and less in others. [139] Through some parts it has passed as cohesion (*hexis*), as through the bones and sinews, and through others as mind, as through the ruling center.
7.139	οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸν ὅλον κόσμον ζῷον ὄντα καὶ ἔμψυχον καὶ λογικόν, ἔχειν ἡγεμονικὸν μὲν τὸν αἰθέρα, καθά φησιν Ἀντίπατρος ὁ Τύριος ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ Περὶ κόσμου.	In the same way the whole universe, being a living creature with a soul and with reason, has the aether as its ruling center, as Antipater of Tyre

GREEK

ENGLISH

Χρύσιππος δ' ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ προνοίας καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ θεῶν τὸν οὐρανόν φασι τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν τοῦ κόσμου, Κλεάνθης δὲ τὸν ἥλιον. ὁ μέντοι Χρύσιππος διαφορώτερον πάλιν τὸ καθαρώτερον τοῦ αἰθέρος ἐν ταὐτῷ, ὃ καὶ πρῶτον θεὸν λέγουσιν αἰσθητικῶς ὥσπερ κεχωρηκέναι διὰ τῶν ἐν ἀέρι καὶ διὰ τῶν ζῴων ἁπάντων καὶ φυτῶν· διὰ δὲ τῆς γῆς αὐτῆς καθ' ἕξιν.

says in the eighth book of *On the Universe*. Chrysippus in the first book of *On Providence* and Posidonius in *On Gods* say that the heaven is the ruling center of the universe, while Cleanthes says it is the sun. Chrysippus, however, gives a rather different account in the same work. He says it is the purer part of the aether, which they also call the first god. This part passes, in the manner of perception as it were, through what is in the air and through all animals and plants, but it passes through the earth itself as cohesion.

7.140 Ἕνα τὸν κόσμον εἶναι καὶ τοῦτον πεπερασμένον, σχῆμ' ἔχοντα σφαιροειδές· πρὸς γὰρ τὴν κίνησιν ἁρμοδιώτατον τὸ τοιοῦτον, καθά φησι Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τοῦ Φυσικοῦ λόγου καὶ οἱ περὶ Ἀντίπατρον ἐν τοῖς περὶ κόσμου. ἔξωθεν δ' αὐτοῦ περικεχυμένον εἶναι τὸ κενὸν ἄπειρον, ὅπερ ἀσώματον εἶναι· ἀσώματον δὲ τὸ οἷόν τε κατέχεσθαι ὑπὸ σωμάτων οὐ κατεχόμενον· ἐν δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ μηδὲν εἶναι κενόν, ἀλλ' ἡνῶσθαι αὐτόν· τοῦτο γὰρ ἀναγκάζειν τὴν τῶν οὐρανίων πρὸς τὰ ἐπίγεια σύμπνοιαν καὶ συντονίαν. φησὶ δὲ περὶ τοῦ κενοῦ Χρύσιππος μὲν ἐν τῷ Περὶ κενοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Φυσικῶν τεχνῶν καὶ Ἀπολλοφάνης ἐν τῇ Φυσικῇ καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν δευτέρῳ τοῦ Φυσικοῦ λόγου. εἶναι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα [ἀ]σώματα ὁμοίως.

The universe, they say, is one and finite, and spherical in shape, since that shape is best suited to motion, as Posidonius says in the fifth book of his *Physical Discourse*, and Antipater and his followers in their works on the universe. Poured all around it on the outside is the infinite void, which is incorporeal. The incorporeal is what can be occupied by bodies but is not occupied. Within the universe there is no void at all. It is a unified whole, because the way the heavens and the earth breathe together and are held in a single tension requires this. Chrysippus discusses the void in his *On the Void* and in the first book of his *Physical Arts*. So do Apollophanes in his *Physics*, Apollodorus, and Posidonius in the second book of his *Physical Discourse*. These too, they say, are likewise [in]corporeal.

7.141 Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸν χρόνον ἀσώματον, διάστημα ὄντα τῆς τοῦ κόσμου κινήσεως. τούτου δὲ τὸν μὲν παρῳχηκότα καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα ἀπείρους, τὸν δ' ἐνεστῶτα πεπερασμένον. ἀρέσκει δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ φθαρτὸν εἶναι τὸν κόσμον, ἅτε γενητὸν τῷ λόγῳ τῶν δι' αἰσθήσεως νοουμένων, οὗ τε τὰ μέρη φθαρτά ἐστι, καὶ τὸ ὅλον· τὰ δὲ μέρη τοῦ κόσμου φθαρτά· εἰς ἄλληλα γὰρ μεταβάλλει· φθαρτὸς ἄρα ὁ κόσμος. καὶ εἴ τι ἐπιδεκτικόν ἐστι τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον μεταβολῆς, φθαρτόν ἐστι· καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἄρα· ἐξαυχμοῦται γὰρ καὶ ἐξυδατοῦται.

Time too, they hold, is incorporeal, being the dimension of the universe's motion. The past and the future are infinite, and the present is finite. They also hold that the universe is perishable, since it has come into being, on the same reasoning that applies to things grasped through the senses. What has perishable parts is perishable as a whole. The parts of the universe are perishable, since they change into one another. Therefore the universe is perishable. Again, whatever can change for the worse is perishable. So the universe is perishable too, because it dries out and floods.

7.142 Γίνεσθαι δὲ τὸν κόσμον ὅταν ἐκ πυρὸς ἡ οὐσία τραπῇ δι' ἀέρος εἰς ὑγρότητα, εἶτα τὸ παχυμερὲς αὐτοῦ συστὰν ἀποτελεσθῇ γῆ, τὸ δὲ λεπτομερὲς ἐξαερωθῇ, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ πλέον λεπτυνθὲν πῦρ ἀπογεννήσῃ. εἶτα κατὰ μίξιν ἐκ τούτων φυτά τε καὶ ζῷα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα γένη. περὶ δὴ οὖν τῆς γενέσεως καὶ τῆς φθορᾶς τοῦ κόσμου φησὶ Ζήνων μὲν ἐν τῷ Περὶ ὅλου, Χρύσιππος δ' ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Φυσικῶν καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ κόσμου καὶ Κλεάνθης καὶ

The universe comes into being, they say, when substance turns from fire through air into moisture. Its coarser part then condenses and becomes earth, while the finer part becomes air, and this, refined still further, produces fire. Then plants, animals and the other kinds arise from a mixture of these. On the generation and destruction of the universe, Zeno writes in his *On the Whole*, Chrysip-

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Ἀντίπατρος ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ Περὶ κόσμου. Παναίτιος δ' ἄφθαρτον ἀπεφήνατο τὸν κόσμον.	pus in the first book of his *Physics*, Posidonius in the first book of *On the Universe*, and Cleanthes, and Antipater in the tenth book of *On the Universe*. Panaetius, however, declared the universe imperishable.
	Ὅτι δὲ καὶ ζῷον ὁ κόσμος καὶ λογικὸν καὶ ἔμψυχον καὶ νοερὸν καὶ Χρύσιππός φησιν ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ προνοίας καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος [φησὶν] ἐν τῇ Φυσικῇ καὶ Ποσειδώνιος· [143] ζῷον μὲν οὕτως ὄντα, οὐσίαν ἔμψυχον αἰσθητικήν. τὸ γὰρ ζῷον τοῦ μὴ ζῴου κρεῖττον· οὐδὲν δὲ τοῦ κόσμου κρεῖττον· ζῷον ἄρ' ὁ κόσμος. ἔμψυχον δέ, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς ἐκεῖθεν οὔσης ἀποσπάσματος. Βόηθος δέ φησιν οὐκ εἶναι ζῷον τὸν κόσμον.	That the universe is a living creature, with reason, soul and intelligence, is stated by Chrysippus in the first book of *On Providence*, by Apollodorus in his *Physics* [he says], and by Posidonius. [143] It is a living creature in the sense that it is a substance with a soul and with perception. A living creature is better than what is not alive, and nothing is better than the universe, so the universe is a living creature. It has a soul, as is clear from our own soul, which is a fragment broken off from it. Boethus, however, says that the universe is not a living creature.
7.143	ὅτι θ' εἷς ἐστι Ζήνων φησὶν ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ ὅλου καὶ Χρύσιππος καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῇ Φυσικῇ καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν πρώτῳ τοῦ Φυσικοῦ λόγου. τὸ δὲ πᾶν λέγεται, ὥς φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος, ὅ τε κόσμος καὶ καθ' ἕτερον τρόπον τὸ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ ἔξωθεν κενοῦ σύστημα. ὁ μὲν οὖν κόσμος πεπερασμένος ἐστί, τὸ δὲ κενὸν ἄπειρον.	That the universe is one is stated by Zeno in his *On the Whole*, by Chrysippus, by Apollodorus in his *Physics*, and by Posidonius in the first book of his *Physical Discourse*. The term "the All", as Apollodorus says, is used both of the universe and, in another sense, of the system made up of the universe and the void outside it. The universe, then, is finite, but the void is infinite.
7.144	Τῶν δ' ἄστρων τὰ μὲν ἀπλανῆ συμπεριφέρεσθαι τῷ ὅλῳ οὐρανῷ, τὰ δὲ πλανώμενα κατ' ἰδίας κινεῖσθαι κινήσεις. τὸν δ' ἥλιον λοξὴν τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι διὰ τοῦ ζωδιακοῦ κύκλου· ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν σελήνην ἑλικοειδῆ. εἶναι δὲ τὸν μὲν ἥλιον εἰλικρινὲς πῦρ, καθά φησι Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ ἑβδόμῳ Περὶ μετεώρων· καὶ μείζονα τῆς γῆς, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ ἕκτῳ τοῦ Φυσικοῦ λόγου· ἀλλὰ καὶ σφαιροειδῆ, ὡς οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν τοῦτόν φασιν, ἀναλόγως τῷ κόσμῳ. πῦρ μὲν οὖν εἶναι, ὅτι τὰ πυρὸς πάντα ποιεῖ· μείζω δὲ τῆς γῆς τῷ πᾶσαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φωτίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν οὐρανόν. καὶ τὸ τὴν γῆν δὲ κωνοειδῆ σκιὰν ἀποτελεῖν τὸ μείζονα εἶναι σημαίνει· πάντοθεν δὲ βλέπεσθαι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος.	Of the stars, they say, the fixed ones are carried around together with the whole heaven, while the planets move with motions of their own. The sun makes its oblique course through the circle of the zodiac, and the moon likewise, in a spiral. The sun is pure fire, as Posidonius says in the seventh book of *On Celestial Phenomena*. It is larger than the earth, as the same author says in the sixth book of his *Physical Discourse*, and it is also spherical, as Posidonius and his followers say, in keeping with the universe. It is fire because it does everything fire does. It is larger than the earth because the whole earth is lit by it, and the heaven too. The fact that the earth casts a conical shadow also shows that the sun is larger. And the sun is seen from everywhere because of its size.
7.145	Γεωδεστέραν δὲ τὴν σελήνην, ἅτε καὶ προσγειοτέραν οὖσαν. τρέφεσθαι δὲ τὰ ἔμπυρα ταῦτα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἄστρα, τὸν μὲν ἥλιον ἐκ τῆς μεγάλης θαλάττης νοερὸν ὄντα ἄναμμα· τὴν δὲ σελήνην ἐκ ποτίμων ὑδάτων, ἀερομιγῆ τυγχάνουσαν καὶ πρόσγειον οὖσαν, ὡς ὁ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ ἕκτῳ τοῦ Φυσικοῦ λόγου· τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς. δοκεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς σφαιροειδῆ εἶναι καὶ τὰ ἄστρα καὶ τὴν γῆν	The moon, they say, is more earthy, since it is also closer to the earth. These fiery bodies and the other stars are nourished. The sun, an intelligent kindled mass, is nourished from the great sea. The moon is mixed with air and lies close to the earth, and it is nourished from fresh waters, as Posidoni-

GREEK

ἀκίνητον οὖσαν. τὴν δὲ σελήνην οὐκ ἴδιον ἔχειν φῶς, ἀλλὰ παρ' ἡλίου λαμβάνειν ἐπιλαμπομένην.

us says in the sixth book of his *Physical Discourse*. The other stars are nourished from the earth. They hold that the stars are spherical, and so is the earth, which does not move. The moon has no light of its own but receives it from the sun, which shines on it.

Ἐκλείπειν δὲ τὸν μὲν ἥλιον ἐπιπροσθούσης αὐτῷ σελήνης κατὰ τὸ πρὸς ἡμᾶς μέρος, ὡς Ζήνων ἀναγράφει ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ ὅλου. [146] φαίνεται γὰρ ὑπερχομένη ἐν ταῖς συνόδοις καὶ ἀποκρύπτουσα αὐτὸν καὶ πάλιν παραλλάττουσα· γνωρίζεται δὲ τοῦτο διὰ λεκάνης ὕδωρ ἐχούσης. τὴν δὲ σελήνην ἐμπίπτουσαν εἰς τὸ τῆς γῆς σκίασμα· ὅθεν καὶ ταῖς πανσελήνοις ἐκλείπειν μόναις, καίπερ κατὰ διάμετρον ἱσταμένην κατὰ μῆνα τῷ ἡλίῳ, ὅτι κατὰ λοξοῦ ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον κινουμένη παραλλάττει τῷ πλάτει, ἢ βορειοτέρα ἢ νοτιωτέρα γινομένη.

The sun, they say, is eclipsed when the moon passes in front of it on the side facing us, as Zeno records in his *On the Whole*. [146] At their conjunctions the moon is seen coming up beneath the sun, hiding it, and then moving past. This can be observed in a basin of water. The moon is eclipsed when it falls into the earth's shadow. That is why it is eclipsed only at full moon, even though it stands opposite the sun every month. Because it moves at an angle to the sun's course, it is out of line in latitude and ends up either too far north or too far south.

7.146 ὅταν μέντοι τὸ πλάτος αὐτῆς κατὰ τὸν ἡλιακὸν καὶ τὸν διὰ μέσων γένηται, εἶτα διαμετρήσῃ τὸν ἥλιον, τότ' ἐκλείπει· γίνεται δὲ τὸ πλάτος αὐτῆς κατὰ τὸν διὰ μέσων ἐν χηλαῖς καὶ σκορπίῳ καὶ κριῷ καὶ ταύρῳ, ὡς οἱ περὶ τὸν Ποσειδώνιον.

When, however, its latitude comes into line with the sun's path and the ecliptic, and it then stands diametrically opposite the sun, it is eclipsed. Its latitude coincides with the ecliptic in the Claws, the Scorpion, the Ram and the Bull, as Posidonius and his followers say.[48]

GOD, FATE AND THE HEAVENS

God and his names, nature, fate and divination, weather, the world's zones, and the soul.

GREEK

7.147 Θεὸν δ' εἶναι ζῷον ἀθάνατον, λογικόν, τέλειον ἢ νοερὸν ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ, κακοῦ παντὸς ἀνεπίδεκτον, προνοητικὸν κόσμου τε καὶ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ· μὴ εἶναι μέντοι ἀνθρωπόμορφον. εἶναι δὲ τὸν μὲν δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων καὶ ὥσπερ πατέρα πάντων κοινῶς τε καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ τὸ διῆκον διὰ πάντων, ὃ πολλαῖς προσηγορίαις προσονομάζεσθαι κατὰ τὰς δυνάμεις.

God, they say, is a living being who is immortal and rational, perfect or intelligent in his happiness, and untouched by anything bad. He exercises providence over the universe and everything in it, but he does not have human shape. He is the craftsman of all things and, as it were, the father of all, both in general and in that part of him which pervades all things. This part is called by many names, according to its powers.

Δία μὲν γάρ φασι δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα, Ζῆνα δὲ καλοῦσι παρ' ὅσον τοῦ ζῆν αἴτιός ἐστιν ἢ διὰ τοῦ ζῆν κεχώρηκεν, Ἀθηνᾶν δὲ κατὰ τὴν εἰς αἰθέρα διάτασιν τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ αὐτοῦ, Ἥραν δὲ κατὰ τὴν εἰς ἀέρα, καὶ Ἥφαιστον κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ τεχνικὸν πῦρ, καὶ Ποσειδῶνα κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ ὑγρόν, καὶ Δήμητραν κατὰ τὴν εἰς γῆν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας προσηγορίας ἐχόμενοί τινος οἰκειότητος ἀπέδοσαν.

They call him Dia because all things are "through" (*dia*) him. They call him Zēna insofar as he is the cause of life (*zēn*) or has pervaded life. He is Athena with reference to the extension of his ruling center into the aether, Hera with reference to its extension into the air, Hephaestus with reference to its extension into craftsmanlike fire, Poseidon with reference to its extension into the wet,

48 The Claws (Chelae) was the Greek name for the constellation Libra.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		and Demeter with reference to its extension into earth. They assigned the other names in the same way, holding to some affinity in each case.[49]
7.148	Οὐσίαν δὲ θεοῦ Ζήνων μέν φησι τὸν ὅλον κόσμον καὶ τὸν οὐρανόν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ θεῶν καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ θεῶν. καὶ Ἀντίπατρος ἐν ἑβδόμῳ Περὶ κόσμου ἀεροειδῆ φησιν αὐτοῦ τὴν οὐσίαν· Βόηθος δὲ ἐν τῇ Περὶ φύσεως οὐσίαν θεοῦ τὴν τῶν ἀπλανῶν σφαῖραν. φύσιν δὲ ποτὲ μὲν ἀποφαίνονται τὴν συνέχουσαν τὸν κόσμον, ποτὲ δὲ τὴν φύουσαν τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς. ἔστι δὲ φύσις ἕξις ἐξ αὐτῆς κινουμένη κατὰ σπερματικοὺς λόγους ἀποτελοῦσά τε καὶ συνέχουσα τὰ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐν ὡρισμένοις χρόνοις καὶ τοιαῦτα δρῶσα ἀφ' οἵων ἀπεκρίθη. [149] ταύτην δὲ καὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος στοχάζεσθαι καὶ ἡδονῆς, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δημιουργίας.	Zeno says that the substance of god is the whole universe and the heaven. Chrysippus says the same in the first book of *On Gods*, and so does Posidonius in the first book of *On Gods*. Antipater, in the seventh book of *On the Universe*, says that god's substance is like air. Boethus, in his *On Nature*, says that the substance of god is the sphere of the fixed stars. By nature they sometimes mean what holds the universe together, and sometimes what makes things on earth grow. Nature is a cohesive state that moves itself according to seminal reasons. Within fixed periods of time, it brings to completion and holds together what comes from it, and it produces things of the same kind as those from which it was separated off. [149] Nature, they say, aims at both what is advantageous and pleasure, as is clear from the way human beings were crafted.
7.149	καθ' εἱμαρμένην δέ φασι τὰ πάντα γίγνεσθαι Χρύσιππος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ εἱμαρμένης καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ εἱμαρμένης καὶ Ζήνων, Βόηθος δ' ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ εἱμαρμένης. ἔστι δ' εἱμαρμένη αἰτία τῶν ὄντων εἰρομένη ἢ λόγος καθ' ὃν ὁ κόσμος διεξάγεται. καὶ μὴν καὶ μαντικὴν ὑφεστάναι πᾶσάν φασιν, εἰ καὶ πρόνοιαν εἶναι· καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ τέχνην ἀποφαίνουσι διά τινας ἐκβάσεις, ὥς φησι Ζήνων τε καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ μαντικῆς καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρος καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τοῦ Φυσικοῦ λόγου καὶ ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ Περὶ μαντικῆς. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Παναίτιος ἀνυπόστατον αὐτήν φησιν.	That everything happens by fate is stated by Chrysippus in his books *On Fate*, by Posidonius in the second book of *On Fate*, by Zeno, and by Boethus in the first book of *On Fate*. Fate is a strung-together chain of causes of the things that exist, or the reason by which the universe is directed. They also say that every kind of divination is real, if providence exists too. They even declare it an art, on the strength of certain outcomes, as Zeno says, and Chrysippus in the second book of *On Divination*, and Athenodorus, and Posidonius in the second book of his *Physical Discourse* and in the fifth book of *On Divination*. Panaetius, for his part, says that divination has no reality.[50]
7.150	Οὐσίαν δέ φασι τῶν ὄντων ἁπάντων τὴν πρώτην ὕλην, ὡς καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Φυσικῶν καὶ Ζήνων. ὕλη δέ ἐστιν ἐξ ἧς ὁτιδηποτοῦν γίνεται. καλεῖται δὲ διχῶς, οὐσία τε καὶ ὕλη, ἥ τε τῶν πάντων καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους. ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν ὅλων οὔτε πλείων οὔτ' ἐλάττων γίνεται, ἡ δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους καὶ πλείων καὶ ἐλάττων.	The substance of all things that exist, they say, is primary matter, as Chrysippus says in the first book of his *Physics*, and Zeno. Matter is that from which anything whatever comes to be. Both terms, substance and matter, are used in two senses: of all things together and of particular things. The substance of the whole neither increases nor diminishes, but that of particular things grows both greater and less.

49 Dia and Zēna are both accusative forms of the name Zeus; the Stoics also linked Hera with *aēr* ("air") and Demeter with *gē* ("earth").
50 The definition plays on *heimarmenē* ("fate") and *heiromenē* ("strung together").

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	σῶμα δέ ἐστι κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἡ οὐσία καὶ πεπερασμένη, καθά φησιν Ἀντίπατρος ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ οὐσίας καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῇ Φυσικῇ. καὶ παθητὴ δέ ἐστιν, ὡς ὁ αὐτός φησιν· εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἄτρεπτος, οὐκ ἂν τὰ γινόμενα ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐγίνετο· ἔνθεν κἀκεῖν᾽ ὡς ἥ τε τομὴ εἰς ἄπειρόν ἐστιν. (ἣν ἄπειρον ⟨οὐκ εἰς ἄπειρόν⟩ φησιν ὁ Χρύσιππος· οὐ γάρ ἐστί τι ἄπειρον, εἰς ὃ γίνεται ἡ τομή. ἀλλ᾽ ἀκατάληκτός ἐστι.)	Substance, in their view, is body and is finite, as Antipater says in the second book of *On Substance*, and Apollodorus in his *Physics*. It can also be acted on, as the same author says. If it were unchangeable, the things that come to be would not have come to be from it. Hence also the doctrine that division goes on to infinity. (Chrysippus says that division is infinite but does not go on to infinity, because there is no infinite thing that the division reaches. It simply never comes to an end.)
7.151	Καὶ τὰς κράσεις δὲ διόλου γίνεσθαι, καθά φησιν ὁ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Φυσικῶν, καὶ μὴ κατὰ περιγραφὴν καὶ παράθεσιν· καὶ γὰρ εἰς πέλαγος ὀλίγος οἶνος βληθεὶς ἐπὶ ποσὸν ἀντιπαρεκταθήσεται, εἶτα συμφθαρήσεται.	Mixtures too, they say, are mixed through and through, as Chrysippus says in the third book of his *Physics*, and not by surrounding and juxtaposition. A little wine poured into the sea will spread out to some extent through the sea, and then perish along with it.
	Φασὶ δ᾽ εἶναι καί τινας δαίμονας ἀνθρώπων συμπάθειαν ἔχοντας, ἐπόπτας τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων· καὶ ἥρωας τὰς ὑπολελειμμένας τῶν σπουδαίων ψυχάς.	They also say that there are certain spirits who feel sympathy with human beings and watch over human affairs, and that heroes are the surviving souls of good people.
	Τῶν δ᾽ ἐν ἀέρι γινομένων χειμῶνα μὲν εἶναί φασι τὸν ὑπὲρ γῆς ἀέρα κατεψυγμένον διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου πρόσω ἄφοδον, ἔαρ δὲ τὴν εὐκρασίαν τοῦ [152] ἀέρος κατὰ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς πορείαν, θέρος δὲ τὸν ὑπὲρ γῆς ἀέρα καταθαλπόμενον τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου πρὸς ἄρκτον πορείᾳ, μετόπωρον δὲ τῇ παλινδρομίᾳ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν γίνεσθαι. ⟨τοὺς δ᾽ ἀνέμους ἀέρος εἶναι ῥύσεις· παραλλαττούσας δὲ τὰς ἐπωνυμίας γίνεσθαι⟩ παρὰ τοὺς τόπους ἀφ᾽ ὧν ῥέουσι. τῆς δὲ γενέσεως αὐτῶν αἴτιον γίνεσθαι τὸν ἥλιον ἐξατμίζοντα τὰ νέφη.	As for what happens in the air, they say that winter is the air above the earth chilled because the sun has moved far away; spring is the temperate state of the [152] air as the sun travels toward us; summer is the air above the earth warmed by the sun's course toward the north; and autumn comes about as the sun runs back away from us. The winds, they say, are flows of air, and they take different names from the regions they flow from. The cause of their coming into being is the sun, which evaporates the clouds.
7.152	Ἶριν δ᾽ εἶναι αὐγὰς ἀφ᾽ ὑγρῶν νεφῶν ἀνακεκλασμένας ἥ, ὡς Ποσειδώνιός φησιν ἐν τῇ Μετεωρολογικῇ, ἔμφασιν ἡλίου τμήματος ἢ σελήνης ἐν νέφει δεδροσισμένῳ, κοίλῳ καὶ συνεχεῖ πρὸς φαντασίαν, ὡς ἐν κατόπτρῳ φανταζομένην κατὰ κύκλου περιφέρειαν. κομήτας τε καὶ πωγωνίας καὶ λαμπαδίας πυρὰ εἶναι ὑφεστῶτα πάχους ἀέρος εἰς τὸν αἰθερώδη τόπον ἀνενεχθέντος.	The rainbow is rays of light reflected from moist clouds, or, as Posidonius says in his *Meteorology*, the appearance of a segment of the sun or moon in a cloud that is bedewed, hollow and continuous to the eye, showing up as in a mirror in the shape of a circular arc. Comets, bearded stars and torch-meteors are fires that arise when dense air has been carried up to the region of the aether.
7.153	σέλας δὲ πυρὸς ἀθρόου ἔξαψιν ἐν ἀέρι φερομένου ταχέως καὶ φαντασίαν μήκους ἐμφαίνοντος. ὑετὸν δ᾽ ἐκ νέφους μεταβολὴν εἰς ὕδωρ, ἐπειδὰν ἢ ἐκ γῆς ἢ ἐκ θαλάττης ἀνενεχθεῖσα ὑγρασία ὑφ᾽ ἡλίου μὴ τυγχάνῃ κατεργασίας· καταψυχθὲν δὲ τοῦτο πάχνην καλεῖσθαι. χάλαζαν δὲ νέφος πεπηγός, ὑπὸ πνεύματος διαθρυφθέν· χιόνα δ᾽ ὑγρὸν ἐκ νέφους πεπηγότος, ὡς Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ τοῦ Φυσικοῦ λόγου· ἀστραπὴν δ᾽ ἔξαψιν νεφῶν	A shooting star is the kindling of a mass of fire that moves swiftly through the air and gives the impression of length. Rain is the change of cloud into water, when moisture carried up from the earth or the sea has not been worked on by the sun; when this is chilled it is called hoarfrost. Hail is frozen cloud crumbled by wind; snow is moisture from frozen cloud, as Posidonius says in the

GREEK

παρατριβομένων ἢ ῥηγνυμένων ὑπὸ πνεύματος, ὡς Ζήνων ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ ὅλου· βροντὴν δὲ τὸν τούτων ψόφον ἐκ παρατρίψεως ἢ ῥήξεως· [154] κεραυνὸν δ' ἔξαψιν σφοδρὰν μετὰ πολλῆς βίας πίπτουσαν ἐπὶ γῆς, νεφῶν παρατριβομένων ἢ ῥηγνυμένων ὑπὸ πνεύματος.

7.154 οἱ δὲ συστροφὴν πυρώδους ἀέρος βιαίως καταφερομένην. τυφῶνα δὲ κεραυνὸν πολύν, βίαιον καὶ πνευματώδη ἢ πνεῦμα καπνῶδες ἐρρωγότος νέφους· πρηστῆρα ⟨δὲ⟩ νέφος περισχισθὲν πυρὶ μετὰ πνεύματος. ⟨σεισμοὺς δὲ γίνεσθαι ῥυέντος πνεύματος⟩ εἰς τὰ κοιλώματα τῆς γῆς ἢ καθειρχθέντος [πνεύματος] ἐν τῇ γῇ, καθά φησι Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ· εἶναι δ' αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν σεισματίας, τοὺς δὲ χασματίας, τοὺς δὲ κλιματίας, τοὺς δὲ βρασματίας.

7.155 Ἀρέσκει δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν διακόσμησιν ὧδε ἔχειν· μέσην τὴν γῆν κέντρου λόγον ἐπέχουσαν, μεθ' ἣν τὸ ὕδωρ σφαιροειδές, ἔχον τὸ αὐτὸ κέντρον τῇ γῇ, ὥστε τὴν γῆν ἐν ὕδατι εἶναι· μετὰ τὸ ὕδωρ δ' ἀέρα ἐσφαιρωμένον. κύκλους δ' εἶναι ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ πέντε, ὧν πρῶτον ἀρκτικὸν ἀεὶ φαινόμενον, δεύτερον τροπικὸν θερινόν, τρίτον ἰσημερινόν, τέταρτον χειμερινὸν τροπικόν, πέμπτον ἀνταρκτικὸν ἀφανῆ. λέγονται δὲ παράλληλοι καθότι οὐ συννεύουσιν εἰς ἀλλήλους· γράφονται μέντοι περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κέντρον.

ὁ δὲ ζωδιακὸς λοξός ἐστιν, ὡς ἐπιὼν τοὺς παραλλήλους. [156] ζῶναί τ' ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἰσι πέντε· πρώτη βόρειος [καὶ] ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀρκτικὸν κύκλον, ἀοίκητος διὰ ψῦχος· δευτέρα εὔκρατος· τρίτη ἀοίκητος ὑπὸ καυμάτων, ἡ διακεκαυμένη καλουμένη· τετάρτη ἡ ἀντεύκρατος· πέμπτη νότιος, ἀοίκητος διὰ ψῦχος.

7.156 Δοκεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς τὴν μὲν φύσιν εἶναι πῦρ τεχνικόν, ὁδῷ βαδίζον εἰς γένεσιν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ πνεῦμα πυροειδὲς καὶ τεχνοειδές· τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν αἰσθητικὴν ⟨φύσιν⟩. ταύτην δ' εἶναι τὸ συμφυὲς ἡμῖν πνεῦμα· διὸ καὶ σῶμα εἶναι καὶ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον ἐπιμένειν· φθαρτὴν δ' ὑπάρχειν, τὴν δὲ τῶν ὅλων ἄφθαρτον, ἧς μέρη εἶναι τὰς ἐν τοῖς ζῴοις. [157] Ζήνων δ' ὁ Κιτιεὺς καὶ Ἀντίπατρος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ Ποσειδώνιος πνεῦμα ἔνθερμον εἶναι τὴν ψυχήν· τούτῳ γὰρ ἡμᾶς εἶναι ἔμπνους καὶ ὑπὸ τούτου κινεῖσθαι.

ENGLISH

eighth book of his *Physical Discourse*. Lightning is the kindling of clouds as they rub together or are torn apart by wind, as Zeno says in his *On the Whole*; thunder is the noise they make as they rub or tear; [154] a thunderbolt is a fierce kindling that falls on the earth with great force when clouds rub together or are torn apart by wind.

Others say it is a twisting mass of fiery air rushing violently down. A typhoon is a great thunderbolt, violent and full of wind, or a smoky wind from a cloud that has burst; a prester is a cloud split all around by fire, together with wind. Earthquakes happen when wind flows into the hollows of the earth or [wind] is shut up in the earth, as Posidonius says in the eighth book; and some of them are shaking, some gaping, some tilting and some heaving.[51]

They hold that the arrangement of the world is as follows. The earth is in the middle, playing the part of the center; after it comes water, spherical in shape and with the same center as the earth, so that the earth is in water; after the water comes air, formed into a sphere. In the heavens there are five circles: first the arctic, which is always visible; second the summer tropic; third the equinoctial; fourth the winter tropic; fifth the antarctic, which is invisible. They are called parallel because they do not incline toward one another; yet they are drawn around the same center.

The zodiac is oblique, since it crosses the parallels. [156] And on the earth there are five zones: first the northern, [and] beyond the arctic circle, uninhabitable because of the cold; second the temperate; third, uninhabitable because of the heat, the one called the torrid zone; fourth the opposite temperate zone; fifth the southern, uninhabitable because of the cold.

They hold that nature is a craftsmanlike fire proceeding methodically to bring things into being, that is, a fiery, craftlike breath; and that the soul is a nature capable of perception. This, they say, is the breath that is born with us; so it is a body and survives after death. Yet it is perishable, whereas the soul of the whole is imperishable, and the souls in living beings are parts of it. [157] Zeno of Citium, Antipater in his books *On the Soul*, and

51 Typhoons and presters were kinds of violent whirlwind; the prester was associated with fire and lightning.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Κλεάνθης μὲν οὖν πάσας ἐπιδιαμένειν μέχρι τῆς ἐκπυρώσεως, Χρύσιππος δὲ τὰς τῶν σοφῶν μόνον.	Posidonius say that the soul is warm breath, since by this we are breathing beings and by this we are moved. Cleanthes held that all souls survive until the conflagration, Chrysippus that only those of the wise do.
7.157	Μέρη δὲ ψυχῆς λέγουσιν ὀκτώ, τὰς πέντ' αἰσθήσεις καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἡμῖν σπερματικοὺς λόγους καὶ τὸ φωνητικὸν καὶ τὸ λογιστικόν. ὁρᾶν δὲ τοῦ μεταξὺ τῆς ὁράσεως καὶ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου φωτὸς ἐντεινομένου κωνοειδῶς, καθά φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν Φυσικῶν καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος. γίνεσθαι μέντοι τὸ κωνοειδὲς τοῦ ἀέρος πρὸς τῇ ὄψει, τὴν δὲ βάσιν πρὸς τῷ ὁρωμένῳ· ὡς διὰ βακτηρίας οὖν τοῦ ταθέντος ἀέρος τὸ βλεπόμενον ἀναγγέλλεσθαι.	They say the soul has eight parts: the five senses, the seminal principles in us, the faculty of speech and the faculty of reasoning. We see, they say, when the light between the organ of sight and the object is stretched into a cone, as Chrysippus says in the second book of his *Physics*, and Apollodorus too. The apex of the cone of air is at the eye and its base at the thing seen; so what is seen is reported through the stretched air, as if through a walking stick.
7.158	Ἀκούειν δὲ τοῦ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε φωνοῦντος καὶ τοῦ ἀκούοντος ἀέρος πληττομένου σφαιροειδῶς, εἶτα κυματουμένου καὶ ταῖς ἀκοαῖς προσπίπτοντος, ὡς κυματοῦται τὸ ἐν τῇ δεξαμενῇ ὕδωρ κατὰ κύκλους ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμβληθέντος λίθου. τὸν δὲ ὕπνον γίνεσθαι ἐκλυομένου τοῦ αἰσθητικοῦ τόνου περὶ τὸ ἡγεμονικόν. αἰτίας δὲ τῶν παθῶν ἀπολείπουσι τὰς περὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τροπάς.	We hear when the air between the speaker and the hearer is struck in spheres, then forms waves and strikes the ears, just as the water in a cistern forms waves in circles when a stone is thrown in. Sleep comes about when the tension of perception slackens around the ruling center. As the causes of the passions they give alterations in the breath.
	Σπέρμα δὲ λέγουσιν εἶναι τὸ οἷόν τε γεννᾶν τοιαῦτ' ἀφ' οἵου καὶ αὐτὸ ἀπεκρίθη· ἀνθρώπου δὲ σπέρμα, ὃ μεθίησιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος μεθ' ὑγροῦ, συγκιρνᾶσθαι τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς μέρεσι κατὰ μιγμὸν τοῦ τῶν προγόνων λόγου. [159] εἶναι δ' αὐτὸ Χρύσιππός φησιν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Φυσικῶν πνεῦμα κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὴν γῆν καταβαλλομένων σπερμάτων, ἃ παλαιωθέντα οὐκέτι φύεται, ὡς δῆλον διαπεπνευκυίας αὐτοῖς τῆς δυνάμεως. καὶ ἀφ' ὅλων δὲ τῶν σωμάτων αὐτό φασι καταφέρεσθαι οἱ περὶ τὸν Σφαῖρον· πάντων γοῦν γεννητικὸν εἶναι τῶν τοῦ σώματος μερῶν.	Seed, they say, is what is capable of producing things of the same kind as that from which it was itself separated. Human seed, which a man emits together with moisture, is mixed with the parts of the soul in a blending of the formative principle of the ancestors. [159] Chrysippus says in the second book of his *Physics* that it is breath in its substance, as is clear from seeds sown in the earth: once they are old they no longer grow, clearly because their power has breathed its way out of them. Sphaerus and his followers say that it comes from the whole of the body; at any rate it is capable of generating all the parts of the body.
7.159	τὸ δὲ τῆς θηλείας ἄγονον ἀποφαίνονται· ἄτονόν τε γὰρ εἶναι καὶ ὀλίγον καὶ ὑδατῶδες, ὡς ὁ Σφαῖρός φησιν. ἡγεμονικὸν δ' εἶναι τὸ κυριώτατον τῆς ψυχῆς, ἐν ᾧ αἱ φαντασίαι καὶ αἱ ὁρμαὶ γίνονται καὶ ὅθεν ὁ λόγος ἀναπέμπεται· ὅπερ εἶναι ἐν καρδίᾳ.	The female's seed they declare infertile, since it lacks tension and is scanty and watery, as Sphaerus says. The ruling center, they say, is the most authoritative part of the soul: in it impressions and impulses arise, and from it speech is sent out; and it is in the heart.
7.160	Ταῦτα μὲν καὶ τὰ φυσικὰ τὸ ὅσον ἡμῖν ἀποχρώντως ἔχειν δοκεῖ, στοχαζομένοις τῆς συμμετρίας τοῦ συγγράμματος. ἃ δέ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν διηνέχθησαν, ἔστι τάδε.	So much for their doctrines, physics included, as far as seems adequate to me, since I am aiming to keep this work in proportion. The points on which some of them disagreed are the following.

ARISTON

Ariston of Chios makes indifference the end and rejects logic and physics.

GREEK

Ἀρίστων ὁ Χῖος ὁ Φάλανθος, ἐπικαλούμενος Σειρήν, τέλος ἔφησεν εἶναι τὸ ἀδιαφόρως ἔχοντα ζῆν πρὸς τὰ μεταξὺ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας μηδ' ἡντινοῦν ἐν αὐτοῖς παραλλαγὴν ἀπολείποντα, ἀλλ' ἐπίσης ἐπὶ πάντων ἔχοντα· εἶναι γὰρ ὅμοιον τὸν σοφὸν τῷ ἀγαθῷ ὑποκριτῇ, ὃς ἄν τε Θερσίτου ἄν τε Ἀγαμέμνονος πρόσωπον ἀναλάβῃ, ἑκάτερον ὑποκρινεῖται προσηκόντως. τόν τε φυσικὸν τόπον καὶ τὸν λογικὸν ἀνῄρει, λέγων τὸν μὲν εἶναι ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς, τὸν δ' οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, μόνον δὲ τὸν ἠθικὸν εἶναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

ENGLISH

Ariston of Chios, called the Bald and nicknamed the Siren, said that the end is to live in a state of indifference toward what lies between virtue and vice, admitting not the slightest difference among these things but being equally disposed toward them all. For the wise man, he said, is like a good actor, who, whether he takes on the mask of Thersites or of Agamemnon, will play either part fittingly. He did away with the physical and the logical parts of philosophy, saying that the first is beyond us and the second is nothing to us; only ethics concerns us.[52]

7.161 Ἐοικέναι δὲ τοὺς διαλεκτικοὺς λόγους τοῖς ἀραχνίοις, ἃ καίτοι δοκοῦντα τεχνικόν τι ἐμφαίνειν, ἄχρηστά ἐστιν. ἀρετάς τ' οὔτε πολλὰς εἰσῆγεν, ὡς ὁ Ζήνων, οὔτε μίαν πολλοῖς ὀνόμασι καλουμένην, ὡς οἱ Μεγαρικοί, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ πρός τί πως ἔχειν. οὕτω δὲ φιλοσοφῶν καὶ ἐν Κυνοσάργει διαλεγόμενος ἴσχυσεν αἱρετιστὴς ἀκοῦσαι. Μιλτιάδης οὖν καὶ Δίφιλος Ἀριστώνειοι προσηγορεύοντο. ἦν δέ τις πειστικὸς καὶ ὄχλῳ πεποιημένος· ὅθεν ὁ Τίμων φησὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ, καί τις Ἀρίστωνος γενεὴν ἀπὸ αἱμύλου ἕλκων.

Dialectical arguments, he said, are like spiders' webs: though they seem to display some craftsmanship, they are useless. He did not introduce many virtues, as Zeno did, nor one virtue called by many names, as the Megarians did, but treated virtue in terms of being related to something in a certain way. Philosophizing like this and lecturing in the Cynosarges, he became influential enough to be called the founder of a school. Miltiades and Diphilus, at any rate, were called Aristonians. He was a persuasive man, made for the crowd; hence Timon says of him: And someone tracing his line from wily Ariston.

7.162 Παραβαλὼν δὲ Πολέμωνι, φησὶ Διοκλῆς ὁ Μάγνης, μετέθετο, Ζήνωνος ἀρρωστίᾳ μακρᾷ περιπεσόντος. μάλιστα δὲ προσεῖχε Στωικῷ δόγματι τῷ τὸν σοφὸν ἀδόξαστον εἶναι. πρὸς ὃ Περσαῖος ἐναντιούμενος διδύμων ἀδελφῶν τὸν ἕτερον ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ παρακαταθήκην δοῦναι, ἔπειτα τὸν ἕτερον ἀπολαβεῖν· καὶ οὕτως ἀπορούμενον διήλεγξεν. ἀπετείνετο δὲ πρὸς Ἀρκεσίλαον· ὅτε θεασάμενος ταῦρον τερατώδη μήτραν ἔχοντα, "οἴμοι," ἔφη, "δέδοται Ἀρκεσιλάῳ ἐπιχείρημα κατὰ τῆς ἐναργείας."

He went over to Polemo, says Diocles of Magnesia, changing sides when Zeno had fallen into a long illness. He laid most stress on the Stoic doctrine that the wise man does not hold opinions. Persaeus, opposing this, got one of a pair of twin brothers to deposit something with him and then had the other take it back; and so, having left him at a loss, he refuted him. He was hostile to Arcesilaus: once, seeing a bull with a monstrous womb, he said, "Oh dear, Arcesilaus has been handed an argument against what is evident."

7.163 Πρὸς δὲ τὸν φάμενον Ἀκαδημαϊκὸν οὐδὲν καταλαμβάνειν, "ἆρ' οὐδὲ τὸν πλησίον σου καθήμενον ὁρᾷς;" εἶπεν· ἀρνησαμένου δέ, τίς δέ σ' ἐτύφλωσεν (ἔφη), τίς ἀφείλετο λαμπάδος αὐγάς;

To the Academic who said he apprehended nothing, he said, "Don't you even see the man sitting next to you?" When the man said no: Who blinded you (he said), who robbed you of the lamplight's gleam?

52 In Homer's *Iliad* Thersites is the ugliest and most abusive soldier at Troy, Agamemnon the supreme commander of the Greeks.

GREEK	ENGLISH
Βιβλία δ' αὐτοῦ φέρεται τάδε· Προτρεπτικῶν β′. Περὶ τῶν Ζήνωνος δογμάτων. Διάλογοι. Σχολῶν ς′. Περὶ σοφίας διατριβῶν ζ′. Ἐρωτικαὶ διατριβαί. Ὑπομνήματα ὑπὲρ κενοδοξίας. Ὑπομνημάτων κε′. Ἀπομνημονευμάτων γ′. Χρειῶν ια′. Πρὸς τοὺς ῥήτορας. Πρὸς τὰς Ἀλεξίνου ἀντιγραφάς. Πρὸς τοὺς διαλεκτικοὺς γ′. Πρὸς Κλεάνθην, Ἐπιστολῶν δ′.	The following books are attributed to him: *Exhortations*, 2 books. *On Zeno's Doctrines*. *Dialogues*. *Lectures*, 6 books. *Discourses on Wisdom*, 7 books. *Discourses on Love*. *Notes on Vainglory*. *Notes*, 25 books. *Memoirs*, 3 books. *Anecdotes*, 11 books. *Against the Orators*. *Against Alexinus' Replies*. *Against the Dialecticians*, 3 books. *Letters to Cleanthes*, 4 books.
Παναίτιος δὲ καὶ Σωσικράτης μόνας αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπιστολάς φασι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τοῦ περιπατητικοῦ Ἀρίστωνος.	Panaetius and Sosicrates say that only the letters are his, and that the rest belong to Ariston the Peripatetic.
164 Τοῦτον λόγος φαλακρὸν ὄντα ἐγκαυθῆναι ὑπὸ ἡλίου καὶ ὧδε τελευτῆσαι. προσεπαίξαμεν δ' αὐτῷ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον τῷ ἰάμβῳ τῷ χωλῷ· τί δὴ γέρων ὢν καὶ φάλανθος, ὦ ῾ρίστων, τὸ βρέγμ' ἔδωκας ἡλίῳ κατοπτῆσαι; τοιγὰρ τὸ θερμὸν πλεῖον ἢ δέοι ζητῶν τὸν ψυχρὸν ὄντως εὗρες οὐ θέλων Ἅιδην.	164 The story goes that, being bald, he got sunstroke and died of it. I have had some fun with him in this limping iambic: Why, Ariston, old and bald as you were, did you give the top of your head to the sun to roast? So, looking for more warmth than you should, you found, without wanting it, Hades who is truly cold.[53]
7.164 Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Ἀρίστων Ἰουλιήτης περιπατητικός, ὁ δέ τις μουσικὸς Ἀθηναῖος, τέταρτος ποιητὴς τραγῳδίας, πέμπτος Ἁλαιεὺς τέχνας γεγραφὼς ῥητορικάς, ἕκτος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς περιπατητικός.	There was also another Ariston, of Iulis, a Peripatetic; another, an Athenian musician; a fourth, a tragic poet; a fifth, of Halae, who wrote handbooks of rhetoric; and a sixth, of Alexandria, a Peripatetic.

HERILLUS

Herillus of Carthage makes knowledge the end.

GREEK	ENGLISH
7.165 ῾Ηρίλλος δ' ὁ Καρχηδόνιος τέλος εἶπε τὴν ἐπιστήμην, ὅπερ ἐστὶ ζῆν ἀεὶ πάντ' ἀναφέροντα πρὸς τὸ μετ' ἐπιστήμης ζῆν καὶ μὴ τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ διαβεβλημένον. εἶναι δὲ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἕξιν ἐν φαντασιῶν προσδέξει ἀνυπόπτωτον ὑπὸ λόγου. ποτὲ δ' ἔλεγε μηδὲν εἶναι τέλος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς περιστάσεις καὶ τὰ πράγματ' ἀλλάττεσθαι αὐτό, ὡς καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χαλκὸν ἢ Ἀλεξάνδρου γινόμενον ἀνδριάντα ἢ Σωκράτους. διαφέρειν δὲ τέλος καὶ ὑποτελίδα· τῆς μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοὺς μὴ σοφοὺς στοχάζεσθαι, τοῦ δὲ μόνον τὸν σοφόν. τὰ δὲ μεταξὺ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας ἀδιάφορα εἶναι. ἔστι δ' αὐτοῦ τὰ βιβλία ὀλιγόστιχα μέν, δυνάμεως δὲ μεστὰ καὶ περιέχοντα ἀντιρρήσεις πρὸς Ζήνωνα.	Herillus of Carthage said that the end is knowledge, that is, always living so as to refer everything to living with knowledge and not being misled by ignorance. Knowledge, he said, is a state in the reception of impressions that cannot be overturned by argument. Sometimes he said that there is no single end, but that it changes with circumstances and situations, just as the same bronze becomes a statue of Alexander or of Socrates. He distinguished the end from the subordinate end: even those who are not wise aim at the latter, but only the wise man aims at the former. What lies between virtue and vice, he held, is indifferent. His books are short, but full of force, and contain counterarguments against Zeno.

53 The "limping iambic" (choliamb) is a meter whose last foot is deliberately reversed, giving the line a halting end.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
7.166	Λέγεται δ' ὅτι παιδὸς ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἠράσθησαν ἱκανοί, οὓς ἀποτρέψαι βουλόμενος ὁ Ζήνων ἠνάγκασε ξυρᾶσθαι Ἥριλλον, οἱ δ' ἀπετράποντο.	It is said that when he was a boy a good many men fell in love with him, and Zeno, wanting to put them off, made Herillus shave his head, and they were put off.
	Τὰ δὲ βιβλία ἐστὶ τάδε· Περὶ ἀσκήσεως. Περὶ παθῶν. Περὶ ὑπολήψεως. Νομοθέτης. Μαιευτικός. Ἀντιφέρων. Διδάσκαλος. Διασκευάζων. Εὐθύνων. Ἑρμῆς. Μήδεια. Διάλογοι. Θέσεων ἠθικῶν.	His books are these: *On Training*. *On Passions*. *On Belief*. *The Lawgiver*. *The Midwife*. *Antiphero*. *The Teacher*. *The Reviser*. *The Examiner*. *Hermes*. *Medea*. *Dialogues*. *Ethical Theses*.

DIONYSIUS THE RENEGADE

Dionysius leaves the Stoics for pleasure after a painful eye disease.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Διονύσιος δ' ὁ Μεταθέμενος τέλος εἶπε τὴν ἡδονὴν διὰ περίστασιν ὀφθαλμίας· ἀλγήσας γὰρ ἐπιπόνως ὤκνησεν εἰπεῖν τὸν πόνον ἀδιάφορον.	Dionysius the Renegade said that the end is pleasure, because of an attack of eye disease: it hurt him so badly that he could not bring himself to call pain indifferent.
	Ἦν δὲ παῖς μὲν Θεοφάντου, πόλεως δ' Ἡρακλείας. ἤκουσε δέ, καθά φησι Διοκλῆς, πρῶτον μὲν Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ πολίτου, ἔπειτ' Ἀλεξίνου καὶ Μενεδήμου, τελευταῖον δὲ Ζήνωνος.	He was the son of Theophantus and came from the city of Heraclea. He studied, as Diocles says, first under his fellow citizen Heraclides, then under Alexinus and Menedemus, and finally under Zeno.
7.167	Καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν φιλογράμματος ὢν παντοδαποῖς ἐπεχείρει ποιήμασιν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ Ἄρατον ἀπεδέχετο, ζηλῶν αὐτόν. ἀποστὰς δὲ τοῦ Ζήνωνος πρὸς τοὺς Κυρηναϊκοὺς ἀπετράπη καὶ εἴς τε τὰ χαμαιτυπεῖα εἰσῄει καὶ τἄλλ' ἀπαρακαλύπτως ἡδυπάθει. βιοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὰ ὀγδοήκοντ' ἀσιτίᾳ κατέστρεψε.	At first, being fond of literature, he tried his hand at all kinds of poetry; later he also took up Aratus, whom he admired and emulated. After falling away from Zeno he turned to the Cyrenaics, went into brothels and indulged in other pleasures openly. He lived to nearly eighty and died by starving himself.[54]
	Βιβλία δ' αὐτοῦ φέρεται τάδε· Περὶ ἀπαθείας β′. Περὶ ἀσκήσεως β′. Περὶ ἡδονῆς δ′. Περὶ πλούτου καὶ χάριτος καὶ τιμωρίας. Περὶ ἀνθρώπων χρήσεως. Περὶ εὐτυχίας. Περὶ ἀρχαίων βασιλέων. Περὶ τῶν ἐπαινουμένων. Περὶ βαρβαρικῶν ἐθῶν.	The following books are attributed to him: *On Freedom from Passion*, 2 books. *On Training*, 2 books. *On Pleasure*, 4 books. *On Wealth, Favor and Revenge*. *On the Use of Human Beings*. *On Good Fortune*. *On Ancient Kings*. *On Things Praised*. *On Non-Greek Customs*.
	Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οἱ διενεχθέντες. διεδέξατο δὲ τὸν Ζήνωνα Κλεάνθης, περὶ οὗ λεκτέον.	These, then, are the dissenters. Zeno's successor was Cleanthes, of whom I must now speak.

CLEANTHES

Cleanthes the boxer draws water by night to study by day, succeeds Zeno, and starves himself to death.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
7.168	Κλεάνθης Φανίου Ἄσσιος. οὗτος πρῶτον ἦν πύκτης, ὥς φησιν Ἀντισθένης ἐν Διαδοχαῖς. ἀφικόμενος δ' εἰς Ἀθήνας τέσσαρας ἔχων δραχμάς, καθά φασί τινες, καὶ	Cleanthes, son of Phanias, of Assos. He was at first a boxer, as Antisthenes says in his *Successions*. He came to Athens with four drachmas, as some say,

54 Aratus of Soli (c. 315–240 BC) wrote the *Phaenomena*, a famous poem on the constellations and weather signs.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Ζήνωνι παραβαλὼν ἐφιλοσόφησε γενναιότατα καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔμεινε δογμάτων. διεβοήθη δ' ἐπὶ φιλοπονίᾳ, ὅς γε πένης ὢν ἄγαν ὥρμησε μισθοφορεῖν· καὶ νύκτωρ μὲν ἐν τοῖς κήποις ἤντλει, μεθ' ἡμέραν δ' ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἐγυμνάζετο· ὅθεν καὶ Φρεάντλης ἐκλήθη. φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς δικαστήριον ἀχθῆναι, λόγους δώσοντα πόθεν ἐς τοσοῦτον εὐέκτης ὢν διαζῇ· ἔπειτ' ἀποφυγεῖν, τόν τε κηπουρὸν μάρτυρα παρασχόντα παρ' ὃν ἤντλει, [169] καὶ τὴν ἀλφιτόπωλιν παρ' ᾗ τἄλφιτα ἔπεττεν.	attached himself to Zeno, practiced philosophy most nobly and kept to the same doctrines. He was famous for his love of hard work: being very poor, he set out to work for wages. At night he drew water in the gardens, and by day he exercised himself in philosophical arguments; hence he was also called Phreantles, "the Well-Drawer." They say he was even brought into court to explain how a man in such good physical condition made his living, and that he was acquitted, producing as witnesses the gardener for whom he drew water [169] and the woman who sold barley-meal, whose meal he baked.
7.169	ἀποδεξαμένους δ' αὐτὸν τοὺς Ἀρεοπαγίτας ψηφίσασθαι δέκα μνᾶς δοθῆναι, Ζήνωνα δὲ κωλῦσαι λαβεῖν. φασὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀντίγονον αὐτῷ τρισχιλίας δοῦναι. ἡγούμενόν τε τῶν ἐφήβων ἐπί τινα θέαν ὑπ' ἀνέμου παραγυμνωθῆναι καὶ ὀφθῆναι ἀχίτωνα· ἐφ' ᾧ κρότῳ τιμηθῆναι ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων, καθά φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης ἐν τοῖς Ὁμωνύμοις. ἐθαυμάσθη δὴ οὖν καὶ διὰ τόδε. φασὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀντίγονον αὐτοῦ πυθέσθαι ὄντα ἀκροατήν, διὰ τί ἀντλεῖ· τὸν δ' εἰπεῖν, "ἀντλῶ γὰρ μόνον; τίδ'; οὐχὶ σκάπτω; τίδ'; οὐκ ἄρδω καὶ πάντα ποιῶ φιλοσοφίας ἕνεκα;" καὶ γὰρ ὁ Ζήνων αὐτὸν συνεγύμναζεν εἰς τοῦτο καὶ ἐκέλευεν ὀβολὸν φέρειν ἀποφορᾶς.	The Areopagites, it is said, were impressed with him and voted to give him ten minas, but Zeno would not let him take them. They also say that Antigonus gave him three thousand drachmas. And they say that once, when he was leading the ephebes to some spectacle, the wind blew his cloak aside and he was seen to be wearing no tunic; for this the Athenians honored him with applause, as Demetrius of Magnesia says in his *Men of the Same Name*. So he was admired for this as well. They also say that Antigonus, who attended his lectures, asked him why he drew water; and he said, "Is drawing water all I do? What? Don't I dig? What? Don't I water the garden, and do everything for the sake of philosophy?" For Zeno trained him in this and told him to bring an obol of his earnings each day.[55]
7.170	καί ποτ' ἀθροισθὲν τὸ κέρμα ἐκόμισεν εἰς μέσον τῶν γνωρίμων καί φησι, "Κλεάνθης μὲν καὶ ἄλλον Κλεάνθην δύναιτ' ἂν τρέφειν, εἰ βούλοιτο· οἱ δ' ἔχοντες ὅθεν τραφήσονται παρ' ἑτέρων ἐπιζητοῦσι τἀπιτήδεια, καίπερ ἀνειμένως φιλοσοφοῦντες." ὅθεν δὴ καὶ δεύτερος Ἡρακλῆς ὁ Κλεάνθης ἐκαλεῖτο. ἦν δὲ πονικὸς μέν, ἀφύσικος δὲ καὶ βραδὺς ὑπερβαλλόντως· διὸ καὶ Τίμων περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν οὕτως· τίς δ' οὗτος κτίλος ὡς ἐπιπωλεῖται στίχας ἀνδρῶν, μωλύτης ἐπέων φίλος Ἄσσιος, ὅλμος ἄτολμος;	Once he brought the coins he had collected into the middle of a gathering of his pupils and said, "Cleanthes could support even a second Cleanthes if he wanted to; but those who have the means to support themselves look to others for their necessities, even though they practice philosophy only in a relaxed way." Hence Cleanthes was called a second Heracles. He was industrious but lacking in natural talent and exceedingly slow; so Timon says of him: Who is this who, like a bellwether, ranges over the ranks of men, a sluggard at words, the dear man from Assos, a mortar without mettle?[56]
	Καὶ σκωπτόμενος δ' ὑπὸ τῶν συμμαθητῶν ἠνείχετο καὶ ὄνος ἀκούων προσεδέχετο, λέγων αὐτὸς μόνος δύνασθαι βαστάζειν τὸ Ζήνωνος φορτίον. [171] καί ποτ' ὀνειδιζόμενος	He put up with being mocked by his fellow pupils and accepted being called a donkey, saying that he alone could carry Zeno's load. [171] Once, when he

55 The Areopagus was Athens' ancient council.
56 Timon's last phrase puns on *holmos* ("mortar") and *atolmos* ("timid").

GREEK

ENGLISH

ὡς δειλός, “διὰ τοῦτο,” εἶπεν, “ὀλίγα ἁμαρτάνω.” προκρίνων δὲ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον τοῦ τῶν πλουσίων ἔλεγεν, ἐν ᾧ σφαιρίζουσιν ἐκεῖνοι γῆν σκληρὰν καὶ ἄκαρπον αὐτὸς ἐργάζεσθαι σκάπτων. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἐπέπληττεν· ὧν ἀκούσας Ἀρίστων, “τίνι,” ἔφη, “ἐπιπλήττεις;” καὶ ὃς γελάσας, “πρεσβύτῃ,” φησί, “πολιὰς μὲν ἔχοντι, νοῦν δὲ μή.”

was reproached for being a coward, he said, “That’s why I make so few mistakes.” Preferring his own life to that of the rich, he used to say that while they play ball, he is digging and working hard, barren ground. He often scolded himself; Ariston heard him and asked, “Who are you scolding?” He laughed and said, “An old man who has gray hair but no sense.”

7.171 εἰπόντος δέ τινος Ἀρκεσίλαον μὴ ποιεῖν τὰ δέοντα, “παῦσαι,” ἔφη, “καὶ μὴ ψέγε· εἰ γὰρ καὶ λόγῳ τὸ καθῆκον ἀναιρεῖ, τοῖς γοῦν ἔργοις αὐτὸ τιθεῖ.” καὶ ὁ Ἀρκεσίλαος, “οὐ κολακεύομαι,” φησί· πρὸς ὃν ὁ Κλεάνθης, “ναί,” ἔφη, “σὲ κολακεύω φάμενος ἄλλα μὲν λέγειν, ἕτερα δὲ ποιεῖν.”

When someone said that Arcesilaus did not do what he should, he said, “Stop, and don’t criticize him: even if he does away with appropriate action in his arguments, at least he upholds it in his deeds.” Arcesilaus said, “I’m not to be flattered.” To which Cleanthes replied, “Yes: it is flattery of you when I say that you say one thing and do another.”

7.172 Ἐρομένου τινὸς τί ὑποτίθεσθαι δεῖ τῷ υἱῷ, “τὸ τῆς Ἠλέκτρας,” ἔφη, σῖγα, σῖγα, λεπτὸν ἴχνος. Λάκωνός τινος εἰπόντος ὅτι ὁ πόνος ἀγαθόν, διαχυθείς φησιν, αἵματός εἰς ἀγαθοῖο, φίλον τέκος. φησὶ δ’ ὁ Ἑκάτων ἐν ταῖς Χρείαις, εὐμόρφου μειρακίου εἰπόντος, “εἰ ὁ εἰς τὴν γαστέρα τύπτων γαστρίζει, καὶ ὁ εἰς τοὺς μηροὺς τύπτων μηρίζει,” ἔφη, “σὺ μέντοι τοὺς διαμηρισμοὺς ἔχε, μειράκιον· αἱ δ’ ἀνάλογοι φωναὶ τὰ ἀνάλογα οὐ πάντως σημαίνουσι πράγματα.” μειρακίῳ ποτὲ διαλεγόμενος ἐπύθετο εἰ αἰσθάνεται· τοῦ δ’ ἐπινεύσαντος, “διὰ τί οὖν,” εἶπεν, “ἐγὼ οὐκ αἰσθάνομαι ὅτι αἰσθάνῃ;”

When someone asked what advice he should give his son, he said, “Electra’s words: Hush, hush, tread lightly.” When a Spartan said that toil is a good thing, he was delighted and said: You come of good blood, dear child. Hecato says in his *Anecdotes* that when a good-looking youth said, “If someone who hits the belly ‘bellies,’ then someone who hits the thighs ‘thighs,’” he replied, “You can keep your thighing, young man; analogous words don’t always signify analogous things.” Once, talking with a youth, he asked whether he grasped what he was saying; when the youth nodded, he said, “Then why don’t I grasp that you grasp it?”[57]

7.173 Σωσιθέου τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἐν θεάτρῳ εἰπόντος πρὸς αὐτὸν παρόντα, οὓς ἡ Κλεάνθους μωρία βοηλατεῖ, ἔμεινεν ἐπὶ ταὐτοῦ σχήματος· ἐφ’ ᾧ ἀγασθέντες οἱ ἀκροαταὶ τὸν μὲν ἐκρότησαν, τὸν δὲ Σωσίθεον ἐξέβαλον. μεταγινώσκοντα δ’ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ λοιδορίᾳ προσήκατο, εἰπὼν ἄτοπον εἶναι τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα φλυαρουμένους ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν μὴ ὀργίζεσθαι, αὐτὸν δ’ ἐπὶ τῇ τυχούσῃ βλασφημίᾳ δυσχεραίνειν. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ περιπάτου ὅμοιόν τι πάσχειν ταῖς λύραις, αἳ καλῶς φθεγξάμεναι αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀκούουσι. λέγεται δέ, φάσκοντος αὐτοῦ κατὰ Ζήνωνα καταληπτὸν εἶναι τὸ ἦθος ἐξ εἴδους, νεανίσκους τινὰς εὐτραπέλους ἀγαγεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν κίναιδον ἐσκληραγωγημένον ἐν ἀγρῷ καὶ ἀξιοῦν ἀποφαίνεσθαι περὶ τοῦ ἤθους·

When the poet Sositheus said in the theater, with Cleanthes present, those whom the folly of Cleanthes drives like oxen, he kept the same posture; the audience admired this, applauded him and drove Sositheus out. When Sositheus regretted his abuse, Cleanthes accepted his apology, saying it would be absurd, when Dionysus and Heracles are made fun of by the poets without getting angry, for him to be upset at casual abuse. He also used to say that the Peripatetics have the same experience as lyres: they make a fine sound but do not hear themselves. It is said that, when he was maintaining, following Zeno, that character can be apprehended from appearance, some witty young men brought him a man who took the passive role with men but had been toughened by life in the country, and asked him to pronounce on his character;

57 *Gastrizein* meant “to punch in the belly,” but *diamērizein*, “to do between the thighs,” referred to intercrural sex, so Cleanthes turns the youth’s word-play back on him.

GREEK

τὸν δὲ διαπορούμενον κελεῦσαι ἀπιέναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον. ὡς δ' ἀπιὼν ἐκεῖνος ἔπταρεν, "ἔχω," εἶπεν, "αὐτόν," ὁ Κλεάνθης, "μαλακός ἐστι." [174] πρὸς δὲ τὸν μονήρη καὶ ἑαυτῷ λαλοῦντα, "οὐ φαύλῳ," ἔφη, "ἀνθρώπῳ λαλεῖς." ὀνειδίσαντος αὐτῷ τινος εἰς τὸ γῆρας, "Κἀγώ," ἔφη, "ἀπιέναι βούλομαι· ὅταν δὲ πανταχόθεν ἐμαυτὸν ὑγιαίνοντα περινοῶ καὶ γράφοντα καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντα, πάλιν μένω." τοῦτόν φασιν εἰς ὄστρακα καὶ βοῶν ὠμοπλάτας γράφειν ἅπερ ἤκουε παρὰ τοῦ Ζήνωνος, ἀπορίᾳ κερμάτων ὥστε ὠνήσασθαι χαρτία. τοιοῦτος δ' ὢν ἐξίσχυσε, πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων ὄντων ἀξιολόγων Ζήνωνος μαθητῶν, αὐτὸς διαδέξασθαι τὴν σχολήν.

7.174 Βιβλία δὲ κάλλιστα καταλέλοιπεν, ἅ ἐστι τάδε· Περὶ χρόνου. Περὶ τῆς [τοῦ] Ζήνωνος φυσιολογίας δύο. Τῶν Ἡρακλείτου ἐξηγήσεις, τέσσαρα. Περὶ αἰσθήσεως. Περὶ τέχνης. Πρὸς Δημόκριτον. Πρὸς Ἀρίσταρχον. Πρὸς Ἥριλλον. Περὶ ὁρμῆς δύο. [175] Ἀρχαιολογία. Περὶ θεῶν. Περὶ γιγάντων. Περὶ ὑμεναίου. Περὶ τοῦ ποιητοῦ. Περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος τρία. Περὶ εὐβουλίας. Περὶ χάριτος. Προτρεπτικός. Περὶ ἀρετῶν. Περὶ εὐφυΐας. Περὶ Γοργίππου. Περὶ φθονερίας. Περὶ ἔρωτος. Περὶ ἐλευθερίας. Ἐρωτικὴ τέχνη. Περὶ τιμῆς. Περὶ δόξης. Πολιτικός. Περὶ βουλῆς Περὶ νόμων. Περὶ τοῦ δικάζειν. Περὶ ἀγωγῆς. Περὶ τοῦ λόγου τρία.

7.175 Περὶ τέλους. Περὶ καλῶν. Περὶ πράξεων. Περὶ ἐπιστήμης. Περὶ βασιλείας. Περὶ φιλίας. Περὶ συμποσίου. Περὶ τοῦ ὅτι ἡ αὐτὴ ἀρετὴ [καὶ] ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικός. Περὶ τοῦ τὸν σοφὸν σοφιστεύειν. Περὶ χρειῶν. Διατριβῶν δύο. Περὶ ἡδονῆς. Περὶ ἰδίων. Περὶ τῶν ἀπόρων. Περὶ διαλεκτικῆς. Περὶ τρόπων. Περὶ κατηγορημάτων.

Ταῦτα αὐτῷ τὰ βιβλία.

[176] Καὶ τελευτᾷ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· διῴδησεν αὐτῷ τὸ οὖλον· ἀπαγορευσάντων δὲ τῶν ἰατρῶν, δύο ἡμέρας ἀπέσχετο τροφῆς. καί πως ἔσχε καλῶς ὥστε τοὺς ἰατροὺς αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ συνήθη συγχωρεῖν· τὸν δὲ μὴ ἀνασχέσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰπόντα ἤδη αὐτῷ προωδοιπορῆσθαι καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἀποσχόμενον τελευτῆσαι ταὐτὰ Ζήνωνι, καθά φασί τινες, [ὀγδοήκοντα] ἔτη βιώσαντα καὶ ἀκούσαντα Ζήνωνος ἔτη ἐννεακαίδεκα.

7.176 Ἐπαίξαμεν δὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν οὕτως· Αἰνῶ
Κλεάνθην, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον Ἀΐδην·
ἰδὼν γὰρ αὐτὸν πρέσβυν οὐκ ἠνέσχετο
τὸ μὴ οὐ τὸ λοιπὸν ἄνεσιν ἐν φθιτοῖς ἔχειν
τοσοῦτον ἀντλήσαντα τοῦ βίου χρόνον.

ENGLISH

he was at a loss and told the fellow to go away. As the man was leaving he sneezed, and Cleanthes said, "I've got him: he's soft." [174] To a man who was alone and talking to himself he said, "You're talking to no bad fellow." When someone taunted him with his old age, he said, "I too want to depart; but when I consider that I'm healthy in every way, and writing and reading, I stay on." They say he wrote down what he heard from Zeno on potsherds and the shoulder-blades of oxen, for lack of money to buy papyrus. Such was the man; and though Zeno had many other notable pupils, it was he who prevailed and succeeded him as head of the school.

He left very fine books, which are these: *On Time*. *On Zeno's Natural Philosophy*, 2 books. *Interpretations of Heraclitus*, 4 books. *On Perception*. *On Art*. *Against Democritus*. *Against Aristarchus*. *Against Herillus*. *On Impulse*, 2 books. [175] *Antiquities*. *On Gods*. *On Giants*. *On Marriage*. *On the Poet*. *On Appropriate Action*, 3 books. *On Good Counsel*. *On Gratitude*. *Exhortation*. *On Virtues*. *On Natural Ability*. *On Gorgippus*. *On Envy*. *On Love*. *On Freedom*. *The Art of Love*. *On Honor*. *On Fame*. *The Statesman*. *On Deliberation*. *On Laws*. *On Judging*. *On Upbringing*. *On Reason*, 3 books.

On the End. *On Fine Things*. *On Actions*. *On Knowledge*. *On Kingship*. *On Friendship*. *On the Symposium*. *That Virtue Is the Same in [both] Man and Woman*. *That the Wise Man Will Teach as a Sophist*. *On Anecdotes*. *Discourses*, 2 books. *On Pleasure*. *On Properties*. *On Insoluble Problems*. *On Dialectic*. *On Modes*. *On Predicates*.

These are his books.

[176] He died in the following way. His gum swelled up, and on the doctors' orders he abstained from food for two days. He recovered so well that the doctors allowed him everything he was used to; but he would not hear of it, and saying that he had already gone part of the way, he abstained for the remaining days too and died, as some say, at the same age as Zeno, having lived [eighty] years and studied under Zeno for nineteen.

I too had some fun with him, as follows: I praise Cleanthes, but Hades even more:
for seeing him old, he could not bear
that he should not at last have rest among the dead,

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		after drawing water through so long a span of life.[58]

SPHAERUS

Sphaerus is fooled by wax pomegranates at Ptolemy's court and answers neatly.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
7.177	Τούτου, καθάπερ προειρήκαμεν, ἤκουσε μετὰ Ζήνωνα καὶ Σφαῖρος ὁ Βοσποριανός, ὃς προκοπὴν ἱκανὴν περιποιησάμενος λόγων εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀπῆει πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Φιλοπάτορα. λόγου δέ ποτε γενομένου περὶ τοῦ δοξάσειν τὸν σοφὸν καὶ τοῦ Σφαίρου εἰπόντος ὡς οὐ δοξάσει, βουλόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐλέγξαι αὐτόν, κηρίνας ῥόας ἐκέλευσε παρατεθῆναι· τοῦ δὲ Σφαίρου ἀπατηθέντος ἀνεβόησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ψευδεῖ συγκατατεθεῖσθαι αὐτὸν φαντασίᾳ. πρὸς ὃν ὁ Σφαῖρος εὐστόχως ἀπεκρίνατο, εἰπὼν οὕτως συγκατατεθεῖσθαι, οὐχ ὅτι ῥόαι εἰσίν, ἀλλ' ὅτι εὔλογόν ἐστι ῥόας αὐτὰς εἶναι· διαφέρειν δὲ τὴν καταληπτικὴν φαντασίαν τοῦ εὐλόγου. πρὸς δὲ Μνησίστρατον κατηγοροῦντα αὐτοῦ ὅτι Πτολεμαῖον οὔ φησι βασιλέα εἶναι, "τοιοῦτον δ' ὄντα τὸν Πτολεμαῖον καὶ βασιλέα εἶναι."	As I have said before, Sphaerus of the Bosporus also studied under Cleanthes after Zeno. Having made considerable progress in argument, he went off to Alexandria, to Ptolemy Philopator. Once, when a discussion arose about whether the wise man will hold opinions, Sphaerus said that he will not. The king, wanting to refute him, ordered wax pomegranates to be set before him. When Sphaerus was taken in, the king cried out that he had assented to a false impression. Sphaerus gave him a neat answer: he had assented not to the claim that they were pomegranates, but to the claim that it was reasonable that they were pomegranates, and the apprehensive impression differs from the reasonable one. When Mnesistratus accused him of saying that Ptolemy was not a king, his reply was: "Being the sort of man he is, Ptolemy is a king as well."[59]
7.178	Βιβλία δὲ γέγραφε τάδε· Περὶ κόσμου δύο. Περὶ στοιχείων. Περὶ σπέρματος. Περὶ τύχης. Περὶ ἐλαχίστων. Πρὸς τὰς ἀτόμους καὶ τὰ εἴδωλα. Περὶ αἰσθητηρίων. Περὶ Ἡρακλείτου πέντε διατριβῶν. Περὶ τῆς ἠθικῆς διατάξεως. Περὶ καθήκοντος. Περὶ ὁρμῆς. Περὶ παθῶν δύο. Περὶ βασιλείας. Περὶ Λακωνικῆς πολιτείας. Περὶ Λυκούργου καὶ Σωκράτους τρίς. Περὶ νόμου. Περὶ μαντικῆς. Διαλόγους ἐρωτικούς. Περὶ τῶν Ἐρετριακῶν φιλοσόφων. Περὶ ὁμοίων. Περὶ ὅρων. Περὶ ἕξεως. Περὶ τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων τρία. Περὶ λόγου. Περὶ πλούτου. Περὶ δόξης. Περὶ θανάτου. Τέχνης διαλεκτικῆς δύο. Περὶ κατηγορημάτων. Περὶ ἀμφιβολιῶν. Ἐπιστολάς.	He wrote the following books: *On the Universe*, 2 books. *On Elements*. *On Seed*. *On Fortune*. *On Minimal Parts*. *Against Atoms and Images*. *On the Sense Organs*. *On Heraclitus*, 5 lectures. *On the Arrangement of Ethics*. *On Appropriate Action*. *On Impulse*. *On Passions*, 2 books. *On Kingship*. *On the Spartan Constitution*. *On Lycurgus and Socrates*, 3 books. *On Law*. *On Divination*. *Dialogues on Love*. *On the Eretrian Philosophers*. *On Similars*. *On Definitions*. *On Disposition*. *On Objections*, 3 books. *On Reason*. *On Wealth*. *On Opinion*. *On Death*. *Handbook of Dialectic*, 2 books. *On Predicates*. *On Ambiguities*. *Letters*.

CHRYSIPPUS

Chrysippus, the greatest Stoic dialectician, his vast output, his arrogance and his death.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
7.179	Χρύσιππος Ἀπολλωνίου Σολεὺς ἢ Ταρσεύς, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Διαδοχαῖς, μαθητὴς Κλεάνθους. οὗτος πρότερον μὲν δόλιχον ἤσκει, ἔπειτ' ἀκούσας Ζήνωνος ἢ	Chrysippus, son of Apollonius, was from Soli or from Tarsus, as Alexander says in his *Successions*, and was a pupil of Cleanthes. At first he trained as

58 The Greek verb *antlein* means both "to draw water" and "to bear (a life of toil) to the end," a nod to his nickname, the Well-Drawer.

59 Ptolemy IV Philopator, king of Egypt 221–204 BC.

GREEK

Κλεάνθους, ὡς Διοκλῆς καὶ οἱ πλείους, ἔτι τε ζῶντος ἀπέστη αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν ἐγένετο κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν· ἀνὴρ εὐφυὴς καὶ ὀξύτατος ἐν παντὶ μέρει οὕτως ὥστε καὶ ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις διηνέχθη πρὸς Ζήνωνα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς Κλεάνθην, ᾧ καὶ πολλάκις ἔλεγε μόνης τῆς τῶν δογμάτων διδασκαλίας χρῄζειν, τὰς δὲ ἀποδείξεις αὐτὸς εὑρήσειν. μετενόει μέντοι ὁπότε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποτείνοιτο, ὥστε συνεχὲς προφέρεσθαι ταῦτα· ἐγὼ δὲ τἄλλα μακάριος πέφυκ' ἀνὴρ / πλὴν εἰς Κλεάνθην· τοῦτο δ' οὐκ εὐδαιμονῶ.

ENGLISH

a long-distance runner. Then he studied under Zeno or Cleanthes, as Diocles and most others say, broke away from him while he was still alive, and became no ordinary figure in philosophy. He was gifted and extremely sharp in every area, so much so that on most points he differed from Zeno, and from Cleanthes too. He often told Cleanthes that all he needed was to be taught the doctrines; he would find the proofs himself. Yet whenever he spoke sharply against him he regretted it, so that he was constantly quoting these lines: In all else I was born a fortunate man / except where Cleanthes is concerned; there I'm out of luck.[60]

7.180 Οὕτω δ' ἐπίδοξος ἐν τοῖς διαλεκτικοῖς ἐγένετο, ὥστε δοκεῖν τοὺς πλείους ὅτι εἰ παρὰ θεοῖς ἦν [ἡ] διαλεκτική, οὐκ ἂν ἄλλη ἦν ἢ ἡ Χρυσίππειος. πλεονάσας δὲ τοῖς πράγμασι τὴν λέξιν οὐ κατώρθωσε. πονικώτατός τε παρ' ὁντινοῦν γέγονεν, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων αὐτοῦ· τὸν ἀριθμὸν γὰρ ὑπὲρ πέντε καὶ ἑπτακόσιά ἐστιν. ἐπλήθυνε δ' αὐτὰ πολλάκις ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ δόγματος ἐπιχειρῶν καὶ πᾶν τὸ ὑποπεσὸν γράφων καὶ διορθούμενος πλεονάκις πλείστῃ τε τῶν μαρτυριῶν παραθέσει χρώμενος· ὥστε καὶ ἐπειδή ποτ' ἔν τινι τῶν συγγραμμάτων παρ' ὀλίγον τὴν Εὐριπίδου Μήδειαν ὅλην παρετίθετο καί τις μετὰ χεῖρας εἶχε τὸ βιβλίον, πρὸς τὸν πυθόμενον τί ἄρα ἔχοι, ἔφη, "Χρυσίππου Μήδειαν."

He became so famous in dialectic that most people thought that if the gods had a dialectic, it would be none other than Chrysippus'. But though he was rich in content, he did not get his style right. He was more industrious than anyone, as his writings make clear: they number more than 705. He multiplied them by often arguing for the same doctrine, writing down everything that occurred to him, correcting himself over and over, and piling up quotations from authorities. So much so that once, when in one of his works he had quoted almost the whole of Euripides' *Medea*, and someone was holding the book, he answered a person who asked what he had there: "Chrysippus' *Medea*."

7.181 Καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος δ' ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῇ Συναγωγῇ τῶν δογμάτων, βουλόμενος παριστάνειν ὅτι τὰ Ἐπικούρου οἰκείᾳ δυνάμει γεγραμμένα καὶ ἀπαράθετα ὄντα μυρίῳ πλείω ἐστὶ τῶν Χρυσίππου βιβλίων, φησὶν οὕτως αὐτῇ τῇ λέξει· "εἰ γάρ τις ἀφέλοι τῶν Χρυσίππου βιβλίων ὅσ' ἀλλότρια παρατέθειται, κενὸς αὐτῷ ὁ χάρτης καταλελείψεται." καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἀπολλόδωρος. ἡ δὲ παρεδρεύουσα πρεσβῦτις αὐτῷ, ὥς φησι Διοκλῆς, ἔλεγεν ὡς πεντακοσίους γράφοι στίχους ἡμερησίους. Ἑκάτων δέ φησιν ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν, τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ τῆς πατρῴας εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀναληφθείσης.

Apollodorus of Athens too, in his *Collection of Doctrines*, wanting to show that Epicurus' writings, composed by his own powers and free of quotations, far exceed Chrysippus' books, puts it in these very words: "For if one took out of Chrysippus' books everything he has quoted from others, his paper would be left blank." So much for Apollodorus. The old woman who attended him, according to Diocles, used to say that he wrote five hundred lines a day. Hecato says he came to philosophy after his inheritance from his father had been confiscated to the royal treasury.

7.182 Ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ σωμάτιον εὐτελής, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδριάντος τοῦ ἐν Κεραμεικῷ, ὃς σχεδόν τι ὑποκέκρυπται τῷ πλησίον ἱππεῖ· ὅθεν αὐτὸν ὁ Καρνεάδης Κρύψιππον ἔλεγεν. οὗτος ὀνειδισθεὶς ὑπό τινος ὅτι οὐχὶ παρ' Ἀρίστωνι μετὰ πολλῶν σχολάζοι, "εἰ τοῖς πολλοῖς," εἶπε "προσεῖχον, οὐκ ἂν ἐφιλοσόφησα." πρὸς δὲ τὸν κατεξανιστάμενον Κλεάνθους διαλεκτικὸν καὶ

He was also of slight build, as is clear from his statue in the Ceramicus, which is almost hidden by the horseman beside it; this is why Carneades called him Crypsippus. When someone reproached him for not attending Ariston's lectures along with the many, he said, "If I had paid attention to the many, I would never have become a

60 The lines adapt a passage of Euripides' *Orestes* (540–41) in which Tyndareus laments his daughters.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	προτείνοντα αὐτῷ σοφίσματα, "πέπαυσο," εἶπε, "περιέλκων τὸν πρεσβύτην ἀπὸ τῶν πραγματικωτέρων, ἡμῖν δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρότεινε τοῖς νέοις." πάλιν δ' ἐπεί τις ζητῶν καταμόνας αὐτῷ διελέγετο εὐσταθῶς, ἔπειτα δὲ θεωρῶν προσιόντα ὄχλον ἤρχετο φιλονεικεῖν, ἔφη, οἴμοι, κασίγνητ', ὄμμα σὸν ταράσσεται· / ταχὺς δὲ μετέθου λύσσαν ἀρτίως φρονῶν.	philosopher." To the dialectician who rose up against Cleanthes and kept putting sophisms to him, he said, "Stop dragging the old man away from more serious matters, and put things like that to us young men." Again, when someone with a question had been discussing calmly with him in private, but then, seeing a crowd approaching, began to argue for victory, he said: Alas, brother, your eye is growing troubled; / how quickly you have turned to madness, sane just now.[61]
7.183	Ἐν μέντοι ταῖς οἰνώσεσιν ἡσύχαζε παραφε· ρόμενος τοῖς σκέλεσιν, ὥστ' εἰπεῖν τὴν δούλην, "Χρυσίππου μόνα τὰ σκέλη μεθύει." οὕτω δ' ἦν φρονηματίας ὥστ' ἐρομένου τινὸς "τίνι συστήσω τὸν υἱόν;" εἰπεῖν, "ἐμοί· καὶ γὰρ εἰ ὑπελάμβανον εἶναί τιν' ἐμοῦ βελτίονα, παρ' αὐτῷ ἂν ἐγὼ ἐφιλοσόφουν." ὅθεν φασὶν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ λεχθῆναι, οἷος πέπνυται, τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ ἀΐσσουσι· καί, εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν Χρύσιππος, οὐκ ἂν ἦν στοά.	At drinking parties, though, he kept quiet, only unsteady on his legs, so that his slave woman said, "Only Chrysippus' legs get drunk." He thought so highly of himself that when someone asked, "To whom shall I entrust my son?" he said, "To me. For if I thought anyone was better than me, I would be studying philosophy with him myself." Hence, they say, it was said of him: He alone has understanding; the others are flitting shadows; and: If there had been no Chrysippus, there would be no Stoa.[62]
	Τέλος δ' Ἀρκεσιλάῳ καὶ Λακύδῃ, καθά φησι Σωτίων ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ, παραγενόμενος ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ συνεφιλοσόφησε· [184] δι' ἣν αἰτίαν καὶ κατὰ τῆς συνηθείας καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐπεχείρησε, καὶ περὶ μεγεθῶν καὶ πληθῶν τῇ τῶν Ἀκαδημαϊκῶν συστάσει χρησάμενος.	In the end, as Sotion says in his eighth book, he went over to Arcesilaus and Lacydes in the Academy and studied philosophy with them. [184] That is why he argued both against common experience and in its defense, and on magnitudes and quantities he used the Academics' approach.
7.184	Τοῦτον ἐν τῷ Ὠιδείῳ σχολάζοντά φησιν Ἕρμιππος ἐπὶ θυσίαν ὑπὸ τῶν μαθητῶν κληθῆναι· ἔνθα προσενεγκάμενον γλυκὺν ἄκρατον καὶ ἰλιγγιάσαντα πεμπταῖον ἀπελθεῖν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, τρία καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα βιώσαντ' ἔτη, κατὰ τὴν τρίτην καὶ τετταρακοστὴν καὶ ἑκατοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα, καθά φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς. καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν παίγνιον εἰς αὐτόν· ἰλιγγίασε Βάκχον ἐκπιὼν χανδὸν Χρύσιππος, οὐδ' ἐφείσατο οὐ τῆς στοᾶς οὐδ' ἧς πάτρης, οὐ τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλ' ἦλθε δῶμ' ἐς Ἄΐδεω.	Hermippus says that while he was teaching in the Odeum he was invited by his pupils to a sacrifice. There he drank sweet wine unmixed, grew dizzy, and on the fifth day departed from among men, having lived seventy-three years, in the 143rd Olympiad, as Apollodorus says in his *Chronicles*. There is also a playful piece of mine on him: Gulping down Bacchus open-mouthed, dizzy grew Chrysippus; he did not spare the Stoa, nor his own country, nor his life, but went to the house of Hades.[63]
7.185	Ἔνιοι δέ φασι γέλωτι συσχεθέντα αὐτὸν τελευτῆσαι· ὄνου γὰρ τὰ σῦκα αὐτῷ φαγόντος, εἰπόντα τῇ γραῒ διδόναι ἄκρατον ἐπιρροφῆσαι τῷ ὄνῳ, ὑπερκαγχάσαντα τελευτῆσαι.	Some say he died in a fit of laughter. A donkey had eaten his figs, and he told the old woman to give the donkey unmixed wine to wash them down; then he laughed so hard that he died.
	Δοκεῖ δ' ὑπερόπτης τις γεγονέναι. τοσαῦτα γοῦν συγγράψας οὐδενὶ τῶν βασιλέων προσπεφώνηκεν.	He seems to have been rather arrogant. At any rate, though he wrote so much, he dedicated noth-

61 "Crypsippus" puns on the name: "hidden by the horse" (Greek *kryptein*, "to hide", and *hippos*, "horse").
62 The first line is Homer's description of the seer Tiresias among the dead (*Odyssey* 10.495).

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἠρκεῖτό τε γραϊδίῳ μόνῳ, καθὰ καὶ Δημήτριος ἐν Ὁμωνύμοις φησί. Πτολεμαίου τε πρὸς Κλεάνθην ἐπιστείλαντος ἢ αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν ἢ πέμψαι τινά, Σφαῖρος μὲν ἀπῆλθε, Χρύσιππος δὲ περιεῖδε. μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ τοὺς τῆς ἀδελφῆς υἱεῖς, Ἀριστοκρέοντα καὶ Φιλοκράτην, συνεκρότησε. καὶ πρῶτος ἐθάρρησε σχολὴν ἔχειν ὕπαιθρον ἐν Λυκείῳ, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ προειρημένος Δημήτριος ἱστορεῖ.	ing to any king. He made do with a single old woman, as Demetrius too says in his *Men of the Same Name*. When Ptolemy wrote to Cleanthes asking him either to come himself or to send someone, Sphaerus went, but Chrysippus took no notice. He sent for his sister's sons, Aristocreon and Philocrates, and trained them. He was also the first to venture to hold his school in the open air in the Lyceum, as the Demetrius just mentioned records as well.
7.186	Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Χρύσιππος Κνίδιος ἰατρός, παρ' οὗ φησιν Ἐρασίστρατος εἰς τὰ μάλιστα ὠφελῆσθαι. καὶ ἕτερος υἱὸς τούτου, ἰατρὸς Πτολεμαίου, ὃς διαβληθεὶς περιήχθη καὶ μαστιγούμενος ἐκολάσθη· ἄλλος μαθητὴς Ἐρασιστράτου, καί τις Γεωργικὰ γεγραφώς.	There was also another Chrysippus, a doctor from Cnidus, from whom Erasistratus says he benefited a great deal. Another was this man's son, physician to Ptolemy, who was slandered, paraded around and punished with a flogging. Another was a pupil of Erasistratus; and there was one who wrote *On Farming*.[64]
	Ὁ δὴ φιλόσοφος καὶ τοιούτους τινὰς ἠρώτα λόγους· "ὁ λέγων τοῖς ἀμυήτοις τὰ μυστήρια ἀσεβεῖ· ὁ δέ γ' ἱεροφάντης τοῖς ἀμυήτοις λέγει ⟨τὰ μυστήρια⟩· ἀσεβεῖ ἄρα ὁ ἱεροφάντης." ἄλλο· "ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ πόλει, τοῦτ' οὐδ' ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ· οὐκ ἔστι δὲ φρέαρ ἐν τῇ πόλει, οὐδ' ἄρ' ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ." ἄλλο· "ἔστι τις κεφαλή· ἐκείνην δ' οὐκ ἔχεις· ἔστι δέ γέ τις κεφαλὴ ⟨ἣν οὐκ ἔχεις⟩· οὐκ ἄρα ἔχεις κεφαλήν."	The philosopher also used to put arguments like these: "Whoever tells the mysteries to the uninitiated commits impiety; but the hierophant tells the mysteries to the uninitiated; so the hierophant commits impiety." Another: "What is not in the city is not in the house either; there is no well in the city; so there is no well in the house either." Another: "There is a certain head, and you don't have that one; but there is a head that you don't have; so you don't have a head."[65]
7.187	ἄλλο· "εἴ τίς ἐστιν ἐν Μεγάροις, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν Ἀθήναις· ἄνθρωπος δ' ἐστὶν ἐν Μεγάροις· οὐκ ἄρ' ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος ἐν Ἀθήναις." καὶ πάλιν· "εἴ τι λαλεῖς, τοῦτο διὰ τοῦ στόματός σου διέρχεται· ἅμαξαν δὲ λαλεῖς· ἅμαξα ἄρα διὰ τοῦ στόματός σου διέρχεται." καί· "εἴ τι οὐκ ἀπέβαλες, τοῦτ' ἔχεις· κέρατα δ' οὐκ ἀπέβαλες· κέρατ' ἄρ' ἔχεις." οἱ δ' Εὐβουλίδου τοῦτό φασιν.	Another: "If someone is in Megara, he is not in Athens; a man is in Megara; so there is no man in Athens." And again: "If you say something, it passes through your mouth; you say 'cart'; so a cart passes through your mouth." And: "What you have not lost, you have; you have not lost horns; so you have horns." Others say this last one is Eubulides'.[66]
	Εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ κατατρέχουσι τοῦ Χρυσίππου ὡς πολλὰ αἰσχρῶς καὶ ἀρρήτως ἀναγεγραφότος. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ Περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων φυσιολόγων συγγράμματι αἰσχρῶς τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἥραν καὶ τὸν Δία ἀναπλάττει, λέγων κατὰ τοὺς ἑξακοσίους στίχους ἃ μηδεὶς ἠτυχηκὼς μολύνειν τὸ στόμα εἴποι ἄν.	There are those who disparage Chrysippus for having written many shameful and unspeakable things. In his treatise *On the Ancient Natural Philosophers* he concocts an obscene account of Hera and Zeus, saying, around line 600, things no one could say without the misfortune of soiling his mouth.
7.188	αἰσχροτάτην γάρ, φασί, ταύτην ἀναπλάττει ἱστορίαν, εἰ καὶ ἐπαινεῖ ὡς φυσικήν, χαμαιτύπαις μᾶλλον πρέπουσαν	For, they say, the story he concocts is utterly obscene, even if he praises it as an account of nature,

63 The 143rd Olympiad ran from 208 to 205 BC.
64 Erasistratus was a celebrated Alexandrian physician of the third century BC.
65 The hierophant was the priest who revealed the sacred objects to initiates in the Eleusinian Mysteries.

GREEK

ἢ θεοῖς, ἔτι τ' οὐδὲ παρὰ τοῖς περὶ πινάκων γράψασι κατακεχωρισμένην· μήτε γὰρ παρὰ Πολέμωνι μήτε παρ' Ὑψικράτει, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ παρ' Ἀντιγόνῳ εἶναι, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δὲ πεπλάσθαι. ἐν δὲ τῷ Περὶ πολιτείας καὶ μητράσι λέγει συνέρχεσθαι καὶ θυγατράσι καὶ υἱοῖς· τὰ δ' αὐτά φησι καὶ ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν μὴ δι' ἑαυτὰ αἱρετῶν εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ. ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ Περὶ δικαίου κατὰ τοὺς χιλίους στίχους καὶ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας κατεσθίειν κελεύων.

ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ βίου καὶ πορισμοῦ προνοεῖν λέγων ὅπως ποριστέον τῷ σοφῷ· [189] "καίτοι τίνος χάριν ποριστέον αὐτῷ; εἰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ ζῆν ἕνεκεν, ἀδιάφορον τὸ ζῆν· εἰ δὲ ἡδονῆς, καὶ αὕτη ἀδιάφορος· εἰ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς, αὐτάρκης αὕτη πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν. καταγέλαστοι δὲ καὶ οἱ τρόποι τοῦ πορισμοῦ, οἷον οἱ ἀπὸ βασιλέως· εἴκειν γὰρ αὐτῷ δεήσει. καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ φιλίας· λήμματος γὰρ ὤνιος ἡ φιλία ἔσται. καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ σοφίας· μισθαρνήσει γὰρ ἡ σοφία." καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐγκαλεῖται.

ENGLISH

and better suited to street prostitutes than to gods. Besides, it is not even recorded by those who have written about pictures: it is not in Polemo or in Hypsicrates, nor even in Antigonus, but was invented by him. In his *Republic* he says people may have intercourse with their mothers, daughters and sons; he says the same in *On Things Not Chosen for Their Own Sake*, right at the beginning. And in the third book of *On Justice*, around line 1000, he even bids us eat the dead.[67]

In the second book of *On Lives and Making a Living*, he says one must take thought for how the wise man is to make a living: [189] "And yet for what purpose should he make a living? If it is for the sake of living, living is indifferent; if for pleasure, pleasure too is indifferent; if for virtue, virtue is self-sufficient for happiness. Laughable, too, are the ways of making a living. From a king? He will have to yield to him. From friendship? Then friendship will be up for sale for profit. From wisdom? Then wisdom will be working for hire." These are the charges brought against him.

CHRYSIPPUS' BOOKS

The catalogue of Chrysippus' works, arranged by subject, beginning with logic and ethics.

GREEK

7.189 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐνδοξότατα τὰ βιβλί' ἐστὶν αὐτῷ, ἔδοξέ μοι καὶ τὴν πρὸς εἶδος ἀναγραφὴν αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα καταχωρίσαι. καὶ ἔστι τάδε·

Λογικοῦ τόπου. Θέσεις λογικαί. Τῶν τοῦ φιλοσόφου σκεμμάτων. Ὅρων διαλεκτικῶν πρὸς Μητρόδωρον ς'. Περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν διαλεκτικὴν ὀνομάτων πρὸς Ζήνωνα α'. [190] Τέχνη διαλεκτικὴ πρὸς Ἀρισταγόραν α'. Συνημμένων πιθανῶν πρὸς Διοσκουρίδην δ'.

7.190 Λογικοῦ τόπου τοῦ περὶ τὰ πράγματα. Σύνταξις πρώτη· Περὶ ἀξιωμάτων α'. Περὶ τῶν οὐχ ἁπλῶν ἀξιωμάτων α'. Περὶ τοῦ συμπεπλεγμένου πρὸς Ἀθηνάδην α' β'. Περὶ ἀποφατικῶν πρὸς Ἀρισταγόραν γ'. Περὶ τῶν καταγορευτικῶν πρὸς Ἀθηνόδωρον α'. Περὶ τῶν κατὰ στέρησιν λεγομένων πρὸς Θέαρον α'. Περὶ τῶν ἀορίστων ἀξιωμάτων πρὸς Δίωνα α' β' γ'. Περὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς τῶν ἀορίστων α' β' γ' δ'. Περὶ τῶν κατὰ χρόνους λεγομένων α' β'. Περὶ συντελικῶν ἀξιωμάτων β'. Σύνταξις δευτέρα·

ENGLISH

Since his books are very highly esteemed, I have decided to set out here a list of them arranged by subject as well. It runs as follows:

Logic. *Logical Theses*. *The Philosopher's Inquiries*. *Dialectical Definitions*, to Metrodorus, 6 books. *On the Terms Used in Dialectic*, to Zeno, 1 book. [190] *Handbook of Dialectic*, to Aristagoras, 1 book. *Plausible Conditionals*, to Dioscurides, 4 books.

Logic, concerning things. First series: *On Propositions*, 1 book. *On Non-Simple Propositions*, 1 book. *On the Conjunctive*, to Athenades, 2 books. *On Negative Propositions*, to Aristagoras, 3 books. *On Categorical Propositions*, to Athenodorus, 1 book. *On Privative Statements*, to Thearus, 1 book. *On Indefinite Propositions*, to Dion, 3 books. *On the Difference between Indefinites*, 4 books. *On Statements Relating to Times*, 2 books. *On Perfect-Tense Propositions*, 2 books.

66 Eubulides of Miletus was a Megarian dialectician of the fourth century BC, famous for his puzzles.
67 The story concerned a painting of Hera performing a sexual act on Zeus; Polemo, Hypsicrates and Antigonus had written on works of art.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Περὶ ἀληθοῦς διεζευγμένου πρὸς Γοργιππίδην α′. Περὶ ἀληθοῦς συνημμένου πρὸς Γοργιππίδην α′ β′ γ′ δ′. [191] Αἵρεσις πρὸς Γοργιππίδην α′. Πρὸς τὸ περὶ ἀκολούθων α′.	Second series: *On a True Disjunctive,* to Gorgippides, 1 book. *On a True Conditional,* to Gorgippides, 4 books. [191] *Choice,* to Gorgippides, 1 book. *Reply to the Treatise on Consequents,* 1 book.
7.191	Περὶ τοῦ διὰ τριῶν πάλιν πρὸς Γοργιππίδην α′. Περὶ δυνατῶν πρὸς Κλεῖτον δ′. Πρὸς τὸ περὶ σημασιῶν Φίλωνος α′. Περὶ τοῦ τίνα ἐστὶ τὰ ψευδῆ α′. Σύνταξις τρίτη· Περὶ προσταγμάτων β′. Περὶ ἐρωτήσεως β′. Περὶ πεύσεως δ′. Ἐπιτομὴ περὶ ἐρωτήσεως καὶ πεύσεως α′. Ἐπιτομὴ περὶ ἀποκρίσεως α′. Περὶ ζητήσεως β′. Περὶ ἀποκρίσεως δ′. [192] Σύνταξις τετάρτη· Περὶ τῶν κατηγορημάτων πρὸς Μητρόδωρον ι′. Περὶ ὀρθῶν καὶ ὑπτίων πρὸς Φύλαρχον α′. Περὶ τῶν συναμμάτων πρὸς Ἀπολλωνίδην α′. Πρὸς Πασύλον περὶ κατηγορημάτων δ′. Σύνταξις πέμπτη· Περὶ τῶν πέντε πτώσεων α′. Περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ ὑποκείμενον ὡρισμένων ἐκφορῶν α′. Περὶ παρεμφάσεως πρὸς Στησαγόραν β′. Περὶ τῶν προσηγορικῶν β′.	*On the Three-Term Argument,* again to Gorgippides, 1 book. *On Possibles,* to Clitus, 4 books. *Reply to Philo's Work on Meanings,* 1 book. *On What Falsehoods Are,* 1 book. Third series: *On Imperatives,* 2 books. *On Questioning,* 2 books. *On Inquiry,* 4 books. *Epitome on Questioning and Inquiry,* 1 book. *Epitome on Answers,* 1 book. *On Investigation,* 2 books. *On Answers,* 4 books. [192] Fourth series: *On Predicates,* to Metrodorus, 10 books. *On Active and Passive,* to Phylarchus, 1 book. *On Conjunctions,* to Apollonides, 1 book. *To Pasylus, on Predicates,* 4 books. Fifth series: *On the Five Cases,* 1 book. *On Expressions Defined by Their Subject,* 1 book. *On Implication,* to Stesagoras, 2 books. *On Common Nouns,* 2 books.
7.192	Λογικοῦ τόπου περὶ τὰς λέξεις καὶ τὸν κατ' αὐτὰς λόγον. Σύνταξις πρώτη· Περὶ τῶν ἑνικῶν καὶ πληθυντικῶν ἐκφορῶν ς′. Περὶ λέξεων πρὸς Σωσιγένην καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ε′. Περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὰς λέξεις ἀνωμαλίας πρὸς Δίωνα δ′. Περὶ τῶν πρὸς τὰς φωνὰς σωριτῶν λόγων γ′. Περὶ σολοικισμῶν. Περὶ σολοικιζόντων λόγων πρὸς Διονύσιον α′. Λόγοι παρὰ τὰς συνηθείας α′. Λέξις πρὸς Διονύσιον α′. Σύνταξις δευτέρα· Περὶ τῶν στοιχείων τοῦ λόγου καὶ τῶν λεγομένων ε′. Περὶ τῆς συντάξεως τῶν λεγομένων δ′.	Logic, concerning expressions and the discourse made up of them. First series: *On Singular and Plural Expressions,* 6 books. *On Expressions,* to Sosigenes and Alexander, 5 books. *On Anomaly in Expressions,* to Dion, 4 books. *On Sorites Arguments Applied to Words,* 3 books. *On Solecisms*. *On Solecistic Arguments,* to Dionysius, 1 book. *Arguments Contrary to Ordinary Usage,* 1 book. *Diction,* to Dionysius, 1 book. Second series: *On the Elements of Speech and the Things Said,* 5 books. *On the Syntax of the Things Said,* 4 books.
7.193	Περὶ τῆς συντάξεως καὶ στοιχείων τῶν λεγομενων πρὸς Φίλιππον γ′. Περὶ τῶν στοιχείων τοῦ λόγου πρὸς Νικίαν α′. Περὶ τοῦ πρὸς ἕτερα λεγομένου α′. Σύνταξις τρίτη· Πρὸς τοὺς μὴ διαιρουμένους β′. Περὶ ἀμφιβολιῶν πρὸς Ἀπολλᾶν δ′. Περὶ τῶν τροπικῶν ἀμφιβολιῶν α′. Περὶ συνημμένης τροπικῆς ἀμφιβολίας β′. Πρὸς τὸ περὶ ἀμφιβολιῶν Πανθοίδου β′. Περὶ τῆς εἰς τὰς ἀμφιβολίας εἰσαγωγῆς ε′. Ἐπιτομὴ τῶν πρὸς Ἐπικράτην ἀμφιβολιῶν α′. Συνημμένα πρὸς τὴν εἰσαγωγὴν τῶν εἰς τὰς ἀμφιβολίας β′.	*On the Syntax and Elements of the Things Said,* to Philip, 3 books. *On the Elements of Speech,* to Nicias, 1 book. *On What Is Said Relative to Other Things,* 1 book. Third series: *Against Those Who Do Not Draw Distinctions,* 2 books. *On Ambiguities,* to Apollas, 4 books. *On Ambiguities in Argument Forms,* 1 book. *On Ambiguity in Conditional Argument Forms,* 2 books. *Reply to Panthoides' Work on Ambiguities,* 2 books. *On the Introduction to Ambiguities,* 5 books. *Epitome of the Ambiguities Addressed to Epicrates,* 1 book. *Conditionals for the Introduction to Ambiguities,* 2 books.
	Λογικοῦ τόπου πρὸς τοὺς λόγους καὶ τοὺς τρόπους. Σύνταξις πρώτη· Τέχνη λόγων καὶ τρόπων πρὸς Διοσκουρίδην ε′. [194] Περὶ τῶν λόγων γ′. Περὶ τρόπων συστάσεως πρὸς Στησαγόραν β′. Σύγκρισις τῶν τροπικῶν ἀξιωμάτων α′. Περὶ ἀντιστρεφόντων λόγων καὶ συνημμένων α′. Πρὸς Ἀγάθωνα ἢ περὶ τῶν ἑξῆς προβλημάτων α′. Περὶ τοῦ τίνα συλλογιστικά τινος μετ'	Logic, concerning arguments and argument forms. First series: *Handbook of Arguments and Argument Forms,* to Dioscurides, 5 books. [194] *On Arguments,* 3 books. *On the Construction of Argument Forms,* to Stesagoras, 2 books. *Comparison of the Propositions Used in Argument Forms,* 1 book. *On Convertible Arguments and Conditionals,* 1 book. *To*

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἄλλου τε καὶ μετ᾽ ἄλλων α′. Περὶ τῶν ἐπιφορῶν πρὸς Ἀρισταγόραν α′. Περὶ τοῦ τάττεσθαι τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἐν πλείοσι τρόποις α′. Πρὸς τὰ ἀντειρημένα τῷ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἐν συλλογιστικῷ καὶ ἀσυλλογίστῳ τετάχθαι τρόπῳ β′. Πρὸς τὰ ἀντειρημένα ταῖς τῶν συλλογισμῶν ἀναλύσεσι γ′. Πρὸς τὸ περὶ τρόπων Φίλωνος πρὸς Τιμόστρατον α′.	*Agathon, or On Consequent Problems*, 1 book. *On Which Propositions Yield a Conclusion Together with One or More Others*, 1 book. *On Conclusions*, to Aristagoras, 1 book. *On How the Same Argument Can Be Put in Several Forms*, 1 book. *Reply to Objections against Putting the Same Argument in Both a Syllogistic and a Non-Syllogistic Form*, 2 books. *Reply to Objections to the Analyses of Syllogisms*, 3 books. *Reply to Philo's Work on Argument Forms*, to Timostratus, 1 book.
7.194	Λογικὰ συνημμένα πρὸς Τιμοκράτην καὶ Φιλομαθῆ· εἰς τὰ περὶ λόγων καὶ τρόπων α′. [195] Σύνταξις δευτέρα· Περὶ τῶν περαινόντων λόγων πρὸς Ζήνωνα α′. Περὶ τῶν πρώτων καὶ ἀναποδείκτων συλλογισμων πρὸς Ζήνωνα α′. Περὶ τῆς ἀναλύσεως τῶν συλλογισμῶν α′. Περὶ τῶν παρελκόντων λόγων πρὸς Πασύλον β′. Περὶ τῶν εἰς τοὺς συλλογισμοὺς θεωρημάτων α′. Περὶ συλλογισμῶν εἰσαγωγικῶν πρὸς Ζήνωνα α′. Τῶν πρὸς εἰσαγωγὴν τρόπων πρὸς Ζήνωνα γ′. Περὶ τῶν κατὰ ψευδῆ σχήματα συλλογισμῶν ε′. Λόγοι συλλογιστικοὶ κατ᾽ ἀνάλυσιν ἐν τοῖς ἀναποδείκτοις α′. Τροπικὰ ζητήματα πρὸς Ζήνωνα καὶ Φιλομαθῆ α′ (τοῦτο δοκεῖ ψευδεπίγραφον). Σύνταξις τρίτη· Περὶ τῶν μεταπιπτόντων λόγων πρὸς Ἀθηνάδην α′ ψευδεπίγραφον.	*Logical Conditionals*, to Timocrates and Philomathes: a contribution on arguments and argument forms, 1 book. [195] Second series: *On Conclusive Arguments*, to Zeno, 1 book. *On the Primary and Indemonstrable Syllogisms*, to Zeno, 1 book. *On the Analysis of Syllogisms*, 1 book. *On Redundant Arguments*, to Pasylus, 2 books. *On Theorems Bearing on Syllogisms*, 1 book. *On Introductory Syllogisms*, to Zeno, 1 book. *On Introductory Argument Forms*, to Zeno, 3 books. *On Syllogisms in False Figures*, 5 books. *Syllogistic Arguments Analyzed into the Indemonstrables*, 1 book. *Questions on Argument Forms*, to Zeno and Philomathes, 1 book (this seems to be spurious). Third series: *On Shifting Arguments*, to Athenades, 1 book, spurious.
7.196	Λόγοι μεταπίπτοντες πρὸς τὴν μεσότητα γ′ (ψευδεπίγραφα). Πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμεινίου διαζευκτικοὺς α′. Σύνταξις τετάρτη· Περὶ ὑποθέσεων πρὸς Μελέαγρον γ′. Λόγοι ὑποθετικοὶ εἰς τοὺς νόμους πρὸς Μελέαγρον πάλιν α′. Λόγοι ὑποθετικοὶ πρὸς εἰσαγωγὴν β′. Λόγοι ὑποθετικοὶ θεωρημάτων β′. Λύσεις τῶν Ἡδύλου ὑποθετικῶν β′. Λύσεις τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου ὑποθετικῶν γ′ (ψευδεπίγραφα). Περὶ ἐκθέσεων πρὸς Λαοδάμαντα α′. Σύνταξις πέμπτη· Περὶ τῆς εἰς τὸν ψευδόμενον εἰσαγωγῆς πρὸς Ἀριστοκρέοντα α′. Λόγοι ψευδόμενοι πρὸς εἰσαγωγὴν α′. Περὶ τοῦ ψευδομένου πρὸς Ἀριστοκρέοντα ς′. Σύνταξις ἕκτη· Πρὸς τοὺς νομίζοντας καὶ ψευδῆ καὶ ἀληθῆ εἶναι α′.	*Shifting Arguments Concerning the Middle*, 3 books (spurious). *Reply to Ameinias' Disjunctive Arguments*, 1 book. Fourth series: *On Hypotheses*, to Meleager, 3 books. *Hypothetical Arguments Bearing on the Laws*, again to Meleager, 1 book. *Hypothetical Arguments for Beginners*, 2 books. *Hypothetical Arguments of Theorems*, 2 books. *Solutions to Hedylus' Hypotheticals*, 2 books. *Solutions to Alexander's Hypotheticals*, 3 books (spurious). *On Expositions*, to Laodamas, 1 book. Fifth series: *On the Introduction to the Liar*, to Aristocreon, 1 book. *Liar Arguments for Beginners*, 1 book. *On the Liar*, to Aristocreon, 6 books. Sixth series: *Against Those Who Think That Things Are Both False and True*, 1 book.
7.197	Πρὸς τοὺς διὰ τῆς τομῆς διαλύοντας τὸν ψευδόμενον λόγον πρὸς Ἀριστοκρέοντα β′. Ἀποδείξεις πρὸς τὸ μὴ δεῖν τέμνειν τὰ ἀόριστα α′. Πρὸς τὰ ἀντειρημένα τοῖς κατὰ τῆς τομῆς τῶν ἀορίστων πρὸς Πασύλον γ′. Λύσις κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους πρὸς Διοσκουρίδην α′. Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ψευδομένου λύσεως πρὸς Ἀριστοκρέοντα γ′. Λύσεις τῶν Ἡδύλου ὑποθετικῶν πρὸς Ἀριστοκρέοντα καὶ Ἀπολλᾶν α′. Σύνταξις ἑβδόμη· Πρὸς τοὺς φάσκοντας τὰ λήμματα ἔχειν ψευδῆ τὸν ψευδόμενον λόγον α′. Περὶ ἀποφάσκοντος πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστοκρέοντα β′. Λόγοι ἀποφάσκοντες πρὸς	*Against Those Who Resolve the Liar Argument by Division*, to Aristocreon, 2 books. *Proofs That Indefinites Should Not Be Divided*, 1 book. *Reply to Objections against the Arguments Opposing the Division of Indefinites*, to Pasylus, 3 books. *Solution in the Manner of the Ancients*, to Dioscurides, 1 book. *On the Solution of the Liar*, to Aristocreon, 3 books. *Solutions to Hedylus' Hypotheticals*, to Aristocreon and Apollas, 1 book. Seventh series: *Against Those Who Say That the Liar Argument Has False Premises*, 1 book. *On the*

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	γυμνασίαν α′. Περὶ τοῦ παρὰ μικρὸν λόγου πρὸς Στησαγόραν α′ β′. Περὶ τῶν εἰς τὰς ὑπολήψεις λόγων καὶ ἡσυχαζόντων πρὸς Ὀνήτορα β′.	*Denier*, to Aristocreon, 2 books. *Denier Arguments for Practice*, 1 book. *On the Little-by-Little Argument*, to Stesagoras, 2 books. *On Arguments Bearing on Suppositions, and on Those Who Keep Quiet*, to Onetor, 2 books.
7.198	Περὶ τοῦ ἐγκεκαλυμμένου πρὸς Ἀριστόβουλον β′. Περὶ τοῦ διαλεληθότος πρὸς Ἀθηνάδην α′. Σύνταξις ὀγδόη· Περὶ τοῦ οὔτιδος πρὸς Μενεκράτην η′. Περὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀορίστου καὶ ὡρισμένου λόγων πρὸς Πασύλον β′. Περὶ οὔτιδος λόγου πρὸς Ἐπικράτην α′. Σύνταξις ἐνάτη· Περὶ τῶν σοφισμάτων πρὸς Ἡρακλείδην καὶ Πόλλιν β′. Περὶ τῶν ἀπόρων διαλεκτικῶν πρὸς Διοσκουρίδην ε′. Πρὸς τὸ Ἀρκεσιλάου μεθόδιον πρὸς Σφαῖρον α′. Σύνταξις δεκάτη· Κατὰ τῆς συνηθείας πρὸς Μητρόδωρον ς′. Ὑπὲρ τῆς συνηθείας πρὸς Γοργιππίδην ζ′.	*On the Veiled Man*, to Aristobulus, 2 books. *On the Unnoticed Man*, to Athenades, 1 book. Eighth series: *On the Nobody*, to Menecrates, 8 books. *On Arguments from an Indefinite and a Definite*, to Pasylus, 2 books. *On the Nobody Argument*, to Epicrates, 1 book. Ninth series: *On Sophisms*, to Heraclides and Pollis, 2 books. *On Dialectical Puzzles*, to Dioscurides, 5 books. *Reply to Arcesilaus' Method*, to Sphaerus, 1 book. Tenth series: *Against Common Experience*, to Metrodorus, 6 books. *In Defense of Common Experience*, to Gorgippides, 7 books.[68]
	Λογικοῦ τόπου τὰ τῶν προειρημένων τεττάρων διαφορῶν ἐκτὸς ὄντα καὶ περιέχοντα ⟨τὰς⟩ σποράδην καὶ οὐ σωματικὰς ζητήσεις λογικάς, περὶ τῶν καταλεγομένων ζητημάτων ἐννέα καὶ τριάκοντα. ὁμοῦ τὰ πάντα τοῦ λογικοῦ ἕνδεκα καὶ τριακόσια.	Logic: works falling outside the four divisions mentioned above and containing scattered logical inquiries that do not form a body, on the questions listed: thirty-nine. In all, the logical works number 311.
7.199	Ἠθικοῦ λόγου τοῦ περὶ τὴν διάρθρωσιν τῶν ἠθικῶν ἐννοιῶν. Σύνταξις πρώτη· Ὑπογραφὴ τοῦ ⟨ἠθικοῦ⟩ λόγου πρὸς Θεόπορον α′. Θέσεις ἠθικαὶ α′. Πιθανὰ λήμματα εἰς τὰ δόγματα πρὸς Φιλομαθῆ γ′. Ὅρων τῶν τοῦ ἀστείου πρὸς Μητρόδωρον β′. Ὅρων τῶν τοῦ φαύλου πρὸς Μητρόδωρον β′. Ὅρων τῶν ἀναμέσων πρὸς Μητρόδωρον β′. Ὅρων τῶν κατὰ γένος πρὸς Μητρόδωρον ζ′. Ὅρων τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας πρὸς Μητρόδωρον α′ β′. Σύνταξις δευτέρα· Περὶ τῶν ὁμοίων πρὸς Ἀριστοκλέα γ′. Περὶ τῶν ὅρων πρὸς Μητρόδωρον ζ′. Σύνταξις τρίτη· Περὶ τῶν οὐκ ὀρθῶς τοῖς ὅροις ἀντιλεγομένων πρὸς Λαοδάμαντα ζ′.	Ethics, concerning the articulation of ethical concepts. First series: *Outline of Ethical Theory*, to Theoporus, 1 book. *Ethical Theses*, 1 book. *Plausible Premises for the Doctrines*, to Philomathes, 3 books. *Definitions Relating to the Good Man*, to Metrodorus, 2 books. *Definitions Relating to the Bad Man*, to Metrodorus, 2 books. *Definitions Relating to the Intermediates*, to Metrodorus, 2 books. *Definitions by Genus*, to Metrodorus, 7 books. *Definitions Relating to the Other Arts*, to Metrodorus, 2 books. Second series: *On Similars*, to Aristocles, 3 books. *On Definitions*, to Metrodorus, 7 books. Third series: *On Objections Wrongly Made to Definitions*, to Laodamas, 7 books.
7.200	Πιθανὰ εἰς τοὺς ὅρους πρὸς Διοσκουρίδην β′. Περὶ εἰδῶν καὶ γενῶν πρὸς Γοργιππίδην β′. Περὶ διαιρέσεων α′. Περὶ ἐναντίων πρὸς Διονύσιον β′. Πιθανὰ πρὸς τὰς διαιρέσεις καὶ τὰ γένη καὶ τὰ εἴδη καὶ ⟨τὰ⟩ περὶ τῶν ἐναντίων α′. Σύνταξις τετάρτη· Περὶ τῶν ἐτυμολογικῶν πρὸς Διοκλέα ζ′. Ἐτυμολογικῶν πρὸς Διοκλέα δ′. Σύνταξις πέμπτη· Περὶ παροιμιῶν πρὸς Ζηνόδοτον β′. Περὶ ποιημάτων πρὸς Φιλομαθῆ α′. Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ τῶν ποιημάτων ἀκούειν β′. Πρὸς τοὺς κριτικοὺς πρὸς Διόδωρον α′.	*Plausible Arguments on Definitions*, to Dioscurides, 2 books. *On Species and Genera*, to Gorgippides, 2 books. *On Divisions*, 1 book. *On Contraries*, to Dionysius, 2 books. *Plausible Arguments on Divisions, Genera and Species, and on Contraries*, 1 book. Fourth series: *On Etymological Matters*, to Diocles, 7 books. *Etymologies*, to Diocles, 4 books. Fifth series: *On Proverbs*, to Zenodotus, 2 books. *On Poems*, to Philomathes, 1 book. *On How One Should Listen to Poems*, 2 books. *Against the Critics*, to Diodorus, 1 book.

68 The Veiled Man, the Unnoticed Man and the Nobody were well-known logical puzzles debated by the Megarians and the Stoics.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
7.201	Ἠθικοῦ τόπου περὶ τὸν κοινὸν λόγον καὶ τὰς ἐκ τούτου συνισταμένας τέχνας καὶ ἀρετάς. Σύνταξις πρώτη· Πρὸς τὰς ἀναζωγραφήσεις πρὸς Τιμώνακτα α′. Περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἕκαστα λέγομεν καὶ διανοούμεθα α′. Περὶ τῶν ἐννοιῶν πρὸς Λαοδάμαντα β′. Περὶ ὑπολήψεως πρὸς Πυθώνακτα γ′. Ἀποδείξεις πρὸς τὸ μὴ δοξάσειν τὸν σοφὸν α′. Περὶ καταλήψεως καὶ ἐπιστήμης καὶ ἀγνοίας δ′. Περὶ λόγου β′. Περὶ τῆς χρήσεως τοῦ λόγου πρὸς Λεπτίνην. Σύνταξις δευτέρα· Περὶ τοῦ ἐγκρίνειν τοὺς ἀρχαίους τὴν διαλεκτικὴν σὺν ταῖς ἀποδείξεσι πρὸς Ζήνωνα β′.	Ethics, concerning common reason and the arts and virtues built up from it. First series: *Against Re-paintings,* to Timonax, 1 book. *On How We Speak of and Think about Each Thing*, 1 book. *On Concepts,* to Laodamas, 2 books. *On Supposition,* to Pythonax, 3 books. *Proofs That the Wise Man Will Not Hold Opinions*, 1 book. *On Apprehension, Knowledge and Ignorance*, 4 books. *On Reason*, 2 books. *On the Use of Reason,* to Leptines. Second series: *That the Ancients Accepted Dialectic Together with Its Proofs*, to Zeno, 2 books.
7.202	Περὶ τῆς διαλεκτικῆς πρὸς Ἀριστοκρέοντα δ′. Περὶ τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων τοῖς διαλεκτικοῖς γ′. Περὶ τῆς ῥητορικῆς πρὸς Διοσκουρίδην δ′. Σύνταξις τρίτη· Περὶ ἕξεως πρὸς Κλέωνα γ′. Περὶ τέχνης καὶ ἀτεχνίας πρὸς Ἀριστοκρέοντα δ′. Περὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς τῶν ἀρετῶν πρὸς Διόδωρον δ′. Περὶ τοῦ ποιὰς εἶναι τὰς ἀρετὰς α′. Περὶ ἀρετῶν πρὸς Πόλλιν β′.	*On Dialectic,* to Aristocreon, 4 books. *On Objections Made to the Dialecticians,* 3 books. *On Rhetoric,* to Dioscurides, 4 books. Third series: *On Disposition,* to Cleon, 3 books. *On Art and Lack of Art,* to Aristocreon, 4 books. *On the Difference between the Virtues,* to Diodorus, 4 books. *That the Virtues Are Qualities*, 1 book. *On Virtues,* to Pollis, 2 books.
	Ἠθικοῦ τόπου περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν. Σύνταξις πρώτη· Περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς πρὸς Ἀριστοκρέοντα ι′. Ἀποδείξεις πρὸς τὸ μὴ εἶναι τὴν ἡδονὴν τέλος δ′. Ἀποδείξεις πρὸς τὸ μὴ εἶναι τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀγαθὸν δ′. Περὶ τῶν λεγομένων ὑπὲρ τῆς …	Ethics, concerning good and bad things. First series: *On the Fine and Pleasure,* to Aristocreon, 10 books. *Proofs That Pleasure Is Not the End*, 4 books. *Proofs That Pleasure Is Not a Good,* 4 books. *On What Is Said in Defense of …*

Book 8

Pythagoras and the Italians
Pythagoras, Empedocles, Epicharmus, Archytas, Philolaus, Eudoxus.

PYTHAGORAS

The founder of the Italian school: his travels, past lives, writings and pupils at Croton.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
8.1	Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὴν Ἰωνικὴν φιλοσοφίαν τὴν ἀπὸ Θαλοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταύτῃ διαγενομένους ἄνδρας ἀξιολόγους διεληλύθαμεν, φέρε καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἰταλικῆς διαλάβωμεν, ἧς ἦρξε Πυθαγόρας Μνησάρχου δακτυλιογλύφου, ὥς φησιν Ἕρμιππος, Σάμιος ἤ, ὡς Ἀριστόξενος, Τυρρηνὸς ἀπὸ μιᾶς τῶν νήσων ἃς ἔσχον Ἀθηναῖοι Τυρρηνοὺς ἐκβαλόντες. ἔνιοι δ' υἱὸν μὲν εἶναι Μαρμάκου τοῦ Ἱππάσου τοῦ Εὐθύφρονος τοῦ Κλεωνύμου φυγάδος ἐκ Φλιοῦντος, οἰκεῖν δ' ἐν Σάμῳ τὸν Μάρμακον, ὅθεν Σάμιον τὸν Πυθαγόραν λέγεσθαι· [2] συστῆναι δ' εἰς Λέσβον ἐλθόντα Φερεκύδῃ ὑπὸ Ζωίλου τοῦ θείου.	Now that we have gone through Ionian philosophy, which began with Thales, and the notable men who flourished in it, let us turn to the Italian school. It was founded by Pythagoras, son of Mnesarchus, a gem-engraver, as Hermippus says. He was a Samian or, according to Aristoxenus, a Tyrrhenian from one of the islands the Athenians took over after driving out the Tyrrhenians. Some say he was the son of Marmacus, son of Hippasus, son of Euthyphro, son of Cleonymus, an exile from Phlius. Marmacus, they say, lived in Samos, which is why Pythagoras is called a Samian. [2] He went to Lesbos and was introduced to Pherecydes by his uncle Zoilus.[1]
8.2	καὶ τρία ποτήρια κατασκευασάμενος ἀργυρᾶ δῶρον ἀπήνεγκεν ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἱερέων εἰς Αἴγυπτον. ἔσχε δ' ἀδελφούς, πρεσβύτερον μὲν Εὔνομον, μέσον δὲ Τυρρηνόν· καὶ δοῦλον Ζάμολξιν, ᾧ Γέται θύουσι, Κρόνον νομίζοντες, ὥς φησιν Ἡρόδοτος. οὗτος ἤκουσε μέν, καθὰ προείρηται, Φερεκύδου τοῦ Συρίου· μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν ἦκεν εἰς Σάμον καὶ ἤκουσεν Ἑρμοδάμαντος τοῦ ἀπογόνου Κρεωφύλου, ἤδη πρεσβυτέρου. νέος δ' ὢν καὶ φιλομαθὴς ἀπεδήμησε τῆς πατρίδος καὶ πάσας ἐμυήθη τάς θ' Ἑλληνικὰς καὶ βαρβαρικὰς τελετάς.	He had three silver cups made and took one to each of the priests in Egypt as a gift. He had brothers, Eunomus the eldest and Tyrrhenus the middle one, and a slave, Zamolxis, to whom the Getae sacrifice in the belief that he is Cronus, as Herodotus says. Pythagoras studied, as I said above, under Pherecydes of Syros. After Pherecydes' death he went to Samos and studied under Hermodamas, the descendant of Creophylus, who was by then an old man. While still young and eager to learn, he left his native land and was initiated into all the mysteries, Greek and non-Greek alike.[2]
8.3	ἐγένετ' οὖν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ὁπηνίκα καὶ Πολυκράτης αὐτὸν Ἀμάσιδι συνέστησε δι' ἐπιστολῆς· καὶ ἐξέμαθε τὴν φωνὴν αὐτῶν, καθά φησιν Ἀντιφῶν ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν ἐν ἀρετῇ πρωτευσάντων, καὶ παρὰ Χαλδαίοις ἐγένετο καὶ Μάγοις. εἶτ' ἐν Κρήτῃ σὺν Ἐπιμενίδῃ κατῆλθεν εἰς τὸ Ἰδαῖον ἄντρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ εἰς τὰ ἄδυτα· καὶ τὰ περὶ θεῶν ἐν ἀπορρήτοις ἔμαθεν. εἶτ' ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Σάμον,	So he went to Egypt, at the time when Polycrates introduced him to Amasis by letter. He learned the Egyptians' language, as Antiphon says in his *On Those Who Were Foremost in Excellence*, and he also spent time among the Chaldaeans and the Magi. Then in Crete he went down with Epimenides into the cave of Ida, and in Egypt too into the inner

1 "Tyrrhenians" was the Greek name for the Etruscans, also applied to a pre-Greek people of Lemnos and Imbros, islands Athens seized around 500 BC.
2 Creophylus of Samos was a legendary early epic poet, said to have been Homer's host.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	καὶ εὑρὼν τὴν πατρίδα τυραννουμένην ὑπὸ Πολυκράτους, ἀπῆρεν εἰς Κρότωνα τῆς Ἰταλίας· κἀκεῖ νόμους θεὶς τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις ἐδοξάσθη σὺν τοῖς μαθηταῖς, οἳ πρὸς τοὺς τριακοσίους ὄντες ᾠκονόμουν ἄριστα τὰ πολιτικά, ὥστε σχεδὸν ἀριστοκρατίαν εἶναι τὴν πολιτείαν.	sanctuaries, and he learned the secret teachings about the gods. Then he returned to Samos and, finding his country under the tyranny of Polycrates, sailed away to Croton in Italy. There he gave laws to the Greeks of Italy and won great fame together with his pupils. These numbered about three hundred and ran public affairs so well that the constitution was practically an aristocracy.[3]
8.4	Τοῦτόν φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ τάδε λέγειν, ὡς εἴη ποτὲ γεγονὼς Αἰθαλίδης καὶ Ἑρμοῦ υἱὸς νομισθείη· τὸν δὲ Ἑρμῆν εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ ἑλέσθαι ὅ τι ἂν βούληται πλὴν ἀθανασίας. αἰτήσασθαι οὖν ζῶντα καὶ τελευτῶντα μνήμην ἔχειν τῶν συμβαινόντων. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ ζωῇ πάντων διαμνημονεῦσαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποθάνοι, τηρῆσαι τὴν αὐτὴν μνήμην. χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον εἰς Εὔφορβον ἐλθεῖν καὶ ὑπὸ Μενέλεω τρωθῆναι. ὁ δ' Εὔφορβος ἔλεγεν ὡς Αἰθαλίδης ποτὲ γεγόνοι καὶ ὅτι παρ' Ἑρμοῦ τὸ δῶρον λάβοι καὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς περιπόλησιν, ὡς περιεπολήθη καὶ εἰς ὅσα φυτὰ καὶ ζῷα παρεγένετο καὶ ὅσα ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν Ἅιδῃ ἔπαθε καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ τίνα ὑπομένουσιν.	Heraclides of Pontus says that Pythagoras used to tell this story about himself. He had once been Aethalides and was regarded as a son of Hermes. Hermes told him to choose anything he wanted except immortality. So he asked to keep, both living and dying, the memory of what happened to him. And so in life he remembered everything, and when he died he kept that same memory. Some time later he passed into Euphorbus and was wounded by Menelaus. Euphorbus used to say that he had once been Aethalides and had received the gift from Hermes. He also told of the wandering of his soul: how it had wandered, into how many plants and animals it had come, all that his soul had suffered in Hades, and what the other souls endure.[4]
8.5	ἐπειδὴ δὲ Εὔφορβος ἀποθάνοι, μεταβῆναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ εἰς Ἑρμότιμον, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς πίστιν θέλων δοῦναι εἶτ' ἀνῆλθεν εἰς Βραγχίδας καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐπέδειξεν ἣν Μενέλαος ἀνέθηκεν ἀσπίδα, (ἔφη γὰρ αὐτόν, ὅτ' ἀπέπλει ἐκ Τροίας, ἀναθεῖναι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὴν ἀσπίδα,) διασεσηπυῖαν ἤδη, μόνον δὲ διαμένον τὸ ἐλεφάντινον πρόσωπον. ἐπειδὴ δ' Ἑρμότιμος ἀπέθανε, γενέσθαι Πύρρον τὸν Δήλιον ἁλιέα· καὶ πάντα πάλιν μνημονεύειν, πῶς πρόσθεν Αἰθαλίδης, εἶτ' Εὔφορβος, εἶτα Ἑρμότιμος, εἶτα Πύρρος γένοιτο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Πύρρος ἀπέθανε, γενέσθαι Πυθαγόραν καὶ πάντων τῶν εἰρημένων μεμνῆσθαι.	When Euphorbus died, his soul passed into Hermotimus. He too, wanting to give proof, went up to Branchidae, entered the temple of Apollo and pointed out the shield that Menelaus had dedicated there (he said that Menelaus had dedicated the shield to Apollo when he sailed home from Troy). By then it had rotted away, and only the ivory face on it remained. When Hermotimus died, he became Pyrrhus, the fisherman of Delos, and again he remembered everything: how he had been first Aethalides, then Euphorbus, then Hermotimus, then Pyrrhus. When Pyrrhus died, he became Pythagoras and remembered everything I have described.[5]
8.6	Ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν Πυθαγόραν μηδὲ ἓν καταλιπεῖν σύγγραμμά φασιν παίζοντες. Ἡράκλειτος γοῦν ὁ φυσικὸς μονονουχὶ κέκραγε καί φησι· "Πυθαγόρης Μνησάρχου ἱστορίην ἤσκησεν ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα πάντων καὶ ἐκλεξάμενος ταύτας τὰς συγγραφὰς ἐποιήσατο ἑαυτοῦ σοφίην, πολυμαθείην, κακοτεχνίην." οὕτω δ' εἶπεν, ἐπειδήπερ	Some say that Pythagoras left not a single written work, but they are joking. Heraclitus the natural philosopher, at any rate, all but shouts it: "Pythagoras son of Mnesarchus practiced inquiry more than any other man, and by selecting from

3 Polycrates was tyrant of Samos and Amasis king of Egypt in the mid-sixth century BC.
4 Aethalides was the herald of the Argonauts; Euphorbus, a Trojan in Homer's *Iliad,* was killed by Menelaus.
5 Branchidae, also called Didyma, was the site of a famous oracle of Apollo near Miletus.

GREEK

ἐναρχόμενος ὁ Πυθαγόρας τοῦ Φυσικοῦ συγγράμματος λέγει ὧδε· “οὐ μὰ τὸν ἀέρα, τὸν ἀναπνέω, οὐ μὰ τὸ ὕδωρ, τὸ πίνω, οὔ κοτ’ οἴσω ψόγον περὶ τοῦ λόγου τοῦδε.” γέγραπται δὲ τῷ Πυθαγόρᾳ συγγράμματα τρία, Παιδευτικόν, Πολιτικόν, Φυσικόν· [7] τὸ δὲ φερόμενον ὡς Πυθαγόρου Λύσιδός ἐστι τοῦ Ταραντίνου Πυθαγορικοῦ, φυγόντος εἰς Θήβας καὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδα καθηγησαμένου.

8.7 φησὶ δ’ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ τοῦ Σαραπίωνος ἐν τῇ Σωτίωνος ἐπιτομῇ γεγραφέναι αὐτὸν καὶ Περὶ τοῦ ὅλου ἐν ἔπεσιν, δεύτερον τὸν Ἱερὸν λόγον, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· ὦ νέοι, ἀλλὰ σέβεσθε μεθ’ ἡσυχίης τάδε πάντα· τρίτον Περὶ ψυχῆς, τέταρτον Περὶ εὐσεβείας, πέμπτον Ἡλοθαλῆ τὸν Ἐπιχάρμου τοῦ Κῴου πατέρα, ἕκτον Κρότωνα καὶ ἄλλους. τὸν δὲ Μυστικὸν λόγον Ἱππάσου φησὶν εἶναι, γεγραμμένον ἐπὶ διαβολῇ Πυθαγόρου, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἄστωνος τοῦ Κροτωνιάτου γραφέντας ἀνατεθῆναι Πυθαγόρᾳ.

8.8 φησὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀριστόξενος τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἠθικῶν δογμάτων λαβεῖν τὸν Πυθαγόραν παρὰ Θεμιστοκλείας τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖς. Ἴων δὲ ὁ Χῖος ἐν τοῖς Τριαγμοῖς φησιν αὐτὸν ἔνια ποιήσαντα ἀνενεγκεῖν εἰς Ὀρφέα. αὐτοῦ λέγουσι καὶ τοὺς Σκοπιάδας, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή, “Μὴ … ἀναίδευ μηδενί.” Σωσικράτης δ’ ἐν Διαδοχαῖς φησιν αὐτὸν ἐρωτηθέντα ὑπὸ Λέοντος τοῦ Φλιασίων τυράννου τίς εἴη, φιλόσοφος, εἰπεῖν. καὶ τὸν βίον ἐοικέναι πανηγύρει· ὡς οὖν εἰς ταύτην οἱ μὲν ἀγωνιούμενοι, οἱ δὲ κατ’ ἐμπορίαν, οἱ δέ γε βέλτιστοι ἔρχονται θεαταί, οὕτως ἐν τῷ βίῳ οἱ μὲν ἀνδραποδώδεις, ἔφη, φύονται δόξης καὶ πλεονεξίας θηραταί, οἱ δὲ φιλόσοφοι τῆς ἀληθείας. καὶ τάδε μὲν ὧδε.

8.9 Ἐν δὲ τοῖς τρισὶ συγγράμμασι τοῖς προειρημένοις φέρεται Πυθαγόρου τάδε καθολικῶς. οὐκ ἐᾷ εὔχεσθαι ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι τὸ συμφέρον. τὴν μέθην ἓν ἀνθ’ ἑνὸς βλάβην καλεῖ καὶ πλησμονὴν πᾶσαν ἀποδοκιμάζει, λέγων μὴ παραβαίνειν μήτε τῶν ποτῶν μήτε τῶν σιτίων μηδένα τὴν συμμετρίαν. καὶ περὶ ἀφροδισίων δέ φησιν οὕτως· “Ἀφροδίσια χειμῶνος ποιέεσθαι, μὴ θέρεος· φθινοπώρου δὲ καὶ ἦρος κουφότερα, βαρέα δὲ πᾶσαν ὥρην καὶ ἐς ὑγιείην οὐκ ἀγαθά.” ἀλλὰ καί ποτ’ ἐρωτηθέντα πότε δεῖ πλησιάζειν εἰπεῖν· ὅταν βούλῃ γενέσθαι σωυτοῦ ἀσθενέστερος.

ENGLISH

these writings he made himself a wisdom of his own: much learning, bad craft.” He said this because Pythagoras, at the beginning of his treatise *On Nature*, says: “No, by the air I breathe, no, by the water I drink, I shall never incur blame for this account.” Pythagoras did write three treatises, *On Education*, *On Politics* and *On Nature*; [7] but the one circulating as Pythagoras’ is by Lysis of Tarentum, a Pythagorean who fled to Thebes and became Epaminondas’ teacher.

Heraclides son of Sarapion, in his epitome of Sotion, says that Pythagoras also wrote *On the Universe* in verse; second, the *Sacred Discourse*, which begins: Young men, come, revere in silence all these things; third, *On the Soul*; fourth, *On Piety*; fifth, *Helothales, the Father of Epicharmus of Cos*; sixth, *Croton*; and others. The *Mystic Discourse*, he says, is by Hippasus and was written to discredit Pythagoras, and many works written by Aston of Croton were ascribed to Pythagoras.[6]

Aristoxenus too says that Pythagoras took most of his ethical doctrines from Themistoclea of Delphi. Ion of Chios, in his *Triads*, says that Pythagoras wrote some poems himself and attributed them to Orpheus. They also ascribe to him the *Scopiads*, which begins: “Do not … be shameless toward anyone.” Sosicrates, in his *Successions*, says that when Leon, tyrant of Phlius, asked him who he was, he said: a philosopher. He also compared life to a great festival. Just as some come to it to compete, others to do business, and the best come as spectators, so in life, he said, some men are born slavish, hunters of fame and gain, while philosophers hunt for the truth. So much for that.

In the three treatises mentioned above, the following general teachings are attributed to Pythagoras. He forbids people to pray for themselves, since they do not know what is good for them. He calls drunkenness simply ruin, and he rejects all excess, saying that no one should go beyond due measure in either drink or food. On sex he says this: “Have sex in winter, not in summer; in autumn and spring it is lighter, but in every season it is heavy and not good for the health.” And once, asked when one should have sex, he said: when you want to be weaker than yourself.

6 Heraclides son of Sarapion, known as Heraclides Lembus, was a scholar of the second century BC who made epitomes of earlier biographers.

GREEK

ENGLISH

8.10 Διαιρεῖται δὲ καὶ τὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου βίον οὕτως· “Παῖς εἴκοσι ἔτεα, νεηνίσκος εἴκοσι, νεηνίης εἴκοσι, γέρων εἴκοσι. αἱ δὲ ἡλικίαι πρὸς τὰς ὥρας ὧδε σύμμετροι· παῖς ἔαρ, νεηνίσκος θέρος, νεηνίης φθινόπωρον, γέρων χειμών.” ἔστι δ’ αὐτῷ ὁ μὲν νεηνίσκος μειράκιον, ὁ δὲ νεηνίης ἀνήρ. εἶπέ τε πρῶτος, ὥς φησι Τίμαιος, κοινὰ τὰ φίλων εἶναι καὶ φιλίαν ἰσότητα. καὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ μαθηταὶ κατετίθεντο τὰς οὐσίας εἰς ἕν [ποιούμενοι]. πενταετίαν θ’ ἡσύχαζον, μόνον τῶν λόγων κατακούοντες καὶ οὐδέπω Πυθαγόραν ὁρῶντες εἰς ὃ δοκιμασθεῖεν· τοὐντεῦθεν δ’ ἐγίνοντο τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ὄψεως μετεῖχον. ἀπείχοντο δὲ καὶ σοροῦ κυπαρισσίνης διὰ τὸ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς σκῆπτρον ἐντεῦθεν πεποιῆσθαι, ὥς φησιν Ἕρμιππος ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ Πυθαγόρου.

He also divides human life as follows: “Child, twenty years; youth, twenty; young man, twenty; old man, twenty. The ages correspond to the seasons thus: child to spring, youth to summer, young man to autumn, old man to winter.” In his usage the “youth” is a stripling and the “young man” a grown man. He was the first, as Timaeus says, to say that friends’ possessions are common and that friendship is equality. His pupils pooled their property, [making it] one. For five years they kept silent, only listening to his teaching and never yet seeing Pythagoras, until they had passed the test. From then on they became members of his household and were admitted to the sight of him. They also refused coffins of cypress wood, because the scepter of Zeus was made from that wood, as Hermippus says in the second book of his *On Pythagoras*.

8.11 Καὶ γὰρ καὶ σεμνοπρεπέστατος λέγεται γενέσθαι καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ δόξαν εἶχον περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς εἴη Ἀπόλλων ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἀφιγμένος. λόγος δέ ποτ’ αὐτοῦ παραγυμνωθέντος τὸν μηρὸν ὀφθῆναι χρυσοῦν· καὶ ὅτι Νέσσος ὁ ποταμὸς διαβαίνοντα αὐτὸν προσαγορεύσαι πολὺς ἦν ὁ φάσκων. Τίμαιός τέ φησιν ἐν δεκάτῃ Ἱστοριῶν λέγειν αὐτὸν τὰς συνοικούσας ἀνδράσι θεῶν ἔχειν ὀνόματα, Κόρας, Νύμφας, εἶτα Μητέρας καλουμένας. τοῦτον καὶ γεωμετρίαν ἐπὶ πέρας ἀγαγεῖν, Μοίριδος πρώτου εὑρόντος τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν στοιχείων αὐτῆς, ὥς φησιν Ἀντικλείδης ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου. [12] μάλιστα δὲ σχολάσαι τὸν Πυθαγόραν περὶ τὸ ἀριθμητικὸν εἶδος αὐτῆς· τόν τε κανόνα τὸν ἐκ μιᾶς χορδῆς εὑρεῖν.

He is also said to have had a most majestic bearing, and his pupils believed that he was Apollo come from the land of the Hyperboreans. There is a story that once, when he was partly undressed, his thigh was seen to be made of gold; and many people claimed that the river Nessus greeted him by name as he crossed it. Timaeus says in the tenth book of his *Histories* that Pythagoras used to say that women who live with husbands bear the names of goddesses, being called first Maidens, then Brides, then Mothers. He is also said to have brought geometry to perfection, after Moeris had first discovered the principles of its elements, as Anticlides says in the second book of his *On Alexander*. [12] Pythagoras devoted himself above all to its arithmetical side, and he discovered the monochord.[7]

8.12 οὐκ ἠμέλησε δ’ οὐδ’ ἰατρικῆς. φησὶ δ’ Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ λογιστικὸς ἑκατόμβην θῦσαι αὐτόν, εὑρόντα ὅτι τοῦ ὀρθογωνίου τριγώνου ἡ ὑποτείνουσα πλευρὰ ἴσον δύναται ταῖς περιεχούσαις. καὶ ἔστιν ἐπίγραμμα οὕτως ἔχον· ἡνίκα Πυθαγόρης τὸ περικλεὲς εὕρετο γράμμα, / κεῖν’ ἐφ’ ὅτῳ κλεινὴν ἤγαγε βουθυσίην. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ πρῶτος κρέασιν ἀσκῆσαι ἀθλητάς, καὶ πρῶτόν γ’ Εὐρυμένην, καθά φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν τρίτῳ τῶν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων, τῶν πρότερον ἰσχάσι ξηραῖς καὶ τυροῖς ὑγροῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πυροῖς σωμασκούντων αὐτούς, καθάπερ ὁ αὐτὸς Φαβωρῖνος ἐν ὀγδόῃ Παντοδαπῆς

He did not neglect medicine either. Apollodorus the arithmetician says that he sacrificed a hecatomb when he discovered that the square on the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle equals the squares on the two sides that contain the right angle. And there is an epigram that runs: When Pythagoras discovered the famous figure, / for that he offered a famous sacrifice of oxen. He is also said to have been the first to train athletes on a diet of meat, beginning with Eurymenes, as Favorinus says in the third book of his *Memoirs*.

7 The Hyperboreans were a legendary people of the far north, closely linked with Apollo.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἱστορίας φησίν. [13] οἱ δὲ Πυθαγόραν ἀλείπτην τινὰ τοῦτον σιτίσαι τὸν τρόπον, μὴ τοῦτον.	Earlier athletes had built up their bodies on dried figs, soft cheeses and wheat, as the same Favorinus says in the eighth book of his *Miscellaneous History*. [13] Others say it was a trainer called Pythagoras who fed athletes this way, not our Pythagoras.
8.13	τοῦτον γὰρ καὶ τὸ φονεύειν ἀπαγορεύειν, μὴ ὅτι γεύεσθαι τῶν ζῴων κοινὸν δίκαιον ἡμῖν ἐχόντων ψυχῆς. καὶ τόδε μὲν ἦν τὸ πρόσχημα· τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς τῶν ἐμψύχων ἀπηγόρευεν ἅπτεσθαι συνασκῶν καὶ συνεθίζων εἰς εὐκολίαν βίου τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὥστε εὐπορίστους αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὰς τροφάς, ἄπυρα προσφερομένους καὶ λιτὸν ὕδωρ πίνουσιν· ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ καὶ σώματος ὑγίειαν καὶ ψυχῆς ὀξύτητα περιγίνεσθαι. ἀμέλει καὶ βωμὸν προσκυνῆσαι μόνον ἐν Δήλῳ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ γενέτορος, ὅς ἐστιν ὄπισθεν τοῦ Κερατίνου, διὰ τὸ πυροὺς καὶ κριθὰς καὶ πόπανα μόνα τίθεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἄνευ πυρός, ἱερεῖον δὲ μηδέν, ὥς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν Δηλίων πολιτείᾳ.	For our Pythagoras even forbade killing animals, let alone eating them, since they share with us the common right of having a soul. That was the pretext. In truth he forbade touching living creatures in order to train people in a simple way of life and accustom them to it, so that their food would be easy to come by. They would eat things that needed no cooking and drink plain water, and from this, he held, came health of body and sharpness of soul. Certainly the only altar he worshipped at was that of Apollo the Begetter at Delos, which stands behind the Altar of Horns, because only wheat, barley and cakes are placed on it, without fire, and no animal victim, as Aristotle says in his *Constitution of Delos*.
8.14	Πρῶτόν τέ φασι τοῦτον ἀποφῆναι τὴν ψυχὴν κύκλον ἀνάγκης ἀμείβουσαν ἄλλοτ' ἄλλοις ἐνδεῖσθαι ζῴοις· καὶ πρῶτον εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας μέτρα καὶ σταθμὰ εἰσηγήσασθαι, καθά φησιν Ἀριστόξενος ὁ μουσικός· πρῶτόν τε Ἕσπερον καὶ Φωσφόρον τὸν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, ὥς φησι Παρμενίδης. οὕτω δ' ἐθαυμάσθη ὥστ' ἔλεγον τοὺς γνωρίμους αὐτοῦ μάντιας θεῶ φωνᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ γραφῇ φησι δι' ἑπτὰ καὶ διηκοσίων ἐτέων ἐξ ἅΐδεω παραγεγενῆσθαι ἐς ἀνθρώπους. τοιγὰρ καὶ προσεκαρτέρουν αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν λόγων ἕνεκα προσῄεσαν καὶ Λευκανοὶ καὶ Πευκέτιοι Μεσσάπιοί τε καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι.	They say he was the first to declare that the soul goes round the circle of necessity and is bound now to one living creature, now to another; the first to introduce weights and measures to the Greeks, as Aristoxenus the musician says; and the first to say that the Evening Star and the Morning Star are the same, as Parmenides says. He was so admired that people called his pupils "prophets of the god's voice"; and he himself says in his writings that he has come to men from Hades after two hundred and seven years. That is why Lucanians, Peucetians, Messapians and Romans stayed devoted to him and came to hear his teaching.[8]
8.15	Μέχρι δὲ Φιλολάου οὐκ ἦν τι γνῶναι Πυθαγόρειον δόγμα· οὗτος δὲ μόνος ἐξήνεγκε τὰ διαβόητα τρία βιβλία, ἃ Πλάτων ἐπέστειλεν ἑκατὸν μνῶν ὠνηθῆναι. τῶν θ' ἑξακοσίων οὐκ ἐλάττους ἐπὶ τὴν νυκτερινὴν ἀκρόασιν ἀπήντων αὐτοῦ· καὶ εἴ τινες ἀξιωθεῖεν αὐτὸν θεάσασθαι, ἔγραφον πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ὡς μεγάλου τινὸς τετυχηκότες.	Until Philolaus no Pythagorean doctrine could be known. He alone published the three celebrated books that Plato wrote asking someone to buy for him for a hundred minas. No fewer than six hundred people came to Pythagoras' night lectures, and any who were judged worthy to see him wrote to their families as if they had met with some great good fortune.[9]
	Μεταποντῖνοί γε μὴν τὴν μὲν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν ἐκάλουν, τὸν στενωπὸν δὲ μουσεῖον, ὥς φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπαῖς ἱστορίαις· ἔλεγόν τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Πυθαγόρειοι μὴ εἶναι πρὸς πάντας πάντα ῥητά, ὥς	The people of Metapontum called his house a temple of Demeter and his lane a shrine of the Muses, as Favorinus says in his *Miscellaneous History*. The other Pythagoreans too used to say that

8 Lucanians, Peucetians and Messapians were non-Greek peoples of southern Italy.
9 A mina was a sum of a hundred drachmas; a hundred minas was a very large amount of money.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	φησιν Ἀριστόξενος ἐν δεκάτῃ Παιδευτικῶν νόμων· [16] ἔνθα καὶ Ξενόφιλον τὸν Πυθαγορικόν, ἐρωτηθέντα πῶς ἂν μάλιστα τὸν υἱὸν παιδεύσειεν, εἰπεῖν, εἰ πόλεως εὐνομουμένης γενηθείη. ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπεργάσασθαι καλούς τε κἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, ἀτὰρ καὶ Ζάλευκον καὶ Χαρώνδαν τοὺς νομοθέτας· ἱκανός τε γὰρ ἦν φιλίας ἐργάτης τά τ' ἄλλα καὶ εἴ τινα πύθοιτο τῶν συμβόλων αὐτοῦ κεκοινωνηκότα, εὐθύς τε προσηταιρίζετο καὶ φίλον κατεσκεύαζεν.	not everything should be told to everyone, as Aristoxenus says in the tenth book of his *Laws of Education*. [16] There he also says that Xenophilus the Pythagorean, asked how a man could best educate his son, said: by having him born in a well-governed city. Pythagoras, he says, made many other men in Italy into men of fine and noble character, among them the lawgivers Zaleucus and Charondas. For he had a great gift for making friends; among other things, if he heard that someone had shared in his symbols, he at once made him a companion and a friend.[10]

THE PYTHAGOREAN SYMBOLS

Pythagoras' cryptic rules of conduct, his diet, and the precepts he gave his pupils.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
8.17	Ἦν δ' αὐτῷ τὰ σύμβολα τάδε· πῦρ μαχαίρᾳ μὴ σκαλεύειν, ζυγὸν μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν, ἐπὶ χοίνικος μὴ καθίζειν, καρδίην μὴ ἐσθίειν, φορτίον μὴ συγκαθαιρεῖν, ουνεπιτιθέναι δέ, τὰ στρώματα ἀεὶ συνδεδεμένα ἔχειν, ἐν δακτυλίῳ εἰκόνα θεοῦ μὴ περιφέρειν, χύτρας ἴχνος συγχεῖν ἐν τῇ τέφρᾳ, δᾳδίῳ θᾶκον μὴ ὀμόργνυσθαι, πρὸς ἥλιον τετραμμένον μὴ ὀμίχειν, τὰς λεωφόρους μὴ βαδίζειν, μὴ ῥᾳδίως δεξιὰν ἐμβάλλειν, ὁμωροφίους χελιδόνας μὴ ἔχειν, γαμψώνυχα μὴ τρέφειν, ἀπονυχίσμασι καὶ κουραῖς μὴ ἐπουρεῖν μηδὲ ἐφίστασθαι, ὀξεῖαν μάχαιραν ἀποστρέφειν, ἀποδημοῦντα ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅροις ἀνεπιστρεπτεῖν.	These were his symbols: Do not stir the fire with a knife. Do not step over a balance. Do not sit on a choenix. Do not eat the heart. Do not help someone take a load off, but help him put one on. Always keep your bedding rolled up. Do not wear an image of a god on a ring. Smooth out the mark of a pot in the ashes. Do not wipe a seat with a torch. Do not urinate facing the sun. Do not walk on the highways. Do not offer your right hand lightly. Do not have swallows nesting under your roof. Do not keep birds with hooked talons. Do not urinate on nail parings or hair clippings, or step on them. Turn a sharp knife away. When going abroad, do not turn back at the border.[11]
8.18	Ἤθελε δ' αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν πῦρ μαχαίρᾳ μὴ σκαλεύειν δυναστῶν ὀργὴν καὶ οἰδοῦντα θυμὸν μὴ κινεῖν. τὸ δὲ ζυγὸν μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν, τουτέστι τὸ ἴσον καὶ δίκαιον μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν. ἐπί τε χοίνικος μὴ καθίζειν ἐν ἴσῳ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος φροντίδα ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος· ἡ γὰρ χοῖνιξ ἡμερησία τροφή. διὰ δὲ τοῦ καρδίαν μὴ ἐσθίειν ἐδήλου μὴ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνίαις καὶ λύπαις κατατήκειν. διὰ δὲ τοῦ εἰς ἀποδημίαν βαδίζοντα μὴ ἐπιστρέφεσθαι παρῄνει τοῖς ἀπαλλαττομένοις τοῦ βίου μὴ ἐπιθυμητικῶς ἔχειν τοῦ ζῆν μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἡδονῶν ἐπάγεσθαι. καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πρὸς ταῦτα λοιπόν ἐστιν ἐκλαμβάνειν, ἵνα μὴ παρέλκωμεν.	By not stirring the fire with a knife he meant not provoking the anger of the powerful or their swelling temper; by not stepping over the balance, not overstepping what is equal and just; by not sitting on a choenix, taking equal thought for the present and for the future, since a choenix is a day's ration. By not eating the heart he indicated that one should not waste one's soul away with grief and sorrow. By not turning back when setting out on a journey he urged those departing this life not to cling longingly to living, nor to be lured back by the pleasures of this world. The rest can be interpreted along the same lines, so as not to drag this out.

10 Zaleucus of Locri and Charondas of Catana were the famous early lawgivers of the western Greeks.
11 A choenix was a dry measure of about a quart, a day's ration of grain.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
8.19	Παντὸς δὲ μᾶλλον ἀπηγόρευε μήτ' ἐρυθῖνον ἐσθίειν μήτε μελάνουρον, καρδίας τ' ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ κυάμων· Ἀριστοτέλης δέ φησι καὶ μήτρας καὶ τρίγλης ἐνίοτε. αὐτὸν δ' ἀρκεῖσθαι μέλιτι μόνῳ φασί τινες ἢ κηρίῳ ἢ ἄρτῳ, οἴνου δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν μὴ γεύεσθαι· ὄψῳ τε τὰ πολλὰ λαχάνοις ἐφθοῖς τε καὶ ὠμοῖς, τοῖς δὲ θαλαττίοις σπανίως. στολὴ δ' αὐτῷ λευκή, καθαρά, καὶ στρώματα λευκὰ ἐξ ἐρίων· τὰ γὰρ λινᾶ οὔπω εἰς ἐκείνους ἀφῖκτο τοὺς τόπους. οὐδέποτ' ἐγνώσθη οὔτε διαχωρῶν οὔτε ἀφροδισιάζων οὔτε μεθυσθείς.	Above all he forbade eating the red sea bream or the blacktail, and he told people to abstain from the heart and from beans; Aristotle says that sometimes he also forbade the womb and the red mullet. Some say he himself was content with honey alone, or honeycomb, or bread, and did not touch wine during the day. With his food he mostly had vegetables, boiled and raw, and seafood only rarely. His robe was white and clean, and his bedding was white and made of wool, for linen had not yet reached those parts. No one ever knew him to relieve himself, have sex or get drunk.
8.20	ἀπείχετο καὶ γέλωτος καὶ πάσης ἀρεσκείας οἷον σκωμμάτων καὶ διηγημάτων φορτικῶν. ὀργιζόμενός τ' οὔτε οἰκέτην ἐκόλαζεν οὔτ' ἐλεύθερον οὐδένα. ἐκάλει δὲ τὸ νουθετεῖν πεδαρτᾶν. μαντικῇ τ' ἐχρῆτο τῇ διὰ τῶν κληδόνων τε καὶ οἰωνῶν, ἥκιστα δὲ τῇ διὰ τῶν ἐμπύρων, ἔξω τῆς διὰ λιβάνου. θυσίαις τε ἐχρῆτο ἀψύχοις, οἱ δέ φασιν, ὅτι ἀλέκτορσι μόνον καὶ ἐρίφοις γαλαθηνοῖς καὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις ἁπαλίαις, ἥκιστα δὲ ἄρνασιν. ὅ γε μὴν Ἀριστόξενος πάντα μὲν τἄλλα συγχωρεῖν αὐτὸν ἐσθίειν ἔμψυχα, μόνον δ' ἀπέχεσθαι βοὸς ἀροτῆρος καὶ κριοῦ.	He refrained from laughter and from every form of playing to the crowd, such as jokes and vulgar stories. He never punished anyone in anger, slave or free. Rebuking someone he called "readjusting." He practiced divination by chance utterances and by birds, but hardly at all by burnt offerings, except with frankincense. The sacrifices he offered were of things without life; others, though, say he sacrificed only cocks, suckling kids and the young pigs called "tenderlings," and hardly ever lambs. Aristoxenus, however, says that he allowed people to eat all other animals and abstained only from the plowing ox and the ram.
8.21	Ὅ δ' αὐτός φησιν, ὡς προείρηται, καὶ τὰ δόγματα λαβεῖν αὐτὸν παρὰ τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖς Θεμιστοκλείας. φησὶ δ' Ἱερώνυμος κατελθόντα αὐτὸν εἰς ᾅδου τὴν μὲν Ἡσιόδου ψυχὴν ἰδεῖν πρὸς κίονι χαλκῷ δεδεμένην καὶ τρίζουσαν, τὴν δ' Ὁμήρου κρεμαμένην ἀπὸ δένδρου καὶ ὄφεις περὶ αὐτὴν ἀνθ' ὧν εἶπον περὶ θεῶν, κολαζομένους δὲ καὶ τοὺς μὴ θέλοντας συνεῖναι ταῖς ἑαυτῶν γυναιξί· καὶ δὴ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τιμηθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Κρότωνι. φησὶ δ' Ἀρίστιππος ὁ Κυρηναῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ φυσιολόγων Πυθαγόραν αὐτὸν ὀνομασθῆναι ὅτι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἠγόρευεν οὐχ ἧττον τοῦ Πυθίου.	The same writer says, as I mentioned before, that he took his doctrines from Themistoclea of Delphi. Hieronymus says that when Pythagoras went down to Hades he saw the soul of Hesiod bound to a bronze pillar and gibbering, and the soul of Homer hanging from a tree with snakes around it, because of what they had said about the gods; he also saw men being punished who refused to sleep with their own wives. And for this, Hieronymus says, the people of Croton honored him. Aristippus of Cyrene, in his *On Natural Philosophers*, says that he was named Pythagoras because he spoke (*agoreuein*) the truth no less than the Pythian god.[12]
8.22	Λέγεται παρεγγυᾶν αὐτὸν ἑκάστοτε τοῖς μαθηταῖς τάδε λέγειν εἰς τὸν οἶκον εἰσιοῦσι, πῆ παρέβην; τί δ' ἔρεξα; τί μοι δέον οὐκ ἐτελέσθη; σφάγιά τε θεοῖς προσφέρειν κωλύειν, μόνον δὲ τὸν ἀναίμακτον βωμὸν προσκυνεῖν. μηδ' ὀμνύναι θεούς· ἀσκεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν δεῖν ἀξιόπιστον παρέχειν. τούς τε πρεσβυτέρους τιμᾶν, τὸ προηγούμενον	It is said that he told his pupils to say these words every time they entered their house: Where have I gone wrong? What have I done? What that I ought to have done have I left undone? He forbade them to offer animal victims to the gods and told them

12 The pun splits Pyth-agoras into *Pythios*, Apollo of Delphi, and *agoreuein*, "to speak."

GREEK

τῷ χρόνῳ τιμιώτερον ἡγουμένους· ὡς ἐν κόσμῳ μὲν ἀνατολὴν δύσεως, ἐν βίῳ δ' ἀρχὴν τελευτῆς, ἐν ζωῇ δὲ γένεσιν φθορᾶς. [23] καὶ θεοὺς μὲν δαιμόνων προτιμᾶν, ἥρωας δ' ἀνθρώπων, ἀνθρώπων δὲ μάλιστα τοὺς γονέας. ἀλλήλοις θ' ὁμιλεῖν, ὡς τοὺς μὲν φίλους ἐχθροὺς μὴ ποιῆσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐχθροὺς φίλους ἐργάσασθαι. ἴδιόν τε μηδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι.

ENGLISH

to worship only at the bloodless altar. They were not to swear by the gods either, for one ought to train oneself to be trustworthy. They should honor their elders, regarding what comes first in time as more worthy of honor: in the universe sunrise is above sunset, in a life the beginning above the end, in living things birth above death. [23] They should honor gods above spirits, heroes above human beings, and among human beings their parents most of all. They should treat one another so as not to turn friends into enemies but to make enemies into friends. They should regard nothing as their own.

8.23 νόμῳ βοηθεῖν, ἀνομίᾳ πολεμεῖν· φυτὸν ἥμερον μήτε φθίνειν μήτε σίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ζῷον ὃ μὴ βλάπτει ἀνθρώπους. αἰδῶ καὶ εὐλάβειαν εἶναι μήτε γέλωτι κατέχεσθαι μήτε σκυθρωπάζειν. φεύγειν σαρκῶν πλεονασμόν, ὁδοιπορίης ἄνεσιν καὶ ἐπίτασιν ποιεῖσθαι, μνήμην ἀσκεῖν, ἐν ὀργῇ μήτε τι λέγειν μήτε πράσσειν, μαντικὴν πᾶσαν τιμᾶν, [24] ᾠδαῖς χρῆσθαι πρὸς λύραν ὕμνῳ τε θεῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν εὔλογον χάριν ἔχειν. τῶν δὲ κυάμων ἀπέχεσθαι διὰ τὸ πνευματώδεις ὄντας μάλιστα μετέχειν τοῦ ψυχικοῦ· καὶ ἄλλως κοσμιωτέρας ἀπεργάζεσθαι τὰς γαστέρας, μὴ παραληφθέντας. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰς καθ' ὕπνους φαντασίας λείας καὶ ἀταράχους ἀποτελεῖν.

They should support the law and fight lawlessness. They should not destroy or damage a cultivated plant, nor any animal that does no harm to human beings. Modesty and caution mean neither being overcome by laughter nor looking sullen. They should avoid excess flesh; on a journey they should alternately ease off and press on; they should train their memory; in anger they should neither say nor do anything; they should respect every kind of divination; [24] they should sing songs to the lyre, and by hymns to gods and good men show them due gratitude. They should abstain from beans, because beans are full of wind and so share most fully in the nature of the soul; and besides, if they are left out of the diet, the belly is better behaved, and for that reason too dreams are smooth and untroubled.

PYTHAGOREAN DOCTRINE

The monad and dyad, the soul's kinship with aether, and the reasons given for avoiding beans.

GREEK

8.24 Φησὶ δ' ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Ταῖς τῶν φιλοσόφων διαδοχαῖς καὶ ταῦτα εὑρηκέναι ἐν Πυθαγορικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν. [25] ἀρχὴν μὲν ἁπάντων μονάδα· ἐκ δὲ τῆς μονάδος ἀόριστον δυάδα ὡς ἂν ὕλην τῇ μονάδι αἰτίῳ ὄντι ὑποστῆναι· ἐκ δὲ τῆς μονάδος καὶ τῆς ἀορίστου δυάδος τοὺς ἀριθμούς· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἀριθμῶν τὰ σημεῖα· ἐκ δὲ τούτων τὰς γραμμάς, ἐξ ὧν τὰ ἐπίπεδα σχήματα· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐπιπέδων τὰ στερεὰ σχήματα· ἐκ δὲ τούτων τὰ αἰσθητὰ σώματα, ὧν καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα εἶναι τέτταρα, πῦρ, ὕδωρ, γῆν, ἀέρα· μεταβάλλειν δὲ καὶ τρέπεσθαι δι' ὅλων, καὶ γίνεσθαι ἐξ αὐτῶν κόσμον ἔμψυχον, νοερόν, σφαιροειδῆ, μέσην περιέχοντα τὴν γῆν καὶ αὐτὴν σφαιροειδῆ καὶ περιοικουμένην.

ENGLISH

Alexander, in his *Successions of the Philosophers*, says that he also found the following in Pythagorean notebooks. [25] The first principle of all things is the monad. From the monad comes the indefinite dyad, which serves as matter for the monad, the monad being its cause. From the monad and the indefinite dyad come the numbers; from the numbers, points; from these, lines, and from lines, plane figures; from plane figures, solid figures; from these, perceptible bodies. Their elements are four: fire, water, earth and air. These change and turn into one another completely, and from them arises a world-order that is ensouled, intelligent and spherical, with the earth at its cen-

GREEK

ENGLISH

ter, the earth itself also spherical and inhabited all round.[13]

8.26 εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἀντίποδας καὶ τὰ ἡμῖν κάτω ἐκείνοις ἄνω. ἰσόμοιρά τ' εἶναι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ φῶς καὶ σκότος, καὶ θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρόν, καὶ ξηρὸν καὶ ὑγρόν· ὧν κατ' ἐπικράτειαν θερμοῦ μὲν θέρος γίνεσθαι, ψυχροῦ δὲ χειμῶνα, ξηροῦ δ' ἔαρ, καὶ ὑγροῦ φθινόπωρον. ἐὰν δὲ ἰσομοιρῇ, τὰ κάλλιστα εἶναι τοῦ ἔτους, οὗ τὸ μὲν θάλλον ἔαρ ὑγιεινόν, τὸ δὲ φθίνον φθινόπωρον νοσερόν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας θάλλειν μὲν τὴν ἕω, φθίνειν δὲ τὴν ἑσπέραν· ὅθεν καὶ νοσερωτέραν εἶναι.

They also hold that there are antipodes, and that what is down for us is up for them. Light and darkness have equal shares in the world-order, and so do hot and cold, dry and wet. When the hot prevails it is summer, when the cold prevails, winter, when the dry, spring, and when the wet, autumn. When they are evenly balanced, the year is at its finest; and of the year, the flourishing spring is healthy and the waning autumn unhealthy. So too of the day, the dawn flourishes and the evening wanes, which is why the evening is also less healthy.

τόν τε περὶ τὴν γῆν ἀέρα ἄσειστον καὶ νοσερὸν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα θνητά· τὸν δὲ ἀνωτάτω ἀεικίνητόν τ' εἶναι καὶ καθαρὸν καὶ ὑγιᾶ καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀθάνατα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θεῖα. [27] ἥλιόν τε καὶ σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀστέρας εἶναι θεούς· ἐπικρατεῖν γὰρ τὸ θερμὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὅπερ ἐστὶ ζωῆς αἴτιον. τήν τε σελήνην λάμπεσθαι ὑφ' ἡλίου. καὶ ἀνθρώποις εἶναι πρὸς θεοὺς συγγένειαν, κατὰ τὸ μετέχειν ἄνθρωπον θερμοῦ· διὸ καὶ προνοεῖσθαι τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν. εἱμαρμένην τε τῶν ὅλων καὶ κατὰ μέρος αἰτίαν εἶναι τῆς διοικήσεως. διήκειν τ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀκτῖνα διὰ τοῦ αἰθέρος τοῦ τε ψυχροῦ καὶ παχέος.

The air around the earth, they say, is stagnant and unhealthy, and everything in it is mortal; but the uppermost air is always in motion, pure and healthy, and everything in it is immortal and therefore divine. [27] The sun, the moon and the other stars are gods, for heat prevails in them, and heat is the cause of life. The moon is lit by the sun. Human beings are akin to the gods because man shares in heat, and that is why god exercises providence over us. Fate is the cause of the ordering of the whole and of each of its parts. A ray from the sun passes through the aether, both the cold aether and the dense.

8.27 καλοῦσι δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀέρα ψυχρὸν αἰθέρα, τὴν δὲ θάλασσαν καὶ τὸ ὑγρὸν παχὺν αἰθέρα. ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἀκτῖνα καὶ εἰς τὰ βένθη δύεσθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ζωοποιεῖν πάντα. [28] καὶ ζῆν μὲν πάνθ' ὅσα μετέχει τοῦ θερμοῦ· διὸ καὶ τὰ φυτὰ ζῷα εἶναι· ψυχὴν μέντοι μὴ ἔχειν πάντα. εἶναι δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπόσπασμα αἰθέρος καὶ τοῦ θερμοῦ καὶ τοῦ ψυχροῦ, τῷ συμμετέχειν ψυχροῦ αἰθέρος. διαφέρειν τε ψυχὴν ζωῆς· ἀθάνατόν τ' εἶναι αὐτήν, ἐπειδήπερ καὶ τὸ ἀφ' οὗ ἀπέσπασται ἀθάνατόν ἐστι. τὰ δὲ ζῷα γεννᾶσθαι ἐξ ἀλλήλων ἀπὸ σπερμάτων, τὴν δ' ἐκ γῆς γένεσιν ἀδύνατον ὑφίστασθαι.

They call the air cold aether, and the sea and moisture dense aether. This ray penetrates even into the depths and so brings all things to life. [28] Everything that shares in heat is alive, which is why plants too are living things; but not all of them have a soul. The soul is a fragment broken off from the aether, both the hot and the cold, since it also shares in the cold aether. Soul is different from life; and it is immortal, since that from which it was broken off is immortal. Living creatures are generated from one another, from seeds; generation from the earth cannot happen.

8.28 τὸ δὲ σπέρμα εἶναι σταγόνα ἐγκεφάλου περιέχουσαν ἐν ἑαυτῇ θερμὸν ἀτμόν· ταύτην δὲ προσφερομένην τῇ μήτρᾳ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου ἰχῶρα καὶ ὑγρὸν καὶ αἷμα προΐεσθαι, ἐξ ὧν σάρκας τε καὶ νεῦρα καὶ ὀστᾶ καὶ τρίχας καὶ τὸ ὅλον συνίστασθαι σῶμα· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀτμοῦ ψυχὴν καὶ αἴσθησιν. [29] μορφοῦσθαι δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον παγὲν ἐν ἡμέραις τεσσαράκοντα, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς τῆς ἁρμονίας λόγους ἐν ἑπτὰ ἢ ἐννέα ἢ δέκα τὸ πλεῖστον μησὶ τελεωθὲν

The seed, they say, is a drop of brain containing hot vapor within it. When it is brought to the womb, it discharges from the brain serum, moisture and blood, from which flesh, sinews, bones, hair and the whole body are formed; from the vapor come soul and sensation. [29] The first solid mass takes shape in forty days, and, in accordance with the ratios of harmony, the infant is com-

13 This is Alexander Polyhistor, a Greek scholar and compiler working in Rome in the first century BC.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἀποκυΐσκεσθαι τὸ βρέφος· ἔχειν δ' ἐν αὐτῷ πάντας τοὺς λόγους τῆς ζωῆς, ὧν εἰρομένων συνέχεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς τῆς ἁρμονίας λόγους, ἑκάστων ἐν τεταγμένοις καιροῖς ἐπιγινομένων.	pleted in seven, nine or at most ten months and then born. It has within it all the principles of life, and these, linked in a chain, hold it together in accordance with the ratios of harmony, each arriving at its appointed time.
8.29	τήν τ' αἴσθησιν κοινῶς καὶ κατ' εἶδος τὴν ὅρασιν ἀτμόν τιν' εἶναι ἄγαν θερμόν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λέγεται δι' ἀέρος ὁρᾶν καὶ δι' ὕδατος· ἀντερείδεσθαι γὰρ τὸ θερμὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ. ἐπεί τοι εἰ ψυχρὸς ἦν ὁ ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασιν ἀτμός, διειστήκει ἂν πρὸς τὸν ὅμοιον ἀέρα· νῦν δὲ … ἔστιν ἐν οἷς ἡλίου πύλας καλεῖ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀκοῆς καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν αἰσθήσεων δογματίζει.	Sensation in general, and sight in particular, is a very hot vapor. That is why we are said to see through air and through water: the hot is resisted by the cold. For if the vapor in the eyes were cold, it would have dispersed into the air, which is like it; as it is … In some passages he calls the eyes the gates of the sun. He teaches the same about hearing and the other senses.
8.30	Τὴν δ' ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴν διαιρεῖσθαι τριχῆ, εἵς τε νοῦν καὶ φρένας καὶ θυμόν. νοῦν μὲν οὖν καὶ θυμὸν εἶναι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῴοις, φρένας δὲ μόνον ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ. εἶναι δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ καρδίας μέχρις ἐγκεφάλου· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μέρος αὐτῆς ὑπάρχειν θυμόν, φρένας δὲ καὶ νοῦν τὰ ἐν τῷ ἐγκεφάλῳ· σταγόνας δ' εἶναι ἀπὸ τούτων τὰς αἰσθήσεις. καὶ τὸ μὲν φρόνιμον ἀθάνατον, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ θνητά. τρέφεσθαί τε τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος· τοὺς δὲ λόγους ψυχῆς ἀνέμους εἶναι. ἀόρατόν τ' εἶναι αὐτὴν καὶ τοὺς λόγους, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ αἰθὴρ ἀόρατος.	He says that the human soul is divided into three parts: intelligence, reason and passion. Intelligence and passion are found in the other animals too, but reason only in human beings. The seat of the soul extends from the heart to the brain. The part of it in the heart is passion, while reason and intelligence are the parts in the brain. The senses are drops from these. The rational part is immortal, the rest mortal. The soul is nourished by the blood, and the soul's faculties are winds. Both the soul and its faculties are invisible, since the aether too is invisible.
8.31	δεσμά τ' εἶναι τῆς ψυχῆς τὰς φλέβας καὶ τὰς ἀρτηρίας καὶ τὰ νεῦρα· ὅταν δ' ἰσχύῃ καὶ καθ' αὑτὴν γενομένη ἠρεμῇ, δεσμὰ γίνεσθαι αὐτῆς τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰ ἔργα. ἐκριφθεῖσαν δ' αὐτὴν ἐπὶ γῆς πλάζεσθαι ἐν τῷ ἀέρι ὁμοίαν τῷ σώματι. τὸν δ' Ἑρμῆν ταμίαν εἶναι τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πομπαῖον λέγεσθαι καὶ πυλαῖον καὶ χθόνιον, ἐπειδήπερ οὗτος εἰσπέμπει ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπό τε γῆς καὶ ἐκ θαλάττης· καὶ ἄγεσθαι τὰς μὲν καθαρὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ὕψιστον, τὰς δ' ἀκαθάρτους μήτ' ἐκείναις πελάζειν μήτ' ἀλλήλαις, δεῖσθαι δ' ἐν ἀρρήκτοις δεσμοῖς ὑπ' Ἐρινύων.	The veins, arteries and sinews are the bonds of the soul. But when it is strong and has come to rest, alone by itself, its reasonings and deeds become its bonds. When it is cast out onto the earth, it wanders in the air, looking like the body. Hermes is the steward of souls. That is why he is called the Escorter, the Gatekeeper and the god of the underworld, since it is he who conducts the souls out of their bodies, from land and from sea alike. The pure souls are led to the highest region. The impure may not come near the pure or near one another, but are bound by the Furies in unbreakable bonds.
8.32	εἶναί τε πάντα τὸν ἀέρα ψυχῶν ἔμπλεων· καὶ ταύτας δαίμονάς τε καὶ ἥρωας ὀνομάζεσθαι· καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων πέμπεσθαι ἀνθρώποις τούς τ' ὀνείρους καὶ τὰ σημεῖα νόσου τε καὶ ὑγιείας, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ καὶ προβάτοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κτήνεσιν· εἵς τε τούτους γίνεσθαι τούς τε καθαρμοὺς καὶ ἀποτροπιασμοὺς μαντικήν τε πᾶσαν καὶ κληδόνας καὶ τὰ ὅμοια. μέγιστον δέ φησιν εἶναι τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις τὸ τὴν ψυχὴν πεῖσαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ κακόν. εὐδαιμονεῖν τ' ἀνθρώπους ὅταν	The whole air is full of souls, and these are called spirits and heroes. It is they who send people dreams and signs of sickness and health, and not only to people but to sheep and other livestock as well. It is to them that purifications and rites for averting evil are directed, along with all divination, omens drawn from chance words, and the like. The most important thing in human life, he says, is to persuade the soul toward the good or toward the bad. People are happy when a good soul

GREEK

ENGLISH

ἀγαθὴ ψυχὴ προσγένηται, μηδέποτε δ' ἠρεμεῖν μηδὲ τὸν αὐτὸν ... ῥόον κρατεῖν.

comes to them; but they are never at rest, nor do they ... keep to the same course.

8.33 Ὅρκιόν τ' εἶναι τὸ δίκαιον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Δία ὅρκιον λέγεσθαι. τήν τ' ἀρετὴν ἁρμονίαν εἶναι καὶ τὴν ὑγίειαν καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἅπαν καὶ τὸν θεόν· διὸ καὶ καθ' ἁρμονίαν συνεστάναι τὰ ὅλα. φιλίαν τ' εἶναι ἐναρμόνιον ἰσότητα. τιμὰς θεοῖς δεῖν νομίζειν καὶ ἥρωσι μὴ τὰς ἴσας, ἀλλὰ θεοῖς ἀεὶ μετ' εὐφημίας λευχειμονοῦντας καὶ ἁγνεύοντας, ἥρωσι δ' ἀπὸ μέσου ἡμέρας.

Justice has the force of an oath, and that is why Zeus is called the god of oaths. Excellence is harmony, and so are health, every good, and god; that is why the whole universe is held together by harmony. Friendship is harmonious equality. Honors should be paid to gods and to heroes, but not equal honors: the gods should always be honored with reverent speech, by people dressed in white and in a state of purity, the heroes only from midday on.

τὴν δ' ἁγνείαν εἶναι διὰ καθαρμῶν καὶ λουτρῶν καὶ περιρραντηρίων καὶ διὰ τοῦ καθαρεύειν ἀπό τε κήδους καὶ λεχοῦς καὶ μιάσματος παντὸς καὶ ἀπέχεσθαι βρωτῶν θνησειδίων τε κρεῶν καὶ τριγλῶν καὶ μελανούρων καὶ ᾠῶν καὶ τῶν ᾠοτόκων ζώων καὶ κυάμων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν παρακελεύονται καὶ οἱ τὰς τελετὰς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐπιτελοῦντες.

Purity comes through cleansings, baths and sprinklings with holy water, and through keeping clear of funerals, childbirth and every kind of pollution. It also means abstaining from the meat of animals that have died on their own, from red mullet and blacktail, from eggs and egg-laying animals, from beans, and from the other things that those who perform the mystery rites in the temples also tell people to avoid.

8.34 φησὶ δ' Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων παραγγέλλειν αὐτὸν ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν κυάμων ἤτοι ὅτι αἰδοίοις εἰσὶν ὅμοιοι ἢ ὅτι Ἅιδου πύλαις. ... ἀγόνατον γὰρ μόνον· ἢ ὅτι φθείρει ἢ ὅτι τῇ τοῦ ὅλου φύσει ὅμοιον ἢ ὅτι ὀλιγαρχικόν· κληροῦνται γοῦν αὐτοῖς. τὰ δὲ πεσόντα μὴ ἀναιρεῖσθαι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐθίζεσθαι μὴ ἀκολάστως ἐσθίειν ἢ ὅτι ἐπὶ τελευτῇ τινος· καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ τῶν ἡρώων φησὶν εἶναι τὰ πίπτοντα, λέγων ἐν τοῖς Ἥρωσι, μηδὲ γεύεσθ' ἄττ' ἂν ἐντὸς τῆς τραπέζης καταπέσῃ·

Aristotle says in his *On the Pythagoreans* that Pythagoras told his followers to abstain from beans, either because they resemble the genitals or because they resemble the gates of Hades ... for it alone has no joints; or because they are destructive, or because they resemble the nature of the universe, or because they are oligarchic—at any rate, people use them for drawing lots. Food that has fallen was not to be picked up, so that they would get used to not eating greedily, or because it is reserved for someone's death. Aristophanes too says that what falls belongs to the heroes, when he says in his *Heroes*: Don't taste whatever falls down under the table.

Ἀλεκτρυόνος μὴ ἅπτεσθαι λευκοῦ, ὅτι ἱερὸς τοῦ Μηνὸς καὶ ἱκέτης· τὸ δ' ἦν τῶν ἀγαθῶν· τῷ τε Μηνὶ ἱερός· σημαίνει γὰρ τὰς ὥρας. καὶ τὸ μὲν λευκὸν τῆς τἀγαθοῦ φύσεως, τὸ δὲ μέλαν τοῦ κακοῦ. τῶν ἰχθύων μὴ ἅπτεσθαι, ὅσοι ἱεροί· μὴ γὰρ δεῖν τὰ αὐτὰ τετάχθαι θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἐλευθέροις καὶ δούλοις. ἄρτον μὴ καταγνύειν, ὅτι ἐπὶ ἕνα οἱ πάλαι τῶν φίλων ἐφοίτων, [35] καθάπερ ἔτι καὶ νῦν οἱ βάρβαροι· μηδὲ διαιρεῖν, ὃς συνάγει αὐτούς· οἱ δέ, πρὸς τὴν ἐν ᾅδου κρίσιν· οἱ δ' εἰς πόλεμον δειλίαν ποιεῖν· οἱ δέ, ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ἄρχεται τὸ ὅλον.

Not to touch a white cock, because it is sacred to the Month and is a suppliant, and supplication was counted among good things. It is sacred to the Month because it announces the hours. White belongs to the nature of the good, black to that of the bad. Not to touch any fish that are sacred, since the same things should not be assigned to gods and to humans, any more than to free people and to slaves. Not to break bread, because in the old days friends used to gather around a single loaf, [35] as non-Greeks still do even now; and one should not divide what brings them together. Others explain it by the judgment in Hades; others say that

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		it makes for cowardice in war; others, that it is from bread that the whole begins.
8.35	Καὶ τῶν σχημάτων τὸ κάλλιστον σφαῖραν εἶναι τῶν στερεῶν, τῶν δ' ἐπιπέδων κύκλον. γῆρας καὶ πᾶν τὸ μειούμενον ὅμοιον· καὶ αὔξην καὶ νεότητα ταὐτόν. ὑγίειαν τὴν τοῦ εἴδους διαμονήν, νόσον τὴν τούτου φθοράν. περὶ τῶν ἁλῶν, ὅτι δεῖ παρατίθεσθαι πρὸς ὑπόμνησιν τοῦ δικαίου· οἱ γὰρ ἅλες πᾶν σῴζουσιν ὅ τι ἂν παραλάβωσι καὶ γεγόνασιν ἐκ τῶν καθαρωτάτων ἡλίου καὶ θαλάσσης.	The most beautiful of solid figures is the sphere, and of plane figures the circle. Old age and everything that is diminishing are alike, and growth and youth are the same. Health is the persistence of form, disease its destruction. About salt: it should be set on the table as a reminder of what is just, for salt preserves whatever it gets hold of, and it comes from the purest of things, sun and sea.
8.36	Καὶ ταῦτα μέν φησιν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τοῖς Πυθαγορικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν εὑρηκέναι, καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων ἐχόμενα ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης. Τὴν δὲ σεμνοπρέπειαν τοῦ Πυθαγόρου καὶ Τίμων ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις δάκνων αὐτὸν ὅμως οὐ παρέλιπεν, εἰπὼν οὕτω· Πυθαγόρην τε γόητας ἀποκλίναντ' ἐπὶ δόξας θήρῃ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων, σεμνηγορίης ὀαριστήν. περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἄλλοτ' ἄλλον αὐτὸν γεγενῆσθαι Ξενοφάνης ἐν ἐλεγείᾳ προσμαρτυρεῖ, ἧς ἀρχή, νῦν αὖτ' ἄλλον ἔπειμι λόγον, δείξω δὲ κέλευθον. ὃ δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν, οὕτως ἔχει· καί ποτέ μιν στυφελιζομένου σκύλακος παριόντα φασὶν ἐποικτῖραι καὶ τόδε φάσθαι ἔπος· "παῦσαι μηδὲ ῥάπιζ', ἐπεὶ ἦ φίλου ἀνέρος ἐστὶ ψυχή, τὴν ἔγνων φθεγξαμένης ἀΐων."	These things, Alexander says, he found in the Pythagorean notebooks, and Aristotle reports what goes with them. Pythagoras' air of solemnity was not passed over even by Timon, who, though he bites at him in his *Silli*, puts it this way: Pythagoras, who veered off toward the opinions of charlatans to hunt for men, a smooth talker of solemn speech. That he had been different people at different times is attested by Xenophanes in an elegy that begins: Now I will turn to another theme and show the way. What he says about him goes like this: And once, they say, as he was passing by a puppy that was being beaten, he took pity on it and spoke these words: 'Stop, don't hit it! It truly is the soul of a friend of mine—I knew it when I heard it cry.'[14]
8.37	Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ξενοφάνης. ἔσκωψε δ' αὐτὸν Κρατῖνος μὲν ἐν Πυθαγοριζούσῃ· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν Ταραντίνοις φησὶν οὕτως· ἔθος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς, ἄν τιν' ἰδιώτην ποθὲν λάβωσιν εἰσελθόντα, διαπειρώμενον τῆς τῶν λόγων ῥώμης ταράττειν καὶ κυκᾶν τοῖς ἀντιθέτοις, τοῖς πέρασι, τοῖς παρισώμασιν, τοῖς ἀποπλάνοις, τοῖς μεγέθεσιν νουβυστικῶς. Μνησίμαχος δ' Ἀλκμαίωνι· ὡς Πυθαγοριστὶ θύομεν τῷ Λοξίᾳ, ἔμψυχον οὐδὲν ἐσθίοντες παντελῶς.	So much for Xenophanes. Cratinus mocked him in *The Pythagorean Woman*, and in *The Tarentines* too he says this: It is their habit, if they catch some layman who has come in from somewhere, to test the force of their arguments on him, confusing and jumbling him with antitheses, with limits, with balanced clauses, with digressions, with magnitudes, cramming his mind full. And Mnesimachus in *Alcmaeon*: Since we sacrifice to Loxias in Pythagorean style, eating absolutely nothing that has a soul.[15]
8.38	Ἀριστοφῶν Πυθαγοριστῇ· ἔφη καταβὰς ἐς τὴν δίαιταν τῶν κάτω	Aristophon in *The Pythagorist*: He said he went down to the dwelling of those below

14 Timon of Phlius (3rd century BC), a follower of Pyrrho, wrote the *Silli*, satirical verses lampooning philosophers.
15 Cratinus, Mnesimachus and Aristophon (next chunk) were Athenian comic poets; Loxias is a title of Apollo.

GREEK

ἰδεῖν ἑκάστους, διαφέρειν δὲ πάμπολυ
τοὺς Πυθαγοριστὰς τῶν νεκρῶν· μόνοισι γὰρ
τούτοισι τὸν Πλούτωνα συσσιτεῖν ἔφη
δι' εὐσέβειαν. β. δυσχερῆ θεὸν λέγεις,
εἰ τοῖς ῥύπου μεστοῖσιν ἥδεται ξυνών. ἔτι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ·
ἐσθίουσί τε
λάχανά τε καὶ πίνουσιν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὕδωρ·
φθεῖρας δὲ καὶ τρίβωνα τήν τ' ἀλουσίαν
οὐδεὶς ἂν ὑπομείνειε τῶν ἑτέρων ⟨νεκρῶν⟩.

ENGLISH

and saw them all, and that the Pythagorists are very
different from the other dead; for with them alone, he said, Pluto shares his table,
because of their piety. B. That's a god with nasty tastes you're describing,
if he enjoys keeping company with people covered in filth. Again in the same play: And they eat vegetables, and drink water with them;
but the lice, the threadbare cloak, the never washing:
none of the other dead could put up with that.

THE DEATH OF PYTHAGORAS

Rival accounts of how Pythagoras died, Diogenes' epigrams on him, and a letter to Anaximenes.

GREEK

8.39 Ἐτελεύτα δ' ὁ Πυθαγόρας τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. συνεδρεύοντος μετὰ τῶν συνήθων ἐν τῇ Μίλωνος οἰκίᾳ [τούτου], ὑπό τινος τῶν μὴ παραδοχῆς ἀξιωθέντων διὰ φθόνον ὑποπρησθῆναι τὴν οἰκίαν συνέβη· τινὲς δ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς Κροτωνιάτας τοῦτο πρᾶξαι, τυραννίδος ἐπίθεσιν εὐλαβουμένους. τὸν δὴ Πυθαγόραν καταληφθῆναι διεξιόντα· καὶ πρός τινι χωρίῳ γενόμενος πλήρει κυάμων, ἵνα [αὐτόθι] ἔστη, εἰπὼν ἁλῶναι ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ πατῆσαι [ἀναιρεθῆναι δὲ κρεῖττον ἢ λαλῆσαι]· καὶ ὧδε πρὸς τῶν διωκόντων ἀποσφαγῆναι. οὕτω δὲ καὶ τοὺς πλείους τῶν ἑταίρων αὐτοῦ διαφθαρῆναι, ὄντας πρὸς τοὺς τετταράκοντα· διαφυγεῖν δ' ὀλίγους, ὧν ἦν καὶ Ἄρχιππος ὁ Ταραντῖνος καὶ Λῦσις ὁ προειρημένος.

ENGLISH

Pythagoras died in the following way. He was sitting with his companions in the house of Milo [this man], when it happened that the house was set on fire out of jealousy by one of those who had not been thought worthy of admission. Some, though, say that the people of Croton themselves did it, out of fear that he was aiming at tyranny. Pythagoras was caught as he was escaping. When he came to a field full of beans, he stopped [there], saying that he would rather be captured than trample it [and that it was better to be killed than to speak]; and so his pursuers cut his throat. Most of his companions were killed the same way, about forty of them; a few escaped, among them Archippus of Tarentum and Lysis, whom I mentioned earlier.[16]

GREEK

8.40 Φησὶ δὲ Δικαίαρχος τὸν Πυθαγόραν ἀποθανεῖν καταφυγόντα εἰς τὸ ἐν Μεταποντίῳ ἱερὸν τῶν Μουσῶν, τετταράκοντ' ἡμέρας ἀσιτήσαντα. Ἡρακλείδης δέ φησιν ἐν τῇ τῶν Σατύρου βίων ἐπιτομῇ μετὰ τὸ θάψαι Φερεκύδην ἐν Δήλῳ ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς Ἰταλίαν καὶ … πανδαισίαν εὑρόντα Κύλωνος τοῦ Κροτωνιάτου εἰς Μεταπόντιον ὑπεξελθεῖν κἀκεῖ τὸν βίον καταστρέψαι ἀσιτίᾳ, μὴ βουλόμενον περαιτέρω ζῆν. Ἕρμιππος δέ φησι, πολεμούντων Ἀκραγαντίνων καὶ Συρακοσίων, ἐξελθεῖν τὸν Πυθαγόραν μετὰ τῶν συνήθων καὶ προστῆναι τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων· τροπῆς δὲ γενομένης περικάμπτοντα αὐτὸν τὴν τῶν κυάμων χώραν ὑπὸ τῶν Συρακοσίων ἀναιρεθῆναι· τούς τε λοιπούς, ὄντας πρὸς τοὺς πέντε καὶ

ENGLISH

Dicaearchus says that Pythagoras died after taking refuge in the shrine of the Muses at Metapontum, where he went without food for forty days. Heraclides, in his epitome of Satyrus' *Lives*, says that after burying Pherecydes on Delos he returned to Italy and, finding … a lavish banquet given by Cylon of Croton, slipped away to Metapontum and ended his life there by starving himself, because he did not want to live any longer. Hermippus says that when the people of Acragas and Syracuse were at war, Pythagoras went out with his companions and led the Acragantines; and when they were routed, he was killed by the Syracusans as he was going around the bean field. The rest, about

16 Milo of Croton was the famous wrestler, said to have been a follower of Pythagoras.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	τριάκοντα, ἐν Τάραντι κατακαυθῆναι, θέλοντας ἀντιπολιτεύεσθαι τοῖς προεστῶσι.	thirty-five of them, were burned to death in Tarentum, because they wanted to oppose those in power.[17]
8.41	Καὶ ἄλλο τι περὶ Πυθαγόρου φησὶν ὁ Ἕρμιππος. [λέγει γὰρ] ὡς γενόμενος ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ κατὰ γῆς οἰκίσκον ποιήσαι καὶ τῇ μητρὶ ἐντείλαιτο τὰ γινόμενα εἰς δέλτον γράφειν σημειουμένην καὶ τὸν χρόνον, ἔπειτα καθιέναι αὐτῷ ἔστ' ἂν ἀνέλθῃ. τοῦτο ποιῆσαι τὴν μητέρα. τὸν δὲ Πυθαγόραν μετὰ χρόνον ἀνελθεῖν ἰσχνὸν καὶ κατεσκελετευμένον· εἰσελθόντα τ' εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν φάσκειν ὡς ἀφῖκται ἐξ ᾅδου· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀνεγίνωσκεν αὐτοῖς τὰ συμβεβηκότα. οἱ δὲ σαινόμενοι τοῖς λεγομένοις ἐδάκρυόν τε καὶ ὤμωζον καὶ ἐπίστευον εἶναι τὸν Πυθαγόραν θεῖόν τινα, ὥστε καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῷ παραδοῦναι, ὡς καὶ μαθησομένας τι τῶν αὐτοῦ· ἃς καὶ Πυθαγορικὰς κληθῆναι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἕρμιππος.	Hermippus tells another story about Pythagoras. [He says] that when he came to Italy he made a little dwelling underground and told his mother to write down on a tablet everything that happened, noting the time as well, and to send it down to him until he came back up. His mother did so. After a while Pythagoras came up, thin and reduced to a skeleton. He went into the assembly and declared that he had come back from Hades, and he even read out to them what had happened. They were so taken in by what he said that they wept and wailed and believed that Pythagoras was some kind of divine being, so much so that they even handed their wives over to him, to learn something of his teachings; and these women were called Pythagoreans. So much for Hermippus.
8.42	Ἦν δὲ τῷ Πυθαγόρᾳ καὶ γυνή, Θεανὼ ὄνομα, Βροντίνου τοῦ Κροτωνιάτου θυγάτηρ· οἱ δέ, γυναῖκα μὲν εἶναι Βροντίνου, μαθήτριαν δὲ Πυθαγόρου. ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ θυγάτηρ Δαμώ, ὥς φησι Λῦσις ἐν ἐπιστολῇ τῇ πρὸς Ἵππασον, περὶ Πυθαγόρου λέγων οὕτως· "λέγοντι δὲ πολλοὶ τὺ καὶ δαμοσίᾳ φιλοσοφέν, ὅπερ ἀπαξίωσε Πυθαγόρας, ὅς γέ τοι Δαμοῖ τᾷ ἑαυτοῦ θυγατρὶ παρακαταθέμενος τὰ ὑπομνάματα ἐπέσκαψε μηδενὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς τᾶς οἰκίας παραδιδόμεν. ἃ δὲ δυναμένα πολλῶν χραμάτων ἀποδίδοσθαι τὼς λόγως οὐκ ἐβουλάθη· πενίαν δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶ πατρὸς ἐπισκάψιας ἐνόμιζε χρυσῶ τιμιωτέρας ἦμεν, καὶ ταῦτα γυνά."	Pythagoras also had a wife, named Theano, the daughter of Brontinus of Croton; others say she was Brontinus' wife and Pythagoras' pupil. He also had a daughter, Damo, as Lysis says in his letter to Hippasus, where he says this about Pythagoras: "Many people say that you even teach philosophy in public, something Pythagoras refused to do. He entrusted his notes to Damo, his own daughter, and charged her to hand them on to no one outside the household. And though she could have sold the writings for a great deal of money, she would not. She held poverty and her father's commands to be worth more than gold—and that though she was a woman."
8.43	Ἦν καὶ Τηλαύγης υἱὸς αὐτοῖς, ὃς καὶ διεδέξατο τὸν πατέρα καὶ κατά τινας Ἐμπεδοκλέους καθηγήσατο· Ἱππόβοτός γέ τοί φησι λέγειν Ἐμπεδοκλέα, Τήλαυγες, κλυτὲ κοῦρε Θεανοῦς Πυθαγόρεώ τε. σύγγραμμα δὲ [φέρεται] τοῦ Τηλαύγους οὐδέν, τῆς δὲ μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Θεανοῦς τινα. ἀλλὰ καί φασιν αὐτὴν ἐρωτηθεῖσαν ποσταία γυνὴ ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς καθαρεύει, φάναι, "ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ ἰδίου παραχρῆμα, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου οὐδέποτε." τῇ δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον ἄνδρα μελλούσῃ πορεύεσθαι παρῄνει ἅμα τοῖς ἐνδύμασι καὶ τὴν αἰσχύνην ἀποτίθεσθαι, ἀνισταμένην τε πάλιν ἅμ' αὐτοῖσιν ἀναλαμβάνειν. ἐρωτηθεῖσα, "ποῖα;" ἔφη, "ταῦτα δι' ἃ γυνὴ κέκλημαι."	They also had a son, Telauges, who succeeded his father and, according to some, was Empedocles' teacher. Hippobotus, at any rate, says that Empedocles wrote: Telauges, famous son of Theano and Pythagoras. [There is extant] no writing by Telauges, but there are some by his mother Theano. They say, too, that when she was asked how many days after being with a man a woman becomes pure, she said: "After her own husband, at once; after another woman's, never." And she advised a woman who was about to go to her own husband to take off her modesty along with her clothes, and when she got up to put it back on along with them.

17 Dicaearchus of Messana was a pupil of Aristotle.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		Asked "What things do you mean?" she said, "The things that earn me the name of woman."
8.44	Ὁ δ' οὖν Πυθαγόρας, ὡς μὲν Ἡρακλείδης φησὶν ὁ τοῦ Σαραπίωνος, ὀγδοηκοντούτης ἐτελεύτα, κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπογραφὴν τῶν ἡλικιῶν· ὡς δ' οἱ πλείους, ἔτη βιοὺς ἐνενήκοντα. καὶ ἡμῶν ἐστιν εἰς αὐτὸν πεπαιγμένα οὕτως ἔχοντα· οὐ μόνος ἐμψύχων ἅπεχες χέρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς· τίς γὰρ ὃς ἐμψύχων ἥψατο, Πυθαγόρα; ἀλλ' ὅταν ἑψηθῇ τι καὶ ὀπτηθῇ καὶ ἁλισθῇ, δὴ τότε καὶ ψυχὴν οὐκ ἔχον ἐσθίομεν. ἄλλο· ἦν ἄρα Πυθαγόρης τοῖος σοφός, ὥστε μὲν αὐτὸς μὴ ψαύειν κρειῶν καὶ λέγειν ὡς ἄδικον, σιτίζειν δ' ἄλλους. ἄγαμαι σοφόν· αὐτὸς ἔφα μὲν οὐκ ἀδικεῖν, ἄλλους δ' αὐτὸς ἔτευχ' ἀδικεῖν.	Pythagoras, then, as Heraclides son of Sarapion says, died at eighty, in keeping with his own division of the ages of life; but according to most he lived to ninety. And I have written some playful verses on him, which go like this: You weren't the only one to keep your hands off things that have souls; so do we. For who has ever touched things with souls, Pythagoras? When something's been boiled and roasted and salted, that's when we eat it—once it has no soul. Another: So Pythagoras was such a wise man that he himself would not touch meat, and said it was wrong, yet fed it to others. I admire the wise man: he himself said he did no wrong, but he himself made others do wrong.
8.45	καὶ ἄλλο· τὰς φρένας ἢν ἐθέλῃς τὰς Πυθαγόραο νοῆσαι, ἀσπίδος Εὐφόρβου βλέψον ἐς ὀμφάλιον. φησὶ γὰρ οὗτος, Ἐγὼν ἦν πρόβροτος· ὃς δ' ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, φάσκων ὥς τις ἔην, οὔτις ἔην ὅτ' ἔην. καὶ ἄλλο, ὡς ἐτελεύτα· αἲ, αἲ, Πυθαγόρης τί τόσον κυάμους ἐσεβάσθη; καὶ θάνε φοιτηταῖς ἄμμιγα τοῖς ἰδίοις. χωρίον ἦν κυάμων· ἵνα μὴ τούτους δὲ πατήσῃ, ἐξ Ἀκραγαντίνων κάτθαν' ἐνὶ τριόδῳ.	And another: If you want to understand the mind of Pythagoras, look at the boss of Euphorbus' shield. For he says: I lived before I was a man. But he who, when he did not exist, claimed that he was someone, was no one when he was. And another, on how he died: Alas, alas, why did Pythagoras revere beans so much? He even died together with his own pupils. There was a field of beans; so as not to trample them, he was killed by the Acragantines at a crossroads.[18]
	Ἤκμαζε δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἑξηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα, καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ σύστημα διέμενε μέχρι γενεῶν ἐννέα ἢ καὶ δέκα· [46] τελευταῖοι γὰρ ἐγένοντο τῶν Πυθαγορείων, οὓς καὶ Ἀριστόξενος εἶδε, Ξενόφιλός τε ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς ἀπὸ Θρᾴκης καὶ Φάντων ὁ Φλιάσιος καὶ Ἐχεκράτης καὶ Διοκλῆς καὶ Πολύμναστος, Φλιάσιοι καὶ αὐτοί. ἦσαν δ' ἀκροαταὶ Φιλολάου καὶ Εὐρύτου τῶν Ταραντίνων.	He was at his peak around the 60th Olympiad, and his school lasted for nine or even ten generations. [46] For the last of the Pythagoreans, whom Aristoxenus actually saw, were Xenophilus, a Chalcidian from Thrace, Phanto of Phlius, and Echecrates, Diocles and Polymnastus, who were also from Phlius. They were pupils of Philolaus and of Eurytus, both of Tarentum.[19]
8.46	Γεγόνασι δὲ Πυθαγόραι τέτταρες περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους, οὐ πολὺ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπέχοντες· εἷς μὲν	There were four men called Pythagoras at about the same time, not far apart from one another. One

18 Pythagoras claimed to have been the Trojan Euphorbus in an earlier life and to recognize that hero's shield, which had been dedicated in a temple.
19 Olympiads are four-year periods counted from the first Olympic Games in 776 BC; the 60th began in 540 BC.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Κροτωνιάτης, τυραννικὸς ἄνθρωπος· ἕτερος Φλιάσιος, σωμασκητής, [ἀλείπτης, ὥς φασί τινες]· τρίτος Ζακύνθιος· τέταρτος αὐτὸς οὗτος, οὗ φασιν εἶναι τἀπόρρητα τῆς φιλοσοφίας· [αὐτῶν διδάσκαλος·] ἐφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ Αὐτὸς ἔφα παροιμιακὸν εἰς τὸν βίον ἦλθεν. [47] οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἀνδριαντοποιὸν Ῥηγῖνον γεγονέναι φασὶ Πυθαγόραν, πρῶτον δοκοῦντα ῥυθμοῦ καὶ συμμετρίας ἐστοχάσθαι· καὶ ἄλλον ἀνδριαντοποιὸν Σάμιον· καὶ ἕτερον ῥήτορα μοχθηρόν· καὶ ἰατρὸν ἄλλον, τὰ περὶ κήλης γεγραφότα καί τινα περὶ Ὁμήρου συντεταγμένον· καὶ ἕτερον Δωρικὰ πεπραγματευμένον, ὡς Διονύσιος ἱστορεῖ.	was from Croton, a man of tyrannical ways; another from Phlius, a man who trained his body [a trainer, as some say]; the third from Zacynthus; the fourth was our man himself, to whom, they say, the secrets of philosophy belong, [their teacher], and with whom the saying 'He himself said it' passed into common use as a proverb. [47] Some say there was also another Pythagoras, a sculptor from Rhegium, who is thought to have been the first to aim at rhythm and symmetry; another, a sculptor from Samos; another, a bad orator; another, a doctor, who wrote on hernia and put together a work on Homer; and another who wrote on Dorian matters, as Dionysius reports.
8.47	Ἐρατοσθένης δέ φησι, καθὸ καὶ Φαβωρῖνος ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ Παντοδαπῆς ἱστορίας παρατίθεται, τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν πρῶτον ἐντέχνως πυκτεύσαντα ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ τετταρακοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, κομήτην καὶ ἁλουργίδα φοροῦντα· ἐκκριθέντα τ' ἐκ τῶν παίδων καὶ χλευασθέντα αὐτίκα προσβῆναι τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ νικῆσαι. [48] δηλοῦν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τοὐπίγραμμα ὅπερ ἐποίησε Θεαίτητος· Πυθαγόρην τινά, Πυθαγόρην, ὦ ξεῖνε, κομήτην, ἁδόμενον πύκτην εἰ κατέχεις Σάμιον, Πυθαγόρης ἐγώ εἰμι· τὰ δ' ἔργα μου εἴ τιν' ἔροιο Ἠλείων, φήσεις αὐτὸν ἄπιστα λέγειν.	Eratosthenes says, as Favorinus also cites in the eighth book of his *Miscellaneous History*, that this was the man who first boxed with skill, in the 48th Olympiad, wearing his hair long and dressed in purple; and that when he was excluded from the boys' contest and laughed at, he at once entered the men's and won. [48] This is shown, he says, by the epigram Theaetetus wrote: Stranger, if you know of a certain Pythagoras, a long-haired Pythagoras, the celebrated boxer from Samos, I am Pythagoras; and if you ask any of the Eleans about my deeds, you'll say he's telling stories past belief.[20]
8.48	Τοῦτον ὁ Φαβωρῖνός φησιν ὅροις χρήσασθαι διὰ τῆς μαθηματικῆς ὕλης, ἐπὶ πλέον δὲ Σωκράτην καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνῳ πλησιάσαντας, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ τοὺς στωικούς.	Favorinus says that this man used definitions in dealing with mathematical subjects, and that Socrates and those who associated with him did so more extensively, and after them Aristotle and the Stoics.
	Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν πρῶτον ὀνομάσαι κόσμον καὶ τὴν γῆν στρογγύλην· ὡς δὲ Θεόφραστος, Παρμενίδην· ὡς δὲ Ζήνων, Ἡσίοδον. [49] τούτῳ φασὶν ἀντιπαρατάσσεσθαι Κύλωνα καθάπερ Ἀντίλοχον Σωκράτει.	Moreover, they say he was the first to call the heavens a world-order (kosmos) and the earth round; but according to Theophrastus it was Parmenides, and according to Zeno, Hesiod. [49] They say Cylon was his rival, as Antilochus was Socrates'.
8.49	Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀθλητοῦ Πυθαγόρου καὶ τοῦτ' ἐλέγετο τὸ ἐπίγραμμα· οὗτος πυκτεύσων ἐς Ὀλύμπια παισὶν ἄνηβος / ἦλυθε Πυθαγόρης ὁ Κράτεω Σάμιος. ὁ δὲ φιλόσοφος καὶ ὧδε ἐπέστειλε·	Of Pythagoras the athlete this epigram was also told: This boy, still beardless, came to Olympia to box among the boys: / Pythagoras of Samos, son of Crates. And the philosopher wrote the following letter:
	Πυθαγόρης Ἀναξιμένει	Pythagoras to Anaximenes

20 The 48th Olympiad began in 588 BC; the people of Elis ran the Olympic Games.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	"Καὶ σύ, ὦ λῷστε, εἰ μηδὲν ἀμείνων ἦς Πυθαγόρεω γενεήν τε καὶ κλέος, μεταναστὰς ἂν οἴχεο ἐκ Μιλήτου· νῦν δὲ κατερύκει σε ἡ πατρόθεν εὔκλεια, καὶ ἐμὲ δὲ ἂν κατείρυκεν Ἀναξιμένει ἐοικότα. εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς οἱ ὀνήιστοι τὰς πόλιας ἐκλείψετε, ἀπὸ μὲν αὐτέων ὁ κόσμος αἱρεθήσεται, ἐπικινδυνότερα δ' αὐτῇσι τὰ ἐκ Μήδων.	"You too, my dear friend, if you were no better than Pythagoras in birth and fame, would have left Miletus and gone away. As it is, the renown you inherited from your fathers holds you back, and it would have held me back too, if I were like Anaximenes. But if you, the most useful men, abandon your cities, their ornament will be taken from them, and the threat from the Medes will be more dangerous for them.
8.50	οὔτε δὲ αἰεὶ καλὸν αἰθερολογέειν μελεδωνόν τε εἶναι τῇ πατρίδι κάλλιον. καὶ ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ πάντα περὶ τοὺς ἐμεωυτοῦ μύθους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν πολέμοις οὓς διαφέρουσιν ἐς ἀλλήλους Ἰταλιῶται." Ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ Πυθαγόρου διεληλύθαμεν, ῥητέον περὶ τῶν ἐλλογίμων Πυθαγορικῶν· μεθ' οὓς περὶ τῶν σποράδην κατά τινας φερομένων· ἔπειθ' οὕτως ἐξάψομεν τὴν διαδοχὴν τῶν ἀξίων λόγου ἕως Ἐπικούρου καθὰ καὶ προειρήκαμεν. περὶ μὲν οὖν Θεανοῦς καὶ Τηλαύγους διειλέγμεθα· λεκτέον δὲ νῦν περὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέους πρῶτον· κατὰ γάρ τινας Πυθαγόρου διήκουσεν.	Nor is it always fine to talk about the heavens; it is finer to care for one's country. I myself do not spend all my time on my own discourses; I am also involved in the wars that the Greeks of Italy wage against one another." Now that we have gone through Pythagoras, we must speak of the noteworthy Pythagoreans; after them, of those whom some count as scattered, belonging to no school; and then in this way we will string together the succession of those worth mentioning down to Epicurus, as I said before. We have already discussed Theano and Telauges. Now we must speak first of Empedocles, for according to some he studied under Pythagoras.

EMPEDOCLES

The poet-philosopher of Acragas: his family, teachers, poems, cures and democratic politics.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
8.51	Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, ὥς φησιν Ἱππόβοτος, Μέτωνος ἦν υἱὸς τοῦ Ἐμπεδοκλέους, Ἀκραγαντῖνος. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Τίμαιος ἐν τῇ πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν ⟨λέγει προσιστορῶν⟩ ἐπίσημον ἄνδρα γεγονέναι τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα τὸν πάππον τοῦ ποιητοῦ. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἕρμιππος τὰ αὐτὰ τούτῳ φησίν. ὁμοίως καὶ Ἡρακλείδης ἐν τῷ Περὶ νόσων, ὅτι λαμπρᾶς ἦν οἰκίας ἱπποτροφηκότος τοῦ πάππου. λέγει δὲ καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν τοῖς Ὀλυμπιονίκαις τὴν πρώτην καὶ ἑβδομηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα νενικηκέναι τὸν τοῦ Μέτωνος πατέρα, μάρτυρι χρώμενος Ἀριστοτέλει.	Empedocles, as Hippobotus says, was the son of Meton son of Empedocles, and came from Acragas. Timaeus says the same in the fifteenth book of his *Histories*, adding that Empedocles, the poet's grandfather, was a distinguished man. Hermippus too says the same as Timaeus. Likewise Heraclides, in his *On Diseases*, says that he came from a brilliant family, his grandfather having bred racehorses. Eratosthenes also, in his *Olympic Victors*, says that Meton's father won in the 71st Olympiad, citing Aristotle as his witness.[21]
8.52	Ἀπολλόδωρος δ' ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς φησιν ὡς ἦν μὲν Μέτωνος υἱός, εἰς δὲ Θουρίους αὐτὸν νεωστὶ παντελῶς ἐκτισμένους ⟨ὁ⟩ Γλαῦκος ἐλθεῖν φησιν. εἶθ' ὑποβάς· οἱ δ' ἱστοροῦντες, ὡς πεφευγὼς οἴκοθεν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας μετ' ἐκείνων ἐπολέμει πρὸς Ἀθηνάους ἐμοί ⟨γε⟩ τελέως ἀγνοεῖν δοκοῦσιν· ἢ γὰρ οὐκέτ' ἦν ἢ παντελῶς	Apollodorus the grammarian says in his *Chronicles* that he was the son of Meton, and that to Thurii, when it had only just been founded, Glaucus says he went. Then, a little further on: But those who report that, banished from home, he went to Syracuse and fought on their side against the Athenians seem to me, at least, com-

21 The 71st Olympiad began in 496 BC.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ὑπεργεγηρακώς, ὅπερ οὐχὶ φαίνεται. Ἀριστοτέλης γὰρ αὐτόν, ἔτι τε Ἡρακλείδης, ἑξήκοντα ἐτῶν φησὶ τετελευτηκέναι. ὁ δὲ ⟨τὴν⟩ μίαν καὶ ἑβδομηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα νενικηκὼς κέλητι τούτου πάππος ἦν ὁμώνυμος, ὥσθ' ἅμα καὶ τὸν χρόνον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπολλοδώρου σημαίνεσθαι.	pletely ignorant; for either he was no longer alive, or utterly past old age, which is evidently not the case. For Aristotle, and Heraclides too, say that he died at sixty. And the man who won the horse race in the 71st Olympiad was his grandfather and namesake, so that Apollodorus indicates the date at the same time.[22]
8.53	Σάτυρος δ' ἐν τοῖς Βίοις φησὶν ὅτι Ἐμπεδοκλῆς υἱὸς μὲν ἦν Ἐξαινέτου, κατέλιπε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς υἱὸν Ἐξαίνετον· ἐπί τε τῆς αὐτῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος τὸν μὲν ἵππῳ κέλητι νενικηκέναι, τὸν δ' υἱὸν αὐτοῦ πάλῃ ἤ, ὡς Ἡρακλείδης ἐν τῇ Ἐπιτομῇ, δρόμῳ. ἐγὼ δ' εὗρον ἐν τοῖς Ὑπομνήμασι Φαβωρίνου ὅτι καὶ βοῦν ἔθυσε τοῖς θεωροῖς ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἐκ μέλιτος καὶ ἀλφίτων, καὶ ἀδελφὸν ἔσχε Καλλικρατίδην. Τηλαύγης δ' ὁ Πυθαγόρου παῖς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Φιλόλαον ἐπιστολῇ φησι τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα Ἀρχινόμου εἶναι υἱόν.	Satyrus in his *Lives* says that Empedocles was the son of Exaenetus and himself left a son named Exaenetus; and that in the same Olympiad he won the horse race and his son the wrestling—or, as Heraclides says in his *Epitome*, the footrace. I myself found in Favorinus' *Memoirs* that Empedocles also sacrificed an ox made of honey and barley meal for the festival envoys, and that he had a brother named Callicratides. Telauges, Pythagoras' son, says in his letter to Philolaus that Empedocles was the son of Archinomus.
8.54	Ὅτι δ' ἦν Ἀκραγαντῖνος ἐκ Σικελίας, αὐτὸς ἐναρχόμενος τῶν Καθαρμῶν φησιν· ὦ φίλοι οἳ μέγα ἄστυ κατὰ ξανθοῦ Ἀκράγαντος ναίετ' ἀν' ἄκρα πόλεος. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ τάδε.	That he was from Acragas in Sicily he says himself at the beginning of his *Purifications*: Friends, who dwell in the great city of golden Acragas, up on the heights of the citadel. So much for his family.
	Ἀκοῦσαι δ' αὐτὸν Πυθαγόρου Τίμαιος διὰ τῆς ἐνάτης ἱστορεῖ, λέγων ὅτι καταγνωσθεὶς ἐπὶ λογοκλοπίᾳ τότε, καθὰ καὶ Πλάτων, τῶν λόγων ἐκωλύθη μετέχειν. μεμνῆσθαι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν Πυθαγόρου λέγοντα· ἦν δέ τις ἐν κείνοισιν ἀνὴρ περιώσια εἰδώς, / ὃς δὴ μήκιστον πραπίδων ἐκτήσατο πλοῦτον. οἱ δὲ τοῦτο εἰς Παρμενίδην αὐτὸν λέγειν ἀναφέροντα.	Timaeus reports in his ninth book that he studied under Pythagoras, and says that he was convicted at the time of stealing the teachings, as Plato also was, and was barred from taking part in the discussions. He also says that Empedocles himself mentions Pythagoras when he writes: There was among them a man of surpassing knowledge, / who possessed the greatest wealth of mind. Others, however, say that he is referring to Parmenides here.
8.55	Φησὶ δὲ Νεάνθης ὅτι μέχρι Φιλολάου καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέους ἐκοινώνουν οἱ Πυθαγορικοὶ τῶν λόγων. ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτὸς διὰ τῆς ποιήσεως ἐδημοσίωσεν αὐτά, νόμον ἔθεντο μηδενὶ μεταδώσειν ἑποποιῷ. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Πλάτωνα παθεῖν φησι· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτον κωλυθῆναι. τίνος μέντοι γε αὐτῶν ἤκουσεν ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, οὐκ εἶπε· τὴν γὰρ περιφερομένην ὡς Τηλαύγους ἐπιστολὴν ὅτι τε μετέσχεν Ἱππάσου καὶ Βροντίνου, μὴ εἶναι ἀξιόπιστον.	Neanthes says that down to the time of Philolaus and Empedocles the Pythagoreans shared their teachings with others. But when Empedocles himself made them public through his poetry, they made a rule not to share them with any poet. He says the same thing happened to Plato too: he too was barred. Which of them Empedocles studied under, however, he does not say; for the letter that circulates as Telauges', saying that he was a pupil of Hippasus and Brontinus, is not, he says, trustworthy.

22 Thurii in southern Italy was founded in 444/443 BC; the Athenian expedition against Syracuse took place in 415–413 BC.

GREEK

Ὁ δὲ Θεόφραστος Παρμενίδου φησὶ ζηλωτὴν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι καὶ μιμητὴν ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον ἐν ἔπεσι τὸν Περὶ φύσεως ἐξενεγκεῖν λόγον. [56] Ἕρμιππος δὲ οὐ Παρμενίδου, Ξενοφάνους δὲ γεγονέναι ζηλωτήν, ᾧ καὶ συνδιατρῖψαι καὶ μιμήσασθαι τὴν ἐποποιίαν· ὕστερον δὲ τοῖς Πυθαγορικοῖς ἐντυχεῖν. Ἀλκιδάμας δ' ἐν τῷ Φυσικῷ φησι κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους Ζήνωνα καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέα ἀκοῦσαι Παρμενίδου, εἶθ' ὕστερον ἀποχωρῆσαι, καὶ τὸν μὲν Ζήνωνα κατ' ἰδίαν φιλοσοφῆσαι, τὸν δὲ Ἀναξαγόρου διακοῦσαι καὶ Πυθαγόρου· καὶ τοῦ μὲν τὴν σεμνότητα ζηλῶσαι τοῦ τε βίου καὶ τοῦ σχήματος, τοῦ δὲ τὴν φυσιολογίαν.

ENGLISH

Theophrastus says that he was an admirer of Parmenides and imitated him in his poems, since Parmenides too had published his treatise *On Nature* in verse. [56] Hermippus, however, says that he was an admirer not of Parmenides but of Xenophanes, with whom he also spent time and whose epic verse he imitated, and that later he came into contact with the Pythagoreans. Alcidamas in his *Physics* says that Zeno and Empedocles studied under Parmenides at the same time, and later left him. Zeno then pursued philosophy on his own, while Empedocles studied under Anaxagoras and Pythagoras, emulating Pythagoras' dignity of life and bearing and Anaxagoras' natural philosophy.[23]

8.57 Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν τῷ Σοφιστῇ φησι πρῶτον Ἐμπεδοκλέα ῥητορικὴν εὑρεῖν, Ζήνωνα δὲ διαλεκτικήν. ἐν δὲ τῷ Περὶ ποιητῶν φησιν ὅτι καὶ Ὁμηρικὸς ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ δεινὸς περὶ τὴν φράσιν γέγονεν, μεταφορητικός τε ὢν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς περὶ ποιητικὴν ἐπιτεύγμασι χρώμενος· καὶ διότι γράψαντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλα ποιήματα τήν τε τοῦ Ξέρξου διάβασιν καὶ προοίμιον εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα, ταῦθ' ὕστερον κατέκαυσεν ἀδελφή τις αὐτοῦ (ἢ θυγάτηρ, ὥς φησιν Ἱερώνυμος), τὸ μὲν προοίμιον ἄκουσα, τὰ δὲ Περσικὰ βουληθεῖσα διὰ τὸ ἀτελείωτα εἶναι.

Aristotle in his *Sophist* says that Empedocles was the first to discover rhetoric, and Zeno dialectic. In his *On Poets* he says that Empedocles was Homeric and a master of language, skilled in metaphor and in the use of the other successful devices of poetry. He also says that Empedocles wrote other poems, among them *The Crossing of Xerxes* and a hymn to Apollo, and that later a sister of his (or a daughter, as Hieronymus says) burned them—the hymn by accident, but the poem on the Persians on purpose, because it was unfinished.

8.58 καθόλου δέ φησι καὶ τραγῳδίας αὐτὸν γράψαι καὶ πολιτικούς· Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὁ τοῦ Σαραπίωνος ἑτέρου φησὶν εἶναι τὰς τραγῳδίας. Ἱερώνυμος δὲ τρισὶ καὶ τετταράκοντά φησιν ἐντετυχηκέναι, Νεάνθης δὲ νέον ὄντα γεγραφέναι τὰς τραγῳδίας καὶ αὐτῶν ἑπτὰ ἐντετυχηκέναι.

In general, he says, Empedocles also wrote tragedies and political works; but Heraclides son of Sarapion says the tragedies are by someone else. Hieronymus says he came across forty-three of them, while Neanthes says that Empedocles wrote the tragedies when he was young, and that he himself came across seven of them.

Φησὶ δὲ Σάτυρος ἐν τοῖς Βίοις ὅτι καὶ ἰατρὸς ἦν καὶ ῥήτωρ ἄριστος. Γοργίαν γοῦν τὸν Λεοντῖνον αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι μαθητήν, ἄνδρα ὑπερέχοντα ἐν ῥητορικῇ καὶ Τέχνην ἀπολελοιπότα· ὅν φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς ἐννέα πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν ἔτη βιῶναι. [59] τοῦτόν φησιν ὁ Σάτυρος λέγειν ὡς αὐτὸς παρείη τῷ Ἐμπεδοκλεῖ γοητεύοντι. ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν διὰ τῶν ποιημάτων ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι τοῦτό τε καὶ ἄλλα πλείω, δι' ὧν φησι· φάρμακα δ' ὅσσα γεγᾶσι κακῶν καὶ γήραος ἄλκαρ πεύσῃ, ἐπεὶ μούνῳ σοὶ ἐγὼ κρανέω τάδε πάντα.

Satyrus says in his *Lives* that he was also a doctor and an excellent orator. Gorgias of Leontini, at any rate, was his pupil, a man outstanding in rhetoric who left behind a *Handbook*; Apollodorus in his *Chronicles* says he lived to a hundred and nine. [59] Satyrus says that Gorgias used to say he himself had been present when Empedocles was working magic. Indeed, Empedocles himself lays claim to this and much else in his poems, where he says: All the remedies there are for ills, and a defense against old age, you shall learn, since for you alone will I bring all these things to pass.

8.59 παύσεις δ' ἀκαμάτων ἀνέμων μένος, οἵ τ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν ὀρνύμενοι πνοιαῖσι καταφθινύθουσιν ἄρουραν· καὶ πάλιν,

You shall stop the force of the tireless winds that sweep over the earth and lay waste the fields with

GREEK

ἢν ἐθέλησθα, παλίντιτα πνεύματ' ἐπάξεις· θήσεις δ' ἐξ ὄμβροιο κελαινοῦ καίριον αὐχμὸν ἀνθρώποις, θήσεις δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐχμοῖο θερείου ῥεύματα δενδρεόθρεπτα, τά τ' αἰθέρι ναιήσονται, ἄξεις δ' ἐξ Ἄϊδαο καταφθιμένου μένος ἀνδρός.

8.60 Φησὶ δὲ καὶ Τίμαιος ἐν τῇ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῃ κατὰ πολλοὺς τρόπους τεθαυμάσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα. καὶ γὰρ ἐτησίων ποτὲ σφοδρῶς πνευσάντων ὡς τοὺς καρποὺς λυμῆναι, κελεύσας ὄνους ἐκδαρῆναι καὶ ἀσκοὺς ποιῆσαι περὶ τοὺς λόφους καὶ τὰς ἀκρωρείας διέτεινε πρὸς τὸ συλλαβεῖν τὸ πνεῦμα· λήξαντος δὲ κωλυσανέμαν κληθῆναι. Ἡρακλείδης τε ἐν τῷ Περὶ νόσων φησὶ καὶ Παυσανίᾳ ὑφηγήσασθαι αὐτὸν τὰ περὶ τὴν ἄπνουν. ἦν δ' ὁ Παυσανίας, ὥς φησιν Ἀρίστιππος καὶ Σάτυρος, ἐρώμενος αὐτοῦ, ᾧ δὴ καὶ τὰ Περὶ φύσεως προσπεφώνηκεν οὕτως· [61] Παυσανίη, σὺ δὲ κλῦθι, δαΐφρονος Ἀγχίτου υἱέ. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα εἰς αὐτὸν ἐποίησε· Παυσανίην ἰητρὸν ἐπώνυμον Ἀγχίτου υἱὸν
φῶτ' Ἀσκληπιάδην πατρὶς ἔθρεψε Γέλα,
ὃς πολλοὺς μογεροῖσι μαραινομένους καμάτοισι
φῶτας ἀπέστρεψεν Φερσεφόνης ἀδύτων.

8.61 τὴν γοῦν ἄπνουν ὁ Ἡρακλείδης φησὶ τοιοῦτόν τι εἶναι, ὡς τριάκοντα ἡμέρας συντηρεῖν ἄπνουν καὶ ἄσφυκτον τὸ σῶμα· ὅθεν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἰητρὸν καὶ μάντιν, λαμβάνων ἅμα καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν στίχων· [62] ὦ φίλοι, οἳ μέγα ἄστυ κατὰ ξανθοῦ Ἀκράγαντος
ναίετ' ἀν' ἄκρα πόλεος, ἀγαθῶν μελεδήμονες ἔργων,
χαίρετ'· ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν θεὸς ἄμβροτος, οὐκέτι θνητὸς
πωλεῦμαι μετὰ πᾶσι τετιμένος, ὥσπερ ἔοικα,
ταινίαις τε περίστεπτος στέφεσίν τε θαλείοις·
τοῖσιν ἅμ' ⟨εὖτ'⟩ ἂν ἵκωμαι ἐς ἄστεα τηλεθάοντα,
ἀνδράσιν ἠδὲ γυναιξί, σεβίζομαι· οἱ δ' ἅμ' ἕπονται
μυρίοι, ἐξερέοντες ὅπῃ πρὸς κέρδος ἀταρπός·
οἱ μὲν μαντοσυνέων κεχρημένοι, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ νούσων
παντοίων ἐπύθοντο κλύειν εὐηκέα βάξιν.

ENGLISH

their blasts; and again, if you wish, you shall bring the winds back in return. You shall make, out of dark rain, a timely drought for men, and out of summer drought you shall make tree-nourishing streams that will dwell in the sky; and you shall bring back from Hades the strength of a man who has perished.

Timaeus also says, in his eighteenth book, that the man was admired in many ways. Once, for instance, the etesian winds were blowing so violently that they were damaging the crops. He ordered donkeys to be skinned and bags made from their hides, and he stretched these along the hills and ridges to catch the wind. When it dropped, he was called "Wind-stopper." Heraclides, in his *On Diseases*, says that he also instructed Pausanias in the case of the woman who was not breathing. This Pausanias, as Aristippus and Satyrus say, was his beloved, and it was to him that he dedicated his *On Nature*, in these words: [61] And you, Pausanias, son of wise-hearted Anchitus, listen. He also wrote an epigram on him: Pausanias, physician and well named, son of Anchitus,
a descendant of Asclepius, was raised by his homeland Gela,
who turned back many men wasting under grievous sufferings
from the inner sanctum of Persephone.[24]

At any rate, Heraclides says that the case of the woman who was not breathing went something like this: he kept her body for thirty days without breath and without a pulse. That is why Heraclides called him both physician and seer, drawing at the same time on these lines too: [62] Friends, who dwell in the great city of golden Acragas
up on the heights of the citadel, you who care for good deeds,
greetings! I, an immortal god to you, no longer mortal,
go about honored among all, as is fitting,
crowned with ribbons and with blooming garlands.
Whenever I come with these to flourishing towns,
I am revered by men and women; and they follow me

23 Alcidamas was a rhetorician of the fourth century BC, a pupil of Gorgias.
24 "Wind-stopper" renders the Greek *kōlusanemas*. The etesian winds are the strong northerly winds that blow across the Aegean in summer.

GREEK	ENGLISH
	in their thousands, asking where the path to profit lies, some wanting prophecies, while others, for diseases of every kind, ask to hear a word of healing.
8.63 Μέγαν δὲ τὸν Ἀκράγαντα εἰπεῖν φησιν ἐπεὶ μυριάδες αὐτὸν κατῴκουν ὀγδοήκοντα· ὅθεν τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα εἰπεῖν, τρυφώντων αὐτῶν, "Ἀκραγαντῖνοι τρυφῶσι μὲν ὡς αὔριον ἀποθανούμενοι, οἰκίας δὲ κατασκευάζονται ὡς πάντα τὸν χρόνον βιωσόμενοι."	He says that Empedocles called Acragas "great" because eight hundred thousand people lived there. That is also why Empedocles, seeing how they lived in luxury, said: "The people of Acragas live in luxury as if they will die tomorrow, but they build their houses as if they will live forever."
Αὐτοὺς δὲ τούτους τοὺς Καθαρμοὺς [ἐν] Ὀλυμπίασι ῥαψῳδῆσαι λέγεται Κλεομένη τὸν ῥαψῳδόν, ὡς καὶ Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Ἀπομνημονεύμασι. φησὶ δ' αὐτὸν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐλεύθερον γεγονέναι καὶ πάσης ἀρχῆς ἀλλότριον, εἴ γε τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῷ διδομένην παρῃτήσατο, καθάπερ Ξάνθος ἐν τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγει, τὴν λιτότητα δηλονότι πλέον ἀγαπήσας.	It is said that this very poem, the *Purifications,* was recited at Olympia by the rhapsode Cleomenes, as Favorinus also says in his *Memoirs.* Aristotle, too, says that he was a free spirit and averse to any kind of rule, since he refused the kingship when it was offered to him, as Xanthus says in his writings about him. Clearly he valued a simple life more.
8.64 τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ Τίμαιος εἴρηκε, τὴν αἰτίαν ἅμα παρατιθέμενος τοῦ δημοτικὸν εἶναι τὸν ἄνδρα. φησὶ γὰρ ὅτι κληθεὶς ὑπό τινος τῶν ἀρχόντων ⟨ὡς⟩ προβαίνοντος τοῦ δείπνου τὸ ποτὸν οὐκ εἰσεφέρετο, τῶν ἄλλων ἡσυχαζόντων, μισοπονήρως διατεθεὶς ἐκέλευσεν εἰσφέρειν· ὁ δὲ κεκληκὼς ἀναμένειν ἔφη τὸν τῆς βουλῆς ὑπηρέτην. ὡς δὲ παρεγένετο, ἐγενήθη συμποσίαρχος, τοῦ κεκληκότος δηλονότι καταστήσαντος, ὃς ὑπεγράφετο τυραννίδος ἀρχήν· ἐκέλευσε γὰρ ἢ πίνειν ἢ καταχεῖσθαι τῆς κεφαλῆς. τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἡσύχασε· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ εἰσαγαγὼν εἰς δικαστήριον ἀπέκτεινε καταδικάσας ἀμφοτέρους, τόν τε κλήτορα καὶ τὸν συμποσίαρχον. ἀρχὴ μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ τῆς πολιτείας ἥδε.	Timaeus has said the same, and he also gives the reason why the man was a champion of the people. He says that Empedocles was invited to dinner by one of the magistrates. As the dinner went on, no wine was brought in, and the other guests kept quiet. Empedocles, indignant at such bad behavior, told them to bring it. The host said they were waiting for the council's officer. When the officer arrived, he was made master of the drinking, appointed of course by the host, and he sketched out the beginnings of a tyranny: he ordered the guests either to drink or to have the wine poured over their heads. For the moment Empedocles kept quiet. But the next day he brought both of them to court, had them condemned and put to death: the host and the master of the drinking. This, then, was the beginning of his political career.
8.65 Πάλιν δ' Ἄκρωνος τοῦ ἰατροῦ τόπον αἰτοῦντος παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς εἰς κατασκευὴν πατρῴου μνήματος διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἰατροῖς ἀκρότητα παρελθὼν ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἐκώλυσε, τά τ' ἄλλα περὶ ἰσότητος διαλεχθεὶς καί τι καὶ τοιοῦτον ἐρωτήσας· "τί δ' ἐπιγράψομεν ἐλεγεῖον; ἢ τοῦτο; ἄκρον ἰατρὸν Ἄκρων' Ἀκραγαντῖνον πατρὸς Ἄκρου / κρύπτει κρημνὸς ἄκρος πατρίδος ἀκροτάτης." τινὲς δὲ τὸν δεύτερον στίχον οὕτω προφέρονται, ἀκροτάτης κορυφῆς τύμβος ἄκρος κατέχει. τοῦτό τινες Σιμωνίδου φασὶν εἶναι.	On another occasion, the physician Acron asked the council for a site on which to build a monument to his father, on the grounds of his eminence among physicians. Empedocles came forward and prevented it. Among other things, he spoke about equality, and he put a question something like this: "What elegiac inscription shall we write on it? This one, perhaps? Acron, top physician of Acragas, son of Acros, / lies hidden by a top crag of his topmost homeland." Some give the second line

GREEK	ENGLISH
	like this: a top tomb holds him on a topmost peak. Some say this is by Simonides.[25]
8.66 Ὕστερον δ' ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ τὸ τῶν χιλίων ἄθροισμα κατέλυσε συνεστὸς ἐπὶ ἔτη τρία, ὥστε οὐ μόνον ἦν τῶν πλουσίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν τὰ δημοτικὰ φρονούντων. ὅ γέ τοι Τίμαιος ἐν τῇ ια' καὶ ιβ', πολλάκις γὰρ αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει, φησὶν ἐναντίαν ἐσχηκέναι γνώμην αὐτὸν τῇ πολιτείᾳ φαίνεσθαι· ⟨ἔστιν⟩ ὅπου δ' ἀλαζόνα καὶ φίλαυτον ἐν τῇ ποιήσει [ἴδοι τις ἄν]· φησὶ γοῦν, χαίρετ'· ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν θεὸς ἄμβροτος, οὐκέτι θνητὸς πωλεῦμαι, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. καθ' ὃν δὲ χρόνον ἐπεδήμει Ὀλυμπίασιν, ἐπιστροφῆς ἠξιοῦτο πλείονος, ὥστε μηδενὸς ἑτέρου μνείαν γίνεσθαι ἐν ταῖς ὁμιλίαις τοσαύτην ὅσην Ἐμπεδοκλέους.	Later Empedocles also broke up the assembly of the Thousand, which had been in existence for three years. So he was not only one of the rich but also one of those who held democratic views. Timaeus, at any rate, in his eleventh and twelfth books (he mentions him often), says that he seems to have held views at odds with his politics. There are places where [one may see] him boastful and full of himself in his poetry. At any rate he says: greetings! I, an immortal god to you, no longer mortal, go about, and so on. And whenever he was staying at Olympia, he drew so much attention that no one else was mentioned in conversation as much as Empedocles.
8.67 Ὕστερον μέντοι τοῦ Ἀκράγαντος οἰκ⟨τ⟩ιζομένου, ἀντέστησαν αὐτοῦ τῇ καθόδῳ οἱ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπόγονοι· διόπερ εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἀποχωρήσας ἐτελεύτησεν. οὐ παρῆκε δ' οὐδὲ τοῦτον ὁ Τίμων, ἀλλ' ὧδ' αὐτοῦ καθάπτεται λέγων· καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἀγοραίων ληκητὴς ἐπέων· ὅσα δ' ἔσθενε, τόσσα διεῖλεν, ἀρχῶν ὃς διέθηκ' ἀρχὰς ἐπιδευέας ἄλλων.	Later, however, when Acragas came to feel sorry for him, the descendants of his enemies opposed his return. So he withdrew to the Peloponnese and died there. Timon did not let him off either, but attacks him in these words: And Empedocles, a bawler of market-place verses; whatever he had the strength for, he divided up, he who laid down principles that need still other principles.

THE DEATH OF EMPEDOCLES

Conflicting stories of his end, including the leap into Etna, and a summary of his views.

GREEK	ENGLISH
Περὶ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου διάφορός ἐστιν αὐτοῦ λόγος. Ἡρακλείδης μὲν γὰρ τὰ περὶ τῆς ἄπνου διηγησάμενος, ὡς ἐδοξάσθη Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἀποστείλας τὴν νεκρὰν ἄνθρωπον ζῶσαν, φησὶν ὅτι θυσίαν συνετέλει πρὸς τῷ Πεισιάνακτος ἀγρῷ. συνεκέκλητο δὲ τῶν φίλων τινές, ἐν οἷς καὶ Παυσανίας.	There are differing accounts of his death. Heraclides tells the story of the woman who was not breathing, and how Empedocles won glory by sending the dead woman away alive. He then says that Empedocles was offering a sacrifice near the field of Peisianax. Some of his friends had been invited, among them Pausanias.
8.68 εἶτα μετὰ τὴν εὐωχίαν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι χωρισθέντες ἀνεπαύοντο, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῖς δένδροις ὡς ἀγροῦ παρακειμένου, οἱ δ' ὅπῃ βούλοιντο, αὐτὸς δ' ἔμεινεν ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου ἐφ' οὗπερ κατεκέκλιτο. ὡς δ' ἡμέρας γενηθείσης ἐξανέστησαν, οὐχ ηὑρέθη μόνος. ζητουμένου δὲ καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀνακρινομένων καὶ φασκόντων μὴ εἰδέναι, εἷς τις ἔφη μέσων νυκτῶν φωνῆς ὑπερμεγέθους ἀκοῦσαι προσκαλουμένης Ἐμπεδοκλέα, εἶτ' ἐξαναστὰς	After the feast the others went off to rest, some under the trees, since there was a field nearby, and others wherever they liked, while Empedocles himself stayed in the spot where he had been reclining. When day came and they got up, he alone was nowhere to be found. They searched for him and questioned the servants, who said they did not know. Then one of them said that at midnight

25 The epigram plays on *akros*, "top, highest, eminent," which echoes the names Acron, Acros and Acragas.

GREEK

ἐωρακέναι φῶς οὐράνιον καὶ λαμπάδων φέγγος, ἄλλο δὲ μηδέν· τῶν δ' ἐπὶ τῷ γενομένῳ ἐκπλαγέντων, καταβὰς ὁ Παυσανίας ἔπεμψέ τινας ζητήσοντας. ὕστερον δὲ ἐκώλυε πολυπραγμονεῖν, φάσκων εὐχῆς ἄξια συμβεβηκέναι καὶ θύειν αὐτῷ δεῖν καθαπερεὶ γεγονότι θεῷ.

8.69 Ἕρμιππος δέ φησι Πάνθειάν τινα Ἀκραγαντίνην ἀπηλπισμένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν θεραπεῦσαι αὐτὸν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν θυσίαν ἐπιτελεῖν· τοὺς δὲ κληθέντας εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντα. Ἱππόβοτος δέ φησιν ἐξαναστάντα αὐτὸν ὡδευκέναι ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴτνην, εἶτα παραγενόμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς κρατῆρας τοῦ πυρὸς ἐναλέσθαι καὶ ἀφανισθῆναι, βουλόμενον τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ φήμην βεβαιῶσαι ὅτι γεγόνοι θεός, ὕστερον δὲ γνωσθῆναι, ἀναρριπισθείσης αὐτοῦ μιᾶς τῶν κρηπίδων· χαλκᾶς γὰρ εἴθιστο ὑποδεῖσθαι. πρὸς τοῦθ' ὁ Παυσανίας ἀντέλεγε.

8.70 Διόδωρος δ' ὁ Ἐφέσιος περὶ Ἀναξιμάνδρου γράφων φησὶν ὅτι τοῦτον ἐζηλώκει, τραγικὸν ἀσκῶν τῦφον καὶ σεμνὴν ἀναλαβὼν ἐσθῆτα. τοῖς Σελινουντίοις ἐμπεσόντος λοιμοῦ διὰ τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ παρακειμένου ποταμοῦ δυσωδίας, ὥστε καὶ αὐτοὺς φθείρεσθαι καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας δυστοκεῖν, ἐπινοῆσαι τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα καὶ δύο τινὰς ποταμοὺς τῶν σύνεγγυς ἐπαγαγεῖν ἰδίαις δαπάναις· καὶ καταμίξαντα γλυκῆναι τὰ ῥεύματα. οὕτω δὴ λήξαντος τοῦ λοιμοῦ καὶ τῶν Σελινουντίων εὐωχουμένων ποτὲ παρὰ τῷ ποταμῷ, ἐπιφανῆναι τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα· τοὺς δ' ἐξαναστάντας προσκυνεῖν καὶ προσεύχεσθαι καθαπερεὶ θεῷ. ταύτην οὖν θέλοντα βεβαιῶσαι τὴν διάληψιν εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐναλέσθαι. [71] τούτοις δ' ἐναντιοῦται Τίμαιος, ῥητῶς λέγων ὡς ἐξεχώρησεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον καὶ τὸ σύνολον οὐκ ἐπανῆλθεν·

8.71 ὅθεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τελευτὴν ἄδηλον εἶναι. πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἡρακλείδην καὶ ἐξ ὀνόματος ποιεῖται τὴν ἀντίρρησιν ἐν τῇ ιδ'· Συρακόσιόν τε γὰρ εἶναι τὸν Πεισιάνακτα καὶ ἀγρὸν οὐκ ἔχειν ἐν Ἀκράγαντι· Παυσανίαν τε μνημεῖον ⟨ἂν⟩ πεποιηκέναι τοῦ φίλου, τοιούτου διαδοθέντος λόγου, ἢ ἀγαλμάτιόν τι ἢ σηκὸν οἷα θεοῦ· καὶ γὰρ πλούσιον εἶναι. "πῶς οὖν," φησὶν, "εἰς τοὺς κρατῆρας ἥλατο ὢν ⟨ὡς⟩ σύνεγγυς ὄντων οὐδὲ μνείαν ποτὲ

ENGLISH

he had heard an enormously loud voice calling Empedocles, and that when he got up he had seen a light from heaven and a gleam of torches, but nothing else. The others were astounded at what had happened, and Pausanias went down and sent people to look for him. Later, however, he stopped them from inquiring further. He said that what had happened deserved prayers, and that they must sacrifice to Empedocles as one who had become a god.

Hermippus says that a woman of Acragas called Pantheia, whom the doctors had given up on, was cured by him, and that this was why he was performing the sacrifice. He says that the guests numbered about eighty. Hippobotus says that Empedocles got up and set off as if for Etna. When he reached the fiery craters, he leapt in and vanished, because he wanted to confirm the rumor about himself that he had become a god. Later the truth came out when one of his sandals was thrown up, since he was in the habit of wearing bronze sandals. Pausanias denied this.

Diodorus of Ephesus, writing about Anaximander, says that Empedocles emulated him, cultivating a theatrical pomp and wearing solemn dress. He says that a plague fell on the people of Selinus because of the foul smells from the nearby river, so that they were dying and their women were having difficult births. Empedocles came up with the idea of diverting two nearby rivers into it at his own expense, and by mixing their waters with it he sweetened the stream. When the plague had ended in this way, the people of Selinus were once feasting by the river, and Empedocles appeared. They rose and bowed down before him and prayed to him as to a god. It was to confirm this belief, Diodorus says, that he leapt into the fire. [71] Timaeus contradicts these accounts. He says explicitly that Empedocles went away to the Peloponnese and never came back at all;

so the manner of his death is unknown. In his fourteenth book Timaeus also rebuts Heraclides by name. Peisianax, he says, was a Syracusan and had no field at Acragas. And if such a story had spread, Pausanias would have made a memorial to his friend, either a statuette or a shrine as for a god, since he was rich. "How then," he says, "did he leap into the craters, when he had never once

GREEK

ἐπεποίητο; τετελεύτηκεν οὖν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ. [72] οὐδὲν δὲ παράδοξον τάφον αὐτοῦ μὴ φαίνεσθαι· μηδὲ γὰρ ἄλλων πολλῶν." τοιαῦτά τινα εἰπὼν ὁ Τίμαιος ἐπιφέρει· "ἀλλὰ διὰ παντός ἐστιν Ἡρακλείδης τοιοῦτος παραδοξολόγος, καὶ ἐκ τῆς σελήνης πεπτωκέναι ἄνθρωπον λέγων."

8.72 Ἱππόβοτος δέ φησιν ὅτι ἀνδριὰς ἐγκεκαλυμμένος Ἐμπεδοκλέους ἔκειτο πρότερον μὲν ἐν Ἀκράγαντι, ὕστερον δὲ πρὸ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βουλευτηρίου ἀκάλυφος δηλονότι μεταθέντων αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ Ῥωμαίων· γραπταὶ μὲν γὰρ εἰκόνες καὶ νῦν περιφέρονται. Νεάνθης δ' ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ὁ καὶ περὶ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν εἰπών φησι Μέτωνος τελευτήσαντος τυραννίδος ἀρχὴν ὑποφύεσθαι· εἶτα τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα πεῖσαι τοὺς Ἀκραγαντίνους παύσασθαι μὲν τῶν στάσεων, ἰσότητα δὲ πολιτικὴν ἀσκεῖν.

8.73 Ἔτι τε πολλὰς τῶν πολιτίδων ἀπροίκους ὑπαρχούσας αὐτὸν προικίσαι διὰ τὸν παρόντα πλοῦτον· διὸ δὴ πορφύραν τε ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ στρόφιον ἐπιθέσθαι χρυσοῦν, ὡς Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Ἀπομνημονεύμασιν· ἔτι τ' ἐμβάδας χαλκᾶς καὶ στέμμα Δελφικόν. κόμη τε ἦν αὐτῷ βαθεῖα καὶ παῖδες ἀκόλουθοι· καὶ αὐτὸς ἀεὶ σκυθρωπὸς ἐφ' ἑνὸς σχήματος ἦν. τοιοῦτος δὴ προῄει, τῶν πολιτῶν ἐντυχόντων καὶ τοῦτ' ἀξιωσάντων οἱονεὶ βασιλείας τινὸς παράσημον. ὕστερον δὲ διά τινα πανήγυριν πορευόμενον ἐπ' ἁμάξης ὡς εἰς Μεσσήνην πεσεῖν καὶ τὸν μηρὸν κλάσαι· νοσήσαντα δ' ἐκ τούτου τελευτῆσαι ἐτῶν ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα. εἶναι δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τάφον ἐν Μεγάροις.

8.74 Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐτῶν Ἀριστοτέλης διαφέρεται· φησὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἑξήκοντ' ἐτῶν αὐτὸν τελευτῆσαι· οἱ δὲ ἐννέα καὶ ἑκατόν. ἤκμαζε δὲ κατὰ τὴν τετάρτην καὶ ὀγδοηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα. Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Τροιζήνιος ἐν τῷ Κατὰ σοφιστῶν βιβλίῳ φησὶν αὐτὸν καθ' Ὅμηρον ἁψάμενον βρόχον αἰπὺν ἀφ' ὑψηλοῖο κρανείης / αὐχέν' ἀποκρεμάσαι, ψυχὴν δ' Ἄϊδόσδε κατελθεῖν.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ προειρημένῳ Τηλαύγους ἐπιστολίῳ λέγεται αὐτὸν εἰς θάλατταν ὑπὸ γήρως ὀλισθόντα τελευτῆσαι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τοσαῦτα.

Φέρεται δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Παμμέτρῳ σκωπτικὸν μέν, τοῦτον δ' ἔχον τὸν τρόπον· [75] καὶ σύ ποτ',

ENGLISH

mentioned them, even though they were nearby? So he died in the Peloponnese. [72] It is not at all surprising that his tomb cannot be seen; neither can those of many others." After saying something like this, Timaeus adds: "But Heraclides is always this sort of teller of marvels; he even says that a man fell from the moon."

Hippobotus says that a veiled statue of Empedocles used to stand at Acragas. Later it stood unveiled in front of the Roman senate house, evidently because the Romans had moved it there; for painted portraits of him are still in circulation even now. Neanthes of Cyzicus, who also wrote about the Pythagoreans, says that after Meton's death the beginnings of a tyranny started to spring up. Then Empedocles persuaded the people of Acragas to put an end to their factional strife and to practice political equality.

He says further that Empedocles provided dowries out of his wealth for many of the women citizens who had none. That was why he put on purple and wore a golden headband, as Favorinus says in his *Memoirs*, as well as bronze shoes and a Delphic wreath. He had long, thick hair and boys as attendants, and he himself always looked grave and kept the same bearing. That was how he appeared when he went out, and the citizens who met him took it as the mark of something like royalty. Later, Neanthes says, as he was traveling in a wagon to Messene for some festival, he fell out and broke his thigh. He fell ill from this and died at the age of seventy-seven. And he has a tomb at Megara.

Aristotle differs about his age. He says that Empedocles died at sixty; others say at a hundred and nine. He flourished in the 84th Olympiad. Demetrius of Troezen, in his book *Against the Sophists*, says that, in Homer's words, he fastened a sheer noose from a high cornel tree / and hung by his neck, and his soul went down to Hades.[26]

In the letter of Telauges mentioned earlier, it is said that in his old age he slipped into the sea and died. So much, then, about his death.

There is also an epigram of my own on him in my *Pammetros*. It is a mocking one, and it goes like

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Ἐμπεδόκλεις, διερῇ φλογὶ σῶμα καθήρας πῦρ ἀπὸ κρητήρων ἔκπιες ἀθανάτων· οὐκ ἐρέω δ' ὅτι σαυτὸν ἑκὼν βάλες ἐς ῥόον Αἴτνης, ἀλλὰ λαθεῖν ἐθέλων ἔμπεσες οὐκ ἐθέλων. καὶ ἄλλο· ναὶ μὴν Ἐμπεδοκλῆα θανεῖν λόγος ὥς ποτ' ἀμάξης ἔκπεσε καὶ μηρὸν κλάσσατο δεξιτερόν· εἰ δὲ πυρὸς κρητῆρας ἐσήλατο καὶ πίε τὸ ζῆν, πῶς ἂν ἔτ' ἐν Μεγάροις δείκνυτο τοῦδε τάφος;	this: [75] You too, Empedocles, once purified your body with liquid flame and drank fire from immortal craters. I will not say that you threw yourself willingly into Etna's stream; you wanted to go unnoticed, and fell in unwillingly. And another: Yes, the story goes that Empedocles died when once from a wagon he fell and broke his right thigh. But if he leapt into the craters of fire and drank down life, how could his tomb still be shown at Megara?[27]
8.76	Ἐδόκει δ' αὐτῷ τάδε· στοιχεῖα μὲν εἶναι τέτταρα, πῦρ, ὕδωρ, γῆν, ἀέρα· Φιλίαν θ' ᾗ συγκρίνεται καὶ Νεῖκος ᾧ διακρίνεται. φησὶ δ' οὕτω· Ζεὺς ἀργὴς Ἥρη τε φερέσβιος ἠδ' Ἀΐδωνεὺς / Νῆστίς θ', ἣ δακρύοις τέγγει κρούνωμα βρότειον· Δία μὲν τὸ πῦρ λέγων, Ἥρην δὲ τὴν γῆν, Ἀΐδωνέα δὲ τὸν ἀέρα, Νῆστιν δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ.	His views were these. He held that there are four elements, fire, water, earth and air, together with Love, by which they are combined, and Strife, by which they are separated. He puts it like this: Shining Zeus and life-bringing Hera and Aidoneus / and Nestis, who wets the springs of mortals with her tears. By Zeus he means fire, by Hera earth, by Aidoneus air, and by Nestis water.[28]
	"Καὶ ταῦτα," φησίν, "ἀλλάττοντα διαμπερὲς οὐδαμὰ λήγει," ὡς ἂν ἀϊδίου τῆς τοιαύτης διακοσμήσεως οὔσης· ἐπιφέρει γοῦν· ἄλλοτε μὲν Φιλότητι συνερχόμεν' εἰς ἓν ἅπαντα, / ἄλλοτε δ' αὖ δίχ' ἕκαστα φορεύμενα Νείκεος ἔχθει.	"And these," he says, "never cease their continual exchange," since this ordering of things is everlasting. At any rate he goes on: at one time all coming together into one through Love, / at another each borne apart again by the hatred of Strife.
8.77	Καὶ τὸν μὲν ἥλιόν φησι πυρὸς ἄθροισμα μέγα καὶ τῆς σελήνης μείζω· τὴν δὲ σελήνην δισκοειδῆ, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν οὐρανὸν κρυσταλλοειδῆ. καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν παντοῖα εἴδη ζῴων καὶ φυτῶν ἐνδύεσθαι· φησὶ γοῦν· ἤδη γάρ ποτ' ἐγὼ γενόμην κοῦρός τε κόρη τε / θάμνος τ' οἰωνός τε καὶ ἔξαλος ἔμπυρος ἰχθύς.	He says that the sun is a great mass of fire and larger than the moon; that the moon is disk-shaped; and that the heaven itself is like crystal. He also held that the soul enters all kinds of shapes of animals and plants. At any rate he says: For I have already once been a boy and a girl, / a bush and a bird and a fiery fish leaping from the sea.
	Τὰ μὲν οὖν Περὶ φύσεως αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ Καθαρμοὶ εἰς ἔπη τείνουσι πεντακισχίλια, ὁ δὲ Ἰατρικὸς λόγος εἰς ἔπη ἑξακόσια. περὶ δὲ τῶν τραγῳδιῶν προειρήκαμεν.	His *On Nature* and the *Purifications* run to five thousand lines, and his *Discourse on Medicine* to six hundred. We have already spoken about the tragedies.

EPICHARMUS

The comic poet from Cos, said to be a pupil of Pythagoras, and his inscription at Syracuse.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
8.78	Ἐπίχαρμος Ἡλοθαλοῦς Κῷος. καὶ οὗτος ἤκουσε Πυθαγόρου. τριμηνιαῖος δ' ὑπάρχων ἀπηνέχθη τῆς	Epicharmus, son of Helothales, of Cos. He too studied under Pythagoras. When he was three

26 The 84th Olympiad is 444–441 BC.
27 The *Pammetros* ("In All Meters") was Diogenes' own collection of epigrams. The Greek *kratēr* means both "crater" and "mixing bowl" for wine, hence "drank."
28 Aidoneus is a name for Hades; Nestis was a Sicilian water goddess.

GREEK	ENGLISH
Σικελίας εἰς Μέγαρα, ἐντεῦθεν δ' εἰς Συρακούσας, ὥς φησι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς συγγράμμασιν. καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνδριάντος ἐπιγέγραπται τόδε· εἴ τι παραλλάσσει φαέθων μέγας ἅλιος ἄστρων καὶ πόντος ποταμῶν μείζον' ἔχει δύναμιν, φαμὶ τοσοῦτον ἐγὼ σοφίᾳ προέχειν Ἐπίχαρμον, ὃν πατρὶς ἐστεφάνωσ' ἅδε Συρακοσίων. οὗτος ὑπομνήματα καταλέλοιπεν ἐν οἷς φυσιολογεῖ, γνωμολογεῖ, ἰατρολογεῖ· καὶ παραστιχίδα γε ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν ὑπομνημάτων πεποίηκεν, οἷς διασαφεῖ ὅτι ἑαυτοῦ ἐστι τὰ συγγράμματα. βιοὺς δ' ἔτη ἐνενήκοντα κατέστρεψεν.	months old he was taken to Megara in Sicily, and from there to Syracuse, as he himself says in his writings. This is inscribed on his statue: If the great blazing sun surpasses the stars, and the sea has greater power than the rivers, I say that by so much Epicharmus excels in wisdom, he whom this homeland of the Syracusans crowned. He left treatises in which he discusses nature, offers maxims and writes about medicine. In most of these treatises he included acrostics, by which he makes it clear that the writings are his own. He died at the age of ninety.

ARCHYTAS

The Pythagorean general of Tarentum, his letters with Plato, and his work in mechanics.

GREEK	ENGLISH
8.79 Ἀρχύτας Μνησαγόρου Ταραντῖνος, ὡς δὲ Ἀριστόξενος, Ἑστιαίου, Πυθαγορικὸς καὶ αὐτός. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Πλάτωνα ῥυσάμενος δι' ἐπιστολῆς παρὰ Διονυσίου μέλλοντ' ἀναιρεῖσθαι. ἐθαυμάζετο δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐπὶ πάσῃ ἀρετῇ· καὶ δὴ ἑπτάκις τῶν πολιτῶν ἐστρατήγησε, τῶν ἄλλων μὴ πλέον ἐνιαυτοῦ στρατηγούντων διὰ τὸ κωλύειν τὸν νόμον. πρὸς τοῦτον καὶ Πλάτων γέγραφεν ἐπιστολὰς δύο, ἐπειδήπερ αὐτῷ πρότερος ἐγεγράφει τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον·	Archytas of Tarentum, son of Mnesagoras or, according to Aristoxenus, of Hestiaeus, was also a Pythagorean. It was he who saved Plato by a letter when Dionysius was about to put him to death. The general public, too, admired him for excellence of every kind. He was general of his fellow citizens seven times, although others served as general for no more than a year, because the law forbade it. Plato wrote two letters to him, since Archytas had written to him first, as follows:
"Ἀρχύτας Πλάτωνι ὑγιαίνειν. 80 "Καλῶς ποιέεις ὅτι ἀποπέφευγας ἐκ τᾶς ἀρρωστίας· ταῦτα γὰρ αὐτός τυ ἐπέσταλκας καὶ τοὶ περὶ Λαμίσκον ἀπάγγελον. περὶ δὲ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἐπεμελήθημες καὶ ἀνήλθομες ὡς Λευκανὼς καὶ ἐνετύχομες τοῖς Ὀκκέλω ἐκγόνοις. τὰ μὲν ὦν Περὶ νόμω καὶ Βασιληίας καὶ Ὁσιότατος καὶ τᾶς τῶ παντὸς γενέσιος αὐτοί τ' ἔχομες καὶ τὶν ἀπεστάλκαμες· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ οὔτοι νῦν γα δύναται εὑρεθῆμεν, αἰ δέ κα εὑρεθῇ, ἥξει τοι."	"Archytas to Plato: good health. 80 "You did well to recover from your illness. You wrote this to me yourself, and Lamiscus and his people told me as well. As for the writings, we saw to them, went up to the Lucanians and met the descendants of Ocellus. The books *On Law*, *On Kingship*, *On Piety* and *On the Origin of the Universe* we have ourselves, and we have sent them to you. The rest cannot be found at present, but if they are found, they will come to you."
8.80 Ὧδε μὲν ὁ Ἀρχύτας· ὁ δὲ Πλάτων ἀντεπιστέλλει τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον· "Πλάτων Ἀρχύτᾳ εὖ πράττειν. 81 "Τὰ μὲν παρὰ σοῦ ἐλθόντα ὑπομνήματα θαυμαστῶς ἄσμενοί τε ἐλάβομεν καὶ τοῦ γράψαντος αὐτὰ ἠγάσθημεν ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα, καὶ ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν ἀνὴρ ἄξιος ἐκείνων τῶν παλαιῶν προγόνων. λέγονται γὰρ δὴ οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι Μυραῖοι εἶναι· οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν τῶν ἐπὶ Λαομέδοντος ἐξαναστάντων Τρώων ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, ὡς ὁ	So much from Archytas. Plato writes back as follows: "Plato to Archytas: do well. 81 "We were wonderfully pleased to receive the writings that came from you, and we admired their author as much as anyone could. He seemed to us a man worthy of those ancestors of old. These men are said to be Myraeans, and the Myraeans were among the Trojans who emigrated

GREEK

παραδεδομένος μῦθος δηλοῖ. τὰ δὲ παρ' ἐμοῦ ὑπομνήματα, περὶ ὧν ἐπέστειλας, ἱκανῶς μὲν οὔπω ἔχει· ὡς δέ ποτε τυγχάνει ἔχοντα ἀπέσταλκά σοι. περὶ δὲ τῆς φυλακῆς ἀμφότεροι συμφωνοῦμεν, ὥστε οὐδὲν δεῖ παρακελεύεσθαι. ἔρρωσο."

8.81 Καὶ ὧδε μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν αἱ ἐπιστολαί.

[82] Γεγόνασι δ' Ἀρχύται τέτταρες· πρῶτος αὐτὸς οὗτος, δεύτερος Μυτιληναῖος μουσικός, τρίτος Περὶ γεωργίας συγγεγραφώς, τέταρτος ἐπιγραμματοποιός. ἔνιοι καὶ πέμπτον ἀρχιτέκτονά φασιν, οὗ φέρεται βιβλίον Περὶ μηχανῆς, ἀρχὴν ἔχον ταύτην, "τάδε παρὰ Τεύκρου Καρχηδονίου διήκουσα." περὶ δὲ τοῦ μουσικοῦ φέρεται καὶ τόδε, ὡς ὀνειδιζόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ἐξακουεσθαι εἴποι, "τὸ γὰρ ὄργανον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ διαγωνιζόμενον λαλεῖ."

8.82 Τὸν δὲ Πυθαγορικὸν Ἀριστόξενός φησι μηδέποτε στρατηγοῦντα ἡττηθῆναι· φθονούμενον δ' ἄπαξ ἐκχωρῆσαι τῆς στρατηγίας καὶ τοὺς αὐτίκα ληφθῆναι.

[83] Οὗτος πρῶτος τὰ μηχανικὰ ταῖς μαθηματικαῖς προσχρησάμενος ἀρχαῖς μεθώδευσε καὶ πρῶτος κίνησιν ὀργανικὴν διαγράμματι γεωμετρικῷ προσήγαγε, διὰ τῆς τομῆς τοῦ ἡμικυλίνδρου δύο μέσας ἀνὰ λόγον λαβεῖν ζητῶν εἰς τὸν τοῦ κύβου διπλασιασμόν. κἀν γεωμετρίᾳ πρῶτος κύβον εὗρεν, ὥς φησι Πλάτων ἐν Πολιτείᾳ.

ENGLISH

under Laomedon, good men, as the traditional story shows. My own writings, which you asked about in your letter, are not yet in adequate shape, but I have sent them to you just as they are. We both agree about keeping them safe, so there is no need to urge you. Farewell."

That, then, is how their letters to each other run.

[82] There have been four men named Archytas: first, this one himself; second, a musician from Mytilene; third, the author of a work *On Farming*; fourth, a writer of epigrams. Some also add a fifth, an architect, to whom a book *On Machines* is attributed, which begins: "These things I learned from Teucer of Carthage." About the musician the story is also told that, when he was reproached because he could not be heard well, he said: "My instrument does the talking, competing on my behalf."

Aristoxenus says that the Pythagorean Archytas was never defeated while he was general. Once, however, because he was envied, he withdrew from the generalship, and his men were immediately captured.

[83] He was the first to make a methodical study of mechanics by applying mathematical principles, and the first to bring mechanical motion into a geometrical construction, when he sought, by means of a section of a half-cylinder, to find two mean proportionals for the doubling of the cube. In geometry too he was the first to discover the cube, as Plato says in the *Republic*.

ALCMAEON

A physician of Croton who wrote on nature and held that the soul is immortal.

GREEK

8.83 Ἀλκμαίων Κροτωνιάτης. καὶ οὗτος Πυθαγόρου διήκουσε· καὶ τὰ πλεῖστά γε ἰατρικὰ λέγει, ὅμως δὲ καὶ φυσιολογεῖ ἐνίοτε λέγων "δύο τὰ πολλά ἐστι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων." δοκεῖ δὲ πρῶτος φυσικὸν λόγον συγγεγραφέναι, καθά φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ, καὶ τὴν σελήνην καθόλου ⟨τε τὰ ὑπὲρ⟩ ταύτην ἔχειν ἀΐδιον φύσιν.

Ἦν δὲ Πειρίθου υἱός, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐναρχόμενος τοῦ συγγράμματός φησιν· "Ἀλκμαίων Κροτωνιήτης τάδε ἔλεξε Πειρίθου υἱὸς Βροτίνῳ καὶ Λέοντι καὶ Βαθύλλῳ· ιπερὶ τῶν ἀφανέων, περὶ τῶν θνητῶν σαφήνειαν μὲν θεοὶ

ENGLISH

Alcmaeon of Croton. He too studied under Pythagoras. Most of what he says concerns medicine, but at times he also discusses nature, saying: "Most human things come in pairs." He seems to have been the first to write a treatise on nature, as Favorinus says in his *Miscellaneous History*, and he held that the moon, and in general the things above it, have an everlasting nature.

He was the son of Peirithous, as he himself says at the beginning of his treatise: "Alcmaeon of Croton, son of Peirithous, said these things to Brotinus, Leon and Bathyllus: 'About things unseen and

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἔχοντι, ὡς δ' ἀνθρώποις τεκμαίρεσθαι'" καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς· ἔφη δὲ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀθάνατον, καὶ κινεῖσθαι αὐτὴν συνεχὲς ὡς τὸν ἥλιον.	about mortal things the gods have clear knowledge, but humans can only infer'," and so on. He also said that the soul is immortal and that it moves continuously, like the sun.

HIPPASUS

A Pythagorean of Metapontum who held that the universe is finite and always in motion.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
8.84	Ἵππασος Μεταποντῖνος καὶ αὐτὸς Πυθαγορικός. ἔφη δὲ χρόνον ὡρισμένον εἶναι τῆς τοῦ κόσμου μεταβολῆς καὶ πεπερασμένον εἶναι τὸ πᾶν καὶ ἀεικίνητον.	Hippasus of Metapontum was also a Pythagorean. He said that there is a fixed time for the change of the world-order, and that the universe is finite and always in motion.
	Φησὶ δ' αὐτὸν Δημήτριος ἐν Ὁμωνύμοις μηδὲν καταλιπεῖν σύγγραμμα. γεγόνασι δ' Ἵππασοι δύο, οὗτός τε καὶ ἕτερος γεγραφὼς ἐν πέντε βιβλίοις Λακώνων πολιτείαν· ἦν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Λάκων.	Demetrius, in his *Men of the Same Name*, says that he left no writings. There have been two men named Hippasus: this one, and another who wrote a *Constitution of the Spartans* in five books. That one was himself a Spartan.

PHILOLAUS

The Pythagorean whose book Plato is said to have bought, put to death on suspicion of tyranny.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Φιλόλαος Κροτωνιάτης Πυθαγορικός. παρὰ τούτου Πλάτων ὠνήσασθαι τὰ βιβλία τὰ Πυθαγορικὰ Δίωνι γράφει. ἐτελεύτα δὲ νομισθεὶς ἐπιτίθεσθαι τυραννίδι. καὶ ἡμῶν ἐστιν εἰς αὐτόν· τὴν ὑπόνοιαν πᾶσι μάλιστα λέγω θεραπεύειν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ μὴ δρᾷς, ἀλλὰ δοκεῖς, ἀτυχεῖς. οὕτω καὶ Φιλόλαον ἀνεῖλε Κρότων ποτὲ πάτρη, ὥς μιν ἔδοξε θέλειν δῶμα τύραννον ἔχειν.	Philolaus of Croton, a Pythagorean. It is from him that Plato, in a letter, asks Dion to buy the Pythagorean books. He was put to death when he was thought to be aiming at tyranny. There is a poem of mine on him: Above all, I say, everyone should guard against suspicion; for even if you are not doing it but seem to be, your luck is out. So Croton, his homeland, once killed Philolaus too, because it seemed he wanted a tyrant's house.
8.85	Δοκεῖ δ' αὐτῷ πάντα ἀνάγκῃ καὶ ἁρμονίᾳ γίνεσθαι. καὶ τὴν γῆν κινεῖσθαι κατὰ κύκλον πρῶτον εἰπεῖν· οἱ δ' Ἱκέταν ⟨τὸν⟩ Συρακόσιόν φασιν.	He held that all things come about through necessity and harmony. He is also said to have been the first to say that the earth moves in a circle, though others say it was Hicetas of Syracuse.
	Γέγραφε δὲ βιβλίον ἕν, ὅ φησιν Ἕρμιππος λέγειν τινὰ τῶν συγγραφέων Πλάτωνα τὸν φιλόσοφον παραγενόμενον εἰς Σικελίαν πρὸς Διονύσιον ὠνήσασθαι παρὰ τῶν συγγενῶν τοῦ Φιλολάου ἀργυρίου Ἀλεξανδρινῶν μνῶν τετταράκοντα καὶ ἐντεῦθεν μεταγεγραφέναι τὸν Τίμαιον. ἕτεροι δὲ λέγουσι τὸν Πλάτωνα λαβεῖν αὐτά, παρὰ Διονυσίου παραιτησάμενον ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς νεανίσκον ἀπηγμένον τῶν τοῦ Φιλολάου μαθητῶν.	He wrote one book. Hermippus says that, according to one of the writers, Plato the philosopher went to Sicily to visit Dionysius, bought this book from Philolaus' relatives for forty Alexandrian minas of silver, and from it copied out the *Timaeus*. Others say that Plato obtained the books by persuading Dionysius to release from prison a young man, one of Philolaus' pupils, who had been taken away there.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Τοῦτόν φησι Δημήτριος ἐν Ὁμωνύμοις πρῶτον ἐκδοῦναι τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν ⟨βιβλία καὶ ἐπιγράψαι⟩ Περὶ φύσεως, ὧν ἀρχὴ ἥδε· "ἁ φύσις δ' ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἁρμόχθη ἐξ ἀπείρων τε καὶ περαινόντων καὶ ὅλος ὁ κόσμος καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα."	Demetrius, in his *Men of the Same Name*, says that he was the first of the Pythagoreans to publish books and to give them the title *On Nature*. They begin like this: "Nature in the world-order was fitted together from things unlimited and things that limit, both the world-order as a whole and everything in it."

EUDOXUS

The astronomer of Cnidus: his studies in Athens and Egypt, his laws and his early death.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
8.86	Εὔδοξος Αἰσχίνου Κνίδιος, ἀστρολόγος, γεωμέτρης, ἰατρός, νομοθέτης. οὗτος τὰ μὲν γεωμετρικὰ Ἀρχύτα διήκουσε, τὰ δ' ἰατρικὰ Φιλιστίωνος τοῦ Σικελιώτου, καθὰ Καλλίμαχος ἐν τοῖς Πίναξί φησι. Σωτίων δ' ἐν ταῖς Διαδοχαῖς λέγει καὶ Πλάτωνος αὐτὸν ἀκοῦσαι. γενόμενον γὰρ ἐτῶν τριῶν που καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ στενῶς διακείμενον κατὰ κλέος τῶν Σωκρατικῶν εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀπᾶραι σὺν Θεομέδοντι τῷ ἰατρῷ, τρεφόμενον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· οἱ δέ, καὶ παιδικὰ ὄντα· καταχθέντα δ' εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ὁσημέραι ἀνιέναι Ἀθήναζε καὶ ἀκούσαντα τῶν σοφιστῶν αὐτόθι ὑποστρέφειν.	Eudoxus of Cnidus, son of Aeschines, was an astronomer, a geometer, a physician and a lawgiver. He studied geometry under Archytas and medicine under Philistion of Sicily, as Callimachus says in his *Tables*. Sotion, in his *Successions*, says that he also studied under Plato. When he was about twenty-three and short of money, he was drawn by the fame of the Socratics and set off for Athens with Theomedon the physician, who supported him; some say he was also Theomedon's beloved. After landing at the Piraeus, he went up to Athens every day, heard the sophists there and then came back.[29]
8.87	δύο δὴ μῆνας διατρίψαντα οἴκαδ' ἐπανελθεῖν καὶ πρὸς τῶν φίλων ἐρανισθέντα εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπᾶραι μετὰ Χρυσίππου τοῦ ἰατροῦ, συστατικὰς φέροντα παρ' Ἀγησιλάου πρὸς Νεκτάναβιν· τὸν δὲ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν αὐτὸν συστῆσαι. καὶ τέτταρας μῆνας πρὸς ἐνιαυτῷ διατρίψαντ' αὐτόθι ξυρόμενόν θ' ὑπήνην καὶ ὀφρὺν τὴν Ὀκταετηρίδα κατά τινας συγγράψαι. ἐντεῦθέν τε γενέσθαι ἐν Κυζίκῳ καὶ τῇ Προποντίδι σοφιστεύοντα· ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Μαυσωλὸν ἀφικέσθαι. ἔπειθ' οὕτως ἐπανελθεῖν Ἀθήναζε, πάνυ πολλοὺς περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔχοντα μαθητάς, ὥς φασί τινες, ὑπὲρ τοῦ Πλάτωνα λυπῆσαι, ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτὸν παρεπέμψατο.	After spending two months there, he went back home. His friends took up a collection for him, and he set off for Egypt with Chrysippus the physician, carrying letters of introduction from Agesilaus to Nectanabis, who recommended him to the priests. He stayed there a year and four months, with his beard and eyebrows shaved, and according to some he wrote his *Octaëteris* there. From there he went to Cyzicus and the Propontis, where he worked as a sophist; he also visited Mausolus. Then he returned to Athens with a great many pupils around him, in order, as some say, to vex Plato, because Plato had passed him over at first.[30]
8.88	τινὲς δέ φασι καὶ συμπόσιον ἔχοντι τῷ Πλάτωνι αὐτὸν τὴν ἡμικύκλιον κατάκλισιν, πολλῶν ὄντων, εἰσηγήσασθαι. φησὶ δ' αὐτὸν Νικόμαχος ὁ Ἀριστοτέλους τὴν ἡδονὴν λέγειν τὸ ἀγαθόν. ἀπεδέχθη δὴ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι μεγαλοτίμως, ὡς τό γε περὶ αὐτοῦ ψήφισμα γενόμενον δηλοῖ. ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπιφανέστατος	Some say that when Plato was giving a symposium with many guests, Eudoxus introduced the arrangement of couches in a semicircle. Nicomachus, Aristotle's son, says that he said pleasure was the good. He was received in his native city with great honor, as the decree passed

29 Callimachus' *Tables* (*Pinakes*) was his catalogue of the authors and works in the Library of Alexandria.
30 The *Octaëteris* set out an eight-year cycle for bringing the lunar months into line with the solar year.

GREEK

ἐγένετο, γράψας τοῖς ἰδίοις πολίταις νόμους, ὥς φησιν Ἕρμιππος ἐν τετάρτῃ Περὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν, καὶ ἀστρολογούμενα καὶ γεωμετρούμενα καὶ ἕτερ' ἄττα ἀξιόλογα.

Ἔσχε δὲ καὶ θυγατέρας τρεῖς, Ἀκτίδα, Φιλτίδα, Δελφίδα. [89] φησὶ δ' αὐτὸν Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν τοῖς Πρὸς Βάτωνα καὶ Κυνῶν διαλόγους συνθεῖναι· οἱ δέ, γεγραφέναι μὲν Αἰγυπτίους τῇ αὐτῶν φωνῇ, τοῦτον δὲ μεθερμηνεύσαντα ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς Ἕλλησι. τούτου διήκουσε Χρύσιππος ὁ Ἐρίνεω Κνίδιος τά τε περὶ θεῶν καὶ κόσμου καὶ τῶν μετεωρολογουμένων, τὰ δ' ἰατρικὰ παρὰ Φιλιστίωνος τοῦ Σικελιώτου.

8.89 Κατέλιπε δὲ καὶ ὑπομνήματα κάλλιστα. τούτου γέγονε παῖς Ἀρισταγόρας, οὗ Χρύσιππος Ἀεθλίου μαθητής, οὗ τὰ θεραπεύματα φέρεται ὁρατικά, τῶν φυσικῶν θεωρημάτων [τῶν] ὑπὸ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ πεσόντων.

8.90 Γεγόνασι δ' Εὔδοξοι τρεῖς· αὐτὸς οὗτος, ἕτερος Ῥόδιος ἱστορίας γεγραφώς, τρίτος Σικελιώτης παῖς Ἀγαθοκλέους, ποιητὴς κωμωδίας, νικας ἑλὼν ἀστικὰς μὲν τρεῖς, Ληναϊκὰς δὲ πέντε, καθά φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς. εὑρίσκομεν δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἰατρὸν Κνίδιον, περὶ οὗ φησιν Εὔδοξος ἐν Γῆς περιόδῳ ὡς εἴη παραγγέλλων ἀεὶ συνεχὲς κινεῖν τὰ ἄρθρα πάσῃ γυμνασίᾳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ὁμοίως.

Ὁ δ' αὐτός φησι τὸν Κνίδιον Εὔδοξον ἀκμάσαι κατὰ τὴν τρίτην καὶ ἑκατοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα, εὑρεῖν τε τὰ περὶ τὰς καμπύλας γραμμάς. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ τρίτον ἄγων καὶ πεντηκοστὸν ἔτος. ὅτε δὲ συνεγένετο ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Χονούφιδι τῷ Ἡλιουπολίτῃ, ὁ Ἆπις αὐτοῦ θοἰμάτιον περιελιχμήσατο. ἔνδοξον οὖν αὐτὸν ἀλλ' ὀλιγοχρόνιον ἔφασαν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἔσεσθαι, καθά φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Ἀπομνημονεύμασιν.

8.91 Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχον· ἐν Μέμφει λόγος
ἐστὶν προμαθεῖν τὴν ἰδίην
Εὔδοξόν ποτε μοῖραν παρὰ τοῦ καλλικέρω
ταύρου. κοὐδὲν ἔλεξεν· βοῒ γὰρ πόθεν λόγος;
φύσις οὐκ ἔδωκε μόσχῳ λάλον Ἄπιδι στόμα.

ENGLISH

about him shows. He also became very famous among the Greeks, both for writing laws for his own fellow citizens, as Hermippus says in the fourth book of his *On the Seven Sages*, and for works on astronomy and geometry and some other noteworthy things.

He also had three daughters, Actis, Philtis and Delphis. [89] Eratosthenes, in his *To Baton*, says that he also composed *Dialogues of Dogs*. Others say that these were written by Egyptians in their own language, and that he translated them and published them for the Greeks. Chrysippus of Cnidus, son of Erineus, studied under him the subjects of the gods, the world-order and celestial phenomena, and studied medicine under Philistion of Sicily.

He also left some excellent writings. He had a son, Aristagoras, whose son Chrysippus was a pupil of Aethlius. To this Chrysippus are attributed treatments for the eyes, since questions of natural science came within the range of his thought.

There have been three men named Eudoxus: this one himself; another, from Rhodes, who wrote histories; and a third, a Sicilian Greek, son of Agathocles, a comic poet, who won three victories at the City Dionysia and five at the Lenaea, as Apollodorus says in his *Chronicles*. We also find another physician from Cnidus. Eudoxus says of him in his *Tour of the Earth* that he always advised keeping the joints in constant motion with every kind of exercise, and the senses likewise.[31]

The same writer says that Eudoxus of Cnidus flourished in the 103rd Olympiad and that he discovered the properties of curved lines. He died in his fifty-third year. When he was in Egypt with Chonuphis of Heliopolis, the Apis bull licked his cloak all round. The priests therefore said that he would be famous but short-lived, as Favorinus says in his *Memoirs*.[32]

There is also a poem of mine on him, which goes like this: In Memphis the story goes that Eudoxus
once learned in advance his own
fate from the fair-horned
bull. It said nothing—for where would an ox get

31 The City Dionysia and the Lenaea were the two Athenian festivals at which comedies competed.
32 The Apis was the sacred bull worshipped at Memphis; the 103rd Olympiad is 368–365 BC.

GREEK	ENGLISH
παρὰ δ' αὐτὸν λέχριος στὰς ἐλιχμήσατο στολήν, προφανῶς τοῦτο διδάσκων, Ἀποδύσῃ βιοτὴν ὅσον οὔπω. διὸ καί οἱ ταχέως ἦλθε μόρος, δεκάκις πέντ' ἐπὶ τρισσαῖς ἐσιδόντι Πλειάδας.	speech? Nature gave the calf Apis no chattering mouth. But standing sideways beside him it licked his robe, plainly teaching this: you will strip off life very soon. And so his fate came quickly, when he had seen the Pleiades ten times five, and three times more.[33]
Τοῦτον ἀντὶ Εὐδόξου Ἔνδοξον ἐκάλουν διὰ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῆς φήμης.	Because of the brilliance of his fame, people called him Endoxus ("famous") instead of Eudoxus.
Ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐλλογίμων Πυθαγορικῶν διεληλύθαμεν, νῦν ἤδη περὶ τῶν σποράδην, ὥς φασι, διαλεχθῶμεν· λεκτέον δὲ πρῶτον περὶ Ἡρακλείτου.	Now that we have gone through the notable Pythagoreans, let us next discuss the "scattered" philosophers, as they are called. We must speak first about Heraclitus.[34]

33 "Strip off" (*apodyesthai*, used of taking off clothes) picks up the bull licking his robe: Eudoxus will shed his life like a garment.
34 The "scattered" philosophers are those who did not belong to any established succession of teachers.

Book 9

Heraclitus to the Skeptics
Heraclitus, Xenophanes, the Eleatics, the atomists, Protagoras; Pyrrho and Timon.

HERACLITUS

The proud and obscure Ephesian: his sayings, his contempt for his city, and his death from dropsy.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
9.1	Ἡράκλειτος Βλόσωνος ἤ, ὥς τινες, Ἡράκωντος Ἐφέσιος. οὗτος ἤκμαζε μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἐνάτην καὶ ἑξηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα. μεγαλόφρ ων δὲ γέγονε παρ᾽ ὀντιναοῦ καὶ ὑπερόπτης, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ συγγράμματος αὐτοῦ δῆλον, ἐν ᾧ φησι, “πολυμαθίη νόον οὐ διδάσκει· Ἡσίοδον γὰρ ἂν ἐδίδαξε καὶ Πυθαγόρην, αὖτίς τε Ξενοφάνεά τε καὶ Ἑκαταῖον.” εἶναι γὰρ “ἓν τὸ σοφόν, ἐπίστασθαι γνώμην, ὁτέη ἐκυβέρνησε πάντα διὰ πάντων.” τόν τε Ὅμηρον ἔφασκεν ἄξιον ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων ἐκβάλλεσθαι καὶ ῥαπίζεσθαι, καὶ Ἀρχίλοχον ὁμοίως.	Heraclitus, son of Bloson or, as some say, of Heracon, was from Ephesus. He flourished in the 69th Olympiad. He was proud and disdainful beyond anyone else, as is clear from his book too, in which he says: “Much learning does not teach sense; otherwise it would have taught Hesiod and Pythagoras, and Xenophanes and Hecataeus as well.” For “the wise is one thing: to know the thought by which all things are steered through all.” He used to say that Homer deserved to be thrown out of the contests and flogged, and Archilochus likewise.[1]
9.2	Ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ “ὕβριν χρὴ σβεννύναι μᾶλλον ἢ πυρκαϊὴν” καὶ “μάχεσθαι χρὴ τὸν δῆμον ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου ὅκωσπερ τείχεος.” καθάπτεται δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἐφεσίων ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν ἑταῖρον ἐκβαλεῖν Ἑρμόδωρον, ἐν οἷς φησιν, “ἄξιον Ἐφεσίοις ἡβηδὸν ἀποθανεῖν πᾶσι καὶ τοῖς ἀνήβοις τὴν πόλιν καταλιπεῖν, οἵτινες Ἑρμόδωρον ἄνδρα ἑωυτῶν ὀνήιστον ἐξέβαλον λέγοντες, Ἡμέων μηδὲ εἷς ὀνήιστος ἔστω· εἰ δέ τις τοιοῦτος, ἄλλῃ τε καὶ μετ᾽ ἄλλων.” ἀξιούμενος δὲ καὶ νόμους θεῖναι πρὸς αὐτῶν ὑπερεῖδε διὰ τὸ ἤδη κεκρατῆσθαι τῇ πονηρᾷ πολιτείᾳ τὴν πόλιν. [3] ἀναχωρήσας δ᾽ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος μετὰ τῶν παίδων ἠστραγάλιζε· περιστάντων δ᾽ αὐτὸν τῶν Ἐφεσίων, “τί, ὦ κάκιστοι, θαυμάζετε;” εἶπεν· “ἢ οὐ κρεῖττον τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἢ μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν πολιτεύεσθαι;”	He also said, “Insolence must be put out sooner than a blaze,” and “The people must fight for the law as for their city wall.” He attacks the Ephesians, too, for banishing his friend Hermodorus, in the passage where he says: “The Ephesians would deserve to die, every grown man of them, and leave their city to the boys, since they banished Hermodorus, the most useful man among them, saying, ‘Let not one of us be the most useful; and if anyone is, let him be so elsewhere and among others.’” When they asked him to draw up laws for them, he disdained the request, because the city was already in the grip of its bad constitution. [3] He withdrew to the temple of Artemis and played knucklebones with the boys; and when the Ephesians gathered round him, he said, “Why are you staring, you scoundrels? Isn’t this better than taking part in politics with you?”
9.3	Καὶ τέλος μισανθρωπήσας καὶ ἐκπατήσας ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι διητᾶτο, πόας σιτούμενος καὶ βοτάνας. καὶ μέντοι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο περιτραπεὶς εἰς ὕδερον κατῆλθεν εἰς ἄστυ καὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν αἰνιγματωδῶς ἐπυνθάνετο εἰ δύναιντ᾽ ἐξ	In the end he came to hate humankind, left the city and lived in the mountains, eating grasses and herbs. Precisely because of this he fell ill with dropsy. He came back down to the town and asked

1 The 69th Olympiad is 504–501 BC.

GREEK	ENGLISH
ἐπομβρίας αὐχμὸν ποιῆσαι· τῶν δὲ μὴ συνιέντων, αὐτὸν εἰς βουστάσιον κατορύξας τῇ τῶν βολίτων ἀλέᾳ ἤλπισεν ἐξατμισθήσεσθαι. οὐδὲν δ' ἀνύων οὐδ' οὕτως, ἐτελεύτα βιοὺς ἔτη ἑξήκοντα.	the doctors, in a riddle, whether they could turn a rainstorm into a drought. When they did not understand, he buried himself in a cowshed, hoping that the warmth of the dung would make the water evaporate out of him. Getting nowhere even so, he died at the age of sixty.
9.4 Καὶ ἔστιν εἰς αὐτὸν ἡμῶν οὕτως ἔχον· πολλάκις Ἡράκλειτον ἐθαύμασα, πῶς ποτε τὸ ζῆν ὧδε διαντλήσας δύσμορος εἶτ' ἔθανεν· σῶμα γὰρ ἀρδεύσασα κακὴ νόσος ὕδατι φέγγος ἔσβεσεν ἐν βλεφάροις καὶ σκότον ἠγάγετο.	My own poem on him goes like this: Often I have wondered how Heraclitus, after bailing out his life so to the end, poor wretch, then died: for a cruel disease flooded his body with water, quenched the light in his eyes and brought on darkness.[2]
Ἕρμιππος δέ φησι λέγειν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἰατροῖς εἴ τις δύναται ⟨τὰ⟩ ἔντερα κεινώσας τὸ ὑγρὸν ἐξερᾶσαι· ἀπειπόντων δέ, θεῖναι αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν ἥλιον καὶ κελεύειν τοὺς παῖδας βολίτοις καταπλάττειν· οὕτω δὴ κατατεινόμενον δευτεραῖον τελευτῆσαι καὶ θαφθῆναι ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ. Νεάνθης δ' ὁ Κυζικηνός φησι μὴ δυνηθέντ' αὐτὸν ἀποσπάσαι τὰ βόλιτα μεῖναι καὶ διὰ τὴν μεταβολὴν ἀγνοηθέντα κυνόβρωτον γενέσθαι.	Hermippus says that he asked the doctors whether anyone could empty his intestines and draw off the fluid; and when they said no, he put himself in the sun and told the boys to plaster him with cow dung. Stretched out like this, he died on the second day and was buried in the marketplace. Neanthes of Cyzicus says that he could not tear the dung off, so he stayed as he was, and, unrecognizable because of the change, was eaten by dogs.
9.5 Γέγονε δὲ θαυμάσιος ἐκ παίδων, ὅτε καὶ νέος ὢν ἔφασκε μηδὲν εἰδέναι, τέλειος μέντοι γενόμενος πάντ' ἐγνωκέναι. ἤκουσέ τ' οὐδενός, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἔφη διζήσασθαι καὶ μαθεῖν πάντα παρ' ἑαυτοῦ. Σωτίων δέ φησιν εἰρηκέναι τινὰς Ξενοφάνους αὐτὸν ἀκηκοέναι· λέγειν τε Ἀρίστωνα ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἡρακλείτου καὶ τὸν ὕδερον αὐτὸν θεραπευθῆναι, ἀποθανεῖν δ' ἄλλῃ νόσῳ. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ Ἱππόβοτός φησι.	He was remarkable from childhood: when he was young he used to say that he knew nothing, but once he was grown that he knew everything. He studied under no one, but said he had searched himself and learned everything from himself. Sotion says that some have said he studied under Xenophanes; and that Ariston, in his *On Heraclitus*, says he was even cured of his dropsy and died of another disease. Hippobotus says this too.
Τὸ δὲ φερόμενον αὐτοῦ βιβλίον ἐστὶ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ συνέχοντος Περὶ φύσεως, διῄρηται δ' εἰς τρεῖς λόγους, εἵς τε τὸν περὶ τοῦ παντὸς καὶ πολιτικὸν καὶ θεολογικόν. [6] ἀνέθηκε δ' αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν, ὡς μέν τινες, ἐπιτηδεύσας ἀσαφέστερον γράψαι, ὅπως οἱ δυνάμενοι ⟨μόνοι⟩ προσίοιεν αὐτῷ καὶ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ δημώδους εὐκαταφρόνητον ᾖ. τοῦτον δὲ καὶ ὁ Τίμων ὑπογράφει λέγων, τοῖς δ' ἔνι κοκκυστής, ὀχλολοίδορος Ἡράκλειτος, αἰνικτὴς ἀνόρουσε.	The book that circulates under his name is called *On Nature* after its general subject, and it is divided into three discourses: on the universe, on politics, and on theology. [6] He dedicated it in the temple of Artemis, having deliberately, as some say, written it rather obscurely, so that only the capable would approach it and it would not be easily scorned through being popular. Timon too sketches him, saying: Among them rose up the cuckoo-crier, the mob-abuser, Heraclitus the riddler.
9.6 Θεόφραστος δέ φησιν ὑπὸ μελαγχολίας τὰ μὲν ἡμιτελῆ, τὰ δ' ἄλλοτ' ἄλλως ἔχοντα γράψαι. σημεῖον δ' αὐτοῦ τῆς μεγαλοφροσύνης Ἀντισθένης φησὶν ἐν Διαδοχαῖς· ἐκχωρῆσαι γὰρ τἀδελφῷ τῆς βασιλείας. τοσαύτην δὲ	Theophrastus says that because of melancholy he left some things half-finished and wrote others now one way, now another. Antisthenes in his *Successions* gives as a sign of his loftiness of mind that

2 The joke turns on διαντλεῖν, "to bail out" and also "to endure to the end", apt for a man who died of water.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	δόξαν ἔσχε τὸ σύγγραμμα ὡς καὶ αἱρετιστὰς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι τοὺς κληθέντας Ἡρακλειτείους.	he gave up the kingship to his brother. His book won such fame that it even produced followers, the so-called Heracliteans.[3]

HERACLITUS' DOCTRINES

Fire as the element, the flux of all things, the ways up and down, and the letters with Darius.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
9.7	Ἐδόκει δ' αὐτῷ καθολικῶς μὲν τάδε· ἐκ πυρὸς τὰ πάντα συνεστάναι καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ἀναλύεσθαι· πάντα δὲ γίνεσθαι καθ' εἱμαρμένην καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐναντιοδρομίας ἡρμόσθαι τὰ ὄντα· καὶ πάντα ψυχῶν εἶναι καὶ δαιμόνων πλήρη. εἴρηκε δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ συνισταμένων πάντων παθῶν, ὅτι τε ὁ ἥλιός ἐστι τὸ μέγεθος οἷος φαίνεται. λέγεται δὲ καὶ "ψυχῆς πείρατα ἰὼν οὐκ ἂν ἐξεύροιο, πᾶσαν ἐπιπορευόμενος ὁδόν· οὕτω βαθὺν λόγον ἔχει." τήν τ' οἴησιν ἱερὰν νόσον ἔλεγε καὶ τὴν ὅρασιν ψεύδεσθαι. λαμπρῶς τ' ἐνίοτε ἐν τῷ συγγράμματι καὶ σαφῶς ἐκβάλλει, ὥστε καὶ τὸν νωθέστατον ῥᾳδίως γνῶναι καὶ δίαρμα ψυχῆς λαβεῖν· ἥ τε βραχύτης καὶ τὸ βάρος τῆς ἑρμηνείας ἀσύγκριτον.	His views, in general, were these. All things are composed of fire and are resolved into it. Everything happens by fate, and the things that exist are fitted together through the running of opposites against each other. And all things are full of souls and divine beings. He also spoke about all the phenomena that arise in the world-order, and said that the sun is the size it appears. He is also quoted as saying: "You could not find the limits of the soul by traveling, though you walked every road: so deep is its account." He used to call conceit a sacred disease, and said that sight is deceptive. Sometimes in his book he throws out something brilliant and clear, so that even the dullest can easily grasp it and feel his soul lifted; and the brevity and weight of his expression are beyond compare.[4]
9.8	Καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ μέρους δὲ αὐτῷ ὧδ' ἔχει τῶν δογμάτων· πῦρ εἶναι στοιχεῖον καὶ πυρὸς ἀμοιβὴν τὰ πάντα, ἀραιώσει καὶ πυκνώσει γινόμενα. σαφῶς δ' οὐδὲν ἐκτίθεται. γίνεσθαί τε πάντα κατ' ἐναντιότητα καὶ ῥεῖν τὰ ὅλα ποταμοῦ δίκην, πεπεράνθαι τε τὸ πᾶν καὶ ἕνα εἶναι κόσμον· γεννᾶσθαί τε αὐτὸν ἐκ πυρὸς καὶ πάλιν ἐκπυροῦσθαι κατά τινας περιόδους ἐναλλὰξ τὸν σύμπαντα αἰῶνα· τοῦτο δὲ γίνεσθαι καθ' εἱμαρμένην. τῶν δὲ ἐναντίων τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν γένεσιν ἄγον καλεῖσθαι πόλεμον καὶ ἔριν, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν ὁμολογίαν καὶ εἰρήνην, καὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν ὁδὸν ἄνω κάτω, τόν τε κόσμον γίνεσθαι κατ' αὐτήν.	His particular doctrines are as follows. He held that fire is the element, and that all things are an exchange for fire, coming to be by rarefaction and condensation. But he sets out nothing clearly. He held that all things come to be through opposition and that the whole flows like a river; that the universe is limited and there is a single world-order; that it is born from fire and turned back into fire again, alternately, at certain periods through all eternity; and that this happens by fate. Of the opposites, he said, the one that leads to coming-to-be is called war and strife, and the one that leads to the conflagration is called agreement and peace; change is a way up and down, and the world-order comes to be in accordance with it.
9.9	Πυκνούμενον γὰρ τὸ πῦρ ἐξυγραίνεσθαι συνιστάμενόν τε γίνεσθαι ὕδωρ, πηγνύμενον δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς γῆν τρέπεσθαι· καὶ ταύτην ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὸ κάτω εἶναι. πάλιν τε αὖ τὴν γῆν χεῖσθαι, ἐξ ἧς τὸ ὕδωρ γίνεσθαι, ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰ λοιπά, σχεδὸν πάντα ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναθυμίασιν ἀνάγων τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς	For fire, he held, when condensed, becomes moist, and as it is compacted it becomes water; and water, when it solidifies, turns into earth; and this is the way down. Then again earth is liquefied, and from it water comes, and from water everything

3 This is Antisthenes of Rhodes, a historian, not the Socratic philosopher.
4 The "sacred disease" was the Greek name for epilepsy.

GREEK

θαλάττης· αὕτη δέ ἐστιν ἡ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄνω ὁδός. γίνεσθαι δ' ἀναθυμιάσεις ἀπό τε γῆς καὶ θαλάττης, ἃς μὲν λαμπρὰς καὶ καθαράς, ἃς δὲ σκοτεινάς. αὔξεσθαι δὲ τὸ μὲν πῦρ ὑπὸ τῶν λαμπρῶν, τὸ δὲ ὑγρὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἑτέρων. τὸ δὲ περιέχον ὁποῖόν ἐστιν οὐ δηλοῖ·

εἶναι μέντοι ἐν αὐτῷ σκάφας ἐπεστραμμένας κατὰ κοῖλον πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἐν αἷς ἀθροιζομένας τὰς λαμπρὰς ἀναθυμιάσεις ἀποτελεῖν φλόγας, ἃς εἶναι τὰ ἄστρα. [10] λαμπροτάτην δὲ εἶναι τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου φλόγα καὶ θερμοτάτην. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα ἄστρα πλεῖον ἀπέχειν ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἧττον λάμπειν καὶ θάλπειν, τὴν δὲ σελήνην προσγειοτέραν οὖσαν μὴ διὰ τοῦ καθαροῦ φέρεσθαι τόπου. τὸν μέντοι ἥλιον ἐν διαυγεῖ καὶ ἀμιγεῖ κινεῖσθαι καὶ σύμμετρον ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἔχειν διάστημα· τοιγάρτοι μᾶλλον θερμαίνειν τε καὶ φωτίζειν. ἐκλείπειν τε ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην, ἄνω στρεφομένων τῶν σκαφῶν· τούς τε κατὰ μῆνα τῆς σελήνης σχηματισμοὺς γίνεσθαι στρεφομένης ἐν αὐτῇ κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς σκάφης.

9.10 ἡμέραν τε καὶ νύκτα γίνεσθαι καὶ μῆνας καὶ ὥρας ἐτείους καὶ ἐνιαυτοὺς ὑετούς τε καὶ πνεύματα καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια κατὰ τὰς διαφόρους ἀναθυμιάσεις. [11] τὴν μὲν γὰρ λαμπρὰν ἀναθυμίασιν φλογωθεῖσαν ἐν τῷ κύκλῳ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέραν ποιεῖν, τὴν δὲ ἐναντίαν ἐπικρατήσασαν νύκτ' ἀποτελεῖν· καὶ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ λαμπροῦ τὸ θερμὸν αὐξόμενον θέρος ποιεῖν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ σκοτεινοῦ τὸ ὑγρὸν πλεονάζον χειμῶνα ἀπεργάζεσθαι. ἀκολούθως δὲ τούτοις καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰτιολογεῖ. περὶ δὲ τῆς γῆς οὐδὲν ἀποφαίνεται ποία τίς ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν σκαφῶν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ δοκοῦντα.

9.11 Τὰ δὲ περὶ Σωκράτους καὶ ὅσα ἐντυχὼν τῷ συγγράμματι εἶποι, κομίσαντος Εὐριπίδου, καθά φησιν Ἀρίστων, ἐν τῷ περὶ Σωκράτους εἰρήκαμεν. [12] Σέλευκος μέντοι φησὶν ὁ γραμματικὸς Κρότωνά τινα ἱστορεῖν ἐν τῷ Κατακολυμβητῇ Κράτητά τινα πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κομίσαι τὸ βιβλίον· ⟨ὃν⟩ καὶ εἰπεῖν Δηλίου τινὸς δεῖσθαι κολυμβητοῦ, ὃς οὐκ ἀποπνιγήσεται ἐν αὐτῷ. ἐπιγράφουσι δ' αὐτῷ οἱ μὲν Μούσας, οἱ δὲ Περὶ φύσεως, Διόδοτος δὲ ἀκριβὲς οἰάκισμα πρὸς σταθμὴν βίου, ἄλλοι γνώμον' ἠθῶν, ⟨τοῦ θ' ὅλου⟩ κόσμου τρόπιν ἑνός τε ξυμπάντων τε. φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν ἐρωτηθέντα διὰ τί σιωπᾷ, φάναι "ἵν' ὑμεῖς λαλῆτε." ἐπόθησε δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Δαρεῖος μετασχεῖν καὶ ἔγραψεν ὧδε πρὸς αὐτόν·

ENGLISH

else—he refers almost everything to the exhalation from the sea; and this is the way up. Exhalations arise from both earth and sea, some bright and pure, others dark. Fire is increased by the bright ones, moisture by the others. What the surrounding region is like, he does not make clear;

he does say, though, that there are bowls in it, turned with their hollow side toward us, in which the bright exhalations gather and produce flames, and these are the stars. [10] The brightest and hottest flame is the sun's. The other stars, he says, are farther from the earth and so shine and warm less; the moon, being nearer the earth, does not travel through the pure region. The sun, however, moves in a clear and unmixed region and is at a well-proportioned distance from us; that is why it gives more heat and light. The sun and moon are eclipsed when the bowls turn upward; and the moon's monthly phases occur as its bowl gradually turns round in place.

Day and night, months, seasons and years, rains, winds and the like, he held, arise from the differing exhalations. [11] The bright exhalation, set aflame in the circle of the sun, makes day; the opposite one, when it prevails, produces night. The heat increasing from the bright exhalation makes summer, and the moisture predominating from the dark one brings about winter. He gives the causes of everything else in line with this. About the earth he declares nothing as to what it is like, nor about the bowls either. These, then, were his views.

The story about Socrates—what he said when he came across the book, which Euripides had brought him, according to Ariston—I have told in the life of Socrates. [12] Seleucus the grammarian, however, says that a certain Croton relates in his *The Diver* that a certain Crates first brought the book to Greece, and that he said it needed a Delian diver not to drown in it. Some give it the title *Muses*, others *On Nature*; Diodotus calls it *A Precise Helm for Keeping Life Straight*; others, *A Guide to Character, the Keel of the Whole World-Order, One and the Same for All*. They say that, when asked why he kept silent, he replied, "So that you can chatter." Darius too longed to share his company, and wrote to him as follows:[5]

GREEK

9.13 "Βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος πατρὸς Ὑστάσπεω Ἡράκλειτον Ἐφέσιον σοφὸν ἄνδρα προσαγορεύει χαίρειν.

"Καταβέβλησαι λόγον Περὶ φύσεως δυσνόητόν τε καὶ δυσεξήγητον. ἔν τισι μὲν οὖν ἑρμηνευόμενος κατὰ λέξιν σὴν δοκεῖ δύναμίν τινα περιέχειν θεωρίας κόσμου τε τοῦ σύμπαντος καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτῳ γινομένων, ἅπερ ἐστὶν ἐν θειοτάτῃ κείμενα κινήσει· τῶν δὲ πλείστων ἐποχὴν ἔχοντα, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον μετεσχηκότας συγγραμμάτων διαπορεῖσθαι τῆς ὀρθῆς δοκούσης γεγράφθαι παρὰ σοὶ ἐξηγήσεως. βασιλεὺς οὖν Δαρεῖος Ὑστάσπου βούλεται τῆς σῆς ἀκροάσεως μετασχεῖν καὶ παιδείας Ἑλληνικῆς. ἔρχου δὴ συντόμως πρὸς ἐμὴν ὄψιν καὶ βασίλειον οἶκον.

9.14 Ἕλληνες γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἀνεπισήμαντοι σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὄντες παρορῶσι τὰ καλῶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐνδεικνύμενα πρὸς σπουδαίαν ἀκοὴν καὶ μάθησιν. παρ' ἐμοὶ δ' ὑπάρχει σοι πᾶσα μὲν προεδρία, καθ' ἡμέραν δὲ καλὴ καὶ σπουδαία προσαγόρευσις καὶ βίος εὐδόκιμος σαῖς παραινέσεσιν."

"'Ηράκλειτος Ἐφέσιος βασιλεῖ Δαρείῳ πατρὸς Ὑστάσπεω χαίρειν.

"'Οκόσοι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες ἐπιχθόνιοι τῆς μὲν ἀληθηίης καὶ δικαιοπραγμοσύνης ἀπέχονται, ἀπληστίῃ δὲ καὶ δοξοκοπίῃ προσέχουσι κακῆς ἕνεκα ἀνοίης. ἐγὼ δ' ἀμνηστίην ἔχων πάσης πονηρίης καὶ κόρον φεύγων παντὸς οἰκειούμενον φθόνῳ καὶ διὰ τὸ περιίστασθαι ὑπερηφανίην οὐκ ἂν ἀφικοίμην εἰς Περσῶν χώρην, ὀλίγοις ἀρκεόμενος κατ' ἐμὴν γνώμην."

Τοιοῦτος μὲν ἀνὴρ καὶ πρὸς βασιλέα.

15 Δημήτριος δέ φησιν ἐν τοῖς Ὁμωνύμοις καὶ Ἀθηναίων αὐτὸν ὑπερφρονῆσαι, δόξαν ἔχοντα παμπλείστην, καταφρονούμενόν τε ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐφεσίων ἑλέσθαι μᾶλλον τὰ οἰκεῖα. μέμνηται αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος ἐν τῇ Σωκράτους ἀπολογίᾳ. πλεῖστοί τέ εἰσιν ὅσοι ἐξήγηνται αὐτοῦ τὸ σύγγραμμα· καὶ γὰρ Ἀντισθένης καὶ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς Κλεάνθης τε καὶ Σφαῖρος ὁ Στωικός, πρὸς δὲ Παυσανίας ὁ κληθεὶς Ἡρακλειτιστής, Νικομήδης τε καὶ Διονύσιος· τῶν δὲ γραμματικῶν Διόδοτος, ὃς οὔ φησι περὶ φύσεως εἶναι τὸ σύγγραμμα, ἀλλὰ περὶ πολιτείας, τὸ δὲ περὶ φύσεως ἐν παραδείγματος εἴδει κεῖσθαι.

ENGLISH

"King Darius, son of Hystaspes, to Heraclitus of Ephesus, wise man: greetings.

"You have produced a discourse *On Nature* that is hard to understand and hard to interpret. In some places, if it is interpreted word by word, it seems to contain a certain power of contemplating the whole universe and what happens in it, things that rest on the most divine motion. But most of it calls for suspension of judgment, so that even those who have read most widely in books are at a loss about the correct interpretation of what you seem to have written. So King Darius, son of Hystaspes, wishes to share in hearing you and in Greek education. Come quickly, then, to see me at my royal palace.

For the Greeks, for the most part, give their wise men no recognition and overlook what they have rightly shown, though it deserves serious hearing and study. With me you will have every place of honor, noble and earnest conversation every day, and a life held in esteem for your counsels."

"Heraclitus of Ephesus to King Darius, son of Hystaspes: greetings.

"All who live on earth keep away from truth and just dealing, and devote themselves to greed and the pursuit of fame out of wretched folly. But I, forgetting all wickedness, shunning the surfeit that everywhere goes with envy, and steering clear of arrogance, would not come to the land of the Persians; I am content with little, as suits my mind."

Such was the man, even toward a king.

15 Demetrius, in his *Men of the Same Name*, says that he looked down even on the Athenians, though he had a very great reputation among them, and that, though scorned by the Ephesians, he preferred his own city. Demetrius of Phalerum also mentions him in his *Defense of Socrates*. A great many have written commentaries on his book: Antisthenes, Heraclides of Pontus, Cleanthes and Sphaerus the Stoic, as well as Pausanias, called the Heraclitist, Nicomedes and Dionysius; and among the grammarians Diodotus, who says that the book is not about nature but about politics, and

5 A "Delian diver" was proverbial for an expert able to reach the bottom of anything; in 2.22 the same quip is given to Socrates.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		that the part about nature is there by way of illustration.
9.16	Ἱερώνυμος δέ φησι καὶ Σκυθῖνον τὸν τῶν ἰάμβων ποιητὴν ἐπιβαλέσθαι τὸν ἐκείνου λόγον διὰ μέτρου ἐκβάλλειν. πολλά τ' εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπιγράμματα φέρεται, ἀτὰρ δὴ καὶ τόδε· Ἡράκλειτος ἐγώ· τί μ' ἄνω κάτω ἕλκετ' ἄμουσοι; οὐχ ὑμῖν ἐπόνουν, τοῖς δ' ἔμ' ἐπισταμένοις. εἷς ἐμοὶ ἄνθρωπος τρισμύριοι, οἱ δ' ἀνάριθμοι οὐδείς. ταῦτ' αὐδῶ καὶ παρὰ Φερσεφόνῃ. καὶ ἄλλο τοιόνδε· μὴ ταχὺς Ἡρακλείτου ἐπ' ὀμφαλὸν εἴλεε βίβλον τοὐφεσίου· μάλα τοι δύσβατος ἀτραπιτός. ὀρφνὴ καὶ σκότος ἐστὶν ἀλάμπετον· ἢν δέ σε μύστης εἰσαγάγῃ, φανεροῦ λαμπρότερ' ἠελίου.	Hieronymus says that Scythinus, the writer of iambic verse, also undertook to put his account into verse. Many epigrams on him are in circulation, among them this one: I am Heraclitus. Why do you drag me up and down, you boors? I did not toil for you, but for those who understand me. One man to me is thirty thousand; the countless crowd is nobody. This I proclaim even in Persephone's presence. And another like this: Don't be quick to unroll the book of Heraclitus of Ephesus to the end: the path is very hard to tread. Gloom is there, and darkness without light; but if an initiate leads you in, it is brighter than the shining sun.
9.17	Γεγόνασι δ' Ἡράκλειτοι πέντε· πρῶτος αὐτὸς οὗτος· δεύτερος ποιητὴς λυρικός, οὗ ἐστι τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν ἐγκώμιον· τρίτος ἐλεγείας ποιητὴς Ἁλικαρνασσεύς, εἰς ὃν Καλλίμαχος πεποίηκεν οὕτως· εἶπέ τις, Ἡράκλειτε, τεὸν μόρον, ἐς δ' ἐμὲ δάκρυ ἤγαγεν, ἐμνήσθην δ' ὁσσάκις ἀμφότεροι ἥλιον ἐν λέσχῃ κατεδύσαμεν. ἀλλὰ σὺ μέν που, ξεῖν' Ἁλικαρνασσεῦ, τετράπαλαι σποδιή, αἱ δὲ τεαὶ ζώουσιν ἀηδόνες, ἦσιν ὁ πάντων ἁρπάκτης Ἀΐδης οὐκ ἐπὶ χεῖρα βαλεῖ. τέταρτος Λέσβιος, ἱστορίαν γεγραφὼς Μακεδονικήν· πέμπτος σπουδογέλοιος, ἀπὸ κιθαρῳδίας μεταβεβηκὼς εἰς ⟨τόδε⟩ τὸ εἶδος.	There have been five men named Heraclitus: first, this one himself; second, a lyric poet, author of an encomium of the twelve gods; third, an elegiac poet from Halicarnassus, on whom Callimachus wrote this: Someone told me, Heraclitus, of your death, and it brought me to tears, and I remembered how often the two of us talked the sun down. But you, I suppose, my Halicarnassian friend, are ashes long, long ago; yet your nightingales live on, and on them Hades, who snatches all things, will not lay his hand. The fourth was from Lesbos and wrote a history of Macedonia; the fifth wrote serio-comic pieces, having switched to this genre from singing to the lyre.[6]

XENOPHANES

The wandering poet from Colophon who attacked Homer and Hesiod and lived past ninety.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
9.18	Ξενοφάνης Δεξίου ἤ, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος, Ὀρθομένους Κολοφώνιος ἐπαινεῖται πρὸς τοῦ Τίμωνος· φησὶ γοῦν, Ξεινοφάνην θ' ὑπάτυφον, Ὁμηραπάτην ἐπικόπτην. οὗτος ἐκπεσὼν τῆς πατρίδος ἐν Ζάγκλῃ τῆς Σικελίας … διέτριβε δὲ καὶ ἐν Κατάνῃ. διήκουσε δὲ κατ' ἐνίους μὲν οὐδενός,	Xenophanes, son of Dexius or, according to Apollodorus, of Orthomenes, was from Colophon. Timon praises him; at any rate he says: Xenophanes, not quite free of vanity, satirist of Homer's deceits. Exiled from his homeland, at Zancle in Sicily he …

6 The "nightingales" are Heraclitus' poems.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	κατ' ἐνίους δὲ Βότωνος Ἀθηναίου ἤ, ὥς τινες, Ἀρχελάου. καί, ὡς Σωτίων φησί, κατ' Ἀναξίμανδρον ἦν. γέγραφε δὲ καὶ ἐν ἔπεσι καὶ ἐλεγείας καὶ ἰάμβους καθ' Ἡσιόδου καὶ Ὁμήρου, ἐπικόπτων αὐτῶν τὰ περὶ θεῶν εἰρημένα. ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐρραψῴδει τὰ ἑαυτοῦ.	and he also spent time at Catana. According to some he studied under no one, according to others under Boton of Athens or, as some say, under Archelaus. And, as Sotion says, he was a contemporary of Anaximander. He wrote in epic verse, and also elegies and iambics against Hesiod and Homer, attacking what they had said about the gods. He also recited his own poems as a rhapsode.
	ἀντιδοξάσαι τε λέγεται Θαλῇ καὶ Πυθαγόρᾳ, καθάψασθαι δὲ καὶ Ἐπιμενίδου. μακροβιώτατός τε γέγονεν, ὥς που καὶ αὐτός φησιν· [19] ἤδη δ' ἑπτά τ' ἔασι καὶ ἑξήκοντ' ἐνιαυτοὶ βληστρίζοντες ἐμὴν φροντίδ' ἀν' Ἑλλάδα γῆν· ἐκ γενετῆς δὲ τότ' ἦσαν ἐείκοσι πέντε τε πρὸς τοῖς, εἴπερ ἐγὼ περὶ τῶνδ' οἶδα λέγειν ἐτύμως.	He is said to have held views opposed to those of Thales and Pythagoras, and to have attacked Epimenides too. He lived to a very great age, as he himself says somewhere: [19] Already there have been sixty-seven years tossing my thought up and down the land of Greece; and from my birth there were twenty-five more besides, if I know how to speak truly about these things.
9.19	Φησὶ δὲ τέτταρα εἶναι τῶν ὄντων στοιχεῖα, κόσμους δ' ἀπείρους, οὐ παραλλακτοὺς δέ. τὰ νέφη συνίστασθαι τῆς ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀτμίδος ἀναφερομένης καὶ αἰρούσης αὐτὰ εἰς τὸ περιέχον. οὐσίαν θεοῦ σφαιροειδῆ, μηδὲν ὅμοιον ἔχουσαν ἀνθρώπῳ· ὅλον δὲ ὁρᾶν καὶ ὅλον ἀκούειν, μὴ μέντοι ἀναπνεῖν· σύμπαντά τε εἶναι νοῦν καὶ φρόνησιν καὶ ἀΐδιον. πρῶτός τε ἀπεφήνατο ὅτι πᾶν τὸ γινόμενον φθαρτόν ἐστι καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ πνεῦμα.	He says that there are four elements of the things that exist, and infinitely many worlds, but not overlapping. Clouds, he says, form when the vapor from the sun is carried up and lifts them into the surrounding air. The substance of god is spherical, in no way like a human being; the whole of him sees and the whole of him hears, but he does not breathe; and he is wholly mind and understanding, and eternal. He was the first to declare that everything that comes to be perishes, and that the soul is breath.
9.20	Ἔφη δὲ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἥσσω νοῦ εἶναι. καὶ τοῖς τυράννοις ἐντυγχάνειν ἢ ὡς ἥκιστα ἢ ὡς ἥδιστα. Ἐμπεδοκλέους δὲ εἰπόντος αὐτῷ ὅτι ἀνεύρετός ἐστιν ὁ σοφός, "εἰκότως," ἔφη· "σοφὸν γὰρ εἶναι δεῖ τὸν ἐπιγνωσόμενον τὸν σοφόν." φησὶ δὲ Σωτίων πρῶτον αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν ἀκατάληπτ' εἶναι τὰ πάντα, πλανώμενος.	He also said that most things are inferior to mind; and that one should deal with tyrants either as little as possible or as pleasantly as possible. When Empedocles told him that the wise man cannot be found, he said, "Naturally: it takes a wise man to recognize a wise man." Sotion says he was the first to say that all things are inapprehensible, but Sotion is mistaken.
	Ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ Κολοφῶνος κτίσιν καὶ τὸν εἰς Ἐλέαν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀποικισμὸν ἔπη δισχίλια. καὶ ἤκμαζε κατὰ τὴν ἑξηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα. φησὶ δὲ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τῷ Περὶ γήρως καὶ Παναίτιος ὁ Στωικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ εὐθυμίας ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶ θάψαι τοὺς υἱεῖς αὐτόν, καθάπερ καὶ Ἀναξαγόραν. δοκεῖ δὲ πεπρᾶσθαι ὑπὸ … ⟨καὶ λελύσθαι ὑπὸ⟩ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν Παρμενίσκου καὶ Ὀρεστάδου, καθά φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων πρώτῳ. γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Ξενοφάνης Λέσβιος ποιητὴς ἰάμβων.	He also wrote *The Founding of Colophon* and *The Colonization of Elea in Italy*, two thousand lines. He flourished in the 60th Olympiad. Demetrius of Phalerum in his *On Old Age* and Panaetius the Stoic in his *On Peace of Mind* say that he buried his sons with his own hands, as Anaxagoras did too. He seems to have been sold into slavery by … and freed by the Pythagoreans Parmeniscus and Orestades, as Favorinus says in the first book of his

GREEK	ENGLISH
	Memoirs. There was also another Xenophanes, from Lesbos, an iambic poet.
Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οἱ σποράδην.	So much for the scattered ones.

PARMENIDES

The Eleatic who wrote philosophy in verse and set reason above the senses as the criterion.

GREEK	ENGLISH
9.21 Ξενοφάνους δὲ διήκουσε Παρμενίδης Πύρητος Ἐλεάτης (τοῦτον Θεόφραστος ἐν τῇ Ἐπιτομῇ Ἀναξιμάνδρου φησὶν ἀκοῦσαι). ὅμως δ' οὖν ἀκούσας καὶ Ξενοφάνους οὐκ ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ. ἐκοινώνησε δὲ καὶ Ἀμεινίᾳ Διοχαίτα τῷ Πυθαγορικῷ, ὡς ἔφη Σωτίων, ἀνδρὶ πένητι μέν, καλῷ δὲ καὶ ἀγαθῷ. ᾧ καὶ μᾶλλον ἠκολούθησε καὶ ἀποθανόντος ἡρῷον ἱδρύσατο γένους τε ὑπάρχων λαμπροῦ καὶ πλούτου, καὶ ὑπ' Ἀμεινίου ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὸ Ξενοφάνους εἰς ἡσυχίαν προετράπη.	Xenophanes' pupil was Parmenides, son of Pyres, of Elea (Theophrastus in his *Epitome* says that he studied under Anaximander). But though he did study under Xenophanes too, he did not follow him. He also associated with Ameinias, son of Diochaetas, the Pythagorean, as Sotion said, a man who was poor but fine and good. It was him that he followed more closely, and when Ameinias died he set up a hero's shrine to him, since he himself came of a distinguished and wealthy family; and it was Ameinias, not Xenophanes, who turned him toward a life of quiet.
Πρῶτος δ' οὗτος τὴν γῆν ἀπέφαινε σφαιροειδῆ καὶ ἐν μέσῳ κεῖσθαι. δύο τε εἶναι στοιχεῖα, πῦρ καὶ γῆν, καὶ τὸ μὲν δημιουργοῦ τάξιν ἔχειν, τὴν δ' ὕλης. [22] γένεσίν τ' ἀνθρώπων ἐξ ἡλίου πρῶτον γενέσθαι· αὐτὸν δὲ ὑπερέχειν τὸ θερμὸν καὶ τὸ ψυχρόν, ἐξ ὧν τὰ πάντα συνεστάναι. καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸν νοῦν ταὐτὸν εἶναι, καθὰ μέμνηται καὶ Θεόφραστος ἐν τοῖς Φυσικοῖς, πάντων σχεδὸν ἐκτιθέμενος τὰ δόγματα. διττήν τε ἔφη τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, τὴν μὲν κατ' ἀλήθειαν, τὴν δὲ κατὰ δόξαν. διὸ καί φησί που· χρεὼ δέ σε πάντα πυθέσθαι ἠμὲν Ἀληθείης εὐκυκλέος ἀτρεμὲς ἦτορ, ἠδὲ βροτῶν δόξας, ταῖς οὐκ ἔνι πίστις ἀληθής.	He was the first to declare that the earth is spherical and lies in the middle. He held that there are two elements, fire and earth, the one in the role of craftsman, the other in that of matter. [22] Human beings, he held, were first generated from the sun; and the sun itself consists of the hot and the cold, from which all things are composed. Soul and mind are the same thing, as Theophrastus too records in his *Physics*, where he sets out the doctrines of almost everyone. He said philosophy is twofold, one kind according to truth, the other according to opinion. That is why he says somewhere: You must learn all things, both the unshaken heart of well-rounded Truth and the opinions of mortals, in which there is no true trust.
9.22 Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ ποιημάτων φιλοσοφεῖ, καθάπερ Ἡσίοδός τε καὶ Ξενοφάνης καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς. κριτήριον δὲ τὸν λόγον εἶπε· τάς τε αἰσθήσεις μὴ ἀκριβεῖς ὑπάρχειν. φησὶ γοῦν· μηδέ σ' ἔθος πολύπειρον ὁδὸν κατὰ τήνδε βιάσθω νωμᾶν ἄσκοπον ὄμμα καὶ ἠχήεσσαν ἀκουὴν καὶ γλῶσσαν, κρῖναι δὲ λόγῳ πολύδηριν ἔλεγχον. [23] διὸ καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν ὁ Τίμων· Παρμενίδου τε βίην μεγαλόφρονος οὐ πολύδοξον, ὅς ῥ' ἀπὸ φαντασίας ἀπάτης ἀνενείκατο νώσεις. εἰς τοῦτον καὶ Πλάτων τὸν διάλογον γέγραφε, "Παρμενίδην" ἐπιγράψας "ἢ Περὶ ἰδεῶν."	He too does his philosophy in verse, as Hesiod, Xenophanes and Empedocles did. He said that reason is the criterion, and that the senses are not exact. At any rate he says: Do not let habit, born of much experience, force you along this road to ply an aimless eye and an echoing ear and tongue; but judge by reason the much-contested refutation. [23] That is why Timon says of him: The strength of high-minded Parmenides, no man of many opinions, who raised thought up from the deception of im-

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		pression. Plato too wrote his dialogue about him, entitling it *Parmenides, or On Forms*.
9.23	Ἤκμαζε δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἑνάτην καὶ ἑξηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα. καὶ δοκεῖ πρῶτος πεφωρακέναι τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι Ἕσπερον καὶ Φωσφόρον, ὥς φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν πέμπτῳ Ἀπομνημονευμάτων· οἱ δὲ Πυθαγόραν· Καλλίμαχος δέ φησι μὴ εἶναι αὐτοῦ τὸ ποίημα. λέγεται δὲ καὶ νόμους θεῖναι τοῖς πολίταις, ὥς φησι Σπεύσιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ φιλοσόφων. καὶ πρῶτος ἐρωτῆσαι τὸν Ἀχιλλέα λόγον, ὡς Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ.	He flourished in the 69th Olympiad. He seems to have been the first to discover that the Evening Star and the Morning Star are the same, as Favorinus says in the fifth book of his *Memoirs*; others say it was Pythagoras; but Callimachus says the poem is not his. He is also said to have made laws for his fellow citizens, as Speusippus says in his *On Philosophers*. And he was the first to pose the argument called the Achilles, as Favorinus says in his *Miscellaneous History*.[7]
	Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἕτερος Παρμενίδης, ῥήτωρ τεχνογράφος.	There was also another Parmenides, an orator who wrote a handbook on rhetoric.

MELISSUS

The Samian admiral who held that the universe is one, unlimited and unmoved.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
9.24	Μέλισσος Ἰθαιγένους Σάμιος. οὗτος ἤκουσε Παρμενίδου· ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς λόγους ἦλθεν Ἡρακλείτῳ· ὅτε καὶ συνέστησεν αὐτὸν τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις ἀγνοοῦσι, καθάπερ Ἱπποκράτης Δημόκριτον Ἀβδηρίταις. γέγονε δὲ καὶ πολιτικὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ ἀποδοχῆς παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ἠξιωμένος· ὅθεν ναύαρχος αἱρεθεὶς ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐθαυμάσθη διὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀρετήν.	Melissus, son of Ithagenes, was from Samos. He studied under Parmenides, but he also had conversations with Heraclitus; it was then that he introduced Heraclitus to the Ephesians, who did not know him, just as Hippocrates did Democritus to the people of Abdera. He was also a statesman, held in high regard by his fellow citizens; and so, when he was elected admiral, he was admired even more for his own excellence.
	Ἐδόκει δ' αὐτῷ τὸ πᾶν ἄπειρον εἶναι καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον καὶ ἀκίνητον καὶ ἓν ὅμοιον ἑαυτῷ καὶ πλῆρες· κίνησίν τε μὴ εἶναι, δοκεῖν δ' εἶναι. ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ θεῶν ἔλεγε μὴ δεῖν ἀποφαίνεσθαι· μὴ γὰρ εἶναι γνῶσιν αὐτῶν.	He held that the universe is unlimited, unalterable, unmoved, one, like itself and full; and that there is no motion, but only the appearance of it. He also said that one should make no pronouncements about the gods, since there is no knowledge of them.
	Φησὶ δ' Ἀπολλόδωρος ἠκμακέναι αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν τετάρτην καὶ ὀγδοηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα.	Apollodorus says that he flourished in the 84th Olympiad.

ZENO OF ELEA

Parmenides' pupil, inventor of dialectic, who died defying a tyrant.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
9.25	Ζήνων Ἐλεάτης. τοῦτον Ἀπολλόδωρός φησιν εἶναι ἐν Χρονικοῖς [Πύρητος τὸν δὲ Παρμενίδην] φύσει μὲν Τελευταγόρου, θέσει δὲ Παρμενίδου ⟨τὸν δὲ Παρμενίδην	Zeno of Elea. Apollodorus says in his *Chronicles* that he was [son of Pyres, and Parmenides] by birth the son of Teleutagoras, by adoption the son

7 The "Achilles" is the paradox that swift Achilles can never overtake a slower runner who has a head start.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Πύρητος〉. περὶ τούτου καὶ Μελίσσου Τίμων φησὶ ταῦτα· ἀμφοτερογλώσσου τε μέγα σθένος οὐκ ἀλαπαδνὸν Ζήνωνος πάντων ἐπιλήπτορος, ἠδὲ Μέλισσον, πολλῶν φαντασμῶν ἐπάνω, παύρων γε μὲν ἥσσω.	of Parmenides, and that Parmenides was the son of Pyres. Timon says this about him and Melissus: The great strength, not feeble, of double-tongued Zeno, who catches everyone out, and Melissus, above many fancies, though beneath a few.
	Ὁ δὴ Ζήνων διακήκοε Παρμενίδου καὶ γέγονεν αὐτοῦ παιδικά. καὶ εὐμήκης ἦν, καθά φησι Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Παρμενίδῃ, ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ Σοφιστῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ Φαίδρῳ 〈αὐτοῦ μέμνηται〉 καὶ Ἐλεατικὸν Παλαμήδην αὐτὸν καλεῖ. φησὶ δ' Ἀριστοτέλης εὑρετὴν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι διαλεκτικῆς, ὥσπερ Ἐμπεδοκλέα ῥητορικῆς.	This Zeno studied under Parmenides and became his beloved. He was tall, as Plato says in the *Parmenides*; the same author mentions him in the *Sophist* and the *Phaedrus* and calls him the Eleatic Palamedes. Aristotle says that he was the inventor of dialectic, as Empedocles was of rhetoric.[8]
9.26	Γέγονε δὲ ἀνὴρ γενναιότατος καὶ ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ ἐν πολιτείᾳ· φέρεται γοῦν αὐτοῦ βιβλία πολλῆς συνέσεως γέμοντα. καθελεῖν δὲ θελήσας Νέαρχον τὸν τύραννον—οἱ δὲ Διομέδοντα—συνελήφθη, καθά φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ἐν τῇ Σατύρου ἐπιτομῇ. ὅτε καὶ ἐξεταζόμενος τοὺς συνειδότας καὶ περὶ τῶν ὅπλων ὧν ἦγεν εἰς Λιπάραν, πάντας ἐμήνυσεν αὐτοῦ τοὺς φίλους, βουλόμενος αὐτὸν ἔρημον καταστῆσαι· εἶτα περί τινων εἰπεῖν ἔχειν τινα 〈ἔφη〉 αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ οὖς καὶ δακὼν οὐκ ἀνῆκεν ἕως ἀπεκεντήθη, ταὐτὸν Ἀριστογείτονι τῷ τυραννοκτόνῳ παθών.	He was a man of the highest nobility both in philosophy and in politics; at any rate, books of his circulate that are full of intelligence. Wanting to overthrow the tyrant Nearchus—others say Diomedon—he was arrested, as Heraclides says in his *Epitome of Satyrus*. When he was being questioned about his accomplices and about the weapons he had been bringing to Lipara, he named all the tyrant's own friends, wanting to leave him isolated. Then he said he had something to tell him in his ear about certain people, and bit it and would not let go until he was stabbed to death, suffering the same fate as Aristogiton the tyrant-slayer.[9]
9.27	Δημήτριος δέ φησιν ἐν τοῖς Ὁμωνύμοις τὸν μυκτῆρα αὐτὸν ἀποτραγεῖν. Ἀντισθένης δὲ ἐν ταῖς Διαδοχαῖς φησι μετὰ τὸ μηνῦσαι τοὺς φίλους ἐρωτηθῆναι πρὸς τοῦ τυράννου εἴ τις ἄλλος εἴη· τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν, "σὺ ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἀλιτήριος." πρός τε τοὺς παρεστῶτας φάναι· "θαυμάζω ὑμῶν τὴν δειλίαν, εἰ τούτων ἕνεκεν ὧν νῦν ἐγὼ ὑπομένω, δουλεύετε τῷ τυράννῳ·" καὶ τέλος ἀποτραγόντα τὴν γλῶτταν προσπτύσαι αὐτῷ· τοὺς δὲ πολίτας παρορμηθέντας αὐτίκα τὸν τύραννον καταλεῦσαι. ταὐτὰ δὲ σχεδὸν οἱ πλείους λαλοῦσιν. Ἕρμιππος δέ φησιν εἰς ὅλμον αὐτὸν βληθῆναι καὶ κατακοπῆναι.	Demetrius, in his *Men of the Same Name*, says that he bit off the tyrant's nose. Antisthenes, in his *Successions*, says that after he had named the friends, the tyrant asked him whether there was anyone else, and he said, "You, the curse of the city." And to the bystanders he said, "I'm amazed at your cowardice, if you go on being slaves to the tyrant for fear of what I'm now enduring." Finally he bit off his tongue and spat it at him; and the citizens, roused to action, stoned the tyrant on the spot. Most writers tell more or less the same story. Hermippus says that he was thrown into a mortar and pounded to death.
9.28	Καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἡμεῖς εἴπομεν οὕτως· ἤθελες, ὦ Ζήνων, καλὸν ἤθελες ἄνδρα τύραννον κτείνας ἐκλῦσαι δουλοσύνης Ἐλέαν. ἀλλ' ἐδάμης· δὴ γάρ σε λαβὼν ὁ τύραννος ἐν ὅλμῳ κόψε. τί τοῦτο λέγω; σῶμα γάρ, οὐχὶ δὲ σέ.	I too wrote on him as follows: You wanted, Zeno—a fine thing you wanted—by killing a tyrant to set Elea free from slavery. But you were crushed: the tyrant seized you and in a mortar

8 Palamedes was the ingenious inventor among the Greeks at Troy.
9 Aristogiton, with Harmodius, killed the brother of the Athenian tyrant Hippias in 514 BC; under torture he was said to have named the tyrant's own friends as accomplices.

GREEK	ENGLISH
	pounded you. What am I saying? Your body, not you.
Γέγονε δὲ τά τε ἄλλα ἀγαθὸς ὁ Ζήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπεροπτικὸς τῶν μειζόνων κατ᾽ ἴσον Ἡρακλείτῳ· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος τὴν πρότερον μὲν Ὑέλην, ὕστερον δ᾽ Ἐλέαν, Φωκαέων οὖσαν ἀποικίαν, αὐτοῦ δὲ πατρίδα, πόλιν εὐτελῆ καὶ μόνον ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τρέφειν ἐπισταμένην ἠγάπησε μᾶλλον τῆς Ἀθηναίων μεγαλαυχίας, οὐκ ἐπιδημήσας πώμαλα πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτόθι καταβιούς.	Zeno was a good man in other respects too, but he also disdained the great, just as Heraclitus did. For he loved his homeland—formerly Hyele, later Elea, a colony of the Phocaeans—a modest city that knew only how to raise good men, more than he loved the grandeur of the Athenians; he never once visited them, but lived out his life where he was.
9.29 Οὗτος καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα πρῶτος λόγον ἠρώτησε [Φαβωρῖνος δέ φησι Παρμενίδην] καὶ ἄλλους συχνούς. ἀρέσκει δ᾽ αὐτῷ τάδε· κόσμους εἶναι κενόν τε μὴ εἶναι· γεγενῆσθαι δὲ τὴν τῶν πάντων φύσιν ἐκ θερμοῦ καὶ ψυχροῦ καὶ ξηροῦ καὶ ὑγροῦ, λαμβανόντων αὐτῶν εἰς ἄλληλα τὴν μεταβολήν· γένεσίν τε ἀνθρώπων ἐκ γῆς εἶναι καὶ ψυχὴν κρᾶμα ὑπάρχειν ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων κατὰ μηδενὸς τούτων ἐπικράτησιν.	He was the first to pose the argument called the Achilles [though Favorinus says it was Parmenides], and many others besides. His views are these. There are world-orders, and there is no void. The nature of all things came to be from hot and cold, dry and wet, as they change into one another. Human beings are born from earth, and the soul is a blend of the elements just mentioned, in which none of them predominates.
Τοῦτόν φασι λοιδορούμενον ἀγανακτῆσαι· αἰτιασαμένου δέ τινος, φάναι "ἐὰν μὴ λοιδορούμενος προσποιῶμαι, οὐδ᾽ ἐπαινούμενος αἰσθήσομαι." Ὅτι δὲ γεγόνασι Ζήνωνες ὀκτὼ ἐν τῷ Κιτιεῖ διειλέγμεθα. ἤκμαζε δ᾽ οὗτος κατὰ τὴν ἐνάτην ⟨καὶ ἑβδομηκοστὴν⟩ Ὀλυμπιάδα.	They say that when he was insulted he got angry; and when someone criticized him for it, he said, "If I don't take notice when I'm insulted, I won't feel it when I'm praised either." That there have been eight men named Zeno I have discussed in the life of the man from Citium. This one flourished in the 79th Olympiad.

LEUCIPPUS

The first atomist: how worlds form from bodies falling into the void and whirling together.

GREEK	ENGLISH
9.30 Λεύκιππος Ἐλεάτης, ὡς δέ τινες, Ἀβδηρίτης, κατ᾽ ἐνίους δὲ Μιλήσιος. οὗτος ἤκουσε Ζήνωνος. ἤρεσκε δ᾽ αὐτῷ ἄπειρα εἶναι τὰ πάντα καὶ εἰς ἄλληλα μεταβάλλειν, τό τε πᾶν εἶναι κενὸν καὶ πλῆρες [σωμάτων]. τούς τε κόσμους γίνεσθαι σωμάτων εἰς τὸ κενὸν ἐμπιπτόντων καὶ ἀλλήλοις περιπλεκομένων· ἔκ τε τῆς κινήσεως κατὰ τὴν αὔξησιν αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι τὴν τῶν ἀστέρων φύσιν. φέρεσθαι δὲ τὸν ἥλιον ἐν μείζονι κύκλῳ περὶ τὴν σελήνην· τὴν γῆν ὀχεῖσθαι περὶ τὸ μέσον δινουμένην· σχῆμά τ᾽ αὐτῆς τυμπανῶδες εἶναι. πρῶτός τε ἀτόμους ἀρχὰς ὑπεστήσατο. ⟨καὶ⟩ κεφαλαιωδῶς μὲν ταῦτα· ἐπὶ μέρους δ᾽ ὧδε ἔχει.	Leucippus was from Elea or, as some say, from Abdera, and according to others from Miletus. He studied under Zeno. He held that all things are unlimited and change into one another, and that the whole is void and full [of bodies]. Worlds come into being, he held, when bodies fall into the void and become entangled with one another, and the nature of the stars arises from their motion as they grow. The sun is carried around the moon in a larger circle; the earth rides at the center, whirling; and its shape is like a drum. He was the first to posit atoms as first principles. That is the summary. In detail his views are as follows.
9.31 Τὸ μὲν πᾶν ἄπειρόν φησιν, ὡς προείρηται· τούτου δὲ τὸ μὲν πλῆρες εἶναι, τὸ δὲ κενόν, ⟨ἃ⟩ καὶ στοιχεῖά φησι.	He says that the whole is unlimited, as has been said, and that part of it is full and part void; these

GREEK

κόσμους τε ἐκ τούτων ἀπείρους εἶναι καὶ διαλύεσθαι εἰς ταῦτα. γίνεσθαι δὲ τοὺς κόσμους οὕτω· φέρεσθαι κατ' ἀποτομὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀπείρου πολλὰ σώματα παντοῖα τοῖς σχήμασιν εἰς μέγα κενόν, ἅπερ ἀθροισθέντα δίνην ἀπεργάζεσθαι μίαν, καθ' ἣν προσκρούοντα ⟨ἀλλήλοις⟩ καὶ παντοδαπῶς κυκλούμενα διακρίνεσθαι χωρὶς τὰ ὅμοια πρὸς τὰ ὅμοια. ἰσορρόπων δὲ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος μηκέτι δυναμένων περιφέρεσθαι, τὰ μὲν λεπτὰ χωρεῖν εἰς τὸ ἔξω κενόν, ὥσπερ διαττώμενα· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ συμμένειν καὶ περιπλεκόμενα συγκατατρέχειν ἀλλήλοις καὶ ποιεῖν πρῶτόν τι σύστημα σφαιροειδές.

9.32 τοῦτο δ' οἷον ὑμένα ἀφίστασθαι, περιέχοντ' ἐν ἑαυτῷ παντοῖα σώματα· ὧν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ μέσου ἀντέρεισιν περιδινουμένων λεπτὸν γενέσθαι τὸν πέριξ ὑμένα, συρρεόντων ἀεὶ τῶν συνεχῶν κατ' ἐπίψαυσιν τῆς δίνης. καὶ οὕτω γενέσθαι τὴν γῆν, συμμενόντων τῶν ἐνεχθέντων ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον. αὐτόν τε πάλιν τὸν περιέχοντα οἷον ὑμένα αὔξεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐπέκκρισιν τῶν ἔξωθεν σωμάτων· δίνῃ τε φερόμενον αὐτὸν ὧν ἂν ἐπιψαύοῃ, ταῦτα ἐπικτᾶσθαι. τούτων δέ τινα συμπλεκόμενα ποιεῖν σύστημα, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κάθυγρον καὶ πηλῶδες, ξηρανθέντα καὶ περιφερόμενα σὺν τῇ τοῦ ὅλου δίνῃ, εἶτ' ἐκπυρωθέντα τὴν τῶν ἀστέρων ἀποτελέσαι φύσιν.

9.33 Εἶναι δὲ τὸν τοῦ ἡλίου κύκλον ἐξώτατον, τὸν δὲ τῆς σελήνης προσγειότατον, τῶν ἄλλων μεταξὺ τούτων. καὶ πάντα μὲν τὰ ἄστρα πυροῦσθαι διὰ τὸ τάχος τῆς φορᾶς, τὸν δ' ἥλιον ⟨καὶ⟩ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστέρων ἐκπυροῦσθαι· τὴν δὲ σελήνην τοῦ πυρὸς ὀλίγον μεταλαμβάνειν. ἐκλείπειν δ' ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην ⟨... τὴν δὲ λόξωσιν τοῦ Ζῳδιακοῦ γενέσθαι⟩ τῷ κεκλίσθαι τὴν γῆν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν· τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἄρκτῳ ἀεί τε νίφεσθαι καὶ κατάψυχρα εἶναι καὶ πήγνυσθαι. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἥλιον ἐκλείπειν σπανίως, τὴν δὲ σελήνην συνεχές, διὰ τὸ ἀνίσους εἶναι τοὺς κύκλους αὐτῶν. εἶναί τε ὥσπερ γενέσεις κόσμου, οὕτω καὶ αὐξήσεις καὶ φθίσεις καὶ φθοράς, κατά τινα ἀνάγκην, ἣν ὁποία ἐστὶν ⟨οὐ⟩ διασαφεῖ.

ENGLISH

he also calls elements. From them come worlds without limit, and into them the worlds are dissolved. The worlds come into being like this. Many bodies of every kind of shape, cut off from the unlimited, are carried into a great void. Gathered together, they produce a single vortex, in which they collide with one another, revolve in every way and separate out, like to like. When their number makes them balance one another and they can no longer revolve, the fine ones move out into the void outside, as if sifted. The rest stay together, become entangled, run together with one another and form a first spherical structure.

This structure, he says, stands apart like a membrane, enclosing within itself bodies of every kind. As these whirl around because of the resistance of the center, the surrounding membrane becomes thin, since the adjacent bodies keep flowing together wherever they touch the vortex. That is how the earth came into being: the bodies carried to the center stayed together. The enclosing membrane-like layer itself grows in turn as further bodies from outside are separated out into it, and as it is carried round in the vortex it takes on whatever it touches. Some of these bodies become entangled and form a structure that is at first moist and muddy; then, once they have dried out and are carried round with the vortex of the whole, they catch fire and produce the nature of the stars.

He holds that the sun's circle is the outermost and the moon's the nearest to the earth, with those of the other heavenly bodies between them. All the stars are set on fire by the speed of their motion; the sun is also set ablaze by the stars, while the moon has only a small share of fire. Sun and moon are eclipsed ... and the slant of the zodiac comes about because the earth is tilted toward the south; the northern regions are always snowbound, bitterly cold and frozen. The sun is eclipsed rarely and the moon often, because their circles are unequal. And just as there are births of a world, so there are growths, decays and destructions, according to a certain necessity, though he does not make clear what kind of necessity it is.

DEMOCRITUS

The atomist of Abdera: his travels, his poverty and fame, and his long life.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
9.34	Δημόκριτος Ἡγησιστράτου, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηνοκρίτου, τινὲς Δαμασίππου Ἀβδηρίτης ἤ, ὡς ἔνιοι, Μιλήσιος. οὗτος μάγων τινῶν διήκουσε καὶ Χαλδαίων, Ξέρξου τοῦ βασιλέως τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστάτας καταλιπόντος, ἡνίκα ἐξενίσθη παρ᾽ αὐτῷ, καθά φησι καὶ Ἡρόδοτος· παρ᾽ ὧν τά τε περὶ θεολογίας καὶ ἀστρολογίας ἔμαθεν ἔτι παῖς ὤν. ὕστερον δὲ Λευκίππῳ παρέβαλε καὶ Ἀναξαγόρᾳ κατά τινας, ἔτεσιν ὢν αὐτοῦ νεώτερος τετταράκοντα. Φαβωρῖνος δέ φησιν ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ λέγειν Δημόκριτον περὶ Ἀναξαγόρου ὡς οὐκ εἴησαν αὐτοῦ αἱ δόξαι αἵ τε περὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης, ἀλλὰ ἀρχαῖαι, τὸν δ᾽ ὑφῃρῆσθαι. [35] διασύρειν τε αὐτοῦ τὰ περὶ τῆς διακοσμήσεως καὶ τοῦ νοῦ, ἐχθρῶς ἔχοντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι δὴ μὴ προσήκατο αὐτόν. πῶς οὖν κατά τινας ἀκήκοεν αὐτοῦ;	Democritus was the son of Hegesistratus, or, some say, of Athenocritus, and according to others of Damasippus. He was from Abdera or, as some say, from Miletus. He studied with some Magi and Chaldaeans whom King Xerxes left with his father as tutors when he was his guest, as Herodotus too says. From them he learned about theology and astronomy while still a boy. Later he joined Leucippus and, according to some, Anaxagoras, being forty years younger than him. Favorinus, however, says in his *Miscellaneous History* that Democritus said of Anaxagoras that his views on the sun and moon were not his own but ancient, and that he had stolen them. [35] He also ridiculed Anaxagoras' views on the ordering of the world and on mind, being hostile to him because Anaxagoras had refused to accept him. How, then, could he have studied under him, as some say?[10]
9.35	Φησὶ δὲ Δημήτριος ἐν Ὁμωνύμοις καὶ Ἀντισθένης ἐν Διαδοχαῖς ἀποδημῆσαι αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς Αἴγυπτον πρὸς τοὺς ἱερέας γεωμετρίαν μαθησόμενον καὶ πρὸς Χαλδαίους εἰς τὴν Περσίδα καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν γενέσθαι. τοῖς τε Γυμνοσοφισταῖς φασί τινες συμμῖξαι αὐτὸν ἐν Ἰνδίᾳ καὶ εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν ἐλθεῖν. τρίτον τε ὄντα ἀδελφὸν νείμασθαι τὴν οὐσίαν· καὶ οἱ μὲν πλείους φασὶ τὴν ἐλάττω μοῖραν ἑλέσθαι τὴν ἐν ἀργυρίῳ, χρείαν ἔχοντα ⟨διὰ τὸ⟩ ἀποδημῆσαι τούτου κἀκείνων δολίως ὑποπτευσάντων.	Demetrius in his *Men of the Same Name* and Antisthenes in his *Successions* say that he traveled to Egypt to learn geometry from the priests, and also went to the Chaldaeans in Persia and reached the Red Sea. Some say that he also mixed with the Gymnosophists in India and went to Ethiopia. Being the third of three brothers, he divided the family property with them. Most say that he chose the smaller share, the part in money, because he needed it for his travels, and that his brothers had craftily suspected as much.[11]
9.36	ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος ὑπὲρ ἑκατὸν τάλαντά φησιν εἶναι αὐτῷ τὸ μέρος, ἃ πάντα καταναλῶσαι. λέγει δ᾽ ὅτι τοσοῦτον ἦν φιλόπονος ὥστε τοῦ περικήπου δωμάτιόν τι ἀποτεμόμενος κατάκλειστος ἦν· καί ποτε τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ πρὸς θυσίαν βοῦν ἀγαγόντος καὶ αὐτόθι προσδήσαντος, ἱκανὸν χρόνον μὴ γνῶναι, ἕως αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνος διαναστήσας προφάσει τῆς θυσίας καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν βοῦν διηγήσατο. "δοκεῖ δέ," φησί, "καὶ Ἀθήναζε ἐλθεῖν καὶ μὴ σπουδάσαι γνωσθῆναι, δόξης καταφρονῶν. καὶ εἰδέναι μὲν Σωκράτη, ἀγνοεῖσθαι δὲ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ· 'ἦλθον γάρ,' φησίν, 'εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ οὔτις με ἔγνωκεν.'"	Demetrius says that his share came to more than a hundred talents, and that he spent it all. He also says that Democritus was so hardworking that he partitioned off a little room in the garden and shut himself up in it. Once his father brought an ox for sacrifice and tied it up right there, and for quite a long time he did not notice, until his father roused him for the sacrifice and told him all about the ox. "It seems," he says, "that he also went to Athens and made no effort to be recognized, since he despised fame. He knew Socrates, but Socrates did not know him. 'For I came to Athens,' he says, 'and no one knew me.'"[12]

10 The Magi were Persian priests; the Chaldaeans were Babylonian astronomer-priests.
11 The Gymnosophists ("naked sages") were Indian ascetics.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
9.37	"Εἴπερ οἱ Ἀντερασταὶ Πλάτωνός εἰσι," φησὶ Θρασύλος, "οὗτος ἂν εἴη ὁ παραγενόμενος ἀνώνυμος, τῶν περὶ Οἰνοπίδην καὶ Ἀναξαγόραν ἕτερος, ἐν τῇ πρὸς Σωκράτην ὁμιλίᾳ διαλεγόμενος περὶ φιλοσοφίας, ᾧ, φησίν, ὡς πεντάθλῳ ἔοικεν ὁ φιλόσοφος, καὶ ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ πένταθλος· τὰ γὰρ φυσικὰ καὶ τὰ ἠθικὰ ⟨ἤσκητο⟩, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μαθηματικὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐγκυκλίους λόγους καὶ περὶ τεχνῶν πᾶσαν εἶχεν ἐμπειρίαν." τούτου ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ "λόγος ἔργου σκιή." Δημήτριος δὲ ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τῇ Σωκράτους ἀπολογίᾳ μηδὲ ἐλθεῖν φησιν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀθήνας. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ μεῖζον, εἴγε τοσαύτης πόλεως ὑπερεφρόνησεν, οὐκ ἐκ τόπου δόξαν λαβεῖν βουλόμενος, ἀλλὰ τόπῳ δόξαν περιθεῖναι προελόμενος.	"If the *Rival Lovers* is by Plato," says Thrasyllus, "Democritus would be the unnamed character who turns up there, the one distinct from Oenopides, Anaxagoras and their circle, and who, in the conversation with Socrates about philosophy, holds that the philosopher is like a pentathlete. And he really was a pentathlete in philosophy: he had trained in physics and ethics, but also in mathematics and the general curriculum, and he had experience of every kind of art." The saying "Speech is the shadow of action" is also his. Demetrius of Phalerum, however, in his *Apology of Socrates*, says that he never even came to Athens. That would make it all the more remarkable, if he looked down on so great a city, not wishing to gain fame from a place but preferring to confer fame on one.[13]
9.38	Δῆλον δὲ κἀκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων οἷος ἦν. "δοκεῖ δέ," φησὶν ὁ Θρασύλος, "ζηλωτὴς γεγονέναι τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῦ Πυθαγόρου μέμνηται, θαυμάζων αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ὁμωνύμῳ συγγράμματι. πάντα δὲ δοκεῖν παρὰ τούτου λαβεῖν καὶ αὐτοῦ δ' ἂν ἀκηκοέναι, εἰ μὴ τὰ τῶν χρόνων ἐμάχετο." πάντως μέντοι τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν τινος ἀκοῦσαί φησιν αὐτὸν Γλαῦκος ὁ Ῥηγῖνος, κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους αὐτῷ γεγονώς. φησὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Κυζικηνὸς Φιλολάῳ αὐτὸν συγγεγονέναι.	His writings too make clear what sort of man he was. "He seems," says Thrasyllus, "to have been an admirer of the Pythagoreans. In fact he mentions Pythagoras himself, admiring him in the treatise named after him. He seems to have taken everything from him, and he would have been his pupil if chronology did not rule it out." At any rate Glaucus of Rhegium, who lived at the same time as Democritus, says that he certainly studied under one of the Pythagoreans. And Apollodorus of Cyzicus says that he spent time with Philolaus.
	Ἤσκει δέ, φησὶν ὁ Ἀντισθένης, καὶ ποικίλως δοκιμάζειν τὰς φαντασίας, ἐρημάζων ἐνίοτε καὶ τοῖς τάφοις ἐνδιατρίβων. [39] ἐλθόντα δή φησιν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀποδημίας ταπεινότατα διάγειν, ἅτε πᾶσαν τὴν οὐσίαν καταναλωκότα· τρέφεσθαί τε διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν ἀπὸ τἀδελφοῦ Δαμάσου. ὡς δὲ προειπών τινα τῶν μελλόντων εὐδοκίμησε, λοιπὸν ἐνθέου δόξης παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις ἠξιώθη.	He trained himself, Antisthenes says, to test his impressions in various ways, sometimes going off into solitude and spending time among the tombs. [39] When he came back from his travels, Antisthenes says, he lived in great poverty, having spent all his property, and because he had nothing he was supported by his brother Damasus. But after he won a reputation by foretelling certain future events, most people from then on thought him divinely inspired.
9.39	νόμου δ' ὄντος τὸν ἀναλώσαντα τὴν πατρῴαν οὐσίαν μὴ ἀξιοῦσθαι ταφῆς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, φησὶν ὁ Ἀντισθένης συνέντα, μὴ ὑπεύθυνος γενηθείη πρός τινων φθονούντων καὶ συκοφαντούντων, ἀναγνῶναι αὐτοῖς τὸν Μέγαν διάκοσμον, ὃς ἁπάντων αὐτοῦ τῶν συγγραμμάτων προέχει· καὶ πεντακοσίοις ταλάντοις	There was a law that anyone who had squandered his inheritance should be denied burial in his homeland. Antisthenes says that Democritus, aware of this and not wanting to be called to account by certain envious people who would bring false charges against him, read them his *Great*

12 A talent was a very large sum of money, equal to 6,000 drachmas.
13 Thrasyllus (1st century AD) arranged the works of Plato and Democritus in tetralogies. Oenopides of Chios was a fifth-century BC astronomer and mathematician.

GREEK

τιμηθῆναι· μὴ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαλκαῖς εἰκόσι· καὶ τελευτήσαντ' αὐτὸν δημοσίᾳ ταφῆναι, βιώσαντα ὑπὲρ τὰ ἑκατὸν ἔτη. [40] ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος τοὺς συγγενέας αὐτοῦ φησιν ἀναγνῶναι τὸν Μέγαν διάκοσμον, ὃν μόνον ἑκατὸν ταλάντων τιμηθῆναι. ταὐτὰ δὲ καὶ Ἱππόβοτός φησιν.

9.40 Ἀριστόξενος δ' ἐν τοῖς Ἱστορικοῖς ὑπομνήμασί φησι Πλάτωνα θελῆσαι συμφλέξαι τὰ Δημοκρίτου συγγράμματα, ὁπόσα ἐδυνήθη συναγαγεῖν, Ἀμύκλαν δὲ καὶ Κλεινίαν τοὺς Πυθαγορικοὺς κωλῦσαι αὐτόν, ὡς οὐδὲν ὄφελος· παρὰ πολλοῖς γὰρ εἶναι ἤδη τὰ βιβλία. καὶ δῆλον δέ· πάντων γὰρ σχεδὸν τῶν ἀρχαίων μεμνημένος ὁ Πλάτων οὐδαμοῦ Δημοκρίτου διαμνημονεύει, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἔνθ' ἀντειπεῖν τι αὐτῷ δέοι, δῆλον ⟨ὅτι⟩ εἰδὼς ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἄριστον αὐτῷ τῶν φιλοσόφων ⟨ὁ ἀγὼν⟩ ἔσοιτο· ὅν γε καὶ Τίμων τοῦτον ἐπαινέσας τὸν τρόπον ἔχει· οἷον Δημόκριτόν τε περίφρονα, ποιμένα μύθων, / ἀμφίνοον λεσχῆνα μετὰ πρώτοισιν ἀνέγνων.

9.41 Γέγονε δὲ τοῖς χρόνοις, ὡς αὐτός φησιν ἐν τῷ Μικρῷ διακόσμῳ, νέος κατὰ πρεσβύτην Ἀναξαγόραν, ἔτεσιν αὐτοῦ νεώτερος τετταράκοντα. συντετάχθαι δέ φησι τὸν Μικρὸν διάκοσμον ἔτεσιν ὕστερον τῆς Ἰλίου ἁλώσεως τριάκοντα καὶ ἑπτακοσίοις. γεγόνοι δ' ἄν, ὡς μὲν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς, κατὰ τὴν ὀγδοηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα· ὡς δὲ Θρασύλος ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Τὰ πρὸ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως τῶν Δημοκρίτου βιβλίων, κατὰ τὸ τρίτον ἔτος τῆς ἑβδόμης καὶ ἑβδομηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἐνιαυτῷ, φησί, πρεσβύτερος ὢν Σωκράτους. εἴη ἂν οὖν κατ' Ἀρχέλαον τὸν Ἀναξαγόρου μαθητὴν καὶ τοὺς περὶ Οἰνοπίδην· καὶ γὰρ τούτου μέμνηται. [42] μέμνηται δὲ καὶ τῆς περὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς δόξης τῶν περὶ Παρμενίδην καὶ Ζήνωνα, ὡς κατ' αὐτὸν μάλιστα διαβεβοημένων, καὶ Πρωταγόρου τοῦ Ἀβδηρίτου, ὃς ὁμολογεῖται κατὰ Σωκράτην γεγονέναι.

9.42 Φησὶ δ' Ἀθηνόδωρος ἐν ὀγδόῃ Περιπάτων, ἐλθόντος Ἱπποκράτους πρὸς αὐτόν, κελεῦσαι κομισθῆναι γάλα· καὶ θεασάμενον τὸ γάλα εἰπεῖν εἶναι αἰγὸς πρωτοτόκου καὶ μελαίνης· ὅθεν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν αὐτοῦ θαυμάσαι τὸν Ἱπποκράτην. ἀλλὰ καὶ κόρης ἀκολουθούσης τῷ Ἱπποκράτει, τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀσπάσασθαι οὕτω

ENGLISH

World-System, the best of all his writings. He was rewarded with five hundred talents, and not only that, but with bronze statues too; and when he died, having lived more than a hundred years, he was given a public funeral. [40] Demetrius, though, says that it was his relatives who read out the *Great World-System*, and that it was valued at only a hundred talents. Hippobotus says the same.

Aristoxenus says in his *Historical Notes* that Plato wanted to burn all the writings of Democritus he could collect, but that the Pythagoreans Amyclas and Clinias stopped him, saying it would do no good, since the books were already in many people's hands. And that is evidently so. Plato mentions almost all the early philosophers, yet nowhere mentions Democritus, not even where he would need to argue against him—clearly because he knew that the contest would be against the best of the philosophers. Even Timon praises him in this way: Such as Democritus, wise in mind, shepherd of words, / a double-minded talker, whom I knew among the foremost.

As for his date, he was, as he himself says in his *Little World-System*, a young man when Anaxagoras was old, being forty years younger than him. He says that the *Little World-System* was composed 730 years after the capture of Troy. He would have been born, according to Apollodorus in his *Chronicles*, in the 80th Olympiad; but according to Thrasyllus, in the work entitled *Preliminaries to Reading the Books of Democritus*, in the third year of the 77th Olympiad, being, he says, a year older than Socrates. He would then have been a contemporary of Archelaus, the pupil of Anaxagoras, and of Oenopides and his circle; for he mentions Oenopides too. [42] He also mentions the doctrine of the One held by Parmenides and Zeno and their followers, since in his day they were the most talked about, and Protagoras of Abdera, who is agreed to have been a contemporary of Socrates.[14]

Athenodorus says in the eighth book of his *Walks* that when Hippocrates came to see him, he had milk brought; and when he looked at the milk he said that it came from a black she-goat that had just borne her first kid. Hippocrates was amazed at his precision. Also, a girl was accompanying

14 The 80th Olympiad began in 460 BC; the third year of the 77th was 470/469 BC.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	"χαῖρε κόρη," τῇ δ' ἐχομένῃ "χαῖρε γύναι"· καὶ ἦν ἡ κόρη τῆς νυκτὸς διεφθαρμένη.	Hippocrates, and on the first day Democritus greeted her with "Good day, maiden," but on the next with "Good day, woman." And in fact the girl had lost her virginity during the night.
9.43	Τελευτῆσαι δὲ τὸν Δημόκριτόν φησιν Ἕρμιππος τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. ἤδη ὑπέργηρων ὄντα πρὸς τῷ καταστρέφειν εἶναι. τὴν οὖν ἀδελφὴν λυπεῖσθαι ὅτι ἐν τῇ τῶν θεσμοφόρων ἑορτῇ μέλλοι τεθνήξεσθαι καὶ τῇ θεῷ τὸ καθῆκον αὐτὴ οὐ ποιήσειν τὸν δὲ θαρρεῖν εἰπεῖν καὶ κελεῦσαι αὐτῷ προσφέρειν ἄρτους θερμοὺς ὁσημέραι. τούτους δὴ ταῖς ῥισὶ προσφέρων διεκράτησεν αὐτὸν τὴν ἑορτήν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρῆλθον αἱ ἡμέραι, τρεῖς δ' ἦσαν, ἀλυπότατα τὸν βίον προήκατο, ὥς φησιν ὁ Ἵππαρχος, ἐννέα πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν ἔτη βιούς.	Hermippus says that Democritus died in the following way. He was already extremely old and near his end. His sister was upset that he was going to die during the festival of the Thesmophoria, so that she would be unable to do her duty to the goddess. He told her not to worry, and had hot loaves brought to him every day. By holding these to his nostrils he kept himself alive through the festival. When the days had passed—there were three of them—he let go of life without the least distress, as Hipparchus says, having lived a hundred and nine years.[15]
	Ἡμεῖς τ' εἰς αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Παμμέτρῳ τοῦτον ἐποιήσαμεν τὸν τρόπον· καὶ τίς ἔφυ σοφὸς ὦδε, τίς ἔργον ἔρεξε τοσοῦτον ὅσσον ὁ παντοδαὴς ἤνυσε Δημόκριτος; ὃς Θάνατον παρεόντα τρί' ἤματα δώμασιν ἔσχεν καὶ θερμοῖς ἄρτων ἄσθμασιν ἐξένισεν. τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ βίος τἀνδρός.	And I wrote on him in my *Pammetros* as follows: Who was ever so wise, who ever did so great a work as all-knowing Democritus accomplished? When Death was at hand, he kept him in his house for three days and entertained him as a guest with the hot breath of loaves. Such, then, was the man's life.

DEMOCRITUS' DOCTRINES AND BOOKS

Atoms and void, cheerfulness as the end, and Thrasyllus' catalogue of his works in tetralogies.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
9.44	Δοκεῖ δ' αὐτῷ τάδε· ἀρχὰς εἶναι τῶν ὅλων ἀτόμους καὶ κενόν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα νενομίσθαι· ἀπείρους τε εἶναι κόσμους καὶ γενητοὺς καὶ φθαρτούς. μηδέν τε ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος γίνεσθαι μηδὲ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὂν φθείρεσθαι. καὶ τὰς ἀτόμους δὲ ἀπείρους εἶναι κατὰ μέγεθος καὶ πλῆθος, φέρεσθαι δ' ἐν τῷ ὅλῳ δινουμένας, καὶ οὕτω πάντα τὰ συγκρίματα γεννᾶν, πῦρ, ὕδωρ, ἀέρα, γῆν· εἶναι γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα ἐξ ἀτόμων τινῶν συστήματα· ἄπερ εἶναι ἀπαθῆ καὶ ἀναλλοίωτα διὰ τὴν στερρότητα. τόν τε ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην ἐκ τοιούτων λείων καὶ περιφερῶν ὄγκων συγκεκρίσθαι, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὁμοίως· ἣν καὶ νοῦν ταὐτὸν εἶναι. ὁρᾶν δ' ἡμᾶς κατ' εἰδώλων ἐμπτώσεις.	His views are these. He held that the first principles of all things are atoms and void, and that everything else is a matter of convention; that there are unlimited worlds, which come into being and perish; and that nothing comes into being from what is not, or perishes into what is not. He held that the atoms too are unlimited in size and number, and that they are carried along through the whole, whirling, and so generate all compounds—fire, water, air, earth. For these too, he held, are aggregates of certain atoms, and the atoms are unaffected and unalterable because of their solidity. The sun and moon are compounded of smooth, round masses of this kind, and so is the soul, which is the same as mind. We see, he held, because images impinge on us.

15 The Thesmophoria was a festival of Demeter celebrated by women; a death in the family would have kept his sister from taking part.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
9.45	Πάντα τε κατ' ἀνάγκην γίνεσθαι, τῆς δίνης αἰτίας οὔσης τῆς γενέσεως πάντων, ἣν ἀνάγκην λέγει. τέλος δ' εἶναι τὴν εὐθυμίαν, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὖσαν τῇ ἡδονῇ, ὡς ἔνιοι παρακούσαντες ἐξεδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἣν γαληνῶς καὶ εὐσταθῶς ἡ ψυχὴ διάγει, ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ταραττομένη φόβου ἢ δεισιδαιμονίας ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς πάθους. καλεῖ δ' αὐτὴν καὶ εὐεστὼ καὶ πολλοῖς ἄλλοις ὀνόμασι. ποιότητας δὲ νόμῳ εἶναι, φύσει δ' ἄτομα καὶ κενόν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν αὐτῷ ἐδόκει.	He held that everything happens by necessity, since the vortex, which he calls necessity, is the cause of the coming-to-be of all things. He held that the end is cheerfulness—not the same thing as pleasure, as some have taken it through misunderstanding, but a state in which the soul lives calmly and steadily, disturbed by no fear or superstition or any other feeling. He also calls it "well-being" and many other names. Qualities, he held, exist by convention; by nature there are atoms and void. These, then, were his views.
	Τὰ δὲ βιβλία αὐτοῦ καὶ Θρασύλος ἀναγέγραφε κατὰ τάξιν οὕτως ὡσπερεὶ καὶ τὰ Πλάτωνος κατὰ τετραλογίαν.	Thrasyllus has also catalogued his books in order, in tetralogies, just as he did Plato's.
	[46] Ἔστι δε ἤθικα μὲν τάδε· Πυθαγόρης. Περὶ τῆς τοῦ σοφοῦ διαθέσεως. Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἅιδου. Τριτογένεια (τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν, ὅτι τρία γίνεται ἐξ αὐτῆς, ἃ πάντα ἀνθρώπινα συνέχει). Περὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἢ περὶ ἀρετῆς. Ἀμαλθείης κέρας. Περὶ εὐθυμίης. Ὑπομνημάτων ἠθικῶν· ἡ γὰρ Εὐεστὼ οὐχ εὑρίσκεται. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἠθικα.	[46] The ethical works are these: *Pythagoras*. *On the Disposition of the Wise Man*. *On Those in Hades*. *Tritogeneia* (that is, three things come from her that hold all human affairs together). *On Bravery*, or *On Excellence*. *The Horn of Amaltheia*. *On Cheerfulness*. *Ethical Notes*; for the *Well-Being* is not to be found. These are the ethical works.[16]
9.46	Φυσικὰ δὲ τάδε· Μέγας διάκοσμος (ὃν οἱ περὶ Θεόφραστον Λευκίππου φασὶν εἶναι). Μικρὸς διάκοσμος. Κοσμογραφίη. Περὶ τῶν πλανήτων. Περὶ φύσεως πρῶτον. Περὶ ἀνθρώπου φύσιος (ἢ Περὶ σαρκός), δεύτερον. Περὶ νοῦ. Περὶ αἰσθησίων (ταῦτά τινες ὅμου γράφοντες Περὶ ψυχῆς ἐπιγράφουσι). Περὶ χυμῶν. Περὶ χροῶν. [47] Περὶ τῶν διαφερόντων ῥυσμῶν. Περὶ ἀμειψιρυσμιῶν. Κρατυντήρια (ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐπικριτικὰ τῶν προειρημένων). Περὶ εἰδώλων ἢ περὶ προνοίας. Περὶ λογικῶν ἢ κανὼν α′ β′ γ′. Ἀπορημάτων. ταῦτα καὶ περὶ φύσεως.	The physical works are these: *Great World-System* (which Theophrastus and his school say is by Leucippus). *Little World-System*. *Cosmography*. *On the Planets*. *On Nature*, book 1. *On the Nature of Man* (or *On Flesh*), book 2. *On Mind*. *On the Senses* (some who put these two together give them the title *On the Soul*). *On Flavors*. *On Colors*. [47] *On the Different Shapes*. *On Changes of Shape*. *Confirmations* (that is, critical assessments of the works just mentioned). *On Images*, or *On Foresight*. *On Logic*, or *Canon*, 3 books. *Problems*. These are the works on nature.
9.47	Τὰ δὲ ἀσύντακτά ἐστι τάδε· Αἰτίαι οὐράνιαι. Αἰτίαι ἀέριοι. Αἰτίαι ἐπίπεδοι. Αἰτίαι περὶ πυρὸς καὶ τῶν ἐν πυρί. Αἰτίαι περὶ φωνῶν. Αἰτίαι περὶ σπερμάτων καὶ φυτῶν καὶ καρπῶν. Αἰτίαι περὶ ζῴων α′ β′ γ′. Αἰτίαι σύμμικτοι. Περὶ τῆς λίθου. ταῦτα καὶ τὰ ἀσύντακτα.	The unclassified works are these: *Causes of Celestial Phenomena*. *Causes of Atmospheric Phenomena*. *Causes of Phenomena on the Earth's Surface*. *Causes concerning Fire and Things in Fire*. *Causes concerning Sounds*. *Causes concerning Seeds, Plants and Fruits*. *Causes concerning Animals*, 3 books. *Miscellaneous Causes*. *On the Magnet*. These are the unclassified works.
	Μαθηματικὰ δὲ τάδε· Περὶ διαφορῆς γωνίης ἢ Περὶ ψαύσιος κύκλου καὶ σφαίρης. Περὶ γεωμετρίης. Γεωμετρικῶν. Ἀριθμοί. Περὶ ἀλόγων γραμμῶν καὶ ναστῶν α′ β′. Ἐκπετάσματα. [48] Μέγας ἐνιαυτὸς ἢ Ἀστρονομίη, παράπηγμα. Ἅμιλλα κλεψύδρας ⟨καὶ	The mathematical works are these: *On a Difference of Angle*, or *On the Contact of Circle and Sphere*. *On Geometry*. *Geometrical Questions*. *Numbers*. *On Irrational Lines and Solids*, 2 books. *Projections*. [48] *The Great Year*, or *Astronomy*, an astronomical calen-

16 Tritogeneia is a title of Athena; the Horn of Amaltheia is the proverbial horn of plenty.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	οὐρανοῦ〉. Οὐρανογραφίη. Γεωγραφίη. Πολογραφίη. Ἀκτινογραφίη. τοσαῦτα καὶ τὰ μαθηματικά.	dar. *Contest of the Water-Clock and the Heavens*. *Description of the Heavens*. *Geography*. *Description of the Poles*. *Description of Rays*. These are the mathematical works.
9.48	Μουσικὰ δὲ τάδε· Περὶ ῥυθμῶν καὶ ἁρμονίης. Περὶ ποιήσιος. Περὶ καλλοσύνης ἐπέων. Περὶ εὐφώνων καὶ δυσφ〈·〉νων γραμμάτων. Περὶ Ὁμήρου ἢ ὀρθοεπείης καὶ γλωσσέων. Περὶ ἀοιδῆς. Περὶ ῥημάτων. Ὀνομαστικῶν. τοσαῦτα καὶ τὰ μουσικά.	The works on music and literature are these: *On Rhythms and Harmony*. *On Poetry*. *On the Beauty of Verses*. *On Euphonious and Cacophonous Letters*. *On Homer*, or *On Correct Diction and Rare Words*. *On Song*. *On Words*. *Vocabulary*. These are the works on music and literature.
	Τεχνικὰ δὲ τάδε· Πρόγνωσις. Περὶ διαίτης ἢ διαιτητικόν. [Ἢ] Ἰητρικὴ γνώμη. Αἰτίαι περὶ ἀκαιριῶν καὶ ἐπικαιριῶν. Περὶ γεωργίης ἢ Γεωμετρικόν. Περὶ ζωγραφίης. Τακτικὸν καὶ Ὁπλομαχικόν. τοσαῦτα καὶ τάδε.	The technical works are these: *Prognosis*. *On Diet*, or *Dietetics*. [Or] *Medical Opinion*. *Causes concerning Unseasonable and Seasonable Things*. *On Agriculture*, or *Geometry*. *On Painting*. *Tactics* and *Fighting in Armor*. These are the technical works.
9.49	Τάττουσι δέ τινες κατ' ἰδίαν ἐκ τῶν Ὑπομνημάτων καὶ ταῦτα· Περὶ τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἱερῶν γραμμάτων. Περὶ τῶν ἐν Μερόῃ. Ὠκεανοῦ περίπλους. Περὶ ἱστορίης. Χαλδαϊκὸς λόγος. Φρύγιος λόγος. Περὶ πυρετοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ νόσου βησσόντων. Νομικὰ αἴτια. Χειρόκμητα [ἢ] προβλήματα.	Some also list separately the following works taken from his *Notes*: *On the Sacred Writings in Babylon*. *On Those in Meroe*. *Voyage around the Ocean*. *On Research*. *Chaldaean Discourse*. *Phrygian Discourse*. *On Fever and Those Who Cough from Illness*. *Legal Causes*. *Handiworks* [or] *Problems*.[17]
	Τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὅσα τινὲς ἀναφέρουσιν εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ διεσκεύασται, τὰ δ' ὁμολογουμένως ἐστὶν ἀλλότρια. ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τῶν βιβλίων αὐτοῦ καὶ τοσαῦτα.	As for the other books that some attribute to him, some have been put together from his own writings, while others are admittedly by other people. That is all there is to say about his books.
	Γεγόνασι δὲ Δημόκριτοι ἕξ· πρῶτος αὐτὸς οὗτος, δεύτερος Χῖος μουσικὸς κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, τρίτος ἀνδριαντοποιὸς οὗ μέμνηται Ἀντίγονος, τέταρτος περὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ γεγραφὼς καὶ τῆς πόλεως Σαμοθρᾴκης, πέμπτος ποιητὴς ἐπιγραμμάτων σαφὴς καὶ ἀνθηρός, ἕκτος Περγαμηνὸς ἀπὸ ῥητορικῶν λόγων 〈εὐδοκιμήσας〉.	There have been six men called Democritus: first, this one; second, a musician from Chios of the same period; third, a sculptor mentioned by Antigonus; fourth, a man who wrote about the temple at Ephesus and the city of Samothrace; fifth, a writer of epigrams, clear and florid; sixth, a man from Pergamum who won fame for his rhetorical speeches.

PROTAGORAS

The first paid sophist: man as the measure, agnosticism about the gods, and his books burned at Athens.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
9.50	Πρωταγόρας Ἀρτέμωνος ἤ, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος καὶ Δείνων ἐν Περσικῷ ε', Μαιανδρίου Ἀβδηρίτης, καθά φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τοῖς Περὶ νόμων, ὃς καὶ Θουρίοις νόμους γράψαι φησὶν αὐτόν· ὡς δ' Εὔπολις ἐν Κόλαξιν, Τήιος· φησὶ γάρ, Ἔνδοθι μέν ἐστι Πρωταγόρας ὁ Τήιος. οὗτος καὶ Πρόδικος ὁ Κεῖος λόγους	Protagoras was the son of Artemon or, according to Apollodorus and to Dinon in the fifth book of his *Persian History*, of Maeandrius. He was from Abdera, as Heraclides of Pontus says in his work *On Laws*; Heraclides also says that he wrote laws for Thurii. But according to Eupolis in his *Flatter-*

17 Meroe was the capital of the Ethiopian kingdom on the upper Nile.

GREEK

ENGLISH

ἀναγινώσκοντες ἠρανίζοντο· καὶ Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Πρωταγόρᾳ φησὶ βαρύφωνον εἶναι τὸν Πρόδικον. διήκουσε δ' ὁ Πρωταγόρας Δημοκρίτου. ἐκαλεῖτό τε Σοφία, ὥς φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ.

ers he was from Teos, for Eupolis says: Inside is Protagoras of Teos. He and Prodicus of Ceos made money by giving readings of their speeches, and Plato in the *Protagoras* says that Prodicus had a deep voice. Protagoras studied under Democritus. He was nicknamed "Wisdom," as Favorinus says in his *Miscellaneous History*.[18]

9.51 Καὶ πρῶτος ἔφη δύο λόγους εἶναι περὶ παντὸς πράγματος ἀντικειμένους ἀλλήλοις· οἷς καὶ συνηρώτα, πρῶτος τοῦτο πράξας. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἤρξατό που τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον· "πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον ἄνθρωπος, τῶν μὲν ὄντων ὡς ἔστιν, τῶν δὲ οὐκ ὄντων ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν." ἔλεγέ τε μηδὲν εἶναι ψυχὴν παρὰ τὰς αἰσθήσεις, καθὰ καὶ Πλάτων φησὶν ἐν Θεαιτήτῳ, καὶ πάντ' εἶναι ἀληθῆ.

He was the first to say that on every matter there are two arguments opposed to each other, and he used them in arguing by question and answer, the first to do so. He also began one of his works like this: "Of all things the measure is man: of things that are, that they are, and of things that are not, that they are not." He used to say that the soul is nothing apart from the senses, as Plato too says in the *Theaetetus*, and that everything is true.

καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ δὲ τοῦτον ἤρξατο τὸν τρόπον· "περὶ μὲν θεῶν οὐκ ἔχω εἰδέναι οὔθ' ὡς εἰσίν, οὔθ' ὡς οὐκ εἰσίν· πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ κωλύοντα εἰδέναι, ἥ τ' ἀδηλότης καὶ βραχὺς ὢν ὁ βίος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου." [52] διὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ συγγράμματος ἐξεβλήθη πρὸς Ἀθηναίων· καὶ τὰ βιβλί' αὐτοῦ κατέκαυσαν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ὑπὸ κήρυκι ἀναλεξάμενοι παρ' ἑκάστου τῶν κεκτημένων.

Elsewhere he began like this: "About the gods I am not able to know either that they exist or that they do not exist; for many things prevent knowing—the obscurity of the subject and the shortness of human life." [52] Because of this opening of his treatise he was expelled by the Athenians, and they burned his books in the marketplace, having collected them by a herald's proclamation from everyone who owned a copy.

9.52 Οὗτος πρῶτος μισθὸν εἰσεπράξατο μνᾶς ἑκατόν· καὶ πρῶτος μέρη χρόνου διώρισε καὶ καιροῦ δύναμιν ἐξέθετο καὶ λόγων ἀγῶνας ἐποιήσατο καὶ σοφίσματα τοῖς πραγματολογοῦσι προσήγαγε· καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀφεὶς πρὸς τοὔνομα διελέχθη καὶ τὸ νῦν ἐπιπόλαιον γένος τῶν ἐριστικῶν ἐγέννησεν· ἵνα καὶ Τίμων φησὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ, Πρωταγόρης τ' ἐπίμεικτος ἐριζέμεναι εὖ εἰδώς.

He was the first to charge a fee, a hundred minas. He was the first to distinguish the parts of time, to set out the importance of the right moment, to hold debating contests, and to introduce sophisms to those who argue. He dropped the sense and argued over the word, and he fathered the breed of eristics that is now so widespread; hence Timon too says of him: Protagoras, mixing with all, well skilled at wrangling.

9.53 οὗτος καὶ τὸ Σωκρατικὸν εἶδος τῶν λόγων πρῶτος ἐκίνησε. καὶ τὸν Ἀντισθένους λόγον τὸν πειρώμενον ἀποδεικνύειν ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντιλέγειν, οὗτος πρῶτος διείλεκται, καθά φησι Πλάτων ἐν Εὐθυδήμῳ. καὶ πρῶτος κατέδειξε τὰς πρὸς τὰς θέσεις ἐπιχειρήσεις, ὥς φησιν Ἀρτεμίδωρος ὁ διαλεκτικὸς ἐν τῷ Πρὸς Χρύσιππον. καὶ πρῶτος τὴν καλουμένην τύλην, ἐφ' ἧς τὰ φορτία βαστάζουσιν, εὗρεν, ὥς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ Περὶ παιδείας· φορμοφόρος γὰρ ἦν, ὡς καὶ Ἐπίκουρός πού φησι.

He was also the first to set in motion the Socratic kind of argument. And the argument of Antisthenes that tries to prove that contradiction is impossible was first discussed by him, as Plato says in the *Euthydemus*. He was the first to show how to attack a proposed thesis, as Artemidorus the dialectician says in his *Against Chrysippus*. He was also the first to invent the so-called shoulder-pad on which porters carry their loads, as Aristotle says in his *On Education*; for he was a porter, as Epicurus says somewhere.

18 Thurii was a colony in southern Italy founded under Athenian leadership in 444/443 BC; Eupolis was an Athenian comic poet.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἤρθη πρὸς Δημοκρίτου ξύλα δεδεκὼς ὀφθείς. διεῖλέ τε τὸν λόγον πρῶτος εἰς τέτταρα, εὐχωλήν, ἐρώτησιν, ἀπόκρισιν, ἐντολήν· [54] (οἱ <·>ὲ εἰς ἑπτά, διήγησιν, ἐρώτησιν, ἀπόκρισιν, ἐντολήν, ἀπαγγελίαν, εὐχωλήν, κλῆσιν), οὓς καὶ πυθμένας εἶπε λόγων. Ἀλκιδάμας δὲ τέτταρας λόγους φησί, φάσιν, ἀπόφασιν, ἐρώτησιν, προσαγόρευσιν.	That was how he came to be taken up by Democritus, who saw him tying up bundles of wood. He was the first to divide speech into four kinds: prayer, question, answer, command [54] (others say into seven: narration, question, answer, command, report, prayer, summons); these he called the foundations of speech. Alcidamas, however, says there are four kinds of speech: assertion, denial, question, address.
9.54	Πρῶτον δὲ τῶν λόγων ἑαυτοῦ ἀνέγνω τὸν Περὶ θεῶν, οὗ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἄνω παρεθέμεθα· ἀνέγνω δ' Ἀθήνησιν ἐν τῇ Εὐριπίδου οἰκίᾳ ἤ, ὥς τινες, ἐν τῇ Μεγακλείδου· ἄλλοι ἐν Λυκείῳ, μαθητοῦ τὴν φωνὴν αὐτῷ χρήσαντος Ἀρχαγόρου τοῦ Θεοδότου. κατηγόρησε δ' αὐτοῦ Πυθόδωρος Πολυζήλου, εἷς τῶν τετρακοσίων· Ἀριστοτέλης δ' Εὔαθλόν φησιν.	The first of his works that he read in public was *On the Gods*, whose opening I quoted above. He read it at Athens in the house of Euripides or, as some say, in that of Megaclides; others say in the Lyceum, with a pupil, Archagoras son of Theodotus, lending him his voice. His accuser was Pythodorus son of Polyzelus, one of the Four Hundred; Aristotle, however, says it was Euathlus.[19]
9.55	Ἔστι δὲ τὰ σωζόμενα αὐτοῦ βιβλία τάδε· … Τέχνη ἐριστικῶν. Περὶ πάλης. Περὶ τῶν μαθημάτων. Περὶ πολιτείας. Περὶ φιλοτιμίας. Περὶ ἀρετῶν. Περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀρχῇ καταστάσεως. Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἅιδου. Περὶ τῶν οὐκ ὀρθῶς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πρασσομένων. Προστακτικός. Δίκη ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ, Ἀντιλογιῶν α′ β′. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν αὐτῷ τὰ βιβλία. γέγραφε δὲ καὶ Πλάτων εἰς αὐτὸν διάλογον.	His surviving books are these: … *The Art of Eristics*. *On Wrestling*. *On the Sciences*. *On the Constitution*. *On Ambition*. *On Excellences*. *On the Original State of Things*. *On Those in Hades*. *On Things Wrongly Done by Human Beings*. *Imperative*. *Lawsuit over a Fee*. *Contradictory Arguments*, 2 books. These are his books. Plato too wrote a dialogue about him.
	Φησὶ δὲ Φιλόχορος, πλέοντος αὐτοῦ ἐς Σικελίαν, τὴν ναῦν καταποντωθῆναι· καὶ τοῦτο αἰνίττεσθαι Εὐριπίδην ἐν τῷ Ἰξίονι. ἔνιοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τελευτῆσαι αὐτόν, βιώσαντα ἔτη πρὸς τὰ ἐνενήκοντα· [56] Ἀπολλόδωρος δέ φησιν ἑβδομήκοντα, σοφιστεῦσαι δὲ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἀκμάζειν κατὰ τὴν τετάρτην καὶ ὀγδοηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα.	Philochorus says that while he was sailing to Sicily his ship sank, and that Euripides alludes to this in his *Ixion*. Some say that he died on the journey, having lived nearly ninety years. [56] Apollodorus, though, says seventy, of which he spent forty as a sophist, and that he flourished in the 84th Olympiad.
9.56	Ἔστι καὶ εἰς τοῦτον ἡμῶν οὕτως ἔχον· καὶ σεῦ, Πρωταγόρη, φάτιν ἔκλυον, ὡς ἄρ' Ἀθηνέων ἔκ ποτ' ἰὼν καθ' ὁδὸν πρέσβυς ἐὼν ἔθανες· εἴλετο γάρ σε φυγεῖν Κέκροπος πόλις· ἀλλὰ σὺ μέν που Παλλάδος ἄστυ φύγες, Πλουτέα δ' οὐκ ἔφυγες.	There is also a poem of mine on him, which goes like this: I heard the report about you too, Protagoras, that once, going out from Athens, you died on the road, an old man. For the city of Cecrops decided you should flee; and you did, it seems, flee the town of Pallas, but Pluto you did not flee.[20]
	Λέγεται δέ ποτ' αὐτὸν ἀπαιτοῦντα τὸν μισθὸν Εὔαθλον τὸν μαθητήν, ἐκείνου εἰπόντος, "ἀλλ' οὐδέπω νίκην νενίκηκα," εἰπεῖν, "ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἂν νικήσω, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐνίκησα, λαβεῖν με δεῖ· ἐὰν δὲ σύ, ὅτι σύ."	It is said that once, when he was demanding his fee from his pupil Euathlus, and Euathlus said, "But I haven't won a case yet," he replied, "Well, if I

19 The Four Hundred were the oligarchs who seized power at Athens in 411 BC.
20 The city of Cecrops and the town of Pallas (Athena) are both Athens; the joke turns on the verb φεύγω, which means both "go into exile" and "escape."

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		win this one, I have to be paid because I won; and if you win, because you did."
	Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Πρωταγόρας ἀστρολόγος, εἰς ὃν καὶ Εὐφορίων ἐπικήδειον ἔγραψε· καὶ τρίτος Στωικὸς φιλόσοφος.	There was also another Protagoras, an astronomer, on whose death Euphorion wrote a lament; and a third, a Stoic philosopher.

DIOGENES OF APOLLONIA

A natural philosopher who held that air is the element and that worlds are unlimited.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
9.57	Διογένης Ἀπολλοθέμιδος Ἀπολλωνιάτης, ἀνὴρ φυσικὸς καὶ ἄγαν ἐλλόγιμος. ἤκουσε δέ, φησὶν Ἀντισθένης, Ἀναξιμένους. ἦν δὲ τοῖς χρόνοις κατ' Ἀναξαγόραν. τοῦτόν φησιν ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος ἐν τῇ Σωκράτους ἀπολογίᾳ διὰ μέγαν φθόνον μικροῦ κινδυνεῦσαι Ἀθήνησιν.	Diogenes of Apollonia, son of Apollothemis, was a natural philosopher and a man of great repute. He studied, Antisthenes says, under Anaximenes. He lived at the same time as Anaxagoras. Demetrius of Phalerum says in his *Apology of Socrates* that because of the great envy against him he very nearly came to grief at Athens.
	Ἐδόκει δὲ αὐτῷ τάδε· στοιχεῖον εἶναι τὸν ἀέρα, κόσμους ἀπείρους καὶ κενὸν ἄπειρον· τόν τε ἀέρα πυκνούμενον καὶ ἀραιούμενον γεννητικὸν εἶναι τῶν κόσμων· οὐδὲν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος γίνεσθαι οὐδ' εἰς τὸ μὴ ὂν φθείρεσθαι· τὴν γῆν στρογγύλην, ἠρεισμένην ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, τὴν σύστασιν εἰληφυῖαν κατὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ θερμοῦ περιφορὰν καὶ πῆξιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ.	His views were these. He held that air is the element; that there are unlimited worlds and unlimited void; that air, by condensing and rarefying, generates the worlds; that nothing comes into being from what is not or perishes into what is not; and that the earth is round, fixed in the center, and took its structure from the revolution caused by the hot and its solidity from the cold.
	Ἀρχὴ δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ συγγράμματος ἥδε· "λόγου παντὸς ἀρχόμενον δοκεῖ μοι χρεὼν εἶναι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναμφισβήτητον παρέχεσθαι, τὴν δ' ἑρμηνείαν ἁπλῆν καὶ σεμνήν."	The opening of his treatise is this: "In beginning any account, it seems to me, one should offer a starting point that is beyond dispute, and a style that is simple and dignified."

ANAXARCHUS

Alexander's companion, pounded to death in a mortar by the tyrant Nicocreon.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
9.58	Ἀνάξαρχος Ἀβδηρίτης. οὗτος ἤκουσε Διογένους τοῦ Σμυρναίου· ὁ δὲ Μητροδώρου τοῦ Χίου, ὃς ἔλεγε μηδ' αὐτὸ τοῦτ' εἰδέναι ὅτι οὐδὲν οἶδε. Μητρόδωρον δὲ Νεσσᾶ τοῦ Χίου, οἱ δὲ Δημοκρίτου φασὶν ἀκοῦσαι. ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀνάξαρχος καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνῆν καὶ ἤκμαζε κατὰ τὴν δεκάτην καὶ ἑκατοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ εἶχεν ἐχθρὸν Νικοκρέοντα τὸν Κύπρου τύραννον· καί ποτ' ἐν συμποσίῳ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐρωτήσαντος αὐτὸν τί ἄρα δοκεῖ τὸ δεῖπνον, εἰπεῖν φασιν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, πάντα πολυτελῶς· ἔδει δὲ λοιπὸν κεφαλὴν σατράπου τινὸς παρατεθεῖσθαι·" [59] ἀπορρίπτων πρὸς τὸν Νικοκρέοντα.	Anaxarchus of Abdera. He studied under Diogenes of Smyrna, and Diogenes studied under Metrodorus of Chios, who used to say that he did not even know this very thing: that he knew nothing. Metrodorus, they say, studied under Nessas of Chios, though others say under Democritus. Anaxarchus, at any rate, kept company with Alexander and flourished in the 110th Olympiad. He had an enemy in Nicocreon, the tyrant of Cyprus. Once at a banquet, when Alexander asked him what he thought of the dinner, he is said to have replied, "Sire, everything is lavish. All that was still

GREEK

ENGLISH

needed was the head of some satrap served up on the table," [59] aiming the jibe at Nicocreon.[21]

9.59 ὁ δὲ μνησικακήσας μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ὅτε πλέων ἀκουσίως προσηνέχθη τῇ Κύπρῳ ὁ Ἀνάξαρχος, συλλαβὼν αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς ὅλμον βαλὼν ἐκέλευσε τύπτεσθαι σιδηροῖς ὑπέροις. τὸν δ' οὐ φροντίσαντα τῆς τιμωρίας εἰπεῖν ἐκεῖνο δὴ τὸ περιφερόμενον, "πτίσσε τὸν Ἀναξάρχου θύλακον, Ἀνάξαρχον δὲ οὐ πτίσσεις." κελεύσαντος δὲ τοῦ Νικοκρέοντος καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν αὐτοῦ ἐκτμηθῆναι, λόγος ἀποτραγόντα προσπτύσαι αὐτῷ. καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν οὕτως ⟨ἔχον⟩· πτίσσετε, Νικοκρέων, ἔτι καὶ μάλα· θύλακός ἐστι· πτίσσετ'· Ἀνάξαρχος δ' ἐν Διός ἐστι πάλαι. καί σε διαστείλασα γνάφοις ὀλίγον τάδε λέξει ῥήματα Φερσεφόνη, "ἔρρε μυλωθρὲ κακέ."

Nicocreon bore a grudge. After the king's death, when Anaxarchus was on a voyage and was driven against his will to Cyprus, Nicocreon seized him, threw him into a mortar and ordered him to be pounded with iron pestles. Anaxarchus, unconcerned by the punishment, made that well-known remark: "Pound away at Anaxarchus' bag. Anaxarchus you are not pounding." When Nicocreon ordered his tongue to be cut out as well, the story goes that he bit it off and spat it at him. Here is my own epigram on him: Pound on, Nicocreon, pound harder still: it is just a bag.
Pound on: Anaxarchus has long been in the house of Zeus.
And before long Persephone will stretch you out on her carding combs and say these words to you: "Go to ruin, you wretched miller."

9.60 Οὗτος διὰ τὴν ἀπάθειαν καὶ εὐκολίαν τοῦ βίου Εὐδαιμονικὸς ἐκαλεῖτο· καὶ ἦν ἐκ τοῦ ῥᾴστου δυνατὸς σωφρονίζειν. τὸν γοῦν Ἀλέξανδρον οἰόμενον εἶναι θεὸν ἐπέστρεψεν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἔκ τινος πληγῆς εἶδεν αὐτῷ καταρρέον αἷμα, δείξας τῇ χειρὶ πρὸς αὐτόν φησι, "τουτὶ μὲν αἷμα καὶ οὐκ ἰχὼρ οἷός πέρ τε ῥέει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσι." Πλούταρχος δ' αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τοῦτο λέξαι πρὸς τοὺς φίλους φησίν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοτε προπίνοντα αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀνάξαρχον δεῖξαι τὴν κύλικα καὶ εἰπεῖν βεβλήσεταί τις θεῶν βροτησίᾳ χερί.

Because of his freedom from passion and the contentment of his life he was called the "Happy Man." He could also bring people to their senses with the greatest of ease. At any rate, he turned Alexander around when Alexander thought he was a god. Seeing blood running from him after some wound, he pointed at him with his hand and said, "This here is blood, and not 'ichor, such as flows in the blessed gods.'" Plutarch, though, says that it was Alexander himself who said this to his friends. On another occasion, when Anaxarchus was drinking a toast to Alexander, he showed him the cup and said: One of the gods shall be struck by a mortal hand.[22]

PYRRHO

The founder of skepticism: his indifference to danger, his calm, and his pupils.

GREEK

ENGLISH

9.61 Πύρρων Ἠλεῖος Πλειστάρχου μὲν ἦν υἱός, καθὰ καὶ Διοκλῆς ἱστορεῖ· ὥς φησι δ' Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς, πρότερον ἦν ζωγράφος, καὶ ἤκουσε Βρύσωνος τοῦ Στίλπωνος, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Διαδοχαῖς, εἶτ' Ἀναξάρχου, ξυνακολουθῶν πανταχοῦ, ὡς καὶ τοῖς Γυμνοσοφισταῖς ἐν Ἰνδίᾳ συμμίξαι καὶ τοῖς Μάγοις. ὅθεν γενναιότατα δοκεῖ φιλοσοφῆσαι, τὸ τῆς ἀκαταληψίας καὶ ἐποχῆς εἶδος εἰσαγαγών, ὡς Ἀσκάνιος ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης φησίν· οὐδὲν γὰρ

Pyrrho of Elis was the son of Pleistarchus, as Diocles also records. According to Apollodorus in his *Chronicles*, he was at first a painter. He studied under Bryson, son of Stilpo, as Alexander says in his *Successions*, and then under Anaxarchus, whom he followed everywhere, so that he even mixed with the Gymnosophists in India and with the Magi.

21 The 110th Olympiad ran from 340 to 337 BC.
22 Ichor: in Homer (*Iliad* 5.340), the fluid that flows in the gods' veins instead of blood.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἔφασκεν οὔτε καλὸν οὔτ' αἰσχρὸν οὔτε δίκαιον οὔτ' ἄδικον· καὶ ὁμοίως ἐπὶ πάντων μηδὲν εἶναι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, νόμῳ δὲ καὶ ἔθει πάντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πράττειν· οὐ γὰρ μᾶλλον τόδε ἢ τόδε εἶναι ἕκαστον.	This, it seems, is why he took up philosophy in the noblest way, introducing the approach of non-apprehension and suspension of judgment, as Ascanius of Abdera says. He used to say that nothing is either fine or shameful, either just or unjust. Likewise in every case, he held, nothing exists in truth, and people do everything by convention and habit, for each thing is no more this than that.
9.62	Ἀκόλουθος δ' ἦν καὶ τῷ βίῳ, μηδὲν ἐκτρεπόμενος μηδὲ φυλαττόμενος, ἅπαντα ὑφιστάμενος, ἁμάξας, εἰ τύχοι, καὶ κρημνοὺς καὶ κύνας καὶ ὅλως μηδὲν ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν ἐπιτρέπων. σώζεσθαι μέντοι, καθά φασιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Καρύστιον Ἀντίγονον, ὑπὸ τῶν γνωρίμων παρακολουθούντων. Αἰνεσίδημος δέ φησι φιλοσοφεῖν μὲν αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἐποχῆς λόγον, μὴ μέντοι γ' ἀπροοράτως ἕκαστα πράττειν. ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη κατεβίω.	He was consistent with this in his life as well. He turned aside from nothing and took no precautions, facing everything as it came: carts, if it so happened, and cliffs and dogs. In general he trusted nothing to the senses. He was kept safe, though, as Antigonus of Carystus and his followers say, by his pupils, who followed him around. Aenesidemus, however, says that he practiced philosophy on the principle of suspension of judgment, but did not do each thing without forethought. He lived to nearly ninety.[23]
	Ἀντίγονος δέ φησιν ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Πύρρωνος τάδε περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἄδοξός τ' ἦν καὶ πένης καὶ ζωγράφος. σώζεσθαί τ' αὐτοῦ ἐν Ἤλιδι ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ λαμπαδιστὰς μετρίως ἔχοντας. [63] ἐκπατεῖν τ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἐρημάζειν, σπανίως ποτ' ἐπιφαινόμενον τοῖς οἴκοι. τοῦτο δὲ ποιεῖν ἀκούσαντα Ἰνδοῦ τινος ὀνειδίζοντος Ἀναξάρχῳ ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἕτερόν τινα διδάξαι οὗτος ἀγαθόν, αὐτὸς αὐλὰς βασιλικὰς θεραπεύων.	Antigonus of Carystus, in his *On Pyrrho*, says the following about him. At first he was obscure, poor and a painter, and some fairly competent paintings of his, showing torch-bearers, are preserved in the gymnasium at Elis. [63] He would also withdraw from the world and live in solitude, rarely showing himself even to his family. He did this after hearing an Indian reproach Anaxarchus, saying that he would never teach anyone else to be good while he himself danced attendance at royal courts.[24]
9.63	ἀεί τ' εἶναι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καταστήματι, ὥστ' εἰ καί τις αὐτὸν καταλίποι μεταξὺ λέγοντα, αὐτῷ διαπεραίνειν τὸν λόγον, καίτοι κεκινημένον τε ⟨...⟩ ὄντα ἐν νεότητι. πολλάκις, φησί, καὶ ἀπεδήμει, μηδενὶ προειπών, καὶ συνερρέμβετο οἱστισιν ἤθελεν. καί ποτ' Ἀναξάρχου εἰς τέλμα ἐμπεσόντος, παρῆλθεν οὐ βοηθήσας· τινῶν δὲ αἰτιωμένων, αὐτὸς Ἀνάξαρχος ἐπῄνει τὸ ἀδιάφορον καὶ ἄστοργον αὐτοῦ.	He was always in the same state, Antigonus says, so that even if someone walked away from him in the middle of what he was saying, he would finish the argument to himself, though in his youth he had been excitable ... . Often, he says, Pyrrho would also go off abroad without telling anyone, and wander about with whatever people he pleased. Once, when Anaxarchus fell into a bog, he walked past without helping him. When some people blamed him for it, Anaxarchus himself praised his indifference and lack of attachment.
9.64	Καταληφθεὶς δέ ποτε καὶ αὐτῷ λαλῶν καὶ ἐρωτηθεὶς τὴν αἰτίαν ἔφη μελετᾶν χρηστὸς εἶναι. ἔν τε ταῖς ζητήσεσιν ὑπ' οὐδενὸς κατεφρονεῖτο διὰ τὸ ⟨καὶ δι⟩εξοδικῶς λέγειν καὶ πρὸς ἐρώτησιν· ὅθεν καὶ Ναυσιφάνην ἤδη νεανίσκον	Once he was caught talking to himself, and when asked why, he said he was practicing being good. In inquiries no one looked down on him, because he could speak both at length and in answer to

23 Aenesidemus: a skeptic philosopher of the first century BC who revived Pyrrhonism.
24 Antigonus of Carystus: a third-century BC writer of lives of philosophers.

GREEK

ENGLISH

ὄντα θηραθῆναι. ἔφασκε γοῦν γίνεσθαι δεῖν τῆς μὲν διαθέσεως τῆς Πυρρωνείου, τῶν δὲ λόγων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ. ἔλεγέ τε πολλάκις καὶ Ἐπίκουρον θαυμάζοντα τὴν Πύρρωνος ἀναστροφὴν συνεχὲς αὐτοῦ πυνθάνεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ. οὕτω δ' αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος τιμηθῆναι ὥστε καὶ ἀρχιερέα καταστῆσαι αὐτὸν καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνον πᾶσι τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἀτέλειαν ψηφίσασθαι.

questions. This is how even Nausiphanes was captivated by him when still a young man. Nausiphanes, at any rate, used to say that one should adopt Pyrrho's disposition but his own arguments. He also often said that Epicurus, who admired Pyrrho's way of life, was continually asking him about Pyrrho. Pyrrho was so honored by his native city, they say, that they made him high priest, and on his account voted all philosophers exemption from taxes.[25]

Καὶ δὴ καὶ ζηλωτὰς εἶχε πολλοὺς τῆς ἀπραγμοσύνης· ὅθεν καὶ ὁ Τίμων περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν οὕτως ἐν τῷ Πύθωνι ... καὶ ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις· [65] Ὦ γέρον, ὦ Πύρρων, πῶς ἢ πόθεν ἔκδυσιν εὗρες
λατρείης δοξῶν [τε] κενεοφροσύνης τε σοφιστῶν,
καὶ πάσης ἀπάτης πειθοῦς τ' ἀπελύσαο δεσμά;
οὐδ' ἔμελέν σοι ταῦτα μεταλλῆσαι, τίνες αὖραι
Ἑλλάδ' ἔχουσι, πόθεν τε καὶ εἰς ὅ, τι κύρει ἕκαστα. καὶ πάλιν ἐν τοῖς Ἰνδαλμοῖς· τοῦτό μοι, ὦ Πύρρων, ἱμείρεται ἦτορ ἀκοῦσαι,
πῶς ποτ' ἀνὴρ ἔτ' ἄγεις ῥᾳστα μεθ' ἡσυχίης
μοῦνος ἐν ἀνθρώποισι θεοῦ τρόπον ἡγεμονεύων.

He had many who emulated his withdrawal from public affairs. This is why Timon says of him, in his *Python* ... and in his *Silli*: [65] Old man, Pyrrho, how or from where did you find a way out
from slavery to the opinions [and] empty-headedness of sophists,
and loose the bonds of all deceit and persuasion?
You did not care to search out what winds
hold Greece, and from what and into what each thing comes. And again in his *Images*: This, Pyrrho, my heart longs to hear:
how, though a man, you still live most easily in quiet,
alone among human beings leading the way in the manner of a god.[26]

9.65 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ πολιτείᾳ αὐτὸν ἐτίμησαν, καθά φησι Διοκλῆς, ἐπὶ τῷ Κότυν τὸν Θρᾷκα διαχρήσασθαι. [66] εὐσεβῶς δὲ καὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ συνεβίω μαίᾳ οὔσῃ, καθά φησιν Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν τῷ Περὶ πλούτου καὶ πενίας, ὅτε καὶ αὐτὸς φέρων εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐπίπρασκεν ὀρνίθια, εἰ τύχοι, καὶ χοιρίδια, καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἐκάθαιρεν ἀδιαφόρως. λέγεται δὲ καὶ δέλφακα λούειν αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἀδιαφορίας. καὶ χολήσας τι ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀδελφῆς, Φιλίστα δ' ἐκαλεῖτο, πρὸς τὸν ἐπιλαβόμενον εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐκ ἐν γυναίῳ ἡ ἐπίδειξις τῆς ἀδιαφορίας. καὶ κυνός ποτ' ἐπενεχθέντος διασοβηθέντα εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν αἰτιασάμενον, ὡς χαλεπὸν εἴη ὁλοσχερῶς ἐκδῦναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον· διαγωνίζεσθαι δ' ὡς οἷόν τε πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς ἔργοις πρὸς τὰ πράγματα, εἰ δὲ μή, τῷ γε λόγῳ.

The Athenians also honored him with citizenship, as Diocles says, for killing Cotys the Thracian. [66] He lived piously with his sister, who was a midwife, as Eratosthenes says in his *On Wealth and Poverty*. He would even carry poultry, as it happened, and piglets to the market himself to sell, and he would clean the house with indifference. It is said that he even washed a pig himself, out of indifference. Once he got angry over something on his sister's behalf (her name was Philista), and when someone caught him out, he said that a mere woman was not the place to display one's indifference. Another time a dog rushed at him and he was terrified. To the person who criticized him, he said that it was hard to strip off the human being entirely. Still, he said, one should struggle against circumstances as far as possible, first by actions, and failing that, at least by reason.[27]

25 Nausiphanes of Teos: an atomist philosopher, often said to have been Epicurus' teacher.
26 The *Python* and the *Images* are other works by Timon.
27 Cotys: a king of Thrace, assassinated in 360/359 BC.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
9.67	Φασὶ δὲ καὶ σηπτικῶν φαρμάκων καὶ τομῶν καὶ καύσεων ἐπί τινος ἕλκους αὐτῷ προσενεχθέντων, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τὰς ὀφρῦς συναγαγεῖν. καὶ ὁ Τίμων δὲ διασαφεῖ τὴν διάθεσιν αὐτοῦ ἐν οἷς πρὸς Πύθωνα διέξεισιν. ἀλλὰ καὶ Φίλων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, γνώριμος αὐτοῦ γεγονώς, ἔλεγεν ὡς ἐμέμνητο μάλιστα μὲν Δημοκρίτου, εἶτα δὲ καὶ Ὁμήρου, θαυμάζων αὐτὸν καὶ συνεχὲς λέγων, οἵη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοίη δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν· καὶ ὅτι σφηξὶ καὶ μυίαις καὶ ὀρνέοις εἴκαζε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. προφέρεσθαι δὲ καὶ τάδε· ἀλλά, φίλος, θάνε καὶ σύ· τίη ὀλοφύρεαι οὕτως; / κάτθανε καὶ Πάτροκλος, ὅ περ σέο πολλὸν ἀμείνων· καὶ ὅσα συντείνει εἰς τὸ ἀβέβαιον καὶ κενόσπουδον ἅμα καὶ παιδαριῶδες τῶν ἀνθρώπων.	They say too that when corrosive ointments, surgery and cautery were applied to some wound of his, he did not so much as knit his brows. Timon also makes his disposition clear in the account he gives to Python. And Philo of Athens, who had been his pupil, used to say that Pyrrho quoted Democritus most of all, and after him Homer, whom he admired. He kept repeating: As are the generations of leaves, so too are those of men. He also compared human beings to wasps, flies and birds. He would quote these lines as well: But, friend, you die too: why do you lament like this? / Patroclus died too, and he was far better than you. He also quoted every passage that bears on the instability of human beings, their empty concerns and their childishness.
9.68	Ποσειδώνιος δὲ καὶ τοιοῦτόν τι διέξεισι περὶ αὐτοῦ. τῶν γὰρ συμπλεόντων αὐτῷ ἐσκυθρωπακότων ὑπὸ χειμῶνος, αὐτὸς γαληνὸς ὢν ἀνέρρωσε τὴν ψυχήν, δείξας ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ χοιρίδιον ἐσθίον καὶ εἰπὼν ὡς χρὴ τὸν σοφὸν ἐν τοιαύτῃ καθεστάναι ἀταραξίᾳ. μόνος δὲ Νουμήνιος καὶ δογματίσαι φησὶν αὐτόν. τούτου πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ μαθηταὶ γεγόνασιν ἐλλόγιμοι, ὧν Εὐρύλοχος· οὗ φέρεται ἐλάσσωμα τόδε. φασὶ γὰρ ὡς οὕτω παρωξύνθη ποτὲ ὥστε τὸν ὀβελίσκον ἅρας μετὰ τῶν κρεῶν ἕως τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐδίωκε τὸν μάγειρον. [69] καὶ ἐν Ἤλιδι καταπονούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ζητούντων ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ἀπορρίψας θοιμάτιον διενήξατο [πέραν] τὸν Ἀλφειόν. ἦν οὖν πολεμιώτατος τοῖς σοφισταῖς, ὡς καὶ Τίμων φησίν.	Posidonius also tells a story of this kind about him. When his fellow passengers were gloomy because of a storm, he stayed calm and revived their spirits. He pointed to a piglet on board that was eating, and said that the wise man ought to remain in just such a state of tranquility. Only Numenius says that he also held doctrines. Besides others, he had notable pupils, among them Eurylochus, of whom the following failing is reported. They say he once got so angry that he picked up the spit, meat and all, and chased the cook as far as the marketplace. [69] At Elis, worn down by people questioning him in discussions, he threw off his cloak and swam [across] the Alpheus. He was, then, the bitterest enemy of the sophists, as Timon also says.
9.69	Ὁ δὲ Φίλων τὰ πλεῖστα διελέγετο ⟨ἑαυτῷ⟩. ὅθεν καὶ περὶ τούτου φησὶν οὕτως· ἢ τὸν ἀπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων αὐτόσχολον αὐτολαλητὴν / οὐκ ἐμπαζόμενον δόξης ἐρίδων τε Φίλωνα.	Philo for the most part talked to himself. That is why Timon says of him too: Or him who keeps away from people, his own school and his own conversation, / Philo, who pays no heed to opinion or to quarrels.
	Πρὸς τούτοις διήκουε τοῦ Πύρρωνος Ἑκαταῖός τε ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης καὶ Τίμων ὁ Φλιάσιος ὁ τοὺς Σίλλους πεποιηκώς, περὶ οὗ λέξομεν, ἔτι τε Ναυσιφάνης ⟨ὁ⟩ Τήιος, οὗ φασί τινες ἀκοῦσαι Ἐπίκουρον. οὗτοι πάντες Πυρρώνειοι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ διδασκάλου, ἀπορητικοὶ δὲ καὶ σκεπτικοὶ καὶ ἔτι ἐφεκτικοὶ καὶ ζητητικοὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἷον δόγματος προσηγορεύοντο.	Besides these, Pyrrho's pupils included Hecataeus of Abdera; Timon of Phlius, the author of the *Silli*, whom we shall discuss; and also Nausiphanes of Teos, under whom, some say, Epicurus studied. All of these were called Pyrrhonists after their teacher. After their doctrine, so to speak, they were called aporetics, skeptics, suspenders of judgment and inquirers.
9.70	ζητητικοὶ μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ πάντοτε ζητεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, σκεπτικοὶ δ᾽ ἀπὸ τοῦ σκέπτεσθαι ἀεὶ καὶ μηδέποτε	They were called inquirers from always inquiring after the truth, and skeptics from always examin-

GREEK

εὑρίσκειν, ἐφεκτικοὶ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ μετὰ τὴν ζήτησιν πάθους· λέγω δὲ τὴν ἐποχήν· ἀπορητικοὶ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τοὺς δογματικοὺς ἀπορεῖν καὶ αὐτούς. Πυρρώνειοι δὲ ἀπὸ Πύρρωνος. Θεοδόσιος δ' ἐν τοῖς Σκεπτικοῖς κεφαλαίοις οὔ φησι δεῖν Πυρρώνειον καλεῖσθαι τὴν σκεπτικήν· εἰ γὰρ τὸ καθ' ἕτερον κίνημα τῆς διανοίας ἄληπτόν ἐστιν, οὐκ εἰσόμεθα τὴν Πύρρωνος διάθεσιν· μὴ εἰδότες δὲ οὐδὲ Πυρρώνειοι καλοίμεθ' ἄν. πρὸς τῷ μηδὲ πρῶτον εὑρηκέναι τὴν σκεπτικὴν Πύρρωνα μηδ' ἔχειν τι δόγμα. λέγοιτο δ' ἄν τις Πυρρώνειος ὁμότροπος.

ENGLISH

ing and never finding. They were called suspenders of judgment from the state that follows the inquiry (I mean suspension of judgment), and aporetics because the dogmatists too are left at a loss, just as they themselves are. They were called Pyrrhonists from Pyrrho. Theodosius, however, in his *Skeptical Chapters*, says that the skeptical school should not be called Pyrrhonist. For if the movement of thought in another person cannot be grasped, we shall not know Pyrrho's disposition, and not knowing it we could not be called Pyrrhonists either. Besides, he says, Pyrrho was not the first to discover skepticism, nor did he hold any doctrine. Still, someone might be called a Pyrrhonist in the sense of living in a similar way.

THE SKEPTICS AND THEIR FORERUNNERS

Why the skeptics claim Homer, the Sages and others, and how they use phrases like "no more."

GREEK

9.71 Ταύτης δὲ τῆς αἱρέσεως ἔνιοί φασιν Ὅμηρον ‹·›, ἐπεὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πραγμάτων παρ' ὀντινοῦν ἄλλοτ' ἄλλως ἀποφαίνεται καὶ οὐδὲν ὁρικῶς δογματίζει περὶ τὴν ἀπόφασιν. ἔπειτα καὶ τὰ τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν σκεπτικὰ εἶναι, οἷον τὸ Μηδὲν ἄγαν, καὶ Ἐγγύα, πάρα δ' ἄτα· δηλοῦσθαι γὰρ τῷ βεβαίως καὶ πεπεισμένως διεγγυωμένῳ ἐπακολουθεῖν ἄτην. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀρχίλοχον καὶ Εὐριπίδην σκεπτικῶς ἔχειν, ἐν οἷς Ἀρχίλοχος μέν φησι· τοῖος ἀνθρώποισι θυμός, Γλαῦκε Λεπτίνεω πάϊ, / γίγνεται θνητοῖς ὁκοίην Ζεὺς ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἄγει. Εὐριπίδης δέ· (ὦ Ζεῦ,) τί δῆτα τοὺς ταλαιπώρους βροτοὺς φρονεῖν λέγουσι; σοῦ γὰρ ἐξηρτήμεθα δρῶμέν τε τοιάδ' ἃ 'ν σὺ τυγχάνῃς θέλων.

9.72 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Ξενοφάνης καὶ Ζήνων ὁ Ἐλεάτης καὶ Δημόκριτος κατ' αὐτοὺς σκεπτικοὶ τυγχάνουσιν· ἐν οἷς Ξενοφάνης μέν φησι, καὶ τὸ μὲν οὖν σαφὲς οὔτις ἀνὴρ ἴδεν οὐδέ τις ἔσται εἰδώς. Ζήνων δὲ τὴν κίνησιν ἀναιρεῖ λέγων, "τὸ κινούμενον οὔτ' ἐν ᾧ ἐστι τόπῳ κινεῖται οὔτ' ἐν ᾧ μὴ ἔστι"· Δημόκριτος δὲ τὰς ποιότητας ἐκβάλλων, ἵνα φησί, "νόμῳ ψυχρόν, νόμῳ θερμόν, ἐτεῇ δὲ ἄτομα καὶ κενόν"· καὶ πάλιν, "ἐτεῇ δὲ οὐδὲν ἴδμεν· ἐν βυθῷ γὰρ ἡ ἀλήθεια." καὶ Πλάτωνα τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς θεοῖς τε καὶ θεῶν παισὶν ἐκχωρεῖν, τὸν δ' εἰκότα λόγον ζητεῖν.

ENGLISH

Some say that Homer started this school, since about the same matters he declares now one thing, now another, more than anyone else, and never dogmatizes definitely in his statements. Then, they say, the sayings of the Seven Sages are skeptical too, such as "Nothing in excess" and "Give a pledge, and ruin is at hand." This shows, they say, that ruin follows anyone who gives a pledge firmly and with confidence. They also say that Archilochus and Euripides take a skeptical stance. Archilochus says: Such is the mind of mortal men, Glaucus son of Leptines, / as the day Zeus brings upon them. And Euripides: (O Zeus,) why then do they say that wretched mortals have understanding? We hang on you, and do whatever you happen to want.

Not only that, but Xenophanes, Zeno of Elea and Democritus turn out, according to them, to be skeptics too. Xenophanes says: No man has seen what is clear, nor will there be anyone who knows. Zeno abolishes motion, saying, "What moves moves neither in the place where it is nor in the place where it is not." Democritus does away with qualities where he says, "By convention cold, by convention hot, but in reality atoms and void," and again, "In reality we know nothing, for truth is in the depths." Plato too, they say, leaves the

GREEK

καὶ Εὐριπίδην λέγειν· [73] τίς δ' οἶδεν εἰ τὸ ζῆν μέν ἐστι κατθανεῖν,
τὸ κατθανεῖν δὲ ζῆν νομίζεται βροτοῖς; ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέα· οὕτως οὔτ' ἐπιδερκτὰ τάδ' ἀνδράσιν οὔτ' ἐπακουστὰ
οὔτε νόῳ περιληπτά· καὶ ἐπάνω, αὐτὸ μόνον πεισθέντες ὅτῳ προσέκυρσεν ἕκαστος· ἔτι μὴν Ἡράκλειτον, "μὴ εἰκῆ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων συμβαλλώμεθα"· καὶ Ἱπποκράτην [ἔπειτα] ἐνδοιαστῶς καὶ ἀνθρωπίνως ἀποφαίνεσθαι· καὶ πρὶν Ὅμηρον, στρεπτὴ δὲ γλῶσσ' ἐστὶ βροτῶν, πολέες δ' ἔνι μῦθοι· καὶ ἐπέων δὲ πολὺς νομὸς ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα· καὶ ὁπποῖόν κ' εἴπῃσθα ἔπος, τοῖόν κ' ἐπακούσαις· τὴν ἰσοσθένειαν λέγων καὶ ἀντίθεσιν τῶν λόγων.

9.74 Διετέλουν δὴ οἱ σκεπτικοὶ τὰ τῶν αἱρέσεων δόγματα πάντ' ἀνατρέποντες, αὐτοὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἀπεφαίνοντο δογματικῶς, ἕως δὲ τοῦ προφέρεσθαι τὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ διηγεῖσθαι μηδὲν ὁρίζοντες, μηδ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο. ὥστε καὶ τὸ μὴ ὁρίζειν ἀνῄρουν, λέγοντες οἷον Οὐδὲν ὁρίζομεν, ἐπεὶ ὥριζον ἄν· προφερόμεθα δέ, φασί, τὰς ἀποφάσεις εἰς μήνυσιν τῆς ἀπροπτωσίας, ὡς, εἰ καὶ νεύσαντας, τοῦτο ἐνεδέχετο δηλῶσαι· διὰ τῆς οὖν Οὐδὲν ὁρίζομεν φωνῆς τὸ τῆς ἀρρεψίας πάθος δηλοῦται· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς Οὐδὲν μᾶλλον καὶ τῆς Παντὶ λόγῳ λόγος ἀντίκειται καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων.

9.75 λέγεται δὲ τὸ Οὐδὲν μᾶλλον καὶ θετικῶς, ὡς ὁμοίων τινῶν ὄντων· οἷον, Οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ὁ πειρατης κακός ἐστιν ἢ ὁ ψεύστης. ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν σκεπτικῶν οὐ θετικῶς ἀλλ' ἀναιρετικῶς λέγεται, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνασκευάζοντος καὶ λέγοντος, Οὐ μᾶλλον ἡ Σκύλλα γέγονεν ἢ ἡ Χίμαιρα. αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ Μᾶλλον ποτὲ μὲν συγκριτικῶς ἐκφέρεται, ὡς ὅταν φῶμεν μᾶλλον τὸ μέλι γλυκὺ ἢ τὴν σταφίδα· ποτὲ δὲ θετικῶς καὶ ἀναιρετικῶς, ὡς ὅταν φῶμεν, Μᾶλλον ἡ ἀρετὴ ὠφελεῖ ἢ βλάπτει· σημαίνομεν γὰρ ὅτι ἡ ἀρετὴ ὠφελεῖ, βλάπτει δ' οὔ.

9.76 ἀναιροῦσι δ' οἱ σκεπτικοὶ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν "Οὐδὲν μᾶλλον" φωνήν· ὡς γὰρ οὐ μᾶλλόν ἐστι πρόνοια ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν, οὕτω

ENGLISH

truth to the gods and the children of gods, and himself seeks the probable account.

Euripides too, they say: [73] Who knows if living is dying,
and dying is what mortals consider living? And Empedocles: Thus these things cannot be seen by men, nor heard,
nor grasped by the mind. And a little earlier: persuaded only of whatever each has happened upon. Heraclitus too: "Let us not make random conjectures about the greatest matters." Hippocrates, they say, [then] makes his pronouncements hesitantly and within human limits. Before them all there is Homer: The tongue of mortals is twisty, and many are the words in it; and: Wide is the range of words this way and that; and: Whatever word you speak, such would you hear in return. By this Homer means the equal force and opposition of arguments.

So the skeptics spent their time overturning all the doctrines of the schools, while they themselves made no dogmatic pronouncement. They went as far as presenting and setting out the views of others, but determined nothing, not even this very thing. So they even abolished their own "not determining," saying, for example, "We determine nothing," since otherwise they would be determining something. "We put forward these statements," they say, "to indicate our lack of rashness, just as we could have shown this even by a nod." So the expression "We determine nothing" indicates the state of not inclining either way. The same is true of "No more," of "To every argument an argument is opposed," and of similar expressions.

"No more" is also used positively, where certain things are alike: for example, "The pirate is no more bad than the liar." The skeptics, however, use it not positively but negatively, as someone does who is refuting a claim and says, "Scylla existed no more than the Chimaera." "More" itself is sometimes used comparatively, as when we say that honey is more sweet than raisins. Sometimes it is used both positively and negatively, as when we say, "Excellence benefits more than it harms," for we mean that excellence benefits and does not harm.

The skeptics also abolish the expression "No more" itself. Just as providence no more exists

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	καὶ τὸ Οὐδὲν μᾶλλον οὐ μᾶλλόν ἐστιν ἢ οὐκ ἔστι. σημαίνει οὖν ἡ φωνή, καθά φησι καὶ Τίμων ἐν τῷ Πύθωνι, "τὸ μηδὲν ὁρίζειν, ἀλλ' ἀπροσθετεῖν." ἡ δὲ Παντὶ λόγῳ φωνὴ καὶ αὐτὴ συνάγει τὴν ἐποχήν· τῶν μὲν γὰρ πραγμάτων διαφωνούντων, τῶν δὲ λόγων ἰσοσθενούντων ἀγνωσία τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπακολουθεῖ· καὶ αὐτῷ δὲ τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ λόγος ἀντίκειται, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ τὸ ἀνελεῖν τοὺς ἄλλους ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ περιτραπεὶς ἀπόλλυται, κατ' ἴσον τοῖς καθαρτικοῖς, ἃ τὴν ὕλην προεκκρίναντα καὶ αὐτὰ ὑπεκκρίνεται καὶ ἐξαπόλλυται.	than does not exist, so "No more" no more exists than does not exist. The expression therefore signifies, as Timon also says in his *Python*, "determining nothing, but withholding assent." The expression "To every argument …" likewise leads to suspension of judgment. When things are at variance and arguments are of equal force, ignorance of the truth follows. And to this very argument an argument is opposed. Once it has destroyed the others, it turns against itself and is destroyed, just like purgatives, which first flush out the matter and then are flushed out themselves and destroyed.
9.77	Πρὸς ὅ φασιν οἱ δογματικοὶ … μὴ αἴρειν τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ προσεπισχυρίζειν. μόνον οὖν διακόνοις ἐχρῶντο τοῖς λόγοις· οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἦν μὴ λόγῳ λόγον ἀνελεῖν· καθ' ὃν τρόπον εἰώθαμεν λέγειν τόπον μὴ εἶναι καὶ δεῖ πάντως τὸν τόπον εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐ δογματικῶς, ἀποδεικτικῶς δέ· καὶ μηδὲν γίνεσθαι κατ' ἀνάγκην καὶ δεῖ τὴν ἀνάγκην εἰπεῖν. τοιούτῳ τινὶ τρόπῳ τῆς ἑρμηνείας ἐχρῶντο· οἷα γὰρ φαίνεται τὰ πράγματα, μὴ τοιαῦτα εἶναι τῇ φύσει, ἀλλὰ μόνον φαίνεσθαι· ζητεῖν τ' ἔλεγον οὐχ ἅπερ νοοῦσιν, ὅ τι γὰρ νοεῖται δῆλον, ἀλλ' ὧν ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι μετίσχουσιν.	To this the dogmatists reply … that this does not abolish the argument but confirms it further. The skeptics, then, used arguments only as servants, for it was impossible to abolish an argument except by an argument. In the same way we are accustomed to say that place does not exist, and yet we have to speak of place, though not dogmatically but by way of demonstration. Likewise we say that nothing happens by necessity, and yet we have to speak of necessity. They used some such manner of expression. Things, they said, are not by nature such as they appear, but only appear so. They said they inquired not into what they think, since what is thought is obvious, but into what they grasp through the senses.
9.78	Ἔστιν οὖν ὁ Πυρρώνειος λόγος μήνυσίς τις τῶν φαινομένων ἢ τῶν ὁπωσοῦν νοουμένων, καθ' ἣν πάντα πᾶσι συμβάλλεται καὶ συγκρινόμενα πολλὴν ἀνωμαλίαν καὶ ταραχὴν ἔχοντα εὑρίσκεται, καθά φησιν Αἰνεσίδημος ἐν τῇ εἰς τὰ Πυρρώνεια ὑποτυπώσει. πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἐν ταῖς σκέψεσιν ἀντιθέσεις προαποδεικνύντες καθ' οὓς τρόπους πείθει τὰ πράγματα, κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀνῄρουν τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν πίστιν· πείθειν γὰρ τά τε κατ' αἴσθησιν συμφώνως ἔχοντα καὶ τὰ μηδέποτε ἢ σπανίως γοῦν μεταπίπτοντα τά τε συνήθη καὶ τὰ νόμοις διεσταλμένα καὶ τὰ τέρποντα καὶ τὰ θαυμαζόμενα. [79] ἐδείκνυσαν οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων τοῖς πείθουσιν ἴσας τὰς πιθανότητας.	The Pyrrhonist account, then, is a kind of report on appearances, or on things thought in any way whatever. In it all things are set against all, and when compared they are found to be full of anomaly and confusion, as Aenesidemus says in his *Outline of Pyrrhonism*. As for the oppositions in their investigations, they would first show the ways in which things carry conviction, and then by the same ways abolish belief in them. They said that the things that carry conviction are those that agree with sensation, those that never or at least rarely change, those that are customary, those laid down by laws, those that give pleasure, and those that are admired. [79] They showed, then, from the opposites of what carries conviction, that the persuasiveness on each side was equal.

THE TEN MODES

The ten ways in which things appear differently, so that judgment must be suspended.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
9.79	Αἱ δ' ἀπορίαι κατὰ τὰς συμφωνίας τῶν φαινομένων ἢ νοουμένων, ἃς ἀπεδίδοσαν, ἦσαν κατὰ δέκα τρόπους, καθ' οὓς τὰ ὑποκείμενα παραλλάττοντα ἐφαίνετο. τούτους δὲ τοὺς δέκα τρόπους τίθησιν.	The puzzles they set out concerning the agreements among appearances or things thought fell under ten modes, according to which the underlying objects appeared to vary. He sets out these ten modes as follows.
	[Εἷς] πρῶτος ὁ παρὰ τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν ζῴων πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ ἀλγηδόνα καὶ βλάβην καὶ ὠφέλειαν. συνάγεται δὲ δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ μὴ τὰς αὐτὰς ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν προσπίπτειν φαντασίας καὶ τὸ διότι τῇ τοιαύτῃ μάχῃ ἀκολουθεῖ τὸ ἐπέχειν· τῶν γὰρ ζῴων τὰ μὲν χωρὶς μίξεως γίνεσθαι, ὡς τὰ πυρίβια καὶ ὁ Ἀράβιος φοῖνιξ καὶ εὐλαί· τὰ δ' ἐξ ἐπιπλοκῆς, ὡς ἄνθρωποι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα· [80] καὶ τὰ μὲν οὕτως, τὰ δ' οὕτως συγκέκριται· διὸ καὶ τῇ αἰσθήσει διαφέρει, ὡς κίρκοι μὲν ὀξύτατοι, κύνες δ' ὀσφρητικώτατοι.	[One:] The first is the mode based on the differences among animals with regard to pleasure and pain, harm and benefit. From it they infer that the same impressions do not arise from the same things, and that such conflict entails suspension of judgment. Some animals, they say, are born without mating, like the creatures that live in fire, the Arabian phoenix and maggots. Others are born from coupling, like human beings and the rest. [80] Some are constituted one way, others another, and so they also differ in perception: hawks, for instance, are the sharpest-sighted, and dogs have the keenest sense of smell.
9.80	εὔλογον οὖν τοῖς διαφόροις τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς διάφορα καὶ τὰ φαντάσματα προσπίπτειν· καὶ τῇ μὲν αἰγὶ τὸν θαλλὸν εἶναι ἐδώδιμον, ἀνθρώπῳ δὲ πικρόν, καὶ τὸ κώνειον ὄρτυγι μὲν τρόφιμον, ἀνθρώπῳ δὲ θανάσιμον, καὶ ὁ ἀπόπατος ὑῒ μὲν ἐδώδιμος, ἵππῳ δ' οὔ.	It is reasonable, then, that animals with different eyes should receive different images too. To the goat young shoots are good to eat, but to a human being they are bitter. Hemlock is nourishing to the quail, but deadly to a human being. Dung is good to eat for a pig, but not for a horse.
	Δεύτερος ὁ παρὰ τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσεις καὶ τὰς ἰδιοσυγκρισίας· Δημοφῶν γοῦν ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου τραπεζοκόμος ἐν σκιᾷ ἐθάλπετο, ἐν ἡλίῳ δ' ἐρρίγου. [81] Ἄνδρων δ' ὁ Ἀργεῖος, ὥς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης, διὰ τῆς ἀνύδρου Λιβύης ὥδευεν ἄποτος. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἰατρικῆς, ὁ δὲ γεωργίας, ἄλλος δ' ἐμπορίας ὀρέγεται· καὶ ταὐτὰ οὓς μὲν βλάπτει, οὓς δὲ ὠφελεῖ· ὅθεν ἐφεκτέον.	The second is the mode based on the natures and idiosyncrasies of human beings. Demophon, for example, Alexander's table-steward, felt warm in the shade and shivered in the sun. [81] Andron of Argos, as Aristotle says, crossed waterless Libya without drinking. One person is drawn to medicine, another to farming, another to trade, and the same things harm some people and benefit others. Hence one must suspend judgment.
9.81	Τρίτος ὁ παρὰ τὰς τῶν αἰσθητικῶν πόρων διαφοράς. τὸ γοῦν μῆλον ὁράσει μὲν ὠχρόν, γεύσει δὲ γλυκύ, ὀσφρήσει δ' εὐῶδες ὑποπίπτει. καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ δὲ μορφὴ παρὰ τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν κατόπτρων ἀλλοία θεωρεῖται. ἀκολουθεῖ οὖν μὴ μᾶλλον εἶναι τοῖον τὸ φαινόμενον ἢ ἀλλοῖον.	The third is the mode based on the differences among the sense channels. An apple, for example, presents itself to sight as pale yellow, to taste as sweet, to smell as fragrant. The same shape, too, looks different in different mirrors. It follows, then, that what appears is no more such than otherwise.
9.82	Τέταρτος ὁ παρὰ τὰς διαθέσεις καὶ κοινῶς παραλλαγάς, οἷον ὑγίειαν, νόσον, ὕπνον, ἐγρήγορσιν, χαράν, λύπην, νεότητα, γῆρας, θάρσος, φόβον, ἔνδειαν, πλήρωσιν,	The fourth is the mode based on dispositions and changes in general, such as health, sickness, sleep,

GREEK

μῖσος, φιλίαν, θερμασίαν, ψύξιν· παρὰ τὸ πνεῖν, παρὰ τὸ πιεσθῆναι τοὺς πόρους. ἀλλοῖα οὖν φαίνεται τὰ προσπίπτοντα παρὰ τὰς ποιὰς διαθέσεις. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ μαινόμενοι παρὰ φύσιν ἔχουσι· τί γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνοι ἢ ἡμεῖς; καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς τὸν ἥλιον ὡς ἑστῶτα βλέπομεν. Θέων δ' ὁ Τιθοραιεὺς ὁ στωικὸς κοιμώμενος περιεπάτει ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ καὶ Περικλέους δοῦλος ἐπ' ἄκρου τοῦ τέγους.

9.83 Πέμπτος ὁ παρὰ τὰς ἀγωγὰς καὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰς μυθικὰς πίστεις καὶ τὰς ἐθνικὰς συνθήκας καὶ δογματικὰς ὑπολήψεις. ἐν τούτῳ περιέχεται τὰ περὶ καλῶν καὶ αἰσχρῶν, περὶ ἀληθῶν καὶ ψευδῶν, περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν, περὶ θεῶν καὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς τῶν φαινομένων πάντων. τὸ γοῦν αὐτὸ παρ' οἷς μὲν δίκαιον, παρ' οἷς δὲ ἄδικον· καὶ ἄλλοις μὲν ἀγαθόν, ἄλλοις δὲ κακόν. Πέρσαι μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἄτοπον ἡγοῦνται θυγατρὶ μίγνυσθαι, Ἕλληνες δ' ἔκθεσμον.

καὶ Μασσαγέται μέν, ὥς φησι καὶ Εὔδοξος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς Περιόδου, κοινὰς ἔχουσι τὰς γυναῖκας, Ἕλληνες δ' οὔ· Κίλικές τε λῃστείαις ἔχαιρον, ἀλλ' οὐχ Ἕλληνες. [84] θεούς τ' ἄλλοι ἄλλους ἡγοῦνται· καὶ οἱ μὲν προνοεῖσθαι, οἱ δ' οὔ. θάπτουσι δ' Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν ταριχεύοντες, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καίοντες, Παίονες δ' εἰς λίμνας ῥιπτοῦντες· ὅθεν περὶ τἀληθοῦς ἡ ἐποχή.

9.84 Ἕκτος ὁ παρὰ τὰς μίξεις καὶ κοινωνίας, καθ' ὃν εἰλικρινῶς οὐδὲν καθ' αὑτὸ φαίνεται, ἀλλὰ σὺν ἀέρι, σὺν φωτί, σὺν ὑγρῷ, σὺν στερεῷ, θερμότητι, ψυχρότητι, κινήσει, ἀναθυμιάσεσιν, ἄλλαις δυνάμεσιν. ἡ γοῦν πορφύρα διάφορον ὑποφαίνει χρῶμα ἐν ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ λύχνῳ. καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον χρῶμα ἀλλοῖον ὑπὸ τὴν μεσημβρίαν φαίνεται καὶ· ὑπὸ δύσιν· καὶ ὁ ἐν ἀέρι ὑπὸ δυοῖν κουφιζόμενος [85] λίθος ἐν ὕδατι ῥᾳδίως μετατίθεται, ἤτοι βαρὺς ὢν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος κουφιζόμενος ἢ ἐλαφρὸς [ὢν] καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀέρος βαρυνόμενος. ἀγνοοῦμεν οὖν τὸ κατ' ἰδίαν, ὡς ἔλαιον ἐν μύρῳ.

9.85

ENGLISH

waking, joy, grief, youth, old age, confidence, fear, want, fullness, hatred, friendship, heat, cold, as well as breathing and the compression of the pores. What strikes us, then, appears different according to our particular dispositions. Not even madmen are in a state contrary to nature: why should they be, any more than we are? For we too see the sun as standing still. Theon of Tithorea, the Stoic, walked about in his sleep, and so did a slave of Pericles on the ridge of the roof.

The fifth is the mode based on ways of life, laws, beliefs in myths, the conventions of peoples and dogmatic assumptions. This covers questions about things fine and shameful, true and false, good and bad, about the gods, and about the coming into being and passing away of all phenomena. The same thing, for example, is just among some peoples and unjust among others, good for some and bad for others. The Persians do not think it out of place to have intercourse with a daughter, while the Greeks consider it unlawful.

The Massagetae, as Eudoxus also says in the first book of his *Circuit of the Earth*, hold their wives in common, while the Greeks do not. The Cilicians delighted in piracy, but not the Greeks. [84] Different peoples believe in different gods, and some believe the gods exercise providence, while others do not. The Egyptians bury their dead by embalming them, the Romans by burning them, the Paeonians by throwing them into lakes. Hence suspension of judgment about the truth.[28]

The sixth is the mode based on mixtures and combinations. According to it, nothing appears purely by itself, but always together with air, with light, with moisture, with solidity, heat, cold, motion, vapors and other forces. Purple, for example, shows a different color in sunlight, in moonlight and in lamplight. Our own complexion looks different at midday and at sunset. And a stone that takes two people to lift in air [85] is easily shifted in water, either because it is heavy and is lightened by the water, or because it is light and is weighed down by the air. So we do not know a thing's own particular character, any more than we can know the oil in a perfume.

28 The Massagetae were a nomadic people of Central Asia.

GREEK

Ἕβδομος ὁ παρὰ τὰς ἀποστάσεις καὶ ποιὰς θέσεις καὶ τοὺς τόπους καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς τόποις. κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον τὰ δοκοῦντ' εἶναι μεγάλα μικρὰ φαίνεται, τὰ τετράγωνα στρογγύλα, τὰ ὁμαλὰ ἐξοχὰς ἔχοντα, τὰ ὀρθὰ κεκλασμένα, τὰ ὠχρὰ ἑτερόχροα. ὁ γοῦν ἥλιος παρὰ τὸ διάστημα μικρὸς φαίνεται· καὶ τὰ ὄρη πόρρωθεν ἀεροειδῆ καὶ λεῖα, ἐγγύθεν δὲ τραχέα. [86] ἔτι ὁ ἥλιος ἀνίσχων μὲν ἀλλοῖος, μεσουρανῶν δ' οὐχ ὅμοιος. καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ σῶμα ἐν μὲν ἄλσει ἀλλοῖον, ἐν δὲ ψιλῇ γῇ ἕτερον· καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν παρὰ τὴν ποιὰν θέσιν, ὅ τε τῆς περιστερᾶς τράχηλος παρὰ τὴν στροφήν. ἐπεὶ οὖν οὐκ ἔνι ἔξω τόπων καὶ θέσεων ταῦτα κατανοῆσαι, ἀγνοεῖται ἡ φύσις αὐτῶν.

ENGLISH

The seventh is the mode based on distances, particular positions, places and the things in places. By this mode things thought to be large appear small, square things round, smooth things uneven, straight things bent, pale things of another color. The sun, for example, appears small because of the distance. Mountains look misty and smooth from far off, but rugged from close up. [86] Again, the sun looks one way when rising, and not the same at its zenith. The same body looks one way in a grove and different on bare ground. So too an image changes with its particular position, and a dove's neck with the way it turns. Since, then, it is impossible to observe these things apart from places and positions, their nature is unknown.

9.86 Ὄγδοος ὁ παρὰ τὰς ποσότητας καὶ ποιότητας αὐτῶν ἢ θερμότητας ἢ ψυχρότητας ἢ ταχύτητας ἢ βραδύτητας ἢ ὠχρότητας ἢ ἑτεροχροιότητας. ὁ γοῦν οἶνος μέτριος μὲν ληφθεὶς ῥώννυσι, πλείων δὲ παρίησιν· ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ τροφὴ καὶ τὰ ὅμοια.

The eighth is the mode based on the quantities and qualities of things, whether heat or cold, speed or slowness, paleness or variety of color. Wine taken in moderation, for example, strengthens the body, but in larger amounts it weakens it. The same is true of food and the like.

9.87 Ἔνατος ὁ παρὰ τὸ ἐνδελεχὲς ἢ ξένον ἢ σπάνιον. οἱ γοῦν σεισμοὶ παρ' οἷς συνεχῶς ἀποτελοῦνται οὐ θαυμάζονται, οὐδ' ὁ ἥλιος, ὅτι καθ' ἡμέραν ὁρᾶται. τὸν ἔνατον Φαβωρῖνος ὄγδοον, Σέξτος δὲ καὶ Αἰνεσίδημος δέκατον· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δέκατον Σέξτος ὄγδοόν φησι, Φαβωρῖνος δὲ ἔνατον.

The ninth is the mode based on what is continual, strange or rare. Earthquakes, for example, cause no wonder where they happen constantly, and neither does the sun, because it is seen every day. Favorinus counts the ninth as eighth, while Sextus and Aenesidemus count it as tenth. The tenth, too, Sextus calls eighth, and Favorinus ninth.[29]

Δέκατος ὁ κατὰ τὴν πρὸς ἄλλα σύμβλησιν, καθάπερ τὸ κοῦφον παρὰ τὸ βαρύ, τὸ ἰσχυρὸν παρὰ τὸ ἀσθενές, τὸ μεῖζον παρὰ τὸ ἔλαττον, τὸ ἄνω παρὰ τὸ κάτω. τὸ γοῦν δεξιὸν φύσει μὲν οὐκ ἔστι δεξιόν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὡς πρὸς τὸ ἕτερον σχέσιν νοεῖται· μετατεθέντος γοῦν ἐκείνου, οὐκέτ' ἐστὶ δεξιόν. [88] ὁμοίως καὶ πατὴρ καὶ ἀδελφὸς ὡς πρός τι καὶ ἡμέρα ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον καὶ πάντα ὡς πρὸς τὴν διάνοιαν. ἄγνωστα οὖν τὰ πρός τι [ὡς] καθ' ἑαυτά. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οἱ δέκα τρόποι.

The tenth mode is based on comparison with other things: the light compared with the heavy, the strong with the weak, the larger with the smaller, what is above with what is below. Right, for instance, is not right by nature; it is understood through its relation to something else, and if that other thing is moved, it is no longer right. [88] In the same way father and brother are relative terms, day is relative to the sun, and everything is relative to the mind. So relative things are unknowable [as] in themselves. These, then, are the ten modes.

29 Sextus Empiricus, a skeptic of the second century AD whose works survive.

THE FIVE MODES AND THE CASE AGAINST PROOF

Agrippa's five modes, then arguments against proof, the criterion, signs, cause, motion and learning.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
9.88	Οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἀγρίππαν τούτοις ἄλλους πέντε προσεισάγουσι, τόν τ' ἀπὸ τῆς διαφωνίας καὶ τὸν εἰς ἄπειρον ἐκβάλλοντα καὶ τὸν πρός τι καὶ τὸν ἐξ ὑποθέσεως καὶ τὸν δι' ἀλλήλων. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς διαφωνίας ὃ ἂν προτεθῇ ζήτημα παρὰ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἢ τῇ συνηθείᾳ, πλείστης μάχης καὶ ταραχῆς πλῆρες ἀποδεικνύει· ὁ δ' εἰς ἄπειρον ἐκβάλλων οὐκ ἐᾷ βεβαιοῦσθαι τὸ ζητούμενον, διὰ τὸ ἄλλο ἀπ' ἄλλου τὴν πίστιν λαμβάνειν καὶ οὕτως εἰς ἄπειρον.	Agrippa and his followers add five more modes to these: the mode from disagreement, the mode from infinite regress, the mode from relativity, the mode from hypothesis and the reciprocal mode. The mode from disagreement shows that whatever question is put forward, whether among philosophers or in everyday life, is full of the greatest conflict and confusion. The mode from infinite regress does not allow what is under investigation to be established, because one thing gets its credibility from another, and so on to infinity.[30]
9.89	ὁ δὲ πρός τι οὐδέν φησι καθ' ἑαυτὸ λαμβάνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μεθ' ἑτέρου. ὅθεν ἄγνωστα εἶναι. ὁ δ' ἐξ ὑποθέσεως τρόπος συνίσταται, οἰομένων τινῶν τὰ πρῶτα τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτόθεν δεῖν λαμβάνειν ὡς πιστὰ καὶ μὴ αἰτεῖσθαι· ὅ ἐστι μάταιον· τὸ ἐναντίον γάρ τις ὑποθήσεται. ὁ δὲ δι' ἀλλήλων τρόπος συνίσταται ὅταν τὸ ὀφεῖλον τοῦ ζητουμένου πράγματος εἶναι βεβαιωτικὸν χρείαν ἔχῃ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ ζητουμένου πίστεως, οἷον εἰ τὸ εἶναι πόρους τις βεβαιῶν διὰ τὸ ἀπορροίας γίνεσθαι, αὐτὸ τοῦτο παραλαμβάνοι πρὸς βεβαίωσιν το〈ῦ〉 ἀπορροίας γίνεσθαι.	The mode from relativity says that nothing is grasped by itself, only together with something else, and that things are therefore unknowable. The mode from hypothesis arises when people think that the first principles of things must be taken as credible straight off, without being demanded proof. This is futile, since someone else will assume the opposite. The reciprocal mode arises when what ought to confirm the thing under investigation itself needs to get its credibility from the thing under investigation. Suppose, for example, someone confirms that there are pores on the grounds that emanations occur, and then takes this very point to confirm that emanations occur.
9.90	Ἀνῄρουν δ' οὗτοι καὶ πᾶσαν ἀπόδειξιν καὶ κριτήριον καὶ σημεῖον καὶ αἴτιον καὶ κίνησιν καὶ μάθησιν καὶ γένεσιν καὶ τὸ φύσει τι εἶναι ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν. πᾶσα γὰρ ἀπόδειξις, φασίν, ἢ ἐξ ἀποδεδειγμένων σύγκειται χρημάτων ἢ ἐξ ἀναποδείκτων. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀποδεδειγμένων, κἀκεῖνα δεήσεταί τινος ἀποδείξεως κἀντεῦθεν εἰς ἄπειρον· εἰ δ' ἐξ ἀναποδείκτων, ἤτοι πάντων ἢ τινῶν ἢ καὶ ἑνὸς μόνου δισταζομένου, καὶ τὸ ὅλον εἶναι ἀναπόδεικτον. εἰ δὲ δοκεῖ, φασίν, ὑπάρχειν τινὰ μηδεμιᾶς ἀποδείξεως δεόμενα, θαυμαστοὶ τῆς γνώμης, εἰ μὴ συνιᾶσιν ὅτι εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο πρῶτον, ὡς ἄρ' ἐξ αὑτῶν ἔχει τὴν πίστιν, ἀποδείξεως χρή.	These men also did away with all proof, criterion, sign, cause, motion, learning and coming-to-be, and with the idea that anything is good or bad by nature. Every proof, they say, is made up either of things already proved or of things unproved. If it is made up of things proved, those too will need some proof, and so on to infinity. If it is made up of things unproved, then whether all of them, or some, or even just one is in doubt, the whole is unproved too. And if people think, they say, that there are some things that need no proof, their judgment is remarkable if they do not see that this very point, that such things carry their credibility in themselves, needs proof first.
9.91	οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ τέτταρα εἶναι τὰ στοιχεῖα ἐκ τοῦ τέτταρα εἶναι τὰ στοιχεῖα βεβαιωτέον. πρὸς τῷ καὶ τῶν κατὰ	For one cannot confirm that the elements are four from the fact that the elements are four. Besides, if

30 Agrippa was a later Pyrrhonist, probably of the first century AD, known almost only for these five modes.

GREEK

μέρος ἀποδείξεων ἀπιστουμένων ἄπιστον εἶναι καὶ τὴν γενικὴν ἀπόδειξιν. ἵνα τε γνῶμεν ὅτι ἔστιν ἀπόδειξις, κριτηρίου δεῖ· καὶ ὅτι ἔστι κριτήριον, ἀποδείξεως δεῖ· ὅθεν ἑκάτερα ἀκατάληπτα ἀναπεμπόμενα ἐπ᾽ ἄλληλα. πῶς ἂν οὖν καταλαμβάνοιτο τὰ ἄδηλα, τῆς ἀποδείξεως ἀγνοουμένης; ζητεῖται δ᾽ οὐκ εἰ φαίνεται τοιαῦτα, ἀλλ᾽ εἰ καθ᾽ ὑπόστασιν οὕτως ἔχει.

ENGLISH

particular proofs are distrusted, proof in general is untrustworthy too. Again, to know that proof exists we need a criterion, and to know that a criterion exists we need proof; so each is beyond apprehension, since each is referred back to the other. How, then, could non-evident things be apprehended, when proof itself is unknown? The question is not whether things appear to be of a certain kind, but whether they really are so in their underlying reality.

Εὐήθεις δὲ τοὺς δογματικοὺς ἀπέφαινον. τὸ γὰρ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως περαινόμενον οὐ σκέψεως ἀλλὰ θέσεως ἔχει λόγον. τοιούτῳ δὲ λόγῳ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀδυνάτων ἔστιν ἐπιχειρεῖν. [92] τοὺς δ᾽ οἰομένους μὴ δεῖν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ περίστασιν κρίνειν τἀληθὲς μηδ᾽ ἐκ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν νομοθετεῖν, ἔλεγον αὐτοὺς μέτρα τῶν πάντων ὁρίζειν, οὐχ ὁρῶντας ὅτι πᾶν τὸ φαινόμενον κατ᾽ ἀντιπερίστασιν καὶ διάθεσιν φαίνεται. ἤτοι γοῦν πάντ᾽ ἀληθῆ ῥητέον ἢ πάντα ψευδῆ. εἰ δ᾽ ἔνιά ἐστιν ἀληθῆ, τίνι διακριτέον; οὔτε γὰρ αἰσθήσει τὰ κατ᾽ αἴσθησιν, πάντων ἴσων αὐτῇ φαινομένων, οὔτε νοήσει διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν.

They declared the dogmatists simple-minded. For what is concluded from a hypothesis has the standing not of an inquiry but of a mere positing, and with reasoning of that kind one can argue even for impossibilities. [92] As for those who think that truth should not be judged from circumstances, nor its laws laid down from what is according to nature, they said that such people were setting up measures for everything without seeing that everything that appears appears in relation to surrounding circumstances and to the observer's condition. So either everything must be called true, or everything false. And if some things are true, by what are they to be told apart? Not by sense, in the case of sensible things, since they all appear equal to it; nor by thought, for the same reason.

9.92 ἄλλη δὲ παρὰ ταύτας εἰς ἐπίκρισιν δύναμις οὐχ ὁρᾶται. ὁ οὖν, φασί, περί τινος διαβεβαιούμενος αἰσθητοῦ ἢ νοητοῦ πρότερον ὀφείλει τὰς περὶ τούτου δόξας καταστῆσαι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα, οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνῃρήκασι. δεῖ δ᾽ ἢ δι᾽ αἰσθητοῦ ἢ νοητοῦ κριθῆναι. ἑκάτερα δὲ ἀμφισβητεῖται.

And no other faculty besides these is to be seen for making the decision. So, they say, anyone who makes a firm assertion about something sensible or intelligible must first settle the opinions about it, since some people have done away with one set of things and others with another. It has to be judged by means of something sensible or something intelligible, and both are disputed.

9.93 οὐδὲ τοίνυν δυνατὸν τὰς περὶ αἰσθητῶν ἢ νοητῶν ἐπικρῖναι δόξας· εἴ τε διὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς νοήσεσι μάχην ἀπιστητέον πᾶσιν, ἀναιρεθήσεται τὸ μέτρον ᾧ δοκεῖ τὰ πάντα διακριβοῦσθαι· πᾶν οὖν ἴσον ἡγήσονται. ἔτι, φασίν, ὁ συζητῶν ἡμῖν τὸ φαινόμενον πιστός ἐστιν ἢ οὔ. εἰ μὲν οὖν πιστός ἐστιν, οὐδὲν ἔξει λέγειν πρὸς τὸν ᾧ φαίνεται τοὐναντίον· ὡς γὰρ αὐτὸς πιστός ἐστι τὸ φαινόμενον λέγων, οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἐναντίος· εἰ δ᾽ ἄπιστος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπιστηθήσεται τὸ φαινόμενον λέγων.

It is therefore not possible to decide between the opinions about sensible or intelligible things. And if, because of the conflict among our thoughts, we must distrust them all, the measure by which everything seems to be precisely determined will be done away with, and people will regard everything as equal. Further, they say, the person who joins us in investigating what appears is either trustworthy or not. If he is trustworthy, he will have nothing to say against the person to whom the opposite appears; for just as he is trustworthy when he reports what appears, so is his op-

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		ponent. If he is untrustworthy, he too will be distrusted when he reports what appears.
9.94	Τό τε πεῖθον οὐχ ὑποληπτέον ἀληθὲς ὑπάρχειν. οὐ γὰρ πάντας τὸ αὐτὸ πείθει οὐδὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς συνεχές. γίνεται δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὰ ἐκτὸς ἡ πιθανότης, παρὰ τὸ ἔνδοξον τοῦ λέγοντος ἢ παρὰ τὸ φροντιστικὸν ἢ παρὰ τὸ αἰμύλον ἢ παρὰ τὸ σύνηθες ἢ παρὰ τὸ κεχαρισμένον.	Nor should one assume that what persuades is true. The same thing does not persuade everyone, nor the same people all the time. Persuasiveness also comes from external factors: from the speaker's reputation, or his air of careful thought, or his smooth talk, or from familiarity, or from what we find pleasing.
	Ἀνῄρουν δὲ καὶ τὸ κριτήριον λόγῳ τοιῷδε. ἤτοι κέκριται καὶ τὸ κριτήριον ἢ ἄκριτόν ἐστιν. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἄκριτόν ἐστιν, ἄπιστον καθέστηκε καὶ διημάρτηκε τἀληθοῦς καὶ τοῦ ψεύδους· εἰ δὲ κέκριται, ἓν τῶν κατὰ μέρος γενήσεται κρινομένων, ὥστ' ἂν τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ κρίνειν καὶ κρίνεσθαι καὶ τὸ κεκρικὸς τὸ κριτήριον ὑφ' ἑτέρου κριθήσεται κἀκεῖνο ὑπ' ἄλλου καὶ οὕτως εἰς ἄπειρον.	They also did away with the criterion, by an argument like this. Either the criterion has itself been judged, or it is unjudged. If it is unjudged, it is untrustworthy and has failed to hit either truth or falsehood. If it has been judged, it will become one of the particular things that are judged, so that the same thing would both judge and be judged; and the criterion that did the judging will be judged by another, and that by another, and so on to infinity.
9.95	πρὸς τῷ καὶ διαφωνεῖσθαι τὸ κριτήριον, τῶν μὲν τὸν ἄνθρωπον κριτήριον εἶναι λεγόντων, τῶν δὲ τὰς αἰσθήσεις, ἄλλων τὸν λόγον, ἐνίων τὴν καταληπτικὴν φαντασίαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄνθρωπος καὶ πρὸς αὑτὸν διαφωνεῖ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τῶν διαφόρων νόμων καὶ ἐθῶν. αἱ δ' αἰσθήσεις ψεύδονται, ὁ δὲ λόγος διάφωνος. ἡ δὲ καταληπτικὴ φαντασία ὑπὸ νοῦ κρίνεται καὶ ὁ νοῦς ποικίλως τρέπεται. ἄγνωστον οὖν ἐστι τὸ κριτήριον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἡ ἀλήθεια.	Besides, there is disagreement about the criterion. Some say the criterion is man, others the senses, others reason, some the apprehensive impression. But man disagrees both with himself and with others, as the variety of laws and customs makes clear. The senses deceive, and reason is at odds with itself. The apprehensive impression is judged by the mind, and the mind turns this way and that. So the criterion is unknown, and for that reason so is truth.
9.96	Σημεῖόν τ' οὐκ εἶναι· εἰ γάρ ἐστι, φασί, σημεῖον, ἤτοι αἰσθητόν ἐστιν ἢ νοητόν· αἰσθητὸν μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐπεὶ τὸ αἰσθητὸν κοινόν ἐστι, τὸ δὲ σημεῖον ἴδιον. καὶ τὸ μὲν αἰσθητὸν τῶν κατὰ διαφοράν, τὸ δὲ σημεῖον τῶν πρός τι. νοητὸν δ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐπεὶ τὸ νοητὸν ἤτοι φαινόμενόν ἐστι φαινομένου ἢ ἀφανὲς ἀφανοῦς ἢ ἀφανὲς φαινομένου ἢ φαινόμενον ἀφανοῦς· οὐδὲν δὲ τούτων ἐστίν· οὐκ ἄρ' ἐστὶ σημεῖον.	Nor, they held, is there a sign. For if there is a sign, they say, it is either sensible or intelligible. It is not sensible, since what is sensible is common, while a sign is particular. Also, what is sensible belongs to things that are what they are in themselves, while a sign belongs to relatives. Nor is it intelligible, since what is intelligible is either an apparent sign of something apparent, or a non-apparent sign of something non-apparent, or a non-apparent sign of something apparent, or an apparent sign of something non-apparent. It is none of these; so there is no sign.
	φαινόμενον μὲν οὖν φαινομένου οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐπεὶ τὸ φαινόμενον οὐ δεῖται σημείου· ἀφανὲς δ' ἀφανοῦς οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐπεὶ δεῖ φαίνεσθαι τὸ ἐκκαλυπτόμενον ὑπό τινος·[97] ἀφανὲς δὲ φαινομένου οὐ δύναται, καθότι δεῖ φαίνεσθαι τὸ ἑτέρῳ παρέξον ἀφορμὴν καταλήψεως· φαινόμενον δ' ἀφανοῦς οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅτι τὸ σημεῖον τῶν πρός τι ὂν συγκαταλαμβάνεσθαι ὀφείλει τῷ οὗ ἐστι σημεῖον, τὸ δὲ	It is not an apparent sign of something apparent, since what is apparent needs no sign. It is not a non-apparent sign of something non-apparent, since whatever is revealed by something must appear.[97] It cannot be a non-apparent sign of something apparent, because whatever is to give something else a starting point for apprehension must

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	μὴ ἔστιν. οὐδὲν ἄρα τῶν ἀδήλων ἂν καταλαμβάνοιτο· διὰ γὰρ τῶν σημείων λέγεται τὰ ἄδηλα καταλαμβάνεσθαι.	itself appear. And it is not an apparent sign of something non-apparent, because a sign, being a relative, ought to be apprehended together with what it is a sign of, and here that is not the case. So none of the non-evident things could be apprehended; for it is through signs that non-evident things are said to be apprehended.
9.97	Ἀναιροῦσι δὲ τὸ αἴτιον ὧδε· τὸ αἴτιον τῶν πρός τι ἔστι· πρὸς γὰρ τὸ αἰτιατόν ἐστι· τὰ δὲ πρός τι ἐπινοεῖται μόνον, ὑπάρχει δ' οὔ·[98] καὶ τὸ αἴτιον οὖν ἐπινοοῖτ' ἂν μόνον, ἐπεὶ εἴπερ ἐστὶν αἴτιον, ὀφείλει ἔχειν τὸ οὗ λέγεται αἴτιον, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔσται αἴτιον. καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ πατήρ, μὴ παρόντος τοῦ πρὸς ὃ λέγεται πατήρ, οὐκ ἂν εἴη πατήρ, οὑτωσὶ καὶ τὸ αἴτιον· οὐ πάρεστι δὲ πρὸς ὃ νοεῖται τὸ αἴτιον· οὔτε γὰρ γένεσις οὔτε φθορὰ οὔτ' ἄλλο τι· οὐκ ἄρ' ἐστὶν αἴτιον.	They do away with cause as follows. A cause is a relative, since it is relative to what is caused; and relatives are only conceived, they do not exist.[98] So a cause too could only be conceived. For if it is a cause, it must have that of which it is said to be the cause, or else it will not be a cause. And just as a father would not be a father if the one in relation to whom he is called father were not present, so too with a cause. But that in relation to which the cause is conceived is not present: neither coming-to-be, nor destruction, nor anything else. So there is no cause.
9.98	καὶ μὴν εἰ ἔστιν αἴτιον, ἤτοι σῶμα σώματός ἐστιν αἴτιον ἢ ἀσώματον ἀσωμάτου· οὐδὲν δὲ τούτων· οὐκ ἄρ' ἐστὶν αἴτιον. σῶμα μὲν οὖν σώματος οὐκ ἂν εἴη αἴτιον, ἐπείπερ ἀμφότερα τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει φύσιν. καὶ εἰ τὸ ἕτερον αἴτιον λέγεται παρ' ὅσον ἐστὶ σῶμα, καὶ τὸ λοιπόν, σῶμα ὄν, αἴτιον γενήσεται.	Again, if there is a cause, either a body is the cause of a body or something incorporeal of something incorporeal. But neither is the case; so there is no cause. A body could not be the cause of a body, since both have the same nature. And if one of them is called a cause insofar as it is a body, the other, being a body too, will also become a cause.
9.99	κοινῶς δ' ἀμφοτέρων αἰτίων ὄντων, οὐδὲν ἔσται τὸ πάσχον. ἀσώματον δ' ἀσωμάτου οὐκ ἂν εἴη αἴτιον διὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον· ἀσώματον δὲ σώματος οὐκ ἔστιν αἴτιον, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἀσώματον ποιεῖ σῶμα. σῶμα δ' ἀσωμάτου οὐκ ἂν εἴη αἴτιον, ὅτι τὸ γενόμενον τῆς πασχούσης ὕλης ὀφείλει εἶναι· μηδὲν δὲ πάσχον διὰ τὸ ἀσώματον εἶναι οὐδ' ἂν ὑπό τινος γένοιτο· οὐκ ἔστι τοίνυν αἴτιον. ᾧ συνεισάγεται τὸ ἀνυποστάτους εἶναι τὰς τῶν ὅλων ἀρχάς· δεῖ γὰρ εἶναί τι τὸ ποιοῦν καὶ δρῶν.	And if both are causes alike, there will be nothing that is acted on. Something incorporeal could not be the cause of something incorporeal, for the same reason. Something incorporeal is not the cause of a body, since nothing incorporeal produces a body. A body could not be the cause of something incorporeal, because what comes to be must belong to matter that is acted on; and what is not acted on, because it is incorporeal, could not come to be through anything. So there is no cause. Along with this comes the conclusion that the first principles of the universe have no real existence, since there must be something that acts and does.
	Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ κίνησίς ἐστι· τὸ γὰρ κινούμενον ἤτοι ἐν ᾧ ἐστι τόπῳ κινεῖται ἢ ἐν ᾧ μὴ ἔστιν· καὶ ἐν ᾧ μέν ἐστι τόπῳ οὐ κινεῖται, ἐν ᾧ δ' οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ κινεῖται· οὐκ ἔστιν οὖν κίνησις.	Nor, again, is there motion. For what moves moves either in the place where it is or in a place where it is not. It does not move in the place where it is, and it does not move in a place where it is not either. So there is no motion.
9.100	Ἀνῄρουν δὲ καὶ μάθησιν. εἴπερ, φασί, διδάσκεταί τι, ἤτοι τὸ ὂν τῷ εἶναι διδάσκεται ἢ τὸ μὴ ὂν τῷ μὴ εἶναι. οὔτε δὲ τὸ ὂν τῷ εἶναι διδάσκεται —ἡ γὰρ τῶν ὄντων φύσις πᾶσι	They also did away with learning. If anything is taught, they say, either what is is taught by being, or what is not by not being. But what is is not

GREEK	ENGLISH
φαίνεται καὶ γινώσκεται—οὔτε τὸ μὴ ὂν τῷ μὴ ὄντι· τῷ γὰρ μὴ ὄντι οὐδὲν συμβέβηκεν, ὥστ' οὐδὲ τὸ διδάσκεσθαι.	taught by being, since the nature of the things that are appears to everyone and is known to everyone; nor is what is not taught by not being, since nothing belongs to what is not, and so being taught does not belong to it either.
Οὐδὲ μὴν γένεσίς ἐστι, φασίν. οὔτε γὰρ τὸ ὂν γίνεται, ἔστι γάρ, οὔτε τὸ μὴ ὄν, οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑφέστηκε· τὸ δὲ μὴ ὑφεστὼς μηδ' ὂν οὐδὲ τὸ γίνεσθαι εὐτύχηκε.	Nor is there coming-to-be, they say. What is does not come to be, since it already is; nor does what is not, since it does not even subsist; and what neither subsists nor is has not had the luck of coming to be either.
9.101 Φύσει τε μὴ εἶναι ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν· εἰ γάρ τί ἐστι φύσει ἀγαθὸν καὶ κακόν, πᾶσιν ὀφείλει ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν ὑπάρχειν, ὥσπερ ἡ χιὼν πᾶσι ψυχρόν· κοινὸν δ' οὐδὲν πάντων ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν ἐστιν· οὐκ ἄρα ἐστὶ φύσει ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν. ἤτοι γὰρ πᾶν τὸ ὑπό τινος δοξαζόμενον ῥητέον ἀγαθὸν ἢ οὐ πᾶν· καὶ πᾶν μὲν οὐ ῥητέον, ἐπεὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὑφ' οὗ μὲν δοξάζεται ἀγαθόν, ὡς ἡ ἡδονὴ ὑπὸ Ἐπικούρου· ὑφ' οὗ δὲ κακόν, ὑπ' Ἀντισθένους. συμβήσεται τοίνυν τὸ αὐτὸ ἀγαθόν τ' εἶναι καὶ κακόν. εἰ δ' οὐ πᾶν λέγομεν τὸ ὑπό τινος δοξαζόμενον ἀγαθόν, δεήσει ἡμᾶς διακρίνειν τὰς δόξας· ὅπερ οὐκ ἐνδεχόμενόν ἐστι διὰ τὴν ἰσοσθένειαν τῶν λόγων. ἄγνωστον οὖν τὸ φύσει ἀγαθόν.	Nor, they held, is anything good or bad by nature. For if anything is good or bad by nature, it must be good or bad for everyone, just as snow is cold for everyone. But nothing is good or bad for everyone in common; so nothing is good or bad by nature. Either everything that someone believes to be good must be called good, or not everything. Not everything can be, since one and the same thing is believed good by one person, as pleasure is by Epicurus, and bad by another, by Antisthenes; so the same thing will turn out to be both good and bad. And if we do not call everything that someone believes good good, we will have to decide between the opinions, which is impossible because the arguments are of equal force. So what is good by nature is unknown.
9.102 Ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὸν ὅλον τῆς συναγωγῆς αὐτῶν τρόπον συνιδεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀπολειφθεισῶν συντάξεων. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ὁ Πύρρων οὐδὲν ἀπέλιπεν, οἱ μέντοι συνήθεις αὐτοῦ Τίμων καὶ Αἰνεσίδημος καὶ Νουμήνιος καὶ Ναυσιφάνης καὶ ἄλλοι τοιοῦτοι.	Their whole method of argument can also be seen from the treatises they left behind. Pyrrho himself left nothing, but his associates did: Timon, Aenesidemus, Numenius, Nausiphanes and others like them.

SKEPTIC REPLIES TO THE DOGMATISTS

The skeptics answer the charges that they hold beliefs and make life impossible; their goal.

GREEK	ENGLISH
Οἷς ἀντιλέγοντες οἱ δογματικοί φασιν αὐτοὺς καταλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ δογματίζειν· ἐν ᾧ γὰρ δοκοῦσι διελέγχειν καταλαμβάνονται· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κρατύνουσι καὶ δογματίζουσι. καὶ γὰρ ὅτε φασὶ μηδὲν ὁρίζειν καὶ παντὶ λόγῳ λόγον ἀντικεῖσθαι, αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὁρίζονται καὶ δογματίζουσι. [103] πρὸς οὓς ἀποκρίνονται, Περὶ μὲν ὧν ὡς ἄνθρωποι πάσχομεν, ὁμολογοῦμεν· καὶ γὰρ ὅτι ἡμέρα ἐστὶ καὶ ὅτι ζῶμεν καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ φαινομένων διαγινώσκομεν· περὶ δ' ὧν οἱ δογματικοὶ διαβεβαιοῦνται τῷ λόγῳ, φάμενοι κατειλῆφθαι, περὶ τούτων ἐπέχομεν ὡς ἀδήλων, μόνα δὲ τὰ πάθη γινώσκομεν.	The dogmatists, arguing against them, say that the skeptics themselves are caught out apprehending and dogmatizing. In the very act of seeming to refute, they are caught, since in that same act they make firm claims and dogmatize. When they say that they determine nothing and that every argument has an argument opposed to it, they are determining and dogmatizing these very things. [103] To them they reply: We agree about what we experience as human beings. We recognize that it is day, that we are alive, and many other things that

GREEK	ENGLISH
	appear in life. But about the things the dogmatists firmly assert in argument, claiming that they have been apprehended, we suspend judgment, since they are non-evident; we know only what we experience.
9.103 τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὅτι ὁρῶμεν ὁμολογοῦμεν καὶ τὸ ὅτι τόδε νοοῦμεν γινώσκομεν, πῶς δ' ὁρῶμεν ἢ πῶς νοοῦμεν ἀγνοοῦμεν· καὶ ὅτι τόδε λευκὸν φαίνεται διηγηματικῶς λέγομεν, οὐ διαβεβαιούμενοι ὅτι καὶ ὄντως ἐστί. περὶ δὲ τῆς Οὐδὲν ὁρίζω φωνῆς καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων λέγομεν ὡς οὐ δογμάτων· [104] οὐ γάρ εἰσιν ὅμοια τῷ λέγειν ὅτι σφαιροειδής ἐστιν ὁ κόσμος. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἄδηλον, αἱ δ' ἐξομολογήσεις εἰσί. ἐν ᾧ οὖν λέγομεν μηδὲν ὁρίζειν, οὐδ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὁρίζομεν.	We agree that we see, and we know that we are thinking this; but how we see or how we think, we do not know. And we say, by way of description, that this thing appears white, without firmly asserting that it really is so. As for the phrase "I determine nothing" and the like, we do not say them as dogmas; [104] they are not like saying that the world-order is spherical. That is something non-evident, whereas these are admissions. So in saying that we determine nothing, we do not determine even this.
9.104 Πάλιν οἱ δογματικοί φασιν καὶ τὸν βίον αὐτοὺς ἀναιρεῖν, ἐν ᾧ πάντ' ἐκβάλλουσιν ἐξ ὧν ὁ βίος συνέστηκεν. οἱ δὲ ψεύδεσθαί φασιν αὐτούς· οὐ γὰρ τὸ ὁρᾶν ἀναιρεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πῶς ὁρᾶν ἀγνοεῖν. καὶ γὰρ τὸ φαινόμενον τιθέμεθα, οὐχ ὡς καὶ τοιοῦτον ὄν. καὶ ὅτι τὸ πῦρ καίει αἰσθανόμεθα· εἰ δὲ φύσιν ἔχει καυστικὴν ἐπέχομεν.	Again, the dogmatists say that the skeptics do away with life itself, in that they throw out everything life is made of. The skeptics say that the dogmatists are lying. They do not do away with seeing, they say; they just do not know how seeing happens. For we accept what appears, though not as being really such as it appears. We perceive that fire burns; whether it has a burning nature, we suspend judgment.
9.105 καὶ ὅτι κινεῖταί τις βλέπομεν, καὶ ὅτι φθείρεται πῶς δὲ ταῦτα γίνεται οὐκ ἴσμεν. μόνον οὖν, φασίν, ἀνθιστάμεθα πρὸς τὰ παρυφιστάμενα τοῖς φαινομένοις ἄδηλα. καὶ γὰρ ὅτε τὴν εἰκόνα ἐξοχὰς λέγομεν ἔχειν, τὸ φαινόμενον διασαφοῦμεν· ὅταν δ' εἴπωμεν μὴ ἔχειν αὐτὴν ἐξοχάς, οὐκέτι ὃ φαίνεται, ἕτερον δὲ λέγομεν· ὅθεν καὶ ὁ Τίμων ἐν τῷ Πύθωνί φησι μὴ ἐκβεβηκέναι τὴν συνήθειαν. καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἰνδαλμοῖς οὕτω λέγει, ἀλλὰ τὸ φαινόμενον πάντη σθένει οὗπερ ἂν ἔλθῃ. καὶ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ αἰσθήσεών φησι, "τὸ μέλι ὅτι ἐστὶ γλυκὺ οὐ τίθημι, τὸ δ' ὅτι φαίνεται ὁμολογῶ."	We see that someone moves, and that someone perishes; how these things happen we do not know. So, they say, we only resist the non-evident things that are supposed to lie behind what appears. When we say that a painting has parts that stand out, we are describing what appears; but when we say that it has no parts that stand out, we are no longer saying what appears, but something else. That is why Timon too says in his *Python* that he has not departed from ordinary practice. And in his *Images* he says this: But what appears prevails everywhere, wherever it goes. And in his *On the Senses* he says, "That honey is sweet I do not assert; that it appears sweet I agree."
9.106 Καὶ Αἰνεσίδημος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Πυρρωνείων λόγων οὐδέν φησιν ὁρίζειν τὸν Πύρρωνα δογματικῶς διὰ τὴν ἀντιλογίαν, τοῖς δὲ φαινομένοις ἀκολουθεῖν. ταὐτὰ δὲ λέγει κἀν τῷ Κατὰ σοφίας κἀν τῷ Περὶ ζητήσεως. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ζεῦξις ὁ Αἰνεσιδήμου γνώριμος ἐν τῷ Περὶ διττῶν λόγων καὶ Ἀντίοχος ὁ Λαοδικεὺς καὶ Ἀπελλᾶς ἐν τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ τιθέασι τὰ φαινόμενα μόνα. ἔστιν οὖν κριτήριον κατὰ τοὺς σκεπτικοὺς τὸ φαινόμενον, ὡς καὶ Αἰνεσίδημός	Aenesidemus too, in the first book of his *Pyrrhonian Discourses*, says that Pyrrho determined nothing dogmatically, because of the opposition of arguments, but followed what appears. He says the same in his *Against Wisdom* and his *On Inquiry*. Zeuxis too, Aenesidemus' pupil, in his *On Twofold Arguments*, and Antiochus of Laodicea, and Apellas in his *Agrippa*, posit appearances alone. So according to the skeptics the criterion is what appears, as

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	φησιν· οὕτω δὲ καὶ Ἐπίκουρος. Δημόκριτος δὲ μηδὲν εἶναι τῶν φαινομένων, τὰ δὲ μὴ εἶναι.	Aenesidemus also says; and so does Epicurus. Democritus, on the other hand, held that none of the appearances is real, and that they do not exist.
9.107	πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ κριτήριον τῶν φαινομένων οἱ δογματικοί φασιν ὅτι ὅτ᾽ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν διάφοροι προσπίπτουσι φαντασίαι, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου ἢ στρογγύλου ἢ τετραγώνου, ὁ σκεπτικὸς εἰ μὲν οὐδετέραν προκρινεῖ, ἀπρακτήσει· εἰ δὲ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ κατακολουθήσει, οὐκέτι τὸ ἰσοσθενές, φασί, τοῖς φαινομένοις ἀποδώσει. πρὸς οὓς οἱ σκεπτικοί φασιν ὅτι ὅτε προσπίπτουσιν ἀλλοῖαι φαντασίαι, ἑκατέρας ἐροῦμεν φαίνεσθαι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰ φαινόμενα τιθέναι ὅτι φαίνεται. τέλος δὲ οἱ σκεπτικοί φασι τὴν ἐποχήν, ᾗ σκιᾶς τρόπον ἐπακολουθεῖ ἡ ἀταραξία, ὥς φασιν οἵ τε περὶ τὸν Τίμωνα καὶ Αἰνεσίδημον·	Against this criterion of appearances the dogmatists say that when different impressions come to us from the same things, as from a tower that looks either round or square, the skeptic, if he prefers neither, will be unable to act; and if he follows one of them, he will no longer, they say, grant equal force to the appearances. To them the skeptics reply that when different impressions come to us, we will say that each of them appears; and that this is why they posit appearances as appearing. The skeptics say that the end is suspension of judgment, which tranquility follows like a shadow, as Timon and Aenesidemus and their followers say.
9.108	οὔτε γὰρ τάδ᾽ ἑλούμεθα ἢ ταῦτα φευξόμεθα ὅσα περὶ ἡμᾶς ἐστι· τὰ δ᾽ ὅσα περὶ ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ κατ᾽ ἀνάγκην, οὐ δυνάμεθα φεύγειν, ὡς τὸ πεινῆν καὶ διψῆν καὶ ἀλγεῖν· οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ λόγῳ περιελεῖν ταῦτα. λεγόντων δὲ τῶν δογματικῶν ὡς δυνήσεται βιοῦν ὁ σκεπτικὸς μὴ φεύγων τό, εἰ κελευσθείη, κρεουργεῖν τὸν πατέρα, φασὶν οἱ σκεπτικοὶ ὡς δυνήσεται βιοῦν ⟨ὥστε⟩ … περὶ τῶν δογματικῶν ζητήσεων ἐπέχειν, οὐ περὶ τῶν βιωτικῶν καὶ τηρητικῶν. ὥστε καὶ αἱρούμεθά τι κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν καὶ φεύγομεν καὶ νόμοις χρώμεθα. τινὲς δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπάθειαν, ἄλλοι δὲ τὴν πραότητα τέλος εἰπεῖν φασι τοὺς σκεπτικούς.	For we will neither choose this nor avoid that among the things that are up to us; but the things that are not up to us and come by necessity, such as hunger, thirst and pain, we cannot avoid, since they cannot be removed by argument. When the dogmatists say that the skeptic will be able to live without refusing to butcher his own father if ordered to, the skeptics say that he will be able to live so as … to suspend judgment about dogmatic questions, not about matters of everyday life and observation. So we do choose and avoid things in accordance with custom, and we follow laws. Some say that the skeptics named freedom from passion as the end, others gentleness.

TIMON

Pyrrho's pupil, poet of the satirical Silli, and the later succession of skeptics.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
9.109	Ἀπολλωνίδης ὁ Νικαεὺς ὁ παρ᾽ ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Εἰς τοὺς Σίλλους ὑπομνήματι, ἃ προσφωνεῖ Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι, φησὶ τὸν Τίμωνα εἶναι πατρὸς μὲν Τιμάρχου, Φλιάσιον δὲ τὸ γένος· νέον δὲ καταλειφθέντα χορεύειν, ἔπειτα καταγνόντα ἀποδημῆσαι εἰς Μέγαρα πρὸς Στίλπωνα· κἀκείνῳ συνδιατρίψαντα αὖθις ἐπανελθεῖν οἴκαδε καὶ γῆμαι. εἶτα πρὸς Πύρρωνα εἰς Ἦλιν ἀποδημῆσαι μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς κἀκεῖ διατρίβειν ἕως αὐτῷ παῖδες ἐγένοντο, ὧν τὸν μὲν πρεσβύτερον Ξάνθον ἐκάλεσε καὶ ἰατρικὴν ἐδίδαξε καὶ διάδοχον τοῦ βίου κατέλιπε.	

GREEK

ENGLISH

Apollonides of Nicaea, one of our own, in the first book of his *Commentary on the Silli*, which he dedicated to Tiberius Caesar, says that Timon was the son of Timarchus and came from Phlius. Orphaned young, he worked as a chorus dancer, then came to despise it and went abroad to Megara, to Stilpo. After spending time with him he went home again and married. Then he went with his wife to Pyrrho at Elis and lived there until children were born to him. The elder of these he named Xanthus; he taught him medicine and left him as heir to his way of life.[31]

9.110 ὁ δ' ἐλλόγιμος ἦν, ὡς καὶ Σωτίων ἐν τῷ ἑνδεκάτῳ φησίν. ἀπορῶν μέντοι τροφῶν ἀπῆρεν εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ τὴν Προποντίδα· ἐν Χαλκηδόνι τε σοφιστεύων ἐπὶ πλέον ἀποδοχῆς ἠξιώθη· ἐντεῦθέν τε πορισάμενος ἀπῆρεν εἰς Ἀθήνας, κἀκεῖ διέτριβε μέχρι καὶ τελευτῆς, ὀλίγον χρόνον εἰς Θήβας διαδραμών. ἐγνώσθη δὲ καὶ Ἀντιγόνῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Φιλαδέλφῳ, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ἰάμβοις αὐτῷ μαρτυρεῖ.

He was a man of some standing, as Sotion too says in his eleventh book. Being short of means, however, he set off for the Hellespont and the Propontis. He taught as a sophist at Chalcedon and was held in still higher esteem there; and having made money there, he set off for Athens and lived there until his death, apart from a short trip to Thebes. He was also known to King Antigonus and to Ptolemy Philadelphus, as he himself testifies in his iambic poems.

ἦν δέ, φησὶν ὁ Ἀντίγονος, καὶ φιλοπότης καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν φιλοσόφων εἰ σχολάζοι ποιήματα συνέγραφε καὶ ἔπη καὶ τραγῳδίας καὶ σατύρους καὶ δράματα κωμικὰ τριάκοντα, τὰ δὲ τραγικὰ ἑξήκοντα, σίλλους τε καὶ κιναίδους. [111] φέρεται δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ καταλογάδην βιβλία εἰς ἐπῶν τείνοντα μυριάδας δύο, ὧν καὶ Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος μέμνηται, ἀναγεγραφὼς αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν βίον. τῶν δὲ σίλλων τρία ἐστίν, ἐν οἷς ὡς ἂν σκεπτικὸς ὢν πάντας λοιδορεῖ καὶ σιλλαίνει τοὺς δογματικοὺς ἐν παρῳδίας εἴδει.

He was also, says Antigonus, fond of drinking, and whenever he had leisure from philosophy he wrote poems: epics, tragedies, satyr plays, thirty comedies and sixty tragedies, as well as *silloi* (lampoons) and lewd verses. [111] Prose books of his are also in circulation, running to twenty thousand lines; Antigonus of Carystus mentions them, having written Timon's life himself as well. There are three books of the *Silli*, in which, as a skeptic, he abuses everyone and lampoons the dogmatists in the form of parody.[32]

9.111 ὧν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτοδιήγητον ἔχει τὴν ἑρμηνείαν, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον ἐν διαλόγου σχήματι. φαίνεται γοῦν ἀνακρίνων Ξενοφάνην τὸν Κολοφώνιον περὶ ἑκάστων, ὁ δ' αὐτῷ διηγούμενός ἐστι· καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ δευτέρῳ περὶ τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων, ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ περὶ τῶν ὑστέρων· ὅθεν δὴ αὐτῷ τινες καὶ Ἐπί- λογον ἐπέγραψαν. [112] τὸ δὲ πρῶτον ταὐτὰ περιέχει πράγματα, πλὴν ὅτι μονοπρόσωπός ἐστιν ἡ ποίησις· ἀρχὴ δὲ αὐτῷ ἥδε, ἔσπετε νῦν μοι ὅσοι πολυπράγμονές ἐστε σοφισταί.

The first of these is told in his own voice, the second and third in the form of a dialogue. He appears, at any rate, questioning Xenophanes of Colophon about each figure, and Xenophanes tells him about them: in the second book about the older philosophers, in the third about the later ones, which is why some have given it the title *Epilogue*. [112] The first book covers the same material, except that the poem has only one speaker. It begins: Tell me now, all you busybody sophists.

9.112 Ἐτελεύτησε δ' ἐγγὺς ἐτῶν ἐνενήκοντα, ὥς φησιν ὁ Ἀντίγονος καὶ Σωτίων ἐν τῷ ἑνδεκάτῳ. τοῦτον ἐγὼ καὶ

He died at nearly ninety, as Antigonus says, and Sotion in his eleventh book. I have also heard that

31 Phlius was a small city in the northeastern Peloponnese.
32 "Lewd verses" renders *kinaidoi*, the name of a genre of indecent poetry.

GREEK

ἑτερόφθαλμον ἤκουσα, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς αὑτὸν Κύκλωπα ἐκάλει. γέγονε καὶ ἕτερος Τίμων ὁ μισάνθρωπος.

Ὁ δ' οὖν φιλόσοφος καὶ φιλόκηπος ἦν σφόδρα καὶ ἰδιοπράγμων, ὡς καὶ Ἀντίγονός φησι. λόγος γοῦν εἰπεῖν Ἱερώνυμον τὸν περιπατητικὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, "Ὡς παρὰ τοῖς Σκύθαις καὶ οἱ φεύγοντες τοξεύουσι καὶ οἱ διώκοντες, οὕτω τῶν φιλοσόφων οἱ μὲν διώκοντες θηρῶσι τοὺς μαθητάς, οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ Τίμων."

9.113 Ἦν δὲ καὶ ὀξὺς νοῆσαι καὶ διαμυκτηρίσαι· φιλογράμματός τε καὶ τοῖς ποιηταῖς μύθους γράψαι ἱκανὸς καὶ δράματα συνδιατιθέναι. μετεδίδου δὲ τῶν τραγῳδιῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Ὁμήρῳ. θορυβούμενός θ' ὑπὸ τῶν θεραπαινῶν καὶ κυνῶν ἐποίει μηδέν, σπουδάζων περὶ τὸ ἠρεμάζειν. φασὶ δὲ καὶ Ἄρατον πυθέσθαι αὐτοῦ πῶς τὴν Ὁμήρου ποίησιν ἀσφαλῆ κτήσαιτο, τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν, "εἰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφοις ἐντυγχάνοι καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἤδη διωρθωμένοις." εἰκῆ τε αὐτῷ ἔκειτο τὰ ποιήματα, ἐνίοτε ἡμίβρωτα· 114 ὥστε καὶ Ζωπύρῳ τῷ ῥήτορι ἀναγινώσκοντά τι ἐπιτυλίττειν καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἐπελθὸν διεξιέναι· ἐλθόντα τ' ἐφ' ἡμισείας, οὕτως εὑρεῖν τὸ ἀπόσπασμα τέως ἀγνοοῦντα. τοσοῦτον ἦν ἀδιάφορος. ἀλλὰ καὶ εὔρους· ὡς μηδ' ἀριστᾶν συγχωρεῖν.

9.114 φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν Ἀρκεσίλαον θεασάμενον διὰ τῶν Κερκώπων ἰόντα, εἰπεῖν, "τί σὺ δεῦρο, ἔνθαπερ ἡμεῖς οἱ ἐλεύθεροι;" συνεχές τε ἐπιλέγειν εἰώθει πρὸς τοὺς τὰς αἰσθήσεις μετ' ἐπιμαρτυροῦντος τοῦ νοῦ ἐγκρίνοντας, συνῆλθεν Ἀτταγᾶς τε καὶ Νουμήνιος. εἰώθει δὲ καὶ παίζειν τοιαῦτα. πρὸς οὖν τὸν θαυμάζοντα πάντα ἔφη, "τί δ' οὐ θαυμάζεις ὅτι τρεῖς ὄντες τέτταρας ἔχομεν ὀφθαλμούς;" ἦν δ' αὐτός τε ἑτερόφθαλμος καὶ ὁ Διοσκουρίδης μαθητὴς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ πρὸς ὃν ἔλεγεν ὑγιής. 115 ἐρωτηθεὶς δέ ποθ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρκεσιλάου διὰ τί παρείη ἐκ Θηβῶν, ἔφη, "ἵν' ὑμᾶς ἀναπεπταμένους ὁρῶν γελῶ." ὅμως δὲ καθαπτόμενος Ἀρκεσιλάου ἐν τοῖς σίλλοις ἐπῄνεκεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ἀρκεσιλάου περιδείπνῳ.

ENGLISH

he was one-eyed, since he used to call himself a Cyclops. There was also another Timon, the misanthrope.[33]

This Timon, the philosopher, was very fond of gardens and kept to himself, as Antigonus also says. There is a story, at any rate, that Hieronymus the Peripatetic said of him, "Just as among the Scythians both those who flee and those who pursue shoot arrows, so among philosophers some catch their pupils by pursuing them and others by fleeing them, as Timon does."

He was quick to see a point and quick to sneer. He loved literature and was good at writing plots for poets and helping to put plays together. He shared his tragedies with Alexander and Homer. When his maidservants and dogs made a racket, he would do nothing, since he cared about keeping calm. They say that Aratus once asked him how he could get hold of a reliable text of Homer's poetry, and he said, "If he could come across the old copies and not the ones already corrected." His poems lay about anyhow, some of them half eaten; [114] so that when he was reading something to Zopyrus the orator, he would unroll it and go through whatever came next, and when he got halfway he would find a torn-off piece he had not known about until then. That is how indifferent he was. He was also easygoing, so much so that he would not even insist on having lunch.[34]

They say that when he saw Arcesilaus walking through the Cercopes, he said, "What are you doing here, where we free men are?" And to those who admitted the senses when the mind bore witness to them, he would constantly add the line: Attagas and Numenius have come together. He used to make jokes of this kind too. To a man who was amazed at everything he said, "Why aren't you amazed that the three of us have four eyes?" For he himself was one-eyed, and so was his pupil Dioscurides, while the man he was talking to had both his eyes. [115] Once, asked by Arcesilaus why he had come from Thebes, he said, "To see you all spread out before me and laugh." Still, though he

33 Timon of Athens, a contemporary of Pericles in the fifth century BC, was the proverbial hater of mankind.
34 Alexander (of Aetolia) and Homer (of Byzantium) were tragic poets at the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus; Aratus was the author of the astronomical poem *Phaenomena*.

GREEK

ENGLISH

attacks Arcesilaus in the *Silli*, he praised him in the work entitled *Arcesilaus' Funeral Feast*.[35]

9.115 Τούτου διάδοχος, ὡς μὲν Μηνόδοτός φησι, γέγονεν οὐδείς, ἀλλὰ διέλιπεν ἡ ἀγωγὴ ἕως αὐτὴν Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Κυρηναῖος ἀνεκτήσατο. ὡς δ' Ἱππόβοτός φησι καὶ Σωτίων, διήκουσαν αὐτοῦ Διοσκουρίδης Κύπριος καὶ Νικόλοχος Ῥόδιος καὶ Εὐφράνωρ Σελευκεὺς Πραΰλους τ' ἀπὸ Τρωάδος, ὃς οὕτω καρτερικὸς ἐγένετο, καθά φησι Φύλαρχος ἱστορῶν, ὥστ' ἀδίκως ὑπομεῖναι ὡς ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ κολασθῆναι, μηδὲ λόγου τοὺς πολίτας καταξιώσας.

According to Menodotus he had no successor, and the movement lapsed until Ptolemy of Cyrene revived it. But according to Hippobotus and Sotion his pupils were Dioscurides of Cyprus, Nicolochus of Rhodes, Euphranor of Seleucia and Praylus of the Troad. Praylus, as Phylarchus the historian says, was so steadfast that he submitted to being punished unjustly as a traitor without deigning to say a word to his fellow citizens.

9.116 Εὐφράνορος δὲ διήκουσεν Εὔβουλος Ἀλεξανδρεύς, οὗ Πτολεμαῖος, οὗ Σαρπηδὼν καὶ Ἡρακλείδης, Ἡρακλείδου δ' Αἰνεσίδημος Κνώσιος, ὃς καὶ Πυρρωνείων λόγων ὀκτὼ συνέγραψε βιβλία· οὗ Ζεύξιππος ὁ πολίτης, οὗ Ζεῦξις ὁ Γωνιόπους, οὗ Ἀντίοχος Λαοδικεὺς ἀπὸ Λύκου· τούτου δὲ Μηνόδοτος ὁ Νικομηδεύς, ἰατρὸς ἐμπειρικός, καὶ Θειωδᾶς Λαοδικεύς· Μηνοδότου δὲ Ἡρόδοτος Ἀριέως Ταρσεύς· Ἡροδότου δὲ διήκουσε Σέξτος ὁ ἐμπειρικός, οὗ καὶ τὰ δέκα τῶν Σκεπτικῶν καὶ ἄλλα κάλλιστα· Σέξτου δὲ διήκουσε Σατορνῖνος ὁ Κυθηνᾶς, ἐμπειρικὸς καὶ αὐτός.

Euphranor's pupil was Eubulus of Alexandria; his was Ptolemy; Ptolemy's were Sarpedon and Heraclides; Heraclides' was Aenesidemus of Cnossus, who also wrote eight books of *Pyrrhonian Discourses*; his was his fellow citizen Zeuxippus; Zeuxippus' was Zeuxis "Crookfoot"; his was Antiochus of Laodicea on the Lycus. Antiochus' pupils were Menodotus of Nicomedia, an Empiricist doctor, and Theiodas of Laodicea; Menodotus' was Herodotus of Tarsus, son of Arieus; Herodotus' pupil was Sextus the Empiricist, whose works include the ten books of the *Skeptika* and other excellent writings; and Sextus' pupil was Saturninus Cythenas, himself an Empiricist too.[36]

35 The Cercopes were mythical rogues and tricksters, and a spot in the Athenian marketplace bore their name; attagas and numenius are birds (francolin and curlew), and Numenius was also the name of a skeptic.
36 The Empiricists were a school of medicine that relied on experience rather than theory about hidden causes, and was closely linked with later Pyrrhonism.

Book 10

Epicurus
Epicurus' life and will, his three letters, and the Principal Doctrines.

EPICURUS

His upbringing on Samos, his teachers, and the slanders of his enemies.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
10.1	Ἐπίκουρος Νεοκλέους καὶ Χαιρεστράτης, Ἀθηναῖος, τῶν δήμων Γαργήττιος, γένους τοῦ τῶν Φιλαϊδῶν, ὥς φησι Μητρόδωρος ἐν τῷ Περὶ εὐγενείας. τοῦτόν φασιν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἡρακλείδης ἐν τῇ Σωτίωνος ἐπιτομῇ κληρουχησάντων Ἀθηναίων τὴν Σάμον ἐκεῖθι τραφῆναι· ὀκτωκαιδεκέτη δ' ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἀθήνας, Ξενοκράτους μὲν ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ, Ἀριστοτέλους δ' ἐν Χαλκίδι διατρίβοντος. τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκπεσόντων ὑπὸ Περδίκκου μετελθεῖν εἰς Κολοφῶνα πρὸς τὸν πατέρα· [2] χρόνον δέ τινα διατρίψαντα αὐτόθι καὶ μαθητὰς ἀθροίσαντα πάλιν ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐπὶ Ἀναξικράτους· καὶ μέχρι μέν τινος κατ' ἐπιμιξίαν τοῖς ἄλλοις φιλοσοφεῖν, ἔπειτα ἰδίᾳ ἀπο- ⟨φαίνεσθαι⟩ τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κληθεῖσαν αἵρεσιν συστήσαντα.	Epicurus, son of Neocles and Chaerestrate, was an Athenian of the deme of Gargettus and belonged to the clan of the Philaïdae, as Metrodorus says in his *On Noble Birth*. Various writers, Heraclides among them in his *Epitome* of Sotion, say that he was brought up on Samos after the Athenians had settled colonists there, and that he came to Athens at eighteen, when Xenocrates was teaching at the Academy and Aristotle was living in Chalcis. After the death of Alexander of Macedon, when the Athenians had been driven out by Perdiccas, he moved to Colophon to join his father. [2] He spent some time there and gathered pupils, and then returned to Athens in the archonship of Anaxicrates. For a while he did philosophy alongside the others. Later he set out his views independently, having founded the school named after him.[1]
10.2	ἐφάψασθαι δὲ φιλοσοφίας αὐτός φησιν ἔτη γεγονὼς τετταρεσκαίδεκα. Ἀπολλόδωρος δ' ὁ Ἐπικούρειος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ τοῦ Ἐπικούρου βίου φησὶν ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν καταγνόντα τῶν γραμματιστῶν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἐδυνήθησαν ἑρμηνεῦσαι αὐτῷ τὰ περὶ τοῦ παρ' Ἡσιόδῳ χάους. φησὶ δ' Ἕρμιππος γραμματοδιδάσκαλον αὐτὸν γεγενῆσθαι, ἔπειτα μέντοι περιτυχόντα τοῖς Δημοκρίτου βιβλίοις ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν ᾖξαι· [3] διὸ καὶ τὸν Τίμωνα φάσκειν περὶ αὐτοῦ· ὕστατος αὖ φυσικῶν καὶ κύντατος, ἐκ Σάμου ἐλθὼν / γραμμαδιδασκαλίδης, ἀναγωγότατος ζωόντων.	He himself says that he took up philosophy at the age of fourteen. Apollodorus the Epicurean, in the first book of his *Life of Epicurus*, says that he came to philosophy out of contempt for the schoolteachers, because they could not explain to him what Hesiod says about Chaos. Hermippus says that he had been a schoolmaster himself, but then came across the books of Democritus and rushed into philosophy. [3] That is why Timon says of him: Last of the natural philosophers, and the most shameless, come from Samos, / a schoolmaster's brat, the most ill-bred of living men.
10.3	Συνεφιλοσόφουν δ' αὐτῷ προτρεψαμένῳ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τρεῖς ὄντες, Νεοκλῆς Χαιρέδημος Ἀριστόβουλος, καθά φησι Φιλόδημος ὁ Ἐπικούρειος ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ τῆς τῶν φιλοσόφων συντάξεως· ἀλλὰ καὶ δοῦλος Μῦς ὄνομα, καθά φησι Μυρωνιανὸς ἐν Ὁμοίοις ἱστορικοῖς κεφαλαίοις. Διότιμος δ' ὁ Στωικὸς δυσμενῶς ἔχων πρὸς	At his urging his three brothers, Neocles, Chaeredemus and Aristobulus, also did philosophy with him, as Philodemus the Epicurean says in the tenth book of his *Arrangement of the Philosophers*. So did a slave named Mys, as Myronianus says in

1 Athens had planted colonists (cleruchs) on Samos in 365 BC. Perdiccas, regent after Alexander's death, expelled them in 322 BC.

GREEK

αὐτὸν πικρότατα αὐτὸν διαβέβληκεν, ἐπιστολὰς φέρων πεντήκοντα ἀσελγεῖς ὡς Ἐπικούρου· καὶ ὁ τὰ εἰς Χρύσιππον ἀναφερόμενα ἐπιστόλια ὡς Ἐπικούρου συντάξας.

10.4 ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ περὶ Ποσειδώνιον τὸν στωικὸν καὶ Νικόλαος καὶ Σωτίων ἐν τῷ δωδεκάτῳ τῶν ἐπιγραφομένων Διοκλείων ἐλέγχων, ἅ ἐστι δ' πρὸς τοῖς κ', καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ἁλικαρνασσεύς. καὶ γὰρ σὺν τῇ μητρὶ περιιόντα αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ οἰκίδια καθαρμοὺς ἀναγινώσκειν, καὶ σὺν τῷ πατρὶ γράμματα διδάσκειν λυπροῦ τινος μισθαρίου. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἕνα προαγωγεύειν, Λεοντίῳ καὶ συνεῖναι τῇ ἑταίρᾳ. τὰ δὲ Δημοκρίτου περὶ τῶν ἀτόμων καὶ Ἀριστίππου περὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς ὡς ἴδια λέγειν〈·〉 μὴ εἶναί τε γνησίως ἀστόν, ὡς Τιμοκράτης φησὶ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἐπικούρου ἐφηβείας.

Μιθρῆν τε αἰσχρῶς κολακεύειν τὸν Λυσιμάχου διοικητήν, ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς Παιᾶνα καὶ ἄνακτα καλοῦντα· [5] ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰδομενέα καὶ Ἡρόδοτον καὶ Τιμοκράτην τοὺς ἔκπυστα αὐτοῦ τὰ κρύφια ποιήσαντας ἐγκωμιάζειν καὶ κολακεύειν αὐτὸ τοῦτο. ἔν τε ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς πρὸς μὲν Λεόντιον Παιὰν ἄναξ, φίλον Λεοντάριον, οἵου κροτοθορύβου ἡμᾶς ἐνέπλησας ἀναγνόντας σου τὸ ἐπιστόλιον· πρὸς δὲ Θεμίσταν τὴν Λεοντέως γυναῖκα Οἶός τε φησίν εἰμί, ἐὰν μὴ ὑμεῖς πρός με ἀφίκησθε, αὐτὸς τρικύλιστος, ὅπου ἂν ὑμεῖς καὶ Θεμίστα παρακαλῆτε, ὠθεῖσθαι. πρὸς δὲ Πυθοκλέα ὡραῖον ὄντα Καθεδοῦμαι φησὶ προσδοκῶν τὴν ἱμερτὴν καὶ ἰσόθεόν σου εἴσοδον.

10.5 καὶ πάλιν πρὸς Θεμίσταν γράφων νομίζειν αὐτῇ παραινεῖν, καθά φησι Θεόδωρος ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ τῶν Πρὸς Ἐπίκουρον. [6] καὶ ἄλλαις δὲ πολλαῖς ἑταίραις γράφειν, καὶ μάλιστα Λεοντίῳ, ἧς καὶ Μητρόδωρον ἐρασθῆναι. ἔν τε τῷ Περὶ τέλους γράφειν οὕτως· Οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε ἔχω τί νοήσω τἀγαθόν, ἀφαιρῶν μὲν τὰς διὰ χυλῶν ἡδονάς, ἀφαιρῶν δὲ τὰς δι' ἀφροδισίων καὶ τὰς δι' ἀκροαμάτων καὶ τὰς διὰ μορφῆς. ἔν τε τῇ πρὸς Πυθοκλέα ἐπιστολῇ γράφειν Παιδείαν δὲ πᾶσαν, μακάριε, φεῦγε τἀκάτιον ἁράμενος. Ἐπίκτητός τε κιναιδολόγον αὐτὸν καλεῖ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα λοιδορεῖ.

ENGLISH

his *Historical Parallels in Summary*. Diotimus the Stoic, who was hostile to him, slandered him most bitterly, producing fifty obscene letters as if they were by Epicurus. So did the man who put together, under Epicurus' name, the short letters ascribed to Chrysippus.[2]

So too did Posidonius the Stoic and his followers, Nicolaus, Sotion in the twelfth book of the work entitled *Refutations of Diocles* (which runs to twenty-four books), and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. They say that he used to go round the cottages with his mother reading purification charms, and that he taught reading alongside his father for a miserable little fee. They say too that he acted as pimp for one of his brothers, and that he lived with Leontion the courtesan. They say that he passed off as his own Democritus' doctrine of atoms and Aristippus' doctrine of pleasure, and that he was not a legitimate citizen, as Timocrates says, and Herodotus in his *On Epicurus' Youth*.

They also say that he flattered Mithres, Lysimachus' minister, shamefully, calling him Paean and lord in his letters. [5] They say that he praised and flattered Idomeneus, Herodotus and Timocrates, the very men who had made his secret doctrines public, for doing just that. In his letters he writes to Leontion: Lord Paean, my dear little Leontion, what a clatter of applause you filled us with when we read your letter! To Themista, the wife of Leonteus, he says: If you don't come to me, I'm quite ready to roll myself along three times over and be pushed wherever you and Themista summon me. And to Pythocles, who was in the bloom of youth: I shall sit, he says, waiting for your lovely and godlike arrival.[3]

Again, writing to Themista, he imagines that he is lecturing her, as Theodorus says in the fourth book of his *Against Epicurus*. [6] They say that he wrote to many other courtesans as well, and above all to Leontion, with whom Metrodorus also fell in love. In his *On the End* he writes as follows: For my part I can't conceive of the good if I take away the pleasures of taste, take away those of sex, and those of things heard and those of beautiful shapes. In the letter to Pythocles he writes: Flee all education, my blessed boy, under full sail. Epict-

2 Philodemus of Gadara was an Epicurean philosopher and poet of the first century BC.
3 Paean, "Healer," was a cult title of Apollo.

GREEK

ENGLISH

etus calls him a purveyor of obscene talk and reviles him in the harshest terms.

10.6 Καὶ μὴν καὶ Τιμοκράτης ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγραφομένοις Εὐφραντοῖς ὁ Μητροδώρου μὲν ἀδελφός, μαθητὴς δὲ αὐτοῦ τῆς σχολῆς ἐκφοιτήσας φησὶ δὶς αὐτὸν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐμεῖν ἀπὸ τρυφῆς, ἑαυτόν τε διηγεῖται μόγις ἐκφυγεῖν ἰσχῦσαι τὰς νυκτερινὰς ἐκείνας φιλοσοφίας καὶ τὴν μυστικὴν ἐκείνην συνδιαγωγήν. [7] τόν τε Ἐπίκουρον πολλὰ κατὰ τὸν λόγον ἠγνοηκέναι καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον κατὰ τὸν βίον, τό τε σῶμα ἐλεεινῶς διακεῖσθαι, ὡς πολλῶν ἐτῶν μὴ δύνασθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ φορείου διαναστῆναι· μνᾶν τε ἀναλίσκειν ἡμερησίαν εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Λεόντιον ἐπιστολῇ γράφει καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Μυτιλήνῃ φιλοσόφους.

What is more, Timocrates, Metrodorus' brother, who had been Epicurus' pupil and then left the school, says in the work entitled *Delights* that Epicurus vomited twice a day from overindulgence. He also tells how he himself only barely managed to escape those nocturnal philosophizings and that secret fellowship. [7] He says that Epicurus was ignorant of a great deal in his reasoning and of far more in his way of life. His body, he says, was in a pitiful state, so that for many years he could not get up from his litter. He says that Epicurus spent a mina a day on his table, as Epicurus himself writes in his letter to Leontion and in the one to the philosophers in Mytilene.

10.7 συνεῖναί τε αὐτῷ τε καὶ Μητροδώρῳ ἑταίρας καὶ ἄλλας, Μαμμάριον καὶ Ἡδεῖαν καὶ Ἐρώτιον καὶ Νικίδιον. καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα βίβλοις ταῖς Περὶ φύσεως τὰ πλεῖστα ταὐτὰ λέγειν καὶ ἀντιγράφειν ἐν αὐταῖς ἄλλοις τε καὶ Ναυσιφάνει τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ αὐτῇ λέξει φάσκειν οὕτως· "Ἀλλ' ἴτωσαν· εἶχε γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὠδίνων τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος καύχησιν τὴν σοφιστικήν, καθάπερ καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων."

He says that other courtesans too kept company with Epicurus and Metrodorus: Mammarion, Hedeia, Erotion and Nicidion. He says that in the thirty-seven books of his *On Nature* Epicurus mostly repeats himself, and that in them he writes against others, above all Nausiphanes, saying in these very words: "Well, let them go. For that man, in his labor pains, had the sophist's boasting of the mouth, like many other slaves."

10.8 καὶ αὐτὸν Ἐπίκουρον ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς περὶ Ναυσιφάνους λέγειν· "Ταῦτα ἤγαγεν αὐτὸν εἰς ἔκστασιν τοιαύτην, ὥστε μοι λοιδορεῖσθαι καὶ ἀποκαλεῖν διδάσκαλον." πλεύμονά τε αὐτὸν ἐκάλει καὶ ἀγράμματον καὶ ἀπατεῶνα καὶ πόρνην· τούς τε περὶ Πλάτωνα Διονυσοκόλακας καὶ αὐτὸν Πλάτωνα χρυσοῦν, καὶ Ἀριστοτέλη ἄσωτον, ⟨ὃν⟩ καταφαγόντα τὴν πατρῴαν οὐσίαν στρατεύεσθαι καὶ φαρμακοπωλεῖν· φορμοφόρον τε Πρωταγόραν καὶ γραφέα Δημοκρίτου καὶ ἐν κώμαις γράμματα διδάσκειν· Ἡράκλειτόν τε κυκητὴν καὶ Δημόκριτον Ληρόκριτον καὶ Ἀντίδωρον Σαννίδωρον· τούς τε Κυνικοὺς ἐχθροὺς τῆς Ἑλλάδος· καὶ τοὺς διαλεκτικοὺς πολυφθόρους, Πύρρωνα δ' ἀμαθῆ καὶ ἀπαίδευτον.

Timocrates also says that Epicurus himself wrote of Nausiphanes in his letters: "This drove him into such a frenzy that he abused me and called me a schoolmaster." Epicurus used to call Nausiphanes a jellyfish, an illiterate, a fraud and a prostitute. He called Plato's circle flatterers of Dionysius and Plato himself golden. He called Aristotle a wastrel who squandered his inheritance and then became a soldier and sold drugs. He called Protagoras a porter and Democritus' scribe, who taught reading in villages. He called Heraclitus a muddler, Democritus Lerocritus and Antidorus Sannidorus. He called the Cynics enemies of Greece, the dialecticians great destroyers, and Pyrrho ignorant and uneducated.[4]

EPICURUS DEFENDED

Diogenes answers the slanders with Epicurus' kindness, his friends, his school and his frugal life.

GREEK

ENGLISH

10.9 Μεμήνασι δ' οὗτοι. τῷ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ μάρτυρες ἱκανοὶ τῆς ἀνυπερβλήτου πρὸς πάντας εὐγνωμοσύνης ἥ τε πατρὶς

These people are mad. The man has ample witnesses to his unsurpassed goodwill toward every-

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	χαλκαῖς εἰκόσι τιμήσασα οἵ τε φίλοι τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος ὡς μηδ' ἂν πόλεσιν ὅλαις μετρεῖσθαι δύνασθαι· οἵ τε γνώριμοι πάντες ταῖς δογματικαῖς αὐτοῦ σειρῆσι προσκατασχεθέντες, πλὴν Μητροδώρου τοῦ Στρατονικέως πρὸς Καρνεάδην ἀποχωρήσαντος, τάχα βαρυνθέντος ταῖς ἀνυπερβλήτοις αὐτοῦ χρηστότησιν· ἥ τε διαδοχή, πασῶν σχεδὸν ἐκλιπουσῶν τῶν ἄλλων, ἐσαεὶ διαμένουσα καὶ νηρίθμους ἀρχὰς ἀπολύουσα ἄλλην ἐξ ἄλλης τῶν γνωρίμων·	one. There is his city, which honored him with bronze statues. There are his friends, so many that not even whole cities could hold their number. There are all his pupils, held fast by the siren-song of his doctrines, except Metrodorus of Stratonicea, who went over to Carneades, perhaps because he found Epicurus' unsurpassed kindnesses a burden. There is the succession, which has endured without a break while almost all the others have died out, as countless heads of the school have followed one another from among his pupils;
10.10	ἥ τε πρὸς τοὺς γονέας εὐχαριστία καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς εὐποιία πρός τε τοὺς οἰκέτας ἡμερότης, ὡς δῆλον κἀκ τῶν διαθηκῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅτι αὐτοὶ συνεφιλοσόφουν αὐτῷ, ὧν ἦν ἐνδοξότατος ὁ προειρημένος Μῦς· καθόλου τε ἡ πρὸς πάντας αὐτοῦ φιλανθρωπία. τῆς μὲν γὰρ πρὸς θεοὺς ὁσιότητος καὶ πρὸς πατρίδα φιλίας ἄλεκτος ἡ διάθεσις· ὑπερβολῇ γὰρ ἐπιεικείας οὐδὲ πολιτείας ἥψατο. καὶ χαλεπωτάτων δὲ καιρῶν κατασχόντων τηνικάδε τὴν Ἑλλάδα, αὐτόθι καταβιῶναι, δὶς ἢ τρὶς τοὺς περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν τόπους πρὸς τοὺς φίλους διαδραμόντα. οἳ καὶ πανταχόθεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικνοῦντο καὶ συνεβίουν αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ κήπῳ, καθά φησι καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος· ὃν καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα μνῶν πρίασθαι.	there are his gratitude to his parents, his generosity to his brothers and his gentleness toward his household slaves, as is clear from his will and from the fact that they did philosophy with him, the most distinguished of them being the Mys mentioned above; and there is, in general, his kindness to everyone. His piety toward the gods and his love for his country are beyond words; it was out of sheer decency that he did not even take part in politics. Although very hard times gripped Greece then, he lived out his life there, apart from two or three trips through Ionia to see his friends. His friends came to him from all over and lived with him in the Garden, as Apollodorus also says; Apollodorus adds that Epicurus bought it for eighty minas.[5]
10.11	Διοκλῆς δ' ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῆς ἐπιδρομῆς φησιν εὐτελέστατα καὶ λιτότατα διαιτώμενοι. "κοτύλῃ γοῦν," φησίν, "οἰνιδίου ἠρκοῦντο, τὸ δὲ πᾶν ὕδωρ ἦν αὐτοῖς ποτόν." τόν τ' Ἐπίκουρον μὴ ἀξιοῦν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν κατατίθεσθαι τὰς οὐσίας, καθάπερ τὸν Πυθαγόραν κοινὰ τὰ φίλων λέγοντα· ἀπιστούντων γὰρ εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτον· εἰ δ' ἀπίστων οὐδὲ φίλων. αὐτός τέ φησιν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς, ὕδατι μόνον ἀρκεῖσθαι καὶ ἄρτῳ λιτῷ. καί, "πέμψον μοι τυροῦ," φησί, "κυθριδίου, ἵν' ὅταν βούλωμαι πολυτελεύσασθαι δύνωμαι."	Diocles, in the third book of his *Overview*, says that they lived very cheaply and simply. "At any rate," he says, "they were content with a cotyle of thin wine, and otherwise their drink was water." He says that Epicurus did not think they should put their property into a common fund, as Pythagoras did when he said that friends' possessions are common. That, Epicurus said, is the mark of people who distrust one another, and people who distrust one another are not friends. He himself says in his letters that he is content with water and plain bread alone. And he says, "Send me a little pot of cheese, so that I can have a feast whenever I like."[6]
	τοιοῦτος ἦν ὁ τὴν ἡδονὴν εἶναι τέλος δογματίζων, ὃν καὶ Ἀθήναιος δι' ἐπιγράμματος οὕτως ὑμνεῖ· [12] ἄνθρωποι, μοχθεῖτε τὰ χείρονα, καὶ διὰ κέρδος ἄπληστοι νεικέων ἄρχετε καὶ πολέμων·	Such was the man who taught that pleasure is the end. Athenaeus celebrates him in an epigram as follows: [12] Men, you toil for worse things, and for the sake of gain

4 "Lerocritus" ("judge of nonsense") and "Sannidorus" (roughly "fool's gift") are puns on the names Democritus and Antidorus.
5 The Garden, the school's meeting place in Athens, gave its name to Epicurus' school.
6 A cotyle was a liquid measure of about a quarter of a liter.

GREEK	ENGLISH
τᾶς φύσιος δ' ὁ πλοῦτος ὅρον τινὰ βαιὸν ἐπίσχει, αἱ δὲ κεναὶ κρίσιες τὰν ἀπέραντον ὁδόν. τοῦτο Νεοκλῆος πινυτὸν τέκος ἢ παρὰ Μουσέων ἔκλυεν ἢ Πυθοῦς ἐξ ἱερῶν τριπόδων. εἰσόμεθα δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον προϊόντες ἔκ τε τῶν δογμάτων ἔκ τε τῶν ῥητῶν αὐτοῦ.	you start quarrels and wars, never satisfied; but nature's wealth keeps to a small limit, while empty judgments travel the endless road. This the wise son of Neocles heard either from the Muses or from the sacred tripods of Pytho. We shall understand this better as we go on, both from his doctrines and from his own words.[7]
10.12 Μάλιστα δ' ἀπεδέχετο, φησὶ Διοκλῆς, τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἀναξαγόραν, καίτοι ἔν τισιν ἀντειρηκὼς αὐτῷ, καὶ Ἀρχέλαον τὸν Σωκράτους διδάσκαλον. ἐγύμναζε δέ, φησί, τοὺς γνωρίμους καὶ διὰ μνήμης ἔχειν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ συγγράμματα.	Of the ancients, Diocles says, he most admired Anaxagoras, although he contradicted him on some points, and Archelaus, Socrates' teacher. He also trained his pupils, Diocles says, to know his writings by heart.
10.13 Τοῦτον Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς Ναυσιφάνους ἀκοῦσαί φησι καὶ Πραξιφάνους· αὐτὸς δὲ οὔ φησιν, ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἐν τῇ πρὸς Εὐρύλοχον ἐπιστολῇ. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Λεύκιππόν τινα γεγενῆσθαί φησι φιλόσοφον, οὔτε αὐτὸς οὔτε Ἕρμαρχος, ὃν ἔνιοί φασι καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Ἐπικούρειος διδάσκαλον Δημοκρίτου γεγενῆσθαι. Δημήτριος δέ φησιν ὁ Μάγνης καὶ Ξενοκράτους αὐτὸν ἀκοῦσαι.	Apollodorus, in his *Chronicles*, says that he studied under Nausiphanes and Praxiphanes. Epicurus himself denies it, and in his letter to Eurylochus says that he was his own teacher. Neither he nor Hermarchus admits that there was ever a philosopher called Leucippus, whom some, including Apollodorus the Epicurean, say was Democritus' teacher. Demetrius of Magnesia says that he also studied under Xenocrates.
Κέχρηται δὲ λέξει κυρίᾳ κατὰ τῶν πραγμάτων, ἣν ὅτι ἰδιωτάτη ἐστίν, Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ γραμματικὸς αἰτιᾶται. σαφὴς δ' ἦν οὕτως, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ Περὶ ῥητορικῆς ἀξιοῖ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἢ σαφήνειαν ἀπαιτεῖν. [14] καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἀντὶ τοῦ Χαίρειν Εὖ πράττειν καὶ Σπουδαίως ζῆν.	He uses ordinary words for things, which Aristophanes the grammarian criticizes as highly idiosyncratic. He was so clear a writer that in his *On Rhetoric* he holds that nothing but clarity should be demanded. [14] And in his letters, instead of "Greetings," he writes "Do well" and "Live earnestly."[8]
10.14 Ἀρίστων δέ φησιν ἐν τῷ Ἐπικούρου βίῳ τὸν Κανόνα γράψαι αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ Ναυσιφάνους Τρίποδος, οὗ καὶ ἀκοῦσαί φησιν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Παμφίλου τοῦ Πλατωνικοῦ ἐν Σάμῳ. ἄρξασθαί τε φιλοσοφεῖν ἐτῶν ὑπάρχοντα δυοκαίδεκα, ἀφηγήσασθαι δὲ τῆς σχολῆς ἐτῶν ὄντα δύο πρὸς τοῖς τριάκοντα.	Ariston, in his *Life of Epicurus*, says that he based the *Canon* on Nausiphanes' *Tripod*. He says that Epicurus studied under Nausiphanes, and also under Pamphilus the Platonist on Samos. He says that Epicurus began to do philosophy at the age of twelve and became head of the school at thirty-two.
Ἐγεννήθη δέ, φησὶν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς, κατὰ τὸ τρίτον ἔτος τῆς ἑνάτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ Σωσιγένους ἄρχοντος μηνὸς γαμηλιῶνος ἑβδόμῃ, ἔτεσιν ὕστερον τῆς Πλάτωνος τελευτῆς ἑπτά. [15] ὑπάρχοντα δ' αὐτὸν ἐτῶν δύο καὶ τριάκοντα πρῶτον ἐν Μυτιλήνῃ καὶ Λαμψάκῳ συστήσασθαι σχολὴν ἐπὶ ἔτη πέντε· ἔπειτα οὕτως εἰς Ἀθήνας μετελθεῖν καὶ τελευτῆσαι κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος τῆς ἑβδόμης καὶ εἰκοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς	He was born, Apollodorus says in his *Chronicles*, in the third year of the 109th Olympiad, in the archonship of Sosigenes, on the seventh of the month Gamelion, seven years after the death of Plato. [15] At thirty-two he first set up a school in Mytilene and Lampsacus, which he ran for five years. After that he moved to Athens. He died in the second year of the 127th Olympiad, in the archonship of

7 Pytho is Delphi, seat of Apollo's oracle, where the priestess prophesied seated on a tripod.
8 Aristophanes of Byzantium was the Alexandrian scholar and librarian of about 200 BC.

GREEK	ENGLISH
Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ Πυθαράτου ἔτη βιώσαντα δύο πρὸς τοῖς ἑβδομήκοντα. τήν τε σχολὴν διαδέξασθαι Ἕρμαρχον Ἀγεμόρτου Μυτιληναῖον.	Pytharatus, at the age of seventy-two. The school passed to Hermarchus of Mytilene, son of Agemortus.[9]

DEATH AND WILL

Epicurus' last illness, his will providing for the Garden and his pupils' children, and his last letter.

GREEK	ENGLISH
10.15 τελευτῆσαι δ' αὐτὸν λίθῳ τῶν οὔρων ἐπισχεθέντων, ὥς φησι καὶ Ἕρμαρχος ἐν ἐπιστολαῖς, ἡμέρας νοσήσαντα τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα. ὅτε καί φησιν Ἕρμιππος ἐμβάντα αὐτὸν εἰς πύελον χαλκῆν κεκραμένην ὕδατι θερμῷ καὶ αἰτήσαντα ἄκρατον ῥοφῆσαι· [16] τοῖς τε φίλοις παραγγείλαντα τῶν δογμάτων μεμνῆσθαι, οὕτω τελευτῆσαι.	He died of a stone that blocked his urine, after an illness of fourteen days, as Hermarchus also says in his letters. Hermippus says that he then got into a bronze bath filled with hot water and asked for unmixed wine, which he drank down. [16] He urged his friends to remember his doctrines, and so he died.
10.16 Καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν οὕτω· χαίρετε, καὶ μέμνησθε τὰ δόγματα· τοῦτ' Ἐπίκουρος ὕστατον εἶπε φίλοις τοὔπος ἀποφθίμενος· θερμὴν ἐς πύελον γὰρ ἐληλύθεεν καὶ ἄκρατον ἔσπασεν, εἶτ' Ἀΐδην ψυχρὸν ἐπεσπάσατο. οὗτος μὲν ὁ βίος τἀνδρός, ἥδε ⟨δὲ⟩ ἡ τελευτή.	I have written on him as follows: Farewell, and remember my doctrines: these were Epicurus' last words to his friends as he was dying. He had got into a hot bath, and unmixed wine he drank down, and then he drank down cold Hades. Such was the man's life, and such was his death.
Καὶ διέθετο ὧδε· "Κατὰ τάδε δίδωμι τὰ ἐμαυτοῦ πάντα Ἀμυνομάχῳ Φιλοκράτους Βατῆθεν καὶ Τιμοκράτει Δημητρίου Ποταμίῳ κατὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ Μητρῴῳ ἀναγεγραμμένην ἑκατέρῳ δόσιν, [17] ἐφ' ᾧ τε τὸν μὲν κῆπον καὶ τὰ προσόντα αὐτῷ παρέξουσιν Ἑρμάρχῳ Ἀγεμόρτου Μυτιληναίῳ καὶ τοῖς συμφιλοσοφοῦσιν αὐτῷ καὶ οἷς ἂν Ἕρμαρχος καταλίπῃ διαδόχοις τῆς φιλοσοφίας, ἐνδιατρίβειν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν·	He made his will as follows: "I hereby give all my property to Amynomachus son of Philocrates, of Bate, and to Timocrates son of Demetrius, of Potamus, in accordance with the deed of gift to each of them recorded in the Metroön, [17] on condition that they make the Garden and what belongs to it available to Hermarchus son of Agemortus, of Mytilene, to those who do philosophy with him, and to whomever Hermarchus leaves as his successors in philosophy, so that they may spend their time there in philosophy;[10]
10.17 καὶ ἀεὶ δὲ τοῖς φιλοσοφοῦσιν ἀπὸ ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἂν συνδιασώσωσιν Ἀμυνομάχῳ καὶ Τιμοκράτει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, τὴν ἐν τῷ κήπῳ διατριβὴν παρακατατίθεμαι τοῖς τ' αὐτῶν κληρονόμοις, ἐν ᾧ ἂν τρόπῳ ἀσφαλέστατον ᾖ, ὅπως ἂν κἀκεῖνοι διατηρῶσιν τὸν κῆπον, καθάπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἷς ἂν οἱ ἀπὸ ἡμῶν φιλοσοφοῦντες παραδῶσιν. τὴν δ' οἰκίαν τὴν ἐν Μελίτῃ παρεχέτωσαν Ἀμυνόμαχος καὶ Τιμοκράτης ἐνοικεῖν Ἑρμάρχῳ καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ φιλοσοφοῦσιν, ἕως ἂν Ἕρμαρχος ζῇ.	and to those who do philosophy in our succession, for all time, I entrust the school in the Garden, so that together with Amynomachus and Timocrates they may preserve it as far as they can. I also entrust it to the heirs of Amynomachus and Timocrates, in whatever way is most secure, so that they too may maintain the Garden, as will those to whom our philosophical successors hand it on. Amynomachus and Timocrates shall let Hermarchus and those who do philosophy with him

9 The dates given are 341 BC and 271/270 BC. Gamelion is an Attic winter month.
10 The Metroön, the shrine of the Mother of the Gods in the Athenian agora, housed the state archives; Bate and Potamus were Attic demes.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		live in the house in Melite for as long as Hermarchus lives.
10.18	"Ἐκ δὲ τῶν γινομένων προσόδων τῶν δεδομένων ἀφ' ἡμῶν Ἀμυνομάχῳ καὶ Τιμοκράτει κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν μεριζέσθωσαν μεθ' Ἑρμάρχου σκοπούμενοι εἵς τε τὰ ἐναγίσματα τῷ τε πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, καὶ ἡμῖν εἰς τὴν εἰθισμένην ἄγεσθαι γενέθλιον ἡμέραν ἑκάστου ἔτους τῇ προτέρᾳ δεκάτῃ τοῦ Γαμηλιῶνος, ὥσπερ καὶ εἰς τὴν γινομένην σύνοδον ἑκάστου μηνὸς ταῖς εἰκάσι τῶν συμφιλοσοφούντων ἡμῖν εἰς τὴν ἡμῶν τε καὶ Μητροδώρου ⟨μνήμην⟩ κατατεταγμένην. συντελείτωσαν δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμέραν τοῦ Ποσειδεῶνος· συντελείτωσαν δὲ καὶ τὴν Πολυαίνου τοῦ Μεταγειτνιῶνος καθάπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς.	"From the revenues of what I have given to Amynomachus and Timocrates, let them, as far as possible and in consultation with Hermarchus, set aside a share for the funeral offerings to my father, my mother and my brothers. Let them set aside a share for the customary celebration of my birthday each year on the tenth of Gamelion, and also for the gathering of those who do philosophy with me, held on the twentieth of each month, which has been established in memory of Metrodorus and me. Let them also celebrate the day of my brothers in Poseideon, and the day of Polyaenus in Metageitnion, just as I have done.[11]
10.19	"Ἐπιμελείσθωσαν δὲ καὶ Ἀμυνόμαχος καὶ Τιμοκράτης τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Μητροδώρου Ἐπικούρου καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Πολυαίνου, φιλοσοφούντων αὐτῶν καὶ συζώντων μεθ' Ἑρμάρχου. ὡσαύτως δὲ τῆς θυγατρὸς τῆς Μητροδώρου τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιείσθωσαν, καὶ εἰς ἡλικίαν ἐλθοῦσαν ἐκδότωσαν ᾧ ἂν Ἕρμαρχος ἕληται τῶν φιλοσοφούντων μετ' αὐτοῦ, οὔσης αὐτῆς εὐτάκτου καὶ πειθαρχούσης Ἑρμάρχῳ. διδότωσαν δ' Ἀμυνόμαχος καὶ Τιμοκράτης ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχουσῶν ἡμῖν προσόδων εἰς τροφὴν τούτοις, ὅ τι ἂν αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπιδέχεσθαι δοκῇ σκοπουμένοις μεθ' Ἑρμάρχου.	"Amynomachus and Timocrates shall also take care of Epicurus, the son of Metrodorus, and of the son of Polyaenus, as long as the boys do philosophy and live with Hermarchus. They shall likewise take care of Metrodorus' daughter. When she comes of age they shall give her in marriage to whichever of those who do philosophy with Hermarchus he chooses, provided she is well-behaved and obedient to Hermarchus. From the revenues that belong to me, Amynomachus and Timocrates shall give for these children's maintenance whatever seems appropriate each year, in consultation with Hermarchus.
10.20	"Ποιείσθωσαν δὲ μεθ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ Ἕρμαρχον κύριον τῶν προσόδων, ἵνα μετὰ τοῦ συγκαταγεγηρακότος ἡμῖν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ καταλελειμμένου ἡγεμόνος τῶν συμφιλοσοφούντων ἡμῖν ἕκαστα γίνηται. τὴν δὲ προῖκα τῷ θήλει παιδίῳ, ἐπειδὰν εἰς ἡλικίαν ἔλθῃ, μερισάτωσαν Ἀμυνόμαχος καὶ Τιμοκράτης ὅσον ἂν ἐπιδέχηται ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀφαιροῦντες μετὰ τῆς Ἑρμάρχου γνώμης. ἐπιμελείσθωσαν δὲ καὶ Νικάνορος, καθάπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἵν' ὅσοι τῶν συμφιλοσοφούντων ἡμῖν χρείαν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις παρεσχημένοι καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν οἰκειότητα ἐνδεδειγμένοι συγκαταγηράσκειν μεθ' ἡμῶν προείλοντο ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, μηδενὸς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδεεῖς καθεστήκωσιν παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν δύναμιν.	"They shall make Hermarchus joint controller of the revenues with themselves, so that everything may be done together with the man who has grown old with me in philosophy and is left as leader of those who do philosophy with me. When the girl comes of age, Amynomachus and Timocrates shall pay her dowry, taking from the property as much as it can bear, with Hermarchus' approval. Let them also look after Nicanor, as I have done. Some of those who do philosophy with me have been of service to me in my private affairs, have shown me every kind of affection and have chosen to grow old with me in philosophy. So far as my means allow, none of them must be left lacking any necessity.
10.21	"Δοῦναι δὲ τὰ βιβλία τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἡμῖν πάντα Ἑρμάρχῳ. "Ἐὰν δέ τι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων περὶ Ἕρμαρχον γένηται πρὸ τοῦ τὰ Μητροδώρου παιδία εἰς ἡλικίαν ἐλθεῖν, δοῦναι	"All the books I have are to be given to Hermarchus.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Ἀμυνόμαχον καὶ Τιμοκράτην, ὅπως ἂν εὐτακτούντων αὐτῶν ἕκαστα γίνηται τῶν ἀναγκαίων, κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ἀπὸ τῶν καταλελειμμένων ὑφ' ἡμῶν προσόδων. καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἁπάντων ὡς συντετάχαμεν ἐπιμελείσθωσαν, ὅπως ἂν κατὰ τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον ἕκαστα γίγνηται. ἀφίημι δὲ τῶν παίδων ἐλεύθερον Μῦν, Νικίαν, Λύκωνα· ἀφίημι δὲ καὶ Φαίδριον ἐλευθερίᾳ."	"If anything should happen to Hermarchus before Metrodorus' children come of age, Amynomachus and Timocrates shall give them, as far as possible from the revenues I have left, whatever they need, provided they behave well, so that each necessity is met. And let them take care of everything else as I have arranged, so that each thing is done as far as possible. Of my slaves I set free Mys, Nicias and Lycon; and I also give Phaedrium her freedom."
10.22	Ἤδη δὲ τελευτῶν γράφει πρὸς Ἰδομενέα τήνδε ἐπιστολήν· "Τὴν μακαρίαν ἄγοντες καὶ ἅμα τελευταίαν ἡμέραν τοῦ βίου ἐγράφομεν ὑμῖν ταυτί. στραγγουρία τε παρηκολουθήκει καὶ δυσεντερικὰ πάθη ὑπερβολὴν οὐκ ἀπολείποντα τοῦ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς μεγέθους. ἀντιπαρετάττετο δὲ πᾶσι τούτοις τὸ κατὰ ψυχὴν χαῖρον ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν γεγονότων ἡμῖν διαλογισμῶν μνήμῃ. σὺ δ' ἀξίως τῆς ἐκ μειρακίου παραστάσεως πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ἐπιμελοῦ τῶν παίδων Μητροδώρου."	As he was dying he wrote this letter to Idomeneus: "I write this to you on this blessed day, which is also the last day of my life. Painful retention of urine and dysentery have set in, and they have reached the utmost intensity they can reach. But against all this stands the joy in my soul at the memory of our past discussions. As befits the devotion you have shown to me and to philosophy since you were a boy, take care of Metrodorus' children."
	Καὶ διέθετο μὲν ὧδε.	That, then, was his will.

PUPILS AND WRITINGS

Metrodorus, Hermarchus and the other leading Epicureans, and the list of Epicurus' best books.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Μαθητὰς δὲ ἔσχε πολλοὺς μέν, σφόδρα δὲ ἐλλογίμους Μητρόδωρον Ἀθηναίου ἢ Τιμοκρατους καὶ Σάνδης Λαμψακηνόν· ὃς ἀφ' οὗ τὸν ἄνδρα ἔγνω, οὐκ ἀπέστη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πλὴν ἓξ μηνῶν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, ἔπειτ' ἐπανῆλθε. [23] γέγονε δὲ ἀγαθὸς πάντα, καθὰ καὶ Ἐπίκουρος ἐν προηγουμέναις γραφαῖς μαρτυρεῖ καὶ ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ Τιμοκράτους. τοιοῦτος δ' ὢν καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν Βατίδα ἐξέδοτο Ἰδομενεῖ, καὶ Λεόντιον τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἑταίραν ἀναλαβὼν εἶχε παλλακήν. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀκατάπληκτος πρός τε τὰς ὀχλήσεις καὶ τὸν θάνατον, ὡς Ἐπίκουρος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Μητροδώρῳ φησί.	He had many pupils, and the most notable was Metrodorus of Lampsacus, son of Athenaeus or of Timocrates, and of Sande. From the time he met Epicurus he never left him, except for six months spent in his native city, after which he came back. [23] He was good in every way, as Epicurus testifies in introductory writings and in the third book of the *Timocrates*. Being the man he was, he gave his sister Batis in marriage to Idomeneus, and he took Leontion, the Attic courtesan, as his concubine. He was also undaunted by troubles and by death, as Epicurus says in the first book of the *Metrodorus*.
10.23	φασὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸ ἑπτὰ ἐτῶν αὐτοῦ τελευτῆσαι πεντηκοστὸν τρίτον ἔτος ἄγοντα, καὶ αὐτὸς Ἐπίκουρος ἐν ταῖς προειρημέναις διαθήκαις, ὡς προαπεληλυθότος αὐτοῦ δηλονότι, ἐπισκήπτει περὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας αὐτοῦ τῶν παίδων. ἔσχε δὲ καὶ τὸν προειρημένον εἰκαῖόν τινα ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Μητροδώρου Τιμοκράτην.	They say that he died seven years before Epicurus, in his fifty-third year. Epicurus himself, in the will quoted above, gives instructions for the care of Metrodorus' children, evidently because Metrodorus had died first. Epicurus also had as a pupil

11 Poseideon and Metageitnion are Attic months, roughly December and August.

GREEK

ENGLISH

the Timocrates mentioned above, Metrodorus' brother, a muddle-headed sort.

10.24 Βιβλία δέ ἐστι τοῦ Μητροδώρου τάδε· Πρὸς τοὺς ἰατροὺς τρία. Περὶ αἰσθήσεων. Πρὸς Τιμοκράτην. Περὶ μεγαλοψυχίας. Περὶ τῆς Ἐπικούρου ἀρρωστίας. Πρὸς τοὺς διαλεκτικούς. Πρὸς τοὺς σοφιστὰς ἐννέα. Περὶ τῆς ἐπὶ σοφίαν πορείας. Περὶ τῆς μεταβολῆς. Περὶ πλούτου. Πρὸς Δημόκριτον. Περὶ εὐγενείας.

Metrodorus' books are these: *Against the Doctors*, 3 books. *On the Senses*. *Against Timocrates*. *On Greatness of Soul*. *On Epicurus' Ill Health*. *Against the Dialecticians*. *Against the Sophists*, 9 books. *On the Road to Wisdom*. *On Change*. *On Wealth*. *Against Democritus*. *On Noble Birth*.

Ἦν καὶ Πολύαινος Ἀθηνοδώρου Λαμψακηνός, ἐπιεικὴς καὶ φιλικός, ὡς οἱ περὶ Φιλόδημόν φασι. καὶ ὁ διαδεξάμενος αὐτὸν Ἕρμαρχος Ἀγεμόρτου Μυτιληναῖος, ἀνὴρ πατρὸς μὲν πένητος, τὰς δ' ἀρχὰς προσέχων ῥητορικοῖς.

There was also Polyaenus of Lampsacus, son of Athenodorus, a decent and friendly man, as Philodemus and his circle say. And there was Epicurus' successor, Hermarchus of Mytilene, son of Agemortus. His father was poor, and at first he devoted himself to rhetoric.

Φέρεται καὶ τούτου βιβλία κάλλιστα τάδε· [25] Ἐπιστολικὰ περὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέους εἴκοσι καὶ δύο. Περὶ τῶν μαθημάτων. Πρὸς Πλάτωνα. Πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλην.

The following excellent books of his are in circulation: [25] *Letters on Empedocles*, 22 books. *On the Sciences*. *Against Plato*. *Against Aristotle*.

Ἐτελεύτα δὲ παραλύσει, γενόμενος ἱκανὸς ἀνήρ.

He died of paralysis, having proved himself an able man.

10.25 Λεοντεύς τε Λαμψακηνὸς ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ τούτου γυνὴ Θεμίστα, πρὸς ἣν καὶ γέγραφεν ὁ Ἐπίκουρος· ἔτι τε Κολώτης καὶ Ἰδομενεύς, καὶ αὐτοὶ Λαμψακηνοί. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐλλόγιμοι, ὧν ἦν καὶ Πολύστρατος ὁ διαδεξάμενος Ἕρμαρχον· ὃν διεδέξατο Διονύσιος· ὃν Βασιλείδης. καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος δ' ὁ Κηποτύραννος γέγονεν ἐλλόγιμος, ὃς ὑπὲρ τετρακόσια συνέγραψε βιβλία· δύο τε Πτολεμαῖοι Ἀλεξανδρεῖς, ὅ τε μέλας καὶ ὁ λευκός. Ζήνων τε ὁ Σιδώνιος, ἀκροατὴς Ἀπολλοδώρου, πολυγράφος ἀνήρ· [26] καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Λάκων· Διογένης τε ὁ Ταρσεὺς ὁ τὰς ἐπιλέκτους σχολὰς συγγράψας· καὶ Ὡρίων καὶ ἄλλοι οὓς οἱ γνήσιοι Ἐπικούρειοι σοφιστὰς ἀποκαλοῦσιν.

There were also Leonteus, another man from Lampsacus, and his wife Themista, to whom Epicurus wrote; and further Colotes and Idomeneus, both also from Lampsacus. These were the notable ones. Among them was also Polystratus, who succeeded Hermarchus; Dionysius succeeded Polystratus, and Basilides succeeded Dionysius. Apollodorus, known as the Tyrant of the Garden, also became notable; he wrote more than four hundred books. There were two Ptolemies of Alexandria, the Black and the White; Zeno of Sidon, a pupil of Apollodorus and a prolific writer; [26] Demetrius, nicknamed the Laconian; Diogenes of Tarsus, who compiled the *Selected Lectures*; Orion; and others whom the genuine Epicureans dismiss as sophists.

10.26 Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Ἐπίκουροι τρεῖς· ὅ τε Λεοντέως υἱὸς καὶ Θεμίστας· ἕτερος Μάγνης· τέταρτος ὁπλομάχος.

There were also three other men named Epicurus: the son of Leonteus and Themista; another from Magnesia; and a fourth, an instructor in armed combat.

Γέγονε δὲ πολυγραφώτατος ὁ Ἐπίκουρος, πάντας ὑπερβαλλόμενος πλήθει βιβλίων· κύλινδροι μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς τριακοσίους εἰσί. γέγραπται δὲ μαρτύριον ἔξωθεν ἐν αὐτοῖς οὐδέν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ εἰσιν Ἐπικούρου φωναί. ἐζήλου δὲ αὐτὸν Χρύσιππος ἐν πολυγραφίᾳ, καθά φησι καὶ Καρνεάδης παράσιτον αὐτὸν τῶν βιβλίων ἀποκαλῶν· εἰ γάρ τι γράψαι ὁ Ἐπίκουρος, φιλονεικεῖ τοσοῦτον γράψαι ὁ Χρύσιππος. [27] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πολλάκις ταὐτὰ

Epicurus was a very prolific writer, outdoing everyone in the number of his books: there are about three hundred rolls. They contain no quotations from other authors; the words are Epicurus' own throughout. Chrysippus tried to rival him in prolific writing, as Carneades says, calling Chrysippus the parasite of Epicurus' books, since

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	γέγραφε καὶ τὸ ἐπελθόν, καὶ ἀδιόρθωτα εἴακε τῷ ἐπείγεσθαι· καὶ τὰ μαρτύρια τοσαῦτά ἐστιν ὡς ἐκείνων μόνων γέμειν τὰ βιβλία, καθάπερ καὶ παρὰ Ζήνωνι ἔστιν εὑρεῖν καὶ παρὰ Ἀριστοτέλει. καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα μὲν Ἐπικούρῳ τοσαῦτα καὶ τηλικαῦτα, ὧν τὰ βέλτιστά ἐστι τάδε· Περὶ φύσεως ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα.	whenever Epicurus wrote something, Chrysippus would compete to write just as much. [27] That is why Chrysippus often repeated himself and wrote whatever came into his head, and in his haste left things uncorrected. His quotations are so numerous that his books are full of nothing else, as one can also find in Zeno and in Aristotle. So numerous and so substantial are Epicurus' writings, and the best of them are these: *On Nature*, 37 books.
10.27	Περὶ ἀτόμων καὶ κενοῦ. Περὶ ἔρωτος. Ἐπιτομὴ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς φυσικούς. Πρὸς τοὺς Μεγαρικούς. Διαπορίαι. Κύριαι δόξαι. Περὶ αἱρέσεων καὶ φυγῶν. Περὶ τέλους. Περὶ κριτηρίου ἢ Κανών. Χαιρέδημος. Περὶ θεῶν. Περὶ ὁσιότητος. [28] Ἡγησιάναξ. Περὶ βίων δ'. Περὶ δικαιοπραγίας. Νεοκλῆς πρὸς Θεμίσταν. Συμπόσιον. Εὐρύλοχος πρὸς Μητρόδωρον. Περὶ τοῦ ὁρᾶν. Περὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ ἀτόμῳ γωνίας. Περὶ ἁφῆς. Περὶ εἱμαρμένης. Περὶ παθῶν δόξαι πρὸς Τιμοκράτην. Προγνωστικόν. Προτρεπτικός. Περὶ εἰδώλων. Περὶ φαντασίας. Ἀριστόβουλος. Περὶ μουσικῆς. Περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν. Περὶ δώρων καὶ χάριτος. Πολυμήδης. Τιμοκράτης γ'. Μητρόδωρος ε'. Ἀντίδωρος β'. Περὶ νόσων δόξαι πρὸς Μίθρην. Καλλιστόλας. Περὶ βασιλείας. Ἀναξιμένης. Ἐπιστολαί.	*On Atoms and the Void*. *On Love*. *Epitome of the Works against the Natural Philosophers*. *Against the Megarians*. *Puzzles*. *Principal Doctrines*. *On Choice and Avoidance*. *On the End*. *On the Criterion, or Canon*. *Chaeredemus*. *On Gods*. *On Piety*. [28] *Hegesianax*. *On Ways of Life*, 4 books. *On Just Action*. *Neocles, to Themista*. *Symposium*. *Eurylochus, to Metrodorus*. *On Seeing*. *On the Angle in the Atom*. *On Touch*. *On Fate*. *Opinions on Feelings, against Timocrates*. *Prognostication*. *Exhortation*. *On Images*. *On Impression*. *Aristobulus*. *On Music*. *On Justice and the Other Virtues*. *On Gifts and Gratitude*. *Polymedes*. *Timocrates*, 3 books. *Metrodorus*, 5 books. *Antidorus*, 2 books. *Opinions on Diseases, to Mithres*. *Callistolas*. *On Kingship*. *Anaximenes*. *Letters*.

THE CANON AND THE CRITERIA

How Epicurus divides philosophy, and the criteria of truth: sensations, preconceptions and feelings.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
10.28	Ἃ δὲ αὐτῷ δοκεῖ ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἐκθέσθαι πειράσομαι τρεῖς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ παραθέμενος, ἐν αἷς πᾶσαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φιλοσοφίαν ἐπιτέτμηται· [29] θήσομεν δὲ καὶ τὰς Κυρίας αὐτοῦ δόξας καὶ εἴ τι ἔδοξεν ἐκλογῆς ἀξίως ἀνεφθέγχθαι, ὥστε σὲ πανταχόθεν καταμαθεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα κἂν κρίνειν εἰδέναι.	What he holds in these works I shall try to set out by quoting three of his letters, in which he has summarized his whole philosophy. [29] I shall also include his *Principal Doctrines* and anything else he said that seems worth selecting, so that you may come to know the man from every side and know how to judge him.[12]
10.29	Τὴν μὲν οὖν πρώτην ἐπιστολὴν γράφει πρὸς Ἡρόδοτον ⟨ἥτις ἐστὶ περὶ τῶν φυσικῶν· τὴν δὲ δευτέραν πρὸς Πυθοκλέα⟩, ἥτις ἐστὶ περὶ μεταρσίων· τὴν τρίτην πρὸς Μενοικέα, ἔστι δ' ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ περὶ βίων. ἀρκτέον δὴ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης, ὀλίγα προειπόντα περὶ τῆς διαιρέσεως τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν φιλοσοφίας.	The first letter he writes to Herodotus, and it is on physics. The second is to Pythocles, and it is on celestial phenomena. The third is to Menoeceus, and it deals with ways of life. We must begin with the first, after saying a few words about how he divides philosophy.[13]
	Διαιρεῖται τοίνυν εἰς τρία, τό τε κανονικὸν καὶ φυσικὸν καὶ ἠθικόν. [30] τὸ μὲν οὖν κανονικὸν ἐφόδους ἐπὶ τὴν πραγματείαν ἔχει, καὶ ἔστιν ἐν ἑνὶ τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ	His philosophy, then, is divided into three parts: the canonic, the physical and the ethical. [30] The canonic part deals with the methods of approaching

12 The "you" is the unnamed reader Diogenes addresses elsewhere, described at 3.47 as a woman devoted to Plato.
13 Herodotus, Pythocles and Menoeceus were pupils of Epicurus; this Herodotus is not the historian.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Κανών· τὸ δὲ φυσικὸν τὴν περὶ φύσεως θεωρίαν πᾶσαν, καὶ ἔστιν ἐν ταῖς Περὶ φύσεως βίβλοις ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς κατὰ στοιχεῖον· τὸ δὲ ἠθικὸν τὰ περὶ αἱρέσεως καὶ φυγῆς· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς Περὶ βίων βίβλοις καὶ ἐπιστολαῖς καὶ τῷ Περὶ τέλους. εἰώθασι μέντοι τὸ κανονικὸν ὁμοῦ τῷ φυσικῷ τάττειν· καλοῦσι δ' αὐτὸ περὶ κριτηρίου καὶ ἀρχῆς, καὶ στοιχειωτικόν· τὸ δὲ φυσικὸν περὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς, καὶ περὶ φύσεως· τὸ δὲ ἠθικὸν περὶ αἱρετῶν καὶ φευκτῶν καὶ περὶ βίων καὶ τέλους.	the subject, and is contained in a single work entitled *Canon*. The physical part covers the whole study of nature, and is contained in the thirty-seven books *On Nature* and, in elementary form, in the letters. The ethical part deals with choice and avoidance, and is contained in the books *On Ways of Life*, in the letters, and in *On the End*. They usually, however, place the canonic part together with the physical. They call it the part concerned with the criterion and the first principle, or the elementary part. The physical part they call the part concerned with coming-to-be and passing away, and with nature. The ethical part they call the part concerned with things to be chosen and avoided, and with ways of life and the end.
10.31	Τὴν διαλεκτικὴν ὡς παρέλκουσαν ἀποδοκιμάζουσιν· ἀρκεῖν γὰρ τοὺς φυσικοὺς χωρεῖν κατὰ τοὺς τῶν πραγμάτων φθόγγους. ἐν τοίνυν τῷ Κανόνι λέγων ἐστὶν ὁ Ἐπίκουρος κριτήρια τῆς ἀληθείας εἶναι τὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ προλήψεις καὶ τὰ πάθη, οἱ δ' Ἐπικούρειοι καὶ τὰς φανταστικὰς ἐπιβολὰς τῆς διανοίας. λέγει δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἡρόδοτον ἐπιτομῇ καὶ ἐν ταῖς Κυρίαις δόξαις. "πᾶσα γάρ," φησίν, "αἴσθησις ἄλογός ἐστι καὶ μνήμης οὐδεμιᾶς δεκτική· οὔτε γὰρ ὑφ' αὑτῆς οὔτε ὑφ' ἑτέρου κινηθεῖσα δύναταί τι προσθεῖναι ἢ ἀφελεῖν· οὐδὲ ἔστι τὸ δυνάμενον αὐτὰς διελέγξαι. [32] οὔτε γὰρ ἡ ὁμογένεια αἴσθησις τὴν ὁμογενῆ διὰ τὴν ἰσοσθένειαν, οὔθ' ἡ ἀνομογένεια τὴν ἀνομογένειαν, οὐ γὰρ τῶν αὐτῶν εἰσι κριτικαί·	They reject dialectic as superfluous, for they say it is enough for natural philosophers to proceed according to the words that correspond to things. In the *Canon*, then, Epicurus says that the criteria of truth are the sensations, the preconceptions and the feelings; the Epicureans add the mind's apprehensions of impressions. He says this also in the summary addressed to Herodotus and in the *Principal Doctrines*. "For every sensation," he says, "is non-rational and incapable of memory. Whether it is set in motion by itself or by something else, it cannot add or subtract anything. Nor is there anything that can refute sensations. [32] A sensation of one kind cannot refute another of the same kind, since they are equally strong; nor can a sensation of one kind refute one of a different kind, since they do not judge the same objects;
10.32	οὔτε μὴν λόγος, πᾶς γὰρ λόγος ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἤρτηται. οὔθ' ἡ ἑτέρα τὴν ἑτέραν, πάσαις γὰρ προσέχομεν. καὶ τὸ τὰ ἐπαισθήματα δ' ὑφεστάναι πιστοῦται τὴν τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἀλήθειαν. ὑφέστηκε δὲ τό τε ὁρᾶν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀκούειν, ὥσπερ τὸ ἀλγεῖν· ὅθεν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀδήλων ἀπὸ τῶν φαινομένων χρὴ σημειοῦσθαι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐπίνοιαι πᾶσαι ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθήσεων γεγόνασι κατά τε περίπτωσιν καὶ ἀναλογίαν καὶ ὁμοιότητα καὶ σύνθεσιν, συμβαλλομένου τι καὶ τοῦ λογισμοῦ. τά τε τῶν μαινομένων φαντάσματα καὶ ⟨τὰ⟩ κατ' ὄναρ ἀληθῆ, κινεῖ γάρ· τὸ δὲ μὴ ὂν οὐ κινεῖ."	nor can reason refute them, for all reasoning depends on the sensations; nor can one sense refute another, for we attend to them all. Again, the reality of our separate perceptions guarantees the truth of the sensations. That we see and hear is as real as that we feel pain. Hence we must draw inferences about what is non-evident from what appears. For all our notions, too, have arisen from the sensations, by direct contact, by analogy, by similarity and by combination, with reasoning also making some contribution. And the appearances seen by the mad and those in dreams are true, for they cause movement; and what does not exist causes no movement."
10.33	Τὴν δὲ πρόληψιν λέγουσιν οἱονεὶ κατάληψιν ἢ δόξαν ὀρθὴν ἢ ἔννοιαν ἢ καθολικὴν νόησιν ἐναποκειμένην,	By a preconception they mean a sort of apprehension, or a correct opinion, or a concept, or a uni-

GREEK

τουτέστι μνήμην τοῦ πολλάκις ἔξωθεν φανέντος, οἷον τὸ Τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος· ἅμα γὰρ τῷ ῥηθῆναι ἄνθρωπος εὐθὺς κατὰ πρόληψιν καὶ ὁ τύπος αὐτοῦ νοεῖται προηγουμένων τῶν αἰσθήσεων. παντὶ οὖν ὀνόματι τὸ πρώτως ὑποτεταγμένον ἐναργές ἐστι· καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐζητήσαμεν τὸ ζητούμενον, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἐγνώκειμεν αὐτό· οἷον Τὸ πόρρω ἑστὼς ἵππος ἐστὶν ἢ βοῦς· δεῖ γὰρ κατὰ πρόληψιν ἐγνωκέναι ποτὲ ἵππου καὶ βοὸς μορφήν· οὐδ' ἂν ὠνομάσαμέν τι μὴ πρότερον αὐτοῦ κατὰ πρόληψιν τὸν τύπον μαθόντες.

ENGLISH

versal idea stored within us—that is, a memory of what has often appeared from outside, as in "Such-and-such is a human being." For as soon as the word "human being" is spoken, its outline is at once thought of by way of preconception, the sensations having led the way. So what each word primarily refers to is evident. And we would not have looked for what we are looking for unless we had known it before: for instance, "Is that thing standing over there a horse or an ox?" For we must at some time have known the shape of a horse and of an ox by preconception. Nor would we have named anything unless we had first learned its outline by preconception.

ἐναργεῖς οὖν εἰσιν αἱ προλήψεις· καὶ τὸ δοξαστὸν ἀπὸ προτέρου τινὸς ἐναργοῦς ἤρτηται, ἐφ' ὃ ἀναφέροντες λέγομεν, οἷον Πόθεν ἴσμεν εἰ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος; [34] τὴν δὲ δόξαν καὶ ὑπόληψιν λέγουσιν, ἀληθῆ τέ φασι καὶ ψευδῆ· ἂν μὲν γὰρ ἐπιμαρτυρῆται ἢ μὴ ἀντιμαρτυρῆται, ἀληθῆ εἶναι· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐπιμαρτυρῆται ἢ ἀντιμαρτυρῆται, ψευδῆ τυγχάνειν. ὅθεν ⟨τὸ⟩ προσμένον εἰσήχθη· οἷον τὸ προσμεῖναι καὶ ἐγγὺς γενέσθαι τῷ πύργῳ καὶ μαθεῖν ὁποῖος ἐγγὺς φαίνεται.

Preconceptions, then, are evident. And what is a matter of opinion depends on something prior and evident, to which we refer when we ask, for instance, "How do we know whether this is a human being?" [34] Opinion they also call supposition, and they say it can be true or false. If it is confirmed or not contradicted, it is true; if it is not confirmed or is contradicted, it turns out to be false. Hence their introduction of "what awaits confirmation": for instance, waiting until one has come close to the tower and learning what it looks like from nearby.

10.34 Πάθη δὲ λέγουσιν εἶναι δύο, ἡδονὴν καὶ ἀλγηδόνα, ἱστάμενα περὶ πᾶν ζῷον, καὶ τὴν μὲν οἰκεῖον, τὴν δὲ ἀλλότριον· δι' ὧν κρίνεσθαι τὰς αἱρέσεις καὶ φυγάς. τῶν τε ζητήσεων εἶναι τὰς μὲν περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, τὰς δὲ περὶ ψιλὴν τὴν φωνήν. καὶ ταῦτα δὲ περὶ τῆς διαιρέσεως καὶ τοῦ κριτηρίου στοιχειωδῶς.

There are two feelings, they say, pleasure and pain, which are present in every living creature; the one is congenial, the other alien, and by them choices and avoidances are judged. Inquiries, they say, are of two kinds: some concern things, others mere words. So much, in outline, on the division of philosophy and on the criterion.

LETTER TO HERODOTUS

Epicurus' summary of physics: nothing comes from nothing, and all is atoms and void.

GREEK

Ἀνιτέον δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπιστολήν.

"Ἐπίκουρος Ἡροδότῳ χαίρειν.

[35] "Τοῖς μὴ δυναμένοις, ὦ Ἡρόδοτε, ἕκαστα τῶν περὶ φύσεως ἀναγεγραμμένων ἡμῖν ἐξακριβοῦν μηδὲ τὰς μείζους τῶν συντεταγμένων βίβλους διαθρεῖν ἐπιτομὴν τῆς ὅλης πραγματείας εἰς τὸ κατασχεῖν τῶν ὁλοσχερωτάτων γε δοξῶν τὴν μνήμην ἱκανῶς αὐτὸς παρεσκεύασα, ἵνα παρ' ἑκάστους τῶν καιρῶν ἐν τοῖς κυριωτάτοις βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς δύνωνται, καθ' ὅσον ἂν ἐφάπτωνται τῆς περὶ φύσεως θεωρίας. καὶ τοὺς

ENGLISH

But we must turn to the letter.

"Epicurus to Herodotus, greetings.

[35] "For those, Herodotus, who are unable to work through in detail everything I have written on nature, or to study the longer books I have composed, I have myself prepared a summary of the whole system, enough for them to retain a firm memory of at least the most general doctrines, so that on every occasion they may be able to help themselves on the most important points, insofar

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	προβεβηκότας δὲ ἱκανῶς ἐν τῇ τῶν ὅλων ἐπιβλέψει τὸν τύπον τῆς ὅλης πραγματείας τὸν κατεστοιχειωμένον δεῖ μνημονεύειν· τῆς γὰρ ἀθρόας ἐπιβολῆς πυκνὸν δεόμεθα, τῆς δὲ κατὰ μέρος οὐχ ὁμοίως.	as they take up the study of nature. Even those who have made good progress in surveying the whole must remember the outline of the entire system, set out under its elements. For we frequently need the overall view, but not the detailed one in the same way.
10.36	"Βαδιστέον μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα συνεχῶς, ἐν ⟨δὲ⟩ τῇ μνήμῃ τὸ τοσοῦτο ποιητέον, ἀφ' οὗ ἥ τε κυριωτάτη ἐπιβολὴ ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα ἔσται καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ κατὰ μέρος ἀκρίβωμα πᾶν ἐξευρήσεται, τῶν ὁλοσχερωτάτων τύπων εὖ περιειλημμένων καὶ μνημονευομένων· ἐπεὶ καὶ τῷ τετελεσιουργημένῳ τοῦτο κυριώτατον τοῦ παντὸς ἀκριβώματος γίνεται, τὸ ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς ὀξέως δύνασθαι χρῆσθαι, ἑκάστων πρὸς ἁπλᾶ στοιχειώματα καὶ φωνὰς συν-αγομένων. οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε τὸ πύκνωμα τῆς συνεχοῦς τῶν ὅλων περιοδείας εἰδέναι μὴ δυνάμενον διὰ βραχεῶν φωνῶν ἅπαν ἐμπεριλαβεῖν ἐν αὑτῷ τὸ καὶ κατὰ μέρος ἂν ἐξακριβωθέν.	"We must, then, keep returning to these main points, and commit enough of them to memory to give us the most essential grasp of things. Then every detail, too, will be worked out exactly, once the most general outlines have been well understood and remembered. For even for the fully initiated, the most essential element of all exact knowledge is this: being able to bring one's grasp to bear quickly, with everything reduced to simple elements and formulas. For no one can know the condensed result of a continuous survey of the whole unless he can hold within himself, in brief formulas, everything that could also be worked out in detail.
10.37	"Ὅθεν δὴ πᾶσι χρησίμης οὔσης τοῖς ᾠκειωμένοις φυσιολογίᾳ τῆς τοιαύτης ὁδοῦ, παρεγγυῶν τὸ συνεχὲς ἐνέργημα ἐν φυσιολογίᾳ καὶ τοιούτῳ μάλιστα ἐγγαληνίζων τῷ βίῳ ἐποίησά σοι καὶ τοιαύτην τινὰ ἐπιτομὴν καὶ στοιχείωσιν τῶν ὅλων δοξῶν.	"Since this method is useful to all who are at home in the study of nature, I, who urge constant activity in that study and who find my own calm above all in such a life, have also made for you a summary of this kind, an elementary statement of the doctrines as a whole.
	"Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα τοῖς φθόγγοις, ὦ Ἡρόδοτε, δεῖ εἰληφέναι, ὅπως ἂν τὰ δοξαζόμενα ἢ ζητούμενα ἢ ἀπορούμενα ἔχωμεν εἰς ταῦτα ἀνάγοντες ἐπικρίνειν, καὶ μὴ ἄκριτα πάντα ἡμῖν ⟨ἴῃ⟩ εἰς ἄπειρον ἀποδεικνύουσιν ἢ κενοὺς φθόγγους ἔχωμεν. [38] ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ἐννόημα καθ' ἕκαστον φθόγγον βλέπεσθαι καὶ μηθὲν ἀποδείξεως προσδεῖσθαι, εἴπερ ἔξομεν τὸ ζητούμενον ἢ ἀπορούμενον καὶ δοξαζόμενον ἐφ' ὃ ἀνάξομεν.	"First, then, Herodotus, we must grasp what our words stand for, so that by referring to it we may be able to judge what is believed, inquired into or puzzled over, and so that everything does not remain unjudged as we go on demonstrating to infinity, or our words remain empty. [38] For the primary concept corresponding to each word must be seen and must need no further proof, if we are to have something to which we can refer what is inquired into, puzzled over or believed.
10.38	"Ἔτι τε τὰς αἰσθήσεις δεῖ πάντως τηρεῖν καὶ ἁπλῶς τὰς παρούσας ἐπιβολὰς εἴτε διανοίας εἴθ' ὅτου δήποτε τῶν κριτηρίων, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα παθη, ὅπως ἂν καὶ τὸ προσμένον καὶ τὸ ἄδηλον ἔχωμεν οἷς σημειωσόμεθα.	"Next, we must at all costs hold fast to the sensations, and simply to our present apprehensions, whether of the mind or of any of the criteria, and likewise to the feelings we actually have, so that we may have something by which to make inferences both about what awaits confirmation and about what is non-evident.
	"Ταῦτα δεῖ διαλαβόντας συνορᾶν ἤδη περὶ τῶν ἀδήλων· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι οὐδὲν γίνεται ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος. πᾶν γὰρ ἐκ παντὸς ἐγίνετ' ἂν σπερμά- των γε οὐθὲν προσδεόμενον. [39]	"Once we have grasped these points, we must go on to consider what is non-evident. First, nothing comes into being out of what does not exist. For

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	καὶ εἰ ἐφθείρετο δὲ τὸ ἀφανιζόμενον εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν, πάντα ἂν ἀπωλώλει τὰ πράγματα, οὐκ ὄντων εἰς ἃ διελύετο. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἀεὶ τοιοῦτον ἦν οἷον νῦν ἐστι, καὶ ἀεὶ τοιοῦτον ἔσται. οὐθὲν γάρ ἐστιν εἰς ὃ μεταβαλεῖ. παρὰ γὰρ τὸ πᾶν οὐθέν ἐστιν, ὃ ἂν εἰσελθὸν εἰς αὐτὸ τὴν μεταβολὴν ποιήσαιτο.	then anything would come from anything, with no need of seeds. [39] And if what disappears were destroyed into what does not exist, all things would have perished, since what they were dissolving into would not exist. Moreover, the universe always was such as it is now, and always will be such. For there is nothing into which it will change; for besides the universe there is nothing that could enter into it and bring about the change.
10.39	"Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ [τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ Μεγάλῃ ἐπιτομῇ φησι κατ' ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐν τῇ ά Περὶ φύσεως] τὸ πᾶν ἐστι σώματα καὶ κενόν· σώματα μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἔστιν, αὐτὴ ἡ αἴσθησις ἐπὶ πάντων μαρτυρεῖ, καθ' ἣν ἀναγκαῖον τὸ ἄδηλον τῷ λογισμῷ τεκμαίρεσθαι· [40] εἰ δὲ μὴ ἦν ὃ κενὸν καὶ χώραν καὶ ἀναφῆ φύσιν ὀνομάζομεν, οὐκ ἂν εἶχε τὰ σώματα ὅπου ἦν οὐδὲ δι' οὗ ἐκινεῖτο, καθάπερ φαίνεται κινούμενα. παρὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐθὲν οὐδ' ἐπινοηθῆναι δύναται οὔτε περιληπτῶς οὔτε ἀναλόγως τοῖς περιληπτοῖς ὡς καθ' ὅλας φύσεις λαμβανόμενα καὶ μὴ ὡς τὰ τούτων συμπτώματα ἢ συμβεβηκότα λεγόμενα.	"Moreover, [he says this also at the beginning of the *Big Epitome* and in the first book of *On Nature*] the universe consists of bodies and void. That bodies exist, sensation itself testifies in every case, and it is on the basis of sensation that reason must judge what is non-evident. [40] And if there were not what we call void, space and intangible nature, bodies would have nowhere to be and nothing through which to move, as they are seen to move. Besides these two, nothing can even be conceived, either by direct grasp or by analogy with what is grasped, as things taken to be whole natures and not as what are called the accidents or properties of these.[14]
10.40	"Καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν [τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ Περὶ φύσεως καὶ τῇ ιδ' καὶ ιε' καὶ τῇ Μεγάλῃ ἐπιτομῇ] σωμάτων τὰ μέν ἐστι συγκρίσεις, τὰ δ' ἐξ ὧν αἱ συγκρίσεις πεποίηνται· [41] ταῦτα δέ ἐστιν ἄτομα καὶ ἀμετάβλητα, εἴπερ μὴ μέλλει πάντα εἰς τὸ μὴ ὂν φθαρήσεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἰσχύοντα ὑπομένειν ἐν ταῖς διαλύσεσι τῶν συγκρίσεων, πλήρη τὴν φύσιν ὄντα, οἷα δὴ οὐκ ἔχοντα ὅπῃ ἢ ὅπως διαλυθήσεται. ὥστε τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀτόμους ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι σωμάτων φύσεις.	"Further, of bodies [he says this also in the first book of *On Nature*, in the fourteenth and fifteenth, and in the *Big Epitome*] some are compounds, and others are those from which the compounds are made. [41] These latter are atoms and are unchangeable, if all things are not to be destroyed into what does not exist, but are to have the strength to survive when compounds are dissolved. For they are full by nature, and there is no place or way in which they could be dissolved. So the first principles must be atomic natures of bodies.[15]
10.41	"Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἄπειρόν ἐστι. τὸ γὰρ πεπερασμένον ἄκρον ἔχει· τὸ δὲ ἄκρον παρ' ἕτερόν τι θεωρεῖται· ⟨τὸ δὲ πᾶν οὐ παρ' ἕτερόν τι θεωρεῖται·⟩ ὥστε οὐκ ἔχον ἄκρον πέρας οὐκ ἔχει· πέρας δὲ οὐκ ἔχον ἄπειρον ἂν εἴη καὶ οὐ πεπερασμένον.	"Moreover, the universe is unlimited. For what is limited has an extremity, and an extremity is seen against something else. But the universe is not seen against something else; so, having no extremity, it has no limit; and having no limit, it must be unlimited and not limited.
	"Καὶ μὴν καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν σωμάτων ἄπειρόν ἐστι τὸ πᾶν καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ κενοῦ. [42] εἴ τε γὰρ ἦν τὸ κενὸν	"Further, the universe is unlimited both in the number of its bodies and in the extent of its void.

14 Words in square brackets in the letters and the *Principal Doctrines* are ancient scholia, a later reader's comments that found their way into the text; they are not by Epicurus. The *Big Epitome* and *On Nature* are lost works of his.
15 Greek *atomos* means "uncuttable," which is the point of the argument here.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἄπειρον, τὰ δὲ σώματα ὡρισμένα, οὐθαμοῦ ἂν ἔμενε τὰ σώματα, ἀλλ᾽ ἐφέρετο κατὰ τὸ ἄπειρον κενὸν διεσπαρμένα, οὐκ ἔχοντα τὰ ὑπερείδοντα καὶ στέλλοντα κατὰ τὰς ἀνακοπάς· εἴ τε τὸ κενὸν ἦν ὡρισμένον, οὐκ ἂν εἶχε τὰ ἄπειρα σώματα ὅπου ἐνέστη.	[42] For if the void were unlimited but the bodies limited, the bodies would not stay anywhere but would be carried along, scattered through the unlimited void, having nothing to support them and check them by making them rebound. And if the void were limited, the unlimited bodies would have nowhere to be.
10.42	“Πρός τε τούτοις τὰ ἄτομα τῶν σωμάτων καὶ μεστά, ἐξ ὧν καὶ αἱ συγκρίσεις γίνονται καὶ εἰς ἃ διαλύονται, ἀπερίληπτά ἐστι ταῖς διαφοραῖς τῶν σχημάτων· οὐ γὰρ δυνατὸν γενέσθαι τὰς τοσαύτας διαφορὰς ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν σχημάτων περιειλημμένων. καὶ καθ᾽ ἑκάστην δὲ σχημάτισιν ἁπλῶς ἄπειροί εἰσιν αἱ ὅμοιαι, ταῖς δὲ διαφοραῖς οὐχ ἁπλῶς [43] ἄπειροι ἀλλὰ μόνον ἀπερίληπτοι, [οὐδὲ γάρ φησιν ἐνδοτέρω εἰς ἄπειρον τὴν τομὴν τυγχάνειν. λέγει δέ, ἐπειδὴ αἱ ποιότητες μεταβάλλονται, εἰ μέλλει τις μὴ καὶ τοῖς μεγέθεσιν ἁπλῶς εἰς ἄπειρον αὐτὰς ἐκβάλλειν].	“Besides this, the bodies that are atomic and full, from which compounds come into being and into which they are dissolved, are incalculable in their varieties of shape. For so many varieties could not arise from the same shapes if these were limited in number. For each shape the atoms that are alike are simply unlimited, but in their varieties they are not simply [43] unlimited, only incalculable, [for he says further on that division does not go on to infinity. He says this since qualities change, if one is not also going to extend the atoms simply to infinity in size].
10.43	“Κινοῦνταί τε συνεχῶς αἱ ἄτομοι [φησὶ δὲ ἐνδοτέρω καὶ ἰσοταχῶς αὐτὰς κινεῖσθαι τοῦ κενοῦ τὴν εἶξιν ὁμοίαν παρεχομένου καὶ τῇ κουφοτάτῃ καὶ τῇ βαρυτάτῃ.] τὸν αἰῶνα, καὶ αἱ μὲν εἰς μακρὰν ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων διιστάμεναι, αἱ δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν παλμὸν ἴσχουσιν, ὅταν τύχωσι τῇ περιπλοκῇ κεκλειμέναι ἢ στεγαζόμενοι παρὰ τῶν πλεκτικῶν.	“The atoms move continuously [he says further on that they also move at equal speed, since the void gives way equally to the lightest and the heaviest] for all time. Some move far apart from one another, while others keep vibrating in place, whenever they happen to be locked in by entanglement or enclosed by atoms that interlock.
10.44	“‘Ἥ τε γὰρ τοῦ κενοῦ φύσις ἡ διορίζουσα ἑκάστην αὐτὴν τοῦτο παρασκευάζει, τὴν ὑπέρεισιν οὐχ οἵα τε οὖσα ποιεῖσθαι· ἥ τε στερεότης ἡ ὑπάρχουσα αὐταῖς κατὰ τὴν σύγκρουσιν τὸν ἀποπαλμὸν ποιεῖ, ἐφ᾽ ὁπόσον ἂν ἡ περιπλοκὴ τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν ἐκ τῆς συγκρούσεως διδῷ. ἀρχὴ δὲ τούτων οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀιδίων τῶν ἀτόμων οὐσῶν καὶ τοῦ κενοῦ. [φησὶ δ᾽ ἐνδοτέρω μηδὲ ποιότητά τινα περὶ τὰς ἀτόμους εἶναι πλὴν σχήματος καὶ μεγέθους καὶ βάρους· τὸ δὲ χρῶμα παρὰ τὴν θέσιν τῶν ἀτόμων ἀλλάττεσθαι ἐν ταῖς Δώδεκα στοιχειώσεσί φησι. πᾶν τε μέγεθος μὴ εἶναι περὶ αὐτάς· οὐδέποτε γοῦν ἄτομος ὤφθη αἰσθήσει.]	“For the nature of the void, which separates each atom off by itself, brings this about, since it cannot provide support; and the solidity that belongs to the atoms makes them rebound on collision, to whatever extent the entanglement allows them to recover from the collision. These motions have no beginning, since the atoms and the void are eternal. [He says further on that atoms have no quality except shape, size and weight; and in the *Twelve Elementary Expositions* he says that color changes according to the arrangement of the atoms. Nor can atoms be of every size; at any rate, an atom has never been seen by sense.]
10.45	“‘Ητοσαύτη δὴ φωνὴ τούτων πάντων μνημονευομένων τὸν ἱκανὸν τύπον ὑποβάλλει ⟨ταῖς περὶ⟩ τῆς τῶν ὄντων φύσεως ἐπινοίαις. “‘Αλλὰ μὴν καὶ κόσμοι ἄπειροί εἰσιν, οἵ θ᾽ ὅμοιοι τούτῳ καὶ ἀνόμοιοι. αἵ τε γὰρ ἄτομοι ἄπειροι οὖσαι, ὡς ἄρτι ἀπεδείχθη, φέρονται καὶ πορρωτάτω. οὐ γὰρ κατανήλωνται αἱ τοιαῦται ἄτομοι, ἐξ ὧν ἂν γένοιτο κόσμος ἢ ὑφ᾽ ὧν ἂν ποιηθείη, οὔτ᾽ εἰς ἕνα οὔτ᾽ εἰς	“A statement of this length, provided all these points are remembered, offers a sufficient outline for our thinking about the nature of what exists. “Moreover, there are unlimited worlds, some like this one and some unlike it. For the atoms, being unlimited, as was just shown, travel even to the farthest distances. For the sort of atoms from which a world might come into being, or by which

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	πεπερασμένους, οὔθ' ὅσοι τοιοῦτοι οὔθ' ὅσοι διάφοροι τούτοις. ὥστε οὐδὲν τὸ ἐμποδοστατῆσόν ἐστι πρὸς τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν κόσμων.	it might be made, have not been used up on one world or on a limited number of worlds, neither on all the worlds like this one nor on all those different from them. So there is nothing to stand in the way of an unlimited number of worlds.

IMAGES, PERCEPTION AND THE SOUL

How thin images cause sight and thought, why atoms have only a few qualities, and the soul's nature.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
10.46	"Καὶμὴν καὶ τύποι ὁμοιοσχήμονες τοῖς στερεμνίοις εἰσί, λεπτότησιν ἀπέχοντες μακρὰν τῶν φαινομένων. οὔτε γὰρ συστάσεις ἀδυνατοῦσιν ἐν τῷ περιέχοντι γίνεσθαι τοιαῦται οὔτ' ἐπιτηδειότητες πρὸς κατεργασίας τῶν κοιλωμάτων καὶ λεπτοτήτων γίνεσθαι, οὔτε ἀπόρροιαι τὴν ἑξῆς θέσιν καὶ βάσιν διατηροῦσαι, ἥνπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς στερεμνίοις εἶχον· τούτους δὲ τοὺς τύπους εἴδωλα προσαγορεύομεν. καὶ μὴν καὶ ἡ διὰ τοῦ κενοῦ φορὰ κατὰ μηδεμίαν ἀπάντησιν τῶν ἀντικοψόντων γινομένη πᾶν μῆκος περιληπτὸν ἐν ἀπερινοήτῳ χρόνῳ συντελεῖ. βράδους γὰρ καὶ τάχους ἀντικοπὴ καὶ οὐκ ἀντικοπὴ ὁμοίωμα λαμβάνει.	"Further, there are outlines of the same shape as solid bodies, far surpassing visible things in their fineness. For it is not impossible that such formations should arise in the surrounding space, or that conditions should arise suitable for producing hollow and fine structures, or that effluences should arise which preserve the same relative position and arrangement they had in the solid bodies. These outlines we call images. Moreover, motion through the void, when it meets nothing that would collide with it, covers any distance we can grasp in an inconceivably short time. For collision and absence of collision take on the appearance of slowness and speed.
10.47	"Οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἅμα κατὰ τοὺς διὰ λόγου θεωρητοὺς χρόνους αὐτὸ τὸ φερόμενον σῶμα ἐπὶ τοὺς πλείους τόπους ἀφικνεῖται — ἀδιανόητον γάρ,— καὶ τοῦτο συναφικνούμενον ἐν αἰσθητῷ χρόνῳ ὅθεν δήποθεν τοῦ ἀπείρου οὐκ ἐξ οὗ ἂν περιλάβωμεν τὴν φορὰν τόπου ἔσται ἀφιστάμενον· ἀντικοπῇ γὰρ ὅμοιον ἔσται, κἂν μέχρι τοσούτου τὸ τάχος τῆς φορᾶς μὴ ἀντικόπτον καταλίπωμεν. χρήσιμον δὴ καὶ τοῦτο κατασχεῖν τὸ στοιχεῖον. εἶθ' ὅτι τὰ εἴδωλα ταῖς λεπτότησιν ἀνυπερβλήτοις κέχρηται, οὐθὲν ἀντιμαρτυρεῖ τῶν φαινομένων· ὅθεν καὶ τάχη ἀνυπέρβλητα ἔχει, πάντα πόρον σύμμετρον ἔχοντα πρὸς τῷ ⟨τῷ⟩ ἀπείρῳ αὐτῶν μηθὲν ἀντικόπτειν ἢ ὀλίγα ἀντικόπτειν, πολλαῖς δὲ καὶ ἀπείροις εὐθὺς ἀντικόπτειν τι.	"Yet the moving body itself does not arrive at several places at the same time, in the times that can be discerned by reason—that is unthinkable. And when it arrives in a perceptible time from any point whatever in the unlimited, it will not be departing from the place from which we perceive its motion; for its arrival will resemble collision, even if up to that point we leave the speed of its motion unchecked by collision. It is useful to keep hold of this principle too. Next, nothing among the things that appear contradicts the view that the images are of unsurpassed fineness. Hence they also have unsurpassed speeds, since every passage is of the right size for them, and besides, nothing or little collides with their unlimited number, whereas something at once collides with many, indeed unlimited, atoms.
10.48	"Πρός τε τούτοις, ὅτι ἡ γένεσις τῶν εἰδώλων ἅμα νοήματι συμβαίνει. καὶ γὰρ ῥεῦσις ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων τοῦ ἐπιπολῆς συνεχής, οὐκ ἐπίδηλος τῇ μειώσει διὰ τὴν ἀνταναπλήρωσιν, σῴζουσα τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ στερεμνίου θέσιν καὶ τάξιν τῶν ἀτόμων ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον, εἰ καὶ ἐνίοτε συγχεομένη ὑπάρχει, καὶ συστάσεις ἐν τῷ περιέχοντι ὀξεῖαι διὰ τὸ μὴ δεῖν κατὰ βάθος τὸ συμπλήρωμα	"Besides this, the images come into being as fast as thought. For there is a continuous flow from the surface of bodies, not betrayed by any diminution because of the replenishment that makes up for it. For a long time it preserves the position and arrangement the atoms had on the solid body, although at times it becomes confused. There are

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	γίνεσθαι, καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ τρόποι τινὲς γεννητικοὶ τῶν τοιούτων φύσεων εἰσίν. οὐθὲν γὰρ τούτων ἀντιμαρτυρεῖται ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν, ἂν βλέπῃ τίς τινα τρόπον τὰς ἐναργείας ἵνα καὶ τὰς συμπαθείας ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀνοίσει.	also swift formations in the surrounding space, because they do not need to be filled out in depth; and there are certain other ways in which such natures are generated. None of these is contradicted by the sensations, if one considers how they will bring us the clear impressions and the correspondences from external things.
10.49	"Δεῖ δὲ καὶ νομίζειν ἐπεισιόντος τινὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν ὁρᾶν ἡμᾶς καὶ διανοεῖσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐναποσφραγίσαιτο τὰ ἔξω τὴν ἑαυτῶν φύσιν τοῦ τε χρώματος καὶ τῆς μορφῆς διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος τοῦ μεταξὺ ἡμῶν τε κἀκείνων, οὐδὲ διὰ τῶν ἀκτίνων ἢ ὠνδήποτε ῥευμάτων ἀφ' ἡμῶν πρὸς ἐκεῖνα παραγινομένων, οὕτως ὡς τύπων τινῶν ἐπεισιόντων ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων ὁμοχρόων τε καὶ ὁμοιομόρφων κατὰ τὸ ἐναρμόττον μέγεθος εἰς τὴν ὄψιν ἢ τὴν διάνοιαν, ὠκέως ταῖς φοραῖς χρωμένων, [50] εἶτα διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ ἑνὸς καὶ συνεχοῦς τὴν φαντασίαν ἀποδιδόντων καὶ τὴν συμπάθειαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου σῳζόντων κατὰ τὸν ἐκεῖθεν σύμμετρον ἐπερεισμὸν ἐκ τῆς κατὰ βάθος ἐν τῷ στερεμνίῳ τῶν ἀτόμων πάλσεως.	"We must also hold that it is when something enters us from external things that we see and think. For external things could not stamp on us their own nature, of color and shape, through the air between us and them, or through rays or any streams whatever traveling from us to them, in the way they can by means of certain outlines that enter us from the things themselves, of the same color and shape as they are, of a size to fit into our sight or mind, and moving swiftly. [50] Then, for this reason, these outlines give the impression of a single continuous thing and preserve their correspondence with the underlying object, through the commensurate pressure from it, which comes from the vibration of the atoms deep within the solid body.
10.50	καὶ ἣν ἂν λάβωμεν φαντασίαν ἐπιβλητικῶς τῇ διανοίᾳ ἢ τοῖς αἰσθητηρίοις εἴτε μορφῆς εἴτε συμβεβηκότων, μορφή ἐστιν αὕτη τοῦ στερεμνίου, γινομένη κατὰ τὸ ἑξῆς πύκνωμα ἢ ἐγκατάλειμμα τοῦ εἰδώλου· τὸ δὲ ψεῦδος καὶ τὸ διημαρτημένον ἐν τῷ προσδοξαζομένῳ ἀεί ἐστιν ⟨ἐπὶ τοῦ προσμένοντος⟩ ἐπιμαρτυρηθήσεσθαι ἢ μὴ ἀντιμαρτυρηθήσεσθαι, εἶτ' οὐκ ἐπιμαρτυρουμένου ⟨ἢ ἀντιμαρτυρουμένου⟩ [κατά τινα κίνησιν ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς συνημμένην τῇ φανταστικῇ ἐπιβολῇ, διάληψιν δὲ ἔχουσαν, καθ' ἣν τὸ ψεῦδος γίνεται.]	And whatever impression we receive by an act of apprehension, with the mind or the sense organs, whether of shape or of properties, this is the shape of the solid body, produced by the successive concentration or residue of the image. Falsehood and error always lie in what opinion adds, in the case of what awaits confirmation, that it will be confirmed or not contradicted, when it is then not confirmed or is contradicted [owing to a certain movement in ourselves which is connected with the act of apprehending the impression but has a distinctness of its own, and by which falsehood arises.]
10.51	"Ἥ τε γὰρ ὁμοιότης τῶν φαντασμῶν οἱονεὶ ἐν εἰκόνι λαμβανομένων ἢ καθ' ὕπνους γινομένων ἢ κατ' ἄλλας τινὰς ἐπιβολὰς τῆς διανοίας ἢ τῶν λοιπῶν κριτηρίων οὐκ ἄν ποτε ὑπῆρχε τοῖς οὖσί τε καὶ ἀληθέσι προσαγορευομένοις, εἰ μὴ ἦν τινα καὶ τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἃ παραβάλλομεν· τὸ δὲ διημαρτημένον οὐκ ἂν ὑπῆρχεν, εἰ μὴ ἐλαμβάνομεν καὶ ἄλλην τινὰ κίνησιν ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς συνημμένην μὲν τῇ φανταστικῇ ἐπιβολῇ, διάληψιν δὲ ἔχουσαν· κατὰ δὲ ταύτην, ἐὰν μὲν μὴ ἐπιμαρτυρηθῇ ἢ ἀντιμαρτυρηθῇ, τὸ ψεῦδος γίνεται· ἐὰν δὲ ἐπιμαρτυρηθῇ ἢ μὴ ἀντιμαρτυρηθῇ, τὸ ἀληθές.	"For appearances, whether received as if in a picture, or arising in sleep, or through any other acts of apprehension by the mind or of the other criteria, would never resemble what are called existing and true things, unless there were also things of this kind with which we compare them. And error would not exist unless we also experienced in ourselves some other movement, connected with the act of apprehending the impression but having a distinctness of its own. It is in virtue of this movement that, if what is judged is not confirmed

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		or is contradicted, falsehood arises; and if it is confirmed or not contradicted, truth.
10.52	"Καὶ ταύτην οὖν σφόδρα γε δεῖ τὴν δόξαν κατέχειν, ἵνα μήτε τὰ κριτήρια ἀναιρῆται τὰ κατὰ τὰς ἐναργείας μήτε τὸ διημαρτημένον ὁμοίως βεβαιούμενον πάντα συνταράττῃ.	"So we must hold firmly to this doctrine too, so that the criteria based on clear evidence are not abolished, and error is not given the same standing and so throws everything into confusion.
	"Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ ἀκούειν γίνεται ῥεύματος φερομένου ἀπὸ τοῦ φωνοῦντος ἢ ἠχοῦντος ἢ ψοφοῦντος ἢ ὁπωσδήποτε ἀκουστικὸν πάθος παρασκευάζοντος. τὸ δὲ ῥεῦμα τοῦτο εἰς ὁμοιομερεῖς ὄγκους διασπείρεται, ἅμα τινὰ διασῴζοντας συμπάθειαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἑνότητα ἰδιότροπον, διατείνουσαν πρὸς τὸ ἀποστεῖλαν καὶ τὴν ἐπαίσθησιν τὴν ἐπ' ἐκείνου ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ποιοῦσαν, εἰ δὲ μή γε, τὸ ἔξωθεν μόνον ἔνδηλον παρασκευάζουσαν· [53] ἄνευ γὰρ ἀναφερομένης τινὸς ἐκεῖθεν συμπαθείας οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο ἡ τοιαύτη ἐπαίσθησις.	"Moreover, hearing occurs when a stream travels from whatever is speaking, sounding, making a noise, or in any way producing the experience of hearing. This stream is dispersed into particles of like parts, which at the same time preserve a certain correspondence with one another and a distinctive unity extending back to the source. For the most part this unity produces the perception of the source; if not, it at least makes evident that something is outside. [53] For without some correspondence carried from the source, perception of this kind could not occur.
10.53	οὐκ αὐτὸν οὖν δεῖ νομίζειν τὸν ἀέρα ὑπὸ τῆς προιεμένης φωνῆς ἢ καὶ τῶν ὁμογενῶν σχηματίζεσθαι—πολλὴν γὰρ ἔνδειαν ἔξει τοῦτο πάσχων ὑπ' ἐκείνης, —ἀλλ' εὐθὺς τὴν γινομένην πληγὴν ἐν ἡμῖν, ὅταν φωνὴν ἀφίωμεν, τοιαύτην ἔκθλιψιν ὄγκων τινῶν ῥεύματος πνευματώδους ἀποτελεστικῶν ποιεῖσθαι, ἢ τὸ πάθος τὸ ἀκουστικὸν ἡμῖν παρασκευάζει.	We must not suppose, then, that the air itself is shaped by the voice that is uttered, or by things of the same kind—for it would fall far short of being affected in this way by the voice—but that the blow that occurs within us when we utter a sound at once squeezes out certain particles which produce a breath-like stream, and this produces in us the experience of hearing.
	"Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὴν ὀσμὴν νομιστέον, ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν ἀκοὴν οὐκ ἄν ποτε οὐθὲν πάθος ἐργάσασθαι, εἰ μὴ ὄγκοι τινὲς ἦσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος ἀποφερόμενοι σύμμετροι πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ αἰσθητήριον κινεῖν, οἱ μὲν τοῖοι τεταραγμένως καὶ ἀλλοτρίως, οἱ δὲ τοῖοι ἀταράχως καὶ οἰκείως ἔχοντες.	"Further, we must hold that smell too, just like hearing, could never produce any effect unless certain particles were carried off from the thing that are of the right size to stimulate this sense organ. Some are of one kind and affect it in a disturbing and alien way, others are of another kind and affect it in an undisturbing and congenial way.
10.54	"Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰς ἀτόμους νομιστέον μηδεμίαν ποιότητα τῶν φαινομένων προσφέρεσθαι πλὴν σχήματος καὶ βάρους καὶ μεγέθους καὶ ὅσα ἐξ ἀνάγκης σχήματος συμφυῆ ἐστι. ποιότης γὰρ πᾶσα μεταβάλλει· αἱ δὲ ἄτομοι οὐδὲν μεταβάλλουσιν, ἐπειδή περ δεῖ τι ὑπομένειν ἐν ταῖς διαλύσεσι τῶν συγκρίσεων στερεὸν καὶ ἀδιάλυτον, ὃ τὰς μεταβολὰς οὐκ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὂν ποιήσεται οὐδ' ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μεταθέσεις ἐν πολλοῖς, τινῶν δὲ καὶ προσόδους καὶ ἀφόδους. ὅθεν ἀναγκαῖον τὰ μετατιθέμενα ἄφθαρτα εἶναι καὶ τὴν τοῦ μεταβάλλοντος φύσιν οὐκ ἔχοντα, ὀγκοὺς δὲ καὶ σχηματισμοὺς ἰδίους· ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ὑπομένειν.	"Further, we must hold that the atoms bring with them none of the qualities of things that appear, except shape, weight and size, and whatever necessarily goes along with shape. For every quality changes, but the atoms do not change at all. When compounds are dissolved, something solid and indissoluble must remain. It will bring about changes not into what is not, nor out of what is not, but by transpositions in many cases, and in some by additions and subtractions. Hence the things that are transposed must be indestructible and not share the nature of what changes; they must have masses and configurations of their own, for these are what must remain.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
10.55	"Καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν μετασχηματιζομένοις κατὰ τὴν περιαίρεσιν τὸ σχῆμα ἐνυπάρχον λαμβάνεται, αἱ δὲ ποιότητες οὐκ ἐνυπάρχουσαι ἐν τῷ μεταβάλλοντι, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνο καταλείπεται, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος ἀπολλύμεναι. ἱκανὰ οὖν τὰ ὑπολειπόμενα ταῦτα τὰς τῶν συγκρίσεων διαφορὰς ποιεῖν, ἐπειδή περ ὑπολείπεσθαί γέ τινα ἀναγκαῖον καὶ μὴ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὂν φθείρεσθαι.	"For in the things around us that change their shape when parts are removed, the shape is found to be inherent in them. The qualities, by contrast, are not inherent in what changes, in the way the shape is left behind; they perish from the whole body. These things that remain, then, are enough to produce the differences between compounds, since something must remain and not be destroyed into what is not.
	"Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ δεῖ νομίζειν πᾶν μέγεθος ἐν ταῖς ἀτόμοις ὑπάρχειν, ἵνα μὴ τὰ φαινόμενα ἀντιμαρτυρῇ· παραλλαγὰς δέ τινας μεγεθῶν νομιστέον εἶναι. βέλτιον γὰρ καὶ τούτου προσόντος τὰ κατὰ τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις γινόμενα ἀποδοθήσεται. [56] πᾶν δὲ μέγεθος ὑπάρχειν οὔτε χρήσιμόν ἐστι πρὸς τὰς τῶν ποιοτήτων διαφοράς, ἀφῖχθαί τε ἅμ' ἔδει καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁρατὰς ἀτόμους· ὃ οὐ θεωρεῖται γινόμενον οὔθ' ὅπως ἂν γένοιτο ὁρατὴ ἄτομος ἔστιν ἐπινοῆσαι.	"Again, we must not suppose that atoms come in every size, or the appearances will testify against us. We must hold, though, that there are some variations of size. For if this is added, what happens in our feelings and sensations will be better explained. [56] But for every size to exist is of no use in explaining the differences of qualities, and at the same time some atoms that are visible would have had to reach us. This is not observed to happen, nor can one conceive how an atom could become visible.
10.56	"Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐ δεῖ νομίζειν ἐν τῷ ὡρισμένῳ σώματι ἀπείρους ὄγκους εἶναι οὐδ' ὀπηλίκους οὖν. ὥστε οὐ μόνον τὴν εἰς ἄπειρον τομὴν ἐπὶ τοὔλαττον ἀναιρετέον, ἵνα μὴ πάντα ἀσθενῆ ποιῶμεν κἀν ταῖς περιλήψεσι τῶν ἀθρόων εἰς τὸ μὴ ὂν ἀναγκαζώμεθα τὰ ὄντα θλίβοντες καταναλίσκειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν μετάβασιν μὴ νομιστέον γίνεσθαι ἐν τοῖς ὡρισμένοις εἰς ἄπειρον μηδ' ἐπὶ τοὔλαττον.	"Besides this, we must not suppose that in a finite body there are infinitely many particles, of whatever size. So not only must we do away with division into smaller and smaller parts without limit, so that we do not make everything weak and are not forced, in grasping compound wholes, to crush the things that exist and use them up into what is not. We must also not suppose that, in finite bodies, one can pass on to infinity, not even to smaller and smaller parts.
10.57	"Οὔτε γὰρ ὅπως, ἐπειδὰν ἅπαξ τις εἴπῃ ὅτι ἄπειροι ὄγκοι ἔν τινι ὑπάρχουσιν ἢ ὀπηλίκοι οὖν, ἔστι νοῆσαι ὅπως ἂν ἔτι τοῦτο πεπερασμένον εἴη τὸ μέγεθος. πηλίκοι γάρ τινες δῆλον ὡς οἱ ἄπειροί εἰσιν ὄγκοι· καὶ οὗτοι ὀπηλίκοι ἄν ποτε ὦσιν, ἄπειρον ἂν ἦν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος. ἄκρον τε ἔχοντος τοῦ πεπερασμένου διαληπτόν, εἰ μὴ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸ θεωρητόν, οὐκ ἔστι μὴ οὐ καὶ τὸ ἑξῆς τούτου τοιοῦτον νοεῖν καὶ οὕτω κατὰ τὸ ἑξῆς εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν βαδίζοντα εἰς τὸ ἄπειρον ὑπάρχειν καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀφικνεῖσθαι τῇ ἐννοίᾳ.	"For once someone says that there are infinitely many particles in something, of whatever size, it is impossible to conceive how this magnitude could still be finite. Clearly the infinitely many particles are of some size, and whatever size they might be, the magnitude would be infinite too. And since what is finite has an extremity that can be distinguished, even if it cannot be observed by itself, one cannot help conceiving the next part after it as being of the same kind. So, moving forward from one part to the next, one would be able to reach infinity in thought in this way.
10.58	"Τό τε ἐλάχιστον τὸ ἐν τῇ αἰσθήσει δεῖ κατανοεῖν ὅτι οὔτε τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν οἷον τὸ τὰς μεταβάσεις ἔχον οὔτε πάντῃ πάντως ἀνόμοιον, ἀλλ' ἔχον μέν τινα κοινότητα τῶν μεταβατῶν, διάληψιν δὲ μερῶν οὐκ ἔχον· ἀλλ' ὅταν διὰ	"We must also recognize that the smallest thing perceptible by sense is neither like what admits of passing from part to part, nor in every respect wholly unlike it. It has something in common with

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	τὴν τῆς κοινότητος προσεμφέρειαν οἰηθῶμεν διαλήψεσθαί τι αὐτοῦ, τὸ μὲν ἐπιτάδε, τὸ δὲ ἐπέκεινα, τὸ ἴσον ἡμῖν δεῖ προσπίπτειν. ἐξῆς τε θεωροῦμεν ταῦτα ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου καταρχόμενοι καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, οὐδὲ μέρεσι μερῶν ἁπτόμενα, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν τῇ ἰδιότητι τῇ ἑαυτῶν τὰ μεγέθη καταμετροῦντα, τὰ πλείω πλεῖον καὶ τὰ ἐλάττω ἔλαττον.	things that allow such passage, but it has no distinction of parts. Whenever, because of the resemblance in what they share, we think we will distinguish some part of it, one on this side and another on that, what meets our perception must be something equal. We observe these minimal parts in succession, beginning from the first. We do not observe them within the same one, nor touching part to part, but measuring out magnitudes by their own distinctive character: more of them for a greater magnitude, fewer for a lesser.
10.59	"Ταύτῃ τῇ ἀναλογίᾳ νομιστέον καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ ἀτόμῳ ἐλάχιστον κεχρῆσθαι· μικρότητι γὰρ ἐκεῖνο δῆλον ὡς διαφέρει τοῦ κατὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν θεωρουμένου, ἀναλογίᾳ δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ κέχρηται. ἐπεί περ καὶ ὅτι μέγεθος ἔχει ἡ ἄτομος, κατὰ τὴν ἐνταῦθα ἀναλογίαν κατηγορήσαμεν, μικρόν τι μόνον μακρὰν ἐκβαλόντες. ἔτι τε τὰ ἐλάχιστα καὶ ἀμιγῆ πέρατα δεῖ νομίζειν τῶν μηκῶν τὸ καταμέτρημα ἐξ αὐτῶν πρώτων τοῖς μείζοσι καὶ ἐλάττοσι παρασκευάζοντα τῇ διὰ λόγου θεωρίᾳ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀοράτων. ἡ γὰρ κοινότης ἡ ὑπάρχουσα αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὰ ἀμετάβολα ἱκανὴ τὸ μέχρι τούτου συντελέσαι, συμφόρησιν δὲ ἐκ τούτων κίνησιν ἐχόντων οὐχ οἷόν τε γίνεσθαι.	"We must hold that the minimum in the atom follows this analogy too. It clearly differs from what is observed by sense in its smallness, but it follows the same analogy. It was on the analogy of things here that we asserted that the atom has size, merely carrying something small a long way further down. Further, we must consider these minimal, uncompounded limits as providing from themselves, as the primary units, the measure of lengths, greater and smaller, when reason contemplates invisible things. What they have in common with things that do not admit of passage from part to part is enough to take us this far. But a coming together of these minima, as if they had motion of their own, is impossible.
10.60	"Καὶ μὴν καὶ τοῦ ἀπείρου ὡς μὲν ἀνωτάτω καὶ κατώτατω οὐ δεῖ κατηγορεῖν τὸ ἄνω ἢ κάτω. ἴσμεν μέντοι τὸ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς, ὅθεν ἂν στῶμεν, εἰς ἄπειρον ἄγειν ὄν, μηδέποτε φανεῖσθαι τοῦτο ἡμῖν, ἢ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ νοηθέντος εἰς ἄπειρον, ἅμα ἄνω τε εἶναι καὶ κάτω πρὸς τὸ αὐτό· τοῦτο γὰρ ἀδύνατον διανοηθῆναι. ὥστε ἔστι μίαν λαβεῖν φορὰν τὴν ἄνω νοουμένην εἰς ἄπειρον καὶ μίαν τὴν κάτω, ἂν καὶ μυριάκις πρὸς τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἐπάνω τὸ παρ' ἡμῶν φερόμενον εἰς τοὺς ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἡμῶν τόπους ἀφικνῆται ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τῶν ὑποκάτω τὸ παρ' ἡμῶν κάτω φερόμενον· ἡ γὰρ ὅλη φορὰ οὐθὲν ἧττον ἑκατέρα ἑκατέρᾳ ἀντικειμένη ἐπ' ἄπειρον νοεῖται.	"Further, in the infinite we must not predicate 'up' or 'down' in the sense of a highest and a lowest point. We do know, though, that what is above our heads, from wherever we stand, if extended to infinity, will never appear to us as such. Nor will what is below the point conceived, extended to infinity, be at once above and below in relation to the same point, for that is impossible to conceive. So it is possible to take one motion, conceived as upward to infinity, and one as downward. This holds even if what moves from us toward the places above our heads arrives ten thousand times at the feet of those above, or what moves downward from us arrives at the heads of those below. For the whole motion in each direction is conceived, no less, as opposite to the other, to infinity.
10.61	"Καὶ μὴν καὶ ἰσοταχεῖς ἀναγκαῖον τὰς ἀτόμους εἶναι, ὅταν διὰ τοῦ κενοῦ εἰσφέρωνται μηθενὸς ἀντικόπτοντος. οὔτε γὰρ τὰ βαρέα θᾶττον οἰσθήσεται τῶν μικρῶν καὶ κούφων, ὅταν γε δὴ μηδὲν ἀπαντᾷ αὐτοῖς· οὔτε τὰ μικρὰ τῶν μεγάλων, πάντα πόρον σύμμετρον ἔχοντα, ὅταν μηθὲν μηδὲ ἐκείνοις ἀντικόπτῃ· οὔθ' ἡ ἄνω οὔθ' ἡ εἰς τὸ	"Further, the atoms must move at equal speed when they travel through the void with nothing colliding with them. Heavy atoms will not travel faster than small and light ones, as long as nothing meets them. Nor will small ones travel faster than large ones, since they all have a passage suited to

GREEK	ENGLISH
πλάγιον διὰ τῶν κρούσεων φορά, οὔθ' ἡ κάτω διὰ τῶν ἰδίων βαρῶν. ἐφ' ὁπόσον γὰρ ἂν κατίσχῃ ἑκάτερον, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ν ἅμα νοήματι τὴν φορὰν σχήσει, ἕως ἀντικόψῃ ἢ ἔξωθεν ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου βάρους πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πλήξαντος δύναμιν.	them, as long as nothing collides with these either. Nor is upward or sideways motion caused by collisions faster, nor downward motion caused by their own weights. For as long as either kind of motion prevails, the atom will keep up its motion as fast as thought, until something collides with it. That can come either from outside or from its own weight counteracting the force of whatever struck it.
10.62 "Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ κατὰ τὰς συγκρίσεις θάττων ἑτέρα ἑτέρας ⟨φορ⟩ηθήσεται τῶν ἀτόμων ἰσοταχῶν οὐσῶν, τῷ ἐφ' ἕνα τόπον φέρεσθαι τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἀθροίσμασιν ἀτόμους κατὰ τὸν ἐλάχιστον συνεχῆ χρόνον, εἰ ⟨καὶ⟩ μὴ ἐφ' ἕνα κατὰ τοὺς λόγῳ θεωρητοὺς χρόνους· ἀλλὰ πυκνὸν ἀντικόπτουσιν, ἕως ἂν ὑπὸ τὴν αἴσθησιν τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς φορᾶς γίνηται. τὸ γὰρ προσδοξαζόμενον περὶ τοῦ ἀοράτου, ὡς ἄρα καὶ οἱ διὰ λόγου θεωρητοὶ χρόνοι τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς φορᾶς ἕξουσιν, οὐκ ἀληθές ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων· ἐπεὶ τό γε θεωρούμενον πᾶν ἢ κατ' ἐπιβολὴν λαμβανόμενον τῇ διανοίᾳ ἀληθές ἐστι.	"In compounds, too, one atom will be said to move faster than another, though the atoms are of equal speed. This is because the atoms in aggregates move toward one place over the least continuous time, even if not toward one place over times that can be contemplated only by reason. Rather, they collide frequently, until the continuity of their motion comes within the range of perception. The additional opinion about the invisible, that the times contemplated by reason will also contain continuous motion, is not true in such cases. For everything that is observed, or grasped by the mind in an act of apprehension, is true.
10.63 "Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δεῖ συνορᾶν ἀναφέροντα ἐπὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ τὰ πάθη—οὕτω γὰρ ἡ βεβαιοτάτη πίστις ἔσται,—ὅτι ἡ ψυχὴ σῶμά ἐστι λεπτομερὲς παρ' ὅλον τὸ ἄθροισμα παρεσπαρμένον, προσεμφερέστατον δὲ πνεύματι θερμοῦ τινα κρᾶσιν ἔχοντι καὶ πῇ μὲν τούτῳ προσεμφερές, πῇ δὲ τούτῳ· ἔστι δὲ τὸ ⟨τρίτον⟩ μέρος πολλὴν παραλλαγὴν εἰληφὸς τῇ λεπτομερείᾳ καὶ αὐτῶν τούτων, συμπαθὲς δὲ τούτῳ μᾶλλον καὶ τῷ λοιπῷ ἀθροίσματι· τοῦτο δὲ πᾶν αἱ δυνάμεις τῆς ψυχῆς δηλοῦσι καὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ αἱ εὐκινησίαι καὶ αἱ διανοήσεις καὶ ὧν στερόμενοι θνῄσκομεν.	"Next, referring to the sensations and feelings, since in this way the most secure confidence will be reached, we must see that the soul is a body made of fine particles, dispersed throughout the whole aggregate. It is most like breath with a certain admixture of heat, resembling breath in some respects and heat in others. But there is also the third part, which far exceeds even these in the fineness of its particles, and for this reason is more in sympathy with the rest of the aggregate too. All this is shown by the soul's powers, its feelings, its ease of movement, its thought processes, and the things whose loss means our death.
καὶ μὴν ὅτι ἔχει ἡ ψυχὴ τῆς αἰσθήσεως τὴν πλείστην αἰτίαν δεῖ κατέχειν· [64] οὐ μὴν εἰλήφει ἂν ταύτην, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀθροίσματος ἐστεγάζετό πως. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἄθροισμα παρασκευάσαν ἐκείνῃ τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην μετείληφε καὶ αὐτὸ τοιούτου συμπτώματος παρ' ἐκείνης, οὐ μέντοι πάντων ὧν ἐκείνη κέκτηται· διὸ ἀπαλλαγείσης τῆς ψυχῆς οὐκ ἔχει τὴν αἴσθησιν. οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ταύτην ἐκέκτητο τὴν δύναμιν, ἀλλ' ἕτερον ἅμα συγγεγενημένον αὐτῷ παρεσκεύαζεν, ὃ διὰ τῆς συντελεσθείσης περὶ αὐτὸ δυνάμεως κατὰ τὴν κίνησιν σύμπτωμα αἰσθητικὸν εὐθὺς ἀποτελοῦν ἑαυτῷ ἀπεδίδου κατὰ τὴν ὁμούρησιν καὶ συμπάθειαν καὶ ἐκείνῳ, καθάπερ εἶπον.	Further, we must hold that the soul is the chief cause of sensation. [64] But it would not have acquired this if it were not somehow enclosed by the rest of the aggregate. The rest of the aggregate, having provided the soul with this cause, itself also gets a share of such a property from it, though not of everything the soul possesses. That is why it has no sensation once the soul has departed. It did not possess this power in itself. Something else, born together with it, provided the power to it. By the power brought to completion within itself through its motion, this other thing at once produced the property of sensation for itself and im-

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		parted it to the body as well, because of their contiguity and sympathy, as I said.
10.65	"Διὸ δὴ καὶ ἐνυπάρχουσα ἡ ψυχὴ οὐδέποτε ἄλλου τινὸς μέρους ἀπηλλαγμένου ἀναισθητεῖ· ἀλλ' ἃ ἂν καὶ ταύτης ξυναπόληται τοῦ στεγάζοντος λυθέντος εἴθ' ὅλου εἴτε καὶ μέρους τινός, ἐάν περ διαμένῃ, ἕξει τὴν αἴσθησιν. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἄθροισμα διαμένον καὶ ὅλον καὶ κατὰ μέρος οὐκ ἔχει τὴν αἴσθησιν ἐκείνου ἀπηλλαγμένου, ὅσον ποτέ ἐστι τὸ συντεῖνον τῶν ἀτόμων πλῆθος εἰς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς φύσιν. καὶ μὴν καὶ λυομένου τοῦ ὅλου ἀθροίσματος ἡ ψυχὴ διασπείρεται καὶ οὐκέτι ἔχει τὰς αὐτὰς δυνάμεις οὐδὲ κινεῖται, ὥσπερ οὐδ' αἴσθησιν κέκτηται.	"That is why, as long as the soul is present, it will never lack sensation even if some other part has been lost. Some parts of the soul may perish too when what encloses it is dissolved, whether wholly or in part. Even so, as long as the soul survives at all, it will have sensation. But the rest of the aggregate, even if it survives, whole or in part, does not have sensation once the soul has departed, however small the number of atoms that go together to make up the nature of the soul. Further, when the whole aggregate is dissolved, the soul is dispersed and no longer has the same powers, nor does it move, and so it does not possess sensation either.
10.66	"Οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε νοεῖν αὐτὸ αἰσθανόμενον μὴ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ συστήματι καὶ ταῖς κινήσεσι ταύταις χρώμενον, ὅταν τὰ στεγάζοντα καὶ περιέχοντα μὴ τοιαῦτα ᾖ, ἐν οἷς νῦν οὖσα ἔχει ταύτας τὰς κινήσεις. [λέγει ἐν ἄλλοις καὶ ἐξ ἀτόμων αὐτὴν συγκεῖσθαι λειοτάτων καὶ στρογγυλωτάτων, πολλῷ τινι διαφερουσῶν τῶν τοῦ πυρός· καὶ τὸ μέν τι ἄλογον αὐτῆς, ὃ τῷ λοιπῷ παρεσπάρθαι σώματι· τὸ δὲ λογικὸν ἐν τῷ θώρακι, ὡς δῆλον ἔκ τε τῶν φόβων καὶ τῆς χαρᾶς. ὕπνον τε γίνεσθαι τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς μερῶν τῶν παρ' ὅλην τὴν σύγκρισιν παρεσπαρμένων ἐγκατεχομένων ἢ διαφορουμένων, εἶτα συμπιπτόντων τοῖς ἐπερεισμοῖς. τό τε σπέρμα ἀφ' ὅλων τῶν σωμάτων φέρεσθαι.]	"For it is impossible to conceive of it as sensing if it is not in this structure and does not use these motions, once what encloses and contains it is no longer of the kind it is now in, where it has these motions. [He says elsewhere that it is also composed of the smoothest and roundest atoms, which differ greatly from those of fire. One part of it is irrational and is dispersed through the rest of the body, while the rational part is in the chest, as is clear from fears and joy. Sleep occurs when the parts of the soul dispersed through the whole compound are held in or scattered, and then collide through their impacts. The seed comes from the whole of the body.]
10.67	"Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τόδε γε δεῖ προσκατανοεῖν, ὅ τι τὸ ἀσώματον λέγομεν κατὰ τὴν πλείστην ὁμιλίαν τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐπὶ τοῦ καθ' ἑαυτὸ νοηθέντος ἄν· καθ' ἑαυτὸ δὲ οὐκ ἔστι νοῆσαι τὸ ἀσώματον πλὴν τοῦ κενοῦ. τὸ δὲ κενὸν οὔτε ποιῆσαι οὔτε παθεῖν δύναται, ἀλλὰ κίνησιν μόνον δι' ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς σώμασι παρέχεται. ὥστε οἱ λέγοντες ἀσώματον εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν ματαΐζουσιν. οὐθὲν γὰρ ἂν ἐδύνατο ποιεῖν οὔτε πάσχειν, εἰ ἦν τοιαύτη· νῦν δ' ἐναργῶς ἀμφότερα ταῦτα διαλαμβάνεται περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τὰ συμπτώματα.	"Moreover, we must also recognize this point. In the most common usage of the word, we call 'incorporeal' what could be conceived as existing by itself. Nothing incorporeal can be conceived as existing by itself except the void. The void can neither act nor be acted upon; it only provides bodies with motion through itself. So those who say the soul is incorporeal are talking nonsense. If it were like that, it could neither act nor be acted upon. As it is, both these properties are clearly discerned in the soul.
10.68	"Ταῦτα οὖν πάντα τὰ διαλογίσματα τὰ περὶ ψυχῆς ἀνάγων τις ἐπὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις, μνημονεύων τῶν ἐν ἀρχῇ ῥηθέντων, ἱκανῶς κατόψεται τοῖς τύποις ἐμπεριειλημμένα εἰς τὸ κατὰ μέρος ἀπὸ τούτων ἐξακριβοῦσθαι βεβαίως.	"If one refers all these reasonings about the soul to the feelings and sensations, and remembers what was said at the beginning, one will see that they are adequately covered by these outlines, so that the details can be worked out securely from them.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	"Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰ σχήματα καὶ τὰ χρώματα καὶ τὰ μεγέθη καὶ τὰ βάρη καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα κατηγορεῖται σώματος ὡσανεὶ συμβεβηκότα ἢ πᾶσιν ἢ τοῖς ὁρατοῖς καὶ κατὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν αὐτὴν γνωστά, οὔθ' ὡς καθ' ἑαυτάς εἰσι φύσεις δοξαστέον—οὐ γὰρ δυνατὸν ἐπινοῆσαι τοῦτο—	"Again, consider shapes, colors, sizes, weights, and whatever else is predicated of a body as its attributes, whether of all bodies or of visible ones, and known by sensation itself. We must not think of these as natures existing by themselves, for that is impossible to conceive,
10.69	οὔτε ὅλως ὡς οὐκ εἰσίν, οὔθ' ὡς ἕτερ' ἄττα προσυπάρχοντα τούτῳ ἀσώματα, οὔθ' ὡς μόρια τούτου, ἀλλ' ὡς τὸ ὅλον σῶμα καθόλου ἐκ τούτων πάντων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ἔχον ἀίδιον, οὐχ οἷον δὲ εἶναι συμπεφορημένον-ὥσπερ ὅταν ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ὄγκων μεῖζον ἄθροισμα συστῇ ἤτοι τῶν πρώτων ἢ τῶν τοῦ ὅλου μεγεθῶν τοῦδέ τινος ἐλαττόνων,—ἀλλὰ μονον, ὡς λέγω, ἐκ τούτων ἁπάντων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ἔχον ἀίδιον. καὶ ἐπιβολὰς μὲν ἔχοντα ἰδίας πάντα ταῦτά ἐστι καὶ διαλήψεις, συμπαρακολουθοῦντος δὲ τοῦ ἀθρόου καὶ οὐθαμῇ ἀποσχιζομένου, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀθρόαν ἔννοιαν τοῦ σώματος κατηγορίαν εἰληφότος.	nor that they do not exist at all. Nor must we think of them as some other incorporeal things belonging to the body in addition, nor as parts of it. Rather, the whole body, taken as a whole, has its own permanent nature from all of these. This is not because it is put together from them, as when a larger aggregate is made up out of the particles themselves, either the primary ones or magnitudes smaller than some given whole. It is only, as I say, that it has its own permanent nature from all of them. All these have their own distinct ways of being apprehended and distinguished. The whole accompanies them and is never split off from them, and it has received the name 'body' in accordance with the collective conception.
10.70	"Καὶ μὴν καὶ τοῖς σώμασι συμπίπτει πολλάκις καὶ οὐκ ἀίδιον παρακολουθεῖν οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς ἀοράτοις καὶ οὔτε ἀσώματα. ὥστε δὴ κατὰ τὴν πλείστην φορὰν τούτῳ τῷ ὀνόματι χρώμενοι φανερὰ ποιοῦμεν τὰ συμπτώματα οὔτε τὴν τοῦ ὅλου φύσιν ἔχειν, ὃ συλλαβόντες κατὰ τὸ ἀθρόον σῶμα προσαγορεύομεν, οὔτε τὴν τῶν ἀίδιον παρακολουθούντων, ὧν ἄνευ σῶμα οὐ δυνατὸν νοεῖσθαι. κατ' ἐπιβολὰς δ' ἄν τινας παρακολουθοῦντος τοῦ ἀθρόου ἕκαστα προσαγορευθείη, [71] ἀλλ' ὅτε δήποτε ἕκαστα συμβαίνοντα θεωρεῖται, οὐκ ἀίδιον τῶν συμπτωμάτων παρακολουθούντων.	"Further, it often happens to bodies to be accompanied by something that is not permanent, and that is neither among invisible things nor incorporeal. So when we use this word in its most common sense, we make clear that accidents have neither the nature of the whole, which we grasp collectively and call body, nor that of the permanent concomitants without which a body cannot be conceived. Each of them could be named according to certain acts of apprehension while the whole accompanies them, [71] but only whenever each is observed to occur, since accidents are not permanent concomitants.
10.71	καὶ οὐκ ἐξελατέον ἐκ τοῦ ὄντος ταύτην τὴν ἐνάργειαν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔχει τὴν τοῦ ὅλου φύσιν ᾧ συμβαίνει ὃ δὴ καὶ σῶμα προσαγορεύομεν, οὐδὲ τὴν τῶν ἀίδιον παρακολουθούντων, οὐδ' αὖ καθ' αὑτὰ νομιστέον—οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτο διανοητὸν οὔτ' ἐπὶ τούτων οὔτ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀίδιον συμβεβηκότων,—ἀλλ' ὅπερ καὶ φαίνεται, συμπτώματα πάντα ⟨κατὰ⟩ τὰ σώματα νομιστέον, καὶ οὐκ ἀίδιον παρακολουθοῦντα οὐδ' αὖ φύσεως καθ' ἑαυτὰ τάγμα ἔχοντα, ἀλλ' ὃν τρόπον αὐτὴ ἡ αἴσθησις τὴν ἰδιότητα ποιεῖ, θεωρεῖται.	We must not banish this clear evidence from what exists on the grounds that it does not have the nature of the whole it belongs to, which we also call body, nor that of the permanent concomitants. Nor again must we think of accidents as existing by themselves, since that is not conceivable either of them or of the permanent attributes. Rather, just as it appears, we must think of them all as accidents of bodies. They are not permanent concomitants, nor do they have the rank of a nature by themselves; they are observed in the way that sensation itself gives them their particular character.

TIME, WORLDS AND THE HEAVENS

Time as an accident, the origin of worlds and language, and why the heavens are not run by gods.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
10.72	"Καὶ μὴν καὶ τόδε γε δεῖ προσκατανοῆσαι σφοδρῶς· τὸν γὰρ δὴ χρόνον οὐ ζητητέον ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ λοιπά, ὅσα ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ ζητοῦμεν ἀνάγοντες ἐπὶ τὰς βλεπομένας παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς προλήψεις, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ ἐνάργημα, καθ' ὃ τὸν πολὺν ἢ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀναφωνοῦμεν, συγγενικῶς τοῦτο περιφέροντες, ἀναλογιστέον. καὶ οὔτε διαλέκτους ὡς βελτίους μεταληπτέον, ἀλλ' αὐταῖς ταῖς ὑπαρχούσαις κατ' αὐτοῦ χρηστέον, οὔτε ἄλλο τι κατ' αὐτοῦ κατηγορητέον, ὡς τὴν αὐτὴν οὐσίαν ἔχοντος τῷ ἰδιώματι τούτῳ—καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ποιοῦσί τινες,-ἀλλὰ μόνον ᾧ συμπλέκομεν τὸ ἴδιον τοῦτο καὶ παραμετροῦμεν, μάλιστα ἐπιλογιστέον.	"And we must attend closely to this further point. Time must not be investigated like the other things we investigate in a subject, by referring them to the preconceptions we see within ourselves. Rather, we must reason by analogy from the clear experience itself in virtue of which we speak of a long or a short time, and apply it in a way that is akin to that experience. We must not adopt new terms as if they were better, but use the ones already current for it. Nor must we predicate anything else of it, as though it had the same essence as this distinctive feature, as some people do. We must above all reflect only on what we link this distinctive feature with and measure it by.
10.73	καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀποδείξεως προσδεῖται ἀλλ' ἐπιλογισμοῦ, ὅτι ταῖς ἡμέραις καὶ ταῖς νυξὶ συμπλέκομεν καὶ τοῖς τούτων μέρεσιν, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοῖς πάθεσι καὶ ταῖς ἀπαθείαις, καὶ κινήσεσι καὶ στάσεσιν, ἴδιόν τι σύμπτωμα περὶ ταῦτα πάλιν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐννοοῦντες, καθ' ὃ χρόνον ὀνομάζομεν. [φησὶ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ Περὶ φύσεως καὶ ἐν τῇ Μεγάλῃ ἐπιτομῇ.]	For this too requires not demonstration but reflection: that we link it with days and nights and their parts, and likewise with feelings and absences of feeling, and with motions and states of rest. In connection with these we conceive, once again, a particular accident, and it is in virtue of this that we speak of time. [He says this also in the second book of *On Nature* and in the *Big Epitome*.]
	"Ἐπί τε τοῖς προειρημένοις τοὺς κόσμους δεῖ καὶ πᾶσαν σύγκρισιν πεπερασμένην τὸ ὁμοειδὲς τοῖς θεωρουμένοις πυκνῶς ἔχουσαν νομίζειν γεγονέναι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπείρου, πάντων τούτων ἐκ συστροφῶν ἰδίων ἀποκεκριμένων καὶ μειζόνων καὶ ἐλαττόνων· καὶ πάλιν διαλύεσθαι πάντα, τὰ μὲν θᾶττον, τὰ δὲ βραδύτερον, καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν τοιῶνδε, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν τοιῶνδε τοῦτο πάσχοντα. [δῆλον οὖν ὡς καὶ φθαρτούς φησι τοὺς κόσμους, μεταβαλλόντων τῶν μερῶν. καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τὴν γῆν τῷ ἀέρι ἐποχεῖσθαι.]	"In addition to what has been said, we must hold that the worlds, and every finite compound that closely resembles the things we observe, have come into being from the infinite. All of them have been separated off from their own particular conglomerations, larger and smaller. All are dissolved again, some faster and some more slowly, some suffering this from causes of one kind and others from causes of another. [So it is clear that he says the worlds are perishable too, since their parts change. Elsewhere he says that the earth rides upon the air.]
10.74	"Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς κόσμους οὔτε ἐξ ἀνάγκης δεῖ νομίζειν ἕνα σχηματισμὸν ἔχοντας … [ἀλλὰ καὶ διαφόρους αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ιβ' Περὶ φύσεως αὐτός φησιν· οὓς μὲν γὰρ σφαιροειδεῖς, καὶ ᾠοειδεῖς ἄλλους, καὶ ἀλλοιοσχήμονας ἑτέρους· οὐ μέντοι πᾶν σχῆμα ἔχειν. οὐδὲ ζῷα εἶναι ἀποκριθέντα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπείρου.] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἀποδείξειεν οὐδείς, ὡς ⟨ἐν⟩ μὲν τῷ τοιούτῳ καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐμπεριελήφθη τὰ τοιαῦτα σπέρματα, ἐξ ὧν ζῷά τε καὶ φυτὰ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα ⟨τὰ⟩ θεωρούμενα συνίσταται, ἐν δὲ τῷ τοιούτῳ	"Further, we must not hold that the worlds necessarily have one shape … [On the contrary, he himself says in the twelfth book of *On Nature* that they differ: some are spherical, others egg-shaped, others of other shapes; they do not, however, have every shape. Nor are they living creatures separated off from the infinite.] For no one could demonstrate that the kind of seeds from which living creatures, plants and all the other things we observe are formed might be included in a world

GREEK	ENGLISH
οὐκ ἂν ἐδυνήθη. [ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἐντραφῆναι. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς νομιστέον.]	of one kind, but could not be in a world of another kind. [The same goes for their being nourished there. We must think in the same way about things on earth too.]
10.75 "Ἀλλὰ μὴν ὑποληπτέον καὶ τὴν φύσιν πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα ὑπὸ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων διδαχθῆναί τε καὶ ἀναγκασθῆναι· τὸν δὲ λογισμὸν τὰ ὑπὸ ταύτης παρεγγυηθέντα ὕστερον ἐπακριβοῦν καὶ προσεξευρίσκειν ἐν μὲν τισὶ θᾶττον, ἐν δὲ τισὶ βραδύτερον καὶ ἐν μὲν τισὶ περιόδοις καὶ χρόνοις ⟨μείζους λαμβάνειν ἐπιδόσεις⟩, ἐν δὲ τισὶ καὶ ἐλάττους.	"Again, we must suppose that nature too has been taught and compelled by circumstances themselves to do many things of all kinds. Afterwards, reason refines what nature has handed on and makes further discoveries, faster in some cases and more slowly in others, and in some periods and times it makes greater advances, in others smaller ones.
"Ὅθεν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὴ θέσει γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτὰς τὰς φύσεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων καθ' ἕκαστα ἔθνη ἴδια πάσχουσας πάθη καὶ ἰδία λαμβανούσας φαντάσματα ἰδίως τὸν ἀέρα ἐκπέμπειν στελλόμενον ὑφ' ἑκάστων τῶν παθῶν καὶ τῶν φαντασμάτων, ὡς ἄν ποτε καὶ ἡ παρὰ τοὺς τόπους τῶν ἐθνῶν διαφορὰ ᾖ· [76] ὕστερον δὲ κοινῶς καθ' ἕκαστα ἔθνη τὰ ἴδια τεθῆναι πρὸς τὸ τὰς δηλώσεις ἧττον ἀμφιβόλους γενέσθαι ἀλλήλοις καὶ συντομωτέρως δηλουμένας· τινὰ δὲ καὶ οὐ συνορώμενα πράγματα εἰσφέροντας τοὺς συνειδότας παρεγγυῆσαί τινας φθόγγους ἀναγκασθέντας ἀναφωνῆσαι, τοὺς δὲ τῷ λογισμῷ ἑλομένους κατὰ τὴν πλείστην αἰτίαν οὕτως ἑρμηνεῦσαι.	"Hence names too did not originally come about by convention. Rather, human natures themselves, in each people, experienced their own particular feelings and received their own particular impressions. Each of them then emitted the air in a particular way, shaped by each of the feelings and impressions, and there were also differences according to the regions where the peoples lived. [76] Later, the particular names were laid down jointly in each people, so that their meanings would be less ambiguous to one another and more concisely expressed. Those who knew of certain things not seen by others introduced them and passed on certain sounds for them. Some were compelled to utter these sounds, while others chose them by reasoning, following the most common cause, and expressed them in that way.
10.76 "Καὶ μὴν ἐν τοῖς μετεώροις φορὰν καὶ τροπὴν καὶ ἔκλειψιν καὶ ἀνατολὴν καὶ δύσιν καὶ τὰ σύστοιχα τούτοις μήτε λειτουργοῦντός τινος νομίζειν δεῖ γενέσθαι καὶ διατάττοντος ἢ διατάξοντος καὶ ἅμα τὴν πάσαν μακαριότητα ἔχοντος μετ' ἀφθαρσίας [77] (οὐ γὰρ συμφωνοῦσιν πραγματεῖαι καὶ φροντίδες καὶ ὀργαὶ καὶ χάριτες μακαριότητι, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ καὶ φόβῳ καὶ προσδεήσει τῶν πλησίον ταῦτα γίγνεται), μήτε αὖ πυρὸς ἀνάμματα συνεστραμμένου τὴν μακαριότητα κεκτημένα κατὰ βούλησιν τὰς κινήσεις ταύτας λαμβάνειν·	"Further, as for celestial phenomena such as motions, solstices, eclipses, risings, settings and the like, we must not think that they occur because some being serves them and orders them, or will order them, while at the same time enjoying complete blessedness together with indestructibility. [77] (For business, cares, anger and favor do not fit with blessedness; these things arise where there is weakness, fear and dependence on one's neighbors.) Nor again must we think that they are masses of compacted fire that possess blessedness and take on these motions at will.
10.77 ἀλλὰ πᾶν τὸ σέμνωμα τηρεῖν, κατὰ πάντα ὀνόματα φερόμενον ἐπὶ τὰς τοιαύτας ἐννοίας, ἵνα μηδ' ὑπεναντίαι ἐξ αὐτῶν ⟨γένωνται⟩ τῷ σεμνώματι δόξαι· εἰ δὲ μή, τὸν μέγιστον τάραχον ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς αὐτὴ ἡ ὑπεναντιότης παρασκευάσει. ὅθεν δὴ κατὰ τὰς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐναπολήψεις τῶν συστροφῶν τούτων ἐν τῇ τοῦ κόσμου γενέσει δεῖ	Rather, we must preserve all the majesty of the idea in all the terms applied to such conceptions, so that no opinions contrary to that majesty arise from them. Otherwise the contradiction itself will produce the greatest disturbance in our souls. Hence we must believe that this necessity and reg-

GREEK	ENGLISH
δοξάζειν καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην ταύτην καὶ περίοδον συντελεῖσθαι.	ular cycle are fulfilled because these conglomerations were enclosed from the beginning, at the birth of the world.
10.78 “Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν κυριωτάτων αἰτίαν ἐξακριβῶσαι φυσιολογίας ἔργον εἶναι δεῖ νομίζειν, καὶ τὸ μακάριον ἐνταῦθα πεπτωκέναι καὶ ἐν τῷ τίνες φύσεις αἱ θεωρούμεναι κατὰ τὰ μετέωρα ταυτί, καὶ ὅσα συντείνει πρὸς τὴν εἰς τοῦτο ἀκρίβειαν.	“Further, we must hold that it is the task of the study of nature to work out precisely the cause of the most important matters. Our blessedness depends on this, and on knowing the natures of the things observed in these celestial phenomena, and on whatever contributes to precision in this.
“Ἔτι τε οὐ τὸ πλεοναχῶς ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον καὶ ἄλλως πως ἔχειν, ἀλλ’ ἁπλῶς μὴ εἶναι ἐν ἀφθάρτῳ καὶ μακαρίᾳ φύσει τῶν διάκρισιν ὑποβαλλόντων ἢ τάραχον μηθέν· καὶ τοῦτο καταλαβεῖν τῇ διανοίᾳ ἔστιν ἁπλῶς εἶναι.	“Further, we must hold that in such matters there is no room for ‘in several ways’ or for ‘it might also be otherwise’. There is simply nothing in an indestructible and blessed nature that suggests conflict or disturbance. And the mind can grasp that this is simply so.
10.79 “Τὸ δ’ ἐν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ πεπτωκός, τῆς δύσεως καὶ ἀνατολῆς καὶ τροπῆς καὶ ἐκλείψεως καὶ ὅσα συγγενῆ τούτοις μηθὲν ἔτι πρὸς τὸ μακάριον τὰς γνώσεις συντείνειν, ἀλλ’ ὁμοίως τοὺς φόβους ἔχειν τοὺς ταῦτα κατειδότας, τίνες δ’ αἱ φύσεις ἀγνοοῦντας καὶ τίνες αἱ κυριώταται αἰτίαι, καὶ εἰ μὴ προσῄδεισαν ταῦτα· τάχα δὲ καὶ πλείους, ὅταν τὸ θάμβος ἐκ τῆς τούτων προσκατανοήσεως μὴ δύνηται τὴν λύσιν λαμβάνειν καὶ τὴν περὶ τῶν κυριωτάτων οἰκονομίαν.	“What falls within the scope of research, on the other hand, such as settings and risings, turnings and eclipses and everything akin to them, no longer contributes anything to blessedness through being known. People who know about these things but are ignorant of what the natures are and what the most important causes are have fears just as much as if they had never learned them. Perhaps they have even more, when the amazement that comes from studying these things further cannot find release in an orderly grasp of what matters most.
“Διὸ δὴ κἂν πλείους αἰτίας εὑρίσκωμεν τροπῶν καὶ δύσεων καὶ ἀνατολῶν καὶ ἐκλείψεων καὶ τῶν τοιουτοτρόπων, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ μέρος γινομένοις ἦν, [80] οὐ δεῖ νομίζειν τὴν ὑπὲρ τούτων χρείαν ἀκρίβειαν μὴ ἀπειληφέναι, ὅση πρὸς τὸ ἀτάραχον καὶ μακάριον ἡμῶν συντείνει. ὥστε παραθεωροῦντας ποσαχῶς παρ’ ἡμῖν τὸ ὅμοιον γίνεται, αἰτιολογητέον ὑπέρ τε τῶν μετεώρων καὶ παντὸς τοῦ ἀδήλου, καταφρονοῦντας τῶν οὔτε τὸ μοναχῶς ἔχον ἢ γινόμενον γνωριζόντων οὔτε τὸ πλεοναχῶς συμβαῖνον, τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἀποστημάτων φαντασίαν παριδόντων, ἔτι τε ἀγνοούντων καὶ ἐν ποίοις οὐκ ἐστιν ἀταρακτῆσαι ⟨καὶ ἐν ποίοις ὁμοίως ἀταρακτῆσαι.⟩ ἂν οὖν οἰώμεθα καὶ ὡδί πως ἐνδεχόμενον αὐτὸ γίνεσθαι, αὐτὸ τὸ ὅτι πλεοναχῶς γίνεται γνωρίζοντες, ὥσπερ κἂν ὅτι ὡδί πως γίνεται εἴδωμεν, ἀταρακτήσομεν.	“That is why, even if we find several causes for turnings, settings, risings, eclipses and the like, as we also did with matters of detail, [80] we must not think that our treatment of these things has fallen short of the precision that contributes to our tranquility and blessedness. So we must observe in how many ways a similar thing happens here among us, and give causal accounts of celestial phenomena and of everything unseen. We should look down on those who recognize neither what is or comes about in a single way nor what happens in several ways, who disregard the impression that comes from distance, and who, moreover, do not know in which cases it is impossible to be free from disturbance and in which it is equally possible to be free from it. So if we think that something may also happen in some particular way, and recognize the very fact that it happens in several ways, we shall be just as free from disturb-

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		ance as if we knew that it happens in this particular way.
10.81	"Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὅλως ἅπασιν ἐκεῖνο δεῖ κατανοεῖν, ὅτι τάραχος ὁ κυριώτατος ταῖς ἀνθρωπίναις ψυχαῖς γίνεται ἐν τῷ ταῦτά τε μακάρια δοξάζειν ⟨εἶναι⟩ καὶ ἄφθαρτα, καὶ ὑπεναντίας ἔχειν τούτῳ βουλήσεις ἅμα καὶ πράξεις καὶ αἰτίας, καὶ ἐν τῷ αἰώνιόν τι δεινὸν ἀεὶ προσδοκᾶν ἢ ὑποπτεύειν κατὰ τοὺς μύθους εἴ τε καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ἀναισθησίαν τὴν ἐν τῷ τεθνάναι φοβουμένους ὥσπερ οὖσαν κατ' αὐτούς, καὶ ἐν τῷ μὴ δόξαις ταῦτα πάσχειν ἀλλ' ἀλόγῳ γέ τινι παραστάσει, ὅθεν μὴ ὁρίζοντας τὸ δεινὸν τὴν ἴσην ἢ καὶ ἐπιτεταμένην ταραχὴν λαμβάνειν τῷ εἰκαίως δοξάζοντι ταῦτα· [82] ἡ δὲ ἀταραξία τὸ τούτων πάντων ἀπολελύσθαι καὶ συνεχῆ μνήμην ἔχειν τῶν ὅλων καὶ κυριωτάτων.	"On top of all this, we must grasp that the chief disturbance in human souls arises from believing that these heavenly bodies are blessed and indestructible while also having wills, actions and causes at odds with that. It also arises from always expecting or suspecting some everlasting terror, as the myths tell, or even from fearing the very absence of sensation in death, as though it concerned the dead. And it arises from being affected in this way not by beliefs but by some irrational foreboding, so that people who set no limit to what is terrible suffer a disturbance equal to, or even greater than, that of someone who holds these beliefs at random. [82] Tranquility is being released from all this and keeping a constant memory of the whole and of what matters most.
10.82	"Ὅθεν τοῖς πάθεσι προσεκτέον τοῖς παροῦσι, κατὰ μὲν τὸ κοινὸν ταῖς κοιναῖς, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἴδιον ταῖς ἰδίαις, καὶ πάσῃ τῇ παρούσῃ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν κριτηρίων ἐναργείᾳ. ἂν γὰρ τούτοις προσέχωμεν, τὸ ὅθεν ὁ τάραχος καὶ ὁ φόβος ἐγίνετο ἐξαιτιολογήσομεν ὀρθῶς καὶ ἀπολύσομεν, ὑπέρ τε μετεώρων αἰτιολογοῦντες καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν ἀεὶ παρεμπιπτόντων, ὅσα φοβεῖ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐσχάτως.	"So we must attend to the feelings present to us: to the shared feelings in what concerns everyone, and to individual ones in what concerns oneself. We must also attend to all the clear evidence present to each of the criteria. If we attend to these, we shall correctly trace the source of our disturbance and fear and free ourselves from it, by giving causal accounts of celestial phenomena and of everything else that keeps happening, all the things that terrify other people to the utmost.
	"Ταῦτά σοι, ὦ Ἡρόδοτε, ἔστι κεφαλαιωδέστατα ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ὅλων φύσεως ἐπιτετμημένα. [83] ὥστ' ἐὰν γένηται δυνατὸς ὁ λόγος οὗτος κατασχεθεὶς μετ' ἀκριβείας, οἶμαι, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντα βαδίσῃ τις τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀκριβωμάτων, ἀσύμβλητον αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνθρώπους ἁδρότητα λήψεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ καθαρὰ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ποιήσει πολλὰ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἐξακριβουμένων κατὰ τὴν ὅλην πραγματείαν ἡμῖν, καὶ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐν μνήμῃ τιθέμενα συνεχῶς βοηθήσει.	"These, Herodotus, are the main points about the nature of the whole, set out for you in summary form. [83] So if this account is held onto precisely and becomes effective, I think a person will gain a strength beyond comparison with other people, even if he does not go on to all the detailed points. He will also be able to clarify by himself many of the details worked out in our whole system, and these very points, once stored in memory, will be a constant help.
10.83	"Τοιαῦτα γάρ ἐστιν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς κατὰ μέρος ἤδη ἐξακριβοῦντας ἱκανῶς ἢ καὶ τελείως, εἰς τὰς τοιαύτας ἀναλύοντας ἐπιβολάς, τὰς πλείστας τῶν περιοδειῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὅλης φύσεως ποιεῖσθαι· ὅσοι δὲ μὴ παντελῶς τῶν ἀποτελουμένων εἰσίν, ἐκ τούτων καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἄνευ φθόγγων τρόπον τὴν ἅμα νοήματι περίοδον τῶν κυριωτάτων πρὸς γαληνισμὸν ποιοῦνται."	"They are of such a kind that even those who are already working out the details well enough, or even completely, can carry out most of their surveys of the whole of nature by reducing them to overall views like these. Those who are not yet fully accomplished can, starting from these points and without words, run over the most important matters as quickly as thought, and so reach calm."

LETTER TO PYTHOCLES

Several possible causes for each celestial phenomenon, so that myth and fear are kept away.

GREEK	ENGLISH
Καὶ ἥδε μέν ἐστιν αὐτῷ ἐπιστολὴ περὶ τῶν φυσικῶν. περὶ δὲ τῶν μετεώρων ἥδε.	That, then, is his letter on physics. On celestial phenomena he wrote the following.
"Ἐπίκουρος Πυθοκλεῖ χαίρειν.	"Epicurus to Pythocles, greetings.[16]
10.84 "Ἤνεγκέ μοι Κλέων ἐπιστολὴν παρά σου, ἐν ᾗ φιλοφρονούμενός τε περὶ ἡμᾶς διετέλεις ἀξίως τῆς ἡμετέρας περὶ σεαυτὸν σπουδῆς καὶ οὐκ ἀπιθάνως ἐπειρῶ μνημονεύειν τῶν εἰς μακάριον βίον συντεινόντων διαλογισμῶν, ἐδέου τε σεαυτῷ περὶ τῶν μετεώρων σύντομον καὶ εὐπερίγραφον διαλογισμὸν ἀποστεῖλαι, ἵνα ῥᾳδίως μνημονεύῃς· τὰ γὰρ ἐν ἄλλοις ἡμῖν γεγραμμένα δυσμνημόνευτα εἶναι, καί τοι, ὡς ἔφης, συνεχῶς αὐτὰ βαστάζεις. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἡδέως τέ σου τὴν δέησιν ἀπεδεξάμεθα καὶ ἐλπίσιν ἡδείαις συνεσχέθημεν.	"Cleon brought me a letter from you. In it you kept up your friendly feelings toward me, which match my concern for you, and you tried, not unconvincingly, to recall the reasonings that lead to a blessed life. You also asked me to send you a concise, clearly outlined account of celestial phenomena so that you could remember it easily, since what I have written elsewhere, you said, is hard to remember, even though you carry it around with you constantly. I gladly accepted your request and was filled with pleasant hopes.
10.85 γράψαντες οὖν τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα συντελοῦμεν ἅπερ ἠξίωσας πολλοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις ἐσόμενα χρήσιμα τὰ διαλογίσματα ταῦτα, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς νεωστὶ φυσιολογίας γνησίου γεγευμένοις καὶ τοῖς εἰς ἀσχολίας βαθυτέρας τῶν ἐγκυκλίων τινὸς ἐμπεπλεγμένοις. καλῶς δὴ αὐτὰ διάλαβε, καὶ διὰ μνήμης ἔχων ὀξέως αὐτὰ περιόδευε μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ὧν ἐν τῇ μικρᾷ ἐπιτομῇ πρὸς Ἡρόδοτον ἀπεστείλαμεν.	So, having written everything else, I am now completing what you asked for. These reasonings will be useful to many others as well, especially to those who have only recently had a taste of the genuine study of nature, and to those caught up in occupations more absorbing than any of the ordinary ones. Take them in thoroughly, keep them in memory, and go over them closely together with the rest of what I sent to Herodotus in the short epitome.
"Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν μὴ ἄλλο τι τέλος ἐκ τῆς περὶ μετεώρων γνώσεως εἴτε κατὰ συναφὴν λεγομένων εἴτε αὐτοτελῶς νομίζειν εἶναι ἢπερ ἀταραξίαν καὶ πίστιν βέβαιον, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν. [86] μήτε τὸ ἀδύνατον παραβιάζεσθαι μήτε ὁμοίαν κατὰ πάντα τὴν θεωρίαν ἔχειν ἢ τοῖς περὶ βίων λόγοις ἢ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων φυσικῶν προβλημάτων κάθαρσιν, οἷον ὅτι τὸ πᾶν σώματα καὶ ἀναφὴς φύσις ἐστίν, ἢ ὅτι ἄτομα ⟨τὰ⟩ στοιχεῖα, καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ὅσα μοναχὴν ἔχει τοῖς φαινομένοις συμφωνίαν· ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῶν μετεώρων οὐχ ὑπάρχει, ἀλλὰ ταῦτά γε πλεοναχὴν ἔχει καὶ τῆς γενέσεως αἰτίαν καὶ τῆς οὐσίας ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι σύμφωνον κατηγορίαν.	"First, then, we must not think that knowledge of celestial phenomena, whether they are discussed in connection with other matters or on their own, has any other end than tranquility and firm confidence, just as with everything else. [86] We must not force the impossible. Nor should our theory be in every respect like our accounts of ways of life, or like those that settle the other problems of physics: for instance, that the universe consists of bodies and intangible nature, or that the elements are atoms, and all such claims that agree with the appearances in only one way. That is not the case with celestial phenomena. These admit several causes of their coming into being and several accounts of their essence that agree with the senses.
10.87 "Οὐ γὰρ κατὰ ἀξιώματα κενὰ καὶ νομοθεσίας φυσιολογητέον, ἀλλ' ὡς τὰ φαινόμενα ἐκκαλεῖται· οὐ γὰρ	"We must not study nature on the basis of empty axioms and decrees, but as the appearances call

16 Pythocles was a young pupil of Epicurus from Lampsacus.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ἤδη ἀλογίας καὶ κενῆς δόξης ὁ βίος ἡμῶν ἔχει χρείαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἀθορύβως ἡμᾶς ζῆν. πάντα μὲν οὖν γίνεται ἀσείστως καί, πάντων κατὰ πλεοναχὸν τρόπον ἐκκαθαιρομένων, συμφώνως τοῖς φαινομένοις, ὅταν τις τὸ πιθανολογούμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δεόντως καταλίπῃ· ὅταν δέ τις τὸ μὲν ἀπολίπῃ, τὸ δὲ ἐκβάλῃ ὁμοίως σύμφωνον ὂν τῷ φαινομένῳ, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἐκ παντὸς ἐκπίπτει φυσιολογήματος ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν μῦθον καταρρεῖ.	for. What our life needs now is not irrationality and empty opinion but a life free of turmoil. Everything proceeds without upheaval, and in agreement with the appearances, when each thing is explained in the multiple way and one properly allows what is plausibly said about it. But when someone accepts one explanation and rejects another that agrees just as well with what appears, he clearly falls away from all study of nature and slides down into myth.
	σημεῖα δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς μετεώροις συντελουμένων φέρειν τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν τινα φαινομένων, ἃ θεωρεῖται ᾗ ὑπάρχει, καὶ οὐ τὰ ἐν τοῖς μετεώροις φαινόμενα· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐνδέχεται πλεοναχῶς γενέσθαι. [88] τὸ μέντοι φάντασμα ἑκάστου τηρητέον καὶ ἔτι τὰ συναπτόμενα τούτῳ διαιρετέον, ἃ οὐκ ἀντιμαρτυρεῖται τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν γινομένοις πλεοναχῶς συντελεῖσθαι.	Signs of what takes place in the heavens should be drawn from certain phenomena here among us, which can be observed as they actually are, and not from the phenomena in the heavens, since these may come about in several ways. [88] We must, however, keep to the appearance of each thing, and further distinguish what is connected with it, whose coming about in several ways is not contradicted by what happens here among us.
10.88	"Κόσμος ἐστὶ περιοχή ιτς οὐρανοῦ, ἄστρα τε καὶ γῆν καὶ πάντα τὰ φαινόμενα περιέχουσα, ἀποτομὴν ἔχουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπείρου καὶ λήγουσα [καὶ καταλήγουσα ἐν πέρατι ἢ ἀραιῷ ἢ πυκνῷ καὶ οὗ λυομένου πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ σύγχυσιν λήψεται.] ἢ ἐν περιαγομένῳ ἢ ἐν στάσιν ἔχοντι καὶ στρογγύλην ἢ τρίγωνον ἢ οἵαν δήποτε περιγραφήν· πανταχῶς γὰρ ἐνδέχεται· τῶν γὰρ φαινομένων οὐδὲν ἀντιμαρτυρεῖ ⟨ἐν⟩ τῷδε τῷ κόσμῳ, ἐν ᾧ λῆγον οὐκ ἔστι καταλαβεῖν.	"A world is a certain enclosure of heaven, containing stars and earth and all the appearances. It is cut off from the infinite and ends [and terminates in a boundary that is either thin or dense, and when this is dissolved everything in it will fall into confusion] either in something revolving or in something at rest, and its outline may be round or triangular or any shape at all. It may be any of these ways, since none of the appearances in this world of ours, in which we cannot grasp a boundary, contradicts it.
10.89	"Ὅτι δὲ καὶ τοιοῦτοι κόσμοι εἰσὶν ἄπειροι τὸ πλῆθος ἔστι καταλαβεῖν, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ὁ τοιοῦτος δύναται κόσμος γίνεσθαι καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ μετακοσμίῳ, ὃ λέγομεν μεταξὺ κόσμων διάστημα, ἐν πολυκένῳ τόπῳ καὶ οὐκ ἐν μεγάλῳ εἰλικρινεῖ καὶ κενῷ, καθάπερ τινές φασιν, ἐπιτηδείων τινῶν σπερμάτων ῥυέντων ἀφ' ἑνὸς κόσμου ἢ μετακοσμίου ἢ καὶ ἀπὸ πλειόνων κατὰ μικρὸν προσθέσεις τε καὶ διαρθρώσεις καὶ μεταστάσεις ποιούντων ἐπ' ἄλλον τόπον, ἐὰν οὕτω τύχῃ, καὶ ἐπαρδεύσεις ἐκ τῶν ἐχόντων ἐπιτηδείως ἕως τελειώσεως καὶ διαμονῆς ἐφ' ὅσον τὰ ὑποβληθέντα θεμέλια τὴν προσδοχὴν δύναται ποιεῖσθαι.	"That there are worlds of this kind, infinite in number, can be grasped. So can the fact that such a world can come into being both inside a world and in an inter-world, which is what we call the space between worlds, in a place with much void and not, as some say, in a vast space that is pure void. This happens when suitable seeds flow in from one world or inter-world, or from several, and gradually make additions, articulations and shifts to another place, as it may chance, and receive waterings from suitable sources, until the world is complete. It lasts as long as the foundations laid can go on taking in additions.
10.90	οὐ γὰρ ἀθροισμὸν δεῖ μόνον γενέσθαι οὐδὲ δῖνον ἐν ᾧ ἐνδέχεται κόσμον γίνεσθαι κενῷ κατὰ τὸ δοξαζόμενον ἐξ ἀνάγκης αὔξεσθαί τε, ἕως ἂν ἑτέρῳ προσκρούσῃ, καθάπερ τῶν φυσικῶν καλουμένων φησί τις· τοῦτο γὰρ μαχόμενόν ἐστι τοῖς φαινομένοις.	It is not enough for an aggregation or a vortex to arise in a void in which a world can come into being, as is believed, and then to grow by necessity until it collides with another, as one of the so-

GREEK	ENGLISH
	called natural philosophers says. For this conflicts with the appearances.
“Ἥλιός τε καὶ σελήνη καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἄστρα οὐ καθ’ ἑαυτὰ γενόμενα ὕστερον ἐμπεριελαμβάνετο ὑπὸ τοῦ κόσμου [καὶ ὅσα γε δὴ σῴζει], ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς διεπλάττετο καὶ αὔξησιν ἐλάμβανεν [ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ γῆ καὶ θάλαττα] κατὰ προσκρίσεις καὶ δινήσεις λεπτομερῶν τινων φύσεων, ἤτοι πνευματικῶν ἢ πυροειδῶν ἢ συναμφοτέρων· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα οὕτως ἡ αἴσθησις ὑποβάλλει.	“The sun and moon and the other stars did not come into being on their own and only later get taken in by the world [and all that it preserves]. They were formed and grew from the start [and so did the earth and the sea] through accretions and whirlings of certain fine-particled substances, either windy or fiery or both. This too is what perception suggests.
10.91 “Τὸ δὲ μέγεθος ἡλίου τε καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἄστρων κατὰ μὲν τὸ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τηλικοῦτόν ἐστιν ἡλίκον φαίνεται· [τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ ια’ Περὶ φύσεως· εἰ γάρ, φησί, τὸ μέγεθος διὰ τὸ διάστημα ἀπεβεβλήκει, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἂν τὴν χρόαν. ἄλλο γὰρ τούτῳ συμμετρότερον διάστημα οὐθέν ἐστι.] κατὰ δὲ τὸ καθ’ αὑτὸ ἤτοι μεῖζον τοῦ ὁρωμένου ἢ μικρῷ ἔλαττον ἢ τηλικοῦτον τυγχάνει. οὕτω γὰρ καὶ τὰ παρ’ ἡμῖν πυρὰ ἐξ ἀποστήματος θεωρούμενα κατὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν θεωρεῖται. καὶ πᾶν δὲ εἰς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἔνστημα ῥᾳδίως διαλυθήσεται, ἐάν τις τοῖς ἐναργήμασι προσέχῃ, ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ φύσεως βιβλίοις δείκνυμεν.	“The size of the sun and the other stars, relative to us, is just as large as it appears. [He says this also in the eleventh book of *On Nature*: For if, he says, it had lost size because of the distance, it would far more have lost its color, since no other distance is more commensurate with color.] In itself, though, it is larger than it looks, or a little smaller, or the same size. Fires here among us, seen from a distance, are seen in just this way by perception. Every objection on this point will easily be resolved if one attends to the clear evidence, as I show in my books *On Nature*.
10.92 ἀνατολὰς καὶ δύσεις ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἄστρων καὶ κατὰ ἄναψιν γενέσθαι δυνατὸν καὶ σβέσιν, τοιαύτης οὔσης περιστάσεως καὶ καθ’ ἑκατέρους τοὺς τόπους, ὥστε τὰ προειρημένα ἀποτελεῖσθαι· οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν φαινομένων ἀντιμαρτυρεῖ. καὶ κατ’ ἐμφάνειάν τε ὑπὲρ γῆς καὶ πάλιν ἐπιπροσθέτησιν τὸ προειρημένον δύναιτ’ ἂν συντελεῖσθαι· οὐδὲ γάρ τι τῶν φαινομένων ἀντιμαρτυρεῖ. τάς τε κινήσεις αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀδύνατον μὲν γίνεσθαι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ὅλου οὐρανοῦ δίνην, ἢ τούτου μὲν στάσιν, αὐτῶν δὲ δίνην κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐν τῇ γενέσει τοῦ κόσμου ἀνάγκην ἀπογεννηθεῖσαν ἐπ’ ἀνατολῇ· [93] … ⟨σφοδρο⟩τάτῃ θερμασίᾳ κατά τινα ἐπινέμησιν τοῦ πυρὸς ἀεὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑξῆς τόπους ἰόντος.	The risings and settings of the sun, moon and other stars can come about through kindling and extinguishing, provided the circumstances in both regions are such as to produce the effects just mentioned, for none of the appearances contradicts this. The same could also come about through their appearing above the earth and then being screened by it, for none of the appearances contradicts this either. As for their motions, it is not impossible that these arise from the whirling of the whole heaven, or that the heaven is at rest while they themselves whirl, through a necessity generated at the beginning, when the world came into being, in the east; [93] … by the most intense heat, through a kind of spreading of the fire, which always moves on to the next places.
10.93 “Τροπὰς ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης ἐνδέχεται μὲν γίνεσθαι κατὰ λόξωσιν οὐρανοῦ οὕτω τοῖς χρόνοις κατηναγκασμένου· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ ἀέρος ἀντέξωσιν ἢ καὶ ὕλης ἀεὶ ἐπιτηδείας τῆς μὲν ἐχομένης ἐμπιπραμένης τῆς δ’ ἐκλιπούσης· ἢ καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοιαύτην δίνην κατειληθῆναι τοῖς ἄστροις τούτοις, ὥσθ’ οἷόν τιν’ ἕλικα κινεῖσθαι. πάντα γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ τούτοις συγγενῆ οὐθενὶ τῶν ἐναργημάτων διαφωνεῖ, ἐάν τις ἀεὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων μερῶν, ἐχόμενος τοῦ δυνατοῦ, εἰς τὸ σύμφωνον τοῖς	“The turnings of the sun and moon may come about through the obliquity of the heaven, which is constrained in this way over time. They may equally come about through the counter-pressure of the air, or because suitable fuel is always being burnt up in the adjacent region while running out in the other. Or such a whirling may have been wound around these stars from the start, so that they move in a kind of spiral. All such explana-

GREEK

φαινομένοις ἕκαστον τούτων δύνηται ἐπάγειν, μὴ φοβούμενος τὰς ἀνδραποδώδεις ἀστρολόγων τεχνιτείας.

ENGLISH

tions, and those akin to them, are at odds with none of the clear evidence, provided that in matters of this kind one always holds to what is possible and can bring each of them into agreement with the appearances, without fearing the servile tricks of the astronomers.

10.94 "Κένωσίς τε σελήνης καὶ πάλιν πλήρωσις καὶ κατὰ στροφὴν τοῦ σώματος τούτου δύναιτ' ἂν γίνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ σχηματισμοὺς ἀέρος ὁμοίως, ἔτι τε καὶ κατ' ἐμπροσθετήσεις καὶ κατὰ πάντας τρόπους, καθ' οὓς καὶ τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν φαινόμενα ἐκκαλεῖται εἰς τὰς τοῦ εἴδους τούτου ἀποδόσεις, ἐὰν μή τις τὸν μοναχῆ τρόπον κατηγαπηκὼς τοὺς ἄλλους κενῶς ἀποδοκιμάζῃ, οὐ τεθεωρηκὼς τί δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπῳ θεωρῆσαι καὶ τί ἀδύνατον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀδύνατα θεωρεῖν ἐπιθυμῶν. ἔτι τε ἐνδέχεται τὴν σελήνην ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἔχειν τὸ φῶς, ἐνδέχεται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου. [95] καὶ γὰρ παρ' ἡμῖν θεωρεῖται πολλὰ μὲν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντα, πολλὰ δὲ ἀφ' ἑτέρων.

"The waning of the moon and its waxing again could come about through the rotation of this body, and equally through configurations of the air, and further through interpositions, and in all the ways in which the phenomena here among us invite explanations of this sort. That holds unless someone, in love with the single way, idly rejects the others, without having considered what a human being can observe and what is impossible, and therefore longs to observe the impossible. Further, the moon may have its light from itself, or it may have it from the sun. [95] Here among us too we see many things that have their light from themselves, and many that have it from others.

10.95 καὶ οὐθὲν ἐμποδοστατεῖ τῶν ἐν τοῖς μετεώροις φαινομένων, ἐάν τις τοῦ πλεοναχοῦ τρόπου ἀεὶ μνήμην ἔχῃ καὶ τὰς ἀκολούθους αὐτοῖς ὑποθέσεις ἅμα καὶ αἰτίας συνθεωρῇ καὶ μὴ ἀναβλέπων εἰς τὰ ἀνακόλουθα ταῦτ' ὀγκοῖ ματαίως καὶ καταρρέπῃ ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἐπὶ τὸν μοναχὸν τρόπον. ἡ δὲ ἔμφασις τοῦ προσώπου ἐν αὐτῇ δύναται μὲν γίνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ παραλλαγὴν μερῶν καὶ κατ' ἐπιπροσθέτησιν, καὶ ὅσοι ποτ' ἂν τρόποι θεωροῖντο τὸ σύμφωνον τοῖς φαινομένοις κεκτημένοι. [96] ἐπὶ πάντων γὰρ τῶν μετεώρων τὴν τοιαύτην ἴχνευσιν οὐ προετέον. ἢν γάρ τις ᾖ μαχόμενος τοῖς ἐναργήμασιν, οὐδέποτε δυνήσεται ἀταραξίας γνησίου μεταλαβεῖν.

Nothing among the celestial phenomena stands in the way, if one always remembers the multiple way and considers together the hypotheses and causes consistent with it, instead of looking to what is inconsistent, inflating it pointlessly, and sliding now this way, now that, toward the single way. The appearance of a face in the moon can come about through variation of its parts, or through interposition, or in whatever other ways might be observed that agree with the appearances. [96] In all celestial phenomena this line of inquiry must not be given up. For anyone who fights against the clear evidence will never be able to share in genuine tranquility.

10.96 "Ἔκλειψις ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης δύναται μὲν γίνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ σβένσιν, καθάπερ καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν τοῦτο θεωρεῖται γιγνόμενον· καὶ ἤδη καὶ κατ' ἐπιπροσθέτησιν ἄλλων τινῶν, ἢ γῆς ἢ ἀοράτου τινὸς ἑτέρου τοιούτου. καὶ ὧδε τοὺς οἰκείους ἀλλήλοις τρόπους συνθεωρητέον, καὶ τὰς ἅμα συγκυρήσεις τινῶν ὅτι οὐκ ἀδύνατον γίνεσθαι. [ἐν δὲ τῇ ιβ' Περὶ φύσεως ταῦτα λέγει καὶ πρός, ἥλιον ἐκλείπειν σελήνης ἐπισκοτούσης, σελήνην δὲ τοῦ τῆς γῆς σκιάσματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' ἀναχώρησιν. [97] τοῦτο δὲ καὶ Διογένης ὁ Ἐπικούρειος ἐν τῇ α′ τῶν Ἐπιλέκτων.]

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		"An eclipse of the sun or moon can come about through extinction, as we see happening here among us too. It can also come about through the interposition of other things, either the earth or some other invisible body of this kind. In this way we must consider together the explanations that fit one another, and see that it is not impossible for some of them to occur at the same time. [In the twelfth book of *On Nature* he says these things and adds that the sun is eclipsed when the moon darkens it, and the moon by the earth's shadow, but also by its withdrawal. [97] Diogenes the Epicurean says the same in the first book of his *Selected Lectures*.][17]
10.97	"Ἔτι τε τάξις περιόδου, καθάπερ ἔνια καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν τῶν τυχόντων γίνεται, λαμβανέσθω· καὶ ἡ θεία φύσις πρὸς ταῦτα μηδαμῇ προσαγέσθω, ἀλλ' ἀλειτούργητος διατηρείσθω καὶ ἐν τῇ πάσῃ μακαριότητι· ὡς εἰ τοῦτο μὴ πραχθήσεται, ἅπασα ἡ περὶ τῶν μετεώρων αἰτιολογία ματαία ἔσται, καθάπερ τισὶν ἤδη ἐγένετο οὐ δυνατοῦ τρόπου ἐφαψαμένοις, εἰς δὲ τὸ μάταιον ἐκπεσοῦσι τῷ καθ' ἕνα τρόπον μόνον οἴεσθαι γίνεσθαι τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἅπαντας τοὺς κατὰ τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον ἐκβάλλειν εἴς τε τὸ ἀδιανόητον φερομένους καὶ τὰ φαινόμενα, ἃ δεῖ σημεῖα ἀποδέχεσθαι, μὴ δυναμένους συνθεωρεῖν.	"Further, the regularity of their periodic motion should be understood in the way that certain ordinary things happen here among us. The divine nature must in no way be brought in to explain this, but must be kept free of duties and in complete blessedness. If this is not done, the whole causal account of celestial phenomena will be futile, as it has already become for some. They did not take hold of a possible way, but fell into futility by thinking that things happen in one way only and rejecting all the other ways that are possible. They were carried off into the unthinkable and were unable to consider together the appearances, which must be accepted as signs.
10.98	"Μήκη νυκτῶν καὶ ἡμερῶν παραλλάττοντα καὶ παρὰ τὸ ταχείας ἡλίου κινήσεις γίνεσθαι καὶ πάλιν βραδείας ὑπὲρ γῆς παρὰ τὰ μήκη τόπων παραλλάττοντα καὶ τόπους τινὰς περαιοῦν τάχιον ἢ βραδύτερον, ὡς καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν τινα θεωρεῖται, οἷς συμφώνως δεῖ λέγειν ἐπὶ τῶν μετεώρων. οἱ δὲ τὸ ἓν λαμβάνοντες τοῖς τε φαινομένοις μάχονται καὶ τοῦ ᾗ δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπῳ θεωρῆσαι διαπεπτώκασιν.	"The varying lengths of nights and days may come about because the sun's movements above the earth are now fast and now slow, varying with the lengths of the regions it passes, and because it crosses certain regions faster or more slowly, as we observe with some things here among us. We must speak about celestial phenomena in agreement with these. Those who adopt a single explanation fight against the appearances and have missed what a human being can observe.
	"Ἐπισημασίαι δύνανται γίνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ συγκυρήσεις καιρῶν, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐμφανέσι παρ' ἡμῖν ζῴοις, καὶ παρ' ἑτεροιώσεις ἀέρος καὶ μεταβολάς. ἀμφότερα γὰρ ταῦτα οὐ μάχεται τοῖς φαινομένοις· [99] ἐπὶ δὲ ποίοις παρὰ τοῦτο ἢ τοῦτο τὸ αἴτιον γίνεται οὐκ ἔστι συνιδεῖν.	"Weather signs may come about through coincidences of the seasons, as with the animals we see here among us, and also through alterations and changes in the air. Neither of these conflicts with the appearances. [99] But in which cases the effect is due to this cause or to that one, it is not possible to see.

17 Diogenes the Epicurean is probably Diogenes of Tarsus, an Epicurean writer of the second century BC.

WEATHER AND THE SKY

Clouds, thunder, lightning, earthquakes, snow, rainbows, comets and the motions of the stars.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
10.99	"Νέφη δύναται γίνεσθαι καὶ συνίστασθαι καὶ παρὰ πιλήσεις ἀέρος πνευμάτων συνώσει, καὶ παρὰ περιπλοκὰς ἀλληλούχων ἀτόμων καὶ ἐπιτηδείων εἰς τὸ τοῦτο τελέσαι καὶ κατὰ ῥευμάτων συλλογὴν ἀπό τε γῆς καὶ ὑδάτων· καὶ κατ' ἄλλους δὲ τρόπους πλείους αἱ τῶν τοιούτων συστάσεις οὐκ ἀδυνατοῦσι συντελεῖσθαι. ἤδη δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν ᾗ μὲν θλιβομένων, ᾗ δὲ μεταβαλλόντων ὕδατα δύναται συντελεῖσθαι, [100] ἔτι τε ῥευμάτων κατ' ἀποφορὰν ἀπὸ ἐπιτηδείων τόπων δι' ἀέρος κινουμένων, βιαιοτέρας ἐπαρδεύσεως γινομένης ἀπό τινων ἀθροισμάτων ἐπιτηδείων εἰς τὰς τοιαύτας ἐκπέμψεις.	"Clouds can come into being and take shape through condensations of the air under the pressure of winds, through the entanglement of atoms that cling together and are suited to producing this, and through the collection of streams from the earth and from waters. There are several other ways, too, in which it is not impossible for such formations to come about. From the clouds, then, rain can be produced, as they are compressed in one place and change in another, [100] and also when streams are carried off from suitable places and move through the air, with a more violent downpour coming from certain accumulations suited to such discharges.
10.100	βροντὰς ἐνδέχεται γίνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ πνεύματος ἐν τοῖς κοιλώμασι τῶν νεφῶν ἀνείλησιν, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀγγείοις, καὶ παρὰ πυρὸς πεπνευματωμένου βόμβον ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ κατὰ ῥήξεις δὲ νεφῶν καὶ διαστάσεις, καὶ κατὰ παρατρίψεις νεφῶν καὶ κατάξεις πῆξιν εἰληφότων κρυσταλλοειδῆ. καὶ τὸ ὅλον καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος πλεοναχῶς γίνεσθαι λέγειν ἐκκαλεῖται τὰ φαινόμενα. [101] καὶ ἀστραπαὶ δ' ὡσαύτως γίνονται κατὰ πλείους τρόπους· καὶ γὰρ κατὰ παράτριψιν καὶ σύγκρουσιν νεφῶν ὁ πυρὸς ἀποτελεστικὸς σχηματισμὸς ἐξολισθαίνων ἀστραπὴν γεννᾷ· καὶ κατ' ἐκριπισμὸν ἐκ τῶν νεφῶν ὑπὸ πνευμάτων τῶν τοιούτων σωμάτων ἃ τὴν λαμπηδόνα ταύτην παρασκευάζει, καὶ κατ' ἐκπιασμόν, θλίψεως τῶν νεφῶν γινομένης, εἴθ' ὑπ' ἀλλήλων εἴθ' ὑπὸ πνευμάτων·	Thunder can come about through wind rolling around in the hollows of the clouds, as happens in our own vessels; through the roar of fire turned to wind inside them; through the rending and parting of clouds; and through the rubbing together and shattering of clouds that have taken on an ice-like solidity. In general, the appearances call on us to say that this phenomenon too comes about in several ways. [101] Lightning likewise comes about in several ways. When clouds rub and collide, the configuration that produces fire slips out and generates lightning. It can also come about when winds fan out of the clouds the bodies that produce this brightness, and through squeezing, when the clouds are pressed either by one another or by winds;
10.101	καὶ κατ' ἐμπερίληψιν δὲ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄστρων κατεσπαρμένου φωτός, εἶτα συνελαυνομένου ὑπὸ τῆς κινήσεως νεφῶν τε καὶ πνευμάτων καὶ διεκπίπτοντος διὰ τῶν νεφῶν· ἢ κατὰ διήθησιν ⟨διὰ⟩ τῶν νεφῶν τοῦ λεπτομερεστάτου φωτός, [ᾗ ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς νέφη συνεφλέχθαι καὶ τὰς βροντὰς ἀποτελεῖσθαι] καὶ τὴν τούτου κίνησιν· καὶ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ἐκπύρωσιν τὴν γινομένην διά τε συντονίαν φορᾶς καὶ διὰ σφοδρὰν κατείλησιν· [102] καὶ κατὰ ῥήξεις δὲ νεφῶν ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἔκπτωσίν τε πυρὸς ἀποτελεστικῶν ἀτόμων καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀστραπῆς φάντασμα ἀποτελουσῶν.	and through the trapping of light scattered from the stars, which is then driven together by the motion of clouds and winds and falls out through the clouds; or through the filtering of the finest light through the clouds [by which clouds are set alight by the fire and thunder is produced], and through its motion; and through the ignition of wind, which happens because of the intensity of its movement and its violent compression; [102] and through the rending of clouds by winds and the falling out of fire-producing atoms that create the appearance of lightning.
10.102	καὶ κατ' ἄλλους δὲ πλείους τρόπους ῥᾳδίως ἔσται καθορᾶν ἐχόμενον ἀεὶ τῶν φαινομένων καὶ τὸ τούτοις ὅμοιον δυνάμενον συνθεωρεῖν. προτερεῖ δὲ ἀστραπὴ	It will be easy to make it out in several other ways too, if one always holds to the appearances and

GREEK	ENGLISH
βροντῆς ἐν τοιᾷδέ τινι περιστάσει νεφῶν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἅμα τῷ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐμπίπτειν ἐξωθεῖσθαι τὸν ἀστραπῆς ἀποτελεστικὸν σχηματισμόν, ὕστερον δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα ἀνειλούμενον τὸν βόμβον ἀποτελεῖν τοῦτον· καὶ κατ' ἔμπτωσιν δὲ ἀμφοτέρων ἅμα, τῷ τάχει συντονωτέρῳ κεχρῆσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὴν ἀστραπήν, ὑστερεῖν δὲ τὴν βροντήν, [103] καθά περ ἐπ' ἐνίων ἐξ ἀποστήματος θεωρουμένων καὶ πληγάς τινας ποιουμένων. κεραυνοὺς ἐνδέχεται γίνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ πλείονας πνευμάτων συλλογὰς καὶ κατείλησιν ἰσχυράν τε ἐκπύρωσιν·	can consider together what is similar to them. Lightning comes before thunder in some such arrangement of clouds. This may be because, at the moment the wind strikes, the configuration that produces lightning is forced out, and afterward the wind, rolling around, produces this roar. Or, when both strike at once, it may be because lightning travels toward us at greater speed while thunder lags behind, [103] as happens with some things seen from a distance that strike blows. Thunderbolts can come about through several gatherings of winds, their compression and violent ignition,
10.103 καὶ κατάρρηξιν μέρους καὶ ἔκπτωσιν ἰσχυροτέραν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς κάτω τόπους, τῆς ῥήξεως γινομένης διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐξῆς τόπους πυκνοτέρους εἶναι διὰ πίλησιν νεφῶν· καὶ κατὰ αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς ἔκπτωσιν ἀνειλουμένου, καθὰ καὶ βροντὴν ἐνδέχεται γίνεσθαι, πλείονος γενομένου πυρὸς καὶ πνευματωθέντος ἰσχυρότερον καὶ ῥήξαντος τὸ νέφος διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ὑποχωρεῖν εἰς τὰ ἐξῆς, τῷ πίλησιν γίνεσθαι [τὸ μὲν πολὺ πρὸς ὄρος τι ὑψηλόν, ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα κεραυνοὶ πίπτουσιν], ἀεὶ πρὸς ἄλληλα. [104] καὶ κατ' ἄλλους δὲ τρόπους πλείονας ἐνδέχεται κεραυνοὺς ἀποτελεῖσθαι· μόνον ὁ μῦθος ἀπέστω· ἀπέσται δέ, ἐάν τις καλῶς τοῖς φαινομένοις ἀκολουθῶν περὶ τῶν ἀφανῶν σημειῶται.	and the breaking off of a part and its more violent fall to the regions below. The break happens because the next regions are denser owing to the condensation of clouds. Thunderbolts can also come about through the very falling out of the fire as it rolls around, in the way that thunder too can come about: the fire grows greater, is turned to wind more violently, and rends the cloud because it cannot withdraw into the adjacent regions, since the clouds are always being condensed against one another [mostly against some high mountain, where thunderbolts fall most often]. [104] Thunderbolts can be produced in several other ways as well. Only keep myth out of it! And it will be kept out, if one follows the appearances well and draws inferences from them about what is unseen.
10.104 "Πρηστῆρας ἐνδέχεται γίνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ κάθεσιν νέφους εἰς τοὺς κάτω τόπους στυλοειδῶς ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἀθρόου ὠσθέντος καὶ διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος πολλοῦ φερομένου, ἅμα καὶ τὸ νέφος εἰς τὸ πλάγιον ὠθοῦντος τοῦ ἐκτὸς πνεύματος· καὶ κατὰ περίστασιν δὲ πνεύματος εἰς κύκλον, ἀέρος τινὸς ἐπισυνωθουμένου ἄνωθεν· καὶ ῥύσεως πολλῆς πνευμάτων γενομένης καὶ οὐ δυναμένης εἰς τὰ πλάγια διαρρυῆναι διὰ τὴν πέριξ τοῦ ἀέρος πίλησιν. [105] καὶ ἕως μὲν γῆς τοῦ πρηστῆρος καθιεμένου στρόβιλοι γίνονται, ὡς ἂν καὶ ἡ ἀπογέννησις κατὰ τὴν κίνησιν τοῦ πνεύματος γίνηται· ἕως δὲ θαλάττης δῖνοι ἀποτελοῦνται.	"Funnel clouds may come about when a cloud is let down into the lower regions in the shape of a column, pushed by a mass of wind and carried along by the force of the wind, while the wind outside pushes the cloud sideways at the same time. They may also come about when wind forms into a circle, with some air pressing in on it from above, and when a great flow of winds arises that cannot stream off to the sides because the air around it is compressed. [105] When the funnel cloud comes down as far as the earth, whirlwinds occur, in whatever way the result is produced by the movement of the wind. When it comes down as far as the sea, waterspouts are produced.
10.105 "Σεισμοὺς ἐνδέχεται γίνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ πνεύματος ἐν τῇ γῇ ἀπόληψιν καὶ παρὰ μικροὺς ὄγκους αὐτῆς παράθεσιν καὶ συνεχῆ κίνησιν, ὅταν κράδανσιν τῇ γῇ παρασκευάζῃ· καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦτο ἢ ἔξωθεν ἐμπεριλαμβάνει ⟨ἢ⟩ ἐκ τοῦ πίπτειν εἴσω ἐδάφη εἰς ἀντροειδεῖς τόπους τῆς γῆς	"Earthquakes may come about when wind is trapped in the earth, lodged beside small masses of it and moving continuously, so that it sets the earth shaking. The earth either takes this wind in from outside, or it arises when ground collapses

GREEK	ENGLISH
ἐκπνευματοῦντα ἐπειλημένον ἀέρα. ⟨καὶ⟩ κατ᾽ αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν διάδοσιν τῆς κινήσεως ἐκ τῶν πτώσεων ἐδαφῶν πολλῶν καὶ πάλιν ἀνταπόδοσιν, ὅταν πυκνώμασι σφοδροτέροις τῆς γῆς ἀπαντήσῃ, ἐνδέχεται σεισμοὺς ἀποτελεῖσθαι. [106] καὶ κατ᾽ ἄλλους δὲ πλείους τρόπους τὰς κινήσεις ταύτας τῆς γῆς γίνεσθαι.	inward into cave-like places in the earth and turns the air enclosed there into wind. Earthquakes may also be produced simply by the motion being passed on from the collapse of many masses of ground, and by its rebounding when it meets denser parts of the earth. [106] These movements of the earth may also come about in many other ways.
10.106 "Τὰ δὲ πνεύματα συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι κατὰ χρόνον ἀλλοφυλίας τινὸς ἀεὶ καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν παρεισδυομένης, καὶ καθ᾽ ὕδατος ἀφθόνου συλλογήν· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πνεύματα γίνεται καὶ ὀλίγων πεσόντων εἰς τὰ πολλὰ κοιλώματα, διαδόσεως τούτων γινομένης.	"Winds come about from time to time when some foreign matter keeps slipping in little by little, and when an abundance of water gathers. The remaining winds arise when even a few winds fall into the many hollows and are spread through them.
"Χάλαζα συντελεῖται καὶ κατὰ πῆξιν ἰσχυροτέραν, πάντοθεν δὲ πνευματωδῶν περίστασίν τινων κᾆτα μέρισιν· καὶ ⟨κατὰ⟩ πῆξιν μετριωτέραν ὑδατοειδῶν τινων, ⟨πνευματωδῶν δέ τινων⟩ ὁμούρησιν ἅμα τήν τε σύνωσιν αὐτῶν ποιουμένην καὶ τὴν διάρρηξιν πρὸς τὸ κατὰ μέρη συνίστασθαι πηγνύμενα καὶ κατ᾽ ἀθροότητα. [107] ἡ δὲ περιφέρεια οὐκ ἀδυνάτως μὲν ἔχει γίνεσθαι πάντοθεν τῶν ἄκρων ἀποτηκομένων καὶ ἐν τῇ συστάσει πάντοθεν, ὡς λέγεται, κατὰ μέρη ὁμαλῶς περιισταμένων εἴτε ὑδατοειδῶν τινων εἴτε πνευματωδῶν.	"Hail is formed by a stronger freezing, when certain windy particles gather round from every side and then break up. It is also formed by a more moderate freezing of certain watery particles, together with the nearness of certain windy ones, which at once presses them together and breaks them apart, so that as they freeze they form both in separate pieces and in masses. [107] Its roundness may well come about because the edges melt away on every side, and because, as it forms, certain particles, whether watery or windy, gather evenly round it on every side, part by part, as is said.
10.107 "Χιόνα δ᾽ ἐνδέχεται συντελεῖσθαι καὶ ὕδατος λεπτοῦ ἐκχεομένου ἐκ τῶν νεφῶν διὰ πόρων συμμετρίας καὶ θλίψεις ἐπιτηδείων νεφῶν ἀεὶ ὑπὸ πνεύματος σφοδρᾶς, εἶτα τούτου πῆξιν ἐν τῇ φορᾷ λαμβάνοντος διά τινα ἰσχυρὰν ἐν τοῖς κατωτέρω τόποις τῶν νεφῶν ψυχρασίας περίστασιν. καὶ κατὰ πῆξιν δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς νέφεσιν ὁμαλῇ ἀραιότητα ἔχουσι τοιαύτη πρόεσις ἐκ τῶν νεφῶν γίνοιτο ἂν πρὸς ἄλληλα θλιβομένων ⟨τῶν⟩ ὑδατοειδῶν καὶ συμπαρακειμένων· ἃ οἱονεὶ σύνωσιν ποιούμενα χάλαζαν ἀποτελεῖ, ὃ μάλιστα γίνεται ἐν τῷ ἔαρι. [108] καὶ κατὰ τρίψιν δὲ νεφῶν πῆξιν εἰληφότων ἀπόπαλσιν ἂν λαμβάνοι τὸ τῆς χιόνος τοῦτο ἄθροισμα. καὶ κατ᾽ ἄλλους δὲ τρόπους ἐνδέχεται χιόνα συντελεῖσθαι.	"Snow may be formed when fine water pours out of the clouds through pores of suitable size, and when suitable clouds are steadily and violently squeezed by wind, and the water then freezes as it travels, owing to some strong cooling in the regions below the clouds. Through freezing in clouds that are evenly porous, such a discharge might also come from the clouds when the watery parts press against one another and lie side by side; these, forming a kind of compression, produce hail, which happens mostly in spring. [108] This mass of snow might also be thrown off when clouds that have frozen rub against one another. Snow may be formed in other ways too.
10.108 "Δρόσος συντελεῖται καὶ κατὰ σύνοδον πρὸς ἄλληλα ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος τῶν τοιούτων, ἃ τῆς τοιαύτης ὑγρασίας ἀποτελεστικὰ γίνεται· καὶ κατ᾽ ἀναφορὰν δὲ ἢ ἀπὸ νοτερῶν τόπων ἢ ὕδατα κεκτημένων, ἐν οἵοις τόποις μάλιστα δρόσος συντελεῖται, εἶτα σύνοδον τούτων εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ λαβόντων καὶ ἀποτέλεσιν ὑγρασίας καὶ πάλιν φορὰν ἐπὶ τοὺς κάτω τόπους, καθά περ ὁμοίως καὶ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἐπὶ πλειόνων τοιαῦτά τινα ⟨συντελούμενα	"Dew is formed when particles of the kind that produce such moisture meet one another out of the air. It is also formed when they rise from damp places or places that have water, the sort of places where dew mostly forms, and then meet at the same point, produce moisture and travel back down to the lower regions, just as similar things are seen happening in many cases here among us

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	θεωρεῖται. [109] καὶ› πάχνη δὲ συντελεῖται ‹οὐ διαφερόντως› τῶν δρόσων, τοιούτων τινῶν πῆξίν τινα ποιὰν λαβόντων διὰ περίστασίν τινα ἀέρος ψυχροῦ.	too. [109] Frost is formed in no different way from dew, when particles of this kind undergo a certain sort of freezing because some cold air surrounds them.
10.109	“Κρύσταλλος συντελεῖται καὶ κατ’ ἔκθλιψιν μὲν τοῦ περιφεροῦς σχηματισμοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος, σύνωσιν δὲ τῶν σκαληνῶν καὶ ὀξυγωνίων τῶν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι ὑπαρχόντων· καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἔξωθεν δὲ τῶν τοιούτων πρόσκρισιν, ἃ συνελασθέντα πῆξιν τῷ ὕδατι παρεσκεύασε, ποσὰ τῶν περιφερῶν ἐκθλίψαντα.	“Ice is formed when the round-shaped particles are squeezed out of the water and the scalene and acute-angled particles present in it are pressed together. It is also formed when particles of this kind are added from outside: driven together, they make the water freeze once they have squeezed out a certain number of the round ones.
	“Ἶρις γίνεται κατὰ πρόσλαμψιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου πρὸς ἀέρα ὑδατοειδῆ· ἢ κατὰ ‹σύμ›φυσιν ἰδίαν τοῦ τε φωτὸς καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος, ἢ τὰ τῶν χρωμάτων τούτων ἰδιώματα ποιήσει εἴ τε πάντα εἴ τε μονοειδῶς· ἀφ’ οὗ πάλιν ἀπολάμποντος τὰ ὁμοροῦντα τοῦ ἀέρος χρῶσιν ταύτην λήψεται, οἵαν θεωροῦμεν, κατὰ πρόσλαμψιν πρὸς τὰ μέρη. [110] τὸ δὲ τῆς περιφερείας τοῦτο φάντασμα γίνεται διὰ τὸ τὸ διάστημα πάντοθεν ἴσον ὑπὸ τῆς ὄψεως θεωρεῖσθαι, ἢ σύνωσιν τοιαύτην λαμβανουσῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ ἀέρι ἀτόμων ἢ ἐν τοῖς νέφεσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀποφερομένων περιφέρειάν τινα καθίεσθαι τὴν σύγκρισιν ταύτην.	“A rainbow comes about when the sun shines on watery air, or through a particular blending of the light and the air, which will produce the distinctive qualities of these colors, whether all together or one at a time. As the light is reflected back from this, the neighboring parts of the air will take on the coloring we see, through the light shining on its parts. [110] The appearance of roundness arises because our sight sees the distance as equal on every side, or because the atoms in the air, or those in the clouds carried off from the sun, are pressed together in such a way that this combination settles into a kind of roundness.
10.110	“‘Ἅλως περὶ τὴν σελήνην γίνεται καὶ πάντοθεν ἀέρος προσφερομένου πρὸς τὴν σελήνην ἢ τὰ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ῥεύματα ἀποφερόμενα ὁμαλῶς ἀναστέλλοντος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐφ’ ὅσον κύκλῳ περιστῆσαι τὸ νεφοειδὲς τοῦτο καὶ μὴ τὸ παράπαν διακρῖναι, ἢ καὶ τὸν πέριξ ἀέρα αὐτῆς ἀναστέλλοντος συμμέτρως πάντοθεν εἰς τὸ περιφερὲς τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν καὶ παχυμερὲς περιστῆσαι.	“A halo forms around the moon when air moves toward the moon from every side and either evenly holds back the streams flowing off from it, just far enough to set this cloudy ring round it in a circle without breaking it up altogether, or else holds back the air surrounding the moon evenly on every side, so as to set a round, dense ring about it.
10.111	ὃ γίνεται κατὰ μέρη τινὰ ἤτοι ἔξωθεν βιασαμένου τινὸς ῥεύματος ἢ τῆς θερμασίας ἐπιτηδείων πόρων ἐπιλαμβανομένης εἰς τὸ τοῦτο ἀπεργάσασθαι. Κομῆται ἀστέρες γίνονται ἤτοι πυρὸς ἐν τόποις τισὶ διὰ χρόνων τινῶν ἐν τοῖς μετεώροις συστρεφομένου περιστάσεως γινομένης, ἢ ἰδίαν τινὰ κίνησιν διὰ χρόνων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἴσχοντος ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς, ὥστε τὰ τοιαῦτα ἄστρα ἀναφανῆναι, ἢ αὐτὰ ἐν χρόνοις τισὶν ὁρμῆσαι διά τινα περίστασιν καὶ εἰς τοὺς καθ’ ἡμᾶς τόπους ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἐκφανῆ γενέσθαι. τήν τε ἀφάνισιν τούτων γίνεσθαι παρὰ τὰς ἀντικειμένας ταύταις αἰτίας.	This happens in certain parts only, either when some stream forces its way in from outside or when heat seizes on passages suited to bring it about. Comets come about either when fire gathers at certain intervals of time in certain places in the upper regions, once the right conditions arise; or when the heaven above us has some particular motion at intervals, so that such stars appear; or when the stars themselves, at certain times, rush forward because of some circumstance, come into our regions and become visible. Their disappearance comes about through the causes opposite to these.
10.112	τινὰ ἄστρα στρέφεσθαι αὐτοῦ συμβαίνει οὐ μόνον τῷ τὸ μέρος τοῦτο τοῦ κόσμου ἑστάναι, περὶ ὃ τὸ λοιπὸν	That some stars revolve in the same place happens not only because this part of the world-order

GREEK

στρέφεται, καθά περ τινές φασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ δίνην ἀέρος ἔγκυκλον αὐτῷ περιεστάναι, ἢ κωλυτικὴ γίνεται τοῦ περιπολεῖν, ὡς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα· ἢ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐξῆς μὲν αὐτοῖς ὕλην ἐπιτηδείαν μὴ εἶναι, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ κείμενα θεωρεῖται. καὶ κατ' ἄλλους δὲ πλείονας τρόπους τοῦτο δυνατὸν συντελεῖσθαι, ἐάν τις δύνηται τὸ σύμφωνον τοῖς φαινομένοις συλλογίζεσθαι.

τινὰ τῶν ἄστρων πλανᾶσθαι, εἰ οὕτω ταῖς κινήσεσι χρώμενα συμβαίνει, τινὰ δὲ ὁμαλῶς κινεῖσθαι, [113] ἐνδέχεται μὲν καὶ παρὰ τὸ κύκλῳ κινούμενα ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὕτω κατηναγκάσθαι, ὥστε τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν δίνην φέρεσθαι ὁμαλῆ οὖσαν, τὰ δὲ κατά τιν' ἄλλην τισὶν ἀνωμαλίαις χρωμένην. ἐνδέχεται δὲ καὶ καθ' οὓς τόπους φέρεται οὗ μὲν παρεκτάσεις ἀέρος εἶναι ὁμαλὰς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνωθούσας κατὰ τὸ ἑξῆς ὁμαλῶς τε ἐκκαούσας, οὗ δὲ ἀνωμαλεῖς οὕτως ὥστε τὰς θεωρουμένας παραλλαγὰς συντελεῖσθαι.

10.113 τὸ δὲ μίαν αἰτίαν τούτων ἀποδιδόναι, πλεοναχῶς τῶν φαινομένων ἐκκαλουμένων, μανικὸν καὶ οὐ καθηκόντως πραττόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν ματαίαν ἀστρολογίαν ἐζηλωκότων καὶ εἰς τὸ κενὸν αἰτίας τινῶν ἀποδιδόντων, ὅταν τὴν θείαν φύσιν μηδαμῆ λειτουργιῶν ἀπολύωσι. [114] τινὰ ἄστρα ὑπολειπόμενά τινων θεωρεῖσθαι συμβαίνει καὶ παρὰ τὸ βραδύτερον συμπεριφέρεσθαι τὸν αὐτὸν κύκλον περιιόντα καὶ παρὰ τὸ τὴν ἐναντίαν κινεῖσθαι ἀντισπώμενα ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς δίνης· καὶ παρὰ τὸ περιφέρεσθαι τὰ μὲν διὰ πλείονος τόπου, τὰ δὲ δι' ἐλάττονος, τὴν αὐτὴν δίνην περικυκλοῦντα. τὸ δὲ ἁπλῶς ἀποφαίνεσθαι περὶ τούτων καθῆκόν ἐστι τοῖς τερατεύεσθαί τι πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς βουλομένοις.

10.114 "Οἱ λεγόμενοι ἀστέρες ἐκπίπτειν καὶ παρὰ μέρος κατὰ παράτριψιν ἑαυτῶν δύναται συντελεῖσθαι καὶ παρ' ἔκπτωσιν οὗ ἂν ἡ ἐκπνευμάτωσις γένηται, καθά περ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀστραπῶν ἐλέγομεν· [115] καὶ κατὰ σύνοδον δὲ ἀτόμων πυρὸς ἀποτελεστικῶν, συμφυλίας γενομένης εἰς τὸ τοῦτο τελέσαι, καὶ κίνησιν οὗ ἂν ἡ ὁρμὴ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατὰ τὴν σύνοδον γένηται· καὶ κατὰ πνεύματος δὲ συλλογὴν ἐν πυκνώμασί τισιν ὁμιχλοειδέσι, καὶ ἐκπύρωσιν τούτου διὰ τὴν κατείλησιν, εἶτ' ἐπέκρηξιν τῶν περιεχόντων, καὶ ἐφ' ὃν ἂν τόπον ἡ ὁρμὴ γένηται τῆς φορᾶς, εἰς τοῦτον φερομένου. καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ τρόποι εἰς τὸ τοῦτο τελέσαι ἀμύθητοί εἰσιν.

ENGLISH

stands still while the rest revolves around it, as some say, but also because a circular eddy of air surrounds it and prevents them from traveling round as the others do; or else because next to them there is no suitable material, while there is in the place where they are seen to lie. This can also come about in many other ways, if one is able to reason out what agrees with the appearances.

That some of the stars wander, if they really do move in this way, while others move evenly, [113] may be because they have moved in a circle from the beginning and were constrained in such a way that some are carried by the same eddy, which is even, and others by another eddy that has certain irregularities. It may also be that in the regions they travel through there are, in some places, even stretches of air that push them along continuously in the same direction and kindle them evenly, and in others uneven stretches, so that the variations we observe are produced.

To assign a single cause to these things, when the appearances call for several, is madness. It is improperly done by those who are devoted to futile astronomy and who assign causes for certain things to no purpose, whenever they fail to release the divine nature from its tasks altogether. [114] That some stars are seen to lag behind others happens because they are carried round more slowly though traveling the same circle, and because they move in the opposite direction, dragged back by the same eddy; and also because, while circling the same eddy, some revolve through a larger space and others through a smaller one. To pronounce on these matters in absolute terms befits those who want to dazzle the crowd with marvels.

"What are called falling stars can be produced partly by their rubbing against one another, and by their falling out wherever the outburst of wind takes place, just as we said of lightning. [115] They can also be produced by a meeting of fire-producing atoms, when matter of a kindred sort comes together to bring this about, and by their moving in whatever direction the impulse arises from the start when they meet. They can also be produced by wind gathering in certain dense, mist-like masses and catching fire because it is pent up, then bursting through what surrounds it and being carried to whatever place the impetus of its

GREEK

ENGLISH

motion takes it. There are countless other ways of bringing this about.

10.115 "Αἱ δ' ἐπισημασίαι αἱ γινόμεναι ἐπί τισι ζῴοις κατὰ συγκύρημα γίνονται τοῦ καιροῦ· οὐ γὰρ τὰ ζῷα ἀνάγκην τινὰ προσφέρεται τοῦ ἀποτελεσθῆναι χειμῶνα, οὐδὲ κάθηταί τις θεία φύσις παρατηροῦσα τὰς τῶν ζῴων τούτων ἐξόδους κἄπειτα τὰς ἐπισημασίας ταύτας ἐπιτελεῖ. 116 οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰς τὸ τυχὸν ζῷον, κἂν ⟨εἰ⟩ μικρὸν χαριέστερον εἴη, ἡ τοιαύτη μωρία ἐμπέσοι, μὴ ὅτι εἰς παντελῆ εὐδαιμονίαν κεκτημένον.

"The signs of weather that appear in certain animals come about through a coincidence of the season. The animals do not impose any necessity for a storm to occur, nor does some divine nature sit watching for these animals to come out and then bring about these signs. 116 Such folly would not befall even an ordinary animal, if it were a little more refined, let alone one that possesses complete happiness.

10.116 "Ταῦτα δὴ πάντα, Πυθόκλεις, μνημόνευσον· κατὰ πολύ τε γὰρ τοῦ μύθου ἐκβήσῃ καὶ τὰ ὁμογενῆ τούτοις συνορᾶν δυνήσῃ· μάλιστα δὲ σεαυτὸν ἀπόδος εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀρχῶν καὶ ἀπειρίας καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν τούτοις θεωρίαν, ἔτι τε κριτηρίων καὶ παθῶν, καὶ οὗ ἕνεκεν ταῦτα ἐκλογιζόμεθα· ταῦτα γὰρ μάλιστα συνθεωρούμενα ῥᾳδίως τὰς περὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος αἰτίας συνορᾶν ποιήσει. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ καταγαπήσαντες ᾗ μάλιστα οὕτ' ⟨ἂν⟩ αὐτὰ ταῦτα καλῶς συνθεωρήσαιεν οὔτε οὗ ἕνεκεν δεῖ θεωρεῖν ταῦτα περιεποιήσαντο." 117 ταῦτα αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ τῶν μετεώρων δοκεῖ.

"Remember all these things, Pythocles. You will leave myth far behind, and you will be able to see things of the same kind as these. Above all, devote yourself to the study of the first principles, of the infinite and of what is akin to them, and further of the criteria and the feelings, and of the end for whose sake we reason these things out. Studied together, these above all will make it easy for you to see the causes of particular things. Those who have not wholeheartedly embraced these things could neither study these very matters well nor secure the end for whose sake they ought to be studied." 117 These, then, are his views on celestial phenomena as well.

THE WISE MAN

Epicurean views on how the wise man will live, love, marry and face pain.

GREEK

ENGLISH

10.117 Περὶ δὲ τῶν βιωτικῶν καὶ ὅπως χρὴ τὰ μὲν ἡμᾶς αἱρεῖσθαι, τὰ δ' ἐκφεύγειν, οὑτωσὶ γράφει. πρότερον δὲ διέλθωμεν ἅ τε αὐτῷ δοκεῖ περὶ τοῦ σοφοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

On matters of life, and how we should choose some things and avoid others, he writes as follows. But first let us go through the views held by him and his followers about the wise man.

Βλάβας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἢ διὰ μῖσος ἢ διὰ φθόνον ἢ διὰ καταφρόνησιν γίνεσθαι, ὧν τὸν σοφὸν λογισμῷ περιγίνεσθαι. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἅπαξ γενόμενον σοφὸν μηκέτι τὴν ἐναντίαν λαμβάνειν διάθεσιν μηδὲ πλάττειν ἑκόντα· πάθεσι μᾶλλον συσχεθήσεσθαι· οὐκ ἂν ἐμποδίσαι πρὸς τὴν σοφίαν. οὐδὲ μὴν ἐκ πάσης σώματος ἕξεως σοφὸν γενέσθαι ἂν οὐδ' ἐν παντὶ ἔθνει.

Injuries from other people, they hold, arise from hatred, from envy or from contempt, and the wise man overcomes these by reasoning. Moreover, once a man has become wise, he never again takes on the opposite disposition, nor willingly pretends to it. He will be more subject to feelings, but this would not hinder him in his wisdom. Nor can a man become wise from every bodily constitution, or in every nation.

10.118 κἂν στρεβλωθῇ δ' ὁ σοφός, εἶναι αὐτὸν εὐδαίμονα, μόνον τε χάριν ἕξειν τὸν σοφόν, καὶ ἐπὶ φίλοις καὶ παροῦσι καὶ ἀποῦσιν ὁμοίως διά τε λόγου ⟨καὶ διὰ πράξεως⟩. ὅτε μέντοι στρεβλοῦται, ἔνθα καὶ μύζει καὶ οἰμώζει. γυναικί

Even if the wise man is put on the rack, he is happy. Only the wise man will feel gratitude, and toward friends alike, present and absent, in word and in deed. Yet when he is on the rack, then he

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	τ' οὐ μιγήσεσθαι τὸν σοφὸν ᾗ οἱ νόμοι ἀπαγορεύουσιν, ὥς φησι Διογένης ἐν τῇ ἐπιτομῇ τῶν Ἐπικούρου ἠθικῶν δογμάτων. οὐδὲ κολάσειν οἰκέτας, ἐλεήσειν μέντοι καὶ συγγνώμην τινὶ ἕξειν τῶν σπουδαίων. ἐρασθήσεσθαι τὸν σοφὸν οὐ δοκεῖ αὐτοῖς· οὐδὲ ταφῆς φροντιεῖν· οὐδὲ θεόπεμπτον εἶναι τὸν ἔρωτα, ὡς Διογένης ἐν τῷ δωδεκάτῳ φησίν. οὐδὲ ῥητορεύσειν καλῶς. συνουσίαν δέ φασιν ὀνῆσαι μὲν οὐδέποτε, ἀγαπητὸν δὲ εἰ μὴ καὶ ἔβλαψε.	does moan and groan. The wise man will not have intercourse with a woman with whom the laws forbid it, as Diogenes says in his *Epitome of Epicurus' Ethical Doctrines*. Nor will he punish his household slaves; rather, he will pity them and will pardon any who are good. They do not think the wise man will fall in love, nor that he will concern himself about his burial; nor that love is sent by the gods, as Diogenes says in the twelfth book. Nor will he practice fine oratory. Sexual intercourse, they say, has never done anyone good, and one should be content if it has done no harm.
10.119	Καὶ μηδὲ καὶ γαμήσειν καὶ τεκνοποιήσειν τὸν σοφόν, ὡς Ἐπίκουρος ἐν ταῖς Διαπορίαις καὶ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ φύσεως. κατὰ περίστασιν δέ ποτε βίου γαμήσειν. καὶ διατραπήσεσθαί τινας. οὐδὲ μὴν ληρήσειν ἐν μέθῃ φησὶν ὁ Ἐπίκουρος ἐν τῷ Συμποσίῳ. οὐδὲ πολιτεύσεσθαι, ὡς ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ Περὶ βίων· οὐδὲ τυραννεύσειν· οὐδὲ κυνιεῖν, ὡς ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ Περὶ βίων· οὐδὲ πτωχεύσειν. ἀλλὰ καὶ πηρωθέντα τὰς ὄψεις μὴ ἐξάξειν αὑτὸν τοῦ βίου, [120] ὡς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ φησι.	Nor will the wise man marry and have children, as Epicurus says in the *Puzzles* and in *On Nature*. But owing to circumstances in his life he will sometimes marry. And some will be deterred from it. Nor will he talk nonsense when drunk, says Epicurus in the *Symposium*. Nor will he take part in politics, as he says in the first book of *On Ways of Life*; nor will he become a tyrant; nor will he live as a Cynic, as he says in the second book of *On Ways of Life*; nor will he beg. Even if he loses his sight, he will not take himself out of life, [120] as he says in the same book.
10.120	καὶ λυπηθήσεσθαι δὲ τὸν σοφόν, ὡς ὁ Διογένης ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ τῶν Ἐπιλέκτων· καὶ δικάσεσθαι· καὶ συγγράμματα καταλείψειν· οὐ πανηγυριεῖν δέ· καὶ κτήσεως προνοήσεσθαι καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος. φιλαγρήσειν. τύχῃ τ' ἀντιτάξεσθαι, φίλον τε οὐδένα προήσεσθαι. εὐδοξίας ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον προνοήσεσθαι, ἐφ' ὅσον μὴ καταφρονήσεσθαι· μᾶλλόν τε εὐφρανθήσεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων ἐν ταῖς θεωρίαις.	The wise man will also feel grief, as Diogenes says in the fifth book of his *Selected Lectures*. He will go to law; he will leave writings behind; but he will not deliver festival orations. He will take thought for his property and for the future. He will be fond of the country. He will stand up to fortune, and will never abandon a friend. He will take thought for his good reputation only so far as not to be despised. And he will take more delight than others in public spectacles.
	Εἰκόνας τε ἀναθήσειν. ⟨εὖ⟩ εἰ ἔχοι, ἀδιαφόρως ἂν σχοίη. μόνον τε τὸν σοφὸν ὀρθῶς ἂν περί τε μουσικῆς καὶ ποιητικῆς διαλέξεσθαι· ποιήματά τε ἐνεργείᾳ οὐκ ἂν ποιῆσαι. οὐ κινεῖσθαί τε ἕτερον ἑτέρου σοφώτερον. χρηματιεῖσθαί τε, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ μόνης σοφίας, ἀπορήσαντα. καὶ μόναρχον ἐν καιρῷ θεραπεύσειν. καὶ ἐπιχαρήσεσθαί τινι ἐπὶ τῷ διορθώματι· καὶ σχολὴν κατασκευάσειν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥστ' ὀχλαγωγῆσαι· καὶ ἀναγνώσεσθαι ἐν πλήθει, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἑκόντα· δογματιεῖν τε καὶ οὐκ ἀπορήσειν· καὶ καθ' ὕπνους δὲ ὅμοιον ἔσεσθαι, καὶ ὑπὲρ φίλου ποτὲ τεθνήξεσθαι.	He will set up statues; if he fares well, he would be indifferent to them. Only the wise man would discuss music and poetry correctly, but he would not actually compose poems. One wise man is not wiser than another. He will make money, but only from his wisdom, when he is in need. He will pay court to a monarch when the occasion calls for it. He will be glad when someone is set right. He will found a school, but not so as to draw a crowd. He will give readings in public, but not willingly. He will hold firm doctrines and not be lost in doubt. He will be the same even in his sleep, and he will on occasion die for a friend.

GREEK

ENGLISH

Δοκεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς ἁμαρτήματα ἄνισα εἶναι. καὶ τὴν ὑγίειαν τισὶ μὲν ἀγαθόν, τισὶ δ' ἀδιάφορον. τὴν δὲ ἀνδρείαν φύσει μὴ γίνεσθαι, λογισμῷ δὲ τοῦ συμφέροντος· καὶ τὴν φιλίαν διὰ τὰς χρείας· δεῖν μέντοι προκατάρχεσθαι (καὶ γὰρ τὴν γῆν σπείρομεν), συνίστασθαι δὲ αὐτὴν κατὰ κοινωνίαν τοῖς ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἐκπεπληρωμ ⟨ένοις⟩.

They hold that faults are unequal; and that health is for some a good, for others an indifferent. Courage, they hold, does not arise by nature but from a calculation of advantage. Friendship arises because of need. Yet one must make the first move (for we sow the earth too), and it holds together as a partnership among those who enjoy pleasures to the full.

10.121 Τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν διχῆ νοεῖσθαι, τήν τε ἀκροτάτην, οἵα ἐστὶ περὶ τὸν θεόν, ἐπίτασιν οὐκ ἔχουσαν· καὶ τὴν ⟨κατὰ τὴν⟩ προσθήκην καὶ ἀφαίρεσιν ἡδονῶν.

Happiness, they hold, is conceived in two ways: the highest kind, such as belongs to god, which admits of no increase; and the kind that varies with the addition and subtraction of pleasures.

LETTER TO MENOECEUS

Epicurus' ethics: the gods, death as nothing to us, the kinds of desire, and pleasure as the goal.

GREEK

ENGLISH

Μετιτέον δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπιστολήν.

"Ἐπίκουρος Μενοικεῖ χαίρειν.

122 "Μήτε νέος τις ὢν μελλέτω φιλοσοφεῖν, μήτε γέρων ὑπάρχων κοπιάτω φιλοσοφῶν· οὔτε γὰρ ἄωρος οὐδείς ἐστιν οὔτε πάρωρος πρὸς τὸ κατὰ ψυχὴν ὑγιαῖνον. ὁ δὲ λέγων ἢ μήπω τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν ὑπάρχειν ἢ παρεληλυθέναι τὴν ὥραν ὅμοιός ἐστι τῷ λέγοντι πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ἢ μήπω παρεῖναι τὴν ὥραν ἢ μηκέτι εἶναι τὴν ὥραν. ὥστε φιλοσοφητέον καὶ νέῳ καὶ γέροντι, τῷ μὲν ὅπως γηράσκων νεάζῃ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς διὰ τὴν χάριν τῶν γεγονότων, τῷ δ' ὅπως νέος ἅμα καὶ παλαιὸς ᾖ διὰ τὴν ἀφοβίαν τῶν μελλόντων. μελετᾶν οὖν χρὴ τὰ ποιοῦντα τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, εἴ περ παρούσης μὲν αὐτῆς, πάντα ἔχομεν, ἀπούσης δέ, πάντα πράττομεν εἰς τὸ ταύτην ἔχειν.

But we must move on to the letter.

"Epicurus to Menoeceus, greetings.

122 "Let no one put off doing philosophy while young, nor grow weary of it when old. No one is too early or too late when it comes to the health of the soul. Someone who says that the time for doing philosophy has not yet come, or that it has passed, is like someone who says that the time for happiness has not yet arrived, or is no longer there. So both the young and the old should do philosophy: the old, so that as they grow old they may stay young in good things through gratitude for what has been; the young, so that they may be young and old at once through having no fear of what is to come. We must, then, practice the things that produce happiness, since when it is present we have everything, and when it is absent we do everything to have it.

10.123 "Ἃ δέ σοι συνεχῶς παρήγγελλον, ταῦτα καὶ πρᾶττε καὶ μελέτα, στοιχεῖα τοῦ καλῶς ζῆν ταῦτ' εἶναι διαλαμβάνων. πρῶτον μὲν τὸν θεὸν ζῷον ἄφθαρτον καὶ μακάριον νομίζων, ὡς ἡ κοινὴ τοῦ θεοῦ νόησις ὑπεγράφη, μηθὲν μήτε τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἀλλότριον μήτε τῆς μακαριότητος ἀνοίκειον αὐτῷ πρόσαπτε· πᾶν δὲ τὸ φυλάττειν αὐτοῦ δυνάμενον τὴν μετ' ἀφθαρσίας μακαριότητα περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξαζε. θεοὶ μὲν γάρ εἰσιν. ἐναργὴς δέ ἐστιν αὐτῶν ἡ γνῶσις· οἵους δ' αὐτοὺς ⟨οἱ⟩ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν, οὐκ εἰσίν· οὐ γὰρ φυλάττουσιν αὐτοὺς οἵους νοοῦσιν. ἀσεβὴς δὲ οὐχ ὁ τοὺς τῶν πολλῶν θεοὺς ἀναιρῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ τὰς τῶν πολλῶν δόξας θεοῖς προσάπτων.

"Do and practice the things I constantly urged on you, understanding them to be the elements of living well. First, believe that god is an indestructible and blessed living being, as the common conception of god has sketched him, and attach to him nothing foreign to his indestructibility or unsuited to his blessedness; hold about him every belief that can preserve his blessedness together with his indestructibility. For gods do exist, and our knowledge of them is evident. But they are not such as the many believe them to be, for the many do not keep them consistent with the way they

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		conceive them. The impious man is not the one who does away with the gods of the many, but the one who attaches the opinions of the many to the gods.
10.124	οὐ γὰρ προλήψεις εἰσίν, ἀλλ' ὑπολήψεις ψευδεῖς αἱ τῶν πολλῶν ὑπὲρ θεῶν ἀποφάσεις· ἔνθεν αἱ μέγισται βλάβαι τε τοῖς κακοῖς ἐκ θεῶν ἐπάγονται καὶ ὠφέλειαι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς. ταῖς γὰρ ἰδίαις οἰκειούμενοι διὰ παντὸς ἀρεταῖς τοὺς ὁμοίους ἀποδέχονται, πᾶν τὸ μὴ τοιοῦτον ὡς ἀλλότριον νομίζοντες.	For the pronouncements of the many about the gods are not preconceptions but false suppositions. Hence the greatest harms come upon the bad from the gods, and the greatest benefits upon the good. For, being at home always with their own excellences, they welcome those like themselves and regard everything that is not of that kind as alien.
	"Συνέθιζε δὲ ἐν τῷ νομίζειν μηδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἶναι τὸν θάνατον· ἐπεὶ πᾶν ἀγαθὸν καὶ κακὸν ἐν αἰσθήσει· στέρησις δέ ἐστιν αἰσθήσεως ὁ θάνατος. ὅθεν γνῶσις ὀρθὴ τοῦ μηθὲν εἶναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸν θάνατον ἀπολαυστὸν ποιεῖ τὸ τῆς ζωῆς θνητόν, οὐκ ἄπειρον προστιθεῖσα χρόνον ἀλλὰ τὸν τῆς ἀθανασίας ἀφελομένη πόθον. [125] οὐθὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἐν τῷ ζῆν δεινὸν τῷ κατειληφότι γνησίως τὸ μηθὲν ὑπάρχειν ἐν τῷ μὴ ζῆν δεινόν. ὥστε μάταιος ὁ λέγων δεδιέναι τὸν θάνατον οὐχ ὅτι λυπήσει παρών, ἀλλ' ὅτι λυπεῖ μέλλων.	"Accustom yourself to believing that death is nothing to us, since all good and bad lie in sensation, and death is the deprivation of sensation. Hence a correct understanding that death is nothing to us makes the mortality of life enjoyable, not by adding infinite time but by taking away the longing for immortality. [125] There is nothing fearful in living for someone who has truly grasped that there is nothing fearful in not living. So the man is foolish who says he fears death not because it will cause pain when it is present, but because it causes pain while it is still to come.
10.125	ὃ γὰρ παρὸν οὐκ ἐνοχλεῖ, προσδοκώμενον κενῶς λυπεῖ. τὸ φρικωδέστατον οὖν τῶν κακῶν ὁ θάνατος οὐθὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἐπειδή περ ὅταν μὲν ἡμεῖς ὦμεν, ὁ θάνατος οὐ πάρεστιν· ὅταν δ' ὁ θάνατος παρῇ, τόθ' ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐσμέν. οὔτε οὖν πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντάς ἐστιν οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς τετελευτηκότας, ἐπειδήπερ περὶ οὓς μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν, οἱ δ' οὐκέτι εἰσίν. ἀλλ' οἱ πολλοὶ τὸν θάνατον ὁτὲ μὲν ὡς μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν φεύγουσιν, ὁτὲ δὲ ὡς ἀνάπαυσιν τῶν ἐν τῷ ζῆν ⟨κακῶν⟩ αἱροῦνται.	For what causes no distress when present causes only groundless pain when anticipated. So death, the most terrifying of ills, is nothing to us, since when we exist, death is not present, and when death is present, then we do not exist. It is therefore nothing either to the living or to the dead, since for the former it is not, and the latter no longer are. But the many sometimes flee death as the greatest of ills, and sometimes choose it as a rest from the ills of life.
10.126	⟨ὁ δὲ σοφὸς οὔτε παραιτεῖται τὸ ζῆν⟩ οὔτε φοβεῖται τὸ μὴ ζῆν· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτῷ προσίσταται τὸ ζῆν οὔτε δοξάζεται κακὸν εἶναι τὸ μὴ ζῆν. ὥσπερ δὲ τὸ σιτίον οὐ τὸ πλεῖον πάντως ἀλλὰ τὸ ἥδιστον αἱρεῖται, οὕτω καὶ χρόνον οὐ τὸν μήκιστον ἀλλὰ τὸν ἥδιστον καρπίζεται. ὁ δὲ παραγγέλλων τὸν μὲν νέον καλῶς ζῆν, τὸν δὲ γέροντα καλῶς καταστρέφειν εὐήθης ἐστὶν οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ τῆς ζωῆς ἀσπαστόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι μελέτην τοῦ καλῶς ζῆν καὶ τοῦ καλῶς ἀποθνήσκειν. πολὺ δὲ χεῖρον καὶ ὁ λέγων, καλὸν μὲν μὴ φῦναι, φύντα δ' ὅπως ὤκιστα πύλας Ἅΐδαο περῆσαι.	But the wise man neither rejects living nor fears not living; living does not offend him, nor does he think not living something bad. Just as he does not simply choose the larger amount of food but the most pleasant, so too he enjoys not the longest time but the most pleasant. Whoever urges the young man to live well and the old man to end well is simple-minded, not only because life is welcome, but also because the practice of living well and the practice of dying well are one and the same. Much worse still is the one who says it is good not to be born, but once born, to pass the gates of Hades as quickly as possible.[18]

	GREEK	ENGLISH
10.127	“εἰ μὲν γὰρ πεποιθὼς τοῦτό φησι, πῶς οὐκ ἀπέρχεται τοῦ ζῆν; ἐν ἑτοίμῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ τοῦτ’ ἔστιν, εἴπερ ἦν βεβουλευμένον αὐτῷ βεβαίως· εἰ δὲ μωκώμενος, μάταιος ἐν τοῖς οὐκ ἐπιδεχομένοις.	“If he says this from conviction, why does he not depart from life? That is ready to hand for him, if he had really made up his mind to it. But if he says it in mockery, he is foolish to do so about matters that do not allow for it.
	“Μνημονευτέον δὲ ὡς τὸ μέλλον οὔτε ἡμέτερον οὔτε πάντως οὐχ ἡμέτερον, ἵνα μήτε πάντως προσμένωμεν ὡς ἐσόμενον μήτε ἀπελπίζωμεν ὡς πάντως οὐκ ἐσόμενον.	“We must remember that the future is neither ours nor wholly not ours, so that we neither count on it as certain to come nor despair of it as certain not to come.
	“Ἀναλογιστέον δὲ ὡς τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν αἱ μέν εἰσι φυσικαί, αἱ δὲ κεναί. καὶ τῶν φυσικῶν αἱ μὲν ἀναγκαῖαι, αἱ δὲ φυσικαὶ μόνον· τῶν δ’ ἀναγκαίων αἱ μὲν πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν εἰσὶν ἀναγκαῖαι, αἱ δὲ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀοχλησίαν, αἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ζῆν.	“We must also reckon that some desires are natural and others are empty. Of the natural ones, some are necessary and others merely natural. Of the necessary ones, some are necessary for happiness, others for the body’s freedom from trouble, and others for life itself.
10.128	τούτων γὰρ ἁπλανὴς θεωρία πᾶσαν αἵρεσιν καὶ φυγὴν ἐπανάγειν οἶδεν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὑγίειαν καὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀταραξίαν, ἐπεὶ τοῦτο τοῦ μακαρίως ζῆν ἐστι τέλος. τούτου γὰρ χάριν πάντα πράττομεν, ὅπως μήτε ἀλγῶμεν μήτε ταρβῶμεν· ὅταν δ’ ἅπαξ τοῦτο περὶ ἡμᾶς γένηται, λύεται πᾶς ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς χειμών, οὐκ ἔχοντος τοῦ ζῴου βαδίζειν ὡς πρὸς ἐνδέον τι καὶ ζητεῖν ἕτερον ᾧ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀγαθὸν συμπληρωθήσεται. τότε γὰρ ἡδονῆς χρείαν ἔχομεν, ὅταν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ παρεῖναι τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀλγῶμεν· ὅταν δὲ μὴ ἀλγῶμεν, οὐκέτι τῆς ἡδονῆς δεόμεθα.	An unerring study of these desires knows how to refer every choice and avoidance to the health of the body and the tranquility of the soul, since this is the goal of living blessedly. It is for the sake of this that we do everything: so that we may be neither in pain nor in fear. Once this is achieved in us, the whole storm of the soul is dispelled. The living creature then has no need to go about as if in search of something it lacks, or to look for anything else by which the good of soul and body will be made complete. We need pleasure when we are in pain because pleasure is absent; when we are not in pain, we no longer need pleasure.
	καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος λέγομεν εἶναι τοῦ μακαρίως ζῆν· [129] ταύτην γὰρ ἀγαθὸν πρῶτον καὶ συγγενικὸν ἔγνωμεν, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης καταρχόμεθα πάσης αἱρέσεως καὶ φυγῆς καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτην καταντῶμεν ὡς κανόνι τῷ πάθει πᾶν ἀγαθὸν κρίνοντες. καὶ ἐπεὶ πρῶτον ἀγαθὸν τοῦτο καὶ σύμφυτον, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οὐ πᾶσαν ἡδονὴν αἱρούμεθα, ἀλλ’ ἔστιν ὅτε πολλὰς ἡδονὰς ὑπερβαίνομεν, ὅταν πλεῖον ἡμῖν τὸ δυσχερὲς ἐκ τούτων ἕπηται· καὶ πολλὰς ἀλγηδόνας ἡδονῶν κρείττους νομίζομεν, ἐπειδὰν μείζων ἡμῖν ἡδονὴ παρακολουθῇ πολὺν χρόνον ὑπομείνασι τὰς ἀλγηδόνας.	This is why we say that pleasure is the beginning and the end of living blessedly. [129] We have recognized it as our first good, the one native to us. From it we begin every choice and avoidance, and to it we come back, judging every good by the feeling as our yardstick. And because this is our first and inborn good, we do not choose every pleasure. There are times when we pass over many pleasures, whenever greater discomfort follows from them for us. We also consider many pains better than pleasures, whenever a greater pleasure follows for us after we have endured the pains for a long time.
10.129	πᾶσα οὖν ἡδονὴ διὰ τὸ φύσιν ἔχειν οἰκείαν ἀγαθόν, οὐ πᾶσα μέντοι ⟨γ’⟩ αἱρετή· καθά περ καὶ ἀλγηδὼν πᾶσα κακόν, οὐ πᾶσα δὲ ἀεὶ φευκτὴ πεφυκυῖα. [130] τῇ μέντοι συμμετρήσει καὶ συμφερόντων καὶ ἀσυμφόρων βλέψει	Every pleasure, then, is a good because it has a nature akin to us, yet not every pleasure is to be chosen. In the same way every pain is bad, yet not every pain is by nature always to be avoided. [130]

18 The last words quote the elegiac poet Theognis (lines 425–427).

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	ταῦτα πάντα κρίνειν καθήκει· χρώμεθα γὰρ τῷ μὲν ἀγαθῷ κατά τινας χρόνους ὡς κακῷ, τῷ δὲ κακῷ τἄμπαλιν ὡς ἀγαθῷ. καὶ τὴν αὐτάρκειαν δὲ ἀγαθὸν μέγα νομίζομεν, οὐχ ἵνα πάντως τοῖς ὀλίγοις χρώμεθα, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἐὰν μὴ ἔχωμεν τὰ πολλά, τοῖς ὀλίγοις ἀρκώμεθα, πεπεισμένοι γνησίως ὅτι ἥδιστα πολυτελείας ἀπολαύουσιν οἱ ἥκιστα ταύτης δεόμενοι, καὶ ὅτι τὸ μὲν φυσικὸν πᾶν εὐπόριστόν ἐστι, τὸ δὲ κενὸν δυσπόριστον.	We ought to judge all these things by weighing them against one another and looking at what is advantageous and what is not. At certain times we treat the good as bad and, conversely, the bad as good. We also regard self-sufficiency as a great good. This is not so that we may always make do with little, but so that, if we do not have much, we may be content with little. We are genuinely persuaded that those who need luxury least enjoy it most, and that everything natural is easy to obtain, while what is empty is hard to obtain.
10.130	οἱ γὰρ λιτοὶ χυλοὶ ἴσην πολυτελεῖ διαίτῃ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἐπιφέρουσιν, ὅταν ἅπαξ τὸ ἀλγοῦν κατ' ἔνδειαν ἐξαιρεθῇ· [131] καὶ μᾶζα καὶ ὕδωρ τὴν ἀκροτάτην ἀποδίδωσιν ἡδονήν, ἐπειδὰν ἐνδέων τις αὐτὰ προσενέγκηται. τὸ συνεθίζειν οὖν ἐν ταῖς ἁπλαῖς καὶ οὐ πολυτελέσι διαίταις καὶ ὑγιείας ἐστὶ συμπληρωτικὸν καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀναγκαίας τοῦ βίου χρήσεις ἄοκνον ποιεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ τοῖς πολυτελέσιν ἐκ διαλειμμάτων προσερχομένους κρεῖττον ἡμᾶς διατίθησι καὶ πρὸς τὴν τύχην ἀφόβους παρασκευάζει.	Plain flavors bring as much pleasure as a lavish diet, once all the pain of want has been removed. [131] Barley cake and water give the highest pleasure when someone in need takes them. Accustoming oneself, then, to simple and inexpensive ways of living contributes fully to health. It makes a person ready, without hesitation, for the necessary business of life. It puts us in a better state when we come to luxuries at intervals, and it makes us unafraid of fortune.
10.131	"Ὅταν οὖν λέγωμεν ἡδονὴν τέλος ὑπάρχειν, οὐ τὰς τῶν ἀσώτων ἡδονὰς καὶ τὰς ἐν ἀπολαύσει κειμένας λέγομεν, ὥς τινες ἀγνοοῦντες καὶ οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντες ἢ κακῶς ἐκδεχόμενοι νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μήτε ἀλγεῖν κατὰ σῶμα μήτε ταράττεσθαι κατὰ ψυχήν. [132] οὐ γὰρ πότοι καὶ κῶμοι συνείροντες οὐδ' ἀπολαύσεις παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν οὐδ' ἰχθύων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσα φέρει πολυτελὴς τράπεζα, τὸν ἡδὺν γεννᾷ βίον, ἀλλὰ νήφων λογισμὸς καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἐξερευνῶν πάσης αἱρέσεως καὶ φυγῆς καὶ τὰς δόξας ἐξελαύνων ἐξ ὧν πλεῖστος τὰς ψυχὰς καταλαμβάνει θόρυβος.	"So when we say that pleasure is the goal, we do not mean the pleasures of the profligate or those that consist in indulgence. Some think so who are ignorant of our view, or disagree with it, or take it in a bad sense. We mean freedom from pain in the body and from disturbance in the soul. [132] It is not unbroken drinking and reveling, nor the enjoyment of boys and women, nor of fish and everything else a lavish table offers, that produces a pleasant life. What produces it is sober reasoning, which searches out the causes of every choice and avoidance and drives out the opinions that bring the greatest turmoil upon souls.
10.132	τούτων δὲ πάντων ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν φρόνησις· διὸ καὶ φιλοσοφίας τιμιώτερον ὑπάρχει φρόνησις, ἐξ ἧς αἱ λοιπαὶ πᾶσαι πεφύκασιν ἀρεταί, διδάσκουσα ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἡδέως ζῆν ἄνευ τοῦ φρονίμως καὶ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως, οὐδὲ φρονίμως καὶ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ἄνευ τοῦ ἡδέως· συμπεφύκασι γὰρ αἱ ἀρεταὶ τῷ ζῆν ἡδέως, καὶ τὸ ζῆν ἡδέως τούτων ἐστὶν ἀχώριστον.	Of all these things the beginning and the greatest good is practical wisdom. That is why practical wisdom is more precious even than philosophy. All the other excellences spring from it, and it teaches that it is impossible to live pleasantly without living wisely, honorably and justly, and impossible to live wisely, honorably and justly without living pleasantly. The excellences have grown together with the pleasant life, and the pleasant life cannot be separated from them.
10.133	"Ἐπεὶ τίνα νομίζεις εἶναι κρείττονα τοῦ καὶ περὶ θεῶν ὅσια δοξάζοντος καὶ περὶ θανάτου διὰ παντὸς ἀφόβως ἔχοντος καὶ τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐπιλελογισμένου τέλος, καὶ τὸ μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν πέρας ὡς ἔστιν εὐσυμπλήρωτόν τε καὶ	"After all, whom do you consider better than the man who holds reverent opinions about the gods and is always without fear in the face of death? He has reasoned out the goal of nature. He grasps that

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	εὐπόριστον διαλαμβάνοντος, τὸ δὲ τῶν κακῶν ὡς ἢ χρόνους ἢ πόνους ἔχει βραχεῖς, τὴν δὲ ὑπό τινων δεσπότιν εἰσαγομένην πάντων διαγελῶντος ⟨εἱμαρμένην καὶ μᾶλλον ἃ μὲν κατ᾽ ἀνάγκην γίγνεσθαι λέγοντος⟩, ἃ δὲ ἀπὸ τύχης, ἃ δὲ παρ᾽ ἡμᾶς διὰ τὸ τὴν μὲν ἀνάγκην ἀνυπεύθυνον εἶναι, τὴν δὲ τύχην ἄστατον ὁρᾶν, τὸ δὲ παρ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἀδέσποτον,	the limit of good things is easy to reach and easy to obtain, while bad things involve either brief periods or brief pains. He laughs at fate, which some bring in as the mistress of all things, and says instead that some things happen by necessity, others by chance, and others through us. He sees that necessity is answerable to no one, that chance is unstable, and that what is up to us has no master,
	ᾧ καὶ τὸ μεμπτὸν καὶ τὸ ἐναντίον παρακολουθεῖν πέφυκεν [134] (ἐπεὶ κρεῖττον ἦν τῷ περὶ θεῶν μύθῳ κατακολουθεῖν ἢ τῇ τῶν φυσικῶν εἱμαρμένῃ δουλεύειν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐλπίδα παραιτήσεως ὑπογράφει θεῶν διὰ τιμῆς, ἡ δὲ ἀπαραίτητον ἔχει τὴν ἀνάγκην), τὴν δὲ τύχην οὔτε θεόν, ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν, ὑπολαμβάνοντος (οὐθὲν γὰρ ἀτάκτως θεῷ πράττεται) οὔτε ἀβέβαιον αἰτίαν (⟨οὐκ⟩ οἴεται μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν ἐκ ταύτης πρὸς τὸ μακαρίως ζῆν ἀνθρώποις δίδοσθαι, ἀρχὰς μέντοι μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν ἢ κακῶν ὑπὸ ταύτης χορηγεῖσθαι), [135] κρεῖττον εἶναι νομίζοντος εὐλογίστως ἀτυχεῖν ἢ ἀλογίστως εὐτυχεῖν· βέλτιον γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι τὸ καλῶς κριθὲν μὴ ὀρθωθῆναι διὰ ταύτην.	and that blame and its opposite naturally attach to what is up to us. [134] (It would be better to follow the myth about the gods than to be a slave to the fate of the natural philosophers. The myth sketches out a hope of winning the gods over by honoring them, while fate holds a necessity that cannot be won over.) He supposes chance to be neither a god, as most people think (for nothing is done by a god in a disorderly way), nor an unreliable cause. (He does not think that good or bad is given to people by chance for living blessedly, but that the starting points of great goods or great ills are supplied by it.) [135] He thinks it better to be unfortunate while reasoning well than fortunate while reasoning badly. For in our actions it is better that what has been well judged should not owe its success to chance.
10.135	“Ταῦτα οὖν καὶ τὰ τούτοις συγγενῆ μελέτα πρὸς σεαυτὸν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς πρός τε τὸν ὅμοιον σεαυτῷ, καὶ οὐδέποτε οὔθ᾽ ὕπαρ οὔτ᾽ ὄναρ διαταραχθήσῃ, ζήσεις δὲ ὡς θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποις. οὐθὲν γὰρ ἔοικε θνητῷ ζῴῳ ζῶν ἄνθρωπος ἐν ἀθανάτοις ἀγαθοῖς.”	“Practice these things, then, and the things akin to them, day and night, by yourself and with someone like yourself. Then you will never be disturbed, waking or sleeping, but will live like a god among human beings. A human being who lives among immortal goods is in no way like a mortal creature.”
	Μαντικὴν δ᾽ ἅπασαν ἐν ἄλλοις ἀναιρεῖ, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ μικρᾷ ἐπιτομῇ. καί φησι· “μαντικὴ οὖσα ἀνύπαρκτος, εἰ δὲ καὶ ὑπαρκτή, οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἡγητέα γινόμενα.”	In other works he rejects divination altogether, as he does also in the *Short Epitome*. He says: “Divination does not exist, and even if it did, we must consider what happens to be nothing to us.”
	Τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ τῶν βιωτικῶν· καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω διείλεκται ἀλλαχόθι.	So much for his views on matters of life. He has discussed them at greater length elsewhere.

PLEASURE: EPICURUS AND THE CYRENAICS

How Epicurus’ view of pleasure differs from the Cyrenaics’, and why excellence serves pleasure.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
10.136	Διαφέρεται δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Κυρηναϊκοὺς περὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὴν καταστηματικὴν οὐκ ἐγκρίνουσι, μόνην δὲ τὴν ἐν κινήσει· ὁ δὲ ἀμφοτέραν … ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, ὥς	He differs from the Cyrenaics on pleasure. They do not admit static pleasure, only pleasure in motion, while he admits both … of soul and body. He says

GREEK	ENGLISH
φησιν ἐν τῷ Περὶ αἱρέσεως καὶ φυγῆς καὶ ἐν τῷ Περὶ τέλους καὶ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ βίων καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Μυτιλήνῃ φιλοσόφους ἐπιστολῇ. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Διογένης ἐν τῇ ἑπτακαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἐπιλέκτων καὶ Μητρόδωρος ἐν τῷ Τιμοκράτει λέγουσιν οὕτω· νοουμένης δὲ ἡδονῆς τῆς τε κατὰ κίνησιν καὶ τῆς καταστηματικῆς. ὁ δ' Ἐπίκουρος ἐν τῷ Περὶ αἱρέσεων οὕτω λέγει· "ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀταραξία καὶ ἀπονία καταστηματικαί εἰσιν ἡδοναί· ἡ δὲ χαρὰ καὶ ἡ εὐφροσύνη κατὰ κίνησιν ἐνεργείᾳ βλέπονται."	so in *On Choice and Avoidance*, in *On the End*, in the first book of *On Ways of Life* and in the letter to the philosophers in Mytilene. Likewise Diogenes in the seventeenth book of his *Selected Lectures* and Metrodorus in his *Timocrates* put it this way: pleasure being conceived as both the kind in motion and the static kind. And Epicurus in *On Choices* says: "Tranquility and freedom from pain are static pleasures, while joy and delight are seen to be active, in motion."
10.137 Ἔτι πρὸς τοὺς Κυρηναϊκούς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ χείρους τὰς σωματικὰς ἀλγηδόνας τῶν ψυχικῶν, κολάζεσθαι γοῦν τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας σώματι· ὁ δὲ τὰς ψυχικάς. τὴν γοῦν σάρκα τὸ παρὸν μόνον χειμάζειν, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ παρελθὸν καὶ τὸ παρὸν καὶ τὸ μέλλον. οὕτως οὖν καὶ μείζονας ἡδονὰς εἶναι τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς. ἀποδείξει δὲ χρῆται τοῦ τέλος εἶναι τὴν ἡδονὴν τῷ τὰ ζῷα ἅμα τῷ γεννηθῆναι τῇ μὲν εὐαρεστεῖσθαι, τῷ δὲ πόνῳ προσκρούειν φυσικῶς καὶ χωρὶς λόγου. αὐτοπαθῶς οὖν φεύγομεν τὴν ἀλγηδόνα· ἵνα καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς καταβιβρωσκόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ χιτῶνος βοᾷ δάκνων ἰύζων· ἀμφὶ δ' ἔστενον πέτραι / Λοκρῶν τ' ὄρειοι πρῶνες Εὐβοίας τ' ἄκραι.	He also differs from the Cyrenaics in another way. They hold that bodily pains are worse than pains of the soul; at any rate, wrongdoers are punished in the body. He holds that pains of the soul are worse. The flesh, he holds, is storm-tossed only by the present, but the soul by the past, the present and the future. In the same way, then, the pleasures of the soul are greater too. As proof that pleasure is the goal he uses the fact that living creatures, as soon as they are born, are content with pleasure and recoil from pain, naturally and without reasoning. So we avoid pain spontaneously. That is why even Heracles, as the robe eats him away, cries out, biting, shrieking; and all around the rocks groaned, / the mountain headlands of Locris and the cliffs of Euboea.[19]
10.138 Διὰ δὲ τὴν ἡδονὴν καὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς αἱρεῖσθαι, οὐ δι' αὐτάς, ὥσπερ τὴν ἰατρικὴν διὰ τὴν ὑγίειαν, καθά φησι καὶ Διογένης ἐν τῇ εἰκοστῇ τῶν Ἐπιλέκτων, ὃς καὶ διαγωγὴν λέγει τὴν ἀγωγήν. ὁ δ' Ἐπίκουρος καὶ ἀχώριστόν φησι τῆς ἡδονῆς τὴν ἀρετὴν μόνην· τὰ δ' ἄλλα χωρίζεσθαι, οἷον βρωτά.	He holds that the excellences too are chosen for the sake of pleasure, not for their own sake, just as medicine is chosen for the sake of health. Diogenes also says this in the twentieth book of his *Selected Lectures*, and he calls conduct a 'pastime' too. Epicurus also says that excellence alone is inseparable from pleasure, while other things, such as food, can be separated from it.[20]

PRINCIPAL DOCTRINES

The forty maxims that sum up Epicurus' teaching, from the gods and death to justice and friendship.

GREEK	ENGLISH
Καὶ φέρε οὖν δὴ νῦν τὸν κολοφῶνα, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, ἐπιθῶμεν τοῦ παντὸς συγγράμματος καὶ τοῦ βίου τοῦ φιλοσόφου, τὰς Κυρίας αὐτοῦ δόξας παραθέμενοι καὶ ταύταις τὸ πᾶν σύγγραμμα κατακλείσαντες, τέλει χρησάμενοι τῇ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἀρχῇ.	So come now: let us put the finishing touch, as one might call it, on this whole work and on the life of the philosopher. We will set out his *Principal Doctrines* and close the whole work with them, making the beginning of happiness our end.[21]

19 The lines are from Sophocles' *Women of Trachis*: Heracles is dying in a poisoned robe sent to him by his wife Deianira.
20 The wordplay is on Greek *agōgē* ("conduct, way of life") and *diagōgē* ("pastime").
21 The *Principal Doctrines* (*Kyriai Doxai*) are a collection of forty short maxims summing up Epicurus' teaching.

	GREEK	ENGLISH
10.139	Τὸ μακάριον καὶ ἄφθαρτον οὔτε αὐτὸ πράγματα ἔχει οὔτε ἄλλῳ παρέχει, ὥστε οὔτε ὀργαῖς οὔτε χάρισι συνέχεται· ἐν ἀσθενεῖ γὰρ πᾶν τὸ τοιοῦτον. [ἐν ἄλλοις δέ φησι τοὺς θεοὺς λόγῳ θεωρητούς, οὓς μὲν κατ' ἀριθμὸν ὑφεστῶτας, οὓς δὲ καθ' ὁμοείδειαν ἐκ τῆς συνεχοῦς ἐπιρρύσεως τῶν ὁμοίων εἰδώλων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀποτετελεσμένωι ἀνθρωποειδῶς.]	What is blessed and indestructible has no troubles itself and causes none to anyone else, so it is not subject to anger or favor; for everything of that kind belongs to weakness. [Elsewhere he says that the gods are perceived by reason, some existing as numerically distinct, others by likeness of form, resulting from the continuous streaming of similar images to the same place, in human form.]
	Ὁ θάνατος οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς· τὸ γὰρ διαλυθὲν ἀναισθητεῖ· τὸ δ' ἀναισθητοῦν οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς.	Death is nothing to us. For what has been dissolved has no sensation, and what has no sensation is nothing to us.
	Ὅρος τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν ἡδονῶν ἡ παντὸς τοῦ ἀλγοῦντος ὑπεξαίρεσις. ὅπου δ' ἂν τὸ ἡδόμενον ἐνῇ, καθ' ὃν ἂν χρόνον ᾖ, οὐκ ἔστι τὸ ἀλγοῦν ἢ τὸ λυπούμενον ἢ τὸ συναμφότερον.	The limit of the magnitude of pleasures is the removal of all pain. Wherever pleasure is present, for as long as it is present, there is no pain of body or distress of mind, or both together.
10.140	Οὐ χρονίζει τὸ ἀλγοῦν συνεχῶς ἐν τῇ σαρκί, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἄκρον τὸν ἐλάχιστον χρόνον πάρεστι, τὸ δὲ μόνον ὑπερτεῖνον τὸ ἡδόμενον κατὰ σάρκα οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας συμμένει. αἱ δὲ πολυχρόνιοι τῶν ἀρρωστιῶν πλεονάζον ἔχουσι τὸ ἡδόμενον ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ἤ περ τὸ ἀλγοῦν.	Pain does not last continuously in the flesh. At its most extreme it is present for the shortest time, and pain that merely outweighs pleasure in the flesh does not last many days. And long illnesses hold more pleasure in the flesh than pain.
	Οὐκ ἔστιν ἡδέως ζῆν ἄνευ τοῦ φρονίμως καὶ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως, ⟨οὐδὲ φρονίμως καὶ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως⟩ ἄνευ τοῦ ἡδέως. ὅτῳ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ ὑπάρχει ἐξ οὗ ζῆν φρονίμως, καὶ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ὑπάρχει, οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτον ἡδέως ζῆν.	It is not possible to live pleasantly without living wisely, honorably, and justly, nor wisely, honorably, and justly without living pleasantly. Whoever lacks what makes it possible to live wisely, honorably, and justly cannot live pleasantly.
10.141	Ἕνεκα τοῦ θαρρεῖν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, ἣν κατὰ φύσιν [ἀρχῆς καὶ βασιλείας] ἀγαθόν, ἐξ ὧν ἄν ποτε τοῦθ' οἷός τ' ᾖ παρασκευάζεσθαι.	Whatever means one can ever use to gain security from other people is a natural good [that is, rule and kingship].
	Ἔνδοξοι καὶ περίβλεπτοί τινες ἐβουλήθησαν γενέσθαι, τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀσφάλειαν οὕτω νομίζοντες περιποιήσεσθαι. ὥστ' εἰ μὲν ἀσφαλὴς ὁ τῶν τοιούτων βίος, ἀπέλαβον τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀγαθόν· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀσφαλής, οὐκ ἔχουσιν οὗ ἕνεκα ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατὰ τὸ τῆς φύσεως οἰκεῖον ὠρέχθησαν.	Some have wanted to become famous and admired, thinking that in this way they would secure safety from other people. So if the life of such people is safe, they have obtained the natural good; but if it is not safe, they do not have what they originally reached out for in keeping with what is natural.
	Οὐδεμία ἡδονὴ καθ' ἑαυτὸ κακόν· ἀλλὰ τὰ τινῶν ἡδονῶν ποιητικὰ πολλαπλασίους ἐπιφέρει τὰς ὀχλήσεις τῶν ἡδονῶν.	No pleasure is bad in itself; but the things that produce certain pleasures bring troubles many times greater than the pleasures.
	142 Εἰ κατεπυκνοῦτο πᾶσα ἡδονή, καὶ χρόνῳ καὶ περὶ ὅλον τὸ ἄθροισμα ὑπῆρχεν ἢ τὰ κυριώτατα μέρη τῆς φύσεως, οὐκ ἄν ποτε διέφερον ἀλλήλων αἱ ἡδοναί.	142 If every pleasure were concentrated, and lasted over time, and pervaded the whole aggregate or its most important parts, pleasures would never differ from one another.
10.142	Εἰ τὰ ποιητικὰ τῶν περὶ τοὺς ἀσώτους ἡδονῶν ἔλυε τοὺς φόβους τῆς διανοίας τούς τε περὶ μετεώρων καὶ θανάτου	If the things that produce the pleasures of the profligate dispelled the mind's fears about the

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	καὶ ἀλγηδόνων, ἔτι τε τὸ πέρας τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐδίδασκεν, οὐκ ἄν ποτε εἴχομεν ὅ τι ἐμεμψάμεθα αὐτοῖς, πανταχόθεν εἰσπληρουμένοις τῶν ἡδονῶν καὶ οὐδαμόθεν οὔτε τὸ ἀλγοῦν οὔτε τὸ λυπούμενον ἔχουσιν, ὅ περ ἐστὶ τὸ κακόν.	heavens, death, and pains, and also taught the limit of desires, we would never have any reason to find fault with them, since they would be filled with pleasures from every side and would have no pain or distress from any side—which is what is bad.
	Εἰ μηθὲν ἡμᾶς αἱ τῶν μετεώρων ὑποψίαι ἠνώχλουν καὶ αἱ περὶ θανάτου, μή ποτε πρὸς ἡμᾶς ᾖ τι, ἔτι τε τὸ μὴ κατανοεῖν τοὺς ὅρους τῶν ἀλγηδόνων καὶ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, οὐκ ἂν προσεδεόμεθα φυσιολογίας.	If we were not troubled at all by our worries about the heavens and about death—that it might somehow be something to us—and further by our failure to grasp the limits of pains and desires, we would have no need of the study of nature.
10.143	Οὐκ ἦν τὸ φοβούμενον λύειν ὑπὲρ τῶν κυριωτάτων μὴ κατειδότα τίς ἡ τοῦ σύμπαντος φύσις, ἀλλ' ὑποπτευόμενόν τι τῶν κατὰ τοὺς μύθους· ὥστε οὐκ ἦν ἄνευ φυσιολογίας ἀκεραίους τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀπολαμβάνειν.	It was not possible to dispel fear about the most important matters without knowing the nature of the universe, while still suspecting something from the myths. So without the study of nature it was not possible to enjoy unmixed pleasures.
	Οὐθὲν ὄφελος ἦν τὴν κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἀσφάλειαν κατασκευάζεσθαι τῶν ἄνωθεν ὑπόπτων καθεστώτων καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ γῆς καὶ ἁπλῶς τῶν ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ.	There was no use in securing safety from other people while things above remained objects of suspicion, and things beneath the earth, and in short things in the unlimited.
	Τῆς ἀσφαλείας τῆς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γενομένης μέχρι τινὸς δυνάμει τε ἐξερειστικὴ καὶ εὐπορίᾳ εἰλικρινεστάτη γίνεται ἡ ἐκ τῆς ἡσυχίας καὶ ἐκχωρήσεως τῶν πολλῶν ἀσφάλεια.	Although safety from other people comes to a certain extent through a power to repel them and through prosperity, the purest safety comes from a quiet life and withdrawal from the many.
10.144	Ὁ τῆς φύσεως πλοῦτος καὶ ὥρισται καὶ εὐπόριστός ἐστιν· ὁ δὲ τῶν κενῶν δοξῶν εἰς ἄπειρον ἐκπίπτει.	Natural wealth is both limited and easy to obtain; the wealth of empty opinions runs off into infinity.
	Βραχέα σοφῷ τύχη παρεμπίπτει, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα καὶ κυριώτατα ὁ λογισμὸς διῴκηκε καὶ κατὰ τὸν συνεχῆ χρόνον τοῦ βίου διοικεῖ καὶ διοικήσει.	Fortune intrudes on the wise man only in small ways; the greatest and most important things reason has arranged, and throughout the whole span of life it arranges them and will arrange them.
	Ὁ δίκαιος ἀταρακτότατος, ὁ δ' ἄδικος πλείστης ταραχῆς γέμων.	The just man is the most free from disturbance; the unjust man is full of the greatest disturbance.
	Οὐκ ἐπαύξεται ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ἡ ἡδονή, ἐπειδὰν ἅπαξ τὸ κατ' ἔνδειαν ἀλγοῦν ἐξαιρεθῇ, ἀλλὰ μόνον ποικίλλεται. τῆς δὲ διανοίας τὸ πέρας τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀπεγέννησεν ἥ τε τούτων αὐτῶν ἐκλόγησις καὶ τῶν ὁμογενῶν τούτοις, ὅσα τοὺς μεγίστους φόβους παρεσκεύαζε τῇ διανοίᾳ.	Pleasure in the flesh does not increase once the pain of want has been removed; it is only varied. And the limit of pleasure in the mind is produced by reasoning out these very things, and things of the same kind, that caused the mind its greatest fears.
10.145	Ὁ ἄπειρος χρόνος ἴσην ἔχει τὴν ἡδονὴν καὶ ὁ πεπερασμένος, ἐάν τις αὐτῆς τὰ πέρατα καταμετρήσῃ τῷ λογισμῷ.	Unlimited time contains the same amount of pleasure as limited time, if one measures its limits by reasoning.
	Ἡ μὲν σὰρξ ἀπέλαβε τὰ πέρατα τῆς ἡδονῆς ἄπειρα, καὶ ἄπειρος αὐτὴν χρόνος παρεσκεύασεν. ἡ δὲ διάνοια τοῦ τῆς σαρκὸς τέλους καὶ πέρατος λαβοῦσα τὸν ἐπιλογισμὸν καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ αἰῶνος φόβους ἐκλύσασα τὸν παντελῆ	The flesh takes the limits of pleasure to be unlimited, and only unlimited time could provide it. But the mind, having reasoned out the goal and limit

GREEK	ENGLISH
βίον παρεσκεύασεν, καὶ οὐθὲν ἔτι τοῦ ἀπείρου χρόνου προσεδεήθη· ⟨οὐ⟩ μὴν ἀλλ' οὔτε ἔφυγε τὴν ἡδονήν, οὐθ' ἡνίκα τὴν ἐξαγωγὴν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν τὰ πράγματα παρεσκεύαζεν, ὡς ἐλλείπουσά τι τοῦ ἀρίστου βίου κατέστρεφεν.	of the flesh and dispelled the fears about eternity, provides a complete life and has no further need of unlimited time. Yet it does not shun pleasure either; and even when circumstances are bringing about its departure from life, it does not end as though it fell short of the best life in any way.
10.146 Ὁ τὰ πέρατα τοῦ βίου κατειδὼς οἶδεν, ὡς εὐπόριστόν ἐστι τὸ ⟨τὸ⟩ ἀλγοῦν κατ' ἔνδειαν ἐξαιροῦν καὶ τὸ τὸν ὅλον βίον παντελῆ καθιστάν· ὥστ' οὐδὲν προσδεῖται πραγμάτων ἀγῶνας κεκτημένων.	Whoever has understood the limits of life knows how easy it is to obtain what removes the pain of want and what makes the whole of life complete; so he has no further need of things that involve struggle.
Τὸ ὑφεστηκὸς δεῖ τέλος ἐπιλογίζεσθαι καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐνάργειαν, ἐφ' ἣν τὰ δοξαζόμενα ἀνάγομεν· εἰ δὲ μή, πάντα ἀκρισίας καὶ ταραχῆς ἔσται μεστά.	We must reason out the real goal and all the clear evidence to which we refer our opinions; otherwise everything will be full of confusion and disturbance.
Εἰ μάχῃ πάσαις ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν, οὐχ ἕξεις οὐδ' ἃς ἂν φῇς αὐτῶν διεψεῦσθαι πρὸς τί ποιούμενος τὴν ἀναγωγὴν κρίνῃς.	If you fight against all your sensations, you will have nothing to refer to in judging even those of them you say are false.
147 Εἴ τιν' ἐκβαλεῖς ἁπλῶς αἴσθησιν καὶ μὴ διαιρήσεις τὸ δοξαζόμενον κατὰ τὸ προσμένον καὶ τὸ παρὸν ἤδη κατὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν καὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ πᾶσαν φανταστικὴν ἐπιβολὴν τῆς διανοίας, συνταράξεις καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς αἰσθήσεις τῇ ματαίῳ δόξῃ, ὥστε τὸ κριτήριον ἅπαν ἐκβαλεῖς. εἰ δὲ βεβαιώσεις καὶ τὸ προσμένον ἅπαν ἐν ταῖς δοξαστικαῖς ἐννοίαις καὶ τὸ μὴ τὴν ἐπιμαρτύρησιν, οὐκ ἐκλείψεις τὸ διεψευσμένον· ὡς τετηρηκὼς ἔσῃ πᾶσαν ἀμφισβήτησιν κατὰ πᾶσαν κρίσιν τοῦ ὀρθῶς ἢ μὴ ὀρθῶς.	147 If you reject any sensation outright, and do not distinguish between an opinion awaiting confirmation and what is already present in sensation, in feelings, and in every act of presentation by the mind, you will throw the rest of your sensations into confusion too with your empty opinion, and so you will reject the criterion altogether. And if, in your conceptions formed by opinion, you treat as certain both everything that awaits confirmation and what lacks confirmation, you will not escape error; for you will have kept every ambiguity in every judgment of what is correct or incorrect.
10.148 Εἰ μὴ παρὰ πάντα καιρὸν ἐπανοίσεις ἕκαστον τῶν πραττομένων ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς φύσεως, ἀλλὰ προκαταστρέψεις εἴ τε φυγὴν εἴ τε δίωξιν ποιούμενος εἰς ἄλλο τι, οὐκ ἔσονταί σοι τοῖς λόγοις αἱ πράξεις ἀκόλουθοι.	If you do not on every occasion refer each of your actions to the goal of nature, but turn aside short of it to something else when you avoid or pursue, your actions will not be consistent with your words.
Τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ὅσαι μὴ ἐπ' ἀλγοῦν ἐπανάγουσιν ἐὰν μὴ συμπληρωθῶσιν, οὐκ εἰσὶν ἀναγκαῖαι ἀλλ' εὐδιάχυτον τὴν ὄρεξιν ἔχουσιν, ὅταν δυσπόριστοι ἢ βλάβης ἀπεργαστικαὶ δόξωσιν εἶναι.	Of the desires, those that do not lead to pain if they are not fulfilled are not necessary; the craving for them is easily dispelled whenever they seem hard to obtain or likely to cause harm.
Ὧν ἡ σοφία παρασκευάζεται εἰς τὴν τοῦ ὅλου βίου μακαριότητα, πολὺ μέγιστόν ἐστιν ἡ τῆς φιλίας κτῆσις.	Of all the things wisdom provides for the blessedness of one's whole life, by far the greatest is the possession of friendship.
Ἡ αὐτὴ γνώμη θαρρεῖν τε ἐποίησεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηθὲν αἰώνιον εἶναι δεινὸν μηδὲ πολυχρόνιον, καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὡρισμένοις ἀσφάλειαν φιλίαις μάλιστα κατεῖδε συντελουμένην.	The same conviction that has made us confident that nothing terrible lasts forever, or even for

	GREEK	ENGLISH
		long, has also seen that, within these very limits, security is achieved above all through friendships.
10.149	Τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν αἱ μέν εἰσι φυσικαὶ ⟨καὶ ἀναγκαῖαι· αἱ δὲ φυσικαὶ⟩ καὶ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖαι· αἱ δὲ οὔτε φυσικαὶ οὔτ' ἀναγκαῖαι ἀλλὰ παρὰ κενὴν δόξαν γινόμεναι. [φυσικὰς καὶ ἀναγκαίας ἡγεῖται ὁ Ἐπίκουρος τὰς ἀλγηδόνος ἀπολυούσας, ὡς ποτὸν ἐπὶ δίψους· φυσικὰς δὲ οὐκ ἀναγκαίας δὲ τὰς ποικιλλούσας μόνον τὴν ἡδονήν, μὴ ὑπεξαιρουμένας δὲ τὸ ἄλγημα, ὡς πολυτελῆ σιτία· οὔτε δὲ φυσικὰς οὔτ' ἀναγκαίας, ὡς στεφάνους καὶ ἀνδριάντων ἀναθέσεις.]	Of the desires, some are natural and necessary; some are natural but not necessary; and some are neither natural nor necessary but arise from empty opinion. [Epicurus considers natural and necessary those that free us from pain, like drink when we are thirsty; natural but not necessary those that merely vary pleasure but do not remove pain, like expensive food; and neither natural nor necessary those like crowns and the setting up of statues.]
	Ἐν αἷς τῶν φυσικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, μὴ ἐπ' ἀλγοῦν δὲ ἐπαναγουσῶν ἐὰν μὴ συντελεσθῶσιν, ὑπάρχει ἡ σπουδὴ σύντονος, παρὰ κενὴν δόξαν αὗται γίνονται καὶ οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν φύσιν οὐ διαχέονται ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κενοδοξίαν.	Among natural desires, those that do not lead to pain if they are not fulfilled, yet involve intense eagerness, arise from empty opinion; and it is not because of their own nature that they are not dispelled, but because of people's empty opinions.
10.150	Τὸ τῆς φύσεως δίκαιόν ἐστι σύμβολον τοῦ συμφέροντος εἰς τὸ μὴ βλάπτειν ἀλλήλους μηδὲ βλάπτεσθαι.	Natural justice is a pledge of mutual advantage, to keep people from harming one another or being harmed.
	Ὅσα τῶν ζῴων μὴ ἠδύνατο συνθήκας ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ βλάπτειν ἄλλα μηδὲ βλάπτεσθαι, πρὸς ταῦτα οὐθὲν ἦν δίκαιον οὐδὲ ἄδικον. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν ὅσα μὴ ἠδύνατο ἢ μὴ ἐβούλετο τὰς συνθήκας ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ βλάπτειν μηδὲ βλάπτεσθαι.	For those animals that were unable to make agreements not to harm one another or be harmed, nothing was just or unjust. The same goes for those peoples that were unable or unwilling to make agreements not to harm or be harmed.
	Οὐκ ἦν τι καθ' ἑαυτὸ δικαιοσύνη, ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς μετ' ἀλλήλων συστροφαῖς καθ' ὁπηλίκους δή ποτε ἀεὶ τόπους συνθήκη τις ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ βλάπτειν μηδὲ βλάπτεσθαι.	Justice was not something in itself, but an agreement, made whenever people dealt with one another in any place of any size, not to harm or be harmed.
10.151	Ἡ ἀδικία οὐ καθ' ἑαυτὴν κακόν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὴν ὑποψίαν φόβῳ, εἰ μὴ λήσει τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων ἐφεστηκότας κολαστάς.	Injustice is not bad in itself, but in the fear that comes from suspecting one will not escape the notice of those appointed to punish such acts.
	Οὐκ ἔστι τὸν λάθρᾳ τι κινοῦντα ὧν συνέθεντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰς τὸ μὴ βλάπτειν μηδὲ βλάπτεσθαι, πιστεύειν ὅτι λήσει, κἂν μυριάκις ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος λανθάνῃ. μέχρι γὰρ καταστροφῆς ἄδηλον εἰ καὶ λήσει.	Someone who secretly violates any of the terms people have agreed on with one another, not to harm or be harmed, cannot be confident that he will escape notice, even if for now he escapes it ten thousand times. For until his death it is uncertain whether he will go on escaping it.
	Κατὰ μὲν ⟨τὸ⟩ κοινὸν πᾶσι τὸ δίκαιον τὸ αὐτό, συμφέρον γάρ τι ἦν ἐν τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους κοινωνίᾳ· κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἴδιον χώρας καὶ ὅσων δή ποτε αἰτιῶν οὐ πᾶσι συνέπεται τὸ αὐτὸ δίκαιον εἶναι.	In general, justice is the same for all, since it was something advantageous in people's dealings with one another; but in view of the particular features of a region and of any other causes, it does not follow that the same thing is just for all.
10.152		

	GREEK	ENGLISH
	Τὸ μὲν ἐπιμαρτυρούμενον ὅτι συμφέρει ἐν ταῖς χρείαις τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους κοινωνίας τῶν νομισθέντων εἶναι δικαίων, ἔχει τὸν τοῦ δικαίου χαρακτῆρα, ἐάν τε τὸ αὐτὸ πᾶσι γένηται ἐάν τε μὴ τὸ αὐτό. ἐὰν δὲ νόμον θῆταί τις, μὴ ἀποβαίνῃ δὲ κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους κοινωνίας, οὐκέτι τοῦτο τὴν τοῦ δικαίου φύσιν ἔχει. κἂν μεταπίπτῃ τὸ κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον συμφέρον, χρόνον δέ τινα εἰς τὴν πρόληψιν ἐναρμόττῃ, οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἦν δίκαιον τοῖς μὴ φωναῖς κεναῖς ἑαυτοὺς συνταράττουσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἁπλῶς εἰς τὰ πράγματα βλέπουσιν.	Among the things believed to be just, whatever is confirmed as advantageous in the needs of people's dealings with one another has the character of justice, whether or not it turns out to be the same for all. But if someone makes a law and it does not turn out to serve the advantage of people's dealings with one another, it no longer has the nature of justice. And even if what is advantageous in the way of justice changes, but for some time fits the preconception, it was no less just for that time, for those who do not confuse themselves with empty words but simply look at the facts.
10.153	Ἔνθα μὴ καινῶν γενομένων τῶν περιεστώτων πραγμάτων ἀνεφάνη μὴ ἁρμόττοντα εἰς τὴν πρόληψιν τὰ νομισθέντα δίκαια ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων, οὐκ ἦν ταῦτα δίκαια. ἔνθα δὲ καινῶν γενομένων τῶν πραγμάτων οὐκ ἔτι συνέφερε τὰ αὐτὰ δίκαια κείμενα, ἐνταῦθα δὲ τότε μὲν ἦν δίκαια, ὅτε συνέφερεν εἰς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους κοινωνίαν τῶν συμπολιτευομένων· ὕστερον δ᾽ οὐκ ἦν ἔτι δίκαια, ὅτε μὴ συνέφερεν.	Where, without any change in circumstances, the things believed to be just were shown in actual practice not to fit the preconception, they were not just. But where, after circumstances changed, the same established rules of justice were no longer advantageous, there they were just at the time when they were advantageous for fellow citizens' dealings with one another, and afterward no longer just, when they were not advantageous.
10.154	Ὁ τὸ μὴ θαρροῦν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἄριστα συστησάμενος οὗτος τὰ μὲν δυνατὰ ὁμόφυλα κατεσκευάσατο· τὰ δὲ μὴ δυνατὰ οὐκ ἀλλόφυλά γε· ὅσα δὲ μηδὲ τοῦτο δυνατὸς ἦν, ἀνεπίμεικτος ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐξωρίσαθ᾽ ὅσα τούτων λυσιτελῆ πράττειν.	The person who has best arranged things against the insecurity caused by outsiders has made kindred of what he could; what he could not, he has at least not made alien; and where he could not do even this, he has kept clear of it and shut out whatever it was advantageous to shut out.
	Ὅσοι τὴν δύναμιν ἔσχον τοῦ τὸ θαρρεῖν μάλιστα ἐκ τῶν ὁμορούντων παρασκευάσασθαι, οὕτω καὶ ἐβίωσαν μετ᾽ ἀλλήλων ἥδιστα τὸ βεβαιότατον πίστωμα ἔχοντες, καὶ πληρεστάτην οἰκειότητα ἀπολαβόντες οὐκ ὠδύραντο ὡς πρὸς ἔλεον τὴν τοῦ τελευτήσαντος προκαταστροφήν.	Those who had the power to secure the greatest confidence from their neighbors also lived together most pleasantly, having the firmest assurance; and having enjoyed the fullest intimacy, they did not lament the early passing of one who died as though it called for pity.