Lives of the Eminent Philosophers

DIOGENES LAERTIUS

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Βίοι καὶ γνῶμαι τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ εὐδοκιμησάντων

Translated from the Greek with AI (Claude) and edited



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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.

1.1 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]

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 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'

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.

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 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 *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 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 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

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

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 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 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 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 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 Arim-

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

anius. 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 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 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 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 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.

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.

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.

1.12 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 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 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.

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 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

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

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 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]

The Italian line runs like this. Pherecydes was succeeded by Pythagoras, Pythagoras by his son Telauges, 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 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 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

7 "The Dog" (kyōn) was Diogenes' nickname, the source of the name "Cynic."

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 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 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 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.

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

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."

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 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 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 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.

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.

1.22 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

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

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 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 Some say that he was also the first to declare that souls are immortal, and the poet Choerilus is one 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.

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

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

11 The "Wagon" is a Greek name for the Bear constellations. Callimachus was a 3rd-century BC poet and scholar at Alexandria.

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 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 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.

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.

12 Pythagoras claimed that in an earlier life he had been Euphorbus, a Trojan hero of the *Iliad*.

THE TRIPOD FOR THE WISEST

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

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] 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] 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.

[1.30] 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

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

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]

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] 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]

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.

1.33 The oracle given to the Coans ran this way: The strife of
Meropes and Ionians will not cease
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]

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 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 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.

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.

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 why," someone said, "don't you die?" "Because," he said, "it makes no difference."

1.36 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." 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 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 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 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 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]

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.
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.

1.40 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.

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 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 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 Hermippus, in his *On the Sages*, says that there were seventeen,

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.

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]

The following letters of Thales are also in circulation:

1.43 Thales to Pherecydes

"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. 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."

1.44 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]

24 Hippobotus (around 200 BC) wrote on the philosophers and their schools.
25 Priene, an Ionian city near Miletus, was the home of Bias.

SOLON

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

1.45 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]

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 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:
This man's an Athenian, one of those who gave up Salamis.[28]

1.47 And then: Let us go to Salamis to fight for the lovely island / and to drive off our bitter shame. He also persuaded

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.

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 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]

> 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 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." Then he sailed away to Egypt and Cyprus,

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.

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 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 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 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

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.

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 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 "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.

1.55 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

33 Codrus was the legendary last king of Athens.

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 That is why many men were eager to prove themselves brave and noble in war: Polyzelus, Cynegirus, 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] 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 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 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

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).

place neither with the men of the city, nor with the men of the plain, nor even with the men of the coast.[37]

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 silence, 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 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]

37 The last day of the month was so called because it belonged partly to the old moon and partly to the new.

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.

1.60 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 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.

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 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.

40 Mimnermus of Colophon was an elegiac poet of around 600 BC; "son of Ligyastes" addresses him.

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 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]

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."

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 were above suspicion. So the best

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.

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 Solon to Epimenides

"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 "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. 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

43 Epimenides of Crete was said to have purified Athens of a pollution around 600 BC; his life follows later in this book.

servitude, since now every one of them is a slave to one man, Pisistratus."[44]

1.66 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 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.

1.68 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

44 The Heliaea was the Athenian people's court.

also the first to propose that the ephors be paired with the kings, though Satyrus says it was Lycurgus.[45]

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 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] 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] 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

45 The ephors were the five annually elected magistrates of Sparta; the 55th Olympiad ran from 560 to 557 BC.
46 Hippocrates was the father of Pisistratus (Herodotus 1.59).

to vote for acquittal, so as to keep faith both with the law and with his friend.

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 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] 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]

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.

There is also an epigram of mine on him: [73] Light-bringer
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 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.

1.74 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 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

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.

Mytilenaeans; Periander heard the case and awarded it to the Athenians.[51]

1.75 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 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."

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 also used to say that victories should be won without bloodshed.[53] 1.77 A man from Phocaea said that one must search for a good man, and Pittacus told him, "If you search too hard,

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.

53 Laws were displayed on painted wooden boards.

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 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 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]

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*.

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 of Hyrrhadius: Old father, two marriages invite me. One bride is

54 The 42nd Olympiad began in 612 BC, and the third year of the 52nd is 570/569 BC.

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 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 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]

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.

1.82 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. 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 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 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 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 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 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 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 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 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.

1.89 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]

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

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?
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 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 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

58 The Midas epigram was commonly attributed to Homer.

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] 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 difficulty, don't grovel. Learn to bear the changes of fortune nobly.

[1.93] 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.

His saying: Measure is best. He also wrote to Solon as follows:

Cleobulus to Solon

"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.

1.94 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.

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 And he, in his despondency, died, by then eighty years old. Sosicrates says that he died forty-one 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 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 Peri-

59 Sosicrates of Rhodes wrote *Successions* of the philosophers in the second century BC.

ander 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]

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 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 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.

60 This Aristippus was the author of a collection of gossip about the private lives of famous men, which Diogenes cites several times.

1.98 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.

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 His is the saying: Practice is everything. He also wanted to cut a canal through the Isthmus.

A letter of his is also recorded:

Periander to the Sages

"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 Periander to Procles

"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]

Thrasybulus also wrote to him as follows:

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,

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.

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.

1.101 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."

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]

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.

1.102 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 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 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 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

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

they leave the smoke in the mountains but carry the wood into the city. 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 man, if you can't bear wine while you're young, you'll be bearing water when you're old."

1.105 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.

1.106 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 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.

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 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 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.

He died at the age of ninety-seven.

EPIMENIDES

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

1.109 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

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

turned off the road and fell asleep in a cave for fifty-seven years. 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 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 one, wherever it lay down, to the god concerned. And so, they say, the evil ceased. 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 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.

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]

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).

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 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 Epimenides to Solon

"Take heart, my friend. If Pisistratus had attacked the Athenians while they were still serfs and 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 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 sacri-

68 The "Solemn Ones" (Semnai) were the Furies, worshipped at Athens under this name.

fice 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 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.

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]

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.

1.116 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.

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;

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.

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 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.

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 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 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 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.

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

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]

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 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]

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,
he is a benefit while living
and when he is no more.

1.121 He flourished in the 59th Olympiad. He wrote the following letter:

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.

[1.122] Pherecydes to Thales

"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. 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."

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.

2.1 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.

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 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,

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.

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]

There was also another Anaximander, a historian, likewise from Miletus, who wrote in Ionic.

ANAXIMENES

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

2.3 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.

According to Apollodorus, he was born around the time of the capture of Sardis and died in the 63rd Olympiad.

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.

This philosopher also wrote letters, as follows:

4 Anaximenes to Pythagoras

"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 And again:

5 Anaximenes to Pythagoras

"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 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.

2.6 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.

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

2 The second year of the 58th Olympiad is 547/546 BC.
3 Aeaces was the father of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos.

all about your country?" and he replied, "Hush! I care very much about my country," and pointed to the sky.

2.7 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 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-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 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.

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.

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.

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

2.10 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] 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 He seems to have been the first, as Favorinus says in his *Miscellaneous History*, to declare that 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 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

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."

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

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.

8 This Thucydides is the politician, son of Melesias, not the historian.

ARCHELAUS

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

2.16 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 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 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.

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.

2.18 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 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 Idomeneus too says; and in fact the Thirty forbade him to teach the art of speech, as Xenophon says.[10]

9 The joke turns on *Phryges* ("Phrygians") and *phrygana* ("brushwood, kindling"). A deme was one of the local districts of Attica.
10 The Thirty were the oligarchy that ruled Athens in 404–403 BC, after its defeat in the Peloponnesian War.

2.20 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.

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 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]

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 all the Athenians were fleeing, he withdrew calmly,

11 The quoted line is from Homer's *Odyssey* (4.392).
12 Divers from Delos were proverbial for reaching great depths.

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 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]

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 Aristotle says he married two wives: first Xanthippe, by whom he had Lamprocles; and second Myrto, daughter of

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.

Aristides the Just, whom he took without a dowry and by whom he 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 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 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 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 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 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.

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 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.

2.32 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 geo-

metry only so far as to be able to take over and hand over land by measure.

2.33 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 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 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 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 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."

It was for saying and doing these things and the like that he received the testimony of the Pythia, 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.

2.38 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*.

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."
16 Chaerephon was a devoted friend of Socrates.

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.

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 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 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 Pitthus, 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 was plainly more forensic than philosophical. 41 When Lysias asked, "If the speech is fine, how could it not suit you?"[17] 2.41 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

17 The Metroön, the shrine of the Mother of the Gods in the Agora, housed the Athenian state archives.

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] 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] 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*, saying: "You have killed, you have killed the all-wise, the harmless nightingale of the Muses."

18 The Prytaneum was the town hall where public benefactors were honored with free meals.

So much for that. Philochorus, though, says that Euripides died before Socrates.[19]

2.44 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 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.

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.

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 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.

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

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.

the Xenophanes just mentioned after his death; Amphimenes of Cos was Pindar's; Pherecydes was Thales', and Salarus of Priene Bias'; Antimenidas and Alcaeus were Pittacus', Sosibius Anaxagoras', and Timocreon Simonides'.

2.47 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.

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.

2.48 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.

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]

2.49 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 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 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

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

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.

Greece with Agesilaus, who had been recalled for the war against Thebes; and the Spartans made him their proxenos.[24]

2.52 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 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 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 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 sac-

24 A proxenos was a citizen of one state appointed to represent and host the visitors of another, an honored position.

25 A suit for "desertion" (*apostasiou*) was brought against a freedman accused of abandoning his former master.

rifice 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 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 country with Cyrus in the archonship of Xenaenetus, one year before Socrates' death.

2.56 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.

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

26 The battle of Mantinea (362 BC) was fought between Thebes and an alliance that included Sparta and Athens.

style; that is why he and Plato were jealous of each other, as I shall tell in the life of Plato.

2.58 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]

2.59 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.

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.

2.60 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,

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.

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 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]

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 Polycritus of Mende says in the first book of his *On Dionysius* that Aeschines lived with the tyrant until his expulsion

28 Idomeneus of Lampsacus was a friend of Epicurus who wrote about the Socratics.
29 Persaeus of Citium was a pupil of Zeno the Stoic.
30 Dionysius was the tyrant of Syracuse in Sicily.

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 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]

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 pupil 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.

2.65 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. Xeno-

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.

phon 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 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 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 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 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

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

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 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 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 the sick; but that's no reason anyone would choose to be sick rather than to be a doctor."[35]

2.71 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

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

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 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 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."

2.74 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 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 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 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 carrying 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

36 Lais was a celebrated courtesan of Corinth.

what he did not have. 2.78 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]

2.79 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]

2.80 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 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

37 Both verse quotations come from Euripides' *Bacchae*.
38 A satrap was a governor of a province of the Persian empire.

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 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] 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.

2.83 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.

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*

39 The queen of the underworld is Persephone.
40 The two lines Dionysius quotes are from Sophocles.

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 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.

2.85 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 Mother-taught, and his pupil was Theodorus the atheist, later called "god." Antipater's pupil was Epitimides of

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

Cyrene; his was Paraebates; and his were Hegesias the Death-Persuader and Anniceris [who ransomed Plato].[42]

2.86 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 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 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 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 even from the mere prosperity of

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

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. 2.90 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.

2.91 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.

2.92 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 account of good and bad things can speak well, stay free of superstition and escape the fear of death. 2.93 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.

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 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 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 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 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 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."

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 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 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 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." "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 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 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

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

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 *On Famous Men*, says that he was condemned and drank hemlock.[44]

2.102 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] 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 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]

There have been twenty men named Theodorus. The first was from Samos, the son of Rhoecus. He is the one who advised put-

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."

ting 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 man to whom a very fine book on voice training is attributed. 2.104 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.

2.105 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 Sus-*

46 Magas ruled Cyrene in the early third century BC, first as Ptolemy's governor and later as king.

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

pension 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]

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, 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.

2.106 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 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

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

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

2.109 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.

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

2.110 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.

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

50 Cronus, the old god overthrown by Zeus, was a byword for a doddering fool; Momus was the god of fault-finding.

2.112 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]

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.

2.113 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 Besides these, he won over Phrasidemus the Peripatetic, an expert in natural science,

51 Take the letters rho and kappa out of Κρόνος (Cronus) and what is left is ὄνος, "donkey."

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.

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."

2.115 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.

2.116 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]

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

2.117 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 whether there are gods: Won't you scatter the crowd away from me, long-suffering old man?[53]

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 [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 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? 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

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).

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 Nine dialogues of his are in circulation, rather lifeless ones: *Moschus*; *Aristippus*, or *Callias*; *Ptolemy*; *Chaerecrates*; *Metrocles*; *Anaximenes*; *Epigenes*; *To His 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.

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*:

Charinus' argument is nothing but Stilpo's stuffing.

CRITO

Socrates' devoted friend and his seventeen dialogues.

2.121 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.

2.122 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 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 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 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.

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.

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.

2.125 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.

[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 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

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

the life of Phaedo, these philosophers were called Elians; afterwards they were called Eretrians, after the native city of the man we are discussing.

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 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]

2.128 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 mar-

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.

ried."[58] 2.129 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 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.

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. 2.131 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

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.

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]

2.132 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.

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

2.134 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.

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

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

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

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 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 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 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.

2.137 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

62 Antigonus of Carystus, a third-century BC writer whose lives of philosophers drew on personal acquaintance.

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 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 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 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]

63 Pylades was the proverbially loyal friend of Orestes.
64 A cotyle was a small measure, about a quarter of a liter.

2.140 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.

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 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 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 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

65 The non-Greeks were Gauls, whom Antigonus Gonatas defeated in 277 BC.

and daughters, went to Antigonus, and ended his life in despondency.

2.143 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 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.

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.

3.1 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 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.

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 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 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 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 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.

At first he did philosophy in the Academy, and then in the garden by Colonus, as Alexander says in his *Successions*, follow-

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.

ing 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 From then on, they say, at the age of twenty, he studied under Socrates. After Socrates' death he attached 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 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 For it was formerly spelled with an e, Hecademia. The philosopher, at any rate, was also a friend of Isocrates.

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.
5 The line is from Euripides' *Iphigenia among the Taurians* (1193).

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]

PLATO AND EPICHARMUS

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

3.9 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:

"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

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.

added. This is the nature of eternal things, which is always alike and the same.

3.10 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]

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

3.11 — Nor again, if to a measure a cubit long someone chooses to add
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 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 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 — 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
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 "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 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 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.
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.

3.18 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] 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] Anniceris of Cyrene, who happened to be there, ransomed him for twenty minas (some say thirty) 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

9 Sophron of Syracuse (fifth century BC) wrote mimes, prose sketches of everyday life; the craters are those of Mount Etna.

wrote back that he did not have so much leisure as to give Dionysius a thought.[10]

3.21 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:

"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 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 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

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.

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]

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 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]

MOCKERY, LOVES AND QUARRELS

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

3.26 Heraclides says that as a young man he was so modest and well-behaved that he was never seen laughing too much. Even

12 An "informer" (*sykophantēs*) was a man who brought malicious prosecutions for gain.

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 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 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]

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.
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.

3.29 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, 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 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.

17 Aster (Ἀστήρ) means "star" in Greek, and both epigrams pun on the name.

3.31 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 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]

18 Throwing an apple at someone was a traditional Greek declaration of love.

3.33 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 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 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

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.

the young man tells about me!" For the man has written quite a few things that Socrates never said.[21]

3.36 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 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]

3.37 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.

3.38 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

21 *Sathon* is an obscene play on Plato's name, formed from a Greek word for penis.
22 *On the Soul* is the alternative title of the *Phaedo*.

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. 3.39 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 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.

3.40 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 "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 Cal-

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

limachus, 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 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 to anyone. Executors: Leosthenes, Speusippus, Demetrius, Hegias, Eurymedon, Callimachus, Thrasippus."[24]

3.43 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]

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.

3.45 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 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 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.

3.47 Since you are, rightly, a lover of Plato, and eager to seek out the philosopher's doctrines in preference to anyone else's, I

26 Asclepius, god of healing, was the son of Phoebus Apollo; Diogenes reports earlier that Plato died after a wedding feast.
27 This Polemo is probably the antiquarian Polemo of Ilium, not the later head of the Academy.

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 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 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 divides into the midwifely and the testing, the combative into the exposing and the refuting.

3.50 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 polit-

28 Diogenes here addresses an unnamed woman reader; the Greek participles are feminine.

ical, the *Republic*, the *Laws*, the *Minos*, the *Epinomis* and the *Atlanticus*; [3.51] 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.

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] 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] In constructing his proofs he mostly uses the method of induction, not in a single form but in 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. 3.54 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. 3.55 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.

3.56 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 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 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 The fourth tetralogy is headed by the *Alcibiades*, or *On the Nature of Man*, midwifely. Then come the *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

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

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 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 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 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 *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

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.

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 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 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 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."

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.

3.67 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.

3.68 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

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.

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 motion of the universe and the revolutions of the planets.

3.69 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 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 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.

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 craf-

ted it was also one. It is spherical because its begetter has that shape too. 3.72 For the begetter contains the other living things, and this shape contains the shapes of all things. 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 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.

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 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 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 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.

3.76 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. 3.77 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.

3.78 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 conception 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 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.

3.80 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 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

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

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.

3.82 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 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.

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 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 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 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 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.

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 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 pro-

duced 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.

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 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] 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] 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.

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 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 children's attendants exercise over children and teachers over their pupils. 3.92 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 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 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.

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 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 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 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 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 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 doing good, and another by entertaining and enjoying company.

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 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 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

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.

weapons, and music uses pipes and the lyre. So the arts have three kinds: one first, another second and another third.

3.101 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 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, injustice 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 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.

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 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 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 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 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 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.

Of the things that exist, some are divisible and some indivisible. Of the divisible ones, some are made of like parts and oth-

ers 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 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.

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 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.

4.1 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 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

1 The 108th Olympiad began in 348 BC, the year of Plato's death.

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 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, 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 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."

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*

2 Dionysius is Dionysius II, tyrant of Syracuse. Mantinea, Lastheneia's city, was in Arcadia.

3 The joke turns on *chaire*, the ordinary Greek greeting, which literally means "rejoice" or "be well."

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 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]

There was also another Speusippus, an Alexandrian physician of the school of Herophilus.[5]

XENOCRATES

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

4.6 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 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

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.

6 The Graces were goddesses of charm; Plato is telling him to acquire some.

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] 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 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]

7 The joke plays on *andros* ("man") and *andriantos* ("statue").
8 The Feast of Jugs (Choes) was the second day of the Anthesteria, a festival of Dionysus that included a drinking contest.

4.9 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 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 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.

He left a great many treatises, poems and exhortations, which are as follows: *On Nature*, 6 books. *On Wisdom*, 6 books. *On*

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*.

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. [4.12] *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. [4.13] *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.

[4.14] 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 Speusippus 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 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.

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.

4.16 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

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.

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.

4.17 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 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]

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

11 "The poet" is Homer.

little huts and lived near the shrine of the Muses and the covered hall. 4.19 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 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 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.

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

CRATES OF ATHENS

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

4.21 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 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 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 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]

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.

4.24 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 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]

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

14 Sanctuaries of Asclepius, the god of healing, took in the sick, who slept there in hope of a cure.

4.25 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 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]

15 *Bellerophon* is a lost tragedy of Euripides.

4.27 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 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.

4.28 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 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.

16 Dropsy is a swelling caused by a build-up of fluid in the body; hence the epigram's "flooded."

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 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 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]

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 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 He also studied under Hipponicus the geometer, and he mocked him for being sluggish and given to yawning in

17 In Euripides' lost *Andromeda*, Perseus speaks these words to Andromeda, who has been chained up as an offering to a sea monster.
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.

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 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 Diodorus. 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? 4.34 When this same man, who was given to taking the passive role with men, addressed Arcesilaus as though speaking

20 Ion of Chios was a fifth-century BC poet and prose writer.
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.

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]

4.36 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 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.

4.37 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

22 The Greek word for "offspring," *tokos*, also means "interest" on a loan; birds were thought to conceive from the wind.
23 Philoxenus of Cythera was a celebrated poet of dithyrambs.

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 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]

4.39 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 Once, at Athens, he stayed a long time in the Piraeus lecturing on set topics, because he was on friendly terms with

24 Eumenes I ruled Pergamum from 263 to 241 BC.

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 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 Democharès 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]

4.42 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?

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.

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 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]

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:

"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 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 He died, as Hermippus says, after drinking a great deal of unmixed wine and going out of his mind. He was already sev-

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

enty-five, and the Athenians held him in higher esteem than anyone.[27]

4.45 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.

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.

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.

4.46 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 master'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

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.

was sold, with his whole household, us included.[29] 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 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 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 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 any rate, people go down it with their eyes

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."

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 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 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]

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 pas-

32 In Hades the daughters of Danaus were condemned to carry water forever in leaking jars.

33 The quotation is adapted from Euripides' *Hippolytus*.

sion? Next he went over to the school of Theodorus, after studying under Theodorus the Atheist, who argued as a sophist in every kind of 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 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 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*.

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

4.54 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 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 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 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

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

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.

LACYDES

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

4.59 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 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 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]

CARNEADES

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

4.62 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]

37 Attalus I was king of Pergamum from 241 to 197 BC.
38 The fourth year of the 134th Olympiad is 241/240 BC.
39 He is parodying a well-known line: "If there had been no Chrysippus, there would have been no Stoa."

4.63 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]

4.64 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 bodies after the sun were hinting, as one might put it, at its sympathy.[41]

4.65 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.

40 The first two lines adapt Homer's *Odyssey*; Mentor replies with a Homeric line about heralds summoning an assembly.

41 Antipater of Tarsus was head of the Stoic school.

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 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."

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.

4.67 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 Carneades. Carneades, appreciating his industry, had him taught letters and trained him. He went so far in his diligence

42 Logaoedic verse mixes dactylic and trochaic rhythms; the Archebulean, named after the poet Archebulus, is one such meter.

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.

5.1 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 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 philo-

1 Stagira was a Greek city in Chalcidice, on the northern Aegean. Amyntas III was the father of Philip II of Macedon.

sophy 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 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 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] 5.4 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 Alex-

2 Greek *peripatos* means a walk or covered walkway, and *peripatein* means to walk about, hence the name "Peripatetic."

3 The line parodies Euripides' *Philoctetes*, where it runs "shameful to keep silent and let foreigners speak."

ander, 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]

5.5 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 bloody combat,
but by exploiting a treacherous man's trust.[5]

5.6 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]

4 The line is Homer's *Iliad* 18.95, spoken by Thetis to her son Achilles.
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.

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 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 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]

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.
9 A line from Homer's description of Alcinous' orchard (*Odyssey* 7.120). The fig (*sykon*) hints at Athens' malicious prosecutors, the *sykophantai*.

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 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 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]

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.
12 The Borborus ("Mud") was a river near Pella, the Macedonian royal capital.

ARISTOTLE'S WILL

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

That is the philosopher's life. I have also come across his will, which runs roughly as follows:

"All will be well. But if anything should happen, these are Aristotle's dispositions. Antipater is to be 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 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] 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

13 Antipater was Alexander's regent in Macedonia. Nicanor was the son of Proxenus, Aristotle's guardian.

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 Ambracis is to be free, and when the girl is married she is to be given five hundred drachmas and 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 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 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

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.

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.

5.17 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 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 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 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; Theo-

17 This Lyco is probably the Pythagorean of that name, not the later head of the Peripatetics.

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

phrastus, 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 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 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 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]

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 *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 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 *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 *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*

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.

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 *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 *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*, 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 *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.

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

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

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.

5.28 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 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 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 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. 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] 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] 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 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. [5.33] 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.

5.34 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.

5.35 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*. The eighth was an obscure grammarian, to whom a handbook on pleonasm is attributed.

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.

5.36 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] 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] 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 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] 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

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.

25 The prosecution for an illegal proposal allowed any citizen to challenge a law or decree and its proposer.

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 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 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]

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 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 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

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.

Hermippus says this, citing as his source Arcesilaus of Pitane in what he said to Lacydes of Cyrene.

5.42 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. *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 *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 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 *Collection of the Views of Metrodorus*, 1 book. *Meteorology*, 2 books. *On Drunkenness*, 1 book. *Laws, in Alphabet-*

ical 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] *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] *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] *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 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] *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. *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] [*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]

28 Acicharus is Ahiqar, the wise royal counselor of a widely told Near Eastern tale.

THEOPHRASTUS' WILL

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

5.50 These amount to 232,808 lines. So many, then, are his books too.

51 I have also come across his will, which runs as follows:

5.51 "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 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. 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 fit-

29 The Museum here is the school's shrine of the Muses (the "goddesses"), not the later Museum of Alexandria.

ting and just. The joint holders shall be Hipparchus, Neleus, Strato, Callinus, Demotimus, Demaratus, Callisthenes, Melantes, Pancreon and Nicippus. 5.53 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. 54 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 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. 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. 5.55 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. Hip-

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

parchus is also to give the executors the money for the expenses set down in the will, as each expense falls due. 5.56 Once Hipparchus has arranged these things, he is to be released from all his contracts with me; and 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 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.

5.58 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 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*

31 Pallene, Euonymon, Hybadae, Alopece, Cerameis and Epicephisia are Attic demes, the local districts by which Athenian citizens were identified.

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 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*. 5.60 *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.

5.61 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

32 The 123rd Olympiad ran from 288 to 285 BC.

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. 5.62 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 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 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 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]

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

LYCO

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

5.65 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 had to be appreciated on the man himself, like fruit on the tree. 5.66 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 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.

34 Adding a gamma turns *Lykon* into *Glykon*, from *glykys*, "sweet".

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 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 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.

I have also come across the philosopher's will, which runs as follows:

"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 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

35 Eumenes and Attalus were the rulers of Pergamon; Antiochus was a king of the Seleucid dynasty.

36 Lyco came from the Troad, so "at home" means his property there, as against his property in Athens ("the city") and on Aegina.

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 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 Let them also honor the doctors Pasithemis and Medias, who for their care of me and their skill deserve 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] 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 Men-

37 The Peripatos was the covered walk at the Lyceum where the school met, and from which the Peripatetics took their name.
38 A mina was a sum of 100 drachmas.

odora; 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 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 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.

DEMETRIUS OF PHALERUM

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

5.75 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 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]

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]

5.78 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

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.

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

departed this life. He is buried in the Busirite nome, near Diospolis.[42]

5.79 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 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 *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 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*,

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.

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 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] 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 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 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 gram-

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.

marian of Cyrene, nicknamed Stamnus ("Wine-Jar"), a notable man;[45]

5.84 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.

5.86 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 circula-

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.

tion, 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; 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 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.

On grammar: *On the Age of Homer and Hesiod*, 2 books. *On Archilochus and Homer*, 2 books.

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 On rhetoric: *On Public Speaking*, or *Protagoras*.

On history: *On the Pythagoreans* and *On Discoveries*.

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 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.

He is also thought to have freed his country when it was under a tyranny, by killing the sole ruler, as Demetrius of Mag-

47 Pompikos, from πομπή, "procession", suggests pomp and parade: roughly, "the Pompous".

nesia 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 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 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 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 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.

48 Hippobotus was a Hellenistic writer on the philosophical schools.
49 The Pythia was the priestess of Apollo who delivered the oracles at Delphi.

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 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 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.

50 Dionysius the Renegade (Metathemenos, "the one who changed sides") was a pupil of Zeno who left the Stoics for the Cyrenaics.

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.

6.1 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]

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 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]

6.3 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 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]

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.

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.

6.5 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 He said that brothers who live together in harmony are stronger than any wall. He said one 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 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 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 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 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."

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 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

5 Anytus and Meletus were among the accusers of Socrates at his trial in 399 BC.

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 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.

6.13 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 The name Cynosarges begins like the Greek *kyōn*, "dog," the word behind "Cynic."

6.14 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 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.

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."*

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 physiognomy; *On Justice and Courage*, an exhortation, 1, 2, 3; *On Theognis*, 4, 5.

6.16 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.

The fourth volume contains: *Cyrus*; *The Greater Heracles, or On Strength*. The fifth volume contains: *Cyrus, or On Kingship*;

7 The daughters of Memory (Mnemosyne) are the Muses.

Aspasia. The sixth volume contains: *Truth*; *On Discussion*, a work on contradiction; *Sathon, or On Contradicting*, 1, 2, 3; *On Language*.[8]

6.17 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*.

The eighth volume contains: *On Music*; *On Interpreters*; *On Homer*; *On Injustice and Impiety*; *On Calchas*; *On the Scout*; *On Pleasure*.

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 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*.

These, then, are his writings.

8 "Sathon" is a mocking distortion of Plato's name, formed from a vulgar Greek word for the penis.

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 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 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.

6.20 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

9 Timon of Phlius was a Skeptic poet whose satirical *Silli* lampooned philosophers.

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] When he came to Athens, he attached himself to Antisthenes. Antisthenes pushed him away, since 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] 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] 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

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.

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 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 nothing more foolish than man. He constantly said that for life one should have prepared either reason or a rope.

6.25 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 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

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.
13 Plato made visits to the court of the tyrants Dionysius I and Dionysius II at Syracuse in Sicily.

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 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. 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 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

14 "The Dog" (*kyōn*) was Diogenes' nickname, and the origin of the name "Cynic."

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 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 The boys learned by heart many passages of poets and prose writers and of Diogenes' own writings, 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 Aristip-

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.

pus. 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.

6.33 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]

6.34 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 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 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

17 A pun: anapēros, "maimed", sounds like "without a pēra", the beggar's bag that Cynics carried.

18 The Ceramicus, the potters' quarter of Athens, takes its name from keramos, "pottery".

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 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 Once, seeing a child drinking from his hands, he threw the cup out of his bag, saying, "A child has 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 your-

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.

self?" [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.

6.38 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] 6.39 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 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 To the mice that crept onto his table he said, "Look, even Diogenes keeps parasites." When Plato called him a dog, he said,

21 The Craneum was a cypress grove with a gymnasium on the edge of Corinth.

"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 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 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 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

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.

in grammar?"[24] 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 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 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]

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 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, "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

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".

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 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 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 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

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".

a youth was giving a display speech, Diogenes filled the fold of 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 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 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.

6.51 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 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 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

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.

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]

6.54 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 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 Asked whether the wise eat cake, he said, "They eat everything, just like the rest of mankind." Asked why people

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).

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 thing he said, "Yes, and in the old days I used to wet the bed too, but I don't now."[36]

6.57 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 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

35 The second quotation is Homer's "he whipped them on to drive (ἐλάαν)," where ἐλάαν can also be read as "olive."

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.

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 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 man who asked, "Where to, and where from?" he said, "From the men's quarters to the women's."[38]

6.60 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 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,

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.

"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 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 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 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 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

39 "Tegea" puns on τέγος, a word for a brothel.
40 λαβή means both "handle" and "the getting" of something.

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 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 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 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]

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 Asked why slaves were called "man-footed," he said, "Because they had the feet of men, but a soul like yours, you

41 Antipater governed Macedonia and Greece for Alexander and after his death.

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 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 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 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."

42 ἀνδράποδον, "slave," looks as if it meant "man-footed." A mina was a hundred drachmas.

43 κόρη means both "girl" and "pupil of the eye."

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.

6.70 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. 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 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 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 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 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. 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 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 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

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.

45 In myth Thyestes was tricked into eating the flesh of his own sons.

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 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. 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 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 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]

46 Cercidas was a Cynic poet and statesman of Megalopolis in the third century BC; his *Meliambi* are lyric poems in a mixed meter.

6.77 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 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 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]

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 into the Ilissus, so that he might be of use to his brothers.

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.

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 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*.

Seven tragedies: *Helen*; *Thyestes*; *Heracles*; *Achilles*; *Medea*; *Chrysippus*; *Oedipus*.

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 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.

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.

6.82 Monimus of Syracuse was a pupil of Diogenes and the household slave of a Corinthian banker, as Sosicrates says. Xeniades, the man who had bought Diogenes, often came to see this

49 The 113th Olympiad ran from 328 to 325 BC.

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 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.

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.

6.84 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.

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.

6.85 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 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]

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.

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 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 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.

6.88 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]

6.89 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]

6.90 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 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.

Zeno of Citium, for his part, says in his *Anecdotes* that Crates once even sewed a sheepskin onto his cloak without caring how

52 The ephebes were young Athenians of eighteen to twenty doing their civic and military training.

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] 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] 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 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.

His pupils:

METROCLES

Crates cures Metrocles of shame at a fart, and Metrocles becomes a Cynic.

[6.94] 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

53 Suppliants clasped the knees of the person they were begging; "So-and-so made this" was the formula artists signed their works with.

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 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.

He died of old age, having suffocated himself.

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. Menippus of Sinope also became distinguished among them.

HIPPARCHIA

Hipparchia rejects her suitors to marry Crates and outargues Theodorus the Atheist.

6.96 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 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 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]

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.

He died in old age and was buried in Boeotia.

54 Theodorus quotes Euripides' *Bacchae* (line 1236), where Agave boasts of having left her weaving for the wild.

MENIPPUS

Menippus the Cynic satirist, a former slave and moneylender who hanged himself.

6.99 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.

There is nothing serious in him; his books are full of mockery, rather like those of Meleager, who lived at the same time.

> 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 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 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, a Carian by descent; the fourth was a sculptor; the fifth and sixth were painters, and Apollodorus mentions both.

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.

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.

6.102 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.

6.103 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

56 The Epicureans held a feast on the twentieth of every month in honor of Epicurus and Metrodorus.

not to be led astray by what is alien to them. 6.104 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.

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.

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 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.

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.

7.1 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 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 Just then Crates happened to be passing, and the bookseller pointed to him and said, "Follow that 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."

7.4 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.

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.

2 "The Dog" is Diogenes the Cynic. "Dog's Tail" (*Kynosoura*) was also a name for the constellation of the Little Bear.

7.5 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 book of his *On Old Comedy*; and they made the name even more widely known.[3]

7.6 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 "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

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.

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."

And Zeno writes back as follows:

8 "Zeno to King Antigonus, greetings.

7.8 "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 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 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 "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]

"Whereas Zeno son of Mnaseas, of Citium, has spent many years in the city in the pursuit of philosophy, and has continued

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.

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] 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 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] 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.

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] They say he came to Greece with more than a thousand talents and lent the money out on maritime loans.

6 Antigonus of Carystus was a third-century BC writer whose lives of contemporary philosophers Diogenes often draws on.

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 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 by itself to one side. So if you, too, take yourselves out of the middle, you'll bother us less."

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 Democharesson was an Athenian statesman and historian, the nephew of the orator Demosthenes.

7.15 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 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]

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 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 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 To a lover of boys he said that schoolmasters, who are always spend-

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.

ing 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 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?"

7.20 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

10 The Attic tetradrachm was a four-drachma silver coin.

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 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 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. 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, 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 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;

11 Caphisius (or Caphisias) was a well-known flute-player.

others say he said that self-restraint is the flower of beauty. 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 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 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 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]

12 The Reaper was a famous argument for fatalism, built around a man who either will or will not reap his harvest.

7.26 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.

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 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]

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.

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.

7.28 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 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]

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.

7.30 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]

7.31 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]

So much for his death.

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

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.
18 The *Pammetros* ("In All Meters") was Diogenes Laertius' own collection of epigrams.

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] 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] 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] That the *Republic* is his work, Chrysippus too states in his *On the Republic*. He has discussed matters 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] 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 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 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 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.

19 Herophilus was a celebrated physician at Alexandria in the early third century BC.

STOIC DOCTRINE: LOGIC

The three parts of philosophy, rhetoric and dialectic, impressions and the criterion of truth.

7.38 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.

7.39 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.

7.40 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.

7.41 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 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.

Rhetoric itself, they say, has three parts: deliberative, forensic, and encomiastic.

7.43 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.

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 insoluble and the conclusive arguments, the Veiled, the Horned, the Nobody and the Reaper.[20]

7.44 A topic peculiar to dialectic is also the one mentioned above, concerned with utterance itself. In it are set out utter-

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?).

ance 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 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.

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.

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 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 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 dis-

tinguished, and that the persuasive and what is said ambiguously are sorted out; and without it one cannot ask and answer questions methodically.

7.48 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.

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 "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 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.

7.51 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.

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 "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 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,

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.

death. Some things are also conceived by 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 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.

7.55 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 For whatever acts is a body; and voice acts as it travels from those who speak to those who hear. An

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.

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 according to dialect: for instance *thalatta* ("sea") in Attic, and *hēmerē* ("day") in Ionic.

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 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 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

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.

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 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 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 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]

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 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.

A species is what is embraced by the genus, as man is embraced by animal. The most generic is what, being a genus,

27 These are the masculine, feminine and neuter forms, singular and plural, of the Greek word for "the."
28 The quoted line is from Euripides.

has no genus above it, for instance being; the most specific is what, being a species, has no species below it, like Socrates.

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 Partition is the arrangement of a genus under headings, as Crinis says, for instance: "Of goods, some concern the soul, others the body."[29]

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]

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 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.

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

29 Crinis was a Stoic logician, known only from such citations.

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."

sayables are placed predicates; among the complete ones, propositions, syllogisms, questions and inquiries.

7.64 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. 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 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 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 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."

31 "Dion" is the Stoics' stock name for an arbitrary person in logical examples.

7.67 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 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 the like are neither true nor false, whereas propositions are either true or false.

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 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 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

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.

"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 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 A conjunction is a proposition conjoined by certain conjunctive conjunctions, for instance "Both 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 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 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." 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 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 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.

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 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 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 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 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. The third indemonstrable is the one that, through a negated conjunction and one of its conjuncts, 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 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; there-

fore 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 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 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 other 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.

7.84 The ethical part of philosophy they divide into the following topics: impulse; things good and bad; the passions; virtue; the

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.

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 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.

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 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 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 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 vir-

34 Archedemus, Zeno of Tarsus, Apollodorus, Diogenes (of Babylon, not the Cynic), Antipater and Posidonius were Stoics of the second and first centuries BC.

tue. 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 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 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.

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 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 prin-

ciples, 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. 7.91 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.

7.92 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 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 In the same way, they say, some vices are primary and others subordinate to these: folly, cowardice, injustice and intem-

perance 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.

7.94 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.

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 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 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,

35 Panaetius of Rhodes headed the Stoa in the later second century BC; Apollophanes was a pupil of Ariston of Chios.

and their unhappiness. Those neither external nor concerning the soul are being bad and unhappy oneself, for oneself.

7.96 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 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 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.

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; beneficial, because it is such as to benefit; choiceworthy, because it is such that it is reason-

able to choose it; just, because it accords with law and creates community.[36]

7.100 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 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 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

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').

of what is hot is to heat, not to cool, so the property of what is good is to benefit, not to harm;[37] 7.103 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. 104 To benefit is to move or to hold steady in accordance with virtue; to harm is to move or to hold steady in accordance with vice.

7.104 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. 105 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 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

37 The Apollodorus cited here is the Stoic Apollodorus of Seleucia, author of an *Ethics*, not the chronographer.

valuation in exchange, as fixed by someone experienced in such dealings, as when one says that wheat is exchanged for barley plus a mule.

7.106 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 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.

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 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]

Appropriate, then, are the actions that reason prevails on us to do, as is the case with honoring one's 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 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.

7.110 They say the soul has eight parts. Its parts are the five senses, the vocal part, the thinking part (which is the intellect

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.
39 A strigil was a curved metal scraper used to clean oil and sweat from the skin after exercise.

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 supposition that money is a fine thing, and the same goes for drunkenness, licentiousness and the rest.

7.111 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 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 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

40 The tutor (*paidagōgos*) was usually a slave who escorted boys to school and supervised their behavior.

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 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]

Pleasure is an irrational elation at what seems to be choiceworthy. Under it are ranked enchantment, 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 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 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

41 *Iliad* 1.81–82, where the seer Calchas speaks of Agamemnon's lasting resentment.

42 The etymology plays on the near-identical Greek words *terpsis* ("delight") and *trepsis* ("turning").

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 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 The virtuous are genuine. They guard against presenting themselves as better than they are by 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 choiceworthy 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 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 found-

ing of shrines, purifications and the other matters that belong to the gods.

7.120 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]

7.121 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 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

43 Canopus was a town at the western mouth of the Nile, near Alexandria.

are not liable to fall into error. 7.123 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 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 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 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]

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

44 Charonian caves (named after Charon, ferryman of the dead) were caverns giving off deadly vapors, believed to be entrances to the underworld.
45 Ismenias of Thebes was a celebrated pipe (*aulos*) player of the fourth century BC.

book of his *On Virtues*. 7.126 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 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, 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.

7.128 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.

7.129 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*.

7.130 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 Chrysippus also says in his *On Love*, and it is not sent by the gods. Youthful bloom, they say, is the flower of virtue.[46]

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 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

46 Thrasonides is the soldier in Menander's comedy *The Man She Hated*, who refuses to force himself on the captive woman he loves.

say, is the mixed one, made up of democracy, kingship and aristocracy.

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.

7.132 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.

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 substance [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 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 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. 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 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.

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, 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 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,

47 The Stoics held that the universe is periodically consumed in a universal fire, the conflagration, and then reborn.

and at the bottom of everything is earth, which lies at the center of all.

7.137 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 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 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 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 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 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 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*, Chrysippus 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.

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 uni-

verse, 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 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 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 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 Posidonius 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.

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 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.

7.147 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. 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, 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 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 sub-

48 The Claws (Chelae) was the Greek name for the constellation Libra.
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").

stance 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 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 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. 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

50 The definition plays on *heimarmenē* ("fate") and *heiromenē* ("strung together").

no infinite thing that the division reaches. It simply never comes to an end.)

7.151 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.

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.

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 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 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 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. 7.154

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]

7.155 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.

7.156 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 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.

51 Typhoons and presters were kinds of violent whirlwind; the prester was associated with fire and lightning.

7.157 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 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.

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 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 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.

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 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 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 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?

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.

Panaetius and Sosicrates say that only the letters are his, and that the rest belong to Ariston the Peripatetic.

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 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.

7.165 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

52 In Homer's *Iliad* Thersites is the ugliest and most abusive soldier at Troy, Agamemnon the supreme commander of the Greeks.
53 The "limping iambic" (choliamb) is a meter whose last foot is deliberately reversed, giving the line a halting end.

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.

7.166 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.

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.

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.

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 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]

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*.

These, then, are the dissenters. Zeno's successor was Cleanthes, of whom I must now speak.

54 Aratus of Soli (c. 315–240 BC) wrote the *Phaenomena*, a famous poem on the constellations and weather signs.

CLEANTHES

Cleanthes the boxer draws water by night to study by day, succeeds Zeno, and starves himself to death.

7.168 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, 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 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 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

55 The Areopagus was Athens' ancient council.

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]

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 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 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 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 When the poet Sositheus said in the theater, with Cleanthes present, those whom the folly of Cleanthes drives like oxen,

56 Timon's last phrase puns on *holmos* ("mortar") and *atolmos* ("timid").
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.

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; 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.

7.174 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. 7.175 *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.

7.176 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,
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.

7.177 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 He wrote the following books: *On the Universe*, 2 books. *On Elements*. *On Seed*. *On Fortune*. *On Minimal Parts*. *Against Atoms*

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.

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.

7.179 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 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 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

59 Ptolemy IV Philopator, king of Egypt 221–204 BC.
60 The lines adapt a passage of Euripides' *Orestes* (540–41) in which Tyndareus laments his daughters.

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 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 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 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 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

61 "Crypsippus" puns on the name: "hidden by the horse" (Greek *kryptein*, "to hide", and *hippos*, "horse").

alone has understanding; the others are flitting shadows; and: If there had been no Chrysippus, there would be no Stoa.[62]

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 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 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.

He seems to have been rather arrogant. At any rate, though he wrote so much, he dedicated nothing 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 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,

62 The first line is Homer's description of the seer Tiresias among the dead (*Odyssey* 10.495).
63 The 143rd Olympiad ran from 208 to 205 BC.

paraded around and punished with a flogging. Another was a pupil of Erasistratus; and there was one who wrote *On Farming*.[64]

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 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]

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 For, they say, the story he concocts is utterly obscene, even if he praises it as an account of nature, 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

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.
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.

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.

7.189 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.

7.190 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. 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 *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] 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] *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.

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 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 *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 *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 *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 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 *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]

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 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 *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.

7.201 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

68 The Veiled Man, the Unnoticed Man and the Nobody were well-known logical puzzles debated by the Megarians and the Stoics.

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 *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.

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.

8.1 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 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

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.

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 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 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 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 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

2 Creophylus of Samos was a legendary early epic poet, said to have been Homer's host.

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.

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 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 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. 8.7 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] 8.8 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

5 Branchidae, also called Didyma, was the site of a famous oracle of Apollo near Miletus.

6 Heraclides son of Sarapion, known as Heraclides Lembus, was a scholar of the second century BC who made epitomes of earlier biographers.

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.

8.9 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.

8.10 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 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 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*. 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 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 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

7 The Hyperboreans were a legendary people of the far north, closely linked with Apollo.

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 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] 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 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.

8.17 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

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.

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 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.

8.19 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 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 divina-

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.

tion 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 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 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 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 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

12 The pun splits Pyth-agoras into *Pythios*, Apollo of Delphi, and *agoreuein*, "to speak."

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.

8.24 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 center, the earth itself also spherical and inhabited all round.[13] 8.26 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

13 This is Alexander Polyhistor, a Greek scholar and compiler working in Rome in the first century BC.

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. 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] 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] 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 completed 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] 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 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 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 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 comes to them; but they are never at rest, nor do they ... keep to the same course.

8.33 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. 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 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.

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 it makes for cowardice in war; others, that it is from bread that the whole begins.

8.35 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 pre-

serves whatever it gets hold of, and it comes from the purest of things, sun and sea.

8.36 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 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]

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.

8.38 Aristophon in *The Pythagorist*: He said he went down to the
dwelling of those below
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.

8.39 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]

8.40 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

16 Milo of Croton was the famous wrestler, said to have been a follower of Pythagoras.

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 thirty-five of them, were burned to death in Tarentum, because they wanted to oppose those in power.[17]

8.41 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 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 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

17 Dicaearchus of Messana was a pupil of Aristotle.

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. Asked "What things do you mean?" she said, "The things that earn me the name of woman."

8.44 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 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]

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.

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 There were four men called Pythagoras at about the same time, not far apart from one another. One 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 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 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.

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] 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:

Pythagoras to Anaximenes

"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] 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.

19 Olympiads are four-year periods counted from the first Olympic Games in 776 BC; the 60th began in 540 BC.

20 The 48th Olympiad began in 588 BC; the people of Elis ran the Olympic Games.

EMPEDOCLES

The poet-philosopher of Acragas: his family, teachers, poems, cures and democratic politics.

8.51 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 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, completely
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 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

21 The 71st Olympiad began in 496 BC.
22 Thurii in southern Italy was founded in 444/443 BC; the Athenian expedition against Syracuse took place in 415–413 BC.

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 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.

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 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.

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 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 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.

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 You shall stop the force of the tireless winds that sweep over the earth and lay waste the fields with 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.

23 Alcidamas was a rhetorician of the fourth century BC, a pupil of Gorgias.

8.60 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]

24 "Wind-stopper" renders the Greek *kōlusanemas*. The etesian winds are the strong northerly winds that blow across the Aegean in summer.

8.61 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
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 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."

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 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 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 like this: a top tomb holds him on a topmost peak. Some say this is by Simonides.[25]

8.66 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 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.

25 The epigram plays on *akros*, "top, highest, eminent," which echoes the names Acron, Acros and Acragas.

THE DEATH OF EMPEDOCLES

Conflicting stories of his end, including the leap into Etna, and a summary of his views.

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 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 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.

8.69 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.

8.70 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; [8.71] 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 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."

[8.72] 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.

[8.73] 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.

8.74 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 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 His views were these. He held that there are four elements, fire, water, earth and air, together with Love, by which they are

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."

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]

"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 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.

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.

8.78 Epicharmus, son of Helothales, of Cos. He too studied under Pythagoras. When he was three 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.

28 Aidoneus is a name for Hades; Nestis was a Sicilian water goddess.

ARCHYTAS

The Pythagorean general of Tarentum, his letters with Plato, and his work in mechanics.

8.79 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:

"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 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 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."

8.81 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."

8.82 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.

8.83 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 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.

8.84 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.

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.

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 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.

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.

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.

8.86 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 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 Some say

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.

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 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.

[8.89] 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.

[8.90] 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.

31 The City Dionysia and the Lenaea were the two Athenian festivals at which comedies competed.

The priests therefore said that he would be famous but short-lived, as Favorinus says in his *Memoirs*.[32]

8.91 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 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]

Because of the brilliance of his fame, people called him Endoxus ("famous") instead of Eudoxus.

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]

32 The Apis was the sacred bull worshipped at Memphis; the 103rd Olympiad is 368–365 BC.

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.

9.1 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 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

1 The 69th Olympiad is 504–501 BC.

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 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 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 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]

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 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.

2 The joke turns on διαντλεῖν, "to bail out" and also "to endure to the end", apt for a man who died of water.

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 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 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.

9.7 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 His particular doctrines are as follows. He held that fire is the element, and that all things are an exchange for fire, coming

3 This is Antisthenes of Rhodes, a historian, not the Socratic philosopher.
4 The "sacred disease" was the Greek name for epilepsy.

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 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 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. 9.10 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.

9.11 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]

9.13 "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. 9.14 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 that the part about nature is there by way of illustration.

9.16 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.

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.

9.17 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.

9.18 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 … 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.

6 The "nightingales" are Heraclitus' poems.

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 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 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.

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 *Memoirs*. There was also another Xenophanes, from Lesbos, an iambic poet.

So much for the scattered ones.

PARMENIDES

The Eleatic who wrote philosophy in verse and set reason above the senses as the criterion.

9.21 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.

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 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 impression.

Plato too wrote his dialogue about him, entitling it *Parmenides, or On Forms*.

9.23 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]

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.

9.24 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

7 The "Achilles" is the paradox that swift Achilles can never overtake a slower runner who has a head start.

regard by his fellow citizens; and so, when he was elected admiral, he was admired even more for his own excellence.

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.

Apollodorus says that he flourished in the 84th Olympiad.

ZENO OF ELEA

Parmenides' pupil, inventor of dialectic, who died defying a tyrant.

9.25 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 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.

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 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

8 Palamedes was the ingenious inventor among the Greeks at Troy.

stabbed to death, suffering the same fate as Aristogiton the tyrant-slayer.[9]

9.27 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 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
pounded you. What am I saying? Your body, not you.

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 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.

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."

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.

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.

9.30 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 He says that the whole is unlimited, as has been said, and that part of it is full and part void; these 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. 9.32 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 car-

ried 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.

9.33 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 snow-bound, 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.

9.34 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 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 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]

9.37 "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

10 The Magi were Persian priests; the Chaldaeans were Babylonian astronomer-priests.

11 The Gymnosophists ("naked sages") were Indian ascetics.

12 A talent was a very large sum of money, equal to 6,000 drachmas.

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 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.

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 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 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.

9.40 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

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.

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.

9.41 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]

9.42 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 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 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

14 The 80th Olympiad began in 460 BC; the third year of the 77th was 470/469 BC.

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]

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.

9.44 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.

9.45 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 misunderstand-

15 The Thesmophoria was a festival of Demeter celebrated by women; a death in the family would have kept his sister from taking part.

ing, 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.

Thrasyllus has also catalogued his books in order, in tetralogies, just as he did Plato's.

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 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 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.

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 calendar. *Contest of the Water-Clock and the Heavens*. *Description of the Heavens*. *Geo-*

16 Tritogeneia is a title of Athena; the Horn of Amaltheia is the proverbial horn of plenty.

graphy. *Description of the Poles*. *Description of Rays*. These are the mathematical works.

9.48 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.

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 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]

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.

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.

9.50 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

17 Meroe was the capital of the Ethiopian kingdom on the upper Nile.

Thurii. But according to Eupolis in his *Flatterers* 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 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. 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 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 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 Aris-

18 Thurii was a colony in southern Italy founded under Athenian leadership in 444/443 BC; Eupolis was an Athenian comic poet.

totle says in his *On Education*; for he was a porter, as Epicurus says somewhere. 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 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 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.

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 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]

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,"

19 The Four Hundred were the oligarchs who seized power at Athens in 411 BC.

he replied, "Well, if I win this one, I have to be paid because I won; and if you win, because you did."

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.

9.57 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.

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.

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.

9.58 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

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."

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 needed was the head of some satrap served up on the table," [59] aiming the jibe at Nicocreon.[21]

9.59 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 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,

21 The 110th Olympiad ran from 340 to 337 BC.

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.

9.61 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. 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 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]

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

22 Ichor: in Homer (*Iliad* 5.340), the fluid that flows in the gods' veins instead of blood.

23 Aenesidemus: a skeptic philosopher of the first century BC who revived Pyrrhonism.

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 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 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 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]

24 Antigonus of Carystus: a third-century BC writer of lives of philosophers.
25 Nausiphanes of Teos: an atomist philosopher, often said to have been Epicurus' teacher.

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 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]

9.67 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

26 The *Python* and the *Images* are other works by Timon.
27 Cotys: a king of Thrace, assassinated in 360/359 BC.

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 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 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.

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 They were called inquirers from always inquiring after the truth, and skeptics from always examining 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."

9.71 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.

9.72 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 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.

9.74 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. 9.75 "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. 9.76 The skeptics also

abolish the expression "No more" itself. Just as providence no more exists 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 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 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.

9.79 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.

[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 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.

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 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 The fourth is the mode based on dispositions and changes in general, such as health, sickness, sleep, 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.

9.83 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]

9.84 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

28 The Massagetae were a nomadic people of Central Asia.

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.

9.85 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 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 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]

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.

9.88 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 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 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 remark-

30 Agrippa was a later Pyrrhonist, probably of the first century AD, known almost only for these five modes.

able if they do not see that this very point, that such things carry their credibility in themselves, needs proof first. 9.91 For one cannot confirm that the elements are four from the fact that the elements are four. Besides, if 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.

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 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 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 opponent. If he is untrustworthy, he too will be distrusted when he reports what appears.

9.94 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.

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 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 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. It is not an apparent sign of something apparent, since what is apparent needs no sign. It is not a non-appar-

ent 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 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] 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] 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] 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.

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 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 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.

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 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 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.

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 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 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 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 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 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 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 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 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.

9.109 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 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.

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 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

31 Phlius was a small city in the northeastern Peloponnese.
32 "Lewd verses" renders *kinaidoi*, the name of a genre of indecent poetry.

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 He died at nearly ninety, as Antigonus says, and Sotion in his eleventh book. I have also heard that 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."

9.113 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] 9.114 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

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*.

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 attacks Arcesilaus in the *Silli*, he praised him in the work entitled *Arcesilaus' Funeral Feast*.[35]

9.115 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 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.

10.1 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 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

1 Athens had planted colonists (cleruchs) on Samos in 365 BC. Perdiccas, regent after Alexander's death, expelled them in 322 BC.

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] 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 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] [10.4] 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

2 Philodemus of Gadara was an Epicurean philosopher and poet of the first century BC.

Pythocles, who was in the bloom of youth: I shall sit, he says, waiting for your lovely and godlike arrival.[3] 10.5 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. Epictetus calls him a purveyor of obscene talk and reviles him in the harshest terms.

10.6 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 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 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

3 Paean, "Healer," was a cult title of Apollo.

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.

10.9 These people are mad. The man has ample witnesses to his unsurpassed goodwill toward everyone. 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 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;

4 "Lerocritus" ("judge of nonsense") and "Sannidorus" (roughly "fool's gift") are puns on the names Democritus and Antidorus.

Apollodorus adds that Epicurus bought it for eighty minas.[5] 10.11 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]

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
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 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 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

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.

7 Pytho is Delphi, seat of Apollo's oracle, where the priestess prophesied seated on a tripod.

the Epicurean, say was Democritus' teacher. Demetrius of Magnesia says that he also studied under Xenocrates.

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] 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.

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 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.

[10.15] 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.

8 Aristophanes of Byzantium was the Alexandrian scholar and librarian of about 200 BC.

9 The dates given are 341 BC and 271/270 BC. Gamelion is an Attic winter month.

10.16 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.

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 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 live in the house in Melite for as long as Hermarchus lives.

10.18 "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

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.

of my brothers in Poseideon, and the day of Polyaenus in Metageitnion, just as I have done.[11]

10.19 "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 "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 "All the books I have are to be given to Hermarchus.

"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 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."

That, then, was his will.

PUPILS AND WRITINGS

Metrodorus, Hermarchus and the other leading Epicureans, and the list of Epicurus' best books.

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] 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 the Timocrates mentioned above, Metrodorus' brother, a muddle-headed sort.

[10.24] 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*.

There was also Polyaenus of Lampsacus, son of Athenodorus, a decent and friendly man, as Philodemus and his circle say.

11 Poseideon and Metageitnion are Attic months, roughly December and August.

And there was Epicurus' successor, Hermarchus of Mytilene, son of Agemortus. His father was poor, and at first he devoted himself to rhetoric.

The following excellent books of his are in circulation: [25] *Letters on Empedocles*, 22 books. *On the Sciences*. *Against Plato*. *Against Aristotle*.

He died of paralysis, having proved himself an able man.

10.25 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 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.

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 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 *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.

10.28 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 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]

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 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

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.

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 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 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 By a preconception they mean a sort of apprehension, or a correct opinion, or a concept, or a universal 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. 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] 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.

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 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 "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 "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.

"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 "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.

"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 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] "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] "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] "Moreover, the universe is unlimited. For what is limited has an extremity, and an extremity is seen against something

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.

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.

"Further, the universe is unlimited both in the number of its bodies and in the extent of its void. [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 "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 "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 "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 "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 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.

10.46 "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 "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 "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 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 "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 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 "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 or is contradicted, falsehood arises; and if it is confirmed or not contradicted, truth.

10.52 "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.

"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 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.

"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 "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.

10.55 "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.

"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 "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 "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 "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 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 "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 "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 "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 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 "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 "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. 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 imparted it to the body as well, because of their contiguity and sympathy, as I said.

10.65 "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 "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 "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 "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.

"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 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 "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 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.

10.72 "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 fea-

ture, as some people do. We must above all reflect only on what we link this distinctive feature with and measure it by. 10.73 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*.]

"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 "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 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 "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.

"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 "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 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 regular cycle are fulfilled because these conglomerations were enclosed from the beginning, at the birth of the world.

10.78 "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.

"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 "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.

"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 disturbance as if we knew that it happens in this particular way.

10.81 "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 "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.

"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 "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.

That, then, is his letter on physics. On celestial phenomena he wrote the following.

"Epicurus to Pythocles, greetings.[16]

10.84 "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 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.

"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.

16 Pythocles was a young pupil of Epicurus from Lampsacus.

These admit several causes of their coming into being and several accounts of their essence that agree with the senses.

10.87 "We must not study nature on the basis of empty axioms and decrees, but as the appearances call 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. 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 "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 "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 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-called natural philosophers says. For this conflicts with the appearances.

"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 "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 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 "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 explanations, 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 "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 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 "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] "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] "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.

"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.

10.99 "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 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 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 It will be easy to make it out in several other ways too, if one always holds to the appearances and 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 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 "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 "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 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 "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.

"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 "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 "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 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 "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.

"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 "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 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 particu-

lar 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 That some stars revolve in the same place happens not only because this part of the world-order 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. 10.113 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.

10.114 "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 motion takes it. There are countless other ways of bringing this about.

10.115 "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 "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.

10.117 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.

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 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 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 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 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.

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.

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 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.

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 "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 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 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.

"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 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 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]

10.127 "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.

"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.

"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 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

18 The last words quote the elegiac poet Theognis (lines 425–427).

not in pain, we no longer need pleasure. 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] 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] 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] 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] "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 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 "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 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, 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 "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."

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."

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.

10.136 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 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 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 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.

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]

10.139 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.]

Death is nothing to us. For what has been dissolved has no sensation, and what has no sensation is nothing to us.

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 Pain does not last continuously in the flesh. At its most extreme it is present for the shortest time, and pain that merely

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").

outweighs pleasure in the flesh does not last many days. And long illnesses hold more pleasure in the flesh than pain.

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 Whatever means one can ever use to gain security from other people is a natural good [that is, rule and kingship].

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.

No pleasure is bad in itself; but the things that produce certain pleasures bring troubles many times greater than the pleasures.

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 If the things that produce the pleasures of the profligate dispelled the mind's fears about the 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.

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 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.

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21 The *Principal Doctrines* (*Kyriai Doxai*) are a collection of forty short maxims summing up Epicurus' teaching.

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.

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 Natural wealth is both limited and easy to obtain; the wealth of empty opinions runs off into infinity.

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.

The just man is the most free from disturbance; the unjust man is full of the greatest disturbance.

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 Unlimited time contains the same amount of pleasure as limited time, if one measures its limits by reasoning.

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 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 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.

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.

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 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 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.

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.

Of all the things wisdom provides for the blessedness of one's whole life, by far the greatest is the possession of friendship.

The same conviction that has made us confident that nothing terrible lasts forever, or even for long, has also seen that, within these very limits, security is achieved above all through friendships.

10.149 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.]

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 Natural justice is a pledge of mutual advantage, to keep people from harming one another or being harmed.

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.

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 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.

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.

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 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 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 circum-

stances 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 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.

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.